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AURELIUS AGATHODAEMON,
DEKAPRÔTOS OF THE 2ND AND 3RD TOPARCHIES
OF THE MERIS OF HERAKLEIDES
AND TWO TEBTYNIS DOCUMENTS*

In the 11th year of Gallienus (AD 263/4), ex-gymnasiarch¹ Aurelius Agathodaemon was a member of the collegium of four *dekaprôtoi* of the 2nd and 3rd toparchy of the *meris* of Herakleides. *WChr.* 279 (= *BGU* II 579) is a receipt for twenty artabae of wheat issued for a certain Aurelius Tameios who had delivered them for the catoeci of the village of Psenyris. Lines 1-5, where the collegium of *dekaprôtoi* is introduced, read as follows:

ἔτους ι[α] τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶ[ν] Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.
Ἄθῦρ δ. Αὐρήλιοι Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) καὶ Ἀθανάσιος γυμ(να-
σιαρχήσας) καὶ
Σαραπ[άμ]μων καὶ Κο[π]ρῆς οἱ δύο γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντες) ἰς (read εἰς) χώραν
ἐνὸς καὶ Σου-
4 χά[μμ]ων κοσ(μητεύσας) δε[κ]άπρωτοι β καὶ γ τοπαρχιῶν Ἡρακλί-
[δου μερ]ίδος.

"The 11th year of our lord Gallienus Augustus, Hathyr 4. We, Aurelii, Agathodaemon, ex-gymnasiarch and Athanasios, ex-gymnasiarch and Sarapam-

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¹ No. 423 in: Pieter Johannes Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (= *Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius antiquum et Papyrologicam pertinentia*, vol. XXVIII.) Zutphen, Terra, 1986.

mon and Kopres, both ex-gymnasiarchs, (sharing the office of *dekaprôtos*) in place of one, and Souchammon, ex-kosmetes, the *dekaprôtos* of the 2nd and 3rd toparchies of the meris of Herakleides.”

Of the four *dekaprôtos*² only Aurelius Agathodaemon signed the receipt. This time he added another piece of information to his title of ex-gymnasiarch; he was also a *bouleutes* of the city of Arsinoe: Ἀὐ[ρή]λιος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων γυμνασιαρχήσας) βου(λευτής) σεση(μείωμα) (line 10).

In his introduction to *WChr.* 279 Ulrich Wilcken already suggested that the Aurelius Agathodaemon of the Berlin document is identical to a *dekaprôtos* acting in Tebtynis in AD 264/5. *P. Tebt.* II 368, a receipt for rent of *dēmosia gē* reads as follows (lines 1-2 as printed in the *editio princeps*):

ἔτους ιβ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμ[ῶν] Γαλλ[ιη]ν[οῦ] Σ[ε]βαστοῦ Ἐπεὶφ κζ.
 Ἀὐρή(λιος) Ἀγαθ[ὸς] Δαίμων κοσ(μητεύσας) βου(λευτής) δεκάπ(ρωτος) β
 τοπ(αρχίας) Πο(λέμωνος) με(ρίδος)

Wilcken’s suggestion was based on the identity of the name of the *dekaprôtos*, his titles (from the Tebtynis document we learn that Aurelius Agathodaemon was also ex-kosmetes; the title is absent from *WChr.* 279 issued in the preceding year). Wilcken³ also suggested that both documents have the rather uncommon σκντάλη-formula (line 7 of the Berlin text and line 4 of the Tebtynis receipt).

Wilcken, however, did not study the topographical implication of the identity of the official acting both in Psenyris and Tebtynis. The two villages are located far away from each other, and in the Roman period even belonged to different nomes (the Fayum was first administered by three different *strategoi*, one for each *meris*; from AD 136/7 onwards the *merides* of Themistos and Polemon were combined under a single *strategos*).⁴

The number of the toparchy in the *editio princeps* of *P. Tebt.* II 368 is given as a *bêta* with a dot. But on the photograph (below lines 1-2 of the document are reproduced) we can see only a part of a horizontal stroke hardly fitting the expected *bêta*.

² Aurelii Sarapammon and Kopres share the office of one *dekaprôtos* εἰςχώραν ἐνός; see Wilcken’s note to line 3.

³ *WChr.* 279, note to line 5

⁴ Note that during the reign of Gallienus at the latest, the three *merides* were re-unified and the Arsinoites began to be administered by one *strategos*.



