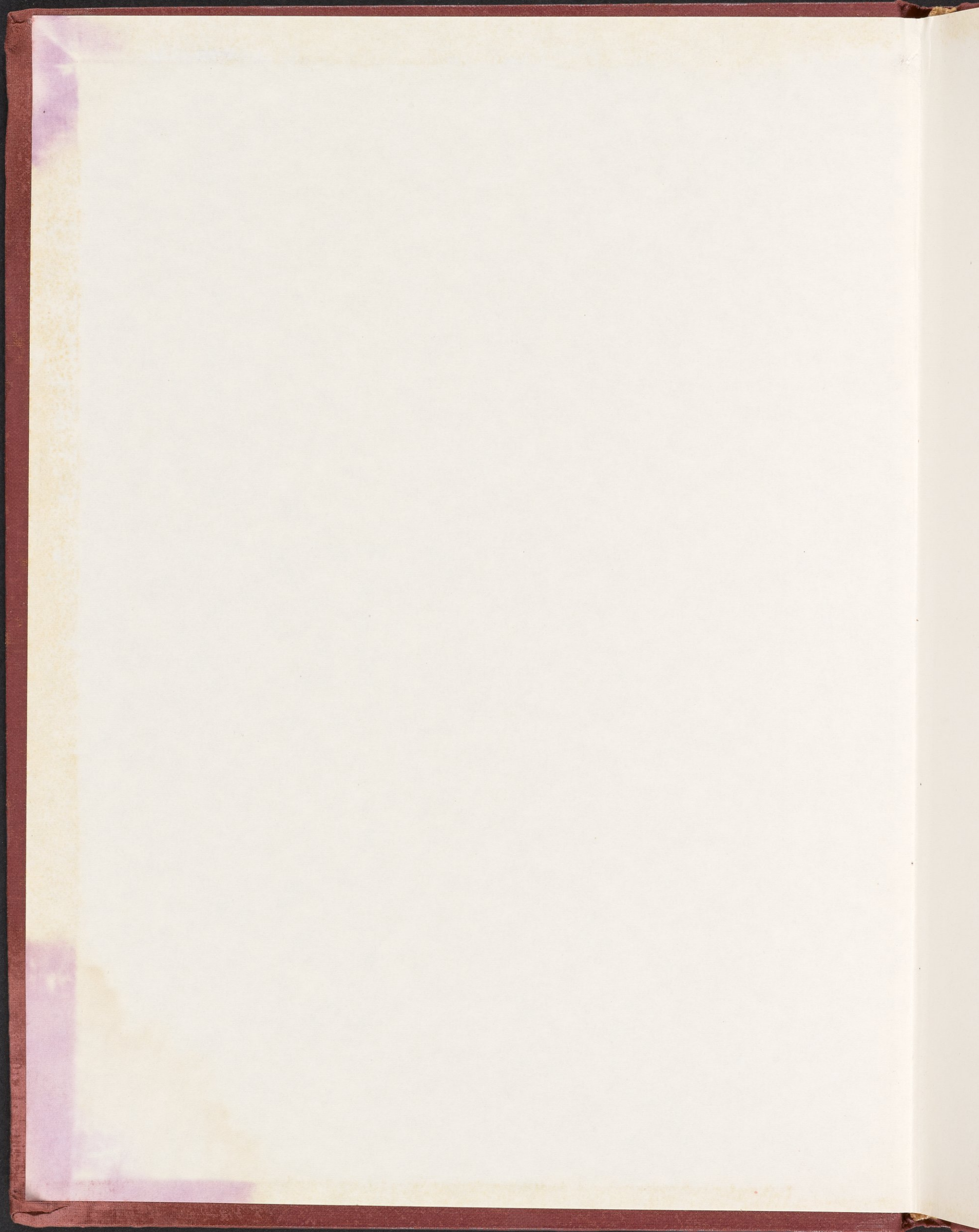
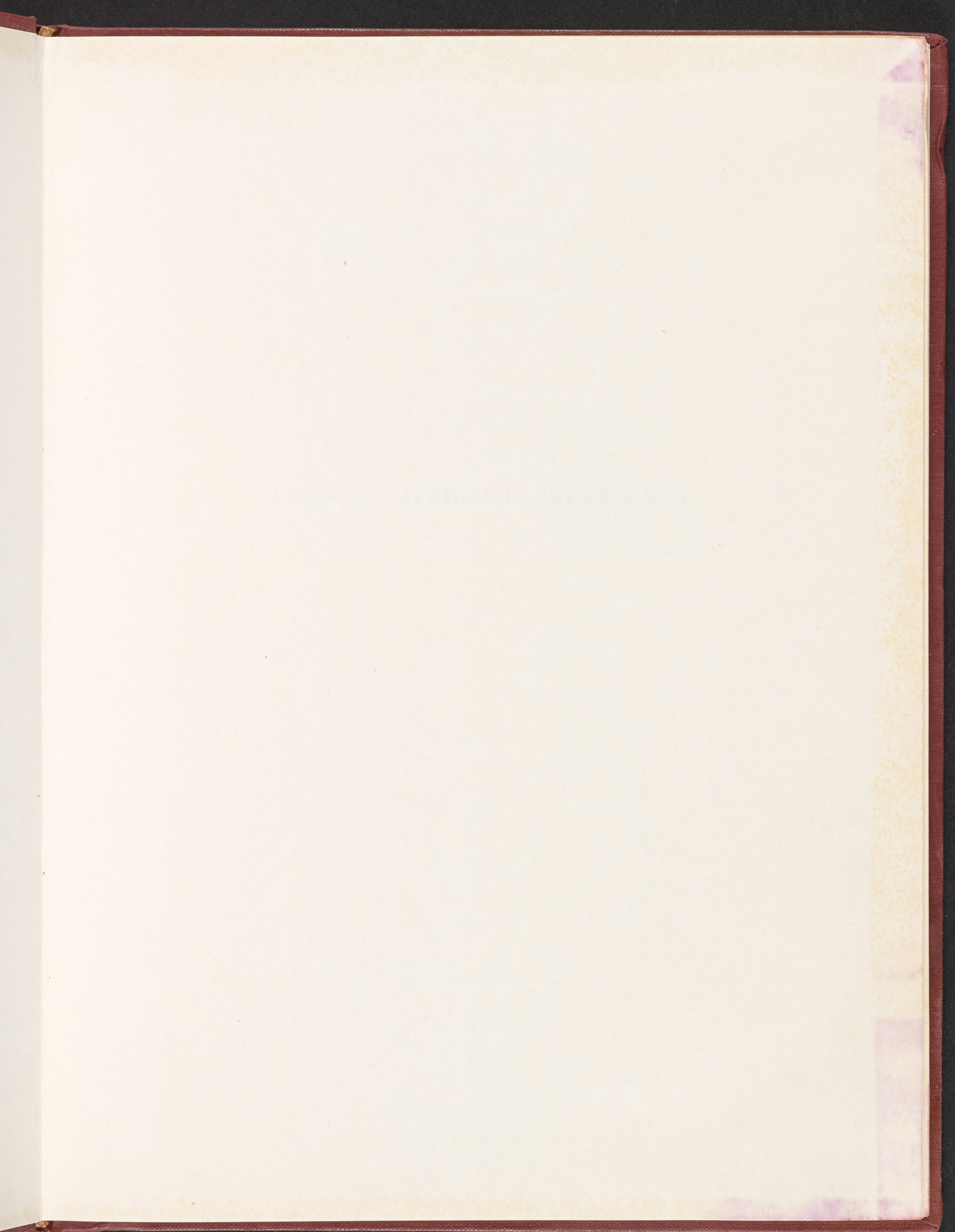
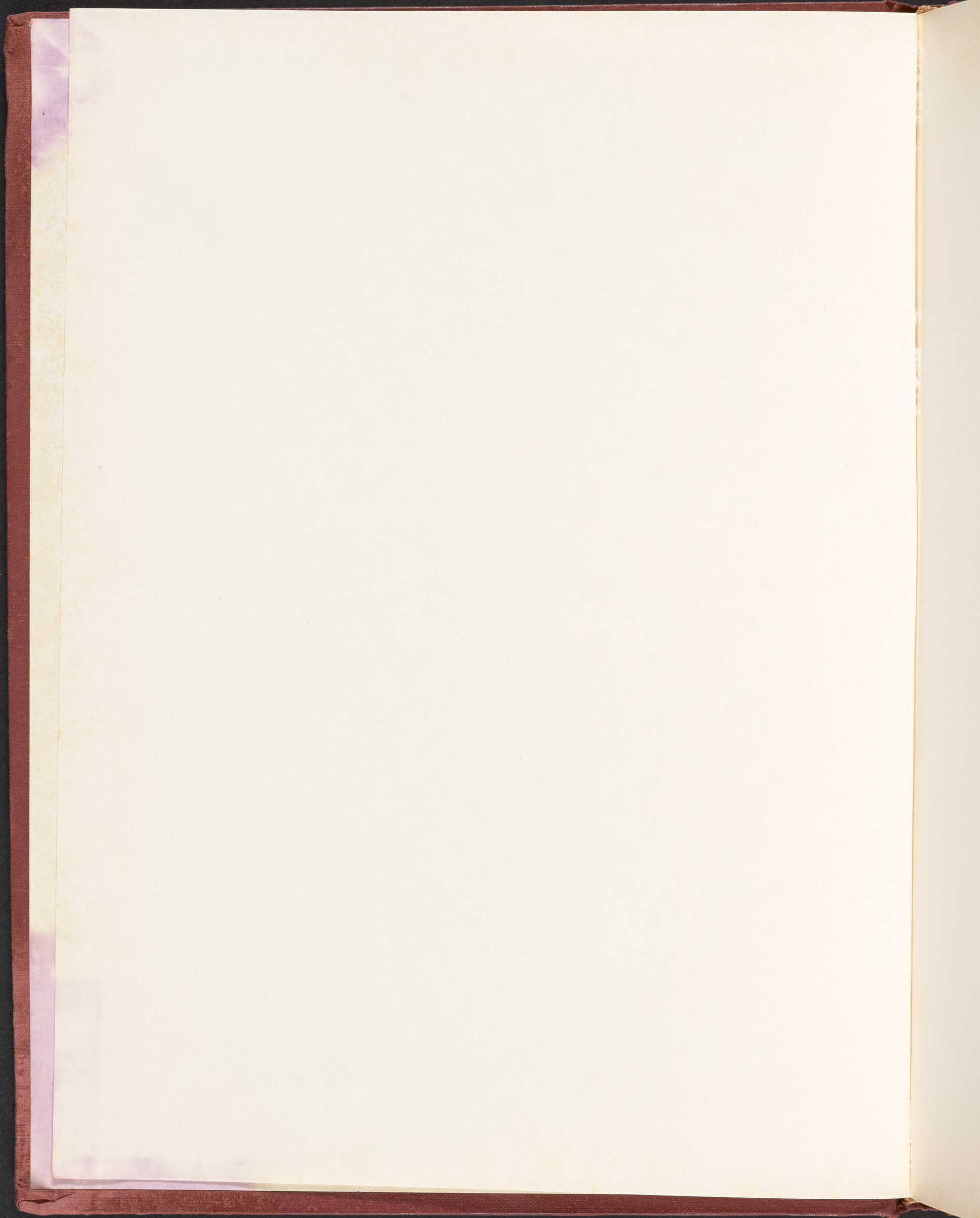


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AMERICAN STUDIES IN POPYROLOGY

*For  
Carol, Debra, Michael, and Laura*

AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY  
VOLUME NINETEEN

*STATUS DECLARATIONS  
IN ROMAN EGYPT*

CARROLL A. NELSON

ADOLF M. HAKKERT • AMSTERDAM • MCMLXXIX

Set in Times Roman by Fotron S.A., Athens  
Printed in Greece

Published for  
THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS  
by  
ADOLF M. HAKKERT  
Calle Alfambra 26  
Las Palmas G.C., Spain

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## Preface

This study of status declarations in Roman Egypt was originally written in 1971-72 and edited for publication in 1972-73, and for various reasons, has been delayed in its progress toward publication. Although normally such a delay is undesirable, it has enabled me to collect and study evidence which has appeared subsequent to the completion of the manuscript. Unfortunately this new evidence cannot without substantially increasing publication costs be incorporated into the chapters which follow this preface. The publisher, however, has generously consented to the inclusion of new material in this preface to the study, and for this opportunity to bring the account of status declarations up-to-date, I am very grateful to him.

As I indicated in the introduction written several years ago, there is no comprehensive study of status declarations. That assertion remains true today, although there have been some publications which briefly discuss the declaration in general or deal with specific types of declaration. These studies should be consulted by those who seek to understand and interpret the status declarations:

- Orsolina Montevicchi, "Nerone a una polis e ai 6475", *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 5-33.  
 Pharouk Chaphes El-Kanti, Η "ΕΠΙΚΡΙΣΙΣ" ΕΝ ΤΗ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩΙ (Athens 1973).  
 Orsolina Montevicchi, *La Papirologia* (Milan 1973) 181-84.  
 C.A. Nelson, "Eiskrisis: The Identity and the Function of the Officials", *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Munich 1974) 309-14.  
 Orsolina Montevicchi, "L'Epikrisis dei Greco-Egizi", *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists* (London 1975) 227-32.  
 P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Some Remarks on the Epicrisis of οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in Oxyrhynchus", *BASP* 13 (1976) 181-90.  
 J.E.G. Whitehorne, "The Functions of the Alexandian Ephebeia Certificate and the Sequence of PSI XII 1223-1225", *BASP* 14 (1977) 29-38.

In addition to these studies of the declarations, several declarations themselves have been published since my manuscript was edited and set. None of these declarations forces me to revise or change my conclusions as they were originally stated in the manuscript; in fact, one declaration recently published has convinced me *not* to change a conclusion which I had made on the basis of insecure and practically non-existent evidence. For convenience in reference to the discussion of status declarations in the following chapters, the declarations to be added to my study will be listed and discussed in the order found there.

## 1. METROPOLITE (Chapter II)

Chapter II, note 1 has a list of documents which make reference to the metropolite epikrisis but are not themselves status declarations. To this list can be added:

*PStrassb* 363 (Hermopolis, 146-47 A.D.), probably a census return in which reference is made to an individual examined (ἐπικ ( )) in a designated year.

*SB* 10219 (Arsinoe, 161 A.D.) in which an individual refers to himself as ἐπικεκρομμένος by a prefect in the designated year.

*POxy* XLI 2981 (II century A.D.), a letter dealing with the registration of some property. A brother is advised to "clear up the matter of the official registration" (τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν).

The list of metropolite declarations also must be augmented. Three new declarations from Arsinoe have been published as:

*PMed inv* 71.44 (96-98 A.D.) = *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 22-28.

*PStrassb* 385 (= *PStrassb* 134 of 187 A.D.).

*PStrassb* 547 (161-69 A.D.).

*PStrassb* 385 is a republication of *PStrassb* 134 on the basis of the discovery of additional fragments belonging to the earlier declaration. Added is the title of the official as ex-agoronomos, ex-gymnasiarch, and member of the epikrisis commission (πρὸς τῇ ἐπίκρισει). The abbreviated titles have been resolved as singulars, probably because the signature ending the declaration is that of one official only. Since, however, other declarations addressed to two officials have only one of their signatures, these abbreviations could represent plurals. The official's name (Ammonios) has been restored from *PGen* 18.

In Chapter II, note 11, I suggest with reference to *PStrassb* 134 that the declarant may have been a mother for her son. The editor of *PStrassb* 385 indicates that the boy is to be identified as her slave whose name is Eros (Ἔρωζ). Unless the name requires slave status for the boy, he could have been her son. His status has been lost in lacunae. The woman's name was Ἀθηναῖον τοῦ Σαμβᾶ.

*PStrassb* 547 like *PStrassb* 385 follows the standard form for Arsinoite metropolite declarations. A very fragmentary document, it lacks names and titles of the officials, although signatures in two different hands suggest that ex-gymnasiarchs conducted the examination. Lost also are the declarants' names and the son's name. The surviving text begins with the declaration proper, with an indication that the proper credentials have been appended. Included as evidence of qualification for the status are enrollments in a census by declarants and their son.

*PMed inv* 71.44 is the most complete and interesting of these new metropolite declarations. It too follows the standard form defined in Chapter II, but it provides more evidence in its credentials section than the other declarations. Submitted by Eudaimonis (along with Horion, her son and guardian, since her husband Chairemon has died) for her son Dionysios, the declaration is addressed to Diogas, an ex-kosmetes and member of the epikrisis commission (πρὸς τῇ ἐπίκρισει). It is possible, and perhaps likely, that Diogas was also identified as an ex-gymnasiarch in the space following his listing as ex-kosmetes. All other Arsinoite declarations with this section preserved indicate that the officials (usually two) were ex-gymnasiarchs.

The boy Dionysios has reached the proper age for examination (προσβεβηκότος εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς)). In keeping with the declarant's inclination to provide full and detailed information, the boy is described as ἄσημος, a descriptive feature found in no other declaration of this type.

The credentials section like that of *PRyl* II 103 and *BGUI* 109 is very detailed. Several enrollments in the census are listed, including that of the mother and her guardian son, the boy's

grandfather's earlier enrollment, the enrollment of Dionysios and his two sisters, and the registration of Dionysios ἐν γραφῇ ἀφηλίκων (a status group which will be discussed later in this preface). Montevocchi has a good discussion of this evidence in the introduction to her study of the document.

## 2. THE GYMNASIUM CLASS (Chapter III)

The most useful recent study of the epikrisis is that of P.J. Sijpesteijn in *BASP* 13 (1976) 181-90 ("Some Remarks on the Epikrisis of οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in Oxyrhynchus"). In his remarks, Sijpesteijn presents an excellent discussion of the general epikrisis of 72/73 A.D. in Oxyrhynchus conducted by the strategos Sutorius Sosibius, the basilicogrammateus Nicandros, and their commission.

Sijpesteijn (p. 183, note 14) also points out that *POxy* XVIII 2186 and *PSIV* 457 should be corrected in the listing of the official's titles. Instead of ex-gymnasiarchs, the officials to whom the declarations were addressed were πομπαγωγοί, and in my list of officials for Oxyrhynchite gymnasium declarations the title γυμνασιαρχήσας should be replaced by πομπαγωγός (for this official see *POxy* XLIII 3102.2). For additional comments on *POxy* XVIII 2186, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Some Remarks on *POxy* XVIII 2186," *Cd'E* 51(1976) 141-45.

The list of Oxyrhynchite declarations in Sijpesteijn includes three documents which have appeared since my chapter on the gymnasium class was written. Two are still unpublished and have not been seen by me, but, as Sijpesteijn indicates, they follow the standard form for gymnasium declarations. The third declaration has been published by Orsolina Montevocchi in *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 29-30. These documents are:

*PMed inv* 72.16 (117 A.D. = *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 29-30)

*POxy inv* 46 5B. 49/K (6) and (7)

*PMich inv* 1935 (272 A.D.)

*PMed inv* 72.16 begins in the credentials sections and includes a reference to the general epikrisis of 72/73 A.D. and to the γραφή of 4/5 A.D. The other two documents lack the reference to the 72/73 A.D. general census. For more information about the documents, see Sijpesteijn.

In *ZPE* 24 (1977) 143-46, Orsolina Montevocchi discusses the date of *PSI* V 457 and concludes that the editor has correctly assigned it to 276 A.D.

In my original study of the gymnasium class, I decided not to include several applications for registration of children in a τάξις τῶν ὀμηλίκων (or ὀμοίων), a preliminary procedure to the epikrisis for entrance to the gymnasium class. The existence, however, of several Oxyrhynchite documents recording this procedure should be noted in this study of status declarations, since the registrations serve the purpose of providing evidence eventually to be used in the epikrisis.

These applications have been discussed and listed by Orsolina Montevocchi, "Denunce di nascita di greco-egizi", *Aegyptus* 27 (1947) 3-24, and by Paul Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil et la contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au IIIe siècle de notre ère* (Brussels 1958) 48-65. Additional information can be found in several recently published documents: *POxy* XXXVIII 2855 (where a list of documents is given to supplement Montevocchi and Mertens); XLIII 3136; XLIII 3137; and XLIV 3183.

The registration of the boys, who have been described in the Oxyrhynchus documents as δωδεκάδραχμος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, took place some time before they underwent epikrisis. Ages vary, but frequently the boys have been registered before their tenth birthday.

In a few documents (*PCornell* 18; *BGU* XI 2120; and *POxy* XLIII 3136), girls also have

been registered. A good explanation for this has been given in the introduction to *POxy XLIII 3136*: "The necessity for registration of girls of this class arose probably because those who claimed the privileged status were required to prove that they were 'born of parents, both of the metropolite twelve-drachma class' (ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μητροπολιτῶν δωδεκαδράχμων, VIII 1109, X 1316, *PSI X 1109*)."

These registrations, therefore, eventually served the purpose of supporting the later claims of the boys to the status certified by an epikrisis.

### 3. EISKRISIS: EPHEBES (Chapter VI)

After this chapter was written, Revel Coles edited and published another eiskrisis declaration of the second century A.D. from Bacchias. The text can be found in "New Documentary Papyri from the Fayum", *JJP 18* (1974) 177-78. This declaration, of which the first half is completely missing, has the form characteristic of the declarations which I have called "Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian". The surviving text provides us with the name of the boy to be examined and with the parents' request that steps be taken to add his name to the ephebe list.

The text of another declaration (*PSI XII 1225*) is improved by J.E.G. Whitehorne, "Corrections to *PSI XII 1225*", *BASP 12* (1975) 122-25.

In my discussion of the status requirements of the boy's parents, I suggested that the only requirement for the mother was that she be a citizen and at least a freedwoman. The evidence for the status comes both from the status declarations (where she is listed as a citizen, except in the Bacchias declaration where her status designation has been lost) and from extracts from the ephebate register (which normally indicate that she was a citizen). A list of published extracts can be found in note 19 of my chapter. To that list should be added an extract published by Revel Coles, "Extract from the Ephebate Register", *JJP 18* (1974) 178-80. Coles' extract from the late second century A.D. may provide evidence for a freedwoman status for the mother. See his restoration in line 2 (ἀπελευθέρω) and his discussion of the problem.

An excellent study of the use of these certificates making up the ephebate register can be found in J.E.G. Whitehorne, "The Functions of the Alexandrian Ephebeia Certificate and the Sequence of *PSI XII 1223-1225*," *BASP 14* (1977) 29-38.

For the identification of the officials involved in the eiskrisis process, see my study published in the *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Marburg/Lahn 1971) 309-14. The evidence and conclusions of that study have been repeated in this study without substantial changes.

### 4. GEROUSIA DECLARATIONS (Chapter VIII)

In addition to the documents discussed in Chapter VIII, there are five others which pertain to the *gerousia* of Oxyrhynchus. These documents are: *POxy XLIII 3099-3102*, all apparently applications to join the *gerousia*, and *PLond inv 2193 = SB 9901 = Mertens, Les services 88-92* (an oath concerning residents of a dwelling in Oxyrhynchus, including Ἰούλιον Μηνόδωρον τὸν καὶ Χαιρήμονα ὑπερετὴν ὄντα ἐν τοῖς πενήκοντα οἴκου γερουσίας).

From these new Oxyrhynchus applications we have further information about the nature and function of the *gerousia*. Ages of the applicants fall in the same broad range attested in the documents discussed in the chapter: 58 (3099), 53 (3100), and 63 (3101). From youngest to

oldest all attested ages therefore are: 53 (*POxy* XLIII 3100), ca. 54 (*PSI* XII 1:240), 58 (*POxy* XLIII 3099), 63 (*POxy* XLIII 3101), and 68 (*PRy* IV 599). For a discussion of this range of ages, see *POxy* XLIII 3099.7 (note) where two possible explanations are given: (1) replacement of former members by election of new members to an organization having a fixed number of places, or (2) admission near the founding year of the *gerousia* of all who were above the minimum age and who possessed the required status.

Two of the new Oxyrhynchite applications also indicate what may have been an important if not the primary function of the *gerousia*. In *POxy* XLIII 3099 and 3101 the applicants indicate that they seek membership in the *gerousia* because they have reached the age at which they are entitled to be maintained at public expense (τὴν τῶν τρεφομένων ἡλικίαν). The *gerousia* served then in part, as the *POxy* editor states, to provide "an old age pension scheme". M.A.H.El-Abbadi, "The *Gerousia* in Roman Egypt", *JEA* 50 (1964) 169, also postulates that "the *gerousia* in Roman Egypt was essentially a social institution", although he does not indicate any more specifically what the social function was.

In my initial study of the *gerousia* declarations I noted that a Washington University papyrus soon to be published by Verne Schuman may have connections with the Oxyrhynchite *gerousia*.

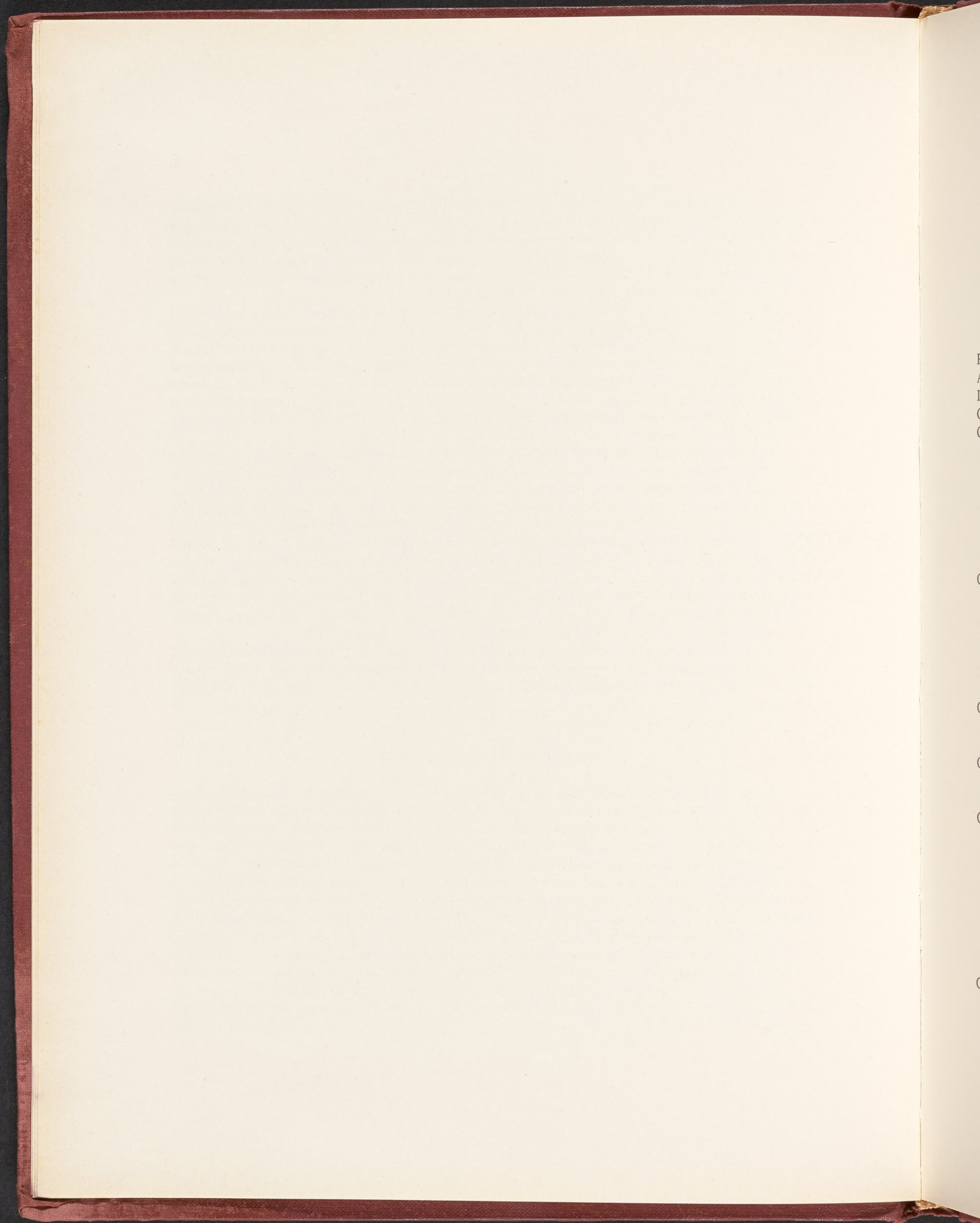
I am more inclined now to interpret that list of individuals who have been examined as a record of veterans or other new residents in Oxyrhynchus rather than as a list of *gerousia* members. The involvement of the prefect in the examinations documented there suggests that the epikrisis and eiskrisis proceedings were of the same type as those discussed in Chapter V (extracts from epikrisis records of the prefect of Egypt). Moreover, the Roman names preserved in column ii are more appropriate to veterans than to native residents of Oxyrhynchus seeking *gerousia* membership. It is possible, but not likely, that column i where four entries contain ages consistent with *gerousia* applicants' ages served a different function from column ii. Nonetheless, I prefer now to exclude *PWash Univ inv* 134 from my discussion of the *gerousia*.

My study in Chapter VIII deals only with the possible existence of an Oxyrhynchite *gerousia* as a status organization. For evidence concerning the Alexandrian *gerousia* and for a list of studies about the *gerousia* see M.A.H.El-Abbadi, "The *Gerousia* in Roman Egypt", *JEA* 50 (1964) 164-69.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Status declarations from Roman Egypt will undoubtedly continue to be discovered among the papyrus documents yet unedited and unpublished, but it appears from the evidence now available that little new information will come to light to alter or negate what is known and stated about the form and function of the declarations included in this study. For the most part, new declarations published since this manuscript was first written have served to corroborate what was then stated about form or function or they have been so fragmentary that they have merely added statistically to the account of the declarations. Indeed, the most noteworthy and almost the only addition to our understanding of the status conferred by the declarations has been the fact that the Oxyrhynchite *gerousia* included among its benefits maintenance of the aged at public expense.

Several individuals have assisted me or offered encouragement to me in my attempt to understand and interpret status declarations. Of them, I owe most to my teacher and colleague, Dr. Verne B. Schuman, who has helped me understand how meaningful and important a proper and thorough study of ancient documents can be. For his instruction and guidance I am deeply grateful.



## Contents

Preface .....	v
Abbreviations and Works Frequently Cited.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I: Epikrisis: The Historical Perspective .....	3
Chapter II: The Metropolitēs .....	10
1. The Form of the Documents 12-21	
A. Arsinoe 12-16	
B. Oxyrhynchus 16-19	
C. Heracleopolis 19-20	
D. Hermopolis 20-21	
E. Summary and Comparison of Forms 21	
2. The Function of the Documents 22-25	
Chapter III: The Gymnasium Class .....	26
1. The Form of the Documents 26-33	
A. Oxyrhynchus 26-30	
B. Hermopolis 30-32	
C. <i>PStrassb</i> 219 32	
D. Summary and Comparison of Forms 33	
2. The Function of the Documents 33-35	
Chapter IV: The <i>κάτοικοι</i> .....	36
1. The Form of the Documents 36-37	
2. The Function of the Documents 37-39	
Chapter V: Extracts from the Prefect's Records.....	40
1. The Form of the Documents 40-44	
2. The Function of the Documents 44-46	
Chapter VI: Eiskrisis: Ephebes.....	47
1. The Form of the Documents 47-56	
A. Hermopolite 48-49	
B. Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian 49-50	
C. Summary and Comparison of Forms 50-56	
2. The Function of the Documents 56-59	
A. Age of Ephebes 56-57	
B. Ephebic Service in Roman Egypt 57-58	
C. Relationship between the Ephebia and the Gymnasium Class 58-59	
Chapter VII: Epikrisis: Priests.....	60

Chapter VIII: <i>Gerousia</i> Declarations .....	63
Conclusions.....	66
Appendix I: Epikrisis List.....	68
Appendix II: Declarants and Candidates for Epikrisis and Eiskrisis .....	74
Appendix III: Epikrisis Texts .....	79
Bibliography .....	81
Indices .....	83



## Abbreviations and Works Frequently Cited

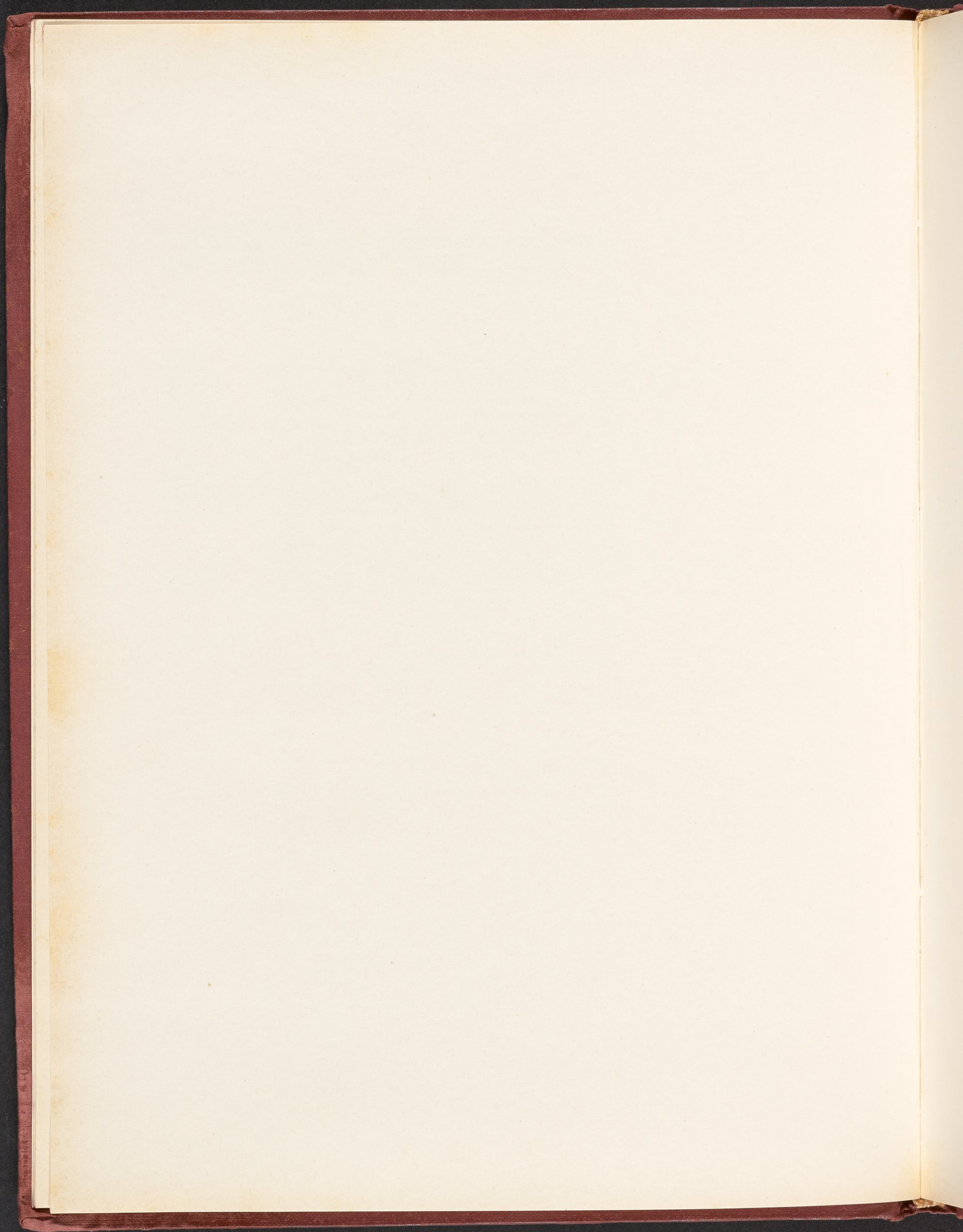
The following works will be referred to frequently and will appear in an abbreviated form.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Bickermann                               | = Bickermann, Elias, "Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte," <i>ArchP</i> 9 (1930) 24-46.  |
| Bingen                                   | = Bingen, Jean, "Déclarations pour l'Épicrisis," <i>Cd'E</i> 61 (1956) 109-17.  |
| Hombert-Préaux,                          | = Hombert, Marcel and Préaux, Claire, <i>Recherches sur le Recensement dans l'Égypte romaine</i> , vol V of <i>PLugdBat</i> (Leiden 1952).      |
| Jouguet, <i>BullSocAlex</i>              | = Jouguet, Pierre, "ΕΠΙΚΡΙΣΙΣ," <i>BullSocAlex</i> 14 (1912) 203-14.  |
| Jouguet, <i>Vie municipale</i>           | = —, <i>La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine</i> (Paris 1911).   |
| Kenyon, <i>Greek Papyri</i>              | = Kenyon, F.G., <i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum II</i> (London 1898).   |
| Lesquier, <i>Armée romaine</i>           | = Lesquier, Jean, <i>L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien</i> (Cairo 1918).  |
| Lesquier, <i>RevPhil</i>                 | = —, "Le Recrutement de l'Armée d'Égypte," <i>RevPhil</i> 28 (1904) 5-32.   |
| Mertens                                  | = Mertens, Paul, <i>Les services de l'état civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au IIIe siècle de notre ère</i> (Brussels 1958). |
| Meyer, <i>Heerwesen</i>                  | = Meyer, Paul, <i>Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Ägypten</i> (Leipzig 1898).  |
| Wallace                                  | = Wallace, S.L., <i>Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian</i> (Princeton 1938).   |
| Wessely (1900)                           | = Wessely, Carl, "Epikrisis, eine Untersuchung zur hellenistischen Amtssprache," <i>SBWien</i> 142 (1900) 1-40.                                 |
| Wilcken, <i>Chrestomathie, Grundzüge</i> | Wilcken, Ulrich, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> (Leipzig 1912).  |
| Wilcken, <i>Hermes</i>                   | = —, "ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ," <i>Hermes</i> 28 (1893) 230-51.   |
| Wilcken, <i>Ostraka</i>                  | = —, <i>Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien</i> , 2 vols (Leipzig 1899).  |

Journal abbreviations are those suggested by *AJA* 69 (1965) 201-6, and abbreviations for editions of papyri for the most part follow those offered by Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. The following abbreviations will also be used.

- BL* = *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* 1 (Berlin 1922), 2 (Heidelberg 1929), 3 (Leiden 1958), 4 (Leiden 1964), 5 (Leiden 1969).
- PBon* = Montevicchi, Orsolina, *Papyri Bononienses* (Milan 1953).
- PBrux* = Bingen, Jean, "Déclarations pour l'Épicrisis," *Cd'E* 14 (1956) 109-17.
- PErl* = Schubart, W., *Die Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (Leipzig 1942).
- PFouad* = Bataille, O., and others, *Les Papyrus Fouad I* (Cairo 1939).
- PLugdBat* = David, M., and others, *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* (Leiden 1941—).
- PWashUniv* = unpublished papyri collection owned by Washington University of Saint Louis, Missouri.
- PWisc* = vol 16 of *PLugdBat*.
- Pap Primer*<sup>4</sup> = David, M., and van Groningen, B.A., *Papyrological Primer* (Leiden 1965<sup>4</sup>).
- SB* = *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* 1 (Strassburg 1915), 2 (Berlin 1918-22), 3 (Berlin 1926-27), 4 (Heidelberg 1931), 5 (Heidelberg 1934-55), 6 (Wiesbaden 1963), 7 (Wiesbaden 1964).
- Sel Pap* = Edgar, C.C., and Hunt, A.S., *Select Papyri II* (London 1934).
- WChrest* = Wilcken, Ulrich, *Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Leipzig 1912).

STATUS DECLARATIONS  
IN ROMAN EGYPT



## Introduction

About a hundred papyrus documents dated in the first three centuries A.D. refer to processes of examination in Egypt to determine an individual's right to a particular status. These processes were called *epikrisis* (ἐπίκρισις) and *eiskrisis* (εἰσκρισις). The examination in each of these processes was initiated on behalf of the person who sought the new status by himself or by someone (parent, guardian, or in the case of slaves, owner) acting on his behalf. Formal application was made to a government agency or official in charge of processing these requests. There followed an examination of the applicant, verification of the information presented, and then either the recording of the applicant's name on an official register or the issuance of a certificate acknowledging that the applicant was properly qualified for and thereby admitted to the status for which application had been made. In this study, the form and function of the different types of status declarations have been defined and described on the basis of the evidence provided by papyrus documents.

There are several reasons for engaging in a study of this kind. First, there is, as yet, no comprehensive study of status declarations.<sup>1</sup> At best there are only a few historians or papyrologists who have devoted a chapter or portion of a chapter to the declarations in their description of Egypt in the Roman period.<sup>2</sup> None of these is comprehensive, and some are now outdated or erroneous. There are also some brief comments by the editors of the various documents, but these are usually too limited in nature to include all significant aspects of the processes or to present comparative studies with other documents. A general study, and especially one incorporating all the latest accounts, should be of interest and value to all who study Roman Egypt and Roman provincial administration.

In the second place, this study incorporates material not only from all relevant published texts but also from *PWashUniv* inv 134, an unpublished papyrus document which furnishes additional information about the *epikrisis*. This text, an early third century A.D. document from

1. In *PBon* 19 (Milan 1935), Orsolina Montevicchi indicated an interest in compiling such a study of *epikrisis* declarations, but so far no such study has appeared.

2. See Carl Wessely, "Epikrisis, eine Untersuchung zur hellenistischen Amtssprache," *SBWien* 142 (1900) 1-40 (hereafter=Wessely); Pierre Jouguet, "ΕΠΙΚΡΙΣΙΣ," *Bull-SocAlex* 14 (1912) 203-14 (hereafter=Jouguet, *BullSocAlex*); Jean Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo 1918) chapter 4 (hereafter=Lesquier, *Armée romaine*); G. Méautis, *Hermoupolis-la-Grande* (Lausanne 1918) 62-76; S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from*

*Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 109-12 (hereafter=Wallace); Jean Bingen, "Déclarations pour l'Éricrisis", *Cd'E* 61 (1956) 109-17 (hereafter=Bingen); Paul Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au IIIe siècle de notre ère* (Brussels 1958) 99-128 (hereafter = Mertens).

Studies of *eiskrisis* are much fewer in number. In addition to the general works listed above, see also Pierre Jouguet, "Sur l'éphébie dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," *RevPhil* 34 (1910) 43-56 and H.I. Bell, "Records of Entry Among the Ephebi," *JEA* 12 (1926) 245-47.

Oxyrhynchus, is a list of males who have submitted to an epikrisis. Of special interest in this document are the ages of those examined, the possible function of the list, and the government officials responsible for conducting and recording the examinations. Since the the papyrus has not been published, this information has not been incorporated in any previous discussion of status declarations.

Finally, and most important, a careful study of status declarations is necessary if we are to understand fully the nature and significance of status in Roman Egypt. That status was eagerly sought and rigidly controlled is documented by the frequent mention of it in *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (BGUV 1). Again and again this document reveals to us how important proper status was for claiming an inheritance or receiving other rights of citizenship.<sup>3</sup> The importance of status is demonstrated also by the regularity with which those in Roman Egypt who possessed it identified themselves in terms of their status. Studies such as those by Bickermann and Oates have focused our attention on the use of status designations.<sup>4</sup> From status declarations we can discover not only that status was highly prized and eagerly claimed, but also we can determine further the processes by which status was acquired or certified, the qualifications and regulations governing the granting of status, some of the spheres of private and public life affected by possession of status, and the rights and privileges extended as a result of status. Status declarations therefore are a major source of information about the nature and conditions of status in Roman Egypt.

3. Among the pertinent sections of the *Gnomon* are: 13. the children of an *aste* and alien have status and cannot inherit from their mother; 38. the children of an *aste* and Egyptian husband have the status of Egyptians; 39. when a Roman (either sex) unwittingly marries someone of inferior status (*astos* or Egyptian), their children have the status of the inferior parent; and 44. for an Egyptian to enroll his son as an *ephebe* involved a

serious fine. See also sections 45, 46, and 47.

4. Elias Bickermann, "Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte, I: Der Heimatsvermerk und die staatsrechtliche Stellung der Hellenen im Ptolemäischen Aegypten," *ArchP* 8 (1927) 216-39 and John F. Oates, "The Status Designation: ΠΕΡΣΗΣ, ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ," *YCS* 18 (1963) 1-129.

