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Census Declarations from the British Library

This article is the third in a series arising out of research connected with *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, a work prepared collaboratively with Bruce W. Frier⁽¹⁾. A major part of my contribution is an up-to-date, comprehensive list of census declarations from Roman Egypt, with information about the declarants and persons declared. The compilation of this list required inspection of the original or a photograph of all of the published texts⁽²⁾. It soon became clear that a certain number of the census declarations included in the standard lists⁽³⁾ were only described or listed, not published. In order to have maximum information about persons, family structure, and ages, I have sought complete texts of these as far as possible. For the sake of the verifiability of our data by other scholars, it is desirable that these texts be published rather than left in the peculiar limbo created by use of the data without publication of the underlying evidence. The present article presents five of these, all in the British Library⁽⁴⁾. Since a general discussion of census declarations will appear along with the comprehensive list in the book on demography, commentary here is limited to particular features of the individual texts⁽⁵⁾. In all cases I have had the use of preliminary transcriptions by H. I. Bell, unpublished except in the case of inv. 1119b.

(1) Published by Cambridge University Press, 1994. The first two articles are "Census Declarations from Tebtunis", *Aegyptus* 72 (1992), pp. 61-84 and "Census Declarations from the Berlin Collection", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 39 (1993), pp. 21-28.

(2) See *BASP* 27 (1990), pp. 1-14; 28 (1991), pp. 13-23, 121-33; 29 (1992), pp. 101-15; and 30 (1993), pp. 35-56 for five installments of notes resulting from this investigation.

(3) The last comprehensive one was by G. Nachtergaeel, *P. Brux.* I, pp. 51-58.

(4) I am indebted to T. S. Pattie for his assistance during my visits to London in April 1991 and November 1993, and for providing copies of Bell's transcriptions; to Tony Parker for conservation work that helped greatly in the study of *P. Lond.* inv. 1157; and to the Trustees of the British Library for photographs and permission to publish these papyri here.

(5) Bastianini-Whitehorne = G. Bastianini and J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* = Pap. Flor. 15 (Florence, 1987).

1. *P. Lond. inv. 1570b*
 (Arsinoite?, A.D. 119?)

This text is evidently an extract from a census declaration as preserved in a register summarizing declarations. There are three arguments for this view: For one thing, it lacks all sign of the usual concluding elements at the bottom, even though an extensive unused margin survives. For another, in line 2 we find the phrase (ἐτῶν) ιθ, α (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) [τη], "19 years old; in the 1st year, [18] years old." I have discussed this pattern, in connection with *P. Fouad 59*, elsewhere. The excerpts give "two ages, the first during that of the year of the census (not that of the declaration), the second that in the preceding year, naturally one lower. Not all persons listed in any of the papyri with this character have ages given on this pattern, and we have no idea why some do and some do not⁽⁶⁾." At all events, this pattern *never* occurs in full census declarations, whether originals or copies. Finally, the ordering of persons first by sex (males first) and within sex by age is in the Arsinoite a characteristic of extracts (cf. below).

With all of the formula of the original declaration lacking, we have only onomastic evidence to go on for the provenance. Harphaesis, spelled with a phi, is distinctively Arsinoite, and the joint appearance of this name with Zoilos, Dioskoros, Satabous, and Ammonios can be paralleled only by the assemblages in Arsinoite tax registers, particularly those of the second century (*P. Mich. IV* and *BGU IX* are particularly notable). If my interpretation of line 2 is correct, the census year (in which the person was 19) must have been a 2nd year of an emperor. The only possibility is year 2 of Hadrian, 117/8. The declaration itself would have been filed in the spring or summer of 119, and this excerpted copy will date to some later year.

The household partially preserved here begins with a 19-year-old person whose sex cannot be determined, but who was part of a household with at least one other child of at least the same mother and probably the same parents. He or she is followed by two children, aged 4 and ? (probably between 1 and 3); it is not clear if they are related to the 19-year-old, but they probably are not, because their mother's name is given in full rather than by simple reference to the preceding person. With line 5 things become clearer. In lines 5-7 we have a woman, 60, and her son

(6) *BASP* 30 (1993), p. 42.

or daughter, 22. The description of the woman as the wife of Zoilos the elder supposes that he is mentioned earlier, in a part of the listing now lost. Then (lines 8-9) comes a woman 30 and her daughter 10. The mention of the woman's being the wife of Harphaesis supposes that he too is mentioned earlier in the listing. Finally we get the wife of Satabous, no doubt also lost above as well, who is 18, and their daughter, 1. It is very likely that the relationship among these households was closer than can be determined from the remaining evidence. The Harphaesis of line 8 and the Satabous of line 10 may both have been the sons of the Zoilos of line 6.

