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Census Declarations from the Berlin Collection

With Plates 6-13

Roger S. Bagnall (New York)

This article is the second in a series publishing unedited or incompletely edited census declarations. It arises out of research connected with *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, a study I am engaged in collaboratively with Bruce W. Frier.¹⁾ A major part of my contribution is to be an up-to-date, comprehensive list of census declarations from Roman Egypt, with information about the declarants and persons declared. The compilation of this list required inspection of the original or a photograph of all the published texts.²⁾ While in Berlin, the home of the largest concentration of census declarations, I found that there were several such texts left aside at the time of the editing of *BGU* I and apparently never since studied. Most, but not all, had been published in Ulrich Wilcken's pioneering article, "Arsinoitische Steuerprofessionen aus dem Jahre 189 n. Chr. und verwandte Urkunden," *SBBerlin phil.-hist. Classe*, 1883, 897-922, with four plates (IX-XII). They were omitted from *BGU* for understandable reasons, but material that seemed of little interest then may still have some use in the context of a study like the one we have undertaken.³⁾ Despite the first publication, these declarations have not been listed in any roster of census declarations, no doubt in part because the texts as published are obviously defective. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Günter Poethke, I am able to publish here eight of them.⁴⁾ All come from Arsinoe. Since a general discussion of census declarations will appear along with the comprehensive list in the book on demography, commentary here is limited to particular features of the individual texts.⁵⁾

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

¹⁾ For the first article, "Census Declarations from Tebtunis", see *Aegyptus* 72 (1992).

²⁾ See *BASP* 27 (1990) 1-14 and 28 (1991) 13-32, 121-33, for the first three installments of notes resulting from this investigation.

³⁾ It is noteworthy that Preisigke did not include them in *SB* I. The concordance in *SB* II p. 152 shows that he included nothing from the *SBBerlin* before the 1887 volume.

⁴⁾ I am indebted to the Director of the Museum, Dr. Priese, for formal permission to publish or republish these texts here. Klaas Worp has read a draft of this article and made several helpful suggestions.

⁵⁾ 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).

trouvaille: le Musée de Berlin a acquis, à la fin du siècle dernier, un ensemble de fragments provenant des archives du basilicogrammate et relatifs à deux recensements successifs, celui de 173/4 et celui de 187/8. La plupart des pièces du recensement de 187/8 ont fait partie d'un τόμος.⁶⁾ These all fall into the category of declarations with a single addressee. None has any official subscriptions, and only some have signatures. "Les exemplaires conservés dans les archives paraissent donc être indifféremment l'original ou un double," commented Hombert and Préaux.

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

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

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

Column i

- [Ἀσκληπιάδη βασιλ(ικῶ)] γρα(μματεῖ) Ἀ[ρσιν(οίτου) Ἡρακλ(είδου) μερίδος]
 [παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου] Χαιρήμ[ονος τοῦ Χα]ιρήμ[ονος]
 [μη(τρός) NN] κατοίκ(ου) ἀναγ[ρα(φομένου) ἐ]π' ἀμφο-
 4 [δου Συριακῆς] ὑπάρχει τῇ φροντιζομέν[η]
 [ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Διδύμη (?)] Σαραπίω(νος) ἀστῆ ἐπ' ἀμφοδο(ν)
 [- 13 -] ἐν ἧ ἀπογο(άφομαι) ἐμαυτὸν καὶ
 [τοὺς ἐμούς εἰς τῆ]ν το(ῦ) διεληλυθότος ἰδ (ἔτους)
 8 [κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογο]ρ(αφήν) ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου
 [ἀμφοδοῦ Συ]ριακῆς ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῇ το(ῦ) κγ (ἔτους)
 [ἀπογο(αφή) ἀπεγο(αψάμην)· καὶ εἰ]μι Ἡρα[κ]λείδης ὁ π[ρο]χ[ι](εγραμμένος)
 [(ἔτων) .. καὶ.....]χρια[.] Διδύμη(η) (ἔτων) κδ
 12 [καὶ τοὺς Διδύ]μησ ἀ[δε]λφούς Πασίω[να]
 [(ἔτων) .. καὶ] Δίδυμ(ον) (ἔτων) κδ καὶ Σαρα[πί-]
 [ωνα(?) (ἔτων) .. - 7 -].λ () Θερμοῦ[θ-]
 [- 17 - ὑπά]ρχει δ[ε..]

