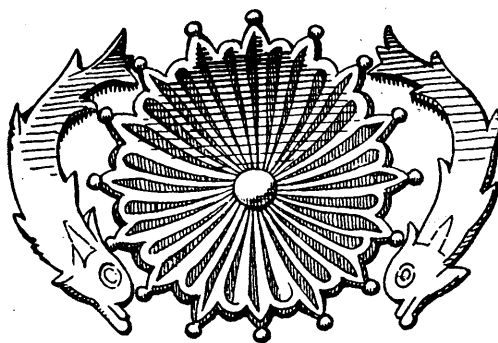


BULLETIN
DE LA
SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE COPTE

TOME XXIV

(1979-1982)



LE CAIRE

—
1982

THE POPULATION OF THEADELPHIA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The intensive focus of archival evidence on early fourth-century Theadelphia gives us an unusual opportunity to study the demographic and economic structure of this village in some detail. This study takes the recent reedition of the archive of Sakaon and related documents by G.M. Parássoglou as its point of departure;¹ and it forms part of the foundations for a planned work on the Arsinoite Nome in the fourth century.

The archive of Sakaon spreads over more than six decades, but its main bulk falls in the first decades of the fourth century. The evidence allows us to reconstruct almost the entire male population of Theadelphia around 312. A prosopography of Theadelphia for the period of the archive is an indispensable basis, and this will be constructed in stages. Parassoglou has prepared a family tree (p. xx), but the absence of commentary in his edition much reduces the utility of this stemma, and some changes are in fact needed. I have divided the population into families for the sake of convenience.

I. The Population in A.D. 312

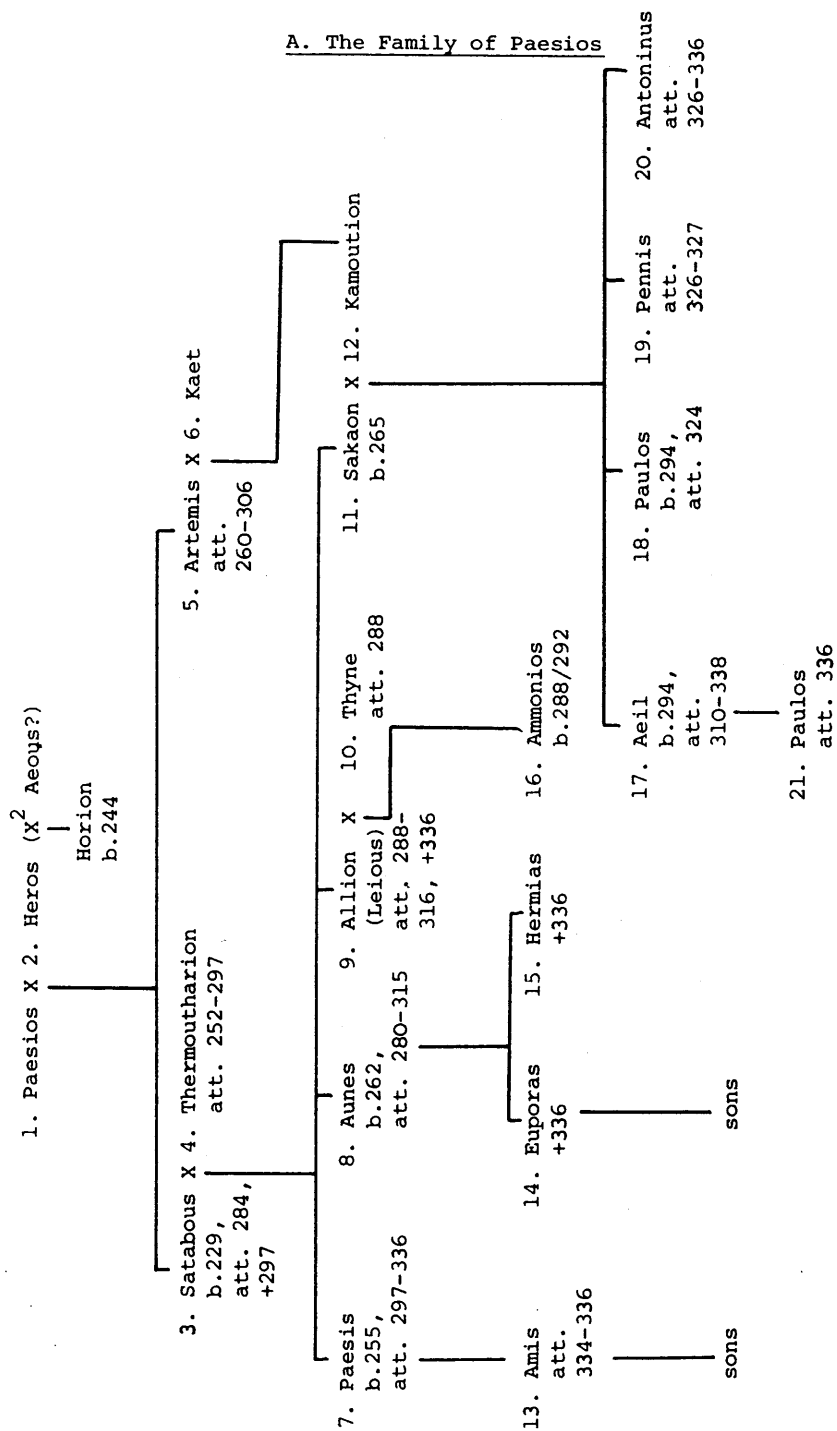
A. The Family of Paesios

1. Paesios. Not attested living in the documents. His wife was Heros (59.5, 60.4, 94.1); their son Satabous (A3) was born in 229, their daughter Artemis (A5, C2) by 245 but perhaps earlier.

2. Heros. Not attested living in the documents. Wife of Paesios (A1), q.v. for dates of children.

3. Satabous son of Paesios and Heros. Born in 229 (55 years old in 284 according to 94.2). He is attested in 284 borrowing money to be repaid in barley. By 297, he was dead: 11.9-10 records that his heirs paid taxes on behalf of his wife

1. *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon*, ed. G.M. Parássoglou (Bonn 1978).



Thermoutharion. His sons are A7, A8, A9 and A11. The birthdates of three are known: Paesis (A7) in 255, Aunes (A8) in 262, and Sakaon (A11) around 265. The marriage probably dates to the early 250's.

4. Thermoutharion, wife of Satabous (A3). Nothing is known of her parentage. For her marriage and children, see A3. She was still alive in 297 (11.9), perhaps about 60 years of age at the time.

