Abstract: The current paper is an edition of unpublished Greek documentary papyrus from Cairo Museum under glass 86 of the Special Register Nr. 3049 with inv. 158. This papyrus is attributed to Theadelphia (Arsinoite nome) and dates to the first half of the second century AD. This text is a census declaration, the Roman government set up a fourteen-year cycle of census declarations. Each inhabitant in Egypt had to be declared in a house-by-house. The verso of the papyrus was later used for a memorandum.

Keywords: Greek Papyri, Arsinoite Nome, Demography of Roman Egypt.
Census Declaration from Arsinoite Nome

The papyrus consists of two fragments. It has been irregularly cut off on all sides. The recto and verso are written by different hands. The text on the recto is written by a legible hand, along the fibers, in 29 lines. There are remains of two margins on the recto; at the top 1 cm, and at the lower 1 cm. The text on the verso is written by a semi-cursive hand, across the fibers, in 18 lines. There are remains of two margins on the verso; at the top 3 cm, and at the lower 4 cm. The papyrus has suffered not only lacunae, but also the partial decay of the material and the ink is in places only faintly discernible. The text consists of two pieces materially joined; the two pieces came from the same papyrus roll. The beginnings and the endings of the lines in this column have been lost. But a continuous text can be reconstructed by parallel declarations.

On palaeographical grounds, it can be dated to the first half of the second century AD, due to palaeographical parallels, see: P. Fouad. 15 (Ptolemais Euergetis; AD 119, census return); P.Mich. III 178 (Bacchias; AD 119, census declaration); SB XVI 13288 (Theadelphia; AD 133, census register). For images see: http://papyri.info/ddbdp/.

The text is a census declaration on the recto, and the recto is a column number 2 of a papyrus roll τόμος συγκολλήσιμος. This census declaration is attributed to Theadelphia, dated to the first half of the second century AD, due to persons who were mentioned in the family’s previous census return, see commentary l. 3. and may be referred to one census return from four successive censuses returns during the first half of the second century AD for years 1031, 1172, 1313, and 1454. The census declarations dated to Roman era form the best documentary source of demographic information for the Roman Empire5. In Egypt the declarant was obliged to submit copies of his declaration to various officials concerned with the census: the στρατηγός, the βασιλικὸς

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1 SB XX 14303 (Ptolemais Euergetis; AD 103; Census declaration by house owners); SB XX 14309 (Ptolemais Euergetis; AD 103, Census declaration); Roger Bagnall, “Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations III.” BASP, no. 28 (1991): 121-133.


3 SB XX 14163 (Samaria; AD 131, Census declaration); Roger Bagnall, “Census Declarations from Tebtunis.” Aegyptus, no. 72 (1992): 61-84; SB XVII 13288 (Theadelphia; AD 131, Census declaration); SB XXII 15336 (Arsinoite; AD 103, Census declaration); Roger Bagnall, “Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations V.” BASP, no. 30 (1993): 35-56; Ruben Smolders, “SB XXII 15336 and the Interpretation of BGU IX 1897.” ZPE, no. 148 (2004): 239-240.

4 SB XX 14111 (Arsinoite; AD 145, Census declaration); Orsolina Montevecchi, “Epikrisis e dichiarazioni di censimento di cateci arsinoiti.” Aegyptus, no. 70 (1990): 27-31; SB XX 14304 (Herakleopolites; AD 145, Census declaration); Roger Bagnall, “Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations II.” BASP, no. 28, (1991): 13-32; SB XX 15465 (Oxyrhynchite; AD 145, Census declaration); SB XX 15466 (Oxyrhynchite; AD 145, Census declaration).

γραμματεύς, the κωμογραμματεύς and the λαογράφοι of the village. In the capital cities of the nomes, the declarations were addressed either to the two μητροπόλεως γραμματεύς, or to the ἀμφοδάρχης, or the ἀμφοδογραμματεύς. The declarant had to keep also for himself one or more copies for each of the bureau, and was obliged to purchase from five to ten sheets of papyrus for these reports.

The scribe has written the abbreviations in different ways: The first way with a superscript letter, such as αὐ(ῆς) lines 6, 8, 17, ἐτε(εἰώθη) line 29 and ψει(οῦ) lines 6, 23, 28. The second way with a horizontal dash, such as μη(τρός) lines 3, 7, 14, 15, 22, 24, 26 and γεωργ(ός) line 25. The third way with a curved vertical line, such as τό(που) lines 6, 23, 28. See P. Wise. I 18 (Theadelphia; AD 146-147, property return).

