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Keywords: Ptolemaic, first century BC, grain transport, samples, administration, archives, *naukleros*, *dioiketes*, *sitologos*, *strategos*, *basilikos grammateus*, *apostoloi*, *antapostoloi*, *phylakitai*, ship security guards, shipping, shipowners, corrections.

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Keywords: Greek, Arabic, bilingual documents, early Islamic Egypt, fiscal administration, tax receipt, Herakleopolis Magna, Iḥnās.

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Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, MMA 1152, exercises, education, piety.

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Keywords: P. Vindob. G 13753, P. Vindob. Boswinkel 5, SB XXVI 16502, marriage document, account, Aurelia Demetria *alias* Ammonia.

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Keywords: inscriptions, procuratorships, roman government, principate, provincial administration, appointment policy, Roman emperor, imperial freedmen, *equites*.

GRZEGORZ OCHAŁA

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Keywords: Christian Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian, onomastics, ghost names.

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Keywords: magic, Biblical amulets, scriptural amulets, texts of ritual power.

Angelina TROIANO

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Keywords: *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Roman citizenship, *Lex Aelia Sentia*, *Fragmentum Riccardi*, *anniculi causae* probation.

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Keywords: *Constitutio Antoniana*, *consuetudo*, usage, *Reichsrecht*, *Volksrecht*, Menander Rhetor, Dionysia, provincial law, conflict of laws.

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Keywords: monks, monasteries, legal capacity, Late Antiquity, papyri, legal representation, *dikaion*, *diakonia*, Roman law, legal practice, Justinian, Egypt.

Karol Kłodziński

**AN EQUESTRIAN
PROCURATOR'S 'UNEQUAL COLLEAGUE'?
REINTERPRETING THE CAREER
OF THE IMPERIAL FREEDMAN ULPIUS PAEAN***

THE ACTIVITY OF THE IMPERIAL FREEDMEN in the various areas of procuratorial administration under the early Empire continues to incite considerable controversy. Regarding the office of *procurator usiacus*, the procurator in charge of the imperial estates in Egypt, Christer Bruun once asked the following questions: was that function originally held by imperial freedmen, and later only by *equites*, or by both *equites* and *liberti Augusti* throughout its existence, that is from the early 2nd century?¹ If the latter option is accepted, was the freedman procurator at all times subordinate to the equestrian procurator? In other words, was the principle of

* I would like to thank Tiziana Carboni PhD, Paweł Nowakowski PhD and the anonymous reviewers for valuable comments on a preliminary draft of this paper. Any error of fact or interpretation is solely the responsibility of the author. Unless indicated otherwise, all dates in the present work are AD.

¹ C. BRUUN, 'Some comments on the status of Imperial freedmen (the case of Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Classicus)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 82 (1990), pp. 271–285, at p. 278 n. 33.

‘unequal collegiality’² in force, supposedly from Domitian’s³ reign on, or, as Gérard Boulvert would have it, already from Claudius’?⁴

Although Bruun’s doubts only refer to one procuratorial office and have already been partly verified by Franziska Beutler,⁵ they may well apply to all of the procuratorial administration in the 2nd century. Scholars dealing with this topic have explained the freedman procurators’ work in three ways: either they were the equestrian procurators’ assistants (according to ‘unequal collegiality’), often holding a high-rank official function (such as that of a *procurator provinciae*),⁶ or they independently held managerial offices ‘of less importance and prestige’ (e.g. those of procurators *Frygiae*, of the *ratio chartaria* in Alexandria or of *metalla Vipascensia* in Lusitania),⁷ or they performed the procuratorial tasks (under

² The concept of *collégialité inégale* (*dual procuratorship*, *Pseudokollegialität*) as formulated by Pflaum, supposedly in force in most procuratorships of the financial administration, assumed an imperial freedman bearing a title identical to that of an *equus* was in fact his assistant or aide. See H.-G. PFLAUM, s.v. ‘Procurator’, [in:] *RE*, Bd. XXIII, 1957, col. 1271; IDEM, ‘Principes de l’administration romaine impériale’, *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* 37 (1958), pp. 179–195; IDEM, ‘Encore la pseudocollegialité’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 18 (1975), p. 14.

³ S. DEMOUGIN, ‘L’ordre équestre sous Domitien’, *Pallas. Revue d’études antiques* 40 (1994), pp. 295–297.

⁴ G. BOULVERT, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain. Rôle politique et administratif*, Naples 1970, pp. 392–409.

⁵ F. BEUTLER, ‘Wer war ein Procurator usiacus? Die Verwaltung des Patrimoniums in Ägypten in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts’, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 18 (2007), pp. 67–82.

⁶ P. R. C. WEAVER *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor’s Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge 1972, pp. 276–278, referred to procurators of that kind as ‘senior freedman procurators’.

⁷ The way freedmen’s procuratorships functioned is unclear. The main evidence in support of a freedman’s procuratorship having been independent is the absence of an *equus* holding that office from the epigraphic material. Some scholars also try to list their ‘distinctive characteristics’, that is the smaller importance of provinces governed by *liberti* (that is, Phrygia: PFLAUM, ‘La carrière de l’affranchi imperial Saturninus’, *Revue des études latines* 47bis (1969), pp. 297–310, at p. 302), specific tasks entrusted to them (e.g. the territorially limited mining district that was the remit of the *proc. montis Mariani*: A. H. M. HIRT, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects 27 BC – AD 235*, Oxford 2010, p. 148, or individual estates such as those managed by the *proc. villarum Tusculanarum*: WEAVER,

control of equestrian procurators) with a limited scope of territory and merits.⁸ While historians did take note of the cases when imperial freedmen governed crucial provinces (e.g. Egypt or Judaea) under the principate, they regarded them as exceptions or explained as situations when *liberti Augusti* received equestrian status.⁹ In their opinion, *liberti Augusti* could not have taken over major offices which were already part of the equestrian procuratorial hierarchy. In the case of those equestrian offices, 'differing greatly in importance and salary',¹⁰ arranged schematically by Pflaum, a freedman procurator could only be an assistant or deputy to his equestrian superior.¹¹

