Gymnasia and Greek Identity in Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt

Mario Carlo Donato Paganini
Christ Church
Oxford

Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Classics – Ancient History

Michaelmas Term 2011

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Abstract

My work is a socio-historical study of the institution of the *gymnasium* in Egypt, of its evolution and role in the assertion of certain aspects of 'Greek identity' in Ptolemaic and early Roman times.
It is divided into four sections. (1) Attention is devoted to the study of the *gymnasium* itself, as institution, analysing its diffusion, foundation, internal organisation and the role played by associations which were hosted therein. The constitution and the characteristics of the governing body (with special attention to the role of the gymnasiarchs) and the financial matters relevant to the *gymnasium* allow one to draw conclusions on its legal status and social role: it is shown how the *gymnasium* of Egypt operated in a completely different way from the traditional one which is normally assumed for the Greek *poleis*, especially of mainland Greece and above all Athens. A possible model of influence is suggested. (2) Starting from the rules of admission into the *gymnasium* and from the treatment of the outsiders, the social status and social composition of the members of the *gymnasium* are object of enquiry, focusing on the links with the army and the public administration. It is argued that the gymnasial community should be considered as a complex reality, formed by different components belonging to various levels of the social strata. (3) Educational, religious and recreational activities carried out in the premises of the *gymnasium* or strictly connected to it are taken into account to give an idea of the 'daily life' of the institution and of the 'behaviour' of its people, which was likely to be the result of a feeling of 'shared identity'. (4) The concluding section draws the attention to the issue of identity of the people of the *gymnasium* more clearly: relation with the 'others' and idea of Greekness the people of the *gymnasium* had about themselves (influenced by the rulers' policies), access to *gymnasia*, onomastics, elite classes, mixed marriages, reception of Egyptian burial methods and cults, advantage of 'going Greek'. It is argued that, although having in the *gymnasium* the key-element for the assertion of their identity and status of *Hellenes*, the 'Greeks' of Egypt displayed complex patterns of mixed identities and were thoroughly embedded in the social, cultural, religious, and administrative environment of Egypt.

Acknowledgments

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List of Abbreviations

Papyri, Ostraca, Papyrological Corpora & *Instrumenta*

Abbreviations follow the system outlined in J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall – S. J. Clackson – A. A. O'Brien – J. D. Sosin – T. G. Wilfong – K. A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets,* http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/ texts/clist.html (December 2011).

To these add:

PP	W. Peremans – E. van 't Dack, *et al.* (eds.), *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, Leuven (http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php).

Inscriptions

All abbreviations of inscriptions follow the guidelines in the index volume SEG XXXVI–XLV (1986–1995).

To these add:

Breccia *Iscr*.	E. Breccia (ed.), *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 57*), Le Caire 1911.
I.Alex. Ptol	É. Bernand (ed.), *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque* (*IFAO* 133), Le Caire 2001.
I.Delta	A. Bernand (ed.), *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*, Le Caire 1970.
IJO	*Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* (*Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism = Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum*), Tübingen 2004.
I.Kom Abu Bellou	A. el–H. Abd el–Al, J.–C. Grenier, G. Wagner (eds.), *Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou*, Paris 1985.
I.Métr. Ég.	É. Bernand (ed.), *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco–romaine: recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des grecs en Égypte*, Paris 1969.
McCabe, *Chios*:	D. McCabe – J. V. Brownson (eds.), *Chios inscriptions. Texts and list*, Princeton 1986 (on CDROM PHI 6, Packard Humanities Institute, Los Altos, CA).
Meletemata 22, Epig. App.	M. B. Hatzopoulos (ed.), *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, II, *Epigraphic Appendix* (*Μελετήματα 22*), Athens 1996.
Milne, *Inscr*.	J. G. Milne (ed.), *Greek inscriptions* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos 9201–9400, 26001–26123, 3301–33037*), Oxford 1905.

SEG	A. Chaniotis – T. Corsten et al. (eds.), *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–.

Secondary Sources, Journals etc.

All abbreviations follow *L'Année Philologique*.

To these add:

BE	'Bulletin Épigraphique', *Revue des Études Grecques* (referred to by year and lemma number).
DELG	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, Paris 1999.
MIFAO	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, Le Caire.

Geographical Terms

Alex.	Alexandria
Ars.	Arsinoite Nome
Herakl.	Herakleopolis Magna / Herakleopolite Nome
Herm	Hermopolis Magna / Hermopolite Nome
Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus / Oxyrhynchite Nome
Theb.	Thebaid (Upper Egypt)

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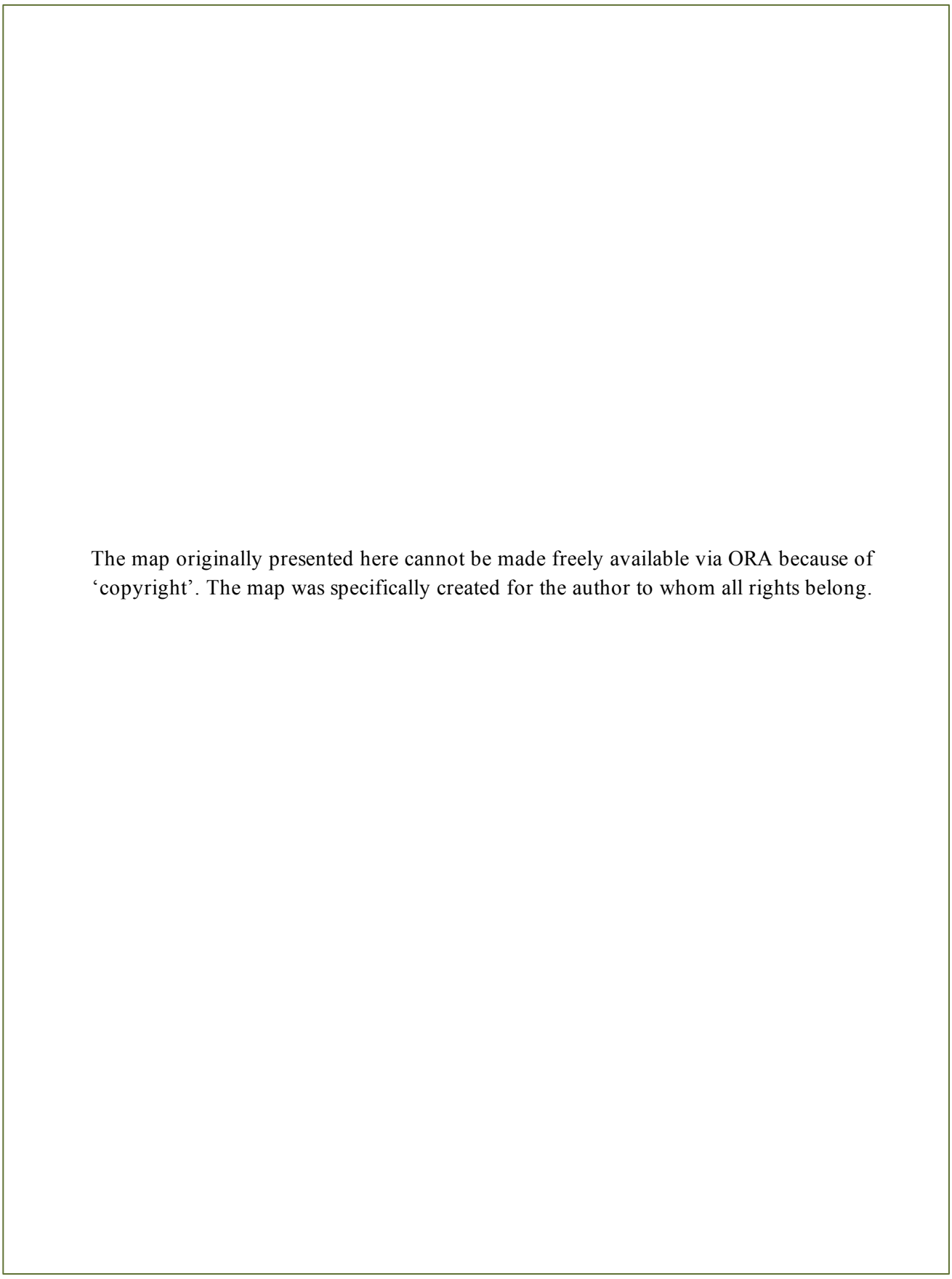
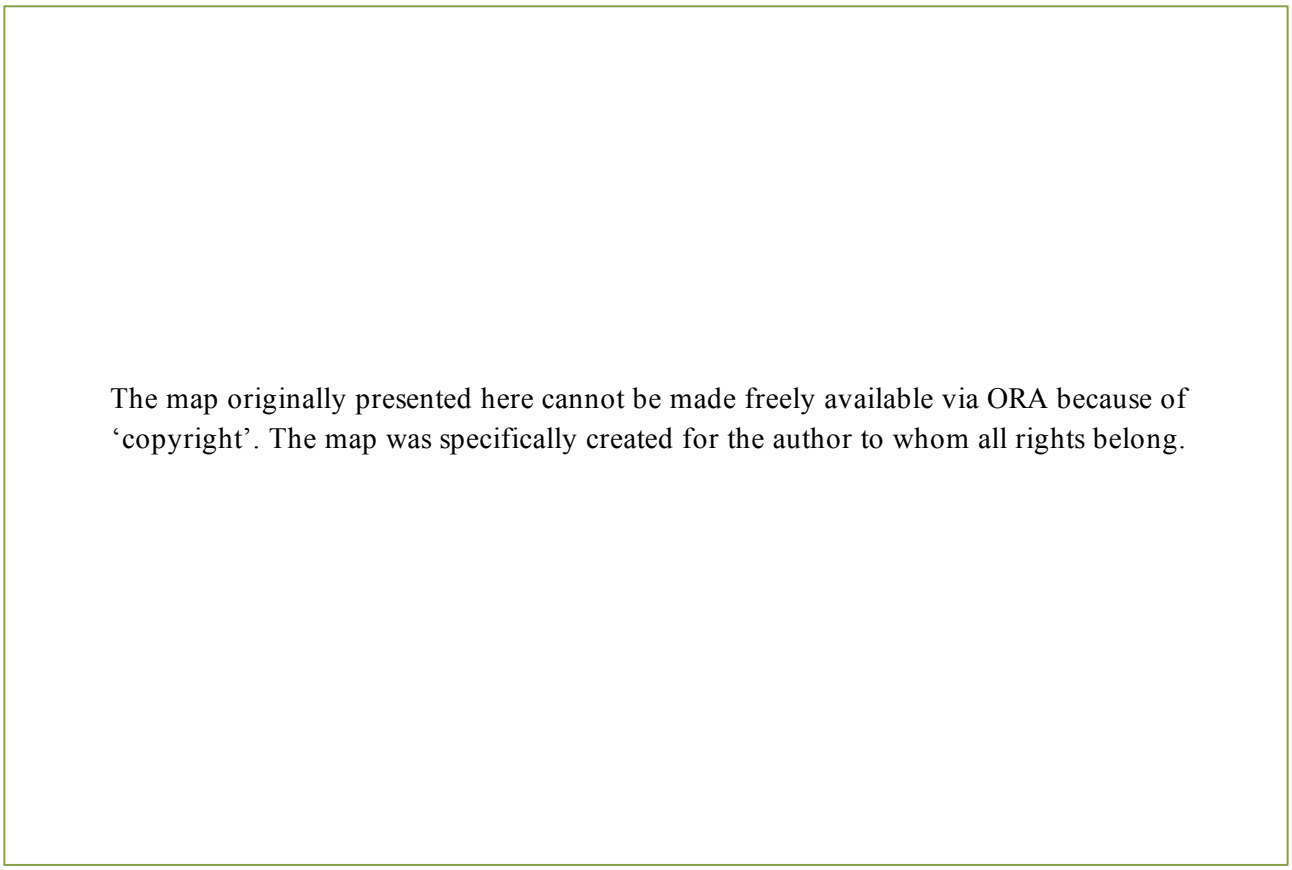
Map 1: Ptolemaic Egypt



Map 1: The (?) next to a place-name indicates that it is uncertain whether the related gymnasial attestation came from that exact location. The shaded areas indicate uncertain physical location of the *gymnasium* in the area (ie. unknown site of at least two village *gymnasia* in the Herakleopolite Nome and uncertain location of the '*polis*' Euergetis).

Map 2: The Arsinoite Nome



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Introduction

Gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi

'The little Greeks are mad about *gymnasia*'

Plinii Secundi *Epistulae* X 40.2

The words of the Emperor Trajan in the letter to Pliny the Younger, caustically commenting on the overambitious building plans for the *gymnasium* of Nicaea in Bithynia, underline a specific aspect of the Greek mentality: the central importance given to the traditional place of education, physical and cultural, and of social recreation, originally believed to mould the freeborn citizens. *Gymnasia* were symbols of civic Greekness. As such, no doubt the second–century AD *Graeculi* showed affection towards them: *gymnasia* were the most typical element of their culture and identity (although many Roman traditions, above all that of baths, had been incorporated in them at that time). Supporting and enhancing the local, civic *gymnasium* was a way to stress one aspect of their common identity, to state publicly who they were, in a sort of anachronistic – yet understandable – attempt to proclaim their civic traditions and 'ancestral' ways of living, at a time when they had long been subjects of a *provincia Romana*.

Much stronger must have been the attachment to their customs and institutions – and the desire to continue them – the Greeks had when sailing to found colonies

overseas. The Macedonians and Greek mercenaries presumably felt the same way when leaving their home to follow Alexander the Great and later to settle in the Hellenistic Kingdoms. Egypt is a particularly vivid example of this kind and offers unique possibilities of investigation thanks to its primary source material, which has not yet been fully exploited. I intend to do that in this work.

The centrality of the institution of the *gymnasium* for the Greek *mentalité* and its role as one of the characteristic features of the Hellenistic period has been long acknowledged and investigated by modern scholarship. However, the perspective employed has often been centred around the 'Athenian model', which was exported and applied, little or not at all altered, to the entirety of the Greek *oecumene*. The impression one would therefore gain was one of unity of features, which indeed appeared more clearly especially from the Hellenistic period onwards. And Egypt, where the documents show that the *gymnasium* (among other things) did not at all follow the commonly accepted rules and in fact cast doubt upon the very existence of such rules, was dismissed as occupying a particular, separate position – a *Sonderstellung* – which made it entirely useless for comparative studies with the rest of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Nowadays such an opinion has been shown to be untenable. However, Egypt is often left aside. The reasons for this may be many. One may be the fact that ancient historians are not all very familiar with the socio–political environment of Egypt and the evidence of the papyri: therefore, many simply do not venture to use them for their research, and those who do often run the risk of misinterpreting the data and reach wrong conclusions. Similarly papyrologists are too often reluctant to cross the boundaries of their discipline and produce viable broader historical analyses: the

specialism which one has to have in order to employ the papyrological sources successfully inevitably brings about consequences of academic 'isolation'. A second reason could be the fact that Egypt displays peculiar features which often challenge our understanding of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, easier to ignore rather than to face.

The traditional starting point for every enquiry into the institution of the Greek *gymnasium* is the canonical study by Delorme (1960): based mainly on archaeological material, the French scholar analysed chronologically the attestations and developments of the *gymnasium* from the archaic and classical periods, down to the Roman Empire in the entirety of the Graeco–Roman world. Before him, Forbes (1945) and Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) had already analysed the topic, but the former more briefly (although successfully pointing out the variety of activities which the *gymnasia* could be engaged in), the latter with a more specific military interest (the *gymnasium* was seen as the place for the military education of the youth). Complementing the study of the *gymnasium* there appeared the book on the Athenian ephebate by Pélékidis (1962), which became the accepted interpretation of the gymnasial education in the classical, Hellenistic and (early) Roman periods. The publication of the so–called gymnasiarchic law from Beroea (Macedonia) by Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) brought evidence to the dismantling of the dogma that Athens constituted the general rule for the Greek world: in Macedonia the *gymnasium* appears to have functioned in a different way, at least until the second century BC. Further studies investigated the matter, with particular attention to social implications and to the analysis of other cases which showed that the *gymnasium* displayed different features in various parts of the (Classical and) Hellenistic world, that it was a developing reality and in certain cases

did not necessarily have to be a civic institution nor to depend on a *polis*: of particular importance are the papers presented in a congress in Munich in 1993, such as those of Gauthier (1995) (also with Gauthier (1996)) and von Hesberg (1995). However, as shown by the list of *poleis* with attestations of the ephebate as citizen training compiled by Kennell (2006) and the doctoral thesis by Skaltsa (2009) which focuses on the *gymnasia* of the cities of Asia Minor, the *gymnasium* is still generally seen as a civic institution, and not without good reason, because it is so in most of the cases in the Hellenistic period (and without doubt in Roman times). Equally important are the papers collected in a book on the Hellenistic *gymnasium* published in 2004, which covers almost all the topics under discussion and also has the most recent general treatment of the *gymnasium* in Ptolemaic Egypt: Habermann (2004). Finally, the most recent published book dealing with the topic seems to have been the proceedings of a colloquium held at Fribourg in Switzerland in 2005: significantly, no paper was devoted to Egypt, with the exception (if one can see it as such) of the analysis of the gymnasiarchy at Cyrene in the last years of Ptolemaic rule and under the Principate by Cordiano (2009) (treatment of the institution in earlier Ptolemaic times had already been offered by Cordiano (2001)). The role of the *gymnasium* in Sicily and *Magna Graecia* has also been addressed by Cordiano (1997) and Prag (2007), who both came to similar conclusions seeing in the re–juvenated position of the *gymnasium* a political move towards the formation of a local army first in Hellenistic times (especially under Hiero II of Syracuse), and later under Roman rule.

Specific studies on the *gymnasium* in Egypt have also been undertaken, more or less successfully. The general analysis of the institution was done in only three studies, Brady (1936) (Ptolemaic times), Orth (1983) (Roman times) and the already mentioned

Habermann (2004) (Ptolemaic times). To these one should add the article devoted to the Alexandrian *Gymnasium* by Burkhalter (1992). A complete and comprehensive study of the 'phenomenon *gymnasium*' in Egypt and of all its implications has hitherto been avoided entirely: it has always been presented just as 'eine Skizze', to quote Habermann's sub–title. Indeed, the topic has been addressed in a fragmented way, with other – albeit excellent – studies on different aspects of the gymnasial institution and the gymnasial world in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

Studies have been devoted to the analysis of the governing body and the officials of the *gymnasium*, and their legal status: the magisterial work by van Groningen (1924) remains the fundamental reference for the gymnasiarchy in Roman times (the gymnasiarchy in Ptolemaic times also received a brief treatment), together with the works by Sijpesteijn (1967); Sijpesteijn (1986) and the relevant parts in the invaluable analysis of the compulsory public services by Lewis (1975^2); Lewis (1982) (along with Lewis (1983)) – the existence of women gymnasiarchs in the late Roman Empire has received attention by Casarico (1982) and more recently by Hagedorn (1996). The role of the *kosmetai* has been extensively analysed only in the published doctoral thesis, written in Afrikaans, by De Kock (1948), who mainly focused on the Roman period and whose work remains of difficult accessibility. The most recent treatment of the gymnasial officials is by Hagedorn (2007), who showed how gymnasiarchs and *kosmetai* became municipal offices towards the middle/end of the first century AD (geographical differences applied). Social implications connected with the *gymnasium* have been extensively analysed mainly for the Roman period (for obvious reasons: in the Roman period the members of the *gymnasium* formed a real social class, recognised and monitored by the state) – only Legras (1999) has approached some of the issues for

the Ptolemaic period too, although his focus was not the *gymnasium*, but rather the position of the youth within the society of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Fundamental studies in this respect are those by Montevecchi (1975) and Nelson (1979) on the proceedings and documents relating to the scrutiny of the boys for admission into the Roman privileged class of 'those of the *gymnasium*'. More recently, the question of the gymnasial elite and their position within the society has been approached by the thought–provoking study by van Minnen (2002), who challenges the definition of 'elite' for the gymnasial class, and stresses the Egyptian inputs into the gymnasial world and the status of gymnasial women. On elites, but in a more 'traditional' way, focus the works by Bussi (2003); Bussi (2008). More recently, Ruffini (2006) has applied statistical approaches to the topic and has showed that the gymnasial group was larger than normally thought, thus giving new room for rethinking the traditional understanding of the Roman gymnasial class as a restricted, small group of metropolites, forced to practice endogamy in order to survive.

Attention has also been paid to the study of the role and stance of the Jews towards the *gymnasium* and, more broadly, towards the Greek way of living, both in Egypt and in the rest of the Graeco–Roman world. In this respect, particularly worth of mention are the works by Feldman (1960); Feldman (1993), Kasher (1976); Kasher (1985), Doran (1990); Doran (2001), and more recently of Gruen (2002), which have shown how on many occasions the Jews of the diaspora took extensive part in the Greek life of the cities and communities where they lived.

Finally, the role of the *gymnasium* in the literate education of the youth has been erroneously stressed by Nilsson (1955) in his investigation on the Hellenistic school, and somewhat by Maehler (1983). More recent studies, such as those by Morgan (1998)

and especially Cribiore (2001), who gives an excellent analysis of school practices in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, are more accurate in showing how literate education took place outside of the frame of the *gymnasium*.

It is clear that many aspects and issues in the treatment of the institution of the *gymnasium* have been approached in an unsystematic fashion, and there is as a result virtually no cohesion or synthesis. Here I offer a new, complete analysis and study of all the documentation relevant to the *gymnasium* and gymnasial life in Egypt at the time of the Ptolemies and the first Roman Emperors.

I do not pretend to present a definitive and comprehensive historical study of the gymnasial institution in the whole Graeco–Roman world: indeed in many cases the picture is fragmentary and gaps do not allow wider conclusions, which are bound to result in misrepresentation. The evidence which Egypt offers us is indeed biased, so to speak: it refers only to one single Hellenistic Kingdom (and it is sometimes meagre evidence too). It is often too risky to apply what we know from it to elsewhere. Perhaps the situation was indeed the same or anyway similar elsewhere, but often we do not have evidence to prove it. In fact, the *gymnasium* was affected by local circumstances, which were or may have been different in the various Hellenistic Kingdoms.

The case of rural *gymnasia*, for instance, is instructive: they appear to be the norm in Ptolemaic Egypt, and they seem to be a *unicum* in the Hellenistic world. In fact, we have evidence – though very little – from elsewhere which points to the possible existence of *gymnasia* outside of the civic frame or anyway without civic control in some circumstances (that is to say that they were not public buildings entrusted to the magistrates of a *polis*): however the great majority of our sources from outside Egypt present the institution as normally being an urban or civic feature. In fact, often there is

not enough evidence for comparison: we simply must admit that it is impossible to know what the actual state of affairs was any more precisely.

Although aware of this shortcoming, I should like to present the study of the *gymnasium* in Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt as a case–study. I shall demonstrate how this Greek institution and its people were affected by the local environment and displayed an 'Egyptian flavour', often in contrast with what we know from elsewhere. The hope is to show how the information we can gather from the papyrological sources (which may support certain 'odd' hints in the documentation from elsewhere) may make us aware of the possibility of variety of features and different traditions alive and active at the same time in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. This would help in demolishing a constructed and unnatural idea of purported unity which we often seem to expect, and would contribute to a better understanding of the ancient world in all its complexity and vitality.

The diffusion of *gymnasia* in Egypt can be documented in two ways in the sources: the explicit indication of the word γυμνάσιον and the reference to elements existing only in a gymnasial context. The first is more self–explanatory, the second more deductive. In the latter, therefore, it must be said that the mention of officials (gymnasiarchs, *kosmetai*) or a category of people traditionally connected to the *gymnasia* (ephebes) does not represent indubitable proof of the existence of a *gymnasium*. However, it would not make any sense to think of these people as not linked to an existing *gymnasium*. They may not give us information about the exact

place where the building was, but they do tell us that such an institution did exist (in that local context or surroundings).[1]

The kinds of documents concerned are also twofold: mainly papyri and inscriptions. The content of papyri is often of an official nature, especially petitions – even though private letters do occur. Inscriptions mainly preserve decrees or dedications. There is a real difference in the picture of society that comes from these different forms of evidence. Inscriptions often deal with honours granted to special men involved in the running of the *gymnasium* on special occasions and for their extraordinary deeds. Since these documents are expressly meant to be public and means of self–promotion, they are often filled with propaganda and follow the patterns of the Greek epigraphy of the Hellenistic age: the members of the gymnasial community appear as rich, important, and powerful Greek benefactors playing their part in what appears to be a traditional Greek gymnasial environment (exceptions do of course occur, like in funerary epigraphy or in the dedications to the Egyptian crocodile god by the ephebes of the *gymnasia* of some villages of the Arsinoite Nome). Papyri on the other hand, because they are not by their very nature intended to be made publicly known, often present before our eyes a more varied picture, with mention of mundane activities of the people connected to the *gymnasium*, their financial affairs, their struggles and big or little businesses of everyday life: although some documents do have some degree of rhetorical tricks in them which may be regarded as the counterpart of the propaganda in the epigraphic sources (many do follow the typical stylistic

[1] I am therefore less sceptical than Delorme (1960) p. 5. However, it must be noted that the mention of *neaniskoi* in the sources is more difficult to use to localise a *gymnasium* (save in a few particular cases – namely I.Th.Sy. 189 and BGU VI 1256). For this reason, I have not taken them into consideration as a factor for the distribution of *gymnasia*. On *neaniskoi* (and their connection to *gymnasia*) *cf.* pp. 171ff and Sacco (1979).

patterns of their 'genre' using common–place argumentation: for instance, petitions), they generally tend to be less stylized and display less artificiality. Private letters bring back to life the people of the *gymnasium* in their private and domestic sphere, when they were far from the 'Greek–focused' spotlight of the *gymnasium*. Furthermore, the fact that many papyri deal with administrative matters allows us an insight into the machinery of the government and the social organisation of the people of Egypt: this we would very rarely – or never – glimpse from inscriptions. Papyri and inscriptions therefore complement each other and together provide a fuller, and truer, picture of the actual state of affairs.

Archaeology would be the third component of the research, but it offers no help in filling the gaps for the case of *gymnasia* in Hellenistic and (early) Roman Egypt. No archaeological remains of gymnasial buildings have been identified, and inscriptions likely to come from *gymnasia* have never been tied down to a specific building. The fact is rather surprising, because we would expect *gymnasia* to have typical characteristics which are easily identifiable. This fact that this does not seem to be the case forces us to come to at least two conclusions: 1. either the *gymnasia* in Ptolemaic (and early Roman) Egypt did not look like those from elsewhere in the Hellenistic world; or 2. the developments which the buildings undertook in the course of the centuries (and in particular under Roman rule) gave them a completely different shape which made them unrecognisable as such. I should be inclined to lean towards the latter: information from epigraphic evidence – little though it may be – about the architecture and the various activities performed in the premises suggests that the structure of the buildings may have been generally similar to the ones to which we are accustomed (local variants, especially of size and complexity of plan, did obviously exist): entrance

gates and gateways (θύρωμα, δίθυρον, πυλών), arcade (ἐξέδρα), courtyard (γυμνάσιον), open gallery (ξυστός) and hall (οἶκος).[2] Why have we not been able to identify those buildings then? I believe that this is mainly due to the subsequent transformations which they underwent in Roman time: the village *gymnasia* disappeared and were therefore dismantled or converted into other uses (perhaps bathing establishments?) thus leaving us without clues to identify them as former *gymnasia*. Similarly, the *gymnasia* in the metropoleis tended to become Roman baths: this phenomenon, common in all the eastern provinces, is attested from the early days of the Principate and increased as time went on.[3] This makes it difficult to tell whether an uncovered bath–complex was in fact a *gymnasium* or just simply baths. Obviously, given the fact that not all of the sites in Egypt have been fully excavated, future and more extensive archaeological finds may provide new surprising discoveries.

Primary sources (especially documents) therefore remain the main object of investigation. Every single text has been carefully studied and analysed so as to extract all the information possible, especially because in many cases we have not much direct evidence at our disposal for a particular matter. However, a single text is never finally considered on its own, but always viewed as a part of a more complex ensemble. Only the complete analysis of all the documents relevant to the topic can provide a reliable synthesis. Documentary evidence is used throughout the entire thesis and constitutes the ground of the work. At all events, relevant ancient literary texts have also been taken

[2] I.Prose 41 23–26 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt); I.Fayoum II 103 [and 104], 4 (150/149 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars); I.Prose 40, 6 (II–I cent. BC, from Psenamosis, western Delta).
[3] *Cf.* P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, Herm.) with the first attestation of baths in a *gymnasium*. The end–point of this phenomenon seems to be testified by the late antique complex of Kom el–Dikka in Alexandria with baths, theatre and *auditoria*: *cf.* McKenzie (2007) pp. 209–220.

into account. My research is therefore strongly evidence–based and should provide a complete and critical up–to–date analysis of the subject.

Brief enquiries into the situation of *gymnasia* outside Egypt (especially in Ptolemaic possessions) are also presented, through the use of secondary sources. Attention has been devoted to the case of Macedonia, Cyrene, Thera, Cyprus, and the Seleucid Empire (this last case requires further investigation – very little has been done – which may provide new and perhaps unexpected discoveries): however, the general tendency is to restrict myself to Egypt, for reasons of coherency, relevance, and economy.

Similarly, I shall not approach the question of athletics and competitions in Egypt in general, nor the Egyptian presence at the Olympic games and other panhellenic celebrations. Although the topic is very much a promising one (few studies have been carried out on the subject, among which Decker (1991); Buraselis (1993); Criscuolo (2003); Remijsen (2009), and much still needs to be done), I have decided to do without, for at least three reasons. 1. Although certainly part of the 'gymnasial culture', athletics and competitions as a whole cannot always been clearly connected with the *gymnasium*; only those cases in which the link is evident and proven have been taken into account (games organised in the *gymnasium* or by the gymnasiarchs or *agonothetai*). 2. The focus of this work is the *gymnasium* and its social implications for the 'Greekness' *in* Egypt; cultural and political statements of the 'Greeks' of Egypt and the affirmation of Ptolemaic policies abroad fall outside my scope. 3. More mundanely – though not less compellingly – the restraints of word–limit hindered a proper treatment of the subject.

Changes and continuity from Ptolemaic to early Roman times appear clear throughout my work, thanks to the diachronic approach which I have decided to use: in almost every section, each single argument is analysed diachronically. Proceeding thematically, rather than simply chronologically, was the only sensible way I was able to find to avoid useless and frustrating repetitions. My work is therefore divided into four sections.

I. Attention is first devoted to the careful study of the *gymnasium* itself, as an institution, analysing its diffusion, foundation, internal organisation and the role played by associations which were hosted therein. The constitution and the characteristics of the governing body (with special attention to the role of the gymnasiarchs) and the financial matters relevant to the *gymnasium* allow one to draw conclusions on its legal status and social role: it is shown how the *gymnasium* of Egypt operated in a completely different way from the traditional one which is normally assumed for the Greek *poleis*, especially of mainland Greece and above all Athens. A possible model of influence is suggested.

II. Gymnasial people are the subject of the section about 'gymnasial status': starting from the rules of admission into the *gymnasium* and from the treatment of outsiders, the social status and social composition of the members of the *gymnasium* are objects of enquiry, focusing on the links with the army and the public administration. It is argued that the gymnasial community should be considered as a complex reality, formed by different components belonging to various levels of the social strata.

III. Educational, religious and recreational activities carried out in the premises of the *gymnasium* or strictly connected to it are taken into account to give an idea of the

'daily life' of the institution and of the 'behaviour' of its people, which was likely to be the result of a feeling of 'shared identity'.

IV. The concluding section draws attention to the issue of identity more clearly: relation with the 'others' and idea of Greekness the people of the *gymnasium* had about themselves (influenced by the rulers' policies), access to *gymnasia*, onomastics, elite classes, mixed marriages, reception of Egyptian burial methods and cults, advantage of 'going Greek'. It is argued that, although having in the *gymnasium* the key–element for the assertion of their identity and status as *Hellenes*, the 'Greeks' of Egypt nonetheless displayed complex patterns of mixed identities and were thoroughly embedded in the social, cultural, religious and administrative environment of the country where they lived.

Gymnasial traditions introduced to Egypt by the Greek and Macedonian immigrants found fertile soil and remained well alive for centuries: in the third century AD, for instance, Greek culture was still very much thriving and at the centre of the attention within the society of the city of Oxyrhynchus, as the panegyrical poem in honour of the gymnasiarch Theon attests.[4] In my enquiry I investigate the roots of these long–lasting traditions which had in the *gymnasium* their focus and pivotal centre. They would shape the face and status of the 'Greeks' of Egypt at least for the subsequent seven centuries, symbol and proof of the survival and the prosperity of 'Greekness' in the country.

The *gymnasium* represented one of the main means for the assertion of one's Hellenic status. This was of paramount importance in a country like Egypt, which

[4] P.Oxy. VII 1015.

virtually lacked the most common and traditional status designation of the Greek world: citizenship of a Greek *polis*. In fact, although many of the immigrants retained (and passed on to their heirs) their original Greek ethnics which defined them in legal contexts and were carefully controlled by appropriate regulations, their legal status *within* the Ptolemaic society and in front of the authority was not strictly defined by that.[5] Nor, for that matter, were all of them officially recognised as citizens in their land of origin: many of the immigrants who first arrived in Egypt certainly were actual citizens of Greek *poleis* but their children hardly were. At all events, the Greek immigrants and their heirs did not enjoy a particular social position in Egypt thanks to the fact that they were (or had originally been) Athenians, Macedonians or Syracusans: when it came to actual status definition, Ptolemaic society mainly worked outside the civic frame of the old Greek world. With one exception. For only a tiny minority of the population belonged to the citizen–body of one of the three Greek *poleis* of Egypt (Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais in Upper Egypt) and enjoyed the related privileged status, with well–defined laws as a papyrus of the collection at the University of Halle attests.[6] Most of the people of the country, however, lived in the countryside. They were outside not only of a civic context, but often also of an urban setting: the settlements of Ptolemaic Egypt were rural entities, villages of various size and demographic dimensions. Even the capitals of the administrative districts of the country were nothing more than medium– or large–sized villages. In this framework, means for the assertion of status were to be found, other than *polis* citizenship. The adoption of improper civic vocabulary was one way to express this, albeit informally: the example

[5] *Cf.* Modrzejewski (1983). However, unlike the author, I do not think that the status of *Hellen* was only reserved for those who had a Greek ethnic (i.e. those who could trace their origins back to the citizen–body of a Greek *polis*): *cf.* Clarysse and Thompson (2006).
[6] P.Hal. 1 (after 259 BC).

of the 'cities' Philometoris and Kleopatra in the Triakontaschoinos (Lower Nubia) and Euergetis in Upper Egypt founded in the second century BC by Boethos, a distinguished personality of the Ptolemaic administration, is particularly illuminating. These settlements were referred to as *poleis*, but they did not enjoy *polis* status, nor were their inhabitants citizens. However, they provided an informal – though by no means less significant – definition of status for those 'Greeks' who took part in their life and administration. The term *polis* was also loosely applied to the nome–capitals, which were in fact called *metropoleis* (in certain instances, in the Roman period, the term was used for simple villages too): this had no legal concequences and simply reflected a usage which went back to Greek place–naming habits, while at the same time conferring an idea of status to the settlements themselves and their inhabitants. Similarly the membership of a *politeuma* conveyed a sense of status for its members.

However, these local and improper civic indicators of status were not officially and unequivocally recognised by the Ptolemaic state: we have no evidence to maintain that a man enjoyed particular privileges for the fact that he belonged to one particular 'para–*polis*' or *politeuma*. It would be the Romans who linked status and fiscal privileges to residence criteria. The Ptolemies in fact adopted a different approach: in default of a well–structured system of local *polis* citizenship, they granted fiscal privileges to the category of *Hellenes*, the members of which were 'selected' on the basis of cultural or occupational factors, neither of local nor (necessarily) of ethnic origin. These tax–*Hellenes* included people from a great variety of backgrounds: (descendants of) Macedonian and Greek mercenaries and immigrants (many of whom maintained their original Greek ethnics), members of the army and of the bureaucracy. Hellenic descent did not constitute the necessary criterion for membership of the group:

occupation, education and way of living rather did. Therefore, beside 'original' Macedonians and 'Greeks', one could find Jews, Thracians, and even native Egyptians. They all shared at least one feature: they were all somehow involved with the Ptolemaic government in the running of the country, either at administrative or military level. They represented in fact the ruling (immigrant) class. They adopted Greek language and often customs, at least in their public life – no doubt, many took part in the life of the *gymnasium*. On the basis of the local circumstances and in the absence of wide–spread civic centres, therefore, the Ptolemies devised a social division of the population which would allow them to obtain the best results for upholding Greek traditions and culture and for the creation of an 'administrative class' which would run the country. They did so by adopting a status designation which was not strictly limited by geographical provenance (although ethnic designations were required in legal contexts, they were of no relevance for official fiscal purposes): on the one hand, this reflected and was particulary apt to the complex social composition of their subjects, on the other it was inclusive of local and external imputs. This last feature was of very much importance for the success of Ptolemaic endeavours.

This is also seen in the features which the Greek institution *par excellence*, the *gymnasium*, displayed in Egypt. It played a particularly important role in the assertion of status, and in reinforcing a purported idea of separation between different sectors of the population. Its membership was one of the ways which those who considered themselves *Hellenes* had in order to define themselves as 'different' from the 'Egyptians', who did not belong to the same category. However, local circumstances influenced the developments of the institution and, most importantly, had strong repercussions on its members. The same people, who were presenting themselves as

Hellenes by means of their gymnasial membership, in their life outside of the *gymnasium* very often had many features in common with the 'Egyptians'. They were therefore characterised by a complex identity, which could be expressed differently depending on circumstances and place. Sometimes Egyptian customs even entered the gymnasial environment, as is for instance evident from dedications to the Egyptian crocodile god by ephebes: this is a clear indicator of how the members of the most Greek institution ever – and by the same token, the institution itself to some extent – were thouroughly embedded in the social and cultural environment of Egypt.

Complexity of features is also found in the definition and use of the term *Hellen* itself. Even if it was a status designation and in the fiscal context had the above–mentioned characteristics, in other contexts it may have been used in a different way. It may sometimes have had a broader meaning (including the status designation of Persians, for instance, who appear to be separated from the *Hellenes* as fiscal group), some other times in a narrower way (when excluding or anyway in opposition to local Egyptians, some of whom in fact formed part of the tax–*Hellenes*). This is what one sees in the common usage of the term *Hellen* or of the verb *hellenizein* in papyri: most of the time they are petitions or letters of requests in which the petitioners complained of mistreatment either because of their being *Hellenes* or because they are not able to *hellenizein*.[7] It is clear that these terms have here nothing to do with fiscal categories (nor with officially recognised status), but rather with a purported clash of cultures or 'social class': belonging to the Hellenic ruling group or the incapacity for complying to its rules are *adduced* as reasons for unjust treatment. What is interesting is that, in both

[7] *Cf*., for instance, the *katochos* Ptolemaios in UPZ I 7, 8, 15 (163–156 BC, from Memphis), Herakleides of P.Enteux. 79 (218 BC, from Krokodilopolis, Ars), and the camel–driver of P.Col. IV 66 (*ca* 256/5 BC, from Philadelpheia, Ars.).

cases (although from opposite perspectives), the petitioners presented themselves as outsiders: no doubt, in so doing they hoped to obtain better favour before the authority.

The term *Hellen*, therefore, was invested with a multiple meaning, according to circumstances, contexts, and documents. However, the Ptolemaic administration adopted the broader definition of the term, including in it (almost) anyone who was involved in the 'world of the Greek immigrants'. Paradoxically enough, as an official status designation it was certainly more inclusive than when used in other contexts.

The main findings of my work can be grouped into two categories: 1. for the institution itself, and 2. for the social history.

1. The *gymnasium* in Ptolemaic Egypt, as already mentioned, was mainly rural: it was not connected with a *polis*, and not even with an urban centre or magistrates or public officials (at least up to the Roman period). This seems a peculiar feature of Egypt unattested elsewhere, although I suggest that a Macedonian heritage behind it may well be supposed (in this respect, the Seleucid Empire remains a sort of big hole: it still needs to be fully investigated – especially the situation in earlier times – and future research may show parallels with Ptolemaic Egypt, but for as much as we know from modern scholarship, the *gymnasium* there seem to have generally followed the patterns of the civic *gymnasia* so vividly portrayed in the sources from the *poleis* of Asia Minor). Rural *gymnasia* in Ptolemaic Egypt started their life in a sort of understated way, as simple associations of Greek settlers entrusted to a president: it is only towards the middle/end of the third century BC that gymnasiarchs were introduced in the village *gymnasia*, no doubt under the influence of the *gymnasia* in the *poleis* of Egypt, especially Alexandria. Although without the formal gymnasial infrastructure, they were

nonetheless called *gymnasia* from the very start. Three (concomitant) reasons may explain this fact: 1. it was the place where people performed physical activities (γυμνάσματα); 2. it had a courtyard (γυμνάσιον); 3. the term had a ring of Greekness: the *gymnasium* was what Greeks had and the settlers, in order to present themselves as Greeks, had to have the *gymnasium* too. The *gymnasium* in the entire of the Ptolemaic period remained a private and privately run institution: it was the club of the *Hellenes*. However, given that *gymnasia* constituted the association of those who represented the ruling class of the country, they were invested with some sort of public importance or character – their activities, with tones of sacrality and links with the Royal cult, also stressed this fact: the process started very early and we can see traces of it from the middle/end of the third century BC (presumably in connection with the introduction of gymnasiarchs). The 'hybrid' position of the Ptolemaic *gymnasium*, a private association of the *Hellenes* invested with public importance, developed during the course of the centuries and towards the end of the Ptolemaic period its public role within the society of Egypt appears very clear and somewhat acknowledged by the state too. It is therefore not surprising that the Romans finally took on and enhanced this feature, although for their own particular interests.

2. On the side of the social history, I show how the gymnasial group represented a complex reality. They were certainly an elite, in the sense that they presented themselves as sharing the feature of the ruling or leading class of the country, the *Hellenes*, but this does not necessarily mean that all of its members enjoyed an equal level of wealth, social importance and political power. Although occupying the middle and upper strata of the society of Egypt, the gymnasial group stretched over different levels too, from higher to lower. Those at the top of the gymnasial group were also at

the top of the social ladder of the country and were in charge of the *gymnasium*, and had connections with the Ptolemaic administration and politics, often with position of prestige and importance at national and international level. Those at the bottom of the gymnasial group occupied a middle position in the society of the country: they were not entrusted with the affairs of the *gymnasium* if not in their private capacities as simple members, had lower professions and income, and may have also occupied lower positions in the administration – however, as *Hellenes* (and often involved in various degree of land tenure) they certainly enjoyed a more favourable situation than the mass of simple Egyptian peasants. All the members of the *gymnasium*, however, had to have at their disposal sufficient financial sources in order to pay for the expenses connected with membership, and enough free time to take part in the gymnasial activities: in particular, they had to be able to support their children and let them go to the *gymnasium* (for the ephebate) rather than having them sent to work. In this respect, a difference may have existed in Roman times, when the membership of the *gymnasium* was a hereditary privilege and may not have been connected with the actual participation in the life of the *gymnasium* itself (which had often been turned into baths), as it was in Ptolemaic times – evidence for this is however absent: presumably the Roman οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου may have been rather keen to take part in the gymnasial activities as their particular privilege and as further opportunity for social distinction. The complex reality of the gymnasial group is also paralleled by their complex identities: although being and presenting themselves as *Hellenes*, the members of the *gymnasium* displayed complex identities formed by different features, in which the Egyptian elements occupied a position of paramount importance. They shared Egyptian religious practices and beliefs, burial methods, and sometimes onomastics: the

Hellenes were very much embedded in the social, economic, administrative, and cultural environment of Egypt. They were 'Greeks' *of* Egypt, not in Egypt. This state of affairs may have been facilitated by the 'inclusiveness' towards external elements which the *gymnasium* and the official category of the *Hellenes* had in Ptolemaic times: as we have seen, one was a *Hellen* if one behaved as a *Hellen*. Ethnic, racial or hereditary factors were not (generally) taken into consideration.

With the arrival of the Romans, the situation started to change: after a period of transition and adaptation, new rules were put into action which shaped things differently. The gymnasial group became a social class recognised and scrutinised by the state, and the *gymnasium* was invested with a new nature: transformed into an urban feature (just like in the rest of the Roman Empire), it was only found in the metropoleis (that is to say the capitals of the nomes) and played a key–role in the categorisation of the population for tax and social purposes. It furthermore started its development into a public building controlled by municipal officials. Indeed, from the Flavian reforms of the gymnasial class in the 70s of the first century AD and the municipalisation of the gymnasial offices towards the mid/end of the same century, the gymnasial class became an urban, metropolitan, closed, hereditary, elitist, and exclusive class. Those belonging to the higher strata of the gymnasial class formed the local, municipal, and later curial aristocracy. This had unprecedented social bearings. It is indeed in this period that the new character of the *gymnasium* and of the gymnasial group achieved its fullest form, completely different from the one of Ptolemaic times. This is why my investigation ends with the last years of the Flavian dynasty.

THE INSTITUTION

I. Ptolemaic *Gymnasia*: Foundation & Diffusion

Using the Ptolemaic documentary material, it is possible to plot on a map the distribution of γυμνάσια over time and place.[8] However, the picture we get can be only one of an impressionistic nature, as already noted by Habermann (2004) p. 336. It will be a partial image of the actual situation: there might have been many more *gymnasia* than those attested in the documents. This seems true, for instance, for the case of the three Ptolemaic Greek *poleis* of Egypt: it is sensible to think that there was one or possibly more *gymnasia* in each of them; however, we do not have much or any evidence.

Still, the careful consideration of the distribution of *gymnasia* will not be without value. They will give us an idea of their popularity, their uses, the people connected to them, and the places where they were built, indirectly giving testimony of those who took advantage of their existence. This will be of particular interest for the study of the social composition of the places where *gymnasia* were found, providing us with an idea of the people who could enter them.

There were only three 'Greek cities' or proper *poleis* in Ptolemaic Egypt: Naucratis (Ναύκρατις, the oldest Greek settlement of the country, a 'port of trade' established in the seventh century BC on land granted by Psammetichus I on the Canopic branch of the Delta of the Nile, organised according to the laws of Miletus, the

[8] *Cf.* Maps 1 and 2.

calendar of which was also employed),[9] Alexandria, and Ptolemais in Upper Egypt (Πτολεμαὶς Ἑρμείου, founded at the beginning of the Ptolemaic era by Ptolemy I Soter).[10] The citizens of the three *poleis* (ἀστοί) were organised in tribes and demes (φυλαί and δῆμοι: their names in Alexandria and Ptolemais recalled either divinities connected to the Royal House or names of sovereigns; in Naucratis the two only attested tribes are named after Hera and the god Nilus, no demes are preserved),[11] had city laws (and particular strict dispositions regarding marriage and right to citizenship), assemblies and councils,[12] and their life was organised according to the standards of the Hellenic civic life. The rest of the country was simply χώρα, Egyptian countryside. It was organised into different administrative divisions, called nomes (νομοί), somehow reflecting a previous pharaonic organisation and the number of which slightly changed over the time. The administrative centre of each nome was the metropolis (μητρόπολις), which, despite its name, was *not* a *polis* and did not enjoy the legal status of a *polis*: it was nothing more than a bigger village, where the administrative offices of the nome were. Unevenly distributed throughout the nomes and around the metropoleis were the various villages (κῶμαι).

[9] *Cf.* Bagnall and Rathbone (2004) pp. 79–81 and Möller (2000) pp. 182–215 who rejects the usual idea that Naucratis was a Milesian foundation.

[10] On Ptolemais *cf.* Plaumann (1910); Bagnall and Rathbone (2004) p. 173; Mueller (2006) p. 207 no. 64, on the name pp. 15–22. On some examples of documentary evidence from Ptolemais and on activities in which its citizens were involved, with reference to interactions with the neighbouring territories, *cf.* Abd–el–Ghani (2001). A fourth *polis* will be added in 130 AD: Antinoopolis (Ἀντινοούπολις), a Hadrianic foundation in honour of Antinoos: *cf.* Zahrnt (1988); Montevecchi (1990).

[11] *Cf.* Fraser (1972) I pp. 39–46 (Alexandria); Plaumann (1910) pp. 22–25 (Ptolemais); Scholl (1997) (Naucratis).

[12] Alexandria's assembly (ἐκκλησία) was probably abolished by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, whereas the council (βουλή) was perhaps dismissed by Augustus, and despite the protests of the Alexandrians it was re–introduced only in 200 AD by Septimius Severus (when all the metropoleis of the nomes of Egypt were granted a council): *cf.* Fraser (1972) I pp. 94–95. Differently Bowman and Rathbone (1992) pp. 108–109: '[Alexandria] must originally have had a *boule*, but we believe that it lost it in the Ptolemaic period, perhaps at the same time as it lost its *ekklesia'*.

The Ptolemaic *gymnasia* – unlike the Roman ones – are found not only in the three Greek *poleis* and in the nome–capitals, but also in the villages.[13] For what the evidence at our disposal tells us, this seems to be a peculiar feature of Egypt, almost unknown anywhere else in the Hellenistic world, where the *gymnasium* is generally a civic institution or anyway present in a *polis*.[14] The reason for this being so can be found both in the scantiness of *poleis* and in the territorial policy of the Ptolemies, who granted land in the Egyptian countryside to the Greek mercenaries who thereby became cleruchs (κληροῦχοι, occupiers of a κλῆρος, the land parcel assigned to them). Therefore, the Greek settlers introduced their traditions and ways of living in the place where they lived. They had the opportunity (or sometimes, were obliged) to meet and then mix with the indigenous population. The existence of *gymnasia* in such places obliges us to take into consideration the eventual influences of the Egyptian milieu over the members of the *gymnasia* and *vice versa*. Whether this aspect was already *a priori* conceived in the mind of the sovereigns when sending around the Greek settlers is not easy to say. Certainly, the central Government was happy to have Greek elements 'hellenising' the country and relied on them – at least at the beginning – as faithful (and possibly wealthy) high–officers for the administration and the organisation of the nomes.

Village *gymnasia* are found especially in the Fayyum and in areas of heavy cleruchic settlements, whereas in Upper Egypt, for instance, there is a propensity to have them in the nome–capitals where the Greek element tended to concentrate or

[13] A *gymnasium* is also attested in the 'city' of Euergetis, founded by Boethos in Upper Egypt; this was not a proper Greek *polis*, despite its name. *Cf.* p. 141 and note 386.
[14] *Cf.* the case of Toriaion (SEG XLVII 1745). For the other example of a *gymnasium* outside of the *polis* frame in the Hellenistic world, *cf.* p. 151. For the village *gymnasia* of Egypt, informal ambitions of civic status may have played a role, but this never brought to any formal recognition of status: having a *gymnasium* did not make a town or village a *polis*. On the status of *gymnasia* in Egypt, *cf.* pp. 122ff.

anyway focus.[15] At all events, settlements which could boast the presence of a *gymnasium* were likely to have had more inhabitants.[16]

We can be absolutely sure about the existence of *gymnasia* in sixteen places:[17] Greek *poleis* (Alexandria, Ptolemais),[18] the eastern Delta (*Thmouis), the western Delta (Psenamosis), the central Delta (*Sebennytos), the Arsinoite Nome (Philadelpheia, Samareia, Mouchis, Theadelpheia), the Herakleopolite Nome (two unnamed villages), the Thebaid (*Diospolis Magna / Thebes with Luxor), and Upper Egypt (*Omboi, *Aphroditopolis, 'city' of Euergetis).[19]

In addition, other localities can be hypothesised as having a *gymnasium*, on the basis of reference to people or functions traditionally connected to that institution (ephebes, gymnasiarchs and *kosmetai*): Greek *poleis* (Naucratis), the Delta (Psenemphaia, Schedia, *Canopos),[20] the Arsinoite (Euhemeria, *Krokodilopolis/Ptolemais Euergetis, Tebtynis),[21] Herakleopolites (*Herakleopolis

[15] Exceptions do obviously occur and indeed we find some village *gymnasia* in Upper Egypt too, but their number (as far as we can gather from the sources) was lower. The case of Dryton is interesting in this respect: he was citizen of Ptolemais but eventually lived and married in the village of Pathyris, but he financially supported the *gymnasium* of Diospolis Magna/Thebes (P.Dryton 39, 137/6 BC, Pathyris–Thebes).
[16] *Cf.* Clarysse and Mueller (2004) p. 57.
[17] Metropoleis of nome are indicated with *.
[18] The *gymnasium* attested in I.Prose 27 should be that of Ptolemais: the provenance is not certain, but it is inferred from the mention of *polis* with *bouleutai* and from the indication of the enrolment of new citizens (πολιτογραφέω). *Cf.* pp. 124ff.
[19] Moreover, there is an inscription from 185–181 BC only published by Strack (1903) p. 548 no. 26, with the mention of a *gymnasium*. Its provenance, however, is not known, although I believe it is Terenouthis. The stone was bought in Cairo by Grenfell in 1898 and then given to the Egypt Exploration Fund; the *ed. pr.* was made on the basis of Grenfell's notes. The original was not seen by the editor and the place of conservation was unknown to him. The stone is now in the British Museum and I have prepared a new edition which is to be published soon in *ZPE*.
[20] The presence of a *gymnasium* in Canopos is doubtful: *cf.* note 457. Similarly for Terenouthis in the western Delta: *cf.* note 183 and my forthcoming article in *ZPE* on the inscription published by Strack (1903) p. 548 no. 26.
[21] The provenance from Tebtynis of I.Fayoum III 202 is not certain.

Magna, Tilothis, Koma, Bousiris),[22] the Thebaid (Krokodilopolis, *Hermonthis, and *Koptos),[23] Upper Egypt (Setis).[24]

Finally, dedications to the gymnastic deities *par excellence* – Hermes and Heracles – may point towards a gymnasial context. The presence of a *gymnasium* could be therefore assumed in Rosetta (western Delta), from where comes the inscription I.Louvre 13 (II cent. BC).[25] This is a dedication to Hermes and Heracles of a Ptolemaieion and a throne (θρόνος) by Areios, strategus of the Pharbaithites (in the eastern Delta). The Ptolemaieion is considered either a chapel devoted to the royal cult inside the *gymnasium*[26] or the *gymnasium* itself.[27]

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[22] For Koma and Bousiris BGU IV 1188, BGU IV 1189 and BGU IV 1201: interesting examples of gymnasiarchs of a village, still at the beginning of the Roman period (dated to Augustan times after 15/14 BC, 1 BC/1 AD and 2 AD, respectively). This testifies to the period of transition after which *gymnasia* are found only in the metropolis of the nomes. It is a sort of survivor of the Ptolemaic times and therefore it is considered here as attesting *gymnasia* in Ptolemaic Egypt. *Cf.* pp. 80ff.

[23] Wilcken *Chr.* 11: this is a case in which I think that the mention of the *neaniskoi* does point towards the existence of a *gymnasium* in that place. Nine *neaniskoi* of Krokodilopolis are sent to Hermonthis as representatives of the village to celebrate a ceremony for the peace between the two neighbours (the ceremony is Greek in fashion, and incudes a drinking party: *cf.* Wilcken (1913) p. 415), while Hermonthis had already sent to Krokodilopolis the same number of youths (possibly *neaniskoi* too). Therefore, there must have been a *gymnasium* in Krokodilopolis to which the *neaniskoi* were connected. Moreover, it is not totally unlikely that the same was also true for Hermonthis, metropolis of the Hermonthite Nome: a local dedication to Hermes and Heracles (I.Prose 35) dating to 80–69 BC further points towards a gymnasial context in the area. Krokodilopolis had strong connections with the neighbouring village of Pathyris (they are often recorded together: cf. *Diz. geogr.* s. vv.): might they have 'shared' the same *gymnasium*? For a study of Pathyris and its population, *cf.* Pestman (1965); Vandorpe and Waebens (2010).

[24] In an inscription from Setis (I.Th.Sy. 303), a dedication to double Greek–Egyptian deities has the term *prostates* corrected from the term *kosmetes*, previously engraved.

[25] The date is disputed. The ed. says 163–145 BC, whereas Mooren (1975b) p. 105 note 89 says after 157/6 BC.

[26] Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) II pp. 839 and 855. Delorme (1960) p. 200 note 1 agrees with Launey; moreover, he thinks that the *gymnasium* was placed in Pharbaithos (no doubt because of the strategus). However, I am not so sure about that: the fact that the inscription comes from Rosetta would rather suggest that Areios was from that place and dedicated the Ptolemaieion and the throne there, while being strategus of the Pharbaithites (the fact that there is the indication of the locality where the *strategeia* was held also suggests a different place from that of the inscription). The fact that strategi happened to be on duty not in their place of origin is not surprising and is attested in Ptolemaic Egypt (*cf.* Phommous (117–110 BC): PP I 202 = Mooren (1975b) no. 058, Clarysse and Winnicki (1989) pp. 73–4 (comment on no. 6 line 10), Van 't Dack (1989) p. 132; Platon (101–88 BC): PP I 198 = Mooren (1975b) no. 059, Mooren and Van 't Dack (1981); Noumenios (171–169 BC): PP 196 + add. = 1966 + add. = 5213 + add. = 14617 = 147; I.Philae I 19, pp. 192–196, Peremans and Van 't Dack (1953), Fraser (1972) I p. 105), as it was mandatory in Roman Egypt (at least from end I – beginning II cent. AD, when the *strategeia* started to be increasingly held by the metropolitan elites, and no longer by Alexandrians – who indeed often had

SEG XX 671 from Karnak (Thebes), dated 116–108 BC, is too fragmentary to allow us to draw any safe conclusions.[28] This is a dedication to Hermes and Heracles (and to other deities, among whom survive Ammun, Pan and Apollo) and could point towards a gymnasial environment. However the inscription (which was placed in the temple of Amun in Karnak for devotional purposes) cannot be used for the exact localisation of a *gymnasium*.

We do not have any Ptolemaic evidence from Oxyrhynchus, metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite Nome, which is so generous of papyri from Roman times.[29]

I shall not specifically treat each of them, given that a full list of the documents with their content is provided elsewhere.[30]

But let us start *ab initio*: the founders of the *gymnasia*.

Although only five places provide evidence in this respect, what is inferred from elsewhere can be reasonably applied as general practice to the other places, owing to the

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interests and properties in the nomes where they served: *cf.* Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 125; Kruse (2002) pp. 44–46. See Gnomon §70: τοῖς [ἐν] δημοσίαις χρ̣είαις οὖσ̣ι οὐκ ἐξὸν ὠνεῖσθ̣αι ἢ δ̣[ανεί]ζειν ἐν οἷς π[ρ]αγ[μ]α|τεύο[ντ]αι τόποις οὐδὲ ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ο[ὐ]δ̣ὲ ἐξ ὑπολ̣ό̣γ̣ο̣υ̣ [οὐδὲ ἐ]κ προκηρύξεως | ὅλου γ̣ομοῦ̣ (BGU V 1210, ll. 174–6) 'Neither public officials nor members of their household may purchase property or lend money in the districts wherein they operate either from the unproductive land or from that advertised at auction within the nome' (tr. Johnson (1936) no. 444 p. 716 §70). *Cf.* the case of Apollonios (first secure example of strategus recruited from metropolite elite: *cf.* Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 126 and note 105; Hagedorn (2007) p. 197 note 6), from Hermopolis but strategus of the Apollinopolites Heptakomia from 113 to *ca* 120 AD, whose archive we possess: *cf.* Montevecchi (1988[2]) p. 253 no. 34 and p. 575 no. 34, and http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/index.php, *s.v.* 'Apollonios strategus').

[27] Fraser (1972) II p. 353 note 149. On the terminology of *gymnasia*, *cf.* pp. 53ff.

[28] The word ephebes is in lacuna and it is not certain whether a demotic occurs in the text.

[29] The only document related to Oxyrhynchus is P.Oxy. IV 711 (*ca* 14 BC): an Augustan census list mentioning the poll–tax and a register of ex–ephebes entered according to their quarter. The text already bears signs of the changes and the peculiarities of Roman rule, even though it might represent a situation already existing in Ptolemaic times (there is a mention of a list of ephebes drawn up before the 6th year of reign of Augustus).

[30] Appendixes 1 and 2.

fact that the relevant documents are geographically and chronologically well spread: Delta, the Arsinoite and Upper Egypt from the third up to the first century BC.

The most striking feature is that all attested founders of *gymnasia* are individuals, rich private people who generously offered money or land on which to build the *gymnasium*. It is therefore not surprising that three out of five documents are honorific inscriptions by members of the *gymnasium* to their benefactors.

Five founders of as many *gymnasia* are known to us.

A man called Peukestes built the *gymnasium* in the village of Mouchis in the Arsinoite Nome.[31] No further information can be gathered about this person.[32]

Apollodoros was a Cilician cleruch *pentakosiarchos*,[33] who formerly belonged to the corps of Chrysermos.[34] He built the *gymnasium* in Samareia (Ars.), where he had his κλῆρος, and dedicated the building to the King with an inscription placed at the entrance. After his death, his possessions (including the *gymnasium*) passed to his heir.

[31] SB XVIII 13837 (224–218 BC), petition to the King from Mouchis (Ars.).
[32] For chronological reasons, this person cannot be the commander–in–chief who issued the order SB XIV 11942 (*ca* 331 BC), who can be identified with Peukestas son of Makartatos, to whom Alexander the Great entrusted part of the troops upon leaving Egypt in 331 BC: *cf*. Turner (1974).
[33] He used therefore to be commander over 500 men.
[34] P.Enteux. 8 (221 BC), a petition to the King from Samareia (Ars.), but the papyrus was found in a mummy cartonage from Magdola (Ars.). Apollodoros came from Nagidos, on the Cilician cost, and he is said to have been thus registered in some kind of list: ὃς ἐγράφετο Ναγιδεὺς τῶν Χρυσέρμου, πεντακοσίαρχος κληροῦχος (l. 2). P. Jouguet suggested that he maintained his *politikon* (the citizenship of his *polis* of origin) which assured him a privileged status. For this reason, the central administration might have kept lists strictly to control the status of those who were granted privileges. From BGU VI 1213, l. 3 (III cent. BC) we learn that there were dispositions regarding the change of fatherland and proper name (περὶ μεταβολῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὀνομάτων): origin was obviously considered of some importance. Jouguet continues by saying that Apollodoros might have belonged to a *politeuma* – perhaps the Cilician *politeuma*, attested in an inscription of the end of the third century BC (published by H. Henne, 'Inscriptions grecques', in *BIFAO* 25 (1925) no. II pp. 179–183) – of which the local authorities had to keep a register as well. *Cf.* Jouguet (1927) p. 385.

Another founder, whose name is lost, was one of the πρῶτοι φίλοι of the King and founded the *gymnasium* in Omboi, the metropolis of the Ombite Nome in Upper Egypt.[35]

Paris is called συγγενής of the King and is honoured in an inscription from Psenamosis (a village of the Berenikes Nome in the western Delta).[36] He is not explicitly called 'founder' but he can be fairly considered as such, since he donated an empty place (ψίλος τόπος) belonging to him to the association (σύνοδος) of fellow–farmers / landowners (συγγέωργοι – γεοῦχοι) of the village to build a *gymnasium* and a meeting–hall (οἶκος) and therefore was greatly honoured by them. Thus, strictly speaking, the proper founders of the *gymnasium* in Psenamosis are both Paris and the association of landowners.

The last one, whose name is unknow to us, is a *prostates* or *phrourarchos* and *archibasilistes* and priest of the King. He is honoured by the Macedonians of the *gymnasium* Herakleion, in a inscription from Sebennytos (in the central Delta).[37] The first two titles of the founder are reconstructed. The priestly office is certain as well as the title κτίστης τοῦ τόπου: the term τόπος refers to the *gymnasium* itself.[38] Since the founder seems still to have been alive at the time when he was honoured in the

[35] I.Th.Sy. 189 (135 BC) inscription from Omboi.
[36] I.Prose 40 = SB IV 7457 (II–I cent. BC). The date of the text is the subject of scholarly argument: it is assigned to the second century BC by PP (186/5 BC and 162/1 BC); to the first century BC by Bernand (I.Prose 40) and Mooren (1975b) p. 185 no. 0344, p. 242 no. 00312 (67 BC and 64 BC), by Fraser (1961) p. 145 no. 26 (80–58 BC and 55–51 BC) and by G. Geraci, review of the volume I.Delta, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), pp. 333–334 (who agrees with Fraser even though he suggests the possibility that the text refers to Ptolemy X Alexander I, 107–88 BC).
[37] SB I 1106; revised ed. through *opus ingenii* by Van 't Dack (1984) = SEG XXXIV 1605 (who suggested that the mention of *synpoliteuomenoi* and of soldiers stationing in service in the inland point to a later date than the *ed. pr.*'s III cent. BC). The inscription is lost and was said to be already 'much obliterated' (A. H. Sayce in Van 't Dack (1984) p. 1325) and barely readable at the time of the *ed. pr.*
[38] *Cf.* Delorme (1960) p. 241; Fraser (1972) II p. 160 note 280; Van 't Dack (1984) p. 1329. Examples of this term used to indicate the *gymnasium* or properties of associations connected to the *gymnasium* are also found elsewhere: *cf.* p. 55.

inscription, the date of foundation of the *gymnasium* must have been in the fairly recent past.[39]

The social class, or at least the position in society occupied by the founders, appears fairly clear from the documents. The founders were well–to–do members of the Greek(–speaking) community of Egypt, who had enough money and/or land to donate for the erection of a *gymnasium*.

Two of them bear honorific titles that show their importance and position on the social ladder (οἱ συγγενεῖς and οἱ τῶν πρώτων φίλων of the King). Originally the honorific titles indicated the actual membership of the royal entourage, but beginning in the second century BC they are granted as titles of honour: they bring social distinction and no longer (necessarily) imply an actual connection with the royal household. They are often connected with a public office and with the importance of that office within the Ptolemaic administration, even though there are cases in which a person might be given an honorific title which shows the benevolence of the sovereign towards him, regardless of whether he holds an office.[40] By the time of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, there were eight ranks in the aulic titulatures: ὁ συγγενής, οἱ τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσιν, οἱ τῶν πρώτων φίλων, οἱ τῶν ἰσοτίμων τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις, οἱ τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων, οἱ τῶν φίλων, οἱ τῶν διαδόχων, οἱ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. With the passing of time, the higher titles were more generally granted to the officers of the Ptolemaic administration: this brought a sort of 'devaluation' of the title, as a consequence of the ambition of the officers and of the Ptolemaic policies in fulfilling

[39] So Van 't Dack (1984) p. 1329.
[40] Mooren (1977) p. 177.

their aspirations. The title of συγγενής, for instance, is widely spread in the first century BC among the Ptolemaic officials, inevitably giving rise to the question well posed by Mooren (1977) p. 37: 'Quelle valeur revêt encore le titre de συγγενής, si tout le monde peut s'en parer?'.[41]

The fact that neither founder who holds an honorific title has got an 'administrative title' (*sc*. a title which tells us his 'job' in the administration, like στρατηγός, for instance) prevents the assumption that they were involved in the Ptolemaic administration, either on the civil or military level. In honorific inscriptions, as these happen to be the documents in which they are mentioned, in fact such an indication would be expected and its absence strongly suggests that the two men were not undertaking any public office. We can therefore think of them as people who, for some reason, enjoyed royal benevolence.

A connection to the Royal House can be also seen through the adherence to and support for the royal cult which was performed in the gymnasial context: the *gymnasium* of Samareia was dedicated to the King himself, whereas the founder of Sebennytos's was also a priest of the King. The strong link between official religion and State should always be kept in mind.

A connection with the army can be also seen: the cleruchs came from different parts of the Greek world[42] and could possess considerable wealth which they were willing to spend on their new community, from which other soldiers were enlisted.[43] The cleruch Apollodoros, for instance, after leaving his native Nagidos in Cilicia to serve a Ptolemaic sovereign, was granted a κλῆρος in Samareia and was good enough to

[41] On Ptolemaic aulic titulatures, *cf.* both Mooren (1975b); Mooren (1977).
[42] On the origin of the Ptolemaic cleruchs, *cf.* Bagnall (1984).
[43] This without implying that the *gymnasia* were the place for military training, as does Launey (1949–50/1987[2]).

make some fortune[44] and own properties also in Alexandria. He decided to found the *gymnasium* in the village where he had his allotment: the reasons may have been that he probably spent much time there (unlike his heir, apparently) and there was perhaps less need for a new *gymnasium* in Alexandria than in a village of the Arsinoite Nome.[45] In any case, this act shows an attachment to the settlement (and the community) in which the cleruchs ended up living.

Their acts of benevolence can be included entirely in the frame of the typical interrelations of ancient society, based on publicity of status and status–relations: they are strongly embedded in their own communities, and they provide it with the typical Greek building for education and leisure. At least two reasons motivate them: they want to be able to continue to live in the way they were used to and they hope to have public gratitude from the members of their community, for themselves, for their family and sons, so as to see their social position confirmed, which is generally defined by a complex network of social interrelations, public acknowledgment, and gift–exchange.[46]

Similarly those who receive an act of benevolence are keen to show their gratitude by granting honours and inscribing stelae to the founders, for two reasons: as a counter–gift for the services obtained, making display of the favour of an important acquaintance they happen to have, and because they hope to 'flatter' their founder so that they might continue to enjoy his and his successors' support (economic or otherwise).

[44] On the possibilities of getting rich in Egypt, *cf.* Lewis (1986) ch. I (esp. pp. 20–26).
[45] On cleruchs living in the villages but owning properties in Alexandria (and other places as well), and leaving them to their heirs, *cf.* P.Petrie^2 I 3, 6, 13.
[46] *Cf.* Mauss (1969^2); Polanyi (1977) pp. 47–56. On euergetism, *cf.* Gauthier (1985); Veyne (1990); van Minnen (2000).

Therefore, it is not at all uncommon to find statues of the founders (or gymnasiarchs or other 'VIPs') inside the *gymnasium*,[47] alongside those of the King.[48] The erection of a statue is just one of the many honours that founders could be granted: the imagination and grandiose gratitude of the beneficiaries are bountiful. In this respect, the inscription from Psenamosis in the western Delta (which preserves two honorary decrees of a private association of landowners)[49] is extremely rich in the details it contains.

As already previously noted, Paris, ὁ συγγενής of the King, donated land to the association in order to build a *gymnasium* and a meeting–hall. The members of the association were willing to pay for it, but the man kindly decided to alienate the land in their favour as a gift. As a consequence, the association feels so grateful and in debt to him that they decide to grant their benefactor numerous honours and privileges. In a first decree (δόγμα) they therefore resolve to welcome him into the association and to build two statues of him (εἰκόνες) and place one in the *gymnasium* and the other in the meeting–hall. The statues will be object of coronation with wreaths of leaves on the eponymous days, during the meeting of the association for the sacrifices to the

[47] I.Th.Sy. 189 (135 BC) and I.Prose 40 = SB IV 7457 (II–I cent. BC). SB I 1106, re–edition by Van 't Dack (1984), (II–I cent. BC) is likely to be an inscription carved on the plinth of the statue of the founder, placed in the *gymnasium*.

[48] For the presence of statues of the King in the *gymnasium*, *cf.* also pp. 124ff (I.Prose 27).

[49] I.Prose 40 (II–I cent. BC): *cf.* also van Minnen (2000) pp. 448–449. The landowners (called both συγγεωργοί and γεοῦχοι) were probably Alexandrians (*cf.* also Braunert (1964) p. 87), who partly lived where they had their land (certainly in Pharmouthi and Mesore, as written in the inscription – these were the months when the crops and grapes started being ripe and ready to be collected, i.e. May/June and September/October, corresponding respectively to the end of *pr.t* (seed–time) and *šmw* (harvest) in the Egyptian calendar, and taxes were collected: no doubt, the sharp eyes of the owners must have wanted to check both activities. The landowners probably spent the summer in their country–estates and went back to Alexandria after the vintage by Thoth, i.e. October/November, as recorded in the inscription, when the inundation season had long started and not much could be done on the land – although P.Tebt. III 719 (150 BC, from Tebtynis, Ars.) gives us accout of a late vintage on 27 Phaophi, i.e. 25 November). Wheat could be planted twice a year as attested in P.Cairo Zen. II 59155 (256 BC, from Philadelpheia, Ars.). On vintage carried out between Pauni (May/June) and Phaophi (September/October) in Roman times, *cf.* Ruffing (1999) pp. 165–168. On the demotic calendar: Depauw (1997) p. 164. On tax–collection: Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II p. 78, Harper Jr. (1934a) pp. 55–61.

sovereigns. The founder is granted precedence (ἡ πρώτη κλισία, lit. 'first place, chair') for life and one day a year will be celebrated in his honour in Psenamosis. Moreover, an inscription above the entrance gate will remember Paris' generosity towards the association of landowners. Finally, a cunning remark is added: should Paris be so generous as to give other donations to the community (κοινόν), the landowners would celebrate another day in his honour, this time in the city (i.e. Alexandria), and they would crown his statue during the banquet, at the moment of the drinking, and they would accept in the association three men indicated by Paris.

The man was not deaf to their requests and three years later made some other donations (namely 1,000 drachmae of silver) in order to have the further honours promised to him. The landowners, for their part, kept their word: in the end, three days were celebrated in his honour (one in Alexandria, in the month of Thoth, when they crowned a portrait of Paris – εἰκὼν γραπτή – during the banquet, the other two in Psenamosis, one in Pharmouthi after the day of Apollo and the other in Mesore at the vintage) and the expenses for them were covered completely by the interest arising from the 1,000 drachmae of the donation. Furthermore, Paris was made priest of the association for life, freed from further payments (ἀζήμιος), not liable to pay the charge for feasts (ἀσύμβολος), not subject to monthly payment (ἀνεπιμηνίευτος), absolved from the liturgies (ἀλειτούργητος), and exempt from fees (ἀνείσφορος). During the sacrifices he received the double part of the offers – even if not present – and at the drinking his statue was crowned with a particular wreath. The gratitude of the association also reached the founder's after–life: after his death, they would make sacrifices on his tomb each year and his statue would be crowned again with a special wreath.

All these decisions were engraved on a stela to be placed in the entrance gate of the complex, so that everyone could see it: in this way, Paris will receive eternal glory and gratitude and his name, carved in stone, will be remembered for ever and the association of landowners could boast of the support they received from that important person, enjoying a material and social benefit from such an acquaintance. Therefore, both the founder and the members of the *gymnasium* seem to derive great advantage from this practice.

At this point, one could wonder whether the founders played any active role in the life of the *gymnasia*. They usually appear, as already seen, as a source of benefaction for which they are made objects of honours: they financially boost the foundation and support the existence of the *gymnasium* through donations (φιλανθρωπία and φιλαγαθία are common terms used in this context). In return they receive statues, celebrations, honorific titles and offices. No more can be gathered from the inscriptions concerning the founders nor would one expect to find much more: their document–typology strongly influences and limits the content.

On the other hand, a more active part is found to be played by the founders (and their families) in the two oldest documents concerning them: two papyri, petitions to the King (ἐντεύξεις) coming from the Arsinoite, testify how they took care of the *gymnasium* and were actively involved in its maintenance and upkeep, beyond the simple disbursement of money. From these documents the *gymnasium* appears to be somehow considered a 'private property'.

In the first one,[50] Peukestes founded the *gymnasium* against which Harsontoys and Ephimenis (two Egyptians?) carried out some illegal acts. Therefore, Peukestes asks the King to order the strategus Diophanes to write to the *epistates* Demetrios, so that the two men might be summoned before the strategus. The appended docket informs us that Demetrios is ordered either to solve the question himself – if possible – or to send the accused to the proper tribunal. The founder seems to act as a private person, wronged in respect of a property of his and therefore seeking justice personally.

A similar – if not even stronger – idea of 'family matters' regarding the *gymnasium* and its founder can be seen in the second petition.[51] The cleruch Apollodoros, founder of the *gymnasium* in Samareia, where he had his κλῆρος, left Polykleitos heir to his fortune, which consisted of estates in Alexandria as well as in Samareia. Polykleitos lives in the capital and appoints another cleruch, the Macedonian Aristomachos, ex–soldier of the troop of Eteoneus, cleruch *ogdoekontarouros*,[52] to act as superintendent (προεστηκώς) and to administer his assets in Samareia.[53] The *gymnasium* is seen to be part of Polykleitos' properties. Hence, Aristomachos has been taking care of it for some time on his behalf: he has had destroyed (after obtaining permission from the strategus) a collapsing building (οἴκησις) built over the *gymnasium* which was obviously threatening its security in the 17th year of Ptolemy III Euergetes

[50] SB XVIII 13837 (224–218 BC) from the village of Mouchis (Ars.).
[51] P.Enteux. 8 (221 BC), from the village of Samareia (Ars.). The papyrus was found in a mummy cartonage from Magdola (Ars.).
[52] He therefore received in allotment a rather conspicuous amount of land: 80 arourae. He should have been a cavalryman.
[53] The appointment of the superintendent was later strengthened in the 20th year of Ptolemy III Euergetes (228/7 BC) by a decision of the *chrematistai*, who had their court in the quarter Alpha of Alexandria (where Polykleitos must have been living): κατὰ σύγκρισιν χρηματιστῶν τῶν τὰ προσπίπτοντα κρινάντων ἐν τῶι Ἄλφα (ll. 6–7). *Cf.* Fraser (1972) I p. 34.

