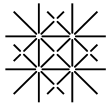


Taxes and Authority in the Late Antique Countryside



Universität
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Departement
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TAXES AND AUTHORITY IN THE LATE ANTIQUE COUNTRYSIDE

The Reach of the State and the Pagarchs of Byzantine Egypt

Dissertation

zur Erlangung der Würde eines Doktors der Philosophie

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Matthias Stern

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Prof. Dr. Sabine R. Huebner (Universität Basel) sowie
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Der Dekan
Prof. Dr. Ralph Ubl

Preface

THIS DISSERTATION WAS WRITTEN as part of my *wissenschaftliche* Assistenz at the University of Basel's Institute of Ancient History and defended on June 4, 2019. The revised and expanded version, which should be cited, will be published as *Taxes and Authority in the Late Antique Countryside: The Reach of the State and the Pagarchs of Byzantine Egypt (284–642 CE)* with De Gruyter as volume 55 of the series *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete – Beihefte* (ISBN 978311435923). It will be available in open access at:

<https://www.degruyter.com/document/isbn/978311435923/html?lang=en>.

In addition to sources and literature published until 2024—which in the highly dynamic field of papyrology amounts to a long time—the revised version contains discussions related to many unpublished sources and ongoing scholarly works I had been unaware of prior to presenting the findings of my thesis to colleagues. While the table of contents of the book looks largely identical to that of the original dissertation, these new pieces of the puzzle can be found in the text of all chapters, resulting in new discussions and a deepening of the rest of the content. Even passages of the same content have been mostly reformulated and expanded to improve clarity and provide context, particularly with a non-expert audience in mind. Additionally, I deepened and expanded a number of discussions I had only briefly touched on in the original dissertation, and included analyses of sources or scholarly works I had missed previously. The chapters are now conceptually better linked to one another, with overarching themes placed and cross-referenced more logically, to the reader's benefit. Lastly, the prosopographical catalog was given a new internal structure, a number of additional entries, and additional connections and extended discussions; after rewriting, I believe that the catalog now connects more logically to—and thus supports and carries—the main chapters, rather than merely supplementing them.

In comparison, the document presented here is de facto the manuscript as it was submitted to the University of Basel in March 2019; content-wise, it is also identical to the version that some colleagues have cited as “Diss. Basel 2019” vel sim., with a few exceptions: This preface has been completely rewritten. On the advice of my committee in their *Gutachten*, the original Appendices II–V were removed and reworked into the separate articles Stern forthcoming (c), (d), and (e). The maps included in the original dissertation have been omitted from this document for copyright reasons. References to some unpublished sources and scholarly works have also been deleted. Aside from these changes, only a few obvious errors and typos in the original dissertation have been corrected.

As stated, content-wise the manuscript has not been updated since it was submitted and, naturally, only covers sources and scholarly literature published up to, and mostly including, 2018. However, notable works from that year that I did not have access to at the time include David J. D. Miller and Peter Sarris's translation of Justinian's *Novels* (including *Edict 13*) and Jean-Luc Fournet's new edition of *P.Cair.Masp. I 67024–25* in the *Festschrift* for Gilbert Dagron.

The text of the original dissertation and the present manuscript were set by me in Athelas. I am grateful to the team at Type Together for allowing to use their creation, which is one of the very few typefaces that elegantly render Roman *and* polytonic Greek text, including italics and bold type, and even in combination with papyrological underdots.

The revised version of this study, mentioned at the beginning of this preface, includes the full acknowledgments for everyone connected to this project. Here, I limit my thanks to my wonderful doctoral advisers, Sabine Huebner and Bernhard Palme, who provided me with constant advice, encouragement, and inspiration, and to Sven Tost, who also read large parts of the growing manuscript of this original dissertation and discussed them critically with me; I have benefited from his honest and invaluable feedback since my early days in Vienna. All three, in their unique ways, have shaped my thinking and provided me with inestimable opportunities during my early career. Throughout this project, many other colleagues generously took the time to discuss my research or their own with them and gave me access to then-unpublished works; they are acknowledged in the footnotes. I owe further thanks to my copyeditors Andrew Godfrey-Collins, Kate Sotejeff-Wilson, Linda Turner, and Caroline Wazer, whose work was supported by the University of Basel's Max Geldner Fund. They did not, however, have the chance to check this preface, and I am of course responsible for any inconsistencies or last-minute edits in this submitted version of the thesis.

For this original dissertation, I am greatly indebted to all the academic mentors and colleagues I met and worked with in Magdeburg, Halle, Vienna, Liège, Basel, and New York. In that context, I am especially grateful to Roger Bagnall for the opportunity to spend an incredibly inspiring time at New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World during the earliest stages of writing up my dissertation in 2016 and to the Freiwillige Akademische Gesellschaft Basel for the generous support that made it possible. Above all, I owe my deepest gratitude, however, to a number of wonderful people who are not named here, and I will be forever thankful to them for their support, friendship, and love.

Munich, July 2024

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Preliminary Notes and Aids for the Reader

Citations of ancient sources and modern scholarly works, including instrumenta and online resources are resolved in the back matter. Origin and dates of individual papyri are sometimes restricted to nome and year if a more detailed entry is not crucial to the argument; approximate dates by century are generally given in Roman numerals.

Dates in the papyri follow the Egyptian year, which was partitioned in three seasons plus five (or, in leap years, six) intercalary days (*epagomenai*). The corresponding dates below are for nonleap years.

<i>Achet</i> (flood)	Thoth I	August 29
	Phaophi I	September 28
	Hathyr I	October 28
	Choiak I	November 27
<i>Peret</i> (sowing/growth)	Tybi I	December 27
	Mecheir I	January 26
	Phamenoth I	February 25
	Pharmouthi I	March 27
<i>Schemu</i> (harvest/low water)	Pachon I	April 26
	Payni I	May 26
	Epeiph I	June 25
	Mesore I	July 25
<i>Heriu-renpet</i> (epagomenal days)	birth of Osiris	August 24
	birth of Horus	August 25
	birth of Seth	August 26
	birth of Isis	August 27
	birth of Nephthys	August 28

Traditionally, the Egyptian year began on Thoth I, but in late antiquity, the beginning of the year varied from region to region, and even within these regions there were often divergences between a chronological or a fiscal year. These specific issues are discussed in the chapters where they are relevant; for a profound discussion of the topic of chronological reckoning in late antique Egypt, the reader is directed to *CSBE*².

In late antiquity, papyrological documents were dated according to a cycle of 15 *indictional* years. When the document was dated to a first indiction, actually the first year of the indictional cycle, this may refer to different years of the Julian calendar, for instance, 522/523, 567/568, or even 627/628. Some corresponding Julian years from within the time period that is of interest in this study are given below (for convenient representation, only the first possible Julian year is noted therein, i.e., 522 instead of 522/523). All Julian dates are CE unless otherwise indicated, though in order to avoid ambiguity I still frequently use CE to highlight that a certain number marks a year.

1	522 / 537 / 552 / 567 / 582 / 597 / 612 / 627
2	523 / 538 / 553 / 568 / 583 / 598 / 613 / 628
3	524 / 539 / 554 / 569 / 584 / 599 / 614 / 629
4	525 / 540 / 555 / 570 / 585 / 600 / 615 / 630
5	526 / 541 / 556 / 571 / 586 / 601 / 616 / 631
6	527 / 542 / 557 / 572 / 587 / 602 / 617 / 632
7	528 / 543 / 558 / 573 / 588 / 603 / 618 / 633
8	529 / 544 / 559 / 574 / 589 / 604 / 619 / 634
9	530 / 545 / 560 / 575 / 590 / 605 / 620 / 635
10	531 / 546 / 561 / 576 / 591 / 606 / 621 / 636
11	532 / 547 / 562 / 577 / 592 / 607 / 622 / 637
12	533 / 548 / 563 / 578 / 593 / 608 / 623 / 638
13	534 / 549 / 564 / 579 / 594 / 609 / 624 / 639
14	535 / 550 / 565 / 580 / 595 / 610 / 625 / 640
15	536 / 551 / 566 / 581 / 596 / 611 / 626 / 641

Personal names are generally transliterated in their Greek forms. If individuals are commonly known, mostly in the case of emperors or ancient authors, they are referred to via the common Anglicized name, e.g., Justinian. The pseudo-*nomina gentilia* Aurelius and Flavius are given in Latin, since in our period these have become titles more than individual names. All pagarchs called Menas and Strategios bear distinctive epithets as part of their name in this study (e.g., Strategios Paneuphemos or Menas Scrinarius) to distinguish them from namesakes. The Antaiopolite pagarchs Ioulianos and Ioannes are, however, not provided with additional name epithets, since their namesakes from Oxyrhynchos and Hermopolis, respectively, occur only rarely and always in unambiguous contexts. Despite being the only pagarch of that name, the Arsinoite pagarch Apion is given the name epithet Stratelates in order to avoid confusion with the more famous Apiones of Oxyrhynchos who also occur frequently in this study. Research has come to attribute a numerical order to the Oxyrhynchite Apiones (e.g., Apion I, Strategios I, Apion II, etc.)—a practice to which I shall adhere since it is so widespread and commonly used.

Technical terms such as ancient Greek words for weights, coins, offices, etc. are generally transliterated in the main text and in continuous footnote text but are not converted to their Latin equivalents, because oftentimes this “equivalence” is not as certain as one would like it. Consequently, μεγαλοπρεπέστατος becomes *megaloprepestatos*, not *vir magnificentissimus*; τρακτευτής becomes *trakteutēs*, not *tractator*, and so forth. If a Greek term is a direct transliteration of a Latin one, however, then the latter is given priority: *praipositos pagou* becomes *praepositus pagi* (although in Chapter One, I will use *praipositos pagou* when referring specifically to the Greek form of this title), *doux* becomes *dux*, etc. An exception to this rule is the dignity of *illoustrios*, for in the period at focus here, it had become something rather different from its original Latin *vir illustris*. I proceed in this regard for the sake of making the given epithets clear, even if this leads to seemingly odd constructions such as *lamprotatos scriniarius*. Honorifics are transliterated when I consider them to be technical and absolute (such as in the case of *patricius*)—that is, when their use did not depend on the speaker’s position. By contrast, pseudo-honorifics that relate to a vague hierarchy but are effectively rather polite formulas habitually used by speakers of lower rank, such as *kyrios* (“lord”) and *despotēs* (“master”), are generally translated. Ultimately, it is probably impossible to find a solution that does justice to all particularities of late antique technical language(s).

Toponyms are usually transliterated in their conventional Greek forms, as in, for instance, Oxyrhynchos. When different conventions exist, I considered readability and distinctiveness: I prefer, for instance, Antinoopolis over Antinoe, but Arsinoe over Arsinoiton Polis. The Upper Egyptian village that we know by the name Aphrodito in the Islamic period was in Byzantine times called Aphrodites Kome (“village of Aphrodite”) or Aphrodite for short (see Fournet 1992). I have decided, however, to stick with this name also for the Islamic period in order to avoid confusion.

Transcriptions of papyrological texts and inscriptions in the footnotes are annotated in accordance with the so-called Leiden conventions:

- [] contain lost text (lacuna).
 - () resolve abbreviated text or symbols (or provide short explanatory comments).
 - { } contain text cancelled by the editor.
 - < > contain letters that have been added or changed by the editor in order to standardize the text.
 - [[]] contain text deleted by an ancient writer.
 - \ / contain supralinear additions from an ancient writer.
- Dots under letters (e.g., α̣β̣) indicate that the reading is uncertain.
 Plain dots (e.g., . . .) indicate the approximate number of illegible or lost letters.

Due to their different functions in this system and in order to avoid ambiguity, I will refrain from changing parentheses () into brackets [] in case abbreviated text is quoted within parentheses, e.g.: (SB XVI 15016.1: π(αρά) τῶν ἐνδοξ(οτάτων) παγάρχ(ων)).

Translations of ancient sources are my own unless otherwise indicated. Within the text of translations, I use the following conventions:

- () contain either relevant ancient terms or additions that are not verbatim in the original text, but reproduce the (presumably) intended meaning.
- [] contain brief explanatory comments that I have added for clarity.
- [...] indicate passages in the original text that I have left out in the quote.
- [---] indicate that the original text is too damaged to be translated.

INTRODUCTION

*“Tis impossible to be sure of any
thing but Death and Taxes.”*

CHRISTOPHER BULLOCK
The Cobbler of Preston

— I —

FISCAL AUTHORITY IN THE IMPERIAL PERIPHERY

IN THE YEAR 539 CE, THE ROMAN EMPEROR Justinian I, or Imperator Caesar Flavius Iustinianus Augustus, issued a proclamation to John the Cappadocian, his close confidant and prefect of the Eastern Prefecture, and thus supreme governor of one quarter of the empire. In this document, which would later enter into the law codes under the name of *Edict 13*, the emperor expressed deep concerns about the state of things in the Egyptian diocese, one of the subunits of the prefecture, and took great care to ensure the implementation of a major restructuring of Egypt’s provincial administration.¹ In the *praefatio*, or introduction, to the edict “concerning the city of Alexandria and the Egyptian provinces,” Justinian leaves no doubt as to why this was necessary. Somewhere between the level of the taxpayers and that of the prefecture taxes were lost, and the accusations against the local administration are loud and clear. The culprits identified are the responsible authorities in the cities (the curials) and in the countryside (the pagarchs), as well as their collecting staff on the ground (the *praktōres*), but also the superior governor of the diocese, the Augustalian prefect in Alexandria:

“To John, *endoxotatos praefectus praetorio per Orientem*: As we deem even the smallest things worthy of our care, much less do we leave matters that are important and uphold our republic without attention, or permit them to be neglected or in disorder, especially since we are served by your excellency, who has at heart our welfare, the increase of the public revenue, and the wellbeing of our subjects. Considering, therefore, that although in the

¹ On *Edict 13* and its date, see most recently Palme 2013a, 103–105 with further references.

past the collection of taxes seemed to be in fair order in other places, it was in such confusion in the Egyptian diocese that it was not even known here what was done there [or: what was done in the countryside?], we wondered that the status of this matter had hitherto been left disarranged; but God has permitted this also to be left (to be put in order) in our times and under your ministry. Although they [i.e., the officials] sent us grain from there, they would not contribute anything else; the taxpayers all unanimously affirmed that everything was collected from them in full, but the pagarchs, the curials, the collectors (*praktōres*) of the taxes, and especially the officiating governors (*archontes*) so managed the matter that no one could know anything about it and so that it was profitable to themselves alone. Since, therefore, we could never correct or properly arrange things if the management were left in disorder, we have decided to curtail the administration of the man at the head of the affairs of Egypt, namely that of the Augustalian prefect. For the mind of one man is hardly sufficient for so many burdens and to manage matters in such a way as to give a good account of himself to us.”²

At that time, Justinian had already ruled the still-dominant world power of his era for more than a decade. Extensive warfare—against the Persians in the east, but also the invasion of northern Africa against the Vandals—had strained imperial finances and continued to do so.³ With additional extraordinary operations on the scale of the invasion of Italy ongoing, and in the wake of multiple other operations of comparable magnitude, Justinian’s reign was a period of extraordinary financial distress, and the story behind *Edict 13* is that of the efficiency of public extraction. It is a truism that fiscal interests are central to states, but premodern ones like the Roman Empire are especially thought to have generated and exercised public authority primarily in order to maintain a constant stream of revenue. In the phrasing of Peter Bang: “This was the business of empire.”⁴

2 *Ed. 13 praef.*; translation adapted from Blume. The passage concerning the officials reads οἱ παγάρχα δὲ καὶ οἱ πολιτεύομενοι καὶ οἱ πράκτορες τῶν δημοσίων καὶ διαφερόντως <οἱ> κατὰ καιρὸν ἄρχοντες, Blume translates ἄρχοντες as referring to the Augustalian prefect but in Chapter 25 the *archontes* appear as subjects to the *dux et Augustalis* and are therefore supposedly rather the *praesides*; similarly in Chapter 1.

3 This is reflected in Procopius’s rendering of John’s warning to his emperor about the expected costs of such an adventure (*Proc. Wars* III 10.7–20). On the historical context of Justinian’s situation at that point, see Bell 2013, 87–88 with further references.

4 Bang 2015, 541. Among others, political scientist James C. Scott (1998, 2) refers to “the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion.” See the description by Roger Bagnall (1989, 204) of the Roman Empire as “a state with a highly concentrated central power and weak ties to local communities. Most villages in Roman Egypt had no permanent resident representatives of central authority, for the village officials were locals serving limited terms. The village secretary was a partial exception, but even he was simply a villager from somewhere else; and Roman military posts were sporadic at best. The state’s interest in the village was largely one of collecting taxes, extracting labor, and preventing disturbance.” Add n. 12 for a comparable description for the Ottoman Empire: “defense, public order, and taxes. Other things which we might regard as duties of government were either left to local authorities or ignored entirely.” On the historiography of the “ambitions” of ancient governments, see also Ando 2017b, 115–118.

The present study is a contribution to the question of how the late Roman Empire upheld this stream of revenue and, to this end, maintained public authority in its periphery. More precisely, it was the countryside that housed by far the majority of imperial subjects.⁵ It was here, at the ground level, where the better part of tax revenues had their origin, and where the Roman state and its representatives came face-to-face with most of their subjects. How and by whom was fiscal authority generated and enforced in these areas? How deep went the “reach of the state,” that is, of the late Roman Empire?⁶ And how did its subjects in the country villages, hamlets, and estates perceive this authority? To find answers, I opt to turn to the evidence for the pagarchs of Byzantine Egypt who supervised tax collection in rural communities. The pagarchs suggest themselves for such a discussion for two chief reasons, both of which will be discussed in the course of this introduction: they operated within the overlap of the realms of the provincial administration, the city, and the rural area, and they are attested in the papyrological evidence, which allows us to reconstruct their affairs across rather diverse strata in significant detail.

This work thus seeks to investigate the functioning of the administrative network of the state from a certain angle, by focusing on one particular institution. It seeks to bring this institution into light by making use of the entirety of the available documentation and to link this evidence to the topics at stake for Byzantine Egypt and late Roman administration in general. It thus seeks to examine and modify current views and to shed light on parts of the picture that have so far been left in the dark, in order to explore the interaction between the state, its elite, and local communities, and how they were bound to each other. To this end, this study does not take the pagarchs as simply a manifestation of socioeconomic developments, nor as simply a (proto)bureaucratic element in a premodern administration; instead it aims at properly locating the pagarchs within the “small politics” of the countryside as well as the “big politics” of the empire.⁷ Alongside the army and the law, it was the fiscal administration that was the most visible manifestation of the empire in the countryside,⁸ and the pagarchy, the institution of the office of the pagarch, played a major role in it.

5 Ando 2017b, 115 estimated the percentage of the population dwelling in the countryside to 85 %, though for the imperial period and covering the empire as a whole. For Egypt, this amount is generally considered lower, but still covering two thirds of the population; see Sarris 2006, 10–11 with references.

6 For the concept, cf. Manning 2003, 129 (who borrows the title from Shue 1988) and Ando 2017a, 1.

7 For the “small politics” of the late antique countryside, cf. Grey 2011; for the “big” politics of the Eastern Empire and especially the relation between ruler and state elite, see now Begass 2018. Both studies include papyri, but Begass is more successful in appropriately confronting the notorious uncertainties of many of our interpretations based on these texts.

8 Of course, perception of this authority was also localized and usually involved the intermediate layer of the cities: “C’est par les impôts et les liturgies fiscales que se manifeste institutionnellement la domination de la campagne par la ville” (Gascou 1996, 343–344 = 2008, 410).

— II —

LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT AND THE PAGARCHS IN PERSPECTIVE

Chronologically, this work covers virtually the entire period of what scholars habitually call *late Roman Egypt*, *late antique Egypt*, or *Byzantine Egypt*, spanning from the accession of the emperor Diocletian in 284 CE to the Islamic conquest, finalized by 642.⁹ There has been some discussion of the use of these terms in their general or stricter meanings, but so far no system has found common acceptance in the field.¹⁰ The earlier part of this time period until the latter half of the fifth century will be central only to the first chapter, whereas the remaining five will focus on the period from about 500 to 642, for it is at that time that the pagarchs were in the position that seems most promising for probing the webs of authority in the late antique countryside. I shall generally use the term *pagarch* in relation to these roughly one and a half centuries of Roman-Egyptian history. Occasionally, however, I will refer to “later” pagarchs in order to distinguish them from the “early” pagarchs of the fourth and fifth centuries, which we shall see bear some significant differences.

Late antique Egypt forms the latter part of the longer period that historians and papyrologists label *Greco-Roman Egypt*, referring to the roughly 1,000 years during which Greeks and Romans ruled the land on the Nile after the armies of Alexander the Great had entered Egypt in 332 BCE. Following Alexander’s death in 323 BCE, the Greco-Macedonian dynasty of the Ptolemies controlled the country for about three hundred years until Octavian, later the emperor Augustus, made Egypt a province of the Roman people in 30 BCE. From that point on, with two intermezzos in the late third and early seventh centuries CE, Egypt was continuously part of the Roman Empire until the Arabs established control over Egypt during the years between 639 and 642. While modern historiography has taken

⁹ Palme 2013a now provides a thorough account of the historiography of Byzantine Egypt. The classic accounts for the country’s administration in terms of imperial fiscal policy are Rouillard 1928 (first edition published in 1923), Johnson & West 1949, and now certainly Bransbourg 2016. For the period from Diocletian through the fourth century, see also Lallemand 1964; a general survey can be found in Heinen 1991. Palme 1989 offers numerous illustrative accounts on the evolution of the taxation system from the High Empire to late antiquity and further to early Islamic Egypt, while Zuckerman 2004a delivered an in-depth study of the fiscal process in a single locality, the village of Aphrodite, but this village is probably not representative; see Section V below. Karayannopoulos 1958 and Jones 1964 remain authoritative works on late Roman (or, early Byzantine) taxation in an imperial context, including papyri, though not focusing on them.

¹⁰ See Palme 2013a, 96, referring notably to Giardina 1989 and Bagnall 2003. Lajos Berkes (2017, 4) argued for a late antiquity covering the entire period from Diocletian to the Abbasids (284 to 750 CE), but if *late antiquity* spans that long a time period, it in my opinion loses much of its descriptive value. I do not see that there is going to be a consensus about this question anytime soon and in order to avoid ambiguity or misunderstandings, I adhere to the synonymous use of all three terms. Herein, the differentiation of *Roman* and *Byzantine* is purely conventional and does not reflect in any way the mentality of the inhabitants of the Eastern Empire, who throughout this period (and far beyond) identified as “Romans,” an issue that has been recently explored in structural detail by Kaldellis 2015.

some distance from notions that Greek, Roman, and Egyptian (and yet other) cultures mingled into a *Mischkultur* during this millennium, the mutual influences these groups exerted over one another are evident—and maybe most obvious in the use of Greek as the main language of written administrative and legal documentation during the entire period of Greco-Roman Egypt.

Politically, in the Ptolemaic period and under the High Empire, Egypt was subdivided into the “nomes,” the 40–50 districts that had furnished its administrative framework since Pharaonic times. But although the country’s area looks extensive from above, most of it consists of infertile deserts. As Herodotus famously noted, Egypt was as the “gift” of the Nile.¹¹ Its arable lands concentrated on a narrow band along the Nile banks and in the wider region of its delta to the north. A notable exception was the Fayum depression, a large oasis about twenty miles west of the Nile, south of Giza, which had been made arable under the Pharaohs. This region was maintained through an ever-more sophisticated canal system and formed the Arsinoite nome, which extended over a larger area than other nomes. People stayed close to the waters of the all-life-giving stream, and the Nile banks figured among the most densely populated areas of the entire ancient Mediterranean. During the fall season, the water level would rise dramatically before retiring again, leaving the plains with fertile silt deposits and thus allowing for massive grain surpluses, which was Egypt’s most valuable asset to the Roman Empire. Extracted as tax from the country, Egyptian grain was destined to feed the large cities, notably Alexandria and Constantinople. *Edict 13* gives the amount of 8,000,000 artabas, some 310,464 m³, that were exported annually.¹² Even the start of the imperial fiscal year in Egypt was moved in order to harmonize with the Nile flood, so that tax collection in the nomes could be organized accordingly.¹³

The advent of Diocletian and the tetrarchic emperors sets the traditional starting date for the Byzantine period of Egyptian history to 284 CE, that is, even before Byzantium was refounded as Constantinople and became the new imperial center, but other considerations have made this periodization a commonly accepted one. These concern not only the increasing foothold that Christianity gained in the country and the first appearances of Coptic, the latest form of the Egyptian language, in written documents; more decisive are administrative considerations. Beginning with Diocletian, the tetrarchs restructured Egypt along with other provinces, integrating it into a new system of prefectures and dioceses that set the frame throughout the empire, along with the according official hierarchy. If Egypt had ever enjoyed any administrative special position, Diocletian and his successors

11 Hdt. II 5.

12 *Ed. 13.8*. On measures and currencies used in this study, see Bagnall 2009c, 186–187.

13 This issue will be explored in context with the pagarchs’ tenures in Chapter Four.

effectively abolished it.¹⁴ The country was divided into more and more provinces, up to four in 400 CE and seven in 539. At the local level, the *nomes* and their administrative centers, the *mētropoleis*, took the last steps toward being—from a legal perspective—converted into proper Roman cities (*civitates*) in the late third and early fourth centuries. Although the term *nomos* was still used as a geographical unit for centuries and will be used in this study, the nome had legally turned into the hinterland (Lat. *territorium*; Gr. *enoria*) of its administrative center, the *civitas* (Gr. *polis*).

This hinterland of the cities was the pagarchs' area of responsibility. In the fourth and fifth centuries, the pagarchs were still small curial officials with authority over only fractions of a nome, but they ascended sometime in the late fifth century, from which point onward there was only one pagarch (or one collegium) per *civitas*, and the officeholders were now veritable aristocrats. The fifth century had in general seen a dramatic shift in the distribution of power in the *civitates*, and it is this more or less established situation, extending from the latter fifth century to the dawn of the Islamic age, that forms the background of this study.¹⁵ During this period, the pagarchs operated on the edge of the realms of the provincial administration, the cities, and the rural area. Residing in the urban centers, they were part of the local political elite and some of them owed their standing to reputable posts in the imperial administration. At the same time, many pagarchs are known to have owned landed estates in areas for which they were responsible via office. They can therefore contribute to important current debates in the field of late antique studies, concerning topics such as the relation of the late antique cities to their rural territories, the power of the imperial center to impose its will in the periphery, the economics of the large estates, the role of the empire's aristocracy, and the factor of bureaucracy in the "mechanics of empire."¹⁶ Since the pagarchs were installed throughout Egypt, they may provide us with insights about what the government actually tried to achieve at the local level.

14 See Palme 2013b for Egypt's administration in late antiquity. Pointed, Johnson & West 1949, 3: "If there is any unity in the period from Diocletian to the Arab conquest, it should be found after the reforms inaugurated by Diocletian when the revolt of Achilleus was suppressed." Still, the question is to what extent Egypt was ever an exceptional case in the Roman Empire—probably it never was any more different than any other province was different from an "imperial ideal type"; see Bagnall 1995, 11–12 and 66–68.

15 Cf. Bagnall 2003, 47, suggesting the distinctiveness of the period from around the mid-fifth century to the Islamic conquest, which is marked by the dominance of the "great houses," the *oikoi*: "The councils lose out to the imperial administration and the church as the privileged locus of elite competition." Cf. also Oertel 1917, 404: "der eigentlichen (vom 5. Jahrh. an gerechneten) byzantinischen Epoche."

16 Cf. Claytor 2014.

— III —

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE PAGARCHY

For all these reasons it comes as a surprise that an institution so central to the Byzantine tax regime as the pagarchy has been repeatedly set aside in recent debates about the politics, economy, and society of late antique Egypt. The first scholar to contribute significantly to the research on the pagarchy was Matthias Gelzer in 1909, who opined that the pagarch's area of responsibility comprised only the countryside of the city excluding the so-called autopract villages, which handled fiscal matters largely on their own.¹⁷ Gelzer saw the central administrative authority in the urban center still in the hands of the curial body. According to him, the creation of the pagarchy was an exemplary reaction to what he took as the wretched state of Byzantine administration, which had provoked the decline of the curial class over the course the fifth century. In 1928, Germaine Rouillard argued that the area of responsibility of the pagarch was in general equivalent to the old nome,¹⁸ but considered the pagarch the central authority in the *civitas* and its *territorium* who was responsible for collecting taxes in non-autopract regions but occasionally intervened in autopract villages as well. Considering the important role that Justinian's *Edict 13* attributed to the pagarchs, Rouillard assumed the office to be a sort of imperial attempt to integrate local elites into a new and rather centralistic administration precisely to counter local administrative separatist tendencies. Wolfgang Liebeschuetz in 1974 took up Rouillard's view that the pagarchs were the central authorities in the *civitates*; one year earlier, Liebeschuetz had already suggested that the pagarch was the direct heir of the *exactor civitatis* and that the pagarchy had been created by Anastasius I (r. 491–518 CE).¹⁹ Like Gelzer, Liebeschuetz took the creation of the pagarchy as symptomatic of the administrative chaos in Byzantine Egypt, and argued that centralizing tax collection in this way was meant to make up for the constantly decreasing agency of the city councils.

A radical new interpretation of the pagarchy had already been advanced by Jean Gascou in 1972, immediately before Liebeschuetz's articles.²⁰ Gascou saw the Byzantine pagarchy as a *munus patrimonii*, an obligation that large landowners had to bear in order to finance certain public services. Largely following Gascou's lead, Roberta Mazza in 1995 conducted an ambitious study on the Byzantine pagarchs, in which she achieved a highly commendable collection of the evidence and discussed the scholarly opinions brought forth

17 Gelzer 1909, esp. 90–99.

18 Rouillard 1928.

19 Liebeschuetz 1974 and 1973.

20 The original study was substantially revised—one is tempted to say “moderated”—and even renamed in Gascou 2008.

so far.²¹ Scholarly perception has since rested largely on the grounds of these works; with slight variations, one follows either Liebeschuetz or Gascou.

Recent contributions to Byzantine Egypt are divided in their interpretation of the pagarchy: while some follow a rather pessimistic narrative, others take the pagarchy as, in essence, an effective means of public control.²² The pessimistic narrative appears to have gained wider ground, however, in historical circles outside papyrology, in terms of both small politics and big politics. The “small” perspective found the pagarchs to be violently confronting taxpayers to the detriment of public resources, while the “big” perspective saw a thriving insubordinate elite in the Byzantine periphery. Indeed an essential feature of late antiquity has long been the paradoxical notion of an allegedly suppressive state (*Zwangsstaat*) that, however, slowly lost control over its branches and local hierarchies by allowing certain aristocratic families to take over important government posts and to establish local quasi-regimes, setting the scene for medieval feudalism.²³ By contrast, in the course of the last fifty years scholars have argued that these mounting aristocratic responsibilities are instead indicative of a strong state incorporating local private resources for its purpose. A seminal study from 1985 by Jean Gascou continued a path blazed a decade earlier by Roger Rémondon and developed the conception that the so-called large estates of Byzantine Egypt were deeply integrated into public structures and in fact supported, rather than undermined, the public administrative system; this conception is often referred to as the model of fiscal participation, or the Gascou model.²⁴ Yet, in the last two decades the image of disintegrating state structures has again gained some ground in some works, notably by Jairus Banaji and Peter Sarris, that due to their scope and ambition have become major points of reference for historians.²⁵

21 Mazza 1995. A short overview, leaning toward Gascou, is also given by Verbeeck 1991.

22 Cf., e.g., Banaji 2007 (first edition 2001) and Sarris 2006 (pessimistic) to Mazza 1995 and Palme 2013b (optimistic). Notably, each of these four scholars has a different idea of what the pagarchy was. At times, one gains the impression that scholars try to avoid being drawn into this territory. During the writing of the present study alone, three major contributions have been published that aim at a refined understanding of parts of the fiscal process or fiscal authority in the countryside of late antique Egypt, yet all of them refrain from discussing or even mentioning the pagarchy: Bransbourg 2016 mentions the pagarchy only once (p. 323) with no explanation whatsoever. McConnell 2017, although referring to Liebeschuetz 1974 in the bibliography, does not mention the pagarchy at all (nor does Liebeschuetz’s article actually figure anywhere in the final text). Ruffini 2018, although pagarchs occur all over in his narration, restricts himself to two short explanations for the reader: at p. 11 for the pagarchy (“the larger fiscal jurisdiction of a pagarch, an official subordinate to the local governor”) and at p. 20 for the pagarch (“an official in charge of regional tax collection”).

23 For the history of scholarship on this issue, see Keenan 1993 and Palme 2013a.

24 Rémondon 1974a; Gascou 1985. The model has since found strong support from Hickey 2008a and Hickey 2012, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter One.

25 Banaji 2007 (first edition 2001) and Sarris 2006. Although Zuckerman 2004a does not focus on aristocrats and their networks, his findings may be read as essentially supportive of the notion of an oppressive aristocracy; see Palme 2007b.

Despite this back-and-forth, the pagarchy mostly retained its disintegrative aspect, but reality was of course more complex. At the beginning of this Introduction, we have seen that Justinian in *Edict 13* accused the pagarchs of obscuring the flow of taxes, which would seem very much to fit into this narrative. Yet the pagarchs still figure in Egypt nearly two centuries later, when we find the exact same narrative put to work by modern scholars, for instance in the case of the pagarch Basileios and his discord with the Arab governor, nearly a century after the Islamic conquest.²⁶ Such a narrative of continuous institutional failure seems suspicious: it would be most peculiar that an institution so devastating should have prevailed for at least two hundred years, and even after the transition to the reign of the Caliphs, despite the numerous administrative changes that were implemented throughout this period. There is certainly more to the story here.

— IV —

THE STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY

The short review of the relevant historiography raises questions about how fiscal authority was constructed and deployed in the countryside of Byzantine Egypt. There have been recent comprehensive studies on key aspects of the late antique countryside—village administration, the large estates and their economy, the curial administrators, the agency of local communities²⁷—but the pagarchs have yet to find systematic coverage in their administrative and sociohistorical context, which is what this study sets out to do.²⁸ It comprises six chapters, each building upon the others.

(i) The creation of the pagarchy: Most contributions employ, understandably, a rather static sort of ideal type of the pagarchy that ignores or deliberately leaves aside its evolution over the course of the centuries. But the pagarchs of the fourth century were a different power than the pagarchs of the sixth, and the pagarchs of the late seventh century, in the early Islamic age, were yet again something else. The pagarchy of the fourth century has often been identified with the office of the *praepositus pagi*, an official responsible for tax collection in a *pagus*, a subdivision of the nome territory at that time. The term *praepositus pagi* disappears in the latter half of the fourth century, and the last securely attested *pagus* dates to the beginning of the fifth; the question is therefore when and under what circumstances the pagarchs rose to the city level, and whether any distinctive stages in this

²⁶ Most-recently, the argument is employed in Papaconstantinou 2015. Basileios is generally seen as a pagarch of Aphrodite, with his title *dioikētēs* being synonymous to that of pagarch. Isabelle Marthot (2013, 187–196) has challenged this notion and pointed to significant inconsistencies in this argument.

²⁷ Berkes 2017a (village administration), Hickey 2012 (large estates), Laniado 2002 (curial personnel), and Grey 2011 (local communities) are the most recent studies on these subjects.

²⁸ Cf. Berkes 2017a, 212, who points to our insufficient understanding of the space between village administration and the management of the large estates, but also that between village and pagarchy.

development can be established. Chapter One will recontextualize the creation and evolution of the pagarchy from the fourth to the early sixth centuries in order to understand where this institution, so central to the administration of late antique Egypt, comes from.

(2) The mechanics of tax collection under the pagarchs: Some of the pagarchs' subordinates are known, among them accountants, collectors, as well as executive staff. But how taxes were collected in practice, from the taxpayer to the pagarch to the province, has never been outlined in detail. Chapter Two will analyze the large corpus of tax receipts issued by or in the name of the pagarchs, which have never been systematically evaluated in this regard, and their writers.²⁹ These documents provide us with information about central actors and their activities before, during, and in the wake of the tax collection process. Other sources complement the findings, leading to a more differentiated picture of the fiscal landscape in the nomes, the pagarchs' relation to higher, parallel, or subordinate actors, and how the pagarchs' administrative network pervaded the rural hinterland of the cities.

(3) The relation of the pagarchs' authority to the model of fiscal participation: What often obscures debates about the pagarchy is its elusive relationship to the Gascou model, one implication of which being that some large landowners were also responsible for the collection of taxes in the countryside for land other than their own. Most scholars either implicitly take the pagarchy as being identical to this institution, or they paint the pagarch as an office proper without addressing Gascou's arguments in this context. Chapter Three will engage with this question through a close examination of the texts in which the obscure expression *kōmē pagarchoumenē* occurs, relating to "pagarched" villages. The results will help to separate different lines of authority in the countryside of late antique Egypt and to establish a clearer vision of the distribution of power between various actors in the cities and the province.

(4) The institutional character of the pagarchy: Scholars are equally either divided or vague about the nature of the pagarchs' authority. Was it an office proper to which the elite would apply voluntarily as, most prominently, Liebeschuetz thought? Or was it rather an obligation (*munus*) toward the state, as Gascou suggested? And if so, was it organized as a personal duty (*munus personale*), as an obligation of financing its duties (*munus patrimonii*), or did it bear elements of both (*munus mixtum*)? Chapter Four will investigate the formalities of the pagarchy: mode of appointment, length of tenure, substitution and representation, and the practical implications of a collegial pagarchy. Also, the potential cases of female pagarchs, albeit rare, will be of importance here.

²⁹ Against a widespread scholarly practice to term "scribe" everyone who wrote anything on papyrus, I shall throughout this study deliberately use the term "writer" in regard to these men, since not everyone who writes is a scribe.

(5) The politics of pagarchy: Although all pagarchs can be identified as aristocratic elites, they show a wide range of backgrounds; some were low-ranking career bureaucrats, others bore titles exclusively granted by the emperor. Chapter Five will analyze these different career patterns that the pagarchs followed, as far as we can track them. What sorts of men and women were behind the pagarchy? What careers did they follow before, during, and after their tenures? Did they profit from their control of and connections to rural communities in regard to their social standing in the cultural and political centers? What was their relationship to the imperial level? And what was their relationship to their aristocratic peers in the nome and in the province? The chapter will pursue these questions with particular attention to the composition of the local elite in different parts of Egypt, establishing an integrative political model of the pagarchy that, however, pays respect to these differences.

(6) The pagarchs and social conflict: The only place where pagarchs were involved in a series of events that can be reconstructed in a narrative fashion is the village of Aphrodite in Upper Egypt in the years around 550 CE and in the late 560s. These two episodes have profoundly influenced modern perceptions of the pagarchs and are largely responsible for their notorious image throughout much of modern historiography, as two pagarchs allegedly transgressed their authority by extracting taxes from the fiscally independent (“autopract”) village of Aphrodite, leaving a trail of destruction in their path. Chapter Six will review these events to test much of what is subject to a structural analysis in the preceding chapters, but also to examine the pagarchs’ relationship to this village and how both villagers and imperial authorities reacted to these alleged transgressions of authority.

An appendix includes pre-analyses that contain too much papyrological detail to be included in the main chapters, but are nonetheless indispensable for its arguments. A catalog discusses the prosopography of all known pagarchs from the Byzantine period, especially potential identifications with namesakes, and therefore forms the groundwork for the main chapters and their protagonists.

— v —

SOURCES

Egypt, in my and many others’ opinion, takes a key role in historical research about the Greco-Roman world because it provides us with an exceptional wealth of sources that enables us to pursue many historical subjects in remarkable detail compared to the rest of the Greek Mediterranean or the Roman Empire. This wealth is above all generated by the hundreds of thousands of papyri the country has yielded, most of which are yet unpublished and stored in collections all around the world. Papyrological texts also yield most of the sources for the pagarchs, with notable additions, scant though they are, from literary, legal,

or epigraphic sources. The paper of the ancient world, papyrus was used throughout the Mediterranean for all kinds of records, which means that large numbers of papyrus documents were produced each day in the entire Roman Empire.³⁰ Owing to their organic fabric the overwhelming majority of them are lost, however, and Egypt with its favorably dry climate is the only region that has preserved papyrological evidence in significant numbers.³¹

Papyri provide historians with a window into parts of the ancient world that seem far away from great wars, court intrigues, or abstract religious discourse.³² They may contain literary texts, but most people would use them for more transient, what papyrologists call *documentary*, purposes, generating a wide range of documents such as tax receipts, business accounts, family letters, leases of land, fiscal registers, and court proceedings—and indeed in all these different types of documents (and more) we find pagarchs, which presents us the opportunity to see them acting across various societal and administrative strata, as close as one can hope to get in case of the ancient world.³³ Naturally, our sources are but a fragmentary insight into what was once produced, and a large part of what constituted people's lives was not written down at all. Still, there can be little doubt that fiscal issues were not only vital to the empire but also influenced the way individuals perceived their world. If there was anything like a state apparatus in the Roman Empire, then it is in Egypt where we can expect to witness its operation not only in an elite environment but also on lower strata of society.³⁴

The most obvious criterion for identifying relevant specimens among the tens of thousands of papyri from late antique Egypt is the occurrence of the title of pagarch or lexically related words, all of which will be discussed at the end of this Introduction. This exercise results in a little over one hundred texts that in all likelihood relate to the Byzantine period.³⁵ Depending on the type of document or the social position of an individual, however, the title of pagarch is sometimes not expected to be given even though this person was indeed a pagarch at that moment, which leads to prosopography as the second criterion. Consequently, I have collected evidence about all individuals who at some moment served

30 This statement is also valid for related writing materials that are included in the concept of *papyrological evidence*, such as ostraca (potsherds) or wooden tablets.

31 It has been noted, however, that climate cannot be the whole answer, for other areas in North Africa and the Near East would have profited from similar climatic conditions, yet have yielded few or no papyri at all. On this issue, see Bagnall 1995, 10–16 and Gasco 2009.

32 But see Palme 2015 for how the papyri also contribute to each of these subjects on a more global scale, here for the case of the late Roman/early Byzantine Empire.

33 When I speak of *papyri* here and throughout this work, I refer to documentary papyrological material. Only one published ostrakon (*O.Dor.* 5) relates to a Byzantine pagarch.

34 See Palme 2015, 226–228, for the late Roman/early Byzantine Empire.

35 The exact criteria for including or excluding only approximately dated documents are presented in the Appendix.

as pagarch, resulting in about another hundred more or less certain identifications.³⁶ Obviously, these about two hundred texts are not the only papyri relevant to this study, but many other texts provide necessary comparative evidence or illuminate the wider context of the pagarchs' areas of activity. In contrast to the literary sources, the number of published papyrus documents has vastly grown since the early days of papyrology over a century ago, and new documents continue to emerge. Every new historical study based on the papyri can therefore draw on a much wider foundation than preceding ones. But the sources do not only become more numerous over time; it is equally important that scholarly effort increasingly refines our understanding of those texts that have already been available—through new readings, new dating, or new conceptions about the ways these documents were used. Such refinements alter the grounds of discussion significantly, as will become evident in the following chapters.

Rich and diverse as they are, papyrological sources have their own serious limitations. One of these is that the evidence is not distributed evenly over time and space but forms what I call *clusters of evidence*: different nuclei of texts around a certain time, in a certain space, and focusing on a particular type of content, thus creating multiple “microcosms” of Byzantine Egypt. Some scholars refer in this context to the “accident of preservation” when they mean to caution that the documents that have come down to us are but a random snapshot of the world we aim to comprehend. This is, of course, a simplification of a more complex issue. While it is true that we have only a tiny percentage of what was once written in Greco-Roman Egypt, there are patterns to observe³⁷ and knowledge about these patterns can sharpen our sensitivity for which questions we can expect our material to answer, and which not.

As for local distribution, there are virtually no finds from the Nile Delta, a region that includes most importantly the city of Alexandria. Founded by Alexander the Great, this city had been Egypt's capital for as long as it was a single province until Diocletian's reforms, but even afterward was still a city unlike any other in Egypt. We know, of course, how the outside world looked at Alexandria, be it from papyri or from literary sources, but these are mostly notes of the exceptional, and we therefore have little idea of what was going on day to day in the offices of Egypt's political and cultural center. The papyrological evidence also shows a distinctive distribution pattern for the rest of the country. Whereas many of the finds from Roman Egypt through the fourth century stem from villages, most of what has come down to us from the fifth and sixth centuries is from the cities, notably (from north to

36 These identifications will be discussed in the prosopographical notes in the Appendix. Uncertain or doubtful instances will still be noted as such in the main chapters wherever they occur.

37 Berkes 2016, 391, referring further to Bagnall 2011, 27–53.

south) Arsinoe,³⁸ Herakleopolis, Oxyrhynchos, Hermopolis, and Antinoopolis.³⁹ When we turn to the general number of papyri from the fourth century up until the Islamic conquest in 642 CE, we notice a significant gap in the fifth century, which has thus far escaped a commonly accepted explanation but may in essence be due to the lack of large archives from this century.⁴⁰ *Archive* is the papyrological term for a number of texts that share a common background or content, often by relating to the same individuals. Such archives allow for additional, contextual insights that isolated and often fragmentary papyri generally fail to provide. Some scholars distinguish between groups of texts that were stored together even in antiquity (archives in the strict sense) and groups of texts that stem from different sources but still share the same content (dossiers).⁴¹ Because these attributions are often debated and not used consistently in scholarly literature, however, I will throughout this study stick to the use of the term *archive* in the general sense.⁴²

With some exceptions, the distribution of evidence for the pagarchy by and large follows the general pattern of distribution for the late antique papyri. In the fourth and fifth centuries, papyri about the pagarchs (who at that time can be identified with the well-documented *praepositi pagorum*, whom will be discussed in Chapter One) stem virtually exclusively from Oxyrhynchos. After the generally poorly documented fifth century, the papyri again become more numerous, due, as suggested before, to the emergence of two of the largest papyrus archives of Greco-Roman Egypt: the Apiones archive and the Dioskoros archive. These archives dominate the Egyptian evidence for the sixth and early seventh centuries, and both are also important for the pagarchy.

The Apiones were a magnate family or “house,” supposedly from Herakleopolis in Middle Egypt, who rose to the highest imperial honors during the late fifth and early sixth centuries. This family has left us an archive that spans from the mid-fifth century to the early seventh and features hundreds of Greek papyri dealing with the operation of the family’s “large estate” in Oxyrhynchos in Middle Egypt: business letters, estate accounts, receipts of

38 Throughout this work, I shall for the sake of brevity speak of a “pagarch of Arsinoe” or a “pagarch of the Fayum,” whereas the proper title would in fact be “pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis,” as explained in Stern forthcoming (e).

39 Bagnall 1995, 28; Palme 2013a, 98. The notable exception is the large amount of papyri from the “village” of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome, but again, this settlement should not be considered a typical village.

40 Palme 2013a, 98, referring to Rémondon 1966 and Bagnall & Worp 1980; see also Habermann 1998.

41 In this sense, a dossier may contain one or multiple archives, and likewise, an archive may contain multiple dossiers, depending on how fine one draws the line between each of them. On this issue, see Martin 1994, Jördens 2001, and Vandorpe 2009.

42 I will occasionally use *dossier* in order to vaguely refer to groups of texts, depending on context, such as the dossier of the pagarchs Ioannes & Serenos, all papyri of which are part of the Dioskoros archive. For a critical general remark of the semantics involved the use of *archive* and *dossier* in too strict a sense, see Bagnall 1995, 123 n. 13.

delivery, and much else.⁴³ The Apion estate has often served as the model case for late antique Egypt as a country dominated by incredibly wealthy landowning magnates, but doubts were raised early on whether this exceptionally well-documented estate is in fact representative for Egypt, let alone for the Eastern Empire. Even though the Oxyrhynchite Apiones are not attested as pagarchs, Chapter Three will draw extensively on their documentation in order to bring the pagarchy into relation to other responsibilities that large landowners were vested with in the late antique countryside.

The Dioskoros archive, on the other hand, contains evidence of the private and public dealings of the poet and notary Dioskoros and his family.⁴⁴ Written in Greek and Coptic, these texts focus on Dioskoros's hometown, the "village of Aphrodite" in Upper Egypt, but also on the city of Antinoopolis, the provincial capital where Dioskoros was for some years active as a notary. He may have been born around 520 CE, but the earliest document in his archive dates back to 506 since he kept many documents still of value, or reused those that no longer served a purpose. We lose track of Dioskoros in the course of the 570s, but his wife Sophia apparently continued to fill the family archive until at least 585. The texts of the archive do not, however, deal only with Dioskoros's family, friends, or business partners, but since he worked as a notary and thus put other people's affairs into writing, the range of individual activities documented by his papers is probably larger than what we would be able to find in an archive of someone who focused, say, on their landholdings. Along with his father and other relatives, Dioskoros was also involved in the administration of his hometown as village headman (*prōtokōmētēs*), which is why the archive also contains many documents of official nature and reveals how Aphroditans encountered higher authorities from the *civitas* or the province. Chapter Two, which reconstructs the mechanics of the pagarchy in the countryside, draws largely on evidence from this archive; Chapter Six, which discusses the pagarchs' policies toward the village of Aphrodite, almost exclusively so.

Apart from these two archives, a large body of sources is also formed by what I will call *the papyri of the Fayum elite* or similar. These documents deal mainly with the business of

⁴³ *TM Archives* ID 15. See now the highly readable discussion of the archive and its reconstruction in Azzarello 2015 with the relevant literature on p. 353 n. 1; add Ruffini 2008a, 94–146 and, although controversial, Sarris 2006, *passim*. Even more recent additions include Bransbourg 2016, 346–399, McConnell 2017, and Begass 2018, 317–351. New insights will be furnished by the various contributions to Azzarello forthcoming.

⁴⁴ *TM Archives* ID 72. The authoritative works are the articles assembled in Fournet 2008a and now Ruffini 2018, although in the latter references are regrettably few. See also Fournet 1999, esp. 317–336, and MacCoull 1988. The nature of the archive is discussed in Fournet 2008b and Ruffini 2018, 5–10; see also my remarks in Stern forthcoming (d) on the "Sophia archive." Important forthcoming contributions include the reedition of the petitions by Jean-Luc Fournet, the reedition of the Greek letters by Yasmine Amory, and the edition and reedition of the Coptic letters by Lorelei Vanderheyden. On the related archives of Phoibammon and Kollouthos, see Marthot 2013, 7 and Fournet 2008b, 18 and n. 3; one may speak of "the Aphrodite papyri of the sixth century," of which the Phoibammon archive, the Kollouthos archive, and the Dioskoros archive in the strict sense (or, "Sophia archive"; see Fournet 2008b, 29) would form interrelated parts.

various aristocrats (and their associates) in the Arsinoite nome from the late fifth century to the end of the seventh, and a considerable number of them were pagarchs.⁴⁵ But these texts only rarely reveal the pagarchs' official agenda. For the most part, they are concerned with the business of estate owners who only *happened* to be pagarchs, although there are some exceptions. Still, this material has much to tell us about the prosopography and the chronology of the pagarchs in the Arsinoite nome, particularly so for a time period when there is no evidence for the pagarchy from other nomes: in the early seventh century, including the periods of the Persian occupation of Egypt (619–629) and the reestablished Byzantine rule (629–639).

As a look in the prosopography of the Appendix reveals, evidence for the pagarchs from other nomes is sparse in the Byzantine period. Less than a handful of relevant documents are known from Hermopolis, and only one uncertain instance may relate to Herakleopolis, which is striking since both are among the most prominent places of provenance for late antique papyri in general. I have no explanation as to what drives this discrepancy, apart from the retreat to the aforementioned “accident” of preservation that has left us the documents that we have; it is perfectly possible that future finds may change this imbalance considerably.

Virtually all of the documents referred to above were written in Greek, which had been the dominant language for public purposes in Egypt since the Ptolemies. Two papyri contain court proceedings and are therefore bilingual with certain parts written in Greek and others in Latin, which in Egypt was usually the language of higher levels in the legal and military realms. Coptic, the latest form of the Egyptian language, was used, albeit rarely, in private letters from the fourth century CE onward, but does not appear in administrative or legal documents until the sixth. It was only after the Islamic conquest that Coptic began to slowly replace Greek, as increasing numbers of contracts, administrative letters, and tax receipts were written in the Egyptian idiom.⁴⁶ For this reason one does not expect large numbers of Coptic papyri to deal with Byzantine pagarchs, and indeed only three published specimens mention them.⁴⁷ Since the Coptic material is still largely unpublished, this may change in the near future.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Most of these papyri, if not all, had been part of the First Fayumic Find (*Erster Fayumer Fund*) in the 1870s, the pieces of which have been dispersed to collections around the world; the circumstances of their excavations and the paths these papyri took are now described in detail in Kovarik 2014, vi–xx of the introduction.

⁴⁶ Fournet 2009, 430–441; Clackson 2010; Van der Vliet 2013.

⁴⁷ *P.Sarga* 107 (the text is a private letter with no date and may be assigned to the sixth century on paleographical grounds; see Förster 2002, 600, s.v. πάγρχος); MacCoull 1993, nos. 6 and 11. MacCoull's no. 6 is apparently lost, whereas no. 11 has been reedited in Vanderheyden 2015 as no. 15, where also two new texts (nos. 11 and 13) relate to pagarchs.

⁴⁸ Still, there will supposedly not be scores of new texts mentioning pagarchs, given the preference of Greek for administrative purposes in the Byzantine period. It seems unlikely that there was a genuine

Non-papyrological sources on the pagarchy are rare.⁴⁹ In the fourth and early fifth centuries, pagarchs figure in one passage from the *Codex Theodosianus*, in a municipal inscription from Asia Minor, and in two literary passages: one by Isidore of Pelusium, from Egypt, the other in the letters of Basil of Caesarea, also from Asia Minor.⁵⁰ From the period after the pagarchs' rise to the city level there are *Edict 13*, quoted at the beginning of this Introduction, and two Coptic literary texts: a *History of the Church* and the *Life of Aaron*.⁵¹ The former relates to pagarchs during the reign of the emperor Marcian (450–457), the latter to a pagarch in the late fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. Both may, however, reflect the conception of the pagarchy at the time they were written, rather than at the time they narrate, which will be discussed in context in the relevant chapters.

— VI —

METHODOLOGIES

Whoever has used papyrological evidence will sooner rather than later acknowledge that efforts to work simply from the printed texts prove unsatisfactory at least, and that the papyri themselves—their material component, their formalities, and their appearance—will reveal new insights along with a host of new questions. I have therefore always worked from the photos accessible to me through online databases or the generous help of colleagues, and thus attempted to reexamine each text in as great detail as possible, though certainly not without flaws. The benefits of this approach will hopefully become visible throughout this study, and although many detailed papyrological discussions aimed at experts have been restricted to the footnotes or the Appendix, they contributed to various arguments made in the main text or even became an essential new part of the story, such as the refined understanding of the composition of the Antaiopolite receipt codices, as captured in Stern forthcoming (c), the results of which reoccur throughout the main chapters. This form of including and presenting papyrological detail is intended to encourage historians to engage more closely with the primary evidence and its non-textual aspects, which are equally valuable to the historian and have never been more accessible

Coptic term for the pagarch that escapes us, because Coptic texts generally render administrative titles in Greek throughout the Byzantine period.

49 Liebeschuetz 1974, 165 and 168 has pointed to some “prefects” of cities in the work of John of Nikiou who may (also?) have been pagarchs, but this is problematic. John writes much later, his sources are unclear, and the text is only available in an early modern Ethiopian translation of an equally early modern Arabic translation of the probably Greek, maybe Coptic, original. Liebeschuetz (2001, 270) has later been more modest on this point.

50 *C.Th.* VIII 15.1; *CIG* 3989; *Isid.Pel. epist.* 51; *Basil. epist.* III 2; all discussed in Chapter One.

51 On the *History of the Church* and the passage relating to pagarchs, see Johnson 1976 and López 2013, 145 n. 20. On the *Life of Aaron* and the passage relating to pagarchs, see Stern forthcoming (a) with further references.

than today. Drawing a clear line between history and papyrology has more than ever become an anachronism.

But even though the papyri bring us closer to the lower strata of society, and to what empire looked like on the ground, than everything else we have for the ancient world, we must bear in mind that they are not representative depictions of the views or the dealings of *the* Roman-Egyptian society. I said before that the vast majority of written documentation is lost, and the remainder is filtered through intention and custom. As to intention, the term *documentary* does not in itself imply objectivity. Recent scholarship has done a great deal of work in inquiring into the narrative content of documentary sources, and one question is to what degree certain types of document, such as petitions, may be also be deemed literary documents.⁵² Another factor concerns “the interplay of ability and need to read and write.”⁵³ Most papyri were written by professionals trained in handwriting, in the legal or customary formulas, and in the use of “proper” language. What we see in written documents was therefore supposedly far from the content and the register most people would employ in their daily life.⁵⁴ Documentary papyri were not created to tell modern scholars about their time, but served certain needs,⁵⁵ and it is therefore of paramount importance to put each document in relation to others that address the same issues, but also into relation to other specimens of this type of document.

This study takes a pronounced administrative viewpoint and assumes that public agenda played a large role in people’s individual lives, an assumption that to a certain degree is biased due to the available documents. Next to economic needs, state business forms a large part of our evidence, and may thus seem to have been one of people’s primary concern.⁵⁶ This, however, was presumably not the case. In his recent monograph on the Byzantine village of Aphrodite, one scholar has argued that “[a]t this level there is no state”

52 See Davis 1987 for an insightful study of early modern letters of remission, a type of document that in many regards proves comparable to the late antique petitions, e.g., in terms of the “documentary literacy” employed to gain a higher authority’s grace. Cf. Brown 1991, 154 on the factor of storytelling. For a narratological interpretation of the petitions from the Dioskoros archive, see Kovelman 1991. For the “literacy” of late antique documentary sources, see also Fournet 2004.

53 Bagnall 1995, 25.

54 In the course of the present study, this is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831, a letter between two village headmen (*meizones*). The orthography and grammar in this text are so out of place that it is hard even to grasp the author’s main arguments; one sentence, which will be discussed in Chapter One, has been standardized and interpreted in five different ways! Although the author was certainly in a position to have someone “more literate” write the letter, he did not bother to do so, apparently because he could expect that his addressee, the headman of a neighboring village, was able to follow without difficulties this very text that modern scholars have so desperately tried so comprehend.

55 Bagnall 1995, 13: “Rather, the prime motivator for use was *need* [original emphasis] for written documentation.”

56 In the words of Roger Bagnall (1995, 15): “This is the sense in which the social character of writing and its dependence on power act as another filter between our gaze and ancient society.”

and that “the state appears only at exceptional moments.”⁵⁷ But this goes too far in the other direction, as I hope to underline in the course of this work. There was certainly no external factor, apart from nature,⁵⁸ that defined the possibilities and agency of individuals as much as the needs of government did. *State* should not, however, be understood here in its modern incarnation, the nation state, let alone the capitalist nation state, but as an aggregate of institutionalized practices that are territorially centralized and backed by a monopoly for the use of coercive force.⁵⁹ *State power*, then, is the capacity that this entity has to impose its will on others.⁶⁰ The state conceived of in this manner is only one of several overlapping networks that shape power relations between groups and individuals, and the separate analysis and focus on the infrastructural organization of each particular power network helps unravel how this power is generated. In this, I lean on the sociology of Michael Mann, for whom the *autonomous power of the state* is made of two kinds of power: *despotic power* on the one hand, and *infrastructural power* on the other, both of which are not inversely related to each other, but are complementary.⁶¹ Despotic power in this conception describes “the range of actions that the state elite is empowered to make without consultation of civil society groups,” whereas infrastructural power denotes “the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society and implement its actions across territories.”⁶²

The questions raised in Section IV above evaluate the pagarchs’ contribution to the late Roman Empire’s infrastructural power. I do not, however, draw on this concept as a coherent explanation, but rather aim to deploy it as an analytical tool, or heuristic, if you will. I understand infrastructural power, then, essentially as a network. This network is formed by a set of institutions, rules, and means that are destined to enable the central government to implement its will at the regional and local levels. In the context of this study, this means specifically to extract resources from the taxpayers efficiently and with as little

57 Ruffini 2018, 213. Cf. also Ando 2017a, 5, referring to Millar 1981, an influential and vivid pessimistic voice on the presence—or, rather, visibility—of the state in the world of Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses*.

58 Which in the coming decades will certainly be the next most promising area in which to develop research on the ancient world.

59 This is in essence still the Weberian model. For recent substantial discussions of the value of the concept of “state” in classical antiquity, see Scheidel 2013 for an optimistic, and Winterling 2014 for a pessimistic stance. Cf. also the positions gathered in Von Reden 2015, 128–129.

60 On ancient state power in particular, see now the thorough theoretical and historiographic survey in Ando 2017a.

61 See Mann 1986b (and the nuances added by Mann 2008), which builds on Mann’s IEMP-model. This model was extensively articulated in Mann 1986a, the first volume of a monumental study on *The Sources of Social Power*, of which three further volumes have since followed. Mann rejects the notion of one “unitary totality” of “society” and argues that social power is generated through ideological, economic, military, and political (IEMP) networks, which are separate, but interrelated. Mann’s political power is by definition the result of territorially centralized state activity. For a comprehensive discussion of Mann’s social theory, cf. the various contributions to Hall & Schroeder 2006.

62 Mann 2008, 355; cf. Mann 1986b, 113–116. There is no space here to engage with the anachronistic nature of the concept of civil society for the ancient world (cf. Ando 2017a, 9); for my purpose it will be sufficient to equate civil society with the imperial subjects, however vague that notion may be.

disturbance as possible. I postulate that the institutions, rules, or means of this “network” of the state can be legally fixed or grown through custom, but more importantly, they can be *public/official* or *private* in character, as long as the result is the more or less unobstructed flow of taxes to the top.⁶³ In this way, we can grasp the different sources of power constituting empire in the countryside, and differentiate between various actors and institutions that were part of the same administrative and political networks as the pagarchs.

The degree to which the administration of late antique Egypt featured *bureaucratic* elements will not be of primary interest in my discussion.⁶⁴ Although the late Roman Empire experienced rising numbers of holders of imperial offices, it was, by modern means, still under-administered.⁶⁵ We should not conceive of the late Roman or any premodern administration as a carefully laid-out structure in which each and every official had his own clearly marked area of responsibility. Instead, administrative powers and competences were much more situational, which leads to the problem of going from particular to general, and how to avoid the tendency to “totalize” when the evidence may be insufficient.⁶⁶ We have no normative descriptions of the pagarchs’ competences or areas of responsibility,⁶⁷ and we can therefore at most reconstruct what the pagarchs, at a given place, in a certain moment, were expected to do—or which of their actions were at least tolerated.⁶⁸ One major challenge of this study is indeed to make sense of a tangle of a relatively small number of texts, most of which do not relate to the same event or procedure, and I am well aware that, more than once, the interpretation of a single (crucial) text weighs heavy.⁶⁹ One scholar once concluded about the office of the Ptolemaic *epimelētēs*:

63 This approach acknowledges that *official*, *public*, and *private* are not conceptions of the ancient world, but modern implements for making better sense of it. This approach also circumvents the problem of having to characterize the use of private resources for official purposes as “semi-public” or similar, a problem that manifests most immediately in the role of the large estates described in Chapter Three. For a discussion of “public” and “private” spheres of activity in late antique Egypt and their contemporary perception, see Tost 2012; cf., for the Roman world, the survey in Cooper 2007, 17–24.

64 See recently Eich 2015, esp. at 90–95 and 117–118 on prospects and pitfalls of the (again, ultimately Weberian) concept of bureaucracy in a premodern context and 133–144 for a bureaucratic view of the organization of imperial administration in the late Roman period up to the fifth century. A highly intriguing inside perspective of the imperial bureaucratic apparatus is provided by John the Lydian, captivately analyzed by Kelly 2004. On the use of the terms *state*, *administration*, and *bureaucracy* for the Roman Empire in general, see also Kruse 2002, 8–11.

65 The discussion about the degree of this phenomenon has seen scores of contributions. The basic direction can now be grasped through the account of Weisweiler 2017, notably regarding traditional notions of the “privatization” of public authority. For numbers, see Kelly 2004, 110–111. For the local level, Sven Tost (2012, 2015, and forthcoming) has recently highlighted exemplary aspects of the late antique administrative practice that seem to mark a distinction to earlier periods, though still far from a modern bureaucracy.

66 Keenan 1991, 162. Cf., however, the cautionary remarks by Roger Bagnall (1995, 112 n. 12) on using this term that way.

67 Justinian’s *Edict* 13 is, to a certain degree, an exception.

68 Stern 2015, 120.

69 The most striking examples may be *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831 (Chapter One), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 (Chapter Two), and *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 (Chapter Three).

“It is difficult to paint anything other than a rather disjointed picture of the epimeletes’ job, as the papyrological evidence, while vitally informative, is also quite limiting. For the most part the texts allow us only to say that at a certain time in a certain place an epimeletes acted in a certain way, and that therefore, he had the power to act at that time and in that place (sometimes we can add that he was expected to act in this way).”⁷⁰

The same is true for the pagarchs, or any other officials of the ancient world at the regional and local levels. The interest that we have in episodes such as the conflict between the village of Aphrodite and the pagarchs of Antaiopolis is therefore multilayered. First, we can infer what the pagarchs were considered responsible for and what they were authorized to do in order to meet this responsibility. Then, if the pagarchs transgressed their authority in a particular case, why did they do so, and how did the upper and the lower strata of society react to this transgression? And was this authority the same as in other nomes? In light of what *Edict 13* has to say about the pagarchs in its *praefatio*, which has been quoted at the beginning of this Introduction, we may safely infer that there were pagarchs throughout Egypt, but was their job the same in each of the nomes? What if *pagarchos* was a local term in, say, Antaiopolis, for something that in Oxyrhynchos was inherently different?⁷¹ The sources show us many different activities that the pagarchs were involved in, but due to the clusters of evidence not all these activities are documented in the same quantity, in every region, or in each decade.

Let us take only the individual pagarchs: From the period of 500 to 642 CE, which is at the heart of this study, we know about thirty individual pagarchs by name, yet only seven appear in this function in three or more texts.⁷² The majority of them instead figure in only one or two documents, and some pagarchs even remain anonymous. But even with these about thirty men (and one woman) known, considerable gaps remain. All 40–50 *civitates* of Byzantine Egypt presumably had at least one pagarch at a given moment, who was in office for sometimes as short as a handful of years (although at other times considerably longer). This means that there were probably around 800 pagarchs throughout Egypt over the period this study effectively covers,⁷³ which provides an impression of what we are missing despite all the rich and diverse evidence we have from Egypt.

⁷⁰ McGing 2002, 63.

⁷¹ Lajos Berkes (2017a, 46) has recently demonstrated that such terminological differences occur also in the supposedly “standardized” world of late antiquity, e.g. in case of the term *prōtokōmētēs*, which in the Oxyrhynchite was not a term for a village headman like mostly everywhere else, but rather an informal designation for a village notable.

⁷² Antaiopolis: Ioulianos, Menas Scrinarius, and Ioannes & Serenos, the latter two under the condition that the Antaiopolite tax receipts in the codices *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 and *P.Flor.* III 298, on which see Stern forthcoming (d), are counted separately. Arsinoe: Strategios Paneuphemos, Menas Stratelates, and Strategios Stratelates, although the count for the latter includes two unpublished documents.

⁷³ Calculated with 40 nomes, one pagarch per nome, and an estimated *average* tenure of seven years for each pagarch. The margins of error are high in this estimate (see, e.g., Chapter Four on lengths of tenure), which therefore can only serve to illustrate the order of magnitude.

One aim of this study is therefore to unify this seemingly disjointed picture. To begin with, in view of the small numbers of documents that attest the Byzantine pagarchy, it is remarkable that their pattern of distribution by and large follows the pattern for late antique papyri in general. But more important are the cases in which there is indeed parallel evidence, such as when a deed of surety to a pagarch, numerous in Arsinoe, surfaces in the Antaiopolite nome.⁷⁴ On other occasions, different sets of evidence from two nomes complement each other, and one part suggests what the other part is indeed able to confirm. This is the case when some Hermopolite tax receipts show us the exact procedure that an Antaiopolite contract only hints at,⁷⁵ or when an Antaiopolite document mentions in passing a petition that had been sent to a pagarch, and a petition to the pagarch is then actually preserved from Arsinoe.⁷⁶ I suggest and hope to demonstrate in this study that the clusters of evidence for the pagarchy are not mutually exclusive but, in fact, complementary. The Dioskoros archive from the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome displays what fiscal activity looked like on the ground and how it impacted and challenged local communities. By contrast, the papyri of the Fayum elite and the Apiones archive provide us with a perspective that is probably closer to how the pagarchs themselves and their aristocratic peers saw their world: here we can follow how the pagarchs had their own holdings managed (Arsinoe) or how large estates administered fiscal responsibility parallel to that of the pagarchy (Oxyrhynchos). More scattered evidence complements this picture.

Finally, a note on the early Islamic period. Although more than 170 Greek texts from the postconquest era feature the title of pagarch or lexically related terms,⁷⁷ significantly more than from the Byzantine period, the early Islamic evidence will for obvious reasons not be the focus of this study, which is interested in the late Roman Empire. Still, the early Islamic period may occasionally be a valuable asset for testing the model and hypothesizing about how to fill the gaps. Provided that arguments from analogy are handled with care, this approach may occasionally help us understand practices or institutional arrangements that are obscure for the Byzantine pagarchy, but generally the value of the Islamic material for this study lies not in providing us with answers but in handing us a new set of questions.

74 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094 (Antaiopolites) and, e.g., *CPR* XXIV 24 (Arsinoites).

75 *BGU* XII 2196 and *P.Lond.* V 1753 (both Hermopolites) show us the aggregation and accounting of the taxes collected by the *boēthoi* at the level of the pagarch (or his *trakteutēs*), which is the exact procedure that *P.Lond.* V 1660 (Antaiopolites) refers to in a contract between two tax collectors, probably *boēthoi*.

76 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005 (Antaiopolites) and *CPR* XIV 9 (Arsinoites).

77 This figure does not even include the published Coptic and Arabic documents whose numbers have sharply been on the rise in the last decades. The larger amount of evidence in comparison to the Byzantine period begs explanation, and a tentative one is proposed at the end of Chapter Three.

— VII —

SEMANTICS

There were two ways to refer to a pagarch in Greek: *pagarchos* and *pagarchēs*, both of which follow the most basic patterns of Greek word formation.⁷⁸ The form *pagarchos* first occurs around the year 360, while the earliest instance of *pagarchēs* can be assigned only narrowly to the second half of the fourth century, but close to 350.⁷⁹ In legal and some other documents, the title is given in its complete form and includes the administrative allocation, which from at least the sixth century onward was the *civitas*,⁸⁰ as in “pagarch of Antaiopolis.” Around the end of the 630s, the prevalent form was “pagarch of this [!] (city).”⁸¹ *Pagarchos* and *pagarchēs* continued to be in parallel use until well after the Islamic conquest of Egypt in 642 CE, and were apparently synonymous. There is no convincing pattern of preference for either form in specific contexts; quite to the contrary, there are numerous instances in which a writer would abbreviate the title, apparently because there was no need to be clearer on that matter.⁸² In the early years after the Islamic conquest, the Herakleopolite pagarch Christophoros is once addressed as *pagarchos*, but his father, who was pagarch in the same district, is addressed as *pagarchēs*.⁸³ Moreover, Christophoros is multiple times addressed jointly with his colleague Theodorakios, in which case the title of pagarch is only abbreviated; this Theodorakios is addressed as *pagarchēs* on the only occasion that he is

78 For πάγαρχος, cf. Pape 1836, 202–203 = § A II b 2; for παγάρχης, cf. Pape 1836, 53–54 = A I b § 25 a. On the interchange of -ης with -ος, see Palmer 1945, pp. 66–67.

79 *Pagarchos*: Basil. *epist.* III 2. *Pagarchēs*: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4371.9.

80 In the fourth and fifth centuries, the *praepositus pagi* (i.e., the “early” pagarch) as well as the *pagarchia* are attested with the extension of the number or name of the *pagus*.

81 It is tempting to suppose that the change to the formula ταύτης τῆς πόλεως illustrates a reorganization of the pagarchy in the Persian or the post-Persian period, but ταύτης τῆς also occurs earlier in statements of origin (e.g., *BGU XII* 2202.4) or of locality (*P.Lond.* V 1714.19; see also *P.Mich.* XI 607.7–8: ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως ταύτης τῆς Ἀντινοέων | [π]όλεως, which refers to the location of the bureau, not to the administrative circumscription, which in this case is the province), i.e., it occurs in contexts where the relationship to the preceding noun is rather flexible. Thus, ταύτης τῆς in these cases appears to simply reflect that the city (or province) mentioned is the one that the authors happen to find themselves in. This use is ubiquitous even in the Byzantine period (e.g., in *CPR XIV* 47.1, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67158.17, and esp. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1885.13) and apparently simply became fashionable for official titles during the late 620s or the 630s. Therefore, if indeed the title of *dux* is to be restored in *CPR XXIV* 33.4 (653 CE), the text should possibly read δουκί ταύτης τῆς Ἀρκάδω]ν ἐπαρχίας, as in the parallels, rather than simply δουκί τῆς Ἀρκάδω]ν ἐπαρχίας.

82 Usually in the form παγαρχ(). Note also that παγάρχου and παγάρχων could be interpreted equally well as genitive forms of either πάγαρχος or παγάρχης, further suggesting their synonymy.

83 Christophoros *pagarchos* appears in *SB VIII* 9750 (February 25, 642(!)/657) and *Apa Kyros pagarchēs* in *SB VI* 9755 (July 19, 642). Both are pagarch τοῦ βορρῖνου σκέλους ταύτης τῆς Ἡρακλέους πόλεως. There are no online images available in order to tell whether this is the same writer or whether the readings are certain.

addressed alone.⁸⁴ Regional variation also cannot account for the use of either form, and both forms occur with and without the name of the *civitas*. Justinian's *Edict* 13 seems to be certain on *pagarchēs*,⁸⁵ but this is not due to *pagarchēs* being the "official" term.

Rather, the use of either form probably depended on personal custom, as the example of the Dioskoros archive illustrates. Here, *pagarchēs* occurs exclusively in documents written or corrected by the archive's eponymous poet-notary, whereas other documents from this archive instead use *pagarchos*.⁸⁶ Apparently, *pagarchēs* was the form preferred by Dioskoros and his "school," perhaps because of its more literary appearance or due to a particular tradition in his circles. Similarly, the Arsinoite notary Panouphios is distinguished through his use of *pagarchēs*.⁸⁷ Instances of *pagarchēs* other than those cited are few, but the form is found throughout the early Islamic period.⁸⁸ The Coptic parallels, where *pagarchos* is the only form documented, appear to support the general trend.⁸⁹ Consequently, one should consider *pagarchēs* when resolving abbreviations of the title in documents from the hands of Panouphios and Dioskoros or his associates, but with the evidence available today, *pagarchos* appears to be the safer choice in all other cases.

The related term *pagarchia* (lit. "governance of a *pagus*") relates to the institution of the pagarchy, that is, the office of the pagarch and its authority as well as, in a later development, the district in which the pagarchs exercised this authority.⁹⁰ In this regard, *pagarchia* may be somewhat comparable to the Latin *provincia* or *imperium*. The ambiguity is, however, largely a modern one, and an auxiliary conception of *pagarchia* might be "all matters pagarchs are considered responsible for," which may be seen as almost naturally manifesting into a

84 Jointly addressed: *SB* VI 9576 (April 25, 643), *SB* VIII 9751 (June 1, 644), and *SB* VI 9577 (January 26, 643 or January 27, 644). Theodorakios *pagarchēs*: *CPR* XXII 5 (mid VII), in which the reading is certain.

85 In his edition, Zachariae von Lingenthal notes (p. 10 n. 4) that the codex has *παγάρχοι* (*sic*), but since the regular accent with this ending should be *πάγαρχοι* and since the difference between alpha and omikron is small, the restored *παγάρχαι* was most likely the intended form. In Chapter 12, it seems clear that *παγάρχης* was the intended basic form, despite the confusion of later copyists; Chapter 25 uses only the genitive plural. I have not been able to look at the manuscripts myself.

86 That is, in those instances where the word is not abbreviated, of course. For example, the form *pagarchos* occurs in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068, which is written to Dioskoros, and in the numerous tax receipts from Aphrodite, none of which were written by him. Therefore, the restoration of *P.Lond.* V 1674.81: *παγάρχο[υ]ς* seems dubious, as the document was written by Dioskoros, and indeed a glimpse at the photo confirms the reading *παγάρχας*. In the second large archive from Aphrodite, that of Basileios from the early eighth century, *pagarchos* is used throughout.

87 The word is largely restored in *SB* XVIII 13952.6 (Arsinoe; 591/592): *παγάρχ]αις*, but the alpha cannot seriously be doubted. The form also occurs in l. 5 of *CPR* XIX 14+25638 (= Kovarik 2005, no. 2). I am greatly indebted to Sophie Kovarik for providing me with a photo of this papyrus. In *P.Bodl.* I 53.5 (Arsinoe; September 16, 605) the word is entirely restored.

88 Byzantine period: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4371.9 (Oxyrhynchos; mid-to-late IV), in which the reading is certain. Islamic period: *PSI* I 52 (Oxyrhynchos; September 18, 647; on the date, see Chapter Three), *P.Lond.* III 1075.10 (unknown; VII), and *SB* I 5582A.3 (Thebes; August 22, 724). In *PSI* I 52, the reading is certain; there are no online images available to confirm the reading in the latter two cases.

89 Notably, the Coptic letters from Dioskoros's offspring also use *παγαρχος*, although their father always uses *παγάρχης* in Greek documents.

90 On the word formation of *παγαρχία*, cf. Pape 1836, 6 = A I a § 8.4).

territorial sense.⁹¹ Indeed, even the earliest occurrences of *pagarchia* in the fourth and fifth centuries appear to attest both meanings.⁹² The pagarchy of the sixth and early seventh centuries, however, never related to the entire *civitas*, and only began to do so in the earliest years of Islamic rule in Egypt, when it became the official term for the entire nome. I will present a hypothesis in Chapter Three as to what caused this change, but at this point it is sufficient to note that when I use the term *pagarchy*, I refer to its abstract institutional connotation.

Another related term deriving from the pagarch's title is the adjective *pagarchikos*, the only two Byzantine attestations of which occur in the Dioskoros archive.⁹³ Both cases refer to a pagarch's official authority (*pagarchikē exousia*),⁹⁴ and are probably simply alternative renderings for the "institutional" *pagarchia*. The verb *pagarchein*, then, occurs in a handful of cases in the active voice with the meaning "to act as pagarch,"⁹⁵ but also as a passive participle in 16 papyri from the Oxyrhynchite (and Kynopolite) nome that refer to *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, "pagarched" villages, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Finally, the last cognate, the noun *pagarchitēs*, only occurs in a single document, an internal administrative letter from the early Islamic period that deals with procedures and guidelines for a pagarch in regard to the inheritance of late *pagarchitai*.⁹⁶ But the fragmentary condition of the papyrus leaves us in doubt as to whether this term relates to all inhabitants of the "territorial" pagarchy or rather to all subordinates entrusted with the administration of the "institutional" pagarchy.

91 In one of the two extant bilingual court proceedings, the term *pagarchia* occurs in the Latin part of the text, in the other, in the Greek part. See *Ch.L.A.* XLIII 1259.8 (V): *παγαρχίας* and *Ch.L.A.* V 292.7 (352–354?): *pagarch*[[i]]a, if the erased letter does not indicate that the writer actually meant *pagarcha* as a Latin rendering of the form *παγάρχης*, which to date is unattested. Both texts are fragmentary, and the context therefore eludes us.

92 In *Ch.L.A.* V 292.7 and *P.Oxy.* XVII 2110.5 the institutional meaning is obviously intended. The same applies most probably to *Ch.L.A.* XLIII 1259.8, while *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3307.1 deals with the allocation of certain villages and hamlets to a "pagarchy of Teis," which reveals an at least implicit territorial sense.

93 *P.Ant.* II 97.3 is another instance, but probably from the Islamic period. On the word formation of *παγαρχικός*, cf. Pape 1836, 120 = A II b 11.1.

94 In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 2–5 (Antinoopolis; 548–549), a petition to the emperor, the petitioners claim that they have never been brought "under pagarchic authority" and therefore never paid their taxes to the pagarch, but directly to the provincial *officium*. Another testimony is the fragmentary petition *P.Cair.Masp.* III 670354 descr., where *πα*[γαρχικῆς ἐξουσία[ς] stands isolated in the first line of frg. 2 and therefore cannot be linked to the remains of the following line.

95 *CIG* 3989; *C.Th.* VIII 15.1; and the *Life of Aaron*, a Coptic hagiography, for which see Stern forthcoming (a). On the word formation of *παγαρχέω*, cf. Pape 1836, 319–320 = B § 6 b 1.

96 *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 15 frg. 1.7–9 (Aphrodite; 710): ἐὰν δὲ τελευτήσῃ τ[ις τῶν παγαρχιτῶν γράψον ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτ(οῦ)] | σαφηνίζων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς γράμμασιν [τά τε γήδια αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πόσον] | ὃ ἐχείρησεν (l. ἐχείρησεν) καὶ τοὺς κληρονόμ[ους] τ[ῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ; frg. 2.3–4: τοῦ τοιοῦτου] | πα[γ]αρχ[ί]του τοῦτον διαδεχόμεθ[α] (?). On the word formation of *παγαρχίτης*, cf. Pape 1836, 54 = A I b § 25 c.

CHAPTER ONE

From Curials to Noblemen

THE CREATION OF THE PAGARCHY must be understood in the light of numerous administrative developments that occurred between the third and fifth centuries. The first section will focus on three points that must be established at the outset in order to render comprehensible the context from which the pagarchy originated: the character of civic administration during this period, the role of the emerging large estates and *oikoi*, and finally the dubious privilege of domanial tax collection. The second section will identify the very first mentions of pagarchs and pagarchies in the fourth century, and the third section will follow them through the “dark” fifth century. Against this backdrop, the fourth section will establish a new explanation for the evolution of the pagarchy during that period, especially regarding the pagarchs’ transformation from curial Aurelii into the high-ranking aristocrats of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Currently, there are two prevailing theories about the origins of the pagarchy as we see it in the sixth century: first, that the pagarchy was created to comprise all the territories left over after the widespread granting of *autopragia*, as argued by Matthias Gelzer, and second, that the pagarch was a creation of Emperor Anastasius intended to replace the *exactor civitatis*, as suggested by Wolfgang Liebeschuetz. The latter hypothesis is accepted by the overwhelming majority of scholars. An analysis of the early evidence, however, makes it all but probable that Gelzer was closer to the mark, although the development was more complex than he could have assumed based on the material he had at hand over a century ago.

— I —

A LATE ANTIQUE TAX REGIME: CITY, VILLAGE, AND ESTATE

A particular feature of Egypt's internal administrative organization at the beginning of late antiquity was the process often referred to as the "municipalization" of Egypt, which entered its final stage at the verge of the fourth century. Civic institutions increasingly replaced the administration of the "nomes," the traditional roughly 40–50 districts of Egypt; in particular, the city councils (Lat. *curiae*; Gr. *boulai*) were entrusted with significant responsibilities, notably concerning tax collection.¹ The old nome capital (*mētropolis*), which legally had once been nothing but a village (*kōmē*), turned into a Roman city (Lat. *civitas*; Gr. *polis*) and accordingly the old nome area legally became the hinterland (Lat. *territorium*; Gr. *enoria*) of its city. The term *nomos*, however, for centuries continued to be used to refer to what was legally now the whole district of a Roman *civitas*.² The fiscal authority of the former chief official of the nome, the *strategos*, was transferred to the *exactor civitatis*, who was responsible to the city council and was chosen from among the ranks of the curial class.³ The countryside, formerly subdivided into several toparchies, was restructured into the slightly more numerous *pagi*, each of which was headed by a *praepositus pagi* and contained a small handful of villages, each in turn administered by a number of village officials.⁴ The majority of municipal officials, and some of the village staff, were now liturgists, individuals chosen by the city council to perform compulsory public services. Many of these liturgies entailed considerable financial risk for those nominated, and therefore candidates frequently either challenged their nomination or otherwise sought to escape these burdensome duties.⁵

1 Palme 2013a, 117–118, with further references. For an illustrative insight into the functioning of civic administration just after the tetrarchy see Bowman 2008 with detailed literature on civic development in later Roman Egypt on p. 32 n. 3.

2 Maresch 2007; Bagnall 1993, 54–62.

3 The late antique meaning of *bouleutēs* in comparison to its pseudo-equivalent *politeuomenos* has been much discussed for our period, but there seems to be no firm common ground. For the basic arguments, see the references in Sheridan 2009, 51–52; but cf. Bogaert 1997, 107 and references. To be on the safe side, I will keep the distinction between the two and translate *bouleutēs* as "councilor," but *politeuomenos* as "curial," referring to a member of the curial class subject to the pertaining liturgies but not necessarily part of the city council.

4 The term *toparchia*, however, is still employed after the introduction of the *pagus* system in several Hermopolite documents (see *P.Herm.Landl.*, pp. 9–10). This use is generally seen as an archaism, although Roger Bagnall and Giovanni Ruffini (*O.Trim.* I, p. 45) speculate whether such differentiated terminology may be significant.

5 Service could be avoided by an alternative career in the (professional) provincial administration, the military, or the church; others handed over their property (*cessio bonorum*) upon nomination in order to fall below the threshold of eligibility for a liturgy; yet others simply left their cities to avoid the performance of a liturgy. The standard work on liturgies in Roman Egypt remains Lewis 1997.

The new organization of fiscal administration went along with a reorganization of the tax assessment.⁶ Instead of taxing the crops, as had been common in Egypt since the days of the Ptolemies, Diocletian introduced a system of mixed capitation and land tax commonly referred to as *capitatio-iugatio*. This system taxed individuals, or, rather, their working capacity, in addition to the land, which was assessed on the basis of four land categories, again as in the rest of the empire. Every year, a general tax announcement, *diatypōsis* or *indictio*, was sent from Rome and Constantinople to the empire's four prefectures. The yearly indictions began under Diocletian in 297 CE and prevailed until well into the early Islamic age. After 312 CE, these were counted in 15-year cycles, which, however vaguely, provides a way to date documents, especially after the formal abolition of the *consules ordinarii*.⁷ Upon reception of the imperial tax assessment, the *praefectus praetorio* partitioned the amount among the dioceses under him. For the diocese of Egypt, this entailed that the *praefectus Aegypti* and, after 382 CE, the *praefectus Augustalis* further partitioned the demands among the governors (*correctores*, *praesides*, and *duces*) of the provinces (eparchies). The governor repartitioned the amount among the *civitates* in his eparchy, where they were distributed by the *exactor civitatis* to the *civitas* and its *pagi*. Finally, the *praepositus pagi* partitioned the demand received to the villages, and several *kōmarchai* in each village then calculated the sum due to each taxpayer.

A new factor in this system that gained importance in the fifth century especially, and is central to the history and historiography of late antique Egypt, was the late antique *oikos* (Lat. *domus*; lit. "household"), primarily rendered by scholars either as "Great House" or as "large estate."⁸ In Byzantine Egypt, this institution manifests in three forms: as imperial (*theios* or *theiōtatos*: "divine"), ecclesiastical (*euagēs*: "holy"), or "private" *oikos*. It is mainly the last of these, the "private" *oikos*, that is of interest here. While it figures most prominently as the *endoxos oikos* of the family of the Apiones in the Oxyrhynchite nome, there are examples, notably the oldest ones, of *peribleptoi oikoi*, and therefore the status of an *oikos* was likely

6 Palme 1989, 69–71 provides a comprehensive, if a little dated, account on the new tax regime, particularly in relation to Egypt; Bransbourg 2015, 265–269 covers more-recent research and addresses the consequences for our perception of the imperial economy.

7 Originally, *indictio* was the designation for the entire 15-year cycle and one would refer to individual years as "the *n*th year of the present indiction," but soon the term referred to the particular year itself as "the *n*th indiction (i.e., of the current cycle)." In the present study, I use "indiction" to refer to the individual year, whereas the entire cycle of fifteen years will be rendered as "indiction cycle." Contrary to the rest of the empire, the indiction cycle of fifteen years was not introduced in Egypt before 314 CE, but was nonetheless counted later as if it had started in 312; see CSBE³, 7–11.

8 Since Jean Gascou (1985) explicitly elaborated the concept of the *oikoi* that engage in public administration, there has been no comprehensive study. The comparatively recent contributions of Mazza 2011, esp. pp. 265–266 and 268–269, and Tuck 2011 offer, with slightly different emphases, concise overviews of the material, the state of the art, and questions still ahead. Important recent research on the economic mechanisms of the *oikoi* includes Hickey 2012, Banaji 2007, Sarris 2006, and Mazza 2001; see also Palme 1997.

linked to that of its master.⁹ A precise definition of *oikos* in this context has not yet been achieved: there apparently also existed large estates owned by wealthy magnates that were not styled as such,¹⁰ but whether and in how far those estates and the estates led by “heirs of N.N.” differed from *oikoi* has hitherto not been answered conclusively.¹¹

Yet there must be more to an *oikos* than landed property. Some *oikoi* and their respective owners can be seen handling a host of administrative responsibilities that one would expect to be part of the public—or, if you will, “state”—agenda: they collected taxes, employed security forces, and even maintained prisons on the land in question. Furthermore, the *oikoi* assumed responsibility for certain tasks and staffed civic offices based on elaborately calculated shares, which resulted in documents such as a list in which four *oikoi* share the responsibility for filling the position of *riparius*, the chief police official of the city, for over a century!¹² Scholarly opinions, however, vary widely regarding the extent to which the *oikoi* governed civic administration through the assumption of such shares,¹³ as well as what this phenomenon reveals about the relationship between the state and its aristocracy.¹⁴ The traditional interpretation takes the *oikoi* to be entirely property of aristocratic families who over time managed to take hold of vast amounts of land, which in consequence was effectively cut off from the reach of public authority and legislation. The *oikoi* seized administrative and executive powers at the expense of the state, which could do little but watch helplessly. According to this scenario, the farmers on these lands became a “servile” labor force at the disposal of protocapitalist enterprises that began to undermine state structures due to their socioeconomic dominance, leading to the eventual disintegration of

9 See Tuck 2011, 289 for instances and sources. The rank epithets and their hierarchy will be discussed in Chapter Five. Gonis 2015a, 349 argues that the term *endoxos oikos* is only used by its members or those associated with it, not by third parties, but it is not easy to reconcile this contention with the accounts *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, 2039, and 2040.

10 Liebeschuetz 2001, 190–191. Count Ammonios, the most distinguished magnate in early sixth-century Aphroditite, directs an *ousia*, not an *oikos*; see *P.Hamb.* I 68.20–21, but cf. *SB* III 6704.4–5: τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ | τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Ἀφροδίτης, which Zuckerman (2004a, 221) has identified with Ammonios’s *oikos*. Also his possible successor-in-status Ioulianos, himself a pagarch, is only known as owning an *ousia* (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060).

11 The formula “heirs of N.N.” probably indicates a certain legal status, since it is so frequent and apparently institutionalized in documents such as *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, 2039, and 2040: it would seem odd to assume that all those owners died just recently. The urge to avoid the division of inherited property (Banaji 1999, 205), however, cannot have been the main reason for the emergence of institutionalized *oikoi*, as most of them are clearly attributed to individual holders. Tuck 2011, 287–289 renders *oikos* as “group of estates administered by a single ‘household’” and assumes that the wealth of its owner was distinctive of *oikoi*; indications that this explanation may come close are established in Chapter Three. Also intriguing is the speculation by Mazza 2011, 276 about whether the title *geouchos* (!) marks the head of an *oikos*, which seems intriguing in the light of the *geouchōn* (!) address that will also be discussed in Chapter Three.

12 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039 with the new edition of Azzarello 2006.

13 See, e.g., Liebeschuetz 1996 for a pronounced minimalist position.

14 For the historiography of the large estates, see Hickey 2012, 5–7; Sarris 2006, 131–148 (cf. Sarris 2004, 60–62); and Keenan 1993.

Roman authority in the provinces.¹⁵ The resulting model is basically one of late antique feudalism, modeled on developments that turned the Western Empire into an early medieval society and rooted in the view of late antiquity as a period of decline.¹⁶

The second line of argument, by contrast, roughly runs as follows: The *oikoi* cannot entirely be understood as owned property, because they took a pronounced role in public administration, which the head of an *oikos* assumed as an obligation toward the state. The organization of tax collection by these estates therefore does not imply an occupation of state power by insubordinate forces, but rather constitutes the public service of a landed aristocracy. This hypothesis developed in the decades that witnessed the reevaluation of late antiquity and was in its outline explicitly articulated for the first time by Roger Rémondon, who pointed to certain “contradictions” between the evidence and the traditional narrative.¹⁷ Essentially following Rémondon, Jean Gascou vividly and empirically underpinned and extended that hypothesis by a meticulous scrutiny of the evidence.¹⁸ This second view is therefore often referred to as the Gascou model, or, after one of its fundamental assumptions, as the model of fiscal shares, emphasizing the idea that the large landowners shared the responsibility for public duties in the *civitas*.¹⁹ The Gascou model has since received generally favorable reception from papyrologists,²⁰ although the feudal model is still very present in general historical surveys of Byzantine Egypt and received substantial scholarly rehabilitation in the work of Peter Sarris, who evaluated the economic aspirations of the late antique aristocracy and came to see the imperial government and its elites as opponents in a bitter struggle for power.²¹ Papyrologists, however, had considerable objections to Sarris’s way of handling the evidence. Most recently, Todd Hickey’s survey of the exploitation of vineyards on the Oxyrhynchite *oikos* of the Apiones forcefully undercut the basic economic assumptions of Sarris’s model, concluding that “the central tenet of the Gascou model—that *oikoi* participated in the fiscal administration of the Oxyrhynchite on a system of shares—must stand.”²²

15 The “servile” is from the title of Bell 1917, an influential contribution in this context.

16 Though, naturally, this account is simplified. Even Edward Hardy acknowledged an obvious administrative aspect to his “large estates”; see Hardy 1931, 47–48.

17 Rémondon 1974a; see also Rémondon 1974b, 372: “Le domaine est une entreprise économique. Mais il est aussi une institution.”

18 Gascou 1985. Maybe the best comprehensive summaries of Gascou’s original ideas are his own short reviews of their scholarly reception in the preface to the revised edition of the article (Gascou 2008, 125) and in Gascou 2004, 97–98 (= 2008, 444–446); cf. the critical remarks by Carrié 1999, 351–352.

19 “Model of fiscal shares” in Hickey 2012, 6. Gascou himself appears somewhat hesitant to go with this term; see Gascou 2004, 97 (= 2008, 445) and 2008, 125. Alternatives: “Gascou thesis” in Keenan 1993, 142 and Sarris 2006, 141 or “model of fiscal participation” in Banaji 2007, 93 and McConnell 2017, 6.

20 See Palme 2013a, 130–133 for the impact of Gascou’s work.

21 Sarris 2006, which has gained much prominence, not least due to its accessibility and literary verve.

22 Hickey 2012, 159; see also, with independent evidence, Hickey 2008a. That Sarris’s model despite the substantial objections from Hickey and other scholars (e.g., Ruffini 2009 and Mazza 2008) managed to establish itself as a dominant voice in the non-papyrological scholarly discourse on the late Roman

The origin of the institutionalized large estates is not quite clear. The imperial *oikos* surfaces in the 420s CE and the first “private” *oikoi* appear shortly afterward in the 440s, while the system of fiscal shares, if the aforementioned account for the staffing of the *riparia* through Oxyrhynchite *oikoi* is any indication, dates back at least to 460/461 CE.²³ Traditional scholarship has connected the rise of the large estate with the *patrocinium*, the supposedly widespread phenomenon that saw independent farmers transfer their land to larger landholders who acquired these lands in exchange for legal and fiscal protection.²⁴ Modern opinions vary about the extent to which this development contributed to the rise of the *oikoi*, or was at all prevalent in Egypt. Some paragraphs of the *Codex Theodosianus* address it in an explicitly Egyptian context,²⁵ but the papyri tell a much more nuanced story. On the ground, there is hardly any conclusive evidence for a fundamental change of the agricultural landscape in the fourth century, whether for the concentration of land in the hands of few magnates or for a decline of the peasantry into a class of serfs.²⁶ No signs of protocapitalist accumulation can be observed either.²⁷ There remain political strategies, such as imperial patronage, marriage, and inheritance, which seem plausible alternatives indeed, but hard evidence for a downright drive to expansion is scant.²⁸

Although the mechanics of the *oikoi* can hardly be imagined without the substantial private resources that nourished them, it seems nonetheless plausible that public concerns contributed to the expanding importance of the large estates. Some obscure *oikoi* “of the city” figure in the papyri as early as the second and third centuries, and might have been institutionalized in order to administer ownerless land.²⁹ It is indeed conceivable that such ad hoc arrangements lay behind the institution of the first “private” *oikoi* that we know of—the *oikoi* of Theon and Timagenes, both of whom were dead by the time their *oikoi* first find mention.³⁰ But rather than being the physical foundations of the “private” *oikoi*, it seems

and early Medieval period may demonstrate how much way papyrology has still to go to become an equal part of the historical discourse.

- 23 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039, where 460/461 CE (14th indiction) is the first year listed in the account, according to Azzarello 2006, 210.
- 24 Palme 1989, 72–74 and 96–98 provides a nuanced, though largely supportive, view.
- 25 The laws 1, 3, and 6 of *C.Th.* XI 24 (on patronizing villages) explicitly deal with Egypt.
- 26 Bagnall 1993, 148–153; Rathbone 2008. For a review of the scholarly discussion about the “colonate” throughout the Western and Eastern Empires, see Grey 2013 with references.
- 27 Especially Hickey 2012 (partially in response to Sarris 2006) and Bransbourg 2016, 347–399 have now established convincing common ground in rejecting this view.
- 28 See Hickey 2012, 154–155 and Bransbourg 2016, 362 and 402. On expansion through marriage, see also Azzarello 2006, 210 n. 8. Cf. also Ruffini 2008a, 4–5 for the suggestion that the expansion of the Apion estate in Oxyrhynchos “did not proceed through rurally based social ties.”
- 29 Tuck 2011, 290–291. One prominent direction where to look for such lands may be former temple lands. Notably, the cases Tuck cites predate even the establishment of city councils in Egypt.
- 30 See the prosopographical notes by Gonis 2009, 91–92. It seems possible that at least Theon had, like Strategios I of the Apion family, been an imperial functionary, which would support the link between the *oikoi* and the new service aristocracy. Cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 2016, where their *oikoi* and that of a certain Eudaimon occur without an indication that the owners were dead at that time. Unfortunately this text

conceivable that institutions like the *oikoi* “of the city” could have served as a model of how to organize the changing city landscape of the fifth century. Because the first *oikoi* that belong to living aristocrats appear not long after the first mentions of Theon’s and Timagenes’s *oikoi*, the development from an auxiliary construction to an acknowledged part of the public administrative apparatus must have followed soon.³¹

A much cited, if rarely discussed, problem in this context is the phenomenon called *autopragia* (lit. “self-handling”). This institution is regularly found in scholarly accounts as the right of the *oikoi* to collect taxes on their estates.³² The term and its cognates are only rarely attested in a late antique fiscal context, however, and notable occurrences rather suggest that the mode of payment is at stake here: the right to *pay* one’s own taxes independently—that is, without intervention of the municipal officials—to the provincial treasury, thus dodging any attempt from intermediate instances to skim off surcharges.³³ It is true that large landowners increasingly became responsible for—or, according to the feudal model, arrogated the right of—collecting taxes from lands directly worked by them, and later also for land leased out to tenants.³⁴ Yet nowhere in the papyri do we see *oikoi* sideline civic authorities, but quite the contrary, as Jean Gascou has already noted: the fiscal business of the *oikoi* precisely did not encompass skipping the *civitas* level, but instead the *oikoi* were deeply integrated into the mechanics of civic administration.³⁵ Therefore, the concept of *autopragia*, lest it be deprived of any usefulness, should be restricted to the

is undated, although it likely dates to the sixth century. Theon’s “share” (*meris*) already occurs when he is alive in 437 CE; see *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5340 comm. l. 4.

- 31 Apion I, for instance, was very much alive when an *oikos* of his was first mentioned in *SB VI* 9152 (Herakleopolis; 492). Note that in 493 CE, the first text to feature a *kōmē pagarchoumenē* appears in Oxyrhynchos (see Chapter Three). For the appearance of the Apion *oikos* in Oxyrhynchos before that date, see Azzarello 2006, 210–211, but also Gonis 2015a, 349–350, noting that *endoxoi oikoi* are attested throughout Egypt from the 530s onward.
- 32 Tedesco 2013 provides the most recent comprehensive treatment of “domanial *autopragia*,” by which he means domanial tax collection.
- 33 This has already been noted by Wilcken 1913, 283–284 and Gelzer 1913a. *Autopragia* and its cognates are attested in *C.Th.* XI 22.4 (409 CE) and, in relation to the *autopragia* of the village of Aphrodite, in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 8; 67019 verso 3; 67024.34; 67032.94. The law notes that this is a privilege granted by an imperial rescript. The *autopragia* of Aphrodite and what it entailed is also described in *P.Hamb.* III 230.6–11. I am not aware of any argument in the scholarly literature that would disprove Wilcken’s and Gelzer’s points. The *autopragia* mode of payment appears to be also behind *C.Th.* XI 1.34 (429 CE), concerning the *possessores* of the province of Africa, although this is not explicit, and furthermore, it is not clear whether this was a regular institution or a temporary arrangement due to extraordinary circumstances.
- 34 Notable milestones were *C.Th.* XI 1.14 (371 CE) and *C.Th.* XI 24.6 (415 CE). The latter made the estate owners also responsible for the personal dues, the liturgies, imposed on farmers and tenants of their estate; see Palme 1989, 96–97. The fact that the first “private” *oikoi* surface just some decades after these regulations makes one speculate whether there was not a link between *C.Th.* XI 24.6 and the establishment of “private” *oikoi* around large estates, but the evidence of the fifth century is too fragmentary to make this more than a speculation.
- 35 Gascou 1985, 38–39 (= 2008, 160–161); a similar view about domanial tax collection has been argued recently by Tedesco 2013, 15–17, who, however, takes this, again, under the term *autopragia*.

payment of taxes directly to the province.³⁶ Its only manifestation in Egypt is, consequently, the Thebaid village of Aphrodite, which legally enjoyed *autopragia* as an imperial privilege and will be discussed in a later chapter.³⁷

The model for the participation of the *oikoi* in civic administration is necessarily an Oxyrhynchite one due to the distribution of the evidence, and for the same reason this city has yielded the majority of the earliest testimonies related to the pagarchy.³⁸

— II —

ENTER THE PAGARCHS: THE FOURTH CENTURY

Semantic references to “pagarchs” or the “pagarchy” occur as early as the fourth century in Egypt (four texts) and the Eastern Empire (three texts). Although these numbers are not large, we may infer from these documents that the cognates *pagarchos/pagarchēs*, *pagarchia*, and *pagarchein* were originally representations of the office of the *praepositus pagi*. I shall, consequently, speak of this as the “early” pagarchy, in contrast to the “later” pagarchy of the sixth and early seventh centuries. A liturgist chosen from the curial class, the *praepositus pagi* was the head of one of several districts called *pagi* in the countryside of the *civitas* and subordinate to the *exactor civitatis*; he was responsible for the allocation and collection of taxes, the maintenance of public security, nominations of minor liturgists in his district, “and, indeed, almost anything else.”³⁹ Apart from rare exceptions, the *praepositi pagorum* always bore the name predicate Aurelius, instead of Flavius, which marked military or higher civil ranks.⁴⁰

36 With this distinction, the question of whether domanial tax collection was legal or illegal, or illegal but tolerated (see Tedesco 2013, 16–17), would become obsolete, as I think it should.

37 Cf. *C.Th.* XI 1.34 (429 CE) for the granting of *autopragia* to landowners in Africa. We have no way, however, of knowing whether a constitution that was aimed at this region was in a similar way adopted for Egypt (Bagnall 1995, 64). *Autopragia* of large landowners might have been in fact more prevalent in Africa because proper Roman cities developed much later in the region, and were fewer, than elsewhere.

38 The relevance of the Gascou model beyond the Oxyrhynchite is discussed in Chapter Three.

39 On the *praepositus pagi*, see Schmidt-Hofner 2008, 124–125 (who, however, does not distinguish “early” from “later” pagarchs); Mitthof 2001, 146–147 with further references; Mazza 1995, 173 n. 9 with further references; Bagnall 1993, 61–62 (quote); Oertel 1917, 301–302; and Gelzer 1909, 57–60. An exemplary study of the *pagus* system in the Hermopolite nome can be found in *P.Col.* IX, pp. 106–134, esp. 119–123, which also contains numerous remarks on the *pagus* system in general. Derda 2006, 263–266 provides a recent overview on the introduction of the system in Egypt. On the involvement of the *praepositus pagi* in issues of public security, see *P.Cair.Isid.* 126; Lewis 1948, esp. 54 and n. 10; and Torallas Tovar 2000, 118. Some papyrus archives provide occasions to see these officials at work, for instance the archives of the *praepositi pagorum* Aurelius Heras (*TM* Archive ID 33) and that of Aurelius Asklepiades (no *TM* Archive ID; see *CPR* XVIIIA and add *CPR* XXIII 30 and 31). Especially important has been the archive of the brothers Pappouthis and Dorotheos, *boēthoi* of *praepositi pagorum* (*TM* Archive ID 172); see *P.Oxy.* XLVIII, pp. 74–76; Bagnall 1993, 158–159; and McConnell 2017, 58–62.

40 Only two Flavii are attested as *praepositus pagi*: the first figures in *P.Oxy.* IX 1190.2–3 (Oxyrhynchos; 347): Φλαουίω Π[. . . . και] Αὐρηλίω Θέωνι | πραιπ(οσίτοις) ε πά[γου ἀδελ]φοῖς χαίρειν, where ἀδελφός means “colleague,” while the second one is addressed in *P.Oslo.* III 113.3 (Hermopolites; 346):

The identification of the fourth-century pagarch with the *praepositus pagi* is suggestive in a papyrus containing court proceedings.⁴¹ Due to the document's fragmentary state the content remains vague, but the main point seems to be that a certain Diogenes was assigned a—lost—office in connection to a *pagus*, but was for some reason incapable of performing it on his own.⁴² The office in question was subject to the *exactor civitatis*, was a curial liturgy, and the later remark “we all have been pagarchs” is obviously used as an argument in relation to Diogenes's case.⁴³ Finally, the office was apparently entitled to dispose of *boēthoi*, and on the whole I see strong evidence that we are dealing with the office of the *praepositus pagi* here and that *pagarchēs* is used as a synonym.⁴⁴

A record of proceedings before the city council of Oxyrhynchos from 370 CE further illustrates the conditions for nomination to the early pagarchy and its municipal context.⁴⁵ Chosen as the party responsible for the military woolen garment, the city councilor Theon contests the validity of his nomination. He claims that the *praefectus Aegypti* had appointed him to be one of the 24 men responsible “for the pagarchies and *conductoriae*,” which implies several distinct pagarchies in the Oxyrhynchite nome at that time.⁴⁶ His fellow councilors eventually release Theon from the additional nomination on the ground that he bears “more burdensome liturgies” as he is “one of the 24.”⁴⁷ Obviously the pagarchy at that time was a civic office staffed with curials through appointment by the *praefectus Augustalis* and

[Φ]λαυίω Ὀλυμπιοδ[ώρ]ω τῷ καὶ Ἀσυνκριτ[ί]ω πραιπ(οσίτω) α πάγου. Keenan 1974, 293–294 argued that these men must have been entitled to the name Flavius because of other magistracies unknown to us. On these “names” as status designations, see Keenan 1973, 1974, and 1983.

- 41 *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4371 (Oxyrhynchos; 2nd half of IV). The proceedings were held in Pelousion, probably before the *praeses Augustamnicae*, since Oxyrhynchos was at that time still part of that province, and not of Arcadia; see the introduction to the edition.
- 42 Office related to the *pagus*: καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν αὐτὸς μὲν το[ῦ] πρώτου πάγου . (l. 3), after which there is a lacuna. The traces immediately before the lacuna exclude pi, but rather look like iota or the lower part of epsilon or sigma and maybe ἐ[πικείμενος] must be supplied. It is also possible that Diogenes was assigned a second liturgy in addition to the one related to the *pagus*.
- 43 Subject to the *exactor*: πρ[ο]νορία τοῦ ἐξάκτορος (l. 5). Curial liturgy: see ll. 2 and 3. Pagarchs used as an argument: πάντες παγάρχαι γεγόνα[σ]μεν (l. 9). The editor thought that the argument being made here is that being pagarch does not exempt from being assigned to another liturgy. This, however, would run counter to *P.Oxy.* XVII 2110 (see below), where the opposite claim is made.
- 44 See *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4371, introd. In l. 11, Diogenes is asked why he did not request a *boēthos*. The editor suggested that the document may have some connection to the archive of Pappouthis and Dorotheos, but this need not be the case.
- 45 *P.Oxy.* XVII 2110 (Oxyrhynchos). On this text, see Bowman 1971, 106–108 and 169.
- 46 *P.Oxy.* XVII 2110.4–5: ἐπὶ τῆς μελλόσης (read μελλούσης) κήρας εἰμί καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰκοσιτεσσαρες (read εἰκοσιτέσσαρσιν) εἰμί τοῖς διατυπωθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) Τατιανοῦ εἰς τὰς παγαρχίας καὶ κονδου|κτορίας. Wolfgang Liebeschuetz (1973, 39) argued on the basis of this text that there were 24 pagarchies in Oxyrhynchos; if this were so, the difference to the number of Oxyrhynchite *pagi*, of which there were ten, would be noticeable. It is not clear whether this number includes all pagarchs and *conductores* for one term, and even if it were, we cannot say whether each of these men was to be made “pagarch and *conductor*” or whether some of them were pagarchs and some others *conductores*, which seems more likely. On the *conductores*, see Lewis 1997, 21, s.v. δρόμος.
- 47 *P.Oxy.* XVII 2110, e.g., ll. 9 and 14.

so onerous a charge that being nominated for it would exempt one from being appointed for (certain?) other liturgies.

