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Direzione e Amministrazione presso la Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Scuola di Papirologia)
Largo A. Gemelli, 1 - 20123 Milano
Direttore responsabile: dott. Domenico Lofrese - Proprietario: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore
Autorizzazione del Tribunale di Milano 22 luglio 1948, N. 240 del Registro
Stabilimento Grafico Scotti S.p.A., viale Pioeno, 17 - 20129 Milano
Census Declarations from the Berlin Collection

With Plates 6–13

Roger S. Bagnall (New York)

This article is the second in a series publishing unedited or incompletely edited census declarations. It arises out of research connected with The Demography of Roman Egypt, a study I am engaged in collaboratively with Bruce W. Frier. A major part of my contribution is to be 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 the published texts. While in Berlin, the home of the largest concentration of census declarations, I found that there were several such texts left aside at the time of the editing of BGU I and apparently never since published. Most, but not all, had been published in Ulrich Wilcken's pioneering article, "Arsinoitische Steuerprofusionen aus dem Jahre 189 n. Chr. und verwandte Urkunden," SB Berlin phil.-hist. Classe, 1883, 897–922, with four plates (IX–XII). They were omitted from BGU for understandable reasons, but material that seemed of little interest then may still have some use in the context of a study like the one we have undertaken. Despite the first publication, these declarations have not been listed in any roster of census declarations, no doubt in part because the texts as published are obviously defective. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Günter Poethke, I am able to publish here eight of them. All come from Arsinoe. 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.

The general characteristics of these papyri, as far as they can be observed in their damaged state, conform to those of the previously published census declarations in the Berlin collection acquired at the same time and coming from the censuses of 173/4 and 187/8. Hombert and Préaux observed their archival character: 'Les déclarations adressées au basilicogramme paraissent bien provenir toutes d'une même

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1) For the first article, "Census Declarations from Tebtunis", see Aegyptus 72 (1992).
2) See BASP 27 (1990) 1–14 and 28 (1991) 13–32, 121–33, for the first three installments of notes resulting from this investigation.
3) It is noteworthy that Preisigke did not include them in SB I. The concordance in SB II p. 152 shows that he included nothing from the SB Berlin before the 1887 volume.
4) I am indebted to the Director of the Museum, Dr. Priese, for formal permission to publish or republish these texts here. Klaas Worp has read a draft of this article and made several helpful suggestions.
trouvaille : le Musée de Berlin a acquis, à la fin du siècle dernier, un ensemble de fragments provenant des archives du basilicogrammate et relatifs à deux recensements successifs, celui de 173/4 et celui de 187/8. La plupart des pièces du recensement de 187/8 ont fait partie d’un tonos.6) Ces all fall into the category of declarations with a single addressee. None has any official subscriptions, and only some have signatures. “Les exemplaires conservés dans les archives paraissent donc être indifféremment l’original ou un double,” commenté Hombert et Préaux.

Of the texts published here, nos. 1, 3, 4, and 6 are all apparently addressed to the basilikogrammate; in the remaining cases the address is lost. Nos. 1, 2, and 6 certainly are from tomoloi synkollesimoi, and none of the text can be shown not to be from tomoi; they are too fragmentary to allow certainty. The bottom is apparently preserved only in nos. 2, 7 and 8; of these no. 2 has a date but no signature or official subscription, while nos. 7 and 8 have none of these three elements. It is conceivable that what survives in no. 8 is only a blank space before the date, and that the bottom margin is not really preserved. All of those in which one can tell, then, appear to be duplicates preserved in the archives of the basilikogrammate of the Herakleides Division for these two censuses.

1. P. Berol. inv. 1342 + 1345 (Arsinoe, 175)7)

Two joining fragments provide a substantial part of one declaration from the census of 173/4 and the left edge of another. Though the second is of use only for the statistics, the first survives to a considerable degree and concerns the property of a woman who is represented by her agent. 7.8 × 9.4 cm.

Column i

[Ἀσκληπιάδη βασιλ(κρώ)] γρα(ματέ)ίοι [οον(οίτον) Ἡρακλ(είδου) μεγίδος]
[παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου] Χαιρή[ίον τοῦ Χαϊρή[ίον]
[μη(τοίος) ΝΝ] κατοίκ(ον) ἀναγ[ραφομένον] ἐν Ο[μφώ]/
[δοι Συμβασις] ὑπάρχει τῇ φορτιζόμενη]

4 [πος ἑμοὶ Διδύμη (?)] Σαμασίων(νος) ἡστή ἐπὶ ἀμφότερο(ν)
 [– 13 –] ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀργυρῷ ἐμαντόν καὶ
[τους ἑμοὺς εἰς τῇ] τοῦ ἀποδηλωθότος ἰδ (ἔτος)

