

BEGINNING OF A LETTER OF THE ACTING PREFECT MUSSIUS AEMILIANUS¹

Francisca Hoogendijk *Leiden University*

Abstract. — Edition of a Greek papyrus with the beginning of a letter of L. Mussius Aemilianus directed to Dius, president of the town council of the city of Arsinoe, and probably dealing with a problem concerning the nomination of an *exegetes*.

Not often does one find the original version of a letter sent by a famous person from Antiquity. The papyrus published below, however, contains the beginning of an original letter of the acting prefect of Egypt, Lucius Mussius Aemilianus. He is known from various sources.² He was probably born in Italy and was of equestrian rank. An inscription dated 247 CE and found in Ostia, on what must have been the base of his statue, informs us about his early career.³ After passing quickly through the ranks of the military, Mussius Aemilianus had started his administrative career as *praefectus vehiculorum trium provinciarum Galliarum* (commander of transportation in the three provinces of Gaul; probably under Philippus Arabs). He then became *procurator Alexandriae Pelusi Paraetoni* (manager of the three harbours of Egypt on the Mediterranean coast), which

¹ The papyrus published in this article is privately owned in Wilrijk, Belgium. It formerly belonged to the Gerald E. Wellburn collection, which was described in Wellburn's handwritten album *A Postal History Collection of Great Britain* (1938) (displayed online at the website of Victoria Stamps: http://www.vicstamps.com/displays/postal_history_collection_gb/table_contents.html [accessed March 2016]; see no. 8 of the online exhibit for this papyrus). I thank the present owner for bringing the papyrus to my attention and allowing me to publish it. I also thank Cary Martin for correcting my English.

² For Lucius Mussius Aemilianus see *PIR*² M 757; A. Stein, *Die Präefekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bern 1950) 143-145; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut Empire* (Paris 1960-1961) 2.925-927, no. 349; A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* 1 (Cambridge 1971) 23; P. Bureth, "Le préfet d'Égypte (30 av. J.C. – 297 ap. J.C.): État présent de la documentation en 1973", *ANRW* 2.10.1 (1988) 494; G. Bastianini, "Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C. – 297 d.C.): Addenda (1973 – 1985)", *ibid.* 514 and "Ἐπαρχὸς Αἰγύπτου nel formulario dei documenti da Augusto a Diocleziano," *ibid.* 583-597; see further the comprehensive overview of the preceding literature by B.C. McGing in *P.Dublin*, pp. 102-103, note to text 18, ll. 5-6.

³ *CIL* 6.1624 = 14.170 = Dessau, *ILS* 1433.

was followed by a similar position in the harbours of Ostia: *procurator portus utriusque Ostiae* (where a statue with the aforementioned inscription was set up in 247).

Almost ten years later Mussius Aemilianus is found back in Egypt again. From this period stem the attestations in a growing number of papyri (19 attestations at the moment; see below and Appendix). He is first attested as acting prefect of Egypt, assisting the *correctores* Ulpius Pasio and Claudius Theodorus under emperor Valerian. Eusebius, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, relates the Alexandrian bishop Dionysius' story of how Aemilianus in this function was implementing, in the courts of Alexandria, Valerianus' order to persecute Christians (in 258).⁴ Between 259 and 261 Mussius Aemilianus is attested in the papyri as prefect of Egypt. Other literary sources⁵ inform us about the end of his career: in 260, when emperor Valerianus was captured by the Sassanids, Mussius Aemilianus sided with the usurpers Macrianus and Quietus, as is also shown by the fact that coins with their images were struck in Alexandria.⁶ After the death of Macrianus in autumn 261, Mussius Aemilianus proclaimed himself emperor of the Roman Empire. But this did not last long: troops under the command of Theodotus, who was sent there by emperor Gallienus, entered Egypt and captured Mussius Aemilianus before the 30th of March 262. Subsequently he was put to death in Rome. This well-known figure is the sender of the papyrus letter published below.

