Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations, V

(Plates 3-6)

For the purpose and scope of these notes, see the first installment in *BASP* 27 (1990) 1-14.

45. *P.Alex.Giss.* 20

This declaration for the census of 117, to judge from the editor's text, breaks off just at the start of the listing of persons, with ἐμα[υτ]όν [. An examination of a photograph of the papyrus,[1] however, showed that the two halves of the papyrus were now mismounted, and that in fact there were two more lines preserved in the right-hand fragment than indicated in the edition. They are, unfortunately, as poorly preserved and difficult to read as the most of this Tanyaithis archive, but I read them, with some hesitation, as follows:

14   [- 15 -] μη(τρὸς) Ταζβῆτρ(ς)
15   [- 15 -] ἡ γ(υνὴ) (ἐτῶν) κθ.

At the end of line 13, after ἐμα[υτ]ὸν can be seen a long horizontal stroke at a level just below the line. Slight traces of a vertical above the beginning of this line lead me to interpret it as the expected (ἐτῶν) sign. It extends to the right edge of the written area, and there is no sign of a numeral. In some Tanyaithite declarations, as elsewhere, numerals were occasionally written in (sometimes by a second hand) after the rest of the declaration had been composed, and it is possible that this was the case here, with the numeral either forgotten or perhaps written (as sometimes happens) more faintly and simply invisible now. Alternatively, it could have been carried down to the start of line 14. Since the years sign extends to the normal margin in line 15, with the numeral written to the right of the usual beginning of the margin, it seems more likely that the numeral in line 13 was written also in the margin. It seems most probable that the first part of line 14 was occupied with the name and patronymic of the declarant's wife, and that the start of line 15, if not simply indented, had her mother's patronymic.

[1]Kindly provided by Professor M. Landfester from the University Library, Giessen.

46. *P.Brux.* I 19

This text was first published by M. Hombert and Cl. Préaux in *Cd'E*
14 (1939) 161-65 under the title "Fragment de κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή," and
reprinted as *SB* V 8263. The reedition by G. Nachtergael takes account of
some suggestions of Jean Bingen. Hombert and Préaux described its physi-
cal state as follows: "Le début du document est perdu; la marge de gauche
est conservée et le texte est complet à droite; il semble aussi que rien ne
manque à la partie inférieure." On the basis of this description, they
remarked, "Nous avons ici la fin d'une κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή. L'adresse et
la déclaration introduisant la liste des habitants de la maison, sont perdues
ainsi que le nom d'un ou de plusieurs de ceux-ci." The margin at the bot-
tom, as they observed, is probably sufficient (at up to 5 mm) to ensure that
nothing followed.[2] It is, however, troubling to observe that there is no
trace of a concluding statement or of a date, the normal elements at the end
of a declaration.

The absence of a dating clause led Hombert and Préaux to assign a date
in the second century on the basis of the handwriting. Nachtergael,
however, argued that it was possible to date the text to 117/8. His major
argument was the appearance of a Horaine daughter of Pasion and grand-
daughter of Pasion in a Giessen papyrus dated 1 April 136. Now the Brus-
sels text lists a Laberia d. Pasion gd. Pasion, who is the owner of four
slaves jointly with her sister Horaiane. Nachtergael naturally identified the
Horaine of the Giessen papyrus[3] and the Horaiane of the Brussels papyrus
and argued that if, as the former had it, she was 49 years old in 136, and
Laberia was 32 at the time of the declaration, it was most natural to sup-
pose that the declaration referred to the census of 117, when Horaiane
would have been 30 or 31, making the two women close in age.

To this argument he added a second buttress. In two entries in the
Brussels text, infants are described as (ἔτους) α (ἔτους) α. Nachtergael
commented, "les premiers éditeurs avaient vu . . . la répétition de l'âge des
enfants déclarés. Cette répétition ne s'explique guère. Je comprends plutôt
que, de part et d'autre, le premier (ἔτους) α désigne la première année de
l'empereur (ἔτους) (πρώτου), et le second l'âge des enfants (ἔτους) (ἑνός).
Dans ce cas, le recensement pour lequel la présente déclaration a été
déposée est datable de la première année d'un empereur. Au IIe siècle, seule
l'année 117, première du règne d'Hadrien, répond à cette condition. La
déclaration daterait de l'an 2 d'Hadrien, ce qui convient à la datation
paléographique du texte."

[2]I am indebted to Jean Bingen for a clear photograph of the papyrus.
[3]Published by G. van Hilst, *Hermeneus* 36 (1964) 58-62.

This argument, however, cannot stand as presented. The census of 117 was the census of Hadrian's year 2, and declarations were (following the custom normal in the second century) filed in year 3. Year 1 (of Hadrian or anyone else) therefore cannot have here the purpose Nachtergael gives it. The other foundation of the dating is also shaky. In 1978, after the publication of *P.Brux.* I, E. Boswinkel republished the Giessen papyrus as *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIX 10.[4] There he reads Horaine's age as 39, apparently unaware of the woman's appearance in the Brussels papyrus and of Nachtergael's identification of the two. Although the papyrus is damaged at the spot, Boswinkel's reading seems to me to be correct (see Tafel IX).[5] Horaiane was therefore 21 in the census year 117/8. The reading of Laberia's age as 32, however, despite damage there also, appears to me certain. That does not mean that the census in question is not that of 117/8, merely that close proximity of the sisters' ages cannot be used to support that date.

On the other hand, 103/4 may seem unlikely. If that were the date, Laberia would have been born in 72/3, her sister in 96/7. Since Horaiane is not described as ὁμοπάτριος it is likely enough that the two sisters had both father and mother in common, and while that 24-year gap is not impossible, neither is it likely. A date from the census of 131/2, on the other hand, would make Horaiane born in 96/7 and Laberia in 100/1, an eminently plausible scenario. The limited prosopographical information, then, would be comfortably accommodated either by 117/8 or 131/2, without quite excluding the censuses of 103/4 or 145/6.

But the "year 1 year 1" phrases remain perplexing. They are, as far as I recall, without exact parallel in published census declarations. There is, however, one similar phrasing, in *P.Oxf.* 8.16-18: καὶ τὰ ἐ[ξ] ἀλλήλων τέκνα Ἡλιόδω[ρον ἀναγεγρα(μμένον) ἐν ἐπιγεγ(ενημένοις) τῷ β [(ἔτει) θε]οῦ Νέρουα (ἐτῶν) η ἄση(μον) καὶ Ἰσίδ[ωρον ἀναγεγρα(μμένον) ἐν ἐπιγεγ(ενημένοις) [τῷ ς (ἔτει)] Τρ[αι]ανο[ῦ] (ἔτους) α ἄσημ[ο]ν. Despite the presence of restoration, the text seems secure. Heliodoros was registered among the births in year 2 of Nerva (97/8) and Isidoros in year 6 of Trajan (102/3), thus being respectively 8 and 1 in 103/4, the year of the census (not of the declaration). I suggest that what we have in *P.Brux.* 19 is a somewhat abbreviated form for providing the same information. Both Dioskoros and Pasion were born in year 1, and were therefore in year 2,

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[4]It is worth noting that P.Giss.univ.bibl. inv. 251 was purchased in 1928 in Medinet el-Fayum by Carl Schmidt; P.Brux. inv. E 7360 also comes from Schmidt's purchases there. The volume in which Boswinkel published the text was ready for press already in 1976.

[5]In *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIX 10, Horaine's son-in-law Apollinarios son of Chairemon is stated to be 28 years old. Since there was often a significant gap in age between husband and wife, however, there is no objection to supposing that Horaine's daughter Thaisarion was in her late teens or early twenties.

the year of the census, one year old. The duplication of L α does therefore indicate that the year preceding the census was a year 1, which would support Nachtergael's date to Hadrian. The first ($\check{\varepsilon}\tau ov\varsigma$) α thus refers to year 1 of Hadrian and is to be taken with what precedes ($\dot{\varepsilon}v$ $\dot{\varepsilon}\pi\iota\gamma(\varepsilon\gamma\varepsilon\nu\eta\mu\acute{\varepsilon}\nuo\iota\varsigma)$), the second to the age.