## Chapter I

### Epikrisis: The Historical Perspective

Among the first to comment on and attempt to define epikrisis were Theodor Mommsen, Otto Fiebiger, Paul Viereck, and Ulrich Wilcken, all of whom saw only a military purpose for it.<sup>1</sup> Ἐπικριμένοι were either new recruits (or young men liable to military service) or veterans who through this examination were securing the privileges granted at their discharge from service.

This restricted and mistaken view of the epikrisis documents as nothing but records of military examinations arose because the documents published earliest were extracts from the official records of the epikrisis proceedings (ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων)<sup>2</sup> of veterans before the prefect of Egypt or his deputies. Thus, when epikrisis documents concerning teenaged boys appeared, an attempt was made to relate their examination to some military end. Although the epikrisis of such thirteen and fourteen year old boys never specifically stated that the procedure was designed to place them on military enrollment lists, it was assumed that this was the primary use to which the information would be put, and the fact that these documents were connected with and made frequent mention of the fourteen year census in Egypt (ἀπογραφή),<sup>3</sup> from which compilation of the poll-tax<sup>4</sup> list was made, did not seem to suggest that they served exclusively a non-military

1. Theodor Mommsen, *CIL* III suppl 3 (Berlin 1893) 2007, says: "ἐπίκρισις dilectus videtur esse militum." Otto Fiebiger, "De classium Italicarum historia et institutis," *LeipzigStud* 15 (1894) 423, disagreed with Mommsen that ἐπίκρισις "esse militum dilectum." Fiebiger, who defines ἐπίκρισις as "probatio" and "confirmatio," states that the process involved only veterans seeking to establish their rights after discharge from the army. Paul Viereck, "Die aegyptische Steuereinschätzungs-commission in röm. Zeit," *Philologus* 52 (1893) 243, made reference to "eine Eingabe [BGU I 109] an einen oder mehrere Beamte, wie es scheint, gewesene Gymnasiarchen, welche mit der ἐπίκρισις, der Prüfung der Militärflichtigen zu thun hatten." Ulrich Wilcken, "ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ," *Hermes* 28 (1893) 250 (hereafter = Wilcken, *Hermes*) and *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien* I (Leipzig 1899) 448 (hereafter = Wilcken, *Ostraka*), expressed the view that the military epikrisis served to identify young men eligible for military service.

2. *Infra*, Chapter V.

3. For ἀπογραφή, see: Ulrich Wilcken, "Arsinoitische Steuerprofessionen aus dem Jahre 189 n. Chr. und verwandte Urkunden," *SBBerl* 35 (1883) 897-922; Wilcken, *Hermes* (1893) 230-51; Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*

(Leipzig 1912) 192-205 (hereafter = Wilcken, *Grundzüge*); Wallace 96-115. For the most complete recent study of this subject and for bibliography see: Marcel Hombert and Claire Préaux, *Recherches sur le Recensement dans l'Égypte romaine*, vol V of *PLugdBat* (Leiden 1952) (hereafter = Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches*). The κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή can be dated back to at least 33/34 A.D. (SB 5661) according to Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 47-52. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* (1912) 192, following Grenfell and Hunt (*POxy* 11 254), states that 19/20 A.D. is the earliest documentary evidence for the census.

4. See Wilcken, *Ostraka* 1 (1899) 230-49, and *Grundzüge* (1912) 53-65, 189; F.G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* II (London 1898), introduction to *PLond* II 257 (hereafter = Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*); Pierre Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1911) 76ff (hereafter = Jouguet, *Vie municipale*); Claire Préaux, *Les Ostraca grecs de la collection Charles-Edwin Wilbour au Musée de Brooklyn* (New York 1935) 28-40; Wallace (1938) 116-34; H.I. Bell, "The Constitutio Antoniniana and the Egyptian Poll-Tax," *JRS* 37 (1947) 17-23; V. Tcherikover, "Syntaxis and Laographia," *JJurPap* 4 (1950) 179-208.

purpose. In fact, these documents were actually offered as corroboration for the theory that boys were already at age fourteen registered for future military service. It was implied by Wilcken<sup>5</sup> that a fundamental distinction existed between boys classified as λαογραφούμενοι and those registered as ἐπικεκριμένοι. The λαογραφούμενοι were an inferior class consisting mainly of native Egyptians who were therefore not liable to legionary service in the army; the ἐπικεκριμένοι, on the other hand, were superior by virtue of their Greek ancestry or nationality and were eligible for military service as well as tax privileges.

Paul Meyer in 1897 also classified the epikrisis documents pertaining to young boys primarily as military documents, although he was the first to recognize and stress their connection with the poll-tax. According to Meyer, the word ἐπίκρισις was used to depict two different processes. The first was that already defined by Mommsen — the mustering out of veterans (*BGU* I 113, 142, 143, 265; II 447). The second kind of epikrisis, however, dealt with teenaged boys or slaves and led to their inscription on a list of persons (1) exempt from the poll-tax and therefore (2) qualified for military service. Meyer still insisted on seeing some military purpose for the latter kind of documents, even though F.G. Kenyon in the preceding year (1895/96) had defined this type of epikrisis document as a “list of privileged persons exempted from the poll-tax” without any mention of military nature or purpose.<sup>6</sup>

A major advance in arriving at the proper understanding of the epikrisis was made in 1898 by F.G. Kenyon with the publication of *PLond* II 260 (pp. 42-53) and 261 (pp. 53-61). For the first time (aside from Kenyon's brief notice in the *Archeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund* of 1895/96) the epikrisis of young men was interpreted apart from enrollment of a military nature. Kenyon, who qualified his remarks with a reminder that he was not sure exactly what the phrase meant, said of epikrisis:

It is evidently a form of enrolment, which those who were liable to it underwent at the age of fourteen or, in some cases, between that age and ten. It stands in some definite relation to the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή. One important fact to be noted in the present document is that the names of the persons recorded as ἐπικριθέντες are all Greek. Ἐπίκρισις would consequently appear to be a process whereby certain persons of Greek birth were marked off from the rest of the population for some purpose or purposes connected with the census.<sup>7</sup>

In the year following Kenyon's rejection of a purely military epikrisis, Grenfell and Hunt published the first of several epikrisis documents from Oxyrhynchus (*POxy* II 257 — 94-95 A.D.). They concluded that Kenyon seemed “right in rejecting the theory that the ἐπίκρισις was always a military institution and in drawing a sharp contrast between the ἐπίκρισις of recruits for

5. *Hermes* (1893) 249-51.

6. Paul Meyer, “Aus ägyptischen Urkunden,” *Philologus* 56 (1897) 206-16. This twofold understanding of the epikrisis was advanced also by Meyer in *Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Ägypten* (Leipzig 1898) 109-26, 229-31 (hereafter = Meyer, *Heerwesen*).

7. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri* II (1898) 44. *PLond* II 260 (pp. 42-53) and 261 (pp. 53-61) are a list of men and boys arranged in four parts. The first (260. 14-80) includes only adult males listed by name with a statement appended that they had passed through the epikrisis in a certain year. Parts two through four contain the names of boys below fourteen divided into three categories: (1) boys described as κάτοικοι (260. 81-195), (2)

boys described as λαογραφούμενοι (261. 28-244), and (3) boys from either of these two categories whose births had been reported during the current year (261. 245-77). This division, Kenyon points out, along with the sums of money mentioned in the other parts of the documents clearly shows that they served a financial, not a military purpose. See also Carl Wessely, “Arsinoitische Verwaltungsurkunden vom Jahre 72/3 nach Chr.,” *Studien* 4 (1905) 58-83, where *PLond* II 260 and 261 are reprinted along with a document (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, no inventory number listed) which was once part of the same roll. Among the categories added by this text are listings of Romans, Alexandrians, freedmen, slaves, and Jews.



military purposes and the ἐπίκρισις of boys nearing the age of fourteen who on various grounds claimed to be partly or wholly exempt from poll-tax".<sup>8</sup>

Thus from 1893 to 1900, epikrisis had come to signify two distinct processes for young boys in Egypt—one leading to enrollment in the army and the other resulting in financial advantages regarding payment of the poll-tax. The latter type of epikrisis, the financial or fiscal,<sup>9</sup> was rather fully defined by this time. Kenyon, with some opposition from Wilcken, had determined that males only underwent the epikrisis before or during their fourteenth year in which they would have to pay the poll-tax. Eligibility for a reduction of or exemption from the tax was determined by the privileged status of the applicant's father (or owner) and mother (through her father). Such privileged status could be based on descent on both sides from (1) κάτοικοι, the descendants of a privileged class of settlers, (2) gymnasiarchs, and (3) μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι, citizens of the metropolis of Oxyrhynchus (or other nomes) who paid a reduced rate of tax.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, slaves of those who were privileged were subject to the poll-tax but could receive remission of it by virtue of their owner's status. Women, however, were not subject to either the tax or the epikrisis.

From 1900 to 1918 no significant advance were made in arriving at a correct understanding of the epikrisis. Although studies of or remarks about the process were offered by Carl Wessely, Paul Meyer, Wilhelm Schubart, Jean Lesquier, Pierre Jouguet, and Ulrich Wilcken,<sup>11</sup> and although Grenfell and Hunt published three more Oxyrhynchus epikrisis texts,<sup>12</sup> discussion of the

8. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* II (London 1899) 220 (in their introduction to *POxy* II 257).

9. For this summary of the fiscal epikrisis, the information has been drawn from both Kenyon's remarks about *PLond* II 257, 260, and 261 and Grenfell and Hunt's introduction to *POxy* II 257. This interpretation of a twofold epikrisis is essentially that which appeared in *RE* 10 (Stuttgart 1907) 121-23 (s.v. ἐπίκρισις by J. Oehler).

10. These three categories and the qualifications for tax privileges are discussed below where all pertinent papyri are analysed. For the metropolitans, see Chapter II; for gymnasiarchs, Chapter III; and for the κάτοικοι, Chapter IV.

11. Wessely (1900) carefully distinguished between military and fiscal documents. Paul Meyer, "Über C. Wessely, *Epikrisis*," *BerlPhilWoch* 21 (1901) 243-44, simply repeated the position he had taken in *Heerwesen* (1898) that all epikrisis documents had some military function, although he began to categorize the documents into three types: those of the κάτοικοι, the gymnasium class, and the metropolitans. Wilhelm Schubart, "Über Paul Meyer, *Heerwesen*," *ArchP* 2 (1902) 156, firmly advocated a strict separation between fiscal and military epikrisis. Jean Lesquier, "Le Recrutement de l'Armée romaine d'Égypte," *RevPhil* 28 (1904) 5-32, taking the same position as Schubart, asserted that entry to the three privileged fiscal classes depended on descent from a κάτοικος, a gymnasiarch (as Grenfell and Hunt had already asserted in *POxy* II 257), or parents assessed at the twelve drachma poll-tax rate in the metropolis, and defined as functions of the military epikrisis enrollment, discharge, and change of unit. Pierre Jouguet, "Chronique des Papyrus," *REA* 7 (1905) 277, merely summarized the main points of view and concluded that seemingly there were two separate processes—military and fiscal. Later, in *Vie municipale* (1911) 77-85, he returned to the

subject and discussed mainly the fiscal epikrisis. He stated there that οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου meant "persons who frequent the gymnasium" not "those descended from gymnasiarchs," and although he hinted that this class could be non-financial in nature, he still saw it essentially as a financial class closely related to the other two. Ulrich Wilcken, who in *Hermes* had spoken only of a military epikrisis, went on in *Grundzüge* to identify both a military and a non-military (or fiscal) epikrisis, and he admitted finally that the non-military had some function related to status and the separation of Hellenic culture from the Egyptian. The ἐπιτεκμημένοι were the privileged inhabitants of Egypt and stood in sharp contrast to the λαογραφούμενοι, the native Egyptians. Jouguet again in *BullSocAlex* (1912) 203-14 discussed the epikrisis, this time concentrating on one of the so-called military records—a τόμος ἐπικρίσεων. This document (*PAlex* = *SB* 5217—148 A.D.) which speaks of the epikrisis of Romans, freedmen, and slaves did not have a military function at all.

12. *POxy* III 478 (132 A.D., published in 1903); *POxy* XII 1451 (175 A.D.) and 1452 (127-28 A.D., published in 1916). Grenfell and Hunt in commenting on *POxy* XII 1451 and 1452 admitted that Jouguet was right in interpreting οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου as "those belonging to the gymnasium class." They stated also that membership in this class seemed to provide something other than poll-tax reduction or remission and that the class probably furnished local officials for the metropolis. *POxy* XII 1451 offered another interesting fact about epikrisis, for in an epikrisis before the prefect of Egypt, an eleven year old girl was examined with her twenty-three (?) year old brother. Wessely (1900) 8 had called attention to the verso of *BGUI* 113 (140 A.D.) where it seems that a daughter is mentioned along with her father, a veteran, as having undergone the epikrisis. See also *PHamb* 31 (103 A.D.), where a veteran is associated with his son and daughter in an epikrisis.

process continued to show that the documents generally were classified as either military or fiscal.

A major change in the interpretation of the epikrisis was advocated by Jean Lesquier in 1918 in his indispensable study of the Roman army in Egypt.<sup>13</sup> Lesquier advanced the startling theory that there was absolutely no military epikrisis, strictly speaking. In order to establish his theory, he re-evaluated the documents cited by himself earlier and by his predecessors as illustrative of three types of military epikrisis.

In 1904, Lesquier had identified *BGUI* 143 (159 A.D.) as the record of the epikrisis of a new recruit who was accompanied by his father as guarantor of his son's physical condition, status, and identity.<sup>14</sup> After further study of the text and consideration of what Wessely and Grenfell and Hunt<sup>15</sup> had said about it, Lesquier now chose to identify *BGUI* 143 as simply an epikrisis to establish personal status for the boy. The only connection this document had with the army was to be found in the official conducting the examination. Crispus was the commander of the Alexandrine fleet, but this did not mean that he was inducting or registering the boy for military service. It simply meant that the prefect had delegated the duty of conducting the epikrisis to a deputy.

Another document used to demonstrate the use of the epikrisis for recruitment was *POxy* I 39 (52 A.D.), in which a weaver named Tryphon presumably was excused from military service because of bad eyesight. This, too, Lesquier asserted, had been misinterpreted.<sup>16</sup> Properly speaking, the term ἀπόλυσις used in connection with Tryphon had a financial, not a military meaning.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, *BGUI* 142 (159 A.D.), also previously misinterpreted by Lesquier himself as an epikrisis on the occasion of transfer from one military unit to another,<sup>18</sup> was reinterpreted as the declaration of a veteran who having served in Syria wanted now to retire in Egypt, but had not yet received his diploma. This finally led Lesquier to conclude that no text at all established the existence of an epikrisis leading to enrollment in the army or change of unit.<sup>19</sup>

There was, therefore, in Roman Egypt only one kind of epikrisis, according to Lesquier, and the so-called "military" epikrisis of veterans was only a particular example of a general kind of examination. For veterans, the process certified their rights to certain privileges—citizenship, land, legal marriage, and various kinds of immunities; for Romans, the process certified their privileged status, and, in the case of those Roman citizens moving to Egypt to settle there, it registered them as privileged Roman citizens; for Alexandrians, the process certified receipt of Roman citizenship and the privileges attending that. This recognition of personal status had several possible results, including fiscal, legal, and political, but there has not appeared any conclusive evidence that military recruitment or transfer resulted from the epikrisis.

13. *Armée romaine*.

14. *RevPhil* 20. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 537, titled this document "Ein Rekrutenschein eines Flottensoldaten," and Meyer, *Heerwesen* 123, also accepted it as a military enrollment.

15. Wessely (1900) 3; Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XII (1916) 151, where they state: "*BGUI* 143 we regard as a certificate that Marcellinus had undergone an epikrisis similar to that described in 1451 [*POxy* XII 1451, where the object is, perhaps, certification for a change in residence]."

16. By Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 538: "Befreiung eines Augenkranken vom Heeresdienst," and Meyer, *Heerwesen* 124. On the other hand, Wessely (1900) 3-4, had identified this as an epikrisis certifying exemption from a liturgy because of

Tryphon's infirmity. Grenfell and Hunt agreed in *POxy* XII 1452. "We now prefer to regard it, with Wessely, as referring to a discharge from a liturgy of some kind," although originally (in the introduction to *POxy* I 39, p. 83) they identified it as "copy of a release from liability to military service."

17. *Armée romaine* 159. Ἀπόλυσις here means exemption (from a liturgy probably). The term is used also in reference to priests who have been granted exemption from poll-tax. See below Chapter VII, p. 62.

18. *RevPhil* 21. For the same view, see also Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 538 and Meyer, *Heerwesen* 123. Again, Wessely (1900) 3, 28-29 had already stated that this was non-military.

19. *Armée romaine* 162.

For several years no significant studies or documents relating to the epikrisis appeared, and the interpretation of Lesquier went unnoticed or unchallenged. When finally in 1930 Elias Bickermann took up the topic of the epikrisis he generally accepted what Lesquier had determined and did not list the military as one of the categories for the epikrisis. Instead Bickermann chose to identify two different kinds of epikrisis — the Alexandrian and the Egyptian.<sup>20</sup>

The first type, called “die alexandrinische Epikrisis” or “die Epikrisis der ‘commentarii’” was executed through the prefect of Egypt or his deputy. It dealt with Romans and Alexandrians (of both sexes),<sup>21</sup> their relatives, their freedmen, and their slaves, and led to the issuance of a certificate or passport which identified them and certified their right to certain privileges. Unlike the second type of epikrisis, this was freely sought and entered into by those who needed it to enjoy whatever privileges it granted them in Egypt.

“Die ägyptische Epikrisis”, or “die Epikrisis der Deklarationen” was accomplished through local officials in the nomes or villages, and it pertained only to those living in the χώρα. Thirteen year old boys in their respective social groups<sup>22</sup> underwent this epikrisis by order of the strategus. No certificate was issued to them; their names, however, were recorded in the local government record office on lists which identified their rights and duties.

Neither of these processes, according to Bickermann, led to a new *status civitatis*. They merely specified the rights and/or duties which properly belonged to those who underwent the epikrisis. In effect, the major purpose served by the processes was that of proper administration or control of the population — permanent and transient.<sup>23</sup>

S.L. Wallace’s *Taxation in Egypt* was published in 1938 and became a standard reference work for those studying taxation in Roman Egypt. In addition to descriptions of the census and the poll-tax, Wallace’s study also dealt with the epikrisis. He noted that the opinion of Wessely “that epikrisis meant an examination to determine the civic status of any person, of either sex, slave or free, of any age, conducted by accredited representatives of the government, is now almost universally accepted”, and in defining the purpose of this examination Wallace said that it was “in many cases military, but in all cases the result was a permanent record of the proof of Roman citizenship which entitled the holder of it to exemption from payment of the poll-tax in Egypt”.<sup>24</sup>

Of those classes eligible for the epikrisis, the κάτοικοι were viewed by Wallace in a most interesting way, for contrary to previous beliefs, he felt that the κάτοικοι probably were taxed.<sup>25</sup>

20. Elias Bickermann, “Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte,” *ArchP* 9 (1930) 24-46 (hereafter = Bickermann). O.W. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Beiheft 34 of *Klio* (Leipzig 1935) 73 also was careful not to identify a military epikrisis. Of the documents labeled ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων, he stated: “The full explanation of this epikrisis cannot as yet be given.” On p. 123, he indicated that he was very sure one of the reasons for examination of veterans was “to determine their status with a view to the privileges to which they were entitled at the close of their service.”

21. Though Bickermann does not specify that veterans were included in this category it seems obvious from his description of it that it represents the ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων documents in which veterans are frequently mentioned as applicants to the prefect for epikrisis.

22. Bickermann, as others before him, refers to three social groups — the κάτοικοι, οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, and the

μητροπολίται. The distinction between them, however, is not always clear. In fact, Bickermann wonders whether or not the first two represent the same group in different places inasmuch as only one of the terms appears consistently in the documents of a metropolis (in Arsinoe, only κάτοικοι; in Oxyrhynchus, only οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου). See Bickermann 37-43 and infra, Charter III, “*Epikrisis*: οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου and Chapter IV, “*Epikrisis*: οἱ κάτοικοι.”

23. With reference to the Alexandrian, Bickermann speaks of the “passport” or certificate “der den Lokalbehörden die Ausübung der Bevölkerungskontrolle gewiss stark erleichterte” (p. 35). He says also on p. 35: “Die ägyptische Epikrisis stellte nur eine Ergänzungskontrolle der Zensusakten dar, die zwischen den Schätzungen für bestimmte Bevölkerungsgruppen vorgenommen wurde.”

24. Wallace 109.

25. *Ibid.* 117-18. Kenyon in his introduction to *PLond II* 260 (pp. 42ff.) had asserted that the κάτοικοι as ἐπικεκρημένοι

Moreover, the κάτοικοι in Arsinoe, as Bickermann had already suggested, most likely corresponded to the class identified as οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis. As such, both classes were not even totally distinct from the metropolites.

The distinction between οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου and the μητροπολίται in Oxyrhynchus was social and was connected with the privileges accruing from the ephebia. I believe that the distinction between the catocci and οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως in the Arsinoite nome was similar.<sup>26</sup>

By 1938, most of the documents dealing with the epikrisis had been published and the interpretations offered by Wilcken, Kenyon, Meyer, Lesquier, and Wallace apparently seemed sufficient. Up to 1956, the remarks offered by papyrologists concerning this topic were generally short and appeared in conjunction with the publication of new epikrisis accounts.<sup>27</sup>

In 1956, Jean Bingen revised Wallace's list of texts containing declarations for the epikrisis (excluding those ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων). This list is complete and correct up to 1956.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Bingen published the texts of two Brussels papyri, one of which helped him reconstruct a very fragmentary text published by Schubart (*PErl* 31 — after 212 A.D.).

The most helpful study of the epikrisis since Lesquier's of 1918 and Wessely's of 1900 and the most recent one is that of Paul Mertens in 1958. Unfortunately, Mertens limited his work to the Oxyrhynchus documents of the third century A.D. in keeping with the scope of his study. He himself lamented that no general study of the epikrisis has been made and indicated that this would be out of place in his book.<sup>29</sup> Included in his chapter on the epikrisis is an extremely brief summary of previous views showing how papyrologists gradually shifted from a purely military interpretation to one which included the financial aspect. The contention of Lesquier that no military epikrisis at all existed has not been adequately answered, Mertens asserted, for Bickermann refused to confront it and Wallace seems to have ignored it. Mertens, however, again stated that the scope of his own work did not permit him to deal with the unanswered problem.<sup>30</sup>

The major part of Mertens' chapter on the epikrisis is devoted to a study of the third century Oxyrhynchus documents which are described under two headings: (1) "épikrisis des métropolités à douze drachmes" and (2) "épikrisis des ἀπὸ γυμνασίου". There is, he argued, a fundamental distinction between these two categories although the documents exhibit many similarities in form.<sup>31</sup>

For the first category, the μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι, Mertens defined the form which the documents take and tried to explain the variations in this form. Eventually he asked and tried

and not λαογραφούμενοι were freed from payment of taxes. The same position was taken by Wilcken in *Hermes* 249; *Grundzüge* 189; Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* II (1899) 220. Wallace, however, pointed out that a person could be ἐπικριμένος and at the same time λαογραφούμενος since the epikrisis did not always mean total exemption from the tax. Hence, the κάτοικοι could very well have been taxed at a reduced rate.

26. Wallace 118. See Bickermann 37-43.

27. This was true of André Bataille, "Un papyrus Clermont-Ganneau appartenant à l'Académie des Inscriptions," *JJurPap* 4 (1950) 327-39, where he comments about two documents identified as *Papyrus Clermont-Ganneau a* and *b* (= SB 9227 and SB 9228). In this article he speaks of a military character for *b* (= SB 9228), but by this he means only that the τόμος ἐπικρίσεων speaks of veterans who made declarations in order to establish their privileged status and that of their families. See also Marcel Hombert's review of this in *Cd'E* 52 (1951) 426f. Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* devoted some space

to the epikrisis in their work on the census in Roman Egypt. In effect, they accepted Wallace's position on the financial epikrisis which, among other things, held that the κάτοικοι paid poll-tax at a reduced rate (p. 105).

28. Bingen (1956) 109-17. Previous lists had been drawn up by Bickermann (p. 30) and Wallace (pp. 403-05). Bingen's list on pp. 116-17 excludes some irrelevant taxes included by both Bickermann and Wallace and adds some texts which have appeared since their studies. See *infra* in the appropriate chapters complete lists of all texts for the various categories of the epikrisis.

29. Mertens 99.

30. *Ibid.* 100.

31. *Ibid.* 101. Lesquier, *Armée romaine* 175-201 had argued that they were identical. Common traits identified by Mertens were their terminology and their origin at approximately the same time. The main difference between them is to be found in the proofs offered by the declarants.

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to answer this question: What is a metropolite? His answer included the following definition: "Le μητροπολίτης est une personne domiciliée officiellement dans un quartier de la métropole, dont elle est pleinement originaire; c'est somme toute un indigène reconnu."<sup>32</sup> Mertens saw this class as essentially hereditary, and he believed that a list was once drawn up identifying the first metropolites. Exactly when this happened is not certain, although it may have been either when the poll-tax was initially imposed or on the occasion of a general epikrisis.<sup>33</sup> The privilege granted was a reduced tax (from sixteen to twelve drachmas), and such a reduction probably was the major reason for severely limiting the number of metropolites. Too many privileged tax payers would have diminished the revenue to a dangerous degree. There is, according to Mertens, no easily identifiable explanation for the disappearance of this kind of document early in the third century (the last Oxyrhynchus document of this category is dated by him in 215/16). The word μητροπολίτης no longer occurs, although the adjective δωδεκάδραχος is still used late in the third century. One possible explanation is that the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 A.D. which conferred a grant of Roman citizenship made the distinction no longer necessary.<sup>34</sup>

This same procedure is followed for the epikrisis of those ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. After identifying the pertinent documents from third century Oxyrhynchus, Mertens defined the form of these and discussed variations in that form. He pointed to the more exact and extensive proof of identity required for this class as indication of its existence apart from that of the metropolites. One reason for the stricter requirements was that "the advantages of the Hellenic culture were jealously reserved."<sup>35</sup> Mertens seems to agree with Bickermann that one of the special advantages of belonging to this class was the privilege of assuming municipal functions. In fact, he suggested that magistrates were ordinarily chosen from this category.<sup>36</sup> This fact helps to explain why we find no documents of this kind conferring that status on slaves or freedmen, whereas these latter groups are found in the class of the metropolites. Slaves or freedmen were to have no part whatsoever in the privileges available to those who belonged to the gymnasium class.

Mertens' careful study is the latest major consideration of the epikrisis and of status declarations in general, but despite its value it is too brief and limited in scope to cover all the status documents extant. Since new evidence seems to be brought to light more and more infrequently, it is now time for these records to be reevaluated, classified, and interpreted.

To accomplish this, we intend to discuss each status document in terms of its form and its function. By identifying the formal characteristics of the documents and classifying them by type we will be able to extract as much information as possible from them and we will enable future editors of such documents to identify and reconstruct more readily the texts at their disposal. By discussing the function of the documents we hope we will provide answers for problems yet unresolved and correct some of the careless, uninformed, or inadequate interpretations given today by those who have accepted without reservation or investigation the views of earlier interpreters of status declarations.<sup>37</sup>

32. Mertens 109.

33. *Ibid.* 110. Mertens does grant that the title and privileges of this group could have been bestowed *honoris causa* for some noteworthy benefaction or victory.

34. *Ibid.* 111-12. More will be said about this theory infra in Chapter II, "Epikrisis: The Metropolites."

35. *Ibid.* 116.

36. *Ibid.* 121, 125. See Bickermann 39-40.

37. Not all recent interpreters have been careful or thorough. Alfred Richard Neumann, "ἐπίκρισις," *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (Stuttgart 1967) cols 311-12, regrettably bases his remarks on secondary material no later than 1918; and what he

says is misleading and probably erroneous. Although Wallace had demonstrated that the upper age for payment of the poll-tax was most likely sixty-two, Neumann lists only sixty as the maximum. Furthermore, Neumann identifies as functions of the military epikrisis "der Einstellung der Rekruten, der Abweisung von Untauglichen und Versetzungen." He does grant that Lesquier had disputed these as functions of the epikrisis, but makes no comment for or against this position. The entry gives evidence of too much dependence on Wilcken and not enough consideration of subsequent views or the epikrisis documents themselves.

## Chapter II

### The Metropolitites

The most numerous kind of epikrisis documents are those which record declarations on behalf of young men ἀπὸ μητροπόλεως. All of those documents extant and published are included in the following list:<sup>1</sup>

#### ARSINOE

A.D.	90-91	<i>PBrux</i> inv E 8017 (by parents)
	121	<i>BGU</i> I 109 = <i>BL</i> I, p. 20 (by parents)
	134	<i>PRyl</i> II 103 = <i>Sel Pap</i> 314 (by brother)
	138-61	<i>PRyl</i> II 279 (by mother)
	141	<i>PGrenf</i> II 49 (by parents)
	148	<i>PGen</i> 19 (by parents)

1. See Bingen 116-17 for the exclusion of irrelevant documents which had been listed by Bickermann 30 and Wallace 403-05. Texts rightly omitted from the declaration lists are: (1) *PCairPreis* 10 (138-61 A.D.) which had been assigned by Bickermann to Arsinoe, but is too fragmentary to classify with certainty. The reference to the census (ἀπογραφή) seems to have been the reason for its Arsinoite attribution by Bickermann. If it is a declaration, I would suggest rather that it is Oxyrhynchite because of the oath form (ὁμνῶ τὴν τύχην of emperor N. ἀληθῆ τὰ προγεγραμμένα— see below the Oxyrhynchite form); (2) *PSI* XII 1240 = *SB* 7 989 (222 A.D.) which is a *gerousia* declaration (see below Chapter VIII); (3) *POxy* II 288 (22-25 A.D.) and 314 (early first century A.D.) both of which have at the end a copy of an extract from an earlier epikrisis account giving the names and ages of the male members of the family; (4) *PSI* XII 1257 = *SB* 7990 (third century A.D.) and *PSI* III 164 (287 A.D.) both from Oxyrhynchus and both records of ἀναγραφή in an amphodon by boys who are described as δωδεκάδραχμος and ἀπὸ γυμνασίου; and (5) *PSI* X 1109 (93-94 A.D.), a declaration on oath to the strategus of Oxyrhynchus by the guardian of a boy who has undergone epikrisis that both the boys' father and maternal grandfather were δωδεκάδραχμοι. There are extant, in addition to these texts and the declarations, several other documents which supply information about or refer to the metropolitite epikrisis. Census returns in which individuals identify

themselves as λαογραφούμενος ἐπιτεκνωμένος include: *PFouad* III 115 (Arsinoe 119 A.D.); *BGU* I 137 (Fayum 146-47 A.D.); and *BGU* I 118 iii (Fayum 189 A.D.). The identification is simply ἐπιτεκνωμένος in *PSI* IX 1062 (Ptolemais Euergitis 104-05 A.D.) and *BGU* II 447 (Karanis 175 A.D.). Another important document is the tax roll (72-73 A.D.) represented by *PLond* II 260 (pp. 42-53) and 261 (pp. 53-61), along with *Studien* 4 (1905) 58-83 where the complete roll is presented. See Chapter I, note 7 for a description. Other documents are: *PHarris* 106, a second century A.D. letter fragment in which the writer says the prefect has announced a house-to-house census and an epikrisis; *PHamb* 60 = *CJP* III 485 (Hermopolis 90 A.D.) and *SB* 9869a (Hermopolis 160 A.D.) in which the house-to-house census is designated κατ' οἰκίαν ἐπίκρισις; *Studien* 20 (1921) 24 (second or third century A.D.), a letter of a boy to his mother in which he speaks of someone as his witness ἐν τῇ ἐπίκρισει; *BGU* IV 1032 (undated) records a dispute about the epikrisis of a young man. To establish the fact it was properly completed the boy's mother brings the three witnesses of the examination; *SB* 5282 (Antinoopolis, no date), a very fragmentary private letter in which reference is made to a witness for an epikrisis; *PAmh* II 99a (Hermopolite nome 179 A.D.), a division of property text in which a woman is identified as N., who is known in the epikrisis list as N.: *POxy* VI 926 (Oxyrhynchus, third century A.D.), an invitation to an epikrisis dinner by the person being

152-53	<i>PRyl</i> II 280 (by parents)
161-69	<i>PHaw</i> 401. 7-15 = <i>ArchP</i> 5, p. 395 (by parents)
166-67	<i>BGU</i> I 324 = <i>WChrest</i> 219 (by owner for slaves)
167	<i>PRyl</i> II 104 (by brother)
181	<i>PTeb</i> II 320 (by parents)
187	<i>PStrassb</i> 134 = <i>SB</i> 8016 (by mother?)
187	<i>PGen</i> 18 (by parents)
235	<i>BGU</i> XI 2086 ? <sup>2</sup> (by brother)

## HERACLEOPOLIS

A.D. 187-88	<i>PBon</i> 19 (by parents?)
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## HERMOPOLIS

A.D. 132	<i>SB</i> 7440a <sup>3</sup> (by parents)
	<i>SB</i> 7440b (by parents)

## OXYRHYNCHUS

A.D. 67-79	<i>PRyl</i> II 278 (by father?)
86	<i>POxy</i> VII 1028 (by mother)
86-87	<i>POxy</i> II 258 = <i>WChrest</i> 216 (by father)
106	<i>PWisc</i> I 17 (by father)
122	<i>POxy</i> IV 714 (by owner for slave)
127-28	<i>POxy</i> XII 1452, col I = <i>Pap Primer</i> , <sup>4</sup> no. 4 (by uncle)
132	<i>POxy</i> III 478 = <i>WChrest</i> 218 (by mother)
153-54	<i>PSI</i> VII 732 (by owner for slave)
160-61	<i>POxy</i> VIII 1109 (by father)
172-73	<i>WChrest</i> 217 (by owner for slave)
203	<i>PSI</i> XII 1230 (by owner for slave)
214-15(?)	<i>POxy</i> X 1306 (by father)
after 212	<i>PERl</i> 31 (by father?)
after 212	<i>PBrux</i> inv E 7910 (by father?)

examined; *POxy* XXXVI 2792 (third century A.D.), an invitation to an epikrisis (celebration) by the boy's father; *BGU* II 388 (Alexandria, second century A.D.), a series of proceedings before the Idios Logos about the epikrisis of slaves; *PFlor* III 350 (Arsinoite nome, third century A.D.), a series of notes that N. was examined by strategus N. perhaps inserted in a petition of some kind; and *SB* 8038 (Hermopolis, no date) in which the strategus of Hermopolis makes reference to fourteen year old metropolite youths (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως εἰς τοὺς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς προσβαίνοντες ἀφήλικες) and members of the gymnasium class (οἱ ἀπὸ τάγματος τοῦ γυμνασίου) and their examination. The major qualifications for each group are specified as: εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων τὸ μητροπολιτικὸν γένος σώζουσι, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, εἰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τάγματος εἴσι.

Although indirect evidence shows that the epikrisis was used in other cities (*PSI* IX 1062 — Ptolemais Euergetis and *SB* 5282 — Antinoopolis), no formal declarations have been found from any places other than the four described in the sections following.

2. *BGU* XI 2086 is quite fragmentary and cannot with absolute certainty be identified as one of this class. The text which remains is similar in most respects to the documents listed above. That it comes from Arsinoe is certain.

3. *SB* 7440a will also be listed under the documents of those belonging to the gymnasium class (see Chapter III). It is not clear whether this is a metropolite or a gymnasium application, for the declarant identifies himself as a member of both of these categories. He does not, however, specify which of these classes is the object of the declaration.

## 1. THE FORM OF THE DOCUMENTS

The extant documents are numerous enough to enable us to determine that they were drawn up in accordance with a specific and official formula. This form is most easily discerned in the documents from Arsinoe and Oxyrhynchus. There are, as will be clear later, important differences in the form the applications take in the four areas from which we have documents. Therefore, it will be necessary to consider each city separately in listing the form of the declarations for metropolitane epikrisis.

## A. Arsinoe

The applications normally begin with the identification of the officials to whom they were addressed. This is true of ten<sup>4</sup> of the fourteen applications from Arsinoe listed above and may have been the case in three<sup>5</sup> of the documents in which the first part of the text has been lost or damaged to such an extent that it cannot be restored. The remaining application (*PRyl* II 104) has no identification of addressees, although the document has at the beginning a wide blank space large enough for this information.<sup>6</sup>

In the ten documents which include the addressees at the beginning, without exception the name(s) of the officials and their titles are given in the dative case. Usually (probably in ten of the eleven in which names or titles are available) two officials are specified as recipients of the applications,<sup>7</sup> and in all cases the officials are listed as ex-gymnasiarchs.<sup>8</sup> These officials, moreover, are generally (in seven of the ten documents with addresses at the beginning) identified as members of the commission specifically in charge of the epikrisis.<sup>9</sup> In three instances, other official titles are attached to the names, but these do not seem to be part of the ordinary formula used in this section.<sup>10</sup>

4. *BGUI* 109; *PRyl* II 103; *PRyl* II 279; *PGen* 19; *PRyl* II 280; *PHaw* 401; *BGUI* 324; *PTeb* II 320; *PGen* 18; and *BGU* XI 2086. For a complete text of a metropolitane declaration, see Appendix III. Dates will be supplied for documents only when they are of some significance, for we have determined that, generally speaking, formulaic variation in time is random and dates for the most part are not important. Documents are regularly listed in the notes in chronological order for easy reference back to the initial list at the beginning of the chapter.

5. *PBrux* inv E 8017; *PGrenf* II 49; *PStrassb* 134. In *PGrenf* II 49, a name can be supplied from the official signature at line 14.

6. A reasonable explanation of this margin is that offered in note 1 to *PRyl* II 104: "Writers of applications or declarations which were submitted in duplicate (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* i, p. 441) were apt to omit the heading in one copy; cf. *P. Oxy.* 1111. i, 1113. ii, which, though unaddressed, were evidently parts of official rolls."

7. One of the names (assuming that there were only two) is missing in *PRyl* II 279 and *PRyl* II 280, but there is a καὶ immediately preceding the name listed in the application. In *BGU* XI 2086, a [καὶ] has been supplied in the lacuna before the name of the official. Although it is possible that the καὶ introduced a surname (as is often the case in the other applications), there is also the possibility (based on other applications) that the καὶ is a conjunction linking the names of two officials. *PHaw* 401 provides only one name, but another may have been recorded in the lacuna following the first name;

and only one name is found in *PGrenf* II 49 in the signature (although this by no means proves that only one official was addressed in the beginning of the document as will be seen infra when the signatures are discussed). *PGen* 18 is the only application which definitely lists only one official.

8. γεγυμ(νασιαρχηκόσι) in *PRyl* II 103; *PRyl* II 279; *PGen* 19; *PRyl* II 280; *BGUI* 324; and *BGUI* 109 (the reading ]ιαρχ( ) here should also be resolved γεγυμνασ]ιαρχ(ηκόσι). γυμνασιαρχ(ήσαντι) in *PGrenf* II 49 (here the signature identifies the official as γυμνασιαρχήσας); *PHaw* 401; *PGen* 18.

[γε]γυ(μνασιαρχηκόσι) in *BGU* XI 2086.

9. In *BGUI* 109; I 324; *PGen* 18 the commission is listed as τοῖς (τῶ) πρὸς τῇ ἐπιτροπείᾳ (this phrase is supplied also by the editor of *BGU* XI 2086 to fill a lacuna following an official's name and title). The dative ἐπιτροπταῖς is used in *PRyl* II 103; II 279; *PGen* 19; and *PTeb* II 320.

The officials in these documents identified as οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιτροπείᾳ do not appear outside of status declarations. The first use of the term in extant documents is that found in *BGUI* 109 (121 A.D.). It is also used of a prefect of Egypt in connection with an epikrisis declaration (*PFlor* I 57 — 166 A.D. See infra Chapter VI). The latest use occurs in *PSIV* 457 (276 A.D.), a gymnasium declaration.

10. Ammonius in *PGen* 18 has served as ἀγοράνομος (ἀγορανομήσας); Alcimus in *BGU* XI 2086 is ἑναρχος πρῶτανις; and Apollonius in *PGrenf* II 49 has been ἐξηγητῆς (ἐξηγητῆσας). The only other indication of the identity of the



The next part of the application is the identification of the declarant(s) according to the following form: παρὰ Ν., son of Ν. and Ν. (καὶ τῆς τούτου γυναικὸς Ν., dr. of Ν. and Ν.) (ἀμφοτέρων) τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀναγραφομένου (-ων) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ν.

The declarants may be a father and/or a mother for a son or sons,<sup>11</sup> a brother for his brother (since the father has died),<sup>12</sup> or an owner for slaves.<sup>13</sup> In the applications by parents for sons, it appears that generally both parents are listed as declarants on behalf of their child.<sup>14</sup> When the father has died, apparently the responsibility for making the declaration fell upon a brother who had already been enrolled. When there was no adult brother, the mother (through her κύριος) made the declaration.

In the identification of the declarants the documents offer in addition to the declarants' names these items of information: (1) the identification of the father and mother of the declarant (and of his wife's father and mother when both parents make declaration); (2) a statement that the declarants are τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως; and (3) a statement that they are ἀναγραφομένων in a specific quarter of the metropolis (ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ν.).<sup>15</sup>

Following the identification of the officials addressed and the declarants comes the declaration proper. The characteristic form of the declaration includes:

(1) a genitive absolute in which the boy is named, his age is given, and his need for examination is mentioned — τοῦ ἕξ ἀλλήλων υἱοῦ Ν. προσβ(άντος) εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς or τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ( )th (ἔτει) καὶ ὀφείλοντος ἐπικριθῆναι;

(2) a prepositional phrase specifying that the examination is in accord with orders of the prefect (sometimes this phrase is omitted — κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα, occasionally with the addition ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος Ν.; and

(3) a statement indicating that the declarants' credentials have been appended — ὑπετάξαμεν ἡμῶν τὰ δίκαια.

Some variation is found in each of these sections. There is, of course, the substitution of appropriate terms when the application is made by someone other than the parents. Τοῦ ἕξ ἀλλήλων υἱοῦ will be replaced by τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ or by δούλων μου and ἡμῶν τὰ δίκαια by αὐτῶν τὰ δίκαια or τὰ τῶν γονέων ἡμῶν δίκαια or μου τὰ δίκαια. In addition to necessary and obvious variations like these, there are other differences, especially in the first section.

In stating the age of the boys being submitted for the epikrisis, the documents as a rule have προσβ(άντος) or προσβ(άντων) εἰς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς<sup>16</sup> or τρισκαίδεκαετείς<sup>17</sup> or δυοκαίδεκαετείς.<sup>18</sup> Apart from the documents where the age has been lost,<sup>19</sup> there are two

officials responsible comes in *PFlor* III 350 (third century A.D., Arsinoite nome), where it is noted that someone was examined by the strategus. The document is incomplete, but seems to be a petition of some kind. This is the only place where the strategus is listed in the Arsinoite nome as an examiner. It is, of course, conceivable that he served as a member of the epikrisis commission in Arsinoe as we know he did in Oxyrhynchus. Evidence for the strategus' participation in the examination at Oxyrhynchus at so late a date, however, is non-existent (see below the description of the Oxyrhynchite form of declaration).

11. Father for sons: *PBrux* inv E 8017. Mother for son: *PRyl* II 279; *PStrassb* 134 (?). Father and mother for son: *BGU* I 109; *PGrenf* II 49; *PGen* 19; *PRyl* II 280; *PHaw* 401; *PTeb* II 320; *PGen* 18.

12. *PRyl* II 103; II 104; *BGU* XI 2086.

13. *BGU* I 324. Here the owner of the two slaves is a woman who lists also the κύριος through whom she applies (μετὰ κυρίου Ν.).

14. The only exceptions are *PBrux* inv E 8017 in which the mother is mentioned later in the document, and *PRyl* II 279 (and perhaps *PStrassb* 134) where probably the father is dead and the wife must make the declaration. Notice that in *PGen* 19 both parents, although divorced, make a joint declaration for their son.