⁶⁾ Hombert-Préaux, 88.

⁷⁾ Wilcken, p. 918, no. XX (1342) and p. 919, no. XXIII (1345).

Column ii

Ἀσ[κληπιᾶδῃ βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἀρσι(νοῖτον) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδος]
 πα[ρὰ NN
 τοῦ Ἀμ[
 4 Χηνο[βοσκίων
 ὑπο[
 ε...[
 ὑπάρχ[ει
 8 ..[
 ὑπ[ογεγρα --
 διε[ληλυθ(ότος) ἰδ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου]
 Καί[σαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογο(αφήν)· εἶμι]
 δὲ [NN

i 1, ii 1 For Asklepiades see Bastianini-Whitehorne 122–23.

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

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

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

i 11 Since Herakleides registered with his wife for 145/6 and had a 14-year old son in 156, he is likely to have been born by around 120. Didyme, if that was the ward's name, is of the generation of Herakleides' children. One supposes that the words to be restored and read between Herakleides' age and her name should give her relationship to him. The evident reading *κρια* has led to no satisfactory word (searching yields *νεκρία* and *Μακριανός*). One needs only about five or six letters in the lacuna at left.

2. P. Berol. inv. 1349 (Arsinoe, 175)⁸⁾

The lower right corner of a declaration, with slight remains of another declaration adjoining at right. The surface is abraded in many places. The loss at left may be estimated at 11–13 letters in lines 2–4, after which it declines somewhat (8 letters in line 10) as the preserved portion becomes wider. 6 × 11.5 cm.

 [.οἰκία καὶ ἀ]λλή ἐν ἧ
 [κατοικῶ καὶ ἀπο]γρα(ἀφομαι) εἰς τήν
 [τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) ἰδ (ἔτους) Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἀντωνείνου
 4 [Καίσαρος το]ῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν)
 [ἀπογρα(φήν)] καὶ εἰμι.....
 [- 8 -]π[ρογ]εργ(αμμέν--) (ἐτῶν) ἰζ ἄση(μος)
 [- 8 -].μοι() vacat?
 8 [- 8 -] Πετρευ... (ἐτῶν) μα οὐ(λή)....
 [- 8 -].χ()
 Vacat 1 cm
 [(ἔτους) ἰε Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἀντωνείνου
 [vacat Καί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 12 [vacat] Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομ(ένων) ε-

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

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

11–12 The date is 28 August 175.

3. P. Berol. inv. 1350 (Arsinoe, 175)⁹⁾

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

⁸⁾ Wilcken, pp. 919–20. no. XXVII.

⁹⁾ Wilcken, p. 920, no. XXVIII.

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

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

 [Ἀσκληπιάδῃ βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἄρ]σι(νοίτου) Ἱερακ(λείδου) μερίδ[ος]
 [] *vacat*
 4 [παρὰ NN Ἰσιδώ]ρου τοῦ καὶ Κλο..[
 [κατοίκου] μητρὸς Ἀμμω[ναρίου (?)]
 [τῆς NN θυγ(ατρὸς)] κατοίκου ἀναγρα(φομένης) ἐπ' ἀμφοδου]
 [--- μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰσι[δώρου]
 8 [τοῦ καὶ Κλο-- κατ]ρίκου· ὑπάρχει μοι ἐπ' ἀ[μφοδου]
 [] v οἰκία ἐν ἧ ἀπογ[ράφομαι]
 [ἐμαντὴν καὶ τοὺς] ἐμοὺς εἰς τὴν τ[οῦ]
 [διεληλυθότος ιδ] (ἔτους) κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπ[ογραφήν]
 12 [τῇ προτ]έρα ἀπογρ(αφῆ) ἀπ[εγραψάμην]
 [τῇ μητρὶ ἐπ]ί.[
 [] προκιμεγ[

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

3 The line was probably entirely blank.

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

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

4. P. Berol. inv. 1355 (Arsinoe, 175)

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

¹⁰) Some examples: *BGU* XI 2018 and XIII 2225; *P. Hamb.* III 203; *P. Mich.* VI 370; *P. Mil. XV Congr.* p. 17; *P. Princ.* III 129.