5. Artemis, daughter of Paesios and Heros. See B2 for her life.

6. Kaet, son of Sotikei, husband of Artemis. See B3 for his life.

7. Paesis son of Satabous and Thermoutharion. Born in 255 (55 years old in 310: 1.9); served as komarch in 299 (58.5, 21); paid barley in 308 (15.2) and taxes for 308/10 (8.11). Paid wheat (19 1/6 art.) in 312 (5.39, 41), and borrowed seed grain in 314 (49.4, 13). No known children. Paid wheat taxes in 336 (10.8), 28 art.

8. Aunes son of Satabous and Thermoutharion. Born in 262 (48 years old in 310, 1.11), he worked as a boy (before 280/1: 31.12) as a shepherd. He is attested paying taxes for 309/10 (8.10), in 312 (5.38), 314/5 (9.1), and 315/6 (19.3), and borrowing seed grain in 314 (49.4, 12). His sons are A14 and A15; nothing is known of his marriage or the dates of his sons' births, nor of his death.

9. Allion/Ellious/Leious son of Satabous and Thermoutharion. Born perhaps by 270 (1.10: 19-year-old son in 310, living with Sakaon), he paid 22 1/3 art. wheat as taxes in 312 (5.24), may be attested in 315/6 (19.9), and is dead (represented by heirs) in 336 (10.4), where 29 artabas are paid. His son Ammonios (A15) was born in 291 by census (1.10), but 288 according to his description in 65.4; the marriage of Allion to Thyne (65.4) thus belongs to around this period.

10. Thyne wife of Allion: see A9 for her marriage and child. Nothing further is known of her.

11. Sakaon son of Satabous and Thermoutharion, principal figure of the Theadelphian archives. His birthdate is indicated variously as 262 (65), 265 (1), 269 (72) and 270 (66); 265 is the date he himself gave to the census. His first wife was a sister of Herakleides (C1) whose name is not known, and who was the mother of Taeus (C12); Kamoution (B7) was his second wife. Sakaon had four sons by his wives, perhaps more likely by Kamoution (so shown on the stemma). Sakaon was komarch in 303/4,

311/12, 323/4, 324/5 and 325/6; *sitologos* in 314/5, 317/8, and 325/6. He owned grain land at Theadelphia but also sheep and goats; in addition he was both lessor and lessee at various times of both land and livestock. He appears alive last in 343 (48.8), aged in his later 70's.

12. Kamoution, wife of Sakaon: see B7.

13. Amis son of Paesios. Taxpayer in 336 (4.25). He is probably the Amies complained of in 45.5 (334) along with his unnamed sons.

14. Euporas son of Aunes. Attested in 336 (10.16) as a taxpayer through heirs, thus presumably dead, of 14 art. wheat. Complained of probably in 45.6, along with his unnamed sons.

15. Hermias son of Aunes. Attested as taxpayer of 7 art. wheat in 336 through heirs, thus presumably dead.

16. Ammonios son of Allion and Thyne. Born in 291 according to Sakaon's census declaration in 310 (1.10), but 288 according to the description in a contract of 328 (65.4) and 292 according to his nomination in 324 (51.21). He is attested borrowing seed in 314 (49.4), serving as *sitologos* in 320 (7.3), nominated as *sitologos* or *apaitetes* in 324 (51.21), and a borrower of money (jointly with Sakaon) in 328 (65.3).

17. Aeil son of Sakaon (and Kamoution, probably). Born 294, so 16 in 310 (1.8). *Sitologos* in 313 (6.2, 15) and again in 320 (7.4, 16; 21.14, 45). He was his father's intermediary for a delivery in 315/6 (19.11). In indiction 15 (probably 326/7: 74.4) he and Esouris delivered fleeces. In 336 a Paulos son of Aeil, perhaps his son (A21), paid taxes (10.9). In 338, he was leasing land in Boubastos (70.2, 18): he was literate and wrote the contract.

18. Paulos son of Sakaon (and Kamoution, probably). Born 294 and nominated for *sitologos* or *apaitetes* in 324 at age 30 (51.25). No other information preserved.

19. Pennis son of Sakaon (and Kamoution, probably). Komarch in 325/6 (52.3, 26), where he nominates his brother Antoninus (A20) for the following year. A Pennis is again komarch in 327/8 (25.4, 27) and is probably the same though no patronymic is given. The undated 29.3 also mentions a komarch Pennis, and 27.4 (between 312 and 329) an *apaitetes* Pennis, both again without patronymic. Sakaon filed 43.17 against a Pennis who had wronged him -- presumably not his son, since he does not use this

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to strengthen his case -- however, and any of the men without patronymic could also be this man instead of the son.

20. Antoninus son of Sakaon (and Kamoution, probably). Nominated for komarch in 326/7 in 52.21. He appears paying 41 art. wheat taxes in 10.9 (336), jointly with A21.

21. Paulos son of Aeil. Taxpayer in 336 jointly with A20 of 41 artabas (10.9). Nothing further known.

Of these, the four sons of Satabous, all living, held the family property in 312. Their total wheat taxes were $76 \frac{1}{3}$ art. At current tax rates (cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9), total *minimum* holdings (if all the land was "royal" land) would be $46\frac{1}{2}$ ar. In 336, the land register preserved as 4 gives $19 \frac{1}{2}$ ar. of royal land for Sakaon, and a lost amount of private land. Allion has $6 \frac{1}{12}$ royal, $6 \frac{27}{32}$ private ar. Amis son of Paesis has $1\frac{1}{2}$ royal land. It is not certain that the list is complete. Thus $33 \frac{5}{12}$ ar. plus Sakaon's private land gives a minimum. If 10 belongs also to 336, as I believe, its figures are of interest: Allion, 29 art. wheat (through heirs); Sakaon, $43\frac{1}{2}$ art.; Paesis, 28 art. (through Timotheos); Euporas and Hermias sons of Aunes, 21 art. (through heirs). Total, $121\frac{1}{2}$ art. wheat. Given that the village total is 451 (compared to 330 $\frac{1}{2}$ for villagers in 312), the total is roughly consonant with $76 \frac{1}{3}$ in 312 for the family. If anything, the family's lot had improved.