15. Eleven different ἀμφοδα are found recorded in the fourteen declarations. They are: Βιθυνῶν Ἄλλων Τόπων, Βουταφίου, Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς, Ἀράβω, Ἑλληνίου, Θεοδοφορίου, Κιλίκων, Λιτυφείων, Σεκνεβτυνείου, Ταμείων, and Ὀρίωνος Ἰερακείου. All are ἀμφοδα in Arsinoe.

16. *PRyl* II 103; *PGrenf* II 49 (it is possible that the προσβ ( ) here should be read προσβ(αίνοντος) instead of προσβ(άντος) as the editors have done); *BGU* I 324.

17. *BGU* I 109; *PGen* 19; *BGU* I 324.

18. *PHaw* 401.

19. *PRyl* II 279; II 280; II 104; *PStrassb* 134; *PGen* 18; *BGU* XI 2086.

exceptions to this form. One of these is in *PTeb* II 320 where we find προσβα[ίνον]τ(ος) with no age following it, possibly because the declarant assumed that this could readily be supplied *pro forma* by the agency. The other exception comes in *PBrux* inv E 8017, which is an application for the epikrisis of two sons. Here the usual προσβ(άντων) has been replaced by καταληγόντων ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκα[δεκ]αετῶν followed by the years in which this has happened for each of the two sons. The reason for this departure from the normal form will be discussed below when we consider the ages of the boys submitted for epikrisis.

Five of the declarations definitely (and possibly as many as seven in all)<sup>20</sup> omit the second section pertaining to the prefect's order concerning the epikrisis, and this does not seem to have been an essential part of the form. Indeed, even when the section is included, it usually omits the name of the prefect.<sup>21</sup> Only two of the documents have identified the prefect under whose orders the epikrisis is to be carried out. Unfortunately, the prefect's name has been lost in one of these documents (*BGU* XI 2086), but from the text which remains (ὑπὸ τοῦ) it is certain that the prefect's title and name followed. The other document (*PBrux* inv E 8017) has the most complete form of this section: [κατὰ] τὰ ὑπό...ἡγεμόνος Μεττίου [Ῥούφου προστετ]αγμένα.<sup>22</sup>

All applications except those where damage to the text is extensive<sup>23</sup> include the third section (stating that the credentials are appended) without substantial variation.

After the applicant has indicated that his credentials (and the others which are required) have been appended, he immediately moves to the last part of the application and to the specification of what those credentials are. In this part of the declarations from Arsinoe we find the following information:

(1) the listing of the declarants' credentials, usually with this form: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν Ν. ἀπεγραψάμην ἐν τῇ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῇ (year of census is specified and place of registration is identified). The same information is provided for the wife if she joins her husband in applying<sup>24</sup> or makes application by herself.<sup>25</sup> When the boy's brother declares for him, the declarant states that both his parents have been enrolled in the census, and he tells when and where this was done;<sup>26</sup> he omits this information about his parents and identifies himself as registered in the epikrisis and enrolled in the census.<sup>27</sup> In the single instance of application for slaves, the owner, a woman, offers her enrollment in the census as proof of the validity of her declaration.<sup>28</sup>

In all the Arsinoite declarations, therefore, except possibly *PRyl* II 280, where the text is not complete, enrollment in the census is offered as the major source of verification for the validity of

20. Omitted in *PGrenf* II 49; *PGen* 19; *PHaw* 401; *PRyl* II 104; *PTeb* II 320. Those documents in which the section may have been included, but which have suffered damage at this point are: *PRyl* II 279; II 280.

21. As in *PRyl* II 103; *BGUI* 324; *PStrassb* 134; *PGen* 18, and probably *BGUI* 109 where κατὰ [τὰ κελουσθ(έντα)] alone is found. Bickermann 35 suggested that these orders came from the strategus, not from the prefect, as Wallace 110 later affirmed. From the evidence now available to us, it is possible to reject Bickermann's hypothesis and affirm that Wallace was correct. See also *PHarris* 106, a second century A.D. letter fragment in which the writer indicates that a prefect has announced a κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῇ and an ἐπίκρισις.

22. The [προστετ]αγμένα, of course, is not the usual word in these documents for reference to the prefect's orders. Bingen 115, with reference to this word and to the unusual inclusion of the prefect's name, asks: "S'agit-il d'un édit spécialement

consacré à l'épikrisis et à ceux qui en avaient été exclus par les circonstances ou pour d'autres raisons?" This is possible, although there is no evidence for this procedure and terminology apart from this text. Moreover, Bingen, at this time when *PBrux* inv E 8016 was unique in including the prefect's name, did not have access to *BGU* XI 2086 where the name also seems to have been added, and there is no doubt that this document is one of the normal applications, not one dealing with special circumstances which made epikrisis for some boys impossible.

23. *PRyl* II 279 and 280.

24. *PBrux* inv E 8017; *BGU* I 109; *PGrenf* II 49; *PGen* 19; *PRyl* II 280; *PHaw* 401; *PTeb* II 320; and *PGen* 18.

25. *PRyl* II 279 and *PStrassb* 134 (?).

26. *PRyl* II 103; II 104.

27. *BGU* XI 2086.

28. *BGU* I 324.

the declaration. At least one enrollment is always listed, and in some documents several are mentioned.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, in eleven of the fourteen declarations,<sup>30</sup> we are told that the boys submitted for epikrisis have been enrolled in the census along with their parents, brothers, or owner; and in at least ten of these eleven cases, the boys were enrolled in the last census preceding their eligibility for epikrisis.<sup>31</sup>

Since the parents who make the declaration or in whose place declaration is made by an adult son are almost always identified as enrolled in a census<sup>32</sup> it seems that the providing of this information (or the equivalent in declarations for slaves) was required in the declarations so that the agency could check the declarants' claims against the official records. A few of the documents even carry the enrollment in a census back to the grandparents of the boy eligible for epikrisis.<sup>33</sup> This, however, was apparently not required in the official declaration, and most Arsinoite declarations simply identify father and mother (or brother or owner) as enrolled in the census.

Some documents include other information for substantiating the validity of the declarations. Mention is made in *BGUI* 109 of an ἀντίγραφον ὑπογραφῆς following the citation of the enrollment of the paternal grandparents in the census. This copy, presumably, referred to that enrollment. *PRyl* II 103, a declaration by a young man for his brother, not only submits complete and detailed information relating to the enrollment of the parents in various censuses; it also includes two enclosures by the declarant — the first, a certificate of his own epikrisis, and the second, a page from the property census (κ[ό]λλημα ἀπογραφῆς ἐνκτῆσεω(ν)). This declarant apparently wanted there to be no doubts about his brother's right for the epikrisis! An enclosure is also mentioned in *BGUI* 324 in which a woman named Theano applies for the epikrisis of two slaves owned by her. In addition to her enrollment and her slaves' enrollment in the census, she offers as substantiation for her declaration a copy of the epikrisis (ἀντίγραφον ἐπικρίσεως) of a third slave who had been registered five years earlier. *PStrassb* 134 seems to be an application by a mother for her son. She too indicates that she and her son have been enrolled in the census, and she speaks of three witnesses (γνωστῆρας τρεῖς) presumably for verifying her claims if necessary. Finally, *BGU* XI 2086, like *PRyl* II 103 an application for a brother, refers to the declarant's own epikrisis as proof for the boy's right to submit to the examination.

(2) Following the credentials in those documents where the ending has not been destroyed<sup>34</sup> are the signatures and the date. The most complete form that this takes is that found in *PGrenf* II 49: διὸ ἐπιδ(ίδομεν).<sup>35</sup> ἐγὼ N. ἐξηγητεύσας καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσας δι(ὰ) N. γραμματ(έως)<sup>36</sup> N. (acc.), son of N. and N., σεση(μείωμαι). Date.

29. See *PRyl* II 103, where five different censuses are listed. In *BGUI* 324; *PRyl* II 104 and *PGen* 18 the declarants assert that they have been enrolled in the census κατὰ καιρὸν.

30. Information is not available concerning this in *PBrux* inv E 8017; *PRyl* II 279; and II 280.

31. In *PStrassb* 134 the census in which the boy was enrolled is not identified.

32. The exception is *BGU* XI 2086, where a brother declares on behalf of his younger brother. Here the declarant says he has been registered in the epikrisis and enrolled in two censuses in the last of which he enrolled his brother also. The text is mutilated at this point, but it does not seem to have referred to enrollment of parents in the census.

33. Paternal grandparents are identified as enrolled in the census in *BGUI* 109. In *PGen* 19 the maternal grandparents are so identified, and in *PRyl* II 103 both sets of grandparents are referred to in terms of enrollment in the census.

34. It is impossible to determine how the following declarations ended: *PBrux* inv E 8017; *PRyl* II 279; II 280; *PHaw* 401; *BGU* I 324; and XI 2086.

35. This phrase is found also in *PRyl* II 104; *PTeb* II 320; and *PGen* 18. *PRyl* II 104 also adds in a second hand Ἡ]ρων ἐπι(δέ)δωκα.

36. Mention is made of a scribe also in *PRyl* II 103; *PGen* 19; and *PTeb* II 320.

The most interesting part of this concluding section is the signature of the official which has been written by a second or third hand.<sup>37</sup> Each of these six official signatures has been made by one man who lists his office and says: σεση(μείωμαι) that N. (acc.) is the son of N. and N. The name in the accusative is always the name of the boy who is submitted for the epikrisis, and the official who certifies him to be the legal son of the parents involved in the declaration is apparently always one of those to whom it was addressed.<sup>38</sup>

The date of the certification then concludes the declarations from Arsinoe.

There are no significant variations in any aspect of the declaration during the years it was used in Arsinoe.

### B. Oxyrhynchus

As in the declarations from Arsinoe, those from Oxyrhynchus normally begin with the identification of the addressees (listed in the dative case) and of the declarants (following the preposition παρά). In six of the fourteen documents<sup>39</sup> such a listing in the dative of the government officials is included. The number of persons to whom these declarations are addressed varies from one to an indeterminate number (καὶ οἷς ἄλλ(λοις) καθήκ(ει) in *POxy XII 1452*, col I).<sup>40</sup>

Several different offices are listed for these persons addressed.

στρατηγός—*POxy VII 1028*; *IV 714*; *XII 1452*, col I (86-128 A.D.)

βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς—*POxy VII 1028*; *IV 714*; *XII 1452*, col I (86-128 A.D.)

γυμνασιαρχήσας—*POxy VII 1028*; *PErl 31*; *PBrux inv E 7910* (86-after 212 A.D.)

γραμματεὺς πόλεως—*POxy VII 1028*; *IV 714* (86-122 A.D.)

ἔναρχος πομπαγωγός—*PErl 31*; *PBrux inv E 7910* (after 212 A.D.)

ἐξηγητεύσας—*PErl 31*; *PBrux inv E 7910* (after 212 A.D.)

βουλευτής—*PErl 31*; *PBrux inv E 7910* (after 212 A.D.)

βιβλιοφύλαξ—*POxy IV 714*; *III 478* (122-32 A.D.)

οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει—*PErl 31*; *PBrux inv E 7910* (after 212 A.D.)

ἐπικριτής—*POxy IV 714* (122 A.D.)

There does not seem to have been any fixed official qualification for membership on the commission. In three of the documents, the strategus and royal scribe both belong to the epikrisis commission and may have frequently been a part of it. Their names, however, do not occur in documents after 127/28. In fact, no officials of the central government are addressed in any metropolitane epikrisis document from Oxyrhynchus after 132 AD. From that date until the first half of the third century, addressees in the Oxyrhynchus texts are either lost or omitted, and in the

37. Of the eight documents where this section is preserved, only one (*BGU I 109*) has not been designated by its editors as made by a hand other than that of the rest of the document. *BGU I 109*, however, may also have been signed by the official himself or through his scribe (there is a gap in the text just before the date). In *PRyl II 104* there is no official signature, although in a second hand the declarant himself signs the declaration. The six documents which preserve the signature are: *PRyl II 103*; *PGrenf II 49*; *PGen 19*; *PTeb II 320*; *PStrassb 134*; and *PGen 18*.

38. This is the case in *PGrenf II 49*; *PGen 19*, *PTeb II 320*; and *PGen 18*. It may be true also of *PRyl II 103* and *PStrassb 134* where, unfortunately, the official's name is lost.

39. The six are: *POxy VII 1028*; *POxy IV 714*; *XII 1452*, col I; *III 478*; *PErl 31*; and *PBrux inv E 7910*. The beginnings of the following five declarations have been lost: *PRyl II 278*; *POxy II 258*; *PWisc I 17*; *PSI XII 1230*; *POxy X 1306*. Three of the declarations are unaddressed (as was the case with *PRyl II 104* from Arsinoe, *supra*, note 6): *PSI VII 732*; *POxy VIII 1109*; *WChrest 217*. These omissions may indicate that the documents are copies.

40. Six officials in *POxy VII 1028*; five in *POxy IV 714*; two in *PErl 31* and *PBrux inv E 7910*; one in *POxy III 478*; and an unspecified number in *POxy XII 1452*, col I, where two names are given along with the phrase καὶ οἷς ἄλλ(λοις) καθήκ(ει).

third century documents (*PErI* 31 and *PBrux* inv E 7910) the epikrisis commission is made up of two senators from the municipal senate. That the officials be ex-gymnasiarchs apparently was not required, although three are mentioned in the declarations. The general address of *POxy* XII 1452, col I, "and to the other appropriate officials", suggests that the members of the commission might be appointed as they were required by the strategus and royal scribe.

Declarants in Oxyrhynchus identify themselves in this way: παρὰ N., son of N. and N. ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγγων πόλεως.<sup>41</sup> Among those making declarations are: father or mother for a son,<sup>42</sup> uncle for nephew,<sup>43</sup> and owners for slaves.<sup>44</sup> In the two cases where the mother makes the declaration, her husband is dead. The uncle states in explaining why he is making the declaration that his brother, the boy's father, is dead, but nothing is mentioned about the boy's mother, who also may have been dead, since she did not declare for him.

The declaration following the addresses is presented in accordance with regular formula, which can be seen in four parts.

(1) A prepositional phrase specifying that the declaration is made κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα περὶ ἐπικρί(σεως) τῶν προσβ(εβηκόντων) or προσβ(αινόντων) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) or (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς).<sup>45</sup> Some variations occur in the form. *POxy* VII 1028 substitutes περὶ τοῦ ἐπικριθῆναι τοὺς προσβ( ) for περὶ...προσβ( ). Τὰ κριθέντα is used in place of τὰ κελευσθέντα in *POxy* II 258, and περὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν is replaced by ἐπὶ τῶν προσβεβηκόντων. *POxy* III 478; *PSI* VII 732; and *WChrest* 217 omit the προσβ( ). This abbreviation προσβ( ) has to be resolved with either προσβ(αινόντων) or προσβ(εβηκόντων).<sup>46</sup> None of the documents specify whose orders are here referred to.

(2) A conditional statement: εἰ ἕξ ἀμφοτέρων μητροπολιτῶν (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσὶν<sup>47</sup> or εἰ μητροπ(ολίται) δωδεκάδραμοί εἰσιν.<sup>48</sup> The latter form is used when the declaration has been made on behalf of a slave, and it refers to the owner(s) οἱ the slave.

(3) The statement declaring the boy is eligible for the epikrisis: ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφοδου N. (gen.) ὁ υἱός μου (or ὁ δοῦλός μου) N. (followed by listing of mother, parents, ancestry, or other items identifying the child) προσ(βεβηκῶς) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ διελθ(όντι) ( )th (ἔτει);<sup>49</sup>

or

δηλῶ τὸν υἱόν μου (or τὸν δοῦλόν μου) N. (followed by identification of mother or father) ἀναγρα(φόμενον) ἐπ' ἀμφοδου N.<sup>50</sup> προσβεβηκέναι εἰς τοὺς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ ἐνεστῶτι

41. Additional information is sometimes included. The ἀμφοδον is identified in *POxy* II 258 and IV 714. In *POxy* VIII 1109 we are told that the declarant is making his declaration through his friend (διὰ N. φίλου), perhaps because he himself for some reason cannot meet his responsibility. In *PSI* VII 732 the declarant indicates that he has been adopted by his paternal uncle. In *POxy* VIII 1028 and III 478 where women are the declarants, they specify that they are doing so μετὰ κυρίου N.

42. Father for son: *POxy* II 258; *PWisc* I 17; *POxy* VIII 1109; X 1306; and probably *PRyl* II 278; *PErI* 31; *PBrux* inv E 7910. Mother for son: *POxy* VII 1028; III 478.

43. *POxy* XII 1452, col I.

44. *POxy* IV 714; *PSI* VII 732; *WChrest* 217; *PSI* XII 1230.

45. This section has been lost in *PRyl* II 278; *PWisc* I 17; *POxy* IV 714; *PErI* 31; and it is partially missing in *PSIXII* 1230 and *PBrux* inv E 7910.

46. προσβαινόντων εἰς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς: *POxy* VII 1028.

προσβαινόντων εἰς τρισκαίδεκαετείς: *WChrest* 217.

προσβεβηκόντων εἰς τρισκαίδεκαετείς: *POxy* II 258; XII 1452, col I; VIII 1109; *PSI* XII 1230 (where the editor incorrectly has προσβ(αινόντων) in this place); *POxy* X 1306.

47. *POxy* VII 1028 (with the ἕξ missing); II 258; XII 1452, col I; III 478; VIII 1109; X 1306.

48. *PSI* VII 732; *WChrest* 217; *PSI* XII 1230 (with the εἰσιν missing). That this status was required of both parents is indicated also by *PSI* X 1109 (93-94 A.D.), a declaration on oath to a strategus by the guardian of a boy who had been examined that both the boy's father and maternal grandfather were δωδεκάδραμοι.

49. *POxy* II 258 (which has τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ( )th (ἔτει) at the end); *POxy* XII 1452, col I; VIII 1109; *WChrest* 217; *PSI* XII 1230 (which has τῷ προάγοντι ( )th (ἔτει) at the end); *POxy* X 1306.

50. These declarations supply the name for twelve different ἀμφοδα: Ἄνω Παρεμβολῆς, Δεκάτης, Δρόμου Θεήριδος, Δρόμου Τυμνασίου, Ἴπποδρόμου, Κμηλέμου, Κρητικοῦ, Μυροβαλάνου, Νότου Κρηπίδος, Παμμένους Παραδείσου, Πυμενικῆς Τεμγενοῦθεως.

( )th (ἔτει).<sup>51</sup>

(4) The declaration proper: ὄθεν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπίκρισιν δηλῶ αὐτὸν εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον) κάμῃ ὁμοίως εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀναγρα(φόμενον) followed by the information necessary to prove that the declaration is a correct and legitimate one,<sup>52</sup> or (as part of the construction listed as an alternative in (3) above) καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν (δωδεκάδραχμον) καὶ ἐμὲ (οἱ τὸν τούτου πατέρα) followed by the information proving that the declarant is ἀναγρα(φόμενον) οἱ μητροπολίτην (δωδεκάδραχμον).<sup>53</sup>

The credentials offered by the declarants in Oxyrhynchus all have as their purpose the identification of the boy submitted for the epikrisis as δωδεκάδραχμος. This was done by proving that both parents belonged to a class of those who were citizens of the metropolis (μητροπολιτῶν) and were assessed for poll-tax at a rate of twelve drachmas (δωδεκαδράχμων). That proof was detailed in this section of the declaration. Where the documents are complete in this part they show that the declaration normally listed the boy's father (or owner) and the boy's maternal grandfather as δωδεκάδραχοι registered as such in one of the ἄμφοδα either διὰ λαογραφίας or δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας or δι' ἐπικρίσεως at the time specified.<sup>54</sup> Usually the registrants are spoken of as being ἀναγραφόμενοι through various processes, and the only exception to the use of this term is found in *POxy* VII 1028 where reference is made to father, maternal grandfather, and boy submitted for epikrisis as ἀπογραψάμενοι in the fourteen year census.

Only one declaration (*POxy* III 478) identifies the declarant in this credentials section as μητροπολίτης. It would seem that the earlier statement (εἰ ἐξ ἄμφοτέρων μητροπολιτῶν (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσὶν and its equivalent for slave declarations) was sufficient to establish the declarants as metropolitans. Furthermore, as we will see below, only citizens of the metropolis were assessed at the twelve drachma rate and therefore the term δωδεκάδραχμος would by itself identify one as a μητροπολίτης.

As support for the credentials presented, the declarant usually appended to his declaration a solemn oath that he had presented no false information (καὶ ὁμνύω...τὴν τύχην of emperor N. μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι)<sup>55</sup> or that everything in the declaration was true (καὶ ὁμνύω by emperor ἄληθῆ εἶναι τὰ

51. *POxy* VII 1028 (which substitutes προσφωνῶ for δηλῶ, omits the age, and has ἀπογραψάμενον for ἀναγρα(φόμενον)); *PWisc* I 17 (where the verb and name are missing in a lacuna); *POxy* III 478 (which has τῶ διελθόντι); *PSI* VII 732 (where γεγονέναι (τρισκαίδεκαετῆ) replaces the προσβεβηκέναι εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετῆ)). Here, too, belongs *POxy* IV 714 where the editors have mistakenly read δοῦ[λός μου]...[προσ]βέβηκε[ν]. This reading should be δοῦ[λόν μου]... [προσ]βέβηκε[ναι].

52. *POxy* II 258 (εἰς τὴν instead of πρὸς τὴν); *PWisc* I 17; *POxy* IV 714; XII 1452, col I; VIII 1109; *WChrest* 217; *PSIXII* 1230; *POxy* X 1306. Of these documents *POxy* II 258; *PWisc* I 17; and *POxy* IV 714 omit reference to the boy as (δωδεκάδραχμον); and *POxy* IV 714 and XII 1452, col I do not speak of the declarant as ἀναγρα(φόμενον).

53. *POxy* VII 1028 (τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα... ἀπογραψάμενον) + details; *POxy* III 478 (does not speak of child as (δωδεκάδραχμον) nor is the declarant said to have been ἀναγρα(φόμενον) at any time); *PSI* VII 732 (the reference to ἀναγρα(φόμενον) for the declarant is not included).

54. Father (or owner) as δωδεκάδραχμον ἀναγραφόμενον διὰ λαογραφίας: *PWisc* I 17; *POxy* IV 714; VIII 1109; *WChrest* 217; *PSI* XII 1230; and δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας: *POxy* XII 1452, col I; III 478; *PSI* VII 732.

Maternal grandfather as δωδεκάδραχμον ἀναγραφόμενον δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας: *PWisc* I 17; and father of mother's former patronness δι' ἐπικρίσεως: *POxy* III 478. In *POxy* II 258; XII 1452, col I; and VIII 1109 the grandfather is merely identified as δωδεκάδραχμος or as ἀναγραφόμενος.

The credentials of the father have been lost in *POxy* II 258; and those of both father and maternal grandfather are missing in *PRyl* II 278; *POxy* X 1306; *PERl* 31, and *PBrux* inv E 7910.

All of these phrases deal with the manner in which the poll-tax list was drawn up and kept up to date, since the tax was collected annually. The fourteen year census (κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆ) would provide the names for the tax list. Such a tax list would carry over each year until the next census, and revisions in the register would be made through documents merely stating but not proving the status of those registered (δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας); for this term see B.A. Van Groningen, "ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΣ," *Mnemosyne* 50 (1923) 124-37. The registration on the lists διὰ λαογραφίας seems to refer to lists in which the names of those entered have been proved to be of the status required either through an epikrisis or census (most of the documents which speak of λαογραφία alone give years as the date of the λαογραφία).

55. *POxy* VII 1028; *PWisc* I 17; *POxy* IV 714; *PSI* VII 732; *WChrest* 217; and *PSI* XII 1230.

προγεγραμμένα).<sup>56</sup>

The date and signatures follow the oath and conclude the declaration. Unfortunately, this part of the declaration has been lost or damaged in all but five of the documents.<sup>57</sup> From these five declarations, however, we can recover the formula typical of the Oxyrhynchite declarations for this kind of epikrisis. Each of them has the date immediately after the oath. Then in all but one of the documents the date is followed by the signature of the declarant: N. ἐπιδέδωκα τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ ὁμώμοκα τὸν ὄρκον.<sup>58</sup> The handwriting of the signature differs from that of the declaration and obviously is that of the declarant himself.<sup>59</sup>

In two of these declarations a notation has been made about the placing of the application on the official docket: κατεχ(ωρίσθη) ἐπικ(ριταῖς) + date.<sup>60</sup> No indication is given in any of the documents whether or not the examination was made and the application approved.

As with Arsinoite declarations, the form used in Oxyrhynchus remained relatively consistent throughout its years of use there. Apart from variations dictated by individual circumstances (e.g., uncle declaring for his nephew), the variations are minor or are consistent. That is to say, the form required for epikrisis of slaves was consistently different from that for other young men. The only possible difference worth noting is the apparent shift from nome officials (up to 132 A.D.) to city or village officials. We hesitate to make much of this because of the sizeable gap in the records preserved. We do not have information from 132 A.D. until sometime after 212 A.D., and therefore we cannot document the apparent shift. It is possible that after 212 A.D. and the *Constitutio Antoniniana* the process was transferred to purely local officials for as long as the procedure was retained. This will be discussed later when we consider the function served by metropolite epikrisis.

### C. Heracleopolis

Only one epikrisis document (*PBon* 19) from Heracleopolis has been found, and, regrettably, it has suffered much damage. We cannot, therefore, determine with certainty from this one mutilated text what the typical form of these declarations was. We can only list the formula which that one surviving document has preserved and hope that further evidence will eventually show that epikrisis declarations here as in Arsinoe and Oxyrhynchus followed a standard form.

In the place where the declarations from Arsinoe and Oxyrhynchus list the addressees, *PBon* 19 has no reading because of damage to the papyrus. Portions of the text identifying the declarant do remain, although the name has been lost: [παρὰ N.]..ς γεγυμ(νασιαρχηκότος) μη[τ]ρὸς [ ἀφ' ] Ἡρα(κλέους) Πόλεως (ὀκταδράχμου) ἀναγρ[α(φομένου)]. The declarant thus identifies himself (or his father) as an exgymnasiarch, names his (or his father's) mother, lists his place of residence, and speaks of himself as registered in the eight drachma tax group.

With a statement much like those of the Oxyrhynchite documents, the declarant introduces his declaration by saying: ἐπεὶ ὁ υἱός μου [ ]..λλεως τῆς καὶ αρ...[ προσβέβηκ]εν εἰς (τρῖσκαϊδεκαετῆς) τῷ ἐνεστῶτι...; and he then declares: [δηλῶ εἶναι αὐτ]ὸν μητρ(οπολίτην)

56. *POxy* II 258; III 478.

57. *PSI* XII 1230 merely has the date ending the declaration and *WChrest* 217 has a partial date followed by a break in the document. Neither of these documents provides us a complete text for the ending.

58. This form has been constructed by using information taken from all of the documents. The signature usually lacks this complete form. N. ἐπιδέδωκα: *POxy* VII 1028; II 258; *PWisc* I

17 (adds [τὰ προ]γεγ[ρ]αμέ[να]; *POxy* III 478. Ὁμώμοκα τὸν ὄρκον): *POxy* III 478. *POxy* IV 714 is the document which provides us a complete text but omits the declarant's signature.

59. *POxy* III 478 is an exception. Here the κύριος has written the woman's signature as well as the declaration, and he states that he has done so because the declarant is illiterate.

60. *POxy* IV 714 and III 478.

(ὀκτάδραχμον). What follows this is difficult to determine because of the extremely fragmentary nature of the text. The editor has been able to read: Δέομαι [οὖν γενόμενος εἰς τὴν ]. αὐτοῦ ἐπίκρισιν, but after this no reading is certain. These twelve lines of text which include several names presumably offered proof of the boy's eligibility for the classification for which he was submitted. Precisely what that proof was cannot be determined, and how the document ended is not known.

#### D. Hermopolis

One of the two documents from Hermopolis has a complete form of the declaration which is probably characteristic of this metropolis. *SB* 7440a is addressed to the officials responsible for the epikrisis (ἐπικριταῖ[ς]). Who they were and what their qualifications were is not indicated, probably because this document is a copy of the original. This seems to be the meaning of the word ...διῶσο(ν) in the upper margin. That *SB* 7440a is a copy is further indicated by the fact that the subscription of this document is in the same hand as the body. *SB* 7440b, which comes immediately after *SB* 7440a on this papyrus, does not have the dative listing the addressees. It would appear that the general term ἐπικριταῖς of the previous declaration was meant to go with this declaration also. On the basis of these copies of original Hermopolite declarations, we can suggest that the originals usually were addressed to the proper officials, and we can guess that these officials were identified at least by name and probably by office also.

Both declarations, it seems, have the regular form for identification of the declarant. The text of *SB* 7440a has παρὰ N., son of N. and N., Ἑρμοπολ(ίτου) ἀπὸ γ(υμνασίου) ὀκ[τα]δράχμου ἀναγραφόμε[ν]οῦ ἐπ[ὶ πό]λ(εως) Ἀπηλ(ιώτου); and that of *SB* 7440b, which lacks most of this identification, has [ἀναγραφόμε]ν[ο]ν,<sup>61</sup> ἐπ' ἀ[μ]φ[ό]δ(ου) N.

From this point on, the applications show little agreement in form, although the same function is served by the declarations. Initially they have the same construction: ἐπεὶ ὁ υἱός μου N., μητρὸς N., προσέβη εἰς τοὺς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς)<sup>62</sup>, but the declarations soon show that they are not following a common form. *SB* 7440a continues: καὶ ὀφείλει [ἐπ]ικ[ρι]θῆναι as my three other sons were; but *SB* 7440b goes on to say: ἐμφέρεται δὲ [τ]οῖς ἐπικρει[νο]μένοις εἰ εἰσιν (*sic!*) ἕξ ἀμφοτέρων γ[ο]νέων μητροπολιτῶν ὀκταδράχ[μ]ων.<sup>63</sup> After this preliminary statement the declarant in *SB* 7440b submits his credentials: [δ]ηλῶ ἐμὲ ἐπικ[ε]κρίσθαι τῇ κ[ατ'] οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῇ + date and the statement that in the next census the boy's mother was also enrolled, though not through an epikrisis. No credentials, strictly speaking, are offered in *SB* 7440a. The declarant merely says: διὸ ἀξιῶ καὶ τούτον ἐν τ[οῖς].....σὺν τῶν ἀδελφ[ῶν] αὐτ[οῦ]... ὡς κα[θ]ήκει, probably because the proceedings involving the other three sons would provide the required validation for this son's right to a privileged status.

Only *SB* 7440a has legible readings beyond this point at which the text of *SB* 7440b becomes very fragmentary. As in Oxyrhynchite declarations, the declarant takes an oath that he has not presented false information: καὶ ὀμνύω by τὴν τύχην of emperor N. [μηδ]ὲν διεψεῦσθαι. The

61. Although I have not seen this papyrus, I am confident that the reading here should not be ἀναγραφόμε[ν]ο[ς] as read by the editor. The nominative never appears at this point in the other epikrisis documents.

62. This reading is from *SB* 7440a. *SB* 7440b has προσέβη εἰς τοὺς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς.

63. That both parents in Hermopolis must be metropolitans

before their son qualifies for privileged status is substantiated by *PStrassb*185 = *SB* 8038 in which the strategus of the Hermopolite nome orders an investigation in connection with οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως... εἰς τοὺς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς προσβαίνοντες ἀφήλικες to find out whether both parents were μητροπολίται.



date follows this oath, and finally the declaration is concluded with the signature of the declarant: N. [ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ] ὄμοσα τὸν ὄρκον. No indication is given of the decision reached by the commission.

#### *E. Summary and Comparison of Forms*

The metropolite epikrisis declarations from all of the nomes represented reveal a marked similarity in form. All fall generally into four main sections: (1) the introduction in which addresses are given and identifications made, (2) the declaration that the boy submitted for epikrisis is eligible for a privileged status, (3) the credentials supporting the declaration, and (4) the conclusion in which the date, signatures, and official action on the declaration may be included.

There are, however, significant differences among the specific forms used from nome to nome to present this information. In fact, each nome's form of application is usually distinctive enough to permit identification of the provenance of epikrisis documents which do not indicate the nome or city in which they were submitted.<sup>64</sup> This certainly is true of the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite declarations, and it may be true also of those from Hermopolis and Heracleopolis, although there are not enough declarations from the latter two places to confirm this.

The main differences between the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite declarations are as follows.

(1) The Arsinoite documents are addressed to two municipal officials who have served as gymnasiarchs and now function as the commission responsible for the epikrisis; the Oxyrhynchite documents are submitted to one or more officials of the nome or of the metropolis, and in the first century A.D. the strategus himself and the secretary of the nome (βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς) were members of the commission. Although previous service as gymnasiarch seems to have been a qualification in Arsinoe, this was not so in Oxyrhynchus where only three officials are identified as ex-gymnasiarchs. All members of the commission in Oxyrhynchus have held or are holding some office within the nome or metropolis.

(2) The Arsinoite declarations in every case offer enrollment in at least one fourteen year census (κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴ) by the boy's parents or by the declarant as proof of the eligibility of the boy for privileged status, and the census lists serve as the main source of validation for the claims. Those from Oxyrhynchus, on the other hand, in offering credentials rely on the tax lists drawn up in a census year or revised annually on the basis of information supplied by the populace stating (δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας) or proving (δι' ἐπικρίσεως) that the register should be revised. Whereas the Arsinoite declarants showed both parents were enrolled in the census, the Oxyrhynchite declarants offered proof that the boy's father and maternal grandfather were registered as taxpayers paying the twelve drachma rate.

(3) The documents from Arsinoe usually are concluded by the signature of one of the officials on the commission who has certified that the boy submitted is the legal son (or slave) of the parents (or owner) designated by the declaration. In effect, this means that the document signed in this way by the official amounts to a receipt or certification of the completed epikrisis. No such certification is noted on the Oxyrhynchite declarations. Here the signatures are those of the declarants or those writing the document for them. The only official notation found on them is the statement (in two documents) that the declarations have been placed on the docket.

64. This is true, for example, of BGU XI 2086 which is listed among the Arsinoite documents. Its form permits no other classification.

## II. THE FUNCTION OF THE DOCUMENTS

Of all the types of epikrisis declarations, the metropolite is the easiest to classify according to function. As is true of all the applications for epikrisis, the general function of the metropolite is the determination of status. The declarants seek to prove that the young men submitted for epikrisis are entitled to classification as μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι (or ὀκτάδραχμοι or εἰκοσίδραχμοι).

The function of this process can be defined more specifically than simply the determination of status. To be a μητροπολίτης δωδεκάδραχμος (or the equivalent in the other three nomes) means to belong to a privileged taxation category. It is not by accident that the ages most frequently given for the boys are thirteen and fourteen. At age fourteen, young men in Egypt<sup>65</sup> became subject to poll-tax. Therefore, it was necessary for parents (or owner, since slaves also were subject to the poll-tax) to make a declaration before that time if they wanted the boys to receive the tax privilege to which they were entitled. Whenever the age of a boy exceeds fourteen, we must assume that something prevented the parents from making a declaration at the proper time.<sup>66</sup>

The privilege granted to these applicants, providing they met the necessary qualifications, was a reduction of their poll-tax payment. The poll-tax (λαογραφία) imposed on Egypt by the Romans differed in amount in the nomes, possibly as a reflection of the different degrees of prosperity from nome to nome. From the tax roll preserved in *PLond II 257* (pp. 19-28 — 94 A.D.), it is clear that the full annual rate in Arsinoe and the Arsinoite nome was forty drachmas per head. The privileged rate for some who resided in the metropolis apparently was half that amount. Although the metropolite documents of Arsinoe do not identify the tax rate of the privileged, from tax receipts for the poll-tax such as *PLond II 170* (p. 69 — 175 A.D.) and 340 (pp. 69-70 — 179 A.D.) and from the tax roll *PLond II 261* (pp. 53-61 — 72-73 A.D.), it is certain that the privileged paid only twenty drachmas. The full rate for residents of Oxyrhynchus and the Oxyrhynchite nome is disputed, but is usually set at sixteen drachmas.<sup>67</sup> From the declarations of the privileged in the metropolis we learn that their rate was twelve drachmas. The reduced rate in Heracleopolis and Hermopolis was eight drachmas. We do not know what the full rate was, but it may have been, as in Arsinoe, double the reduced rate.<sup>68</sup>

In order to qualify for this reduced poll-tax rate, certain conditions had to be met. First, both parents (or the owner) of the boy seeking the reduced rate had to belong to the privileged metropolite group and had to be registered as such in one of the quarters of the metropolis. Second, one or both of the parents (or the owner) had to submit to the proper officials a declaration of the type described above as an application for the privileged status and as proof of the right to receive it. When the declaration was found to be in order, the boy's name was entered on the proper tax list in the manner illustrated by *PLond II 260* (pp. 42-53 — 72-73 A.D.).

Mere residence in the metropolis, therefore, was not enough to qualify young men for the tax privilege. The fact that their parents both had to belong to the privileged category indicates that this was an hereditary right passed on from parents to children. Furthermore, the very

65. Except Roman citizens, citizens of Alexandria, and some priests. See Wallace 109-10.

66. As in *PBrux inv E 8017*. The two young men submitted to the epikrisis officials here are 24 and 21 years old. Possible reasons for the late declaration are negligence by the parents or their inability for some reason to apply at the proper time. Bingen suggests as possibilities: change of residence or status or return to Arsinoe after residing elsewhere for a time.

The youngest recorded ages for metropolite epikrisis are eleven in *PSI X 1109* (93-94 A.D., Oxyrhynchus), a declaration on oath to a strategus by the guardian of a boy who had been examined that the boy's father and maternal grandfather were δωδεκάδραχμοι; and twelve in *PHaw 401* (161-69 A.D., Arsinoe), a metropolite declaration.

67. See Wallace 126.

68. For a discussion of these rates, see Wallace 121-26.

existence of a privileged rate also indicates that not everyone in the metropolis paid it. Otherwise it would not be a privilege and there would be no reason to go through a special process such as that outlined above. It seems likely, although it cannot be proven, that at some early period during the Roman occupation of Egypt a list was drawn up in each of the metropoleis identifying the first privileged metropolitans.<sup>69</sup> The list probably was formulated during the reign of Augustus, and a possible date for this is about 4/5 A.D. This date, to judge from the gymnasium declarations in which credentials are regularly referred back to this time, apparently was the occasion for certain administrative changes in Egypt. Another possibility is that the first metropolitans list was drawn up at the time when the first fourteen year census was made (33/34 A.D. or more likely earlier).<sup>70</sup> The earliest metropolitans declarations are dated in the last quarter of the first century A.D., and this, with the exception of *POxy* II 288 (see note 70), is the earliest proof of the existence of this privileged group.

The original membership in this category cannot be determined, nor can the initial qualifications or conditions for inclusion in it be identified. We may suggest, however, some possibilities.

An examination of the names which appear in the metropolitans epikrisis declarations indicates that Greek and Egyptian names appear frequently in the documents. Moreover, in all the declarations except those where names have been lost<sup>71</sup> the families of the declarant and his wife include members both with Greek names and with Egyptian names and, on occasion, with mixed names. The frequency with which Egyptians as well as Greeks are named in the declarations indicates that the process of metropolitans epikrisis initially involved both groups or a mixture of both.

Assuming that this is correct, we can theorize some more about these original metropolitans. Perhaps when the list originally was fixed, it included all the Greeks or Greco-Egyptians resident in the metropolis at the time or it may have been made up of those who held office in the metropolis or nome. They in distinction from the Egyptians of the smaller villages and rural areas were more likely to have been influenced by the Hellenic culture and probably were involved in local government and assisted in the administration of the nomes. Because of their responsibilities and because of their greater cultural harmony with the Romans, these metropolitans were granted privileges such as a reduced poll-tax rate when that tax was imposed by the Romans.

The original Greco-Egyptian metropolitans then transmitted the privileged status to their children, and eventually (or more probably when the original list was drawn up) the process by which the transmission was certified was the epikrisis. Because the metropolitans may have had specific and important functions to perform in the nome and in the metropolis, and because non-metropolitans might from time to time take up residence in the metropolis, it was necessary that the membership in the group be regulated by the state through officials in the nome or metropolis. The epikrisis which served to transmit the privileged status from father to son

69. See Mertens 109-10.

70. Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches* 47-52, insist that *SB* 5661 (33/34 A.D.) is the earliest record of the census. Grenfell and Hunt identify *POxy* II 254 (19/20 A.D.) as the earliest. The census, of course, could have been instituted earlier than either of these extant records indicates. My own suspicion is that the census was initiated in 5/6 A.D. and that the original metropolitans list was made at that time or in the previous year. The collection of the poll-tax was thereby placed on a systematic basis and allowance was officially made for exemptions or reductions. The close connection between the census and the

epikrisis is indicated by two documents from Hermopolis in which the census is called κατ' οἰκίαν ἐπίκρισις (*PHamb* 60 = *CJP* III 485, 90 A.D. and *SB* 9869a, 160 A.D.). That the epikrisis and consequently the metropolitans class existed as early as 11-12 A.D. is attested by *POxy* II 288 (22-25 A.D.), a tax account which includes a copy of an extract from an epikrisis of 11-12 A.D.

71. Information is not complete for: Arsinoe — *PStrassb* 134; *PRyl* II 279; *PHaw* 401; *BGU* XI 2086. Oxyrhynchus — *PRyl* II 278; *POxy* IV 714; *PSI* XII 1230; *PERl* 31. Heracleopolis — *PBon* 19.

accomplished this. Moreover, since the privilege granted to the metropolites involved a reduction in tax revenue, it is quite likely that membership was controlled carefully. Such careful control is indicated by the requirement that both parents (father directly and mother through her father) belong to the category.

This would not necessarily mean that admission to the metropolites was impossible for those whose parents and ancestors did not belong to the category. It is conceivable that others were granted the status under exceptional circumstances. The metropolite declarations themselves show that membership was extended to slaves and to freedmen. Their children, however, would not become metropolites unless as slaves their owner declared for them or as freedmen they married another metropolite. In fact, no metropolite, it seems, could bring his children into the category unless he or she married another metropolite.

Eventually (or originally when the list was made up) the residents of the metropoleis included many non-metropolites as well as metropolites. Thus it was essential for the tax officials to continue to require applications for epikrisis so they could determine easily who the privileged were. This they did for at least the period of time between the last half of the first century A.D. and the first half of the third century A.D., the time from which all known metropolite epikrisis declarations come.

Most of the extant declarations are from the second century A.D., and only five declarations are dated in the third century. Of these five, four definitely belong to the first quarter of that century. No metropolite declaration later than 235 A.D. has been found. The reason why this process apparently was discontinued early in the third century is not at all clear.<sup>72</sup> It has been suggested by Paul Mertens<sup>73</sup> that the disappearance of these declarations may be related to the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 A.D. What effect this extensive grant of Roman citizenship had on taxation in Egypt is uncertain. Although Roman citizens were not liable to the poll-tax, it is rather certain that the *Constitutio Antoniniana* did not eliminate the λαογραφία, the poll-tax paid by Egyptians, for the continuance of the tax can be documented after 212 A.D.<sup>74</sup> We do not know, however, whether or not the privileged rate continued on the same basis as before or whether it continued at all. It is logical to assume that it did since the poll-tax continued to apply to Egyptians and the term δωδεκάδραχμος remained in use. If the privileged rate did apply after 212 A.D., then we must try to explain why metropolite epikrisis declarations cease so soon thereafter.<sup>75</sup>

We are compelled, it seems, to choose among three possible explanations for the disappearance of metropolite declarations during the first part of the third century A.D.

(1) The *Constitutio Antoniniana* by granting Roman citizenship to Egyptians removed them from liability to a poll-tax and thus applications were no longer necessary. Two major objections to this explanation as we have seen above are: (a) receipts subsequent to 212 A.D. show that for some Egyptians the poll-tax continued, and (b) we have four epikrisis declarations later than 212 A.D., all of which cannot with certainty be explained away as vestiges of the system discarded.

