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TWO GREEK PAPYRI CARLSBERG FROM TEBTUNIS

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## Two Greek Papyri Carlsberg from Tebtunis

### P.Carlsberg 53 and 57\*

The two papyri here to be published for the first time are unconnected except that both appear to come from Tebtunis. 57 is a regular P. Carlsberg, while 53 when I first found it, before the general inventorization of the collection of the Carsten Niebuhr Institute, was labelled: "C. E. Sander-Hansen Privat papyrus". It had clearly been bought because of the drawing on the back.

Since the publication of Carlsberg Papyri does not take place in a corpus and the numbers cover both Egyptian and Greek Texts, a list of the Greek P.Carlsberg so far published may be useful:

- 24 "P. Carlsberg 24. Question to an Oracle". *ZPE* 57, 1984, pp. 91-92.
- 46-48 "Three Ptolemaic Tax-Receipts from Hawara (P. Carlsberg 46-48)" *BICS* 29, 1982, pp. 12-16.
- 49 "P. Carlsberg 49. Fragment of an Unknown Greek Translation of the Old Testament". (In collaboration with dr. theol. J. Strange). *APF* 32, 1986, pp. 15-21.
- 50 (Number assigned after publication) "A Fragment of Dialogue in Iambics. Menander? ΦΑΝΙΟΝ?" *BICS* 24 (1977) pp. 64-66.
- 51 "P. Carlsberg 51. Receipt for φελωχικόν". *BICS* 32, 1985, p. 45-46.
- 52 Greek Magical Text (in preparation).
- 53 Publ. below.
- 54-55 cf. H. Beinlich, *ZÄS* 115, pp. 102-107 (Hieratic)
- 56 Egyptian text (in preparation).
- 57 Publ. below.

### P. Carlsberg 53. List of Fullers and Dyers.

Carlsberg inv. 246  
w. 8.8 h. 12.3

Tebtunis  
II

Written along fibres on the front. On the back there is a drawing which is described below in the paper by Bente Holmen.

The handwriting is a clear documentary cursive of the second century of our era, very like, but not by the same scribe as P. Carlsberg 57 (below).

The text has already been used, with permission, by P. van Minnen, Leiden, in his paper "Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt" (*Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* VI,1, 31-88) who writes (p. 70): «More light (on the relationship between guild and apprentices) may be shed by an unpublished papyrus of the first or second century in Copenhagen. The text, probably a tax-list, enumerates various *bapheis* and *gnapheis*. At the bottom of the text a payment by the *hegoumenos gerdion* of Tebtynis is mentioned for the *diakriseis matheton*. This can only be the examination of apprentices. Where did this screening of apprentices take place? Probably before an official government board: why should a headman of weavers pay for it otherwise? Of course we are much better informed on the private, informal screening of apprentices before an *ad hoc*

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\* At various stages of my work with these papyri I have benefitted from comments from Dr. K. A. Worp, Dr. P. van Minnen and Prof. J. D. Thomas to whom I am grateful.

commission of three colleagues. Only once, in a late papyrus of c. 500 A.D., the *koinotes* of *syn-technitai* is mentioned in connection with such a screening. But in the Copenhagen papyrus we seem to have a testimony of a screening before government officials - always interested in new craftsmen for tax- and other purposes.» This conclusion seems entirely reasonable to me.

cf. Tafel VIIIa

	— — — — — — — — — —	
		.]..[
		]γναφε[ύς
	] οαλ. ας	] vac.[
5	]ηδ[.] Τερπῶτος	γ[ναφεύς
	] ος Ζωΐλου	βαφε[ύς
	]ης Ὀρρέως	
	(γίνονται) τῆ(ς) ἡμ(έρας) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμ.) οδ (διώβολον)	
	Τύραν[νο]ς δοῦλ(ος) Ὀρρέως [ ] vac. [	
	Ἑρακλῆς Καραπᾶ	βαφ[εύς
10	Διόσκορος Πουήρεως	γ[ναφεύς
	Τύραννος Κρονίωνος	βαφ[εύς
	Ὀρρενοῦφικ Ἑρωνος ἡγούμ(ενος) γερδ(ίων) Τεβτ[ύνεως	
	ὑπ(ὲρ) διακρίσεως μαθητῶ(ν) (δραχμ.) χ[	
	vac.	

