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THREE PAPYRI CONCERNING CENSUS

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Three Papyri Concerning Census¹

1) Lower part of a κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή

P. Mich.inv. 252²
Karanis

11 x 8.5 cm.

August 19, A.D. 203
Plate VI.4

The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. At the top, the bottom, the right, and partially on the left side the papyrus is broken off in a manner that results in rather straight edges. At the bottom over 3 cm. were left blank; between lines 6 and 7 about 1.5 cm. were also left blank. At the end of line 6, a *vacat* of 2.5 cm.

Although only the lower part of this census declaration has been preserved, the text is of some interest: first, because it mentions a hitherto unknown quarter, probably in Karanis, and second, because a male slave who is forty-five years old appears in it. He is therefore older than any male slave hitherto attested in a census declaration.

(traces)

[καὶ] ἐπ' ἀμφοῶ(δου) Χάρακος [οἰ]κίαν [κατα-]
πεπτω(κυίαν) καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοῶ(δου) Δημητρ(ίου) οἰκία[ν]
4 [κ]αταπεπτω(κυίαν) καὶ τὸν οἰκογενῆ Πε()
[δο]ῦλον Νεῖλον (ἐτῶν) με. διὸ ἐπιδ(ίδωμι).
(2nd hd) [. .]τίων ἐπιδέδωκα.

(1st hd) [(ἔτους) ιᾶ] Λουκίου Σεπ[τι]μίου Σεο[υ]ήρου
8 [Εὐ]εβοῦς Περτίνακος καὶ Μάρκου
[Αὐ]ρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐεβοῦς
Σεβατῶν καὶ Βουβλίου Σεπτιμίου
[Γ]έτα Καίσαρος Σεβατοῦ, (2nd hd) Μεσορὴ κς̄ .
10 Πουβλίου

"... and in the quarter of Charax a collapsed house and in the quarter of Demetrios a collapsed house and the house-born slave of Pe(), Neilos, 45 years of age. Therefore I submit (this declaration). (2nd hd) I, N.N., have submitted (this declaration). (1st hd) Year 12 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, (2nd hd) Mesore 26."

2. An ἀμφοδον Χάρακος appears here for the first time. It was, in all probability, a quarter in the village of Karanis (cf. note to line 3).

2-3. For the meaning of καταπίπτω (also in line 4), see G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris 1983, 201.

¹ The texts published in the present article were unfortunately discovered too late to be included in R.S. Bagnall-B.W. Frier, *The demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1994.

² The papyrus was purchased in 1920.

3. In A. Calderini-S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* II.2, Milano 1975, 98 (cf. *Supplemento* I, Milano 1988, 93) an ἄμφοδον Δημητρείου is listed as existing in both Arsinoë (cf. S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 61, 1981, 145) and Karanis, but the name is attested only for Karanis (cf. *BGU* I 154.6). In *BGU* II 573.2; 601.8; VII 1623.6; XII 2342.4, τὸ Δημητρ(ε)ῖον refers to a temple (of Demeter, cf. W.J.R. Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte in Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischer Zeit*, Bonn 1974, 42f., 212). Evidence for an ἄμφοδον Δημητρίου exists, then, only for Karanis. The present text, therefore, also derives from Karanis, adding the name of another quarter in that village—the ἄμφοδον Χάρακος.

4-5. R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 213 writes: "The census declarations of the Roman period show no male slaves older than thirty-two years, ..." (cf. also R.S. Bagnall-B.W. Frier, *Demography* [above, n. 1], 94 n. 10). The present text is an exception to this generalization. The fact that Neilos was an οἰκογενής (cf. I. Biezunska-Malowist, *Studii Clasice* 3, 1961, 147ff.) may have influenced his masters to keep him on beyond the usual time of manumission. The name of his owner was surely mentioned in that part of the papyrus which was lost at the top, and therefore could be given here in abbreviated form.

