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Worp, K.A.

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KLAAS A. WÖRP

ἈΡΕΑΝΤΕΣ AND ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ IN PAPYRI FROM GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

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## ΑΡΞΑΝΤΕΣ AND ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ IN PAPYRI FROM GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

Almost 80 years ago F. Oertel stated in his monograph *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig 1917) 315: “Die allmähliche Verschmelzung von ἄρχοντες-Kolleg und βουλή ist das Ergebnis der — nach und nach eintretenden — Konzentration der ἀρχαί in der Kurie, ein Prozeß, der Hand in Hand geht mit einem Verschwinden der Grenzen zwischen den verschiedenen ἀρχαί untereinander. Augenfällig wird uns der Vorgang durch die Titulaturen, indem nämlich einmal, anscheinend nach dem Vorbild der Griechenstädte, auch in den Metropolen seit Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts die differenzierten Titel γυμνασιαρχήσας, ἐξηγητεύσας usw. dem Generaltitel ἄρξας weichen und dann wieder seit Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts allmählich der Titel ἄρξας βουλευτής dem wiederum allgemeineren πολιτευόμενος Platz macht.”

Later on Oertel summarizes (p. 402): “Die alten Titel verschwanden mit dem 4. Jahrh., um zunächst vielleicht noch in dem verblaßten «ἄρξας» fortzuleben, dann aber endlich in dem noch allgemeineren, vor allem die Buleutenqualität betonenden, πολιτευόμενος aufzugehen.”

After all these years it seems appropriate to raise the question whether Oertel’s statement still holds true. Moreover, whereas the titles πολιτευόμενος and προπολιτευόμενος in papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt have been discussed fairly recently<sup>1</sup> one finds discussion of the title ἄρξας only in much older papyrological literature.<sup>2</sup> A fresh study of its occurrences and a confrontation with the attestations of the title (προ)πολιτευόμενος<sup>3</sup> may, therefore, be useful. As far as (προ)πολιτευόμενοι are concerned, this study does not focus on the nature of their charge, i.e. the question what they did, but on the question who they were and where the title (προ)πολιτευόμενος occurs. First I shall present the documentation, then make some observations based on this documentation.<sup>4</sup> (N.B.: in the list ‘ἄ.’ = ἄρξας, ‘β.’ = βουλευτής, ‘πολ.’ = πολιτευόμενος, ‘προπολ.’ = προπολιτευόμενος; the epithets given to πολιτευόμενοι are: αἰδ(έσιμος), ἐνδοξ(ότατος), λαμπρ(ότατος) μεγαλοπρεπ(έστατος), περίβλ(επτος) [προπολιτευόμενοι have no epithet]; ‘sender’ = sender / author of a document).

<sup>1</sup> On the title πολιτευόμενος cf. H. Geremek, *Les «politeuomenoi» égyptiens sont-ils identiques aux «bouleutai»?* in *Anagennesis 1* [1981] 231-247; on the title of προπολιτευόμενος cf. A K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* [Toronto 1971], Appendix 3, pp. 155-158.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Preisigke, *Städtisches Beamtenwesen im römischen Ägypten* [Diss. Halle 1903] 13 and 43ff., and B.A. van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiaire des métropoles de l’Égypte romaine* [Groningen 1924] 136-137). There is, e.g., no discussion of the title ἄρξας given by D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*, Atlanta 1991 (= *American Classical Studies*, 23) in her treatment of the Alexandrian civil magistracies (Chapt. IV, pp. 89-113).

<sup>3</sup> Also included in this study are the cases of πολιτευσάμενος = ‘former (i.e. deceased) πολιτευόμενος’. To be distinguished, however, are the (few) cases in which προπολιτευόμενος / πολιτευσάμενος is a real participle of the verb πολιτεύεσθαι = ‘to perform a civil service’, cf. P.Amh. II 82.8 and P.Oxy. XX 2266.18 (see editorial note ad loc.). See also below, fn. 21, and SB XVIII 13865.7 and 13925.2; for the meaning of πολιτεύεσθαι cf. also P.Oxy. XVII 2106.19 where the (in my view incorrect) translation ‘to be a senator’ is given.

<sup>4</sup> I am especially indebted to the kind help of P. van Minnen who not only polished my English, but also provided me with a number of pertinent references (which otherwise I might have lost out of sight) and gave very substantial advise in general.

Reference	Name + function(s)	Date	Status (Addressee / Sender, etc.)
<b>Alexandria</b>			
ἄρξαντες			
P.Oxy. XL 2904.2	Αὐρ. Εὐδαίμων ὁ καὶ Ἑλλάδιος, ἄ., β.	272	Official addressee
Tyche 10 (1995) 3.2 = SPP XX 74.2	Ἑρμῖνος ὁ καὶ Διδυμάμμων, ἄ. [ ]	276	Descr. of father of party in private contract; or from Hermopolis?
Tyche 10 (1995) 3.10 = SPP XX 74.10	N.N., ἄ.	276	Descr. of συμπαράων of party in private contr.
P.Oxy. XIV 1638.11	[Σαρα]πίων, ἄ.	282	In descr. of neighbours
P.Oxy. XIV 1642.32	Σαραπίων, ἄ.	289 (or [also] in Oxy.?)	In marginal note; context not clear
P.Oxy. X 1252.30	Φιλέας, ἄ.	289	Referred to in letter
P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2849.13	Σαρῶς, ἄ.	296 (also in Oxy.)	In descr. of sender's father
PSI IX 1071.4	Αὐρ. Δίδυμος Σαραπίωνος, ἄ.	296	Sender of private contract
SB I 178 = SEG XII 558.3	Αὐρ. Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἑλλάδιος, ἄ., β.	III	Dedicator of inscription
P.Oxy. I 102.4	Ἄντιοχος ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος, ἄ.	306	In descr. of addressee's father
SB VI 9219.24	Ἑρμίας, γενόμενος β., ἄ.	319	In descr. of sender's father
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι			
BGU IV 1024.vi.3	Διόδημος, (προ?)πολ. (-)	350-370	
P.Mich. XI 613.2	Φλ. Ἄρειος, πολ. (-)	415	
<b>Antaiopolis</b>			
No ἄρξαντες			
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι			
P.Flor. III 281.5	Ἰωάννης, πολ. (λαμπρ.)	517	
P.Lond. V 1689.5	Ἰωάννης, πολ. (μεγαλοπρεπ., †)	527	
P.Cair.Masp. III 67327.13	Φλ. Ἰωάννης, πολ. (λαμπρ.)	539?	
PSI VIII 935.1	Φλ. Ἰωάννης, πολ. (λαμπρ.)	VI	
P.Köln V 240.7	Ἰωάννης, πολ. (-)	?, VI	
P.Flor. III 281.4	Φλ. Πανόλβιος, πολ. (αἰδ.), ῥιπάριος	517	
P.Lond. V 1689.3	Φλ. Πανόλβιος Ἰωάννου, πολ. (λαμπρ. αἰδ.)	527	
P.Freer 08.45.a+b.4,18,104 <sup>5</sup>	Πανόλβιος, πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Cair.Masp. I 67113.1	Φλ. Πανόλβιος Ἰωάννου, πολ. (λαμπρ.)	VI	
P.Freer 08.45.a+b, App. II = P.Got. 20.27	Πανόλβιος, πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Freer 08.45.a+b.1	Ἡλίας Νεμεσιανοῦ, πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Freer 08.45.a+b.10	Βίκτωρ Νεμεσιανοῦ, πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Freer 08.45.a+b.13, 113	Μαρκελλῖνος, πολ. (-)	VI <sup>6</sup>	
P.Freer 08.45.a+b.37,141, 156	Ἡλίας, πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Cair.Masp. II 67135.1	Φλ. Κῦρος, πολ. (λαμπρ.)	538/9? (cf. BL IX 43)	
P.Cair.Masp. II 67134.1, 11; 67139.vi <sup>V</sup> .4; III 67327.5	Κῦρος, πολ. (†, λαμπρ.)	VI	
PSI IV 283.13	] . . . μος, πολ. (-)	550	

<sup>5</sup> NB: P.Freer 08.45.a+b = Trav. & Mém. 10 (1987) 103-158.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps identical with the Μαρκελ]λῖνος Εὐνόμου ὁ λαμπρότατος πολιτευ[όμενος occurring in P.Lond.inv. 1040.7 descr. (Antaiopolites, VI/VII cent.). I owe information on this papyrus to the kindness of Dr R.P. Salomons who has taken over from P.J. Sijpesteijn preparing a publication of this text.

**Antinoopolis**

ἄρξαντες

P.Lond. III 954 (p.153).6	Σωτήρ, β., ἄ.	260	Represents daughter in private lease contract
SPP V 119 <sup>R</sup> .iv.21	Κλαύδιος Δικαίαρχος, ἄ.	266	In list of neighbours in Hermopolis
P.Ant. I 35.2	Αὐρ. Σιλβανὸς Σερήνου, ἄ., β.	III	Sends petition
P.Ant. I 39.4	Σιλβανός, ἄ., β.	324	Brother of sender of official receipt
P.Lond. III 977 (p.231).8	N.N., β., ἄ.	330	Assists(?) in sale of house
P.Herm.Land. G.395 = F.613	Ἡρόδοτος, ἄ.	ca. 350	Entry in landlist
P.Herm.Land. F.683	Κάλλιστος, ἄ.	ca. 350	Entry in landlist
P.Rain.Cent. 154.1	Σαραπίων Σερήνου, ἄ.	IV/V	Landowner memorandum
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι			
P.Flor. I 95.4	Αὐρ. Κάστωρ Κάστορος, πολ. (-), χρυσώνης ἐπαρχίας	375	
P.Flor. I 95.4	Αὐρ. Εὐλόγιος Ἀετίου, πολ. (-), χρυσώνης ἐπαρχίας	375	
P.Flor. I 95.19,31,55,71, 84,92	Αὐρ. Ἐπις Σαίτιος, πολ. (-), χρυσώνης ἐπαρχίας	375-376	
P.Lips. 61.3	Αὐρ. Ἐπις Σαίτιος, πολ. (-), χρυσώνης ἐπαρχίας	375	
P.Lips. 62.i.2,16,25,34; 62.ii.2,1 8	Κλαύδιος Ἐπις Σαίτιος, πολ. (-), χρυσώνης ἐπαρχίας	384-385	
P.Lips. 63.3	Κλαύδιος Χουίς Βησᾶ, πολ. (-), χρυσώνης ἐπαρχίας	388	
SB X 10568.1	Κλαύδιος Χουίς Βησᾶ, πολ. (-), χρυσώνης ἐπαρχίας	393/4	
P.Lips. 38.i.18	N.N., πολ. (-)	390	
P.Sorb. II 23.1, 24.9,33, 25B.32, 31.24, 33B.16	Μηνᾶς, πολ. (-)	Early VII	

**Aphrodites polis**

ἄρξαντες

P.Neph. 31.19	Αὐρ. Π. [13 -]γένου, ἄ.	335	Witness to contract
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No (προ)πολιτευόμενοι

**Apollinopolis Magna**

No ἄρξαντες

(προ)πολιτευόμενοι

SB I 5112.75	Φλ. Ἀριστοφάνης, πολ. (-)	618	
P.Apoll.Ano 75.4	N.N., πολ. (-)	VII	
O.Edfou III 479.5	Φλ. Βιστώις, πολ. (-)	byz.	