8 [κατ᾽ αἰχ(αν) ἀργυρῷ(αφήσει) ἐπὶ τοῦ προκεμένου]
[ἀμφότερον] τοῦ μακαρῆς ὡς οὗ καὶ τῇ τοῦ] κρ (ἔτος)
[ἀργυρῷ(αφή)] ἀποδηλωθότος καὶ εἰμὶ Ἡρα[κλείδος ἀ π[ρο] η(εγχρωμένος)]
[(ἔτος) καὶ... καὶ...] καρια[...] Διδύμῃ (η) (ἔτος) καὶ

12 [καὶ τοὺς Διδύμης δ[δε]λεροὺς Πασια[να]
[(ἔτος)... καὶ] Διδύμῳ (αν) (ἔτος) καὶ Ἡρα[κλείδος]
[ονα (?) (ἔτος)... – 7 –] λ( ) Θερμου[θ]–
[– 17 – ὑπάρχει δι[ε..]]
For Asklepiades see Bastianini-Whitehorne 122–23.

2 Herakleides' name is restored from line 10. The names are commonplace, but he may be the Herakleides son of Chairemon, grandson of Chairemon, a κάτωκος registered in the amphodon of Syriake, who filed SB XII 10890 in 156, asking the appropriate officials of Arsinoe to have his son Chairemon undergo epikysis. (For the κάτωκος see D. Canducci, Aegyptus 70 [1990] 211–55.) In that request, he indicates that he had registered in Syriake with his wife Dioskourous for year 9 (145/6). In the present declaration, he still indicates the same amphodon (only partly preserved in line 9, restorable in line 4).

5 The apparent mentions of Didyme in lines 11 and 12, though in neither place complete, seem to justify her identification as the person mentioned here. The name, moreover, would fit well with the fact that she is the same age as her brother Didymos, 24; but some uncertainty must remain, and see note to i 11 for the problems of that line. For the uses of ἀδητή (female citizen of a Greek city), see Diana Delia, Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate (Atlanta 1991) 13–21.

6 Restoration appears impossible. The space is too long for Syriake, and there is no reason in any case to suppose that the property belonging to this woman was in the same amphodon in which Herakleides was domiciled. The possibility of abbreviation prevents us from selecting among the amphodon names that might fit the space (for a list, cf. S. Daris, Aegyptus 61 [1981] 143–54).

11 Since Herakleides registered with his wife for 145/6 and had a 14-year old son in 156, he is likely to have been born by around 120. Didyme, if that was the ward's name, is of the generation of Herakleides' children. One supposes that the words to be restored and read between Herakleides' age and her name should give her relationship to him. The evident reading αὐξα has led to no satisfactory word (searching yields νικόλα and Μαξιμανός). One needs only about five or six letters in the lacuna at left.
The lower right corner of a declaration, with slight remains of another declaration adjoining at right. The surface is abraded in many places. The loss at left may be estimated at 11–13 letters in lines 2–4, after which it declines somewhat (8 letters in line 10) as the preserved portion becomes wider. 6 × 11.5 cm.

5–6 These lines should contain a name (5) and some further information about the declarant (probably preceded by ὁ προφ(εργαμένος)). Possibly Α.... [ὁ προφ(εργαμένος) ...] is to be read, followed by a status or occupation.

7–9 I have not succeeded in making sense out the contents of these fragmentary lines, described by Wilcken as being in a second hand (I think, however, that line 5 at least is in the same hand, and perhaps the whole thing). He commented only "Zwischen lin. 6 und 8 sind mehrere Reihen Unterschrift von einer andern Hand," but offered no text. It appears that someone other than the young declarant was listed here—a guardian, perhaps. One would expect some ending for Πέτεευς; the genitive of Πέτεευς is virtually always Πέτεευτος, which I cannot read here. It is also uncertain if οὐδή was abbreviated, as the ink trails off after the first two letters.

11–12 The date is 28 August 175.

This fragment preserves a declaration by a woman, evidently the head of household, but with her father as κύριος. She was probably widowed or divorced. She is at pains to record that her father is a κάτωκος and she or her mother the daughter of one. The loss of the year number and name of the recipient of the declaration at left would ordinarily make it impossible to date the text, except for its belonging to this archival body. The preservation of the year symbol immediately before κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή shows that no imperial titulature was given at this point in the text. This formulaic pattern was known hitherto in the Arsinoite only from the declarations of

9) Wilcken, pp. 919-20. no. XXVII.
10) Wilcken, p. 920, no. XXVIII.
189 for the census of 187/8,\(^{10}\) but in no. 1 above it appears that this pattern occurs in one declaration from the previous census. It seems then that this usage will not allow a choice between 175 and 189. As noted above, however, all of the declarations from Arsinoë in this group of the Berlin Museum have a single recipient, and Asklepiades (175) fits the lacuna perfectly, while Harpokration alias Hierax (189) is much too long. Cf. note to line 1.

