

*sacrae* di Mileto risultano importanti soprattutto per la loro terminologia relativa al sacrificio, ma anche per il dialetto ionico sopravvissuto nelle leggi fino all'età ellenistica. Tale materiale è seguito dalle dediche, tra cui ancora molte inedite, divise secondo le divinità (Apollo, Artemis, Zeus, Atena, Afrodite, Hermes, Demeter, Dioniso, Ninfe, divinità egizie, e molte altre ancora, quasi tutti venerati con più epiteti: tra i tanti esempi ricordo l'uso di Βασιλίδες al plurale, forse attribuibile alla coppia di Demeter e Kore, n. 1305). La sezione delle dediche si conclude con quelle a re ellenistici e imperatori romani: interessanti, per esempio, l'ara in onore di Arsinoe, sorella-moglie di Tolemeo II (n. 1323, con utili commenti sull'organizzazione del culto) e la lunga serie di dediche ad Adriano (nn. 1324 sgg.), di cui molte finora ignote, qui discusse, con la solita competenza, da Ehrhardt. La nostra comprensione della vita culturale di Mileto si arricchisce considerevolmente con i nuovi testi commentati.

Nel volume, inoltre, si trovano felicemente riediti numerosi documenti notissimi e di considerevole rilievo, molti dei quali, in precedenza dispersi in varie riviste e pubblicazioni: nn. 1031 (l'*asylia* tra Mileto e l'Etolia, cfr. sopra), 1039 (decreto in onore di Eirenias, noto politico milesio del II sec. a.C. – strettamente pertinenti anche i nn. 1040–41), 1051–54 (vari decreti dei Milesi ritrovati in altre città), 1075 (lettera di Marco Aurelio e Commodo), 1130–31 (dediche in onore di C. Iulius Epikrates, eminente politico sotto Augusto, ben noto anche da altri documenti), 1142 (onori per Στρατονεῖλα, sacerdotessa di Atena, con un oracolo del dio didimeo, peraltro il più lungo finora noto in versi esametrici), 1218 (prescrizioni sul culto di Poseidon Helikonios, del 437/6 a.C. [datazione di Herrmann], importantissime non solo per la conoscenza del culto ma anche per la storia politica di Mileto; il testo presenta anche alcune notevoli forme dialettali), 1219–21 (*leges* riguardanti parti delle vittime sacrificali), 1222 (notissima legge sull'acquisto dei sacerdoti di Dioniso, con regole sui *thiasoi* dionisiaci), 1225 (decreto del popolo riguardante il culto di Artemis Boulephoros Skiris – in occasione dell'istituzione del nuovo culto doveva essere consultato il dio oracolare, come pure nel caso del n. 1224). L'elenco potrebbe continuare a lungo, ma concludo riferendomi al n. 1575, un rescritto di Giustiniano del 539/542 d.C., concernente la chiesa dell'arcangelo Gabriele a Mileto, splendidamente ricostruito e discusso da Feissel.

Gli indici sono pertinenti e redatti con grande cura. Anche le fotografie sono di ottima qualità (solo che quella del n. 1357 appare capovolta). A chi scrive non resta che esprimere agli autori un grande apprezzamento e la più viva soddisfazione per la positiva conclusione di un lungo *iter*, che rende giustamente onore ai lavori precedenti di Rehm, Herrmann, e altri.

*Mika Kajava*

WILLY CLARYSSE and DOROTHY J. THOMPSON: *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, Volume 1: *Population Registers (P.Count.)*, Volume 2: *Historical Studies*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006. ISBN 0-521-83838-X; ISBN 0-521-83839-8. XXIV, 694 pp.; XX, 395 pp. GBP 120 (vol. 1); GBP 65 (vol. 2); GBP 175 (both volumes).

*Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* is composed of two substantial volumes of which the first (*Population Registers*) is an edition of altogether 54 documents written either in Greek or in demotic Egyptian. These documents are lists that deal with taxation drawn up mainly

in two different categories, those according to household (*kat' oikian*) and those according to occupational group (*kat' ethnos*). Some of these texts have been published before, but the way they are treated here is unparalleled: for the first time, the data from both Greek and Demotic sources are brought together and the lists that are often "seen as rather boring tax lists" (Vol. 2, p. 341) come to life both in the detailed and erudite commentaries in the first volume and especially in the broader approach of Volume 2 (*Historical Studies*).