The letter is directed to a certain Dius, a *prytanis* or president of the town council (βουλή) of Arsinoe (Ἀρσινοϊτῶν scil. πόλις), who is probably known from another papyrus (see note to l. 2). The city of the addressee, Arsinoe, the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome (modern-day Fayum), is logically also the place where the papyrus must have been found. Dius is ordered by the prefect to come, or to send someone else to represent him (l. 3: ἢ αὐτὸς ἦκε ἢ ἄλλον ἀντὶ σοῦ ἀπόστειλον), so that a problem may be solved concerning someone's nomination as *exegetes* (ll. 3-5): ὥστ[ε] παρ[α]τυχεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα κατὰ τὴν ὀνομασίαν ... εἰς ἐξηγητείαν, where I have tentatively translated ὥστ[ε] παρ[α]τυχεῖν with "so that the case can come up" (see note to ll. 3-4). This would be a reference to a court case probably to be judged by the prefect. Dius is obviously asked to come to the prefect: this could be in Alexandria, the

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist.Eccl.* 7.11.

⁵ *SHA Gallieni Duo* 4.1-2, 5.6, 9.1; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 21.1-8; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 32.4; these literary sources may be partly fictitious.

⁶ See, e.g., E. Christiansen, *Coinage in Roman Egypt. The Hoard Evidence* (Aarhus 2004) 117.

official seat of the prefect, but perhaps it was closer by. It is known that the prefect regularly travelled to several cities in Egypt to hold his yearly *conventus* or, in Greek, διαλογισμός, during which the prefect decided on local matters in court and conducted a review of the local administration and finances. This happened according to a fixed calendar. As can be found in Foti Talamanca's study of the *conventus*, for Middle and Upper Egypt this was normally held between late January and mid-April⁷ at Memphis or at Arsinoe, maybe alternating every year, or rather sometimes in both cities, as is shown by Haensch in his article "Konventsordnung."⁸ This letter cannot, however, be counted towards the scarce evidence⁹ for the *conventus* in the third century, especially as the *prytanis* is allowed to send a representative. In this case, a good reason for sending someone else might just be the fact that the court session is held in Alexandria, which would cause the *prytanis* to be away from his daily duties for too long. Although our letter is not specific about the location, it must have been clear enough to Dius himself where he was supposed to go.

Mikkalos in line 5 must be the nominee in question, who probably petitioned against his nomination to *exegetes*. It is unfortunate that the rest of the papyrus is broken off, but it is likely that the present letter was written in reaction to a petition Mussius Aemilianus might have received from Mikkalos, concerning a complaint about the latter's nomination to *exegetes*. As a result of that, the acting prefect would then have summoned the *prytanis*, accused of the unlawful nomination, to appear before his court. There are several papyri in which *prytaneis* are attested in court proceedings before the prefect, but in those cases they are advocating for the inhabitants of their city or nome (for instance to lower tax burdens).¹⁰ In the present case, the *prytanis* would stand in court as the defendant.

⁷ G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano, I: L'organizzazione del "conventus" del "praefectus Aegypti"* (Milano 1974), see pp. 160-161 on Memphis and/or Arsinoe; N. Lewis, "The Prefect's Conventus: Proceedings and Procedures," *BASP* 18 (1981) 119-129, p. 120, note 4 about Arsinoe probably alternating with Memphis.

⁸ R. Haensch, "Zur Konventsordnung in Aegyptus und den übrigen Provinzen des römischen Reiches," in *Akten des 21. Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 1.320-391, esp. p. 328. In Appendix I-II Haensch cites 6 texts with proof of a *conventus* in Arsinoe.

⁹ Cf. Haensch (n. 8) 334.

