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978-0-521-12487-4 - Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt, Volume 1. Population Registers (P. Count)

Willy Clarysse and Dorothy J. Thompson

Excerpt

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## I

**Greek salt-tax record for the Arsinoite nome**

Arsinoite nome 254–231 BC

P.Sorb. inv. 10 *P.Lille I 10*

From cartonnage found at Ghoran, mummy 12

<http://www.papyrologie.paris4.sorbonne.fr/menu1/collections/pgrec/pcount.htm#pcount01>

Nine individual pieces have now been combined to form Frags. 1–4. The text is written in one hand, parallel to the fibres on the recto. Traces of an older, washed off text are visible here and there. Frags. 1 and 4 have a few lines of writing on the back in different hands. Six pieces of this text were published by Jouguet as *P.Lille I 10*. Our Frag. 1 combines Jouguet's Frags. 3–6. In November 1992 we identified three new pieces in a folder labelled *P.Sorb. inv. 488–489*: one has been joined to the end of Frag. 4 (ll.56–58) and one to Frag. 1; the third (Frag. 2) cannot be placed.

The order of the fragments cannot be established with certainty, but on the parallel of 2, the military groups in Frags. 3–4 probably followed after the civilian population of Frags. 1–2. Frag. 1 may have contained the start of the whole text, but the heading is lost except for the words τοῦ νομοῦ in l.2, which show that the text deals with the nome as a whole. In placing Frag. 4 (the μισθοφόροι ἱππεῖς) after Frag. 3 (probably cleruchs) we have followed the order of *P.Petrie III 112.19–22* (p. 289).

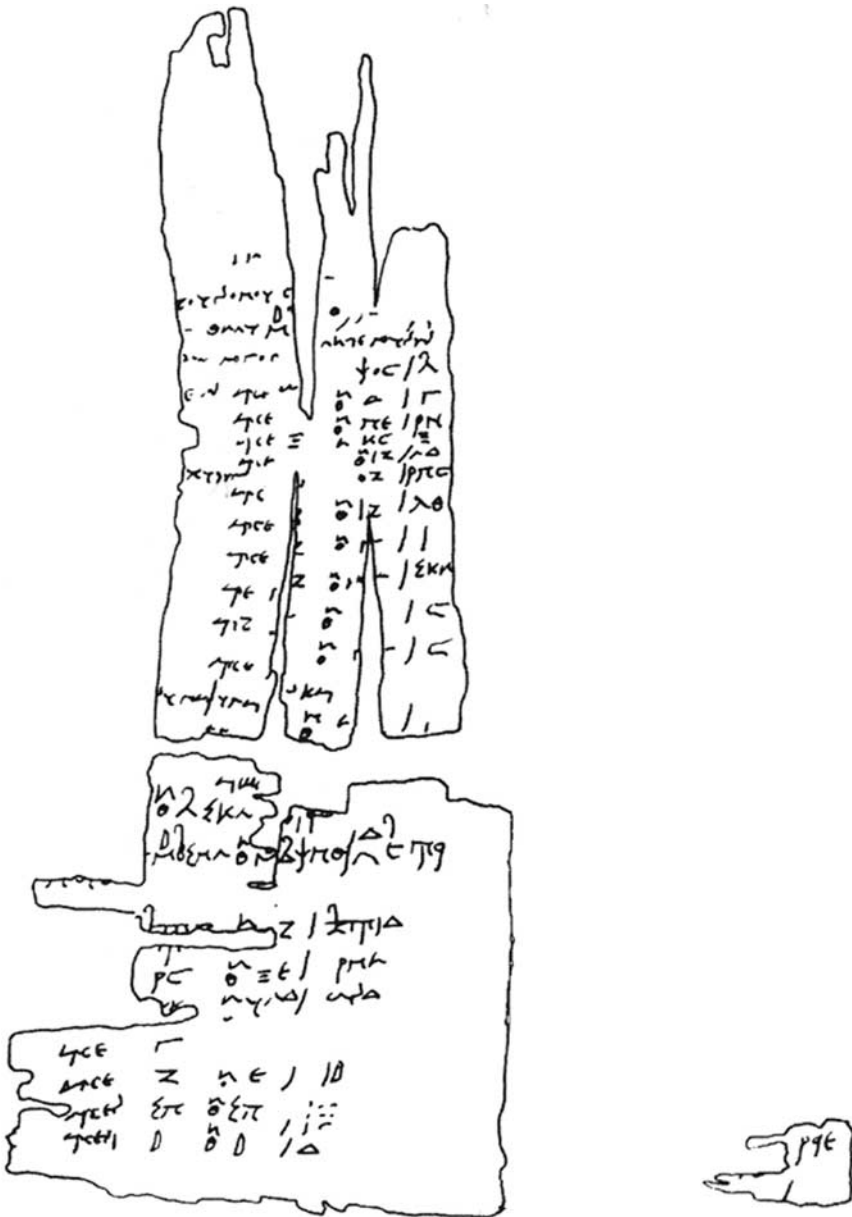
If our order of the fragments is accepted, Frag. 1 provides the total of the civilian population, followed by a breakdown into different privileged and non-privileged groups; this must have been much longer (only 9,488 out of a total of 46,990 civilians survive in ll.23–29), continuing in one or more lost columns between Frags. 1 and 3. The tiny Frag. 2 is clearly part of this breakdown. Frag. 3 records a group of 6,616 persons; this section is closely linked with Frag. 4, which also contains the puzzling group called λαϊκά. Since Frag. 4 records cavalrymen, Frag. 3 almost certainly also records an army group. For further discussion of this record, see Vol. II, Chapters 3, 'Documenting the salt-tax' and 4, 'Counting the capital'.