Further suggesting multiple pagarchies per nome in the fourth century is a papyrus that identifies itself as an “individual list of an assessment of the pagarchy of Teis.”⁴⁸ Under this heading, the document lists various villages (*kōmai*) and hamlets (*epoikia*) along with the number of men in each of these localities who were liable for a certain tax.⁴⁹ With Teis being only one of several villages in that list, the editor was certainly right to suggest that the expression “pagarchy of Teis,” was an alternative way of referring to the eighth *pagus* of Oxyrhynchos.⁵⁰ Similarly, *pagi* are frequently named after, apparently, a sort of chef-lieu, instead of being numbered as they usually were.⁵¹ This does not mean that *pagarchia* manifests as a territory here: these villages were conceived to be under, and not necessarily within, a pagarchy.⁵² That *pagarchia* was an official term for the office as early as the fourth century is suggested by its occurrence in the Latin (!) part of a fragment of bilingual court proceedings before the *praeses Augustamnicae* from the 350s, but due to its poor preservation the context is highly obscure.⁵³

The non-Egyptian record suggests that the use of the term *pagarchos/pagarchēs* for *praepositus pagi* was prevalent throughout the Eastern Empire in the fourth century.⁵⁴ An allusion to their synonymy is extant as early as in a legal decision by Emperor Constantine,

48 *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3307.1 (Oxyrhynchos; early IV): κατ’ ἄνδρα κήνσου παγιαρχίας (read παγαρχίας) Τήεως.

49 The contributions from *epoikia* were apparently effectuated by the magnates owning them; see *P.Oxy.* LXX 4787.9–10 with the commentary.

50 *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3307.1 with the commentary. The list of villages resurfaces in the roughly contemporary *P.Oxy.* XII 1448 (after 324 CE), while in *P.Oxy.* LV 3788.1 (309 CE), the *praepositus* of the eighth *pagus* is responsible for the villagers of Teis. On the connection of these two texts to *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3307, see also Nielsen 1997, 756–764.

51 Identification by village name only: *P.Aktenbuch* pg. 28.9 and 16 (Hermopolis; 359) and *P.Kell.* I 27.3 (Oasis Magna; IV), but cf. *O.Trim.* I, p. 45. Identification by number and village name: *P.Ant.* III 200.1 (Hermopolites/Antinoites; 1st half IV), *P.Charite* 14.1 (Hermopolites; 326/327?), and *P.Charite* 15.1 (Hermopolites; 329). Apparently, the allocation of a village to a certain *pagus* was subject to change; cf. *CPR XVIIA* 7.4–5 (Hermopolis; 317) with *P.Charite* 18.6–7 (Hermopolites; 320–350), where the village Sinarchebis changes its *pagus*. A *pagus* named after a “share” (*meris*) is probably attested in *P.Lond.* III 1293.1 (Hermopolites; 346?): πᾶγ(ου) μερίδ() Δωροθέου καὶ Ἐρμαίωνος. By contrast, in *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4611 col. II 4–13 (Oxyrhynchos; 362/363) and *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4612.5–7 (Oxyrhynchos; 363/364) the reference is most likely to the particular village that makes the payment, situated in this-and-that *pagus*. The *eirēnarchēs* of a *pagus* in *P.Sakaon* 45 (Arsinoites; 334) may be explained by a close association of a village with its *pagus* (instead of a new level of hierarchy of the *eirēnarchai* that Sängler 2005, 182 assumes), since *eirēnarchai* are usually attested for villages (or, earlier, for the nomes), though there is insufficient evidence to say that with certainty.

52 Cf. the prevalent use of παγιαρχία from the sixth century onward, which is defined by its *civitas* in the form “pagarchy of XY,” also without being territorial.

53 *Ch.LA.* V 292.7 (Oxyrhynchos; 352–354?): *debebit pagarch[i]a*. The phrase is followed by Greek text, which means that the two words must be part of the same sentence.

54 Cf. the conclusions in Palme 1989, 19 for the prevalence of *apaitētai* in the entire Eastern Empire despite the similarly limited evidence.

transmitted through the *Codex Theodosianus*.⁵⁵ Two women, Codia and Agrippina, had bought some undefined property from the brother of an unnamed official. Constantine makes the case that officials are not entitled to purchases during their tenure and that any property so acquired falls to the *fiscus*. Agrippina's argument is apparently that the man was not in office at the time the women purchased the property from his brother. The document alternates between Greek (Agrippina) and Latin (Constantine), and while Agrippina's Greek statement "he was not pagarch to that *topos*" deploys the verb *pagarchein*, Constantine's Latin response refers to the official's *pagus*.⁵⁶ The Greek word *topos*, lit. "place," can refer to many kinds of settlements below the level of a *civitas*, rendering Agrippina's argument virtually equivalent to her insisting that "he was not *praepositos* of that *topos*."⁵⁷

Asia Minor furnishes the remaining two instances for pagarchs in the fourth century. One is a dedicatory inscription from Lycaonia for a late curial that lists the pagarchy among his civic offices.⁵⁸ Finally, in a letter from the time of his Pontian retreat around the year 360, Basil of Caesarea reports that an inhabitant of Annesi/Annisoi and several accomplices broke into his home, robbed the whole place, and assaulted the women who were present.⁵⁹ Basil now addresses the governor Candidianus, with whom he was acquainted, and notes that "as far as I am concerned, the culprit's punishment would be sufficient only if he were arrested by the pagarch and locked up in jail for a short time," apparently making the case

55 *C.Th.* VIII 15.1. Constantine's death in 337 CE provides a *terminus ante quem*; Corcoran 1996, 259–260 (cf. Schmidt-Hofner 2008, 124 n. 22) dates the episode to 316/317 CE. On this text, though not in context of the pagarch, see Bianchini 1984.

56 *C.Th.* VIII 15.1: τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἐ<π>αγάρχει (Agrippina) and *in suo pago* (Constantine). It was already Gothofredus to suggest the emendation of ἐ<π>αγάρχει. The manuscript, a codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 9643, 118 recto, l. 1, has ουκετιαγαρχει, which is an easy copying mistake; for a photo, see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10303686s/f247.zoom>.

57 *C.Th.* VIII 15.1: τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου πραιπόσιτος οὐκ ἦν. An unspecific use of *topos* is evident, e.g., in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1101.9–10 (Oxyrhynchus; 367–370: τοῖς κατὰ τόπον πραι[[ποσίτοις], implying not clearly defined nearby localities (the *praepositus* in this case, however, is a military one, not a civil *praepositus pagi*). In *P.Oxy.* LXXII 4867.2 (Oxyrhynchites; 122/123), the address is to σι(τολόγοις) Ὀφρεως τόπ(ων), Ophis being a village; these *topoi* apparently could be understood to form a sort of district. *Ed.* 13.24 lists a descending hierarchy of eparchies, cities, and *topoi* being under the fiscal authority of the *dux et Augustalis*.

58 *IG* 3989.4–14 (early IV?): Αἰλ<ι>ω | Καλ(ουρνί)ω Ἀφθονί(ω) | Ἀντωνίω βου(λευτή) | τῆς Λα(οδικέων) πόλε(ως) | ὁ τὰ πάντα {πο} | πολεितευσά|μενος, δις ἄρ|ξας, ἐξάκ(ις) πορ|εύσας, παγαρχή(σας), | πάντα ἀνευ|δεῶς ἐκτελέσας. The original editor did not identify the instance of παγαρχή() as such. The text was corrected by Ramsay 1888, 238–239, no. 11, restoring παγαρχή(σας), and even later in Ramsay 1918, 175–178, no. 16, where the author adds παγάρχη(ς) as yet another possibility. The latter seems unlikely to me since the formal coherence requires a participial construction (and because it is, at least in Egypt, much less common than *pagarchos*). Ramsay dates the inscription to the early fourth century, at which time παγαρχεῖν is attested (*C.Th.* VIII 15.1).

59 On the date, see J. Henderson in Basil. *epist.*, p. 29 n. 1. On the controversy whether this was a Pontian or Cappadocian town, see Métivier 2005, 159 n. 195.

for prison's educative nature.⁶⁰ The pagarch is obviously summoned within the context of a private dispute, and his capacity is that of a guarantor of public order.⁶¹

The fourth-century evidence, to conclude, shows that the pagarchy at that time was a municipal office under the *exactor civitatis* whose authority was of fiscal and executive nature and extended over a small number of villages. Especially the three texts that explicitly allude to the identity of both offices⁶² all but exclude the possibility that pagarchs of any sort existed alongside the *praepositi pagorum*. The *praepositus pagi* is not the predecessor of the pagarch—he is the pagarch, and the link between the two is much more than merely semantic.⁶³ It is not hard to envision how *pagarchos* and *pagarchēs* might have originated as Hellenizing colloquialisms that were preferable to Greek speakers over the transliterated *praipositos pagou* because they sounded more natural, or because they were unlikely to be confused with the military *praepositus*.⁶⁴ It may be illustrative of their colloquial nature that *pagarchos* and *pagarchēs* were used interchangeably and comply with the most basic patterns of Greek word formation. Both appear virtually simultaneously around the time when evidence for the term *praepositus pagi* breaks off, in the late 360s and after 370 CE, respectively; it may be telling in this regard that in the legal proceedings quoted above the same speaker uses the verb *pagarchein* and refers to the official's title as *praipositos*, potentially because in the early fourth century the terms *pagarchos* and *pagarchēs* were not yet in use, or at least were not deemed appropriate for legal protocol.⁶⁵ The designation of the office (*pagarchia*) and the verb for the performance of the office (*pagarchein*), however, occur earlier still, potentially because no transliterated Latin terms existed for them.⁶⁶ In the aforementioned council

60 Basil. *epist.* III 2 (transl. Deferrari; I have, however, supplied “pagarch” for “district magistrate”): γένοιτο δ’ ἂν ἡμῖν ἀρκούσα δίκη, εἰ διὰ τοῦ παγάρχου συλληφθεῖς ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ βραχὺν κατακλεισθεῖη χρόνον. Yves Courtonne renders the pagarch here as “chef du village.” For an interpretation of this passage in terms of criminal justice, see Krause 1996, 89 and 113.

61 Métivier 2005, 287 n. 251 suggests that both these pagarchs from Asia Minor might have been overseers of imperial domains, referring to Mitchell 1993, II 72 and Mitchell 1988, 113 n. 22. I do not find this hypothesis convincing.

62 *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4371, *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3307, and *C.Th.* VIII 15.1.

63 As claimed by Mazza 1995, 180, following Liebeschuetz 1973.

64 Gelzer 1909, 96 n. 1 assumed that Isidore's use of the Greek term πάγρχος/παγάρχης, instead of the transliteration πραιπόσιτος πάγου in *Isid.Pel. epist.* 51 (on which see below) was a literary Hellenizing expression. For possibly similar development, cf. the terms σύνδικος and ἔκδικος as Greek renderings of the *defensor civitatis*.

65 The latest evidence for a *praepositus pagi* is *C.Th.* XII 6.8 from 365 CE (Lewis 1997, 42), while *P.Harr.* II 219.1 (*Oxyrhynchos*) from August 362 marks its latest occurrence in Egypt.

66 It would indeed seem awkward to form a Greek verb from the transliteration πραιπόσιτος πάγου. The Greek transliteration of the office (πραιποσιτούρα) occurs only once in the papyri, in *P.Lips.* I 111.16 (unknown origin; IV?).

proceedings regarding the nomination of the councilor Theon from 370 CE we therefore apparently have the first document to employ the new terminology as official jargon.⁶⁷

— III —

THE FIFTH CENTURY: A CHANGING FISCAL LANDSCAPE

Five instances of the pagarchy or pagarchs can be assigned to the fifth century, but these documents are considerably more obscure than their fourth-century counterparts.⁶⁸ The Latin rendering of *praepositus pagi* no longer occurs, but *pagi* are still documented in the early fifth century.⁶⁹ Although the link of the pagarchy to the status and responsibilities of the *praepositus pagi* is therefore no longer so clear, there is nothing to suggest that its character would have changed fundamentally during that period. The three earliest instances are rather short notes in their present condition, and do not yield valuable information for the question of the pagarchy's status. In a fragmentary ostrakon from the Small Oasis, a pagarch appears in what is probably a tax receipt.⁷⁰ A bilingual Latin-Greek document contains, in the Greek section, a reference to a *pagarchia*, but the papyrus is poorly preserved and the word is completely isolated.⁷¹ Finally, Isidore of Pelusium speculates about the etymology of the Areopagus (Gr. *Areios pagos*) in one of his letters; in order to explain *pagos*, he states

67 The editor Arthur Hunt believed that there had been a change in nomenclature around that time, but this is valid, if at all, only for *pagarchos* and *pagarchēs* because *pagarchia* and *pagarchein* are used earlier still.

68 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295 and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67047 are *delenda* in this regard. For the restoration of “pagarchies” in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295.10, the editor apparently leaned on *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67057 col. II 25, but this is dubious not the least because this part of the text (the document is a collection of exemplary cases collaged by Dioskoros of Aphrodite) must originate in 491–493 CE. For the possible dates of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67047, see Stern forthcoming (d). Two Coptic literary texts contain references to pagarchs in the fifth century, but are suspect to reflect later conditions (see pp. 16–17 above).

69 *P.Oxy.* LV 3803.4 (Oxyrhynchos; 411); *SPP XX* 117.1, 2 (Herakleopolites; 411); *P.Select* 13.3 (Herakleopolis; 421). These are public documents, which one would expect to employ official terminology. Derda 2006, 266 n. 12 calls for a reexamination regarding the occurrence of *pagi* in the fifth century, but the dates can hardly be put into doubt. Troubling in this sense, however, are even later instances: *SPP X* 270.8 (Arsinoites; VII–VIII?) and *SB XX* 14505.17 (unknown origin; VI?). Indeed, an autopsy seems desirable, but there may also be some archaism at work that used the term *pagus* as a regional marker or approximation. The fact that both documents concern a “7th *pagus*” leads me to suggest that we deal with a fossilized designation that administratively became the name of a settlement (cf. Megale Ousia, lit. “large estate” in the Oxyrhynchite nome). This hypothesis has also the advantage of eliminating the problem (discussed by Derda 2006, 269–270) that the villages listed in *SPP X* 270 are not in the sixth *pagus* where they would be expected if the occurrence of ζ πάγος really were the start of a new list.

70 *O.Dor.* 5 (Oasis Parva; 407/408 or 422/423). Two other unpublished ostraca from this context mention a pagarch, and it is possible that both relate to the same pagarch Isaak found in *O.Dor.* 5; see Dospel 2012, 197.

71 *Ch.L.A.* XLIII 1259.8 (unknown origin; V?).

that “pagarchs are called, among anyone, those who govern (*archontes*) the villages and *topoi*,” which is too general to be of much value.⁷²

The remaining two instances provide more to work with, the first being *P.Oxy.* LVI 3865, which refers to a “pagarch of the village.”⁷³ The very irregular hand is not older than the fifth century; the early sixth century also seems possible.⁷⁴ Again, the pagarch is occupied with fiscal business, as he sends an *apaitētēs* into the village Orthoniou to collect taxes on a mill.⁷⁵ The attribution “of the village” however, need not entail that the pagarch in this case was responsible for this particular village only, since we have seen that *pagi*—and “early” pagarchies—could be named after a central village or, on occasion, the relevant place in a given context, here: Orthoniou.⁷⁶ Three other villages occur in this document, all of which are scattered widely throughout the Oxyrhynchite nome: Senokomis, Akoutou, Pakerke. In this context, a specific regional marker such as “of this-and-that village,” instead of simply saying “the pagarch,” suggests the necessity for clear identification and indicates that there were several pagarchs in several different administrative circumscriptions throughout the nome at that time. Accordingly, it seems likely that we are still dealing with an “early” pagarch here, a *praepositus pagi*.

Finally, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831, from the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth, documents a quibble between two neighboring villages.⁷⁷ The village headman (*meizōn*) of Tholthis complains to the headman of Takona that fieldguards from Takona started a fight against

72 Isid.Pel. *epist.* 51 = Migne LXXVIII 536 (420–435/440? CE): πάγαρχοι καλοῦνται παρά τισιν οἱ τῶν κωμῶν ἢ τόπων τινῶν ἄρχοντες.

73 *P.Oxy.* LVI 3865.63–64 (Oxyrhynchites): πάγαρχ|χος τῆς κώμης, certainly relating to Orthoniou, although the text does not explicitly say so, and although in all other attestations (all of which are later), Orthoniou is an *epoikion* or a *ktēma*. If “the pagarch of the village” were to refer to Pakerke, this place would be too distant to plausibly explain why this pagarch would be sent to Orthoniou (cf. the “relative locality” sections for both places in Benaissa 2012, s.vv.).

74 The handwriting is prevalent throughout the fifth or the early sixth century, but the form of the staurogramm at the beginning of l. 2 probably points to the late fifth or early sixth century, as Nikolaos Gonis informs me. The editor suggested a date in the late fifth century by assuming that the pagarchy was created in this period at the earliest. Similar up-front assumptions about the pagarchy govern many datings of these earlier testimonies.

75 The *apaitētai* are attested at the city level as well as in the villages (Palme 1989, 129–133).

76 For pagarchies and *pagi* named after villages, see the discussion of *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3307 in the previous section. Tomasz Derda (2006, 154–158) has shown that the attribution of a place to the title of *kōmogrammateus* in the Roman period can sometimes be explained by the fact that this was the place that was relevant in the given context, not the entire circumscription of this official; the similar interpretation for *hypodektai* “of the village” by the editor of *P.NYU* I (p. 10), however, is probably incorrect (see pp. 72–73 n. 123 below). In our case, this interpretation may be all the more likely since this text is a private letter, which would not adhere to precise administrative attributions but only intends to make clear that the pagarch *who is responsible for that particular village* has intervened. This interpretation would imply that the mentioned pagarch is not the pagarch with whom the author and his addressee would normally interact with, in which case a specification would not be expected.

77 The editor assigned the text to the late fifth century based on the occurrence of the pagarchy, but the handwriting could well belong to the entire fifth as well as the sixth centuries, while the fourth seems unlikely, as Nikolaos Gonis informs me.

men from Tholthis and stole their cattle. The headman of Tholthis now demands that his colleague summon the men involved, and adds a warning:

“For we must not start skirmishes between each other, nor do we litigate with the protection of our/your pagarch/pagarchs, so that you summon those who are in discord with us, young and old, (and?) lest we start a fight against each other [—] nor our *boēthos* [—] the pagarch [nominative]. Therefore, see to it that they [i.e., the cattle] be returned, lest his [i.e., the pagarch’s?] watered field (*mēchanē*) remain unsown.”⁷⁸

The text is rather hard to make sense of at times due to its confusing grammar, and the words “nor do we litigate with the protection of our/your pagarch/pagarchs” are particularly problematic, since the text here makes no sense as it is written in the document⁷⁹ and the writer frequently confuses the spelling of the possessive pronouns “our” and “your” on account of their phonetic similarity.⁸⁰ But even if there were only one pagarch mentioned here, this would not discount the possibility of an “early” pagarch, a *praepositus pagi*, since it is quite conceivable that neighboring villages may have been part of the same *pagus*.⁸¹ The sender apparently uses the potential involvement of the pagarch(s) as a threat to his colleague.⁸² From this corrupt sentence, it is not possible to decide whether we are dealing with the *praepositus pagi* or with a pagarch at the *civitas* level, as the characteristics—possibly several officials within a single nome; superiority to village headmen; executive powers—are compatible with both options.⁸³

Yet it is notable that toward the end of the letter the writer refers to “the pagarch” in the singular, and that what is supposed to bring the addressee to order to return the stolen cattle

78 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831.8–13 (Oxyrhynchites; late V?); cf. O’Callaghan 1963, no. 24.

79 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831.8–9: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχο|μεν πρᾶγμα μετὰ τῆς ἀδ|ίας τῶν ὑμῶν παγαρχον. I read ἀδ<ε>|ίας instead of ἀ<η>δ|ίας since the text shows a pattern of mistaken spellings when they are phonetically similar; the word is, moreover, frequently attested with μετὰ in literary authors, according *LSJ*.

80 The phonetic argument would point to τῶν (...) παγάρχ<ω>ν, but cf. the misspelling τον for τοῦ in *P.Oxy.* LIX 4008.2 (Oxyrhynchos; VI–VII) and also *P.Lond.* IV 1540 (Aphrodite; 709–714), where according to the *PN* των ἐνδ() παγαρχον stands for τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου παγάρχου; but the occurrences of εἰ(ς) (l. 19) rather seem to suggest that the accusative is to be supplied in the latter case. Cf. Stern 2015, 143–144, where, unaware of the texts mentioned in this note, I hesitantly opted in favor of a multitude of pagarchs.

81 The close links between these villages are evident in the sixth century, when we find a single *prostasia* (management district) of the Apion estate named “Takona and Tholthis”; the *prostasiai* bore generally the name of only one settlement. The *prostasia* system will be discussed in Chapter Three.

82 The background of out-of-court dispute resolution—and the use official intervention as a threat—have been laid out by Harries 2001. Cf. *P.Neph.* 19 (Herakleopolites; IV) for an illustration of how fearful people were of official involvement in private disputes, and further Bagnall 1993, 170–171.

83 What is striking here, though, is the pagarch’s involvement in dispute resolution, of which there is no evidence for the “later” pagarchs until the Islamic conquest. Maybe the pagarchs handled minor civil cases in the countryside while formal litigation on the *civitas* level was, since the early fourth century, in the hands of the *defensor civitatis* (Gr. *ekdikos* or *syndikos*), on whom see Palme 2008a, 63 with references in n. 27. Palme suspects the *riparius* to have handled minor civil cases at the village level.

is apparently the prospect of letting this pagarch's fields go unsown.⁸⁴ The close ties that the headman as representative of his village appears to have to this pagarch—with the village community assuming responsibility for this man's fields—is reminiscent of the close relationship that several villages in the Oxyrhynchite later maintained with the aristocratic family of the Apiones and their large estate, the *endoxos oikos*. Several papyri from the Apion estate discuss issues related to *mēchanai*, and some of these refer to villages that are called *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, villages “pagarched” by the Apion *oikos*.⁸⁵ In 550 CE, this formula is also attested for Takona, the other village appearing in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831.⁸⁶ In fact, of the six settlements mentioned in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3865 and *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831, five are attested later in connection to the *endoxos oikos* of the Apiones.⁸⁷ Members of this aristocratic family of imperial ranking, however, would have hardly been referred to by the simple title of pagarch, but rather with their senatorial epithets or honorary titles; these texts are therefore certainly older than the Apionic presence in these villages.⁸⁸ The pagarch in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831 was, consequently, an elusive local landowner who was important enough that the well-being of the village community of Tholthis was linked to that of his property, but he was apparently not perceived primarily through his socioeconomic dominance at the neighboring Takona, which is why the headman of Tholthis refers to him with his official title of pagarch, rather than by a reference such as “our common master (*despotēs*)” or similar. That is, he is likely to have owned some, but not the lion's share of land in Tholthis and was distant enough from the village headman of Takona that he was referred to by his official title only.

An attractive interpretation of these relations seems to me that by the time of *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831, the “early” pagarchy had evolved from a curial liturgy to one that was imposed on the *oikoi*. Although this idea hinges on an interpretation of a fragmentary text, the administrative context of the late fifth century seems to make this hypothesis a plausible one. The list of shares for the Oxyrhynchite *riparia* mentioned in Section I reflects the exact same development for the office of the *riparius*, and the document implies that this liturgy was

84 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831.12–13:]τε ὁ πάγρχος. θελήσασ[ε . . .] νῦν ταῦτα | ἀπολῆσαι εἶνα μὴ ἄσπορος μίνη (read ἀπολῦσαι ἵνα μὴ ἄσπορος μείνη) ἢ τοῦτου μηχανή.

85 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785; *P.Lond.* III 776; *P.Oxy.* I 139; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1981; *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4536. These villages will be dealt with in detail in Chapter Three.

86 *P.Oxy.* I 133.

87 This concerns Takona and Tholthis in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831 and Senokomis, Pakerke, and Orthoniou in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3865. No Apionic presence is attested so far for Akoutou.

88 The growth of the Apion estate in the late fifth century is hard to follow. In *SB XXVIII 17150* (489–497 CE?), the money payments by, supposedly, Strategios II among a number of Oxyrhynchite contributors for an unknown purpose amount to 22 % of the total (see Gonis 2002a, 88–93). Compared to the “usual” Apion share of 30 % over a large part of the sixth century (see Chapter Three), this may illustrate a development and point to their extending fiscal responsibility.

shared among the *oikoi* from the 460s at the latest,⁸⁹ around the time *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831 is most likely to have been written.

In conclusion, the available evidence for the fifth century does not suggest that the responsibilities observed for the fourth-century pagarchy had changed, but rather that the authority of the pagarch was in essence still that of the *praepositus pagi*. The papyri, though not numerous or unambiguous, continue to show the pagarchy as an office of which several distinct departments were in place throughout the countryside of the *civitas*, each responsible for fiscal administration but also for much else, such as policing or intervillage dispute resolution. The context of the increasing public responsibilities assumed by the *oikoi* at the expense of the city council then seems also to have turned the pagarchy from a curial liturgy to one taken care of by the city magnates.

— IV —

THE “ELEVATION” OF THE PAGARCHY

Some scholars have already pointed to the synonymy of the pagarch with the *praepositus pagi* in the fourth century, but this has frequently led to confusion with the “later” pagarchs of the sixth and early seventh centuries.⁹⁰ To others it was obvious that the pagarchs of exalted aristocratic standing, like Ioulianos the *ex-eparchos* or Strategios the *paneuphēmos patricius*, had little in common with the city councilor Theon who once contested his nomination before the city council.⁹¹ It remains obscure, however, exactly when the small curial subordinate of the *exactor civitatis* of the fourth century, with responsibility over only a handful of villages at most, became the dominant civil authority in the city territory of exalted aristocratic standing that we see in the sixth century.

The most widespread theory on the origin of the pagarchy as we see it in the sixth century was established by Wolfgang Liebeschuetz, who noted that the pagarch took over the main tasks of the *exactor civitatis* and that sixth-century testimonies possibly testifying to

⁸⁹ *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039. Public responsibilities assumed by *oikoi* are attested earlier still (e.g., *P.Oxy.* L 3583 from 444 CE).

⁹⁰ Cf. Wilcken 1892, 298–299 and esp. 299 n. 5. In more-recent literature, Schmidt-Hofner 2008, 124 n. 22 correctly observes the identity of pagarch and *praepositus pagi* in *C.Th.* VIII 15.1 (see Section II above) but implies that the pagarchs of the sixth century were still mere *pagus* officials. The most recent equating of the pagarch with the *praepositus pagi* (without differentiation), even arguing that “the *pagi* corresponded roughly with the *nomes*” is found, curiously, in Mazza 2018.

⁹¹ This disparity was already noted by Bell 1908, 103–104 (albeit with methodological confusion as he mingled the Byzantine pagarchs with their successors from the early Islamic period) and Wilcken 1912, 83. Drecoll 1997, e.g., 30 and 155, takes this to the extreme and discriminates pagarchs and *praepositi pagorum* entirely; failing to note their earlier congruence, he finds them at different levels in the same hierarchy. A moderating view is most pointedly expressed by Johnson and West (1949, 324–325), who see the continuity but acknowledge considerable changes over time.

the *exactor* are few in number and, according to Liebeschuetz, disputable.⁹² The *exactor* is last attested in 504/505 CE,⁹³ which led Liebeschuetz to conclude that this office had been reformed and renamed into that of the pagarch under Anastasius I (r. 491–518). But after 504/505, there is still evidence for the “exactorial office” (*exaktorikē taxis*), the running of which was still a civic liturgy that fell, however, no longer on the curials, but on the *oikoi*.⁹⁴ Apparently, the *exactores*—or rather, their function—continued to exist into the sixth century, but at least in Egypt their power was significantly diminished.⁹⁵ Liebeschuetz’s hypothesis that the “later” pagarchy was created under Anastasius, ultimately, builds on plausible reasoning: he argues that this move would have fit well with the creation of the *vindex*, an official who was handed the main oversight over tax collection from the curials in certain cities of the Eastern Empire, of which one was Alexandria.⁹⁶ According to John the Lydian, the *vindex* was appointed by the *praefectus praetorio* and the relevant passages suggest that local administration was to be kept out of the appointment procedure; apparently the state tried to rationalize tax collection by filling central positions at the local level with men who owed their standing to the central authority and had no local connections.⁹⁷ But there is no evidence whatsoever that the “later” pagarch and the *vindex* were part of the same administrative measures and it is perfectly plausible that one predated the other. The characteristics of both offices are also hardly comparable: the *vindices* were, as far as we can see, responsible for civic finances and were outsiders to their cities, while the pagarchs, as we shall see, were still in general responsible for the countryside, and most of them are known to have owned possessions in the areas under their authority.⁹⁸ To conclude, Liebeschuetz’s hypothesis that the office of the *exactor* was under Anastasius renamed into that of the pagarch is severely unsupported.

More than one century ago, Matthias Gelzer suggested that it was the increasing number and extent of autopract estates (and autopract villages) in the countryside that made

⁹² Liebeschuetz 1973. The author acknowledges that there is earlier evidence for pagarchs as *praepositi pagorum*, but argues that there is no continuity between the two but a nominal one. On the *exactor civitatis*, see Palme 1989, 70–71 and n. 290 with further references.

⁹³ *P.Stras.* V 486 (Hermopolites).

⁹⁴ Gasco 1985, 41–44 (= 2008, 163–167); Mazza 2011, 270–271; Tuck 2011, 298. Because of the connection to the *oikoi*, the *exaktorikē taxis* was taken as a private bureau by Liebeschuetz 1973, 40 and Thomas 1959, 136–138.

⁹⁵ The pagarchs’ relationship to the “bureau of the *exactor*” will be discussed in Chapter Two. Justinian’s *Nov.* 128.5 (545 CE) mentions *exactores* as tax collectors in the eastern provinces (cf. 128.16). In the Aphrodite Cadaster, *SB XX 14669.203* (Aphrodite; 524 CE): τόπι(ου) τοῦ ἐξάκτορο(ς) is probably a fossilized name of this particular *topos*, given that it is ὑπ(ὸ) Μ[ουσα]ῖον Ψιμανωβῆτ. Or, may this be a plot that was administered by the *exactor*? See Chapter Two on land owned by the city.

⁹⁶ On the *vindices*, see Laniado 2002, 29–36.

⁹⁷ Lydus *mag.* III 49; Liebeschuetz 1973, 42.

⁹⁸ Liebeschuetz 1973, 41 admits that the cities in which *vindices* are attested cannot be convincingly put into a common frame. The pagarch’s (territorial) area of responsibility will be discussed in Chapter Two.

the small-scaled *pagus* system obsolete.⁹⁹ Gelzer's hypothesis has been virtually ignored since Liebeschuetz's article¹⁰⁰ but the evidence of the fourth and fifth centuries, most of which had not yet been published by Gelzer's time, suggests that he was nearer to the mark. An important nuance is added, however, if we introduce Jean Gascou's model of fiscal participation into this discussion: not the disintegrative powers of insubordinate land-owning magnates made the *pagi* obsolete as subdistricts, but the extension of administrative responsibilities vested to the *oikoi* by the state, notably tax collection.¹⁰¹ This becomes especially obvious when one recalls that these estates were mostly not contiguous areas but were scattered throughout the countryside, and thus the same estate could be part of multiple *pagi*.¹⁰² If one follows my argument that the several pagarchies in a city's *territorium* were first entrusted to the *oikoi* before there was one unified pagarchy for the *civitas*, the question is no longer when and why the aristocratic magnates start to be entrusted with a new and more powerful pagarchy, but when and why the pagarchies that already were borne by the *oikoi* were turned into one single pagarchy. The large estates that collected taxes dropped out of the *pagus* system and the remaining, scattered territories were united to one single pagarchy. By assuming two steps in the evolution of the office—first the assignment of the charge to the *oikoi*, then a unification and extended administrative purview—the development becomes much more continuous, in contrast to the abrupt change in organizational and hierarchical aspects that all explanations had to assume so far.

But we can get even closer. In one recently published Oxyrhynchite lease of land dating to 493 CE, the leased land is part of a *kōmē pagarchoumenē*, a village “pagarched” by the young Strategios II, a member of the Apion family.¹⁰³ In this text, as in others around that time, Strategios is represented by a certain Theodoros *hypokatastatos*, probably because of his being a minor still.¹⁰⁴ The same Theodoros *hypokatastatos*, however, assumes the additional function of *diadochos*, of a liturgical substitute, in documents that address Strategios as *riparius*.¹⁰⁵ The fact that Theodoros is not *diadochos* in the lease from the “pagarched” village can therefore only mean that whatever is behind the *pagarchoumenē* formula, it is not a

99 Gelzer 1909, 89. He placed the creation of the office of the pagarch at the beginning of the sixth century (p. 96), but his interpretation of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 18 is, in this regard, unlikely in view of what we know now about the number of Antaiopolite pagarchs (see p. 46 n. 109 below).

100 It is, for instance, striking that neither Liebeschuetz nor Roberta Mazza (1995) mention, let alone discuss, Gelzer's hypothesis. It has, however, found continuous support from Bernhard Palme (1989, 98 and 2013a, 107).

101 One major, and contested, implication of the Gascou model is that *oikoi* collected taxes also on land *beyond* what was owned by the *oikos* (see p. 31 above). But this is not immediately relevant here and will be discussed in Chapter Three.

102 See, e.g., *P.Charite* 12 (Hermopolites; early to mid IV), with its interpretation by Palme 1989, 145, for an early illustration of this.

103 *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337.

104 For a discussion of the meaning of *hypokatastatos*, or *hypokatatastēs*, see *P.Oxy.* LXVII, pp. 233–234.

105 *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4614 (late V).

liturgy borne by Strategios. A formal and administrative analysis of the formula concerning the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* in Chapter Three will reveal that this expression does also not relate to the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos, but rather to villages in which large landowners also collected taxes on land other than their own. I believe the only logical explanation for all this is that by 493 CE, at latest, *oikoi* had been entrusted with tax collection for village land, including land they did not own, on a long-term basis and no longer by virtue of the “early” pagarchy.¹⁰⁶ These areas of authority were no longer contiguous districts as the *pagi* were, but lands adjacent to estate parcels, such as villages in which the magnate would have owned already some, probably a considerable, amount of land. The areas subject to the fiscal authority of the “early” pagarchs would then have been scattered throughout the nome, and presumably would have varied widely from *pagus* to *pagus*. Consequently, these lands were united into a single pagarchy at the level of the *civitas*.

This line of argument makes a compelling case for locating the “creation” of the “later” pagarchy before 493 CE, at least for Oxyrhynchos.¹⁰⁷ For other regions, evidence for the “later” pagarchy is virtually nonexistent before Justinian’s *Edict* 13 of 539 CE.¹⁰⁸ This proclamation fundamentally changed the provincial organization of the Egyptian diocese, but in its introduction presupposes pagarchs throughout Egypt who already were independent from the city council.¹⁰⁹ A *terminus post quem*, however, is more elusive. In 548/549, the villagers of Aphrodite argue that they received their privilege of *autopragia* from Emperor

¹⁰⁶ Berkes 2017a, 14–15 takes SB XXII 15318.13 (Hermopolis; 442–447): μερ(ιδος) Ταυρ(ίνου) Φο[ιβάμμ](ων) Χλωπίωνος ἀπὸ Πτεμ[ενκύρκεως] to show that a village was at that time under the administrative purview of an *oikos*. But the text does only say that Phoibammon, son of Chlotinos, who paid for the *meris* of Taurinos, was from that village.

¹⁰⁷ SB XX 128 (May 23, 487), a deed of surety for the tax collection duties of a *sitometrēs* for a Theodosiopolite village, might attest this system in place even earlier in the Fayum. The document is addressed to a “Flavius Eustochios, *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos comes domesticorum* and *prōteuōn* (= *principalis*) of Arsinoe,” i.e., not to a *praepositus pagi* whom one would expect to be responsible for a village liturgy. Gelzer 1909, 91 took this text to mean that there were villages directly administered by the city council. Eustochios, however, may be identical to the Eustochios whose heirs were responsible for fiscal shares in the Fayum around 620 CE (*SPP* X 249, which will be discussed in Chapter Three). That the village is not described as *pagarchoumenē* need not speak against this, as this term seems to have been not consistently used (see Chapter Three). *Prōteuōn* here supplants the address as *geouchōn* (a phenomenon discussed in Chapter Three). See, comparably, *P.Flor.* III 325 (Oxyrhynchite; 489), a contract involving Strategios II in which a *ktēma* is not described as *diapherōn*, but this designation seems also not to have been consistently used.

¹⁰⁸ On *Edict* 13 and its consequences, see Palme 2013a, 103–105 and Palme 2007c, 248–249 (where see also pp. 245–248 for administrative developments during the late fourth and fifth centuries).

¹⁰⁹ In 567 CE, the villagers of Aphrodite in the Thebaid note that there had been eight pagarchs of Antaiopolis so far under which they had never been in arrears with their imperial taxes (see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 18–19), but this must certainly relate to the time after they had lost their autopract status and were put under the pagarchy. In the 20 years before, four to six (depending on how one counts) individual pagarchs are known, with plenty of “dark space” in these years (see Chapter Four on the chronology of the pagarchs of Antaiopolis). If one wants, nonetheless, to understand this reference to relate to the beginning of the Antaiopolite pagarchy, one may wish to assume the minimum count, i.e., four pagarchs in 20 years, thus taking another 20 years to reach eight pagarchs, which results in 527 CE, and thus rather late in comparison to Oxyrhynchos.

Leo I (r. 457–474) and they note on the same occasion that they had not been placed under pagarchic authority “since the time of their fathers and forefathers.”¹¹⁰ The town is attested in the status of a village (*kōmē*) as early as the fourth and possibly even the third century CE¹¹¹—and in the fourth century, the villages were allocated to the *pagi*, which should entail that also Aphrodite at that time should have been subject to a “pagarchy.”¹¹² But the rhetoric of the Aphroditans may simply mean that they *since then* (that is, since Leo’s act) had never been subject to pagarchic authority. It may not be a coincidence that the Aphroditans were awarded *autopragia* around the same time that I suspect the pagarchy was transferred on the *oikoi*.¹¹³ In any case, since the last securely dated *pagus* appears in 421 CE, this can be taken as the *terminus post quem* for the establishment of the “Byzantine” pagarchy. If my arguments about the “early” pagarchy’s relation to the *oikoi* are accepted, then we may put this establishment into a range from about the 460s, when the participation of the *oikoi* in civic liturgies becomes apparent, to 493 (or 487), when the first “pagarched” village occurs and the “village pagarchies” had been transformed into administrative extensions of the large estates.¹¹⁴

By 539, at the time of *Edict 13*, the pagarchy at the *civitas* level had become an established part of the administration throughout Egypt. Technically there were now seven provinces, or eparchies, in Egypt proper:¹¹⁵ Aegyptus I and II, Augustamnica I and II, Arcadia, and Thebaid Superior and Inferior. The “double provinces” of Aegyptus, Augustamnica, and the Thebaid each received, however, superior civilian and military authority in the form of the

110 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 4–6: μηδέποτε κλη[ρω]θῆ[σ]α ὑπ[ὸ] π[α]γαρχικῆν ἐξουσίαν ἀπὸ γονέων | αὐτῶν καὶ προγόνων, ἐχόντω[ν] τὸ προνόμιον αὐτ[ῶ]ν ἀπὸ θε[ο]ῦ τύπου | τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως | Λέ[ον]τος. As Ruffini 2008a, 118 notes, the reading of Leo’s name is not certain. Also κληρώ might be doubted, as the term is extremely rare in this period.

111 *O.Ont.Mus.* II 223 (Aphrodite; III?); *P.Col.* VIII 235 (Antaiopolis; 229/312?); *P.Kell.* I 30 (Oasis Magna; 363); *P.Kell.* I 42 (Oasis Magna; 364).

112 Was the village subject to a *praepositus pagi* or did it already enjoy a privilege similar to that *pronomion* described in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019? The various rudimentary forms of civic administration in the “village” would point to the latter alternative and Leo may just have formally renewed this privilege in light of the newly empowered, “elevated” pagarchy, in which case the elevation of the pagarchy to the *civitas* level would have to be assumed as roughly contemporary to Leo’s granting of the privilege, but this is all speculative.

113 A curious passage in the *Coptic History of the Church* attributes to Emperor Marcian (r. 450–457) a decision to prohibit *boēthoi* to enter a village to collect taxes. Instead, the pagarchs are supposed to collect the taxes themselves and hand them over to the ἐπιτροπος κατα επαρχια (pg. II recto col. a). This depiction is, in any case, confused: both the “early” and the “later” pagarchs had *boēthoi* at their disposal, and certainly did not collect the taxes themselves in each village. While the “early” pagarchs would seem to be more suitable candidates to enter their villages on a regular basis, they would not hand over the taxes to the provincial office, but to the *exactor civitatis*. Perhaps this account, coming from a later perspective, blurs different stages in the evolution of the pagarchy but still contains the vague idea of reform in or around Marcian’s reign.

114 For the alternative 487 CE, see p. 46 n. 107 above.

115 The remaining provinces to form the Egyptian diocese, Libya Superior and Inferior, were each governed by a *dux* to whom a *praeses* was subordinate in each province.

dux et Augustalis, to which a civilian officer, the *praeses*, was subordinated.¹¹⁶ These *duces et Augustales* were directly subordinate to the pretorian prefect of the East, so there was no longer one superior authority for the Egyptian diocese. Arcadia, whose treatment is missing in the edict, never had its own *dux* until some years before the Arab conquest, but there are indications that this province was at least temporarily subject to the *dux* of the Thebaid in the latter half of the sixth century.¹¹⁷ *Edict 13* subordinated the pagarchs to the recently installed *duces et Augustales*,¹¹⁸ but this presumably did not change much of the pagarch's day-to-day business: before and after 539, they would probably deal mainly with the bureaus of the eparchies in issues of accounting.¹¹⁹ The intention of *Edict 13* seems to have been rather about giving the *duces* a more immediate hold of the pagarchs and entitle them to intervene in critical cases.¹²⁰ Although the curials still had their part to say in issues of tax collection, the regulations of the pagarch's replacement leave no doubt about his importance: the *dux* was not entitled to impeach the pagarch on his own but had to notify the pretorian prefect of the East, who would then seek imperial approval for any further way of proceeding.

We cannot say, however, whether the transformation of the pagarchy took a similar path outside Egypt. Evidence for its sister phenomenon, the model of fiscal participation, has not surfaced anywhere else.¹²¹ A curious passage from *Edict 13* gives way to some speculation in this regard. Here, Justinian orders that the region of Mareotis and the *civitas* of the Menelaïtes, both in the eparchy of Aegyptus I, be henceforth under the authority of the *dux* of Libya. Yet nowhere is there any mention of what should happen to the pagarchs (or other local administrators) of these places, suggesting, if only vaguely, that the local

¹¹⁶ See Palme 2007c, 246 for a lucid table showing the development of the Egyptian provinces and their governors. I shall therefore speak of Aegyptus, Augustamnica, and the Thebaid simply as “provinces,” in contrast to the “eparchies” of Aegyptus I, Aegyptus II, and so forth. *Edict 13* appears to speak, however, of *praesides* for the Thebaid in the plural, which begs the question of whether that means that each eparchy had its own *praeses* (see also Zuckerman 2004a, 53). On the power of the *dux et Augustalis* in Egypt, see Kaiser forthcoming and Legendre 2016.

¹¹⁷ See Palme 2013c with further references, and Derda 2006, 44–56 (cf. also the table on p. 57). The potential subordination of Arcadia under the authority of the *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid is based on an analysis of Dioskoros's poems to the *dux* Athanasios (Morelli 2008). It would seem dubious, however, that this authority would not have been covered by his regular titlature. Ultimately, it is equally possible that the authority over Arcadia to which Dioskoros alludes was grounded in some other of Athanasios's capacities that yet escapes us.

¹¹⁸ Strictly speaking, this regulation is extant only for the two Aegypti and the Thebaid, but the edict is incompletely preserved.

¹¹⁹ See *P.Mich.* XI 624 (Arcadia; early VI?), where two collegial pagarchs are said to have rendered fiscal reports (*anaphorai*) to the presidial bureau of Arcadia, and *Ed. 13.25*. The *exactores* too had taken their orders from the *praesides*; see Thomas 1959, 125.

¹²⁰ Palme 2013b.

¹²¹ See Durliat 1990 for an ambitious attempt to apply Gascou's model of fiscal participation to the world of the Western Empire and its successors. This attempt has, however, been met with much criticism for its handling of the evidence, and indeed the argument, while remaining essentially possible, fails to convince me based on the evidence available to date. Moreover, the structure and the character of private landholding seems to have been different in the West; see now Begass 2018, 440–449.

administration of Libyan *civitates* level essentially resembled that in Aegyptus.¹²² No other region allows for a comparable reasoning. Did other provinces resort to different solutions in the fifth century, after abolition of the *praepositi pagorum*?¹²³ New evidence may illuminate these local conditions of the late Roman eastern provinces, but I suspect that tenable results are more likely to emerge from another direction, namely the former Roman provinces of the early Islamic Empire outside Egypt. The administrative language of the early Islamic Empire drew in considerable measure upon local traditions, and the documentary evidence from the Syrian and Palestine regions of the early Islamic period has only rudimentarily been exploited in this regard.¹²⁴ So far, we have to retreat to speculation.

— v —

SUMMARY

In 307/308 CE, in the final stage of Egypt's long process of municipalization, the office of the *praepositus pagi* was created and a new administrative division into *pagi* imposed on the rural parts of the *civitas* territory. The abandonment of Egypt's particular form of administration reflects an empire-wide effort and consequently, the Latin title of the *praepositus pagi* was also employed, in Greek transliteration, for the official's title in the Eastern Empire. The office, however, seems from the beginning to have been rendered as *pagarchia*, even in Latin, and its discharge found a convenient expression in the verb *pagarchein*. The official's title of *praepositus pagou* later found a Hellenized alternative in two synonymous terms: *pagarchos* and *pagarchēs*, which both may initially have been colloquial expressions before they had entered official jargon by about 370 CE. There is no sign that this terminological change entailed any administrative adjustments; the "early" pagarchs, the *praepositi pagorum*, were in control of conglomerates of several villages, while estates and hamlets permeated their *pagi*. Although there is no unambiguous evidence that *pagarchia* acquired a territorial meaning, it could well be called after a central village, from which point the expression, "pagarch of the village," as found in one text, becomes understandable. The "early" pagarchs were curials and subordinate to the *exactor civitatis*, acting on their own or collegially.

122 *Ed.* 13.18–22. The edict holds that Libya would not be able to cover its expenses without the taxes from these two newly incorporated places. The text contains no regulations concerning the authority of the Libyan *dux* over pagarchs as are extant for Aegyptus and the Thebaid. But in these latter two instances the edict aimed at defining the authority of the *newly* implemented posts of the *duces et Augustales* in Aegyptus and the Thebaid. Since Libya was already governed by a *dux* before the edict was issued, such regulations would not be expected here.

123 Guus van Loon is currently preparing a major study on the *praepositi pagorum*, which will certainly also correct the flaws that my model of the transition of the pagarchy exhibits.

124 Eugenio Garosi is currently conducting a study focusing on the evolution of administrative language in the early Islamic Empire, notably its influence and dependence on local terminological traditions. The majority of the Arabic material has yet to be studied.

Around the mid-fifth century or shortly afterward, the pagarchy was, like other civic liturgies, entrusted to the *oikoi*, which had only recently been institutionalized. Since the large estates had already begun to be vested with the duty to collect taxes on their territories, the authority of the pagarchies at that time extended no longer over contiguous areas but rather over those fractions of it that the scattered possessions of the large landowners had left. From this situation it was only a small, and logical, step to render fiscal authority over villages to those magnates who already had interests and an elaborate administration present in these areas, and some of the “village pagarchies” were thus turned into *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, villages over which a large landowner exercised fiscal authority. Villages whose fiscal issues could not be conveniently handled through any of the *oikoi* fell into one unified pagarchy. This stage had probably been reached by 493 CE at the latest.¹²⁵ The status of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, their administration, and their share of the countryside in relation to the pagarchy will be explored in Chapter Three, from which perspective the development outlined here will become even more likely.

Recruited from the city’s administrative elite, pagarchs were now significantly higher in rank than the old *praepositi pagorum*. They appear to have gained independence from the civic authorities and became subject to the governors of the eparchies, while the pagarch’s superior of old, the *exactor civitatis*, apparently lost much of his competences with the exception of record keeping business,¹²⁶ and was also transferred to the *oikoi*. Following *Edict 13* and the reform of Egypt’s provincial administration in 539 CE, the pagarchs were more immediately bound to the central authorities: their appointment ultimately depended on imperial approval and they were formally subordinate to the newly installed *dux et Augustalis*, while in practice they supposedly still worked closely with the *praesides* at the level of the eparchies. Due to the lack of evidence, it is, however, obscure what happened to the *praepositi pagorum* in other provinces in the fifth century.

¹²⁵ Or even a little earlier, if one accepts my interpretation of *SB XX 128* from 487 CE; see p. 46 n. 107 above. In this case, this text would also suggest that the development described in this chapter, although largely drawn from Oxyrhynchite sources, can be assumed to have occurred also outside this region.

¹²⁶ Maybe the *exactor* still supervised tax collection in the urban center of the *civitas*. The relation of the pagarchy to civic institutions in the sixth century will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

The Mechanics of Extraction

OPERATING AT THE INTERSECTION of the provincial bureaus and the local level of the Byzantine countryside, the pagarchs played a distinctive role in the fiscal process. This chapter will evaluate that role. The pagarchs' networks pervaded the fiscal landscape of the cities and enable us to retrace both the flow of taxes and the exercise of public authority at the local level. Specifically, this chapter confronts the widespread idea that the pagarch was the head of the nome, or similar. The reality was, as expected, more complex than that. Wolfgang Liebeschuetz noted not too long ago:

“We lack the evidence to decide whether, or to what extent, the administration of civic and imperial expenditure was kept separate in the cities of Egypt. Was the pagarch involved in municipal finance as well as the collection of taxes? Was the *dēmosion logistērion* concerned with municipal accounts as well as the updating of the imperial tax register? Did cities like Oxyrhynchus have significant income from civic estates or urban properties? What precisely was the remaining functions of the decurions?”¹

A closer look at the mechanisms of the pagarchy cannot answer all these questions but nonetheless contributes considerably to clarifying some of the underlying mechanisms.

Reconstructing the pagarchs' network is not easy, however. The doings and dealings of the various fiscal officials on the provincial, city, and village levels, their interactions, and the administrative procedures are hard to pin down exactly and uniformly. The strict bureaucratic administration of modern times with its abstract and clearly defined areas of responsibility are hard to encounter in the classical and late antique world. In what follows I do not aim to provide a handbook of late antique Egypt's fiscal administration but rather

¹ Liebeschuetz 2001, 197 n. 177.

to illustrate how the fiscal authority of the pagarchs was accepted (or tolerated) and expected to be exercised. Due to the available evidence, this perspective is largely an Antaiopolite one. But although evidence from other nomes is scant and may imply alternative forms of organization, we will see that what is there, by and large, points in the same direction or at least does not contradict the view that the Antaiopolite pattern may also fit other nomes.

— I —

THE FISCAL LANDSCAPE OF LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT
AND THE TERRITORIAL PAGARCHY

Since Diocletian, the territorial organization of the empire from the imperial level, via the prefectures and dioceses, down to the provinces largely followed the needs of military command. Local territorial organization, by contrast, was mainly modeled according to the necessities of tax collection, intended to secure a smooth flow of contributions from the lowest taxable entities upward.² The central hub of this organization was the *civitas*, which in a legal sense was much more than just the urban center, the former nome *mētropolis*. In fact, the *civitates* had become identical to the former nome, comprising both the urban center and the country villages and hamlets. A. H. M. Jones framed it as follows:

“The Roman empire was an agglomeration of cities (*civitates*, πόλεις), self-governing communities responsible for the administration of the areas which they occupied, their territories. In each *civitas* there was a town which was its administrative capital and in varying degrees its economic and social centre, but there was no legal distinction between the urban and rural members of the community. Constitutionally and administratively, then, the cities were the cells of which the empire was composed.”³

Besides the legal equality of urban and rural parts of the *civitas*, in practice there were certainly fiscal subdivisions, which can be glimpsed in Justinian’s *Edict 13*. The wording of the edict lists the “provinces (*eparcheiai*), cities (*poleis*), and rural districts (*topoi*) under him [i.e., the *dux et Augustalis*],” thus effectively distinguishing *provincia*, *civitas*, and *territorium*.⁴ A later chapter specifies the governor’s duty to “send to Alexandria the amount thereof [i.e., of the grain tax] that the places and cities under him contribute.”⁵

2 For an instance, Roger Bagnall has argued that the village organization came into being virtually only when confronted with the public fiscal regime (Bagnall 1993, 137 and 316).

3 Jones 1964, 712.

4 *Ed. 13.24*: ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίαις τε καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τόποις. Here the virtual subordination of the τε καὶ (...) καί-clause under ἐπαρχίαις might be taken as an illustrative indication of the urban center and the city territory as obviously distinct entities under the head of a province.

5 *Ed. 13.26*: ὥστε ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν (...) κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων κατ’ ὅσον <αἱ> ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τεταγμέναι χώραι τε καὶ πόλεις.

This may merely represent a descending administrative hierarchy, but there seems to be more to it. The explicit distinction between city and hinterland correlates with the evolution of the pagarchy presented in Chapter One, as will become clearer when we examine the pagarchy's spatial dimension. Evidence from the sixth century suggests that, at that time, *pagarchia* was mostly used in an abstract sense that referred to the institution.⁶ As we have seen, *Edict 13*, which certainly conveys official terminology, apparently does not conceive of a pagarchy as a territorial entity but instead distinguishes *poleis* from *topoi*.⁷ We have also seen in Chapter One that these *topoi* served to designate different kinds of settlements in the countryside, among them villages and hamlets.⁸ The pagarchy would thus not comprise a clearly defined and bordered territory, but rather a list of particular places or localities.⁹ At the same time the pagarchy was occasionally perceived as an area.¹⁰ In a petition, the inhabitants of the village of Aphrodite complain about the misconduct of the pagarch Menas:

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- 6 Cf., e.g., Rouillard 1928, 3 for an attribution of a territorial meaning to “pagarchies” without further investigation.
- 7 The edict refers only once to a *παγαρχία*, namely in Chapter 25, the context being the dismissal and replacement of fraudulent pagarchs: τῶν δὲ ἐπιλεγέντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τούτων (...) ἀντικαθισταμένων καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων παγαρχίας τε καὶ οὐσίας ἐμβαινόντων. Blume translates this as: “those chosen in their [i.e., the fraudulent pagarchs’] place may be substituted for them [...] and may receive into their hands the districts and the property of the former prefects thereof.” What lurks behind Blume’s translation of *παγαρχία* as “district” is his conception of “pagarchs” as “prefect of the country districts,” which is the regular translation throughout the text. He therefore takes *παγαρχία* as the territorial manifestation of the pagarch’s authority. The use of the word *ἐμβάινειν* in connection with *οὐσίας*, however, is a clear indication of a metaphorical meaning of the phrase in the sense of “and may enter into (the possession/hold of) their offices and their property.”
- 8 See especially pp. 36–37 above on *C.Th.* VIII 15.1 and p. 39 on *Isid.Pel. epist.* 51.
- 9 In the fourth century, the situation appears to be similar: most instances of *pagarchia* refer to the office or institution, though occasionally, a territorial intent seems plausible, referring to a *pagus* that comprised certain villages and hamlets. See p. 36 above on *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3307.
- 10 Apart from the papyri discussed in this section, there are some fragmentary and dubious instances, starting with *P.Mich.* XV 742.14–15 (unknown origin; VI), most likely referring to costs raised by (or for) the office, not the territory. Then there are two fragmented and dubious attestations from *SB I*, both of which not securely dated and no photos are available: *SB I* 4812.11 (Arsinoe; 591–602? or 610–640?) and *SB I* 4848.10 (Arsinoe?; Byzantine?). Another papyrus from that era, *SB I* 4707 (Arsinoites; Byzantine), has been revisited by Jördens 1992, 286, but her revision is only partially rendered in *BL X* 179–180. Although Jördens reads another line before the beginning of the text in the *editio princeps*, she sticks to Wessely’s line count *ad loc.* I follow her in this respect. The text has [-ca.?-] ημῆνην παγαρχίαν in l. 6 and [-ca.?- ημ]ῆνης παγαρχίας in l. 11. Given the relative rarity of the ending of the participles and in view of the comparable expression ἐ]κ τῆς αὐτῆς παγαρχίας in *P.Rain.Cent.* 81.5 (on which see below), both cases can possibly be restored as τὴν εἰρημῆνην παγαρχίαν or, respectively, τῆς εἰρημ]ῆνης παγαρχίας. It is tempting to connect the latter phrase to ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ in the preceding line, yet this restoration does not appear to fill all lost text in the left half of the papyrus. Some enjambments make it obvious that there must be more than eight lost letters; see, e.g., ll. 3–4, 5–6, and 12–13. Probably some apposition to πραιτωρίῳ has been lost in the beginning of line 11 and the sense of ll. 3–6 could approximately be “that N.N. (-ὄδωρον) hands over sureties [and comes/goes/returns into the] aforementioned pagarchy,” but this is speculative.

“He [i.e., Menas] did not stop his mad behavior to tear apart and turn upside down, as they say, the pagarchy, which he plundered, and whose goods he transferred into the (monastery of) Apa Senouthios.”¹¹

The Greek verbs for “to tear apart” and “to turn upside down” are attested only in transitive use and therefore most likely imply the pagarchy as their direct object.¹² Later in the sentence, it is, then, clearly the pagarchy that is plundered and whose goods are removed by Menas. There can therefore be no doubt about the territorial aspect of the pagarchy in this instance.¹³

What does it entail, then, when a pagarch or a pagarchy is attributed to a certain *civitas*, as in “pagarch of Antaiopolis”?¹⁴ Basically, there are two positions, the first of which holds that the expression “pagarchy of Antaiopolis” entails that a territorial pagarchy was congruent with the entire nome, that is, the *civitas*. This became most influential in the rendering by Harold I. Bell.¹⁵ By contrast, Matthias Gelzer argued (earlier than Bell) that the pagarchs were responsible for the villages in the *territoria* of the *civitates* only, excluding localities that were specifically exempt from their authority such as autopract villages.¹⁶ Germaine Rouillard tried to strike a balance between the two: she pointed to the pagarch’s intrusion into the issues of the autopract village of Aphrodite, concluding that the pagarch was the central civil authority in the *civitas* and, while being deprived of the responsibility for the tax collection in autopract villages, he still had his say in the event of irregularities.¹⁷ The current *communis opinio* is in essence Rouillard’s formulation of Bell’s argument,¹⁸ but the references mostly go back to Bell. However, Bell’s remarks drew on the early Islamic evidence, without the intention to describe the pagarchy’s extension within the nome.¹⁹ Rather, he sought to illustrate the more general claim that the pagarchies of the early Islamic period had their roots in the structure of the old nome/*civitas*. Making Bell the authority for

11 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 20: οὐκ’ ἐπαύσατο μανιῶν διόλο(υ) διαρπάξει καὶ ἀθετησαί φησιν τὴν παραρχίαν, ἣν ἐξεπόρθησεν ἀποτεθεικῶς τὰ τα(ύ)της χρήματα εἰς τὰ Ἄπα Σενουθί[ο(υ)].

12 See *WB* and *LSJ*, s.vv. The word for “to tear apart,” διαρπάζω, can also mean “to spoil” or “to corrupt” (see *LSJ*, s.v.). The basic meaning of “to turn upside down,” ἀθετέω, is “to negate” (i.e., a clause or a contract; see *WB*, s.v.).

13 I had the pleasure of discussing this thought with Jean-Luc Fournet who had been coming to the same conclusion during work on his forthcoming reedition of Dioskoros’s petitions. In another instance in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, the petitioners note that Menas had “taken over” the Antaiopolite pagarchy: ἀντελάβετο τῆς παραρχίας | Ἀνταίο(υ) (col. I 10–11), but here, the word is ambiguous.

14 This expression as such is of course no proof of a responsibility in the urban center, as Friedrich Oertel (1917, 302) noted early, distinguishing “Spezialorgane der städtischen [...] Verwaltung im engeren Sinne” from “Organen staatlicher Zweckbestimmung für den Sprengel ‘Stadt.’” There is no difference between a pagarch (or a pagarchy) τῆς Ἀνταίου and a pagarch τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν; see, e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 6 and 10–11 and col. II 18–19.

15 Bell 1908; see Mazza 1995, 186 n. 55 for these and other early literatures on this issue.

16 Gelzer 1909, 94 and 95.

17 Rouillard 1928, 61.

18 Mazza 1995, 186 and n. 55.

19 This has been noted early by Gelzer 1909, 90.

the relation “pagarchy = entire nome” in the Byzantine period is therefore misleading, yet scholars advocating this equation still routinely refer to him. Bell’s view for the Byzantine period in fact tended more toward Gelzer’s, as becomes clear in Bell’s later statement that the pagarch of this era “had no authority over the municipality, which after the creation of his office ceased to be responsible for the finances of the rural territory.”²⁰

Although the evidence is patchy, it seems likely that at least in the sixth century the pagarch’s authority indeed did not extend to the entire *civitas*, probably due to its development from the much more fragmented authority of the *praepositus pagi*. The pagarchs’ authority over the villages (*kōmai*) in the countryside is the most uncontroversial claim about their purview and will be discussed later in this chapter. The pagarchs’ fiscal authority over the villages is also their most immediate link to their earlier incarnation, the *praepositi pagorum*. The fact that the pagarchs’ title incorporated the name of a city does not necessarily mean that their authority extended into the urban center, even if they probably had their residence there.²¹ As just seen, Justinian’s *Edict 13* distinguishes between the city’s urban center and the countryside. Its *praefatio*, quoted in the Introduction to this study, complains about the disorder in Egyptian tax collection and draws a telling distinction between the pagarchs and other fiscal authorities:

“[...] but the pagarchs, the curials, the collectors (*praktōres*) of the taxes, and especially the officiating governors (*archontes*) so managed the matter that no one could know anything about it and so that it was profitable to themselves alone.”²²

The pagarchs are separated from the curials in the same way in a later passage, which first describes the pagarchs’ standing vis-à-vis the *dux et Augustalis* of the two Aegypti before proceeding with the curials’ relationship to him.²³ This distinction is also obvious in the parallel passage for the subordinates of the *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid:

“And subject to him, of course, as stated before, shall be the *praesides* of the provinces, who govern the mentioned provinces, and their bureaus’ subordinates and the entire provincial (*politikē*) or civic (*dēmosia*) auxiliary staff, and the pagarchs, and the curials, and in general all those who—with regard to these provinces—are (there) or inhabit (them) or act as pagarchs (*pagarchountes*) or in any matter handle public affairs.”²⁴

20 Bell 1948, 121; cf. 120 (emphasis mine): “[t]he whole *rural area* now forms a single district, financially administered by an official called a pagarch.” See also Bell 1917, 99.

21 The separation of the power of the pagarchy from the urban center is a point in Gelzer’s and Bell’s original argument that is frequently passed over. Gelzer did not elaborate on this point but appears to have simply taken it as self-evident, given the origin of the pagarchy from the *pagi*.

22 *Ed. 13 praef.*: οἱ παγάρχαι δὲ καὶ οἱ πολιτευόμενοι καὶ οἱ πράκτορες τῶν δημοσίων καὶ διαφερόντως <οἱ> κατὰ καιρὸν ἄρχοντες; translation adapted from Blume.

23 *Ed. 13.12.*

24 *Ed. 13.25.*

Again, the pagarchs are mentioned next to the curials and somewhat apart from anyone else involved in the fiscal process. All of this suggests that the pagarch's authority was distinct from that of the civic authorities.

Another probable instance is an administrative letter from the sixth or early seventh century that concerns a controversy between the bureau of the *defensor civitatis* of Hermopolis on the one hand and a *megaloprepeia*, supposedly the *dux* or the *praeses*, on the other.²⁵ The reason for this controversy was apparently an order by the *megaloprepeia*, which involved “the summoning of those from the said pagarchy who have been subject to accusations.”²⁶ Roberta Mazza suggested that this text may indicate that the pagarchy was “a territorial entity related to the city but distinct from it, consequently moving it to a meaning close to ‘pagus.’”²⁷ The papyrus is damaged so it remains unclear what sort of pagarchy or pagarch has previously been mentioned in the text. Still, it seems plausible that this pagarch(y) was that of Hermopolis since the *defensor civitatis* was responsible for one *civitas* and would normally not extend his authority to other nomes. The term, then, appears to relate to the countryside of Hermopolis in its entirety, which would define the boundaries of the pagarchy roughly as Gelzer assumed them.

Such developments are illustrative of the “more and more formal supreme authority” that the city councilors wielded over the rural territory, which now basically consisted of three parts: territories gathered under the *oikoi*, autopract villages, and the villages under the authority of the pagarch.²⁸ Furthermore, as we have seen, the supervision of the pagarch's fiscal authority had previously been taken from the civic administration, and

25 *P.Rain.Cent.* 81 (Hermopolis; VI–VII). The editor uses paleographical observations for the rough date and further argues from the occurrence of a *taxis* (Lat. *officium*) that the text must be younger than 535. One may infer from the term *defensoria taxis* (l. 2) that the text predates the Islamic conquest. Although the *ekdikos* is still attested well into the eighth century, it seems unlikely that his bureau would be rendered with the transliterated Latin title as *defensoria taxis* under Arab administration; indeed, all papyri that attest the Greek transliteration of the Latin *defensor* stem from the fourth and the fifth centuries.

26 *P.Rain.Cent.* 81.4–5: τὴν παραγωγὴν τῶν ὑπὸ αἰτίαισιν | γινομέ[νων ἐ]κ τῆς αὐτῆς παγαρχίας. There appear to be only two parallels for the connection of παράγειν with ἐκ and they date back as far as the Ptolemaic period: *P.Lond.* VII 1979.4–5 (Alexandria; ca. 253 BCE) and *P.Köln* XI 453.6–7 (January 24, 159 BCE). *WB* has no attestations of this construction, neither does *LSJ*, save for s.v. παράγω II 5, but this concerns the ancient grammarians, writing about etymological derivations. It is, theoretically, conceivable that the accused individuals were received “from the pagarchy,” that is, from the hands (or through the help) of the pagarch and his subordinates; see Mazza 1995, 185 n. 52 and cf. *WB*, s.v. παράγω § 5. I know of no instances in the papyri, however, in which an office such as the *pagarchia* is styled as an actor on its own and one rather expects a personal reference to the pagarch or his subordinates in such cases.

27 Mazza 1995, 185: “un'entità territoriale correlata alla città, ma da essa distinta, risalendo quindi a un significato prossimo a pagus.”

28 See Palme 1989, 98: “So hat man unter der mehr und mehr formellen Oberhoheit der Bule (*curia*) ab dem 5. Jh. n. Chr. auf dem Territorium einer *civitas* drei Arten von Verwaltungseinheiten: 1. die οἰκοὶ der autoprakten Grundherren (private und kirchliche), 2. die autoprakten Dörfer, 3. die Pagarchen.” We should not understand these three entities as clearly marked-off territories, however. Instead, this was probably rather a matter of registration.

handed over to the provincial governor, the *dux et Augustalis*, whose power increased considerably due to the policies enacted by *Edict 13*. This increasing sidelining of the cities as administrative-political factors was apparently intended to strengthen the governor's position vis-à-vis a concentrated mélange of local elites, and to provide the central authorities with more immediate access to local administrative procedures.²⁹ According to *Edict 13*, the opacity of the local networks spun by pagarchs, curials, tax collectors, and *praesides* was the main reason for this reorganization. There is no question that these developments were largely a response to, and continuation of, wider socioeconomic trends. The “decline” of the cities since the third century, for instance, has been much discussed³⁰ and the *autopragia*, the privilege of paying imperial taxes directly to the provincial offices was initially countered by the government before being incorporated into the administrative system.³¹

All these actors at the city level—*oikoi*, autopract villages, the pagarchy, and civic administration—did not form enclosed areas of authority under the provincial bureau. Rather, they were interlinked at various points. The *oikoi* will be discussed in Chapter Three and the autopract villages in Chapter Six; the remainder of the present chapter will instead explore the pagarchs' relation to the civic administration and the mechanics of tax collection in the villages under the pagarchy.

— II —

FISCAL OPERATIONS AT THE CITY LEVEL

The preceding section has established a conceptual difference between the city's urban center and its countryside from an administrative point of view. Building on this, the following section will examine the pagarchs' relation to civic institutions in matters of tax collection, which includes their relation to the *dēmosion logistērion*, their relationship to civic business in the countryside, and their own administrative infrastructure at the city level.

I. *The Public Audit Office (Dēmosion Logistērion)*

A central node of the fiscal operations at the city level was the *dēmosion logistērion*, the public audit office, central treasury, or accounting office in the *civitas*, which was a genuinely civic institution.³² Since the pagarch is sometimes described as the “director” of taxation or gener-

²⁹ See the Introduction.

³⁰ See Laniado 2002 for a detailed analysis of this transformation and Liebeschuetz 2001 as well as articles collected in Krause & Witschel 2006 for other influential voices. More-recent literature on the curial dignitaries and their careers during this transformation is assembled in Palme 2013a, 119–120.

³¹ See pp. 33–34 above.

³² On the *dēmosion logistērion*, see the literature in *CPR XXIV*, p. 43 n. 23. The working of this institution is vividly described, at the example of Hermopolis, by Wipszycka 1971 and Gonis 2007a and illustrated

ally as the center of tax collection in the late Roman-Egyptian *civitas*, it would seem only natural to assume that he directed the operations of the *logistērion*.³³ Some scholars have explicitly or implicitly done so, most of them drawing on the idea that the pagarchy's territorial purview was congruent with the entire nome/*civitas*.³⁴ The identification of the *dēmosion logistērion* with the bureau of the pagarchy is argued with an overall administrative context by Allan Chester Johnson and Louis West;³⁵ later, Ewa Wipszycka put forward the same hypothesis and described the *dēmosion logistērion* as the “accounting office of the pagarchies.”³⁶ Following Wipszycka, Bernhard Palme pointed to the communication of the *apaitētai* with officials from the *logistērion* such as the *boēthos tou logistēriou* and the *diastoleus*; he took those officials as an intermediate level between the pagarch and the villages, and appears to argue that the pagarch's bureau and the *logistērion* were identical.³⁷ There is no positive evidence in favor of this assumption, however, although surely both institutions were essential to the fiscal operations of the *civitas*.

Although their connection must have been close, the *dēmosion logistērion* and the pagarchy certainly operated separately. In equating the (Byzantine) *logistērion* with the pagarchs' bureau, Wipszycka drew on Roger Rémondon's observation that the *logistērion* was “the accounting office of the city and, very likely, of the pagarchy.”³⁸ Yet, Rémondon goes on to argue that in 708/709 CE (!) the *dēmosion logistērion* possessed only limited autonomy vis-à-vis the central government represented by the pagarch, implying that it had once enjoyed more autonomy.³⁹ Indeed the text that both Rémondon and Wipszycka refer to, although fragmentary, suggests that the pagarch was requested to give an order to the *boēthos tou logistēriou*.⁴⁰ It is notable, however, that the sender still perceives the *boēthos* as an administrative entity and does not, for instance, demand directly that the pagarch comply

by the extensive *P.Sorb.* II 69. For imprisonments in the *logistērion*, see Krause 1996, 104, 140, 160, 162, 166–167, and 194. Court proceedings also appear to have been held here; see *P.Panop.* 30 (Panopolis; 332), where the *exactor* presides over one of these. For the *logistērion* in the first three centuries CE, cf. Kruse 2002, 799–800.

33 “Director” of taxation: Liebeschuetz 2001, 188.

34 See the preceding section.

35 Johnson & West 1949, e.g., 174–175.

36 Wipszycka 1971, *passim*, esp. 109: “bureau des comptes des pagarchies.”

37 Palme 1989, e.g., 105, 108, and 172; cf. the reservations of Gascou 1992, 354 on this point.

38 *P.Apoll.*, p. 118: “bureau des comptes de la cité, et très probablement de la pagarchie,” cited by Wipszycka 1971, 109, where “*P.Apoll.* 47” must be read for Wipszycka's “*P.Edfou* 47.”

39 *P.Apoll.*, p. 118: “A cette époque [that is, 708/709 CE, Rémondon's, now obsolete, date for *P.Apoll.* 47] le δημόσιος λόγος ne doit jouir que d'une autonomie restreinte vis-à-vis du gouvernement central représenté par le pagarque.” With *dēmosios logos*, Rémondon in fact refers to the *dēmosion logistērion*; on this equation, see the next section.

40 *P.Apoll.* 47.3: παρακαλῶ ψηφίσασθαι μηκέτι τὸν βοηθ[ὸν τοῦ λογιστη(ίου) -ca.?-]; for the restoration cf. l. 8. The text is from the archive of the pagarch Pappas (i.e., from the second half of the seventh century) and supposedly addressed to him.

with the request.⁴¹ This highlights that the *boēthos logistēriou* was not merely the pagarch's clerk, but an official acting on his own authority,⁴² and that consequently the *dēmosion logistērion* was not simply the pagarch's bureau. If this was true in the early Islamic period, when the pagarchy extended over the entire nome,⁴³ there is little reason to suppose that it was any different before the conquest, when the pagarchy extended into only part of the nome, however considerable.

But let us turn to the Byzantine evidence. Most recently, Lajos Berkes has implicitly accepted the idea of the *dēmosion logistērion* being the pagarch's bureau by pointing to some tax receipts from the Dioskoros archive, in which *boēthoi* sign in the name of the pagarchs, suggesting that these were *boēthoi tou logistēriou*.⁴⁴ This would entail that the officials signing these receipts on behalf of the pagarchs were attached to and placed in the *dēmosion logistērion* of Antaiopolis rather than in or around the village of Aphrodite. My analysis of the tax receipts from the Dioskoros archive in Stern forthcoming (d), hopefully, leaves little doubt that these signatories were in direct contact with locals in the Antaiopolite countryside. The documents concerning the *dēmosion logistērion* also provide ample evidence to support this point. The *boēthos tou logistēriou*, for instance, rather than signing tax receipts as someone else's intermediary, featured regularly as an authority proper in the documents. He certainly did not write, on his own, receipts in the name of the pagarchs but had the authority to use intermediaries himself;⁴⁵ one transfer of tax responsibilities (*epistalma tou sōmatismou*) illustrates that the *boēthos logistēriou* was not simply part of the *logistērion*, he was the *logistērion*.⁴⁶ In the Antaiopolite receipts, *hypodektai* and *boēthoi* fulfill comparable roles for different taxes, whereas receipts from the *logistērion* suggest that the *boēthos tou logistēriou*

41 Pace Foss 2009, 12, who takes this text as an illustration that the pagarch Papas “headed the local bureaucracy that in Apollonos included an accounting office (*logistērion*)”; cf. p. 8 with the same assumption in the context of *P.Mert.* I 49, which is, however, not linked to the Papas papyri that Foss focuses on in his article.

42 See also *P.Apoll.* 47.4 and 8, mentioning ἰδικὰ προστάγματα, apparently in relation to the *boēthos tou logistēriou*. Furthermore, if the latter was merely the pagarch's subordinate, it would be difficult to comprehend why the Aphroditans were so frequently dealing with him in the Dioskoros papyri, given the villagers' fierce resistance to the pagarch's involvement.

43 On these developments, see the preceding section.

44 Berkes 2017a, 164 n. 282: “An keiner dieser Stellen werden die βοηθοί als Dorf-βοηθοί definiert, und da sie im Namen des in Antaiopolis residierenden Pagarchen quittieren, handelt es sich wohl um βοηθοί des λογιστήριον von Antaiopolis.” The idea is thus more of an assumption used to reject the idea that the *boēthoi* in these receipts were village *boēthoi*. These texts and the role of the *boēthoi* in this context will be discussed later in this chapter.

45 This is clearly seen in some documents from the large body of evidence that the Hermopolite *logistērion* has left us: *BGU XVII* 2720 (588/589?), *CPR VII* 29, *P.Berl.Cohen* 20, *SPP III*² 42 (all early VII), and *P.Herm.* 85 (VII). The amounts in these receipts are strikingly low, only in *BGU XVII* 2720 reaching six keratia (which is the median amount in the Antaiopolite receipts). Are these amounts part of back payments to balance or finalize accounts? Also in *P.Aphrod.Reg.* (Aphrodite; 526/527) the *boēthos tou logistēriou* appears (l. 75, 162) as an authority proper—here for the collection of the *embolē*—and draws remuneration from the village's *dēmosia* (l. 176).

46 *P.Würzb.* 19.3, 15, and 16 (Hermopolis; March 3, 622); Mitthof 1999, 136; Gascoy 1986, 100–101 (= 2008, 226–227). The *hypodektai* and *boēthoi* will be discussed in Section III below.

managed certain accounts for the *hypodektai* and was thus not on the same hierarchical level.⁴⁷ The formal separation of the *boēthos tou logistēriou* from the business of the pagarchy is finally illustrated by an account of civic expenses from Antaiopolis: in this document, the remuneration of the *boēthos tou logistēriou* and expenses for the pagarchy are accounted for separately.⁴⁸

The pagarchs' dealing with civic administration was nonetheless intense, as the next subsection will establish.

2. Civic Business in the Countryside

Even though the pagarchs' purview did not extend into the urban center in the same way as into the countryside it is evident that they kept close ties to the civic administration. Not only were they responsible for tax collection from plots taxed as *astika* (lit. "pertaining to the city")⁴⁹ but they probably also had their hands on civic (that is, publicly owned) land in the countryside. SB XX 15016, a tax receipt in which a *boēthos* confirms a rent payment (*phoros*) to the pagarchs, can illustrate this point:

"From the *endoxotatoi* pagarchs through me, Matoi, *boēthos*, to Menas, the tenant [or: to Menas, son of Phoibammon]. I have received in full from you the rent (*phoros*) of my third share that is under you(r care) of the plot that is (of the) barren (category), called Karkarou, for the tax assessment (*kanōn*) of the eighth indiction, in accordance with the legal force of the assigned registration (*sōmatismos*), and for your legal security I have made this receipt as it is here. The *endoxotatoi* pagarchs through me, Matoi, *boēthos*, who agrees with this receipt as it is here. The Holy Trinity."⁵⁰

Now, it is generally agreed that in late antique Egypt the line between rents and taxes had blurred due to a mingling of the private and public spheres,⁵¹ and also here, the *phoros*

47 This is argued by Bernhard Palme in *CPR XXIV*, pp. 45–46, and can also be seen in *P.Princ.* II 89. A comparable case is *SPP III* 43, where the *diastoleus* of the *logistērion* issues a receipt for a payment that was effectuated not by the contributor Daniel, but by a certain Georgios, who is probably to be identified with a Georgios who is a βoηθός κωμοκατοίκων, i.e., a *boēthos* with responsibility for a particular tax; see the discussion by the editor.

48 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 10 (Antaiopolis; ca. 551/552?): [συν]ήθ(εαι(?)) βoηθ(οῦ) [λο]γιστηρ(του) {λογιστηρ(του)} ν(ομίσιματ)α ἰβ (with haplography, according to *BL* I 106). Also in *P.Aphrod.Reg.* 176, the *boēthos tou logistēriou*, at a time when Aphrodite was not yet subject to the pagarchy (526/527 CE), receives salary out of the *dēmosia* of the village of Aphrodite.

49 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67045; 67046; SB XX 14121. All these are tax receipts signed by *hypodektai*.

50 SB XVI 15016 (Antaiopolite; 559/560). The end of l. 1 should read: βoηθ(οῦ) Μηνᾶ μισ[θ(ωτῆ)] ἐ]δεξάμεν, but Μηνᾶς Φο[ιβάμμ(ωνος)] may be an alternative. In ll. 3–4, after ἐκ πλ[ή]ρ[ους], one must probably restate κ[α]τ[ὰ] τ[ὴν] τήναμιν (read δύναμιν) τοῦ | προσπετ(ω)κ(ότος) (read προσπεπτωκότος) σωμα(τισμοῦ). On these readings, see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Matoi. The name of the *topos* is given in other documents either as "Pkarkarou" or, as here, without the Coptic definite article, as "Karkarou."

51 On Gascou's "rent-tax," see p. 108 below in Chapter Three, where also a hypothesis for a more nuanced picture will be established.

payment is linked to the tax assessment of the present indiction. But there is more to it. The land is explicitly in the pagarchs' possession—despite the confusion of the numerus, which is common.⁵² Therefore, the document hardly records an ordinary tax payment. Are the pagarchs, consequently, joint owners of the land in question and collecting the rent in their private capacity? This also does not seem to be the case: the pagarchs are not addressed with their personal names but anonymously as a collective—in contrast, for instance, to the Arsinoite pagarchs Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates when these appear in documents linked to their estate.⁵³ In addition, during this eighth indiction of 559/560 CE, not fewer than three pagarchs were in office, including Ioulianos, who is known to have controlled an estate of his own.⁵⁴ Finally, the signing *boēthos*, Matoi, is well known and his public role is evident.⁵⁵

The reference to a registration (*sōmatismos*), which apparently defined the conditions of payment, adds another point. A *sōmatismos*, literally “embodiment,” that is, of a legal arrangement, is mostly a technical term for the transfer of tax liabilities. The new owner had to enter his name in the public register through a “commission of registration” (*epistalma tou sōmatismou*), while the former owner had to formally request through a “commission of remission” (*epistalma tou kouphismou*) that their name be removed from the register.⁵⁶ In Hermopolis, this register was kept by the *dēmosion logistērion*,⁵⁷ and in Oxyrhynchos, by the “bureau of the *exactor*” (*exaktorikē taxis*),⁵⁸ whose responsibilities included maintaining land

52 SB XX 15016.1–2: ἐδεξάμεν (read ἐδεξάμην) καὶ ἐπλη|ρώθη|ν παρὰ [σοῦ] τὸ [ν] φόρο [ν] τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ [μο]υ τρίτον (read τρίτου) μέρους τοῦ [ν] κτήματος. The phenomenon of singular stylization of such receipts even for plural senders is widespread; see, e.g., the amusing “lapsus” in P.Mich. inv. 3272.8–9 (Keenan 2012), where the same writer, Matoi, confused the grammatical and logical order even more clearly; for a parallel from a different context, see SPP III² 68.1, 3, and 4 (Herakleopolites; late VI–early VII). Giovanni Ruffini (2011, s.v. Matoi I [a]) wonders whether [μο]υ may instead be referring to Matoi, but parallels such as P.Cair.Masp. III 67327.37–49 show that the nominal issuing party (here, the landowner) is still the subject in such cases and referred to via μου (l. 39): the intermediary is a slave (*pais*) and overseer (*pronoētēs*) and therefore certainly not the landowner. For the ὑπὸ τὸν δεῖνα formula, see Gascou 1987, III–113 (= 2008, 256–257).

53 Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates repeatedly appear in private contexts and they bear a common patronym, i.e., they were siblings. If one is to assume that SB XVI 15016 is about private rents, then the pagarchs' appearance in plural would imply that they were joint owners of an *oikos* and had taken the pagarchy together, for which there is so far no evidence from the Thebaid. That officials signing on behalf of their superiors sometimes omit the personal names of these superiors is not the standard pattern, but there are examples dating back as far as the second century (cf. P.Lond. II 309.14–19; Kruse 2002, 793). Also, the anonymous reference to the office makes little sense in the context of personal ownership.

54 SB XVI 12370; see Stern forthcoming (d).

55 The next section will discuss the role of the *boēthoi* and that of Matoi in particular.

56 P.Oxy. LXXXII, p. 170. P.Würzb. 18 (Arsinoites; 2nd half of IV) is an example of the former, P.Würzb. 19 (Hermopolis; March 3, 622) of the latter.

57 *Epistalma tou sōmatismou*: P.Laur. III 77. *Epistalma tou kouphismou*: P.Würzb. 19.

58 *Epistalmata tou sōmatismou*: P.Warr. 3; P.Oxy. I 126; P.Oxy. XVI 1887; also P.Oxy. L 3583 (see l. 4). *Epistalmata tou kouphismou*: P.Oxy. LXXXII 5339–5341. But note P.Oxy. L 3583 (444 CE), which is not addressed to the *exaktorikē taxis* but only to the *meris* of the *oikos* of Timagenes. It is notable, however,

registers.⁵⁹ Moreover, the *dēmosios logos*—the more abstract fiscal interest of the *civitas*⁶⁰—at times functions as a legal entity in leases of public land, in which it is represented by civic or provincial authorities.⁶¹ In the autopract village of Aphrodite, publicly owned land, as well as the registration of tax liabilities, fell under the authority of its own *dēmosios logos*,⁶² which was represented by the village *boēthos* or the village headmen (*prōtokōmētai*).⁶³ But the *dēmosios logos* is not synonymous with the *dēmosion logistērion*: the former is the abstract fiscal interest⁶⁴ that may in certain contexts manifest as an institution, while the latter embodies a concrete authority.⁶⁵

that these documents state their purpose to be “the security of the *dēmosios logos*,” though *P.Warr.* 3 and *P.Oxy.* L 3583 use *dēmosios* only here (the relevant passage is lost in *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5339 and 5341).

- 59 Liebeschuetz 2001, 187–188. The author ignores the Oxyrhynchite exclusivity of the *exaktorikē taxis* after 500 CE; the *exactoria* occurs, however, in the Petra papyri of the sixth century. With the evidence we have it seems impossible to establish the conditions in which the bureau of the *exactor* and the *dēmosion logistērion* might have coexisted. Cf. now *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5341.3–4 (Oxyrhynchos; June 16, 575), addressing τῆ ἐξακτορικῆ τάξει τῆ τε [sic] βοηθοῖς | λογιστηρίου. A document from a similar context from Nessana in Palestine, *P.Ness.* III 24 (569 CE), is instead addressed to the *logographos* of the *civitas*.
- 60 The *dēmosios logos* should not be confused with the formula εἰς λόγον δημοσίων: the latter is simply an alternative to ὑπὲρ δημοσίων in the context of tax payments and, at least in the Antaiopolite tax receipts, depends on the writer’s habit. The spelling εἰς λόγον δημοσίων (!) (*SB* XX 15013 and 15015), however, is a personal trait of the *boēthos* Pninnos (see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v.).
- 61 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105 (September 28–October 27, 532) concerns the village territory of Pthla. In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67103 (September 16, 526), the village is lost, but since the addressed officials are not village authorities we may conclude from the pattern that it was not Aphrodite (see the following). Note that these papyri are way earlier than our evidence for the Antaiopolite pagarchy, which may indicate a development, on which I will comment below. See also *P.Oxy.* LXXXII, p. 144 for land under the *exaktorikē taxis* and the civic management of lands associated with the city council. For the revenues of cities from publicly owned land, see Liebeschuetz 1996, 389, 390 n. 6, and 391.
- 62 No *dēmosios logos* of any other village is known and we are certainly facing yet another reminiscence of Aphrodite’s pseudo-civic status. Vanderheyden 2015, 152–153 and Keenan 2008a, 291 both equate Aphrodite’s *boēthos* with the *boēthos logistēriou*, which Zuckerman (2004a, 129–130) refrains from, instead arguing that this *boēthos* is the same as those who appear in “de nombreux documents” simply as *boēthos*. However, no *boēthos logistēriou* from the village is known; the instances of a *boēthos tou logistēriou* in accounts from Aphrodite are all from a context of Antaiopolite officials. In practice, however, Aphrodite’s *boēthos* certainly was comparable to a *boēthos logistēriou*, most notably because, unlike other village *boēthoi*, he was not employed by the pagarch: he figures, for instance, among the signatories of a petition against the pagarch Ioulianos (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 col. II 24).
- 63 Lease of public land: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67106 (October 10, 539); the land here is “barren” (l. 11: *aporos*), which is significant. The *boēthos* is the *boēthos* of the village, the title being specified in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67118.9. Requests for the transfer of tax liabilities (*epistalmata tou sōmatismou*): *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67119 (511/512?); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67117 (June 25–July 24, 524); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67118 (September 29–October 28, 547). The proceedings *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67329, however, refer to a transfer of parcels from an Antaiopolite village into the circumscription of the autopract village of Aphrodite and thus are negotiated before Antaiopolite officials, among them the *boēthos tou logistēriou*.
- 64 E.g., in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001.20; 67002 col. III 14. Cf. the *dēmosia agora* in *P.Stras.* I 46.6, which takes the same role (and is represented by the same man!) as the *dēmosios logos* in the contextually close *P.Stras.* I 47.32 and *P.Stras.* I 48.4. Scholars commonly treat these institutions as synonymous.
- 65 The *dēmosios logos* in Hermopolis is at times represented by the *boēthos tou logistēriou* (*BGU* XIX 2788; *P.Würzb.* 19), but at Aphrodite we witness other institutions (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67103; 67105; *P.Lond.* V 1687; *P.Stras.* I 47–49 and 51) and *P.Würzb.* 19 appears to imply that also in Hermopolis *dēmosios logos* and *dēmosion logistērion* were not synonymous, for in ll. 15 and 16 the *logistērion* is named on its own as an institution representing someone.

Does the pagarchs' possession of land in SB XX 15016 relate to such public land? This seems indeed to be the case, for the plot is described as “of the barren (*tou aporou*)”—a land category whose administration through public authorities is well known.⁶⁶ Novel 128 from 545 CE shows more clearly how Justinian's government looked to distribute among local authorities land that was abandoned or whose owners were unable to pay the taxes:

“If the owner of the land does not appear, or is unable to pay the tax [...] we order that documents fully describing the nature and condition of the said land and its appurtenances shall be drawn up before the *praeses* of the province in order that the curials, that is to say, collectors, or *vindices* or *officiales* may receive it.”⁶⁷

In SB XX 15016, tellingly, the tax liability is *assigned* to the pagarchs as the “owners.”⁶⁸ In our case, the plot is administered in the name of the pagarchs by Matoi as village *boēthos*,⁶⁹ who was probably employed by the pagarchs to do so.⁷⁰ This reconstruction seems to be supported by two land registers from the early Islamic period, in which Karkarou is classified as *astika* land.⁷¹ Karkarou is mentioned in yet another document from the sixth century, featuring a pagarch along with his accountants (*trakteutai*) and, again, a *boēthos*.⁷² Although

66 For the *aporos* category and the management of these parcels by the civic and village authorities, see *P.Sorb.* II 69, pp. 28–29 and Johnson & West 1949, 21–22 and 95–96. Cf. *SB XVI 12370*, a genuine tax receipt for “ownerless” (*adespotos*) land, issued by three (!) pagarchs, which is a singular instance. For the *adespotos* category, see Johnson & West 1949, 21 and 97. Cf. *BGU XIX 2788.8* (Hermopolis; 607/608), addressed to the *dēmosios logos* and certainly referring to some issue in regard to the registration of land. At the end of the document, the officiating *boēthos tou logistēriou* is said to have chosen a new farmer for a certain plot of land. The fragmentary text mentions that taxes had been overdue and that the former lessee (or owner; the text is not clear) of the plot had died, but it is unknown whether either of these facts was the reason for reassigning the land.

67 *Nov.* 128.8: εἴ ποτε δὲ συμβαίῃ δεσπότην οἰαςδήποτε κτήσεως ἢ μὴ φαίνεσθαι ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων καταβολὴν μὴ ἀρκεῖν (...) κελεύομεν ὑπομνήματα γενέσθαι παρὰ τῷ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἄρχοντι δηλοῦντα τὴν ποιότητα καὶ κατάστασιν τῆς αὐτῆς κτήσεως καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐυρισκόμενα, ἵνα οὕτως αὐτὴν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι ἤγουν ἐξάκτωρες ἢ βίνδικες ἢ ταξεῶται παραλαμβάνουσιν. For the translation (adapted) and interpretation, cf. Ruffini 2008a, 146. In this context, *exactor* is a more general term and is not referring specifically to the *exactor civitatis*.

68 There are earlier instances where the *sōmatismos* refers to the tax liabilities of the tenant instead of the owner (see *WB*, s.v. σωματισμός § 2; *P.Fay.* 33), but since after 415 CE the landowners were responsible for the taxes of their tenants, this seems an unlikely scenario in our case. Thus, the use of the word *phoros* may even underscore the above reconstruction: the *phoros* is technically rent but substitutes for the taxes the owner has to pay for the tenant.

69 Dioskoros's complaints that the *boēthos* of Phthla has seized his ground, leaving him the tax payments (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 14–15; *P.Lond.* V 1677.13–16), appear to reflect this responsibility.

70 The next section will show that Matoi was most likely a *boēthos* at the village level. Village *boēthoi* were not genuine village officials, but employed by higher authorities for certain localities.

71 *P.Lond.* IV 1419.826 (Aphrodite; 716/717): (ὑπὲρ) κτήμ(α)τ(ος) Καρκάρου(υ) (ὑπὲρ) ἀστικο (read ἀστικῶ(ν)) Ἄνταίο(υ); restored in l. 1362. *SB XX 15099.275* (Aphrodite; 716/717): (ὑπὲρ) κτήμ(α)τ(ος) Καρκάρου under the heading [ἀστικ(ῶν)] Ἄνταίοι (l. 273). The link between these texts and *SB XX 15016* has already been argued by Marthot 2013, 232. Marthot later links the *topos* Karkarou tentatively to the village of Phthla, i.e., outside of Aphrodite's “potentially special” area (II 114).

72 *SB XX 14241* (Aphrodite; ca. 553?; for the date, see Stern forthcoming (d)). I am indebted to Yasmine Amory for sharing some insights from her forthcoming reedition of this text. The pagarchs' *trakteutai* will be discussed in the following subsection.

the text is fragmentary, it appears that this group was to oversee, again, *aporos* land and that a land registration concerning Karkarou was at stake here.

The de facto public character of this “rent” payment may also be implied by another rent receipt signed by a certain *pronoētēs* Psates in the name of “the *endoxotatoi* pagarchs,” that is, again for an anonymous collegium.⁷³ In case this were a private estate, and individual ownership were the essential information, it would seem odd to refer anonymously to the pagarchs, given that the pagarchy was not a lifetime attribute. It is therefore more plausible that these two receipts show us the pagarchs as formal “owners,” or rather administrators, of public land they had rented out in this capacity.⁷⁴ In this case, the pagarchs rely on a *pronoētēs* (“supervisor”), a private employee that we find so frequently as “*pronoētēs*, or, *hypodektēs*” managing taxes for the large estate of the Apiones in Oxyrhynchos.⁷⁵

Another interesting text in this regard is an Antaiopolite lease in which the pagarch Ioulianos leases out a plot for “for as long as [I shall be in charge] of the pagarchy of the same city [scil. Antaiopolis],”⁷⁶ which may imply that the land will routinely change ownership with the end of Ioulianos’s pagarchy.⁷⁷ The contracts explicitly notes that the plots to be leased belonged previously to a now late curial, and this makes for the intriguing speculation whether this is noted here because the plots after the death of that man fell to the city.⁷⁸ Even though the sample is small, it seems plausible to infer from all these observations that the Antaiopolite pagarch at some point took over the administration of

73 *SB XX 15014* (Antaiopolite; VI), in which l. 2 should read: παρὰ σοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκφορ(ίω)ν ἔκτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). For the formula, see, e.g., *BGU XII 2184.1* (Hermopolis; VI).

74 Cf. the *ekphorion* receipt *P.Lond.* III 1072 (Hermopolis; VI), addressed to the Holy Church through the “*pronoētēs* of the share (*meris*) of Hermopolis,” with the interpretation of Gascou 1985, 40–41 (= 2008, 162–163).

75 This institution will be discussed in Chapter Three.

76 Following Lemaire 2010, 398, *PSI IV 283.9–10* reads: ἐ]φ’ ὅσον χρόνον . . . [±7] | τὴν παραρχείαν τῆς ἀ[υ]τῆ]ς πόλεως, which she translates as “for as long as [we shall be in charge] of the pagarchy of the same city,” without being able to restore the essential verb, however. Her reading seems fine to me, but the traces before the lacuna look indeed more like αἰ or αἷν. Also possible, however, is delta with a prolonged downward stroke; the same appearance of delta can be noted in l. 5: ἐνδοξότ[(ατος), l. 13: δια[κ]εμ[έν]ας, and l. 16: ἰδίω, although in the latter case the letter’s belly is fully closed at the top. The restoration δ[ια]κατέχω, meaning “ein Amt innehaben,” therefore has its attraction; see *WB* s.v. κατέχω and cf. *P.Giss.* 40 col. II 3: ε[ι]ς τὸ δια[κ]ατέχειν ἢ λα[μ]β[ί]νειν τὰς πο[λ]ι[τι]κὰς [τ]ιμὰς (and perhaps *P.Tebt.* I 88.16 as well). The construction “for as long as I . . .” is in similar contexts attested for *P.Grenf.* I 59.5–6 (Antaiopolites or Apollonopolites; V–VI): ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον γεωργοῦμεν τὸ κτῆμα τῆς σῆς | λαμπρότης and *P.Horak* 9.16 (Hermopolites; VI): ἐφ’ [ὅσο]ν χρόνον γεωργῶ τῶν (αὐτῶν) σου ἀρουρῶν (see the commentary on the genitive). In *P.Eirene* II 12.13–14 (Herakleopolis; 492): εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς λογιστίας (read λογιστείας) τοῦ προειρη|μένου οἴκου looks quite comparable (the same formula is extant in *CPR V 17.9–10*); note the contrast to the parallel *SB XII 11079.15–16*, where the duration is fixed, probably because the duration of the *logisteia* was fixed beforehand (ll. 7–8).

77 The rent is measured τῷ φορικῷ μέτρῳ (l. 24), i.e., probably, according to Ioulianos’s “private” standard; see Keenan 1985b, 144.

78 For the identification of this man, see Ruffini 2011, s.v. Kuros 16, a man who had ties with Dioskoros’s family, which may provide the link to Phoibammon; see Ruffini’s entries (b), (d), and (f). These entries also suggest that Ioulianos was not among the heirs of this curial (in addition, Ioulianos is once called “the Arsinoite”); moreover, *PSI IV 283* explicitly states the origin of this plot of land, which seems unlikely in the case of a regular heritage.

(some) public land from the civic officials who acted on behalf of the *dēmosios logos*. It is possible, of course, that some allocations or divisions of responsibilities among these institutions simply escape us.⁷⁹

In any event, these documents suggest that the pagarchy sometimes assumed the role of guardians of civic interests in the countryside. With Egypt's municipalization, the responsibility for tax collection had fallen to the cities and their councils. Curial liturgical officials such as the *hypodektai*, *epimelētai*, and *apaitētai* discharged their liturgies under the supervision of the *exactor civitatis* and at least some of them reoccur later under the authority of the pagarch. The evidence for the *exactoria* after 500 CE, though scant, suggests that this institution continued to fulfill a central function for the fiscal process even after the pagarchy had been introduced.⁸⁰ This rudimentary *exactoria* was probably restricted to the urban center, however,⁸¹ and thus became a sort of anachronistic concession to the councils that acknowledged their former privileges. Also, the *dēmosion logistērion* was still in place; councils and civic administration had not disappeared but were left mostly marginalized to a point that literary sources can hold they no longer existed.⁸² The new powerbrokers in the *civitates* were gathered in the new regime of notables, made up of the bishops, the *possessores*, and the *honorati*. An Oxyrhynchite papyrus from the latter half of the sixth century is probably illustrative in this regard:⁸³ in a list of contributions for a bathing house from “the whole city,” the pagarchy, shared by two *endoxotatoi*, is only one contributor among many parties, among them individual aristocrats, *oikoi*, heirs of aristocrats, and a single village. While the document relates to institutions rather than to geographical entities, it still shows that the pagarchy was only part of the fiscal landscape of the *civitas*, not congruent with it. This may just be conceived as part of a continuous process during which the pagarchs took their fiscal and executive authority from the level of the *pagi* to the level of the *civitates*.⁸⁴ Certain concessions were apparently still granted to the city councils, particular in regard to tax collection in the urban center, but there is little question that pagarchs like Strategios Paneuphemos or Ioulianos had their say in everything fiscal, and likely more than that, in

79 SPP III 264 (Arsinoites or Herakleopolites; VI), very fragmentary, reads on the recto as follows: ἐπλήρωσ(ε) ὁ κύριος [-ca.?-] | παραρχ() τὸ ἐνοίκιον [-ca.?-] | τῶ(ν) ἀπὸ Φαρμ(οῦ)θ(ι) α [ἔως -ca.?-]. The wording pattern for this type of document makes it quite likely that a pagarch “fully paid” the rent for a place here; cf. BGU I 47 and 173 (both Arsinoites; VII–VIII). The lacuna in l. 1 leaves enough space for the personal name and an epithet when one adds in l. 2 the name of the plot in question. The alternative interpretation, that the renter is a subordinate “of the pagarchy,” is without precedent in this context; in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II, where this specification occurs, it is required to draw a contrast to other institutions.

80 See Chapter One on the supposed “ousting” of the *exactor civitatis* by the pagarch.

81 Cf. Liebeschuetz 1996, 394 for a comparable reconstruction—assuming that the “bureau of the *exactor*” is not an Oxyrhynchos-exclusive anachronism.

82 See Tuck 2011, 287 for the sources.

83 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 (Oxyrhynchos; 566/567?). This text will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

84 Cf. the marginalization of civic offices such as that of the *defensor civitatis*, whose tenure lasted five years (*C.J.* I 55.4) until 535 CE but was then reduced to two years (*Nov.* 15; Tuck 2011, 301).

their *civitates*, yet how these authorities were negotiated among the new elites of the cities remains hidden from our sight. It is significant in this context that the civic expenses for the pagarchy in mid-sixth-century Antaiopolis were paid out of taxes destined for “external” purposes, highlighting the pagarchy’s position as related to, but distinct from, civic administration, as the next subsection will show.

3. The Pagarch’s “Bureau” at Antaiopolis

After all that talk of the pagarchs’ bureau, one should note that there is no direct evidence of an official bureau, a *taxis* (Lat. *officium*) of the pagarch. We are on firmer ground, however, when we take “bureau” to mean the entirety of an official’s staff, which is the original sense of the term *officium*.⁸⁵ The pagarchs, though oftentimes personally engaged in their duty, did probably not bother much to get involved in day-to-day fiscal operations but instead had the work of accounting, checking, and balancing individual payments carried out by various officials and employees.⁸⁶ As with much of the minor administrative staff of late antique Egypt, little work has been done on these.⁸⁷ Much of the following is therefore hypothetical, but may nonetheless illuminate the fiscal network that spun around the pagarchs. An extensive account (*logos dēmosiōn*) of the city of Antaiopolis dating from the mid-sixth century provides an excellent starting point, although some critical passages are damaged.⁸⁸ The document lists the city’s expenses, divided into four categories: *annona* (the grain tax, here including some adaeerated extraordinary expenses for military expeditions), “*kanonika* and others” (various imperial taxes), *synētheiai* (official salaries, apparently for provincial officials), and, finally, expenses “for the pagarchy.” Apparently, this is supposed to be a comprehensive account of taxes due from the city after civic expenses had been settled. The separate accounting for the pagarchy, listed below, confirms that it was both part of the *civitas* and formally separate from the civic administration:

“On the account of the [singular] *ep*[—] *log*() 43 nomismata.

On the account of the servants of the administration of the pagarchy 124 nomismata, 6 ½ keratia.

To the *trakteutai* of the pagarchy 50 nomismata.

To the *hypodektēs* of the same [i.e., the pagarchy] 36 nomismata.

To the *logographos* of the same [i.e., the pagarchy] [—] 12 nomismata.

⁸⁵ Palme 1999, 100 n. 78 and *nFWB*, s.v. τὰξις § 5.

⁸⁶ *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295 col. I 10 contains a restoration of the pagarchy’s ἐξυπηρετούμενοι (“subordinates”), which, however, is an *exempli gratia* restoration and is therefore not taken into account here.

⁸⁷ Cf. Bagnall 1995, 78: “In a papyrologist’s dream world, every office would have a recent monograph devoted to it.”

⁸⁸ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057. I will focus on the account for the pagarchy; for discussions of various aspects of this text, see Bransbourg 2016, 310–311; Zuckerman 2004a, 54–56; and Johnson & West 1949, 275–285 and 294.

To the councilors for the [---] people nominated⁸⁹ 36 nomismata, 16 keratia.

Total 301 nomismata, 22 ½ keratia.”⁹⁰

It is hard to make sense of the order of these entries: it does not appear to be hierarchical or reflect the size of the amounts involved. The amount of 36 nomismata for a single *hypodektēs* stands out, however, especially in comparison with the 50 nomismata for two or more *trakteutai* (Lat. *trakteutai*) or with the 12 nomismata for a single *logographos*, and may therefore indicate an approximate hierarchy. I will nonetheless go down the list.

The first entry remains a mystery. It contains the largest individual amount and since all other entries refer to people, this seems to be an official rather than an institution, but which one?⁹¹ The paleography is not conclusive.⁹² Possibly the remark *eis logon* (“on the account of”) is significant here and is supposed to clarify that the first two entries are not reimbursements to particular officials but rather money to hire someone.⁹³

Likewise, the entry for the “servants of the administration of the pagarchy” is not styled on the person but “on the account of,” and may therefore allude to staff appointed by the

89 On the use of δίδωμι for nominating people for liturgical offices, see *WB*, s.v. and Lewis 1997, 59. Lexically close parallels of πρόσωπα for inhabitants attributed to a διοίκησις are preserved in the archive of Basileios from the early eighth century, e.g., in *P.Berl.Frisk* 6.18–19 and *P.Lond.* IV 1345.5–6; cf. *P.Lond.* IV 1343.3 and *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 6.10.

90 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 24–31:

εἰς λόγον τοῦ ἐπ[. . .]λογ() νομίματα μγ
 εἰς λόγον τῶν ὑπ[ο(υ)]ργ(ῶν) τῆς διοικ(ήσεως) [τῆς παρα]ρχ(ίας) νομίματα ρκ[δ κ(εράτια)] ς
 τοῖς τρακτ(ευταῖς) [τ]ῆς παραρχ(ίας) νομίματα ν
 τῷ ὑποδέκτ(η) τῆς (αὐτῆς) νομίματα λς
 τῷ λογωγράφῳ τῆς (αὐτῆς) νομίματα ιβ (read λογογράφῳ)
 τοῖς πολιτ(ευομένοις(?)) [(ὑπέρ)] διδομένῳν . . . προσώπ[ων]
 νομίματα λς κ(εράτια) [ις]
 (γίνεται) νομίματα τ[α κ(εράτια)] κβ

Wipszycka 1971, 113 is incorrect in rendering the officials mentioned here as *hypodektai*, *prakteutai*, *boēthoi*, and *meizoteroi*. Johnson & West 1949, 294 n. 8 compare the total of 301 nomismata 22 ½ keratia to the 300 nomismata that are excluded from a tax reduction in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1907.9–10 (Oxyrhynchos; 574–582) and conclude that this passage refers to the expenses for the Oxyrhynchite pagarchy, but there is nothing to support this claim and the suspiciously rounded sum of 300 nomismata (which does not bear any indication of its content, one should add) rather seems to indicate that this was a sort of guaranteed amount.

91 One might be tempted to see the *epimelētēs* (“caretaker”) of the *dēmosion logistērion* here; cf. *P.Oxy.* I 125.3 (560 CE) and *P.Got.* 9.3–5 (564 CE), both from Oxyrhynchos and concerning the same man; see also *P.Oxy.* I 126 (572 CE), where the same man is instead addressed as *epimelētēs* of the city of Oxyrhynchos and then as the *epimelētēs* of the *oikos* of Theon. But note that in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 10 (with *BL* I 106), the *boēthos logistēriou* appears under the heading of *synētheiai*, not the pagarchy (if this is the city, and not a provincial, *logistērion*).

92 While επ seems certain, the lacuna should, however, probably not exceed two letters, and one can in fact spot traces on the photo. The writer started lambda with a connecting stroke from a preceding letter, which appears to rule out an abbreviation beforehand. I doubt that an official called ὁ ἐπί is hidden here.

93 Maybe an ἐπικείμενος?

pagarch personally.⁹⁴ This interpretation is supported by the fact that the *trakteutai*, the *hypodektēs*, the *logographos*, and, most probably, the unidentified official of the first entry are listed each with their own entry and are thus supposedly tied to the office rather than to the actual incumbent. The servants were presumably officials or assistants working at lower levels, namely in the villages, such as local clerks or the *boēthoi* (lit. “assistants”). It is common that also personal staff such as the *boēthoi* were partially remunerated by the local population.⁹⁵

Trakteutai were accountants at various administrative levels⁹⁶ and our list entails that there were at least two *trakteutai* “of the pagarchy.”⁹⁷ Their role appears to have been essentially that of tax clerks rather than actual collectors, as apparent in one agreement where a subcontractor assures his superior, certainly a village *boēthos*:⁹⁸

“(I assure you) to draw up a calculation (*logopoiia*) and [to effectuate?] the formal fulfillment (*apoplērōsis*) of the aforesaid *dēmosia* and other payments in the presence of the aforementioned pagarchs and their *trakteutai*.”⁹⁹

In these lines the subcontractor lays out the procedure that would usually apply to his superior, the (actual) *boēthos*: the collected amounts were delivered before the pagarchs and their controlling *trakteutai*, where the *boēthos* was held, literally, accountable. A Hermopolite tax receipt, though probably from the early Islamic period, illustrates the procedure by showing its result: a pagarch, through a *trakteutēs*, issues a tax receipt to a village *boēthos* who

94 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 25: τῶν ὑπ[ο(υ)]ργ(ῶν) τῆς διοικ(ήσεως) [τῆς παγα]ρχ(ίας) looks very doubtful and reminds one of Maspero’s *exempli gratia* restoration of the pagarchy in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67295. Consulting the photo, I doubt that there is enough space in the last lacuna for τῆς; one can spot, however, traces of παγα. Furthermore, while the first τη (*sic*) seems clear and διοικ possible, there is clearly no ς in between. Without the article, it would seem just fine (or better: τῆς κ...). However, the fact that officials are to hire/care for their own staff is, e.g., attested in *P.Oxy.* VI 904.3–4 (Oxyrhynchus; V), where a liturgist for the *riparia*, responsible for maintaining public security, promised to provide his substitute with servants, messengers, and guards for the work on the ground, the difference being that in our case these men are (partially?) remunerated by civic expenses.

95 See generally Berkes 2017a, 146–147 and Zuckerman 2004a, 140. *SPP* III² furnishes numerous instances of this phenomenon, e.g., no. 22+84. For the *boēthoi* in particular, see Berkes 2017a, 161–162 and the next section.

96 *P.Sijp.*, pp. 236–237.

