

ESTRATTO

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1-2

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## Census Declarations from Tebtunis

This article 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. It became clear first that a fair number of texts needed correction (1), and that a certain number of those in the standard lists (2) 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 fully published rather than left in the peculiar limbo created by use of the data without publication of the underlying evidence. This article is thus the first of several devoted to publishing such declarations, often long known but never fully published. It presents the texts of seven papyri from the excavations at Tebtunis, described in P.Tebt. II, which are published here courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, where they are kept (3). 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 (4).

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(1) I am revising all of them on the original or a photograph. See «BASP» 27 (1990) 1-14 and 28 (1991) 13-32, 121-33 for the first three installments of notes resulting from the investigation.

(2) The last comprehensive one was by G. NACHTERGAEL, P.Brux. I, pp. 51-58.

(3) For permission to publish them, I am indebted to Mr. Anthony Bliss of the Bancroft Library. I am grateful to him also for having some remounting done before photography in order to make text obscured by labels visible again and for his assistance during my visit to Berkeley in September, 1990.

(4) I am indebted to Klaas Worp for a number of helpful suggestions.

The Roman material published or described in P.Tebt. II came from excavation of houses in the village of Tebtunis. It is therefore natural to wonder if these seven texts are copies returned to the declarants. Certainly P.Tebt. 322, published in full, has the characteristics of a category of texts described by Hombert and Préaux, with official notations of the  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha$  form, in this case successively the strategos, the basilikos grammateus, and the grammateis of the city; it also has a signature (presumably of an official) at the top. They presented two possible explanations: 1. these duplicates circulated through official offices and wound up in one or them on file; 2. these were duplicates returned to the declarant as receipts (5). In the case of P.Tebt. 322, the declarant is a registrant of the metropolis, he declares no property in Tebtunis, and no official in Tebtunis is among the addresses. The simplest explanation here certainly is that we have a receipted copy returned to the declarant, who had a house in Tebtunis but was not legally registered there (6). As it happens, this hypothesis is supported by other evidence. The declarant was a grandson of the Lourios alias Apollonios who was  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$  of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon Oros for most of the first half of the second century, and thus certainly a resident of this area even if registered in the metropolis. The declarant himself, Achilleus, was *nomographos* in 173 (PSI X 1105) (7). It is virtually certain then that he had a residence in Tebtunis. P.Tebt. 321, on the other hand, is headed  $[\acute{\alpha}\nu]\tau\acute{\iota}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ , and is thus presumably a private copy made by way of extract (8). These two declarations thus seem to belong to different categories.

The seven papyri published here also cannot easily be assigned to any single category. Nos. 2-3 are attached to each other, presumably as part of a  $\tau\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (9). Neither has a signature (in

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BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE = G. BASTIANINI and J. E. G. WHITEHORNE, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (Pap.Flor. 15, Florence 1987). HOMBERT-PRÉAUX = M. HOMBERT and C. PRÉAUX, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (Pap.Lugd.Bat. 5, Leiden 1952).

(5) HOMBERT-PRÉAUX, 84-93, 130-31.

(6) He is declaring property in the metropolis, occupied by tenants, and states explicitly that he himself was registered in another declaration.

(7) For the family see E. M. HUSSELMAN, « TAPA » 88 (1957) 152-54.

(8) See HOMBERT-PRÉAUX, 144-46, on these copies.

(9) As noted by HOMBERT-PRÉAUX, 90.

the case of no. 3, the foot is well preserved), but each has a date in a second hand. The first hand differs between them, but the second appears to be the same. This situation is normal. Such declarations from Fayum villages are typically duplicates ('doubles' in Hombert and Préaux's terminology), with no signature, addressed to multiple recipients and preserved in administrative files (10). Since the right half of no. 3 is lost, it is uncertain if it included the basilikos grammateus in its address, but otherwise these two conform to the model expected for copies in the *tomoi* of officials. No. 3 certainly concerns a farmer of Talei registering land there, and no. 2 may also.

A more complicated problem is posed by nos. 4 and 5, which one might be tempted to guess to have been originally part of the same roll. They are just four days apart, addressed to the same strategos, and of about the same height. But no. 5 is headed with remains of a ἀντίγραφον formula, which no. 4 lacks. It thus seems likely that no. 5 is a private copy. It is possible that no. 4 also is such, but there is no direct evidence for that, and it could have been submitted to the strategos and remained in his archives (11). In no. 4, the location of most of the property is lost, but one parcel is in the village of Arsinoe. In no. 5, the registrants are an Antinoite and a metropolitan, but the property is in Tebtunis.

No. 7 is also a private copy, since it also is described as an ἀντίγραφον. The foot of the document is not preserved, but we have no reason to doubt that the same hand was used throughout. The declarant is a resident of the metropolis, and it is addressed to the strategos, the basilikos grammateus, and the laographos of her amphodon. It is very possible that she actually lived in Tebtunis; if this were a copy directed to an official in that village because the property lay there, it would not have the ἀντίγραφον formula. But it may equally well have concerned property located in Tebtunis, as in no. 5.

About the other two it is hard to be certain. No. 1, addressed to the strategos, basilikos grammateus, and komogrammateus of Samareia, is poorly preserved, with the foot missing. It concerns property in Samareia owned by a *katoikos* (thus a metropolitan registrant). No. 6, addressed only to the strategos, preserves a date in the same hand as

(10) HOMBERT-PRÉAUX, 90.

(11) The scribbles at the foot, upside down to the main text, seem to have no connection to the census process.

the body, but no signature and no official subscriptions. It seems most likely to have been a copy submitted to the strategos and retained in his archives, but a duplicate retained by the declarant cannot be excluded. It concerns property in Tebtunis and is submitted by a registrant of that village.

It seems probable, then, that some of the declarations found in Tebtunis were copies — either receipted originals or subsequent copies — held by their declarants and found there because these declarants actually lived in the village (P.Tebt. 321, 322; nos. 1, 5, 7). Nos. 2 and 3, however, cannot be explained except as part of official archives, and nos. 4 and 6 may well have belonged to such as well.

## 1.

P.TEBT. II 566 descr.