It is possible to hypothesize a household consistent with all of the above, if we suppose (as seems virtually inescapable) that the return was organized by sex, with all males listed before all females⁽⁷⁾. The two children in lines 4-5 would then be the last males, and with the wife of Zoilos the elder in line 6 would begin the list of females. A possible configuration would then be the following:

- 1) Zoilos the elder, probably the declarant (entry lost), aged probably over 60
- 2) His wife, 60 (line 6)
- 3) Their son Harphaesis (entry lost), aged probably over 30
- 4) Harphaesis' wife (line 8), 30
- 5) Their first son (lines 3-4), 4
- 6) Their second son (line 5), age under 4
- 7) Their daughter (line 9), 10
- 8) Satabous, the second son of Zoilos and his wife (entry lost), probably in his twenties
- 9) NN daughter of Ammonios, Satabous' wife (line 10), 18
- 10) Their daughter (line 11), 1
- 11) A third son of Zoilos and his wife (line 2), 19
- 12) A daughter of Zoilos and his wife (line 7), 22

The papyrus is broken at top and at left, with serious losses on both. At right there are only minor losses, and at bottom something close to the original margin seems to be preserved for at least part of the extent. 12.5 x 15.5 cm. A small loose scrap has (ἐτῶν) ι. and some traces of a

(7) Curiously enough, this habit is distinctively Oxyrhynchite in actual declarations; but the registers separated men from women because of differences in obligations and listed people in order of age. Slaves were separated out from and listed after free people. Cf. *ZPE* 98 (1993), pp. 283-91 for an excellent recent example of the practice.

second line; it clearly does not join any line from 2-11, so it must belong to the description of some person not enumerated in the surviving portion. I have considered the possibility that the traces formed part of the right end of line 1, with 19 being the age in year 1 of the person described there, but this appears impossible because the fragment cannot be joined to the remains of line 2.

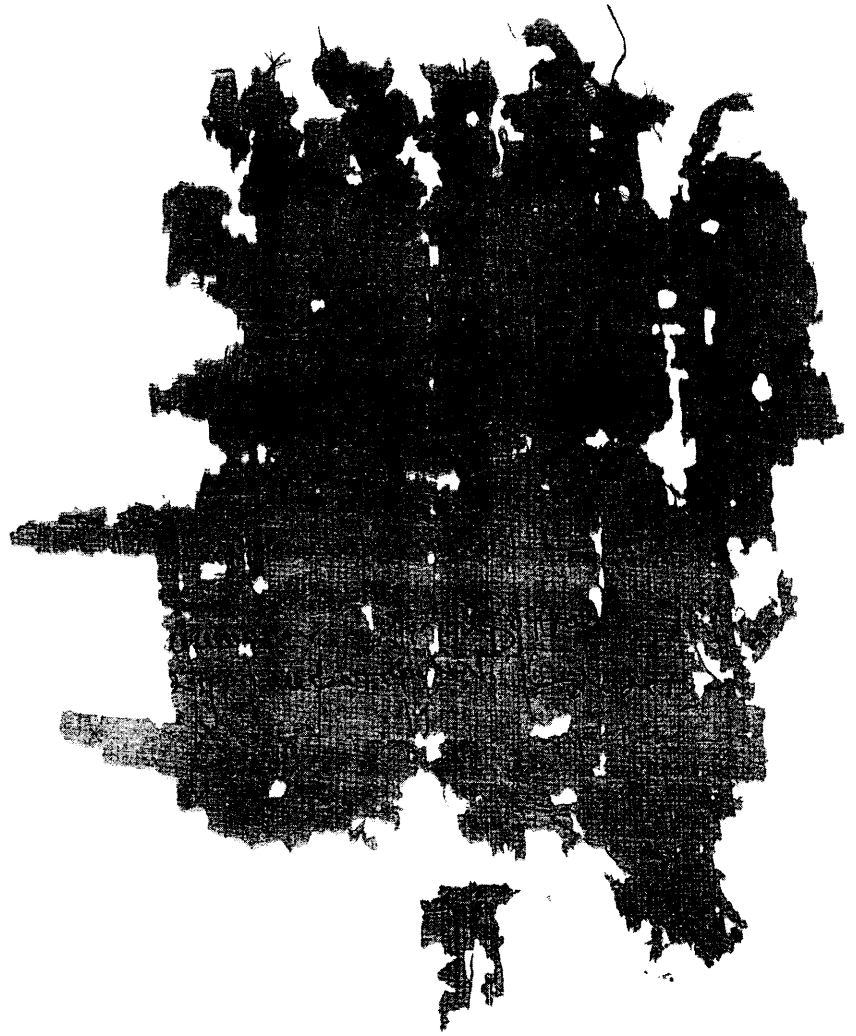


FIG. 1. *P. Lond.* inv. 1570b. Census declaration. Arsinoite?, A.D. 119?

-].[. . . .]. .[
] μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς (ἐτῶν) ιθ, α (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) [ιη]
 Ἄρφα]αῖσ[ε]ως μητρὸς Ταύρεως τῆς [Δ]ιοσκόρ[ου]
 4] (ἐτῶν) δ ἄσημος
] μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς μὴ ἀναγεγρ(αμμένον) ὁμοίως
]. γυνὴ Ζωίλου πρεσβ(υτέρου) (ἐτῶν) ξ ἄσημος
]ὸς ἀμφοτέρων (ἐτῶν) κβ ἄσημ[ο]ς
 8].[. . γ]υνὴ Ἄρφα]ίσεως (ἐτῶν) λ ἄσημος
]. . θυγατρὸς ἀμφοτέρων (ἐτῶν) ι ἄσημος
 Ἄ]μμωγίου γυνὴ Σαταβοῦτος (ἐτῶν) ιη ἄσημ[ο]ς
 θυγ]ατρὸς ἀμφοτέρων (ἐτῶν) α ἄσημ[ο]ς

3 Ταύρεως pap.