¹⁰ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 14.1662 (246 CE) letter of the *prytanis* of the town council of Oxyrhynchus to the *strategos*: request to appoint a deputy while the *prytanis* goes to Alexandria to appeal to the prefect about taxation of the nome; *P.Oxy.* 22.2341 (208 CE) where a *prytanis* is present at the prefect's *conventus* in the Oxyrhynchite nome, accusing the *strategos* of the late delivery of taxes in kind. Cf. A. Jördens, "Das Verhältnis der römischen Amtsträger in Ägypten zu den 'Städten' in der Provinz," in W. Eck (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie*

Much is known about the nomination of candidates for magistracies, but most of this stems from papyri found in Oxyrhynchus and, to a lesser extent, also Hermopolis.¹¹ So our text, coming from Arsinoe, is a welcome addition to the rather scarce information on this city's council. To see a *prytanis* nominating someone for the magistracy of *exegetes* is otherwise totally in agreement with the existing documentation from elsewhere.¹² For in the case of candidates for the higher magistracies, the town council, represented by its president, the *prytanis*, was responsible for the nomination of candidates, who were chosen from their own body of *bouleutai*.¹³ The actual decision to appoint someone to a magistracy was still taken by the *strategos*.¹⁴ Magistracies, which were originally regarded as functions of honor for members of the elite, had in the third century slowly been equated with liturgies, and were then often seen as a burden.¹⁵ So it became more and more difficult to find candidates, which at the same time led to an increase in complaints about allegedly unlawful nominations. A papyrus from 235 CE preserves a whole record of different appeals against nominations, also against the nomination to *exegetes*.¹⁶ In a papyrus from ca. 250 CE

und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 42; München 1999) 141-180, here p. 170 with n. 146.

¹¹ On nomination to magistracies see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Pap.Flor. 28; Firenze 1997) 75-79 with table I, pp. 114-117.

¹² Nomination acclaimed in *P.Oxy.* 12.1413 and 44.3187; informed of function by *prytanis* in *P.Oxy.* 6.891.

¹³ See E.P. Wegener, "The βουλὴ and the Nomination to the ἀρχαί in the μητροπόλις of Roman Egypt," in P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démoitque et copte* (P.L.Bat. 23; Leiden 1985) 62-114 [corrected reprint of 1948]; A.K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971) 98; Lewis (n. 11) 83: "the boule exercised a de facto, if not a de jure, power of appointment: barring some clear illegality, formal approval of their nominations by the strategos, later the logistes, would be automatic," and p. 87: "under the Dominate, ... some simplification of the appointment procedure was effected. This appears, for example, in the role of the boule assigned to its presiding officer. The πρύτανις, ..., now the boule tended to leave the whole matter of liturgic appointments more and more to his sole discretion, with authority to act in its name." See also C. Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n.Chr.* (Stuttgart 1997) 13-18, and A. Lamiado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin* (Paris 2002) 220: "Sous le Haut-Empire, la nomination aux honores et aux munera comport deux étapes: la *nominatio* (en grec ὄνομασία ou προβολή), qui est la désignation d'un candidat par un *nominator*, et la *creatio*, la ratification de la *nominatio* par la curie."

¹⁴ On the appointive power of the strategos cf. Lewis (n. 11) 82: "By the third century his appointive power had become little more than a formality, since nominations had become essentially self-effectuating."

¹⁵ See L.E. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-century Roman Egypt* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 271; Leiden 2006) 8 with further literature and passim.

¹⁶ *P.Rainer Cent.* 68 (dated around 235 CE and originating from the Lycopolite nome). On exemption from liturgies see N. Lewis, "Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt,"

the prefect Titinnius Clodianus is also involved in a case of nomination to the *exegeteia* (*P.Harrauer* 35, Hermopolis). Another papyrus dated to 250 CE relates a court case before the prefect of a *prytanis* of the same city of Arsinoe about his problems in finding candidates for liturgies: village inhabitants protest against their nomination as city magistrates (*SB* 5.7696).