12. The existence of a ἡγούμενος γερδίων, and therefore also a guild of weavers, in Tebtunis is of course no surprise and has already been attested through P.Mich. II 121 r. IV vi 1; 123 r. xxi 31; 124 r. ii 19.

**P. Carlsberg 57 + SB XII 11157**  
**List of Men According to Profession**

Inv. 148.1<sup>1</sup> +  
Yale inv. 298

Tebtunis  
II

P.Yale inv. 298 (= SB XII, 11157) was first published in Stud. Pap. 12,1 (1973), pp. 11-14 by George M. Parássoglou. The Demotic side of the Copenhagen fragment will be published by Dr. W.J. Tait, Durham. The Demotic side of the Yale fragment is being published by Leo Depuydt, Yale University. My thanks are due to Leo Depuydt who, by joining the Demotic sides of P.Yale inv. 298 and P.Carlsberg inv. 148,1, established that the Greek sides also belong together. He also saw to it that I got photographs of the Yale papyrus.

<sup>1</sup> The Copenhagen part of the papyrus is kept in the Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near-Oriental Studies, University of Copenhagen. I am grateful to the Institute for a permission to publish this and other papyri from its collection.

The handwriting is a fairly clear, unpretentious documentary cursive of the second century of our era, not unlikely Schubart, PGB nos. 25 and 26.

The Copenhagen part of the roll consists of three fragments. One joins directly to the left and another directly to the right of the Yale fragment. The third fragment in Copenhagen does not join directly, but presumably belongs at the foot of col. IV. In the transcription the break between the Yale and the Copenhagen fragments has been marked by l.

At the end of every section the number of individuals is summed up, but no total or column-numbers indicate the original extension of the roll.

If joined physically the fragments would form a roll with a length of c. 48 cm. and a height of c. 22 cm. The Greek text is written along the fibres on the front of the roll. The only *kollesis* visible is found on the Yale fragment between cols. II and III, c. 20 cm. from the present beginning of the document.

The names in the list are all common in Tebtunis, all male and all with father's, grandfather's and mother's name and age. The names are grouped, more or less alphabetically, under headings giving the professions. The ages are between sixteen and sixty-one (A II, 27; ξα, not ξδ as in *ed. pr.*) and a list of ὑπερετεῖς begins on frg. B.

In A I 2, A II 2, 11, A III 3, 8, after the age-indication, there is a vertical line and then another figure, legible in two cases only (A II 2 & 11). Such a vertical line is used occasionally for γίνεταί (e.g. P.Mich II 224) which must also be the correct resolution here.

The Yale fragment is known to have been found in the precinct of the temple of Soknebtunis in Tebtunis (cf. *ed. pr.*), so this provenance must be accepted for the Copenhagen fragment as well, although there is no record.

The theory of the first editor that the present papyrus is a list of temple-employees may well be right, given the provenance. This does not exclude that the list was made up on the basis of the census lists: All ages are within the limits for the payments of the poll-tax, cf. Wallace, Taxation pp. 107-108. But what would have been the use of a list of people liable to poll-tax arranged according to profession? Perhaps we have a list of people who were subject to various trade-taxes. Wallece (Taxation pp. 192-3) quotes evidence, not least SB I 5678, that minors were exempt from χειρωνάξιον, which would give a possible explanation of the existence of the present list. Whether the list of ὑπερετεῖς can be used as basis for an assumption that there was also an upper limit for the payment of trade-taxes, seems more doubtful, but certainly possible.

The professions, which are listed in alphabetical order, are:

γέρδιοι (weavers)

ἐριοπῶλαι (wool-merchants)

ἱερεῖς θεῶν κώμης (priests of the gods of the village, as opposed, perhaps, to those of the temple of Soknebtunis)

ποιμένες (herdsmen)

τέκτονες (builders/carpenters)

υἱοὶ δημοσίων γεωργῶν ὑπο[ ]ῦντες τοῖς πατράσι (sons of farmers of public land working for their fathers ?); cf. A III 4 note.

And finally, outside the alphabetical order,

ἰδιῶται ἐργατευόμενοι (unskilled, manual labourers).