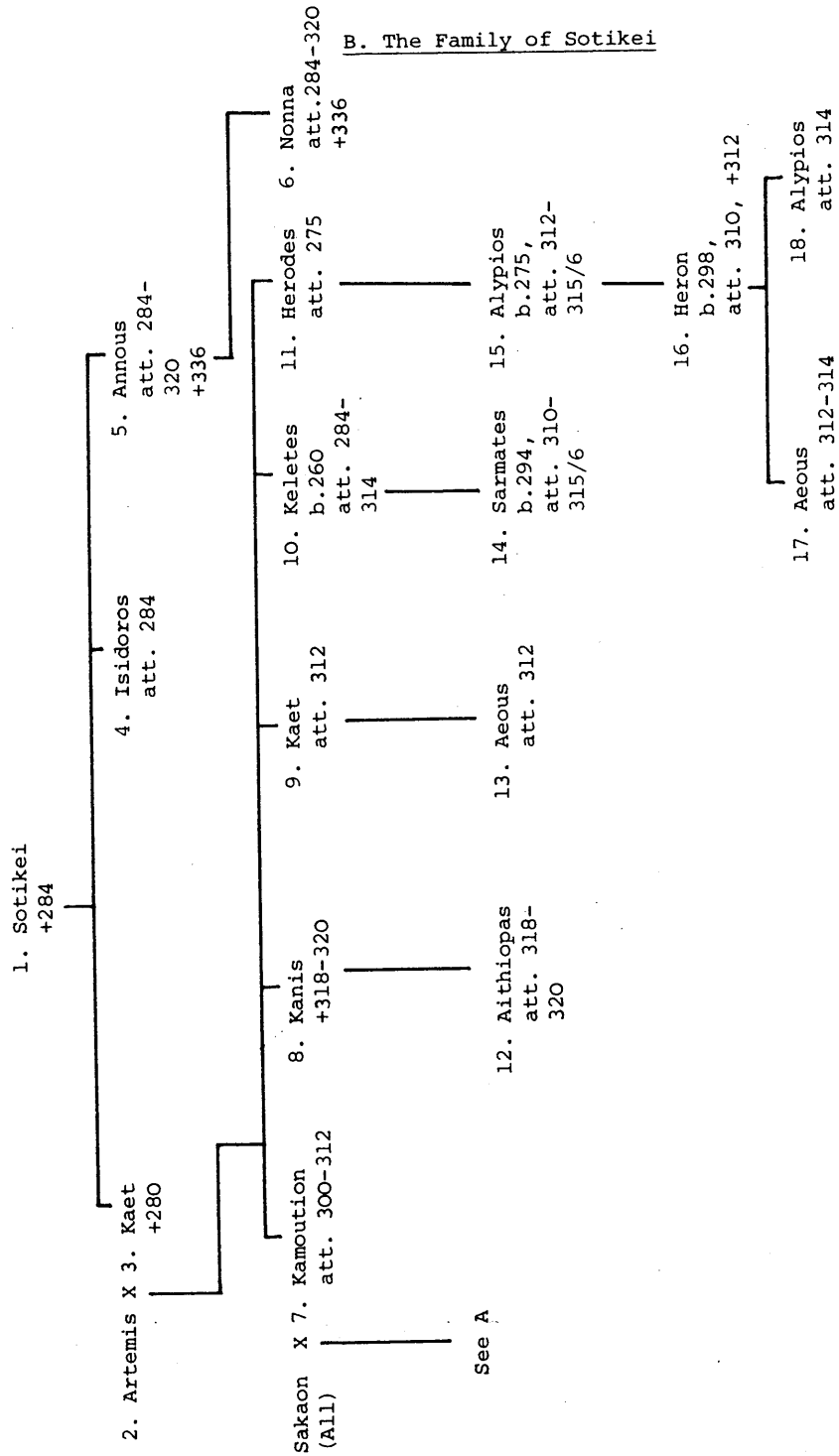
B. The Family of Sotikei

Sotikei is the ancestor of a large family, a member of which was Sakaon's second wife, Kamoution daughter of Kaet and Artemis, granddaughter of Sotikei. In 312, Kamoution was still alive, and of her brothers, Kanis was the lessee of one of the two metropolitan landowners in Theadelphia (5.18); Kaet paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. wheat in taxes (5.46); Keletes was lessee of Aeous (his nephew) (5.33), paying 3 art. wheat. Herodes was evidently dead; his son Alypios was *sitologos* (5.2), but his grandson Aeous son of Heron (the latter already deceased) is the taxpayer in 5.36, paying through Alypios $16\frac{1}{2}$ art. wheat. Since Aeous was probably only 2 or 3 years old at most, this is understandable.

These descendants of Kaet son of Sotikei evidently owned land paying only 22 7/12 art. wheat altogether, therefore. But it must be recalled that Kaet had been a shepherd owning 60 sheep and goats (31.3), and that his widow Artemis bought two houses in the nome capital in 305 and 306 (59, 60). In all likelihood, therefore, members of the family had substantial property outside Theadelphia and in forms other than agricultural land. It may also be noted that Kaet's sister Annous does not appear in the tax list of 312, yet she certainly owned property. We do not learn who her husband was, unfortunately.

A stemma is appended, and a list of members of the family follows.

1. Sotikei. Mentioned as dead in petition of 284. Father of B3, B4, and B5.
2. Artemis daughter of Paesios and Heros (see A5 for her connections). Married to Kaet (B3) and mother of five children (B7-11). As one, Keletes, was born in 260 (see B10), marriage antedates that time and her birth must fall by ca 245. In 37 (284) she petitions on behalf of the minors Keletes and another whose name is lost to force their aunt Annous (B5) to pay part of the taxes due on the property inherited from Sotikei. In 31.3 she appeals already in 280/1 defending the sons' interest in a flock of 60 sheep left by their father; 36.2 also refers to this affair. In 305 she bought a house in the Dionysiou topoi quarter of the metropolis for 9 talents (59. 5, 18); in 306 she bought another (in the Thebans' quarter) for 10 talents (60.4, 5, 10, 11, 13, 19). She does not appear further.
3. Kaet son of Sotikei. Kaet had died by about 280, at which time his widow Artemis (B2) was already defending his sons' interests. He left a flock of 60 sheep. We have no documentation from his lifetime, but he was married by 260 and thus probably born by about 240.
4. Isidoros son of Sotikei. Mentioned in 37.13 as one of two surviving siblings of Kaet (B3) as of 284. No complaint is made against him in this petition, and nothing further is known of him.
5. Annous daughter of Sotikei. Artemis (B2) complained vigorously against Annous' failure to assume her share of the taxes on the estate inherited from Sotikei (37.5, 13, 17). From this date (284) until 318-320, when another complaint against her is filed, this time by Aithiopas (B12) her grandnephew, there is no word of her.



He points out that she "appears to have lived more than 60 years," which seems about right. For her daughter Nonna see C9-11. As Nonna was probably born ca 300-310, her mother was probably near the end of her childbearing years at that time. Taxes are paid by her heirs in 336 (10.11, 20, 21). Cf. C11.