**Arsinoe**

ἄρξαντες

CPR VIII 21.5	Αὐ. Ἀλύπιος, ἄ., β.	early IV	Addressee of offic. letter
P.Col. VII 138.35	Αὐρ. Εὐπόρος, ἄ., β., ἐπιμελ. χρυσοῦ	308	Issues tax receipt
SB XVI 12289.22	Αὐρ. Διονυσάμμων, ἄ. [ ]	309	Hypographeus (?)
P.Cair.Isid.69.10	Ἐπίων, ἄ., β.	310	Descr. former landowner
P.Mich. XII 652.4	Δίος Ὀρει, ἄ.	ca. 312	Makes delivery in official account
P.Mich. XII 652.5	Δίοςκορος Λύκωνος, ἄ.	ca. 312	idem

(προ)πολιτευόμενοι				
P.Sakaon 46.1, 48.1	Αὐρ. Ἰσίων, πολ. (-), πραιπόσιτος ἡ πάγου <sup>7</sup>	342, 343		
P.Abinn. 58.3 = P.Lond. II 233.3	Αὐρ. Εὐλόγιος Ἀνδρέα, πρύτανις, προπολ. (-)	345		
P.Grenf. I 54.7	Νόννος, πολ. (-)	378		
P.Lond. inv. 2180	Φλ. Ἰσίων, πολ. (-) καὶ ἐξάκτωρ	IV	(cf. above, fn. 7)	
SB XIV 12129.4	Λεόντιος, πολ. (-)	IV/V		
P.Prag. II 131.8	Φλ. Πτεμεῦς (?), πολ. (-)	455		
SPP X 252.13	Κοσμᾶς, πολ. (-)	VI		
SB VIII 9757.2,4	Πέτρος, πολ. (-)	VII/VIII		
<b>Athribis</b>				
No ἄρξαντες				
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι				
Lef. 64.12 = SB V 8699	Φλ. Κῦρος, πολ. (-), λογιστεύων καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῷ τετραπύλῳ	374		
<b>Boubastos</b>				
ἄρξαντες				
P.Bub. I 4.65.2	N.N., ἄ.	early III	Role unclear (in genitive)	
No (προ)πολιτευόμενοι				
<b>Cynopolis Maior</b>				
No ἄρξαντες				
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι				
P.Oxy. XLVIII 3398.11	Πτολεμαῖος, πολ. (-)	IV		
P.Oxy. L 3599.3	Φλ. Δωρόθεος, πολ. (αἰδ.)	460		
<b>Herakleopolis</b>				
ἄρξαντες				
SB XVI 12690.1	N.N., [ἄ.]	189	Party (or father ?) in private loan contract; see below p. 211	
BGU III 928.6	Αὐρ. Ἡρᾶς Σιλβανοῦ, ἄ.	311	Author offic. complaint	
P.Amh. II 142.20	N.N. Εὐδαίμωνος, ἄ.	post 341	Hypographeus	
SPP XX 90.5	Αὐρ. Ἡράκλειος Ἀφοῦτος, ἄ., β.	415	Private addressee	
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι				
SB VI 9597.2	N.N., [προ]πολ. (-), πρύτανις	IV <sup>8</sup>		
P.Fuad I Univ. 16.1	Ἡρακλ[ά]μ[μ]ωνι (?) ἐξάκτορι πολιτευ[ο]- μεν[ ]ι Ἡρακλεοπολ( ) <sup>9</sup>	361?	(cf. below, fn. 34)	
SPP XX 123 <sup>v</sup> .31	Φλ. Ὀλύμπιος, πολ. (-)	444/445		

<sup>7</sup> P.Sakaon 46 (cf. below, p. 216) has the remarkable word order π[ρα]ι(ποσίτω) π[ά]γου η[ ] (one would expect the numeral to precede the noun), followed by πολ(ιτευομένω) Πεντακωμίας. It is also unclear what Πεντακωμίας refers to (cf. A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario geografico*, IV.2 96 s.n.). Is this Ἰσίων the same person as Φλ. Ἰσίων πολιτευόμενος καὶ ἐξάκτωρ addressed in the still unpublished petition P.Lond. inv. 2180 (Arsinoe, IV; cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse* [Bruxelles 1964] 264)?

<sup>8</sup> A restoration of just πολ(ι)τευόμενος instead of προπολ(ι)τευόμενος seems less likely in view of the fact that there is no instance of a πολιτευόμενος who was πρύτανις at the same time, whereas the combination πρύτανις προπολιτευόμενος occurs in P.Abinn. 58.5 (Arsinoe, 345).

<sup>9</sup> See the remarks made by the editor, p. 30: "there is room for a narrow letter between the v and the final ι, but there is no trace of it remaining, though the papyrus is not broken at this point. The possibilities are: (a) πολιτευομέν[ο]ι, i.e. the officials or perhaps councillors of Heracleopolis, the writers of the letter; the absence of the article is an objection to this; or (b) πολιτευομέν[ω]ι, agreeing with Ἡρακλ[ά]μ[μ]ωνι ἐξάκτορι «holding office as exactor at Heracleopolis». This is perhaps the more likely, though there is no room for ω as it is written elsewhere in this document, and the writing of the final ι would be unusual."

**Hermonthis**

No ἄρξαντες

(προ)πολιτευόμενοι

BGU II 669.3

BGU II 670.8

P.Lond. I 77.84 (p. 236)

Φλ. Κόμες Σαβίνου, πολ. (-)

ἠ ἠ μος, πολ. (-)

Φλ. Ἄβραὰμ Θεοδοσίου, πολ. (-)

Byz.

Byz.

ca. 600

Cf. below, fn. 20.

**Hermopolis** (cf. also

below, fn. 17)

ἄρξαντες

Tyche 10 (1995) 3.2 = SPP XX 74.2

Ἑρμίνος ὁ καὶ Διδυμάμμων, ἄ. [ ]

276

Descr. of father of party in private contract; or from Alexandria?

CPR V 6.4 (BLVIII 100)

CPR VIII 26.2

CPR VIII 26.3

CPR XVII.A.7 .4; 8.3

Αὐρ. Πολυδεύκης ὁ καὶ Ταυρίνος, ἄ., β.

N.N., ἄ., β., διαδεχόμενος τὴν [ ]

N.N., ἄ., β.

Αὐρ. Ἀδέλφιος, ἄ., β.

306

319-322

319-322

317

Unclear (in off.doc.?)

idem

Addressee/sender of private contracts

CPR XVII.A.23.19

N.N. (Ἀδέλφιος ?), ἄ.

322

Unclear (in descr. of victim of attack)

CPR XVII.A.30.2

SB VI 9219.2, 11

P.Kell.Gr. I 21.26-7

SB XVIII 14056.4, P.Stras.

296V.2

SB XVIII 14056.4, P.Stras.

296V.2

P.Stras. 619.4

SB XVI 12673.3

Ἀδέλφιος (?), ἄ.

Αὐρ. Ἑρμῆς ὁ καὶ Δημήτριος, ἄ., β.

Αὐρ. Φιβίων, ἄ.,

Αὐρ. Ἀμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Κάνωβος, ἄ., β.,

σύνδικος

Αὐρ. Νειλάμμων ὁ καὶ Ἰέραξ, ἄ., β., σύνδικος

IV

319

321

326

326

Unclear

Official addressee

Hypographeus

Official addressee

Official addressee

idem, but om. σύνδικος

Πολυδεύκης, ἄ., γενόμενος [β.]

c. 325

324/5

Sends offic.(?) letter

In descr. of father of party in private contract

SPP XX 86 = CPR I 19.2

Πολυδεύκης, ἄ., γενόμενος β.

330

In descr. of addressee' s father

P.Charite 13.12n.

Αὐρ. Λέων Πολυδεύκου, [ἄ. ?], ἐπιμελητῆς κρέως

327

Official sender

SB XIV 12214.1

SPP XX 88.20

CPR XVII.A.32.1

Ἀπολλώνιος Λε-, ἄ., β., ἐπιμ. κρέως

Αὐρ. Νεῖλος Ἑρμάμμωνος, ἄ.

Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀδελφίου, ἄ., β.,

πραιπόσιτος ιε πάγου

Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀδελφίου, ἄ., β.

Ἀσκληπιάδης ἄ.

Ἑλλάδιος?, ἄ., β., λογιστ[

335?

337

340

341

IV

?, ca.

345?

347

Official sender

Hypographeus

Official addressee

Private addressee

In judicial document

Role unclear; in private loan of money

Addressee' s father in private contract

P.Lond. V 1651.4

P.Flor. I 95.5

P.Flor. I

95.20,32,56,72,87,95

P.Flor. I

95.20,32,56,72,87,95

Αὐρ. Ἑρμείας Ἡλιοδώρου, ἄ., β., στρατηγός

Αὐρ. Μέλας Ἑρμοῦ, β., ἄ., ὑπδέκτης χρυσοῦ

Αὐρ. Φιλάμμων Ἑρμοῦ, β., ἄ., ὑποδέκτης

χρυσοῦ

Αὐρ. Διόσκορος Ἀμμωνίωνος, β., ἄ., ὑποδέκτης

χρυσοῦ

NB: P.Flor. I 95.95 om. ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ

Αὐρ. Νεαρχίδης Νεαρχίδου, ἄ., β.

Αὐρ. Νεμεσιανός Δημητρίου, ἄ.

Πινουτίων Διοσκόρου, ἄ., β.

363

375

375-377

375-377

379?

380

late IV

Official addressee

Official addressee

Official addressee

Official addressee

Official addressee

Official addressee

Author of offic. complaint

(προ)πολιτευόμενοι

SPP XX 76.1

BGU XII 2135.1

CPR I 19.1 = SPP XX 86.1

N.N. ὁ καὶ Βασιανός, προπολ. ? (-)

Σαλλούστιος Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, προπολ. (-)

Σαλλούστιος Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, προπολ. (-)

post 308?

330

330

(cf. BL VIII 465)