Still, it is worth asking whether the blurred criterion of 'more or less significant procuratorial offices', which Pflaum once used to distinguish between functions held by freedman procurators and equestrian procurators, is decisive in that regard.¹² What made it possible for a freedman to hold one administrative procuratorial position, but impossible to hold another? Was a freedman's social status (that is, the stigma of slavery) an insurmountable barrier when it came to being nominated to 'major' procuratorial offices? Finally, did the fact an office functioned as part of

Familia Caesaris (cit. n. 6), p. 271, but also *proc. praediorum* in the provinces and Italy), as well as the differences in titulature (the shorter form *proc.*, rather than the *proc. Aug.* reserved for *equites*), although as Bruun demonstrated, the latter characteristic is not convincing. See BRUUN, 'Some comments' (cit. n. 1), p. 279. At any rate, in inscriptions we do have attested *liberti Augusti* with the title *proc. Aug.* (e.g. *CIL* VI 8689; XIV 2104; *AE* 1949, 30). See WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris* (cit. n. 6), p. 269 n. 2.

⁸ W. ECK, 'Die nichtsenatorische Administration', [in:] ECK, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hoben Kaiserzeit*, Bd. 2, Basel – Berlin 1997, p. 92.

⁹ WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris* (cit. n. 6), p. 279. For more on the subject, see K. KŁODZIŃSKI, *Officium a rationibus. Studium z dziejów administracji rzymskiej w okresie pryncypatu*, Toruń 2017, pp. 235, 243.

¹⁰ WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris* (cit. n. 6), p. 270.

¹¹ ECK, 'Die nichtsenatorische Administration' (cit. n. 8), pp. 88–94. That freedman's administrative position was double 'both chief and auxiliary'. See WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris* (cit. n. 6), p. 275.

¹² PFLAUM, 'La carrière' (cit. n. 7), p. 302: 'Cette constatation n'exclut cependant pas qu'il existe un certain nombre de postes de moindre importance, où les procurateurs affranchis ont gardés leurs prérogatives de chef de département'.

the procuratorial hierarchy (that is, had the rank of *sexagenarius*, *centenarius* etc.), preclude its being held (if only temporarily?) by an imperial freedman? It is difficult to answer any of those questions conclusively. In the case of the imperial freedman Paeon,¹³ whose career has already been the subject of comparative analysis,¹⁴ it has been often repeated that he was merely an assistant of an equestrian procurator, and cannot have held equestrian procuratorships himself. I hope that reinterpreting Paeon's controversial career – that is, verifying the nature or status of his procuratorships – will shed some focused light on the broader issues of how imperial freedmen functioned in procuratorial administration, which eludes fixed patterns.

This particular imperial freedman's career was set down in a sepulchral inscription from Praeneste:¹⁵

Paeon Aug(usti) lib(ertus), proc(urator) castrens(is),
proc(urator) hereditat(ium), proc(urator) voluptat(is),
proc(urator) Alexandr(iae), sibi posterisq(ue) suis

All the procuratorial functions held by Paeon are fairly controversial, and his *cursus* has most often been compared to that of another imperial freedman, Ti. Claudius Classicus.¹⁶ Scholars disagree not only on how to date Paeon's offices, but also on the order in which he held them. There is doubt, too, as to the status of those procuratorial functions – *procurator Alexandriae*, *procurator voluptatis*, and *procurator hereditatium*. Most likely, the inscription lists Paeon's *cursus* in descending order, so *procurator*

¹³ *PIR*² P 53.

¹⁴ G. BOULVERT, 'La carrière de Tiberius Claudius Augusti libertus Classicus (AE 1972, 574)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 43 (1981), pp. 31–41; P. R. C. WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers', *Antichthon* 14 (1980), pp. 143–156; H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain (Supplément)*, Paris 1982, pp. 24–26; BRUUN, 'Some comments' (cit. n. 1), pp. 275, 278, 279 n. 36. K. KŁODZIŃSKI, 'Kontrowersje wokół karier dwóch wyzwolenców cesarskich – prokuratorów', *Klio. Journal of Polish and World History* 47 (2018), p. 168–177.

¹⁵ *CIL* XIV 2932 = *ILS* 1569.

¹⁶ *PIR*² C 750. See n. 14.

Alexandriae was the first, and *procurator castrensis*, the last¹⁷ and highest ranking palace office this imperial freedman held. Still, we cannot be sure about that direction of Paean's career,¹⁸ although next to the *a cubiculo* function, *procurator castrensis* was the most prestigious at the imperial court (and held exclusively by the imperial freedmen).¹⁹

Unambiguous dating of Paean's career remained difficult for a long time, because the inscription does not contain the freedman's *praenomen* and *nomen*. In Boulvert's opinion, Paean was active under Domitian; his functions of *procurator voluptatum* and *procurator hereditatum* were only included among equestrian offices of *ducenarius* rank in the 2nd century (after Hadrian's reign).²⁰ Weaver, on the other hand, admitted the possibility of Paean having been active under Hadrian or even after,²¹ offering a twofold explanation for the freedman's career. If Paean was active under the Flavii, then as a *libertus Augusti* he was the head of three procuratorial offices which only became equestrian in the 2nd century, his career culminating in the office of *proc. castrensis*, responsible for the finances of the imperial court; if he was active in the 2nd century (under Hadrian or later), then he held three assistant or subordinate procuratorships to be finally promoted to the highest courtly office.²² Weaver definitely ruled out the eventuality of that freedman managing equestrian departments after Trajan's reign 'by the book'. For a *libertus Augusti* it was only possible to become the head of an equestrian office if he had received equestrian

¹⁷ Cf. the career of T. Claudius Aug. lib. Bucolas (*PIR*² C 819), *CIL* XI 3612 = *ILS* 1567, who in the second half of the 1st century successively held the offices of *praegustator*, *triclin(i)arc[ba]*, *procurator a munerib(us)*, *proc(urator) aquar(um)*, and *proc(urator) castrensis*. For more details, see C. BRUUN, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, pp. 215–217.