*Samareia*, 133<sup>p</sup>

Only the beginning of this declaration is preserved. Ptolemaios, a *katoikos* registered in the metropolis of the Arsinoite Nome, declares property in Samareia belonging to him and to the children of his two daughters. Only the very beginning of the list of persons registered there is preserved, but it is sufficient to indicate that Ptolemaios declared no one in these properties. The formula is normal.

10,8 × 10,5 cm. Broken at left and below. With the fibers. The back is blank. *Samareia*, Arsinoite, 133<sup>p</sup>. See « Archiv » 6 (1920) 144, 222, where lines 1-4 are given.

[Ἄνδρ]ομάχῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) καὶ Π[τολεμαίῳ βασι]λ(ικῶ)  
 γ[ρα(μματοῖ)] Πολέμωνος μερίδ[ος]

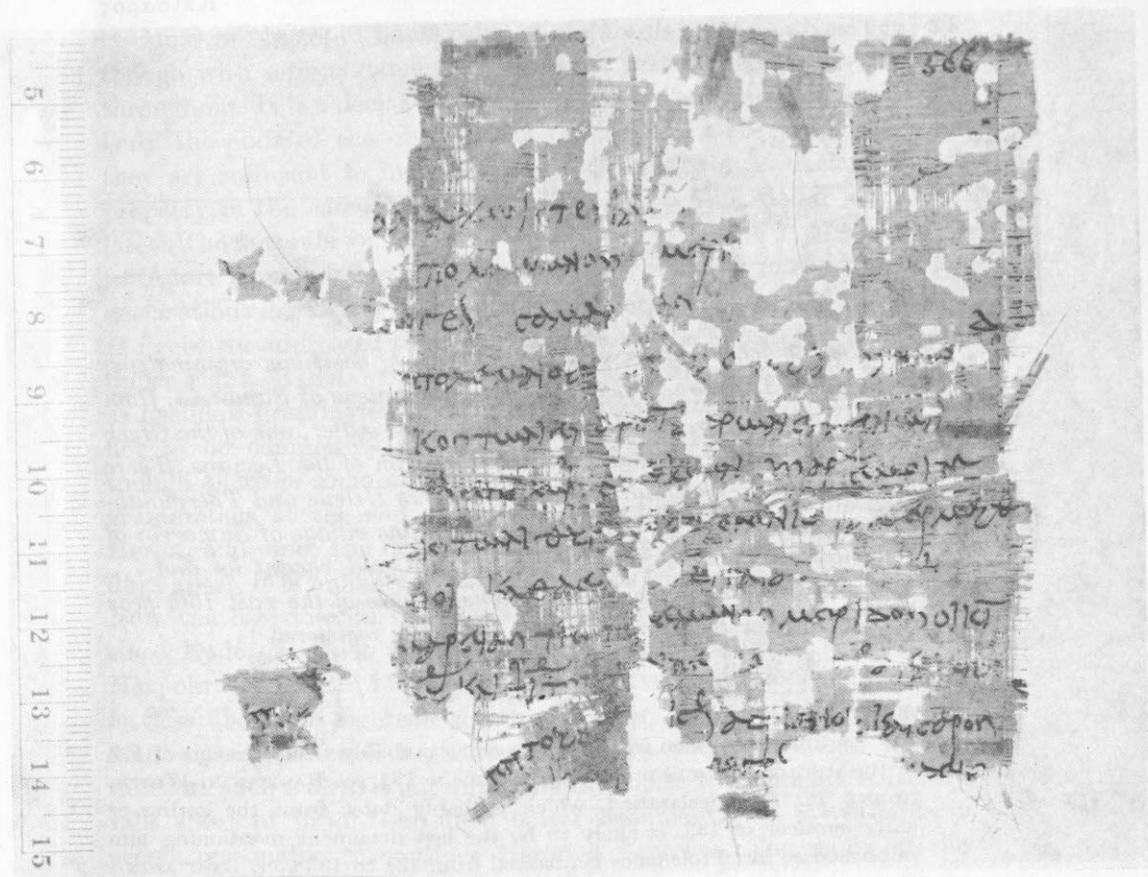
[καὶ κ]ωμογρ(αμματοῖ) Σαμαρ[εῖ]ας

4 [παρά] Πτολεμαίου ...[.].. τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδ(ου)

[κάτ]οικος τῶν ἐν Ἀρσι(νοίτη) ἀ[ν]δρῶν Ἑλλήνων

[ἀνα]γρ(αφόμενου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδο(υ) Λυκίων ὑπάρχ(ει) ἐμοί τε

[καὶ] τοῖς τῶν θυγατέρων Ἑλένης καὶ Θερμουθ(αρίου)



Tav. 1 - P. Tebt. 566

- 8 [τέ]χνοι[ς] καθ' ἃ ἔχ[ουσι] δίκαια π[ε]ρ[ι] κ[ώ]μ(ης)  
 [Σα]μαρείας τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος οἰκί(α)  
 [καί] αὐλ(ή) καὶ ψιλ(ός) τόπ(ος) καὶ περ.ε[...]. . . ἃ καὶ ἀπο-  
 γρά(φομαι) εἰς τ]ήν τοῦ δελεη]λ(υθότος) ες (ἔτους) Ἄδριανοῦ  
 Καίσαρος
- 12 [τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν ἀ]πογρα(φήν) [ἐν οἷς σ]ύδεις  
 [ἀπογράφεται
- — — — —

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5 κατοίκου

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*To Andromachos, strategos, and Ptolemaios, basilikos grammateus, of the Polemon Division, and to the komogrammateus of Samareia, from Ptolemaios son of NN, grandson of Apollonides, settler, one of the Greek men in the Arsinoite, registered in the amphodon of the Lycians. There belong to me and to the children of my daughters Helene and Thermoutharion, in proportion to the rights they have, in the village of Samareia of the Polemon Division, a house and courtyard and vacant lot and . . . which I also register for the house-by-house census of the past 16th year of Hadrian Caesar the Lord, in which no one is registered . . .*

1. For Andromachos, who is attested in office probably from the end of 126 or the start of 127 until probably sometime in 133, see BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 45. This declaration, which probably dates from the spring or early summer of 133, is likely to be the last document mentioning him published so far. Ptolemaios is attested from 131 to 133<sup>p</sup>, cf. BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 130. Their statement that his name is in lacuna may be amended to the extent that the first letter is partially preserved.
3. On Samareia, see most recently S. DARIS, « Aegyptus » 64 (1984) 114-15.
- 4-5. I have not been able to identify Ptolemaios elsewhere. On the *katoikoi*, see most recently D. CANDUCCI, « Aegyptus » 70 (1990) 211-55, esp. 214, 222, 225, and 231, where this text is cited.
10. Worp suggests περι[σ]τερε]ῶ(να), but the fifth letter looks to me like an epsilon, and of the (apparently abbreviated) ending I am most unsure.