(231/0 BC),[54] added some structural reinforcements constructions, reconstructed the falling portal with the dedication to the King, and undertook the necessary repairs of the building. Now, Aristomachos is writing to the King because a certain Dallos and his purported wife[55] acted wrongly towards the *gymnasium*: the passage is unfortunately fragmentary and not clear but it seems that the two occupied the building (or part of it) illegally and went on living there. Therefore, Aristomachos seeks help from the King so that the strategus might ask the *epistates* to summon the man before him. As usual, the strategus orders the *epistates* to try to solve the question himself or otherwise to send them to the tribunal. Once again the *gymnasium* is considered and treated as a private property belonging to the founder's family: as such, it is Polykleitos' superintendent Aristomachos who steps forward and seeks justice on the owner's behalf for a matter which appears to be mainly (if not quite completely) 'private business'. The summarizing docket written by the office of the strategus on the back of the petition pointedly reads 'Aristomachos against Dallos, about buildings':[56] the case brought forward to the attention of the authority is merely considered a private dispute, without any mention of the *gymnasium*.

Nonetheless, a passage in the text may be worthy of particular attention: Aristomachos obtained permission from the strategus before demolishing the collapsing construction built over/next to the *gymnasium*. This has been seen as a sign of control of the authority over the institution of the *gymnasium*, which was indeed founded and 'administered' as a private building, but as centre of Greek education performed a

[54] Καθελόντος μου τὴν ἐπ[ὶ] το[ῦ γυμν]ασίου ἐποικοδομημένην | οἴκησιν [σ]υμπίπτουσαν, Ἀφθονήτου τοῦ στρα[τ]ηγήσαντος χρηματίσαντ[ο]ς . . [.] . [. ca 5]ς καθαιρέσεως τ[ο]ῦ ιζ (ἔτους) | δι'ἐντεύ[ξ]εως (ll. 9–11).
[55] Δάλλος καὶ ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ γυνὴ . . [(l. 15).
[56] Ἀριστόμαχος πρ(ὸς) Δάλλον | περὶ οἰκημάτων (*verso* ll. 2–3).

public service and remained under the surveillance of the King (in whose honour the building was in any case dedicated).[57] In this case, Aristomachos' behaviour may also be connected to the circumstances (and the type of document, a petition) together with the legal status of the *gymnasium*: he is keen to mention that he sought and obtained permission to demolish the building because he wants to strengthen his case, showing how his activity was legal and carried out with the approval of the authority.

It is now worth considering the literary evidence that we have for *gymnasia* in Egypt. Not many authors have discussed them at all, and those who have deal only with Alexandria. I shall add to the picture some information we have from the documentary sources, which will be useful for drawing a broader (yet, let me stress, utterly incomplete) picture than the one we can gather from literary sources: for they always – with the exception of Strabo – mention the existence of *gymnasia* in the city only incidentally, without giving many details.

An account about a *palaestra* in Ptolemaic Alexandria is given by Polybius:[58] the building was close to the Maeander,[59] near which there was a gallery passage (σῦριγξ, a

[57] Jouguet (1927) p. 389, who also recalls an inscription from Halicarnassus where royal permission is sought by the *boule* before building the *gymnasium*: C. F. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, London 1892–1893, II.2 no. 2 p. 687 (ll. 9–13) – revised edition by A. Wilhelm, 'Inschriften aus Halikarnassos und Theangela', *JÖAI* 11 (1908), pp. 56–61. As noted by Bagnall (1976) pp. 94–95, the inscription only shows the 'close supervision of municipal finance' which the Ptolemies adopted in Caria, and does not prove a strict control of the Crown on the *gymnasium*. At all events, the case of Halicarnassus seems different from the ones we have from Egypt, where there is no sign of evident royal intervention in foundation of *gymnasia*: *cf.*, for instance, p. 36 (I.Prose 40). On the legal status of *gymnasia* (with a discussion of matters related to demolitions), *cf.* pp. 122ff.

[58] Plb. XV 30.6–7: (Ἀγαθοκλῆς) ἦκε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ βραχέα πρὸς τοῦτον οἰκτισάμενος καὶ λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρός, ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν σύριγγα τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου καὶ τῆς παλαίστρας κειμένην καὶ φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου πάροδον.

[59] Though no further information is given in *Diz. geogr.* p. 127 (Μαίανδρος s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια), the Meander is thought to be a decorative stream, named after the Carian river: *cf.* McKenzie (2007) p. 67.

sort of tunnel) through which Agathocles, regent of the young King Ptolemy V Epiphanes, tried to escape the revolt of the Alexandrians in 202 BC.

Valerius Maximus[60] mentions a *gymnasium* when referring the atrocities against the youth gathered therein committed by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, in the context of the dynastic strife against his sister Cleopatra II and the Alexandrians who supported her (*ca* 129–124 BC).

An account of what happened in Alexandria in 80 BC is given by Appian:[61] Ptolemy XI Alexander II, put on the throne by Sulla, is taken to the *gymnasium* and killed by the Alexandrians.

More detailed description of what Alexandria was likely to have looked like in late Ptolemaic Egypt is given by Strabo,[62] who visited the city in 24 BC in the entourage of Aelius Gallus, second prefect of Egypt. He pays attention to the description and localisation of the *gymnasium*, which he calls 'the most beautiful building' among the monuments and shrines of the city with its astonishingly big porticoes:[63] it was placed on the Canopic Street, the big longitudinal street which ran from west to east, from the Necropolis to the Canopic Gate.[64]

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[60] V. Max. 9. 2 *Ext*. 5: Nam cum animadverteret quanto sui odio patria teneretur, timori remedium scelere petivit, quoque tutius plebe trucidata regnaret, frequens iuventute gymnasium armis et igni circumdedit omnesque qui in eo erant, partim ferro, partim flamma necavit.

[61] App. *BC* I 102: Ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐννεακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἔχοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀτοπώτερον σφῶν, οἷα Σύλλᾳ πεποιθότα, ἐξηγούμενον, ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου προαγαγόντες ἔκτειναν.

[62] Fraser (1972) I p. 7: 'He (*sc*. Strabo) provides us in his seventeenth book with an account of the city virtually as it was at the end of the Ptolemaic period, and no other source provides information approaching his importance or detail'.

[63] Str. XVII 1.10: Συλλήβδην δ' εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις μεστή ἐστιν ἀναθημάτων καὶ ἱερῶν· κάλλιστον δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον μείζους ἢ σταδιαίας ἔχον τὰς στοάς. For the interpretation of the immediately following passage (ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τό τε δικαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἄλση) as referring to 'the centre of the city' and not of the *gymnasium* itself, besides the Teubner (A. Meineke) and Loeb (H. L. Jones) editions, *cf.* also Delorme (1960) p. 137 note 6; *contra* Burkhalter (1992).

[64] Str. XVII 1.10: Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νεκροπόλεως ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος πλατεῖα διατείνει παρὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον μέχρι τῆς πύλης τῆς Κανωβικῆς. Delorme (1960) p. 138 says that the *gymnasium* was on the east side of the city, between the Sarapieion and the Paneion. Breccia (1914) p. 86 says that it faced the east section of

The existence of more than one *gymnasium* in Alexandria is suggested in the *Bellum Alexandrinum*:[65] the Alexandrians, in their attempt to equip a fleet against the attack by Caesar (48 BC), proceeded to repair old ships harboured in secret royal docks, taking the wood necessary for the oars from the beams of the roofs of *gymnasia* and public buildings.

Mention of several Alexandrian *gymnasia* is found also in Appian's account of Mark Antony's winter sojourn in the city after the unsuccessful campaign against Palmyra (41 BC).[66] The Roman general devotedly spent his time with Cleopatra and the Greeks of the capital, behaving like a private person and going out only to pay visits to temples, *gymnasia* and to attend scholars' disputes.[67]

Another episode connected to the *gymnasium* in Alexandria in the life of Antony is reported by Plutarch.[68] After the victory over the Armenians (34 BC), Antony came back to Alexandria where Cleopatra and he celebrated a magnificent triumph, during which there took place the so–called 'Donations of Alexandria'. In the *gymnasium* crowded with people, from the heights of a silver tribune and with the 'Royal Couple' sitting in golden thrones, Antony divided the acquired (and not) possessions among Cleopatra's children. Firstly, he declared Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya and

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Canopic street. Fraser (1972) I pp. 28–29 places the *gymnasium* on the Canopic Street, in the centre of the city, 'facing north out to the sea'.

[65] *B. Alex.* 13. 2: Deerant remi: porticus, gymnasia, publica aedificia detegebant, asseres remorum usum obtinebant; aliud naturalis sollertia, aliud urbis copia subministrabat. The expression *gymnasia* in the plural could also be just generic though.

[66] App. *BC* V 11: Ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐς ἱερὰ ἢ γυμνάσια ἢ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μόναι καὶ δίαιτα μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ᾗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.

[67] On his purported gymnasiarchy at Alexandria, *cf.* Fontani (1999).

[68] Plu. *Ant*. 54.3–4: Ἐμπλήσας γὰρ ὄχλου τὸ γυμνάσιον, καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ βήματος ἀργυροῦ δύο θρόνους χρυσοῦς, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὸν δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἑτέρους ταπεινοτέρους, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας, συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῇ Καισαρίωνος, ὃς ἐκ Καίσαρος ἐδόκει τοῦ προτέρου γεγονέναι, Κλεοπάτραν ἔγκυον καταλιπόντος· δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτρας υἱοὺς βασιλεῖς βασιλέων ἀναγορεύσας, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τὰ Πάρθων ὅταν ὑπαγάγηται, Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν.

Coele Syria, together with Caesarion, Caesar's son. Thereafter, he proclaimed his sons by Cleopatra Kings of Kings and to Alexander Helios he gave the kingdoms of Armenia, Media and Parthia (whenever subdued), whereas Ptolemy Philadelphus was awarded Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia.[69]

The *gymnasium* also plays a main role after the entrance of Octavian into Alexandria, as we are informed once again by Plutarch:[70] Octavian, although conqueror of the city, gave a speech in the *gymnasium*, declaring that he would take away the blame from the Alexandrians, owing to their founder Alexander the Great, the beauty and vastness of their city, and the gratitude he had towards Areius, an Alexandrian philosopher of the Stoic school who was said to have been his teacher.

Later, the mathematician Claudius Ptolemy[71] (II cent. AD) says that at his time in the *palaestra* he used to go to, there were bronze circles which were used for astronomical and mathematical calculations, thus testifying perhaps some cultural activities carried out during Roman times in those premises besides the physical ones.

Another type of *gymnasium* was present in Alexandria, as reported by ancient authors, namely a 'floating *gymnasium*': on the ship *Syrakosia*, sent by Hiero II of Syracuse as a gift to Ptolemy IV Philopator, and renamed *Alexandris* and harboured in the capital, there was indeed a *gymnasium* (along with other impressive rooms and

[69] A slightly different account is given by D. C. XLIX 40–41: the proclamation of the Royal titles is said to have been made ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. It may be possible that the two corresponded, given that the *Gymnasium* had acquired the role of a 'second *agora*': *cf*. p. 129.

[70] Plu. *Ant*. 80.1: Εἰς δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ βῆμά τι πεποιημένον, ἐκπεπληγμένων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ προσπιπτόντων, ἀναστῆναι κελεύσας ἔφη πάσης αἰτίας τὸν δῆμον ἀφιέναι, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸν κτίστην Ἀλέξανδρον, δεύτερον δὲ τῆς πόλεως θαυμάζων τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, τρίτον δ' Ἀρείῳ τῷ ἑταίρῳ χαριζόμενος.

[71] Ptol. *Alm*. p. 197 (Teubner): ... ἔχειν, γιγνομένης τινὸς περὶ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λεληθυίας παρακινήσεως, ὡς ἐπί γε τῶν παρ'ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ χαλκῶν κρίκων ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ἐπιπέδῳ δοκούντων τὴν θέσιν ἔχειν ἴδοι τις ἄν· τοσαύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν τηροῦσι καταφαίνεται διαστροφὴ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ μείζονος καὶ ἀρχαιοτέρου, ὡς ἐνίστε καὶ δὶς ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἰσημερίαις μεταφωτίζεσθαι τὰς κοίλας αὐτῶν ἐπιφανείας.

constructions, among which were stables, baths, a library, and a shrine to Aphrodite). It was obviously an architectural element incorporated into the majestic vessel for reasons of grandeur, expensive baroque extravaganza rather than a place for serious training and gymnastics. It completed the grandiose idea of the ship being an ideal floating palace for the pleasure of the King and his Royal entourage, where the *gymnasium* as a place for the care of the body could not be absent.[72]

From the literary evidence, therefore, we are informed about the existence of more *gymnasia* in Alexandria, even though sometimes the authors generally speak of one single *gymnasium*, τὸ γυμνάσιον. A fragmentary documentary papyrus (P.Tebt. III.1 700) from 124 BC also mentions the presence of more *gymnasia* in the city: a document from the Arsinoite Nome, concerning the purchase of confiscated land, partly transmits a royal decree (πρόσταγμα) in which the sovereigns compel *gymnasia*, *politeumata*, and associations to alienate their possessions into the treasury (ll. 22–55).[73] The mention of the '*gymnasia* of Alexandria' (l. 37: τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γυμνάσια) should sufficiently prove that – at least by that time – more than one *gymnasium* was active in the city.

Delorme (1960) p. 138 awkwardly tries to deny this, affirming that the plural stands for the many and various associations which were connected with the sole building of the *gymnasium* of Alexandria. This is on the basis of the literary sources

[72] Ath. V 40–44 = FGrHist 575 F3 (text and translation in Casson (1971) pp. 191–199). *Cf.* Nielsen (1999) p. 173; McKenzie (2007) p. 64; Chankowski (2009) p. 105.

[73] The whole decree is not very well preserved and the passage is not clear. However, the confiscation of the land was probably supposed to affect only certain categories of associations and communities. The troublesome times might have been the reason for this extreme resolution, the aim of which was probably to diminish the richness – and therefore the power – of certain institutions which otherwise would have caused further problems to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in his srtuggles against his sister Cleopatra II, who was supported by the Alexandrians and by the Greek communities of the Thebaid and of Upper Egypt (*cf.* note 186 (I.Th.Sy. 189); Wilcken (1913) pp. 411–412 and Huß (2001) pp. 608–615).

which speak of τὸ γυμνάσιον of Alexandria (especially Strabo's account). On the contrary, the sources which use the term γυμνάσια, therefore implying the existence of more than one *gymnasium*, are treated as referring to other various places for physical training and not denoting real *gymnasia*. Fraser (1961) p. 145 does not agree, noting how unlikely it would be to think that one *gymnasium* was sufficient for the Greek population of Alexandria. The mention of only τὸ γυμνάσιον in most of the literary sources could be therefore explained by considering one building to be *The Gymnasium*, the most important one (perhaps of royal foundation or supported by royal patronage). This does not involve denying the existence of other *gymnasia*, with 'full rights' (as documented in P.Tebt. III.1 700, *Bell. Alex.* XIII 2 and App. *BC* V 11), 'probably due to private initiative'.[74]

This explanation agrees quite well with the picture drawn by the literary sources: one was *The Gymnasium*, a 'second agora' or a sort of 'Greek civic *forum*' – like a medieval 'piazza del municipio' – the deputed place where important events of public significance and resonance were performed (sensational executions and speeches).[75]

A funerary inscription[76] for Philoxenos, a young boy who died in Caunos and whose ashes were brought back to Alexandria by his father, recalls the existence of a *gymnasium* in Alexandria, providing some details about its aspect: the boy will no longer come back to the beloved shadowed place of the *gymnasium* of the 'glorious city' (ἀγακλυτὸν ἄστυ). This mention of trees that cast their shadow onto the *gymnasium* could also well be just a poetic theme without actual reference to reality.[77]

[74] Fraser (1972) I p. 29.
[75] On this point, *cf.* pp. 122ff.
[76] I.Métr. Ég. 62 = SB I 4314 (III cent. BC).
[77] For the *gymnasium* as place provided with gardens and parks and therefore 'shadowed by trees', *cf.* Delorme (1960) pp. 332–336.

A literary papyrus from Oxyrhynchus gives us a glance into the life of the gymnasial community of Alexandria in the third century BC.[78] This preserves Satyrus' *On the Demes of Alexandria* and gives an account of the celebrations for the feast of Queen Arsinoe (Ἀρσινοεῖα) with mention of a procession with the prytaneis, priests, ephebes, and wand–bearers. The gymnasiarchs may have also been involved in the celebrations. The fragmentary condition of the papyrus prevents us from having further information, but it appears clear that all the established Greek community of Alexandria (where the *gymnasium* had a place of relevance) played a role in the royal cult set up in honour of Arsinoe, who was deified after her death in 270 BC.

Mention of gymnasiarchs can be found in two inscriptions from the third century BC, the Alexandrian provenance of which is not certain. One is a dedication to Hermes and Heracles by Apollophanes, a young wrestler winner of the *Basileia* festivals commemorating the birth of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[79] The name of the gymnasiarch is used as reference for dating: this undoubtedly confirms the gymnasial background of the inscription. The second one is an honorary inscription in which the gymnasiarch Leonides, son of Philetas, Macedonian, of the πρῶτοι φίλοι of the King is honoured by his son.[80]

A fragmentary inscription from Alexandria published by Fraser (1960) pp. 142–144 no. 7 (= SEG XX 498), dated to 163–145 BC, bears the dedication (the editor

[78] P.Oxy. XXVII 2465, fr. 2 col. 1 (III cent. BC).
[79] I.Louvre 12.
[80] SEG II 864.

restored the names of Hermes and Heracles) of some benches of the *gymnasium*[81] by the ex–*agonothetes* Dioteles.[82]

In an inscription from II–I cent. BC the city itself honours the gymnasiarch Lykarion.[83] The man also held other offices and charges in the Ptolemaic administration and is distinguished with honorific titles. He indubitably belonged to that elite class which formed the hard core of the gymnasial and Ptolemaic ruling class of the city of Alexandria.

There is also a fragmentary inscription with reference to the *gerousia*, to *gerontes* and to the under–age youth (ἀφήλικες) from the second century BC which could come from Alexandria:[84] it could deal with a *gymnasium* or an ephebic institution. Its fragmentary state unfortunately prevents us from knowing anything else with any degree of certainty.[85]

Finally, a document stemming from Augustan times: a petition to Gaius Turranius, prefect of Egypt, from Helenos, a Jew of Alexandria.[86] The man (who is older than 60) recalls his childhood, giving us some sort of information about the situation of the *gymnasia* in the city in the latest years of Ptolemaic rule. Despite the incomplete status of the text, it can be gathered that Helenos claims to be wrongly compelled to pay the poll–tax. Astonishingly he goes on adducing reasons which are rather irrelevant to the point in question: he seems to pause on his traditional Greek

[81] Τὰ βάθρα τοῦ γ[υμνασίου κτλ. (l. 5).
[82] The word γυμνάσιον is indeed almost completely supplied, but the title of the official does point in the direction of a gymnasial background. *Cf.* Forbes (1933) pp. 25–26.
[83] I.Alex. Ptol. 42. The date of the inscription should be 128–119 BC according to Peremans and Van 't Dack (1953) p. 51. Middle of the first century BC: Fraser (1955) p. 133 no. (11) end; Fraser (1972) II p. 193 note 94.
[84] SEG XXXIV 1532.
[85] *Cf.* p. 132.
[86] CPJ II 151 (5/4 BC).

education (l. 6 ἀρεσκούσης παιδείας 'appropriate education',[87] possibly in a *gymnasium*, as his father before him)[88] as a basis to strengthen his appeal. It is only at the end of the document that he does mention the sole significant point for obtaining what he is seeking: he is older than 60 – which was the set limit over which no one was liable to pay the poll–tax any longer. This document has attracted scholars' interest mainly because of the definition which Helenos gives about himself: in line 1 the word Ἀλεξανδρεύς has been crossed out and replaced with Ἰουδαῖος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας. This fact has been usually explained as a sort of awkward attempt of Helenos to imply his Alexandrian citizenship: he declared himself in the first instance to be 'Alexandrian' but the scribe – on behalf of the central authority – afterwards corrected it into 'Jew from Alexandria', putting the cheating Helenos in his appropriate legal niche. Moreover, the indication of his father, Tryphon, as Ἀλεξανδρεύς (l. 3) has led to the conclusion that Helenos must have been either illegitimate, or born from a Jewish–Alexandrian mixed marriage (forbidden by Alexandrian law) or born before his father's acquisition of Alexandrian citizenship.[89] In this respect, Kasher has demonstrated that the use of the term Ἀλεξανδρεύς was meant to indicate the pure geographical origin and not the legal status of citizens, who were in fact defined by tribe and deme.[90] The correction is supposed to be made for clarity's sake: Helenos did want to be sure that his actual condition of Jew living in Alexandria was stated clearly. Kasher states that this was so also because his name might have suggested a Greek origin (in the case of the

[87] Kasher (1985) p. 205 prefers the translation 'compatible education'.
[88] The actual presence of the word γυμνάσιον (added, but then deleted, above l. 13) is doubted by Kasher (1985) p. 204 note 59. In the text there might also be a mention of an inscription in an ephebic list (l. 14). Yet the passage is too fragmentary and not clear.
[89] *Cf.* Wilcken *Chr.* 58, CPJ II 151 p. 32.
[90] Kasher (1976) pp. 148–151; Kasher (1985) pp. 200–207. *Contra* Feldman (1993) p. 479 note 46. *Cf.* also Fraser (1972) I pp. 41–49 and II pp. 130–132 note 100 and p. 149 note 203.

father, on the contrary, precision was not necessary, since he was not at the centre of the plea). I think that this is beside the point, and Helenos was indeed asserting some form of Greek identity. The document is a draft (the numerous corrections confirm this) and the changes in it must be due to stylistic reasons, rather than to legal corrections arising from official enquiries.

As for Helenos' education, A. Kasher affirms that nothing can be said other than that he was declaring himself an educated man, so as to be distinguished from the mass of the natives and gain favour at Roman eyes. He could have acquired his education in a Jewish *gymnasium*, since 'at that time, Hellenistic *laissez–faire* still prevailed in the educational sphere, and it was possible to operate a gymnasium as a private enterprise'.[91]

I do not think that the hypothesis of a Jewish *gymnasium* is plausible: *gymnasia* were typical Greek institutions and the existence of a Jewish *gymnasium* is unlikely and without actual evidence – Jewish youth would have rather attended the 'normal' *gymnasium*.[92] At all events, the Roman prefect, Gaius Turranius (or whoever read the petition for him), when coming across the word παιδεία in the petition, would have undoubtedly thought of Greek education. And so, I think, did Helenos.[93]

Besides the *gymnasia* proper, we also find *palaestrae* in Alexandria (as attested by Polybius and the mathematician Claudius Ptolemy) which can be considered either as integral parts of *gymnasia* or more frequently independent (and generally private–

[91]Kasher (1976) pp. 150–151. Although he seems to have somehow changed his mind later on: 'Helenos' education (which most scholars mistakenly deemed to have been acquired in the gymnasium)' (Kasher (1985) p. 204), where the possibility of a Jewish *gymnasium* is also dropped.
[92] *Cf.* pp. 201ff.
[93] Similarly Sterling (2001) p. 277, who thinks that Helenos received a Greek education in the *gymnasium*, like many children of rich Jewish families of Alexandria. *Cf.* also Bringmann (2004) p. 325.

run) institutions.[94] Three Ptolemaic documentary papyri are relevant to these training places in Alexandria:[95] they all belong to the Zenon archive (261–239 BC).[96]

From a letter[97] we are informed of the existence of a *palaestra* run by a certain Ptolemaios: Hierokles informs Zenon that Ptolemaios has been training a boy named Pyrrhos[98] in his palaestra for free. He did so because he wants to make the boy win the crown for Zenon, so as to show his gratitude to him for the benevolence Zenon has granted to his activity.

Hierokles appears more clearly in another text;[99] he is a trainer in a *palaestra* in Alexandria and writes to Artemidoros, personal doctor of the dioecetes Apollonios. He complains about the difficulties that occurred in opening a new *palaestra* in Alexandria. The question is not clear, but Hierokles declares that he is not responsible for it and tries to stop the King from thinking he is. For this reason, he asks Artemidoros to convince the other (already known to us) gym–trainer Ptolemaios to take over the direction of the building. Why the King should consider Hierokles responsible for the opening of a new

[94] The παλαίστρα might be an independent building or part of the more comprehensive complex which is the γυμνάσιον. *Cf.* Delorme (1960) p. 269: 'il y a des palestres sans gymnase mais pas de gymnase sans palestre'. *Palaestrae* (apparently) not connected with a *gymnasium*: P.Lond. VII 1941 + P.Cairo Zen. I 59060 (= P.Edgar. 11) + P.Cairo Zen. I 59061, P.Lugd.–Bat. 20, no. 51 (Alexandria); PSI IV 418 (Philadelpheia).

[95] Later on in Roman times, *palaestrae* may have also started to be places for some sort of teaching, given Claudius Ptolemy's account. The Ptolemaic evidence on the subject points only towards physical practice performed therein.

[96] Zenon (a Greek from Caunos) was the administrator and businessman (οἰκονόμος) of Apollonios, the chief financial officer (διοικητής) of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. His archive is particularly rich in texts (more than 3,000 papyri) and provides us with much information about the most varied matters concerning Apollonios' estate (δωρεά) around the village of Philadelpheia in the Arsinoite (where the archive was in fact found), the drainage of the Arsinoite, the administration of Egypt and the relationships between Greeks and Egyptians, as well as the life in Alexandria with which Zenon had tight bonds (because of his job and his personal acquaintances).

[97] P.Lond. VII 1941, P.Cairo Zen. I 59060 (= P.Edgar. 11), and P.Cairo Zen. I 59061 (= C.Ptol.Sklav. 157–158a,b) dated to 5–4 May 257 BC are three consecutive versions of the same letter written to Zenon from Alexandria.

[98] The boy is taken to be a slave in C.Ptol.Sklav. p. 678 and Rostovtzeff (1922) pp. 172–174. On the contrary he is said to be free–born by Gardiner (1930) pp. 212–213; Świderek (1955–1956) p. 394 note 159; Bieżuńska–Małowist (1984) p. 231. The same person might appear in P.Cairo Zen. III 59507 = PSI IV 443: memorandum from Pyrrhos to Zenon about his and his mother's allowances.

[99] P.Lugd.–Bat. XX 51 (257/6 BC).

palaestra is not clear:[100] at all events, Hierokles was probably a famous trainer, possibly involved with other colleagues in the business of training boys for victories in the games for wealthy businessmen like Zenon.[101]

Finally, there is a memorandum[102] probably written from Alexandria, in which Kleon writes to Zenon, about the allowances due to him and his mother for personal expenses during the month of Epeiph. There is no mention of *gymnasium* or *palaestra*, but on the basis of the other documents mentioned above (and others), the editor C. C. Edgar thinks that Kleon might have been a lad under Zenon's protection who had been picked out and educated as a likely winner in the games and therefore trained in the *gymnasium* either for musical or athletic contests, at Zenon's own expense.

Therefore, beside the *gymnasium* which is the object of Strabo's account (and it should not be far from the truth to suppose it to have been founded with the city itself or shortly thereafter), there were (many) others in Alexandria: places for training, cultural and physical activities, provided with parks and trees. They were the setting for contests, played during public feasts connected to the royal cult (gymnasiarchs and ephebes were involved in them), in which young promising boys, trained there or in different *palaestrae* of the city, performed.

[100] I am not sure whether it should be close to reality to think that the Crown directly controlled the *palaestrae* in Alexandria and therefore a royal approval was necessary to open a new one. I am more inclined to think of a personal reason behind the business: Hierokles was probably well known to the King (and to many others) as a trainer of boys for competitions. The fragmentary condition of the papyrus does not permit a better understanding.
[101] The interests of businessmen in training boys for *agones* was not only of a sportive nature: beside crown and fame, the winners received sums of money and the betting on the outcome of the games must have been practised. *Cf.* Rostovtzeff (1922) p. 174.
[102] P.Cairo Zen. III 59457.

I.1. Terminology

Before considering the Roman evidence and development of *gymnasia*, it is worth noting briefly the appellations or specifications that the *gymnasium* can bear in the Ptolemaic sources, beside the simple term γυμνάσιον. Two texts are pertinent here.

The more relevant and clearer document is an inscription from Sebennytos (metropolis of the Sebennyte Nome in the central Delta):[103] a short and fragmentary honorary inscription by the Macedonians of the *gymnasium* Herakleion (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείου Μακεδόνες) and others.[104] The *gymnasium* does have a particular name: Herakleion. It was therefore dedicated to and put under the protection of Heracles, one of the gymnasial deities,[105] and the Macedonians played a special role therein.

Also in a papyrus, containing the daily diary of the visit of the strategus of the Herakleopolite to an unknown village, the local *gymnasium* is said to be particularly connected to a category of people:[106] the strategus went to the temple of Heracles, where he sacrificed to the King and the dioecetes, then passed to the Arsinoeion, where he uttered the dispositions concerning local administration and posted up the ordinances of the dioecetes; finally, he went and met the descendants of the cleruchs (κατοίκοι) in the

[103] SB I 1106, re–edition by Van 't Dack (1984), (II–I cent. BC). The date is suggested by Van 't Dack (1984) p. 1333: he thinks that a date later than the third century BC is more plausible. The *ed. pr*. dated it generally in the Ptolemaic period.
[104] Namely the leaders (ἡγεμόνες), those not on duty (ἔξω τάξεων) and the fellows in the *politeuma* (συμπολιτευόμενοι). The inscription should therefore belong to the military background. On *politeuma cf.* Biscardi (1984); Thompson Crawford (1984); Zuckerman (1989); Lüderitz (1994); Honigman (2003) and P.Polit. Iud. pp. 4–23.
[105] *Cf.* I.Fayum II 103–104 (150/49 BC) from Theadelpheia (Ars.): dedication of the portal, the double door (δίθυρον) and the entrance of the *gymnasium* to Hermes and Heracles.
[106] BGU VIII 1768 (64–44 BC). BGU VIII 1767 (64/3 BC) could also be added: it is a similar document, without indication of a particular specification for the *gymnasium*, which could nonetheless be connected with the present text, since the catoeci played a predominant role in it anyway.

gymnasium of the catoeci (ll. 11–2: ἐν | [τῶι] τῶν κατοίκων γυμνασίωι). Then he returned to his lodgings. The *gymnasium* is therefore officially called 'of the catoeci': whether this means that they founded it or they were the only people admitted to it is hard to say. Both possibilities are reasonable: the *gymnasium* was a need of the Greek community, which was initially formed by the cleruchs; their descendants continued their paternal traditions and therefore were the main users of the *gymnasium*, which bore their name.[107] In this case, the strong connection between the *gymnasium* and the cleruchs and their descendants is clearly stated.

Therefore it was not totally uncommon to call a *gymnasium* by another honorific name (just as for the Ptolemaieion at Athens, Iasos, Rhodes, Cyrene, and Eresos on Lesbos, the Diogeneion at Athens, the Antiocheion at Iasos, the Philippeion at Halicarnassus or the Timoleonteion in Syracuse)[108] or with a particular specification.

This must be borne in mind.[109]

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[107] It cannot be affirmed with any proof that the definition τὸ τῶν κατοίκων γυμνάσιον was used to distinguish this *gymnasium* from another one (or others) in the village.

[108] Athens: Judeich (1931) p. 92 and 379; Schaaf (1992) pp. 73–83. Iasos: I.Iasos I 93 l. 22; 98 l. 36 (on the four *gymnasia* of Iasos: *cf.* I.Iasos I 84 l. 9). Halicarnassus: A. Wilhelm, 'Inschriften aus Halikarnassos und Theangela', *JÖAI* 11 (1908) p. 53 no. 1 l. 7. Rhodes: D.S. XX.100.3–4 (Τὸν δὲ Πτολεμαῖον ἐν ἀνταποδόσει μείζονος χάριτος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι βουλόμενοι θεωροὺς ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Λιβύην τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας τὸ παρ' Ἄμμωνι μαντεῖον εἰ συμβουλεύει Ῥοδίοις Πτολεμαῖον ὡς θεὸν τιμῆσαι. Συγκατατιθεμένου δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου τέμενος ἀνῆκαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τετράγωνον, οἰκοδομήσαντες παρ' ἑκάστην πλευρὰν στοὰν σταδιαίαν, ὃ προσηγόρευσαν Πτολεμαῖον) and Filimonos (1989). Cyrene: *cf.* Cordiano (2001) p. 257 and note 10; Cordiano (2009) p. 282 and note 24. Eresos on Lesbos: IG XII Suppl. 122 = Labarre (1996) no. 70 (209–204 BC) with the remarks of Gauthier (1997) p. 354. Syracuse: Plu. *Tim*. 39.6–7 (Ἐποιήσαντο δὲ τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ στοὰς ὕστερον περιβαλόντες καὶ παλαίστρας ἐνοικοδομήσαντες, γυμνάσιον τοῖς νέοις ἀνῆκαν καὶ Τιμολεόντειον προσηγόρευσαν); Nep. *Timol*. 5.4 (Hic cum diem supremum obisset, publice a Syracusanis in gymnasio, quod Timoleonteum appellatur, tota celebrante Sicilia sepultus est).

[109] In this light there can be analysed the already mentioned inscription from Rosetta (I.Louvre 13, II cent. BC), with the dedication of a Ptolemaieion: it is possible that the term is an honorific appellation of the *gymnasium*. Similarly, a particularly interesting case which could point towards a *gymnasium* called by a disguising honorific name is I.Prose 49 (5 BC) from Psenemphaia in the Delta (village in the nomos Ptolemaios, south–east of lake Meroitis): an inscription with a decree of the association of landowners (and I see in them Alexandrians, and so also does Braunert (1964) p. 87), who honour Apollonios, their priest (like his own father before him), president and leader of the processions, because he decided to accept the offices, rebuilt, and luxuriously decorated the meeting–hall of the association, and generously superintended feasts and banquets (*cf.* also van Minnen (2000) pp. 449–451: he believes, however, that

A further term may be added here, as generically referring to the *gymnasium*: τόπος. It is found five times in our sources, always in inscriptions.

In the first case, the decree establishes to welcome in the *gymnasium* twenty–five men ἄξιοι τοῦ τόπου.[110] In the second case, a man is honoured by the Macedonians of the *gymnasium* Herakleion, and called κτίστης τοῦ τόπου.[111] It is clear that in both cases the term refers to the *gymnasium* itself.[112]

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the term *komarches* here refers to an office in the village to which the members of the association appointed the man, and not to a club–related 'leader of the processions'. Given the tone and construction of the sentence at the *incipit* of the decree in ll. 3–6, ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συναγωγῆς ἐν τῶι Ἀριστίωνος Κλεοπα|τρείωι γεούχων τῶν ἀπὸ Ψ<ε>ν<ε>μφαίας τοῦ Πτολ<ε>μαίου νομοῦ, | ὧν ἱερεὺς καὶ προστάτης καὶ κωμάρχης Ἀπολλώνιος Θέωνος, | παρόντων τῶν πλείστων· κτλ, I do not find his interpretation convincing). They decide to make two shields with Apollonios' portrait, one of which will be put in the Kleopatreion of Aristion – club–house of the association – and will be crowned during the drinking ceremonies. Apollonios will receive the double portion of meat of the sacrifices and will get an inscription engraved at the entrance of the meeting–hall of the association, which will attest all that he did for the landowners. Furthermore, they decide to make a shield with the portrait of Apollonios' young son and to grant him the extraordinary right to dine together with the members of the association, even before being entered in the list of ephebes (presumably of Alexandria: *cf*. pp. 173ff and Whitehorne (1982) pp. 183–183). In the decree there is no mention of a *gymnasium*. But the association, the meeting–hall, the Kleopatreion and the links with the royal cult (for the survival of Ptolemaic dynastic cult in Roman times, *cf*. San Nicolò (1972^2) I p. 29, with note 2), the mention of the (Alexandrian) ephebate of Apollonios' son, the ceremonies performed in those premises, the organisation (with a treasury and 'record–office'), and the tone of the inscription strongly remind us of a gymnasial context: *cf.* I.Prose 40 (decree from Psenamosis: pp. 36ff). But we are now in Roman times, when *gymnasia* are normally found only in the metropolis (and in the Greek *poleis*) and are attached to a particular group of metropolites who enjoyed specific privileges (in the same very year as this inscription, the gymnasial class of Oxyrhynchus was created or anyway officially organised: *cf*. pp. 173ff). The landowners knew it (even more if they were Alexandrians) and may indeed have avoided using that term. Their club–house is said to be the Kleopatreion of Aristion (name of the architect or of the founder?): it does not seem implausible to me that it used to be a *gymnasium* (or part of it) in Ptolemaic times. Therefore, I think that this text may show one of the possible developments of village *gymnasia* after their 'decommissioning'; either they continued their life as they started as centres for associations and clubs, or they were reused for other purposes (among which were baths?), abandoned, dilapidated or destroyed.

[110] I.Prose 27 ll. 6–8 (εἰσα]|γαγέσθαι δ' εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πολιτογραφῆσαι ἄνδρας δεκαπέντε ὄντ̣[ας] | ἀξίους τοῦ τόπου) and ll. 13–14 (ἐλέσ]θαι εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐκτὸς τῶν πρ̣ο̣[διασεσαφη]μένων ἀνδρῶν δεκ̣ά|πέντε ἄνδρας δέκα ἀκα ἀξίους τοῦ τόπου). *Cf*. more extensively pp. 37ff.

[111] SB I 1106, 3.

[112] For the use of τόπος to indicate the *gymnasium*, *cf*. also EKM 1 Beroia 1 B 48–49, 72 (180 BC, from Beroea, Macedonia; *cf*. note 434) and IG XII.3 331 l. 19 (153/2 BC, from Thera; *cf*. note 157).

More complex is the situation for the other three inscriptions: they are dedications of a τόπος of the ex–ephebes[113] to the god Souchos or to the god Soknebtynis. It is difficult to say whether the term indicates a plot of land owned by the association of ex–ephebes (independently of the *gymnasium*)[114] or refers to a part of the land belonging to the *gymnasium* which happened to be assigned to the ex–ephebes.[115]

II. Roman Gymnasia

In the later Hellenistic period *gymnasia* in the cities of the East tended to be entrusted to the civic elites and made the object of euergetism by local benefactors. The *gymnasium* became the place for the public promotion of the leading class, that is to say of those in whose hands the politics of the city were vested. Consequently, its importance at the public level increased. This was even more the case when the Romans arrived: according to the Roman model employed in the provinces, the running of local matters was in fact entrusted to the civic elites, who effectively turned themselves into curial *ordines*. Their members were those who had been personally taking care of the local *gymnasium* for so many years and now continued to do so, although with a slightly different formal status. In this perspective, the evolution of the *gymnasium* into the symbolic *locus* of the provincial administration which it undertook in some cities of the

[113] I.Fayoum III 200, ll. 5–6: τόπο[ς] τῶν | τὸ β (ἔτος) ἐφηβευκότων. I.Fayoum III 201, ll. 4–5: ὁ τόπος τῶν τὸ (ἔτος) ζ | ἐφηβευκότων. I.Fayoum III 202, ll. 5–6: τόπος τῶν τὸ ι (ἔτος) | ἐφηβευκότων.
[114] So Bernand, I.Fayoum III pp. 125–9; Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) p. 858 and Brady (1936) p. 20. The term is used to define properties of associations: *cf.* I.Fayoum II 134 (79 BC, from Euhemeria, Ars.; ll. 4–5: τόπος συνόδου γεωργῶν | ἰδίων); I.Fayoum II 109 + SEG XL 1564 (102 BC?, from Theadelpheia, Ars.; ll. 6–7: τ̣όπ̣ος συνόδ̣ο̣υ̣ | χηνοβοσκῶν); I.Fayoum III 205 (51 BC, from Ars.; ll. 3–5: τό|πος Σνοναιτια|κῆς συνόδου); I.Fayoum III 204 (68 BC, from Ars.; l. 3: οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐσεγχηβιακῆς συνόδου dedicate a τόπος). The term seems also to be employed to indicate a place of a merchant or for trade: *cf.* I.Fayoum I 95–96 (III cent. BC, from Karanis, Ars.); I.Fayoum III 192 (date unknown, from Narmouthis).
[115] *Cf.* Fischer–Bovet (2008) p. 355 note 74: 'The dedicated land is urban, hence the small size of the plot: the temple and the gymnasium probably had contiguous land, which partly explains these donations'.

Roman East is therefore not surprising. In Cyrene, for instance, we see that by the first century AD the old *gymnasium* gave up its original nature as the place for training and enhanced its function as 'second *agora*' of the city, becoming the *Caesareum* first and then the *forum*. New premises were then needed for physical exercises and leisure, and private euergetism once again responded to the needs of the civic community with the establishment of a new *gymnasium*.[116]

On the other hand, in some other cities of the Roman East the *gymnasium* further underlined its character as centre of leisure: as a result of a 'natural' process – although accelerated under the influence of Roman customs, which nonetheless was consonant with the previous state of affairs – it became a real spa, with not only rooms and courtyards for physical exercise but also with pools and baths and related structures where the members of the local elites could train, relax and socialise (and often engage in 'politics', which were treated more and more as private business). This development of the *gymnasium* is particularly clear in Ephesus, where in imperial times the four *gymnasia* of the city added bathing elements to their original *palaestrae*.[117] This is indeed the 'exaggeration' of the original character of the Greek *gymnasia* centred around the care of the body, which in some places already included the existence of 'bath–rooms' (λουτρά) in their plan, which were however certainly simpler than the Roman bath complexes, being often just fountains or tubs.[118]

The *gymnasia* of Roman Egypt seem to have followed a similar pattern: both the developments seem indeed to be attested, although the latter one is by far the more common. Only in a few cases (Xois in the Delta, Oxyrhynchus and Alexandria) may the

[116] *Cf.* Cordiano (2001) p. 257 note 10; Cordiano (2009) pp. 291–292.
[117] *Cf.* Maccanico (1963); Yegül (2010) pp. 160–168.
[118] *Cf.* Yegül (1992) pp. 17–21.

gymnasium be shown to have opened its premises to governmental use. In Alexandria, for instance, it seems to have undergone a 'transformation' into the place of the public administration: imperial decisions and prefectorial dispositions were posted in its stoa (but this may well go back to the public character of 'second *agora*' which the Alexandrian *Gymnasium* enjoyed in Ptolemaic times too) and trials and tribunals may have taken place in its premises. The *Gymnasium* of Alexandria in Roman times may have lost its original role as a place for physical and agonistic life, just as in Cyrene, and new premises had to be created in order to make up for it.[119] Unfortunately, the evidence at our disposal is too meagre to allow any firm conclusions.

What is clear from our sources is that the *gymnasia* of Roman Egypt continued to be generally centres for physical and recreational activities (feasts and banquets) for the local elites.[120] In this respect, the leisure occupations were emphasised and baths and bathing activities became important components of gymnasial life. Their presence is attested as early as the first half of the first century AD: in Hermopolis the local *gymnasium* was equipped with baths the heating of which (with the hypocaust system) was the gymnasiarch's responsibility.[121] Even during Ptolemaic times baths were undoubtedly used by the Hellenised population – they were both Greek imports and anyway somehow symbols of Greekness, and the two institutions (baths and *gymnasium*) were certainly ideologically connected: it is therefore not surprising that one finds baths next to *gymnasia* in the villages of the Arsinoite Nome, where the

[119] *Cf*. Burkhalter (1992). The *gymnasium* at Elephantine appears to be involved with public dealings of the strategus in Wilcken *Chr*. 41 (232 AD): this may suggest that it was used for administrative purposes too. On the procedures of petitions to the prefect, *cf*. Haensch (1994).

[120] The *gymnasium* could be 'hired' for banquets by private people to celebrate family events: *cf*. the feast organised for the στέψις 'crowning' of the host's son (P.Oxy. XVII 2147, III cent. AD), either to mark the beginning of his term as magistrate (Perpillou–Thomas (1993) pp. 27–28) or his *epikrisis* (Montserrat (1991) p. 44).

[121] P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, from Herm.). For the expenses of the water–supply for the running of baths, *cf*. Meyer (1994).

concentration of Hellenic population was higher.[122] It is in the Roman period, however, that their link became more than ideological: bathing structures were included in the gymnasial buildings, and with the passing of time these acquired more importance to the detriment of the original nature of the premises.[123]

This, as we have seen, follows a pattern present in other parts of the Hellenistic world as well. But this is not the only aspect of 'homogeneity' with the rest of the eastern Roman provinces which the Romans directly or indirectly brought with them. Indeed the main and unique characteristic of the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt was their diffusion throughout the whole of the country, and specifically in the villages of the Egyptian countryside. The Romans seem to have altered this reality, bringing Egypt into the 'normal' pattern of the other provinces: *gymnasia* ceased to be a rural phenomenon and became present only in the nome–capitals, the metropoleis, which had by now begun a process of serious urbanisation and municipalisation, which will see its zenith with the grant of councils to every metropolis of Egypt by Septimius Severus and the consequent creation of a curial class.

After an initial period of transition,[124] from the first years of the first century AD the *gymnasia* of Egypt were always and only urban. New ones may have been created in those metropoleis which did not possess one at the end of the Ptolemaic period (evidence is lacking), although I believe that this must have been a rare occurrence: in most cases, the old Ptolemaic *gymnasia* in the nome–capitals were continued and implemented.

[122] For a list of these establishments in the Arsinoite, *cf.* Daris (1997). Baths and *gymnasium* are seen somehow connected in the tax–receipt O.Wilcken 318 (II cent. BC, from Thebes): *cf.* p. 105.
[123] *Cf.* Meyer (1997).
[124] *Cf.* pp. 80ff.

As in the cities of the other eastern provinces, the metropolitan *gymnasia* of Roman Egypt eventually became public buildings, 'civic' centres entrusted to the local elites according to a system of increasingly compulsory public services and municipal liturgies. The *gymnasium* ceased to be a privately run institution in the hands of the association of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, and was put under the supervision of the metropolis, in the hands of local liturgists, recruited from the ranks of the local elites. The culmination of the process can be seen with the Severan reforms when the administration of the *gymnasium* was put in the hands of the council, thus finally sanctioning the public character of the institution.[125]

The reasons for the concentration of *gymnasia* in the metropoleis may be various. Certainly two seem most easily identifiable. First of all, during the entire Ptolemaic period and especially towards the end of it, the Greek settlers and the Hellenic elements of the population (users of the *gymnasium*), although being very active in the rural areas, tended to concentrate themselves in the nome–capitals where a more 'urban' lifestyle was possible and there were more opportunities for economic and social mobility.[126] In this case, an exception is the Arsinoite Nome which will constitute, as we shall see, a particular case also in the Roman organisation of the so–called privileged classes.[127] Secondly, the Romans could only think of a leading class in terms of urban elites. In the whole of the eastern provinces the local aristocracy was civic, involved in the life of the *polis* for generations.

In Egypt the paucity of Greek cities and virtual absence of real urban centres, up to the last years of Ptolemaic rule, constituted *a priori* a problem. But a solution which

[125] *Cf.* Orth (1983) pp. 228–229; Łukaszewicz (1986) pp. 58–60.
[126] *Cf.* also Bingen (1975), although I am less fatalist in seeing the movement of the 'Greek element' towards the metropoleis as ineluctable.
[127] *Cf.* pp. 192ff.

conformed to the Roman mentality was soon found: rural *gymnasia* disappeared, and the urban ones were the only ones left to exist, on their way, as it seems, to be promoted to the rank of public institutions. The Romans attached the local leading class (which had in the gymnasial people its most visible members) to a nome–capital, in order to form the urban aristocracy which was to run local affairs in the various divisions of the country. More than that, they made the local nobility (or part of it anyway) legally dependent on the *gymnasium*, and by doing so they tied them down even more to the metropoleis.[128]

In order to fulfil their aims concerning the local administration and to establish a clear and ordered system of social classes (in the pattern of the Roman *ordines*), the Romans invested the *gymnasia* of Egypt with a unique feature, unknown in any other part of the Roman Empire. The *gymnasium* in Egypt was entrusted with the important function for the social categorisation and the regulation of status of a particular sector of the population of the province, that is to say the metropolites: thus it occupied an even more important position in the society. The *gymnasium* was more than a building or institution for mere leisure and recreation: its membership was that of a particular, well–defined and exclusive class, which entailed specific privileges, such as advantages of status and possibly better opportunities of engagement in public affairs. One could say that the local, urban and later municipal nobility of Egypt was in fact mostly a

[128] I therefore cannot agree with Fischer–Bovet (2008) pp. 290–291 that the rural *gymnasia* disappeared because of the removal of soldiers from the countryside: the army had long ceased to be such a vital aspect in the life of the *gymnasia* of Egypt – *cf.* pp. 225ff. The Roman invention of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου as a *metropolitan* privileged class (as the result of the Roman perception of Greek elements being centred in the nome–capitals – probably not immune from Alexandrian influences – and their trust in the system of urban aristocracy) must have played a particularly important role in the matter. If being a member of the *gymnasium* entailed privileges, and it was possible only for some and exclusively those who were resident in the metropoleis, it was inevitable that Ptolemaic rural *gymnasia* and rural οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου would progressively disappear. *Cf.* pp. 173ff.

gymnasial nobility. The *gymnasium* was indeed the key–factor in the Roman social, demographic and fiscal administration of Egypt: membership was granted by the state under clearly defined prerequisites, its members were scrutinised upon entry and thereafter joined the ranks of what would be a privileged, self–contained and eventually 'waterproof' social class. The *gymnasium* was no more the symbol of one's status and a way for its assertion; it was the means for the legal ratification by the state of one's social class.

It seems therefore reasonable to believe that with the Roman reorganisation of the country and its population, especially with the creation of the privileged gymnasial class, the *gymnasium* was placed under the supervision of the metropolis and began its journey which would have made it become a public building (although unequivocal evidence before the time of Septimius Severus is absent). Its architectural features and monumentality were enhanced thanks to private euergetism of gymnasiarchs and other members of the metropolite aristocracy as well as with public money (especially after the Severan reforms), while a process of progressive urbanisation of the metropoleis was undertaken.[129]

Metropolitan *gymnasia* of Roman Egypt in many cases began to look more and more like their counterparts in the *poleis* of Asia Minor (although, of course, geographical difference did exist): majestic entrance–gates, grand porticoes and quads, luxurious marbles and columns, gilded ceilings and rich mosaics and other lavish decorations, all in pure Greek style.[130] It is not surprising that their physical position

[129] *Cf.* Orth (1983) p. 229; Bowman (1992).
[130] *Cf.* P.Hib. II 217 (II cent. AD, from Herakl.), P.Coll. Youtie II 81 = P.Oxy. XLV 3265 (326 AD, Oxy.), P.Oxy. XVII, 2127 (after 171 AD?, Oxy.), [possibly P.Oxy. XII 1450 (249/50 AD, Oxy.)], and P.Köln I 52 (263 AD, from Antinoopolis) for the gilding of the ceiling of the *gymnasium* – although here we are dealing with a Greek *polis* where more luxury may be expected. No archaeological remains of

within the plan of the metropoleis also acquired rejuvenated importance, as a keyfeature of the urban landscape: in Oxyrhynchus, for instance, an entire quarter was named after the *gymnasium* itself at least from the middle of the the first century AD.[131]

Paradoxically, however, the more the *gymnasium* became the key element for the definition of a social class, the less we know from our sources about the building itself: the focus in the documents is now laid on the social aspect of its membership more than on the actual premises, which tended to shift into baths, as we have seen – a shift in terminology took place as well, thus complicating things.[132]

The metropoleis increased their urban facilities and size, and in some cases more than one *gymnasium* was eventually necessary to meet the expanded needs of its users: Ptolemais Euergetis (metropolis of the Arsinoite Nome) and Nikiou (metropolis of the Prosopite Nome) had more than one *gymnasium*.[133]

In Nikiou, for instance, there were two *gymnasia* but only one gymnasiarch was in charge of them. Whatever the number of the *gymnasia* in the metropoleis of Roman Egypt the gymnasiarchy was an individual office, organised as a municipal liturgical charge; in later Roman times reduced periods of service were possible and indeed attested (different gymnasiarchs would be in charge of the oil supply for different

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gymnasia have been identified. For the presence of buildings with classical architecture (beside those following traditional Egyptian patterns) in the metropoleis and villages of Roman Egypt, *cf*. Bailey (1990).

[131] Λαύρα or ἄμφοδον δρόμου Γυμνασίου: P.Oxy. LXVI 3272, 6 (61/2 AD); P.Oxy. II 285, 4–5 (*ca* 50 AD); P.Oxy. LXIV 4440, 2 (I cent. AD) [plus SB X 10241 (*ca* 45 AD)]. On the districts of Oxyrhynchus, *cf*. Rink (1925) and Alston (2002) pp. 128–157. A Γυμνασίου ἄμφοδον is attested in the metropolis of the Arsinoite Nome too from the very end of the first century AD: *cf*. P.IFAO I 27 (98–117 AD). Cf. *Diz. Geogr. s.v.* and www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php.

[132] *Cf*. Meyer (1997) p. 691.

[133] This is what one gathers form the sources: BGU III 760 (II cent. AD, from Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.: τὸ μέγαν γυμνάσιον of the metropolis of the Arsinoite) and SB I 411 (III–IV or I cent. AD, from Nikiou; with Bingen (2005)). Add also Naucratis with P.Oxy. III 473 (138–160 AD): μείζονες θερμαί. *Cf*. Meyer (1997) pp. 692–693.

months or days), and in exceptional cases even collegiality (more gymnasiarchs in charge for the same days) was considered a viable option.[134]

While the metropolitan *gymnasia* started their glorious journey of ascent as part of the process of urbanisation and municipalisation of the metropoleis, what became of the former village *gymnasia*? Nothing happened to them overnight. They in fact gradually and progressively disappeared (probably within Augustus' reign): some were probably turned into baths, some continued to be centres for meetings of associations, some were converted to other uses but many presumably fell into disuse and were exploited as a source for construction materials.[135]

III. Organisation

Having considered the early stages of the life of the *gymnasia* in Egypt and their subsequent development during early Roman times, and given an account of their diffusion, it is now time to consider more closely the internal organisation of the *gymnasium*.

I use the term 'organisation' in a very broad sense, intending to designate both the official institutional hierarchical structure ('governing body') in charge of the upkeep and management of the *gymnasium*, both as an institution and the actual building, and the practical division of private duties, also in connection with financial matters.

[134] *Cf.*, for instance, Stud. Pal. V, 57 (267 AD, Herm.) and P.Oxy. XII 1413 (270–275 AD, Oxy.).
[135] Conversion of ex–*gymnasia* into thermal establishments could partly explain the presence of baths in various villages in (early) Roman times (previously existing village baths may also have continued their activites in the Roman period), for which *cf.* Daris (1997); Meyer (1997) p. 694. For the possible original nature of a *gymnasium* for the Kleopatreion of Aristion, the meeting centre of the association of landowners of Psenemphaia (Delta) of I.Prose 49 (5 BC), *cf.* note 109. For the dismantling of *gymnasia* and reuse of their materials *cf.* the case of the inscription published by Strack (1903) p. 548 no. 26 (with my forthcoming re–edition of it in *ZPE*).

In fact the two were not separated, and the holding of a certain office meant *ipso facto* the undertaking of certain duties at private expense.

III.1. Governing Body

A distinction must be drawn between the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. This lies in the different status the *gymnasium* enjoyed. As already mentioned, the Ptolemaic *gymnasium* was a privately run institution and the appointment of its officers was decided by its members (probably with a voting system)[136] and voluntary candidacies were probably preferred (or at all events, strongly encouraged)[137] – though we do not know much about the appointing process used.

In Roman times, the *gymnasium* became a public institution of the metropoleis, under the zealous aegis of the local government: gymnasiarchs and *kosmetai* therefore became metropolitan (or municipal) offices or magistracies (ἀρχαί). This process of municipalisation of the offices (which seems to have been completed by the end of the first century AD)[138] firmly established the new nature of Roman *gymnasia*, already foreshadowed at the time of the creation of privileged gymnasial classes under

[136] The expressions προχειρισθεὶς γυμνασί|αρχος in IG XII.3 331 ll. 3–4 (153/2 BC, from Thera) and ὁ δὲ [α]ἱρ[ε]θ[εὶ]ς γυμνασίαρχος ... | ἐν τῶι [γυμνασί]ωι προβαλεῖται ἄνδρας τρεῖς, οἵτινες χειροτονη|θέντες in EKM 1 Beroia 1 ll. 34, 36–37 (*ca* 180 BC, from Beroea, Macedonia; *cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 30 and 55–56) recall a voting system by show of hands (it is interesting to note that in ὁ δὲ [α]ἱρ[ε]θ[εὶ]ς γυμνασίαρχος there is no indication of the method of electing the gymnasiarch). Voting by show of hands is well attested in antiquity (*cf.* also Arist. *Ath*. 42 for the election of Athenian *sophronistes* and *kosmetes*), and certainly most suitable for associations and relatively small gatherings, as those of the *gymnasium* should have been. *Cf.* also SB XX 14728 ll. 9–10 (103 BC, from Pathyris, Theb.: [ἐ]πεὶ οὖν προκεχειράκαμεν (read προκεχειρίκαμεν) προστάτην | [τοῦ με]γίῤ[του θεοῦ] Νεχθῤαῦτος), for the appointment of the president of the guild of the god. A demotic papyrus (P. Assoc. pp. 39–40 and 215–218 = P.Cairo dem. 31178, 179 BC) mentioning the annual election of the president of the association of the god Sobek of Krokodilopolis (Ars.) simply uses the verb *ỉr* 'to make' to indicate the process of appointment. Elections to appointments of associations could also be made with ostraca: the voter would cast his vote by writing the name of the person to elect on a piece of pottery; the results would be counted and recorded at the end: *cf.* Bresciani (2010) no. 1 and relevant bibliography (*non vidi*).

[137] BGU VI 1256 seems to attest the case of a 'forced', 'liturgic' appointment: *cf.* pp. 93ff.

[138] *Cf.* Hagedorn (2007).

Augustus, and constituted the real watershed from Ptolemaic times: as public institutions, they were the centre of the newly defined 'urban Greekness', with a key role in the categorisation of the metropolitan population for tax and social purposes. They were controlled by the local authority and organised in the context of a growing and increasingly complex system of magistracies and compulsory services (liturgies).

Indeed, those who could afford to pay for the expenses of an office were entered in the list of the 'wealthy and able' (εὔποροι καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι) and were chosen through a ballot or nominated by their predecessors in the office. They were not able to refuse to undertake this 'civic service', unless they thought they had been unjustly appointed, because they had the right of exemption by virtue of belonging to particular exempted categories, or because of physical impediments or financial incapacity. In these cases the right of appeal was open to them, but the outcome of such an appeal was highly uncertain and hardly ever swift; in case of a negative response, they either had to undertake the office or run away (ἀναχώρησις). A third possibility was created around 100 AD, the *cessio bonorum* (Roman development of the Athenian ἀντίδοσις); the appointee to an office handed over his own property with its produce to his nominee, who was thereafter compelled to take on the office.[139]

In fact, although the Ptolemaic and Roman holders of gymnasial offices were different in legal status and definition, in one respect they remained similar, at least as far as their duties were concerned. They had to pay for the expenses connected to the running of the *gymnasium* from their own pockets.

[139] Lewis (1964); Lewis (1966); Lewis (1975[2]); Lewis (1982) esp. pp. 103-109; Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 122; Jördens (2009) pp. 267–271 (liturgies), pp. 317–322 (ἀναχώρησις).

Often it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between the duties of various gymnasial offices. Overlaps do occur, and there was probably not always a very well defined division of duties. At all events, the existence of different 'official titles' clearly shows that hierarchy (with a more or less rough division of responsibilities) existed.

III.1.i. Presidency

The office of president, director, superintendent or chief (προεστηκώς) of the *gymnasium* is attested only in PSI IV 391a (242/1 BC, from Philadelpheia), a letter addressed to Zenon, which also testifies how Zenon was involved in the local *gymnasium*.[140] A donation had been given for the village *gymnasium* to Demeas, at the time when Demeas was president but since he did not spend this donation, a request is now made to Zenon that the money be passed on to the two new presidents, Agelaos and Philios.[141]

It seems that the president was the official person in charge of controlling the activities of the *gymnasium*; he was its representative, the person responsible for its administration, and entrusted with control of financial matters. As such, with the duties of treasurer, he personally received and administered the money contributed from private funding and he had presumably to pay for the expenses of the *gymnasium*.

The office could also be shared by more than one person. Undoubtedly, in this way, the administrative and financial burdens would become lighter.

[140] *Cf*. Clarysse and Vandorpe (1995) p. 59.
[141] Τὸ δοθὲν παρ'ἡμῶν Δημέαι εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἡνίκα προεστήκη (ll. 5–8); ὁ Δημέας τ[ότε προ]εστηκώς (ll. 15–6); ἀποδοθήτω τοῖς νῦν προεστηκόσιν Ἀγελάωι Φιλίωι (ll. 19–21).

The nature of the role (and the name) of the president or chief was strictly connected to the formal character of a 'private club' which the Ptolemaic *gymnasium* appears to have originally had, comprising a group of private individuals who decided to gather around a common meeting–place. It was privately founded and run, in the form of an association with a president–in–chief (προεστηκώς), who took care of the organisation and represented the members when necessary.[142]

It is therefore not surprising that a similar term (προστάτης) is employed to define presidents of various private associations.[143] Some of them can be connected to the *gymnasium*.[144]

With the exception of this text, the office of president/chief of the *gymnasium* is otherwise unattested.[145] A lack of sources is certainly one explanation for this, but another reason for its absence can be suggested, which can be supported by the chronology of the attestation of the term gymnasiarch.[146]

Firstly, it is striking how the duties of the president resemble those of the gymnasiarch. One seriously wonders what a gymnasiarch would have to do in the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia during the presidency of Demeas.

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[142] Interestingly enough, the gymnasiarch is referred to as ὁ ἡγούμενος (A l. 13) in the gymnasiarchic law from Beroea in Macedonia (EKM 1 Beroia 1, *ca* 180 BC). In the same text, another 'leader' or 'sub–leader' (ὁ ἀφηγούμενος: B l. 2) of the *gymnasium* is mentioned: he is appointed by the gymnasiarch as helper among the *neoi* – often a relative of the gymnasiarch, as the editors suggest – and the users of the *gymnasium* must obey him, just like the gymnasiarch. *Cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 29 and 62–64.

[143] For instance, SB XX 14728 and note 102. *Cf.* also Fraser (1972) II p. 476 note 21: '... προστάτης, which is more commonly used of posts outside the royal administration ...'.

[144] I.Th.Sy. 303 (143/2 BC, from Setis in Upper Egypt: an association of *basilistai*, where the term *prostates* was corrected from *kosmetes*, previously inscribed – this is a clear sign that the association or at least some of its members were connected to the *gymnasium*) and SB I 5022 (II–I cent. BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.: association of the *neaniskoi*). One might add I.Prose 49, already discussed (*cf.* note 109): an Augustan association of landowners from Psenemphaia, with a priest–president–*komarches*.

[145] Forms of, or deriving from, the verb προίστημι are never employed in the later Ptolemaic Egyptian gymnasial context, whereas they do occur elsewhere and refer either to the gymnasiarch or to his job.

[146] *Cf.* pp. 70ff.

The most logical solution is to suppose that there was no gymnasiarch at all and I think that this is indeed the case: the president was established before the introduction of gymnasiarchs to village *gymnasia*, who are attested from the second century BC. Before then, the only gymnasiarchs are those found in Alexandria and Naucratis, two Greek *poleis*: they obviously followed civic traditions and adopted the organised structure of the *gymnasium* as an institution linked to the training of future citizens.[147]

In the beginning, *gymnasia* in villages were just meeting centres for the few people whose background was Hellenic: with a desire for corporate identity typical of 'expatriates' in a foreign country, they met as a small association in what was often a simple hall and courtyard (or not much more), used for physical activities and recreational gatherings.

That place was probably what most sharply reminded them of the *gymnasia* and therefore the term was immediately adopted for its simplicity and familiarity, and for the ring of Greekness attached to it.[148]

Nevertheless, the internal structure was not yet comparable. For practical reasons they soon needed somebody among them who would oversee the management of the place and stand at the head of their 'recreational centre' (therefore the use of the perfect participle of προίστημι). In this perspective, a shared chairmanship–presidency would not seem a problem, as long as the two presidents were able to run the place in orderly fashion.

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[147] *Cf.* also Arist. *Pol*. 1322b–1323a, who does not include the gymnasiarchy (which in Athens does not involve the leading of the *gymnasium*, but rather the care of feasts and *agones*) among the 'necessary offices' (ἀναγκαῖαι ἐπιμέλειαι) but considers it accessory to the civic life and peculiar to cities with a higher degree of leisure and prosperity. 'Une telle opinion, sans doute recevable vers 335–330, ne l'aurait plus été un ou deux siècles plus tard': Gauthier (1995) p. 7. On whether the *gymnasium* in the *poleis* of Egypt was controlled by the city and civic magistrates, *cf.* pp. 122ff.

[148] I am inclined to see a Macedonian heritage influencing the original character of the rural *gymnasia* of Egypt. *Cf.* pp. 142ff.

With the passing of time (perhaps from the last decades of the third century BC?), the village *gymnasia* increased in their importance, the number of users, the scale and type of activities and their position in society. They began a process of 'institutionalisation' which eventually led to the recognition of rural *gymnasia* as places with public importance.

They therefore developed from an informal status and started to be formally organised like the *gymnasia* in the Greek *poleis*. Presidents were no longer of use: there were now gymnasiarchs, *kosmetai* and all the rest.[149]

III.1.ii. Gymnasiarchs

☙ *Ptolemaic Period*

As stated previously, the earliest attestations of gymnasiarchs come from two *poleis*: Alexandria and Naucratis.[150]

[149] The chronology of the attestations of ephebes in *gymnasia* of villages seems to agree with this picture: like the gymnasiarchs, they also appear from the second century BC onwards (*cf*. pp. 163ff). Obviously I do not intend to say that young people were not allowed into the *gymnasia* before that time: simply, they were probably not formally organised as 'ephebes'. On the developed public character of rural *gymnasia* by the end of the third century BC, *cf*. pp. 122ff and esp. note 403.

[150] Alexandria: I.Louvre 12 (III cent. BC) and SB IV 7456 (III–II cent. BC) – one might add P.Oxy. XXVII 2465 (after 270 BC, a literary papyrus preserving *On the Demes of Alexandria* by Satyrus and giving an account of the celebrations in honour of the deified Queen Arsinoe) where the passage is supplemented: [μετά] τ̣ρυτάνεων κ̣αὶ ἱερέων κ[αὶ γυμνασι|άρχω]ν̣ καὶ ἐφήβ̣ων καὶ ῥ̣αβδοφ[όρων] (ll. 10–11). Naucratis: I.Delta II 14 (221–205 BC?).

A couple of doubtful examples from elsewhere from the turn of the century may be added to these.[151] At all events, they can be quite happily included in the patterns of the second century BC, when we regularly have examples of gymnasiarchs from elsewhere.[152]

The nature of the gymnasiarchy in the three Greek *poleis* may have been different from the village gymnasiarchy: our sources are not particularly helpful in this respect, but it may be supposed that the gymnasiarch in the *poleis* was a public magistrate, as this seems to be the developing trend in the Hellenistic world. On the other hand, there are examples of the contrary and some hints in the documentation could point towards a 'private' character of the gymnasiarchy even in the *poleis* of Egypt, at least in the beginning: although I am inclined to believe that this was indeed the case, a definitive position on the matter cannot be safely taken.[153] More certainty can be expressed for rural gymnasiarchs, who represent the great majority of attestations in Ptolemaic Egypt: there is no doubt that they were not public magistrates. The evidence for village gymnasiarchs (including also the metropoleis, which were just bigger villages or smallish towns) is reasonably rich and the following analysis mainly refers to them.

[151] I.Prose 15 is from Luxor (Upper Egypt): it is generally dated to 222–180 BC but Fraser (1961) p. 145 no. 26 thought that a date in III cent. BC or II cent. BC was unlikely. SB I 2138 + PP VI 17159 (201–181 BC, from Beni Hassan, Herm.) is a very fragmentary dedication to the King and Queen where in l. 5 the term gymnasiarch has been supplied by Seymour de Ricci in Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) p. 846 note 3: though dedications to the sovereigns from gymnasiarchs are attested (*cf.* I.Delta II 14, 221–205 BC?, from Naucratis), there is not enough evidence to be entirely sure that this is correct.

[152] Not much can be said of two mummy labels whose provenance and date are unknown: SB I 3460–3461. I should rather think they are Roman, on the basis of onomastics (Βησαρίων).

[153] For the legal status of civic *gymnasia*, *cf.* pp. 122ff.

The gymnasiarchy was an annual post (as is clearly stated in some documents) and can therefore be used for dating.[154] For that reason and from some hints in the texts, it does not seem plausible that there was more than one gymnasiarch (for one *gymnasium* – which often meant for one town/village) at a time.[155] Nevertheless, the charge could have been held more than once: the son of Philostratos, for instance, Macedonian commander of the *exo taxeos*, was gymnasiarch for at least three

[154] 'Gymnasiarch during year x': SB IV 7456 (III–II cent. BC, from Alexandria); SEG VIII 504 (II cent. BC, from Thmouis, Delta); SEG LV 1847 (152/1 BC, unknown provenance); I.Fayum II 103–104 (150/49 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.); SB III 6665 (II–I cent. BC, from Alexandria?); SEG XLIV 1448 (II–I cent. BC, from Ptolemais?); BGU VIII 1772 (57/6 BC from Herakl.); BGU IV 1189 (1 BC, from Bousiris, Herakl.). Eponymous gymnasiarch: I.Louvre 12 (III cent. BC, from Alexandria). Hence I think that the gymnasiarch's term normally started with the beginning of the civil year (Thoth). The gymnasiarchic law from Beroea in Macedonia (EKM 1 Beroia 1, *ca* 180 BC) also attests that the term of the gymnasiarch also started in the beginning of the year, as did every other civic magistracy: *cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 50–51.

[155] *Cf*., for instance, BGU VIII 1772 ll. 33–4 (57/6 BC, from Herakl.): [τοῦ δεῖνος | τ]οῦ τὸ ιβ ἔτος [γυμ]νασιαρχήσαντος τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου. Different in theory but in fact similar in practice, in the Roman period the gymnasiarchy – being a public office – is attached to a metropolis, regardless of the number of *gymnasia*: *cf*. SB I 411 (funerary stela of the gymnasiarch Sarapion) in which the deceased is said to have been gymnasiarch of the two *gymnasia* of Nikiou. The text was dated to III–IV cent. AD by *ed. pr*. and others, but to I cent. AD by J. Bingen, *BE* 2005 no. 575 and Bingen (2005) pp. 144–146: 'Sarapion a vécu fort vieux. Si nous plaçon la stèle tôt dans le I^{er} siècle, – mais rien n'est assuré – il a peut–être même dirigé les gymnases de Nikiou quelques décennies plus tôt, sous Auguste, voire sous Cléopâtre VII' (p. 146). He also says that the stela probably comes from the Prosopite Nome, the metropolis of which was Nikiou, and not specifically from Terenouthis as given in *ed. pr*.: 'On ne peut pas décider avec trop d'assurance de la provenance de la pierre, puisque, à première vue, la mention de Nikiou pourrait suggérer, comme c'est presque une règle en épigraphie, que Sarapion est mort hors de cette ville. Mais la mention de Nikiou peut–être étroitement liée à la qualification des deux gymnases' (p. 145 note 9). In the Hellenistic world, the gymnasiarchy was normally an individual office, but other traditions are attested. In Thessaly, for instance, the gymnasiarchy, though an annual magistracy, is collegial since the fourth century BC (two gymnasiarchs at a time, either per year or per semester) – with few exceptions: *cf*. Helly *et al.* (1979) pp. 232–234. In SEG LIV 566 (190–170 BC, from Pelinna in Thessaly) the victors of the *tristadion* in the *Hermaia* all seem to end up being gymnasiarchs soon after their victory (two apparently held the office in the same year as their victory) – a practice which poses questions about the legal age for the magistracy and the taking part in the *Hermaia*: *cf*. Darmezin and Tziaphalias (2005) pp. 58–59. Equally there was more than one gymnasiarch at a time in Syracuse, Samos, Tenos and Cyrene: Cordiano (1997); Cordiano (2001); Schuler (2004) p. 167; Chankowski (2009); Cordiano (2009). In some Hellenistic cities under Roman rule the gymnasiarchy, a liturgical charge, *may* have been held for three or six months only, thus allowing the possibility to have more than one gymnasiarch per year: IG X.2 1 135 (105 BC?, from Thessalonike), SEG LI 786 (105/4 BC, from Amphipolis), EKM 1 Beroia 103 (18/7 BC, from Beroea). *Cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 147, 164 and 166. However, yearly individual gymnasiarchy still existed in those cities if a suitable candidate was found, as in IG X.2 1 4 (96/5 BC, from Thessalonike).

consecutive years.[156] It appears clear from the text that the gymnasiarchy was yearly, renewed each time.[157] It is not unlikely that members of the same family undertook it for a certain period of time.[158] We have no evidence of ephebe–gymnasiarchs in Egypt: all the gymnasiarchs seem to have been adults.[159]

We do not have a manual on 'how to be a good gymnasiarch in Egypt' of the sort we have for the subordinate (the *oikonomos*?) of the dioecetes,[160] or a text which clearly states his duties, like the gymnasiarchic law from Beroea in Macedonia.[161] Nevertheless, two inscriptions may be of some help in presenting what an *ideal* gymnasiarch was supposed to do: in both the members of the *gymnasium* granted honours to their gymnasiarchs for their good conduct.[162]

The gymnasiarch was in charge of the general organisation of the *gymnasium*; he had the main responsibility for paying the expenses which the *gymnasium* might incur, although other people were also appointed on special occasions and for extraordinary

[156] SEG LV 1847, 5–6 and 8–9 (152/1 BC, unknown provenance): γυ[μνασιαρχήσας] | τὸ κη καὶ κθ (ἔτος) ... καὶ [γυμνασιαρχῶν] | τὸ λ (ἔτος). *Cf.* also I.Fayum II 103, 3 (150/49 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.): γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ λβ (ἔτος) (πρῶτον) 'who was gymnasiarch in the 32nd year *for the first time*'.
[157] IG XII.3 331 (153/2 BC, from Thera) presents an astonishingly zealous gymnasiarch: Baton, son of Philon, had been in charge for five consecutive years when the members of the garrison's *gymnasium* (οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι) honoured him (they also express their obligation to him should Baton grace them with a sixth gymnasiarchy). Also in this text (ll. 15–17, 43–44) the gymnasiarchy clearly appears to be a yearly charge. For the adventurous story of the stone (which is a seventeenth–century copy on porphyry of the original lost inscription), *cf.* Cuvigny and Vagenheim (2005).
[158] *Cf.* I.Prose 41 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt).
[159] Elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, the situation was different (for instance, Delos and Apollonis in Lydia): *cf.* Schuler (2004) p. 177. In Roman times the practice became even more common.
[160] P.Tebt. III 703 (III cent. BC)
[161] EKM 1 Beroia 1 (*ca* 180 BC). Regulations (written or not) may have existed although I do not think that one could always suppose the existence of a γυμνασιαρχικὸς νόμος for every *gymnasium* of Egypt (at least for those in villages). Such a practice seems more common for Greek *poleis*: *cf.* IG XII.7 515, 81–83 (end II cent. BC, from Aegiale on Amorgos) and Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) p. 49.
[162] I.Prose 15 (222–180 BC?, from Luxor, Upper Egypt) and I.Prose 41 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis in Upper Egypt).

expenditures.[163] He could also provide the oil necessary for the regular physical activities carried out.[164] He took care of the management of the finances, being responsible for the good order of the accounts of the *gymnasium*. No doubt, one of the hopes of the community of the *gymnasium* on appointing a new gymnasiarch was that he may settle the economic conditions of the *gymnasium*, should they have previously been in a critical state. It was he who paid for the restoration or renovation of the buildings, with contributions, if necessary, from the community of the *gymnasium*. He was in charge of organising and overseeing (and paying for) the hospitality for important visitors and he took part in funding feasts and public ceremonies focused around the *gymnasium*. He was probably the person responsible for the payment of the taxes of the *gymnasium* itself.[165] In short, he was the person who bore the main responsibility.

Beside this financial role, he had also the sacral–official role of being the representative of the community of the *gymnasium*: he had to deal with major officials on the occasion of a visit (e.g. the strategus) and to take care of religious matters, i.e. sacrificing to the King and the Royal Family (and most probably paying the expenses for this).

In short, this is essentially what the gymnasiarch was expected to do, as phrased by the members of the *gymnasium* of Luxor: to be 'useful in all the interests concerning

[163] *Cf*. pp. 93ff.
[164] The only Ptolemaic example of a gymnasiarch paying for the oil is the above–mentioned I.Prose 41 (57 BC); all the other relevant documents rather stress the gymnasiarch's other financial and managerial tasks. I believe that, at least in the beginning, the oil was bought from common funds. Later in time (from II cent. BC) gymnasiarchs may have tended to buy it out of their own pocket: *cf*. pp. 102ff. In this the gymnasiarchs of Egypt followed a common Hellenistic pattern, which would be continued and amplified in Roman times: *cf*. Fröhlich (2009).
[165] *Cf*. pp. 102ff.

the *gymnasium*, giving himself eagerly in any matter commonly good'.[166] And if he did act as expected, the community of the *gymnasium* would be generous in granting honours to him and to his family.[167]

Although comparison with the situation outside of Egypt is always difficult and may be misleading given the different local characteristics which influenced the *gymnasium*, it is however interesting to consider what the external evidence has to offer, especially if it may share common patterns, without, however, forgetting socio–political differences. The picture of the role of the gymnasiarch, as appears from the sources from Egypt, has points in common with what one reads in the aforementioned gymnasiarchic law from Beroea in Macedonia, the only preserved document which gives us clear rules and gymnasiarchic duties for a *gymnasium*.[168] In the Macedonian city the gymnasiarch (elected now by the assembly) was in charge of the administration of the *gymnasium* and of paying for oil, games (for which he may be the judge), prizes and sacrifices; he appointed helpers and acted as treasurer of the *gymnasium* and of the *neoi*.

