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978-0-521-12483-6 - Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt, Volume 2: Historical Studies

Willy Clarysse and Dorothy J. Thompson

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Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt

The historical studies of this second volume provide a new look at the economic and social history of Ptolemaic Egypt. The salt-tax registers of *P.Count* not only throw light on key aspects of the fiscal policy of the Greek pharaohs but also provide the best information for family and household structure for the Western world before the fifteenth century AD. The makeup of the population is thoroughly analysed here in both demographic and occupational terms. A constant theme running throughout is the impact of the immigrant Greeks on the indigenous population of Egypt. This is traced in cultural policies, in administrative geography, in the realm of stock-rearing and in the changing religious affiliations traceable through the names that parents gave their children. The extent to which Egypt is typical of the Hellenistic world more widely is the final topic addressed.

WILLY CLARYSSE teaches in the Departments of Classics and Ancient Near East at the University of Leuven, Belgium. He is a Fellow of the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium and author of *Prosopographia Ptolemaica IX, Addenda et corrigenda au volume III* (1981), *The Petrie Papyri* (second edition), *I. The Wills* (1991) and of the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be>).

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON teaches ancient history in the University of Cambridge where she is Isaac Newton Trust Lecturer in the Faculty of Classics and a Fellow of Girton College. She is a Fellow of the British Academy and author of *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (1988).

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COUNTING THE PEOPLE IN HELLENISTIC EGYPT

VOLUME 2. HISTORICAL STUDIES

WILLY CLARYSSE

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

AND

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON

University of Cambridge



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For

FRANK W. WALBANK

and to the memory of

EDMOND VAN 'T DACK

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Preface

The evolution of a joint enterprise is not easy to recapture in retrospect and a work involving collaboration almost inevitably progresses in fits and starts. Nevertheless, the conception of the finished form of this publication, with its unusual combination of a volume of documents together with their historical evaluation, has been there from the start. We wanted readers to see at first hand the bare bones of history (the texts) and how the frame might be filled (the historical studies). These two related sides to the enterprise have constantly informed each other as our work has progressed over the years. In terms of composition, Clarysse has taken prime responsibility for volume I and Thompson for volume II. There is, however, no section of these two volumes on which we have not worked closely together, with shared enjoyment and, we hope, to the benefit of the work as a whole. The historical studies of this volume, therefore, depend closely on the texts of volume I (here numbered in bold) which are essential to an appraisal of our conclusions.

The genesis of *Counting the People* is interesting in several respects. It illustrates the key role played in academic life of international meetings, where participants can talk together; it is testimony too to the positive results that come from a tradition of cooperation within a discipline. The study in part derives from Clarysse's involvement in a re-edition of the Greek Petrie papyri in Dublin together with the publication of the demotic texts now in Oxford, see Van 't Dack (1972). In its present form it probably owes its origin to his visit to the Sorbonne papyrus collection in May 1977 to work on the names in what has turned into text **6** of volume I. In 1989, however, he recognised that several unpublished texts in the Greek collection formed part of the same bilingual register as a demotic text preserved elsewhere in the same building (our texts **2 + 3**). This was crucial in extending the scope beyond his initial concerns. Meanwhile, while others watched football during the World Cup of 1990, Thompson was working on teachers in the recently published volumes of *CPR* XIII and *P.Lille dem.* III. Initial joint discussions started up at the international demotic congress in Chicago in September of that year. The decision to join forces belongs to autumn 1991 and we were encouraged in our joint work by Edmond Van 't Dack, who had hoped to see its completion. Since then we have worked

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together in Cambridge and Leuven, in North Carolina, Oxford, Paris and Vienna. We have pored over texts together in collections and in digitised form, we have cut up paper shapes to understand the original size and form of our texts, we have talked, agreed and disagreed, worked and reworked our data. From time to time, we have enjoyed the excitement of a reading or an interpretation that suddenly makes sense; we have felt the worry shared by our families that this work would never be done.

In volume I (*P.Count*), together with a number of collaborators, we publish the main documents which stand at the base of volume II. Some texts, discovered late in the day, remain for the future: in particular, a group of Munich registers (*P.Mon.inv.* 343–347) and an Ashmolean document from Upper Egypt (*P.Ashm.dem.inv.* 81) discovered by Cary Martin. We are grateful to Bärbel Kramer and Dieter Hagedorn, and to Helen Whitehouse for allowing us to make use of these in this volume.