## 2-3.

P.TEBT. II 481 descr. columns I and II

*Talei, 161<sup>p</sup>*

Most of the right-hand column of this papyrus is preserved, although with serious damage in the lower part and some loss at right throughout. It is a declaration of property at Talei dated 25 April 161. Only the ends of the opening lines of column I are preserved, but they are sufficient to indicate that it was probably a declaration of property in the same village from the same census, dated four days later. The formula is normal.

Apart from the demographic data, the principal interest of these declarations lies in the persons to whom they were addressed. Column II is clearly addressed to Heron, but his title is lost in the lacuna at upper right. BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 131 enter him with a query as basilikos grammateus, saying « Although perhaps improbable, it is not to be completely excluded that H. may be a strategus ». Although there is some difficulty in reading the name of the basilikos grammateus at the end of line 1 of column I, it is manifestly not Heron, and since the declarations are from the same meris and four days apart, it is unlikely that Heron can be the basilikos grammateus. Now the list does in fact have room at this point for a strategos, since Eudoros is not attested after the very beginning of 160, nor Harpokration before 25 July 161 (BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 49). There is thus about an eighteen-month space for Heron's term. Since the 150s already show four strategoi and two acting strategoi in this division, such a term is not unreasonably short. The evidence certainly falls short of proof, but until better documentation is available it seems reasonable to consider Heron a strategos. The name of the basilikos grammateus is probably to be read as [Dio]skorid(es). There is a yawning gap between 155 and 175 to accommodate his term.

7,9 × 19,6 cm. Broken at left, where most of column I is lost, and at right, where a few letters are lost. Column II is almost entirely lost in a horizontal band across the middle (below line 16), and a large block is missing from the lower right side. Top and bottom are complete. With the fibers. On the back are four lines of an apparently unrelated text across the fibers.



## Column I

- [Ἡρωνι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρ(σινοίτου) Θεμ(ίστου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)  
μερ(ίδος) καὶ Διο]σχοριδ(η) βασιλ(ικῶ)
- [γρα(μματαί) παρὰ Ἡρωνος --11-- δημ(οσίου) γεωργοῦ  
[ἀπὸ κώμης Ταλεί· κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ἀπογρά(φομαι)
- 4 [ἐμαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰς] τὴν τοῦ  
[διεληλ(υθότος) κγ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
[κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴν ἐν τῷ ὑπάρ]χοντί μοι  
[ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ . μέρει..... ]χος.....
- 8 [- - 18 - - καὶ εἰμι] Ἡρων ὁ προ-  
[γεγρα(μμένος) γεω(ργός) (ἐτῶν) . . οὐλὴ δακτύλῳ μι]κρῶ χιρὸς  
[- - 26 - -] μη(τρὸς) Θερμουθᾶ  
(About 18 lines lost)
- 29 [(2 H.) (ἔτους) κδ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρί]ου Παχ(ών) δ.

## Column II

- Ἡρωνι *vacat* [- - 16 - -]  
παρὰ Σανσνέω[ς - - 14 - - τοῦ]  
Πατύνεως μη[τ]ρὸ[ς] - - 15 - - τοῦ]
- 4 Σανσνέως δημοσίου γε[ω]ργοῦ]  
ἀπὸ κώμης Ταλεί· κατὰ τὰ κ[ε]λευσθέν-]  
τα ἀπογρά(φομαι) εἰς τὴν τοῦ διεληλ(υθότος) κγ (ἔτους)  
Ἀ[ντωνίνου]
- Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκία[ν ἀ-]  
8 πογρα(φὴν) ἐν τῷ ὑπάρχοντί μοι ἐ[ν τῇ αὐτῇ]  
κώμῃ γ' ἔμ[ε]ρι οἰκίας πατρικῆ[ς κοι-]  
νωνικῆς πρὸς τοὺς [ἀ]δελφο[ύς· καί]  
εἰμι Σανσνεῦς ὁ πρ[ο]γεγρα(μμένος) (ἐτῶν) λ[. οὐλὴ]
- 12 δακτύλῳ μικρῶ χιρὸς ἀριστ[ε]ρᾶς.]  
καὶ τὸν ὀμοπάτριόν μου κ[αί] ὀμομή-]  
τριον ἀδελφόν Ἀπολλώνι[ον (ἐτῶν) λ.]  
ἄσημος· Σωχώτης ἄλλος [ἀδελφός]



- 16 μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς (ἐτῶν) λγ ἄσ[ημος·]  
traces  
[...]. . . [  
μητρ[ό]ς... [.. γυναικα 'Απολλω-]
- 20 γίου [(ἐτῶν)] λβ ἄση[μος· καὶ ἐκ ἀμοφοτ(έρων)]  
θυγ(ατέρα) Ταμύσ[θ(αν) (ἐτῶν) -- ἄσημος· καὶ τήν]  
τοῦ Σωχώτου [γυναικα ---]  
'Ατρείους το[ῦ --- μητρὸς Σα-]
- 24 ραποῦτος (ἐτῶν) [- ἄσημος· καὶ ἐκ ἀμ-]  
φοτ(έρων) θυγ(ατέρα)ς [- --- (ἐτῶν) -- οὐλ(ή) ---]  
μέση καὶ Σαραποῦς (ἐτῶν) γ ἄ[σημος ---]  
ὑπάρχει traces [- --- οἰκία]
- 28 καὶ οὐλῆ ἐν οἴ[ς.]. . . ασι. [  
vacat 2 cm.  
(2 H.) (ἔτους) κδ 'Αντωνίνου Καίσαρος [τοῦ κυρίου]  
Φαρμουθι λ'