Complaints about nominations could be sent to the town council itself, or to the *strategos*, but very often we see them addressed directly to the highest authority in Egypt: the prefect. The papyri have preserved no less than 11 petitions (out of the ca. 75 listed by Haensch in his “Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen”¹⁷) where the prefect was appealed to by private individuals on unjustified nominations to liturgies. Often these cases were decided upon by the prefect himself, in court sessions held in Alexandria or at the *conventus*. In the case of our text, we cannot know which steps, if any, had preceded this letter. A petition may first have been lodged with the *strategos* containing a summons (called *παραγγελία*¹⁸) to the defendant, which may have been forwarded to the prefect. Or the complainant may have skipped this step. What we do know is that Mussius Aemilianus now summons the *prytanis* who was responsible for the perhaps unjust nomination of Mikkalos so that he can deal with the case in his court. Drecoll illustrates how persons who nominate a liturgist, personally or as a group, guarantee the liturgy and, moreover, that nominators are sometimes attested to take the liturgy upon themselves, if the nominee could not fulfill the task.¹⁹ A *prytanis* of the town council of Hermopolis is found in 250 CE to have taken over the liturgy of a *kosmetes* from the original nominee. So it may be assumed that this *κίνδυνος ἀναδόσεως* or *periculum nominatorum* as it was called, also applied to our *prytanis* Dius either personally, or to the whole town council who had agreed to his nomination.

The nineteen papyri (one of them still unpublished) now known attesting Mussius Aemilianus are listed in the Appendix below. Nine of them are texts with references to earlier orders or decisions of Mussius Aemilianus

in *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milano 1966) 508-541 = Lewis (n. 11) 147-173; J.D. Thomas, “Two Petitions Concerning Liturgies: BGU XI 2064 and PSI XII 1245,” in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Miscellanea Papirologica* (Pap.Flor. 7; Firenze 1980) 355-365.

¹⁷ R. Haensch, “Die Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen in der Provinz Aegyptus,” *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487-546; the prefect could be appealed to on any problem by the whole population.

¹⁸ See Foti Talamanca (n. 7) 182-183; Lewis (n. 7) 122; N. Lewis, “To the Conventus by *παραγγελία*: The Time Factor,” *JJP* 33 (2003) 85-90.

¹⁹ Drecoll (n. 13) 317ff.

(nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19). Six texts are petitions, or contain copies of petitions, directed to Mussius Aemilianus himself (nos. 4, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16), sometimes partly written in Latin (nos. 4 and 16). One of the latter is a writing exercise with the address of a petition to Mussius Aemilianus as acting prefect. These petitions all relate to disputes or juridical problems to be resolved. Two of the texts are letters of Mussius Aemilianus himself (nos. 3 and 11 = the text published below) and one is a tiny fragment of court proceedings in which Mussius Aemilianus seems to speak (no. 10). Most of these papyri come from Oxyrhynchus. One, perhaps two, of them stem from Hermopolis, and our letter is the first which was presumably found in Arsinoe.

All these papyri show Mussius Aemilianus fulfilling the various tasks of prefect, which are comprehensively described by Jördens in her book *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*.²⁰ Mussius Aemilianus gave orders to and instructed his subordinates, especially the nome *strategoï* who directly reported to him. He was present at court, took decisions, and solved administrative and juridical problems. He was engaged in private as well as public matters, on the one hand deciding on the appointment of a guardian (Appendix no. 16), the division of landed property (no. 17), or the ownership of slaves (no. 9), and on the other hand ordering the declaration of temple property (no. 13) and conducting official correspondence about the visit of a corrector (no. 3) and about the position of Christians (which corroborates the story in Eusebius, no. 6); we even hear that Mussius Aemilianus requisitioned wine for his troops (no. 14). In the *Historia Augusta* Mussius Aemilianus was praised for his energetic administration²¹ and this may well have been true.²²

Some texts of this dossier are, content-wise, closely related to the present letter. Two petitions deal with similar problems of unjust nominations, referring to earlier decisions of Mussius Aemilianus about the exemption from liturgies on the grounds of old age (Appendix nos. 12 and 15). There is also a second letter written by Mussius Aemilianus as acting prefect: *P.Oxy.* 43.3112 (no. 3). That letter, however, is a copy: the text starts with

²⁰ A. Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti* (Stuttgart 2009).