The two words οἰκογενῆ and [δο]ῦλον usually appear together, and only a pronoun or prepositional phrase are occasionally placed between them, as in, e.g., *P. Oxy.* IV 714.13-14 δοῦ[λόσ μου] οἰκογε[νήσ ; IX 1209. 15 [οἰκογε]νήν (sic) ἀντήσ δούλην, or in expressions like οἰκογενῆ ἐκ δούλη[σ Ἴσ]ιδώρασ δούλον (*P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2777.12-13). In the new Michigan papyrus it is the name of the owner that intervenes between the two words.—I take the opportunity to suggest that in *P. Meyer* 11 (*C. P. Gr.* 1, no. 27; cf. *BL* VIII 209f.) at the beginning of line 12 we should restore [(name) οἰκογενῆσ δουλικὸν]ν ἔκγονον [κτλ. ; cf. *BGU* III 859.3).

5-6. For the meaning of διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι (line 5) and ἐπιδέδωκα (line 6), see M. Hombert-CI. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Egypte romaine*, PLBat.V, Leiden 1952, 123f. and 128f. respectively.

7-11. This titlature for Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta (written with extreme *Verschleifung*) is the one most frequently found in the documents (cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 2, Bruxelles 1964, 99). The interchange of π and β is often attested (cf. F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar* I, Milano 1976, 83f.), although I have discovered no other instances of its occurrence in the proper name Publius (cf. F.Th. Gignac, *op.cit.*, 84f.).

2) Copy from a Register of Households

P. Mich.inv. 2893³

12 x 18 cm.

post A.D.138

Karanis

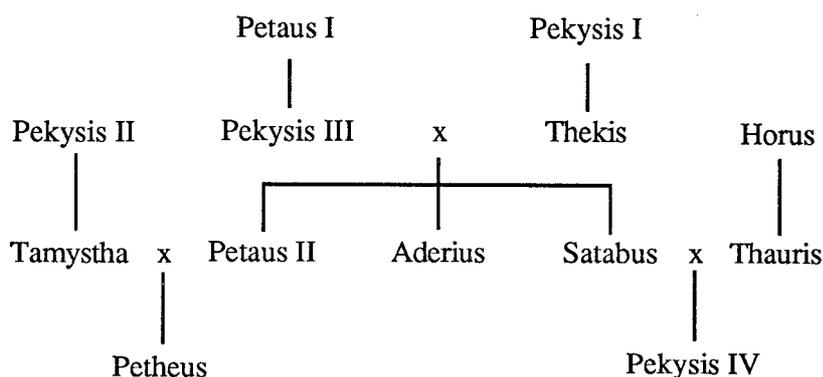
The text runs along the fibers on both sides of the papyrus. Four vertical folds are still visible. The papyrus is regularly cut off at the top (with a blank margin of 3 cm.), at the left (with a blank margin of 2 to 2.4 cm.), and at the right; it is regularly broken off at the bottom. On the back there is a single line written at 90° to the direction of the lines on the front. It describes the text on the front as an excerpt; and it starts 3.2 cm. from the left side (i.e. the top on the front side) and ends approximately 1 cm. from the right side (i.e. the bottom on the front side). If the excerpt on the back was centered on the sheet of papyrus, then about 2.2 cm. have been lost beneath line 18 of the text on the front side—about 3 lines at the very most. Since the original has been returned to Egypt, I necessarily relied upon a photograph.

For reasons not totally obvious (cf. *ZPE* 98, 1993, 283ff.), this copy from a register of households based on census declarations of A.D. 117/18 was made from a volume kept in the office of the strategus in the metropolis. The volume was organised by villages.

³ The papyrus was discovered during the excavations of the University of Michigan at Karanis conducted by Professor Boak in 1924-1925. Found in structure 5006, room E². Forty-five papyri, mostly dated to the first two centuries A.D. and found in this structure, have been published to date (mainly in *P. Mich.* VI) and five ostraca, i.e. all the ostraca found in this structure, have been published as *O. Mich.* I 333, 568, 569, 570 and 571. Several papyri found in this structure still await publication.

On the back was mentioned θεὸς Ἀδριανός (cf. P. Bureth, *Titulatures* [above, note to 1.7-11] 64). The use of the word θεός implies that Hadrianus was deceased by the time the present text was written, i.e. it was written after 10 July 138 A.D.—but how much time had elapsed between the death of Hadrianus and the writing out of the present text cannot be established. In any case, it becomes clear from the present text that copies of census declarations were kept for at least twenty years.