We have many other debts to acknowledge, institutional and personal, financial and intellectual. In 1992 and 1993 Clarysse worked in Paris, London, Oxford and Cambridge with help from the Nationaal Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek and the British-Flemish Academic Research Collaboration Programme, and in 1994 Thompson spent a month in Leuven with a further grant from the latter. In 1993/1994 Thompson enjoyed a Fellowship at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina and in 2000/2001 was the grateful recipient of a six-month fellowship from the Onderzoeksraad of KULeuven, which allowed virtual completion of the project. Thompson has benefited from the travel fund of the Classics Faculty of the University of Cambridge, and is grateful to Girton College for invaluable help with travel and sabbaticals. We happily acknowledge the support of all these bodies.

The world of papyrology is known for its international cooperation and this study has constantly benefited from this. Among those individuals who have been consulted again and again, for this volume we wish particularly to acknowledge the criticism and help of Amélie Kuhrt and Stephen Quirke (Chapter 2), Brian Muhs (on the salt-tax for Chapter 3), Dominic Rathbone (on the Fayum for Chapter 4), Rosalind Thomas (on teachers for Chapter 5), Csaba La'da (on ethnics for Chapter 5), Richard Evans, Abigail Fowden, Jonathan Holmes, Barry Kemp and Roland Randall (expertise on sheep and pigs for Chapter 6), Roger Bagnall, Stanley Engerman, Bruce Frier, Peter Laslett and Walter Scheidel (demography for Chapter 7), Robin Osborne (various improvements) and, finally, an anonymous Press reader (*passim*). Frank Walbank and John Thompson have read and commented on all of the following chapters; we have, as always, benefited from their input.

The database of families used in Chapter 7 may be consulted at <http://pcount.arts.kuleuven.be> and the prosopography of all individuals

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mentioned in our texts, used in Chapter 8, now forms part of the online *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* at <http://prosptol.arts.kuleuven.be>. Greek is regularly transliterated in this volume in the hope that others besides ancient historians might wish to consult our work.

Last of all, as a postscript, we wish to record our appreciation to Sue Davies whose eagle eyes have saved us from numerous slips in this volume and, at Cambridge University Press, to the Classics Editor Michael Sharp, to our copy-editor Linda Woodward for all her meticulous work and intelligent advice and to those in the production team who have coped so well with what has not been an easy challenge.

Veltem-Beisem

30 June 2003

Abbreviations

Papyri are quoted according to J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong and K. A. Worp, *Checklist of editions of Greek, Latin, demotic and Coptic papyri, ostraca and tablets*. *BASP* Supplement 9, ed. 5. American Society of Papyrologists 2001; or http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist_papyri.html. Other abbreviations are as follows:

<i>AegTrev</i>	<i>Aegyptiaca Treverensia</i> . Mainz am Rhein 1981–.
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i> . Leuven 1970–.
<i>Archiv</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> . Leipzig 1900–.
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i> . New Haven, Conn. 1963–.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> . Paris 1877–.
<i>BdE</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Étude de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> . Cairo 1908–.
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i> . Cairo 1919–.
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> . Cairo 1901–.
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> . Leiden 1943–.
<i>Bull. ép.</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> . Paris 1938–84.
Calderini, <i>Diz.</i>	A. Calderini, <i>Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano</i> . Milan 1972–2003.
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Brussels 1925–.
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 4 vols. Berlin 1828–77.
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> . London 1907–.
<i>CRIPÉL</i>	<i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i> . Lille 1973–.
Crum, <i>Coptic Dictionary</i>	W. E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford 1939.
<i>DNB</i>	E. Lüddeckens with W. Brunsch, G. Vittmann and K.-Th. Zauzich, <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Wiesbaden 1980–2000.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- EA *Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of the Egyptian Exploration Society.* London 1991–.
- EVO *Egitto e Vicino Oriente.* Pisa 1978–.
- FGrH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Berlin 1923–.
- Glossar W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar.* Copenhagen 1954.
- GM *Göttinger Miszellen.* Göttingen 1972–.
- I.Fay. E. Bernard, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum.* 3 vols. I: Leiden 1975; II and III: Cairo 1981.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.* London 1914–.
- JJP *Journal of Juristic Papyrology.* Warsaw 1946–.
- JRA *Journal of Roman Archaeology.* Ann Arbor 1988–.
- JRS *Journal of Roman Studies.* London 1910–.
- LÄ W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie.* 7 vols. Wiesbaden 1972–92.
- LDAB *Leuven database of ancient books.*
<http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be>.
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones with R. McKenzie and revised supplement ed. P. G. W. Glare, *A Greek–English lexicon.* ed. 9. Oxford 1996.
- MBAH *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte.* Ostfildern 1982–.
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo.* Wiesbaden 1956–.
- MIFAO *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.* Cairo 1902–.
- NB F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch.* Heidelberg 1922.
- Onomasticon D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di Friedrich Preisigke.* Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 16. Serie papirologica 2. Milan 1967–71.
- OCD³ S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary.* ed. 3. Oxford and New York 1996.
- OGIS W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae.* 2 vols. Leipzig 1903–5.
- OLA *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.* Leuven 1975–.
- OLP *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.* Leuven 1970–.
- Pap.Lugd.-Bat. *Papyrologica Lugdano-Batava.* Leiden 1941–.
- Pros.Ptol. W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica.* Studia Hellenistica 6–. Leuven 1950– and <http://prospmol.arts.kuleuven.be>.

