

Constantinos Balamoshev

The Jews of Oxyrhynchos Address the «Strategos» of the Nome : An Early Fourth-Century Document

The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 47, 27-43

2017

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

Constantinos Balamoshev

**THE JEWS OF OXYRHYNCHOS
ADDRESS THE *STRATEGOS* OF THE NOME:
AN EARLY FOURTH-CENTURY DOCUMENT**

THE PAPYRUS EDITED HERE belongs to the collection of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University).¹ According to its acquisition history it was purchased from ‘Dr Kondilios’ by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff and Charles Bradford Welles in Cairo in 1931 before 10 February, with funds donated by Edward Stephen Harkness and Horatio McLeod Reynolds. The image shows a dark-brown fragment of uneven shape containing 9 lines, all of which are incomplete, with the best portions being lines 1–4. The text runs along the fibres. The verso side is blank. An upright cursive script is employed, often seen in other documents of the period, with the date together with the consulate formula explicitly stated in the first three lines of the text, viz. 17 August 309. For similarities in script, cf., for example, P. Duke inv. 16 ined. (307).

The document is important in two aspects: first, it adds a further year-in-office for the *strategos* Aurelius Dioskourides alias Ioulianos (on his career see the commentary and Appendix); and second, it attests the presence of a Jewish community in Oxyrhynchos, which appears to be

¹ I studied it from high-resolution images that I kindly received from the library via email in December 2016. Thus, I would like to thank Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, for their cooperation. I am also indebted to Nikolaos Gonis (UCL) for the courtesy of informing me about the existence of this papyrus, as well as his valuable and constructive comments during the process of editing.

organized in a similar manner to a voluntary professional association, a *κοινόν*. Nevertheless, a reading *κοινοῦ* in line 5 is not without problems, which I will attempt to highlight here, as well as show why it is the best option out of the available ones.

To begin with, an inevitable terminological problem arises: there is no straightforward information about Jewish communities or congregations ever being called *κοινά*. They are envisaged as such by many scholars, though this assertion has been debated. In retrospect, the fate of the Jewish communities in Egypt during the Roman rule is well known, starting with the degradation of their status, by classifying them as Egyptians, and the recognition of their communities as mere cultic associations devoid of any political authority, essentially making them a religious minority. A crucial moment was the revolt of 115–117, which dealt a huge blow to the presence of Jews in Egyptian towns. Although information on Jewry in Egypt is scant after the revolt, the community in Oxyrhynchos appears to have recovered somewhat toward the end of the third century.² A document from 291 (*P. Oxy.* IX 1205) attests the presence of a *συναγωγή* participating in a manumission *inter amicos* of a Jewish slave and her children. Concerning the aforesaid text, Aryeh Kasher notes that ‘the formal involvement of the community in such a case implies clearly enough that it represented a legal personality while serving as a juridical party to an official transaction’.³ He also cites Hebrew papyri of the fifth century from Oxyrhynchos, where the community is named *Benei ha-Knesseth*, that is ‘the holy congregation’.⁴ For this information, he draws upon Arthur

² The latest study focusing on the community of Oxyrhynchos with a good discussion of the hitherto known material is E. J. EPP, ‘The Jews and the Jewish community in Oxyrhynchus: Socio-religious context for the New Testament papyri’, [in:] T. J. KRAUS & T. NICKLAS (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts – Their Text and Their World*, Leiden – Boston 2006, pp. 13–52. A general overview of the older and new papyri attesting the presence of Jews in Egyptian towns is offered by T. ILAN, ‘The Jewish community in Egypt before and after 117 CE in light of old and new papyri’, [in:] Y. FURSTENBERG (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Communal Identities in the Roman World* [= *Ancient Judaism and early Christianity* 94], Leiden – Boston 2016, pp. 203–224.

³ A. KASHER, *Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. The Struggle for Equal Rights* [= *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum* 7], Tübingen 1985, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

Cowley,⁵ who translates a fragment as follows: ‘From the heads of the synagogue [and from your brethren] the members of the synagogue which is in Eg[gypt to our master] A... the head of the synag[ogue ...] and to the elders of the synagogue and to [all our brethren] the holy congregation which [is in ...]’ (p. 210).