(Column II) *To Heron --- from Sansneus son of NN, grandson of Patunis, his mother being NN daughter of Sansneus, public farmer from the village of Talei. In accordance with the orders, I register for the house-by-house census of the past 23rd year of Antoninus Caesar the Lord in the 3rd share of a paternal house, owned in common with my brothers, in the same village. And I am Sansneus the forementioned, 3[.], with a scar on the small finger of my left hand; and my brother from the same father and mother, Apollonios, [3?], scarless; Sochotes another brother by the same mother, 33, scarless; . . . the wife of Apollonios, 32, scarless; and Tamystha, daughter from both parents, --, scarless; and the wife of Sochotes, NN daughter of Hatres, granddaughter of NN, her mother being Sarapous, --, scarless; and the daughter from both parents . . . with a scar on her middle?, and Sarapous, 3, scarless. And there belong . . . a house and courtyard in which . . . Year 24 of Antoninus Caesar the Lord, Pharmouthi 30.*

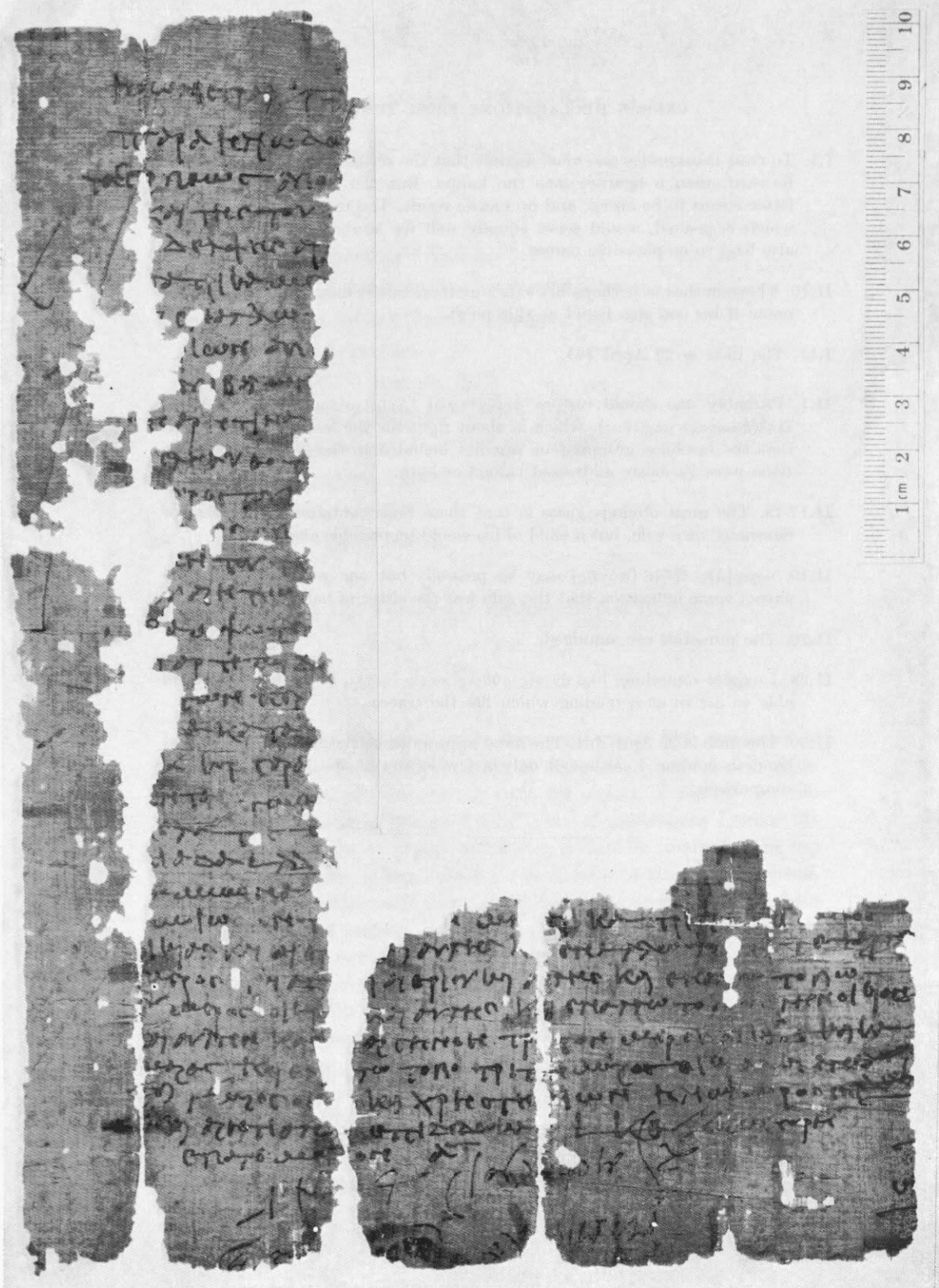
- I.1. To read Dioskorides one must assume that the scribe made a sigma falling forward, then a ligature into the kappa. But the only other plausible letter seems to be alpha, and no names result. The mark of abbreviation, which is peaked, would serve equally well for lambda or mu, but these also lead to no plausible names.
- II.10. Thermouthas is perhaps his wife's mother, but it may also be his wife's name if his son was listed at this point.
- I.11. The date is 29 April 161.
- II.1. Probably one should restore  $\sigma\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\tilde{\omega}) \text{ '}\text{A}\rho(\sigma\iota\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon) \text{ }\Theta\epsilon\mu(\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon) \text{ }\kappa\alpha\iota \text{ }\Pi\omicron\lambda(\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma) \text{ }\mu\epsilon\rho(\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma)$ , which is about right for the lacuna, and suppose that the basilikos grammateus was not included in the address. Declarations were variously addressed to one or both.
- II.17-18. The most obvious guess is that these lines contained the listing of Sansneus' own wife, but a child of his would be possible also.
- II.19.  $\mu\eta\tau\rho[\acute{\omicron}] \varsigma \text{ }\tau\tilde{[\eta]} \varsigma \text{ } [\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\tilde{\eta}] \varsigma$  may be possible, but one would in that case expect some indication that the wife was the sister of her husband.
- II.20. The numerals are smudged.
- II.28. I expect something like  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \omicron\iota\varsigma \text{ }\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{ }\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , but I have not been able to arrive at a reading which fits the traces.
- II.30. The date is 25 April 161. The hand appears to be the same as the second hand in column I, although only a few letters of the latter survive for comparison.

