

## The Affairs of a Complex Family

SB XVI 12288

With plate 17

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*BGU* IV 1087 contains an account of payments of taxes on trades from Arsinoe, very close in contents and time to the similar account published as *BGU* 19. The entire complex of accounts is to be dated about A.D. 276 and provides much valuable information about trades and tradesmen. Two additional fragments in Berlin-Charlottenburg were published under the number *BGU* XIII 2280 in 1976. The editor of this volume noted that "*BGU* 1087 recto consists of two large documents—one a contract, the other a record regarding the census—which have been glued together. It is apparent that the larger of these two fragments [i.e., *BGU* 2280a] belongs to neither document since the script and content of the recto side are not at all related to *BGU* 1087 recto." About the smaller fragment (b) he remarked that it "restores the centers of *BGU* 1087 VI 3–9, which were in part already supplied by Meyer because of their similarity to entries in Col. II of the same document." In the text, he printed "Fg. b = *BGU* 1087 VI 3ff. (underlined)."

By coincidence, an edition of the recto of *BGU* 1087 (i.e., *P. Berol. Inv.* 13357, kept in Berlin-Museumsinsel) was in preparation at the same time, although it appeared only in 1980 (*APF* 27, pp. 49–54), at the hands of Sijpesteijn and Worp; the text was reprinted as *SB* XVI 12288. They did not, however, include the back of *BGU* 2280b, which had become available in print only after their article was already in press. This fragment (*P.* 21484 frag. b) does in fact join *P.* 13357 (as is recognized in *BL Konkordanz* 33), and it contributes to the establishment of the text of the documents on the recto published in 1980. As the editors have observed, the roll used for the tax records of 276 was formed by gluing together unrelated documents with blank backs. We deal here, therefore, only with Column I, the part affected by the 'new' fragment. It was in fact a concern with the census declaration in this column that led us to restudy the papyrus.<sup>1</sup>

This column contains, as the first editors observed, two texts, one concerned with the census of 173/4, the other dealing with a renunciation of claim to an inheritance. The editors remark, "Der Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Texten ist uns nicht deutlich. Wir können nur darauf hinweisen, daß in beiden Texten ein bestimmter Plution vorkommt (Z. 8 und Z. 12)." From the revised text printed below a closer connection will emerge, but the precise occasion for their collocation remains unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BASP* 27 (1990), p. 1 for the critical studies carried out by Bagnall in connection with work on *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, in preparation by him in collaboration with Bruce W. Frier.

[± 9 ]ϱ[± 46 ]

[.....]πω[± 45 ]

[.....]ετα[.....]σο[± 33 ]

4 [κα]ι [τῆ]ρ τοῦτο[υ γυναικ]α Θ[αυβάριον Σα]ραπί[νο]ς τ[οῦ] Ζωίλ[ου] μητρ[ός]