The following genealogical tree of the persons mentioned in the present text can be established.⁴



- ἐκ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς, ἐκ τόμου οὐ πα-
 ρεπιγραφῆ· στρατηγοῦ Εὐδήμου γενομέν(ου)
 Ἄρκεινοῖτου Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος εἰκο-
 4 ν[ιμ]ῶς κατ' οἰ[κ]ίαν ἀπογραφῆς πρὸς τὸ
 β (ἔτος) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ἔστι δέ·
 κόμης Καρανίδος. μεθ' ἕτερα. οἰκ(ία) ιδ(ία)·
 8 Πεταῦς Πεκύσιο(ς) τοῦ Πεταῦτος μητρὸς(ς)
 Τκεκίδος τῆς Πεκύ(σιος) (ἐτῶν) νδ
 ἄς(ημος) (ἐτῶν) νγ ἐπι(κεκριμένος) β (ἔτει) (ἐτῶν) πεντήκοντα
 τεσσαράω(ν) οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπ(ω). Πεθεὺς υἱὸς
 12 μητρὸς(ς) Ταμύσθ(ης) τῆς Πεκύσιος
 (ἐτῶν) λ (ἐτῶν) τριάκοντα ἄς(ημος). Καταβοῦς
 ἀδελφ[ὸ]ς Πεταῦτος μητρὸς τῆς α(ύτης)
 (ἐτῶν) ν ἄς(ημος) ἐπι(κεκριμένος) β (ἔτει) (ἐτῶν) τεσσαράκ(οντα)
 ἐν(νέα) οὐλ(ῆ) μετώπ(ω). Πεκύσιος υἱὸς(ς) μητρὸς
 16 Θ[α]ύρεως τῆς Ὠρου (ἐτῶν) β (ἐτῶν) δύο
 ἄς(ημος). θήλ(ειαι)· Ταμύσθ(α) γυνὴ Πεταῦτος
 (ἐτῶν) . Ἀδεριο(ῦς) ἀδελφ[ῆ] (ἐτῶν)] νε

back: ἀντίγ(ραφον) ἐκ τοῦ [εἰ]κο(νιμοῦ) β (ἔτους) θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ[υ] .

⁴ For the sake of simplicity, it is assumed in the genealogy that Satabus and Petaus II had not only the same mother, as indicated in line 13, but also the same father. It is equally possible that Tkekis was married twice, with her son Petaus II the product of her marriage with Pekysis III, while her other son Satabus derived from a different union with a man whose name is unknown.

"From a census declaration, of the volume whose partial introduction is: 'of Eudemus, then strategus of the Arsinoite nome, Herakleides division, census register incorporating descriptions of the census declaration for the 2nd year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord. It is from the village Karanis, after other items.'

A private house: Petaus, son of Pekysis, grandson of Petaus, whose mother was Tkekis, daughter of Pekysis, 54 years of age, without distinguishing marks, (in the 1st year) 53 years of age, judged in year 2 to be fifty-four years of age, with a scar on his forehead. Petheus, his son (and the son) of Thamystha, daughter of Pekysis, 30 years of age, thirty years of age, without distinguishing marks. Satabus, brother of Petaus from the same mother, 50 years of age, without distinguishing marks, judged in year 2 to be forty-nine years of age, with a scar on his forehead. Pekysis, his son (and the son) of Thauris, daughter of Horos, 2 years of age, two years of age, without distinguishing marks. Females. Thamystha, wife of Petaus, .. years of age. Aderius, sister (of Petaus ?) 55 years of age..."

Back: "Copy from the census register incorporating descriptions of the census declaration of the 2nd year of *divus* Hadrianus."

1. On the back there appears the notation ἀντίγ(ραφον), thus indicating that the present text was a copy from a register of households extracted from census declarations that had been submitted to authorities.

1-2. The copy is made from a volume in the office of the strategus whose introduction was partial (cf. *P. Diog.* 5.2 note). *PSI* X 1146 apparently offers a parallel to the present text. That is, in lines 1-2 the Florentine text now reads ε τόμου, but given the reading in line 1 of the Michigan text, it should probably be corrected to ἐ(κ) τόμου (if the original reading is correct).

