

Land and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt

This book provides the first edition with extensive introduction and full commentary of a unique land survey written on papyrus in Greek which derives from that area of southern (Upper) Egypt known as the Apollonopolite (or Edfu) nome and is now preserved in Copenhagen. Dating from the late second century BC, this survey provides a new picture of both landholding and taxation in the area which differs significantly from that currently accepted. The introduction sets this new evidence in its contemporary context, drawing particular attention to what it reveals about the nature of the relations of the Ptolemaic royal administration with local grandees, Egyptian temples and the army. All students of Hellenistic Egypt will be interested in this important text, which extends our knowledge of Upper Egypt under the Ptolemaic rulers and involves some modification to the prevailing picture of landholding in Hellenistic Egypt.

THOROLF CHRISTENSEN is an assistant solicitor with Latham & Co Solicitors in Loughborough and also a Notary Public. He studied Classics and papyrology at the Universities of Copenhagen and Cambridge.

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON was Director of Studies in Classics at Girton College, Cambridge, and Newton Trust Affiliated Lecturer in Ancient History in the Faculty of Classics. Since retirement, she remains a Fellow of Girton College and a Bye-Fellow of Clare College and is still actively involved in lecturing and research. Her book *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (1988; 2nd edn 2012) was awarded the James H. Breasted Prize. She is a Fellow of the British Academy and Honorary President of the International Association of Papyrologists.

KATELIJN VANDORPE is Professor of Ancient History at KU Leuven. Her main field of research is Graeco-Roman Egypt, and her publications include text editions and studies on onomastics, institutions and socio-economic aspects of this multi-cultural society. She is (co-) author of three books on archival research. She is a member of the board of international journals and learned societies (International Association of Papyrologists, CBRAG: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques en Grèce, Association égyptologique Reine Élisabeth). She is also a member of the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts.



Cambridge Classical Studies

General editors

R. G. OSBORNE, W. M. BEARD, G. BETEGH, J. P. T. CLACKSON, R. L. HUNTER, M. J. MILLETT, S. P. OAKLEY, T. J. G. WHITMARSH



Land and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt

An Edition, Translation and Commentary for the Edfu Land Survey (*P. Haun.* IV 70)

THOROLF CHRISTENSEN,
DOROTHY J. THOMPSON AND
KATELIJN VANDORPE





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316612057

DOI: 10.1017/9781316671245

© Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

First paperback edition 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-15910-5 Hardback ISBN 978-1-316-61205-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Elizabeth, John and Jan



Contents

```
List of maps [page viii]
List of figures [ix]
List of tables
              [x]
List of plates [xii]
Preface [xiii]
List of conventions [xv]
List of abbreviations [xvi]
Introduction [1]
  The Edfu land survey [3]
  1 The Edfu land survey in context [3]
  2 Acquisition and physical description [6]
  3 Date and nature of the survey [8]
  4 Survey operations and the officials involved [9]
  5 Fiscal land categories [12]
  6 Taxes
           [25]
  7 Condition and use of the land [30]
  8 Historical discussion [36]
  9 Overview of the Edfu land survey [49]
Text and Translation [53]
Commentary [91]
Bibliography [141]
Indices [147]
  Greek index [149]
        Kings and regnal years [149]
    i
        Personal names [149]
    ii
    iii Religious terms [149]
    iv Geographical terms [149]
        Official and military terms [150]
    vi Measures, currency and taxes [150]
    vii Land types [150]
    viii General index of Greek words [151]
   Demotic index [153]
  General index [154]
```

vii



Map

Ptolemaic Egypt [page xviii]

viii



Figures

- 1 Land categories recorded in P. Haun. IV 70 (119/118 BC) [page 14]
- 2 Land categories of *P. Haun*. IV 70 within the Apollonopolite nome [14]
- 3 Sacred revenues in Upper Egypt: a reconstruction [25]
- 4 Theoretical compared with actual tax charges (ll. 21–4) [29]
- 5 Agricultural status of dedicated land in 118 BC (ll. 1–32) [31]
- 6 Agricultural status of cleruchic land in 118 BC (ll. 33–267) [32]
- 7 Private high land without brushwood in 118 BC [33]
- 8 Private island land without brushwood in 118 BC [33]
- 9 An important Apollonopolite family [44]