6. Nonna: See C11 for Nonna's marital career, and see B5 for her mother and birth. Her father is not known.

7. Kamoution (or Kamoutis), daughter of Kaet and Artemis. Second wife of Sakaon. Her marriage is mentioned but not dated in 38.7. She was blamed in 312 by Melas (38.10, 24) for taking away his son Zoilos's wife Taeus with the intention of marrying her to her nephew Sarmates (B14); as Sarmates was born in 294, the incident was probably very recent. If Aeil (A17) and Paulos (A18), both born around 294, were Sakaon's children by Kamoution, the marriage should probably be placed around 290; she must have been born before ca 280 at all events (cf. B2). In 300 (3.3, 19) Kamoution declares 3 parcels of land at Philoteris totalling 3 47/64 arouras; she styles herself a resident of the Gymnasium quarter of the metropolis. Nothing is known of her life after 312.

8. Kanis son of Kaet and Artemis. Evidence is scarce for his life. He may be the declarer of property in 300 (2.2, 19) on behalf of his wife's brother Herakles, but the name is lost in both places. He pays taxes in 309/10 (8.9) and perhaps in 312 as the lessee of a metropolitan (5.18). By 318-320 he was dead; cf. Aithiopas his son, B12, for details.

9. Kaet son of Kaet and Artemis. His only secure appearance comes in 312, paying 3½ art. of wheat (5.46). It is also possible that he is the man who filed 2, for which cf. Kanis (B8), in 300.

10. Keletes son of Kaet and Artemis. Born in 260 (declared as 50 years old in 310, 1.12); his father died when he was still a minor (so called still in 284, confirming the views of N. Lewis, *BASP* 16 (1979) 117-19: 37.2, 8, 21); cf. B2 for the problems over his paternal estate. He was living in Sakaon's household in 310 at age 50 (1.12). In 307 he paid taxes (13.4, 9); acted as intermediary for his landlord's taxes in 312 (5.33); and was *sitologos* in 314/5 (9.3). In 314 he also borrowed seed (49.4, 13). His son Sarmates is B14.

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11. Herodes son of Kaet and Artemis. He never appears living, and he may have been one of the oldest of the siblings, as his son Alypios was born in 274 (B15).

12. Aithiopas son of Kanis. Sakaon petitions on his behalf in 40.3, 19 of 318-320. He is there said to be a minor, and his father is dead. His birth must therefore be sometime after 294. Nothing further is known of his life.

13. The Aeous son of Ketis of 5.35 (312p) who pays 3 art. wheat through Keletes is probably a son of the deceased Kaet son of Kaet (B9), born perhaps around 300. He is missing from Parássoglou's stemma.

14. Sarmates son of Keletes. Born in 294 (16 years old in 310, 1.13) and living in Sakaon's household in 310, he was Sakaon's wife Kamoution's choice for a husband for Taeus in 312 (cf. 38.10, 24). He seems to appear as a taxpayer in 315/6 (19.7) and is not seen further.

15. Alypios son of Herodes. Born in 275 (35 years old in 310 and living in Sakaon's household, 1.14), Alypios served as *sitologos* in 312 (5.2) and appears as a taxpayer in 19.5 (name restored). 315/6. He had a son Heron, born in 298 (1.15).

16. Heron son of Alypios. Born in 298 (see B15), Heron does not appear after 310 in the documentation. He must have married very young and died soon afterward, cf. B17 and B18.

17. Aeous son of Heron. Paid 16½ art. wheat in 312 through Alypios (5.36). If he is the son of B16, as seems likely, probably his father was dead and the Alypios is his grandfather (B15). A problem is posed by 8.6, where Parássoglou restores (following Schwartz) [Ἀνοῦς Ἡρ]ωνος δ(ὲ) Ἀλυπίου on the model of 5.36. The papyrus deals with the epinemesis of an 18th year the other digits of which are lost. Evidently this is 18-6-4-2 (309/10) and the papyrus dates sometime after 310, after Heron's death. Aeous is probably the unnamed 'brother' who borrows seed grain in 314 (49.3) along with Alypios (B18).

18. Alypios son of Heron. Attested only in 314 as a borrower of seed grain, along with his brother (presumably Aeous, B17) in 49.3.

C. The Family of Herakleides

Herakleides's sister (name unknown) was Sakaon's first wife, about whom nothing much is known. Herakleides himself was dead by 312 if 5.40 refers to his heirs. His sons Sarapion and Melas paid respectively 43 $\frac{2}{3}$ and 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. wheat in 312, for a total of 71 $\frac{1}{6}$. Of Sarapion's offspring, if any, nothing is known, but Melas had four sons, probably all born in the first years of the century or the last decade of the previous one. Zoilos was *sitologos* in 312, but the others appear only later. Zoilos's two sons Pasis and Gerontios are known. As two numerals are lacking, no estimate of taxes in 336 can be made.

1. Herakleides. Apparently dead by 312 (5.40). Perhaps taxpayer in 309/10 (8.5), but this dubious. Donkey-driver of 308/9 (90.4) the same? Probably born ca 250. Father of C2 and C3.

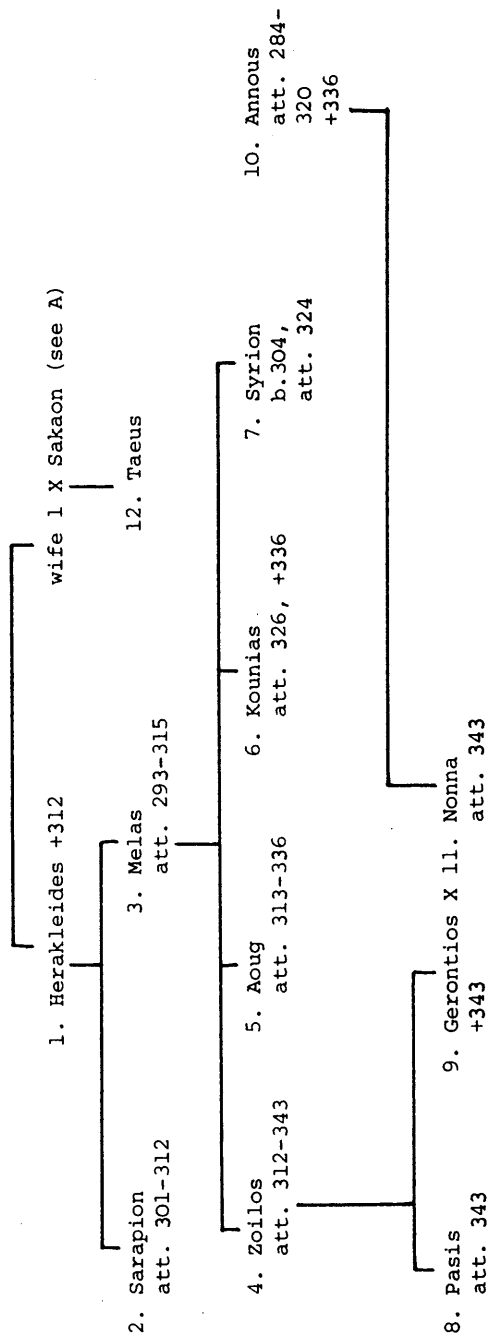
2. Sarapion son of Herakleides. *Sitologos* ca 302 (87.9, where no patronymic; cf. *BASP* 11 (1974) 65); pays barley in 302 (88.1); pays 43 $\frac{2}{3}$ art. wheat and 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ art. barley in 312 (5.22, 30, 57). Probably born ca 270-280.

