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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

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## Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt

This volume publishes fifty-four Ptolemaic papyri from the Fayum and Middle Egypt, with English translations and extensive commentaries. The texts, dating from c. 250–150 BC and written in both Greek and Egyptian demotic, record lists of adults, ordered by village, occupation and social group, and by household, together with the taxes paid on their persons, their livestock and trades. Some are more than twenty columns long. All texts have been studied on the originals by an international team of scholars. Many are published here for the first time; the others have been extensively revised with numerous new joins between fragments.

Lists of taxpayers and their payments supply a wealth of information on population and family structure, administrative practice, social and professional groups and naming practices. Providing the documentary basis for the historical studies of Volume II, *P.Count* is essential for any serious evaluation of that account.

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# COUNTING THE PEOPLE IN HELLENISTIC EGYPT

VOLUME I. POPULATION REGISTERS (*P.COUNT*)

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WILLY CLARYSSE

*Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*

AND

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON

*University of Cambridge*

in collaboration with

Ulrich Luft, Basil Mandilaras, Günter Poethke,

Reinhold Scholl and John Tait



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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 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 the present volume. 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 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



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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.

We have been fortunate too in the patience of our other collaborators with whom it has been a pleasure to work. A text from Jena mentioned by Uebel in 1966 clearly required investigation (47); Poethke was involved from 1991. During informal discussion at the Copenhagen papyrology congress of 1992, it was recognised that fragments of population registers recently entering the collections in Athens and Trier (50) formed part of the same text. The scope of the project was extended; Mandilaras joined Scholl on the team. Once a particular type of document (like salt-tax registers) is defined then previously unrecognised texts will often come to light. When Luft presented such an example from Budapest (48) at the Pisa demotic congress in 1993 he was invited to join us. A further relevant text, described by Herbert Thompson in 1907 (53), was tracked down with others to its home in the Petrie Museum of University College, London, and Tait agreed to become involved. 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 our historical studies.

We have many other debts to acknowledge, institutional and personal, financial and intellectual. Thanks are due particularly to the Onderzoeksraad of KULeuven which enabled Günter Poethke (1992 and 1993) and Basil Mandilaras (1993) to work on their texts in Leuven. Reinhold Scholl worked in Leuven with a grant from the Humboldt Stiftung for the academic year 1991/1992. In 1992 and 1993 Clarysse worked in Paris, London, Oxford and Cambridge with help from the Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek-Vlaanderen 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. The Classics Faculty of the University of Cambridge provided funds for restoration work on the Rifeh texts and for a Dublin papyrus which in 1996 travelled to the Centre for Ancient Documents in Oxford for digitisation together with Stuart O’Seannoir, Assistant Librarian for Manuscripts. Thompson has also benefited from their travel fund. Thompson wishes further to acknowledge her gratitude to Girton College

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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, we wish particularly to acknowledge, for volume I, the help of Alan Bowman and Charles Crowther who were responsible for scanning **12** and **53**, Jeroen Clarysse and Bart Van Beek whose computer expertise has saved us on many occasions, Mark Depauw for his demotic input, Hermann Harrauer who has answered queries on Vienna texts (**22–44**), Ursula Kaplony-Heckel who shared the excitement of working on the digitised demotic of **53**, Brian McGing in Dublin who has valiantly withstood an onslaught of queries on the Dublin texts, Günter Vittmann for his invaluable help with demotic names, Sven Vleeming, who in Trier also recognised **8**, for his demotic and ostracological aid so frequently called upon, and Frank Walbank who translated earlier versions of **2–3** and **6** from French to English. Others have provided invaluable criticism and help with the studies of volume II: 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, Chapter 6), Roger Bagnall, Stanley Engerman, Bruce Frier, Peter Laslett and Walter Scheidel (demography for Chapter 7), Robin Osborne (various improvements) and an anonymous Press reader (*passim*). Frank Walbank and John Thompson have read and commented on the whole of volume II; we have, as always, benefited from their input.