There is little to be added to the first volume that was not noted by the editors themselves in the corrections to the printed text at <http://pcount.arts.kuleuven.be>. The texts are arranged roughly chronologically, and the first forty-four texts all derive from the Arsinoite nome and date to the third century BC. Text number 45 is from the Herakleopolite nome (see corrections) from the third century, and 46–48 are from the Oxyrhynchite nome, also dating to the third century. Texts 49–54 are from the second century and derive from the Arsinoite and the Lykopolite nomes. The texts numbered 22–44 are re-editions of the extremely difficult tax-registers in Vienna, first published in 1987 (*CPR XIII, Griechische Texte IX*). Despite the fact that the editors have been able to make further joins and improve the readings of these texts, they acknowledge their debt to the *editio princeps* and refer to the original notes of *CPR XIII* (Vol. 1, p. 318).

The solution of providing the translation alongside the text is helpful for the reader and it gives the reader a chance to follow the transcripts, both Greek and demotic, easily. This indicates the fact that both volumes are meant to be consulted not only by specialists using papyrus documents in either language as a source for socio-economic studies in Greek or demotic, but also by a broader audience, too. One thing that one might have considered adding to the first volume is a concordance of the texts which have been re-edited.

Both authors had already worked on this material before they decided to join forces in 1991. These 15+ years of research are now presented to us in an edition and study which, in my opinion, together present an excellent example of the advancement and potential of papyrological research. This is defined by the authors themselves (Vol. 2, p. 59): "In papyrology, the publication of new texts, the definition of typologies, the collation of similar texts written in Greek and demotic, and their recognition among both published and unpublished collections, all combine to further understanding."

The authors keep their feet on the ground and remind the reader constantly about the problems of the sporadic survival of the sources and the fact that many of the topics discussed can vary according to time and place. The documents are mostly written in the Arsinoite nome during the second half of the third century BC, and this nome and this period are consequently scrutinised in this study. As an example of the authors' accuracy, however, the dating of any text referred to in the second volume is always given in parenthesis after the locus. It is good that the reader is reminded of the date, since the ratio of the salt-tax, for example, changed quite dramatically within a few decades only, and this is one of the factors which is thoroughly discussed in a wider perspective, too: The Ptolemies needed to do something about the fact that even though the capitation charges were low, they were probably not popular as the newly settled Greeks were those who got tax concessions from even the smallest obligations like the obol tax.

In Volume 2 (*Historical Studies*), Chapter 1, **Ptolemies, taxes and papyri**, summarises the information on the texts edited or re-edited in Volume 1, the proveniences, the datings and the origins of the papyri. The bilingual nature of the administration of Ptolemaic Egypt is noted,

and one of the strengths of this study is that the data from the demotic sources are incorporated in it. Chapter 2, **The census**, first justifies the use of the term 'census' which is based on the listing of various capitation charges. Further, the authors conclude that: "it is also clear that this census involved both a listing and a classification of the total adult population of the country, not just those who were subject to these taxes; tax-exempt categories did not escape the record" (Vol. 2, p. 12). Then follows a discussion on various aspects of the census and the role of the officials involved in this operation, for example, and how some groups like the army appear to have undergone a separate census. The chapter characterising the census is wrapped up with a note on the Greek administrative language which developed on the basis of demotic equivalents. This "somewhat stilted vocabulary" is retained in the translations of Volume 1 "as an important indication of a special language, the use of which would serve to mark and set apart the bureaucratic class of scribes and other officials involved" (Vol. 2, p. 34).

Chapter 3 discusses **The salt-tax and other taxes**. The salt-tax lay at the centre of the Ptolemaic tax-structure, and all adults, both male and female, were liable to this tax. As a rule of thumb, male tax payers paid twice the sum of that of the female tax payers. Changes in the rates of the salt-tax enable the corrections of the dating of some of the re-edited texts. Furthermore, the special categories of those who paid a reduced rate and the very few exceptions to the liability of the salt-tax are discussed. Chapter 4, **Settlement in the Fayum**, turns to broader questions on which these tax-lists shed light, such as the population of the Arsinoite nome and that of Egypt in the third century BC. The villages and hamlets formed the basic units for a tax-collector, and a number of villages made up a tax-district, "the area perhaps that constituted the responsibility of an individual tax-farmer (*telônês*)" (Vol. 2, p. 113). The mean size of a tax-district was ca. 2,000 adults, and ca. 10,000 adults formed larger tax-areas. The terminology of this administrative topography is, again, elusive, but in the Arsinoite nome, both *topoi*, toparchies and *merides*, played a part in the system. The number of toparchies known from other nomes most likely reveals to some degree their sizes at a given time.