It deserves mention that of these professions γέρδιοι, ἐριοπῶλαι, ἱερεῖς and τέκτονες are the ones most often found both in κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί<sup>2</sup> and in declarations of death<sup>3</sup>. This, in connection with the ages, seems too much for a coincidence and it is tempting to believe that these professions - at least when employed by or otherwise connected to a temple - had a special status in relation to the poll-tax.

No exact parallel to this list has been found although quite a few documents show a superficial similarity. P.Lond. 257 & 259 (vol. II p. 19ff.) are arranged by houses and families, but otherwise contain much the same information. SB V 7192 (H. Henne, Aegyptus 6,1925,332-4) is also an extract from the census-list. The amphodarch's report consisting of P.Lond. 261 + 'P.Rainer' + P.Lond. 260 (SPP IV 58-83) also shows some similarities. Although not identical to our list it is clearly connected *i.a.* with trade taxes and extracted from the census-register. Col. IX (p. 70) contains information in a similar arrangement, but without age-indication. P. Harris 72 is not arranged according to any visible criterion and does not indicate professions. P. XV Congr. 14 is arranged geographically and lists ages but not professions. W.Chr. 293 (III A.D.) is arranged according to professions, but the additional information is different: no patronymic, but the place of residence and the sum paid.

A I (to the left of A II, 24)

(P.Carlsberg inv. 148,1)

— — — — —  
 ] (ἐτῶν) μδ  
 ] (ἐτῶν) μβ |  
 ] ρου (ἐτῶν) κθ  
 ] (ἐτῶν) [  
 — — — — —

A II

(P.Carlsberg inv. 148,1 + P.Yale inv. 298)

	Ἀθηνίων υἱὸς μητρὸς ἐπις ..ς	(ἐτῶν) κε
	Ἡρᾶς ἄλλος υἱὸς μητρὸς ..ώτιος	(ἐτῶν) κδ (γίν.) γ
	γέρδιοι	
	Πεθεὺς Πασιψήμεως τοῦ Μιξιμ .. μη[τρὸς]c [T]αβινεβτ(ύνεως)	(ἐτῶν) νδ
5	Πεκμηῖς ἀδελφὸς μητρὸς(c) τῆς αὐτῆς   (ἐτῶν) μζ	
	Πασιψήμις ἄλλος ἀδελφὸς μητρὸς(c) τῆς αὐτῆς	(ἐτῶν) μγ
	Σανενεὺς Σανενέως τοῦ Σοκονώπ(εως) μη(τρὸς) Θεμπράκιος	(ἐτῶν) κδ
	Πατῶνις Πεσ ... τοῦ Μιεῦτος μητρὸς Ταπνεβτ(ύνεως)	(ἐτῶν) μς
	ἐριοπῶλαι γ(ίνονται) ε	
10	Ζωῖλος Πετεύτος τοῦ Πετεύτοιο μη(τρὸς) Θενόρρηο(c)	(ἐτῶν) μδ
	Πουήρις Ὀρχήους τοῦ Κρονίωνος   μη(τρὸς) Τοσαμοῦτος	(ἐτῶν) μιβ

<sup>2</sup> See M. Hombert - Cl. Préaux, Recherches sur le recensement (P.Lugd.Bat. V) p. 103, and P. Mertens, Les services de l'État (Bruxelles, 1958) p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> See Loisa Casarico, Il controllo della popolazione nell'Egitto romano. 1. Le denunce di morte. (Corpora papyrorum Graecarum II) pp. 16-17.