2-3. The strategus Eudemus is attested as strategus of the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome between 18 March 119 A.D. and 25 November 120 A.D. (cf. G. Bastianini-J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, Papyrologica Florentina XV, Firenze 1987, 24f.). Eudemos could easily have received census declarations for year 2 (A.D. 117/18) of the emperor Hadrian. At the time when the original τόμος of census declarations was collected, Eudemus would still have been in office. Because, however, this was no longer the case, when the present copy was written, the scribe marked him as a former strategos. We would, of course, have expected him to have written Εὐδήμου γενομένου στρατηγοῦ κτλ. (cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 16, 1979, 277ff.).

3-4. εἰκονισμός was another word for κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή (cf. M. Hombert-Cl. Préaux, *Recensement* [above note to 1.5-6], 101). At this point, however, εἰκονισμός has the meaning "census register incorporating descriptions (taken from the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή)". Excerpts from an εἰκονισμός previously published are: *BGU* II 562 (*W.Chrest.* 220); XIII 2227; 2228; *SB* VI 9555a; XII 11232 (*P. Fouad* 59); XIV 11634; XVI 13067; *ZPE* 98, 1993, 283ff. (and probably *P. Oslo* III 110). For the use of κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή and εἰκονισμός in one and the same sentence, see *P. Rain. Cent.* 58, 10-11.

7-10. None of the persons mentioned in this text are known in papyri published to date, including the declarant Petaus, son of Pekysis and Tkekis, grandson of Petaus. Petaus II first registered the facts about himself--his age in the census year and his personal description, followed by his age in the year preceding the year of the actual census declaration; finally Petaus II gave his age and personal description, as these were established by authorities in year 2 of the reign of the emperor Hadrian. Cf. a similar instance in *BGU* XIII 2228.7ff. (with *BL* VIII 55). This elaborate procedure, clearly a device for checking the information given, occurs in full form only in the case of Petaus II, and reappears to some extent in the registration of his brother Satabus (lines 12-15). Their sons Petheus, aged 30, and Pekysis IV, aged 2, were described more simply. The spelling Πεκῶτις in the present text is noteworthy, since the usual spelling at Karanis is Πακῶτις.

8. The female proper name Τκεκίς occurs here for the first time.

10. In the Tax Rolls from Karanis (*P. Mich.* IV) and in *P. Cair. Mich.* 359 (ca. A.D. 172-175) there occur not only a certain Petaus, son of Petheus and Tapasion, grandson of Petaus, but also a Petesuchos, son of Petheus and Thaësis, grandson of Petaus. Both men may be related to the family of this Petaus II in the present text.

After μετώπ(ω) and before Πεθεύς a small spatium has been left, since a new person is being introduced at this point (similar spacing occurs also in lines 12, 15, and 17).

11. One cannot exclude the possibility that Thamystha was also the sister of Petaus II and his siblings, as well as Petaus' wife. Pekysis was not a common name at Karanis, and there are no examples in the Tax Rolls, although a number of taxpayers were named Pakysis (cf. note to lines 7-10).

14-17. Satabus was already rather old when his son Pekysis II was born, but an age difference of some forty-eight years is not totally exceptional (cf. M. Hombert-Cl. Préaux, *Recensement* [above, note to 1.5-6] 166f.).

16. Θαῦρις is a spelling of the often attested proper name Ταῦρις. In *BGU VIII* 1891, 95 Θανρειο() (gen.) stands for Ταύριο(ς), and the unique proper name Θαῦρης (D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* 132b) should be deleted.

18. Ἀδεριο(ῦς): this female proper name is previously unattested, although the reading is far from certain, and correction may be involved. Perhaps one should supplement the line as ἀδελφ[ῆ] Πεταῦτος κτλ. I have here assumed that Aderius was a full sister to Petaus II, but this is by no means certain (see introduction and note 4).

19. P. Bureth, *Titulatures* (above, note to 1.7-11) 64 lists only θεὸς Ἀδριανός (many examples). It is therefore likely that nothing is lost after Ἀδριανοῦ[ῦ].⁵

3) Excerpt from a Census Register (?)

P. Mich.inv. 6317a⁶
Karanis

11 x 8 cm.