The verso contains details about a memorandum of the caravan service (πορεία); it has a list of items not to be forgotten. The memorandum was made for personal use as an informal report. It was a written message that may be used for internal communication in a business, and it was written quickly hand and with abbreviated forms. The writer has started the body of the memorandum with a clear purpose, and he might make some mistakes.

Text:

Recto

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>Αδελφὸς μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς [ἐτῶν]</th>
<th>Άλλος ἀδελφὸς μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς [ἐτῶν]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Παστωῦτος τοῦ Πετέφθησ`</td>
<td>Μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ἀδελφὸς μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς [ἐτῶν]</td>
<td>αὐ/λ(ῆς) καὶ ψει/λ(οῦ) τό(που) . . . . . . [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ποσεῦτος ἄρμης μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς</td>
<td>ἅρμης τοῦ Πετέφθης ή σύμβιος μητρὸς</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Census Declaration from Arsinoite Nome

[ . . μη(τρός)[ ]όμοιως μέρ[ος
15 .ικ [ ἄδελφῳ]ξ μη(τρός) Τεφορ[ ]
.ος τ[ πα]τρικ(όν) καὶ μαμ[μικόν
]. π. .τρι [ Ἀπολλοδόρ[ον
] Πιεύτος μ[ητρός
] αἰθρίου κα[ί
20 ] . . . απει . [ . ] ἡ σύμβ(ιος τοῦ[ ]
Θα]σῆτος τῆς Φάσιτος Δημή[ρου
]γος μη(τρός) Θενφατρή(τος) [ ]
] ψε[λ(οῦ[ τόπ(ου) καὶ α[ίθρων Θερμού[θεως
]θεως τοῦ Πε[τσίρεως μη(τρός[ ]
25 Π]ουπλίου δημόσιος κεφαγ(ός) [(έτον)
ἀπ]άτωρ μη(τρός) Θερμού[θεως [(έτον)
] (μέρος) πατρικ(όν) καὶ μητρικ(όν) τοῦ πατ[ρός τετελευτηκότος
ψιλ(όου)] τό(που) περὶ [κόμη]μην ἕτερους ψε[λ(οῦς[ τόπ(ος]
] ἐτελ(ειώθη) δι[ά] Δημάρου

Verso

] . . . . ἐν κόμη Ήρ[α][κλ.(εί])([ ]
] . . . . . (δραχμῶν) εξ constructive[κοτα] ἐξω[τρια
] φα[ίνουν] Πιο[λίους εἶναι [ ]
5 ε[π’ ἀμ]ι[φό(δο)]ν [άλ]ηπλιῶ(του) περὶ μοῦ[ ]
] κ ἄλλον ’Επίφρεν ε [εξ ε] πόρ[θεσεν
] ρω . [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ .
] ε[ξέρθη] αξέν . . . . . . . . . .
10 ’Αργυροτο[ξ . . . . . . . . . . . .]
συμ[πλέρωσ[ιν . . . .] γ Ψ(ας) 
] πε[πρακέν[αι . . . . . . . . . .]
] . . καὶ . . . [ ]
15 ] δι[ά Ατρή[ς]ς πορ[ὴ[ν
Arsin][ο]ς[ν ’Ηρακλείδου μερίδος διαγρα[ψε

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Census Declaration from Arsinoite Nome

Hiero Paphoς ὑπόμ(νημα) Κεφάλλωνι

Corrections:

Recto  l. 6 ψιλοῦ l. 7 Πασεύτος l. 10 Πετεφθοῦς l. 23 ψιλοῦ l. 28 ψιλοῦς
Verso l. 1 διειρῆσθαι l. 3 ἄλοήτρα l. 7 παραδώσης l. 10 Ἀργόιτος l. 11 συμπλήρωσιν l. 15 πορείαν l. 16 διέγραψε

Translation:

