ICS Autumn Seminar Series – Labour in the Ancient World

Unmet Labour Demand in Roman Egypt: Household Migration Strategies, Risk-Management and Rural Resilience (*ca*. 30 BC – AD 230)

Hello, thank you for letting me speak here today…

**Ellis Cuffe, PhD Candidate, Royal Holloway**

**I did receive last year’s Grote Prize…**

**Only second presentation of research, it’s still my baby, so be kind…or like a baby and father, it and then i shall cry.**

**If anyone has a dinger for how many times I say household too…please shout it out at the end.**

My paper delves into depths of rural Egypt:

* And the micro-level experiences of migration between the late first-century BC and early third-century AD.
* **Part 1 – My research problem = migration was an emergency response, a last resort option, within a high-pressure Egyptian economy.**
* **2 – Assess this view. Bare with me through this part because statistical – bar charts shall be your friend. Is necessary to provide context for micro-histories.**
* **3 – my favourite part – I propose that migration a response to normal variations within household and agricultural economies, which I interpret as unmet labour demand.**
* **This interpretation will show that Romano-Egyptian economy was not so highly pressured. Opens up so many avenues of discussion and possibilities for strategic decisions made at the micro-level.**

**Disclaimer:**

* **For those in the know**, going to **conveniently** ignore the period between AD 160-180 and lots of other important things. I’ve summarised these at the end so hopefully they’ll get discussion going here or over drinks.

**New slide – where Philadelphia & Tebtunis**

Focus today a period of extensive migration in middle of first-century **AD**. Use rural communities of Philadelphia and Tebtunis as micro-level case studies. **New slide (describe locations on map)**

* Current model has **this** migration as a crisis response **to environmental factors**, whereas I re-interpret this period as one of normal migration in Egypt, albeit under stress conditions.
* **So the model goes…** the inhabitants of Philadelphia and Tebtunis needed to maximise their agricultural productivity to eke-out even a subsistence lifestyle. **Breadline, high pressure, Neo-Malthusian, using all resources just to keep up lifestyle.**
* In Egypt, productivity relied upon a successful Nile flood **- sweet spot of not too high and not too low – too high and the flood comes early and sticks around too long; can’t prepare your fields or sow seeds etc.; too low and doesn’t irrigate anything**.
* **(Slide)** In this narrative, a **high** Nile flood **in AD 45** resulted in a poor harvest and economic crisis.
* At Philadelphia, 40% of population were then forced to flee elsewhere.
* Famine and disease killed 20% of those left behind.
* It’s claimed that villagers at Tebtunis even sold their children in return for short-term cash just to get through (Toepel 1973; Hobson 1984c; Hanson 1988).
* This crisis continued at least into the following decade.
* **So what I've just described** represents the broadly accepted model for migration in Egypt.
* Suggestive of **crisis**, mass migration and rural collapse.
* **Compared to modern refugee crises!**
* This model views rural Egyptians as vulnerable to ecological shocks. After all, **Nile was primary water source throughout Egypt, so case study should be able to stand as a microcosm of the region**;
* It is thought that rural populations couldn’t easily recover because grew at a broadly stable rate of 0.1% per year. An ‘excess’ mortality event on the scale of 20% reduction requires a 25% recovery. This would take about 250 years (Bagnall & Frier 2006).

**Slide**

Model received some re-evaluation **(which handily coloured in red)** but still lots of issues.

* **Some agency** in **some** migration decisions and elements of recovery.
* **However**, ‘crisis events’ in particular still reliant on neo-Classical Economic approaches and ‘push-pull’ factors. Ecological shocks somehow pushed migrants into greener pastures.
* **However, this is passive process and nobody is making an active decision.**
* **Anyway…**
* **How** did greener pastures exist in Egypt when **ecological shocks = region-wide**?
* **Also why** didn’t mass migration didn’t completely flood labour markets and dry up all economic opportunities in a neo-Malthusian style high-pressure economy.
* **Just not making sense at all.**

**My new interpretation of this event washes all that away and forms basis of a new household and migration model.**

This new model comes thanks to recent developments in migration theory and comparative evidence from structurally similar household units in the modern developing world.