Find-place: according to the inventory book in the Sorbonne and the edition in *P.Lille I 10*, the text was found at El-Lahoun and carried the inventory number 'El Lahoun 12'. The folder inv. 488 and 489, in which

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we found the new fragments, is marked as ‘Ghoran 12’. Clearly an error was made either by the editor of *P.Lille* I 10 or by whoever wrote the label on the folder. As this folder was placed among other Ghoran texts, Ghoran is the more likely origin. In fact, the majority of El-Lahoun documents

Figure 1a *P.Count* I



Frag. 1  
 (ll. 1–29)

Frag. 2  
 (ll. 30–31)

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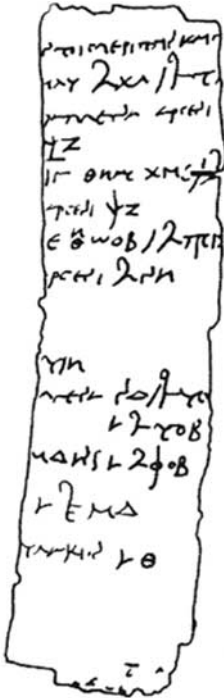
Excerpt

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of the Sorbonne collection date from the second century, whereas the present text is clearly of a third-century date.

General contents and date: the purpose of this text as a salt-tax record was definitively established by Uebel (1966), 364–7 (summarized in Uebel (1968), 119 n.1). Uebel recognised that the figures in ll.42–44, one drachma for males and three obols for females, were those of the B rate of the salt-tax. He concluded that the text should be dated before 244 BC (Uebel's further dating argument based on the reading  $\Lambda\iota\mu\upsilon\eta$  in l.32 is no longer relevant since this line has been reread, see note). It is, however, now clear that the B rate, which started in 254 BC, continued for some until 231 BC. From 243 BC the majority of taxpayers were charged at the lower C rate (for rates, see now Clarysse and Thompson (1995) and Vol. II, Table 3:1). Which rate applied to the army, the only group with dues recorded here, is uncertain and so a closer date is not possible.

Figure 1b *P.Count I (continued)*Frag. 3  
(ll. 32–46)Frag. 4  
(ll. 47–58)

## P.COUNT I

## Frag. 1

28 × 11 cm

The top margin is possibly preserved. The surface of the papyrus is much damaged. A vertical *kollēsis* at 1 cm from the left border is visible in ll.22 and ll.26–29. For the verso, see ll.59–62.