This short form of notation, in any case, taken with the absence of any subscription and date, points to identifying this papyrus as an extract rather than as a declaration. (See below, no. 49, for another instance from an extract.) There is one other point that may support this view. After the last male declared, in line 16 the editors have read [$\tau\grave{\alpha}$] δ' $\check{\varepsilon}\tau\varepsilon\rho\alpha$·, rendered "et d'autre part". There is no parallel for such a phrase in census declarations. But one is reminded of the phrase $\mu\varepsilon\theta$' $\check{\varepsilon}\tau\varepsilon\rho\alpha$, which occurs (e.g.) in *P.Corn.* 16.18 and is common in texts of the Roman period containing copies of official documents from which some non-essential material has been omitted in copying. A trace of the alpha is in fact visible on the photograph, and there is enough space in the lacuna to permit suggesting [$\mu\varepsilon\tau$]$\grave{\alpha}$ $\delta\grave{\varepsilon}$ $\check{\varepsilon}\tau\varepsilon\rho\alpha$. Once again, such a phrase never appears in original census declarations, or even in full copies, but only in extracts. Whether it indicates that some persons were omitted at this point it is impossible to say.

There is one missing person worth mentioning, however. Nachtergael describes this as a declaration by Laberia. But since it is broken at the top, and since the declarant usually mentions himself or herself first, that is a most unlikely supposition. Moreover, in the description of Laberia (lines 17-19) we read $\gamma v(v\dot{\eta})$ $\Theta\acute{\varepsilon}\omega vo\varsigma$ (line 18). The natural assumption must be that a person named Theon has been mentioned earlier in the lost section of the listing, in the portion where male family members were given. Theon is in fact likely to be the declarant, since his wife is listed first in the women's section (at least as this is preserved).

47. *P.Fay.* 319

This epikrisis document survives only as a fragment, preserving the upper left part of the original. It was described by the first editors and given in full by Orsolina Montevecchi in *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 27-31. The heading $\dot{\alpha}v\tau\acute{\iota}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi(ov)$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega v$ $\dot{\varepsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\rho[\acute{\iota}\sigma\varepsilon\omega\varsigma$ is clear enough, and what follows contains the left portions of an epikrisis request probably datable to 127/8 or 128/9, and extracts from two census declarations, the first datable to 161, the second to 147. The date at which these extracts were assembled is unknown; "paleograficamente può assegnarsi al II^p ex.-III^p in." says Montevecchi. Probably about twice as much is lost at right as is preserved, and the papyrus is broken at the bottom. Reconstructing the family's mem-

bers and history is not surprisingly rather difficult given the amount of the
loss. Moreover, Montevecchi left unread some of the text of the last two
lines; the plate (Tav.1) printed in the edition is not easy to read. I therefore
took the opportunity of a visit to Cairo in April, 1993, to examine the
original papyrus.[6]

The first information about the persons in the declaration from 161 is
the words 'Ακουσιλάο(υ) τοῦ καὶ Μυσθαρίω(νος) at the start of line 14. As
μεθ' ἕ[τερα follows, it is clear that these names must be part of the name of
the declarant. Montevecchi took them as being his actual names, as one
can see from her restoration of them in the lacuna in line 14 in the nomina-
tive. In fact, however, we would expect a fuller enumeration of names at
this point, with filiation and so forth as in the original. It is clear that in
the other extract such full identification was provided (lines 20-21).
Akousilaos alias Mystharion is therefore likely to have been an antecedent
of the declarant, quite likely his maternal grandfather.

The next person named is identified at the start of 16: ὁμοπ(άτριον) καὶ
ὁμομήτ(ριόν) μου ἀδελφὴν [; Montevecchi very plausibly restores the
lacuna to have this person be the declarant's wife as well. The
Σαραπίω(να) τὸν καὶ Δερυτ(ᾶν) (ἐτῶν) κγ ἄση(μον) at the start of line 17 is
no doubt their son, as Montevecchi deduces. More sons may well be lost in
the rest of line 17, in which case υἱόν, restored at the end of line 16, would
have to be υἱούς. For that matter, another son may have been listed in line
16.

At the start of line 18 we find in the edition the following:

$$\iota\ \dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\alpha}\tau<o>\rho\alpha\ \text{Ἡρωΐδα}\ \dot{\alpha}\delta\varepsilon\lambda\phi\dot{\eta}\nu\ \dot{o}\mu o\mu[\dot{\eta}\tau\rho\iota o\nu$$

The isolated iota and the omitted omicron both arouse suspicion, as
does the element ἀπάτωρ in this location.[7] Visible on the plate and on the
original in fact is ραππS. It appears that Herois begins a new entry, so we
anticipate some element suitable for the end of an entry, where age or
physical description normally occurs. All that comes to mind is the occupa-
tion ῥάπτης, tailor. We would, however, expect this to precede the age
and description.

The next declaration (lines 20-25) comes from the previous census,
fourteen years earlier. The declarant is a woman named Thermoutharion,
who describes herself as daughter of a *katoikos* (line 21), acting with her
son M[, which Montevecchi retores as M[ystharion] on the basis of the
appearance of a man of that name in her reading of line 24. It is possible

[7]Montevecchi in the translation takes it with Herois, but this would be a remarkable
word order, for which she offers no parallel. The description of Herois' relationship to the
preceding person is given after her name, not before.

(but hardly certain) that this Thermoutharion is the same as the submitter of the epikrisis request in lines 3-12, from some two decades earlier. In line 23 begins the listing of the persons declared, read as follows:

Θερμουθ(άριον) ἡ προγεγρ(αμμένη) θυγάτη(ρ) κατοίκ[ου κτλ.

The repetition of the element θυγάτη(ρ) κατοίκ[ου at this point is unexpected, and study of the original shows that instead we should read

Θερμουθ(άριον) ἡ προγεγρ(αμμένη) (ἐτῶν) .. ἄση(μον), καὶ τὰ [

The age may be να, 51, but the traces are very faint. We may suppose that what followed Thermoutharion was a phrase like καὶ τὰ [γεννηθέντα μοι ἐκ τοῦ γενομένου καὶ μετηλλαχότος (or ἀποπεπληγμένου) μου ἀνδρὸς - - - τέκνα. The stage is thus set for an enumeration of children, still living with Thermoutharion in the family home as was so often the case. The first of these was listed in line 23 in the lacuna, the entry ending at the start of line 24 with his age and description ((ἐτῶν) κς ἄση(μον)).

What follows begins with tau, but I have been unable to read the four letters or so that come next. It is certainly not Μυσθαρίω(ν) τοῦ καὶ .[as the editor reads it. I would print τ . . . . Σαραπ(ίωνος) τοῦ καὶ .[. The possibilities are probably two: (1) A name beginning in tau, in which case the presence of the patronymic shows that we have here a break in the listing, i.e., this person is not a full sibling of the preceding one; or (2) a word or phrase denoting relationship is to be read, in which case there is also a break, and there must be reference to a Sarapion alias NN mentioned earlier. One thinks of phrases like τὰ τέκνα, but I have not managed to read any such phrase known to me. One is of course reminded of the Sarapion alias Leontas (the latter name doubtful) in line 17, who would, however, have been only 9 years old at the time of this declaration.

The next line begins in the middle of a name: τὸν καὶ . . . . τ( ) ἐπικ[. . .] . καὶ, as I read it. In all likelihood ἐπικ(εκριμένον) [(ἐτῶν) .]. καὶ is to be understood, so that we have the end of one entry, with the information that the man in question underwent epikrisis, then his (lost) age, followed by the start of the listing of another person.

Line 26 was only partly read, as .ατερα φιλ. In fact, the line reads (from the start) ἐξ ἐτέρας ἀπογρα(φῆς), followed by traces. We thus learn that the information from the declaration of 147 ends in line 25. The wording, however, is not identical to that introducing the second declaration in line 20, and it is thus possible that we have information from another declaration from the same census.

It remains difficult to see what common threads link the documents assembled on this papyrus, and reconstruction of a family history seems to me excessively speculative.

48. *P.Fouad* 15

This declaration for the census of 117 is well-preserved at right but damaged on all other sides.[8] At top and foot, however, the losses are relatively minor. It is the loss at left that impedes reconstruction of the household of renters declared here by the owner of a house in Arsinoe.

The household of renters is listed as follows:

(1) Heron son of Diodoros (son of Ptolemaios) and Thaisarion, [ἰδιώτ]ης[9] λαογρ[α]φούμενος | [ἐπικεκ]ριμένος [(ἐτῶν)] λβ̄.