Recto

2
brother of the same mother, aged
another brother, of the same mother, aged
Pastous son of Petesouchus his mother is
son of Psoiphis grandson of Psoiphis his mother is
his brother, of the same mother, aged
of the courtyard and the vacant plot
Paseus fatherless his mother is
son of Harmiysis grandson of Harmiysis
of the courtyard paternal (inheritance) owned in common with
grandson of Petephthous the wife
the same mother, a cultivator of state
. . . . . . total 7 men
his mother is . . . . .
his mother is . . . . share likewise
15 . . . . brother his mother is . . . .
share . . . paternal and grandmother (inheritance)
of the paternal courtyard . . . . Apollodorus
. . . . (grandson of) Pieus his mother is
of an open courtyard and
20 . . . . . . . . . the wife of
Thases daughter of Phasis grandson of Demarus
his mother is Thenphatres
of the vacant plot and open courtyard of thermouthis
grandson of Petsiris his mother is
25 grandson of Pouplius, a cultivator of state, aged
fatherless his mother is thermouthis, aged
share of both paternal and maternal (inheritance from) the dead father
of the vacant plot near the village, and other vacant plots
it has been accomplished through Demarus

Verso

they have divided eight dichora of wine
in the village Herakleia
sixty drachmae (for the costs of) threshing
he appears to be Pioles
5 in the eastern quarter near me
he pillaged 20 and the other 5 (in the month) Epiph
you shall not hand over (the amount) owed to them

. . . . . .
He has paid

10 of Harpsois
the completion . . . he paid
I have sold
of the wine-merchant

. . . . . .
15 through the caravan of Hatres
of the Arsinoite nome, Herakleides division, he paid
three and three obols the above mentioned
memorandum of . . . son of . . . grandson of Papsois to Kephallon

Commentary:

✍: It filled in empty space at the ends of lines to prevent uncalled-for additions and forgery.

1. 1: μητρὸς: The scribe of the papyrus has written μητρὸς in two ways: The first way with a word has been written out in full, see lines 2, and 5. the second way with a word has been written as a symbol, see lines 22 and 26.

μητρὸς τῆ[ς αὐ]τῆς: The addition a phrase "the same mother" implies that the mother is the same, probably the father died, and the mother married another one 1.

2. 2: ἄλλος ἀδελφὸς: This expression followed by the third brother in the census return, see: P.Corn. 22, Col. III (Philadelphia; AD 25-50), ll. 74-76 (census roll):

3. 3: Πα[στωὺτος τοῦ Πε̣τ̣ε̣[σο]ύχου μη(τρὸς) [: This man was mentioned in a previous census return from Theadelphia; see: BGU IV 1072 (Theadelphia; AD 128), ll. 6-7 (a dowry declaration):

Ἡροῦτι Παστωὺ[τ]ος Πετεσούχου μητρὸς Θεν-ηρακλείας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης,
Herous son of Pastous and grandson of Petesouchus his mother is Theneraklea

4. 6: ψει(λ) (οῦ) τό(που): This place is located within the urban communities or in their vicinity (περὶ κώμην), and it has formed an intermediate area between the village and the cultivated lands. A ψιλὸς τόπος constitutes both an area buildable, and one in which the building is demolished or falls into ruins: therefore it is not a ψιλός land in an absolute sense, but it can also contain ruins and rubble 2. The declarations were

submitted when a general census of property was ordered by the prefect: κατὰ τὰ κελευθέντα ύπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἱγμούνοις. See BGU II 420 (Soknopaiou Nesos; AD 130-131), ll. 6-7 (census declaration).

l. 7: ἀπάτωρ: The expression ἀπάτωρ was used to distinguish the legal status of illegitimate children.

l. 8: ὑς Ἀρμιύσεως <τοῦ> Ἀρμιύσεω[ς]: The scribe has written the name of grandfather without τοῦ, although he had written τοῦ with the name of grandfather in the lines 3, 4, 10 and 24.

l. 9: αὐλή(ῆς) πατρικ(ῆς) κοι[ν]ω[ν]ικῆς [: For the closest parallel wording, see: SB XX 14164 (Talei; AD 160), ll. 8-10 (Census declaration):

κόμη γ’ μέρει οίκιας πατρικῆς κοινωνικῆς
in the same village, 3rd share of a paternal house, owned in common with my brothers.

l. 11: μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς δῆμος γεωργὸς: For parallel, see P.Lond. II 258 (Arsinoite; AD 94), l. 58 (Census declaration).

l. 12: ζ: There is an indication that seven persons were listed in the previous lines. For parallel form, see: P.Congr. XV. 14 (Philadelphia; AD 46-47), l. 27 (Census list):

(γίνονται) ἄνδρες δ’
total 4 men

l. 15: μη(τρὸς) Τεφορ[]: For completing of the name, there are names such as:

μητ(ρὸς) Τεφορσάτος, μητ(ρὸς) Τεφορ(σάτος), μητ(ρὸς) Τεφορσάτ(ος), μη(τρὸς) Τεφορά(τος), and μη(τρὸς) Τεφορεύ(τος).