## 4.

P.TEBT. II 504 descr.

*Arsinoite, 189<sup>p</sup>*

The part of the text in which the persons were declared is mostly lost, and the surviving part at the bottom lists property in which no one lives. The declarants are a brother and sister married couple. They seem to declare themselves, two sons, and at least five other persons whose relationship to them cannot be determined. The formula is normal.



Tav. 4 - P.Tebt. II 405

16,8 × 23,4 cm. Complete at left and below, as well as at the top to a width of 6 cm. and at right for the bottom 6,6 cm. The remains of four vertical folds, from left to right, are clearly visible; damage occurred along all of them. The right-hand three folds, with more than sixty percent of the text, are lost until line 25. At the bottom are two lines written in a different hand and with the sheet inverted, apparently unrelated to the declaration. The back is blank.

- Ἡρωινι στρα(τηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) [Θεμ(ιστου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)  
μερίδ(ος)]
- παρὰ Ἡλιωδώρ[ου --- τοῦ --- μητρὸς]  
Ταε...έως ἀπὸ κ[ώμης --- 36 ---]
- 4 καὶ τῆς τούτ[ου γυναικὸς οὔσης αὐτοῦ ὁμοπατ(ρίου) καὶ  
ὁμομητ(ρίου)]
- [ἀ]δελφῆς Ἀρη[τίνας -- 24 --- ὑπάρχει ἡμῖν]  
πατρικὰ μέρ[η -- 40 --]  
κ[α]ὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τ[όπω -- 38 --]
- 8 [πε]ρὶ ὧν ἀπε[γ]ρ[αψ --- 40 --]  
[τό] ἐπιβάλων [- 40 --]  
τῆ Ἀρητίνα [- 40 --]  
[δι]εληλυθότ[ος κη (έτους) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου]
- 12 Κ[α]ίσαρος τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆν καὶ εἰμι Ἡλιό-  
[δ]ωρος ὁ π[ρο]κείμενος (έτῶν)... -- 23 -- καὶ  
[τ]ῆν τούτο[υ γυναικῆς Ἀρητίαν (έτῶν)... - 10 - καὶ ἐξ  
ἀμφοτ(έρων)]
- [υῖο]υς Ἀρητίων[α (έτῶν) --- καὶ --- (έτῶν) ---]
- 16 ἐπ' ἀμφοδ(ου) Τε.[- 40 --]  
[.] . Ἀρτε[τ]μιδ.[- 40 --]  
[.] των περὶ [- 40 --]  
[.] α κατα.[- 40 --]
- 20 [(έτῶν)] κ καὶ Σαρα[- 40 --]  
[.] εντα τω ε.[- 40 --]  
[.] ελατ[.] ς.[- 37 -- Σαρ-]  
[α]πιάδα (έτῶν) λδ.[- 31 --]. [- 7 -]

- 24 [.]άμμωνα (ἐτῶν) [- 30 -]. ην[- 7 -]  
 ὁμοίως ἐν τ[ῆ] αὐτῆ κώμ]η μητρικὰ τρίτον μέρος  
 οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρ[ίου κ]αὶ αὐλῆς κ[αὶ] ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ τέταρτο(ν)  
 μέρος [ο]ικίας [κα]ὶ αἰθρίου καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ
- 28 β' μέρος οἰκία[ς] καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ ἕλην οἰκίαν  
 καὶ αὐλὴν καὶ ἐ[ν] Ἀρσινόη τρίτον μέρος οἰκίας καὶ κα-  
 μάρας καὶ ἐν [ἄλ]λῳ τόπο τρίτον μέρος οἰκίας καὶ ἐν ἄλλ(ω)  
 τόπ(ω) γ' μέρος οἰκίας καὶ χρηστηρίων. Ἡλιοδώρος [[ἐπιδέ-]]
- 32 [[δωκα]] καὶ Ἀρητιανὴ ἐπιδέδωκα. (ἔτους) κθ Μεσορῆ  
 ἐπαγόμενον α-.

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2 Ἡλιοδώρου 9 ἐπιβάλλον 30 τόπῳ 32 ἐπιδεδώκαμεν

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1. For Heron, see BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 52; all of his attestations with dates come from August, 189.
3. The mother's name has been corrected and protrudes slightly into the margin. I have not been able to find an acceptable name to take account of all the strokes.
29. Arsinoe is the village of that name (in Themistos) according to the description in P.Tebt. II. The absence of the word κώμη is not significant.
- 31-32. Heliodoros first signed alone, then crossed out ἐπιδέδωκα, added his wife's name (but as Aretiane rather than Aretina: Ἀρητιανὴ is probably the intended form), then wrote the singular verb again.
32. The date is 24 August 189.

## 5.

P.TEBT. II 518 descr.

*Tebtunis?*, 189<sup>p</sup>

See the preceding papyrus for a possible connection between this one and that. This is, however, explicitly labelled as a copy as the other is not; on the other hand, P.Tebt. 504 is also written uniformly in the same hand throughout. Damage at left and upper right impedes

understanding of this text, which is of property belonging to two men who are registered and live elsewhere, one in Antinoopolis, the other in the amphodon Tameion in the metropolis of the Arsinoite. No one is registered as living in these properties.

Neither of the persons involved is known elsewhere, but the names and statuses are reminiscent of the archive of P.Fam.Tebt. One person is named Herodes, and the other is the son of Herodes, a name found in that archive. Tyrannos, the alias of the second persons, is not found in the archive, but Tyrannis is. And the combination of Antinoopolite and Arsinoite *katoikos* points to the same sort of circle. All the same, no direct connection can be found at present.