¹⁸ WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' (cit. n. 14), p. 150; BOULVERT, 'La carrière' (cit. n. 14), pp. 36–37 n. 39.

¹⁹ G. DE SANCTIS, s.v. '*castrensis (ratio, fiscus)*', [in:] *Diz. Epigr.* II, 1, pp. 139–141; G. BOULVERT, *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le Haut-Empire romain: la condition de l'affranchi et de l'esclave du prince*, Paris 1974, p. 129.

²⁰ BOULVERT, *Domestique et fonctionnaire* (cit. n. 19), pp. 135–136.

²¹ WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' (cit. n. 14), pp. 146–150.

²² WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' (cit. n. 14), pp. 146–147.

status himself,²³ which could not have applied to Paean. The problem of Paean seems much more complex, and including it *a priori* in that of ‘unequal pairs’ of procurators may well prove erroneous.

The title *proc. Alexandriae* from the Praeneste inscription was merely a general term to suggest to the reader the broad geographical sense of the office (*in Aegypto*) without specifying its narrowly understood remit within the elaborate procuratorial administration in Egypt.²⁴ This title can relate to specialised procuratorships in Alexandria, such as the *proc. Neapoleos et Mausolei*, responsible for the Alexandrian storage facilities and probably for the *annona* destined for Rome or the *proc. ad Mercurium*, who supplied food and other resources to Alexandria as well as to financial procuratorial posts in Egypt, such as the *Idios Logos*, who was in charge of special revenues (e.g. *bona caduca*) and confiscated/abandoned properties or the *proc. usiacus*, responsible for imperial estates.²⁵ But only the latter post was held for many decades by the imperial freedmen. Other Egyptian procuratorships (also the *dioiketes* and the *archiereus*) were mainly equestrian offices,²⁶ but the procuratorial administration (especially its

²³ A freedman receiving equestrian status (through the *ius aureorum anulorum* or through receiving an *equus publicus*) would explain his holding an equestrian procuratorship and arouse no controversy. See BRUUN, ‘Some comments’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 282–283. For more a wider discussion, see W. ECK, ‘Ordo equitum romanorum, ordo libertorum. Freigelassene und ihre Nachkommen im Römischen Ritterstand’, [in:] *L’Ordre Equestre. Histoire d’une aristocratie (II^e siècle av. J.C. – III^e siècle ap. J.C.). Actes du colloque international organisé par S. Demougin, H. Devijver et M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (Bruxelles – Leuven, 5–7 octobre 1995)*, Rome 1999, pp. 5–29.

²⁴ BRUUN, ‘Some comments’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 274–278; F. BEUTLER, ‘Der procurator Alexandriae – tatsächlich eine Prokurator?’ [in:] H. HEFTNER, K. TOMASCHITZ (eds.), *Ad Fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch zum fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag*, Vienna 2004, pp. 509–513.

²⁵ G. M. PARÁSSOGLU, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, Amsterdam 1978, p. 89; A. JÖRDENS, ‘Government, taxation, and law’, [in:] C. RIGGS (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford 2012, p. 57; C. ADAMS, ‘Nile river transport under the Romans’, [in:] A. WILSON, A. BOWMAN (eds.), *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman World*, Oxford 2018, p. 189. See also A. JÖRDENS, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti*, Stuttgart 2009, pp. 199–201, 511.

²⁶ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-empire romain*, vol. 3, Paris 1961, pp. 1083–1092.

lower branches) in Egypt is still unclear.²⁷ Thus we can suppose that Paeon was the *proc. usiacus*.²⁸ Moreover, Beutler convincingly demonstrated that the inscription from Praeneste detailing Paeon's career ought to be dated to ca. AD 130, and that he was ἐπίτροπος τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος (*procurator usiacus*) responsible for εἰς τὸν] | κυριακὸν λόγ[ον (ll. 16–17) in AD 122/3.²⁹ In her opinion the freedman's name was Ulpus Paian, and it features in the partly preserved text of a petition (*P. Prag.* II 132) dated to that year. The question is, however, whether ascribing this later date to the inscription listing Paeon's career means decisively that he held procuratorial functions according to the principle of 'unequal collegiality', as Weaver would have it, assisting an equestrian procurator, or whether it was still possible for Paeon to hold a procuratorial function on his own, with no equestrian superior.

In the light of the findings of Bruun, who researched the career of Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Classicus, who also was the *proc. Alexandriae*, and a complex Greek terminology used to refer to financial procurators in Egypt (*procurator usiacus*, *Idios Logos*, *dioecetes*, *procurator ad dioecesin Alexandriae*),³⁰ and of Beutler, who demonstrated that Paeon was in 122/3 the first imperial freedman known to us to hold the office of *proc. usiacus*, synonymous with the title *proc. Alexandriae* listed in the Praeneste inscription, the hypothesis about him having been an equestrian procurator's subordinate is incorrect; Ulpus Paeon was an independent freedman procurator (that is, one who had no equestrian superior) responsible for the imperial estates in Egypt.³¹ We have no data which indicates that *proc. usiacus* acted with an equestrian superior in an 'unequal collegiality'.³² It was a procuratorial office held for a long time by the imperial freedmen on their own.