[Ἀσκληπιάδη βασ]ιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Ἄρσ[ι(νοίτου)
 Ἡρακλ(είδου) μερίδος]
 [παρὰ ---].ιας Ἡρωνος τρ[ῶ NN
 [μη(τρὸς) ---]ους ἀναγεγρ(αμμένης) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου
 4 [Γυμ]ασίου· ὑπ(ἀρχει) ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) ἀμ[φόδου]
 [. γ' μέρος(οὺς) οἰκίας ἐν [ῶ].
 [ἀπογράφομαι] τοὺς ὑπογεγρ(αμμένους) ἐνοίκ(ους) εἰς τὴν
 [τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) ιδ] (ἔτους) κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφήν) ἐπ[ι
 8 [.. Γυμ(νασίου)· καί [ε]ἰσι Πτ[
 []ου Δημη[τρ]ί[ο]υ
 []ς τῆς Διδ[
 []... (ἑτῶν) .[
 12 []... αὐτ[
 []... ε...[
 [] ἐπέδ[ωκα(?)]

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

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

11 The numeral is either lambda or mu.

5. P. Berol. inv. 1336 (Arsinoe, 189)¹¹⁾

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

[.....οἰ]κία καὶ αἴθριον [ἐν]
 [οἷς κατοικῶ καὶ] ἀπογράφομαι ἐμαντὸν κ[αὶ]
 4 [τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ τ]ὸν ὑπογεγρ(αμμένον) ἔνοικον εἰ[ς]
 [τὴν τοῦ διεληλυ]θότος κη <(ἔτους)> Αὐρηλίου
 [Κομμόδου Ἄντω]νείνου Καίσαρος
 [τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰ]κίαν ἀπογρ(αφήν)· κ[αὶ]

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

¹¹⁾ Wilcken, p. 916, no. XIV.

6. P. Berol. inv. 1335 (Arsinoe, 189)¹²

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

Column i

[Ἀροκρατίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἰέρακι] βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ)
 [Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδος]
 4 [παρὰ NN ἀπὸ τῆς μη-
 [τροπ(όλεως)] ὑπάρχει
 [μοι] γ' μέρος
 [] τῶν ὑπο-
 8 [γεγρα(αμμένους) ἐνοίκ(ους) --] θηλυ-
 [κά] ἀμφόδ(ου)
 [] εἰς τὴν τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) κη ἔτους) κατ' οἴκ(ίαν)
 ἀπογρα(αφήν)

Column ii

Ἀροκρατίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἰέρακ[ι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου)]
 Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος [vacat?]
 4 παρὰ Ταορσέως τῆς καὶ Ἡ[--- NN μη(τρος) NN]
 Ἡρακλείδου ἀναγρα(αφομένης) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)--]
 ἀπογεγρα(αμμένης) δι' ἑτέρου ὑπομν[ήματος--]
 ὑπάρχει μοι ἐπ' ἀμφ[ό]δου Βιθύν[ων
 traces γ' μέρος [οἴ]κίας ἐν ᾧ[
 8 ἀπογρα(άφομαι) τῶν ὑπογεγρα(αμμένους) ἐνοίκ[ους εἰς]
 τὴν τοῦ διεληλ(υθότος) κη (ἔτους) Αὔρηλ[ίου Κομμόδου

i 1 There may be a trace of a number over the top of this column.
 i 7 The adjective *θηλυκός* concerning persons in the Roman period regards "almost always slaves or infants, and frequently slave infants" – Z. Packman, *BASP* 25 (1988) 138. It is thus likely to be neuter and modify a preceding or following *ἔκγονα* or something of that sort.

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

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

¹²) Wilcken, p. 916, no. XIII (col. II only).