4.3 × 6.1 cm. Broken apparently on all sides, but without loss of any lines at top, probably with a small loss at right (allocation of restorations to lines is uncertain) and a larger one (15 letters or more) at left.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[Ἀσκληπιάδη βασιλ(ικῷ) γρα(ματεῖ)} & \text{ Ἁρπα(ς) η(νίκου)} \text{ Ἡραξ(λείδου) μεγίδ[ος]} \\
\text{[} & \text{ vacat)}
\end{align*}\]

4 [παρὰ NN Ἰαιδῷ]ρου τοῦ καὶ Κλο.–]
[κατοῦκον] \[
\text{[τῆς NN} \text{ ἰν(αρχός)} \text{ κατοῦκον ἀναγρα(φομένης) ἐπ’ [ἄμφόδου]} \\
\text{[– –} \text{ μετὰ} \text{ κορίον τοῦ πατρὸς } \text{ Ἰ[ούσι]}\]
8 [τοῦ καὶ Κλο.– κατοῦκον ἐπάφης μοι ἐπ’ \[άμφόδου]} \\
[ \text{[ν ὀχίνια ἐν ἕν ἅλογ} \text{[άφωμαι]} \\
\text{[ἐμαυτήν καὶ τοὺς] ἰμοὺς ἐἰς τὴν ῥ[οῦ] \\
\text{διελποδότως ἰδ] (ἔτος) κατ’ ὀρκίαν ἀπ[ογραφήν]} \]
12 [τῇ πρωτ[ι]έρα ἅλογ(αρῆ) ἅπ[εγραφ[ή][ς]} \\
[τῇ] \text{[μητρὶ ἐπι[.] \\
\text{[] προκεµε[}]
\]

1 The restoration of Harpokration alias Hierax’s name in full in the first preserved line would yield a restoration about 12 characters too long for what is likely in other lines. For the basilikos grammateus Asklepiades, see Bastianini-Whitehorne 122–23.

3 The line was probably entirely blank.

4 The father’s name is partly restored from line 7. His own patronymic presumably stood in the lacuna in line 4.

6 For the phrase ὑπηρέτη κατοῦκον see, e.g., P. Erl. 22.3; P. Meyer 9.7; P. Oxf. 8.5; P. Rain. Cent. 60.2–3. It could refer to the declarant, since it is commonly used by declarants of themselves, or to her mother.

4. P. Berol. inv. 1355 (Arsinoë, 175)

This fragment preserves the upper part of a declaration, submitted by a woman, covering renters in a part of a house owned by her. The date is based on the same considerations as that of the preceding text; restoration of the basilikos grammateus of 189 yields excessively long restorations. 6 × 9 cm. Broken at left and below, with minor damage at right. Not included in Wilcken.

\(^{10}\) Some examples: BGU XI 2018 and XIII 2225; P. Hamb. III 203; P. Mich. VI 370; P. Mil. XV Congr. p. 17; P. Frinc. III 129.
[Ἀσκληπιάδος βασιλέως ἑορτασματικοὶ Ἀρσενί(νοινίωτοι)
Ἡρακλ(είδου) μεγίστοι]
[παρὰ...]. ἰατρὸς Ἡρώνος τοῖσὶ ΝΝ
[μητρὸς]...[οίς ἀναγεγραμένης ἐπὶ ἀμφότερον]
[Γυμνασίου ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτό(ν) ἀμφότερον]
[...]. ἵματος αἰκίας ἐν [ὁ]
[Ἀπογραφομένοι] τοῖσι ἐπογεγραμένοις ἐνόικοι(ους) εἰς τὴν
[τὸν διελεύσθεντος) ἑδ[έποστ] ἐκ(τοῦ) ἀν[αγ(ρή)ν] ἐπ[π][με[π]δ[ω][ά][ucciónes?]

1 It is impossible to establish the amount of the lacuna at left with exactitude, but
there is no reason to restore more than part of a name in line 2 or what is printed for
lines 6 and 7. Some abbreviation is evidently possible, even likely, and the lacuna
was probably in the range of 7–10 letters.

5 In the lacuna must have stood the indication of a share; i.e., the declarant owned
a share of a third share.

11 The numeral is either lambda or mu.

5. P. Berol. inv. 1336 (Arsinoe, 189)1)

This fragment, of standard formulation, has some interest in that it shows both the
owner and family and a single renter living in a house. 4 × 3.5 cm. Broken at top and
below, with about 13 letters lost at left and no more than two letters at right.