²¹ ... *nec eius ad regendam rem publicam vigor defuit* (*SHA Tyr. Trig.* 22.6).

²² Cf. R. Haensch, "Quelques observations générales concernant la correspondance conservée des préfets d'Égypte," in J. Desmulliez, C. Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe, and J.-C. Jolivet (eds.), *L'étude des correspondances dans le monde romain* (Lille 2010) 95-113, here p. 102. It should be kept in mind, though, that the fact that Mussius Aemilianus left relatively many traces in the papyrological documentation is in the first place explained by the long duration of his stay in Egypt: he was in office for more than six years.

the word ἀντίγραφο[v]. It is directed to (probably) a *strategos* and its subject is a visit of the *corrector Aegypti* Ulpian Pasio (258 CE). Both this and the present letter are short and straightforward, and no official titles are used either for the prefect himself or for the addressee. The stylish writing of the present letter, expected for a document probably written in the prefectural chancery at Alexandria, is not found in the Oxyrhynchus text.

This also means that the papyrus published below represents the only original letter of Mussius Aemilianus. Moreover, even if only less than half of it remains, it represents one of the rare original letters from an (acting) prefect of Egypt surviving from the whole period before Diocletian.²³

The text published below is of unknown origin, but most likely was found in the city it was sent to, Arsinoe. The papyrus is broken off at all sides, but part of the upper and left margins is preserved. It contains five lines of Greek, and traces of a sixth line, written in black ink along the fibers. The handwriting is a beautiful example of the chancery style of the 3rd century CE.²⁴ The letter forms are clear and elegant; *iota*, *rho*, and *xi* have exaggerated downward strokes and the initial letters of lines 1-3 are enlarged. The writer took special care with the layout of the text: lines 1 and 3 protrude to the left, while line 2 is slightly indented, with the final word χαίρειν written after a wide space. Word spacing is used in several places (e.g. l. 2 between πρυτάνι and Ἀρσινοιτῶν, l. 4 between τὸ and

²³ Cf. J.D. Thomas, "Communication between the Prefect of Egypt, the Procurators and the Nome Officials," in Eck (n. 10) 181-195, here p. 185 on the difficulty "to establish that a letter is an original. I can think of only one certain example: a text published in 1910 by Zucker which is well known to paleographers as a splendid example of the chancery hand" (*SB* 1.4639). Haensch (n. 22) 97 shows that out of the about 75 letters of prefects that were found so far from the period before Diocletian (so not taking into account *P.Oxy.* 43.3129 of a much later date, 335 CE), still only one is certainly an original letter: the well-known letter of Subatianus Aquila of 209 (*SB* 1.4639), with the original signature of the prefect at the end of the main text. (If our letter had been fully preserved, it might have had the handwritten signature of Mussius Aemilianus on it.) Letters of vice-prefects were not taken into account in the afore-mentioned studies, but I do not know of one in chancery style. More recently a papyrus roll was published, *P.Harrauer* 35, containing three letters assumed to be written in the prefect's chancery, one of which is a copy of a prefect's letter. It cannot be excluded that the first original letter was written by the prefect as well; cf. *P.Harrauer*, pp. 104-105.

Another letter of a prefect, which is sometimes regarded as originally stemming from the prefect's chancery (*P.Köln* 8.351), is a copy rather than an original, since the date is written in the same hand as the rest of the text (as noted by Verhoogt in *BL* 12), and the signature as well.

²⁴ See G. Cavallo, "La scrittura del P. Berol. 11532: contributo allo studio dello stile di cancelleria nei papiri greci di età romana," *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216-249 with plates; H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* (Stuttgart 2010) 74-77.