* Going to argue for much more robust view of rural households and communities within Egypt, and perhaps also elsewhere in ancient world.
* **On the point comparative evidence, not saying directly alike but using it to structure the investigation and contextualise trends through plausible parallels.**

**(Slide) The key points I want you to take away from the presentation are:**

* 1) Migration was a customary method to manage risk and normal variations within household and agricultural economies.
* 2) Ecological shocks disrupted households but they could recover through migration.
* **No. 3 = Broader implications on agricultural economic model:**
* a) The ability for most to remain in place while others migrated elsewhere during ecological shocks suggests that villagers must be finding known sources of work.
* Suggestive of Unmet Labour Demand **i.e. job vacancies**, especially if our definition of labour include things like domestic production & household care responsibilities.
* b) Most plausible explanation = significant variances at micro-level:
	+ Surplus supplies and successful households here; deficit, demand and perhaps crisis there; **Even within the same community.**
	+ Partially from random life events **e.g. sibling dies, need to restructure labour priorities**, different goals and dynamics at different stages of family life-cycle **a new child suddenly needs more care and attention, need to restructure labour.**
* c) Connections to labour sources occurred through household and community networks, and probably **also** through large labour-hungry construction and agricultural projects.

**(slide) The one important principle that underlies everything I'm going to say…**

is that of De Haas, a migration theorist, who draws on the Liberties and Capabilities frameworks of Isiah Berlin (1969) and Amartya Sen (1999).

* Migration is an intensive investment of **livelihood assets –** **which** broadly define as cash, social support, or even agricultural produce.
* Households in Egypt had to possess and produce assets in excess of subsistence to support the household and then also invest in supporting a migrant and survive the loss of labour.
* **(slide)** I show this principle throughout this paper, but papyrus P.Phil. 33 (C1st AD) is a **smashing** example of this concept – This is a letter where a man writes to someone in Alexandria about his father.
* It proves my model because he has to have, **and in this case ask**, for money so that he can migrate **(read the red).**
* The son is seemingly struggling in the household without his now-migrant father. It’s clear that there is a pre-existent connection to the recipient of letter, **he knew his father was likely going to the recipient’s house**. It would therefore seem that father and son were dipping into their social networks for financial support.

**About 11 minutes 00 seconds.**

**Part 2 (slide)** – **Now, I’ll critically analyse this idea of crisis migration…**

To do this, I’ll establish the demographic trends at Philadelphia and compare them to data-points from other Romano-Egyptian rural communities.

I demonstrate two distinctive patterns in migration volume: around 5-15% **of the population, which I view as** normal, and above 25%, which indicative of stress migration.

I show these trends through the registered number of adult male taxpayers, migrants, and residents.

**Going to need a 101 class in Roman Bureaucracy…**

* Registered population = number of adult males who were registered as eligible to pay poll-taxes at Philadelphia.
* The number of migrants is equivalent to the number of ἐπίξενοι and ἀνᾰχωρηταί.
* An ἐπίξενος was someone eligible for taxation, but who lived in an known location elsewhere.
* An ἀνᾰχωρητής was similar, but were in an unknown location**, that is unknown to the state, not necessarily that nobody knows where they are**.
* The resident population = the migrants subtracted from the registered.
* Are lots of other little foibles but this is essentially what’s going on.[[1]](#footnote-1)

Philadelphia in the First-Century AD

**slide – welcome to my horrific slide of numbers**

My reconstruction of demographic trends at Philadelphia uses the Nemesion archive **(an archive of papers collected by the tax-collector of Philadelphia)** and P.Lond. 257-259 **(3 fragments of a census list)**.