Σαραπί[α]δος τῆς [...].[.]ος τοῦ [Μ]άρωνος (ἐτῶν) ἰθ[ὴ] δ[όση]μ[ον], ἐπ' ᾧ  
καὶ τῆ [τοῦ] κ[υ] (ἐτους)κατ' οἰκία(ν) ἀπογρ[αφῆ] ἀπεγρ[άφω] σὺν τοῖς γονεῦσι ἐπὶ Μοήρωος  
νη[ν]ει] δὲ μετ[ά]βασι[ν] ποιουμένη ἐπ' ἀμοφ[ό]δ[ον] Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολ[ῆ]ς, ἀ[πο]γρ[αφ]ῆ[σ] ἀφο-  
μένη] δὲ καὶ8 νῦν σὺν τῇ πατρὶ ἐπὶ Μοήρωος, καὶ ἐξ ἀμοφ[ό]δ[ων] τέκνα Πλουτίωνα  
(ἐτῶν) γ καὶ Ὡρίωνα (ἐτους) α τοὺς δὲ[ο] μὴ ἀνα(γ)εργ[α]μμένους ἐνἐπαγεγεννη[μένους], διὸ ἐπιδ[ό]ωμι. (ἐτους) ιε  
Ἀθρήλιου Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομένων γ.(2 H.) [ἐ]ξ κατοχίμω(ν) καὶ νῆ[ω]ν. Ὡρίων Γαίωος το[ῦ] Ἀκουσιλίδου  
Ἑλλή(ν) τῶν ἐν Ἄρσι(νοίῃ) κατοχ[ι]μ[ων] ἀπὸ ἀμοφ[ό]δ[ου]12 [ἄ]πολλω(νίου) Παρεμβολ[ῆ]ς γ (ἔτει) Τῦβι κ- ἀνελ[όμενος] ἐξ ᾧ  
ἐπέδω(κε) ὑπομνή[ματος] δηλ[οῖ] ἀρίστασθ[αι] τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Πλουτίωνιμὲν σντι ὀμοπατ[ρίω] καὶ ὀμομητ[ρίω], Καλανδῶνι δὲ καὶ Σοκράτῃ καὶ  
Σαραπίωνι ὀμομητ[ρίους] τοῖς γ[δ]φῆλ[ῆ]σι διὰ τοῦ Πλουτίω(νος) ἄδ[ελ]φ[ο]ς καὶ ἐπιτ[ρο]ν[ο]ν τῆς τῆς  
μητρ[ός] αὐτῶ(ν) Θαυβαρίου Σαραπίω(νος) τοῦ Ζωίλου Ἑλληνίδοςἀπὸ ἀμοφ[ό]δ[ου] Ἀπολλω(νίου) Παρεμβολ[ῆ]ς κληρο[νομία]ς ἀπὸ δά, ὡς  
φησ[ι] ...].. βουλ[ῆ] αὐτο[ῦ] προελθ[εῖν] ἐπὶ μηδ[έν] τῶν ὑπό.....

16 καταλειφθέντω(ν). V A C A T

(3. H.) Παιών ὁ σφραγίσ[τος] καὶ Πλουτίω[ν] καὶ Ὡρίων οἱ β Γαίω[ος]  
ἀντιγρ[αφ]όμεθα ἧς ποιούμεθα λύσεως ἀπα[λ]λαγῆς.

5 ἐφ' ὅ 11 Γαίωος pap. 12 ὑπομνη pap.

Translation: ... and his wife Thaubarion daughter of Sarapion (son of Zoilos), her mother being Sarapias daughter of NN (son of Maron), 19 years old, free of scars, who also registered in the house-by-house census of the 23rd year with her parents in Moeris but has now transferred to the amphodon of Apolloniou Parembole, and who is also now registered with her father in Moeris, and the children born to both of them, Ploufion, 3 years old, and Horion, 1 year old, both not registered among the new-borns. Therefore I submit (the declaration). Year 15 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore epagomenal day 3.

(2 H.) From the records of persons subject to seizure and young persons. Horion son of Gaion (son of Akousilaos), Greek, one of the settlers in the Arsinoite, from the amphodon of Apolloniou Parembole, in the 3rd year, Tybi 20, extracting from the memorandum which he submitted, declares that he renounces all claim against his brothers, Ploution on the one hand being his full brother, Kalandon and Sokrates and Sarapion on the other hand, the three, being his uterine brothers, acting through Plou-

tion who is also their guardian, concerning the inheritance of their mother Thaubarion daughter of Sarapion (son of Zoilos), a Greek woman from the amphodon of Apolloniou Parembole, because ..., as he says, them to start legal proceedings on account of anything of the property left by (their mother?). (3 H.) Pasion the co-guardian and Ploution and Horion, both sons of Gaion, have had an extract made of the termination of the mortgage which we have made.