1 The surviving traces may represent] μ[ητρὸς] τῆ[ς] αὐτῆς, which would have been followed by the age, but they are very exiguous.

3 There is damage to the first letters of the metronymic. The common feminine names with this ending are Tauris and Teseuris, both found mainly in the Arsinoite. Space does not, however, allow Teseuris, and under magnification Tauris is inescapable.

7 It is tempting to restore θυγατρ]ὸς along the lines of lines 9 and 11, but υῖ]ὸς is also possible and would even, as far as I can see, provide better grammar. Why θυγατρὸς is in the genitive rather than nominative or accusative in lines 9 and 11 I have not been able to figure out.

2. *P. Lond. inv. 2187*
 (Oxyrhynchite, 147)

This fragment preserves the second part of the listing of persons, together with the oath formula and the beginning of the regnal date. As is normal in the Oxyrhynchite, the men were listed first, the women second. The declarant, whose name is lost, must have been listed in the first part, but there is nothing to tell us explicitly if any other men were declared. The paragraphos after line 1 probably separates the listing of the men from that of the women. These women are the declarant's wife and daughter. The latter is said to be a twin, but the other child born with her is not declared; it was thus presumably either a male (and declared in the first part) or deceased in the meantime.

11 x 11.5 cm.



FIG. 2. *P. Lond.* inv. 2187. Census declaration. Oxyrhynchite, 147.

.....[

- γυναῖκες· Ἀλεξάνδρα ἀπελ[ευ-]
 θέρα Ἡρωνᾶτος γυνή μου ἄση(μος) [(ἐτῶν) . .]
- 4 Διονυσία θυγατήρ ἀμφοτ(έρων) ἐμοῦ
 τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδ(ρας) γεμέλλος ἄση(μος)
 ὡς εἶναι εἰς τὸ θ (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) γ
- 8 Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν Ἀνω[νῖνον]

- Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ ἔξ ὕγιου[ς καὶ]
 ἐπ' ἀληθ(είας) ἐπιδεδοκέναι [τὴν προ-]
 κειμένην ἀπογραφὴν [καὶ μήτε]
 12 ἐπίξενον μήτε Ῥωμαῖον [μήτε]
 Ἄλεξανδρῆα μήτε Αἰγύπ[τιον οἰ-]
 κεῖν ἔξω τῶν προκειμ[ένων].
 (ἔτους) ι Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος]
 16 [Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀν]τ[ωνεῖνου]
 [Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς date]

. . . Women: Alexandra, freedwoman of Heronas, my wife, scarless, — years old; Dionysia, daughter of both me and Alexandra, twin, scarless, age in the 9th year, 3 years old.

And I swear by Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that I have submitted the aforesaid declaration properly and truthfully, and neither foreigner nor Roman nor Alexandrian nor Egyptian lives there aside from the aforementioned.

Year 10 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius

1 This line presumably contained the end of the section on males, but I have not managed to read anything in it with any confidence.

6 εἰς is corrected, probably from πρὸς.

7-14 See the following papyrus for a rather more fully developed version of this formula.

3. *P. Lond. inv. 2194*

(Talao, Oxyrhynchite, 20 February 147)

Except for the upper right corner, this declaration is complete and fairly well preserved. It has no address to an official, but the concluding oath, date, and subscription are all present. Such unaddressed versions were probably produced all at once, with addresses presumably to be added later. For the most part the formula is typical for the Oxyrhynchite, including the oath formula. There is, however, considerable difficulty in reconstructing the declarant's initial self-description in lines 3-5, precisely where this declaration deviates from standard phraseology. The household declared consists of the declarant, a young, apparently single, man of 22, and a freedman aged 19.

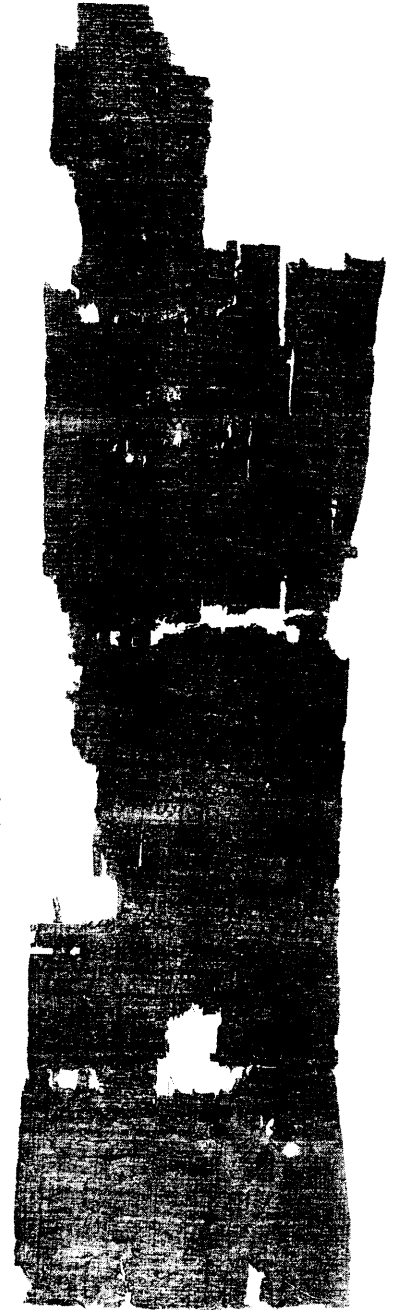


FIG. 3. *P. Lond.* inv. 2194. Census declaration.
Talao, Oxyrhynchite, 20 February 147.