Thus, the above papyrological evidence provides a clear term for the community of Jews in Oxyrhynchos, that is *συναγωγή*,⁶ a term not to be confused with the building/house of worship, for which the term *προσευχή* is used in Egypt.⁷

The traditional view has been that the Jewish communities of the Diaspora were structurally modeled on the *collegia* (Gr. *κοινά*) in the Roman period, despite the lack of explicit references to such phenomenon. The debate has focused on whether both *collegia* and Jewish communities shared the same juridical basis. For instance, Silvia Cappelletti,⁸ while highlighting the structural and titular resemblances, nevertheless opposes the idea of a juridical equivalence, advocated by Edith Smallwood⁹ and Peter Richardson¹⁰ among others. For Margaret Williams,¹¹ referring to the Jewish community in Rome, the traditional view of a collegiate model of the community is deficient, as the titular coincidence is minimal among other things. Recently, the Jewish communities of the Graeco-Roman world attracted the attention

⁵ A. E. COWLEY, ‘Notes on Hebrew papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1915), pp. 209–213.

⁶ S. J. D. COHEN, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* [= *Hellenistic Culture and Society* 31], Berkeley, CA 1999, p. 80, argues for a shift from ethnic designation of a community to a religious one in the high Roman empire, when the term *συναγωγή* was a common term for a Jewish community.

⁷ EPP, ‘The Jews’ (cit. n. 2), p. 34, n. 82, and CPJ III 473 introd., p. 35 and n. 7.

⁸ Silvia CAPPELLETTI, *The Jewish Community of Rome. From the Second Century B.C. to the Third Century C.E.* [= *Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* 113], Leiden 2006, pp. 9–10.

⁹ Edith M. SMALLWOOD, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian* [= *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 20], Leiden 1981.

¹⁰ P. RICHARDSON, ‘Early synagogues as collegia in the Diaspora and Palestine’, [in:] J. S. KLOPPENBORG & S. G. WILSON (eds.), *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, London - New York 1996, pp. 90–109.

¹¹ Margaret H. WILLIAMS, ‘The structure of the Jewish community in Rome’, [in:] M. GOODMAN (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford 1998, pp. 215–228.

of scholars,¹² who apparently agree that *collegium* is the proper term to classify the community, as seen from the Roman point of view.¹³ Nevertheless, the whole point of discussion is based on inferences and interpretations of indirect references rather than straightforward information.¹⁴

In the light of the above, we may now adduce evidence corroborating the *κοινόν* presumption, namely the few – yet important – attestations of *κεφαλαιωτῆς Ἰουδαίων* (i.e. the headman of the Jews) in the papyri. First is the forthcoming *P. Oxy. LXXXIII 5364* from the late fourth century.¹⁵ Next is *SPP VIII 1299 = CPJ III 1506* (early 6th century, Arsinoite). The hypothesis is additionally supported by another instance of Jewish *κεφαλαιωταί* in an unpublished papyrus: a fourth-century petition from Karanis (*P. Mich. inv. 6036*). *Κεφαλαιωταί* are commonly known to have acted as heads and representatives of professional associations (*κοινά*) and their main task appears to be tax collection. Furthermore, another – albeit late – eighth-century unpublished Hermopolite papyrus from Heidelberg (*P. Heid. inv. G 150*) lists *Ἐβραῖοι* as a professional association.¹⁶

¹² See the collective volume by FURSTENBERG (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Communal Identities* (cit. n. 2).

¹³ Here, I quote FURSTENBERG, *Jewish and Christian*, (cit. n. 12), p. 8: ‘The Roman classification of communal gatherings as associational activity entailed substantial consequences. The Romans examined the restrictions imposed upon the Jews in light of their own laws governing *collegia*, although Jewish communities did not fit squarely into these terms. Amongst the Jews, money was collected only for the Temple and communal meals are not mentioned in other sources. Nonetheless, this legal category provided Imperial officials with a framework for containing Jewish communal activity. Following Caesar’s edict, the Jews were permitted to convene as an ancient *collegium*, since their traditional activity did not threaten political stability’.

¹⁴ Cf. also C. HAAS, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*, Baltimore 1997, pp. 109–121, who states that: ‘By the fourth century, however, the political importance of the synagogue had increased until it became the locus of political authority within the community. The Roman administration recognized this authority and regarded the synagogue as a *collegium* for paying the *fiscus Judaicus*’ (p. 110). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find what he bases his information on.

¹⁵ I owe thanks to Nikolaos Gonis for showing me a draft.

¹⁶ I must admit that I have not seen the texts myself but I am relying on the authority of Nikolaos Gonis, who kindly provided me with the relevant references in an email from 8 October 2016.

In this respect, from the fiscal point of view the Jewish community appears to resemble a voluntary professional association.