1	[ . . (γίν.) . . [			
	] τοῦ νομοῦ . . . [			
	[ ἄρσε(νικά) <sup>[β]</sup> ΜΓχιδ	θηλυ(κά) <sup>β</sup> ΜἘ[λ]ο	(γίν.) <sup>δ</sup> Μ[Θ]φ[πδ]	
	[ . . . λόγος τῶν μὴ τελούντων			
5	[ . . . ] . ων	ἄρσε(νικά) ωπ	θη(λυκά) ψος	(γίν.) Ἀ[χνς]
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) [β]	θη(λυκόν) α	(γίν.) γ
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) ξ[ε]	θη(λυκά) πε	(γίν.) ρν
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) [λ]δ	θη(λυκά) κς	(γίν.) ξ
	[ . . . ] χυρουν	ἄρσε(νικά) [ιζ]	θη(λυκά) ιζ	(γίν.) λδ
10	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) [ρ]θ	θη(λυκά) ρζ	(γίν.) ρπς
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) [κ]β	θη(λυκά) ιζ	(γίν.) λθ
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) ζ	θη(λυκά) γ	(γίν.) ι
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) ρζ	θη(λυκά) ρκα	(γίν.) σκη
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) δ	θη(λυκά) β	(γίν.) ς
15	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) γ	θη(λυκά) γ	(γίν.) ς
	[ . . . ] ἀλλοφύλων	καὶ . . . [		
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) ] ε	θη(λυκά) ε	(γίν.) ι
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) [ . .	θη(λυκά) ] . .	[(γίν.) . . ]
	[ . . . ]	ἄρσε(νικά) . [	θη(λυκά) .	(γίν.) . .
20	[ ἄρσε(νικά) Ἄτογ]	θη(λυκά) Ἄσκα	[(γίν.)] Βφδ	
	[ ἄρσε(νικά) ]	Μ Βσμα	θη(λυκά) Μ Δψμθ	(γίν.) Μ ζλρ
	[ . . . ]			
	[ ἄρσε(νικά) ]	Γλζ	[θη(λυκά) ] Δζ	(γίν.) Ζλιδ
	[ ἄρσε(νικά) ]	ος	θη(λυκά) ξε	(γίν.) ρμα
25	[ ἄρσε(νικά) ]	υκ	θη(λυκά) υλδ	(γίν.) ωνδ
	[ . . . ] ἄρσε(νικά)	γ		
	[ . . . ] ἄρσε(νικά)	ζ	θη(λυκά) ε	(γίν.) ιβ
	[ . . . ] ἄρσε(νικά)	σπ	θη(λυκά) σπ	(γίν.) φξ
29	[ . . . ] ἄρσε(νικά)	β	θη(λυκά) β	(γίν.) δ

*margin*9 ἀχύρου *ed. princ.*, ]χυρουν *legimus*20 Ἄλ *ed. princ.* (p. 271), Βφδ *legimus*24 ος *corr. ex og*

## P.COUNT I

## Frag. I

1	[ ] total [					
	[ ] of the nome [					
	[males 23,61]4	females 25,[9]70	total 4[9],5[84]			
	[ ] - - account of those who do not pay (the tax)					
5	[ ] - - -	males 88[0]	females 776	total 1[656]		
	[ ]	males [2]	female 1	total 3		
	[ ]	males 6[5]	females 85	total 150		
	[ ]	males [3]4	females 26	total 60		
	[ ] - - -	males [17]	females 17	total 34		
10	[ ]	males [1]09	females 77	total 186		
	[ ]	males [2]2	females 17	total 39		
	[ ]	males 7	females 3	total 10		
	[ ]	males 107	females 121	total 228		
	[ ]	males 4	females 2	total 6		
15	[ ]	males 3	females 3	total 6		
	[ ] those from elsewhere and - - -					
	[ ]	males] 5	females 5	total 10		
	[ ]	ma[les ..	females] ..	[total ..]		
	[ ]	males .	[females .	total] ...		
20	[males 1,373]	females 1,221	[total] 2,594			
	[ ]	males] 22,241	females 24,749	total 46,990		
	[ ] . . . . .					
	[ ]	males] 3,907	females [4,00]7	total 7,914		
	[ ]	males] 76	females 65	total 141		
25	[ ]	males] 420	females 434	total 854		
	[ ]	males 3				
	[ ]	males 7	females 5	total 12		
	[ ]	males 280	females 280	total 560		
29	[ ] .	males 2	females 2	total 4		
	<i>margin</i>					