Moreover, the gymnasiarchic law introduces unprecedented insight into daily and practical details. The gymnasiarch ensured that those who were entitled to enter the *gymnasium* behaved irreproachably, fining them if necessary; he set the times of entry for the various categories of young people (παῖδες, ἔφηβοι and οἱ ὑπὸ τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη) and generally controlled the place so that it was run in an orderly fashion

[166] I.Prose 15, 5–8: ἐμ (*sic*) πλείοσι τῶν συμφε|ρόντων τῶι γυμνασίωι γέγονεν χρήσ[ι]|μος, ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδίδους προθύμως | εἰς πᾶν τὸ κοινῆι συμφέρον.
[167] The honours which the gymnasiarchs received ranged from statues and portraits to be put in the *gymnasium* to more elaborate and munificent dispositions, which could also include the gymnasiarchs' descendants. *Cf.* I.Prose 15, I.Prose 41, I.Alex. Ptol. 42, SB III 6665, SB IV 7456, I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500, I.Prose 46, and SEG VIII 504. On portraits, *cf.* Blanck (1968); Nowicka (1979) pp. 22–24.
[168] EKM 1 Beroia 1 (*ca* 180 BC). Another similar document is the still unpublished ephebarchic law from Amphipolis (Macedonia) dated 24/3 BC: *cf.* p. 92.

and according to the rules. The text also hints at difficulties and dangers in which the gymnasiarch could find himself during his 'job' (abuses, assaults, and injuries), as well as the penalties he might incur, should he not act as expected (he was accountable to the city and had to present accounts to the magistrates). All this obviously finds no place in other epigraphic sources, the many honorary decrees and dedications in which gymnasiarchs, elevated to ideals, are praised and exalted as generous benefactors.[169]

The sources from Ptolemaic Egypt are clear in depicting the gymnasiarch's job as a rather expensive one, which sometimes implied quite a substantial disbursement of money. Nevertheless, becoming gymnasiarch meant acquiring a visible position of prestige in one's own local society, with honours and fame:[170] some were therefore more than happy to carry the burdens of the gymnasiarchy.[171]

In fact, financial issues must not have been particularly distressing for the gymnasiarchs, who usually belonged to (relatively) rich families with strong ties with the central administration, politics, and the army.[172] The titles which some of them bore show their high social position: συγγενεῖς of the King, οἱ τῶν πρώτων φίλων, οἱ τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων,[173] strategi, dioecetai, members of the *gerousia*, *prytaneis*,

[169] *Cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) p. 50.
[170] Prestige, wealth, and notoriety attached to gymnasiarchs were commonplace, as attested by Aesop. 20: arguing about nobility with a fox, a crocodile goes through the illustrious ranks of its ancestors boasting to descend from γεγυμνασιαρχηκότες πατέρες. *Cf.* Opelt (1982) who dates the fable to the third century BC at the earliest.
[171] *Cf.* I.Prose 41 ll. 18–19 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt): αὐθαιρέτως ἐπιδεξ[άμενος ... τὴν γυμν|α]σιαρχίαν 'having undertaken willingly ... the gymnasiarchy'.
[172] Although gymnasiarchic families must have had different degrees of wealth and importance also depending on the place from which they came and where they lived. On the connection between gymnasial people and administration, *cf.* pp. 225ff.
[173] On aulic titulatures, *cf.* p. 33.

exegetai, *agoranomoi*, officials, commanders, soldiers, cavalry–men, catoeci.[174] They may have been often ready and pleased to step forward and accept the gymnasiarchy offered to them, as an act duly expected from their social status – no doubt they expressed their willingness to do so themselves, and the members of the *gymnasium* must have known very well who the likely candidates for the post were, from whom they could have gained more advantages.

As a matter of fact, both the gymnasiarchs and the community of the *gymnasium* reaped the most benefit from this system. (Reasonably) wealthy men, keen for fame and philanthropy, held a role of prominence in the gymnasial community and had 'civic' honours after their good deeds; on the other hand, the community of the *gymnasium* obtained services, activities and the supervision of the maintenance of their 'leisure centres' (almost) free of charge.

The papyri show that the 'sphere of influence' of the rural gymnasiarchs could also reach outside the boundaries of the *gymnasium*; their prestige in society allowed them somehow to play a role in legal matters too, and to hold a position of further importance and authority within their local community.[175] They seem to have been an intermediary between the population and the higher authority, the first port of call for an informal (and, no doubt, less expensive and less time–consuming) appeal on civil–

[174] *Cf.* I.Alex. Ptol. 42, SB III 6665, SB IV 7456, I.Prose 41, BGU VIII 1772, I.Métr. Ég. 4, I.Fayoum I 8, SB I 2264, I.Kom Abu Bellou 142, I.Fayum II 103–104, P.Tor.Choach. 12, I.Prose 46, SEG VIII 504, and BGU IV 1188. SB V 8389 (145–116 BC) is a fragmentary dedication of an altar from Omboi (metropolis of the Ombite Nome in Upper Egypt), in which most of the titles have been supplied.

[175] *Cf.*, for instance, P.Tor.Choach. 12 (117 BC, from Thebes: the famous trial of Hermias and the *choachytai* is performed before the *epistates*, the gymnasiarch, and other authoritative members of the community), and the *prostagma* C.Ord.Ptol. 50 (124 BC, about confiscation of property of some associations, addressed also to the gymnasiarchs: they therefore had some sort of legal position of power to play in the matter – especially because some *gymnasia* appear to have been compelled to alienate their properties too).

financial matters before seeking justice through official channels (e.g. petitioning the strategus). It is interesting that in both the documents[176] in which a gymnasiarch is presented as having this role of 'justice of the peace', his intervention is not decisive and the wronged party does have to write a petition to have the case brought before the authority.[177] I have no doubt that the quarrels which were successfully settled before the gymnasiarch did not leave traces in the written documentation because of their informal nature.

The village gymnasiarchs enjoyed therefore a 'privileged' status among their community, although they were formally only presidents of private associations. The nature of their charge was obviously neither officially established nor outlined by any public authority; as we have already said many times, village gymnasiarchs were not

[176] SB VI 8964 (II cent. BC, from Euhemeria?, Ars.: a quarrel about a pair of golden earrings, which had already been previously brought before the gymnasiarch and the catoeci, apparently without solution, because the petitioner had to write the present text. Its fragmentary state does not allow further conclusions) and BGU VIII 1849 (48–46 BC, from Herakl.: a widow was wronged by her brothers–in–law who, after her husband's death, took all the property that her father had given to her husband, and left her without means for her and her child. She first appealed to the gymnasiarch and the priests of Tilothis – her husband was indeed a priest, and her family also should have been priestly, given that they had moved from the village of Poenamis to the *pastophorion*, i.e. the priestly apartments attached to the temple in Tilothis – but the woman's brothers–in–law did not respect the pronouncement (ll. 22–3, after BL III and Wilcken (1935) p. 124: ‹τῶν ἀδελφῶν› μὴ ἐμμεμενηκότωι ἐφ'οἷς | οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀπίων ὁ γυμνασιαρχήσας δεδικαιώκαν (*sc*. δεδικαιώκασι) 'because (the brothers) did not abide by what the priests and Apion the ex–gymnasiarch decided'), and she therefore came to write a petition to the strategus to ask for justice. In the interpretation of the passage and reading of ἐμμεμενηκότων, instead of the editors' ἐμμεμενηκότα (= ἐμμεμενηκυίᾳ, referring back to a preceding μοι), I agree with Wilcken, when he writes that 'ich erwarte, daß von den Gegnern, den ἀδελφοί, gesagt ist, daß sie nicht bei dem geblieben sind, was die Priester usw. in ihrem Spruch erkannt haben'. The editors thought that the priests and the ex–gymnasiarch had supported the brothers–in–law, but the widow did not hold her peace and further petitioned the strategus. How the mention of a previous unfavourable sentence, stubbornly rejected by the woman, could be of any use in strengthening her case upon her final 'begging and pathetic clause' for the strategus's intervention (ll. 20–1: διὸ ἀξιῶ{ι} | χήρα οὖσα) is not clear to me). I do not think that it is here the case of two associations (of catoeci and of priests, of which the two gymnasiarchs were members) and that the offended parties had gone to the college tribunal to ask for justice: the object of injustice is not like those normally dealt with by associations (abuses against members, or failure to pay). *Cf*. San Nicolò (1927).

[177] *Cf*. also Zucker (1930–1) pp. 494–495; Habermann (2004) p. 344.

magistrates.[178] But neither were the duties of their job formally set out by the community of the *gymnasium* itself; at least, we have no evidence of it. In fact, internal regulations probably existed in some form. The charge of the gymnasiarch, like that of many others, could be defined as 'particular liturgy', or 'Hellenistic liturgy':[179] services, seen as favours or *corvées*, more or less forcibly appointed from above and provided not to the state as a whole but to the more restricted and particular community of the *gymnasium*.[180] We do not know the exact proceedings for the appointment: the members of the *gymnasium*, gathered in assembly, probably voted by show of hands whom to appoint to which charges. Pre–arrangements or consultation with the candidates seem to be likely, although we also have evidence of what may seem forced appointments.[181] However, this cannot have been the norm (on what grounds could the *gymnasium* force someone to pay for the expenses, say, of a race?). The members of the *gymnasium* would rather have to find their way to convincingly persuade someone to take on the charges: the difficulty which may arise in finding suitable (and above all willing) candidates is clearly expressed in a late Ptolemaic inscription, in which much stress is laid on the fact that the honoured gymnasiarch accepted the charge of his own accord. He probably even proposed himself: after all this was a sort of family tradition.[182]

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[178] For the nature of the gymnasiarchy and the status of the *gymnasium* in the three *poleis*, *cf*. pp. 122ff.
[179] *Cf*. Lewis (1975^2) Preface to 'The Ptolemaic Period'.
[180] *Cf*. also Bagnall (1971) p. 362: '... they are liturgies owed by a man to the city or town or village in which he lived. There are no examples of such liturgies owed by an individual in a city to the monarchy as a whole or to any unit beyond his home community. ... Liturgy is a civic and not a royal institution'.
[181] BGU VI 1256 (II cent. BC, from Philadelpheia). The man, who has been appointed to the lampadarchy without being able to afford the expenses, declares that others in the *gymnasium* have conspired against him: *cf*. pp. 93ff. This confirms that the charges within the *gymnasium* were proposed by its members. In this case (as in others dealing with 'minor' charges) it is also possible that the appointment could come directly from the gymnasiarch (under suggestion of other members) without voting, as happens in Beroea (Macedonia) for the lampadarchs–ephebes: *cf*. EKM 1 Beroia 1, B 71–75 (*ca* 180 BC).
[182] I.Prose 41 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt).

☙ *Augustan Period*

As previously stated, with the Roman conquest and subsequent administrative reorganisation of the country, *gymnasia* not only developed to become public institutions *tout court* but also started playing a new role in the newly established social categorisation of the metropolites of Egypt (the privileged category of the 'Greeks of the *gymnasium*' being attached to them). They disappeared from the villages and were only found in the Greek *poleis* and the metropoleis of the nomes. The gymnasiarchs must have faced a similar fate, which is what one would expect.

In fact, there are three gymnasiarchs of villages who are attested in the Augustan period.[183] It would be far from the reality to consider the title an honorific one, which would indicate that the holders *used to be* gymnasiarchs of village when *gymnasia* still existed there. One text is pretty clear in stating how the gymnasiarch was on duty in the village at that time:[184] Θέ̣ω̣ν̣ι στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων | παρ' Ἀνταίου τοῦ

[183] BGU IV 1189 (1 BC/1 AD, from Bousiris, Herakl.), BGU IV 1201 (2 AD, from Bousiris, Herakl.) and BGU IV 1188 (dated to the Augustan period after 15/14 BC, from Koma, Herakl). To these one should perhaps add P.Lond. II 354 18–19 (7–4 BC, Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.) with the expression ἐπὶ τοῦ Βρείσωνος πάροντος καὶ Διο[δ]ώ̣ρου τῶ[ν **ἐ]ν τῶι | [ν]ο̣μ̣ῶ̣ι** γεγυ[μ]νασιαρχηκότων (rather than ἐ]ν τῇ πόλει γεγυ[μ]νασιαρχηκότων): *cf*. Hagedorn (2007) p. 201 note 2. The inscription I.Kom Abu Bellou 142 (12/13 or 14/15 AD, from Terenouthis, western Delta) preserves the epitaph of a man who was *agoranomos* and gymnasiarch: the age of the man is missing and it is not certain whether he was gymnasiarch of the village of Terenouthis at the very end of the Ptolemaic era or already in Roman times, or whether he was rather gymnasiarch in the metropolis at some point under Augustus but lived in (or eventually moved to) the village, where he was buried. The latter would not be surprising. *Pace* Drew–Bear (1988) pp. 242–243, who considers this inscription the latest attestation of a gymnasiarch of a village, and Bingen, *BE* 1989 no. 806, who still thinks of a gymnasiarch of a village, although he points out that the date of the inscription does not give any information on when the man was on duty: 'Le moment où cette charge a été honorée peut se situer beaucoup plus tôt, et même avant la date de mai/juin 2 p.C. où un gymnasiarque est en fonction à Bousiris du Delta (BGU IV 1201)'. For an analysis of the necropolis and tomb–stones from Terenouthis, *cf*. also Schmidt (2003) pp. 44–61, who seems to consider the people buried in the necropolis as having lived in the village.

[184] *Cf*. McKay (1980) p. 38. The other two texts have the term γυμνασίαρχος which does not imply any indication of time, although in this context it seems to suggest that the person in question was indeed holding the office at the time (the case of titles in funerary inscriptions is obviously different): κατεπήδησεν | ὁ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς κώμης | καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάν|τες 'the gymnasiarch of the village (*sc*. Bousiris) and the *presbyteroi* and all the others threw themselves down (to us for help)'

Ὀννώφριος. Γυμνασιαρχῶν κώ|μης Βουσίρεως τὸ λ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος κτλ. 'To Theon, strategus and (appointed) to the taxes, from Antaios, son of Onnophris. Being gymnasiarch of the village of Bousiris during the 30th year of Caesar (*sc*. Augustus), I etc.' (BGU IV 1189 ll. 1–3).

The role of the three gymnasiarchs[185] completely agrees with the standards of the 'gymnasiarchic tradition': they appear to be important and respected, being counted among the first men in the village. This is specially true of Antaios and Kastor, who, curiously, are each independently involved in matters regarding the public channel which was laid down around the village of Koma in the Herakleopolites in the 16th year of Augustus (15/14 BC).[186]

Antaios must have been noted for his reliability and must have been reasonably wealthy (along with the connections he had with the local police), since he was the guarantor (ἱκανοδότης) for ensuring that the appointed agents of the police for the dyke carried out the necessary inspections. As they failed to do so, he was enjoined by the toparch to pay into the treasury 421 silver drachmae as well as other additional payments. This he did, and he then wrote a petition to the strategus to ask that the two agents of the police reimburse him, for they had the means.

Kastor, for his part, was κάτοικος and γεωργός and thus involved in the activities of land tenure. A ferryman, who offered his services to the catoeci and farmers of the

(BGU IV 1201 ll. 12–15) and Ἡρακλείδηι σ[τρα]τηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων | παρὰ Κ̣ά̣σ̣τ̣ο̣ρ̣ος [γ]υμν[ασι]άρχου Κόμα καὶ τῶν | ἄλλων [τῶ]ν ἐν τῆι κώμηι κατοίκων καὶ τῶν | ἄλλων γεωργῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν | τ[ῶν] ἐν τῆι κώμηι κατοικούντων 'To Herakleides, strategus and (appointed) to the taxes, from Kastor, gymnasiarch of Koma, and from the other *katoikoi* of the village and the other farmers, and from the royal farmers who dwell in the village' (BGU IV 1188 ll. 1–5).

[185] It is unfortunate that we do not have the name of the γυμνασίαρχος τῆς κώμης of BGU IV 1201, so as to be entirely sure that it was not the same person as in BGU IV 1189.

[186] *Cf*. BGU IV 1188 ll. 5–7: ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ | ις (ἔτους) Καίσαρος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν κώμην ἀγομένου | δημοσίο[υ] δι̣ᾳ̣ζ̣ώματος.

village to cross the dyke and reach the fields, was robbed by a man who entered his house with a soldier and was subsequently oppressed by the tax–farmers (l. 17: αὐτ̣ό̣ς τ̣ε̣ κ̣α̣τ̣α̣π̣ο̣νούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν); he therefore brought his plea to the gymnasiarch Kastor and the other catoeci and farmers and to the royal farmers of the village, who wrote a petition to the strategus on his behalf. In this case, the gymnasiarch takes part in the matter as catoec and farmer (and therefore interested in the transport service) rather than as gymnasiarch. His 'office' was anyway considered of some regard, as he had the first position in the list and his function was clearly stated. In thus doing, the petitioners probably thought to make their case more worthy of consideration.

Therefore it seems that in the village of Bousiris there was a gymnasiarch active at least as late as the years 1 BC–2 AD.[187] If there was a gymnasiarch one would expect that there still was a *gymnasium* as well. This is however uncertain.

At all events, the last gymnasiarchs of Bousiris represent the dying phase of a Ptolemaic habit.[188] The Roman process of reorganisation of the administration and society of the country (which must have been successfully completed within the first decades and certainly by middle/end of the first century AD) soon brought a new definition of the role of the *gymnasia*, along with their disappearance from the villages of Egypt.

[187] For Koma a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of an active gymnasiarch cannot be established with certainty; anyway, the date of BGU IV 1188 does not go beyond Augustus' death (i.e. 14 AD). On account of the other two attestations of Augustan gymnasiarchs of villages and of the dates of the other texts from Bousiris found in the mummy cartonnage from Abusir el–Meleq (where these papyri were found) I should be rather inclined to assign the present text to the last years of the first century BC.

[188] *Cf.* Zucker (1930–1) p. 493 note 1: '... die Dorfgymnasiarchen in BGU. 1188 f. und 1201 gehörten wohl noch der Zeit vor der Konstituierung der ἄρχοντες in den Metropolen an'. Similarly, Hagedorn (2007) who considers the gymnasiarchs attested before the municipalisation of the office in mid first century AD as simple '"presidents of associations", be it of gymnasia in the villages or in metropoleis' (p. 201).

☙ *Roman Period*

In Roman times the importance of gymnasiarchs, now only attached to a metropolis, continued to increase in the social sphere. As for their actual gymnasial duties, we are unfortunately not very well informed. Our sources rarely tell us of the actual life and activities of the gymnasiarchs and of the *gymnasia*: now that the building has become the centre for the social categorisation of the metropolitan population, little is said about its actual internal structure and more interest is laid on its fiscal, legal and social implications.

However, we can certainly gather that gymnasiarchs were still in charge of the general running of the *gymnasium*, and they had to provide the oil necessary for the physical activities, which the users of the *gymnasium* now expected to obtain free of charge.[189] Moreover, with the development of the *gymnasia* into baths, new requirements (and new expenses!) were to be met: water had to be supplied for the pools, and the rooms and water had to be heated. Both were the tasks of the gymnasiarch.[190] Similarly, feasts and banquets continued to take place and their organisation was in the hands of the gymnasiarch, who would presumably pay for the expenses too – although contributions were welcomed and certainly found their way into the *gymnasium*'s coffers from the local community.[191]

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[189] *Cf.* Orth (1983); Fagan (1999b); Fröhlich (2009). The oil–supplier apparently employed by the *gymnasium* in Oxyrhynchus may have been directly paid by the gymnasiarch: P.Oxy. II 300 (late I cent. AD, Oxy.).

[190] P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, Herm.): the young Dios is going to be gymnasiarch in one year and one month's time, and takes (early, one might say) arrangements with two locals for the provision of wood for the heating of the baths of the *gymnasium* in the metropolis, for the entire year while he will be in charge. *Cf.* Meyer (1994); Meyer (1997).

[191] *Cf.* P.Oxy. VIII 1143 (*ca* 1 AD, Oxy.) where the priests of a temple give money for the feast organised in the *gymnasium* by the gymnasiarch.

But the gymnasiarch was not only a sort of purse of the *gymnasium*: his official role also included welcoming the new members and organising their activities. In Alexandria the gymnasiarch was in charge of drawing up the list of ephebes.[192] Similarly, the gymnasiarchs (and *kosmetai*) of metropolitan *gymnasia* may have been in charge of receiving the papers from Alexandria for the admission of Alexandrian ephebes resident in the *chora*, who would spend their ephebate in the metropolis. They had no active role in the process of selection but, as the 'guardians' of the insitution, they were nonetheless to be informed of those who had been deemed entitled to be welcomed in it.[193]

As head of the privileged class of the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, the gymnasiarchs occupied a position of prestige and importance. It is therefore not surprising to find ex–gymnasiarchs among the officials to whom the applications for metropolite and gymnasial *epikrisis* are addressed from the end of the first century AD.[194]

Their importance stretched beyond the simple gymnasial environment and was not limited to matters relevant to the privileged classes of Roman Egypt. Indeed, they were men of trust and worthy of respect, as well as with the means to occupy posts in the administration. In fact, in the Arsinoite Nome there seems to have been the early tradition (since the 50s of the first century AD) of having gymnasiarchs (at least in the

[192] *Cf.* P.Oxy. XLIX 3463 (58 AD, Oxy./Alex.): the *exegetes* is to give orders to the gymnasiarch and *kosmetes* to enter a boy in the list of ephebes. Two ex–gymnasiarchs, one gymnasiarch–to–be and the *exegetes* appear at the top of a list of names, which could be those of ephebes or liturgists (P.Oxy. Hels. 15: 50–70 AD, Oxy.).
[193] P.Oxy. XLIX 3463 (58 AD, Oxy./Alex.). *Cf.* Nelson (1974) p. 310; Whitehorne (1977) p. 35 note 17.
[194] P.Oxy. VII 1028 (86 AD, Oxy.), the earliest application for metropolite status, does not constitute an exception (Hagedorn (2007) p. 202 believes that the two were gymnasiarchs in office, reading (ll. 2–3) Διον(υσίῳ) | καὶ Φιλ̣ίσκωι γ(υμνασιάρχοις) [or γυ(μνασιάρχοις)?] instead of Διον(υσίῳ) | καὶ Φιλ̣ίσκωι γ(υμνασιαρχήσασι). One would then wonder how many gymnasiarchs there would be in a metropolis in a given time – shared gymnasiarchy is indeed attested in later times: *cf.*, for instance, Stud. Pal. V, 57 (267 AD, Herm.) and P.Oxy. XII 1413 (270–275 AD, Oxy.)). The address of the earliest application for gymnasial status (P.Oxy. II 257: 94/5 AD, Oxy.) is missing. *Cf.* Nelson (1979).

case of the earliest attestations from 53 AD) and ex–gymnasiarchs in charge of the land–registry office (βιβλιοφύλακες βιβλιοθήκης ἐγκτήσεων). These texts constitute in fact the most numerous attestations of gymnasiarchs in the first century AD.[195]

More information cannot be gathered from other texts which are in many cases dubious, unclear or otherwise useless in defining the role of the gymnasiarchs.[196]

The main question regarding the function of gymnasiarchs is when they became municipal offices. Evidence in this respect is not always very clear, and conclusions may be subject to debate. However, it has been convincingly shown that the gymnasiarchy probably became a liturgical municipal charge around the middle of the the first century AD (and certainly by the end of it, when ex–gymnasiarchs appear in the *epikrisis* applications of the privileged classes). Before that time the gymnasiarchs may still have been acting as private charges, without being formally linked to the metropolis and their officials.[197] The liturgical system was however soon introduced, especially

[195] P.Mich. IX 539–540 (53 AD, Karanis, Ars.); P.Oxy. XLVII 3332 (53 AD, Oxy.: declaration to the *bibliophylax bibliothekes* of the Arsinoite Nome); BGU I 112 (60/1 AD, Karanis, Ars.); BGU II 379 (67 AD, Karanis, Ars.); SB XVIII 13235 (69–78 AD, Aueris, Ars.); P.Mich. IX 541 (69–79 AD, Karanis, Ars.); BGU I 184 (72–78 AD, Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.); Stud.Pal. XXII 175 (78 AD, Soknopaious Nesos, Ars.); SB XVI 12960 (78–83 AD, Ars.); SB XVI 12613 (81 AD, Neiloupolis, Ars.); BGU II 536 (84 AD, Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.); P.Ryl. II 107 (84 AD, Ars.); P.Col. VIII 213 (84–105 AD, Ptolemais Euergetis, Ars.); SB XXII 15792 (84–96 AD, Karanis, Ars.); Stud.Pal. XXII 23 (84–96 AD, Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.); Stud.Pal. XXII 86 (87 AD, Ptolemais Euergetis, Ars.); BGU XI 2017 (88 AD, Ptolemais Euergetis, Ars). We have already seen how gymnasiarchs could have held positions of responsibility outside the gymnasial sphere (such as being justices of the peace: *cf.* p. 77) already in Ptolemaic times. *Cf.* also Hagedorn (2007) p. 202. On the *bibliotheke enkteseon*, *cf.* Maresch (2002); Jördens (2010); Yiftach–Firanko (2010b).

[196] Not much can be gathered from P.Amst. I 89 (3 AD, unknown provenance: fragmentary private letter) and BGU XVI 2577 230 (30 BC–14 AD, Herakl.: list of taxes, presumably the *laographia*; Hagedorn (2007) p. 201 thinks that one should not think of the gymnasiarch here as a municipal office, but still as a 'president of a private association'.

[197] *Cf.* Hagedorn (2007). The earliest clear attestation of the gymnasiarchy as a municipal office would be the application for metropolitan *epikrisis* P.Oxy. VII 1028 (86 AD, Oxy.). None of the other texts from the first century AD referring to gymnasiarchs in the *chora* (excluding those testifying the link of (ex–) gymnasiarchs with the *bibliotheke enkteseon* in the Arsinoite Nome) give us much information about the nature of the gymnasiarchy and its municipalisation (on the contrary, some – namely the gymnasiarchs of villages in Augustan times (*cf.* pp. 80ff) – clearly point in the opposite direction): BGU XVI 2577 (30 BC–14 AD; list of taxes from Herakl.); I.Fayoum II 139 (24/5 or 51/2 AD; fragment of dedication from Dionysias, Ars.); I.Kom Abu Bellou 142 (12/13 or 14/15 AD; epitaph from Terenouthis, western Delta);

because of the 'official' importance that the *gymnasium* started enjoying under the Romans: if the gymnasial privileged class was created or at least firmly established around the first years of our era, the gymnasiarchy itself (along with the *gymnasium*) had soon to alter its status and be officially linked with the metropolis in a sort of public way.

The office of the gymnasiarch lasted for one year (and followed the civil calendar starting with the first day of Thoth).[198] The office is generally not attested to have been shared by more than one person at a time until later times. Even if more than one *gymnasium* was present and active in the metropolis, only one gymnasiarch was appointed and took care of the necessities of both; this may indeed reflect the fact that the gymnasiarchy has by this point become a public office and the *gymnasium* can no longer be treated as a simple private association.[199] In later Roman times, and in particular difficult circumstances, gymnasiarchs may have served in office for less than one year.[200] The gymnasiarch's appointment followed the same process as appointment for the compulsory services. Those who were financially able to carry out a public office were entered in a list, and if nominated by their predecessors in office they could not refuse to serve (their office however was considered some sort of property, to be

P.Amst. I 89 (3 AD; private letter of unknown provenance); P.Lond. II 354 (7–4 BC; petition to the prefect from Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.); P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD; agreement from Herm.); P.Oxy. LXVII 4582 (16 AD; petition from Oxy.); P.Ryl. II 119 (62–66 AD; petition to the *exegetes* from Herm.); P.Ryl. II 151 (40 AD; petition to the chief of police from Euhemeria, Ars.); SB I 3460 (presumably later Roman period; mummy label of unknown provenance); SB I 3461 (presumably later Roman period; mummy label of unknown provenance); SB VI 9109 (31 AD; sale of vineyard from Tebtynis, Ars.). P.Merton II 62 (7 AD; letter of introduction of unknown provenance) and SB XXIV 15909–15010 (6 AD; letter from Ars.), on the other hand, *might* attest how the gymnasiarchy had not yet become a municipal office: the two gymnasiarchs mentioned there also hold the office of strategus; this could show how 1. the gymnasiarchy was not yet a liturgical municipal office, but still a private charge, and therefore it was possible to carry it out along with state offices; 2. it was possible for residents to undertake the *strategeia* in their nome of residence. Of course, the two men may also be Alexandrians, and gymnasiarchs there, sent elswhere to serve as strategi (practice widely used in the first years of the Principate): *cf.* pp. 229ff.

[198] This is clear already in P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, Herm.).

[199] SB I 411 (I or III–IV cent. AD, from Terenouthis or Prosopites): *cf.* Bingen (2005).

[200] *Cf.* Lewis (1982).

passed onto the heirs or sold in case of premature death of the acting or incumbent gymnasiarch, in order to ensure that someone would undertake the office). Appointment to the office happened one year (or little more) before the office actually began. No doubt, in this way the incumbent gymnasiarchs could organise themselves and their finances to better serve their metropolitan community.[201] Their charge was burdensome, but prestigious; they occupied the first place of importance among the municipal offices, and some eagerly sought to be appointed.[202]

Similarly, in Alexandria the gymnasiarchs were among the first magistrates, after the *exegetes*. They belonged to the most visible and often powerful families of the civic aristocracy; many of them received Roman citizenship and entertained very good relations with the Roman government and the Emperors, which obviously had positive bearings on their political, administrative and social careers.[203] But not all of them suffered the same lucky fate, thus testifying how the Alexandrian aristocracy had different and contrasting reactions towards Roman rule.

Alexandrian gymnasiarchs, in fact, as representative of the traditional elite of the city, play a particularly interesting role in the so–called *Acta Alexandrinorum*: protocols of the trials perpetrated by the barbarous Romans against the Alexandrian champions of Greek culture and traditions. One of these trials was carried out before the Emperor Claudius, most probably in connection with the requests of the two embassies sent to him by the Alexandrians and the Jews of Alexandria in 41 AD for his accession. The

[201] In the above–mentioned P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, Herm.), for instance, Dios makes arrangements for the heating in the *gymnasium*'s baths one year and one month before entering office (presumably).
[202] *Cf.* van Groningen (1924); Lewis (1982); Lewis (1983) and P.Ryl. 77 (192 AD, from Hermopolis Magna) with an example of the appointing process for a *kosmetes*.
[203] *Cf.* the Alexandrian gymnasiarchs and Roman citizens Tiberius Claudius Theon, administrator of the estate once belonging to Lucius Annaeus Seneca (*cf.* P.Oxy. XLII 3051 (89 AD, Oxy.) and Browne (1968)), and Gaius Iulius Iollas, in charge of the imperial estates in Herakleopolites (P.Vindob. Tandem 10: 54 AD, Herakl.) and appointed judge (P.Oxy. XLIX 3464, 54–60 AD, Oxy.).

gymnasiarch Isidorus, together with his helper Lampon (whom the prefect Flaccus appointed gymnasiarch in 34/5 AD to financially destroy him for political reasons, according to Philo),[204] accused the Jewish King (Herod) Agrippa I. The outcome of the trial is unfavourable towards the two Alexandrians. They are sentenced to death. Although they may well have been involved in political intrigues at the time of Caligula against Claudius' friends and the Emperor's sentence had pragmatic political reasons for the good of the state, the imperial decision was certainly ill–received in Alexandria, as yet another sign of the uneducated rulers' favour unduly bestowed onto the hated Jews to the detriment of the 'good' Alexandrians.[205]

III.1.iii. Kosmetai

Ptolemaic *kosmetai* are attested only in three inscriptions:[206] the papyri provide no information in this regard. Two of them were also gymnasiarchs.[207] This is not surprising.

[204] Ph. *Flacc*. 125–134. *Cf*. Harker (2008) pp. 16–17.
[205] BGU II 511. *Cf*. Feldman (1993) pp. 96–97; Harker (2008) pp. 23–24 and 39–45.
[206] I.Prose 15 (III–II cent. BC?, from Luxor, Upper Egypt), I.Th.Sy. 303 (143/2 BC, from Setis, Upper Egypt) and I.Fayoum I 8 (69–51 BC, from Krokodilon polis, Ars. – *cf*. Criscuolo (1990) and Mooren (1975a) for the date).
[207] The third one, Papias of I.Th.Sy. 303, had his title of *kosmetes* changed into president (*prostates*) of the association of *basilistai*, a more suitable title for the context of the inscription: *cf*. Bingen (1981) pp. 140–142. We do not know whether he also held the gymnasiarchy, although I should not be surprised if indeed he did at some point. On the inscription and its connection with Egyptian religion, *cf*. Heinen (1996).

Those who had already been *kosmetai* were the most likely to be further appointed to the gymnasiarchy and to the control of the *gymnasium*, especially if they had done well. Financially, there must have been fewer people able to afford these charges, which inevitably tended to fall upon the same limited circles.

The scanty evidence for this position is striking. Nothing is said about the functions or the activities of the *kosmetes*.

I.Prose 15, the only instance when an account is given, refers to a man praised as both gymnasiarch and *kosmetes*. Thus we cannot distinguish the prerogatives of the former from those of the latter.[208]

At all events, the *kosmeteia* should be an office inferior to the gymnasiarchy, which would focus on the organisation of the activities of the youth and of the ephebic games (as is attested in Roman documents from Egypt, especially from the second century AD onwards).[209] Unlike in Athens where the *kosmetes* is appointed with the direction of the ephebes and the *gymnasium*,[210] the charge was here a rather internal one and not very 'fancy'; the fact that the charge is found together with the gymnasiarch's, with the exception of one particular instance in which it was inscribed by mistake, seems to point in this direction. Once a man entered the gymnasiarchy, he did not bother remembering his first steps as *kosmetes* much beyond mentioning the office, but he rather focused on his activities as gymnasiarch, a more important position which could make his name illustrious.

[208] So also Bingen (1981) p. 141 note 1. The activities described and for which the man was praised rather recall those of the gymnasiarch to me.
[209] *Cf*. De Kock (1948). The office of *kosmetes* in Roman times was inferior to the gymnasiarchy but costly all the same; *cf*. P.Ryl. 77 (192 AD, from Hermopolis Magna) where a man proposes himself to serve as *exegetes*, to avoid the more expensive *kosmeteia* (from Lewis (1966) p. 538 note 1).
[210] *Cf*. Cordiano (1997) pp. 28–33; Culasso Gastaldi (2009) p. 119 and note 16.

Very little in the Ptolemaic evidence points towards a connection between the *kosmetai* and Alexandrian citizens (which could support the hypothesis of an Athenian influence on the Alexandrian *Gymnasium*), as is the case in early Roman times.[211] Rather, they indeed seem to be members of local gymnasial communities, who would take care of the much beloved and emphasised concept of κοσμιότης 'propriety' of the youth, one of the leading gymnasial ideals.

The earliest *kosmetai* attested in Roman times, on the other hand, seem to have been Alexandrians. One of them had certainly served in the capital before becoming strategus of the Oxyrhynchite Nome; the other two are likely to have been in office in Alexandria too.[212]

[211] The only Ptolemaic evidence which *may* permit some connection with Alexandria is I.Fayoum I 8 (88–80 BC): the man (who was both *kosmetes* and gymnasiarch) bore the aulic title of 'relative of the King' (*cf*. De Kock (1948) pp. 29–30; Mooren (1975b) pp. 233–245). But even if he might have had something to do with Alexandria and was known to the Court, the *kosmeteia* and gymnasiarchy seem to have been undertaken at the local level in Krokodilopolis (Ars.).

[212] The Alexandrian Papiskos is attested as κοσμητεύσας τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγὸς Ὀξυρυγχίτου in P.Oxy. LXXI 4825 (65–69 AD, Oxy.), P.Oxy. II 246 (66 AD, Phthochis, Oxy.) and P.Oxy. I 44 (66–70 AD, Oxy.). The *kosmetes* who is to welcome a boy among the ephebes, mentioned in the application for Alexandrian ephebate P.Oxy. XLIX 3463 (58 AD, Oxy./Alex.), may well be the *kosmetes* of the *gymnasium* in Alexandria. Finally Philoxenos, strategus of the Arsinoite Nome, of Wilcken *Chr*. 176 (after 60 AD, Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.), may have served as *kosmetes* in the capital before taking up the office of strategus. The first text bearing witness of a metropolitan *kosmetes* would be SB XIV 11270 (96–98 AD, Ars.), addressed to Diogas κεκοσμητευκώς and πρὸς τῆι ἐπικρίσει τινῶν ἀμφόδων μη[τροπό]λεως. *Cf*. Hagedorn (2007) p. 198: 'We therefore may conclude that all surviving early [Roman] attestations of *kosmetai* refer to Alexandria and that a metropolite is not attested as having held this office before the final years of the first century'. On the *strategeia* being undertaken by Alexandrian citizens in the first years of the Principate, *cf*. Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 125.

III.1.iv. Ephebarchs

The traditional gymnasial organisation included the leaders of the ephebes (ἐφήβαρχοι), who particularly took care of the training and the activities of the youth.[213] They were subordinate to the gymnasiarch, although in exceptional circumstances they may have undertaken his duties.[214] The ephebes were attached to the ephebarch and it is not surprising that ephebarchs are normally found in the nomenclature of superintendents in ephebic lists or similar documents from the Hellenistic cities.

No ephebarchs are attested in the sources from Egypt in the Ptolemaic and early Roman period. The term is indeed attested in Egypt only in a second–century AD inscription recording a list of victors in ephebic games in the Greek *polis* of Antinoopolis;[215] it is never found in papyri. It is interesting to note that its earliest attestation in an area of Ptolemaic influence is a first–century BC – first–century AD ephebic list from the city of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica (under Roman rule from 98 BC).[216] The term only appears in the context of Greek cities.

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[213] The term ἐφήβαρχος is only attested twice in Greek authors, namely Epict. *Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* 3.1.34 (τοιοῦτόν σε θῶμεν πολίτην Κορινθίων, κἂν οὕτως τύχῃ, ἀστυνόμον ἢ ἐφήβαρχον ἢ στρατηγὸν ἢ ἀγωνοθέτην 'Shall we make such a one as you a citizen of Corinth and perchance a prefect of the city, or chief of the youth, or general or superintendent of the games?' – tr. G. Long) and 3.7.19 (τί οὖν γένηται; πόθεν οἱ πολῖται; τίς αὐτοὺς παιδεύσει; τίς ἐφήβαρχος, τίς γυμνασίαρχος; τί δὲ καὶ παιδεύσει αὐτούς; 'What then will happen? whence will the citizens come? who will bring them up? who will be governor of the youth, who preside over gymnastic exercises? and in what also will the teacher instruct them?' – tr. G. Long). Both cases show that the ephebarch was to be a trustworthy and respected man in the city.

[214] *Cf.* the honorary decree of Melanion, son of Theodoros, who seemingly acted as gymnasiarch while being appointed ephebarch (I.Iasos 98, 22–24, I cent. BC: ἀποδει|χθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἐφήβαρχος προῖσταται τοῦ γυμνασί|ου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβωγ (*sic*) καὶ νέων εὐκοσμίας). Note the use of the verb προίστημι to indicate the responsibility over the *gymnasium* and the good conduct of the ephebes.

[215] I.Portes 9, 6 (163 AD).

[216] SEG XXVI 1839 (I cent. BC – I cent. AD *in.*). In the text there are three ephebarchs and three gymnasiarchs: *cf.* the parallel collegial system of magistrates in Ptolemaic times also in the *polis* of

It therefore seems that the role of the ephebarch was regularised in Egypt only under the Romans: this fits with the changes to social status and the organisation of municipal compulsory services they introduced. However, I do not intend to deny the possibility of the ephebarch's existence before that time: the ephebic activities were certainly organised and supervised (either by the gymnasiarch himself or in some cases by someone else), but there was presumably no specific definition for the ephebarch. For instance, in first–century BC dedications from Egypt, ex–ephebes are defined as belonging to αἱρέσεις entrusted to a chief, who must identify the sub–groups or 'classes' into which the ephebes of one particular year were divided; this division went beyond the year of ephebate and was also kept for defining the clubs of ex–ephebes.[217] I should be tempted to recognise in these chiefs those who were later and/or elsewhere called 'ephebarchs': after all, in the attestations of this charge, the ephebarch is only normally mentioned in order to identify a particular group of ephebes under his responsibility. On the same note, in Roman Alexandria the αἱρέσεις may have been transformed into the συμμορίαι which are attested from the end of the first century AD; these are put under the care of a συμμοριάρχης, who may well have been the local, Alexandrian interpretation of the ephebarch.[218]

Indeed, the tight connection between ephebarch and ephebes is also attested in a still unpublished inscription containing dispositions for the activities and duties of the ephebarchs in Macedonia: the unpublished ephebarchic law from Amphipolis (24/23 BC).[219] The ephebarch had to deal with the organisation of the activities of the ephebes,

Cyrene (with four *triakatiarchoi*, who would later become ephebarchs, and four gymnasiarchs). *Cf.* Cordiano (2001).
[217] *Cf.* p. 169.
[218] *Cf.* p. 186.
[219] *Cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 161–163.

their training and contests, and with the organisation of the courses; but most of all he had to ensure the good conduct (εὐκοσμία) of the ephebes, especially when they were taken by him on trips. The law seems to be a Roman codification of previous royal legislation aiming to put *gymnasia* under influence of the city, as the gymnasiarchic law from Beroea (EKM 1 Beroia 1) would attest.

III.1.v. Others

Not many other positions in the gymnasial organisation are recorded, apparently because they were 'extraordinary offices' to which individuals were appointed in particular occasions. Nevertheless, some of them were clearly indicated with a specific designation, which can also be found in the titulatures.

☙ *Lampadarchs*

Ptolemaic sources provide us with only one document which mentions the office of lampadarch, who was the man in charge of organising and – more importantly – of paying the expenses for the torch–races. The text[220] provides information on the appointment to the gymnasial office and on its implications.

Hermon, son of Theokrites, Macedonian cavalry–man of the troop of Protogenes of the seventh hipparchy and cleruch holder of 80 arourae (ὀγδοηκοντάρουρος), together with his son Protogenes, writes a petition to Petearpochrates, *komogrammateus* of Philadelpheia: despite the fact that other people had already been appointed

[220] BGU VI 1256 (from Philadelpheia, Ars., II cent. BC). To date the text either 147/6 BC or 136/5 BC, *cf*. PP VIII 825.

lampadarchs three days before, he was appointed lampadarch for the foot–race of men, and the previously appointed lampadarchs were released from the office. The poor Hermon alleges that they have conspired against him in favouring them: he was improperly appointed, because he has no means for paying the expenses connected to the organisation of the race but he is living on a small income which is barely sufficient for him, his wife and his children.[221] He therefore asks the *komogrammateus* to refer his case to the gymnasiarch and to the *neaniskoi* of the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia so that he may be released from the lampadarchy, or otherwise to forward his petition to whom it may concern.[222]

Worthy of note is the verb used to indicate the appointment to the lampadarchy: ἕλκ(υ)ω 'drag, draw'.[223] It is clear that the act is seen as a one–way imposition upon somebody, who is not supposed to refuse to undertake the office. It seems as if the lampadarchy were a proper liturgy, as it was in classical Greece. But as we have already seen for the gymnasiarchs, we are dealing here with 'particular liturgies': favours more or less forcibly requested by a small community of people to some of their members, without the involvement of the state.[224]

The petition was addressed to a local official of the government, but he does not seem to have any role in the final decision: what Hermon wants the *komogrammateus* to do is not to intervene and declare that he is not obliged to pay for the torch–race

[221] BGU VI 1256, 11–19: ἤλκυσμαι λαμπαδάρχης | ἀνδρῶν οὐ καθηκόντως | χάριν τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν με μηδε|μίαν ἀφορμὴν μηδὲ περίστα|σιν πρὸς τὸ χορηγῆσαι τὰ τῆς | λαμπαδαρχίας ἀλλὰ διαζῶν|τος ἐξ ὀλί<γ>ων ἃ καὶ μόλις | αὐταρκεῖται ἐμοί τε καὶ | τῆι γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις.
[222] BGU VI 1256, 24–33: ἀξιῶ μὴ ὑπερ|ιδεῖν με ἀγνωμονούμενον | ἀλλὰ ἐπανενέγκαι ἐπί τε τὸν | γυμνασίαρχον καὶ [ἐ]πὶ τοὺς | ἐκ τοῦ ἐν τῆι Φιλαδελφείαι | γυμνασίου νεανίσκους, | ὅπως ἀπολυθῶ τῆς λαμπα|δαρχίας, εἰ δὲ μή γε ὑπὸ|τάξαι μου τὸ ὑπόμνημα ᾧι κ̣α̣θήκει κτλ.
[223] Hence the translation 'to impress' given by A.S. Hunt – C.C. Edgar in Sel. Pap. II 275. I prefer to use 'to appoint': less obscure, though less effective and less accurate in expressing the forced obligation.
[224] *Cf.* pp. 78ff.

(something which the *komogrammateus* was probably not entitled to do), but formally to inform the gymnasiarch and the *neaniskoi* that Hermon is a victim of injustice and cannot and should not undertake the office. The final decision is up to the governing body of the *gymnasium*, as a private institution. Should they not hear Hermon's plea, the *komogrammateus* will have then to start a legal procedure for violence and stop the accused from bothering Hermon. Yet again, the legal status of the *gymnasium* must have played a particular role in the definition and undertaking of the offices attached to it.

Hermon is rather unclear about those responsible for the appointment to the lampadarchy; he never specifies who they were – a piece of information one might expect to find, especially given the mention of future actions which the *komogrammateus* might undergo on Hermon's behalf. But it is clear from the petition that the gymnasiarch (together with the *neaniskoi*) is the definitive person to appeal to in order to be securely released from the task.

There are two possible scenarios behind the matter: either the gymnasiarch was responsible for appointing Hermon to the lampadarchy and for releasing the other lampadarchs to his detriment; or the members of the *gymnasium* were in charge of filling the minor gymnasial offices, and they organised the plot against Hermon, first appointing others to the lampadarchy and then having them released in order to appoint Hermon and put his name forward to the gymnasiarch.

The Macedonian gymnasiarchic law from Beroea (EKM 1 Beroia 1) could once again provide a useful parallel to appreciate similarities and differences.[225] In the text, the appointment of lampadarchs is clearly regulated (ll. 71–84): the gymnasiarch

[225] Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 117–120.

himself is to choose six lampadarchs, three among the young people and three among the παῖδες, who will provide the oil for the training and lead as many coeval groups in the race. The lampadarchs (and the contestants in the torch–race) are therefore either *neoi* or *paides*, not adults; this differs from our papyrus. Should any of the appointed lampadarchs be unable to carry out his duty, he (or whomever it may concern, given that minors may be involved)[226] will apologise by oath within five days; this seems to agree with our papyrus, in which the previously appointed lampadarchs are released (and Hermon appointed instead) three days after being appointed.[227] The gymnasiarchic law goes on to say that if the reason for the exemption given by the lampadarchs is valid the gymnasiarch will appoint someone else; if not, the lampadarch, after being denied by the gymnasiarch and the *neoi* (ll. 79–80: ἐλενχθεὶς (*sic*) ὑπὸ τοῦ | γυμνασιάρχου καὶ τῶν νέων), will have to pay a fine and undertake the lampadarchy all the same. The matter is therefore an internal one, dealt with by the gymnasiarchs and fellow–youth of the *gymnasium*, without any external intervention: this is another difference from our papyrus, in which the local authority is asked to be the petitioner's voice, though without the power of decision in the matter.

The practice in the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt seems slightly different from what is described in the gymnasiarchic law. As it appears in the case of Hermon, the appointment to the lampadarchy came from a collective body and was not solely the gymnasiarch's task: οὕς τε ἠλκύκησαν πρὸ ἐμοῦ | λαμπαδάρχας ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι | ἀγῶνι κατασυνεργοῦντες | καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι [ἀ]πολέ|λυκαν (ll. 20–24) 'and whereas they

[226] EKM 1 Beroia 1, 75–76 ἐὰν δέ τις ἀντιλέγῃ τῶν αἱρεθέντων ἢ πατὴρ αὐ|[τ]οῦ ἢ ἀδελφοὶ ἢ ὀρφανοφύλακες, ὡς οὐ δυνατός ἐστιν λαμπαδαρχεῖν.
[227] Unfortunately, the petition does not have the exact date and we do not know when Hermon's action took place, though it must have been reasonably shortly after his appointment.

have released those whom they had impressed before me as lampadarchs at the said games, conspiring with them and favouring them' (tr. A.S. Hunt – C.C. Edgar).[228] The plural can either refer just to the gymnasiarch and *neaniskoi* or to the more extended οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. The latter would better fit the image of community which we gather from other texts: a 'communal independent body' with assembly and power of decision, which 'votes' and appoints gymnasiarchs, *kosmetai*, lampadarchs etc.[229] Indeed the gymnasiarch, as head of the *gymnasium*, had a role in the process and must have known or been certainly informed of those who were going to defray the expenses for the torch–races. He certainly had the final word on the matter and that is why Hermon wants him to know about his condition: if the gymnasiarch releases him, no–one among οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου could object.

Therefore, it seems quite strange that Hermon did not go immediately to the gymnasiarch to complain (as in the gymnasiarchic law) but petitioned the *komogrammateus*, who cannot decide anything in the business. The reason is certainly because Hermon wanted to strengthen his case in front of the gymnasiarch, with an official petition and the possibility of future legal implications. Comparing the petitions usually addressed to the *komogrammateus* one notices that they always involve cases of violence, either against persons (ὕβρις, and in default of marital contractual obligations) or things (βία, and theft).[230] That is the case here: Hermon was an object of ὕβρις by 'those of the *gymnasium*' (gymnasiarch included) and therefore petitioned the *local* customary authority in these circumstances. In doing so, however, he did not want to start a legal action (unless obliged to do so). He rather sought a peaceful (and

[228] On the ending of the pluperfect, *cf.* Mayser (1923–1934) I p. 324 §11.
[229] *Cf.* pp. 122ff and 163ff.
[230] *Cf.* Di Bitonto (1968); Di Bitonto (1976).

inexpensive) settlement; the lowest local official (*komogrammateus*) would therefore do for the purpose.

Now one might wonder about the role of the *neaniskoi*, who are mentioned along with the gymnasiarch, especially because Hermon was appointed λαμπαδάρχης ἀνδρῶν (ll. 11–12) 'lampadarch (for the foot–race) of men', in which the *neaniskoi* (roughly aged 15–30) would not take part.[231] The mention of the appointment of several other lampadarchs for the same particular games (ll. 21–22: ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι | ἀγῶνι) suggests that there were other foot–races in which the *neaniskoi* would take part. I think that the men's foot–race was a minor part of the games; the main event was the races of the youth, in which it is easy to suppose that there would have been more participants. I therefore believe that the *neaniskoi* are here mentioned as those primarily concerned in the games and most likely to react, should anything go wrong in their organisation, rather than having an active role in the administration of the activities of the *gymnasium*;[232] the *neaniskoi* are often connected with agonistic performances and with torch–races, in particular, as seen in the gymnasiarchic law from Beroea.[233] And Hermon himself was probably quite keen to please them, if I interpret correctly the mention of his son Protogenes at the beginning of the petition. Protogenes was most

[231] This is another difference from Beroea, where the torch–race is organised in the frame of the *Hermaia* (games in honour of Hermes celebrated at the end of the year; other torch–races might have been organised at other times too – in the case of Philadelpheia, the appointment process was made on 16th–19th Thoth, the first month of the year, and the races had probably to take place either at the very end of this month or sometime in the following, i.e. Phaophi) and exclusively meant for the ephebes and *neoi* of the *gymnasium*. Although the *Hermaia* are normally gymnasial festivals (*cf.* L. Robert, *BE* 1962 no. 248: 'Les Hermaia sont une fête qui existe en tout gymnase, en chaque ville, et qui ne sont une grande fête de la cité qu'en de très rares points du monde grec'), in Egypt they cannot always be connected with the *gymnasium*, because they can also be the festivals for Thoth–Hermes: *cf.* Casarico (1981) pp. 122–124. Torch–races of men are attested elsewhere: *cf.* IG XI.2 274, 25 (from Delos, 260–250 BC) and I.Erythrai I 81 (from Ephesus?, *ca* 100 BC).

[232] *Contra* Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) II p. 859.

[233] *Cf.* also IG XI.2 287, 132 (from Delos, 250 BC): the λόγος ἱεροποιῶν, in which there is the mention of λαμπάδαρχοι παίδων and νεανίσκων: Sacco (1979) p. 41. *Cf.* pp. 171ff.

probably one of the *neaniskoi* and a contestant in the games, and his father makes sure to mention him in order to identify himself to the *neaniskoi* and to spare his son from future unpleasantness with them.[234]

A concluding remark must refer to the financial situation of Hermon: he was a Macedonian cavalryman ὀγδοηκοντάρουρος (not an inconsiderable amount of land, although not all the land in the parcel might have been fertile and its actual size might not have been quite the one which the title evokes).[235] Nevertheless, he complains that he is poor and can barely support himself and his family, let alone the expenses for the lampadarchy which are likely to have been not insignificant.[236] We have here in front of our eyes a member of the *gymnasium* and of the army – even the cavalry! – a man whom one could define as 'elite', who does not seem to be so well–off as one might expect. Obviously he could have been cheating, in an attempt to avoid giving money for the games: unfortunately the final part of the papyrus, which might have had a docket from the office stating the outcome of Hermon's plea, is not preserved and we therefore do not know how the story ended and whether he was believed. But given the context, the lampadarchy – as well as any other gymnasial office – was considered an honour

[234] Protogenes has no other role in the petition. He was mentioned because he was somehow concerned: the most plausible reason I can think of is that the other *neaniskoi* knew him (and were informed of the fact that his father had been appointed lampadarch?).

[235] The size of the plot depended on the rank, with cavalry officials receiving 100 arourae or more: *cf.* Lesquier (1911) pp. 173–178; Übel (1968); Manning (2003) p. 56. On the devaluation of second–century BC plots, which did not match the 'nominal value', *cf.* P.Tebt. IV p. 10; Lesquier (1911) pp. 180–183; Crawford (1971) Table III, pp. 148–154; Van 't Dack (1977) p. 85. An insight into the cleruchic land in a second–century BC Fayyum village can be found in P.Tebt. IV 1110 (116/5 BC, from Kerkeosiris, Ars.; a slightly different version of the register is P.Tebt. I 63), where the majority of plots span from 7 to 30 arourae – Kallikrates son of Philoxenos, the only cleruch ὀγδοηκοντάρουρος in the register (ll. 44–46), seems to actually possess 80 arourae, of which 35 were uncultivated (and therefore untaxed) because they were flooded (ὑπόλογος ἔμβροχος). Three years later (P.Tebt. IV 1114, 18–19, 113/2 BC) the ratio in Kallikrates' plot changes: the uncultivated land (ἄσπορος) measures now 55 arourae.

[236] *Cf.* Arist. *Pol*. V 8.11 (1309a): τὰς δαπανηρὰς μὲν μὴ χρησίμους δὲ λειτουργίας, οἷον χορηγίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τοιαῦται 'costly but useless public services like equipping choruses and torch–races and all other similar services' (tr. H. Rackham).

and a duty of one's social position, a way to express one's status in the society: Hermon was probably telling the truth (why lie when petitioning spontaneously?) and must have been desperate if he had to humble himself and state on paper how appalling his financial situation was. We therefore have to acknowledge the possibility that what we consider the gymnasial elite was not as homogeneous as we may think.

☙ *Agonothetai*

The job of the ἀγωνοθέτης, as the word itself clearly indicates, was putting on the games. The man appointed to this task had to work closely with the other members of the *gymnasium* who were involved in the organisation and funding of the *agones* (*sc*. lampadarchs and *kosmetai*), as well as with the actual participants in the games (ephebes and *neoi*). It is therefore not surprising that the *agonothetes* is attested in the sources together with them.

The only Ptolemaic papyrus mentioning this office is a very fragmentary petition to the King (ἔντευξις):[237] during the games in honour of Hermes (Ἑρμαῖα) in the village of Psinachis (Ars.), a man called Nikias had his cloak stolen while racing in the *agon* of the cavalry–men, which he then reported to the *agonothetai*. They are therefore the persons responsible for the organisation and good order of the races.[238]

[237] PUG III 107 (236 BC or 237 BC from Ars.): to be precise, it should be the official response to the *enteuxis*, which the central office sent back, containing dispositions about the procedure to undertake (ll. 1–2) and with a copy of the *enteuxis* itself appended.
[238] The control on cloaks was one of the duties of the gymnasiarch as well: cf. *MDAI*(A) 32 (1907) p. 273 no. 10, 13–15 (after 133 BC, from Pergamum). Having one's own cloak stolen was not uncommon: *cf.* Ar. *Nu*. 179 and D. 24.114.

This is indeed what one sees in a Ptolemaic list of victors in the games during the festivals commemorating the royal accession (βασίλεια): Herakleitos, son of Leptines, an Alexandrian, patronised the games and provided the prizes in bronze for the races – the practical organisation was carried out by a certain Amadokos.[239]

Once out of office, they continued to support their community with acts of euergetism, as is the case for a dedication of some benches in the *gymnasium* (?) by the ex–agonothetes Dioteles.[240]

The *agonothetai* in the Ptolemaic sources from Egypt are never explicitly connected to the *gymnasium* except in this last (albeit dubious) case. However, the title and duties of the office imply an agonistic background which finds its best expression in the gymnasial environment.[241] As a matter of fact, the figure of the ἀγωνοθέτης coheres well with the other gymnasial officials: men of some wealth, who pay for means of entertainment for their own community and are driven by a sense of belonging.

The *agonothetes* was therefore the main person responsible for the organisation and orderly execution of games and spectacles which the whole Greek–speaking community would enjoy,[242] mainly of a sporting nature[243] (sometimes including those centred around the *gymnasium*?); it was he to whom the participants in the races referred and who might have been responsible for providing the prizes for the victors. His activity surely made him a well–known personality.

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[239] SEG XXVII 1114, 1–4 (267 BC, from Alexandria?): Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι Σωτήρων Ἡράκλειτος Λεπτίνου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | καὶ πρῶτος ἆθλα προθεὶς χαλκώματα, | ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Δύστρου δωδεκάτηι γενεθλίοις | Βασίλεια τιθέντος Ἀμαδόκου, τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν νικώντων· κτλ. On Herakleitos and Amadokos and their supposed family relation, *cf.* Koenen (1977) pp. 19–21.

[240] I.Alex. Ptol. 28 = SEG XX 498 = Fraser (1960) pp. 142–144 no. 7 (163–145 BC, from Alexandria). The word γυμνάσιον is supplemented: τὰ βάθρα τοῦ γ[υμνασίου (l. 5).

[241] *Cf.* Forbes (1933) pp. 25–26.

[242] *Cf.* also Ameling (2004) p. 156.

[243] Sometimes, *agonothetai* could take care also of some cultural aspects: an Athenian tragic poet is honoured by the *boule* of Perinthos (Thrace) on the suggestion of the *agonothetes* (SB IV 7286). The text was once thought to have come from Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, but *cf.* now *BE* 1965 no. 6.

We have no further evidence for this office in the documentation from the early Roman period.

III.2. Finance: Taxes & Private Support

Ptolemaic Period

There were no direct taxes on the *gymnasium* itself as an institution, as was the case with other buildings. Taxes were in fact imposed on goods or products required for the activities carried out in the *gymnasium*, namely on the oil used for the exercises.[244]

The cultivation, production and sale of oil were a monopoly in Ptolemaic times, regulated by clear laws in order to secure the levy.[245] After being produced by hired workers (ἐλαιουργοί) under the control of the local authority (the *oikonomos* of the nome), the oil was distributed through the tax–farmers at a set price[246] before the start of the month and at intervals of five days thereafter to the oil–dealers (ἐλαιοκάπηλοι) who had applied to sell it and had won the auction, bidding the highest amount to be sold in a given village. The dealers tended to set their own price for the sale of the oil (although a rate was fixed by the government),[247] received the money from the purchasers and deposited to the *oikonomos* or the Royal bank what was due to the government. In

[244] There seems to be no certainty whether the oil used was olive (rare in Ptolemaic Egypt) or sesame oil: *cf.* Sandy (1989) pp. 18–24. Castor–oil was mainly used for lamps: *cf.* Sandy (1989) p. 53; Mossakowska (1994).
[245] P.Rev. Laws. coll. 38–72 (259/8 BC). On the interpretation of the text as the collection of a series of local regulations intended to obtain the highest possible fiscal income, and not as document of a royal planned economy, *cf.* Bingen (1978).
[246] In the third century BC it seems that the oil was bought by the dealers from the tax–farmers at 42 silver drachmae per *metretes* (*ca* 30 litres): *cf.* Préaux (1939) p. 82 and note 2. On the oil–tax farmers and their recompense, *cf.* Wickersham (1970).
[247] 48 silver drachmae per *metretes*: P.Rev. Laws col. 40. 9–11.

addition to the price for the purchase of the oil itself, taxes were also added (ἐλαική): it is not easy to distinguish what constituted the tax and what was the price of the oil, especially because the terminology employed in the receipts is ambiguous, and expressions like ἐλαίου, ὑπὲρ/ἀπὸ τιμῆς ἐλαίου and (ὑπὲρ) ἐλαικῆς are often used to indicate either the cost for the purchase of the oil or the oil–tax or both.[248]

Three ostraca[249] preserve receipts for the payment of the oil–tax for the *gymnasium* of Thebes into the bank of Apollonios. Two of them[250] are dated five days apart. The editor J. G. Milne noted that this procedure was 'in agreement with the direction in the Revenue Laws that oil should be measured out every five days to the dealers, and paid for if possible on the same day. It is not unreasonable to assume that each of the receipts refers to the amount of oil required for five days' consumption in the gymnasium: and, as the sums paid are comparatively small ... it would not appear that the gymnasium was a very important institution. A similar receipt (G. O. 318)[251] for the price of oil apparently for the use of the baths of Thebes about the same date is for ... six times the amount spent for the gymnasium' (O.Theb. pp. 72–3). If the amount paid for the oil was not particularly high,[252] I would not conclude that the *gymnasium* did not enjoy particular favour and had little importance, making little use of oil; on the contrary, I should suggest that the ἐλαική may have been exacted from the community of the *gymnasium* at a reduced rate.[253] Moreover, the *gymnasium* could have had other

[248] Préaux (1939) pp. 81–93.
[249] O.Theb. part III 3–5 (II cent. BC, from Thebes); the texts are dated respectively: 23 Pharmouthi, 23 Mesore and 28 Mesore of the tenth year of an unmentioned sovereign. *Ed. pr*. dates the ostraca to the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II (107 BC), whereas Grenfell to Ptolemy VI Philometor (171 BC).
[250] O.Theb. part III 4 and 5.
[251] O.Wilcken 318. The receipt does not in fact seem to record the payment of oil for the baths: *cf.* p. 105.
[252] Respectively 400, 500 and 600 drachmae of copper in O.Theb. part III 3–5.
[253] Favourable fiscal treatment to certain categories of people in Ptolemaic Egypt is known: *cf*. Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 123–187.

means of acquiring the oil, without having to buy it all directly: if a papyrus in fact records the second–century BC account of a *gymnasium* (possibly of Philadelpheia), we have evidence of repayments to it in oil.[254]

It is worth noting that the person who pays the tax is the same one in two of the receipts and in none of them he is ever defined by a title: he is simply called 'Simaristos' (O.Theb. part III 3) or 'Apollonios son of Leonidas' (O.Theb. part III 4–5). I should identify them as none other than the gymnasiarch or one of his attendants:[255] where else should responsibility for payment for the *gymnasium*'s oil lie? The mention of the 'oil for the *gymnasium*'[256] in the receipts must have made the addition of other titles unnecessary. Although I think that the gymnasiarch was personally responsible for paying for the oil–tax, I do not think that he necessarily had to do so using his own money; the only attestation of a gymnasiarch paying for the oil from his own pocket is a late Ptolemaic honorary inscription. In the text, as in any honorary decree, extraordinary acts of the honorand are recorded: among them, his generosity in undertaking to defray the daily expenses for the oil is emphasised.[257] This suggests that normally this burden would fall on the community of the *gymnasium* at large, when οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου were not released from the incumbency by a generous gymnasiarch. This seems plausible in the light of the already mentioned possible account of a

[254] P.Ryl. IV 589, 75–83 (180 BC, from Philadelpheia?): the amount of oil received by the *gymnasium* is more than 221 κοτύλαι and ½ (*ca* 90 litres). The *gymnasium* of Seleucid Sardis in 213 BC (SEG XXXIX 1285 = Ma (2002) no. 3) received the royal grant of 200 metretes of oil (*ca* 7,800 litres) a year (daily oil distribution amounting to *ca* 21.3 litres), although additional donations of oil to cover entirely the *gymnasium*'s needs may have been possible: *cf.* Skaltsa (2009) pp. 211–212, who reckons the minumum daily amount of oil per person at *ca* 137 ml.

[255] This would 'explain' the fact that in a four–months span (Pharmouthi–Mesore, respectively the eighth and the last month of the year) two different people pay the tax, unless one is to assume that a new gymnasiarch was appointed for some reason in the meantime.

[256] O.Theb. part III 3, 3–4: ἐλαίου | τοῦ εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον; O.Theb. part III 4, 4–5: ἀπὸ τιμῆς ἐλαίου τοῦ | εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον; O.Theb. part III 5, 3–4: ἐλαϊκῆς ι (ἔτους) | τοῦ εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον.

[257] I.Prose 41, 21–22 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt): [... ἀναδεξάμενος δὲ | τὴ]ν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐλαίου δα[πάνην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποιήσειν].

gymnasium in the Arsinoite: the mention of money to be paid by 'foreigners who anoint themselves' would indicate that guest–members of the *gymnasium* had to pay for the oil they used for their training, while full–members had it for free (or rather it was included in the fees they presumably paid for their membership).[258] Therefore, it seems likely that in the beginning all the members of the *gymnasium* paid for the oil for their activities from common funds, and the gymnasiarch, as the treasurer responsible for the accounts and management of the place, was in charge of having it bought. With the passing of time, gymnasiarchs tended to feel their duty to spare the other members from the (heavy) disbursement for the oil and paid for it (entirely or partially) from their own means: after all, this would be the main job of the gymnasiarch in Roman times. In this respect, the rural *gymnasia* of Egypt followed a common pattern in the Hellenistic world.[259]

The title of 'gymnasiarch' may appear in another receipt for oil, where the term '*gymnasium*' is not mentioned:[260] Gorgias acknowledges to Zenon, tax–collector

[258] P.Ryl. IV 589, 62–63 (180 BC, from Philadelpheia?): τ̣[οὺς] κ̣ε̣|χρικότας ξένου̣[ς]. *Cf*. Turner and Neugebauer (1949) p. 94. Contribution towards the oil–supply for the *gymnasium* may be seen in BGU VIII 1813 (after 62/1 BC, Herakl.): amongst the taxes and expenses that a lessee of a *kleros* belonging to orphans had to undertake there was the payment for the oil–supply (l. 12: ἐλαιοχ[ριστίων]) – the orphans, possibly of cleruchic descent, were probably members of the local *gymnasium* 'of the catoeci' (*cf*. BGU VIII 1768–1767 and p. 53) and therefore had to contribute to the expenses for the oil. The term ἐλαιοχρίστιον is employed in SB IX 10095 = SEG XX 174 (Paphos, 224/3 BC) to indicate the oil–supply (presumably to the *gymnasium*) contributed by mercenaries.

[259] *Cf*. Fröhlich (2009). On the oil supply and use in the *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic *poleis*, *cf*. also Skaltsa (2009) pp. 198–240.

[260] O.Wilcken 318 (II cent. BC from Thebes). After the *addenda* (p. 438, recorded in BL II.1, 54) the text reads: Γοργίας Ζήνωνι λογευτῆι Διὸς πό(λεως) | βαλνήω(ν) γ (ἔτους) χαί(ρειν). Ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἃς Ἠπιοδώρωι γυ(μνασιάρχωι) εἰς τιμ(ὴν) ἐλ(αίου) χαλκοῦ | δραχ(μὰς) τρεισχιλίας (εἰσίν) γ'. (Ἔτους) γ Θῶ(υτ) κζ (the up–dated text is not found on–line at http://papyri.info/). Three different dates have been proposed for this ostracon: 1) after 173 BC by Reekmans (1948) p. 33 on the basis of the value of the sum in copper; 2) 1 November 168 BC or 19 October 115 BC by Clarysse (1995) p. 9 on the basis of the *logeutes* attested in a Demotic document (S.T. Wångstedt, 'Demotische Steuerquittungen nebst Texten andersartigen Inhalts', in *Orientalia suecana* 16 (1967), p. 30); 3) 30 October 168 BC or 17 October 115 BC by Ziegler (1999) p. 174 on the basis of the correct calculation of the days in the leap year.

(λογευτής)[261] for the baths of Thebes, receipt of 3,000 drachmae of copper for the oil–tax. The money was apparently given by Zenon to Gorgias (who was obviously a banker) on behalf of the gymnasiarch Epiodoros.[262] The reason for this is unknown. The two men obviously knew one another: perhaps Zenon, who already had to deposit in the bank the money collected for the taxes in the baths, was instructed by his friend Epiodoros the gymnasiarch also to pay the sum due for the oil from the *gymnasium*. Perhaps Zenon himself was one of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. At all events, finding a gymnasiarch alongside a tax–collector of the baths, especially when the oil–tax is concerned, is not surprising: the two establishments were connected as Greek imports and certainly as great consumers of oil.[263]

Another gymnasiarch seems to be involved in some payments, as he is included in a first–century BC account;[264] the context is far from clear, but the text preserves a list of people and titles in the genitive and a sum of wheat next to them. The papyrus continues with mention of taxes, land, catoecic parcels and land–survey (l. 30: ἐπίσκεψις). This suggests that it could be a register of grain tax or crops. The individuals are entered personally, and the amounts do not seem connected with their

[261] The *logeutai* were in charge of collecting the taxes for which they had been employed by the state through the *oikonomos* of the district (who produced a γραφή or register, with the names of collectors and contractor, ὠνητής or τελώνης, in charge of every specific levy – contractors/tax–farmers had been awarded ὠναί, *sc*. tax contracts, in auctions held in every nome by the local *oikonomos* aided by the *basilikos grammateus*): they agreed to deposit into the treasury at the royal bank the established amount of taxes collected, from which their monthly salary was taken. Any surplus after the payment of the collectors went to the tax–contractor and his associates: it is not surprising that the contractors supervised the collectors' activity to make sure not to be object of fraud. *Cf*. Harper Jr. (1934a); Harper Jr. (1934b); Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 76–77.

[262] The passage should be interpreted something like: Ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἃς <παραδέχομαι> Ἡπιοδώρωι γυ(μνασιάρχωι) εἰς τιμ(ὴν) ἐλ(αίου) χαλκοῦ | δραχ(μὰς) τρεισχιλίας (2–3) 'I [Gorgias] receive from you [Zenon] the 3,000 copper drachmae for the price of the oil that [I register as being paid] by the gymnasiarch Epiodoros'. On παραδέχομαί τι τινί as 'I register as being paid by, I charge something on someone's account', *cf*. the ostracon receipt BGU VI 1464, 2 (II cent. BC, from Thebes?) and Mayser (1923–1934) II.2 p. 271. The receipt is addressed to Zenon, who must have been the person who personally delivered the money to Gorgias.

[263] On the development of Roman *gymnasia* into baths, *cf*. pp. 56ff.

[264] BGU XIV 2433, 16 (I cent. BC, from Herakl.).

activities (the people mentioned are various: *basilikoi grammateis*, *grammateis prosodon*, poets, prophets, *lesoneis* etc.) but rather to the produce of the land they presumably own: in this case, therefore, the title of gymnasiarch is indicated only to label him better, and his presence in the list has nothing to do with his activity in the *gymnasium*.

Along with the financial support provided by the gymnasiarch and the other gymnasial officials, especially for expenses on particular occasions (such as races),[265] we also find spontaneous private donations to the *gymnasium*.

One text is particularly relevant here:[266] three people, including cavalrymen, gave a total of 46 drachmae to the president of the *gymnasium* of the village. The money was obviously intended to help the president cover the various expenses. Because he did not spend it, the money was then to be given to the new presidents, for the same purpose – the fact that the text is addressed to Zenon (who would not seem to have anything to do with the matter) shows that the wealthy and powerful *oikonomos* of Apollonios, a well–known personality at the local level, was the patron of the local *gymnasium* (one may even imagine that he founded it himself). As already said,[267] I think that this document represents the primitive organisational structure of the *gymnasia* in the villages of the Egyptian χώρα, when the 'official role' of the gymnasiarch was yet to be established; the direction of the *gymnasium* was entrusted to a president and the expenses were paid off by him, with the help of other members of the *gymnasium*. As time goes by, gymnasiarchs will tend more and more to cover certain expenses themselves as an act of

[265] *Cf.* BGU VI 1256 (II cent. BC, from Philadelpheia, Ars.).
[266] PSI IV 391a (242 BC, from Philadelpheia).
[267] *Cf.* pp. 67ff.

generosity and euergetism. Nonetheless, this does not mean that private contributions were not made. Quite the opposite.

Support from the *gymnasium*'s members must have been regular and customary. Dryton's family, for instance, patronised the *gymnasium* in Thebes and the money given by them was duly recorded in the family's record book.[268]

Mention of common funds of the *gymnasium* in various inscriptions clearly shows that the *gymnasium* had a treasury and probably a 'community appeal scheme' to raise funds on certain occasions; expenses necessary to honour benefactors are indeed often covered from communal funds (ἐκ κοινοῦ).[269] That there were proper regular fees exacted from the members is also likely; just like the members of other private associations, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου (who were normally people of some means) would regularly contribute to the *gymnasium*'s coffers for the orderly running of the premises.

The *gymnasium*'s income was therefore made up of different sources, and the generosity of their leaders and most prominent members played a role of paramount importance.[270] Egyptian *gymnasia* did not differ from those of the rest of the Hellenistic world in anything but the fact that public support was absent (yet again, there could be the possible exception of the civic *gymnasia*, but we do not know):[271] the necessity of private euergetism was enhanced even further. These communal funds had to be

[268] P.Dryton 39, 7 (137/6 BC, Pathyris).
[269] *Cf.* I.Prose 15, 20–21 (III–II cent. BC?, from Luxor: τὰ δ' εἰς ταῦτα [ἐ]σόμενα | ἀναλώματα δοθῆναι [ἐκ] κ[οι]νοῦ); I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500, 8–9 (104 BC, from Ptolemais?: τὰ δὲ παρὰ τούτων πεσούμενα εἰσόδια ἀποκαταστ[αθῆ]|ναι τῶι κοινῶι, where the new members of the *gymnasium* have to pay a special 'entry fee'), I.Prose 40, 44 (II–I cent. BC, from Psenamosis, western Delta: στεφανοῦν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατὰ πόσιν διαφέροντι στεφάνωι. In this inscription there is also the private donation of money to the association of landowners by the 'founder' of the *gymnasium*: *cf.* pp. 36ff).
[270] On the 'Mischfinanzierung' of Hellenistic *gymnasia*, *cf.* Schuler (2004) p. 179. On the underestimated importance of support from public funds in Hellenistic *poleis*, *cf.* Migeotte (1995).
[271] There is no evidence for direct royal support either, as we have for the garrison's *gymnasium* on Thera: IG XII.3 327 = C.Ord.Ptol. 33 (163 BC).

administered and managed, and the person in charge was the gymnasiarch, who played the role of treasurer too.

Moreover, we know of the existence of some sort of office devoted to the *gymnasium*'s finances: one inscription[272] gives us evidence for the accounting office or bursary (λογιστεία, i.e. the office where the λόγοι, the accounts, were kept and dealt with)[273] in the *gymnasium* of Luxor. Boidas, gymnasiarch and *kosmetes*, was praised because, among other things, he did a sterling job when the bursary was made the object of his attention;[274] the *gymnasium*'s accounts were in a bad state due to past mismanagement and were restored thanks to his efforts. I think that here the λογιστεία indicates one of the fields of action and responsibility of the gymnasiarch, and the expression προσεδρεύσας τῇ λογιστείᾳ refers to his zealous attention devoted to it, rather than to a chairmanship (i.e. the office of λογιστής) held by Boidas independently of the gymnasiarchy.

We may have one of the account–registers which were compiled in the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia (?).[275] The text is a ledger of debts and records the money to be recovered from debtors with the list of interest payments to be received by each. The *gymnasium* lent money (presumably in the first instance to its members) from its communal funds and demanded a monthly interest of 2%.[276] This was certainly one of the ways in which to invest and augment the funds at the *gymnasium*'s disposal.

[272] I.Prose 15 (III–II cent. BC?, from Luxor).
[273] The term λογιστεία (λογιστής being the official) also (and generally) indicates at this time the office of the controller of public accounts of the nome.
[274] I.Prose 15, 8–11: τούς τε ἀπὸ | τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων λόγους ἀκεφα|λαίως κειμένους προσεδρεύσας τῆι λο|γιστείαι οὐκ ὀλί<γ>α περιπεπόηκεν.
[275] P.Ryl. IV 589 (180 BC, from Philadelpheia?). On it being the account of a *gymnasium*, *cf.* Turner and Neugebauer (1949) pp. 81–82.
[276] The practice of *gymnasia* lending money is also attested in I.Iasos 23 (II cent. BC): the *presbyteroi* give on loan some money from common funds, with the interest of which to fund the costs of the *gymnasium*.