* **My reconstruction = Radically different from accepted narrative.**
* My reconstruction indicates long-term stability in the registered population, rather than a 20% massacre. **(2nd from right column Always in 900s).**
* Main reason for difference = in 1976, article by John Oates noticed several hundred additional men in several data-points **who have been excluded** in subsequent research.
* **Fluctuations in volume of migration far more influential** on demographic trends than deaths. For example, there are notable increases between AD 33 and 36 **(slide)** and between AD 47 and 49 **(slide)**, as well as a significant decrease between AD 49 and 51 **(slide)**, which then continues to taper off.
* **(bar chart slide)** Two broad patterns emerge in the levels of population absence: 5-15% and 25-35%. The **former suggests normal levels of migration and** the latter suggests an environment of ‘stress’ migration.

There are large margins for error in my reconstruction.

* Among other issues, this just deals with adult males, when there were probably age and gender differences in migration patterns.
* Some of these estimates are also quite rough.
* **(Slide)** E.g. for the Registered in AD 33 – followed Anne Hanson’s reconstruction because probably the best we can get – an administrative report showed the amount of tax collected in AD 33. Could divide by the rate of tax. However, we know that some villagers wouldn’t pay on time. **So** can fudge numbers by including the number of defaulters from other data-points.
* **(Slide)** In some cases, I extrapolate estimates across multiple data-points to smooth the data, which suppresses chronological variation.
* **Even with these issues, still plausible reconstruction of two distinctive migration patterns of ‘normal’ and ‘stress’.**

**(Slide)** Other Rural Romano-Egyptian Communities

**To add to this…**

Similar trends can be observed in other rural communities. Most examples attest to around 5-15% of the registered adult male population, while one exceeds 25% **(Yellow - slide)**.

There are inevitable issues with the reliability of these reconstructions – **so again rough demographic proxies**.

* But others are weaker, e.g. for Ibion, which was near to Tebtunis, there were 27 ἀνᾰχωρηταί in AD 56/57, but no concrete method to estimate the number of registered men.
* Can apply Hanson’s methodology to a collection of poll-tax recorded for the neighbouring village of Kerkeesis in AD 43. It seems unlikely that the population of Ibion was much larger than registered 300 men **so assumed that same**.
* Despite these issues, evidence all points towards patterns similar to those seen at Philadelphia: **reoccurring ‘normal’ migration levels (around 5-15%) and rarer migration levels over 25% of the population which are suggestive of ‘stress’ in the community.**
* **These pattern don’t compare to well-known refugee migration crises**
	+ Darfur 2000s or Philippines after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami
	+ **Could be 50% of the entire regional population moved! Not just adult males.**
* **Reinforces idea of normal and stress migration patterns as a part of the same phenomenon, with crisis or emergency migration in a different league of its own.**

**17 minutes 30 seconds**

**How Do We Explain These Patterns?.**

The current explanation of stress migration is quite abstract and revolves around concept of crisis – **the big bad scary made villagers run away** **but how and why?**

* **(Slide)** One way to get at the micro-mechanics is to look at ecological shocks in modern developing world **that stressed communities but didn’t annihilate them**.
* **This comparative analysis suggests** that migration was a customary method to manage risk and normal variations.
* Droughts and famines within Sudan between the 1970s and 90s, and a coastal flood in Vietnam in 2007, for example, reduced jobs available in agriculture and crop yields = **primary income source.**
* Households therefore reprioritised resources and changed consumption patterns.
* In Sudan, poorer households consumed or sold important assets, such as cash, animals and food reserves, or took on loans to stabilise in the short-term. **Even if made them more vulnerable to subsequent shocks.**
* In Vietnam, desire to migrate increased because perception of risk at home outweighed the perception of risk in potential destinations.
* As a result, households with enough resources to support a migrant, particularly when surpluses in labour, invested in migration.
* Migrants then worked to earn money/resources, and then sent or brought them back home to relieve stresses. **To reiterate the significance of last two points – micro-level household activities caused macro-level trends (that is, increase in migration volume, then relief of stress).**
* In other studies of rural migration, internal household factors influenced migration.
* **(Slide) this theoretical diagram I've adapted from organisation Foresight's work shows how…**
* Those least likely to move were those with more resources, land, social support – **lowered perception of risk at home**;
* Opposite true – most likely to move were those with fewer resources.
* **Small number of people = trapped. Trapped arrow is much too wide on here.**
* Stress migration comprises migrants from poorer households, **but not the poorest**.