3. Melas son of Herakleides. Delivers grain in 293/4 (80.5; no patronymic). Komarch in 299 (58.5, 21); taxpayer in 309/10 (8.3); *sitologos* in 309 (16.4). Petitions about son Zoilos's marriage in 312 (38.2, 30) indicate Zoilos born by ca 290. Pays 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. wheat and 11 art. barley (plus 6 art. wheat as lessee) in 312 (5.26, 43, 48, 58). Borrows seed in 314 (49.3, 11); pays money in 314/5 (9.5); perhaps makes deliveries in 315/6 (19.4-6). Father of C4, C5, C6 and C7. Born ca 270.

4. Zoilos son of Melas. *Sitologos* in 312 (38.4, 12, 25), when his father complained about interference by Sakaon into his marriage planned with Taeus (daughter of Sakaon and his first wife the sister of Herakleides, brought up by Melas). *Sitologos* again in 320 (7.4, acting through his brother Aoug (C5)) and in 336 (*CPR* VI 5); komarch in 326 (52.4, 27) and nominated his brother Kounias as successor (52.22). Paid wheat taxes in 336 (10.12; amount lost). A deacon in 343 (48.2, 28), when he petitions about Sakaon's interference into the marriage of his son Gerontios (C9) at some earlier time and current mistreatment of his son Pasis (C8). Born by ca 290.

5. Aoug son of Melas. *Sitologos* in 313 (6.2, 15) and again in 314/5 (9.3). Acted for Zoilos (C4) in 320 when the latter was *sitologos* (7.5, 16). Komarch along with

C. The Family of Herakleides



Sakaon in 324 (23.3;51.3). In 327 Sakaon complained about Aoug's attempt to take land from him (43.17). *Sitologos* and taxpayer (amount lost) in 336 (10.3, 19). No children recorded. Can he be the same as the Kanaoug who appears in some documents with no patronymic (G10)?

6. Kounias son of Melas. Nominated as komarch in 336 (52.22). In 336, paid 25½ art. wheat taxes through heirs, thus died by 336.

7. Syrion son of Melas. Born 304: nominated for *sitologos* or *apaitetes* in 324 at age 20 (51.23). No further information known.

8. Pasis son of Zoilos. Attested only in 343 (48.14), as Zoilos's surviving son, beaten and robbed by Sakaon according to Zoilos's petition. A grandfather still living then according to 48.14, but it is unknown which one.

9. Gerontios son of Zoilos. Married to Nonna daughter of Annous at unknown date; she was carried off by Sakaon when Gerontios was mortally ill (48.5, 9). Gerontios was probably born ca 310, the date of his death being uncertain but preceding 336, as Annous was still alive at the time of his death (see C10, B5).

10. Annous daughter of Sotikei, mother of Nonna (see B5 for full information). Her husband's name (if any) is unstated. For Nonna's career see C11.

11. Nonna daughter of Annous; wife of Gerontios (C9), q.v. Nonna was probably born by 310 and perhaps earlier, as Annous was already an adult in 284. Further fate unknown.

12. Taeus daughter of Sakaon and X: daughter of Sakaon by his first wife, object of controversy in 38 (312).

D. The Family of Zoilos

Horion, the second known generation of this family, was probably dead before 312, when his son Esouris pays 45 1/6 art. wheat in taxes (5.23, 32, 42, 59). The latter's brothers Soul and Psaon do not appear as landholders, but they are active around this time and Esouris may have been acting for them. In 336, Psaon had 70 11/64 arou-ras, while Esouris evidently had 10½. The wheat collections of 10, however, show Dionysios and Hol, sons of Esouris, paying between them 96½ art. wheat, which fits fairly well the total family holdings reported. Esouris himself was a *sitologos* in 336 (10.3), though his sons were doing the taxpaying. Horion cannot be the son of

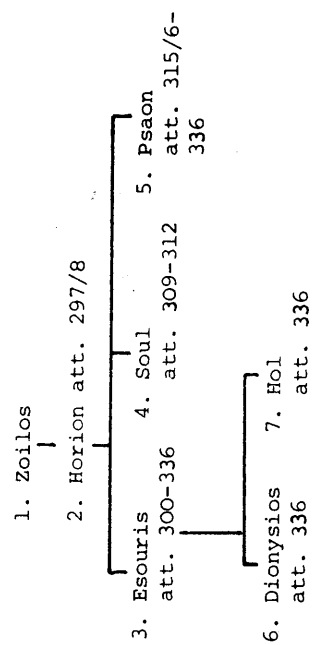
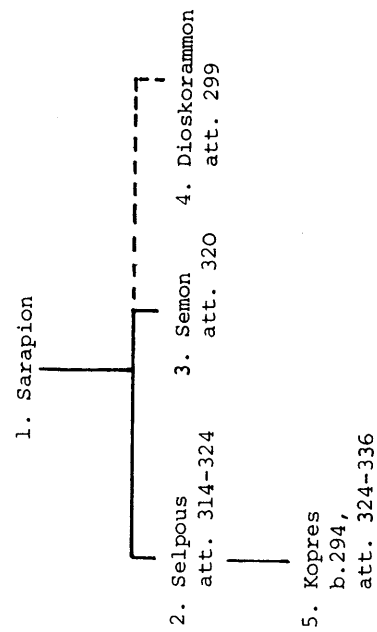
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Zoilos son of Melas (C4), as Parassoglou's stemma shows the situation, since Horion belongs to the generation of the father of that Zoilos, Melas.