II/III A.D.

The text runs along the fibers, and the other side of the papyrus was probably blank. With the exception of the bottom, the papyrus is regularly broken off at its other sides. At the top approximately 1.2 cm. was left blank, while the margin at the bottom is 2.4 cm. Between lines 5 and 6, 0.8 cm. has been left blank, while the space between lines 8 and 9 and lines 9 and 10 is 1.4 cm. Since the original has been returned to Egypt, I necessarily relied upon a photograph.

The nature of this text is not totally clear. Because it resembles texts such as, e.g., *P. Oslo* III 110 and *SB VI* 9555a, I assume that it too is an excerpt from a census register (cf. text no. 2). The text may not be complete at the bottom, but there is no way to estimate the amount lost. Both at the left and at the right an unknown number of letters is missing.

(traces)

4]ης Ἀπολλωνίου ὀρθού(φος) μητρ[οπολ(ίτης)
ἀνα]γεργ(αμμεν-) ἐν ἐπιγ(ενημένοις) μητροπολ(ίτης) [
]ς Ἀμμωνίου μη(τρὸς) Ταϊσαρίου γ[
] μητροπολ(ίτης) (ἐτῶν) λθ [
]ν (ἐτῶν) θ [

⁵ A piece of white tape was affixed to the papyrus in modern times in order to fortify it and this obscures the *upsilon*. A similar piece of tape was fastened to the papyrus beneath the single line that appears on the back.

⁶ The text was discovered during the season 1932/33 of the excavations of the University of Michigan at Karanis in structure C63, room G. Only nine papyri excavated from this structure have so far been published (the majority by O.M. Pearl in *Aegyptus* 33, 1953, 6ff.) and twelve ostraca (in *O. Mich.* II, III and IV). The register of the papyri found in this structure lists many inventory numbers of still unpublished items, and these inventory numbers sometimes cover several papyri.

8 ἀπ]ογεργ(αμμένος) δι' ἑτέρου ὑπομ(νήματος) ἕνοικος []τηρίδος Ἡρακλ() λινούφος μίθ(ιος) []ης κάτ(οικος) δοκιμαθ(εῖς) διὰ Θα[μ]η(τρὸς) Ἐαραποίτος Φαλ() []

2. ὀρθό(φος): in front of this word there is an oblique which might represent the remains of the right stroke of an alpha, perhaps originally with a horizontal above it. If so, (πρότερον) , 'former'. i.e. no longer active, is a possibility. In theory (πρωτ)ορθό(φος) is also possible, although this substantive has not yet appeared among the published papyri, and, in fact, in the papyri compounds beginning with πρωτο- are mainly used in titles of officials. Alternatively α could be a number attached to the previous name, if in the lost text more than one Apollonios was mentioned.

For the word ὀρθό(φος), see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Gdansk 1965, 113f.; it occurs in *BGU XV 2471.4* (a λινούφος ὀρθό(φος); *P. Berl.Bork.* 1 Gen. A II 16; *P. Grenf.* II 79.3; *SB XVI 12498.4.6*.

4. Ταϊαρίου: a spelling of the frequently attested Θαϊάριον, although the variant has not appeared prior to this instance.

7. ὑπομ(νήματος): ὑπόμνημα is another expression for κατ'οικίαν ἀπογραφή (cf. M. Hombert-Cl. Préaux, *Recensement* [above, note to 1.5-6] 101).