P. Louvre A.F. 11314.1-2 <sup>10</sup> ; cf. P.Cair.Preis. 7.2 CPR V 9.3	Σαλλούστιος Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, προπολ. (-), ἔκδικος πόλεως καὶ νομοῦ Αὐρ. Εὐλόγιος ὁ καὶ Εὐφρόνιος προπολ. (-), ἔκδικος	ca. 330 339	
P.Flor. I 34.3	Φλ. Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἀσυγκρίτιος, Στρα[ ]πολ. (-), πραιπόσιτος α καὶ β πάγου	342 (+ BL I 137)	
P.Lips. 13.5	Αὐρ. Ὀκεάνιος Διοσκορίδου, πολ. (-)	364	For date cf. ZPE 100 (1994) 204
P.Flor. I 43.3	Αὐρ. Κῦρος Ἑρμείου, πολ. (-)	370	
P.Flor. I 43.4	Αὐρ. Γεννάδιος Ὀλυμπιοδώρου, πολ. (-)	370	
P.Flor. I 43.4	Αὐρ. Κοπρέας Ἡρακλήτος, πολ. (-)	370	
BGU IV 1092.4	Αὐρ. Ἑρμείνος Ἑρμείου, πολ. (-)	372	
BGU IV 1092.6	Αὐρ. Σιλβανὸς Ἑρμοδώρου, πολ. (-)	372	
P.Stras. IV 272.4	Αὐρ. Δωρόθεος Σιλβανοῦ, πολ. (-), στρατηγός	369	
P.Lond. V 1648.3, 1649.5	Αὐρ. Δωρόθεος Σιλβανοῦ, πολ. (-), ῥιπάριος	373	
P.Flor. I 52.14	Αὐρ. Δωρόθεος Σιλβανοῦ, πολ. (-)	376	
P.Lond. V 1648.3, 1649.5	Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἑρμίνου, πολ. (-), ῥιπάριος	373	
P.Stras. 749.4	N.N., son of N.N. πολ. († -)	380	
SB VIII 9907.5	Αὐρ. Ταυρίνος Ἀκυλάου, πολ. (-)	388	
P.Lips. 37.3	Αὐρ. Ζηνόδοτος . . . πίο[υ], προπολ. (-), ῥιπάριος <sup>11</sup>	389	(cf. below, p. 216f.)
P.Lips. 56.4,65.4	Αὐρ. Κῦρος Φιλάμμωνος, πολ. (-), νυκτοστράτηγος	390	
P.Herm. 19.14 (cf. 2)	Ἀπόλλων, ῥιπάριος, πολ. (-)	392	
P.Herm. 19.14 (cf. 2)	Θεόγνωστος, πολ. (-)	392	(cf. below, fn.17)
P.Stras. VIII 713.2	Αὐρ. Κῦρος Φιλάμμωνος, πολ. (-), νυκτοστράτηγος	397	
P.Herm. 52.2, 53.3	Αὐρ. Πέτρος Φιλάμμωνος, πολ. (-), νυκτοστράτηγος	399	
P.Select. 10.4	Αὐρ. Ἡρακλάμμων Δημέου, πολ. (-), στρατηγός / ἐξάκτωρ	399	
P.Select. 10.4	Αὐρ. Ζηνόδοτος E. [, πολ. (-), στρατηγός / ἐξάκτωρ <sup>12</sup>	399	
P.Select. 10.5	Αὐρ. Δωρόθεος Ἀχιλλέως, πολ. (-), στρατηγός / ἐξάκτωρ	399	
P.Select. 10.2	Αὐρ. Φοιβάμμων Ἑρμαίου, πολ. (-)	399	
SB XVI 12244.3	Φλ. Δημέας Ἡρακλάμμωνος, πολ. (-) καὶ καθοσιωμένος τριβούνος	IV	
SB XIV 11717.ii.18	Πομπώνιος, πολ. (†, -)	IV	
P.Flor. III 315.2	Αὐρ. Θεόδωρος Δωροθέου, πολ. (-)	435	
P.Flor. III 313.4	Αὐρ. Ἡρακλέων Ἱεροκλέους, πολ. (αιδ.) ῥιπάριος	449	
P.Vindob.Sijp. 11.4	Φλ. Καλλίνικος Ἐλλαδίου, πολ. (αιδ.)	453	
SB VIII 9763.55	Φλ. Ἀχιλλεύς, πολ. (-)	457-474	
SB VIII 9763.57	Φλ. Ἑρμόδωρος, πολ. (-)	457-474	
SB XVI 12486.9	N.N., father of Claudia Theonilla, πολ. (-) <sup>13</sup>	470	
CPR IX 36.3	Φλ. N.N. Καλλινίκου, πολ. (λαμπρ., αιδ.)	487/8	
CPR XXI 9.2 (forthcoming)	Φλ. Καλλίνικος Ἐλλαδίου (†), πολ. (item)	495	
P.Flor. III 343.2	Ἄνδρέας, λαμπρ. καὶ πολ.	V	

<sup>10</sup> Published by S. Kambitsis in Proc. XIXth Congr. of Papyrology, vol. I (Cairo 1992) 623.

<sup>11</sup> Is this the same man as the Αὐρ. Ζηνόδοτος, πολιτευόμενος, στρατηγός / ἐξάκτωρ in P. Select. 10.4? The editor of that text did not indicate the number of letters lost at the end of l. 4 and prints the remains of the patronymic only as E. [-]. From a comparison with the preceding and the following lines it follows that ca. 4 letters are lost in the lacuna. If the patronymic πίο[υ] in P.Lips. 37.3 refers to the same man as E. [ . . . ] in P.Select. 10.4, one wonders whether one should read Ἑρμίου in both cases, i.e. Ἑρμίου in P.Lips. 37.3 and Ἑρ[μίου] in P.Select. 10.4.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. above, fn. 11 ad P.Lips. 37.3 (A.D. 389).

<sup>13</sup> Ed. princ. ll. 8-9: Γλαυδία Θεονίλλα θυγα[τ]ρ[ι] | [ . . . ] | [ ] ο π[ολι]τευομένου, i.e. [Θεοδ]ώ[ρ]ο[υ] π[ολι]τευομένου, or a short name followed by προπ[ολι]τευομένου. In view of the date of the document a restoration of προπ[ολι]τευομένου seems now unlikely.

P.Flor. III 352.2	Φλ. Ἐρύθριος, πολ. (-), λογιστής	V	
BGU XII 2170.19	N.N., πολ. (-)	V	
SPP VIII 1025.1	Φλ. Σαραπίων, πολ. (-), λογιστής	V/VI	(cf. BL IX 341)
SPP XX 143.9	Φλ. Δωσίθεος, πολ. (-), ὑποδέκτης λαργιτι- ωναλικῶν καὶ δεσποτικῶν προσόδων	V/VI	
P.Grenf. I 57.2	Ζαχαρίας, πολ. (-)	561	
SPP XX 218.6	Φλ. Δημήτριος, μεγαλοπρεπ. κόμες καὶ πολ.	early VII	
P.Sorb. II 75.E.5, 102.E.1	Θεόδωρος, πολ. (-)	early VII	
P.Sorb. II 105.D.1	Σαλλούστιος, πολ. (-)	early VII	
P.Sorb. II 100.A.11	N.N., πολ. (-)	early VII	
<b>Hypselis</b>			
ἄρξαντες			
SB XIV 11614.2	-νίνος, ἄ., ἀναμετρητής in Memphites	303	Official addressee
No (προ)πολιτευόμενοι			
<b>Oasis Maior</b>			
<b>(Hibis/Mothis)</b>			
ἄρξαντες			
P.Kell.Gr. I 19.a.5	Αὐρ. Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἄ.	299	Assists in off. petition
P.Kell.Gr. I 19.a.App.5	Αὐρ. Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἄ.	ca. 300	Idem
SB XVIII 13852.34	N.N., ἄ., διαδεχόμενος τῆν	309	Issues order
P.Kell.Gr. I 37.10	N.N., ἄ.	320	Unclear
P.Kell.Gr. I 21.1	Αὐρ. Φαυστιανός, ἄ., ἔκδικος	321	Official addressee
P.Kell.Gr. I 4.1, 19	Αὐρ. Παυσανίας Οὐαλερίου, ἄ.	331	Author of private doc.
P.Kell.Gr. I 38.a.1,22	Αὐρ. Παυσανίας Οὐαλερίου, ἄ.	333	Author of private grant
P.Kell.Gr. I 38.b.1,22	Αὐρ. Παυσανίας Οὐαλερίου, ἄ.	333	Idem
P.Kell.Gr. I 23.6-7	Ἄρποκρατίων, ἄ.	353	Subject of complaint in petition
P.Kell.Gr. I 48.2,18	Αὐρ. Οὐαλέριος Σαραπίωνος, ἄ.	355	Manumittor
P.Kell.Gr. I 8.16-17	Αὐρ. Τιμόθεος Ἄρποκρατίωνος, ἄ.	362	Hypographeus in sale of a slave
P.Kell.Gr. I 25.3	Αὐρ. Φιλοσάραπις ὁ καὶ Μίκαλος, ἄ., πρόεδρος	IV	Addressee of offic. doc.
P.Kell.Gr. I 25.4	Αὐρ. Ἀνδρόμαχος Ἀπόλλωνος, ἄ., σύνδικος	IV	Addressee of offic. doc.
Cf. also the following unpublished ostraka from Kellis (all receipts signed by ἄρξαντες):			
O.Kellis A/6/89 (dated 'year 10 and 11'):			
4 Αὐρήλιος Θέων Πισιστράτ(ου) ἄρξας δεκάπ(ρωτος).			
5-6 Αὐρήλιος Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἰσίδω[ρος ἄρ]ξ(ας) δεκάπρωτ(ος).			
O.Kellis D/1/142 (dated 'year 12 = 11 = 4' = A.D. 295/6):			
5-8 Αὐρήλιος Θέων Πισιστράτ(ου) ἄρξας δεκάπρωτ(ος) τοπαρχίας Μεσοβή.			
8-10 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἄρξ(ας).			
O.Kellis D/3/32 (dated 'year 6'):			
4 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀνδρότιμος ὁ κ(αὶ) Κενδρόκιος ἄρξας δεκάπρωτ(ος).			
5-6 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀπόλλων ὁ κ(αὶ) Χάρης ἄρξ(ας) δεκάπρωτος.			
O.Kellis D/0/2 = # 2037 (dated 'year 14'):			
Αὐρήλιος Ἄριος ὁ καὶ Ὡρος Λιήτος ἄρξας δεκάπρωτος δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ κ(αὶ) Χάρητος			
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι			
M.Chrest. II 77.2; 78.2	Αὐρ. Κλεόβουλος, πολ. (-)	378/378	
O.Douch I 50.1	Ἀμώνις, πολ. (-)	IV	
P.Kell.Gr. I 54.17	N.N., πολ. (-)	IV	
<b>Oxyrhynchus</b>			
ἄρξαντες			
P.Oxy. XVII 2116.4	Αὐρ. Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός, ἄ., ἐπιτηρητής στυπηρίας	229	Addressee of off. doc.
P.Oxy. XVII 2116.4	Αὐρ. Διογένης Σαραπίωνος, ἄ., ἐπιτηρητής στυπηρίας	229	Addressee of off. doc.
P.Oxy. XVII 2116.4	Αὐρ. Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου, ἄ., ἐπιτηρητής στυπηρίας	229	Addressee of off. doc.