1. Zoilos. Nothing is known of the ancestor of the line.
2. Horion son of Zoilos. Taxpayer in 297/8 (82.10); as his sons seem to have been born in the 280's, Horion was probably born about 260. He is the father of D3, D4, and D5.
3. Esouris son of Horion. *Sitologos* already in 300/1 (87.10, no patronymic), he was probably born ca 280. He was a taxpayer in 308-309 (90.3, 15.32), 312 (5.23. 32, 42, 59), and a 15th indiction (74.4). He served as komarch in 312 (18.5) and as *sitologos* again in 336 (10.3). In the latter year he had 10½ arouras registered in his name (4.16). Ca 323 he was a petitioner (42.2). It is dubious whether 19.2, concerning a donkey-driver, has anything to do with him. His sons are D6 and D7.
4. Soul son of Horion. First attested as *sitologos* in 16.4 (no patronymic, 309), he paid copper in 309 (89.4) and borrowed seed in 312 (49.4, 12). His birthdate should fall in the middle 280's, approximately. No descendants known.
5. Psaon son of Horion. He appears only in 315/6 (19.3) and in 336 (4.9, has 33 3/8 arouras). No descendants known.
6. Dionysios son of Esouris, appears only in 336 as a taxpayer (10.7) of 69 art. wheat.
7. Hol son of Esouris, appears only in 336 as a taxpayer (10.10) of 27½ art. wheat.

E. The Family of Sarapion

1. Sarapion, otherwise unknown, is perhaps the farmer of Atiaina whose heirs pay taxes in 5.55-56 (312).
2. Selpous son of Sarapion appears borrowing seed in 314 (49.2, 10, 17) and paying money in 314/5 (9.1). In 319-320 he was *sitologos* (20.5, 21.3, 30, 44; cf. 7.3, 16). In 324 his son Kopres was 30 years old (see E5), so Selpous must have been born by about 275.
3. Semon son of Sarapion was *sitologos* in 320 (7.2) but his brothers carried out the charge.

D. The Family of ZoilosE. The Family of Sarapion

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4. Dioskorammon son of Sarapion was the seller of an ass to Sakaon in 299 (61.2, 30). It is not certain that he is a member of this family.

5. Kopres son of Selpous was born in 294, 30 years old in 324 (51.26). In 336 he paid 65 art. wheat (10.13).

Selpous and Semon do not appear in the tax list of 312, oddly enough. The later evidence suggests that they were a substantial family. Either there are family connections of which we are ignorant, or perhaps they held most of their property elsewhere than Theadelphia.

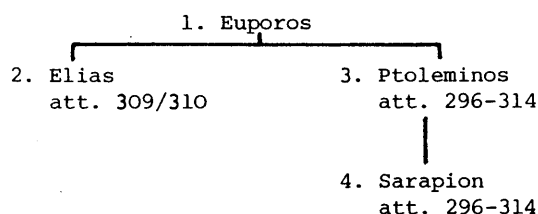
F. The Family of Euporos

1. Euporos, the ancestor, is not himself attested.

2. Elias son of Euporos appears in 8.8 paying a money tax in 309/10, but is not attested as a landholder.

3. Ptoleminos son of Euporos is attested in 296 as a taxpayer (81.2), in 297 paying chaff (83.2) for Thraso, in 312 paying wheat (5.31, 50; only 6 5/12 art.), in 309/10 as a taxpayer (8.7, part restored), and in 314 borrowing seed (49.2, 9, 16) together with his son (F4). As his son was active by 296, Ptoleminos himself was probably born by about 260.

4. Sarapion son of Ptoleminos is found acting with his father twice, in 296 as taxpayer (81.3) and in 314 as borrower of seed (49.2, 9, 16).



G. Other Persons

1. Paneous the priest (no patronymic ever given). First appears in 298 paying chaff and wheat (84.2, 85.2); in one of these receipts he is identified as being

from Thraso. In 84, his payments of 900 lbs. chaff bespeak holdings of at least 36 arouras. In 5.21, 28, 37, 45, 60 he pays a total of 63 11/12 art. wheat (and 15 of barley). Paneous's tax payment in 315/6 is recorded in 19.3. In 336 he was still alive, recorded (.4-5) as holding 41 3/16 ar. toyal and 6 5/16 ar. private land. In 10.11 he pays 18½ art. wheat. It may be noted that his wheat taxes paid in 312 are only about 8 art. below the taxes due on the holdings recorded in 336, a good correlation.

2. Hatres son of Paneous (G1) borrows seed grain in 314 (49.3-4). He may be Atia's lessee in 5.44 (312).

3. Arion son of Dioskoros and Kotyrillous (71.4) appears as *tesserarius* in 308 (15.14, 32; 17.3, 11, 16, 24, 29, 39 (cf. RFBE 32)) and *sitologos* in 319/20 (21.4, 31). His taxpaying is attested in 309/10 (8.4), 312 (5.2, 4, 25, 29, 34, 35, 51), when he also acted for his son Dionysios who was *sitologos*, in 314/5 (9.7-9). He borrows seed grain in 314 (49.3, 5, 11, 19). He served as Sakaon's surety in 306 (71.4). We find him in three petitions (33.2, 41.2, 17, 42.2). In 41 (322) he says that his children by his wife Eirene are dead and that he is being harassed for the taxes on his father-in-law's property. The text 35 also concerns this affair and reveals that Eirene had predeceased her father Heron before 321. Cf. G4, G5, G6, and G7.

4. His wife Eirene, dead by 321, and her children, dead by 322 (cf. G3).

5. Heron, father of Eirene (G4) and father-in-law of Arion (G3), qq.v.

6. Dionysios son of Arion, *sitologos* in 5 (312); we do not know who the other child dead before 322 (cf. G3) can have been.

7. Paulos son of Arion appears as a taxpayer in 10.19 (336). Arion called himself an old man already in 322; can this possibly be the offspring born of a second, late marriage? We cannot tell.

8. Atiaina daughter of Dioskoros, sister of Arion (G3). She is sometimes called Atia, but they seem to be the same. She paid 20½ art. wheat in 312 (5.40, 44, 47, 48, 55) through various lessees; in 336 she was still alive and registered for 44½ ar. of private land, plus 3 5/32 ar. of unsown private land. By taxpaying time (10), however, she was no longer on the scene.

9. Pasis son of Nilammon. In 95.1 his mother is named as Tagene, and he is said to come from Thraso. His age then (301) is given as 60, yielding a birthdate of 241. He declared land at Theadelphia in 298 (76.2, 16), and appears in various transactions

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between 300 and 314 (86.13; 87.1; 96.3, 7, 12?, 17, 25; 97.1; 49.2, 9, 16). From 95 one may surmise he had flocks of sheep. It is something of a surprise to find him still alive in 336, listed as owner of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ar. of private land at Theadelphia. He would have been 95 at the time, and even allowing for some error in the statement of age in 301, he must have been 90. He had no attested children.

10. Kanaoug: something of a mystery. He is in no taxpayer list, his family and origins are unknown. But he is attested paying taxes in 307 and 337 (13.4, 9; 92.8, 13) and was komarch in 327 (25.5, 27). He was one of the three survivors in a deserted Theadelphia in 331/2 (35.1; 44.3, 20). Nothing is known of any children. One wonders if he can be the same as Aoug son of Melas (C5).