(2) His full brother, whose name is lost but who probably had the identical status.[10] His age is mostly lost (line 20), and none of it was read by the editor. But he is likely to have been younger, or at least no older, than the brother listed first, as is the normal practice in census declarations. I can, in fact, see traces before ἄσημον in line 20 which are compatible with an alpha, and [(ἐτῶν) λ]α seems to me a likely restoration, especially considering the man's wife's age (cf. the next entry). Lambda does not seem possible.

(3) Thaisas, wife of no.2, whose age (line 22) was read by Waddell as λη, 38. The eta is certain, but the slope of the surviving strokes in the preceding letter is not compatible with lambda. Instead I see parts of the vertical and two diagonals of kappa, yielding an age of 28. Women were normally younger than their husbands, and the combination of 31 and 28 yields a difference of three. Since the modal difference was four, with three and five the next most common, the situation may be described as normal. Though the argument may seem to be circular, the alternatives are most unlikely (husband 31, wife 38; brothers out of age sequence).

(4) Their son (restore [ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων υἱὸν] in 23) Dionysios, 2.

(5-6) Their daughters (restore in 24 [καὶ θυγατέρας . . .].ον) . . .on and Isis, 13. The papyrus (line 25) as preserved shows only] γ, but it is more reasonable to suppose that a small fragment has come off than that the editor simply invented the tens' digit. The twin daughters were thus eleven years older than their brother and born when their mother was 15.

It is worth noting that the papyrus is written in a non-professional hand, akin to those found in private letters. Since both top and bottom are damaged, nothing can be said about the destination and use of this declaration. One might see it as a private copy, but the survival of a strip of vertical fibers at the right edge could point to its originally having been pasted into a roll.[11]

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[8]I am most grateful to Professor Zaki Aly for having obtained for me an excellent photograph of the papyrus, now kept in the Egyptian Museum (Jd'E 72054), printed here as Plate 3.

[9]One of the editor's suggestions (note to line 15) and surely the correct one.

[10]Restoring ἰδιώτης in 19 and ἐπικεκριμένος in 20 offers no difficulty.

[11]In line 28, presumably restore [ἐπιδέδωκα τὴν] ἀπογραφήν.

49. *P.Fouad* 59 = *SB* XII 11232

This papyrus, which offered substantial difficulties to its first editor, Naphtali Lewis, was republished by Ludwig Koenen in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 216-18, as a byproduct of the work of the International Photographic Archive of Papyri in Cairo. It is an extract from the census register based on declarations covering the 8th year of Vespasian (76/7). Two consecutive entries in it, in which two ages were apparently given for the persons in question, had puzzled Lewis by failing to conform to the normal pattern, in which the age is given first as it was in the year of the census, then the number of the preceding regnal year, then the age in that year (always one less). For example,

W.Chr. 220.10   Εὔβουλ(ος) ἀδελ(φὸς) μη(τρὸς) τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπικ(εκριμένος) κάτοικ(ος) (ἐτῶν) κβ, ς (ἔτει) (ἐτῶν) κα ἄση(μος).

P.Corn. 16.1-4[12] ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐ]τοῦ ἀμφόδ(ου) Γυμνασίου |]. Ἥρωνος ἐπὶ Μοήρεῳ(ς) |].δ( ) μη(τρὸς) Λεοντίου ἰδιώ(της) λαο(γραφούμενος) (ἐτῶν) μς, α (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) με |].ς...( ) λαο(γραφούμενος) (ἐτῶν) [ι]ς, α (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) ιε

and 19-20]δ( ) τοῦ . . . .. Λευκαρροῦ | ι]διώ(της) λαογ(ραφούμενος) (ἐτῶν) κδ, ιε (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) κγ

More examples could be cited. The pattern, however, is fairly consistent. The excerpt gives two ages, the first that during 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. In the Fouad papyrus, by contrast, Lewis noted, the first instance gives 48 followed by 41, the second 4 followed by 5. The second of these could be explained, he pointed out, by supposing a reversal of the normal order in which the information was given, but it was difficult to find any explanation that did not involve a scribal error for the first case.

Koenen reread the papyrus (of which he presents a plate) as follows: Διονῦσις Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδ(ου)[13] | μητρὸς Κλεοπᾶτος τῆς Διονυσίου ειδι(ώτης) λαογρ(αφούμενος) (ἐτῶν) μ´, η´ <(ἔτει)> | (ἐτῶν) μα´, οὐλ(ὴ) πήχ(ει) δεξιῷ. Διονῦσις υἱ(ὸς) μητ(ρὸς) Ἡρακλοῦτ(ος) | τῆ[ς] Διοσκορ(ίδου) ἀναγεγρα[μ]μ[έ]νος ἐν ἐπιγεγεννημ(ένοις) | (ἐτῶν) δ, (ἐτῶν) ε, ἄσημ(ος). He commented, "Wenn solche doppelten Angaben gemacht werden, bezieht sich die eine auf das gegenwärtige Alter, die andere auf das Alter in den letzten Deklaration" (p.218). This is certainly incorrect. The previous declaration would have been 14 years earlier.

[12]See *BASP* 28 (1991) 20.
[13]Koenen's text reads Ἡρακκλείδ(ου), but this is a misprint.

The correct explanation for the second case, I believe, is to be found in the procedure described above in the case of *P.Brux.* 19. Dionysios the son was registered among the births of year 4; in year 8, four years later, he was reckoned as being five years old. That explanation assumes that the inclusive method of reckoning could sometimes be used, and while I cannot demonstrate that to be so for the census returns, it is common enough in antiquity to be at least plausible.

In the second case the situation is more difficult. Koenen's explanation was that a year-sign had been omitted, so that Dionysios *père* had been 40 in year 7, 41 in year 8 (the census year). Study of the plate, however, persuades me that this cannot be correct. The numeral marks he inserts are not there; the papyrus reads L μη | L μα. The father is not recently born, and the phrase ἐν ἐπιγ(εγενημένοις) is not present. There is no reason to look for the same phenomenon as in the case of his son. The other pattern must therefore have been intended: (ἐτῶν) μη, ϛ (ἔτους) (ἐτῶν) μϛ. I do not see how we will escape supposing a scribal error, and a reading or writing error for the normal pattern seems to me a far more plausible supposition than an error for an unknown pattern.

50. P.Graux inv. 937

P.Graux inv. 937 was described in the inventory published by H. Henne, "Catalogue sommaire de la collection des papyrus grecs de l'École," *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* (1931-32) 3-19, as a declaration from Arsinoe and from the census of an unknown year in the second century.[14] It was duly registered as such in the lists of M. Hombert and C. Préaux (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V, p.173) and G. Nachtergael (*P.Brux.*, p.52).[15] The provenance seems certain: formulas of the type ἀπογράφομαι ἐμαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰς τὴν τοῦ διεληλυθότος -- ἔτους --- κατ᾽ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφήν are found exclusively in the Arsinoite Nome. As to the date, if my reading of line 6 is correct, the declaration refers to the census of 131/2, and it is thus probable that the date is in the spring or early summer of 133.[16]

The papyrus, which is written with the fibers, is broken on all sides except the right, where the original margin is preserved. The numerous holes add to its difficulty, as does the very fast but rather irregular hand in

[14]It is now in the collection of the Institut de Papyrologie at the University of Paris (Sorbonne), and the following edition, based on a photograph (here plate 4), is made possible by the kindness of Professor Alain Blanchard.

[15]In R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, it is included in the Catalogue as no. 131-Ar-11.

[16]The reading is not without its difficulty, even on the original, but I cannot see any alternative.

which it is written. At the upper left, a piece containing parts of lines 2-4 has been bent over to the right so that lines do not appear to flow smoothly. Reconstructing the household under these circumstances is only partly possible. The amount lost at left appears in lines 7 and 8 to have been around 40 letters. At this writer's average of some 4 characters per cm., about 10 cm. must be lost. It is clear from the plurals in lines 5 and 6 that there were multiple declarants. Considerations of space and a somewhat uncertain reading make it probable that the first declarant is the person described in line 7, a 32-year-old male registered in the amphodon of Dionysiou Topoi. He is followed immediately by children by a former wife; the space available in line 9 makes it likely that this wife is divorced from him rather than dead. The enumeration of the children themselves seems not to begin until late in line 9 and to continue into the lacuna in line 10.