16,1 × 24,5 cm. Complete at top, bottom, and for the most part at right. At left a strip is missing, representing the first of probably four original folds. A separated fragment at upper right has been placed in the course of editing but is shown on the photograph detached. With the fibers. On the back, five lines of (?) an account, broken at right.

- [ἀντιγρα(φον)] κατ' οἰ[κ(ίαν)] ἀπογ[ρα(φῆς)]  
 [Ἡρωῖ σ]τρ(ατηγῶ) Θεμιστ(ου) καὶ Π[ολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ος)]  
 [παρὰ Ἡ]ρῶδου τοῦ καὶ Λιβερὰ[λιος. . . . ἀνα-]  
 4 [γρα(φομένου) ἐν Ἀ]γτινόου πόλει καὶ Τρ[ιαμάλλου] τοῦ καὶ  
 [Τυράν]νου τοῦ Ἡρῶδου κατ[οίκου] ἀναγρα(φομένου)  
 [ἐπ' ἀ]μφοδ[ον] Ταμείων σιτομ[ετροσακκο]φόρου  
 [ὑπάρχ]ει ἡμῖν ἐν κώμη Τεπ[τύνει] (ἡμισυ) μέρ[ος]  
 8 [οἰκιῶν καὶ] ἐθρίον καὶ αὐλῶν, καὶ ἐ[ξέ]δρα καὶ . . .  
 [. . . . .] καὶ πρωπυλῶν καὶ ὀγηλ[ῶ]ν ἐκ προ-  
 [πυλῶνος (?)] καὶ ψιλὸν τόπων περι[τετει]χισμῆ(νον)  
 [καὶ αὐ]λαὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις [. . .] . . . καμ-  
 12 [αρ- - καὶ] μέρος οἰκιῶν δύο καὶ αἰθρείου καὶ αὐ-  
 [λῆς καὶ ἐ]ξέδρας καὶ καμαρῶν ὁμοίως συν-  
 [εχῶν ἀλλ]ήλαις, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ σφραγεί(δι) ψειλῶ(ν) τόπων  
 [καὶ . . .] γ' ἐπαυλ( ) κωμογρα(μματ- -) λεγομ(εν- -) ψειλὸν τό-





- 16 [πον καὶ οἱ]κόπε(δ-) καὶ μέρους ἀνοικοδομή-  
 [του...] ἄπερ ἀπογραφόμεθα εἰς τὴν τοῦ  
 [διεληλ]υθότ(ος) κη (ἔτους) Αὐρ[η]λίου Κομμόδου  
 [Ἐντων]εῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν  
 20 [ἀπογρα]φὴν διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι. Ἡρώδης ὁ καὶ Λιβ(εράλις)  
 [ἐπιδέδ]ωκ(α). Τριάμαλλος ὁ καὶ Τύραννος συν-  
 [επιδέδ(ωκκ)].  
 [(ἔτους) κθ]' Ἐμεσορὴ ἐπαγομένων ε'.

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8 αἰθρίων    10 τόπον (? accusative for nominative or read ψιλῶν?)

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*Copy of a house-by-house declaration. To Heron, strategos of the Themistos and Polemon Division, from Herodes alias Liberalis, son of NN, registered in Antinoopolis, and Triamалlos alias Tyrannos son of Herodes, katoikos registered in the amphodon of Tameion, sitometrosakkophoros. There belong to us in the village of Tebtunis a half share of houses and light-wells and courtyards, and an exedra . . . and propylon and donkey-shed (?) from the propylon (?) and vacant lot with a wall around it, and courtyards joined together . . . and a share of two houses and light-well and courtyard and exedra and chambers similarly joined together, and in another parcel a vacant lot and in an epaulis called « of the komogrammat-- » a vacant lot and house-lot(s) and unbuilt share . . . which we register for the house-by-house census of the past 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the Lord; wherefore I submit this declaration. I, Herodes alias Liberalis, have submitted it. I, Triamалlos alias Tyrannos, have co-submitted it. Year 29, Mesore epagomenai 5.*

4. The name Triamалlos is not elsewhere attested, as far as I can see. One might expect instead Τρίμαλλος, which is the correct reading in P.Petaus 101.62 instead of Τοιμαλλος (kindly confirmed for me on the original by Dieter Hagedorn, who comments, « Es handelt sich um ein Rho des runden Typs, dessen kleines Köpfchen an der Unterseite etwas beschädigt ist, so daß man bei flüchtiger Betrachtung glaubt, ein großes Omikron zu sehen »). In P.Col. V 1 verso 1b.1.14, the name occurs again: Ἀρποκρα( ) ὁ καὶ Τριμαλλο( ). The reading in line 21 here, however, is clear. I take Tri(a)mallos to mean « triple-fleeced ». The word δίμαλλος, « double-fleeced », occurs in

P.Mert. I 41.10 and in the Glossaries (see LSJ): *μονόμαλλος* occurs in P.Oxy. I 109.2 and also in the Glossaries. Similar names are known: Chrysolallos, for example, is well attested at Rome (see H. SOLIN, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch* (Berlin and New York 1982) I 174, with nine examples).