97 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67058 col. III (Aphrodite; 549/550?) is part of a collection of accounts similar to *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057, but for the autopract village. It has separate entries for two *trakteutai* getting paid (col. III 3 and 8), the first payment of which is specified as (ὑπὲρ) συνηϋειῶ[ν], the latter is not; both receive the same amount of five nomismata. The recipients are, according to Zuckerman 2004a, 40–42, members of the unit of the Numides. H. I. Bell (*P.Lond.* V, p. 212), however, took the one in l. 3 as *trakteutēs* of the pagarch.

98 The editor suspected this in the first place, but this can be assured by the context in which village *boēthoi* appear, which will be discussed in the next section. Cf. also *P.Oxy.* I 125.7–8: a man in need of a surety in order to become *diadochos* (deputy) to a village *boēthos* for one year.

99 *P.Lond.* V 1660.20–23 (Antaiopolites; ca. 553?): ὡς πᾶσαν λογοποιεῖαν (read λογοποιίαν) θέσθαι καὶ ἀποπλήρωσιν τῶν | εἰρη[μένων] δημοσίων κα[ὶ] | ἐτέρων δομάτων ἐγγύς τῶν προλεχθέντων | παγάρχων καὶ τρακτευτῶν αὐτῶν ἀπ[ο]π[ι].

has turned in the *eumeneia* (official salaries) he had collected from his village.¹⁰⁰ Note that the *eumeneia* is also part of the agreement made in the aforementioned contract.¹⁰¹ Another Hermopolite tax receipt, for the *embole*, is signed by a *trakteutēs* in the name of a pagarch.¹⁰² The receipt is issued to someone's heirs and since it is on the same administrative level as the other Hermopolite *trakteutēs* receipt just mentioned, these heirs are probably the representatives of an *ousia* that had its *embolē* contributions handled through the pagarch's office.

The second-largest individual payment is given to the *hypodektēs* of the pagarchy, who was without a colleague at this level. The *hypodektai* were tax collectors and are therefore discussed in the following section.

Logographoi, dealing with financial issues, served the staff of various officials since the time of Diocletian.¹⁰³ In our Antaiopolite account for the pagarchy, the *logographos* is granted the lowest individual contribution but was obviously important enough to receive an individual entry. It is puzzling that we do not find the pagarchs' *logographos* in any other document from the Byzantine period, perhaps due to terminological inconsistency: in one receipt from the early Islamic period, the same Ieremias who is identified in the beginning as a *logographos* and intermediary for the pagarch signs at the bottom of the document as "Ieremias, *notarius*."¹⁰⁴ In a "list of vouchers from a Byzantine provincial office," a *notarius* receives the substantial amount of more than 27 nomismata, whereas the *logographos* in the same document has to content himself with about 3 nomismata.¹⁰⁵ Did all these writers belong to the same pool and do some of these titles denote professions rather than official positions? Another text from the early Islamic period suggests that a *logographos* (in this case, of the *dēmosion logistērion*) was not entitled to sign tax receipts on his own,¹⁰⁶ but in another one, a *logographos* of unknown attribution does exactly this, though for extraordinary surcharges (*proskairoi*), so this may have been an exception.¹⁰⁷ This illustrates that there

100 *P.Lond.* V 1753. According to Nikolaos Gonis the handwriting of this document fits a seventh-century date (personal information).

101 *P.Lond.* V 1660.9.

102 *P.Lond.* V 1865 (VI). The document is certainly from Hermopolis, which is suggested by the occurrence of the name of the *trakteutēs*, Pkyllis, but is made certain through the occurrence of the formulae ἐπὶ τ[όπου ἐμβολῆς] in l. 2 and μέτρο(ω) Ἀθην(αίω) in l. 4. I am greatly indebted to Nikolaos Gonis for providing me access to his preliminary transcription of this papyrus.

103 Wipszycka 1971, 112–113; *P.Sijp.*, pp. 233–234.

104 *SB* VI 9144.1–2 (Hermopolites; after 641): Φλ(αύιος) Ἰωάννης σὺν θ(εῶ) πάγαρχ(ος) δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰερεμία | λογογρ(άφου) and l. 6: Ἰερεμία(ς) νοτάριο(ς).

105 Traianos Gagos and James Keenan suggested based on *P.Sijp.* 35 that the term *logographos* could have been used to designate the same types of writers as, e.g., *exceptores* or *tachygraphoi*, given that these do not show up in this text (*P.Sijp.*, pp. 233–234). They refer to the equation *logographos* = *notarius* in *SB* VI 9144 (see the previous note) but do not comment on the fact that both positions are mentioned separately in *P.Sijp.* 35.

106 *P.Herm.* 85 (unknown/Hermopolis?; VII) has a *logographos* representing the *boēthos logistēriou* in a receipt for the *annona* (l. 2: ἀννώνη).

107 *BGU* II 799 (unknown; VII–VIII), addressed to a landowner (*geouchos*).

were a variety of *logographoi* in different institutions, and therefore the *logographos tou logistēriou* and the *logographos* of the pagarchy were probably not one and the same post.¹⁰⁸

Finally, the Antaiopolite curials (*politeuomenoi*) apparently nominated (and appointed?) peers for several lower liturgical posts connected to the pagarchy, who were significantly fewer than the pagarchy's "servants." Like the "servants," these curial officials will assumably have acted, however, as a local arm of the pagarch's authority, as the next section will demonstrate.

In short, we may envision the pagarchs' bureau staffed by the *hypodektēs*, who collected certain taxes, several *trakteutai* keeping an overview of the sums coming in from the various local collections, notably via the *boēthoi*, and the *logographos* drafting documents and generally organizing the correspondence, though his role is least clear. There are one, possibly two, receipts directly from the bureau of the Byzantine pagarchy, though of Hermopolis, and both show us village *boēthoi* delivering the amount collected from the villages to the pagarchs' office.¹⁰⁹ In one of these, possibly from the early Islamic period, a *trakteutēs* serves as intermediary for the pagarch in issuing the receipt to the *boēthos*,¹¹⁰ but the Byzantine one appears to be personally signed by a pagarch!¹¹¹ It must have been here that incoming taxes were accounted to the various beneficiaries at the village, city, provincial, and even higher levels. In this office, the pagarchs also had their fiscal reports (*anaphorai*) drawn up for the provincial officials.¹¹² Justinian's *Edict* 13 proclaims that a pagarch may be removed from office if he is "fraudulent in regard to the auspicious grain

108 For the impression of variety, see also the *logographos* in *CPR* XIX 39 (September 28–October 27, 542 or 557?), who is an Aurelius, not a Flavius. Cf. also the *logographos* of a *civitas* who is addressed directly (i.e., not as an intermediary) in *P.Ness.* III 24 (Palestine; 569) and in a function (he receives an *epistalma tou kouphismou*) that may make him identical to the homonymous *logistērion* official in Egypt.

109 It is also conceivable that the money was not actually processed by the pagarchs' staff but credited to the accounts of the various subordinate officials. As can be inferred from Stern forthcoming (d), List 01, both receipts naturally feature a considerably higher amount than the Antaiopolite receipts to individual taxpayers.

110 *P.Lond.* V 1753, on which see the preceding section.

111 *BGU* XII 2196.3: Δωρόθεος στοιχεῖ μοι, κτλ. The different hand cannot be accounted for by a change of style by the same writer. Note how the δεκα has been left out in l. 4 and 5 but is correct in l. 3: apparently, the signatory believed that the paid amount comprised only seven keratia, which he writes twice, instead of seventeen as stated in the upper part of the receipt. A pagarch, Menas Scrinarius, also certainly signed on the verso of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, an internal administrative letter. Perhaps the receipt *P.Münch.* III 152 was also signed personally by the pagarch; note that the amount here is incredibly large and suggests an aggregated sum.

112 *P.Mich.* XI 624; the text may be from Herakleopolis and is assigned to the early sixth century. This document stems from the Arcadian provincial office, that of the *praeses*. The pagarchs might have been present in the provincial capital to deliver (and defend?) a fiscal report, a situation that may also be the context of the pagarchs' stay in Antinoopolis in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068. Comparable to the *anaphorai* may be the *typoi* ("records") of a pagarchy that occur in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829. See also *SPP* VIII 1028, which appears to relate to a pagarch dealing with an *advocatus fisci* connected to the provincial level (cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 23). This papyrus is one of those from the Vienna collection whose provenance is "angeblich Hermopolites" (with Laniado 2002, 94, πολ(ιτευομένου) should be read for πολ(ιτικού(?)).

supply (*sitopompia*) or in regard to what has been paid for the freight charges and for the provincial expenses,” which we can assume to delineate the pagarch’s responsibility beyond city level.¹¹³ The evidence does not provide more detail, and the reality was certainly more nuanced—but given that ancient administration was far from rigidly compartmentalized, this reconstruction is probably not too far from the truth.

— III —

TAX COLLECTION ON THE GROUND

This section will elaborate on how the business of the pagarchy was carried out at the lowest conceivable level—in the many hundreds of villages and uncountable hamlets of late antique Egypt. Much of the evidence in this section comes from the numerous tax receipts from the Dioskoros archive, many of which were issued by the pagarchs through various representatives. In contrast to the two Hermopolite receipts from pagarchs to village *boēthoi* mentioned at the end of the previous section, the extant Antaiopolite receipts from the pagarchs were issued to individual taxpayers. The pagarchs did not personally oversee the handover of such receipts to individuals; instead these were routinely drafted in local bureaus or on the spot. The intermediary signatories of these receipts, and thus the “actual issuers” are of various nature: the most frequent are *boēthoi*, followed by *hypodektai*, *notarii*, and a considerable number of men who sign without stating their office; a *singularis*, a *pronoētēs*, and a *presbyteros* and *dioikētēs* occur only once each). All these men were locally active agents.¹¹⁴ Starting from these observations, the pagarchy’s rank and file can be outlined in more detail. The resulting picture will, of necessity, start from Antaiopolis, although evidence from other nomes complements this material.

I. The Hypodektai

The account of civic expenses quoted earlier showed the pagarchy’s *hypodektēs* (lit. “receiver”) being remunerated by the city of Antaiopolis.¹¹⁵ Is this *hypodektēs* of the pagarchy the same official as the *hypodektēs* of the city who frequently occurs in the papyri?¹¹⁶ The city

113 *Ed.* 13.25, speaking of the Thebaid. The parallel in Chapter 12 for the two Aegypti reveals a similar construction: “the grain (*siton*) or the freight charges (*naula*) or the other taxes (*dēmosia*) that relate to the aforesaid purposes or to the provincial expenses.”

114 For a discussion about where these men should be localized, see Stern forthcoming (d).

115 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 24–31; see pp. 66–67 above.

116 This equation is proposed by the editor in *CPR* XXIV, p. 41. But a terminological fuzziness between different levels of hierarchy is ubiquitous in Byzantine administration, which will be also evident in the case of the *boēthoi* in the next subsection.

hypodektai were liturgical officials, probably appointed for one year,¹¹⁷ and were the major receivers of tax payments on the level of the *civitates*.¹¹⁸ They distributed and transferred the collections from lower tax collectors, such as the *sitologoi*, the *apaitētai*, the *boēthoi*, the *kōmarchai*, or the *prōtokōmētai*.

So again, do the *hypodektēs* of the pagarchy and the *hypodektēs* of the city in fact refer to the same position? The small amounts the *hypodektai* sign for in the name of the pagarchs give pause: four of the seven extant receipts list amounts from 10 ½ to as low as 2 ½+⅓ keratia and consequently certainly refer to individual payments from one single taxpayer.¹¹⁹ What seems clear is that some *hypodektai* were at least occasionally active at the local level in villages.¹²⁰ It has been disputed whether there were *hypodektai* of villages; much of the evidence comes from Aphrodite, which is known to have possessed rudimentary civic institutions despite its nominal village status.¹²¹ But even when discounting the Aphrodite evidence, we find explicit instances of *hypodektai* “of” villages in numerous Fayum papyri.¹²² It has been suggested that these are “elliptical locution[s]” and that these *hypodektai* were still city officials, but convincing evidence for this hypothesis is absent, and the proposed reasoning behind it is fragile.¹²³

117 B. Palme in *CPR XXIV*, p. 119; see also *P.Petra* III 25.2 (Palestine; 559): ὑποδέκτη τῆς παρούσης ἑβδόμης ἰνδ(κτίωνος). Liturgists were partially remunerated; see p. 86 n. 215 below.

118 On the *hypodektai*, see Mitthof 2001, 108–119 and *CPR XXIV*, p. 41 with earlier literature. See also n. 121 below on Aphrodite’s *hypodektēs*.

119 See Stern forthcoming (d), List 01 for “non-codex *hypodektai*.” *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A is too damaged to determine the amount. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67046 (2 nomismata, 10 keratia) looks like an aggregated payment. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67228 may have comprised a larger payment as well.

120 B. Palme in *CPR XXIV*, pp. 42–43.

121 Sven Tost (2012) demonstrated this at the example of the *riparii*, the security officials of the *civitas*. See Zuckerman 2004a, 180–182 on Aphrodite’s (*chryso*)*hypodektēs*, who in *P.Hamb.* III 230 (Antinoopolis; mid VI) is referred to as the Aphroditans’ “own” *hypodektēs* (l. 8: ἰδίου ὑποδέκτου), an expression that creates contrast with the city of Antaiopolis in that same line, at a time when the village was not subject to the pagarchy. Consequently, Aphrodite’s *hypodektēs*, who paid directly to the provincial treasury, should be conceived of essentially as a city, not a village, *hypodektēs*, as Zuckerman 2004a, 181 also seems to suggest. Cf. *P.Petra* III 19.1 (Palestine; 539/540): χρ[υ]σποδέκταις (*sic*) τῆσδε τῆς μητροπόλεως.

122 E.g., in *SB XXVI* 16718 (late VI–early VII), *SPP VIII* 953, 954, and *SPP III*² 23 (all VI). In *SPP VIII* 1040.1 (VI) two (the space seems to exclude more than two) *hypodektai* of the village of Magais and of (the Arsinoite village) Hermopolis occur (see the correction by Palme 1989, 248 n. 202), but it is unclear whether both *hypodektai* were responsible for both villages or whether one was responsible for Magais and the other for Hermopolis. Note that in *P.Prag.* I 68.3 (VII–VIII), however, this phrase must be corrected to Μαγαίδος καγκ(έλλω) (*SPP III*² pt. V, p. 193). See also *SPP III*² 7 (VII), where a *hypodektēs* confirms the remuneration of a *symmachos* by a village scribe, probably through a giro transfer in the accounts of the *hypodektēs*; and *SPP III*² 23 verso for a *hypodektēs* of the village Kaminoi, a village known to have been under the pagarchy.

123 The editor of *CPR XXIV* discards evidence for a *hypodektēs* of Karanis on p. 42 and in n. 20 by referring to arguments made by Naphtali Lewis in *P.NYU*, pp. 10–11, from where the quote is taken. But Lewis’s arguments are not supported by his cited authorities. On p. 10 n. 1, referring to *P.Hamb.* I, p. 198 n. 2, Lewis apparently wants to read *P.Hamb.* I 56 col. VI 28 (Aphrodite; late VI–early VII) as proof that the *hypodektēs* who drew up that list “collected from more than one village.” But this text states only that some liturgists (*leitourgoi*) of the village Θμουθ() contributed to this village account for some reason unknown to us; they do not show that the *hypodektēs* who drew up that list was also responsible for

Still, a conclusive link between the *hypodektai* from the pagarchs' receipts and the city *hypodektēs* can be found in a receipt that is, to my knowledge, without parallel in this form:

“It has been paid for the *onoma* of Apollos, son Dioskoros, through Phoibammon for the *diagraphon* of the 2nd indiction three and a half keratia in gold, that is, 3 ½ ker. and nothing more than that, and I am willing to hand you the receipt of the *hypodektēs* of the city and to take back mine. I, Petros, *diastoleus*, agree.”¹²⁴

In her seminal study of the *dēmosion logistērion*, Ewa Wipszycka reconstructs the context of this document according to the extant legal instructions.¹²⁵ Before this text was written, Phoibammon would have paid the *diagraphon* in the name of Apollos, for which he obtained a receipt from the collecting *hypodektēs*.¹²⁶ Subsequently, Phoibammon brought this first receipt, certainly along with others, to Antaiopolis in order to have his payment properly registered in the accounts of the *dēmosion logistērion*. As he, for some reason, needed proof of payment, the *diastoleus* of the *logistērion* issued him an official confirmation, which is the above (second) receipt. The *diastoleus* declares that he would be willing to hand over the first, the original, receipt when needed, implying that the original receipt had been properly registered in the *logistērion* and, consequently, that Phoibammon had paid the tax; “mine” in the above translation is thus referring to this same document. One can hardly evade the conclusion that the *hypodektēs* of the city who is mentioned here is the same type of official as, for instance, the *hypodektēs* Phoibammon to whom the taxpayer Phoibammon paid for the *diagraphon* in Apollos's name in one of the non-codex receipts:

Θμουθ() as a village. Significantly, these liturgists are specified through their origin while those in l. 25 are not, demonstrating that a single village was the basis of this list. This village was certainly Aphrodite, since one must read the name of the other village not as Θμουθ() but as Θμουα[χ]θ(η) or Θμουε[χ]θ(η): the nu is clear and the edition ignores an obvious lacuna before the second theta. Although there is not much space in this lacuna, it is sufficient if αχ/εχ was written in a sort of ligature comparable to the style of εχ from col. V 1: συντεχνιτ(ων). Maybe the appearance of the liturgists of Thmonachthe/Thmonechthe in this list has something to do with the land transfer from that village to Aphrodite that is referred to in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67329 (Aphrodite; May 26–June 24, 524), but the chronological distance of the two texts makes this hypothesis somewhat unlikely. Next, Lewis cites *P.Cair.Isid.* II.56 as analogy for his hypothesis, translating ἀποδέκταις Καρανίδος as “*apodektai* for [!] Karanis,” i.e., for Karanis among others, but the text does not support his case for the “elliptic” nome *hypodektai*. Quite the contrary, the text features one *apodektēs* of another village (l. 57), and even two *apodektai* “of the city” (l. 59). Also the “*apodektai* of the harbor” that Lewis refers to (p. 10) were clearly not nome *apodektai*, as shown by *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.1, 15, and 38–39, in which two collegia for different harbors occur within the same nome.

124 *P.Princ.* II 89 (553/554 CE?; see Stern forthcoming (d)). The actual construction at the beginning is active and has the *onoma* Apollos (in the nominative) as its grammatical subject, which is rare, but comprehensible when one takes into account the personal nature of these receipts.

125 Wipszycka 1971, 115–116. On the tax payment procedures that *P.Princ.* II 89 illustrates, see also Palme in *CPR XXIV*, pp. 38–53 and Gascou 1986, 101 n. 26 (= 2008, 227 n. 26). At p. 108, despite Wipszycka's reservations, “Boethos, son of Ailios,” is probably a *boēthos* named Ailios. Although Wipszycka is right that the title *boēthos* usually follows the name, these men never give their patronym and Boethos is an extraordinarily rare name; both improbabilities seem too large a coincidence.

126 On the *diagraphon* or *diagraphē*, see *P.Gascou*, p. 69.

“Apollon, son of Dioskoros, has paid through Phoibammon for the *dēmosia* of the third installment (*katabolē*) of the third indiction eight keratia, that is, 8 ker. The *endoxotatoi* pagarchs, through me, Phoibammon, *hypodektēs*: I have issued this receipt as it is above. (And) for the *diagraphon* three and a half keratia in the full standard, that is, 3 ½ ker.”¹²⁷

Although this particular specimen might have been a copy issued on the spot, this receipt was the kind of document that the taxpayer Phoibammon would have brought to the *logistērion* and whose delivery the *diastoleus* Petros confirmed in the receipt quoted.

Yet another point links the “receipt *hypodektai*” to the city level. The tax titles of the receipts reveal the striking pattern that whenever the *dēmosia* are specified, the *hypodektai* sign for *astika* payments, whereas receipts for *kōmētika* payments are signed by the *boēthoi*.¹²⁸ The *astika*, “(things) pertaining to the city,” were originally taxes on land held by inhabitants of the city, while the *kōmētika*, “(things) pertaining to the village,” were taxes on land held by villagers; but soon these categories got fossilized: “once *astika*, always *astika*,” even in changes of ownership.¹²⁹ As in the case of the *boēthoi*, the specification of the city in the tax title—as “*dēmosia astika* of Antaiopolis,” for instance—is certainly why the *hypodektai* in these receipts do not bear a specification. The *hypodektēs* receipts do not indicate to which village the *astika* land that was paid for belonged; it would, however, be an enormous coincidence if the *hypodektēs* receipts were all from Aphrodite, given that six out of seven non-codex receipts by *boēthoi* concern the neighboring village of Pthla, the former always for *astika*, the latter always for *kōmētika*. Even though the sample is small, the accident of transmission of the papyri cannot be blamed for such a clear pattern. The responsibility of a *hypodektēs* for *astika* land in the village was therefore certainly not unique to Aphrodite.¹³⁰ Why, then, were the two connected entries for the grain tax (*embolē*) in the codex receipts—written by the *hypodektēs* Zacharias—not signed by him in the name of the pagarchs?¹³¹ There are two possible explanations. First, it may have been irrelevant whether the signing officials did so in their own name or explicitly, via use of *dia*, as an intermediary.¹³² Second,

127 SB XXIV 15975 (554/555 CE?).

128 See Stern forthcoming (d), List 01: “non-codex *hypodektai*.” These officials sign with comparatively elaborate paraps and frequently use technical shorthand, as fits educated men from the administrative center of Antaiopolis, supposedly from the curial class. However, lower administrative personnel were often educated in cities, too.

129 On the character of the *astika* and *kōmētika*, see Gasco 1987, 113–114 (= 2008, 257–258) and Bagnall 1992, 136–137 (quote). From among the Antaiopolite tax receipts, *P.Gen.* IV 193.1–2: εἰς λόγον ἐμβολῆς | πεντεκαδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ὑπὲρ) κωμ(η)τ(ικῶν) κώμ(ης) Φθλᾶ suggests that *astika* and *kōmētika* are not actual taxes themselves, but rather land tax categories.

130 Cf. *P.Lond.* V 1672 (Aphrodite?; VI), an account of expenses with an entry (ὑπὲρ) τοῦ ὑποδέκ(ου) (ὑπὲρ) συνηθῶν (read συνηθειῶν) | τῶν ἀστ(ικῶν) νο(μισμάτια) δ (ll. 7–8), though it is not clear what this is supposed to mean. The editor opted that this amount was paid for “extras” linked to the collection of the *astika*.

131 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III verso 1–3 and 4; Zacharias uses an elaborate paraph as well.

132 This is suggested by Thomas Kruse in a study on the Roman administrative assistant staff (Kruse 2016, 1764). Cf. *P.Ant.* II 90 (Antinoopolis; VI), also for city taxes, signed by a *hypodektēs* in his own name.

it may be significant that these receipts do not acknowledge the payment, but the shipping of the grain tax; the other Antaiopolite receipts of this kind, all signed by village scribes, also do not refer to the pagarchs.¹³³ All in all, the role of the *hypodektēs* seems more widespread and more engaged at the local level than thus far acknowledged, although we cannot ultimately exclude the possibility that there were a *hypodektēs* of the city and a *hypodektēs* of the pagarchy.

2. The *Boēthoi*

The *boēthoi* furnish the most instances of intermediary signatories in the Antaiopolite tax receipts. There are many types of these “assistants” and the texts are often unclear as to the institutions they actually belong to.¹³⁴ Basically any institution of some significance can be suspected to have had its *boēthoi*—public or private.¹³⁵ Section II of this chapter has established a negative definition, arguing that the *boēthoi* who signed the tax receipts for the pagarch are unlikely the *logistērion* officials some scholars have taken them to be.¹³⁶ Building

133 Or maybe this receipt shows that Aphrodite still had its own *hypodektēs*, who assumed the role usually taken by the village scribes in this context. The argument that payment and shipping of the *embolē* were two distinct administrative steps is developed in the next section.

134 Scholars—and this study will probably be no exception—repeatedly confuse these different types because most *boēthoi* are not further specified in the documents.

135 *Boēthoi* explicitly linked to a *geouchōn* or an *oikos*: e.g., *P.Oxy.* XVI 2049.3 (Oxyrhynchos; VI) and *SB* XVI 9153.11, 31, and 37 (Herakleopolis; 596). See also *P.Bad.* VI 173.2 for a *hypoboēthos* of the imperial *oikos*. It seems, however, only natural that the village *boēthos* also dealt frequently with the local *geouchōn*; see *SB* XVI 12485 (Oxyrhynchos; VI) or, without the village attribution, *P.Harr.* I 159 (unknown; V–VI). Many “official” *boēthoi* may have also conducted technically “private” business for their superiors. In *P.Oxy.* XIX 2244.27, 47, and 75, for instance, *boēthoi* preside over “districts” of an *oikos* and may well be village *boēthoi*. In short, I wonder whether all these *boēthoi* of *oikoi* may be, in fact, village *boēthoi*. The model established by Tost 2012 would seem to fit here: *riparii* “of the city” maintained and paid by local magnates were sometimes addressed as *riparii* “of the *oikos* of N.N.,” though notably, this happens exclusively in the context of private business (“privatgeschäftliche Unternehmung”). This may perfectly explain the situation of the village *boēthoi*, who were hired by the responsible officials and, analogously, also by large landowners in the case of “pagarched” villages: The *boēthos* who provides surety to Flavia Anastasia in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204.6–7 (Oxyrhynchos; January 2, 588) refers to himself as Anastasia’s (!) *boēthos*, but may also have in fact been hired by her to take care of the “pagarched” village that is the residence of the ensured person (the sureties in such documents are often in some way responsible for the place where the ensured person is from). Note that Papnouthis and Dorotheos appear both as *boēthoi* of certain villages and as *boēthoi* of a certain *geouchos* (see Berkes 2017a, 160–161). Similarly, the *boēthos* of the *praepositus pagi* Ision (*P.Sakaon* 46–48) refers to him as his *geouchos* (*P.Abinn.* 28.3, 22).

136 It is not quite clear who the *boēthoi* of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67070 are (cf. the lists in Berkes 2017a, 161 n. 255 and 164 n. 282). They do not want to hand out a receipt for 18 *keratia* on the grounds that they do not have the full amount (*symplerosis*); therefore, the writer of the letter demands that the addressee (an Apollos? Dioskoros’s father and *prōtokōmētēs*?) send seven *keratia*. There seem to be collegia attested for both positions: for village *boēthoi* in *SPP* III 399.1 (Herakleopolites; VI; see Berkes 2017a, 161 n. 255) and for *boēthoi* of the *logistērion* in *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5341.3–4 (Oxyrhynchos; June 16, 575): τῆ ἐξακτορικῆ τάξει τε τε [sic] βοηθοῖς | λογιστηρίου. A possible instance of the latter may also be captured in Hermopolis (see Gonis 2007a, 128); by contrast, Wipszycka 1971, 113–114 argues for one central *boēthos tou logistēriou*. The local distance of the writer to Aphrodite seems not clear (see l. 4: τῆς κώμης ὑμῶν),

on this, the present subsection will arrive at a positive definition. Probably no case is as illuminating as that of the *boēthos* Matoi, who is now known to have issued at least six receipts in total, five of them in the name of the pagarchs:¹³⁷

- *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VIII verso 1–6, a receipt for two money payments from the eighth indiction, effectuated through Dioskoros in the name of his father Apollos. One of these payments is for the *diagraphon*, the other for the (adaerated) *embolē*. The receipt lacks a reference to the issuing party or a signature but can still be attributed to Matoi by virtue of his characteristic hand; it was presumably written on the same occasion as the following receipt and the signature of the latter was intended to be valid for both receipts.
- *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VIII verso 7–13, a receipt for a *dēmosia* payment in money, again by Dioskoros in the name of his father, from the eighth indiction, issued by Matoi in the name of the pagarchs.
- *P.Lond.* V 1666, a receipt for one single payment in money from the eighth indiction in the name of the same Apollos for both the *dēmosia kōmētika* of the village of Phthla and the monks of a monastery, issued by Matoi in the name of the pagarchs.¹³⁸ The intermediary payer is not stated.
- *SB XX* 15016, a receipt for “rent” (*phoros*) for the third part of a barren (*aporos*) lot from the eighth indiction, issued by Matoi in the name of the pagarchs. The receipt is issued to Menas, *mīsthōtēs* (or: son of Phoibammon) and the third part is said to be “under” Menas but is declared “mine.” No amount or currency is stated, only that the *phoros* has been entirely paid.¹³⁹
- *SB XX* 15017, a receipt for another payment by (supposedly the same) Menas, son of Phoibammon, for the crops (*hyper genēmatos*) of a lot¹⁴⁰ belonging to the Holy Catholic Church of the village of Euphrosynos, for the sixth, seventh, and eighth indictions. The payment is made in kind, but it is not clear whether in advance or for arrears. The receipt is issued by Matoi in the name of the church.

but even if the writer finds himself in Antaiopolis when confronting the *boēthoi*, we may recall that also the village *boēthoi* Papnouthis and Dorotheos were residents of the *civitas* (Bagnall 1993, 158).

137 Matoi was thus far known only from non-codex receipts but can also be identified as the writer of the two receipts from the codex *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 listed below; see Stern forthcoming (c) for Matoi’s dossier and for paleographic aspects of this identification, making it certain that these texts were written by the same person.

138 The name of the monastery is lost, but paleographical considerations make Ἀ[γ][ι]ο[υ] an unlikely reading to me. The monks probably appear here since Apollos had leased land from them (Wipszycka 1972, 90 n. 1). Or is this somehow linked to Dioskoros’s activity as caretaker of his father’s monastery?

139 On this text, see pp. 60–64 above.

140 For the expression ἀπὸ τοῦ | λόγου (ll. 2–3), cf. *P.Sorb.* II 69.

- P.Mich. inv. 3272 (see Keenan 2012), a receipt for an *embolē* payment in kind by the heirs of Psimanobet, son of Kyros, in Psimanobet’s name from the eleventh indiction, issued by Matoi in the name of the pagarchs.

The diverse content of these receipts helps sort some things out. First, we see Matoi handling various taxes, both in money and in kind: (unspecified) *dēmosia*, the *dēmosia kōmētika* of the village of Phthla, adaerated *embolē*, unadaerated *embolē*—a picture that fits the so-called village *boēthoi*.¹⁴¹ But then, Matoi also confirms the reception of crops in the name of a church.¹⁴² The Church of Euphrosynos, however, is known as a landowner at Aphrodite,¹⁴³ so it can reasonably have owned land in the neighboring village of Phthla.¹⁴⁴ Matoi is therefore certainly the village *boēthos* of Phthla who also handled various payments for absentee local authorities either as part of his job or as additional employment.¹⁴⁵ Multiple employment by village *boēthoi* would not be unheard of, since they were not village officials, but personal agents employed by higher authorities for various localities.¹⁴⁶ Collecting *phoros* for apparently public lands administered by the pagarchs was another of Matoi’s duties, either as part of his job or as additional employment.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Also the “model” village *boēthoi*, Papnouthis and Dorotheos, handle taxes both in cash and in kind (*P.Oxy.* XLVIII, p. 75). On the village *boēthos* (βοηθός τῆς κώμης), see Berkes 2017a, 157–167. The author, however, explicitly rejects the evidence assembled in the present subsection, arguing that these texts concern *boēthoi* of the *logistērion* (p. 163 n. 282). On this hypothesis, however, see Section II 2 above. The documents of Papnouthis and Dorotheos play a large part in Berkes’s account, which will be discussed in context below; on their archive, see p. 34 n. 40 above (Chapter One).

¹⁴² One may suspect that Matoi, besides being village *boēthos*, was employed by the Church of Euphrosynos; see Berkes 2017a, 160 and *P.Sorb.* II 69, p. 61 n. 32 for *boēthoi* in service of monasteries. In *P.Lond.* V 1666, however, one payment is designated for the *kōmētika* and, at the same time, for a monastery; this payment is confirmed in a single receipt and may therefore relate to the same capacity and Matoi’s job as village *boēthos*.

¹⁴³ Zuckerman 2004a, 33–34.

¹⁴⁴ Or Matoi was responsible for Aphrodite as well, though this seems less likely. But note that Λυκᾶ is apparently an Aphroditan land lot (*P.Lond.* V 1442 G 68, from the eighth century). Phthla must have been immediately adjacent to Aphrodite’s eastern outskirts; see Marthot 2013, 10 and n. 15, rejecting the hypothesis of identifying Phthla with modern el-Wa’adlah, more than five miles north from Aphrodite (for this identification, see Ruffini 2018, 18 and Fournet 1999, 545).

¹⁴⁵ The pattern suggests that the eighth indiction from *SB XX* 15017 is the same as the eighth indiction from *SB XX* 15016, *P.Lond.* V 1666, and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VIII verso 1–13, which entails that the payments made in the *SB XX* 15017 (for the sixth, seventh, and eighth indictions) are back payments. Maybe Matoi as village *boēthos* stepped in because there were some irregularities that later threatened the use of the crops for tax payments? Cf. the *boēthos* Makarios, who signs one receipt for *dēmosia* not in the name of the pagarchs but *ex procura* of the landowner’s *koinon*; in this instance, however, he suppresses his being *boēthos*.

¹⁴⁶ Papnouthis and Dorotheos were, for instance, employed for several villages at once. Moreover, they are styled both *boēthoi* of villages and *boēthoi* of the *praepositus pagi*, though not in the same document. See Berkes 2017a, 160–161 and Zuckerman 2004a, 130. See also *P.Lond.* V 1677.51–52, where Dioskoros asks the pagarch for “another *boēthos*”: ἐκ τ[ού]το(υ) ἤτησα τὸν πᾶγαρχον ἀλλότριον τὸν βοηθὸν | [-ca.- χρυσι(?)]κᾶ δ[η]μόσια.

¹⁴⁷ For this interpretation of *SB XX* 15016, see Section II 2 above.

The receipts signed by *boēthoi* in the name of the pagarchs attest their responsibility for the village land taxes.¹⁴⁸ While the *hypodektai* assembled the taxes from *astika* land, the *boēthoi* collected what was due from *kōmētika* land.¹⁴⁹ It is certainly no coincidence that a *boēthos* writes the so-called Aphrodite Register, which exclusively concerns *kōmētika*.¹⁵⁰ Analogous to the *hypodektai*, the specification of the village in the tax title—as in “*dēmosia kōmētika* of the village of Phthla,” for instance—plausibly explains the missing specification of the *boēthoi* in the signature. The relation of the *boēthoi* to the grain tax (*embolē*) seems less straightforward: how does Matoi’s receipt for an *embolē* payment in kind relate to several other extant Antaiopolite receipts for the *embolē*, signed by the village scribes Pilatos and Timotheos¹⁵¹ and by the *hypodektēs* Zacharias¹⁵²? These receipts confirm the loading of Aphrodite’s grain onto the ships that the monastery of Metanoia provided as a service to the state.¹⁵³ By contrast, Matoi’s aforementioned receipt confirms the actual *payment* of the *embolē*.¹⁵⁴ This difference likely reflects two distinct procedures, as is suggested by a non-codex receipt confirming an *embolē* payment for the *kōmētika* of Phthla. To this receipt, the *boēthos* Pninnos adds a note that it was issued according to a shipment receipt (*prosgraphon*) from Timotheos, Aphrodite’s village scribe.¹⁵⁵ Pninnos obviously felt the need to be clear that the payment did not go through his hands before being processed—apparently an unconventional practice in such cases. Payment and shipping were probably handled

148 Cf. *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3392 (Oxyrhynchos; June 14, 360), a receipt by a *praepositus pagi* through the (village) *boēthos* Dorotheos; the structure of this receipt is completely parallel to the tax receipts from the pagarchs, and also impersonally stylized.

149 These are usually *dēmosia* in the sense of money taxes, but cf. *P.Gen.* IV 193.1–2: εἰς λόγον ἐμβολῆς | πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ὑπὲρ) κωμ(η)τ(ικῶν) κώμ(ης) Φθλα̅. For this fiscal category, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67139 pg. IV recto 5: εἰς τὴν ἐμβολ(ῆν) τῶν κτημ(άτων) ἀστικ(ῶν) τε καὶ κωμητικ(ῶν). This formula probably means that this is the *embolē* from land which is in the *kōmētika* category, and also underlines that *astika* and *kōmētika* are not, as often thought, taxes destined to the city or the village.

150 Zuckerman 2004a, 27–28 and 128–133. This official bears the title βοηθὸς τῶν δημοσίων κώμη[ς] Ἀ]φροδίτης in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 col. II 24; see also p. 81 n. 174 below on the institutional character of Aphrodite’s *boēthos*. Cf. MacCoull 1993, no. 11 (= Vanderheyden 2015, no. 15), where a *boēthos* is concerned with both the *kōmētika* and the *astika* but this man is Ioannes, the *boēthos logistēriou* (see Vanderheyden’s restored text) of Antaiopolis(?), and the text explicitly concerns back payments (or, payments that the village shepherds had collected but not transferred), which is probably why the *boēthos logistēriou* comes into play.

151 See Stern forthcoming (d), List 01.

152 In both its occurrences in this receipt, ὑποδέκ(της) is not absolutely certain. Due to an extravagant ductus, it appears that the word served as a paraph on its own. For Zacharias’s possible roles here, see above Section II 1.

153 For this institution, see Fournet & Gasco 2002.

154 *P.Mich. inv.* 3272 (Keenan 2012), which is for a grain payment. The *embolē* payment that is attested in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VIII verso 1–6 does not count here since it is paid in probably adaeated cash. See *P.Sorb.* II 69, p. 33 for a similar phenomenon concerning this type of *dia* in a fiscal account from Hermopolis.

155 *P.Gen.* IV 193. On the *prosgraphon* (lit. “supplementary document”) as “Verladungsquittung,” see *P.Gen.* IV, p. 231 and *P.Hamb.* III 230.9 with the commentary.

separately because the grain would be sent directly to (the provincial capital Antinoopolis and) Alexandria without going through the nome capital Antaiopolis.¹⁵⁶

Two receipts from Hermopolis illuminate the job of the *boēthoi* at a higher level.¹⁵⁷ They are the addressees instead of the signatories of these documents, this time clearly identified as *boēthoi* of particular villages:¹⁵⁸ the pagarchs confirm that the *boēthoi* have paid the taxes from their villages.¹⁵⁹ This is clearly an upper level of administration, as is obvious from the signatures: one receipt is signed by a *trakteutēs*—certainly one of the aforementioned *trakteutai* of the pagarchy—the other probably by the pagarch himself.¹⁶⁰ Also the titles and paid amounts can be compared to the Antaiopolite evidence and suggest that these receipts concern aggregated payments: one comprises 5 nomismata and 6 keratia for the *eumeneia*;¹⁶¹ the other, 33 nomismata and 17 keratia for unspecified *dēmosia*. Despite the comparatively large amounts, both appear to have been part payments: they are said to be “of” (*apo*) the taxes and are effectuated on Epeiph 4 and Hathyr 4, respectively, that is, two and six months into the indiction that the payment is made for.

The three taxes mentioned thus far in connection with the *boēthos*—the *dēmosia kōmētika*, the *embolē*, and the *eumeneia*—are the same titles (*dēmosia*, *aisia embolē*, *eumeneia*) that appear in an agreement between two unknown individuals about tax collection from the village of Phthla.¹⁶² The beginning of the document is lost, but both contracting parties appear to be part of a tax collecting collegium, one party subcontracting their share of the responsibility to the other.¹⁶³ Both parties explicitly note their accountability toward “the

156 See Morelli 2008b (cf. Hoogendijk 1998) for an analysis of *SB XXIV 16222*, where tensions arise over the use of the (state) fleet destined to transport this *embolē*, with the *paneuphēmos patricius* Athanasios involved, who was *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid and *curator domus divinae*. These services were (sometimes?) outsourced to larger institutions such as the Apion *oikos* in Oxyrhynchos, or that of the *patricia* Sophia in the Fayum, or the monastery of Metanoia at Aphrodite, to name some prominent instances. This is Rémondon’s (1974a, 20) alleged “super-autopragie.”

157 The comparison of both texts already occurs in Mazza 1995, 214.

158 *BGU XII 2196* (VI); *P.Lond. V 1753* (VI–VII); cf. *P.Herm. 83* and *P.Lond. III 1035* (both Hermopolite; VI), parallels addressed to a *magister*, in which the amounts are, however, measured ζυγ(ῶ) ἰ(διωτικῶ). *P.Lond. V 1753* was assigned on paleographical grounds but may already belong to the early Islamic period; see the Appendix, s.v. Ioannes (Hermopolis).

159 Cf. *P.Cair.Masp. I 67049* (550/551), where a certain Flavius Kyros receives some remainders of taxes from Aphrodite’s *boēthos*; Kyros is referred to as *geouchos* and is represented by his *meizoteros*. How does this man relate to the pagarch Ioulianos? Cf. the parallel *P.Cair.Masp. I 67044*, where the sender can be identified as *trakteutēs* (Ruffini 2011, s.v. Origenes 1). Is Kyros a provincial official?

160 See above Section II 3.

161 In the main text of the receipt, *P.Lond. V 1753*, the tax title is ἀπὸ τῆς εὐμε(νείας) τῆς (αὐτῆς) κώμ(ης), whereas the summary on the verso identifies the document as an ἐντάγι(ον) εὐμε(νείας) το(ῦ) βροη(θοῦ).

162 *P.Lond. V 1660.8–10* (ca. 553?): εἶτε περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων δημοσίων καὶ τῆς αἰσίας ἐμβολῆς | κα[ι] τῆς ε[ὐ]μενείας[ς] εἶδε (read εἶτε) πάλιν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναλισκομένης ῥώγας (read ῥόγας) καὶ | ἑτέρας ζημίας προφάσει τῆς εἰρη[μ]ῆν[η]ς κ[ώ]μης [Φ]θλᾶ. Does the separation by εἶτε indicate that the “*roga* and other payments [i.e., fines?]” are sort of extraordinary payments, in addition to taxes?

163 See l. 19: συμμετέχειν and the editor’s commentary.

aforementioned pagarchs and their *trakteutai*,”¹⁶⁴ and we therefore have not only the same taxes but also the same tasks and hierarchy as in the receipts from and to *boēthoi*—the superior contracting party was therefore undoubtedly a *boēthos* of the village of Phthla.¹⁶⁵ The contract underscores that the *boēthoi* were more akin to entrepreneurs than village officials,¹⁶⁶ not unlike the *pronoētai* of the *oikos* of the Apiones in Oxyrhynchos. Matoi’s example also suggests that the *boēthoi* could profit from multiple employment or at least be involved with other local authorities—in Matoi’s case with the Church of Euphrosynos. Similar to Matoi, the *boēthos* Makarios generally signs as *boēthos* for the pagarchs but in one instance “as authorized representative (*ex epitropēs*) of the *koinon* of landowners (*ktētores*).”¹⁶⁷

The *boēthoi* collected taxes from individual taxpayers (or amounts already aggregated by some village officials) and in case of cash payments exchanged these comparatively small sums into larger currency as required by the state. This role provided them with ample opportunity for profit,¹⁶⁸ but also involved considerable risk: some *boēthoi* ran into serious debt in order to guarantee the tax volume, or even to pay it up front.¹⁶⁹ Obviously, financial peril and personal gain might not have exactly encouraged the sort of conduct that would have been met with affection or gratitude from the local population. Figures like Kyros, the *boēthos* of Phthla, are rare in their explicit bad reputation,¹⁷⁰ but he was not the only “official villain” in the Egyptian countryside. The *Coptic History of the Church* claims that the emperor Marcian attempted to gain popularity in Egypt by prohibiting the *boēthoi* from entering the

¹⁶⁴ *P.Lond.* V 1660.21–22.

¹⁶⁵ This was already hypothesized by the editor.

¹⁶⁶ The *boēthoi* were no regular part of the village *koinon* and ranked above village officials (Berkes 2017a, 158–159).

¹⁶⁷ *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VII verso 20–22: δι’ ἐμοῦ Μακαρίου | ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν κοινῶν τῶν κτητ(όρων) | σεσημ(είωμαι) (*ex epitropēs*, i.e., *per procuram?*). The form τῶν κοινῶν looks odd in context, but since Makarios’s hand does not create the impression that it belongs to a particularly consistent or well-trained writer, this must probably be read as τὸ κοινὸν (for this mistake, cf. *P.Oxy.* I 133.7 and 22). However, a *koinon* of *ktētores* is not attested elsewhere. Potentially, Makarios meant to refer to “our joint/assembled landowners,” for which two texts may provide analogies; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1660.5–6: τῶν μ[ε]γ[α]λοπρεπεστάτων κοινῶν | δεσποτῶν παγάρχων and *SB XX* 14241.12–13: τῷ κοινῷ δεσπό(τη) τῷ κυρίῳ | Μηνᾶ, where *koinon* is clearly adjectival.

¹⁶⁸ *P.Oxy.* XLVIII, pp. 75–76; Berkes 2017a, 158–159. The chance for profit must have been sufficiently high to attract subcontractors (see the aforementioned *P.Lond.* V 1660).

¹⁶⁹ As *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3393 (Oxyrhynchos; 365) suggests, Papnouthis and Dorotheos were expected to pay taxes in advance before collecting them. An instance from our period is *SB XII* 10810 (origin unknown; 2nd half of VI), where a village *boēthos* takes a loan from a banker: the document was issued Epeiph 7 (i.e., at the end) of the eighth (Oxyrhynchite) indiction, but repayment was due in Phaophi (i.e., after the harvest), shortly after the beginning of the tenth (!) indiction, suggesting that the *boēthos* expected it to take a long time. *SB VIII* 9750 (Herakleopolis; 642/657?), from the early years after the Islamic conquest, shows that a pagarch had lent to the *boēthos* and a village headman the amount for the taxes due from their village; they are supposed to pay it back five days later, presumably after having been able to collect arrears (Berkes 2017a, 76).

¹⁷⁰ Another malevolent village *boēthos*, who “tore down the whole village,” appears in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005.19–22 (Antinoopolis; ca. 568). See also, e.g., the complaint against a *boēthos* in *PSI XIII* 1342 (Hermopolite/Antinoopolite; 2nd half of V?).

villages to collect taxes, and instead directed the pagarchs to gather what was due.¹⁷¹ Whatever the historical core of this episode, the literary argument assumes people's general distrust, if not disdain, for the *boēthoi*. In one of his poems, Dioskoros asks the governor to “reject these *boēthoi*,” comparing them to raging barbarians.¹⁷² Some *boēthoi* were locals but others were not,¹⁷³ which makes it hard to determine a common background or regular qualifications. One can imagine that their job required local connections and knowledge, but the obviously general antipathy for the *boēthoi* suggests a lack of social control and integration into the communities of “their” villages. The *boēthos* of Aphrodite who signed a petition against the pagarch Ioulianos seems a notable counterexample, but at that time the village was autopract and its *boēthos* was thus hardly an employee of the pagarch.¹⁷⁴

Other texts highlight that there was, however, also a certain degree of separation between the pagarchs and their *boēthoi*. Kyros, the *boēthos* of Phthla, was on good terms with the pagarch Menas but took this role already before Menas assumed the pagarchy.¹⁷⁵ In another document, Dioskoros states that he had paid the taxes directly to the pagarch instead of the *boēthos* and that the latter went back to Dioskoros's tenants in order to “wear them out.”¹⁷⁶ And the *Coptic History of the Church* draws an explicit contrast between the (benevolent) pagarchs and the (malevolent) *boēthoi*, implying that the latter were not perceived as simply part of the pagarchs' business.¹⁷⁷

171 See Johnson 1976, 10–11. Cf. López 2013, 145 n. 20, arguing that Marcian aimed at the benevolence of the urban elites by curbing the right of *autopragia*. This seems unlikely to me for the simple reason that the *boēthoi* were direct subordinates of the pagarchs. The passage may be confusing different stages of the development of the pagarchy during the fifth century.

172 *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 11.82; Ruffini 2018, 169–170.

173 The *boēthoi* Papnouthis and Dorotheos were residents of the city (Bagnall 1993, 158). However, a number must have come from “their” villages, as illustrated by the village *boēthos* known to have been *prōtokōmētēs* in the same village (Berkes 2017a, 159). Note also *P.Lond.* V 1660.10: τῆς εἰρη[μ]έ[ν]ης (!) κ[ώ]μης [Φ]θλᾶ, which means that Phthla must have been mentioned before in the (lost) beginning of the text; this suggests that at least one, if not both, contracting parties (very likely to be *boēthoi*) hail from that village.

174 Given Aphrodite's pseudo-civic status, Aphrodite's *boēthos* probably shared characteristics of both a village *boēthos* and a *boēthos logistēriou*.

175 For this man, see Ruffini 2011, s.v. Kuros 26. Good terms with Menas: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 17–18. In office before Menas: MacCoull 1993, no. 11 (= Vanderheyden 2015, no. 15).

176 *P.Lond.* V 1677.48–52, showing, again, that profits from this business were apparently been worth pushing for. But when Dioskoros says that he paid directly to the pagarch, he certainly would not have been handing the taxes over to him in person, but still rely on intermediaries. What does this reveal about the way that people perceived some minor officials as the pagarchs' agents, but not others?

177 See n. 171 above.

3. Personal or Office Assistants?

Before continuing with the signatories who appear less frequently than the *hypodektai* and the *boēthoi*, one peculiar phenomenon should be considered: in the Antaiopolite receipts, the writers and intermediaries sometimes refer to their superior pagarchs anonymously as “the *endoxotatoi* pagarchs” (*hoi endoxotatoi pagarchoi*), while on other occasions they give individual names. The phenomenon occurs under different tenures and is therefore not a temporary habit. Economics of space also cannot account for the anonymous formula, since one document refers to an anonymous pagarch in the singular (*ho endoxotatos pagarchos*).¹⁷⁸ The attributions of these formulae (singular or plural, anonymous or named) to the individual writers are captured in the following table:¹⁷⁹

	<i>ho end. pag.</i> (anon.)	Ioulianos	Ioannes (2/3)	Serenos (1/3)	<i>hoi end. pag.</i> (anon.)	<i>hoi end. pag.</i> + names
<i>hypodektai</i>	Kollouthos	Petros			Menas; Phoibammon; Anon. <i>hyp.</i> 1	Anon. <i>hyp.</i> 2 (= Petros?)
<i>boēthoi</i>		Pninnos		*Makarios 1	Biktor; *Makarios 1; Matoi	Makarios 2
<i>notarii</i>			*Christodoros 1; Damianos	Mousaios	*Christodoros 1	
other positions			Iosephis <i>presbyteros</i> and <i>dioikētēs</i>		Menas <i>singularis</i> ; Psates <i>pronoētēs</i>	
position not mentioned (or lost)			*Gennadios; (Anon. 1)	Christodoros 2; Daniel; *Gennadios ¹⁸⁰	Hermias; Komasios	

Table 01: Anonymous and named references to pagarchs in the Antaiopolite tax receipts and the writers that used them.¹⁸¹ When writers are attested using the particular formula multiple times, they are given in bold type; writers using more than one type of formula, and therefore appearing twice in the table, are given in bold.

178 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67228: ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) πάγαρχος δι(ιὰ) ἐοῦ (read ἐμοῦ) Κολλούθου ὑποδέκ(ου).

179 For the writers and their patterns, see Stern forthcoming (c) and Stern forthcoming (d), List 01.

180 Gennadios signs once for Serenos, but in this case feels the need to state that he was acting on Serenos's order.

181 The one receipt signed by Liberios (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III recto 5–7) is not included here since it is not formally issued in the name of the pagarchs.

The table suggests that the use of a particular type of formula (singular or plural, anonymous or named) did not depend on the writer's position. The writers Makarios *boethos* I and Christodoros *notarius* even switch from the anonymous plural to the named singular.¹⁸² Yet it is noteworthy that writers do not switch between pagarchs of a particular collegium. Admittedly, only one collegium can serve as a case study—that of Ioannes and Serenos—but two observations underscore the pattern. First, in the single instance where Gennadios signed a receipt for the pagarch Serenos instead of the pagarch Ioannes, he added an explicit comment that this payment was due to an *epistalma* (“commission, order”) by Serenos.¹⁸³ And second, the *notarii* Damianos and Mousaios even split their signatures under the same receipts: Damianos wrote the receipt and afterward signed in the name of Ioannes, whereas Mousaios added his signature to the same receipt in the name of Serenos.¹⁸⁴ Consequently, it seems that a writer was attached to one pagarch but was free to sign in the name of either this particular pagarch or the entire collegium as he pleased, without affecting the legal value of the document. In other words, writing the receipt, the *notarius* Damianos could have signed in the name of Ioannes or in the name of “the pagarchs,” as he preferred;¹⁸⁵ the one thing he would not do was to sign in the name of Serenos.

It follows that, at least in cases where individual pagarchs figure as formal issuing authority, it is likely that these men were local agents of individual pagarchs.¹⁸⁶ This hypothesis seems plausible with *notarii* or other lower administrative staff.¹⁸⁷ Yet while it is plausible that *boēthoi* were employed by individual pagarchs and not by the collegium as a whole, this contention seems incompatible with the position of the *hypodektai*. Only two papyri yield references to individual pagarchs as formal issuers of *hypodektēs* receipts: one by Kollouthos (for an anonymous pagarch), the other by Petros (for Ioulianos).¹⁸⁸ Petros's receipt is the only one that yields an amount in nomismata and is therefore certainly an

182 Makarios changes his habit at some point during the sixth and the seventh indictions, Christodoros in the course of the fourth indiction.

183 *P.Flor.* III 298.12–16, the additional note in l. 13 reads: ἐξ ἐπιστάλμ(ατος) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἰλλ(ουστρίου). The following [παγ(άρχου) (l. 14) should be deleted; see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Gennadios.

184 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III verso 5–9 and 10–12.

185 Or possibly even without referring to any of the pagarchs; cf. the hypothesis that the reference to a formal issuing party was not strictly relevant to the legal value of these receipts (Kruse 2016, 1768).

186 See the specification of Christodoros *notarius* in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VII recto 6 as: Χριστοδῶρο(υ) γρ(αμματέως?) . . (δμοίρου) μέρ(ους). The reading of the title is uncertain and the traces in front of (δμοίρου) unclear. In any case, the “two-thirds share” seems to be part of Christodoros's official title.

187 The position might have been omitted in some cases because these men were well known locally and easy to identify, but this explanation is unsatisfactory for an official document. Christodoros, Hermias, or Komasio (who do not sign with an official title) do not bear particularly unusual personal names; by contrast, Pninnos certainly qualifies as a rare personal name, yet this man always states his position.

188 *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67228 descr. (Kollouthos); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67046 (Petros).

aggregated payment of some sort. Looking back at the *fasti* of the Antaiopolite pagarchs, it is quite likely that Ioulianos was indeed the sole pagarch before Patrikia joined the collegium.¹⁸⁹ If Anonymous *hypodektēs* 2 can be identified with Petros, which is plausible but not certain,¹⁹⁰ this would suggest that Petros changed from the named singular to the named plural once Patrikia had joined Ioulianos in office. Kollouthos's receipt, by contrast, gives the anonymous singular and must consequently mean that there was only one incumbent pagarch at that time. The *hypodektai*, therefore, cannot be linked to individual pagarchs, but seem to have been allocated to the collegium as a whole. What this entails for the distribution of authority between collegial pagarchs will be discussed in Chapter Four. The next subsection will instead address the issue of how the remaining, mostly lower-ranking, signatories conform to this model.

4. *The Other Signatories of the Tax Receipts*

Besides the *hypodektai* and the *boēthoi*, numerous other agents signed tax receipts in the name of the pagarchs. Of those, the *notarii* Damianos and Mousaios were certainly allocated to individual pagarchs, as was Christodoros I, who signs as *notarius* and as *grammateus* on different occasions. Comparative evidence shows that *notarii* could be an official's personal assistants; despite the etymology, the late antique *notarius* was not a notary but rather a scribe or secretary, and his job does not appear to have been strictly defined.¹⁹¹ All signatories who sign in the name of the pagarchs *without* stating their position also conform to the model established in the previous subsection and may thus tentatively be identified as personal assistants of individual pagarchs, although Hermias and Komasioi, who use the anonymous plural to refer to the pagarchs, might have been serving the collegium as a whole.¹⁹² An account written in one of the receipt codices, moreover, mentions a receipt (*entagion*) by Komasioi according to which a payment of multiple nomismata was effectuated, which appears to point in the same direction of a somehow more elevated

¹⁸⁹ See Table 04 (pp. 137–138). Ioulianos's sole hold of the pagarchy through 552/553 CE is suggested by *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094, a deed of surety to Ioulianos, and by *SB VI* 9102, an imperial rescript that in the course of the "Ioulianos affair" (discussed in Chapter Six) refers only anonymously to "the pagarch."

¹⁹⁰ See the discussion in Stern forthcoming (c), s.v.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Teitler 1985, esp. 52 and 75, and Diethart & Worp 1986, 9 and 13, also for the unclear distinction, if there was any, between *grammateis* and *notarii*. See also *P.Sijp.*, pp. 232–233. A technical term, however, is *grammateus kōmēs*, which refers to the village scribe.

¹⁹² Most writers who write the date on the receipt do not state their office and most writers who do not state their office write the date. However, this pattern does not seem significant, as there are exceptions: Christodoros 2 states neither his position nor the date and Menas, the *singularis*, states both his position and the date.

position.¹⁹³ The role of the *pronoētēs* Psates for the collegial pagarchs was already discussed in Section II 2: he was apparently employed for a public lot that was administered through the pagarchy.

An exemption from the “personal assistants” model may also be granted for Menas, the *singularis*.¹⁹⁴ Since he is the only writer in these receipts to use the Antinoopolite measure, he is to no doubt one of the provincial *singulares* who spread over the countryside and regularly feature as local collectors in the papyri.¹⁹⁵ In this light, we may take his mistake of writing “Promantinoos” instead of “Philantinoos” as a slip due to unfamiliarity with the locals: he may have simply misheard the name.¹⁹⁶ A certain Georgios who occurs under obscure circumstances in a codex receipt signed by Christodoros 2 may possibly also be identified with a *singularis*.¹⁹⁷ Liberios, the only (explicit) Flavius among the signatories, was probably a provincial official too, or a collecting soldier.¹⁹⁸ Liberios did notably not sign in the name of any pagarch, but instead noted that he received the payment “for the security (*asphaleia*) of the one-third share of Serenos, *illoustrios*.”¹⁹⁹ Since the text also states that the payment was part of the *demosia*, the only plausible explanation to me is that this was an ordinary tax payment that Liberios received besides *not* being a “proper” tax collector.²⁰⁰

Finally, Iosephis, the *presbyteros* and *dioikētēs*, was also doubtless a local actor, as is suggested by parallel evidence that attest *dioikētai* of church property.²⁰¹ In one papyrus, a *presbyteros* and *dioikētēs* acts as intermediary for a monastery in a lease that includes the payment of taxes (*synteleia*) “in grain and in gold, the freight charges (*naula*), and any kind of supply levy (*annōniakoi titloi*).”²⁰² Perhaps Iosephis had a similar job and processed the tax

193 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. II verso 25. Komasio is also linked to the other payments in this account (see the overview in Stern forthcoming (d), List 01), as is revealed by the parallel dates of the receipts signed by him on pg. IV verso 1–7; all these range from 1 to 3 nomismata for an unknown purpose.

194 On the *singulares*, see Palme 1999, 105; *P.Sorb.* II 69, p. 61; and *P.Horak* 9.15–16 with the commentary.

195 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67284 (Aphrodite; 538/539?); *P.Flor.* III 291 (Aphrodite; 538/539?); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67210 (Aphrodite; ca. 548?); *P.Horak* 9 (Hermopolites; VI). These officials also appear as intermediaries for Aphrodite’s fiscal administration (*dēmosios logos*), e.g., in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67103 (September 16, 526).

196 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VIII recto 5: δέδωκ(ε) Κορνήλιος Προμ[αντ]ινό(ου).

197 *P.Flor.* III 298.24–25 (574/575 CE): τὰ καὶ δοθ(έντα) τῷ κρ() Γεωργίῳ ἀπὸ τῶν β | [. . .], followed by the signature. From the photo, κρ() can be corrected to κυρ(τω); afterward, read possibly ἀπὸ τῶν β | [καταβ(ολῆς) (scil. δημοσίων)] or ἀπὸ τῶν β | [καταβ(ολών)]. Georgios may be identical with the homonymous *singularis* in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67056 col. II 4 (around May 25, 551?), but the name is not rare, and the two texts are separated by more than two decades (see Stern forthcoming (d) for my new dates of the receipts in *P.Flor.* III 298).

198 Liberios is the only signatory who certainly had someone write the receipt for him, as his clumsy signature reveals.

199 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III recto 6–7: τὰ δοθ(έντα) Λιβερίο(υ) (ὑπὲρ) ἀσφαλ(είας) τοῦ τρίτου | μέρ[ο]υς Σιρινος ἰλλουστρίου. That this payment is explicitly noted as for Serenos’s “one-third share” is notable but will be discussed in the context of the pagarchs’ individual or collective authority in Chapter Four.

200 But perhaps this hypothesis is trying too hard to look for formal explanations in a much more flexible administrative system.

201 Wipszycka 1972, 141–142.

202 *P.Mich.* XIII 667 (mid VI). The title of *presbyteros* and *dioikētēs* (l. 8; but cf. l. 37) is partially restored and therefore disputed by Fournet & Gascou 2002, 31 n. 25, but without a clearly convincing alternative. In

payments for Apollos's *onoma* because this reflected an older lease arrangement. But Iosephis's *dioikēsis* may also refer to a public, supposedly local, responsibility: a *presbyteros* who was *dioikētēs* of a village in Palestine acted as intermediary in a (very fragmentary) petition concerning taxes.²⁰³ Perhaps Iosephis signed for the pagarch Ioannes, instead of the collegium, because he was in contact with him.²⁰⁴

5. Evidence from Outside the Antaiopolite Tax Receipts

While the accounts so meticulously kept by Dioskoros's family provide us with quite a clear picture of the situation in Antaiopolis, there is little evidence for the operations of the pagarchy on the ground in other nomes.²⁰⁵ Still, the material available fits the Antaiopolite model. Two tax receipts from Hermopolis show the *boēthoi* delivering the aggregated taxes from their villages to the pagarch,²⁰⁶ and a sixth-century tax receipt from the Antinoopolite nome also corresponds to the situation in the Antaiopolite receipts: the *boēthos* signs a receipt for *dēmosia* "of the village" in the name of the pagarch of Antinoopolis.²⁰⁷ In Oxyrhynchos, a *boēthos* "of" the landowner Anastasia stands surety for one inhabitant of a "pagarched" village and we regularly find *boēthoi* in other "pagarched" villages.²⁰⁸ The only non-Antaiopolite text attesting a *hypodektēs* in connection to a pagarch is extant in a small fragment of an Arsinoite papyrus: the *hypodektēs* here is in some way responsible for a guarantee that someone else gives to the pagarch, possibly a lower-ranking village official.²⁰⁹ However, in their working contracts the managers of the Apion estate active in villages call

Iosephis's case, the paleography does not look like διακ(). Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060.1: a *diakonētēs* reported to the pagarch Menas Scrinarius that Aphrodite has not sent its taxes (*astika* and *kōmētika*), and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 19: a *grammateus* and *diakonētēs* tells Menas not to pursue the villagers. The text refers, in any event, to a manager, whatever his title, as intermediary for a monastery that has its tax payments handled through its lessee.

203 *P.Ness.* 54.2 (Palestine; late VI or early VII): ἐ]λλεινοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ διοικητοῦ Χαφρεα[των κώ]μης. On the restoration, see the commentary on l. 2.

204 Internal divisions of the pagarchy are unlikely to be at play here; see Chapter Four.

205 An explanation for this situation is offered by the "clusters of evidence," discussed in the Introduction.

206 *BGU XII* 2196 (VI) and *P.Lond.* V 1753 (VI–VII).

207 *P.Leid.Inst.* 72.

208 The institution of the "pagarched" villages and its relationship to the pagarchy will be discussed in Chapter Three.

209 *SB I* 4781 (Arsinoite; late VI–early VII); on the verso, the document identifies as ἀμ(ο)λο(γία) Ἡρακλῆς ὑποδοχ(εὺς) κώμ(ης) Ἀρσινόης ὑπὸ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐλογίου ὑποδέκτ(ου) μετ' ἐγγ(υητοῦ) (or: μετ' ἐγγ(ύου) τούτου. The nominative Ἡρακλῆς is suspicious, as is the restoration ὑποδοχ(εὺς): in late antiquity, the term ὑποδοχεύς (lit. "receiver") occurs only once in *P.Gen.* IV 183.7 (Oxyrhynchos; V), apparently referring to someone hosting a brigant (*P.Gen.* IV, p. 219). Cf. *SB I* 4792.8 (Arsinoites; IV–VII): ὑποδοχ() μερ() κώμ(ης) [-ca.?-]. If the *hypodochēus* was an official, this formula might refer to the *meros* (or *merismos*?) of a village. Possibly, both *SB I* 4781 and 4792 relate to a *hypodochē*, a collection. *SB I* 4781 is perhaps comparable to *P.Lond.* V 1661, a better-preserved Antaiopolite contract between the pagarchs and two *apaitētai* of the liturgists," possibly including a precollection credit, which will be discussed below.

themselves “*pronoētēs*, or, *hypodektēs*,” certainly referring to their official capacity to collect taxes for the holdings in these “pagarched” villages.

One prominent tax collection officer, the *apaitētēs*, is completely absent from the tax receipts issued by the pagarchs.²¹⁰ In fourth-century Oxyrhynchos, still under the *praepositus pagi*, the *apaitētai* aggregated the various taxes sent in by the local *boēthoi*.²¹¹ In a fifth-century text from the same nome, however, the pagarch/*praepositus pagi*(?) sends an *apaitētēs* to a village to collect directly from a taxpayer and hand out the proper receipt.²¹² In a sixth-century contract from the Antaiopolite two “*apaitētai* of the liturgists of the village of Aphrodite” appear.²¹³ The *apaitētai* acknowledge to the pagarchs a debt of 12 nomismata for “the said liturgists—namely, guards (*phylakes*)—of the said village of Aphrodite for the present second indiction” to the pagarchs.²¹⁴ The contract provisions, for instance repayment in accordance with the three official tax installments (*katabolai*), leave no doubt that this debt is connected to the tax collection duties of the *apaitētai*, maybe as a remuneration for the liturgical guards.²¹⁵ Because the contract is dated Epeiph 30, two months into the same indiction for which the taxes were due and right into the harvest season, the editor proposed that it might be a “disguised” tax collection contract—or a job description, as it were—in the form of a debt contract through which the *apaitētai* guaranteed their share to the pagarchs up front.²¹⁶ In any case, the *apaitētai* collect a specific tax in the countryside.²¹⁷ It was the job of the pagarchs, and their *trakteutai*, to aggregate such amounts and pass them on.

Other officials not present in the tax receipts but whose dealings with the pagarchs are frequently attested are the village headmen (*prōtokōmētai*).²¹⁸ The evidence concerns only Aphrodite, where the *prōtokōmētai* in the era of the *autopragia* were appointed by the

²¹⁰ On the *apaitētai*, see Palme 1989.

²¹¹ See the example of the *boēthoi* Papnouthis and Dorotheos in *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3393.12 (June 8, 365) and *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3397.6 (IV); cf. Berkes 2017a, 2 n. 7.

²¹² *P.Oxy.* LVI 3865.63–70 (Oxyrhynchos; V). The editor assigns this text to the late fifth century, based on the assumption that the pagarch in this text is one of the “later” pagarchs.

²¹³ *P.Lond.* V 1661.9–10 (Aphrodite; July 24, 553): ἀπαιτητῶν τῶν λειτουργῶν | τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Ἀφροδίτης. This title is not attested anywhere else.

²¹⁴ *P.Lond.* V 1661.11–13: ὑπὲρ | τῶν αὐτῶν [λ]ειτουργῶν ἡῆτοι φυλ[άκων] | τῆς αὐτῆς κώ[μ]ης Ἀφροδίτης ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας | δε[σ]τέρας ἰν[δ]ικτίονος]. *Leitourgoi* as a *terminus technicus* for guards (cf. l. 4: μάχην) may also occur in *PSI* I 71.6 and 10 (Oxyrhynchos; VI) and, as assumed by Gascou 1983, 101 (= 2008, 103), in *P.Hamb.* I 56.25 and 28, on which see p. 72–73 n. 123 above.

²¹⁵ The editor discards this possibility (*P.Lond.* V, p. 25), but remunerated liturgists are nothing unusual, e.g., *eirēnarchai* in *P.Neph.* 20 (Herakleopolites; IV) and in Syrkou 2009, no. 2 (Arsinoites; VI–VII). In the latter, it is the village *grammateus* who remunerates the *eirēnarchai* out of the crops of the present indiction (I follow the interpretation of Sānger 2005, 193 n. 149).

²¹⁶ Cf. p. 80 n. 169 above for the similar procedure in the case of the *boēthoi* Papnouthis and Dorotheos.

²¹⁷ The official title of *apaitētai* frequently includes a particular tax title.

²¹⁸ On the *prōtokōmētēs*, see now Berkes 2017a, 25–53. In the Oxyrhynchite, this term refers more generally to a village notable, while the term for the village headman is *meizōn* (see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* I 133); on the *meizones*, see Berkes 2017a, 53–82.

provincial office on the recommendation of Ammonios, an *endoxotatos comes sacri consistorii*.²¹⁹ When Aphrodite later lost its autopract status (or had it suspended or limited), appointing the village headmen became, apparently, the duty of the pagarch; at least in one case a villager deems the pagarch Menas capable of replacing the current *prōtokōmētēs*.²²⁰ The *prōtokōmētai* naturally acted as mediators for their village community with the higher administrative levels but, the other way around, were also the pagarchs' link to the village community. They are documented as intermediaries for the pagarchs in a deed of surety, probably for a criminal suspect,²²¹ as well as in a (formally private) acknowledgment of debts, discussed above, that two *apaitētai* of Aphrodite took from the pagarchs in advance to guarantee for their collection in the village.²²²

— IV —

SUMMARY

Despite seriously limited evidence, it is possible to draw a reasonably detailed picture of the pagarchs' place in the process of tax collection in the countryside. To begin with, in the sixth century the pagarchs' territorial purview was not equivalent to the entire *civitas*, the ancient nome, and although their job entailed much interaction with the civic administration, the pagarchs were formally not the heads of the cities. Instead, fiscal operations at the city level were channeled around the *dēmosion logistērion* and the pagarchs' apparatus was, from a bureaucratic viewpoint, part of these operations. The pagarchs even acted as representatives of civic interests, for instance, in the administration of civic land in the countryside, and the city in turn paid (partially?) for the pagarchy's subordinate functionaries.

The pagarchs' apparatus at the city level consisted of several accountants and a *hypodektēs*, or "receiver." This official continued a tradition in collecting taxes from lands classified as *astika*, that is, from those parcels in the countryside that once had belonged to city dwellers, but he apparently had nothing to do with the "reception" of taxes coming in from *kōmētika* plots. This was the job of the *boēthoi*, who collected these taxes from villages and delivered them directly, without the mediation of the *hypodektēs*, to the pagarchs and their accountants. In contrast to the *hypodektai*, the *boēthoi* were private entrepreneurs, some

219 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67323 (Antinoopolis; ca. January–July 540); Zuckerman 2004a, 123. The signature of one *prōtokōmētēs* in Dioskoros's petition *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 col. II 21 against the pagarch Ioulianos also dates from this period. It may be revealing that only one *prōtokōmētēs* signed this petition; did the other *prōtokōmētai* refrain from taking a stand against Ioulianos?

220 *P.Lond.* V 1677.23–26 (Antinoopolis; ca. 568–570).

221 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094 (Aphrodite; April 1–25, 552 or March 27–31, 553). It is hard to tell what the *anagnōstēs* Enoch is accused of, but the context points to a criminal offense instead of, e.g., *anachōrēsis*; cf., comparably, Palme forthcoming (a), 20–21. A surety for a liturgical task (Palme 2003, 535 and n. 16) seems unlikely because there is a conventional penalty instead of a demand for a compensation of performance. Enoch's six (!) guarantors ensure for the considerable sum of six nomismata.

222 *P.Lond.* V 1661 (Aphrodite; July 24, 553).

with multiple employment. A number of minor administrative staff such as *notarii* also appear as issuers of receipts and must have been present in the villages. The pattern of their signatures for individual or collegial pagarchs suggests—if one does not want to assume distinct territorial “shares” for pagarchs within a collegium—that these minor ranks were attached to individual pagarchs instead of the entire collegium, but there are a number of officials that do not state their position, so this picture remains tentative. There were probably other collecting officials whose connection to the pagarchs escapes us due to the nature of our evidence. Glimpses of such links can be seen in a number of collectors whose titles occur only once in connection with pagarchs, such as the *singularis*, a church or village *dioikētēs*, and also in a number of officials who do not state their office at all. But where are, for instance the *kōmarchai*, the *sitologoi*, and (with one exception) the *apaitētai*?

In the period that this chapter is able to cover, the pagarchy was both part of and separate from the city’s fiscal operations. Rather than being integrated into the civic apparatus, it had its own staff, which were paid from the “external” expenses of the city treasury, which means that from a civic point of view expenses for the pagarchy were equal to taxes spent on imperial and provincial needs. The pagarchy was part of the city, but distinct, and since *Edict 13* (539 CE) it was directly subordinate to the provincial governor. This development is, to my mind, far from the picture of the pagarchs as usurpers of local power at the expense of the state. Instead, it suggests that the rise of the pagarchy under various emperors was a continuous response to the inefficiency (and often, obscurity) of local government. The countryside and its resources were effectively cut off from civic authorities and put in the hands of dignitaries who were closer to the reach of the central government. It was potentially this double role—or flexibility—as a representative of the central government but “of the city” that brought pagarchs like Ioulianos and Menas Scrinarius into conflict with the (initially) autopract village of Aphrodite.²²³ All this fits the evolution outlined in Chapter One: instead of being conceived as civic officers, the “later” pagarchs of the sixth century consolidated their own administrative apparatus from the local level of the *pagi* to that of the “pagarchy” as part of the fiscal organization at the *civitas* level, but outside the city proper. Little evidence can be used to compare these results with the situation in *civitates* other than Antaiopolis. Evidence for the pagarchs’ apparatus in the city or on the ground is nearly completely absent from the records of the Fayum, which concern other layers of society. The Oxyrhynchite papyri illuminate the country villages from the point of view of the Apion estate, which is equally important for this question but requires a different analytical approach, followed in Chapter Three.

The question remains how this ultimately limited administrative role within the *civitates* made the Byzantine pagarchs the powerful players that in the early Islamic period at latest became the formal heads of the cities. One can hardly imagine that a man like

223 See Chapter Six.

Strategios Paneuphemos had much to fear from civic rebukes about any of his actions, but presumably the incumbents' ambitions at a higher level served as a counterweight to keep them in line. This topic will be addressed in Chapter Five. Immediately after the Islamic conquest (639–642), the Roman-Egyptian *civitates* identified their administrative circumscriptions as “pagarchies,” but it remains unclear whether this was an abrupt administrative rearrangement or simply a change of terminology acknowledging the pagarchs' de facto predominance among the powerbrokers in the cities. It may be that the *civitas* had become “the pagarchy” even earlier and that related evidence from the time of the Persian occupation (619–629) or the reestablished Byzantine control (629–639) simply has not turned up so far.

CHAPTER THREE

The State, Estates, and Elite Participation in a Rural World

AS HAS BEEN NOTED, THE QUESTION of how the pagarchy related to the model of fiscal shares has so far been insufficiently addressed. How did the pagarchs' authority relate to the role the large landowners and their "houses" (*oikoi*) played in tax collection, which some scholars have understood as a privilege, and others as an obligation? The model of fiscal shares was developed from the Oxyrhynchite nome, where the documentary situation for the pagarchy is complicated: the majority of sixth- to early seventh-century papyri from this nome that would appear to pertain to the pagarchy do not attest pagarchs or a pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos but relate to *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, villages "pagarched" (*pagarchoumenē*) by a large landowner.

I argued in Chapter One that the evolution of the pagarchy to the level seen in the sixth century should be seen in terms of a continuous rearrangement of public responsibilities between the large estates and officials proper. The present chapter will deepen and expand this idea. Based on an analysis of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* and their occurrence in the documents (mainly) from the Apion estate, it will establish a model of fiscal authority in the Oxyrhynchite that not only supports the basic assumptions of the Gascou model from an administrative perspective, but also refines it in significant aspects. I shall argue that the expression *kōmē pagarchoumenē* does not relate to the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos but rather to a different institution that most likely should be seen as a manifestation of the model of fiscal shares. These "pagarched" villages appear to have been under the quasi-permanent administration of the *oikoi* not only fiscally, but in regard to virtually everything one might expect officials to deal with in regard to villages. This institution appears to have grown alongside the responsibilities of the *oikoi* for civic duties and was apparently abolished or

significantly limited at some point between 626 and 647 CE. Given the state of our evidence, it may well have been in place but simply not as prominent in other nomes.

— I —

LARGE ESTATES AND FISCAL SHARES

A major limit to the pagarch's authority in the countryside of late antique Egypt has traditionally been seen in the phenomenon of domanial tax collection, particularly since these large estates were not contiguous landholdings that would have formed a coherent area, but rather consisted of many parcels scattered throughout the hinterland of the *civitates*.¹ The countryside featured a host of landowners of different magnitude and all of them paid taxes, naturally, for the land they owned. But these landowners also became increasingly responsible for the taxes and personal liabilities of workers and tenants on their estates and assumed the task to collect these taxes via their own administrative apparatus. Some of these landowners—at least in the Oxyrhynchite—were even in the position to collect taxes from land they did *not* own, as the model of fiscal shares by Jean Gascou has established.² Gascou's ideas profoundly changed the scholarly perception of the character of the large landowners' involvement in public administration³ and seemed to suggest that the pagarchs' purview became restricted by aristocratic households responsible for considerable parts of the taxable area of the *civitas* territory. It remains elusive, however, why some estates assumed such a pronounced "public" role when others did not; presumably, this status required a certain level of administrative sophistication, and thus a certain territorial extension of the estate.

Curiously enough, Gascou never explicitly addressed the question of how the fiscal shares maintained by these public-private institutions, the *oikoi*, related to the institution of the pagarchy and its fiscal authority. So far as I am aware, only Jairus Banaji has been explicit on this issue, arguing that the pagarchy was synonymous with the extended fiscal responsibilities that the *oikoi* assumed.⁴ There is clear evidence for the opposite, however:

1 Hickey 2007, 295.

2 See Chapter One on the large estates and the Gascou model, whose validity beyond the Oxyrhynchite will be discussed toward the end of the present chapter.

3 Hickey 2007, 289; Hickey 2012, 5–6.

4 Banaji 2007, 97–98 and 148–149, pointing to Gascou's silence on the pagarchs in Gascou 1985. Banaji deems it "only logical" to link Gascou's terminology of fiscal shares to the pagarchy because the latter was, according to him, "an institution which delegated fiscal authority to local landowners." Ambiguous is Hickey 2008a, 89 n. 11, among others; at other occasions, Hickey appears to follow Banaji in equating the pagarchy with the large landowners' fiscal responsibilities (Hickey 2007, 298), but then he seems to distance himself from Sarris's (2006, 85 n. 21) implicitly equating the pagarchy with the Apiones' fiscal shares (Hickey 2012, 49); similar criticism against Sarris is launched by Ruffini 2009, 631–632, but also Ruffini's own conception in which fiscal shares, village pagarchies (p. 631 and n. 4), and a *civitas* pagarchy (p. 632) could coexist, requires modification.

(1) In a petition from a community of monks vexed by a man who is contesting their land, the provincial governor is urged “to order the [!] pagarch of Antaiopolis and the *topotērētēs* of the said (city) to keep him away from us,”⁵ showing that there was only one pagarch of Antaiopolis at that time.⁶ (2) The expression “pagarch of the two-thirds share of Antaiopolis” and its equivalence for one-third in the Antaiopolite tax receipts suggests that there was only one collegium per *civitas*. (3) The petitions from the Dioskoros archive repeatedly speak of someone “entering into” or “getting a grasp on” the (!) pagarchy of Antaiopolis.⁷ Also, Ioulianos’s “own” (*oikeios*) pagarchy is equated with the pagarchy of Antaiopolis.⁸ The Antaiopolite pagarchy also has its own (and only one) entry in an account of civic expenses.⁹ (4) In the Fayum, pagarchs bore the title of “pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis” during at least the period of 556–623 CE. This reflects a system in which Theodosiopolite administration was generally taken care of by Arsinoite authorities, notably in the dealings of officials at the city level. The “double pagarchy” for two cities thus cannot be understood as referring to one magnate among many private grandees within the *civitas*, but must indicate sole pagarchs or a fixed number of responsible pagarchs that were organized in a collegium and attributed to a *civitas*.¹⁰ (5) Finally, a list of contributions for a public bath from Oxyrhynchos explicitly segregates the contributions that were due to a landowner, or to his *oikos*, from the same individual’s share of the pagarchy.¹¹

The pagarchy, consequently, existed alongside the fiscal authority exercised by the large landowners (*geouchoi* or, in the participle form, *geouchountes*), and this coexistence will be explored throughout the remainder of this chapter. It is, however, not easy to grasp this relationship, owing to the profusion of various settlement types in the countryside of late antique Egypt. Besides villages (*kōmai*), several types of settlements were scattered throughout a city’s hinterland; at this point, a short survey of them seems advisable. Probably the smallest was the *epoikion*, which scholars often render as “farmstead” or “hamlet”; *epoikia*

5 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003.25–26: προστάξει τῷ παγάρχη τῆς Ἀνταίο(υ) καὶ τῷ τοποτηρητῇ ταυτῆς ἀφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτρέψαι.

6 Comparably, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67228 descr. has a *hypodektēs* (that is, an official at the city level) sign a tax receipt in the name of “the *endoxotatos* pagarch,” whose name is not given, which undoubtedly means that there was only one pagarch in office at that time (no date is extant).

7 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 10–11; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.2.

8 Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.32 (cf. l. 31!): ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν παγαρχίαν ποιήσασθαι and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.2: ἐλκ[έσ]θαι εἰς παγαρχίαν τῆ[ς Ἀνταίο(υ)]πολιτῶν ἧς κεκράτηκεν.

9 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 24–31.

10 On Theodosiopolis and the system of joint administration, see Stern forthcoming (e).

11 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, discussed in the next section. Gascou 1972, 65 (= 2008, 46) misses an important word in the text and this crucial omission found its way to Mazza 1995, 190. For the entries are not twice “for the half share of the pagarchy,” relating to a “pagarchy” that would have amounted to 50 % of each aristocrat’s personal fortune, as Mazza infers, but the second is in fact “for the other [!] half share of the pagarchy,” which demonstrates that these two amounts are for the (only) pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos! Note also that the shares of Ptolemaios and Ioustos without the pagarchy remain nearly exactly the same between *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 and *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020 (see the next section).

were maintained by sometimes only a handful of workers and were owned by individual magnates but also by village institutions.¹² On a comparable scale, a *ktēma* (lit. “property”) can refer to a particular parcel of land but also, more generally, to property in an abstract or comprehensive sense.¹³ By contrast, a *mēchanē*—technically an irrigation machine using a waterwheel—can refer to a farm of irrigated land, but seems not to have been a settlement in the legal sense.¹⁴ On a larger scale, *ousia* (“fortune,” “estate”) refers to an assembly of landed property that consisted of the aforementioned smaller units: an *ousia* was a concrete unit to which administrators were allocated,¹⁵ *epoikia* were a part thereof,¹⁶ and property within the urban center of the *civitas* could also be part of the *ousia*.¹⁷ Somewhat comparable to an *ousia* is a *ktēsis* (“property”) in that it was private property, was burdened with *munera*, and had managers allocated to it.¹⁸ It was a fiscal *onoma* (a taxpaying account) and paid its taxes to a higher entity, which were clearly villages in the early Islamic age, but this is not clear for the Byzantine period.¹⁹ All in all, *ktēsis* appears to denote landed property in a more general way than does *ousia*, perhaps comparable in this regard to the term *ktēma* at a lower level.²⁰

What formally distinguished an *ousia* from an *oikos* can only be speculated upon so far, but an *oikos* was clearly more than an *ousia*. In one text, a certain late *endoxotatos* Olybrios owns “the three *ousiai* and the *ktēma* Thmoun Pamoun,” which form (part of?) an *endoxos oikos*, managed by two *endoxotatoi dioikētai*; it appears that *apaitētai* and soldiers (*stratiōtai*)

12 Hickey 2007, 295–296.

13 See *P.Gen.* IV 198 (December 27, 633–January 5, 634), where an *epoikion* (l. 6) is also referred to as *ktēma* (l. 8).

14 *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII, p. 119 and Bransbourg 2016, 374 n. 218. For instance, no party in a legal document ever hails from a *mēchanē*.

15 *BGU* I 3 (*enoikiologos*); *P.Genova* II 72 and *SPP* X 251 B.6 (*phrontistēs*); *SPP* VIII 1061 and *SPP* III² 44 (*pronoētēs*); *SPP* III² 153? (*hypodektēs*); *SPP* XX 209.7 (*epikeimenos*).

16 *BGU* II 364.

17 *CPR* VII 51 (644 CE!); *SB* I 4492.

18 *Munera*: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67169.27; see *BGU* XIX, pp. 82–83 and *SPP* III² pt. V, p. 148. Managers (all *pronoētai*): *BGU* XIX 2791; *SPP* VIII 1026 (see Benaissa 2010); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1902.

19 Fiscal *onoma*: see *P.Sorb.* II 69, pp. 38–43. Islamic period: see *SPP* III² pt. V (Kreuzsaler), p. xxvi. Byzantine period: *P.Köln* XI 460 lacks a village, the editor’s reference to Kreuzsaler’s testimonies therefore risks comparing administrative apples and oranges. *BGU* XVII 2724A is a list of payments by (1) villages, (2) *ktēseis*, and (3) the harbor, all of which apparently are apparently placed side by side at the same administrative level. *Ktēseis* pay to the account of the *civitas* in *P.Bad.* IV 95.447 (see *BGU* XIX, pp. 82–83) and in *P.Eirene* II 21. The document *Ch.L.A.* IL 1194 = *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67329.6–7 reads: [κ]αὶ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ὑπόλοιπ[ό]ν μο(υ) πᾶσαν ἐλαχίστην κτ[ῆ]σιν οἰ[σ]σαν καὶ τελοῦσαν ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρημ(ένην) μοι | [κώμης Ἀφροδίτης and also in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67313.19, 23–24, a *hypoloipos ktēsis* is part of a *ktēma* which in turn pays taxes to the village—but in these latter two cases we have to bear in mind the *civitas*-like administration of the “village” Aphrodite.

20 Cf. *SB* XX 14669, the Aphrodite Cadaster, where the terms *idiotikē/basilikē/nēsiotikē ktēsis* figure next to *basilikē/nēsiotikē patermounialia* in ll. 295–299. But cf. *BGU* XIX, p. 82 for a possible correlation of *ktēma* and *ktēsis* in case of Thallos.

were responsible for collecting taxes from this estate.²¹ In another text, Apion III's estates are not referred to as *endoxos oikos*, as they usually are, but instead as his *ousia*, and there are parallel examples for both Apion II and Strategios Paneuphemos.²² In the case of Strategios, this may be due to the fact that urban property, which could perhaps not be part of an *oikos*, is concerned.²³ I assume that these terminological subtleties must mean something, and that their usage reflects different institutional roles. It is important to be aware, for instance, that the pagarchy is nowhere linked to an *oikos*.²⁴ Quite to the contrary, *Edict 13* mentions that the pagarch's *ousiai* are in jeopardy in case of misconduct.

Which landowners were, consequently, subject to the pagarchy, and which were not? It seems that in the fourth century the "early" pagarchs, the *praepositi pagorum*, had their say not only over the villages in their *pagi* but also over *epoikia* whose contributions were paid through the magnates who owned them.²⁵ These magnates presumably owned *ousiai*. In the sixth century, the *ousia* of the *endoxotatos* Ioulianos in the Antaiopolite nome paid at least some of its contributions to the pagarchy.²⁶ In the earliest years of the Islamic period, one text may suggest the pagarch's authority over ecclesiastical *ousiai*.²⁷ In addition, this period also yields numerous examples of *ousiai* paying their taxes into a village account,²⁸ a model that would provide a plausible context also for Ioulianos's *ousia*. It is thus conceivable that *ousiai* occurred in the context of renting and fiscal obligations of landowners, whereas there must have been more to an *oikos*, which may be suspected to be the organization of the fiscal shares.

— II —

THE FISCAL SHARES OF OXYRHYNCHOS

The quintessential site at which to study the relation of the pagarchy to the fiscal shares must be the city of Oxyrhynchos, which holds the most relevant evidence. In this section, two accounts will be explored in order to establish a broad idea of the balance between

21 *P.Flor.* III 377 (Ptolemais; VI); Palme 1989, 146. Another example may be Megale Ousia (lit. "large estate," though most likely a fossilized toponym), which is part of the Apionic *endoxos oikos*: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1911.121; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1916.42; *P.Oxy.* XVI 2024.6; *P.Oxy.* XIX 2243A.46; *P.Oxy.* LV 3804.207; *P.Bad.* VI 172(?).

22 Apion III: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1917.127 (616/617?); Apion II: *P.Oxy.* LI 3641.9 (February 7, 544); Strategios Paneuphemos: *SPP* XX 209.7 (Arsinoe; February 27, 610). Nikolaos Gonis (in *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII, p. 130) holds, however, that *ousia* was not used for the Apion estate at the time of *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5375 was written (June 18, 557) and argues that the *ousia* of the *endoxotatos* Apion in this text was not the *endoxos oikos* of Apion II, but refers to another Apion, which in this case may be correct due to the unusual titlature to which Gonis points.

23 But apparently it could be part of an *ousia* (see p. 94 n. 17 above).

24 For the "pagarched" villages, which indeed are connected to the *oikoi*, see the next section.

25 See *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3307.

26 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 (ca. 553 CE?).

27 *CPR* XXX 25, if indeed issued by the pagarch Athanasios.

28 *SPP* III² pt. V, p. xxvi.

various actors and their fiscal shares in this nome; these are *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, dating from 566/567 CE, and *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, which must be of later date for prosopographical reasons, but is most likely earlier than 588 CE. The account *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 provides an overview of contributions from various individuals and institutions, mainly for the fuel for a public bath, but also for something unspecified at the village of Takona,²⁹ and has been described as an illustration of “the principal units of fiscal allocations” at Oxyrhynchos or “a snapshot of the Oxyrhynchite elite.”³⁰ The complete list reads as follows:

“Overview (*synopsis*) of (contributions for) the fuel of the public northern new bath of 27 nomismata, and for the 15th (indiction for) Takona 1 nomisma, 19 ¼ keratia, total 28 nomismata, 19 ¼ keratia, of the whole city, as follows:
 Through the *endoxos oikos* 8 nomismata, 15 keratia, of which for the 15th (indiction for) Takona 1 nomisma, 19 ¼ keratia, remainder 6 nomismata, 19 ½+¼ keratia.
 Through the Holy Church 3 nomismata, 6 ¼ keratia.
 Through the *oikos* of the *endoxotatos* Kometes 4 nomismata, 8 keratia.
 Through the heirs of the *endoxotatos* Ptolemaios 2 nomismata, 19 ¼ keratia.
 Through the same (man) for the half-share of the pagarchy 1 nomisma, 10 ½ keratia.
 Through the *endoxotatos* Ioustos and his brothers 2 nomismata, 16 keratia.
 Through the same (man) for the other half-share of the pagarchy 1 nomisma, 10 ½ keratia.
 Through the heirs of the *comes* Valerius 21 ¼ keratia.
 Through the *megaloprepestatē* Euphemia 1 nomisma, 16 ½ keratia.
 Through the heirs of the *peribleptos* Theodoulos 1 nomisma, 14 ¼ keratia.
 Through the (villagers) from Eieme 1 ½+¼ keratia.”

29 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040.1–2: † σύννοψις τῶν ἐγκαυμά(των) τοῦ δημοσ(ίου) βορρινοῦ | νέου λουτρο(οῦ) (...) καὶ (ὑπὲρ) τῆ Τακόνα. Gascou 1972, 64–65 (= 2008, 46) relates the general payments to a “financement des peintures [!] à l’encaustique du nouveau bain public” (my emphasis). This meaning is, however, not attested in the papyri so far; the only two other attestations of ἐγκαυμα in the papyri are either unclear (*SB* XXIV 16192.5) or relate to fuel (*P.Oxy.* XVIII 2206.9–10). The payment for Takona may relate to the stables there (see the commentary *ad loc.*); contributions of the Apion estate to the stables of Takona have an obvious parallel in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2028 (Oxyrhynchos; VI); cf. ll. 1–2: † γνώσ(ις(?)) χρυσίου δοθ(έντος) τῷ τραπεζ(ίτη) ὑπὲρ τῶν στάβλ(ων) | Τακόνα θ καὶ ι τῶν ἰνδ(ικτιόνων) δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἐξῆς προσώπ(ων). But this begs the question why contributions to the stables at Takona would figure in an account for an entirely different building apparently someplace else. Perhaps, since the “northern bath” is said to be new, the indiction year next to Takona indicates that this village already had a bath, whose contributions for the 15th indiction were now being negotiated (comparably: Alston 2002, 314). Another alternative may emerge from the lack of a preposition before Takona: the indeclinable village name may hide a genitive that relates to the contributions of the village for the “northern bath.” Maybe in the 15th indiction it was the village’s turn to contribute and this was covered by the Apiones; cf. the contributions, though much smaller, of the village Ieme in l. 18.

30 Gascou 1972, 65 (= 2008, 46): “des principales unités d’assignation fiscale de cette cité.” “Snapshot”: Ruffini 2008, 105. With these exceptions, *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 is remarkably absent from discussions of the Oxyrhynchite pagarchy and especially its alleged character as a permanent obligation/privilege of the large landlords as proposed, e.g., by Banaji.

It is noticeable that the contributors are not very numerous, but still are characterized as being representative of “the whole city.”³¹ And while the payments for the northern bath differ for each of the contributors and presumably were allocated based on some sort of quota-system, the amount for Takona is paid for entirely by the *endoxos oikos* of the Apiones. This becomes interesting in light of the fact that this village is referred to as a *kōmē pagarchoumenē*, a village “pagarched” by the Apiones, roughly a decade earlier.³² I shall discuss these villages in detail later; for now it suffices to invoke the observation that the Apiones apparently did not hold the Oxyrhynchite pagarchy by the time of *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, which instead was shared equally by Ioustos and (the heirs of) Ptolemaios.³³ The Apiones, however, were entirely responsible for the contributions for Takona. As multiple pagarchies per nome are hardly likely,³⁴ the reason for this contrast can, I believe, only be that the Apiones’ responsibility for this village was grounded in a position comparable to, but distinct from, the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos.

The aforementioned interpretation of *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* assumes that this text is a representative illustration of Oxyrhynchite elite composition, and a list compiled in the second and third columns of the later *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* seems indeed to support this assumption.³⁵ This list is structurally comparable to the *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, but concerns grain payments: 28 “joint contributors” (*syntelestai*) pay 15,688 artabas in total.³⁶ Six of these contributors, however, clearly played in a different league than the rest: the imperial *oikos* (*theios oikos*—“Divine House”), the Holy Church, the *oikos* of Kometes, the heirs of Ptolemaios, the heirs of Ioustos, and the heirs of Euphemia. These contributors bore comparatively excessive amounts from ca. 1,498 to 3,490 artabas each and together are responsible for 75 % of the total, while the next closest entry, of the heirs of Theodoulos, lists “only” ca. 708 artabas.³⁷ It is hardly coincidental that the six outstanding contributors are all institutions instead of individuals, and are also the only ones who pay “for various

31 *P.Oxy. XVI 2040.3*: πάσης πόλεως. Concerning “individuals and institutions,” it should be noted that only two *oikoi* are explicitly mentioned while the other aristocrats’ entries are stylized personally. The presence of several heirs (*klēronomoi*) in lines 9, 15, and 17, however, suggests that inherited estates were behind them.

32 *P.Oxy. I 133* (October 19, 550).

33 The wording of ll. 10 and 13–14 (payments “for” the pagarchy) does not imply payments to, but rather on behalf of, the pagarchy; cf. *P.Herm.Landl.*, p. 22.

34 See the preceding section and Chapter Four. Moreover, if the Apiones, or other grandees, would have held a pagarchy next to that of Ptolemaios and Ioustos, this would be expected to have been listed separately here, as in the case of Ptolemaios and Ioustos.

35 For a recent profound approach to this text in comparison to *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, see Ruffini 2008a, 102–105. On the aristocrats showing up in both accounts, see now also Gad 2016. The first column of *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* is ignored at this point for reasons that will become clear in the following.

36 When Hickey’s corrections of ll. 24 and 25 are taken into account (see p. 98 nn. 39 and 41 below), the missing contribution in l. 28 amounts to 111,5416 artabas.

37 Contrary to what Hickey 2007, 297 and Banaji 2007, 149–150 have suggested, it is not status alone that provided this extraordinary position. In *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* we find *endoxotatoi* whose contributions grow pale in comparison with, e.g., the heirs of the lower-ranking *peribleptos* Theodoulos.

onomata.”³⁸ Apart from the imperial *oikos*, all these six outstanding contributors and the heirs of Theodoulos from *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* are also listed in the earlier *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, which attests to the longevity of the economic system they helped to sustain. While *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* deals with cash payments, the later list in *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* comprises payments in grain. Still, a comparison of the shares given in the two documents is possible through the percentages allocated to those contributors that appear in both lists (and, for the sake of comparison, some other significant contributors that do not appear in both lists):

	<i>P.Oxy. XVI</i> 2040 (ca. 566/567)	<i>P.Oxy. XVI</i> 2020 (567–588)		<i>P.Oxy. XVI</i> 2040 (ca. 566/567)	<i>P.Oxy. XVI</i> 2020 (567–588)
<i>endoxos oikos</i>	25 %	0.5 %	heirs of Ptolemaios	10 %	11 %
<i>theios oikos</i>	–	22 %	(heirs of) Ioustos	10 %	10 %
<i>oikos of Kometes</i>	16 %	13 % ³⁹	(heirs of) Euphemia ⁴⁰	6 %	10 % ⁴¹
Holy Church	12 %	10 %	heirs of Theodoulos	6 %	5 %
pagarchy, total	10 %	– ⁴²			

Table 02: Percentages from contributors who appear in both *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* and columns II–III of *P.Oxy. XVI 2020*, plus the pagarchy and the imperial *oikos* for comparison.⁴³

First, we note that shares differ.⁴⁴ If we seek an explanation for the smaller share of Kometes in the later list, we find some documents that may indeed illustrate his family’s increasing economic difficulties.⁴⁵ Such an evolutionary explanation is, though plausible, unavailable for the significantly higher share of Euphemia; but in her case, the change of personal

38 The entry for the imperial *oikos* lacks this note, but the *oikos* figures in a separate entry in l. 14 as payer for a smaller *ktēma*.

39 See Hickey 1998, 163 for the reading Αλξε δ’ η’ (1,965 ¼+½) instead of Αρξε δ’ η’ (1,165 ¼+½), which I find convincing from the photo (contra Gascou 1985, 48 n. 276 = 2008, 171 n. 276).

40 The papyrus is abraded at the end of the name in *P.Oxy. XVI 2020*, but this suggestion (instead of Euphemios) by Gad 2016, 1793 cannot seriously be doubted. That Euphemia is referred to as *megaloprepestatē* in the earlier text but as *endoxotatē* in the latter need not imply a promotion of any sort; see Chapter Five on the use of the epithet *megaloprepestatos*.

41 See Hickey 1998, 163 for the reading ΑυϞ ζ δ’ η’ (1,497 ½+¼+½) instead of Αλξε δ’ η’ (1,965 ¼+½), which I find convincing from the photo.

42 If, as Gascou (2008c, 49 n. 33) argued, Anastasia and Maria, who each paid 479 ⅛ art., on behalf of the pagarchy (which the text does not say), then the aggregated amount would comprise 6 % of the total. For this reason, I find the hypothesis more convincing according to which Anastasia and Maria were sisters and simply inherited an identical share (Van Haelst 1966, 588).

43 Ioustos and Euphemia were apparently alive at the time of *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, but had died by the time of *P.Oxy. XVI 2020*, when their heirs are listed instead. All amounts over one percent are rounded up or down to the next full percent. For the percentages of *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, cf. Alston 2002, 315; the chart and figures for this text in Hickey 2007, 297 include the amount of Takona. Naturally, since the table includes only selected contributors, the percentages do not add up to 100 %.

44 The change of other contributors between *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* and 2020, however, may simply be due to the natural cycle. Even so, the list of contributors in *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* is also considerably longer than that of *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*.

45 As outlined by Ruffini 2008a, 75–80, although he comes from a different direction.

contributions (in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040) into those of an institution (in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020) may partially be responsible for the increase. In any case, since we are dealing with different sorts of contributions, shares are expected to vary to a certain degree and therefore any arguments need to be based on the orders of magnitude.⁴⁶ With this in mind, the stability of the shares of Ptolemaios, Ioustos, Theodoulos, and the Church is striking. The absence of the imperial *oikos* in the earlier list, however, defies convincing explanation.⁴⁷

There have been significant doubts as to the value of these lists as a representative illustration of the distribution of Oxyrhynchos' fiscal shares, stemming not least from the observation that the *endoxos oikos*, which pays 25 % of the total in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, is all but absent from *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, which is, after all, a list for *arkarika*, taxes designated for the prefecture.⁴⁸ Scholars have already noted that the Apiones' comparably insignificant share in this text is due to the fact they paid only for one particular *onoma*:⁴⁹ "Through the *endoxos oikos* the aforementioned 76 ½ artabas for Phoibammon, son of Kephalas."⁵⁰ In the papyrus, however, this list, comprising the second and third columns, is preceded by a column that is very fragmentary and therefore not easy to comprehend, although it appears to concern adaerated grain payments, that is, grain contributions commuted into cash. But this column notably features one in-kind amount amid various cash payments for the *arkarika*:

"[Account(?) ---] *politeuome*()⁵¹

[---] as follows(?):

[for(?) ---] *adaeratio*, in "pure" value, 1,852 nomismata, 23 ½ keratia and

46 The new papyrus presented by Gad 2016 advises us to remain cautious of too strict a comparison. There, the context of the contributions is elusive, but the heirs of Ioannes pay more than the heirs of Ptolemaios, while it is the other way around in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 and *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020. By orders of magnitude, however, these texts are comparable.

47 See Johnson & West 1949, 302 (pointing to *C.Th.* I 1.11) for the suggestion that the imperial estate's income went *entirely* to the department of the *arkarika* (*P.Oxy.* XVI 2020), which I find, however, not very convincing, though I do not have a better alternative. Is its absence in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 linked to the fact that the latter concerns municipal expenditures from which imperial domains were liberated?

48 On the *arkarika*, see Hickey 2012, 110, with further references in n. 89.

49 Gascou 1985, 48 (= 2008, 171). Cf. other landowners in this text, explicitly stated as paying "for various *onomata*," thereby illustrating one assumption of the model of fiscal shares.

50 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020.15: δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου) τὰς/ προκειμένας ὑπ(ὲρ) Φοιβάμμωνος Κεφαλᾶ (ἀρτάβας) ος ζ. On this *onoma*, see Hickey 2012, 60 n. 111, and Bransbourg 2016, 363 n. 185.

51 I wonder whether [λόγος -ca.-?] πολιτευομέ() should not be restored according to *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039.1: † λόγ(ος) ῥιπ[α]ρ(ίων) οἴκ(ου) Θέωνος σὺν θεῶ ια ἰνδ(ικτίονος). We know that Theon was a *politeuomenos* (Gonis 2009, 91–92) and if, which is not certain, the 1,852 nomismata, 23 ½ keratia of l. 3 are the basic contribution of the *endoxos oikos* without surcharges, then this would be would be about 48 % of the total of all three columns (ca. 3,840 nomismata, with the amounts of the columns II and III adaerated by a ratio of one nomisma per ten artabas; on the conversion, see p. 100 n. 56 below), while in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039, the Apiones cover 47 % of the shares of Theon's *oikos* (with the new readings by Azzarello 2006). Thus, [† λόγ(ος) ἀρκαρικ(ών) οἴκ(ου) Θέωνος] πολιτευομέ(νου) may be conceivable, but is of course highly speculative. By way of comparison, in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1909, the money taxes paid by Oxyrhynchos and Kynopolis together amount to 24,500 nomismata.

[—as(?)] of 60 per 1(?) nomisma, 369 nomismata, 16 ½ keratia,⁵² makes
 2,222 nomismata, 15 ½ keratia.⁵³

[—] for *adaerationes* of all sorts 43 nomismata, 3 ¼ keratia

[—] 3 nomismata, 8 keratia

[—] 2 nomismata, 12 keratia

[—] but in kind, barley, 76 ½ *cancellus* artabas

[makes in total, for] *arkarika* of all sorts, in “pure” value, 2,271 nomismata, 14 ½+¼ keratia.”

It strikes me that it has not yet been noted that the isolated amount in kind is equal to the small sum the *endoxos oikos* pays for the aforementioned isolated *onoma* in the second column! Though much of the first column is fragmentary and the precise context therefore elusive, I find it inevitable to conclude that (at least a part of) that column somehow relates to the Apiones’ share for the *arkarika* and that the Apiones paid for this share in adaerated grain, that is, in grain commuted into cash. They, however, effectuated a single smaller payment for another *onoma* in kind, and this in-kind payment was then included both in the list of adaerated payments in the first column (in order to fully account for the Apiones’ due share) and once again in the second column, where all in-kind payments are aggregated.⁵⁴ This explains perfectly why the first entry is introduced with “but in kind” in order to mark the contrast of the in-kind and cash payments, and it also explains why the second entry refers back to the first entry via “the aforementioned [!] (artabas),” which had so far found no explanation.⁵⁵

Since large parts of the left half of the first column are missing, however, we cannot infer what defined these individual payments. Assuming a conversion rate of one nomisma per ten artabas for the purpose of taxation,⁵⁶ the value contained in the first column considerably exceeds that of the following list of grain payments (columns II–III).⁵⁷ A conceivable hypothesis would be that in the latter sixth century the Apiones, being in a better position to exchange grain into much-needed gold,⁵⁸ were the first to effectuate tax payments through adaerated grain, and perhaps were even involved in commuting the

52 The text has in fact νο(μίσματα) ψνθ α η´ = 759 2/3+1/8 nomismata, but νο(μίσματα) τξθ κ(εράτια) ις ζ is written above this. The former figure is neither crossed out nor erased, but only the superscripted amount yields the correct result. I have no explanation for the meaning of the original figure.

53 According to what can be read, the total at this point should be 2,222 nomismata, 16 keratia, but the calculation continues with the apparently wrong amount.

54 An amount for the *onoma* of Kephala is also added separately in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2195.144; see McConnell 2017, 52 n. 48.

55 Ruffini 2008a, 102 speculated upon the meaning “the aforementioned” for τὰς προκειμένας but could not make sense of it in this context.

56 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1909 (late VI); Bransbourg 2016, 367. It is, however, elusive what sort of grain is at play in this text.

57 There is no indication that the grain payments of the second and third columns would, in adaerated form, have been accounted as part of the cash amounts in the first column.

58 On the Apiones’ capacities to generate cash in comparison to others, see Bransbourg 2016, 372–373.

grain contributions from *all other contributors*, but this seems excessive and is far from convincing. In any case, the fact that the Apiones were involved in adaeration operations of this scale is by itself a good indicator that we are facing one of the steps toward emperor Maurice’s “full adaeration regime” of the 580s.⁵⁹

Bringing the *endoxos oikos* back into *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* assures us that both *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* and *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* are, by and large, reliable indicators for the distribution of public shares among the main players in the Oxyrhynchite. In this light, the observation made at the outset of this section— that the Oxyrhynchite pagarchy in *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* is segregated from the Apiones’ responsibility for the village of Takona—becomes significant for the main question of this chapter about the relation of aristocrats’ fiscal shares to the pagarchy.⁶⁰ As has already been noted, Takona is in one document referred to as a *kōmē pagarchoumenē*, a village “pagarched” by the Apiones, which seems paradoxical at first sight. Therefore, the following sections will discuss the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* and their relationship to the Apion estate, starting with the “documentary habit” concerning this formula.

— III —

THE KŌMAI PAGARCHOUMENAI: A NOTARY’S TALE?

Given that the bulk of late antique papyri stem from Oxyrhynchos, it is remarkable that after the fifth century, pagarchs are, with two possible exceptions, completely absent from that nome.⁶¹ In fact, these two instances are well outnumbered by documents that concern *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, literally “pagarched” villages⁶² but often rendered as villages “under pagarchic authority,”⁶³ which are known virtually exclusively from the Oxyrhynchite

59 On this issue, see Gascou 1985, II (= 2008, 132–133) and Bransbourg 2016, 313, 358 n. 168, 393–395, and 403–404.

60 My finding that the gold and grain payments in *P.Oxy. XVI 2020* must be related also makes it possible that the Oxyrhynchite pagarchy was somehow part of the calculations in the first column, since the business of the pagarchs and their *boēthoi* also involved dealing with taxpayers’ grain and commuting it into tax gold; see Chapter Two.

61 *PSI VIII 955+SB XX 15181* (doubtful restoration; see the Appendix, s.v. Anonymous [Oxyrhynchos]) and *P.Oxy. XVI 1858*. As will be shown in Section VI, *PSI I 52* is likely to stem from the early Islamic period.

62 Until January 2, 588 (*P.Oxy. LXIV 3204*) writers use *παγαρχουμένης υπό*, whereas from October 21 of that same year onward, *παγαρχουμένης παρά* is in use (*P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5390*). Consequently, *P.Oxy. LXX 4787.9–10* should probably be restored as *παγαρχουμένης* | [ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμ]ετέρα<ς> ὑπερφυείας. There is no apparent change in meaning between *ὑπό* and *παρά* in this use. Both prepositions do appear in connection with an *oikos* instead of a person (*ὑπό*: *P.Oxy. I 133.8*; *παρά*: *P.Oxy. XVI 1981.16* and *P.Oxy. XXIV 2420.12–13*), so this cannot be a factor in choosing either of them. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp. I 67024.32* and 38 (Aphrodite; ca. 551) and the expression *ὑπὸ τὴν παγαρχίαν ποιήσασθαι*: “to bring [the villagers] under the pagarchy.” The editor of *P.Oxy. LXXXII 5337* from 493 CE has the appearance of the verb *παγαρχέω* in this text as the earliest attestation (p. 166) but misses the non-papyrological evidence from the fourth century from outside Egypt; see Chapter One.