However, money was not the only thing the *gymnasium* was interested in; the account also records payments in oil.[277] These may be quotas regularly due from members (as the *ed. pr*. suggests), but I think another explanation is more probable: the *gymnasium* might have expected a repayment in oil for some of the money lent.[278] The *gymnasium* needed oil and the cost, as we have seen, was normally met from common funds, if the gymnasiarch did not take on the burdens himself. So lending money and expecting the repayment (with interest) in oil may have been particularly advantageous for the *gymnasium*'s finances. It would have certainly been one less problem to worry about.

The *gymnasium*'s funds, along with their management, were entrusted to the gymnasiarch. This is also attested in the gymnasiarchic law of Beroea in Macedonia: the gymnasiarch took personally care of the accounts of the *gymnasium* (for which he was accountable), and administered the money deriving from fees and fines imposed on members, as well as from the revenues of the *neoi* (it probably refers here to donations and interests deriving from them), and managed the expenditures accordingly. His activities and accounts were controlled by magistrates of the city (ἐξεταστaί, i.e. auditors), to whom the gymnasiarch had to present reports.[279]

In the *gymnasia* of Egypt, however, civic control on the *gymnasium*'s accounts is never attested (and could only be reasonably presumed in some form for the three Greek *poleis*); the gymnasiarch was the uncontested manager, and had presumably only to

[277] Lines 75–83, for a total of more than 9 ὑδρίαι and 41 κοτύλαι and a half (*ca* 90 litres).
[278] I think this on the basis of the nature of the text (register of payments of debts) and of the expression π[ρᾶ]ξον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀφε[ί|λο]ντας ἔλαιο[ν] (75–76), which do not seem to be referring to regular dues from members. It seems unreasonable to me to suppose that the *gymnasium* lent oil.
[279] EKM 1 Beroia 1, B 87–93. *Cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 124–127, who note that before the introduction of the law, the gymnasiarch probably presented reports to the sole community of the *gymnasium*, and this might have caused complaints and accusations of illegalities, hence the new regime: the gymnasiarch is now controlled by the city like a magistrate who deals with public money, although in fact he does not.

respond in front of the other οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου for the state of the *gymnasium*'s finances, the funds of which were implemented by private donations (including the gymnasiarch's), lending activities and wise investments. The members of the community of the *gymnasium* were indeed actively involved in financially supporting their institution, beside and beyond the 'institutional offices'. This was particularly the case for the associations connected to the *gymnasia*.

☙ *Roman Period*

With the reinterpretation of the *gymnasium* by the Romans and its progressive development into a public building, financial matters may have been partly taken care of by the metropolis itself and public funds may in some cases have been employed, even before 200 AD when the *gymnasium* was administered by the newly introduced metropolitan council.[280] But most of the time, the management of the building, the payment of the expenses connected to it and indeed the works of embellishment were left in the hands of the gymnasiarchs and local euergetai. Private contribution from members of the community did also take place, especially in occasion of *agones* or feasts.[281]

The main item of expense was once again oil, and the gymnasiarchs were in charge of providing it.[282] The task was an expensive one and the Roman authorities were very well aware of the importance of the oil–supply and of the burdens which the office

[280] P.Oxy. XLIII 3088 (II cent. AD, prob. 128 AD), for instance, is a letter of the prefect congratulating the city of Oxyrhynchus for their willingness to embellish their *patris*, with mention of the works to the baths which are to be carried out with public funds and with those which will come from private euergetism. *Cf*. Bowman (1992).

[281] *Cf*. donations from the priests to the *gymnasium* for the organisation of feasts in P.Oxy. VIII 1143 3 (*ca* 1 AD, Oxy.).

[282] In other parts of the Roman Empire the term γυμνασιαρχεῖν is indeed employed to indicate the oil–supply: *cf*. Fröhlich (2009) p. 81.

of gymnasiarch entailed. A paragraph of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos indeed granted permission to the gymnasiarchs of Alexandria to import foreign oil duty–free in times of scarcity.[283]

Gymnasia have always needed oil, and besides those who had to pay for it, also retailers were necessary. The *gymnasium* of Oxyrhynchus employed, it seems, an ἐλαιοχρίστης 'oil–supplier': this was presumably a salaried post (perhaps held by the gymnasiarch?) and the man in question was often (not surprisingly) rather busy at work, since a letter addressed to his wife (?) is said to be delivered to him, at the *gymnasium*.[284]

The development of the Roman *gymnasia* into baths brought with it new expenses mostly unknown in Ptolemaic times, especially for the water supply and the heating. Once again it was the gymnasiarch who would personally defray them.[285]

IV. Clubs & Associations in *Gymnasia*

☙ *Ptolemaic Period*

A very important role in the life of the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt was played by associations and clubs which were hosted therein and performed their activities on the premises.[286] In one inscription the only reason for the *gymnasium*'s existence seems to have been its role as a club–centre.

[283] Gnomon §102 (BGU V 1210, 229–231).
[284] P.Oxy. II 300 (late I cent. AD, Oxy.). *Cf.* also Bagnall and Cribiore (2007) B4.20 Letter No. 219.
[285] *Cf.* P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, from Herm.).
[286] The formation of lay associations is apparently a Hellenic phenomenon, unknown to Egypt before Ptolemaic times: Dunand (1973) p. 73.

The association of landowners in the village of Psenamosis (western Delta) needs a place to meet and sacrifice to the King, and therefore resolves to build a *gymnasium* and a hall[287] – their endeavour will be facilitated by the generosity of Paris who gave the plot of land on which to build the *gymnasium* as a gift to the association. The connection of the *gymnasium* with associations is a close one. More than that, it seems archetypal. As we will see in more detail later,[288] the functions of the *gymnasium*, its importance, character and position in the society stretched further than a simple private club or centre for associations, but this function is a fundamental one and a characteristic of the gymnasial institution in Ptolemaic Egypt. Indeed, Ptolemaic *gymnasia* fundamentally functioned as 'publicly embedded associations' and their members 'behaved' as such. This appears clearly in inscriptions which give evidence for the practice of producing decrees and granting honours to benefactors: they recall both the civic proceedings of Hellenistic *poleis* and the particular decisions of private associations.[289]

More specifically, formal associations took advantage of the *gymnasium* and used it as their base. We have already mentioned the association of landowners centred in the *gymnasium* of the village of Psenamosis, for which we have direct evidence. The association had 29 members (although their number increased by four more people, according to what was established in their decree) and their main occupations were sacrifices to the King, banquets, drinking parties and similar ceremonies. The aim of the association was to promote social gatherings and religious practices (a sacrifice always

[287] I.Prose 40, 7–8 (II–I cent. BC): ὅπως γυμνάσιον ποιήσαντες καὶ οἶκον ἄγω|μεν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων θυσίας.
[288] *Cf.* pp. 122ff.
[289] *Cf.* I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC; from Ptolemais?) and I.Prose 15 (III–II cent. BC?, from Luxor, Upper Egypt). On the 'status' of the community of the *gymnasium*, *cf.* pp. 163ff.

concluded in a banquet anyway!) for a (presumably) relatively rich group of landowners during their stay in the countryside.[290] Links to a land–based (rather than military)[291] 'elite' and the religious character of the ceremonies performed are also typical characteristics of the Ptolemaic *gymnasia* in general, not only of the present example.

Indeed, the presence of a gymnasial association devoted to the Royal cult is also attested in a fragmentary unpublished Trier papyrus belonging to the so–called 'Boethos archive', the strategus of the Thebaid and founder of the 'city' of Euergetis in Upper Egypt: some men belonging to the community of the *gymnasium* of the city have founded an association (σύνοδος) in honour of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. Loyalty to the Royal House and attachment to the dynastic cult was particularly strong in the new settlement which was named after the King. This was even more the case for the community of the *gymnasium* which consituted the bulk of, if not the necessary condition to belong to, the *politeuma* of the *Hellenes* of the 'city'.[292]

The religious aspect was strictly connected with the more social ones (one could even suggest that it was one of them) and it is therefore not surprising that associations had priests: in the case of the landowners in Psenamosis, their benefactor Paris was

[290] For the likelihood of the landowners being Alexandrians, *cf.* note 49.

[291] *Pace* Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) pp. 813–874. The connection of the *gymnasia* with the army seems to me only secondary, and 'indirect': military men are related to *gymnasia* in the villages because of their being settlers (cleruchs).

[292] P. UB Trier S 159–5, 3–5 (after 133/2 BC): παρὰ τῶν συναγεοχότων | ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου σύνοδ̣[ον] | θεοῦ Εὐεργέτου 'from the founders of an association from the *gymnasium* (or *gymnasium*–association) in honour of the divine Euergetes' (courtesy of Prof. B. Kramer). The archive will be published by B. Kramer and S. Pfeiffer. On Boethos, *cf.* PP I 188, II 1869; Mooren (1975b) no. 053; Mooren (1977) pp. 84–88: he was (epistrategus and) strategus of the Thebaid. During his career he bore the titles of *archisomatophylax* (152–145 BC), τῶν πρώτων φίλων (149–135 BC) and finally συγγενής (135–130 BC). He founded the 'cities' of Philometoris and Kleopatra in the Triakontaschoinos (Lower Nubia) and Euergetis in Upper Egypt (uncertain whether to be identified with Kynopolis, metropolis of the nomos Kynopolites in Roman times): *cf.* Kramer (1997); Kramer (1997); Mueller (2006) pp. 161–164, p. 204 no. 39, p. 205 no. 46, p. 210 no. 79. Despite their names, the cities founded were not proper *poleis*.

granted the honour of priesthood of the association for life.[293] The role which a priest had to play within an association did not presumably go beyond the offering of sacrifices: it was a position of 'prestige' and recognition which did not entail particular religious training. The priest was just one of the high officials of an association.[294]

In addition to figures devoted to religious aspects, an association needed leaders, secretaries and other personnel who would take care of the organisation and management: the functions of president (προστάτης), secretary (γραμματεύς) and steward (ἐπιμελητής) are attested for the associations of ex–ephebes, which were centred in the *gymnasium*.[295] They maintained a strong link with the *gymnasium* which continued to be the focus of their recreational activities and the object of their care, even years after their ephebate. The clubs of ex–ephebes had a peculiar organisation which one does not find in any other associative context; their members are said to belong to sub–groups or 'colleges' called αἱρέσεις, which are identified by the name of the person to whom they had been entrusted.[296] Those who had been companions of ephebate could also form what we could call 'the club of the *synepheboi*';[297] this was another way in which ex–ephebes could continue to share some aspects of their former communal life

[293] I.Prose 40, 39–40 (II–I cent. BC): εἶναι δὲ | αὐτὸν καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου. Α ἱερεὺς τῆς συνόδου is also attested in I.Th.Sy. 303, 17 (143/2 BC; from Setis, Upper Egypt), as well as in I.Prose 49 (5 BC, from Psenemphaia in the Delta).

[294] Sometimes the role of priest and president of the association was carried out by the same person, as in I.Prose 49 (5 BC, from Psenemphaia). *Cf*. also San Nicolò (1972^2) II pp. 67–70. In a similar way, in the Greek *poleis* priestly functions were often attached to magistracies: *cf*. Jones (1940) pp. 227–228.

[295] The president and secretary Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios (I.Fayoum III 201, 7–9: προστατοῦντος καὶ γραμ|ματεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ | Πτολεμαίου) and the steward Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios (I.Fayoum III 202, 8–10: (ἐφηβευκότων) ὧν ἐπιμε|λητὴς Ἰσίδωρος | Πτολεμαίου). The third inscription giving evidence of the association of ex–ephebes is I.Fayoum III 200. They are all dedications of a τόπος to the crocodile–god, from the Arsinoite and dated to the 90s BC. Activities (always of religious or devotional character) by clubs of ex–ephebes may also be discerned in Karnak (Theb.) and in Canopos (western Delta): *cf*. note 457.

[296] On the system of αἱρέσεις, *cf*. note 459.

[297] Milne, Greek Inscriptions–Cairo no. 9301 (ca 150 BC, from Gizeh) and I.Philae I 32–33 (89 BC, from Philae, Upper Egypt): *cf*. note 456.

and strengthen their bonds of friendship (the *proskynema* of Tryphon for his former companion in the ephebate and now superior and for his other *synepheboi* is particularly revealing). Nothing is known about their organisation or the place where they gathered, but it is likely that they followed patterns similar to those of the associations of ex–ephebes.

The function of president is also found in the association of *basilistai* of Setis in Upper Egypt.[298] It is uncertain whether they met in the local *gymnasium*, although that may have been the case given that some of the members were certainly linked to it: the president himself was or had been also *kosmetes*.[299] This clearly warns us to not apply too precise and exclusive 'social distinctions' between the members of an association and those of the *gymnasium*, as they often overlapped.

Like the *gymnasium*, associations also had communal funds (and someone entrusted with the role of treasurer, either the president himself or someone else) and a system of fees which allowed them to have ready money for their activities and endeavours – and they certainly contributed in bringing some of these funds into the *gymnasium*'s coffers. In this respect the inscription of the association of landowners from Psenamosis is particularly illuminating. We know that the association could charge its members with at least five categories of fiscal impositions: 1. fines (ζημίαι); 2. contributions for feasts (συμβολαί); 3. monthly fees (ἐπιμήνια); 4. *corvées* (λειτουργίαι); 5. levies (εἰσφόρια).[300] The plethora of these encumbrances is astonishing

[298] I.Th.Sy. 303 (143/2 BC).
[299] *Cf.* note 207.
[300] These εἰσφόρια must refer to set disbursements of money in favour of the association, rather than actual taxes due to the state.

and Paris, the landowners' benefactor, must have been highly delighted on discovering that he had been released from all of them.[301]

It may be pointless to ask whether the same system of fees was adopted by the *gymnasia* at large, because the sources (with only one particular exception)[302] are not very helpful thereon. However, from hints in the documentation I think that the situation must not have been much different: *gymnasia* in Ptolemaic Egypt functioned as private associations – although imbued with public character – and financial contributions from their members did take place, and were more or less strongly encouraged, if not properly regulated.[303]

So far we have seen two types of associations connected to the *gymnasium*: the club of landowners in Psenamosis and the clubs of ex–ephebes and synephebes. These represent the outcome of associative needs of a landed class on one hand, and of a genuinely gymnasial by–product on the other.

To the 'landed–gentry type' can also be ascribed the association of landowners of the Kleopatreion of Aristion in Psenemphaia (Delta).[304] They had entrusted a single man with various (different?) tasks: Apollonios son of Theon is their priest (ἱερεύς) and

[301] I.Prose 40, 39–41: εἶναι δὲ | αὐτὸν … καὶ ἀζήμιον καὶ ἀσύμβολον καὶ ἀνεπιμηνίευτον καὶ ἀλειτούργη|τον καὶ ἀνείσφορον κτλ.
[302] I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC, from Ptolemais?): *cf.* pp. 165ff. To this add possibly P.Ryl. IV 589 (180 BC, from Philadelpheia?): ledger of debts of a *gymnasium* (?) in which the entry of the payment for the oil due from guest members may suggest that full members did not have to pay for the expenses every time. They were rather included in the regular fees they paid (which must obviously have been recorded in another account, not the one relating to investments and repayment of debts to the *gymnasium*).
[303] *Cf.* p. 107. The *gymnasium* of Beroea (Macedonia) had a system of fees and levies very similar to the one of the association of landowners of Psenamosis: *cf.* EKM 1 Beroia 1 (180 BC).
[304] I.Prose 49. I believe that the Kleopatreion is an ex–*gymnasium* in disguise: *cf.* note 109.

president (προστάτης) and leader of the processions (κωμάρχης).[305] The priestly office is for life, the other two annual, as clearly stated in the inscription (ll. 21–22). Thanks to this text, we have some information about the architecture of their meeting place and of its furniture: the hall was luxuriously decorated with plaster and stucco, and provided with several sofas for banquets and drinking parties; statues and portraits decorated the walls and were crowned during special ceremonies. Once again we see that the association's main aim was the entertainment of a landowning class for dinners, banquets, sacrifices and socio–religious gatherings. And they did so in a highly organised way: they indeed had an account or treasury (λόγος) and an archive or record–register (κοινὰ βυβλία).[306]

To the 'gymnasial type' there could belong the association of *neaniskoi* of the sanctuary of Osiris in Theadelpheia (Ars.).[307] They had a president and were related to the high–priest of Osiris, who seems to continue having dealings with the association even after his office in the temple had expired. The fact itself that the *neaniskoi* define themselves as 'from the Osireion' shows clearly enough the bonds with the sanctuary, where the association was probably housed.[308] It is possible (though far from certain) that the *neaniskoi* had something to do with the local *gymnasium* too:[309] the term is not unequivocal,[310] but one might think that the association was made up of people who had gone to the *gymnasium* for their ephebate and afterwards decided to express their

[305] *Cf.* also van Minnen (2000) pp. 449–451 who believes that the term *komarches* refers to an office in the village to which the members of the association appointed the man.
[306] I.Prose 49, 51–55: ζημιοῦσθαι εἰς τὸν τῆς συνόδου τῶν συνγεώργων λόγον ἀργυρίου | δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας ἀπαραιτήτους· τό τε δόγμα τοῦτο δισσὸν ὑπο|γραφὲν ἔστω κύριον καὶ βέβαιον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἓν ἐκδοθήτω τῶι | Ἀπολλωνίωι, τὸ δ' ἕτερον εἰς τὰ κοινὰ βυβλία τῆς συνόδου καταχω|ρισθήτω{ι}.
[307] I.Fayoum II 119, 1–2 (II–I cent. BC): συνόδου νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ | Ὀσιρείου. Another association is attested in the village in Ptolemaic times: the professional guild of goose–herds (σύνοδος χηνοβοσκῶν) of I.Fayoum II 109 + SEG XL 1564 (102 BC?). *Cf.* Casanova (1975) pp. 120–121.
[308] So Rübsam (1974) p. 196.
[309] A *gymnasium* in Theadelpheia is attested in I.Fayum II 103–104 (150/149 BC).
[310] *Cf.* pp. 171ff.

devotion to the Egyptian deity in a club.[311] The case is similar for a presumed association in Hermonthis (Theb.) which makes a dedication to Hermes and Heracles:[312] the text of the inscription is fragmentary, but the two deities recall a gymnasial context, and the dedication could have been made by an association or group of people somehow connected to the *gymnasium* of the metropolis.[313]

Besides the landowning class and gymnasial types of association in *gymnasia*, a third one can be identified, namely the military. The Macedonians of the *gymnasium* Herakleion in Sebennytos (metropolis of the Sebennyte Nome in the central Delta), who together with other people from a military milieu honour the founder of the place and priest of the King, may well have been an association of soldiers within the wider gymnasial context of the metropolis.[314] The already mentioned association of *basilistai* of Setis presented itself with a military character: some of its members were involved in the life of the *gymnasium* (at least the president).[315] A similar association is recorded in Pathyris (Theb.) as well: the club of *philobasilistai* which appears to be somehow connected with the guild of the god Nechthpharaus and the *neaniskoi* (association with the *gymnasium* can only be wondered).[316] The *basilistai* and *philobasilistai* were royalist clubs, formed by members of the army, and were particularly important for the Crown during periods of unrest of the country: made up of men from heterogeneous backgrounds (Macedonian, Hellenic, Persian, and Egyptian descent, to mention only

[311] On youth–associations in the Greek world, *cf*. Forbes (1933). On the pedagogic value of same–age clubs in classical times, *cf*. Griffith (2001).
[312] I.Prose 35, 6 (80–69 BC): ἔδοξεν τῶ[ι κοινῶι τῶν δείνων κτλ..
[313] A. Bernand thinks that ''Ερμεῖ Ἡρακλεῖ est une indication que ce décret était en rapport avec une institution éphébique ou une association d'anciens du gymnase': commentary to l. 3 in I.Prose 35 (vol. II, p. 85). For the possibility of the existence of a *gymnasium* in Hermonthis, metropolis of the Hermonthite Nome, *cf*. also note 23.
[314] SB I 1106, re–edition by Van 't Dack (1984), (II–I cent. BC).
[315] I.Th.Sy. 303 (143/142 BC).
[316] SB XX 14728 (103 BC).

few), the army found, as always, an extremely important bond in their leader, the King. In this respect, the royalist clubs (centred around the cult of the sovereign) played a particularly important role as a means to strengthen their feeling of belonging by displaying their devotion to the Royal House.[317]

In conclusion, the *gymnasium* housed associations and clubs which were formed by a 'Hellenic elite' who boasted about their devotion to the ruler (who, no doubt, was regarded as 'one of them'):[318] land–owners or settlers and military men, who constituted the core of Greek life in the villages of the Egyptian *chora*. Typically, their link with the gymnasial institution was close. After all the main activities of these clubs did not even differ much from those carried out by the 'regular' members: feasts, parties, sacrifices and the like.[319]

☙ *Roman Period*

In Roman times, the connection between *gymnasia* and private associations is no longer recognisable. There is in fact only one instance in which an association is somehow officially connected to gymnasial people: it is the so–called Σεβαστὴ σύνοδος in honour of the Emperor in Alexandria.[320] A gymnasiarch is mentioned at the beginning of a decision of the association, alongside with the officials of the association itself: the leader and president, and the priest of the association. One could suppose that the

[317] *Cf.* Van 't Dack (1977) p. 94 and C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1 p. 48.
[318] On the importance of associative behaviour for the building of identity, *cf.* Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 203–205.
[319] On the activities of clubs, *cf.* Brashear (1993).
[320] BGU IV 1137 (6 BC, Alex.). Members of the gymnasial class could obviously be members of associations, which had nothing to do with the *gymnasium*: this is the case for the gymnasiarch Chairemon, member of an association particularly devoted to the Dioscuri, *cf.* Smolders (2005) p. 98 note 27.

association was housed in the *gymnasium* and its members were also members of the *gymnasium*, hence the gymnasiarch played some official role in the proceedings. However, this hypothesis seems to be refuted by the fact that the association was formed by imperial slaves, whom we would certainly not expect to be part of the Roman gymnasial class of Alexandria. Either we have to believe that the gymnasiarch was merely mentioned into the protocol of the association's proceedings for simple reasons of dating, without having anything to do with the slaves' association (this practice would be rather peculiar), or the gymnasiarch in fact took part in the life of the association (perhaps only on particular relevant occasions?), inasmuch as the association was devoted to the dynastic cult, and thus he could show his and the *gymnasium*'s support to the Imperial House. The association, although run by imperial slaves, may have welcomed free–born men too.[321]

At all events, proper clubs do not seem to have any longer met in the *gymnasium*'s premises which were now reserved for the ranks of the privileged class of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου. In fact, the *gymnasium*, which could now offer new amenities and entertainments in the form of baths, became even more exclusively the club–house of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου.

[321] On the association, *cf*. Brashear (1993) pp. 12–18 with bibliography. The idea of the association as being 'mixed', formed by slaves and free–born men, is present in San Nicolò (1972[2]) I p. 28 and II p. 33; Bieżuńska–Małowist (1984) pp. 303–304.

V. ‘Legal Status’ of *Gymnasia*

☙ *Ptolemaic Period*

In the history of the Hellenistic age, the *gymnasium* is an emblematic symbol of *polis* status (and of Greek traditions in the colonised lands): the most famous example of this kind is second–century BC Phrygian Toriaion, which was elevated to *polis* status by Euemenes II with the grant of civic laws and the formal establishment of the institution of the *gymnasium*.[322] For Egypt this is not the case: with the possible exclusion of the three Greek *poleis* Alexandria, Naucratis and Ptolemais in Upper Egypt (which represent neither the majority nor the norm), the *gymnasium* in Egypt is a symbol of Greekness, of Greek life–style and Greek status, without implications of civic or legal status (at least, up to the Roman period). It had always been a way to assert membership of a social group.[323] It is in Egypt that we find the otherwise unattested phenomenon of village *gymnasia*. They are the commonest and *the* characteristic feature of the gymnasial environment of Egypt for the entire Ptolemaic period (and in some cases up to some decades into the Roman era). In this respect, as far as our sources tell us, it seems to be a unique case in the Hellenistic world.[324]

Precious information regarding the legal status and social role of the village *gymnasia* in Ptolemaic Egypt can be gathered from our sources; for the three Greek *poleis* less is known.

[322] SEG XLVII 1745. *Cf.* Savalli–Lestrade (2005) pp. 10–15; Chankowski (2009) pp. 100–101. Similarly for Jason and the *gymnasium* in Jerusalem: 1 Macc 1:11–15, 2 Macc 4:9–17.
[323] *Cf.* also Bringmann (2004) p. 328.
[324] The other case of a *gymnasium* outside a *polis* context is the garrison’s *gymnasium* on Thera (IG XII.3 331 and 327, II cent. BC): *cf.* p. 151.

In them the institution of the *gymnasium* may have been connected with citizenship. It is not certain whether civic *gymnasia* were at all times municipal institutions controlled by the city and entrusted to civic magistracies. Their 'legal' establishment in Egypt dates back to the IV–III cent. BC at the time of their foundation and we do not know what constitutional traditions they originally followed. Recent studies have shown ever more convincingly that the *gymnasium* had a different legal position in the different *poleis* of the classical and Hellenistic world (though with a tendency to uniformity as time passed). With the second century BC, Hellenistic *gymnasia* tended to become public institutions under the supervision of the city and entrusted to civic magistrates, who came from the local elite or civic aristocracy and showed increasingly paternalistic and euergetistic behaviour as political tools.[325] But the classical *gymnasium* and in some cases the Hellenistic *gymnasium* of the earlier times (and in some places even the later) lived a 'life of its own', independently of the civic bodies of the city.[326] This could have been the contemporary model which the *gymnasia* of (some) *poleis* of Egypt followed; for village *gymnasia* this must have been even more the case, given that no civic infrastructure ever existed in Ptolemaic times.

Greek *poleis* of Egypt

I shall start with the three *poleis*: although the sources are scanty and fragmentary, I believe that we can attempt an interpretation of them.

[325] *Cf.* Gauthier (1985) pp. 53–73; Wörrle (1995) esp. p. 245 for the 'privatisation' (*Verhäuslichung*) of political life; Fröhlich (2005).
[326] *Cf.* Gauthier (1995) pp. 7–8; Gauthier (1996) pp. 13–14; Hatzopoulos (2004) p. 130; Schuler (2004) esp. pp. 172–175: *gymnasia* independent of the city in Hellenistic times, beside Thera, are, for instance, Xanthos in Lycia (SEG XLVI 1721, 196 BC) and Iasos (I.Iasos 23, II cent. BC). For the evolution of the geographical position of *gymnasia* in the city, a reflection of the evolution of their status, *cf.* von Hesberg (1995).

We know very little for the oldest Greek settlement of Egypt, Naucratis. It was probably elevated to the status of *polis* by Alexander the Great: proper *polis* institutions (as well as locally minted coins) are found only in the Hellenistic period. Before that time the Greeks who inhabited the city may have had some sort of corporate organisation and traditions without necessarily being a *polis*, as the Hellenomemphites in Memphis did.[327] Our sources tell us nothing about the status of the Naucratite *gymnasium* in Ptolemaic times, other than that it existed and had gymnasiarchs.[328]

For Ptolemais in Upper Egypt we have a bit more information. There is in fact a second–century BC inscription which probably comes from this *polis*, and has been normally interpreted as showing a position of dependence of the *gymnasium* on the *boule*.[329] It is a decree of the community (κοινόν) of the members of the *gymnasium*,[330]

[327] It is beyond my scope to discuss at length when Naucratis was established as *polis*: *cf.* Bresson (1980); Hansen (1997) pp. 91–94; Scholl (1997) pp. 224–225; Möller (2001) pp. 184–191. I shall limit myself and say that in the account of Hermias in Athenaeus (Ath. IV 32 = FHG II 80), which is the only source (apart from Herodotus and Strabo who give reports on the foundation of the city) which may provide information about the life of Naucratis before the Macedonian conquest, there are elements of antiquity: the local cult of Hestia, as well as the figures of the τιμοῦχοι, whom one also finds in Hellenistic Ionian contexts. But even assuming that the text depicts a state of affairs before the Hellenistic period (say V cent. BC), does the presence of a *prytaneion* and of τιμοῦχοι tell us anything about the *polis* constitution of Naucratis? I do not think it does (or at least not much). The *prytaneion* might have existed without necessarily implying the presence of *prytaneis*; and even if there were *prytaneis*, they might have had a different function from the one we know from classical Athens. They might have been the presidents of some religious body (religious functions of the *prytaneis* are well attested in the sources), which obviously had much influence in a place which, in addition to its commercial function, was also a religious centre of the Greeks (*cf.* Hdt. II 178–179), or of an administrative body of some sort for the Greeks who lived there, without implying the status of *polis* (*cf. RE* Suppl. XIII *s.v. prytanis*). As for the τιμοῦχοι, although civic magistrates elsewhere (*cf. RE* VI A.2 *s.v.*), they are here invested with sacral duties which do not necessarily recall a civic office. The fact itself that we find them in Memphis too (and undoubtedly we are not dealing with a *polis* here) as representatives of the Hellenomemphites and connected with the *Hellenion* (UPZ I 149, 208–206 BC) seems to me to suggest that they had more to do with Greek religion and social life than with straight politics: *cf.* Thompson (1988) p. 97. The τιμοῦχοι were certainly of ancient origin and represent an aspect of the Greek traditions in Egypt before the Macedonian conquest (both in Naucratis and Memphis), but whatever their function may be, their presence is not certain proof of *polis* status.

[328] I.Delta II 14 (221–205 BC?): dedication to the King by the gymnasiarch Apollo[…]. One could add I.Delta II 20 (end IV – beginning III cent. BC): dedication of a palaestra.

[329] I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC).

[330] The expression οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου never appears in the inscription, but it is reasonable to think that it deals with the κοινὸν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου: it certainly refers to those who take decisions in the *gymnasium*. For the use of the term κοινόν for the people of the *gymnasium cf.* also I.Prose 15 and

recalling a previous decision to honour ex–gymnasiarchs with bronze statues; apparently this could not happen because the statue of the King had not yet been put up. Now the members of the council (βουλευταί) have enforced their previous decision to build a statue to the King and have decided to introduce fifteen worthy men into the *gymnasium* and the citizen–body.[331] The money which the new citizens have to pay will be given to the community of the *gymnasium* for the payment of the King's and the ex–gymnasiarch Sarapion's statues. The members of the *gymnasium* ratify the decisions of the *boule* and further decide to grant the honour of placing the statue of the ex–gymnasiarch where Sarapion might want and give him the right to appoint ten other men to the *gymnasium*. Here, the members of the βουλή seem to have had the 'legal power' somehow to interfere in the *gymnasium*'s matters, whereas the κοινόν could only take decisions concerning their particular sphere (i.e. the place of the statue in the *gymnasium* and the introduction of men into the *gymnasium* – but obviously, *not* into the citizen–body). This purported interference could be explained in various ways: either thinking that each citizen was also member of the *gymnasium* (therefore the βουλή as council of the citizens had to deal with it),[332] or considering the *gymnasium* a

I.Prose 41 and specially I.Prose 40, where the terms σύνοδος and κοινόν are both used: in my opinion the first one refers strictly to the association of the landowners (*cf.* l. 14 and 29–30: τῆι τῶν γεούχων συνόδωι), whereas the second refers more generally to the community who took part in the life of the *gymnasium* (including therefore the association itself, but also other people – especially the ephebes).

[331] Ll. 5–8: καὶ ἕτερα δὲ προσσημήναντες ἐκεκρίκ̣[εσαν πε|ρὶ τοῦ μέρους τούτου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀνατεθῆναι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκό[να, εἰσα]|γαγέσθαι δ'εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πολιτογραφῆσαι ἄνδρα δεκαπέντε ὄντ̣[ας] | ἀξίους τοῦ τόπου. The mention of enrolling people in the citizen–body (the term πολιτογραφῆσαι seems to be a *hapax legomenon*), along with the presence of a decree by the βουλευταί, does suggest the *polis* of Ptolemais as provenance of the inscription. *Pace* Fraser (1972) II p. 160 note 280 who considers πολιτογραφῆσαι as referring to 'a politeuma or similar community', recalling Rostovtzeff (1941) III p. 1588 note 23: 'It is a pity we do not know whether the gymnasium of the inscription was that of Ptolemais (which is doubtful) or of a native town or village'. The sale of the right of citizenship in Hellenistic *poleis*, although rare, is attested: *cf.* Robert (1972).

[332] So Kortenbeutel (1937) p. 51.

public institution under the control of the council, or taking the link βουλή–γυμνάσιον as a relationship of independent bodies. I lean towards the latter.[333]

Indeed, in the inscription I recognise several clues which point towards an independent character of the *gymnasium* within the civic sphere. First of all, the community of the *gymnasium* takes decisions and produces decrees on its own. Secondly, they had decided to erect (and pay for) statues of the ex–gymnasiarchs independently. Thirdly, they ratify what the *boule* has decided (a somewhat unnecessary practice, if the *gymnasium* was controlled and administered by the city and the *boule*). Fourthly, they independently grant membership, just like a 'private club'. Finally, the expression ἐπὶ τῆς γενεθείσης συναγωγῆς [τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου] (l. 16) recalls the meetings of independent associations.

The events may have proceeded thus: the members of the *gymnasium*, as independent body (dare we say association?), had decided to honour their former leaders with bronze statues, but precedence was to be given to a statue of the King, the erection of which (in the *gymnasium* itself?) had been decided by the *boule*.[334] Now, for some reason (lack of funds?) the erection of the statue of the King is delayed, and so are the statues of the ex–gymnasiarchs too (possibly causing annoyance for some of them). The situation gets embarrassing, and a solution to the impasse must be found. The *gymnasium* and the *boule*, together, find a cunning way which will lead to the erection of the statue of the King and of the ex–gymnasiarch Sarapion for free (the others will

[333] Interrelation between an independent *gymnasium* and the civic institutions is presented also by Schuler (2004) p. 175, on the basis of the case of Lycian Xanthos (SEG XLVI 1721, 196 BC): *cf.* Gauthier (1996) and Cl. Brixhe, *BE* 1997, no. 566.

[334] Thus I interpret ll. 5–6. The fact that the *boule*, on behalf of the whole of the *polis* of Ptolemais, may have decided to put up the statue in the premises of the *gymnasium* does not undermine the supposed *gymnasium*'s independence and autonomy: like elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, the *gymnasium* (although not necessarily under the city's control) is however perceived as a place of public interest, a sort of 'second agora'.

have to wait for the time being):[335] the *boule* agrees to introduce fifteen men into the citizen–body who will also become members of the *gymnasium*. The two processes, although parallel, are independent. In exchange they will have to pay a certain amount of money, which is to be given to the *gymnasium* for the payment of the two statues (the erection of which is left as the sole responsibility of the *gymnasium* itself, but neither *boule* nor *gymnasium* will pay).[336] For their part, the members of the *gymnasium*, as an independent body, vote for a decree in which they approve the decisions of the *boule*, thus assuring that those fifteen men will indeed become members of the *gymnasium* (beside the other dispositions further honouring Sarapion). The *boule* therefore had found itself unable to carry out the decisions taken (which also influenced the *gymnasium* itself): perhaps under pressure or indeed impulse from the latter, they cooperated to find a solution which met the interests of both. This is, of course, all speculation.

What it is certain is that the members of the *boule* must have shared the Greek traditions of the *gymnasium*.[337] Some may have been members of the *gymnasium* themselves. Similarly many, if not all of the citizens were in some respect connected to the *gymnasium* (although perhaps not as active members), especially if the citizenship was connected to the ephebate (which is uncertain – the fact of welcoming the new–comers into the citizen–body *and* into the *gymnasium* separately seems to me to show how the two things were not connected).[338] Therefore the 'interference' of the *boule* in

[335] Why Sarapion had to be the only ex–gymnasiarch to have a statue put up is hard to say: was he the last one in office and/or an influential man in the council?
[336] Ll. 8–10: τὰ δὲ παρὰ τούτων πεσούμενα εἰσόδια ἀποκαταϙ̣[αθῆ]|ναι τῶι κοινῶι ἀντὶ τῶν κεκριμένων δοθῆναι εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν δύο | εἰκόνων τήν τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος.
[337] One should never forget that the *gymnasium* and its members are neither alien from nor adverse to *polis*–life and civic institutions, a point which seems to have eluded Moretti (1982).
[338] *Cf.* pp. 234ff.

the *gymnasium* is the result of the particular relationship between the two: the *bouleutai* shared the life of the *gymnasium* (and some of them might have been or be bound to become 'officials' in its governing body); on the other hand, it was the community of the *gymnasium* which likely provided the people who became *bouleutai*.[339] In other words, *boule* and *gymnasium* represent two sides of the same coin of the community of the *poleis* of Egypt: both had members who came from the same background.[340] Each of them had tight connections with the other but they took their decisions independently (although, as in this case, some prior mutual agreement must have taken place). Thus eventually, a more institutionalised control of the *polis* elite on the *gymnasium* through the appointment of gymnasiarch–magistrates may be regarded as a natural outcome.[341]

We finally turn to Alexandria. Evidence has been given elsewhere for the presence of many *gymnasia* in the city, among which one was invested with particular importance and character, and was considered The *Gymnasium*.[342] I shall focus here on what we can gather from our sources about its legal status.

In this respect, the documentary evidence (both from papyri and inscriptions) is not particularly useful. What ancient authors tell us, on the other hand, seems more instructive. During the Ptolemaic period, the *Gymnasium* of Alexandria appears to be the preferred place for great events with public significance and resonance (bloody

[339] Independence of the *gymnasium* from civic institutions does not in any way involve neglect of the Hellenistic *polis* towards it, as the case of Xanthos attests (SEG XLVI 1721, 196 BC: Gauthier (1996)): although 'private' in character, the *gymnasium* provided the city with an important service, especially for the formation of future active citizens. The ephebes mostly belonged to the leading families, whose older members (involved at various levels in the public life of the city, from magistrates to councillors) were more than interested in the affairs of the *gymnasium*, as their own concern. *Cf.* Schuler (2004) pp. 176–177.
[340] On the *boule*, *cf.* pp. 231ff.
[341] *Cf.* Schuler (2004) pp. 176–177.
[342] *Cf.* pp. 41ff.

deeds and sensational executions).[343] It is in the *Gymnasium* itself that there took place the so–called 'Donations of Alexandria' and the conqueror Octavian addressed the population of the city:[344] clearly when one wanted to have the attention of the city, one would go there.[345] The *Gymnasium* of Alexandria therefore followed the pattern of many other Hellenistic cities, where the *gymnasium* eventually became a place invested with public character, a 'second *agora*' in the words of L. Robert,[346] which could have on its premises the tombs of the benefactors and the aristocracy of the city, independently of their connection with the institution.[347] And this public nature of the Alexandrian *Gymnasium* continued and developed in Roman times too, when political meetings could be held in it and sometimes even had priority over the regular gymnasial activities (if one is to believe what Philo says): the *Gymnasium* had long since become something different from a place of mere physical training.[348]

The central place of the *Gymnasium* in the public life of Alexandria was underlined also geographically and architectonically: according to Strabo's account, it was located on the Canopic street, the main longitudinal artery of the city, and it was majestic.[349] Assuming that its location never changed over the centuries, it must have been part of the monumental complex of the city centre: geographical centrality is a feature which gymnasial buildings have from the end of the fourth century BC, especially in the newly founded cities of Alexander's Empire.[350] Far from being strong

[343] *Cf*. V. Max. 9. 2 *Ext*. 5 and App. *BC* I 102.
[344] Plu. *Ant*. 54.3–4 and 80.1.
[345] The hippodrome is another place which could be used for similar purposes.
[346] Robert (1966) p. 422.
[347] *Cf*. Chiricat (2005).
[348] *Cf*. Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 118 and note 61, with reference to Ph. *Flacc*. 36–9, 135–45 and *De prov*. 44; Burkhalter (1992) pp. 367–368.
[349] Str. XVII 1.10. We do not know the exact position of the building, but it was probably not peripheral: *cf*. Burkhalter (1992) pp. 70–73 and note 64.
[350] *Cf*. von Hesberg (1995) pp. 14–15.

independent political decision–making centres, the cities stressed their *polis*–identity through the common Greek gymnasial traditions: in a period when true civic democratic practices faded, the egalitarian *agora* was replaced with the *gymnasium*, symbol and breeder of the leading class. This must have been even more the case in a 'colonial society'.

Now the question of when the *Gymnasium* of Alexandria was founded arises. It seems reasonable to believe that Alexander the Great wanted to provide the new city with all the first–class features of a Greek *polis*, but was the *gymnasium* in 331 BC already perceived as an indispensable *polis*–feature? In classical times the *gymnasium* is not connected with civic institutions and, left in the hands of private individuals and 'ignored' by local elite, did not play the important role in public life which it would do in (later) Hellenistic times:[351] in some places (among them Macedonia), this situation seems to survive longer than in others. If Alexander the Great was indeed the founder of the ephebate in Alexandria and had the Athenian model in mind,[352] he should have also established the institutionalised *gymnasium*, although at his time and in his Kingdom (but not in Athens, after the reform of the ephebate in 334 BC)[353] it was an accessory to *polis*–life. If the Alexandrian *Gymnasium* took after the Athenian one, the *kosmetes* (and not the gymnasiarch) should have had a predominant role. In Athens the *kosmetes* was the civic magistrate entrusted with the care of the management of the *gymnasium*, whereas the gymnasiarch (although an annual magistrate elected by the people too) only took care of the organisation of feasts, *agones* and related training (and in this capacity only he appears in inscriptions and lists of victors). Although the lack of sources biases

[351] *Cf.* Ameling (2004) p. 130.
[352] So Chankowski (2009) pp. 109–113.
[353] Culasso Gastaldi (2009).

our research, *kosmetai* are not attested in Ptolemaic Alexandria, whereas gymnasiarchs are;[354] it is not possible to say with certainty that here, as in Athens, they are magistrates merely connected with the organisation of agonistic activities.[355] In fact, the opposite seems the case, given that the Alexandrian evidence, although scanty, follows the pattern of the other Hellenistic cities where the gymnasiarch is at the head of the *gymnasium*. Moreover, if the Alexandrian *Gymnasium* followed the one in Athens, one would expect to find some signs of it in the *gymnasium* of Cyrene, imported in the fourth/third century BC by the Ptolemies (presumably after the Alexandrian model),[356] and adapted to local traditions which survived strongly. In fact in Cyrene, there is no Athenian influence, and at the head of the Cyrene *gymnasium* there were four gymnasiarchs, who were civic magistrates.[357] In conclusion, it does not seem that the Alexandrian *Gymnasium* was founded on the Athenian model, and although Alexander the Great may have sketched the constitutional shape of the city and divided the population in the three 'classes of age' (children, ephebes and citizens), the *Gymnasium* seems more likely to have been established under Ptolemy I Soter (or even Ptolemy II

[354] I.Alex. Ptol. 42 (II–I cent. BC; honorary inscription); I.Louvre 12 (III cent. BC; dedication of a victor in the *Basileia*; the gymnasiarch is eponymous); SB III 6665 (II/I cent. BC; honorary inscription); SB IV 7456 (III–II cent. BC; honorary inscription); to these add the supplemented passage of Satyrus (P.Oxy. XXVII 2465, fr. 2 col. 1). The presence of *kosmetai* elsewhere in Ptolemaic Egypt (*cf.* 88ff.) – where they are not magistrates! – could be the result either of an influence from the (unattested) Alexandrian model (so Chankowski (2009) pp. 112–113) or, more probably, of the normal development of Hellenistic gymnasial ideology in which the importance of the εὐκοσμία or κοσμιότης of the youth is well known.

[355] In one instance only, the gymnasiarch is connected with the games for the accession of the King and is mentioned in an epigraphic fashion which could recall that used for his Athenian counterparts (I.Louvre 12, III cent. BC): on the other hand, what he did may have been part of his duties as head of the *gymnasium*. In SEG XXVII 1114 (267 BC, from Alex.?) the *Basileia* are object of care of the *agonothetes*, and of a certain Amadokos.

[356] On possible influences of the Alexandrian *gymnasium* over Cyrene's, *cf.* also Burkhalter (1992) p. 355.

[357] Cordiano (2009) pp. 281–289.

Philadelphus?) in his process of organisation of his new capital,[358] following the pattern of Hellenistic cities of the fourth/third century BC.

A last question arises: was the *Gymnasium* of Alexandria under the control of the city? To put it another way, were the gymnasiarchs in Alexandria civic magistrates? As usual, it is not easy to answer. Documentary and literary sources alike do not provide much help. A later Ptolemaic inscription may suggest a civic magistracy:[359] Lykarion was honoured with a statue by the city of Alexandria. The man undertook different charges at national (dioecetes) and city level (*exegetes*, commander of the city and gymnasiarch) and bore various honorific titles (relative of the King and honorary *archigeron*).

A second–century BC inscription with reference to the *gerousia*, to *gerontes* and to the under–age youth (ἀφήλικες) does not provide much information; it is barely preserved and its provenance is not even certain.[360] Hence the little which one can deduce from it cannot be considered certainly valid for Alexandria. The general tone of the document suggests that the central matter concerned a *gymnasium* or an ephebic institution.[361] One could think about a reference to access of single under–age individuals to the *gymnasium*. However, mention of the heaviness of a charge (τὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας βάρος) and the decorum (κοσμιότης, presumably of the boys) points rather towards the office of the gymnasiarch: in this case, it might have been that the gymnasiarchy (may be it a magistracy or a 'liturgic' charge) had to be undertaken by rich boys, an event which is not uncommon in the Hellenistic cities from the second

[358] On the residence of Soter in Alexandria as his new capital from 320/19 BC, *cf*. Fraser (1972) I p. 7 with note 28.
[359] I.Alex. Ptol. 42 (II–I cent. BC).
[360] SEG XXXIV 1532. The stone could come from Alexandria or from a *polis* of Asia Minor or one of the Aegean Islands: Bingen (1984a) p. 241.
[361] So Fraser (1972) II p. 177 note 16.

century BC onwards.[362] Furthermore it is unfortunately uncertain whether the *gerousia* is the civic council of the elders (which in this case had something to do with the *gymnasium*), or merely a body of a κοινόν within the *gymnasium*.[363] Information on this point would have given us a clearer idea of the relations between gymnasial and civic institutions.

There may have been a development from an initial stage in which the *Gymnasium* was run 'privately' by its members to more civic control on the institution through civic magistrates, as happened in other Hellenistic cities. Certainly the presumed link between the ephebate and the admission into the citizen–body, which may be hinted at as dating back to Ptolemaic times in the famous letter of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians (though we know nothing of the date of its supposed Ptolemaic establishment),[364] would require some sort of civic supervision of the gymnasial institution, or at least on the process of admission into it. This task could have been assigned to the *exegetes* (the senior of the annual magistrates, also responsible for the ephebes) or to the *prytaneis* (in charge of granting the right to be inscribed into the ephebic lists).[365] In this respect, the gymnasiarch need not be a civic magistrate, although this would place him in a rather ambiguous position: responsible for the *Gymnasium*, which would be the key–institution for acquisition of the citizenship, but neither appointed by nor accountable to the city.[366]

[362] So Bingen (1984b) p. 242. On the co–existence of the gymnasiarchy–liturgy (i.e. the defrayal of costs connected with feasts, games and the related training) undertaken by ephebes next to the gymnasiarchy–magistracy in some Hellenistic cities, *cf*. Schuler (2004) p. 177.
[363] Fraser (1972) II p. 177 note 16 leans towards the latter.
[364] *Cf.* pp. 234ff.
[365] Husson and Valbelle (1992) pp. 220–221.
[366] The link ephebate–citizenship is considered an Augustan innovation by Fraser (1972) I p. 77. According to Delia (1991) pp. 73–75 such a link never existed, not even in Roman times.

Above all, in the case of Alexandria one has to reconsider entirely the very concept of civic magistracies themselves and the machinery connected to them: the abolition of the assembly (and council?) at some point in Ptolemaic times[367] must have clearly brought some modifications in the original process of appointment to civic offices (the emergence of the predominant role of the *exegetes*, as a sort of *primus super pares*, also testifies to a change in the comparative status of the magistracies). If the magistracies were originally elected more or less democratically by the assembly of the people,[368] from the second century BC the system must have moved towards a more 'oligarchic' or 'elitist' establishment: how it worked is not known.[369] At all events, the picture agrees well with the developments which civic elites underwent in the same period in other Hellenistic cities.

In conclusion, we can say that the civic *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt may have started their life as bodies independent of the civic institutions (a sort of private association), but very soon acquired public function and relevance. The position of the ephebes in the early public religious life of Alexandria, as attested by Satyrus' *On the Demes of Alexandria*,[370] indeed suggests how important the role of the youth (and consequently of the institution devoted to them) in the civic frame was: the city and their civic institutions took an active interest in the life of the *gymnasium*, whether it was controlled by civic magistrates or not, because after all it was not an entity

[367] Were both lost in the second century BC? *Cf.* note 12.
[368] Elections of magistrates in the assembly are attested in Ptolemais in Upper Egypt (I.Louvre 4, 240/39 BC). 'We may therefore suppose that the freedom that Soter (presumably) granted to Ptolemais in regard to the election of magistrates had its precedent in a similar constitutional liberty which existed at Alexandria, and which may have been bestowed on it by Alexander and been for this reason especially sacrosanct': Fraser (1972) I p. 99.
[369] *Cf.* Fraser (1972) I pp. 93–101.
[370] P.Oxy. XXVII 2465, fr. 2 col. 1 (III cent. BC).

extraneous to the *polis* (quite the opposite, given that it served the needs of future citizens!) and the ties with the leading class were strong ones. The division between private and public in the character of the *gymnasium* became ever more 'blurred', and the 'municipalisation' of the gymnasiarchy which may eventually have occurred would have seemed neither audacious nor out of place:[371] civic institutions were in the hands of local elite and so was the *gymnasium*. By the end of the Ptolemaic period civic *gymnasia* had completely lost any trace of 'private' status: they were clearly public, a 'second agora' or *forum*. In some cases, they may have represented the centre of the ruling class, given that in some cities of the Hellenistic world the old *gymnasium* was taken over by the Roman government as one of their administrative buildings.[372]

Village *gymnasia*

It is now time to consider the rural *gymnasia* of Egypt, a unique case in the Hellenistic world: they are the real protagonists of the history of the gymnasial institution of Ptolemaic Egypt. The direct evidence about them is reasonably abundant and provides a fair amount of information on their existence, organisation and status. I have no doubts that *gymnasia* in villages were subject to the influence of civic *gymnasia*, and in certain aspects tried to imitate them. But I dare even say that in some respects a degree of influence of the rural *gymnasia* on the civic ones may also be suspected; after all, the users of the two may often overlap. Hence, the analysis of the features of village *gymnasia* may help in understanding some aspects of the life of the civic *gymnasia* as

[371] *Cf*. Schuler (2004) p. 177.
[372] For instance at Cyrene, where the *gymnasium* was turned into the *Caesareum* in the last years of Augustus, and in the second half of the first century AD the *ephebeion*, the baths and other rooms on the north side of the gymnasial complex were destroyed to build a *basilica*: *cf*. Burkhalter (1992) pp. 365–366; Cordiano (2001) p. 257 note 10; Cordiano (2009) pp. 291–292.

well, always bearing in mind the profound difference between the social environments in which the two institutions played their role. For instance, it is obvious that rural *gymnasia* were not in any way entrusted to magistrates (magistracies never existed outside the three Greek *poleis* in Ptolemaic Egypt) and were not directly controlled or administered by the local authority: they existed completely independently of any civic context.

The village *gymnasium* is seen as a sort of 'independent body' with an assembly and a practice of making decrees: the terminology used in the inscriptions and dedications is quite clear. The whole community (its official title is οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου) held assemblies and meetings in which they took decisions on matters relevant to the life of the *gymnasium* (be they honours to benefactors, petitions to the sovereigns or other business), and voted decrees that were thereafter inscribed on stone, at the community's expense.[373] This recalls – and was indeed connected to – the practices one sees at play with associations:[374] one can even say that Ptolemaic rural *gymnasia* were private associations, *the* Greek private association *par excellence*.[375] The *gymnasium* was therefore an independent body with its own internal organisation, with autonomous collegial decision–making practices and a well established network of financial supporters, helpers and users: a perfectly 'private institution'.

When analysing the role of the founders and their behaviour towards the *gymnasium*, it has been noted that their formal approach to it was indeed in terms of 'private business' or 'family matters':[376] they personally petition the authority when

[373] *Cf*. pp. 163ff.
[374] Cf. pp. 112ff.
[375] As we have seen, civic *gymnasia* may also have been or at least began their life as something similar to private associations.
[376] Cf. pp. 38ff.

something wrong happens to *their gymnasium*; they bequeath the *gymnasium* to their heirs – thus considering it nothing but one of their own assets; they appoint a superintendent to administer it, as part of their properties; they take care of its refurbishment, and of the expenses and legal requirements necessary to carry out construction works. The authority itself seems to consider the *gymnasia* as being in the private sphere, as one gathers from the text on the back of an *enteuxis* already mentioned.[377] Similarly, the activities of some associations inside the *gymnasium* point towards a private use of the *gymnasium*: limited to a 'club' and for a 'selected' group of people. It therefore seems that the Ptolemaic *gymnasium* was a private institution: but was it really?

First of all, it must be said how difficult it is to speak of a clear–cut distinction between the public and private spheres in many aspects of ancient life, especially from the Hellenistic period onwards.[378] Political life itself started being 'privatised' with local elites treating public offices as private dignities, obtained thanks to their wealth through personal acquaintance and networks: civic magistracies provided the opportunity to bestow personal generosity, exhibit paternalistic behaviour towards their communities and link the management of the city to one's own family, with a sort of hereditary or dynastic attitude towards political charges. In many cases, public offices were just an excuse for personal honours, and personal qualities were praised more than the due undertaking of the duties of a post. Often local notables took over the tasks (and the expenses) of public offices without being appointed as such but for a philanthropic love of their fellow citizens, who were certainly ready to express their gratitude tangibly.

[377] P.Enteux. 8 (221 BC, from Samareia, Ars.) *verso* ll. 2–3: Ἀριστόμαχος πρ(ὸς) Δάλλον | περὶ οἰκημάτων 'Aristomachos against Dallos, about buildings'. *Cf*. pp. 39ff.
[378] On the mixture of 'public'/'private' already in classical education, *cf*. Griffith (2001).

This was even more the case during the Empire.[379] So far this appears more clearly in the case of a *polis* or a civic body. However, the evidence we have seems to prove that such a phenomenon was not absent from rural communities: it may display itself in a different fashion. Although the posts in the Ptolemaic rural administration may indeed have had many patterns in common with the civic administration (the system of the Ptolemaic administration – yet not quite liturgic[380] – made public services appear like private business anyway), the effects of a blurred division between public and private occurred in other areas too (for instance, in religion and 'leisure'), even within village communities.[381] That said, I shall continue using the terms 'public' and 'private' for the sake of commonsense and simplicity. I intend the former to refer to realities controlled, administered, funded or managed by a public board (may that be a civic magistrate, a local official or the Crown); with the latter I indicate a structure which lacked those features. Nevertheless, I shall point out when and in what respect a 'mixture' of the two aspects occurred.

It has been maintained above that rural *gymnasia* in Egypt were organised as independent private associations, but the reality is not so simple. Among the attestations regarding the founders themselves, who considered the *gymnasium* their own private property, it is already possible to catch a glimpse of a public role played by it: the presence of priests of the King (connected or even attached and active within the *gymnasium*), the involvement of gymnasiarchs and people from the *gymnasia* in royal feasts and the dedication to the King of the *gymnasium* in Samareia make us aware of

[379] *Cf.* Gauthier (1985) pp. 53–73; Veyne (1987) esp. pp. 95–115; Wörrle (1995); van Minnen (2000); Fröhlich (2005).
[380] *Cf.* Oertel (1917) pp. 32–58; Hohlwein (1969) p. 12; Bagnall (1971) esp. p. 362; Lewis (1975[2]) in the Preface to 'The Ptolemaic Period'.
[381] *Cf.* also recently Fischer–Bovet (2008) pp. 335–369 and her 'model' of blurred borders between state, temple and private funds in Ptolemaic Egypt.

some kind of 'public role' played by the *gymnasium* in the framework of (Greek dynastic) religious life.

Moreover, a passage in the text of the *enteuxis* of Aristomachos cited above seems to be particularly illuminating on the matter. Before undertaking the works in the *gymnasium* and demolishing the construction which was threatening the integrity of the building, he obtained permission from the strategus.[382] Although in this case one can imagine exceptional care from Aristomachos in wanting to show how everything has been carried out legally and with all the necessary procedures so as to strengthen his case, the request to the strategus clearly shows that the authority was *considered* somehow interested – despite the official definition of the proceeding which does not acknowledge the status of *gymnasium*.

A study of the procedures for demolition in Ptolemaic Egypt is beyond the scope of this work. However, a brief enquiry into the relevant documentation seems to me to indicate clearly that private individuals were not required to ask permission to undertake demolition in their own properties. Only those who possessed properties which were of public interest (shrines, temples, *gymnasia*) or of interest to the government (as the case of the weaving industries, which were a monopoly) needed to ask permission for demolition and rebuilding, or rather their owners were keen to obtain the authority's approval – just in case! – so as to avoid future unpleasantness.[383] The scanty number of requests and their format (they all are petitions to the King) suggest to me that there was

[382] P.Enteux. 8 ll. 9–11: καθελόντος μου τὴν ἐπ[ὶ] το[ῦ γυμν]ασίου ἐποικοδομημένην | οἴκησιν [σ]υμπίπτουσαν, Ἀφθονήτου τοῦ στρα[τ]ηγήσαντος χρηματίσαντ[ο]ς . . [.] . [. ca 5]ς καθαιρέσεως τ[ο]ῦ ιζ (ἔτους) | δι'ἐντεύ[ξ]εως.

[383] *Cf.*, for instance, P.Enteux. 6 = P.Lille II 9 (222 BC, from Magdola, Ars.); P.Enteux. 7 (221 BC, Ars.); P.Enteux. 5 (224–218 BC, from Magdola, Ars.); P.Ryl. IV 579 (I cent. BC, from Psobthis, Oxy.?); P.Enteux. 13 (222 BC, from Magdola, Ars.). *Pace* Taubenschlag (1955[2]) p. 629: 'In the Ptolemaic period a permit was required to construct a building, or to demolish an old and construct a new one in its place' and Préaux (1939) p. 302: 'cependant, pareil contrôle pourrait s'exercer sur tout bâtiments et cela ne serait pas insolite sous les Lagides'.

no pre–codified procedure and the petitioners decided to play the card of their status, going to the highest possible resort, so as to be sure to receive an efficient answer and get on with the works.[384] The position of public interest that those buildings enjoyed made them particular cases and their proprietors thought it wise to act accordingly.

The public role which the *gymnasium* finally enjoyed can be seen also in the fact that the local officials of the later Ptolemaic administration paused in the *gymnasia*, as pivotal places of the local community, during their official visits around the *nomos* and performed various acts pregnant with formality and even sacrality (discussions with the members and sacrifices). The *gymnasium* can be indeed seen as centre for cults (namely the dynastic cult): dedications to the King and the Royal House are common in its premises and show loyalty to the dynasty; some of its members were priests of the dynastic cult and of the various associations which gathered in the place; regular rites and sacrifices took place in the frame of the associations or of the *gymnasium* as a whole, which was the centre for feasts and festivals. The *gymnasium* – private though it was – could have been the local 'temple of the King and the Royal House', the official place in which the sacrality of the sovereign was rendered public and introduced into the daily life of the Greek–speaking communities of the villages of the Egyptian χώρα.[385]

[384] Petitioning the King was expensive, time–consuming and required the delivery of the petition directly to the Court, either at Alexandria or during one of the royal visits to the *chora*: usually only relatively wealthy people (often the 'Greeks') could afford it.

[385] It is interesting to note the mention of the sacral term τέμενος to indicate the precinct of the *gymnasium* where there stands the entrance at which to place the honorary inscription in I.Prose 40 ll. 45–6 (II–I cent. BC, from Psenamosis, western Delta): ἐν τῶι πυλῶνι τοῦ τε|μένους. Bernand (I.Delta I pp. 461–2) thinks that the *gymnasium* was situated in a bigger complex with temples, surrounded by a wall – he further underlines that the feature of the external wall with a big entrance is typical of Egyptian temple complexes. This interpretation, which seems implausible to me because of the 'personal character' of the inscription (solely connected to the associations of landowners of the *gymnasium*), remains unsupported by evidence. For the religious character of *gymnasia*, *cf.* also Burkhalter (1992) p. 354. On the *gymnasium* as temple of the Royal House, *cf.* also the interesting (although unprovable) idea of Launey

The important (almost public) character of the *gymnasium* for the life of the *Hellenes* is also stressed in an unpublished Trier papyrus belonging to the 'Boethos archive'. In it Apollonios, active in the works of building the new 'city' of Euergetis in Upper Egypt, asks its founder to have permission to be inscribed among the members of the *politeuma* of the city (and I interpret this as meaning the group of the 'Greek' settlers) and into the *gymnasium*. The two things seem connected, and it is not surprising: membership into the *gymnasium* was one of the most visible signs of membership to the Hellenic, leading group of the newly founded 'city'.[386]

Nevertheless, the *gymnasium* cannot be considered a purely public institution, not only because it was founded and owned by private individuals and run by them, but also because the State does not have an evidently direct influence or control over them (there is no appointment of officials to oversee them, for instance). A link with the central government and the Royal House is indubitably present, but it would be going too far to consider this link to constitute a tie of dependence.[387] The members of the *gymnasium* provide the income necessary to cover the expenses and the *gymnasia* had to pay taxes

(1949–50/1987[2]) II pp. 855–856 about the obligatory presence of a throne in the premises for dynastic cult.

[386] P. UB Trier S 159–3, 7–10 (after 134/3 BC): βουλόμενος συνπολι|τεύεσθαι ἢ συναλί|φεσθαι ἐν τῆι ὑπὸ σοῦ | ἐκτισμένηι πόλει 'since I want to be inscribed into the *politeuma* (*sc*. of the inhabitants of the city) and become member of the *gymnasium* in the city founded by you' (courtesy of Prof. B. Kramer). The 'Boethos archive' will be published by B. Kramer and S. Pfeiffer. The inscription into the settlers of the 'city' (to which the term συνπολιτεύεσθαι refers) did not obviously entail any concept of *polis*–citizenship: Euergetis was not a *polis* and its inhabitants did not enjoy the status of πολίται; nevertheless, a restricted, prestigious and original group of settlers, of *Hellenes* organised in a *politeuma* and centred around the *gymnasium*, did represent the elite of the new 'city'. Just as the 'city' was a private foundation, so was the *gymnasium*, which nonetheless had public importance as means for status definition of the inhabitants and for upholding the Royal House and the dynastic cult: *cf*. p. 114.

[387] The dedication of *gymnasia* to the King or members of the Royal House does not show anything other than the display of loyalty in the seeking of protection and 'approval'. *Cf*. for instance the inscription mentioning the first documented synagogue in Egypt (CIJ II 1440 = CPJ III Appendix I 1440, 246–222 BC from Schedia, Delta): it is dedicated to King Ptolemy III Euergetes and his family. I doubt that this could be used for claiming that the synagogue was run or controlled by the state. *Cf*. Applebaum (1974a) p. 424 (the inscription OGIS I 129 = I.Prose 23, included by him in the list of the earliest attestation of a synagogue, has been dated to the second and not to the third century BC: *cf*. I.Prose 23 with bibliography).

to the treasury (even if perhaps at reduced rate),[388] which places them in an anything but public position.

The rural *gymnasia* appear to have much in common with some of the features of the *gymnasia* in the early Hellenistic age, when they were not normally or always controlled by the city and its magistrates. Obviously sources for the period are mostly lacking, and influences from other backgrounds may well be supposed, but from the documentation at our disposal I am inclined to see a Macedonian heritage influencing the original character of the rural *gymnasia* of Egypt. Or at least to see in it a case in support of this interpretation.

In Macedonia, *gymnasia* are made object of regulations by the city around the end of the third and beginning of the second century BC, as the gymnasiarchic law from Beroea and an ephebarchic law from Amphipolis seem to attest.[389] Before that time *gymnasia* seem to have functioned as independent private associations. In fact, even after being put under the supervision of the city, the internal administration was carried out independently: the members of the *gymnasium* took their decisions and managed their *private* funds in complete autonomy. The city's interference in the *gymnasium*'s business related to the gymnasiarch only: from that moment onwards he became a civic

[388] On taxes, *cf.* pp. 102ff.

[389] Respectively EKM 1 Beroia 1 (180 BC) and *Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 42 (221–168 BC), which is a fragmentary inscription transmitting what could be an ephebarchic legislation which was later re–codified under Roman rule in a not yet fully published Amphipolitan ephebarchic law of 24/3 BC, discussed by Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 161–163. The date of the gymnasiarchic law from Beroea has been object of debate: some think it comes from the period after the Roman conquest, *cf.* Giovannini (2004) pp. 480–489 and Kah (2004) p. 82; *contra* Hatzopoulos (2004) pp. 95–96. The existence of gymnasiarchic laws in the royal period is nonetheless attested by *Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. no. 16, 1–3 (183, from Amphipolis): εἰς τὸν γυμνα|σιαρχικὸν νόμον καταχωρισθή|τω τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον εἶδος. Having codified gymnasiarchic laws is presented as common practice in those cities of Macedonia which had *gymnasia* (some therefore did not have any – similarly the final unpublished lines of *Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. no. 16 apparently contained dispositions for those cities which did not have gymnasiarchs) in EKM 1 Beroia 1. A 6–8: ἐν αἷς πόλεσιν γυμνάσιά | ἐστιν καὶ ἄλειμμα συνέστηκεν οἱ γυμνασιαρχι|κοὶ νόμοι κεῖνται ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις.

magistrate and was elected by the city and was responsible to the city for the *gymnasium*'s accounts, on which he was compelled to give reports to the city's magistrates in charge of the public accounts (ἐξεταστaί). However, the city neither financially supported[390] nor directly controlled the *gymnasium*: after recognising the importance of this institution in the setting of the civic life and for the physical (and military) education of the youth, it regulated its governing body in an initial attempt to establish an influence on it. Royal interest behind this process may well be supposed.[391]

The early Macedonian element among the cleruchs in Egypt is well attested, along with Thracians and Cyrenaeans:[392] one founder of *gymnasia*, out of the five we know, was most probably a Macedonian (that is what his name, Peukestes, suggests),[393] and founded the *gymnasium* of the village of Mouchis in the Arsinoite Nome in the second half of the third century BC.[394] At all events, the Macedonian version of the *gymnasium* (rather than, say, the Athenian one of the 334 BC reform) perfectly suited the social environment of the Egyptian countryside of the (early) Ptolemaic times, where cities and even proper urban centres were absent:[395] what the cleruchs needed was a centre in which to gather and perform physical exercises and hold religious ceremonies, without implications of citizenship or dependence on civic institutions. After all this is what was

[390] Unless one wants to see public funds for the anointment in the term ἄλειμμα (l. A 7). The editors do not seem to do so: *cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) p. 127.
[391] *Cf.* the royal *diagramma* of Philip V asking the magistrates of the cities of Macedonia to have the gymnasiarchs register the foreign athletes arriving in the country to take part in the panhellenic games: *Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 16 (183 BC, from Amphipolis).
[392] *Cf.* Bagnall (1984).
[393] He is the namesake of the commander–in–chief who issued the order SB XIV 11942 (*ca* 331 BC), who could be identified with Peukestas son of Makartatos to whom Alexander the Great entrusted part of the troops upon leaving Egypt in 331 BC: *cf.* Turner (1974).
[394] SB XVIII 13837 (224–218 BC). Macedonians are connected to the *gymnasium* Herakleion of Sebennytos (in the central Delta) in SB I 1106 (revised ed. through *opus ingenii* by Van 't Dack (1984) = SEG XXXIV 1605: he suggested that the mention of *synpoliteuomenoi* and of soldiers stationed in service in the inland point to a later date than the *ed. pr.*'s III cent. BC. The inscription is now lost).
[395] *Cf.* Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 95–100.

carried out in the *gymnasia* of Macedonia up to the third century BC too:[396] the youth trained, anointed themselves with oil and held races, sacrifices and banquets independently from the city. Not only the youth, but adults as well.[397] The lack of urban centres and the history of the settlements must have played a particularly important role in this respect: how many independent *palaestrae* which the adults could use instead of the *gymnasium* would there have been in a village? Probably none.[398] Besides, the *gymnasium* in the Egyptian countryside was introduced by and for those who had settled in the new country from various parts of the Hellenistic *oecumene*: they were military men and later emigrants, obviously adults, and the *gymnasium* had to meet their needs first, and eventually those of their future offspring.

Their characteristics set a precedent in Egypt and the rural *gymnasia* which were founded later in Ptolemaic times followed the same patterns. For most of the 'Greeks' of Egypt (as should be the case for us also) *gymnasia* in Egypt basically meant village *gymnasia*, governed independently by their members, who appointed their leaders and dealt with their finances and management. In fact, rural *gymnasia* of Egypt do not seem

[396] Macedonian cities were not entirely comparable to the Greek *poleis*: they were in fact administrative units, not independent within the Kingdom (although they had a certain degree of autonomy in their civic institutions and their administration, especially for tax–farming and local militia, and in some relationships with foreign cities), and with a three–fold level or type of citizenship (the federal 'honorary' citizenship reserved to a military elite favoured by the Kings, the tribal citizenship and the local town–citizenship). The 'proper Greeks' would not understand that. *Cf.* Hammond *et al.* (1972–88) II pp. 197–199, 647–652, for the treatment of former Greek *poleis* incorporated into the Kingdom by Philip II see II pp. 348–382, for the situation under Philip V see III pp. 474–484; Giovannini (1977); Hammond (1989) pp. 9–11; Errington (1990) pp. 229–235; Hatzopoulos (2011); Koukouli–Chrysanthaki (2011); Lane Fox (2011) esp. 378–385. The Macedonian *gymnasium* was apparently open to free–born boys, regardless of their citizenship: *cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) p. 87.

[397] According to the new interpretation of Giovannini (2004) pp. 476–477, adults would also use the *gymnasium* in Beroea, at different times from the youth. But in Beroea gymnasial celebrations, races and feasts were reserved to the youth: this does not seem to be the case for Egypt (*cf.* BGU VI 1256).

[398] We have evidence of private *palaestrae* in Alexandria: P.Lond. VII 1941 + P.Cairo Zen. I 59060 (= P.Edgar. 11) + P.Cairo Zen. I 59061, P.Lugd.–Bat. 20, no. 51. PSI IV 418 (from Philadelpheia) would seem the only exception, although it is uncertain whether it deals with a *palaestra* in the village; in fact, I believe that it refers to Alexandria as the other texts attest. All the texts belong to the Zenon archive. Add also a *palaestra* in Naucratis (I.Delta II 20, end IV – beginning III cent. BC)

to have a status in any way different from many other *gymnasia* in the early Hellenistic period. What it is unique about them is the fact that they were meant to exist outside of a *polis* background, and that they acquired a position of public importance (just like the civic *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic world) but without changing their 'constitutional' nature: they were and remained private leisure centres for the elites of the (local) Greek–speaking community. The shape which the village *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt took was therefore due to the environment and social background in which they were introduced (together perhaps with a Macedonian heritage): Hellenic colonists settled in a foreign country with no Greek–civic traditions.

Similar conditions existed in the lands of the Persian Empire (of course, with the exception of the Ionian coast) – although Persia had stronger urbanism and urban patterns than Egypt.[399] However, the attitudes of the Seleucid rulers towards the foundation of *poleis* in their Kingdom are exactly opposite to those of the Ptolemies. Besides the already exsisting *poleis* of Asia Minor, the Seleucids founded colonies and *poleis* and made the mercenaries and settlers establish themselves there (they were indeed called κάτοικοι), for economic and military reasons. They created a network of (Greek) *poleis* in a land which was previously almost without, and the *gymnasium*, import of the Hellenic element, was therefore normally attached to a *polis*, just as the settlers or colonists were.

The gymnasial insitution with its *agones* and activities was one of the main features of the Seleucid foundations and *gymnasia* were also introduced in already existing settlements, like Babylon.[400] Besides those in the *poleis* of Asia Minor, which

[399] *Cf*. Sherwin–White (1987).
[400] Extensive reference to *gymnasia* and gymnasiarchs makes clear that most – if not all – of the Seleucid (re–)foundations had a *gymnasium* (Laodicea ad Lycum, Hierapolis, Thyateira, Stratonicea in Caria,

had long existed and continued to do so following their traditional patterns, the *gymnasia* in the newly or re–founded Seleucid cities followed an urban model. Although they may sometimes have been private and self–governing entities created and run by the settlers (just as in Ptolemaic Egypt), often they were connected with the status of citizen. Certainly they were seen as one of the central characteristics of civic life, especially from later Hellensitic times onwards. As in Egypt, they had been introduced for the colonists' sake and, while perpetuating Hellenic traditions in a foreign land, they were a means for establishing social differentiation from the local population. As strongholds of Greekness and of the colonists, and thanks to their role in the upholding of the Royal House through the rulers' cult performed in their premises, *gymnasia* enjoyed the special favour of Kings. However, they were not completely 'water–proof' from local influences; the Hellenised strata of the local population did eventually take part in the life of the *gymnasium*, welcoming Greek traditions in their own way of life. In fact, the local urban elite progressively tended to present themselves as 'Greeks', so as to stress their belonging to the ruling class. At the same time, the *gymnasium* itself was not free from local inputs. External, 'barbarous' influences on the leading class, typical of the luxurious oriental life–style, engendered the decadence of the gymnasial insitution in second–century BC Syria, according to Posidonius of

Nysa, Tralles, Themisonium, Apamea in Phrygia, Antioch in Pisidia, Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Antioch ad Orontem, Laodicea ad Mare, Antioch near Daphne, Jerusalem, Seleucia ad Tigrim, Susa, Babylon): *cf*. Cohen (1978) p. 36. A papyrus containing the war bulletin of Ptolemy III Euergetes (Wilcken *Chr*. 1) informs us that the King entered Antioch near Daphne (founded by Seleucus I Nicator in 300 BC), welcomed by the satraps, generals, priests, magistrates and the youth of the local *gymnasium*: *cf*. also Cohen (2006) pp. 80–93. On the debated question of *polis* status for Babylon, *cf*. van der Spek (1987); Sherwin–White and Kuhrt (1993) pp. 149–161; van der Spek (2009).

Apamea (reported in Athenaeus): the *gymnasium* had been turned into a place in which the members of the leisured class wasted their time in fruitless activities.[401]

In conclusion, the local starting conditions were the same as in Egypt and many features of the Seleucid *gymnasia* were common with those of the Ptolemaic ones. However, for as much as modern studies show us, the developments in the nature of *gymnasia* in the Seleucid Empire were different. They were always urban and their civic nature brought forth consequences of *polis* status which are unknown in Egypt: this is mainly due to the different political approaches to the running and organisation of their Kingdoms which the Ptolemies and the Seleucids had.[402]

As for the village *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt, although never civic institutions or without any implication of civic or urban status, they nonetheless occupied a hybrid position: not completely private, but not quite a public institution. Set off as a private

[401] Ath. V 210f: 'καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν δὲ πάντες, φησί, διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας εὐβοσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τἀναγκαῖα κακοπαθείας συνόδους ἔνεμον πλείους, ἵνα εὐωχοῖντο συνεχῶς, τοῖς μὲν γυμνασίοις ὡς βαλανείοις χρώμενοι, ἀλειφόμενοι [δὲ] ἐλαίῳ πολυτελεῖ καὶ μύροις, τοῖς δὲ γραμματείοις—οὕτως γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν συνδείπνων—ὡς οἰκητηρίοις ἐνδιαιτώμενοι, [καὶ] τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας γαστριζόμενοι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἴνοις καὶ βρώμασιν, ὥστε καὶ προσαποφέρειν πολλά, καὶ καταυλούμενοι πρὸς χελωνίδος πολυκρότου ψόφους, ὥστε τὰς πόλεις ὅλας τοῖς τοιούτοις κελάδοις συνηχεῖσθαι.' "And all the people of Syria, Poseidonius says, because of the great plenty which their land afforded were relieved of any distress regarding the necessities of life; hence they held many gatherings in order to feast continually, using the gymnasia as mere baths in which they anointed themselves with expensive oil and perfumes, and living in the 'bonds' – for this is the name by which they called the commons where the diners met – as though they were their private houses, and filling their bellies in them, during the greater part of the day, with wines and foods, even taking many things home besides; delighting their ears with sounds from a loudly–struck harp, so that the towns rang throughout with such noises." (tr. C. B. Gulick). *Cf.* also Groß–Albenhausen (2004). On *gymnasia* in the Seleucid kingdom, *cf.* Rostovtzeff (1941) II pp. 1060–1061; Cohen (1978) pp. 35–36. On Seleucid royal favour towards *gymnasia* and the needs of their members (including the Jews and their alimentary prescriptions: J. *AJ* XII 3.1), *cf.* Ameling (2004) pp. 132–134; Chankowski (2009). On Seleucid city foundations and colonies (and the multi–ethnic composition of their population), *cf.* Cohen (1978); Aperghis (2004) esp. 89–113; Savalli–Lestrade (2005); Cohen (2006); van der Spek (2009).

[402] A systematic study of the evidence for *gymnasia* in the Seleucid Empire, which is obviously beyond the scope of my work, is highly desirable and may indeed yield new, unexpected results.

recreational centre for few Hellenic emigrants, the *gymnasium* eventually[403] became a communal centre for public feasts, contests, cults and ceremonies. Still privately run and used by clubs and associations, it acquired public importance and character as place of the elite (some of its members had a position of prestige and recognition at local level) and was recognised and visited by central and local authorities: an official public meeting place of the Greek–speaking community, the most visible members of which belonged to the rich or well–to–do class, with more or less tight connections to the army, the central bureaucracy and the Royal House.