5. For *katoikoi* see « Aegyptus » 70 (1990) 211-55.
6. We should, of course, have ἐπ' ἀμφοδον, but the nu is clear, and it is hard to see what else can precede the amphodon name in this place. There is only barely room for the restoration σιτομ[ετροσακκ]φόρου, which is a letter (or even two) longer than one would like, and which would seem to be a rather lowly occupation for a *katoikos*; but I cannot see any alternative. See « Aegyptus » 70 (1990) 240-41, where D. CANDUCCI comments that only four other documents give occupations for *katoikoi*: linen-weaver, wineseller, laborer, and weaver. The grain-porter here is thus at least not without some precedent.
8. Phonetic spelling combines with lacunas to make the exact description of these men's property unclear. I take it that ἐθρίον and ἀύλων are genitive plurals, as one would expect here. On the other hand, ἐξέδρα is certainly nominative, unless an error has been made, so it may refer to a wholly-owned property.
9. For the προπυλών, see G. HUSSON, *OIKIA* (Paris 1983) 237-38: its exact sense is unknown, but she speculates that it « pourrait être une construction formant saillie par rapport à la façade de la maison et faite pour dissimuler l'entrée proprement dite ». Was it perhaps an entrance court? What follows looks like ονη[...], but I know of no suitable attested word, and the apparent phrase ἐκ προ [πυλώνος] explains *obscurum per obscurius*. Compounds from ὄνος seem the only plausible explanation, and in particular I can see no good possibility except ὄνηλών, on the model of *καμηλών* and *ἰππών*, specialized types of stables. To be sure, ὄνηλών would be erroneously formed: ὄνών would be the parallel form. But it is not evident that people were always conscious of the etymological value of the -ηλ- element from ἐλάυνω, as the existence of *κομηλάτης* (instead of \**καμηληλάτης*) alongside *καμηλίτης* shows. Euphony, and the commonness of ὄνηλάτης might have made ὄνηλών a reasonable formation. At all events, animal quarters off an entrance courtyard (to pile hypothesis on hypothesis) would be reasonable enough.
- 11, 13-14. For συνεχεῖς see HUSSON, *OIKIA* 206, citing only BGU XIII 2228.
14. The scribe wrote σφρα with a sinusoidal abbreviation stroke, but then added a gammæ at lire level; above it is then an epsilon and iota.
15. Perhaps ἐ]ν ἐπαυλ(ίδι) κωμογρα(μματα-) λεγομ(ένγ). A vacant lot in an *epaulis* called « (of) the *komogrammateia* » or « (of) the *komogrammateus* »? I can find no parallel for such a description, nor yet think of a good al-

ternative. An *amphodon* at Karanis was called Κωμογραμματαίων (see WB III 412 for references) (12).

16. Case seems to shift from nominative to genitive, unless one of the lacunas contains another μέροϛ.

23. [The date is 28 August 189.

## 6.

P.TEBT. II 480 descr.

*Tebtunis, 203<sup>p</sup>*

This declaration, addressed to the strategos, is submitted by a woman from Tebtunis and includes a complex household which is only partly recoverable. Her son, who acts as *kyrios*, is part of it, as is her sister, the latter's daughter (who is evidently also her son's wife), their young children, and at least a couple of slaves. The formula is standard, although not all details can be made out.

13,5 × 22,2 cm. Essentially complete in outer dimensions, but with large holes in the upper left part and most of the lower left quarter gone; the remainder is rather rubbed and damaged along what are probably three ancient fold lines.

Νορβανῶ τῶ καὶ [Σερ]ήνω στρ(ατηγῶ) Θεμ(ιστου) καὶ  
Πολ(έμωνος) [με]ρίδων

[παρὰ] Θ[εν]πε[τ]σώχιος Πετρουύχου μη(τρούς) Τασου(χαρίου)

4 [ἀ]πὸ κ[ώ]μης Τεπτύνε[ως] τῆς Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδος

[μετὰ κυρίου] τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτο[λεμαίου] τοῦ ἐκ πατρὸς(ς)

[ - - ὑπάρχ(ει) μοι] ἐν τῇ κώ(μῃ) οἰκ(ία) καὶ αἴθ(ριον) καὶ αὐλ(ή)

[ἐν ἧ κατοικῶ] καὶ ἀπογρά(φομαι) ἐμαυτὴν τε καὶ τοὺς

(12) Not to be confused with the problematic ἀμφοδο( ) κωμογρα( ) discussed at P.Stras. VIII 731 commentary.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines, though many are heavily obscured by dark, irregular ink smudges and blotches, particularly on the left and right sides. The legible portions appear to be a continuous narrative or list of entries. Some words are difficult to decipher due to the style and the damage to the document.



- 8 [έμο]ύς ε[ίς] τήν τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) ι (έτους) Σευήρου καί  
 'Αντωνίνου  
 [καί] Γέτα τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν κ[α]τ' οἰκίαν ἀπογε(αφήν)  
 ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμ(ένης) κώ(μης) Τεπ(τύνεως)· καί εἰμι Θενηπετσώ-  
 κιος  
 [ή] περ]ογ(εγραμμένη) ἄσ(ημος) (έτῶν) νδ· καί τόν προγε-  
 γρ[α(μμένον)] μου κύριον
- 12 [όν]τα μου καί υἱόν Πτολεμαῖον κλειδοπ(οιοῦ) (έτῶν) λγ·  
 [ἀδ]ελφῆ Ἑλένη Πετεσοῦ(χου) ἄσ(ημος) (έτῶν) νδ· καί τήν ταύτης  
 θυγατέρα Ταορσέα (έτῶν) λς· καί ἐξ ἀμοτ(έρων) τέκνα  
 [...]...[.....] γεννη(θέντα) τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ια (έτους)· καί δούλ(ην)
- 16 ἐμοῦ [τῆς Θε]νηπετσώκιοις Θερμουθάριον (έτῶν) η  
 τῆς [ἀδελφῆς μου] θυγατρὸς δούλ(ην) Πρωτοῦν  
 [(έτῶν) ... ὑπάρχ]ει δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ Ταορσεῦτι  
 [-----].. πρωδεδ(ηλωμεν) τῷ ι (έτει)
- 20 [-----]..... καί ἐπ' ἄλλ(ον) τόπ(ον) ψιλ(ός) τόπ(ος)  
 [-----].. ἐμοὶ τῇ Θενη(ετσώκει) ἐπ' ἄλλ(ον) τόπ(ον)  
 [-----]..... [έ]ν οἷς οὐδεὶς ἀπογρᾶ(φεται). διό ἐπιδέδωκα).  
*vacat* 2 cm.  
 [(έτους) ια Λουκίου] Σε[πτιμίου Σεουήρ]ου Εὐσεβοῦς Π[ε]ρτίνα-  
 κος
- 24 [καί Μάρκου Αὐρη]λίου 'Α[ντωνίν]ου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶ(ν)  
 [καί Περπλίου κτλ.] traces

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5, 12 ὀ pap.