11. A Horion was komarch in 307 with Sakaon (13.10) and again with Pennis at an unknown date, perhaps in the 320's (29.3). If this is one person, it seems unlikely to be either the son of Aeous (A2's son) or the son of Zoilos (D2, born ca 260?), but the komarch of 307 could be either. The komarch with Pennis at least must be a different person.

12. A Herakles whose patronymic is not fully read (A....os) appears as a taxpayer in 18.4 (312).

13. A Kastor was *sitologos* in 314/5 (19.15).

The following persons are excluded from our list: Maron (19.8) is only a mule owner, not necessarily a resident of Theadelphia. The editor's restoration of his name in the lacuna as a taxpayer is unjustified. Soumoeis daughter of Taesis, lender in 303 (96.5, 13, 16) is of unknown origin.

SUMMARY

The following were active in 312 according to our records:

- A. Paesis, Aunes, Allion and Sakaon sons of Satabous; 8 sons of these 4, teenagers or younger.
- B. Kanis, Kaet, and Keletes sons of Kaet; Alypios son of Herodes, grandson of Kaet. Three sons of the above and two infant sons of Alypios's son Heron.
- C. Sarapion and Melas, sons of Herakleides; 4 young sons of Melas, of whom Zoilos was active.

G. Paneous and his son Hatres; Arion and his son Dionysios; (Atiaina his sister);
Pasis; Kanaouq.

Adult males total about 25, and children or youths, about 18. Women are nowhere listed, nor female children, and probably our roster of these is seriously deficient, as it is also for young male children. It seems unlikely, however, that more than a few adults -- without property -- are missing from the list.

A. The Date of P.Sakaon 10

ὕνα

εἰσπραξις σέτου κώμης θαλαδελφείας
ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνδοκίμωνος κομητῶν διὰ σιτολ(όγων)
Ἡρώνας καὶ Αὐγῆ καὶ Εὔστριος καὶ λοι(ωνών).

There follow 18 entries; for 16 the numbers are preserved, adding up to 384 of the 451 total artabas of wheat. The first editor (P. Jouquet, *P.Thead.* 30) took the tenth indiction to be that of 321/2; the date would then be 14.vii.322. Parássoglou, however, dates it to 14.vii.352. As there is no commentary, we must guess his reasons. It should be said first that Epeiph 20 in a fiscal document for the indiction year 351/2 in the Arsinoite would be 14.vii.351, not 352. But it is the choice of the cycle which is striking, for no other text in *P.Sakaon* is so late. Only a prosopographical study of the taxpayers can illuminate the problem.

The living taxpayers first:

1. Heron son of Sakaon (also apparently *sitologos*). Not, it seems, a son of the Sakaon, who complained in 342 (46.6, 47.4) about being robbed by this Heron. (Gl2 pt.II)
2. Sakaon son of Satabous: born ca 265 (1.7), still alive in 343 but obviously then an old man (48.8) (All).
3. Dionysios son of Esouris: not elsewhere attested (D6).

4. Paesis son of Satabous: born 255 (1.9), attested active between 299 and 314 (58.5, 21 and 49.4, 13) (A7).

5. Antoninus son of Sakaon: nominated for komarch in 326 (52.21) (A20).

6. Paulos son of Aeilos: not elsewhere attested (A21).

7. Hol son of Esouris: not elsewhere attested (D7).

8. Paneous: presumably the priest, attested between 298 (84.2, 85.2) and 315/6 (19.3), hence born by ca 284 (G1).

9. Zoilos son of Melas: active between 312 (38.4, 12, 25) and 343 (48.2, 28) (C4).

10. Kopres son of Selpous: born in 294 (51.26), attested as nominee for *sitologos* or *apaitetes* in 324 (E5).

11. Paulos son of Arion: attested only here. See G3 above, in Part I, for Arion. If Paulos were his son, we might suppose that this tax list should precede 14 July 322, when he says (41) his children were dead. Remarkably, 14.vii.322 is precisely the earliest date possible for *P.Sakaon* 10. It seems that either the Arion in question is not the same or that he had a second family; in either case this man does not help (G7).

12. Aoug son of Melas: attested between 313 (6.2, 15) and 327 (43.17). He is *sitologos* here as well as taxpayer (C5).

13. Pamoun: not elsewhere attested.

14. Nauph, priest: not elsewhere attested.

15. Esouris, the *sitologos*, who does not appear as a taxpayer, perhaps because the property was now in the hands of his sons Dionysios (no. 3 in the list above) and Hol (no. 7). Esouris is himself very well attested: *sitologos* in 300/1 (87.10), he is a petitioner in 42.2, ca 323. He must have been born by ca 280 (D3).

Now, the dead:

16. Allion: brother of Sakaon, had a son between 288 and 292 (compare 1.10, 65.4, 51.21) and himself is attested perhaps last in 315/6 (19.9). He must have been born by ca 270 (A9).

17. Annous (lines 11, 20, 21): daughter of Sotikei, born probably somewhat before 260 to judge from her role in 37.5, 13, 17 and comments in 40.3, 19. She is also blamed in a petition of Zoilos son of Melas in 343 (48) for having cooperated in Sakaon's removal of her daughter Nonna from the household of Zoilos's son Gerontios

when the latter was dying. It is probably this document which led Parassoglou to place *P.Sakaon* 10 after 343, hence in 352. But this deduction is unwarranted. The petitioner remarks that despite his intentions to prosecute at the time, he had in fact lived his ἀπράγμων βίος (line 13). The petition is provoked by a later incident involving his other son, Pasis. There is thus no way of dating the role of Annous, which may go back a decade or more (B5).

18. Kounias son of Melas: attested as nominee for komarch in 326 (52.22), his only attestation. That he is now dead shows decisively that 322 cannot be the date. (C6)

19. Euporas son of Aunes: not elsewhere attested (A14).

20. Hermias son of Aunes: not elsewhere attested (A15).

With 322 excluded (no. 18), 336 and 351 remain. There are no decisive arguments in favor of either one, but I believe 351 is unlikely on grounds of the lifespans of the persons involved. The following persons in the list would have to have reached the approximate age to be alive in 351 given below:

2. Sakaon	86
4. Paesis	96
8. Paneous	73
9. Zoilos	61
10. Kopres	57
15. Esouris	71

The fairly recently dead: Allion (16) would have been 81, Annous (17) about 90-95. We do not know how recently they had died, but the odds are against its being more than a few years. On the whole, these ages do not seem credible, especially the nonagenarians.