Beyond that point, matters become less clear. Line 10, as preserved, opens with a reference to "the children of Apollonios and ....ion", who are then enumerated: Philippos and probably one lost in line 11. In the rest of line 11 we apparently find the mention of a sister named Sarapias, for whom only a mother's name is given. It follows that she was the half-sister of the first declarant (the first-person 'author' of the text), on his father's side, and I have so restored the text. It seems likely (cf. line 4) that she was one of the declarants and thus co-owners of the property, which seems therefore likely to have been an inheritance from their common father.

But who are Apollonios and ....ion? One could imagine that if Apollonios were declarant 1, ...ion might be his second wife. But the first-person character of what survives in line 7 makes it virtually certain that Apollonios is *not* declarant 1, and one would have expected ....ion to be enumerated herself before the children. I do not, however, see how space can be found for Apollonios and his wife in what precedes this point.

I have not managed to assign the exiguous traces of the opening lines to the introductory address formulas that one expects. From the line width and the fact that the ὑπάρχει clause begins only in line 5, it is evident that a considerable amount of space was devoted to the introduction. Given the scribe's penchant for fast writing and abbreviation, it seems unlikely that more than about a quarter of this space can have been devoted to the address, leaving plenty of room for the multiple declarants I have argued for above.

15.1 x 7.5 cm.

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                                        -- -- --

1   [   ]της .[- 10 -]. .[.].[. .

                       . . . . .]. .σ.[

2 [   ]. . . . .[. . ἀπ'
    ἀμφό]δ(ου) Διονυσίου τόπ(ων) vacat

3 [   ] Ηρα . . . . Ηρα.[. . .
    .]ου . . .].ου τῳ . . . .
    [- 8 -]φοδου

4 [   ] Σαραπι[ά]δος [. . . . . .]ος
    μη(τρὸς) Παρ. .[. .]. . .[.].δου προαναγραφο(
) . . . . ἀμφόδου

5 [ὑπάρχει] ἡμῖν κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου (ἥμισυ) τρίτ[ο]ν μέρος
    κοινὸν ἀδιαίρετ[ον] ο[ἰ]κίας καὶ αὐλ(ῆς)

6 [καὶ - - - ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Διονυσίου τόπ(ων) ἐν ᾧ ἀπογραφό]μεθα
    ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ
    διεληλυθ(ότος) ις (ἔτους) Ἀδριαν̣ο[ῦ]

7 [Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴν] ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)
    Δ[ι]ονυσίου τόπ(ων)· καὶ εἰμι Ἀφροδ( ) ὁ
    προγ(εγραμμένος) ἐπικεκριμ(μένος) ἐν
    κατοί[κ]οις (ἐτῶν) λβ οὐλ(ὴ) χίλει τῷ κάτω

8 [ἀπογεγραμμένος καὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀπογραφῇ ἐπὶ τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ
    ἀμφόδ(ου) Διονυσίου τόπ(ων)· καὶ τὰ
    γεγον̣ότ(α) ἐκ τῆς γενομέν̣[ης]

9 [καὶ ἀποπλεγμένης μου γυναικὸς - - -].ς Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Χαιρήμ(ονος)
    μητρὸς Διονυσαρίου τῆς Διονυσίου
    θυγ(ατέρας) Κ . . . . . .

10 [(ἐτῶν) . ἄση(μον) μὴ ἀναγεγρα(μμένην) καὶ ΝΝ (ἐτῶν) . ἄση(μον)
    μὴ ἀναγεγρα(μμένην), καὶ τ]ὰ Ἀπολλωνίου
    κα̣ὶ . . .ιου τέκνα Φίλιππον (ἐτῶν) ς ἄση(μον)
    μὴ ἀναγεγρα(μμένον)

11 [καὶ ΝΝ (ἐτῶν) - ἄση(μον) μὴ ἀναγεγρα(μμένον)· καὶ τὴν
    προ]γ(εγραμμένην) [ὁ]μο[πάτριόν μ]ου
    ἀδελφὴν Σαραπιάδα μητρὸς . . . παρ . . .

12 [- 20 - ἀπογεγραμμένην καὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀπογραφῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
    ἀμ]φόδου [

13 [   ] . [

-- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --

51. *P.Lond.* II 182b (p.62)

After the note on this text (an extract from a declaration from Karanis, originally filed in 161) in *BASP* 27 (1990) 6-7 had gone to press, I had the opportunity to see the original papyrus and reconsider the still unsolved problem of line 14, in which the name of Dideis is preceded by Θαιλερας, inexplicable on any count. The correct reading is θηλείας, "females,"

introducing the following section, of which the two surviving persons are
indeed women.

52. *P.Rein.* I 49 = *W.Chr.* 207

When Reinach published this Antinoite declaration of 215/6, in 1905, it
was the first such declaration known from any of the Greek cities of Egypt.
Although in the meantime it has been joined by two Antinoite declarations
from the census of 187 (*P.Oxy.* VIII 1110 and *PSI* XII 1227), and an
undated Columbia declaration (inv. 420b) will be published in *P.Col.* XI,
Antinoite declarations remain rarities. The papyrus, now inv. 2057 in the
Institut de Papyrologie at the Sorbonne, is an original (with signatures at
the foot) of large format, some 30 cm. wide and 16 cm. high. Parts of the
margins are preserved on all sides except the right, where about eight letters
are lost. Large holes, especially on the left side, make the text far less clear
than one would like, and formulaic elements are only of limited use in
reconstructing it. When Wilcken republished the text in 1912 he remarked,
"Im einzelnen enthält der Text noch viele Stellen, die einer Revision am
Original dringend bedürfen." From this one gathers that Wilcken did not
see the original, but depended on the conjectures of others and his own
reasoning; he does not indicate that he has seen a photograph, either. The
notes below come from an examination of the original in June, 1993; I have
also had the use of a photostat provided by Alain Blanchard, to whom I am
indebted for his hospitality also on the occasion of my visit.

A major curiosity—and from the point of view of demographic inquiry,
a disaster—is that this declaration omits any mention of the ages of the per-
sons involved, who are a mother and her two children. Most of the text, in
fact, is devoted to an enumeration of properties. Even so, the identification
of the persons has a number of difficulties. It appears in Reinach's text as
follows (with accentuation added, editorial practice standardized, and dots
omitted):

3   πα[ρὰ] Αὐρηλία[ς Θ]ερμουθα[ρίο]υ, [μητ]ρὸς Αὐρηλίας ᾿Αλίν[ης
     .].[.]ν[. .] Πρ[ε]σβυτέρου, ἀπελε[υθέ]ρου [Π]τολεμαίου
     Εὐαγ[γε-?]
4   λ[ια]νοῦ β[ο]υλ[ευτ]οῦ ᾿Αντι[νοέ]ω[ν], καὶ Μάρκου [Α]ὐρ[η]λίου
     [Εὐδα]ίμ[ον]ος τοῦ καὶ Βησοδ[ώ]ρ[ου, καὶ Α]ὐρηλίας Μ..ια
     τῆς καὶ [Βασιλείας],
5   ἀ[φ]ηλίκων, διὰ [Αὐρ]ηλί[ου Β]ησα[ρί]ωνο[ς] . . . Αὐρη[λ(ίου)]
     Ε[ὐδαί]μονος δὲ τοῦ Νερουιανείου [τοῦ] καὶ γενο[μένου] . .
     μου μεν[. .
6   [π]ατρὸ[ς . .]τω[. .].ρο.[. . .]εν[. .]ν[. . . . .]φ.[. . . .]ων[. . . .].ω[. .

Reinach identified three persons: Aurelia Thermoutharion, daughter of Aurelia Aline; her minor son M. Aurelius Eudaimon Besodoros; and her minor daughter Aurelia M..ia Basileia. The name Basileia was derived from line 13 (on which see below). He commented, "on ne voit pas bien la relation de parenté d'Aliné avec . . . Presbytéros (?), affranchi de Ptolémée Evangelianus, bouleute d'Antinooupolis. La femme se fait assister par deux personnages (δια, l. 5) dont l'un est peut-être nommé de nouveau l. 10 et paraît être un fonctionnaire local." The passage in line 13 to which Reinach alluded was transcribed (beginning in line 12) as μου [π]αῖδες Αὐρήλιος Εὐδα[ίμων ὁ καὶ] | Βησό[δ]ω[ρος καὶ M. .ια ἡ] καὶ Βασίλε[ι]α. Reinach noted on line 5 that "les caractères qui suivent Βησαριωνοσ pourraient s'interpréter φρο(ντιστου)."