²⁷ JÖRDENS, 'Government, taxation, and law' (cit. n. 25), p. 57.

²⁸ Cf. BRUUN, 'Some comments' (cit. n. 1), p. 278: '[...] we can be reasonably sure that many of Pflaum's 'proc. in Aegypto' in fact were *proc. usiaci* responsible for imperial domains'.

²⁹ *P. Prag.* II 132. See F. BEUTLER, 'Paeon, der *procurator usiacus*, und die Datierung von *CIL* XIV 2932', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 160 (2007), pp. 232–234.

³⁰ BRUUN, 'Some comments' (cit. n. 1), pp. 276–279.

³¹ BEUTLER, 'Wer war ein Procurator usiacus?' (cit. n. 5), p. 80.

³² BEUTLER, 'Wer war ein Procurator usiacus?' (cit. n. 5), pp. 67–82.

The first confirmed *equus* to replace a freedman in that office was Ulpus Heracleides, only active in AD 174/5.³³ Anyway, Ulpus Paean had an assistant—*βοηθός* (*adiutor*) himself, the imperial freedman Ulpus Thiasus, a representative of the patrimonial administration,³⁴ just like *a rationibus* Cosmus had an *adiutor* in the *libertus Augusti* Septimianus,³⁵ which may indicate his superior position.

Another function held by Paean was that of *proc. voluptatis*, responsible for organizing the emperor's celebrations (festivities) or pleasures. Unlike Weaver I believe that if Tiberius nominated to that palace office the *equus* T. Caesonius Priscus (Suet., *Tib.* 42, 2), which was rather interesting in the context of the specific tasks and domestic character of that post, then ca. AD 124/5 Hadrian may just as well have entrusted it to the imperial freedman Paean, even though the procuratorship of the *equus* A. Ofellius Maior Macedo is also dated to Hadrian's reign (although not with certainty).³⁶ Moreover, Paean was not the first imperial freedman to hold that office; the *libertus Augusti* Ti. Claudius Classicus, whose official career has been analyzed and compared to that of Paean many times, held it (*proc. a voluptatibus*) during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan.³⁷ According to Boulvert, Weaver, Bowersock and Pflaum, Classicus was an *equus* by then,³⁸ having received the equestrian status, attested to by the term *κράτιστος* = *vir*

³³ *P. Tebt.* II 317; BEUTLER, 'Wer war ein Procurator usiacus?' (cit. n. 5), p. 77; IDEM, 'Paean, der *procurator usiacus*' (cit. n. 29), p. 233 n. 13.

³⁴ For examples of such *adiutores* see F. MITTHOF, 'Betrügerische Zollbeamte und der *procurator usiacus* Bemerkungen zu P. Amh. II 77', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 159 (2007), p. 260, n. 22.

³⁵ *CIL* IX 2438.

³⁶ *ILS* 8849. He probably served in *Legio I Minervia* c. AD 83. The dates of the other stages of his career are uncertain. Pflaum and Weaver date his activity as *procurator voluptatum* to Hadrian's reign, although in my opinion he may have just as well held that function towards the end of Trajan's. See PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (cit. n. 26), p. 1024; WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' (cit. n. 26), p. 147.

³⁷ *AE* 1972, 574.

³⁸ BOULVERT, 'La carrière' (cit. n. 14), p. 37; WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' (cit. n. 14), pp. 151–152; G. W. BOWERSOCK, 'Plutarch and the sublime hymn of Ofellius Laetus', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22 (1982), pp. 275–279, at p. 278; PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes (Supplément)* (cit. n. 14), p. 26.

egregius (seen in a papyrus from 19 May 103³⁹) from Nerva, as e.g. Claudius Etruscus' father had from Domitian.⁴⁰ However, the imperial freedmen in Egypt in charge of the estates (*procuratores usiaci*) in Greek terminology quite often received that epithet, whose meaning was broader than being an equestrian honorific⁴¹. In the same way, Classicus' Greek title of ἐπίτροπος καθολικός ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ (*procurator rationalis in Alexandria*), listed in a bilingual inscription from Ephesus, could not have meant an equestrian procurator in AD 103,⁴² since it is certain those with *procurator rationalis* or *rationales* titles were only active later.⁴³ Thus just as Bruun, I find no evidence to indicate Classicus received equestrian status, let alone was an equestrian *procurator a voluptatibus*.⁴⁴ At any rate, the official referred to as *proc. voluptatum (a voluptatibus)* was most likely nominated *ad hoc*, and the office was not part of the equestrian hierarchy of governmental positions,⁴⁵ so it is very likely that Hadrian (and/or his advisors), just as Tiberius, Nerva and Trajan before him, should have nominated to

³⁹ SB IV 7378 = *Sel. Pap.* II 422.

⁴⁰ Stat., *Silv.* 3, 3, 138–145.

⁴¹ BRUUN, 'Some comments' (cit. n. 1), p. 278; BEUTLER, 'Wer war ein Procurator usiacus?' (cit. n. 5), p. 74: 'Somit konnte "kratistos" in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten durchaus auch als Anrede für Freigelassene verwendet werden'. In the 2nd century in Egypt, it was fairly common for provincials to use the honorary titles of the highest ranking equestrian and senatorial officials. Another example would be the senatorial title of λαμπρότατος (*clarissimus*), used in the 2nd century by equestrian *praefecti Aegypti*. See MITTHOF, 'Betrügerische Zollbeamte' (cit. n. 34), p. 258 n. 15.

⁴² I. *Ephesos* 852 (= SEG XXX 1308).