This papyrus was cited in Liddell-Scott-Jones for the usage of the word ἄστατος (line 15), with a supposed meaning of “ruinous,” in reference to the declarant’s house. That may be an overtranslation; I take the intent to be an indication that the house was not in good condition, or not entirely stable, rather than that it was uninhabitable. Be that as it may, the declarant states that he is abroad at the moment.

7 x 30 cm.

- παρὰ Δικ[αιογένους Φίλω(νος)]
μητρὸς Σ[ενηρακλ(είας) Δικαιογ(ένους)]
ἀπὸ κόμ(ης) [Ταλαῶ ca 9]
- 4 γουμ() ἔμαυ[τ- ca 13]
λογων ἀ[π]ογραφ[ομεν-] ἀ[πο-]
γράφομ(αι) ἑμαυτὸν κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ
Οὐαλερίου Πρόκλου τοῦ ἡγε-
- 8 μονε(ύσαντος) προστεταγμ(ένα) πρὸς τὴν
τοῦ διελ(θόντος) θ (ἔτους) Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου κατ’ οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφήν) εἰς
τοὺς ὑπάρχ(οντας) τοῖς προγεγραμ(μένοις)
- 12 γονεῦσί μου ψειλοὺς τόπο(υς)
ἐκ τοῦ Ἐνκαιρίου κλήρου
περιτετειχισμ(ένους) βείκ(ων) ἑπτὰ
ἐν οἷς οἰκία ἄστατος καὶ τὸν
- 16 ἀπὸ βορρᾶ αὐτ(ῆς) ψιλ(ὸν) τόπον
πάντα ὄντα περὶ τὴν (αὐτήν) Ταλαῶ.
εἶναι δέ·
αὐτὸς ἐγὼ Δικαιογ(ένης) Φίλων[ος]
- 20 μητ(ρὸς) Σενηρακλείας Δικαιογ(ένους)
ἐπὶ ξένης [ᾧν] ἡ προγεγραμμέ(νος)
οὐ(λήν) ἔχω ἐν τῷ ἀριστ(ερῶ) σφυδ(ρῶ)
(ἑτῶν) κβ·
- 24 Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Εὐτυχῆς
ἀπελεύθ(ερος) ἄτεχ(νος) ἄση(μος) (ἑτῶν) ιθ
(γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) β.
καὶ ὀμνῶ Αὐτοκράτορα
- 28 Καίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἄδριανὸν
Ἄντωνῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆν
ἐξ ὕγι(οῦς) καὶ ἐπ’ ἀληθ(είας) ἐπιδεδωκ(έναι)
τὴν προκ(ειμένην) ἀπογρα(φήν) καὶ μήτε

- 32 ἐπίξενον μήτε Ῥωμαῖον
μήτε Ἀλεξανδ(ρέα) μήτε ἀπελ(εύθερον)
[μή]τε Αἰγύπτιο(ν) μήτε ἄλλον
μηδένα οἰκ(εῖν) μηδὲ ἀπογρά(φεισθαι)
36 ἔξω τῶν προκειμ(ένων) ὀνομάτ(ων),
εἰ ἔνοχ(ος) εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ.
(ἔτους) δεκάτου Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀ[δριανο]ῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου
40 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐ[σεβοῦς] Μεχειρ κς.
Δικαιογέ[νης δ] προγεγραμμένο(ς)
ὀμώμο[κα τὸν δ]ρκον καὶ ἐπι-
δέδωκα τὴν ἀπογρα(φήν).

35 μηδε, ε ex α 37 ἦ

From Dikaiogenes son of Philon and Senherakleia (daughter of Dikaiogenes), from the village of Talao . . . I register myself in accordance with the orders of Valerius Proclus the former prefect for the house-by-house census of the past 9th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, in the walled building lots belonging to my aforesaid parents from the allotment of Enkairios, 7 bikoi in size, in which is a house in shaky condition, and the vacant lot to the north of it, all of these being in the same Talao.

To wit: I myself, Dikaiogenes son of Philon and Senherakleia (daughter of Dikaiogenes), being abroad, the aforementioned, with a scar on my left ankle, 22 years old; Sarapion alias Eutyches, freedman, without a trade, scarless, 19 years old. Total, 2 men.

And I swear by Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that I have submitted the aforesaid declaration properly and truthfully, and neither foreigner nor Roman nor Alexandrian nor freedman nor Egyptian nor anyone else at all lives or is registered aside from the aforementioned names, or may I be liable for the oath.