However, one problem persists: how to explain the fact that in 291 the Jewish community of Oxyrhynchos, acting as a legal party in an official case, is called *συναγωγή*, while eighteen years later it is designated differently, probably as a *κοινόν*? Is this an interchange of semantically similar terms or perhaps a preference for one or the other in different context? Or was it a legislative act that officially standardized the Jewish communal organization by classifying it in the category of *κοινά* – *collegia*? It is too hard to say, given the scarcity of information in our sources.

Perhaps the key to understanding the nature of the present document lies with the history of the administrative reforms introduced by Diocletian. With the introduction of the *logistai* (*curatores civitatis*) around 302 and the subsequent abolition of *toparchies* with the division of nomes into *pagi*, the responsibilities of the *strategos* in the nome administration became limited, as most of them were transferred to the *logistes* and the *praepositus pagi*. The office of *strategos* became equated with the *exactor*, with powers and tasks (mostly fiscal) specifically defined by the administrative structure. In fact, in the period under consideration, there are no documents other than declarations or reports addressed to a *strategos* by a *koinon*. The established facts deriving from this text are that the Jewish community of Oxyrhynchos addresses the *strategos* (*exactor*) of the nome, whose duties, as aforesaid, mainly concern the fiscal processes taking place in the nome (e.g. tax collection). It is, thus, possible to infer that the text deals with taxation. One may conceivably argue for *fiscus Iudaicus*, the tax first imposed by Vespasian, although the evidence after the early third century is only implicit and, therefore, deficient.¹⁷ It is hard to be conclusive in this matter, as the imperial legislation dealing with the Jews is most reticent regarding the first quarter of the fourth century,¹⁸ while recorded legislative acts appear with Constantine and the later

¹⁷ M. GOODMAN, 'The Roman state and Jewish Diaspora communities in the Antonine age', [in:] FURSTENBERG (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Communal Identities* (cit. n. 2), pp. 75–83 and particularly pp. 82–83.

¹⁸ For which, see A. LINTER, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation*, Detroit 1987.

Emperors.¹⁹ Of course, the topic of the document need not concern taxes exclusively.

To sum up, my impression is that the papyrus is connected with the Jewish community's fiscal obligations. The representatives of the community address the *strategos*, in a case perhaps relevant to the Jewish taxation, as conjectural as this might sound. Whether the community was indeed governed by rules that regulate voluntary professional associations or not hopefully remains to be confirmed by further material in the future.

P. CtYBR inv. 760

7.3 × 9.2 cm

17 August 309
Oxyrhynchos

→

(hand 2) [ca. ?], πρὸ ις' καλ(ανδῶν) Σεπτεμβρίων [ca. ?]

(hand 1) [ὑπατείας τῶν] δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ
Λι[κ]ιννίου[υ]

[Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Φ]λαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱοῦ

Ἀγούστ[ων]

4 [Ἀὐρηλίω Διοσκ]ουρίδῃ τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ στρ(ατηγῷ)

Ἰξυρυγ'χεῖτ[ου]

[παρὰ τοῦ κοινο?]ῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν [τῆς] λα[μ(πρᾶς) καὶ

λαμ(προτάτης)]

[Ἰξυρυγχιτῶν πό]λεως δι' Ἀὐρ[ηλίω]ν ca. 15]

[ca. 15]δῶρου καὶ Πα[ca. ?]

8 [ca. 16]νόου παρ[ca. ?]

[ca. ?]υπο[ca. ?]

3. l. Ἀγούστων || 4. Ἰξυρυγ'χεῖτ pap.; l. Ἰξυρυγχιτου

(hand 2) *On the 16th day before the Kalends of September.* (hand 1) *In the consularship of our masters Valerius Licinianus Licinnius Augustus and Flavius*

¹⁹ On this see also I. MOGA, 'The legal rights of the Jews from Hadrian to Theodosius I', *Journal for Interdisciplinary Research on Religion and Science* 3 (2008), pp. 95–111.



P. CtYBR inv. 760

(© Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

Valerius Constantinus the son of the Augusti. To Aurelius Dioskourides alias Iulianos, the strategos of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Jewish community of the splendid and most splendid city of Oxyrhynchos through Aurelii ...

1. πρὸ ις' καλ(ανδῶν) Σεπτεμβρίων: If we pay close attention to the handwriting, we will see that the script differs from the rest of the text. It is slightly inclined to the right; hence, it appears to be written by another hand.

πρὸ ις': For the date, see R. S. Bagnall & K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden 2004 (2nd ed.). Even the high-resolution image furnishes a rather blurred outline of the second element of the number, but I think that under the circumstances this is the best candidate with respect to the ink traces. What I see there are traces of a narrow, round letter with the top part being slightly longer than the bottom part.