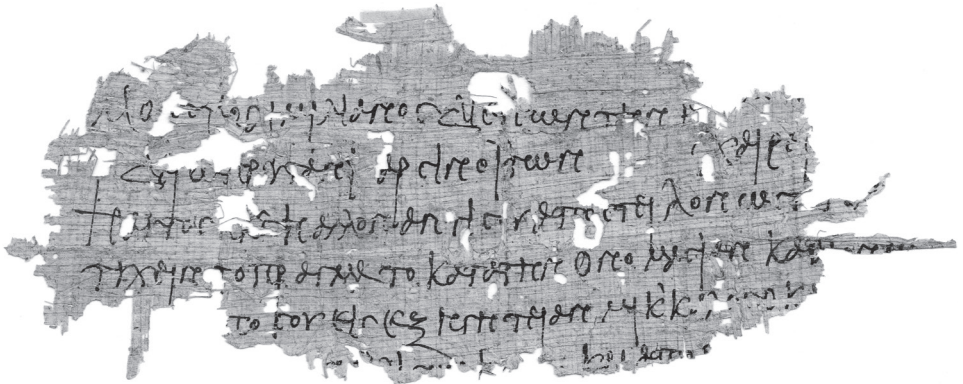
κατά). A *diaeresis* is found on Ἀρσινοϊτῶν (l. 2) and an apostrophe divides the double *kappa* of Μικ'καλος (l. 5). The verso is empty.

This letter may be dated to the period after 255/Spring 256 (first mention of Mussius Aemilianus as vice-prefect in P.Strasb. inv. 1302 = Appendix no. 1) and before September/October 259 CE (first mention of him as prefect in *P.Ryl.* 2.110 = no. 13).

P.Wilrijk W × H = 15 × 5.7 cm Written in Alexandria, found in Arsinoe
Dated ca. 255-259 CE

→ Μο[ύ]σσιος Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡ[γε]μ[ο]ν[ί]αν
Δεῖω πρυτάνι Ἀρσινοϊτῶν *vacat* χαίρει[ν.]
Ἦ αὐτὸς ἦκε ἢ ἄλλον ἀντὶ σοῦ ἀπόστειλον ὥστ[ε] παρ[α-]
τυχεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὀνομασίαν καθ' ἣν ᾤ-
5 [νομάσθη ὑ]πὸ σοῦ εἰς ἐξηγητείαν Μικκαλος ὁ κα[ὶ] . . .]
[.] γ . . . οἰσ . . . [.] . καὶ ἀποσ[.]

2 l. πρυτάνει; αρσινοϊτων pap. 5 μικ'καλος pap.



“Mussius Aemilianus acting as prefect, to Dios, president of the town council of Arsinoitonopolis, greetings.

Either come yourself, or send another instead of you, so that the case of the nomination can come up (in court) (?), according to which Mikkalos alias N.N. was nominated by you for the function of *exegetes* ...”

1 Μο[ύ]σσιος Αἰμιλιανός: see introduction. The reading of the names is beyond doubt, even when the letters οσα cannot actually be verified; it seems that the papyrus was wrongly restored at this point.

– διέπων τὴν ἡ[γε]μ[ο]ν[ίαν]: the same expression in nos. 1-12 of the Appendix.

2 Δεῖω πρυτάνι Ἀρσινοϊτῶν: Δῖος or Δεῖος (Latin *Dius*) is a very common name, but presidents of the town council of Arsinoe are rarely mentioned in the papyri. Therefore he may well be identical with *Dius* the ex-*prytanis* in a fragmentary receipt of *dekaprotoi* from the Arsinoite nome: *P.Strasb.* 3.153.12 (263 CE). An Aurelius *Dius*, attested as former *exegetes* in *BGU* 2.362 (Arsinoite nome, 215/216 CE) might be related to this *Dius*, or perhaps even identical (though in the present text he would then be some 40 years older and still holding office).

– πρυτάνι: the president of the town council; cf. Bowman (n. 13) 53-67; Drecoll (n. 13) 86-94.