It is now clear that the two children declared in the *ἀπογραφή* of 175 are Ploution, age 3, and Horion, age 1, both children of the same parents. The only other person listed appears to be a 19-year old, whom we identify as their mother, Thaubarion daughter of Sarapion, in accordance with the reference to her in line 14 of the second document. As the first editors observed, the information provided about her here (age, description, former residence) indicates that she is one of the persons declared rather than the declarant, for whom the information on residence would have occurred earlier in the declaration.<sup>2</sup> The description of the children as *ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων* in line 8 points to an earlier mention of their father, the description of whom must presumably have occurred in the now fragmentary lines 1–3. Similarly, the reference to [τῆ]ν τοῦτο[υ γυναικ]α in line 4 points to the earlier mention of this man, whom we identify from the second document as Gaion. The use of the third person, if it is not simply a grammatical inconcinnity (of which the census declarations do have their share), suggests that though the head of household he is not the declarant. This third-person reference in introducing the wife, in fact, is found mostly in the listing of *ἐνοικοι*, lodgers, in households owned by the declarant. (A reference to a brother of the declarant would also be possible but less likely.)

The declaration is dated to 26.viii.175, thus submitted normally in the second half of the year following that of the census. Thaubarion, 19 in the year of the census, was born around 155/6; Ploution and Horion would have been born around 171/2 and 173/4 respectively (we cannot be certain if inclusive or exclusive reckoning was used). The second document is dated to year 3, Tybi 20. Thaubarion is now dead. The next year 3 after 175 was that of Septimius Severus (194/5), making the date 15.i.195. Ploution and Horion are now of age, but Thaubarion has left three additional children, their half-brothers, who are still minors. They could thus have been born any time up to 194, when Thaubarion would have been about 39. The next year 3 (218/9) can be excluded. For one thing, one would expect Aurelius or Aurelia with all of the names; for another, such a late date would push Thaubarion's child-bearing beyond the limits of the possible<sup>3</sup> and leave a huge and unlikely gap between her first and second families.

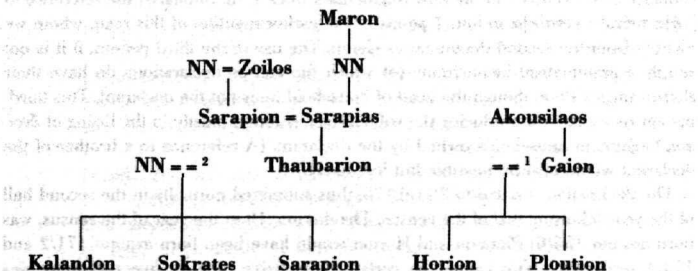
The second document is an extract from public registers described as [ἐ]κ κατω-*λυω(ν) καὶ νε[ω]τ[ε]ρ[ων]*. From this heading we may deduce that what follows is a summary rather than the full text of the original, which the many abbreviations and sketchy identification of some of the persons involved confirm. We find in *P. Gen.*

<sup>2</sup> The formulation of this information is somewhat problematic; cf. the line note to 5–8.

<sup>3</sup> If the youngest of the three were 11 years old, he would have been born in 207, when Thaubarion would have been about 52.

II 101.6-7 the information that one Harpagathes son of Satabous had been found *ἐν δὲ τῶν τῆς τάξεως κατοχίμων*, rendered by the editor as belonging to "la catégorie des gens saisissables." He belongs to this category, the writer says, *ὡς δοθ(εῖς) εἰς δημοσίων χρεῖαν*, "because he has been nominated for a public liturgy." A similar phrase, in a lacunose context, appears in *P. Tebt. II 318.21 (τῆς τ[ά]ξεως κ[ατο]χίμων)*. The relevance of the designation here, however, may be nil, since the reference to *νεοί* probably concerns the three minor children from Thaubarion's second marriage, and it is on grounds of their status that the document in question figured in this particular register.<sup>4</sup>) The subscription at the end indicates that a mortgage had been terminated by the document. It seems likely that the present document is Horion's acknowledgment of the end of a mortgage due him from the other brothers. Why the two documents are found together remains unclear; we imagine that it has some connection with inheritance and that both personal identity and property dispositions naturally come into question in such a matter. But we do not think we can go further than this.