Equally, however, the required age distribution of the whole population is unlikely, for we must add: 1. Heron, 25; 5. Antoninus, 30; 12. Aoug, 52 (these being minimum ages). The average age of the known persons still living is 55. This is not the Egyptian village population as we know it. Even if many young people left the village as it declined (*Sakaon's* son *Aeil* was a lessee in *Boubastos* in 338: 70.2, 18), such an age distribution is highly improbable. Therefore, a date in 351 being unlikely, and one in 322 being excluded (cf. *supra*), I conclude that the date of the papyrus must be 14.vii.336.

B. The Male Population in 336

We may take things by the divisions given in the prosopography for 312 and make some additions.

A. The Family of Paesios: Of the four brothers, Sakaon (A11), Paesis (A7) and Allion (A9) were all still alive in 336, but Allion died between the time of the drafting of 4, the land-register (exact date of columns i-iii is not known) and 14 July, when 10 was drawn up listing tax payments. Of the next generation, Amis (A13) son of Paesis and Antoninos (A20) son of Sakaon appear. Aeil himself (A17) was leasing land in Boubastos in 338 (70.2, 18) and had perhaps already left Theadelphia by 336, though he still styles himself as from Thraso. Boubastos was in the Herakleides Division, at quite some distance.

B. The Family of Sotikei: No living members known; they had always had property elsewhere and perhaps had left. Annous was dead in 336, but her heirs are not named.

C. The Family of Herakleides: Of the younger generation, Zoilos (C4) and Aoug (C5) sons of Melas appear. Kounias (C6) was dead. The younger generation, sons of Zoilos, of whom Pasis (C8) was alive in 343 and Gerontios (C9) dead, do not appear in 336.

D. The Family of Zoilos: Esouris (D3) and Psaon (D5) sons of Horion are still attested, but their brother Soul (D4) is not. Two sons of Esouris, Dionysios and Hol (D6 and 7) pay the taxes, while the older generation is listed as the owners.

E. The Family of Sarapion: Kopres son of Selpous (E5) is a large taxpayer in this year, when he was about 42.

F. The Family of Euporos: No traces of any members.

G. Others: Paneous the priest (G1), Arion son of Dioskoros (G3), Atiaina daughter of Dioskoros (G8), Pasis son of Nilammon (G9), and Kanaoug (G10) are all still alive of the 312 group. If the Paulos son of Arion (G7) is the son of the Arion son of Dioskoros, he is the only descendant of any of them found here.

There are also some persons not found in 312 and not clearly identifiable as offspring or relatives of any of those known then:

G11. Atalis son of .ph.eie...: pays 25½ art. wheat in 10.15 through his heirs (thus now dead).

G12. Heron son of Sakaon. This man is probably the simple Heron who was *sitologos*

in 319/20 (21) and 336 (10.3), and komarch in 335/6 (CPR VI 5.3). He paid taxes in 336 (10.5, 34½ art. wheat) and the following year (92.8). Sakaon complained about him in 327 (43.16) but joined with him in searching for runaway Theadelphians and in writing petitions in 331/2 (35.3, 44.3). In 342, Sakaon again petitioned against him (46.6, 47.4).

G13. Horion nicknamed Kagol, son of Heron, is a landholder in 4.13. His wife is Aeias (G14), who also holds land (4.12).

G15. Nauph the priest: a taxpayer through the heirs of Annous in 10.21. As the amount is small, and Nauph himself did not farm the land, he may well have lived elsewhere.

G16. Pamoun: like Nauph, he paid taxes (10.20) via the heirs of Annous. The amount is 1 art.: probably another non-resident.

G17. Sakaon son of Pemoutios: landholder in 336 (4.24), but otherwise unknown. As the holding is only 1 1/3 ar., he may also have been resident somewhere else.

G18. Timotheos, lessee in 336 (10.8), otherwise unknown. We find thus 22-25 resident adult males. Unfortunately, we know virtually nothing about any family members under the age of adult activity. The number of adults is about the same as in 312, but we cannot estimate the younger generation. The tax payments for villagers have risen from 330 art. to 450 art. in that time, and those are actual payments, not unpaid assessments.

C. The Crisis of 331-332

The dominant impression of those who have commented on fourth-century Theadelphia is one of steady decline. *P.Sakaon* 44 and its companion 35 are often cited for this process. They have an important bearing on our subject. No. 44 is addressed to the prefect Flavius Hyginus, who was in office by 7.xi.331 and remained in office during 332 (terminus not known).² In it, Heron (son of Sakaon, presumably), Sakaon, and Kanaoug claim (1) that they are left alone in Theadelphia and pay taxes for 500 arouras (which are undated) and 25 men;³ (2) that they have looked for the missing villagers and found six in the Oxyrhynchite and three in the Cynopolite (the latter group owning 100 arouras and more of "royal" land); (3) that they have been repulsed in their efforts

to get these men to return to Theadelphia. They ask for aid in this last.

The statement of case preserved in 35 (but never used, as the absence of marginal notes shows; see *P.Col.* VII 174 for this type of document) tells much the same story, and blames the water-thievery of Narmouthis, Hermoupolis and Theoxenis for the problem. The trio say that they paid for 200 arouras and provided a sailor, a guard for the eirenarchs, and their other taxes. The intended occasion for use of this piece, the requested relief, and the outcome are all unknown.

What is striking for us, however, is the figure 25, which corresponds closely with the number of adult males both in 312 and in 336. Evidently the population had not changed much over the quarter-century, though in a bad year it would almost all leave: a reminder of how marginal the economy of Theadelphia was. But they did -- most at least -- return, as the good showing and larger tax payment in 336 show. The nine actually mentioned in 44, however, are another matter. They are as follows: Ammon, Apol, Dionysios, Gerontios, Heron, Hor, Pathau, Sabbaios, and Souchidas. Of these, Dionysios could be D6 and Gerontios C9, both of whom eventually returned. Hor could be Hol son of Esouris (D7), who had also returned by 336. The other six I cannot identify with anyone earlier or later in the village. We cannot say when they had been in Theadelphia.

In sum, it appears that the underlying adult male population of Theadelphia had not changed much between 312 and 336, but that it underwent some fluctuation with the agricultural situation in any given year, with practical desertion of the village in a really bad year. It is very possible, also, that the population of boys and youths had declined drastically in this period, a phenomenon which would explain the high average age (40) of taxpayers in 336 and the absence of much documentation after this year.

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2. See Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, 241-42; but the choice of 331 or 332 for *PSI* VII 767 is no longer open as it seemed to Lallemand and the editors of that document, for the consuls of 332 were known already in January-February 332, cf. *CSBE* 110 a. 332.
 3. Including the *ταμιαχοί*. I do not think Jouguet and Parassoglou can be right in thinking that these are treasury agents. What would such be doing living as taxpayers in Theadelphia? The word seems not to appear as a description of people elsewhere. Perhaps it means those cultivating *ταμιακά πεδία*, government property.