P.Oxy. L 3565.3	Αὐρ. Ἀνίκητος Πλουτάρχου, ἄ. βοαγείαν, β.	245	Sender of official doc.
PSI IV 298.2	Αὐρ. Φοιβάμμων Διογένους Στεφάνου, ἄ.	ca. 293	Sender of official petition
P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2849.13	Σαρῶς, ἄ.	296 (also in Alex.)	In descr. of sender's father
P.Oxy. XXIV 2407.12,39	Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἄ.	late III	Speaker in meeting proceedings
P.Oxy. XXIV 2407.39	Φιλόξενος, ἄ.	late III	Speaker in meeting proceedings
P.Oxy. XVIII 2187.8	Βερενικιανός, ἄ. [β.]	304	in petition
P.Oxy. XVIII 2187.8	Διοσκουρίδης, ἄ. [β.]	304	in petition
P.Oxy. XIX 2232.1	Αὐρ. Ἡρᾶς Διονυσίου, ἄ., β., πραιπόσιτος ἡ πάγου	316	Official addressee
P.Oxy. LX 4075.3	Ἡλιόδωρος, ἄ.	318?	In descr. of offic. meeting
P.Oxy. LX 4075.3	Εὐτόλμιος, ἄ.	318?	In descr. of offic. meeting
SB XII 11154.4	Αὐρ. Πατερμούθιος Παύλου, ἄ., β.	321	Represents wife (addressee) in private contract
P.Oxy. VI 900.4	Αὐρ. Διόσκορος Σιλβανοῦ, ἄ., β.	322	Author of official petition
P.Oxy. LXI 4125.9,16-17	Στρατόνικος, ἄ.	322	Addressee's father in priv. contract
P.Oslo III 138.2	Ἰέραξ Πεσσούριος, ἄ., β.	323	Issues a lease contract
P.Oxy. LIV 3758.182	Καπιτωλίνος, ἄ.	325	In descr. of court proceedings
P.Oxy. VI 990.6	Ἄγαθος Δαίμων Καικιλίου, ἄ., γενόμενος [β.?] ]	331	In descr. of a woman making a testament
P.Oxy. I 67.2	Αὐρ. Ἀέτιος, ἄ., προπολιτευόμενος	338	Addressee of offic. doc.
P.Oxy. XII 1559.4	Αὐρ. Ἀριστίων Πτολεμαίου, ἄ., β.	341	Sender of petition
SB XVI 13035.4,62	Σερήνος Σαρᾶ, ἄ.	341	Entry in private ledger, owes rent
(προ)πολιτευόμενοι			
P.Oxy. I 67.2,8,17	Ἀέτιος, ἄρξας, προπολ. (-)	338 <sup>14</sup>	
P.Oxy. L 3579.2	Ἀέτιος, προπολ. (-)	341-43	
P.Oxy. L 3577.1,13	Ἀέτιος, προπολ. (-)	342	
P.Oxy. L 3577.2,13	Διόσκορος, προπολ. (-)	342	
P.Oxy. XLVIII 3394.16	Ἀθανάσιος, προπολ. (-)	364-67	
PSI VIII 944.10	Μακρόβιος, προπολ. (-)	364-66	
P.Oxy. XLVIII 3393.6	Εὐλόγιος, πολ. (-)	365	
PSI XV 1566.6	Ζωίλος, πολ. (-)	391	
P.Wash.Univ. I 20.1	Φλ. Μακρόβιος, πολ. (-)	IV	
ChLA V 292.8	N.N., πολ. (-)	IV	
P.Oxy. LI 3627.4	Ἀμβρόσιος, πολ. (-)	late IV	
P.Oxy. LI 3627.1	Ἀσκληπιάδης, πολ. (-)	late IV	
P.Oxy. LI 3627.4	Πτολεμαῖος, πολ. (-)	late IV	
P.Oxy. VII 1048.6	Ἀέτιος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Oxy. VII 1048.7	Ἀθανάσιος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Heid. IV 313.14,16	Διοσκουρίδης, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Heid. IV 314.2	Εὐήθιος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Heid. IV 314.3	Ἰερακίων, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Wash.Univ. II 83.1	Μακρόβιος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Oxy. VII 1048.10	Οὐαλέριος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Oxy. VII 1048.4	Πάκιος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Wash.Univ. II 83.3	Παῦλος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Heid. IV 314.6	Στρατήγιος, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Heid. IV 313.17; 314.7	Τατιανός, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Heid. IV 313.9	N.N., πολ. (-)	IV/V	
P.Michael. 33.2,17	Φλ. Πτολεμῖνος Εὐλογίου, πολ. (-)	IV/V	
CPR VII 39.9,11	Σεπτίμιος (?) Φιλέας, πολ. (-)	405/6	
P.Köln V 234.3	Φλ. Ἰωσήφ, πολ. (-), ῥιπάριος	431	

<sup>14</sup> The additional title ἄρξας occurs only in 1. 2.

P.Mil. II 64.2	N.N., πολ. (αἰδ.), [διοικητῆς] τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς --- δεσποίνης Ἀρκαδίας	441	
P.Oxy. VI 913.4	Δανήλιος, [προ]πολ. (-)	442 <sup>15</sup>	
P.Mil. II 45.3	Φλ. Ἀθανάσιος, πολ. (αἰδ.), ῥιπάριος	449	
P.Gron.Amst. 1.2	Φλ. Τατιανός, πολ. (αἰδ.), ῥιπάριος	455	
P.Oxy. XXXIV 2718.3	Φλ. Λευκάδιος, πολ. (αἰδ.)	458	
SB XVIII 13596.3	Φλ. Ἰωσήφ, πολ. (αἰδ.), ῥιπάριος	464	
P.Oxy. VI 902.4,12	Φοιβάμμων, πολ. (-)	465	
P. Flor. III 325.2	Φλ. Στρατήγιος Ἀπίωνος (?), ἐνδοξ. καὶ πολ.	489	(cf. BL VII 53)
P.Oxy. XLIX 3512.3	Φλ. Ἰωάννης Μαρτυρίου, πολ. (αἰδ.)	492	
P.Oxy. L 3584.2	Φλ. Στρατήγιος, πολ. (αἰδ.)	V	
P.Oxy. XXIV 2418.8	Θ]έων, πολ. (αἰδ.)	V/VI	
P.Oxy. XVI 2002.1	N.N., κόμης, πολ. (-)	579	
P.Oxy. XVI 2020.1	N.N.,] πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Oxy. I 155.12	Θεόφιλος, πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Wash.Univ. II 89.13	Σαραπίων, πολ. (-)	VI	
P.Wash.Univ. II 89.24	Βίκτωρ, πολ. (-)	VI	
SB I 1971.1, 1972.1	Διοσκουρίδης, πολ. (-)	VI (?KAW)	(cf. below, p. 209)
SB VI 8988.31	Μαρῖνος, πολ. (περίβλ.)	647	
SB VI 8988.31	Μαρκιανός, πολ. (περίβλ.)	647	
<b>Panopolis</b>			
ἄρξαντες			
P.Got. 4.4	Αὐρ. Θεών ὁ καὶ Δημήτριος, ἄ.	253	Sender of offic. document
P.Panop.Beatty 1.120, 160	Ἰέραξ, ἄ. ἐπιμελητῆς	298	In official correspondence
P.Panop.Beatty 1.244	Θεόφραστος ὁ καὶ Θεόγνωστος Ἡλιοδώρου, ἄ.	298	Addressee of off. corresp.
P.Panop.Beatty 1.244	Θεόδωρος Ἄρχοντος Ἐρμίνου, ἄ.	298	Addressee of off. corresp.
P.Panop.Beatty 1.276	Βησᾶς Ἱερακαπόλλωνος τοῦ καὶ Δημητρίου, ἄ.	298	Addressee of off. corresp.
P.Panop.Beatty 1.276	Τριφιόδωρος Ἰσιδώρου Καλλιμάχου, ἄ.	298	Addressee of off. corresp.
P.Panop.Beatty 1.380	Θεόδοτος ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος Φιλαδέλφου, ἄ.	298	Addressee of off. corresp.
P.Panop.Beatty 1.384	Μίκαλος Θεάνος, ἄ., ἐπιμελητῆς ζῶων	298	Addressee of off. corresp.
P.Panop.Köln 21.3	Ἱερακίων ὁ καὶ Θεοφάνης, ἄ.	315	Addressee private contract
P.Panop.Köln 27.3	Βησᾶς ὁ καὶ Δοσίθεος, ἄ.	323	Sender of petition
P.Berl.Bork. 10.3	Βησᾶς, ἄ.	early IV	In list of house owners
PSI XII 1233.1	Ἄρποκρατίων, ἄ., β.	323	Addressee of lease contract
PSI XII 1233.1	Εὐλόγιος, ἄ., β.	323	Addressee of lease contract
SB V 7666.1	Αὐρ. Δοσίθεος Διονυσοδώρου, ἄ., β.	330	Addressee private contract
P.Panop.Köln 22.2,14	Αὐρ. Ἡρῶν Ἱερακαπόλλωνος, ἄ., β.	336	Issues contract
P.Panop.Köln 8.1	Αὐρ. ? Ἀπόλλων Δίου, ἄ.	338	Private addressee
P.Panop.Köln 7.1	Αὐρ. -ωρος Ἰσιδώρου, ἄ.	ca. 338	Private addressee
P.Lips. 45.5	Αὐρ. Σεμπρώνιος Σεμπρώνιου, ἄ., β.	371	Sender of official doc.
P.Lips. 46.5	Αὐρ. Ἀπολλώνιος Βησᾶ, ἄ.	371	Idem
P.Lips. 59.5	Αὐρ. Μίκαλος Ἀφθονίου, ἄ., β., ἐπιμελητῆς ἐσθῆτος	371	Idem, in off. doc.
P.Lips. 60.3	Ἀφθόνιος, γενόμενος β., ἄ., γενόμενος ἐπιμελητῆς ἐσθῆτος	post 371	Descr. of sender's father in off. doc.
P.Panop.Köln 25.9	N.N., ἄ., β.	early IV	Mention in off. complaint
No (προ)πολιτευόμενοι			
<b>Ptolemais</b>			
ἄρξαντες			
SB V 8481	Σωτήρ Σωτήρος, ἄ.	III	Dedicator of inscription
P.Lips. 50.3	Αὐρ. Ἀπίων, ἄ., β.	372	Sender of official doc.
No (προ)πολιτευόμενοι			

<sup>15</sup> Daniel, father of a daughter N.N., is apparently dead and one should restore [πολιτευσα]μένου instead of [προπολιτευο]μένου. In this respect it should be noted that the latest dated attestation of a προπολιτευόμενος in the Oxyrhynchite nome dates from A.D. 364-367, i.e. 75 years earlier.

**Tentyris**

ἄρξαντες

P.Nag.Hamm. 64.6

Αὐρ. Πτολεμαῖος Παχούμιος, ἄ.

346

Addressee of private doc.

No (pro)πολιτευόμενοι

**Thmouis**

ἄρξαντες

P.Corn. 20.2,27,46,64,83,  
103,126,146,168,188,211Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄ., πρυτανεύσας,  
ἀναμετρητής in Arsin.

302

Addressee of offic. doc.

No (προ)πολιτευόμενοι

**Provenance unknown**

ἄρξαντες

P.Rain.Cent. 68.13

BGU III 745.2

Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Τιμόθεος, ἄ.  
N.N., ἄ.

c. 235?

mid III ?

Ment'd in official doc.  
Referred to in (sender of?)  
petition (?)

P.Ryl. IV 701.18

Αὐρ. Πατερμοῦθις, ἄ., β.

305

Signs (?) record of pro-  
ceedings

SPP XX 77.9

Αὐρ. Διόσκορος, ἄ., διαδό[της]<sup>16</sup>

307

Signs document (tax  
receipt?)

P.Heid. IV 323 C.3

P.Bodl. I 44.17

Αὐρ. N.N., ἄ., β.  
-ος, ἄ.

310

Issues official receipt

P.Cair.Preis. 34 = SB XVI  
12340.3

Αὐρ. Ἀμμωνᾶς Βησαρίωνος, ἄ., ναύκληρος

310

hypographeus

P.Nag.Hamm. 63.18

P.Amst. I 39.2

Αὐρ. Στατίλιος Δευτέρου, ἄ.  
N.N., ἄ.

341

Hypographeus  
Author (?) of official  
complaint?

P.Amst. I 74.5

N.N. ὁ καὶ (?) Θεόγνωστος, ἄ.

?Herm.?,

early

IV?

Owner of land?<sup>17</sup>

P.Gron. 10.29

Αὐρ. Κτίστης, ἄ.

IV or VI

(BL) ?

In list of witnesses to  
contract

SB XVI 12229.1

Αὐρ. Οἰάλεριος, ἄ.

IV/V

Subscribes contract<sup>18</sup>

(προ)πολιτευόμενοι

SB XII 10932.3

P.Stras. VII 694.2

P.Mil. II 34 = SB VIII  
9846.2

N.N., πολ. (-)

N.N., ]πολ. (-)

N.N., πολ. (-)

396

early IV

IV

P.Rain.Cent. 109.3

CPR V 24.1

P.Jand. III 40.5

P.Jand. III 40.10

P.Sorb. I 63.1

P.Mich. XI 624.3

SB IV 7480.5-6

]ης, πολ. (αἰδ.)

Τατῖνος, πολ. (-)

N.N., πολ. (-)

Φιλόξενος, πολ. (-)

Φιλόξενος, πολ. (-)

]λιανός, πολ. (-)

N.N., π[ροπολ.<sup>19</sup> (λαμπρ.)

490

V?

V/VI

V/VI

VI

early VI

VI/VII

(+ BL III 186/7)

<sup>16</sup> In the context of a receipt's being signed by some official an indication of his official capacity seems very attractive to me and therefore I propose to restore διαδό[της For the office cf. the remarks made in YCIS 28 (1985) 111.