In the tenth year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mecheir 26. I, Dikaiogenes, the aforesaid have sworn the oath and submitted the declaration.

1-2 Given the normal number of letters per line (outer limits, 19-26, but almost all between 21 and 23), it seems likely that the names were abbreviated as shown.

3-5 The small number of well-preserved Oxyrhynchite declarations is a hindrance to understanding this passage. It comes between the standard self-identification (name, patronymic, metronymic, idia) and the start of the declaration

formula, and I cannot see that anything additional is required. Most likely, then, it gives us some information about Dikaiogenes that is not normally found in declarations and is not repeated later. I am unable to offer any plausible reconstruction. γουμ is found in quite a number of words, but the vast majority (five-sixths) of occurrences belong to words and forms impossible or unlikely here, the commonest (in order) ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἠγοῦμενος (and other forms of ἠγοῦμαι and its compounds including προηγουμένως), and γεωργούμενος (and compounds). If, as seems likely, this is a form modifying Dikaiogenes, we want a middle participle (passive seems excluded by the following object). In 5, it is not quite excluded that one should instead read ἀ[ν]αγραφ[ομεν].

22 σφυδρόν is a less common equivalent for σφυρόν.

4. *P. Lond.* inv. 1119b
(Soknopaiou Nesos, Arsinoite, II cent.)

This declaration was given preliminary publication by Aristide Calderini in *La composizione della famiglia secondo le schede di censimento dell'Egitto romano* (Pubbl. Univ. Catt. Sacro Cuore, 3 ser. 1.1, Milan 1923) 57-59, on the basis of a rough transcription by H. I. Bell. As Calderini puts it, "A una prima copia che il prof. Bell mi ha mandato ho creduto di fare alcune osservazioni e di proporre alcune integrazioni, che egli ha avuto la gentilezza di verificare sul papiro, dando a parecchie la necessaria sanzione su di esso." Bell's rough transcript, as amended by Calderini, was reprinted as *Sammelbuch IV 7284*⁽⁸⁾ but has received no critical study that I know of (there is nothing in *BL I-VIII*). The unattractive state of preservation of the papyrus may help to account for this neglect.

The description in *P. Lond.* III: "Portion of a census-return for an unknown year. 2nd or 3rd cent. In a small, irregular, cursive hand, much mutilated. 5 1/4 in. x 5 3/4 in.⁽⁹⁾" Calderini comments, "nulla si sa circa la sua provenienza." In fact, a third century date can be ruled out. The name Aurelius appears nowhere in the text, virtually ruling out a date in 217 or a later year. And the singular *κυρίου* in line 4 referring to the year of the census excludes 201 (declaration in 203), when there were plural emperors⁽¹⁰⁾. The date appears thus certain to be second century. The onomastic repertory is distinctly Arsinoite: Tanephremmis, Stotoetis, Pakysis,

(8) In Nachtergaele's list (*P. Brux.* I, p. 58), the reprint is not noted.

(9) In Calderini, this has become "il papiro misura cm. 5,25 x 5,75." The metric dimensions are 15.3 x 13.3 cm.

(10) It is true that *κυρίου* is badly damaged, but the last letter cannot be a nu.

Tapakysis, Taouetis, Taphiomis, Tekiasis, Tanepheros. Of these, Tekiasis and (with one exception) Taphiomis are known only at Soknopaiou Nesos; Pakysis, Tapekysis, and Taouetis are distinctively of the Herakleides Division and mostly attested far more often at Soknopaiou Nesos than elsewhere. Stotoetis, though fairly widely attested in the Arsinoite, is most characteristic at Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos. Overall, it seems very likely that this declaration comes from Soknopaiou Nesos.

As far as I can see, the first preserved line begins with the *παρὰ* phrase. It is not impossible that the damage at the top has taken away one or more lines with the address, but it is equally possible, perhaps even more likely, that this is a copy without address retained by the declarant. A margin of about 8 mm remains in places. The condition of the surface is in general very poor and much of it is exceptionally difficult to read. The reconstruction of the first five lines, which were not included in Bell's