The private character of *gymnasia* in Egypt was therefore not an exception, but rather the norm, and this may have had repercussions on the development of civic *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt too. In a country where *gymnasia* were normally administered privately with great success, the process which resulted in the supervision of a magistrate over civic *gymnasia* may have been slowed down. On the other hand, the *gymnasia* in the *poleis* will have influenced the administration and development of rural *gymnasia* as well: the emergence of village gymnasiarchs and the tendency to shape the gymnasial governing body of rural *gymnasia* according to the standards of the Hellenistic civic *gymnasia* are clear signs of influence. Moreover, especially with the passing of the time, there was a tendency to concentrate *gymnasia* in the nome–capitals, where the catoeci would reside for preference (the exception, even in Roman times, is the Arsinoite Nome). This gave them a pseudo–civic patina, the fuller consequences of which was to be displayed in Roman times.

[403] Considering P.Enteux. 8 (221 BC, from Samareia, Ars.) as showing the very initial steps of the development of a more public role for the *gymnasia* – recording the request to the strategus for the reconstruction of the *gymnasium*, but yet the absence of a gymnasiarchic organisation and of the official indication of *gymnasium* on the label on the back of the document – I think that by the end of the third century BC the public character of rural *gymnasia* must have been distinctive and perceived.

Gymnasia in the Ptolemaic Empire: Cyrene, Thera, & Cyprus

Before moving on to the analysis of the status of the *gymnasia* of Egypt under Roman rule, it might be useful to see what the gymnasial institution in the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt was like. A detailed and exhaustive treatment of the subject is beyond the scope of this work, which is centred on Egypt itself. Mainly on basis of secondary sources, I shall therefore briefly present only three case–studies, which nevertheless illustrate how complex the patterns of *gymnasia* in the Hellenistic Kingdoms were and what different realities and status the *gymnasium* could enjoy, even within the same Ptolemaic Empire: Cyrene, Thera, and Cyprus.

The *gymnasium* was introduced in the *polis* of Cyrene by the Ptolemies, perhaps by Ptolemy I himself towards the turn of the fourth century BC (the first epigraphic and archaeological attestations are from the third century BC). Before that time, the city had had its own particular and traditional Doric system of military education, centred around the *triakatioi*, an elite group within the army made up of 300 young men; equestrian training of aristocratic heritage occupied a predominant position – and riding always remained a vibrant pursuit in the Cyrenaean society, even well into Roman times. At the head of the *triakatioi* were 17 *triakatiarchoi*: military magistrates who would lead them in war. This organisation gave the city and its magistrates a direct and well established control on military manpower, which could be troublesome for a suzerain (as the satrap Ptolemy realised as early as the last two decades of the fourth century BC, in a famous *diagramma* in which he reshaped Cyrene's constitution after obtaining the control over the city).[404] On the other hand, thanks to the same long military tradition, Cyrene was

[404] SEG IX 1. *Cf*. also Huß (2001) pp. 98–101.

very important for supplying mercenaries to the Ptolemaic army from the very beginning.[405] The Ptolemies therefore had to devise a way to control the possibly dangerous civic military training, without losing a first–class pool of mercenaries. They reformed the Cyrenaean system, putting it into the general frame of the gymnasial tradition common to other parts of the Hellenistic world. The *gymnasium* was introduced into the city; the *triakatioi* ceased to be *corps d'élite* in the army and became basically ephebes; their leaders, the *triakatiarchoi*, were reduced to the number of four and to the status of civic magistrates without military command (they would carry out the duties of ephebarchs, although with a position of prominence); and as many gymnasiarchs (three 'normal' gymnasiarchs and one gymnasiarch of the *presbyteroi*) were placed side by side the *triakatiarchoi*. The *gymnasium* was located in a central position of the city and was entrusted to civic magistrates and controlled by the city, and would serve the needs of the ephebes and ex–ephebes (that is the *presbyteroi*) for their physical training,[406] according to the good old Cyrenaean habit, but no longer linked directly to the army or necessarily with a specific military purpose. Hence, the *gymnasium*, extraneous to Cyrenaean civic traditions and unnecessary to the city, was imported from outside and adapted to local institutions; the result was a peculiar compromise between Ptolemaic military needs and Cyrenaean civic traditions.[407] The *gymnasium* itself was rebuilt, in the same place, in the second century BC in a grandiose fashion, and renamed *Ptolemaion* in honour of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (dynastic cult was certainly performed therein). The place obviously had a very important role in the

[405] For the Cyrenaean presence among the cleruchs in Egypt, *cf.* Bagnall (1984).
[406] The use of horses probably still had an important part to play and would explain the dimensions of the *gymnasium*, excessive compared to the contemporary population of Cyrene: Cordiano (2009) p. 287.
[407] A similar phenomenon may be supposed for the city of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica as well, where in Roman times one finds three ephebarchs next to three gymnasiarchs: SEG XXVI 1839 (I cent. BC – I cent. AD *in.*).

public life of the city from its introduction, and this was only bound to increase, even more after Cyrenaica was bequeathed to Rome in 96 BC: it was the place for the leading members of the civic society, who formed the hard core of the newly shaped Roman municipal administration. The *Ptolemaion* became δαμόσιον γυμνάσιον[408] and finally towards the end of the Augustan period it was converted into the *Caesareum*, the *forum* (and once again the rulers' cult is in the foreground). The process terminated in the second half of the first century AD when some parts of it were destroyed to build a *basilica*. The *gymnasium*, as place for physical exercises (but certainly not military training any more!), was moved elsewhere in a smaller complex and endowed with legacies by a local lady. It continued its activities until the third century AD, always under the care of collegial gymnasiarchs, apart from some periods in the first century AD during the move; their main preoccupation was the supply of oil for the users of the *gymnasium*, which had now become an exclusive gym or bathing establishment.[409]

A completely different picture is given by the evidence from the island of Thera. A couple of inscriptions from the second century BC show us how the *gymnasium* then worked in a context completely outside the civic frame.[410] The local *gymnasium* was solely used by and meant for the Ptolemaic garrison stationed on the island.[411] Its members, called ἀλειφόμενοι, directly organised its management; they elected their own gymnasiarch, who was therefore not a magistrate and had nothing to do with any

[408] SEG IX 4.44 (14/5 BC): τῶι δαμοσίω[ι γυμνασίωι.
[409] *Cf*. Cordiano (2001); Chankowski (2009) pp. 106–108 (who suggests the possibility of a request by the local population for the introduction of the gymnasial and ephebic system); Cordiano (2009). On the presence of Jews in the citizen–body and in the *gymnasium*: *cf*. Applebaum (1979).
[410] IG XII.3 331 and 327 (= C.Ord.Ptol. 33).
[411] We have no evidence for the existence of a civic *gymnasium* of the *polis* of Thera in these or previous times, *pace* Delorme (1960) pp. 82–86. In Imperial times, on the other hand, there was indeed a *gymnasium* with ephebes, in a different position from where the Ptolemaic inscriptions were found – which could hypothetically indicate the garrison's *gymnasium* (*contra* Delorme). When the civic *gymnasium* was 'invented' is not known.

civic magistracy (there was no assembly to do that), and they contributed to the expenses of the *gymnasium* (in particular, the supply of oil).[412] They behaved just like every other private association would have done, with their own president. It was a *gymnasium* for adults, without ephebes and without control from the city; it was here a mere gentlemen's club or an officers' mess. Indeed the fact that its members were Ptolemaic mercenaries, whose well–being was one of the primary royal concerns, made the *gymnasium* of Thera something more than any old club: it was subsidised by the King, at least once by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, who granted to it the income from confiscated local farms.[413] However, the royal favour did not change the status of the *gymnasium* which remained private, foreign to civic life and self–governed (there is no sign of control either from the Crown or the *polis* of Thera). The soldiers on the island clearly organised themselves around their own *gymnasium* because they wanted to have a recreational place where to meet, to have sacrifices (with the related banquets) and gymnastic games and to practice some physical activity, beside and beyond military training,[414] just as did the Hellenic settlers in the villages of Egypt.

Finally, we now turn to Cyprus, where things may have developed in a similar way.[415] The *gymnasium* is well attested and widespread among the *poleis* of the island, and it does not seem unreasonable to believe that it was a universal feature of all Cypriot cities. It is however not always easy to establish whether it was a civic institution, governed by a magistrate. In three cities of the south–west part of Cyprus (Paphos, Amathus and Citium) there is attested what may be the 'class' of οἱ γεγυμνασιαρχηκότες: the term is always accompanied by other similar definitions

[412] A list of donors for the oil for a lustrum is recorded in IG XII.3 327.142–314.
[413] IG XII.3 327.14–15: ὅπως ἔχωσιν εἵς τε τὰς θυ|σίας καὶ τὸ ἄλειμμα δαπανᾶν.
[414] *Cf.* Bagnall (1976) pp. 128–131; Gauthier (1995) p. 8.
[415] For Cyprus, I am exploiting here Bagnall (1976) pp. 57–68.

which seem to indicate individuals who had been serving the city as magistrates (strategi, *hegetores*, *archontes*, *agoranomoi*).[416] At least in second/first century BC, therefore, the gymnasiarchy in these three cities (and presumably in the rest of the island) was a civic magistracy and was duly included in the *pedigree* of respectable local notables. The emergence of a 'class' who socially distinguished itself through the government of the *polis* is not a novelty in the late Hellenistic times, although on Cyprus one would find the phenomenon more clearly spelt out. On the other hand, this 'class' of the ex–officials could simply indicate membership of a college or association which the people in question automatically joined upon leaving office:[417] this would agree with what we know of one of them, Potamon son of Aegyptos, who is said to be one 'of the ex–gymnasiarchs, of the ex–*egetores*, and of the *technitai* of Dionysius and the gods *Euergetai'*.[418] Even if with the status of an officials' college, it could represent all the same a prestigious social cast. At all events, what interests us more at the moment is the fact that the *gymnasium* was under the control of the city and of civic magistrates in these three cities from the second century BC.[419] A quick glance at earlier

[416] *ABSA* 56 (1961) 37 no. 99, ll. 2–5 (Paphos, 105–95 BC: Ποτάμωνι[α] Αἰγύπτ[ου], | τῶν ἐν Πάφωι γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων | καὶ ἡγητορευκότων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν | Διόνυσον καὶ Θεοὺς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν), *GIBM* IV.2 975, ll. 2–5 and 7–10 (Amathus, late II cent. BC: ἐφ' ἱερέως Κύπρου Ἀφρ[οδίτης] | Χαρίνου τοῦ Χαρίνου [τῶν ἐστρα]|τηγηκότων καὶ γεγυμν[ασιαρχηκό]|των καὶ ἀρξάντων … Ἀρισ[τίων Ἀντή]|νορος, τῶν ἐστρατηγη[κότων καὶ] | γεγυμνα[σ]ιαρχηκότ[ων καὶ ἀρξάν]|των, ὁ ἡγήτωρ) and I.Kition 2030, ll. 2–5 (Citium, late I cent. BC: Ἀσκληπιοδώρου το[ῦ] | Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Σίλλιδος τῶ[ν] | γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων καὶ ἠγορανομ[η]|κό[τ]ων). In the first and last case, Potamon and the wife of Asklepiodoros were honoured respectively by τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων (l. 2) and by [ἡ] πόλι[ς κ]αὶ ὁ δῆμος (l. 1): this clearly implies a public engagement at civic level. Potamon was further honoured a couple of years later, always by the Cyprian *koinon*, but with different(ly penned) titles: *ABSA* 56 (1961) 39 no. 107, ll. 2–3 (Paphos, 95–88 BC: τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον τῆς | νήσου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων, τὸν γυμνασίαρχον – this time, the man may have been gymnasiarch in office, as well as vice–strategus and head of the mines, while being honoured).

[417] Α συναρχία τῶν ἐν Πάφωι | στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐστρα[τηγ]ηκότων is attested in *ABSA* 56 (1961) 21 no. 54, ll. 4–5 (Paphos, 154 BC).

[418] On the association of the *technitai* of Dionysus (and their role in the dynastic cult), *cf.* San Nicolò (1972^2) I pp. 46–47; Lightfoot (2002).

[419] Later local documentary evidence corroborates this view: *ABSA* 56 (1961) 36 no. 98 (Paphos, 105 BC: Kallippos, who undertook a plethora of offices and charges, is honoured by the city); SEG XX 134

gymnasial documentation from the same cities may give us some clues about the situation before that time.[420] Three inscriptions are relevant and they all show, in my view, how the *gymnasium* in the third century BC was not linked to the city, but rather to the Ptolemaic mercenaries garrisoned on the island:[421] the οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου are particularly devoted to the Ptolemaic governor of Cyprus and his army, and to the Royal House, and they seem to receive contributions from mercenaries for the purchase of oil. It seems very likely, therefore, that the members of the *gymnasium* here were soldiers (just as in the case of second–century BC Thera). The *gymnasium* would have been therefore introduced to the island as an answer to the particular needs of the Ptolemaic mercenaries. It is well known that Cyprus before Alexander's conquest had a well established and, in some cases complex, political system of restless, semi–independent, hereditary, autocratic monarchies of Mycenaean–Phoenician heritage within the Achaemenid Empire: city life was not unknown but it was organised in an archaic manner of Mycenaean aristocratic type. *Polis* institutions (magistracies, assemblies, and *boulai*) were absent, and with them the *gymnasium*. The Ptolemies abolished the existing Kingdoms and reformed the administration in the direction of a Hellenistic

(Citium, early I cent. BC: a woman is honoured with a statue by her mother, who is keen to point out that both her father and father–in–law served as gymnasiarchs); Kolb (2003) pp. 239–240 (Paphos, before 15 BC: a gymnasiarch is honoured by the city).

[420] Since we only seem to know with relative certainty that the gymnasiarchy was a civic magistracy in these cities, I do not think worth focusing on material from elsewhere on Cyprus which gives us no unequivocal testimonies about the status of the *gymnasium*. For the *gymnasium* in Paphos, *cf*. Kolb (2003).

[421] Mitford (1960) (Paphos, 209–204 BC: the οἱ ἀπὸ γυ[μνασίο]υ (l. 1) honoured the son of the governor Pelops with a statue, for the merits and devotion his father had continuously showed towards the Royal Family and towards the members of the *gymnasium*. Mitford stresses the link between the *gymnasium* and the mercenaries on the island 'in early and middle Hellenistic times', p. 111); I.Kition 2014 (Citium, 246–221 BC: οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίο[υ] dedicate a statue to Ptolemy III Euergetes) and SB IX 10095 = SEG XX 174 (Paphos, 224/3 BC: list of contribution for the oil supply (presumably to the *gymnasium*) by mercenaries). One could also add SEG XX 198 (Paphos, 197–193 BC: the οἱ ἀπὸ γ[υμ]νασίου (l. 3) honour the *archisomatophylax* for his merits and devotion to the Royal Family)

polis system.[422] In this respect, the mercenaries who were to assure the stable control of the island on behalf of the Ptolemaic sovereigns would be the first and privileged carriers of social and 'cultural' imports from other parts of the Hellenistic world:[423] the soldiers within their garrisons installed the *gymnasium* for their own needs. Owing to overwhelming exposure to Greek influence, according to common patterns in the Hellenistic world and thanks to the relatively stable Ptolemaic control, the gymnasial institution was later (from the second century BC) diffused to and taken over by the local cities,[424] in that process which had resulted in 'the thorough permeation of Hellenic political forms through Cypriot cities'.[425] Similarities between the situation on Cyprus and in Egypt before Ptolemaic rule are evident: both countries had administrative and social characteristics different from Macedonia and the Greek world, and in both of them the mercenaries played a paramount role in introducing contemporary Hellenic traditions. However, Cyprus had a feature which Egypt mostly lacked and which determined different administrative and social developments: cities. Although not in the proper *polis* way, the old city–Kingdoms of Cyprus could easily be converted into Hellenistic *poleis*. Their people (who were partly Greek or Cypro–Mycenaean and partly Phoenician, and had always had strong links with Greece) were accustomed to consider themselves attached to one particular city as their own fatherland and Cypriot elites certainly found it easy to manage their local affairs according to civic institutions and to adapt themselves to a life–style which was probably not felt to be particularly

[422] On the history of fifth/fourth–century BC Cyprus, *cf.* Maier (1994).
[423] For the ethnics of foreign soldiers on Cyprus, *cf.* Bagnall (1976) Appendix B, pp. 263–266.
[424] In the city of Arsinoe, founded by Ptolemy II, the *gymnasium* might have been introduced and put under control of a civic magistrate since its origin: *cf.* Bagnall (1976) p. 64 and the inscription in *Archiv* 13 (1939), p. 29 (Arsinoe, 246–221 BC) with the very questionable restoration [γυμνασια]ρχοῦντος | [τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ Στ]ησαγόρου (ll. 3–4) as dating formula. For the development of the *gymnasium* in Curium, with the increasing role of the city in it, *cf.* also Bagnall and Drew–Bear (1974) pp. 183–188.
[425] Bagnall (1976) p. 76.

extraneous. For this reason, the *gymnasium*, introduced by and for the soldiers' benefit, was soon happily passed on to and adopted by the cities of Cyprus, which made it their own and organised it according to civic standards. In Egypt, on the other hand, the mercenaries soon became settlers in the *chora*, outside any civic background. The *gymnasium* was thus introduced in the villages for the settlers' sake, there to remain as status symbol and 'private club' of the Hellenic group.

In this brief *excursus* into three possessions of the Ptolemaic Empire, we have seen how the *gymnasium* could show different characteristics, display various origins and have distinct developments, under the influence of local environment and different political strategies. But it is now time to return to Egypt and to the changes which the Romans introduced in the *gymnasia* of the country.

☙ *Roman Period*

The Roman conquest brought a different reinterpretation to the village *gymnasia* and to their nature as 'private clubs' (although some *interregnum* did occur, as the village gymnasiarchs of the Augustan period attest).[426] The new rulers restructured the system, confined the 'rural' *gymnasia* to the metropoleis and extended the same model (which was an evolution of the civic one) to all the *gymnasia* in the country.

By the first years of the first century AD, *gymnasia* were concentrated in the metropoleis of the nomes only, and put in the hands of local liturgists according to a scheme of increasingly compulsory public services. They started a process which brought them to have the character of real public buildings under the control of the metropolis: its fullest (and undoubtedly most clearly attested) state was achieved under

[426] *Cf.* pp. 80ff.

Septimius Severus, when the *gymnasium* was controlled and administered by the council. But this is just the final point of a process started little more than two centuries earlier, when the local newly–established gymnasial nobility took on the administration of the *gymnasia* on the metropolis' behalf. This is not surprising: even if the Romans did not plan to transform the *gymnasia* into public buildings from the very beginning, the creation of the gymnasial class as a state recognised privileged class certainly contributed to the transformation of the status which rural *gymnasia* had enjoyed in Ptolemaic times. Even though they changed little in regard to the activities offered in the premises (with the exception of the baths) which remained leisure centres, their status could not be maintained as purely private. After all, as we have seen, towards the end of Ptolemaic times rural *gymnasia* did indeed exhibit already a position of public importance in the nome, as meeting centres of the *Hellenes*, the ruling class: this feature was stressed and increased in Roman times. As focal and vital centres for the gymnasial class, the *gymnasia* of the *chora* were officially invested by the Romans with the nature of defining constituents of the metropolitan leading class in whose hands the local administration was to lie. If belonging to the *gymnasium* constituted belonging to a privileged class organised, structured, controlled and sanctioned by the state, the *gymnasium* could not have remained a simple private institution, a private gentlemen's club.

The formal model adopted for the new role which the metropolitan *gymnasia* had to play may have been taken from the civic *gymnasia*. Indeed in Roman times they both seem to function and are organised in the same way, with magistrates and liturgists taking care of them on the *polis'* and metropolis' behalf (differences existed all the same: the biggest one of all is the question of citizenship, a concept which never came

into play for the metropolitan *gymnasia* – of course, until the *Constitutio Antoniniana*). After all this system had been functioning well in the *poleis* of the Roman East for some time, and the point in the creation of local recognised gymnasial nobility was indeed to have them administering their local affairs (*gymnasium* included), as was happening elsewhere in the Roman Empire.

The public development of the metropolitan *gymnasia* may be seen in the developing character of the gymnasiarchy too: by the second half of the first century AD, gymnasiarchs seem to be entirely municipal 'offices'. If not quite a magistracy, the gymnasiarchy was nonetheless a compulsory service to the metropolis, to which liturgists were nominated by their predecessors or by the local administration. The private character which the gymnasiarchy had enjoyed in Ptolemaic times had completely vanished.[427]

Certainly, the public role of the *gymnasium* as 'second *agora*' (or should we speak here openly of *forum*?) was very much stressed in Roman times, as we can see from the case of Alexandria, where political meetings (sometimes to the detriment of physical activities) and animated gatherings were held in the *gymnasium*.[428] This feature was not absent from some of the *gymnasia* in the *chora* too: in Xois in the Delta and Oxyrhynchus the *gymnasium* may have been later used for some governmental use.[429] But normally the *gymnasium* of Roman Egypt enhanced its features as leisure centre, developing more and more towards bathing establishment, where the euergetistic acts were very much welcomed. Its position as public place within the metropolis was stressed in the monumentalisation of the premises, while the metropoleis themselves as

[427] *Cf.* pp. 83ff.
[428] *Cf.* Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 118.
[429] *Cf.* Burkhalter (1992).

a whole were undergoing a process of urbanisation in the framework of their progressive municipalisation.[430]

[430] *Cf.* Orth (1983) pp. 228–229; Łukaszewicz (1986) pp. 58–60; Bowman (1992). *Cf.* also pp. 56ff.

GYMNASIAL STATUS

After the analysis of the status of the *gymnasium* as an institution, it is now time to turn to its people and probe our sources more closely concerning the status they enjoyed as a result of their gymnasial membership.

Firstly, attention will be paid to the rules to access the *gymnasium* and how the members of the *gymnasium* were officially labelled. This is important because it will show how they formed a very well–defined and self–conscious group. By the same token, the treatment of those who may want to take part in the life of the *gymnasium* will show the different approaches towards outsiders.

Finally, the social status of the people of the *gymnasium* (considering especially their link with the army, administration and politics) will give an idea about the sort of people who formed the community of the *gymnasia* and how intertwined they may have been with the upper strata of the ruling class.

I. Access & Status Designations

The Ptolemaic evidence does not offer transparent information about the prerequisites to gain access to the *gymnasium* (should there have been any) any more than does the Roman. But it does provide indications for the designation of the members, from which it is possible to reach plausible conclusions to clarify the first point as well.

The definition of the members of the *gymnasium* is always strictly connected with the institution itself, and the terms applied to define them refer to their belonging to it,

and never to a more general social status or position within the society, nor to ethnic origin.[431] However, membership of the most quintessentially Greek institution brought with it implications of assertion of a well–defined aspect of identity and status: the belonging to the 'Greek' (immigrant) class. By taking part in the life and activities of the *gymnasium* an individual shared the traditional Greek customs of the immigrants and presented himself as essentially 'Greek', no matter what his actual origins were. Although they are never directly defined as *Hellenes*, the members of the *gymnasium* can however be safely regarded as such from the social point of view. Being or behaving as a *Hellen*, therefore, seems to be the first entry requirement.

The second prerequisite for membership may be financial. The people of the *gymnasium* had to have means to support themselves without having their offspring engaged in daily professional or manual activities: the family of the *ephebes* could afford to have their children train in the *gymnasium* instead of sending them to learn a profession or to work altogether. The adult members could also engage themselves in recreational and sporting activities, which might involve contributions and fees, if necessary. This does not necessarily mean that all the gymnasial families were rich members of the leisure–class, as the case of the Ptolemaic lampadarch Hermon seems to attest: they were nonetheless living above the subsistence level.[432]

[431] In only one case does one see an ethnic clearly and officially connected with a group of people of the *gymnasium*: the Macedonians of the *gymnasium* of Sebennytos in a second/first–century BC dedication (SB I 1106, re–edition by Van 't Dack (1984)). They represent the members of a military unit who were also members of the local *gymnasium*.

[432] *Cf.* pp. 93ff. Therefore I should be more cautious than Jones (1971^2) p. 308 in stating that membership in the *gymnasium* 'was an expensive luxury reserved for the rich'.

The third and in fact only entry requirement, of which we can be absolutely certain, is the gender: they were all male.[433]

I.1. Ptolemaic οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, ἔφηβοι & μέλλακες

In Ptolemaic times the members of the *gymnasium*, as a sort of 'category' or social group, can be generally called οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου 'those from the *gymnasium*'. This designation appears only in seven inscriptions[434] – which nonetheless show that the term was apparently employed all over Egypt. However, evidence from the Greek *poleis* of Egypt is unfortunately often too meagre to allow solid conclusions, and the following analysis mainly focuses on the *gymnasia* in the Egyptian countryside, for which enough information is available.

[433] Women–gymnasiarchs are attested in Egypt in later Roman times, when the gymnasiarchy was a liturgy and did not imply actual involvement in the *gymnasium* beyond the disbursement of money for its up–keep. *Cf*. pp. 215ff.

[434] I.Prose 15 = SB III 7246 (III–II cent. BC?, an honorific decree from Luxor in Upper Egypt); Strack (1903) p. 548 no. 26 (185–181 BC?, dedication of unknown provenance, though I believe it is Terenouthis: *cf*. my forthcoming re–edition of the inscription in *ZPE*); I.Th.Sy. 189 (135 BC, a decree from Omboi in Upper Egypt); I.Prose 27 = SB V 8031 (104 BC, a decree from Ptolemais? The expression οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου has been supplied); SEG VIII 504 = SB V 8118 (a second–century BC dedication from Thmouis in the eastern Delta); I.Prose 41 = SB V 7746 (57 BC, an honorary decree from Aphroditopolis in Upper Egypt); SB I 1106, re–edition by Van 't Dack (1984), (a second/first–century BC dedication from Sebennytos in the central Delta).
In EKM 1 Beroia 1 (180 BC, gymnasiarchic law from Beroea) we have οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου (B, 48–49, 72) to define the users of the *gymnasium*; the editors see in them the people aged 20–30 (also called *neoi*, *neoteroi* or *neaniskoi* in the inscription), therefore excluding ephebes and the governing body: *cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 57 and 76–78.
The expression οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου never occurs on its own in the literary sources. Only once does Strabo, when speaking about the festivals in the city of Acharaca, use οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου νέοι καὶ ἔφηβοι: τότε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ταῦρον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου νέοι καὶ ἔφηβοι γυμνοὶ λίπ' ἀληλιμμένοι μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνακομίζουσιν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον· ἀφεθεὶς δὲ μικρὸν προελθὼν πίπτει καὶ ἔκπνους γίνεται 'then about noon, the youth and ephebes of the gymnasium, naked and anointed with oil, take up a bull and with great haste carry him into the cave: there once he is set free, the bull walks forward a bit and then falls down and dies' (Str. XIV 1.44).

The term οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου is mainly used with an official connotation. It refers to the whole group of people belonging to the *gymnasium* considered in their 'legal capacity' to produce decrees and dedications to honour their eminent members. The language employed in these texts sharply resembles that which one finds both in the decrees from Hellenistic cities and in the decisions and dedications of private associations.[435] Like a *polis*, the community of the *gymnasium* expressed its independent power of decision in decrees and motions voted in a sort of assembly; and like an association, they gathered in general meetings (συναγωγαί) to decide on the running of the premises, on banquets and other leisure activities.

In this respect, a particularly interesting inscription, although fragmentary, comes from Omboi, in Upper Egypt.[436] The *neaniskoi* (and the ephebes?)[437] decided to put up a stela in the *gymnasium*, next to the founder's statue, with an inscription of the letters of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III[438] to the members of the *gymnasium* and to the strategus Boethos,[439] so as to remember the honour received when the sovereign granted them what they had asked in a petition through two delegates

[435] Despite the *lacunae* (and leaving aside the subsequent restorations, which can be always debatable), one can see how the terminology clearly recalls civic assemblies, decrees and voting procedures as well as gatherings, dispositions and practices in play in private associations: I.Prose 15 (III–II cent. BC?, from Luxor, Upper Egypt; ll. 2–3: ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ | γυμνασίου; ll. 11–12: δέδο|χθαι ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ στεφανοῦν; l. 18: τὸ δ̣ό̣γμ̣α̣ [ἀναγε]γραμμένον); I.Th.Sy. 189 (135 BC, from Omboi, Upper Egypt; l. 6: δέδοχθαι — — τ]οῖς νεανίσκοις ἀναγ[ρ]ά[ψ]αι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτ[ο]); I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC from Ptolemais?; ll. 11–12: συναινέσαντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν δεδογμένοις κρίνομεν γίνεσθ̣[αι τὰ] | κ̣ρ̣ι̣θ̣έ̣ν̣τ̣α̣ [πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν]; l. 16: ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συναγωγῆς [τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου]; l. 17: δέδοχ]θ̣α̣ι̣ ἀναθεῖναι); I.Prose 41 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt; ll. 3–4: [ἔδο]ξεν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀφροδίτης π[όλει c.15 γυμνασί|ο]υ; ll. 15–16: [καθὼς διὰ τῶν ἐψηφισμέ|νω]ν πρὸ τούτων δογμάτων δεδ[ήλωται).

[436] I.Th.Sy. 189 (135 BC).

[437] The passage is fragmentary: [– – – – – δεδόχθαι – ? – τ]οῖς νεανίσκοις (l. 6). Wilcken (1913) p. 414 proposes: δεδόχθαι τοῖς τε ἐφήβοις καὶ τ]οῖς νεανίσκοις.

[438] It is worth noting that in the inscription the names of the King and the Queen consort Cleopatra III have been chiselled out: in the dynastic strife between Ptolemy VIII and his sister Cleopatra II, the community of the *gymnasium* in Omboi supported the latter and therefore applied a process of *damnatio memoriae* against the names of the hated parties. *Cf.* Wilcken (1913) pp. 411–412 and Huß (2001) p. 612.

[439] On Boethos, *cf*. note 292.

Aristomachos and Themistokles.[440] The letters of the sovereigns refer to οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ὄμβοις γυμνασίου:[441] whatever role the *neaniskoi* and the ephebes might have played in the business,[442] it is clear that in the sovereigns' eyes their official addressee was the community of the *gymnasium* as a whole, whose official designation was οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου.

It seems therefore clear to me that the term οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου indicated not only ephebes and the youth but also the governing body and the adults who took part in the life and running of the *gymnasium*. The presence of adults in *gymnasia* of Egypt is well attested. I should even think it was vital; as argued earlier, the settlers introduced the *gymnasium* into Egypt, which had to respond to their needs in the first place. It is therefore not surprising that adults not only looked after the organisation and management of the place but were also active as participants in competitions and races centred around the *gymnasium*.[443] Not to mention the role they played within the associations housed therein.[444] A similar view is supported by an inscription which presumably originates from the *polis* Ptolemais, in which *men* worthy of the place are introduced into the local *gymnasium*. The text is also the only document which clearly refers to a specific procedure for access into the *gymnasium*.

[440] The reason for the petition is lost in lacuna.
[441] L. 13 (supplied) and l. 17.
[442] É. Bernand (I.Th.Sy. p. 131) thinks that it seems that the *neaniskoi* had the initiative to write to the sovereigns and sent two among them to hand in the petition. Similarly Wilcken (1913) p. 414 thinks that they themselves must be the author of the decree.
[443] *Cf.* Hermon, appointed lampadarch for the race of men: BGU VI 1256 (from Philadelpheia, Ars., II cent. BC). Men racing next to *paides* and ephebes in a gymnasial context are attested also in Chios: McCabe, Chios 57 = CIG 2214 (*ca* 200 BC).
[444] *Cf.* pp. 112ff.

The document in question is a decree of the community (κοινόν) of the *gymnasium*.[445] Among the decisions taken to honour the King and the ex–gymnasiarch Sarapion, the *bouleutai* have decided to introduce 15 worthy men into the *gymnasium* and the citizen–body.[446] The new members of the *gymnasium* (and new citizens) will have to pay a sum of money which will be given to the κοινόν to cover the expenses for the statues. Moreover, ten other men chosen by Sarapion will be admitted into the *gymnasium*, as decided by the members of the *gymnasium*.

Admission into the *gymnasium* is granted here as an honour (which, however, implies a disbursement or 'entry fee', as often happens). Furthermore, this particular honour is not granted exclusively by the community of the people of the *gymnasium* but also and in the first instance by the members of the council. I have already explained it in terms of independent inter–relation between the *boule* and the *gymnasium*.[447]

The procedure of access as it appears in this inscription may represent an exceptional case in the normality of the *gymnasium*'s life: the new members are granted admission as a joint honour with the citizenship, for a particular reason in an extraordinary circumstance; it does not seem plausible to me to suppose that the standard procedure for admission was always to be thought of in these terms of honorific recognition nor that a relevant decree was to be issued normally to welcome new members.[448] They were adults, in this case not citizens[449] and perhaps some did not

[445] I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC, from Ptolemais?). As said, the phrasing κοινὸν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου is supplied, and it seems quite certain.
[446] Ll. 6–8: εἰσαγαγέσθαι δ'εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πολιτογραφῆσαι ἄνδρα δεκαπέντε ὄντας ἀξίους τοῦ τόπου.
[447] *Cf.* pp. 124ff.
[448] Rostovtzeff (1941) p. 1588 note 23 affirms that this inscription 'gives a good idea of the corporative life of a group of Greeks formed around the gymnasium (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου). There was probably a fixed number of members and strict rules about admission of new members. The organization of the group is almost a copy of the city organisation'.

live in the city:[450] they joined the *gymnasium* association from outside, and as with the membership of every other association they have to pay a fee. If the fashion in which they did so is here exceptional (with the issue of an honorary decree, etc.), the substance of the act must not have been uncommon. I have no doubts that many others did the same in the various *gymnasia* of Egypt: people from outside the *gymnasium* world or new to the local environment would join the *gymnasium* and contribute to its upkeep, provided that they were 'worthy of the place'.

But for many a 'normal' practice for entering the *gymnasium* may have been to be living in the place where the *gymnasium* was (and have the right to be citizens, in the case of a Greek *polis*?) and to be young enough to be entered in the organised structure of the ephebes.[451]

The term ἔφηβοι is indeed used to define the young members of the *gymnasium*, exactly as happened in classical Greece.[452] But unlike in the *poleis* of Greece, the

[449] At least the fifteen men mentioned in the decree of the *bouleutai*.
[450] The non–residency of the new members must have been even hoped for to a certain extent: enlarging the network of 'important' acquaintances outside the domestic borders was probably one of the desires of the *gymnasium*'s community.
[451] I am not sure whether the access to the *gymnasium* was regulated by specific laws and decrees of the assemblies of the people of the *gymnasium* or of the cities, as Rostovtzeff (1941) p. 1060. Obviously, regulations or common practice on the matter did exist.
[452] The only document which clearly links the term ἔφηβοι with a young age is unfortunately from the Augustan age and could therefore be the result of the new policies introduced by the Roman rulers: it is the aforementioned inscription of the association of landowners from Psenemphaia in the Delta (I.Prose 49, 5 BC: *cf.* note 109). There, the son of Apollonios is said to be still a young boy (ll. 34–35: ἔτι ἀκμὴν παῖδα | ὄντα) but nevertheless is granted the right to dine together with the association before being entered in the ephebic list (l. 36: πρὶν ἢ εἰσκριθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους). I do not think that it would be an error to suppose a similar situation in Ptolemaic times: perhaps the age for the ephebate (i.e. for entering the *gymnasium*) was not set at 14 as it was in Roman times, although a continuity between the Ptolemaic and Roman periods seems probable in many aspects of administrative and social life. *Cf.* also Legras (1999) p. 142 and 218–221: he sets the age of the ephebate at 14, whereas 16 would be the age of majority in the Ptolemaic period. On the other hand, a compulsory registration with physical description of slaves (and free–born children?) when they turned 14 (i.e. in their fifteenth year of life, according to the customary age reckoning of the time: *cf.* Kruit (1998)) is attested by C.Ptol.Sklav. 8 (175 BC, from Oxy.): 14 was therefore the age of majority and slaves were liable for fiscal purposes (or rather their

ephebate in the vast majority of the Egyptian *gymnasia* (with the possible exclusion of the three Greek *poleis*) is in no way connected with citizenship, civic education nor necessarily with proper urban centres, nor is it in anyway controlled by the local administration.

Ephebes are all attested in documents from the second century BC, with one exception: the ἔφηβοι appear to have had a relevant – yet unclear – role in the Alexandrian public celebrations for the deified Queen Arsinoe, alongside the other members of the Greek community (and of the *gymnasium*?), as attested in the already mentioned literary papyrus *On the Demes of Alexandria* by Satyrus.[453] A similar involvement in other religious celebrations of dynastic cult (especially connected to the context of the *gymnasium*) elsewhere is easily supposed.

The period of the ephebate was one year,[454] during which the boys probably attended the *gymnasium* regularly for physical exercises and training (as well as educational purposes?).[455] Thereafter they continued to show their feeling of belonging to the *gymnasium* through the formation of some sort of club of synephebes[456] or ex–ephebes.

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masters were). They were issued with a 'passport' with their physical features well indicated: a practice which was certainly useful in case of fugitives (*cf*. Bieżuńska–Małowist (1984) pp. 103–107).

[453] P.Oxy. XXVII 2465, fr. 2 col. 1 (III cent. BC).

[454] *Cf.* Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) p. 858; Marrou (1964[6]) pp. 157–158. The annual duration of the ephebate is well documented in the inscriptions. For instance, I.Fayoum I 21 (II–I cent. BC) from the Arsinoite Nome (Theadelpheia?) is a dedication to Hermes and Heracles by a boy who is ephebe during the 25th year of reign of an unknown Ptolemy (ἐφηβεύων τὸ κε ἔτος). This inscription is the only one (together with the deeply fragmentary Ptolemaic dedication SB I 5069 probably from Alexandria, which mentions ἐφηβευόμ[ενος or ἐφηβευόμ[ενοι) with mention of an ephebe still 'in office': all the other documents speak of ex–ephebes.

[455] The evidence at our disposal does not permit us to say what type of training was carried out in the *gymnasia*, especially whether for military purposes. *Cf*. Chankowski (2004) for the military character of the ephebate in Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor.

[456] The συνέφηβοι are documented in three inscriptions. Milne, Greek Inscriptions–Cairo no. 9301 (*ca* 150 BC from Gizeh) is a fragmentary dedication to Hermes and Heracles by a man who seems to hold an office in the 'community' of the synephebes: the passage is in a lacuna and the editors proposed to restore treasurer (ταμίας) or ex–gymnasiarch of the synephebes. Yet the matter remains completely unclear.

The three inscriptions[457] which mention ex–ephebes provide us with interesting information concerning their organisation: they defined themselves as 'those who were ephebes during the x year' (οἱ τὸ x ἔτος ἐφηβευκότες), they were divided into αἱρέσεις under the name of a chief[458] and they had some kind of internal organisation with people in charge of certain offices. They were therefore organised as a club or association.

It is uncertain whether this sort of division in αἱρέσεις referred to the organisation they had during the period of the ephebate: the documents are silent in this respect and it is mentioned only in connection to ex–ephebes.[459] What is clear is that the term was strictly connected to a person to whom the αἵρεσις was presumably entrusted.[460]

Clearer are I.Philae I 32–33 (89 BC) from the island of Philae in Upper Egypt: these are two graffiti on the wall of the temple of Isis, preserving two acts of *proskynema* to the goddess, made by Tryphon, *synephebos* and subordinate of Kastor (relative of the King and responsible to the *idios logos* and *oikonomos* of the King) for his parents, brothers, friends, *synepheboi* and for his superior, his sister (i.e. wife) and his children (I do believe, unlike Bernand in I.Philae pp. 242–3, that here the wife and the children are Kastor's). Tryphon and Kastor were ephebes together and then, as good friends and companions, joined the 'club' of the *synepheboi*. They both entered (though on different levels) the Ptolemaic administration.

[457] I.Fayoum III 200 (98 BC from Ars., dedication of a τόπος to the god Souchos); I.Fayoum III 201 (95 BC from Ars., dedication of a τόπος to the god Souchos); I.Fayoum III 202 (94 BC perhaps from Tebtynis in the Ars., dedication of a τόπος to the god Soknebtynis). Moreover, the word ἐφηβευκότες has been supplied in two fragmentary dedications: SEG XX 671 (116–108 BC from the temple of Amun in Karnak, next to Thebae: they make a dedication to Ammon and some Greek deities) and I.Delta I 19 (Ptolemaic inscription from Canopos in the western Delta, in which two men dedicate a chapel).

[458] Αἵρεσις of Ammonios (I.Fayoum III 200); αἵρεσις of Asklepiades, son of Asklepiades (I.Fayoum III 201); αἵρεσις of Paraibates (I.Fayoum III 202).

[459] A connection to the division existing in the ephebate is affirmed by Marrou (1964[6]) p. 168 ('les anciens camarades de la même classe, αἵρεσις'), by Rostovtzeff (1941) p. 1059 ('*alumni* of particular years, the so–called αἱρέσεις'), by Brady (1936) p. 12 ('small groups in order to facilitate instruction') and by Legras (1999) pp. 140–141 ('l'*hairésis* doit être l'«unité», l'«équipe», la «section» d'instruction, où se formaient les éphèbes').

[460] Cf. Nilsson (1955) p. 91: '... soll daran erinnert werden, daß griechische Vereine oft durch den Namen des Stifters oder des Obmannes bezeichnet werden. Diese Vereine hatten einen Obmann und einen Sekretär und konnten Eigentum besitzen'. The practice of identifying a unit by the name of its leader (and offspring) is customary in the army: our old friend Hermon (pp. 93ff), for instance, is τῶν Πρωτογένου | καὶ Πρωτογένου τοῦ υἱοῦ (BGU IV 1256, 4–5). Legras (1999) p. 141 points out that it is uncertain whether the head of the αἱρέσεις was an adult or an ephebe himself, chosen for his particular qualities. As said above (*cf.* pp. 91ff), I am tempted to see in the leader of the αἵρεσις the same charge undertaken elsewhere (and in second–century AD Egypt) by the ephebarch. In Roman times there is also the presence of Alexandrian συμμορίαι under a συμμοριάρχης, attested from the very end of the first century AD: *cf.* p. 186 and San Nicolò (1972[2]) I p. 35.

Their feeling of belonging to the *gymnasium* maintained itself, alive and well for many years after the ephebate: they still identified themselves as ex–ephebes 11, 12 and 14 years later.[461]

One inscription[462] preserves the mention of the term μέλλακες of the 35th regnal year of an unnamed Ptolemaic King (who should be Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II): fourteen boys who made a dedication to Hermes and Heracles. There is no mention of a *gymnasium*. Yet the presence of the gymnasial deities and the use of the year to define themselves do suggest the gymnasial and ephebic background.

The word μέλλακες is explained by Hesychius (*s.v.*) as νεώτεροι. They are therefore young boys, possibly connected to the *gymnasium*: they should not be ephebes, since they are not described as such. We would indeed wonder why they do not bear that title, if they had been. A solution can be found in the meaning of the word itself: it comes from the root of the verb μέλλω[463] which indicates an intention or an action which will be put into execution soon. Bearing this in mind, the μέλλακες should be 'those who are about to be'. Given Hesychius' explanation, the annual time indication and the mention of the two gods (which all point towards a gymnasial context), the only reasonable understanding of the expression would be 'those who are about to be ephebes'.[464] The use of this term in a request for inclusion into the lists of

[461] Respectively I.Fayoum III 202, 201 and 200.
[462] I.Louvre 17 (134/3 BC), probably from Alexandria.
[463] *DELG s.v.* μέλλω: '... de ces composés, est issu l'hypocoristique μέλλαξ m. «jeune garçon»...' (p. 682).
[464] *Cf.* Fraser (1972) I p. 86 'those who had just entered, or were about to enter, their ephebic training' and Legras (1999) pp. 134–135.

Alexandrian ephebes in a papyrus of the early Roman times corroborates this interpretation.[465]

Therefore, besides the ephebate it is possible to think that (perhaps at least in Alexandria, where the inscription seems to come from) there was also a year of pre–ephebate, in which the young boys (the μέλλακες precisely) started to be introduced into the gymnasial environment. We do not know more.

In conclusion, the young boys who went to the *gymnasium* were socially indicated with particular designations (ἔφηβοι and μέλλακες) which located them in a particular place within the Greek–speaking society of Egypt. They embarked on an experience which lasted for their entire life, far beyond the year of their actual ephebate: they joined the club (and enjoyed the status) of synephebes and ex–ephebes.

Therefore, it is clear that belonging to the *gymnasium* and being officially part of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου had some social distinction or brought certain privileges (even though 'only' of status perhaps): it was a sort of 'exclusive club' and people were happy (and ready to pay) to be honoured with its membership.

I.1.i. The νεανίσκοι

A category of people which one often finds connected to the *gymnasium* are the so–called νεανίσκοι.

[465] P.Oxy. XLIX 3463 l. 20 (58 AD). *Cf.* also the term μελλογυμνασίαρχος in P.Lond. III 1166 l. 4 (42 AD, from Hermopolis) where it is used to indicate a young man who is going to be gymnasiarch in one year and one month's time, as well as Χ̣α̣ι̣ρή̣μω̣ν̣ μελλογυμνασί(αρχος) in the list P.Oxy. Hels. 15, 6 (ca 50–60 AD, from Oxy.). *Cf.* also the late P.Oxy. IX 1202 (217 AD) with mention of οἱ ἐφηβεύειν μέλλοντες (l. 15) and especially μελλοέφηβος (l. 17) used to indicate a young boy erroneously left out of the ephebic list.

The meaning and use of the term is not unique to the gymnasial environment, as a quick glance at the Ptolemaic sources will show. The term indicates an age–class at large: the youth.[466] In this respect it can be used neutrally to indicate a young person without any particular specification, or a young member of the *gymnasium*, or a young recruit or soldier in the army.[467] As an age–group they can gather in association in a fashion well attested in Egypt and the Hellenistic world.[468]

In the gymnasial environment the word denotes the youth, either in distinction from and alongside the ephebes (as in I.Varsovie 42), or in addition to the ephebes and the young users of the *gymnasium* generally (as may be the case in BGU VI 1256).[469] Their role is an important one within the gymnasial community, especially during feasts and contests, and it is therefore not surprising that one finds them actively involved in the life of the *gymnasium*: they send envoys to the King to ask favours for the gymnasial community and they are in the foreground for the organisation of races. They

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[466] In this meaning it is also used in Plb. IV 20.7 when referring to the Arcadian musical training reserved 'not only to the παῖδες but also to the νεανίσκοι up to thirty years': *cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) p. 52.

[467] Νεανίσκοι used to indicate lads, chaps or young men: P.Cairo Zen. I 59018 (258 BC, Philadelpheia – Palestine); P.Cairo Zen. II 59192 (255 BC, Philadelpheia); P.Cairo Zen. II 59225 (253 BC, Phialdelpheia); P.Cairo Zen. IV 59610 (III cent. BC, Philadelpheia); P.Lond. VII 2026 (III cent. BC, Philadelpheia); P.Mich. I 85 (III cent. BC, Philadelpheia); P.Petr. II 4 col. 8 (256 BC, Ars); PSI IV 380 (246 BC, Philadelpheia); SB VI 9559 (280–250 BC; Herakl. – Alex); SB XIV 11294 (2 AD?, Ars.).
Νεανίσκοι connected to the *gymnasium*: BGU VI 1256 (II cent. BC, Philadelpheia); Wilcken Chr. 1 (246 BC, war–bulletin of Ptolemy III with reference to the youth of the *gymnasium* in Antioch); I.Varsovie 42 (135 BC, from Omboi); Wilcken Chr. 11 (123 BC, Krokodilopolis–Hermonthis, Theb.: possible connection with the *gymnasium*); I.Fayoum II 119 (II–I cent. BC, Theadelpheia: possible connection with the *gymnasium*).
Νεανίσκοι as army members or recruits: SB XX 14728 (103 BC, Pathyris); P.Cairo Zen. II 59153 (III cent. BC, Philadelpheia – Alexandria); P.Cairo Zen. II 59254 (252 BC, Philadelpheia); P.Cairo Zen. IV 59610 (III cent. BC, Philadelpheia); P.Freib. I 7 (251 BC, Ars.); SB XII 10844 (possibly military men; III cent. BC, Ars).
Dubious cases: PSI IV 360 (252 BC, Philadelpheia); UPZ I 149 (208–206 BC, Memphis).

[468] *Cf.* San Nicolò (1972^2) pp. 30–40.

[469] *Cf.* also Sacco (1979) p. 49: the age of the νεανίσκοι corresponds to 'l'età efebica stessa o con quella post–efebica, oppure, complessivamente, con l'arco di anni fra i 18 e i 15–30'. Therefore, I am not as assertive as Dunand (1973) p. 73 note 2 in considering the *neaniskoi* 'une institution analogue à celle des éphèbes grecs'. On the variation in the use of the term, *cf.* Kleijwegt (1991) p. 56; Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 76–77; Chankowski (2004) pp. 62–63.

are active members, but not an independent and autonomous body within the *gymnasium*: they do not manage themselves or the *gymnasium*'s affairs.[470] In certain cases they may represent the community of the *gymnasium* as a whole, because they were what traditionally the *gymnasium* was all about and they were the heirs of those gymnasial people who often represented the leading class. It is important to remember that behind every νεανίσκος there was a family, who socially cared for them and their affairs.

As has been seen, the term generally refers to an age–category, to the 'young people', but it can also be used either for members of the *gymnasium* (including or not the ephebes, in which case it is simply a synonym of *neoi* or *neoteroi*) or as members of the army (in which case it may indicate the 'reserves' or 'cadets'). This multiple usage is well spread in the Hellenistic world, as literary and epigraphic evidence attests.[471] For the ambiguity of its meaning, it is clear that the presence of the term alone in a text does not necessarily involve a connection with the *gymnasium*.

I.2. Roman οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου & Ephebes: ἐπίκρισις & εἴσκρισις

With the conquest of Egypt and the creation of the province, the Romans introduced a series of reforms in the organisation of the population, mainly for fiscal purposes.

[470] *Contra* Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) II p. 859.
[471] *Cf.* Sacco (1979); Dreyer (2004) pp. 214–216.

The entire inhabitants of Egypt were divided into three main categories: Roman citizens, Alexandrians (and possibly the citizens of the other Greek *poleis* of Egypt), and Egyptians. The first two categories (which represented a tiny minority) were entirely exempt from the payment of the λαογραφία, the poll–tax which was systematically imposed on all the other male inhabitants of the country from the age of 14 to the age of 60 (later 62) by the Roman authorities.

Such a reorganisation of the population took place in the early years of Roman rule in Egypt: perhaps it was even sketched by the conqueror Octavian himself, with the help of his Alexandrian friends and advisers, before leaving Alexandria in 30 BC.[472] At all events, it must have been a pressing need at Rome to have exact knowledge of the income to the fiscus from the exaction of the poll–tax: some form of census–taking must have been soon adopted, although it is uncertain whether any general census was held before 11/10 BC, when a seven–year census cycle is likely to have been introduced (a general census was held every fourteen years from 18/9 AD: when things had been put into order and the system was well established, a more frequent census – with its costs – was presumably deemed unnecessary).[473]

With the newly–introduced tripartite division of the population and in the eyes of the Romans – an Alexandrian *Weltanschauung* may have played its role in the business – the various catoeci and Hellenised elements in the Egyptian *chora*, who among other things prided themselves on membership of the *gymnasium*, were reduced simply to the

[472] *Cf.* Montevecchi (1997).

[473] Control of the population soon after the Roman conquest is very likely, and some manner of listing may have taken place in 26/5 BC and 19/8 BC. However, the first general censuses for which we have reasonable evidence were carried out with a seven–year cycle in 11/10 BC (20th year of Augustus), 4/3 BC (27th year of Augustus), 4/5 AD (34th year of Augustus), 11/2 AD (41st year of Augustus), and then with a fourteen–year cycle (with declarations filed in the following year) in 18/9 AD (5th year of Tiberius), 32/3 AD (19th year of Tiberius), 46/7 AD (7th year of Claudius), 60/1 AD (7th year of Nero), 74/5 AD (7th year of Vespasian), 88/9 AD (8th year of Domitian). *Cf.* Bagnall (1991); Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 113; Rathbone (1993) pp. 86–99; Capponi (2005) pp. 90–92.

status of 'Egyptians': their centuries–long endeavours to distinguish themselves as *Hellenes* from the mass of the common Egyptians would have now come to naught. But the Romans knew very well that they had to rely on local Hellenised 'elites' to govern and administer the country: owing to the virtual absence of *poleis* and their civic nobility, they soon realised that Alexandrians alone could do very little in the long run (even though they were heavily employed at the beginning of Roman rule),[474] and the bulk of the administrative class had to be drawn from those *Hellenes* who found themselves in the metropoleis and in some villages of Egypt.[475] They could not be degraded to the rank of common Egyptians, if the Romans expected (some of) them to form a local nobility and run local affairs on Rome's behalf: to recognise their 'particular status' among the category of 'Egyptians' subject to the poll–tax there were introduced the so–called 'privileged classes', which enjoyed a reduced rate. The link between the privileged classes and the metropoleis is an original one, based on the name itself: their members were officially called μητροπολῖται 'metropolites' (with addition of the rate of tax they were expected to pay) and they were to be registered residents in a quarter (ἄμφοδον) of the nome–capital.[476] Within the metropolites there was the further restricted class of those who were admitted to the metropolitan *gymnasium*: οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου.[477] In this respect, a papyrus with the announcement of the strategus

[474] *Cf*. Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 125.
[475] The tendency for Hellenised elements to somehow concentrate or focus in the metropolis of the nome is well known from the Ptolemaic period – the exception being the Arsinoite Nome, where they were well spread in the villages.
[476] So far we have attested μητροπολῖται δωδεκάδραχμοι in Oxyrhynchus, μητροπολῖται ὀκτάδραχμοι in Hermopolis Magna and Herakleopolis. For the metropolites of the Arsinoite (officially called οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως) the reduced rate of the poll–tax was twenty drachmae. *Cf*. Nelson (1979) p. 22.
[477] That the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου were a smaller group of the metropolites is proven by the two applications for metropolitan *epikrisis* and gymnasial *epikrisis* for the same person (P.Oxy. XII 1452, 127/8 AD, from Oxy.) – whether a boy always had to submit both the applications is uncertain – and the mention in second/third–century AD documents of Oxyrhynchite δωδεκάδραχμοι ἀπὸ γυμνασίου (P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2858, 171 AD; P.Oxy. X 1267, 209 AD; P.Oxy. XII 1552, 214/5 AD – supplied; PSI XII 1240

of the Hermopolite Nome about the selection procedure of metropolites and ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου is particularly interesting for the terminology employed: we discover that the metropolite was a status or social group (τὸ μητροπολιτικὸν γένος), whereas the gymnasial was a class or *ordo* (τὸ τάγμα τοῦ γυμνασίου).[478]

For the first time in the history of the *gymnasium*, its members now became a real and proper social class, recognised and organised by the state. Its membership (as well as the privilege of metropolite status) was controlled and admission was subject to special scrutiny (ἐπίκρισις) of titles:[479] in a boy's thirteenth year of life, declarations showing his right to membership of the gymnasial class were sent to the relevant authorities in order to have him enlisted in the proper class for the following year (this sort of process was particularly important for metropolite status, in order to obtain the reduced rate of the *laographia*).[480] As members of the metropolitan status group, οἱ ἀπὸ

a, 222 AD; P.Oxy. XLIII 3096, 223/4 AD; PSI XII 1257, 249/50 AD; P.Oxy. LXXIV 4994, 254 AD; P.Oxy. LXXIV 4996, 254/5 AD; P.Ups. Frid 6, 273 AD; P.Oxy. XLVI 3295, 285 AD; PSI III 164, 287 AD; P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2855, 291 AD; P.Corn. 18, 291 AD; P.Oxy. XLIII 3137, 295 AD – supplied; P.Oxy. LXV 4489, 297 AD) and Hermopolite ὀκτάδραχμοι ἀπὸ γυμνασίου (SB IV 7440, 132/3 AD; P.Amh. II 75, 161–168 AD – supplied). *Cf*. also Mertens (1958) pp. 127–128. On the gymnasial class being a group of discrete dimensions (around several thousands), *cf*. Ruffini (2006). On the importance of registration in an ἄμφοδον as the first step for gymnasial membership – and also for the metropolite class – (the second being the application for *epikrisis* itself), *cf*. Yiftach–Firanko (2010a).

[478] SB V 8038, 4 and 5–6 (I cent. AD, Herm.). Rigour in the terminology cannot be expected, and the metropolitan can indeed be defined as a class too: the gymnasial class is also referred to as a γένος in later applications for gymnasial *epikrisis*. *Cf*. also Modrzejewski (1985) pp. 269–273.

[479] Unlike in the case of the Alexandrian ephebate (*cf*. pp. 183ff.), the actual physical procedure of the examination for entry into the gymnasial class is not known, though it seems reasonable to assume that it was carried out in a similar fashion.

[480] Applications for the gymnasial (and metropolitan) *epikrisis* start being properly attested from the end of the first century AD (P.Oxy. II 257, 94/5 AD; the earliest application for metropolite status is P.Oxy. VII 1028, 86 AD): this practice seems to be a Flavian innovation (the two documents mentioned – like the later ones – have similar formulae recalling the authority's dispositions about the submission of status declarations: κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα πε|ρὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβαινόντων | εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ γυμνασίου [4–6] and κατὰ τὰ | κελευσθέντα περὶ τοῦ ἐπι|κριθῆναι τοὺς προσβαίνοντ(ας) | εἰς τοὺς (τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαετεῖς) εἰ ἀμφοτέρω(ν) | γονέων μητροπολιτῶν | (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν [9–14, normalised text] respectively). SB V 8038 (I cent. AD, Herm.) may well be the strategus's official proclamation of the Flavian reforms about the new regulations concerning the applications for *epikrisis* of the privileged classes. In the first century AD we only have applications for the (Alexandrian and Hermopolite) ephebate (*cf*. pp. 183ff): this attests to the existence of a similar system for the ephebate, which could have been extended to the class of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου. Up to that point members of the gymnasial class may not have had to

τοῦ γυμνασίου had the right to a reduction of the poll–tax, at least at the rate of the other metropolites: but this was obviously not the reason for the existence of the class. Given also the stricter qualifications for membership of the class, there must have been other substantive privileges, which might have been claimed later in one's life and not always and necessarily at the coming of age: if so, however, their nature is unknown to us.[481] The members of the gymnasial class were certainly those who were admitted to the *gymnasium*, whereas not all the other metropolites were.[482]

The creation of the privileged classes certainly goes back to Augustan times: in Oxyrhynchus we have mention of the existence of an original list (γραφή) of gymnasial members in 4/5 AD (presumably as a result of the general census carried out in the same

submit additional applications for *epikrisis* but may have been just recorded in registers devoted to their class during the regular proceedings of the census (the γραφή of the Oxyrhynchite gymnasial class in 4/5 AD – year of general census – may have been one of them and special λόγοι or γραφαί are attested in Stud. Pal. IV pp. 62–78, 72/3 AD, from Ptolemais Euergetis (Arsinoite), compiled from the declarations of birth of the boys born between two censuses) or in special controls (such as the ones in Hermopolis in 64/5 AD and in Oxyrhynchus in 56/7–57/8 AD and 72/3 AD) – that the members of the gymnasial class before (Nero and) Vespasian used census data for proving their membership seems supported by the attention given to matrimonial evidence and κατ'οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί in the first applications for *epikrisis* of the end of the first century AD (such as P.Oxy. II 257, 94/5 AD): *cf*. Montevecchi (1970) p. 28; Yiftach–Firanko (2010a) p. 57. On the gymnasial status declarations and *epikrisis* process, *cf.* Nelson (1979) pp. 26–36; Kruse (2002) I pp. 252–271. An application for gymnasial *epikrisis* from Oxyrhynchus (PSI VII 731 + P.Col. inv. 134, dated after 95/6 AD) published by Yiftach–Firanko (2010a) (and P.Oxy. XLVI 3282, from 148/9 AD) apparently shows that these applications could be submitted later in one's life: this presumably did not happen for the applications for metropolitan *epikrisis* which entailed the reduced payment of the poll–tax.

[481] *Cf*. Nelson (1979) p. 35. In Hermopolis, the gymnasial class may have enjoyed the corn dole around the 60s of the first century AD: *cf*. pp. 188ff. On the possibility of gymnasial status being the prerequisite for holding municipal offices, *cf*. Mertens (1958) p. 128; Bowman and Rathbone (1992) pp. 122–123. This may help to explain why some members of the gymnasial class (so far two, *cf*. note 480) may have waited some time before formalising their status through the *epikrisis*: if the real advantages of membership of the gymnasial class lay indeed in the possibility for a career in the public administration, the *epikrisis* could be postponed until one wanted to achieve such a post. However, this leaves open the question whether someone entitled to, but by choice (or circumstances) not yet formally admitted into, the gymnasial class through the *epikrisis* could nonetheless take part in the actual life of the *gymnasium* – this possibility is not implausible, but there is no way to prove it. On gymnasial class as elite, *cf*. Bussi (2003), although she overlooks the possibility of different social stratification within the elite. Similarly van Minnen (2002), who on the other hand states that the gymnasial class was not elite: *cf*. pp. 217ff and note 600.

[482] Or could the metropolites perhaps enter the *gymnasium* as a building and enjoy its amenities (above all, the baths), without being able to claim to *belong* in it and enjoy the related privileges? We do not know.

year). The Oxyrhynchite ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου were most probably created in that year or at least the first systematic organisation of the class was carried out then, when an approved list was drawn up (this list would continue to dictate the right to membership for the next three centuries). The gymnasial classes of the other metropoleis (including the Arsinoite Nome?) may have been instituted around the same time, although subsequent controls did take place: the machinery indeed took several years of adjustments and revisions before achieving its final state.[483] The reign of Nero was particularly active in this respect: a general control of the gymnasial class was carried out in Oxyrhynchus in 56/7–57/8 AD,[484] a specific census of the catoeci and the so–called 6,475 in the Arsinoite was done in 55/6 AD (and then in the general census of 60/1 AD) and in Hermopolis Magna a general registration of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου was carried out in 64/5 AD. Under the Flavians, further reforms were undertaken, which gave the final shape to the metropolite and gymnasial classes of Roman Egypt, with the complete and definitive establishment of the new system: a general revision of the class in Oxyrhynchus was conducted in 72/3 AD (5th year of the reign of Vespasian), when an *ad hoc* commission was instituted to carry out a control of the right to membership of all the members of the class, who had to show that their ancestors were in the Augustan list of the gymnasial class.[485] In fact, around that time, the rule was introduced whereby the complete genealogy of the paternal and maternal sides of the candidates should be

[483] *Cf.* also Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 121; Hanson (1997) pp. 420–421.
[484] *Cf.* P.Oxy. XLVI 3279 (148/9 AD). The control, carried out by the *tribunus militum* Curtius Paulinus, may have included people who had been left out of the list in 4/5 AD. The outcome of it was a τάξις or εἶδος of the gymnasial class.
[485] *Cf.* P.Oxy. XLVI 3279 (148/9 AD) note on l. 20 and Mertens (1958) pp. 117–120; Sijpesteijn (1976).

indicated, going back (at least for the father's side) to the list of 4/5 AD, a rule with which the subsequent Oxyrhynchite applications for gymnasial *epikrisis* comply.[486]

It appears that in the early period of Roman rule, the conditions for membership of the gymnasial class may have been looser, and the subsequent reforms under Nero and especially under the Flavians tightened them up:[487] if in the first years of the first century AD a boy would be registered as ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου if his father was member of the class,[488] by the 80s of the same century a candidate for the gymnasial class had to prove (through submission of an application for *epikrisis*) that his paternal and maternal ancestors had been included in a specific list of the class – presumably the first to be officially established (in Oxyrhynchus, as we have seen, the γραφή which regulated membership was that of 4/5 AD).[489] These new regulations seem to have caused some members of the class to practice sibling–marriage, although other reasons may well be behind their decision to do so.[490] Therefore, if external elements may have found their

[486] *Cf*. Montevecchi (1975); Nelson (1979) pp. 26–30.

[487] The reasons for so doing are not entirely clear. If the Romans wanted to reduce the number of those with fiscal privileges by restricting the access to the class, their hopes went unfulfilled: *cf*. Ruffini (2006). It is however more likely that the Romans wanted to establish stricter control over the members of the class to avoid *new* members joining the gymnasial ranks improperly, rather than reducing the number of those entitled. It cannot be excluded that initiatives for more elitist rules may have also come from some circles within the gymnasial class itself in pursuit of a more 'aristocratic separateness'.

[488] There seems to be a case which may show how the mother of an ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου needed not belong to the gymnasial class but could simply be a metropolite: P.Flor. I 79 = Wilcken Chr. 145 (60 AD, Herm.). Stud. Pal. IV p.76 ll. 646–649 (72/3 AD, from Ptolemais Euergetis, Arsinoite) refers to the case of a boy whose father had been exceptionally included into the 6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoite in the first year of reign of Vespasian in the celebrations of the Emperor's victory (νικοτελεί̣ᾳ̣ις: did he achieve an athletic victory? Or, was the grant a reward for his support during the struggle for the accession? Montevecchi (1970) p. 22 leans towards the former), and whose mother is a metropolite. *Cf*. van Minnen (2002) pp. 340–341.

[489] In Oxyrhynchus indication of ancestors on the 4/5 AD list seems to have been compulsory for the paternal side, whereas for the maternal side the applicants could just go back to the list of 72/3 AD when a revision of the class was carried out and a relevant list drawn up, thus allowing concessions for the presence of any non–gymnasial members on the maternal side before the time of Vespasian: *cf*. van Minnen (2002) pp. 344–345.

[490] As Ruffini (2006) has shown, endogamous or brother–sister marriage was not strictly necessary in order to maintain the privileges of the class, given the high number of members in the gymnasial class from whom to choose to marry. Economic factors (and in this respect, one should always remember the economic stratification of the gymnasial class) may have played a more important role. On the other

way into the gymnasial class in the first years of the new system by having someone undeservedly declared member of the class through bribery or other tricks,[491] from the time of the Flavians they were cast out unless they could prove that their ancestors had been included in an original list of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου. Now the question is whether we can determine the criteria adopted to decide who should go on that original list and who should not.

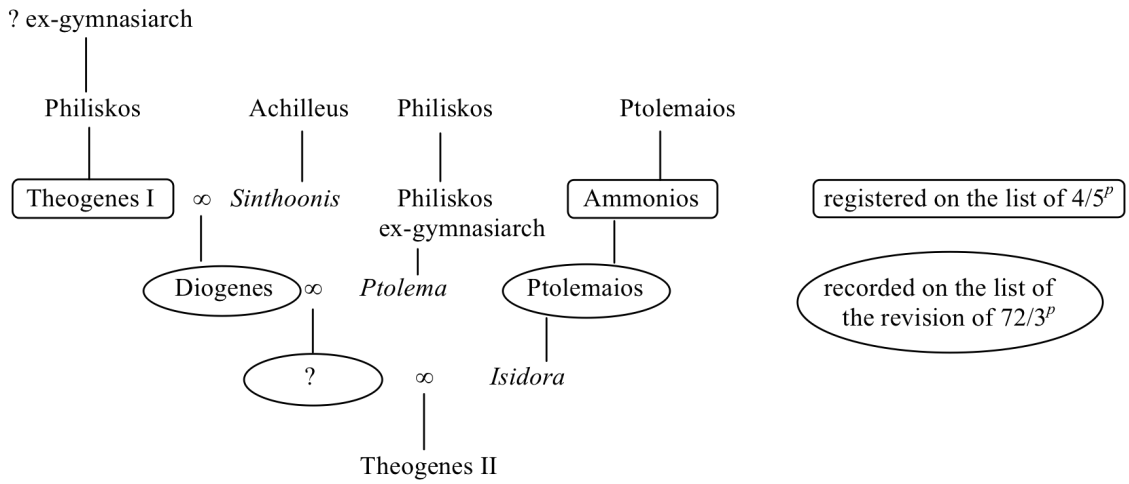
An application for *epikrisis* of the thirteen year old Theogenes (II) from the time of Domitian, which bears the signs of the Flavian reforms in recording the genealogy of the boy on the paternal and maternal side for four generations, is particularly useful in this respect: the text, apart from recording that the great–grandfathers (that is, the fathers of both the paternal and maternal grandfather) of the boy had been inscribed in the 4/5 AD list of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου of Oxyrhynchus, specifies that the father of his paternal grandfather (and his namesake) had been registered on the list as the grandson of a gymnasiarch.[492] This therefore suggests that those included in the said list were

hand, after the Flavian reforms, the gymnasial class was certainly endogamous in the sense that its members had to marry within the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου if they wanted to produce offspring entitled to the same gymnasial status. On brother–sister marriage, *cf*. Hopkins (1980); Shaw (1992); Scheidel (1995); Bussi (2002); Remijsen and Clarysse (2008).

[491] As seen, inter–marriage between members and non–members of the gymnasial class indeed appears to have been allowed at the time and did not constitute an obstacle to membership of the class, as it would from the time of the Flavians.

[492] P.Oxy. II 257, 18–23 (94/5 AD, Oxy.): καθ' [ἃς] | ἐπήνεγκεν ἀποδείξεις ὡς ὁ πατὴρ [αὐ]|τοῦ Θεογέν[η]ς Φ[ι]λίσκου ὑιδοῦς γυμνασιάρχ[ου] | ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ Καίσαρος γραφῆι | τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυ[μνα]σίου ἐπὶ Ἀναμφοδάρ|χων (normalised text) 'according to the documents which he (*sc*. the grandfather of the boy) produced [showing] that his father Theogenes (I), son of Philiskos, is registered as the grandson of a gymnasiarch on the list of those from the *gymnasium*, from the quarter of the Anamphodarchoi, of the 34th year of the reign of the divine Caesar (*sc*. Augustus: 4/5 AD)'. The boy's third great–grandfather was not the only gymnasiarch in the family: the father of his paternal grandmother was also an ex–gymnasiarch. The chronology of Theogenes II's family may be reconstructed as follows: the boy was born in 82/3 AD, rather late in his parents' marriage, which took place in 60/1 AD (his father was presumably born around 40 AD, and his grandfather Diogenes in 20 AD at the latest); his great–grandfather Theogenes I was at least 13 in 4/5 AD when included in the gymnasial list (he must have been born in or before 10/9 BC); his great–great–grandfather's birth is to be placed sometime around 40–30 BC; his third great–grandfather was therefore born no later than 60–50 BC and may have been gymnasiarch under Cleopatra VII or in the first decades of Roman rule. The family–tree can be visualized thus (women are in italics):

those who were taking part in the life of the *gymnasium* in late Ptolemaic times and belonged to the group of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. A relative who had undertaken one of the charges within the governing body of the *gymnasium* was certainly sufficient evidence for gymnasial status, but it is unlikely that everyone had someone – at least in the immediate family – who had been gymnasiarch in the recent past. Besides, even with a gymnasiarch in the family, how could someone officially and indisputably prove one's status? I do not think that they could: as far as we know, there was no official document, register or list recording someone's belonging to the Ptolemaic οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. They were not a class, they did not officially exist as far as the Ptolemaic administration was concerned. For the state there was only the privileged group of the *Hellenes*, which certainly also included those who did not belong to the *gymnasium*. When drawing up their list of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου the Roman authorities (or rather, the local authorities on behalf of Rome: I have no doubts that this business was devolved to the individual strategi of the various nomes) had to *trust* those who claimed membership of the *gymnasium*: certainly some requirements (knowledge of Greek, status of *Hellen*?) or some form of verification (declarations, ephebic lists, witnesses?) were used, but



nothing definitive could be used to determine with absolute certainty one's former membership of the Ptolemaic *gymnasium*.[493]

Those who ended up being inscribed in the first gymnasial lists did so because they themselves declared that they had the right, and the Roman authorities did not find obvious reasons to the contrary. Not only the descendants of Greek settlers, but also Hellenised Egyptians and (ex–)Jews who had been admitted into the *gymnasium* in Ptolemaic times could now, at the dawn of the *provincia Romana* of Egypt, have the chance to be officially registered amongst οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου, before the class became rigidly self–contained as a result of the Flavian reforms:[494] after all if at the time of the formation of the gymnasial class, membership was based on the membership of the Ptolemaic *gymnasium*, they had all the right to it. This would explain the presence of 'indigenous' elements among them in later Roman times.[495]

At all events, the *epikrisis* of a boy marked a moment of paramount importance for the families of the privileged classes of Roman Egypt: not simply for fiscal and economic reasons, but also and most importantly for social reasons. It was the official recognition and confirmation of the family's privileged position within society, and an occasion for boasting one's *pedigree*, as well as for celebrating the coming of age of a new generation, and hope for the perpetuation of the fathers' privileges. It is therefore

[493] Things may have been complicated by the fact that someone could have been member of a *gymnasium* in a village and was to seek membership of the metropolitan *gymnasium*: this was probably a common case in the Arsinoite, and we shall see how the problem was solved, *cf*. pp. 192ff.
[494] Still one could suppose that undeserving elements may also have tried (and in some cases successfully?) to enter the list through illegal procedures (bribery and deceit of the officials in charge).
[495] On the integration of Egyptians and Jews in the Ptolemaic *gymnasium*, *cf*. pp. 195ff. On indigenous elements within the Roman class of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου, *cf*. pp. 217ff. *Cf*. also van Minnen (2002).

not surprising that the *epikrisis* was celebrated with feasts and banquets for relatives and friends.[496]

Once a boy had been accepted into the *gymnasium*, we would expect him to be inscribed into the ephebes and begin his ephebate, just as happened in Ptolemaic times. However, things seem to be less simple than that. Evidence for ephebes in the first years of the Principate is controversial: we only have attestation of ephebes in Alexandria (for which we are rather well informed, for a change), in Hermopolis Magna and in the Arsinoite Nome. From the third century AD, ephebes and ephebic games appear to be widespread again in the metropoleis of the country. This has caused some scholars to deny the existence of the ephebate outside of the Greek *poleis* before the Severan introduction of the council in the metropoleis.[497] We shall begin with the less problematic case: Alexandria.

In the city of Alexander the ephebate had existed for centuries and continued to do so. From applications to the ephebate we are informed of the steps taken to have one's son admitted as an ephebe, and the '*ephebeia* certificates' tell us the actual procedures.[498] Firstly, it must be said that none of the above–mentioned documentation comes from Alexandria itself: the climatic conditions of the city are not favourable to the preservation of papyri. The texts originate in other parts of the country (especially the Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolite and Arsinoite Nomes); they must have belonged to

[496] Invitations to dinner–parties for the *epikrisis* are attested in papyri: P.Oxy. VI 926 and P.Oxy. LXVI 4541 (both III cent. AD). *Cf*. Perpillou–Thomas (1993) p. 27.
[497] *Cf*. Whitehorne (1982); Montevecchi (2000a).
[498] All the documents of the Alexandrian ephebate, with the exception of P.Oxy. XLIX 3463 (58 AD, Oxy.), are dated from the second century AD onwards. Small changes may have occurred (perhaps in the composition of the examining commission?), but the Oxyrhynchus papyrus shows that the general procedures for *eiskrisis* remained basically the same.

Alexandrians resident in the *chora* who nonetheless registered their sons to the Alexandrian ephebate and travelled to the city to deal with the relevant formalities. But they would not stay there: indeed after the official ceremonies for the admission into the ephebate in Alexandria, many of the boys would go back to the *chora* with their families and join the local metropolitan *gymnasium* for their one–year ephebic training. The reason why they were so keen on having their sons registered as Alexandrian ephebes probably lies in the prestige and social distinction which such an institution (from which many were excluded) brought with it. Furthermore, if the ephebate was connected to the right of citizenship it was of paramount importance that the sons of Alexandrian citizens (and they only), although living in the *chora*, were included into the ephebes of the city – the letter of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians devotes particular attention to the subject.[499]

The father (or in case of default, other members of the family) of a fourteen year–old boy sent an application to the *exegetes* and other officials[500] asking for his son to be admitted to an official scrutiny for the ephebate (εἴσκρισις). In the application there were provided all the details of the status of the family and the request for the relevant officers to forward to the examining commission the necessary supporting documents was appended. A preliminary study of the requests was done and lists of the boys admitted to the *eiskrisis* were drawn up. Then it seems that all members of the family were recruited to sail down to the Serapeum in Alexandria, appear and take active part in the *eiskrisis* of the boys: each candidate was questioned in front of a commission (comprised of the *exegetes* and/or other officials) about his identity and family during a

[499] CPJ II 153. *Cf*. pp. 234ff. On a similar note, Gnomon §44 (BGU V 1210, 121–122), with mention of fines for Egyptians declaring their sons ex–ephebes, must indeed refer to Alexandria.
[500] *Cf*. Nelson (1974).

presentation ceremony (παράστασις), in order to prove that he was entitled to take up the ephebate (as has been seen, supporting documentation about the boy's status had been previously submitted).[501]

If the examination was successful, the boys' names were included in the lists of incoming ephebes, an official register (χρόνος ἐφηβείας) was drawn up and deposited in Alexandria, while copies were given to the candidates as proofs of status (which will be useful in the future, among other things, for the *eiskrisis* of their sons, as well as being deposited in the record offices of the metropoleis where the boys may reside, if not in Alexandria),[502] and letters of admission to the *gymnasium* (either the Alexandrian one or the metropolitan one where a boy happened to live) were prepared and sent to the gymnasiarchs or secretaries of the *gymnasium* in order for the boys to be admitted to the gymnasial activities. But before those resident in the *chora* left Alexandria, all the boys were welcomed in the ephebate with a traditional official ceremony, the so–called μαλλοκούρια: the proud families of the newly–appointed ephebes watched over their sons marching in the glorious courts of the Serapeum and offering the locks of their hair to the *exegetes* in honour of the city. Despite its ancient (Ionian, as it seems) character, we do not know whether this ceremony was in place in Ptolemaic times too: no evidence for it is available.[503]

Although the entire procedure seems rather straightforward and well–designed, irregularities did occur: a papyrus tells us that one Alexandrian boy resident in Oxyrhynchus had been admitted to the ceremony in the Serapeum without being properly scrutinised because he had failed to be presented at one of the presentation

[501] *Cf.* Legras (1999) pp. 151–161; Whitehorne (2001).
[502] One of these copies must be PSI VII 777 (96 AD, Herm.). *Cf.* also Whitehorne (1977).
[503] On the *mallokouria*, *cf.* Montserrat (1991); Legras (1993). Egyptian influences on it are discarded by Whitehorne (2001) pp. 33–34.

ceremonies and consequently his name had not been included in the list of incoming ephebes, and certain documents were lacking.[504] How this may have ever happened is beyond our comprehension; what is clear from the text is that taking part in the ceremony of the *mallokouria* was considered enough evidence of the good faith of the applicants who must have been entitled to the ephebate. Perhaps some administrative or logistic hiccups had occurred – the family encountered problems on their journey to the capital? Some papers had gone missing, or left behind?[505] – and the boy had been admitted in the ceremony because he was in the city at the time and unofficially considered entitled, while future official checks would be carried out in due course: those in charge of admissions must have known very well how much was at stake for an Alexandrian family on such a crucial day to reject candidates (especially those not normally resident in the city) too cursorily. Indeed, the father of the boy wrote to the *exegetes* (we do not know whether while still in Alexandria or back in Oxyrhynchus) asking him (or rather his office) to rectify the situation, by analysing the relevant documentation, sending the papers of the *eiskrisis* to the relevant officials for subscription and then instructing the gymnasiarch and *kosmetes* (presumably of Alexandria?) to admit his son into the ephebes of that year.