(2) Although the *Constitutio Antoniniana* granted Roman citizenship to Egyptians, they

72. Apparently discontinued because the term δωδεκάδραχμος is found as late as 291 A.D. (PCorn 18), and no conclusive proof for termination of this epikrisis has been found other than the lack of declarations and the disappearance of the term μητροπολίτης at the same time.

73. Mertens 112.

74. For the evidence, see Christoph Sasse, *Die Constitutio*

*Antoniniana* (Wiesbaden 1958) 101-04.

75. Assuming that they do cease. The few that appear after 212 A.D. could be explained as the result of a transition from one system to another (whether that involves a change from declaration to no declaration or from poll-tax to no poll-tax). Some localities may have been slow to change over to a new procedure after 212 A.D.

continued to pay poll-tax on the same privileged and non-privileged basis as before. Yet for some undetermined reason, metropolite declarations were no longer generally used or required. P.J. Sijpesteijn<sup>76</sup> offered the following explanation for the disappearance of the metropolite declarations. He believed that the privileged category continued to exist and that probably after 212 A.D. this category was established without the submission of declarations. Unfortunately he offers no reason why this new procedure should have been initiated or what the *Constitutio Antoniniana* would have had to do with its introduction.<sup>77</sup> There is, in fact, no apparent reason (other than proximity in time) why such a change in procedure should be linked with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* if the basis for taxation for Egyptians remained unchanged. Indeed, POxy X 1306 indicates that some of the privileged did submit declarations after 212 A.D. Aurelius Sarap...<sup>78</sup> identifies himself as μητροπολίτης δωδεκάδραχμος and declares on behalf of his son.

(3) The *Constitutio Antoniniana* brought about no changes in the poll-tax in Egypt, and those who were privileged continued to pay a reduced rate and to submit declarations on behalf of their children. The reason for the small number of extant declarations is that only a few have turned up, not that the number submitted was less than before 212 A.D. However, in view of the wealth of other documents from the third century A.D., it is odd that only a few of the many epikrisis documents submitted have come to light.

None of these explanations is totally satisfying and each presents problems which cannot now be solved. It seems better, nonetheless, to assume that the few early third century declarations come from a procedure which had become non-essential and was gradually being phased out than to believe that the few documents are all that we have happened to find for a process still thriving as it had in the second century. My conclusion, therefore, is that the practice of declaring continued for a brief time even though the epikrisis had become irrelevant, and that the epikrisis was irrelevant then either because poll-tax was no longer demanded and was gradually being phased out or because municipal officials discarded the process which had in fact all along been convenient but not really essential in determining who metropolites were.

76. In his comments on *PWisc* I 17.

77. Even before 212 A.D., the government without the declarations could have determined who the privileged were from birth notices and census records.

78. It was customary after the granting of Roman citizenship through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* for the new

citizens to assume the praenomen Aurelius. Here apparently we have a new Roman citizen of Egyptian extraction, liable to the poll-tax, and obligated to declare for his son. See also *PEr* 31 and *PBrux* inv E 7910, where the same praenomen occurs and is used to date the documents after 212 A.D.

## Chapter III

### The Gymnasium Class

Unlike the declarations for metropolite epikrisis which come from four different nomes, the declarations of those ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου come only from Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis.<sup>1</sup> The following list contains all known declarations of this type:

#### HERMOPOLIS

A.D. 132	<i>SB</i> 7440a (by parents)
156-57	<i>PStrassb</i> 288 (by parents?)
161-68	<i>PAmh</i> II 75 (by mother)
latter half of 2nd cent	<i>PRyl</i> II 102 (by parents?)

#### OXYRHYNCHUS

A.D. 94-95	<i>POxy</i> II 257 = <i>WChrest</i> 147 (by parents)
98	<i>POxy</i> X 1266 (by parents)
end of 1st cent	<i>PSI</i> VII 731 (by parents)
127-28	<i>POxy</i> XII 1452, col II (by uncle)
224	<i>POxy</i> XXII 2345 (by parents)
260	<i>POxy</i> XVIII 2186 (by parents)
276	<i>PSI</i> V 457 (by uncle)

#### ORIGIN UNCERTAIN

A.D. 215	<i>PStrassb</i> 219 (by parents?)
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### I. THE FORM OF THE DOCUMENTS

#### A. Oxyrhynchus

The formula used in the gymnasium declarations from Oxyrhynchus is similar in many ways to that of the metropolite declarations. There is, in fact, the same introductory information. In the

1. One declaration (*PStrassb* 219) is too fragmentary to permit certain classification as to provenance. The text that does

remain enables us to determine that it is a gymnasium declaration. For a complete text of a gymnasium declaration, see

four Oxyrhynchite documents in which the beginning of the declaration has not been lost,<sup>2</sup> the addressees are listed in the dative case. These officials are identified as:

- στρατηγός—*POxy* XII 1452, col II (127-28 A.D.)  
 βασιλικός γραμματεὺς—*POxy* XII 1452, col II (127-28 A.D.)  
 γυμνασιαρχήσας—*POxy* XVIII 2186; *PSI* V 457 (260-76 A.D.)  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ—*PSI* VII 731 (end of the first century A.D.)  
 βουλευτής—*POxy* XVIII 2186; *PSI* V 457 (260-76 A.D.)  
 οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει—*POxy* XVIII 2186; *PSI* V 457 (260-76 A.D.)  
 ἐξηγητεύσας—*PSI* V 457 (276 A.D.)  
 ἔναρχος κοσμητῆς—*PSI* V 457 (276 A.D.)

The same change in the type of officials from the early documents to the late ones can be observed here as in the metropolite declarations. Officials of the nome seem to be replaced by municipal office holders.

The declarant identifies himself with the phrase: παρὰ Ν., son of Ν. and Ν. ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.<sup>3</sup> This is exactly the same formula as found in the metropolite declarations.

In the declaration proper, the formula, which does not alter substantially with date includes the following:

(1) The prepositional phrase specifying that the declaration is made κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα περὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβαιόντων εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. Variations from this form are not substantial. *POxy* II 257 substitutes ἀπὸ γυμνασίου for ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. In *PSI* VII 731 the reading is περὶ τοῦ ἐπικρηθῆναι τοὺς προσβαίνοντας.<sup>4</sup> This form is the same as the one found in the metropolite declarations, except that εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου replaces εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) or (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς).

(2) A conditional statement: εἰ εἰσιν τοῦ γένους τούτου.<sup>5</sup> Here also the difference from the metropolite declarations is slight; τοῦ γένους τούτου replaces ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων μητροπολιτῶν (δωδεκαδράχμων).

(3) A statement declaring that the boy is eligible for this epikrisis: ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ν. (gen.)<sup>6</sup> ὁ υἱός μου Ν. (followed by various items of identification) ὧν πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ( )th (ἔτος) (ἔτων) ἰδ (with identifying marks or characteristics listed),<sup>7</sup>

or

δηλῶ τὸν υἱόν μου Ν. (mother identified) γεγονέναι (τρισκαίδεκαετῆ) εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ( )th (ἔτος) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ν.<sup>8</sup> More variation from the metropolite declarations is found in this section than in the previous ones. The most interesting difference is in the addition of the listing of physical or other identifying characteristics.

#### Appendix III.

2. The addressees' names and offices have been lost in *POxy* II 257; X 1266; and XXII 2345.

3. This phrase is lost in *POxy* X 1266 and XXII 2345. *POxy* II 257 and *PSI* VII 731 add ἀμφόδου Ἡρακλέους τόπων, and *PSI* V 457 inserts before the name of the city τ(ῆς) λαμπρ[ᾶς].

4. The editor of *POxy* XII 1452, col II resolves προσβ( ) as προσβ(εβηκότων) mainly, it seems, because the metropolite declaration of col I is best interpreted as the perfect participle. The same abbreviation in *PSI* V 457 has not been resolved. The better reading in both documents probably is that of the other declarations of this type: προσβ(αινόντων). See Mertens 115. Mertens also asserts in note 99 on this same page that ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου is preferred in epikrisis declarations, but ἀπὸ

γυμνασίου is regularly employed in birth declarations.

5. This statement is missing in *POxy* II 257 and has been lost in a lacuna in *POxy* X 1266.

6. The ἀμφοδα found in these documents are: Ἡρακλέους Τόπων, Κρητικῶν, and Μητροφῶν.

7. *POxy* XXII 2345 (the boy is said to have a scar and to be literate); *POxy* XVIII 2186 (age restored as [ι]δ; the boy has a scar on his left cheek, has a small forehead, and is strikingly tall); *PSI* V 457 (age lost); *POxy* XII 1452, col II, like the metropolite declarations, has instead of ὧν etc., προσβ(εβηκῶς) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ διελθ(όντι) ( )th ἔτει. This whole section (3) has been lost in *POxy* X 1266.

8. *POxy* II 257; and *PSI* VII 731 is similar to this, but substitutes freely: προσφωνῶ ἑμαυτὸν προσβεβηκ(έναι) εἰς τοὺς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου τῷ ( )th (ἔτει).

(4) The declaration: ὄθεν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπίκρισιν δηλῶ κατὰ τὴν γενομένην (date) τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἐπίκρισιν ἐπικεκρίσθαι τὸν πατέρα (or other relative) followed by the listing of credentials.<sup>9</sup> The initial part of this declaration is exactly the same as that of the metropolite documents. After this, however, the two classes of declarations differ greatly, although both proceed to identify the credentials offered for validation of the claim.

The credentials portion the gymnasium documents is much longer and more involved than that of the metropolite declarations. In each of the six Oxyrhynchite declarations which contain this section or a portion of it, it seems that the declarant normally traces the membership of the boy's ancestors in the gymnasium class back to a list drawn up in the thirty-fourth year of Augustus (4/5 A.D.). Both father and mother of the boy submitted are shown to be members of the gymnasium class, but the information about the membership of the father's ancestors in the class is usually more complete than that provided for the mother's ancestors.<sup>10</sup> By citing the year and place in which these ancestors were accepted by epikrisis into the class, the declarant moves from himself or his wife back to the ancestor enrolled during the reign of Augustus. The list which follows gives the earliest date provided by the documents for both father's and mother's ancestors.

	<i>Father's ancestry</i>	<i>Mother's ancestry</i>
POxy II 257	A.D. 4/5	A.D. 4/5
POxy X 1266	4/5	72/73
PSI VII 731	?	?
POxy XII 1452	4/5	4/5
POxy XXII 2345	72/73 (lacuna follows)	72/73 (lacuna follows)
POxy XVIII 2186	4/5	80 (lacuna follows)
PSI V 457	4/5	none listed

PSI VII 731 and POxy XXII 2345 presumably also listed information on the father's side back to 4/5 A.D. and it appears that this was usually the earliest date for the listing of the mother's ancestors. Why PSI V 457 includes no information about the mother's side and why POxy X 1266 goes back only to 72/73 A.D. is not known.<sup>11</sup>

It seems that 72/73 A.D. as well as 4/5 was a year of special significance for this process. The date perhaps marks a reclassification of the gymnasium class like the original classification during the reign of Augustus. POxy X 1266 speaks of a τάξις τῶν ἐπικεκρομένων in 72/73 A.D. This τάξις may be the equivalent of the γράφη of 4/5 A.D. or an updating of that original list, perhaps to include additional names. The appearance of names for the first time on the roll of 72/73 could explain why some documentation is carried back only that far. Why the strategus in that year revised the list is unknown. Indeed, we are not even sure why the original list was made in 4/5 A.D.

9. This section and the ones following it have been lost in PSI VII 731.

10. One reason for this is that the mother's ancestry is listed toward the end of the document where damage to the papyrus has deprived us of a complete listing. This is true of POxy XXII 2345 and XVIII 2186. In POxy X 1266 the mother's ancestry is traced back only to 72/73, and in PSI V 457 no attempt is made to establish the maternal classification in the gymnasium.

11. It is possible that this information was not essential for validation of the claim, for gymnasium declarations, unlike those of the metropolite category, do not specify anywhere that both parents should belong to the class for which the boy is submitted. It is very likely, however, that both parents had to be members of the gymnasium class, for most of the documents go to great lengths to prove that they both are members. See Mertens 117-21 for a discussion of the significance of 72/73 A.D.



In POxy XVIII 2186 we find a very careful listing of the ancestors of the declarant and his wife. This listing, summarized below, will illustrate the form in the credentials section of these documents. The name of the boy submitted for epikrisis and the names of his father and mother have been lost.

*Father's Ancestry*

[N.] submitted for epikrisis, A.D. 260  
 his father, the declarant, [N.] [ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι)] [date].  
 the boy's grandfather, Sarapion, ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι), A.D. 165/66,  
 the boy's great-grandfather, [N.] [ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι)] [date],  
 the father's great-grandfather, Cornelius, ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι), A.D. 114/15,  
 the grandfather's great-grandfather [N.], [ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι)] [reign of Domitian],  
 Cornelius' grandfather [N.] [ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι)], A.D. 72/73,  
 Cornelius' great-grandfather, Philon [ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι)] [date]  
 Philon's father, Dionysius, A.D. 4/5, ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ καίσαρος γρα(φῆ)

ἄμφοδα  
 [N.]  
 Κρητικοῦ  
 Ἀναμφοδόρχων  
 Μητροῦ  
 Μητροῦ  
 Κρητικοῦ  
 Μητροῦ  
 [N.]

*Mother's Ancestry*

[N.] submitted for epikrisis A.D. 260  
 his mother [N.]  
 her father, Chosion, ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι), A.D. 181/82  
 her grandfather [N.], ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι), A.D. 147/48  
 her great-grandfather, Apollonius (also called Zoilus) [ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι)], A.D. 119/20  
 her father's great-grandfather, Apollonius, ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι), A.D. 79/80  
 (the remainder of the listing is lost)

[N.]  
 [N.]  
 [N.]  
 [N.]  
 [N.]

The proof section of all the Oxyrhynchite gymnasium declarations consists of statements affirming that various ancestors have gone through the epikrisis which admits them to the gymnasium class. No other proof is offered except the statement that an ancestor who lived in Oxyrhynchus in 4/5 A.D. was originally entered on the list of the thirty-fourth year of the deified Augustus.

Five of the seven declarations<sup>12</sup> have an oath immediately after the listing of the credentials, the same place where the oath appears in the metropolite declarations. This oath, however, is more elaborate than the one found in the metropolite documents: καὶ ὁμνῶ by τὴν τύχην of emperor N. ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ εἶναι N. (acc.) φύσει ἐμοῦ καὶ N. (gen.) υἱὸν καὶ μὴ θέσει μηδὲ ὑπόβλητον μηδ' ἀλλοτριῶν ἀσφαλείας ἢ ὁμωνυμίας κεχρησθαι ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ.<sup>13</sup> The phrases added to the oath assure the officials that the child is the natural, legitimate son of the declarants and that the credentials and names offered in proof do not belong to someone other than the family of the child.

As in metropolite declarations, the date and signature follow the oath and end the document. The signature of the declarant is given in this way: N. ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὁμῶμοκα τὸν ὄρκον.<sup>14</sup> In each of the four declarations where the signature appears, it is written by a hand

12. The oath is lost in PSI VII 731 and POxy XII 1452, col II.

13. POxy X 1266 substitutes μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι for ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα, and POxy XXII 2345 has both of these

phrases.

14. The date has not been included in POxy II 257 and has been lost in PSI VII 731 and POxy XII 1452, col II, both of which, along with POxy XXII 2345, also lack the signature

different from that of the rest of the document. Two of the declarations append to this section the names or statements of witnesses who can support the claims made by the declarant.<sup>15</sup>

No indication is given about the official action taken in response to these declarations.

### B. Hermopolis

The four gymnasium documents from Hermopolis are better discussed individually than classified and described under a regular, definable form. Formal similarities do exist among them, but an identification of these will be made after each declaration has been discussed.

SB 7440a, the earliest of the declarations (132 A.D.), has already been described as a metropolite declaration from Hermopolis.<sup>16</sup> Its form, accordingly, is essentially that of metropolite declarations for the epikrisis: addresses, declaration, proof, oath, date, and signature. What makes this document difficult to identify with precision is the statement of the declarant Hermaeus that he is Ἐρμοπολ(ίτου) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου) δεκάδραχμου ἀναγραφου[έ]ν(ου) ἐπ[ὶ] Πό]λ(εως) Ἀπηλ(ιώτου). Furthermore, he later identifies his wife as ἀπὸ γυμν[ασίου] ἀν[α]γραφομένης ἐπ[ὶ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδ[ου]. His son Hermogenes, he says, is now thirteen years old and should be submitted for epikrisis as his three other sons had been.

There is no way of determining exactly what the object of this epikrisis was. It may have been entrance into one of the two classes — metropolite or gymnasium — mentioned in the document,<sup>17</sup> or perhaps the declaration served to make application for entrance into both at the same time.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, there is a break in the text at the point where normally the proof of eligibility is offered. The loss of text is not extensive — no more than half a line which cannot be read. It does not seem that the declarant said much more here than: διὸ ἀξιῶ καὶ τοῦτον (i.e. Hermogenes) ἐν τ[οῖς] ..... σὺν τῶν ἀδελφ[ῶν] αὐτ[οῦ]...]. Among whom? We do not know, for ἐν τ[οῖς] may be completed with ἀπὸ γυμνασίου or with δεκάδραχοις.

Support for each of these readings can be found. The very presence of the phrase ἀπὸ γυμνασίου used to identify both father and mother strongly suggests that they seek for their son certification of his right to belong to that class. Nothing is said about the mother's being in the eight drachma category, and that Hermogenes' father indicates he is may be incidental to the real object of the declaration — membership in the gymnasium class. On the other hand, we have noted how carefully Oxyrhynchite gymnasium declarations have detailed the credentials of such an application back to the time of Augustus. Nothing like that was included in SB 7440a; in fact, there appears to have been no listing of credentials at all in the declaration beyond the identifications discussed above. As we will see from the other Hermopolite gymnasium declarations, the same detailed information was offered by declarants there as in Oxyrhynchus. The lack of any information, of course, would be unusual also in metropolite declarations. It is possible that this omission could in either case be explained by the fact that three sons already have gone through this kind of epikrisis. Perhaps it was not necessary to repeat in detail what had been offered at least once before in declarations for the same purpose.

because of damage to the papyrus. POxy XVIII 2186 also lacks the signature.

15. In POxy XVIII 2186 the witnesses' names are listed at the end; in PSI V 457 the concluding statement appears to have been made by one of the witnesses. This statement (by a third hand) affirms that the information presented by the declarant is correct as offered.

16. Supra pp. 20-21.

17. SB 7440b immediately following it is without a doubt a metropolite declaration.

18. There is, however, no other declaration showing that a single application sufficed for entrance to both classes. The existence of two different types of declaration otherwise suggests that an individual had to be declared into each class separately.

Until we are able to find conclusive evidence for classification of SB 7440a exclusively into the gymnasium or metropolite category, it is probably best to continue to list it under both headings. It is our belief that the declaration likely was made for the purpose of submitting Hermogenes for entrance into the gymnasium class.

*PAmh* II 75 (161-68 A.D.) offers in three columns the declaration of a woman named Demetria for her son Artemon. The arrangement of the declaration emphasizes the importance of proper proof of eligibility in documents of this type. Column I records the declaration proper in what seems to be the usual form, whereas columns II and III offer a lengthy series of extracts from past official records of the family of Artemon. The function of these latter two columns clearly is that of supporting the claim made in the first column.

The declaration itself in column I has not been very well preserved; all that remains are a few letters at the ends of the lines, with about fifteen lines completely lost in the middle of the column. From what remains, however, the text can be positively identified as an epikrisis declaration of the gymnasium type. There does not seem to have been an address at the beginning of the declaration. The first line identifies the declarant, and perhaps the designation Ἐμποπ(ολ) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου refers to her or to her guardian through whom she applies. Mention is made of her son in line 5 (name lost here), and in line 7 the term επικρι(θ) appears. Following the loss of some fifteen lines, line 24(?) ends with ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου. The closing lines include the oath and the date of the declaration. We do not know for certain what kind of information has been lost in the middle of the declaration. To judge from documents of other cities, it would seem likely that much of this part of the document contained proof that the claim was valid.

That proof in column I, apparently, was either brief and incomplete or required some specific and detailed substantiation, for the last two columns are exclusively the documentation for the claim made in the first column. In these extracts from official records of the census and the epikrisis, the family tree of Artemon is carried back for five generations to the beginning of the reign of Augustus.<sup>19</sup> The entries typically include the following information: date; place of registration or certification; location of record (sometimes with number and sheet in the archives listed); name, identification, and age of the individual involved; names, identification, and ages of immediate family of the individual whose record is summarized.<sup>20</sup> The evidence included in these entries is taken from census lists or epikrisis lists. Most of the extracts identify the individual whose record is summarized as ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, and in the entries where the phrase is not included, it seems certain that the extract is offered for the same purpose as those which do include it. Both the father's and the mother's side of the family are listed as members of the gymnasium class.

Very similar to *PAmh* II 75 is *PRyl* II 102 (last half of the second century A.D.), where the same lengthy listing of extracts from family records was meant to provide evidence for a boy's right to be admitted to the gymnasium class. *PRyl* II 102 does not contain the declaration proper, and it is not certain on whose behalf the declaration was made. That its object was proof of eligibility for entrance to the gymnasium is clear not only from its similarity to *PAmh* II 75, but also from the constant appearance of persons designated ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in the declaration.

The document contains two columns of extracts which follow the same general form as those in *PAmh* II 75. In column I there are parts of at least six extracts containing the following items of

19. See *PAmh* II 75, p. 91 for a diagram showing the genealogy of Artemon and his family.

20. All these items of information are found in the following extract from lines 47-49 of this column: ια (ἔτους)

Νέρωνος Φρο(υρίου) Λιβ(ός) α τόμ(ου) κο(λλήματος) μδ,  
Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀχι(λέως) Ἀσκληπιάδου μητ(ρός) Τεση..  
Ἡρώνας (ἑτών) μη, γ(υνή) (αὐτοῦ) βερ[οῦ]ς Ἐρμαίου τοῦ  
Δωρῶν[ος] (ἑτών) μδ, Ἀρτέμων υἱός (αὐτοῦ) (ἑτών) ιθ.

information: date; place of registration or certification; location of record in archives; name, identification, and age of individual whose record is summarized; and names, identification, and ages of his immediate family. In these identifications, *PRyl* II 102 includes physical marks or characteristics of the person who has been registered. Column II has four entries in the same form as those of the first column. The first and last entries are census returns, the second reports a declaration in a non-census year, and the third entry is a registration of a one year old boy in the list of minors from the gymnasium.<sup>21</sup>

The last Hermopolite declaration of this type has been very badly preserved. *PStrassb* 288 (156-57 A.D.) provides just enough information in its two columns to make possible its inclusion among the gymnasium declarations. Column I apparently contained the declaration written in the usual form for these documents. The fragmentary nature of the text which has been recovered prevents us from listing exactly what form the declaration took. Reference is made in lines 6-8 to both the census and to the epikrisis in what seems to be a listing of credentials. The oath was recorded in lines 9-11, and in lines 11-13 the first column ended with the date.

Column II enables us to identify the document as a gymnasium declaration. Although only six lines of the column remain, it is clear that this is a listing of brief extracts from official records pertaining to the family of the declarant in column I. The list speaks of these ancestors as ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in the same way that the previous two declarations did, and the information as in those documents probably was carried back to the generation which lived during the reign of Augustus. No entry in this column is complete enough to use for illustrating the manner in which the ἀναφορία were listed.

From these four Hermopolite documents we can suggest what must have been the standard form of the gymnasium declarations. The initial section, it seems, was very much like the declarations from Oxyrhynchus. Included in the full form of the applications from Hermopolis must have been the address, the declaration, the oath, date, and signature along with a very brief list of credentials.

Unlike the Oxyrhynchus documents which normally list the credentials at length in the declaration, those of Hermopolis as a rule probably appended the complete list of credentials to the declaration in the way *PAmh* II 75, *PRyl* II 102, and *PStrassb* 288 have done.<sup>22</sup> These credentials are extracts from official census and epikrisis records and are usually listed by volume and page. It would seem from *PAmh* II 75 that the credentials traced the eligibility of the boy for admission to the gymnasium back to the time of Augustus by proving that his family on both father's and mother's side belonged to the class known as ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.

### C. *PStrassb* 219

This document is too fragmentary to classify precisely with regard to its provenance. Its form clearly is that of an epikrisis declaration, and that it is an application for entrance to the gymnasium class is indicated by the phrase ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμ[νασίου] in line 6 and ἐπικριθῆναι αὐτὸ[ν] in line 10.

21. Ἀπογρα(φή) ἀφηλ(ίων) τάξεω(ς) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου), location, name of boy, name of parents, date, and age of boy.

22. This perhaps explains why *SB* 7440a does not have a credentials section included in the declaration. It is possible that

the proof was offered in a separate listing of extracts which have been lost or which were attached to the original declaration of which this is simply a copy.

*D. Summary and Comparison of Forms*

Reference has been made repeatedly to similarities and differences between the gymnasium declarations of Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis. Their form is basically the same, although the location of the credentials section in Hermopolite declarations is significantly different from that in all other epikrisis declarations whether of the metropolite or gymnasium types.

There is, furthermore, no substantial difference in form between the metropolite and the gymnasium declarations. Apart from necessary changes in formula and wording, the gymnasium documents differ from the metropolite in only one major way: the credentials section of the gymnasium declarations is much more extensive and detailed than in the metropolite documents. In the latter, proof is usually restricted to the declarant and his wife with an occasional reference to their parents; in the gymnasium declaration, the proof applies to the boy's family on both sides back to the time of Augustus, a span of time in a few instances of over two centuries.

## II. THE FUNCTION OF THE DOCUMENTS

The status sought through epikrisis declarations of the type described above clearly has something to do with the gymnasia of the metropoleis from which the documents come. Precisely what that relationship is between these documents and the gymnasium has not been easy to discover. To help determine what specifically the function of these declarations was, we should consider these points.

(1) The gymnasia in the Greco-Egyptian cities were the centers of Hellenic life, education, and culture. Already in Ptolemaic times gymnasia had promoted the national and cultural cohesion of the Greeks through the education offered to their children. Although initially gymnasia were private organizations often supported or at least encouraged by Hellenistic monarchs, they come in the Roman period under the direct supervision of the government. In that Roman period as well as during the Ptolemaic era the gymnasia served not only as agencies to educate the young; they also provided adults with centers for intellectual as well as recreational activities. These members of the Ptolemaic gymnasia referred to themselves as οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου and with their resources regulated and supported the organizations to which they belonged.<sup>23</sup> We should expect therefore that the gymnasia in the Roman era involved the descendants of these Greeks who had settled in Egypt and that the functions in the Roman period were essentially the same as earlier under the Hellenistic monarchs.

(2) The declarants in these documents describe themselves as ἐκ τοῦ or ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, which we shall take to mean "members of the gymnasium". What they seek for their sons is membership in that same class or organization.

(3) The designation ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου in these declarations replaces the fiscal designation of the metropolite documents.

(4) The age of the boys submitted for this epikrisis is either thirteen or fourteen—the same ages which are common in the metropolite declarations and the age (fourteen) at which the boys were liable to poll-tax or reached their maturity.

23. See M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* 3 volumes (Oxford 1941) 1057-64, 1394-95 (note 121), and 1588 (note 23). A very thorough

bibliography on the gymnasia in the Hellenistic period is included in note 121 on page 1395.

(5) The proof of eligibility for this status is much more detailed than that of the metropolite declarations and in some of the documents identifying marks or characteristics are included in the description of the boy.

(6) Unlike the metropolite declarations, no slaves are eligible for this epikrisis.

(7) Gymnasium declarations have come only from Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis.

These facts point to two probable conclusions. First, membership in this gymnasium class, although determined as it was in the metropolite by inheritance, was more restricted and rigidly controlled than the metropolite membership. Candidates were carefully identified, declarants bound themselves by oath to the truth of their statements, and swore that the boy was their child and that the credentials did not belong to someone else. Furthermore, the necessity of tracing membership of paternal and maternal ancestors back to an original list drawn up in 4/5 A.D. during the reign of Augustus allows no possibility of admission to the class for exceptional reasons. No slaves or freedmen or anyone else would gain admission under any circumstances unless they or their descendants perhaps were included in the revision in 72/73 A.D. No evidence, however, exists to show that slaves or freedmen were admitted at any time to the class, nor do we really know how the list was revised in 72/73 A.D.

Secondly, the members of the gymnasium class probably were primarily of Greek descent with some admixture of Egyptian blood through intermarriage in the period before 4/5 A.D. when the official list was drawn up under and approved by the Romans.<sup>24</sup> This official list, therefore, contained the names of those Greeks and Greco-Egyptians who were then recognized by the Romans as members of the gymnasium class. That such a list (γροαφή) did exist for Oxyrhynchus is attested to in the declarations. No list is specifically mentioned for Hermopolis, but one can be inferred from the credentials which seem to have as their object the documenting of membership in the class back to that same period during Augustus' reign.

By now it should be quite obvious that the gymnasium class not only has some striking differences from the metropolite category; it is also marked by some notable similarities. Both are entered by the same process which utilizes a similar formula. Both involve residents of a metropolis, and in both the residents are the Hellenes of Greek and to some degree Egyptian extraction.

These similarities led to an erroneous but understandable conclusion by Lesquier who stated that the purpose of both documents was the same. He insisted that saying a boy was entering the company of those ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου was the same as saying he was thirteen years old, and, therefore, both kinds of declaration were financial in purpose.<sup>25</sup>

Lesquier was not the only one to reach a false conclusion about the relationship between these two groups. Jouguet also took a position which could not be supported. It was his belief that the two groups were mutually exclusive and that the metropolite was a mixed class of Greeks and Egyptians of recent and imperfect hellenization.<sup>26</sup>

24. That Egyptians had married into the gymnasium class is indicated by the names of declarants and candidates (see Appendix II). The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, section 44, on the other hand, suggests that Egyptians were not (at least in the Roman period) to be admitted to the epebeia; and we might infer from this, because of the relationship between the epebeia and the gymnasium (see Chapter VI), that they were perhaps also to be excluded from the gymnasium class. What we do not know is how rigidly Greeks in the Ptolemaic period attempted to keep the gymnasia purely Greek in membership. Some admixture of Egyptians must have occurred, and in spite of the

implication of the *Gnomon* for the gymnasia of Roman times, there must have been admixture of Egyptians with Greeks beyond the Ptolemaic period.

25. *Armée romaine* 26, 195. He did admit (p.197) that the declarations produced different results. The metropolites had only a partial reduction in tax; those in the gymnasium class paid none at all. No evidence was offered for that assertion. It was simply based on the likelihood that Greeks paid no poll-tax and that the gymnasium class was Greek.

26. Jouguet, *Vie municipale* 83-86.

Today from documents such as POxy XII 1452 and 1552, we know that the two groups were not the same nor were they mutually exclusive. It is clear that they overlap to some degree. Birth notices such as POxy XII 1552 (214-15 A.D.) describe a boy as (δωδεκά[δραχμων) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου ὄντα. More important, however, is POxy XII 1452 (127-28 A.D.), where in two columns two different declarations are offered for a thirteen year old boy named Sarapion by his uncle. The first is an application for the metropolite status in Oxyrhynchus; the second, an application for admission to the gymnasium class. A young man could belong to both groups, and they were not the same group with different names.

It is time now to return to the question of function. What follows will be largely conjecture, but in view of the foregoing remarks, it is not without some basis in fact.

In 4/5 A.D., Augustus officially recognized the existence of a strong Hellenic culture in the metropoleis among the Greeks and the hellenized Egyptians,<sup>27</sup> and because of its importance to the Romans for administrative or other purposes he initiated a process by which these Hellenes could continue to form a special class in which their culture could be maintained and their value to the Romans in governing Egypt be preserved. In Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis that class was called οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. As Mertens suggests, it is probably this class from which municipal magistrates were chosen.<sup>28</sup> But whether or not they were, the gymnasium class could have served an important function for the Romans in its preservation of Hellenic culture and its dissemination of that in the province.

The gymnasium class was, therefore, an elite class within the metropolis. It is conceivable that most if not all of its members were metropolites. The reverse, however, probably was not true. Not all metropolites were eligible for membership in the gymnasium class. We do not know exactly what special privileges beyond those provided by the gymnasium itself came with membership in the class. Although some members of the class might be tax-exempt, no general poll-tax exemption was granted to them, for, as we saw above, some who belonged to the gymnasium class were also rated at twelve drachmas poll-tax. Presumably all those who belonged to the gymnasium received at least that reduced tax rate as a privilege.

It is likely that the major privilege resulting from this membership was simply that of status and all the benefits a superior Greek status provided its holders. Among those benefits certainly must have been intellectual and cultural opportunities, recreational and social facilities, and political as well as financial advantages. Given privileges such as these it is no wonder those who belonged to the class wanted membership carefully, even rigidly, controlled through status declarations.

27. Augustus may have been pressured to recognize the existence of this group by those who desired to maintain their culture and its privileges, but I can find no evidence to prove that this was so. We remain in the dark about what precisely Augustus' motives were in allowing this class to exist or promoting its continuance. The class as we noted above (note 23) had already existed for about three centuries before

Augustus declared Egypt to be an imperial province. Perhaps the firm entrenchment of the class in the Egyptian metropoleis led Augustus to give it official sanction and to afford the provincial officials some means of controlling it or at least keeping track of its members.

28. Mertens 128.

## Chapter IV

### The Κάτοικοι

Of all the types of epikrisis declarations, those in which the declarant identifies himself as κάτοικος are fewest in number. Only four declarations of this type have been discovered and published, and all of them come from the Arsinoite nome.

A.D. ca. 128	<i>PFay</i> 319, col I (by mother)
160-61	<i>PErl</i> 22 (by mother)
175	<i>PFay</i> 27 (by father)
195-96	<i>BGU</i> III 971 (by parents)

#### I. THE FORM OF THE DOCUMENTS

These κάτοικοι declarations from Arsinoe have the same general form as the Arsinoite metropolite declarations. They are addressed in the dative case to officials described as ex-gymnasiarchs and current members of the epikrisis commission.<sup>1</sup> The declarant is identified with the phrase: παρὰ N.,<sup>2</sup> followed by parent's names and by an indication that the declarant is a κάτοικος enrolled in one of the ἄμφοδα of Arsinoe.<sup>3</sup> The declaration which follows takes this form:

(1) the genitive absolute stating that the boy is eligible for epikrisis τοῦ γεγονότος μοι ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς μου N., daughter of N., θυγατρὸς κατοίκων<sup>4</sup> (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μου N., son of N., κατοίκου)<sup>5</sup> υἱοῦ N. προσβεβηκὸς εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαετείς) τῇ ἐνεστώτι ( )th (ἔτει) καὶ ὀφείλοντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπικριθῆναι,<sup>6</sup>

1. *PFay* 319, col I is briefly described by the editors and no text is printed. No indication of address is given in this description. *PErl* 22 and *PFay* 27 are addressed to two officials γεγυμνασιαρχηκόσι ἐπικριταῖς. The names are lost in *BGU* III 971, but included is the identification: καὶ γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντι) ἐπικριτῇ. How many officials were listed here cannot be determined.

2. In *PFay* 319, col I and *PErl* 22, the declarant is the boy's mother who makes application because her husband is dead. The father alone declares in *PFay* 27, although he provides complete information about his wife from whom he has been divorced. Both parents are described as declarants in *BGU* III 971 for their two sons.

3. Thermouthion, the declarant of *PFay* 319, col I,

describes herself as a descendant of a κάτοικος. In *PErl* 22, the declarant calls herself θυγατρὸς κατοίκου enrolled in the quarter called [Μακε]δόνων. *PFay* 27 has suffered some damage in this section where the editors read κατοικον.(...) ἀναγρ(αφομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου) Μακεδόνων. In *BGU* III 971, textual damage in this section may have destroyed the identification of the declarant as κάτοικος. In a later part of this document, however, one of the two boys submitted for the epikrisis is identified as [ἀναγραφομένου ἐν καταλο]χισμ(οῖς) κατοίκ(ων) ἐπ' [ἀμφόδου N.].

4. *PFay* 27.

5. *PErl* 22. *BGU* III 971 has the plural τῶν γεγονότων followed by ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων.

6. In *PErl* 22, the editor supplies in a lacuna (προσβάντος)



(2) the prepositional phrase — κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) with no mention of a prefect who has issued the orders,

(3) a statement indicating that the declarants' credentials have been appended — ὑπέταξα (or -αμεν) τά τε ἐμοῦ (or ἀμφοτ(έρον) ἡμῶν) καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς (or τοῦ πατρὸς) αὐτοῦ δίκαια.

Three of these declarations<sup>7</sup> then list the credentials. Regrettably each of these documents has been damaged in this section, and none of them has a complete listing of the proof. That which is offered is drawn from the census records, and in *PEr122* and *PFay27*, it begins in this way: ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ (or ἐγὼ μὲν) N., ἐπικριθεὶς + date, ἀπεγράψατο (or ἀπεγραψάμην) ταῖς κατὰ καιρὸν κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαῖς + date(s) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου N. *BGU III 971* also relies on the census records for proving the claim made by the parents: ἀπ[εγραψάμεθα τῆ...ἀπογραφή + date(s) + ἐπ' ἀμφόδου N.]. In each case the father of the boy is listed first as registered in the census, and in the latter two declarations the date of his epikrisis is furnished. Reference to the mother's status follows in these same two declarations.<sup>8</sup> The mother who is also the declarant in *PEr122* states [εἰσὶ] δὲ οἱ γονεῖς [μου...], and following this are fragments of several lines in which presumably she stated when and where her family was enrolled in the census. In *PFay27*, the boy's father states that his wife ἀπεγρ(άφη) ἐν...κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) [ἀ]ογρ(αφαῖς) ἐπ' ἀμφό(δου) [N.]. Twelve very fragmentary lines of uncertain content follow this entry.<sup>9</sup> It is indicated in *PFay27* and *BGU III 971* that the boys submitted for epikrisis were also enrolled in the census, but the date of the enrollment is lost in both documents.

How much information these declarations listed in support of their claims is impossible to determine, for the text of *PEr122* and *PFay27* is broken off in this section. *BGU III 971* has only a brief listing of proof and then appends to this two tax or census registrations. What is unusual about these is that they are the registrations of one of the sons who has been submitted for epikrisis in the preceding declaration and of his wife. Apparently, the declaration is used by this son who is now married as identification in his census return.

In summing up our remarks concerning the form of the κάτοικοι declarations, we note many similarities to the metropolite form. The same arrangement of information and the same or similar formulae are found in both types. Even the kind of proof submitted for validating the claim is the same, with both relying on census records for both parents as the source of information. Possibly the only substantial difference between the forms of the two types of declaration is the length of the credentials section, for the κάτοικοι declarations seem to have offered more extensive proof for their claim than do the metropolite declarations.

## II. THE FUNCTION OF THE DOCUMENTS

The κάτοικοι declarations of Arsinoe are similar to the gymnasium declarations of Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis in two significant ways. First, each type of declaration appears to have been restricted to a region where the other was not used. No gymnasium declarations from Arsinoe have been found, and no κάτοικοι declarations have come from Oxyrhynchus or Hermopolis. Second, both types are fewer in number than the metropolite declarations from the

and reads as the age [εἰς] ια (ἔτους). *PFay27* omits the age and does not identify the present year. Προσβεβηκότ]ω(ν) is read in *BGU III 971* where the age of both sons is listed as fourteen in the current year which is not identified.

7. Except *PFay 319*, col I. *Supra*, note 1.

8. In *BGU III 971*, she is referred to as enrolled with her husband in the census. No separate listing of her father's enrollment is made.

9. Mention is made in line 24 of ἀν[τ]ίγρ(αφον) ἐπικρίσεως and in line 25 of N. ἐπικριθ(έντος) ἐν κατοίκ[οις].

same place and seem to have pertained to a more elite segment of the populace and thus required more extensive credentials than the metropolite.

It is tempting on the basis of these similarities alone to suggest for the Arsinoite *κάτοικοι* declarations the same functions as those described for the gymnasium declarations in the preceding chapter. If this is so, we shall expect to find that in Arsinoe the *κάτοικοι* made up a limited class distinct from the metropolites, were descended from a group of *κάτοικοι* so designated during the Ptolemaic period or the reign of Augustus, were granted special privileges as well as responsibilities, and were Greek in outlook and way of life, if not by blood. Although documentary evidence concerning the *κάτοικοι* is very scant, that which does exist demonstrates that this description of the *κάτοικοι* may be quite accurate.

That the *κάτοικοι* formed a class which was not co-extensive with the metropolites is indicated not only by the existence of separate types of declaration, but also by information provided in census returns from Arsinoe. In these returns, the declarant identifies himself usually in one of two ways: εἰμι Ν. λαογραφούμενος ἐπικεκριμένος or κάτοικος ἐπικεκριμένος.<sup>10</sup> This variation implies that those subject to poll-tax (λαογραφία) were distinguished from the *κάτοικοι*. The term λαογραφούμενος here apparently refers to a reduced payment of the tax by metropolites, whereas the designation κάτοικος describes a resident who did not pay poll-tax. This suggests that one specific function of the *κάτοικοι* declarations was the identification of status resulting in exemption from the poll-tax.

Thus far no document of any kind has been found which identifies a person as both κάτοικος and metropolite.<sup>11</sup> From this it seems likely that the categories did not overlap. If our assumption that *κάτοικοι* in Arsinoe were tax-exempt is correct, we have an explanation for the exclusiveness of the two groups. Since the major function of the metropolite declarations was the acquisition of a reduced tax privilege, the *κάτοικοι* who paid no tax had no need to belong to the metropolites. In Oxyrhynchus, on the other hand, the gymnasium class was not necessarily exempt from taxation, and therefore Oxyrhynchites could belong to both categories.

The *κάτοικοι* documents of Arsinoe, unfortunately, do not have complete credentials sections, and it is impossible to trace membership in this class back in time as confidently as we have been able to do for those in the gymnasium class. We are probably right, however, in finding a relationship between the *κάτοικοι* of these declarations and the *κάτοικοι* of the Ptolemaic period. This title originally was given to the Greeks serving in the armies of the Ptolemies and rewarded with land grants in Egypt.<sup>12</sup> Subsequent owners who were not necessarily related to the previous owners of this catoecic land received the title by virtue of their ownership of the land. In effect, as both Lesquier and Jouguet pointed out, the privilege passed from the original owners to the land and was thereafter transmitted through possession of the land.<sup>13</sup> This explains why the *κάτοικοι* declarations of the Roman period do not contain purely Greek names. The *κάτοικοι* did not have to be Greek in descent; they were simply owners of land originally possessed by the Greek colonists.

10. For κάτοικος ἐπικεκριμένος in census returns see: BGUI 115 II (189 A.D.); BGUI 116 II (189 A.D.); BGUI 138 (189 A.D.); and SB 4299 (245 A.D.). For λαογραφούμενος ἐπικεκριμένος see: PFouad III 115 (119 A.D.); BGU I 137 (146-47 A.D.); and BGU I 118 III (189 A.D.).

11. In PLond II 260 (pp. 42-53) we have a case where a boy had been classified on the census list as λαογραφούμενος, but was transferred through an epikrisis from that category to the column of those identified as κάτοικος.

12. For more information and bibliography on this topic see PTeb I, p. 545-50; PLond II, p. 44-45; Jean Lesquier, *Les Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris 1911); and M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* 3 vol (Oxford 1941) 727-29, 890-91, and 1545 (note 164).

13. Jouguet, *Vie municipale* 76-78, and Lesquier, *RevPhil* 27.

It has been demonstrated convincingly by Bickermann that the full title of the *κάτοικοι* of Arsinoe in the Roman period was: *κάτοικοι τῶν Ἀρσινοίτη ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων (ζυοε)*.<sup>14</sup> The origin and meaning of this title is not fully known. It has not been found in documents of Arsinoe earlier than the beginning of the second century A.D. In fact, all references to *κάτοικοι* in the nome are in documents of the second century A.D. Nonetheless, we feel confident in asserting that the full title as well as the simple designation *κάτοικος* looks back to an earlier period, certainly during the reign of Augustus and perhaps during the Ptolemaic era.