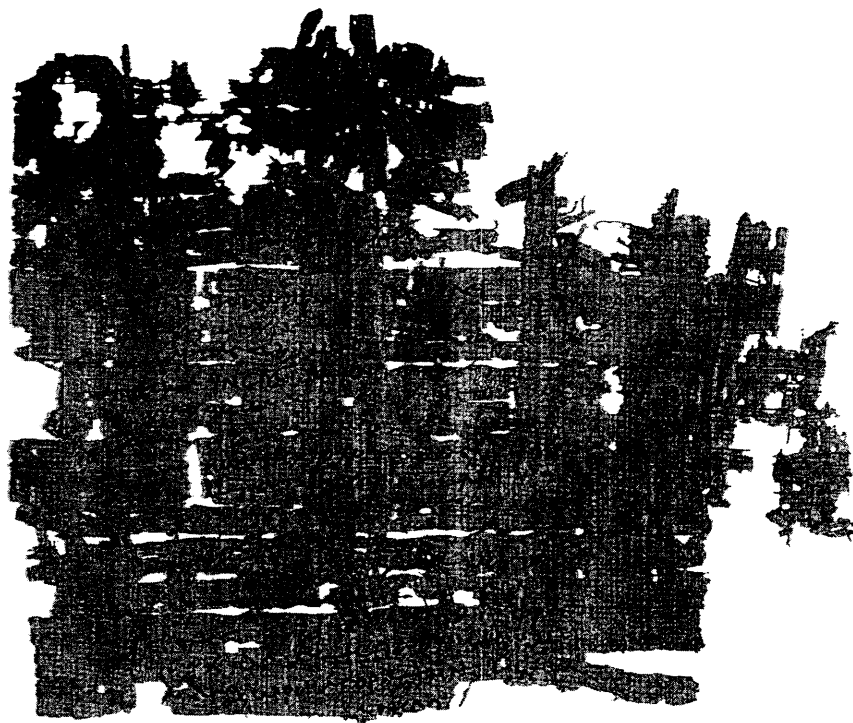


FIG. 4. *P. Lond.* inv. 1119b. Census declaration. Soknopaiou Nesos, Arsinoite, II cent.

transcription, is very tentative, and the first part of line 5 has not yet yielded any sense. Where I have been unable to improve on Bell's readings, I have generally left them even if I am not fully confident they are correct.

- 1 π[αρά] .[.].του και .θ.[- - NN τοῦ]
 Πανεφρ[έ]μεως ἀπὸ [κώμης NN. ἀπογράφομαι ἐμαυτὸν]
 και τοῦ[ς] ἐ[μ]οῦς εἰς τὴν τ[οῦ] διεληλ[υθότος — (ἔτους) NN]
- 4 Κ[αί]σαρ[ος] τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἴκ[ι]αν ἀπ[ο]γραφήν
 [.]. [— ca 8 —] . . εἰμ[ι] δὲ NN ὁ προγ(εγραμμένος)
 (ἑτῶν) ..]
 και τοὺς ὀμοπατρίους και ὀμομη[τρίους] ἀδελφούς - - -]
 π . . . (ἑτῶν) νζ ἄσημος, και τὴν [- - - γυναῖκα NN]
- 8 (ἑτῶν) λη, και τὰς ἐξ ἀμφοτ(έρων) θυγατέρ[α]ς [NN (ἑτῶν) . . ,
 και]
 Θεσῆν (ἑτῶν) η και Ααου . . . θηλει[. . .]σ[. . . και τὴν]
 ..ωτερω γυνέκαν Θερμουθ[άριον] [. . .]
 (ἑτῶν) λθ, και τὰς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων θυγ[ατ]έρ[α]ς . . [
- 12 και Τεκιάσιν (ἑτῶν) ιβ, και τὴν τοῦ τετε[λε]υτηκό[τος] ἀδελ-
 φοῦ . . .
 χέως γυνέκαν Ταφειῶμιν Στοτ[οή]τ(εως) (ἑτῶν) ξ, και τ[ὰ] ταύτης
 τέκνα
 Πακῦσιν (ἑτῶν) ιζ και Τυμπαχ() (ἑτῶν) θ [. . .]
 και τὰ τ[οῦ] μετηλλοχότος ἀδελφοῦ [Τ]οῦρβωνος [θυ]γ(ατέρας)
- 16 Θεῆσιν μη(τρὸς) Ἐρειεῦτος (ἑτῶν) λη κ[αί] Ταπακῦ[σι]ν . .
 [. . . και ἀδ]-
 τῆς θυγατέρα ἐτέραν Τεκιάσιν (ἑτῶν) ιβ κ[αί] . . [.] και τὰ
 τ[ῆ]ς
 Ταθοῦτος μετηλλοχ(υίας) [. . .]
 τῆς (ἑτῶν) νε
 (ἑτῶν) λς και Τανεφερῶν (ἑτῶν) λε και Ταουῆτ[ιν] (ἑτῶν) . . και]
- 20 ἀδελ(φ—) . . .νε.ι . ὠν θυγατέρα Ταγ[- - (ἑτῶν) . . και]
 ταύτης θυγατέραν Ταγεφέρμ[ιν] patronymic? (ἑτῶν) . .
 ὑπάρχει δὲ αὐτῆ πατρικὰ και μητρικὰ . . [. . .]
 [ἀν]αγεγρ(αμμεν-) Ὄρου ἀγοραστήν οἴκ[ι]αν και [αὐλὴν?
- 24 [ca 12] μέρη οἴκ[ι]ς

5 The unread portion may have contained an indication of the property in which the household was registered.

10 Perhaps νεωτερω for νεωτέρου; but ..ωτερω(τος) is also possible.

11 Both digits of the age are badly preserved. The second digit seems more likely to be theta than alpha, but it is not quite like either as preserved elsewhere in the text.

12 What, following Bell, I have read as ιβ could also be taken as ιε corrected to ιδ by the addition of a bottom line. Unfortunately, there are not enough betas in this text to allow certainty about the acceptability of the shape of the strokes here as a beta.

16 Alternatively, τὰ Πακύσ[εω]ς might be read, followed by something like τέκνα, but nu looks like a better reading for the last letter.