We take the family tree to be as follows:



1-3 A census declaration would normally begin with the addressee's name and title (or addressees' names and titles), followed by the name and identification of the owner of the property and maker of the declaration. Then comes a description of the house property at stake, in which *ἀπογράφομαι τοὺς ἐπισημασμένους ἐνοίκους εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἰδ(εῖτος) Αἰρηλίου Ἀνωθίνου Καλοσάρχου τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οὐσίαν ἀπογραφήν ἐπ' ἀμφοδου* NN, perhaps followed with *ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῆ τοῦ κγ(εῖτος) ἀπογραφῆ ἀπεγράψαντα*. The exact formulation and order of these elements varies considerably. Cf. *P. Berl. Leihg. I 17.6-8*. Then comes the enumeration, usually headed by *καὶ εἶσι*. The name and identification of Gaion probably occupied all of line 3 and perhaps part of line 2, indicating the loss of at least several lines before the existing remains.

5 Evidently another name rather than, say, *θηγατρός*, for which the space is probably a bit short; the initial letter in any case does not appear to be theta.

<sup>4</sup>) One might consider the possibility that *κατοχίμων(ο)* comes from a neuter plural, things rather than people, perhaps with reference to Thaubarion's estate. The parallels cited above, however, do not support such an interpretation.

5–8 The difficulties of these lines were already described in the ed. princ. The parallels for the phrase with *μετάβασις ποιουμένη* are *BGU* 155 and 137, *P. Berl. Leihg.* I 17, and *P. Ryl.* II 111, but they provide no good equivalent for what follows the name of the new amphodon of residence in line 7. One would expect that instead of *ἐπ' ᾧ κτλ.* the text would have run *ἀπογεγραμμένην τῆ τοῦ κχ (ἔτους) κατ' οὐλίαν ἀπογραφῆ σὺν κτλ, νυνεὶ κτλ.* The best parallel here is *BGU* 137. The *καί* thus seems perhaps superfluous. More substantively puzzling, however, is the apparent statement that Thaubarion is now registered in Apolloniou Paremboles and is also registered with her father in Moeris. We cannot cite any parallel for such a double registration. One would rather expect her father to have stated in his declaration that his daughter, listed in his previous declaration, is now registered by her husband. The 23rd year (of Antoninus Pius) was 159/160, fourteen years previously.

8 Comparing *σὺν τῷ πατρὶ* with *σὺν τοῖς γονεῦσι* in line 6, one may conclude that the mother had either died or been divorced from the father in the interval.

11 We are not certain that a second hand starts in this line, but the general character of lines 11–16 seems sufficiently different from 1–10 to warrant so indicating it.

11, 14 For the *κάτοικοι* see D. Canducci, "I 6475 cateci greci dell' Arsinoite," *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 211–255, esp. 217, 222–224, 241–242; 71 (1991) 121–216, esp. nos. 8, 225, 321. The correct reading *Ἑλλη(ν)* in place of ed. pr. *ἑλλη(μπτωρ)* was recognized by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 288 (unknown to Canducci).

12ff. The basic construction runs *δηλῶ ἀφίστασθαι... τῆς τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφῆς Θαυβαρίου... κληρονομίας*; cf. *P. Ryl.* II 117.22.

15 The heavy abbreviation here combines with the loss in the lacuna and our inability to read the last word in the line to make the syntax and meaning uncertain. Two possibilities occur to us. (1) If Horion's objective is to avoid any litigation with his brothers once the current document is executed, it is likely that a negative must be found in the lacuna, and we must resolve *βούλ(εσθαι)*, understanding "because he does not wish them to engage in legal action on any matter ..." (2) On the other hand, the letter before *βουλ* looks most like a mu, suggesting *[συ]μβουλ(εσθαι) ἀδελφῆς*, "because they had taken counsel together not to take legal action on any matter ..." The name or term at the end of line 15 should, we suppose, refer to Thaubarion, but we have so far been unsuccessful in persuading ourselves that either her name or something like *τῆς μητρὸς* can be read there.

17 For *συνεπιτροπος* see *P. Hamb.* I 70; a verb *συνεπιτροπεύω* appears in *P. Oxy.* II 265.