P. Tebt. II 368, lines 1-2 (slightly reduced)
 (<http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/APIS/PImages/AP02061aA.jpg>)

In the same volume of the Tebtynis papyri is another document issued by the same official. *P. Tebt.* II 581 descr. is a "certificate issued by Aurelius Agathodaemon, *dekaprôtos* of the second toparchy, of the payment of $3\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of wheat by Ploution; cf. 368. Dated in the sixteenth year of Gallienus, Phaophi(?) (AD 268). Incomplete, the end being lost. 13 lines."

The edition of the document is to be found in the paper which follows in the present volume (pp. 13-14). Here we need only a transcription of lines 1-5 which is as follows:

- ἔτους ις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 Γαλλιηνοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.
 Φαωφι κα. Αὐρή(λιος) Ἀγαθῶς
 4 Δαίμων κοσ(μητεύσας) βουλ(ευτῆς) δεκάπ(ρωτος)
 βγ τοπ(αρχιῶν) Πολέμων[ος μ(ερίδος).]

The beginning of the document is identical to *P. Tebt.* II 368. Aurelius Agathodaemon is called *ex-kosmetes* and *bouleutes*. There is no doubt that he is a *dekaprôtos* of a toparchy having a doubled number, or two toparchies paired off for some reasons,⁵ the second and the third ones of the *meris* of Polemon. The photograph of *P. Tebt.* II 368 shows that the number of the toparchy mentioned there was the same. Of the *bêta* and the *gamma* ligatured in such a way that the result could be mistaken for an *omega*, in this document only the horizontal stroke ending the *gamma* is visible.

But the reading of both documents still needs some comment. It is commonly known that the toparchies in the Fayum were paired off (odd and even numbers together in the *meris* of Heraclides, even and even or odd and odd in

⁵ A history of the toparchies in the Roman Fayum was the main subject of my paper delivered to the XXIIIrd International Congress of Papyrology in Vienna in July 2001. Its expanded version, together with a study on Ptolemaic toparchies by Willy CLARYSSE, will be published in *JJP* 32 (2002). In this paper I shall discuss also the problem of IIIrd century toparchies accompanied by two numbers: do they form a single toparchy which came into being because of the unification of two separate (and presumably neighbouring) toparchies? or are they still two toparchies sharing officials and/or combined for other reasons?

the joint *merides* of Polemon and Themistos). Without exploring deeper this issue for the moment,⁶ we can say that in the joint *merides* of Polemon and Themistos, there was no toparchy(-ies) numbered 2 and 3. But if we note that (1.) the man for whom the two Tebtynis receipts were issued is Ploution of Kerkesoucha, a village in the division of Herakleides and (2.) that Aurelius Agathodaemon occurs as a *dekaprôtos* of the 2nd and 3rd toparchy of the division of Herakleides, then there can be no doubt that the same was intended in both documents. A scribe, or rather two different scribes for the two Tebtynis papyri, made the same mistake twice. We may imagine them working for years in the Tebtynis *grapheion*; they most probably wrote Πολέμωνος μ(ερίδος) almost automatically, even in receipts issued by the *dekaprôtos* of the 2nd and 3rd toparchy(-ies) of the *meris* of Herakleides.

The two receipts issued by Aurelius Agathodaemon raise another question: why did he accept the corn from an inhabitant of Kerkesoucha to the granary in Tebtynis? But the documents give no direct answer. We can say only that Aurelius Agathodaemon is not the only *dekaprôtoi* known to us, acting in a place far from his office location.⁷

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⁶ See the forthcoming paper by W. CLARYSSE and T. DERDA in *JJP* 32 (2002).

⁷ An interesting parallel can be found in *P. Lond.* III 1586a of AD 194 (published by D. HOBSON in *ZPE* 99 [1993] 73-74). The document is a receipt issued by the *sitologoi* of Nilopolis (a village at the northeast end of Lake Moeris) to a farmer from Soknopaïou Nesos for the payment of the δημόσια of Soknopaïou Nesos. There are other documents issued by the *sitologoi* of Nilopolis for the inhabitants of Soknopaïou Nesos; of the five quoted by Hobson examples, three date from the same year. This cannot be a proof for the absence of local *sitologoi* because we have a receipt exactly of the same year issued by the *sitologoi* of Soknopaïou Nesos (*SPP* XXII 121). Hobson concludes that "we must assume that this group of *sitologos* receipts collectively attests to the fact that Soknopaïou Nesos farmers cultivated plots of public land in the area around Nilopolis (...) rather than they were delivering their Soknopaïou Nesos wheat to the nearest official."