- ιερείς θεῶν κώμη
- Ἄτρης Νεφερώτος τοῦ Ὀννώ(φρεως) μη(τρὸς) | Ἄτρείου (ἐτῶν) νη  
 Ἑρακλῆς Πακτωῦτος τοῦ Ἀφ[... ] μη(τρὸς) Ταπετίρεω(ς) (ἐτῶν) μη  
 15 [Πνε]φερώς Μύκθου τοῦ Πνεφ[ερῶτι]ος μη(τρὸς) Ἀύγχεω (ἐτῶν) νε  
 [Ζ]ώιλος Παπνεβτύνω(ς) τοῦ Μύκθου μη(τρὸς) Θενεῦ ος (ἐτῶν) [ ]  
 ποιμένες
- Ἄρμιῦσις Φαήσιος τοῦ καὶ Ἀρ[οβ]ρω[οῦ]ιτ(ος) τοῦ Ὀννώ(φρεως) μη(τρὸς)  
 Θασειτ(ος) (ἐτῶν) [ ]  
 Ἀρμιῦσις Ὀννώ(φρεως) τοῦ Ἀροβ[ρωοῦ]τ(ος) | μη(τρὸς) Τααρμιύσιος  
 20 Ἄρμιῦσις υἱὸς μη[(τρὸς) | Θενσο]cnέω (ἐτῶν) κζ  
 Ἀροβρωῦς Πενείθου τ[οῦ | Ἀροβρ]ωοῦτ(ος) μη(τρὸς) Θενσοcnέω  
 Ἄρμιῦσι[ς] Ἑρακλητ[... ] | ος μη(τρὸς) Ἑραεῖτος (ἐτῶν) μδ  
 [... ]ανι [... ]α [... ] | ος μη(τρὸς) Ταποντ(ῶτος) (ἐτῶν) κη  
 Ἑρακλ[... ] | ος μη(τρὸς) Θενσοcnέω(ς) (ἐτῶν) να  
 25 Ἑρακλ[... ] μη(τρὸς) | Τ]ααρμιύσιος (ἐτῶν) κδ  
 Cην[... ] [... ] [... ] | ος Ὀννώ(φρεως) τοῦ Ἀροβρωοῦτ(ος)  
 [... ] | ος (ἐτῶν) ξα  
 Πα[... ] [ ca. 7 ] [... ] | ος μη(τρὸς) Ἑρακλείας (ἐτῶν) ν  
 [... ] [ ca. 10 ] [... ] τοῦ [... ] [... ] εω(ς)(ἐτῶν) μθ  
 30 [... ] [ ca. 12 ] [... ] ρε ακον[... ] | ος ωουκ( ) (ἐτῶν) [ ]  
 [... ] ουρ οcm' ο' [ ]  
 [... ] κου [ ]  
 [... ] ος [... ] του[ ]  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 vac.

## A III

(P.Yale inv. 298 + P.Carlsberg inv. 148,1)

τέκτονες

- [Π] Πακτωῦς Ὀννώφρεως τοῦ Πα[κτ]ωοῦτος μη(τρὸς) Τεφερώτος | (ἐτῶν) νη  
 Πανεννεὺς ἀδελφὸς μ[η(τρὸς)] τῆς αὐτῆς | (ἐτῶν) νγ (γίν.) β  
 υἱοὶ δημοσίων γεωργῶν ὑπο[... ] ἕντες τοῖς πατράσι
- 5 Ἑρώδης Ἑρωνος τοῦ Ἑρμῆ μη(τρὸς) [... ] ος | (ἐτῶν) κγ  
 Θεαβέννις Ἀφροδῆ τοῦ Θεαβέννεω(ς) μη(τρὸς) Ταορκενούφρεως | (ἐτῶν) κγ  
 Μεσοήρις Μεσοήρεως τοῦ Μεσοήρεω(ς) μη(τρὸς) Θενηρώτος | (ἐτῶν) κδ  
 Πενείθης Γέτου τοῦ Πενείθου μη(τρὸς) Ταορκενούφρεως | (ἐτῶν) κζ (γίν.) δ  
 1 line blank

ιδιωταὶ ἐργατευόμενοι

- 10 Ἀθηνίων Πετεσούχου τοῦ [... ] μη(τρὸς) | Θα[ ca. 9 ] | (ἐτῶν) κδ  
 Ἄρμιῦσις Ὀννώ(φρεως) ἄν' θ' (οῦ) Φαήσεω(ς) [ ] | πατυ (ἐτῶν) ις  
 Ἀθηνίων Ἀτρέου τοῦ Παλβ[ών]τεω(ς) | (ἐτῶν) κδ