Tables

1	Dedicated land in the Edfu land survey and the				
	Edfu donation text	[page 15]			

- 2 Average tax rates for private land by toparchy (Edfu nome) [26]
- 3 Tax rate for plots of dedicated and cleruchic land in the Edfu nome [27]
- 4 Dates specified in the surviving part of the survey [38]
- 5 Cleruchic settlement in the Apollonopolite nome [39]
- 6 Detailed contents of P. Haun. IV 70 [49]
- 7 Cleruchic holdings of Ptolemaios son of Pasas [106]
- 8 Cleruchic land allotted to infantrymen in year 36 (135/134 BC) [109]
- 9 Cleruchic land recategorised in year 51 (120/119 BC) [112]
- 10 Land allotted to 10-aroura cleruchs, as in year 52 (119/118 BC) [114]
- 11 Dry and fertile land in plots allotted to 10-aroura cleruchs [114]
- 12 Land allotted to 10-aroura cleruchs in Apollonopolis [115]
- 13 Land allotted to 10-aroura cleruchs in the lower toparchy [115]
- 14 Fertile land ceded by 75 infantrymen to the Horus temple up to year 50 (121/120 BC) [116]
- 15 Deductions made from land ceded to the Horus temple in year 51 (120/119 BC) [118]
- 16 Remainder of land ceded to the Horus temple as in year 52 (119/118 BC) [118]
- 17 Land allotted to *andres* plus land ceded to the Horus temple [119]
- 18 Deductions from allotments plus land ceded to the Horus temple in year 51 (120/119 BC) [120]
- 19 Remaining 48 allotments of year 36 plus land ceded to the Horus temple [121]
- 20 Cleruchic land in the nome before deductions of year 51 (120/119 BC) [122]
- 21 Cleruchic land in the nome after deductions of year 51 (120/119 BC) [123]

X



List of tables

xi

- 22 'Land in release' plus cleruchic land in the nome up to year 51 (120/119 BC) [124]
- 23 'Land in release' plus cleruchic land after deductions of year 51 (120/119 BC) [126]
- 24 Land subject to (harvest) tax from before 207/206 up to 180 BC [128]
- 25 Standard private land subject to (harvest) tax [129]
- 26 Private land with brushwood subject to (harvest) tax [130]
- 27 Private grain-bearing land (standard + brushwood) subject to (harvest) tax [132]
- 28 Ownerless land in the upper toparchy [132]
- 29 Private land (standard + brushwood + ownerless) subject to (harvest) tax [133]
- 30 Private land that was derelict (ἐν ὑπολόγωι) in year 52 (119/118 BC) [135]
- 31 Derelict island land with brushwood [136]



Plates

- 1 P. Haun. IV 70 cols. i-ii
- 2 P. Haun. IV 70 cols. iii-iv
- 3 P. Haun. IV 70 cols. v-vi
- 4 P. Haun. IV 70 cols. vii-viii
- 5 P. Haun. IV 70 cols. ix-x
- 6 P. Haun, IV 70 cols, xi-xii
- 7 P. Haun. IV 70 cols. xiii-xiv
- 8 P. Haun. IV 70 cols. xv-xvi
- 9 P. Haun. IV 70 col. vii realigned
- 10 Schubart's column transcription
- 11 Horus guards the *pronaos* to his temple at Edfu (photo: Karl Leemans)
- 12 Inside the *pronaos* of the Horus temple at Edfu (photo: Karl Leemans)

The plate section can be found at the end of this volume.

Digital versions of Plates 1–10 can be viewed on the book Resources tab at www.cambridge.org/9781107159105.

To note: in a few places parts of the text are a little misplaced. The state of the text precludes remounting and, with the exception of column vii (Plate 9), realignment of the images would create new inconsistencies.



Preface

The importance of the Greek land survey from the Apollonopolite (Edfu) nome, published here as *P. Haun.* IV 70 (119/118 BC), has already been the subject of some discussion in print. Papyri in Greek, as primarily used within the Ptolemaic administration, are far fewer from the Egyptian south than from the north. As a result, until just a decade ago the pattern of land tenure in Middle Egypt tended to dominate the scene, with little account taken of the situation in Upper Egypt. The land survey edited here is crucial to the reassessment currently underway. To add to the interest of this text, the date of the Edfu land survey corresponds to that of surveys from further north – those of *P. Tebt.* I and IV, from the Arsinoite nome, and *BGU* XIV, from the Herakleopolite nome. Comparisons, therefore, gain in validity and significance. The editors are happy to be able finally to present the full text of what has survived of the fullest survey yet known from the south.

This edition started life as the successful Cambridge PhD thesis of Thorolf Christensen in 2002. When its first editor left the academic field, his supervisor Dorothy Thompson took some time to assume responsibility for seeing this edition through to publication. It was only when Katelijn Vandorpe, with her demotic expertise and knowledge of the Ptolemaic south, agreed to join the team that the project began to move forward. The result is an edition that is little modified from the *editio princeps* but has one extra column (col. xvii) and a new introduction which takes account of relevant recent scholarship. Each of the three editors involved is grateful for the input of the other two.