The main problem we face in understanding the title is the interpretation of the phrase "6475 Greek men."<sup>15</sup> The number does not change in the documents and was apparently fixed at some early date. We do not know by whom this was done nor do we know who those men were. Some speculation may be helpful.

These 6475 Greek men are said to be in the Arsinoite nome, and they are called *κάτοικοι*. Possibly this was the original number of those Greeks who received catoecic land in the nome in the Ptolemaic era during the total period or a portion of it when this reward was granted to Greek mercenaries. The number was fixed because a fixed number of plots of land were set aside, continued to be catoecic, and transmitted this status to subsequent owners. If, on the other hand, the title comes from Roman times it could also be the total number at a given point in time of those possessing catoecic land or claiming the status of *κάτοικος*. It is possible that this identification or classification of the *κάτοικοι* was made at the same time the original gymnasium list was made for Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis.<sup>16</sup>

As we suggested above, the *κάτοικοι* in the Roman period need not have been Greeks, although it is likely that many were descended from original Greek possessors of catoecic land. That they are identified as Greeks in Arsinoe may simply mean they belong to the class that was originally Greek, just as 6475 probably refers to an original number in the class, but does not necessarily indicate that the class contained only that many or even that many members at a later period. The title, therefore, appears to be descriptive only of early members or original members of the class.<sup>17</sup>

We do not know for certain what kind of privileges or responsibilities came to those called *κάτοικοι*. From information found in census declarations, we have inferred that the *κάτοικοι* probably were exempt from payment of the poll-tax. Furthermore, if it is true that the *κάτοικοι* were the Arsinoite equivalent of the members of the gymnasium in Oxyrhynchus, they perhaps had privileges similar to those of the gymnasium class. To them as Hellenes came all the opportunities and privileges which were open to those who could qualify as ephebes and which were provided by a Greek education and culture. It would be reasonable to assume then that the *κάτοικοι* also furnished officials or administrative assistants for local or nome government. Most certainly, the *κάτοικοι* made up an important social and cultural class in Arsinoe.

14. See Bickermann 42, note 3 for the evidence, and add to this *PCorn* 16, a census return from Arsinoe [146-47 A.D.], in which a resident is described as *κάτοικος τῶν* (6475).

15. For a careful statement of the problem and some interesting suggestions as to the answer, see Gerhard Plaumann, "Die ἐν Ἀρσινοίτη ἀνδρες Ἕλληνες 6475," *ArchP* 6 (1920) 176-83. Bickermann 42-43 also has raised some pertinent questions, though he avoids the problem of interpretation.

16. A rather far-fetched view is offered in the article by Plaumann (*supra*, note 15) 181 and dismissed by him as

unlikely. The theory is that of G. Glotz who tries to explain the number 6475 in Arsinoe as patterned after the number of men in the phratries of Alexandria and Ptolemais (7200) minus their leaders (720) and the prytanies (5).

17. John F. Oates, "The Status Designation: ΠΕΡΣΗΣ, ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ," *YCS* 18 (1963) 109-15, has demonstrated that status designations do not necessarily continue to be used of the same class or type of individuals to whom they were originally applied.

## Chapter V

## Extracts from the Prefects Records

In addition to the epikrisis declarations described in the preceding chapters, there is a group of documents which identify themselves as extracts from the official epikrisis records of the prefect of Egypt. The documents of this type which have appeared so far are:

		<i>Prefect of Egypt</i>	
A.D.	103	<i>PHamb</i> 31	C. Vibius Maximus (103-7)
	113-17	<i>BGU</i> IV 1033	M. Rutilius Lupus (113-17)
	126-33	<i>PHamb</i> 31a	T. Flavius Titianus (126-33)
	140	<i>BGU</i> I 113 = <i>WChrest</i> 458	
	148	<i>BGU</i> I 265 = <i>WChrest</i> 459	C. Avidius Heliodorus (138-41)
	148	<i>SB</i> 5217	M. Petronius Honoratus (147-48)
	158-59	<i>BGU</i> III 780	M. Petronius Honoratus (147-48)
	after 160	<i>SB</i> 9228	M. Sempronius Liberalis (154-58/9)
	167	<i>PSI</i> V 447	T. Furius Victorinus (159-60)
	after 173	<i>BGU</i> IV 1032	T. Flavius Titianus (164-67)
	175	<i>POxy</i> XII 1451	?
	182-83	<i>BGU</i> III 847 = <i>WChrest</i> 460	C. Calvisius Statianus (170-75)
	188	<i>SB</i> 7362	Veturius Macrinus (181-83)
			T. Longaeus Rufus (183/4-85)

## I. THE FORM OF THE DOCUMENTS

These extracts all have the same general form. The first part presents general information about the nature of the document and the officials by whom the data contained in these records was obtained. Following this stylized introduction is the section in which the individual who has submitted to an epikrisis is named and the details concerning this process are listed.

In the introduction to the document we usually find this type of statement: ἀντίγραφον.<sup>1</sup> ἐκ

1. This heading alone appears in *BGU* I 265 and *SB* 9228, and in *PSI* V 447 and *POxy* XII 1451 ἐπικρίσεως is added to it. On the verso of *PHamb* 31; *PHamb* 31a; and *BGU* I 113 we find

this same title: ἀντίγραφον ἐπικρίσεως along with the name of the person involved. *SB* 7362 on the verso has ἐπικρίσις Ν. ἐπεγμεμένη. No title is found in *SB* 5217, and in *BGU* IV

τόμου επικρίσεων N. γενομένου ἡγεμόνος (οἱ ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου)<sup>2</sup> οὗ προγραφῆ.<sup>3</sup> Οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι... ἐπεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ (οἱ παρεγένοντο πρὸς ἐπίκρισιν)<sup>4</sup> N. ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου διὰ N. + date.<sup>5</sup>

Among those listed as appearing before the prefect of Egypt for epikrisis are: veterans, Romans, Alexandrians, freedmen, slaves, and others (ἕτεροι). Of these groups the ones which are listed in each document are identified in the following list:

*οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι*

*PHamb* 31 — none identified

*BGU* IV 1033 — veterans, Romans, Alexandrians, [20 letters], and others.

*PHamb* 31a — [veterans<sup>6</sup> with full citizenship rights for themselves and their families or families-to-be, veterans possessing citizenship granted to themselves alone], Romans, [Alexandrians, freedmen, slaves, and others]

*BGU* I 113 — veterans of all three classes, Romans, freedmen, slaves, and others.

*BGU* I 265 — veterans of all three classes

*SB* 5217 — Romans, freedmen, and slaves

*BGU* III 780 — veterans, [Romans, freedmen, slaves], and others

*SB* 9228 — veterans with full citizenship rights for themselves and their families or families-to-be, Romans, freedmen, [slaves, and others]

*PSI* V 447 — veterans with full citizenship rights for themselves and their families or families-to-be, Romans, freedmen, slaves, and others

*BGU* IV 1032 — information lost

1033; III 780; IV 1032; and III 857 the beginning of the document is damaged. For find complete text of an extract, see Appendix III.

2. γενομένου ἡγεμόνος = *PHamb* 31; *BGU* IV 1033 (where ἐπάρχου Αἰ[γύπτου] has been crossed out and the correction written above the line); *BGU* I 113; *BGU* III 780; *SB* 9228; and *SB* 7362.

ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου = *BGU* I 265; *SB* 5217; *PSI* V 447; and *POxy* XII 1451.

The title has been lost in *PHamb* 31a; *BGU* IV 1032; and *BGU* II 847.

3. προγραφῆ definitely appears in *BGU* I 113; *SB* 9228; and *PSI* V 447. It is likely that this term also appeared in all the other documents (damaged in this part) except *PHamb* 31 and *SB* 7362, where we find παρεπιγραφῆ. In most of these documents we have reproduced for us the full introduction (προγραφῆ) of the τόμος επικρίσεων from which the information has been extracted. In the latter two, the παρεπιγραφῆ indicates that only a summary of part of the τόμος is offered. These two documents accordingly have shorter introductions than the other eleven.

4. παρεγένοντο πρὸς ἐπίκρισιν = *BGU* IV 1033; *PHamb* 31a; *BGU* I 113; *BGU* III 780; and *SB* 9228.

ἐπεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ = *PSI* V 447 and *POxy* XII 1451.

ἐπεκρίθησαν ἐξ ἐνκελεύσεως = *BGU* I 265 and *SB* 5217.

The readings of *BGU* IV 1032 and III 847 have been lost. In *PHamb* 31 and *SB* 7362 there is a different wording: ἐπίκρισεις (οἱ ἐπίκρισις) of prefect N., date, through N.

5. Except in *PHamb* 31 where simply month and year are given. The documents list the date in this way: from the month of

( ) to the month of ( ) in year ( ). The Egyptian names of the months are always listed, and in *BGU* I 113 and *PSI* V 447 the Roman name is also given.

6. There were, according to these declarations, different classes of veterans who appeared for epikrisis before the prefect. The first class is described as: οὐτετρανοὶ στρατευσάμενοι ἐν εἴλαις καὶ ἐν σπείραις ἐπιτυχόντες σὺν τέκνοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καὶ ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς γυναῖκας, ἃς τότε εἶχον ὅτε αὐτοῖς ἡ πολιτεία ἐδόθη, ἢ εἰ τινες ἄγαμοι εἶεν, πρὸς ἃς ἐὰν μεταξὺ ἀγάωσι, τοῦ μέχρι μιᾶς ἕκαστος. These veterans were granted the privilege of *connubium* and possessed full citizenship rights for themselves and their families. The second class of veterans, ἐπιτυχόντες μόνοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καὶ ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς γυναῖκας gained Roman citizenship for themselves alone and *connubium*. A third class is referred to as οὐτετρανοὶ οἱ χωρὶς χαλκῶν οἱ νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιτυχόντες μόνοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας. These veterans, who did not as yet have their bronze diploma which was issued normally when they were discharged, were granted Roman citizenship for themselves alone. Probably, as Lesquier has pointed out (*Armée romaine* (1918) 293-97), this classification was a provisional one made on the basis of military documents possessed by the veterans and proving that they were entitled at least to that right. When the bronze diploma was obtained, presumably, a reevaluation of the rights, if necessary, could be made. See also for veterans without the bronze diploma: Mommsen, *CIL* suppl 3 (Berlin 1893) 2006ff.; *PFouad* 21, p. 39-48; Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 400; and William Seston, "Les Vétérans sans Diplômes des Légions romaines", *RevPhil* 7 (1933) 373-95.

*POxy* XII 1451 — veterans, Romans, [freedmen, slaves, and] others  
*BGU* III 847 — [veterans, Romans,] freedmen, slaves, and [others]  
*SB* 7362 — none identified<sup>7</sup>

Although these examinations were conducted under the jurisdiction of the prefect of Egypt, they were actually made by his representatives. Those officials were:<sup>8</sup>

<i>χειλιάρχος λεγιῶνος</i> — <i>legionary tribune</i>	
<i>PHamb</i> 31	Proclus; legion not identified
<i>BGU</i> I 113	]ιονατ[; <i>II Traiana</i>
<i>BGU</i> I 265	Magius Sabinus; <i>II Traiana</i>
<i>SB</i> 5217	Magius Sabinus; <i>II Traiana</i>
<i>PSI</i> V 447	M. Julius Seneca; <i>II Traiana</i>
<i>BGU</i> III 847	Cocceius Varus; <i>II Traiana</i>
<i>SB</i> 7362	Allius Hermolaus; <i>II Traiana</i>
<i>ἐπαρχος</i> — <i>prefect</i>	
<i>BGU</i> IV 1033	Cassius (?); Imperial Alexandrine fleet
<i>PHamb</i> 31a	anon.; <i>ala Apriana</i>
<i>BGU</i> III 780	Manlius Severus; unknown cohort
<i>SB</i> 9228	Septimius Priscus; Imperial Alexandrine fleet
<i>BGU</i> IV 1032	Bab .. urius Lucullinus; unknown cohort
<i>POxy</i> XII 1451	Juvenus Valens; Imperial Alexandrine fleet

The second part of these documents deals specifically with the individual who has undergone an epikrisis. This section normally begins in this way: ἀδὲ παρέθεντο δικαιώματα τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ Ν., ἐκάστῳ ὀνόματι παράκειται.<sup>9</sup> Μεθ' ἕτερα σελίδων Νο.<sup>10</sup> Identification of city or nome.<sup>11</sup> Name of individual involved in the epikrisis followed by the specific information about the purpose of his examination.

7. Although in *PHamb* 31 and *SB* 7362 no listing is made, that the individuals in each case are veterans can be determined from another part of the documents.

8. *PWashUniv* inv 134 (see Appendix I) also mentions a prefect (col I, line 10) and tribunes (col II, lines 25, 34, and 40) although no further information is given about them except names. This same document indicates in col II that epikriseis have performed by seven prefects whose names are listed (19, 22, 26, 35, 37, 41, and 43) and that these were conducted through officials whose names and titles have been lost. Several other documents refer to the epikrisis by the prefect of Egypt or his subordinates: *POxy* I 39 = *WChrest* 456 (52 A.D.) apparently is a release from liturgy granted by the prefect (see Chapter I, note 16). The document is an official copy certified by a threefold ἐπεκρίθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. *BGU* I 142 = *WChrest* 455 (159 A.D.) and *BGU* I 143 = *WChrest* 454 (159 A.D., see Chapter I, notes 15 and 18) both recording an epikrisis by a prefect of the imperial Alexandrine fleet are brief certificates of the examination. *BGU* I 142 probably gives evidence for a declaration by a veteran who had served in Syria and wanted to retire to Egypt but had not received his diploma

enabling him to prove he was entitled to that privilege. *BGU* I 143 is a record of a declaration for a youth, perhaps dealing with a change of residence. *BGU* II 447 (Karanis, 175 A.D.) is a census return in which an occupant of a house is described as a veteran who had been examined by the prefect of Egypt. *POxy* VII 1023 (second century A.D.) is a veteran's memorandum in which he is said to have been examined by a prefect.

9. This statement is missing in *PHamb* 31; *BGU* IV 1032 (lacuna); and *SB* 7362.

10. Missing in lacuna in *BGU* IV 1033; *PHamb* 31a; *BGU* III 780; *PSI* V 447; and *BGU* IV 1032. *SB* 9228 adds before this phrase: παρέθηκεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ν. κελύσαντος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόν[ος], Ἐστὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τόμων β τόμος α. A statement similar to this is preserved in *BGU* III 780.

11. In *BGU* IV 1033, Ἀρσινο[ε]ίτου; *SB* 5217, Πηλουσίου; *SB* 9228, Σοήνης; *PSI* V 447, Ὀξυρυγγ[ε]ίτου; *POxy* XII 1451, Ὀξυρυγγ[ε]ίτου; *BGU* III 847, Ἀρσινο[ε]ίτου]. *BGU* I 265 has no entry at this point, but at the beginning of the document we find the entry Ἀντινόων. Thus, the entries in the τόμος seem to have been recorded in a geographical order.

Seven of the documents definitely and possibly eight, all involving veterans, use the same form to introduce the information about the person and his reason for submitting to an epikrisis: Ν. βουλόμενος παρεπιδημῆν πρὸς καιρὸν ἐν νομῶ Ν. ἐτῶν.<sup>12</sup> In two of these documents, children of the veteran are also associated with him in making the declaration. PHamb 31 lists the names of three children along with their father, and SB 9228 has the name of the veteran and his son.

The remaining five documents are difficult to classify. Two of them (BGU IV 1033 and PSI V 447) refer to the epikrisis of slaves through their owners. In each, this section has at the beginning the word δούλοι (preceded in PSI V 447 by the owner's name) with names of the slaves then listed. What followed in BGU IV 1033 is not certain because of the loss of the first half of all lines of the text,<sup>13</sup> but in PSI V 447 we are told that the owner has provided (ἐπήνεγκεν) various proofs: a record of his own and his two sons' (each of whom owns one of the four slaves) epikrisis, the date of these examinations, and the prefect under whom they were conducted; the "birth" certificate (οἰκογένεια) and census enrollment of the slaves. Following this is a statement indicating that the owner has furnished three witnesses and a copy of the certification made by the examining officer: [συ]χειρογραφήσαντας αὐτῷ μηδενὶ ἄλλοτρίῳ κεχρησθῆναι, καὶ τῆς Ν. σημειώσεως ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὄ]νομάτων. In his own handwriting (what has preceded has been written by someone else), the owner states that he has made the declaration and has sworn the oath required. Each of the three witnesses in his own hand states under oath that the information is correct, and again in another hand the document is ended with the date.

Similar in many respects to PSI V 447 are the last three documents, all of which report declarations by mothers for illegitimate children.<sup>14</sup> As in PSI V 447, the names of those for whom the declaration is made are listed: Ν. Σπουρίου υἱός, ἐτῶν.<sup>15</sup> Following this title is a statement of this type: ἐπήνεγκεν ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς μήτηρ Ν. The evidence she has produced for this examination is then listed.<sup>16</sup> That evidence consists of:

- (1) professions (referring to the birth of the mother), δέλτον προφεσσιῶνος ἐπὶ σφραγίδων κεχροτισμένην + date — POxy XII 1451; BGU IV 1032
- (2) testimonies (concerning the birth of the children), παιδὸς δέλτον μαρτυροποιήσεως ἐπὶ σφραγίδων γενομένην + date — SB 5217; POxy XII 1451; BGU IV 1032
- (3) an epikrisis of the mother's patron — SB 5217
- (4) a certificate of manumission, τάβελαν ἐλευθερώσεως + date — SB 5217
- (5) a "birth", certificate and census enrollment for slaves, οἰκογένειαν καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆν — POxy XII 1451.

12. PHamb 31 (ἐπιδημῆν for παρεπιδημῆν; adds καὶ τέκνα Ν. ἐτῶν, Ν. ἐτῶν, Ν. ἐτῶν); PHamb 31a (readings restored by editor); BGU I 113; I 265; III 780; SB 9228 (adds Ν., υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν); and SB 7362. BGU III 847 in which this section is very fragmentary and which pertains to a veteran may also be of this type. In each of these except SB 9228 where we find τῆ Σοίγη, PHamb 31a where the name of the nome has been lost, and BGU III 847 where readings are uncertain, the declarant seeks to take up legal residence in the Arsinoite name. Only SB 9228 and SB 7362 definitely have ἐτῶν following the name of the declarant. As a rule, in these extracts no number was included at this point with ἐτῶν to identify the exact age. The age was, however, given by the official in his description reporting the examination. See POxy XII 1451, lines 23-24.

13. The restorations proposed by Lesquier, *Armée romaine* 504-06, would suggest that various kinds of proof were

listed after the slaves' names. Mention is made, perhaps, of a document of an ἐκλογιστής in which relevant δικαιώματα were included. Later there are references to an epikrisis, possibly the owner's; service in the *ala Apriana*, again seemingly referring to the owner; and to a census return. The final lines speak of witnesses: ἔδω]κεν καὶ γνωστῆρ[ας].

14. POxy XII 1451 also includes three slaves along with the two children for whom the declaration is made.

15. SB 5217; POxy XII 1451 (which adds Ν. ἀδελφῆ αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν δούλ[οι Ν. ἐτῶν Ν.] ἐτῶν Ν. ἐτῶν). This part of BGU IV 1032 has been lost, but at the end of the document and on the verso reference is made to Ἰουλίου Σπουρίου υἱοῦ.

16. The preserved text of BGU IV 1032 begins at this point. The rest has been lost or is too fragmentary to provide meaningful restoration.

As support for this evidence, each of the three documents lists witnesses<sup>17</sup> συγχειρογραφοῦντας αὐτῇ μηδενὶ ἄλλοτρίῳ κεχρησθαι and refers to a copy of the σημείωσις made by the prefect's representative who conducted the examination.

In the seven documents of veterans who wish to take up residence in various regions in Egypt, the proof section provides evidence which shows that they have served in the army and have been honorably discharged: ἐπέδειξεν Ν. δέλτον χαλκῆν ἐκσφραγισθεῖσαν... ἐκ στήλης περικειμένης ἐν Ῥώμῃ, δι' ἧς δηλοῦται στρατευσάμενον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντείμως ἀπολελυμένον + date.<sup>18</sup> One document, SB 9228, speaks also of τοῦ παιδὸς δέλτον π[ροφρασιῶνος] + date, δι' ἧς Ν. ἀπὸν δία μα[ρτύρων? ἐγγέγρα ?—]φε τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ υἱὸν Ν.

It appears that in these documents as in others of this type the section following the credentials usually identified the three witnesses to the accuracy of the declaration and referred to the certification of the examining official.<sup>19</sup> SB 7362 alone has a complete ending. There the declarant's age and outstanding physical characteristics are listed, and in a second hand the βιβλιοφύλαξ attests to his presence during the making of the transcription. The date of this transcription ends the document.

## II. THE FUNCTION OF THE DOCUMENTS

Examinations before the prefect of Egypt or his representative served as did other types of epikrisis to establish status or guarantee rights. What this status involved or these rights were and why the examination was under the direct supervision of the prefect will be easier to determine when we observe who the declarants for this epikrisis were.

In the extant documents the most frequently mentioned groups are veterans and Romans along with freedmen and slaves who must surely have been subject to them and consequently eligible for the epikrisis. Those identified as veterans, moreover, are also said to have been granted Roman citizenship when they were discharged. Essentially, what we have then in these extracts are proceedings involving Roman citizens (veteran and non-veteran) in Egypt along with their dependents, either slave or free.

Although originally in the study of the epikrisis it had been thought that the unifying factor in all these documents was their military nature whether derived from the declarants as veterans or from the examiners as military officials, it is clear now that these declarants rather have in common the fact that were Roman citizens or their dependents.<sup>20</sup> That the prefect or his deputies conducted the examinations does not mean they involved military matters; it simply means that the highest administrative office in the province handled the epikrisis of these citizens either because they were Romans or because their epikrisis involved something which was not or could not be handled on the nome or metropolis level of government.

17. Three seems to have been the usual number, although only two are named in SB 5217.

18. This section is lost in PHamb 31a and BGUI 113. SB 9228 speaks of χαλκῆν ἐκσφράγισμα, and SB 7362 offers in place of the bronze an ἐπιστολὴν Ῥωμαικὴν of the prefect which shows where the veteran served and when he was discharged. After δηλοῦται, PHamb 31 has: ἐγκεχαράχθαι σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναικὶ οὕτως. Following this is the name of his military unit and its prefect. The name of the veteran, his wife, and his children are recorded following the phrase ἐξ δουπλικαρίων. Next the document states: ἐπήνεγκεν Ν. and Ν. (gen.) ταβουλαρίων ἀπογραφῆν, which proves he served in the

army and was honorably discharged.

19. Only two of these seven documents have this section. PHamb 31 names them, but the text following the names is lost. SB 7362 adds: οὐτετρανοὺς συγχειρογραφοῦντας αὐτ[ῶ] μηδενὶ ἄλλοτρίῳ κεχρησθαι καὶ Ν. (gen.) σημιώσεως.

20. The only exceptions would be the Alexandrians of BGU IV 1033 and possibly of PHamb 31a, but the Alexandrians themselves where citizenship is concerned were considered to have been in a special category with more privileges and responsibilities than ordinary Egyptians who were citizens of other cities or villages.



Those extracts which deal with veterans all seem to have had the same object and demonstrate for us one type of procedure which was best carried out by the provincial administration. In each of these, the veteran for himself alone or for himself and his children declares that he wishes to establish his residence for a time in a specific nome. This privilege which was granted to soldiers at the time of their discharge was best and most efficiently granted as well as controlled through the prefect of Egypt. When the application was approved and the privilege granted, this extract from the official proceedings probably was made and authorized to be used by the veteran in claiming the privilege which he had sought.

The phrase (παρεπιδημεῖν πρὸς καιρὸν) which occurs in these extracts might seem to suggest that the request is only for a temporary permit to reside in a nome. It is possible that the privilege granted was only valid for a specified amount of time and that the prefect wanted to supervise and observe closely the movements of veterans in Egypt. No conclusive evidence exists, however, to show that the right of residence in a nome for these veterans was limited in time nor is there any other indication that a veteran who changed his residence in Egypt again had to submit to an epikrisis or to any extraordinary procedure. Lacking such evidence, it is best probably to assume that the initial epikrisis sufficed for veterans who wished to settle in Egypt and required proof of their right to do so.

In the case of those few documents which record epikrisis proceedings by owners on behalf of their slaves, it is impossible to determine precisely what the object of the declarations was and what privileges resulted from them. To judge from other kinds of epikrisis declarations involving slaves, these before the provincial officials were made in order to secure for the slaves rights accorded them through the status of their owners. Those privileges may have been related to taxation even as metropolitane declarations for slaves dealt with the tax reduction. Since the owners who appeared before the prefect were in all likelihood Roman citizens exempt from the poll-tax, a possible function of these documents was the securing of that tax-exempt status for their slaves.

For the remaining three documents of this category<sup>21</sup> we have more information about their function included in the extracts and therefore we can make more positive assertions about their purpose. Each of the three extracts is the record of a mother's declaration for her children. A careful examination of one of these extracts (SB 5217) helps to identify their function. In this document, Julia Primilla declares for her son Gaius Julius Diogenes whom she calls the son of Spurius. He is her son, she says, by iniustum matrimonium (ἐκ μὴ νομίμων γάμων). Among the credentials referred to by Julia Primilla is her own certificate of manumission, and inasmuch as she calls a man by the name of Gaius Julius Diogenes her patron we can conclude that she had been his slave and was now a freedwoman and client of his. It should be noted that Julia Primilla gave her son who was born in the year of her manumission the name of her patron and former owner.

There is a possibility that the naming of the child after C. Julius Diogenes was not merely a token of appreciation to him for freeing her. Julius may, in fact, have been the child's father, although he had fathered the boy at a time when he was not legally married to Julia. He may not even have been able to marry Julia lawfully if, for example, he had been a soldier on duty, for soldiers in active service were not permitted to marry.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, if Julius as a soldier had fathered the child when forbidden to marry, he may have neglected to take the necessary steps to legalize his marriage and have his children recognized as legitimate.

21. SB 5217; BGU IV 1032; and POxy XII 1451.

22. For evidence, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of*

*Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 322 B.C.-640 A.D.* (Warsaw 1955) 109.

It is likely that Julius or whoever the father was had died before Julia made the declaration, for she identifies a man named Gaius Sempronius Apella as her guardian.<sup>23</sup> The object of this declaration then would seem to be the procuring of inheritance rights for the boy now that Julius or his father had died.

If we theorize that the boy's father (Julius?) had been a soldier, we can understand why the son was considered illegitimate and why Julia's marriage was *iniustum*. Since it was normal procedure for these *iniusta matrimonia* to be legalized when the soldiers were discharged and the children to be recognized as legitimate, we must in order to support our theory find an explanation for the failure of the boy's (soldier?) father to seek to legalize the marriage. Such a failure could be the result of the father's inability to do this because he had died before or shortly after discharge.

Our theory so far is this: the boy's father, Julius or someone else, was a soldier who could not legally marry and who died in service before it was possible for him to have his marriage legalized. That being the case, the boy could not legally inherit from his father unless some extraordinary provision were made for situations like this. The letter of Hadrian (BGU I 140) issued in 119 A.D. allowed for such circumstances and granted children of soldiers who died in service the privilege of inheriting from them. It is perhaps this privilege of inheritance that Julia Primilla seeks for her son after his father's death.

Obviously, much of the foregoing cannot be substantiated, and the theory, though logical, relies much on assumption. In the other two documents in which mothers declare for children, less information about the declarants is available to us. As in SB 5217, the fathers of the children seem to have died, and both of the mothers indicate the children came from *μη νομίμων γάμων*. It is tempting to theorize that these marriages were *iniusta* because they involved soldiers on active duty who died before discharge or who after becoming veterans failed to legalize their marriage. After their deaths it became imperative for the mothers to seek by an *epikrisis* to ensure the inheritance rights of these children or any other rights to which they were entitled.

Whatever the situation really was which led to the submission of these *epikrisis* declarations, they like the other status declarations demonstrate how critically important it was to claim the status which was transmitted by one generation to another. That status and the rights provided by it were not automatically recognized by either local or provincial officials. Consequently it was incumbent upon the individual eligible for status or his parents to see to it through declarations such as those submitted to the prefect of Egypt that the status was secured and certified properly.

23. C. Julius Diogenes would have been about sixty years old when this declaration was made. His *epikrisis* took place in

104/05 A.D. when he may have been about fourteen, and this declaration by Julia is from 148 A.D.

## Chapter VI

### Eiskrisis: Ephebes

Status declarations leading to enrollment on the γραφή ἐφήβων are not as numerous as εἰσκρισις declarations. Only five εἰσκρισις declarations are extant along with a petition by the father of a boy whose name was omitted from the list of ephebes in 217 A.D. in Oxyrhynchus. The extant declarations are:

#### HERMOPOLIS

A.D.	60	<i>PFlor</i> I 79 = <i>WChrest</i> 145
	63	<i>PRyl</i> II 101 <sup>1</sup>

#### OXYRHYNCHUS

A.D.	132-3	<i>POxy</i> III 477 = <i>WChrest</i> 144
	217	<i>POxy</i> IX 1202 <sup>2</sup>

#### ORIGIN UNCERTAIN<sup>3</sup>

A.D.	156-57	<i>PSI</i> XII 1225
	186-87	<i>SB</i> 7333

#### I. THE FORM OF THE DOCUMENTS

In classifying the eiskrisis documents, we can identify two distinct forms of declaration. The two declarations from Hermopolis certainly have the same form, and of the other four

1. Fragments of three separate copies of this declaration are preserved.

2. This document, strictly speaking, is not a declaration for εἰσκρισις; it is rather an appeal to the deputy epistrategus on behalf of a boy whose name was omitted from the annual list of ephebes. In form, therefore, it differs from the other documents, but since it is a type of declaration or re-application I have included it in this list. Its form will be discussed in connection with the other Oxyrhynchite declaration and the two of unknown origin similar to the Oxyrhynchite declaration.

3. These documents may have come from Oxyrhynchus. Their close similarity in form to *POxy* III 477 (132-33 A.D.) will be discussed below. We should mention here also a document from the Delta in which the earliest reference to ephobic

eiskrisis appears. In *SB* 8267 (5 B.C.) a young man is honored by the grant of a privilege πρὶν ἢ εἰσκριθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους.

Possibly the latest declaration leading to enrollment in the ephibia may be *PSI* III 164 (287 A.D.?) which is addressed to the systates of Oxyrhynchus. In it the declarant states: βούλομαι ἀναγραφῆναι Ν. (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα πρὸς τὸ ἀναγραφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν δηλίκων τάξει, ὡς καθήκει. Following this is an oath and date. Because the document is unique and uses none of the standard terminology of eiskrisis declarations it is hard to classify. I hesitate to reject it as a declaration for admission to the ephibia, but I cannot include it in this chapter on eiskrisis status declarations.

declarations only one (*POxy* IX 1202 — 217 A.D.) differs considerably from the other three. These latter three all involve Alexandrians, probably, to judge from *POxy* III 477 (132-3 A.D.), residing elsewhere (Oxyrhynchus in all three?) at the time the declarations were made. It will be convenient then to consider the form under two heading: Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian.

#### A. Hermopolite

Both eiskrisis declarations from Hermopolis begin with an address in the dative case to an official who is identified by name and title.<sup>4</sup> His title is listed in each declaration simply as ἐξηγητῆ τοῦ Ἑρμοπολι(ίτου). No other information is given about this man, nor are any other officials addressed.

The declarations present next the identification of the declarant in this form: παρὰ N., son of N. (*PRyl* II 101 — 63 A.D. here inserts ἀπὸ γυμνασίου; *PFlor* I 79 — 60 A.D. has μητρὸς N. τῆς καὶ N.)<sup>5</sup> τῶν τὸ ( )th (ἔτος) of emperor N. ἐφηβευκόντων.<sup>6</sup> In each of the documents the father alone is the declarant.

The declaration proper, unfortunately, in both documents has suffered damage. We can, however, piece together what seems to have been the common form of the declaration. That form includes:

(1) the identification of the boy and a statement that he is of proper age for admission to the status sought — τὸν υἱὸν μου N. μητρὸς N. (*PFlor* I 79 — 60 A.D. inserts Ἑρμοπολιεῖδος) daughter of N. (*PRyl* II 101 — 63 A.D. has here ἀπὸ γυμνασίου; *PFlor* I 79 has a lacuna of about half a line) ὥραν ἔχοντα τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰσκρισεως;<sup>7</sup>

(2) The request (in *PRyl* II 101 directed to the scribe of the gymnasium) that the boy be inscribed among those being admitted as epebes in that year — ἀξιῶ συντάξαι N. γραμματεῖ τοῦ γυμνασίου [τοῦτον εἰκονίσ]αι<sup>8</sup> εἰς τοὺς τὸ (*PFlor* I 79 adds here εἶσιον) ( )th (ἔτος) of emperor N. εἰσκρινομένους ἐφήβους.

At this point both documents fail to provide clear information. *PRyl* II 101 (63 A.D.) in all three copies breaks off here, and *PFlor* I 79 (60 A.D.) has extensive gaps and fragmentary text for about four lines. When *PFlor* I 79 again provides a complete text the information recorded includes:

(3) an oath that the boy is legitimate and that the credentials are valid — ὁμνύω by emperor N. εἰ μὴν ἐφηβευκέναι με τῷ προκειμένῳ ἔτει καὶ εἶναι μου υἱὸν γνήσιον τὸν προκειμένον ἐκ τῆς σημαινομένης μου γυναικὸς (her status and her parents' status are listed) καὶ εἶναι με ἐν τῇ παραδοχῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου;

(4) the credentials of the parents; and

4. *PRyl* II 101 (63 A.D.) has at its beginning what appears to be a heading. In this heading the amphodon is listed: Φ]ρο[υ]ίου Ἀπη[λ(ιώτου)]. *PFlor* I 79 (60 A.D.) also indicates residence in one of the amphoda. This occurs at lines 16-17 where the declarant is swearing to the validity of his credentials. The official's name is lost in *PRyl* II 101, but his father's name is included. In *PFlor* I 79 the official's name without father's name appears.

5. To judge from the inclusion of ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in *PFlor* I 79 in a later section containing the oath, membership of the father in the gymnasium class may have been a prerequisite for his son's admission to the epebia.

6. This phrase as we will see below, can mean either "became epebes in the ( )th year of emperor N." or "served as epebes during the ( )th year of emperor N."

7. Neither document lists an age. From other sources which we will consider in detail later, we know that fourteen was the normal age for this process. These two documents by referring simply to "the time" for the examination indicate, I think, that there was a standard age which was well known and did not have to be listed.

8. The restoration could also be εἰσκρίν]αι, but, as *PFlor* I 57. 76-77 (166 A.D.) shows, the verb εἰκονίζε[ιν] is used with reference to the registration in the record office.

(5) the date.<sup>9</sup>

The main purpose of these final sections is the submission of evidence that the boy is qualified for the status sought. His qualification depends on the status held by his parents and apparently primarily on the father's status. In each document the father is listed as ex-ephebe and, at the of the declaration, member of the gymnasium class; and both positions may have been required for the son's acceptance.

What was required of the mother is not easy to determine. In *PFlor* I 79 (60 A.D.) she is said to be a Hermopolite freedwoman of free parents. No other indication of her father's status is given, although this may have been lost in the lacuna. Information may also be incomplete in *PRyl* II 101 (63 A.D.) where the mother's father is listed only as a member of the gymnasium class.

It is perhaps rash to generalize on the basis of such scant information for both the boy's parents. Nonetheless, it seems that the father must at least have been an ephebe and perhaps had to belong to the gymnasium class. No mention is made of the maternal grandfather serving as an ephebe, although this, I think, must be assumed in *PRyl* II 101 (63 A.D.) since he is a member of the gymnasium class. Because *PFlor* I 79 (60 A.D.) does not list membership in the gymnasium class for the maternal grandfather, that status likely was not a prerequisite.

We should note before discussing the form of the other documents that the process in the Hermopolite nome was handled by two different officials. The exegetes to whom the declaration is addressed is requested by the declarant to order the scribe of the gymnasium to inscribe the candidate among those enrolled as ephebes. Neither of the documents has an official signature or docket.

#### B. Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian

Of the four documents which we include in this category only two (*POxy* III 477 — 132-33 A.D. and *POxy* IX 1202 — 217 A.D.) can positively be called Oxyrhynchite; the other two (*PSI* XII 1225 — 156-57 A.D. and *SB* 7333 — 186-87 A.D.), as we observed above (note 3) may have been from Oxyrhynchus because they have so many similarities in form to *POxy* III 477. *POxy* IX 1202, which differs from the other three documents not only in form but also in function (i.e., it is a re-application) will be compared with them wherever appropriate.

All three declarations begin as the Hermopolite do with an address in the dative case to the exegetes, but in contrast to the Hermopolite documents other officials also are addressed. The full form of the address is: To N. (dative) ἱερεῖ ἑξηγητῆ καὶ τοῖς Καισαρείοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρυτάνεσι.<sup>10</sup> No specific reference is made to any of these officials in *POxy* IX 1202 (217 A.D.) which is addressed (in dative case) to the deputy epistrategus. The identity of these other officials will be discussed below.

The documents next identify the declarant(s) with this formula: παρὰ N., son of N. who is the son of N., of the N. tribe and N. deme<sup>11</sup> τῶν τὸ ( )th (ἔτος) of emperor N. ἐφηβευκότων.<sup>12</sup>

9. Sections 3-5 are missing in *PRyl* II 101 (63 A.D.). We might assume, however, from the fairly predictable form of other status documents (epikrisis) that in this epikrisis document a section similar to that of *PFlor* I 79 (60 A.D.) concluded the declaration.

10. *SB* 7333 (186-87 A.D.) addresses the exegetes alone who is identified not only as priest but also as the superintendent of various courts (πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων). Both of the other documents add at least one office or title besides priest to the identification of the exegetes. *POxy* III 477 (132-33 A.D.) calls him also neocorus of Serapis,

ex-chiliarch, ex-prefect of the first Damscene cohort, and chief of the cultivators (ἀρχιγεωργός). *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.) adds only that the exegetes is also an ex-aganomus.

11. *POxy* III 477 (132-33 A.D.) and *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.). *SB* 7333 (186-87 A.D.) is from a woman who identifies herself as N., daughter of N., ἀστῆς μετὰ κυρίου (her second husband? τοῦ ἐπισυμβιώσαντος αὐτῇ ἀνδρός) N., son of N. who is the son of N., of the N. tribe and N. deme. The boy's father who has died is identified later with exactly this same form.

12. In *SB* 7333 (186-87 A.D.) this portion of the formula

The declarant in *POxy* III 477 (132-3 A.D.) is the father alone<sup>13</sup> and in *SB* 7333 (186-87 A.D.) the mother along with her guardian (perhaps her second husband) declares because the boy's father is dead. Only in *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.) do both parents declare for their son. All declarants identify themselves as members of an Alexandrian tribe and deme.

The declaration proper includes:

(1) a participial phrase declaring the wish of the parent(s) to have his (or their) son who is here identified enrolled among the epebes — βουλόμενος (*POxy* III 477; *PSI* XII 1225 has the plural throughout; *SB* 7333 the feminine singular) εἰσκρίναι εἰς τοὺς τὸ εἰσιὸν ( )th (ἔτος) of emperor N. ἐφήβους τὸν γεγονότα μοι ἐκ (wife and/or husband listed here)<sup>14</sup> υἷὸν N.; and

(2) a request by the declarant(s) that the officials addressed in the declaration take the necessary steps to bring about the boy's inscription on the epebe list — ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς (omitted in *SB* 7333 — 186-87 A.D.) συντάξαι (*SB* 7333 here adds γράψαι) τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις οὓσι λαβοῦσι μου χειρογραφίαν περὶ τοῦ ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προκείμενα<sup>15</sup> οἷς καθήκει χρηματίζειν μοι τελειοῦντι<sup>16</sup> τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἰσκρισιν καὶ ἐφηβίαν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου μου υἱοῦ N. γράμματα, ἔπειτα<sup>17</sup> τῷ κοσμητῇ καὶ τῷ γυμνασιάρχῳ τοῖς οὓσι προσδέξασθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς (*PSI* XII 1225 — 156-57 A.D. τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος) ἐφήβους.

The declaration ends at this point, although *POxy* III 477 (132-33 A.D.) in a second hand has a statement identifying probably the new epebe and giving his place of residence. The only other information provided by the documents is the statement on the verso of *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.) — ὑπόμνημα(α) ἐφηβείας) N. τοῦ κ(αὶ) N.

*POxy* IX 1202 (217 A.D.) does not include a formal declaration such as that described above. Because of the special circumstance (i.e., this document is a plea to correct an oversight), the form is unique. The father in his petition to the deputy epistrategus complains that his son's name has been omitted from the list of epebes (τῆ τῶν ἐφήβων γραφῆ) annually prepared by the ἀμφοδογραμματεύς, and he pleads that the error be rectified. In his closing remarks the father presents as the boy's qualification the fact that his son is ἐκ τοῦ τάγματος τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν γυμνασίου προσβάντος εἰς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς τῷ ( )th (ἔτει) καὶ ἐπικριθέντα κατ' ἀκολουθείαν τῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τοῦ γένους εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου.

### C. Summary and Comparison of Forms

The extant eiskrisis declarations like epikrisis declarations have basically the same form, although some important differences do exist. Unfortunately, the extremely limited number of documents makes difficult not only the interpretation of some parts of the declarations but also the discovery of reasons for the differences in form. It is not easy, for example, to determine whether the differences are chronological or geographical (some are from Hermopolis; others

follows the identification of the κύριος. *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.) adds here: καὶ τῆς τούτου γυναικὸς N., daughter of N., ἀστῆς μετὰ κυρίου (= husband listed above as declarant). *POxy* IX 1202 (217 A.D.) is much briefer in this section: παρὰ N., son of N. and N., ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως.

13. The declarant later explains that the boy's mother has died. Perhaps if she were alive, she would have joined him in declaring.

14. The phrase in *POxy* III 477 (132-33 A.D.) is ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου N. ἀστῆς ἢ μετέλλαχεν; in *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.), ἐξ ἀλλήλων; and in *SB* 7333 (186-87 A.D.), ἐκ N., son of N. who is the son of N., of N. tribe and N. deme, τῶν τὸ ( )th (ἔτος) of emperor N. ἐφηβευκότων, δς μετέλλαχεν.

15. Both *POxy* III 477 (132-33 A.D.) and *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.) have a lacuna here. The text of *POxy* III 477 has been restored correctly, I think, as γράψαι. This infinitive appears earlier in the form as presented by *SB* 7333 (186-87 A.D.), and some such idea clearly is needed in the other two documents at this place. The lacuna in *PSI* XII 1225 continues through the next phrase οἷς καθήκει.

16. The text of *POxy* III 477 (132-33 A.D.) has been damaged badly in these final lines. The form presented here is taken almost totally from the other two documents.

17. *PSI* XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.) should be corrected here (line 17-18) from κατακελεύσαι τε το γράμματα ἔπειτα.

from Oxyrhynchus or elsewhere). The Hermopolite declarations come from 60-63 A.D.; the Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian, from 132-217 A.D. Perhaps the Hermopolite form by 132 A.D. was more like that of the other declarations, but, to judge from epikrisis declarations in which little change in form occurs from generation to generation, it need not have been. For Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations there is no apparent difference in form during the half century from which the documents come.

The differences between the two forms may not even be chronological or geographical. It is very likely that the declarant's present place of residence and the place of citizenship when he became an ephebe determined the form to be used. That is to say, the Hermopolite form was used by residents of Hermopolis who had previously been enrolled and had served as ephebes in Hermopolis. The Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian form, on the other hand, was used by residents of Oxyrhynchus or some other place who had previously been enrolled and served as ephebes in Alexandria and were still members of specific tribes and demes of Alexandria. The one form then required only local officials; the other had to include provincial officials or at least officials in the place where the declarant originally had himself been admitted to the ephebia.

To support this thesis we should identify the similarities and differences in form. Then on the basis of the differences especially we can consider what specifically the function of each type of declaration was.