When Wilcken reedited the declaration, he took the last hint seriously but introduced few other improvements into the text, which he gave as follows:

3   πα[ρὰ] Αὐρηλία[ς Θ]ερμουθα[ρίο]υ, [μητ]ρὸς Αὐρηλίας ᾿Αλίν[ης
    .].[.]ν[.   .] πρ[ε]σβυτέρου ἀπελε[υθέ]ρου [Π]τολεμαίου
    Εὐαγ[γε-?]

4   λ[ια]νοῦ β[ο]υλ[ευτ]οῦ ᾿Αντι[νοέ]ω[ν] καὶ Μάρκου [Α]ὐρ[η]λίου
    [Εὐδα]ίμ[ον]ος τοῦ καὶ Βησοδ[ώ]ρ[ου καὶ Α]ὐρηλίας M. . ια
    τῆς καὶ [Βασιλείας]

5   ἀ[φ]ηλίκων διὰ [Αὐρ]ηλί[ου Β]ησα[ρί]ωνο[ς] φρο(ντιστοῦ),
    Αὐρη[λ(ίου)] Ε[ὐδαί]μονος δὲ τοῦ Νερουιανείου [τοῦ] καὶ
    Γενε[αρχείου] . . μου μεν[. .

6   [π]ατρὸ[ς . .]τω[. .].ρο.[. . .]εν[. .]ν[. . . . .]φ.[. . . .]ων[. . . .].ω[. .

Wilcken comments only "Aurelia Thermutharion reicht die Eingabe zusammen mit ihren zwei Kindern ein, einem Sohn und einer Tochter. Beide sind noch minorenn (ἀφήλικες), weshalb sie mit ihrem φροντιστής (5) hier auftreten." He does not offer any explanation of what Aurelius Eudaimon in line 5 is, or offer any hypothesis for what appeared in line 6.

In the year after Wilcken's reedition there appeared Ernst Kühn's *Antinoopolis*, a Leipzig dissertation approved by Wilcken the previous year, and which quotes the text from the *Chrestomathie*. Kühn noticed the problems in the text and commented as follows (151): "Da ich die Angabe des offenbar verstorbenen Gatten der Frau und Vaters der beiden Kinder vermisse und in dem lückenhaften Schluß des Präskriptes nichts anderes zu suchen wüßte, schlage ich folgende, zu den angegebenen Spuren von Z. 5/6 passende Ergänzung vor: Αὐρη[λ(ίου)] Ε[ὐδαί]μονος δὲ τοῦ Νερουιανείου [τοῦ] καὶ Γενε[αρχείου] [ἐ]μοῦ μὲν [ἀνδρὸς (?)], | [π]ατρὸ[ς δὲ] τῶ[ν π]ρο[ειρημ]έν[ω]ν [δυοῖν ἀ]φ[ηλίκ]ων [᾿Αντινοέ]ω[ν]." Kühn did not explain whether he thought that Aurelius Eudaimon was alive or dead. He did,

however, have the sense to ask Reinach to have his suggestions controlled
on the original, which de Ricci did. Kühn prints de Ricci's readings, which
confirmed most of the essential elements of the proposal (a few deviations
are noted below). But de Ricci did not accept Reinach's suggestion to read
φρο, which had been accepted by Wilcken and was essential to Kühn's
interpretation. Kühn comments (152), "wenn de Ricci jetzt an der vor-
hergehenden Stelle νεϣ δε statt φρᵒ liest, so kann das m. E. unmöglich
richtig sein; es ist φροντιστής oder ein anderes Wort für den Begriff Tutor
zu erwarten."[17]

Consultation of the original shows that de Ricci was right in rejecting
the reading φρο, which I cannot reconcile with the traces. It must be
remarked that the scribe was not quite in control of his material in this pas-
sage, for both the δέ here and the δὲ τοῦ after Eudaimon's name are super-
fluous. It is therefore hard to be certain just what is wanted. The traces at
the critical point seem to me to be νερᵂ, with the raised letter capable of
interpretation as an abbreviation stroke for something other than omega. I
suggest that the scribe began on Νερουιανείου τοῦ καὶ Γενεαρχείου, then
realized that he was missing the patronymic, which he provided, and only
then added the Antinoite tribe and deme on which he had made a false start
earlier. If this is correct, then we are to understand here "through Aurelius
Besarion son of Aurelius Eudaimon, Nervianeius and Genearcheius, my
husband and the father of the aforesaid two minor children."[18] If this is cor-
rect, Besarion is still living and not divorced from the declarant. It seems
likely that he submitted his own declaration, for reasons we cannot now
recover but that seem likely to have to do with property.

Reinach's transcript of the end of the declaration is very incomplete,
although he does not indicate so, and Wilcken printed Reinach's text with
almost no change. In fact, considerably more than this survives, and the
traces are significant for reconstructing the earlier passages. I read

21   (2 H.) Αὐρηλία Θερμ[ουθάριον
22   (3 H.) κ[αὶ] Αὐρήλιο[ι Εὐ]δαίμων [ὁ καὶ] Βησόδ[ωρο]ς καὶ Μαρία ἡ
                καὶ Βασίλ[εια οἱ] δύο δι[ὰ π]ατρὸς αὐτ[ῶν

followed by traces in line 23 which I cannot read except for the letters γρα,
suggesting a formula concerning literacy. These readings provide us with a
first name for the daughter, and at the same time, if correct, confirm that

[17]The BL (1.386) presents a version conflating Kühn's proposals and de Ricci's read-
ings, but curiously ignoring some of the latter and misreporting one.

[18]De Ricci read]τιω[ν here, but noted that the damaged letter could be a delta (Kühn
152 n.1). I think it is easy enough to interpret the surviving stroke as a ligature from the
right-hand diagonal of delta into the iota, thus accepting Kühn's apparent alternative of
παι]δίω[ν.

the intermediary for the children is their father rather than a tutor or steward. The part of Maria's name uncertainly read in line 22 are those preserved clearly in line 4, and the traces in line 4 are congruent with the letters read in line 22. Both names are rather striking, actually. Basileia is, unlike its male counterpart Basileios, rare at all periods. A third-century example appears to be found in *CPR* I 95.9. Maria, very common in earlier Jewish and later Christian contexts, is not at all common in the third century.[19] The fairly common later occurrences of Basileios might lead one to prefer a Christian context to a Jewish one here, but there is nothing in the rest of the family's nomenclature to explain the daughter's remarkable combination of names.

I give below a revised text of the lines discussed above:

3   παρὰ Αὐρηλίας [Θ]ερμουθα[ρίο]υ, μη[τ]ρὸς Αὐρηλίας Ἀλίν[ης
      .].[.]ν[.   .]   πρ[ε]σβυτέρου ἀπελευ[θ]έρου Πτολεμαίου
      Εὐαγ[γε-?]
4   λ[ια]νοῦ β[ο]υλ[ευ]τοῦ Ἀντι[νοέ]ω[ν] καὶ Μάρκου [Α]ὐρ[η]λίου
      [Εὐδα]ίμ[ον]ος τοῦ καὶ Βησοδ[ώ]ρ[ου καὶ] Αὐρηλίας Μαρία
      τῆς καὶ [Βασιλείας]
5   ἀ[φ]ηλίκων διὰ [Αὐρ]ηλίο[υ] Βησα[ρί]ωνος {Νερω( ) δὲ} Αὐρηλ(ίου)
      Ε[ὐδαί]μονος {δὲ τοῦ} Νερουιανείου [τοῦ] καὶ Γενε[αρχείου]
      ἐμοῦ μὲν [ἀνδρός,]
6   πατρὸ[ς δὲ] τῶ[ν προκ[ειμ]έν[ω]ν δ[ύο] ἀφη[λίκ]ων [παι]δίω[ν·.

It may be added that in line 3 the reading ['Ω]ρίωνο[ς] would be possible.