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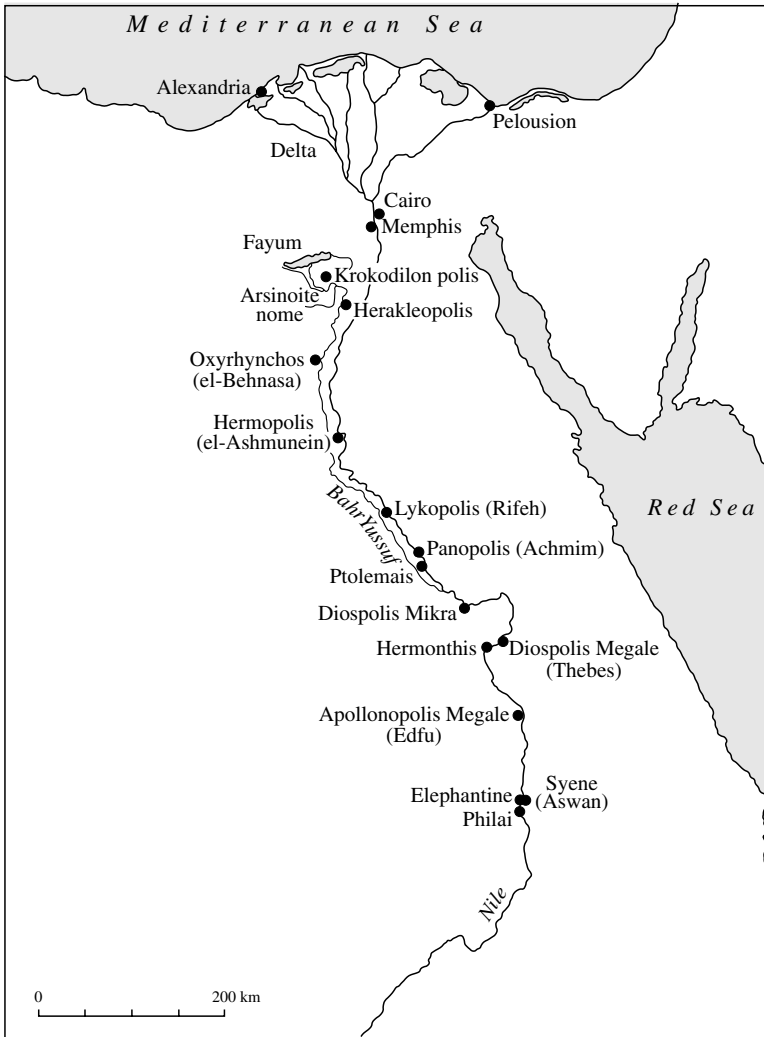
<i>Rd'E</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> . Paris 1933–.
<i>RE</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart and Munich 1894–1980.
<i>RecPap</i>	<i>Recherches de Papyrologie</i> . Paris 1961–7.
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes</i> . Paris 1870–1923.
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> . Paris 1888–.
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i> . Brussels 1948–.
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> . Hamburg 1974–.
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i> . Chicago 1931–.
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i> . Jerusalem 1974–.
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> . Pisa 1951–.
<i>Syll.³</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 4 vols. ed. 3. Leipzig 1915–24.
<i>Urk.</i>	K. Sethe, <i>Historisch-biographische Urkunden aus den Zeiten der makedonischen Könige und der beiden ersten Ptolemäer</i> . Leipzig 1904.
<i>WB</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 12 vols. Leipzig 1926–63.
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> . Leipzig 1863–.
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> . Leipzig 1847–.
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> . Bonn 1967–.

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