## P.COUNT I

**Frag. 2**

4 × 2.4 cm

- 30 ] (γίν.) ρφε  
] (γίν.) ιδ

**Frag. 3**

16 × 4 cm

*space of 0.5 cm*

- 32 ἐ]ν τοῖς περὶ πόλιν καὶ τ[ῆς Ἡρ(ακλείδου) με(ρίδος)]  
[ἀρσενι(κὰ) Ἀψξ θ]ηλυ(κὰ) Ἀχλ (γίν.) ἸτϚ[  
[λαϊκὰ προσγεγ]ραμμένα ἀρσενι(κὰ) [. .]  
35 [(γίν.) ἀρσενι(κὰ) Ἀ]ψζ  
[Πο(λέμωνος) με(ρίδος) ἀρσενι(κὰ) ψ]ιγ̄ θηλυ(κὰ) χμε (γίν.) Ἀ[τνη]  
[λαϊκὰ . . (γίν.)] ἀρσενι(κὰ) ψζ  
[Θε(μίστου) με(ρίδος) ἀρσενι(κὰ) Ἀμ]ε̄ θη(λυκὰ) ωοβ (γίν.) Ἀλιζ[  
[λαϊκὰ ιγ (γίν.)] ἀρσενι(κὰ) Ἀνη

*space of 1.7 cm*

- 40 [(γίν.) ἀρσενι(κὰ) Ἰ]υιη  
[λαϊκὰ προσγεγρα]μμένα νδ (γίν.) Ἰυο[β]  
[ἀν(ὰ) (δρ.) (γίν.)] (δρ.) Ἰυοβ  
[θηλυ(κὰ) Ἰρ]μδ ἀν(ὰ) ς (δρ.) Ἀφοβ  
[ἀπὸ σωμά(των) ζ χις] (δρ.) Ἐμδ

- 45 [ ]υλάκιον (δρ.) θ

*space of 2.5 cm*

- 46 [ ]προσ]γεγραμ[μένα]  
-----

32 περὶ Λιμν(αῖον) *ed. princ.*, περὶ πόλιν *legimus* 36 [ἀρσενι(κὰ) ψ]ιγ̄ or [χ]ιγ̄  
*supplevimus*; Ἀ[τνη] or Ἀ[σνη] *supplevimus* 38 θηλυ(κὰ) *ed. princ.*, θη(λυκὰ)  
*P.Lille I*, p.271 40–44 *suppl.* Uebel (1968), 119 n.1 45 [φ]υλάκιον *ed.*, or  
[θ]υλάκιον Wilcken (BL I, p.202)

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**Frag. 2**

30 ] total 195

] total 14

**Frag. 3***space of 0.5 cm*

32 due from] those around the town and [the division of Herakleides (?)]

[males 1,760], females 1,630, total 3,39[0] (persons)

[additional (?) natives] males [. .]

35 [total males 1],707

[division of Polemon (?) males 7]13, females 645, total 1,[358] (persons)

[natives . . , total] males 707

[division of Themistos (?) males 1,04]5, females 872, total 1,917 (persons)

[natives 13, total] males 1,058

*space of 1.7 cm*

40 [total males 3],418

[additional (?) natives] 54, total 3,47[2] (males)

[at the rate of 1 dr. each:] 3,472 dr.

[females 3,1]44 at the rate of 3 obols each: 1,572 dr.

[from 6,616 persons:] 5,044 dr.

45 [ ]ylakion 9 dr.

*space of 2.5 cm*

46 [ ] additional (?) [

-----

36 [7]13 or [6]13; 1,[358] or 1,[258]

## P.COUNT I

**Frag. 4**

8.5 × 8.6 cm + 5.3 × 5.3 cm

The join of the two pieces, which was made on the basis of the sums in the text, is confirmed by the continuation of the fibres on the verso and by a vertical column of figures in a very rough hand also on the verso (from top to bottom: ερ. . , δ, γ, 3 illegible lines, β, 2 illegible lines, κε, δ, α, α, α, ι illegible line). The lower part of the (γίνεται)-sign of 1.55 is visible in the lower fragment above 1.56. The fragment has a large lower margin, which must certainly be the end of the column, and a smaller upper margin. Since the height is only 14 cm, the latter cannot be the top margin of the column, but represents a space between two sections of the text, similar to that found between ll.39 and 40 in Frag. 3.