**Now back to Philadelphia with those points in mind (slide) – allow percolate – find similar trends…**

Spectrum of decisions and household capabilities, in which some households failed but most endured. **Not a crisis for the overall village.**

Re-occurring trend is that migration emerges as customary method to manage risk and normal variations within household and agricultural economies.

**Important data-set is evidence for poll-tax and dyke-tax we can track (two columns) which every adult male had to pay each year.**

* Any changes indicate a change in the prioritisation of resources by households.
* **Can compare to migration volume in the final column.**
* **Table helps keep us tight with dates, events, and trends in migration volume.**
* It is probable that a high flood occurred in AD 45. **The first black band**. Based on Sudan and Vietnam, this resulted in economic disruption and food insecurities.
* **(Slide)** after the high flood in AD 45, half of the villagers defaulted on the dike-tax and a smaller number defaulted on poll-tax.
* Possible low Nile flood then occurred in AD 46. **Second black band.**
* **(Slide)** Over the next year, most villagers defaulted on the poll-tax and half defaulted on the dyke-tax.
* **Yet**, still **normal** migration volume. **Also, if recall from before, few villagers died and most survived.** Clearly, most had enough resources to survive the Winter and also remain within village.
* It seems likely that many households reprioritised cash meant to be paid to the state in taxes to help themselves sustain the shock.
* **(Slide)** Many more households then invested in migration between AD 47 and AD 49 = **expressed as** community stress levels.
* At the same time, villagers started to reduce their poll-tax arrears.
* **Seems a direct link between these trends.**
* Comparative examples suggest that local agricultural opportunities dried up and the perception of local risk increased, so villagers went elsewhere for work then sent home money.
* After AD 48/49, migration levels started to fall away from stress levels and the proportion of villagers in arrears in poll-tax fell dramatically.
* This is successful continuation of most household structures, ongoing household-migrant connections, and regeneration of village as a whole.
* **Suggests that migration a customary method to manage risk and normal variations within household and agricultural economies.**

**23 mins 55 seconds**

**That’s fine but this is my favourite bit – itching to get to this micro-level stuff.**

What I’ve just said paints a rosier image of the period of stress at Philadelphia. However, there was a spectrum of impacts at the micro-level. **(Slide) This was a crisis for some, if not all.**

Suggestive of significant variations in resources such as labour and land, and thus supply and demand. **Some probably didn’t have enough resources to be able to make decisions or influence outcomes.**

* The levels of mortality in the village were relatively minor.
* However, 78% of those deaths recorded in AD 48/49 and 51% in AD 49/50 were labelled as ‘without heirs’. **This is significant for two reasons.**
* **First reason…** Romano-Egyptian inheritance allowed for multiple directions of inheritance and both sexes could inherit. For these men to be described as ‘without heirs’ indicates that they had no other direct familial connections.
* As a consequence, I suggest that the men who died during periods of structural stress were disproportionally those without supportive household structures. Those without were more vulnerable to ecological shocks.
* **And second reason…** some of those ‘without heirs’ **actually had** legitimate heirs. **(Slide)**
* **E.g.** one man Abis died at age of 51, leaving 45 year old wife Tapapeis and at least one child, a son, Horos, who was a young adult.
* **Not a completely isolated family – e.g. based on her age,** Tapapeis’ parents probably died but had at least extended family member called Adrastos.
* **However, doesn’t look great for them…**
* In this scenario, men were described as ‘without heirs’ because their estate couldn’t cover their debts, e.g. tax-arrears – so the state didnt recognise their heirs and so **hoovered up their** property.
* **The seizure of Abis’ property must have put significant stress on Tapapeis and Horos and made even them vulnerable in the future.** E.g. we can see Horos as a ἀπόρων ἀνᾰχωρηταί ‘migrant without property’ in the AD 50s, presumably finding work elsewhere. **Doesn’t have property because stripped or declined**
* **So can’t always tell which scenario we are looking at, but can be almost certain that its most vulnerable getting done over.**
* Don’t think it’s a coincidence that 87% of those who died cannot be identified as migrants elsewhere in the papyri – **probably those who were trapped and couldn’t manage risk through migration.**