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*To Norbanos alias Serenos, strategos of the Themistos and Polemon Division, from Thenpetsokis daughter of Petesouchos, her mother Tasoucharion, from the village of Tebtunis of the Polemon Division, with her kyrios, her son Ptolemaios from father NN. There belongs to me in the village a house and light-well and courtyard in which I live and*

*register myself and my family for the house-by-house census of the past 10th year of Severus and Antoninus and Geta the Lords Augusti in the aforesaid village of Tebtunis; and I am Thenpetsokis (the aforesaid?), without scar, 54; and my aforementioned kyrios, being also my son, Ptolemaios, keymaker, 33; my sister Helene daughter of Petesouchos, without scar, 54; and her daughter Taorseus, 35; and the children of both (Taorseus and Ptolemaios) . . . born in the current 11th year; and the slave of me, Thenpetsokis, Thermoutharion, 8; the slave of my sister's daughter, Protous . . . And the same Taorseus owns . . . previously declared in the 10th year . . . and in another place . . . to me Thenpetsokis in another place . . . in which no one is registered. Therefore I have made the declaration.*

*Year 11 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and Publius Geta etc.*

1. For Norbanos alias Serenos, see BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 52, who do not indicate if their citation of this papyrus is from autopsy or guesswork, since the editors did not give the name of the strategos mentioned. His attested dates run only from the summer of 203 (probably) to March, 204.

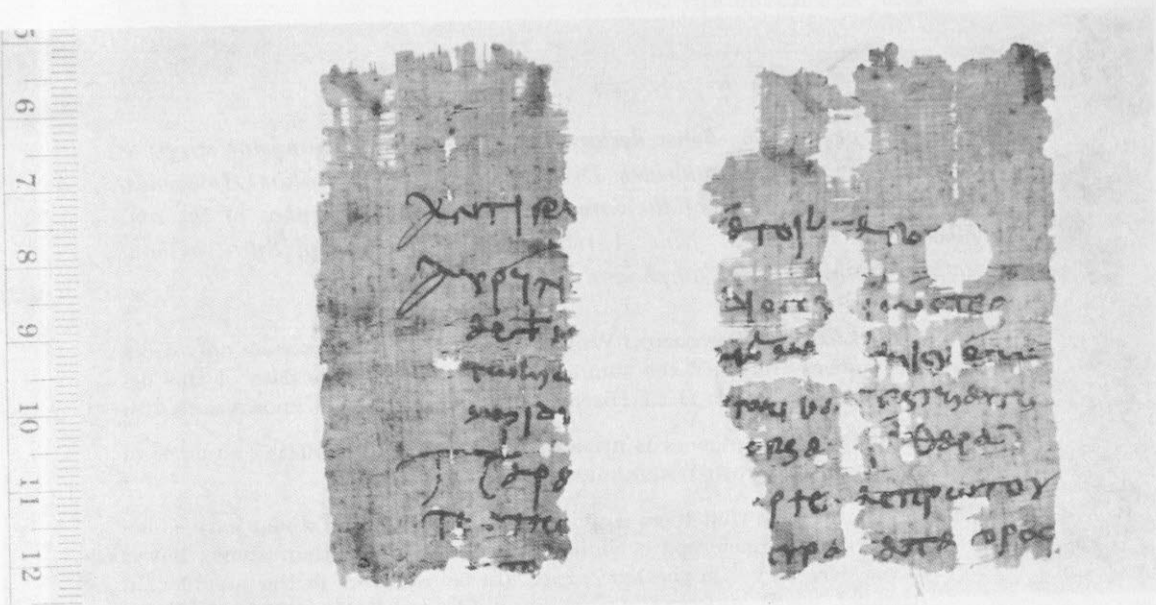
## 7.

P.TEBT. II 446 descr.

*Arsinoite, 217<sup>p</sup>*

This is the top part of a declaration submitted by a woman registered in the amphodon of Tharapias and addressed to the strategos of the Herakleides Division, the basilikos grammateus, and the laographos of the amphodon. She is an *apator* who gives her mother's name. The combination of officials addressed suggests that she is declaring property in a village, but how this came to be at Tebtunis is not clear.

8,3 × 7 cm. Two strips, lacking a few millimeters between them, complete at top, left, and right, but broken at the bottom. The back is blank. *Arsinoiton Polis, 217.*



Tav. 7 - P.Tebt, II 466



ἀντίγρα(φον) κατ' οἰκ(ιαν) ἀπογ[ρ(αφῆς)]  
 Αὐρηλίω Διονυ[σ]ίω στρ(ατηγῶ)  
 Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Ἡ[ρ]ακλ(είδου) με[ρ]ίδ(ος) καὶ Ἴσιδότη  
 4 τῶ καὶ Ὠ[ρ]ιγένι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) τῆς αὐτῆς  
 μερίδος, [καὶ λα]ογρ(άφω) ἀμφ[ό]δ(ου) Θαραπ(είας)  
 παρὰ [Α]ὐρηλ[ι]ας Πρωτοῦ-  
 τος τῆς Σύρα[ς] ἀπάτορος  
 8 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου --

*Copy of house-by-house declaration. To Aurelius Dionysios strategos of the Arsinoite, Herakleides Division, and Isidotos alias Horigenes, basilikos grammateus of the same division, and laographos of the amphodon of Tharapeia, from Aurelia Protous daughter of Syra, without father, from the same amphodon . . .*

2. Dionysios: See BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 37. He is attested only from November, 216, until the summer of 217, the probable date of this declaration and P.Oslo II 25. His successor, however, is not known until 221.
- 3-4. Isidotos alias Horigenes is attested from early 215 until the summer of 217, see BASTIANINI-WHITEHORNE 125.
5. It is not certain that there is quite space for καὶ, which would have fallen in the interfragment space, slightly larger in this line than above, but it seems necessary. On the λαογράφος (to be resolved in the singular in Arsinoe), see P. MERTENS, *Les services de l'État civil* (Brussels 1958) 82-83. For the amphodon, cf. S. DARIS, « Aegyptus » 61 (1981) 146.

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