3 ἤκε: the same verb was used by the prefect Titinnius Clodianus in his letter to two former *exegetai* on the exception from coinciding liturgies, *P. Harrauer* 35.56-58 (= ll. 70-72 in the DDbDP) : φρ[ο]ν[ο]ύ[σ]ατε παραχρήμα ἡκ[εῖν] εἰς τὴν λαμπροτάτην Ἰ[σ]θμ[ο]ῦ ἀνδρείαν (Hermopolis, ca. 250 CE). The imperative form, ἤκε in the present text, is consistent with the “tono precettivo” of a prefect’s language; cf. G. Purpura, “Note introduttive allo studio del linguaggio del prefetto d’Egitto,” *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 1 (1998) 109-115, here 113 (mainly on edicts, but also valid for prefectural letters).

– ἢ ἄλλον ἀντὶ σοῦ: it was not unusual for a *prytanis* to have himself represented by a deputy; cf. two cases of substitution of a *prytanis* (expressed with the verb διαδέχομαι) cited by Drecoll (n. 13) 94: *P.Oxy.* 14.1662 (246 CE) and *CPR* 1.20 = *Stud.Pal.* 20.54 (250 CE, Hermopolis).

3-4 ὥστ[ε] παρα[α]τυχεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα: the word πρᾶγμα is attested in several papyri with the legal meaning of “case,” a dispute between opposing parties resolved by a court (e.g. *BGU* 1.19.1.5 = *M.Chr.* 85.1.5; *BGU* 1.361.2.4). The reading of the first part of παρα[α]τυχεῖν is not certain. Verifying παρα at the end of line 3 is difficult: the lower parts of the legs of *pi* seem certain, although a bit wide apart; the following traces are hard to reconcile with αρα, but of course the papyrus is a bit twisted there. I cannot think of any other reading or supplement. Like the word πρᾶγμα, the verb παρατυγχάνω is also attested in the context of court sessions, namely in the meaning of a person being present in court: the verb is then normally followed by a dative or preposition (e.g. *P.Tebt.* 2.303.15-17;

Tebtunis, 177-179 CE with *BL* 9.355: summons to appear at a *conventus* of the prefect). Here, however, *παρ[α]τυχεῖν* is followed by τὸ πρᾶγμα. The latter word seems to be the subject here, which is why I translated *παρ[α]τυχεῖν*, vaguely, with “to come up,” implicitly meaning “to come up in court.”

4-5 ὦ[νομάσθη ὁ]πρό: seems the only likely and fitting supplement.

5 εἰς ἐξηγητείαν: for the function of *exegetes*, a high city magistrate who was mainly concerned with the status of citizens, see Drecoll (n. 13), 98-99 and the list of *exegetai* in Egypt in *P.Hamb.* 4, pp. 217-268 (no Mikkalos).

– Μίκκαλος: of the 77 attestations of the name Mikkalos in Trismegistos People (www.trismegistos.org/name/10623 accessed November 2016), there is only one for which place and date seem to match: Mikkalos (ID 305980) known from a revenue return stemming from Ptolemais Euergetis and dated to 276 CE, where a certain Dionysis is described as living in the house of Mikkalos: *BGU* 4.1087.v.1.8: Διονῦσις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Μικκάλου (δραχμαὶ) η.

Appendix: Lucius Mussius Aemilianus in the Papyri

VICE-PREFECT, (ὁ διασημότατος/λαμπρότατος) διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
(ca. 255-259 CE)

1	255/spring 256?	P.Strasb. inv. 1302	Unpublished. ²⁵
2	256/257 (year 4)	P.Strasb. 5.392	Fragment of a document mentioning (l. 5) - - -] Αἰμιλιάνου τοῦ λα[μπρότατου] διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν - - -].
3	19 i 258	P.Oxy. 43.3112	Copy of a letter of Mussius Aemilianus to a <i>strategos</i> (?) about the visit of the <i>corrector Aegypti</i> Ulpius Pasio, (l. 2) Μούσσιος Αἰμιλιανὸς δι[έπω]ν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

²⁵ I owe this reference to J. Gascou and P. Heilporn.