63 Hickey 2012, 82 n. 121; Banaji 2007, 157; comparably Sarris 2006, *passim*.

nome.⁶⁴ All documents concerning a *kōmē pagarchoumenē* refer to their addressee not as pagarch but as *geouchōn* (“landowner,” with the participle form), and then add the *pagarchoumenē* formula only later in the main body of the text when a particular village is mentioned. The expression is used exclusively with villages; in connection with hamlets (*epoikia*) the analogues “of N.N.’s property (*ktēma*)” or “belonging (*diapherōn*) to N.N.” appear in similar contexts.⁶⁵ This is not surprising, for the hamlets did not possess legal status on their own but rather were integrated into the structure of their respective estate, paying their taxes and meeting their obligations via their landlord.⁶⁶ But the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* also occur in contexts obviously linked to landowners’ business: in two papyri that involve men from *kōmai pagarchoumenai* the issues at stake are explicitly labeled as “pertaining to the landowner” (*geouchikos*) while in a third, the land to be leased “belongs” (*hyparchein*) to a *geouchōn*.⁶⁷ Nothing beyond the power of an ordinary landowner is at stake here, and whatever lies behind the *pagarchoumenē* formula is not the reason for the landowner’s involvement in these cases.⁶⁸ It appears therefore that the *pagarchoumenē* formula marked a general (legal) status of a village that was mentioned in legal documents regardless of whether an official or a private issue was at stake.⁶⁹ It was used to mark a village in any case someone from that village was involved as a contracting party or as ensured person in deeds of surety. Likewise, the expressions “of N.N.’s property (*ktēma*)” or “belonging (*diapherōn*) to N.N.” were used to describe an *epoikion* in case someone from this place got involved. These

64 On some of the following, see Nikolaos Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXX 4787.9–10, commentary. The exception from outside Oxyrhynchos is *P.Lond.* III 776, from the Kynopolite nome, which is to be discussed in Section VII.

65 Expressions: κτήματος τῆς or διαφέροντος τῆ, generally followed by an abstract reference to the landowner (e.g., “your Highness” vel sim.), never to the *oikos* (but cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1900 and *P.Oxy.* XVIII 14006, referring to the Church). Cf. the parallelly constructed *BGU* XII 2184.1–2 (Hermopolis; VI): τοῦ γεωργίου τοῦ ὑπὸ σου γεωργ[ο]υμένου.

66 Although I style the realm of the *ktēmata* and *epoikia* as “private” in this chapter, this is not to suggest clearly segregated areas of activity, as will become clear throughout this chapter.

67 *P.Lond.* III 776.8 and *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785.13 (*geouchikos*); *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337 (*hyparchein*).

68 Because the occurrence of the *pagarchoumenē* formula is therefore no indicator of the public character of the content at issue, it must remain elusive whether texts like *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420 (614 CE), where no immediate public background is apparent, relate to private interests between Apion and the two goldsmiths (because they, e.g., work for him or fled from an estate parcel in the village) or to public interest (because they, e.g., await a trial or fled from a non-estate parcel in the village), but again, these interests are not always easy to separate. For a potential public interest in securing the presence of goldsmiths, see Bagnall & Worp 1985.

69 Cf. Hickey 2012, 82, who opines that deeds of surety for *enapographoi geōrgoi* in *kōmai pagarchoumenai* are essentially private and that these people reside in parts of the village belonging to the landlord (likewise, N. Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4757.1, commentary). Hickey’s interpretation entails that the *pagarchoumenē* formula is not necessary for the business treated in the document; see also Hickey 2012, 89 n. II, correctly differentiating between the landlord’s relationship to the village on the one hand and the reason for the document to be drafted on the other.

formulae therefore seem to qualify the landowner's relationship to the individual in question.⁷⁰

Given that all these texts are contracts or receipts—legally enforceable documents that would be expected to pay meticulous attention to an unambiguous terminology—it seems reasonable to assume that the written status of the villages as *kōmai pagarchoumenai* served a purpose. There have essentially been two ways of interpreting this expression: Nikolaos Gonis argued that it might indicate that the villages “were normally under the control of the pagarch, but it appears that their fiscal administration could be exercised by great landowners, whose authority was similar to that of a pagarch.”⁷¹ On the other hand, some scholars have taken this expression to mean that the addressee of the respective document was responsible for that village as pagarch—that is, by means of office.⁷² The last hypothesis implies that we are dealing with an alternative notarial custom to refer to a pagarch.⁷³

As will become clear in the remainder of this section (and this chapter), however, it is highly unlikely that the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* are “a notary's tale,” an alternative fashion of referring to a pagarch. Not only would it seem highly odd to suppress the pagarchy from an aristocrat's formal address only to add it much later in the text, but also a rigid pattern in the usage of the title of *geouchōn* in the address suggests the opposite. Above I noted that all landowners with authority over *kōmai pagarchoumenai* are addressed as *geouchountes*. An exception, however, is one papyrus dating to 530 CE, in which Strategios II instead figures as *prōteuōn* (Lat. *principalis*).⁷⁴ This phenomenon is consistent from 530 to 535 CE, and

70 In the two contracts for *pronoētai* to the Apiones *P.Oxy.* I 136 (583 CE) and *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3952 (610 CE), villages that are known as *pagarchoumenē* from elsewhere are mentioned without the term, apparently because no one from that village is involved (the *pronoētai* stem from Oxyrhynchos); see also *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397.23. On the rare cases where such villagers are involved and the villages are still not labeled as *pagarchoumenē*, see the following.

71 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4787.9–10, commentary; cf. the same author in *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4757.1: “Yet the presence of ἐναπόγραφοι in κῶμαι need not cause surprise, if we bear in mind the fiscal character of the *adscriptio*, and that these κῶμαι were in the administrative or fiscal control (παγαρχοῦμεναι) of those great landlords who also controlled ἐποίκια.” Comparably Fikhman 1978, although Fikhman makes this less an administrative arrangement than Gonis does.

72 Banaji 2007, 150 (although he refers to “the pagarch's function” and later argues that the pagarchy is synonymous with the responsibility for fiscal shares); Palme forthcoming (a), 33; Mazza 1995, 195–196, where she uses the formula to analyze the pagarchy, while the link is explicit at p. 196. Ambiguous is Hickey 2008a, 89 n. 11. Giovanni Ruffini's conception of this phenomenon as a “village pagarchy,” (Ruffini 2009, 631 and n. 4; cf. 633) does not seem so far from the truth, as we shall see below, but in his view, this phenomenon could exist alongside the *civitas* pagarchy and the fiscal shares (cf. p. 92 n. 4 above). Cf. also Gascou 1985, 67 n. 376 (= 2008, 190 n. 376): “une sorte de pagarchie permanente sur certains villages de la région”; cf. p. 25 n. 43 (= 2008, 147 n. 143) and p. 78 (= 2008, 202).

73 Sophie Kovarik's (2014) recent monumental work on chancery practice in the late antique Fayum argues that many notarial customs were particular to certain notarial families and can in many cases be followed over generations, with branches even extending into other nomes.

74 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785 (October 19, 530). On the *prōteuontes*, see Laniado 2002, 201–211 and more recently Fabian Reiter in *P.Köln.* XI, pp. 238–244, who also pointed to this change in Strategios II's titlature, as did Nikolaos Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXX 4784, comm. l. 4.

perhaps longer.⁷⁵ But since four out of five texts concern the maintenance of estate infrastructure (waterwheels and a mill) explicitly labeled as “pertaining to the landowner” (*geouchikos*),⁷⁶ there can be little doubt that Strategios was still considered *geouchōn* and that *prōteuōn* replaced the more general title in addresses.⁷⁷ Pushing this observation a bit farther, one notes that no one addressed as *geouchōn* in a legal document holds any public office in the area covered by this expression (usually a *civitas*).⁷⁸ Mentioning an office in a *civitas* apparently entailed the suppression of a potential address as *geouchōn*, provided that the same location is at issue.⁷⁹

Evidence from other nomes may be enlightening, as it offers a path outside the Apion bubble.⁸⁰ Private leases from the Arsinoite, for instance, illustrate the pattern: the *geouchōn* address occurs frequently in leases of estate property but is absent when the lessor is an official.⁸¹ The trend is also evident in the deeds of surety—documents in which one person swears to an authority that a third person will continue to reside in a certain place.⁸² Such documents were drafted mostly in order to guarantee that individuals fulfilled their legal dues such as liturgies or taxes; in some cases, the ensured person has already committed an offense, be it a crime or escaping their dues, and is released from prison on probation (*Enthäftungsbürgschaft*). Officials were the natural addressees of such documents, but a host of sureties for people dwelling on estate property (in *epoikia*, *ktēmata*, or as part of villages and cities) are also addressed to *geouchountes*, of which the Apiones easily furnish the most examples. The large landowners of course had an interest that their workers and tenants abided by the rules, stayed where they were, and paid their rents and taxes. Most revealing for us, however, are the examples in which estate property is at issue—that is, where it

75 The other documents are *P.Oxy.* LXX 4784 (September 23, 530), *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2779 (December 30, 530), and *P.Oxy.* XVI 1983 (July 28, 535); cf. *P.Oxy.* LXX 4783 (528/533/534 CE?) and see *P.Oxy.* LXX, p. 89. Strategios is explicitly called *geouchōn* (but not *prōteuōn*) until at least December 31, 526 (*P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5365) and then again on February 18, 542 (*P.Oxy.* LXIII 4396).

76 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4783 is too fragmentary to determine its content.

77 Cf. the lease *SB XVI 12948* (Hermopolites; 448): the document is addressed to an *aidēsimos prōteuōn* of Antinoopolis (ll. 3–4), while the same individual appears as *geouchōn* in l. 12. Fabian Reiter (*P.Köln.* XI, p. 242) suggested that *prōteuōn* may be a more elevated *geouchōn*.

78 This means actual functions, not honorary titles such as *comes*, *patricius*, and others. These titles will be discussed in Chapter Five.

79 In the same way, a local office usually makes the formula of origin (with ἀπὸ τῆς) superfluous as long as both concern the same location. The other way around, the presence of ἀπὸ τῆς generally implies that this individual does not hold any office in the same location.

80 The main point can also be illustrated with non-Apionic Oxyrhynchite evidence, e.g., with the deed of surety *P.Oxy.* IV 306 (December 16, 413), where the addressee is *nauarchos* of Oxyrhynchos, but the ensured duties are γεουχικὰ ἔργα in an *epoikion*.

81 Addressed to *geouchountes*: *BGU II 364*; *P.Lond.* I 113,5a; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 32; *SB XVIII 1400I*. Addressed to officials (all pagarchs): e.g., *BGU I 305*; *CPR XIV 10*; *CPR XIV 11*; *SB I 5256*. For other types of document from a private context addressed to officials (here, pagarchs) without the *geouchōn* formula, see, e.g., *CPR XIX 32* (a receipt for a delivery of reed to be used on estate grounds), *CPR XXIV 28* (a contract with an estate employee), or *SPP III 392* (a receipt for rent).

82 On the deeds of surety, see the references in Stern 2016, 1847 n. 9.

would strictly speaking be irrelevant to the deed whether or not the addressee held any public office. These documents may be addressed to officials or to *geouchountes*, but, again, officials are never addressed as *geouchountes*.⁸³ The pattern seems rather straightforward and suggests that individuals addressed as *geouchōn* do not hold public office; ergo, the addressees in our documents concerning *kōmai pagarchoumenai* are not pagarchs of Oxyrhynchos.⁸⁴

It may be objected that the “pagarching” landowners might have simply been the responsible authorities despite not actually performing the liturgy (as in the case of women or absentee landlords)—“formal” pagarchs, as it were. Strategios II would be a natural candidate here since he held the offices of *praefectus Augustalis* in Alexandria by 523 CE and of *comes sacrarum largitionum* in Constantinople by 532 at latest, probably residing in the imperial capital until the end of his life.⁸⁵ The only non-Apion to deal with *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, Flavia Anastasia, would also fit here, being a woman. But this hypothesis is unlikely for two main reasons. First, while Strategios was still a minor, he was usually represented by a certain Theodoros *hypokatastatos* (or, *hypokatastatēs*) who additionally assumed the function of a *diadochos*, a liturgical stand-in, when representing Strategios in a civic liturgy as *riparius*.⁸⁶ Theodoros does not, however, bear the title of *diadochos* in a land

83 The following is restricted to deeds of surety for *epoikiotai* in order to highlight my main point, since there are no *geouchountes* to be found in deeds of surety for villagers outside Oxyrhynchos. Addressed to pagarchs: CPR XXIV 27 (Arsinoe; 610), *P.Lond.* I 113.5c (Arsinoe; 600), and Kovarik 2005, no. 2 (Arsinoe; 590, new date communicated to me by Sophie Kovarik) and 3 (Arsinoe; 591/592). Addressed to officials other than pagarchs: BGU II 401 (Arsinoe; 618) and CPR XIV 17 (Arsinoites?; 652?), both addressed to *ekdikoi* who apparently did not own the *epoikia*. Addressed to geouchountes: *P.Vind.Sijp.* 7 (Herakleopolites; 463), *SPP* X 127 (Herakleopolites; 463), and CPR X 127 (Arsinoe; 584). The latter is in fact addressed to four women as *prôteousai* (see Laniado 2002, 204–206 on the hereditary character of this title), which, as we have seen, supplants the *geouchōn* title. Interestingly, the document is the only one outside Oxyrhynchos using the *diapherōn* formula to describe the hamlet in question. There are more examples of these texts addressed to (apparent) non-officials without the *geouchōn* address, so it seems that neither formula was a necessary element. But my point here is mainly that *when* the *geouchōn* address is used, the addressee is *not* an official in the area covered in the phrase.

84 It is therefore often unclear whether these documents refer to an official background of the case in question or are linked to the official’s capacity as owner of the particular *epoikion*. It could be argued, e.g., that in *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3400, a village *boēthos* (Papnouthis) addresses his master Eulogios as *geouchos* despite the high probability that the latter received the document in his capacity as *praepositus pagi*. But this text is internal communication, not a legal document, and the change of formula in this case contrasts with, and therefore highlights the rigidity of, the pattern found in legal documents.

85 By 530, Strategios had become *patricius*. On the chronology of Strategios’s titles, see Hickey 2012, 12–13. The *oiketēs* formula, which may hint to the absence of the Apiones in question, is attested with Strategios II in 493 CE (*P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337, but multiple instances of Strategios around that date lack it) and then again after 523 (*P.Oxy.* LXXXII, p. 165). On the chronology of Strategios’s death, see *P.Oxy.* LXIII, p. 146.

86 Strategios’s father, Apion I, was apparently still alive at that time (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1982), but it appears that Strategios II nonetheless had formal authority over an estate as *geouchōn* (N. Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXVII, pp. 233–234 and *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337). On *diadochoi* as liturgical substitutes, see Laniado 2002, 221–222. The modalities of liturgical representation will be discussed in Chapter Four.

lease from that period referring to a village as *pagarchoumenē* by Strategios,⁸⁷ which can only mean that the *pagarchoumenē* formula does not relate to an office or liturgy to which one was appointed. And second, the *pagarchoumenē* formula in Anastasia's case cannot be explained simply by her being a woman unable to actually perform the duties of the pagarchy, since in the Antaiopolite a woman named Patrikia (who would "suffer" from the same conditions) is addressed as pagarch.⁸⁸ The use of the formula is therefore not triggered by absence or incapability on the part of the landlord.⁸⁹

Consequently, if one is not to assume that the Oxyrhynchite developed an odd and illogical notarial practice in which important offices were suppressed from an aristocrat's titlature against all notarial custom,⁹⁰ the only remaining plausible explanation is that the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* refer to an institution that was distinct from the Oxyrhynchite pagarchy. This is finally illustrated by the example of the notary Ioannes who signed three of the six documents concerning *kōmai pagarchoumenai* that preserve a signature:⁹¹ in another document, though presumably a later one, this same Ioannes does explicitly refer to an Oxyrhynchite pagarch (not from the Apion family), which strongly discourages the idea that Ioannes would have used the *pagarchoumenē* formula to relate to the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos in the other cases.⁹²

"When you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth."⁹³ The following sections, beginning with an administrative analysis of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, will yield more positive evidence that these villages were very likely distinct from the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos, even though this makes an already confusing picture even more complicated and would therefore appear to contradict Ockham's razor.

⁸⁷ *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337.

⁸⁸ *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A, with my new readings in Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Anonymous *hypodektēs* (2), and *P.Lond.* V 1660. No equivalent of the *oiketēs* formula is known for Anastasia, and from a simple representation by her *dioiketēs* it is difficult to make her an absentee landlord of the same level as the Apiones.

⁸⁹ If this were the case, and the Apiones were in this position responsible for the liturgy of the pagarchy, overseeing a pagarch without being themselves called "pagarch," it would be difficult to reconcile with the regulations of *Edict* 13 (539 CE) according to which fraudulent pagarchs would be stripped of their *ousiai* and where there is no talk of any only "formal" responsibility.

⁹⁰ On this custom in aristocrats' addresses, see Chapter Five.

⁹¹ Ioannes issued *P.Oxy.* XVI 1981, *P.Oxy.* I 139, and *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4536 within a span of only three days in 612 CE, but Diethart & Worp 1986, 82 opt against reading his name in *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420 (February 25–March 26, 614). It can be excluded that he was responsible for the remaining two documents: the signature of *P.Oxy.* LXX 4802 (early VII) is badly damaged, but the traces do not fit Ioannes's name (see also Gonis 2002b, commentary on *SB* XXVIII 17002.26, who argues for a different hand) and the signature of *P.Oxy.* I 133 (October 19, 550) reveals a different notary at work.

⁹² *PSI* I 52, on which see also Section VI.

⁹³ Sherlock Holmes in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of the Four*.

— IV —

THE APIONES AND THEIR VILLAGES

There are 16 instances of *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, comprising 12 different villages and two instances in which the village name is lost. All 12 known villages appear frequently in economic and administrative accounts from the Apion estate, and consequently must have been integrated into the network woven by the Apiones' highly elaborate estate management.⁹⁴ It is, however, only in legal documents involving one of their inhabitants that these villages are characterized as *kōmai pagarchoumenai*. These villages are captured in the table below:

Date	Village	Evidence
June 10, 493	Spania	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXXII 5337
October 19, 530	Tampeti	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXX 4785
October 19, 550	Takona	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 133
September 7, 551	Sephtha	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXXIII 5371
August 24, 552	Sepho	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXXIII 5373
September 13, 552	Keuothis	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 776
March 12, 564	Paneuei	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXX 4787
565/566 or 580/581	probably Tampeti	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXXIII 5377
571–578	Tampeti	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXXIII 5378
October 21, 588	name lost, ca. 5 letters	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXXXIII 5390
October 25, 612	Ophis	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1981
October 26, 612	Adaiou	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 139
October 27, 612	Pleein	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVI 4536
Feb. 25–March 26, 614	Seryphis	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXIV 2420
early VII	Episemou	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXX 4802

Table 03: Attested Apionic *kōmai pagarchoumenai* in chronological order; Tampeti, the only village to occur multiple times, is given in bold.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Although many sources have further illuminated the Apion estate and its management in the meantime, the most comprehensive account to date remains Mazza 2001, 76–156; for a more recent introduction to the basic structure of the estate and the issues at stake in the Apion dossier, see Hickey 2012, 18–27; for more literature, see p. 15 n. 43 in the Introduction.

⁹⁵ The only non-Apionic instance is *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204 (January 2, 588), addressed to Flavia Anastasia, in which the village name is lost.

The frequent and regular integration of these villages into estate accounts and especially the fact that three of them—Sephtha, Takona, and Tampeti—were even the centers of Apionic *prostasiai*⁹⁶ can only mean a more or less permanent attribution of those villages to the Apion estate and its *prostasia* system, further undermining the hypothesis that the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* fell under the authority of the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos.⁹⁷

The Apion estate was organized and managed via a system of districts (*prostasiai*), each placed under a *pronoētēs* who collected rents (and taxes, hence Jean Gascou’s concept of “rent-tax”⁹⁸) for land owned by the Apiones (and some other land, as discussed later).⁹⁹ At one point in the later sixth century, 33 of these *prostasiai* were in place at the same time; additional forthcoming evidence suggests that this number remained relatively stable during the course of the sixth century.¹⁰⁰ The *kōmai pagarchoumenai* were clearly allocated to such *prostasiai*, given their appearance in the relevant documents, mostly accounts and lists,¹⁰¹ and *pronoētai* are attested in connection with most of them.¹⁰² But the Apiones never owned entire villages,¹⁰³ only parts of them,¹⁰⁴ and it seems only natural that the titles of the

96 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2032 (540/541 CE) and *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2207 (VI–VII; reedited in Benaïssa 2015), to which should be added three accounts to be published in *P.Oxy.* LXXXIV: 0002 (535/536 CE); 0004 (569 CE?); 0006 (2nd half of VI). I am greatly indebted to Amin Benaïssa for sharing in advance some of his contributions to the forthcoming volume.

97 Their integration into the Apion estate administration is underscored by other evidence; see Benaïssa 2012, s.vv. Papyri from *P.Oxy.* LXXXII and LXXXIII were only recently published and are thus absent from Benaïssa’s lists for Sepho, Sephtha, Spania, and Tampeti.

98 Gascou 1985, esp. 12–19 (= 2008, 134–141) on these interactions between rent and tax collection on the Apion estate; see also McConnell 2017, 44–45.

99 For concise accounts of the *prostasia* system, see McConnell 2017, 41–47; Hickey 2012, 26–27; Benaïssa 2007, esp. 75 n. 2; and Ruffini 2008a, 106–119. The latter two authors refer to a *pronoēsia* system, taken to mean the same thing; Hickey 2012, 26 and n. 31, however, holds that the appropriate term is *prostasia* and that *pronoēsia* “refers to the office (Amt); it is not an equivalent [for *prostasia*].”

100 For the number of *prostasiai*, see Amin Benaïssa’s introduction to the forthcoming *P.Oxy.* LXXXIV and Benaïssa 2015. This undermines the hypothesis brought forward by McConnell 2017, 62–66 and McConnell 2016, according to which the number of *prostasiai* would have increased from the second quarter to the latter half of the sixth century, but the author had no access to these new accounts at that time.

101 Lists and accounts: e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2207, reedited in Benaïssa 2015 (Tampeti and “Takona and Tholthis”); *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2204 (Spania); *P.Oxy.* VII 1053 verso and *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2206 (Sepho, Spania, Takona, and Tampeti; note that the amounts attributed to the villages in these two documents are identical); *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480 (Sephtha and Takona); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2243B.10 (Takona and Episemou); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1921 (Takona and Ophis); *P.Oxy.* XVI 2028 (Pleēin, Sepho, and Takona); *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196 (Adaïou and Episemou); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3960 (Adaïou and Episemou); *P.Oxy.* XVI 2044 (Adaïou; cf. Hickey 2012, 166); *P.Oxy.* XVI 2025 (Pleēin, Paneuei—as *epoikion*; maybe the small village became as a whole part of the Apion estate—Ophis, and Episemou); *P.Oxy.* XVI 2032 (Adaïou, Ophis, and Takona); *P.Oxy.* XVI 2034 (Sepho, Spania, and Tampeti); finally, *P.Oxy.* I 127 with the corrections by Hickey 1998, 161 (Adaïou, Episemou, Pleēin, Seryphis, Sepho, and Ophis). Working contract: *P.Oxy.* I 136 (Episemou and Adaïou). Letters (both are part of the Biktōr archive, which belongs to the realm of the Apiones, from the second decade of the seventh century; see Gonis 2015b): *P.Oxy.* XVI 1856 (Keuothis); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1859 (Seryphis; cf. Hickey 2012, 180). Contract/settlement: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397.23 (Ophis).

102 See Benaïssa 2012, s.vv. (with more material than Mazza 2001, Appendix 6).

103 For the curious claim that “great estates do own entire villages,” see Ruffini 2018, 211.

104 See *P.Oxy.* XVI 2025, where the contributions from *epoikia* match or even outmatch those from the ἐν κώμη(η) entries. Such estate property in villages could then apparently be termed “*ousiakon* of the

pronoētai, as attested in their working contracts, do not relate to villages but to the lands owned by the *geouchōn* within these villages.¹⁰⁵ Such a position naturally lay at the border of what we would call today the private and the public realms, and it is certainly telling that these managers contracted to “fill the post of *pronoētēs*, or, *hypodektēs*,” alluding to a “private” and a “public” side of this position.¹⁰⁶

Even though these villages were not owned as a whole by the Apiones, it seems that considerable parts of the village administration of *kōmai pagarchoumenai* proceeded under Apionic authority. This did not simply mean having their taxes handled by Apion estate employees but apparently also concerned genuine public village institutions. For one instance, the Apiones assumed responsibility for guards, *phylakes*, in order to maintain public security in *kōmai pagarchoumenai* and their own adjacent holdings. In two cease-and-desist letters addressed to Apion III, some *prōtophylakes* from *kōmai pagarchoumenai* agree

village” (*P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5377.2 with the commentary). See also, for instance, the large number of *possessores* in the village of Spania as recorded by *P.Oxy.* XVI 2058. This village is, notably, the only village in our period to which *geouchountes* are attributed in addresses of legal documents (instead of the usual general “in Oxyrhynchos”): *P.Wash.Univ.* I 17 (see Gonis 2007b, 271) and *P.Bad.* VI 172, where, in addition, a location within the village is described as “in the village, in the precinct/district of the *megalē oikeia*” (ll. 14–15). The only other instance of a village being part of the *geouchōn* address is *P.Gen.* II² 10 (Herakleopolites; 316).

105 *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196.4–6: προ(νοητοῦ) Ματρεῦ καὶ | ἐν κώμ(η) Ἐπισήμου καὶ ἐν κώμ(η) Ἀδαίου καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) | τόπων—“*pronoētēs* of Matreou and in the village Episemou and in the village Adaiou and other *exōtikoi topoi*.” The *pronoētēs* is the *diakonos* Serenos whose work contract from three years earlier is also preserved with the same area of activity described in *P.Oxy.* I 136.14–17: ἐπὶ τῷ με τὴν | χώραν τοῦ προνοητοῦ ἦτοι ὑποδέκτου ἀποπληρώσαι παρ’ αὐτῆ ἔμ (read ἐν) προστασίᾳ κτήματος Ματρεῦ | καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμης (read κώμαις) Ἐπισήμου καὶ Ἀδαίου καὶ τῶν ἐξωτικῶν αὐτῶν τόπων τῶν διαφερόντων | τῆ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείᾳ—“under the condition that I fill the post of *pronoētēs*, or, *hypodektēs*, for/under you in the *prostasia* of the hamlet Matreou and those (places) in the villages Episemou and Adaiou and their *exōtikoi topoi* that belong to your *hyperphyeia*.” Both Episemou and Adaiou are known as *pagarchoumenē*. On the meaning of *exōtikoi topoi*, see Benaissa 2007, 80–86. Although damaged, *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3952.17–20 may have contained a comparable specification. *P.Bagnall* 33.7–8 (496 CE) seems suspect in this regard: The four toponyms apparently are all villages, but the lacuna in the beginning cannot have contained much. One may think of ἦτοι ὑποδέκτου, but also ἐν ταῖς κώμαις seems desirable here, leaving not much space for a specification. It is, in any case, revealing that the *pronoētēs* of this contract receives as salary for his service in the villages (Sephtha and Thmoinache) only half the amount he receives for the *epoikia* (ll. 14–15), which must mean that his service did not extend to the entire villages, but only his master’s parcels in it. Cf. the earlier *SB* VI 9527.7–8 (Arsinoe; 385–412): προνοητῶν κώμης Βου[β]άστου τῶν [γεουχι]κῶν πραγμάτων, further suggesting that the responsibility of the *pronoētai* in the villages was restricted to the estate property of their *geouchountes*. See, comparably, Berkes 2017a, 172 n. 3 (cf. p. 92), and Ruffini 2008a, 112.

106 See *P.Wash.Univ.* I 25.7–8 (March 25, 530), which features a woman ὀρωμμένη ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Κλααῖ κτήμα(τος) τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρεπειᾶς | ἦτ[οι] τοῦ αὐτῆς μέρους τοῦτο[υ] τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου νομοῦ: “stemming from the *epoikion* Kalae in the possession of your *megaloprepeia*, or, of your share of this Oxyrhynchite nome.” That possession of an *epoikion* is equated with its being part of the magnate’s fiscal share beautifully illustrates that the “private” economy of the late antique large estates cannot be conceived apart from the “public” economy. See also *SB* XX 15014 from the Antaiopolite, in which a *pronoētēs* issues a rent receipt for land owned collectively by a pagarchical collegium, probably linked to their officeholding (see p. 64 above). Note also that the *pronoētēs* of *P.Oxy.* I 136 and *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196 is a *diakonos*; also the Antaiopolite pagarch Menas Scrinarius receives his information about Aphrodite’s outstanding tax payments in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 from a *diakonētēs* (for clerics involved in tax collection, see Schmelz 2002, 295–318, esp. 316–317).

not to steal nor to hide those who do.¹⁰⁷ The administrative routine that is evident from these documents and the context in which they were written suggest that similar agreements were regularly demanded from such guards, who are clearly public officials, and that the Apiones acted as their superiors.¹⁰⁸ The *phylakes* also serve as the link to the pagarchs, who are in other contexts evidenced as superior authority to *phylakes*, or to *eirēnarchai* and *phylakes*,¹⁰⁹ illustrating the parallel authority of the “pagarching” landowners to the pagarchs. The Apiones, moreover, maintained a prison where they detained people from *epoikia* or *ktēmata* as well as from *kōmai pagarchoumenai*.¹¹⁰

The superior position of the Apiones over village institutions in *kōmai pagarchoumenai* is also apparent in a contract between Apion II and the collective of village notables of Takona, represented by the village headman and (nominally) all *kōmarchai* (higher village officials).¹¹¹ It is obvious that Apion in this case was not contracting with the farmers of his estate parcels but with the village as an administrative entity—and yet he appears in his capacity as *geouchōn*. The villagers borrowed seed corn from the harvest of the present year credited against the next harvest from Apion, who was of course only nominally involved.¹¹² They pledge to pay it back “together with our *phorikos phoros*” from the crops of the next harvest, in the month of Payni—that is, during the next harvest.¹¹³ The character of this

¹⁰⁷ *P.Oxy.* I 139 (October 26, 612) and *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4536 (October 27, 612). The obvious parallel *P.Oxy.* XVI 1981 (October 25, 612) does not contain the professions of the contracting party, but was apparently given on behalf of the entire village community; see Stern 2015, 126.

¹⁰⁸ Stern 2015, 125–126 for a more detailed analysis. The upkeep of local military detachments, the *bucellarii*, on such estates seems to be a different matter, but certainly does not represent warlord-style “private armies”; see most recently Begass 2018, 449–456, which neatly sums up the discussion.

¹⁰⁹ *P.Oxy.* LXX 4802 (Oxyrhynchos; early VII) and *P.Bodl.* I 53 (Arsinoe; 605); cf. *P.Lond.* V 1786 (Kyrillos is not addressed as pagarch here, but the letter is not a legal document). The security personnel the pagarchs had at their disposal will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

¹¹⁰ On estate prisons, see Stern 2016, 1857–1862 and 1866–1867. It appears that the Apiones were still using a city prison by August 24, 552 and, most probably, by June 18, 557 (*P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5373 and 5375, respectively). The earliest document to mention their estate prison is either *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5377 (565/566 or 580/581 CE), *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5378 (571–578), or *PSI* VIII 953 (probably 567/568).

¹¹¹ *P.Oxy.* I 133 (October 19, 550). The term *prōtokōmētēs* generally refers to a village headman throughout the Greek east; in Oxyrhynchos, however, it appears to be a rather informal term for leading villagers, while the term for a village headman is *meizōn* (Berkes 2017a, 207).

¹¹² The document was drafted in the month of Phaophi, which is about two months after the end of the harvest season.

¹¹³ *P.Oxy.* I 133.17–20: ἐπάναγκες | ἀποδώσομεν τῇ ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητι) μετὰ καὶ τοῦ φορικοῦ ἡμῶν φόρου ἐν τῷ Παῦνι μηνί | τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους σκζ ρθς τῆς αὐτῆς παρούσης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδ(υκτίου) | ἐκ νέων καρπῶν τῆς σὺν θεῶ πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως). While *prima facie* the term *phorikos phoros* suggests rent payments of those holdings belonging to the Apion estate, this must not be the case here (though it is evidently so in the parallel *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4398, on which see the next note), since *phoros* in the estate accounts frequently mingles with tax payments; see *P.Oxy.* LXIII, p. 169 for the use of the adjective *phorikos* in regard to tax payments. This is comprehensible from the point of view of the estate administration and has led Jean Gascou to develop the concept of “rente-impôt”; see p. 108 n. 98 above.

transaction is essentially private,¹¹⁴ and there are other examples of village communities acting as collectives vis-à-vis large landowners in business transactions.¹¹⁵ It gives pause, however, that the corn the villagers borrow from Apion has been taken “from the harvest of the present fourteenth indiction.”¹¹⁶ This specification suggests that Apion regularly received “the” harvest of the village—presumably the contract does not relate to actual (physical) redistributions but was merely a matter of accounting. At the same time, the seed corn was to be used not for Apionic holdings in the village (*geouchikai arourai vel sim.*) but for the villagers’ land (“our arouras”).¹¹⁷ This shows that parts of the land from which Apion regularly received the harvest were in the villagers’ possession, again indicating Apion’s fiscal responsibility, which is to no doubt linked to the status of the village as *pagarchoumenē*.

Other documents foster the impression that the Apion estate regularly assumed responsibility for essential parts of the administration in certain villages. It is, for instance, an Apionic *chartoularios* who receives a report by authorities from Takona concerning the rise of the Nile flood, while other papyri show the Apiones taking care for the water supply of fields they did not own.¹¹⁸ Also striking in this regard is a list of expenses from the estate: all entries in which village officials receive considerable amounts, certainly salaries, concern villages known as *kōmai pagarchoumenai*.¹¹⁹ Because, as has been shown in the previous section, the connection between a *geouchōn* and a *kōmē pagarchoumenē* cannot be explained by the assumption that the particular *geouchōn* held the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos, it follows, again, that the Apion estate was burdened with was an institutional arrangement distinct from the pagarchy.

What has been said so far in this section suggests that the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* and their public institutions were under *oikos* administration regularly and on a long-term basis. One notes, however, that these villages retained their proper administrative infrastructures.¹²⁰ Scholars dealing with the working contracts for the men called “*pronoētēs*, or,

114 Cf. *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4398 (Oxyrhynchos; 553), which attests an advance of seed corn from a *geouchōn* in almost exactly the same words but to a (non-Apionic) *epoikion*. This document is, moreover, the only other attestation for the expression *phorikos phoros*.

115 See, for instance, *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3954 (which, however, does not address the *geouchōn*, but his *dioikētēs*).

116 *P.Oxy.* I 133.12–13: ἀπό γενήματος τῆς παρούσης | τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος).

117 *P.Oxy.* I 133.13: εἰς σπερμολίαν τῶν ἡμῶν ἀρουρῶν καρπῶν. That “our arouras” refers to ownership is suggested by the contrasting formula in *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4398.20–21: εἰς σπερμολίαν τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμὲ | γεουχικῶν (!) ἀρουρῶν καρπῶν, where the plot is only under tenancy. On the late antique village community as a collective landowner, see Berkes 2017a, 16–19.

118 Nile flood: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1830 (VI), sent by *pragmateutai*. Water supply: Hickey 2012, 50–51.

119 *P.Oxy.* VIII 1147, concerning *meizonēs*, *boēthoi*, and a *stabilitēs*. The *riparius* (who acts on the city level) is not a village official, neither are the *pronoētai* (estate employees only attributed to a village). On this text, see Berkes 2017a, 70.

120 There are manifold types of village officials attested in *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, e.g. *prōtophylakes* (see above), *kōmarchai* (*P.Oxy.* I 133: Takona), *meizonēs* (*P.Oxy.* I 133: Takona; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1147: Tampeti), village *grammateis* (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1997: Spania; the *katholikos* is certainly an estate employee and not the landowner as the editors believe), *pragmateutai* (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1830: Takona), and, although not actually

hypodektēs” have assumed that the *pronoētai* also dealt with the tax payments of these villages beyond what was owned by the *geouchōn*,¹²¹ but it must be cautioned that such an activity was apparently not covered in their working contracts.¹²² What is more, *kōmai pagarchoumenai* still had their own *boēthoi*, who would be natural candidates for handling at least some taxes in a village, but we may here simply be dealing with different layers of management and issues of accounting.¹²³ This separated responsibility may also have extended over arrangements unrelated to tax collection.¹²⁴ By way of comparison, *hypodektai* are well known from the Antaiopolite tax receipts, where we have already seen them acting as collectors (and receivers) of taxes from *astika* lands, whereas *kōmētika* taxes were taken care of by the *boēthoi*. The terminology for the “rendering of accounts” that we find in one Antaiopolite de facto working contract for *boēthoi* is clearly parallel to that found in the Oxyrhynchite contracts for *pronoētai*,¹²⁵ which begs the question of whether the Oxyrhynchite “*pronoētai*, or, *hypodektai*,” fulfilled the same function in *kōmai pagarchoumenai* as the Antaiopolite *hypodektai* did in villages under the pagarchy. This arrangement would seem natural, given that the “genuine” *hypodektai* were civic officials and are therefore hardly to be attributed to individual landowners, while there would have been no problem in handing a landowner the responsibility for *boēthoi* in individual villages under their own fiscal authority because the *boēthoi* were allocated to particular villages anyway, and not to the city level like the *hypodektai*.¹²⁶ This could represent another interplay of “public” and “private” models of administration but must remain speculative. The role of other village institutions in relation to the Apiones and other large landlords has recently been discussed in detail by Lajos Berkes in his monumental survey on late antique village administration,¹²⁷

“village” officials, village *boēthoi* (*P.Oxy.* VIII 1147: Spania, Sepho, and Takona; *P.Oxy.* XVI 2032: Takona). This list is far from exhaustive; for more officials in *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, see Benaissa 2012, s.vv.

121 E.g., Hickey 2008a, 89, discussed below.

122 Cf. p. 109 and n. 105 above.

123 Cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 2032, where Takona has a *boēthos* (l. 4) but also a *pronoētēs*. The *boēthoi* may still have been involved in managing the tax payments from the non-Apion owned parts of the village before these would be transferred to the estate management for tax accounting purposes. It is also not surprising to find the *boēthoi* Papnouthis and Dorotheos also in the position of *pronoētai* under a large landowner, for the tasks were indeed comparable (Bagnall 1993, 158–160). On the *boēthoi*, see Chapter Two. Some documents of those identified by Mazza 2001, Appendix 8 as *pronoētēs* accounts mention villages but none of these suggests responsibility for the entire village.

124 Cf. *SPP* VIII 989 (Hermopolis; V–VI), in which a *lamprotatos* Kallinikos orders a village *boēthos* to remunerate guards (*phrouroi*), and *BGU* XIX 2792 (Hermopolis; VI), where a *lamprotatos* Zacharias writes exactly the same, but to a *pronoētēs*.

125 *P.Lond.* V 1660 (Antaiopolis; ca. 553): λογοποιείαν (read λογοποιίαν) θέσθαι vs., e.g., *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3958.31: τῶν λογοθειῶν. The comparability of the two terms was first noted by Gagos 2008, 66.

126 This scenario would perfectly fit *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204 (January 2, 588), in which a *boēthos* of Flavia Anastasia’s stands surety for a villager from a *kōmē pagarchoumenē*. This *boēthos* is probably a village *boēthos* whom Anastasia employed for this village under her fiscal authority.

127 Berkes 2017a, 66–75, where *pronoētai* are involved at several stages.

in which he also argued for a reconsideration of the traditional view that the late antique village community was irrelevant as a legal entity.¹²⁸

Were *all* villages whose taxes were managed by the Apion estate *kōmai pagarchoumenai*? This is hard to answer conclusively, but I see strong arguments that this was indeed the case. In one instance, the village Ophis, which is known as a *kōmē pagarchoumenē*, does not bear the formula although we would expect it to,¹²⁹ suggesting that the formula could be omitted without affecting the legal value of the document, though it rarely was.¹³⁰ This interpretation seems to be supported by the parallel *diapherōn/ktēma* formula that is used for hamlets (*epoikia*) and that is also absent in some cases where one would expect it.¹³¹ Apparently, even without the designation it was still clear that such a village was *pagarchoumenē*. The Apion accounts further support this view, since they do not distinguish between different categories of villages. Todd Hickey and Gilles Bransbourg, based on a different conception on a minor point, have suggested that they do, however. Hickey pointed to a part of an account that reads as follows:

Pro(): 108,816.5+ artabas (*choinikes* lost).

Villages: 53,000+ artabas (the grand total suggests 53,49_ artabas).

Grand total: 162,313+ *cancellus* artabas (fractions and *choinikes* lost).¹³²

Hickey noted the distinction made between grain received from the estate's *pronoētai* and the villages. According to him, this separation suggests that:

“since villages might be included in the territory of a *pronoetes*, the *komai* in *P.Oxy.* 18.2196.v must have been segregated because they were beyond easy incorporation into the estate’s

¹²⁸ Berkes 2017a, 19.

¹²⁹ *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5395 (592–602 CE), a deed of surety for villagers from Ophis, which is *pagarchoumenē* in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1981 (October 25, 612).

¹³⁰ Cf. the comparable case of *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4756 (March 10, 590), addressed to Flavia Anastasia, also a deed of surety for a villager in which the village is not described as *pagarchoumenē*. A final instance in which an expected *pagarchoumenē* is absent is *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3959 (January 12, 620), a deed of surety for a villager from Seryphis (which is *pagarchoumenē* in *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420 from 614), but this one is formally addressed to the *endoxos oikos* of the late Apion III, possibly accounting for the missing formula, which in its construction requires a natural person. Formulaic considerations may also account for the missing *pagarchoumenē* formula in *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3954 (February 12, 611), in which a Kynopolite village is not *pagarchoumenē* despite the fact that the Apiones were probably responsible for the taxes of the entire nome (on this assumption, see the next section), for the document is addressed only to a subordinate of Apion III.

¹³¹ E.g., *PSI* III 179 (December 25, 601 or 602 CE), addressed to Apion III. The *diapherōn/ktēma* formula occurs only once outside the Oxyrhynchite, namely in *CPR* X 127 (Arsinoe; 584), but deeds of surety for *epoikiōtai* are generally rare, e.g., *P.Vind.Sijp.* 7 (Herakleopolites; 463). Deeds of surety for villagers in other nomes than the Oxyrhynchite or Kynopolite are always addressed to officials (mostly pagarchs). Note that the earlier *P.Oxy.* XVI 1899.7–8 (Oxyrhynchos; May 8, 476), by contrast, still uses the most natural way of expressing possession of an *epoikion*: ἐποικίου | Πιάα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀνδρός. This text may therefore possibly be a *terminus post quem* for the introduction of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* (and therefore, the elevation of the pagarchy to the level of the *civitas*), but this is a risky argument because, as just stated, the formula could also have simply been “hidden.”

¹³² Hickey 2008a, 89, slightly adapted.

management structure. The best explanation for this is that the Apiones owned no (or limited) property in (or near) them, that the estate's primary relationship with these settlements was fiscal."¹³³

In an accompanying footnote, Hickey implicitly identifies these latter villages with the *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, but we have seen just seen that the Apiones' authority over these settlements included much more than only collecting their taxes. Also, it would hardly make sense to name the entry simply "villages" if contributions from villages were also incorporated in the entry for the *pronoētai*.¹³⁴ Hickey's idea that some villages were included in the *pronoētai* contributions rests on the assumption that the *pronoētai* were responsible for *entire* villages, but his examples in fact explicitly deal with specific parcels *within* these villages (*en kōmais*).¹³⁵ What is true, on the other hand, is that the *pronoētai* still handled taxes from land the Apiones did not own, but these were not villages; the laws say that landlords could, but were not obliged to, effectuate tax payments for land owned by their farmers *outside* the estate proper.¹³⁶ This, certainly, is meant by the entries "for private land" to which Hickey refers, and it is probably telling that so few of these explicit instances occur.¹³⁷ Additionally,

¹³³ Hickey 2008a, 89. This view is repeated in Hickey 2012, 50.

¹³⁴ Bransbourg 2016, 314–315 identifies these "villages" with the "other villages" from *P.Oxy.* XVI 1918 verso 12, implying that the latter provides an explicit reference to Hickey's distinction between these two categories of villages. This certainly results from the author's wording at Hickey 2008a, 92, but I do not think that Hickey intended to attribute such significance to the formula "other villages." In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1918 verso, the amount for the "other villages" follows an entry for Σεφώ, clearly a village, in l. 11 and two obscure entries for Παρο . . . [and Πακέρ[κη in l. 10. As Hickey 2008a, 92 n. 25 notes, these are not villages, but the papyrus is helplessly abraded in these spots. The sum (all my following figures ignore keratia in order to make the main argument clearer) in l. 9 is 13,950 nomismata; after the obscure entries in l. 10 it is 13,964, and after the entry for Sepho *and* the conversion to the Alexandrian standard it amounts to 14,061 in l. 11 and, after another addition, to 14,325 in l. 12, to which the 5,685 nomismata for the "other villages" are then added, which results in the final 20,010 nomismata; for the restitution of these lines, see Maresch 1994, 102–103. The "other" is therefore used in contrast to one or more villages before, but we have seen that there were many more villages administered by the Apiones than just these one or two (see above the several villages that form the center of *prostasiai*). Therefore, these are not distinct categories of villages under the Apion administration, but rather Sepho (and, potentially, the two obscure places before) were calculated separately here for reasons that escape us due to the fragmentary state of these lines. If we, consequently, add the entry of l. 11 (plus that of l. 10) to the amount of the "other villages" in order to arrive at an amount for all villages, this results in 5,818 (5,832) nomismata, which still fits neatly within the range provided by the money receipts in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196 verso (Hickey 2008a, 92)—which is (the document is fragmentary here) between ca. 5,529 and 6,526 nomismata—and entails only a minor change for Bransbourg's calculation (Bransbourg 2016, 354) for the villages' non-pronoetic territory (from 40,882 to 41,835 arouras). I wonder whether the resulting decrease of 4.6 % of the villages' non-pronoetic territory from 540–542 to 586/587 CE (cf. Bransbourg 2016, 361, where it is 2.4 %) is already significant and calls for comment. Does this illustrate an expansion of the pronoetic lands at the cost of village land in *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, i.e., an expansion of the Apiones' possessions *within* the villages?

¹³⁵ Hickey 2008a, 89 n. 10, referring to *P.Oxy.* I 136.15–17 and *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196 recto 4–5, on which see above. See also the *pronoētēs* account *P.Oxy.* XVI 1912 where in col. VI a heading ἐν κώμ(η) Πέτρνη follows after several headings ἐπουκ(τω) such-and-such.

¹³⁶ *Nov.* 128.14; McConnell 2017, 91 and 109; see already Hardy 1931, 53.

¹³⁷ Hickey 2008a, 89 n. 9, frequently cited by Bransbourg 2016, e.g., 377, where n. 233 also provides instances.

some smaller independent landholders, who otherwise largely escape our notice due to the Apiones' "gravitational pull,"¹³⁸ may have relied on the *endoxos oikos* to pay their taxes in a "mutually profitable symbiotic relationship."¹³⁹ Bransbourg estimated the total share of the pronoetic lands *not* owned by the Apiones to about 10 %, but the margin of error is particularly high in this exercise and it appears that this is more likely an over- than an underestimate.¹⁴⁰

This does, of course, not take anything away from Hickey's main point—that the Apiones collected the taxes from land they did not own—but now that we have removed the unnecessarily ambiguous conception of villages connected to the Apion estate, Hickey's aforementioned summary seems much more natural: it comprises (1) grain from pronoetic lands—that is estate property¹⁴¹ outside and inside villages, plus some land that Apionic farmers owned *outside* the Apion estate but for which the Apiones paid the taxes, plus potentially some smaller independent landholders—and (2) grain from village land that was not part of the estate proper. Therefore, in the absence of any traceable distinction between different types of villages that the estate dealt fiscally, it would seem the natural conclusion to take the phenomenon of *kōmai pagarchoumenai* as a manifestation or as a consequence of the model of fiscal shares. Some parts in these villages were owned by a *geouchōn*; for the remainder, the *geouchōn* acted, in practice, like a pagarch.

— v —

LANDOWNERSHIP, FISCAL SHARES, AND THE PAGARCHY

With the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* established as a phenomenon distinct from the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos, and having further analyzed their particular place within the administrative network of the Apion estate, it seems natural to look for ratios between those institutions as part of the fiscal landscape of that nome. First, the Apion estate proper. The contributions of the *endoxos oikos* in Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite in unison made for the grain tax in a

¹³⁸ "Gravitational pull": Ruffini 2009, 634. For a "much more nuanced social and economic landscape in the Oxyrhynchite," noting the presence of smaller and medium-sized landholdings, see Hickey 2007, 297–298.

¹³⁹ Bransbourg 2016, 373 and 403. Mutually profitable because the estate was in increasing need for gold to meet its tax requirements while the smaller landholders would have been spared from this business, which entailed quite some risk for them.

¹⁴⁰ Bransbourg 2016, 374–379. My "pronoetic" is Bransbourg's "under direct fiscal management." On margins of error, cf. in particular the impact of a probably even lower artabas-per-aroura rate than that assumed by Bransbourg (5:1), as discussed on p. 375, on the percentages in table 18 on p. 377.

¹⁴¹ The *pronoētai* figure likely includes *autourgia*, land worked directly by the Apiones using wage labor; see Bransbourg 2016, 375–376. I note this here because this land category obtained an enormous significance in the Hickey–Sarris debate.

late sixth-century account amount to 140,618.5 artabas,¹⁴² which is about 40 % of the 350,000 artabas given by another account dating to 582–602 CE as contributions from Oxyrhynchos and Kynopolis together.¹⁴³ The actual area *owned* by the estate was first estimated by A.H.M. Jones, who simply applied the only artabas-per-aroura ratio at his disposal, albeit one from the Antaiopolite, to convert the aforementioned 140,618.5 artabas into about 112,000 arouras (= ca. 30,850 ha) for the territorial basis of the Apion contributions in the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite.¹⁴⁴

Todd Hickey, arguing that in light of the Gasco model this figure refers instead to the extent of the Apiones' fiscal share, arrived at a much smaller area of 29,500 arouras for the estate proper. Hickey calculated the Apiones' lands used for viticulture, ca. 825 arouras, and combined this with a second-century petition in which vineyards make up 2.8 % of the entire agricultural land of one apparently rather moderate estate.¹⁴⁵ He acknowledged that the margins of error in this calculation are considerable but argued that this figure, rather than Jones's, must be the magnitude we are talking about. Essential to Hickey's estimate of the area of the Apiones' vineyards, however, was the number of Apionic *prostasiai* extant at one particular moment, which has since been slightly more than doubled due to the recent publication of further estate accounts.¹⁴⁶ If we acknowledge this by substituting Hickey's "ceiling" for the area the Apiones used for viticulture, 1,250 arouras, the calculation results in 44,643 arouras. Taking two steps back and calculating from a basis of 33 *prostasiai* instead of 16¹⁴⁷ yields ca. 55,000 arouras.

As we shall see, both figures are certainly closer to the truth.¹⁴⁸ More elaborate calculations about the size of the Apion estate and its fiscal responsibilities have recently been presented by Gilles Bransbourg in an ingenious article, which among many other things demonstrated the validity of Hickey's approach and the order of magnitude presented above.¹⁴⁹ Although Bransbourg follows Hickey in segregating areas under the

142 *P.Oxy.* I 127: 87,818.5 artabas for the Oxyrhynchite plus ca. 52,8__ (the figure is damaged in the last two digits; it is incorrectly transcribed in the *PN*) for the Kynopolite; cf. Hickey 2008a, 90.

143 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1909; Hickey 2012, 23.

144 Jones 1964, 784. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 (Antaiopolis; mid VI) provides the ratio for this exercise: 1.25 artabas per aroura, a figure that, according to Hickey 2008a, 97 n. 43, was probably "on the low side."

145 Hickey 2012, 150–155; cf. Hickey 2008a, 96–100. On the other end of the spectrum is Sarris 2006, 85, arguing that the Apion estate was even larger than Jones had estimated; for a critique of Sarris's assumptions, see p. 31. Hickey's vineland percentage may be confirmed as a plausible estimate by the percentage that emerges from the accounts of Count Ammonios from the village of Aphrodite (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67138 and 67139; see Ruffini 2018, 77).

146 Hickey (2012, 153 n. 50) acknowledged this in a side remark shortly before the book went into press.

147 On the number of *prostasiai*, see p. 108 above.

148 Although they still depend on one single extant vineyard/estate relation, from *P.Amh.* II 79, which is about 400 years older.

149 The most impressive aspect of Bransbourg's contribution is certainly how he is able to integrate data from different regions to arrive at a largely coherent picture for Egypt as a whole. I find his handling of the Apiones accounts for this exercise sound, though it depends on more complex calculations sometimes made much earlier in Bransbourg's article. The following references are therefore to pages

Apiones' "direct fiscal management" from "[t]he independent villages under the indirect tax umbrella of the Apiones," this does little to invalidate his figures, which, according to my hypothesis, only need to be relabeled.¹⁵⁰ For the 586–587 CE Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite together, Bransbourg's analysis yields the area of what I termed the Apiones' pronoetic lands as 64,972 arouras and the area of what I call the non-estate village territories under administration of the Apion estate as 39,893 arouras.¹⁵¹ This equates to a total of 104,865 arouras under Apion management in both nomes, or 40 % of their taxable area, which Bransbourg calculates to be 260,996 arouras: 221,623 arouras for the Oxyrhynchite and 39,373 arouras for the Kynopolite.¹⁵² Since, as Bransbourg convincingly argues, the Apiones fiscally managed the *entire* Kynopolite by the end of the sixth century,¹⁵³ their fiscal responsibility in Oxyrhynchos alone can be established at 30 %, ¹⁵⁴ which is strikingly close to the Apiones' share in the aforementioned *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, which was about 25 %—or about 30 % if Takona is included in the calculation.¹⁵⁵ Again, it is hard to believe that this is a coincidence. Jean Gascou has previously pointed to other texts where the Apiones' share of public contributions amounts to ca. one third of the total,¹⁵⁶ but again, it is the order of magnitude that is relevant here. What cannot be established, however, is the extent of the Apion estate

where the main point is given in a more summarized fashion. Bransbourg himself is rightly cautious about his own figures, but again, we are dealing with orders of magnitude here. For the relabeling, see the previous section.

- 150 For the basic considerations behind this relabeling, see the previous section. Bransbourg's areas under "direct fiscal management" (2016, 356 and 361, table 15) become in my model "pronoetic lands"; Bransbourg's taxable area from "independent" villages (pp. 314, 352, and 361, table 15) become my "non-estate village territories," or, village land that was *not* part of the Apion estate.
- 151 Bransbourg 2016, 352–363. Of the pronoetic lands, ca. 10 %, but probably less, were not part of the estate, but still the taxes of these plots were managed by the Apionic *pronoētai*; see the previous section and esp. pp. 114–115.
- 152 Bransbourg 2016, 355. On the difference from the fourth-century figures of Bagnall 1993, 334–335 for the *entire* nome territory, see Bransbourg 2016, 312 and 346. Compare this 40 % to the virtually identical figure taken from *P.Oxy. I 127* and *P.Oxy. XVIII 1909* mentioned at the beginning of this section.
- 153 Bransbourg 2016, 346–348. Administrative observations support Bransbourg's suggestion, for it seems that the Apiones essentially controlled the civic administration of Kynopolis; see Section VII below.
- 154 Bransbourg 2016, 359. A more traditional calculation, relying solely on *P.Oxy. I 127* and *P.Oxy. XVIII 1909*, yields roughly the same result. In this case, one needs to subtract the entire Apionic Kynopolite share from *P.Oxy. I 127* (since the Apiones managed the entire tax volume of Kynopolis) from the total of *P.Oxy. XVI 1909* (Oxyrhynchos + Kynopolis as a whole) and then compare the result against the Apionic Oxyrhynchite share from *P.Oxy. I 127*, which results in: $87,818.5 / (350,000 - 52,800) = 0.295$.
- 155 See Section II above. Note that *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* is entirely unrelated to Bransbourg's calculation. Since the text probably stems from the 560s, the difference from the 25 % to Bransbourg's 30 % may be due to the roughly 30 % increase in the Apiones' pronoetic lands that Bransbourg notes between the early 540s and the late 580s; cf. Bransbourg 2016, 361, table 15. A more detailed discussion of the expansion of the Apion estate can be found at pp. 395–399.
- 156 Gascou 1985, 45–46 (= 2008, 168–169). Gascou points out, however, that all these texts deal with different sorts of contributions and cannot be dated for certain. The new readings of *P.Oxy. XVI 2039* (Azzarello 2006), in which some *oikoi* share the responsibility of the (defunct) *oikos* of Theon for maintaining the office of the *riparius*, do not make this text an exception, as Bransbourg 2016, 364 n. 187 seems to argue. The 47 % refers only to the share that the *endoxos oikos* bore in relation to the *oikos* of Theon, and since Theon's *oikos* in this list bears 63 % of the Oxyrhynchite *riparia*, the Apiones' share of the total would be, again, 30 %.

in relation to the territory of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* in either the Oxyrhynchite or the Kynopolite, since we do not know how much of the land within a particular village was actually owned by the Apiones.

Still, these numbers are impressive. If other Oxyrhynchite *oikoi* participated in similar arrangements for other villages, there would not have been many villages left subject to the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos. As mentioned in the previous section, the village of Tampeti is, in all its three instances as *pagarchoumenē*, always said to be *pagarchoumenē* “also” (*kai*) by the Apion addressed,¹⁵⁷ which suggests that there were multiple “pagarching” landlords active at the same time in Oxyrhynchos. There is, however, only one such text to explicitly relate a “pagarched” village to a non-Apion: a deed of surety to Flavia Anastasia, in which the village name is lost.¹⁵⁸ Since the dimensions of the Apion estate, however, match so closely the percentage of their fiscal share of the nome in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, we may assume that some of the landowners listed in there also had authority over villages.¹⁵⁹ Why did landlords exercise this authority over some villages but not over others? And why were certain landowners entrusted with this authority while others were not? As with the question of what made some magnates control *oikoi* and others not, we can only retreat to arguments of plausibility here. Presumably, a landowning magnate had a dominant position in a village that was handed to him as *pagarchoumenē*, and presumably this magnate’s estate

157 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785.11–12 (530 CE): *παγαρχουμένης | καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας*, addressed to Strategios II; likewise, *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5377 (565/566 or 580/581) and *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5378 (571–578), addressed to Apion II, although in these cases it is restored. The restoration seems inevitable in the case of *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5377 due to the dimensions of the lacuna; no image of the relevant section of *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5378 is available.

158 *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204.11–13 (588 CE): *ὀρμώμενος* (read *ὀρμώμενον*) *ἀπὸ | [- ca.12 - πα]γαρχουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητος τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου | [νομοῦ*. A village that would fit the traces and is known to have been in connection with Flavia Anastasia is Ieme (Benaissa 2012, 110–111) and *ἀπὸ | [κώμης Εἰεμη* would well fit into the lacuna. This spelling (instead of *Ιεμη*) is attested in the only contemporary parallels for this village: *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040.18 and *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4757.14, the latter of which is also probably part of Flavia Anastasia’s archive: since the ensured Makarios in *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4757 is an *enapographos georgos* (see l. 1 and cf. *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204.16) from a village (the village of Ieme), this village may have been *pagarchoumenē* by Anastasia (the relevant section of the text is lost). But note that in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, Ieme contributes to public expenses independently from any magnate (or the pagarchy, for that matter).

159 See Section II; see there also *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020 and the observation that the landowners who paid the largest shares are all listed as paying “for various *onomata*.” A “pagarching” landowner other than the Apiones or Anastasia may also figure in *P.Hamb.* III 228 (VI?). Here, apparently the entire village (l. 2: *πάντες οἱ γεωργοὶ τῆς κώμης*) refuses the payment of taxes until the *geouchos* sends the *monopolarius* to purchase some commodities (Banaji 2007, 87). The text may illustrate the problems of local communities to generate cash (and their means of doing so). The papyrus is from the Oxyrhynchite village of Senyris, which in the fifth century is attested in connection to Strategios I as manager of imperial land (*P.Oxy.* L 3586), but the *geouchos* in *P.Hamb.* III 228 is unlikely to be the head of the Apion family (though this cannot be excluded): First, referring to a *geouchos* without any epithets or titles would seem to be very inappropriate in case a member of the Apiones was meant, but this may be accounted for by the villagers’ serious tone. Second, the villagers demand that the *presbyteros* actually meet the *geouchos* in person in order to present him the villagers’ message (l. 6), which means that this man must have been around in the Oxyrhynchite, which the heads of the Apiones family in the sixth century mostly were not.

administration had to be sufficiently elaborate to guarantee the proper performance of these additional tasks. We cannot say whether other landlords were responsible for the maintenance of public security in “their” *kōmai pagarchoumenai* the way the Apiones were, but this seems likely. The maintenance of estate prisons, however, seems to have been Apion specific: Flavia Anastasia, at a time when the Apiones had started to use an estate prison, still used a city prison of Oxyrhynchos.¹⁶⁰

With multiple landlords holding pagarchy-like authority over Oxyrhynchite villages, the ten-percent share that the pagarchy contributes for a public bathhouse in *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* may reflect a low relative significance of the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos compared to the large landowners’ obligations in the region during this period.¹⁶¹ The hypothesis that the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* were part of a fiscal institution distinct from the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos may thus account for the obvious paradox that despite the enormous amount of late antique papyri this city has yielded, only two texts attest pagarchs in this nome between the disappearance of the “early” pagarchs (the *praepositi pagorum*) and the Islamic conquest.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ *P.Oxy. XLIV 3204* (January 2, 588) and *P.Oxy. LXIX 4756* (March 10, 590), in both of which the detainee hails from a village, in the first case noted to be a *kōmē pagarchoumenē*. For the Apiones’ use of city and estate prisons, see p. 110 n. 110 above. Unambiguous evidence for estate prisons other than the Apiones’ is still to be found, though there is some ambiguous evidence, e.g., Berkes 2015, which may be linked to the Apiones. *P.Cair.Masp. I 67002* col. II 4 is often cited as an instance for a private jail but was more likely a public village prison, although the petitioners of this text are certainly trying to imply illegality here; see Stern 2016, 1855 and 1868. Some individuals are sent εἰς(ς) τῆ(ν) φυλακ(ήν) | τοῦ οἴκ(ου) Ἀνιανοῦ in *P.Oxy. XVI 2056.1–2* (Oxyrhynchites; VII), but this seems suspicious as this *oikos* is not known from anywhere else. Since a *mēchanē* called “farm of Anianos” is under Apion management in *P.Oxy. I 137* (Oxyrhynchos; 584), may it be conceivable that (part of) what remained of the Apion *oikos* after its decline (see below) was later named after this land?

¹⁶¹ Cf. Ruffini 2008, 248: “On surviving evidence, the Apions probably did not have a major fiscal role in more than a quarter of the forty-eight or more villages attested in the Byzantine Oxyrhynchite. The great estates as a whole may not have been able to shoulder the fiscal burden for all of these places either.” Although Ruffini did not aim at this, I think the “missing” institution covering the “remaining” villages is precisely the small share that was left to the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos, which could well have been overtaken by the Apiones from time to time (see *P.Oxy. XVI 1829*, but the prosopography of this text is unclear).

¹⁶² *PSI VIII 955+SB XX 15181* (doubtful restoration); *P.Oxy. XVI 1858*. Implicit also in *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, although the suspects Ptolemaios (or his heirs) and Ioustos are not titled “pagarch,” but are listed as contributors ὑπὲρ τῆς παραρχίας. As will be shown in the next section, *PSI I 52* most likely dates to the early Islamic period. The list in Gascou 1972, 70–71 n. 33 (= 2008, 49–50 n. 33) contains, apart from *PSI I 52* and *P.Oxy. XVI 1858*, no instance in which someone would actually be referred to as pagarch. Instead, Gascou identifies them as such by their epithets and honorifics, even though he eliminated a speculative passage about the synonymy of the honorific title *illoustrios* with the pagarchy from the revised version of his article.

— VI —

THE *KŌMAI PAGARCHOUMENAI* AND THE RISE
AND FALL OF THE APIONES

The institution of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* was certainly not older than the system of institutionalized *oikoi* and their shared public responsibilities, which was in place as early as 460/461 CE.¹⁶³ Some light may be shed from the village of Tampeti, which in all its three instances as *kōmē pagarchoumenē* is always said to be *pagarchoumenē* “also” (*kai*) by the Apiones.¹⁶⁴ The appearance of this *kai* has been taken as an indication that two or more *geouchountes* occasionally shared fiscal responsibility for a village,¹⁶⁵ and in this particular case, Todd Hickey has suggested that this may be due to the presence of the church as a large landowner in the area.¹⁶⁶ This may indicate that when allotted to the various *oikoi*, the institution of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* acknowledged certain property rights that were already manifest in a given area.¹⁶⁷ The magnates who had prominent landholdings in a particular village would have been the natural choice to take over administrative responsibilities in lieu of civic authorities and to oversee local village institutions. The continuous attribution of this *kai* to the village of Tampeti suggests, moreover, that the status of *pagarchoumenē* was a more or less permanent one and was given to individual villages. This approaches what has been said about “village pagarchies” in Chapter One and may conveniently be explained by the genesis of this institution from the “early” pagarchy in the several *pagi* of a nome. This new system of *kōmai pagarchoumenai* probably included only those *geouchountes* whose estates were able to provide the necessary infrastructure to

163 See Azzarello 2006, 210 (with 460/461 CE, the 14th indiction, as the first year listed in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039) and Chapter One.

164 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785 (530 CE); *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5377 (565/566 or 580/581); *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5478 (571–578). Again, this suggests that these attributions were quasi-permanent, which can hardly be harmonized with the contention that the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* would relate to the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos.

165 The same phenomenon appears in the frequent clause identifying someone as a *geouchōn* “also here in (nome),” usually taken to mean that they owned property in other nomes as well. I wonder, however, whether this interpretation of a simple *kai* may not be too sophisticated. In *SB* VI 9527 (Arsinoe; 385–412), the Alexandrian church is *geouchousa* “in Arsinoe,” i.e., without *kai*, which in this strict interpretation would then indicate that the Alexandrian church did not hold land in any other nome, which is quite implausible. Possibly the *kai* in *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785 is supposed to mean rather “also a village pagarched by you,” i.e., like other villages. In the case of the landholdings, this interpretation would entail that the addressee is *geouchōn* in the nome among other *geouchountes* (which would appear, however, probably too banal to write it at all). See also *P.Bagnall*, p. 145, where Todd Hickey and James Keenan acknowledge the possibility that this *kai* was used inconsistently; similarly Hickey 2012, 9 n. 40. Cf. *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4398.15–16 (Oxyrhynchos; 553) where an *epoikion* is styled κτήματος κ[α]λῆ τῆς ὑμῶν | παιδεύσεως.

166 Hickey 2012, 181, pointing to *P.Oxy.* XIX 2244.81–85 (mid-VI).

167 Spania, the earliest attested *kōmē pagarchoumenē* (*P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337 from 493 CE) has a notable concentration of extraordinary land categories (see Benaïssa 2012, s.v.); I wonder whether this had an influence on the village becoming *pagarchoumenē*.

guarantee effective tax collection from adjacent territories, as the *prostasia* system on the Apion estate certainly did. The remaining villages, then, would have been united under a single pagarchy sometime before 493 CE, when the formula is attested for the first time.¹⁶⁸ Hence also the lexicographical resemblance of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* to the pagarchy.

Even though the verb *pagarchein* is clearly used to mean “act as pagarch” in official documents,¹⁶⁹ the passive participle *pagarchoumenē* appears to have been understood as a *terminus technicus*, hence its careful, and most likely deliberate, attribution to the village instead of the responsible person. Consequently, one may think of this institution as a “quasi-pagarchy” formally restricted to individual villages, which certainly accounts for its attribution to villages instead of being visible in the landowners’ titulature.¹⁷⁰ The main difference in exercising this authority was apparently that the pagarchs’ power rested on official staff from the *civitas* level downward, while the “pagarching” landlords relied, at the upper tier, on their estate administration, with supporting village liturgists plus hired employees at the lower tier.

On the other side of the timeline, the disappearance of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* can also be narrowed down with some probability, mainly owing to *PSI I 52*, a deed of surety to an Oxyrhynchite pagarch. The beginning of the document reads as follows:

“In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our god and savior, Thoth 20, 6th indiction. To Flavius Ioulianos, *megaloprepestatos* pagarch of this city of Oxyrhynchos, (from) the Aurelii M[—]s, son of Apa Or and Eudoxia, and Kaiphalon, son of [—], stemming from the *ktēma* Leonidou in the vicinity of Tampeti in the Oxyrhynchite nome. We voluntarily agree, swearing the holy and august oath, to provide surety for and receive from your *megaloprepeia* Aurelia Theonoe, daughter of Georgios and Tap[—] from the same *ktēma* [...]”¹⁷¹

The dating of this papyrus is disputed. The editor assigned it to the sixth century for paleographical reasons, before Johannes Diethart and Klaas Worp put the date to 602 or 617 due to a small dossier of texts signed by the same notary, Ioannes—the same man

¹⁶⁸ *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337.

¹⁶⁹ *C.Th.* VIII 15.1 (see Chapter One) and *Ed.* 13.25.

¹⁷⁰ There is evidence that the terms “pagarchy” and thus “pagarch” were after the abolishment of the *praepositi pagorum* indeed restricted to the institution of this name at the city level, and were not also used for “pagarching” landowners. In an Antaiopolite petition, the pagarch Ioulianos is accused of trying to bring the village of Aphrodite “under his own pagarchy” (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.31–32: τὴν κατ’ αὐτο(ῦ)ς | κώμην ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν παγαρχίαν ποιήσασθα; cf. l. 38, where an alternative draft of the text also adds οἰκείαν). In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67283.2, however, the villagers state that Ioulianos was trying “to drag us into the pagarchy of Antaiopolis” (ἡμᾶς ἐλκ[έσ]θαι εἰς παγαρχίαν τῆ[ς Ἀνταιο(υ)]πολιτῶν), which leaves no doubt that Ioulianos’s “own” pagarchy was the *civitas* pagarchy.

¹⁷¹ The *editio princeps* reads μεγάλ(ω) in l. 4 but the parallels leave μεγαλ(σπερεσστάτω) beyond doubt; the same shorthand occurs, compellingly restored, in *PSI XIV 1425.9* (Oxyrhynchites; V), *SPP III² 168.1* (Arsinoites/Herakleopolites; VI), *P.Erl.* 67.4 (Herakleopolis; 591), *SPP XX 213.12* (Hermopolites; end VI), and *P.Ant.* III 198.11 (Antinoopolis; VI–VII). In ll. 31–32 read probably ὑπεῦξυνοῖ | εἶναῖ.

mentioned toward the end of Section III and who is attested in the years 611, 612, and 613.¹⁷² Later, Worp pointed to the missing imperial dating formula in this document and argued, on the basis of a suggestive pattern, that its absence may indicate that Oxyrhynchos was not under Byzantine control at the time the papyrus was written, which would put the document to 647 CE.¹⁷³ The coincidence of the notary Ioannes's activity being documented in such a concentrated manner as above and then surfacing again about 34 years later seems not negligible, but the pattern concerning the absence of the imperial dating formula has since found further support and seems strong.¹⁷⁴

The case in favor of a 647 date for *PSI I 52* can be strengthened from the angle of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai*. The ensured woman hails from the *ktēma* Leonidou, which is well known as part of the Apion estate.¹⁷⁵ Leonidou is then said to be in the vicinity of Tampeti, a village that was *pagarchoumenē* in 530 and in the later sixth century,¹⁷⁶ and under Apion administration both the *ktēma* and the village were centers of their own *prostasiai*. But in *PSI I 52* the ensured woman from Leonidou is under the authority of the pagarch Flavius Ioulianos, which—considering what has been argued in the present chapter—strongly suggests that the Apion *oikos* had been abolished or at least reduced as an administrative entity by the time this text was written.¹⁷⁷ The death of Apion III, the family's last known protagonist, became known on the estate sometime between July 5, 619 and January 12, 620, but we know that his *oikos* survived the transition to Persian rule and still functioned as late as August 29, 626.¹⁷⁸ *PSI I 52*, therefore likely from 647 CE,¹⁷⁹ shows us a post-Apion Oxyrhynchite where apparently much of what once constituted the *endoxos oikos* had now been put back under the purview of the pagarchy, including the *kōmai pagarchoumenai*.¹⁸⁰

172 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4800 (November 19, 611?); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1981 (October 25, 612); *P.Oxy.* I 139 (October 26, 612); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4536 (October 27, 612); *PSI I 62* (September 27, 613); Diethart & Worp 1986, 82. I follow Diethart and Worp in excluding *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420 (February 25–March 26, 614) from that list. Before, the editor of *P.Oxy.* XVI 1979 opted for “probably 617” (p. 229) as the date for *PSI I 52*.

173 Worp 2005, 155–158, though Worp is careful in not making this suggestion too factual.

174 *CSBE*², 105–108. The rudimentary form of the imperial oath used in *PSI I 52*.11–12: ἐπομνύμενοι τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβασμιον ὄρκον is no decisive argument here, since it is still attested in *SB VI 8988.106* which probably dates to the 640s, that is, to the early Islamic period; the document is part of the small archive of Philemon and Thekla (*TM Archive ID 190*).

175 See Benaissa 2012, 165–166 and Hickey 2012, 172.

176 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785 (October 19, 530); *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5377 (565/566 or 580/581); *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5378 (571–578).

177 Note that the *ktēma* is not styled as *diapheron*, so Ioulianos probably accepted this deed in his official capacity as pagarch.

178 Hickey 2012, 17–18 with references. For an assessment of the economic potential of the *endoxos oikos* under the Persian occupation, see now Bransbourg 2016, 397–398.

179 Because of the pattern established by Roger Bagnall and Klaas Worp concerning the lack of the imperial formula (see above), 647 should be preferred over 632, even though this makes *PSI I 52* a suspicious outlier when it comes to attestations of the notary Ioannes. As a side note, this would make the papyrus one of the few early Islamic texts from Oxyrhynchos; cf. Berkes 2017b.

180 In *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3959 (January 12, 620), the village Seryphis, known as *kōmē pagarchoumenē* from *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420 (February 25–March 26 614), appears in a deed of surety and is *not* referred to as

When exactly this happened, whether still during the Persian occupation, as part of Byzantine rearrangements, or under the new Arab government, is unknown. The estates did not entirely vanish as administrative entities immediately after the Persian conquest,¹⁸¹ but at least in the early Islamic period, when the evidence becomes more numerous again, *oikoi* no longer held a distinguished position in comparison to *ousiai*.¹⁸²

— VII —

BEYOND THE OXYRHYNCHITE

If Oxyrhynchite magnates other than the Apiones also administered *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, one might suppose that this phenomenon was also prevalent in other *civitates*. The phenomenon was indeed not strictly limited to Oxyrhynchos, as one papyrus from the Kynopolite nome shows,¹⁸³ although this is balanced by the fact that the text still belongs to the Apion archive and that the close ties of the Apiones' estates in the Kynopolite and the Oxyrhynchite nomes are evident. Several documents show that these two *civitates* were considered two distinct tax units¹⁸⁴ but were always in close connection with each other so that their fiscal contributions, at least in practice, were handled as one.¹⁸⁵ In the sixth century, Kynopolis was certainly not administered under a system of joint administration

pagarchoumenē. Since the *oikos* apparently still held authority over the village, the reason for the missing reference is probably that not a person but the *oikos* is addressed, which would make the *pagarchoumene* formula (which is personally stylized on either “you” or “your *oikos*” vel sim.) look rather odd.

- 181 Since Oxyrhynchite evidence is rare for this turbulent period from the Persian conquest through the middle of the seventh century, Arsinoite texts may illustrate the point: e.g., *SPP X I* for an *oikos* (that of the late Strategios Paneuphemos, who had been still alive in 619 CE) and *SPP III² 153* (April 11, 629 or 644) and *SPP III 344* (October 7/8, 628/643/658) for an *ousia* (that of Menas Stratelates). See also *BGU I 323* (before June 14, 651) for the *ousia* of Theodosios, and Gonis 2002a, 207. An illustration of the lesser importance of these estates may be that the *antigeouchos* (the chief manager of an *oikos* within a nome) of *SPP X I* is of significantly lower status (*lamprotatos*) than even the *dioikētai* or *meizoteroi* (the estate managers one level below the *antigeouchos*) of this estate had been during Strategios Paneuphemos's lifetime; see Palme 1997, 113.
- 182 See *SPP XX 249* (VII–VIII) for a list of *oikoi* (though from the Arsinoite) in some obscure subordinate position under individuals, partially on the same rank as *choria*, the early Islamic fiscal units roughly equating villages. The restoration of an *endoxos oikos* in a lacuna of *CPR XXIV 33* is dubious since this would be the only attested *endoxos oikos* from the Islamic period.
- 183 *P.Lond. III 776* (September 13, 552).
- 184 *P.Oxy. LI 3636* (V); *P.Oxy. I 127* (late VI); *P.Oxy. XVI 1843* (November 6, 623).
- 185 See, e.g., *P.Oxy. XVI 1909* (Oxyrhynchos; 582–602) and *P.Oxy. LV 3797* (April 26–May 25, 624). Note also that *P.Lond. III 776*, though dealing with a village in the Kynopolite nome, addresses Apion as *geouchōn* “here in renowned Oxyrhynchos”; similarly in *P.Oxy. XIX 2243A.87* and 93. For other close links, see, e.g., *P.Oxy. XVI 1854* (early VII). *P.Wash.Univ. I 8* (for which note Hagedorn 2005, 130–132) is an uncertain instance: although the connection to the Apiones is suggestive because of the joint listing of Herakleopolis, Oxyrhynchos, and Kynopolis—*civitates* where the Apiones held estates—the document seems rather to be internal communication from the level of the provincial administration of Arcadia.

like Theodosiopolis in the Fayum, since the city had its own magistrates.¹⁸⁶ The *endoxoi oikoi* of the Apiones in the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite nomes, controlling much of the fiscal business in the area, accordingly formed two distinct branches but were in practice administered centrally from Oxyrhynchos.¹⁸⁷ This structure remained in place even during the Persian occupation after the death of the estate's last head Apion III,¹⁸⁸ and may in fact be reminiscent of phenomena like the joint administration of both nomes by Oxyrhynchite magistrates at some time during the Roman period.¹⁸⁹ This arrangement was therefore possibly the reason for—rather than the result of—the development that the Apion estate began to assume administrative responsibility in the Kynopolite nome.

The Apiones exercised considerable influence also on the civic administration in Kynopolis. In one text, an *ekdikos* of Kynopolis is compelled to approach an employee of the Apionic *antigeouchos* because he wants to receive his remuneration via a different channel; this probably reflects a *munus patrimonii* of financing the *ekdikia* that the Apiones bore.¹⁹⁰ A more immediate indication for the Apiones' influence is apparent in another text where several actors—among them the village of Pleein and *zygostatai* of Kynopolis—pay contributions to an Apion *trapezites* for the stables at Takona.¹⁹¹ Both Pleein and Takona are, from other texts, known as *kōmai pagarchoumenai* in the Oxyrhynchite nome, suggesting that the management of the two Apion estates at Oxyrhynchos and Kynopolis in some way overlaid the administrative division between the two cities.¹⁹² Therefore, the Kynopolite contributions, under the Apiones' supervision, for the stables at Takona (a *kōmē pagarchoumenē* in the Oxyrhynchite nome) again illustrate that the phenomenon of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* was grounded in the large landowners' administrative responsibilities within the framework of their *oikoi*, not in a performance of the Oxyrhynchite pagarchy.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ *Ekdikoi*: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1860.17 (VI–VII); *P.Oxy.* VI 902.1 (465 CE); *zygostatai*: *P.Oxy.* XVI 2028.5, 7, and 10 (VI); *chartoularioi*: *P.Oxy.* XIX 2243A.93 (October 28–November 26, 590); *politeuomenoi*: *P.Oxy.* L 3599 (Dec. 9, 460). On the system of joint administration in the Theodosiopolite nome, see Stern forthcoming (e).

¹⁸⁷ See Hickey 2012, 19 n. 124; *P.Oxy.* I 127 (Oxyrhynchos; late VI); and Section V above. On the links between the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite estates of the Apiones, see already Hardy 1931, 81–85.

¹⁸⁸ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1843 (November 6, 623) and *P.Oxy.* LV 3797 (April 26–May 25, 624).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. their joint administration in the Early Empire (Kruse 2002, 26–29) and also Kynopolis's status as one of the “towns between villages and cities,” as presented by Van Minnen 2007, 207 n. 2, where also Theodosiopolis (see Stern forthcoming (e)) and Aphrodite (see Chapter Six) would certainly be well placed.

¹⁹⁰ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1860 (see p. 108 n. 101 above on the relation of the archive of Biktor to the Apiones archive). Also striking in this text is the magistrate's reference to the *antigeouchos* as “our common master.”

¹⁹¹ *P.Oxy.* XVI 2028 (VI); Gonis 2000a, 182.

¹⁹² But cf. the joint (though apparently still separately accounted) dealing with the two nomes' fiscal obligations in *P.Oxy.* LV 3797 (Oxyrhynchos; 624), which dates to the time of the Persian occupation; cf. Hickey 2012, 19 n. 124, pointing to *P.Oxy.* XVI 2025.13 as illustrating the joint administration of the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite estates.

¹⁹³ If one follows Bransbourg (see p. 117 above) in assuming that the Apiones' fiscal share in Kynopolis was 100 %, which I do, then this implies that there were no pagarchs for the *civitas* of Kynopolis.

It is difficult to tell whether there were *kōmai pagarchoumenai* outside the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite, since no village is attested as such in other nomes. Based on the evidence so far available, it seems unconvincing, albeit possible, to explain this absence with a different documentary practice.¹⁹⁴ A more compelling explanation may be found in the ratio between the fiscal shares assumed by the *oikoi* and that of the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos. We have seen above that other nomes, particularly the Arsinoite and the Antaiopolite, yield numerous instances of pagarchs, but explicit mentions of *kōmai pagarchoumenai*, whereas the Oxyrhynchite evidence features only two instances of pagarchs but a considerable number of *kōmai pagarchoumenai*. We may hypothesize that this stark contrast is reminiscent of a lower prevalence of this institution outside Oxyrhynchos, and thus a larger share for the pagarchy in these nomes. A proxy to test this hypothesis may be the question of whether or not the prevalence of large estates and the extent of their participation in civic administration and tax collection were comparable to other nomes, based on my aforementioned argument that a certain territorial extent of an estate with its accompanying elaborate management was prerequisite for being vested with the authority for *kōmai pagarchoumenai*.

In his seminal article, Jean Gascou found this system at work well beyond the Oxyrhynchite, namely in Herakleopolis, Arsinoe, and Antaiopolis,¹⁹⁵ though he appeared more hedging in his introduction to the article's republication, where he instead pointed to Constantin Zuckerman's analysis of the Aphrodite Register as a "confirmation" of his views for the Antaiopolite.¹⁹⁶ Giovanni Ruffini and Roger Bagnall have understood Zuckerman's argument of a dominant position of the estate of the *ex-eparchos* Ioulianos at Aphrodite to possibly reflect fiscal shares.¹⁹⁷ At the same time, Ruffini is more careful about accepting the importance of the large estate outside the Oxyrhynchite, but appears to lean toward a positive as well in arguing that the impression of Oxyrhynchite exceptionality may be due

¹⁹⁴ See p. 113 above for the observation that the *pagarchoumenē* formula could occasionally be omitted. The counterpart for *epoikia*, the *diapherōn/ktēma* formula, does occur twice outside Oxyrhynchos, which suggests that this system of formulae was indeed known but simply not as prevalent in other nomes; see *CPR X* 127.7 (Arsinoe; August 28, 584) and *P.Michael.* 41.7–8 (Aphrodite; 539/554?).

¹⁹⁵ Gascou 1985 (argued more pointedly in Gascou 2004, 102 = 2008, 450).

¹⁹⁶ Gascou 2008, 125 on Zuckerman 2004a, 221–222, who elaborated upon the relation of the Aphrodite Register to *P.Ross.Georg.* V 62 (misidentified as *P.Ross.Georg.* III 62), which records a substantial payment for the *ex-eparchos* Ioulianos. Ironically, Zuckerman actually argued that this text relates to the extent of Ioulianos's *ousia*, and did not consider fiscal shares to be at work here. Indeed, the context of this document is hard to grasp. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 provides a possible context for Ioulianos's role: the writer of this letter understands the expression *μεγάλοι κτήτορες* (l. 2) to include Ioulianos's *ousia* paying the *astika* and *kometika*, which brings to mind the *syntelestai* of *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, discussed in Section II above. But Ioulianos also held the Antaiopolite pagarchy by earlier than 547 CE (see the Appendix, s.v.), enough to potentially link *P.Ross.Georg.* V 62, where the *hypodektēs* Ioannes occurs, to the pagarchy.

¹⁹⁷ Ruffini 2008a, 246 and Bagnall 2008, 188. The latter speaks more a little ambiguously of Ioulianos's role as "fiscal agent," implying that an office may also have been these payments; cf. the previous note on Ioulianos's pagarchy.

to the uneven documentary strata represented by the sources.¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, Todd Hickey—while being arguably, after Gasco, the most supportive advocate of the model of fiscal shares in the Oxyrhynchite—admits: “I find myself skeptical.”¹⁹⁹

Jairus Banaji and Nikolaos Gonis have introduced *SPP X 249* into the discussion about fiscal shares. This papyrus contains a list of grain contributions from some Fayum villages and from certain well-known large landowners of that region. The end of the document, in the second column, reads as follows:

“The lord Theodosios, the *stratēlatēs*: 4,000 artabas.

The lord *patricius*: 1,388 artabas.

The lord Kyrillos: 925 artabas.

The heirs of Eustochios: 1,850 artabas.

That is, in total, 8,163.

That is, in total, altogether 20,963, rest 1,237 artabas, which also have to be carried over by
the Neiloupolitans.”²⁰⁰

Banaji has compellingly shown how the amounts shared by the four large aristocrats relate to one another, and argued that we see here the system of fiscal shares at work outside the Oxyrhynchite, which is hard to doubt.²⁰¹ The papyrus is fragmentary,²⁰² but before the section quoted above, a list of administrators survived; each of them is allocated an amount of grain followed by the names of two to four settlements, mostly villages, such as in the following example:

198 Ruffini 2008a, 244–251. On the discussion of whether the Oxyrhynchite was the exception rather than the rule, see Keenan 1993, 142–143, presenting the state of the art at the time. Mazza 2011, 277 circumvents the problem by stating: “In Oxyrhynchus, *oikoi* were apparently perceived as ‘entities’, or better, enterprises and fiscal subjects much more than elsewhere in Egypt.”

199 Hickey 2012, 160; see also p. 6: “the core of Gasco’s thesis—the ‘fiscal participation’—is certainly valid for the Byzantine Oxyrhynchite,” which appears to be deliberately hedging.

200 I give here only the Greek of *SPP X 249* col. II 13–14 as I understand it from Wessely’s handwritten transcription, as it may be not very intuitive: / ὁ(μοῦ) τ(ὸ) π(ᾶν) γί(νεται) β(ε)ξ(ε)γ(α) λ(οι)π(αί) (ἀ)ρ(τ)ά(β)α(ι) Α(σ)λ(ζ) αί (καί) ὀφ(ε)ιλ(ό)μ(ε)ν(α)ι μ(ε)τ(α)κομ(ι)σθ(ῆ)ν(α)ι | δ(ι)ὰ τ(ῶν) ἀπ(ὸ) Ν(ε)ιλ(ο)υπ(ό)λ(ε)ω(ς).

201 Banaji 2007, 155–166. See also Gonis 2008, 207–208 (accepting Banaji’s argument) for an analysis of the aristocrats involved. For Banaji’s calculation to work, the share of the *patricius* (i.e., Strategios Paneuphemos) would then actually need to be 1,387 ½ artabas. Banaji’s argument, however, suffers from the fact that it is not at all intuitive (and Banaji does not elaborate on this) why Strategios, Kyrillos, and the heirs of Eustochios would in this reconstruction have been subject to a “4 per cent surcharge on a total payment of 4,000 artabas,” whereas Theodosios, who paid exactly 4,000 artabas, would not. I would rather suspect that the surcharge was 300 artabas of Theodosios’s share, since with 3,700 he would have to be responsible for ¼ of the grand total (Strategios: 1/16; Kyrillos: 1/24; Eustochios’s heirs: 1/12). In *SPP VIII 1111*, Theodosios also appears in relation to his fiscal share, which at that time (no date is given) amounted to ¼+1/96; see Gonis 2008, 205.

202 See the editor’s description of a *kollēsis* very close to the left margin of the papyrus. Also, Wessely’s transcription immediately begins with village names, not with a heading or an administrator. I suggest that in col. I 1 the village name Πτανψαει should be read; on this well-known place, see *SPP III² 497.2* with the commentary. Moreover, col. I 8: τῶν γαστρησιν must certainly be something like γαστρησί(ω)ν or γαστρησι(α)ν(ῶν) (read καστρησίων or καστρησιανῶν), for whom see *SPP VIII 1149.2* (undated) in a comparable setting.

“Apa Or, *dioikētēs*, 500 artabas:

Tristomon,
Kerkeuphis,
Eleusinas.”²⁰³

The fragmentary state of the papyrus does not, however, allow us to determine whether these are collections from a single large estate, as has been suggested,²⁰⁴ and accordingly would be a breakdown of (one of) the aristocrat’s shares, or whether they relate to the 12,800 artabas implied in the calculation at the end of the document *before* the addition of the four aristocrat’s shares (that is, the 8,163 artabas). The contributions visible on the extant part of the papyrus amount to 3,700 artabas, which means that in any case a considerable part of the document must be lost.²⁰⁵

But regardless of whether the amounts represent part of an individual aristocrat’s share or not, it is remarkable that the contributions of four of the most dominant Fayum aristocrats of that period make up only about 37 % of the grand total (22,200 artabas). A plausible explanation for this may be that the 12,800 artabas were handled by the pagarchy. The document does not bear a date, but only two Arsinoite pagarchs are known from around the time the text can have been written, in the early seventh century:²⁰⁶ Strategios Paneuphemos and Menas Stratelates. Both are attractive options: Menas because he is absent from the list although he was one of the leading aristocrats at that time; Strategios because he is the only of the four listed men to figure only with his title of *patricius*, which may indicate that he had been mentioned earlier.²⁰⁷ The purpose of these amounts is not clear, but the remainder at the end entails that we deal with a balance, and, therefore, that these are actual payments.²⁰⁸ The grand total is certainly far too low to represent the grain

²⁰³ SPP X 249 col. I 13–16.

²⁰⁴ See Banaji 2007, 155 and especially Palme 1997, 109–119 on the comparable list SPP X 138, probably for the *oikos* of Strategios Paneuphemos. This estate would have had possessions in these villages from which it would collect. In this case, the listed names are probably the names of the corresponding *prostasiai* (or however this unit would have been termed in this setting), whose managers would report to the *dioikētēs*. Note that some villages appear under different administrators in SPP X 138 and SPP X 249.

²⁰⁵ The amounts listed in SPP X 249 at the beginnings of ll. 1, 5, and 11 are 500, 500, and 1,500 artabas and to no doubt belong to a preceding column that is mostly lost (Wessely’s transcription of l. 18 is unclear in this regard), so that col. I of Wessely’s text should actually be col. II. These amounts still visible in this column are noticeably higher than those of the other two extant columns I and II (actually II and III), which range from 50 to 500 artabas.

²⁰⁶ On the date, see Gonis 2008, 207–208.

²⁰⁷ Gonis 2008, 207 notes Menas’s absence, but neither Banaji nor Gonis explain the absence of the pagarchy, Banaji obviously so because for him the fiscal shares are identical to the pagarchy (see p. 92 above).

²⁰⁸ Banaji 2007, 146. Gonis 2008, 207 states that these contributions were “apparently for tax purposes.” Cf. Palme 1997, 116, arguing that the rounded sums in the similar list SPP X 138 refer instead to surpluses from these villages.

taxes of the entire Fayum.²⁰⁹ But since the majority of the known localities in this list are located in the ancient Polemon district, it seems possible that this was an account for the Theodosiopolite nome, which had been carved out of the Arsinoite nome in the fifth century.²¹⁰ This is, however, very speculative because of the fragmentary condition of this document.

The hypothesis that these four aristocrats' contributions reflect fiscal shares apart from the pagarchy may underscore the distinction of the pagarchy from the fiscal shares that has been discussed for the Oxyrhynchite throughout this chapter. Although this would not prove that *kōmai pagarchoumenai* were involved in any of the four magnates' shares, this seems likely, if only due to the size of their share from the total. If this intriguing, though tentative, hypothesis hits the mark, then the pagarchy's share in this document was significantly larger than the 10 % in *P.Oxy. XVI 2040* from Oxyrhynchos, which would suggest that the "public-private" responsibilities of the *oikoi* were considerably more widespread in Oxyrhynchos than they were in the Fayum and, presumably, elsewhere. Why the problem of administrating fiscal responsibility in the countryside was managed so differently is an intriguing question. Perhaps the large estates of the Fayum were simply not as large as in the Oxyrhynchite, and their administrative infrastructure were not fit to guarantee effective administrative coverage of most of the fiscal landscape.²¹¹ This point will play a role in Chapter Five again, where I shall analyze the "aristocratic density" in Oxyrhynchos, the Fayum, and the Thebaid.

²⁰⁹ By way of comparison, in *P.Oxy. XVI 1909*, Oxyrhynchos (plus Kynopolis) and Herakleopolis pay 350,000 artabas each.

²¹⁰ See Chapter Four. In *P.Oxy. LI 3636*, the ratio between the Arsinoite and the Theodosiopolite "for the account of flat-bottomed boats" is 163 to 13 ½ nomismata. Theodosios's share of ⅓ may be compared to his ¼+1/96 share he is responsible for in *SPP VIII 1111* (undated) and which he probably inherited from his mother Sophia, whose share of ¼+1/24 is indeed linked to Theodosiopolis in *SPP VIII 1091*; on texts and their date, see Gonis 2008, 204–205.

²¹¹ Hickey 2007, 299 suggests that the large estates of the Fayum may generally have been smaller than those of Oxyrhynchos; see also Palme 1997, 116–117.

— VIII —

SUMMARY

This chapter set out to address the relationship between the pagarchy and the fiscal shares of the aristocratic “houses” as they have been posited by Jean Gascoü and others. I started from the apparent paradox that in one list of fiscal contributions from Oxyrhynchos, both half-shares of the pagarchy are listed separately from the main contributors of the nome, the Apiones and their *endoxos oikos*, whose dossier contains frequent allusions to *kōmai pagarchoumenai*. A formal analysis of these texts has established that the Apiones did not hold the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos at the moment these documents were drafted, but that their formal status was that of “simple” *geouchountes*. Further analysis of these texts revealed that the *endoxos oikos* administered these villages as a whole despite the fact that the Apiones did not hold all the land in them. Their responsibilities in these villages were basically of the same character as on their estate, including the maintenance of public order, just as the pagarchs’ authority over villages basically mirrored that of *geouchountes* over their *coloni*.²¹² The *kōmai pagarchoumenai* retained their administrative institutions, yet their superior layer was not the pagarchy and its official administrative apparatus, but rather the sophisticated Apion estate management. Within the *prostasia* system, estate property in the villages was attached to the *pronoētai*, as were some individual parcels not owned by the Apiones. Land remaining in the hands of “independent” landowners in the villages was, however, probably still accounted for via village officials and as such included separately in the estate accounts. Formal observations about the documentary habit suggest that all villages that the Apiones were fiscally responsible for had this status,²¹³ which brings us close to Gascoü’s notion that the *oikoi* acted as de facto administrative units.²¹⁴ Substantial wealth and infrastructure were, however, prerequisite to assuming such an influential public position: the source of this wealth has yet to be found.²¹⁵

212 For the latter emphasis, see Gascoü 1985, 25 n. 143 (= 2008, 147 n. 143).

213 This implies that there would be no villages that were fiscally attached to the *oikos* but with whom the Apiones would have had only little interaction.

214 Gascoü 1985, 60 (= 2008, 182).

215 Private resources as foundation of the “public economy” of the *oikoi*: Bagnall 1993, 160 and n. 58. On the sources of the Apiones’ wealth: Hickey 2012, 154–155. Recently, McConnell 2017, favorably received by Bransbourg 2016, proposed that the Apiones’ fiscal responsibilities may have been grounded in a contractual tax-farming arrangement, but his evidence is, at best, scant. This is not the place for a review, but most prominently, the law codices would appear to forcefully contradict McConnell’s hypothesis, clearly speaking of a duty, not a privilege, to collect these taxes. In a total rent system, it would also make little sense that the accounts sometimes designate payments “for the taxes.” At the level of the *pronoētai*, McConnell’s ideas regarding potential for profit are more intriguing, but they suffer from Gilles Bransbourg’s suggestion that the additional 15 % that the *pronoētai* agree to extract above their regular collections (central to McConnell’s model) are more conveniently explained as freight charges (Bransbourg 2016, 349). Noticeably, we should take into account the fiscal apparatus of

While Todd Hickey, coming from the direction of the “private economy” of the large estate, has repeatedly found strong evidence in support of the model of fiscal shares, the results presented here strongly strengthen the model from a revised administrative perspective. They remove a major point of uncertainty from the Gascou–Hickey model and further refine the mechanics of the Byzantine fiscal apparatus in the countryside of late antique Egypt. They also have important implications for our conception of the pagarchy. With the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* removed from the evidence for the pagarchy proper, the latter gains a significantly more “official” character; it has become more likely that the pagarchs’ main link to villages under their control was through their official apparatus, presented in Chapter Two, although borderline situations could still arise where the pagarchs may have had significant economic self-interests in the administered areas.

Though explicit evidence is yet to be found, the prevalence of this system in other nomes is likely, as the fiscal shares as such are traceable outside the Oxyrhynchite. One text from the Fayum may even illustrate the larger purview of the pagarchy in other nomes compared to Oxyrhynchos, which may partially account for our lack of documentation for *kōmai pagarchoumenai* elsewhere. The administrative double structure of pagarchy and *kōmai pagarchoumenai* is also an attractive explanation for the evolution of the pagarchy as followed in Chapter One. It likely grew naturally out of a situation where large landowners obtained total fiscal responsibility for their lands and in the fifth century increasingly assumed civic responsibilities through the institution of their *oikoi*. Probably the *praepositi pagorum*, at that time already called pagarchs, were effectively turned into “village pagarchs” by means of this development while the remaining lands—those that were beyond easy administration by an adjacent sophisticated estate administration—were united and placed under the authority of the pagarchy with its own elaborate administrative apparatus.²¹⁶

The system even survived the Persian conquest and the loss of its protagonists (if the Apiones are representative here), but ultimately fell victim to the decline of the *oikoi* in the first years of the Islamic occupation at the latest. The pagarchs’ rise to the central civic officials in the nome and their increased presence in the early Islamic documentation are most probably to be understood in the context of the retreat of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* and the resulting expansion of the pagarchy over the entire nome. An illustration of this is the “territorialization” of the term *pagarchia*, which since the earliest years of the Arab occupation denotes the entire administrative circumscription of the old *civitas/nome*,

the state working in the Oxyrhynchite, and also not forget about either *autopragia* or the pagarchy. One would also wonder why the government should have opted for a tax farming system in the province that arguably yielded the largest surplus and therefore was closely monitored from early on, which was one of the reasons why tax farmers were replaced with state collectors in the first place, namely during the second century CE.

²¹⁶ See Chapter One.

whereas this phenomenon had virtually been inexistent in the Byzantine period. This is, to my mind, at least the most plausible explanation so far available.

CHAPTER FOUR

Becoming and Being Pagarch

SEPARATING THE *KŌMAI PAGARCHOUMENAI* from the administrative institution of the pagarchy removes the only explicit link between the pagarchs and the institution of the *oikoi* and thus creates a challenge to Jean Gascou’s interpretation of the pagarchy as a depersonalized *munus patrimonii*. The present chapter will therefore examine the formal characteristics of the pagarchy (modes of appointment, length of tenure, modes of representation, and the implications of their shared authority) to understand the pagarchs’ capacity.

— I —

APPOINTMENT

We have no direct information concerning the appointment procedure of the pagarchs. The single normative text that concerns the Byzantine pagarchy is Justinian’s *Edict* 13 from 539 CE, which provides instructions to the pretorian prefect pertaining to the removal of a fraudulent pagarch, among other things. The edict orders that the new incumbents be chosen by the governor and confirmed by the emperor, although this procedure was not necessarily the regular way pagarchs were appointed.¹ Nominal imperial confirmation of officials was common in late antiquity, and notable officials responsible for civic business,

¹ Cf. *Ed.* 13.12 (for the two Aegypti) and 25 (for the Thebaid). The *dux et Augustalis* shall “look around for” (περισκοπεῖν) or “search for” (ἀναζητεῖν) potential successors for the pagarchy who may be “suitable, fit, able” (ἐπιτήδειος) for this “matter, undertaking” (πρᾶγμα). The term ἐπιτήδειος especially recalls liturgical vocabulary; see Palme 1989, 113–114 and Wilcken 1912, 343–344 and 344 n. 1, citing *P.Amh.* II 82, in which someone contests his nomination for a liturgy on the grounds that he is ἀνεπιτήδειος. Still, this seems anything but decisive.

such as the *defensor*, the *curator*, the *sitona*, or the *pater*, also fall into this category. The laws have these officials chosen by the collegium of notables consisting of the bishops and the principal landowners, yet they still received their position by virtue of an imperial appointment through the pretorian prefect—a point which has led Wolfgang Liebeschuetz to characterize these men as “semi-imperial officials,” given that we cannot trace their origins back to the curial order with certainty.² When these officials appear in Egypt, they, like the pagarchs of the sixth century, no longer bear the common status predicate of Aurelius, but instead the distinctive Flavius, which places them on a higher social and administrative level than the curial administrators of the fourth century.³ The framework of these “semi-imperial” offices has been considered a model also for the pagarchy, about which the laws, with the exception of *Edict 13*, are silent: candidates for the pagarchy would, in this conception, have been chosen from among the large landowners of the city and nominated to the Augustalian prefect—or, after *Edict 13*, to the *dux et Augustalis*—who would forward this nomination to the pretorian prefect and the emperor.⁴ When the edict demands that the *dux* is to look around for potential successors for a fraudulent pagarch, it does not mention any involvement of the city notables; however, a passage from 535 CE in Justinian’s *Novels* may reveal the same situation in the event of the replacement of a *defensor civitatis*, who without a doubt was, under usual circumstances, nominated by this collegium.⁵ The college of city notables, however elusive this institution still is to us, should therefore be the starting point until further evidence surfaces.⁶ One episode from the “Menas affair” in the village of Aphrodite in the 560s suggests that the pagarch Menas Scrinarius knew at least some weeks in advance that he would become pagarch.⁷

2 Liebeschuetz 2000, 219–221 with the relevant sources. Cf. Palme 2007c, arguing precisely for a curial background of these new elites. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67281, where the village *koinon* of Aphrodite appoints a *riparius*, supposedly a reflection of the pseudo-civic administration inherent to that village.

3 On these “names” as status designations, see pp. 34–35 n. 40 above in Chapter One.

4 See Liebeschuetz 1974, 164 (followed by Mazza 1995, 199–200), who speculated that still after *Edict 13* these notables may have in practice had their say by appealing to the *dux et Augustalis* in the first place, before he reported the case to the prefect.

5 See p. 53 n. 7 above for the pagarchy and *Nov. 15.1* for the *defensor*.

6 Liebeschuetz 1974, 164. In 569 CE, Justinian’s successor Justin II issued *Novel 149*, which proclaimed that provincial governors would henceforth be chosen (or at least a number of candidates pre-chosen) by a provincial collegium of notables in order to be ratified later by the emperor. It is possible, however, that this had been the practice already before, since Justinian had ordered the same for the reconquered province of Italy in his *Pragmatic Sanction* (554 CE). This development has found two lines of interpretation: either that it marked the government’s finally giving in to the overwhelming power of local networks, or that it was an ingenious move to have—instead of predatory external governors—men at the helm who were bound by expectations and social control from among their peers (and clients). On this discussion, see Pieler 1990 and Laniado 2002, 225–252. Either way, it is unknown what effect *Novel 149* had on the procedure of appointing a pagarch, if any.

7 When Menas had some villagers arrested while they were travelling (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II), he apparently did so (possibly about two months) ahead of his tenure. This episode will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

It has often been held that local landholding was a fundamental condition of eligibility for the pagarchy, since the pagarchs for whom we have more information tended to be landowners,⁸ but this seems not very distinctive. Some scholars have rightly been hesitant to assume that the Byzantine aristocracy consisted entirely of large landholders,⁹ but landed property as an economic basis was certainly not only prevalent among pagarchs. *Edict 13* places emphasis on the wealth of a potential replacement for a fraudulent pagarch, in which case the successors, by virtue of an imperial order and an edict by the pretorian prefect, were to “enter upon their [that is, the former incumbents’] pagarchies and properties (*ousiai*).”¹⁰ Wealth was a natural prerequisite for state officials or liturgists involved in tax collection, if only to make up for shortcomings.¹¹ Apart from the “pagarching” landlords, however, only Strategios Paneuphemos is known to have been in control of an *oikos* while other potential candidates for this status, Ioulianos and Menas Stratelates, explicitly controlled only *ousiai*, but the differences between such categories of institutionalized landholdings are not fully understood.¹² Ultimately, the quoted passage is interesting in that it makes the *ousia* part of what is transferred from the dismissed pagarch to his successor, suggesting that the pagarchy was bound to certain *ousiai*, although the next section will show that is difficult to argue that a fixed number of *ousiai* continuously bore the pagarchy. There must have been

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- 8 The main point is made cursorily, e.g., by Liebeschuetz 1974, 164; Gascou 1972, 69–70 (= 2008, 49); and Banaji 2007, 140–141. Ioulianos: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 (*ousia*); *PSI* IV 283. Patrikia: *P.Lond.* V 1660, via her having a *dioikētēs*. Menas Scrinarius: *P.Lond.* V 1714, via the connection to his son, who was *geouchōn* in Antaiopolis. Kyrrillos: most of his dossier concerns private issues; *P.Corn. inv.* II 48 (Gagos 2008) contains an explicit reference to a *dioikētēs*. Strategios Paneuphemos: possibly as many as three known *oikoi* in Arsinoe, Herakleopolis, and Oxyrhynchos. Menas Stratelates: e.g., *CPR* XIX 32 and *SPP* III 344 (*ousia*). Serenos: if identical to the Serenos of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, who controlled *dioikētai*. Kollouthos Cancellarius: if identical to (some of) the homonymous bureaucrats active in the Antaiopolite nome, as is likely. See, for the most part, the Appendix, s.vv.
- 9 See Bjornlie 2007 (no internal numbering): “Despite the high profile of certain provincials at Constantinople [...], it is not a given that the bureaucratic elite at the capital were predominantly estate owners. Such a claim would require as a companion study a detailed prosopographical examination of actors visible in Constantinople, where the political polemic generated.” Recently, Hickey 2012, undermining conceptions of protocapitalist drives for economic gains among the Egyptian landed elite, has highlighted that we still do not know much about where those families’ wealth came from. See Bagnall 1993, 68–78, esp. 73, for sources of wealth other than land. Some pagarchs are known to have also owned real property within the urban center of the *civitas* (see *CPR* XIV 10 and 11), but was such fortune considered sufficiently reliable to be considered when it came to choosing a pagarch?
- 10 *Ed.* 13.25: εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων παγαρχίας τε καὶ οὐσίας ἐμβαινόντων, relating to the Thebaid; the parallel in Chapter 12 for the two Aegypti speaks of a “transmission” (παράδοσις) that comprises “all the things appertaining to the pagarchies as well as their [i.e., the former pagarchs’] properties (*ousiai*).”
- 11 Cf. the distinction between ταῖς πολιτικαῖς λειτουργίαις on the one hand and πρὸς μόνας τῶ[ς] οὐσίας διαφέρουσι on the other in *P.Flor.* I 57.13–14; Wilcken 1912, 344 n. 4. A passage in an account of expenses of the city of Antaiopolis, however, shows that a pagarch was *not*, or only in part, charged with the remuneration for various, sometimes high-ranking, subordinate staff. These were instead paid by the *civitas* (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 24–31; see Chapter Two) and otherwise would have presumably been major expenses of the officeholders.
- 12 See Chapter One and, for the Oxyrhynchite in particular, Chapter Three, suggesting that *oikos* in this context relates to more than actually owned land and included territories for which this estate assumed administrative responsibilities, such as in *kōmai pagarchoumenai*.

some appointment to the charge, even if in variable intervals. Chapter Five will discuss some indications that pagarchs, contrary to current opinion, were sometimes recruited from outside the local elite, which would explain their peculiar position in *Edict* 13 and suggest that the city notables were henceforth sidelined in the appointment procedure, but this is so far merely an alternative explanation that has its own problems.

— II —

TENURE

The length of the pagarchs' tenures casts doubt on the notion of the pagarchy as a liturgy shared among the local landowning magnates. By way of comparison, the *defensoria civitatis* was restricted to two years, and performance of this charge explicitly rotated among a set number of eligible candidates.¹³ Also the *riparia* was a short-term liturgy distributed by rotation among the city's *oikoi* based on elaborately calculated shares.¹⁴ The available chronologies for the pagarchy, however, do not reveal any pattern, and given that not many pagarchs are known at all, tenures spanning a decade or more appear to have been rather common. Such chronologies can so far only be established for Antaiopolis and Arsinoe, where evidence for the pagarchy from the sixth and early seventh centuries emerges in sufficient quantity. The testimonies in the following tables are arranged conforming to indiction years, drawing on an Antaiopolite petition stating that the pagarch Menas took up his post at the beginning of a fifteenth indiction.¹⁵ This indeed seems reasonable for a fiscal office, as in the Thebaid the indiction started on Pachon 1 (April 26/May 1), which is linked to the date of the *praedelegatio* of the imperial tax schedule.¹⁶ Based on this assumption, the

13 *Nov.* 15.6 (535 CE).

14 *P.Oxy.* XVI 2039 with Azzarello 2006. Since *riparii* who were installed by an *oikos* could be named "*riparius* of the *oikos*" in private contexts (see Tost 2012), it seems unlikely that the same *riparius* would have served as a stand-in for several different *oikoi*, and thus would have served over longer parts of the chronological list contained in this papyrus. On these shares, see Chapter Three.