καλ(ανδῶν): With Diocletian comes another change or rather a trend, the use of the Roman calendar system in Egyptian documents, together of course with the general Latinization of the administrative process. This practice subsides in private

documents by around 316 (P.J. Sijpesteijn, ‘Some remarks on Roman dates in Greek papyri’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 33 [1979], pp. 229–240). One of the features of this system is that sometimes there was an equation with the Egyptian month that followed immediately after the Roman one. This could be done by simply apposing the Egyptian date or by employing an expression meaning ‘that is’ (*ibidem*, p. 233). So, if we assume that this is the case here, a perfect combination to fill in the line would be ὁ ἔστω Μεσορῆ κδ (for the Egyptian date, see Bagnall & Worp, *Chronological Systems* [cit. above], p. 64). Even so, the line here does not begin just with the date; there are ink traces suggesting something else preceded it. The expected sequence in similar documents starts with the consulship data and then the date, cf., for example, *P. Cair. Isid.* 8 = *ChLA* 41.1201.1–2 (309); hence, this must be ruled out as an option. One cannot exclude the possibility that the date was preceded by the female article in the dative, τῆ (cf., e.g., *P. Sakaon* 17 [308]), belonging to an implied ἡμέρα, or perhaps accompanied by the preposition ἐν, that is ἐν τῆ. However, this is quite difficult palaeographically; the traces do not suggest an *eta*. In addition, the lacuna perhaps would require more than just one letter, judging by the following line. In the Oxyrhynchite documentation available for this period, I have not found a single case where the consulship is preceded by the day of the month (according to the Roman calendar) and, thus, this text constitutes a peculiarity. One of the possible explanations is that this is a note inserted when the report was filed into the official register: [κατεχωρί]σθ[η] or [κατεχ]ω(ρίσθη). Both *sigma* and *omega* are palaeographically possible variants and the solution could fit better with respect to the assumed number of letters missing in the next lines, though, naturally, a note would not need necessarily align with the rest of the text. We have a parallel from the same year, albeit a document of sale (and in this respect a different procedure was followed), where above the main text a note was inserted by another hand, *SB XVI* 12289, col II, l. 33 (12 August 309): κατεχω(ρίσθη) π[ρὸ ἀ’ Εἰδῶ]ν Ἀγούστων.²⁰ Immediately below, the text begins with the normal consular dating formula: ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν etc. A further remote possibility is to read a dating formula but in a ‘number + year’ abbreviation (an S-shaped symbol, common in this period). For August 309, the sequence of regnal years (Augusti + Caesars) is 18-6-4-2 (see Bagnall & Worp, *Chronological Systems* [cit. above], pp. 44 and 131), and that could be represented on the papyrus as 1ηS καὶ 5S καὶ 8S καὶ 2S. In this case, the ink trace to the left of πρό could be that of a *beta* (palaeographically possible), but I know of no instances of such complex dating combinations.

3. *υἱοῦ Ἀγούστων* (*Ι. Ἀυγούστων*): For this expression, see K. Worp, ‘Two further chronological notes on Byzantine documents’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 151 (2005), pp. 153–158, who views it as a manifestation of regionalism

²⁰ This is my reading of the dating formula based on the examination of a digital photograph and analysis of internal evidence.

especially after 308. However, this would be the sole occurrence in the Oxyrhynchite nome, as I have not been able to find any attestation of this exact title in Oxyrhynchite documents, whereas there are examples from the Hermopolite (*BGU* XVII 2699, fr. B, l. 12), Panopolite (*P. Panop.* 15 = *SB* XII 10992, l. 19) and Hibite nomes (*SB* XVIII 13852, l. 23). In the Oxyrhynchite nome, only one expression is employed for this year, *υἰοῦ βασιλέων*, for which see Worp, ‘Chronological notes’, p. 154, n. 7. As the present papyrus shows, perhaps this is a mere coincidence due to lack of other documents from this year. One should also note that *Ἀγούστων* is spelled *Ἀγουύστων* in all instances of this formula from 309: *BGU* XVII 2699, fr. B, l. 12; *P. Panop.* 15 = *SB* XII 10992, l. 19; *SB* XVIII 13852, l. 23.