Finally we wish to thank the Keepers of all the collections in which we have worked and all those who have provided us with photographs and images, which we use with their permission: Alain Blanchard (Institut de Papyrologie, Paris-Sorbonne), Hermann Harrauer (Papyrussammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien), Todd Hickey (Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA), Bärbel Kramer (Universität Trier), Ulrich Luft (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), Basil Mandilaras (Greek Papyrological Society, Athens), Herwig Maehler and Walter Cockle (University College, London), Brendan Meehan (Manuscripts, Trinity College, Dublin), Günter Poethke (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), Stephen Quirke (Petrie Museum, University College, London) and Helen Whitehouse (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

Access to images is essential for anyone reading texts. Those texts illustrated here are a minimal selection provided *exempli gratia*. Where good plates already exist we refer to these and increasingly collections are putting up images of their papyri on the web. This is already the case for some of

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our texts – those from the Sorbonne, the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri in Berkeley, Trier and the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in University College, London – and others will surely follow; we provide the relevant references in *P.Count*. In the meantime, others may be consulted in Leuven at <http://pcount.arts.kuleuven.be>, with all relevant links. Here too may be found the prosopography of all individuals mentioned in our texts – part of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* – together with the database of families used in Chapter 7. In volume II Greek is regularly transliterated in the hope that others besides ancient historians might wish to consult our work.

Last of all, as a postscript, we wish to add our appreciation to the Cambridge University Press 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

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## 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](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>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	<i>Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of the Egyptian Exploration Society.</i> London 1991–.
EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente.</i> Pisa 1978–.
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.</i> Berlin 1923–.
Glossar	W. Erichsen, <i>Demotisches Glossar.</i> Copenhagen 1954.
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen.</i> Göttingen 1972–.
I.Fay.	E. Bernand, <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum.</i> 3 vols. I: Leiden 1975; II and III: Cairo 1981.
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i> London 1914–.
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology.</i> Warsaw 1946–.
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology.</i> Ann Arbor 1988–.
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i> London 1910–.
LÄ	W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie.</i> 7 vols. Wiesbaden 1972–92.
LDAB	<i>Leuven database of ancient books.</i> <a href="http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be">http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be</a> .
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones with R. Mckenzie and revised supplement ed. P. G. W. Glare, <i>A Greek–English lexicon.</i> ed. 9. Oxford 1996.
MBAH	<i>Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte.</i> Ostfildern 1982–.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo.</i> Wiesbaden 1956–.
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.</i> Cairo 1902–.
NB	F. Preisigke, <i>Namenbuch.</i> Heidelberg 1922.
<i>Onomasticon</i>	D. Foraboschi, <i>Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di Friedrich Preisigke. Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità</i> 16. Serie papirologica 2. Milan 1967–71.
OCD <sup>3</sup>	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary.</i> ed. 3. Oxford and New York 1996.
OGIS	W. Dittenberger (ed.), <i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae.</i> 2 vols. Leipzig 1903–5.
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.</i> Leuven 1975–.
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.</i> Leuven 1970–.
<i>Pap. Lugd.-Bat.</i>	<i>Papyrologica Lugdano-Batava.</i> Leiden 1941–.

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<i>Pros.Ptol.</i>	W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, <i>Prosopographia Ptolemaica</i> . <i>Studia Hellenistica</i> 6-. Leuven 1950- and <a href="http://prospol.arts.kuleuven.be">http://prospol.arts.kuleuven.be</a> .
<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>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> . Hamburg 1974-.
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i> . Chicago 1931-.
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i> . Pisa 1951-.
<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 4 vols. ed. 3. Leipzig 1915-24.
<i>Urk.</i>	K. Sethe, <i>Historisch-biografische 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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## Conventions

Numbers in **bold** refer to texts in *P.Count*.

Accentuation of Egyptian names in Greek transcription follows the rules put forward by Clarysse (1997c).

Demotic deben (1 deben = 20 dr.) and kite (1 kite = 2 dr.) are always translated into drachmas (dr.) and obols.

Affiliations: in Greek texts a simple patronymic expressed with the genitive is translated 'x son / daughter of y' but when our translation involves interpretation ('x son / daughter / slave etc. of a preceding y') we have added (his) or (her) to indicate our interpretation.

Onomastic notes are usually given when a name first occurs; these are not repeated but prosopographical comment is cross-referenced.

In translations, square brackets are used less rigorously than in the texts. Their use indicates the loss of complete words, or, when only individual letters are missing, uncertainty.



Plate 1. *P.Count 2* (cols. vii–ix)