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1 James Keenan & Joseph Manning, & Uri Yiftach, Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary (London: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 74.


3 P.Col. 2 1-r-1b, Col. IV (Theadelphia; AD 134-135), l. 5 (report of taxation).

4 P.Col. 2 1-r-1a, Col. VII (Theadelphia; AD 134-135), l. 18 (report of taxation).

5 BGU IX 1891, Col. IX (Theadelphia; AD 134), l. 280 (report of taxation).

6 BGU IX 1891, Col. IX (Theadelphia; AD 134), l. 292 (report of taxation).

7 BGU IX 1891, Col. XI (Theadelphia; AD 134), l. 332 (report of taxation).

8 BGU IX 1891, Col. XII (Theadelphia; AD 134), l. 372 (report of taxation).
Census Declaration from Arsinoite Nome

...This phrase could be restored as follows, see: P.Tebt. II 322 (Tebtynis; AD 189), ll. 8-9 (Census declaration):

\[ \text{I own in the Moeris quarter a share of a house and open courtyard, and courtyard.} \]

Husson shows that \( \alpha\iota\theta\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon \) and \( \alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron \) are the two Greek terms used for "courtyard" in papyri. The \( \alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron \) seems to have been less private than the \( \alpha\iota\theta\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\): in fact, the \( \alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron \) is often defined as adjacent (\( \pi\rho\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha \)), showing that it was placed on a side of the house and not at the center of it. Those outside the family could also rent the \( \alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron \) of a house\(^1\). The \( \alpha\iota\theta\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon \) was in a central position in the house; it never appears as being rented to someone else. Therefore, the \( \alpha\iota\theta\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon \) was the private courtyard of the house which gave access to private rooms. While the \( \alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron \) was likely used for household activities\(^2\).

The courtyard was the center of activity and socialization for the members of the family. Ovens made of mud and built into the wall of the courtyard, grain bins and millstones used by those making bread for the household, and cooking is believed to have taken place in the open courtyard. Various instruments for spinning and weaving have been found, as well as tools for making wooden domestic utensils and simple furnishings. Domestic animals were also kept in the courtyard\(^3\). The \( \alpha\iota\theta\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon \) includes in the list of dwelling-rooms, on the possibility of it having a flat roof and that there was also another inhabitable space on a higher floor, see: P. Monts. Roca IV 78 (Oxyrhynchus; AD 49-54), ll. 9-10 (loan of money):

\[ \text{They will live in the open courtyard, and on the second floor above.} \]

...For completing of the name, there are two possibilities, it could be one of them, the first possibility, see: BGU IX 1891 (Theadelphia; AD 134-135), l. 73 (financial reports of the collectors of money taxes):

\[ \text{Phaseis fatherless his mother is Thermouthis, dike tax 8.} \]

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\(^3\) Sabine Huebner, \textit{The Family in Roman Egypt: A Comparative Approach to Intergenerational Solidarity and Conflict} (London: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 41-42.

The second possibility, see: BGU IX 1891 (Theadelphia; AD 133), l. 6 (census return):

Ἡρσύθμις ἀπάτωρ μη(τρὸς) Θερμούθεω(ς)

Harsythmis fatherless his mother is Thermouthis

l. 27: (μέρος) πατρικ(ῶν) καὶ μητρικ(ῶν): This expression is unusual in census declarations, but it can be restored, cf. P.Rein. I 46 (Soknopaiou Nesos; AD 189), ll. 18-19 (Census declaration).

l. 28: ψιλ(οῦ) τὸ(που) περὶ [κόμη]ν ἐτέρους ψιλ(οὺς) τό(πους): For similar phrase, see: P.Harr. I 71 (Oxyrhynchus; AD 189), ll. 19-20 (Census Return):

ψιλ(ὸν) τὸ(που), καὶ περὶ τὴν α(ὐτὴν) ἐτέρους ψιλ(οὺς) τό(πους).

l. 29: ἔτελ(ειώθη) δ[ια] Δημάρ̣ου: The signature of the scribe of the papyrus, because the signature makes it original.