**What shown so far…? (Slide)**

* Two distinctive patterns of migration: normal and stress
* My new model indicates a spectrum of decisions and a range in household capabilities in the ability to make those decision too – some households failed but most endured even during periods of community stress.

**About 28 minutes 05 secs.**

**(Slide) In** Part 3, want to drive home new idea of Migration

* i.e. that migration was customary method to manage risk and normal variations within household and agricultural economies.
* One way to show that at the macro-level:
* **back to the horrific migration volume table** **(slide)**; add all known ecological shocks **(slide)**.
* **7 are closely associated with ecological shocks but only 1 resulted in stress migration of over 25%. RED CIRCLE**

**(Slide) far more fun with** micro-historical analysis:

* High flood Autumn AD 90 and a Famine in AD 99/100 but normal migration volumes.

**All while this is going on… (Slide)** Family of Thermouthas archive from Philadelphia.

* **(Slide)** Archive = series of letters exchanged between migrant Thermouthas and her natal household from just before AD 99/100 famine and archive continues sometime after AD 105. **narrow but its great**
* **Gives highly socialised view of migration within household economies:**
* Overriding influence of life-course events and changing familial dynamics and goals.
* **Regular natal household and migrant connections through letters, travel and exchanges of resources and news – economic but also emotional aspects**.
* **Connections between labour demand and supply made through household and community socio-economic networks.**
* **Interesting because** female migration – which **I argue** was less frequent **but that’s for discussion afterwards.**
* Women taking on an active role in the household in the absence of male relatives. **Restructure of labour.**

**(Slide)** Thermouthas’ family: **as presented in a family tree**

* Fairly well-to-do multi-generational and extended family of at least 9 living members **in blue**; are some uncertains **in grey – Mostly going to ignore them.**
* **lot of people in archive, I’ll take you through them as we go, trust your guide.**

**Slight problem – Family trees give static image of the family and exclude so much information.**

**(Slide)**AD 99**most importantly, its excluding place and time.**

* Three residential groups: Thermouthas and Antonius **(Alexandria?)**, Thermouthas’ natal family and then Antonius’ mother, **both Philadelphia**.
* **Letter**, P.Wisc. 69 (AD 100-101) shows a lot of what’s going on: **(read)**
* Thermouthas and her husband always asking parents and in-laws for clothing, food, blankets/fabrics, and various other bits and bobs.
* It’s clear that Valerius, who probably her brother **(flick back)**, is a key messenger and transmitter of resources **(Light Blue boxes and red arrows) (flick back; line in letter for Valerius)**.
* In another letter, Thermouthas telling off her parents for not responding to her letters; **She *wants* to keep the social connection alive.**

**(Slide)** AD 104-105

* Thermouthas fell pregnant early in AD 104 and gave birth back end of year.
* Thermouthas’ husband Antonius disappears (probably recently died).
* In October, Thermouthas’ father had just visited her, Valerius the brother again visiting and exchanging items; Thermouthas’ sister Valeria coming over too **(Light Blue boxes and red arrows)**.
* **Suggests** providing care to a widow who lives away from home with a young child **– random life events generating new responsibilities of care and labour, being fulfilled through family network.**
* **(Slide) Super famous letter (READ) – Thermouthas and her sister writing to a wet-nurse;** Family life-cycle generated a job vacancy, i.e. labour demand, Thermouthas now needed wet-nurse, **wasn’t needed before**
* Convinces wet-nurse by offering to pay her more for wet-nursing her free-born child than she was getting paid for nursing a slave-girl, **also** social benefits for girl’s parents.
* **Active role of women organising domestic affairs – leveraging economic and social capital.**
* **Something researchers missed in archive – Significant that chose a girl from her home village? Didn’t trust anyone outside the labour pool within the village social circle? Wouldn’t be able to leverage social capital?**
* **Asking bring money so can migrate – Valeria and Thermouthas gotten stuck wherever they were!**