]. . αρχ .[
]. τοῦ κα[ι
] ἐξ ἀμφοτ(έρων) υἰόν .[
4] ομένης και τ[
]. ἰωνος τοῦ και .[
] (ἐτῶν) ια και Σουχίων[α
 ἐν ἐπιγεγεν]ημέ(νοισ) · και .[
8] προγ(εγραμμένος) (ἐτῶν) μ ἀντ[
] και ἐξ ἀμφοτ(έρων) τέκνα
] μονα ἄλλα .[
] ν ἄλλον (ἐτῶν) ζ [
12] μὴ ἀναγεγραμ(μέν-) [
] (ἐτῶν) κ και Σαρα[

3 There is a line over the nu of υἰόν, perhaps descending from line 2.

4 Probably ἀναγραφ]ομένης και τ[ῆ προτέρῃ ἀπογραφῆ or with a mention of the year of the previous census, but it is not clear enough where we are in the formula to go further.

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

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

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

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

 τ[
 α[.].[- 12 -].[....]...[
 ἐν αἴς αἰθ[ρίον και α]ύλαι και ἐπ[ι τοῦ αὐτοῦ]
4 ἀμφοδο(ν) οἰκ[ί]α διπυργίαν [και ἐν ἄλλῳ τό-]
 πῶ τέταρτο[ν] μέρος οἰκίας κα[ι ἐπ' ἀμφο-]
 δου Ἀμμωνί[ου] τόπων οἰκία [και
 ..[...]] και οἰκία κ[αι ἀ]λλή κ[αι
8] κ[αι] [οικ]ία και ἀλλή ἐν [α]ἴ[ς] ἐπαύ]λειφ[εσ

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

¹³⁾ Wilcken, p. 919, no. XXI.