In general the form is similar in both types. All declarations are addressed to an exegetes and are from a parent who identifies himself (or her husband) as a former ephebe. Following the address section is the declarant's statement that he wants his son who is now eligible for the ephebia to be registered as such. Included in this section are the credentials the validity of which are supported by an oath (Hermopolis) or a reference to a document (*χειρογραφίαν*) to be provided for the proper officials (Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian). This affidavit contained, I think, the same type of oath about the validity of credentials which was actually included in the Hermopolite form. Both types of declaration specifically direct the recipient to make provision for another official to enter the boy's name on the ephebe list.

The declarations uniformly suggest that the major and perhaps only requirement for the son's enrollment as an ephebe was his father's status as ex-ephebe.<sup>18</sup> The only status requirement suggested for the mother was that she be a citizen and a freedwoman.<sup>19</sup>

No age is specified by the declarations as the age for application or enrollment.<sup>20</sup> The Hermopolite documents merely speak of the boy's having attained the age for admission to the ephebia.

Besides obvious differences in the wording of the forms, there are two major differences which should be noted. The first is the number and identity of officials addressed or alluded to; the

18. *PFlor* I 79 (60 A.D.) and *PRyl* II 101 (63 A.D.) both list membership in the gymnasium class as part of the credentials. In *POxy* IX 1202 (217 A.D.) the boy is identified as a member of that gymnasium class, but primarily, I think, to establish his age of eligibility for the ephebia. None of the Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations mention membership in the gymnasium class for the declarants. They rather indicate that the father is an Alexandrian citizen, i.e., he has served as an ephebe.

19. In each of the Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations the mother is listed as *ἀστυῆς* with no other status indicated for her or her father. Of the Hermopolite declarations *PFlor* I 79 (60 A.D.) identifies the mother as a free woman whose parents also were free, and *PRyl* II 101 (63 A.D.) notes that the mother's father was a member of the gymnasium class. Several

documents certifying entry of young men to Alexandrian citizenship through the ephebia (*χρόνος ἐφηβείας*) also indicate that the mother normally was a citizen (*ἀστυή*). She is so listed in *PSI* VII 777 (1-2 century A.D.), *PSI* XII 1223 (131 A.D.), *SB* 7239 (140-41 A.D.), *BGU* IV 1084 = *WChrest* 146 (149 A.D.), and *PSI* XII 1224 (156-57 A.D.). Another document of this type, *SB* 7171 (186 A.D.), has textual damage where the mother's name should appear.

20. See above note 18 with regard to *POxy* IX 1202 (217 A.D.), where an age is given in the father's petition to have his son's name included on the list. In our discussion of the function of these declarations, we will return to the question of age and evaluate the evidence offered by sources other than the declarations considered here.

second related to this is the description of the procedure to be followed in carrying out the process.

The Hermopolite declarations present no problems of interpretation in either of these respects. Simply stated, the procedure revealed by these declarations shows that the exegetes of Hermopolis received the declaration from the boy's father and then ordered the scribe of the gymnasium to place the new ephebe's name on the official list. No other officials are said to have been involved, and the process is completed on the local level of government.

There is, however, for the Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations some difficulty in the identification of officials and in the determination of what precisely these officials did to accomplish an eiskrisis. These two problems are, of course, interrelated.

A brief outline of the process by which the boy attained ephebic status will reveal the problems. The declarant (the boy's father or mother) addresses his request to an exegetes, the Caesarii, and the other prytanes. They are asked by the declarant to order those in charge (τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις οὔσι) and who have received the declarant's affidavit that the information is correct to write to the proper officials (οἷς καθήκει). These proper officials are to be instructed to deal with the declarant's case and to tell the kosmetes and the gymnasiarch to receive the boy as an ephebe.

Four different groups of officials take part in the process, but only the last group can readily be identified in terms of function in the eiskrisis. Strictly speaking neither the kosmetes nor the gymnasiarch has anything to do with the enrollment of the boy. They rather assume the tasks of training and supervising the newly admitted ephebes.

To identify the other officials and determine precisely what they did to accomplish an eiskrisis is not an easy task. We will begin with the first group to whom the declaration is addressed: the exegetes, the Caesarii, and the other prytanes.

An exegetes in each case is addressed first in these declarations, and there can be little doubt where he holds office. The most likely place is Alexandria.<sup>21</sup> Paul Meyer early identified Alexandria as exegetes' place of residence, and he was subsequently followed by Jouguet, Wilcken, and others in holding this position.<sup>22</sup>

The other officials (the Caesarii and the other prytanes) unfortunately are more difficult to identify,<sup>23</sup> although it is probable that they too were Alexandrian officials who together with the Alexandrian exegetes were responsible for handling eiskrisis declarations and other petitions offered by Alexandrians residing outside Alexandria. There is no direct evidence to support this conclusion,<sup>24</sup> but it is suggested first by the fact that all declarants are Alexandrian citizens who

21. That this exegetes also has the title "neocorus of the great Serapis" suggests Alexandria as place of office, because some of the references to this priesthood deal with an Alexandrian official or ex-official. See *PStrassb* I 10.3 and *POxy* I 100.2. We should note that not all documents which record this priesthood specifically link the official with Alexandria. In several, no indication of place is given.

22. See Meyer's review of Friedrich Preisigke's *Städtisches Beamtenwesen im römischen Ägypten* in *BerlPhilWoch* 24 (1904) 495-96. Pierre Jouguet's position was not entirely clear in "Sur L'Éphébie dans L'Égypte Gréco-Romaine," *RevPhil* 34 (1910) 52, where the exegetes is identified as "le directeur de la municipalité," nor in *Vie municipale* (1911) 156-57, where he calls the exegetes the one "qui en est chargé dans les cités et dans les métropoles." Wilcken, *Grundzüge* (1912) 142 took the remark to mean non-local or Alexandrian, and probably that was what Jouguet intended. For others holding this view see W. Schubart, "Alexandrinische Urkunden

aus der Zeit des Augustus," *ArchP* 5 (1913) 94-95 (note 3) and Friedrich Oertal, *Die Liturgie* (1917) 325-26, 345-46, and 371-72.

23. Jouguet, *Vie municipale* (1911) 157, suggested that the Caesarii were "fonctionnaires impériaux," possibly the prefect of Egypt or his subordinates, or they may have included the archidicastes and the strategus of the city. The other prytanes, he theorized, were "d'autres hauts magistrats municipaux."

The Caesarii are mentioned only in these eiskrisis declarations, in *PTebt* II 317 (174-75 A.D.), and in Dio Cassius 52.24, where they are identified as imperial freedmen (καὶ τῶν καισαρείων τῶν τε ἐν τῇ Θεραπείᾳ σου ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λόγου τιμὸς ἀξίων). Persons called 'Caesariani' also appear later as subordinate fiscal officers in *Cod. Just.* 10.1.5; 10.1.7; and in *Cod. Th.* 10.7.

24. Very important for this argument is *PTebt* II 317 (174-75 A.D.) which is addressed to these same officials by a



were originally registered as ephebes in Alexandria, and second by the assumption based on the Hermopolite declarations that the exegetes or proper official of the place of citizenship normally initiated the process.

The Caesarii must have been, as Jouguet suggested, officials in Alexandria who represented the Roman government, and they with the other Alexandrian officials (prytanes) constituted an eiskrisis board like that described in *PSI II 199* (203 A.D.) where a nomarch, some senators, an ex-prytanis, and a scribe of the senate are listed as the officials by whom certain boys have been enrolled (εἰσκριθέντες) in the ephebia.<sup>25</sup> The exegetes, it seems, was the presiding officer of this Alexandrian board which received the eiskrisis declarations and then forwarded them to other officials for examination and certification.

The officials who examined the declaration's validity and certified the boy's eligibility are even more difficult to identify. As is stated in the declaration, the exegetes, Caesarii, and other prytanes are to tell those in charge who have received the declarant's affidavit that the information is correct to write to the proper officials. These officials in turn are to deal with the case and finally to tell the kosmetes and the gymnasiarch to receive the boy as an ephebe. The listing is quite general—those in charge and the proper officials. But who were they?

We should, I think, first determine what the possibilities are by listing all officials who in other related documents are given some role in the eiskrisis of ephebes. With this list we can categorize officials on the basis of similarity in function. Here then are the relevant documents and the officials listed in them.

(1) *POxy IX 1202* (217 A.D.), a request that a boy omitted from the ephebe list be added (ἐνταγῆναι) to it, is addressed to a deputy epistrategus. The boy's father complains that a village scribe (ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς) has wrongly or inadvertently omitted his son's name from the annual list. No other officials are mentioned in the document.

(2) *PSI II 199* (203 A.D.) states that an epistrategus certified (εἰκονίσαστο) a list of ephebes enrolled (εἰσκριθέντες) in Antinoopolis by a nomarch, some senators, an ex-prytanis, and a scribe of the senate. The list was addressed to the epistrategus by the officials named above.

(3) *PFlor I 57* (166 A.D.) is a petition by an Alexandrian residing in Hermopolis for exemption from a liturgy because of his advanced age. The petitioner uses his eiskrisis date and declaration to establish his age as seventy. The date of his examination was listed on a γραφή παίδων τῶν εἰσκρινομένων for that particular year, and it is a copy of this list which the petitioner submits to prove his age. In that document the boys are said to have been examined for the ephebia by the prefect who is also described as ὄντος πρὸς [τῆ] ἐπικρίσει and by an exegetes, who is also called a neocorus of great Serapis, an ex-kosmetes, and a priest.

One more official is listed in this document, a man named Nilos who has been responsible for the entry of the boys' names in the record office at Hermopolis (εἰκονισθέντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ [γρα]φείῳ ὑπὸ Νείλου). We have more information about Nilos and the function he performed in this process. *PFlor I 57* continues after Nilos' name with ἐκ καταλογείου τ[οῦ] πρὸς

woman seeking sanction for the appointment of her brother and husband to represent her in a forthcoming trial at which she cannot be present in the Arsinoite nome. She indicates that she cannot personally sail up to that nome for the trial. Obviously she is not in the nome, and, as the editors point out, it is likely that she was in Alexandria.

25. *PSI II 199* (203 A.D.) is a certification of young men eligible to participate in an annual ephebic contest (Μεγάλα Ἀντινόεια) of Antinoopolis. After the date is given, the

epistrategus states that he has certified (εἰκονίσαστο) the boys described in the following section. There follows what appears to be a reproduction of the list sent to the epistrategus. The document stated that "certain boys (πέδες) who have been examined (εἰσκριθέντες) by the nomarch, five senators, an ex-prytanis, and the scribe of the senate" — and at this point breaks off, but presumably went on to list the boys by name and authorize them for approval by the epistrategus.

τῆ διαλογῆ αὐτοῦ. As Wilcken correctly pointed out, the phrase ἐκ καταλογείου gives the Alexandrian source (i.e., bureau of the archidicastes, an assistant of the prefect) of the information subsequently recorded in the office at Hermopolis. The next phrase — τοῦ πρὸς τῆ διαλογῆ — is the official title of Nilos in that Alexandrian bureau, and the αὐτοῦ at the end of the phrase refers to the καταλογεῖον.<sup>26</sup>

To sum up the process described in this document, when these boys eligible for the ephibia had been examined by the prefect and the exegetes, their names were entered in the bureau at Alexandria and then subsequently transferred through Nilos to the record office in Hermopolis. The transfer took place, we must assume, because the boys on this list resided in Hermopolis, but first had to be submitted to the officials in Alexandria by their fathers who were Alexandrians living in Hermopolis.

(4) *SB* 7427 (168-69 A.D.) is the epikrisis record of an Antinoopolite ephibe who apparently moved to Karanis (where the document was found). It is one of two extant documents which begin with the phrase ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως ἐφήβων.<sup>27</sup> These texts are obviously extracts from a list such as that mentioned in *PFlor* I 57 (166 A.D. — γραφὴ παιδῶν τῶν εἰσκρινομένων). A brief description of *SB* 7427, a copy from the γραφὴ, follows: ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως ἐφήβων (date). μετ' ἄλλα, ὧν οἱ πατέρες φυλῆς Ν. μετ' ἕτερα, Ν., son of Ν. and Ν., age fourteen years seven months one day. Three witnesses (*SB* 7605 has five). ἀντίγραφον ὑπογραφῆς Ν. τοῦ ἐπιστρ(ατήγου) οὕτως ἐχούσης παρεδέχθη. 2Η. Ν. βουλευ(τῆς) βιβλιοφύλα(αξ) πόλεως σεσημῶμαι.<sup>28</sup>

Two officials are referred to in the text: an epistrategus whose subscription reads "He was enrolled", and a bibliophylax who who has certified the copy.

From this brief listing of officials mentioned in relevant documents, we can now suggest a function for each of the the four groups of officials mentioned in the Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations.

In its most complete form, the eiskrisis required officials for:

- (1) initiation of the process (the addressees),
- (2) examination (οἱ εἰσκρίνοντες),
- (3) certification and recording (οἱ εἰκονίζοντες or χρηματίζοντες), and
- (4) supervision of the ephebes.

In both Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations the exegetes is the initiator of the process. When an Alexandrian citizen makes the declaration, the exegetes of Alexandria is associated with imperial and other local officials as initiator of the eiskrisis (group one).<sup>29</sup> To group four belong (only for Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations) the kosmetes and

26. Ulrich Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 167-68 and *ArchP* 4 (1908) 441-42. This remains the best and least complicated explanation of Nilos' title and role. Jouguet, *Vie municipale* (1911) 159-60 had another suggestion. Nilos, who was the scribe of the γραφεῖον, had two different titles — ἐκ καταλογείου and ὁ πρὸς τῆ διαλογῆ. The διαλογῆ was a subdivision of the bureau of the archidicastes (καταλογεῖον). Although the word order is unusual, the most logical understanding of the ἐκ καταλογείου is that it gives a source, not a title.

27. The other is *SB* 7605 = *PFamTeb* 32 (145-46 A.D.). Since these documents are so similar, *SB* 7605 will not be listed separately, but will be discussed in connection with *SB* 7427. The use of the term ἐπικρίσις in these texts is surprising, but not totally unprecedented. *PFlor* I 57 (166 A.D.) is described as an ἀντίγραφον ἐπικρίσεως, and in it the prefect is identified in terms of his supervision of the epikrisis. That the Antinoopolite

examination was also called eiskrisis is shown by *PSI* II 199 (203 A.D.), where the ephebes are said to be εἰσκριθέντες. Despite the use of the term epikrisis in *SB* 7427 and *SB* 7605 for ephebes, the normal and usual term is eiskrisis. For *SB* 7427, see A.E.R. Boak, "The Epikrisis Record of an Ephibe of Antinoopolis Found at Karanis," *JEA* 13 (1927) 151-54.

28. *SB* 7605 adds here ἔστιν ἐν καταχωρισμ(ῶ) and then in 3H. is the signature of the new ephibe.

29. This may have been true of all Alexandrian citizens residing outside Alexandria. From *PFlor* I 57 (166 A.D.) we know that an Alexandrian living in Hermopolis submitted his declaration to the Alexandrian exegetes. Because this document is not a declaration, it is impossible to discover whether or not the other Alexandrian officials were addressed. Similarly, we cannot determine who the addressees originally were in declarations made in Antinoopolis for which we have subsequent documents (*PSI* II 199-203 A.D. and *SB* 7427 —

the gymnasiarch who served as ephebic supervisors. In group two and group three, I submit, the other officials mentioned in these documents can be placed.

Therefore, group two, the officials in charge who had to examine the validity of the declarant's credentials, included the following:

(a) In Hermopolis, although none specifically are mentioned, presumably the exegetes also performed this function or entrusted it to a commission like that which appeared in the document from Antinoopolis (*PSI II* 199 — 203 A.D.).

(b) In Oxyrhynchus-Alexandria (or Hermopolis-Alexandria), an eiskrasis commission (οἱ πρὸς τούτοις ὄντες) on which, I believe, served the prefect of Egypt (listed as ὁ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει) or more likely his representatives such as the official from the bureau of the archidicastes (ὁ πρὸς τῇ διαλογῇ), who was an assistant of the prefect.<sup>30</sup> The commission received the declarant's affidavit (χειρογραφία), checked it against records in the καταλογεῖον in Alexandria, and then wrote to the next set of officials to authorize them to complete the enrollment of the boy.

(c) In Antinoopolis, an eiskrasis commission on which served a nomarch, some senators, an ex-*prytanis*, and a scribe of the senate. Although we have no complete declarations from Antinoopolis, we can theorize that these officials were instructed by an exegetes of that place to examine the boys whose names they submitted to the epistrategus for approval.<sup>31</sup>

In group three, officials who certified that the examinations had been completed and made provision for enrollment on the list of ephebes, were:

(a) In Hermopolis, a scribe of the gymnasium who was instructed to inscribe (εἰκονίσαι) the newly admitted ephebes on the official list;<sup>32</sup>

(b) In Oxyrhynchus-Alexandria, the proper officials (οἷς καθήκει), whom I understand to have been the epistrategus having jurisdiction over Oxyrhynchus (or his deputy) who received written authorization from Alexandria to deal with the petition (χορηματίζειν) and who then instructed a scribe to enter (εἰκονίξειν) the names on the local list;<sup>33</sup> and

(c) In Antinoopolis, the epistrategus having jurisdiction over Antinoopolis who certified and provided for the enrollment (εἰκονίσαστο) and noted on certificates issued to the newly admitted ephebes that they had been enrolled (παρεδέχθη — *SB* 7427 — 168-69 A.D.). In documents such as *PSI II* 199 (203 A.D.) where the scribe is not mentioned, the εἰκονισμὸς is listed as the function only of the epistrategus who must certainly have entrusted the actual recording of names to a scribe.

To summarize briefly, the eiskrasis process in its most complex form required the services of several different offices. Initiated though the office of an exegetes, it was continued by the

168-69 A.D.).

30. The prefect performs this function in *PFlor I* 57 (166 A.D.) for an Alexandrian residing in Hermopolis. The same document records that an assistant of his in the bureau of the archidicastes supervised the transmission of the evidence for eiskrasis to Hermopolis.

31. We might even suggest that in cases of eiskrasis at Hermopolis a commission of this type, although not named by the declarations, was charged by the exegetes with the task of examination. That local commission might have been composed of officials such as those listed in the Antinoopolite document (*PSI II* 199-203 A.D.).

32. In these Hermopolite declarations as in the Hermopolite-Alexandrian document described above (*PFlor I*

57-166 A.D.), there is no reference to an epistrategus or to any high official who certified (εἰκονίξειν) that the eiskrasis was valid. That function is given rather to a scribe. It seems that for Hermopolite declarations the certification of an epistrategus was not necessary. The scribe on the authority of the exegetes or the prefect enrolled the new ephebe.

33. From *PTebt II* 316 (99 A.D.), it seems that these proper officials also issued a certificate to the newly admitted ephebe. This document has fragments of several declarations on oath by men who had been received as ephebes some sixteen years before these declarations were drawn up. Each of them states that he τετελειωμέναι τὸν ἀπὸ βήματος χορηματισμὸν καὶ ἔχειν τὸ μεταδόσιμον. *SB* 7427 (168-69 A.D.) and *SB* 7605 (145-46 A.D.) are certainly certificates of this kind.

prefect's office, and completed through an epistrategus' office. When a scribe acting on the order of an epistrategus had enrolled a new ephebe, a kosmetes and a gymnasiarch began the task of training the boy for his newly acquired status.

## II. THE FUNCTION OF THE DOCUMENTS

In our discussion of the form which eiskrisis documents reveal, we have already suggested that the basic function of the documents was securing admission of qualified young men to the ephebic status and rank. A secondary use illustrated by *PFlor* I 57 (166 A.D.) was the proving of one's age by submission of copy of the eiskrisis declaration.

Although these functions of the declarations are clearly stated in the documents, there are some questions about the precise nature of the functions because of the brevity of the texts and because of the existence of another process related to eiskrisis (i.e., epikrisis leading to membership in the gymnasium class). The questions which we must consider in order to describe completely the function of eiskrisis declarations are:

- (1) At what age typically was the boy qualified for the ephebia?
- (2) What was the nature and function of the ephebia in Roman Egypt?
- (3) What was the relationship between eiskrisis (and the ephebia) and epikrisis (and the gymnasium class)?

### A. Age of Ephebes

To identify the age at which young men in Roman Egypt entered the ephebia, we must depend on sources other than the eiskrisis declarations themselves, for none of the declarations specifically lists the age of admission. In both Hermopolite declarations (*PFlor* I 79-60 A.D. and *PRyl* II 101 — 63 A.D.) the declarant merely states that his son has reached the age for the examination leading to the ephebia. None of the Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian declarations even mentions age. The only indication of what the proper age was for declaration is found in *POxy* IX 1202 (217 A.D.), where the father in appealing to the deputy epistrategus mentions that his son has already joined the ranks of those who at age fourteen have entered the gymnasium class. From this it seems that the boy was also to have begun his ephebic service at age fourteen.

From other sources which refer to the ephebia in Egypt we can conclude that typically the ephebia was entered by a boy in or even in some cases before his fourteenth year.<sup>34</sup> The most decisive evidence for age fourteen is found in the documents containing records of entry to the ephebia (χρόνος ἐφηβείας) for Alexandrian citizens and the documents beginning ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως ἐφήβων. Each of the six extant records of entry presents a date on which a young man became an ephebe and a summary of his return of birth. In the four documents complete enough for us to calculate the age differential, the boy was in each case fourteen when he became an ephebe.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, both ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως ἐφήβων documents list fourteen as the age when the young men

34. This is at least four years earlier than the normal age (eighteen) for entering the Attic ephebia. For information and bibliography on the Attic ephebia, see Chrysis Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'Éphébie Attique* (Paris 1962). Pélékidis discusses age of admission on pages 93-94.

35. These four documents are: *PSI* XII 1223 (131 A.D.);

*SB* 7239 (140-41 A.D.); *BGU* IV 1084 = *WChrest* 146 (149 A.D.); and *PSI* XII 1224 (156-57 A.D.). The age cannot be determined in *PSI* VII 777 (I-II A.D.) and *SB* 7171 (186 A.D.). For comments on *BGU* IV 1084 and *PSI* VII 777, see H.I. Bell, "Records of Entry Among the Ephebi," *JEA* 12 (1926) 245-47.

entered the ephebia. In *SB 7427* (168-69 A.D.) the boy was fourteen years seven months one day old; in *SB 7605* (145-46 A.D.) the age given for the boy is fourteen.

Evidence from another important source, however, is more difficult to assess. *PTebt II 316* (99 A.D.) contains a series of oaths made by young men who had sixteen years earlier been received as ephebes. The five men whose oaths are recorded in the document were registered as ephebes at surprisingly different ages:

Age of Registration	Age at time of Oath	Name
12	28	lost
7	23	Demetrius
3	19	Heliodorus
14 (?)	30 (?)	Sarapion
12	28	Ammonis

Ammonis, Sarapion, and the twenty-eight year old whose name has been lost support the contention that enrollment took place at or shortly before age fourteen. It is likely that normally the registration fell in the thirteenth (or perhaps even at times the twelfth) year and actual service then began in the fourteenth.

The two brothers Demetrius and Heliodorus, however, present an insoluble problem if we hope to establish a fairly standard age of registration. The ages of three and seven are totally unique times of ephebic registration and resist interpretation. Each of the brothers says: I, N., son of N. who is the son of N., of N. tribe and N. deme τῶν τῶ ( )th ἔτος of emperor N. ἐφηβευκῶτων ... ὀμνύω by emperor N. ἐφηβευκέναι τὸ προκείμενον ἔτος ( )....

Unless we conclude that the ephebia was merely an honorific rank which could be conferred on three and seven year olds without apparently requiring active participation, we must, as Jouguet did, attempt to explain what it meant for them to have registered at so young an age. As we suggested above (note 6), we agree with Jouguet that the verb ἐφηβευκέναι and ἐφηβευκῶτων apply both to becoming and serving as an ephebe. Demetrius' and Heliodorus' father was granted the privilege of registering his sons as ephebes several years before they actually served in the ephebia. From this unusual arrangement it is likely that both the father and the state derived benefit — the father because of the honor and prestige he gained for the boys and the state because presumably the granting of the privilege resulted in financial gain for institutions it supported.<sup>36</sup> Although we cannot prove it, we believe that Demetrius and Heliodorus later (either when they were old enough to serve or at age fourteen) participated actively in the service expected of ephebes, but when they had occasion to refer to the time of their ephebia they used the date of their registration.

We conclude, therefore, that with a few exceptions the eiskrasis declaration normally was submitted in time for the boy to be admitted in his fourteenth year to the ephebic ranks.

### B. The Nature and Function of Ephebic Service in Roman Egypt

Precisely what a fourteen year old boy experienced in his ephebic service in Egypt is not defined by the documents which refer to the ephebia. We do not even know exactly how long the term of ephebic service was in Egypt, although it may have about the same length (two years) as the Attic ephebia.<sup>37</sup>

36. Jouguet, *Vie municipale* 151-53.

37. For length of service, see O.W. Reinmuth, "The

Only one eiskrisis document suggests an activity in which ephebes engaged. *POxy IX 1202* (217 A.D.) makes reference to a list of ephebes prepared before an ephebic contest established at Oxyrhynchus by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Such gymnastic or athletic contests were part of the Attic ephebia, and presumably they continued in the Roman period. These contests or "war games" were vestiges of the more serious military training which characterized the ephebia in its early stages in Greece.

From a letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians (*PLond 1912* — 41 A.D.) we know also entry to the ephebia was a condition of citizenship in Alexandria.<sup>38</sup> There is no direct evidence that this was true in other localities in Egypt, although we may assume from the connection between ephebia and citizenship in Attica that this may also have been a function of the ephebia in Egypt in Roman times.

It would seem, however, that outside Alexandria the basic function of the ephebia was educational and that it served if not to bestow citizenship at least to train boys for citizenship. This would probably mean that the service involved not only gymnastic and athletic contests but also the type of education desired by the Hellenes in Egypt for their sons. If this was essentially the nature of the ephebic service, its basic function then was preservation of the Hellenic culture and thereby preparation for citizenship.

### C. *The Relationship between the Ephebia and the Gymnasium Class*

The presence of a gymnasium class along with the ephebia in Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus is attested by epikrisis documents from those metropoleis. Because both classes provide status and both involve use of the gymnasium, we must try to explain how they differ from or are related to each other.

As the existence of different types of documents indicates, different processes were required for admission to the two categories. The gymnasium documents (epikrisis) show that very strict qualifications had to be met before the boy could be admitted to the class. Both his father and maternal grandfather had to be able to document membership in the class back to the time of Augustus when an original list was drawn up for the gymnasium class. In the eiskrisis, on the other hand, the requirements were not quite so stringent. The father had to have been an ephebe, which meant, of course, that membership was hereditary also in the ephebia. The boy's mother had to have been a freedwoman or citizen.

That the two processes served different ends is indicated not only by these different qualifications, but also by the fact that a boy could be registered both as an ephebe (through eiskrisis) and as a member of the gymnasium class (through epikrisis).<sup>39</sup> We can safely assume that the processes were not simply duplicate ways of achieving the same status, for some of the boys qualified for the ephebia could never (on their mother's side) meet the qualifications for membership in the gymnasium class.

The ephebia, it seems, flourished in the cities in which the Hellenic part of the population still retained its identity and held fast to its culture. This culture was in part transmitted through a relatively short training period which involved use of the gymnasium and supervision by

Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica," *TAPA* 79 (1948) 211-12. Jouguet, *Vie municipale* 154, concludes that the term of service could not have been much longer than three years, if that long, because of the inclusion of a nineteen year old in a post-service honorary association. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 142 was also inclined to see two or three years as the duration of service.

38. The letter can be found in H.I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London 1924).

39. See *POxy IX 1202* (217 A.D.). This text also shows that the ephebia was not a prerequisite for membership in the gymnasium class, for the epikrisis in this instance preceded the eiskrisis.

gymnasium officials. Completion of that training, however, did not mean that the boy was automatically a member of the gymnasium class.<sup>40</sup> It may, as we suggested above, have meant only that the boy was technically equipped to become and serve as a citizen or (in Alexandria at least) that having actually been received as a citizen by his eiskrisis he was now properly trained for full exercise of the rights of citizenship.

In addition to citizenship status acquired by registration as ephebes in Alexandria and perhaps elsewhere, ephebes also gained the privilege of receiving a Greek education and sharing the amenities of Greek civilization. Some who had taken part in the ephebia and perhaps did not qualify for membership in the gymnasium class (the elite Hellenic status) identified themselves in terms of a lower level status as ex-ephebes.<sup>41</sup>

Many of the ephebes without doubt did qualify for the gymnasium class and thus for a higher status and more extensive privileges. But in contrast to service in the ephebia, membership in the gymnasium class was not limited to a short or specified period of time. Furthermore the benefits from belonging to this class were more than educational in nature. Political and social privileges were certainly open to those of gymnasium status, as were the continuing cultural opportunities offered by the gymnasium which we discussed in Chapter III.

We conclude, therefore, that in some metropolises of Roman Egypt the eiskrisis served to register young men of Hellenic background in the ephebia through which they received a liberal education and perhaps were accepted as citizens. Concurrently, if they qualified, they could be registered through epikrisis as members of the gymnasium class. After the training period as ephebes was concluded, those who belonged to the higher status in the gymnasium class thereafter identified themselves in terms of that status and used their epikrisis declaration as proof of age, if such proof was needed. For those who could not belong to the higher gymnasium class and status, continued voluntary association with other ex-ephebes was a means by which they could continue to lay claim to status.

40. This is approximately the position taken by Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (1955) 640-41, who argues that the boys admitted to the gymnasium through epikrisis had to participate in a one year training program and that "during this year the young man was designated by the term: ἐφηβεύων." This assertion ignores the

evidence presented in eiskrisis declarations.

41. See *PTebt* II 316 (99 A.D.), in which young men several years after their ephebic service still identify themselves in terms of that status and seem to be part of a private association of ex-ephebes.

## Chapter VII

## Epikrisis: Priests

Among the documents which refer to an epikrisis and serve as status declarations are those in which priests are said to be ἐπικεκριμένος and διαγράψας ὑπὲρ εἰσκρισεως (or εἰσκριτικοῦ). The texts which include this reference to a priestly epikrisis are:<sup>1</sup>

A.D.	103-4	SB 9394
	107-8	PTebt II 298
	116	SB 9319
	122-23	PMilan II 81
	171	SB 9320
	171	SB 9337
	176-91	PTebt II 598
	second century	PTebt II 611
	188	SB 9338

In addition to these documents, there are several in which only the phrase ὑπὲρ εἰσκρισεως (or εἰσκριτικοῦ) appears:<sup>2</sup>

A.D.	126	WO136 <sup>3</sup>
	126	OBruss 35
	140 (?)	Stud XXII 184
	146	PTebt II 294
	158	Stud XXII 171

1. Listed here are those documents in which reference is actually made to an epikrisis. These documents are part of a rather large group of texts offering a γραφή ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ. For a good discussion of this type of list, see Elizabeth H. Gilliam, "The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias," YCS 10 (1947) 181-281. In this study can be found an extensive bibliography on the subject (p. 191, note 60). For a list of documents, see O. Montevicchi, "Γραφαὶ ἱερέων," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932) 317-28. To this list should be added SB 9319 (116 A.D.), SB 9320 (171 A.D.), SB 9323 (188-89 A.D.), SB 9324 (204 A.D.), SB 9325 (209 A.D.), SB 9326 (212 A.D.), SB 9327 (ca. 199 A.D.), SB 9332 (199 A.D.), SB 9333 (188 A.D.), SB 9334 (180-92 A.D.), SB 9335 (184-92 A.D.), SB 9336 (172 A.D.), SB 9337 (171 A.D.), SB

9338 (188 A.D.), SB 9341 (188 A.D.), and SB 9394 (103-4 A.D.).

SB 9394, PMilan II 81, and PTebt II 611 do not refer to the εἰσκρισις or εἰσκριτικόν. In the latter two documents, the texts are too damaged to determine what was there. SB 9394 definitely omits these terms.

2. For εἰσκριτικόν see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* I (1905) 213, note 1; 227, note 2; 245; II (1908) 182; 327-28, and 346; Wallace, *Taxation* (1938) 249-51; Erik Knudtzon, *Bacchiastexte und andere Papyri der Lunder Papyrussammlung* (PLund 4 — 1946) 94-107; and Gilliam, YCS 10 (1947) 203-6.

3. The phrase may have occurred also in WO 137 in which there is a lacuna at this point.



164		<i>PLond</i> II 329 (p. 113)
201		<i>Stud</i> XXII 143
221	(?)	<i>PLond</i> II 353 (p. 112)
second or third		
century		<i>BGUI</i> 162 = <i>WChrest</i> 91

The examination or epikrisis was offered at the time of admission to the priesthood and served to determine whether or not the candidate was qualified for entrance to the privileged priestly class. An examination such as this which controlled admission to the priesthood and thereby made it possible to limit the size of the Egyptian priesthoods seems to have been part of the Roman policy toward the Egyptian temples. There is evidence that these temples lost power as well as wealth under the Romans and that the priesthoods during the Roman period had fewer priests than during the Ptolemaic period.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of examination the candidate's qualifications were reviewed and evaluated. Descent from priests was virtually the only qualification, for the young man's father and grandfather had to belong to the priesthood.<sup>5</sup> Apparently there was no age qualification, for ages vary from thirteen (in the temple of Soknobraisis) to seventeen (in the temple of Soknopaios) for the youngest priests in the orders.<sup>6</sup>

When admission to the priesthood was granted, the new priest was assessed an entrance fee which was designated, εἰσκριτικόν and at the time of payment was said to be ὑπὲρ εἰσκρισεως. There is no evidence that fee was an annual charge; it was rather, it seems, a payment offered only once by the new priest.<sup>7</sup> The extremely high fee charged for the office of prophet of Soknebtunis (200 drachmas, *PTebt* II 294 — 146 A.D.) could hardly have been an annual assessment. Other fees range from eight drachmas paid by pastophors at Elephantine (*WO* 136 — 126 A.D. and *OBruss* 35 — 126 A.D.) and twelve drachmas by priests of Soknobraisis at Bacchias (*SB* 9319 — 116 A.D. and *SB* 9320 — 171 A.D.) to fifty-two drachmas for the priests of Soknebtunis (*PTebt* II 298 — 107-8 A.D.).

Although the εἰσκριτικόν was not an annual fee and therefore had nothing to do with payment of the poll-tax, the priestly epikrisis probably was used by the government to establish poll-tax rates for the priests as well as to admit them to priesthood. Documents such as *PTebt* II 306 (162-63 A.D.), a poll-tax receipt issued to a priest of Soknebtunis, show that some priests were required to pay the tax. The rate assessed here is twenty-two drachmas and four obols, a sum close enough to the reduced rate (i.e., one half of the regular forty drachma rate) of metropolitites to suggest that the priests through their epikrisis were given the same privileged poll-tax rate as metropolitites.

4. See Gilliam, *YCS* (1947) 186-91. Slight increases in number of priests can be found during the Roman period. These, however, are never very substantial, and for all practical purposes they represent merely a brief halt or stabilization often for specific reasons, e.g., the need for laborers to work on dikes.

5. See Otto, *Priester und Tempel* II 217-30. For exceptions see Gilliam, *YCS* (1947) 189, where she discusses two priests from Bacchias described as ἀπάτωρ. These priests, Gilliam conjectures, were perhaps given special dispensation as illegitimate sons of priestesses.

6. Gilliam, *YCS* (1947) 189-90.

7. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* II (1908) 182 f., attempted to distinguish between ὑπὲρ εἰσκρισεως, an annual payment by

higher priests for the right to choose members of their order, and εἰσκριτικόν, an entrance fee. As *PTebt* II 294 (note 20) shows, the two phrases refer to the same thing—the entrance fee. See also for a correct understanding of the phrases Wallace 249-51 and Gilliam, *YCS* (1947) 203-5. Knudtzon, *Bacchiastexte* (1946) 94-107, thought the terms referred to a yearly tax paid by every priest. Of great importance in understanding what purpose the fee served is *PTebt* II 298 (107-8 A.D.) in which priests of Soknebtunis are said to have been examined and assessed at the rate of fifty-two drachmas. Later in the same text, this is the amount designated as the cost of the priesthood. It would seem that the sum assessed is the εἰσκριτικόν.

Some priests, however, were granted total exemption from the payment of the poll-tax.<sup>8</sup> At Tebtunis, fifty priests in the temple of Soknebtunis were declared to have been ἀπολύσιμοι or exempt from the poll-tax, and an unspecified number at the temple of Soknopaios in Soknopaiou Nesos were granted the same exemption.<sup>9</sup> To judge from the evidence available for the temple of Soknebtunis, a temple was allowed a quota of exemptions and its priests were given the designation ἀπολύσιμος at the time of epikrisis or admission to the priesthood only if the quota was not filled.<sup>10</sup>

The priestly epikrisis therefore served primarily to regulate size and membership of the temple staffs, and it was most certainly a process by which status was conferred. A secondary but still important fiscal function of this epikrisis gradually evolved as priests became subject to payment of the poll-tax, for such priests might, if the temple quota of total exemption was not filled, be declared ἀπολύσιμος or exempt from the payment of the tax. At the time of epikrisis, then, a new priest was admitted to the priesthood, was assessed an admission fee payable only at that time (εἰσκριτικόν, a payment for the examination — ὑπὲρ εἰσκρισεως), and was declared to be liable to the poll-tax at a set (reduced) rate for priests or exempt from it (ἀπολύσιμος). There is no evidence that any priests paid the poll-tax at the full rate.

8. Gilliam, *YCS* (1947) 204-5, and Claire Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (1939) 380-87, present the evidence for priestly poll-tax in the Ptolemaic period. There was, it seems, exemption from the tax for all priests, and Gilliam suggests that the freedom from the tax may have continued into the early Roman period. When and why a poll-tax requirement was placed on the priesthood is not known. It may, as we suggested above, have been designed as a control and limitation on Egyptian temples. The earliest reference to the priestly epikrisis is 103-4 A.D. (*SB* 9394). This, of course, does not mean that this process used to regulate membership and taxation for the Egyptian temples did not exist before that time. There is in fact indirect evidence that the priestly epikrisis was used as early as about 50 A.D.

9. For the exemption of the fifty priests at Tebtunis, see *PTebt* II 298 (107-8 A.D.) and *PTebt* II 299 (ca. 50 A.D.). *PSI* X 1146 (202-3 A.D.) and *PTebt* II 292 (189-90 A.D.) make reference to only one of the exempt priests of Tebtunis, and

*PTebt* II 303 (176-80 A.D.) is submitted by six priests of Tebtunis who call themselves exempt. In *PTebt* II 293 (ca. 187 A.D.) the temple itself is said to have been exempt. For exemptions at Soknopaiou Nesos, see *PLond* II 347 (pp. 70-71, 201 A.D.) and *BGUI* 1 and 337 (third century A.D.; these are parts of the same document). Exemptions were granted also to presbyters of the pastophors in the temple of Isis Nanaia at Nabana (*PLond* II 345, pp. 113-4 — 193 A.D.).

10. See *PTebt* II 300 (151 A.D.) and *PTebt* II 301 (190 A.D.), notices of death of exempted priests at Tebtunis. Obviously these notices did not serve to inform the government that the priests now dead no longer owed taxes; they had been exempt from payment. The notices served rather to indicate that the quota of fifty was not filled. Similar death notices have been found for priests of Soknopaiou Nesos (*PLond* II 281, pp. 65-66 — 66 A.D. and *PLond* II 338, p. 68 — 170 A.D.), except that these notices do not specifically identify the priests as exempt from poll-tax.

## Chapter VIII

### Gerousia Declarations

Most of the status declarations pertain to young men and lead to admission at an early age into privileged classes in which these youths for the first time enjoy the benefits of their newly acquired status. This is especially true of the metropolite, the gymnasium, the ephebic, and the priestly declarations.

Corresponding to these declarations certifying status for young men are two declarations leading to the enrollment of men of advanced age in a privileged class at Oxyrhynchus. These two documents in which older men make application for membership in the privileged senior citizen association or *gerousia* of Oxyrhynchus are:

A.D.	222	PSI XII 1240 = SB 7989 (age ca. 54)
	226	PRyl IV 599 = SB 8032 (age 68)

A brief description of each of these documents will help us understand what purpose they served.

PSI XII 1240 (Oxyrhynchus = 222 A.D.) is an application by a man named Heracles, age about fifty-four at the time of application, to be enrolled among a body described as οἱ προσγεινόμενοι διακόσιοι [γέ]ροντες. Along with his application he encloses a list of credentials taken from the first census return (173-74 A.D.) in which he was enrolled as a child and then from each subsequent πεδριακὸν ἐπικρίσεως<sup>1</sup> following a census (187-88, 201-2, and 215-16 A.D.). In each of these extracts Heracles is identified as δωδεκάδραχμος and ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.

PRyl IV 599 (Oxyrhynchus = 226 A.D.) is a declaration by Aurelius Claudianus, age sixty-eight, that he ought to be enrolled among the members of the *gerousia* (ὀφείλων ἐνταγῆναι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου) so that he might share in the privileges offered to members of that *gerousia*. As evidence supporting his declarations he offers part of a house-to-house census along with an extract from the roll of scrutiny (ἐκ πεδριακοῦ ἐπικρίσεως) of the public archive.<sup>2</sup> No status designation is listed in these very brief extracts, although more complete information may have been included in the copies which accompanied the declaration.

1. The πεδριακὸν ἐπικρίσεως or roll of scrutiny in the public archives is discussed by Ulrich Wilcken, "Urkunden-Referat," *ArchP* 12 (1936) 86-88. The term is used in both *gerousia* declarations, and it appears also in PSIV 450. 69ff. (an Ἐγλημισ of Oxyrhynchus from the second or third century A.D.). Wilcken observes (p. 87): "Es scheint nun, dass auf Grund der amtlich nachgeprüften Eingaben, der ἐπικρίσεις im obigen Sinne, Bücher angelegt wurden, in denen in geographischer Anordnung die Amphoda der Stadt mit ihren

Häusern und Haus besitzern und Bewohnern aufgezeichnet waren und auch die Veränderungen im Hausbesitz notiert wurden." Claire Préaux astutely observes in her comments on PSI XII in *Cd'E* 43 (1947) 149: "Le document montre que l'expression ἐκ πεδριακοῦ ἐπικρίσεως est synonyme de κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς."

2. For a discussion of this declaration, see Eric Turner, "The Gerousia of Oxyrhynchus," *ArchP* 12 (1937) 179-86.

The phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου (*PRyl IV 599* — 226 A.D.) sounds every much like a status designation analogous to οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. Moreover, the body of men to which Heracles (*PSI XII 1240* — 222 A.D.) wishes to belong is identified as οἱ προσγεινόμενοι διακόσιοι [γέ]ροντες, another designation suggesting that a status group existed.

The διακόσιοι indicates further that membership may have been limited to a specific number. This limitation might explain why men of widely differing ages (about fifty-four and sixty-eight) make application. It could have been impossible at times to gain admission to the class at the earliest age possible since the class was at the time of application at maximum membership.

Before we discuss further the age of admission to the *gerousia* we should consider the evidence offered by another document which may be a *gerousia* list from Oxyrhynchus. *PWashUniv inv 134* (from Oxyrhynchus, early third century A.D.) is a list of males who have been examined or certified through an epikrisis (or perhaps in two cases by an eiskrisis) conducted under the jurisdiction of the prefect of Egypt.<sup>3</sup> In column i of the text, ages listed for four of the men are: sixty-one, fifty-six, sixty-eight (?), and fifty-seven. No ages are available from column ii, since the right side of the text has been lost.

From these ages (assuming that these men were members of the *gerousia*) together with the two from the *gerousia* declarations it appears that the lowest age for admission to the class was the middle fifties. We might assume from other status classes in which minimum ages for enrollment exist that there was in this class also a minimum age. From the lowest ages in the documents (about fifty-four, fifty-six, and fifty-seven) we may not be too far wrong in theorizing that fifty-five was the minimum age.