53. *SB* X 10219: A Veteran's Household

This papyrus, inv. 301 in the Giessen University Library, contains a declaration for the census of year 23 of Antoninus (159/60), submitted in the following year (Marcus and Verus 1) and no doubt more precisely in the spring or summer of 161. Written throughout in one hand and lacking any marks of receipt or registration, it may well be a copy of the original. It was edited by P.J. Sijpesteijn in *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 21 no.10 and reprinted four years later in the first fascicle of *SB* X. Except for a proposed correction by G. Foti Talamanca to the prefect's name (see *BL* 7.216), there has been no subsequent critical work registered. And yet the household recorded in this text is by no means easy to discern, and the text is full of problems. These are mainly the product of the damage to the papyrus, which is extensive at upper and lower left, at upper right, and down most of a middle strip. When these are coupled with a sometimes

[19]The instance partly restored in *P.Prag.* I 14.16 is by no means certain.

hard to read handwriting and some phraseology unique for census declarations, perplexity results.[20]

A photograph supplied by the Universitätsbibliothek Giessen (here plate 5) has allowed me to revise the text of the *editio princeps* in a number of places. I give below a new text, commentary on lines where changes have occurred or where problems remain, and some general discussion.

['Ιέρακι στρα(τηγῷ) καὶ Τιμαγένει βασιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ)
        'Αρσι]νο(ίτου) 'Ηρακ(λείδου) μερίδος [. . . .]

[- 30 -] . . . [- 10 -].εω(.) *vacat*

[- 23 - ὑπ]άρχε[ι] τῷ φροντι϶[ο]μέ[νῳ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ]

4   [- 21 -] . . . . [. . .] . . . . [τοῦ] κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος [- 8 -]

[- 10 - ἐπ' ἀμφόδ]ου Θεσμοφορίου ἥμισυ τετρακαιεικοστ[ὸν μέρος]

[οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς ἐ]ν ᾧ ἀπογρά(φομαι) ἐμαυ[τόν τε κ]αὶ τοὺς
        ἐμοὺ[ς εἰς τὴν τοῦ]

[διεληλυθό]τ[ος] κγ (ἔτους) Θεοῦ 'Αντ[ω]νίνου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν)
        ἀπογρα(φήν)· καί ε[ἰ]μι [Γάιος]

8   [Οὐαλέριος 'Απολλι]νάριος ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος) ἀπολύσιμος ἐγ
        λεγιῶνος β/ [Τραια]νῆς

'Ι[σχυρᾶς (ἐτῶν) . . οὐλὴ ἀν]τικνημίῳ ἀριστε[ρ]ῷ ἐπικεκριμένος ὑπὸ
        Μ[ο]υνα[τίο]υ

Φήλικος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος τῷ ιγ [(ἔτει) Θεοῦ 'Αντωνίνου, κα]ὶ
        τὸ[ν γεγ]ενημένον

μοι ἐκ τῆς γευομένης καὶ ἀποπεπλεγμέν[ης μο]υ γ[υνα]ι[κὸς . . . . .
        . . .]ας υἱὸν

12   Γάιον Οὐαλέριον Καπίτωνα (ἐτῶν) ϛ ἄσημο(ν) [καὶ δού]λην 'Ελίκην
        (ἐτῶν) [. .· ἄλλ(ην)] Νίκην (ἐτῶν) κ

ἀσήμο(υς), καὶ τὸν ὑ[π]ογεγρα(μμένον) κάτοικον Πτολ[εμαῖ]ον
        Διογένους τοῦ [. . . . . . . μητ]ρὸς Σύρας

τῆς Πτολεμαίου κ . . . . [. . . . .] ἐν στρατιᾷ ἐκτὸς [.].[. . .
        .] . [. .] χρη-

ματίσαντα Γάιον Οὐα[λέ]ριον Καπίτωνα (ἐτῶν) κθ ἄσημο(ν),
        ἀπογεγρα(μμένον) τῇ τοῦ θ (ἔτους)

16   Θεο[ῦ] Ἀ[ντ]ωνίνου κ[ατ' οἰκίαν] ἀπογρα(φῇ)] . . . ὡς Πτολεμαῖος
        Μάρκου 'Ανθεστίου

[- 25 - ἀναγρα]φ[ο]μένου ἐπὶ τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀμφόδου
        Θεσμοφο-

[ρείου . . . . διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι. (ἔτους) α Αὐτ]οκράτορος
        Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

['Αντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορο]ς Καίσαρ[ο]ς Λουκίου
        Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου

20   [Σεβαστοῦ month, day]

1-3 The restoration of line 1 was in part proposed by the editor but not printed in his text. He did not include the basilikos grammateus, but his restoration is, even adding an (abbreviated) ἀντίγραφον ἀπογραφῆς, too short. With both addressees, however, it is probably too long to include ἀντίγραφον ἀπογραφῆς. Cf. *P.Fay.* 319 (in *Aegyptus* 70 [1990] facing 30) for a parallel that includes Timagenes. For Hierax, see G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (Florence 1987) 39; for Timagenes, p. 121. The reconstruction of line 2 depends on whether the declarant's names are to be restored in line 3, as the apparent *vacat* in line 2 might suggest (following the addressees' names and titles). In that event, one would restore [Διδύμῳ τῷ καὶ Πατάλῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ] γρα[μμα(τεῦσι) μητροπό]λεω(ς). The editor did not restore the declarant's names at this point, nor these addressees.

There is certainly space before ὑπ]άρχε[ι for names, but it may not be sufficient. Apollinarios' name is guaranteed by line 8, while the praenomen (probably) and nomen (certainly) are secured by the name of his son in line 12. Since the son was born after Apollinarios' discharge, and by a lawful wife (line 11), the attribution of at least the son's nomen to the father is virtually obligatory. But παρὰ followed by the three names occupies 30 characters even if no other identifying information is given (which is unlikely; status or place of residence is almost always given). One is then led to consider the possibility that the declarant's names stood in line 2, not line 3. If so, the names could have been followed either by ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπό]λεω(ς) or by ἀπολυσίμου β/ λε]γεῶ(νος). In favor of the first restoration it may be argued that it is closer to the space available, that the letter looks more like a lambda than a gamma, and that the writer spells λεγιών with an iota, not an epsilon (line 8).

All in all, the uncertainties seem to me to dictate restraint. The restoration of Apollinarios' name and identification in line 2, rather than the restoration of the grammateis of the metropolis, would seem compelling were it not for the large blank that then results at the start of line 3. It is conceivable, of course, that name and ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως stood in line 2, then military information in line 3, but one would then be left with an awkward blank at the end of line 2, which appears to me from the photograph to be genuine.

3 For the construction with τῷ φροντιζομένῳ or τῇ φροντιζομένῃ see, e.g., *BGU* XI 2086, XIII 2223, 2233, *SB* VI 9554 (1). None of these preserves a suitable formula completely enough to help us very much here. The name of the ward should have been found in the first part of line 4. I owe the reading φροντι to Dieter Hagedorn.

4 The next element in the formula was certainly the reference to the prefect's edict. The editor read the prefect's names, before the title, as Φουρίου] Οὐικ[τωρ]είνου, but G. Foti Talamanca, *Studi E. Volterra* II 784 n.29, pointed out that Victorinus was no longer in office at the time of a declaration made in year 1 of Marcus and Verus, since Antoninus Pius died on 7 March 161 and Victorinus' successor Maecianus was already in office in February of that year. She consequently proposed Volusius Maecianus: Οὐολουσί]ου Μ[αικ]ιανοῦ. Unfortunately, this reading simply does not correspond to the remains on the papyrus any better than the editor's text. On the other hand, Maecianus did not leave office before the end of year 1, being attested in *P. Gen.* I 35 in Hathyr (November) of a year the numeral of which is lost but which can only be 2, as year 1 of these emperors had no Hathyr. It is therefore difficult *not* to suppose that the prefect is Maecianus, but reconciling his name with the traces remains just as difficult. The traces certainly end with ου, but the letter before that appears to be iota. Before the short lacuna one *might* read Μ[α]ικιν[ια]νίου, supposing a mistake in transcribing the name. The most difficult letter to accept in this reading would be the second nu, but the papyrus is not in good condition on the edge of the hole there.