**(Slide) After** AD 105

* Father now mysteriously absent – **Thermouthas had asked about father in letter from AD 104 because ill – so died?**
* Coincidence that Thermouthas returned home at this point? **Don’t think so – return to stabilise natal household, couldn’t be sustained as a migrant anymore?**
* Thermouthas started to manage tax and financial arrangements of Apolinarios. If Apolinarios her brother = households restructured labour and women taking on an active role in the absence of male relatives.

**Archive is highly social view of migration**

* Life-course events driving **supply and demand of labour thus migration**; connections to labour **made through household and community networks.**
* **If think in terms of communities, all households will be at different stages of this timeline – lots of oversupply here, demand over there.**

**Around 35 minutes 30 secs**

**In other examples, seems to be more of an economic style of migration rather than a social one…**

**Don’t have to be mutually exclusive… as much dictated by our evidence.**

**(Slide)** Micro-History #2 – Ptollas-Ptolemais Household

**Cheating with this example because of in dates I said I wouldn’t deal with but provides such a lovely segue though…**

Household identifiable at another village in the Faiyum in the AD 170s.

**(Slide)** In AD 175, things look positive – the household was large **(16 people!)** and possessed lots of property.

* **(Slide)** Centred around two brothers (Ptollas-Harpochras);

However, the brothers were rarely in the household and had migrated elsewhere.

* Probably migrated to find work and relieve pressures on resources at home.
* **(Slide) Similarly,** two absent soldiers Valerius and Sempronius = **Long-term migration in a sense but could still send cash home.**

Even so, **isn’t all roses because:**

* **(Slide)** Even if temporary, the migration of Ptollas and Harpochras **required internal restructure of labour** = Ptolemais the only adult to care for a young daughter and elderly grandmother.
* **(Slide) Similar situation with the kinswomen – soldiers** could not protect their female relatives, **which included the young Thakiaris (no. 8)**.
* **Presumably, the women had to take more active household management roles, whilst the men were away.**

**So Valerius and Sempronius went to the army**

* **but where Ptollas and Harpochras, and many men like them, go?**

**Philadelphia material can provide an indication of this again…**

**(Slide)…**

**Data-points of AD 46/47 and 48/49 – former is ‘normal’ migration volume, latter is stress migration volume as shown at very bottom.**

* Our crisis model **riiight** at the start predicted villagers expelled far and wide away from ecological shocks that universally impacted the entire region in search of work.
* **Tables** show in both periods, main destinations are local and rural areas.
* **However, surely undergoing same ecological conditions!?**
* **Local opportunities can’t be drying up! =** Work could be found almost all of the time within the local agricultural economy.
* Highly unlikely we have Neo-Malthusian high-pressure economy. **Breadline, living right on the edge of resources.**

**Well, what the bloody hell is it then?**

* Thermouthas archive suggested that work could always be and was found within social networks and household economies = **unmet labour demand**.
* **Wasn’t random drifting around landscape – clear connections made between supply and demand.**
* Lots of micro-level variation between and within households and communities accumulated into wide variances at the macro-level = thus supply and demand.
* Other avenues for labour demand = massive imperial and later private estates e.g. famous Heroninus estate **MASSIVE papyrological archive**. **Get small ‘hamlets attached to estates’ (epoikion) near Philadelphia later re-designated as ‘villages’ (kome) – perhaps showing this trend of localised population dispersion.**
* Large labour-hungry construction projects in cities and Alexandria from local beneficence, temples and imperial benefactions;
* **Again, known as sources of work. Deliberate decisions to mitigate risk.**
* **(Slide) Migration was not a last resort option**. Rather, **migration was a customary method**, **a coping strategy**, to manage risk and normal variations within household and agricultural economies, such as ecological shocks.
* These conclusions are likely applicable to elsewhere in the ancient world.