<sup>17</sup> Strictly speaking the provenance of P.Amst. I 74 is unknown, but the kleros names Μενελάου and Διονυσίου are both known in the Hermopolite nome. Is the name Θεόγνωστος in ] τοῦ καὶ Θεογνώστου really an alias name, or the name of a second independent person (by themselves the letters -του might also contain the ending of a preceding name or title)? For a πολιτευόμενος Θεόγνωστος in Hermopolis in A.D. 390 cf. above.

<sup>18</sup> The editor's reading of the name after Αὐρ. as Ἀκάκιος seems very suspect to me. P.J. Sijpesteijn and P. van Minnen suggest reading Οἰάλεριος.

<sup>19</sup> But cf. below p. 215.

CPR VIII 84.3  
SB I 4686.4

Θεόδωρος, πολ. (-)  
Σαβίνος, πολ. (-)

VII/VIII  
Byz.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, there are ‘general’ references to the title προπολιτευόμενος in:

P.Oxy. XXII 2343 = SB XVIII 13932.17 (Oxy., 287); P.Cair. Isid. 1.15 (Arsinoe, 297); P.Oxy. XLIV 3191.i.5 (Oxy., 302);

P.Oxy. LIV 3758.6 (Oxy., 325); P.Oxy. LV 3794.3,20 (Oxy., 340)

and there are ‘general’ attestations of the title πολιτευόμενος in:

BGU IV 1024.vi.11,15,22 (Alex., 350-370; cf. P.Kell. I p. 45); P.Cair.Masp. I 67057 ii.29 (Antaiop., mid VI); P.Lund II 5.13 (Arsin. ?, ca. 500); P.Lips. 34.11 (Hermop., ca. 375); P.Lips. 35 = ChLA XII 524.14 (Hermop., ca. 375); P.Mert. I 43.2,7 (Oxy., late IV?); P.Oxy. XVI 1921.2 (Oxy., VI); PSI VI 684.6 (? , IV; for the date cf. BASP 11 [1974] 58; but ‘III’ seems too early, cf. below); P.Berl.Frisk. 4.17 (? , IV-V); P.Wash.Univ. I 7.4 (? , V-VI); P.Mich. XI 624.11(? , early VI); P.Matr. 10.2 (? , VI); SB XVIII 13865.7 (Thebaid ?, V/VI), 13925.2 ([λαμπ.]; ? , VI/VII); SEG VIII 781 = I.Theb. Syene 236.7 (Syene, referring to the πολιτευόμενοι of Latopolis; V/VI).<sup>21</sup>

The list of attestations of ἄρξαντες and πολιτευόμενοι given above allows us to make the following observations, first on the title ἄρξας:

(1) Its earliest ‘attestation’ in SB XVI 12690.1-2 (Herakleop., 189P [cf. BL IX 289]), is very dubious, as it depends almost completely on a restoration; in fact only the ending -αντος has been preserved and restorations of offices held earlier like, e.g. γυμνασιαρχή|[σ]αντος, εὐθηνιαρχή|[σ]αντος etc. instead of [ἄρ]|[ξ]αντος are also conceivable. The earliest securely dated instance of the title ἄρξας dates from A.D. 229 (P.Oxy. XVII 2116; Oxyrhynchus). Preisigke’s observation (*Städtisches Beamtenwesen* [fn. 2 above], 13-14) that there are no attestations of the title ἄρξας from before A.D. 202, while the term ἄρχων is found before that year only in the well-known phrasing κοινὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων (*ibidem*, 8), deserves to be kept in mind by modern editors of texts.

(2) If the suggested re-dating of P.Gron. 10 (prov. unknown; ed.: IV, but cf. BL V 39, VII 64) were correct, the latest instance of the title ἄρξας would be from the 6th century. There are, however, no other instances of ἄρξας from the 6th century; the latest securely dated attestation dates from A.D. 415 (SPP XX 90, Heracleopolis, cf. BL VII 261). One might argue, therefore, that unless the title of ἄρξας in the Groningen papyrus denotes something completely different from the traditional interpretation ‘former municipal (civil) magistrate’ (among the witnesses in P.Gron. 10 one finds i.a. 2 military ex-praepositi and 3 military tribuni), its use in this papyrus could be a reason for maintaining the editor’s date as much as possible [moving perhaps its (palaeographical) date only from ‘IV’ to ‘IV/V’; for other papyri dated ‘IV/V’ cf. SB XVI 12229.1 (Prov. unknown) and P.Rain.Cent. 154.1 (Antinoop.)]. A xerox of the papyrus, however, kindly provided by the University Library at Groningen<sup>22</sup> shows that the handwriting indeed looks ‘late’, i.e. from the 6th rather than from the early 5th century A.D. Moreover,

<sup>20</sup> The text is very incompletely preserved. Ll. 3-5 read: [ ... ]ς υἱὸς [ ... ] | <sup>4</sup>Σαβίνου πολιτ( ) ἐπειδέδωκα [ ... ] | <sup>5</sup>[μα]ρτυρίαν ὡς πρόκειται, and in a restoration like, e.g., υἱὸς [τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης] | Σαβίνου, πολιτ( ), the title πολιτ( ) might go with the son [ ... ]ς rather than with his father Σαβίνος. One might ask, then, whether this Sabinos is the same man as the father of Φλ. Κόμες, πολιτευόμενος in Hermonthis, BGU II 669.3, hence restore in SB 4686.4-5 Κόμ[ε]ς before υἱὸς; moreover, as the verso of BGU II 669 has it that this text is a διαμαρτυρία, one might think of restoring ἐπειδέδωκα τ[ῆν] | [δια]μαρτυρίαν in SB 4686.4-5 and take it that the Louvre text is the bottom part of the Berlin papyrus (though most Louvre papyri published by C. Wessely seem to come from the Fayum, there are exceptions to that rule-of-thumb; cf. BASP 16 [1979] 243 fn. 4 for some Louvre papyri from the Memphite, the Herakleopolite and the Hermopolite nomes). With customary kindness G. Poethke provided me with xeroxes of both BGU I 669 and SB I 4686 and informs me that in his opinion the texts do *not* match. I agree with him and I observe that l. 3 of the Louvre papyrus cannot be restored along the lines set forth above, as the surface of the papyrus is completely preserved but blank. Moreover, there is no reason to think that after l. 5 the text of SB I 4686 is incomplete; again, the surface of the papyrus is more or less complete, but blank.

<sup>21</sup> It remains to be seen (cf. above, fn. 3), whether the participles πολιτευόμενος / πολιτευσάμενος in P.Amh. II 82.8 (ca. 300-320; cf. F. Mitthof in *Akten XXI. Papyrologenkongress Berlin*, forthcoming) and in P.Oxy. XX 2266.18 (A.D. 266/67) are attestations of the well-known title. According to the editor this is not the case for the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (in which πολιτευόμενος = πολίτης).

<sup>22</sup> I am very grateful to M. van Rossum-Steenbeek for her kind help in obtaining this xerox.

the number of (six) witnesses also seems to point to a later date (one is reminded of, e.g., the Syene-texts from the late 5th and 6th century<sup>23</sup>). Therefore, one cannot escape the conclusion that the date of this papyrus remains problematic and uncertain [there is insufficient reason to connect the topographical name Πκρῶ (l. 13<sup>24</sup>) with the homonymous name given to a plot of land in the Pathyrite nome (as the editor's note to l. 13 seems to suggest; A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* IV 153, distinguish the two plots, correctly in my view). Under the circumstances one must stick, therefore, to the attribution 'prov.unknown.'].]

(3) The title ἄρξας is never found in combination with other municipal magistracies like γυμνασιαρχήσας, ἐξηγητεύσας, ἀγορανομήσας, εὐθηνιαρχήσας, κοσμητεύσας, ἀρχιερατεύσας, but seems to replace these or to sum them up (see below). One finds the title either by itself or in combination with that of membership of a local town council, i.e. βουλευτής, πρόεδρος or πρύτανις (or, for that matter, πρυτανεύσας); the most normal sequence is (1°) ἄρξας, (2°) βουλευτής, but sometimes this order is inverted (cf. Alexandria, 319 [doc. written in Hermopolis!]; Antinoopolis, 260, 330; Hermopolis, 375, 375-77; Panopolis, post 371); one may observe that all cases of the inverted order are found in documents from the Thebaid. Often enough the title ἄρξας is followed by another indication of an official (usually: municipal) duty, e.g. an ἐπιμέλεια. We find the following combinations of titles:

SB XIV 11614.2	ἄ., ἀναμετρητής in the Memphite nome	Hypselis, 303
P.Corn. 20.2,27,46,64,83,103,126,146, 168,188,211	ἄ., πρυτανεύσας, ἀναμετρητής in the Arsinoite nome	Thmouis, 302
P.Oxy. L 3565.3	ἄ. βοαγείαν, β.	Oxy., 245 <sup>25</sup>
Various O.Kellis ined.	ἄ., δεκάπυτος	Great Oasis, approx. 244-302
CPR VIII 26.2	ἄ., β., διαδεχόμενος τὴν [ ]	Hermop., 319-322
SB XVIII 13852.34	ἄ., β., διαδεχόμενος τὴν [ ]	Great Oasis, 309
SPP XX 77.9	ἄ., διαδό[της ?]	?, 307
P.Kell.Gr. I 21.1	ἄ., ἔκδικος	Mothis, 321
P.Stras. 296.r.4, v.2	ἄ., β., σύνδικος	Hermop., 326
P.Kell.Gr. I 25.4	ἄ., σύνδικος	Mothis, IV
P.Panop. Beatty 1.120, 160	ἄ., ἐπιμελητής	Panop., 298
P.Lips. 59.5 (cf. 60.3)	ἄ., β., ἐπιμελητής ἐσθῆτος	Panop., 371
P.Panop.Beatty 1.384	ἄ., ἐπιμελητής ζώων	Panop., 298
P.Charite 13.12n.	[ἄ. ?] ἐπιμελητής κρέως	Hermop., 327
SB XIV 12214.1	ἄ., β., ἐπιμελητής κρέως	Hermop., 335?
P.Col. VII 138.35	ἄ., β., ἐπιμελητής χρυσοῦ	Arsin., 308
P.Oxy. XVII 2116.4	ἄ., β., ἐπιμελητής στυπτηρίας	Oxy., 229
P.Charite 33.4	ἄ., β., λογιστ[	Hermop., ca. 345?
P.Cair.Preis. 34 = SB XVI 12340.3	ἄ., ναύκληρος	?, 315
P.Oxy. XIX 2232.1	ἄ., β., πραιπόσιτος η πάγου	Oxy., 316
CPR XVII.A.32.1	ἄ., β., πραιπόσιτος ιε πάγου	Hermop., 340
P.Kell.Gr. I 25.3	ἄ., πρόεδρος	Mothis, IV
P.Oxy. I 67.2	ἄ., προπολιτευόμενος	Oxy., 338

<sup>23</sup> For this dossier cf. BASP 23 (1986) 81-98.

<sup>24</sup> As D. Hagedorn reminds me per e-mail, "das maskuline koptische Wort κρῶ (mit Artikel: ΠΚΡῶ) heißt nach Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 115a auch 'Ufer'; paßt das nicht ganz gut zu 'νήσος', Z. 12?"

<sup>25</sup> Βοαγείαν immediately after ἄρξας is remarkable; except for the more general phrasing ἄρχειν ἀρχάς (for this cf., e.g., P.Oxy. XXII 2339.27 and below for SB I 176.13-14) there is no instance in the papyri of ἄρξας followed by a specific object denoting the sphere of operations (in the accusative), in which combination ἄρξας would seem to mean something like 'ex-magistrate in charge of the ...'. Under normal conditions [cf. later in this listing] one would expect ἄρξας to be followed by an indication of another office held, like διαδεχόμενος τὴν βοαγείαν or ἐπιμελητής (τῆς) βοαγείας (N.B: this office does not seem to be attested [cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* 27-28] and it may be that the βοαγεία never was a municipal ἐπιμέλεια). The problem may be solved by assuming that ἄρξας βοαγείαν is meant to be the equivalent of the aor. participle of the non-existing verb βοαγεύω, βοαγεύσας; in that case, however, one is apparently not dealing with a 'regular' case of ἄρξας.