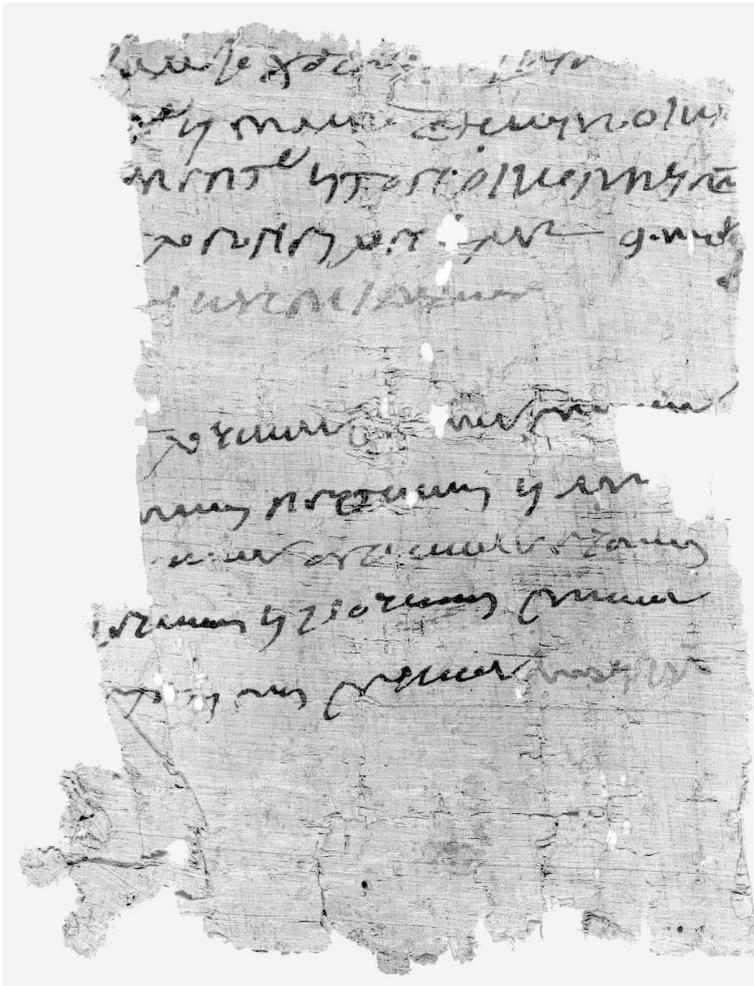
8. λινούφοι (cf. E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie* [above, note to 2] 107ff.) appear frequently in the papyri (the CD-ROM no. 6 registers 51 occurrences). A λινούφος μίθιος occurs, however, only in *BGU IV 1069.10-11.13*, and *SB I 4299.13-14* (*P. Prag.* I 18.13-14).

Excursus: A Proper Name Μίθιος? The proper name Μίθιας is clearly attested in *P. Lond.* II 188 (p.143).44, and in *O. Mich.* I 269.6; 586.6 (cf. also the female name Ταμιθιας in *P. Petaus* 59.76). On the other hand, I see no compelling reasons why we have not printed μίθιος, hired laborer, in both *BGU I 7 I 6* and *P. Abinn.* 66.59. For *CPR IX 46.2*, one may compare the note of the editor on line 2. In line 3 of *P. Fouad 20* the editor considered reading: --- τὴν χώραν μιθίου, but then rejected the reading, since it "donne un sens beaucoup moins satisfaisant." I do not understand why the reading τὴν χώραν μιθίου necessarily produces a less satisfactory sense (cf. *P. Herm.* 30.21). If one decides to retain Μίθίου as a proper name, it seems more likely that in *P. Fouad 20.3* we are encountering the genitive of the proper name Μίθιας (cf. F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar* II, Milano 1981, 12ff.). I, therefore, believe that the proper name Μίθι(ο)ς may be considered at least a provisional candidate for deletion from the onomastica.

9. κάτ(οικος): the word shows no mark of abbreviation.—I do not know the meaning of δοκιμαθ(εῖς) in the present context, but cf. *PSI X 1105*, 4-5.

10. The female proper name Ἐαραποις occurs here for the first time. I add here a further observation: in *Aegyptus* 10, 1929, 94, H. Frisk correctly proposed to read in line 5 of *SB V 7343* Ἐαραποισιδώρου τ[] ; it is then likely that τ[] is the beginning of τ[οῦ], followed by the name of the father of the woman's κύριος, i.e. her husband. Frisk's correction has not, as yet, been listed in the *BL*. The unique female proper name Ἐαραποιδωροῦς can thus be deleted from D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* 282b.

Φαλ() : or Φλα(). The reading is tentative. The traces most likely represent the name of Sarapis' father. Along similar lines, μη(τρὸς) Ἐω]τηρίδος Ἡρακλ() makes an acceptable supplement/reading for line 8, while in line 4 the mother's name Ταϊαρίου may also have been followed by the name of her father.



Census declaration (P.Mich. inv. 252)