Whether or not there were qualifications besides age for admission to the *gerousia* is difficult to determine from the evidence available. *PWashUniv inv 134* (early third century A.D.) column i, if to judge from the advanced ages this is a *gerousia* list, might suggest that the members of the *gerousia* had to possess some status already as privileged members of a Hellenic class. The fact that an epikrisis is mentioned in one entry of column i and may have been part of the other entries<sup>4</sup> conceivably means that the members of the *gerousia* had in common a status to which they were admitted by the epikrisis or in which they were established or certified by an epikrisis. From *PSI XII 1240* (222 A.D.) we can infer that the required status was membership in either the metropolitane class or the gymnasium class, for Heracles' credentials show that he was a member of both groups. *PRyl IV 599* (226 A.D.) unfortunately does not list any previous status for Aurelius Claudianus, although that information may have been included in the copies which he submitted as evidence along with his declaration. One might be tempted to conclude from the limited number of members in the *gerousia* that they were supplied by the gymnasium or super elite class of Oxyrhynchus.

It is possible, we should hasten to add, that the indications of epikrisis may have served only as means of establishing the declarant's age to prove that he was eligible for membership in the *gerousia*. The census returns in both *gerousia* declarations would easily have done that. That some purpose, however, other than proving age may have been served by the evidence offered by the declarants is suggested by the careful and complete listing of credentials by Heracles (*PSI XII 1240* — 222 A.D.). Although the census return in which he was first enrolled as a child would

3. This document will be included in a collection of Washington University papyri to be published soon by Professor Verne B. Schuman of Indiana University. I am very grateful to Professor Schuman for calling the text to my attention and for giving me permission to include it in this study. For a complete

text and discussion of the document, see Appendix I below.

4. If we assume that the two columns of the document deal with the same process, we can theorize that each entry of column i spoke of an epikrisis (or eiskrisis) just as each entry of column ii does.

have sufficed for establishing his age, Heracles also submitted evidence from the three censuses following his first, as if to emphasize the status designations found in each extract — δωδεκάδραχμος and ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.

We not know when this *gerousia* emerged as a status class, nor do we have any idea how long it continued after 226 A.D., the date of the later declaration. If *PWashUniv* inv 134 does list members of that *gerousia* we can suggest that the status may have been officially recognized as early as about 170 A.D. The date of the document (early third century A.D.) on the other hand, does fall rather close to the dates of the two extant declarations.

None of the three documents indicates what specific privileges would be enjoyed by members of the *gerousia*. Turner has suggested that they probably enjoyed "privileges such as special seats at the games."<sup>5</sup> It is likely that *gerousia* status included at least that kind of privilege and others like it designed to honor senior citizens or elder statesmen. That the group had any active political or social functions cannot be ascertained from available evidence. Indeed, the lack of such evidence seems rather to indicate that the group was more honorific than politically active. Nonetheless, given the extreme importance of status in Roman Egypt, the honor must have been eagerly sought and highly prized by those who were entitled to receive it.

5. *ArchP* (1937) 185.

## Conclusions

To complete this study of status declarations we must now draw some conclusions from our examination of the documents. In the first place, all available evidence points to these declarations and the examinations for status as exclusively Roman procedures which probably were initiated during the reign of Augustus and were part of administrative reorganization by the Roman government. Status declarations then continued in use during the second and the third centuries A.D. until one or more administrative changes perhaps connected with the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 A.D. made at least the metropolite and perhaps the priestly epikrisis unnecessary. Gymnasium declarations continued until late third century, and perhaps ephebic eiskrisis as well as catoecic epikrisis did also. No evidence has been found to indicate that status declarations were offered later than the third century A.D.

Status declarations, although taking several different forms, had as a general function the identification of status and the certification of privileges resulting from such status. In a sense, therefore, Lesquier had been right in asserting in 1918 that only one epikrisis had been identified, for each of the major types of epikrisis (and eiskrisis also) had the function referred to above. We have seen, however, that the function of each type of epikrisis and of eiskrisis can be defined more specifically than certification of status. Metropolite declarations led to tax reductions, gymnasium declarations resulted in membership in an important cultural and political class, catoecic declarations also provided cultural advantages and possibly granted tax exemptions, epikrisis before the prefect appears to have provided certification of residence rights for veterans and of inheritance rights for illegitimate children, ephebic eiskrisis gave Hellenes the opportunity of receiving a Hellenic education, priestly epikrisis enrolled new priests and granted tax exemptions, and *gerousia* declarations gave senior citizen status.

Some of these processes were in all likelihood carried out only within the nomes by nome or local officials. Declarations of metropolites, of members of the gymnasium class, of *κάτοικοι*, of ex-ephebes originally enrolled in the city in which the declaration was to be made for their sons, and of priests involved only the Greek and Egyptian residents of the nome and were received and handled by officials or agencies of the nome government. Records of these proceedings were kept in the local archives.

Declarations which involved Roman citizens, dealt with privileges best controlled by provincial officials, or were offered by Alexandrian citizens residing elsewhere were submitted directly to a provincial agency or to the prefect or Egypt, and certificates of epikrisis were issued through his office or authorization was given to lower officials to complete the examinations. That careful records of these proceedings before the prefect were kept in the central provincial office is indicated by the many references in the extracts to page and volume of the tomes in which the

examinations before the prefect were recorded. New evidence from Oxyrhynchus<sup>1</sup> indicates that records of some examinations before the prefect were kept also within the nomes. Apparently at some time after the examination had been made before the provincial officials and perhaps when entrance was desired to another status such as that provided by the *gerousia*, the declarants filed the certificate of their epikrisis with the local record offices in the nomes or cities in which they resided or into which they had moved. From the names<sup>2</sup> listed in this new epikrisis text and from the rather advanced ages of the persons involved,<sup>3</sup> it seems likely that the persons who have submitted to the epikrisis before the provincial officials were Romans or Roman citizens eligible for the *gerousia* or veterans who had become Roman citizens and had need of certification of their rights. This information certifying status was listed on the local records with brief notations providing the essential details; identified were the prefect and his representative who conducted the examination, the person examined, and his age. Individuals were listed in the order in which they submitted their credentials to the local office or were admitted to their new status if they had applied for *gerousia* membership.

Through status declarations and the records which they provided for nome and provincial officials, the Roman government was able to administer and control more efficiently her citizens and subjects in Egypt. The fiscal affairs, social status, native religious organizations, and political and cultural life of those who resided in Egypt during the first three centuries A.D. were affected by and in part regulated by status declarations. That the declarations concerned all these aspects of life in Roman Egypt is indication enough of their importance and good reason for us to hope that more information about them will come to light.

1. *PWashUniv* inv 134 (early third century A.D.); See Appendix I.

2. All of the males listed have Roman names. Of the seven mothers who are identified in the document, four definitely have

names which are partly Egyptian (Θαῖσις, Κλαυδία Ἡρᾶς, Ἰουλία Ἡρακλοῦς, Ἰουλία Ἀσκατάριον). This would suggest that they were probably not Roman citizens by origin.

3. Identifiable ages are: 61, 56, 57, 69(?).

## Appendix I

### *Epikrisis* List

*PWashUniv* inv 134

15.5 × 24.5 cm.

early third century A.D.

This papyrus has been damaged along the left and right sides and has a large tear in the middle of the two columns of text. About three lines in the midst of column i and at least one line in column ii have been lost. Column i offers the ends of several lines, and column ii has preserved only the beginnings of twenty-six lines.

Column ii is a list of males who have been examined or certified through an epikrisis or eiskrisis conducted under the jurisdiction of the prefect of Egypt. The loss of the right side of the column prevents us from restoring the text and determining exactly what form the entries in this column had. From the partial lines which survive it is clear that several entries are recorded in the column. These entries have been made under the name of a prefect of Egypt with the name in the genitive case extending about a centimeter to the left of the lines under it. The genitive perhaps depends on a noun such as ἐπικρίσεις, as in the documents titled ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων. Most of the entries under these headings contained the name of only one individual who was examined by or under the auspices of the prefect whose name heads the entry. When more than one person is listed under the heading in the genitive, that additional entry has the individual's name in the nominative case and extends to the left the same distance as the name of the prefect.

After the heading in the genitive, the entry seems regularly to begin with the name (in the nominative) of the person involved in the process recorded. This name, to judge from lines 3, 7, 14, and 17 of column i and lines 23, 38, and 42 of column ii, is followed by information which identifies the individual. Probably his father's name, his mother's name, and his age are listed.

Next there is a statement attesting to his examination. Beginning with the participle δηλ(ωθείς), the entry continued with either the infinitive ἐπικ(εκρισθαι) or εἰ(σκεκρισθαι) followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by ὑπὸ noting the official by whom the examination was made or authorized. This official, who is not named here, is identified as the prefect whose name headed the entry (τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνος). In lines 29, 36, and 44, another prepositional phrase follows (the preposition is διὰ) which probably identifies the official who actually performed the examination for the prefect. Reference is made in lines 25, 34 and 40 to military tribunes, and it may have been these officials who were designated in the phrases introduced by διὰ where official titles are lost in the ends of the lines.

In column ii, the males whose names are recorded are said to have been certified either through an ἐπικρίσις (ἐπικεκρισθαι) or through an εἰσκρισις (εἰσκεκρισθαι), but none of them has been involved in both of these processes. That the prefect of Egypt is mentioned throughout this column by title or by name indicates that this ἐπικρίσις could have been the one conducted by



the prefect or his deputy and recorded in the documents titled ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων (supra, Chapter V). Those who were examined by this process were Roman citizens residing in Egypt and veterans who on discharge were granted Roman citizenship and residence rights in Egypt. In column i which also contained entries of this same type, the ages of those recorded in lines 3 (age 61), 7 (age 56), 14 (age 68?), and 17 (age 57) suggest that the individuals were veterans or other older citizens and not young men registering for poll-tax or gymnasium privileges. It is possible that these men who had been registered through the epikrisis were new residents of Oxyrhynchus and offered their credentials to establish their status as Roman citizens (see *SB* 7362, in which a veteran seeks proper credentials before he takes up residence in the Arsinoite nome).

Another possible explanation of this document and the men of advanced ages included in it is that it presents a *gerousia* list. Evidence has been found for the existence of a *gerousia* at Oxyrhynchus for men aged about fifty-four and sixty-eight.<sup>1</sup> The ages in this list in column i fall into that same range and suggest strongly that these men also belonged to the *gerousia*. This senior citizen status at Oxyrhynchus seems to have been open to a limited number of men aged about fifty-five and over. The list in this document spanning nearly fifty years (161-205 A.D.) may then be the record of those periodically admitted to that status.

Two of the males listed in column ii apparently have submitted to the procedure known as the εἰσκρισις (Lines 29 and 44).<sup>2</sup> The term εἰσκρίνω appears often in documents concerning entrance to or membership among the ranks of the ephebes.<sup>3</sup> A.S. Hunt in discussing *POxy* IX 1202 shows that a young boy who had become a member of the gymnasium class through an epikrisis became an ephebe by the process called eiskrisis. Both Hunt and Wilcken<sup>4</sup> stated that this eiskrisis probably was performed under the auspices of the prefect of Egypt. As proof they pointed to a reading which has been restored in *PFlor* 1 57.73 (εἰσ[κρινο]μένων ὑπὸ Ν. τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος). *PWashUniv* inv 134 seems to support their assertions that the eiskrisis was carried out at least in some cases under the prefect's jurisdiction.<sup>5</sup>

The entries in column ii which can be dated are not arranged chronologically according to the terms of office of the prefects. The order appears rather to have simply sequential, i.e., these credentials were recorded in Oxyrhynchus when the subjects offered them to the local officials, not when the epikrisis or eiskrisis was conducted. The list in all likelihood is part of an official archive of Oxyrhynchus and specifically records examinations which were administered only by provincial officials.

Because only the ends of a few lines survive, column i is more difficult to interpret. It appears like column ii to be a list of individuals who have been involved in epikrisis proceedings. Unfortunately, the names of these individuals have been lost in the beginnings of the lines. Perhaps the names of the officials under whom the entries have been made were once also listed. From the information which survives, it is clear that at least four entries have been made in the column, for the ages in lines 3, 7, 14, and 17 indicate that different individuals are dealt with in these places.

Some dates can be established for the entries in this column. Line 1, which seems to be a general heading for the column, lists the name of Verus and probably that also of Marcus Aurelius. The Calvisius of line 10 is without doubt the prefect of 170-75 A.D. Certain too is the

1. Above, Chapter VIII. See especially Eric Turner, "The Gerousia of Oxyrhynchus," *ArchP* 12 (1937) 179-86.

2. Apparently, because the abbreviation here could represent either εἰ(σ)κρίσθαι or ἐπ(ικ)κρίσθαι. See the note on line 29 below.

3. See *SB* 8267; *POxy* IV 477; *POxy* IX 1202; *PFlor* I 57; *PRyl* II 101; and Chapter VI above.

4. *Grundzüge* 142.

5. Not all eiskrisis proceedings required his participation. See Chapter VI above.

identification of Luceius Ofellianus, lines 16 and 18, who was epistrategus of the Heptanomia in 167 A.D.

It is in the infinitive ἐπικρίσθαι of line 10 that we discover the nature of the entries in this column. That the infinitive is followed by the name of the prefect shows that this column contained epikrisis records similar to those of column ii and probably served the same purpose. The advanced ages in this column indicate that the purpose probably was not fiscal, but perhaps as we suggested above involved citizenship or residence rights or entrance to the privileged *gerousia* class.

We should note also in these entries the appearance of the epistrategus as an agent in the proceedings. The title occurs in lines 4, 11, and 16 and probably followed the name in line 18 (we suggest that the name and/or title of an epistratagus appeared also in column ii in lines 21 and 30, and that in lines 8-9, the deputy epistrategus took his place). His function is defined in lines 16 and 18 with the infinitive εἰκο(νίσθαι). This verb is used in other documents to describe the epistrategus' role in certifying that examinations authorized by the provincial officials have been completed and in providing for the enrollment of the person examined on a list in the local record office.<sup>6</sup> The function of the epistrategus in this text was to certify that the individuals who came under his jurisdiction had been properly examined and their credentials were in order. He then authorized officials at Oxyrhynchus to accept credentials and enter the names so that these men could acquire the status or right to be provided for those listed in this document.

## Column i

(ἔτους) ( ) Ἄντωνίν ]ου καὶ Οὐήρου καὶ  
 σάρων τῶν κυρίων ]  
 ὁ δεῖνα μητ(ρὸς) ]. Θαήσιος (ἑτῶν) ξα  
 εἰκο(νίσθαι) ὑπὸ ].του ἐπιστρα(τήγου)  
 5 διὰ(?) ].γιου Κλήμεντος  
 ]  
 ὁ δεῖνα ] μητ(ρὸς) Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρας) (ἑτῶν) νς  
 δ ]ιαδεχο(μένου) καὶ τήγ  
 ]  
 10 δηλ(ωθεῖς) ἐπικρίσθαι ὑπὸ Καλουσιίου  
 Στατιανοῦ ἡγε(μόνος) καὶ εἰκο(νίσθαι) ὑπὸ Καπι ]τωλ(ίνου) καὶ ἐπιστρα(τήγου)  
 διὰ(?) Ἰουουένκου Οὐάλε ]γτος ἐπάρχου  
 στόλου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀλεξανδρίνου ]  
 ὁ δεῖνα μητ(ρὸς) Ἰ ]ουλ(ίας) Σαραπι(άδος) (ἑτῶν) ξθ  
 15 ].υγφ. [  
 space of about 7 centimeters  
 ε]ἰκο(νίσθαι) ὑπὸ Λουκκίου Ὀφελλι(ανοῦ)  
 ἐπιστρα(τήγου)  
 ]φγιδ( ) μητ(ρὸς) Κλ(αυδίας) Ἡρᾶτος  
 (ἑτῶν) νς  
 δηλ(ωθεῖς) ἐπικρίσθαι ὑπὸ ]ωδου καὶ εἰκο(νίσθαι) ὑπὸ Ὀφελλι(αν)οῦ

6. See Chapter VI above.

## Column ii

- 20 Φλαυίου Πείσωνος[     ό δεΐνα  
 δηλ(ωθεις) επικ(εκρισθαι) υπό τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) ἤ[γε(μόνος) διὰ δεΐνος  
 καὶ εἰκο(νίσθαι) υπό Τρου[ννίου  
 Μαικίου Λαίτου Λο[ύκιος . . . . μητ(ρὸς)  
 Τερτίας Ἀντωνίας [       
 Λούκιος Οὐαλέριος Σαρ[...     διὰ  
 25 Μαρκίου χιλιάρχ[ου  
 Οὐηρνασίου Φακού[νδου     ό δεΐνα  
 καὶ Λούκ[ιος].[.].[  
 Λο[ύκιος Ἀνθέστιος Ἰσίδωρος  
 δηλ(ωθεις) εἰ(σκεκρισθαι) υπό τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) ἤγε(μόνος) διὰ [δεΐνος  
 30 Οὐήρου καὶ εἰκο(νίσθαι) υπό .[δεΐνος  
 Μ]άρκος Ἀννίος Διονύσιος [       
 δηλ(ωθεις) επικ(εκρισθαι) υπό τ(οῦ) α(ὑτ)οῦ ) ἤγε (μόνος) [διὰ δεΐνος  
 Γ]άιος Ἰούλ(ιος) Οὐηστεΐνος [     διὰ  
 Πλωτείνου χιλ(ιάρχου) λε[γιῶνος  
 35 Μάρκου Αὐρ(η)λ(ίου) Οὐηριάνου Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Σαβ[εΐνος  
 δηλ(ωθεις) επικ(εκρισθαι) [ὑπό τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) ἤ]γε(μόνος) διὰ Προύβου ου.[  
 Τινηίου Δημητρίου Μάρκος Ἰούλ(ιος).[  
 μη(τρος) Ἰουλίας Ἡρακλοῦτος τῆς καὶ [       
 Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Ἀμμω(ν) καὶ ἀδελ(φὸς). [... διὰ Ἀλλίου  
 40 Ἐρμολάου χειλ(ιάρχου) λεγιῶνος β [Τραιανῆς Ἰσχυρᾶς  
 Μαντεννίου Σαβεΐν[ου     ό δεΐνα  
 μη(ρὸς) Ἰουλ(ίας) Ἀσκαταρίου [       
 Οὐετουρίου Μακρεΐνου [ό δεΐνα  
 δηλ(ωθεις) εἰ(σκεκρισθαι) υπό τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) ἤγε(μόνος) διὰ Λο[

1-2. Marcus Aurelius and Verus = 161-69 A.D.

3. μητ(ρὸς): restored from lines 7 and 17. This line along with lines 7, 14, and 17 seems to have listed at the beginning the name of the person examined. Lines 10 and 16 may also have recorded the names of those examined.

4. εἰκο(νίσθαι): restored from lines 16 and 18. The letters του preceding ἐπιστρα(τήγου) may be either the article or part of this official's name. See lines 11 and 16. If the epistrategus' name appeared here, it may have been Οὐήδιος Φαῦστος whose term of office fell during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. See Vandoni, *Gli Epistrategi* 30. The text of line 16 where the epistrategus' name occurs with the abbreviation found in this line is the basis for the reading ἐπιστρα(τήγου).

5. Clemens like Juvencus Valens (lines 12 and 13) may have held some office and may have assisted the epistrategus in the process recorded in this column.

8-9. Restored from *BGUI* 168, 23. Because the other entries in this column mention an

epistrategus, it is likely that the τῆν was followed in line 9 by ἐπιστρατηγίαν. See *POxy* IX 1202, 1-2.

10. Restored from *POxy* VII 1023, 4-6. See also lines 20, 32, and 36, where the same restoration has been made. C. Calvisius Statianus was prefect of Egypt 170-75 A.D. See Stein, *Praefekten* 95-96 and Reinmuth, *BASP* 99.

11. The prefect's name may have been followed by his title. The epistrategus Capitolinus (169-73 A.D.; see Vandoni 31-32) best fits the space and letters in this line and falls in the proper time period.

12-13. For Juvencus Valens, prefect of the Imperial Alexandrine Fleet, see *POxy* XII 1451, 1 and 16.

15f. A break in the papyrus has resulted in the loss of about three lines in this column. A blank space about five lines long follows the break.

16. Luceius Ofellianus is identified as an epistrategus of the Heptanomia (from 166-168/69 A.D.; see Vandoni 31). His name appears also in line 18. Line 16 has the appearance of a heading. If so, this would explain why the official's name appears two lines later without praenomen and title.

19. Flavius Piso is the prefect of Egypt 181 A.D. who is identified by Stein 99 and Reinmuth *BASP* 101 as Flavius [C]ris[pus] on the basis of a difficult reading of *BGUI* 12. 13 = *WChrest* 389. Wilcken had also suggested [P]ris[cus], but dismissed that as less likely. From our text we can now correct *BGUI* 12, Stein, and Reinmuth. This Flavius Piso was a prefect of Egypt, for several lines in this column begin like line 19 with the names (in the genitive case) of prefects. All of these lines (19, 22, 26, 35, 37, 41, and 43) along with five lines beginning with names in the nominative case (24, 28, 31, 33, and 39) extend about a centimeter further to the left than the remaining lines of the column. These prefects' names in the genitive appear to be headings for the information following them. From lines 35 and 39 we can infer that the genitive is normally followed by the name (in the nominative) of the person whose record is included in the column. Those lines beginning with names in the nominative are perhaps additional entries under the prefect's name which begins the section. For Flavius Piso see C.A. Nelson, "The Prefecture of Flavius Piso," *Cd'E* 45 (1970) 379-80.

20. δηλ(ωθεις) ἐπικ(εκρισθαι): restored from *POxy* VII 1023, 4-6. The abbreviations τα() ηγε() appear also in lines 29, 32, 36, and 44. Although no sign of abbreviation follows the tau, the best resolution of the abbreviations is τ(οῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) ἡγε(μόνος). The prefect's name is not given here because it is listed as the heading for the entry.

21. From column i, 16 and 18, we would expect to have an epistrategus listed here. There is, however, no evidence yet for an epistrategus of this period named Trunnius. The epistrategus listed by Vandoni 33 for 180-82 A.D. is Tiberius Claudius Xenophon. This may suggest that the prefecture of Flavius Piso extended back beyond 181 A.D. to sometime between 178 and 180 A.D. The prefect immediately preceding Piso according to Reinmuth *BASP* 100-1 is T. Aius Sanctus whose prefecture may have lasted as late as early 180, but perhaps ended as early as 178

A.D. No epistrategi are listed by Vandoni for the period 177-80 A.D. Possibly Trunnius was in office toward the end of that period when Flavius Piso had taken office as prefect.

22. Q. Maecius Laetus, prefect of Egypt 200-3 A.D. See Stein 110-11 and Reinmuth *BASP* 106.

25. Military tribunes (see also lines 34 and 40) frequently conducted examinations under the jurisdiction of the prefect of Egypt. See *BGUI* 113, 11 (= *WChrest* 458); *BGUI* 265, 13 (= *WChrest* 459); *SB* 5217, 4-5; *SB* 7362, 2-3; *PSI* V 447, 13-14; and *BGU* III 847, 4 (= *WChrest* 460).

26. Vernasius Facundus was a prefect of Egypt like the others whose names are listed in this column as headings. Neither Stein nor Reinmuth lists him as a prefect, but there are several periods of time in this era for which we do not have the prefect's name. Vernasius Facundus was one of these. We can suggest some possibilities for the date of Facundus' prefecture. At least two other texts offer Facundus' name and in one of them he has the title *dioiketes* (*POxy* VII 1032 — 162 A.D. ). The year in which he held this office was 161 A.D. The other document (*BGU* III 786) does not provide a date for his term of office. Sometime after 161 A.D. Vernasius Facundus was elevated to the prefecture. If we assume that his age in 161 A.D. was about thirty and that he lived to around fifty or sixty, the latest date for his prefecture would be about 180-90 A.D. It is possible that he held the prefecture shortly after his term as *dioiketes*. Among the dates vacant in Reinmuth's list are 163-64, 167-68, 169-70, 175-76, 177-78, 178-81 (?), and 188-89. The prefecture of Vernasius Facundus, I am convinced, fell into one of those periods.

27f. A break in the papyrus has resulted in the loss of at least one line of text.

29. The abbreviation εἰ( ) could perhaps be read also as επ( ). John Rea and Revel Coles both examined the photograph and suggested that the *epsilon* here in line 44 was followed by a *pi* extended below the line to indicate abbreviation. The other abbreviated forms have επικ( ), although this does not necessarily rule out another abbreviation for the same word in this text. I prefer to read εἰ(σκεκρίσθαι), although I cannot rule out επ(ικεκρίσθαι).

35. Marcus Aurelius Verianus, prefect of Egypt 188 A.D. See Stein 102 and Reinmuth *BASP* 102. A Claudius Sabinus is mentioned as an infantryman in *POxy* IV 735 (205 A.D.).

37. Timeius Demetrius, prefect of Egypt 189-90 A.D. See Stein 103-4 and Reinmuth *BASP* 102-4.

40. Perhaps the tribune Allius Hermolaus who conducted the examination for prefect T. Longaeus Rufus recorded in *SB* 7362, 2-3 (188 A.D.).

41. L. Mantennius Sabinus, prefect of Egypt 193-94 A.D. See Stein 105-6 and Reinmuth *BASP* 105.

43. D. Veturius Macrinus, prefect of Egypt 181-83 A.D. See Stein 99-100 and Reinmuth *BASP* 101.

## Appendix II

Declarants and Candidates for *Epikrisis* and *Eiskrisis*

## I. οί από μητροπόλεως

A. *Arsinoe*

## Declarants

- Ἄκουσάριον [...]μου — *PBrux* inv E 8017 (90-91 A.D.)  
 Αὐρήλιος Εὐπόρος Λεοντά — *BGU* XI 2086 (235 A.D.)  
 Δίδυμος Ἡρωνως — *PGrenf* II 49 (141 A.D.)  
 Εὐδαιμονίς Πτολεμαίου — *PGen* 18 (187 A.D.)  
 Εὐδαίμων Ἡρων Σουχᾶ — *PTeb* II 320 (181 A.D.)  
 Ἡρων Σουχίωνως — *PGen* 19 (148 A.D.)  
 Ἡρων Σαρ[...] — *PRyl* II 104 (167 A.D.)  
 Θαΐσᾶς Ἰσιδώρου — *BGU* I 109 (121 A.D.)  
 Θαυβάριον Ἡρωνος — *PGen* 19 (148 A.D.)  
 Θεανὼ Ὠριγένου — *BGU* I 324 (166-67 A.D.)  
 Ἰσείς Διοδώρου — *PGrenf* II 49 (141 A.D.)  
 Ἰσιδώρα [...] Ἡρωνως — *PHaw* 401 (161-69 A.D.)  
 Μάρων Μάρωνως — *PGen* 18 (187 A.D.)  
 Μύσθης Μύσθου — *BGU* I 109 (121 A.D.)  
 Παλαμήδης — *PRyl* II 280 (152-53 A.D.)  
 Πολέμων — *PBrux* inv E 8017 (90-91 A.D.)  
 Σαραπιᾶς Σουχᾶ — *PTeb* II 320 (181 A.D.)  
 Ὠρίων Ἡρακλείδου — *PRyl* II 103 (134 A.D.)

## Candidates

- Ἄνουβᾶς Διδύμου — *PGrenf* II 49 (141 A.D.)  
 Αὐρήλιος Σ...κο. Αὐρηλίου Εὐπόρου — *BGU* XI 2086 (235 A.D.)  
 Βακχύλος (slave) — *BGU* I 324 (166-67 A.D.)  
 Διόνυσος — *PHaw* 401 (161-69 A.D.)  
 Ἐρμᾶς Πολέμωνος — *PBrux* inv E 8017 (90-91 A.D.)  
 Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου — *PRyl* II 103 (134 A.D.)  
 Ἡρακλείδης Σαρ[...] — *PRyl* II 104 (167 A.D.)  
 Ἡρων Πολέμωνος — *PBrux* inv E 8017 (90-91 A.D.)  
 Ἡρων Εὐδαίμονος Ἡρωνος — *PTeb* II 320 (181 A.D.)  
 Ἰσιδώρος Ἡρωνος — *PGen* 19 (148 A.D.)  
 Πτολεμαῖος Μύσθου — *BGU* I 109 (121 A.D.)

Σαραπίων Μάρωνος — *PGen* 18 (187 A.D.)  
 Σαραπίων Παλαμήδου — *PRyl* II 280 (152-53 A.D.)  
 Χιλίαρχος (slave) — *BGU* I 324 (166-67 A.D.)

### B. Hermopolis

#### Declarants

Βερεϋς Πλουτᾶτος — *SB* 7440a (132 A.D.)  
 Ἐρμαῖος ὁ καὶ Παθώτης Ἀνουβίωνος τοῦ καὶ Αἰλουρίωνος — *SB* 7440a (132 A.D.)  
 Θερμοῦθις — *SB* 7440b (132 A.D.)

#### Candidates

Ἀμμώνιος — *SB* 7440b (132 A.D.)  
 Ἐρμογένης Ἐρμαίου τοῦ καὶ Παθώτου — *SB* 7440a (132 A.D.)

### C. Oxyrhynchus

#### Declarants

Ἀπολλ[ώνιος] — *POxy* IV 714 (122 A.D.)  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐτυχίδου τοῦ καὶ Ὠρίωνος — *WChrest* 217 (172-73 A.D.)  
 Αὐρήλιος Σαραπ[...] — *POxy* X 1306 (214-15(?) A.D.)  
 Διόδωρος Πλουτίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col I (127-28 A.D.)  
 Διονυσοῦς (freedwoman) — *POxy* III 478 (132 A.D.)  
 Ἐλένη ἡ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Εὐτυχίδου τοῦ καὶ Ὠρίωνος — *WChrest* 217 (172-73 A.D.)  
 Ἐρμίππος ὁ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίων Ὠρίωνος — *POxy* VIII 1109 (160-61 A.D.)  
 Ἡρᾶς Ἡρα[ ] = *POxy* X 1306 (214-15 (?) A.D.)  
 Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος [...] Εὐδαίμονος [τοῦ] καὶ [Φίλο?]σαραπίδος — *PERl* 31 (after 212 A.D.)  
 Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων Πλουτίωνος — *PBrux* inv E 7910 (after 212 A.D.)  
 Ὀννώφρις Σόιτος — *POxy* VII 1028 (86 A.D.)  
 Σαραπίων Πλουτίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col I (127-28 A.D.)  
 Ταορσεῦς Θεομήμιος — *POxy* VII 1028 (86 A.D.)  
 Ταυτόρις Θεώνιος — *PWisc* I 17 (106 A.D.)  
 Τνεφέρσοις Πλουτίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col I (127-28 A.D.)  
 Φαῶν Πτόλλιδος — *POxy* III 478 (132 A.D.)  
 Ὠρίων Σαραπίωνος — *PSI* VII 732 (153-54 A.D.)

#### Candidates

Μέλας (slave) — *PSI* XII 1230 (203 A.D.)  
 Πτολεμαῖος Ἐρμίππου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνος — *POxy* VIII 1109 (160-61 A.D.)  
 Πτόλλις Φάωνος — *POxy* III 478 (132 A.D.)  
 Σαραπίων (slave) — *WChrest* 217 (172-73 A.D.)  
 Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col I (127-28 A.D.)  
 Χαιρήμων Ὀννώφριος — *POxy* VII 1028 (86 A.D.)  
 Ψαῖς (slave) — *PSI* VII 732 (153-54 A.D.)

## II. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου

A. *Hermopolis*

## Declarants

Ἀρτέμων ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας Ἀσκληπιάδου — *PAmh* II 75 (161-68 A.D.)

Βερεῦς Πλουτᾶτος — *SB* 7440a (132 A.D.)

Δημητρία ἢ καὶ Τερεῦς Ἐρμαίου — *PAmh* II 75 (161-68 A.D.)

Ἐρμαῖος ὁ καὶ Παθῶτης Ἀνουβίωνος — *SB* 7440a (132 A.D.)

## Candidates

Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα — *PAmh* II 75 (161-68 A.D.)

Ἐρμωγένης Ἐρμαίου τοῦ καὶ Παθῶτου — *SB* 7440a (132 A.D.)

B. *Oxyrhynchus*

## Declarants

Ἀρεῖα ... τικου — *PSI* VII 731 (end of first century A.D.)

Βησαρίων — *PSI* V 457 (276 A.D.)

Διογένης Θεογένους — *POxy* II 257 (94-95 A.D.)

Διόδωρος Πλουτίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col II (127-28 A.D.)

Ζηναῖς Ἡρᾶτος — *PSI* VII 731 (end of first century A.D.)

Θερμούθιον Πλουτίωνος — *POxy* X 1266 (98 A.D.)

Ἰσιδώρα Πτολεμαίου — *POxy* II 257 (94-95 A.D.)

Κοπροῦς Εὐδαίμονος — *PSI* V 457 (276 A.D.)

Σαραπίων Πλουτίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col II (127-28 A.D.)

Τνεφέροῖς Πλουτίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col II (127-28 A.D.)

Ψάμμης Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμοίτος — *POxy* X 1266 (98 A.D.)

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμόφιλος Εὐδαίμονος — *PSI* V 457 (276 A.D.)

## Candidates

Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος — *POxy* XXII 2345 (224 A.D.)

Ζηναῖς Ζηναῖτος — *PSI* VII 731 (end of first century A.D.)

Θεογένης Διογένης — *POxy* II 257 (94-95 A.D.)

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Φλάμιος Βασαρίωνος — *PSI* V 457 (276 A.D.)

Πλουτίων Ψάμμης — *POxy* X 1266 (98 A.D.)

Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος — *POxy* XII 1452, col II (127-28 A.D.)

III. οἱ κάτοικοι — *Arsinoe*

## Declarants

Ἀρσενὴ Ἀφροδισίου — *PErl* 22 (160-61 A.D.)

Βίων Βόκιμου τοῦ καὶ Βίωνος — *PErl* 11 (160-61 A.D.)

Διονυσάμμων Διονυσίου — *PFay* 27 (175 A.D.)

Δωρᾶς Πτολεμαίου — *BGU* III 971 (195-96 A.D.)

Θερμούθιον — *PFay* 319, col I (ca. 128 A.D.)

Σαραπίας Ἀρποκρατίωνος — *PFay* 27 (175 A.D.)

Ταμίσθα Ἀφροδισίου — *BGU* III 971 (195-96 A.D.)



## Candidates

- Ἀμμώνιος Δωρᾶ — *BGU* III 971 (195-96 A.D.)  
 Ἀπολλινάριος Δωρᾶ — *BGU* III 971 (195-96 A.D.)  
 Δίδυμος Βίωνος — *PErI* 22 (160-61 A.D.)  
 Νεμεσιανὸς ὁ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίων ἐπικεκλημένος Διόσκορος Διονυσάμμωνος — *PFay* 27 (175 A.D.)  
 Σουχάμμων — *PFay* 319, col I (ca. 128 A.D.)

## IV. Extracts ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων

## Applicants

- Γάιος Πετρώνιος Μά[ξιμος] — *PHamb* 31a (126-33 A.D.)  
 Ε[.....]ια Τρουννία — *POxy* XII 1451 (175 A.D.)  
 Ἰουλία Πρεμίλλα — *SB* 5217 (148 A.D.)  
 Ἰουλία Σαραπιὰς — *BGU* IV 1032 (after 173 A.D.)  
 Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Σενέκα — *PSI* V 447 (167 A.D.)  
 Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Ἀντᾶς Ἡρακλείδου — *PHamb* 31 (103 A.D.)  
 Μάξιμος — *BGU* III 847 = *WChrest* 460 (182-83 A.D.)  
 Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος — *BGU* IV 1033 (113-17 A.D.)  
 Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Πάστωρ — *SB* 9228 (after 160 A.D.)  
 Οὐαλέριος Κλήμης — *SB* 7362 (188 A.D.)  
 Σατορνείλος — *BGU* III 780 (158-59 A.D.)  
 Σεμπρώνιος Μάξιμος — *BGU* I 265 = *WChrest* 459 (148 A.D.)

## Children

- Ἀμμωνάριον Λουκίου Κορνηλίου Ἀντᾶ — *PHamb* 31 (103 A.D.)  
 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διογένης Σπουρίου — *SB* 5217 (148 A.D.)  
 Ἡρακλείδης Λουκίου Κορνηλίου Ἀντᾶ — *PHamb* 31 (103 A.D.)  
 Ἰουλία Ἰσαιοῦς Σπουρίου — *SB* 5217 (148 A.D.)  
 Ἰούλιος Σπουρίου — *BGU* IV 1032 (after 173 A.D.)  
 Κρεισπεῖνα Λουκίου Κορνηλίου Ἀντᾶ — *PHamb* 31 (103 A.D.)  
 Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Γαιανὸς Λουκίου Καλπουρνίου Σενέκας — *PSI* V 447 (167 A.D.)  
 Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Σερῆνος Λουκίου Καλπουρνίου Σενέκας — *PSI* V 447 (167 A.D.)  
 Λούκιος Τρούννιος Λουκιλλιανὸς Σπουρίου — *POxy* XII 1451 (175 A.D.)  
 Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Ἀντώνιος Ἀμμωνιανὸς Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Πάστορος — *SB* 9228 (after 160 A.D.)  
 Τρουννία Μάρκελλα Σπουρίου — *POxy* XII 1451 (175 A.D.)

## Slaves

- Ἀγαθήμερος, slave of Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος — *BGU* IV 1033 (113-17 A.D.)  
 Ἐπάγαθος, slave of Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Σενέκα — *PSI* V 447 (167 A.D.)  
 Ἐπάγαθος, slave of Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος — *BGU* IV 1033 (113-17 A.D.)  
 Ἐρμῆς Γερμανὸς, slave of Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Σερῆνος — *PSI* V 447 (167 A.D.)  
 Εὐφρόσυνος, slave of Ε[.....]ια Τρουννία — *POxy* XII 1451 (175 A.D.)  
 Ζώσιμος, slave of Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος Σενέκα — *PSI* V 447 (167 A.D.)  
 Πλούταρχος, slave of Ε[.....]ια Τρουννία — *POxy* XII 1451 (175 A.D.)  
 ]όλ[υ]τος, slave of Ε[.....]ια Τρουννία — *POxy* XII 1451 (175 A.D.)

## Others

- Ἀντωνία Κρίσπου, wife of Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Ἀντᾶς — *PHamb* 31 (103 A.D.)  
 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀπολλινάριος, κύριος of Ἰουλία Σαραπιὰς — *BGU* IV 1032 (after 173 A.D.)

Γάιος Ίούλιος Διογένης, patron of Ίουλία Πρεμίλλα — SB 5217 (148 A.D.)  
 Γάιος Σεμπρώνιος Ἀπελλᾶ, κύριος of Ίουλία Πρεμίλλα — SB 5217 (148 A.D.)

## V. Ephebes

### A. Hermopolis

#### Declarants

Ἄνουβίων Διοσκόρου — PRyl II 101 (63 A.D.)  
 Ἀντιγόνη Ὠρίωνος — PRyl II 101 (63 A.D.)  
 Ἐρμαῖος Ὠρίωνος — PFlor I 79 (60 A.D.)  
 Εὐδαίμωνις Πλουτογένους — PFlor I 79 (60 A.D.)

#### Candidates

Διοσκόρος Ἄνουβίανος — PRyl II 101 (63 A.D.)  
 Εὐδαίμων Ἐρμαίου — PFlor I 79 (60 A.D.)

### B. Oxyrhynchus

#### Declarants

Ἀμμώνιος Θεώνος — POxy III 477 (132-33 A.D.)  
 Αὐρήλιος Πτολεμαῖος Σεμπρώνιος Λουκίου — POxy IX 1202 (217 A.D.)  
 Θαυβάριον Θεώνος (deceased) — POxy III 477 (132-33 A.D.)

#### Candidates

Αὐρήλιος Πολυδεύκης Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμαίου Σεμπρωνίου — POxy IX 1202 (217 A.D.)  
 Νειλάμμων Ἀμμωνίου — POxy III 477 (132-33 A.D.)

### C. Origin uncertain (see Chapter V, note 3)

#### Declarants

Δίδυμος Ἴερακος — PSI XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.)  
 Θεών Θεώνος (deceased) — SB 7333 (186-87 A.D.)  
 Ἰσίδωρα Ἀπολλωνίου — SB 7333 (186-87 A.D.)  
 Πλουταροῦς Ἀρποκρατίωνος — PSI XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.)

#### Candidates

Δίδυμος Θεώνος — SB 7333 (186-87 A.D.)  
 Μηνόδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἴεραξ Διδύμου — PSI XII 1225 (156-57 A.D.)

## VI. Gerousia (Oxyrhynchus)

#### Declarants and applicants

Αὐρήλιος Κλαυδίανος — PRyl IV 599 (226 A.D.)  
 Ἡρακλῆς — PSI XII 1240 (222 A.D.)

## Appendix III

*Epikrisis* Texts

The texts offered here serve to illustrate the form found in three of the major types of status declaration. Their inclusion in this study is not meant to suggest that these documents come closest to being paradigms for the forms they represent. These declarations have been chosen rather because they are reasonably complete and do include most of the important sections to be found in status declarations of their types. I have reprinted the documents to enable the reader to see conveniently a complete text along with the rather disjointed description of the parts of the declarations above.

*Epikrisis*: οἱ ἀπὸ μητροπόλεως BGU I 324 = WChrest 219

<sup>1</sup>Σειρήνω τῷ καὶ Ἔρωτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ καὶ Σουχάμμωνι γυνυ(νασιαρχηκόσι) <sup>2</sup>πρὸς τῆ ἐπικ(ρίσει), τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ καὶ Σουχάμμω(νι) ἀφήλ(ικι) δι' ἐπιτρ(όπου) του <sup>3</sup>πρὸς μητρὸς θείου Κάστορος τοῦ Σαραπίω(νος) ἀποδεδιγμ(ένου) γυμ(νασιάρχου) <sup>4</sup>παρὰ θεανοῦς τῆς Ὠριγένους τοῦ Διοσκόρου μητρὸς(ς) <sup>5</sup>[[Ὁμολογεῖ Ἀ..... Ἀμμωνίου ἀπὸ]] <sup>6</sup>Τααμτίου ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀναγραφομένης <sup>7</sup>ἐπ' ἀμφό[δ]ου Λινυφείων μετὰ κυρίου Μολεσίωνος τοῦ καὶ <sup>8</sup>Σαραποκανώπου(ῶ) Μολεσίωνος. Δούλων μου Βακχύλου <sup>9</sup>κ[αὶ] Χιλιά[ρ]χου προσβάντων τοῦ μὲν Βακχύλου <sup>10</sup>εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαετεῖς), τοῦ δὲ Χειλιάρχου εἰς (τρισκαϊδεκαετεῖς) τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ζ(ῆτει) <sup>11</sup>Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν <sup>12</sup>ὀφειλόντων ἐ[πικ]ριθῆναι κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα <sup>13</sup>ὑπέταξά [μ]ου τὰ δίκαια. Ἀπεγραψάμην οὖν ταῖς κατὰ <sup>14</sup>καιρ[ὸν κα]τ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαῖς τῷ τε Θ <sup>15</sup>(ῆτει) καὶ κγ (ῆτει) <sup>15</sup>[Θεοῦ Αἰ]λίου Ἀντωνείνου ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου <sup>16</sup>[ἀμφόδου] Λινυφείων, συναπογραψαμένη τῆ τοῦ κγ (ῆτους) <sup>17</sup>ἀπογραφή καὶ τοὺς ἐπικρεινομένους δούλους <sup>18</sup>Βάκχυλον καὶ χιλίαρχον, συνπαρεθέμην δὲ καὶ ἂν <sup>19</sup>τίγραφον ἐπικρίσεως ἐτέρου μου δούλου Θάλλου <sup>20</sup>[ἐ]πικριθέντος τῷ β (ῆτει) Ἀντων(ίνου) καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν.