Ἀγουύστων: The loss of *upsilon* of the diphthong *av* is known from examples starting from the first century, especially frequent with the pronoun *αὐτός*. For *Ἀγουουστός*, phonetic variants (loss of both *upsilon* and *gamma*) begin to appear sporadically in the second century: *BGU* III 741, l. 7 (143), *Ἀούστης*. This trend continues into the third century with more examples: *P. Stras.* IV 253, l. 1; *P. Stras.* I 73, l. 23; *SB* III 7244, l. 30; *SB* XXVI 16735, l. 4. In the middle of the century, the variant *Ἀγουουστ-* is attested in inscriptions from Augusta Traiana, for example *IGBulg.* III 2, 1700 (ca. 247).²¹ In the fourth century and later such forms become frequent in both papyri and inscriptions. For a general overview of the phenomenon, see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I: *Phonology*, Milan 1975, pp. 226–228.

4. *Ἀρρηλίω Διοσκουρίδη τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ*: This person belongs to a very well attested Oxyrhynchite family, members of which held various important liturgical and administrative posts in the nome. It appears that at least three generations of the family bear the same names interchangeably, a trend popular with other families of the *bouleutic* class as well. Thus, the ‘progenitor’ is called *Ἀρρήλιος Ἰουλιανός ὁ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης*, his son, our *Ἀρρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανός*, acquiring the *gentilicium* *Οὐαλέριος*, once assuming the office of *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite nome (*λογιστής*), while his son, in turn, naturally uses the *gentilicium* *Flavius* in the time of Constantine, that is *Φλάβιος Ἰουλιανός ὁ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης*. The family survived into a fourth generation, though this is not the focus here. Appendix I reviews the careers of the three well-attested generations of the family.²² The present document is important because it attests a

²¹ The alleged *Ἀ[γο]ύστοις* in *BGU* VII 1655, col. III, l. 55 (169) should be corrected to *Ἀϋ[γο]ύστοις* (the photo is available online at <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/Original/P_11480_V.jpg>).

²² The Appendix was originally created for the needs of the edition of the *Papyri Vratislavienses* (a.k.a. Wrocław Papyri), as a part of a research project of the National Research Council of Poland, led by Tomasz Derda (University of Warsaw). Here, I offer a slightly enriched and revised version of it.

further year of Aurelius Dioskourides alias Iulianus in the office of *strategos* of the nome, the other being 307 and 311 respectively.

στρ(ατηγῶ): In 309 the term would have been equivalent to *exactor civitatis*, an office introduced by the administrative reforms of Diocletian. It is perhaps a peculiarity of Oxyrhynchos that the official was mostly called *strategos* up to the middle of the fourth century. As J. David Thomas has shown ('Strategos and exactor in the fourth century: one office or two?', *Chronique d'Égypte* 70 [1995], pp. 230–239), the term *strategos* retained its popularity despite the introduction of *exactores civitatis*, the latter being used primarily in official correspondence. His primary duty was tax collection, along with minor judicial functions (see R. M. Frakes, *Contra Potentium Iniurias: The Defensor Civitatis and Late Roman Justice*, Munich 2001, pp. 37–39, drawing on Thomas' argumentation). For the role of *strategoi-exactores* and their relation to other officials in the nome administration, see also the remarks of Karolien Geens, *Panopolis, a Nome Capital in Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine Period (ca. AD 200–600)*, Leuven 2014, pp. 177–183.

5. The restoration of the lacuna is based on the formula that is expected to have followed the address, that is παρά etc., as well as the approximate number of letters that are missing. Since the number of letters expected there is apparently around twelve, the supplementation of παρά would reduce them to eight. The word before τῶν Ἰουδαίων is certainly a genitive ending in -ου, and thus the spectrum of possibilities becomes even more narrow. I have chosen to supply τοῦ κοινοῦ, as the most suitable possibility, given the available number of letters and the context. This idea was enhanced by a discussion over email which I had with Nikolaos Gonis, where we noticed that we had arrived independently to the same conclusion from different starting points.

My enquiry led me to various terms (aside from *synagoge*) employed in the Diaspora to describe local Jewish communities from the Early Imperial period up to the fourth century. These included λαός (Early Imperial period and 2nd century), ἔθνος (2nd century), στέμμα (4th century), σύνοδος (Early Imperial period) and perhaps κατοικία (2nd – beginning of the 3rd century), which alongside the community proper could be used to describe various facets of the community.²³ Thus, in the case of our papyrus, ἔθνος, στέμμα, and κατοικία should be rejected on grammatical grounds among other reasons; λαός should be also excluded as being too short and rather unknown in Egypt as a term for community. In an email exchange, Krystyna Stebnicka argued that she would rather see in our text the term συνόδου as the most suitable, based on the lack of evidence for Jewish κοινά in Egypt, as well as an (albeit Augustan) attestation of a σύνοδος Σαμβαθηκῆ in an inscription from Naukratis (JIGRE no. 26). Seemingly, συνόδου would be a pos-