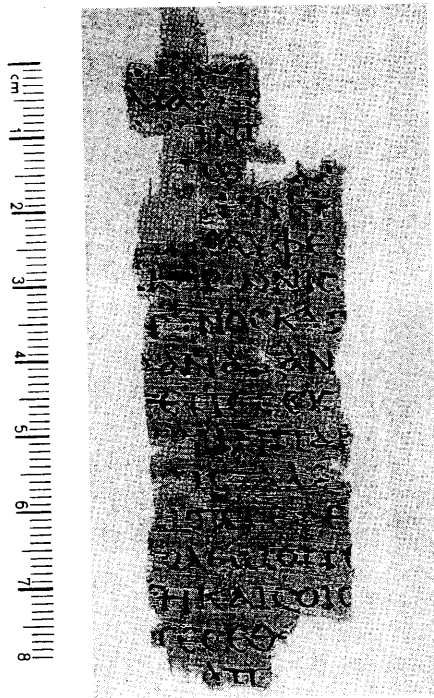


Abb. 1. P. Berol. 9813

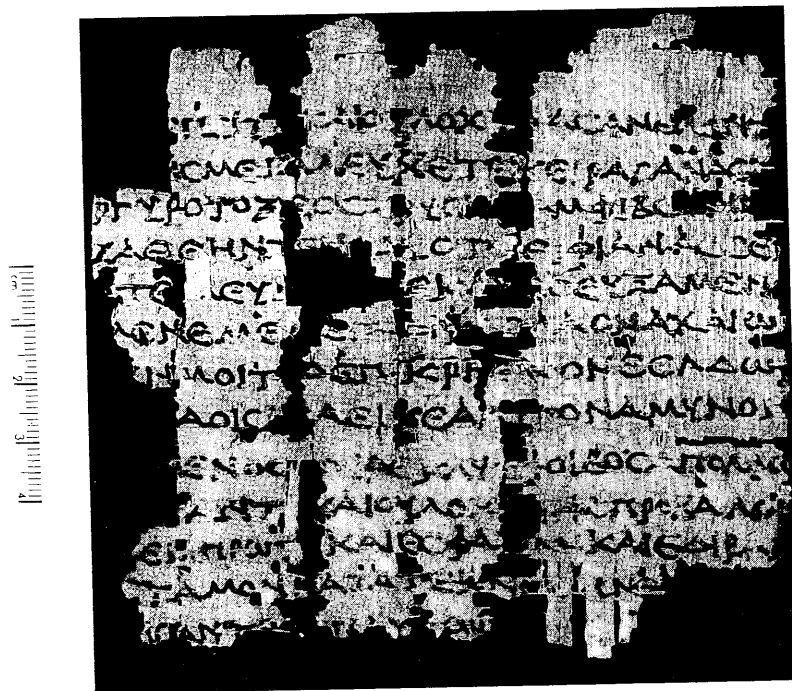


Abb. 2. P. Berol. 9584

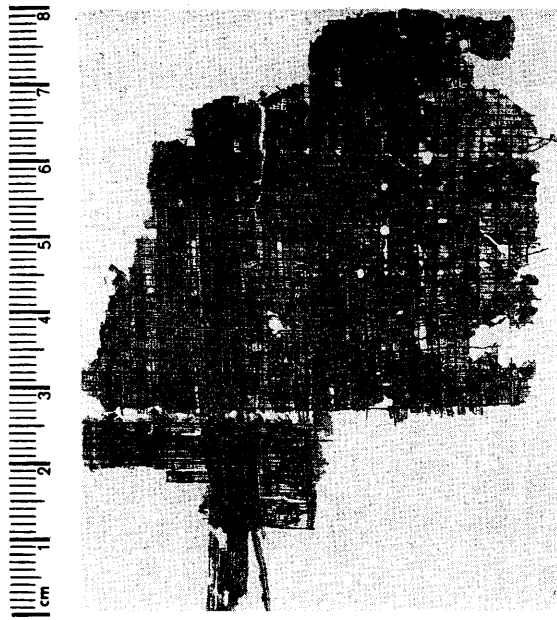


Abb. 3. P. Berol. 17069



Abb. 4. P. Berol. 13424



Abb. 5. P. Berol. 9965

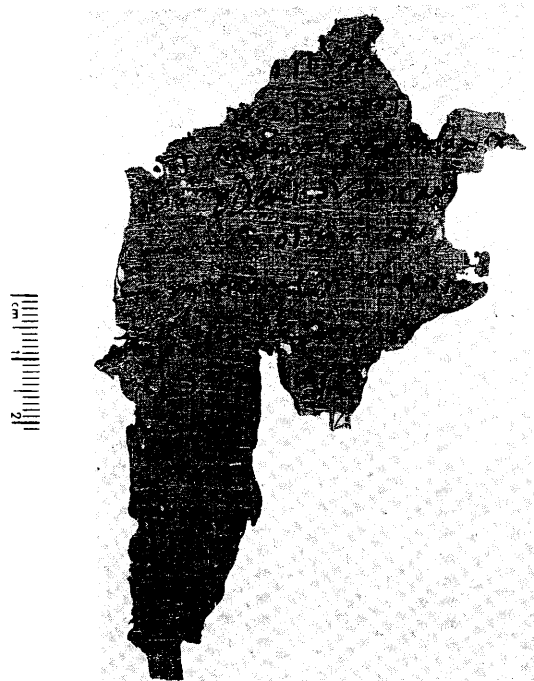


Abb. 6. P. Berol. 1355