15 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 10–11: ἀπὸ προομιῶν τῆς ἔναγχος διαδραμο(ύ)σης πεντεκαϊδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως, ἀφ' ἧς ἀντελάβετο τῆς παγαρχίας | Ἀνταίο(υ). Cf. *P.Lond.* V 1674.66–67: καίτοι ἀφ' ἧς | παρέλαβεν τὴν παγαρχίαν, which uses a different verb. See also Maspero's restoration of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 col. I 2–3: Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) βούλεται παρὰ τὸ ἐξος ἡμᾶς ἐλκ[έσ]θαι εἰς παγαρχίαν τῆ[ς] Ἀνταίο(υ)]πολιτῶν ἧς κεκράτηκεν [ἀπὸ προομιῶν τῆς -ca.-? ἐπινεμήσεως. Ioulianos's epithet here should, however, be *endoxotatos*, or, less likely, *megaloprepestatos*. For the term ἐπινέμησις for an indiction year, see *CSBE*², II n. 36.

16 On Pachon 1 (April 26) as the beginning of the Thebaid indiction year and its relation to the *praedelegatio*, which was actually due on May 1, see *CSBE*², 30 and 34. On the specific use of ἐπινέμησις for relating to this "*praedelegatio* indiction," although in a discussion of the Oxyrhynchite, see *CSBE*², 31–32. On the phenomenon of equating Roman with Egyptian months (e.g., Pachon 1 = May 1), see *CSBE*², 21 and 27.

Antaiopolite papyri provide us with the following picture, which I have recently established in detail in Stern forthcoming (d):¹⁷

Indiction	Attested pagarchs	Evidence
11 = 547/548	Ioulianos	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67283 ¹⁸
12 = 548/549	“the pagarch” = <u>Ioulianos</u>	<i>SB</i> VI 9102; <i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67019 verso ¹⁹
13 = 549/550		
14 = 550/551	Ioulianos	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67024(?); 67046; <i>PSI</i> IV 283; <i>SB</i> XX 15015
15 = 551/552	Ioulianos	<i>P.Gen.</i> IV 193
1 = 552/553	Ioulianos	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67094; ²⁰ <i>SB</i> XX 15013
2 = 553/554	Ioulianos & Menas	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1661
3 = 554/555	“the pagarchs”	<i>SB</i> XXIV 15975(?)
4 = 555/556		
5 = 556/557		
6 = 557/558	“the pagarchs”	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1665(?)
7 = 558/559		
8 = 559/560	“the pagarchs” = <u>Ioulianos & Kometes & Euthymios,</u> <u>represented by Christodotos procurator</u>	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67045(?); III 67325; <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1666; <i>SB</i> XVI 12370; ²¹ XX 15016.
9 = 560/561	“the pagarchs”	<i>SB</i> XX 14121(?)
10 = 561/562		
11 = 562/563	“the pagarchs”	<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 3272 ²²
12 = 563/564		
13 = 564/565		
14 = 565/566		
15 = 566/567	“the pagarchs”(??), i.a. <u>Menas</u>	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67002; 67047(??) ²³
1 = 567/568	Menas	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67002
2 = 568/569		²⁴
3 = 569/570	“the pagarchs”	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67325

17 In the tables presented below, I omit *P.Princ.* II 89 and *SB* XX 15017, which do not mention pagarchs but are included in the tables of Stern forthcoming (d) because they had been part of the argument.

18 This is the latest possible indiction for this text. Recently, Jean-Luc Fournet (2015, 256; cf. Azzarello 2012, 78 n. 231) has dated this text to 540–545. This hypothesis cannot be assessed until his reedition of Dioskoros’s petitions is published.

19 Or 551 CE.

20 Or, though less likely, 551/552 CE.

21 Or, though less likely, 544/545 CE.

22 For the text, see Keenan 2012. An alternative, but less likely, year is 547/548 CE.

23 The year is far from certain, but if one is to pick one among the possible fifteenth indictions in the early and mid-sixth century, this should be preferred.

24 During this year, the pagarch Kollouthos Cancellarius is attested acting in the area of Aphrodite.

4 = 570/571	“the pagarchs” = Ioannes (2/3) & Serenos (1/3)	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67325
5 = 571/572	Ioannes (2/3) & Serenos (1/3)	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67325
6 = 572/573	“the pagarchs” = Ioannes (2/3) & Serenos (1/3)	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67325; <i>P.Flor.</i> III 298; P.Strasb. gr. inv. 1622
7 = 573/574	Ioannes (2/3) & Serenos (1/3)	<i>P.Flor.</i> III 298; <i>P.Stras.</i> VII 699; P.Strasb. gr. inv. 1622
8 = 574/575	Serenos	<i>P.Flor.</i> III 298; <i>P.Stras.</i> VII 699; P.Strasb. gr. inv. 1720

Table 04: Known Antaiopolite pagarchs from 547/548 to 574/575 CE.²⁵

It is important to note that the appearance of a sole pagarch in a document does not necessarily mean that he was the only incumbent local pagarch at that time, as is obvious from the dossier of Ioannes and Serenos. In fact, collegiality seems rather to have been the norm. Still, it appears that Ioulianos was sole pagarch—at least in 548/549, when the imperial chancery could refer to him in a rescript anonymously as “the pagarch,” and in 550/551, when he appears as sole superior of a *hypodektēs*²⁶—before he was enjoined to form a collegium in 553/554 at the latest, either with Menas alone or first with Menas and later including Patrikia.²⁷ By 559/560, the composition of this collegium had been changed, although Ioulianos was still part of it. It remains elusive whether Menas was then sole pagarch from 565/566 until at least 570/571, when Ioannes and Serenos are attested in a dual collegium. In combination with the uneven length of tenures, particularly in the case of Ioulianos, who held the pagarchy for probably over a decade, this alternation between sole and shared pagarchy seems difficult to reconcile with a liturgy regularly shared among a circle of city magnates according to precisely drawn shares.

Two texts may indeed suggest that the pagarchs’ tenure was generally longer than that of usual liturgies, but not clearly defined: When the Aphroditan villagers filed a petition in order to henceforth be saved from Menas’s alleged pursuits, he was already in the sophomore year of his pagarchy; still the villagers obviously did not expect him to step down anytime soon.²⁸ And when Ioulianos leased out a plot of land, he probably did so “for as long as [I shall be in charge] of the pagarchy of the same city [scil. Antaiopolis].”²⁹ The tenure of such contracts is usually made explicit for a number of years or is left indefinite for the time

25 Underlined entries refer to the texts who give individual names when the other testimonies only anonymously relate to a pagarch or to “the pagarchs”.

26 The *hypodektai*, officials at the city level, never sign individually for pagarchs in a collegium, in contrast to lower ranking officials.

27 On these alternatives, see Section III below.

28 See p. 136 n. 15 above.

29 See p. 64 above.

being; our text actually gives a defined period whose duration cannot yet be envisaged, probably because the pagarchy was not bound to a regular term.

The Arsinoite timeline largely conforms to the picture established for Antaiopolis.³⁰ While the time span from which pagarchs are attested in the Fayum is much wider than in the case of the Antaiopolite, there are considerable gaps throughout. The table below again follows the pagarchy by indiction years; one must, however, be aware that in the Fayum the indiction started on Epeiph I (June 25), although as anywhere in Egypt, in fiscal contexts the indiction started with the *praedelegatio* of the imperial tax schedule, on Pachon I (April 26).³¹ Writers in the Arsinoite nome generally acknowledge this difference by rendering any date that falls between Pachon I (start of the new “*praedelegatio* indiction”) and Epeiph I (start of the new Arsinoite indiction) as “at the end of the *n*th [that is, Arsinoite] indiction.”³² In the following table, I assume that the Fayum pagarchy started on Pachon I as well, which to me seems more consistent with the pagarchs’ responsibilities.³³ Based on published documents and corrections only, the timeline for Arsinoe looks as follows:

Indiction	Pagarchs	Evidence
2 = 553/554	not Apion Stratelates(?) ³⁴	BGU II 364
end of 4 → 5 = 556/557	Apion Stratelates	BGU I 305
? = 556– ³⁵	Apion Stratelates	CPR XIV 10
12 = 578/579	Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates	CPR XIV 11
8 = 589/590	an [<i>endoxotatos</i>] <i>stratēlatēs</i>	SB I 4721
10 = 591/592	[<i>endoxotatoi</i>] heirs of a <i>hyperphyestatos</i> [<i>patricius</i>]	SB XVIII 1395 ³⁶

30 The obvious differences in the aristocratic hierarchy will be discussed in Chapter Five.

31 CSBE², 33 and 34. The *praedelegatio* was actually due on May 1, but there is a tendency to equate this date with Pachon I.

32 E.g., in BGU I 305.2: Παῦνι τῷ τέλ(ει) δὲ ἰν(δικτίωνος). This difference is acknowledged in the table in the way that “at the end of the fourth (Arsinoite) indiction” the pagarch’s tenure had already advanced to the fifth (fiscal) indiction, which relates to 556/557 CE.

33 It would appear natural that the pagarchs as fiscal officials took up their posts immediately before the harvest was initiated, thus following the *praedelegatio* indiction, not the Arsinoite one, if only to have sufficient time to collect potential arrears. Cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1997 (Oxyrhynchos; VI), where a payment for the fourth indiction is effectuated on “Mesore 7 of the 3rd indiction at the beginning of the fourth (indiction).” The Oxyrhynchite chronological year would coincide with its era reckoning and start Thoth I (August 29); therefore, Mesore 7 (August 1) is at the end of the third Oxyrhynchite indiction but at the “beginning” of the fourth fiscal indiction, which the Oxyrhynchite counted from the *praedelegatio* of the imperial tax schedule, i.e., Pachon I, actually May 1; see CSBE², 30–33 and 128.

34 If Apion Stratelates is the *stratēlatēs* in BGU II 364, then he was not pagarch at the time the text was written; see the Appendix, s.v.

35 The conventional date 556–579 assumes that Apion Stratelates is identical with Apion II, who was dead by 579 CE. The text is most likely later than BGU I 305 (June 13, 556) because of the notable development of the titlature of Apion Stratelates.

36 With the restorations in Gonis 2008, 203.

II = 592/593	not Strategios Paneuphemos(?) ³⁷	SB XXVIII 16873
? = before 600 ³⁸	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XXIV 24+ P.Vindob. G 21202
end of 3 → 4 = 600/601	Strategios Paneuphemos	SB XXIV 16288
4 = 600/601	Strategios Paneuphemos	P.Lond. I 113,5c
9 = 605/606	Strategios Paneuphemos	P.Bodl. I 53
II = 607/608	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XIV 9
I3 = 609/610	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XXIV 27
I5 = 611/612	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XXIV 28; CPR X 131
3 = 614/615 or 4 = 615/616	Strategios Paneuphemos	P.Eirene IV 40
4 = 615/616	Menas Stratelates	P.Vindob. G 26585 ³⁹
6 = 617/618 ⁴⁰	Menas Stratelates	SPP III 303
IO = 621/622 ⁴¹	Menas Stratelates	CPR XXIV 30
II = 622/623	Menas Stratelates	CPR XIX 32
2 = 628/629(??) ⁴²	Theodoros	BGU II 694
I3 = 639/640	Theodorakios	W.Chr. 8

Table 05: Arsinoite pagarchs known and at least roughly dateable from papyri.⁴³

- 37 This assumes that this *paneuphēmos* Flavius Strategios is indeed Strategios Paneuphemos, and that this text is indeed from the Arsinoite nome. The editor restored the address to τῷ πανευφήμ[ω καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ] in l. 4. As the following lines show, the line probably was not long enough to contain also παγάρχῳ τῆς Ἀρσινοιτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν (the two cities are never abbreviated). I wonder whether the Apa Nakios and his son in this text are the same as those in *P.Lond. V 1786*; in the latter, this son is not identified by his personal name, but only through his patronym, indicating that the name Apa Nakios was distinct enough to be useful as an unambiguous identifier. Only one man of that name is attested in Herakleopolis (the other likely provenance) at all. For the date of *P.Lond. V 1786* (November 27–December 26, 592), see now N. Gonis in *P.Oxy. LXXXIII*, p. 192 n. 1.
- 38 The conventional date 591–602 assumes that Strategios Paneuphemos cannot have been in office together with the pagarchs of *CPR XIX 14*, which is likely but not a given; see B. Palme in *P.Eirene IV*, p. 206 on the newfound fragment P.Vindob. G 21202 and the resulting new date, although I am skeptical that the pattern concerning the occurrence of either *hyperphyestatos* or *paneuphēmos* as sole epithet should be taken so far; see, e.g., *SB I 5271* (December 10, 615), which refers to Strategios as *hyperphyestatos patricius*, although according to the alleged pattern *paneuphēmos patricius* should be expected in the “short form” at that time.
- 39 See Van Loon 2017.
- 40 The alternative date 632/633 CE seems too far off the rest of Menas’s attestations.
- 41 The tenth indiction could technically also be 606/607 CE (the editor rejected this possibility by stating that Strategios Paneuphemos was pagarch at that time), but this is probably too far off Menas’s other attestations. In 636/637, however, the title “pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis” was probably no longer in use; see Stern forthcoming (e).
- 42 The date is very uncertain and may likely be later; see the Appendix, s.v.
- 43 The present table includes all published documents and corrections. On *SPP VIII 1228* and whether this text attests to the pagarchy, see the Appendix, s.v. Kyrillos. Notable texts left out because of their lacking an indiction include *SB I 5256* (anonymous pagarch), *SB I 4781* and *5253* (both Strategios Paneuphemos), and *SB XXIV 16287* (Menas Stratelates). *CPR XIV 10* and *CPR XXIV 24* are included even though they do not preserve an indiction because they most likely attest a pagarch beyond the period known from the dated documents, however vaguely.

In this table, the long tenures of Strategios Paneuphemos and Menas Stratelates—fifteen and eight years, respectively—appear to mirror that of Ioulianos in Antaiopolis.⁴⁴ An important difference, however, is that the majority of documents concerning the Fayum pagarchs are texts that relate to their estate business, not to their official function, and would therefore not be expected to list all incumbent pagarchs.⁴⁵ More so than in the Antaiopolite cases, it is therefore not certain that a pagarch attested in one document was the only incumbent at that time, as often assumed. The attestations of Strategios Paneuphemos as pagarch at least, however, are so strictly chronologically separated from those of Menas Stratelates that one may assume Menas was Strategios’s successor, although I would not be surprised if new evidence proved otherwise.⁴⁶

In recent years, Sophie Kovarik has studied scores of unpublished texts about the Fayum elite, and relevant new documents attesting pagarchs of the pagarchy are included in the table below.⁴⁷ They first and foremost include a new pagarch, Kyrillos,⁴⁸ and two new texts about the pagarchs Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates.⁴⁹ I have also included P.Corn. inv. II 48, which is not part of Kovarik’s new material but must be included here

44 In *SPP* X 249 col. II 8–9, the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Theodosios is (probably in the Theodosiopolite) responsible for a fiscal share close to three times as large as that of Strategios Paneuphemos (ὁ κύριος πατρικίος). This seems hard to reconcile with the contention that Strategios held the pagarchy on his own for so long because he was the leading economic power in the Fayum throughout this period. Chapter Five will develop a model that may explain this apparent paradox.

45 The deeds of surety to Strategios Paneuphemos (*CPR* XXIV 24; 27; *P.Lond.* I 113.5c) are probably for individuals linked to his estate, but *P.Bodl.* I 53, a contract with public guards, may indeed show Strategios as the sole pagarch on September 16, 605. In *CPR* XXIV 24.6 one should probably restore [ἐπουκ]ῖου instead of [χωρ]ῖου, since the latter is highly suspicious in this context before the Islamic conquest: admittedly, Phanou is attested as a *kōmē* around that date, but varying use of these terms (or change of status) is not unheard of in this period; I have learned in the meantime that Sophie Kovarik (2014, xxiii in Kapitel 3) has come to the same conclusion.

46 Strategios’s last attestation as pagarch falls between October 5, 614 and October 4, 615 (*P.Eirene* IV 40), while Menas is first attested as pagarch in February 20, 616 (*P.Vindob.* G 26585). See Stern forthcoming (a) for the possibility that Strategios abdicated the pagarchy in order to serve in the Miaphysite reconciliation that took place in Alexandria in 617 CE. Four papyri that appear to have Strategios alive (may) fall into the period after his last attestation as pagarch: *BGU* II 368 (June 25, 615), *SB* I 5271 (December 10, 615), *P.Vindob.* G 26585 (February 20, 616), *P.Vindob.* G 50349 (619 CE?; see Kovarik 2014, 282 n. 280). But these references all occur in contexts where writers generally use the “short form” of aristocratic titlature (see Chapter Five on this concept) and are therefore expected to prefer, e.g., Strategios’s more distinguished title of *patricius* over the less exclusive title of pagarch, particularly since the full title in the Fayum at that time was the excessively longwinded πάγαρχος τῆς Ἀρσινωιτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν. The fragmentary receipt *SPP* VIII 1228 shows Strategios in some fiscal responsibility together with “the heirs of Kyrillos” in 623/624 (for the date, see the Appendix, s.v. Kyrillos); yet it seems unlikely that this responsibility was the pagarchy, since pagarchs always appear personally in such texts. This text therefore certainly relates to the fiscal shares of these magnates.

47 I am greatly indebted to Sophie Kovarik for providing access to her unpublished dissertation, Kovarik 2014. Herein, Kapitel 3, i–xxv lists the metadata; I give the indications in the table as they result from the dates in Kovarik’s catalog.

48 *P.Vindob.* G 24302 shows Kyrillos as pagarch, but cannot be precisely dated; *P.Berol.* 5587 can be precisely dated, and the pagarch’s name, which is in a lacuna, is probably Kyrillos, as the titles suggest. The former document is currently being edited by Sophie Kovarik, the latter by Bernhard Palme.

49 *P.Berol.* 3387 and Louvre E 6573. These two papyri are being edited by Sophie Kovarik for publication in Azzarello forthcoming.

because it has become clear from her work that the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Kyrillos was pagarch at one point.⁵⁰ The text features Kyrillos as one party in a contract, and since one expects that type of document to give the parties' full titles, Kyrillos was most likely not pagarch on October 5, 596, and, thus, probably not during the entire fifteenth indiction. In conclusion, the Arsinoite timeline looks as follows:

Indiction	Pagarchs	Evidence
2 = 553/554	not Apion Stratelates(?)	BGU II 364
end of 4 → 5 = 556/557	Apion Stratelates	BGU I 305
? = 556/557–576/577	Apion Stratelates	CPR XIV 10
12 = 578/579	Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates	CPR XIV 11
5? = 586/587	Christophoros & Strategios, <i>eukleestatoi hypatoi</i>	Louvre E 6573
6/7 = 588	Strategios(?), <i>eukleestatos hypatos</i> (pagarch restored)	P.Berol. 3387
8 = 589/590	an [<i>endoxotatos</i>] <i>stratēlatēs</i>	SB I 4721
9 = 590/591	<i>endoxotatoi</i> heirs of an <i>endoxotatos stratēlatēs</i> (and ex-pagarch) - <i>asios</i>	CPR XIX 14+P.Vindob. 25638
10 = 591/592	[<i>endoxotatoi</i>] heirs of a <i>hyperphyestatos</i> [<i>patricius</i>]	SB XVIII 13952
11 = 592/593	not Strategios Paneuphemos(?)	SB XXVIII 16873
? = after 591/592	Kyrillos	P.Vindob. G 24302
14 = 595/596	an <i>endoxotatos stratēlatēs</i>	P.Berol. 5587
15 = 596/597	not Kyrillos	P.Corn. inv. II 48
? = 595–600	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XXIV 24+ P.Vindob. G 21202
end of 3 → 4 = 600/601	Strategios Paneuphemos	SB XXIV 16288
4 = 600/601	Strategios Paneuphemos	P.Lond. I 113.5c
9 = 605/606	Strategios Paneuphemos	P.Bodl. I 53
11 = 607/608	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XIV 9
13 = 609/610	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XXIV 27
15 = 611/612	Strategios Paneuphemos	CPR XXIV 28; CPR X 131
3 = 614/615 or 4 = 615/616	Strategios Paneuphemos	P.Eirene IV 40
4 = 615/616	Menas Stratelates	P.Vindob. G 26585
6 = 617/618 or 632/633	Menas Stratelates	SPP III 303
10 = 621/622	Menas Stratelates	CPR XXIV 30
11 = 622/623	Menas Stratelates	CPR XIX 32
2 = 628/629(??)	Theodoros	BGU II 694

⁵⁰ The text was published in Gagos 2008.

13 = 639/640	Theodorakios	W.Chr. 8
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Table 06: Data from Table 05 including relevant unpublished texts plus P.Corn. inv. II 48 in bold.⁵¹

One can open up this table for some speculation. The dates attributed to P.Vindob. G 24302 and to *CPR* XXIV 24+P.Vindob. G 21202 assume that Kyrillos and Strategios Paneuphemos were the sole pagarchs during their tenures, but P.Corn. inv. II 48 shows Kyrillos not in office. One scenario to explain this situation is that Kyrillos was pagarch before 596/597 and probably was also the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* of P.Berol. 5587, who was pagarch before Strategios Paneuphemos took over in 596/597, which would extend Strategios's tenure to nearly two decades.⁵² An alternative setting is one in which Kyrillos was pagarch only after 596/597, possibly together with Strategios Paneuphemos.⁵³ Both Kyrillos and (possibly) Strategios Paneuphemos, are potential matches for the heirs recorded during the ninth and tenth indictions of 590/591 and 591/592, respectively.⁵⁴

In any case, the new texts increase the aristocratic density of the Fayum but do not appear to change the overall pattern for the pagarchy. Even before, the strong sway of Strategios Paneuphemos and Menas Stratelates over the Fayum pagarchy was evident, and the distribution of the evidence still suggests that they—Strategios at least in and after 605 CE—were sole pagarchs. The new table strengthens the position of Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates, although the latter has become an unlikely match for the anonymous *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* attested for 589/590, since he was already *eukleestatos hypatos* at that time and in this case should be expected to be referred to as such. Finally, Apion Stratelates emerges as another likely candidate for a tenure to match that of Ioulianos in the Antaiopolite. The tight clusters in which the papyri attest Strategios Paneuphemos and Menas Stratelates in the Fayum and Ioulianos and Ioannes & Serenos in Antaiopolis leave little doubt that they, in all probability, were in office continuously.⁵⁵ Finally, the cases of Strategios Paneuphemos, Ioulianos, and Menas Scrinarius, who are attested alive after their tenures, may suggest that tenure as pagarch was not for life, although it would seem

51 I omitted papyri that attest pagarchs but have too wide a chronological range to be useful for the purpose of establishing a sequence of pagarchs.

52 The tendency of some aristocrats to suppress certain honorifics when higher ones are obtained (see, in case of Strategios Paneuphemos, the Appendix, s.v.) leaves open the possibility that Strategios Paneuphemos was himself the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* of P.Berol. 5587, although this would have been a rather swift change in office.

53 Cf. *SPP* VIII 1228, in which Strategios and the heirs of Kyrillos issue receipts for what may have been taxes. In this scenario, the pagarch of P.Berol. 5587 would not be Kyrillos but a different *endoxotatos stratēlatēs*.

54 See above.

55 Strategios Paneuphemos: indictions 4, 9, 11, 13, 15, and then 3 (or 4) again, with numerous fragmentary documents where the date is lost. Menas Stratelates: indictions 4, 6, 10, and 11, with the 6th indiction (*SPP* III 303) most conveniently identified with 617/618 CE, closest to the remaining attestations. Ioulianos: indictions 11, 12, 14, 15, 1, 2, and (the “outlier”) 8. Ioannes & Serenos: indictions 4–8.

natural that pagarchs occasionally died in office, given tenures of a decade or longer.⁵⁶ These results support the impression that short-term rotas as attested for the *defensoria civitatis* and the *riparia* are unlikely to have been the basis for determining a pagarch. The rather short tenures of Menas Scrinarius and Kollouthos Cancellarius, if he was pagarch of Antaiopolis, may then be explained by the fact that both may have found themselves confronted with special circumstances, or that they were “performing” as pagarchs for higher grandees, as will be discussed in the next section.

— III —

AGENCY, SUBSTITUTION, AND FEMALE PAGARCHS

The business of the pagarchy was often conducted by someone other than the officeholder, a situation marked by the use of the expression “the pagarch through (*dia*) N.N.” In most cases, this expression was used by subordinates conducting their daily business at the very local level in the name of the pagarchs. These subordinates may be seen to act by virtue of *implied actual authority* and were examined in Chapter Two. By contrast, the present section deals with representatives in a stricter sense: when a deputy held the pagarchy as a stand-in, by virtue of *express actual authority*, while the “formal” incumbent would be unwilling or unable to do so. This is possibly attested in two instances, the first of which being *P.Lond. V 1660*. Herein, a subcontracting tax collector declares to his superior, probably a *boēthos*,⁵⁷ to shield him against claims

“from the *megaloprepestatoi* common masters (and) pagarchs Ioulianos, the *megaloprepestatos apo archontōn*, and the *endoxotatē Patrikia*, through the *lamprotatos* lord Menas, her *dioikētēs* and pagarch.”⁵⁸

56 For Strategios Paneuphemos, see above. For Ioulianos, see *P.Lond. V 1674.36–38* (“ca. 570”) where he is mentioned apparently alive next to a late *procurator*, although the lacuna in l. 37 before may be filled with τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης, if the preceding προκ[ουράτορος] was also abbreviated. For Menas, see *P.Lond. V 1714*, though this is not decisive. A pagarch who apparently died in office is alluded to in *P.Oxy. XVI 1829.2–3*: οἱ τύποι τῆς | παραρχίας τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης ὑμῶν πατρός; cf. ll. 12–13: τῶν τύπων τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου | [μν]ήμης ὑμῶ[ν] πενθεροῦ. The papyrus contains two letters of more or less the same content but directed to different addressees; on its value for the study of the pagarchy, see the Appendix, s.v. “An anonymous pagarch dead in office.”

57 Cf. *P.Oxy. I 125*, in which someone aims to become *diadochos* for a village *boēthos*. The term *diadochos* has no liturgical meaning here (on which see below), but rather refers to a deputy who took over the post for the fixed term of one year.

58 *P.Lond. V 1660.5–8* (Antaiopolites; 553): τῶν με[γ]αλοπρεπεστάτων κοινῶν | δεσποτῶν παγάρχων Ἰουλιανο(ῦ) τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου (read μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου) ἀπὸ ἀρχ[όν]τ[ων] | καὶ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης Πατρικίας (διά) τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) κυρίου Μηγᾶ αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ καὶ | παγάρχου).

It has been suggested that *dioikētēs* here refers to a “deputy,” but this meaning is not attested in documents from the sixth century.⁵⁹ Instead, *dioikētai* frequently figure as estate managers of higher grandees, but also in what are apparently regular official positions.⁶⁰ The reference “her *dioikētēs*,” then, leaves little doubt that Menas was Patrikia’s estate manager.⁶¹

Trained aristocratic bureaucrats of the rank of *lamprotatos* or even *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos* were regularly involved in the estate business of higher-ranking elites and were the obvious first choice when it came to appointing a liturgical stand-in.⁶² Indeed, Jean Gascou suggested that Menas was a liturgical substitute, a *diadochos* (lit. “successor”), which is a term frequently used for deputies, substitutes, and indeed any kind of legal successors.⁶³ Patrikia would have been the originally liable liturgist in this reconstruction, but as a woman she was unable to exercise a public function, which would be the reason why she had herself represented by Menas.⁶⁴ Patrikia’s appearance in *P.Lond.* V 1660 may then be accounted for by her financial interest in, and responsibility for, what happened under Menas’s tenure.⁶⁵ The basic characteristic of the liturgical system of Roman Egypt was the incumbents’ liability for their conduct in office. Even in cases where a substitute was involved, the original holder of the liturgy remained ultimately liable—a connection the papyri

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- 59 Ruffini 2008a, 191 translates *dioikētēs* a little ambiguously as “deputy,” although throughout his book *dioikētai* are connected to the realm of estate administration. See Kruse 2002, 43 for the meaning “deputy” in the Roman period. For the use of διαδέχεσθαι with an “acting” *logistēs*, see *SPP VIII* 1010.3 (Hermopolites?; IV–V); *SPP III* 369.4–5 (Hermopolites; IV–V), probably the same man as in the former text (see Gonis 2000b); and *P.Mich.* XVIII 794.5–7 (Herakleopolis; early VI). The verb occurs frequently in the first to third centuries CE, mostly in connection with the offices of the *stratēgos* and the *kōmogrammateus*. Evidence becomes scarce in the fourth century and the only instance from the fifth (*SPP VIII* 1010.1 and 3, where both terms are used in regard to the same person) suggests that διοικεῖν and διαδέχεσθαι were used synonymously to refer to temporary replacements of officials.
- 60 Pace Palme 1997, 106 and n. 23, *dioikētai* with public areas of responsibility are attested well before the Arab period; see *P.Grenf.* I 63.3–5 (Apollonopolis Heptakomias; VI–VII with Benaissa 2008, 184–187, although he misunderstands Palme’s note to say the opposite): Φλ(αουίω) Μηνᾶ τῷ λαμπρο(τάτω) διοικητῇ τῆς Ἀπολλωνοπολ(ι)τ(ῶν) | καὶ τοῖς μετὰ σοῦ παραληψομένοις τὴν | διοίκησιν καὶ φροντίδα Ἀπόλλωνος, which appears to be a regular official position. See also *P.Köln.* V 240.5 (Antaiopolites?; VI) for a *dioikētēs* of Antaiopolis and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67088.10 (Aphrodite; ca. 548?) for a village *dioikētēs*; the latter function also occurs in *P.Ness.* III 54.2 (Palestine; mid VI).
- 61 The male alternative “his *dioikētēs*” is also attested and occurs, like “her *dioikētēs*,” regularly in cases when the landowner has been mentioned before. It is therefore synonymous with, not a contrast to, “*dioikētēs* of the *ousia/oikos* of N.N.”
- 62 For *megaloprepestatoi dioikētai* see, e.g., *P.Erl.* 67.4–5 (Herakleopolis; 591); for *endoxotatoi dioikētai* see, e.g., *P.Haun.* III 60.5 (Oxyrhynchites?; 618). These epithets and their hierarchy will be discussed in Chapter Five.
- 63 Gascou 1972, 70 (= 2008, 49).
- 64 On women in relation to public duties and officeholding, see Grubbs 2002, 74–80; Van Bremen 1996, 41–81, and 114–141; Beaucamp 1990, 29–35 and 1992, 5–21; and Lewis 1990.
- 65 Cf. the deeds of surety concerning the *logisteia* mentioned on p. 147 nn. 73 and 74 below, e.g. *P.Eirene II* 12 (Herakleopolis; 492). Although the intermediary Apollos bears the title of *logistēs* and although the deed was about responsibilities related to the *logisteia*, the document nonetheless addresses the *oikos* of Apion, on which the liturgy was ultimately due (ll. 13–14: τῆς λογιστίας (read λογιστείας) τοῦ προειρημμένου οἴκου).

acknowledge in certain contexts by referring to the “principal” liturgist, the first instance, as *prōtotypos*.⁶⁶

Both the principal and the substitute could be attributed with the official title: In one text from the late fifth century, Strategios II from the family of the Apiones is addressed as *riparius*, while his intermediary is a certain Theodoros who is *diadochos* and at the same time *hypokatastatos*.⁶⁷ In a text from 489 CE in which Strategios is not *riparius*, however, the same Theodoros is *hypokatastatos*, but not *diadochos*,⁶⁸ while in yet another text, from 503 or 518 CE, Strategios is again addressed as *riparius*, but Theodoros is completely absent.⁶⁹ These three texts have been taken to indicate that Strategios II was still a minor in the former two texts and had Theodoros as a guardian (*hypokatastatos*), but in the first text was additionally subject to a liturgy for which Theodoros acted as Strategios’s substitute (*diadochos*).⁷⁰ In the third text, however, Strategios was no longer in need of either a guardian or a liturgical substitute.⁷¹ Apparently, officeholders were given the official title, and a potential deputy was noted as such. In other cases, however, the *riparii* who bore the title were obviously the

66 On liability of the substitute, see Reiter 2013, 4118; Lewis 1997, 105; Drecoll 1997, 309–352, esp. at 323 § 5; Oertel 1917, 357; Palme 1989, 138 and 152. One frequently finds *πρωτότυπος* translated as “the aforementioned” in the sense of “who has been mentioned first” (e.g., in *P.Bad.* VI 168.11 as well as in *WB*, s.v.). But the word clearly has a specific sense (see the appropriate translation in *P.Oxy.* I 136.11 or *P.Oxy.* VI 904.8) and refers to the original holder of a liability, e.g., an individual that someone else stands surety for (in contrast to the surety), the one originally chosen for a liturgy (in contrast to the substitute), or the original owner of property (in contrast, e.g., to the heirs). This is especially obvious in instances where the translation “aforementioned” makes no sense or would seem oddly placed: *P.Oxy.* VI 904.8; *P.Stras.* I 40.21, 28, and 39; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67167.12; *P.Lond.* I 113.1.65; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67096.8; or *P.Lond.* I 113.2.15.

67 *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4614. The meaning of the term *hypokatastatos* (or *hypokatastatēs*) is disputed but I deem the following reconstruction highly plausible.

68 *P.Flor.* III 325. The interpretation of the editor of *SPP* III² 10, who sees a state official in *P.Flor.* III 325, does not seem to be correct (though it may be for the *katastatēs* in *SPP* III² 10); see also *P.Lips.* I 55.9–10 (Hermopolites; 375–379): ἐπιμελητήν ἦτοι ὑποκαταστάτην Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡρωνος.

69 *P.Harr. inv.* 550a, from Oxyrhynchos and still unpublished; see *P.Oxy.* LXVII, p. 232.

70 See the discussion in *P.Oxy.* LXVII, pp. 233–234 and now *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337 with the commentary. Strategios may have been head of a small estate liable to curial duties in the Oxyrhynchite before the heydays of the famous *endoxos oikos* of the Apiones in that nome. That minors were liable for liturgies need not cause surprise; see Beaucamp 1990, 32.

71 *CPR* XIV 48 (Herakleopolis; 506) is addressed ἀναδεεγμένους τὴν ῥιπαρίαν τῆ[ς πόλεως (l. 3), among which we find Strategios, which may suggest that in Herakleopolis he was merely responsible for the office via a *munus patrimonii* (Tost forthcoming, 13 n. 40). Indeed, ἀναδέχεσθαι refers to the acceptance of the overall responsibility and the liability for a *munus* in *P.Ryl.* II 77.38–39 (Hermopolis; 192) and *P.Oxy.* LV 3796 (Oxyrhynchos; 412). In the former, the term clearly relates to an office, while in the latter a *systatēs* (on this title, see Lewis 1992, 128) had appointed someone for a liturgy who, however, refused to perform it; the *systatēs* now acknowledges taking over (ἀναδέχεσθαι) the responsibility for this liturgy (ll. 7–8), and, possibly, that he has received compensation in order to hire someone else to perform the actual duties; see the discussion in *P.Oxy.* LV, p. 73. A similar meaning occurs in the deeds of surety, where ἀναδέχεσθαι refers to the main responsibility for the ensured party’s liabilities; see Palme forthcoming (a), 45 n. 142. But why would a petitioner want to address, as in *CPR* XIV 48, the “principal” *riparii*, instead of their *diadochoi*? Possibly, Leon and Strategios were still a state of being “designated” *riparii* (cf. the appointment procedure in *P.Flor.* III 304).

substitutes,⁷² which is also apparent in case of the *logisteia*: in three cases from Oxyrhynchos, the principals of the *diadochoi* are termed *lachōn/lachousa*, “who has been attributed (the charge of) such-and-such.”⁷³ All three cases concern the same three offices (the *logisteia*, the *prohedria*, and the *pateria civitatis*) and involve large landowners (*geouchountes*) who were supposed to bear these charges. Again, a *diadochos* came into play in order to provide the services in question, usually some capable estate manager who, in addition, could bear the proper title.⁷⁴

These observations may be dismissed as minor points, but become significant in light of *P.Lond.* V 1660, quoted above, in which Ioulianos and Patrikia are styled as joint pagarchs, with Patrikia being represented by Menas, who is *also* given that title. The addition of Menas’s pagarchy makes it clear that Patrikia, not Menas, is part of the expression “common pagarchs” and a new reading that I recently proposed for a fragmentary Antaiopolite tax receipt eliminates all doubt as to whether Patrikia herself bore the title of pagarch.⁷⁵ There is no parallel, however, for the “nominal” liturgist *and* the substitute being given the official title in the same document,⁷⁶ which would suggest that Menas, although Patrikia’s estate

72 E.g., in *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3949.6–7, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1147.10, and *P.Oxy.* LV 3805.11 and 116. See also *riparii* “of the *oikos*,” convincingly explained by Tost 2012 as the substitutes nominated by the *oikos* to fill the post of *riparius* of Oxyrhynchos.

73 *SB XX* 14964.4–6 (517 CE); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780.6–13 (553 CE); *SB XII* 11079.5–12 (571 CE); cf. *CPR V* 17.10 (late V) from Herakleopolis. In the first case, the *diadochos* does not bear any other title or epithet, the latter two both are *aidēsimos*. Note that *SB XII* 11079, while being formally addressed to Apion via his *diadochos*, employs a construction that aims at the *diadochos* (see l. 15), which is not the case in the other two instances.

74 E.g., *P.Eirene* II 12.3–4 (Herakleopolis; 492), addressed τῷ οἴκῳ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτου διὰ | Ἀπολλῶ λογιστοῦ (ll. 4–5); ll. 13–14 mention “the *logisteia* of the same *oikos*.” See also *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3949 (Oxyrhynchos; 610), where a certain Enoch occurs who is *riparius*, *logistēs*, and *boēthos* of the public bath. He is of the same rank (*aidēsimos*) as the *diadochoi* of *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780 and *SB XII* 11079. There are a host of *logistai* (Lat. *curatores*), *pro(h)edroi*, and *patres civitatum* throughout the Byzantine period and we have no reason to assume that they were chosen from a different pool than the three *diadochoi* mentioned before, filling these positions for their masters.

75 *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A.2: [-ca.?- ο]ἰ ἐνδοξότατοι πάγαρχοι Πατρ[ικία καὶ -ca.?-]; see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Anonymous *hypodektēs* (2). Cf. Beaucamp 1992, 12, who saw an “hesitation à dénommer une femme pagarque” in *P.Lond.* V 1660. The second lacuna in *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A, however, leaves open the possibility that the signature continued “Patrikia through Menas” vel sim. but there is no precedent for this; cf. *SB XVI* 12370, in which a *procurator* acts instead as representative for the entire collegium, and *P.Leid.Inst.* 72 (Antinoopolis; VI), where Kollouthos Exceptor (i.e., probably a *lamprotatos* and, thus, of Menas’s status), not a “formal pagarch,” is the responsible signatory for the tax receipt. I am hesitant, however, to argue that *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A—regardless of whether or not Patrikia was represented—shows that Patrikia was actively performing the pagarchy. An intriguing observation by Joëlle Beaucamp (1990, 33–34) has made it at least conceivable that “personal” liturgies were distinguished from “physical” liturgies, and that women therefore could well be conceived to exercise functions that did not involve actual physical, but for instance intellectual or advisory, work. May this also have been the case for the pagarchy?

76 The Oxyrhynchite evidence in fact suggests that the *diadochoi* were only attributed the formal title in case their principal liturgist was absent; cf. p. 147 n. 74 above the formulae of *P.Eirene* II 12.3–4 (substitute is referred to as *logistēs*; document is addressed to the *oikos*) vs. that of *SB XX* 14964.4–6; *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780.6–13; and *SB XII* 11079.5–12 (the substitute is referred to as *diadochos*; the document is addressed to the *geouchōn* or *geouchousa*).

manager, was still pagarch on his own and assumed the role of Patrikia's substitute in addition to that.⁷⁷ If this hypothesis is correct, then the prominent, even aggressive, position Menas took during his first and second pagarchies would be much more understandable,⁷⁸ and fit the "tripartite" pagarchy that is documented not much later when three pagarchs are attested (in 559/560) and when Ioannes and Serenos later split their pagarchy into three parts. *P.Lond.* V 1660 does not bear a date, but is certainly close to *P.Lond.* V 1661 from July 24, 553, where Ioulianos and Menas both appear as pagarchs again, but this time without Patrikia.⁷⁹ This document is a debt acknowledgment from two *apaitētai* who have apparently borrowed the equivalent of the tax amount that they were to collect from the pagarchs in advance.⁸⁰ Patrikia's absence may therefore be conveniently explained by the assumption that this transaction was private and arranged by Ioulianos and Menas in their own name and out of their own funds—regardless of whether at that time Menas was pagarch for Patrikia, pagarch on his own without Patrikia, or pagarch on his own *and* for Patrikia.

Another potential instance of express actual authority occurs in an Antaiopolite tax receipt from 559/560 CE, but the situation is even more complicated here:

"Apollon, son of Dioskoros, has given for ownerless land (*adespotos*) to the account of the taxes of the village of Aphrodite of the tax assessment (*kanōn*) of the eighth indiction thirteen and one-fourth keratia in the (public) standard, that is 13 ¼ ker. in the (public) standard. The *endoxotatoi* pagarchs Ioulianos, Kometes, and Euthymios through the *peribleptos comes* Christodotos *procurator* through me, Makarios *boēthos*: I agree to this receipt of thirteen and one-fourth keratia in the (public) standard as it is above. (The amount has been) handed over by the fellow (*adelphos*) Dioskoros, his son."⁸¹

The twofold representation of the pagarchs, first through a *procurator* and then through a *boēthos*, highlights that the *procurator* Christodotos was not an ad hoc intermediary like the *boēthos* Makarios, but an institutionalized representative of some sort. But which? There were generally two sorts of *procuratores* in late antique Egypt: managers of large estates and representatives of officials.⁸² Given the increasing interference of public and private

77 *P.Lond.* V 1714 suggests that Menas himself had landholdings in the Antaiopolite nome.

78 Although in some cases (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060–67061; 67083; III 67322; *P.Lond.* V 1682–1684; *PSI* VIII 939; *SB* XX 14241) it is not certain whether these relate to Menas's first (in the 550s) or second (in the 560s) pagarchy. At least for *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, however, the mid-550s seem to be the best bet because Dioskoros is attested as *prōtokōmētēs* during these years.

79 *P.Lond.* V 1661.5–6 (July 24, 553): Φλ(αουίω)Ἰουλιανῶ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων καὶ Μηναῖ λαμπροτάτῳ | σκρινιαρίῳ καὶ παγάρχαις τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν.

80 Palme 1989, 105.

81 *SB* XVI 12370. On the date, see Stern forthcoming (d).

82 Azzarello 1998, 25–27: "Guts- bzw. Vermögensverwalter" vs. "Geschäftsführer von Amtspersonen." Cf. Laniado 2002, 114 n. 104: a Latin epitome of *Nov.* 134 can render σκρινιάριοι as *procuratores*. For the equivalence of *procurator* and *dioikētēs* in the sense of "estate manager," see Mazza 2001, 137. But see also *CPR* VII 24 recto 5 (Oxyrhynchos; V–VI), where a *procurator* is a woman's representative in court, *pace* Azzarello 1998, 26.

business of the *oikoi*, however, these categories may in fact be two different aspects of the same position: that of a personal agent managing all sorts of affairs. The same *procurator* Christodotos is referred to posthumously in a fragmentary petition from the “Menas affair,” where he is mentioned in a connection with the pagarch Ioulianos.⁸³ Christodotos plays no role in the conflict some villagers of Aphrodite had with Ioulianos in the late 540s, and perhaps he arrived at the scene only later and for the reason that Ioulianos became an absentee pagarch around the mid-550s.⁸⁴ But in the case that Christodotos was only Ioulianos’s estate manager or his stand-in for the pagarchy, it would seem notable that his representation in the tax receipt extended over the entire collegium, and not just Ioulianos.⁸⁵ More decisively, however, the fragmentary petition appears to say that Ioulianos decided to change the taxation rate “at the persuasion of Christodotos, the late *procurator*,” though it was Ioulianos who had the final say.⁸⁶ This suggests that Christodotos had his own interests in matters concerning Aphrodite;⁸⁷ the fact that he is absent from the petitions against Ioulianos, on the other hand, makes it all but certain that he was not simply someone attached to Ioulianos, an observation that conforms to his intermediary role for the entire collegium in the tax receipts.

All this makes for intriguing speculation. Perhaps Christodotos was acting in a capacity that was somewhat comparable on a hierarchical level, but at the same time not part of, the hierarchy under the pagarch. He may have been the *procurator* of imperial land at Aphrodite, or rather, in the Thebaid,⁸⁸ a hypothesis that is intriguing due to the fact that the

83 *P.Lond.* V 1674.36–38 (ca. 570?): κατὰ πεισμονὴν Χριστοδότῳ[υ] | τοῦ ἀπογενομέ(νου) προκ[ουράτορος (?) -ca.14-]ης Ἰουλιανοῦ(ῦ) τοῦ [ἀπ]ὸ ἐπάρχων | καὶ [παγάρχου(?). On this passage and the restoration, cf. the Appendix, s.v. Ioulianos. The name Christodotos is extremely rare, and the link to Ioulianos makes the match therefore close to inevitable. Since the name is so rare and because Christodotos belongs to a rather mobile stratum of the Thebaid’s bureaucratic realm, *SB* XIV 12116 (see the reedition in Keenan 2015) and *SPP* III 436 may show him at some other point of his career, but this is not certain.

84 This reconstruction would be tempting in case Ioulianos is identical with the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* of that name, who in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67008.3 (Antinoopolis?; 567/568?) represents the provincial governor of the Thebaid, viz. in Antinoopolis. This identification would also imply a promotion of Ioulianos after the incidents of the late 540s, but it is of course far from certain.

85 The term *procurator* may have been used as an equivalent for *διοικῆτες*, which is the term relating to the pagarch Menas in *P.Lond.* V 1660. But both terms are, on their own, rather general. On collective authority, see the next section.

86 It is not ultimately clear from the damaged text whom Christodotos persuaded, but Ioulianos would seem the most likely option.

87 Christodotos may be the *procurator* who is mentioned in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67074 (note the addendum on p. 206), a very fragmentary letter that, given the context of the find, may have been addressed to the *prōtokōmētai* of Aphrodite, and which in l. 3 reads [-ca.-? ἀπ]ήλλαξαν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτῶν—“they carried out their affair/matter/business/lawsuit.” The context is obscure, but the *procurator* figures as someone who has his proper decisions effectuated: [-ca.-? ἐπ]οίησεν ὁ προκουράτωρ, μὴ θέλων | [-ca.-? (l. 1).

88 Delmaire 1988, 130 takes Christodotos as *procurator domus divinae*, a hypothesis dismissed by Azzarello 1998, 26–27 with the argument that *SB* XVI 12370 shows Christodotos as “agent” of the pagarchs’ collegium, but this, as I argued above, is ambiguous. A *procurator*, maybe the *procurator rei privatae*, figures in *P.Sijp.* 35 recto col. II 13 and verso col. II 8 (Oxyrhynchos?; VI–VII) in a list of vouchers from a provincial office, where he receives 57 nomismata, the highest individual amount after the governor,

village, or considerable parts of it, had been patronized by the imperial household.⁸⁹ This hypothesis would have interesting consequences, since no *procurator* in a comparable role is known either from the early years of Ioulianos's pagarchy around 550 CE or from the later dossier of the pagarchs Ioannes and Serenos from 569/570 and beyond.⁹⁰ Are we looking at a transitional period in which Aphrodite was formally subjected to the Antaiopolite pagarchy and during which an imperial *procurator* who was apparently on good terms with Ioulianos supervised the relevant transactions?⁹¹ More generally, does this text, then, indicate that the pagarchs' authority extended over taxes from imperial lands? This cannot be answered with certainty—maybe the special category of *adespotos* land plays a role here as well—but the reconstruction is intriguing because it would suggest that Aphrodite's struggle against the pagarchs was not a fight against aggressive potentates but rather a restructuring of the village's fiscal organization after persistent problems concerning due taxes.⁹² A potential, though uncertain, identification may be tempting here. If the Theodosios *procurator* from an Aphroditan rent receipt is the same as the homonymous *megaloprepestatos* who (allegedly) embezzled Aphrodite's taxes at the end of the 540s after the death of Count Ammonios, who had been a *comes sacrii consistorii*, one might suggest that this Theodosios was Christodotos's predecessor and that he was responsible for the imperial patronage over Aphrodite.⁹³ This hypothesis would suggest that *implied*, rather than *express*, actual authority is at stake here. In this scenario, the *procurator* Christodotos became involved by virtue of his position as he was the necessary intermediary within the usual hierarchy at that time, which may have seen this particular land (and the whole of Aphrodite?) under an imperial *procurator* but with ultimate authority of the pagarch.

the *comes* Ioannes, and a certain oil-seller named Stephanos. On this type of *procurator*, see *P.Sijp.*, p. 235.

⁸⁹ *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002.

⁹⁰ But cf. some earlier *procuratores*: *P.Aphrod.Reg.* 603 (525/526), where his role is not evident, *pace* Zuckerman's commentary on p. 271; *P.Flor.* III 304 (V–VI), in which a *procurator* of Count Ammonios appears; and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104.3 and 5 (August 19, 530), the latter being probably not Menas Scrinarius (*pace* Banaji 2007, 163); see the Appendix, s.v. For the *procurator* Theodosios who appears in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 45, see below.

⁹¹ On this transition, see also *P.Lond.* V 1674, referring to the “yoke” (or, more prosaic: “measure”) of the pagarchy (l. 16) that Aphrodite had fallen under.

⁹² A detailed discussion of this “struggle” will be the subject of Chapter Six.

⁹³ *P.Ross.Georg.* III 45; see esp. the sender in ll. 1–2, who is distinguished enough to have a *phorologos*, a rent manager, as an intermediary: [ῥ -ca.-? -Θε]οδοσίου προκουράτορος δι(α) Πόννιτος | φορολόγο[υ]. The lacuna is spacious and fits comfortably a longer beginning, such as a reference to the *domus divina* or the pagarch Ioulianos (or another *geouchōn*) and the addition of διὰ τοῦ μέγαλοπρεπεστάτου κόμετος, abbreviated if necessary, before the personal name; cf. the arrangement of the titles in the potential parallel *SB XVI* 12370. Instead of λόγῳ δι[.]ιτροπικ(ου), *P.Ross.Georg.* III 45.4 possibly reads λόγῳ διατροπῆ[ς]. See also *P.Flor.* III 304, in which Count Ammonios has a homonymous *procurator* dealing with official matters, in this case the appointment of a *riparius*. Fournet 1999, 318 also tentatively approached Theodosios to the management of the *domus divina*.

— IV —

INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE AUTHORITY

The fourth century occasionally saw two “early” pagarchs/*praepositi* in charge of a single *pagus*, and I have already alluded to several instances from the sixth century in which two or three pagarchs shared the office. Some questions emerge from the previous sections: Why did Ioulianos begin as sole pagarch but later come to share the office with one or two other grandees, and why did Arsinoe have collegial pagarchs, but after ca. 590 CE apparently individual pagarchs only? Why was the pagarchy in the Arsinoite sometimes taken over by brothers and how does this relate to the pagarchical collegia in Antaiopolis? And finally, how did these colleagues operate in practice and what does this entail for the pagarchs’ authority, liability, and shared responsibilities?

The only known named pair of pagarchs in the Arsinoite timeline are Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates, who appear in two leases,⁹⁴ but the idea that this is an exceptional case is difficult to reconcile with the frequent occurrence of collegial pagarchs in Antaiopolis and also more recently discovered occurrences in the Fayum. Since the evidence for Arsinoite pagarchs almost always deals with the realm of the private estates, we cannot expect that pagarchs mentioned in such texts were the only incumbents, especially if they are labeled joint heirs. In 590/591, the pagarchy in the Fayum was held by two *endoxotatoi* heirs (let us name them for the moment A + B) of an *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* (X), whereas during the next indiction, two *endoxotatoi* heirs (C + D) of a *hyperphyestatos patricius* (Y) are attested in this position.⁹⁵ It seems conceivable that we have encountered a transmission of the pagarchy from A + B to C + D, and both collegia only happen to consist of siblings. Another possibility is that their collegiality is linked to their status as heirs, and that we are confronted with a hidden multitude of pagarchs. These private documents do not aim to provide us with a complete list of incumbent pagarchs, but they address joint estate owners who happen to be pagarch at that time. In this reconstruction, the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* (X) and the *hyperphyestatos stratēlatēs* (Y) would have been the original “shareholders” of the pagarchy before each was succeeded by his heirs (X → A + B and Y → C + D) who were jointly responsible for their share, resulting in A + B + C + D being collective pagarchs.

But what, then, to make of the long tenure of Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates, who are attested in two testimonies spanning nine years? Should the two have been joint heirs this long before things were finally settled? Or was the pagarchy not imposed on the

⁹⁴ CPR XIV II (578 CE) and Louvre E 6573 (586/587). It cannot be excluded that Christophoros and Strategios leased out these properties in official capacity, yet there is nothing here that would suggest this.

⁹⁵ See Table o6 (pp. 142–143) above.

ousia but on their father's person, and afterward transferred onto his heirs personally? An Oxyrhynchite list of contributions from the joint *syntelestai* of the city may point in the latter direction. The pagarchy is here shared in equal parts between the *endoxotatoi* Ptolemaios and Ioustos, but it is notable that their shares of the pagarchy are listed next to contributions by boards of shareholders whose members were apparently related by family:

“Through the heirs of the *endoxotatos* Ptolemaios 2 nomismata, 19 ¼ keratia
 Through the same (man) for one half-share of the pagarchy 1 nomisma, 10 ½ keratia.
 Through the *endoxotatos* Ioustos and his brothers 2 nomismata, 16 keratia.
 Through the same (man) for the other half-share of the pagarchy 1 nomisma, 10 ½ keratia.”⁹⁶

Ptolemaios was obviously dead at that time, as his heirs paid for his share, and in a similar way Ioustos and his brothers appear to form a sort of consortium, certainly as their father's heirs.⁹⁷ The payments from both consortia are not identical but are in the same order of magnitude compared to the remaining contributors in this text, which fits with the liturgical hypothesis in the light of the fact that both drew an equal share of the pagarchy, according to their estimated wealth. On the other hand, the list segregates the personal shares from those that were due to the pagarchy; the pagarchy, in turn, was apparently linked to Ptolemaios and Ioustos as individuals, even though Ptolemaios was already dead.⁹⁸ This would be again an argument that the pagarchy was formally an individual appointment, not one that fell automatically on the owners of particular *ousiai*.

In the Antaiopolite, the picture looks a little different, at least in that there is no indication that any of the known pagarchs were from the same family.⁹⁹ In case Menas was not pagarch on his own in the 550s, but *only* through his substitution for Patrikia, then the transition of the pagarchy from Ioulianos and Patrikia to the trio of Ioulianos, Kometes, and Euthymios in 559/560 may be explained by Kometes and Euthymios being Patrikia's heirs.¹⁰⁰ In this scenario, Ioulianos would presumably have shouldered 50 % of the pagarchy and Kometes and Euthymios 25 % each, although we have no way of knowing whether Ioulianos and Patrikia had shared the pagarchy equally.¹⁰¹ An alternative scenario may be that from

⁹⁶ *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040.9–14. See Chapter Three II for a closer look on this text.

⁹⁷ Cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020.17 and 18, where Ptolemaios's and Ioustos's heirs pay “for various *onomata*,” and therefore certainly constituted *oikoi*; on this interpretation of the term, see Chapter Three I and II.

⁹⁸ The fact that Ioustos apparently held the pagarchy may account for the fact that he and his brothers, in contrast to Ptolemaios's offspring, are not styled as heirs of their father.

⁹⁹ But if the hypothesis that the pagarchy formally rested on the individual is true, then there would be no need to relate to the incumbents as heirs, since the Antaiopolite documents generally relate to the pagarchs' official capacity.

¹⁰⁰ Or heirs of whoever may hide as pagarch in the late 550s.

¹⁰¹ Patrikia, strikingly, appears in the first position in a collective signature of *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A.2: [-ca.?-ο]ἰ ἐνδοξότατοι πάγαρχοι Πατρ[ικία καὶ -ca.?-]; see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Anonymous *hypodektēs* (2). No date is extant on the fragmentary papyrus, but the hand may be that of the *hypodektēs* Petros, who signs *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67046 (550/551).

some point in the 550s the Antaiopolite pagarchy was shared in three equal parts by Ioulianos, Patrikia, and Menas, followed by Ioulianos, Kometes, and Euthymios, and later these shares were distributed—certainly in accordance with their wealth, as in the aforementioned Oxyrhynchite list—between Ioannes, “pagarch of the two-thirds share of Antaiopolis,” and Serenos, “pagarch of the one-third share of Antaiopolis.” But in 550/551, and possibly from as early as his first attestations as pagarch until 552/553, Ioulianos had probably been sole pagarch of Antaiopolis, which must entail either that Ioulianos got into some economic trouble during the late 540s and early 550s, that the fiscal responsibilities of the pagarchy increased, or that the division of the pagarchy responded to an order from above.¹⁰²

In this light, Menas’s second pagarchy may be notable since it remains elusive whether he was acting for some higher aristocrat when he became pagarch in 566/567: an Aphroditan petition states that he “overtook” the pagarchy in that year and does not relate to his former tenure.¹⁰³ No other pagarch is known from that period, although one tax receipt that refers anonymously to “the *endoxotatoi* pagarchs” may also be placed to 566/567.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, on at least two occasions Aphroditans refer to Menas as simply “the pagarch,” which would appear to imply that he was sole pagarch at that time, or at least the only one to regularly engage with the village.¹⁰⁵ Menas may have been representing some high-ranking aristocrat during these years, or even acting as a representative for an entire collegium, but in these cases it would be hard to understand why the villagers would refer only to him only as “the pagarch,” which implies that this reference was unambiguous.¹⁰⁶ Did the *lamprotatos* Menas acquire enough wealth on his own to be an eligible candidate for the pagarchy? The liturgical hypothesis would seem to insufficiently explain how a *lamprotatos scriiniarius* was able to hold the pagarchy on his own, while six years before the same duty was borne by three *endoxotatoi*, one of them being the *endoxotatos* ex-prefect Ioulianos who was one of the most important grandees in the region. Menas’s successor Kollouthos also appears to have

102 All these explanations can be linked, either as reason or cause, to Ioulianos’s confrontation with the autopract village of Aphrodite toward the end of the 540s, which will be explored in Chapter Six. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67228 descr. may also illustrate Ioulianos as sole pagarch; it is a tax receipt signed by a *hypodektēs* (viz., an official from the city level) on behalf of a single “*endoxotatos* pagarch,” with no name given.

103 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 10–11. Also, col. II 11–12 implies that Menas had himself the authority to issue tax receipts.

104 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67047; see Stern forthcoming (d) for this possible, though hardly certain, date.

105 *P.Lond.* V 1677.51 and Vanderheyden 2015, no. 11, a private Coptic letter, where “the pagarch” is not further identified, neither by name nor epithet. Perhaps also *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 17 may count here, although it adds the potentially identifying epithet *lamprotatos*. See also SB XX 14241.12–13: τοῖς λαμπροτάτοις τρακτευταῖς καὶ τῷ βοηθῷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ δεσπότῃ τῷ κυρίῳ | Μηνᾶ, where Menas appears alone in what may be an official hierarchy, but this text may also date to Menas’s first pagarchy in the 550s.

106 It is also hard to see how the Aphroditans would have been able to single out and accuse Ioulianos and Menas in such a direct and pronounced manner before the imperial chancery and the *dux et Augustalis* if both men had not been sole pagarchs.

acted on his own, despite being only *lamprotatos*.¹⁰⁷ Or do Menas's and Kollouthos's links to the provincial administration in Antinoopolis play a role here, and were they installed due to situational considerations?¹⁰⁸ In any case, the contrast between sole pagarchs and collegia in both Antaiopolis and Arsinoe does not seem negligible.

The Antaiopolite tax receipts also allow some insight into what a shared responsibility may have looked like in practice. What did it entail, for instance, that pagarchs Ioannes and Serenos were at one point pagarchs of, respectively, the two-third and one-third shares of Antaiopolis? The initial scholarly consensus of a territorial division is incompatible with the fact that the collegial pagarchs Ioulianos and Menas act as authorities for the same area in two contracts.¹⁰⁹ The pattern of the signatures in the tax receipts further discourages this hypothesis; the *notarii* Damianos and Mousaios signed two receipts together, apparently on the same occasion, but each *notarius* signed for "his" pagarch.¹¹⁰ Most receipts, however, bear only one signature, either in the name of an individual pagarch or of the collegium. This observation makes it quite hard to believe that there would have been plots registered on Ioannes's share, plots registered on Serenos's share, and yet other plots registered on both shares; signatures in the name of one or the other pagarch also are not exclusive to particular taxpayer accounts (*onomata*). It seems more likely to assume that references to the pagarchs' shares relate to the aggregated tax quota, and that it was irrelevant whether one pagarch or the entire collegium issued a particular receipt.¹¹¹ As seen in Chapter Two, the pagarchs' local subordinates issued tax receipts in a pattern where signatories switched between signing in the name of one individual pagarch and signing for the collegium as a whole according to their preference.¹¹² But the same signatory never switched between individual pagarchs, which suggests that these men were assigned to one particular pagarch instead of being assigned interchangeably to both; still, their authority was obviously valid for the entire collegium. Each pagarch—or possibly rather, their share—thus disposed of

¹⁰⁷ This is apparent from Dioskoros's poems addressed to Kollouthos (see the Appendix, s.v.) and from *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003—if this is Kollouthos, but the singular pagarchy seems clear.

¹⁰⁸ This cannot be discussed here but will be explored in Chapter Six.

¹⁰⁹ These contracts are *P.Lond.* V 1660 and 1661 (the former including Patrikia) and have been interpreted in this way prominently by Rouillard 1928, 55–56. The discussion is outlined by Mazza 1995, 191–194.

¹¹⁰ *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III verso 5–9 and 10–12. Mousaios's squeezed writing in l. 9 suggests that first Damianos wrote both his parts before Mousaios added his signatures.

¹¹¹ This phenomenon is not uncommon in other offices and collegial institutions; see, e.g., Palme 1989, 120 and 152 on the *apaitētai*, on the latter occasion citing *O.Bodl.* II 782 (Theben; 160), which was issued by a collegium even though the subscription names only two (ll. 4 and 5) or even only one of the partners (l. 7).

¹¹² "Local" here means "below the level of the *civitas*," thus excluding the *hypodektai*. Jean Gasco (1972, 66 = 2008, 46–47) thought instead that this "fractionnement de l'autorité pagarchique" entailed that contributors had to receive receipts from *both* pagarchs in order to have their contribution fully validated, which to me seems quite unlikely in view of the assembly of the Antaiopolite receipts.

their own staff, apparently scribes and controllers for local fiscal operations,¹¹³ in addition to staff assigned to the pagarchy at a higher administrative level, such as the *hypodektai*, *logographoi*, and *trakteutai*. It was apparently also an individual writer's habit, and not necessary to the legal value of the receipts, whether or not to include a reference to the two-thirds and one-third shares of Ioannes and Serenos in the subordinates' signature.¹¹⁴

It is unclear whether there was a hierarchy within a collegium. In Antaiopolite documents, Ioulianos is always mentioned in first position, be it with Patrikia and Menas, with Menas only, or with Kometes and Euthymios. In one fragmentary receipt, however, Patrikia was in first position but the names of her colleagues are lost.¹¹⁵ In the two receipts in which Ioannes and Serenos appear jointly, the *endoxotatos comes* Ioannes, pagarch of the two-thirds share, is mentioned before the *endoxotatos illustrios* Serenos, pagarch of the one-third share.¹¹⁶ Having a minor share did not, however, exclude one from actively performing the pagarchy, as Serenos in one case sent an *epistalma* ("order, commission") in an official context.¹¹⁷ Both Ioannes and Serenos issued tax receipts throughout the fiscal year; there is no apparent pattern that would show them active in different months.¹¹⁸

I admit that the hypothesis according to which these shares did not depend on certain differences of authority does not fully satisfy, but there is no convincing evidence to suggest the opposite.¹¹⁹ A document from the realm of the Arcadian provincial administration from the early sixth century holds the pagarchs Antiochos and Theon collectively responsible for a fiscal report and for the disposition of donkeys for transportation purposes.¹²⁰ Whatever divisions of authority existed between two or more pagarchs may therefore have been negotiated between the members of the collegium rather than dictated from above.

113 See the instances of Christodoros *notarius* signing as "*grammateus* of the two-thirds share" (though the restoration is certainly not beyond doubt) and Flavius Liberios, who notes that the received amount was "for the security of the third share of Serenos."

114 See Stern forthcoming (d), List 01. The explicit mention of the ratio in the case of Ioannes and Serenos may suggest that a 50 % share may have been the regular one in other collegia. But cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, where a 50 % share is explicitly noted as such.

115 *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A.2.

116 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III verso 5–9 and 9–12. It was, however, Ioannes's *notarius*, Damianos, who wrote these receipts before Serenos's *notarius* Mousaios added his signature, which might also explain on its own why Ioannes was first.

117 *P.Flor.* III 298.12–16.

118 See Stern forthcoming (d), List 02.

119 If there was no difference, then it is not easy to explain why Gennadios once signed for Serenos at all (*P.Flor.* III 298.12–16), and that he felt obliged to point to the apparently unusual circumstances of this procedure (l. 13), or why Liberios notes that the received payment was "for the security of the third share of Serenos," as in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III recto 6–7: (ὕπερ) ἀσφαλ(είας) τοῦ τρίτου | μέρ[ο]ς Σιρινός (read Σερήνου).

120 *P.Mich.* XI 624.8–10 and 13–15, respectively. See also the anonymous pagarchs in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068.

— V —

SUMMARY

The pagarchy was borne either alone or in a collegium, and may have even fallen to the heirs of a former holder of the charge. Although sufficient real property (*ousia*) was apparently a prerequisite, there are indications that the burden of officeholding was not imposed on landed estates, but that formally individuals were personally appointed. The college of city notables may or may not have had their say in the nomination of a pagarch, but the appointment was by virtue of an imperial confirmation, via the pretorian prefect and the provincial governor. In this, the pagarchy mirrors other “semi-imperial” offices such as that of the *defensor civitatis*. Pagarchs started their tenure probably with the *praedelegatio* on Pachon 1, which marked the beginning of the indiction for fiscal purposes throughout Egypt. Although no case is attested for certain, it seems that pagarchs could have had themselves substituted, but still hold the main responsibility. Women could be part of pagarchical collegia, bear the proper title, and tax receipts could even be signed in their names, but the limited evidence does not show unambiguously that they were actively performing the charge. Authority within a collegium was probably based on the aggregated tax quota of the territories under the pagarchy, and if there were divisions of responsibility, these were most likely negotiated and fixed on the basis of private agreements among the members of the collegium.

All this seems in line with the liturgies as attested throughout Roman Egypt even though the major arguments for the pagarchy being a *munus patrimonii* have been undermined by the distinction of the *kōmai pagarchoumenai* from the pagarchy proper, as discussed in Chapter Three. Other characteristics, however, hardly fit the model of a traditional liturgy. Even though few pagarchs are attested in total, the known tenures vary between probably three years for Menas Scrinarius in the 560s and 15, possibly up to 19, years for Strategios Paneuphemos, with other pagarchs continuously attested over six (Ioulianos) or five years (Ioannes & Serenos). This is a remarkable difference from known liturgical offices and would suggest a rather unbalanced distribution of the charge among a local aristocracy, as long tenures as such by definition exclude liturgies in the strict sense. By way of comparison, the office of the *defensor civitatis* biannually alternated between the city notables. The liturgy hypothesis also seems insufficient to explain how a *lamprotatos scriniarius* was able to hold the pagarchy on his own while six years previously the same charge was borne by three *endoxotatoi*, one of them being the *endoxotatos* ex-prefect Ioulianos, one of the most-distinct personae in the region. What determined the choice of one or several pagarchs remains therefore to be studied, and this will be pursued in the following chapter by tracking down the pagarchs’ career patterns.

One notes that many characteristics of the pagarchy (no fixed number of incumbents, no visible internal hierarchy within collegia, women in office, brothers in office, no fixed length of tenure, overly long tenures, the signature of one incumbent for the entire collegium), especially cumulatively, are characteristic of tax-collecting business ventures, that is, of tax-farming arrangements.¹²¹ This, however, seems an unlikely explanation in the case of the pagarchy not only because the pagarchy is twice described as an “official authority” (*exousia*),¹²² but also due to the explicit regulations of liability that *Edict 13* advances. These procedures are triggered by fraudulent behavior and withholding parts of the tax payments, which would seem an odd proclamation in the case that tax-farming agreements were behind the pagarchy. It would also generally seem to make little sense for the state to rely on—and for entrepreneurs to engage in—tax farming under a fiscal regime that taxed the land, not the actually harvested crops, and was therefore rather reliable as to the potential revenue.¹²³

The involvement of women appears to be the clearest indication of the liturgical nature, but it seems difficult to make a classical liturgy out of the pagarchy. One may, then retreat to the vague notion that the pagarchy was “a function that had liturgical elements as well as characteristics of a state office,”¹²⁴ though in this case, especially with the absentee Apiones removed from the list of pagarchs proper and the notable imbalance in the distribution of the charge on various aristocrats, I opt rather for a state office with liturgical elements.

121 See Reiter 2004, 70–86, for whom the same characteristics listed above reveal that until the early second century CE the Arsinoite nomarchy was not a state office, but a tax-farming venture.

122 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67354 in one line reads [-ca.- πα]γαρχικῆς ἐξουσία[ς -ca.-]. The papyrus is only a small fragment but belongs to a petition against the pagarch Ioulianos and may have been part of the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283. The second testimony is *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 4: ὑπ[ὸ πα]γαρχικῆν ἐξουσίαν.

123 This is also a general concern with the hypothesis of McConnell 2017, according to which the Apiones’ tax-collection responsibilities are to be explained by a tax-farming arrangement. Tax farming was, however, not completely obsolete, notably in regard to indirect taxes, as attested in the position of the *arabarchēs* who farmed, inter alia, customs duties; see Kramer 2011, 175–184.

124 Mazza 1995, 196: “una funzione che aveva elementi liturgici e caratteristiche proprie delle cariche statali.”

CHAPTER FIVE

Careers of a Service Aristocracy

MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS TRADITIONALLY seen the late antique aristocracy in protofeudalist terms, as a socioeconomically dominant class oppressing the local peasantry and undermining the authority of the imperial government. Recent decades have seen a forceful insurgency against this model, and in the wake of this change of paradigm, some scholars have come to see the pagarchy as a public obligation that large landowners assumed. Yet the pagarchs to this day enjoy mostly an infamous reputation as the principal representatives of an insubordinate elite that assumed local dominance at the expense of the state. Both sides largely agree, however, that the pagarchs were essentially local magnate administrators focusing primarily on their local standing. This chapter will challenge that idea not to reject it completely, but to add important nuances to the picture, especially in view of the results of Chapter Three that highlighted the formal administrative distinction between fiscal shares and the pagarchy proper.¹

The aforementioned typification of the pagarchs as local magnates trying to detach their local sphere of influence from the reach of the central government became particularly poignant in the discussion of the extent of change and continuity in the early Islamic period. Here, the pagarchs frequently serve to illustrate an alleged major administrative development during the latter seventh century that had local estate-owning administrators turned into delocalized or, as it were, “supralocal” career bureaucrats. In this argument, the new Arab government saw its authority in the periphery threatened by the persistent disloyalty of the pagarchs vis-à-vis the central government, grounded in the pagarchs’ focus on their

¹ See also Stern forthcoming (a), where I advanced the same argument in a more cursory fashion, using selected examples, in the wider context of change and continuities from the Byzantine to the early Islamic period.

local interest.² Consequently, starting in the late seventh century the new rulers are said to have increasingly replaced the Byzantine-Christian and estate-owning magnate pagarchs with a more bureaucratic Muslim elite whose power and influence did not rely on local landholding and to whom their tenures as pagarchs would have been but one further step in their career.³ One scholar has summarized this interpretation of these “new” pagarchs in the statement that “their loyalty lay with their Arab Muslim colleagues, not with a local agricultural estate.”⁴ Well-known representatives of this type of pagarchs are ‘Aṭīyya b. Ju‘ayd and Nājid b. Muslim. The former, also known as Flavius Atias, son of Goedos, held the pagarchy of Arsinoe from 694 to 697 CE before being promoted to *dux* of Arcadia (and, at times, also of the Thebaid) until 703 or 712. The latter was pagarch of Herakleopolis at least from 728 to 730 and afterwards was appointed pagarch of Arsinoe for some time between 730 and 750.⁵

In the course of this chapter I shall argue that the reality of the Byzantine pagarchy was not at all as straightforward as the distinction between old “magnate pagarchs” and new “bureaucrat pagarchs,” though ideal-typical, makes it seem. Especially in terms of their connections and mobility, the traditional picture of the pagarchs as a coherent group of landowning aristocrats focused on their local powerbase can hardly stand. The pagarchy served different ends for different types of elites and thus emerges as a flexible instrument. I begin, in the first two sections, with some general observations about aristocratic hierarchy and how to classify it. Then, I shall establish the pagarchs’ career patterns first for the Thebaid, and then for Arcadia, before comparing the two regions. Additionally, the Apiones and Flavia Anastasia are featured because of their position as “pagarching” magnates, which permits a more comprehensive look at the composition of the elites in the late antique countryside in terms of fiscal authority.

— I —

ARISTOCRATS AND HIERARCHY

There is no agreed-upon definition of the social and political elites of the late antique Roman Empire. Although several criteria have been proposed, none of them is sufficient

² For the most recent prominent framing of this reasoning, see Papaconstantinou 2015.

³ The underlying more general argument of a more “efficient” administration set in place by the new rulers goes way back to the earliest day of papyrology but was most prominently formulated by H. I. Bell in *P.Lond.* IV, pp. xxiii, xxxv–xxxvii, and Grohmann 1964, 132–134. See Sarris 2006 for a Byzantine perspective of this argument, emphasizing the importance of agricultural production to these large landowners’ autonomy in the preconquest period.

⁴ Sijpesteijn 2013, 210.

⁵ On ‘Aṭīyya and Nājid, see the references in Stern forthcoming (a), n. 5.

alone, nor are all of them always present.⁶ The term *aristocracy* implies, at least in historical perspective, a link between status and heredity that was not as prominent in the late antique Roman world as in other periods and regions, and in no way was it prerequisite.⁷ Scholars still widely use *aristocracy*, however, stressing its meritocratic aspect. For despite habitual characterizations and designations such as *senatorial aristocracy*, there can be little doubt that elites up to senatorial ranks were—as they had always been—a meritocracy. This is not to say that heritage did not help in attaining certain ranks, but it was no guarantee. Status was primarily purchased by office, and office was purchased by effort. With this in mind, I shall use the term *aristocrat* generally in an absolute sense in regard to anyone bearing at least the epithet *lamprotatos*, the Roman clarissimate, which originally marked eligibility for the Roman senate.⁸ In addition, all these men—and women—whom I will discuss in regard to the Byzantine pagarchy are Flavii/Flaviae, marking their elevated status as part of the civil or military state apparatus. By contrast, the term *elite* will be employed in a relative sense for village elites, imperial elites, and so forth without being too consistent in this regard, since this study does not aim at providing a comprehensive theoretical framework for the study of the late antique aristocracy or elite.⁹

Status in late antique papyri notably manifests in the various forms of address or reference to individuals in the third person, typically including the following elements: (1) (rank) epithets, that is, adjectival words marking an individual's social rank,¹⁰ (2) honorary titles, that is, nouns that refer to concrete honors or dignities that are officially conveyed to a person but are not real offices,¹¹ and (3) official titles, that is, a reference to an office that this person held. Consequently, I shall begin this chapter with a brief survey of various categories of aristocratic status in the sixth and early seventh centuries. This survey does not aim for completeness or absolute validity but rather wants to provide a guideline of the approximate ranking of the titles that will occur most frequently throughout this chapter.¹²

6 See recently Börm 2010, 164, referring to Wickham 2005, 154: “distinction of ancestry; landed wealth; position in an official hierarchy; imperial or royal favour (what the Germans call *Königsnähe*); recognition by other political leaders; and lifestyle.” For a comparable model with different accentuation, see Rebenich 2008, 154: “Herkunft aus einer bedeutenden Familie,” “Bekleidung hoher prestigeträchtiger Ämter,” “hinreichende materielle Ressourcen,” “moralische Integrität,” and “Bildung”; membership in the senate was, however, complementary.

7 For a theoretical overview and a review of trends in this topic, see Beck *et al.* 2008b and more recently Fisher & van Wees 2015.

8 One may also call them *senatorial epithets*, although in the sixth and seventh centuries they no longer entitled to actually attend senate meetings, which became a more exclusive right (Begass 2018, 55–57).

9 For an overview over research traditions and terminologies concerning late antique Roman elites, or aristocracies in particular, see Rebenich 2008.

10 Nikolaos Gonis, in *P.Oxy.* LXX, p. 93, uses the term *rank epithet*.

11 In this definition, *comes* and *patricius*, for instance, are honorary titles as they are officially conveyed. *Scholastikos*, however, is not.

12 There are scores of minor epithets and “titles” that could be categorized in a similar way, but I will discuss these only when they are part of an argument. This concerns epithets that primarily appear to be linked to certain professional domains, e.g., *logiōtatos*, *theophylaktos*, *thaumasiōtatos*, or *aidēsimos*, or simple honorifics such as *scholastikos*.

In imperial Rome, *clarissimus* (Gr. *lamprotatos*) had been the most distinguished, and indeed the only, notable epithet marking a particular status.¹³ It is not until the time of Constantine that it was joined by two additional and more distinguished ranks: *spectabilis* (Gr. *peribleptos*) and, as the highest, *illustrius* (Gr. *illoustrios*). This development explains a peculiar ambiguity in the later use of *lamprotatos*, which denotes members of the third and lowest aristocratic class, but may also refer to members of the aristocratic circle in general.¹⁴ Finally, the epithet *magnificentissimus* (Gr. *megaloprepestatos*) apparently arose as an alternative attribute for men and women from the highest aristocratic circle, the *illoustrioi*. The threefold structure (*lamprotatos*, *peribleptos*, *illoustrios*) opened more and more over time, as lower administrative duties than previously made individuals eligible for the epithet *lamprotatos*. In the fifth century, the status of *lamprotatos* was increasingly attributed to groups such as retired officials, and therefore, higher provincial officers such as the *praeses* or the *dux* tended to be immediately promoted *peribleptos* or *megaloprepestatos*.¹⁵ Hence, these epithets generally “descended” and new ones had to be “found” for the top of the pyramid.

In the sixth century, the hierarchy of rank epithets had developed to the point that above *megaloprepestatos* now ranked *endoxotatos* (Lat. *gloriosissimus*), and at the uppermost end of the spectrum we find new and even more distinctive epithets such as *paneuphēmos* (Lat. *famosissimus*), *hyperphyestatos* (Lat. *excellentissimus*),¹⁶ and *eukleestatos* (Lat. *celeberrimus?*). These three epithets usually designate the highest imperial officials or dignitaries, such as *consulares* or *patricii*. The term *illoustrios* retreated from this hierarchy, as it were, and transformed into an honorary title, although there are echoes of its former use as an epithet.¹⁷ The aforementioned ambiguity of *lamprotatos* remained common in later times¹⁸ and we should not be surprised to find someone styled *endoxotatos* and *lamprotatos* on different occasions in one and the same document, although in the papyri this phenomenon is only hardly traceable, if at all. Finally, *megaloprepestatos* does not appear to designate a

13 For all the epithets cited in this paragraph, see Koch 1903 and Hornickel 1930, s.vv. These epithets are in desperate need of a systematic modern study that includes the large corpus of papyrological evidence that has appeared since their publication.

14 Hornickel 1930, 26; Koch 1903, 12–13. An illustrative example may be the dating formulae that include the consulate of Basileios, who is habitually styled *lamprotatos* but especially in the Aphrodite papyri bears the epithet *paneuphēmos* (see MacCoull 1993, 26), which is probably the widest span conceivable in late antique aristocratic hierarchy. Admittedly, this is not really “ambiguous” if one takes *lamprotatos* to refer to “any notable,” while the other attributes would serve as complementary further distinctions. Moreover, in the case of the consular dating, tradition seems to play a role as well, as the earlier senators and *consules* had been *lamprotatoi* (Begass 2018, 42).

15 Koch 1903, 18, 21, 25, and 56. This development is behind the idea that the Byzantine period witnessed an “inflation” of such ranks. One must acknowledge, however, that this “inflation” appears not to have been as chaotic as often stated but is rather retraceable, as outlined in this paragraph.

16 See also Begass 2012, where caution is due, however, in regard to the prosopography of the Apiones and the related conclusions; cf. also “Fl. Marianos,” who is in fact the well-established *dux et Augustalis* Athanasios.

17 On this discussion, see the Appendix, s.v. Anonymous (Oxyrhynchos).

18 Koch 1903, 21–22, 26, and *passim*, with examples.

rank in the strict sense, but instead seems to be used as a general term to refer to individuals of higher standing.¹⁹ As such, it frequently occurs in connection with *lamprotatos*, *peribleptos*, and *endoxotatos* or even replaces these epithets.²⁰ It is, however, not attested with any of the three highest-ranking epithets *paneuphēmos*, *hyperphyestatos*, and *eukleestatos*. A general feature of this rank system is that we frequently find epithets of different value combined in the same reference,²¹ which underscores that we are not dealing with enclosed classes that would bear the name *endoxotatos* or *megaloprepestatos*. Rather than conceiving of an individual being part of a certain class, I suggest that we attribute to these epithets a certain value and that these epithets accumulate to add to an individual's status.²²

To these must be added numerous honorary titles, of which I mention those most relevant to the pagarchs. The *comes* title was an honor of three grades that was relatively widespread among the late Roman-Egyptian aristocracy, and it is normally not made explicit which grade is meant. Most Egyptian *comites* of the sixth or early seventh century bear the epithets of *peribleptos*, *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos*, in which case it probably refers to the titles of *comes sacri consistorii* and *comes domesticorum*.²³ Some *comites*, however, rank as low as *lamprotatos*.²⁴ The title *illoustrios* had once been the highest-ranking epithet but turned into an honorary title attested for *megaloprepestatoi* and *endoxotatoi*, and in this use it appears to have been linked to certain offices.²⁵ In general, post-Justinianic sources use this term to refer to men and women of honor who held no particularly distinguished offices or dignities.²⁶ The title of *stratēlatēs* originally served to designate the office of the

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- 19 Gonis 2009, 92 n. 11 and CPR XXIV, p. 66. See Begass 2018, 43 for a more traditional view, drawn mostly from non-papyrological evidence, according to which *megaloprepestatos* was one of several “subdivisions” of the highest rank, the *illoustrioi*.
- 20 For instances in which *megaloprepestatos* serves to denote pagarchs known to have been *endoxotatoi* as well, see *P.Lond.* V 1660, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094 (in both cases Ioulianos), or *P.Lond.* V 1786 verso (Kyrillos). The case of Ioulianos suggests that a change between *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos* does not imply an actual change in rank (see the Appendix, s.v.); cf. also the case of Count Ammonios (Ruffini 2011, s.v. Ammonios 1), where the changing use of these epithets is also visible and is apparently not due to a chronological development.
- 21 To list only a few instances, in ascending hierarchy: *P.Lond.* V 1714.12 (Antinoopolis; 570): *peribleptos* and *lamprotatos*; *P.Lond.* V 1786.2–3 (Arsinoites; ca. 610): *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos*; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1984.2 (Oxyrhynchos; 523): *endoxotatos* and *hyperphyestatos*.
- 22 A striking argument for this conception is a certain Serenos (maybe the pagarch of that name) who bears the epithets *logiōtatos* (a professional epithet primarily used for non-aristocratic bureaucrats), *peribleptos*, *megaloprepestatos*, and *endoxotatos* in one and the same text (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 2 and 4).
- 23 This is revealed by a quick glimpse at the evidence in the *PN*. See also *P.Oxy.* LXIX, p. 213 and, more general for the imperial perspective, the still useful collection of material in Scharf 1994 and now (for the Leonid dynasty) Begass 2018, 53–54.
- 24 This cannot be accounted for by the connotation of *lamprotatos* including *all* aristocrats, as the example of *SB* XVI 12673 verso (Arsinoites; mid VI) makes clear, which reads λαμπρο[τ(άτω)] καὶ εὐδοκ(μωτάτω) κόμῃτι. See also *P.Sorb.* II 69, p. 62.
- 25 Koch 1903, 44; Hornickel 1930, 17.
- 26 Koch 1903, 45. The *illoustrioi* may have formed a reservoir of retired imperial servants (*P.Oxy.* LXIX, p. 213).

magister militum but at some point became a mere honor.²⁷ It is found with aristocrats ranking *endoxotatos* or higher.²⁸ Certainly an imperial honor, *hypatos* denotes the honorary consulate, which could be held continuously for several years.²⁹ Along with its derivate *apo hypatōn*, it was borne only by aristocrats who ranked *endoxotatos* or higher.³⁰ Possibly the highest title open to aristocrats outside the imperial family was *patricius*, granted exclusively to the highest-ranking aristocrats from the level of *hyperphyestatos*, *paneuphēmos*, and *eukleestatos*, and marking direct relations with the imperial administration or even the imperial family.³¹ Generally, attribution of a certain honorary or official title entailed the eligibility for a certain epithet, and certain titles follow a clear pattern of which epithets can be allocated to them.³²

All this leads to the following hierarchical table, intended as a working hypothesis to facilitate orientation regarding the pagarchs' careers:

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- 27 Noteworthy instances that would appear to suggest an office proper include the στρατηλάτης τῆς χώρας in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032.57 (Constantinople; July 11, 551), but this might be the “real” *magister militum*, and the two στρατηλάται ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοιῶν πόλεως in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 53.6–7 (674/675) and in *SPP* III² 72A.3–5 (latter half of VII; the *stratēlatēs* here is unlikely to be the pagarch Menas). Jairus Banaji's (2007, 140) suggestion that being *stratēlatēs* entitled to control *bucellarii* may be interesting in this regard (earlier still: Rémondon 1974b, 369, followed by Liebeschuetz 2001, 194–195), or the *stratēlateia* became indeed a real office after the Persian conquest or in the early Islamic age. As to the Byzantine period, however, three arguments support the idea that *stratēlatēs* was an honorary title: (1) The title is attested for a woman, the *endoxotatē* Theophania (*CPR* X 127.4 and most probably also *SPP* VIII 1091.1); she was the wife of a certain *endoxotatos* Strategios (*CPR* X 127.4–5), who cannot be identical with the pagarch Strategios Stratelates; see the Appendix, s.v. But cf. the attribution of the pagarchy to women, discussed in Chapter Four. (2) The title occasionally appears alongside *prōteuōn* (*P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2779.3) and *geouchōn* (*P.Oxy.* LXX 4781.3), both of which are expected to be suppressed from titulatures in case an office proper is involved (see pp. 103–104 above). (3) The title is suppressed from the titulature of Arsinoite aristocrats from the moment they become *hypatos*. This phenomenon can be seen in the case of the pagarchs Apion Stratelates and, with even two men at the same time, Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates; see the Appendix, s.vv.—Banaji 2007, 139 n. 37 cites *BGU* I 3 (Arsinoe; 605) as an example of an alleged *stratēlatēs* of Arsinoe from the Byzantine period; the whole passage, naming the sender, reads (ll. 7–10): Αὐρήλιος Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Ἡλία ἐ[ν]οικιολ[ό]γος οὐσίας Θεοδοσακίου τοῦ ἐνδοξο[τ]άτου στρατηλάτου ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινοιῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ ἀμφοδου Κατωτέρου, in which Arsinoe is clearly referring to the origin of Menas, not to that of Theodosakios. Furthermore, a man of the rank of *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* is generally not referred to by his origin.
- 28 *P.Lond.* V 1786.30, concerning the pagarch Kyrillos, seems to be an exception, but this man is in the same text also addressed as *endoxotatos* (see l. 3).
- 29 As in the case of Strategios Paneuphemos; see below. Aristocrats who were *consules ordinarii*, by contrast, would refer to this extended form—such as Apion II, who was one of the last individuals from outside the imperial family to hold this position in 539 CE (see N. Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXX 4876, p. 93). On the ordinary consulate, see Begass 2018, 47–49.
- 30 Though our sources possibly fall short of capturing every case, since at least the honorary consulate appears to have been held also by *megaloprepestatoi* and *lamprotatoi*; in the early 490s, a Flavius Klementinos is *megaloprepestatos comes* and *apo hypatōn* (*P.Oxy.* LXIII 4394; *SB* XXII 15580). The consul Basileios, who frequently occurs as *lamprotatos* in the dating formula, is in fact (also) *paneuphēmos* (see p. 162 n. 14 above).
- 31 For the imperial perspective, see Begass 2018, 45–46.
- 32 Note how meticulously, e.g., Dioskoros in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 assigns to each title the appropriate epithet, first in case of the *dux* Athanasios: τῷ [ἐνδ]οξοτά(τῷ) στρατηλάτῃ [ἀπὸ] ὑπάτων καὶ ὑ(ε)ρ[φ]υ[ε]στά(τῷ) πατρικίῳ (in the *praefatio*), but also when referring to a certain Serenos: τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμει(τι) καὶ ἰλλο(υ)στρίῳ μεγ[αλ]οπρε(πεστάτῳ) Σερήνῳ τῷ λωγιωτ(άτῳ) (read λογιωτ(άτῳ) σχ[λ]ο/λ(αστικῷ) (col. II 2); το(ῦ) ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἰλλ(ουστρίου) Σερήνο(υ) (col. II 4).

Epithet in Greek	Latin equivalent	Honorary titles
<i>paneuphēmos</i>	<i>famosissimus</i>	
<i>hyperphyestatos</i>	<i>excellentissimus</i>	↑ <i>patricius</i>
<i>eukleestatos</i>	<i>celeberrimus?</i>	
<i>endoxotatos</i>	<i>gloriosissimus</i>	↑ <i>hypatos</i> ↑ <i>stratēlatēs</i>
<i>megaloprepestatos</i>	<i>magnificentissimus</i>	↑ <i>illoustrios</i>
<i>peribleptos</i>	<i>spectabilis</i>	
<i>lamprotatos</i>	<i>clarissimus</i>	↑ <i>comes</i>

Table 07: Approximate hierarchy of aristocratic epithets and honorary titles from ca. 500 CE up to the Islamic conquest, in descending order.³³

Women were in general entitled to the epithets and honorary titles of their spouses: the wife of an *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* is an *endoxotatē stratēlatissa*.³⁴ Scions generally inherited at least a general affiliation to the nobility, the status of *lamprotatos*.³⁵ The epithets also transferred to “private” *oikoi* in the reduced forms of *lampros*, *megaloprepēs*, and *endoxos*.³⁶

— II —

HOW TO ADDRESS THE ELITE

There is a difference between the titles that the elite held and the titles by which they were referred to, as not every document lists all titles of a given individual. This becomes obvious when we follow an individual through several papyri, where we can distinguish an *extended* and a *short form* of address or reference. The extended form is used most notably to introduce parties in legal documents such as contracts, whereas the shorter form occurs in any other case. The extended form aims for a comprehensive rendering of an individual’s

33 This “ranking” is roughly based on the pairing of epithets with the same person in the same reference, usually connected by καί. For instance, *peribleptos* joins *lamprotatos* and *megaloprepestatos*, but not *endoxotatos* or higher epithets; *endoxotatos* joins *eukleestatos* and *megaloprepestatos*, but not *peribleptos* or *lamprotatos*, and so forth. In this respect, *paneuphēmos*, *hyperphyestatos*, and *eukleestatos* appear to “behave” comparably insofar as they are all frequently found alongside each other (see *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4396, where Strategios II bears all three of them) and with *endoxotatos*, but not with epithets ranking lower than that. An exception would be that *lamprotatos* rather frequently joins *megaloprepestatos*, for which the particular genesis of these two epithets may account; but then again, this table is not supposed to establish a *cursus honorum* but rather to provide an impression of the standing of individual epithets in relation to others. The arrows indicate that the title could also be borne by higher ranks than the one indicated, though it would have naturally been suppressed once the aristocrat obtained a higher title.

34 E.g., *CPR* X 127.4 (Arsinoe; 584); Koch 1903, 23.

35 Koch 1903, 23; Gonis 2002a, 94. This is due to the aforementioned “ambiguous” character of *lamprotatos*. Children of *endoxotatoi* or higher appear, however, to have been entitled to the epithet *endoxotatos*, but for the lower levels the pattern is not so clear as to attribute this phenomenon to particular “Rangklassen.”

36 Koch 1903, 36. By contrast, ecclesiastical and imperial *oikoi* go with the epithets *hagios* and *theios*, respectively (see Chapter One).

status and contains all major components of titulature: epithets (at least one), current offices (all locally relevant³⁷), and honorary titles (at least the highest);³⁸ additionally, the pseudo-*nomina gentilia* Aurelius or Flavius are placed up front.³⁹ By contrast, the short form primarily strives for unambiguity and is in most cases restricted to one epithet and *either* a current office *or* an honorary title, depending on which is the most distinguished.⁴⁰ This means that the short form, for instance, will not be expected to display the titles of pagarch if the same man was entitled to the dignity of *patricius*. The short form can be further restricted to a personal name plus *either* epithet *or* a current office *or* a dignity (again preferring the most distinctive of these) or even to the personal name only, the latter usually when an aristocrat himself sent notes to subordinates.⁴¹ Polite addresses such as “lord” (*kyrios*) or “master” (*despotēs*) are complementary and can be used with the extended form and the short form as preferred, but they may as well be absent; the tendency to use them is more pronounced among authors who rank below or even to the person that is addressed or referred to.⁴² Two other components typically used to identify individuals are the patronymic—and sometimes matronymic—and an indication of origin (that is, their fiscal *patria*), but these were, in general, not used when the person ranked *lamprotatos* or higher.⁴³

In addressing or referring to someone, the use of either the extended or the short form generally depended on the character of the document and the author’s relationship to this person.⁴⁴ In general, documents of legal value such as contracts employ the extended form

37 Cf., however, the address of Strategios II as *prōteuōn* of Herakleopolis and Oxyrhynchos, in some documents from Oxyrhynchos, e.g., in *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785 (530 CE), but this may well be explained in that the “additional” office is the same office Strategios held in the local area, and thus it becomes easily part of the same formula.

38 In rare cases, we can see that an honorary title was omitted, as appears to be the case in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094 (Aphrodite; March 27–31, 553). In this deed of surety, the pagarch Ioulianos is addressed “only” as *megaloprepestatos* pagarch without either *apo archontōn* or *illoustrios*, titles that usually accompany him. Ioulianos may have been granted the title of *apo archontōn* later, but the first certainly-dated document to give him the title, *P.Lond.* V 1661, dates only to about four months after *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094. On the other hand, Ioulianos held the dignity of *illoustrios* by 550 CE at the latest; see *PSI* IV 283. The overall point of using a title was always clarity and distinctiveness.

39 On Aurelius and Flavius as status designations, see pp. 34–35 n. 40 above

40 Banaji 2007, 139 n. 37 offers an example of the frequent misconceptions on this point. The author argues that the documents where Menas Stratelates is addressed only as *stratēlatēs* but not as *stratēlatēs* and pagarch “stem from a period in his career when he had not yet progressed to the pagarchy,” which misrepresents the status of the pagarchy as well as the patterns of late antique titulature—in this case, between extended and short form. Menas could well have been pagarch also in those cases where he is referred to as *stratēlatēs* only in, for instance, an account or a business letter.

41 E.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, authored by Menas Scrinarius.

42 See Tost 2015, 248–249 on “Höflichkeitsbekundungen” and their distinctiveness in regard to rank epithets and official or honorary titles. For an interpretation of these addresses as a system of politeness, see Papatthomas 2007, esp. 504–506 on *kyrios* and *despotēs*.

43 There are exceptions, as for instance in *P.Lond.* V 1714, in which the origin is noted because it is different from the current area of activity; similar *P.Ross.Georg.* III 32.2–3 (Arsinoe; 504).

44 The normative power of this custom is strikingly illustrated by the archive of Dioskoros, which yields an astounding variety within the papers of one single individual. The draft of an imperial rescript, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 (Aphrodite; ca. 551), for instance, introduces the pagarch Ioulianos with the short form (l. 31: Ἰουλιανόν, παγάρχην τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν; cf. *SB* VI 9102, which has the anonymous form), whereas Dioskoros’s petitions in the same case, or about comparable issues with the pagarch Menas

when someone is introduced, while subsequent mentions of the same individual stick to the short form.⁴⁵ The tax receipts are an exception: because the legal value concerns primarily, if not only, the party of the taxpayer, the issuing party may sometimes stick with the short form.⁴⁶ The short form is prevalent in documentation that served an internal use: accounts, lists, and registers or letters between officials or between people close to each other. Writers of internal official and private documents may under certain conditions still have wanted to apply the extended form in order to demonstrate respect and humility. Subordinate officials and estate administrators, for instance, strongly tended to use the extended form when addressing their masters. Finally, some writers employed an even more rudimentary type of reference, which is restricted to the mention of the office only and therefore could be termed an “anonymous form.” In case of lower-ranking individuals this usually means that the personal name of the incumbent was not known; but in case of aristocrats such as the pagarchs this is at least notable and may be due to a bureaucratic perception of the pagarchy or to a particular context.⁴⁷

On the other hand, the fact that someone is addressed as pagarch in a document does not entail that this position is relevant to the content of the document: in the notarial contract *CPR XIV 10*, for instance, it is likely that Apion Stratelates, even though he is addressed as pagarch in this text, did not lease out his dye-house in this capacity; instead, he figures as pagarch because the address in this type of document demands the extended form.

Scriniarius, always employ the extended form. Since Menas was of considerably lower rank than Ioulianos, this seems to underscore my hypothesis about the primacy of identifiability in given contexts: Dioskoros was obviously aware of the differentiated use of extended and short references, which points to the general validity of the model.

- 45 Cf. *CPR XXIV*, pp. 178–179 on this observation in the case of the pagarch Menas Stratelates. Recently, Sven Tost has conducted a more comprehensive case study on this issue for the *riparii* (Tost 2012).
- 46 The taxpayer is the only one who would use these documents in case of a conflict, and identifying the issuing party (e.g., the pagarchs) was not important to the taxpayer but only to the administrative staff. In this light, the short form for the pagarchs’ titles in these receipts may be interpreted in the way that this part was an internal administrative information, where the short form was sufficient.
- 47 In *P.Cair.Masp. I 67003*, petitioners request the *dux et Augustalis* to give an order τῷ παγάρχη τῆς Ἀνταίο(υ) καὶ τῷ τοποτηρητῇ ταυτῆς (l. 25) to help them. The mention of the full official titles “pagarch of Antaiopolis” and “*topotērētēs* of the same (city)” suggests that the references are to the institutions and, therefore, to “whoever is in charge,” possibly a reference to a new pagarch yet unknown to the locals. Comparably, many tax receipts mention the responsible pagarchs in anonymous fashion even in cases in which they were obviously known, as proven by the fact that the anonymous form occurs in the singular as well as in the plural. The reason for this seems to be a bureaucratic perception comparable to the one that is present in *P.Cair.Masp. I 67003*: these documents were only nominally issued by the pagarch and it is most likely that the actual incumbent never saw the majority of those receipts for single payments, which suggests that the writer simply referred to the responsible institution. Finally, also *SB VI 9102* refers to the pagarch by office only, even though the nominally issuing imperial chancery must have known the incumbent’s name from the petitioners; apparently, it is the institution that mattered here, or the chancery wanted to give the incumbent (most likely Ioulianos) the possibility to save face.

— III —

CAREER PATTERNS IN THE THEBAID

Thanks to the documentary wealth of the archive of Dioskoros, we know of more pagarchs from the province of the Thebaid than from anywhere else, though some of them remain anonymous. The papers of Dioskoros—a village official, notary, and intellectual—show how people on the ground perceived and were confronted with state power through the fiscal authority exercised by the pagarchs.⁴⁸ The contrast with the province of Arcadia is striking: the evidence from the Thebaid shows a significantly more balanced distribution of higher- vs. lower-ranking pagarchs, and it deals almost exclusively with the pagarchs' official business. The Thebaid thus supposedly reflects the day-to-day reality of the pagarchy more than the papers from the Apiones archive or those from the Fayum do.⁴⁹

I. *The Upper Tier*

Ioulianos, Patrikia, Ioannes & Serenos, Kometes & Euthymios, Phoibammon

Ioulianos is certainly the most illustrious player in our evidence for the pagarchs of Antaiopolis, owing on the one hand to his exalted position, and on the other to his frequent resurfacing over a vast time period. He bears the epithets *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos* and the titles of *illoustrios*, *apo archontōn* (former, or honorary, *praeses?*), and *apo eparchōn* (former, or honorary, prefect), and there is no evident development of his titlature in the documents we have. Ioulianos's base in the Aphrodite region was an estate (*ousia*) that contributed to the village tax.⁵⁰ According to Constantin Zuckerman, this *ousia* comprised approximately 60 % of Aphrodite's taxable area and should be identified with the obscure *endoxos oikos* of Aphrodite.⁵¹ But in terms of the evidence that we have so far, this certainly overstates the case, and the figures cited by Zuckerman for Ioulianos's *ousia* are, if anything, more likely to reflect the fiscal share that he was responsible for (some of which assumably as pagarch).⁵² This means that Ioulianos's lands were probably more modest than Zuckerman assumes and rather comparable to that of Count Ammonios, Aphrodite's

48 "On the ground" is of course relative since Dioskoros was certainly not the average villager who was struggling to make a living. But given that it was the literate elite who left evidence like his archive, Dioskoros's level is possibly as far down as we can possibly hope to get.

49 On the following comments on individual careers in this chapter, see the tables in Chapter Four II and the Appendix, s.vv.

50 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060; Ioulianos's lands are also at issue in *PSI* IV 283.

51 Zuckerman 2004a, 221, on the basis of *P.Aphrod.Reg.* and *P.Ross.Georg.* V 62, the latter misidentified as *P.Ross.Georg.* III(!) 62; Palme 2007b, 335 apparently agrees.

52 See Bagnall 2008, 188–189 and Ruffini 2018, 91–92, who highlight this possibility, but there should be little doubt about this.

patron, an equally—if not better—suited candidate to control the *endoxos oikos* of Aphrodite.⁵³

In any case, Ioulianos was certainly personally involved in the pagarchy, which he had held since some point in or not long before 547 CE.⁵⁴ For it was presumably in this year that Ioulianos got accused by the Aphroditan community of overstepping his authority by violating the village's *autopragia*, a case that the villagers pursued as far as the imperial court in Constantinople.⁵⁵ It has been speculated that the death of Aphrodite's patron Ammonios shortly before the mid-sixth century created a power vacuum that motivated Ioulianos to crack down on the village.⁵⁶ The numerous petitions and most imperial rescripts from that episode are, however, drafts by the accusing party, and all are rather vague about the exact occasions. In fact, Ioulianos does not appear to have taken much damage from this episode, and he continued to act as pagarch through at least 559/560 CE.⁵⁷

It is remarkable that a man with such strong local standing and interests as Ioulianos was not a local and not even from the same province. This is revealed by three drafts of the same petition concerning his alleged misdeeds, in two of which Ioulianos goes by the nickname “the Arsinoite.”⁵⁸ How this relates to his strong Antaiopolite presence is not clear. The titles *apo archontōn* and *apo eparchōn* indicate that Ioulianos may have served as *praeses* in the Thebaid (or in Arcadia) or as prefect (that is, pretorial prefect of the East?), but both may also have been of purely honorary or titular nature. Provided they were not, Ioulianos

53 Zuckerman's calculations are suspicious since they seem to imply that Ioulianos's *ousia* would not be appearing in the *kōmētika* calculations of *P.Aphrod.Reg.*; Zuckerman may have based this idea on the obsolete conception that the classification of a parcel as either *astika* or *kōmētika* depended on the status of its owners. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, however, in which Ioulianos's *ousia* is explicitly mentioned as contributing to the *kōmētika* account, suggests the opposite. I would argue that Ioulianos is not expected to appear in the Aphrodite Register because he was supposedly rather young by 526/527. The *endoxos oikos* of Aphrodite will be discussed in Chapter Six.

54 Personal involvement: *PSI* VI 283 (though based on a restoration); *P.Lond.* V 1660, where Ioulianos, in contrast to Patrikia, is addressed without a representative; *P.Lond.* V 1674, making the final decisions about tax rates, despite acting at that time apparently through a representative, the *procurator* Christodotos (see also *SB XVI* 12370). The accusations by the Aphroditans likewise appear to indicate that he was involved in person. Start of the pagarchy: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 (547 CE) implies that Ioulianos's pagarchy started already in a (lost) preceding indiction, but that it cannot have been far from the composition of the text. A text relating to some fiscal authority with no explicit link to the pagarchy (but possibly connected to it), in which Ioulianos appears together with a certain Enoch; this text is signed by the *hypodektēs* Ioannes, who occurs from 537 to 551.

55 For a possibly earlier date for *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, see p. 137 n. 18 above.

56 Zuckerman 2004a, 222.

57 *SB XVI* 12370. He might have even been promoted to the rank of *endoxotatos stratēlatēs*, if he is identical to Ruffini's (2011) Ioulianos 4.

58 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 recto 31: Ἰουλιανόν, παγάρχην τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 verso 31: Ἰουλιανόν τὸν ἐπίκλην Ἀρσενοῖτην, καὶ παγάρχην τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν, and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67025.31: Ἰουλιανόν τὸν ἐπίκλην Ἀρσενοῖτην, παγάρχην τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν. It is likely that neither of these manuscripts was the final draft that would have been presented to the imperial chancery in Constantinople. According to Cuehn 2011, pt. II, 9 n. 19, the draft *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67025 is written “in a fine cursive hand,” but this hand does not appear to be that of Dioskoros. This specimen differs also from the other two in that it gives only blank space (ll. 14, 18, 20, etc.) in all cases where *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 recto and verso have ἐνδοξότατος.

may have been granted landed estates in Antaiopolis as a reward for his service, which rendered him a candidate for the pagarchy.⁵⁹ We do not know how long Ioulianos stayed in office, but in *P.Lond.* V 1674 (ca. 570) he is apparently still alive, even though he was probably no longer pagarch here.⁶⁰ Whether he pursued his career afterward is uncertain;⁶¹ in any case, Ioulianos seems like the prototype of a powerful outsider who (possibly) retired from imperial service to take on the pagarchy.

The remaining high-ranking pagarchs of Antaiopolis known by name are more elusive, and little can be said of them apart from their approximate rank and that they were pagarch at a certain point of time. We know now that the *endoxotatē Patrikia* was not only “responsible for the pagarchy,”⁶² but was indeed herself addressed as pagarch, once alongside Ioulianos, but once apparently even as the head of a collegium.⁶³ That the pagarch Menas Scriniarius is described as her *dioikētēs* probably points to his function in her estate administration.⁶⁴ In any case, there should be no doubt that Patrikia acceded to the pagarchy through her possession of landholdings, or rather, the economic potential arising from it.

Ioannes’s pagarchy is mainly known from the collection of Antaiopolite tax receipts in which he is addressed either as *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos* pagarch, or as *endoxotatos* (or *megaloprepestatos*) “pagarch of the two-thirds share of Antaiopolis,” in two instances adding the title of *comes* to this latter variant.⁶⁵ There is no apparent pattern in the use of these epithets or titles that would suggest a career sequence: the different titulatures occur for the same indictions and the variation is therefore likely due to the writers’ customs. Some

59 This reconstruction would conform to Banaji’s hypothesis that portrayed an aristocracy that achieved dominant local standings due to earlier imperial service; see Banaji 2007, 101–170, pointedly, e.g., at 128). On imperial grants to favorites, see Johnson & West 1949, 22–23 and Banaji 2000, 96. An example of this practice is Justinian’s *Pragmatic Sanction* from August 13, 554, through which the emperor bestowed extensive estates in Italy to deserved confidants, among them the pretorian prefect Liberios; see *Prag.Sanct.* I and, on Liberios’s career, O’Donnell 1981.

60 Because Dioskoros at other times shows himself very meticulous about whether someone was in office or not at a given point of a narration, Bell’s restitution of the pagarchy in ll. 37–38: *Ιουλιανο(ῦ) τοῦ [ἀπ]ὸ ἐπάρχων | καὶ [παγάρχου (?)* seems unlikely. Banaji 2007, 162 n. 168 suspects *[ἀπ]ὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ [ἀρχόντων*, which is also odd because of the accumulated honorary titles. Presumably, the titlature was already complete in the short form and the sentence continued after *καὶ*.

61 The observation that Ioulianos “got away with it” would be even more pronounced if he was identical to the *paneuphēmos stratēlatēs* who represents the *dux* in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67008, which would suggest a promotion and relocation to Antinoopolis in the 560s.

62 This or similar wording is usually employed to refer to the formalities of *munera patrimonii*, especially when women, who were assumedly not able to exercise the function in person, are referred to (see, e.g., the evidence on the *logisteia* in relation to the Apion household).

63 *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A.2: [-ca.?- ο]ι ἐνδοξότατοι πάγαρχοι Πατρ[ικία καὶ -ca.?-]; see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Anonymous *hypodektēs* (2). Comparative evidence from the other tax receipts leaves no doubt that οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι πάγαρχοι must be followed either by the personal names of the pagarchs (cf. *SB XVI* 12370) or by *διά* plus the name of the intermediary. The title *patricius* at this position would be highly odd. So far, only *P.Lond.* V 1660 was known to refer to Patrikia’s pagarchy, but here it was still possible to take the plural *παγάρχων* as relating to Ioulianos and Menas, with a later clarification. My, in all probability, inevitable restoration of the Vatican papyrus, however, settles the debate.

64 On Menas’s position, see the next subsection.

65 The reference to Ioannes as *illoustrios* in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VIII verso 24 is to be rejected; see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Christodoros (1) *notarius*.

potential identifications could make Ioannes's background comparable to that of Ioulianos (or Menas Scrinarius, for that matter), but they are very speculative. What is clear is that Ioannes was pagarch with Serenos since at least 570/571, yet it is unknown for how long they remained in office. Serenos, for his part, is addressed as *illoustrios* only,⁶⁶ as *endoxotatos illoustrios*, as *illoustrios* and pagarch, as *endoxotatos* pagarch, as *endoxotatos illoustrios* and pagarch, or as *endoxotatos illoustrios* and “pagarch of the one-third share (of Antaiopolis).” The potential, albeit uncertain, prosopographical matches may point to an integration into the provincial apparatus.