P.Lond. V 1651.4  
P.Flor. I 95.5,20,32,56,72,87

ἄ., β., στρατηγός  
β., ἄ., ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ

Hermop., 363  
Hermop., 375-377

(4) B.A. van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (Groningen 1924) 136-137, refers to the case of a man Polydeukes from Hermopolis (father of a certain Demetria alias Ammonia) who is styled γυμνασιαρχήσας = 'former-gymnasiarch' in SPP II p. 33 (Hermopolis, 328; in the address of a document directed to his daughter), but ἄρξας in A.D. 330 (SPP XX 86 = CPR I 19 [idem]); cf. now also SB XVI 12673 from 324/5 [idem]. There are now several similar cases:

(a) the case of Sarapion = Apollonianos who was ἄρξας in 229, but γυμνασιαρχήσας in other/later years (cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouveau liste des gymnasiarques* # 225 = # 238; for his career see also G. Bastianini in *Aegyptus* 69 [1969] 149-182);

(b) that of (Marcus Aurelius) Saras who was γυμνασιαρχήσας and town councillor of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 237 (P.Oxy. VIII 1114; Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* # 367), and was styled ἄρξας in A.D. 296 (cf. P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2849.13n.).

Also relevant are the case of P.Oxy. LVIII 3925 (c. 245-6) in which the addressee Sarapion alias Agathos Daimon γυμνασιαρχήσας was one of the ἄρξαντες βουλευταί chosen by the municipal council and the careers of Aur. Adelphios son of Adelphios and of Aur. Amazonios who were gymnasiarchs according to some documents, while in other texts they are referred to as ἄρξαντες (for Aur. Adelphios see CPR XVII.A, p. 10, and Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.*, # 600; for Aur. Amazonios cf. P.Charite, 13.29-30 and Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.*, # 605; for the career of the son of Aur. Adelphios, Aur. Asklepiades, who apparently held a still unknown municipal magistracy, cf. BASP 15 [1978] 119 and CPR XVII.A, p. 65f.).

One might be inclined, therefore, to regard ἄρξας as almost synonymous with γυμνασιαρχήσας, but that would go too far, because a similar variation between a precise indication of an office held earlier and a general indication ἄρξας is found in the career of Didymammon in SPP XX 74 who is styled ἄρξας in 1. 2 and εὐθηνιαρχήσας in 1. 9. Also instructive is the inscription SB I 176.13-14, where a person is styled 'ἄρξας τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχάς', referring back to the titlature of an earlier member of the same family, i.e. 'γενόμενος ἀγορανόμος καὶ ἐξηγητὴς καὶ γυμνασίαρχος'<sup>26</sup> and the (fairly long) career of Aur. Eudaemon alias Helladios for whom see P.Oxy. XL 2904 (272: ἄρξας βουλευτὴς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει), P.Oxy. XII 1412.1 (ca. 283/4: γενόμενος εὐθηνιαρχῆς κοσμητὴς ἐξηγητὴς ὑπομνηματογράφος βουλευτὴς τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, γυμνασιαρχήσας βουλευτὴς τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως), and M.Chr. 196 (307), in which he styles himself simply as γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) βουλ(ευτῆς) of Oxyrhynchus.

The list of attestations of the title ἄρξας shows that it has been used in several ways:

(1) for self-identification by a person who simply describes himself as ἄρξας. The question is whether people cared very much about a precise indication of their earlier-held magistracy/-cies (e.g.: 'N.N. ἀγορανομήσας καὶ ἐξηγητεύσας καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσας). Some people probably took pride in mentioning their full titlature, other people may have been reluctant to list all the offices they had held, especially if they had a lot of paperwork to do; in such cases it may have been sufficient to use a quite general ἄρξας, occasionally followed by the phrase καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει.

(2) for addressing a person, when his former office(s) were simply not known or considered unimportant or just omitted for some unknown reason. Cf. in this respect P.Oxy. XIX 2232.1 and the note ad loc. (documenting sloppy practices exercised by some persons re the indication of full titlature).

(3) in descriptions (e.g. of a plot of land) where a precise indication of which magistracy had been held, apparently did not matter very much.

One should also reckon with the possibility that the title was sometimes used for summing up several or even all municipal offices formerly held. In Latin inscriptions one encounters often enough

<sup>26</sup> For a reconstruction of the genealogy of the family concerned cf. W. Matthes, *Prosopographie der ägyptischen Delta-gaue auf Grund der griechischen Urkunden von 300 a. Chr. - 600 p. Chr.* (Diss. Jena 1932) 145.

'N.N. omnibus honoribus functus' vel sim. (cf., e.g., CIL XI 2643 '[omnibu]s honorib(us) functo'; XIV 352 'honorib(us) ac munerib(us) omnib(us) funct(o)') = Gr. 'N.N. πανταρχήσας' (a participle occurring in the documentation from Egypt to date only once in an inscription from Ombos, I.Theb. Syene 194 = IGRR I 1288.5; A.D. 214). Given the lacunose state of our information it is difficult to establish with certainty whether in the Greek papyri from Egypt the indication ἄρξας ever is a synonym of πανταρχήσας meaning 'having performed *all* magistracies'. In the case of a text like CPR VIII 21 (Arsinoe) it would seem highly unlikely that the authors of the document (all members of the town council) would *not* have known the precise magistracy held by the addressee of the document, Aurelius Alypius, if he had been, e.g., only an ex-kosmetes. One might argue, therefore, that in such a case ἄρξας was used to sum up a career of several (but not necessarily *all*) magistracies.<sup>27</sup>

Secondly, some observations on πολιτευόμενοι. It will be instructive to compare our earliest and latest dates for ἄρξας with the earliest attestations of προπολιτευόμενοι and πολιτευόμενοι.

	Earliest ἄρξας	Latest ἄρξας	Earliest προπολι- τευόμενος	Latest προπολι- τευόμενος	Earliest πολι- τευόμενος
Alexandria	272	319	IV	-	415
Antaiop.	-	-	-	-	517
Aphrod. pol.	335	-	-	-	-
Apollon. Magna	-	-	-	-	618
Arsinoe	308	ca. 312	297	345	378 (342?)
Boubastos	early III	-	-	-	-
Athribis	-	-	-	-	374
Cynopolis Maior	-	-	IV	-	-
Herakleopolis	311	415	IV?	-	361 or ca. 365?
Hermonthis	-	-	-	-	Byz.
Hermopolis	276 or 319/22?	380	330 (308?)	389	364 (342?)
Hypsels	303	-	-	-	-
Oasis Maior	299	362	-	-	376/8
Oxyrhynchos	229	341	287	364-67	365
Panopolis	253	post 371	-	-	-
Ptolemais	III	372	-	-	-
Tentyra	346	-	-	-	-
Thmouis	302	-	-	-	-
Prov. unknown	235	IV/V (or VI?)	early IV	VI/VII <sup>28</sup>	IV

From this table it appears that there are no secure instances of neither προπολιτευόμενοι nor πολιτευόμενοι before the reign of the emperor Diocletian (cf. already the note to P.Oxy. XX 2266.18). The doubtfully read title πολ(ι)τευόμενος(?) βουλ(ευτῆς) of Tiberius Claudius Didymos alias Herakleios in P.Oxy. XII 1501.3 (ed.: late III) must remain dubious, as it is distinctly too early when compared with the earliest secure attestation of the title. R. S. Bagnall and R. A. Coles kindly checked a photo of the papyrus (a copy of which they made available to me); they report that, although lambda is quite possible and omikron might do, there is no room for the pi after the raised omega of Ἡρακλείω. The best reading would be γυμ( ); indeed, an Oxyrhynchite γυμνασίαρχος Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δίδυμος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει is known from P.Oxy. VI 908.6ff. (cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques* # 250). Identifying these Didymoi raises a problem, as P.Oxy. 908 dates from A.D. 199. Now, P.Oxy. XII 1501 is a document issued by an Aurelius Ammonios ἐξ(ηγητ ) βουλευτῆς of Oxyrhynchos and D. Hagedorn kindly informs me that he finds an Aurelius Serenos, son of an Ammonios ἐξ(ηγητ ) βουλευτῆς of Oxyrhynchos in BGU XI 2118.3-4 (223; cf. BL VI 22), and in P.Oxy. VI 909.8ff. (225); he also mentions the (more doubtful) case of P.Oxy. IX 1196.20 (211/12). If we assume that the *exegetae* named Ammonios in P.Oxy. XII 1501 and in BGU XI 2118 are indeed to be identified, it

<sup>27</sup> Maybe, however, the senders of CPR VIII 21 simply did not care to be precise.

<sup>28</sup> This is SB IV 7480, cf. below.

follows that P.Oxy. XII 1501 should be contemporaneous with or even earlier than BGU XI 2118 and that the editorial date 'late III' given to the Oxyrhynchus papyrus is too late. From the photostat I observe that there is no obstacle against assigning the papyrus to the early-3rd century; in that case there is no obstacle against identifying the gymnasiarchs named Tiberius Claudius Didymos in P.Oxy. XII 1501 and in VI 908. I do not think that one should follow J.R. Rea who writes (P.Oxy. LI 3627.1n.) that the text may be later; as Hagedorn acutely observes, the lack in P.Oxy. 1501 of the epithets of Oxyrhynchus λαμπρά / λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη, which are as a rule found in papyri after A.D. 269 (cf. also E.-M. Grocholl in ZPE 85 [1991] 268-270), makes an earlier date highly likely anyway.

On the other end of the spectrum the restoration proposed by C. Wessely (cf. BL III 186-187) for SB IV 7480 (VI-VII), lines 5-6: τῷ λ[αμ]προτάτῳ π[ροπολιτευ]ομένῳ τῆς αὐτῆς κ[ώμης Πιναι] can hardly be correct, because there is no such rank as that of a προπολιτευόμενος κώμης. It should also be noticed that the latest securely dated attestation of προπολιτευόμενος is from 389 (Hermopolis; cf. above, fn. 13, 15).<sup>29</sup>

This table allows us also to observe that there is a certain overlap in the use of the titles ἄρξας and προπολιτευόμενος, noticeable especially in Arsinoe, Herakleopolis, Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus; furthermore, the use of the terms προπολιτευόμενος and πολιτευόμενος deserves attention:

	Latest ἄρξας	Earliest προπολιτευόμενος	Latest προπολιτευόμενος	Earliest πολιτευόμενος
Arsinoe	ca. 312	297	345	378 (342?)
Hermopolis	380	330 (or 308?)	389 <sup>30</sup>	364 (342?)
Oxyrhynchus	341	287	364-367	365
Herakleopolis	415	IV	IV?	361 or ca. 365?