Once the boys were accepted into the Alexandrian ephebate, they were grouped in different συμμορίαι under the care of a συμμοριάρχης: this internal ephebic subdivision is only attested from the very end of the first century AD. The number of these συμμορίαι could be very high: the earliest attestation from 99 AD informs us that there

[504] P.Oxy. XLIX 3463 (58 AD, Oxy.).
[505] Distractions in preparing the papers necessary for a public status examination are indeed attested in the papyri: P.Oxy. XL 2898 (270/1 AD: application for the corn dole).

were at least 133.[506] This system, which may have taken the place of the Ptolemaic αἱρέσεις, may have been extended to the ephebes outside of Alexandria (especially from the third century AD onwards), but clear evidence for it is lacking.[507]

So much for Alexandria, in which the ephebate does not pose particular problems and continues the civic traditions of the *polis*. But as stated above, there is evidence for ephebes in Hermopolis Magna and in the Arsinoite Nome: a meagre total of examples for the entire *chora* for the first two centuries of our era. And their precise interpretation has been debated.

From the metropolis of the Hermopolite Nome there originate unique and puzzling documents, the only existing applications for the *local* ephebate of the metropolitan οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου.[508] They follow the pattern which one sees in subsequent applications for *epikrisis* of gymnasial and metropolitan status (and in applications for the Alexandrian ephebate), but obviously focus on the ephebate of the father, rather than his belonging to the class of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου. The applications are addressed to the metropolitan *exegetes* by the father of the candidate, who declares that his son is of age for the *eiskrisis* and therefore asks his inclusion among the incoming ephebes to be scrutinised, while providing information about his own status and ephebate, about the mother of the boy (and in this respect the ephebic status of her

[506] Wilcken *Chr.* 148 = P.Tebt. II 316 4–5 (99 AD, from Tebtynis, Ars.).

[507] The term is attested sporadically: PSI 12 1226 (II cent. AD, unknown provenance: fragment of a register, uncertain whether it deals with the Alexandrian ephebate), P.Ant. I 37 (208/9 AD, Antinoopolis: Alexandrian ephebe), PSI V 464 (249 AD, from Herm.: the ex–ephebe is said to have acquired the Roman citizenship, and he could have therefore originally been an Alexandrian), and presumably P.Panop. 30 (332 AD, Panopolis), and P.Select 19 (III cent. AD, unknown provenance). Of uncertain interpretation is P.Harr. I 63 (after 161 AD, unknown provenance). *Cf.* also San Nicolò (1972[2]) I p. 35. On Ptolemaic αἱρέσεις, *cf.* p. 169.

[508] P.Flor. I 79 = Wilcken Chr. 145 (60 AD); P.Heid. IV 341 (62/3 AD); P.Ryl. II 101 + P.Heid. IV 342 (63 AD). Proof that the ephebes belonged to the gymnasial class is given by P.Flor. I 79, 24–25 (εἶ[ν]αί με ἐν τῆι παραδοχῆι τῶν | ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου), P.Ryl. II 101 + P.Heid. IV 342, 3–5 ([παρ' Ἀν]ο̣υβίωνος τοῦ Διοσκόρ[ο]υ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου | [τῶν τὸ] ιβ (ἔτος) Τιβερίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ ἐφηβευ|[κότων]) and by the corn dole application P.Heid. IV 339 4–5 (61–63 AD: [τῶν ἀπὸ] | τ̣οῦ γυμ̣νασίο̣υ [ἐφηβευκότων]).

family does not seem to have been indicated)[509] and about the status of the boy. A legitimate question springs to mind: why do such applications exist only for the metropolitan ephebate from the Hermopolite Nome? It might be just a coincidence, but I believe that a couple of contemporary related documents provide us with a better understanding of things.

These are four applications for the corn dole submitted by members of the gymnasial class, and, most importantly, ex–ephebes, to the *exegetes* of the Hermopolite.[510] The fact of their being ex–ephebes is particularly stressed in the texts (with the precise year of their ephebate), and appears in all the applications, whereas the mention of belonging to the gymnasial class is only present in one (P.Heid. IV 339). It seems that in the Hermopolite those who had been ephebes had the right to state distributions of wheat.[511] In this respect, the practice of sending applications for the Hermopolitan ephebate may have been connected to this: the parents of future ephebes may have been keen to have their sons recognised and registered on the ephebic lists, in order to facilitate their sons' future claims to the corn dole.

But was the corn dole really connected to the ephebate or rather to membership of the gymnasial class? In other words: was there a difference between the two in Hermopolis? It is hard to say. However, I believe that the two institutions were perceived as one and eventually fused, leading to the disappearance of the applications

[509] In P.Flor. I 79 the boy's mother is said to be freeborn and metropolite (22–24: μου γυναικὸς οὔσης | [Ἑ]ρμοπολειτίδο[ς ἐλευθέρας ἐ[ξ ἐ]λευθέρων | γονέων); in P.Ryl. II 101 + P.Heid. IV 342 the applicant's mother's father is said to be ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου (5–6: μητρ[ὸ]ς Ἀντιγό|[νης τῆς] Ὡρίωνος πατρὸς ἀπὸ γυμνα[σ]ίου).

[510] P.Heid. IV 339 (61–63 AD: ephebate in the second year of Caligula [37/8 AD]; the applicant is aged *ca* 38–40); P.Heid. IV 340 (61/2 AD: ephebate in the fourth year of Caligula [39/40 AD]; the applicant is aged *ca* 36); P.Heid. IV 338 (62 AD: ephebate in the fourth year of Caligula [39/40 AD]; the applicant is aged *ca* 36); P.Heid. IV 305 (62/3 AD: ephebate in the first year of Nero [54/5 AD]; the applicant is aged *ca* 22).

[511] The practice of the corn dole is very well attested for third–century AD Oxyrhynchus: *cf*. P.Oxy. LX pp. 1–30. There the metropolites were entitled to the privilege.

to the ephebate, replaced by those to the gymnasial class.[512] After all, for centuries under Ptolemaic rule those who entered the *gymnasium* as young boys did so through the ephebate, and this secular tradition was certainly still very alive in the first half of the first century AD: defining oneself as an ex–ephebe to indicate that one belonged to the gymnasial community was something of a mindset. In my opinion, the Hermopolitan evidence attests a state of affairs with the people and the administration of the nome still employing previous practices, with the ephebate indicating membership of the gymnasial class.[513]

By the Flavian reforms in the 70s of the first century AD – and the control of the Hermopolitan gymnasial class under Nero in 64/5 AD may have already gone in this direction – things were re–organised, with the clear definition of the privileged classes and admission into them:[514] metropolites and οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου were the official privileged classes and applications for membership to either class were to be sent by those concerned – the model being the applications for the ephebate (the Roman

[512] The corn dole in the metropolis reappears in the third century AD (P.Lond. III 955 = Wilcken Chr. 425, 261 AD) for the members of the gymnasial class (unlike in Oxyrhynchus): changes may have certainly occurred over two centuries (as well as disruptions in the existence of the dole itself, if it had not just been an emergency measure in 61–63 AD, *cf*. Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 123), but the privilege being granted to οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου suggests that it had been so from the beginning. The fact that in the first–century AD Hermopolitan applications for the ephebate the mother's father is not indicated as being ex–ephebe, but as a member of the gymnasial class (when applicable), seems to corroborate the idea that the two may have been perceived as identical.

[513] A similar view is found in Whitehorne (1982) p. 182. On the other hand, Nelson (1979) pp. 47–59 wrongly treats ephebate and gymnasial membership as two completely different things, also on the basis of P.Oxy. IX 1202 (217 AD) in which a boy, member of the gymnasial class, had not been included into the ephebate by mistake (apparently); as Montevecchi (2000a) p. 113 has pointed out, membership of the gymnasial class is a status, the ephebate is an 'activity'. As noted, in my opinion the Hermopolite evidence here shows that at the time the applicants were 'erroneously' using their ephebate as a status indication: this practice ceased once clearer dispositions were issued with the Flavian reforms. That in the 60s of the first century rules were not yet as clearly established as they would be later seems to be suggested by the different indication of the maternal ancestry in the applications for the ephebate: *cf*. note 509.

[514] SB V 8038 (I cent. AD, Herm.) could well be one of the copies of the new dispositions about the privileged classes and the process of scrutiny for which the thirteen year old boys had to apply: 1. metropolitan status if both parents enjoyed it; 2. membership to οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου if belonging to the class. Although a fragmentary text, it seems clear that there is no space for ephebes in the procedures indicated.

authorities clearly realised soon how much more efficient and convenient for them this system would have been). Being a metropolitan ephebe was of no interest to the state, and thus it officially ceased to be for the Hermopolites (and other metropolites?) too: the stress was now on membership of the gymnasial class and from then on, the Hermopolites only sent their applications for gymnasial *epikrisis*. Although there is no evidence in support, I think that the ephebate continued to exist nonetheless, presumably underemphasised: indeed, I find hard to believe that the members of the gymnasial community gave up altogether this secular tradition of theirs, which would be however reintroduced in the metropoleis of Egypt from the third century AD onwards.[515] What would become of the thirteen year old boys, after their *epikrisis*, if they were not to be welcomed into the metropolitan *gymnasium* as ephebes (together with those Alexandrians who were trained there for their Alexandrian ephebate)? The ephebate in the metropoleis would not have legal implications (unlike, presumably, in the Greek *poleis*): this could explain its absence in our documentation (even where one would expect mention of it) from the Egyptian *chora* from the end of the first century AD.[516]

Hermopolis is not the only place in Egypt where ephebes are attested: three dedications testify to the presence of ephebes in the metropolis of the Arsinoite Nome too (and they are connected with the so–called 6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoite

[515] So also Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 121.
[516] The absence of dedications by (ex–)ephebes *vel similia* from the end of the first century AD remains however puzzling. Although it may just be a matter of chance, their absence could be adduced to support the hypothesis that the metropolitan ephebate disappeared with the Romans, and was re–introduced only after the Severan reforms of 200 AD, when ephebes and ephebic games start to be attested again in the metropoleis.

Nome).[517] The inscriptions mention those who had been ephebes in the twelfth and thirteenth year of reign of Tiberius (25/6 and 26/7 AD), in the first year of Caligula (36/7 AD), and in the second of Claudius (41/2 AD).

Apart from the two cases of Hermopolis and Ptolemais Euergetis, our sources from the first century AD are silent or equivocal about the ephebes in the Egyptian *chora*.[518]

In conclusion, a clear solution to the question whether the Romans abolished the ephebate in the metropoleis of Egypt cannot be reached, owing to the lack of clear evidence. However, I find it difficult to believe that the members of the gymnasial class would be convinced to give up entirely such a traditional institution, to be thereafter

[517] I.Louvre 120 (after 26/7 AD); I.Fayoum I 25 (after 36/37 AD); I.Fayoum III 147 (60/1 AD, from Talithis/Talei, Ars.: this is the text better preserved, with the ex–ephebes aged *ca* 33). To these perhaps add SB I 4277 + SEG XXXII 1595 (60/1 AD?: the ex–ephebes would be aged *ca* 48) which shares patterns with the other dedications and may come from the Fayyum. I am tempted to consider all of them dedications to the Emperor Nero, by the metropolis Ptolemais Euergetis through the 6,475 Greek catoeci and the ex–ephebes, made to thank him for the confirmation of privileges to the metropolis and the class which was made in 55 AD on the occasion of an embassy to the Emperor after his accession (although I.Louvre 120 and I.Fayoum I 25 could be dedicated to the Emperor Claudius, for the same reason). The reason why more than one dedication was set up may lie in the desire of specific groups of ex–ephebes to honour the Emperor, and/or in the fact that the inscriptions may have indeed been positioned in different places (also in villages where many of the 6,475 in fact lived, *cf*. Braunert (1964) p. 135; Canducci (1990) pp. 224–226; Montevecchi (1997) pp. 724–725): *cf*. pp. 192ff. Whitehorne (1982) pp. 176–178 believes that the ephebes mentioned were Alexandrians: his argument, although very tempting, cannot be proved with certainty (one might wonder why these ex–ephebes did not clearly mention that they were Alexandrians, at a time where the simple term 'ephebe' – as the Hermopolitan evidence seems to suggest – could not (yet?) unequivocally refer to a *polis* institution).

[518] I.Prose 49 (5 BC; from Psenemphaia in the Delta) very likely attests an Alexandrian ephebe: *cf*. note 109 and Whitehorne (1982) pp. 183–183. A list of names drawn up by former and future gymnasiarchs and the *exegetes* from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. Hels. 15, 50–70 AD) could represent an ephebic list (or a list of liturgists); its being written on a *verso* of a declaration (P.Oxy. Hels. 11) makes it an unofficial text. Further texts cannot be interpreted with clarity: P.Strasb. 581 (9 BC, unknown provenance: a fragmentary private letter dealing with the guardianship of a minor (?) and with mention of ἐφηβεύοντες [col. II 1]) and P.Oxy. IV 711 (*ca* 14 BC, Oxy.: census list with mention of people who fraudulently registered themselves as ex–ephebes in the poll–tax registers of 16/5 BC – the text is taken as referring to the Alexandrian ephebate by Whitehorne (1982) p. 176, although it may also attest ephebic presence in Oxyrhynchus at a time when ephebate may have still been employed to indicate gymnasial membership). In SB VIII 9787 (54–68 AD, dedication from Lykopolis?) the reading οἱ] νέοι ἐφ|[ηβευκότες (7–8) has been repeatedly rejected. Finally, a text (SB XII 10947, mid I cent. AD) shares with us a curiosity: a vineyard called 'of the synephebe' in the estate of Maecenas near the village of Ibion Eikosipentarouron in the Arsinoite Nome (25–27: ἀμπελῶνος λεγωμένου Συνεφήβου | περὶ Ἰβιῶνος (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) τῆς Μαικηνατιανῆ(ς) | οὐσίας).

resuscitated by Septimius Severus' reforms. At all events, the Hermopolitan (and Arsinoite) evidence clearly shows that metropolitan ephebes did exist there at least until the reign of Nero.[519]

A final word about the situation in the Arsinoite Nome is perhaps in order. So far, we have never spoken of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου in this nome: metropolites are attested, but οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου are not.[520] However, this does not mean that a gymnasial class did not exist there: it would be very strange if a gymnasial class were absent under Roman rule where the 'Greek' presence of catoeci was so high and the life of the *gymnasia* so vibrant in Ptolemaic times. It has already been noted that in the Arsinoite Nome ephebes are found, who happen to be connected to the class of the so–called κάτοικοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινοείτῃ ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων ς'υοε 'catoeci from the number of the 6,475 Greek men in the Arsinoite'. This connection is not accidental: the 6,475 Greek catoeci indeed are the gymnasial class of the Arsinoite Nome. Like the metropolites, they were liable to pay a reduced rate of the poll–tax and were all officially registered as residents in the metropolis Ptolemais Euergetis (it is not entirely clear whether they were part of the metropolites), even though many continued to reside in the villages as their fathers before them.[521] Unlike in the other nomes, here the presence, traditions and involvement in the *gymnasium* of the catoeci throughout the

[519] Unlike Montevecchi (2000a) (with Whitehorne (1982)), I do not think that there is enough evidence to maintain that the ephebes in the inscriptions from the Arsinoite are Alexandrians and I do not speak of 'abusi' for the Hermopolitan applications for the ephebate: if the ephebate in the metropoleis was indeed swept away by the Romans until 200 AD, this may have happened with the Flavian reforms. Before that time rules were still uncertain.

[520] The existence of metropolites of the Arsinoite in the first century AD is attested in SB XXIV 15909 (6 AD), Stud. Pal. IV p.76 ll. 646–649 (72/3 AD) and SB 6 9163 (90/1 AD: earliest preserved application for Arsinoite metropolitan *epikrisis*). *Cf.* also Nelson (1979) pp. 12–16.

[521] *Cf.* Nelson (1979) pp. 37–39; Canducci (1990); Bussi (2003) p. 147.

nome (that is to say in the villages) were so strong that the old catoecic group (not connected to the metropolis) was retained by the Romans and elevated to privileged class, to the formal detriment of the metropolitan class of the *gymnasium*: the reason for the existence of the privileged class lay in their being catoeci, not in their belonging to the *gymnasium* of the metropolis (although the 6,475 were formally registered as residents of the metropolis, according to the Roman model of metropolitan aristocracy). The catoeci themselves certainly sought to obtain recognition as a special group by the Roman authorities, but in practice there was no difference from the gymnasial class: both were privileged, closed, 'genealogical' and endogamic classes (the requirements for admission were similar as their applications for *epikrisis* and the census returns from the second century AD onwards attest). The main difference was that admission into the catoecic group could probably be severely scrutinised from the very beginning: the Ptolemaic administration kept registers and lists of catoeci who were carefully recorded and the Romans had therefore official documentation against which to carry on their checks when 'creating' the privileged class.

When was this class formally recognised by the Romans then? The first mention of the 6,475 is a letter of the Emperor Nero to the inhabitants of Ptolemaic Euergetis in reply to a congratulatory embassy sent to him by the metropolis on the occasion of his accession to the throne.[522] Among other things, the Emperor recognised and confirmed the privileges that the 6,475 had enjoyed under his predecessors, in particular those granted by Claudius: the embassy must have taken particular care in seeking the young sovereign's favour towards the interests of the catoecic class. It appears from the text that the class formally existed as '6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoite' already under

[522] SB XII 11012 (55 AD, Ars.).

Claudius (the ἑξακισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε are a matter of fact in Nero's letter): it could be the re–organisation of the catoecic cavalry–men under Tiberius, if indeed it had not already been roughly sketched by Augustus (after all in Oxyrhynchus, as we have seen, the gymnasial class was precisely codified in 4/5 AD).[523] Whenever it may have been established, a general census of the members must have been carried out, and a list drawn up: their original members must have been 6,475 (unless the number refers to some *numerus clausus* of the previous catoecic group, which seems unlikely), from which the entire class took its name.[524] In the first year of Nero's reign (54/5 AD), an extraordinary *epikrisis* or census of the catoeci (presumably) was carried out in the Arsinoite[525] and then the 6,475 must have been the object of a general control to establish who had the right to belong to the class. This happened just after the confirmation of their privileges by the Emperor: it is not surprising that the Roman *fiscus* wanted to know exactly how much impact these privileges would have on its revenues.[526]

[523] *Cf.* Montevecchi (1970); Montevecchi (1997) pp. 721–726; Lewis (1999); Montevecchi (1999).
[524] So also Nelson (1979) p. 39; Canducci (1990) p. 227. Their number in the inscriptions is never entirely preserved, and the last digit might be debatable: however, on the basis of the papyrological evidence and on the fact that the final five can have been easily indicated with the simple numeral in the inscriptions (and the available space seems to allow this) – omission by error may also be hypothesised – I do no think that there are any doubts that the 'name' of the group was 6,475. I.Fayoum I 25, 2–4: [δι]ὰ τῶν ἑ[ξακισχιλί|ων] τετρα[κοσίων | ἑβδ]ομήκ[οντα (πέντε) καὶ] κτλ; I.Fayoum III 147. 6–8: διὰ τῶ[ν] | ἑξακισχιλίων τετρα[κο]|σίων ἑβδομήκ[οντα (πέντε) καὶ] κτλ. I should supplement I.Louvre 120 as follows: [ἡ πόλις ἡ Πτολεμαιέων | διὰ τῶν ἑξακισκιλίων | τετρακοσίων ἑβδομε]|κον[τα πέντε καὶ οἱ τῶι] | ιγ (ἔτει) κτλ.
[525] We find traces of it in Stud. Pal. IV pp. 73–74 (72/3 AD, Ars.) where men are recorded as having been registered in the first year of Nero although they were older than 14, the age at which every male inhabitant was normally registered and entered in the appropriate list of tax–payers.
[526] *Cf.* Montevecchi (1970); Canducci (1990) pp. 226–229.

I.3. Outsiders: Integration & Rejection

Being a member of the *gymnasium*, both in Ptolemaic and Roman times, was a mark of distinction: a way to assert one's status and separate oneself from the mass of the locals.[527] It was something to be proud of. Its membership brought along certain advantages (only of status in Ptolemaic times, but also fiscal in the Roman period). But as with every 'exclusive club', the *gymnasium* could not afford to welcome just anyone inside its doors: some selection was necessary and outsiders may have had a hard time trying to sneak in.

Without being exhaustive I shall give an account of how difficult it might have been to enter the *gymnasium* for those who were not 'naturally' bound to be members. Equally I shall show under what circumstances and how they could be welcomed in it. We shall further see how the *gymnasium* in Roman times became so different from the one in the Ptolemaic period in this respect too.

Although it is not always easy to track the presence and the treatment of the outsiders within the gymnasial context, especially because we do not know the exact entry requirements for Ptolemaic *gymnasia*,[528] I shall focus on three categories: Egyptians, Jews, and 'guests'. The first two undoubtedly formed the traditional 'outsider' group *par excellence*. In fact, the attitudes of rejection appear clearer in our sources (mainly Roman) than the instances when the outsiders were integrated and became part of the gymnasial community. In those times political correctness did not exist and inclusiveness was far from being considered a value to be made the object of

[527] *Cf*. Bringmann (2004) p. 325.
[528] The only mention of what might be thought of as an entry–requirement is the expression ἄξιοι τοῦ τόπου of the already mentioned decree I.Prose 27 = SB V 8031 (l. 8).

attention. Therefore, the integration of certain outsiders into the gymnasial community, though practised, is more elusive; it can only be subtly inferred from some hints in the documents.

☙ *Ptolemaic Period*

Certainly, the *gymnasium* was not the place where one would 'go Egyptian'; all its members were certainly *Hellenes*, for the fact alone of taking part in the most Greek institution ever.[529] Those who were admitted to it attended the *gymnasium* on the understanding that they would behave as 'Greeks' and that what was carried out in the premises was the performance of practices of Hellenic tradition; there is little doubt that when in the *gymnasium* they were certainly asserting a Greek identity and status. But this does not mean that all the members had to come from 'pure' Greek backgrounds, or that they must have had at all times a single and simple identity, always and only Greek.

The evidence at our disposal points to a more complex reality. Although the onomastics of gymnasial people obviously shows Greek names as the norm and little can be deduced from that,[530] in a few cases the situation is different. For it seems certain that some of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου had families with an Egyptian background, or closely related to it: the gymnasiarch of the village of Bousiris in Augustan times had a father whose Egyptian name (Onnophris) clearly indicates his origins.[531] Put more sharply, it is clear that there were Egyptian traditions running in the family. We do not know whether

[529] *Cf.* also Brady (1936); Delorme (1960) pp. 426–429. In the Seleucid kingdom, *gymnasia* are the means to separate Greeks from non–Greeks, although outsiders were also welcomed in them with the passing of time: Cohen (1978) pp. 36–37. Physical training was not an Egyptian practice: *cf.* D.S. I 81.7.
[530] In Roman times, many women (and in some cases also men: *cf.* P.Oxy. Census) of the privileged class of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου have Egyptian names, no doubt a result of secular Ptolemaic habits: *cf.* van Minnen (2002) pp. 350–351.
[531] BGU IV 1189 (1 BC, from Bousiris, Herakl.). The reading is certain from the photograph at http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=BGU&vVol=4&vNum=1189.

they were actually native Egyptians who became Hellenised, or Egyptianised Greeks. The name of the father shows that in this respect a gymnasiarch's family could have an Egyptian identity, side by side with a Greek one, and that this fact would not bother the community of the *gymnasium*, within limits. Obviously, the gymnasiarch presents himself as bearing a good Greek name (Antaios); as one of the officials of the Greek institution *par excellence* he had to play his role as a *Hellen*, but nothing may have hindered him from having and using a good Egyptian alias or (nick–)name in other circumstances. A man bearing a mixed Graeco–Egyptian theophoric name (Sarapammon) appears in what could be the second–century BC accounts of the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia.[532] Finally, two mummy labels present a gymnasial family with an interesting Graeco–Egyptian onomastic identity: the gymnasiarch Anoubis, son of Arabos, was married to Thaesis and had a son called Besarion.[533] In this case, as well, Egyptian traditions were part of the family history and religious syncretism played an important role in the gymnasial community: the gymnasiarch can bear an Egyptian theophoric name without any worry of sounding 'too Egyptian' – but the fact that the text is a mummy label, and not an official gymnasial text, cannot prevent the supposition that the man might have used a Greek name when acting in a formal capacity within the gymnasial community.[534]

Religious syncretism more than onomastics helps in investigating external inputs in the *gymnasium*. Ptolemaic dedications and acts of reverence to Egyptian or double

[532] P.Ryl. IV 589, col. VIII added in the margin (180 BC, from Philadelpheia?). On theophoric names of Sarapis, *cf*. Clarysse and Paganini (2009).
[533] SB I 3460–3461 The provenance and date are unknown: on the basis of onomastics (Βησαρίων), a date in the Roman period is more likely.
[534] The census–list P.Oxy. Census (Lykopolis, Upper Egypt, 91/2 AD), however, testifies how members of the Roman privileged class of the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου were not compromised by having Egyptian names in the official sphere at the end of the first century AD: *cf*. p. 221.

Greek–Egyptian deities from gymnasial people show how οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου could worship local gods. Even those whom the traditional Greek attitudes would have despised (for instance, animal–gods): some Egyptian practices were therefore introduced within the circles of the gymnasial community, and in this respect mixed–marriages, the enrolment into the army of some locals and the Hellenisation of some strata of Egyptian society (and vice versa) must have played a role in these developments.[535]

Equally in iconography: traditional Egyptian (religious) symbols may have been adopted in funerary stelai of the people of the *gymnasia*, where Greek motives are often intertwined with Egyptian ones: if the deceased may be depicted in full Greek apparel and look, Egyptian divinities and symbols realised in local fashion watch over and protect the dead. Egyptian beliefs on death and afterlife were certainly more reassuring than the traditional Greek ones and were therefore soon happily adopted by the 'Greeks'.[536] On the other hand, formal traditional Greek style is normally expected to be adopted for official gymnasial decrees.[537]

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[535] I.Fayoum III 200–202 (98 BC, 95 BC and 94 BC, from Ars.: dedication of τόποι to the crocodile god from ex–ephebes); I.Th.Sy. 303 (143/2 BC, from Setis in Upper Egypt: dedication of the *basilistai* to mixed Greek–Egyptian deities. Some of the members of the association were connected to the *gymnasium*: the term *prostates* was corrected from *kosmetes*, previously inscribed); SEG XX 671 (116–108 BC, Karnak, Thebes: fragmentary dedication of possible ex–ephebes to Greek and Egyptian deities). The acts of *proskynema* to Isis could be added, although the goddess had long been worshiped in the whole Hellenistic world: I.Philae I 32–33 (89 BC, Philae); SB I 2264 (49 BC, Philae). The *neaniskoi* of the Osireion (whose president has an Egyptian name, whereas the high–priest bears a Greek one) of I.Fayoum II 119 in Theadelpheia (II–I cent. BC) may be mentioned here, although their connection with the *gymnasium* is uncertain: *cf*. Legras (1999) pp. 214–216 (who seems to be certain in recognising in the *neaniskoi* the members of the *gymnasium*).

[536] SEG XLIV 1508 (I cent. BC – II cent. AD, unknown provenance: probable ex–voto of a gymnasiarch, with gods Thot and Ammon and Egyptian snake – drawing in *ed. pr.*); I.Kom Abu Bellou 142 with plate (12/3 or 14/5 AD, Terenouthis: funerary stela with deceased in Greek dress, lying on a funeral bed watched over by Anoubis and framed by an Egyptian temple). The advanced stage of this process is seen in I.Louvre 91 (with plate 53, which has been erroneously indicated as referring to inscription no. 92; I–II cent. AD, Lykopolis–Abydos): funerary stela of a member of the metropolite elite, who is dressed in Egyptian fashion in a completely Egyptian background, led by Anoubis to Osiris and Isis under the winged solar disc with uraei. The 'Greeks' of Egypt soon took up local burial practices (i.e.

Egyptian elements, therefore, entered the Ptolemaic gymnasial world, as the result of the life–style which the colonists undertook:[538] 'Greeks' living side by side with Egyptians soon took up Egyptian practices in various aspects of life, they often married women with Egyptian background, giving birth to offspring who shared the parents' double cultural traditions and could be raised in both of them, if not exclusively in one. By the same token, some Egyptians (especially from the higher strata) in many aspects of life adopted Greek language and customs, especially if they wanted to have a career in the Ptolemaic army and administration or maintain their social position under the new rulers.[539] But even if Egyptian elements entered the *gymnasium*, they did not change or 'Egyptianise' the institution: whatever their background may have been, when in the *gymnasium* and as members of the *gymnasium* they were presenting themselves as – and in fact they were – *Hellenes*. They were asserting a status, as members of the Hellenic 'ruling elite', socially separating themselves from the large mass of the anonymous population – no matter if in the blood of many of them they perhaps had more in common with an Egyptian peasant than with an Athenian citizen.[540]

As members of the *gymnasium* they were making a public statement about their role and position in the local society. They presented themselves as belonging to the world of the rulers, whose customs, traditions and culture they claimed to follow. In some cases, this may have created anger amongst some of the local population, who may have expressed their temper in extreme acts: violence and attacks against the

mummification), which ceased to be regarded as exclusively Egyptian. *Cf.* Bagnall (1997a); Parlasca (2001); Riggs (2005).

[537] *Cf.* I.Prose 40 (II–I cent. BC, from Psenamosis, western Delta; photo I.Delta III pl. 16).

[538] *Pace* Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) II pp. 865–869 and Peremans (1937).

[539] *Cf.* also Heinen (1996).

[540] Obviously this is an exaggeration. Many of the people of the *gymnasium* had Greek roots (although probably not Athenian anyway: for a survey of Greek ethnics in Ptolemaic Egypt, *cf.* Láda (2002)), but what matters here is that a true ethnic factor did not necessarily play a role in membership in Ptolemaic times.

gymnasium by Egyptians are attested.[541] But in this, as in many other cases, one should always be particularly careful before passing judgement on such behaviours: many more mundane and pragmatic reasons may be behind them rather than the simple opposition to the foreign ruling establishment, as the case of the recluse Ptolemaios shows.[542]

The *gymnasium* indeed represented (albeit 'unofficially') the immigrant ruling class of the country. It maintained its typically Greek features and elements: it preserved the Greek traditions in the land of the Pharaohs. This is what one sees in the many Ptolemaic honorific decrees granted by οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου to their benefactors: crowns, eulogistic inscriptions, dedications of statues, libations, banquets on κλίναι, sacrifices and *symposia* all belong to good old Greek practices, common to the rest of the Hellenistic world.[543] The members of the *gymnasium* stuck to them as part of a heritage which was to be preserved and fostered, as a mark of distinction and assertion of status, specially important in a 'colonial' environment. But this did not necessarily imply that this same old and venerable heritage could not be taken up and shared by new–comers, who were willing and ready to play their part in upholding it.

If in some places in Ptolemaic Egypt the inter–penetration of the two cultures (Greek and Egyptian) might have been less strong, or less peacefully welcomed (for instance, at Alexandria and in the Greek *poleis*?),[544] in most of the country those who

[541] SB XVIII 13837 (224–218 BC, Mouchis, Ars.): fragmentary petition to the King. What exactly the two Egyptians accused did to the *gymnasium* is not clear.
[542] Despite his cries of injustice and violence towards him on account of his being Greek, the real reasons for his fate probably lie more in his conduct in business and affairs: *cf.* Thompson (1988) pp. 229–230; Legras (2011) pp. 175–180.
[543] Traces of Greek rituals of ancient flavour seem to be found in Wilcken Chr. 11 (123 BC, Krokodilopolis–Hermonthis, Theb.) for the peace between Krokodilopolis and Hermonthis: *cf.* Wilcken (1913) p. 415. The connection with the *gymnasium* is possible.
[544] Complaints about outsiders sneaking into the *gymnasium* from Alexandrians date from Roman times. We can only wonder whether a similar situation existed also under the Ptolemies. The fact that in the often mentioned decree I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC, from Ptolemais?), granting membership to the *gymnasium*, the only requirement set for access is the men being ἄξιοι τοῦ τόπου seems to show that

boasted of belonging to the Hellenic gymnasial 'elite' thought it completely normal for them to have some Egyptian influences: they obviously did not perceive them as 'Egyptian' or extraneous, but they just performed and expressed them as part of their life. The ephebes of a *gymnasium* in an Egyptian village could dedicate plots of land to the crocodile god on one day and run naked in a torch–race on the next; in neither of these activities were the ephebes being more nor less Greek in the eyes of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου of Egypt. As the military association of the *(philo)basilistai* could gather together 'Greeks' and Egyptians in their expression of loyalty for their master and leader, the King, similarly the *gymnasium* brought together those who were ready to uphold Greek traditions and customs in the assertion of a status, making display of their devotion to the Royal House – in this respect, the phenomenon must have found favour at Court.

A similar situation is to be envisaged for the presence of Jews in the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt; the degree of Hellenisation of the Jewish population of the diaspora is well known and deserves no comment (even in liturgical aspects, as the Septuagint shows).[545] Hence, it appears natural that they may have wanted to share and take part in the life of that institution which represented the cultural traditions of the Hellenism which the Jews did not feel entirely extraneous to them.[546]

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the people of the civic *gymnasia* (at least presumably for the *polis* of Ptolemais?) were *a priori* not hostile to newcomers and that the entry requirements were socio–cultural rather than ethnic or genealogical (on this, *cf.* infra). This would seem even more likely if membership of the *gymnasium* did not *per se* involve membership in the citizen–body. Some Egyptians being members of the *gymnasium* and being ephebes in Ptolemaic Alexandria (but not for this reason citizens) are accepted by Fraser (1972) I p. 77 with note 281.

[545] *Cf.* Feldman (1993) pp. 51–56; Huß (1994); Sterling (2001) pp. 73–74 and P.Polit. Iud. pp. 23–32.

[546] *Cf.* Collins (2001) pp. 39–40 with note 10 and bibliography.

Greek culture and education are indeed points of pride for the Alexandrian Jew Helenos in his petition to the prefect of Egypt (although we do not know with certainty whether he ever attended the *gymnasium* under the last Ptolemies), and it was common to the high strata of the civic Jewry.[547] It is certain that the well–born Jewish youth of Alexandria participated in the Greek cultural life of the city well into Augustan times, as Philo tells us.[548] And this was a feature not uncommon in other Hellenistic cities (in some cases with further developments in imperial times too). In the cities of Asia Minor, for instance, we have clear evidence that the Jews could share the civic life of the cities where they lived, by attending the theatre and gymnastic spectacles, for which they had specifically assigned seats, and by forming mixed Jewish–pagan associations. Some of them were citizens (also Roman citizens; the most famous example is St Paul) and could hold offices. In this capacity they had to attend the pagan religious rites and feasts and spectacles connected to their charge. Sometime between 198 AD and 211 AD the Emperors Septimus Severus and Caracalla granted the Jews the right to hold city offices, but imposing on them only the obligations which did not conflict with their *superstitio*; this disposition would be kept until Justinian and incorporated into the Digest. The Jews of the Hellenistic cities were also influenced (but *cum grano salis* and

[547] CPJ II 151 (5/4 BC, Alexandria). *Cf*. pp. 48ff. Greek education and culture had certainly been acquired by the apostate Jew Dositheos, son of Drimylos, *hypomnematographos* and eponymous priest from 7th September 223 BC to 27th August 222 BC (PP 5100 = Clarysse *et al.* (1983) no. 68): *cf*. Fuks (1953/1954). On the Jews of Alexandrian feeling 'Alexandrians', *cf*. Petersen (2009).

[548] The description of Philo's education, the mention of gymnasial training, athletic contests, victory procedures, and chariot races, and theatre spectacles (with classical plays) show how the upper class of the Jewish community of Alexandria led a 'Greek life' and took part in many of the highlights likely to be performed in connection with the *gymnasium*: *Congr.* 74–76; *Agr*. 111–121; *Prob*. 26, 110, 141; *Prov*. 2.58, *Ebr*. 177; *Spec. Leg*. II 229–230. *Cf*. Harris (1976) pp. 51–95; Mendelson (1982) pp. 26–33; Feldman (1993) pp. 57–63; Collins (2001) p. 47; Sterling (2001) pp. 276–277; Gruen (2002) pp. 68–71.

not automatically) by local customs, also in onomastic habits, given that many of them had Greek names.[549]

Above and beyond civic life, the Jews of the Diaspora in many Hellenistic cities shared the Greek education and culture and the Hellenic heritage, and took part in the life of the *gymnasium* and in its activities.[550] Jews attended Cyrenaean *gymnasia*, for instance,[551] for Jewish names appear in ephebic lists in Cyrenaica, Iasos and Asia Minor in I cent. BC – II cent. AD. This practice continued in certain cities (but not in Egypt, it seems) in later imperial times: from Hypaepa, south of Sardis (Lydia), for instance, there comes the late second–century AD inscription Ἰουδα|[ί]ων νε|ωτέ|ρων.[552] For Applebaum the expression indicates that 'in some Asiatic towns young Jews were organized in their own gymnasia' – although in his other contribution for the same edited book he seems to assume that the *gymnasium* was the city's and some Jews simply participated in it.[553] I agree with Trebilco, who thinks that the organisation of young Jews in their own *gymnasium* is 'unlikely in view of the other Jewish ephebes known to us and the situation at Sardis'; the presence of Ἰουδαῖοι νεώτεροι would rather suggest that 'a group of Jews formed a Jewish 'association of young men' in the gymnasium' and the inscription might have indicated the place where they trained in the local palaestra.[554] Similarly for the case of the *gymnasium* at Sardis, where the archaeological evidence has shown that the synagogue was built in the bath–*gymnasium* complex in the second–third century AD: 'the present evidence ... does not on the other

[549] Applebaum (1974a) pp. 440–448; Reynolds and Tannenbaum (1987) pp. 93–105; Trebilco (1991) p. 47 with note 36 and pp. 173–183. The same applies to Ptolemaic Egypt: *cf.* the index of names in Horbury and Noy (1992) pp. 258–263 and P.Polit. Iud. pp. 30–32.
[550] Hengel (1973^2) pp. 120–143; Kasher (1976) p. 155; Kasher (1985) pp. 319–320.
[551] Applebaum (1979) pp. 140–142 (at Teucheira); 167–168 (at Ptolemais); 178, 183, 185 (at Cyrene).
[552] CIJ II 755 = IJO II 47.
[553] *Cf.* Applebaum (1974b) p. 478 and Applebaum (1974a) p. 447 respectively.
[554] Trebilco (1991) p. 261 note 41 and p. 177.

hand justify the conclusion that the Jewish community at a given point took over the gymnasium. Nor is the present state of the Sardis evidence such as to prove the establishment of a Jewish gymnasium as part and parcel of the institutions or the Jewish community'.[555]

The only certain reference to a 'Jewish *gymnasium*' is found in the Books of the Maccabees:[556] the foundation of a *gymnasium* in Jerusalem by the priest Jason (the Hellenised form of Joshua) and dedicated to the King Antiochus IV.[557] This act is labelled as having 'abandoned the holy covenant' (1Macc 1:15) and been done 'according to the customs of the gentiles (κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν)' (1Macc 1:14): the *gymnasium* itself was therefore considered a pagan and foreign institution and a 'Jewish *gymnasium'* could have never existed as such.[558] However, its introduction in the city was welcomed by many people in Jerusalem and did not provoke a revolt, though the traces of its existence quite remarkably disappear thereafter, and it is never said whether the *gymnasium* was later destroyed or kept in existence.[559] In fact, it seems that the *gymnasium* underwent the typical process as in many other Hellenistic cities and was turned into a place for public assemblies (surely by the time of Herod and his renovation of the city into a 'Graeco–Roman style', when such an institution – should it have still existed – would have been the object of his attention), for the Jewish mentality *in* Jerusalem could not bear to take part in the *gymnasium* or have anything to do with pagan cults.[560]

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[555] Applebaum (1974a) p. 449.
[556] 1Macc 1:11–15 and 2Macc 4:9–17. For an exposition of the facts, *cf*. Capponi (2007) pp. 13– 28.
[557] According to the interpretation given by Doran (2001) p. 107.
[558] Although Doran (2001) pp. 97–105 suggested the (Jewish) literary texts which could provide a Jewish alternative to the Greek *curriculum* of studies, suitable for the gymnasial context in Jerusalem.
[559] *Cf*. Collins (2001) pp. 42–47.
[560] *Cf*. Sterling (2001) pp. 275–276.

The situation was quite different in Hellenistic cities, where the Jews tended to take part in civic life and some young Jews joined the *gymnasia*. The epitomist of 2Macc 4:9–17 seems to have this issue in mind according to Doran: when writing about Jason and emphasising the cultural and educational side of the introduction of the *gymnasium* in Jerusalem (rather than the institutional change of connecting the citizenship of Jerusalem to the ephebate), he was actually stigmatising and fighting against the practice of joining *gymnasia*, common among the Jews of Hellenistic cities.[561]

Indeed, the Jewish youth of well–to–do families of the Hellenistic diaspora joined the other young boys in the ephebate and in the life of the *gymnasium*. This was most probably the case for Alexandria too. And the freedom which the Jews seem to have enjoyed in joining the *gymnasium* in Ptolemaic times eventually gave birth to the opposition of the conservative fringes of the Alexandrian citizens, who became even more exasperated by the other privileges the Jews enjoyed under Roman rule.[562] This resentment left a powerful testimony in the papyri from the Roman period, when for the first time we have clear signs of opposition to outsiders in the *gymnasium*. This, as we have seen, is the result of the different nature and socio–fiscal role with which the *gymnasium* was invested during the Principate. But as far as the Ptolemies were concerned, Alexandrian Jews could enter the *gymnasium* and enjoy the social advantages of it.

But what was the situation in the *chora*? Did Ptolemaic Jews attend the *gymnasium* there as well? In this respect, unfortunately, we have hardly any evidence.

[561] Doran (1990); Doran (2001) pp. 110–111.
[562] Alexandrian Jews retained their autonomous internal organisation, with their *gerousia* etc, even when the Alexandrian citizens had (long) been denied any form of self–organisation (assembly and council): *cf.* Feldman (1993) pp. 93–94.

Certainly, the Jewish presence in Egypt which provides the most room for discussion was primarily concentrated in Alexandria. However, Jews were present in many other parts of the country too, and in certain cases played an important role at local level. In the Arsinoite Nome, there were, for instance, two villages inhabited by a large number of Jews in Ptolemaic times: Trikomia and Samareia.[563]

We know that there was a *gymnasium* in the village of Samareia: it had been founded at some point in the first half of the third century BC by a Cilician cleruch.[564] One could wonder whether the Jewish population of the village (originally made up of Jewish/Samaritan retired mercenaries) did also take part in its life. I am inclined to believe that they did: in the *chora* even more than in Alexandria, the Jews (especially those of the upper strata and the army) identified themselves as *Hellenes* in opposition to the mass of the Egyptians, with whom they shared little more than the land where they lived. Many members of the Jewish population are recorded under the label of '*Hellenes*' in Ptolemaic tax registers,[565] and as 'Greeks' they must have behaved accordingly. Thus the possibility of joining the rural *gymnasia* seems very likely to me: in them, as centres of Greekness and places for the display of loyalty to the Royal House and the ruling class, they would assert their social status.[566]

However, sacrifices and nudity during physical activities (both common in the *gymnasium*) would *a priori* constitute a problem for the Jews.[567] But as we have seen,

[563] *Cf*. Clarysse (1994) (Trikomia). Kuhs (1996); Montevecchi (1996) (Samareia). Elephantine in Upper Egypt also had a strong Jewish presence even before Ptolemaic times, as Aramaic papyri attest: *cf*. Yaron (1961). Leontopolis was also a very important Jewish centre: *cf*. Capponi (2007). For the presence of Jews in the Egyptian *chora*, *cf*. Kasher (1985) pp. 48–74 and 106–167.
[564] P.Enteux. 8 (221 BC, from Samareia, Ars.).
[565] *Cf*. Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 147–148.
[566] Loyalty to the Ptolemies by the Jews is attested at least by CIJ II 1440 = CPJ III Appendix I 1440 (246–222 BC from Schedia, Delta): dedication of the synagogue to King Ptolemy III Euergetes and his family.
[567] On nudity, *cf*. p. 245.

the Jews who participated in the life of the Greek communities in which they lived were *de facto* ready to adapt themselves in many aspects of life which did not properly conform to Jewish practices.[568] Thus, while in the *gymnasium* they did get naked and trained together with the other members, they took part in races and contests and perhaps they may even have taken part in the sacrifices (as neutral spectators, just as many non–Christian or atheist students stand and listen to the Grace read before dinner in an Oxford College) and related banquets.[569]

Egyptians and Jews constituted the two main and possibly most problematic groups of outsiders with whom the Ptolemaic *gymnasium* had to deal. Indeed the third category of outsiders presented less problems: the 'guests' of the *gymnasium*.

Their existence can be inferred from what could well be the ledger of debts due to the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia:[570] the 'guests' (ξένοι, the term normally employed to indicate non–members of a club) who took advantage of the oil of the *gymnasium* are requested to pay the relevant expenses. In this respect, it would seem certain that for normal members the oil–supply was covered by the membership–fees and regular dues

[568] The Hellenised Jews of Jerusalem who joined the *gymnasium* and trained there sought to have their circumcision undone, because they did not want to look different from the other members: J. *AJ* XII 5.1= 1Macc 1:14 (on the surgical reconstruction of the prepuce, *cf*. Cels. VIII 25). On the other hand, the Jews attending the *gymnasium* of Antioch on the Orontes obtained the privilege of receiving the money from the gymnasiarch for the purchase of kosher oil, if they thought that the one normally employed in the *gymnasium* was ἀλλόφυλος ἔλαιος (J. *AJ* XII 3.1: *cf*. Harris (1976) pp. 74–75; Kasher (1985) pp. 303–305): although following alimentary disposition they did train in the *gymnasium* and anoint themselves together with the others. *Cf*. Hengel (1973[2]) pp. 126-127 and 137; Harris (1976); Borgen (1994); Collins (2001) p. 47; Gruen (2002) pp. 123–126; Groß–Albenhausen (2004) p. 319; Kobes (2004) pp. 241–243. Eagerness for gymnasial activities and oil–rubbing rather than devotion in the temple of Jerusalem is reprimanded in 2Macc 4:4: *cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 59–60.

[569] *Cf*. Harris (1976); Trebilco (1991) pp. 181–183.

[570] P.Ryl. IV 589, 62–63 (180 BC, from Philadelpheia?): τ̣[οὺ]ς κ̣ε̣[χ]ρικότας ξένου̣[ς]. *Cf*. Turner and Neugebauer (1949) p. 94.

that they probably had to pay, if the gymnasiarch did not provide this by donating the money for it himself.[571]

The 'guests' of the *gymnasium* were most probably visitors: *Hellenes* who for business, administration or whatever reason were temporarily staying in a place and using the facilities of the local *gymnasium* for a limited period. They were presumably members of their own *gymnasium* at home, and did not want to renounce their right to fitness training and oil–rubs when away. And the people of the *gymnasia* were more than happy to welcome these guests within the doors of their local club: maintaining good relations with members of fellow *gymnasia* and widening the network of (possibly wealthy) acquaintances were certainly highly regarded activities. The practice is indeed common in the Hellenistic world, where one sees visitors and foreigners being admitted to *gymnasia* and enjoying the benefits of euergetistic donations (mostly of oil).[572]

We have therefore seen that outsiders had the possibility, if they so wished, to be integrated in the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt. But this does not imply at all that *anyone* could enter the *gymnasium*. Entry–requirements must have existed, and compliance with them was certainly enforced. The next question is to investigate what these entry–requirements may have been in the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt.

No Ptolemaic gymnasial codification of such a nature has been preserved for us, and we therefore do not have a law that singles out precisely the various dispositions for

[571] *Cf.* pp. 102ff.
[572] *Cf.* Veyne (1990) pp. 74–75; Gauthier (1995) pp. 8–9; Bringmann (2004) p. 329; Kobes (2004) p. 240; Fröhlich (2009) pp. 66–67. *Cf.* also the case of the Seleucid foundation of Themisonium in Phrygia where the gymnasiarch gave donations for the ἄλειμμα to the ephebes, the *neoi* and the ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι: *BCH* XIII (1889) 334, 4 = C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, no. 544 (115 BC).

admission. Nonetheless, I believe that much can be inferred from hints in the documentation at our disposal.

The only clear reference to some quality which the new members of a *gymnasium* in Egypt had to have is given by the decree from the *polis* of Ptolemais (?) granting citizenship and access to the *gymnasium* to a certain number of men: they are to be ἄξιοι τοῦ τόπου (l. 8) 'worthy of the place'.[573]

It seems clear to me that this implies that, just as Ptolemaic *gymnasia* are markers of status, similarly the only requirement for being admitted into the *gymnasium* was one of status too. And it was presumably threefold, socio–cultural–financial: a man had to be free–born,[574] ready to be and behave as a *Hellen* (if not born from Greek stock),[575] and be financially secure and be able to afford the expenses connected to the life of the *gymnasium*.[576] Ethnic or genealogical factors did not come into play in Ptolemaic times. Nor did citizenship: for rural *gymnasia* this is clear (citizenship did not exist in villages or metropoleis of nomes), for civic *gymnasia* of the three *poleis* it may be reasonably supposed (the same decree from Ptolemais (?) treats admission to the *gymnasium* and citizenship as two independent and separate things).[577]

Investigation into material from other parts of the Hellenistic world seems to provide interesting parallels, with due precautions. First of all, one could consider the gymnasiarchic law from Beroea, which is the only text providing us with clear rules for

[573] I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC).
[574] Irregularities in this respect may have occurred as one seems to gather from Emperor Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians: *cf.* p. 213.
[575] Knowledge of Greek and the acquisition of a certain level of Greek customs were prerequisites. No–one learnt how to speak Greek in the *gymnasium*: in this respect Mehl (1992) is wrong. *Cf.* also Bringmann (2004) pp. 323–325; Groß–Albenhausen (2004) pp. 315–321.
[576] In the *gymnasium* of Amphipolis (Macedonia) a timocratic criterion was adopted for membership: *cf.* Bringmann (2004) p. 328 and note 30.
[577] *Cf.* pp. 124 and 234; *contra* Habermann (2004) p. 340. The non–relation between ephebate and citizenship for Ptolemaic Alexandria is maintained by Fraser (1972) I p. 77 and Delia (1991) pp. 73–75. For Naucratis we do not know.

admission (or rather rejection) in the *gymnasium* of the Macedonian city. Six categories of people cannot enter the institution: 1. slaves, freedmen and their sons; 2. untrained people; 3. rent–boys; 4. sons of tradesmen and craftsmen; 5. drunkards; 6. the mentally ill.[578] It is clear that those belonging to the first four categories are denied entry on the basis of status, whereas the last two for security reasons and good order.[579] Citizenship does not come into play here either. The *gymnasium* of Beroea was therefore open to free–born boys regardless of their status as citizens.[580] A similar situation must have been common in other cities too; it was not the right of citizenship which opened the doors of the *gymnasium*, but rather the common values of Greek education and athletics which the free–born with sufficient financial means enjoyed.[581]

Equally in Ptolemaic Egypt, the ephebate and the *gymnasium* must have been opened to the *Hellenes*, to those who spoke Greek and shared Greek ideals and culture, who mainly belonged to the upper–strata of the (local) society and were ready to behave as *Hellenes*. Ethnic origins did not matter much, so long as the members in the *gymnasium* behaved in accordance with the assertion of a Hellenic status. Nor did hereditary citizenship in the *poleis* play a particularly important role. Uniformity in the *gymnasium* was of status not of race (all the more as time passed). Members were all *Hellenes*, of a reasonably well–to–do Greek–speaking class, who could come from very

[578] EKM 1 Beroia 1, B 26–29 (180 BC): οἷς οὐ δεῖ μετεῖ|νϱαι τοῦ γυμνασίου· μὴ ἐγδυέσθω δὲ εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον δ̣[ο]ῦ̣[λ]ος μηδὲ ἀπε|[λ]εύθερος μηδὲ οἱ τούτων υἱοὶ μηδὲ ἀπάλαιστρος μ̣ηδὲ ἡταιρευκὼς μη|[δ]ὲ τῶν ἀγοραίαι τέχνῃ κεχρημένων μηδὲ μεθύων μηδὲ μαινόμενος.
[579] For nos. 1 and 4 status reasons are clear. The no. 2 ἀπάλαιστροι indicates those who were not suitable for the *palaestra*: rather than thinking to the physically unfit as Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 81–84 do, I think that here it may well refer to those who had no physical education because their family could not afford it (also because of the position of the term in the text, in the middle of those whose entry was not allowed due to reasons of status). The no. 3 ἡταιρευκότες were excluded not on the basis of some sort of Victorian prudery of having homosexuals training naked with other youth, as Kobes (2004) p. 240 maintains – homo–erotic relations between boys were not considered exceptional nor inappropriate, *pace* Moretti (1982) p. 52 – but rather because of the improper social status which their profession gave them.
[580] *Cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) p. 87.
[581] Gauthier (1995) p. 8; Kobes (2004).

different backgrounds (Greek and Hellenic immigrants, descendants of mixed origins, Hellenised locals) but had in common one language, certain customs and the will to act accordingly as *Hellenes*.[582]

In this respect, Ptolemaic *gymnasia* were a bit like English public schools. It did not really matter much who one was and whence one came when one got in (provided that one was Hellenised and could afford the fees). What mattered was how one behaved in it and what one would become once out of it.[583] Ptolemaic *gymnasia* were certainly a powerful assertion of status, a way to separate a particular Hellenised class from the rest of the local population, but outsiders could be welcomed in them so long as they agreed on behaving like *Hellenes* and on upholding gymnasial traditions and customs.

☙ *Roman Period*

As we have seen, with the Roman conquest of Egypt, new dispositions were taken for the *gymnasia* of the country and the people related to them. With a process which took nearly a century, a reorganisation was undertaken and the *gymnasia* became the focus of a sub–group of the metropolitan class, the members of which enjoyed a privileged fiscal status. Furthermore, in the *poleis* (at least Alexandria) the ephebate could have become the primary condition for the recognition of citizenship.[584] By the last third of the first century AD new, tightened entry requirements were put into action: only the offspring of gymnasial ancestors who had been registered in official lists could enter the *gymnasium*. For the first time in the history of the gymnasial institution in Egypt

[582] *Cf.* Jones (1971[2]) pp. 308–309; Fraser (1972) I p. 77.
[583] I owe this to the sagacity of Prof. Peter J. Parsons.
[584] *Contra* Delia (1991) pp. 73–75.

genealogical criteria were introduced as decisive rules for access. This is the greatest watershed between Ptolemaic and Roman times: the *gymnasium* ceased to be a matter of culture and customs, and became a matter of blood.

Outsiders were not welcomed any more. Egyptians and Jews were denied entrance and there was no way they could have now any right to sneak into it:[585] the gymnasial class (for only in Roman times can one speak of a proper social class) became a hereditary, self–contained, exclusive, endogamous group. From the 70s of the first century AD onwards the only way to become member of it was to be born into it.

The gymnasial class achieved an even greater elitist self–consciousness. It is therefore not surprising that the only evidence for opposition to outsiders comes from the Roman times: a couple of papyri dealing with Alexandrian embassies to the Emperor in the early years of the first century AD.

The first text is the so–called *boule* papyrus: an Alexandrian embassy had been sent to Rome to ask for the re–introduction of the *boule* in the city.[586] This would safeguard the interests of the Roman *fiscus* making sure that no–one entered illegally the lists of ephebes and the categories exempted from the poll–tax, and would benefit the city because it would maintain the citizen–body free from uncultured and uneducated men.[587] The Alexandrians were therefore complaining that outsiders and unworthy elements (were they Jews and Egyptians?) may have found their way into the gymnasial institution and the citizen–body; it is uncertain whether they may here refer

[585] Although Jews appear in *gymnasia* elsewhere in the imperial period (sometimes as benefactors too), in Egypt they are excluded. *Cf*. Applebaum (1974a); Applebaum (1974b); Applebaum (1979); Trebilco (1991).

[586] CPJ II 150 = PSI X 1160. The text is presumably to be dated to the first half of the first century AD, and the Emperor in question would be Augustus, Caligula or probably Claudius: *cf*. Harker (2008) pp. 28–30.

[587] Ll. 2–6: ἵνα | μή τι τῶν μελλόντων τινὲς λαογραφ<ε>ῖσθαι τοῖς κατ' ἔτος ἐφήβοις | συνεγγραφόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν γρᾳ[φήν, τὴν] πρόσοδον | ἐλασσῶσι, καὶ τὸ π<ο>λ{ε}ίτευμα τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων ᾖ[κ]ᾰρᾳ.ιǫ̣ ὑπάρ|χον ἄθρεπτοι καὶ ἀνάγωγοι γεγονότες ἄνθρωποι μολύνωσι.

also to a result of the state of things under the Ptolemies, but it is clear that with a *boule* they could have better managed their own affairs and tightened up controls.

More extensive treatment of the subject is reserved in the letter to the Alexandrians which the Emperor Claudius wrote in response to the embassies sent to him by the Alexandrians and the Jews of Alexandria upon his accession in 41 AD, and as an *addendum* to the unsuccessful ones to Caligula following the anti–Jewish riots in 38 AD.[588] The Emperor adopted an even–handed line of action towards the requests of the two embassies: Jews and Alexandrians had to live peacefully one next to the other in the same city.[589] The point of interest for us is the imperial confirmation of civic privileges for those admitted to the ephebate: Claudius confirmed that those who had become ephebes would remain in possession of the status of citizens. The only exclusion was for those who had managed (no doubt through bribes) to enter the ephebate without being free–born: surprisingly enough, it appears that some sons of slaves (perhaps freedmen? Or from Alexandrian fathers and servile mothers?) managed to enter the *gymnasium*, and were therefore claiming some rights to citizenship. The decision of the Emperor supported the requests of the Alexandrians for stricter controls which would avoid the (likely, as it seems) dangers of 'bastardising' the citizen–body. Furthermore, Claudius confirmed the other privileges granted to the Alexandrians by

[588] CPJ II 153 (41 AD). *Cf*. Gruen (2002) pp. 54–83 (with an interesting focus on the role of the Egyptians in the matter); Harker (2008) pp. 19–23, similarly Huß (1994) pp. 19–23. On the Alexandrian embassies to the Emperors, *cf*. Kayser (2003).

[589] CPJ 153, 88–92: καὶ Ἰουδαίοις δὲ | ἄντικρυς κελεύω μηδὲν πλήω ὧν πρότερον | ἔσχον περιεργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ὥσπερ ἐν δυσὶ πόλεσιν κα|τοικοῦντας δύο πρεσβείας ἐκπέμπειν τοῦ λοιποῦ, | ὅ μὴ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπράχθη (normalised text) 'and on the other hand I explicitly order the Jews not to agitate for more privileges than they formerly possessed, and not in future to send out a separate embassy as if they lived in a separate city, a thing unprecedented' (tr. A.S. Hunt – C.C. Edgar). For the reproach of the Emperor μηδὲ ὥσπερ ἐν δυσὶ πόλεσιν κατοικοῦντας δύο πρεσβείας ἐκπέμπειν as referring not to the fact that the Jews sent an embassy beside the Alexandrian one, but that their embassy was followed and supported by one organised by King Agrippa from Jerusalem (thus behaving as if they had been living in two cities, Alexandria and Jerusalem), *cf*. Grzybek (1999) (differently Grocholl (1991)).

Kings and prefects and by his predecessors, as Augustus did before him.[590] The status of those admitted into the *gymnasium* is therefore once again stressed: the Alexandrians wanted to prevent outsiders from entering the *gymnasium* and thereafter claiming related privileges. A further passage in the letter has been the object of particular attention: the Jews are to keep far from gymnasial contests, being content with the many other privileges that they enjoyed.[591] This annotation was made with the intent to avoid further disturbances and violence during big gatherings, although practically implying that the Jews were not to take part in the life of the *gymnasium*. Access to the *gymnasium* and gymnasial events seems therefore now denied to them, although some certainly tried to enter it (and no doubt succeeded).[592]

Therefore, entry–requirements for *gymnasia* were reinforced in the first century AD, in the frame of the reorganisation of the gymnasial administration and of the privileged classes, and especially in consequence of possible breaches due to the disorder of the times. A more selective stance towards outsiders was adopted: Jews were not welcomed, nor were Egyptians. Those among the latter who tried to enter the *gymnasium* and inscribe their sons as ephebes were fined.[593] This shows that irregularities in the admission occurred and caused financial loss to the state and the disapproval of those with full gymnasial rights. Therefore, for reasons of peace, order

[590] CPJ II 153, 53–59. On the presumed connection ephebate–citizenship, *cf.* pp. 234ff.
[591] CPJ II 153, 92–95: μηδὲ ἐπισπαίειν | γυμνασιαρχικοῖς ἢ κοσμητικοῖς ἀγῶσι, | καρπουμένους μὲν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπολαύοντας δὲ | ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει περιουσίας ἁπάντων ἀγαθῶν (normalised text). For the debated interpretation of ἐπισπαίειν = ἐπεισπαίειν 'to intrude, struggle in, take part in', *cf.* Harker (2008) p. 186. *Contra* Harris (1976) p. 92; Gruen (2002) pp. 80–81 and Kasher (1985) pp. 310–321, who stresses the disinterest or even repugnance of most of the Alexandrian Jews towards the *gymnasium*: I cannot entirely agree. On the interpretation of ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει as the city belonging to the Emperor, *cf.* Kasher (1985) pp. 325–326.
[592] On the status of Alexandrian Jews, *cf.* Kasher (1985) pp. 233–289; Harker (2008) pp. 212–220.
[593] Gnomon §44 (BGU V 1210, 121–122): Αἰγυπτίου ἀπογραψαμένο̣[υ] υἱὸν ὡς ἐφηβευκό̣[τ]α̣ τῶν δύο τέταρτον | ἀναλαμβάνεται. *Cf.* Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 115 note 42.

and fiscal levy Roman authorities wanted to prevent uncertainty by setting out clear rules and established penalties for the transgressors.

☙ *Women & Gymnasia*

The above discussion has dealt with the treatment of Egyptians, Jews and guests within the gymnasial institution in its developments over time. A further 'category' of outsiders could be added to these: women. The *gymnasium* was a business for men, and women did not take part in it. Still, such an assertive statement needs nuancing.

In Ptolemaic Egypt we have no evidence for female involvement in *gymnasia*, unlike in other parts of the Hellenistic world.[594] Women in the *gymnasia* of Egypt only appear with certainty in a late Roman text, which reflects the socio–administrative changes which the *gymnasium* had undergone (as in many other eastern cities of the Roman Empire): Pompeia Heliodora is indicated with the title of γυμνασιαρχίς of Alexandria in perpetuity.[595] Therefore, the presence of women in the gymnasial environment falls outside the scope of my research and only a brief account of the situation outside of Egypt in the Hellenistic and Imperial period will be given.

In some cities of the Hellenistic world (especially Asia Minor) from the early years of the Principate female figures of local 'nobility' took part in the life of the *gymnasium*, inasmuch as they supported it with donations and foundations. They could also undertake the gymnasiarchy, in a time when it was a liturgical office, sign of prestige and 'granted' to those of a certain social status, which required the mere

[594] *Cf.* Casarico (1982) (also with Casarico (1980) pp. 123–127).
[595] PSI Congr. XXI 13 (Oxy., after 284/5): *cf.* Hagedorn (1996). The honorific title of αἰώνιος γυμνασίαρχος *(vel similia)* 'gymnasiarch in perpetuity' was given to those who had set up a foundation to provide oil for the *gymnasium*.

disbursement of money for the oil–supply, heating and upkeep of the buildings without actual involvement in the activities of the *gymnasium* (by the same token, children also could be appointed gymnasiarchs – and their families would pay for the related expenses).[596]

But in some exceptional cases, the involvement of women may not have been limited to mere euergetism: in Doryalion, Smyrna, and Pergamum, for instance, in Imperial times, girls may have attended the *gymnasium* itself and its activities (although separately from the boys, and with a specific personal curriculum).[597]

But in the case of Egypt, we have no evidence for any female involvement up to the later Roman period, when women could act as benefactors and (possibly) hold the gymnasiarchy. In fact, even with the Roman creation of the privileged classes and the subsequent reform of the *gymnasium* in the 50s–70s AD in the frame of which also the mother's ancestry became important, women did not seem to have anything to do beyond than showing that they had a father who had been admitted to the *gymnasium* and registered on the relevant lists to prove their belonging to the class of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου for their *sons'* sake: in fact, membership to the gymnasial class was a vital business for men only, who enjoyed the relevant privileges (women did not participate in the running of the country, as they did not pay the poll–tax, and had no need to worry about it themselves).[598]

The *gymnasium* was essentially an institution built by and for men, and so it basically remained until the end of its days.

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[596] *Cf.* Gauthier (1985) pp. 74–75; van Bremen (1996) pp. 68–73; Bussi (2003) p. 152; Fröhlich (2009) p. 81. On liturgies undertaken by women, *cf.* Lewis (1966) p. 512: 'Women were excluded from public office in the Roman Empire, and were excused from σωματικαὶ λειτουργίαι (*munera corporalia*, *personalia*) but not from compulsory public services whose principal demand was upon the purse'.
[597] *Cf.* Kobes (2004) pp. 244–245; more nuanced van Bremen (1996) p. 70 note 116 and pp. 148–149.
[598] *Cf.* van Minnen (2002).

II. Social Status

The *gymnasium* in Egypt was the place of the *Hellenes*, both in Ptolemaic and Roman times.[599] Its members set themselves above the rest of the local population as those who followed and perpetuated Greek traditions in a colonised land. They presented themselves as belonging to the Hellenic elite which was in charge of ruling the country. This being said, it does not at all mean that differences within this gymnasial 'elite' did not exist. Quite the opposite.[600]

Different levels of wealth and influence (depending also on geographical factors) were obviously present. Beside rich families who had served in the administration at various levels for several generations, there were also those who could take advantage of more modest means, as the case of the lampadarch Hermon seems to show.[601] Only those who were rich enough could undertake the gymnasiarchy and the other more expensive gymnasial offices; their presence in the sources is more evident. But it would be wrong to draw a picture of homogeneity from this. Next to the few over–represented leading figures of the gymnasial community, many more from lower strata formed the bulk of 'those of the *gymnasium*' although they often 'lurked' more or less unknown.

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[599] For a definition of *Hellenes*, *cf.* also Modrzejewski (1983) and especially Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 138–147.

[600] I am less negative than van Minnen (2002) who does not consider suitable the use of the term 'elite' to define the (Roman) gymnasial group, given that not all of its members had a degree of wealth and political 'power' to make them truly 'elite'. Although this is undoubtedly true, I shall continue to apply the term to the gymnasial people: its members were the representatives of a varied group which mostly stretched over the higher layers of the social pyramid, and tended to set themselves apart and above the rest of the local population, as an elite, by reason of their gymnasial membership.

[601] BGU VI 1256 (from Philadelpheia, Ars., II cent. BC): *cf.* pp. 93ff.

For this very reason it is difficult to have a balanced and actual idea of the social composition of the members of the gymnasial community, both in terms of ethnicity and occupations. On the first point, it is very difficult to say anything which could be based on solid ground. The very few Ptolemaic ethnic designations – in Roman times they disappear – which we have for some members of the gymnasial community need be treated very carefully. They do not always indicate actual ethnic origin, and their interpretation is not always clear (in many cases, an ethnic was later taken over in the military sphere to indicate a unit, without ethnic connection whatsoever). The later these ethnics are, the less likely they indicate actual origin. Ten ethnics are preserved to us and they all refer to the members of the governing body of the *gymnasium* (founders, superintendents, gymnasiarchs and lampadarchs): six (possibly seven) are Macedonians, one a Persian, one a Cilician and one a Thracian – of them a couple or few more could be considered true ethnics with some degree of certainty.[602] Almost all of them are soldiers or cleruchs; this is not surprising. Similar uncertainty about true origin indicators is given by the onomastics, although the presence of Egyptian names within the gymnasial community shows how local influences had been welcomed into it.[603]

As for the occupations, we tend to know only of those who held positions of prestige and were involved in the highest posts of the local and central

[602] Macedonians: BGU VI 1256 (II cent. BC, from Philadelpheia); SEG LV 1847 (152/1 BC, unknown provenance); P.Enteux. 8 (221 BC, from Samareia, Ars.); SEG VIII 504 (II cent. BC, from Thmouis, Delta); SB III 6665 (II–I cent. BC, from Alexandria?); SB I 1106, re–edition by Van 't Dack (1984) (II–I cent. BC, from Sebennytos, central Delta) [+ I.Métr. Ég. 4 (II cent. BC, from Coptos, Upper Egypt)?]. Persian: I.Prose 15 (222–180 BC?, from Luxor, Upper Egypt). Cilician (from Nagidos): P.Enteux. 8 (221 BC, from Samareia, Ars.). Thracian: I.Fayoum II 103–104 (150/49 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.). On Greek ethnics in Ptolemaic Egypt, *cf*. Láda (2002).
[603] *Cf*. pp. 196ff.

administration, just as we only happen to know of the ethnics of those belonging to the governing body of the *gymnasium* – with the exception of the landowners who had their estates around the village of Psenamosis (western Delta) and built the *gymnasium* in the village.[604] Those who acted at the head of the gymnasial community were important members of the society and many bore Court titles as a mark of their social distinction and importance in the Ptolemaic administration; equally in Roman times they belonged to the gymnasial elite and normally belonged to the families in whose hands local offices lay.

Alexandrian gymnasiarchs belonging to the best known aristocratic families could indeed play a particularly important role in the political life of the city, and represent their fellow citizens in embassies and diplomatic endeavours abroad. This was the case of Isidorus and Lampon in their mission to the Emperor Claudius.[605] But also at home their importance was recognised, and some could hold honorific offices and be connected with the prestigious institution of the Museum (which, among other things, could provide full maintenance for its members).[606] No doubt thanks to the importance of their families, some enjoyed the personal favour of the first Emperors and their entourage and were appointed to the management of imperial estates, while enjoying other honours too.[607]

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[604] I.Prose 40 (II–I cent. BC): they are either called συγγεωργοί or γεοῦχοι. Add also (possibly) I.Prose 49 (5 BC, from Psenemphaia, Delta): *cf*. note 109.

[605] *Cf*. p. 87.

[606] P.Oxy. XXVII 2471 5–6 (*ca* 50 AD, Oxy./Alex.): Demetrius was priest and gymnasiarch, member of the Museum, exempt from payment of taxes and fully maintained by the state (Δημ]ητρίου ἱερέως καὶ γυμνασιάρχου καὶ τῶν ἐν | [τῷ Μουσείῳ σιτουμέ]νων ἀτελῶν). For membership into the Museum and connection with politics, *cf*. Lewis (1963); Lewis (1981).

[607] A couple of Alexandrian gymnasiarchs are found at the head of the administration of imperial estates as μισθωταί: Tiberius Claudius Theon was in charge of the administration (for at least 62–89 AD) of the estate once belonging to Lucius Annaeus Seneca (*cf*. P.Oxy. XLII 3051 (89 AD, Oxy.) and Browne (1968)) and Gaius Iulius Iollas was in charge of the imperial estates in Herakleopolites from 54 AD (P.Vindob. Tandem 10: 54 AD, Herakl.). The favour that Gaius

The families of those who were at the head of the gymnasial social pyramid usually enjoyed a flourishing economic situation; they often had at their disposal reasonably large amounts of wealth, normally connected to land tenure. Many of those who took part in the life of the Ptolemaic and Roman *gymnasium* were indeed landowners, either as catoeci or not, and (if domiciled elsewhere) spent at least part of their time in their residences in the countryside, dealing with their estates. The land constituted the main source of income for them (both in terms of rents and sale of land produce), although other investments were certainly undertaken (especially money–lending). Many gymnasiarchs, in person or through φροντισταί 'agents', are indeed found dealing with matters concerning agriculture and vineyards, as well as lending money and having administrators to manage their finances.[608] The link between the gymnasial people and

Iulius Iollas enjoyed with the prefect of Egypt, Lucius Lusius Geta, is shown in his appointment as judge for a private dispute about land (P.Oxy. XLIX 3464, 54–60 AD, Oxy.). One could also add a gymnasiarch (Alexandrian?) who also appears to be involved in the administration of the imperial estate of Livia near Philadelpheia (Ars.) in SB XXIV 15909–159010 (6 AD; letter from Ars.), although his dealings may have more to do with his being strategus: *cf*. Hanson (1997).

[608] I.Prose 40 (II–I cent. BC, Psenamosis); BGU VIII 1772 (57/6 BC, Herakl.); BGU VIII 1813 (after 62/1 BC, Herakl.: possible gymnasial membership); BGU IV 1188 (after 15/14 BC, Koma, Herakl.); P.Oxy. LXVII 4624 (I cent. AD, Oxy.: interesting text in which the gymnasiarch, among other things, instructs his agent about the building of a porch or *exedra* in his country–house); P.Amh. II 130 (70 AD, Herm.); P.Oxy. XLIX 3464 (54–60 AD, Oxy.); P.Oxy. XXVII 2471 (*ca* 50 AD, Oxy./Alex.); SB VI 9109 12–13 (31 AD, Tebtynis, Ars.); P.Ryl. II 119 (62–66 AD, Herm.); P.Ryl. II 151 (40 AD, Euhemeria, Ars.); P.Bodl. I 156 (I–II cent. AD, Karanis, Ars.). Add the dubious case of P.Rein. I 42 (I–II cent. AD; sale from Theadelpheia, Ars.). A good example of a member of the Roman gymnasial class involved in agricultural and money–lending business is the gymnasiarch and royal scribe Chairemon of BGU II 594–595 (75–85 AD, Ars.): *cf*. Smolders (2005). The gymnasiarch in P.Oxy. LXVII 4582 (16 AD, Oxy.) may have had some interests in bee–keeping. The youth of the *gymnasium* (l. 13:] . τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου νε̣[ανίσκοις) may have had something to do in the lease of some vineyards in the unpublished fragmentary papyrus P.Hamb. Inv. 64 (Ptolemaic period, unknown provenance): I owe this to Prof. B. Kramer who is working on the edition of the text and whom I thank. The active role played by gymnasiarchs in business may be further supported by the fact that a ship used to transport wine had been apparently given the evocative name of Γυμνασιαρχίς (O.Ber. I 86, mid I cent. AD, Berenike).

landownership is sometimes clearly stressed in Egypt, both in terms of the personal definition of its members and, at least in one case, in the toponymy.[609]

But not all of the members of the *gymnasium* could boast of being at the top of the social (gymnasial) ladder. Quite the opposite: the great majority of them were probably not, and for this reason they do not appear acting in a gymnasial capacity in the documents and are therefore virtually 'invisible' to us. However, in one (late) case we are fortunate enough to be able to have a closer look at the social standing of some members of the gymnasial group, more than simply of those who stood at its head: a late first–century AD census–list with members of the Roman privileged class of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου of Lykopolis (Upper Egypt) with the indication of their professions.[610] Besides the fact that many of them bear Egyptian names (even men), the professions indicated are generally humble (donkey–drivers, farmers, manual workers, oil–workers – an exception is one geometer, whose son is a farmer) – some even lived ἐν μάνδρᾳ 'in a hut'.[611] Rather than considering this the proof of a presumed early decline of the Greek leading class of Upper Egypt in the first century AD,[612] I think that the text shows

[609] As we have seen, the link *gymnasium*–catoeci is a very close one in the Arsinoite Nome (both in Ptolemaic and Roman times: *cf.* esp. pp. 192ff) and in the Herakleopolite Nome (in Ptolemaic times, *cf.* p. 53, but the presence there of village gymnasiarchs in Augustan times may warn us against underestimating an enduring importance of the village catoecic community in the *gymnasium* well into the first years of Roman domination, *cf.* pp. 80ff). Near the village of Ibion Eikosipentarouron in the Arsinoite Nome there was a vineyard called 'of the synephebe', which was part of the estate of Maecenas (SB XII 10947 25–27, middle I cent. AD). On landownership, especially in later Roman times, *cf.* Rowlandson (1996) pp. 102–118.