Verso l. 1: δίχωρ(α): The term δίχωρον a unit of capacity used for wine, the δίχωρον equaled 2 μονόχωρα = 8 χόες = 96 κοτύλαι. The μονόχωρον a wine measure to be equivalent to about 7.3 liters, and that a donkey load was 8 μονόχωρα.

l. 2: ἐν κώ̣μ̣ῃ Ἡρ[α]κ(λείᾳ): The papyrological evidence for Herakleia consists of 144 texts, ranging from the mid-third century B.C. to the eighth century AD, the village of Herakleia is situated in the division of Themistes of the Arsinoite nome. Herakleia was somewhere near the southern border of Lake Moeris, close to the meris of Herakleides and Soknopaiou Nesos. As the lake has shrunk considerably over time, it may well have been on the southern shore of the lake in antiquity.

l. 3: (δραχμῶν) ἑξή̣(κοντα) ἀλ̣ωή[τρα]: This phrase could be restored as follows, see: P.Theon. 25 (Oxyrhynchite; AD 160), ll. 6-8 (payment application):

δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτ[ὼ] καὶ εἰς ἀ-


3 https://papyri.info/search?PLACE=Herakleia%20(Arsinoites)

4 P.Cair.Zen. IV 59656 (Herakleia, BC 256-248), l. 4 (Memorandum); SB XXII 15729 (Herakleia; AD 639), l. 9 (Lease); Deborah Hobson, “The Village of Heraklia in the Arsinoite Nome”, BASP, no. 22 (1985): 101-115.

Census Declaration from Arsinoite Nome

λόητρα χόρτου καὶ πυροῦ
forty-eight drachmae and for the costs of threshing the grass and the wheat

l. 13: [ο]ἰνεμποροῦ: The wine trade can be found in many documents, therefore, was the presence of Greek terms for wine merchant: οἰνέμπορος, οἰνοπώλης, οἰνοπράτης and οἰνοκάπελος. The sales and purchases of wine always entail large amounts P.Oxy. VII 1055 (AD 267), ll. 2-3 (Order for Delivery of Wine):

παράδος Ἡρακλὲ[ε]ίδῃ οἰνεμπόρῳ τετάρτης ληνοῦ κεράμια διακόσια <τρία>
deliver to Heraclides, wine-merchant, two hundred and three jars from the fourth wine-tub.

l. 15 πορήαν: The πορεία (caravan service) is a group of people with vehicles or animals who travel together for safety through a dangerous area, especially across a desert. The caravans could easily be used upon the roads and tracks associated with irrigation channels by horse, camel, ox, or donkey. The caravans travel to the desert from the Nile Valley at Memphis, and from villages lying in the north of the Arsinoite nome, would travel through Soknopaiou Nesos, and the other villages of the nome were connected by routes to these important stations, and the Nile Valley, by other routes crossing a small section of desert in a direct line to the valley. The caravan was used for the transport of crops, bulky commodities, passengers' transport of animals, transport of stones, and transport of military supplies.

Conclusion:

Finally, it may be concluded:

- The papyrus offers new insight on the census declarations from Theadelphia.
- Their residents had mentioned in the family's previous census declarations from Theadelphia.
- The papyrus has preserved details about fatherless (ἀπάτωρ).
- There is a description of the precise location of the property, such as: the courtyard (αὐλή), the vacant plot (ψιλὸς τόπος), and the open courtyard (αἴθριον).
- The papyrus gives papyrological evidence for the caravan service (πορεία).


3 Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, “Communication, Travel, and Transportation in Egypt’s Eastern Desert during Roman times (1st to 3rd century AD),” in H. Riemer, F. Förster (eds), Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond. Africa Praehistorica 27 (Germany: Köln, 2013): 557–574.
Egyptian Museum in Cairo under glass 86 of the Special Register Nr. 3049 with inv. 158 recto.
Egyptian Museum in Cairo under glass 86 of the Special Register Nr. 3049 with inv. 158 verso.
Census Declaration from Arsinoite Nome

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