⁴³ About the title ἐπίτροπος καθολικός related to the highest financial officials in Rome see KŁODZIŃSKI, 'The *collegium* (or *officium*) *rationalium*. The controversy over the reform of central financial administration in the 2nd half of the 2nd c. AD', *Pallas. Revue d'Études Antiques* 107 (2018), pp. 295–296.

⁴⁴ See also S. DEMOUGIN, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, Rome 1988, p. 652 n. 247.

⁴⁵ WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' (cit. n. 14), p. 147. See also PFLAUM, *Abrégé des procurateurs équestres*, Paris 1974, pp. 9–10. Perhaps the duties of the *procurator a voluptatibus* were later (under Marcus Aurelius or Commodus) taken over by the *procurator munerum* (CIL VI 8498). After all, during Septimius Severus' reign, holding festivities was already the responsibility of the *praefectus Urbi*. See D. 1, 12, 1, 12: 'Quies quoque popularium et disciplina spectaculorum ad praefecti urbi curam pertinere videtur'. See A. CHASTAGNOL, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire*, Paris 1960, pp. 279–283.

it a trusted *equus* or *libertus*, who already had some experience at financial administration. What is more, it was exactly the imperial slaves and freedmen who were in charge of the financial handling of imperial festivities and the functioning of *ratio voluptatum* (or *voluptuaria*).⁴⁶ A temporary nomination of a ‘special’ procurator may have been an extraordinary event, and so need not have followed any ‘formal’ rules of equestrian procuratorial administration, if any such rules even existed:⁴⁷ the emperor could decide on the nomination regardless of the official’s social status. Anyway, I see no arguments to support the hypothesis that Paean was merely an equestrian procurator’s assistant in ‘unequal collegiality’.

Paean’s last-but-one function was *procurator hereditatium*. During Hadrian’s reign, the office was already a high-level procuratorial post of *ducenarius* rank,⁴⁸ but earlier, both freedmen and equites combined it with other, additional tasks. Under Nero, the freedman L. Domitius Lemnus was *proc. patrimonii et hereditatium*,⁴⁹ while in AD 69, Vitellius made the *equus* Sex. Caesius Propertianus a *proc. a patrimonio et hereditatibus*.⁵⁰ Under the Flavii the office of *hereditates*, by then independent, was held by T. Flavius Delphicus,⁵¹ an imperial freedman, whereas in the reign of Trajan (or at the beginning of Hadrian’s), the *equus* T. Haterius Nepos combined functions as a *proc. hereditatium et a censibus*. From Hadrian’s reign on, the office

⁴⁶ *CIL* VI 252; *CIL* VI 8564 = 33734; *CIL* VI 8619.

⁴⁷ Pflaum’s findings and his categorizations of equestrian careers seem convincing and the equestrian *cursus* inscriptions being published only confirm them. Recently in a polemic with Pflaum’s findings, Richard Duncan-Jones wrote of ‘lack of standardization’ in the case of equestrian careers. See R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Power and Privilege in Roman Society*, Cambridge 2016, pp. 106–107. Cf. S. DEMOUGIN, ‘Considérations sur l’avancement dans les carrières procuratoriennes équestres’, [in:] L. DE BLOIS (ed.), *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire*, Amsterdam 2001, pp. 24–34; K. KŁODZIŃSKI, ‘The careers of equestrian *a rationibus*: the issue of ‘specialism’, *Palamedes. A Journal of Ancient History* 11 (2016), pp. 119–140, at p. 122 n. 17.

⁴⁸ PFLAUM, *Abrégé* (cit. n. 45), p. 20.

⁴⁹ *CIL* VI 8499 = *ILS* 1489; WEAVER, ‘*ILS* 1489, 1490 and Domitius Lemnus’, *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 14 (1965), pp. 509–512.

⁵⁰ *CIL* XI 5028 = *ILS* 1447.

⁵¹ *AE* 1888, 130. It is possible under the Flavii the same function was held by another freedman, Martialis: *CIL* VI 8515.

in Rome was only held by equites (of *ducenarius* rank), and its range of prerogatives and duties encompassed almost exclusively *hereditates*.⁵² So, what was the nature of Ulpian's office under Hadrian? Was he, as Weaver would have it, a 'subordinate of an equestrian colleague'?⁵³

The 'unequal collegiality' of *procuratores hereditatium* was supposedly confirmed by the phrases Weaver quoted from imperial constitutions from the end of the 2nd century, where the officials are referred to in the plural (*procuratoribus*).⁵⁴ However, applying administrative realities to times several decades prior is ahistorical and appears to be a weak argument. Furthermore, the phrase itself, drawn from late ancient juridical sources, may have been a rhetorical term (referring to successive procurators) and need not by any means prove that multiple *procuratores hereditatium* were active simultaneously. It should also be noted Paean seems to be the only imperial freedman known to us to have held the title of *proc. hereditatium* in the period from Hadrian's rule on.⁵⁵ If there were more confirmed *liberti Augusti* from that time with the title *proc. hereditatium*, who had held that office in Rome, it would be possible to put forward the hypothesis of 'unequal collegiality' for that procuratorial function. Meanwhile, *liberti Augusti* had been active as *procuratores hereditatium* on their own (that is, with no equestrian superiors) before, namely under the Flavii: they were T. Flavius Delphicus (*AE* 1888, 130; *AE* 2007, 326),

⁵² PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes* (cit. n. 26), pp. 1025–1026. There is some controversy surrounding the functions held by the *eques* Valerius Eudaemon (PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes*, vol. 1, Paris 1960, pp. 264–271, no. 110), *proc. hereditatium et proc. provinciae Asiae*, *CIL* III 431. In Pflaum's opinion, that 'spécialiste financier' accompanied emperor Hadrian on his journey to the East in 129 and it is probably then that he was appointed procurator of Asia. See. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes*, vol. 1, p. 270.