*space of 1.5 cm*

- 47 καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἱππέω[ν ]  
 Ἐρμοκράτης ὁ γραμματε[ύς - - ]  
 τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος [ ]
- 50 ἄρσενι(κὰ) ὀκτὸ καὶ λαικὰ π[ροσγεγραμ-]  
 μένα δ (γίν.) υλγ θηλ[υ(κὰ) .. (γίν.)...]  
 τῆς Πολέμωνος ἄρσενι(κὰ) . . .]  
 καὶ λαικὰ .ε (γίν.) χμε θη[λυ(κὰ) .. (γίν.)...]  
 [τῆς Θεμίστου ἄρσενι(κὰ) . . .]
- 55 [καὶ λαικὰ .] (γίν.) τμη θ[ηλυκὰ) .. (γίν.)...]  
 [λαικὰ κ καὶ] ἄρσενι(κὰ) Ἄυς (γίν.) [Ἄυκς]  
 [ἀνὰ (δρ.) (γίν.) (δρ.)] Ἄυκς θηλυ(κὰ) Ἄπ ἀνὰ f (γίν.) (δρ.) φμ]  
 [(γίν.)] ἀπὸ σωμάτων Ἐβφς (δρ.) Ἄ[Ϟξς]

*margin of 3 cm*55 *ωλζ ed., τμη legimus***Verso (Frag. 1)***Second hand*

- 59 Χρῦσ[ιππος τῶι δεῖνι]  
 60 χαίρειν.  
 Ἄ[  
 Ἄψ[



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**Frag. 4***space of 1.5 cm*

- 47 and of the waged cavalrymen [  
     Hermokrates the secretary [  
     For the division of Herakleides [  
 50 males 429 and additional (?) natives  
     4, total 433; females [ . . . , total . . . ]  
     For (the division) of Polemon males [ . . . ]  
     and natives 15 (?), total 645; females, [ . . . , total . . . ]  
     [For (the division) of Themistos males . . . ,]  
 55 [and native 1 (?),] total 348, [ . . . ] females [ . . . , total . . . ]  
     [natives 20 and] males 1,406, total [1,426 (males)]  
     [at 1 dr., total] 1,426 dr.      females 1,[080 at 3 ob., total 540 dr.]  
     [total] from persons 2,506: 1,[966 dr.]  
*margin of 3 cm*

**Verso (Frag. 1)***Second hand*

- 59 Chrys[ippos to NN]  
 60 greetings.  
     1,[000]  
     1,7[00]

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1–29. This fragment now consists of Jouguet’s Frags. 3–6, together with a new piece b (see figure 1a above).

The fragment contains three columns: males, females and totals. To the left traces of a preceding column are visible in ll.5, 9 and 16. This lost column probably contained the names of the groups or places for which the figures are recorded in the columns preserved. In the first section (ll.1–20) a total for the nome is, as standard, followed by an account of categories exempted from the salt-tax, which is totalled in l.20 and then deducted from the nome total in l.21. The resulting figure is then broken down by occupational categories in ll.23–29. This breakdown must have continued in a second column, of which Frag. 2 is no doubt part.

2. Our reading τοῦ νομοῦ shows that the following section deals with the nome as a whole.

3. The figures represent the total of adults in the nome. On the basis of the totals in ll.20–21 the remaining traces can be interpreted with figures supplied as follows:

males	$1,373 + 22,241 = 23,614$
females	$1,221 + 24,749 = 25,970$
total	$2,594 + 46,990 = 49,584$

In fact only the figure for females is partially preserved: of the 5,000 figure only the flourish indicating the thousand is recognisable, the 900 figure is completely lost in the lacuna between pieces a and b. Surviving traces on the papyrus are not, however, inconsistent with the grand total of 49,584: after the figure for 40,000 there is a small gap followed by two descending tails, of which one may have belonged to the 500-figure φ.

4–20. This section lists those categories exempted from the salt-tax. After two separate groups, the largest (1,[656]) in l.5 and the smallest (3) in l.6, details appear to be recorded in groups of three, presumably by *meris*. For the next three groups (ll.7–9, 10–12, 13–15) the first figure is significantly larger; the *polis* was presumably included with this *meris*. For the final group, following the further heading in l.16, full figures are lacking. Exempt categories are known from *P.Hal.* 1.260–264: teachers, athletic coaches (*paidotribai*), [artists] of Dionysus and the victors in various Alexandrian games. The same order is not necessarily followed in the present listing. See further Vol. II, Chapter 5, ‘Privileged *ethnē*’.

4. For an account of special categories, cf. 16.3–4, where οἱ μὴ τελοῦντες is used for priestly categories.

5. The first exempt category is the largest and represents 3.3 per cent of the total population of 1.3; figures from all three *merides* are presumably