- Αθηνίων Ἡρακλήου τοῦ [ ] (ἐτῶν) νδ  
 Ἄρμιῦσις Ἀθηνίωνος τοῦ [ ]  
 15 Αθηνίων Παλβόντεωσ τοῦ  
 ..... ος Ψορνέωσ τοῦ Ὀρ[  
 .....] ρα [ ] τοῦ Παλβ[όντεωσ  
 ..... Ὀ]ρκενούφεωσ τοῦ Ὀρκε[νούφεωσ  
 .....] Πνεβτύνεωσ τοῦ Βελ[  
 20 .....] Σωσᾶ τοῦ Ἀρεώτου μη(τρὸς) [ ]  
 Ἡρα]κλήσ Ἀρεώτου τοῦ Ἡρω]οσ  
 Ἡρακλήσ Ὀννώφεωσ τοῦ Π [ ]  
 Ἡρακλήσ Δείου τοῦ Ἡρακλ[έουσ  
 Θεωῶνις Θεωώνεωσ τοῦ Μ[  
 25 Ἰούστος Πάτρωνοσ τοῦ Πάτ[ρωνοσ  
 Ἰσίωσ Πενείθου τοῦ Ὀρκείουσ [ ]  
 Κρονίων Ἰούστου τοῦ Πάτρωνο[σ  
 Κρονίων Πακτωοῦ[τ]οσ τοῦ Πεν[  
 Μεσοῆρις Μεσοήρεωσ τοῦ Θετε[  
 30 Μελανᾶσ πρεσβ(ύτεροσ) Ψορνέω(σ) τοῦ Ο[  
 ..] ευσ Ὀννώφεωσ τοῦ Πετεκού[χου  
 .....] Ἀθηνί[ω]ν[ο]σ τοῦ Ἡρω]οσ  
 .....] Πακτωοῦ[τοσ] τοῦ Τε[  
 .....] μεσ [ ]
- 

## A IV

(Carlsberg inv. 148,1)

- Ὀννώφρ[ις Ὀννώφρ]εωσ ἀν' ἄ' (οῦ) .....  
 μητρ(ὸς) .....  
 Ὀρκενοῦφ[ις Ὀρκενού]φεωσ τ[οῦ  
 Ὀννώφρις [ ] μητρὸ(ς) [ ca. 5 ] ος  
 5 Ὀννώφρις [ ] τοῦ Ὀννώφρε[ω]σ μητ(ρὸς) Κ[  
 Ὀρκεὺσ Α[ ] τοῦ Ὀρκεύωσ μητ(ρὸς) Ταορκε[νούφεωσ  
 Ὀρκενοῦφρις [ ] ε]ωσ τοῦ Ἡρ[ω]νοσ μητ(ρὸς) Θε[  
 Παπνεβτῦν[ι]σ Ὀννώφρ(εωσ) [τοῦ] Παπνεβτῦν[εωσ  
 Πακοῦις Σα...εω(σ) τοῦ [..]..... [ ]  
 10 Πανεσνεῦ[σ] ε]ωσ τοῦ [ ]  
 Πενσοῦς [ ] λεωσ [ ] [ ]  
 Πασιψημίς [ ] [ ca. 12 ] [ ]  
 ..]το...ιο [ ] [ ]  
 [ ] [ ]
-



## Frg. B

(Carlsberg inv. 148,1)

-----

                  ].....[  
                  ]ε̣ ὑπερετεῖς ἀνδρ[εσ  
                  ]ν̣ τῶν ἐκτὸς συν[όψεως  
5 ]μηδὲ τοῖς ἐπάνωι ἀπ[ο] δ' ( ) ..[  
]μετὰ τὸν κ̣ τῶ(ν) λόγῳ(ν) τοῦ ἰδι( ) καὶ μέχρι' [  
]ἀφ' ὧν εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ γεωργ(οῦντες) βασιλικήν  
μήτε οὐσιακὴν διὰ τὰς ὑπο[  
ὑπερετεῖς  
Ἐρμᾶς Παλβώντ(εως) τοῦ Πατύνεως μητ(ρὸς) .....σε[ωσ  
10 Μύσθη[ς] τ(οσ) τοῦ Ὀρκενο(ύφεως) μητ(ρὸς) .....[  
                  ]ωνος τοῦ Ἡρακλήο[υ  
                  ]π.....[  
                  ].....[  
                  ]κα.....[  
15 ]-----[  
-----

A II,9: An *ad valorem* tax on wool-merchants is mentioned by Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 211. In the Notice of Death P.Oxy. XLIII 3141 (A.D. 300) the deceased is a wool-seller and the declarant asks to be ἀνενόχλητον περὶ τῶν ἀνηκότων τῆ χρεία τῶν ἐριοπωλῶν. The γ(ίνονται) clearly refers to the section of γέρδιοι above.