⁵³ Otherwise for a freedman to hold the office would have meant *proc. hereditatium* lost some importance during Hadrian's reign (WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' [cit. n. 14], p. 147), which seems highly unlikely.

⁵⁴ D. 49, 14, 32; C. Iust. 7, 54, 1. See WEAVER, 'Two freedman careers' (cit. n. 14), p. 147 n. 17.

⁵⁵ Reconstructing one of the offices held by M. Aurelius Aug. lib. as *proc(urator) b[ereditatium]* is purely hypothetical, both it and the date of the inscription *CIL* XIII 1800 (that is, the reign of Marcus Aurelius or of Commodus), uncertain. Cf. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris* (cit. n. 6), p. 253; BOULVERT, *Domestique et fonctionnaire* (cit. n. 19), p. 123 n. 72.

⁵⁶ PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes* (cit. n. 26), pp. 1025–1026.

(T. Flavius?) Respectus (*CIL* VI 8433) and Martialis Atticianus (*CIL* VI 8515; *AE* 2012, 186).

Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that during Hadrian's reign, Paean was the head of that procuratorship, rather than an assistant of an equestrian procurator. From Hadrian's reign on, *proc. hereditatium* did become an office regularly held by *equites* (we have fifteen of them attested for that period),⁵⁶ but the cases where the office was combined (from Nero's times to Hadrian's) with others (*a patrimoni, a censibus, Asiae*) and held now by freedmen, now by *equites*, demonstrate the administrative status of the *procurator hereditatium* underwent changes for some time and was not yet fully shaped under Hadrian (or at least, early into his reign).⁵⁷ It is possible that like Nero and one of the Flavian emperors before him, Hadrian made a trusted functionary of his *procurator hereditatium* to finally confer on him the most important court financial office, that of *procurator castrensis*. Nomination to the latter post means Paean was really trusted by the emperor, who could influence his career.

The imperial freedman Ulpian Paean held all his procuratorships alone (without an equestrian superior). If one wanted to put them in order and describe their status, one could say two of his procuratorships (*Alexandriae [usiacus]* and *castrensis*) were in Hadrian's time typical freedmen's offices, while two others (*voluptatis* and *hereditatium*) were carried out by both freedmen and *equites*, even though it is possible that by then *procurator hereditatium* was already part of the regular equestrian promotion path. Still, while the precise division of procuratorships into freedmen's, equestrian and those which originally could be held by *liberti Augusti* to be later reserved for *equites*, has been fixed in historical literature, especially by the works of Pflaum, Boulvert and Weaver, it does seem rather vague. That is demonstrated not merely by the career of Paean, an independent *procurator hereditatium*, but also for example that of Aurelius (?) Saturni-

⁵⁷ Today, Hadrian is less and less often portrayed as the emperor who carried out a thorough 'equestrian' reform, which meant taking a number of procuratorial offices out of freedmen's hands and giving them over to *equites*, as well as creating new ones, staffed with *equites* only. See e.g. G. ALFÖLDY, 'Ein römischer Ritter aus Cossura (Pantelleria)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (151) 2005, pp. 193–213, at p. 205; J. FÜNDLING, *Kommentar zur Vita Hadriani der Historia Augusta*, vol. 2, Bonn 2006, p. 984.

nus, who during Septimius Severus' reign became the first freedman *procurator Asturiae et Callaeciae*,⁵⁸ although beginning from Vespasian's times that office was regularly held by *equites*.⁵⁹ There is evidence indicating Saturninus was the head of his procuratorial office, rather than a mere assistant of an equestrian procurator.⁶⁰ Many scholars believe the imperial freedman Cosmus from *CIL IX 2438* (AD 169–172) to have been an equestrian procurator's colleague.⁶¹ Others, however, accept the possibility he was the head of the *officium a rationibus*,⁶² just like T. Aurelius Aug. lib. Aphrodisius, *proc. Aug. a rationibus* (*CIL XIV 2104*). Cosmus acted as a high-rank representative of the *officium a rationibus*, responsible for a transhumance in Italy. If Cosmus had not had the prerogatives to act regarding the shepherds from Saepinum (some do point out that the case was transferred to *praefecti praetorio*, because of Cosmus' lack of authority and low social status), then his equestrian superior would have made an

⁵⁸ *I. Pergamum VIII*, 2 no. 44 = *SEG 40*, 1133.

⁵⁹ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris 1950, pp. 46–47; IDEM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes* (cit. n. 26), p. 1048; IDEM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain. Supplément*, p. 117; G. ALFÖLDY, *Provincia Hispania superior. Vorgelegt am 6. November 1999*, Heidelberg 2000, p. 45; S. LEFEBVRE, *Procurateurs en Hispanie. Les fastes procuratoriens des Hispaniae: bilan des recherches depuis H.-G. Pflaum*, [in:] S. DEMOUGIN, X. LORiot, P. COSME, S. LEFEBVRE (eds.), *H.-G. Pflaum, un historien du XX^e siècle*, Geneva 2006, p. 256.

⁶⁰ See HIRT, *Imperial Mines and Quarries* (cit. n. 7), pp. 122, 129. Cf. H.-G. PFLAUM, 'La carrière' (cit. n. 7), pp. 304–305; M. CHRISTOL, S. DEMOUGIN, 'De Lugo à Pergame: la carrière de l'affranchi Saturninus dans l'administration impériale', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 102, 1 (1990), pp. 159–211, at pp. 189–190; KŁODZIŃSKI, 'Kontrowersje' (cit. n. 14), pp. 164–168.