First an observation on the overlapping use of the terms ἄρξας and προπολιτευόμενος. The period of transition from ἄρξας to προπολιτευόμενος in Arsinoe was short (ca. 15 years), but in Herakleopolis, Oxyrhynchus and in Hermopolis it was much longer (in the latter two cities more than half a century; the exceptionally late attestation of ἄρξας in Herakleopolis has been noticed already above, p. 214. It is uncertain whether this is mere coincidence (the incomplete state of our documentation should also be taken into account), whether diverging regional developments are at stake, or – in case one is dealing with the introduction of new names for the same (or a much similar) office, ἄρξας > προπολιτευόμενος – the reflection of some real historical process (one may compare the rather long period of transition from the term τοπαρχία to the term πᾶγος, esp. in the Hermopolite nome [cf. P.Herm. Landl. p. 9-10]). This problem is further complicated by the fact that in the case of the use of the terms προπολιτευόμενος and πολιτευόμενος<sup>31</sup> one may observe now a development hitherto unnoticed.<sup>32</sup> As P. van Minnen already noticed *per epist.*, it is remarkable that the first attestations of προπολιτευόμενοι are so unexpectedly much earlier than those of πολιτευόμενοι.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the situation in these four cities seems to suggest some kind of a watershed in the use of these terms, the term προπολιτευόμενος being succeeded there by the term πολιτευόμενος shortly after ca. A. D. 360.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For two doubtful πολιτευόμενοι purportedly occurring in P.Oxy. XVI 2058 (VI), see my article on Καμιοπόλης / Κεμιοπόλης in ZPE 112 (1996) 161-162.

<sup>30</sup> I am much indebted to Dr. R. Scholl for enabling me to check the correctness of the readings of the ed. princ.

<sup>31</sup> The standard view now is (cf. A.K. Bowman's discussion [above, fn. 1]), that a προ-πολιτευόμενος is nothing more than a kind of 'first-class' πολιτευόμενος.

<sup>32</sup> I am especially grateful to D. Hagedorn who directed my attention to the phenomenon.

<sup>33</sup> Likewise, it should be noticed that – while one might expect a more even spreading – there are no attestations of the title προπολιτευόμενος certainly dating from the 5th and/or the 6th century, while there are a number of attestations of the title πολιτευόμενος from these centuries.

<sup>34</sup> The first secure instance of a πολιτευόμενος occurs in Hermopolis, A.D. 364 (P.Lips. 13), but a possibly earlier attestation may be P. Fuad I Univ. 16 (Herakleop.); in l. 7 reference is made to the consulate of A.D. 361 (cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 639), but that consulate does not necessarily have to be the date of the papyrus

The situation, however, in Arsinoe and in Hermopolis is somewhat complex and deserves a more detailed discussion.

*Arsinoe*: if the earliest πολιτευόμενος here would date from A.D. 378, there would be no conflict with a supposed transition throughout Egypt from προπολιτευόμενος > πολιτευόμενος ca. A.D. 360-65, but a problem is created by the exceptional ‘earliest’ Fayumic πολιτευόμενος in A.D. 342 in the addressee’s titles in P.Sakaon 48 and 46.

First P.Sakaon 48.1: Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσίῳνι πολ(ιτευομένῳ) πραιποσίτῳ [η]// πά[γο]υ νομοῦ Ἄρσι(νοίτου).

Comment: The *ed.princ.* (cf. SB VI 9622) printed: Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσίῳνι [--]πο ς, and this makes one wonder whether between Ἰσίῳνι and πο- there is, perhaps, a lacuna allowing us to read [προ]-πολ(ιτευομένῳ).<sup>35</sup> D. Obbink kindly checked the original papyrus for me and reports: “There is about the same amount of space (ca. 4-5 letters) after ισιωνι before πολ as after αυρηλιω before ισιωνι. At first sight there is nothing written in the space before πο-, hence Barns’ text; Parassoglou’s text simply represents the spacing visible on the papyrus. There is a fissure in the middle of the space, but placement is controlled by the alignment in l. 2. Under the microscope, however, there appears a stain (I will not say ink) compatible with the tail of a ρ (from, e.g., προ), thus: ρ πολ-. This trace would also be compatible with the top of the δ of in the line below, so it is not conclusive, but I would say (and Revel Coles agrees) that a reading [π]ρ[ο]πολ- is a possible one. The most disconcerting thing is that after ισιωνι there is a blank space of one letter, then a very clear high trace of ink, compatible with a horizontal like that of τ or π. --- I cannot think what this trace of ink could be doing; it is too far away to be part of προ-, unless of course it’s just a splodge.”

Now, if the reading [π]ρ[ο]πολιτευομένῳ is indeed adopted, one obstacle against the assumption that there was a clear enough division in the use of the terms προπολιτευόμενος and πολιτευόμενος in Arsinoe, like in Oxyrhynchus, is taken away; the other obstacle is P.Sakaon 46.1: Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσίῳνι π[ρα]ι(ποσίτῳ) πά(γο)υ η[ ] πολ(ιτευομένῳ) | Πεντακωμίας (cf. above, fn. 7). I have seen an unsharp photo of the papyrus which raised the question whether the original (kept in Cairo) would allow one to read: Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσίῳνι π[ρο]πολ(ιτευομένῳ) π[ρ]αιπ(οσίτῳ) | Πεντακωμίας; it must be admitted that (at least for the moment) this suggestion is rather speculative and entails the difficulty that there seems to be no parallel for the phrasing πραιπόσιτος Πεντακωμίας (were there, e.g., 5 villages in the 8th pagus of the Fayum, hence the alternative name?).

For now our conclusion for Arsinoe must be that there is no cogent proof that in this metropolis πολιτευόμενοι were in function considerably earlier than our earliest certain attestation of the term known to date (from Hermopolis).

*Hermopolis*: in general, a first attestation here of a πολιτευόμενος in A.D. 364 is acceptable enough, but an exceptional ‘earliest’ πολιτευόμενος already in 342 creates, like in Arsinoe, a problem. That problem, however, can be solved easily enough by assuming that in P.Flor. 34.3-4 (cf. BL I 137) one can restore Στρα[ - - - - προπολι]τευομένῳ instead of Στρα[ - - - - πολι]τευομένῳ.<sup>36</sup> At the same time the situation in this town is not still 100% satisfactorily clear in that P.Lips. 37 shows the term προπολιτευόμενος in use in Hermopolis as late as A.D. 389, whereas in other nomes the usage seems to fall into oblivion immediately after A.D. 364/5; moreover, another problem in this document is that after the term προπολιτευόμενος follows the office of ῥιπάριος, while the latter term (‘police commissioner’) is found in other Hermopolitan documents from the same period preceded by the term

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itself (as the wording of the entry in BL IX 88-89 suggests); it may be a back reference to an earlier event in a papyrus written after A. D. 361 in a later year. Even so, there is no convincing reason to assume that the papyrus itself must have been written several decades later than A.D. 361; a date to ca. A.D. 365 may be acceptable enough.

<sup>35</sup> The editor of P. Sakaon rightly corrected the reading of the *ed. princ.* ]πο ς into ]πολ( ), reading the unread letter after πο- as λ and taking the -ς as a sinusoidal abbreviation marking.

<sup>36</sup> Besides, can one read στρα[τηγ-, i.e. στρα[τηγῶ or στρα[τηγήσαντι vel sim.? Cf. below P.Stras. IV 272.4 and P.Select. 10.4-5.

πολιτευόμενος (cf. the list below).<sup>37</sup> It is difficult to tell, whether in the case of P.Lips. 37 we are dealing with the idiosyncracies of one particular scribe, or whether in Hermopolis in general there was a longer period of overlapping use of the two terms. Nevertheless, it remains very attractive to reckon with a kind of administrative reform in Egypt around A.D. 360 which caused the disappearance of the term προπολιτευόμενος and the rise of its replacement, πολιτευόμενος.

As with ἄρξας, the title (προ)πολιτευόμενος could be accompanied by other indications. We find:

Reference	Title	Place + year
P.Oxy.I 67.2	ἄρξας, προπολ.	Oxyrhynchos, 338
P.Flor. I 34.3	[προ-?]πολ., πραιπόσιτος α, β πάγου	Hermop., 342
P.Sakaon 46.1, 48.1	[προ-?]πολ., πραιπόσιτος η πάγου	Arsin., 342, 343
P.Abinn. 58.5 = P.Lond. II 233.4	πρύτανις, προπολ.	Arsin., 345
SB VI 9597.2	[προ]πολ, πρύτανις	Herakleop., IV
P.Mil. II 64.2	πολ. (αἰδ.), [διοικητής] τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς --- δεσποίνης Ἄρκαδίας	Oxyrhynchos, 441
P.Lond. inv. 2180	πολ. (-) καὶ ἐξάκτωρ	Arsin., IV
P.Fuad I Univ. 16.1	Ἡρακλ[ά]μ[ων] (?) ἐξάκτωρ, πολιτευ[ο]μεν[ ]ι	Herakleop., 361 or later <sup>38</sup>
CPR V 9.3	προπολ., ἐκδικος	Hermop., 339 <sup>39</sup>
P.Flor. III 352.2	πολ., λογιστής	Hermop., V
SPP VIII 1025.1	πολ., λογιστής	Hermop., V/VI (cf. BL IX 341)
Lef. 64.12 = SB V 8699	πολ., λογιστεύων καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῷ τετραπύλῳ	Athribis, 374
P.Lips. 56.4, 65.4	πολ., νυκτοστράτηγος	Hermop., 390
P.Stras. VIII 713.2	πολ., νυκτοστράτηγος	Hermop., 397
P.Herm. 52.2, 53.3	πολ., νυκτοστράτηγος	Hermop., 399
P.Stras. IV 272.4	πολ., στρατηγός	Hermop., 369
P.Select. 10.4, 5	πολ., στρατηγός / ἐξάκτωρ	Hermop., 399
P.Lips. 37.3	προπολ. ῥιπάριος	Hermop., 389
P.Lond. V 1648.3, 1649.5	πολ. ῥιπάριος	Hermop., 373
P.Herm. 19.14	ῥιπάριος, πολ. (-)	Hermop., 392
P.Köln V 234.3	πολ. ῥιπάριος	Oxyrhynchos, 431
P.Flor. III 313.4	πολ. ῥιπάριος	Hermop., 449
SB XVIII 13596.3	πολ. ῥιπάριος	Oxyrhynchos, 464
P.Mil. II 45.3	πολ. ῥιπάριος	Oxyrhynchos, 449
P.Gron.Amst. 1.2	πολ. ῥιπάριος	Oxyrhynchos, 455
P.Flor. III 281.4	πολ. ῥιπάριος	Antaiop., 517
SPP XX 143.9	πολ.. ὑποδέκτης λαργιτιοναλικῶν καὶ δεσποτικῶν προσόδων	Hermopolis, V/VI
SPP XX 218.6	μεγαλοπρεπ. κόμες, πολ.	Hermopolis, early VII
P.Oxy. XVI 2002.1	N.N., κόμες, πολ.	Oxyrhynchos, 579
SB XVI 12244.3	πολ., καθοσιωμένος τριβόνος	Hermopolis, IV
P.Flor. I 95.4, 19, 31, 55, 71, 84, 92; P.Lips. 61.3; 62 i.2, 16, 25, 34, ii.2, 18; 63.3; SB X 10568.1	πόλ., χρυσάνης ἐπαρχίας	Antinoop., 375-393/4

One phenomenon stands out: unlike ἄρξας βουλευτής one never finds the combination (προ)πολιτευόμενος βουλευτής or v.v. one might be inclined to regard the single term (προ)πολιτευόμενος as a kind of replacement of the earlier combination of ἄρξας βουλευτής, cf.:

CPR XVII.A.32.1	ἄ., β., πραιπόσιτος ιε πάγου	Hermop., 340
P.Flor. I 34. 3	προ?]πολ., πραιπόσιτος α, β πάγου	Hermop., 342

<sup>37</sup> This observation could help to demonstrate the correctness of Bowman's view about the virtual synonymy of the two terms.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. fnn. 9, 34.

<sup>39</sup> It is interesting to see that in A.D. 330 Sallustius Olympiodoros is called προπολιτευόμενος in BGU XII 2135.1 and CPR I 19.1 = SPP XX 86.1, while in P.Cair.Preis. 7.2 (n.d.) the same man is an ἐκδικος πόλεως καὶ νομοῦ; cf. also above, fn. 10.