[...οίχια καὶ αἰτίων [ἐν]
[οἷς κατοικιῶ] καὶ ἐπογεγραμένοι] ἐμπυρτὸν χα[ϊ]
[τοῖς ἐμοίς καὶ τὴν ἐπογεγραμένον ἔνωσαν εἰ[σ]
[τὴν τοῦ διελεύσθεντος κη (ἐστοες) Ἀρκηλίου
[Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρας]
[τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίας ἐπογεγραμένον] χ[α[ϊ]

...house and light-well in which I live and register myself and my family
and the renter listed below for the house-by-house census of the past 28th
year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord; and [I am...

1) Wilcken, p. 916, no. XIV.
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6. P. Berol. inv. 1335 (Arsinoe, 189)12)

Two columns from a tomos synkollesimos preserve the right edge of one declaration and the left-hand two-thirds of another. Although neither is well preserved, it is sufficiently clear that both concerned renters occupying property belonging to the declarants. 8.3 × 7.3 cm. Broken at left, right, and bottom.

Column i

[Ἀρσοκρατίων τῷ καὶ Ἱέρακι] βασιλικῶς γραμματεῖ [Ἀρσι(νοῖτον) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μεγίδος]
[παρὰ ΝΝ] ἀπὸ τῆς μη-
4 [τοποθέτος] ὑπάρχη
[μοι] γ' μέρος
[τὸν ύπο-
[γεγράμμενος] ἐνοίκιος(οὺς) -- θηλυ-
8 [κά] ἀμφοτέροις
[
[εἰς τῆν τοῦ διελ(ηπύθοτος) ητὶ ἐπονοῖ καὶ οἶξ(ίαν)
ἀπογραφὴ(απήν)]

Column ii

Ἀρσοκρατίων τῷ καὶ Ἱέρακι βασιλικῶς γραμματεῖ [Ἀρσι(νοῖτον)] [Ἡρακλείδου μεγίδος [ποικ?]]
παρὰ Ταφαίος τῆς καὶ Ἡ[--- NN μη(τρός) NN]
4 Ἡρακλείδου ἀναγραφομένης ἔστη ἀμφότεροι[---]
ἀπογραφὴ(αμμένης) διὰ ἑτέρον ἑποιφεῖται(μαστος---)
ὑπάρχει μοι ἐπὶ ἀμφότεροι Βιθύνην
traces γ' μέρος [οἱ]ξίας ἐν ὕσι
8 ἀπογραφὴ(αφοί) τοῖς ὑπογραφῆς(αμμένους) ἐνοίκιος(οὺς εἰς)
[τῆν τοῦ διελ(ηπύθοτος) ητὶ (ἐπονοῖς) Αὐθηρίλιου Κομμόδου ]

11 There may be a trace of a number over the top of this column.

17 The adjective ἰησοῦς concerning persons in the Roman period regards "almost always slaves or infants, and frequently slave infants"—Z. Packman, BASP 25 (1988) 138. It is thus likely to be neuter and modify a preceding or following ἔκονος or something of that sort.

7. P. Berol. inv. 1361 (Arsinoe, 175 or 189)

Although only partly preserved, this declaration does show the remains of a household in which there were at least two declarants, probably brothers, along with their respective families. Given its provenance, the date seems certain to be 175 or 189. 3.5 × 9 cm., broken at top, left, and right. Not in Wilcken.

12) Wilcken, p. 916, no. XIII (col. II only).
3 There is a line over the nu of νιόν, perhaps descending from line 2.

4 Probably διαγεγερμένης καὶ τ[η] προτέρω ἀνυςαφή or with a mention of the year of the previous census, but it is not clear enough where we are in the formula to go further.

11 It is not obvious what this line represents. The first four letters look like the end of a name like Chairemon, but what follows is certainly not ἄλλον. The beginning is certainly not τέκνα, nor does one expect that at this point. One might read ἐγγόνα, but that would suggest a shift to slaves in the middle of listing family (ἐξ ἀνυςαφῶν has to refer to free persons).

13 The sign for years has a bump in the middle of the horizontal line, unlike the other occurrences in this text (but like the sign in many other papyri).

8. P. Berol. inv. 1343 (Arsinoe, 175 or 189)(13)

A small fragment from the bottom of a declaration, with some loss at right and symmetrical damage showing how it was folded at some point between discarding and discovery. 7 × 6 cm.

4 On the two-towered house see G. Husson, OIKIA (Paris 1983) 251–52: a sign of wealth. The nu at the end is clear, but everything else in the list is in the nominative, and this must simply be an error.

(13) Wilcken, p. 919, no. XXI.
Abb. 8. P. Berol. 1342 + 1345
Abb. 9. P. Berol. 1335
Abb. 10. P. Berol. 1349
Abb. 11. P. Berol. 1350
Abb. 12. P. Berol. 1336
Abb. 13. P. Berol. 1343
Abb. 17. P. Mich. inv. 3549
Abbildungsnachweis:
Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Papyrussammlung;
Abb.14 und 15: R. Zachmann, Heidelberg;
Abb.17: University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor (USA)