Even less can be said about **Kometes** and **Euthymios**, apart from their being *endoxotatoi* pagarchs jointly with Ioulianos in 559/560. Also elusive is **Phoibammon**, who appears in only one text, as “head (*epikeimenos*) of the pagarchy,” though his lineage appears to point to someone integrated into the provincial aristocracy.

2. The Lower Tier

Menas Scrinarius, Kollouthos Cancellarius, Kollouthos Exceptor, Dorotheos, Athanasios, Kallinikos, two anonymi

The Dioskoros archive features, in addition, a type of pagarch strikingly different from the *endoxotatoi* mentioned above, and the most famous—or rather, most notorious—of them is no doubt **Menas Scrinarius**. A *lamprotatos scriniarius*, Menas was on the one hand a local *geouchōn* from Antaiopolis and on the other a career bureaucrat who rose to provincial ranks in the ducal bureau of the Thebaid in Antinoopolis. In a contract from 553 CE, he is addressed as pagarch alongside Ioulianos.⁶⁷ Around the same time, Menas is referred to as Ioulianos's co-pagarch in a document in which he acts as a proxy of, or stand-in for, the *endoxotatē* Patrikia as “her *dioikētēs*,” a specification to which I shall return later.⁶⁸ Probably as early as that period we see Menas personally involved in the pagarchy, caring for the proper delivery of tax payments and for the proper registration of land.⁶⁹ He then took on the pagarchy again in 566 CE with the inception of the indiction year, and it is this tenure

⁶⁶ Only once in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. III recto 7, but even here the pagarchy is implied by the preceding phrase, which refers to the “one-third share.”

⁶⁷ *P.Lond.* V 1661.5–6 (Aphrodite; July 24, 553): Φλ(αουίω) Ίουλιανῶ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων καὶ Μηνῆ λαμπροτάτῳ | σκρινιάρίῳ καὶ παγάρχαις τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν.

⁶⁸ *P.Lond.* V 1660.5–8 (Antaiopolites; ca. 553): τῶν μ[ε][γ]αλοπρεπεστάτων κοινῶν | δεσποτῶν παγάρχων Ίουλιανο(ῦ) τοῦ μεγαλοπρεστάτου (read μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου) ἀπὸ ἀρχ[όν]τ[ων] | καὶ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης Πατρικίας δ(ιὰ) τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) κυρίου Μηνᾶ αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ καὶ | παγάρχ(ου).

⁶⁹ Demanding the proper delivery of tax payments: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060. Registration of land: *SB XX* 1424I. It is to my mind more likely that these and some other letters date to Menas's pagarchy in the 550s instead of that in the 560s, but this is not certain. See the Appendix, s.v. Menas Scrinarius on this issue.

during which Dioskoros’s famous petitions paint Menas as a marauding lunatic.⁷⁰ As in the case of Ioulianos, however, it is notable that Menas’s alleged misconduct apparently did little to reduce his standing: by the time of *P.Lond.* V 1677 (568 CE) Menas was still pagarch, and in *P.Lond.* V 1714 (570 CE), he is still a man of respected standing and authority.⁷¹ Even more so, Menas is not only named as *lamprotatos scriniarius* in this text—this time attached to the ducal office of the Thebaid⁷²—but he additionally bears the more elevated epithet *peribleptos*. It therefore appears that Menas actually even *rose* in status after the events Dioskoros describes so painstakingly in drastic terms. Menas’s son Theodoros followed the family pattern of working for the ducal office and became *exceptor* there,⁷³ but it is unclear whether Menas was the first to pave the way for his son.

How are we to explain Menas’s career, especially considering that he is described as *scriniarius* and pagarch at the same time and that he furthermore was a *dioikētēs* of the *endoxotatē Patrikia*? The title of *dioikētēs* is usually taken to indicate that Menas served in Patrikia’s estate administration, and in this capacity performed the duties of the pagarchy for Patrikia.⁷⁴ Two hypotheses suggest themselves here: The first has Menas as a *scriniarius* by profession and a *dioikētēs* on Patrikia’s estates.⁷⁵ In this capacity—and since he was a trained bureaucrat—he assumed the pagarchy for Patrikia in the early 550s. He then filled this post again in his late-560s pagarchy until becoming a *scriniarius* in the ducal bureau between 568 and early 570. The second possibility is that Menas was already *scriniarius* of the ducal bureau when he took on the Antaiopolite pagarchy for Patrikia; in this sense, his

70 See *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 10–11: ἀπὸ προομιῶν τῆς ἔναγχος διαδραμο(ύ)σης πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως, ἀφ’ ἧς ἀντελάβετο τῆς παραρχίας | Ἀνταίο(υ). The text does not state that this was Menas’s first pagarchy, but only refers to an incipient mandate.

71 It is difficult to tell whether Menas was still pagarch at the time of *P.Lond.* V 1714. On the one hand, the document is from Antinoopolis and therefore one would not expect the Antaiopolite pagarchy to be referred to here; the dossier of Ioannes and Serenos, moreover, does not reveal whether they were in office already in the third indiction (furthermore, it may still be possible that Menas acted as their representative). On the other hand, if Menas was at that time *scriniarius* in the ducal bureau, he cannot be expected to have run the Antaiopolite pagarchy in person, which he surely does at the least during the events of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, which took place in 566 CE. Also, the reference to “unjust predecessors” in an encomium to the pagarch Kollouthos Cancellarius (*P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 14, on which see the following) appears to imply that Menas was no longer pagarch when Kollouthos took this post, but they may also have been in office for some time together.

72 This does not preclude that Menas was beforehand involved in provincial administration, given his profession as *scriniarius*. The elevation of rank makes a promotion more likely, however. It is not without irony, but probably also part of an aristocratic pattern that Menas got promoted to a post in the bureau of the *dux* after the villagers of Aphrodite had petitioned an earlier *dux* to help them out against Menas.

73 On the *exceptores* in provincial offices, see Teitler 1985, 73–81.

74 See Chapter Four. To both hypotheses must be added the possibility that Menas was pagarch in his own right *in addition* to his functioning as a stand-in for Patrikia.

75 For the use of the term *scriniarius* as a profession instead of a position, see *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2205.10 and 12 (cf. l. 3 for an equivalent position of an *exceptor*). Cf. also Walser 2013, no. 31 (= *SEG XXXVI* 1185): “Here rests Phokas, *scriniarius*, from Byzantion, the son of Akylas and Arethousa.” But see the notable case of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67327.42–43, where a *boēthos* signs for a *scriniarius* because the latter is illiterate, which suggests that in this environment *scriniarius* may have been marking a position rather than a profession.

position as *dioikētēs* would either have been a legal construction or refer to an older meaning of *dioikein* for someone acting as a replacement.⁷⁶

So either Menas came from Patrikia's estate administration and later rose to provincial honors by serving as "her" pagarch, or he was a genuine part of the provincial administration and, for whatever reason, assumed the pagarchy for a nome in which he controlled land, just like Ioulianos, though probably on a smaller scale. Chronological considerations appear to support the latter interpretation: Menas's son Theodoros would presumably be granted access to the provincial bureau because of his father's career, and Menas therefore probably should be assumed to have been ducal *scriniarius* for some time before 570 CE. Previous considerations would, however, favor the first possibility, for it seems clear that Menas as pagarch resided in Antaiopolis, not in Antinoopolis where the ducal bureau was situated.⁷⁷ It may thus be that Menas was indeed promoted to the post of ducal *scriniarius* only one or two years after becoming pagarch in 566 CE.⁷⁸ What both interpretations have in common, however, is that Menas's way to the pagarchy in Antaiopolis appears to have been tied to his capacities and position as *scriniarius*.

The pagarch **Kollouthos Cancellarius** was a type of mobile career bureaucrat quite comparable to Menas. A *lamprotatos* only, Kollouthos held the position of *cancellarius* in the ducal office of the Thebaid in Antinoopolis.⁷⁹ He was a *comes* and pagarch, an Antinoopolite city councilor, and part of a family that produced several influential men on the provincial level:⁸⁰ two of his brothers were among the high-ranking staff in the ducal bureau of the Thebaid (at least) under the *dux* Athanasios, and Dioskoros praises Kollouthos and his father Apa Dios in a way highly suggestive of municipal and/or provincial officeholding.⁸¹ Although his precise origin cannot be determined,⁸² this certainly suggests that Kollouthos's "base" was Antinoopolis. He, however, held strong ties to the village of Aphrodite that were presumably grounded in landed estates.⁸³ Dioskoros's papyri seem to strongly suggest that Kollouthos's pagarchy was in fact that of Antaiopolis: he is said to "come to us" (to the village of Aphrodite, that is), and Dioskoros refers to Kollouthos's "unjust predecessors," by which he most certainly implied the pagarchy, given the villagers' conflict with the pagarch

⁷⁶ See p. 145 n. 59 above.

⁷⁷ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II, where prisoners are transferred from Antinoopolis to Antaiopolis and Menas explicitly receives them only when they have arrived in the latter city.

⁷⁸ Menas is *lamprotatos* and *peribleptos* in *P.Lond.* V 1714, but earlier only *lamprotatos*, which would suggest a promotion coming with the office of ducal *scriniarius*, i.e., that he became part of the ducal bureau only after his tenure as pagarch.

⁷⁹ Potentially, he was also *exceptor* and *scriniarius*, provided these titles are not, *cum grano salis*, in fact referring to the same position; see the Appendix, s.v. for the relevant prosopographical matches.

⁸⁰ *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 14.

⁸¹ See Ruffini 2011, s.vv. Kallinikos 17, Dorotheos 12, and Apa Dios 1. For details of Dioskoros's praise of Kollouthos, see the Appendix, s.v.

⁸² Fournet 1999, 327 suspects that he originated from the Thebaid.

⁸³ There are possible identifications with bureaucrats, albeit uncertain, who held estates in Antaiopolis, Antinoopolis, and Lykopolis; see the Appendix, s.v.

Menas.⁸⁴ In another case, an Aphroditan woman refers to Kollouthos as “my master,” and cites his order to free her from prison.⁸⁵ It is unknown for how long he held the pagarchy, or whether he was acting in this capacity on behalf of some higher-ranking aristocrat. It is also unclear whether Kollouthos Cancellarius is identical with the Antinoopolite pagarch **Kollouthos Exceptor**: the personal name is very common and Byzantine pagarchs attested consecutively in two nomes have yet to be found. But with the official positions of Kollouthos Cancellarius and Kollouthos Exceptor, we are in quite similar territory, although nothing more is known about the latter man.

In the Hermopolite, the *lamprotatos comes* and pagarch **Dorotheos** belongs to the same stratum and, although the identifications here are not beyond doubt, he can be seen actively engaged in the performance of the pagarchy.⁸⁶ The late pagarch **Athanasios** lacks any epithet but is instead referred to as “former pagarch,” which may indicate a comparatively low rank, but the text offers no clue about his career.⁸⁷ Apparently, his heirs had overtaken certain “shares,” but are these linked to the pagarchy? Also, the pagarch **Kallinikos** bears no epithet along with his title of pagarch, but the papyrus is damaged here and may have originally contained some allusion to a rank. Some probable identifications suggest that Kallinikos was a *lamprotatos comes* in Hermopolis who was actively involved in performing his pagarchy.

The **anonymous** *lamprotatoi* pagarchs from *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068 may have been pagarchs in Antinoopolis, Antaiopolis, or Hermopolis. In the latter two cases, their presence in Antinoopolis, presumably for accounting or general reporting to the provincial authorities, would mark their personal involvement. But even if they were pagarchs of Antinoopolis, their active performance of the pagarchy is still suggested by the fact that Dioskoros is said to be about to meet up with them in some matter.⁸⁸

— IV —

CAREER PATTERNS IN ARCADIA

The division between the upper and the lower tiers is even more refined in Arcadia. Here, we see certain individuals holding the pagarchy or “pagarching” authority who clearly exceeded even the exalted rank of the *endoxotatos* Antaiopolite pagarch Ioulianos, pointedly

⁸⁴ *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 14.

⁸⁵ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005.

⁸⁶ See *BGU* XII 2196 (VI), a tax receipt issued to a village *boēthos* for aggregated tax payments, which Dorotheos signs in person. Cf. *BGU* XIX 2772 (V–VI), where possibly the same pagarch issues an order to *eirēnarchai*.

⁸⁷ *SPP* III 436 (VI–VII).

⁸⁸ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068.9–10: ὑμῶν κατερχομένων | ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντινοέων πρὸς τοὺς λαμπρ[οτάτου]ς ἡμῶν δεσ[πό]τας παγάρχους; the addressee is Dioskoros.

through their proximity to the imperial family. I will therefore distinguish between an *imperial elite* and a *regional elite*, although we shall see that the boundaries between these groups were permeable. The *megaloprepestatoi* pagarchs Ioulianos from Oxyrhynchos and Theodorakios from Arsinoe are omitted here because they fit into a later pattern.⁸⁹

I. Imperial and Regional Elites in the Oxyrhynchite

(Strategios II, Apion II, Apion III, Anastasia,) Ptolemaios & Ioustos

The Oxyrhynchite evidence tells us only little about the Byzantine pagarchy proper, but most documents concern the “pagarched” villages discussed in Chapter Three. The evidence is dominated by the archive of the Flavii Apiones, a family of extraordinary status and responsibilities in Middle Egypt and elsewhere. Due to the abundant material, the family history of the Apiones has been illuminated like few others in the late Roman Empire.⁹⁰ Consequently, and because the chronology and prosopography of the Apiones is the subject of ongoing debate due to the continuous publication of new material, I shall not go into much detail here but will instead restrict the survey to the points that are important for the argument. Despite the changing paradigm that in recent decades has laid emphasis on the cooperative side of late antique aristocrats, many historical accounts still feature the Apiones as prime examples of insubordinate late antique magnates who infiltrated the provinces and worked toward their personal enrichment, accumulating control of local power sources at the expense of the state.⁹¹

The Apiones so far have furnished three instances of “pagarching” landowners in the Oxyrhynchite: Strategios II, Apion II, and Apion III. **Strategios II** comes into the light of history in 489 CE as *lamprotatos* curial and landowner in Oxyrhynchos.⁹² At that time, he acted through an intermediary named Theodoros, supposedly owing to his minority. Theodoros identifies as *hypokatastatos* (or, *hypokatastatēs*), which he also does in an instance from 493 in which a “pagarched” village under Strategios appears for the first time, with Strategios being a *lamprotatos* and *aidēsimos* curial and a “pagarching” landlord.⁹³ In a third instance, however, Theodoros identifies as *hypokatastatos* and *diadochos*, the latter title being linked by Strategios’s appearance as a *riparius* of Oxyrhynchos.⁹⁴ Strategios became “independent” by 497,⁹⁵ at which point bears the epithets *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos*

⁸⁹ Ioulianos: *PSI* I 52 (647 CE; see Chapter Three VI for the date); Theodorakios: *W.Chr.* 8 (639/640).

⁹⁰ For the relevant literature, see p. 15 n. 43 above.

⁹¹ On this discussion, see pp. 30–31 above.

⁹² *P.Flor.* III 325.

⁹³ *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337.

⁹⁴ *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4614 (date lost); for the relation of the *diadochos* position to a liturgy (here, the *logisteia*), see Chapter Four.

⁹⁵ Much of the following concerning the Apiones’ careers follows Hickey 2012, 8–18 (see also Mazza 2013) but pays special attention to their appearances as “pagarching” landowners and the “Menas formula,”

and the title of *comes devotissimorum domesticorum* and is attested as having held the *riparia*, probably that of Herakleopolis.⁹⁶ In 492 or 507 he was *comes largitionum* for the Egyptian diocese, before being appointed Augustalian prefect of Egypt in 518 and 524, around which time he appears to have become entitled to be *endoxotatos* and *hyperphyestatos stratēlatēs* and honorary consul (*apo hypatōn*).⁹⁷ He obtained the title of *patricius* at some point between 528 and 530, and a little later, probably shortly after 532, he became *comes sacrarum largitionum* of the East. He died probably within the first two months of 542.

Entrusted by Justinian with multiple important missions,⁹⁸ Strategios was one of the top elites of the late Roman Empire, part of the imperial circle, and largely absent from Egypt since the 530s. This is confirmed by the use of the so-called Menas formula, which refers to an apparently institutionalized representation in every legal document involving Strategios from 523 onward:⁹⁹

“To Flavius Strategios, the *endoxotatos* and *hyperphyestatos stratēlatēs*, *eukleestatos patricius*, (and) *prōteuōn* in Herakleopolis as well as in this renowned city of Oxyrhynchos, through Menas, *oiketēs*, who also puts the formal question and supplies for his own master, the same *paneuphēmos* man, the conduct (of) and responsibility (for the transaction).”¹⁰⁰

The prevalence of the formula suggests that Strategios was no longer based in Oxyrhynchos after 523, supposedly because of his holding important offices at Alexandria.¹⁰¹ It should, however, rather be termed “*oiketēs* formula,” since it also occurs with *oiketai* other than

neither of which is a subject of Hickey’s survey. The recent *P.Oxy.* LXXXII and LXXXIII have added important new material unknown to Hickey at the time.

⁹⁶ *CPR* XIV 48 (506 CE).

⁹⁷ In *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4396, Strategios is addressed as *paneuphēmos*, *hyperphyestatos*, and *eukleestatos* at the same time.

⁹⁸ Begass 2018, 348–349.

⁹⁹ *P.Oxy.* LXXXII, p. 165; the earliest instance, though fragmentary, is *P.Oxy.* XVI 1984 (October 28, 523). Its meaning is discussed by Ruffini 2008, 51 n. 52 and Sarris 2006, 161 and n. 44. The latter argues that this formula may have been a fiction in the sense that there was not really an *oiketēs* called Menas, given that the Menas formula is attested with the Apiones for close to a century. The parallel evidence for *oiketai* other than Menas and for large landowners other than the Apiones, however, makes it all but certain that we deal with a real, or most likely, multiple real *oiketai* named Menas. On the meaning of *oiketēs* (“slave, servant”) in late antique Egypt, see now Berkes 2017a, 89 n. 15.

¹⁰⁰ *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785.6–9 (October 19, 530): διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ | υπερωτοντος (read ἐπερωτῶντος) καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ | τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρῆι (read ἀνδρῆι) τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ | ἐνοχίην. I chose an example in which the text is not restored; the translation is adapted from the edition.

¹⁰¹ Does the formula make it likely that Strategios assumed the title of *comes largitionum* of the Egyptian diocese in 522 and that he was appointed Augustalian prefect a little later, with 524 being the *terminus ante quem* here? On these potential dates, see Hickey 2012, 12 and nn. 72 and 73.

Menas,¹⁰² notably in a case involving Strategios in 493.¹⁰³ This means that both of Strategios's attestations as "pagarching" landowner fall into a period during which he was either a minor or absent, but this does not seem to be significant for the status as "pagarching" magnate.¹⁰⁴

Strategios's son **Apion II** reaped the fruits of his father's apogee, illustrating the family's continuing close ties to the emperor by being granted the extraordinary title of *consul ordinarius* as early as 539, at which point he was a mere 10 to 21 years of age. He is attested at the rank of *paneuphēmos* by 550, as *patricius* by 565, and, though only in posthumous texts, as *protopatricius*, an exclusive title reserved for the leading authority in the senate, certainly implying proximity to the capital. There is no evidence that Apion ever held any office in Egypt or elsewhere; he was known to be dead on November 5, 578.¹⁰⁵ The *oiketēs* formula is attested for Apion throughout his life, which appears to confirm the impression that he was usually not dwelling in Egypt. He turns up as "pagarching" landowner in the 550s, 560s, and 570s.¹⁰⁶

Apion II's adopted son **Apion III** became head of an Oxyrhynchite estate before March 27, 593, but his activities are not as well documented as those of his predecessors.¹⁰⁷ He regularly bears the epithets *paneuphēmos* and *hyperphyestatos* as well as the titles of honorary consul (*apo hypatōn*) and, after 604/605, of *patricius*. Apion III was probably the Apion who became *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid.¹⁰⁸ He died around the end of 619; since this date is close to the Sasanian invasion of Egypt it has been suggested that Apion's death may be linked to this event. There is, however, no evidence that he dwelled in Egypt at that time, but quite the contrary: as in the case of Apion II, the legal documents addressed to Apion III

102 For some *oiketai* other than Menas who appear as intermediaries of the Apiones in the Oxyrhynchite, see *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4390.4–5 (469 CE), *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5332.4–6 (480), and *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337.5–6 (493). Notable texts from other nomes are *CPR* XXIV 25.7–9 (Herakleopolis; 598), where a *meizoteros* is the intermediary of a Strategios (perhaps Strategios Paneuphemos, who will be discussed below), and *P.Stras.* IV 229.4–6 (Panopolites; 502), where a *singularis* of the *dux* and his intermediary, a slave (*pais*), occur. The term "*oiketēs* formula" is also employed by Nikolaos Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXXXII, p. 165. One may speculate whether the Aurelius Menas, son of Theodoros, who signs in the name of illiterates in four documents from the Apiones archive (see *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII, p. 113) may be identical to this Menas, because one generation earlier, the *oiketēs* formula shows a certain Theodoros in the place of Menas (see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337).

103 *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337.5–6.

104 *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337 (June 10, 493) and *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785 (October 19, 530); see pp. 105–106 above, where this potential link is discussed.

105 See now *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5380.

106 See Table 03 (pp. 107 above).

107 *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5392 (see the discussion by Nikolaos Gonis in the introduction) now shows that Apion III and his brother Georgios were legally "children and heirs" of Apion II. "Technically," though, they were two generations younger, as their mother Praiiekte/Praieicta was either the daughter or daughter-in-law of Apion II.

108 *P.Oxy.* I 130 (undated); for the identification, see Hickey 2012, 16 n. 96 with references. Apion's *hyperphyestatos* son Strategios at the end of this text must then be Strategios IV.

deploy the *oiketēs* formula throughout his life. His *oikos* is attested as an economic and administrative actor even after his death, as late as 626 CE.¹⁰⁹

The *endoxotatē* and *megaloprepestatē illoustria Anastasia* was certainly in a lower league than the Apiones, although she as well may with good reason be considered a part of the top aristocracy.¹¹⁰ Her father was the *endoxotatos illoustrios* Menas, son of Eudaimon, who apparently stood in some obscure relation to the Apion estate.¹¹¹ In her papers, she is regularly represented by one of her *dioikētai* and once referred to as “pagarching” landlord.¹¹²

Only Ptolemaios and Ioustos can with some confidence be said to have been entrusted with the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos, although both are not explicitly mentioned as pagarchs. Not much is known about Ptolemaios apart from his being *endoxotatos* and that his heirs paid for the pagarchy in a list of public contributions, implying that Ptolemaios was already deceased at that time.¹¹³ The same document also features the *endoxotatos Ioustos*, who was alive and paid the same amount for the pagarchy as Ptolemaios’s heirs. This man, known to have been a *comes*, was probably Anastasia’s uncle.¹¹⁴ Ioustos also maintained some obscure business or administrative relationship with the Apion estate,¹¹⁵ although he was in control of an *oikos* of his own.¹¹⁶ Ptolemaios and Ioustos, though of very elevated standing, certainly did also not play in the same league as the Apiones.

2. Imperial and Regional Elites in the Fayum

Strategios Paneuphemos, Apion Stratelates, Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates, Kyrillos, Menas Stratelates

The internal division within the upper tier that is notable in Oxyrhynchos can be observed in the Fayum as well, and the Arsinoite equivalent of the Oxyrhynchite Apiones is certainly **Strategios Paneuphemos**.¹¹⁷ He enters the scene already in possession of the highest honors

¹⁰⁹ The latest instance is now *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4704 (August 29–September 27, 626). For its administrative function at this time, see *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3959 (January 12, 620), a deed of surety involving a village that is, notably, *not* described as *pagarchoumenē*, but this may simply due to the fact that the original formula, styled on a person, would have been odd and was therefore simply suppressed in this case.

¹¹⁰ Banaji 2007, 150 suggests a promotion from *megaloprepestatē* to *endoxotatē*, but as the Antaiopolite example of Ioulianos with his interchanging epithets makes clear, this suggestion is not compelling.

¹¹¹ *PSI* VIII 955+*SB* XX 15181; *PSI* VIII 956.20; and *P.Erl.* 120.7–8, where possibly Menas and Apion II occur as joint *prostatai*. On Eudaimon, see Gonis 2002a, 93–97.

¹¹² *P.Oxy.* XXIV 3204 (January 2, 588).

¹¹³ *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040; discussed in detail in Chapter Three II.

¹¹⁴ See Gonis 2002a, 95–96.

¹¹⁵ *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2195.98 and 102 (ca. 562/563?), where he receives payments for waterwheels, which is to be accounted for one of the Apiones’ *pronoētai*.

¹¹⁶ *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3938 (March 7, 601; posthumous).

¹¹⁷ On Strategios and his archive, see now Van Loon 2017, 128–129 with further references and *P.Eirene* IV, pp. 207–208. The nickname “Paneuphemos” came into use in scholarly literature to distinguish him

the empire had to offer, regularly bearing the epithets *paneuphēmos*, *hyperphyestatos*, and (though considerably less often) *eukleestatos*, the highest distinctions imaginable, with no apparent pattern in usage. The documents up to 602/603 CE address him as *hypatos*, while from at least 604 onward he is addressed as *patricius*, which by itself suggests proximity to the imperial circles. He is known to have been in control of an *oikos* in the Arsinoite,¹¹⁸ and is generally thought to have owned *oikoi* also in the Herakleopolite and the Oxyrhynchite nomes,¹¹⁹ but recent research has become more cautious here; only the allocation to the Fayum seems beyond any doubt.¹²⁰ Most recently, Fritz Mitthof has argued that Strategios Paneuphemos may have been the son of the *patricia* Sophia, a well-known landed magnate in the Arsinoite nome.¹²¹ Like the Apiones, and along with other Arsinoite magnates, Strategios appears to have been responsible for fiscal shares in that nome.¹²² Contrary to the “pagarching” Apiones, however, Strategios bore the title of pagarch, and he does so continuously from 600 to 612 in all documents where it would be expected, which suggests that his pagarchy throughout this period was continuous, and potentially even longer.¹²³

Likewise in contrast to the Apiones, Strategios appears to have conducted business in the Fayum on his own,¹²⁴ and appears to have been the locally present champion of imperial

from Strategios IV, the son of Apion III. In some older studies, he is to the same end called Pseudo-Strategios III, because Strategios IV was at that time (i.e., before the Strategios now known as Strategios I surfaced) known as Strategios III.

- 118 *CPR* XXIV 26.4 (602/603 CE); *SPP* VIII 1072.2 (ca. 610 CE); *SPP* X 1 (posthumous), a γ|νῶ(σις) συνηθειῶ(ν) διδομ(ένων) εἰς τὸν οἶκο(ν) τοῦ ἐν ἀγί(σις) | Στρατηγίου (ll. 1–2); *CPR* XXIV 33.6 (653 CE), another post-mortem reference, is restored virtually in its entirety.
- 119 Herakleopolites: *P.Erl.* 73.9–12 (604 CE), where a Belisarios, *trapezites* (“banker”) of the *endoxos oikos* of a *paneuphēmos patricius* Strategios occurs, who also features (without the *oikos*) in *P.Vars.* 31.1 (609), *SPP* III² 66.3 (early VII), and *CPR* XXIV 29.1 (ca. 616; Belisarios was dead at that time), thus extending the evidence for the Herakleopolite *oikos* a little further. Oxyrhynchites: *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935 (591); three other texts have him as *geouchōn* (always καὶ ἐνταῦθα) in Oxyrhynchos without explicitly mentioning his *oikos*: *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3936.6–9 (598); *SB* XXII 15487.9–13 (598); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1991.7–10 (601).
- 120 Although this is still perfectly possible if we consider the extraordinarily high rank that is at issue here. Scholars have, however, become more hesitant to identify Strategios Paneuphemos with other Strategioi of the same rank in the Herakleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, given the seemingly ever-increasing number of high ranking Strategioi in Middle Egypt and complexity of the genealogy of the Apiones, to whom Strategios in some distant way seems to have been related. See B. Palme in *P.Eirene* IV, pp. 207–208.
- 121 Based on some unpublished papyri; I thank Fritz Mitthof and Sophie Kovarik for making me aware of these texts. Further research will show whether this hypothesis will stand, but it is indeed possible that the Arsinoite elites were closer related than has been assumed. Sophia, whom Mitthof suggests to be the mother of Strategios Paneuphemos, might have also been the mother of the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Theodosios, who, like his mother, held a fiscal share in the Fayum. The pagarch Kyrillos (see below) also appears in some elusive connection to Strategios’s *oikos* (*SPP* VIII 1072, though maybe not as pagarch). Cf. *SPP* X 249, in which these three men all appear jointly, sharing (along with the heirs of a certain Eustochios) an amount to be paid among them. I am indebted to Sophie Kovarik for discussing these possible links with me, based on her knowledge of scores of unpublished papyri.
- 122 See *SPP* X 249 and its discussion on pp. 126–128 above.
- 123 On the chronology, see Tables 05 and 06 (pp. 139–143).
- 124 This result cannot be only an illusion due to different notarial practice in the documents of Arsinoe, as Mazza 2011, 276 speculates (in a more general statement about the Arsinoite elites). In Strategios’s case it is even explicit since he said to have gone *from Arsinoe* to Alexandria in order to mediate in a church council in 617 CE (see the following). The *oiketēs* formula is attested for him only once, tellingly

power. In 617 CE, he was involved, apparently with imperial blessing, in the reconciliation between the Alexandrian and Antiochean churches at Alexandria, which makes him one of the few individuals known from the papyri who made it to non-papyrological sources.¹²⁵ The date of this meeting thus falls to a period after February 616, when Menas Stratelates is first attested as pagarch of the Fayum. The clear separation of the documents into texts that attest Strategios as pagarch before that date, and those that attest Menas Stratelates as pagarch afterward, probably means that Menas was Strategios's successor, further attesting to Strategios's personal care for the pagarchy. He is commonly known to have been alive until at least 619,¹²⁶ which makes one speculate whether his death was somehow linked to the Persian invasion. If, however, the pagarch Kyrillos was alive as late as 618 CE, then *SPP* VIII 1228, in which Kyrillos's heirs surface, must date to 623/624, thus attesting Strategios Paneuphemos even later, also under the Persian occupation.¹²⁷ This point is of great interest since it would attest a *patricius*, that is, a person of presumable close proximity to the emperor, as a man of continued position and authority under the Persian invaders.¹²⁸ Is this the reason Strategios is only called "Flavius Strategios" in this document and does not bear any of his usual epithets or titles of imperial rank? Also the *patricius* title seems to have been suppressed from his titlature since this period, certainly for the obvious close connection to the emperor that this title implied.¹²⁹ However, Strategios's estates were visibly not confiscated after the Byzantine reconquest.¹³⁰

The aforementioned Kyrillos was a pagarch from a lower, though still rather exalted, aristocratic level than Strategios Paneuphemos, which in the Arsinoite included the

from Herakleopolis, *CPR* XXIV 25.7–9 (Herakleopolis; 598), provided that this Strategios is indeed Strategios Paneuphemos.

125 On the event and our main source (Michael the Syrian), see Van Loon 2017, 128–129 and Allen 2013, 197–198, with particular attention to the date at 197 n. 44. Strategios's participation suggests that he was himself a miaphysite, in contrast to the imperial Chalcedonian orthodoxy (which also the Oxyrhynchite Apiones adhered to, one should add in this context).

126 P.Vindob. G 50349; Kovarik 2014, 682 n. 280.

127 *BGU* III 725 (July 21, 618) has Kyrillos alive; see Van Loon 2017, 129–130. It seems unlikely that *SPP* VIII 1228 (623/624 CE) can be linked to a pagarchy that Strategios and the "heirs of Kyrillos" held at that time. Rather, this document appears to be relating to the fiscal shares of the Arsinoite because a collective reference to heirs for *only one part* of a pagarchical collective would be unprecedented. The Antaiopolite pattern suggests that either all pagarchs were addressed anonymously and collectively, or each is explicitly named.

128 Even though the exact content of *SPP* VIII 1228 is obscure, it certainly relates to fiscal issues. It seems to be a tax receipt, but Arsinoite parallels are virtually nonexistent for this type of document.

129 Strategios (if this is really him; see the Appendix, s.v.) is referred to without his *patricius* title in a (posthumous) document from 653 CE, in the early Islamic period (*CPR* XXIV 33), which suggests that he no longer held this title, and *SPP* VIII 1228 may suggest that he already lost (or suppressed) his patriciate under the Persian regime.

130 An estate, managed by an *antigeouchos*, still bears Strategios's name in *CPR* XXIV 33.5–6 (see the preceding note). The estate is mentioned in a lacuna, but should more likely be restored as *ousia* or *oikos* without an epithet; *endoxoi oikoi* are not attested after the Islamic conquest (see the Appendix, s.v. Strategios Paneuphemos for a discussion). What is also interesting here is that the *antigeouchos* of Strategios's estate is the proxy for the current pagarch, which would appear to suggest institutional continuity and reminds of that *Edict* 13 had to say about the transfer of estates from one incumbent to his successor in case of forced dismissal, but again, a confiscation seems unlikely.

pagarchs Apion Stratelates, Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates, Kyrillos, and Menas Stratelates. All of these were *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* at one point in their career.¹³¹ Three of them can be found to have been granted promotions during their tenures as pagarchs, assuming these were continuous: **Apion Stratelates** started out as *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* but between 563 and 565 appears to have been promoted to *paneuphēmos apo hypatōn*.¹³² **Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates** also began as *endoxotatoi stratēlatai* but are later seen as *eukleestatoi hypatoi*, still jointly addressed as pagarchs. This permeability between “imperial” and “regional” elites illustrates that what I call the *upper tier* is a rather coherent stratum when compared to the *lower tier*, which will be further discussed later.

The only pagarch from among these *endoxotatoi stratēlatai* about whom we can gather more detailed information is **Menas Stratelates**.¹³³ He was a landowner¹³⁴ and pagarch at least from 615/616 to 622/623, and presumably longer than that. The documents, in so far as their state of preservation allows for such statements, are mostly linked to private business, with some cases that may relate to official activity: In one instance, Menas issues an order that seems to concern a gift for a special day or a festival; the same text contains an obscure reference to a “lamp lighter” (*phanaptēs*) and a (military) *excubitor*.¹³⁵ Another text deals with a grain payment to “Theodoros, *hypodektēs* of the *ousia* of Menas, the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs*,” which was possibly related to the grain tax.¹³⁶ There is one clear attestation of Menas’s official duties, however, in which a *cheiristēs* (“helper”) of Menas appears, to whom the collection of apparently official fiscal dues—payments for a stone building and grain contributions—was entrusted.¹³⁷ The *cheiristēs* worked in connection with a *hypodektēs* and asks Menas to provide *bucellarii* so that he would be able to collect the due amounts.¹³⁸

It is notable that Menas, as one of the highest-ranking local elites, is attested in office under Roman *and* the Persian rule. Does this mean that he consciously gambled on cooperating with the invaders? There has been some speculation that Menas may have been subsequently sentenced for this collaboration after the Byzantine reconquest of 629 CE.¹³⁹

131 Strategios Paneuphemos may in fact have been a “hidden” *stratēlatēs*; see the Appendix, s.v.

132 *BGU* I 305 and *CPR* XIV 10.

133 Van Loon 2017, 128 with further references.

134 *SPP* III² 153 (629 or 644 CE) and *SPP* III 344 (643 or 658 CE; posthumous). In both cases, the texts refer to an *ousia*, not an *oikos*.

135 *SPP* VIII 1048.3 (620 or 635 CE): ἐν τῇ τῶν σίτων ἐορτῇ and l. 2: (καὶ) τοῦ φανάπτου/ (καὶ) τοῦ ἐξσκο[υβίτορος (read ἐξκουβίτορος).

136 *SPP* III² 153.1–2 (629 or 644 CE).

137 *P.Münch.* III 130 (Arsinoites?; VII?). The payment for the building that is behind l. 4: ἀ]νοικοδομηθ() appears to be extraordinary due to the building’s previous destruction (ll. 6–8; see *BL* IX 173), while the grain payments are linked to the *katabolē* (ll. 19–20), the regular tax installment.

138 *Hypodektēs*: l. 21. *Bucellarii*: l. 11. Cf. the mentions of a *hypodektēs* and a *bucellarius* of Menas’s *ousia* in *SPP* III² 153 and *SPP* III 344, respectively. In addition, *apaitein* (ll. 12, 17, and 32) is obvious official fiscal terminology.

139 *CPR* XXIV, p. 180. On the connected hypothesis on the same page, “daß [at this occasion] für die wieder getrennten Pagarchien Arsinoites und Theodosiupolites neue Pagarchen ernannt wurden,” see Stern forthcoming (e).

But if this were the case, it would be remarkable to find Menas's *ousia* prevailing under his name (with his title of *stratēlatēs*!) until even after the Islamic conquest, which makes a loss of status during the Byzantine reconquest somewhat unlikely.¹⁴⁰ We may therefore assume that Menas's conduct was not considered unusual or extraordinary.

3. The Lower Tier

Antiochos & Theon, Theodoros

On the lower level, evidence from Arcadia is scarce. The pagarchs **Antiochos & Theon** were most likely *lamprotatoi* or, at most, *peribleptoi*, and although we cannot pin down the precise nome for which they were responsible, their responsibility fell within the province of Arcadia.¹⁴¹ The relevant text shows both pagarchs in close exchange with the presidial bureau of Arcadia, where they are said to have handed in a fiscal report (*anaphora*) to the author of the text, which he passed on. Furthermore, the pagarchs were to provide donkeys for a transport.

The Oxyrhynchite pagarch **Theodoros** is a *megaloprepestatos* and this epithet makes it indeed hard to decide whether he actually is to be added to the group of lower-tier pagarchs or whether he is not a “hidden” *endoxotatos*.¹⁴² The identification with a homonymous *meizoteros* from the Apion estate is based exclusively on the personal name, which is common, and should be, cautiously, rejected.¹⁴³ The address using only the epithet *megaloprepestatos* is shared by some of the other pagarchs known from around the end of the Byzantine reign in Egypt.¹⁴⁴ In the only extant text, Theodoros, through a *phylax*, sends for horses from one of the Apiones' *chartoularioi*, but it is unclear whether this relates to official issues. On the one hand, the *chartoularios* appears to be assuming Theodoros's familiarity with internal matters of the Apion estate; on the other hand, he appears to shield the estate administration against potential reproaches from Theodoros, and there is a certain distance in the tone. In short, it remains possible that Theodoros assumed the pagarchy for his masters, the Apiones, who would then have held the pagarchy next to their responsibility

¹⁴⁰ Again, *SPP* III 344.1–2 (October 8, 643 or October 7, 658): βουκελλάριος ούσίας τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Μηνᾶ γενωμένου (read γενομένου) στρ[ατηλάτου] | τῆς Ἀρσινοιτῶν πόλεως. See also *SPP* III² 153.1–2 (April 11, 629 or 644): [ὕ]ποδέκτ(ης) ούσί(ας) Μηνᾶ τοῦ [ἐν]δοξ(ο)τ(άτου) | στρ[ατη]ηλάτου. Menas is reported dead in the former but apparently alive in the latter text. The expression “*stratēlatēs* of the city” in the former is a rare habit of the Islamic period; see p. 164 n. 27 above.

¹⁴¹ *P.Mich.* XI 624 (Arcadia; early VI).

¹⁴² *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858 (Oxyrhynchos; early VII). On the epithet *megaloprepestatos* and its occasional use as sole epithet for individuals who were from the rank of *endoxotatos*, see above.

¹⁴³ See the Appendix, s.v.

¹⁴⁴ E.g., the Oxyrhynchite pagarch Ioulianos (*PSI* I 52) or the Arsinoite pagarch Theodorakios (*W.Chr.* 8).

for fiscal shares¹⁴⁵—but the evidence is not particularly suggestive of this possibility and I opt for rejecting it.

— v —

PATTERNS OF PAGARCHY

All known pagarchs have two things in common: they were notables drawn from those ranks that had originally marked membership in the senate and they bore the predicate of Flavius. It is the spectrum, however, that is striking here: while some pagarchs apparently did not exceed the rank of *lamprotatos*, many others did, and indeed all senatorial epithets can be found among the pagarchs, reaching as far as *paneuphēmos* and *hyperphyestatos*. It follows that a certain status was not by itself a prerequisite for holding the pagarchy, but it is more difficult to determine whether the reverse was true. It would appear that holding the pagarchy did not entitle the incumbent to a particular epithet, but a problem is that we cannot trace any *lamprotatos* pagarch with certainty back to the time before he assumed the pagarchy. Pagarchs generally bore the name attribute of Flavius, which was restrained to higher civic and imperial officials and dignitaries or to the military, whereas the *praepositi pagorum* had regularly been Aurelii. The survey in the preceding sections suggests, however, that two groups can be distinguished: a group of “upper-tier” pagarchs who came into this position while already in possession of significant political and socioeconomic power, and another group of “lower-tier” pagarchs who took up the pagarchy after having held decidedly bureaucratic posts.

1. Imperial and Regional Elites

Within the first group of upper-tier pagarchs one can further distinguish two subgroups: a “supralocal” imperial elite whose horizon reached as far as Constantinople through close ties to the imperial administration or even to the imperial family,¹⁴⁶ and a regional elite who lacked any visible links to the imperial level or to other dioceses or provinces. The Oxyrhynchite Apiones and Strategios Paneuphemos in Arsinoe certainly number among examples of the “imperial elite,” exalted through the epithets *hyperphyestatos*, *paneuphēmos*, and *eukleestatos*, but probably more decisively through the title of *patricius*. The Oxyrhynchite Apiones were, for the most part, absentee landowners active in Eastern and Constantinopolitan politics who would, however, still have borne responsibility at the local level through their authority over villages that were “pagarched” by their *oikos*, whereas

¹⁴⁵ Cf., again, *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 where it is made explicit that Ptolemaios and Ioustos (or their heirs) held fiscal shares *and* responsibility for the pagarchy.

¹⁴⁶ The term *supralocal elites* is employed by Slootjes 2011 (a study focusing on the imperial period) in order to describe elites who were active beyond what Slootjes conceives as their local powerbase: e.g., Roman senators with landholdings in a distant province.

Strategios, while maintaining close ties to the emperor, was clearly present in the Fayum acting as Heraclius's (and, supposedly, Phocas's) local right-hand man and being personally involved in the pagarchy, presumably in addition to his own fiscal shares.

Further down the social hierarchy, both the Thebaid and Arcadia furnish more numerous examples of regional elites with the standing of *endoxotatos*, but the line between imperial and regional elites was permeable, as is obvious in the cases of some pagarchs on their way to the imperial level. In the Fayum, Apion Stratelates went from *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* to *paneuphēmos apo hypatōn* and Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates rose from *endoxotatoi stratēlatai* to *eukleestatoi hypatoi*.¹⁴⁷ In Antaiopolis, Ioulianos's title of *apo eparchōn* may hint to a former career on the prefectural level, that is, the level immediately subaltern to the imperial sphere, although this title may be dismissed as a simple honor that does not necessarily imply that Ioulianos ever was actually prefect.¹⁴⁸ Ioulianos's exalted standing would, however, be a convincing explanation for why he held the Antaiopolite pagarchy for more than a decade, in which he rivals imperial elites like Strategios Paneuphemos.

Regarding the issue of imperial vs. regional horizon/focus, there is not much evidence about how the achievement of imperial titles changed the ways of any of these up-and-coming imperial elites. The case of Menas Stratelates, however, brings an interesting nuance to this issue, for he continued to hold the pagarchy under the Persians but received no apparent blowback to his standing after the Byzantine reconquest. This may suggest that Menas was more focused on his regional standing, which would by itself seem natural for an aristocrat of local means without any immediate links to the imperial level. But it may also be that this is significant not so much for Menas's attitude as it is for how the pagarchy was perceived. The apparently easy transition to a new regime and the absence of a Byzantine reaction to such conduct may, then, emphasize the *local* significance of the pagarchy and its deep integration into the local administrative network. It may have simply not occurred to Menas that he should have refrained from continuing to act as pagarch, and it was apparently nothing for which the Byzantine central administration later would reprimand him.

Next to Menas, there are other pagarchs who continued to act in office after regime changes, such as Theodorakios, who did so after the Islamic conquest.¹⁴⁹ We do not have

¹⁴⁷ Note that in all three cases, their later epithets (*paneuphēmos* and *eukleestatos*, respectively) are the same as in the case of the *patricii*, but the three did not, so far as we can see, achieve this last breakthrough to the title of *patricius*. They were thus on the exact same (formal) level as Apion III and Strategios Paneuphemos before each of these two was granted, under Phokas, the *patricius* title. See also the *endoxotatoi* heirs of a *hyperphyestatos patricius* in SB XVIII 13952, suggesting that it was due to their heritage that at least some *endoxotatoi* had a favorable starting position for a run to the level of imperial elites; *patricius* is restored, but convincingly so, by Gonis 2008, 203.

¹⁴⁸ Note additionally the possibility that he may be identical with the Ioulianos in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67008, a *paneuphēmos stratēlatēs*, which would imply a promotion.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *W.Chr.* 8 (639/640) and *CPR XXIV* 32 (May 4, 651).

unambiguous evidence for how an imperial aristocrat like Strategios Paneuphemos would have acted in the face of a looming foreign invasion, but we have seen above that there is indeed good reason to believe that Strategios in fact not only survived the Persian conquest, but even stayed in Egypt in a position of fiscal responsibility, presumably for the fiscal shares of his *oikos*.¹⁵⁰ We may recall that even before the Persian conquest Strategios Paneuphemos had lived to see two regime changes: from Maurice to Phocas and from Phocas to Heraclius, the second of which had led to bloody clashes even in Egypt itself.¹⁵¹ Neither of these incidents did anything to Strategios's standing; in fact, Phocas even made him a *patricius* shortly after his accession. In Constantinople, surviving a regime change was a more delicate matter for favorites of the overthrown regime.¹⁵² An apparent paradox results: on the one hand there is the "drive" of these men to the imperial level, on the other the unhinged transition of the pagarchy and other local power positions from one regime to another. Can we style Strategios Paneuphemos as representative of an elite that was courted by the emperors in the interest of maintaining a firm grip in the province but that fell short of providing loyalty once their local power base was at stake? In this picture, elite politics emerges as a dry calculation and weighing of profits—for both sides. Notable promotions, certainly not without imperial consent, occurred at times when these elites were holding the pagarchy,¹⁵³ suggesting that they performed their office sufficiently well in the eyes of the central government and that their officeholding at least served to foster their standing. Perhaps their personal loyalty was not the primary factor that made Menas and Strategios important to the regime; instead, they primarily had to "function," and the transition between different powers may therefore have been "part of the game." The apparently smooth transition of pagarchs to new regimes attests to an institution well integrated into the administrative machinery of the Egyptian diocese.

2. Career Bureaucrats on the Lower Tier

Typification for the lower-tier pagarchs is riskier than for the upper tier because much of the evidence we have for this type of pagarch concerns Menas Scrinarius and his successor Kollouthos Cancellarius. Both are exemplary Thebaid bureaucrats in that they were mobile: they went from the countryside to Antinoopolis in order to pursue a career in the provincial administration or from the capital to the countryside in order to claim central positions

150 Cf. also *P.Prag.* I 64 (May 28, 636). The *dux* here is Theodosios, son of the *patricia* Sophia. If he can be identified as the brother of Strategios Paneuphemos (see p. 179 n. 121 above), this would suggest again that Strategios, or the family as such, had not fallen from imperial favor.

151 On the chronology of the transition from Phocas to Heraclius and its traces in Egypt, see Palme 2015, 224–225. Phocas, after his accession in November 602, was quick to reward Strategios Paneuphemos with the *patricius* title, the earliest instance of which being *P.Erl.* 73 from March 29, 604.

152 See Begass 2018, 421–422 for the consequences of regime change in Constantinople.

153 Apion Stratelates, Strategios Stratelates, and Strategios Paneuphemos were promoted that way.

there.¹⁵⁴ Many bureaucrats from Antinoopolis are known to have owned landholdings in the Antinoopolite, Hermopolite, or Antaiopolite nomes,¹⁵⁵ which can at least be said for Menas.¹⁵⁶ In addition, Menas and Kollouthos both had professional experience that probably made them the perfect choice for filling this post, all of which further suggests that the story of Menas being pagarch *because* he was Patrikia's *dioikētēs* may not be so simple, and that it may have been the other way around—that the trained bureaucrat Menas offered himself to Patrikia to perform the Antaiopolite pagarchy and only to this end became her *dioikētēs*.¹⁵⁷ The reasons for which Kollouthos assumed the pagarchy of Antaiopolis are, however, not quite clear.¹⁵⁸ The links of the lower-tier pagarchs Menas, Kollouthos Cancellarius, Kollouthos Exceptor, and, probably, of Kallinikos in Hermopolis may thus also illustrate the close links the pagarchy had to the spheres of provincial government since *Edict* 13. These links are pointedly underscored by what Dioskoros had to say about the families of the pagarchs Kollouthos and Phoibammon, both of whom were closely linked to or can be considered part of the administrative elite of the province.

There are but two papyri that show lower-tier pagarchs in Arcadia. Antiochos & Theon are noted to have handed a fiscal report (*anaphora*) to the provincial administration, which is also the most plausible reason for the anonymous pagarchs of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068 to be present in Antinoopolis. And in the second case, the Oxyrhynchite pagarch Theodoros, it is not even clear if this man was in fact a lower-tier pagarch. He may have held a managing position on the Apion estate and in this function assume the pagarchy for his *geouchōn*,¹⁵⁹ but the only text to attest him is not particularly suggestive of this possibility. The comparatively small share that the pagarchy held among the *syntelestai* in Oxyrhynchos¹⁶⁰ may also make it plausible in this case that Theodoros held the pagarchy in his own right.

Like the upper-tier elites, the lower-tier bureaucrats illustrate the rigid administrative integration of the pagarchy, mostly through their close ties to the ducal bureau, and—more overtly than the upper-tier elites—they reveal their character as a *Funktionselite*, as an

154 Rarely do we have information in one document as explicit as in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67309 (Antinoopolis; February 25–March 26, 569), where the *boēthos logistēriou* Ioannes describes himself as stemming from Lykopolis, but since long dwelling in Antinoopolis.

155 See Keenan 2001, 66–68 and 70.

156 *P.Lond.* V 1714.

157 An interpretation that would make him even more the “power-seeking element” described by Banaji 2007, 163.

158 Was he the anonymous “pagarch and *topotērētēs*,” (the *topotērētēs* was a sort of local representative of the *dux et Augustalis*; see Jesenko 2016), whom *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003.25 mentions, provided that these two titles refer to one and the same person (cf. p. 216 n. 124 below)?

159 Admittedly, Theodoros ranks notably higher than Menas, but *if* he was a part of the Apion estate, then his superior was most likely the *antigeouchos* Biktor, an *endoxotatos illustrios*, who in turn answered to the head of the *endoxos oikos*, the *hyperphystatos* and *paneuphēmos patricius* Apion III. The hierarchical distance of Theodoros from Apion may, in this case, therefore safely be equated with how the *endoxotatē* Patrikia would relate to her *dioikētēs* Menas Scrinarius, all provided that this Theodoros is indeed the same as the homonymous *meizoteros*, which, as state above, the evidence does hardly suggest.

160 See Chapter Three.

aristocracy of service. The example of Menas suggests that the pagarchy may have been part of the path to higher honors for these bureaucrats, but it is elusive to what degree these opportunities were counterpoised by a higher risk. A responsibility with such immense financial implications certainly posed an existential threat for lower-ranking landowners,¹⁶¹ which may account for some of Menas's conduct in the Aphrodite affair.¹⁶² That both Menas and Kollouthos are likely to have seen very limited tenures in comparison to the upper-tier pagarchs may reflect that their career was more unstable or volatile than those of elites of higher standing, or that the office was, after all, still a strain to them, as they were less capable of handling and diverting profit and loss.

3. Local Elites, but Mobile

The career bureaucrats from the lower tier bring yet another issue into this discussion: the mobility displayed by the pagarchs Menas Scrinarius and Kollouthos Cancellarius. As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, it is commonly assumed that pagarchs in the Byzantine period originated from the areas they became responsible for, and thus would have formed a "local elite." There is, however, almost no positive evidence regarding the origins of individual pagarchs. Normally documents refer to an individual's origin via *apo* ("from") plus toponym in the genitive but, as we have seen, this formula virtually never occurs in reference to pagarchs or other aristocrats because these men were distinguished enough without the additional identifier of their origin. Naturally, in the case of large landowners with imperial ties and estates extending into more than one nome, it would certainly have been odd to address them as "hailing from Oxyrhynchos" or the like.¹⁶³ A subtle reference to the pagarchs' mobility may be found, however, in *Edict 13* (539 CE), which in one passage lists all institutions and sections of population that were subject to the *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid:

"And subject to him, of course, as stated before, shall be the *praesides* of the provinces, who govern the mentioned provinces, and their bureaus' subordinates and the entire provincial (*politikē*) or civic (*dēmosia*) auxiliary staff, and the pagarchs, and the curials, and in general all those who—with regard to these provinces—are (there) or inhabit (them) or act as pagarchs (*pagarchountes*) or in any matter handle public affairs."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Naturally, a lower rank need not be indicative of a smaller fortune, but by and large this equation may be assumed to be valid.

¹⁶² This episode will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁶³ We may recall that also the Apiones, whose fiscal share was dominant in Oxyrhynchos, were originally from Herakleopolis and rose to wealth in Oxyrhynchos through the administration, and later the granting, of imperial estates.

¹⁶⁴ *Ed. 13.25.*

Perhaps it is problematic to impute such subtlety to the edict, yet the pagarchs—and other officials—are obviously set in contrast to the inhabitants of a given administrative area, suggesting that they did not have to reside there and did not necessarily originate from the region.¹⁶⁵

One of the rare literary sources for the pagarchy, the Coptic *Life of Aaron*, is more explicit in challenging the assumption that mobile pagarchs were an innovation of the Islamic period.¹⁶⁶ This text, which can compellingly be shown to have been composed before the Islamic conquest, most probably in the sixth century, features a passage in which the pagarchy is used as a literary device in order to explain an actor's interregional mobility. In the quote below, Aaron recalls a conversation with Makedonios—who would later become the first bishop of Philai—in which he tells Aaron how he came to the region of Philai in the first place:

“For he said to me: ‘When I was still a notable, and started to become rich, I went south, because I was pagarch over these cities.’”¹⁶⁷

What would the audience have assumed to be the reason for Makedonios's taking up the pagarchy in the deep south: recently acquired or granted estates? But Makedonios appears to have had no former ties to this region. Or did he receive a direct appointment maybe *bound* to a granted estate? Whatever the imagined reason, it is significant for our discussion that the text assumes that its contemporary audience would accept the idea of a pagarch taking up his position in a region that he had no connection to. This point becomes even more significant when we consider the explicit reference to the pagarchy in a story set in the late fourth century and the beginning of the fifth: First, Coptic literary texts only rarely specify particular offices, usually sticking to the general term *archōn*, which in Coptic serves to denote any official of some significance. And second, given that the pagarchy was, in reality, still a curial office in the narrated period, its appearance in the story qualifies as an anachronism. The pagarchy is thus unlikely to have played a role in the “historical reality” behind this episode and consequently must have been deliberately chosen for its capacity to explain Makedonios's move to Philai. The choice of a pagarch taking up an appointment in a remote region was therefore most likely not an accident.

Mobile officials were, as we have seen, nothing new to Byzantine Egypt, but mobility in the sense of taking up appointments somewhere else than one's primary residence was thus

¹⁶⁵ A more profane interpretation here would hold that the pagarchs are mentioned because of the significance of their business to the imperial cause.

¹⁶⁶ See on this text the in-depth analysis in Dijkstra 2008. A reedition of this important work is currently being prepared by Jitse Dijkstra and Jacques van der Vliet.

¹⁶⁷ ἀρχοός γάρ [ναῖ χε ετ]ἰ εἰο ἄρχων ἐπιχίαρχη ἄντι[ἄντι]λοῦσιος ἀεὶ ἐρῆς ἐπιπαρχη ἐ[χ]ἠ νεῖπολις. See Dijkstra 2008, 255 and Dijkstra 2007, 193–194 for the text and its translation. For an analysis of the pagarchy in this context and the question of whether this passage was aimed at a Byzantine audience still, see Stern forthcoming (a).

far something explicitly denied to the pagarchs. Turning to practice, however, there are few obvious candidates for pagarchs who did not originate from the *civitas* in which they were appointed pagarch. One reason for this is the pagarchs' elevated standing, which conceals the statement of origin from the documents.¹⁶⁸ The most explicit outsider is Ioulianos, who is occasionally referred to as "the Arsinoite." How this relates to his presence in Antaiopolis remains a mystery, however. Ioulianos may have relocated there either due to an appointment as *praeses* in the Thebaid or after he had served as pretorian prefect of the East, provided that these titles reflect offices he actually discharged, and not titular ones. Elite landholding in the Roman Empire, moreover, was always political.¹⁶⁹ Ioulianos's *ousia*, then, may have been some sort of imperial reward for his service as prefect, considerable enough to make him eligible to assume the pagarchy.¹⁷⁰ This case would be well in line with Banaji's model of a bureaucratic elite claiming economically powerful local positions due to completed imperial service and also with what the *Life of Aaron* presents as an apparently common model for a pagarch's career. Ioulianos furthermore points to the role that chance plays in our knowledge: out of a significant number of texts that have survived to tell us about the doings and dealings of this man, only one tells us of his origin. We may assume, therefore, that there may have been more outsider aristocrats whose "foreign" origins have simply not found their way into the documents they left us.

A different type of mobility occurred among the lower-tier pagarchs, exemplified by Menas, Kollouthos, and likely others without us knowing. They were part of the provincial administrative staff, whose mobility in the course of a bureaucratic career has already been highlighted in the previous section. This pattern is also visible in Oxyrhynchos, the capital of Arcadia,¹⁷¹ and thus Antiochos and Theon (compared to the *cancellarius* and pagarch Kollouthos) or Theodoros (compared to the *dioikētēs* and pagarch Menas) would be suitable candidates for such careers, although their origin remains elusive.

It is more difficult to assess the mobility of pagarchs who may have taken up appointment in multiple *civitates*.¹⁷² In Serenos's case, the relevant identification with a

168 That said, nearly every pagarch may have been from another region than the one that he was appointed to, but it seems safe to assume the *communis opinio* as the *point de départ*, i.e., to assume that a pagarch's *origo* was the *civitas* to which he was appointed.

169 Cf. Begass 2016 for the links between aristocratic landowning and imperial policy in the Eastern Empire of the fifth and sixth centuries.

170 Admittedly, the idea that imperial favorites were provided with land in a region where they were about to take up office can only draw on ambiguous evidence. The *dux et Augustalis* and *patricius* Athanasios, for instance, controlled an *oikos* in the Antinoopolite nome, that is, in the immediate hinterland of the provincial capital where he served as governor. Note that Athanasios was perhaps the son of the pagarch and former *praeses* Ioulianos, "the Arsinoite," as is suggested by an unpublished papyrus (see Ruffini 2011, s.v. Athanasios 4).

171 Keenan 2001, 72–73.

172 The *Life of Aaron* mentions "these cities" (ΝΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ) that Makedonios says he will be administering as pagarch, but this remark may in the literary context be dismissed as referring to "towns" in the sense of larger settlements, rather than to *civitates* in the legal sense. The question of the legal status of the "cities" in this region, around the First Cataract, are discussed by Dijkstra & Worp 2006.

Hermopolite landowner and this landowner's pagarchy are, though possible, not convincing with the evidence we have. In Kollouthos's case, by contrast, it is plausible that he was indeed pagarch in Antaiopolis as well as in Antinoopolis (presumably not at the same time), though this is not certain. Since Kollouthos would be the first pagarch responsible for two nomes, something without precedent in the Byzantine period, it seems safer not to assume this.¹⁷³ The early Islamic period also yields some examples of pagarchs in multiple nomes, though to date, these cannot be evidenced to have been in office in two nomes at the same time.¹⁷⁴

4. Clusters of Evidence

Comparing the various regions and their attested pagarchs, one primarily notes the striking similarities of the pagarchs' career patterns across the two compared regions, which I captured in the upper/lower-tier model. Three differences stand out, however, as regards namely the ratio between upper-tier and lower-tier pagarchs, the distribution of imperial elites, and the prevalence of the title of *stratēlatēs*.

By and large, evidence from the Thebaid shows an equal proportion of pagarchs from the upper tier and those from the lower tier, whereas the upper tier is significantly more prominent in Arcadia, with only two documents attesting lower-tier pagarchs at all, one of whom is even a *megaloprepestatos*. A hypothesis may be that the lower-ranking pagarchs were only performing the pagarchy as stand-ins for ultimately responsible "nominal" pagarchs from the upper tier, in which case the distribution of our evidence would be able to explain the different pattern of occurrence. The evidence from the Fayum, as well as that from Oxyrhynchos, consists, for the most part, of papers from the large estates of high-ranking aristocrats who in some cases happened to be pagarch. The overwhelming majority of documents from the Thebaid, however, stems from the Dioskoros archive, in which pagarchs are mentioned when Dioskoros (and his family) came across them, mostly at the village level or little above. From this perspective, the situation in the Thebaid presumably would simply exhibit a more regular picture of the pagarch's day-to-day job, which is to say that it features more prominently "active" pagarchs with whom people would actually come into contact. These would, then, be absent from the Fayum evidence because we do not have comparable material from the village level from this region.

¹⁷³ The case of the pagarchs Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis should not count here because this phenomenon is accounted for by the particular history of the Theodosiopolite nome, about which see Stern forthcoming (e).

¹⁷⁴ See, for instance, Nājid b. Muslim, who was pagarch of Herakleopolis at least from 728 to 730 and is generally thought to have been appointed pagarch of Arsinoe *afterward*, at some point between 730 and 750. See Sijpesteijn (2013) 124–125 and *passim*. There is the possibility that Theodorakios, pagarch of Arsinoe at least 639/640–February 9, 644 or May 4, 651 may have been identical with the pagarch of the same name who was active in Herakleopolis at the same time, though this is far from certain; see the Appendix.

But this hypothesis seems unlikely. Although Menas Scrinarius and the Oxyrhynchite pagarch Theodoros may have been pagarchs by the delegation of higher aristocrats, there are valid arguments to the contrary in these cases, as presented in Chapter Four. More decisive, however, seem to be the signatures on the tax receipts. In the Antaiopolite tax receipts, upper-tier pagarchs such as Ioulianos and Patrikia, who was allegedly Menas's "superior" or "nominal" pagarch, are the overall responsible authorities in whose names the collectors sign, and the petitions against Ioulianos show that these upper-tier pagarchs were also perceived as the ones responsible. Receipts from Hermopolis and Antinoopolis, however, show the lower-tier pagarchs Dorotheos, Kallinikos, and Kollouthos Exceptor in this exact position as overall responsible authorities, which speaks against the notion that they were generally stand-ins. The median aristocratic level may therefore indeed have been higher in the Fayum and in Oxyrhynchos than in Antaiopolis and Antinoopolis. In other words, I do think that the lower-tier pagarch Menas Scrinarius in the Antaiopolite also signed tax receipts, which we do simply not have.

Linked to this issue is the question of why there are no imperial elites attested as holding the pagarchy in the Thebaid. Arcadia shows a handful of pagarchs bearing imperial epithets, some already from the point at which they appear in our documentation, others later after a promotion; in the Thebaid, by contrast, no known pagarch bears any epithet higher than *endoxotatos* or titles such as *patricius* and *hypatos* (or even *stratēlatēs*). Did men like the *dux et Augustalis* Athanasios, a *patricius* after all, assume the pagarchy somewhere, and is it only by chance that we lack any evidence of this? We must not forget, however, that the period from which we have evidence for pagarchs is considerably shorter in Antaiopolis than in Arsinoe, simply limiting the opportunity to observe a pagarch from the imperial level in the Thebaid. Furthermore, figures such as the Oxyrhynchite Apiones or Strategios Paneuphemos were so exceptional that there would not have been too many of them throughout the Byzantine world of their time anyway. But even in this light, it is still notable that *all* upper-tier elites from the Fayum—for Oxyrhynchos, the precise ranks of the non-Apiones are obscure—ranked higher than even the highest-ranking pagarchs known from the Thebaid. The aforementioned different character of the evidence may be a factor here, but the pattern is so striking that this is hardly a sufficient explanation. Again, this may be accounted for by a generally lower-ranking nome aristocracy in the Thebaid than in the Fayum and, potentially, in Oxyrhynchos, so that the pagarchy was not, as one may think, of higher value in the Fayum, but likely simply adapted to the distribution of elites present in each region.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ In Chapter Four I compared Ioulianos's role in the administrative network of Antaiopolis to the role that Strategios Paneuphemos played in the Fayum; their hierarchical difference may in this view be indicative of a general divide in terms of status between Arsinoe and Antaiopolis.

The third point to reckon with is the overwhelming number of *stratēlatai* among the Arsinoite pagarchs. The title of *stratēlatēs* is attested for all known pagarchs from that region apart from Strategios Paneuphemos, but his *stratēlateia* might have been suppressed from his titlature only once he became *hypatos*, at some point before the papyri start to attest him.¹⁷⁶ Outside the Fayum, however, no pagarch is known to have been *stratēlatēs*, although in general *stratēlatai* from other regions are well known: for instance, the *dux et Augustalis* Athanasios in Antinoopolis and the “pagarching” landlord Strategios II in Oxyrhynchos.¹⁷⁷ Several men from the ranks of the *endoxotatoi* pagarchs can with certainty be excluded from having held the *stratēlateia*, since they are attested with lower honorifics: this concerns Ioulianos, Ioannes, and Serenos in Antaiopolis, as well as Ioustos in Oxyrhynchos.¹⁷⁸ The pattern of suppressing the *stratēlateia* in case of higher honors is not consistent,¹⁷⁹ but a comparison with the title of *illoustrios* may be illuminating. This title was borne by pagarchs in Antaiopolis (Ioulianos, Serenos) and in Arsinoe (Strategios Stratelates), as well as by the “pagarching” landlady Anastasia in Oxyrhynchos. Strategios Stratelates was *illoustrios* at an early stage of his career, but in the document where he holds the pagarchy, he is also *stratēlatēs* and the *illoustrios* title is suppressed from his titlature. This observation may in turn also account for the seemingly complete absence of the *illoustrios* title among the Arsinoite pagarchs: they were all *stratēlatai*, so if one of them had ever been *illoustrios*, this title was suppressed once he became *stratēlatēs*.¹⁸⁰ We can cautiously infer that there was a clear hierarchy, maybe even a *cursus*, of the honorary titles *illoustrios*, *stratēlatēs*, *hypatos*, and *patricius*, and that the Fayum featured a higher degree of “aristocratic density” than the Thebaid that cannot be simply dismissed by referring to the “clusters of evidence.” There is, however, no obvious answer to the question of what drives this difference, apart from the point that the Arcadian nomes were closer to Alexandria and the rest of the Empire and may for this reason have seen a concentration of higher-ranking elites.

Finally, the different clusters of evidence are certainly to a degree responsible for the contrast of Byzantine “local magnate” pagarchs vs. Islamic “bureaucrat” pagarchs in the scholarly literature. Much of the Islamic documentation for the pagarchs is composed from

176 For the discussion, see the Appendix, s.v.

177 The “pagarching” landowners Apion II and III are uncertain cases. They are comparable to Strategios Paneuphemos in that they ranked higher than *stratēlatēs* from their first appearance. They, however, keep at least their patriciate and consulship together in their titlature, while Strategios Paneuphemos is known to have suppressed his consulship once he attained the patriciate. This would suggest that Apion II and III had indeed not been *stratēlatai* before, but maybe they simply did not consider the *stratēlateia* worth keeping?

178 Ioulianos and Serenos are frequently referred to as *illoustrios*; Ioannes and Ioustos are sometimes given the title of *comes*. If these aristocrats had been entitled to the titles of *stratēlatēs*, *hypatos*, or *patricius*, any of these would have been preferred over *illoustrios* or *comes* in a short reference.

179 *Stratēlateia* suppressed: Apion Stratelates, Christophoros, and Strategios Stratelates (the title disappears from their long-form titlature when they rise to become *hypatoi*). *Stratēlateia* kept: Strategios II (who regularly kept his *stratēlateia* next to the honorary consulship and the patriciate, which does not appear to have depended on the writer of the document).

180 See *P.Oxy.* LXXXII, p. 143 for a comparable pattern in the case of *politeuomenoi*.

the contents of two archives: that of Papas from the second half of the seventh century, and that of Basileios from the early eighth. Both are administrative archives and contain scores of letters that these pagarchs received from, or wrote to, various administrative levels. We do not have a comparable dossier for the Byzantine period; but our picture of the pagarchy would probably be very different if we had, for instance, the official inbox of Ioulianos or Menas Stratelates.

— VI —

SUMMARY

An analysis of the pagarchs' career patterns reveals that they were in fact far from being a coherent "local magnate" elite. Although it is difficult to schematize an *absolute* hierarchy of late antique elites and to attribute them to distinct classes, they can still be allocated within a consistent *relative* hierarchy according to the epithets and titles they bear. Transferring this model onto the Byzantine pagarchs highlights an intriguing diversity in their career patterns: In the Fayum, we regularly witness pagarchs from the ranks of at least *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* taking up the pagarchy, some of whom even received promotions during their tenure and rose to the wider imperial circles, undoubtedly forming the political leadership in the *civitas* of Arsinoe. In Oxyrhynchos, the only two pagarchs we see were not the biggest actors in terms of rank amid a group of aristocratic peers, many of whom would exceed these pagarchs in rank and can be clearly found to have wielded fiscal authority themselves. The Thebaid, finally, features pagarchs from the rank of *lamprotatos* in numbers that we do not find in Arcadia, and the idea that all these were only stand-ins for superiors seems untenable. While the upper-tier pagarchs leave few traces of their careers before the pagarchy, the *lamprotatoi* seem to conform to the general pattern of career bureaucrats to whom the pagarchy was part of their official *cursus*. It is, furthermore, clear that the pagarchs were not necessarily a strictly local elite, and that the number of outsiders may be larger than we are aware of. There are few explicit outsiders among the pagarchs, but we need to recall that our evidence is expected to reveal the origin of aristocrats only in exceptional cases.

The various career patterns for the pagarchs suggest a higher aristocratic density in Arcadia than in the Thebaid. The character of the pagarchy was not inherently different in these provinces, but rather adapted to local elite composition. In Oxyrhynchos, large bits of the fiscal administration of the country villages were overtaken by the "private" resources of extensive *oikoi*, whereas the pagarchy proper was comparatively small. In the Fayum, where "large estates" seem to have been smaller, the fiscal authority of the *oikoi* was supposedly not as extensive, and the pagarchy was accordingly responsible for a higher share, which may explain that the pagarchy here was sometimes even entrusted to imperial

elites. For the Thebaid, speculations about the fiscal value of the local pagarchies are much riskier due to insufficient evidence.

This situation entails that the pagarchs were often not the socially or economically dominant actors in the countryside, and that the considerable resources that the provincial government attributed to the staffing of the pagarchy may have been intended to make up for the infrastructural disadvantage some pagarchs would have held vis-à-vis the nome elite. This disadvantage may have not been much of an issue for the central government in the case of Oxyrhynchos, where exalted imperial players like the Apiones invested their resources for public purposes through their dominant *oikoi*. This family, part of the imperial entourage, served as the empire's link to the local level, and it was therefore less important for the central government to keep a close eye on the local pagarchs. The infrastructural disadvantage was a more serious issue for the low-ranking *lamprotatoi*. In their cases, however, we see the tendency for these men to be linked via office, and some even through family relations, to the provincial offices and the governors. In Arsinoe, finally, where the *oikos* infrastructure apparently did not guarantee as comprehensive a coverage of the fiscal landscape as in Oxyrhynchos, it was of paramount importance to provide the pagarchs with additional resources, and to bring the officeholders closer to the imperial circles.

We have thus seen three ways in which the central government may have exerted its fiscal authority in the countryside of the *civitates*: (1) through the *duces* and their official (and private) networks, mostly in case of lower-ranking bureaucrat pagarchs, (2) through the active courting of locally grounded imperial elites who held either *oikoi*, the pagarchy, or both, or (3) through the deliberate dislocation, backed by granted estates, of merited honorees or retired imperial servants, who then would take on the local pagarchy or the responsibility for a fiscal share. The pagarchy thus emerges as a rather flexible instrument, depending on the composition of the local elite: either guaranteeing a balance vis-à-vis the local nobility or providing (soon-to-be) imperial favorites with the necessary infrastructure to exercise comprehensive authority within the nome.

CHAPTER SIX

Taxes and Social Conflict in Sixth-Century Aphrodite

FOLLOWING THE MORE COMPREHENSIVE approach to the pagarchs' careers pursued in the previous chapter, this final discussion places the pagarchy in the context of the conflicts that arose in the village of Aphrodite in the mid-sixth century.¹ This village has yielded an enormous amount of papyri, the largest sixth-century papyrus hoard besides the archive of the Apiones, and it is the only place where we find sufficient evidence on particular events linked to pagarchs to contextualize their actions over a certain period of time in a narrative fashion that may come at least close to microhistory. These events feature in scholarly literature mostly as the “misdeeds” and “abuses,” or similar, of the pagarchs Ioulianos in the late 540s and Menas in the mid-560s, and are collected in some impressively long and meticulously drafted documents by the poet-notary Dioskoros—petitions and rescript drafts²—plus some actual rescripts. What were these confrontations about, where did they lead, and what do they reveal about the balance of power in the late Roman countryside? Based on the analysis of the pagarchy that has been advanced in the preceding chapters, this chapter will review these cases and examine the conditions, events, and consequences linked to them in regard to the construction of public authority in the countryside. It will thus be a testing ground for the results of the previous chapters, using the village of Aphrodite and its surroundings as an enclosed historical laboratory. The chapter will start

¹ Some material for Sections II, III, and V has been, from a different perspective, used in Stern forthcoming (b).

² On the issue that these rescript drafts were (pre)composed by Dioskoros and his entourage rather than being the genuine outcome of the villagers' appeal to the imperial court, see Fournet 2015, 259–261 and Zuckerman 2004b, especially pp. 82–83 and 88–90.

by looking at Aphrodite and its administrative privilege of *autopragia* as a limit to the pagarchs' authority, about which these conflicts seem to have evolved in the first place.³

— I —

THE LIMITS OF AUTHORITY

Apart from the self-collecting estates in the rural parts of the nome, the pagarchs had few frontiers within their purview to be aware of, one of them being the “autopract village.” These villages are thought to have been a regular part of the countryside of Byzantine Egypt,⁴ yet the only case known to us is the ancient *kōmē Aphroditēs*, Aphrodite for short (or, in the Islamic period, Aphrodito), today the village of Kom Ishqaw in the heart of modern Egypt, on the left bank of the Nile.⁵ The privilege of *autopragia* enabled the villagers of Aphrodite to maintain their own fiscal account (*dēmosios logos*) that entitled them to pay their provincial and imperial taxes directly to the provincial bureau, independently from municipal officials or the pagarch.⁶ In this way, the village was supposedly able to avoid surcharges by the pagarchs' officials for handling its taxes, such as for commuting the small individual contributions into gold, or for transporting the grain designated for the *embolē*.⁷ As part of the Antaiopolite nome, the village was, however, not entirely exempt from the authority of the city of Antaiopolis.⁸ Scholars have in fact described how Aphrodite's privilege repeatedly came under attack by the local pagarchs, who resided in the nome capital Antaiopolis, which was only about nine miles to the northeast, right across the river, and in the immediate range of the pagarchs' executive orders. In this narrative, the pagarchs

3 For the imperial context of the institution of *autopragia*, see Chapter One.

4 Cf. Berkes 2017a, 8 and Ruffini 2018, 23.

5 Berkes 2017a, 13–16 has compellingly rejected the suggestion by the editor of *BGU XII 2168* (see the introduction to the text), followed by Poethke 1984, that the expression *περὶ πρακτορίαν κώμης* refers to autopract villages. The arguments of Ruffini 2008a, 119 and 145 regarding autopract villages in the Oxyrhynchite should now be modified by the model presented in Chapter Three; Berkes 2017a, 13 has suggested that the villages cited by Ruffini may have been subject to the pagarchy of Oxyrhynchos. Cf., however, the village Eieme, which contributed outside the aristocrats' fiscal shares or the pagarchy in *P.Oxy. XVI 2040*, before occurring in some connection to Flavia Anastasia (*P.Oxy. XLIV 3204*), perhaps as a pagarched village, unless Anastasia is simply a landowner within this village and deals with her farmers in this capacity alone.

6 The fiscal procedures of the autopract Aphrodite and its official apparatus have been meticulously analyzed by Zuckerman 2004a, 115–142; see also below.

7 See Ruffini 2018, 51–52 and 59 for an intriguing interpretation of Dioskoros's “faction” in the village as the beneficiaries of this arrangement thanks to its responsibility for tax collection resulting from the *autopragia*. The “village's” fierce defense of its *autopragia* would in fact hide that only some profited from it, and others in the village therefore sought to undermine this arrangement.

8 On these links, see Zuckerman 2004a, 138–142: “Malgré son autopragie, le village d'Aphroditô fait partie de la circonscription cadastrale centrée sur et gérée à partir de la cité d'Antaeopolis” (quote p. 141). It should be borne in mind that Ioulianos and Menas apparently had authority over Aphrodite's liturgies as early as 553 (*P.Lond. V 1661*). The autopract village also had to pay its local taxes, the *kōmētika* and *astika* to the pagarchs (*P.Cair.Masp. I 67060*); in this case, *autopragia* entailed collection within the village before the aggregated amount was sent from the village's *own* officials, not from the pagarchs' *hypodektai* and *boēthoi*, to the pagarch.

of Antaiopolis constantly tried to drag the village into their purview and the “indomitable Gauls” of Aphrodite pulled out all the stops to fight them off.⁹ Rather than a conflict between different administrative levels, this is seen mostly as a struggle between smallholders and magnates who abused their official powers for private enrichment. In this conception, Aphrodite figures as the last bastion of free villagers in late antique Egypt, encircled by the remainder of a country that had fallen prey to the mounting dominance of a landed aristocracy.¹⁰ This chapter argues for a modification of this view, by more closely embedding these episodes in the context of administrative practice.

In late antiquity, Aphrodite was part of the Thebaid whose capital Antinoopolis was situated about 84 miles to the north; this village certainly qualified as being on the periphery of the Roman Empire and of Byzantine Egypt. The Dioskoros archive has left us with an unparalleled wealth of evidence from this town for large parts of the sixth century, and if a late antique microhistory were to be written, Aphrodite would have to be its primary theater.¹¹ Although the protagonists in these papyri without a doubt count among the elite of the town, the strata of society that open up to us here are notably lower than those which we see, for instance, in the other main finds of the period, the Apiones archive and the dossiers of the Fayum elite, and scholars therefore frequently cite Aphrodite as the Byzantine-Egyptian village par excellence.

This, however, it was certainly not.¹² The “village” of Aphrodite had once been a *civitas* before subsequently being reduced to the status of a *kōmē*.¹³ Still, it comprised perhaps about 7,000 inhabitants, an unusually large number for a *kōmē*, and the town was subject to various special administrative arrangements that can be conclusively linked to its former city status, as can be the extent of its administrative infrastructure.¹⁴ For instance, Aphrodite had its own *riparii*, liturgical security officials normally found only at *civitas* level.¹⁵ It also

9 “Indomptables Gaulois”: Zuckerman 2004a, 222.

10 The most influential uses of these episodes for drafting the narrative of notoriously repressive large landowners have probably been Gelzer 1909, 92–96; Bell 1917, 99–100 (cf. Bell 1944, 33–35); and Hardy 1931, 137–138. The historiographical context is discussed in Keenan 1993 and more recently in Palme 2013a, esp. 129–132.

11 Recently, Giovanni Ruffini (2018) has been aiming to do precisely this. The result approaches some problems of detail with a rather broad brush, yet remains an inspiring example of how one may approach the history of the ancient world.

12 On the question of whether Aphrodite was representative of late antique Egyptian villages, see Berkes 2017a, 11–12, particularly his arguments against the overly optimistic view of Ruffini 2008a, 249, who suggested that Aphrodite “probably looks like what we might see in an Oxyrhynchite village.” A more likely candidate for the average late antique Egyptian village may be the Thebaid village of Djeme (Berkes 2017a, 4 and 168–200).

13 Although there seems little doubt possible that Aphrodite had been a *polis* in the Roman period, it seems dubious whether it had been the *mētropolis* of its own nome, as often assumed; on this question, see Marthot 2013, 15–30 (a very condensed rendering of parts of her unpublished findings can be found in Ruffini 2018, 10). See also Marthot 2012, 487–489.

14 On estimates of the size of the town, see Zuckerman 2004a, 223, an estimate considered “modest” by Ruffini 2008, 247, but the order of magnitude may be supported by Bransbourg 2016, 332.

15 Tost 2012, 777, with the link to special arrangements due to the town’s large size and former *civitas* status. Cf. Palme 2004.

had its own *hypodektēs*, who is in one instance explicitly linked to the practice of paying taxes directly to the provincial bureau without having to deal with Antaiopolite officials.¹⁶ This is what the Aphroditans repeatedly refer to as the “autopract way” (*autoprakton schēma*) of paying their taxes.¹⁷ In each of these cases, they consider this procedure a privilege (*pronomion*) that had been granted to them a long time ago.¹⁸ A problem with this idea is, however, that the legislation on *autopragia* (which does not discuss Egypt) remains exclusively tied to individual landowners (*possessores*), not villages.¹⁹ This observation underlies the hypothesis by Miroslava Mirković according to which the *autopragia* of Aphrodite was valid only for the *megaloi ktētores* (“large landholders”) of the village.²⁰ She notes that *autopragia* was designed for those able to pay in advance, and argues that the “smallholders” (*leptoktētores*), as the Aphroditans name themselves on one occasion, would hardly have been in a position to do so. The relevant texts, however, are quite clear about attributing *autopragia* either to the village or to “us,” that is, to all the petitioners, which clearly articulates a sense of common interest and group solidarity. Mirković’s hypothesis, furthermore, disregards the obviously rhetorical character of expressions like *leptoktētores* in a late antique petition to a higher authority, but most importantly it fails to acknowledge that Aphrodite did in fact have an elaborate administrative infrastructure in place that would enable the proper collection of taxes, as has just been discussed. It therefore appears plausible to link Aphrodite’s *autopragia* to its former legal status and the size of its population; it may have constituted some sort of privilege or concession granted to the “village” in acknowledgment of its former position as a *civitas*. Most scholars tacitly hold that there were numerous villages of comparable status, and that consequently many autopract villages pervaded the Egyptian countryside. But the particular administrative history of our

16 *P.Hamb.* III 230.7–11 (mid VI), esp. 7–8: κατα[βο]λ[ή]ν πέμποντες | διὰ ἰδίου ὑποδέκτου εἰς τὴν τάξιν καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀντα[ιο]πολιτῶν καταβάλλοντες; for the date, see Fournet & Gascou 2002, 34 and Zuckerman 2004a, 138. Illustrative tax receipts for this mode of payment are *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67033, 67034, 67035, and 67039. On Aphrodite’s *hypodektēs*, see Zuckerman 2004a, 180–182.

17 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 8: ἐκ προνομίου ἔχόντων κατὰ τὸ αὐτόπρακτον σχῆμα; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.33–35: καὶ ταῦτα μηδέποτε τελεσάντων ὑπὸ παγαρχίαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ τῶν | αὐτοπράκτων σχῆμα δι’ ἑαυτῶν/ τοὺς δημοσίους φόρους ἐπὶ [[το(ὺ)ς]] | τὴν ἐπιχώριον τάξιν κατατιθέντων; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032.94–95: τὸ προνόμιον τοῦ αὐτοπράκτου σχήματος | τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπαρχθῆναι κώμης. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 2–6: [τ]ελο[ῦ]σα δὲ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐ[πι]χώριον σεμνὴν | πολ[ι]τικὴν τάξιν, αὐτόπρακτος οὐσα καὶ αὐτοτελή/ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δημοσίων [[ὑμῶν]] | ε[ἰ]σφόρων, μηδέποτε κλη[ρω]θῆ[σ]α ὑπ[ὸ] π[α]γαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπὸ γονέων | αὐτῶν καὶ προγόνων, ἔχόντων | τὸ προνόμιον αὐτ[ῶ]ν ἀπὸ θειο[ῦ] τύπου | τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Λέ[ον]τος.

18 It appears that *pronomion* is not a cover term for *autopragia*—the entire city of Antaiopolis also enjoyed a *pronomion* in regard to its *dēmosia*, though we do not know what this privilege might have consisted in; see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67009 verso 10, *P.Lond.* V 1678.8, and Rouillard 1928, 97 n. 5. The time when the town was granted this privilege (under Emperor Leo I, who reigned 457–474) is given by *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 5–6.

19 For the sources, see p. 33 n. 33 above.

20 Mirković 2008 and 1996. Gascou used this paradox, however, to argue that there is no evidence of *autopragia* for landowners in Egypt, or at least that when we see the Apiones pay enormous sums of taxes and transport them to Alexandria, this is not *autopragia* but an obligation toward the state.

only known case, Aphrodite, as well as the treatment of *autopragia* in the laws, suggest that this privilege was only rarely granted.²¹

Over Aphrodite looms the shadow of Ammonios, a *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos comes sacri consistorii*²²—widely known as “Count Ammonios” in scholarly literature—who is habitually perceived as a sort of patron to Aphrodite during the second quarter of the sixth century.²³ He was a large landowner in and around the village whose estate accounts have come down to us because Dioskoros’s father Apollos was employed as his *dioikētēs*, although his landholdings may not have held a dominant position.²⁴ The capacity in which he acted is nowhere made explicit, but Ammonios handled tax payments for Aphrodite, had an influence on the composition of fiscal registers, and was responsible for the appointment of the village’s *prōtokōmētai*.²⁵ He was also a big player in the Hermopolite nome.²⁶ Ammonios disappears, and probably died, after 545 CE, and the proximity to the beginnings of Aphrodite’s struggle with the pagarch Ioulianos is hardly a coincidence.²⁷ Ammonios’s role as a sort of patron to the village can likely also help explain the workings of its *autopragia*, since an autopract village is nowhere else attested. Namely, it may be possible to link Ammonios’s position to the otherwise dubious presence of an “*endoxos oikos* of the village

21 If Aphrodite owed its *autopragia* to its former city status, then comparable cases of switching legal statuses of settlements (see Dagrón 1979, 32) may possibly lead to more candidates. On other suggestions by scholars for identifying autopract villages in Egypt, see p. 196 n. 5 above.

22 Ruffini 2011, s.v. Ammonios I; for the most recent discussion, see Ruffini 2008a, 173–177.

23 Ammonios’s relation to the village as a whole is nowhere specified; the restoration *πατρωνικίων* in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67029.5 (see Amelotti & Luzzatto, no. 9), which is about Ammonios’s potential successor Theodosios, seems dubious to me from the photo because there does not seem to be tau before rho, and the word would be a *hapax legomenon* in the papyri.

24 The identification of Dioskoros’s father Apollos with the homonymous *dioikētēs* seems convincing, while the Apollos who was Ammonios’s *hypodektēs* was probably a different person; see Gasco & Fournet 2002, 28; Zuckerman 2004, 48 and 51 and n. 56; and Vanderheyden 2015, no. 35. For the discussion of the extent of Ammonios’s lands, see Zuckerman 2004a, 220 and 2004b, 77 (“modest” estate) vs. Ruffini 2008a, 174–176 (and 173: “the closest thing to a Flavius Apion among Aphrodite’s protagonists”) and Ruffini 2018, 80–81 (“exceptional” estate); on p. 77, however, Ruffini also argues that Ammonios only held modest lands, and ends the chapter with the curious statement (p. 93): “There are no large estates [at Aphrodite].”

25 **Tax payments:** *P.Cair.* SR 3733 (2) (unpublished), on which see Fournet 2001, 481–482. **Fiscal registers:** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67200. **Prōtokōmētai:** *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67323, on which see Ruffini 2008a, 153. Count Ammonios may be too young and too high-ranking to be identical with the homonymous *chrysōnēs*, the provincial fiscal official to receive Aphrodite’s gold taxes (Ruffini 2011, s.v. Ammonios 3). It may be that *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67323 alludes to a position as *praeses*, but in this case it would be notable that he is nowhere referred to as such (*pace* Sarris 2006, 100, *P.Ross.Georg.* III 37 does not contain any indication of this), and furthermore Dioskoros’s father is noted as having had troubles with previous governors (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.5–7).

26 Where he, i.e., was responsible, supposedly through his “shares,” for the *riparia* in *P.Flor.* III 304; see the pattern established by Tost 2012, esp. 778–779, regarding *riparii* “of” large landlords. At Aphrodite, apparently provincial administration had its say over the nomination of its *riparii*; see *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67281.

27 *P.Ross.Georg.* III 37 (October 28–November 26, 545) is the last text to have Ammonios alive. He was dead by the time of *P.Hamb.* I 68 (549/550 or 564/565).

Aphrodite,” which occurs in one, and only one, papyrus.²⁸ Under the supervision of Ammonios, dealing with the autopract Aphrodite would not have been any more difficult for provincial authorities than dealing with any other aristocrat magnates who were vested with fiscal responsibility over village land through their *oikoi*, and may thus have been perceived in a similar manner.²⁹ No other *oikos* “of” a village is attested, and it seems intriguing to link this singular institution to the, equally singular, phenomenon of the autopract village. Although it does not feel entirely comfortable to identify Ammonios with the *lamprotatos geouchos* in this text, there is no more likely candidate;³⁰ the alternative that this landlord was the pagarch Ioulianos encounters the same problem that this man usually bore considerably higher epithets,³¹ but more importantly that Ioulianos directed only an *ousia*, not an *oikos*, and this *ousia* was clearly not superior to Aphrodite’s village headmen.³² All this is not to say that Aphrodite’s *autopragia* was nothing more than the *autopragia* of the large landlord Ammonios, or that Aphrodite was essentially the same as a *kōmē pagarchoumenē* (it was not!); it simply illustrates that there seems to be more at issue here that we do not yet know.³³

After Ammonios has left the picture, the ominous figure of the *megaloprepestatos* Theodosios arrives on the scene of Aphrodite.³⁴ He is said to have collected taxes from the village for the eleventh indiction (547/548 CE), without, however, entering these payments into the provincial accounts. Again, it is not clear in what capacity this man acted, but he is important enough to be referred to with an epithet only, without an official title, in a rescript from the *curator domus divinae*.³⁵ Dioskoros, in a draft for a rescript, expects him to be around for the longer term even after his alleged misconduct, so apparently Theodosios did not

28 SB III 6704 (January 23, 538); one party of this contract identifies as κοινότης τῶν ἀγρευτῶν τῶν καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ | τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Ἀφροδίτης (ll. 4–5); other texts seem to imply the presence of this *oikos* (Zuckerman 2004a, 221, with references).

29 The model proposed in Chapter Three would also be able to explain how Ammonios and his *oikos* could have attained such a position even though his own property (his *ousia*) may not have been a dominant extension in the village.

30 SB III 6704.10; for the identification, see Ruffini 2011, s.v. Ammonios 1 (h).

31 For this identification, see Zuckerman 2004a, 220–221 and Sarris 2006, 101. Pace Sarris (ibid.) and Palme 2008b, 205, Ioulianos is, however, not attested as *lamprotatos*; the cited passage (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.2) is restored and should instead contain *megaloprepestatos* or *endoxotatos*, or maybe an honorific or official title.

32 See *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060.2–3: ἡ οὐσία τοῦ ἐνδ[οξ(στάτου) ἀπὸ] ἐπάρχων Ἰουλιανοῦ, | συντελοῦσα εἰς τὸ κωμητικόν. The verbal choice no doubt implies that the role of the *ousia* was equivalent to that of the village’s *syntelestai*.

33 Given the suspicious synchronism of the first attestation of Ioulianos’s pagarchy with the death of Ammonios, one may even be tempted to suspect that Ioulianos may have been put into control of Aphrodite’s *endoxos oikos* after Ammonios’s death, but this is of course highly speculative.

34 Ruffini 2011, s.v. Theodosios 16, and Zuckerman 2004b, 75–77. Zuckerman (77) suggests, on the grounds of a “schema onomastique banal,” that Theodosios was the son of Count Ammonios, who was himself the son of another Theodosios. Pace Sarris 2006, 101, Theodosios is not attested as a landowner at Aphrodite in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67107; the text clearly refers to this Theodosios as the father of Ammonios (*BL IX 43*) and it is Ammonios’s, not Theodosios’s, measure that is at issue here and which is well known.

35 SB VI 9102 (ca. September 548).

simply run off with the money;³⁶ the same rescript also does not object to Theodosios's collecting the taxes, but simply argues that they should be properly entered into the accounts. In Chapter Four, I proposed that Theodosios may be identified with the high-ranking *procurator* in an Aphroditan rent receipt. If this identification holds, it may link Theodosios to Christodotos, the *peribleptos comes* and *procurator*. These men may have acted as administrators of Ammonios's now-defunct *oikos*,³⁷ potentially as managers of the imperial household (*domus divina*) at Aphrodite.³⁸ The village had obtained imperial patronage probably in 540/541 following a trip to Constantinople by Dioskoros's father Apollos after persistent conflicts with the provincial authorities.³⁹ Later, at the time of the Menas affair, we see that the *paneuphēmos patricius* Athanasios, who also became *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid, was responsible for the lands of the *domus divina* in the entire Thebaid⁴⁰; in this capacity, he would have certainly been superior to Theodosios's or Christodotos's successors. Athanasios maintained a residence, and a *dioikētēs* attached to it, at Aphrodite, presumably in his capacity as imperial manager.⁴¹ The significance of the imperial house may also account for the fact that one of the rescripts the villagers actually obtained in this matter from Constantinople was authored by the *curator domus divinae*, the overall superior agent of all estates of one particular member of the imperial family.⁴² We are at the level of high politics here.

36 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.20–22, which orders the *dux* to act in this matter “lest he [i.e., Theodosios] time and time again divest him [i.e., Dioskoros] or his village of the things that belong to them” (καὶ μὴ χρόνους ἐκ χρόνων αὐτὸν ἦτοι τὴν | κατ’ αὐτὸν κώμην τῶν ἐποφειλομένων αὐτοῖς ἀποστρεῖσθαι).

37 Can this hypothesis explain that in *SB XVI* 12370, a receipt for *adespotos* land, Christodotos appears as intermediate instance between (!) the pagarchs and their *boēthos*? But note the perhaps equally probable hypothesis that Christodotos was *procurator* of Ioulianos's pagarchy (see pp. 148–149 above).

38 See also Azzarello 2012, 84–87 for a similar view. Ammonios was already a large landowner in the area before Aphrodite apparently gained imperial patronage in 540/541 (on this date, see Zuckerman 2004b, 81), but I do not see this as a counterargument. Zuckerman (2004b, 76) argues that the *curator domus divinae* of *SB VI* 9102 would not have addressed the *dux Thebaidis* if he had any “pouvoir hierarchique” over Theodosios. But I see no reason why the *curator* should not have addressed the *dux* in his capacity as the highest fiscal authority in the province, all the more since the orders involved dealing with the pagarch, and because the orders were largely about compensations for actions conducted by the staff of the *dux*.

39 Fournet 2015, 255; on these conflicts, see also *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.5–7: ἐπειδὴ δὲ | παρὰ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρχόντων ο(ὐ) τὰς τυχο(ύ)σας ἀδικίας | ὑπέμεινον, τῷ θεῖω ἡμῶν/ οἴκῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδούναι and, on this text, Azzarello 2012, 94–95. It is, however, dubious whether these conflicts were the main reason for Apollos's journey to the capital.

40 Morelli 2008a, 233–237; Azzarello 2012, 101–102.

41 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 26–col. III 2.

42 *SB VI* 9102 (ca. September 548).

— II —

TAXES, VILLAGE FACTIONS, AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Whatever position he had, the disappearance of Ammonios marked the start of a new phase in Aphrodite's struggle with the authorities, the first part of which had brought the village under imperial patronage in 540/541. The first petition in this matter, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, must date to immediately after Ammonios's disappearance, for there is not the slightest allusion to him even though he was the most outspoken protector of Dioskoros's family.⁴³ The petition addresses the empress Theodora through the *dux*, and finds strong words for the deeds committed by Ioulianos:

“But the said man attacked our properties and did not shrink from plundering them more than the lands devastated by barbarians, under the pretext of taxes. And his entourage plundered, as mentioned, all properties around the village in a vicious and indescribable fashion, even the fields of this (village) [—] so that we fell into despair and were no longer capable of paying the public contributions nor to eke out a modest living with all flock and tools and equipment. Instead, they left us nothing to feed on in the fields(?) and in the village not even the smallest bit for our living. God knows all that has been done against the law, and the murders that happened during this plague that brought so much lament and all the awful harm and injustice surrounding us and which no papyrus would ever be capable of containing if it were not narrating without end.”⁴⁴

It is hardly news that documentary papyri are not “objective” sources, but this seems especially evident in the case of petitions, for there was nothing that the petitioners, or Dioskoros acting on their behalf, were less interested in than in a factual rendering of what happened. The character of petitions such as *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 has been described as oscillating “between document and literature,” and the literary tradition as well as the practical purposes of these texts make it advisable for us to remain critical of the narrative that these texts present.⁴⁵ The extent of violence as described in the petition, for instance, should not be taken at face value, although it is unlikely that it was entirely the output of

43 On the date of this text, cf. p. 137 n. 18. The traditional date (inferred from *SB XVIII 13297*) is “before November 10, 547,” so it is possible that this text preceded the Theodosios affair, on which see the following. If Fournet's dating for *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 (i.e., 540–545 CE) holds, then Ioulianos's conduct (or that of another pagarch, since Ioulianos is restored) referred to in the papyrus may in fact be related to Aphrodite's troubles with the provincial officials on the verge of the 540s, on which see the last section.

44 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.5–11, large parts of the actual wording are restored *exempli gratia* by the editor Jean Maspero, but there can be no doubt about the argument made and the tone in which it is advanced.

45 See Fournet 2004 and Fournet 2015, 256–257; cf. Kovelman 1991 for the narrative aspect of these petitions. A list of preserved petitions on papyrus is provided in Fournet & Gascou 2004.

Dioskoros's imagination.⁴⁶ Likewise, the text features a variety of *topoi* that were expected in this type of document—such as the opposition of a humble community against a powerful outsider.⁴⁷ In reality, Ioulianos may have technically been an outsider, but his landed property made up a considerable part of the village.⁴⁸ Obviously, we do not have access to Ioulianos's version of the story of ravage, destruction, and starvation, yet we can still place the accusations against him in a larger context.

In 547/548, after the death of Dioskoros's father Apollos, who had been one of Aphrodite's *prōtokōmētai*, a certain *megaloprepestatos* Theodosios collected taxes from the village, apparently without attributing it to the due accounts. Consequently, the provincial authorities charged the village a second time, and the pagarch Ioulianos intervened in order to collect the arrears by means of coercion.⁴⁹ Dioskoros traveled to Constantinople in 548 and issued a petition to the emperor that targeted Theodosios as well as Ioulianos. The extent of the misconduct of which Ioulianos is accused in this text is obvious and quite similar to what is described in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283:

“Without hesitation or mercy he ruined the inhabitants, so that they pledged large parts of their cattle and longed for their untimely death. And thereupon our said estates were torn down to the detriment of the public treasury.”⁵⁰

It is noteworthy in all this, however, that Theodosios did not run off with the money, but apparently remained in his position—or at least Dioskoros, when he later wrote the draft for a rescript relating to this matter, did not expect him to vanish from the scene anytime soon, which appears to make it questionable whether Theodosios's conduct as such really was illegitimate, as Dioskoros is trying to imply.⁵¹

But also Ioulianos's fiscal role in the village appears to have been larger than Dioskoros is willing to admit. The main point of the petitions and rescript drafts in the Ioulianos affair is the village's *autopragia*, its being part of the *domus divina*, and its resulting fiscal independence from the city of Antaiopolis and Ioulianos in particular.⁵² Comparing a rescript draft with an actual rescript in the matter suggests, however, that Dioskoros was

46 As Harold Bell (1944, 34) writes in regard to the later Menas affair: “[W]e may not have Ménas's version of the story, but [...] we may feel confident that grave abuses occurred.” The question of whether this violence was an “abuse” will be dealt with later.

47 See Bagnall 1989, 211–212 and Bryen 2013, 96–100. For Ioulianos's (and Menas's) connections within the village, however, see Ruffini 2008a, 191–195.

48 In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, Ioulianos's *ousia* is cited by the pagarch Menas as the exemplary *megalos ktētōr* before others. On Zuckerman's (2004a, 221–222) suggestion that Ioulianos may have owned about sixty percent of the village's taxable land, however, see pp. 168–169 above.

49 For a detailed timeline of this episode and the documents connected to it, see Zuckerman 2004b, esp. 75–77, 82–83, and 88–90; Van Minnen 2003, 118–119; Palme 2008b, 205–208; and Fournet 2015, 259–261.

50 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 19–22 (548/549 CE): [ἀ]όκνωσ καὶ [ἀ]φ/ιδῶς ἀνατρέπει τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας | ἄσπε/ μακρ[ᾶς] τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς ὑποκεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπικαλεῖν ἐπὶ [τ]ὸ[ν] ἴπρὸ καιροῦ τὸν/ | θάνατον, καὶ τὰ εἰρημ[έ]να ἢ μ[ῶ]ν κτήματα ἐκ τοῦτο(υ) ἀπετραπήσαν πρὸς λλῦ/μην | το[ῦ] δη[μο]σίου λόγο(υ).

51 See p. 201 n. 36 above.

52 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 col. I 2–4; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 1–6; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.30–35.

purposely trying to hide the fact that Ioulianos's intervention was actually instigated by the provincial office.⁵³ In the rescript draft, Dioskoros frames the intervention by Ioulianos as if it were unrelated to this case: the pagarch is mentioned only in the second part of the document, while in the first part “the men of the provincial office” are the ones to collect the tax a second time.⁵⁴ A rescript that was actually obtained in this matter from the imperial chancery, however, gives the presumably more trustworthy reasoning: here it is Ioulianos who comes to the village to collect the tax a second time because it had not been forwarded to the provincial office.⁵⁵ The double role of the pagarchs—as representatives of the city, but also of the province—is on full display here, and presumably contributed much to the dispute about the extent of the pagarch's area of authority. The rescript, on its part, does not question this visit to the autopract village, but demands that either Theodosios talk to Ioulianos, or that he properly accounts for what he has collected.⁵⁶

Two other texts seem to imply Ioulianos's fiscal role at Aphrodite, supposedly that of a pagarch, as early as 551 CE, and this role seems not an irregular one.⁵⁷ It is furthermore notable that Dioskoros maintained a professional relationship to Ioulianos even after the incidents of the late 540s, which can be taken to balance the picture of Ioulianos as manifestly evil that the petitions against him try to paint. Dioskoros and his cousin Phoibammon paid their taxes (for the shares they had inherited from Dioskoros's father Apollos) to Ioulianos's collectors, mostly for family holdings at Phthla, which was not autopract.⁵⁸ But as one of the village headmen of Aphrodite, Dioskoros also acted at least twice as Ioulianos's intermediary in the pagarch's legal undertakings: one is a deed of surety

53 This was already noted by Geraci 1979, esp. 197–199, an article virtually ignored since its publication.

54 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.11–13 (ca. 548 or 551): ὥστε τοὺς τῆς ἐπιχωρί(ο) τάξεω(ς) / πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου τοῦς ἰκέτας τὰς ἐπικείμενας αὐτοῖ(ς) / συντελείας εἰσπράξαι.

55 *SB VI* 9102.8–15 (ca. September 548): φήσαντες | Θεοδόσιον τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον | τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνδεκάτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως) | δημοσίους ἀποπληρωθέντα φόρο[υς] | μηδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον | καταθεῖναι, τὸν δὲ πάγαρχον | εἰσπράττειν αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐσεβῆ | τελέσματα.

56 *SB VI* 9102.25–29.

57 *P.Ross.Georg.* V 62; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67285. In both texts, Aphrodite's *hypodektēs* Ioannes occurs, whose *floruit* Zuckerman 2004a, 40–51 dates to 537–551. In the latter text, Ioannes collects 17 keratia “for the account of remainders of the *endoxotatos apo eparchōn* Ioulianos and Enoch.” This Enoch was presumably not on the same hierarchical level as Ioulianos. The editor speculates that Enoch might be identical with the homonymous Antaiopolite *expelleutēs* from *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105 (September 28–October 27, 532), but the chronological distance seems considerable. More plausible, but still dubious is the hypothesis that Enoch may have been identical to the *lamprotatos* and *pseudotyranos* Enoch from *P.Stras.* IV 279.7: παρὰ τῶν ποιμένων τοῦ λαμπροτάτ[ου κ]αὶ ψευδοτυρ[άν]νου ἐνωχ[- ca.10 -]. He may thus have been another pagarch or a stand-in for Ioulianos. Note especially the link to shepherds so well known from the Antaiopolite pagarchs (on which see Section IV below)! At the end of l. 1 of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67285 verso, something like καὶ ἐτοιμῶς ἔχω ταῦτα λογιζεσθῆναι (cf. *PSI VIII* 937.5) should be expected. The beginning of l. 3: προκ is most likely ὁ προκ(εῖμενος); there is no abbreviation stroke on the photo, but the writer's hand is not well trained and may have simply missed it.

58 *P.Gen.* IV 193; *SB XX* 15015; *SB XX* 15013; *SB XVI* 12370 (the latter concerning Aphrodite). Presumably, Dioskoros was also the unnamed payer in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67046 (for the pattern, see Stern forthcoming (d)). It is unclear how *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67285 relates to Ioulianos's pagarchy. Ioulianos appears here in the tax title together with a certain Enoch (ll. 2–3: εἰς λόγον λοιπάδ(ων) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ων) | Ἰο(υ)λιανο(ῦ) καὶ Ἐνώχ), but the document is signed by Aphrodite's *hypodektēs* Ioannes.

for a church reader, possibly from a criminal background, the second an acknowledgment of debt from two minor tax collectors to the pagarchs for what might have been an advance payment of the tax.⁵⁹ Phoibammon is even attested as a lessee of Ioulianos's property.⁶⁰

In yet another rescript draft, Dioskoros himself adds another, possibly revealing, detail to the whole affair, as here Ioulianos is accused of having seized Apollos's property because of Apollos's debts.⁶¹ This adds to the information that a faction within the village had turned against Apollos's heirs, among them Dioskoros, because of the repeated tax demand.⁶² That Ioulianos with his intervention thus may have in fact, consciously or unconsciously, assisted a competing village faction puts the problems that Dioskoros's kin had with Ioulianos in a different light.⁶³ The situation would not have been helped by the dramatic increase of the gold tax rates on arable land, which (compared to 536 CE) had risen by 50 % by 551 and by 100 % by the mid-560s.⁶⁴ In this climate, the frictions within Aphrodite became clearer than ever before, and Dioskoros had recurring clashes with a dominant faction around the *prōtokōmētai* Herakleios and Ioannes. Of course, the petitions present to the authorities a picture that strives for social cohesion, but the internal conflicts of the Aphroditan village society known from other documents may suggest a deep internal rift about how to approach the relation to the Antaiopolite officials, of which the infamous incident that scholars have termed the "Aphrodite murder mystery" is probably only the metaphorical tip of the iceberg.⁶⁵ These frictions came to a new height when the *megaloprepestatos* Theodosios took the village's taxes, and an unspecified number of Aphroditan landowners turned to Dioskoros and his relatives for compensation, leading the way to seizure of some of their estates. It thus appears likely that in these petitions we are dealing with an elaborate

59 Deed of surety: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094. Acknowledgment of debt: *P.Lond.* V 1661; see also Ruffini 2008a, 193–194.

60 *PSI* IV 283.

61 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67026.7–10 (the Dioskoros in this text is Apollos's nephew, not his son); Zuckerman 2004b, 77; Van Minnen 2003, 122.

62 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.24–30 and Zuckerman 2004b, 77, 88–89. This text is in fact preserved in three different versions: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 recto (ms. A), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 verso (B), and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67025 (C); cf. Amelotti & Luzzatto 1972, no. 10. I quote this text generally simply as *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 as long as the differences do not affect the argument. But in the present context, note that the reason for the Aphroditan landowners to proceed against Apollos is given as ἀφορμή τῆς το(ῦ) εἰρημέ(νου) δημοσίου(ν) δευτέρως (l. 27) in the original draft A, but has been crossed out and no longer features in C, probably the latest version of the text, which may be suggestive of Dioskoros's intention to avoid giving a plausible explanation for the "raids."

63 On "Dioskoros's faction," see Ruffini 2008b and Ruffini 2018, 60–74, who compellingly analyzes Aphrodite's internal conflicts.

64 Bransbourg 2016, 342–345, table 14; see also Zuckerman 2004a, 213–219. This increase, established by Bransbourg from Antaiopolite and Oxyrhynchite sources, seems particularly noteworthy since it falls into the aftermath of the Justinianic plague, which hit Egypt for the first time in 541 CE. For some intriguing speculations about the possible reasons for this situation, see Bransbourg 2016, 399–400, to which I would add the, equally speculative, hypothesis that the imperial government may have taxed less-affected regions more in order to offset losses elsewhere.

65 Social cohesion: Keenan 2008b, 178–179; see also the list of subscriptions in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 (on which see *P.Mich.Aphrod.*, pp. 10–16; cf. Ruffini 2008a, 177–179) and Ruffini 2008a, 180–184 on the "murder mystery."

discourse aimed at establishing group solidarity and social cohesion in a community experiencing notorious internal discord, which might have contributed considerably to this conflict in the first place. We may well imagine that people such as Dioskoros's "arch-enemies" Herakleios and Ioannes, among others, would have jumped on such an occasion to boost their own standing with the help of, for instance, the pagarchs.⁶⁶ Like in the later Menas affair, conflicts and rivalries with the shepherds of the neighboring village of Phthla point to more animosity on the ground than Dioskoros, unsurprisingly, is willing to admit.

All in all, it is unlikely that Ioulianos's access to the village was an irregular one; rather, it seems to have related to a village in arrears with its taxes. Still, there is the level of violence that Dioskoros accuses the pagarch of. How this was perceived by the authorities will be discussed at the end of this chapter, but first we shall turn to the Menas affair and its perception.