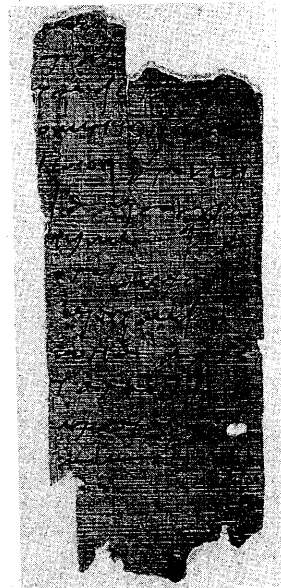


Abb. 7. P. Berol. 1361

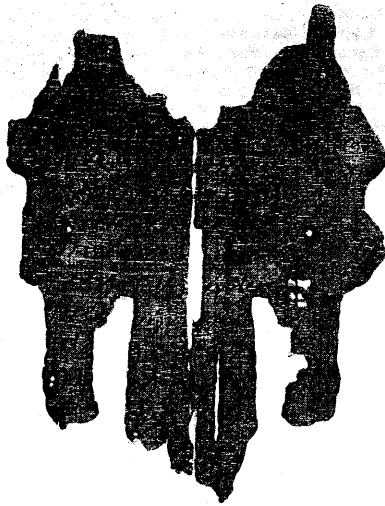


Abb. 8.
P. Berol. 1342 + 1345

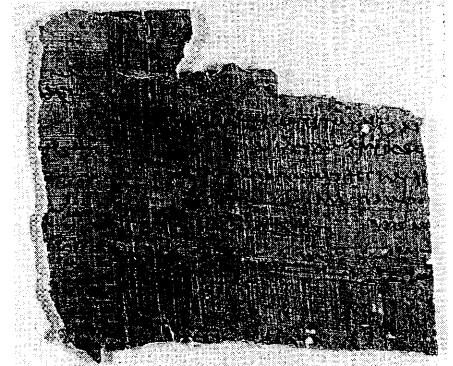


Abb. 9. P. Berol. 1335

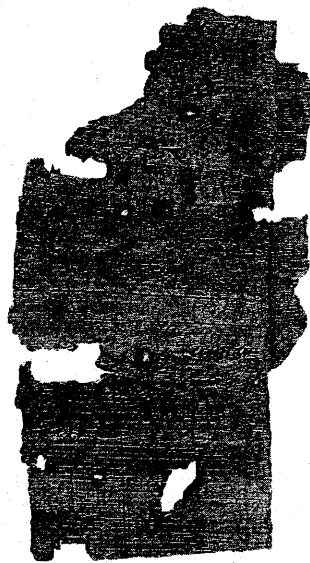


Abb. 10. P. Berol. 1349



Abb. 11. P. Berol. 1350

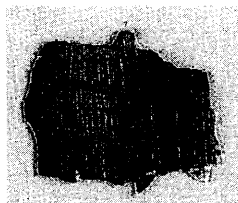