*Epikrisis*: οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου POxy II 257 = WChrest 147

<sup>1</sup>[παρὰ Διογένους τοῦ] Θεογ[έ]νους μητρὸς Πι[τ]ο[λ]εμαῖ[ς].....]. λε[...]<sup>3</sup> ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεω[ς] ἀμφ[όδ]((ου)) Ἡρακλ[έ]ους Τόπων. Κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα περὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβαιόντων <sup>6</sup>εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ γυμνασίου δηλῶ τὸν υἱό[ν] <sup>7</sup>μου Θεογένην μητρὸς Ἰσιδώρας Πι[τ]ο[λ]εμαίου γεγονέναι ιγ (ῆτη) εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς<sup>9</sup> ἰδ (ῆτος) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομυτιαν[οῦ] <sup>10</sup>Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδ[ου], <sup>11</sup>ὅθεν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπ[ί] <sup>12</sup>κρῖσιν δηλῶ κ[α]τὰ τὴν γενομένην τῷ ε [(ῆτει)] <sup>13</sup>θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ὑπὸ Σουτωρίου Σώτ[ου] <sup>14</sup>στρατηγήσαντ[ο]ς καὶ Α[.]ετρου γενομέν[ου] <sup>15</sup>βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρα(ματέως) καὶ ὧν [ἄ]λλω[ν] καθήκει ἐπικρῖσι[ν] <sup>16</sup>ἐπικρεκρίσθαι [τ]ὸν πατέρα μου Διογένη[ν] Θε[ο] <sup>17</sup>ογέ[ν]ους τοῦ Φιλίσκου μητρὸς Σινθοῶν[ιος] <sup>18</sup>Ἀχιλλέως ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου, καθ'

[ἄς] <sup>19</sup>ἐπήνεγκεν ἀποδείξεις ὡς ὁ πατήρ [αὐ]<sup>20</sup> τοῦ Θεογέν[η]ς Φ[ι]λίσκου υἱτὸς γυμνασιάρχ[ου] <sup>21</sup>ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ Καίσαρος γραφῆι <sup>22</sup>τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυ[μνα]σίου ἐπὶ Ἀναμφοδά<sup>23</sup>ρχωιν, ἐμὲ δὲ [ἐ]ν ἀνεπικρίτοις τετάχθαι <sup>24</sup>τῷ μὴ ἐνδημ[εῖν], τὴν δὲ μητέρα μου <sup>25</sup>[Π]τολεμᾶν γεγ[α]μ[ῆ]σθαι τῷ πατρὶ μου πρὸ <sup>26</sup>ς (ἔτους) Νέρωνος, ἣν καὶ [ἀ]πεγράψατο τῇ κα<sup>27</sup>τ<sup>27</sup> οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆι τοῦ ἐξῆς η (ἔτους) οὕσαν <sup>28</sup>ἐκ πατρὸς Φιλίσκου τοῦ Φιλίσκου γεγυμν[α]<sup>29</sup>σιαρχηκότος τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν, τὴν δὲ <sup>30</sup>καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ μη[τέρ]α] Ἰσιδώ[ραν] γ[ε]γαμῆ<sup>31</sup>σθαι μοι τῷ ζ (ἔτει) Νέρωνος, ἧς [τὸν πατέ]<sup>32</sup>ρα Πτολεμαί<ο>ν Ἀμ[μ]ωνίου...].λα[.] <sup>33</sup>ἐπικεκρί[σ]θαι ὁμοίως τῷ αὐ[τῷ] (ἔτει) ἀμφοδ(ου)] <sup>34</sup>τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους Τόπων, κ[αθ' ἄς] <sup>35</sup>ἐπήνεγκεν ἀποδείξεις ὡς ὁ [πατήρ αὐ]<sup>36</sup> τοῦ Ἀμμώνιος Πτολεμαίου κ[.....] <sup>37</sup>ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ Καίσαρος [γραφῆ] ἐπ' <sup>38</sup>ἀμφοδου τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὁμν[ύω] <sup>39</sup>Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Δομι[τιανόν] <sup>40</sup>Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν εἴνα[ι] ἐκ τῆς <sup>41</sup>Ἰσιδώρας τὸν Θεογέννην .[.....] <sup>42</sup>καὶ μὴ θέσει μ[ηδ]ὲ ὑπόβλητο[ν .....] <sup>43</sup>[μηδὲ ἀλλοτρι]φ κεχρησθαι [.....] <sup>44</sup>[... ἢ ἔνοχος εἶ]ην τῷ ὄρκω [.....] <sup>45</sup>[17 letters] στω[.....] <sup>46</sup>[14 letters] . ωρκω ην[.....] <sup>47</sup>[2 H. 12 letters Δ]ιογένους ἐπ[ιδέδωκα] <sup>48</sup>[καὶ ὁμώμοκα τὸν] ὄρκον. [

*Epikrisis*: Extracts ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων SB 9228

<sup>1</sup> Ἀντίγραφον. <sup>2</sup> [Ἐ]κ τόμου ἐπικρίσεως Τίτου Φουρίου Οὐικτορείνου γενομένου <sup>3</sup> ἡγεμόνος, [οὔ] προγραφῆ. οἱ ὑποτετα[γμένοι οὐετρανοὶ στρατευσάμενοι] <sup>4</sup> [ἐ]ν εἴλαις καὶ σπείραις ἐπιτυχόντες [τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καὶ ἐπι-] <sup>5</sup> [γα]μείας πρὸς γυναῖκας ἄς τοτ' εἶκον ὁ{ν}τ' α[ὐτοῖς ἢ πολιτεία ἐδόθη ἢ εἴ τινες] <sup>6</sup> [ἀ]γαμοὶ ἦσαν, πρὸς ἄς ἐὰν μετοξὺ ἀγά[γωσι, τοῦ μέχρι μιᾶς ἕκαστος, ὁμοίως] <sup>7</sup> [δ]ὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀπελεύθεροι καὶ [δοῦλοι καὶ ἕτεροι παρεγένοντο] <sup>8</sup> πρὸς ἐπικρίσιν Τίτου Φουρίου Οὐικ[τορείνου ἡγεμόνος Αἰγύπτου] <sup>9</sup> [ἀ]πὸ Μεχείρ κδ ἕως Φαμενώθ κε [τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κγ (ἔτους)] <sup>10</sup> Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἴλου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ] <sup>11</sup> Εὐσεβοῦς. Ἄ δὲ [παρ]έθοντο δικαιώματα [τῷ Σεπτιμίῳ Πρεῖσκω ἐπάρχῳ] <sup>12</sup> στόλου σεβαστοῦ [Ἀλ]εξανδρείνου ἐκάστω [ὀνόματι παράκειται]. <sup>13</sup> Παρέθηκεν ὁ αὐτὸς Σεπτεῖμιος Πρεῖσ[κος] <sup>14</sup> κελεύσαντος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόν[ος]. <sup>15</sup> Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τόμων β τόμος α. Μ[εθ' ἕτερα σελίδων] <sup>16</sup> Σοήνης. Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Πάστω[ρ] βουλόμενος παρεπιδημεῖν] <sup>17</sup> πρὸς καιρὸν τῇ Σοήνῃ ἐτῶν, Μάρκ[ος Οὐαλέριος Ἀντώνιος] <sup>18</sup> Ἀμμωνιανὸς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν. Ἐπέδ[ειξεν ὁ αὐτὸς Πάστωρ] <sup>19</sup> χαλκῆν ἐκσφράγισμα, στήλης χαλκῆς ἀν[τί]γραφον, δι' ἧς δηλοῦται] <sup>20</sup> στρατευσάμενον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντείμως ἀπ[ο]λελυμένον ἀπὸ τῆς] <sup>21</sup> πρὸ ε. Καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ καὶ Τίτῳ Ἰουνίῳ Σεουήροισ] <sup>22</sup> ὑπάτοις σπείρης α σεβαστῆς πραιτωρ[ίας Δυσιτανῶν ἧς ἔπαρχος] <sup>23</sup> Κοίντος Ἀλλιος Πουδεντίλλος ἱππῶν σ[....] <sup>24</sup> Πάστορι καστρ[ί]ς] ( ) καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δέλτον π[ρο]φεσσίωνος ἐπὶ τοῦ] <sup>25</sup> κβ (ἔτους) δι' ἧς ὁ Πάστωρ ἀπὸν διὰ μα[ρ]τύρων? ἐγγέγρα? —] <sup>26</sup> φε τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ υἱὸν τὸν Οὐαλέριον [Ἀμμωνιανόν].

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## Indices

## I. SOURCES

## A. Papyri and Ostraca

- BGU I* 1: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 12: 72  
 109: vi, 3, 10, 12<sup>4,8,9</sup>, 13<sup>11,17</sup>, 14<sup>21,24</sup>, 15, 16<sup>37</sup>  
 113: 5<sup>12</sup>, 40, 41, 42, 43<sup>12</sup>, 44<sup>18</sup>, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 115: 38<sup>10</sup>  
 116: 38<sup>10</sup>  
 118: 10<sup>1</sup>, 38<sup>10</sup>  
 137: 10<sup>1</sup>, 38<sup>10</sup>  
 138: 38<sup>10</sup>  
 140: 46  
 142: 6, 42<sup>8</sup>  
 143: 6, 42<sup>8</sup>  
 162: 61  
 168: 71  
 254: 23<sup>70</sup>  
 265: 4, 40, 41, 42, 43<sup>12</sup>, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 288: 23  
 324: 11, 12<sup>4,8,9</sup>, 13<sup>13,16,17</sup>, 14<sup>21,28</sup>, 15, 79  
 337: 62<sup>9</sup>  
*II* 388: 11<sup>1</sup>  
 447: 4, 10<sup>1</sup>, 42<sup>8</sup>  
*III* 780: 40, 41, 42, 43<sup>12</sup>  
 786: 73<sup>26</sup>  
 847: 40, 41<sup>1,2,4</sup>, 42, 43<sup>12</sup>, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 971: 36, 37  
*IV* 1032: 10<sup>1</sup>, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45<sup>21</sup>  
 1033: 40, 41, 42, 43, 44<sup>20</sup>  
 1084: 51<sup>19</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>  
*V* 1210: 2  
*XI* 2086: 11, 12<sup>4,7,8,9,10</sup>, 13<sup>12,19</sup>, 14, 15, 21<sup>64</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>  
 2120: vii  
*PAmh II* 75: 26, 31, 32  
 99a: 10<sup>1</sup>  
*PBon* 19: 1<sup>1</sup>, 11, 12, 19, 23<sup>71</sup>  
*PBrux inv E* 7910: 11, 16, 17, 18<sup>54</sup>, 25<sup>78</sup>  
 E 8017: 10, 12<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>11,14</sup>, 14, 15<sup>30,34</sup>, 22<sup>66</sup>  
*PCairPreis* 10: 10<sup>1</sup>  
 21: 41<sup>6</sup>  
*PCornell* 16: 39<sup>14</sup>  
 18: vii, 24<sup>72</sup>  
*PErl* 22: 36, 37  
 31: 8, 11, 16, 17, 18<sup>54</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>, 25<sup>78</sup>  
*PFamTebt* 32: 54<sup>27</sup>  
*PFay* 27: 36, 37  
 319: 36, 37<sup>7</sup>  
*PFlor I* 57: 12<sup>9</sup>, 48<sup>8</sup>, 53, 54, 55<sup>30,32</sup>, 56, 69  
 79: 47, 48, 49, 51<sup>18</sup>, 56  
*III* 350: 11<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>  
*PFouad III* 115: 10<sup>1</sup>, 38<sup>10</sup>  
*PGen* 18: vi, 11, 12<sup>4,7,8,9,10</sup>, 13<sup>11,19</sup>, 14<sup>21,24</sup>, 15<sup>29,35</sup>, 16<sup>37,38</sup>  
 19: 10, 12<sup>4,8,9</sup>, 13<sup>11,14,17</sup>, 14<sup>20,24</sup>, 15<sup>33,36</sup>, 16<sup>37,38</sup>  
*PGrenf II* 49: 10, 12<sup>5,7,8,10</sup>, 13<sup>11,16</sup>, 14, 15, 16<sup>37,38</sup>  
*PHamb* 31: 5<sup>12</sup>, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44<sup>18,19</sup>  
 31a: 40, 41, 42, 43<sup>12</sup>, 44<sup>18,20</sup>  
 60: 10<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>  
*PHarris* 106: 10<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>21</sup>  
*PHaw* 401: 11, 12<sup>4,7,8</sup>, 13<sup>11,18</sup>, 14<sup>20,24</sup>, 15<sup>34</sup>, 22<sup>66</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>  
*PLond II* pp. 44-45: 38<sup>12</sup>  
 170: 22  
 257: 3, 4, 5<sup>9</sup>, 22  
 260: 4, 5<sup>9</sup>, 7<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 22, 38<sup>11</sup>  
 261: 4, 5<sup>9</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 22  
 281: 62<sup>10</sup>  
 329: 61  
 338: 62<sup>10</sup>  
 340: 22  
 345: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 347: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 353: 61  
 1912: 58  
*PMed inv* 71.44: vi  
 inv 72.16: vii  
*PMich inv* 1935: vii  
*PMilan II* 81: 60  
*POxy inv* 46 5B. 49/K (6) and (7): vii  
*I* 39: 6, 42<sup>8</sup>  
 100: 52<sup>21</sup>  
*II* 220: 5<sup>8</sup>  
 254: 3<sup>3</sup>  
 g,7: 4, 5<sup>8,9,11</sup>, 26, 27, 28, 29<sup>14</sup>, 79  
 258: 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17, 18<sup>52,54</sup>, 19<sup>56,58</sup>  
 288: 10<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>

- 314: 10<sup>1</sup>  
 III 477: 47, 48, 49, 50  
 478: 5<sup>12</sup>, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19<sup>56,57,58,59,60</sup>  
 IV 714: 11, 16, 17<sup>41,44,45</sup>, 18<sup>51,52,54,55</sup>, 19<sup>58,60</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>  
 735: 73<sup>35</sup>  
 VI 926: 10<sup>1</sup>  
 VII 1023: 42<sup>8</sup>, 72  
 1028: 11, 16, 17, 18, 19<sup>58</sup>  
 1032: 73<sup>26</sup>  
 VIII 1109: viii, 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17<sup>41,42,46,47,49</sup>, 18<sup>52,54</sup>  
 1111: 12<sup>6</sup>  
 1113: 12<sup>6</sup>  
 IX 1202: 47, 48, 49, 50, 51<sup>18</sup>, 53, 56, 58, 69, 72  
 X 1266: 26, 27<sup>2,3,5,7</sup>, 28, 29<sup>13</sup>  
 1306: 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17<sup>42,46,47,49</sup>, 18<sup>52,54</sup>, 25  
 1316: viii  
 XII 1451: 5<sup>12</sup>, 6<sup>15</sup>, 40, 41<sup>2,4</sup>, 42, 43, 45<sup>21</sup>, 72  
 1452: 5<sup>12</sup>, 6<sup>16</sup>, 11, 16, 17, 18<sup>52,54</sup>, 26, 27, 28,  
 29<sup>12,14</sup>, 35  
 1552: 35  
 XVIII 2186: vii, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30<sup>14,15</sup>  
 XXII 2345: 26, 27<sup>2,3,7</sup>, 28, 29<sup>13,14</sup>  
 XXXVI 2792: 11<sup>1</sup>  
 XXXVIII 2855: vii  
 XLI 2981: vi  
 XLIII 3099: viii, ix  
 3100: viii, ix  
 3101: viii, ix  
 3102: vii, viii, ix  
 3136: vii, viii  
 3137: vii  
 XLIV 3183: vii  
 PRyl II 101: 47, 48, 49, 51<sup>18,19</sup>, 56, 69<sup>3</sup>  
 102: 26, 31, 32  
 103: vi, 10, 12<sup>4,8,9</sup>, 13<sup>12,16</sup>, 14<sup>21,26</sup>, 15, 16<sup>37,38</sup>  
 104: 11, 12, 13<sup>12,19</sup>, 14<sup>20,26</sup>, 15, 16<sup>37,38</sup>  
 278: 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17<sup>42,45</sup>, 18<sup>54</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>  
 279: 10, 12<sup>4,7,8,9</sup>, 13<sup>11,14,19</sup>, 14<sup>20,23,25</sup>, 15<sup>30,34</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>  
 280: 11, 12<sup>4,7,8</sup>, 13<sup>11,19</sup>, 14, 15<sup>30,34</sup>  
 IV 599: ix, 63, 64  
 PSI III 164: 10<sup>1</sup>, 47<sup>3</sup>  
 199: 53, 54<sup>27,29</sup>, 55  
 V 447: 40, 41, 42, 43, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 457: vii, 12<sup>9</sup>, 26, 27, 28, 30<sup>15</sup>  
 VII 731: 26, 27, 28, 29<sup>12,14</sup>  
 732: 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17, 18<sup>51,53,54,55</sup>  
 777: 51<sup>19</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>  
 IX 1062: 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>  
 X 1109: viii, 10<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>48</sup>, 22<sup>66</sup>  
 1146: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 XII 1223: v, viii, 51<sup>19</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>  
 1224: v, viii, 51<sup>19</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>  
 1225: v, viii, 47, 49, 50  
 1230: 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17<sup>44,45,46,48,49</sup>, 18<sup>52,54,55</sup>, 19<sup>57</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>  
 1240: ix, 10<sup>1</sup>, 63, 64  
 1257: 10<sup>1</sup>  
 PStrassb 10:52<sup>21</sup>  
 134: vi, 11, 12<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>11,14,19</sup>, 14<sup>21,25</sup>, 15, 16<sup>37,38</sup>, 23<sup>71</sup>  
 185: 20<sup>63</sup>  
 219: 26, 32  
 288: 26, 32  
 363: vi  
 385: vi  
 547: vi  
 PTebt I pp. 545-50: 38<sup>12</sup>  
 II 292: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 293: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 294: 60, 61  
 298: 60, 61, 62<sup>9</sup>  
 299: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 300: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 301: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 303: 62<sup>9</sup>  
 306: 61  
 316: 55<sup>33</sup>, 57, 59<sup>41</sup>  
 317: 52<sup>23,24</sup>  
 320: 11, 12<sup>4,9</sup>, 13<sup>11</sup>, 14, 15<sup>35,36</sup>, 16<sup>37,38</sup>  
 PWashUniv inv 134: ix, 1, 2, 42<sup>8</sup>, 64, 65, 67<sup>1</sup>, 68-73  
 PWisc I 17: 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17<sup>42,45</sup>, 18<sup>51,52,54,55</sup>, 19<sup>58</sup>, 25<sup>76</sup>  
 SB 4299: 38<sup>10</sup>  
 5217: 5<sup>11</sup>, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44<sup>17</sup>, 45, 46, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 5282: 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>  
 5661: 3, 23<sup>70</sup>  
 7171: 51<sup>19</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>  
 7239: 51<sup>19</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>  
 7333: 47, 49, 50  
 7362: 40, 41<sup>2,3,4</sup>, 42, 43<sup>12</sup>, 44, 69, 73<sup>25</sup>, 73<sup>40</sup>  
 7427: 54, 55, 57  
 7440a: 11, 20, 26, 30, 31, 32<sup>22</sup>  
 7440b: 11, 20, 30<sup>17</sup>  
 7605: 54<sup>27,28</sup>, 55<sup>33</sup>, 57  
 7989: 10<sup>1</sup>  
 7990: 10<sup>1</sup>  
 8016: 11  
 8038: 11<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>63</sup>  
 8267: 47, 69<sup>3</sup>  
 9227: 8<sup>27</sup>  
 9228: 8<sup>27</sup>, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44<sup>18</sup>, 80  
 9319: 60, 61  
 9320: 60, 61  
 9323: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9324: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9325: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9326: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9327: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9332: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9333: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9334: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9335: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9336: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9336: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9337: 60



- 9338: 60  
 9341: 60<sup>1</sup>  
 9394: 60, 62<sup>8</sup>  
 9869a: 10<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>  
 9901: viii  
 10219: vi  
 SPP XX 24: 10<sup>1</sup>  
 XXII 143: 61  
 171: 60  
 184: 60  
 WChrest 91: 61  
 144: 47  
 145: 47  
 146: 51<sup>19</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>
- 147: 26, 79  
 216: 11  
 217: 11, 16<sup>39</sup>, 17, 18<sup>52,54,55</sup>, 19<sup>57</sup>  
 219: 79  
 389: 72  
 454: 42<sup>8</sup>  
 455: 42<sup>8</sup>  
 456: 42<sup>8</sup>  
 458: 40, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 459: 40, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 460: 40, 73<sup>25</sup>  
 OBruss 35: 60, 61  
 WO 136: 60, 61  
 137: 60<sup>3</sup>

## B. Ancient Authors

Cod. Just. 10: 52<sup>23</sup>  
 Cod. Th. 10: 52<sup>23</sup>

Dio Cass. 52.24: 52<sup>23</sup>

## II. GREEK WORDS AND TECHNICAL TERMS

- ἀγορανομεῖν, 12<sup>10</sup>  
 ἀγορανόμος, 12<sup>10</sup>  
 ἄμφοδον, 13, 17, 18, 20, 27, 29, 30, 36, 37, 79, 80  
 ἀμφοδογραμματεύς, 50, 53  
 ἀναγράφειν, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 30, 36<sup>3</sup>, 47<sup>3</sup>, 79  
 ἀναγραφή, 10<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀναφόριον 32  
 ἀπελεύθερος, viii, 80  
 ἀπογράφειν, 14, 18, 37, 79, 80  
 ἀπογραφή, xiii, 3, 10<sup>1</sup>, 44<sup>18</sup>  
 ἀπογραφή ἀφηλίκων, 32<sup>21</sup>  
 ἀπογραφή ἐγκτήσεω, 15  
 κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή, 3<sup>3</sup>, 4, 14, 18<sup>54</sup>, 20, 21, 37, 43, 63<sup>1</sup>, 79, 80  
 ἀπολύειν, 44, 80  
 ἀπολύσιμος, 62  
 ἄσημος, vi  
 ἀστή, 49<sup>11</sup>, 50<sup>12,14</sup>, 51<sup>19</sup>  
 ἀφήλιξ, vii, 11<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>63</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup>, 79  
 βασιλικός, see γραμματεύς  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ, 16, 27, 44, 54  
 βουλευτής, 16, 27, 54  
 γερουσία, viii  
 γερούσιος (οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γερούσιου), 63, 64  
 γέρων, 63, 64  
 γνωστήρ, 15, 43<sup>13</sup>  
 γραμματεύς, 15  
 βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς, 16, 21, 27, 79  
 γραμματεὺς πόλεως, 16  
 γραμματεὺς τοῦ γυμνασίου, 48  
 γραφή, vii, 28, 34, 53, 54, 80  
 γραφή ἐφήβων, 47, 50  
 γραφή ἱερέων, 60<sup>1</sup>
- ἐν γραφῇ ἀφηλίκων, vii  
 γυμνασιαρχεῖν, vii, 12<sup>8</sup>, 15, 16, 19, 27, 36<sup>1</sup>, 79, 80  
 γυμνασίαρχος, 50, 79, 80  
 γυμνάσιον, 48, 50  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου, v, vii, 5<sup>11,12</sup>, 7<sup>22</sup>, 8, 9, 10<sup>1</sup>, 20, 27, 30-33, 35, 47<sup>3</sup>, 48, 63-65, 79  
 ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, 7<sup>22</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>, 26-28, 33-35, 50, 76, 79, 80  
 τάγμα τοῦ γυμνασίου, 11<sup>1</sup>  
 διαγράφειν, 60  
 διαλογία, 54, 55  
 δοῦλος, 13, 17, 18<sup>51</sup>, 43, 79, 80  
 δυοκαιδεκαετείς, 13  
 δωδεκάδραχμος, vii, viii, 5, 8, 9, 10<sup>1</sup>, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25, 27, 35, 47<sup>3</sup>, 63, 65  
 εἰκονίζειν, 48, 53-55, 70, 71  
 εἰκονισμός, 55  
 εἰκοσίδραχμος, 22  
 εἰσκρίνειν, 47<sup>3</sup>, 48, 50, 53, 54, 68, 69, 71, 73  
 εἴσκρισις, 1, 48, 50, 60<sup>1</sup>, 68, 69  
 ὑπὲρ εἰσκρίσεως, 60-62  
 εἰσκριτικόν, 60<sup>1,2</sup>, 61, 62  
 ὑπὲρ εἰσκριτικοῦ, 60  
 ἐξηγητεύειν, 13<sup>10</sup>, 15, 16, 27  
 ἐξηγητής, 12<sup>10</sup>, 48, 49  
 ἔπαρχος, 41, 42, 70, 80  
 ἐπιδημεῖν, 43  
 ἐπικρίνειν, 13, 17, 20, 27-29, 32, 36, 37, 41, 42<sup>8</sup>, 50, 68, 69<sup>2</sup>, 70-73, 79, 80  
 ἐπικριμμένος, vi, 3, 4, 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>25</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 38, 60  
 ἐπικριθέντες, 4, 79  
 ἐπίκρισις, v, xiii, 1, 3<sup>1</sup>, 4, 5, 9<sup>37</sup>, 14<sup>21</sup>, 15, 17-19, 21, 27, 28, 37<sup>9</sup>, 40, 41, 47, 54, 63<sup>1</sup>, 68, 79, 80

- ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων, 3, 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>20,21</sup>, 8, 41, 68, 69, 77  
 ἐν τῇ ἐπικρίσει, 10<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως ἐφήβων, 54, 56  
 κατ' οἰκίαν ἐπικρίσις, 10<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>  
 πεδιακὸν ἐπικρίσεως, 63  
 περὶ τὴν ἐπικρίσιν, vi  
 πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει, vi, 12<sup>9</sup>, 16, 27, 53, 55, 79  
 ἐπικριτής, 12<sup>9</sup>, 16, 19, 20, 36<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐπιστράτηγος, 54, 70, 71<sup>4</sup>  
 ἐφηβεύειν, 48, 49, 50<sup>14</sup>, 57, 59<sup>40</sup>  
 ἐφηβία, 50, 51<sup>19</sup>, 56  
 ἔφηβος (see also γραφή ἐφήβων and ἐπικρίσις ἐφήβων), 47<sup>3</sup>, 48, 50  
 ἡγεμών, 13, 14, 41, 42<sup>10</sup>, 68-72, 80  
 καθήκειν (οἷς καθήκει), 16, 50, 52, 55  
 Καισάρειοι, 49, 52<sup>23</sup>, 55, 79  
 καταλογεῖον, 53-55  
 κάτοικος, 4<sup>7</sup>, 5, 7, 8, 36-39, 66, 76  
 κάτοικος γυοε, 39  
 κελεύειν (κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα), 13, 14<sup>21</sup>, 17, 27, 37, 42<sup>10</sup>, 79  
 κοσμητής, 27, 50  
 κρίνειν, 17  
 λαογραφεῖν (λαογραφούμενος), 4, 5<sup>11</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 38  
 λαογραφία, 18, 21, 22, 24, 38  
 μητρόπολις (ἀπὸ μητροπόλεως), 8, 10, 11<sup>1</sup>, 13, 20<sup>63</sup>, 74, 79  
 μητροπολίτης, viii, 5, 7<sup>22</sup>, 8, 9, 17-20, 22, 27  
 οἰκογένεια, 43  
 ὀκτάδραχμος, 19, 20, 22, 30  
 ὁμολόγος (δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας), 18, 21  
 οὐετρανός, 41<sup>6</sup>, 44<sup>19</sup>, 80  
 παρεπιγραφή, 41<sup>3</sup>  
 παρεπιδημεῖν, 43, 45, 80  
 πεδιακόν, vii, 16  
 προγραφή, 41, 80  
 προσβαίνειν, 17, 18<sup>51</sup>, 19, 20, 27<sup>8</sup>  
 προσβαίνοντες, 11<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>16</sup>, 14, 17, 20<sup>63</sup>, 27, 79  
 προσβάντες, 13, 14, 36<sup>6</sup>, 50, 79  
 προσβεβηκότες, vi, 17, 27<sup>4,7</sup>, 36, 37<sup>6</sup>  
 πρύτανις, 12<sup>10</sup>, 49  
 Σπούριος, 43<sup>15</sup>  
 στρατηγός, 16, 27  
 τάγμα, 11, 50  
 τάξις ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, 32<sup>21</sup>  
 τῶν ἐπικεκρικμένων, 28  
 τῶν ὁμηλικῶν, vii, 47<sup>3</sup>  
 τῶν ὁμοίων, vii  
 τάσσειν, 17, 27  
 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς, 11<sup>1</sup>, 13, 14, 17, 20<sup>62,63</sup>, 27, 36, 50, 79  
 τρισκαίδεκαετείς, vi, 13, 17, 18<sup>51</sup>, 19, 20, 27, 79  
 ὑπογραφή, 15, 54  
 χειλίαρχος, 71  
 λεγιῶνος, 42, 71  
 χρηματίζειν, 54, 55

## III. NAMES

- Bataille, A., 8<sup>27</sup>  
 Bell, H. I., 1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>, 56<sup>35</sup>, 58<sup>38</sup>  
 Bickermann, E., xiii, 2<sup>4</sup>, 7, 8, 9, 10<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>21</sup>, 39  
 Bingen, J., xiii, 1<sup>2</sup>, 8, 10<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>22</sup>, 22<sup>66</sup>  
 Boak, A.E. R., 54<sup>27</sup>  
 Coles, R., viii, 73<sup>29</sup>  
 El-Abadi, M.A.H., ix  
 El-Kanti, P. C., v  
 Fiebiger, O., 3  
 Gilliam, E.H., 60<sup>1,2</sup>, 61<sup>4,5,6</sup>, 62<sup>8</sup>  
 Glotz, G., 39<sup>16</sup>  
 Grenfell, B. P., 4, 5, 6, 8<sup>25</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>  
 Hombert, M., xiii, 3<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>27</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>  
 Hunt, A. S., 4, 5, 6, 8<sup>25</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>, 69  
 Jouguet, P., xiii, 1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>, 5, 34, 38, 52, 53, 54<sup>26</sup>, 57, 58<sup>37</sup>  
 Kenyon, F. G., xiii, 3<sup>4</sup>, 4, 5, 7<sup>25</sup>  
 Knudtzon, E., 60<sup>2</sup>, 61<sup>7</sup>  
 Lesquier, J., xiii, 1<sup>2</sup>, 5, 6, 8, 9, 34, 38, 41<sup>6</sup>, 43<sup>13</sup>, 66  
 Méautis, G., 1<sup>2</sup>  
 Mertens, P., vii, viii, xiii, 1<sup>2</sup>, 8, 9, 23<sup>69</sup>, 24, 27<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>11</sup>, 35  
 Meyer, P., xiii, 4, 5, 6<sup>14,16,18</sup>, 8, 52  
 Mommsen, T., 3, 4, 41<sup>6</sup>  
 Montevicchi, O., v, vii, 1<sup>1</sup>, 60<sup>1</sup>  
 Nelson, C. A., v, viii, 72  
 Neumann, A. R., 9<sup>37</sup>  
 Oates, J. F., 2<sup>4</sup>, 39<sup>17</sup>  
 Oehler, J., 5<sup>9</sup>  
 Oertal, F., 52<sup>22</sup>  
 Otto, W., 60<sup>2</sup>, 61<sup>5,7</sup>  
 Pélékidis, C., 56<sup>34</sup>  
 Plaumann, G., 39<sup>15,16</sup>  
 Préaux, C., xiii, 3<sup>3,4</sup>, 8<sup>27</sup>, 23<sup>70</sup>, 62<sup>8</sup>, 63<sup>1</sup>  
 gZeisigke, F. F., 52<sup>22</sup>  
 Rea, J., 73<sup>29</sup>  
 Reinmuth, O.W., 7<sup>20</sup>, 57<sup>37</sup>, 72, 73  
 Rostovtzeff, M., 33<sup>23</sup>, 38<sup>12</sup>  
 Sasse, C., 24<sup>74</sup>  
 Schubart, W., 5, 8, 52<sup>22</sup>  
 Schuman, V. B., ix  
 Seston, W., 41<sup>6</sup>  
 Sijpesteijn, P., v, vii, 25  
 Stein, A., 72, 73  
 Taubenschlag, R., 45<sup>22</sup>, 59<sup>40</sup>  
 Tcherikover, V., 3<sup>4</sup>  
 Turner, E., 63<sup>2</sup>, 65, 69<sup>1</sup>  
 Vandoni, M., 71, 72, 73  
 Van Groningen, B.A., 18<sup>54</sup>  
 Viereck, P., 3

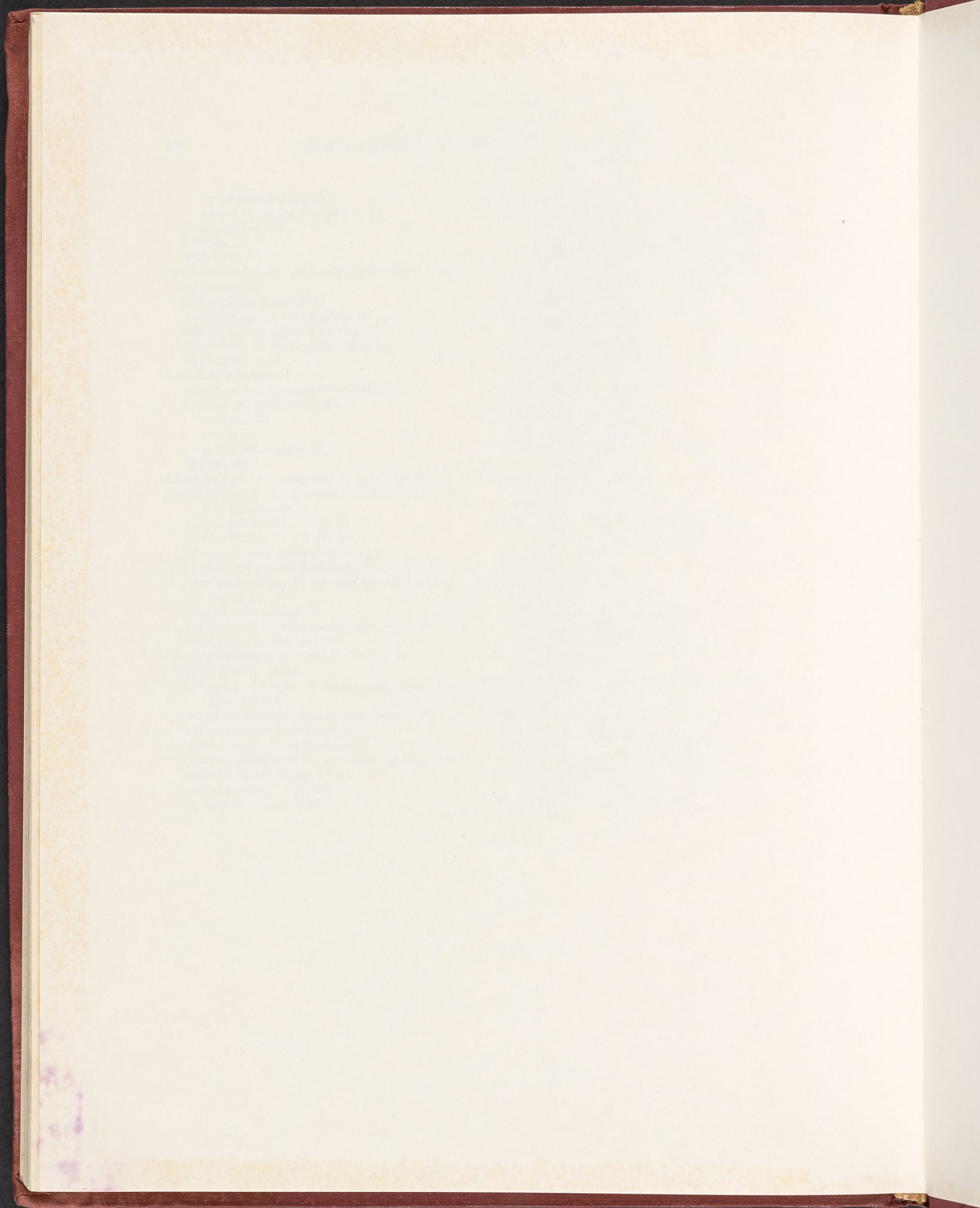
- Wallace, S. L., xiii, 1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>, 6, 7, 8, 9<sup>37</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>21</sup>, 22<sup>65,67,68</sup>,  
60<sup>2</sup>, 61<sup>7</sup>  
Wessely, C., xiii, 1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>7</sup>, 5
- Whitehorne, J. E. G., v, viii  
Wilcken, U., xiii, 3, 4, 5, 6<sup>14,16,18</sup>, 8, 9<sup>37</sup>, 12<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>6</sup>, 52, 54,  
58<sup>37</sup>, 63<sup>1</sup>, 69

## IV. SUBJECTS


- ages of candidates  
ephebes, 48, 51, 56-57  
*gerousia*, viii-ix, 64  
gymnasium class, 30, 33  
metropolite class, 13-14, 22  
priests, 61  
archidicastes, 54-55  
Caesarii (see also Καισάρειοι in Index II), 49, 52-53  
census and census declarations (see also κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή in Index II), 3, 3<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 14-15, 18, 20-22, 23<sup>70</sup>, 31-32, 37-39, 43, 63-64  
Constitutio Antoniniana, 3<sup>4</sup>, 9, 24-25, 66  
date of declarations, 24, 47<sup>3</sup>, 66  
deputy epistrategos, 49, 53, 56  
eiskrisis (see ephebia and ephebic declarations below and εἰσ κρίνειν, εἴσκρισις, ἐφηβία, and ἔφηβος in Index II)  
eiskrisis commission, 55  
ephebia (see also ἐφηβία and ἔφηβος in Index II), viii, 34<sup>24</sup>, 39, Chapter VI *passim*  
age of candidates, 48, 51, 56-57  
ephebate register, viii  
qualifications for membership, 48<sup>5</sup>, 49, 51, 58  
relationship to gymnasium class, 56, 58-59  
ephebic declarations, Chapter VI  
differences between Oxyrhynchite-Alexandrian and Hermopolite forms, 50-51  
earliest declarations, 47<sup>3</sup>  
function of declarations, 56-58  
identification of declarants, 48-50  
oath, 48, 51  
officials (see also officials), 48-56  
epikrisis (see also the specific types of epikrisis included in this index, and ἐπικρίνειν and ἐπικρισίς in Index II)  
epikrisis commission, vi, 12, 13<sup>10</sup>, 16-17, 27, 36  
epikrisis of 72/73 A.D., vii, 28, 34  
epikrisis of females, vii-viii, 5  
fiscal function, 4-8, 34<sup>1</sup>  
legal function, 6, 8  
military function, 3-7  
military function rejected, 6-8, 44  
social function, 6, 8-9  
epistrategos (see also ἐπιστράτηγος in Index II), 53, 55-56  
exegetes (see also ἐξηγητεῦν and ἐξηγητής in Index II), 48-49, 52-55  
extracts from prefect's records (see also ἐκ τόμου ἐπικρίσεων in Index II)  
candidates, 41-45  
mothers for illegitimate children, 43  
owners for slaves, 43-45  
veterans, 41<sup>6</sup>  
credentials offered, 43  
function of extracts  
inheritance rights for illegitimate children, 45-46  
permission to reside in nomes, 45  
tax exemption for slaves (?), 45  
officials, 41-42  
signatures, 43  
witnesses, 44  
*gerousia* (see also γερούσια, γερούσιος, and γέρων in Index II), viii-ix, Chapter VIII *passim*  
ages, viii-ix  
limited membership, 64  
privileges, 65  
qualifications, 63-64  
social functions, ix, 69-70  
gymnasiarch (see also γυμνασιαρχεῖν and γυμνασίαρχος in Index II), vi-vii, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5, 12, 17, 19, 21, 27, 36, 52-53, 55-56  
gymnasium and gymnasium class (see also γυμνάσιον in Index II) vii-viii, 5, 8-9, 11<sup>1,3</sup>, Chapter III, 49, 51<sup>18,19</sup>, 56  
ages of candidates, 30, 33  
declarants, 27  
difference from metropolite class, 8-9  
γραφή of 4/5 A.D., vii, 22, 28-29, 31-35  
joint membership in gymnasium and metropolite classes, 35  
original membership, 34  
pre-registration, vii-viii  
qualifications for membership, 28-33  
relationship to ephebia, 56, 58-59  
relationship to *katoikoi*, 38-39  
slaves ineligible for membership, 34  
τάξις of 72/73 A.D., vii, 28, 34  
gymnasium declarations, vii-viii, Chapter III  
date (latest), 66  
declarations only from Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis, 34  
difference between Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite forms, 32-33  
difference from metropolite declarations, 27-28, 33-35  
function of declarations, 33-35  
cultural, 35  
reduced taxation, 35

- social-recreational, 35
- source of municipal officials, 35
- oath required, 29
- officials, 27
- signatures, 29
- katoikoi* class (see also *κάτοικος* in Index II), Chapter IV
  - declarants, 36
  - origin of the class, 38-39
  - qualifications for membership, 37
  - relationship to gymnasium class, 38-39
  - relationship to metropolite class, 38
  - 6475 Greek men, 39
- katoikoi* declarations
  - difference from metropolite form, 37
  - function of declarations, 37-39
    - cultural, 39
    - social, 39
    - source of officials, 39
  - officials, 36
- kosmetes (see also *κοσμητής* in Index II), 52-54, 56
- metropolite class (see also *μητροπολίτης* in Index II), 8-9, Chapter II
  - ages of candidates, 13-14, 22
  - declarants, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20
  - difference from gymnasium class, 8-9
  - earliest evidence of metropolite class, 23
  - joint membership in metropolite and gymnasium classes, 35
  - original membership, 23
  - qualifications for membership, 13-15, 18, 20, 22-24
  - relationship to *katoikoi*, 38
- metropolite declarations, vi-vii, Chapter II
  - dates (latest), 24, 66
  - difference between Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite forms, 8-9, 21
  - difference from gymnasium form, 8-9, 27-28, 33-35
  - difference from *katoikoi* form, 37
  - discontinuance of declarations, 24-25
  - function of declarations = reduced poll tax, 22-23
  - officials, 12-13, 16-17, 19-21
  - prefect's order, 13-14, 17
  - signatures, 15-16, 19-20
- oaths by declarants, 29, 48, 51
- officials (see also *ἀγοράνομος*, *ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς*, *βιβλιοφύλαξ*, *βουλευτής*, *γραμματεὺς*, *γυμνασίαρχος*, *ἐξηγητής*, *ἐπαρχος*, *ἐπιστράτηγος*, *ἡγεμῶν*, *Καيسάρειοι*, *κοσμητής*, *οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει*, *οἷς καθήκει*, *πομπαγωγός*, *πρύτανις*, *στρατηγός*, and *χειλίαρχος* in Index II), viii, 6-7, 12-14, 16-17, 19-21, 27, 36, 41-42, 50-56, 69-70
- archidicastes, 54-55
- Caesarii, 49, 52-53
- deputy epistrategos, 49, 53, 56
- eiskrisis commission, 55
- epikrisis commission, vi, 12, 13<sup>10</sup>, 16-17, 27, 36
- epistrategos, 53, 55-56
- exegetes, 48-49, 52-55
- gymnasiarch, vi-vii, 3<sup>1</sup>, 5, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 27, 36, 52-53, 55-56
- kosmetes, 52-54, 56
- prefect, 13-14, 17, Chapter V *passim*, 53
- proper officials, 52-53
- prytanes, 49, 52-53
- scribe of the gymnasium, 48-49, 52, 55
- poll tax (see also *λαογραφεῖν* and *λαογραφία* in Index II), 3-5, 22, 24-25, 33, 38, 61-62
- prefect (see also *ἡγεμῶν* in Index II), 13-14, 17, Chapter V *passim*, 53
- priests, Chapter VII
  - age, 61
  - entrance fee (see also *εἰσκριτικὸν* in Index II), 61
  - function of epikrisis, 61-62
  - qualifications for membership, 61
  - quota of exemptions from poll tax, 62
  - rate of poll tax, 61
- proper officials (see also *καθήκειν* in Index II), 52-53
- prytanes, 49, 52-53
- scribe of the gymnasium, 48-49, 52, 55
- signatures in the declarations, 15-16, 19-20, 29, 43
- slaves (see also *δοῦλος* in Index II), vi, 4-5, 7, 9, 11, 13-15, 17-19, 22, 24, 34, 41, 43
- veterans (see extracts above and *οὔετρανός* in Index II), ix
- witnesses (see *γνωστήρ* in Index II), 44

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