21 The formulation here suggests that some statement about Tanephremmis' father is needed here.

22 The traces at the end seem most likely to belong to μέρ[η]; they certainly are not from οἰκόπεδα, the other most likely neuter noun in this construction.

24 Either οἰκίας (or οἰκιῶν) or οἰκοπέδων would be possible.

5. *P. Lond. inv. 1157 recto (a)*
(Alabastrine, Hermopolite, 20 May 231)

This copy of a declaration was described and partly published by P. J. Parsons in the *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto 1970) 390-92. Parsons was interested in M. Aurelius Zeno Januarius, who appears in it with the title of στρατηλάτης, and he published only lines 5-12 and 24-27 (with the date). He has kindly relinquished his interest in the text to me for purposes of making the portions of demographic interest public.

Parsons described the papyrus as follows: "P.Lond. Ined⁽¹¹⁾. 1157 recto and verso contains a miscellany of documents relating to Alabastrine in the Hermopolite nome. The recto has a single main text: a long account of money taxes [published in *P. Lond. III* p. 61]. Before the account, at the beginning of the roll, there was originally a blank space. At a later date, a different writer filled this space with a single column of documentary writing. It is the additional column—P. Lond. Ined. 1157 r (a)—which concerns us here. The editors of *P. Lond. III* mentioned it, and identified it as a census return; but gave no details and printed no transcript. . . . The papyrus has suffered considerable damage: the written surface is obscured or abraded in places; and the whole left side (10-15 letters at the beginning of each line) has been torn away. Consequently,

(11) An only partly accurate term here. All of the recto except this declaration, and part of the verso, were published in *P. Lond. III*.

the details of persons and property declared often remain doubtful." I would add only that the loss at the left appears to me more typically to fall in the range of 8-10 letters, suggesting that the loss consists of a narrow panel (3 cm or so) like that which holds the left half of the surviving text of the declaration. The break along the left side is straight.

The copy reproduced a complete declaration probably from the declarant's files, as there is no address to an official at the start nor any official subscriptions at the foot. There is, however, an oath formula, date, and subscription by the declarant.

The formula offers several problems. After self-identification by name, patronymic, papponymic, metronymic, status (priest), and origin (the village of Alabastrine), it plunges into a description of the real property to which Harendotes is registered, only after that coming to the key verb ἀπογράφομαι. From that point on the syntax is normal, with the κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα phrase, εἰς τὴν κατ' οἰκίαν etc., and then the list of persons, beginning with ἐ(μαυτὸν). The absence of εἰς ἣν or some similar relative construction before ἀπογράφομαι excludes the possibility of a ὑπάρχει μοι construction at the start (though one occurs for a supplementary declaration of property in lines 18 ff.). Perhaps the construction was as simple as εἰς οἰκίαν σὺ]ν χρηστηρίων (genitive for dative would not surprise here). It is still surprising not to find τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου νομοῦ in some form at this point.

The list of persons is also curious. Harendotes declares first himself, giving patronymic and papponymic before age, but no title or physical description. He then passes on to declare two boys, ages six and eight, both priests of the same temple. The order in which they are declared, the younger first, is contrary to all normal practice in the declarations. The entry for the second boy is somewhat clearer: NN alias NN, son of Harendotes, grandson of NN, mother Tæus. The second is thus Harendotes' own son. The implication must be that the first is not. Rather, he is the son of a man whose name ends in -chis and a woman whose name is lost. Cf. the note ad loc.

- [παρὰ Ἄρε]νδώτου Πυτάκιος Ἄρενδώτου
 [μητρὸς]ς ἱερεὺς ἱεροῦ Ἄθηγᾶς . .[. .].
 [- 6-7 - κ]ώμης Ἄλαβ[αστρίν]ης
 4 [- 7 -]. χρηστηρίων ἐκτὸς τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ἱεροῦ
 [ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ] ἀπηλ(ιώτου) μέρισι τῆς (αὐτῆς) [κώ]μης ἀπο-
 γρά(φομαι)

- [κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ]έντα ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπρότατα ἡγεμονεύ-
[σαντος Κλαυδίου Μ]ασκουλλίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
- 8 [Ζήνωνος Ἰανουα]ρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου στρατηλάτου
[εἰς τὴν κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογρ(αφήν) τοῦ θ (ἔτους) Μάρκου
[Αὐρηλίου] Σεουήρου [Ἄλ]εξάνδρου Καίσαρος
[τοῦ κυρίου] ἐ(μαυτὸν)
- 12 [Αὐρήλιον] Ἄρενδώτην Πυτάκιος (ἔτῶν) νζ
[- 6-7 - Ἄμ]μωνᾶτος [..]() Διονύ<σ>ιον
[- 7 -]χιος Ψ[.].τος μητρὸς
[NN]ιτος [Ἰ]ε[ρ]έα τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ἱεροῦ (ἔτῶν) ς
- 16 [NN] τὸν κ(αι) . . .]ιν Ἄρενδώτου
[Πυτάκιος μη]τρὸς Ταε[ῦ]τος ἱερέα τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ἱεροῦ (ἔτῶν) η
[ὑπάρχει δέ] μοι ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]ς προκιμένης
[κώμης σὺν] ἄλλοις ἐν[τὸ]ς καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ προ-
20 [κειμένου] ἱεροῦ ἐτ[ε]ρα μέρη πατρικὰ
[καὶ μητρικὰ (?)] καὶ ὀμν[ύω] τὴν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
[Σεουήρου] Ἄλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
[Σεβαστοῦ] τύχην οὕτως ἔχειν.
- 24 [(ἔτους) ι Αὐτοκ]ράτο<ρο>ς Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
[Σεουήρου Ἄλεξά]νδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
[Σεβαστοῦ Πα]χῶν κε. Αὐρήλιος Ἄρενδώτου
[.] ἐ]πιδέδωκα.