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| 4 | 24 ix 258 | <i>P.Oxy.</i> 9.1201 =
<i>CLA</i> 4.233
(<i>BL</i> 6.100, 7.136,
10.141) | Petition to Mussius Aemilianus about the succession to an inheritance in Latin and Greek, (l. 1) <i>Mussio Aemiliano v(ices) a(genti) praef(ecti) Aeg(ypti)</i> , (ll. 13-14) Μουσσίοι Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ διέποντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 5 | 28 ii 258 or 259 | <i>P.David</i> 7 =
<i>SB</i> 20.14229
(<i>BL</i> 10.114,
12.114) | Instruction to track down murderers with reference to an order of the <i>corrector</i> Theodorus and Mussius Aemilianus (ll. 7-8) [- - - κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα (?)] ὑπό τε τοῦ διασημοτάτου Θεοδώρου ἐπανορ[θωτοῦ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λουκίου Μουσσίου Αἰ]μιλιανοῦ διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 6 | 259 ²⁶ (year 7) | <i>P.Oxy.</i> 43.3119
(<i>BL</i> 7.156, 8.265,
12.149) | Official correspondence about Christians, mentioning regnal year 7 and [- - - Αἰμιλιανοῦ] διασημοτάτου δ[ιέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν] ²⁷ . |
| 7 | (255-259) | <i>P.Dublin</i> 18
(<i>BL</i> 11.74) | Fragmentary petition to a <i>strategos</i> with reference to a previous order of Mussius Aemilianus, (ll. 5-6) Μου]σσίῳ Αἰμιλιανοῦ διέπον[τος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 8 | (255-259) | <i>P.Köln</i> 10.417
(a copy of
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 12.1468.1-4) | Writing exercise with address of a petition to Mussius Aemilianus, (ll. 1-2) [Λουκίῳ Μουσσίῳ] Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ διέποντι (l. διέποντι) [τὴ]ν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 9 | (255-259) | <i>P.Oxy.</i> 12.1468
(<i>BL</i> 3.137, 8.246) | Petition to Mussius Aemilianus concerning the ownership of slaves, (ll. 1-2) Λουκίῳ Μουσσίῳ Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ διέποντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |

²⁶ Year 7 coincides with 259/260 CE, but since Mussius Aemilianus is known to be prefect in September/October 259, a date in 260 is less likely (although reference could be made to an earlier decision of Mussius Aemilianus including his earlier title).

²⁷ Including the new supplement of L.H. Blumell, “The Date of P.Oxy. XLIII 3119,” *ZPE* 186 (2013) 111-113.

		copy of a previous petition to Mussius Aemilianus, (l. 5) [Μουσσί]Ϝ Αἰμιλιανῶ τῶ λ[αμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι.
16 17 v 261	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 34.2710 (<i>BL</i> 7.152, 9.197)	Petition for a guardian (translated from Latin) directed to Mussius Aemilianus, (l. 3) ΛουκίϜ ΜουσσίϜ Αἰμιλιανῶ τῶ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου.
PREFECT or VICE-PREFECT ²⁸		
17 (255-261)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 14.1637	Division of landed property, in accordance with the decision of a judge appointed by Mussius Aemilianus, (l. 9) ἐξ ἐνκελ(εύσεως) τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) Μουσσίου Αἰμιλ[ιανοῦ.
18 (268-269)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 40.2938 (<i>BL</i> 8.263, 10.151)	Banker's receipt with an uncertain reference to Aemilianus, (l. 7) ἄκο-[- ca.30 -] . οὔ Αἰμιλι . . [- - -].
19 (late 3 rd cent.)	<i>SB</i> 5.8945	Fragment of court proceedings mentioning an Aemilianus, (l. 12) [- - - Αἰ]μιλιανοῦ ἐκ κελεύσεω[ς].

²⁸ In these texts no function or title is given for Mussius Aemilianus. It is argued in *P.Oxy.* 43.3112, introduction, that a lower post in Egypt, e.g. that of *iuridicus*, may have preceded Mussius Aemilianus' vice-prefecture. The three texts nos. 17-19, however, must refer to either a prefecture or vice-prefecture.