— III —

THE RELUCTANT, OR INCAPABLE, TAXPAYER

In 567 CE, nearly two decades after the Ioulianos affair, the Aphroditans filed the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 against the pagarch Menas Scrinarius, addressing the *dux et Augustalis* Athanasios, the pagarch's direct superior. This document strikes a quite similar tone to *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 against Ioulianos, but takes the pagarchs' malevolence to another level. On multiple pages, Dioskoros describes at length how Menas invaded the village with armed forces, imprisoned villagers, seized property, destroyed fields, and set houses ablaze, stealing the villagers' harvest, cattle, and large amounts of money.⁶⁷ Some of the most vivid passages may illustrate the extent of accusations. First, Menas had some villagers prosecuted and arrested while they were abroad:

"We inform our good lord that during the past tenure of the *endoxotatos referendarius* Kyros the aforementioned *lamprotatos* Menas wrote a letter to the *peribleptos comes* and *illoustrios megaloprepestatos* Serenos, the most eloquent *scholastikos* at the time when we attended the traditional cattle market at Thynis, because we habitually go there every year to do business with the livestock for our alimentation and that of our children. But there we were ambushed by the *dioikētai* of the *endoxotatos illoustrios* Serenos and thrown into the local jail, whence we were deported to the prison of Antinoopolis and then to the prison of Antaiopolis. Later, we were handed over to the aforementioned pagarch Menas, who subjected us to manifold abuses and tortures, kept us in custody for a period of six months and demanded 117 nomismata as fines from us in addition to what we had paid when we were being tortured in Thynis and in the prison of Antinoopolis."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ruffini 2008b.

⁶⁷ Keenan 2008b, 174 provides an outline of the main narrative that *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 puts forward.

⁶⁸ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 1–7.

Then, under Athanasios, Kyros's successor, Menas also had Dioskoros prosecuted. Finally, Menas advanced violently toward the village:

“And he came with a force of robbers, *paganoi*, and soldiers, and made the village his prey, laying it waste worse than barbarians could have done and burning certain distinguished houses of the old great proprietors of the village, and he took seven hundred nomismata under the name of public taxes without giving receipts for them and credited us with none of the sum.”⁶⁹

Reading through this document, one is struck by the extent of Menas's acts, which finally left the villagers with nothing to eat but cattle fodder, slops from the harvest, and grains dropped from the transport of the grain tax,⁷⁰ and thus one cannot help but admire the courage on display on the part of the poor villagers in pursuing their case against a powerful enemy. Dioskoros indeed put great effort into advancing the case of the “most humble servants and wretched smallholders” in their own voice,⁷¹ and produced “an unparalleled record of misery inflicted upon the villagers,” which had long been taken to be a vivid illustration of the once commonly held view of late antiquity as a period of decline, chaos, and widespread corruption.⁷²

Again, however, we are well-advised to read Dioskoros's accusations carefully in order to reveal what is actually at issue here, and who is to blame.⁷³ A telling instance may be Dioskoros's own part of the story in this document, where he—through the voice of the villagers addressing the *dux*—describes his stay in Antinoopolis essentially as an exile in the wake of Menas's pursuits:

“We inform your *paneuphēmos* authority that since the beginning of the recently elapsed fifteenth indiction, when he [that is, Menas] took over the pagarchy of Antaiopolis, he reaps the profit of the arouras of our common brother, the wretched servant of your renowned philanthropy, Dioskoros, a man utterly in need, who has young children scarcely knowing as yet their right hand from their left, who need heavy expenses for their maintenance. And the said pitiless man [that is, Menas] scrupled not to bestow on the *boēthos* of the village of Phthla and on its shepherds—free of rent and taxes, to appropriate to themselves—his arouras, which they enjoy without rent and taxes, leaving to him, to his utter destruction, the tax quota on them, assigned to his charge. [...] And without a legal redress he [that is,

69 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 23–26 (translation adapted from Bell 1944, 34).

70 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 10–11: ὅτι ἐν τῷ χειμο[ν]ι (read χειμῶνι) δρόξιμα (read τρώξιμα) καὶ ὀλύρας ἐσθίομεν, τῷ [δὲ] | θέρει τὰ ἀποκαθάρματα ἤτοι ἀποκοσκινήματα καὶ καταστελλματα (*sic*) τῆς ἐμβολῆς ἡμῶν παρ' ἐστίας ἐδόμενοι. The emotional register of Dioskoros's petitions will be analyzed in Palme forthcoming (b).

71 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 praef. l. 2: τῶν ἐλε<ε>ινοτάτων δούλων ὑμῶν καὶ ἀθλίων λεπτοκτητόρων.

72 Essential earlier scholarship on *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 is listed in Ruffini 2008a, 158 n. 74 and discussed in Keenan 2008b, 172–173 (quote).

73 See, for instance, Ruffini 2018, 37–38 for an intriguing deconstruction of the note that Menas's auxiliaries had nuns and virgins raped during these incidents, and also p. 167 for the suggestion that Menas may in essence have been “doing his job.”

Dioskoros] remains to date abroad with his children, beseeching that he may obtain your good judgment of the case, master.”⁷⁴

This image is daunting and does not appear to leave any doubt. Dioskoros implies here that he may return as soon as Menas’s aggressions are curbed, and most modern scholars tend to believe him on this point.⁷⁵ But the move to Antinoopolis follows a pattern that is suspiciously well known for provincial bureaucrats, and as a notary Dioskoros was certainly not without opportunity in the provincial capital.⁷⁶ It is revealing that Dioskoros emphatically describes firsthand the arrival of the celebratory effigies for the occasion of Justin II’s inauguration.⁷⁷ Justin ascended to the throne on November 14, 565, and while it might have taken some time for this news (and the effigies) to reach the Thebaid, it is hardly plausible that this would have taken until after April 26, 566, when Menas, according to the petition, entered the pagarchy and started harassing Dioskoros:⁷⁸ Dioskoros was probably no longer around Aphrodite when Menas assumed the pagarchy.

The order of events was therefore presumably the other way around, and Menas went after Dioskoros’s land *because* the poet-notary was out of his reach at that point. Otherwise, it would also be difficult to understand why Dioskoros, in case he really was “prosecuted,” left his wife and some of his children at Aphrodite. Furthermore, Dioskoros’s return to Aphrodite cannot be linked to the end of Menas’s pagarchy.⁷⁹ But taking refuge would of course make a much better story for him to tell and is a common topos occurring well before late antiquity, particularly in the context of “fiscal oppression.”⁸⁰ What is more, this episode also alludes to Menas’s seizure of Dioskoros’s land in the neighboring village of Phthla, and Dioskoros complains that his land was given by Menas to Kyros, the *boēthos* of that village, whom Dioskoros accuses of cultivating his land without paying rents or taxes.⁸¹ One of

74 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 9–15 and 18–19 (translation adapted from Bell 1944, 33).

75 The most prominent instances are probably H. I. Bell in *P.Lond.* V, p. 56; MacCoull 1988, 24; Palme 2013a, 128; and Fournet 2015, 265.

76 See Gagos & van Minnen 1994, 21 and Keenan 2001, 71–72 for a comparably prosaic interpretation in light of Dioskoros’s professional career. On Dioskoros’s connections to the ducal *officium*, see Palme 2008b, 211 and cf. MacCoull 1986. Similar patterns are presented in Keenan 2001, 66–68 and 70 for Antinoopolis and on pp. 72–73 for Oxyrhynchos, the capital of Arcadia. Also, we know that Dioskoros had his son Petros with him who then became the apprentice of a local intellectual (see Stern forthcoming (d)).

77 *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 17 and the commentary on p. 321 n. 439. We may thus suppose that Dioskoros was in the city even before the event and that he had been planning the move for longer still.

78 See p. 136 above on the start of Menas’s pagarchy. Fournet 1999, 330–331 (cf. 321) grants that the arrival of these effigies (and thus, he argues, the commencement of Athanasios’s tenure as *dux* and Dioskoros’s move to Antinoopolis) “doit être datée de l’extrême fin 565 ou du début 566.” Dioskoros apparently dwelled in the village as late as November 7, 565 (*P.Lond.* V 1686).

79 Dioskoros returned to Aphrodite at some point between November 570 and the end of 573 (Ruffini 2008a, 158 n. 69). Menas, however, was no longer pagarch by March 14, 570 at the very latest (*P.Lond.* V 1714), when he was part of the ducal *officium* in Antinoopolis.

80 On the topos and its tradition, see Ziche 2006, 128–132 and Fournet 1999, 321 n. 438.

81 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 13–19; on this man, see Ruffini 2011, s.v. Kuros 26 (Kyros is not *augustalis*, however, but the son of a certain Augustalia; see Vanderheyden 2015, 154). The same events are alluded to in *P.Lond.* V 1677.13–16.

Dioskoros's poems, however, is quite explicit about the fact that Dioskoros remained the owner of this land, and that Kyros and his shepherd entourage came onto his land only during harvest season, therefore likely only to confiscate the grain.⁸² Dioskoros's problems with the shepherds at Phthla moreover reportedly date back as far as the twelfth and thirteenth indictions—three years before Menas took office with the start of the fifteenth!—and are, again, motivated by the collection of taxes.⁸³

At other times, in what is a striking contrast to the picture of Menas in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, where he is presented as a spawn from hell, Menas in fact appears to have maintained a much more pragmatic, perhaps even friendly, relationship with Dioskoros and his kin. Unfortunately, all these documents are undated. In two letters, Menas is in some way linked to orders that certain men must not harass Dioskoros's lands or farmers, and in another one, he appears to settle some land registration issue, again in favor of Dioskoros's kin.⁸⁴ A letter from Menas himself to a *prōtokōmētēs* further documents his involvement in legal proceedings, but the papyrus is very fragmentary and the content highly obscure.⁸⁵ Other letters from or about Menas show him in a professional relationship with Aphrodite's *prōtokōmētai*, among them Dioskoros, just as we have seen if for Ioulianos already. The contexts of these texts are not always clear, since they were written for those “in the know” and therefore do not provide any background information, but they seem to concern issues of tax collection.⁸⁶

These instances show a more favorable side of the Antaiopolite pagarchy, and, moreover, that Menas, like Ioulianos, was not constantly perceived as Aphrodite's bad guy. That this changed was highly likely not due to repeated attempts at personal enrichment on his part, but to Aphrodite's repeated failure to fulfill fiscal obligations. An undated letter, probably dating back to Menas's first pagarchy in the 550s, suggests that the pagarchs did

82 *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 11.72–78; Fournet 1999, 323. I therefore suspect that the similar sounding accusations in another case (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021 verso 1–4) may also be explained in this manner.

83 Vanderheyden 2015, no. 15; the same text (though with many different readings) is MacCoull 1993, no. 11. On the role of the shepherds in tax collection, see the next section.

84 See *P.Lond.* V 1683.1–2: [-ca.- ο]υς σους ἐδέξατο ὁ λαμπρότατος κύριος Μηνᾶς, πάραυτα οὖν | [πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατὰ(?)]λαβε ἵνα ἀπαλλάξαι τὸ πρᾶγμα σο(υ). *P.Lond.* V 1682.2–5: μέλλων (...) | ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Μουγκρήκιν μετὰ το(ῦ) λαμπρ(οτάτου) κυρίου Μηνᾶ καὶ ἐπέτρεψα | τῷ ποιμένι κατὰ τύχην εὐρεθέντι ἐγγὺς μου μὴ ὀχλῆσαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς | σου. Both texts refer to a meeting in Mounkrechin and certainly relate to the same context. They appear to be from Menas's first pagarchy in the 550s since when Menas became pagarch in 566 CE, Dioskoros was probably no longer village headman, as he was in Antinoopolis; see above for the chronology of Dioskoros's move to Antinoopolis. The address on the verso of *P.Lond.* V 1682 is heavily abraded, but the line seems considerably longer than what the edition gives. Furthermore, since the writer refers to Dioskoros as *adelphotēs* in the main text, he most certainly would not have addressed him as *despotēs* in the address; probably the writer was another *prōtokōmētēs*. The other text that shows Menas bailing Dioskoros out is *SB XX* 14241, in which Menas again takes actions to ensure that certain men will no longer harass Dioskoros (ll. 11–15). Cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831 (Oxyrhynchites; late V?), where a village headman invokes the authority of the pagarch(s?) as a threat in order to persuade his opponent to concede.

85 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67083.

86 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 (the *prōtokōmētai* are to hand over the taxes and meet Menas); 67061 (the *prōtokōmētai* are to meet Menas immediately), *P.Lond.* V 1684, and *PSI VIII* 939 (Menas has to deal with issues concerning the *embolē*).

indeed have reason to be nervous about the ability of their Aphroditan subjects to make their payments in time.⁸⁷ In this short note, Menas sends a fierce warning to the village headmen, Dioskoros and a certain Apollos, to hand over the due taxes (*kōmētika* and *astika*) by the next day:⁸⁸

“The *diakonētēs* most beloved of God has reported to me nothing at all from your village, and see that the large landowners of the city, for example, the estate (*ousia*) of the *endoxotatos apo eparchōn* Ioulianos, which contributes (*syntelousa*) to the *kōmētikon*, has already paid its full quota, and see, it gave me no anxiety in this regard. (I have written) in order that you know that if you do not bring me by tomorrow the quota of the *astikon* and the *kōmētikon* in full, you will not be delighted about your behavior. Be aware, I have written to warn you! And come with Apollos, for I need to talk to you [singular!].”⁸⁹

While this letter thus most likely long predates the events of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, it is still indicative of an apparently recurring problem.

It has recently been suggested that Aphrodite had lost its *autopragia* before the end of the 550s due to its fiscal problems evident in the Ioulianos episode, and there is indeed a lot to this hypothesis.⁹⁰ At the least, the extent of *autopragia* vis-à-vis the pagarch’s authority was significantly limited. Whereas the petitions in the Ioulianos affair put the *autopragia* prominently into the foreground, little of that argument appears to be left in the documents from the 560s. As scholars have noted, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 from 567 CE refers to the days of the *autopragia* as something distant,⁹¹ and, as in other petitions against Menas, the argument

⁸⁷ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060. It is hard to say whether this text is still from the autopract era. Taxes for local expenses such as the *kōmētika* and *astika* would supposedly not have been affected by the *autopragia*, i.e., the payment to the provincial office. For the date, see Fournet & Gascoü 2002, 35 n. 43, but cf. *P.Lond.* V 1677, which relates to Menas’s second pagarchy and in which also an Apollos (Ruffini 2011, s.v. Apollos 154) is *prōtokōmētēs*. Menas became pagarch when Dioskoros was already in Antinoopolis (see above); would Dioskoros still be addressed in his capacity as *prōtokōmētēs*, although he was already in Antinoopolis? Presumably not, and moreover, the document tells Dioskoros to send Apollos to him, who was presumably not in Antinoopolis (cf. p. 209 n. 84 above).

⁸⁸ On this Apollos, see Ruffini 2011, s.v. Apollos 129.

⁸⁹ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 (translation adapted from Sarris 2006, 110); esp. ll. 4–6 (see *BL* XII 45): ἴνα τ[ἐ] (read δὲ) μᾶθῃτε ὅτι εἰ μὴ δι[ὰ] τ[ῆ]ς αὔριον ἐξενέγκητέ μοι | τὸ μέτρον τοῦ τε ἀστικο(ῦ) καὶ κωμητικο(ῦ) ἐπλήρους, ο[ὐ]κ [ἔ]χετε ε[ἰ]χ[α]ριστήσαι τῷ | πράγματι, ἰδοὺ οὖν, γέγραφα διαμαρτυρο(ῦ)μενος ὑμ[ῖ]ν. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67061, probably relating to the same events.

⁹⁰ Admittedly, it is striking that in the Antaiopolite tax receipts from the 560s and 570s (see Stern forthcoming (d), List 01), receipts for the *embolē* of Aphrodite are never signed in the pagarch’s name but only by Aphroditan village officials, whereas two receipts for the *embolē* signed by Matoi, *boēthos* of Phthla, are indeed signed in the name of the pagarchs. But as seen in Chapter Two, these receipts relate to different stages of the collection procedure: the payment is registered with the *boēthoi* (viz., for *kōmētika*; see *P.Gen.* IV 193; *embolē* “for the *kōmētika*”) or with the *hypodektai* (viz., for *astika*, although there is no testimony for an *embolē* payment “for the *astika*”), whereas the *loading* is confirmed by Aphrodite’s village officials. It is conceivable that the smaller village of Phthla processed its grain taxes through the ships of the nearby larger town of Aphrodite.

⁹¹ Mirković 1996, 357; Zuckerman 2004a, 213. By contrast, the petition’s remark that “there have been until now eight pagarchs of Antaiopolis without us having ever been in arrears with the imperial taxes (*basilikoi phoroi*) or the *embolē*” is ambiguous (for *basilikoi phoroi* as taxes, see *P.Lond.* V 1676.50–51). It may refer, as Zuckerman argues, to the pagarchs in office since the abolishment of the *autopragia*, but this would suggest a rather swift turnover among the pagarchs. The comment may, alternatively, refer

of the *autopragia* no longer has the same force that it did against Ioulianos.⁹² By this point, the *autopragia* of old was already a somewhat distant memory, and the villagers complain that the pagarch Menas did not properly balance their account with what he took from them, nor did they obtain proper receipts.⁹³ Menas seized animals and “plundered” the pagarchy under the “pretext” of taxes.⁹⁴ But then it is acknowledged that the pagarch regularly collects the tax payments, and the villagers are insistent on the point that they (or their ancestors) had always paid on time.⁹⁵ It is certainly revealing in this regard that the Aphroditans in the 540s can claim that Ioulianos “tries, against all custom, to forcefully drag us into (!) the pagarchy of Antaiopolis,” implying that their village is not part of it; in 567, however, Menas’s “plundering the pagarchy” and its goods clearly includes Aphrodite—that is, the Aphroditans now apparently perceived their village as part of the pagarchy.⁹⁶ In contrast to the time of the *autopragia*, it is now Menas who collects the tax (*dēmosion*), which is tellingly not even worth an additional accusation.⁹⁷ In another petition relating to this matter, the villagers complain about “the yoke of the pagarchy” that they had been brought under and under which they now paid their taxes, and report that the *dux* had ordered the pagarch to collect only “the net taxes,” so to drop at least the unbearable surcharges, the “punishing *diagrap̄ha*.”⁹⁸

to the pagarch’s authority in the event of arrears (Geraci 1979), so that Dioskoros means that “for as long as there have been pagarchs of Antaiopolis, we have never been in conflict with them over the payment of arrears for the imperial taxes or the *embolē*.” This, however, would imply rather long tenures for the last three unknown pagarchs before Ioulianos (and Ioulianos himself) and, furthermore, that they were all sole pagarchs (cf. Chapter Four: it is conceivable that the tax increases in the 540s and 550s required additional pagarchs to cover the risk, and that, consequently, there had usually been only one pagarch in office before).

92 Stern 2015, 127–129. In contrast to Ioulianos, Menas is moreover never accused of trying to bring Aphrodite under his pagarchy.

93 *Autopragia: P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 5–9; see also the preceding section. Accounting: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 13 and 24–25.

94 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 25; col. III 12–14; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021 verso 9; *P.Lond.* V 1677.34–36.

95 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 16–17; col. II 17 and 22; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021 verso 13–14.

96 Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.2: βούλεται παρὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἡμᾶς ἐλκ[έσ]θαι εἰς παραρχίαν τῆ[ς] Ἀνταιο(υ)πολιτῶν with *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 20: οὐκ’ ἐπαύσατο μανιῶν διόλο(υ) διαρπάξει καὶ ἀθετήσαι φησιν τὴν παραρχίαν, ἣν ἐξεπόρθησεν ἀποτεθεικῶς τὰ τα(ύ)της χρήματα εἰς τὰ Ἄπα Σενουθ[ί]ο(υ). An implicit territorial meaning of παραρχία is apparent here, but an abstract notion of the pagarch’s authority would also be a fitting explanation. The ambiguity is probably intended, since the text also seeks to highlight Ioulianos’s malevolence and thus is obviously also playing with the manifold shades of κρατέω in the relative clause, including “etwas in seine Gewalt nehmen, sich bemächtigen” vs. “besitzen, innehaben” (see *WB*, s.v.).

97 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 22; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021 verso 13–14.

98 *P.Lond.* V 1674 (ca. 570?). “Yoke of the pagarchy” (of course a play on the word *zygon*, which can be translated as “yoke,” but in fiscal contexts usually means simply “measure”): εἰλ[κ]ύσθημεν εὐγενῶς κ[αί] | ἐλευθερικῶς τον βίον κατ[α]γ[ό]μεν[ον] | τῆς παραρχίας ζυγὸν παρ[ά] (?) | τῶν ἀποφθαλμισσαμένων τῆ[ς] (?) -ca.-? | . . . [πε(?)]πραγμένον τε τῶ[ν] | παγάρχων τῶν ἡμᾶς α.[-ca.-?] . . . ἀγειν εἰς δουλείαν (ll. 15–18). “Net taxes”: κατελέησεν ἡμᾶς τότε \προσέταξεν/ μηδὲν ἀπαιτή[σ]αι/ | εἰ μὴ αὐτὰ μόνα τὰ ξηρὰ δημόσια (ll. 96–97). Unbearable surcharges, “punishing *diagrap̄ha*”: καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπινοοῦμενοι εἰς τε | διαγραφῶν ζημίας εὐχ[.] . . . κ[αί] (?) ἀπ[α]ιτήσεις (?) πα[ρ]ὰ τὸ ἔθος (ll. 22–23). This text also illustrates the debate about tax increases and additional surcharges on the land taxes (Zuckerman 2004a, 120 and 214–217; Bransbourg 2016, 342–345), and the responsibility of the pagarchs for collecting them (ll. 96–97; see Zuckerman 2004a, 214).

Figures are a more difficult matter. According to *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, Menas had 200 nomismata collected on top of the regular *dēmosion*, supposedly as exactly that surcharge, in 566/567, his first year in office, so he was considered responsible for the regular tax collection.⁹⁹ But he had also already taken 117 nomismata before from the imprisoned villagers, as “fines,” as quoted at the beginning of this section, probably for arrears from the preceding year that made him go after the villagers in the first place. Later, supposedly still in the same fiscal year, Menas returned with armed forces to the village and extracted a further 700 nomismata from the villagers, also quoted above, again “under the name of public taxes,” but we have little way of knowing whether this constituted Aphrodite’s entire gold tax rate for the fifteenth indiction.¹⁰⁰ In any case, a recent study on taxation rates in late antique Egypt has compellingly suggested that it was not only Aphrodite that had to face surging rates of taxation, but that the whole of Egypt was probably subject to a mounting thirst for cash on the part of the imperial government.¹⁰¹ It may even be that the appearance of two and even three pagarchs after the sole pagarchy of Ioulianos at the beginning of the 550s reflects the need for higher sureties from affluent aristocrats, those who were also able to guarantee the flow of gold through commutation.¹⁰² There is additional evidence that this period had seen an increasing financial burden on imperial subjects throughout the

99 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 22–23; Zuckerman 2004a, 213. It should be noted that the petition is explicit here in stating that these exactions took place “under the former *endoxotatos referendarius*,” i.e., the former *dux* Kyros, who later became (or had always been) *referendarius* (see also *P.Lond.* V 1677.16 with the commentary). By contrast, Athanasios was a *paneuphēmos* and *hyperphyestatos patricius* and was certainly not referred to simply by *endoxotatos*. This is a problem for Fournet’s (1999, 330–331) hypothesis according to which Athanasios would have taken office at the end of 565 or the beginning of 566, since Menas only took over the pagarchy with the beginning of the 15th indiction (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 10–11), i.e., on April 26/May 1, 566. Cf. Morelli 2008a, 235 n. 40 for more doubts about Fournet’s chronology. In order to argue that Athanasios was governor “for the second year,” and not “for the second time,” Fournet points out that in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1920 (563 CE) Athanasios is not referred to as *dux*; but one may object that the title of *dux* would not be expected to appear in this context, for Athanasios was a *patricius*, which was a far more exclusive title and would be considered sufficient in a short reference. The synchronism of Athanasios’s installation as *dux et Augustalis* with the arrival of the effigies of the new emperor Justin II (accession on November 14, 565) may be misleading. Athanasios may have been just nominated, a *dux designatus*, and received Dioskoros’s praise as such, or the effigies simply took somewhat longer to reach the Thebaid. Zuckerman 2004a, 213 n. 254 rejects Fournet’s hypothesis on the grounds that “une grande partie de ses abus [scil., of Menas] ont lieu encore sous Kyros,” but this does not appear to be a valid argument, since only the internment in Thynis and Antinoopolis and the payments of 117 and 200 nomismata can be traced back that far (until the petition to Kyros that the villagers refer to in col. II 10–11).

100 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 6. Keenan 2008, 176 cautions against the use of this figure (817 nomismata plus surcharge) as the total of Aphrodite’s gold tax payments for one year—against Zuckerman 2004a, 213–214, who reads this amount as part of the *dēmosion* mentioned in l. 13. Cf. also Bransbourg 2016, 332–333, who operates with Zuckerman’s figures (mistakenly assigning these payments to the first instead of the preceding fifteenth indiction) and argues that the 117 nomismata were “levied as advances”; however, the text of the petition does not say this. The 117 nomismata are clearly linked to an earlier demand.

101 Bransbourg 2016; the main conclusions about this increase are assembled in table 14 on p. 345. Zuckerman 2004a, 120 argues that the increases documented in *P.Lond.* V 1674 were due to the village’s recent subjection to the pagarchy.

102 Might the loss of Aphrodite’s *autopragia* therefore be due to its insufficient capacity to arrange payments in gold?

empire.¹⁰³ But the entire point of the privilege of *autopragia* was that the privileged payer would be able to provide a stable and secure flow of income for the state, and the privilege was therefore likely to be in peril when this condition could no longer be met.¹⁰⁴

The petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, addressed to the *dux et Augustalis* Athanasios, also manifests an intriguing chronological issue in one of the excerpts quoted above that further supports the impression of the Aphroditans' serious and chronic financial struggles. Under the previous *dux* Kyros, thirteen villagers had attended an annual cattle market in the village of Thynis in the Hermopolite nome.¹⁰⁵ Menas—in this part of the petition identified simply by his epithet *lamprotatos*, but without the title of pagarch—is said to have written a letter to a certain Serenos, who had the villagers ambushed and thrown into a local jail before transferring them to the prison of Antinoopolis, the nearby provincial capital.¹⁰⁶ From Antinoopolis, the villagers issued a petition to the governor Kyros before they were—apparently without Kyros's knowledge—transferred into the custody of Menas in Antaiopolis, whom the petitioners at that point refer to as “the pagarch.” Since a meticulous study by Federico Morelli has suggested that Dioskoros, in drafting *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, was highly attentive to the status and offices that an individual held at a given time in the narrated events,¹⁰⁷ there is good reason to believe that the pagarchy is purposely absent in the parts of the story that deal with Thynis and Antinoopolis. This would entail—since Menas took the pagarchy in late April 566—that the petition to Kyros (which the petitioners issued from Antinoopolis) was sent just before that, and that Menas was already taking care of business ahead of his tenure! He wrote a letter to Serenos requesting that notorious tax debtors be arrested so he would be able to receive them in Antaiopolis right at the beginning of his tenure.¹⁰⁸ This chain of events fits perfectly with James Keenan's identification of the

103 In 566 CE, Justin II considered it worthwhile to remit all tax arrears that were still extant from 552/553 to 559/560; see *Nov.* 148.1 and Bransbourg 2016, 388–389. But the main beneficiaries of such measures were the richer landowners, and the related decision by Justin to repay all public debt may have in fact led to the peak in gold tax rates during the period of 565–568.

104 Geraci 1979, 204; cf. *C.Th.* XI 1.34 (429 CE), a law granting four months, counted from the promulgation of the tax assessment, to the *possessores* of Africa to pay their taxes to the province; otherwise, provincial officials would collect the taxes from them too. Such legislation may in fact be referring to special and temporary privileges that were neither intended to be implemented universally nor in Egypt in particular; Africa long had a considerably lower density of *civitates* than Egypt, and *autopragia* may therefore have been a more practical matter there to bring in the taxes from the countryside.

105 On the identification of Thynis, see Keenan 2008. A fragmentary contract with people from Thynis that may belong to the Dioskoros archive is MacCoull 1993, no. 19. Earlier scholarship (e.g., Rémondon 1961, 78) identified it with This (Girga) further south of Aphrodite, but in this case, the transport of the prisoners from This past Antaiopolis to Antinoopolis and then back south to Antaiopolis would make little sense.

106 On the possible identification of this Serenos with the Antaiopolite pagarch, see the Appendix, s.v.

107 Morelli 2008a, regarding the *dux* Athanasios, who was also *curator domus divinae*, and in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 appears in both capacities.

108 See Gascou 2004, 99 n. 26 (= 2008e, 446 n. 26) for an in-passing interpretation of this episode as a crackdown on tax fugitives. Ruffini 2008a, 158 n. 74 deems this interpretation “curious,” but why else would Menas have the villagers arrested abroad if not because he was in doubt whether they would return? Their “habitual” attendance of the festival may have served the villagers as just the right pretext for getting away, and a fear that they might soon have been out of his reach may also explain

cattle market that the villagers attended with the “festival of Thynis,” which was held in late March,¹⁰⁹ that is, one to two months before Menas’s pagarchy—which is a plausible time span for the villagers to be imprisoned, brought to Antinoopolis, and afterward to Antaiopolis, where Menas, now pagarch of Antaiopolis, received them.¹¹⁰

Again, considerable doubts arise about the traditional notion that the pagarch transgressed his authority by entering an autopract village. But again, the discourse that these petitions create implies a seemingly extraordinary amount of violence. I shall now turn to look at those behind this use of coercive force: the pagarchy’s executive staff and collaborating institutions.

— IV —

THE MEANS OF AUTHORITY

The Ioulianos and Menas affairs put the pagarchs’ extensive executive powers into the spotlight, which calls for some structural comments.¹¹¹ Since we do not have any surviving evidence of normative arrangements on these issues, we have to evaluate the evidence on the basis of “contextually legitimized powers”: who considered what action to be legitimate in a given context? Consequently, by “power,” “competence,” or “responsibility” I mean official actions that are not generally objected to, but at most questioned in a certain case.

That fiscal officials such as the pagarch wielded the power to confiscate property seems natural due to their inherent link to fiscal liability and restitution. This is indeed a trait that we find throughout the documents of the Ioulianos and Menas affairs, and it is nowhere contested as such. Rather, the petitioners contest the underlying justification: that they had been in arrears which the pagarch was supposed to collect. In the 540s and early 550s, the villagers complain about Ioulianos’s trespassing on private property: Ioulianos supposedly took animals, machinery, and tools, which is characterized as looting and seizure of property, under the pretext, however, of taxes.¹¹² One text deals with the seizure of Apollos’s

why Menas chose to act before the start of his tenure. But this is probably the limit to which we can read this petition against the grain.

109 Keenan 2008b, 177 speculates upon the relation of this date to the inception of Menas’s tenure, but apparently does not sufficiently take into account that the episode happened still under the previous governor Kyros.

110 If Fournet is, after all, correct in putting the beginning of Athanasios’s tenure as *dux et Augustalis* to late 565 or early 566 CE, then the detentions (under the governorship of Kyros) would have taken place even longer before the start of Menas’s tenure as pagarch, but see p. 212 n. 99 above: Menas was already collecting regular taxes from the villagers of Aphrodite as pagarch (i.e., after April 26/May 1, 566) under the *dux* Kyros.

111 This section draws considerably on my analysis of the pagarch’s executive powers in Stern 2015, but has a different focus. Many aspects dealt with here can be found in more detail in the article, but other arguments presented here complement the earlier study. References to the article will be made only occasionally.

112 Plundering and seizure: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 17–22; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.5–8; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.35–37. “Pretext” of taxes: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.3–6; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.27 (see Geraci 1979, 198–

property in particular, and here the reason appears to be the debts that Ioulianos attempted to recover after Apollos's death.¹¹³

The pagarchs also had people arrested for nonpayment of taxes, and Menas is said to have arranged collective as well as individual arrests.¹¹⁴ In one case Dioskoros's son might have been taken as a hostage because of his being the nephew of the *prōtokōmētēs* whom Menas held responsible for the arrears; but Dioskoros complains that his son is not responsible for the arrears of his brother-in-law, therefore this was apparently considered an illegitimate means of coercion.¹¹⁵ There is remarkably little explicit evidence of detentions in the Ioulianos episode, given that Dioskoros describes them so vividly in the case of the Menas affair, yet I hesitate to see this as a significant difference.¹¹⁶ Ioulianos is, however, attested as the recipient of a deed of surety for a church reader (*anagnōstēs*) from Aphrodite.¹¹⁷ We have little way of knowing why this man was put under bond, but Ioulianos is represented by two village headmen of Aphrodite, one of them Dioskoros, which suggests that Ioulianos received the surety in his official capacity.¹¹⁸

Historiography has not been kind to the pagarchs and their role in late antique society, and this view results, for the most part, from the dramatic depictions that Dioskoros presented in his petitions. Yet we have seen how Dioskoros maintained not only a good working relationship with Ioulianos, but was also repeatedly helped out by Menas in his struggles with the local shepherds. Moreover, Menas was repeatedly involved in legal matters of individuals, although there is no evidence that he actually adjudicated individual cases.¹¹⁹ The question of whether the pagarchs were involved in the legal system is not easy to answer as we have no evidence that any pagarch actually adjudicated individual cases. The "early" pagarchs, or *praepositi pagorum*, were clearly involved in this branch of authority¹²⁰ and in the early Islamic period, adjudication by the pagarchs is a recurring topic

199). The alleged "seizure" of Dioskoros's property at Phthla by the *boēthos* Kyros, however, was in reality apparently only a confiscation of the harvest; see the previous section.

113 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67026, esp. 9–10; Zuckerman 2004b, 77; Van Minnen 2003, 122.

114 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 4 (by the *endoxotatos illoustrios* Serenos, following a request by Menas); col. II 14; col. III 4–5; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021.16–17.

115 *P.Lond.* V 1677.22–34 and 37–38. The *prōtokōmētēs* is Ruffini's (2011) Apollos 154.

116 Papyri that may allude to detentions include *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 19, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.36, and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.3–5, which have strong similarities with parts of the documents of the Menas affair, though they never become as explicit.

117 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094 (April 1–25, 552 or March 27–31, 553).

118 The surety relates to the reader's presence and to his good behavior, but not to particular duties. We may be dealing with a crime suspect here. Note the comparably high number of sureties (four) and the comparatively high penalty (six nomismata).

119 *SB XX* 14241, where Menas is involved in a legal quarrel over the registration of a land plot. Likewise, *P.Lond.* V 1683 alludes to a legal dispute and that Menas may influence its outcome. A legal dispute is also mentioned in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67083, but the letter is too fragmentary to say much more.

120 For the delegated judicial authority of the *praepositi pagorum*, or "early" pagarchs, see Lewis 1948, esp. 54–57, and Chapter One, and here esp. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831, in which the writer refers to the pagarch(s) in the context of litigation, but the precise meaning of that passage remains unclear.

in our sources.¹²¹ As subordinates of the *duces et Augustales*, however, the Byzantine pagarchs were *ex officio*, as it were, involved in assisting the judicial apparatus and in local contexts, their decisions conceivably represented “the law” for the local population.¹²² In one instructive case, Menas assists a shepherd in what seems to be an investigation; he orders the *prōtokōmētai* to hand over some men whom this shepherd had entered into a list. In case this does not happen soon, Menas (or, the shepherd?) threatens with legal action.¹²³

It is noteworthy that the pagarchs were themselves approached via petitions, and it may be revealing that these instances also come from the Dioskoros archive. In one instance, a widow had donated to a monastery land that was now being contested by a man about whom we know no more than his name; in the petition linked to this case, the monks ask the *dux et Augustalis* to order the local pagarch and the *topotērētēs* “to keep him away from us.”¹²⁴ In yet another petition to the *dux*, another widow complains that she had been assaulted and put into prison; she goes on to argue that before she had turned to the *dux* by means of the present petition, the pagarch had already intervened in her case and ordered her release, which means that she or a confidant of hers must have approached the pagarch beforehand.¹²⁵ Even a literary example can balance out the pagarchs’ “dark side.” The *Coptic History of the Church* accuses the emperor Marcian (r. 450–457) of trying to gain popularity by denying the *boēthoi* entry to the villages for the purpose of tax collection; instead, he orders that the pagarchs collect the taxes themselves. This note places the pagarchs on a very local level and possibly relates to the “earlier” pagarchy of the *praepositus pagi*, yet it is notable that the conception of the pagarch as the more benevolent authority compared with the *boēthoi* has found its way into the Coptic literary tradition.¹²⁶

121 See most recently Tillier 2013, 20–25 with further references.

122 For the sixth century, see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094, which may have a judicial background (see p. 88 n. 221 above). Note also that *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003 features a pagarch and a *topotērētēs* as (potential) enactors of a decision requested from the *dux et Augustalis*. For a comparable situation in early Islamic Egypt (Tillier 2013, 21–22).

123 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67322. The mention of a *pragma* is probably part of the warning about an official inquiry and the offer of an out-of-court settlement (cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831). The text illustrates that farmers would file petitions to the pagarch, who in turn would rely on the shepherds of Phthla to maintain public order in his area; Makarios is certainly the same man who shows up in *SB XX 14241*. The author of that letter, a certain Ioannes, is not the pagarch of that name (see the Appendix, s.v.).

124 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003.24–25 (Antinoopolis?; ca. 567): ὄθεν παρακαλοῦμεν τὸ ὑψος ὑμῶν (...) εἰ παρασταίη προστάξει τῷ παγάρχη τῆς Ἀνταίου(υ) καὶ τῷ τοποτηρητῇ ταυτῆς ἀφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτρέψαι, δέσπο(τα) ὑπ(ερ)φυέστ(α)τε. The chronologically closest known pagarchs are Menas himself and Kollouthos, on whom see the following note. However, it is also possible that another, unknown pagarch is addressed here, who would have been a colleague of Menas or Kollouthos, and who may also have been *topotērētēs*: it is commonly assumed that the pagarch and the *topotērētēs* in this text are two different individuals, but cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 19: ἔγραψεν (!) γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ διακομητῆς; the link between these two passages was already established in Gelzer 1913b, 361 n. 1. On the *topotērētēs* of the city, see Jesenko 2016, 1807–1809.

125 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005.19 (Antinoopolis?; ca. 568): ἐκέλευσεν ὁ δεσπ(ότης) μου ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) κύριος Κόλλουθος ὁ καγκελλάριος κ(αὶ) παγάρχης ἀπολυθῆναι με. It is unclear why the pagarch’s order was apparently ignored.

126 The origin of the work is hard to pin down. On the relevant fragments, see Johnson 1976.

The men that would have executed the pagarchs' authority in the countryside find mention as well, and render themselves susceptible to accusations from Dioskoros, who at times refers to them vaguely as the pagarch's entourage, or "those who follow(ed) him."¹²⁷ Fortunately, some texts from the Menas episode are wordier than that and segregate the pagarch's "auxiliaries" into different groups. In the Menas episode, his "followers" are categorized on four occasions: (1) as "robbers," *paganoi*, and soldiers; (2) as soldiers and *paganoi*; (3) as "robbers," *paganoi*, shepherds, and other villagers; and, finally, (4) the *paganoi* appear on their own, now themselves linked to the "robber" topos.¹²⁸ First, the latter use of the term suggests that the "robbers" should probably be discounted as rhetoric. The second group are the soldiers, who appear here to be not brigands but regular troops, as they are on another occasion specified as "soldiers of (the detachments of) the Scythians and Macedonians" under a *vicarius*, who assists Menas in collecting the taxes from the villagers, apparently without being subordinate to the pagarch.¹²⁹ A pagarch's cooperation with the military was probably a situational arrangement, presumably in case of continuous and significant resistance on the part of the taxpayers, and may have been helped by the comparable social stratum on which the pagarchs and the *vicarii* of such units found themselves.¹³⁰ It also might have been thanks to the vagaries of history that Menas had a chance at all to make use of the army, as it was stationed in the area during these years as a precaution against hostile incursions by the Blemmyes. In this context, Menas's confiscations have occasionally been interpreted as foresighted acts of safekeeping grain reserves and mobile property of value.¹³¹ The third group in the list, the shepherds that followed Menas, were not simply herdsmen, but also regular fieldguards (*agrophylakes*) at Aphrodite and supposedly also in the neighboring village of Phthla.¹³² The village *boëthos* of Phthla,

127 *Ioulianos*: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67026.7–8: τοὺς Ἰουλιανῶ τῷ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῳ) προσήκ[ον]τας; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.6: οἱ αὐτῷ ἐπόμενοι. *Menas*: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 2: οἱ | συνεπόμενοι αὐτῷ εἰς βοήθειαν; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021 verso 11–12: παρὰ τῆς | ἐπομένης τῷ εἰ[ρη]μ(ένῳ) κυρ(ίῳ) Μηνᾶ β[ο]ηθ(είας).

128 (1) *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 23: μετὰ πολλῆς ληστρικῆς τε καὶ παγανικῆς καὶ [στ]ρατι[ωτ]ικῆς βοηθεί[ας]; (2) *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021 verso 8–9: μετὰ στρατιωτ(ικῆς) καὶ | π[α]γανι(?)κῆς βοηθ(είας); (3) *P.Lond.* V 1677.27–28: παρὰ τε τῶν ληστῶν καὶ | [τῶν παγανῶν καὶ τῶν σὺ]ν τούτοις ποιμένων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ὄλων οἰκητόρων; (4) *P.Lond.* V 1674.77–79: μετὰ τῶν ληστρικῶν ἐφόδων καὶ ἀπὸ προόδων | πολλῶν ὡς εἴρηται παγανῶν τῶν καὶ τὴν κώμην ἡμῶν ἐπιπηδησάντων.

129 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 11–12. Mitthof 2008, 256–257 speculates whether these men may have been subordinate to the pagarch, but the quoted *P.Flor.* III 295+*P.Lond.* V 1678 is a *delendum* for the pagarch (Stern 2015, 144). Zuckerman 2004a, 153–159 highlights the role of the military in collecting local taxes. On brigand soldiers in Antaiopolis at that time, see Mitthof 2008, 252–253. Note also the close connection in which soldiers and pagarchs are mentioned as subordinates of the provincial governor in *Ed.* 13.12.

130 Liebeschuetz 1974, 166; Mitthof 2008, 254–255. Pappouthis and Dorotheos, as *boëthoi* to the "early" pagarchs, the *praepositi pagorum*, also had the power to summon soldiers to enforce their authority.

131 See Rémondon 1961, 77–78 (where Menas appears as a "bon administrateur") and 86. See also Dioskoros's frequent comparisons of Menas's acts to barbarian devastations. On these incursions, see Palme 2007c, 257 n. 57 and Dijkstra 2004, 153. Another rather favorable interpretation of Menas's transferring goods "of the pagarchy" to a monastery in these times is provided by Ruffini 2018, 127.

132 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 14; col. III 4 and 13; *P.Lond.* V 1677.14 and 28; and also, regarding the "early" pagarchy, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831. On the κοινὸν τῶν ποιμένων and its regular involvement in matters of public security, see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001 (December 28, 514); Keenan 1985a; and Maurer & Tost 2016,

Kyros, commanded local shepherds to assist him in confiscating Dioskoros's harvest, and it would appear that the *boēthos*, as the local arm of the pagarch, directed such local security forces under the pagarchs' auspices.¹³³ Both institutions consisted of outsiders of some sort: the shepherds living on the margins of the village community and the *boēthos* as the Antaiopolite pagarchs' long arm formed a sort of *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, and were deployed by the biggest outside actors in the picture—the pagarchs.¹³⁴ One Oxyrhynchite text from the time of the “early” pagarchy also shows a *boēthos* in some obscure connection to the pagarch and the fieldguards of a village, apparently within a chain of hierarchy.¹³⁵

Who, in contrast to these three groups, were the *paganoi*?¹³⁶ One may be tempted to read the term as “civilian,” in contrast to the soldiers,¹³⁷ but it should give us pause that group 3 above makes another “civilian” contrast, namely with the shepherds, and that in group 4 the *paganoi* even appear on their own, without any contrasting term. Ioulianos, twenty years earlier, does apparently not draw on the help of the military, but one of Dioskoros's drafts of an imperial rescript in this matter nonetheless orders the provincial governor to take care that “whoever of your office and of the *paganoi*” unduly confronted the villagers be held accountable.¹³⁸ Given that the earlier part of this draft refers to the men of the provincial *officium* and the pagarch advancing toward the village as though these were two distinct episodes, it is likely that *paganos* in this context served as a technical term for the pagarch's executive staff, and it is certainly no coincidence that the *paganoi*, in contrast to the soldiers or the shepherds, occur on *all* occasions where the pagarch's “auxiliaries” are specified. The *paganoi* might thus have been understood as the pagarch's security forces, as *paganos* may in other contexts indeed also be used to refer to the countryside in contrast to what pertains to the urban center of the *civitas*; that is, it refers to what is usually the area administered by the pagarchs.¹³⁹ We have no evidence from the Antaiopolite about what

1837 n. 24. On the role of the shepherds in the Menas affair, see Ruffini 2008a, 184–187, 194–195, and 218–226. Notably, it is the “evil” pagarch Menas who in *P.Lond.* V 1682 shields Dioskoros against one of these neighboring shepherd fieldguards (Ruffini 2008a, 222, where the text number is misspelled in n. 92), though this text more likely relates to Menas's first pagarchy in the 550s.

133 On the role of these shepherds in tax collection, see Vanderheyden 2015, no. 15.

134 On the places of residence of the *boēthoi*, see p. 81 n. 173.

135 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1831.12: οὐδὲ βοηθὸς ἡμῶν ἐμεσ. .η η. .[. . .]τε ὁ πᾶγαρχος; the text before this phrase is lost or illegible. Since the writer is a village headman, “our *boēthos*” probably relates to a village *boēthos*, who is here in some way linked to a pagarch, most likely again in his role as intermediary or the pagarch's local representative.

136 On the various meanings of *παγανός/παγανικός*, see Guiland 1967, I 154–155 and *CPR* XXIII, pp. 204–205.

137 *CPR* XXIII, p. 204 n. 25.

138 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.46: τῆς \τε/ σῆς τάξεως καὶ παγανῶν.

139 See *CPR* XXII 1.7 (April 3, 644) for the use of *παγανός* for an inhabitant of the countryside in contrast to a city dweller. Cf. also *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67281.5: τὴν ἐξ ἔθους δημοσίαν βοήθειαν and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67282.5: ἐν τ[ο]ῖς τόποις πολιτικὴν βοήθειαν. The former designates the detachments of police forces under the *riparius*, the main police official of the *civitas* (although here it refers to the *riparius* of Aphrodite; see, however, Tost 2012 on their institutional equality); see Zuckerman 2004a, 133–136. The second expression also refers to police forces, probably those of the province; for a discussion of the

institutions were counted among these *paganoi*, but we can draw on evidence from Arsinoe, where in one instance two *eirēnarchai* and three *phylakes* commit themselves to the pagarch Strategios Paneuphemos.¹⁴⁰ The *eirēnarchai* were village liturgists and the subordinate *phylakes* may have been minor liturgists or guards hired by the pagarch or the *eirēnarchai* to support their duties.¹⁴¹ The pagarch Kyrillos in one case equally draws on an *eirēnarchēs* to have someone arrested.¹⁴² In Oxyrhynchos, the “pagarching” landlords are attested as directing security officials, namely *phylakes* and *prōtophylakes*,¹⁴³ but it is elusive how this authority fit into the chain of hierarchy of the entire *civitas*. Given the high rank that the Apiones, the most famous of the “pagarching” magnates, obtained, we may suspect that their authority in matters of public security was directly subordinate to the provincial governor, rather than to the pagarch or to the *riparius*, but this remains an educated guess.

In any case, *riparii* are notably absent from the evidence for the pagarchy. While there is one document to suggest that the *riparius* was answerable to the pagarch’s orders in the early Islamic period,¹⁴⁴ their relationship in the Byzantine age remains obscure.

— v —

THE POLITICS OF AUTHORITY

What was the stance of the provincial and imperial authorities toward the Ioulianos and Menas affairs? And did the pagarchs care? Dioskoros, for his part, is of course quick to imply that the pagarch Menas was undermining public authority. The petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, in a passage quoted above, explains how thirteen men from Aphrodite were imprisoned by the *endoxotatos illoustrios* Serenos in the Hermopolite village of Thynis and then transferred to the provincial capital of Antinoopolis. Here, the prisoners succeeded in getting the former *dux et Augustalis* Kyros to intervene in their case and order that they be released from prison, “yet we were not released.”¹⁴⁵ The passage looks deliberately imprecise, as if it was meant to give the impression that Menas had been ignoring a ducal order. In reality, this order is more likely to have been directed at Antinoopolite authorities or at the *endoxotatos illoustrios* Serenos. It also may not even have ordered the villagers’ release from custody in general, but rather only their release from the Antinoopolite prison so that this issue was dealt with where it belonged, that is, in the Antaiopolite, under Menas’s

meaning of πολιτικός in this context, see Appl 2012, 52. Considering these two terms, it may be significant that παγαν(ικ)ός and the pagarchy (and its cognates) share a common etymology.

140 *P.Bodl.* I 53, on which see Sängner 2005, 195 and n. 153, and Torallas Tovar 2000, 120–121.

141 On the *phylakes* as minor liturgists, see Sängner 2005, 164 and Maurer & Tost 2016, 1838 n. 29.

142 *P.Lond.* V 1786, where Kyrillos is not addressed as pagarch, but the text is an internal letter, not a legal document, and the reference to Kyrillos therefore follows the short form.

143 *P.Oxy.* LXX 4802; *P.Oxy.* I 139; *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4536. See Stern 2015, 125–126 and 134 n. 78.

144 *P.Ross.Georg.* III 23 (Arsinoites; end of VII).

145 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 10–11.

purview.¹⁴⁶ Despite the high emotional register Dioskoros deploys while making his case against Ioulianos and Menas, he must have been aware that his addressees were of equal learning and would have been able to read through compositional conventions and rhetorical devices. The account of both pagarchs' conduct is therefore unlikely to have been taken at face value, which begs the question of what Dioskoros actually sought to achieve, or, what he could have hoped to achieve. In the context of Menas's direct intervention in and around Aphrodite, Dioskoros writes that "the scribe and the deacon wrote to him in the matter lest he come up to the village and disarray the grain tax."¹⁴⁷ This suggests that in terms of the discussion about the intent of Roman petitions, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 was more likely a "last resort" than a "tactic to force settlement."¹⁴⁸

Why did Menas, apparently repeatedly, not back off like culprits usually did when confronted with "the shadow of the law"?¹⁴⁹ According to Justinian's *Edict* 13 from 539 CE, a fraudulent pagarch could be removed from office, with his estates made subject to seizure. The *dux et Augustalis*, addressed in both *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, was not authorized to do so on his own, yet he was the one through whom such demands would pass before reaching the emperor.¹⁵⁰ One would be inclined to think that the actions listed in Dioskoros's petitions provided an exemplary case for applying these regulations yet all petitions in both affairs stick to the demand that justice be done and that the petitioners not be further bothered so that they can pay their taxes.¹⁵¹ This demand entails a return to the *status quo ante*, which is notable in the light of recent research that has suggested that in cases of violence petitioners usually pushed for punishment.¹⁵² The petitions against the pagarchs do contain explicit demands for punishment, but they restrict these to the pagarchs' auxiliaries, whom the petitioners hope "to be thoroughly destroyed."¹⁵³

146 Stern 2015, 136–138.

147 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 19: ἔγραψεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ διακονητὴς τούτου χάριν, \(\tau\omicron\upsilon\)/ μὴ ἀνελεῖν τὴν κώμην ἀκαίρως καὶ διαστρέψαι τὴν ἐμβολήν. Note also the role of the *diakonētēs* as an intermediary between the village and Menas in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060.1.

148 These phrases commonly refer to the two widely cited models by Hobson 1993, 199–200 (although she does not herself use "last resort") and Kelly 2011, 276, respectively. Like others, Fournet 2015, 263 takes the petitions against Menas and Ioulianos as a "dernière solution."

149 Harries 2001.

150 In *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, the main text has the empress Theodora as its immediate addressee but the *dux* is implied as an intermediary in l. 15: διὰ χειρὸς τῆς | εὐσεβ[ε]σ[τ]α[τ]ῆς ἡμῶν δ[ε]σπο[τ]ίνης (i.e., Theodora) καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ε[ὐ]κλ[ε]ί[ε]ας (i.e., the *dux*). See p. 133 above on the regulations of *Edict* 13 regarding a pagarch's removal from office.

151 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 col. I 13–15; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso 24–28; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 22–25, 42–45, and 55–57. The relevant passages are lost or fragmentary in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67021, *P.Lond.* V 1674, and *P.Lond.* V 1677.

152 Bryen 2013, 129–135; Kelly 2011, 188–194.

153 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. III 22–23: προστάξει τὸν μὲν εἰρημέ(νον) πάγαρχον ἀποπαύ[ε]σθαι ἡμῶν θυμολεοντ[ο]φθόρον: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλιτηρίο(υ)ς πλείω βαρβάρων κακούργο(υ)ς καὶ ἀρχιληστὰς μηλονόμους | ἀγαρεθῆναι σὺν ρίζαις. A similar wording may hide behind *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 col. I 16–17, but the text has been heavily restored by the editor.

This is significant in order to comprehend what Dioskoros and his fellow villagers could have possibly hoped to achieve. On his first visit to Constantinople in the Theodosios and Ioulianos affair, Dioskoros obtained a rescript from the *curator domus divinae*, which has been preserved and which addresses the *dux et Augustalis*, who is told to proceed “in accordance with justice and the law”—but all the same the *curator* demands that Theodosios’s reputation be taken into consideration.¹⁵⁴ The empire looked after its own. It is also notable that this rescript refrains from advertising the pagarch’s name, nor does it condemn his collection of the alleged arrears.¹⁵⁵ If we look at how that episode turned out, we see that the imperial agencies supposedly did not regard Ioulianos’s access to the village in this case as a point to take issue with. In 551, Dioskoros traveled a second time to Constantinople and took the draft of an imperial rescript with him, which has been preserved.¹⁵⁶ Rather than revealing what had actually been decided by the imperial chancery, the document thus describes what Dioskoros considered a beneficial outcome with reasonable chances of being achieved—the maximum demands, as it were. Yet even this text disregards actual adjudication, instead leaving it, again, to the governor to start a formal inquiry and to come to a final decision.¹⁵⁷ As for the pagarch, the text of the rescript draft indeed orders the *dux* to compensate the villagers if their case is just;¹⁵⁸ but also here, as in the actual rescript mentioned before, the only parties to be punished are the subordinates of the ducal *officium* and the pagarch’s auxiliaries—Ioulianos gets away with it.¹⁵⁹ Apparently, when Dioskoros composed the rescript draft aiming for a settlement, he hoped for at least some material compensation for the village, but did not aim at impeachment proceedings against the pagarch.¹⁶⁰ Because he knew he *could not* hope for them?

154 SB VI 9102.18–22 (ca. September 548): τοῦτο μὲν | διὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸν νόμον, | τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν | τοῦ προειρημένου μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου | ἀνδρός; Zuckerman 2004b, 84.

155 Geraci 1979, 203.

156 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.

157 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.39–41: θεσπιζομεν τοίνυν τὴν ἐνδοξ(ότητα) τὴν σὴν | ἐξετάσαι τὰ περὶ τούτου \α/ μεθ’ ὅσης νόμος ἀκριβείας προστάττει, | καὶ εἰ ταῖς \α/ ἀληθείαις (...); Fournet 2015, 262–263. Dioskoros would have hoped that his draft served as a blueprint for the imperial chancery and that the resulting rescript contained most of what he hoped it would. He would then have taken the “actual” rescript back to Egypt in order to start a formal procedure in the case of continued malevolence; see Zuckerman 2004b, 87–88 and Keenan 1975, 246.

158 On restitutions as a key motivating factor for filing petitions, see Hobson 1993, 205. Whereas the petitions, by contrast, do not explicitly demand restitutions, the specific amounts mentioned in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. II 6, 10, 13, and 23 may be seen as an allusion to restitutions.

159 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.42–52. Notably, when it comes to the question of who is to compensate the villagers, ms. A, in a later correction, alongside the officials of the ducal bureau also includes the pagarch’s local subordinates (l. 46: \τῆς \τε/ σῆς τάξεως καὶ παγανῶν/). Mss. B and C, however, of which the latter is arguably the most advanced in terms of redaction, no longer refer to them. The ἡμαρτηκότες (“wrongdoers”) in l. 51 apparently do not include the pagarch Ioulianos, as they are still part of the passage relating to the ducal staff (cf. l. 47: χρήμασιν καὶ ἐγκλήμασιν, l. 48: χρήματα, and l. 49: ἐγκλημάτων).

160 See also Palme 2008b, 208.

A document from an even later stage of this episode is a contract involving an *exsecutor negotii* who was supposed to convey and enact the eventual imperial decision.¹⁶¹ This document suggests that the result of the Theodosios and Ioulianos affair was probably only a much-reduced version of what Dioskoros had prepared in the rescript draft. In the contract, Theodosios and Ioulianos are not even mentioned, but instead the original affair had been reduced to an internal dispute between two leading village families, the resolution of which was apparently the only charge of the *exsecutor*, who, interestingly enough, bears the same rank as Count Ammonios, that of *comes sacri consistorii*.¹⁶² Later documents reveal that neither did Ioulianos suffer a loss in his aristocratic standing, nor was he deprived of the pagarchy. Instead, he is seen in what is at least a functioning working relationship with, among others, Dioskoros in the years immediately following the “affair,” and in 560, Ioulianos is still (or, again?) attested in the position of pagarch.¹⁶³ What does change, however, is that from 553/554 the pagarchy appears to have been held by two or three pagarchs, but rather than a rebuke to Ioulianos, this was more likely due to the increasing fiscal value of the Antaiopolite pagarchy, which saw, like all of Egypt and the empire, a dramatic rise in gold tax demands.

Unfortunately, we do not have comparable insights into what happened in the wake of the Menas affair. Menas indeed seems to have been in office only for a couple of years, as short as two indictions, after which Kollouthos Cancellarius may have taken over.¹⁶⁴ How this move is to be interpreted, however, depends on whether Menas was pagarch in his own right or for a higher aristocrat, and whether, and under what circumstances, he was the sole pagarch of Antaiopolis at that time. What seems certain at least is that the Menas affair did not trigger impeachment proceedings as stipulated by *Edict 13*, including the handover of property, for we see Menas’s son Theodoros still attested as *geouchōn* in a papyrus from 570 CE, and the same papyrus also refers to Menas himself as a member of the staff of the ducal bureau. Furthermore, the document attributes to him the rank of a *lamprotatos* and *peribleptos* instead of the simpler *lamprotatos* that consistently marks Menas’s earlier appearances.¹⁶⁵ The document that tells us this is a contract involving Theodoros that was,

¹⁶¹ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032.

¹⁶² See the compelling reading of this case by Zuckerman 2004b, 85–91 and cf. Fournet 2015, 264–265. It is furthermore apparent that the style of the rescript draft (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024) is notably wordier and more poetic than the earlier “actual rescript” (*SB VI 9102*)—a fact which by itself may reveal how the imperial chancery may have compressed the cause of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024; but cf. Fournet 2015, 260–261, who is more optimistic regarding what was actually transferred from the drafts into the rescript proper.

¹⁶³ See Table 04 (pp. 137–138) above.

¹⁶⁴ A short tenure alone would be insufficient to suggest that Menas was removed from the pagarchy due to the events described by *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, since there is no apparent pattern in the length of the pagarchs’ tenure; see Chapter Four.

¹⁶⁵ *P.Lond.* V 1714.12–15 (Antinoopolis; March 14, 570): Φλαυῖω Θεοδώρω υἱῷ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ περιβλέπτου κυρίου | Μηνᾶ σκρινιαρίου τῆς κατὰ Θηβαῖδα λαμπρᾶς δουκικῆς τάξεως | τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἐξέκπτורי τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως ὁρμωμένῳ | ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν ἐφ’ ἧς καὶ γεουχοῦντι. The governors’ *officia* and their staff are analyzed in Palme 1999b. Menas already bore the title of

ironically, or again revealingly, drawn up by Dioskoros during his alleged “exile” in Antinoopolis after Menas’s pursuits! Apparently, again, their relationship cannot have been so bad after all. But what does this entail for Menas’s career? Was he promoted, and therefore stepped down from the pagarchy of Antaiopolis? Or was he promoted to get him off the scene, without, however, making him subject to punishment? Again, as in the case of Ioulianos, the consequences of the dispute for Menas, if there were any, were probably rather modest.

The question remains of why both Ioulianos and Menas got away with it. It has often been argued that higher authorities refrained from taking concrete actions in many such cases because their economic, political, and social ties were too tightly interwoven,¹⁶⁶ but the apparent lack of actual consequences for Ioulianos in the rescript draft *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024 and also for Menas in the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 should give pause. Dioskoros obviously did not go so far as requesting to have Ioulianos or Menas removed from the pagarchy, which suggests that structural political considerations were at play as well: either Dioskoros thought that the pagarchs’ actions were in essence covered by their authority, or he figured that the government would not take any issues with them. That these events escalated into violent clashes is, regardless of rhetoric, certainly beyond doubt, at least in the case of the Menas affair,¹⁶⁷ and the villagers were indeed after material compensation, so the extent of violence may have been perceived as going too far. Anyone involved in tax collection faced a risk of considerable losses during the business, especially at this level, given the potential sums involved.¹⁶⁸ The villagers’ apparently repeated failure to pay their due taxes must have alarmed Ioulianos and Menas, who would not tolerate it any longer and opted for, apparently aggressive, confiscation.¹⁶⁹

But the question is whether the state cared all that much or whether it in fact relied on this sort of official mindset, even though it may have “contradicted government policy,” in order to ensure tax revenues.¹⁷⁰ Ioulianos’s position was considered important in this respect and his conduct seems to have been tolerated; Menas even received a promotion, albeit possibly only to get him off the scene. We must not forget that both episodes took place in a particularly challenging fiscal environment. The 540s (and 550s) experienced an

scriniarius during his pagarchy but it is hard to tell whether this referred to a continuous assignment to the ducal office, or whether the term instead served as a marker of profession referring to an earlier duty.

¹⁶⁶ Ruffini 2008a, 193; Palme 2008b, 214–215; Fournet 1999, 327–329. In the case of the pagarch Ioulianos, who was accused before the emperor, the question is also who actually handled petitions that went as far as Constantinople.

¹⁶⁷ Palme 2008b, 217. One could argue, however, that detentions, as part of law enforcement, “necessarily involved a great deal of violence” (Torallas Tovar 2006, 102) in premodern societies.

¹⁶⁸ Ziche 2006, 132.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Geraci 1979, 205.

¹⁷⁰ See Bagnall 1989, 209 and 212–213 (quote); Bell 2013, 270–272; and Ziche 2006 on this sort of “organized violence” and how people, to a degree, expected and accepted it; see also Bryen 2013, 66–68 for some theoretical reflections, and cf. Wickham 2005, 66–67 and 145.

ever-increasing rise of demands, especially for gold, which at one point may have been too much even for the patronage by Count Ammonios.¹⁷¹ Comparably, the extraordinarily high tax demands of the late 560s probably reflect imperial policy after the accession of Justin II, who found the empire in a critical financial situation.¹⁷² There was obviously no endorsement of the type of major devastation described in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, but how much of that description was embellished by the “literary Dioskoros”? The more important situational aspect to consider was probably whether the machinery of extraction could be kept in running order.¹⁷³ The “Good Official” of Byzantine Egypt had to be rigid enough, but not too rigid, so that the government deemed the result, and the taxpayers the means, acceptable.¹⁷⁴ The pagarchs in this way served as mediators between the empire and its subjects, whose needs would often enough be regarded as a nuisance.¹⁷⁵ We can imagine that this was a delicate business at all times, but especially so when the financial situation of the empire was strained to a point rarely seen, such as when Ioulianos and Menas were in charge. In this environment, apparently, the balance swung in their favor.

— VI —

SUMMARY

The village of Aphrodite is significant for our understanding of the pagarchy because it allows us to evaluate the pagarchs’ purview through a confrontation with its limits. The small town was legally a village, but had once been a city, and this particular history may account for its *autopragia*, granted (or renewed) under Emperor Leo I. Under the autopract regime, the village paid provincial and imperial taxes, most prominently the *embolē*, directly to the provincial office without the pagarchs as intermediaries. Local taxes, however, were nonetheless, after they had been collected and aggregated for the village, handed over to the pagarch, who is also seen as superior to several liturgists active at Aphrodite in the early 550s, and thus had a closer link to the village than often acknowledged. But this situation may not have been as straightforward as it sounds and the relation of the pagarchs toward the autopract village appears to have evolved over time. To my mind, this evolution is most plausibly to be explained by continuous difficulties that the village officials faced in matters of tax collection, which apparently date back as far as the late 530s, when the first conflicts

171 It remains to be seen to what extent this mounting burden on Egypt resulted from its relative stability after the Justinian plague had hit other regions more critically; see Zuckerman 2004a, 217 and Bransbourg 2016, esp. 322, 343–344, and 388.

172 Zuckerman 2004a, 215–216 and Bransbourg 2016, again esp. 322, 343–344, and 388.

173 Cf. Schuller 1982, 207–208; Bryen 2013, 48; and Bagnall 1989, 204.

174 On the concept of the Good Official, cf. Crawford 1978.

175 See the passing remark by the *curator domus divinae*—who authored the actual rescript SB VI 9102—according to which the villagers of Aphrodite, in addressing the imperial government, had made themselves “bothersome” (l. 8; Ruffini 2008a, 157 n. 63).

with provincial officials are documented. It is around this time that Count Ammonios's presence in Aphroditan activities becomes more pronounced, although he may have already assumed this role at an earlier point. The strong presence of the imperial *oikos* at Aphrodite further begs the question of how the involvement of the imperial household relates to the *autopragia* and to the authority wielded by Ammonios, himself a *comes sacri consistorii*. Ammonios's "patronage" for Aphrodite may perhaps be conceived in terms comparable to that of large landowners' authority over villages that we see in Oxyrhynchos, although less formalized, in order to ease the government's dealings with the village's "smallholders" and make village *autopragia* work in practice.

Aphrodite's fiscal strains became more palpable in the late 540s, when Dioskoros was directly involved with village business. The *megaloprepestatos* Theodosios, possibly linked to the imperial household and a successor of Ammonios as "supervisor" of Aphrodite's fiscal business, collected what may from his perspective have been arrears, but what the Aphroditans considered their regular tax payments for the indiction of 547/548. Apparently as an intermediary for the provincial office, the pagarch Ioulios advanced to the village in order to collect the missing taxes, which the Aphroditans argued they had already paid to Theodosios. Ioulios employed coercive force to extract the taxes, but was, like Theodosios, left in his position, with the imperial chancery calling only for his subordinates to be brought into line. The frequent conflicts resulted in the abolishment, suspension, or at least limitation of Aphrodite's *autopragia*. In 566/567, the pagarch Menas collected the regular taxes, and appears to have been on constant alert regarding the village's notorious payment behavior, or capacity. But whereas dealing with the large landholders in the nome was probably not much of a hazard for a pagarch, since these men and women were usually his peers, confronting a headless—or multiheaded—autopragic village may have been expected to soon turn nasty. Menas had absent debtors arrested even ahead of his tenure and executed public fiscal authority in the village through obviously violent means of coercion, drawing on local army detachments, the shepherd fieldguards, and his own liturgical security personnel. Despite Dioskoros's fierce accusations before the *dux*, however, Menas moved from his pagarchy to a new position in the ducal office at Antinoopolis, now elevated to the rank of *peribleptos*. Ioulios and Menas were effective tools of the Byzantine fiscal regime on the periphery, and they were acknowledged as such.

While Ruffini's "microhistory" of Aphrodite has recently argued that in terms of state involvement ordinary village life should be placed at the lower end of the scale,¹⁷⁶ the point of view taken in this chapter has placed it at the opposite end. But both views may in fact be less contradictory than it seems at first glance. While Ruffini is right to argue that what happens at the ground level at Aphrodite cannot be understood exclusively from the perspective of the central government, his—no doubt pointed—claim that the state was

¹⁷⁶ Ruffini 2018, 25–26, 207, and 213.

absent from Aphrodite goes too far to the other extreme. The state was undoubtedly a fact of life at Aphrodite, and it was visible especially for Dioskoros and his fellows from the village elite who faced its demands and regulations most immediately. Granted, one may conceive of Ioulianos as a rich landowner, and of Menas as an aristocratic parvenu, but seeing them entirely in terms of their socioeconomic position falls short of acknowledging that both their authoritative positions were linked to means that had been vested to them by the government. More importantly, their horizon was entirely different than that of Dioskoros and his fellows: for Ioulianos and Menas, Aphrodite was always a part, not the center, of their administrative careers, and both were integrated into a web of expectations from their peers in the *civitas* of Antaiopolis and from superior authorities in Antinoopolis and Constantinople.

CONCLUSION

*“In plain words, Chaos was the law of nature;
Order was the dream of man.”*

HENRY B. ADAMS
The Education of Henry Adams

— I —

RESULTS

BY FAR THE MAJORITY OF THE SUBJECTS of the late Roman Empire dwelled in the innumerable villages, estates, and scattered hamlets of its rural regions, which through their labor, taxes, and commodities sustained the administrative centers and the state apparatus up to the capital. But although fundamental to the empire’s prosperity, the countryside was at the same time far removed from the imperial center—in terms of both distance and administrative layers. These regions are only rarely covered by our traditional literary sources, whose authors were usually not interested in the everyday and ordinary. By contrast, the papyrological evidence from Egypt hands us the inestimable opportunity to glimpse how the countryside responded to the demands from above and how empire looked on the ground.

To understand how the late Roman Empire represented and constructed its authority in these remote spaces, the present study has investigated the realm of fiscal administration of the Egyptian provinces. Fiscal concerns were a major motivation of day-to-day state business in the periphery, and Egypt, with its exceptional wealth of documentary material from the local level, provides us with more substantial evidence than any other region. In the last two decades, notable scholarly works on several institutions have refined our understanding of the late antique Egyptian countryside, notably including an intense debate over the validity of the model of fiscal participation and its consequences for our perception of late antique aristocratic aspiration and the role of the state. This debate has to some degree obscured the pagarchs’ role in the administrative network, and this role has therefore been the focus of the present study, which has analyzed the pagarchs’ doings and dealings at different levels, from the ground level to the cities and up to the level of the province—along

with the repercussions at the imperial level—and has applied the heuristic concept of state *infrastructural power* to evaluate how the pagarchs and related actors contributed to the creation of fiscal authority in the late antique Egyptian countryside.

The pagarchs first surface in documents from the fourth and fifth centuries, when *pagarchos* and *pagarchēs* emerged as synonymous Greek renderings for the well-known *praepositus pagi*. Chosen from among the city councilors, this officer presided over one of about 10 to 15 *pagi* per city territory, or nome, and seems to have been responsible for virtually everything that happened in his district. The office had been implemented in Egypt in 307/308 CE as one of the final steps toward the country's municipalization, which applied the Roman administrative principle of civic self-government to the Egyptian nome capitals. In the course of the fifth century the regimes of notables increasingly replaced the city councils as the main administrative body in the *civitates* throughout the empire, and aristocratic landholders started to assume much of the scattered fiscal authority that the “early” pagarchies had once represented. Parallel to, or immediately in the wake of, these developments the pagarchy—the office of the pagarch—adapted, and the pagarchs' status increased. The villages whose administration could not be effectively organized by an *oikos* administration were united and placed under the authority of one single incumbent or of collegial pagarchs, now distinguished aristocrats.

These newly empowered pagarchs operated on two tiers. At the level of the city, they cooperated with the *dēmosion logistērion*, the central accounting office of the city, and aggregated money and grain taxes that their numerous agents collected from the villages. The pagarchs also administered civic land in the countryside, perhaps on the basis of forced temporary leases. Not being a municipal office, however, the pagarchy was instead funded out of revenues that the cities directed to “external” purposes. Its incumbents were not answerable to the city councils but directly to the provincial governors, and apparently reported their accounts to the provincial offices on a regular basis. At the village level, the pagarchs had a number of collectors and accountants at their disposal, most notably the *hypodektai*, liturgists from the city level, and the *boēthoi*, who contracted with the pagarchs for individual villages. The division of responsibilities between these officials still respected the segregation between the now somewhat anachronistic land categories of *astika* and *kōmētika* in the rural parts of the city's territory.

But the pagarchy was only *one* fiscal actor in the countryside—and sometimes far from the most important one. An analysis of the evidence for “pagarched” villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome revealed that these *kōmai pagarchoumenai* represented a fiscal entity separate from the pagarchy proper. Instead, the authority over these villages is most plausibly to be identified with the administrative responsibilities some *oikoi* and their magnates had assumed in the fifth century, which in this context were found to have been more wide-ranging than previously assumed. In contrast to the pagarchs, however, these

magnates were not vested with an official apparatus and instead deployed their own estate administration to arrange the collection of taxes from land they did not own. This elaborate estate management both covered the collection of rents and taxes from estate plots and provided the upper-level administrative tier for these “pagarched” villages. The lower tier in the village parcels not owned by the magnate seems still, however, to have been formed by the village officials and the *boēthoi* who in other villages were subordinate to the pagarchs. Although this model has been established mainly from Apion evidence, there are indications that it was also implemented outside the Oxyrhynchite.

This comparison with the “private” or “semi-private” *oikos* administration revealed the pronounced “official” character of the pagarchy, which provoked a reengagement with the widespread hypothesis that the office took the form of a *munus patrimonii*. The formal framework indeed included liturgical elements such as collegial responsibility, divided shares of the office, and the inclusion of women among the eligible candidates, but evidence of formal delegation to liturgical stand-ins is absent or at least ambiguous. Pagarchs could only be dismissed by the emperor, recalling “semi-imperial” officers such as the *defensores civitatum*. But whereas the latter were chosen biannually from among a pool of eligible candidates from the city nobility, we have no evidence that the leading families of the cities took turns in performing the pagarchy—quite to the contrary, some pagarchs had very long tenures of a decade or more. The office was linked to personal wealth but at the same time does not seem to have been a *permanent* liability on the largest landholders of the nome, despite some long tenures.

The pagarchs were not an internally coherent elite, but came from a wide range of aristocratic backgrounds. Local elite composition differed throughout the provinces and nomes, and the pagarchy adapted to this composition. But there is also evidence that the pagarchy itself had an influence on the balance of authority in the countryside, at times even through outsiders. In Oxyrhynchos, the lion’s share of rural administration was managed through *oikoi*, the most dominant of which was run by imperial confidants, the Apiones family, while the pagarchy played only a minor role. In the Arsinoite, where the shares of the *oikoi* compared with the pagarchy appear not to have been as large, the office was generally borne by the leading players, some of whom rose to imperial honors during their tenure. In the Thebaid, pagarchs from lower aristocratic ranks appear to have been more numerous, and many can be linked to the provincial administration. In these cases, the reach of the state depended on its control of the *duces et Augustales*, the direct superiors of the pagarchs.

A case study of the village of Aphrodite fostered the impression that the pagarchs were closer to the reach and interest of the central government than often assumed. Aphrodite enjoyed wide-ranging, but not complete, fiscal autonomy from its *civitas* Antaiopolis, yet the obligations that this privilege entailed repeatedly brought village leaders into conflict with

the local pagarchs and other authorities. Dioskoros naturally takes all efforts to create the image of a unified, harmonious village community vis-à-vis the authorities—for instance, in the confrontation with the mysterious *megaloprepestatos* Theodosios, who allegedly embezzled the villagers' taxes—but internal discord appears to have added quickly to the heat of the conflict, or was perhaps at the heart of the problem. The mounting fiscal pressure of Justinian's reign mixed with, or may have even caused, internal frictions among the village elite, as the village leaders from Dioskoros's family got into violent quarrels with a competing faction. The pagarchs Ioulianos and Menas were drawn into this conflict and, no doubt mindful of Aphrodite's recent fiscal history, took increasingly drastic steps to ensure the extraction of its overdue taxes. The central government not only approved of the pagarchs' interventions as such, but regardless of propaganda also had little, if any, objection to the violent means they occasionally resorted to.

— II —

PROSPECTS

The results of this study are significant in that they refine our understanding of the extent and the means of late Roman administration in the countryside of Byzantine, or late antique, Egypt. They do so on three levels: (1) the local world of the *civitates* and below; (2) the realm above these: province, Egypt, and empire; and (3) the transitional level: from the Byzantine administration through the decade of Persian occupation (619–629) and reestablished Byzantine control (629–639), and finally to the Arab reign. In the remainder of this conclusion, I shall point out the implications of this study with respect to these three domains, and outline potentially promising avenues for future research opened up by this study.

I. Fiscal Authority in the Countryside

This study has for the first time laid out in detail the business of the pagarchy at the local level, considering aspects from collection on the ground to aggregation and accounting at the top. Apart from providing a revised, refined, and enhanced understanding of individual procedures and related documents, the results also fit the pagarchs into a more intricate web of fiscal authority that various actors exercised in the rural hinterlands of the Roman-Egyptian cities.

There are two points here that I deem particularly noteworthy. The first is the relationship between pagarchy and *civitas*. Although curial authority and capacity had been much reduced during the fifth century, fiscal procedures still revolved around institutions

originally grounded in the curial body.¹ The *dēmosion logistērion* remained the center of fiscal organization in the *civitas* and its staff did not simply turn into another instrument serving the pagarchy. Furthermore, even the pagarchs' own staff followed an ancient practice to arrange different procedures for land taxed as *astika* and land taxed as *kōmētika*, and the curial class filled the ranks of some of the pagarchs' subordinate collectors and accountants. But although they operated at the city level, the pagarchs of the sixth century were no longer the municipal officers of old, instead being directly subordinate to the provincial governor, as the distinction between municipal and state offices had in general become quite artificial.²

The second significant observation is the division of authority between the pagarchs and the heads of institutional *oikoi*—large estates with extended administrative responsibilities over territory not owned by them. The model proposed in this study disentangles the two concepts, establishes a clearly defined relationship between the two, and generally supports Jean Gascoü's model of fiscal participation by removing from it a major uncertainty. It also serves to support and refine Todd Hickey's and Gilles Bransbourg's seminal analyses of the internal workings of the Apion estate. But the significant revisions to the model of fiscal participation I suggest also have implications beyond the Oxyrhynchite, and may serve as an additional argument in favor of the hypothesis that the model is *in essence* valid for Egypt as a whole. The evidence that has so far been adduced in favor of this hypothesis has not found universal acclaim; separating the pagarchy and the "pagarched" villages, then, offers a compelling explanation for why the term *pagarchia* "territorialized" and became synonymous with the entire circumscription of the *nome/civitas*, which we witness for the first time in the early years of Arab rule and which probably resulted from the permanent incorporation of "pagarched" villages into the pagarchy. Since this phenomenon can be detected in all parts of Egypt from which we have sufficient evidence, we may indirectly infer that the fiscal authority of large estates over villages had been a common practice throughout the country, although in Oxyrhynchos it may have been more extensive than in other regions. Further evidence will show whether this hypothesis will stand, but I believe that this is a plausible conclusion to draw from the evidence we have.

A number of aspects remain in the dark and await the surfacing of further evidence. For one, we have little idea of exactly how and on what basis the city's notables—the large landowners, the bishops, and imperial dignitaries—partitioned and negotiated authority among themselves. Under their regime, the allocation of the responsibilities traditionally assumed by the city councilors seems to have become much more informal.³ Certain

1 The continuous influence of institutions of curial origin on what has sometimes been called a "postcurial" order in the late Roman Empire was notably highlighted by Laniado 2002.

2 See Eich 2015, 130 for the imperial, and Bowman 1986, 81–83 for the Egyptian perspective.

3 Directives from above may, however, have been more prevalent than they appear, as the example of the contributions for the heating of public baths suggests. *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 is a schedule that shows how these were shared among the leading landowners of Oxyrhynchos, i.e., in the province of Arcadia, but *Ed.* 13.14 reveals that at least in the two provinces of Aegyptus it was a central official, the

responsibilities and offices were apparently handed to certain magnates on the basis of elaborately calculated shares, but the pagarchy was clearly not borne by all families in short rotation. The precise mechanism by which the notables, or the government, had pagarchs appointed, is yet to be discovered.

It is relevant in this context that it is unclear whether the authority of the “pagarching” magnates was equal to that of the pagarchs. Justinian’s *Edict 13* would appear to suggest that it was not,⁴ but an administrative-bureaucratic approach will hardly answer this question. Late antique administration, for all its formalism, was much more fluid and flexible than the elaborate competence-based bureaucracy of the modern state. Among the notables in each city and province, the balance of authority was certainly situational and grounded in negotiations, rumors, and local politics that elude us. When we ask who had the last word in local policy decisions, it would seem difficult to argue for anyone other than the Apiones in the city of Oxyrhynchos,⁵ or Strategios Paneuphemos in the city of Arsinoe. Strategios held the pagarchy; the Apiones, as far as the evidence goes, did not. Yet it is unclear how any potential dispute between an Oxyrhynchite pagarch and the Apion estate management would have been resolved.⁶ Or whether the Antaiopolite pagarch Menas, a *lamprotatos scriniarius*, would have dared to speak out in the event that he disagreed with his pagarchical colleague, the *endoxotatos* ex-prefect Ioulianos.

Ultimately, it is unclear whether the fiscal responsibility over villages was *imposed* on the magnates or whether they exercised this authority voluntarily. Hard evidence is absent, though I find myself tending toward the latter interpretation.⁷ In the beginning the unified pagarchy may have been merely a way to facilitate tax collection from those villages that could not be effectively covered by infrastructure provided through the large estates, and thus only an internal shift of resources among the city’s powerbrokers. But to see the pagarchs only as managers of what was “left over” after the villages had been allocated to *oikoi* possibly overestimates the importance of the phenomenon of public administration

vindex of Alexandria, who was to set up such schedules (the part of the edict concerning Arcadia is lost).

- 4 The edict does not differentiate between landowners that wielded fiscal authority over villages and those that did not. This may, again, be a vague indication that in most nomes the fiscal shares of the *oikoi* might not have been as extensive as in Oxyrhynchos.
- 5 A different question is whether the Apiones, residing in Constantinople, had any interest or capacity to intervene in negotiations among the Oxyrhynchite nobles as long as their *oikos* provided themselves, and the state, with a consistent and reliable income, particularly since Hickey 2012 has shown the essentially autarkic nature of the Apion estate in the Oxyrhynchite. Begass (2016 and 2018, 434–456) points to supposedly extensive estates in the hands of the senatorial elite of the Eastern Empire, but it is not clear whether these were the actual source of wealth because the evidence does not allow us to adequately quantify the production of these estates and their relation to the fiscal commitments of their senatorial owners.
- 6 One may recall *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858 (early VII), in which the pagarch Theodoros, through a guard (*phylax*), demands horses from the *endoxos oikos*, prompting excuses from the estate manager in charge.
- 7 Here, I side with Hickey (2012, 159), who argued that “though ‘willing participation’ need not have the good of the state as a motive, I do think that it is a mistake to discount the role of euergetism.” See also Tuck 2011, 288 and Mazza 2011, 278–279.

through *oikoi* in *civitates* other than Oxyrhynchos. In most nomes, the pagarchy was probably the dominant fiscal authority in the countryside, not least because of the official resources behind it.

Some scholars have recently made the argument that the late antique countryside experienced the rise of an increasingly empowered peasantry.⁸ It would be conceivable, then, to understand the regime of notables and the elevation of the pagarchy to the city level in part as a means to push back on this development, but so far I do not see much evidence for peasants of this type in the rural areas of late antique Egypt, and perhaps this is not to be expected in a stratified peasantry such as the Egyptian.⁹ This topic, and in particular the bargaining power that taxpayers had vis-à-vis the government, merits an examination through the lens of fiscal sociology.¹⁰

2. *The Reach of Empire*

The potential considerations behind the elevation of the pagarchy to the level of the *civitas* lead us to the imperial government and its relationship to the pagarchs. Although I am aware that large parts of this venture are speculative for the time being and run the risk of overinterpreting local evidence, I still want to put forward some connections to recent research and point to potential avenues for future work. In the fourth century the pagarchs started out as the manifestation of civic self-government. But once the evidence again flows more abundantly after the “dark” fifth century, administrative as well as sociopolitical observations raise the question of whether the institution of the pagarchy was part of a continuous effort by the central government to obtain more direct access to the resources in the provinces and the countryside.

On the ground, the pagarchs sorted out civic matters in the rural parts of the city territory. But although they worked in collaboration with civic institutions, they were not subordinate to any of them. Rather, the pagarchs formed part of the new regime of notables in the cities, but at the same time acted as the local arm of provincial administration. This places them in the larger context of the administrative reforms enacted by Justinian and his pretorian prefect John the Cappadocian during the 530s, an inherent feature of which was

⁸ See Dossey 2010 on North Africa, and Grey 2011 and Weisweiler 2017 for an imperial perspective.

⁹ Although Grey 2011 includes papyrological evidence, it is used largely anecdotally. The village of Aphrodite may provide a case study for such an “emboldened” peasantry, although these villagers’ confidence must be seen in the context of their fiscally privileged status, as they enjoyed the right of *autopragia*; see especially Ruffini 2018, 51–52 and 59 on internal power struggles *within* this community that might have partially been about profits that resulted from arrangements with the state. These different groups are manifestations of the different socioeconomic strata within the peasantry that Banaji 2007, 192–196 points to.

¹⁰ Cf. Levi & Kieser 2015, 561–566; Bang 2015.

the closer link between local power positions and the upper administrative levels.¹¹ These reforms were intended, among other things, to make the governors less reliant on networks of local patronage, as suggested also by Justinian's *Edict 13* (539 CE), which has been quoted in the Introduction to this study.¹² This proclamation effectively did away with the intermediary administrative layer of the Egyptian diocese, and the installation of higher-ranking provincial governors, the *duces et Augustales*, streamlined the chain of hierarchy from the prefecture to the Egyptian countryside: the pagarchs were to take orders from the gubernatorial level, yet their tenure was always subject to pretorian and imperial approval.

But the edict should also be seen as a document of imperial propaganda. In terms of legitimacy, Justinian found himself in an unfavorable position from the start, which his early legislation reflects in its cultivation of the emperor's patronage for his subjects.¹³ The complaint about the pagarchs and other local authorities, especially those involved in tax collection, forms a topos that was essential to this program but also part of a propagandistic tradition among late Roman emperors.¹⁴ In a region that had housed about ten percent of the inhabitants of the entire population of the (united) empire in the imperial period, Egypt would have been, among all provinces, one of the important spots in which to spread this message.¹⁵

Justinian's position in particular was precarious. In 532 CE, five years into his reign, the emperor had gone through a dramatic baptism of fire when the bloody Nika riots set parts of Constantinople ablaze. Justinian ultimately prevailed by resorting to extensive violence, but his relationship to the senatorial elite remained strained.¹⁶ Reaching out to potential new allies, Justinian followed the path his predecessors had laid out for him, and which his successors likewise adhered to, by granting offices and honors to select confidants. Historians have long seen such phenomena in terms of an intense struggle for power between the "despotic" late Roman emperors and their "republican" senatorial aristocrats. In this conception, the rise of a new imperial bureaucracy and the integration of private

11 Jones 1964, 279–285, with references to the relevant reforms and proclamations. It is hard to determine to what exact degree John was behind many imperial decisions until his fall in 541 CE.

12 See *Ed. 13.4*, which increased the remuneration of the staff of the ducal office to three times its previous amount. Chapter 10 illustrates that a large part of what had obscured the taxes of Egypt appears to have been the frequent granting of tax exemptions through local administrators.

13 See Bell 2013, 275–317 for the context, namely Justinian's "vulnerability" and a reading of much of his legislation as a response to this situation. Sarris 2006, 2–4 briefly refers to this aspect in regard to *Edict 13*, but then prefers to see it rather in terms of conflict between the emperor and the provincial aristocracy, on which see the following. See also Pfeilschifter 2014 for the reading that imperial proclamations were primarily, if not exclusively, directed at the elites and the masses of the capital.

14 On the context, see most recently Weisweiler 2017.

15 For this estimate, see Bagnall 2009a, 19.

16 On the circumstances of Justinian's relationship to the senatorial elites in the capital, see Sarris 2006, 14–17, including an intriguing evaluation of the participation of Egyptian elites in the Nika revolt. The argument of Meier 2003 that Justinian staged the incident has not found much acclaim in the field, and indeed seems unlikely to me. The vast literature on this episode is now accessible through Ayaita 2015, who essentially follows the traditional narrative.

resources for the purpose of public administration took the form of an aristocratic takeover of state institutions. In recent decades, however, important studies have further explored the meritocratic and non-hereditary nature of the late Roman aristocracy, and its implications for the aristocrats' relationship to the emperor. In an environment where increasing numbers of ambitious men competed over titles and, not least, privilege, the emperor established himself as the central source of social power for an aristocracy of service.¹⁷ Christoph Begass only recently presented a monumental study of the constitution of the senatorial elite under the Leonid dynasty that promises to become a cornerstone of this conception.¹⁸ Begass has pointed out that at the dawn of the sixth century a clear distinction had been established between the senatorial class as such and a more exclusive circle that claimed and exercised actual political leadership in the capital by means of imperial office. This division created an increasing number of aristocrats who were formally of senatorial rank, but in practice far removed from the imperial center, though they were at times rewarded with imperial titles and privilege for local service in the *civitates*.¹⁹

The results of this study may contribute to this model by providing examples of how this relationship between the empire and “local imperial elites” was institutionalized at the local level. Conceiving of “pagarched” villages as distinct from the pagarchy opens up the possibility for a more nuanced view of the balance of social power in the periphery of the empire, as it can explain the regionally varying career patterns that we see the pagarchs pursue. We have seen that there is some reason to assume that the central government was quite aware of elite networks in the periphery, and that it exercised its influence in different ways depending on the socioeconomic balance it found. The installation as the head of the Thebaid of a *dux* like Athanasios, who was a *patricius* and thus an imperial confidant, would presumably have provided an acceptable degree of central control over the local pagarchs, who by virtue of the public resources entrusted to them controlled the fiscal landscape of the nomes. But not every provincial governor was a *patricius*. Especially in Arcadia, relying on the governor would have been dicey, as this province was headed “only” by a *praeses*, who saw himself confronted with a number of much higher-ranking regional and imperial elites.²⁰ It is here, at least in Arsinoe and Oxyrhynchos, that the central government instead

17 See for the most recent evaluations of this topic Begass 2018, 41 and 415–456, esp. 419, with references to the most important studies. For the Egyptian environment, this topic is explored by Banaji 2007, 101–133, who probably underestimates, however, the influence that the old curial networks still had on the composition of the “new” nome elite even in the sixth century (see below on the origin of the Apiones).

18 Begass 2018.

19 Begass 2018, *passim*; pointedly on 480–485. Begass only hints at the existence of this second group, since his study focuses on the mechanisms among the political elite of the senatorial class (the *senatorische Führungsschicht*). He attributes an important role in this system to the title of *patricius*, which served to acknowledge imperial servants of outstanding merit.

20 Cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, in which a *megaloprepestatos praeses* has to approbate official records of a pagarchy handed in by one or two individuals who are *endoxotatos*, *hyperphyestatos*, and *paneuphēmos*. On this text, see the Appendix, s.v. “An anonymous pagarch dead in office.” Morelli 2008 pointed to

appears to have resorted to a less hierarchical, or at least less bureaucratic, approach to the local level. In Arsinoe, which had a higher “density” of aristocrats than the Thebaid, the government seems to have courted the individual pagarchs,²¹ who, again through public infrastructure, exercised fiscal authority vis-à-vis their peers of comparably high ranks.²² In Oxyrhynchos, a family of imperial acquaintances, the Apiones, controlled the largest individual share of the fiscal landscape. It is, finally, notable that this “system,” if accepted as such, transcended the reigns of individual emperors.

Should this reconstruction prove true, it is unclear which factor should be given primacy: did the central government court individuals or families that already held important positions at the local level, or did it promote and perhaps even delegate its protégés *in order to claim* these positions? This question cannot yet be answered conclusively, although the cases of explicit outsiders in positions of local fiscal authority do make the question ever-more intriguing.

3. *Toward Transition*

The results of this study also have implications for the question of change and continuity at the turn from Byzantine to early Islamic Egypt. In fact, four developments in the early seventh century may illuminate a major change in the position of the pagarchy to the form that scholars usually associate with early Islamic Egypt. This is largely an Arcadian picture, but not exclusively so. (1) In Oxyrhynchos, we see that the administration of villages through *oikoi* was probably abolished or restricted between the Persian invasion (619–629) and the first years of the early Islamic period (from ca. 642); throughout Egypt, the term *pagarchia* became synonymous with the entire nome, likely reflecting this development. (2) By 636 at the latest, Arcadia was governed by its own *dux et Augustalis* (here, an *eukleestatos stratēlatēs*), and no longer by a simple *praeses*.²³ (3) The pagarchs of the Fayum changed their title from “pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis” to “pagarch of Arsinoe” at some point between 623 and 639, and (4) the first attested pagarch to bear this reduced title was apparently of lower status than all his known predecessors: a “simple” *megaloprepestatos* who did not bear the

indications that the *dux et Augustalis* Athanasios, provincial governor of the Thebaid, also held some authority in or over Arcadia, but Palme forthcoming (b), n. 49 notes that it is unclear whether this was due to an Arcadian responsibility of Athanasios or whether Arcadia at that point formally fell under the purview of the *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid.

21 It is even possible that the highest Arsinoite elites, and the pagarchs, were in fact all related via family (see Chapter Five), comparable to the elite of the Thebaid as it is depicted in the poems of Dioskoros. Such a “local official tradition” would have made it even easier for the central government to patronize the right men (and women) in the right positions.

22 The long tenures may have been meant precisely to prevent local officials from returning too soon into the same circle of peers they were meant to control.

23 *P.Prag.* I 64 (May 28, 636).

title of *stratēlatēs*, which had previously been a distinctive feature of the pagarchs of the Fayum.²⁴

At the moment it cannot be determined whether the change in titulature of the Fayum pagarchs was merely a formality or a testament to the abolition of the Theodosiopolite nome,²⁵ but the remaining three observations are striking when set in relation to one another: a Fayum pagarch with no exalted standing—no standing of the ranks *eukleestatos*, *hyperphyestatos*, or *paneuphēmos*, that is—under a higher-ranking *dux et Augustalis* mirrors the Thebaid pattern. Did Arcadia become more like the Thebaid? And was this development connected to the more or less contemporaneous abolition, or reduction in scale, of the system of *oikos* administration over villages? Though evidence to prove such a link will be hard to come by, this seems a plausible explanation to me. If it is accepted, what might have caused this reorganization? Although Menas Stratelates and, probably, Strategios Paneuphemos, apparently remained in their positions under the Persian regime,²⁶ it seems unlikely to me that this would have been the reason for the government to change the system, as we have seen in both cases that there is no sign of any condemnation after the Roman reconquest. An alternative explanation is that the local administrative system changed because its economic foundation had eroded. The Persian conquest possibly—in some elusive way, perhaps because the *oikoi* were now cut off from their traditional interregional networks?—undermined the economic potential of the *oikoi* to a degree that over the medium term rendered them incapable of performing their administrative role for the adjoined villages.

This is an intriguing reconstruction, but must remain hypothetical for now. Certainly, multiple factors were at play here since it also seems plausible that the installation of a *dux et Augustalis*, that is, of a governor with overall military authority, was called for on account of military considerations after the experience of the Persian conquest. That Menas's and Strategios's reputations did not suffer any obvious damage from major political changes suggests, in addition, the strong implementation of the pagarchy into a well-running local administrative machinery.

24 Theodorakios in *W.Chr.* 8. Cf. the Oxyrhynchite pagarch Ioulianos of *PSI* I 52, also a simple *megaloprepestatos* without any honorifics, though in Oxyrhynchos we do not have much to compare this Ioulianos with (perhaps *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, in which Ptolemaios and Ioustos are *endoxotatos*, provided that they were the pagarchs). Both *W.Chr.* 8 and *PSI* I 52 are legal documents that would be expected to use the long form of address when addressing a pagarch.

25 See the discussion in Stern forthcoming (e).

26 Their staying in power (Menas as pagarch; Strategios probably not as pagarch, but as *geouchōn* with extended fiscal shares) suggests that there was no extensive bloodshed among the Roman aristocrats after the Persian conquest. In the case of the more or less synchronous demise of Apion III, it is unclear whether he was even in Egypt at that time.

— III —

FINAL REMARKS

In the Introduction to this study, I highlighted the limitations of the papyrological evidence as regards general claims about late antique Egypt. The “clusters of evidence” allow for certain statements that are valid for specific dates and areas, but in no case do they reveal the complete picture. We have little idea of the administrative workings of the many *civitates* and rural areas beyond Antaiopolis, Antinoopolis, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchos, and Arsinoe—and almost no idea at all when it comes to the provinces of Aegyptus and Augustamnica. Since our view depends mostly on the two largest papyrus archives of the late antique period, any newfound papyrus may potentially change the discussion. Comparisons with other parts of the empire face the major challenge of the entirely different character of the sources. To avoid merely anecdotal statements requires a more profound approach than can be pursued here.

That said, I believe that the model developed here presents a tenable conception of central actors in the countryside of late antique Egypt, especially because it comprehensively integrates various clusters of papyrological documentation from different decades and from a wide range of Egyptian localities. Not only does it achieve a reconciliation of regional variation, establishing a plausible overall picture, but it also draws a continuous line from the minor curial officials of the fourth century called pagarchs to the homonymous nome chiefs of the early Islamic period four centuries later. The model presented here may to a certain degree limit the possibility that any of these “clusters of evidence” was a pure anomaly within Egypt; although socioeconomic realities varied from Antaiopolis to Oxyrhynchos, and from Oxyrhynchos to the Fayum, the *institutional framework* of fiscal administration at this level appears to have essentially been the same. Throughout this work, I have laid out possible alternatives to interpretations of detail, however. The nature of historical research entails that it is temporary or, rather, transitional. Results may be enhanced, corrected, or overhauled by new evidence or refined approaches. If this study in any way helps inspire further research, it will have served its cause well.

Finally, I hope that this study, starting from an administrative perspective on local power networks, has demonstrated how studying “the state” and its apparatus uncovers a complex and elaborately nuanced interplay of some of the administrative, economic, and sociopolitical factors that contributed to the construction of fiscal authority in the late antique countryside. The Roman Empire had long approached its periphery in a tradition of decentralized government through largely autonomous metropolitan elites. Late antiquity marked a divergence from these principles insofar as it witnessed an increasingly professionalized state apparatus and surging numbers of holders of imperial offices. The

administration of the empire was still far from becoming a bureaucracy in the modern sense of the term, but in the late antique Egyptian countryside we witness governmental action that actively sought to shape and refine its instruments in order to extend the reach of the state. Through the pagarchy and the delegated authority of magnate aristocrats over *oikoi*, the state established a balance of power in the Egyptian *chōra* that enabled local government in a “postcurial” world. Throughout its existence, the pagarchy and its powers were used, challenged, and negotiated by all sides—the state, the elite, and the common people—ultimately keeping an important balance that allowed it to prevail for more than four centuries and to outlive the empire for longer than many other institutions of Roman administration, until it disappeared under the early Abbasid dynasty (from 750 CE), with the continuous retreat of Greek as the administrative language of Egypt.

Appendix

Prosopographical Notes

THE FOLLOWING LIST PRESENTS THE PAGARCHS we know and discusses potential prosopographical identifications and their degree of certainty. This is in order to ensure maximum transparency, especially in view of new evidence published in the future. Possible but uncertain identifications discussed here are only occasionally mentioned in the main chapters, although many of them would underscore various points made therein, notably in Chapter Five. The list goes through the attested pagarchs by province and nome, while within a nome, the entries follow alphabetical order, with the anonymi listed at the end. When the nome cannot be determined, the relevant pagarchs are listed at the very end of this appendix, even if the province is certain. This leads to the following arrangement:

THEBAID I: ANTAIOPOLIS – p. 243

(Alexandros) – Euthymios & Kometes – Ioannes – Ioulianos – Kollouthos Cancellarius
– Makarios – Menas Scriniarius – Patrikia – Serenos – Anonymi

THEBAID II: ANTINOOPOLIS – p. 255

Kollouthos Exceptor – Phoibammon

THEBAID III: HERMOPOLIS – p. 256

Athanasios – Dorotheos – Ioannes (Hermopolis) – Anonymous

ARCADIA I: ARSINOE – p. 257

Apion Stratelates – Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates – Kyrillos – Menas
Stratelates – Strategios Paneuphemos – Theodorakios – Theodoros (Arsinoe) –
Anonymi

ARCADIA II: OXYRHYNCHOS – p. 270

The Apiones and Anastasia: The “pagarching” magnates – Ioulianos (Oxyrhynchos) – Ptolemaios & Ioustos – Theodoros (Oxyrhynchos) – Anonymous

UNKNOWN NOME – p. 274

Antiochos & Theon (Arcadia) – Kallinikos (Hermopolis?) – Neilammon (Arsinoe?) –
An anonymous pagarch dead in office (Arcadia) – Anonymi (Thebaid) –
Anonymous (Lykopolis?)

Most of the Thebaid pagarchs figure in Giovanni Ruffini’s prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodite and are always listed with their relevant entries below, though I do not always follow Ruffini’s identifications.¹ I will adopt the habit of referring to the pagarch of the lemma with the initial letter of the personal name only (e.g., Menas Scrinarius = M.), so that namesakes can be easily distinguished at first glance; this is in order to avoid confusion about which documents certainly refer to the pagarch and which only relate to potential matches.

The corpus for the pagarchs and the pagarchy from the sixth and early seventh centuries up until the Islamic conquest is mainly papyrological.² A search in the *PN* for “παγαρχ” with a “loose” filter for texts before 642 CE yields 127 documents, of which the following groups are subtracted:

- the 27 texts dated VII, VII–VIII, or after 641,
- two texts where the restoration of the pagarchy is obsolete (*P.Flor.* III 295.11) or highly dubious (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295),³
- seven texts that refer to the “early” pagarchs (or pagarchy) of the fourth and fifth centuries, as these texts are discussed separately in Chapter One.

This implies that texts dated VI–VII have generally been included as long as there was no strong argument not to include them. Still, *P.Ant.* II 96 and 97, *P.Lond.* V 1753, and *SPP* XX 273 may in fact be from the early Islamic period and will always be marked as such here as well as in the main chapters.⁴ *PSI* I 52, discussed in Chapter Three, stems most likely from the early Islamic period, but is included here since it has mostly been part of the scholarly discussion about the Byzantine pagarchs.

To the texts accessible through the *PN* must be added the texts published only recently: *P.Eirene* IV 40 and *P.Vindob.* G 26585 (edited in Van Loon 2017), plus new evidence for *kōmai pagarchoumenai* in *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5337 and *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5371, 5373, 5377, 5378, and 5390.

1 Ruffini 2011. I omit references to Roberta Mazza’s prosopography of pagarchs (Mazza 1995, 226–242), since it is somewhat outdated. Related entries in older prosopographical works can be accessed through Mazza’s catalog.

2 The texts that mention a pagarchy and not a pagarch will, of course, only play a role in this prosopography in case it is possible to link this pagarchy to an individual.

3 On *P.Flor.* III 295, see Stern 2015, Stern forthcoming (d); on *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, see p. 39 n. 68 above.

4 A borderline case is *W.Chr.* 8, on which see s.v. Theodorakios below.

Noteworthy are also a host of unpublished notarial documents from the Arsinoite nome analyzed by Sophie Kovarik (Kovarik 2014), of which I have included six in the tables of Chapter Four.⁵ Three further unpublished papyri mentioning pagarchs are P.Strasb. inv. gr. 1622, 1658, and 1720 and are being prepared for publication by Jean Gascou and Jean-Luc Fournet, and the *descriptum P.Lond.* V 1865 is currently being edited by Jean Gascou and Nikolaos Gonis. *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 13 and 14 have also not been entered into the *PN* due to their being considered “semi-literary” texts. No Coptic document attesting Byzantine pagarchs has been entered in the *PN* to date; Coptic papyri known so far as referring to Byzantine pagarchs are *P.Sarga* 107; MacCoull 1993, nos. 6 and 11 (the latter has been reedited as Vanderheyden 2015, no. 15); and Vanderheyden 2015, no. 11 and 13. Non-papyrological sources that mention pagarchs or the pagarchy have not been included in the prosopography since they either relate to “early” pagarchs (*C.Th.* VIII 15.1; *CIG* 3989; *Basil. epist.* III 2; *Isid.Pel. epist.* 51), refer generically to all pagarchs (*Ed.* 13; *Coptic History of the Church*), or the pagarch related to is fictional (*Life of Aaron*).

THEBAID I: ANTAIOPOLIS

(Alexandros)

This man, thought to appear in *PSI* IV 283.5–6, is in fact the pagarch Ioulianos.⁶

Euthymios & Kometes

Ruffini’s Euthymios 1 and Kometes 3. E. and K. are joint pagarchs together with Ioulianos in 559/560 CE, as attested in *SB* XVI 12370. They appear to have acted via the *procurator* Christodotos, whose appearance alongside Ioulianos in *P.Lond.* V 1674 suggests that Ioulianos served as the “head” or “performing” pagarch of this collegium.⁷ Whereas E. is unknown from anywhere else, K. may have been the *comes* Kometes registered as landholder in the Aphrodite Cadaster, *SB* XX 14669.3 (Aphrodite; early 524?).⁸ Is this the Kometas (*sic*) of Dioskoros’s poems, who fits so well into the family links of the Thebaid elite of the sixth century, for instance, of the *dux* Athanasios and the pagarch Phoibammon?⁹ E. and K. both have extraordinarily rare personal names, befitting the elite habitus of the period.

⁵ See the catalog in Kovarik 2014, Kapitel 3. I have included Louvre E 6573, P.Berol. 3387, *CPR* XIX 14+P.Vindob. G 25638, 24302, P.Berol. 5587, *CPR* XXIV 24+P.Vindob. G 21202, and I thank Sophie Kovarik for allowing me to refer to these texts.

⁶ Lemaire 2010, 398.

⁷ See Chapter Four.

⁸ Ruffini’s Kometes 1, though in this case he must have been fairly old by the time of *SB* XVI 12370 (559/560).

⁹ Ruffini’s Kometas 2, though Ruffini does not link him to K.

I do not assume that K. is identical to the Oxyrhynchite Kometes who appears to have been in a promising position to be eligible for the pagarchy in that nome.¹⁰ This link, if taken in connection with a possible but uncertain identification of the pagarch Ioannes (see below), would yield an even closer network of Byzantine Egyptian elites but must remain speculative.

Ioannes

Ruffini's Ioannes 197. A *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos comes*, I. was "pagarch of the two-thirds share of Antaiopolis" at least in the early 570s.¹¹ It would be tempting to assume that I. is identical with the Ioannes (Ruffini's Ioannes 45) of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67322 (Aphrodite; VI). The way this man handled public security and deployed Aphrodite's *agrophylakes*-shepherds recalls a lot of the business of the pagarch Menas Scrinarius. In this interpretation of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67322, as Menas's successor, I. had taken over an order from Menas to the *prōtokōmētēs* and was now urging compliance. The tone between the two parties is, however, rather familiar. Moreover, a person of I.'s standing is unlikely to have had much to fear from the anger of the *lamprotatos* Menas to which the text alludes. Finally, Dioskoros had been for some years abroad in Antinoopolis when Ioannes became pagarch in the beginning 570s, and is thus unlikely to be still addressed as *prōtokōmētēs* here. Therefore, the Ioannes of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67322¹² is more likely to be someone of lower rank than the pagarch Menas, maybe a *prōtokōmētēs*.¹³ I. may also be identical to the *megaloprepestatos comes* Ioannes who is asked to investigate the affairs of the monastery of Stratonikis in *P.Fouad* 87 (Aphrodite; VI).¹⁴

I.'s earlier career may be reflected in *P.Köln* V 240 (Antaiopolites; VI), in which a *lamprotatos politeuomenos* Ioannes (Ruffini's Ioannes 9; cf. Ioannes 129) is apparently responsible for tax collection. The close appearance of a *hypodektēs* (l. 9) and a *trakteutēs* (l. 13) is reminiscent of the milieu of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057 col. II 24–36, which lists expenses for the pagarchy. A pagarch would, however, certainly not have been referred to as *politeuomenos*, even if he was one, because the pagarchy was more exclusive. Another match may be the Ioannes of *P.Berl.Zill.* 6.7 (Antinoopolis; 527–565), a *lamprotatos* and *aidēsimos scriniarius* of the ducal bureau of the Thebaid originating from Hermopolis, which would make him

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040.

¹¹ See Stern forthcoming (d).

¹² The Apollos in this letter (Ruffini's Apollos 2A) was certainly one of the *prōtokōmētai* of this name, Apollos 128 and 129 being the likeliest candidates. It is not surprising to have a *prōtokōmētēs* issuing orders to a colleague, nor are there two separate areas of influence at stake: in *P.Lond.* V 1681, the *prōtokōmētēs* Apollos (2) also receives a complaint about a newly installed *prōtokōmētēs* whose impeachment is requested.

¹³ Ruffini's Ioannes 20, 188, 193, and 194 are conceivable matches. Also the (uncertain) reading of the verso τ[ῶ] . . . ἀδ[ελ]φ[ῶ] Διοσκόρω, relating to Dioskoros as a "brother" or "colleague," fits to the interpretation that the Ioannes of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67322 is not the pagarch.

¹⁴ Gasco 1976, 177 n. 1; Banaji 2007, 162 n. 164.

strikingly parallel to Menas Scrinarius, but this is highly speculative. The personal name is too common and the step from a *lamprotatos* or *lamprotatos* and *aidēsimos* to a *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos* seems far, though possibly not insurmountable. I.'s titles would also match perfectly Ruffini's Ioannes 124, the *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos comes* of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104 (Aphrodite; 530). The revised timeline of the Antaiopolite pagarchs established in Stern forthcoming (d) and the resulting chronological distance render this identification, however, highly unlikely, though not impossible.¹⁵ Further matches, including some former or later *duces* of the Thebaid, would be intriguing but must remain speculative, as the name is common.¹⁶

Ioulianos

In Ruffini's prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodite, the Ioulianos whom I describe in this study is treated as two different individuals: an ex-prefect (*apo eparchōn*) = Ioulianos 1, and a pagarch and former *praeses* (*apo archontōn*) = Ioulianos 2.¹⁷ I think, however, that these two, in all likelihood, have to be identified as one and the same person. To begin with, Ioulianos 2 is referred to in various ways: as pagarch, as *endoxotatos* pagarch, as *endoxotatos illustrios* and pagarch, as *megaloprepestatos* pagarch, as *megaloprepestatos illustrios* and pagarch, or as *megaloprepestatos* pagarch and *apo archontōn*, that is, former *praeses*.¹⁸ Ruffini, obviously taking the pagarchy as the decisive element, takes all these to be identical and to this adds attestations in which a Ioulianos is mentioned by name only or even with epithet only.¹⁹ Given that the attestations for Ioulianos 1 and 2 overlap in the early 550s,²⁰ and since the personal name is not common, such a combination of high-ranking epithets presumably means that there was only one Antaiopolite pagarch Ioulianos in this period.²¹ It is notable

15 Cf. Banaji 2007, 162.

16 See the various "Johns" in Banaji 2007, 254. In addition, I. cannot be Ruffini's Ioannes 201. This was already put in doubt by Ruffini *ad loc.*; for a definite rejection see the reedition of *SB XIV 12116* in Keenan 2015, whose new readings eliminate this Ioannes from the list of potential matches.