²³ Krystyna STEBNICKA, *Identity of the Diaspora. Jews in Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial Period* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 26], Warsaw 2015, pp. 55–60.

sible filler in the lacuna (παρὰ τῆς συνόδου), containing only one letter more than κοινού. I have attempted to conduct a digital reconstruction of both τῆς συνόδου and τοῦ κοινού, based on the available letters (naturally, though, letters do not have a uniform size throughout the text), and the result is not much different in terms of length. The arguments for συνόδου are plausible though not very convincing, considering the fact that the term appears to have fallen into disuse after the third century and that in Egypt it was mostly connected with various pagan cultic associations. Hence, I would not take it into consideration. The elimination of other terms leads us to the apparently sole candidate: κοινόν.

For Oxyrhynchos in the fourth century, we know of the existence of various κοινά, but these were designated professional associations rather than religious or ethnic communities,²⁴ for example στιπποχειριστῶν, ἐριοπωλῶν, ὑελουργῶν, etc. On such corporations in the Byzantine period, see, for example, I. F. Fikhman, 'K kharakteristike korporatziy vizantiyskogo Egipta' [A contribution to the study of the corporations in the Byzantine Egypt], *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* 17 (1960), pp. 17–27.²⁵ What is more, I have not encountered a single document addressed to the *strategos* by a κοινόν in the fourth century and I wonder whether this is just a matter of chance. At any rate, I believe that the indirect papyrological evidence mentioning Jewish *kephalaiotai* provides us with good arguments for the idea of a Jewish *koimon*.

²⁴ Certainly, there are several examples from the Hellenistic period of κοινά with ethnic characteristics, used in a broader sense though, as commonwealths (Αἰτωλῶν, Δωριέων, etc.) and sometimes for international associations (e.g. Dionysian artists, Iscr. di Cos ED 7, ll. 6–7). A special case is the ethnic *koima* of Ptolemaic Cyprus, a much-discussed institution, especially regarding their correlation with the ethnic *politeumata* of Ptolemaic Egypt. A good discussion of the sources and the various interpretations is offered by T. KRUSE, 'Ethnic koina and politeumata in Ptolemaic Egypt', [in:] V. GABRIELSEN & C. A. THOMSEN (eds.), *Private Associations and the Public Sphere, Proceedings of Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010*, Copenhagen 2015, pp. 270–300.

²⁵ On associations in the Greco-Roman world, see the fundamental M. SAN NICOLÒ & J. HERMANN, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer, I: Die Vereinsarten. Zweite, durchgesehene Auflage* [= *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* II/1], Munich 1972; also Ewa WIPSZYCKA, 'Das Textilhandwerk und der Staat im römischen Ägypten', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 18 (1966), pp. 1–22 and particularly p. 12, with further bibliography in n. 1; P. VAN MINNEN, 'Urban craftsmen in Roman Egypt', *Münchener Beiträge zur Handelsgeschichte* 6 (1987), pp. 31–88; KLOPPENBORG & WILSON (eds.), *Voluntary Associations* (cit. n. 10); C. ZIMMERMANN, *Handwerkvereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum* [= *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 57], Mainz 2002. On Byzantine Egypt, see I. F. FIKHMAN, 'Sur quelques aspects socio-économiques de l'activité des corporations professionnelles de l'Égypte byzantine', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 103 (1994), pp. 19–40.

τῶν [τῆς] λα[μ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)]: I have chosen to restore the titular epithets assigned to Oxyrhynchos, although this is too precarious in view of the minimal ink traces preserved. At any rate, the practice is not standard. What one expects to follow τῶν is naturally the preposition ἀπό marking the origin, followed by the necessary feminine article τῆς (in all cases for these titular epithets). However, it is possible to imagine that the expression stood without ἀπό,²⁶ hence τῶν τῆς, of which there is only one example used to describe another *koinon* (bankers') in Oxyrhynchos: PSI XII 1265, l. 2 (426), though again this is a restoration of a lacuna. The meaning and the intention would be clear and not very different from the variant with ἀπό τῆς. The title of Oxyrhynchos would fit perfectly in the lacuna in its abbreviated form. For the appellation, see D. Hagedorn, "Ὁξυρύνχων πόλις und ἡ Ὁξυρυνχιδῶν πόλις", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 12 (1973), pp. 277–292. With a bit of effort, one can discern the trace of the top diagonal stroke of a *lambda* and then the top loop of an *alpha*. Another ink trace is visible at the end of the line, but I would not attempt to identify it with certainty.