A II,27: ξδ *ed. pr.*

A III,3: Παπεσνεῦς *ed. pr.*

A III,4 υἱοὶ δημοσίων γεωργῶν ὑπο[γεωργο]ῦντες τοῖς πατράσι or perhaps ὑπο[υργο]ῦντες (so *ed. pr.*): The dotted letters are difficult to see on the otherwise excellent photograph. Occurrences of ὑπογέωργος and ὑπογεωργεῖν are not numerous, see P.Berl. Leihg. I 1 v. iii 12, P.Mich. IV 224,3916, P.Oxy. XIV 1661,4;7 and P.Sarap. 34,3. In P.Fay. 13 (ZPE 73,1988,46) γεω(ρ)γ(ε)ῖτε ὑπ' ἐμέ probably carries the same meaning. The category of sons subletting from their fathers does not appear to be known, but they must have had a special tax-status, perhaps something like the ἐπιλελεγμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων | εἰς γηροβοσκίαν ἀφ' ὧν ἔχουσι υἱῶν, P.Oxy. IX 1210,4-5, cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, p.120. I am grateful to J. D. Thomas for this reference.

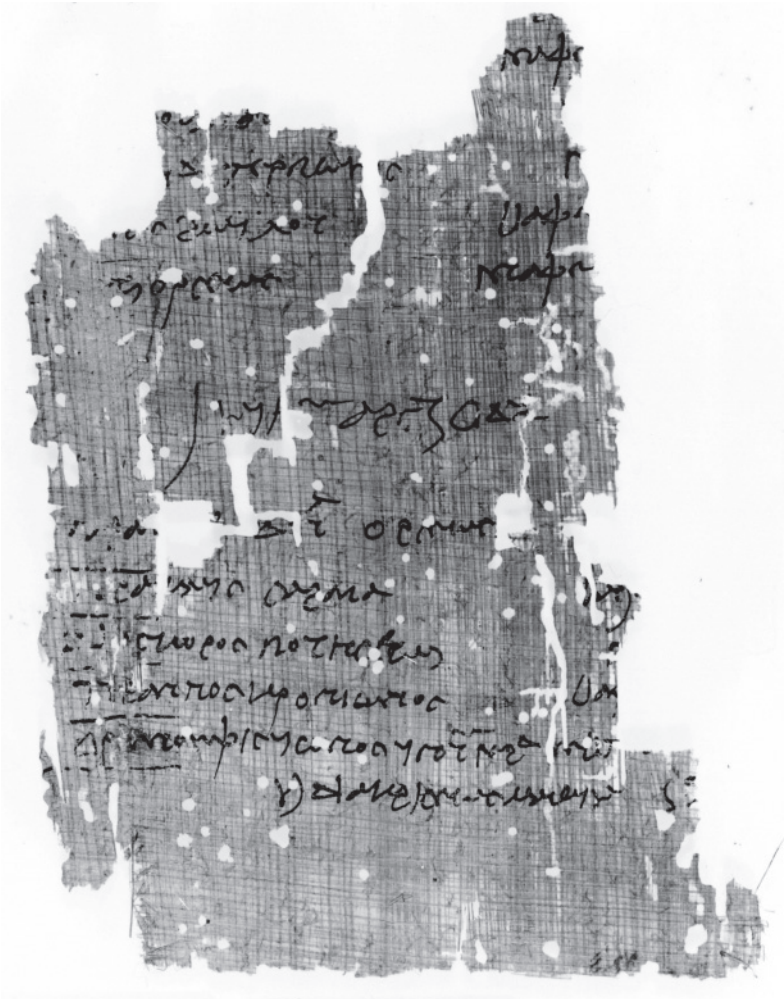
A III,11 and A IV,1: For the meaning of ἀνθ' (οὔ) cf. P.Petaus 14,10n.

Fragment B must be from near the end of the list where all those who fell outside the categories were mentioned.

B,3 ἐκτὸς συνόψεως: The most recent occurrence of this expression is P.Mich. XI 603,9-10 where further references are given; see also CPR VIII 20,7. Perhaps the beginning of the line should be supplemented εἰδῶν, cf. in SB I 5230,50.

B,4: ἀποδοθέντ )?

B,5: The line is inserted later by the same hand, but in a cramped and difficult writing.



Personenliste (P.Carlsberg 53 recto)