⁶¹ WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris* (cit. n. 6), pp. 237, 264; P. EICH, *Zur Metamorphose des politischen Systems in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Die Entstehung einer 'personalen Bürokratie' in langen Jahrhunderten*, Berlin 2005, p. 225; W. ECK, 'Die römischen Amtsträger und die sozialen Gruppen im Imperium Romanum: Red Reflex in der epigraphischen Dokumentation', [in:] S. PROCHÁZKA, L. REINFANDT, S. TOST, *Official Epistolography and the Language(s) of Power*, Wien 2015, pp. 190–191.

⁶² U. LAFFI, 'L'iscrizione di Sepino (*CIL IX, 2438*) relativa ai contrasti fra le autorità municipali e i "conductores" delle greggi imperiali con l'intervento dei prefetti del pretorio', *Studi classici e orientali* 14 (1965), p. 185, n. 22; E. LO CASCIO, *Il princeps e il suo impero. Studi di storia amministrativa e finanziaria romana*, Bari 2000, p. 121 n. 22; DUNCAN-JONES, *Power and Privilege* (cit. n. 47), p. 107.

appearance at some point. Yet no such superior is known to us or features in *CIL IX 2438*. Duncan-Jones also lists the example of a freedman active under the Flavii, T. Flavius Aug. lib. Symphorus (*AE 1949, 30*), *proc. Aug. IIII Publica Africae*, who was supposedly a ‘substantive department head’.⁶³ In the case of that office it would be difficult to prove it was held in ‘unequal collegiality’, but we know one more imperial freedman Pythagoras, who was *procurator IIII publicorum Africae* (*CIL VIII 12655*). Moreover, it is worth taking into account two imperial freedmen active in the 2nd century, M. Ulpius Probus (*CIL XIV 176*) and Tyrrhenus (*CIL VI 790*), the only *liberti Augusti* known to us who held important, equestrian (probably patrimonial) procuratorships: of *Pannonia Superior* and of *regio Thevestina*. It is possible they held those offices as head procurators with no equestrian superiors⁶⁴. It is likely that the emperor’s freedmen not only held the functions of equestrian procurators’ assistants under ‘unequal collegiality’, but also sometimes (temporarily?) replaced them, holding equestrian procuratorships on their own.⁶⁵

Present-day historians rather like to reduce the activity of many freedman procurators to being assistants to *equites*, even in the absence of proof.⁶⁶ According to Pflaum, Boulvert and Weaver, the careers of freed-

⁶³ DUNCAN-JONES, *Power and Privilege* (cit. n. 47), p. 107 n. 19. Eck demonstrated based on his dating of the activity of L. Caninius P. f. Valens (*CIL V 7547*), during that time *procurator IIII Publica Africae* was already part of the equestrian career. See W. ECK, ‘Die Einrichtung der Prokurator der IIII Publica Africae zu einem Metodischen Problem’, [in:] IDEM, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hoben Kaiserzeit*, Bd. I, Basel 1995, p. 353. Until then it had been thought the first confirmed equestrian procurator *IIII Publica Africae* was only active from Hadrian’s times. Cf. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (cit. n. 26), p. 1093.

⁶⁴ Cf. A. KOLB, J. FUGMANN, *Tod in Rom. Grabinschriften als Spiegel römischen Lebens*, Mainz am Rhein 2008, p. 112: ‘[...] vermutlich damals als zweiter Mann neben einem Verwaltungsleiter in Rittergang’.

⁶⁵ EICH, *Zur Metamorphose* (cit. n. 61), p. 313, n. 2. See also a controversial case of M. Aurelius Prosenes (*CIL VI 8498 = ILS 1738*), who was a freedman *proc. patrimonii* at the beginning of the 3rd c., although that office was a part of the equestrian procuratorial hierarchy. cf. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (cit. n. 26), p. 1025.

⁶⁶ G. P. BURTON, *procurator*, [in:] S. HORNBLLOWER, A. SPAWFORTH (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*, Oxford 2014², p. 632: ‘The number and the duties of the freedmen procurators are ill known; but most probably, acted as assistants to equestrian

man procurators and equestrian procurators were distinctly separate, and even if a freedman had the same titles as an *equus*, he could only have been an 'auxiliary procurator'. Now it is true that 'unequal' procurator pairs already existed during the reign of Domitian,⁶⁷ and even earlier. Their existence is also confirmed for the times of Trajan, Hadrian and later (e.g. when it came to managing the emperor's domains in Proconsular Africa or the procuratorial administration in the provinces). It still does not follow that the principle had to be in force throughout financial administration, with freedmen categorically excluded from holding equestrian procuratorships on their own.⁶⁸ The above-mentioned scholars, while emphasizing the differences in status and legal standing between freedmen and *equites*, and the uncrossable boundaries of their careers, belittled the role of the emperor and the personal factor (patronage), which may have been crucial to nominations of imperial freedmen to equestrian procuratorial offices

procurators'. According to David Nonnis (*Procurator praediorum Tiburtinorum, procurator rationis privatae: un liberto di Traiano a Casole d'Elsa*, [in:] S. DEMOUGIN, M. NAVARRO CABALLERO (eds.), *Se déplacer dans l'Empire romain. Approches épigraphiques. XVIII^e rencontre franco-italienne d'épigraphie du monde romain, Bordeaux 7–8 octobre 2011, Bordeaux 2014*, p. 196), the fact from the 2nd half of the 2nd century on *procuratores rationis privatae* were high-ranking *equites* must mean the first attested official to hold this function, Trajan's freedman M. Ulpius Epaphroditus, *proc. praediorum Tiburtinorum* and *proc. rationis privatae*, known from an inscription from Casole d'Elsa, must have been an equestrian procurator's unequal colleague, even though the activity of an equestrian *proc. rationis privatae* is first confirmed for Marcus Aurelius' reign (*CIL* VI, 41118). Nonnis emphasized Epaphroditus' status and the first, less significant function held by him (*praedia*), which was normally left to freedmen, from which he cannot have been promoted to such an important office, *a priori* (and in my opinion, incorrectly) rejecting the possibility of that procuratorship having been originally held independently by freedmen, and by *equites* later.