7.]δῶρου: Any name is possible, as Jews did not necessarily bear specific Jewish theophoric names: Θεοδώρου, Ἀρτεμιδώρου, Ἰσιδώρου, etc.; see, for example, J. Méléze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*, Princeton 1997, pp. 86–87. It is not immediately clear whether this is the patronymic of the first person that was mentioned in the previous line or a second individual. The former hypothesis would require two rather long names, which, in my view, seems improbable.

8.]νόου: This can be interpreted in two ways: either as a person's name, for example Ἀντιόου, Νικαντιόου, Φιλαντιόου, etc., or as a reference to the city of Antinoopolis without πόλεως, for example εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόου, ἐν τῇ Ἀντιόου *et sim.*

Constantinos Balamoshev

University of Warsaw
 Institute of Archaeology
 Department of Papyrology
 Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
 00-927 Warsaw
 POLAND
 e-mail: costasbala@hotmail.com

²⁶ There is not enough space in the lacuna to fit both ἀπό and τῆς.

APPENDIX

REVIEW OF THE CAREERS OF IULIANOI – DIOSKOURIDAI OF OXYRHYNCHOS²⁷

Name	Capacity	Family	Document	Date
	ἐξηγητής		P. Oxy. XII 1413	September 272 ²⁸
Αἰρήλιος Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης (father)	ὑπο(νηματογορ-), βουλ(ευτῆς) τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, πρυτανεύσας, βουλευτῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως		P. Vind. Sal. 7	293
	γενόμενος ὑπονηματογράφος, πρυτανεύσας, γυμνασάρχος, βουλευτῆς τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως, πρωτοστάτης τῆς πρὸς λίβρα τοπαρχίας μερῶν Σερύφειας		P. Vrat. inv. 3 = SB VI 9502	296 ²⁹
(?) ... τὸν καὶ Διοσκουρίδην	ὑπονηματογράφος καὶ βουλευτῆς τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως		P. Laur. III 67	299

²⁷ The members of the family and their careers have been discussed on occasion in various publications. Worth mentioning are P. Oxy. LIV, Appendix I, pp. 223–226, the discussion by R. A. COLLES in P. Oxy. LX 4092, Introd., and P. Oxy. LXXVII 4606 n. 3 with further commentary, listed also by L. E. ТАСОМА, *Fragile Hierarchies: the Urban Elites of Third-Century Roman Egypt* [= *Mnemosyne Supplements* 271], Leiden 2006, pp. 302–303.

²⁸ For this date, see A. K. BOWMAN, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* [= *American Studies in Papyrology* 11], Toronto 1971, pp. 151–153, and P. Oxy. XLIII, p. 23.

²⁹ Here the *gentilicium* should be corrected to Αἰρηλιώ, see J. KEENAN, ‘The names Flavius and Aurelius as status designations in later Roman Egypt’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 11 (1973), p. 45.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
	γεουχῶν (in a list of persons requisitioned and assigned to villages or landowners)		<i>P. Oxy.</i> XIV 1747	late 3rd – early 4th cent.
	λογοθέτης, ἄρξας βουλευτής		<i>P. Oxy.</i> XVIII 2187	13 January 304
<i>Αἰρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης</i> <i>ὁ καὶ Γουλιανός (son)</i>		son (?): Hermias	<i>P. Köln</i> IV 199	beginning of the 4th cent. ³⁰
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> LX 4074	before 20 November 307
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> I 41 = <i>W. Chr.</i> 45	306–307 ³¹
			<i>P. Ct YBR</i> inv. 760	17 August 309
		στρατηγὸς Ὀξυρυγχίτου	<i>P. Mert.</i> II 90	310/11
			<i>P. Eirene</i> I 7 = <i>SB XXIV</i> 16095	311
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> XXXIII 2668 = <i>SB VIII</i> 9875	22 August 311
	γυμνασάρχος, πρυτανεύσας, βουλευτὴς τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως		<i>P. Oxy.</i> XXXI 2585	28 October – 26 November 315

<i>Name</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3743	
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3744	318
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3745	
		son: Ἰουλιανὸς υἱὸς διὰ-δοχῶς	<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3755	27 September 320
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> VI 900	30 July 321
			<i>P. Harr.</i> II 212	322/3?
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> I 42	18 January 323
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLI 2969	3 March 323
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> XXXVI 2767	28 March 323
			<i>P. Harr.</i> II 214	324
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLIII 3125	27 March – 25 April 325
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3758	March 325