[610] P.Oxy. Census (91/2 AD). *Cf.* Montevecchi (1998); Montevecchi (2000b).

[611] It is worth noting that the term γεωργός may not necessarily imply a low social status. Four of the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου recorded (A 1, A3, A 350, and A 363–364) were ἀπολύσιμοι 'exempt (from the *laographia*)' – for A 350 it is said that he was a ἐλαιουργός, in the other cases the occupations are apparently not indicated: it is possible that they were priests (the term ἀπολύσιμος is indeed specifically – although not exclusively – used to indicate those priests who had been exempted from the payment of the poll–tax: *cf.* Preisigke's *WB s.v.*). For the term μάνδρα, *cf.* Casson (1989) p. 244; Gagliano (2000).

[612] So Bussi (2003) pp. 150–151.

how varied and complex the gymnasial group could have been (especially in a metropolis of Upper Egypt, which could be exposed to stronger Egyptian influence), even after the Roman reforms, as the result of centuries of history of the *gymnasium*: in the life of the *gymnasium* there took part not only councillors and strategi, but also labourers and donkey–drivers; not only those with purely sounding Greek names (although often *noms grecs d'Égypte*, as defined by Bingen),[613] but also those with Egyptian background and traditions.[614] The state of things in Ptolemaic times played a particularly important role in the matter; as we have seen, thanks to the less 'exclusivist' policies of admission, the gymnasial body could integrate inputs from the local community. In the case of Lykopolis, it seems that local gymnasial families did not even always think it important to standardise themselves to Greek (male) onomastics. This would not last long in the Roman period.

As we have seen, it is indeed with the new order given by the Romans that the gymnasial community became first a social class, and subsequently a completely closed and exclusive group. Indeed, it is only from the Roman period that one can properly speak of a gymnasial class. Its members were only then organised by the state and recognised as such, with fiscal and social privileges connected to their gymnasial membership, and they would officially declare themselves as belonging to the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in legal contexts. In Ptolemaic times, on the other hand, they were rather a social group: well defined, self–conscious, autonomous and often influential, but never officially recognised as a

[613] *Cf.* Bingen (1991) pp. 103–104 note 7 and Bagnall (1997b).
[614] How many of these people were Egyptianised Greeks or Hellenised Egyptians (or both) it is difficult to say. Moreover, this is an irrelevant point.

class. Being a member of the *gymnasium* for the Ptolemaic government did not entail any immediate consequence or intrinsic advantage; being a *Hellen* rather did. The advantages of being 'one of the *gymnasium*' were only of status, and never officially recognised. With the Roman administration, on the other hand, the class of the *Hellenes* disappeared as such and fiscal advantages were introduced for the privileged classes. What now made the real difference on practical grounds was being a citizen of a *polis*, a metropolite or one of the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.[615]

What is important to bear in mind is that both in Ptolemaic and Roman times the gymnasial community formed a coherent but at the same time complex group; they were all *Hellenes* and shared and performed the same Greek traditions (and enjoyed the relevant privileges), but they came from and belonged to different backgrounds and were active in different environments and functions. One could say that the gymnasial community formed a sort of common and autonomous hierarchic structure, stretching over different strata of the social ladder (although with the stricter Roman rules on the gymnasial class, the lower strata may have often been at risk of easily losing their status and falling back into the class of unprivileged Egyptians).

Those belonging to the upper strata of the society (who were also members of the *gymnasium*) would belong to the higher ranks of the gymnasial group, and would serve their community as gymnasiarchs and benefactors. They had a position of prestige and sometimes of power in their local communities. This

[615] As seen before (pp. 173ff), the exact privileges of the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου are difficult to identify with absolute certainty. In Hermopolis, for instance, in the 60s of the first century AD its members may have been entitled to free corn from the metropolis (although it is possible that this was just an emergency measure): *cf.* pp. 188ff.

could give them an aura of authority and trustworthiness (as in the case of gymnasiarchs as justices of the peace),[616] but could also provide them with enough power to act as they pleased in spite of justice and conventions (as in the case of the 'superior local power' thanks to which the gymnasiarch Mousaios from Hermopolis refused to hand over some land mortgaged for a loan).[617] The top ranks of the gymnasial group had always been truly the elite (either at local or national level) since the beginnings of the history of the *gymnasium* in Egypt.[618] It does not come as a surprise that they were often active in the administration and served the army, holding important positions.

[616] *Cf.* p. 77.

[617] P.Ryl. II 119 = Sel.Pap. II 279 (62–66 AD, from Hermopolis): καθὸ ὑπερισχύων ἡ||μᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων (ll. 30–31). Despite what the petitioner says, the reasons of Mousaios for not returning part of the land do not seem entirely without foundation: the land had been mortgaged to Mousaios in exchange for a loan, and the man had retained revenues from it (partly also illegally, because under embargo); now the debtors, according to a decision of the *iuridicus*, are to return the money due to Mousaios and to have the land back. However, in order to re–pay the debt they need to sell part of the land mortgaged and therefore ask Mousaios to hand it over, which he understandably does not want to do.

[618] On the elite of gymnasiarchic families, *cf.* also Aesop. 20 (fable of the crocodile boasting with a fox about his gymnasial ancestry) with Opelt (1982). The prestige which gymnasiarchs and ephebic youth enjoyed in Egypt is also attested by the fact that their names were included in a game of dice (SB V 8234: III cent. BC, unknown provenance: the gymnasiarch was attributed to the number 35, the ephebe to 25): *cf.* Perdrizet (1931); Seyrig (1934–1937). On games in antiquity, *cf.* Fittà (1997).

II.1. Army & Administration

II.1.i. Army

The link between the army and the people of the *gymnasium* is an old one: it goes back to the origins of the institution in Egypt. Mercenaries from various parts of the Hellenistic world introduced the *gymnasium* into the land of the Pharaohs.

Soldiers and military associations in the gymnasial community are well attested throughout the Ptolemaic period.[619] However, this fact does not make the *gymnasium* a military institution nor is an active link with the army always to be supposed throughout its history.[620] It is certainly true that very often *gymnasia* had been introduced in the villages of Egypt by (retired) mercenaries, but this was to answer the needs not of the army, but rather of settlers who happened to be military men. In fact, the diffusion of the *gymnasium* in Ptolemaic Egypt is due primarily to the fact that those soldiers who had served the Ptolemaic Crown became settlers, cleruchs. This is the real reason why we find *gymnasia* in so many different parts of the Egyptian *chora*: it was the cleruchs (not as soldiers but as settlers) who, upon deciding to start a new life in their new home, wanted to

[619] *Cf*. SB IV 7456 (III–II cent. BC, from Alexandria); I.Prose 41 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt); BGU VIII 1772 (57/6 BC from Herakl.); I.Métr. Ég. 4 (II cent. BC, from Coptos, Upper Egypt); I.Fayoum II 103–104 (150/49 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.) I.Prose 46 (39 BC, from Thebes) [plus the fragmentary SB V 8389 (145–116 BC, from Omboi, Upper Egypt)?]. On (military) associations, *cf*. pp. 112ff.

[620] I cannot therefore entirely agree with Launey (1949–50/1987[2]) II pp. 836–869 and Fischer–Bovet (2008) pp. 281–291. A similar view is expressed for the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt by Bagnall (1976) pp. 237–238: 'The garrison took part in the support of the gymnasia of the cities where they were stationed; there can be no doubt that their sons were trained in the gymnasia that they supported. But the alumni of the gymnasia were not therefore only or primarily members of the Ptolemaic garrison. These organizations, I suspect, provided a common ground for soldier and citizen to share religious and educational traditions'.

form a local Hellenic community and established the *gymnasium* as an important feature in the formation of their 'local' identity.[621]

Similarly, I do not think that our sources tell us much about military activities in *gymnasia* of Egypt, quite the opposite. As far as we can say from what we have at our disposal, the *gymnasium* was indeed the centre for physical activities (the nature of which is unknown to us, but it does not have to be military) but also, and most importantly, the place in which the local Hellenic community could meet and spend time together performing religious and recreational activities. Sacrifices to the King and the Royal House and games and feasts are the main characteristics of the Ptolemaic *gymnasia*;[622] it seems that their purpose was to create, increase and display bonds of common Hellenic identity, rather than preparing anyone for military life. People went to the *gymnasium* to have some exercise and rub with oil, socialise, meet fellow *Hellenes* and perform their loyalty to the Royal House, in the assertion of their status as members of the 'ruling class'; no–one, I believe, took part in the *gymnasium* to keep himself fit in case of war. By the same token, not much can be said about the nature of the

[621] *Cf*., for instance, the case of the Cilician Apollodoros who founded the *gymnasium* in Samareia (Ars.) where he had received his allotment and settled as cleruch: Ἀπολλοδώρο[υ] γάρ ... [οἰκοδομή]σαντος γυμνάσιον ἐ[ν Σαμα]||ρείαι, οὗ καὶ ἐκεκληρούχητο (P.Enteux. 8 2–3, 221 BC). *Gymnasia* are connected to catoeci in: BGU VIII 1768 (64–44 BC, Herakl.); BGU VIII 1767 (64/3 BC, Herakl.); BGU IV 1188 (Augustan period after 15/4 BC, from Koma, Herakl.) [and SB VI 8964 (II cent. BC, from Euhemeria?)?]. In a couple of other texts the catoeci are linked with an active role in the army (such as [ἱπ|π]άρχην ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν κατοί[κ]ων ἱππ̣[έων] in I.Prose 41 5–6).

[622] In one case, sacrifices to the King are the *only* given reason for the foundation of the *gymnasium* by an association of landowners (no evident connection with the army): ὅπως γυμνάσιον ποιήσαντες καὶ οἶκον ἄγω|μεν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων θυσίας, I.Prose 40 7–8 (II–I cent. BC, from Psenamosis, western Delta). *Cf*. p. 36.

ephebate (and speculation about it seems pointless); on this our sources are silent and there is nothing to convince us that it provided any military training at all.[623]

The link between the army and the *gymnasium* disappeared in Roman times; as seen, it had probably become more nominal than factual already during the Ptolemaic period. The new social meaning which the Romans gave the *gymnasium* had as its focus the metropolitan Greekness (as descendant of the settlers) from which to harvest civil officials; besides, the Roman army, which functioned with an entirely different system from the Ptolemaic one, had no interest in fostering local *gymnasia*. At least officially. It is certainly possible that some members of the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου (more likely those from the lower strata) enlisted themselves in the army, and once veterans they would return to their homes and may have supported the *gymnasium* which they attended in their youth. But they had to do it in a private capacity. Veterans, as Roman citizens, obviously did not undertake, at least up to the second century AD, any liturgy or municipal office (namely the gymnasiarchy), leaving therefore no traces in our documentation.[624]

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[623] On the other hand, for the military nature of the ephebate in Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor see Chankowski (2004).

[624] *Cf.* Lewis (1964) pp. 72–73; Lewis (1982) pp. 91–92. Proof of a connection between veterans and gymnasial class is P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2855 (291 AD, Oxy.): registration of a deceased veteran's son as δωδεκάδραχμος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου – it is worth noting that the text dates from after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 AD, which granted Roman citizenship to the residents of the Empire, and the registration is done not for exemption from the poll–tax (which was apparently no longer being collected: *cf.* Wallace (1938) p. 134) but for the recognition of the status of ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, for future claims of social privileges (membership of the *boule* and of the *gerousia*, and free distributions of corn) and the undertaking of compulsory services. Such a declaration would probably have been illogical in first/second century AD when the Roman citizenship was a privilege for few and veterans' sons could enjoy it (and thus the exemption from *laographia*, liturgies and compulsory services) after the *honesta missio* of their fathers: *cf.* Campbell (1978); Jung (1982); Alston (1995) pp. 53–68; Phang (2001).

II.1.ii. Bureaucracy & Administration

Continuity between Ptolemaic and Roman periods is found in the case of gymnasial members occupying posts in the local administration. It seems indeed that in both period *gymnasia* supplied personnel for the running of the administration and bureaucracy.

Some leading gymnasial figures in Ptolemaic times (who could also be military people at the same time) undertook positions of responsibility at local and national level: strategus, dioecetes, *exegetes*, etc.[625] One could also imagine something similar happening at lower levels.

In the Roman period we have many cases of administrative posts covered by the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου.[626] These obviously constituted the pool from which civil

[625] I.Alex. Ptol. 42 (II–I cent. BC; Alex: διοικητής, ἐξηγητής, ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως); SB I 2264 and I.Prose 46 (respectively 49 BC, from Philae and 39 BC, from Thebes: 1. στρατηγός and ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαΐδος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης, ἀρχιπρύτανις; 2. στρατηγὸς and ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Περιθήβας: on the man and his family active in the administration for generations, *cf.* Mooren (1970) pp. 17–24; Ricketts (1982–1983)) [plus the restored SB V 8389 (145–116 BC, from Omboi, Upper Egypt): ἐπὶ προσόδων, ἐπιστάτης στρατηγός?].

[626] I.Kom Abu Bellou 142 (12/3 or 14/5 AD, from Terenouthis, western Delta: *agoranomos*. He could also have undertaken his offices under Ptolemaic rule: *cf.* note 183); I.Louvre 91 (I–II cent. AD, Lykopolis–Abydos: *agoranomos*, ἀρχιερεύς, ἱεροποιός and all the other ἀρχαί of Lykopolis); I.Fayoum II 139 (24/5 or 51/2 AD, Dionysias, Ars.: gymnasiarch and appointed to the income); P.Merton II 62 (7 AD, unknown provenance: gymnasiarch and strategus); P.Mich. IX 541 (69–79 AD, Karanis, Ars.: ex–gymnasiarchs and *bibliophylakes enkteseon*); P.Oxy. II 246 (66 AD, Phthochis, Oxy.: strategus and ex–*kosmetes*); P.Oxy. LXXI 4825 (65–69 AD, Oxy.: strategus and ex–*kosmetes*); P.Oxy. I 44 (66–70 AD, Oxy.: strategus and ex–*kosmetes*); P.Oxy. XLII 3051 (89 AD, Oxy.: ex–gymnasiarch and ex–*agoranomos*); P.Ryl. II 107 (84 AD, Ars.: ex–gymnasiarch and *bibliophylax enkteseon*); SB XVIII 13235 (69–78 AD, Ars.: ex–gymnasiarch and *bibliophylax enkteseon*); SB XXIV 15909–15910 (6 AD, Ars.) with Hanson (1997) (strategus and gymnasiarch); Stud.Pal. XXII 175 (78 AD, Soknopaious Nesos, Ars.: ex–gymnasiarch and *bibliophylax enkteseon*); Stud.Pal. XXII 23 (84–96 AD, Soknopaiou Nesos, Ars.: ex–gymnasiarch and *bibliophylax enkteseon*); Stud.Pal. XXII 86 (87 AD, Ptolemais Euergetis, Ars.: ex–gymnasiarch and *bibliophylax enkteseon*); W.Chr. 176 = Sel.Pap. II 280 (after 60 AD, Soknopaiou

servants and municipal officials were drawn to undertake the many compulsory public services due to the state and to the local communities. This fact is not surprising; the practice was to be very widespread and well attested in the second century AD.

In this respect, a couple of interesting texts from the Augustan period challenge our understanding of the developments of Roman administration in Egypt.[627] They indeed present to us the case in which two men were gymnasiarchs (metropolitan charge undertaken by residents) and strategi (state office) *at the same time*, in clear breach of Gnomon §70, which prescribed that public officials could not hold offices in their *idia* where they held properties.[628] One could think of them as holding the gymnasiarchy *in absentia* in the place where they came from while residing and undertaking the *strategeia* elsewhere. Alternatively, the gymnasiarchy had been given them as an honorific recognition. But it is probably simpler and closer to the truth to conclude that the rule of the strategi being active in a nome where they had no possessions, and therefore different from their own, had not yet been established in the early years of the first century AD.[629] Furthermore, if the gymnasiarchy was not yet a municipal office, the two men

Nesos, Ars.: strategus and ex–*kosmetes*). For the magistrates of Alexandria being drawn from the gymnasial elite, *cf*. Bowman and Rathbone (1992) pp. 116–117.

[627] SB XXIV 15909–15910 (6 AD, Ars.: with Hanson (1997) and with some reservations Hengstl (2007)) and P.Merton II 62 (7 AD, unknown provenance).

[628] Τοῖς [ἐν] δημοσίαις χρ̣είαις οὖσ̣ι οὐκ ἐξὸν ὠνεῖσθ̣αι ἢ̣ δ̣[ανεί]ζειν ἐν οἷς π[ρ]αγ[μ]α|τεύο[ντ]αι τόποις οὐδὲ ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ο[ὐ]δ̣ὲ ἐ̣ξ ὑποḷ̣όγο̣υ̣ [οὐδὲ ἐ]κ προκηρύξεως | ὅλου γομοῦ (Gnomon §70: BGU V 1210, ll. 174–6) 'Neither public officials nor members of their household may purchase property or lend money in the districts wherein they operate either from the unproductive land or from that advertised at auction within the nome' (tr. Johnson (1936) no. 444 p. 716 §70).

[629] This would fit well with the fact that in the first years of Roman rule Alexandrians frequently undertook the *strategeia* in nomes where they had interests and properties: *cf*. Bowman and Rathbone (1992) p. 125; Kruse (2002) pp. 44–46.

were not *stricto sensu* undertaking two offices at the same time.[630] One might even think that the two charges were initially kept together in order to better underline and strengthen the new role of the *gymnasium* for the newly–introduced social categorisation of the metropolite population by the state and of the gymnasiarchy and *strategeia* in the running of this social re–organisation. Perhaps the task was entrusted to the hands of an Alexandrian gymnasiarch, who was in office in the capital but would take care of the *strategeia* and of the metropolitan *gymnasium* in the establishment of the new privileged classes for reasons of prestige?[631] At all events, from the middle of the first century AD onwards the job of gymnasiarch, as we have seen, became a municipal liturgical charge, and the presence of the members of the gymnasial class in the administration of the country was more evident. Yet once again, differences existed and not all the members of the gymnasial group were always and *per se* involved in the running of local and national affairs. Those at its top, for whom we have more evidence, certainly were.

II.1.iii. Civic Councils & Councils of the Elders

Similarly, a link between the upper strata of those 'from the *gymnasium*' and prestigious 'administrative' bodies, such as councils and *gerousia*, can be identified.

[630] Hagedorn (2007) p. 201.
[631] Hanson (1997) p. 421.

The council or βουλή in Ptolemaic times existed only in the three Greek *poleis* (Alexandria, Ptolemais and presumably also Naucratis). In Alexandria it may have been abolished together with the assembly under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and certainly by the time of Augustus.[632] The Emperor Septimius Severus granted councils in 200 AD to all metropoleis, including also Alexandria (the *polis* Antinoopolis had a *boule* from its foundation by Hadrian in 130 AD).

We have little evidence for the Ptolemaic period. In fact only one inscription provides us with some ideas about the relationship between council and *gymnasium*.

I have already analysed the text and I shall only recall here a couple of points.[633] The council and the *gymnasium* seem to be two independent bodies, within *polis* life: the former does not seem to have controlled the latter. However, the two were very closely connected and could have taken decisions in concert; after all the members of the two often overlapped. They both belonged to the same background and shared many features. The councillors represented the local civic elite, and many had gone to the *gymnasium* themselves (this would be even more the case if the citizenship was connected and dependent on the ephebate – but it is uncertain that it was so) or were still involved in its management (likely at high posts). The *gymnasium*'s affairs were not considered extraneous business for many of the members of the council. The later Hellenistic development which may have brought the civic elites to control officially the *gymnasium* through

[632] *Cf*. Geraci (1983) pp. 176–182; Bowman and Rathbone (1992) pp. 108–109. *Cf*. also note 12.
[633] I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500, 8–9 (104 BC, from Ptolemais?): *cf*. pp. 124ff.

magistrates would only be the natural consequence of this state of affairs, as in fact the elites already were in charge of it.

In other cities of the (later) Hellenistic world (unlike in classical times) the council became indeed the place where local elites expressed their political influence and power. Often passed on to members within the same family as personal inheritance, membership of the council (eventually for life, with certain exceptions) was a mark of distinction and a sign of honour, recognised in public ceremonies. It was often considered a family matter and anyway reserved for a limited class of people, the local aristocracy, who had in their hands the administration of the city. They eventually formed a real 'senatorial' *ordo*, a well–defined socio–political class, to whom the local affairs were entrusted.[634]

This is exactly what one sees in the other text which closely connects the *gymnasium* with the council: the so–called '*boule* papyrus', which records an embassy to the Roman Emperor by the Alexandrians.[635] In it the *boule* is portrayed as being the privileged and principal way to prevent outsiders from entering the ephebate illegally and then claiming fiscal privileges to the detriment of the Roman coffers. The text refers here not to a state of affairs but rather to a *desideratum*, which could recall the situation in the other two Greek *poleis* of Egypt under Roman rule, as well as in the rest of the eastern provinces. Whatever may be the case, it clearly states how close *gymnasium* and *boule* could be, with the latter controlling the access to the former (no doubt through magistrates appointed by the council).

[634] *Cf.* Müller (1995); Hamon (2005).
[635] CPJ II 150 = PSI X 1160 (first half I cent. AD). *Cf.* p. 212.

In the later Roman period, after the introduction of the council (and of the bouleutic class) to all the metropoleis of Egypt under Septimius Severus, this state of affairs was to become commoner. It eventually became even the rule, with the *boule* in the hands of the local aristocracies controlling the *gymnasium*, together with all the other aspects of local administration and politics – from magistrates to liturgists, who came (almost) always from its ranks too, willingly or not.[636]

The *gerousia* too was a feature of *polis* life and was connected to the civic elites. This is what we can gather from the scanty Ptolemaic evidence which connects this board with the *gymnasium*. One dedication honours Lykarion, who was gymnasiarch and honorary president of the *gerousia*, and had also undertaken many other offices both at local/civic and national level.[637] Such a career was by no means exceptional within his family, and this example shows once again how the higher strata of the gymnasial community and those of the civic elites overlapped. It is uncertain whether in this case we are dealing with the civic *gerousia* or with a society of elders uniquely related to the *gymnasium*: what is anyway clear is that the *gerontes* were distinguished members of the community and could occupy key positions in politics and administration, as well as in the gymnasial group.

The close link between *gymnasium* and *gerousia* is also attested in a funerary inscription for an Alexandrian family from the early Roman period: Tiberius Iulius Asclepiades had been gymnasiarch and president of the *gerousia*

[636] *Cf*. Bowman (1971); Wegener (1985); Kleijwegt (1991) pp. 263–272; Kleijwegt (1994).
[637] I.Alex. Ptol. 42 (II–I cent. BC, from Alex.): *cf*. Fraser (1972) I p. 95 and II 177 note 16. The other text which mentions the *gerousia* in connection with what could be a gymnasial context is SEG XXXIV 1532 (II cent. BC, unknown provenance): *cf*. p. 132.

(ἀρχιγέρων).[638] Although the *gerousia* may not have had any active power on political or legislative affairs of the city in Roman times, it nonetheless represented a socially influential board, formed by the civic elite (prerequisites for membership may have included the ephebate) from which magistrates and civil servants were drawn; the *gerousia* itself could have been composed by retired magistrates. In Roman times this process developed even further and from the third century AD onwards the *gerousia*, just like the *boule*, became the place of recognition and prestige for the local metropolitan aristocracy (especially the gymnasial elite).[639]

II.2. Ephebate & Citizenship

Owing to the dominance of the Athenian model, one often thinks of the ephebate as the necessary training for forming future citizens and one links it naturally with *polis* citizenship. As we have seen many times, this 'cultural dependence' on Athens does not do much good for the study of the history of Greek institutions in Egypt (and very often elsewhere too).

[638] I.Fayoum I 38 (first half I cent. AD, from Hawara, Ars.).
[639] *Cf.* El–Abbadi (1964); Whitehorne (1977) pp. 36–37; Trebilco (1991) p. 123; Bowman and Rathbone (1992) pp. 115–118; Bussi (2003) pp. 153–154; Bussi (2008) pp. 21–22. This idea is strengthened by P.Oxy. XLIII 3102 (*ca* 225/6 AD), an application to join the *gerousia* at Oxyrhynchus, where much stress is laid on genealogy and family history (the application being addressed to the πομπαγωγός and ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων, the official in charge of family trees), both very important points for οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου: *cf.* van Minnen (2002) p. 345; Ruffini (2006) pp. 92–94.

Firstly, the concept of citizenship in Egypt was limited to the three Greek *poleis* in the country (Alexandria, Naucratis and Ptolemais – a fourth *polis*, Antinoopolis, was added in 130 AD by Hadrian and falls outside the scope of the present study). The vast majority of the people (and hence of the members of *gymnasia*) in Egypt was not concerned at all with this, either in Ptolemaic or Roman times. Rural *gymnasia* (thus including those in villages and in the metropoleis) never functioned as centres for the acquisition of citizen status, simply because such a status never existed in that environment. Even if the metropoleis underwent a process of urbanisation and municipalisation under Roman rule, they never became *poleis* (despite being referred to as such in the papyri – the term is not used in a legal sense);[640] their *residents* never had the status of citizens, before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 AD. Even then they became Roman citizens, not citizens of a *polis* anyway.

Therefore the investigation about the presumed link which may have existed between the ephebate and citizenship must be restricted to the case of the *poleis*. The evidence at our disposal is however meagre.

We only have one text from the Ptolemaic period which may be useful: the often mentioned decree of the κοινὸν (τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου) of (presumably) Ptolemais, which I take as showing the relationship between the local *gymnasium* and the *boule*.[641] The text informs us that the council had decided to introduce fifteen men into the citizen–body; besides this they were also to become members

[640] In Ptolemaic texts villages are also called *poleis*: suggesting that they enjoyed anything near a *polis* status or even thinking of them as urban centres is clearly unreasonable. *Cf.* Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 95–100.
[641] I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC; from Ptolemais?): *cf*. pp. 124ff.

of the *gymnasium*. The members of the gymnasial community ratified the *boule*'s decision and produced the relevant decree.

I have already presented this case as an example of how the *gymnasium* and the *boule* seemed to have been independent bodies within the civic context. Here I intend to focus on what we can gather about the role of the *gymnasium* in the acquisition of citizenship. First of all, the two processes of being introduced into the citizen–body and into the *gymnasium* are presented as two separate procedures: the *boule* granted the honour of the citizenship on one hand, while the *gymnasium* confirmed the *placet* for having them as members of the gymnasial community. If all the citizens *had* to be members of the *gymnasium* the *boule*, as council of the citizens, would have managed everything on its own without the community of the *gymnasium* having to say anything about it; if the *gymnasium* was the place for the acquisition of the citizenship it must have been controlled by the city, through the assembly and the council, and could not act in its own capacity. But here things appear to have gone differently; the *gymnasium* does not seem to be under the control of the city. And if it was not, it was highly unlikely that its membership would provide any grounds for citizenship.

On the other hand one might think that one of the entry requirements for the *gymnasium* was to be a citizen. This would cause problems for the ephebes, who being under–age were technically not yet citizens, unless one were to suppose that they were admitted on the grounds that they were citizens–to–be. This possibility seems unlikely, especially in comparison with the evidence for other *poleis* of the Hellenistic world (above all Beroea), which shows how citizenship was not

necessary for membership into the *gymnasium*: common Greek education, culture and traditions mattered more than citizen status.[642]

Even though it does not seem that membership of the *gymnasium* of Ptolemais in the second century BC constituted the prerequisite for becoming a citizen, it is however very likely that many of those admitted as ephebes were the sons of citizens: certainly I think that the citizens who could afford it would have tried to have their children enrolled in the *gymnasium*, as a proper thing to do to mark their status as *Hellenes*, and even more as *politai–Hellenes*. As in the case of the council, the members of the gymnasial community and of the citizen–body often overlapped. Certainly both came from the same Hellenic background; many (if not all) of the citizens must have been somehow involved in the life of the *gymnasium*, and they may have started their life in it as ephebes. It is very likely that this was the state of affairs of the *gymnasium* in the other *poleis* of Egypt too.

A subsequent development in the status of the civic *gymnasium* may have led to the *polis* actually having control over the *gymnasium* with the appointment of civic magistrates to oversee it. This might have had as a consequence the introduction of a direct link between ephebate and citizenship. However, evidence for this is lacking and nothing can be said with certainty.

On the other hand, a couple of texts from early Roman times may shed some light on the connection between the ephebate and Alexandrian citizenship under the Principate.[643]

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[642] *Cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) p. 87; Gauthier (1995) p. 8; Kobes (2004).
[643] It is not my intention to discuss here the relationship between Alexandrian citizenship and the acquisition of *civitas Romana*. On the subject, *cf*. Delia (1991) pp. 39–45; Dietze–Mager (2009).

The first is the famous *boule* papyrus.[644] A clear and direct connection between the ephebate and citizenship is not actually stated here, but it seems to be hinted at. If the civic council's main role was to make sure that no–one without the right to do so enrolled in the *Gymnasium* as ephebe and to control the purity of the citizen–body, the two things appear to be presented as if they are connected, with one being the prerequisite for the other. This may well be specific to Alexandria in the early Roman period.

A clearer connection between the ephebate and Alexandrian citizenship seems to be reflected in what could presumably be the answer to the *boule* embassy:[645] the famous letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians.[646] The Emperor confirmed the privileges which the Alexandrians and those who had been registered as ephebes had enjoyed, privileges which had been granted by previous Emperors, prefects and Ptolemaic sovereigns. More specifically, he assured them that the ephebes would see their citizenship maintained, with the exclusion of those not free–born who had managed to sneak wrongfully into the ephebate. It would therefore seem that the ephebate in Alexandria at the time of Claudius was a precondition for the right of Alexandrian citizenship. This does not seem implausible: if the Romans invested the *gymnasium* in the metropoleis with such

[644] CPJ II 150 = PSI X 1160 (first half I cent. AD): *cf.* p. 212.
[645] *Cf.* Harker (2008) pp. 28–30.
[646] CPJ II 153, 53–59 (41 AD): ἅπασι τοῖς ἐφηβευκόσι ἄχρι τῆς | ἐμῆς ἡγεμονίας βέβαιον διαφυλάσσω τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων | πολιτείαν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως τιμίοις καὶ φιλανθρώποις | πᾶσι πλὴν εἰ μή τινες ὑπῆλθον ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐγ δούλων | γ[ε]γονότες ἐφηβεῦσαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ οὐχ ἧσσον εἶναι βούλομαι | βέβαια πάνθ' ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη ὑπό τε τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνων | καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων, ὡς καὶ [ὁ] θεὸς Σεβαστὸς ἐβεβαίωσε (normalised text) 'All those who have become ephebi up to the time of my principate I confirm and maintain in possession of the Alexandrian citizenship with all the privileges and indulgences enjoyed by the city, excepting such as by beguiling you have contrived to become ephebi though born of servile mothers; and it is equally my will that all the other favours shall be confirmed which were granted to you by former princes and kings and prefects, as the deified Augustus also confirmed them.' (tr. A.S. Hunt – C.C. Edgar).

importance as to make it the prerequisite for membership of the privileged class of the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου with its benefits, they may very well have devised a similar position for the *Gymnasium* in Alexandria too. In their social reorganisation of the country they adopted the *gymnasium*, presumably a public institution, as a key feature for the definition of the Greekness of Egypt: in the *chora* it would guarantee privileges and the social separation of the *Hellenes* from the common Egyptians, in Alexandria (and other *poleis*?) it would ensure the status of citizens (with related fiscal and social privileges) and their separation from the many Ἀλεξανδρεῖς non– ἀστοί.[647]

The introduction of this system seems more likely to have been an innovation by the Romans rather than the Ptolemies:[648] Claudius' letter indeed does not exactly tell us that the Ptolemies had granted citizenship to the ephebes, but simply that they had bestowed certain privileges on the citizens, privileges which the Alexandrians could still enjoy during the Principate thanks to the magnanimity of Princes and governors. The ephebate could therefore serve as a preparatory period for the sons of the Alexandrians before they assumed an active role as citizens, although the questions of whether it 'automatically' provided citizenship (thus possibly even to children of non–citizens) or whether being the son of citizen parents was an entry–requirement remain without a definite

[647] In this respect, one could interpret the so–called '*ephebeia* certificates' and the *epikrisis* of the Alexandrians (all from II cent. AD) as a means of validating claims to citizenship: *cf.* Whitehorne (1977). On Alexandrian citizenship, *cf.* El–Abbadi (1962); Delia (1991) pp. 7–28.

[648] *Pace* Legras (1999) pp. 222–223; Chankowski (2009) pp. 109–113. That the relationship between ephebate and Alexandrian citizenship is a Roman invention is suggested by Fraser (1972) I p. 77, who also thinks that in this way non–citizens could enter the citizen body. Delia (1991) pp. 73–75, on the other hand, denies the existence of such a relationship even in Roman times: 'although the *ephebeia* was not a legal requirement for citizenship and participation was optional, it was nonetheless a social requirement expected of all ἀστοί and served the purpose analogous to higher education today'.

answer.[649] The two processes (being enrolled into the citizen–body with the assignation of tribes and demes, and being admitted into the *gymnasium* as an ephebe) were indeed separate procedures (although they often appear together in the Alexandrian '*ephebeia* certificates'). But it seems that the latter (which logically happened first) was often adduced as proof for the right to the former: thus it is not surprising that the Alexandrians were very sensitive indeed on the subject.

[649] If indeed citizen ancestry was not a requirement for the admission into the Alexandrian *Gymnasium*, I think that there were legally admitted only those who could at least qualify for admission into the *gymnasia* of the metropoleis: freer admission policies in a *polis gymnasium* than those in a metropolitan *gymnasium* seem illogical to me. The existence of a privileged class of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου for Alexandria (and the other *poleis* of Egypt), although possible in theory, is not supported by evidence: should it have existed, the ἀστοί would have been an elite within the οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου. The words of Claudius when confirming the acquired Alexandrian citizenship ἅπασι τοῖς ἐφηβευκόσι 'to *all* those who served as ephebes' leave room for doubting the hypothesis of there being non–citizens ex–ephebes.

LIVING THE GREEK WAY

It is commonly assumed that the *gymnasium* was the centre around which the cultural life of a community was performed. Even further: it was the place where the Greek–speaking community gathered and expressed their 'identity' and feeling of belonging in multiple arenas. The *gymnasium* was not only place for ephebic training where physical exercises were involved but also – and especially – the place for social gatherings and leisure, for 'public' ceremonies and feasts and for the activities of private associations. In a word, it was the place where the display of Greek status could take place in its complete fashion.

I shall examine these different activities, starting with that which more closely recalls the *gymnasium*'s original aim: physical (and cultural) education.

I. Gymnastics of Body & Mind

The main aim of the *gymnasium* in classical Greece was indeed the physical training of the youth, who would later be entering the citizen–body and consequently the army. The ancient authors speak about this aim[650] and it is also reflected in the technical terms applied to the buildings and the archaeological findings. Δρόμος, παραδρομίς, ξύστος, ἐλαιοθήριον and λουτρόν (to mention only a few) clearly refer to the physical activities which were performed within

[650] *Cf.* Morgan (1998) pp. 5–6.

the *gymnasium* and which required particular premises dedicated to them.[651] The boys trained with a view to future wars and contests in which to display their physical talent and gain glory, just like the Homeric heroes in their struggle to achieve *doxa*. Besides the boys, other citizens had access to the *gymnasium* to undertake regular exercise for the sake of their health and to keep themselves in shape.[652]

Physical training was also an important aspect of the life of the *gymnasium* of the Greek *poleis* of Hellenistic times, in the form of either military training or civilian training aimed at races, games and contests before the city or the smaller community of the *gymnasium*.[653] Gymnasial inscriptions of the period indeed devote particular attention to the physical qualities which the young men of the *gymnasium* needed to possess and recognition is given to those who succeeded in achieving the best results.[654]

This is exactly the situation in the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt: young boys trained in order to win races and games. From these the contestants would gain crowns, prizes and glory at local and national level, whereas rich businessmen would win money from bets.[655] The training is therefore closely connected with the agonistic character of Greek education, and is in itself a powerful means of asserting Hellenic status.

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[651] *Cf.* Delorme (1960) pp. 272–315.
[652] Plato dared to suggest that women should devote themselves to physical activities (Resp. V), whereas a more cautious Xenophon simply declared milder exercises appropriate – these consisted of walking up and down at home and dealing with household chores (Oec. 10.10–3): *cf.* Cribiore (2001) p. 127.
[653] On the military training in some Hellenistic *gymnasia*, *cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993); Cordiano (1997); Chankowski (2004); Kah (2004); Prag (2007). As said before (*cf.* pp. 225ff), I cannot recognise a military purpose in the activities of the *gymnasia* of Egypt.
[654] *Cf.* Crowther (1991).
[655] *Cf.* Rostovtzeff (1922) p. 174.

The exact nature of the physical activities carried out in Ptolemaic Egyptian *gymnasia* escapes us, because the sources are not explicit: nonetheless we know for certain from indirect evidence that activities of this type took place. First of all a few architectural terms preserved in various texts give us an idea of the ambience and suggest the possible activities (unfortunately archaeology has not been of help so far, as no *gymnasia* in Egypt have been identified): hall and adjacent chambers and rooms, entrance with columns, double doors and pylon, open gallery and an open courtyard (the γυμνάσιον proper).[656] The young boys (and adult users of the *gymnasium*) could therefore run in the galleries, exercise and wrestle in the courtyard and in the palaestrae adapted in lateral rooms. Teachers of various disciplines were probably provided, as was the case in the *gymnasium* of Beroea[657] – there cannot be certainty on the matter, owing to the lack of evidence. Secondly, the oil which was provided to the establishment was clearly used in connection with physical exercises, as well as for cleansing purposes: there could have been rooms especially reserved for the purpose (perhaps also with bathtubs?), or the distribution of oil and subsequent anointment could happen in courtyards. Changing–rooms (or chambers used for such a purpose) were certainly part of the plan of every reasonably–sized *gymnasium*.

One text from the Zenon archive may connect the *gymnasium* directly with athletic activities and training. The fragmentary state of the letter does not allow

[656] I.Prose 41 23–26 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt: [... ἐπισκευασά|με]νος δὲ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἐξέ[δραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ παλαιστροφύλακος | οἴ]κησιν καὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν τοῦ πρ[οπυλαίου? — — —] | .. καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ξυστόν); I.Fayoum II 103[and 104], 4 (150/49 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.: τὸ θύρωμα καὶ τὸ δίθυρον καὶ τὸν πυλῶνα τοῦ γυμνασίου); I.Prose 40, 6 (II–I cent. BC, from Psenamosis, western Delta: εἰς οἰκοδομὴν γυμνασίου καὶ οἴκου). Add also I.Prose 49 (5 BC, from Psenemphaia in the Delta: on the suggestion of it being an ex–*gymnasium*, *cf*. note 109).

[657] *Cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993).

us to draw many conclusions but the author informs Zenon that five local boys have been trained in the village and a *gymnasium* is mentioned shortly thereafter.[658] The interest of Zenon in the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia and in the training of promising lads for races and games is well known from the texts in his archive.[659] In fact, physical training did also take place in private palaestrae not connected with the *gymnasium*: this was certainly the case for Alexandria.[660]

The training of the youth and other *Hellenes* was certainly regulated by rules so as to run the *gymnasium* in an orderly fashion, although no document like the gymnasiarchic law of Beroea with its clearly defined regulations exists for Egypt.[661] Nonetheless, a well–structured internal organisation of the activities must have existed and ensuring order in the *gymnasium* was one of the duties of the gymnasiarch, as is often implied in the honorific decrees. A daily schedule was also probably introduced, as was indeed the case in Beroea.

At all events, the existence of a sundial dedicated to Hermes by a gymnasiarch, the original location of which is very likely to be a *gymnasium*, suggests that people in the *gymnasium* needed to know the time.[662] It is not hard to believe that the various gymnasial activities (including the distributions of oil and

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[658] P.Cairo Zen IV 59586, 7–8 (mid III cent. BC, Philadelpheia): [… γυ]μναζόμενοι πέντε ἀστε<ῖ>οι οὐ[ca. ? | ca. ?]ι ἀξιόλογον ἄρτι ἐπὶ γυμνάσιον.

[659] *Gymnasium*: PSI IV 391a. Training of boys: P.Lond. VII 2017; P.Lond. VII 1941; P.Cairo Zen. I 59060 (= P.Edgar. 11=Sel.Pap. I 88); P.Cairo Zen. I 59061; P.Cair. Zen. III 59507; PSI IV 418; P.Cairo Zen. III 59457; P.Zen. Pestm. 51; PSI IV 364. In P.Cairo Zen III 59488 = C.Ptol. Sklav. 161 he is asked to buy some strigils for men and boys while in Memphis.

[660] *Cf.* pp. 50ff. On the gymnastic and agonistic activities in the Hellenistic *gymnasium*, *cf.* generally Weiler (2004).

[661] *Cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993).

[662] SEG XLIV 1448 (from Ptolemais or Ars.?; the date is debated, either II or II–I cent. BC): *cf.* Fraser (1972) II p. 125 note 76 and Łajtar (1994) pp. 68–69 no. 115. A sundial was also found in the *gymnasium* of Delos: I.Delos 1417 A I 140 (II cent. BC). On sundials in Egypt and in the Graeco–Roman world, *cf.* Gibbs (1976); Horbury and Noy (1992) p. 115.

the races) were organised at given times of the day, and the training in the different disciplines might have taken place according to a set schedule.

The physical activities in the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Egypt were certainly performed according to the Greek fashion: the athletes were naked. Evidence for nudity in the athletic and agonistic environment of Egypt is indeed found in texts, figurative art and literature.[663] As we have seen, this aspect did not necessarily cause problems and discomfort to Jews and Egyptians admitted into the *gymnasium*, who would normally abhor nudity.[664] It is uncertain whether the youth who took part in processions during festivals were naked. They certainly were when racing.

Physical training and care of the body were therefore major aspects of the gymnasial institution: this function attained even greater importance as time went by. By Roman times, *gymnasia* had assumed the character of real wellness centres and it is therefore not surprising that they tended to become baths, equipped with all the necessary first–class amenities of such establishments:[665] places where the well–to–do *Hellenes* could relax and socialise, while taking care of their bodies.

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[663] PUG III 107 (236 or 237 BC from Ars.: a petition of a man who had his cloak stolen while racing); a funerary stela with naked *pais* with strigil (SB I 5044 and Schmidt (2003) p. 47 photo 43); the mosaic of the two wrestlers (II cent. BC) at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina (BAAM Serial 0858 Inv. 32045; photo available on line at http://antiquities.bibalex.org/Collection/Detail.aspx?a=858&lang=en#; McKenzie (2007) p. 69); Ph. *Spec. Leg*. III 176. PSI IV 418, 16–18 (III cent. BC, from Philadelphia) presents a dubious passage (ὡς ἂν εἰσερχώμεθα ἀπο|πᾳιδᾳριοῦν γυμνοὺς ἱστάντας | ἡμᾶς), which however does not seem to refer to being naked while training: *cf*. Orrieux (1983) p. 134.

[664] *Cf*. pp. 195 ff.

[665] The responsibilities of the gymnasiarch by this time incuded not only the supply of oil for the training and massages but often also the payment for the heating of the baths: *cf*., for instance, P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, from Hermopolis). On the water–supply of baths (especially in Roman times), *cf*. Meyer (1994). On the development of Hellenistic *gymnasia* into Roman baths, *cf*. Yegül (1992) pp. 6–24; Meyer (1997); Yegül (2010) pp. 40-45 and 154-169 and the literary testimony of Posidonius of Apamea in Ath. 5.210f = 12.527e – with Groß–Albenhausen (2004) – reproaching the corrupted gymnasial customs of second–century BC Syria. On the interaction of Greek *gymnasia* and Roman baths, *cf*. Wallace–Hadrill (2008) pp. 169–190.

In this respect, the architecture of the buildings must also have changed and developed to accommodate the new uses of the *gymnasium*.

A day at the baths included various activities which often went beyond the mere care of the body: they were a sort of social ritual. After disrobing in the changing–rooms (ἀποδυτήρια) where one would have had cabinets or lockers of a kind where one could leave one's belongings, as well as benches and hangers (attendants, slaves or concessionaires,[666] might watch over the bathers' property), the anointing with oil followed either in the same room, or in a room specially set up for this purpose (ἐλαιοθήριον), where oil containers were placed and generously filled thanks to the gymnasiarch's money. In certain cases, specific times for the distribution of oil were established; in others, oil could be provided for the entire duration of the day (at night–time *gymnasia*–baths were normally closed). Once the body had been well oiled and anointed, physical exercises could be carried out, during which further anointment and cleansing with strigils might be performed. Then the real bathing routine could begin: sweat bath, hot bath and a swim in the cold pool. The order was rigorously followed, from the *tepidarium*, to the *calidarium*, to the *frigidarium*. The more luxurious and complex establishments could offer steam rooms (*laconica*) as well as rooms for dry heat (*sudatoria*, the precursors of modern saunas). Massages, sunbathing and even depilation might be included in the cycle, as well as further baths. After this, one was ready to be dried with towels. One would then return to the changing–rooms

[666] *Cf.* P.Flor. I 63 (end III AD, Oxy.), P.Giss. 50 (259 AD, Oxy.) for the concession of running cloak–rooms in the baths (of the *gymnasium*) under payment of a rent to the city. The concessionaires would charge the users of the baths a fee for their services.

to get dressed, after perfumed oil and scented ungents had optionally been applied.

A successful experience at the baths was made possible by a whole crew of servants and other staff who took care of the various aspects of the running of the establishment and of catering to the bathers. Attendants (παραχύται) would bring warm water to the pools with jars and would pour it over the bathers, at set times or upon request (presumably).[667] Others were in charge of the proper functioning of the hypocaust in the basement of the building, as well as its wood–supply.[668] In some baths, professional masseurs and depilators were hired, as well as musicians, singers and performers of various kind who were to entertain the customers. Food and drinks could also be provided. All was done in order to provide the bathers with a relaxing and enjoyable experience. This was in fact the main point of bathing: relaxing and socialising.

Bathing was far more than simply cleaning oneself: it was a social ritual, in which people from various milieux (all, however with Hellenised customs) gathered to see and to be seen – whether the baths were mixed is debated; in Ptolemaic times (when baths are never attested as being connected to *gymnasia*) they were normally separated.[669] Business, politics, family matters and mere gossip were at the heart of the bathing experience.[670]

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[667] On the risks of the job, *cf*. P.Enteux. 82 (221 BC, Trikomia): a petition to the King by a woman who was scalded by hot water poured over her by a παραχύτης. On the Roman system used to record the jars of water of which an attendant was in charge, *cf*. Youtie (1949).
[668] *Cf*. P.Lond. III 1166 (42 AD, Herm.). On the technicalities of bath heating–systems, *cf*. Yegül (2010) pp. 80–100.
[669] On the Greek baths before the Roman period, *cf*. Yegül (1992) pp. 24–29; Fournet and Redon (2009); Trümper (2009).
[670] *Cf*. Yegül (2010) pp. 11–21. On the social composition of bathers in the baths of the Roman world, *cf*. Fagan (1999a) pp. 189–219. For the existence of seasonal baths, especially in late Roman periods at Antioch (and elsewhere), *cf*. Saliou (2004).

The care of the body was one of the main concerns of the *gymnasia* of Egypt, together with social and recreational activities. But what about the mind? Were the *gymnasia* in Egypt also didactic institutions? The answer seems to be no.

Regular didactic activities were not carried out on gymnasial premises. As far as elementary education was concerned, 'schools' were run by private teachers in private buildings or without particular formal settings. For advanced studies, one would go to professional rhetoricians who normally lived in big urban centres and above all *poleis* (especially Alexandria).[671] *Gymnasia* in Egypt did not correspond to the modern institutions for higher education.

Although it is certainly true that in some cases in the Hellenistic world *gymnasia* did offer didactic and cultural 'services' (libraries, lectures by invited philosophers and speakers etc),[672] in Egypt things seem not to have gone that way. The evidence for didactic activities is practically absent. Only a late source (Claudius Ptolemy from the second century AD) tells us of the existence of bronze circles for astronomical and mathematical calculations in the palaestra. It is not clear whether they were used for teaching purposes or housed there merely

[671] *Cf.* Cribiore (2001) pp. 18–21 and 34–36.

[672] At Athens the *Ptolemaieion* had a library with ephebic regulations establishing regular acquisitions: the *gymnasium* here became a sort of college for the elite. Libraries in *gymnasia* in Hellenistic times are attested also at Rhodes, Pergamum, Kos, Mylasa, Teos, and Tauromenium. *Cf*. Forbes (1945) pp. 33–37; Nicolai (1987); Morgan (1998) p. 29; Bringmann (2002); Hoepfner (2002a); Hoepfner (2002b); Ameling (2004) pp. 153–157; Scholz (2004). For libraries in Egyptian temples, *cf*. briefly Matthey (2002), and Ryholt (2005) for Roman Tebtynis. From the late Hellenistic period onwards, guest speakers and lecturers became a common feature of gymnasial life in the most renowned *poleis*, although the real interest of the audience always lay in the physical activities, the original reason for the existence of *gymnasia*: *cf*. Cic. *De orat*. II 5.21.

because of the available space. At all events, we are not dealing here with the case of a *gymnasium*.[673]

Based on certain texts in the Zenon archive (third century BC) it has been suggested that some sort of musical training was carried out in the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia. The main text adduced to support this view is a letter from the young Herakleotes to his *epitropoi* Zenon and Nestos:[674] the boy complains that, although he had inherited a lyre from his lyre–teacher Demeas, the instrument was never given to him because it was not found among Demeas' possessions upon the teacher's death. The boy asks his two guardians to either find the instrument or buy a new one, so that he may continue with his musical training for a future victory in the *agones*. Although a connection with the *gymnasium* is never made explicit, some may consider Demeas to be the same person as the president of the *gymnasium* of Philadelpheia, attested in another Zenon papyrus.[675] Even though it may well be true that we have here the same person (and I believe it is), nothing permits us to think that the *gymnasium* was Demeas' workplace as lyre–teacher. The letter only tells us that Demeas was active in the training of boys for (musical) contests in his private life. He belonged, just like Zenon himself, to the

[673] Ptol. *Alm*. III 2 p. 197 (Teubner): ... γιγνομένης τινὸς περὶ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λεληθυίας παρακινήσεως, ὡς ἐπί γε τῶν παρ'ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ χαλκῶν κρίκων ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ἐπιπέδῳ δοκούντων τὴν θέσιν ἔχειν ἴδοι τις ἄν· τοσαύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν τηροῦσι καταφαίνεται διαστροφὴ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ μείζονος καὶ ἀρχαιοτέρου, ὡς ἐνίστε καὶ δὶς ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἰσημερίαις μεταφωτίζεσθαι τὰς κοίλας αὐτῶν ἐπιφανείας. In the same book, he reports the existence of similar bronze circles in the *stoa* at Alexandria. On the other hand, completely gratuitous is the connection between *gymnasium* and education which Legras (1999) p. 141 believes he can see in Ath. IV 184, when the author mentions that many who had grown up (ἐφηβησάντων, not ἐφηβευσάντων – the manuscript tradition seems unanimous) under Ptolemy VI were sent into exile by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and, out of necessity, turned themselves to teaching, being philologians, philosophers, mathematicians, musicians, painters, athletic trainers, physicians etc. For the late antique complex of Kom el–Dikka in Alexandria with baths, theatre and *auditoria* (thus testifying the Roman fashion of holding performances and lectures in baths and *palaestrae*), *cf*. McKenzie (2007) pp. 209–220.

[674] P.Lond. VII 2017 (241/0 BC, from Ars. – Philadelpheia?) and Bell (1925).

[675] PSI IV 391a (242 BC, from Philadelpheia). *Cf*. pp. 67ff.

group of *Hellenes* who were at various levels involved and interested in races and contests. This is not surprising at all in a person who had also been entrusted with the care of the *gymnasium*.

In conclusion, the *gymnasia* of Egypt were not cultural centres intended for education.[676] Their main purpose and aim was the training of the body and the performance of ceremonies more or less connected to it for the entertainment of the members of the Hellenic community.

II. Secular & Religious Life

Gymnasia were the focus of many ceremonies, both secular and religious. In fact, it is very difficult (perhaps even impossible) to separate the two aspects in ancient Greek and Roman society. Even the most secular act, such as an administrative or political deed, was often (if not always) intertwined with and solemnised by a religious act. Equally, religious acts of worship were often 'politicised' and constituted real political statements in their assertions of loyalty to the rulers. Moreover, those in charge of political affairs were often also invested with religious responsibilities, so as to mark even further the close link between the two spheres, which in fact overlapped.

[676] *Cf*. Nilsson (1955) pp. 92–98; Maehler (1983). For a similar situation in the *gymnasium* of Beroea: *cf*. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 173–176.

This is exactly the case for the *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic world, and Egypt does not constitute an exception here. We can see this in various sources.

The *gymnasium* received attention from the local administration in late Ptolemaic times as is attested by two daily registers of the strategus of the Herakleopolites.[677] The members of the *gymnasium* in two unknown villages (or possibly the same one) received a visit from the local strategus during his tour of the nome: they welcomed him in the *gymnasium* and spent time with him discussing local matters, including their concerns about their troublesome situation caused by the actions of the former strategus (the relevant text, being an official register, is rather succinct on the topic, and nothing further can be gathered). The representative of the central government in the nome, the strategus, took the trouble to stop by the *gymnasium* and to talk with οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου (who in both cases seem to correspond to the catoeci) during an official visit: locally, these men represented the Hellenic ruling class (just like the strategus himself),[678] and the *gymnasium* had therefore acquired some public importance, which was evidently somehow recognised at a higher level. Although the strategus' dealings with the *gymnasium* on this occasion seem to have had no religious component, sacral activities did take place and formed important parts of his official schedule: the strategus made sacrifices and libations in various locations (including the *gymnasium* itself) to the Royal Family and to the dioecetes. It is quite clear that these religious acts represented a display of loyalty and a political statement, designed on the one hand to strengthen the bonds

[677] BGU VIII 1768 (64–44 BC). BGU VIII 1767 (64/3 BC).
[678] Familiarity in the talks with the strategus, who was obviously considered 'one of them', is stressed in BGU VIII 1767 6–7: οἰκειότερον | διαλεχθεὶς.

between the local communities and the Crown, but also to stress the common background of the rulers and His Majesty's officials (and the people of the *gymnasium*).

This aspect is evident in the honorific inscription carved by the association of landowners around Psenamosis, a village in the western Delta. The main reason for building the *gymnasium* in this case was indeed to have a place in which to hold sacrifices to the Royal House.[679] A similar situation is attested for the association in honour of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in the 'city' of Euergetis in Upper Egypt.[680] With these acts the members of the association (who overlapped with those of the *gymnasium*) on one hand showed their devotion to the Ptolemies, and on the other asserted their familiarity with the cultural and 'social' background of their sovereigns: they were *Hellenes*, just like their Royal Family, and they recognised themselves in the King and in everything he represented, and wanted to make it manifest.

The special link between the Royal House and the *gymnasium* is stressed by dedications of the building to the sovereigns, as well as by dedications to other deities made 'on behalf of' (ὑπέρ) members of the Royal House in the gymnasial premises or by gymnasial members.[681] Statues of the King and other members of

[679] I.Prose 40, 7–8 (II–I cent. BC): ὅπως γυμνάσιον ποιήσαντες καὶ οἶκον ἄγω|μεν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέων θυσίας.
[680] P. UB Trier S 159–5 (after 133/2 BC; unpublished papyrus, courtesy of Prof. B. Kramer). *Cf.* p. 114.
[681] Dedication of the *gymnasium* to the King: P.Enteux. 8 3–4 (221 BC, from Samareia, Ars.: καὶ τοῦτο ἀνιερώσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγραφῆς ἐστι[ν] μέρος βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι | Ἀπολλοδώρ[ο]ς τὸ γυμνάσιον). Inscriptions 'on behalf of': Strack (1903) p. 548 no. 26 (185–181 BC?, dedication of unknown provenance, though I believe it is Terenouthis: *cf.* my forthcoming re–edition of the inscription in *ZPE*); I.Alex. Ptol. 28 (163–145 BC, from Alexandria – fragmentary); I.Prose 41 (57 BC); I.Fayoum III 200 (98 BC, from Ars.); I.Fayoum III 201 (95 BC, from Ars.); I.Fayoum III 202 (94 BC, perhaps from Tebtynis in the Ars.); SB I 2138 + PP VI 17159 (201–181 BC, from Beni Hassan, Herm – fragmentary); SEG XX 671 (116–108 BC, from the temple of Amun in Karnak);

the Royal House were present and venerated in the *gymnasium*, which was really a centre for the royal cult: an unofficial 'temple' of the Royal Family.[682]

But the religious activities within the *gymnasium* were not limited to devotion to the Royal House. Other divinities were worshipped, above all Hermes and Heracles, who are the gymnasial deities *par excellence*.[683] Sacrifices and sacral celebrations are offered in honour of various benefactors too, who also received statues and portraits in the *gymnasium*: their honours often took place in the setting of feasts and drinking parties, which are typical features of the life of associations.[684]

I.Fayoum I 8 (69–51 BC, from Krokodilon polis, Ars.); I.Fayoum II 103–104 (150/49 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.). Possible connection with the *gymnasium*: SB I 1164 (II cent. BC, from Rosetta or Pharbaithos, eastern Delta?) and I.Prose 35 (80–69 BC, from Hermonthis).

[682] SEG LV 1847 (152/1 BC, unknown provenance); I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500, 8–9 (104 BC, from Ptolemais?). More sceptical about a real 'Herrscherkult' in *gymnasia* is Pfeiffer (2008) pp. 74–75.

[683] Although it is difficult to always be certain of the exact location of the dedications, it seems reasonable to believe that they were placed in the *gymnasium*: Strack (1903) p. 548 no. 26 (185–181 BC?, dedication of unknown provenance, though I believe it is Terenouthis: *cf.* my forthcoming re–edition of the inscription in *ZPE*); I.Louvre 17 (134/3 BC; from Alexandria?); I.Louvre 12 (III cent. BC, from Alexandria); SB I 5069 (Ptolemaic, from Alexandria? – fragmentary); I.Alex. Ptol. 28 (163–145 BC, from Alexandria – fragmentary); I.Fayoum I 21 (II–I cent. BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.?); SEG XLIV 1448 (II–I cent. BC, from Ptolemais?); Milne, Greek Inscriptions–Cairo no. 9301 (ca 150 BC, from Gizeh); I.Fayoum II 103–104 (150/49 BC, from Theadelpheia, Ars.). Possible connection with the *gymnasium*: SB I 1164 (II cent. BC, from Rosetta or Pharbaithos, eastern Delta?) and I.Prose 35 (80–69 BC, from Hermonthis). It is worth noting here how Ptolemy I connected his family to that of the Argeads and to Heracles (*cf.* Huß (2001) pp. 237–238) and how the devotion to this god could somehow link back to that of the Royal House – Huttner (1997) p. 134 is more sceptical. Devotion to local gods is not absent in the gymnasial environment, as dedications of τόποι to the crocodile god by ex–ephebes attest: I.Fayoum III 200–202 (end I cent. BC, from Ars).

[684] I.Prose 40 (II–I cent. BC, Psenamosis), I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500 (104 BC, Ptolemais?). The statues SEG VIII 504 (II cent. BC (189/188?), Thmouis, eastern Delta); SEG LV 1847 (152/1 BC, unknown provenance) were presumably set up in a *gymnasium*, and perhaps also I.Alex. Ptol. 42 (II–I cent. BC / 128–119 BC, Alex.: the fact that the statue was commissioned by the *polis* does not necessarily preclude, in my opinion, its being set up in the *gymnasium* at a time when the latter had assumed the character of 'second *agora*', *pace* I.Alex. Ptol. p. 124 and Fraser (1972) II p. 93 note 207: *cf.* pp. 122ff). *Cf.* I.Prose 46 (39 BC, Thebes) for the case of honorific statues of a strategus and gymnasiarch in an Egyptian temple. On sacrifices and cultic honours to benefactors and founders in Hellenistic *gymnasia*, *cf.* also Nilsson (1955) pp. 64–75; Gauthier (1996) pp. 20–23.

In *gymnasia* elsewhere in the Hellenistic world a similar situation can be envisaged. Inventory lists of objects in the *gymnasia* of second–century BC Athens and Delos allow us a vivid insight into the gymnasial space and its cults: we find statues of Heracles, Eros, Apollo, Hermes, the Muses, Asclepius, Hygieia, Artemis, Hermaphroditus, athletes, teachers and benefactors, bronze torches, columns, sundials, crowns, shields, portraits, and pictures.[685] The Royal cult in these *gymnasia* is clearly less evident. In Pergamum, on the other hand, statues of the King in the *gymnasium* are common especially from the mid–second century BC onwards, as is the stress on the link between the Attalids and Heracles.[686] Hellenistic *gymnasia* were therefore centres for the cult of divinities connected to the care of the body, good–health, athletics and the arts, as well as of local gods. In them the exhaltation of the Royal House and/or of local elites (deified/heroised or not) also took place. The erection of statues, portraits, crowns, bronze torches, shields, and other objects (either dedicated to various deities or not) were made mainly by ephebes and *neoi*, gymnasiarchs, and victorious athletes, but also by other private citizens (including lecturers and invited speakers) – Kings too participated in the practice.[687]

Religious ceremonies were regularly performed on the premises and sacrifices occupied a very important position in the life of the *gymnasium*: these not only constituted a tool for strengthening the sense of community and to asserting a common identity, but also represented occasions to socialise and build

[685] Athens (SEG XXVI 139) and Delos (I.Delos 1417 A 118–154; 1412 a 13–24; 1423 Ba II 1–9; 1426 B I 43–51: *cf*. Moretti (1997); Ameling (2004) p. 150. For cults in Hellenistic *gymnasia*, *cf*. Aneziri and Damaskos (2004).
[686] *Cf*. von den Hoff (2004) esp. pp. 382–391.
[687] *Cf*. D'Amore (2009). On the practice of setting up dedications and honorary statues in *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic *poleis*, *cf*. also Skaltsa (2009) pp. 63–117.

up networks, as they often took place during feasts and banquets. The person in charge of the sacrifices in the *gymnasium* was normally the gymnasiarch, as is attested in a decree from Aphroditopolis (Upper Egypt);[688] he paid for the expenses and he carried out the rituals. Once again, secular and religious spheres overla; as head of the secular association of the *gymnasium*, he also undertook the sacral duties of a priest.[689]

With the arrival of the Romans we might expect things to have continued in a similar way. Evidence for this is absent, but I do not find it difficult to believe that in the metropolitan *gymnasia*, now often monumentalised, there were shrines, statues of gods and rulers, and altars, and that sacrifices were performed to the Imperial House and the *genius Caesaris*, as well as to the traditional gymnasial deities.

III. Entertainment: Feasts, Festivals & *Agones*

The main purpose of *gymnasia* was the entertainment of their members: this found its best expression in the many feasts, drinking parties, festivals, *agones*, and games which took place in or were organised by the *gymnasium* – in this respect, associations played a major role. These ceremonies always had a religious aspect: they often involved sacrifices and offerings, which were afterwards consumed in a banquet for the enjoyment of all the members. Banquets are a

[688] I.Prose 41 (57 BC).
[689] This is indeed quite common in associations: *cf.* San Nicolò (1972^2) II pp. 53–70.

common feature of the *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic world; some of them, besides dining–halls, even had real kitchens for the preparation of food.[690]

We can start probing our sources about feasts, drinking parties and banquets which took place in the Ptolemaic *gymnasium* independently of the athletic games and *agones* (athletic competitions did indeed often conclude with communal banquets, following a sacrifice). It appears clear that this type of activity was typical of associations,[691] and of the *gymnasium* as the association of *Hellenes*. Parties and banquets were often connected to the celebrations of benefactors of the *gymnasium*.

Once again, the decree of the association of landowners of Psenamosis provides us with a great deal of information:[692] to express their recognition of the benefactions received the landowners organised feasts in honour of their founder Paris. The members of the association gathered three times a year to hold a banquet (following a sacrifice for the King): they sat together and celebrated their benefactor on his birthday and on two other fixed dates. Paris occupied the place of honour in the seating–plan of the ceremonies and received a crown during the celebrations, as well as the best portions from the sacrificial offerings. His statues and portraits were also objects of honour and 'veneration': they were crowned with wreaths at the drinking parties which followed the banquets.

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[690] *Cf.* Forbes (1945) pp. 39–40; Schmitt Pantel (1992) pp. 367–371; Mango (2004); Schuler (2004) pp. 183–184. On feasts and their importance in the *poleis* of the Hellenistic world, *cf.* generally Cain (1995); Chaniotis (1995). For the Roman world, *cf.* Rawson (2007). On the physical development of banqueting–halls in Graeco–Roman times: Dunbabin (1998); Nielsen (1998).

[691] For the strong significance of banqueting together in associations, *cf.* also Brashear (1993) pp. 30–31.

[692] I.Prose 40 (II–I cent. BC).

During these gatherings, musical entertainment was certainly provided and other forms of spectacle may also be supposed to have taken place (such as recitals and chants). Artists and musicians (not necessarily connected to the *gymnasium*) were therefore probably hired for the purpose – the presence of ephebes and under–aged boys does not seem likely, for reasons of propriety: these feasts were the business of men.[693]

The youths, on the other hand, were the real protagonists of other festivities which constituted the greatest highlight in the life of the *gymnasia* of Hellenistic Egypt: athletic games and *agones*. Although athletic in nature, these often also included sacrifices and banquets, in which the youths would take part. The games may have taken place during feasts in honour of Hermes (Ἕρμαια) or to celebrate other deities (for instance, Heracles, the Muses, and Apollo), or on other special occasions, often connected to the Royal House: the birthday or accession of the King (Βασίλεια), victories (for instance, the Νικηφόρια – perhaps connected with Ptolemy IV Philopator, victorious at Raphia?) etc.[694] Men could of course take part in them and race, as two documents attest,[695] but the ephebes and *neoi* were probably the most numerous and prominent contestants. The programme of these

[693] An early Roman text, dealing with an association of landowners which met in what I believe used to be a *gymnasium* (I.Prose 49, 5 BC from Psenemphaia in the Delta: *cf*. note 109), stresses how exceptional a case it was for the under–aged son of the benefactor to be admitted to the association's banquets. On artists, musicians, and athletes in Graeco–Roman Egypt, *cf*. Perpillou–Thomas (1995).

[694] *Hermaia*: PUG III 107 (236 or 237 BC from Ars., the *agones* took place in the village of Psinachis); P.Ryl. IV 568 (III cent. BC, unknown place for the games); PSI IV 391b (242/1 BC, unkown place for the games); PSI V 528 (III cent. BC, unknown place for the games *Hermaia* and *Mouseia*) – a connection between the *Hermaia* and the *gymnasium* cannot always be safely supposed simply on the basis of the typical gymnasial nature of the games (*cf*. note 231). *Basileia*: I.Louvre 12 (III cent. BC, from Alexandria); SEG XXVII 1114, 1–4 (267 BC, from Alexandria? – possible connection with the *gymnasium*). *Nikephoria*: I.Prose 41 (57 BC, from Aphroditopolis, Upper Egypt). *Ptolemaieia* and *Arsinoeia* may well be organised in the context of the *gymnasium* too, but certainty in the sources is lacking: PSI IV 364 (251 BC, Ars.). For feasts in Egypt, *cf*. Koenen (1977); Perpillou–Thomas (1993).

[695] BGU VI 1256 (II cent. BC, from Philadelpheia) and PUG III 107 (236 or 237 BC from Ars.).

festivals could include various races and contests, which were normally organised according to age–groups. From our sources we can gather that games could include torch–races, wrestling, horse–racing, boxing, running, pankration, and hoplitic displays, as well as trumpet–contests and herald–contests.[696]

The person in charge of organising the games was normally the gymnasiarch (with the help of other people appointed *ad hoc*: lampadarchs, *agonothetai* etc).[697] The primary reason for organising such entertainments, as we have seen, was devotion to deities and the Royal House, but internal 'anniversaries' (perhaps the beginning or end of the term of office of a gymnasiarch?) could also be marked by the setting up of games. However, the evidence at our disposal seems to suggest that games were celebrated throughout the year without a fixed date linked to gymnasial offices, as it seems was the case for the *Hermaia* in Beroea and elsewhere.[698] Since the games were predominantly connected with Royal anniversaries, they were presumably organised accordingly, independently from the internal gymnasial 'calendar' or with different local traditions.

[696] BGU VI 1256 (II cent. BC, from Philadelpheia: torch–races); PUG III 107 (236 or 237 BC from Ars.: *agones* of the cavalry–men); I.Louvre 12 (III cent. BC, from Alexandria: wrestling); SEG XXVII 1114 (267 BC, from Alexandria?: list of victors in various disciplines – the connection with the *gymnasium* is only conjectural).

[697] *Cf.* pp. 93ff.

[698] *Cf.* Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) pp. 96–97: the *Hermaia* marked the end of the office of the gymnasiarch; on the other hand, feasts are organised at the beginning of the term in Priene (I.Priene 114, 117 and 123, I cent. BC). In Egypt, athletic festivals connected with the *gymnasium* are attested as being celebrated at the beginning of the year (*agones* in BGU VI 1256 and *Nikephoria* in I.Prose 41: in Thoth–Phaophi, first–second month of the year; the *Hermaia* mentioned in P.Ryl. IV 568 should have taken place sometime in Choiach, the fourth month of the year, or shortly thereafter – add the *Ptolemaieia* of PSI IV 364, which could be connected to the *gymnasium*, set up in Hathyr, third month of the year, as well as the *Arsinoeia* to be celebrated shortly thereafter), as well as towards the end (PUG III 107: *Hermaia* in Pachon, nineth month of the year).

Agonistic ideals were certainly typical of Greek thought, and constituted a strong means for self–identification. Games represented a cultural tradition which had to be preserved and defended as part of the expression of Hellenic identity. They could also be used as powerful tools for political and 'imperialistic' aims: it is in the Hellenistic period that agonistic competitions became real theatrical spectacles used for the expression of social and political identity and, in certain cases, 'superiority'.[699] In Roman times the practice continued, with the elites preserving the values of athletics, physical prowess and agonistic victories as strong features for social distinction.[700]

Much stress was laid on contests and games in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, both for sport and reasons of interest: as we have seen, beside the support which one could feel for a favourite athlete (especially in international *agones*), bets provided a large income to those who indulged in gambling. Spirits could be aroused, and to secure a victory many were ready to turn to magic: in order to have the gods by one's side, curses against opponents were composed.[701]

These athletic and physical activities constituted the typical gymnasial festivals in which the members of the *gymnasium* took part as a community, and which often also included religious processions and sacrifices and banquets in which ephebes and *neoi* had a predominant role – subsequent drinking parties

[699] *Cf*. Kyle (2007) pp. 242–250.
[700] *Cf*. van Nijf (2001); van Nijf (2003).
[701] One example may be the *tabulae defixionis*: *cf*. Tremel (2004) (no. 10 is from Oxyrhynchus, for the race of the *stadion* in III–IV cent. AD). Physical evidence for this practice is only attested in Roman times, especially for the circus, but magical practices connected to sport were common in earlier times too: *cf*. Tremel (2004) p. 38; Kyle (2007) p. 131. Protection against curses was sought through the use of nicknames by athletes who would thus trick the black magic: *cf*. Golden (2009) p. 76.

might be reserved for adults.[702] These ceremonies strengthened the bonds of identity among the community of the *Hellenes* and represented a powerful channel for the assertion of their status. In fact, although in other parts of the Hellenistic world gymnasial events could include larger civic participation, thus becoming real festivals of the whole city,[703] the feasts of the *gymnasium* in Egypt were just the feasts reserved for the community of the *Hellenes*. Again, the absence of civic and urban infrastructures certainly contributed to this state of affairs.

In Roman times, the *gymnasium* remains a place for festivals, banquets and feasts. Agones and competitions were still organised, with not only professonal athletes but also the local elite performing, and the local communities could also support the expenditure.[704] Furthermore, although associations were no longer involved in being the organisers and promoters of social gatherings, the fun did not disappear: the *gymnasium* remained a venue for dinner–parties, even private ones organised to celebrate family achievements or personal anniversaries.[705]

Since entertainment had a very important role in the social life of the *gymnasium* it is not difficult to suppose that on certain occasions, especially

[702] P.Ryl. IV 568 24–25 (III cent. BC, Philadelpheia) refers to τοῖς πίνουσι καθό|τι τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις.
[703] For instance, at the *Herakleia* at Eressos on Lesbos (IG XII Suppl. 122, 209–204 BC), although originally organised as 'Königsfest' by the *gymnasium*, the entire city took part and played a role: Aneziri and Damaskos (2004) pp. 265–266.
[704] *Cf*. P.Oxy. VIII 1143 (*ca* 1 AD, Oxy.), a temple account in which donations from the priests to the *gymnasium* for the organisation of feasts are recorded: εἰς θυμέλην γυμνασιά(ρχων) (δραχμαὶ) δ (l. 3). The link *gymnasium*–priestly class may also appear in P.Oxy. Census (Lykopolis, Upper Egypt, 91/2 AD), where four people belonging to the ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου are indicated as (priests?) ἀπολύσιμοι: *cf*. note 611.
[705] P.Oxy. XVII 2147 (III cent. AD*:* feast for the στέψις 'crowning' of the host's son, either as magistrate or for his *epikrisis*): *cf*. Montserrat (1991) p. 44; Perpillou–Thomas (1993) pp. 27–28. Bakery items are delivered to the gymnasiarchs and the *gymnasium* in P.Strasb. V 339 (ca 200 AD, unknown provenance).

during festivals, artists could be hired to perform. The festivals could include spectacles and performances not only by musicians and poets (which certainly played an important part in banquets and drinking parties), but also by actors and mimes.[706] After all, what better audience for a Greek play could there have been than those from the *gymnasium*? Unfortunately evidence for this is lacking, and we can only speculate.

Finally, besides professionals, we have evidence from later Roman times (from the third century AD) that the gymnasial youth did also perform in the *gymnasium* to mark particular anniversaries, imperial visits or the stepping down from office of gymnasiarchs.[707]

[706] On play–scripts in papyri *cf*. Gammacurta (2006), who does not specifically address the question of the venues of the plays. On the importance of guilds of actors and artists in feasts and processions, *cf*. Lightfoot (2002).

[707] *Cf*. P.Oxy. VII 1015 (III cent. AD, Oxy.), for instance: the panegyrical poem in honour of the gymnasiarch Theon written in the gymnasial environment and likely to be performed by the ephebes in the *gymnasium* of Oxyrhynchus.

THE *GYMNASIUM* AND GREEK IDENTITY

Modern scholarship has recently devoted a good deal of attention to the question of identity in the ancient world. In particular, the connection between identity, ethnicity, and culture has been frequently discussed.

Ethnicity, although not a synonym for race, gives great importance to bonds of kinship and to narratives of common ancestry and descent, either actual or perceived. The geographical factor with a sense of 'fatherland' also plays an important role in the definition of ethnicity, as does the feeling of sharing common cultural traits, such as language, religion and customs, and the self–awareness or desire to present oneself as part of an entity (ethnicity is constructed, not 'naturally' given). Furthermore, the importance of ethnicity is often upheld, displayed or otherwise stated when in opposition with the 'other'. Thus the term does not appear to be always ideal for us to use as analytical tool, especially when one is to present the many facets which played an important role in the definition of the 'Greekness' or 'Greeknesses' of Egypt. Rather, it can be used only in certain circumstances when a particular statement of ethnicity was made against another.

Similarly, culture cannot be efficiently used on its own either: although recent studies have done much to show how culture itself is a dynamic reality, it

tends to identify well defined and 'closed' systems in opposition to others, especially because it is often perceived as being created or imposed from above. Both these terms often risk giving an impression of static realities, and therefore often provide a fallacious picture of the actual situation. Thus they are ineffective in defining the complexity of factors from different traditions and backgrounds which were in play in the formation of the 'Greek identity' of the 'Greeks' of Egypt.

The term identity is far more appropriate for trying to grasp the varied characteristics and facets which the 'Greeks' in Egypt displayed. However, the term is not entirely free from problems, and a careful explanation of its meanings and potentialities is vital in order to be able to employ it with the best results. First of all, identity is a complex reality, formed of various different aspects and influenced by various circumstances, and a simplistic approach to it is not possible.

It is also wrong to talk about identity as being always and only one, as a sort of monolithic concept – in doing so, one would fall into the same mistake one finds in the general meaning applied to ethnicity and culture. It is more correct and nearer to the true state of things to speak of identities or different, multiple forms of identity. These identities are not simply unilaterally connected with one given ethnicity, culture or language: they are influenced and shaped by some, by all, and by none of them depending on the circumstances.