⁶⁷ Suet., *Dom.* 7, 3: *quaedam ex maximis officiis inter libertinos equitesque R. communicavit*. The verb *communicare* used here by Suetonius, who was familiar with the structures of Roman administration, causes some uncertainty, since it can mean *to assign* or, as Boulvert would have it (*Esclaves et affranchis impériaux* [cit. n. 4], p. 253), *to join* or *to make available*, which might suggest a freedman and an *equus* being active simultaneously. For more on the subject, see DEMOUGIN, 'L'ordre équestre sous Domitien' (cit. n. 3), pp. 294–296 (also for further reading). For imperial freedmen an *equites* co-operating in procuratorial administration, see Plinius Minor, *Ep.* 10, 27–28.

⁶⁸ HIRT, *Imperial Mines and Quarries* (cit. n. 7), pp. 122, 129; DUNCAN-JONES, *Power and Privilege* (cit. n. 47), pp. 106–107.

and was the cornerstone of the careers of some *liberti Augusti*.⁶⁹ The above applies more to strictly administrative functions, primarily financial ones (*procuratores* as representatives of the emperor's businesses and of the imperial treasury), not to politically significant offices at the imperial court, from which in the 2nd century former slaves would most likely be debarred, unlike during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁷⁰ Thus by appointing *liberti Augusti* to important equestrian procuratorships neither Trajan nor Hadrian broke the principles of good rulership, which included monitoring imperial freedmen and not allowing them any greater political influence (*potentia*) or part in governing the *res publica*.⁷¹ Trajan or Hadrian including an office in the equestrian procuratorial administration did not by any means have to stop a freedman from holding it.⁷² If a former slave could hold the function of *proc. Frygiae* or *proc. portus utriusque* alone, then he could just as well manage another procuratorial office, e.g. *proc. a voluptatibus* or *proc. hereditatium*. Thus, in the 2nd century there were no formal obstacles barring a freedman procurator from holding a 'major' office, even if it was already part of the equestrian procuratorial administration. Emperors and their advisors were not only interested in creating ever new

⁶⁹ Fronto, *ad Marcum Caes.* 5, 52. See R. SALLER, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 140–141.

⁷⁰ Trajan himself stressed, when mentioning his freedman and procurator (*Caesaris libertus et procurator*) Eurythmus, that he would not have the same extent of political influence freedmen used to have. See Plinius Minor, Ep. 6, 31, 9: 'non ille Polyclitus est nec ego Nero'. Under the Antonines, cases of influential *liberti Augusti* are rare, excluding the reign of Commodus. See HA, *Marcus* 15, 2; HA, *Ver.* 9, 3–6.

⁷¹ Tac., *Hist.* 1, 76; HA, *Pius* 6, 2; 11, 1; HA, *Pert.* 13, 9; Plinius Minor, *Pan.* 88, 1–3. See SALLER, *Personal Patronage* (cit. n. 69), p. 67; H. MOURITSEN, *The Freedman in the Roman World*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 105–106.

⁷² In Cassius Dio's opinion (53, 15, 3; 58, 19, 6), both *equites* and freedmen were appointed to procuratorial offices, which is additionally confirmed by an appointment he mentions of Hiberus to the office of the prefect of Egypt in Tiberius' reign. Moreover, Licinus mentioned by Dio (54, 21) was an independent procurator in Gaul. Also, Fronto in one of his letters recommended to Marcus Aurelius that he appoint an imperial freedman Aridelus to a procuratorship; Fronto, *ad Marcum Caes.* 5, 52: *Petit nunc procurationem ex forma suo loco ac justo tempore*. See WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris* (cit. n. 6), pp. 268–269). I do not think an office subordinate to that of an *eques* was meant in this case; rather, it was an independent, high-rank *procuratio*.

equestrian procuratorships or staffing the existing ones with *equites* alone or 'unequal' procurator pairs, but equally in appointing loyal, and at the same time competent officials with administrative experience, which *liberti Augusti* doubtless were.⁷³

It is open to discussion whether in the 2nd century the range of a freedman procurator's prerogatives and duties was essentially the same as that of an equestrian procurator's,⁷⁴ but equestrian procuratorial careers (aptly distinguished by Pflaum) certainly cannot be simply compared or equated to freedman ones.⁷⁵ Still, the difference between the two types of careers was no obstacle to some imperial freedmen being nominated to equestrian procuratorships, which was not that rare at all, in as far as that can be ascertained (since the problem needs more research). At the same time, such nominations were accompanied by rather unusual circumstances (such as when it was impossible to appoint an *eques*). However, it cannot be ruled out that sometimes emperors themselves would decide of such procuratorial nominations, taking into consideration their personal preferences and practical knowledge of the skills and administrative experience of their *liberti* needed to hold an office customarily held by *equites*.

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⁷³ DUNCAN-JONES, *Power and Privilege* (cit. n. 47), pp. 106–107.

⁷⁴ Cf. R. ALSTON, *Aspects of Roman History 31 BC – AD 117*, 2nd ed., London – New York 2014, p. 346: 'No clear distinction can be seen between equestrian and freedmen procurators'. See also F. MILLAR, (review) 'Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain, I–III, by H.-G. Pflaum', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 53 (1963), p. 196; P. A. BRUNT, 'Procuratorial jurisdiction', *Latomus* 25 (1966), pp. 461–487.

⁷⁵ At any rate, attempts to standardize the careers of imperial freedmen have proven futile. See G. BURTON, 'Slaves, freedmen and monarchy', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977), pp. 162–166.