After discussing the problems of administrative geography and the topographical features of the Arsinoite nome, the authors, in chapter 5, **The people counted**, turn to the men and women who paid the salt-tax and the different occupations they held. One of the interesting features in this chapter is the fact that the classification of population was based not only on ethnicity but also on occupation, and either of these may have led a person to a privileged tax-status. Thus, the authors talk about tax-Hellenes, for example, and from the prosopographic evidence, it is sometimes clear that a tax-Hellene, Persian or Arab was not an ethnic designation but meant a privileged tax-status. After a thorough discussion of the people counted, the authors turn to the animals in Chapter 6, **Counting the animals**. Just like people, all animals were also taxed in various ways. As an example of the difficulties in the terminology, I found interesting (as a non-native English speaker) the various terms for different kinds of pigs in modern English as an illustration of the elusive terminology of both demotic and Greek.

The demographic Chapter 7, **Family matters**, is, as the authors say: "a long chapter with much detailed information" (Vol. 2, p. 314). The problem of the lists providing information on adults only is well recognised, and yet, the authors are able to set this information into the demographic framework developed by Peter Laslett and colleagues for work on family history in Europe and adopted by Roger Bagnall and Bruce Frier in their study of census returns from Roman Egypt. This chapter is certainly one of the prime interests of the authors, and I believe that the writing of this chapter has begun at an early stage of the study: One of the very few

inconsistencies in the whole of Volume 2 that I have noticed is the fact that information on the translation of *The instruction of Ankhsheshonq* is given on page 231 even though there are quotations from this text earlier.

Finally Chapter 8, **Naming the people**, discusses the prosopographical information that the population registers edited in Volume 1 reveal. The onomastic information reveals that, among some Egyptian families, there were hellenising tendencies, and that the onomastic hellenisation was probably more widespread in the second century BC than in the third. Furthermore, the family traditions in name-giving both in Egyptian and Greek society led to the repeated use of the same name from one generation to another. There were homonymous siblings and, even more surprisingly, the homonymy or near-homonymy of married couples or in-laws. Finally, the theophoric names of (mostly) the Egyptian population and their connection to the local cults of Egypt are discussed. Volume 2 is rounded up with concluding Chapter 9, an appendix dedicated to the classification of the salt-tax registers and logeitic records, bibliography and index.

The two volumes supplement each other in an outstanding way, and the easily readable second volume rests firmly on the hard facts of the first. The texts touch upon a variety of topics of the socio-economic life of Hellenistic Egypt, and the extensive bibliographies help to find further information on things (seemingly) as far away from taxation as salt production or literacy in the ancient world. The concluding Chapter 9 of Volume 2, however, outlines this work as only a beginning towards an even broader understanding of Hellenistic monarchies and the ways their administration functioned. Papyrologists are often asked whether papyri can be used as a source for the whole (eastern) Mediterranean in Antiquity or do they only reveal information restricted to Egypt. The answer given to this question in this study is clearly the former. Even though papyri rarely survive outside Egypt, in comparison with inscriptions, seals and clay tablets, for example, they reveal information that can be used to draw conclusions that are valid not only for Egypt but for the whole Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean world.

*Erja Salmenkivi*

*Usi e abusi epigrafici. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia Latina (Genova 20–22 settembre 2001).* A cura di MARIA GABRIELLA ANGELI BERTINELLI e ANGELA DONATI. Serta antiqua et mediaevalia VI – Storia antica vol. III (Università degli Studi di Genova – DISAM). Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-7689-197-8. 534 pp. EUR 130.

Il volume riunisce gli Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia Latina, tenutosi a Genova tra il 20 e il 22 settembre del 2001 e organizzato da M. G. Angeli Bertinelli e A. Donati, le stesse persone alle quali si devono i Colloqui Borghesi di Bertinoro. Di seguito il contenuto: M. G. Angeli Bertinelli, Prefazione; M. G. Granino Cecere, La carriera di *T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus Geminus* in un'iscrizione onoraria di *Trebula Mutuesca*; L. Bivona, Presenze femminili nella società della Sicilia occidentale in età romana; G. Vanotti, Denominare il tiranno: usi o abusi epigrafici dalla Sicilia antica?; A. Russi, Sull'organizzazione politico-amministrativa dei *Marsi* in età romana; E. Paribeni – S. Segenni, Iscrizioni su manufatti semilavorati delle cave lunensi; M. G. Angeli Bertinelli, Una dedica frammentaria a un duoviro da Luni; M. G. Arrigoni Bertini,