There are other thanks that we wish to record. Adam Bülow-Jacobsen in Copenhagen initially made the text available to Thorolf Christensen to work on for his doctorate. He too provided the fine infrared photographs from which it has been possible to decipher the text (Plates 1–8). Kim Ryholt, Director of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection at the University of Copenhagen, was responsible for finding the extra column to this text (in the form of a transcript made by Wilhelm Schubart) and kindly supplied the image for Plate 10; he has, further, encouraged the editors in their project and agreed to publication in its present form, as part of the Copenhagen (*P. Haun.*) series of Greek papyri. Fabian Reiter searched in

xiii



xiv Preface

vain in the Berlin collection of papyri for columns of the text that went missing at some time, possibly during the First World War. Karl Leemans has kindly provided the images for Plates 11–12. In Leuven we have enjoyed the constant input of Willy Clarysse and Mark Depauw, and at an earlier stage of the project Joe Manning was actively involved in discussions over details of the survey. We have benefitted greatly from Andrew Monson's careful reading of a more recent version of this work. Our map of Ptolemaic Egypt was kindly prepared by Tom Gheldof and Bart Van Beek (KU Leuven). To all of these we offer our thanks. Finally we are grateful to the editors of Cambridge Classical Studies for accepting this work in the series, to Michael Sharp as Classics Editor at Cambridge University Press and to all in the CUP team involved in the (sometimes tricky) process of publishing this work. We have rarely been able to take account of publications appearing since December 2015.

Thorolf Christensen Dorothy J. Thompson Katelijn Vandorpe Cambridge and Leuven



Conventions

The critical apparatus to the text edition is used for indicating irregular spelling and corrections; for grammar, see relevant notes in the commentary. In accordance with normal papyrological editing practice, we employ the following conventions:

[]	a gap	in the	text	
	_		_	

- () resolution of an abbreviation or symbol
- <> a mistaken omission in the original
- a scribal deletion
- {} for superfluous letter(s)
- ` additions made above the line

Strokes over numerals are given as they occur and dots under letters indicate uncertain readings. Within brackets, dots or numbers indicate the approximate length of a lacuna. Large brackets, employed in the original to indicate deletion or transfer of the section so enclosed (see Il. 120–49 comm.), have been added to the text. On check marks, see the introduction to the text, p. 55.

Throughout what follows, bold typeface is employed simply to help the reader in the interpretation of the text.



Abbreviations

Papyri are quoted according to J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong and K. A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5th edn. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 9. Oakville and Oxford 2001. Online version: http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

AJP American Journal of Philology. Baltimore 1880–.

APF Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete.

Leipzig and Berlin 1901-.

CE Chronique d'Égypte. Brussels 1925–.

CRIPEL Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et

d'Égyptologie de Lille. Lille 1973–.

Edfou IV, VI, VII E. Chassinat et al., Le temple d'Edfou. Mémoires

publiés par les membres de la Mission

archéologique française au Caire 21-31. Cairo

1929-34.

Enchoria Enchoria, Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie.

Wiesbaden 1971-.

GLECS Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d'études

chamito-sémitiques. Paris 1935-2003.

I. Hermoupolis É. Bernand, Inscriptions grecques d'Hermoupolis

Magna et de sa nécropole. Bibliothèque d'étude 123.

Cairo 1999.

I. Métriques É. Bernand, Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte

gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 98.

Paris 1969.

I. Pan du désert A. Bernand, Pan du désert. Leiden 1977.

I. Prose A. Bernand, La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte

hellénistique et romaine. 2 vols. Paris 1992.

xvi JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London 1914-.



List of abbreviations xvii

LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, with the

assistance of R. Mckenzie and revised supplement

ed. P. G. W. Glare, A Greek-English Lexicon,

9th edn. Oxford 1996.

Lüddeckens, DNB E. Lüddeckens et al., Demotisches Namenbuch,

vol. I. 18 fascicules. Wiesbaden 1980-2000.

Mayser, Grammatik E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus

der Ptolemäerzeit, mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften.

2 vols. Leipzig 1906-70.

OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven 1975–.

Pros. Ptol. Prosopographia Ptolemaica, 10 vols. Leuven

1950-2002.

RdE Revue d'Égyptologie. Paris 1933–.

TM Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of

Papyrological and Epigraphical Resources.

http://www.trismegistos.org/

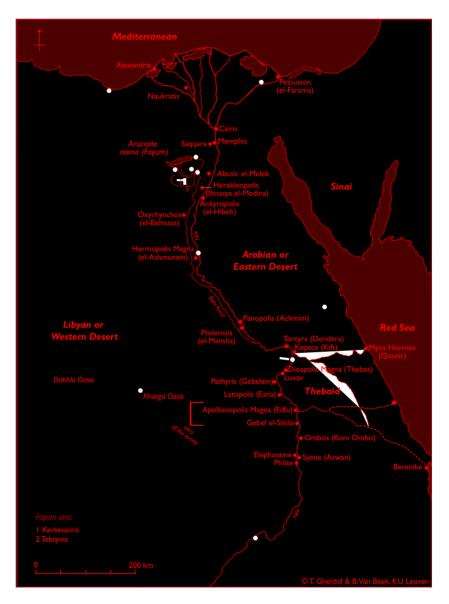
ZÄS Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und

Altertumskunde. Leipzig 1863-.

ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

Bonn 1967-.





Ptolemaic Egypt

xviii