Given the need to accommodate the ward's name in line 4, however, one must consider an entirely different line of argument. Some element of the edictal formula must have stood after ἡγεμόνος in line 4, and in the first ten letters of the lacuna of line 5. The order of elements in this formula varies considerably, sometimes even within the same village in the same year (as the declarations in *P.Alex.Giss.* show). It is possible that κελευσθέντα (however abbreviated) followed the prefect's title, or that both the prefect's names and κελευσθέντα did. The space available seems to favor the hypothesis that the prefect's names occupied the lacunas in lines 4 and 5, which they would fill very adequately. One would then be left with the ward's name plus κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ in line 4, which is possible if a bit tight. But there are traces to be read, and I have not been able to persuade myself that they are compatible with this reading either. The result, unfortunately, is another major unsolved problem.

5 ἥμισυ for the editor's μοι, which had forced him into an unnatural word order.

6 With an eight-letter lacuna after οἰκίας, the restoration καὶ αὐλῆς is close to mandatory.

7 Θεοῦ: Αἰλίου ed.pr. For the restoration of the declarant's name, cf. above, 1-2n.

8 The editor read [τῆς] λεγιῶνος Ζ, but the zeta is by no means compelling and would introduce a legion not known in the garrison of Egypt. Instead this is surely Legio II Traiana Fortis, well known in Egypt in this period and long afterward.

12   The editor read the son's cognomen as Ἰμετίωνα, but this name appears to be unparalleled except in line 15, where the editor also read it. In both places the well-known Capito is preferable. Ἑλίκην (a suggestion of Dieter Hagedorn) is read for the editor's Θεωρῖ[ν, Ν]ίκην for his]ικην. Nike is a common slave name in Roman Egypt. Helike, which occurs in the Ptolemaic period (in *BGU* VII), is not attested in Roman Egypt; but it is a sufficiently common Greek name that there is no reason to doubt it. The eta of δοὐ]λην is possible but uncertain; the traces look more like alpha, but δοὐ]λας is impossible.

13   κάτοικον: Evidently meant for ἔνοικον.

14   One might restore the last part of the line ἐκτὸς [Α]ἰ[γύπτου], thus "on military service outside Egypt." I have not been able to read the badly damaged traces in the earlier part of the line, where the clause about previous military service may have begun.

17   Perhaps restore Διογένους at the beginning of the line, if Ptolemaios' father used his original name as his cognomen. But that may not have been the case. Cf. *P.Bad.* IV 72B for Psenamounis son of Asemos, who became Marcus Longinus Valens.

18-20   Cf. note to line 4. It is unlikely that the date is earlier than mid-April, 161, allowing time for news of the new reign to arrive in Egypt.

The text and discussion above result in a household of five, four in the declarant's actual household and one lodger. His own household is

C. Valerius Apollinarios, veteran of Leg. II Traiana Fortis, age lost
C. Valerius Capito, his son, age 6
Helike, his slave, age lost
Nike, his slave, 20

The lodger is now styled Ptolemaios son of Diogenes and Syra, but he was formerly known as C. Valerius Capito when on military duty and before that, in the census of year 9 of Antoninus, as Ptolemaios son of Marcus Anthestius NN. He is now 29. The previous census was held when he was 15. After it, then, he entered military service for less than ten years. One can only presume that he was discharged for an incapacitating wound or illness, perhaps something suffered in the active duty mentioned in line 14. As he has not retained his *tria nomina* in retirement from the military, one may presume that he was not a citizen upon enlistment, and that he took his Roman name only for use in the military. This suggests that his service was in the auxiliaries rather than in the Second Legion. Why his father was using a Roman name in year 9 is less clear. If he were a legionary veteran, he would have retained the names after discharge, and Ptolemaios would not now be calling his father Diogenes. If he were an auxiliary veteran, he would probably no longer be using his name adopted for military service. If he were still in an auxiliary unit, he would not be able to have a legal

marriage, and Ptolemaios would not have a legitimate filiation. Two possibilities seem to remain. Diogenes may have married young and produced a child, then entered the military. Or the previous declaration may not have been wholly accurate.

How Ptolemaios came to know Apollinarios, and why the latter's son appears to have been named after him, we cannot tell. A possible explanation runs as follows: Ptolemaios entered an auxiliary unit in (say) year 11 or 12 of Antoninus and became acquainted and friendly with Apollinarios, a legionary nearing retirement. When Apollinarios retired a year or two later (year 13) and was able to contract a legal marriage, he named his son, born probably in year 17, after his young friend. Six years later the marriage was over and Ptolemaios, invalided out of the army, rented a room from his old friend. Or the homonymy may be the product of chance.

54. *SPP* II, p.32

This declaration (now P.Vindob.Inv. G.25757)[21] was published in 1902 by C. Wessely in an article titled "Die jüngsten Volkszählungen und die ältesten Indictionen in Ägypten." After ninety years, it is still the only known declaration from the census of 257 and the latest known representative of the 14-year census cycle. The declaration is, as Wessely noted, followed by indications that it was submitted by the declarant in connection with the epikrisis of her son Koprios. Wessely failed, however, to indicate accurately the condition of the papyrus and in consequence printed a text with restorations that cannot be entirely correct. In the printed edition, lines 1-2 are shown as being complete at left, lines 3-20 lacking approximately 14 letters at left, although Wessely restores fewer in some lines. In reality, however, the papyrus is broken from top to bottom along roughly a straight line, making it necessary to restore additional text in lines 1-2. The following text takes account of this need; the notes are intended to justify particular restorations and comment on the readings. It should be said that the first hand is often, though well preserved, remarkably difficult to read.

[ἀντίγραφον ἀπογρ(αφῆς)·] Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Μηνοδώρῳ τῷ (καὶ)
[- 15 -] Ἡρακλει( ) (καὶ) . . . δεκ(απρώτ--) η κλή(ρου)
[παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἑλ]ένης Σαραπάμμωνος τοῦ Διοσκόρου
[ἀναγρ(αφομένης) ἐπ᾽ ἀμφό(δου) Βιθ(υνῶν) ἄλ]λων τόπ(ων)·
                    ὑπάρχει μοι ἐπ᾽ ἀμφόδου
[- 8 - . .τρικὸ]ν οἰκίδιον ἐν ᾧ κατοι(κῶ) (καὶ) ἀπογρ(άφομαι)

4 (line label at left of fourth line)

[ἐμαυτήν τε καὶ τοὺς] ἐμοὺς εἰς τὴν τοῦ διε(ληλυθότος) ε
        (ἔτους) κατ' οἰ(κίαν)
[ἀπογρ(αφὴν) ἐπὶ τοῦ πρ]οκειμένου ἀμφό(δου) Βιθ(υνῶν)
        ἄλλων τόπ(ων)

8   [ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐν τῇ προ]τέρᾳ ἀπογρ(αφῇ) ἀπε(γραψάμην)· καί
        εἰμι Ἑλέ-
[νη ἡ προγεγραμ(μένη)] (ἐτῶν) λη· καὶ τὰ τέκνα μου
[- 10 - Κόπρι]ον (ἐτῶν) ε (καὶ) Μαρῖνος (ἐτῶν) α
[- 12 - διὸ] ἐπ(ιδίδωμι). (ἔτους) ϛ" Μεσ(ορὴ) ἐπ(αγομένων)
        δ .

12   [- 13 - (ἔτους)] ϛS" Μεσ(ορὴ) ἐπ(αγομένων) δ̄ .
[- 15 -].το(ς) σημιο(γράφου?) Αὐρ( ) Πλουταμμω(ν-)
[- 15 -]ιου σεση(μείωμαι).
[(2 H.) Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἑλένη ἐπέδωκα ἕ]νεκα ἧς ποιοῦμε
        ἐπικρίσεως Κοπρίου

16   [- 15 -]ος ἀπ' ἀμφόδου Μοήρεως ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῆς
[- 15 -] υἱοῦ αὐτῆς. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδρος
[- 15 -] vacat
[(3 H.) NN ἀπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Σε]κνεπτυνίου γνωρίζο ὃς πρόκιται.
20   [(4 H.) - 15 -]ος οὐλὴ γόνατι δεξιῷ μααριθ( ) μάγειρος.

Verso   Ἑλένης

1 The entirety of the declaration itself, including copies of the registra-
tion marks in lines 12-14, is written in the same hand, suggesting that it is a
copy of the original. The use of the declaration as part of an epikrisis
request would in any case make this almost inevitable. The exact abbrevia-
tion used in the lacuna is of course uncertain. Aurelius Menodoros remains
otherwise unknown.