17 Ruffini (2008, 168 n. 55) explicitly rejects their identity, following Jean-Luc Fournet.

18 Pagarch: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.30–32; *SB VI 9102* (the anonymous pagarch is most probably Ioulianos). Endoxotatos pagarch: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67046; *SB XVI 12370*. Endoxotatos illustrios and pagarch: *P.Gen.* IV 193; *PSI IV 283*; *SB XX 15013*; *SB XX 15015*. Megaloprepestatos pagarch: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094. Megaloprepestatos illustrios and pagarch: *SB XX 15013*. Megaloprepestatos pagarch and apo archontōn: *P.Lond.* V 1660; *P.Lond.* V 1661. In the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67283.2 he was apparently identified by a simple status designation only—instead of *lamprotatos* the restored epithet there should be *megaloprepestatos* or *endoxotatos*; the latter is only likely, however, if the *endoxotatos* Ioulianos in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67026.7 actually relates to Ruffini's Ioulianos 2 (see below) and if this man is not identical to Ruffini's Ioulianos 1 (see below); cf. *PSI IV 283*, which has "*endoxotatos illustrios* and pagarch Ioulianos."

19 Name only: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67354; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019 verso. Epithet only: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283 (on the restoration of the epithet in this case, see the previous note); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67026.

20 Admittedly, only *P.Lond.* V 1661 and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094 have fixed dates, but the indiction dates for the tax receipts issued by Ioulianos are a good fit for the time of these contracts.

21 Unlike, for instance, Ioannes who bore both epithets, *endoxotatos* and *megaloprepestatos*, Ioulianos's epithets, *prima facie*, would appear to undergo a chronological development: Ioulianos is *endoxotatos* in all documents until the first indiction of 552/553 CE, and *megaloprepestatos* in every document

that the titles *illoustrios* and *apo archontōn* are never mentioned in unison, but either one or the other (or neither) is employed, which may indicate that the *illoustrios* title related to Ioulianos's former official position.²²

Ruffini's Ioulianos 1, on the other hand, is a roughly contemporary *endoxotatos apo eparchōn* (former prefect) and it is striking (and probably telling) that Ruffini in this case includes *only* instances that give the title *apo eparchōn*, contrary to the method he adopts for Ioulianos 2. This Ioulianos 1 is known to have owned an *ousia* that contributed to the village tax in the vicinity of Aphrodite²³ and was apparently in some way involved in tax collection in the Antaiopolite nome.²⁴ In *P.Lond.* V 1674, Harold Bell restored the title of pagarch to him, albeit with reservations.²⁵ Ioulianos 1 may have been pagarch or had a minor fiscal responsibility for Aphrodite as early as the 540s, perhaps for lands granted to him after his tenure as prefect.²⁶ An intriguing identification may be that with Julian the Egyptian, a poet who somehow was involved in the Nika revolt of 532 and held the title of *apo eparchōn*, but this must remain speculative, as he was not the only Ioulianos among the pretorian prefects of the East.²⁷

But why should Ioulianos 2, as in Ruffini's prosopography, be easily identifiable by virtue of his personal name alone, or by virtue of his being *endoxotatos*, if there was a homonymous big player of about the same status present and active in the area? The name "Ioulianos" is not common: apart from Ioulianos 1 and 2 there are only two other attestations

afterward before he resurfaces some years later as *endoxotatos* in 559/560 CE (*SB XVI* 12370). Given this pattern, it would seem plausible to separate Ruffini's Ioulianos 2 and to distinguish a Ioulianos, *megaloprepestatos apo archontōn*, from another Ioulianos, *endoxotatos*, both of whom were pagarch and *illoustrios*, and to identify the latter with Ruffini's Ioulianos 1, i.e., Ioulianos *endoxotatos apo eparchōn*. This reconstruction is especially tempting because of *P.Lond.* V 1661 (Aphrodite; 553), where Ioulianos is "only" *megaloprepestatos*, while the *endoxotatē* Patrikia is mentioned right after him. *SB XX* 15013 (Antaiopolites; 552/553), however, written during this first indiction, precisely contradicts this apparent pattern. The papyrus contains two tax receipts: one for the second installment (*katabolē*) of the tax, another for the third, and whereas Ioulianos *megaloprepestatos* issues the former, Ioulianos *endoxotatos* issues the latter, thus contradicting a change of pagarchy from the *endoxotatos* to the *megaloprepestatos*. For a comparable preference of *megaloprepestatos* over *endoxotatos*, cf. the pagarch Kyrillos in *P.Lond.* V 1786, where he is addressed as *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* in ll. 2–4, but the note on the verso has only *megaloprepestatos stratēlatēs*.

22 *P.Lond.* V 1660.6 and *P.Lond.* V 1661.5, which address Ioulianos as *apo archontōn*, do not address him as *illoustrios*. The reference to the title of *apo archontōn* is missing in Ruffini's entry for *P.Lond.* 1660; see s.v. Ioulianos 2 (m). See p. 163 above on this hypothesis regarding the use of *illoustrios* in the sixth century.

23 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060.

24 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67285 (537–551, according to Zuckerman 2004a, 40–51), signed by Ioannes, *hypodektēs* of Aphrodite, records a payment εἰς λόγον λοιπάδ(ων) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ων) | Ἰο(υ)λιανο(ῦ) καὶ Ἐνώχ (ll. 2–3), "on the account of remainders of the *endoxotatos apo eparchōn* Ioulianos and Enoch." In *P.Lond.* V 1674.37 (568–570), Ioulianos is referred to in the context of fixing a particular tax rate for Aphroditan soil at some point before the document was drafted.

25 *P.Lond.* V 1674.37–38: Ἰουλιανο(ῦ) τοῦ [ἀπ]ὸ ἐπάρχων | καὶ [παγάρχου (?). Apparently, Bell took Ioulianos 1 and 2 to be identical. The restoration [ἀπ]ὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ [ἀρχόντων (Banaji 2007, 162 n. 168) seems very unlikely; see p. 170 n. 60 above.

26 The collegiality with Enoch in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67285 seems to suggest the pagarchy here. But *chrysōnēs* seems likely as well; cf. Ammonios and Biktor in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67037, 67041, and III 67344.

27 On Julian the Egyptian, see Sarris 2006, 15–16.

in the Aphrodite papyri. We are thus asked to believe that there were two men of this name active in this area who were of about the same rank—a rank that usually only a handful of people in the nome would have been entitled to—and who are not subject to any obvious consistent distinction in the documents. For instance, in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67026.7 (Aphrodite?; ca. 551)—a petition, which *per se* aims to identify the culprit—a Ioulianos, according to Ruffini Ioulianos 2, is referred to by a simple *endoxotatos* which would be odd if there were two Ioulianoi of this rank in the area.²⁸ Moreover, both *apo eparchōn* and *apo archontōn* are quite rare in the sixth century, so it would not be too much of a stretch to suppose that they were somehow related; perhaps *apo eparchōn* here refers to a high official on the level of the eparchy, one of the Egyptian provinces, and may in this regard be comparably able to denote a former *praeses*, as is likely attested in one case.²⁹ Furthermore, both Ioulianos 1 and Ioulianos 2 enjoyed professional links to the *peribleptos comes* and *procurator* Christodotos,³⁰ all of which makes Ioulianos, the *apo eparchōn*, likely to be identical with the *illoustrios* and pagarch Ioulianos, the *apo archontōn*. *P.Lond.* V 1674.36–38 suggests that he was alive until at least 570 CE, although it might be possible to restore τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξ(ου) μνήμ]ης before the personal name in l. 37, possibly with the preceding προκ[ουράτορος abbreviated.

Another Flavius Ioulianos, an *endoxotatos* and *paneuphēmos stratēlatēs* and therefore clearly distinguished from I., is the intermediary of the *dux* Athanasios, and probably his father.³¹ If this man is identical to I., this would suggest a promotion and a move to Antinoopolis during the 560s, but this is speculative.³² I. was supposedly not the *megaloprepestatos comes* and *praeses* of the Thebaid Flavius Theodoros Menas Ioulianos Iakkobos of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67030 (546/547) and III 67321 (548/549),³³ although it is notable that

28 All the more so if Ioulianos 1 was really the dominant player described by Zuckerman 2004a, 221–222 on the basis of *P.Ross.Georg.* V 62 (Aphrodite; VI), accidentally cited by Zuckerman as *P.Ross.Georg.* III (!) 62. See p. 125 n. 196 on this text, which Ruffini does not attribute to Ioulianos 1.

29 See, e.g., *P.Sijp.* 35 (p. 225). However, *apo archontōn* may be a general use of *archōn* in the sense of a higher official dignitary. For Greek instances of *archōn* referring generally to an office of some significance, see *P.Erl.* 120.9–10 (unknown provenance; 546–547?): τοῦ ἐνδοξ[ο]τάτου κ[α]ὶ πανευφήμου Ἡφαίστου ἀντιλαβοτος (read ἀντιλαβόντος) | τῶν ἀρχῶν, referring to the *dux et Augustalis* Hephaistos, on whom see Gonis 2005, 93–94.

30 Cf. *P.Lond.* V 1674.36–38: κατὰ πεισμονὴν Χριστοδότ[ο]υ | τοῦ ἀπογενομέ(νου) προκ[ουράτορος(?) - ca.14 -]ης Ἰουλιανο(ῦ) τοῦ [ἀ]πὸ ἐπάρχων | καὶ [πα]γάρχου (?) -ca.?-] and *SB XVI* 12370.2–3: οἱ ἐνδοξ(ότατοι) π[α]γάρχου Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Κομήτης καὶ Ε[ἰ]θ[υ]μ[ι]ος | διὰ τοῦ περὺ βλέπτου (read περιβλέπτου) κ[ο]μίτης Χριστοδότ[ο]υ/ προκ[ο]υράτορος). This man is Ruffini's Christodotos 1; the possible identification with Ruffini's Christodoros (*sic*) II is weak, as Keenan 2015 has recently highlighted, and is rendered impossible by my new dates for the dossier of the pagarchs Ioannes and Serenos, on which see Stern forthcoming (d).

31 Ruffini's Ioulianos 4. On the intermediary of Athanasios, see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67008; on his father, see the introduction to Ruffini's Athanasios 4, though Ruffini does not make the link to his Ioulianos 4, but only to Ioulianos 1 and 2. Cf. also Ioulianos 3A.

32 This would shed a different light on the question of the *endoxos oikos* of Aphrodite. There has been speculation about a link between the status of *endoxoi oikoi* held by certain families (notably, the Apiones) and these families' involvement with the *domus divina*. If Ioulianos (= Ruffini's Ioulianos 1, 2, and 4) was the father of Athanasios, the latter being *curator* of the imperial grounds at Aphrodite, then this would be suggestive of a such model.

33 Banaj 2007, 162 n. 167. See Zuckerman 2004a, 190 on both dates and cf. Fournet 2008c, 314 and 325.

I.'s title of *illoustrios* does not appear before 550 (*PSI IV 283*) and a promotion around that time would fit the pattern of aristocratic promotion from *comes* to *illoustrios*. Ruffini and Fournet hypothesize that the Kyros whose land I. rents out in *PSI IV 283* was I.'s father,³⁴ but this seems unlikely since I. was apparently an Arsinoite, and the relationship would be expected to be made explicit in such a context.³⁵ This text therefore probably refers to some other arrangement.³⁶

Kollouthos Cancellarius

Ruffini's Kollouthos 36. It seems likely that the attestations collected by Ruffini do indeed refer to the same person. *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 14 F has Dioskoros, at a time when he dwelled in Antinoopolis, glorifying K., who is *comes* and pagarch, a city councilor, and part of an important family that held key offices in the Thebaid capital.³⁷ In frg. B, K. is, like his father, addressed as "leader of cities," having "saved" Antinoopolis.³⁸ While this appears to suggest that K. was pagarch in Antinoopolis, there are strong indications that he was also active around Aphrodite. In fact, K.'s relationship to the village is the central issue of this poem: he is "eagle of the whole land of Aphrodites Kome" (l. 1), has "come to us to take pity on the whole land of Aphrodites Kome, suffering from lamentable troubles at the hands of unjust predecessors" (ll. 11–12; my emphasis), and finally is said to have "helped all the cities of the Thebaid" (l. 17).³⁹ The degree of metonymy and exaggeration is unclear but what is clear enough is that K. had apparently been to Aphrodite in order to take care of some issues, though this is not to say that he came because Dioskoros asked him to. The explicit reference to "predecessors," then, cannot be understood in any other plausible sense than that K. succeeded Menas Scrinarius, the main target of much of Dioskoros's written output at that time, in the post of pagarch.⁴⁰ In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005 (Antinoopolis; 567 or 568), an Aphroditan widow states that she had appealed to "my master, the *lamprotatos* lord Kollouthos, the *cancellarius* and pagarch," suggesting that it was "her" pagarch whom she wrote to. And this Kollouthos even issues an order to a village headman to free the woman from prison, making it all the more likely that the Kollouthos she referred to was pagarch of

³⁴ Ruffini 2011, s.v. Kuros 16.

³⁵ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67024.31.

³⁶ A hypothesis what might have been behind this arrangement is discussed on pp. 64–65 above.

³⁷ *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 28 (Aphrodite?; 542/543 or 547/550?) is a comparable text, and the Kollouthos present here is certainly K. because of his attribution of γλυκύφορμος, though this text yields no valuable information on his career.

³⁸ K.'s father, Apa Dios, is additionally hailed as πτολίουχος, a "protector of cities" (l. 8). In this paragraph, I follow the translations of MacCoull 1988.

³⁹ In the first two cases, Dioskoros employs poetic aliases for the village. In translating "predecessors," I adopt Fournet's French translation rather than MacCoull's.

⁴⁰ This would lead to a vague speculation about whether he was the pagarch of Antaiopolis in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003—in a role as *topotērētēs* of the *dux*, for which Kollouthos's aforementioned family links provide a perfect foundation for.

Antaiopolis.⁴¹ Although Kollouthos is a common name, the close context makes the conclusion that this is K., with all due caution, inescapable. He is certainly also the same man as the *lamprotatos* Kollouthos who is praised by Dioskoros in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67004 for help against a culprit whose name is lost.⁴²

Some potential matches may underscore the ties that K. had to the village of Aphrodite, but the common personal name and the lack of more distinguished epithets make this far from certain. An undated *scriniarius* and *lamprotatos* “lord” Kollouthos (Ruffini’s Kollouthos 8) is a landowner in the Antinoopolite and Lykopolite nomes.⁴³ Maspero identified this man with K., who is also a *lamprotatos* lord and, additionally, considering K.’s profession as *cancellarius* (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005), we are in the same environment as with a *scriniarius*. But instead of being K., Ruffini’s Kollouthos 8 may well have been identical with the *scriniarius* Kollouthos who appears as landholder in two other papyri (Ruffini’s Kollouthos 27).⁴⁴ This man, however, was the son of a certain Ammonios—there is no reason to assume that this was Count Ammonios—which undercuts the hypothesis that this man was K. The honorific of *comes* to which *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 14 attests⁴⁵ is lacking in all other instances cited here, but this is not necessarily significant for the question of identity, given that *comes* in this period is no longer the distinctive attribute it once had been.

If we accept the probable conclusion that K. was a pagarch in Antaiopolis who was from Antinoopolis, then one document does not seem to fit: *P.Leid.Inst.* 72 (Antinoopolis; VI) attests a Kollouthos who is “*exceptor* and pagarch of Antinoopolis.” Equating an *exceptor* with a *cancellarius* would be tempting but is not unproblematic and, as has been said, Kollouthos is a common name; yet the identification is suggestive because of the obvious links that K. had to Antinoopolis, and because of the fact that Dioskoros in the poem *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67004 is praising simply a *lamprotatos* Kollouthos, which implies unambiguity. But *P.Leid.Inst.* 72 cannot be dated and several possible identifications with other *exceptores* called Kollouthos are not conclusive.⁴⁶ Therefore we may either be dealing with one pagarch Kollouthos who

41 As suggested by Gelzer 1913b, 361 and Liebeschuetz 1974, 164 n. 10. On *cancellarii*, see Benaissa 2009, 59–61. In *P.Lond.* V, p. 147, H. I. Bell assumed that Kollouthos succeeded Menas, which Dioskoros’s wording does indeed appear to suggest.

42 Kollouthos 53. See Dijkstra 2004 and 2008, 4 and n. 15 on the interpretation of this text.

43 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67099 (Aphrodite/Antinoopolis?; VI) and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67313 (Antinoopolis; VI). The professional title *scriniarius* figures only in the latter text, but the family links in both documents suggest that they relate to the same man.

44 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67327.37–49 (Aphrodite; 539) and *P.Lond.* V 1702 (Aphrodite; 542/543).

45 See Fournet 1993, 234 n. 42.

46 Fournet 2008d, 290–293 (cf. Fournet 1993, 234 n. 42) restores *P.Stras.* I 47.7–8 (Antinoopolis; 566) as: Φλ(άουιος) Κολλούθος | [ἐξέκπτωρ τῆς δουκιῆς (?) τ]άξεως (cf. Ruffini’s Kollouthos 47). Fournet 1993, 234 n. 42 wonders whether this man may also figure in *P.Flor.* III 294 (Aphrodite; VI), where ll. 1–3 read: τοῦ παναρε . . . τον [-ca.?-] | προγεγραμμένος Κολλούθος ο[-ca.?-] | τῆς αὐτῆς δουκιῆς τάξεως δ[-ca.?-]; this man is Ruffini’s Kollouthos 9. The link to the ducal office makes it tempting to identify this Kollouthos with Kollouthos Exceptor, especially because the lacuna behind his name is of unknown length and could have easily contained ὁ [λαμπρότατος ἐξέκπτωρ] or the like. The preceding προγεγραμμένος probably indicates, however, that this Kollouthos has already been presented in this text beforehand; in this case, the reference to the ducal bureau may not be part of

acted in this capacity in both Antaiopolis and Antinoopolis, or there was one pagarch Kollouthos from Antinoopolis who became pagarch in Antaiopolis and another one who was pagarch of Antinoopolis at some other point in the sixth century. The jury remains out, but since a pagarch for two nomes in the Byzantine period has yet to be found, separating these two men may be the safer working hypothesis with the evidence we have. Apart from the connection to fiscal business, there is no reason to identify either of these two Kollouthoi with Ruffini's Kollouthos 49, who is *apo diadotōn*.

Kometes

See s.v. Euthymios & Kometes

Makarios

Ruffini's Makarios 55. In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67055 recto 10, one encounters a pagarch with the common personal name Makarios (l. 10), in a very fragmentary papyrus. The verso dates to 567 CE and assuming that it was written after the recto, this date would be a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of M.'s tenure. But even so, the list on the recto may have been much older at the point when the papyrus was put to new use with the draft of a poem on the verso; the pattern of other reused documents from the Dioskoros archive seems to suggest that M. was in office at least several decades earlier.⁴⁷ The same text also features a *prōtokōmētēs* Herakleios (col. II 16) whose tenure can with some certainty be dated to the lifetime of Count Ammonios,⁴⁸ which leads to the plausible assumption that M. was pagarch in the 540s or 550s. But this is not certain, nor is anything else known about M., which is why he does not appear in Chapter Five.

Menas Scriniarius

Ruffini's Menas 13. Although the name is among the most common in late antique Egypt, I am convinced that this is the same person as Ruffini's Menas 66.⁴⁹ M.'s links to the pagarchy come from two different contexts, the first of which is apparent in two London papyri: in *P.Lond.* V 1661 (July 24, 553), he and Ioulianos jointly serve as Antaiopolite pagarchs, and this is also attested in *P.Lond.* V 1660, which must therefore be dated to a year from Ioulianos's

Kollouthos's epithets. In both cases, Fournet relativizes his hypothesis by pointing to the frequency of the personal name, which is a problem for any identification. Another *exceptor* named Kollouthos occurs in *P.Sorb.* II 69 (618/619? or ca. 633/634?) and, as a witness, in *P.Laur.* II 26 (609–610?) from nearby Hermopolis, but this is probably too late for K.

⁴⁷ Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 and *P.Aphrod.Reg.* from 525/526 CE, the latter of which was reused for a collection of receipts: *P.Flor.* III 298. See Stern forthcoming (d) on these documents and the relation of use and reuse within them.

⁴⁸ See *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67200.

⁴⁹ Harold Bell, the editor of *P.Lond.* V 1714, argued that an identification with Menas 66 is "hardly doubtful." Ruffini appears to be more cautious about this but still calls the match "likely."

pagarchy around 553, but probably not earlier.⁵⁰ M. then appears a second time as pagarch from 566 CE onward, with a clear marker, however, that this constituted a new mandate.⁵¹ In spite of “Menas” being one of the most common personal names, M. is attested with a variety of titles and epithets, and their accumulation in various documents makes it highly likely that they refer to the same man. The epithets given to Menas 66, on the other hand, not only strikingly parallel those given to M.; his son is also explicitly said to be *geuchōn* in Antaiopolis.⁵² This Menas appears only within a patronymic reference among his son’s titles, and one would not expect this reference to reveal his origin or his being *geouchōn* somewhere.

It is therefore safe to assume that Menas 66 was also from, and/or was *geouchōn* in, Antaiopolis. There are a number of undated documents among those attributed to Menas 13 and that may be safely attributed to M. although he appears without the title of pagarch. All of them appear to touch in some way on the business that M. is known to have been involved with and it is often uncertain to which of M.’s tenures they pertain: *P.Lond.* V 1682, 1683, and 1684; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 (probably the first tenure); *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 11 (certainly the second). I find it at least as likely that also the “lord” Menas who is mentioned in *SB XX* 14241 alongside a *boēthos* and *lamprotatoi trakteutai* (Menas 60; not considered to be a possible match by Ruffini) is M., given the clear association of these officials with the pagarchy. The events here, concerning the *topos* (P)Karkarou, probably relate to 552/553 because the text features “the son of Tachymia;” this can only be the Biktor, son of Tachymia, who damaged this exact *topos* in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67319.20.⁵³ In the cases of Ruffini’s Menas 5, 11, and Anonymous 111, the contexts are not as clear, but still suggestive. In *PSI VIII* 939 (Menas 5), a *lamprotatos* “lord” Menas has to come to the harbor to take care of the grain shipping and storage,⁵⁴ which seems to concern a similar matter as in *P.Lond.* V 1684. In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67083 (Menas 11), the allusion to a legal issue and the address to a *prōtokōmētēs*, a village

50 Earlier, Ioulianos appears to have been sole pagarch.

51 It does not follow from *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 col. I 10–11: ἀπὸ προουμίων τῆς ἕναγχος διαδραμο(ύ)σης πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως, ἀφ’ ἧς ἀντελάβετο τῆς παραρχίας | Ἀνταίο(υ) that this was Menas’s first pagarchy.

52 *P.Lond.* V 1714.

53 Tachymia (the name is rare and in the Dioskoros archive probably always refers to the same individual) must be distinctive enough a person that *her* name is used instead of a patronym (which is frequently the case with this Biktor) and overall it would be too much of a coincidence if there were two Biktors, sons of two different women both named Tachymia and connected to the same *topos*. The events of *SB XX* 14241 therefore must relate to the events described in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67319 recto; here, the first indiction is “present” (l. 20: παρούσα). This text should be dated to 552/553 and not to the next cycle; see Fournet 2008c, 324 and add the even earlier occurrences in Ruffini 2011, s.v. Biktor 44, as early as 517 (fixed date)! The ὑπό (the *topos* “under” him) in our text is thus relating to the time when Biktor had seized the *topos* of Kakerke, before he was ordered to leave. The text was written sometime after the events (Kollouthos is no longer *diadotēs*), that is, sometime after 552/553 when the *topos* was returned, which means that it again becomes somewhat more likely that M. was serving in a responsible position during these years, and not only as a subordinate of Ioulianos (see also *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060).

54 Ἀποθήκη here is probably a *horreum*, a grain storage; see Brandes 2002, 293–294.

headman, is suggestive, while in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67061 (Anonymous 111), it is the urgency and the demanding tone of the letter, addressed to all (!) village headmen of Aphrodite. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67061 probably belongs to the same events as *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, as already the editor thought. Since *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67185 recto is only described (and was apparently too effaced to say anything clear about its content), the reference to a “lord” Menas is too general in order to attribute it to M.

Banaji’s suggestion that Menas, the [*peribleptos*] *comes* and *procurator* of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104 (Ruffini’s Menas 28), is M. is implausible not only because Banaji’s proposed link to Patrikia is impossible,⁵⁵ but also because the titles do not match: “Menas” is too common a name in late antique Egypt, we have no evidence of M. being a *comes*, and it is, at best, plausible guesswork to equate a *procurator* with a *dioikētēs*, although both positions probably relate to the same environment. An identification of Menas 28 with Menas 66 seems unlikely for chronological reasons: a *peribleptos comes* and *procurator* was probably at least in his 30s and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104 dates to August 19, 530; in consequence, Menas would have been over 70 years old when still alive in *P.Lond.* V 1714 (March 14, 570 CE) and active in the ducal bureau of the Thebaid, which is not impossible, but I consider it rather unlikely.

Patrikia

Ruffini’s Patrikia 1. The *endoxotatē* P. is known to have held the pagarchy collegially with Ioulianos sometime around 553 CE, as shown in *P.Lond.* V 1660, where she acts with Menas Scrinarius as her representative.⁵⁶ My restoration of the tax receipt *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 16A now shows her as part of a collegium of pagarchs, probably as its head;⁵⁷ the text was possibly written by the *hypodektēs* Petros who is attested in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67046, under the pagarch Ioulianos. Otherwise, P. is only known from one of Dioskoros’s poems from 567 CE, but neither her father Kallinos nor her husband Paulos, whom she married in that year, can be further identified.⁵⁸ Notably, Patrikia married Paulos ca. 15 years after she is attested as pagarch, which had Ruffini suppose that either she held the pagarchy at an extremely young age, that she married late, or that this was her second marriage,⁵⁹ of which the latter seems the safest choice. There is evidence that may show her to originate from Aphrodite.⁶⁰ Banaji identifies P. as the addressee of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104 (Aphrodite; 530) and thus as the daughter of the *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos comes* Ioannes (= Ruffini’s Ioannes 123). To do so, however, Banaji needs to reject Fournet’s identification of P. with the Patrikia of Dioskoros’s

⁵⁵ See s.v. Patrikia below.

⁵⁶ On the circumstances of her pagarchy and her deputy Menas, see Chapter Four.

⁵⁷ See Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Anonymous *hypodektēs* (2).

⁵⁸ *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 35.

⁵⁹ Ruffini 2018, 162.

⁶⁰ Ruffini 2018, 161–162, citing an obscure pun in one of Dioskoros’s poems.

poem, in which he is certainly mistaken.⁶¹ There are, however, no obvious connections to the *paneuphēmos* Patrikia in *PSI* III 238 (unknown origin; VI–VII), as has been proposed;⁶² this may in fact have been a title rather than a personal name: “the *paneuphēmos patricia*.”

Serenos

Ruffini’s Serenos 9 (b) and (c). S. was Ioannes’s co-pagarch (at least) in the early 570s. Since the name is not common in our evidence from Aphrodite, it is tempting to identify him with the only other two Flavii of this name from this period: the Serenoi in *P.Ross.Georg.* V 37 (Aphrodite; mid-VI) and in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 (Antinoopolis; 567).⁶³ In the first case, there is nothing, save the personal name, to support this identification.⁶⁴ But in the case of the Serenos of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, the accumulation of distinguished titles may suggest identity. This man is first introduced as the *peribleptos comes* and *illoustrios megaloprepestatos* Serenos, the *logiōtatos scholastikos* (col. II 2); he thus clearly bears the exemplary epithets for an imperial bureaucrat.⁶⁵ Later, he is once referred to as *endoxotatos illoustrios* (col. II 4) and another time simply as *illoustrios* (col. II 8). This Serenos helped the soon-to-be pagarch Menas detain thirteen villagers of Aphrodite and seize their cattle while they were visiting an annual cattle market in the Hermopolite nome.⁶⁶ The detention is said to have been brought about by Serenos’s *dioikētai*; later, the petition mentions a *meizoteros* as well as a “private” jail, which supposedly means that Serenos had estates in the area.

One wonders in what capacity Serenos had the villagers arrested: if this Serenos was indeed S., but a large estate in Hermopolis, he may have also been pagarch there. But if this Serenos held any office at the time he had the Aphroditans detained, he would have probably relied on soldiers or minor executive personnel such as *eirēnarchai*.⁶⁷ Acknowledging the extent of mobility among Thebaid officials, the distance between the Hermopolite nome and Aphrodite is not too great for us to reject the possibility that Serenos may be identical with S., and both the titles and the context make it likely. One of the two

61 See Banaji 2007, 162 and 254, where he unfoundedly questions that P. is the Patrikia of *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 35, which remains the most forceful argument against his hypothesis. Banaji further suggests that this Ioannes is the homonymous Antaiopolite pagarch, which would entail that Patrikia probably was *ad interim* responsible for the pagarchy because of her late father. The identification of this Ioannes with the Antaiopolite pagarch is, however, even by itself rendered unlikely by the timeline given in Stern forthcoming (d). On Banaji’s implausible suggestion that Menas, the [*peribleptos*] *comes* and *procurator* of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104 (= Ruffini’s Menas 28), was Menas, the pagarch of 553 CE, see s.v. Menas above.

62 Fournet 1999, 634–637.

63 Ruffini’s Serenos 9 (a) and 10, respectively.

64 The editors of *P.Ross.Georg.* V 37 speculate whether references to his being *illoustrios* or pagarch may have been lost in the lacuna in l. 14. Gascou 1972, 61 n. 6 (= 2008, 44 n. 6) accepts the identification.

65 Cf. Fournet 1999, 688.

66 On this identification, see Keenan 2008b; on the episode and its chronology, see Chapter Six.

67 See Chapter Six for the observation that the villagers probably would not have referred to a potential office that Serenos held if he no longer held it at the time they filed the petition.

may be the Serenos of *P.Ant.* III 206.14 (Antinoopolis; VI, following *BL* XII 6),⁶⁸ who was *endoxotatos illoustrios* and figures in a list of official payments from high-ranking men, probably (provincial?) officials or major landowners.⁶⁹ If this man is identical to S., then S. may also—like Kollouthos, Menas, and, possibly, Ioulianos—come from the realm of Antinoopolite provincial officials.

Anonymi

On the anonymous pagarchs in the Antaiopolite tax receipts, see the discussion in Stern forthcoming (d). Outside these receipts, there are anonymous pagarchs in six other papyri:

- The pagarch of *SB* VI 9102 is certainly Ioulianos (see Chapter Four on Tenure).
- *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003: Menas or Kollouthos Cancellarius would seem most likely, but also an unknown pagarch (who perhaps was also *topotērētēs*) is possible.
- MacCoull 1993, no. 6: This Coptic letter was written in Antinoopolis and is addressed to Dioskoros and his wife Sophia by one of their sons.⁷⁰ We know that Dioskoros’s son Petros stayed with him, at least for some time, in Antinoopolis during his “exile,” but the Antinoopolite codex receipts show Petros back in his native village Aphrodite in the early 570s. Maybe this letter dates from a time when Dioskoros had already returned to Antinoopolis, but Petros still remained in the provincial capital.⁷¹ This would entail that “the pagarch” referred to in this letter was not Menas, who was probably no longer in office at that time, but Kollouthos, Ioannes, or Serenos (provided that it is indeed an Antaiopolite pagarch who is mentioned here). But it is also possible that Petros went to Antinoopolis before Dioskoros, or that one of Dioskoros’s two other sons also dwelled there. Both hypotheses would place the text to an earlier year, when Menas (or a predecessor) was still in office.
- MacCoull 1993, no. 11 = Vanderheyden 2015, no. 15: This pagarch cannot be Menas because Menas was not yet in office. What is more, the pagarch title added a specification that is lost in a lacuna,⁷² which I believe to indicate that it was not the pagarch of Antaiopolis who was mentioned here as this would have been clear from the context. Similar letters speak only of “the pagarch.”

⁶⁸ This Serenos does not figure in Ruffini’s prosopography because *P.Ant.* III 206 does not deal with Aphrodite. Gasco 1972, 61 n. 6 (= 2008, 44 n. 6) identifies him with S.

⁶⁹ One of them is the *patricius* Athanasios, i.e., the *dux et Augustalis* of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, and the amount attributed to Serenos (by an *entagion* from a certain *katholikos* Theodoros) is just a little over a tenth of Athanasios’s share. It is unclear what precisely this account is about, but given the presence of an *exceptor*, a *prakteutēs*, and the reference to Hermopolis, it appears that a certain official provincial issue must be at stake here.

⁷⁰ See Fournet 2008b, 27–28 for a refined reading of the address.

⁷¹ The tax receipt that was most probably received by Petros at Aphrodite (*P.Flor.* III 29872–73) dates from December 7, 572. He must have returned at least by then. Dioskoros dwelled in Antinoopolis as late as November 15, 570 (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151).

⁷² In l. 1: ππαρχος ἡ . [± 10] (“the pagarch of ...”).

- Vanderheyden 2015, no. 11: Since this text in all likelihood relates to the Menas affair, the pagarch mentioned here is probably Menas.
- Vanderheyden 2015, no. 13: This text may also relate to the Menas affair. Although this is less certain than in the case of no. 11 above, Menas still seems the most convenient identification.

THEBAID II: ANTINOOPOLIS

Kollouthos Exceptor

K., an “exceptor and pagarch of Antinoopolis,” appears in *P.Leid.Inst.* 72. See s.v. Kollouthos Cancellarius above.

Phoibammon

P. (Ruffini’s Phoibammon 151A) appears in the poem *P.Aphrod.Lit.* IV 13 (Antinoopolis; end of 565–beginning 566/567), praised by Dioskoros as “head (*epikeimenos*) of the pagarchy.” The poem goes on to describe P. as part of the lineage of a certain Kometas (Ruffini’s Kometas 2; perhaps the pagarch Kometes?) and Eustochios, and makes P. a relative of the *patricius* Athanasios. Apart from this and the usual heavy poetry, the text yields no information on P.’s doings and dealings. He is unknown from elsewhere, although his lineage as presented in the text suggests that he had at least a considerable potential to rise higher than simply *lamprotatos*.

The editor Jean-Luc Fournet points to similar circumstances in *P.Ant.* II 97, also from Antinoopolis, where a “Phoibammon, the *lamprotatos cancellarius*” potentially appears as “managing (*dioikein*) the pagarchy.”⁷³ This Phoibammon may be the same as the *cancellarius* Phoibammon of *P.Ant.* II 96. According to an autopsy by Nikolaos Gonis, however, these two texts should be assigned to the seventh century for paleographical reasons.⁷⁴ In view of the document’s heavily fragmentary condition, Fournet concedes that it is far from certain that the phrase containing the pagarchy in *P.Ant.* II 97.6 is actually part of Phoibammon’s description in the line before, but if so, this phrase may denote that Phoibammon’s holding the pagarchy was due to extraordinary circumstances. The particular form of the title with *epikeimenos*, however, may also be accounted for by Dioskoros’s literary intentions, given that the title is part of an acrostic.⁷⁵

73 Fournet 1999, 554 and *P.Ant.* II 97.5–6: Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καγκελλαρί[ου -ca.-] | παραρχίας διοικούντος. On διοικέω in the sense of being someone’s deputy, see Chapter Four.

74 Benaissa 2009, 59 n. 7.

75 It is notable that the title ἐπικείμενος τῆς παραρχίας later appears to replace the formal title of pagarch from the beginning of the eighth century, apparently due to an Arabic formula; see Sijpesteijn 2013, 120.

THEBAID III: HERMOPOLIS

Athanasios

A. bears a name that was a favorite among the late antique aristocracy throughout Egypt, and is identified without epithets, only as pagarch, in *SPP* III 436 (Hermopolis; VI–VII).⁷⁶ He may be identical with the *endoxotatos illustrios* and pagarch Athanasios known from the papers of his *notarios* Senouthes. In fact, the identification as pagarch without any epithets, exclusively by official title and personal name, seems to be common in documents from the Islamic period, although the pagarchs Ioulianos and Menas Stratelates, both *endoxotatos*, are occasionally referred to that way.⁷⁷ The mention of a certain Christodotos in our text may, however, give pause, since all three extant attestations of this name in the papyri most probably pertain to the same individual, a Flavius Christodotos who was *lamprotatos comes* or *peribleptos comes* and *procurator* in the second half of the sixth century in Antaiopolis and was dead by 570.⁷⁸ If the Christodotos from *SPP* III 436 is identical to the *procurator* then this text must date to before 570. However, identifications beyond nome borders should always be dealt with cautiously. A.'s appearance in this papyrus is presumably due to his “share” for the pagarchy that his heirs assume, but this is uncertain.⁷⁹ A.'s identification with the *dux et Augustalis* Athanasios from the Dioskoros archive, who is *endoxotatos stratēlatēs, apo hypatōn*, and *hyperphyestatos patricius* does not seem an option, for he would not have been referred to simply as pagarch in this “short form” of reference, but rather as *patricius*.

Dorotheos

A *lamprotatos comes* and pagarch in the tax receipt *BGU* XII 2196,⁸⁰ D. may be identical with the *lamprotatos* Dorotheos from *BGU* XVII 2705 who requests a *notarius* to send two large jugs to a former *actuarius*.⁸¹ This Dorotheos is only referred to as *lamprotatos*, however. This pattern might also fit *BGU* XIX 2772, where a Dorotheos issues an order to *eirēnarchai* to summon a prison guard. Though this document does not preserve any indication of office or rank, the individual distinction must be seen in the capacity to give orders to the *eirēnarchai*, although this yields no certainty.⁸² That the two latter Dorotheoi are not called

76 The date and provenance of this text rest on a remark without context by J. Diethart (see *CPR* X, p. 153).

77 Ioulianos: *SB* VI 9102 (anonymously); Menas Stratelates: *SPP* III 303.

78 On this man, see s.v. Ioulianos above and Chapter Four.

79 *SPP* III 436.2: τῶν κληρονόμων Ἀθ<α>νασίου παγάρχου. It is notable that Athanasios is neither “former pagarch” nor “of ... memory,” nor is there any other hint that he is dead besides the appearance of his heirs (or is this self-explanatory?).

80 *BGU* XII 2196.1 should probably read τῶ θ[αυμασιωτ]ᾶτ(ω) Ἰωάννη βοηθ(ῶ) κώμ(ης) (I have not been able to obtain a photo of this papyrus); cf. *P.Lond.* V 1753.1.

81 *BL* XII 27.

82 See Chapter Three, and also *P.Bodl.* I 53; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1786 with the discussion s.v. Kyrillos below.

pagarch does not mean that they cannot be D., since they are the senders of these texts and the addressee knew with whom he was dealing. Possibly, it is D.'s heirs who occur in *SB XVIII 13756 recto 31* and *P.Sorb. II 69 col. X 15*.⁸³ Also worthy of note is *SB XXIV 16140*, where a Dorotheos signs a receipt to a *chrysōnēs* (an eparchy official).⁸⁴ With the name "Dorotheos" being so widespread, any identification of these men with D. remains uncertain. In any case, D. should not be identified with Ruffini's Dorotheos 12, *magister* of the *dux et Augustalis*. Although this man is occasionally also referred to as *lamprotatos*, he is clearly of higher status.

Ioannes (Hermopolis)

A "D.V., *praeses* and pagarch of Hermopolis," I. is attested in *P.Lond. V 1753*, which has been assigned to the sixth or seventh century for paleographical reasons. Some matches have been proposed: *SB VI 9144* (the most likely match), *SB XVIII 13170* (not as pagarch; assuming a rather steep promotion from *singularis* to pagarch and *praeses*), and *BKU III 420*.⁸⁵ While all are possible, none of them seems compelling to me, as the personal name is very common. However, the combination of the position of *praeses* (maybe only designated) and pagarch would seem unlikely for the Byzantine period. The combining of such a high-ranking office with the pagarchy is only attested for Flavius Atias, *dux Arcadiae* and pagarch of the Arsinoite nome in the late seventh century,⁸⁶ and for the unknown pagarch of Arsinoe and *dux Arcadiae* in *CPR XXIV 33* from 653 CE.⁸⁷

Anonymous

An anonymous pagarch from Hermopolis appears in *P.Lond. V 1865* (to be edited by Jean Gascou and Nikolaos Gonis).

ARCADIA I: ARSINOE

Although I shall not attempt here to provide a comprehensive prosopography of the Arsinoite elite, some remarks are in order. For a long time it has been assumed that the Apiones and Strategioi in the Fayum are the same as the individuals that we see as absentee

⁸³ *P.Sorb. II 69*, p. 212 (note on col. X 15; see *BL X 24*); cf. *BL XII 27*.

⁸⁴ On the *chrysōnēs*, see p. 248 n. 26 above. I have not been able to obtain an image of this papyrus in order to compare this signature to the one in *BGU XII 2196*, presumably written by D. himself.

⁸⁵ Sijpesteijn 1981, 361; Kruit 1994, 72; Cromwell 2017, 189 n. 129.

⁸⁶ On Atias, see p. 160 above.

⁸⁷ A candidate for identification is the Arsinoite pagarch and *dux* Ioannes, provided that the pagarch and the *dux* are indeed the same person. The editor of *CPR XXIV* opts against identifying this man with the pagarch from *CPR XXIV 32* (pp. 199–200 and 205); his arguments are based, however, on a chronology that hinges to a large part on the idea that some known pagarchs from that period could not have been in office concurrently.

landlords in Oxyrhynchos, the “Apiones” in the strict sense. Doubts have been raised, however, and today scholars are more cautious about these identifications.⁸⁸ From the evidence currently available, it appears safer to assume that Apion Stratelates, Strategios Stratelates, and Strategios Paneuphemos, if at all related to the Oxyrhynchite Apiones, form an Arsinoite branch of this family.⁸⁹ Many new insights will emerge from Sophie Kovarik’s major forthcoming study on the Arsinoite elites based on a host of new documents.⁹⁰

Apion Stratelates

A. is addressed as *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* in *BGU I 305* and as *paneuphēmos apo hypatōn* (of consular rank/honorary consul) in *CPR XIV 10*; in both papyri he is pagarch of Arsinoe.⁹¹ A. was once thought to be identical with Apion II, *consul ordinarius* of 539 CE, but more recent scholarship has put this into doubt especially due to A.’s titulature,⁹² which is why I shall henceforth assume two distinct branches of the family. A.’s titles are very different in both aforementioned papyri; an explanation would be that by the time of *CPR XIV 10*, A. had advanced from *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* to *paneuphēmos apo hypatōn*.⁹³ His earliest attestation is probably *P.Erl. 120* (unknown; 546–547?), where two *endoxotatoi prostatai*, Menas and Apion, are somehow involved in fiscal business, apparently the transport of tax grain, under the new *dux et Augustalis*.⁹⁴

A. is thought to have been dead by December 20, 578 CE, since at that time, the pagarchs were Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates (see s.v.).⁹⁵ This hypothesis, though possible, rests, first, on the assumption that the pagarchy was held for life and, second, on the assumption that the three could not have been in office together. We have seen, however,

⁸⁸ On this discussion, see Nikolaos Gonis in *P.Oxy. LXX 4876*, p. 93.

⁸⁹ There are scores of Apiones and Strategioi in the papyri from the fifth to seventh centuries, many of whom bear high ranks. Therefore, the prosopographical matches should be handled with care, especially when they exceed nome borders—one needs only to look at the numerous Apiones and Strategioi in Oxyrhynchos and Herakleopolis. It is therefore advisable not to identify any Apion or Strategios with a contemporary namesake until there are multiple matching titles or contexts.

⁹⁰ Cf. Kovarik 2014.

⁹¹ Cf. Kovarik 2014, 226.

⁹² See N. Gonis in *P.Oxy. LXX 4876*, p. 93 and Mazza 2013. If A. were identical to Apion II, his titulature would be expected to contain a reference to his having held the ordinary (not honorary, as A.) consulate. The name “Apion” was very common in Egypt.

⁹³ *P.Oxy. LXX*, p. 93; note that the link of the epithet *hyperphyestatos* to the title of *apo hypatōn* is possibly already present in the case of Apion I in 489 CE; see *P.Flor. III 325* (with *BL VII 53*) and Hickey 2012, II.

⁹⁴ *P.Erl. 120.7–8*: τοὺς ἐνδοξ[οτά]τους προστάτας | Μηνᾶν καὶ Ἀπίωνα. On the identification with A., see Gonis 2002a, 96 and Gonis 2005, 93 n. 35. The Menas in this text is possibly the same Menas who fathers the Oxyrhynchite *geouchousa* Flavia Anastasia (Gonis 2002a, 96) and who may be the brother of a Dorotheos (*PSI VIII 953.70*; cf. *PSI VIII 956.20*) who is possibly the Hermopolite pagarch (see s.v. above for the possible identification), but the names are too common to make this more than a speculation. On the use of *prostatēs* as a reference of politeness such as *kyrios* or *despotēs*, see s.v. Theodoros (Oxyrhynchos) below.

⁹⁵ *CPR XIV II*. It should be noted that this would appear to fit the fact that Apion II died (or his death became known) between March 25, 578 and January 19, 579 (Hickey 2012, 16), but in light of the arguments against both Apiones’ identification, I consider this a coincidence.

that there is not only no evidence in favor of these assumptions, but also good evidence against them.⁹⁶

A tempting match would be another *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Apion, who had interests in Oxyrhynchos and is known from *P.Oxy.* LXX 4786 (July 27, 551). This Apion had some relation to a certain Christophoros (l. 8) and it would be an enormous coincidence if this man was not the aforementioned Christophoros who held the pagarchy jointly with Strategios Stratelates. This text is also remarkable for its lack of the *oiketēs* formula that occurs in every document of the Oxyrhynchite Apiones, which further suggests different branches of the Apiones or two independent families, of which the Arsinoite branch also had interests in the Oxyrhynchite (see s.v. Strategios Paneuphemos below). No evidence has yet been found of the contrary, namely that the Oxyrhynchite Apiones would have had interests in the Fayum.⁹⁷ Note that the property A. rents out in *BGU* I 305 is in the same neighborhood where Christophoros and Strategios also rent out property in *CPR* XIV II. The Apion from *P.Oxy.* LXX 4786 may also be a good match for the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Apion who owned an Oxyrhynchite *ousia* in *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5375 (June 18, 557).

Other identifications are less certain: A. may be the *stratēlatēs* of *BGU* II 364 (Arsinoe; 553), who is brother of an *illoustrios* Strategios; both are sons of a *peribleptos* Theodoros.⁹⁸ This would be particularly notable since it would finally prove that this lineage was separate from the Oxyrhynchite Apiones. The late Apion of *CPR* XXIV 25 (Herakleopolis; 598) is not a valid match, since he is referred to here is ἐν εὐ]κλεεῖ [τ]ῆ μνήμη, and thus is without a doubt no other than Apion II.

Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates

C. and S. appear collectively as *endoxotatoi stratēlatai* and pagarchs of Arsinoe in *CPR* XIV II (578 CE), where they lease out a workshop. Both were supposedly heading their family estate, given that they are addressed in a private context, and were joint pagarchs because of this. In Louvre E 6573 (586/587 CE), they resurface as pagarchs, though having been promoted to the rank of *eukleestatoi hypatoi*.⁹⁹ At least S. appears in another text from 588 CE (*P.Berol.* 3387), but the pagarchy is restored in this document.¹⁰⁰

There are several identifications of varying degrees of plausibility. S. was once thought to be identical with Strategios II of the Oxyrhynchite Apiones, but this has since become

⁹⁶ See Chapter Four.

⁹⁷ *P.Oxy.* LXX, p. 93.

⁹⁸ *P.Oxy.* LXX, p. 93.

⁹⁹ Kovarik 2014, xxii (in Kapitel 3). Because of this late appearance, Strategios Stratelates cannot be the late *endoxotatos* Strategios whose wife and daughters are *prōteuousai* of Arsinoe in *CPR* X 127 (584). This man's wife Theophania is addressed as *stratēlatissa*, which means that the late Strategios was *stratēlatēs*. Theophania for her part is linked in an unknown way to the *patricia* Sophia (see Gonis 2008, 203–204), possibly the mother of Strategios Paneuphemos (see s.v. below).

¹⁰⁰ Kovarik 2014, xxii (in Kapitel 3).

obsolete. C. may have been somehow linked to Apion Stratelates,¹⁰¹ if the latter is the Apion who figures in *P.Oxy.* LXX 4876 (551).¹⁰² Less certain seems the identification of S. with the *endoxotatos illustrios* Strategios of *BGU* II 364 (553), who occurs collectively with a *stratēlatēs* whose name is lost in a lacuna. Because of the pairing with this Strategios, the anonymous *stratēlatēs* has been suggested to be either C. (who appears alongside S. in *CPR* XIV II) or Apion Stratelates (who probably appears alongside C. in *P.Oxy.* LXX 4786, who in turn appears alongside S.). As for the space on the papyrus, both restorations seem possible. Both *endoxotatoi* in *BGU* II 364 are sons of a Theodoros who was probably *peribleptos*,¹⁰³ and they are *geouchountes*, which would fit C.'s and S.'s joint holding of the pagarchy, though in this case they were not pagarchs at the time of this document. Furthermore, identifying the Strategios of *BGU* II 364 with S. would due to the different paternity leave no doubt that this line was distinct from the Apiones and Strategioi in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Neither identification, however, is beyond doubt.

Kyrillos

*A megaloprepestatos*¹⁰⁴ and *endoxotatos stratēlatēs*, K. appears as pagarch in an unpublished deed of surety from the last years of the sixth century (*P.Vindob.* G 24302),¹⁰⁵ which may also be the earliest document to attest him at all.¹⁰⁶ The first securely dated attestation is *P.Corn. inv.* II 48 (October 5, 596),¹⁰⁷ a *compromissum* between K. and a certain Apollos, apparently an employee of K.'s *ousia*.¹⁰⁸ Here, K.—while already being *endoxotatos stratēlatēs*—is clearly not pagarch and the argument from silence gains substance from the type of document, which one would expect to contain a reference to K.'s full titulature.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, it is notable that the text contains one of the few attestations of the term λογοποιία, which also occurs in *P.Lond.* V 1660.20 (Antaiopolites; ca. 553), a text concerning the collection of

101 Note also that the property C. and S. rent out in *CPR* XIV II is in the same neighborhood where Apion rents out property in *BGU* I 305, which may be coincidence or another slight indication of a connection between these three individuals.

102 See also s.v. “Apion Stratelates” above.

103 As proposed by Nikolaos Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXX, p. 95; ἐνδόξου μνήμης appears to be too short for the lacuna.

104 *P.Lond.* V 1786.2–4. This text is said to be from ca. 610, but should probably, since Kyrillos's pagarchy is now dated to the early 590s, be dated to this same period, since the context very likely shows him as pagarch.

105 Kovarik 2014, xxiii (in Kapitel 3).

106 Cf. the tables on tenures in Chapter Four.

107 Edited in Gagos 2008.

108 It is notable that Apollos's position is absent in the demarking of the parties in ll. 6–8, which probably means that he no longer held this position at the time the text was written; see Chapter Six on this methodological problem. In ll. 14–16, however, the document clearly alludes to Apollos's (former) attribution to Kyrillos's *ousia*, possibly as *dioikētēs* (l. 14: ἐδιοίκησεν; Gagos 2008, 60). Apollos's epithet *thaumasiōtatos* would certainly fit the *dioikētēs* of an *endoxotatos*. I also wonder whether Apollos was not also a Flavius, given the abbreviation in l. 6: [Φ]λ(άουιος) (which may have been a plural), the absence of “Aurelius,” and the frequency of Flavii among the estate personnel of high-ranking elites.

109 Of course, with the new *P.Vindob.* G 24302, Gagos's note that Kyrillos was not pagarch is now no longer tenable, though certainly true for his text.

taxes from a village under the pagarchy.¹¹⁰ Is λογοποιία here a reference to K.'s past or coming pagarchy? In that case, the dispute may have been about the correctness of the accounts that K. was to take over from his predecessor or that he was going to leave to his successor in the pagarchy.¹¹¹

Although K.'s archive has long been known to scholarship, it only recently became known that he was a pagarch. The documents are too fragmentary to tell much about the context but appear to concern mostly private issues.¹¹² Apart from having an *ousia*, workers, and an administrative apparatus at his disposal, Kyrillos organizes transports via the Nile to Alexandria, which may indicate a *munus* of transporting the tax grain.¹¹³ Official business is certainly behind *SPP* VIII 1114, addressed(?) to a *megaloprepestatos osprigitēs*, an official responsible for the collection and transport of tax grain,¹¹⁴ and possibly behind *SPP* VIII 1115, where K. orders a payment to a *zygostatēs*, with a *logographos* involved.¹¹⁵

P.Lond. V 1786 also certainly relates to official issues. The text is a letter from a certain Alos, who rhetorically styles himself as “your servant” vis-à-vis “my master, the *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Kyrillos.”¹¹⁶ Only the second part of Alos's title is preserved, but he was apparently an official entitled to order detentions, most probably an *eirēnarchēs* or a *kōmarchēs*.¹¹⁷ The content is difficult to reconstruct owing to the rather “idiosyncratic” Greek displayed in the text. It seems that Alos had received an order from K. to summon a certain Apa Nakios, but later it was found that the man he detained was not

¹¹⁰ See Chapter Two.

¹¹¹ The formula λογοποιείαν (read λογοποιίαν) θέσθαι in the London text suggests that Gagos's (2008, 66) hypothesis is correct according to which λογοθεσία, a term used in the labor contracts to προνοήται ἤτοι ὑποδέκται from Oxyrhynchus must be equivalent.

¹¹² On his archive, see *CPR* X, p. 155 n. 4 and *TM Archives* 389; both, however, are incomplete. The earliest certain testimony is *P.Corn. inv.* II 48 from 596 CE (see above). The following texts (all from the Arsinoite nome and VII, if not stated otherwise) are believed to be part of this dossier: *BGU* III 725.10 (Arsinoe; 618); *P.Lond.* V 1786 (Arsinoites?; ca. 610); *SB* I 4907 (name and title restored); *SB* I 4908; *SB* XIV 12195 (608); *SPP* VIII 1072 (610); *SPP* VIII 1105 (name and title restored); *SPP* VIII 1113 (name only); *SPP* VIII 1114; 1115; 1116; 1117 (title restored); *SPP* VIII 1118 (name only; possibly *stratēlatēs* in a lacuna); *SPP* VIII 1119 (title restored); *SPP* VIII 1121 recto (name restored but rejected by Gonis 2008, 208 n. 31); *SPP* VIII 1123 (name restored); *SPP* VIII 1189 (ca. 613/614?); *SPP* VIII 1228 (name only, but see discussion below); *SPP* VIII 1247 (name only, but K.'s *ousia* is mentioned); *SPP* X 249.10 (ca. 620; on the identification, see Gonis 2008, 208 n. 31). See also *SPP* XX 133 for a [-ca.-? - ἡ Κύριλλ[ος -ca.-?] in a very fragmentary receipt (VI–VII). Three other texts (Arsinoites; V–VI) give only the name and are possibly too early for K. as *stratēlatēs* but perhaps relate to a time before he obtained this title, or to an ancestor: *SPP* VIII 1069; 1070; 1071.

¹¹³ *SB* I 4907; *SPP* VIII 1105.

¹¹⁴ On the *osprigitēs*, see *SPP* III² pt. I, p. 118 and pt. V, pp. 38–39.

¹¹⁵ The lacuna in l.2: [παράσχες] (καὶ) Μηνᾶ ζυγ[οστάτη provides space only for a short personal name, not another office designation, so possibly we are dealing with two *zygostatai*. For the *logographos*, see Chapter Two.

¹¹⁶ *P.Lond.* V 1786.2–5: † τῷ δεσπότῃ μο(υ)τῷ μεγαλω|πρεπεστάτῳ (read μεγαλο|πρεπεστάτῳ) καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ (read ἐνδοξοτάτῳ) | στρδηλατο (read στρατηλάτῃ) Κυρίλλῳ | παρὰ τοῦ εσο(ῦ) (read σοῦ) δούλου Ἀλῶτ[ος].

¹¹⁷ The continuation of the formula that refers to the sender in *P.Lond.* V 1786.5–6 reads, according to the editor: Ἀλῶτ[ος ἀπὸ] | χορ(ίου) Καμίνων. Gonis 2008, 208 n. 31, however, has argued that the beginning of l. 6 has χοῦ instead of χορ and thus suggests εἰρηνάρ[χου] Καμίνων or κωμάρ[χου] Καμίνων, which I find convincing.

the wanted one, for which Alos is now apologizing to K.¹¹⁸ These events apparently concerned the payment of taxes, and K. therefore most probably received this letter in his capacity as pagarch, to which the involvement of a village *eirēnarchēs* or a *kōmarchēs* would lend further support.¹¹⁹ In this sort of internal correspondence, a reference to K.'s pagarchy would not be expected; instead, the writer sticks to the higher-ranking title of *stratēlatēs*. Moreover, Alos is an official of the village of Kaminoi,¹²⁰ which is known to have been under the authority of the pagarch at least in 639/640, that is, immediately before the Islamic conquest.¹²¹ Jean Gascou dated *P.Lond. V 1786* to ca. 610 CE, certainly based on the attribution to K.'s dossier, whereas Nikolaos Gonis more broadly assigned the text to the early seventh century for paleographical reasons.¹²² Since it is now known that K. was pagarch in the last decade of the sixth century, *P.Lond. V 1786* may be assigned to this period with some confidence.¹²³ The name of the subject's father, Apa Nakios, is extremely rare, and given that Alos does not name the subject but only identifies him through his father, then Apa Nakios must have been easily identifiable and this makes it at least highly probable that this is the same man who appears in *SB XXVIII 16873* (592 CE) in a loan agreement with, presumably, Strategios Paneuphemos. In this document, Strategios is not yet pagarch, which makes it even more probable that *P.Lond. V 1786* dates to the early 590s, when Kyrillos was pagarch instead.

More mysterious is *SPP VIII 1228*, which appears to contain two receipts (for taxes?) from an eleventh and a twelfth indiction, issued by “Flavius Strategios and the heirs of Kyrillos.”¹²⁴ Our knowledge of tax receipts from the Fayum at that time is (literally) very fragmentary and there is no evidence of tax receipts written in the name of pagarchs, but since now both Strategios Paneuphemos and K. are known to have been pagarchs, and since both appear collectively at the end of the two tax receipts, the hypothesis that these are receipts issued by the pagarchs and that Strategios and the heirs of K., following the latter's death, discharged the pagarchy collectively would certainly have its attraction. However, “the heirs of Kyrillos” would certainly not feature as such collectively in place of one pagarch, as the parallel evidence suggests. Therefore, it may be the responsibility for fiscal shares that is at issue in these receipts. That there was some connection between K. and

118 *P.Lond. V 1786*; cf. the editor's reconstruction and the one suggested in *BL VI 65*.

119 Cf. *P.Lond. V 1786.15–21*, esp. 19–20.

120 *W.Chr. 8* (639/640).

121 See also *SPP III² 23* (VI?), a receipt issued by a *hypodektēs* of the village of Kaminoi; on *hypodektai* under the pagarch's authority, see Chapter Two.

122 Cf. on both dates Gonis 2008, 208 n. 31. The *editio princeps* assigns the text to the fifth century.

123 According to Sophie Kovarik's dating of *P.Vindob. G 24302*, Kyrillos was pagarch of the Fayum at some period between 594–599 CE. This hypothesis assumes, however, that the occurrence of a single pagarch in a document implies that he was the *only* incumbent pagarch at the time, on which see my remarks in Chapter Four.

124 *SPP VIII 1228.4*: [-ca.-? - Στρατήγιος (καὶ) οἱ κληρονόμοι) Κυρ[ίλλου -ca.-? -] and l. 7: [-ca.-? -] Φλ(άουσιος) Στρατήγιος (καὶ) οἱ κληρονόμοι) Κ\υ/ρίλλ[ου -ca.-? -].

Strategios Paneuphemos was already apparent from *SPP* VIII 1072,¹²⁵ but since only a minor part of the document is preserved it remains unclear whether K. himself held any position within the *oikos* of Strategios or whether he issued the document—probably some sort of receipt—to a representative of Strategios’s *oikos*.¹²⁶ *SPP* X 249 is another instance of some relatedness of K. to Strategios Paneuphemos.¹²⁷ K. was probably alive until 618 CE,¹²⁸ so the eleventh and twelfth indictions of *SPP* VIII 1228 would be 622/623 and 623/624, respectively.¹²⁹ In 622/623, however, Menas Stratelates is attested as pagarch, which would fit the above suggestion that *SPP* VIII 1228 relates to the authority derived from fiscal shares.

A Kyrillos, *endoxotatos comes*, figures in *SPP* XX 140 (Arsinoe; 533) as the father of a Flavius Eustochios, possibly the *stratēlatēs* of the same name.¹³⁰ Though this Kyrillos is too early to be K., he may be his grandfather. If these two identifications hold, though both are speculative, it would again yield close connections among the Fayum elite.¹³¹

Menas Stratelates

M. is first attested in P.Vindob. G 26585 from February 20, 616,¹³² already with the elevated titles of *endoxotatos statelatēs* and pagarch of Arsinoe.¹³³ Since his personal name is fairly common throughout late antique Egypt, there has been some discussion of whether M. is the same man as other, homonymous, *stratēlatai* and *endoxotatoi stratēlatai* from the early seventh-century Fayum. Bernhard Palme has convincingly argued, however, that the epithets involved are so elevated that we are likely dealing with the same person.¹³⁴

The pagarch Menas from *SPP* III 303 has always been unanimously thought to be identical with M.; Bernhard Palme identified the document’s sixth indiction with 617/618 CE, arguing that M. would have been called *stratēlatēs* in the short form if he already was one.¹³⁵

125 *SPP* VIII 1072.1–2: Φλ(άουιος) Κύριλλος σ[ὺ]ν θ(εῶ) στρατηλ[άτης -ca.-?] | ἐνδόξου οἴκ(ου) Στρατηγίου [-ca.-?].

126 Cf. Gonis 2008, 208 n. 33, correctly dismissing a suggestion by Banaji 2007, 139 n. 36 that Kyrillos was a *stratēlatēs* of (!) Strategios’s *oikos*. Sophie Kovarik made me aware of the possibility that Kyrillos and Strategios were related by family.

127 See Gonis 2008, 207–208. Cf. Chapter Four, where I speculate whether this text illustrates the fiscal shares that the *stratēlatēs* Theodosios, Strategios Paneuphemos, K., and the heirs of Eustochios held.

128 Hoogendijk 1998, 27 n. 10 (*BL* XI 262); cf. Worp 1984, 115–116 and Diethart 1980, 361 n. 406 (the latter referring to *BGU* III 725, the latest text to have K. alive); I owe these references to Guus van Loon.

129 By contrast, Palme 1997, 122 n. 77, in order to harmonize this document with his hypothesis that Paneuphemos died shortly after 616 CE, suggests that this may be another Kyrillos and that consequently the document should be placed in an earlier indiction cycle. *SPP* VIII 1072, however, attests to K.’s connections to Strategios Paneuphemos and the name “Kyrillos” is not very common in our evidence.

130 See Gonis 2008, 208.

131 In this case, *CPR* XIX 18.3 (Arsinoites; V–VI): ὑ(πὲρ) κτ(ήματος) Κυρίλλου λαμπρο(τάτου) may also refer to an ancestor of this line.

132 Van Loon 2017.

133 Cf. *CPR* XXIV, pp. 180–181.

134 *CPR* XXIV, p. 178.

135 As for instance in *SPP* VIII 1048.1 (620 or 635 CE), an internal order from Μηνᾶς σὺν θ(εῶ) στρατηλ(άτης).

Because *CPR* XIX 32 from 622 CE was the earliest testimony for M. available to Palme, he consequently suggested that M. was given the epithet *stratēlatēs* only after *SPP* III 303. The recently published P.Vindob. G 26585¹³⁶ has settled the debate, since it shows M. as *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* as early as 616 CE—it has therefore become possible again to date *SPP* III 303 to the year 632. An explanation for the occurrence of simply “pagarch” in *SPP* III 303 may be that the transaction documented in the text was linked to a tax payment to this Menas as pagarch. In view of the Arsinoite pagarchs currently known, an identification with M. still seems the most plausible option.

It is unclear for how long M. exactly held the pagarchy. In any case it is remarkable that a man of such an exalted standing remained pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis even during the Persian occupation of Egypt, which lasted from about 619 to 629 CE. He is attested in this position in *CPR* XXIV 30 (April 27, 622) and *CPR* XIX 32 (December 29, 622).¹³⁷ In 639/640 CE, however, Theodorakios is pagarch in the Fayum, bearing the title “pagarch of Arsinoe” instead of “pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis.”¹³⁸ Consequently, M. must have stepped down or lost the pagarchy in the time span 622–639/640 CE, and the “pagarchy of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis” may possibly have been reorganized into the “pagarchy of Arsinoe” around this time.¹³⁹ *SB* I 4659 (Arsinoe; 668), often taken as an indication of a late M. and his alleged daughter Marous, has been convincingly reread by Kovarik 2014, 229 n. 68, who dismissed the reference to M.¹⁴⁰

M. was dead by the time of *SPP* III 344, a text from either 643 or 658 CE, that is, from after the Islamic conquest.¹⁴¹ Technically, a 628 date would appear to be also possible,¹⁴² but the expression “*stratēlatēs* of [!] the city of Arsinoe” appears to be a peculiarity of the early Islamic period; usually, the dignitaries were simply referred to as *stratēlatēs*, without any further definition.¹⁴³ Moreover, M. was apparently still alive at the time *SPP* III² 153 was

¹³⁶ Van Loon 2017.

¹³⁷ *SB* XXIV 16287 has generally been assigned to the period of the Persian occupation 619–629 CE due to the absence of an imperial invocation (?). But nothing can be said about the anonymous pagarch in this text, and the identification with M. is based on M.’s being the only known pagarch from the time of the Persian occupation.

¹³⁸ On this change, see Stern forthcoming (e).

¹³⁹ *BGU* II 694, attesting a pagarch Theodoros, may be part of the archive of the *oikonomos* Ioustos. If so, it should probably date to 628 CE and thus may indicate that Menas was no longer in office—assuming he was the sole pagarch.

¹⁴⁰ The restoration of the latter had already been put into question; see Palme forthcoming (a), 26 n. 87. See also Palme’s doubts about the 668 CE date (*CPR* XXIV, p. 181 n. 12).

¹⁴¹ *SPP* III 344.1–2: οὐσίας τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Μηναῖ γενωμένου (read γενομένου) στρ[ατηλάτου] | τῆς Ἀρσινουιτῶν πόλεως.

¹⁴² The dates 643 or 658 originally were based on the notion that M. was the father of Flavia Marous of *SB* I 4659 (see above) and therefore must have been alive in the 630s. This argument does no longer hold due to Kovarik’s correction (see also Kovarik 2014, 654 n. 225).

¹⁴³ See p. 164 n. 27.

written, and since this text must be from either 629 or 644, *SPP* III 344 is unlikely to be dating from 628.¹⁴⁴

There are some other texts that may relate to M. or have been cited as part of his dossier but cannot be firmly linked to him. *P.Rain.Unterricht* 111 (VII) is a writing exercise and probably relates to M. (l. 54) but does not yield any further information. The Menas in *SPP* III² 58.2 (VII) is referred to as *makarios* and therefore is unlikely to be the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* of l. 1.¹⁴⁵ In *SB* I 1449 (Byzantine), a *stratiōtes* or *stratēlatēs* Menas authorizes an inscription for the renovation of a church.¹⁴⁶ Yet another Flavius Menas appears in *SPP* III 400 (VII), which is said to be of Arsinoite or Herakleopolite origin and may thus relate either to M. or to the later Herakleopolite pagarch Menas from the late seventh century (or, of course, to someone completely different). There is no reason to identify the “former *stratēlatēs*” of *SPP* III² 72A.3 with M., as the editor did, because the text probably pertains to the latter half of the seventh century.¹⁴⁷

Strategios Paneuphemos

S. enters the scene already in possession of the highest honors the empire has to offer, regularly bearing the epithets *paneuphēmos* and *hyperphyestatos*, the highest distinctions within the highest senatorial class.¹⁴⁸ In one single instance, he is addressed as *eukleestatos*.¹⁴⁹ The documents up to 602/603 CE address him as *hypatos*, with *CPR* XXIV 26 being the last instance. *SPP* VIII 1158.1 (Arsinoites; December 12, 602; *non vidi*) supposedly has Στρατήγιος σὺν Θ(εῶ) ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων Φ[-ca.-?], but since there are some high-ranking Strategioi in this period (and possibly many “known unknowns”), the identification with S. is not as certain as one would like, given that he is nowhere else called *apo hypatōn*, but rather *hypatos*. It may be, however, that by December 12, 602, S. was not *hypatos* anymore and that *CPR* XXIV 26 may thus date from earlier than that.¹⁵⁰ On September 16, 605, S. is first attested with the *patricius* title.¹⁵¹ Possibly earlier mentions of the patriciate occur in the following texts (all from the Arsinoite nome with no date):

- *SPP* X 114.2–3: The patriciate is certain; but there is no persona name.

¹⁴⁴ If *SPP* III² 153 were placed one indiction cycle earlier, this would yield the indiction of 614/615 and thus even earlier than all other attestations.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. s.v. Kyrillos above.

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion weighing up the two possible restitutions, see *CPR* XXIV, p. 181.

¹⁴⁷ See now Kovarik 2014, 664 n. 239.

¹⁴⁸ On the variances in his titulature, see *CPR* XXIV, p. 154 (cf. Palme 1997, 102). The documents from the dossier of Strategios Paneuphemos are listed in Van Loon 2017, 129 n. 8 (cf. *P.Eirene* IV 40, p. 207 n. 9).

¹⁴⁹ *CPR* XXIV 27.8–10 (Arsinoe; 610); but see l. 17: παρὰ τῆς [ὕ]μετῆρας ὑπε[ρ]φυΐας (read ὑπερφυΐας), alluding again to the epithet *hyperphyestatos*.

¹⁵⁰ A *paneuphēmos patricius* Strategios appears in *P.Erl.* 73 (Herakleopolis; March 29, 604), which may be an even earlier testimony; on the evidence for S. beyond the Arsinoite, see below.

¹⁵¹ *P.Bodl.* I 53.

- SB I 4781: S. is pagarch here. The lacuna in l. 1, however, might have contained the title of *hypatos* instead of *patricius*; this does not help to date the text.
- SB I 5253: The patriciate is restored but certain; S. is pagarch.

It has been argued that S. never held the title of *stratēlatēs*. The fact that all other pagarchs in the Fayum are known to have been *stratēlatēs*, however, gives pause. S. is easily the most distinguished persona from that region, which is a compelling explanation for the missing title: for when S. appears in our evidence, he already bears the title *hypatos*, which would be preferred over the less distinguished *stratēlatēs*, for which the titulatures of Apion Stratelates and that of Christophoros and Strategios Stratelates offer precedents.¹⁵² Whereas the comparably high-ranking Oxyrhynchite Apiones keep all their honorary titles in their long-form titlature, S. drops the allusion to his consulship once he is *patricius*, which would speak in favor of his having been *stratēlatēs* before he was granted the *hypateia*.

S.'s personal name made him a natural candidate to be included in the stemma of the Oxyrhynchite Apiones; no firm link, however, has yet been established between them. The hypothesis that he was the husband of Praiēkte/Praiecta, the daughter (or daughter-in-law) of Apion II,¹⁵³ has now been rendered obsolete by an unpublished text from the Vienna collection.¹⁵⁴ More recently, however, Fritz Mitthof argued that S. might have been the son of a certain *patricia* Sophia, and that he was related via her to the “main branch” of the Apiones.¹⁵⁵ But S. might also have been the son or adopted son of Apion II.¹⁵⁶ Further evidence will show whether any of these hypotheses will stand. All this depends whether one identifies S. with some Strategioi in Oxyrhychos and Herakleopolis who were of comparable status; this was once unquestioned, but has in recent years come under more scrutiny.¹⁵⁷

The first document with a fixed date attesting to S.'s pagarchy is SB XXIV 16288 from June 2, 600,¹⁵⁸ though CPR XXIV 24 may be from some years earlier than that.¹⁵⁹ Subsequently, the Arsinoite evidence mostly addresses him as pagarch when appropriate until

152 B. Palme (1997, 125) argues that the anonymous *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* of SB I 4721 cannot be S. because S. has never been *stratēlates*, which is, however, modified by the above remarks.

153 For the most recent discussion, see Nikolaos Gonis in *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII, p. 173.

154 P.Vindob. G 13381+22003 (Herakleopolis; 607), showing that Praiecta was married to a Strategios, but the text is apparently too early for this Strategios to be S.; see Hickey 2012, 16 and (for provenance and date of the unpublished papyrus) Kovarik 2014, 682 n. 280.

155 This is suggested by a number of unpublished papyri. I thank Fritz Mitthof and Sophie Kovarik for making me aware of these texts.

156 *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII, pp. 173–174.

157 See Bernhard Palme in *P.Eirene* IV, pp. 207–208.

158 This text is from “the end of the third indiction,” a phrase which refers to the Arsinoite indiction year starting Epeiph 1. Since it is likely, however, that the pagarchs were installed with the start of the fiscal indiction (see Chapter Four), i.e., two months earlier on Pachon 1, S. may have been in office since Pachon 1 of the fourth (fiscal) indiction rather than since Epeiph 1 of the third (Arsinoite) indiction.

159 With the new fragment P.Vindob. G 21202, Kovarik 2014, xxiii (in Kapitel 3) has dated the text to 595–600 CE.

P.Eirene IV 40 (October 5, 614–October 4, 615).¹⁶⁰ The later documents, however, all concern third-person references linked to S.’s employees, and thus generally feature only the most distinct attribute.¹⁶¹ Until recently, he was generally thought to have died in office, which did no little to enforce the hypothesis about a lifelong tenure for pagarchs. The new *P.Vindob. G 26585*, published by Guus van Loon (2017), suggests, however, that S. was still alive on February 20, 616, when Menas Stratelates (see below) is first attested as pagarch of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis. But the reference in this new text is only to S.’s *oikos* and thus we would not expect to find a reference to the pagarchy here anyway. Therefore, the papyrus does not prove that S. was no longer pagarch; he could have held the pagarchy jointly with Menas. The distribution of the evidence between Strategios Paneuphemos and Menas as pagarchs, however, appears to make this unlikely, since their attestations do not overlap, but new papyri may change this picture completely. Furthermore, the *patricius* in *SPP X 249.9* (ca. 620?) is most probably S.¹⁶² and may show him in his responsibility for fiscal shares apart from the pagarchy, as does probably *SPP VIII 1228*, here very probably already under the Persian regime.¹⁶³

Finally, there are some texts whose connection to S. is uncertain. The attribution of *SB I 4815* to this dossier is far from certain, since the provenance and date of this text were established on the assumption that this Flavius Strategios is S. Bernhard Palme has put *P.Oxy. XVI 1829* into this dossier as well, but there is little way to be sure.¹⁶⁴ Guus van Loon has pointed to a small dossier of texts relating to a *comes* Georgios, *antigeouchos* of S., which sheds further light the structure of the latter’s Arsinoite estates.¹⁶⁵ Comparable here is a posthumous appearance in *CPR XXIV 33.6* (653 CE), which refers to the *antigeouchos* [τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου () τοῦ τῆς πανευφ(ήμου) μνήμης Στρατ(?)]ηγίου γενομένου παγάρχου). Eta seems certain and I consider the restoration of Strategios’s name as the only likely possibility with this ending, but the *endoxos oikos* is doubtful since this would be the only attestation of this institution after the Islamic conquest. Notable here is, however, the reference to a “former pagarch” instead of the form that would have been expected under Byzantine administration, “former *patricius*.” The *patricius* of *SB XXIV 16222*, however,

¹⁶⁰ When the title of pagarch is omitted during this period, it is in all cases due to the use of a short form that only employs the most distinctive title or honorific; its use is accounted for either by the documentary character or because the attestation was a third-person reference: *SPP VIII 1158* (602), which is in any case fragmentary, appears to be an internal order for payment, using the honorific *apo hypatōn*. *CPR XXIV 26.3–5* (602/603) and *P.Erl. 73.9–12* (604) refer to S.’s *oikos*. *SPP X 114.2–3* (after 602/603) employs the short form to mark the ownership of an *epoikion*. *SB XIV 15899.6–7* (608) and *SPP XX 209.7–9* (610) refer to S.’s employees.

¹⁶¹ Although Sophie Kovarik has made me aware of the unpublished *P.Vindob. G 50349*, which may attest S. alive on May 11, 619.

¹⁶² Gonis 2008, 208.

¹⁶³ On this text, see s.v. Kyrillos above.

¹⁶⁴ See below: “An anonymous pagarch dead in office.”

¹⁶⁵ Van Loon 2017, 139–140.

contrary to the editor's opinion, is most likely Athanasios, the *dux et Augustalis* of the Thebaid.¹⁶⁶

Strategios Stratelates

See s.v. Christophoros & Strategios Stratelates.

Theodorakios

T. appears first as pagarch in the receipt *W.Chr.* 8, which dates from 639/640 and concerns requisitions for military purposes. This text is mostly taken to illustrate Byzantine preparations in regard to the Islamic conquest, but Federico Morelli recently suggested that this text may in fact date from the time when the patriarch Kyros, as de facto authority in Egypt, recognized the Arab rule.¹⁶⁷

T.'s dossier (all these texts are legal documents, or documents styled as such) has been assembled and discussed in *CPR* XXIV, pp. 197–199, but the editor based some of his arguments on the assumption that the use of *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos* in different texts reflects a hierarchical development.¹⁶⁸ In two texts from 643 and 644 CE, T. is an *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* and pagarch¹⁶⁹ and in *W.Chr.* 8, T. is addressed as *megaloprepestatos* pagarch only. Based on this supposed development, the editor dates *SB* I 4856, cautiously, to before 643 because T. appears only as *megaloprepestatos* pagarch in this papyrus.¹⁷⁰ Then, however, the editor discusses *CPR* VII 51 (629 or 644 CE) and opts for dating it to 629, arguing convincingly that T. is in this document referred to by a patronym and is not yet addressed as pagarch. In this document, T. is, however, not *megaloprepestatos*, as would be expected with the theory mentioned above, but *endoxotatos*.¹⁷¹ It is therefore possible, maybe even likely that Theodorakios also in *W.Chr.* 8 was an *endoxotatos stratēlatēs*, but was not

¹⁶⁶ Edition: Hoogendijk 1998; for the identification with Athanasios, see Morelli 2008b.

¹⁶⁷ Morelli 2010, 155 n. 65. On Kyros and his relationship to the invaders, see Gascoü 1983, 98–99 (= 2008, 100–101).

¹⁶⁸ *CPR* XXIV, p. 197 n. 3. On this argument, see Chapter Five.

¹⁶⁹ *P.Ross.Georg.* III 50 (July 21, 643) and *BGU* I 320 (February 9, 644).

¹⁷⁰ On this text, see the corrections in Jördens 1992, 288. It is not beyond doubt that *megaloprepestatos* refers to the Theodorakios of this text.

¹⁷¹ It is, of course, also possible that the Theodorakios of *CPR* VII 51 is not the pagarch, but the personal name does not appear to be very common and two men of the same name from the rank of *endoxotatos* in the same nome would be very remarkable.

addressed as such.¹⁷² The date of his last attestation, *CPR* XXIV 32 (May 4, 651), is put into doubt by Kovarik 2014, 95 n. 91, based on a reading I have not been able to check.¹⁷³

Although it seems to be unlikely, it cannot be excluded that T. was identical to the pagarch of the same name who was active in the Herakleopolite nome, also early after the Islamic conquest. The editor of *CPR* XXIV argues (p. 199) that they had different fathers, but this is not certain. The Herakleopolite pagarch was in office jointly with a certain Christophoros (*SB* VI 9576 and VIII 9751),¹⁷⁴ who was the son of an Apa Kyros (*SB* VIII 9750), who was also a pagarch (*SB* VIII 9749 and 9755).¹⁷⁵

Theodoros (Arsinoe)

T. is referred to as “my pagarch”¹⁷⁶ by a church *notarius* in *BGU* II 694 and received some wine from the addressed church *oikonomos* for a festivity. It is unclear in what role he appears here. The text is *possibly* to be connected to the dossier of the *oikonomos* Ioustos,¹⁷⁷ which spans from 621 to 635, and in this case, Choiak 30 of the second indiction would relate to December 27, 628.¹⁷⁸ Assuming that Menas Stratelates was sole pagarch of the Fayum, T.’s presence in *BGU* II 694 may then indicate that Menas’s pagarchy ended even before the Byzantine reconquest.

Anonymi

Several anonymous pagarchs can be found in the Arsinoite papyri of the sixth century. Some of the texts can be dated to a year (fixed date or only the year is certain) and are therefore included in the tables for the tenures in Section II of Chapter Four, where possible matches are also discussed.¹⁷⁹

172 Cf. the verso of *P.Lond.* V 1786, where the *endoxotatos stratēlatēs* Kyrillos (see l. 3–4) is, on the verso, simply rendered as *megaloprepestatos stratēlatēs*; or simply *megaloprepestatos*, as *stratēlatēs* is entirely in a lacuna, and there is no image available to check the length of that line. The *stratēlateia* never stands alone with *megaloprepestatos*. It appears that in this period, the epithet to go with a pagarchy only was *megaloprepestatos*; cf. *PSI* I 52. The Antaiopolite pagarchs of the sixth century and the Arcadian pagarchs Antiochos and Theon are called *lamprotatos* only.

173 I would for another reason argue for an earlier date: It seems questionable that T. would have been named *illoustrios* after having already been *stratēlatēs*; see Chapter Five on the hierarchy of these titles. But perhaps the early Islamic period saw changes in the use of these titles that made the *illoustrios* title ranking higher than the *stratēlateia*.

174 Another text to be added to the dossier of the Herakleopolite pagarch Christophoros is *SB* VI 9154, in which l. 2 should probably read γενομένου παγ[άρχου]. On the photo, I can clearly spot pi and then possibly a connection (alpha) to a gamma that descends below the line, as is generally the case in this text.

175 Note again how in *SB* VIII 9749, 9750, and 9755, Apa Kyros’s epithets switch between *megaloprepestatos* and *endoxotatos*.

176 *BGU* II 694.3: Θεοδώρω παγάρ(χω) ἐμῆν (read ἐμῶ). The mistake may be explained by a grammatical adaptation to the “pseudo-feminine” singular παγάρχην plus a confusion of case. The shorthand παγαρ/ (i.e., the word is abbreviated before chi) is not uncommon.

177 Kovarik 2007, 153.

178 628 CE was a leap year.

179 *SB* I 4721, *SB* XVIII 13952, *CPR* XIX 14+P.Vindob. G 25638, P.Berol. 5587.

ARCADIA II: OXYRHYNCHOS¹⁸⁰**The Apiones and Anastasia: the “pagarching” magnates**

The “pagarching” magnates Strategios II, Apion II, and Apion III are part of the Apiones clan.¹⁸¹ Scholarly literature on the prosopography of the Apiones is legion and there is no need to reproduce the debates here.¹⁸² For clarification, I shall only note that I separate the Oxyrhynchite Apiones from the Arsinoite aristocrats, notably Apion Stratelates and Strategios Paneuphemos, who were probably somehow related to the “Apiones.” I take these to be not identical, but probably rather part of different branches of the same family.¹⁸³

The only other instance of a “pagarching” landlord is Flavia Anastasia, whose links to the Apiones are still not very clear.¹⁸⁴ She is an *endoxotatē illoustria*, but is also referred to as *hyperphyeia*.¹⁸⁵ Her father was the *endoxotatos illoustrios* Menas, son of Eudaimon,¹⁸⁶ who stood in some obscure relation to the Apion estate.¹⁸⁷ The *endoxotatos* Ioustos is a good candidate to have been her uncle,¹⁸⁸ which generates some speculations about the timeline of Anastasia’s “pagarching” responsibility, resulting in her *floruit* being dated to the 580s and 590s (see s.v. Ptolemaios and Ioustos below). This situation fits the fact that Anastasia does not appear in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 (566/567?) but does in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020 (580s¹⁸⁹). In this context, Anastasia’s relation to the village Ieme is noteworthy. Was the village “independent” or did it possess some special status, but was later “pagarched” by Anastasia? Ieme appears in the earlier list *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 as the only village contributor but is missing from the later *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, where Anastasia appears. Ieme is the only village that is known in connection to Anastasia and is thus the only available candidate for a village “pagarched” by her.¹⁹⁰ The

¹⁸⁰ This section of my prosopographical notes ignores most of the men and women assembled in Gascou 1985, 70–71 n. 33 (= 2008, 49–50 n. 33) who were included therein by virtue of their being *illoustrios* or *illoustria*, respectively, which the author originally assumed to be synonymous with the pagarchy. Although he deleted this explicit assumption from the later version of the original article, the revised version still bears many traces of it, such as this list. The Oxyrhynchite pagarch Ioulianos from *PSI* I 52 is probably to be dated to the early Islamic period; see s.v. below.

¹⁸¹ The unknown *geouchōn* from *P.Oxy.* LXX 4802 is most likely Apion III.

¹⁸² For references, see p. 15 n. 43 above.

¹⁸³ On this discussion, see the introduction to the Arsinoe section above.

¹⁸⁴ *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204; on her, see *P.Oxy.* LXIX, p. 210.

¹⁸⁵ *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204.18.

¹⁸⁶ On Eudaimon, see Gonis 2002a, 93–97.

¹⁸⁷ *PSI* VIII 955+*SB* XX 15181 (if this is Menas; see on this text s.v. Anonymous below); *PSI* VIII 956.20; and *P.Erl.* 120.7–8, where Menas and Apion II possibly occur as joint *prostatai* (Gonis 2002a, 96).

¹⁸⁸ Gonis 2002a, 95–96.

¹⁸⁹ On the date, see Gonis 2002a, 95–96.

¹⁹⁰ *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4757 (undated) features Ieme (as Ειέμη); the passage that would potentially have contained the *pagarchoumenē* formula is lost. In *P.Oxy.* XXIV 3204 (January 2, 588), written by the same man, Ieme may be restored in ll. 11–12: ἀπὸ | [κώμης Ειέμη πα]γαρχουμένης. In *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4756.9 (March 10, 590), where a short village name (not *pagarchoumenē*) is lost, it does not seem possible to restore ἀπὸ κώμης Ειέμη] because the traces after the lacuna do not fit etc.

links proposed tentatively by Nikolaos Gonis may even link Anastasia's family and a significant portion of the Oxyrhynchite nobility to Antaiopolite nobles.¹⁹¹ Her archive is currently being prepared for publication by Todd Hickey.

Ioulianos (Oxyrhynchos)

I. appears in *PSI* I 52. For the date of this text, see Chapter Three. There are no compelling identifications to suggest. I. need not be identical with the "lord Ioulianos" who is accused of having taken something unjustly in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1865 (VI).¹⁹² A more likely candidate for this "lord" is the *stratēlatēs* of the same name (*P.Oxy.* LV 3805 col. VI 73: after 566 CE), since we are probably dealing with military requisitions.¹⁹³ Less likely candidates for the Ioulianos of *P.Oxy.* XVI 1865 are the *nomikarios* (*P.Oxy.* VIII 1131.2 and 16: VI), or the *pronoētēs* (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1913.12, 38, and 43: ca. 555 CE).

Ptolemaios & Ioustos

P. and I., both *endoxotatoi*, appear in connection with the pagarchy in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040, a list of contributions, and in a comparable context without the pagarchy in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020. I. is probably the *endoxotatos comes* Ioustos, son of Eudaimon, who appears in several papyri and may have been linked to Anastasia, granddaughter of a Eudaimon.¹⁹⁴ P. was apparently dead by the time of both *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 and 2020, while I. was apparently alive at the time of the former but dead at the time of the latter. *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020 would thus have to be assigned to sometime after 576/577, the date of *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2195,¹⁹⁵ which would match Anastasia's *floruit* in the 580s and 590s, given the alternation of generations.

Theodoros (Oxyrhynchos)

T. is the only known Oxyrhynchite ever to be explicitly hailed as pagarch before the Islamic conquest of 639–642. He figures in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858, where a *chartouarios* hails him as "my master and in every respect *megaloprepestatos*, worthy of every honor and praise, D. V., *prostatēs* Theodoros, *comes* and pagarch."¹⁹⁶ The editor proposed that T. is identical with the

¹⁹¹ Gonis 2002a, 95–97, who concedes, however, that this must remain speculation. See also the potential identification of the pagarch Kometes of *SB* XVI 12370 with the homonymous *endoxotatos* of *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020 and 2040.

¹⁹² Jean Gascou's (1985, 70–71 n. 33 = 2008, 49–50 n. 33) identification of I. with the "lord" Ioulianos of *P.Oxy.* XVI 1865 is presumably based on the fact that this man "seized" property.

¹⁹³ See *P.Oxy.* XVI 1865, 10–11, which is hardly metaphorical. This does not mean, however, that the *stratēlateia* was a military office, but the honorary title by which to identify Ioulianos in this context.

¹⁹⁴ Gonis 2002a, 93–97.

¹⁹⁵ Gonis 2002a, 95–96.

¹⁹⁶ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858.7: δεσπό(τη) ἐμ\ῶ/ τὰ πά(ντα) μ(ε)γ(αλο)πρεπεστά(τω) πά(σης) τιμ(ῆς) (καὶ) πρ(ο)σ(υ)νήσεως ἀξίω γνη(σίω) με(τὰ) θ(εόν) προστά(τη) Θεοδώρω κόμε(τι(?)) (καὶ) παγάρχ(ω).

lamprotatos meizoterōs who is addressed and referred to in several papers from the archive of Biktor the *antigeouchos*.¹⁹⁷

The differing titles should give us pause, however: on the one hand is a *megaloprepestatos prostatēs*, *comes*, and pagarch, on the other a *lamprotatos comes* and *meizoterōs*. A link other than just the name is only to be found in a comparison of *P.Oxy.* XVI 1857 and 1858, which address Theodoros *meizoterōs* and T., respectively, both adding the *comes* title: both letters open by referring to their Theodoros as “your *prostatikē megaloprepeia*,”¹⁹⁸ which may appear to suggest that the *meizoterōs* Theodoros was also *prostatēs* and *megaloprepestatos* even though he is only termed *lamprotatos* in the address. This is, however, more easily explained by the fact that both papyri are written in the same hand, which is that of the *chartouarios* Menas. In this light, the formula “your *prostatikē megaloprepeia*” from l. 1 in each papyrus seems to be a signature phrase of Menas’s that probably should be understood in a general sense: “your protecting magnificence” or similar.¹⁹⁹ Therefore, it may be conceivable that Menas was deliberately attempting to distinguish Theodoros, the *meizoterōs*, from Theodoros, the pagarch, by using distinctive epithets in the addresses, whereas there was less need to do so in the main text. Indeed, the comparison also shows that *prostatēs* in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858 takes the same place in the address as *adelphos* (“brother” or “fellow”) in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1857, which suggests that *prostatēs* does not designate an actual position, but serves as a polite form of addressing a higher-ranking authority, as Federico Morelli suggested based on other material.²⁰⁰

The title of *comes* is not specific enough as to immediately suggest the identity of two individuals named Theodoros, which is a very common name throughout that period.²⁰¹ Still, since none of the texts belonging to this dossier has a fixed date, one cannot exclude the possibility that the *lamprotatos meizoterōs* Theodoros was promoted and henceforth

¹⁹⁷ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1849; 1850; 1851; 1852; 1857; LVI 3871. In these cases, the identity seems comparatively certain due to the people involved, Theodoros’s parallel epithets, and the content of the documents. This man may be identical with the Theodoros who figures in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1861.9 and *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480.3, 13, and 16—who is *meizoterōs* but lacks any other distinctive epithets and is active in the Kynopolite. The *tribunus* Theodoros from l. 29 in the same document, however, may well be another person, as Lajos Berkes has argued contra Todd Hickey (see Berkes 2017a, 58 n. 180). There are also two other Theodoroi in ll. 99 and 129, who illustrate the frequency of this personal name and thus serve to strengthen Berkes’s point that the name is too common to allow the *prostatēs* to be identified with the *meizoterōs*.

¹⁹⁸ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1857.1: τῆ ὑμετέρᾳ προστατικῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858.1: τῆς ὑμετέρας προστατικῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας.

¹⁹⁹ This translation is used by the editor. Cf. two of the letters from Biktor the *antigeouchos* to Theodoros the *meizoterōs* that refer to Theodoros as “your worthy brotherliness” (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1849.1: ἡ ὑμετέρα γνησία ἀδελφότης) and “your worthy *lamprotēs*” (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1852.1: τῆς ὑμετέρας γνησίας λαμπρότητος) instead of “your *prostatikē megaloprepeia*” (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1857 and 1858).

²⁰⁰ Morelli 2008b, 151 and n. 39 for a reference to *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858.

²⁰¹ Berkes 2017a, 99 n. 93 raised doubts about the editor’s identification because of the common name.

entitled to the epithet *megaloprepestatos*, when he took over the pagarchy.²⁰² But even if *P.Oxy.* XVI 1858 forms our only testimony for the pagarch Theodoros, the relation of this text to the Biktor archive, and thus its connection with the Apion estate in Oxyrhynchos and Kynopolis, is certain,²⁰³ and places the text into the early seventh century. A *megaloprepestatos* lord Theodoros, the *princeps*, appears in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1108 (late VI–VII), and two men of that name who are *endoxotatos* are addressed in *SB* XXIV 16312 (Oxyrhynchos; October 12, 549?),²⁰⁴ but again, the name is too common to make these identifications anything but speculative.

Anonymous

The edited text of *PSI* VIII 955+*SB* XX 15181, part of the Apiones archive, yields an unnamed *endoxotatos illustrios* as pagarch. No Apion is ever referred to as *illustrios* in our evidence, so this man would supposedly either be another non-Apionic pagarch or a high-ranking employee of the Apion estate, filling the post for his master as Theodoros perhaps did. The restoration of a pagarch in *PSI* VIII 955.39: μετ]ᾶ τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἰλλουστρ(ίου) παγ[άρχου? raises serious doubts, however.²⁰⁵ The term *illustrios* is never used as an epithet in this context but is instead always styled as a proper title that would be expected to be linked to πάγαρχος via καί, which is obvious in, e.g., the Antaiopolite tax receipts.²⁰⁶ The contrast becomes evident in *P.Flor.* III 298, where in l. 13 *illustrios* is *not* followed by another title and therefore abbreviated without a καί siglum but instead with a simple horizontal stroke.²⁰⁷ This pattern is also followed in Coptic with ⲗϣⲱ, e.g., in *P.Lond.* IV 1508.5: ⲡⲒⲗⲞϮ(ϪⲦⲦⲒⲞϪ) ⲗϣⲱ ⲡⲡⲗⲒⲁⲣϪ(ⲞϪ).

202 The link of the epithet *megaloprepestatos*, which is not a rank epithet in the strict sense, to the title of pagarch seems to be a development of the early seventh century or may be an Arcadian particularity; see p. 272 n. 172 above.

203 See most explicitly *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3954.8–11, which provides the explicit link between the *dioikētēs* Georgios and the estates of Apion III.

204 One is an *endoxotatos comes domesticorum* and former *dux et Augustalis*, the other an *endoxotatos illustrios* and *curator domus divinae*.

205 Pace Hickey 2012, 108 n. 69, who in a comparable case bases his arguments on the obsolete hypothesis that the title *illustrios* links to the pagarchy. For the restoration of μετ]ᾶ, see Hickey 2012, 107 n. 68.

206 See Stern forthcoming (c). For an obvious instance outside of the pagarchs' titles, see *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 fol. VIII recto 22, where πρεσβ(υτέρου) (καὶ) διοικ(ητοῦ) should be read, as correct in the edition, but not in subsequent transcriptions.

207 There is no room for [παγ(άρχου)] at the beginning of l. 14 and this title would also not be expected to occur in this context; see Stern forthcoming (c), s.v. Gennadios.

UNKNOWN NOME

Antiochos & Theon (Arcadia)

In *P.Mich.* XI 624 (Arcadia; early VI), the pagarchs A. and T. are not referred to with epithets but, in the third person, with the polite addresses “my lords (and) brothers [i.e., fellows].”²⁰⁸ The sender was most likely an official from the presidial or ducal bureau (see the commentary), and the choice of address suggests that A. and T. had about the same rank as the writer, probably *lamprotatos*, at most *peribleptos*.²⁰⁹ The provenance of the text is unknown, yet the sender appeals to the addressee as follows: “And inform my lords (and) brothers Antiochos and Theon, the pagarchs, that I have conveyed without delay their fiscal report (*anaphora*) while my lord, the *ab actis*, was not in Herakleopolis but in Arsinoe.”²¹⁰ As it appears that the presence of the *ab actis* in Herakleopolis is expected, the case is most plausibly to be located there and, consequently, the city alluded to in the following phrase is likely to be Herakleopolis: “Be good and have all the hay transported while you are still in the city, and remind the said men, that is, Antiochos and Theon, to provide their donkeys for its transportation as announced.”²¹¹ This demand appears to presuppose the presence of the pagarchs in the city, and therefore A. and T. should probably be taken as the pagarchs of Herakleopolis.

There are two intriguing possible identifications, if A. and T. are compared with the example of Menas Scrinarius and Theodoros (Oxyrhynchos), who might have been pagarchs by virtue of their employment by a large estate: in one account from the Apion estate, an Antiochos *epikeimenos* occurs,²¹² and T. may have been a *comes* and *dioikētēs* of the Apion estate or an Oxyrhynchite *politeuomenos* and *pater civitatis*.²¹³ However, neither identification can build on more than the plausible scenario and the fairly uncommon personal name. In any case, both A. and T. must be located in the province of Arcadia.

208 *P.Mich.* XI 624.8–9: τοῖς κυρίοις μου ἀδελφοῖς Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ | Θέωνι τοῖς παγάρχοις.

209 The address as *kyrios* (Lat. *dominus*) was originally reserved for the highest aristocratic class but from 400 CE it also appears with lower classes (Koch 1903, 82–83), so it is not decisive in our case; cf. the Antaiopolite pagarch Menas, who is regularly addressed as *kyrios* and *lamprotatos*.

210 *P.Mich.* XI 624.8–11: καὶ μετάδος τοῖς κυρίοις μου ἀδελφοῖς Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ | Θέωνι τοῖς παγάρχοις ὡς παραυτὰ μηδὲν μελλήσας ὑπέβαλα τὴν ἀναφορὰν | αὐτῶν, τοῦ κυρ(ίου) μου τοῦ ἀβάκτης μὴ ὄντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ | τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν.

211 *P.Mich.* XI 624.13–15: καταξίωσον δὲ ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τυγχάνοντος ποιῆσαι ὄλον | τὸν χόρτον κοβαλευθῆναι, ὑπομνήσας τοὺς αὐτοὺς, τουτέστιν Ἀντιόχον καὶ Θέωνα, | τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν παρασχῖν (read παρασχεῖν) πρὸς μετ[α]φορὰν τούτων καθὼς καὶ ἐπηγγίλατο (read ἐπηγγείλατο).

212 *P.Oxy.* LV 3805.118 (late VI): δ(ιὰ) Ἀντιόχου ἐπικ(ειμένου); cf. the estate account *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2195.55 (576/577?: καὶ ἀπὸ δικαίο(υ) Ἀντιόχο(υ), and l. 132: δι(ὰ) Ἀντιόχο(υ) χορτοπαραλήμπτ(ου). The *scholastikos* Antiochos, presumably part of the presidial staff in *PSI* VIII 891.12 (V–VI), would fit the pattern, but there is no other argument for identification; see also the *embolatōr* Antiochos in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1999.1–2 (VI–VII).

213 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1908.11 (VI–VII): δ(ιὰ) [τ]οῦ κόμ(ετος) Θέωνος διοικ(ητοῦ) and *SB* XX 14987.2–3 (IV–VI?): Θέωνι πολιτευομένῳ | πατρὶ πόλεως.

Kallinikos (Hermopolis?)

K. is referred to in *P.Münch.* III 152 without any status designation.²¹⁴ This is somewhat surprising, as this is a tax receipt, where an epithet is usually added to the title of pagarch if he is identified by name;²¹⁵ therefore, one may suspect either a comparatively low rank such as *lamprotatos* or that the title of pagarch was modified afterward where the text is illegible.²¹⁶ There are several possible matches that may point to K.'s being from the same milieu of provincial bureaucrats as Menas Scrinarius and Kollouthos Cancellarius, all of which are from Hermopolis: in *SB XX* 14169, the *comes* Kallinikos issues a receipt to a man who is *thausasiōtatos*. The latter's function in relation to the village of Telbonthis mentioned in the document is lost, but given that the receipt concerns the *dēmosia* of the village, this man may have been the *boēthos* of Telbonthis.²¹⁷ This Kallinikos is represented by a *scriniarius* and an *exceptor*, which probably means that this Kallinikos was a high ranking official in the provincial administration, rather than a pagarch. A more likely match is the *lamprotatos* Kallinikos from *SB XIV* 11353: he writes to an *archiphrouros* (who apparently acts as a debt collector) that he has received the *dēmosia* of the village of Tamenois through a certain Oros. This Kallinikos may in turn be identical with a number of Kallinikoi who appear in similar contexts in matters pertaining to the collection of taxes.²¹⁸ There is also a Kallinikos who signs *P.Lond.* III 1083 (VI–VII), possibly in the context of the fiscal dues of an estate or the pagarchy.²¹⁹ The name is not very common in late antique Egypt. An identification of K. with the homonymous brother of the Antinoopolite pagarch Kollouthos²²⁰ would be tempting but speculative. Jairus Banaji points to the possibility of

214 *P.Münch.* III 152.3–4: Φλ(άουιος) Καλλίνικος πάγαρχος | σεσημείωμαι. The title of pagarch might have been followed by the name of the city or, more likely, that of a subordinate official “through” (δία) whom Kallinikos acted, but the traces are faint and difficult to make sense of.

215 But cf. *P.Leid.Inst.* 72.5: Φλ(άουιος) Κολλούθως ἐξκ(έπτωρ) (καὶ) πάγαρχ(ος) Αντι(νόου).

216 Cf. Ioannes's and Serenos's “pagarch of the two-thirds/one-third share of Antaiopolis.”

217 Cf. *P.Lond.* III 1035, a similar receipt issued by a *magister* to the *thausasiōtatos boēthos* of the village of Sinape (l. 1). The fact that a *magister* issues a receipt here possibly links the document to the provincial bureau. *Thausasiōtatos* is a common epithet for village *boēthoi*; see *P.Lond.* V 1753 and probably *BGU XII* 2196.

218 *SB XVI* 12699 (501–516): the *ekdikos* of Hermopolis acknowledges that a *lamprotatos* Kallinikos has paid for the “cleaning” (ἀνακάθαρσις) of the city. *SPP III* 369 (IV–V): a Flavius Kallinikos appears in a fragmentary papyrus of obscure context, but the reference to a κεφαλή, ἀποχή, and the λογιστεία (cf. Gonis 2000b) suggest that it is probably about taxes. *SPP VIII* 989 (V–VI): a *lamprotatos* Kallinikos orders the *boēthos* of Tamenois (the same village as in *SB XIV* 11353 mentioned above!) to remunerate some guards (*phrouroi*). *SPP VIII* 1049 (VI): a fragmentary text of obscure content sent by a Kallinikos, but the document mentions again the village Tamenois and the position of the indiction before (!) the amount of money may suggest a fiscal context. *SPP VIII* 1050 (VI): a *lamprotatos* Kallinikos sends an order of payment for a soldier (*scutarius*) to the *boēthos*, again, of Tamenois.

219 The (hypothetical) pagarchs would be the *stratēlatēs* Theodoros and the *comes* Olybrios. It would otherwise be hard to explain why they would be named here together. Admittedly they need not be on the same hierarchical level to be brothers and heirs of an estate—still, the apparent gap between a *stratēlatēs* and a simple *comes* is notable.

220 See Ruffini 2011, s.v. Kallinikos 17.

identifying K. with the *comes* Kallinikos in *P.Ant.* III 189 (Antinoopolis; VI–VII), a list of wanted persons.²²¹ But there is no institutional link to the pagarchy here apart from the fact that the phrasing “his villages” points to some sort of official responsibility.²²²

Neilammon (Arsinoe?)

In *SPP* VIII 1061, said to be from the Arsinoite nome, an estate *pronoētēs* is ordered to send a considerable amount of hay to the pagarch Neilammon. This amount consists of 60 *gomoi* (“shiploads”) and thus probably refers to the grain tax that was to be sent to Alexandria. Neilammon does not bear any other titles, though an epithet or rather a reference to “Flavius” may be hidden in the traces in l. 2. The sender and estate owner to whom the payment was due goes by the exceptionally rare name Sitta, son of Asaar. There are only seven other attestations of a Sitta in the *PN* and only one of a man called Asar (*sic*), but there is no particular reason to identify Sitta, son of Asaar, or his father with any of them. The text is said to date to the sixth century (no photo is available), but it should give pause that the estate owner is identified by his filiation only. A Byzantine landowner owing such a large amount of grain to the state—and this does presumably not even encompass an entire year, may be assumed to hold a rank of at least *lamprotatos*, and people of this rank generally do not identify by their filiation because their titles are sufficiently distinctive. Is this text from the early Islamic period? A possible, but speculative, match from the sixth century may be Flavius Neilammonas in *P.Prag.* I 34.5 (Arsinoe; VI).

An anonymous pagarch dead in office (Arcadia)

In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, two letters or drafts of letters are preserved that share roughly the same content but have different addressees.²²³ Following the death of someone who held a pagarchy, the writer addresses the late man’s son (who is the brother of the writer’s female master) and his child-in-law or his sibling-in-law²²⁴ concerning the records of the late man’s pagarchy.²²⁵

The address on the back “to Flavius Strategios, *endoxotatos* and *hyperphyestatos* and *hyperphyestatos* and *paneuphēmos*” is in any case not complete (the epithets are not accompanied by any title) and stands amid some illegible lines of shorthand or writing exercises. The letter speaks of a married couple, the husband of which would be the formal

²²¹ Banaji 2007, 165, but cf. his Appendix 4, with reservations.

²²² Cf. Gonis 1998, whose suggestion would imply that it is Kallinikos himself who is to look for these men on his estate.

²²³ For this text and much of the following, see the most profound discussion of this text in Palme 1998, although most of the links and hypotheses have since been made obsolete by new evidence; see Palme’s short review of the issue in *P.Eirene* IV, p. 207.

²²⁴ It has not previously been taken into account that *πενθερός*, although mostly meaning “son-in-law,” may also refer more generally to someone related by marriage, such as a brother-in-law; see *LSJ*, s.v.

²²⁵ Cf. the reports that the pagarchs Antiochos and Theon are required to send to the provincial office in *P.Mich.* XI 624.

heir and his wife would be the daughter-in-law of the deceased pagarch(y holder). In an alternative scenario, two Strategioi were being addressed, one of them *endoxotatos* and *hyperphyestatos*, the other *hyperphyestatos* and *paneuphēmos*. The latter would be difficult to identify with anyone other than Strategios Paneuphemos given the highly distinguished epithets in connection with a not very common name. The other Strategios was *endoxotatos* and *hyperphyestatos* and the link to the writer's *despotē*, an *endoxotatē kyra*, may thus be that she was the wife of this Strategios, which would make Strategios Paneuphemos the brother-in-law of this *endoxotatos* Strategios. But this scenario seems to depend too much on a complicated interpretation of the confused "address" on the verso.

It is also unclear to which pagarchy the document refers. The letter is obviously a draft and has never been sent out in this form. The writer was obviously a representative or an envoy of the late pagarch's family in the provincial capital, where the *praeses Arcadiae* approved the records of this man's pagarchy. This situation entails that it is uncertain whether the pagarchy in question relates to the Oxyrhynchite, Arsinoite, Herakleopolite, or yet another Arcadian pagarchy, although these three are the most likely candidates, given the distribution of the late antique papyri.

Anonymi (Thebaid)

In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068, two (or more?) pagarchs referred to as "our *lamprotatoi* masters" are present in Antinoopolis, but it is not clear whether this is a permanent residence or an occasional stay.²²⁶ They may be pagarchs of Antinoopolis, as Gelzer proposed,²²⁷ but they may also have been there in order to consult or report to the provincial administration.²²⁸ The letter was written by a certain Phoibammon, who refers to Hermopolis as "my city," and was sent to Dioskoros, who may still have been resident of Aphrodite at that time, given that the sender alludes to Dioskoros's recent presence in the village of Euphrosynos. Therefore, Hermopolis and Antaiopolis would be alternatives for the pagarchs' administrative allocation.

Anonymous (Lykopolis?)

In the Coptic letter *P.Sarga* 107, four sucking-pigs are to be given to "the pagarch's bride." The text is assigned to the sixth century for paleographical reasons and comes from Wadi Sarga, ca. 15 miles south of Lykopolis.

²²⁶ *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67068.10: τοὺς λαμπρ[οτάτου]ς ἡμῶν δεσ[πότη]τας παγάρχους.

²²⁷ Gelzer 1913b, 361.

²²⁸ For a comparable situation, see *P.Mich.* XI 624.

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BL

Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten, 1922–

*CSBE*²

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Leiden 2004.

LSJ

H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1996
= 1940.

nFWB

*Mehrsprachiges Online-Wörterbuch zum Fachwortschatz der Verwaltungssprache des
griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Ägypten:*

http://www.organapapyrologica.net/content/dictionary_start.xed

PN

The Papyrological Navigator: <http://www.papyri.info/search>

TM

Trismegistos: <http://www.trismegistos.org/>

WB

F. Preisigke and E. Kießling (eds.), *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden, mit
Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw. aus
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APF

Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, 1901–

BASP

The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, 1963–

BIFAO

Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1901–

CdÉ

Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1925–

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JHS

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JJP

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