Individuals may have multiple identities among which they switch depending on the settings in which they are acting: the example of so–called 'code–switching' in the case of bilingualism (or multilingualism) as a possible

display – among other things – of mixed identities is particularly illuminating here. Switching from one language to the other according to the circumstances or activities in which one was engaged was and is common to many individuals. But one could not only have multiple identities from which to 'choose' which to wear upon occasion – in many cases these identities are not entirely separable in a neat way. They are complex identities present in one single individual at the same time, just as different languages may be employed at the same time in one sentence. Identities are rarely exclusivist: they are constituted by different features typical of different backgrounds, ethnicities and cultures, and they form a complex system. Identities are dynamic, multiple, and overlapping.[708]

Ancient authors had already perceived – although in a somewhat impressionistic way – the complexity of the matter, when dealing with the definition of Greekness. If Isocrates states that in his time Greekness was no longer a matter of race but of education, a question of culture rather than of blood, he is trying to present this complex reality. In so doing, he gives a definition of 'Greekness' which went beyond the traditional concept of birth: Greekness (essentially provided by the Athenian cultural model) could be taught and

[708] On complex identities and ethnicity, *cf*. Hall (1997); Hall (2002); Stephan (2002) esp. pp. 13–41; Dench (2005); Wallace–Hadrill (2008) esp. pp. 3–70. On bilingualism and code–switching, *cf*. Wallace–Hadrill (1998); Adams (2003) esp. pp. 356–416. On rejection of the 'other', purported superior ethnicity and 'racism' in Greek and Roman ancient thought, *cf*. Tuplin (1999); Isaac (2004). The complexity of the issues for Hellenistic Egypt seems to have partly escaped Goudriaan (1988); Goudriaan (1992). Similarly Woolf (1994) presents too simplistic an approach, speaking of opposition between Greek and Roman cultures and how to 'stay Greek' while 'becoming Roman' (in this respect, *cf*. the epigraphic habits showing Greek identity *within* the Roman setting in Boffo (2001)). For complex identities and the concept of 'in–betweeness' in the building of modern national identities, *cf*., for instance, Bhabha (1990) and the other contributions in the book.

learnt.[709] These ideas were further picked up and enlarged as a consequence of the expansion of Hellenism in the Kingdoms of the followers of Alexander the Great, and furthermore under the Roman Empire especially with the Second Sophistic.[710] One could become Greek if one had had a Greek education, if one accepted the Greek way of living; basically one was Greek if one went Greek. But this does not mean at all that other identities were obliterated by the 'choice' of going Greek.

This is particularly true in the case of Egypt, from where we have more direct information and where the contemporaneous presence of very different cultural traditions gave birth to many domains of interpenetration for its inhabitants. Indeed, in Egypt one sees in action, developed in its clearest way, the phenomenon of complex identities. An exhaustive treatment of the subject, although highly worthwhile, is beyond the scope of this work. I shall limit myself here to the analysis of the complex patterns of identities which one can see displayed by the people of the *gymnasium*: this will make clear how even this allegedly selective group of the population, traditionally considered 'purely Greek', shared many characteristics with much of the non–Greek population of the country and was characterised by complex features, derived from the interpenetration of different cultural traditions and backgrounds.[711]

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[709] Isoc. *Paneg*. 50: ... τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκεν μηκέτι τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἕλληνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδεύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας. *Cf*. also Hall (2002) pp. 208–210.

[710] *Cf*. Aristid. *Panath.* 337d and Favorin. *Corinth*. 25–26 in Hall (2002) pp. 224–225. On the discussion, development and assertion of various aspects of Greek and multiple or multi–layered identities under the Second Sophistic, *cf*. Swain (1996); Whitmarsh (2001b); Whitmarsh (2001a); Jones (2004).

[711] For the presence of cultural interpenetration even in Greek literature from and for Egypt, *cf*. Stephens (2003). On the great variety of themes and characteristics of Greek literary production in the Hellenistic world, especially exemplified by the case of Egypt, *cf*. Parsons (1993). That this phenomenon was common to all of the Hellenistic world is also shown by the interpenetration of

We can start from the onomastic habits: naming practices are indeed one of the most visible ways to assert certain aspects of one's identity. Besides the Greek names which we rightly expect the members of the gymnasial community to have,[712] we also find Egyptian names: this fact shows the complexity of their cultural heritage. Even in Roman times, when the gymnasial group became more exclusive and closed with strict, genealogical rules of admission, very many women have Egyptian names. This may be a consequence of the freer approach to the rules of admission in Ptolemaic times when Hellenised Egyptians could be more easily included in the gymnasial community. At all events, it indicates that the families of Roman οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου cultivated or continued to cultivate Egyptian traditions, even at a time when the purported 'Greekness' of their members was much stressed in an exclusivist way. This was especially the case in the private sphere, where the role of women was predominant and their characteristics appear more clearly evident and are thus particularly instructive: women often 'went Egyptian'. On the other hand, in the public domain men of the gymnasial group tended to present themselves as 'Greeks' in onomastics as well – although a few exceptions do exist.[713] In many circumstances, Greek culture and language were indeed one of the main aspects of the public life and administration of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.[714]

Greek and non–Greek elements in Seleucid art, *cf*. Colledge (1987). For the same phenomenon in material culture in the Roman world, *cf*. Wallace–Hadrill (2008) pp. 73–210.

[712] It should be noted that many of these Greek names are however typical of Egypt. This is certainly instructive. *Cf*. Bingen (1991) pp. 103–104 note 7 and Bagnall (1997b).

[713] *Cf*. pp. 221ff with van Minnen (2002).

[714] On Greek language and writing as tools for 'political power', *cf*. Thompson (1992); Thompson (1994). On the importance of Greek culture and education in Ptolemaic Egypt and in the Hellenistic world, *cf*. Thompson (2007).

The reasons for the presence of Egyptian cultural traits among the members of the gymnasial community may be various. Two factors played a particular important role in the process: mixed marriages and religious syncretism or inclusiveness.

When the Macedonians and other Greek mercenaries arrived and settled in Egypt they brought with them few Greek women. Others arrived later, together with other immigrants from the Greek–speaking world. Nonetheless, there were certainly more 'Greek' men than women; it was therefore often a necessity to marry into Egyptian families. The higher strata of the Egyptian population, furthermore, were often very pleased to welcome into their families the newly arrived conquerors and to concede their daughters to them, in the hope of preserving, if not improving, their social position and in order to build good relations with the ruling power, for future social advancement. This led to the birth of offspring who shared Hellenic and Egyptian secular traditions, and could display one, the other or both in different aspects of their lives. On the other hand, in some circumstances one cultural tradition may have been preferred to the other: in the case of the family of the cavalry–man Dryton, for instance, one sees the apparent disappearance of the Greek element in the identity of his offspring from his second wife (all girls). The opposite phenomenon did also occur. But in most cases, the encounters and marriages between Greeks and Egyptians led to a new definition of identity, towards a more complex pattern.[715]

[715] On mixed marriages, *cf.* Peremans (1981); Clarysse (1992); Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II p. 297. The issue requires further and fuller investigation.

Similarly, when Egyptians started entering the army and being employed in the Ptolemaic administration, they progressively adopted Greek customs in many aspects of their (public) lives. Together with the language and the script, many began to 'go Greek' in their daily life, to present themselves as *Hellenes* – the use of Greek alone does not necessarily represent the taking on board of aspects of Hellenic identity, since, as we have seen, Greek was often just one of the aspects of administration. However, they did not forget their Egyptian heritage. They therefore brought into the body of the *Hellenes* their own ancestral traditions, thus contributing to the development of a complex identity.

In this respect, religious views also played a fundamental role; many Egyptian religious traditions, myths, and practices appealed to the Greek element, who soon went Egyptian in this sphere. Apart from the undoubtedly strong contribution of mixed marriages to the introduction of Egyptian beliefs and practices among the Greek community, the 'Greeks' may have 'independently' found suitable to them many teachings of Egyptian religion, more than some Greek teachings. Egyptian gods were often 'translated' into Greek counterparts, and the Greek gods were provided with features and 'powers' taken from the Egyptian *pantheon*. But in most cases, the 'Greeks' did not find it inappropriate at all to follow Egyptian traditions and worship Egyptian divinities, either giving up Greek deities altogether or not. The ephebes of a village in the Egyptian countryside spent their days training in the *gymnasium* under the tutelage of the traditional Greek gymnasial deities, Hermes and Heracles, and at the same time were part of the local Egyptian community in their devotion to the local animal

god, the crocodile god – hardly a Greek attitude![716] The extent to which this practice appeared absurd and ludicrous to the eyes of continental Greeks emerges from the tone used by Plutarch when telling us about the population of Oxyrhynchus, Cynopolis, and Lykopolis and their devotion to fish, dogs, and wolves, respectively.[717] But the *Hellenes* of Egypt had different parameters of judgment.

That the 'Greeks' there found themselves at ease in the Egyptian religious environment is particularly clear for beliefs concerning death and the afterlife. The Egyptian belief in the existence of life after death was certainly more reassuring than the Greek conception of death as the end of everything. It is therefore not surprising that Egyptian themes and divinities (as well as iconography) are found in epitaphs for the members of the gymnasial community. Although a gymnasiarch organised games and sacrifices to Heracles and Hermes in the *gymnasium* and had decrees and dedications be manufactured in pure Greek style, he could have a winged solar disc on his tombstone and entrust his soul to Anubis, Osiris, and other Egyptian deities after death.[718]

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[716] I.Fayoum III 200–202 (98–94 BC, Ars.).

[717] Plu. *De Iside et Osiride* 380b: μόνοι γὰρ ἔτι νῦν Αἰγυπτίων Λυκοπολῖται πρόβατον ἐσθίουσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ λύκος, ὃν θεὸν νομίζουσιν· οἱ δ' Ὀξυρυγχῖται καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν Κυνοπολιτῶν τὸν ὀξύρυγχον ἰχθὺν ἐσθιόντων κύνα συλλαβόντες καὶ θύσαντες ὡς ἱερεῖον κατέφαγον, ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταστάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλήλους τε διέθηκαν κακῶς καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κολαζόμενοι διετέθησαν 'Even to–day the inhabitants of Lycopolis are the only people among the Egyptians that eat a sheep; for the wolf, whom they hold to be a god, also eats it. And in my day the people of Oxyrhynchus caught a dog and sacrificed it and ate it up as if it had been sacrificial meat, because the people of Cynopolis were eating the fish known as the oxyrhynchus or pike. As a result of this they became involved in war and inflicted much harm upon each other; and later they were both brought to order through chastisement by the Romans' (tr. F. C. Babbitt).

[718] *Cf.* note 536. On the influence of local iconographic customs on tombstones, *cf.* Schmidt (2003) pp. 60–61, although I would not underestimate (as the author does) the possibility of them telling us something about the identities of the dead. On Egyptian influences on Greek burial practices, *cf.* Parlasca (2001). For Egyptian elements in funerary architecture of the Ptolemaic Alexandrian elite, *cf.* Venit (2002) pp. 68–118; Venit (2009); Venit (2010). For Egyptian funerary style in Roman

Burial methods traditional within the Egyptian religion (that is to say mummification), in which priests had a pivotal role, were soon adopted by the 'Greeks' and became the norm for the higher classes of the population. Mummification was expensive and the fact that one could afford to have one's body undergo such a treatment was an indication of one's status, no longer necessarily connected with one specific cultural tradition (namely, the Egyptian). Despite what one pompous Greek maintains on his tombstone regarding the horrors of being mummified which he gladly left to the Egyptians, many of the 'Greeks' of Egypt happily paid for it.[719] Some took the matter very seriously and the denial of mummification for a relative could lead to drastic consequences.[720] Some were even keen to have their mummies decorated with expensive portraits, such as the so–called Fayyum portraits of Roman times, in which the features of the dead appear in the lively Graeco–Roman style. They belonged to the well–to–do class, and although there is no clear evidence for it, I believe (and I am not the only one) that many, if not all, of those who had themselves portrayed in these artefacts belonged to the metropolitan gymnasial elite. If the faces, the hairstyles, accessories and clothes of Artemidorus, Hermione, Euthyches, Eudaimonis, Didyme, Isidora, Eirene, etc. assert that they belonged to the leading class of the

times, *cf*. Venit (2002) pp. 119–167 (Alexandria) and the case of the so–called 'tomb of Petosiris' with Whitehouse (1998).

[719] I.Métr. Ég. 97 (II cent. AD, Herm.: epitaph of Seuthes proudly stating that his body had been interred and not mummified and thus did not smell badly) with Montevecchi (1985). This reaction does not seem to represent the norm in the habits of the *Hellenes* of Egypt, who indeed were mummified, both in Ptolemaic and Roman times: *cf*., for instance, Sel.Pap. I 104 (I cent. BC: the chief physician Athenagoras in Alexandria writes to the priests of the Labyrinth in the Arsinoite Nome – presumably concerned with the mummification of the body – to ask them to facilitate the transport of his assistant Herakleides's mummy to Ptolemais Euergetis, Ars.).

[720] *Cf*. the so–called curse of Artemisia: UPZ I 11 (late IV cent. BC, Memphis) with Rowlandson (1998) no. 37.

Hellenes, their mummies and the decoration on their mummy–cases show how they also shared much of the Egyptian heritage.[721]

As previously stated, access to the gymnasial community became easier for certain Egyptian sections of the population during Ptolemaic times when the rules for admission into the *gymnasium* were looser than, or at least different from those in the Roman period. Apart from reasonable wealth which could allow the defray of the costs of membership and available free time to spend in gymnasial activities, the Ptolemaic οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου had to demonstrate that they were ready to behave as *Hellenes* within the spaces and in the activities of the *gymnasium* in order to be admitted. Neither ethnicity nor lineage played any role in the admission criteria.[722] And how could they? Very few people (if indeed any) could ever prove that they had a pure Hellenic ancestry; most of them had mixed ancestry.[723] But approaching the question in these terms is not correct: most of them did not perceive the problem in terms of opposition of ethnicity or culture as we do now, but rather in terms of the combination of traditions. One of the few cases of exclusivist behaviour seems to me the attitude of the Alexandrians towards the 'Greeks' of the *chora*, Jews and Egyptians, especially in Roman times: much was probably due to utilitarian 'political' reasons. For the gymnasial community of Ptolemaic Egypt the complexity of factors, drawn from different

[721] On funerary practices and identities, *cf*. Riggs (2005) esp. pp. 1–40. On mummy portraits, *cf*. Corcoran (1992); Corcoran (1995); Borg (1996); Walker and Bierbrier (1997); Parlasca and Seemann (1999). On mummy portraits, social status and complex identities, *cf*. Montserrat (1993); Bagnall (1997b); Bagnall (1997a); Walker (1997).

[722] I shall not discuss here the question of different ethnics among the 'Greeks' of Egypt and their role and importance for the formation of identities: on this, *cf*. Modrzejewski (1983); Láda (2002) and also Thompson Crawford (1984); Goudriaan (1992). For the *gymnasium* and the Ptolemaic administration (at least for tax–purposes) they were all *Hellenes*.

[723] Even the maintenance of Greek ethnics is not proof of 'pure' Greek ancestry: in Ptolemaic Egypt ethnics were inherited by relatives and passed on to children from mixed marriages, and in certain cases also granted to members of army units, regardless of their origin.

traditions, which made up their identities was normal and part of everybody's life. They did not consider themselves as having a mixed identity, they just lived it. In a time when switching between identities was almost as easy as changing clothes, the members of the gymnasial community were displaying their Greek identity as *Hellenes* when involved in the life and activities of the *gymnasium*. At the same time they were asserting that they belonged to the environment of Egypt when following Egyptian religious festivals and ceremonies, when devoting offerings to Egyptian gods and when performing Egyptian customs in entrusting themselves to Egyptian deities for their afterlife.

Membership of the *gymnasium* was the way to assert one aspect of one's identity. As a traditionally Greek institution, it was the place to assert one's membership of the community of the *Hellenes*, of the ruling, leading or at least privileged class of the country. In Ptolemaic times this membership meant belonging to the same 'group' as the Royal House and sharing the traditions of the immigrant rulers; in Roman times it corresponded to being part of the privileged metropolitan classes, the top layers of which formed the local aristocracy involved in the administration at various levels. In both cases, and perhaps with a stronger sense of elitist self–consciousness with social and political implications in Roman times, belonging to the gymnasial group meant upholding and perpetuating traditional Greek values and ways of living, in opposition to the rest of the population, the mass of the uncultivated Egyptians.

The *gymnasium* without doubt provided a means of distinguishing oneself from the rest of the inhabitants of the country, of singling out one's identity as *Hellen*. It was the place for continuing to keep alive and strong the traditions of

the Greek fathers, stressing the Homeric *doxa* and athletic prowess which constituted the basis of the Greek idea of aristocratic perfection. And this was not done singly, but as a community: indeed in the *gymnasium*, as the place of social gatherings and as the meeting centre and focus of associations, the members – as a communal body – shared ceremonies, banquets, and drinking parties which strengthened their bonds of friendship and built up a sense of belonging to their specific local Hellenic community on one hand, and to the broader community of the *Hellenes* of the country and the *oecumene* on the other. The *gymnasium* was not the place to integrate external elements and produce a mixed entity, it was not a multicultural melting–pot: the *gymnasium* was for the *Hellenes*; all those who were part of it, by being part of it, were and claimed to be *Hellenes*. In the *gymnasium* one could not assert anything but the gymnasial values of Hellenic identity, the strongest and most typically Greek aspect of being and feeling *Hellen*. The 'Hellenicity' of the *gymnasium* and official gymnasial activities is also stressed in the Greek styles of dedications and inscriptions, as well as in the character of their ceremonies which were carried out according to Greek customs (first and foremost sacrifices, banquets, drinking parties, and celebratory rituals).

But the definition of *Hellen*, as we have seen, was indeed what allowed room for inclusiveness: in Ptolemaic times it was not necessarily based on ethnic factors. One was *Hellen* because one spoke Greek, behaved as *Hellen* and was willing to engage oneself in activities which would define one as *Hellen*. Ethnic background and genealogical history were (almost) entirely irrelevant – obviously there were those who made a point of boasting their pure Greek ancestry in opposing to external elements, but our evidence of this attitude is mostly limited

to Alexandrians and to the Roman period.[724] Ptolemaic tax registers with lists of *Hellenes* are indeed particularly illuminating on the broad meaning which the administration of the Ptolemies and, thus, the *Hellenes* themselves gave to the definition of the term.[725] In Roman times, the situation changed: once the gymnasial group became a state recognised class, admissions were carefully checked. Stricter, genealogical rules were introduced to keep membership of the class only for those who were entitled to it on the basis of their family trees: one could belong to the gymnasial class only if one was born into it.

What is common in both Ptolemaic and Roman periods is the fact that membership of the *gymnasium* was the way to assert one aspect of one's identity. In fact, the most important feature of it is that it was not simply an assertion of identity, but also and foremost an assertion of status. Being part of the gymnasial community meant presenting oneself as a member of one specific, somehow privileged, and well–defined social group, a social class in Roman times. The reasons for wanting to be part of that group may have been many and not all are clear to us. However, from what our sources tell us we can attempt to give some possible explanations for why it paid to be a *Hellen* of the *gymnasium*.

In Ptolemaic Egypt the social category of *Hellenes* enjoyed fiscal favour, being exempt from the payment of the obol tax (they did however pay the salt tax,

[724] How even Alexandrians in Ptolemaic times were not exempt from the general trend of mixed marriages has been shown by Clarysse (1992). Further investigation is necessary but it seems to me that the 'purist' behaviours of the Alexandrians about their ancestry against external elements were more a matter of fashionable rhetorical trends than fact–supported truth.
[725] *Cf.* Thompson (1997) pp. 247–248; Thompson (2001); Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 138–147.

which was a sort of poll–tax).[726] We may be entitled to believe that all the members of the *gymnasium* presumably fell under this category, although a clear and official connection between the two is nowhere attested in the sources. However, what better proof for being a *Hellen* could there have been other than being one of οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου? If not all of the *Hellenes* recognised by the state and entered in the relative tax–lists were members of the *gymnasium*, I believe that the opposite may well have been true. But this point is not particularly pressing: fiscal privileges were never the most important factor for wanting membership of the *gymnasium*. Certainly social reasons carried more weight: the gymnasial community enjoyed social privileges of prestige and public recognition as the 'elite' group of the leading or ruling class. They had the feeling of belonging to the immigrant class which ruled the country; they felt their link with the Ptolemaic Kings and the Royal House, whose members shared the traditions and cultural heritage of those of the *gymnasium*. Hence, they stressed this common belonging to the same Hellenic 'world' of the Kings with many acts of loyalty, support, and devotion to the Royal House through dedications, sacrifices, and ceremonies connected to the royal cult.[727] The gymnasial communities upheld the Ptolemaic dynasty in order to link it to themselves, thus boosting their own status and presenting themselves as members of the Hellenic class ruling over Egypt; the House of the Ptolemies, on the other hand, supported the communities

[726] School–teachers, athletic coaches, actors, and victors in Alexandrian *agones* were exempt altogether from the salt tax: it is logical to believe that many of them were somewhat connected with the activities of the *gymnasium* (although clear proof is absent). *Cf.* Thompson (1997); Morgan (1998) pp. 25–27; Cribiore (2001) pp. 61–62; Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 39–59.

[727] *Cf.*, for instance, SEG LV 1847 (152/1 BC, unknown provenance); SB I 1164 (163–145 BC, Rosetta / Pharbaithos?); I.Prose 40 (II–I cent. BC, Psenamosis); SB I 1106 = SEG XXXIV 1605 (III–I cent. BC, Sebennytos); P. UB Trier S 159–5 (133/2 BC, Euergetis, Upper Egypt: unpublished papyrus, courtesy of B. Kramer).

of the *gymnasium* as members of the leading class, because they were 'spiritual' – if not always actual – fellow 'Greeks', and in order to have loyal subjects who recognised their right to rule and could provide the country with trustworthy civil servants.[728] Indeed, in the eyes of the population of Egypt the members of the *gymnasium* appeared to be (and often were) those who ran the affairs of the country, or at least mingled with those who did. Many posts of the Ptolemaic administration (especially at its top) were in fact filled from the (higher) ranks of the gymnasial group. The link with Egypt itself is always present: the 'Greeks' of Egypt (even those from the *gymnasium*) were not living in a sort of 'Greek ideal fatherland', they were very much embedded into the social, religious, and administrative environment of contemporary Egypt, with all its consequences. The idea that powerful and important men went to the *gymnasium* and took part in its activities built up the aura of prestige which surrounded the gymnasial institution and its communities. It is therefore not surprising if the new Hellenic settlers of the 'city' of Euergetis in Upper Egypt, at the dawn of its days under the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, felt that if they were to be anyone, they should make sure they were included into the *politeuma* of the *Hellenes* and the *gymnasium* of the 'city'.[729]

Similarly, or even more, in Roman times membership of the class of the ἀπὸ γυμνασίου was a clear declaration of status. Now that the group had been recognised by the state as a real and proper social class, its members felt even

[728] *Cf.*, for instance, I.Varsovie 42 (135 BC, Omboi). Although, under particularly distressing political circumstances, the Kings had to take drastic measures against certain *gymnasia*: *cf.* P.Tebt. III.1 700 col. II, 37ff (124 BC, Krokodilon polis / Oxyrhyncha (Ars.) + Alex.). As we have seen, Ptolemaic favour towards the Greek culture and the 'world of the *gymnasium*' can also be seen in the treatment of tax–privileged groups: *cf.* Clarysse and Thompson (2006) II pp. 124–147.
[729] *Cf.* p. 141.

more part of a privileged and select elite, a class from which many (if not all) local liturgists and municipal officers were drawn, in continuity with previous times. Once again, the *gymnasium* was perceived as the meeting place for those who were running the affairs of the country. As metropolites, the members of the gymnasial class enjoyed a reduced rate of the poll–tax, but the real privileges of membership were probably political and certainly related to status. Basing themselves on the fact that their class had been rendered a closed and selective group by the state and that the administration was often entrusted to their hands, the higher strata of the gymnasial class presented themselves as the metropolitan elite, elevating themselves to the heights of local (and later curial) aristocracy. In this process they found the support of the Roman authorities who were more than happy to have – and in fact boosted the birth of – an urban *nobilitas* which would take care of local matters. Those from the *gymnasium* could portray themselves as 'true Greeks' who could boast that they continued to uphold the traditional ancestral values of the Greek *paideia*, with much stress on athletic prowess and bodily beauty which constituted the quintessential features of aristocratic perfection. Some fringes of the Alexandrian gymnasial community could take this aspect even further and oppose their refined, sophisticated, and snobbish Greekness to the uncultivated and rustic barbarity of the Roman rulers, as colourfully depicted in the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. It is indeed only in Roman times that the 'ethnic' or rather genealogical factor comes into play for the definition of the gymnasial class.

In this respect, we see a paradox. The Ptolemaic administration used ethnic terminology (Ἕλληνες) to define privileged groups of the population, but never

applied ethnic or racial policies for the definition of their members. In the case of the *gymnasium* too, as we have seen, membership was more a matter of culture, thought, way of life, and behaviour rather than strict ancestry. The Romans, on the other hand, did not employ ethnic definitions for indicating the different groups of the population, but rather used status designations (ἀστοί, μητροπολῖται, and οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου) – with the only exception of the 6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoite Nome;[730] nevertheless they applied ethnic or rather genealogical policies for membership: one's ancestry was vital for proving one's right to a specific class. After the Flavian reforms in the 70s of the first century AD someone could be included into the class of those from the *gymnasium* only if he could prove that his ancestors before him had been members: admission to the *gymnasium* ceased entirely to be a matter of *paideia* and culture, and became a matter of family inheritance and blood.[731]

This is indeed the real watershed from Ptolemaic times: the new system invested the *gymnasium* with a new role which had substantial repercussions on the social sphere of the population of the country and on the habits of the gymnasial class (one of the most visible was the trend of endogamous marriages).[732] It also influenced in an unprecedented way the subsequent nature and shape of many aspects of the Greek identity of the 'Greeks' of Egypt, especially in their relations with and behaviour towards the 'Egyptians'. But this is another story.

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[730] The citizens of the Hadrianic *polis* of Antionoopolis were called νέοι Ἕλληνες. However, they enjoyed their privileged status because of their being ἀστοί, not Ἕλληνες.
[731] *Cf*. also Modrzejewski (1985).
[732] On endogamous marriage, *cf*. Hopkins (1980); Shaw (1992); Scheidel (1995); Bussi (2002); Remijsen and Clarysse (2008). For the consequences of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and the grant of Roman citizenship on the practice, *cf*. Montevecchi (1979).

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF RELEVANT SOURCES FOR THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords for Content*
I.Delta II 20	SEG XX (1964), 511; SB I 355; Botti, *Bull. Soc. Alex.* IV (1902), p. 60 no. 4; Flinders Petrie, *Ten Year digging in Egypt* (1895) p. 44; Flinders Petrie, *Naukratis* I, p. 63, plate 30 no. 4	IV ex. – III in. BC	Naucratis	inscription	dedication	palaestra
P.Oxy. XXVII 2465, fr. 2 col. 1		270 BC	Oxy./ Alex.	papyrus	Satyrus, On the Demes of Alexandria (literary text)	gymnasiarchs; ephebes
SEG XXVII 1114	L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten*, Hain 1977	267 BC	Alex.?	inscriptions	list of victors of games	games; *agonothetes*
Wilcken Chr. 1	P.Petr. II 45 + P.Petr. III 144; F. Piejko, *AFP* 36 (1990), pp. 13–27	264 *ca* BC	Ars. – Antioch near Daphne	papyrus	war bulletin of Ptolemy III	*gymnasium* in Antiochia; *neaniskoi*
PSI IV 418		261–239 BC	Philadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus	letter	palaestra
P.Cairo Zen. IV 59586		261–239 BC	Philadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus	letter	*gymnasium*; games; festivals; feasts; training
P.Cairo Zen. III 59457		261–239 BC	Alex.? – found in Philadelpheia (Ars.)?	papyrus	memorandum	games (?)
P.Hib. II 260		260–240 BC	Unknown provenance	papyrus	fragment of letter (?)	gymnasiarch (?)
P.Lond. VII 1941; P.Cairo Zen. I 59060 (= P.Edgar. 11=Sel.Pap. I 88); P.Cairo Zen. I 59061	C.Ptol.Sklav. 157–158a,b	257 BC	Alex. (found Theadelpheia, Ars.)	papyrus	letters	palaestra; games; training
P.Zen. Pestm. 51	PSI IV 340 + P.Jand. VI 92: joint publ. P.Lugd.–Bat. 20, no. 51	257/6 BC	Alex. – found in Philadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus,	letter	palaestra; training; physical activities

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords for Content*
PSI IV 391a		242 BC	Philadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus	letter	*gymnasium*; presidency; private support; army
I.Louvre 4	OGIS I, 48; SB V 8852	240/39 BC	Ptolemais	inscription	decree	decree; *neoteroi*
P.Lond. VII 2017	H. I. Bell, *Raccolta Lumbroso*, Milano 1925, pp. 13–20; SB III 6997; P.Feste 60	241/0 BC	Ars. (Philadelpheia?)	papyrus	letter	games; *didaskalos*; lyre–teacher
PUG III 107		236 or 237 BC	Ars.	papyrus	petition	*agonothetes*; games; feasts; festivals
SB XVIII 13837	J. Scherer, *YCS* 28 (1985), p. 58, I	224–218 BC	Mouchis (Ars.)	papyrus	petition	*gymnasium*; foundation
I.Delta II 14	Botti, *BSAA* I (1898) p. 39 no. 2; Idem, *BSAA* 4 (1902) p. 61; Strack, *AFP* 2 (1903) p. 542 no. 18; Breccia, *Iscr.* 26; SB I 2249	221–205 BC ?	Naucratis	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarchs
P.Enteux. 8	P. Jouguet, *Raccolta Ramorino*, Milano 1927, p. 381–390; SB III 7245	221	Samareia (Ars.) (found in cartonage from Magdola, Ars.)	papyrus	petition	*gymnasium*; foundation; cleruch; dedication to the King
P.Ryl. IV 568		III BC	Philadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus	letter	Hermaia; feasts; *gymnasium*?
SB V 8234	SEG VIII 811	III BC	unknown provenance	dice		gymnasiarchs; ephebes
PSI V 528		III BC	Philadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus	letter	feasts; Hermaia; *gymnasium*?
I.Louvre 12	A. Dain, IG du Louvre 72; L. Robert, *RA* 1933, pp. 135–6 no. 72 and p. 147	III BC	Alex. ?	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarchs; feasts; wrestling; games
I.Métr. Ég. 62	SB I 4314; Breccia, *Iscr.* 317	III BC	Alex.	inscription	epitaph	*gymnasium*
I.Prose 15	SB III 7246, H. Henne, *BIFAO* 22 (1923) pp. 191–202; SEG VIII 694; SEG XX 672	222–180 BC	Luxor – Thebes	stela	decree	*gymnasium*; gymnasiarch; *kosmetes*; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου; association
SB I 2138 + PP VI 17159		203–181 BC	Beni Hassan (Herm.)	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarch (?)
SB IV 7456	SEG VIII 357	III–II BC	Alex.	inscription	honorary dedication	gymnasiarchs; army

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords for Content*
Max L. Strack, *APF* II (1903), p. 548, no. 26	M. C. D. Paganini, *ZPE* (forthcoming)	185–181 BC	? (Terenouthis, western Delta?)	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarchs; *gymnasium*; association; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου
P.Ryl. IV 589	E. G. Turner – O. Neugebauer, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 32 (1949), pp. 80–96	180 BC	Philadelpheia (Ars.)?	papyrus	ledger of debts	*gymnasium*; association
SB I 1164	Seymour de Ricci, *CRAI* 1908 p. 799; I.Louvre Bernand 13	163–145 BC (Mooren: after 157/6 BC)	Rosetta / Pharbaithos? (eastern Delta)	inscription	dedication	*Ptolemaieion*; *gymnasium* (?)
I.Alex. Ptol. 28	SB 9811; SEG XX 498; P. M. Fraser, *Berytus* 13 (1960), pp. 142–144 no. 7	163–145 BC	Alex.	inscription	dedication	*gymnasium* (uncertain.); *agonothetes*; games
SEG LV 1847	S. Scheuble, *APF* 51 (2005), pp. 30–39	152/1 BC	unknown provenance	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarch; army
Milne, *Inscr.* 9301	M. L. Stark, *APF* II (1902–3), p. 560, no. 44; Milne, *JHS* 21 (1901), p. 286	150 *ca* BC	Gizeh ?	inscription	dedication	*synephebes*; association
I.Fayoum II 103, I.Fayoum II 104	Lefebvre, *Annales de Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* 19 (1920), p. 63–4; SB III 6157–8	150/49 BC	Theadelpheia (Ars.)	inscription	dedication	*gymnasium*; gymnasiarch; army
BGU VI 1256	Sel.Pap. II 275; *Papyrological Primer*[3] no. 10	147/6 BC or 136/5 BC	Philadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus	petition	*gymnasium*; gymnasiarch; lampadarch; lampadarchia; *neaniskoi*; games
SB V 8389	CIG III 4860	145–116 BC	Omboi (Upper Egypt)	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarch; army; administration
I.Th.Sy. 303	CIG III 4893; OGIS I 130; SB V 8394; SEG XXXI 1545	143/2 BC	Setis (Upper Egypt)	inscription	dedication	*basilistai*; strategus; royal cult; *kosmetes* (?)
P.Dryton 39		137/6 BC	Thebes (found at Pathyris, Theb.)	papyrus	account register	*gymnasium*

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords for Content*
I.Varsovie 42	I.Th.Sy. 189; I.Prose 21; U. Wilcken, *AFP* 5 (1913) p. 410–16; F. Schroeter, *De regum hellenisticorum epistulis … quaestiones stilisticae*, Leipzig 1932, pp. 82–3, nrr. 37–38; C.Ord.Ptol. 48–49	135 BC	Omboi (Upper Egypt)	inscription	decree and royal letter	*gymnasium*; *neaniskoi*; statue; founder; royal benevolence; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου
I.Louvre 17	CIG III 4682; SB V 8279	134/3 BC	Alex. ?	inscription	dedication	dedication; *mellakes*; *gymnasium* (uncertain)
P. UB Trier S 159–3		134/3 BC	Euergetsi (Upper Egypt)	papyrus	petition (?); unpublished papyrus: courtesy of Prof. B. Kramer	anointment; *gymnasium* (?)
P. UB Trier S 159–5		133/2 BC	Euergetis (Upper Egypt)	papyrus	petition (?); unpublished papyrus: courtesy of B. Kramer	*gymnasium*; association; royal cult
P.Tebt. III.1 700 (col. II, 37ff)	C.Ord.Ptol. 50; C.Ptol.Sklav. no. 11	124 BC	Krokodilopolis / Oxyrhyncha (Ars.) + Alex.	papyrus	bank *diagraphe* with reported *prostagma*	*gymnasium*; catoeci
Wilcken Chr. 11	B.P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt, *AFP* I, pp. 59–62	123 BC	Krokodilopolis – Hermonthis (Theb., Upper Egypt)	papyrus	narrative of events and petition	*neaniskoi*
P.Tor. Choach. 12 col. I 4–5	P.Tor. 1; Mitteis Chr. 31; Jur. Pap. 80; UPZ II 162 (col. I ll. 4–5)	117 BC	Thebes – Diospolis Magna	papyrus	proceedings of trial	gymnasiarchs
SEG XX 671	SB VIII 10174; M. L. Stark, *AFP* 2 (1903) p. 553 no. 35; Breccia *Iscr.* 39	116–108 BC	Karnak, Thebes	inscription	dedication	ephebes (uncertain)
SEG XLVII 2128	A. Łajtar, JJP 27 (1997), pp. 28–32 no. 1	115–110 BC	Pharbaithos (eastern Delta)?	inscription	honorary dedication	gymnasiarch
I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500	SB V 8031; SEG VIII 641; Austin no. 233 (trad. only)	104 BC	Ptolemais ?	inscription	decree	gymnasiarchs; *gymnasium*; *boule*; association; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου (uncertain)

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords for Content*
SB XX 14728	C.Jud.Syr.Eg. 1; P.Amh. II 39 + P.Grenf. I 30; Seymour de Ricci, *AFP* II (1903), pp. 517–518; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae*, no. 57	103 BC	Pathyris (Theb.)	papyrus	letter	*neaniskoi*; *philobasilistai*; associations
SEG VIII 504	SB V 8118	II BC (189/8 BC?)	Thmouis (eastern Delta)	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarchs; *gymnasium*; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου
SB VI 8964	F. Zucker, *Aegyptus* 11 (1930–31), p. 486	II BC (146–116 BC?)	Euhemeria (Ars.)?	papyrus	petition?	gymnasiarchs; catoeci
SEG XXXIV 1532	Breccia, *Iscr.* 162; Bingen, *MNHMH Petropoulos*, pp. 239–243	II BC	Alex.?	inscription	decree	*gerousia*; *gymnasium* (?)
O.Theb. part III 4		II BC	Diospolis Magna – Thebes	ostracon	tax receipt	*gymnasium*; taxes
O.Theb. part III 5		II BC	Diospolis Magna – Thebes	ostracon	tax receipt	*gymnasium*; taxes
I.Métr. Ég. 4	SEG XXXV 1604; Wilhelm, *SAWW* 1946 pp. 38–46; Chamoux, *Mélanges Vercoutter* (Paris 1985), pp. 48–50	II BC	Koptos (Upper Egypt)	inscription	epitaph	gymnasiarchs; army
O.Wilcken 318		II BC	Thebes	ostracon	receipt	gymansiarch; oil; baths; taxes
O.Theb. part III 3		II BC	Thebes	ostracon	tax receipt	taxes; *gymnasium*
SEG XLIV 1448	O. Rubensohn, *AFP* 5 (1913), pp. 161–162 no. 7	II BC (Fraser) or II–I BC	Ptolemais?	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarchs
I.Fayoum I 21	SB III 6159, G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 19 (1920) pp. 64–65,	II–I BC	Ars. (Theadelpheia?)	inscription	dedication	ephebes
I.Prose 40	SB IV 7457; Breccia, *BSAA* 24 (1929), p. 66–70, no. 5; SEG VIII 529; Vandoni, Feste no. 6; Bernand, I.Delta I pp. 445–462; SEG XX 510	II–I BC	Psenamosis (western Delta)	inscription	decree	*gymnasium*; foundation; associations; feasts; cults
I.Fayoum II 119	SB I 5022; W. Schubart, *Klio* 12 (1912) pp. 374–376	II–I BC	Theadelpheia (Ars.)	inscription	dedication	associations; *neaniskoi*; connection with *gymnasium* (?)

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords for Content*
SB VI 7370	SB III 6675; I.Delta I 19	II–I BC (?)	Canopos (western Delta)	inscription	dedication	ephebes (?)
SB III 6665	SEG II 864; Breccia, *BSAA* 5 (1923), p. 123 no. 1	II–I BC	Alex.?	inscription	honorary dedication	gymnasiarchs
I.Alex. Ptol. 42	SB I 2100; W. Peremans – E. van't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* 9 (1953) pp. 46–51; SEG XX 502	II–I BC or 128–119 BC	Alex.	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarchs; *gerousia*
I.Fayoum III 200	SB V 8885, Wilcken Chr. 141; OGIS I 176	98 BC	Ars.	inscription	dedication	ephebes; association
I.Fayoum III 201	SB V 8887, Milne, *Greek Inscr.* 9201; Wilcken *Chr.* 142; OGI I 178	95 BC	Ars.	inscription	dedication	ephebes; association; *prostates*
I.Fayoum III 202	SB V 7784, SEG VIII 498	94 BC	Ars. (Tebtynis?)	inscription	dedication	ex–ephebes; association; *epimeletes*
I.Philae I 32	SB V 8403; CIG III 4904; OGI I 188; Wilcken *Chr.* 163	89 BC (or more unlikely 57 BC)	Philae (Upper Egypt)	graffito	*proskynema*	ephebes; synephebes; association
I.Philae I 33	SB V 8892; OGI I 189	89 BC	Philae (Upper Egypt)	graffito	*proskynema*	ephebes; synephebes; association
I.Prose 35	Milne, *Greek Inscr.* 9246; Max L. Strack, *AFP* II (1903), pp. 557–8, no. 39	80–69 BC	Hermonthis (Theb.)	inscription	dedication	*gymnasium* (?)
I.Fayoum I 8	SB I 1569	69–51 BC	Krokodilopolis (Ars.)	inscription	dedication	gymnasiarchs; *kosmetes*
BGU VIII 1767	Hengstl, *Griechische papyri* no. 13	64/3 BC	Herakl.	papyrus	official daily diary of the strategus	*gymnasium*; catoeci
BGU VIII 1768		64–44 BC or I BC	Herakl.	papyrus	official daily diary of the strategus	*gymnasium*; catoeci
BGU VIII 1813		after 62/1 BC	Herakl	papyrus	petition	oil; *gymnasium*?
I.Prose 41	SB V 7746, Strack, *AFP* 3 (1906), pp. 132–133; P. Roussel, *Mélanges Maspero* II.1, pp. 33–40; SEG VIII 531	57 BC	Aphroditopolis (Upper Egypt)	inscription	decree	*gymnasium*; catoeci; *hippeis*; gymnasiarchs; feasts; games; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου
BGU VIII 1772	H. Cuvigny, *L'arpentage par espèces*, no. 28 (re–edition of lines 5–17)	57/6 BC	Herakl.	papyrus	record of a procedure about the acquisition of a *kleros*	gymnasiarchs; army; catoeci; *hippeis*

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords for Content*
SB I 2264	Schubart, *Klio* 10 p. 54 Anm. 2	49 BC	Ptolemais	inscription	dedication?	gymnasiarchs; army; epistrategus; strategus; administration
BGU VIII 1849		48–46 BC	Herakl.	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarchs
I.Prose 46	OGIS 194; SB V 8334; Vandoni Feste no. 5; R. Hutmacher, *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 17 (1965), pp. 14–74; SEG XVIII 705; SEG XXIV 1217; CIG III, 4717	39 BC	Thebes – Diospolis Magna	inscription	bilingual decree	gymnasiarchs; army; administration
BGU XIV 2433		I BC	Herakl.	papyrus	account	gymnasiarchs; taxes
SB I 1106	E. van't Dack, *Atti XVII Congr.*, pp. 1325–1333 = SEG XXXIV 1605	III–I BC (II–I BC van't Dack)	Sebennytos (central Delta)	inscription	dedication	*gymnasium*; foundation; associations; οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου *Herakleion*; *bouleutes*; *boule*; royal cult; army; administration
SB I 5069	Breccia, *Iscr.* 531	Ptolemaic period	Alex. ?	inscription	?	ephebes
P.Hamb. Inv. 64		Ptolemaic period	unknown provenance	papyrus	lease of vineyard; unpublished papyrus: courtesy of Prof. B. Kramer	*gymnasium*; *neaniskoi*
I.Alex. Ptol. 59	SB I 5069; Breccia *Iscr.* 532	unknown date (Ptolemaic?)	Alex.	inscription	fragment of dedication (?)	ephebes (?)

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF RELEVANT SOURCES FOR THE EARLY ROMAN PERIOD

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords of Content*
BGU IV 1188		after 15/4 BC	Koma (Herakl.)	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarchs of a village; catoeci
P.Oxy. IV 711		14 BC *ca*	Oxy.	papyrus	census list	ephebes; poll–tax; *laographia*
P.Strasb. 581		9 BC	unknown provenance	papyrus	letter	ephebes
P.Lond. II 354	CPR XV 15 (slightly different version)	7–4 BC	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarch
BGU IV 1137	Wilcken *Chr.* 112	6 BC	Alex.	papyrus	decision of association	gymnasiarch; association
I.Prose 49	I.Delta III pp. 899–913; SB V 8267	5 BC	Psenemphaia (Delta)	inscription	decree	ephebes; association
CPJ II 151	Wilcken *Chr.* 58; BGU IV 1140	5/4 BC	Alex.	papyrus	petition	ephebes (?); *gymnasium* (uncertain); citizenship
BGU IV 1189		1 BC/1 AD	Bousiris (Herakl.)	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarchs of village
P.Oxy. VIII 1143		*ca* 1 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	temple account	feasts; games; gymnasiarchs
BGU IV 1201		2 AD	Bousiris (Herakl.)	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarchs of village
P.Amst. I 89		3 AD	Unknown provenance	papyrus	private letter	gymnasiarch
SB XXIV 15909		6 AD	Ars.	papyrus	letter	gymnasiarch; administration
SB XXIV 15910		6 AD	Ars.	papyrus	letter	gymnasiarch; administration
P.Merton II 62		7 AD	unknown	papyrus	letter of introduction	gymnasiarch
I.Kom Abu Bellou 142		12/13 or 14/15 AD	Terenouthis (western Delta)	inscription	epitaph	gymnasiarchs of village (?)
BGU XVI 2577		30 BC–14 AD	Herakl.	papyrus	list of taxes	gymnasiarch
P.Oxy. LXVII 4582		16 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarch
I.Fayoum II 139		24/5 AD or 51/2 AD	Dionysias (Ars.)	inscription	fragment of dedication	gymnasiarch
I.Louvre 120	SB V 7884; I.Fayoum III 213	after 26/7 AD	Ars.	inscription	fragment of dedication	ephebes; 6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoites
SB VI 9109		31 AD	Tebtynis (Ars.)	papyrus	sale of vineyard	gymnasiarch
I.Fayoum I 25	SB III 6043	after 36/7 AD	Ars.	inscription	dedication (?)	ephebes; 6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoites

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords of Content*
P.Ryl. II 151		40 AD	Euhemeria (Ars.)	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarch
CPJ II 153	P.Lond. VI 1912; Sel.Pap. II 212	41 AD	Alex.	papyrus	letter of Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians	ephebate; ephebes; citizenship; Jews
P.Lond. III 1166		42 AD	Herm.	papyrus	agreement	gymnasiarch; baths; *mellogymnasiarchos*
SB X 10241	P.Oxy. II 326 descr.	*ca* 45 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	letter	*Gymnasium* quarter
P.Mich. II 123		45–49 AD	Tebtynis (Ars.)	papyrus	*grapheion* register	Ephebos (proper name)
CPJ II 150	PSI X 1160	first half I AD	uknown provenance – Alex.	papyrus	Imperial letter (*Boule* papyrus)	*boule*; Alexandrians; citizenship
I.Fayoum I 38	SB VIII 10190	first half I AD	Hawara (Ars.)	inscription	epitaph	gymnasiarch; *gerousia*; Alexandrians; Roman citizens
P.Oxy. XXVII 2471		*ca* 50 AD	Oxy./Alex.	papyrus	agreement	gymnasiarch
P.Oxy. II 285		*ca* 50 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	petition	*Gymnasium* quarter
P.Mich. IX 539–540		53 AD	Karanis (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylax*	gymnasiarchs; *bibliophylakes*
P.Oxy. XLVII 3332		53 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylax*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
P.Vindob. Tandem 10		54 AD	Herakl.	papyrus	oath	gymnasiarch
SB XII 11012		55 AD	Ars.	papyrus	Imperial letter	6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoites
P.Oxy. XLIX 3463		58 AD	Oxy./Alex.	papyrus	application for the Alexandrian ephebate	ephebate; *eiskrisis*; gymnasiarch; *kosmetes*; *mellakes*
P.Oxy. Hels. 15		50–70 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	list of names (of ephebes or liturgists?)	gymnasiarch; *mellogymnasiarchos*; ephebes?
P.Oxy. XLIX 3464		54–60 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	petition to the strategus	gymnasiarch; administration
SB VIII 9787	*ZPE* 126 (1999) pp. 169–174 = *BE* 2000 no. 711	54–68 AD	Lykopolis (?)	inscription	dedication	*neoi*
O.Ber. I 86		mid I AD	Berenike	ostracon	order of payment	'Gymnasiarchis' ship
SB XII 10947		mid I AD	Ars.	papyrus	count and receipt of payment	Synephebos as place name
P.Flor. I 79	Wilcken *Chr.* 145	60 AD	Herm.	papyrus	application for ephebate	ephebate; *eiskrisis*
I.Fayoum III 147	IGRR I 1124; OGIS II 668	60/1 AD	Talithis (Ars.)	inscription	dedication	ephebes; 6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoites
BGU I 112	Mitteis *Chr.* 214; FIRA III 102	60/1 AD	Karanis (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
SB I 4277 + SEG XXXII 1595	IGRR I 1125, Breccia *Iscr.* 56	60/1 AD?	Lower Egypt?	inscription	dedication (?)	ephebes
Wilcken *Chr.* 176	Sel.Pap. II 280	after 60 AD	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	papyrus	petition	*kosmetes*
P.Oxy. LXVI 3272		61/2 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	list of district names	*Gymnasium* quarter
P.Heid. IV 340		61/2 AD	Herm.	papyrus	application for corn dole	ephebes

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords of Content*
P.Heid. IV 339		61–63 AD	Herm.	papyrus	application for the corn dole	οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου; ephebes
P.Heid. IV 338		62 AD	Herm.	papyrus	application for the corn dole	ephebes; οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου
P.Ryl. II 101 + P.Heid. IV 342		63 AD	Herm.	papyrus	application for ephebate	ephebate; ephebes; *eiskrisis*; οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου
P.Heid. IV 341		62/3 AD	Herm.	papyrus	application for the ephebate	ephebate; *eiskrisis*; ephebes; οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου
P.Heid. IV 305		62/3 AD	Herm.	papyrus	application for the corn dole (?)	ephebate; ephebes; οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου
P.Ryl. II 119	Sel.Pap. II 279	62–66 AD	Herm.	papyrus	petition	gymnasiarch
P.Oxy. LXXI 4825		65–69 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	registration of sheep	*kosmetes*; administration
P.Oxy. II 246	Wilcken *Chr.* 247	66 AD	Phthochis, Oxy.	papyrus	registration of sheep	*kosmetes*; administration
P.Oxy. I 44	Wilcken *Chr.* 275; Sel. Pap. II 420	66–70 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	sale of taxes	*kosmetes*
BGU II 379	Mitteis *Chr.* 219; FIRA III 105; Jur. Pap. 63	67 AD	Karanis (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
SB XVIII 13235		69–78 AD	Aueris (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
P.Mich. IX 541		69–79 AD	Karanis, Ars.	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
P.Amh. II 130		70 AD	Herm.	papyrus	private letter	gymnasiarch
Stud. Pal. IV pp. 62–78	P.Lond. II 261 (ll. 1–278); P.Lond. II 260 (ll. 507–703, Wilcken *Chr.* 61 (ll. 432–488); C.Pap.Jud. II 421 (col. XI–XIII)	72/3 AD	Ptolemais Euergetis (Ars.)	papyrus	census register	6,475 Greek catoeci of the Arsinoites
BGU I 184	Mitteis *Chr.* 202	72–78 AD	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
BGU II 594		75–85 AD	Ars.	papyrus	private letter	gymnasiarch
BGU II 595		75–85 AD	Ars.	papyrus	private letter	gymnasiarch
Stud.Pal. XXII 175		78 AD	Soknopaious Nesos (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
SB XVI 12960	P.Leeds Museum 7	78–83 AD	Ars.	papyrus	fragment of declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
SB XVI 12613		81 AD	Neiloupolis (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
P.Ryl. II 107		84 AD	Ars.	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
BGU II 536	DAHT 9222	84 AD	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch

Edition of Reference	*Other Editions*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Document*	*Type of Text*	*Keywords of Content*
SB XXII 15792		84–96 AD	Karanis (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
Stud.Pal. XXII 23		84–96 AD	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
P.Col. VIII 213		84–105 AD	Ptolemais Euergetis (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	gymnasiarch; *bibliophylakes*
P.Oxy. VII 1028		86 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	application for *epikrisis* of metropolite status	gymnasiarch
Stud.Pal. XXII 86		87 AD	Ptolemais Euergetis (Ars.)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
BGU XI 2017		88 AD	Ptolemais Euergetis (Ars)	papyrus	declaration to the *bibliophylakes*	*Bibliophylakes*; gymnasiarch
P.Oxy. XLII 3051		89 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	receipt	gymnasiarch
P.Oxy. Census	P.Oxy VI 984 descr.	91/2 AD	Lykopolis (Upper Egypt)	papyrus	census list	οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου
P.Oxy. II 257	Wilcken *Chr.* 147	94/5 AD	Oxy.	papyrus	application for *epikrisis*	*epikrisis*; gymnasiarch
PSI VII 777		96 AD	Herm.	papyrus	extract form the ephebes register of Alexandria	ephebes; ephebate
P.Oxy. LXIV 4440		I AD	Oxy.	papyrus	list of fishermen	*Gymnasium* quarter
P.Oxy. LXVII 4624		I AD	Oxy.	papyrus	letter	gymnasiarch
SB V 8038		I AD	Herm.	papyrus	announcement of the strategus on the *epikrisis*	οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου; *epikrisis*
SB I 411	Breccia *Iscr.* 371	I AD or III–IV AD	Terenouthis or Prosopites	inscription	epitaph	gymnasiarch; *gymnasium*
P.Oxy. II 300		late I AD	Oxy.	papyrus	private letter	*gymnasium*; oil
P.Bodl. I 156		I–II AD	Karanis (Ars.)	papyrus	fragment of lease	gymnasiarch
P.Rein. I 42		I–II AD	Theadelpheia (Ars.)	papyrus	sale	gymnasiarch
SB I 3974		I–II AD	Leontopolis	inscription	epitaph	gymnasiarch; *exegetes*
I.Louvre 91	SB V 8313; CIG III 4707	I–II AD	Lycon polis – found at Abydos probably	inscription	epitaph	gymnasiarchs
SB I 3460	Breccia, *Iscr.* 512	Roman period	unknown provenance	wooden tablet	mummy label	gymnasiarch
SB I 3461	Breccia, *Iscr.* 520	Roman period	unknown provenance	wooden tablet	mummy label	gymnasiarch

APPENDIX 3

PROSOPOGRAPHY OF GYMNASIARCHS

The few instances which do not refer to one specific person (for instance, 'the games organised by the gymnasiarchs') have not been taken into account.
The Greek text has been normalised and the titles have generally been put into the nominative; restorations have been maintained as in the editions.
Numbers with * indicate that the particular person does not appear in the prosopography of Sijpesteijn (1986).

a) The Ptolemaic Period

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
1*	Ἀμενῆς	γυ<μνασί>αρχος	260–240 BC	P.Hib. II 260	unknown provenance	doubtful
2	Ἀπίων	ὁ γυμνασιαρχήσας	48–46 BC	BGU VIII 1849	Herakl.	
3	Ἀπολλό[—]	γυμνα[σίαρχος]	221–205 BC ?	I.Delta II 14	Naucratis	Sijpesteijn (1986) II B 7 does not provide the proper name
4	Ἀπολλώνιος	son of Ἀρτεμιδώρος; [ὁ συ]γγενὴς καὶ κοσμητὴς [καὶ γ]υμνασίαρχος	69–51 BC	I.Fayoum I 8	Krokodilopolis (Ars.)	
5	Ἀπολλώνιος	γυμνα(σίαρχος)	I BC	BGU XIV 2433	Herakl.	
6	Βοΐδας	son of Δημήτριος; Persian; ὁ γυμνασία[ρ]χος καὶ κοσμητής	222–180 BC	I.Prose 15	Luxor – Thebes	
7	Δημήτριος	ὁ τῆς κώμης γυμνασίαρχος	II BC (146–116?)	SB VI 8964	Euhemeria (Ars.)?	
8*	Διοδόσιος	γυμνασίαρχος	I BC – II AD	SEG XLIV 1508	unknown provenance	
9*	Δωρόθεος	son of [Ἀρτέ(?)]μων; [γυμνα]σίαρχος	III BC	I.Louvre 12	Alex. ?	
10	Ἡπιοδώρος	γυ(μνασίαρχος)	II BC	O.Wilcken 318	Thebes	
11	Ἡρακλείδης	τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων καὶ γυμνασίαρχος	117 BC	P.Tor. Choach. 12 col. I 4–5	Thebes – Diospolis Magna	
12*	Ἡρώδης	son of Δημήτριος; [ἱππ]άρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν κατοί[κ]ων ἱππ[έων]; αὐθαιρέτως ἐπιδεξ[άμενος … τὴν γυμνα]σιαρχίαν	57 BC	I.Prose 41	Aphroditopolis (Upper Egypt)	
13	Ἡφαιστίων	son of Ἡρωΐδης; Arsinoeus (deme); γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ κη ἔτος	II BC (Fraser) / II–I BC	SEG XLIV 1448	Ptolemais?	the man is presumably citizen of Ptolemais

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
14*	Θεαγένης (?)	son of Θέων; father (?) of Θέων (who was ὁ [τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συ]γγενέσι καὶ τῶν ἐφημερε[υόντων τοῖς βασιλ]εῦσιν εἰσαγγελέων); Alexandrian citizen, Athenaieus (deme); [ἐκλο]γιστής; γυμν[ασίαρχος]	115–110 BC	SEG XLVII 2128	Pharbaithos (eastern Delta)?	Theagenes' name and titles are restored. He may be the same man (but without title of gymnasiarch) as in SB I 5021 = SEG XLVII 2129: he bears here the title of ὁ τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐφημερευόντων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσαγγελέων.
15	Θεόδωρος	son of Διονύσιος; ὁ γυμ[νασίαρχος]	185–181 BC	M. L. Strack, *AFP* II (1903), p. 548, no. 26	? (Terenouthis, Delta?)	re–edition by M. C. D. Paganini in *ZPE* (forthcoming)
16	Καλλίμαχος	ὁ συγγε[νὴς καὶ στρατ]ηγὸς κ[αὶ ἐπιστράτηγ]ος τῆς Θ[ηβαΐδος καὶ ἐ]πὶ τῆς Ἐρ[υθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδ]ικῆς θαλά[σσης καὶ ἀρ]χιπρύτανις [καὶ γυμν]ασίαρχος	49 BC	SB I 2264	Ptolemais	same man in I.Philae 52–53 and 56 (*proskynemata* to Isis in favour of the King); cf. Mooren (1970) pp. 17–24 and Ricketts (1982–1983)
		ὁ συγγενὴς [καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπ]ὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Περιθήβας καὶ [γ]υμνασίαρχος καὶ ἱπ[πάρ]χης	39 BC	I.Prose 46	Thebes – Diospolis Magna	
17	Καραδύσης	son of Φιλόθηρος; συνστρατιώτης of the πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι λογχοφόροι εἴδους Βιθυνῶν δευτέρων; γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ η (ἔτος)	III–II BC	SB IV 7456	Alex.	
18	Λεωνίδης	son of Πτολεμαῖος; Thracian; soldier of the corps of Ἑξακῶν; cleruch (ὀγδοηκοντ)ά(ρουρος); γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ λβ (ἔτος) πρῶτον	150/149 BC	I.Fayoum II 103, I.Fayoum II 104	Theadelpheia (Ars.)	
19	Λεωνίδης	son of Φιλώτας; father of Λεωνίδης; Macedonian; ὁ τῶν πρώτων φίλων; γυμνασιαρχῶν τὸ λ (ἔτος)	II/I BC	SB III 6665	Alex.?	

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
20	Λυκαρίων	son of Νουμήνιος (I); borther of ΙΙτολεμαῖος (who is the father of Νουμήνιος II); ὁ συγγενής καὶ κατὰ τιμὴν ἀρχιγέρων καὶ διοικητὴς καὶ ἐξηγητὴς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ γυμνασίαρχος	II–I BC / 128–119 BC	I.Alex. Ptol. 42	Alex.	family active in Ptolemaic politics for several generations. The father of Lykarion, Noumerios I, was prob. ambassador to Rome in 168 BC (Plb. 30.16.2), and former strategus of the Thebaid in 171/0 BC (he is found in Demotic p.BM Siut [Thompson, *A family archive from Siut*], col. II ll. 3–4: *Nwmys* | *pȝ srʾows n pȝ tš* 'Noumenios, the strategus of the district'). Noumenios I's daughters were priestesses of the royal cult (P.Tebt. III 811 l. 9 and l. 7 from 165 BC). The nephew of Lykarion, Noumenios II, is *epistolographos* in OGIS I 139 ll. 14–5 (124 or post 125 BC) and was probably honoured with a crown in 128/9 BC. Cf. Peremans and van 't Dack (1953)
21	Μένανδρος	son of Μίκρος, father of Μίκρος (who was himself one of the πρώτοι φίλοι … and of the ἱππάρχαι ἐπ'ἀνδρῶν); one [τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ καὶ γυμνασίαρχος καὶ ἱππά]ρχης ἐπ'ἀνδρῶν καὶ γῆς βασιλικῆς [… καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ ἐπιστάτης καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ὀμ]βίτου	145–116 BC	SB V 8389	Omboi	heavily restored.
22*	Πτολεμαῖος	father of Μηνόδωρος; ἡγεμών; γυμνασίαρχος	II BC	I.Métr. Ég. 4	Koptos (Upper Egypt)	
23	Σαραπίων	γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς	104 BC	I.Prose 27 + SEG XLII 1500	Ptolemais ?	
24	Φιλόξενος	son of Εὐκλείδης; Macedonian; ὁ τῶν πρώτων φίλων; γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ ζι (ἔτος)	II BC (189/188?)	SEG VIII 504	Thmouis (eastern Delta)	
25	NN	γυ[μνασίαρχος] ?	203–181 BC	SB I 2138 + PP VI 17159	Beni Hassan (Herm.)	doubtful

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
26*	NN	son of Φιλόστρατος; Macedonian; [ἡγεμὼν τῶν] ἕξω τάξεων; γυ[μνασιαρχήσας] τὸ κη καὶ τὸ κθ (ἔτος) κ[αί …] βασιλέως Πτολε[μαίου, θεοῦ] Φιλομήτορος καὶ [γυμνασιαρχῶν] τὸ λ (ἔτος)	152/1 BC	SEG LV 1847	unknown provenance	
27*	NN	son of Ἀρτεμιδώρος; [ταμί]ας or [γυμνασιαρχήσ]ας συνεφήβων	150 ca BC	Milne, *Inscr.* 9301	Gizeh ?	doubtful
28	NN	τὸ ιβ ἔτος [γυμ]νασιαρχήσας τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου	57/6 BC	BGU VIII 1772	Herakl.	

b) The Early Roman Period

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
29	Ἀλέξανδρος	γυμνασίαρχος	6 BC	BGU IV 1137	Alex.	
30	Ἀμμώνιος	γ[υμ]να[σιαρ]χ(ήσας) βιβλιοφύλαξ [τῆς ἐ]ν Ἀρσινοει[τ(ῶν) πόλ(ει)] δημοσίας βιβ[λιοθήκ]ης (together with Σαραπίων, also ex–gymnasiarch)	60/1 AD	BGU I 112	Karanis (Ars.)	Ammonios and his colleague Sarapion are mentioned as 'former *bibliophylakes'* in BGU II 379 (67 AD)
31	Ἀνουβίων	son of Ἄραβος; husband of Θαῆσις; γυμνασίαρχος	Roman	SB I 3460	unknown provenance	mummy label of the gymnasiarch's wife
		father of Βησαρίων; γυμνασίαρχος	Roman	SB I 3461	unknown provenance	mummy label of the gymnasiarch's son
32	Ἀνταῖος	son of Ὀννῶφρις; γυμνασιαρχῶν κώμης Βουσίρεως τὸ λ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος	1 BC/1 AD	BGU IV 1189	Bousiris (Herakl.)	gymnasiarch of village
[33]	Ἀντίπατρος	[γ]ε[γυ(μνασιαρχηκώς (?)] βιβλ(ιοφύλαξ) ἐγκ(τήσεων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) (together with Σωκράτης, who was ex–gymnasiarch)	84 AD	BGU II 536	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	Antipatros is erroneously indicated as ex–gymnasiarch in this document: the passage is however damaged and it is reasonable to doubt the reading (ll. 1-2: Σωκράτῃ καὶ Ἀντιπά[τ]ρῳ | [γ]ε[γυ(μνασιαρχηκόσι) (?)] βιβλ(ιοφύλαξιν) ἐνκ(τήσεων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)). *Cf.* Σωκράτης (No. 58)

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
34	Ἀπολλώνιος	γεγυμνασιαρχ(ηκώς) βυβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων [Ἀρσι(νοίτου)] (together with Θέων, also ex–gymnasiarch)	69–78 AD	SB XVIII 13235	Aueris (Ars.)	
		[γεγυμνασιαρχ]ηκώς βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς [ἐν τῶι] Ἀρσινοείτῃ δημοσίας βιβλιοθ(ήκης) (together with Θέων, also ex–gymnasiarch)	69–79 AD	P.Mich. IX 541	Karanis (Ars.)	The date of the document should presumably be 69–78 AD, given the date of office as *bibliophylakes enkteseon* of Apollonios and Nikolaos.
		γεγυμνασιαρχ(ηκώς) καὶ βι[βλιοφύλαξ] ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρσινοί[του νομοῦ] (together with Θέων, also ex–gymnasiarch)	72–78 AD	BGU I 184	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	
35	Ἀπολλώνιος	γεγ]υμνασιαρχ(ηκώς); βιβλιοφύλ(αξ) ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρσιν(οΐτου) (together with Νικόλαος)	78 AD	Stud.Pal. XXII 175	Soknopaious Nesos (Ars.)	This man may be the same as Apollonios (No. 34), *bibliophylax* of the *bibliotheke enkteseon* together with Theon.
		γ]εγυμ(νασιαρχηκώς); βι[βλιοφ(ύλαξ) ἐ]γκ(τήσεων) Ἀρσινοεί(του) (together with Νικόλαος)	78–83 AD	SB XVI 12960	Ars.	
		γεγυμνασ<ι>αρχ(ηκώς); βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκ[τή]σεων) Ἀρσινοίτου (together with Νικόλαος)	81 AD	SB XVI 12613	Neiloupolis (Ars.)	
36	Ἀπολλώνιος	son of Ἑρμογένης; γυμνασιαρχήσας καὶ ἀγορανομήσας καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος καὶ ἱεροποιὸς γενόμενος ὁμοίως τῆς Λύκων πόλεως καὶ τᾶς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς διῆλθεν	I–II AD	I.Louvre 91	Lycopolis (prob. found at Abydos)	
37	Ἀσκληπιάδης	son of Χαιρήμων; γυμνασιαρχήσας καὶ ἐξηγητεύσας	I–II AD	SB I 3974	Leontopolis	
38	Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἰόλλας	ἱερεὺς καὶ γυμνᾰσίαρχος Ἀλεξα[νδρείας]	54 AD	P.Vindob. Tandem 10	Herakl.	
		ἱερεὺς καὶ γυμνᾰσίαρχος Ἀλεξανδρεί̣ᾳ(ς)	54–60 AD	P.Oxy. XLIX 3464	Oxy.	
39	Διόδωρος	one τῶ[ν ἐ]ν τῶι [ν]ο̣μ̣ῷ̣ι γεγυ[μ]νασιαρχηκότων	7–4 BC	P.Lond. II 354	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	
40	Διονύσιος	γ(υμνασιαρχήσας)	86 AD	P.Oxy. VII 1028	Oxy.	
41	Δῖος	son of [. . . . .]ρος (?) alias Σαλίων; μελλογυμνασίαρχος	42 AD	P.Lond. III 1166	Herm.	

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
42	Δῖος	γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς ἐν Ἀρσινο(είτῃ) δημο(σίας) βιβ[λιοθ(ήκης)] (together with Πρωτογένης, also ex–gymnasiarch)	67 AD	BGU II 379	Karanis (Ars.)	
43	Δῖος	son of Ἀμμώνιος; husband of Ἡραΐς; γυμνασίαρχος	first half I AD	I.Fayoum I 38	Hawara (Ars.)	Dios and his wife Herais were buried with Tiberius Julius Asklepiades (who was also gymnasiarch) and the latter's wife Julia Thermoutharion (both Roman citizens): they all must have belonged to the same family of Alexandrians.
44*	Δῖος	γυμνασίαρχος	I AD	P.Oxy. LXVII 4624	Oxy.	Dios has a φροντιστής named Sarapion, who administers (some of) Dios' estate and his country–house.
45	Εὐτυχίδης	ὁ γυμνασίαρχος	70 AD	P.Amh. II 130	Herm.	
46*	Ἡφαιστᾶς	ἀγορανομήσας καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσας	12/13 or 14/15 AD	I.Kom Abu Bellou 142	Terenouthis (western Delta)	gymnasiarch of village (?)
47*	Θέων	γυμνασίαρχος	16 AD	P.Oxy. LXVII 4582	Oxy.	the gymnasiarch has an agent (?) called Sarapion
48	Θέων	γεγυμνασιαρχ(ηκώς) βυβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων [Ἀρσι(νοίτου)] (together with Ἀπολλώνιος, also ex–gymnasiarch)	69–78 AD	SB XVIII 13235	Aueris (Ars.)	
		[γεγυμνασιαρχ]ηκώς βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς [ἐν τῶι] Ἀρσινοείτῃ δημοσίας βιβλιοθ(ήκης) (together with Ἀπολλώνιος, also ex–gymnasiarch)	69–79 AD	P.Mich. IX 541	Karanis (Ars.)	
		γεγυμνασιαρχ(ηκώς) καὶ βι[βλιοφύλαξ] ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρσινοί[του νομοῦ] (together with Ἀπολλώνιος, also ex–gymnasiarch)	72–78 AD	BGU I 184	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	
49	Θρακίδας	γυμνασίαρχος; βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς ἐν τῶι Ἀρσινοείτηι βιβλιοθήκης	53 AD	P.Mich. IX 539–540	Karanis (Ars.)	
		γυμνασίαρχος; βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς ἐν τῶι Ἀρσινοίτηι βιβλιοθήκης	53 AD	P.Oxy. XLVII 3332	Oxy.	
50	Κ̣ά̣σ̣τ̣ωρ	[γ]υμν[ασί]αρχος Κόμα; catoec resident in the village	after 15/14 BC	BGU IV 1188	Koma (Herakl.)	gymnasiarchs of a village
51*	Μαρίων	ὁ γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς	I–II AD	P.Bodl. I 156	Karanis (Ars.)	he seems to have an office or organised personnel (ll. 6–7: ἐν τοῖς Μαρίωνος | τοῦ

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
						γεγυμνασιαρχηκότος)
52	Μουσαῖος	son of Ἑρμόφιλος; γυμνασίαρχος	62–66 AD	P.Ryl. II 119	Herm.	
53	Πρωτογένης	γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς ἐν Ἀρσινο(είτῃ) δημο(σίας) βιβ[λιοθ(ήκης)] (together with Δῖος, also ex–gymnasiarch)	67 AD	BGU II 379	Karanis (Ars.)	
54	Πτολλᾶς	ὁ γυμνασίαρχος	3 AD	P.Amst. I 89	unknown provenance	
55	Σαραπίων	ὁ [σ]τ̣ρατη[γός] καὶ γυμνασίαρχος	7 AD	P.Merton II 62	unknown provenance	Sarapion is strategus and gymnasiarch at the same time
56	Σαραπ̣ίων	γ[υμ]να[σιαρ]χ(ήσας), βιβλιοφύλαξ [τῆς ἐ]ν Ἀρσινοει[τ(ῶν) πόλ(ει)] δημοσίας βιβ[λιοθήκ]ης (together with Ἀμμώνιος, also ex–gymnasiarch)	60/1 AD	BGU I 112	Karanis (Ars.)	Sarapion and his colleague Ammonios are mentioned as 'former *bibliophylakes*' in BGU II 379
57	Σαραπίων	son of Σαραπίων; γυμνασιαρχήσας τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικίου δυοῖν γυμνασίων	I AD or III–IV AD	SB I 411	Terenouthis or Prosopites	*Cf.* Bingen (2005)
58	Σωκράτης	[γ]ε[γυ(μνασιαρχηκώς (?)] βιβλ(ιοφύλαξ) ἐγκ(τήσεων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) (together with Ἀντίπατρος)	84 AD	BGU II 536	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	Sokrates' colleague Antipatros is erroneously indicated as ex–gymnasiarch in this document: the passage is however damaged and it is reasonable to doubt the reading (ll. 1-2: Σωκράτ̣ῃ καὶ Ἀντιπά[τ]ρῳ | [γ]ε[γυ(μνασιαρχηκόσι) (?)] βιβλ(ιοφύλαξιν) ἐνκ(τήσεων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)). *Cf.* Ἀντίπατρος (No. [33])
		γεγυμνασιαρχ(ηκκώς); βιβλ[ι]οφύλ(αξ) ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρσινοΐτου (together with Ἀντίπατρος)	84 AD	P.Ryl. II 107	Ars.	
		γεγυμνασιαρχ(ηκώς); βιβλ(ιοφύλαξ) ἐγκτησεων Ἀρσινοείτου (together with Ἀντίπατρος)	84–96 AD	SB XXII 15792	Karanis (Ars.)	
		γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκώς); βιβλιοφύλ(αξ) ἐγκτή(σεων) Ἀ[ρσ]ι(νοίτου) (together with Ἀντίπατρος)	84–96 AD	Stud.Pal. XXII 23	Soknopaiou Nesos (Ars.)	
		γεγ(υμνασιαρχηκώς); βιβλιοφύλ(αξ) ἐγκτή(σεων) Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) (together with Ἀντίπατρος)	87 AD	Stud.Pal. XXII 86	Ptolemais Euergetis (Ars.)	
		γεγυμ(νασιαρχηκώς; βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐ[γ]κ(τήσεων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) (together with Ἀντίπατρος)	88 AD	BGU XI 2017	Ptolemais Euergetis (Ars,)	

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
		γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς; βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρ[σινοίτου] (together with Ἀντίπατρος)	84–105 AD	P.Col. VIII 213	Ptolemais Euergetis (Ars.)	
59*	Σώτας	γυμν[ασίαρχος]	24/5 AD or 51/2 AD	I.Fayoum II 139	Dionysias (Ars.)	
60	Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης	husband of Ἰουλία Θερμουθάριον; γυμνασίαρχος καὶ ἀρχιγέρων	first half I AD	I.Fayoum I 38	Hawara (Ars.)	Tiberius Julius Asklepiades is buried with his wife (both Roman citizens) and with a certain Dios (who was also gymnasiarch) and the latter's wife Herais: they all must have belonged to the same family of Alexandrians. Asklepiades may be a relative of Marcus Julius Asklepiades who was an ambassador to Claudius in 41 AD, after which Claudius sent his letter to the Alexandrians: Harker (2008) p. 20.
61	Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δημήτριος	son of Βίων; brother of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἰσίδωρος; ἱερεύς καὶ γυμνασίαρχος καὶ τῶν ἐν [τῷ Μουσείῳ σιτουμέ]νων ἀτελῶν	*ca* 50 AD	P.Oxy. XXVII 2471	Oxy./Alex.	The two brothers, Demetrios and Isidoros, were Roman citizens (*tribus Quirina*), and possibly also Alexandrians. They appear to own a bank.
62	Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Θέων	one τῶν [γεγυμνα]σιαρχηκότων καὶ ἠγορανομηκότων Ἀλεξανδρεί[ας]	89 AD	P.Oxy. XLII 3051	Oxy.	Tiberius Claudius Theon was a Roman citizen and an Alexandrian. He was a landowner and was in charge of the Imperial estate formerly belonging to Seneca for over twenty–seven years (from 62 AD, date of P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2873, where he appears as μισθωτὴς τῆς Λουκείου Ἀνναίου Σενέκα οὐσίας. In that text he does not have – yet? – the title of gymnasiarch). He may be attested also in P.Oxy. XLII 3051 (involved in the construction of the dyke at Tychinnekotis, Oxy., in 83/4 AD) and in P.Oxy. III 510 (101 AD: mention of some property πρότερον Κλαυδίου Θέωνος).
63	Τρύφων	son of Πτολεμαῖος; γυμνασίαρχος	31 AD	SB VI 9109	Tebtynis (Ars.)	

No.	*Name*	*Family and Career*	*Date*	*Document*	*Provenance*	*Notes*
64*	Τρύφων	γυμνασίαρχος	6 AD	SB XXIV 15909	Ars.	Tryphon is gymnasiarch and strategus: *cf.* Hanson (1997)
		γυμνασίαρχος	6 AD	SB XXIV 15910	Ars.	
65	Φιλίσκος	son of Φιλίσκος; [brother of Φιλίσκος νεώτερος, who was also ex–gymnasiarch?]; γεγ(υμνασιαρχηκώς)	50–70 AD	P.Oxy. Hels. 15	Oxy.	
66	Φιλ̣ίσκος	γ(υμνασιαρχήσας)	86 AD	P.Oxy. VII 1028	Oxy.	
67	Φιλίσκος	son of Φιλίσκος; father of Πτολέμα; maternal great–grandfather of Θεογένης II; γεγυμν[α]σιαρχηκώς	94/5 AD	P.Oxy. II 257	Oxy.	on the family, *cf.* above, note 492
68	Φιλίσκος νεώτερος	son of Φιλίσκος; [brother of Φιλίσκος, who was also ex–gymnasiarch?]; γεγ(υμνασιαρχηκώς)	50–70 AD	P.Oxy. Hels. 15	Oxy.	
69	Χαιρήμων	ὁ γυμνασίαρχος	75–85 AD	BGU II 594	Ars.	Chairemon was an Alexandrian citizen; presumably he held his office of gymnasiarch there. *Cf.* Smolders (2005)
		ὁ γυμνασίαρχος	75–85 AD	BGU II 595	Ars.	
70	Χ̣αι̣ρήμων	son of Χ̣αι̣ρήμων̣; μελλογυμνασί(αρχος)	50–70 AD	P.Oxy. Hels. 15	Oxy.	
71*	NN	γυμνασιαρχ̣ῶ( ) μητροπόλεως	30 BC–14 AD	BGU XVI 2577	Herakl.	
72	NN	ὁ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς κώμης	2 AD	BGU IV 1201	Bousiris (Herakl.)	gymnasiarch of village
73	NN	ὁ γυμνασίαρχος	40 AD	P.Ryl. II 151	Euhemeria (Ars.)	the gymnasiarch has given some money to be administered on his behalf
74	NN	ὁ γυμνασίαρχος	58 AD	P.Oxy. XLIX 3463	Oxy./Alex.	
75	NN	father of Φιλίσκος; paternal grandfather of Θεογένης I; paternal great–grandfather of Διογένης; paternal third great–grandfather of Θεογένης II; γυμνασίαρχος (in office either under Cleopatra VII or in the first decades of Roman rule)	94/5 AD	P.Oxy. II 257	Oxy.	on the family, *cf.* above, note 492
76	NN	γυμνασίαρχος	I–II AD	P.Rein. I 42	Theadelpheia (Ars.)	

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