2 ἱερέως; ἱερεὺς, ἱεροῦ pap. 6 μέρεσι 17 ἱερεα pap. 20 ἱεροῦ pap.
26 Ἄρενδώτης

From Harendotes son of Pytakis (son of Harendotes) and NN, priest of the temple of Athena - - -, of the village of Alabastrine. [?In a house with] appurtenances outside the same temple, in the western parts of the same village, I register according to the orders of the most eminent former prefect Claudius Marcellinus and the most eminent general Marcus Aurelius Zeno Januarius, for the house-by-house census of the 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord: myself, Aurelius Harendotes son of Pytakis, 57 years old; . . . of Ammonas, Dionysios son of —chis (son of Ps—) and NN, priest of the same temple, 6 years old; NN alias NN, son of Harendotes (son of Pytakis) and Tæus, priest of the same temple, 8 years old. I also own in the same village, along with other property inside and outside the aforesaid temple, other paternal and maternal shares, and I swear by the fortune of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus that this is so.

Year 10 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Pachon 25. I, Aurelius Harendotes . . . have submitted (the declaration).

2 If the reading is correct, a temple of Athena, previously unknown, is thus attested at Alabastrine (on which see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite* [Missoula 1979] 56-61). A temple of Athena in an Egyptian village of the third century A.D. will certainly mean a temple of an Egyptian goddess identified with Athena. Now Athena is generally taken to represent Neith (particularly in Lower Egypt; already in HERODOTOS 2.175) or Thoeiris (see generally J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, B. Van Maele, "Athena, Neith and Thoeiris in Greek Documents", *ZPE* 60 [1985] 217-32). The latter was widely worshipped in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite, and in these nomes "Athena" may perhaps generally be taken to refer to Thoeiris⁽¹²⁾. I am inclined to suppose that Thoeiris is also meant in the Hermopolite. J. Schwartz, however, publishing an ostrakon found at Bir Fawakhir and containing a mention of making obeisance to Athena, also suggested Isis as a possibility (*CE* 31 [1956] 121; text in *SB* VI 9164, cf. also VI 9017 no. 34, similarly mentioning a *proskynema* to Athena). It is not obvious, however, why the writer would not refer to Isis by her Egyptian name. The place of writing of these two ostraka is unknown, but most likely at no great distance from the place of finding in the Wadi Hammamat.

5 It would also be possible to omit ἀπό from the restoration and resolve ἀπηλιωτ(ικοῖς), but the space seems better suited to what is printed.

13-15 This entry is, as the introduction indicates, puzzling. Harendotes' son, who appears in 16-17, is both a closer relation to the declarant and older, and would be expected to appear first. What is additionally confusing is that the genitive Ἀμμωνᾶτος in line 13 appears to suggest a patronymic there, but there is then a lacuna ending in a mark of abbreviation, followed by what is apparently the actual start of the entry, the slightly miscopied Dionysios in the accusative, and his patronymic, papponymic, metronymic, status, and age. Whether ἵτως is the end of the mother's name or of her patronymic is uncertain. Everything preceding Dionysios' name is thus superfluous; and yet it must contain the explanation for the inclusion and placement here of the entire entry.

24 Or Ἀὐτοκ]ράτο(ρος), which would be preferable except for the fact that the scribe does not abbreviate any other element of the titlature and this would not be the expected place of abbreviation.

(12) It is also in these two nomes that theophoric names based on Athena are most common, but some are attested in the Hermopolite as well. Ἀθήνατος is heavily attested in both Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite (A. Martin, *Ancient Society* 20 (1989), pp. 171-73). Ἀθηνίων and Ἀθηναρίων are almost exclusively Arsinoite, while Ἀθηναροῦς is more common in the Oxyrhynchite than the Arsinoite. Ἀθηναίς is commonest in the Arsinoite, less common but attested in the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite (note *P. Oslo* III 99 from Alabanthis, cf. *BASP* 27 [1990], pp. 9-10). Ἀθηνώδωρος is common in all three of these nomes and occurs occasionally elsewhere. Quaegebeur, Clarysse, and Van Maele 220, however, doubt that theophoric names with Athena are connected to Egyptian goddesses.

27 Perhaps [ὁ προκείμενος ἐ]πιδέδωκα; [ὁμόμοκα καὶ ἐ]πιδέδωκα is probably a bit long. Or the paronymic, Πυτάκιος, could appear again.

Roger S. BAGNALL

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