2 This is one of the most difficult lines of the document to understand.
Wessely's Γερδεφ( ) γεγυμ(νασιαρχηκόσι?) satisfies neither palaeography
nor sense. The names of the strategos and basilikos grammateus in the
presumed year of filing, 259, are still unknown. The strategos of the
Herakleides Division, to whom declarations from Arsinoe itself were
usually directed, was Apollonios alias Hierax in 258 (cf. Bastianini-
Whitehorne 38), but the extent of his term is unknown. It is therefore
impossible to be certain if Ἡρακλει( ) here might refer to the Herakleides
Division (despite the absence of μερίδος) or if it is a name or patronymic. I
regard it as most likely that it is to be resolved Ἡρακλεί(δῃ), and that he
was one of the two dekaprotoi addressed (thus resolve δεκ(απρώτοις)). The
name of the second seems to me most likely to be Γερ( ), which is how
Wessely read these letters, although Klaas Worp has suggested Παῖ as an
alternative (this however strikes us as an unlikely name here). There is no
other evidence for any involvement of the dekaprotoi in the census process.

10 Wessely restored ἐκ τοῦ τετ(ελευτηκότος?) μου ἀνδ(ρὸς) in the lacuna, but this is unlikely to be correct; at least the name of the deceased husband would be essential to the status of the son. One might, therefore, restore ἐκ πατρὸς NN. Another possibility is that a son older than Koprios was declared here, NN (ἐτῶν) . καὶ. In that event, the following line may have contained ἀμφο(τέρους) ἐκ πατρὸς NN, although space may be short for that even with some further abbreviation.

12 The lacuna probably contained some registration information like κατεχ(ωρίσθη) βασιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ).

13 The suggestion of σημιο(γράφου) (or some other case) is due to Worp. Exactly what the role of a shorthand writer is here, I cannot say.

16 The lacuna may have contained information about Koprios' father, but probably not more than his name, given the need to fit in the name of the person who wrote on behalf of Helene.

17 Alexandros' role is obscure to me.

20 The reading μααριθ, with the theta written above the iota, seems clear enough, though by no means certain, but I cannot offer any convincing interpretation. I have left Wessely's μάγειρος, but without any particular conviction that it is the only possible reading.

Columbia University   Roger S. Bagnall

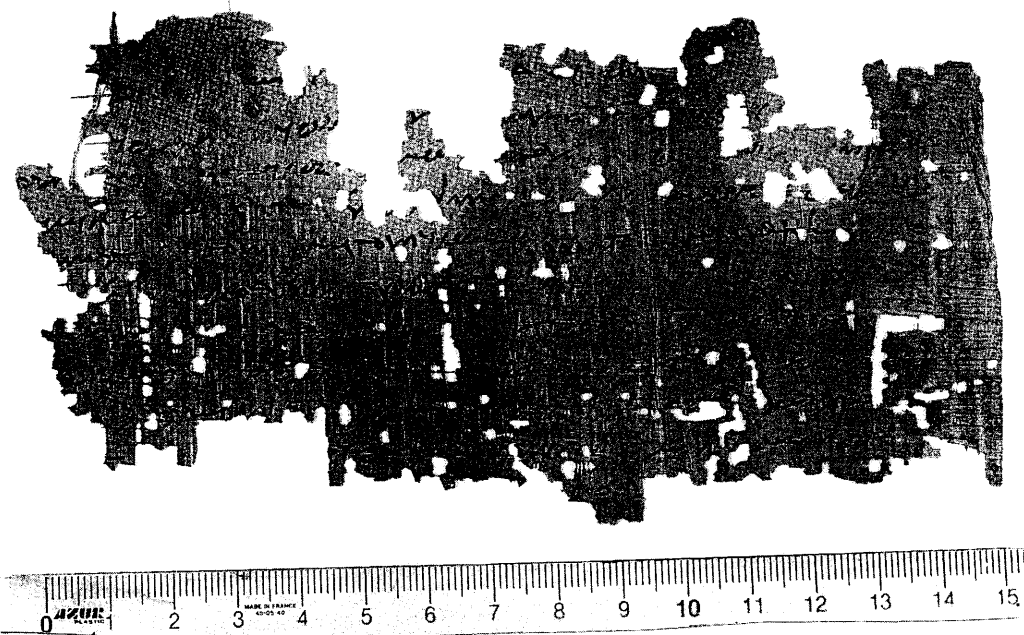Plate 3   (to Bagnall, "Notes on Census Declarations")

P.Fouad 15
(Courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

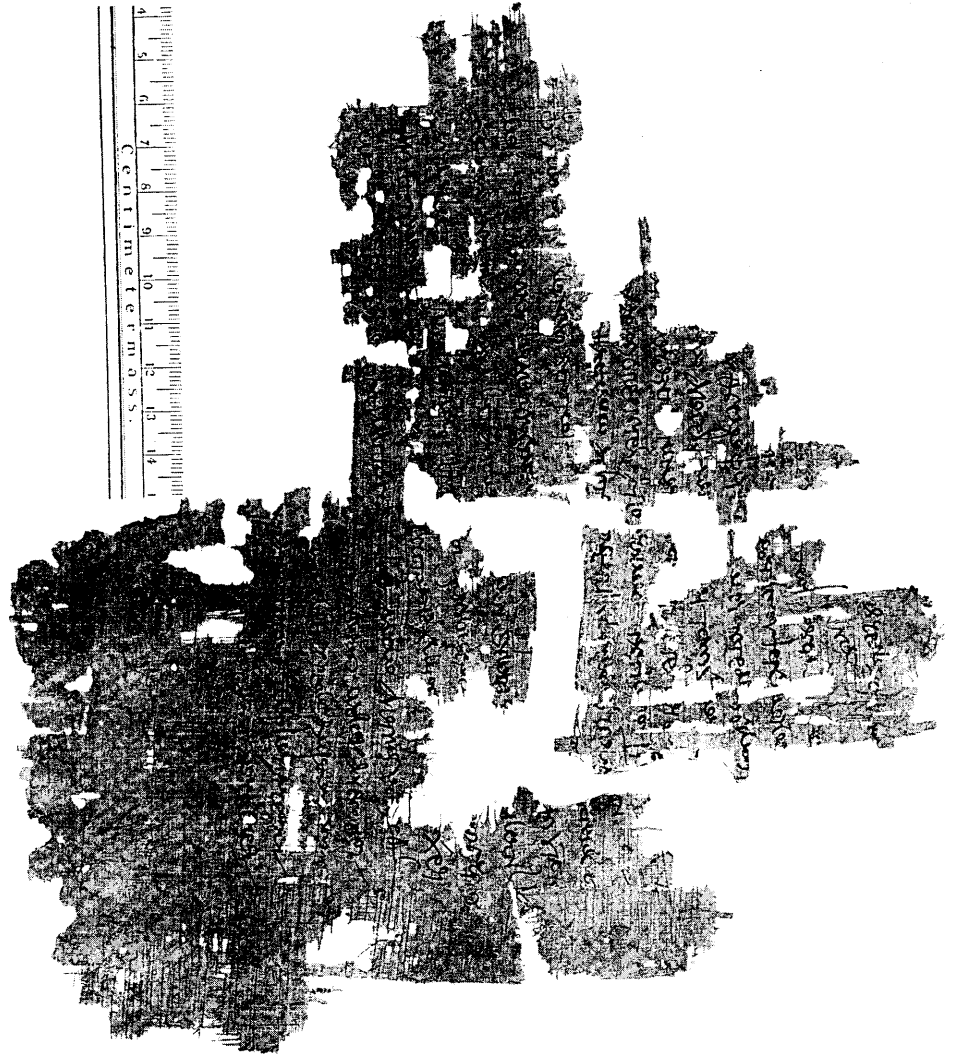**Plate 4**   (to Bagnall, "Notes on Census Declarations")

P.Graux inv. 937
(Courtesy of Institut de Papyrologie, Sorbonne)
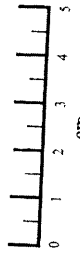
Plate 5   (to Bagnall, "Notes on Census Declarations")

P.Bibl.Univ.Giss. inv. 301
(Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek, Giessen)

Plate 6 (to Bagnall, "Notes on Census Declarations")

SPP II, p. 32 (P.Vindob.inv. G 25757)
(Courtesy Österrreichische Nationalbibliothek)