Abb. 12. P. Berol. 1336

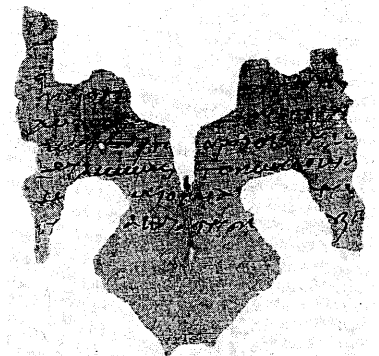


Abb. 13. P. Berol. 1343

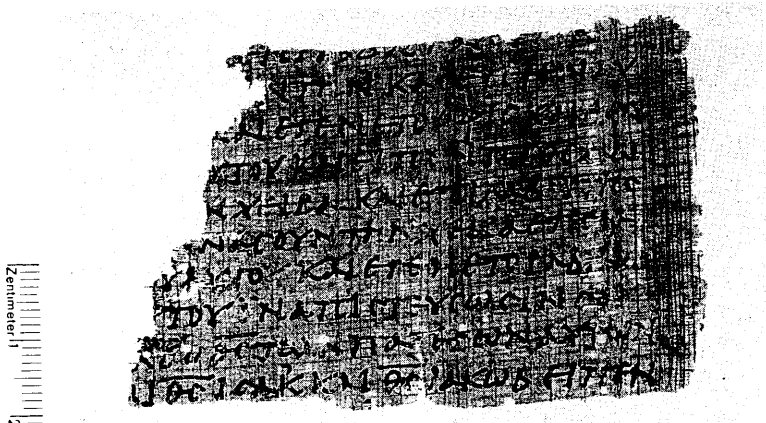


Abb. 14. Septuaginta Papyrus, verso: Exodus 4.2-6

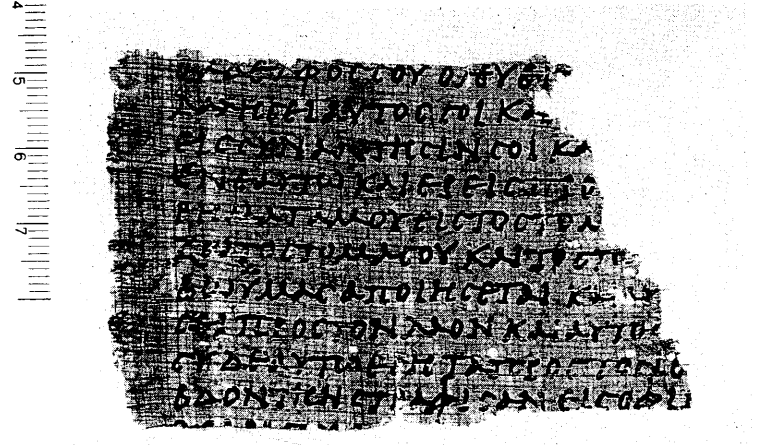


Abb. 15. Septuaginta Papyrus, recto: Exodus 4.14-17

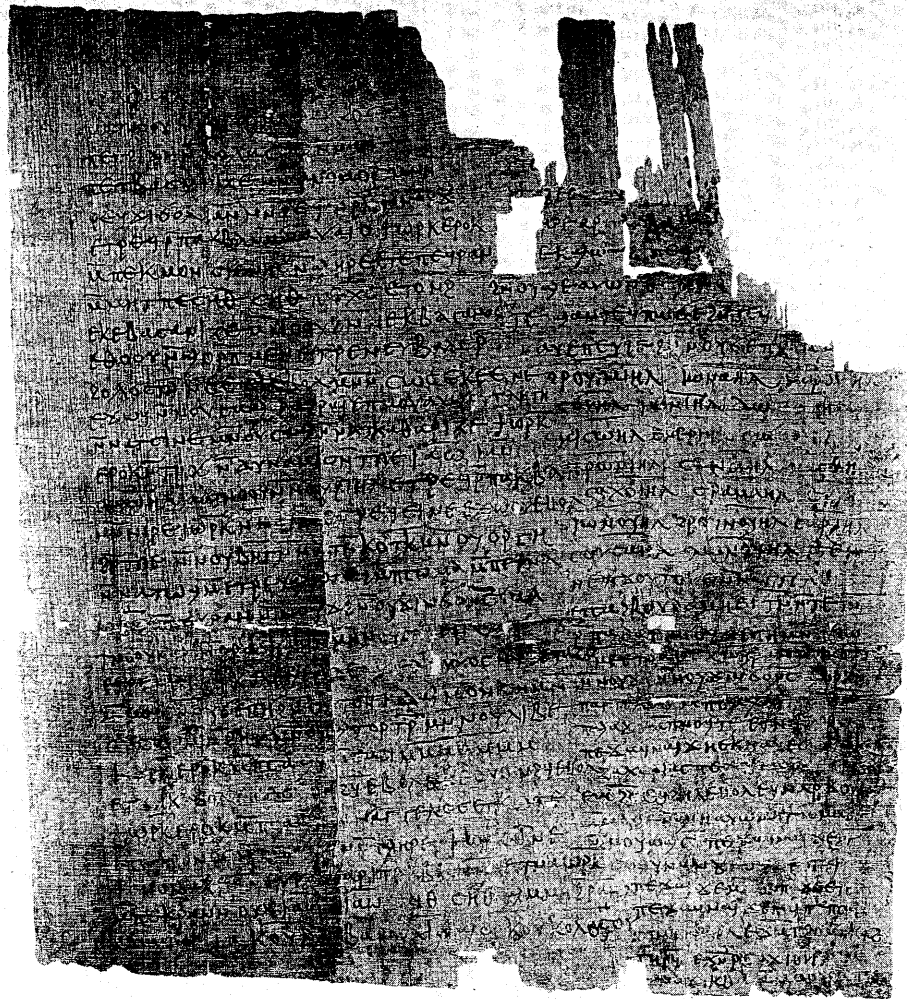