³⁰ The date is uncertain, as only the phrase *Διοσκουριδῆς στρατηγός* is employed in this letter. The text, however, clearly originates from the Oxyrhynchite nome, as it mentions the village of Paomis (for which, see A. BENAÏSSA, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite nome: A Papyrological Survey*, [= *Trismegistos Online Publications* 4], Cologne 2012, pp. 260–262). If so, the text must be dated to the period, when Aurelius Dioskourides alias Ioulianos held the office of *strategos* and surely after 304 (*P. Oxy.* XVIII 2187). This would include at least the years 307, 309, and 311. In addition, a further interesting observation is the use of the kinship term *υἱὸς* for the addressee of the letter, Hermias. There is no doubt that in the fourth century this term could have been used not only literally, but also for other individuals who had a special connection to the writer, for example communication between an elder and a younger person (see Eleanor DICKEY, ‘Literal and extended use of kinship terms in documentary papyri’, *Mnemosyne* 57 [2004], p. 164). Therefore, it is too precarious to draw a conclusion that Hermias is a real son of Dioskourides. Otherwise, it could be an addition to the family-tree of this family.

³¹ I discuss the date of this papyrus in a forthcoming article. Suffice it to say that it is primarily based on the prosopographical data.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
	διάδοχος (deputy) of his father		<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3755	27 September 320
Φλάουιος Ίουλιανός ³² (grandson)	λογιστήης Ὀξυρυγχίτου		<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3766 <i>SB XVI</i> 12628	27 October 329 <i>ca.</i> 329–331
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLIV 3195	331
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> LXVI 4525	<i>ca.</i> 331 ³³
	σύνδικος νομοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου		<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3769	27 February – 26 March 334
erroneously styled as <i>Αὐρήλιος</i>	σύνδικος τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως		<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3770	26 March 334
			<i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV 3771 = <i>P. Oxy.</i> VI 901	1 May 336
	διοικῶν συνδικίαν Ὀξυρυγχίτου		<i>P. Oxy.</i> LXVI 4528	6 May 336
Φλάουιος Ίουλιανός (grandson)	στρατηγὸς Ὀξυρυγχίτου		<i>P. Oxy.</i> LX 4086	345
	ρίπαριος Ὀξυρυγχίτου ³⁴		<i>P. Oxy.</i> LX 4090	12 April 352
	ἀπὸ λογιστῶν	sister: Σαραπίάς (ἕκ πατρὸς Διοσκουρίδου) ³⁵	<i>P. Oxy.</i> LX 4092	1 October 355

Name	Capacity	Family	Document	Date
Φλαουί[ω] Ίο[υ]λι[ανῶ]	[... ἡγε]μονίας Αἰγυοσπα- μικῆς ³⁶	Dubious attestation	PSI V 467	28 September – 27 October 360

Note: an Ἰουλιανός Διοσκούριδου appears in SB XVI 12621, l. 7 (3rd–4th cent.), a list of names, allegedly from Oxyrhynchos, but the evidence is just too thin for a secure identification, as it could be either the first or the second Ioulianos

³² Διοσκούριδης, his father, is mentioned in town council proceedings.

³³ His father Διοσκούριδης is also fragmentarily mentioned in l. 15.

³⁴ Together with Γερόντιος.

³⁵ Lines 3–6: Φλαουίω Ἰουλιανῶ ἀπὸ λογιστῶν καὶ τῆ ἀδελφῆ Σαραπιάδι ἐκ πατρὸς Διοσκούριδου κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ ἡμισυ μέρος γεουγαῦση ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυχίτῃ ... Together they possess 20 arourae in the village of Iasion Panga, ll. 10–13: ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην ἐκ λιβὸς ἐποικίου Πατρίωνθεως ἐδάφους κασπαρίου λεγομένου ἀρούρας εἴκοσι.

³⁶ The original edition proposes a possible reading βρηθῶ ἡγεμονίας Αἰγυοσταμικῆς and after a brief discussion of this text in *P. Oxy.* LIV, Appendix 1, p. 226, the author suggests that an abbreviated form (βρη) for βενεφικαρίῳ τάζεως is possible, though in terms of the age and the career of Φλάουιος Ἰουλιανός rather unlikely. Nikolaos GONIS in the commentary to *P. Oxy.* LXXIII 4966, l. 5, is partly right that he must not be the same man with our Ioulianos but I would add – now that a good image is available online – that the reading of the name is highly dubious. In my opinion, Ἰο[υ]λι[ανῶ] here is definitely problematic palaeographically and, therefore, I would refrain from transcribing it as such. Before ἡγεμονίας + area, most examples contain τάζεως with a few exceptions, and it is very likely that this is the expected word here.