P.Stras. 296.r.4, v.2	ἄ., β., σύνδικος	Hermop., 326
CPR V 9.3	προπολ., ἔκδικος	Hermop., 339
(Only for practical reasons I equate the offices of σύνδικος and ἔκδικος; for the differences between the two offices see B. Kramer in <i>Miscellanea Papyrologica</i> [Firenze 1990] 305-329)		
P.Lond. V 1651.4	ἄ., β., στρατηγός	Hermop., 363
P. Stras. IV 272. 4	πολ., στρατηγός	Hermop., 369
P.Charite 33.4	ἄ., β., λογιστ[	Hermop., ca. 345?
P.Flor. III 352.2	πολ., λογιστής	Hermop., V

It should, however, be kept in mind that ἄρξας (partic. aor.) denotes an office held in the past, while πολιτευόμενος (praesens) involves an official title borne 'hic et nunc'. Moreover, the (unique) case of P.Oxy. I 67 seems to indicate that the rank of ἄρξας was not identical with that of προπολιτευόμενος as in l. 2 both ranks are mentioned next to each other (in ll. 8 and 17, however, ἄρξας is omitted). It may be, therefore, that the term πολιτευόμενος indicates that the person in question held some kind of (unspecified) official rank or was at least absolutely qualified to hold a(ny) municipal or state office and that other indications like πραιπόσιτος πάγου, στρατηγός, κτλ. only indicate which other specific office was actually held.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, one can only speculate about the identity of the following (προ)πολιτευόμενοι occurring in documents from Oxyrhynchos, often enough as ship owners (P.Oxy. VII 1048, P.Heid. IV 313, 314, P.Wash. II 83 and SB I 1971, 1972):

Reference	Name	Date
P.Oxy. XLVIII 3394.16	Ἄθανάσιος προπολ.	364-67
P.Oxy. VII 1048.7	Ἄθανάσιος πολ.	post 392 (cf. the date of the recto, P.Oxy. 1033)
P.Mil. II 45.3	Φλ. Ἄθανάσιος πολ.	449

Obviously one cannot be dealing with the same person in all three documents. The man in P.Oxy. VII 1048.7 may perhaps be identified with his later namesake, unless there is no identity involved at all (> 3 different Athanasii; cf. below, the case of Tatianos).

P.Wash.Univ. I 20.1	Φλ. Μακρόβιος πολ.	IV
P.Wash.Univ. II 83.1	Μακρόβιος πολ.	IV/V
PSI VIII 944.10	Μακρόβιος προπολ.	364-66

Are we dealing with 3 different persons, or are some of them interrelated? For this question see also P.Wash. II 83.1n. (the Makrobios of PSI VIII 944 is not discussed there).

P.Heid. IV 313.14, 16	Διοσκουρίδης πολ.	IV/V
SB I 1971.1, 1972.1	Διοσκουρίδης πολ.	VI (?)

The editors of the ostraka SB I 1971-1972 dated these texts to the 6th century; one can only wonder whether this (palaeographical) date is correct. For the date of P.Heid. IV 313/314 cf. below.

The following two names should be studied in combination:

P.Gron.Amst. 1.2	Φλ. Τατιανός πολ., ῥιπάριος	455
P.Heid. IV 313.17; 314.7	Τατιανός πολ.	IV/V
P.Heid. IV 314.6	Στρατήγιος πολ.	IV/V
P.Flor. III 325.2	Φλ. Στρατήγιος Ἀπίωνος (?) ἐνδοξ., καὶ πολ.	489
P.Oxy. L 3584.2	Φλ. Στρατήγιος πολ.	V

At first sight there seems no reason not to identify the two Tatianoï, resp. the three Strategioi, if only the date of P.Heid. IV 313 and 314 could be moved from around A.D. 400 to a later date, say ca. 450. In view of the prosopographical connection between these Heidelberg texts and other more precisely dated documents (for Aetius in P.Heid. IV 313.11 cf. P.Haun. III 68.2 [402] and P.Oxy. VII 1048.4 [post 392,

<sup>40</sup> For the distinction apparently to be made between πολιτευόμενος and βουλευτής cf. P.Mich. XI 613.2 (415) where the first addressee is a πολιτευόμενος of Alexandria, the second addressee a βουλευτής of the same city. The name Φλάουτος found with rather many 4th-century πολιτευόμενοι may indicate that the bearer held some higher position in the βουλή than a mere βουλευτής, cf. J.G. Keenan in ZPE 11 (1973) 33ff. and 13 (1973) 283ff., esp. 290-294.

cf. the date of the text on the recto, P.Oxy. 1033]) it is, however, rather unlikely that such a move would be correct. Under these circumstances we may be ‘overstretching’ the period of activity of a single πολιτευόμενος, if we situate that of Tatianos from ca. A.D. 400 - 450. There are fewer problems, perhaps, with identifying the 2nd and 3rd Strategius, but in this case, too, one cannot arrive at any degree of certainty.

By way of conclusion I note that while I am not quite certain about the full correctness of Oertel’s contention that since the end of the third century the various specific titles γυμνασιαρχήσας, ἐξηγητεύσας, κτλ. give way to a general indication ἄρξας<sup>41</sup>, his views about the date of the transition from ἄρξας to πολιτευόμενος (‘4th century’) appear to be still mostly valid.

## APPENDIX

### LIST OF ΠΡΩΤΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ IN BYZANTINE EGYPT

In a number of Greek papyri from Byzantine Egypt, especially in addresses / openings of contracts and letters, one finds the word πρωτεύων qualifying, like indications as προπολιτευόμενος or πολιτευόμενος (for which see above), one or more persons. The precise nature of the word apparently qualifying holders of a rank, title, or office is not quite certain (cf. CPR VI 79.1 n.) and a list of attestations known to me may be helpful for getting a clearer picture.<sup>1</sup> This list supersedes the earlier list by R. Remondon, CdE 41 (1966) 169-70. In the list it is easy to distinguish various categories of πρωτεύοντες, viz.

(a) on the municipal / nome level:

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Name + function(s)</i>
Antinoopolis SB XVI 12948.3 (448)	Κλαυδίῳ Κολλούθῳ Δωροθέου αἰδεσίμῳ πρωτεύοντι Ἄντινίου πόλεως τῆς λαμπροτάτης
Arsinoe SPP XX 128.2 = SB I 5273 (487)	Φλ. Εὐστοχίῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμισι τῶν καθοσιωμένων δομεστικῶν καὶ πρωτεύοντι τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως
P.Laur. II 27.3 = SB XVIII 13951 (487-491)	Φλ. Εὐστοχίῳ τῷ με[γαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμισι τῶν καθοσιωμένων δομεστικῶν καὶ] πρωτεύοντι τῆς [Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως
Hermopolis P.Lips. 40 II.16, III.6 (c. 380?)	ἀνήρ πρωτεύων τῆς / κατὰ τὴν Ἑρμοπολιτῶν (= Hermaion curator civitatis, II.8)
Herakleopolis P.Select. 13.1 (421) CPR VI 79.2 (V) SPP XX 146.3 (V-VI)	Σεπτίμῳ Φλαουιανῷ πρωτεύοντι Ἑρακλ(εο)πολίτου Σεπτίμῳ Ἑρακλείδῃ Ἀπίωνος πρωτεύοντι Ἑρακλέους πόλεως Ἐπιμῳ Πτολεμαίῳ πρωτεύοντι Ἑρακλέους πόλεως
Herakleopolis & Oxyrhynchos P.Oxy. XXXVI 2779.3 (530)	Φλ. Στρατηγίῳ τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ εὐκλεεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων στρατηλάτη καὶ πατρικίῳ πρωτεύοντι κατὰ τε τὴν Ἑρακλεοπολιτῶν καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν λαμπρὰν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλιν

<sup>41</sup> One finds, e.g., in Oxyrhynchus (ex-)gymnasiarchs still as late as the year 414/5 (cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques* [Zutphen 1986] App. III 78), i.e. at a moment when the supposed ‘successor term’, ἄρξας, itself becomes obsolete; moreover, there are a substantial number of attestations of 4th-century (ex-)gymnasiarchs. It would be interesting, of course, to know what to date our latest attestations are for other municipal magistracies like the exegeteia, the kosmeteia and the agoranomeia (for a first impression cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* [1982] 11, 26, 36, s.vv. ἀγορανόμος [attested until A.D. 307], ἐξηγητής [attested until A.D. 330], κοσμητής [attested until A.D. 347]).

<sup>1</sup> Again, I am much in debt to P. van Minnen for helping me to find some abstruse references.

P.Oxy. XVI 1983.3 (535) Φλ. Στρατηγίῳ τῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων στρατηλάτῃ εὐκλεεστάτῳ πατρικίῳ  
 πρωτεύοντι κατὰ τε τὴν Ἡρακλεοῦς καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν λαμπρὰν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν  
 πόλιν

*Comment:* often enough before the title πρωτεύων another indication of that person's position in society is given, cf. the addresses described under 'Arsinoe' and 'Herakleopolis & Oxyrhynchos', while in the papyrus from Hermopolis it follows from the context that there the πρωτεύων was a curator civitatis. Certainly the πρωτεύοντες were important people belonging to the upper classes in the Egyptian municipal society, but there is no good reason to think that only one particular office in the municipal government brought the title with it.

(b) on the village level:

P.Lond. IV 1356.15 (710) τοὺς μείζονας καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐκάστου χωρίου  
 P.Cair. Masp. I 6 I.3 οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς ἐμῆς κώμης Σάββεως

*Comment:* one is clearly dealing with the headmen vel sim. of a village.

(c) as a military rank:

P.Münch. I 2.1 (578) ὁ κοινὸς (l. τὸ κοινὸν) τῶν πρωτεύοντων τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῦ φρουρίου  
 Ἐλεφαντίνης (cf. l. 18, πρίορες)  
 P.Cair. Masp. I 54 II.2 (?) Ψάτης προ(τεύων?) τῆ(ς) Ἀνταίου(υ); cf. note ad loc. (= ἀκτουάριος)

*Comment:* apparently, military πρωτεύοντες were not really an official rank 'in se' and the term was used only as an unofficial designation.

(d) Other / unclear:

P.Wash. Univ. I 6.6 (VI-VII) Φλ. Ἡσυχίωνα τὸν [πρωτεύοντα (?) τῆς αὐγ]ουσταλιανῆς τάξεως  
 P.Basel 21.20 (III) τοὺς πρωτεύοντας (in 'Fragment of a Ruling')  
 P.Oxy. VIII 1106.6 (VI) τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν ('leaders [of violent people]')  
 P.Lond. III 982.2 (350-375; cf. [πρ]ωτεύοντι (addressee of letter)  
 BL V 54)<sup>42</sup>  
 ChLA XLIII 1245.3,7 (?; IV) πρωτεύων τῆς δόξης

*Comment:* Despite the editor's considerations (see his introduction to the text) the restoration in P.Wash. Univ. I 6.6 seems rather gratuitous; in fact, any word indicating an official rank in the staff of the provincial governor may be restored here, provided that it is not too long and can be distributed easily over two lines; a restoration of σιγγοιλάριον is at least conceivable (cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1882.4,8 and I.-M. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter*, I [Wien 1996] 119 s.v. αὐγουσταλιανός). The Basel and Oxyrhynchos papyri are not very informative on the meaning of the term, while the addressee of P.Lond. III 982 may have been a municipal grandee (which would make him belonging to category 'a'). Finally, in the ChLA-text one may be dealing with a leading church official vel sim. (cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. πρωτεύω).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. now also J. Rea, above pp. 189-193.