Abb. 16. P. Berol. 10587

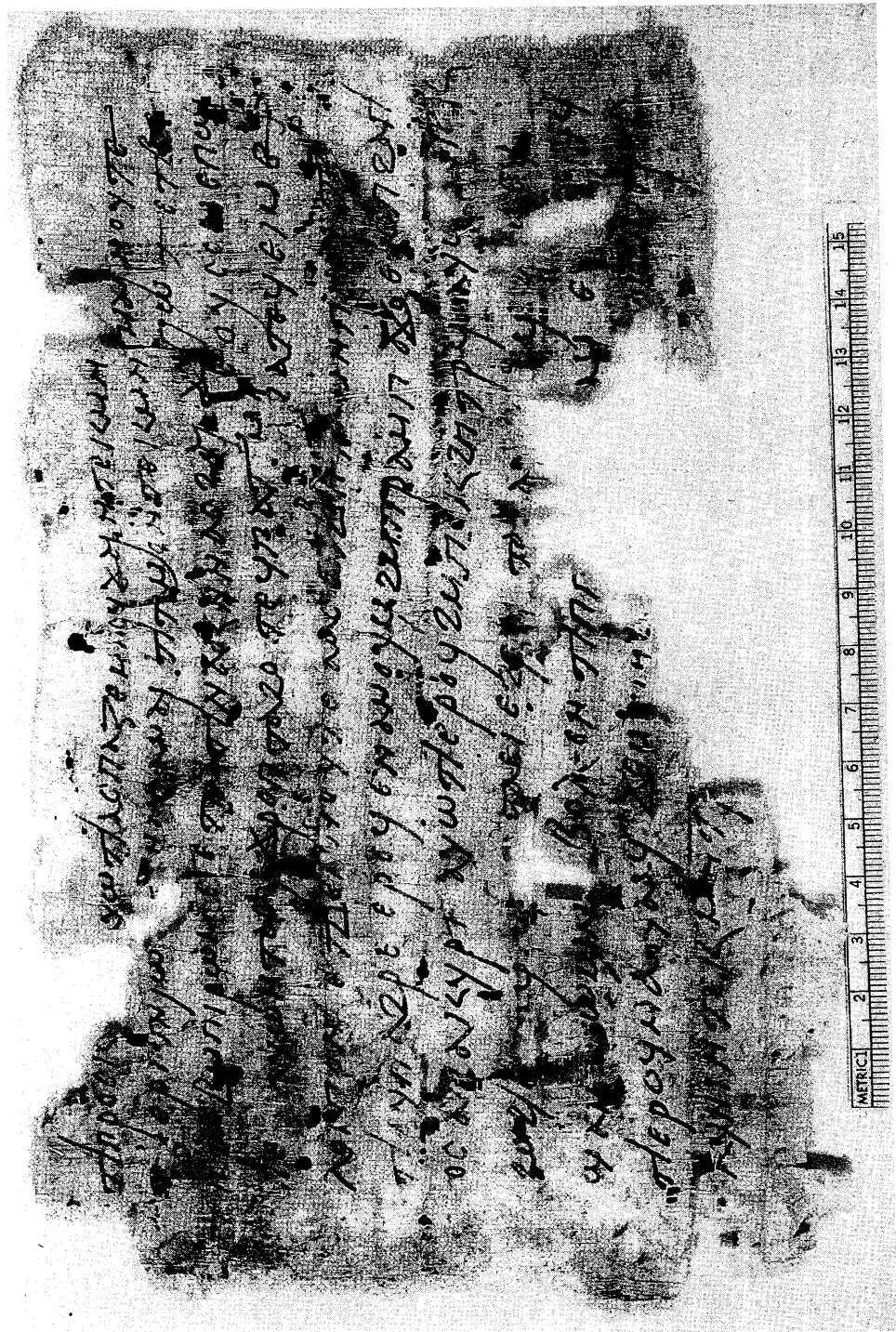


Abb. 17. P. Mich. inv. 3549

Abbildungsnachweis:

**Umschlag und Abb. 1–13 und 16: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Papyrussammlung;
Abb. 14 und 15: R. Zachmann, Heidelberg;
Abb. 17: University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor (USA)**