**About 40 minutes 55 secs**

**Juuuust before I finish**

‘Didn’t Make the Cut’ Bingo **which I’ll return to but first…I have a final statement I’d like to read out…**

I am very pleased to be invited to present today and be included as an equal within this academic community.

I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat.

In lieu of those in this precise moment, I vow to always provide you with sincere and substantiated diversity of thought.

Today I am telling you that the silent majority has had enough.

Diversity, Inclusion and Equality, and Radical Gender and Critical theories are divisive, discriminatory, and minority ideologies that will never achieve their aims because they have no factual basis in reality.

They cannot construct. They serve only to destroy that which is essential to civilised society: honesty, honour, sacrifice, kindness, humility, compassion, personal responsibility, and positive male role models.

These viruses are designed to keep down me and people like me. Only last year, another student bullied me and tried to control what I am allowed to think and say – merely for existing as an English man who is willing to respectfully speak his mind and sincerely stand up for the truth.

She maliciously reported me to my supervisor, my university, and my funding body, on behalf of groups to which she did not belong, towards whom I am neutral and who did not raise any concerns about me themselves. *muliebris calumnia*

Nevertheless, no punishment came to this student and my funding body was a ghost when it was obvious that this was a false and malicious accusation.

Do you know how many young men want to kill themselves in this country from this shit. Do you know how many times I’ve fucking thought of doing it? Can any of you here today feel or truly understand this feeling of hopelessness and isolation experienced by young men today? Are you aware that your own brothers and sons feel this same way?

You all know that this is all wrong and are too afraid to speak up.

I am the English working class and I am here to reclaim my country – therefore God for Harry, England, and Saint George.

I am here. I will no longer allow anyone to demoralise and dehumanise me or my people. No-one will not strip my life of meaning. No-one will not strip my people of their legacy. I shall not be stripped of my legacy.

This bullshit ends now. It ends today. Now is time to come together and stop this division. Now is the time to create a world that is truly diverse in thought and opinion, truly inclusive of all sincerely meant speech, and equal in opportunities, based exclusively on the content of one’s character.

I therefore wish to make a toast to you all for you and your families long-lasting health. I invite you to join me in the game of life. May we all be here for a very long time.

Thank you.

‘Didn’t Make the Cut’ Bingo

Strength of flood data

Tebtunis Grapheion archive Issues

Egypt ca. AD 160-180

Migration changes AD C1st-C3rd & ‘Complex central places’

Internal household factors (age, gender, occupation)

Individual vs Familial Migration

‘Split Households’ & Short Distance/Term Migration

Household Decision-Makers

Thebes ca. AD 130-150

Strength of Nile flood data-points.

Issues with Tebtunis Grapheion archive.

Situation in Egypt (esp. Nile Delta) ca. AD 160-180.

Shifting pattern of migration between the AD C1st-C3rd & ‘Complex central place’ model.

C1st – rural-rural & Hellenic families to urban

C2nd – continuation but also rural-urban – urbanisation/centralisation

C3rd – end of rural-rural.

Structural variations between rural communities.

Other Internal Household Factors: age, gender, occupation, marital status

Compulsory corvée labour.

Village-based Institutions and lifestyles – generally deterred long-term and/or detrimental migration.

‘Split Households’ Concept & Short Distance/Term Migration Patterns

Individual vs Familial Migration

Household-level Decision-Makers & the Decision-Making Process

Decision-making involved a cost-benefit analysis of the earning capacities and consumption needs of household members, the opportunities available in potential destinations, and the likelihood of familial reunification.

This was all filtered through bounded rationality and imperfect information, so decisions also reflected socio-cultural roles and norms, divisions of labour, and age, gender and power dynamics within households.

Don’t have time today but looking at who was/wasn’t selected for migration is a vital future thread of investigation.

Thebes ca. AD 140-150

Micro-level Analysis of Other Family Archives:

Philadelphia – Nemesion case study.

All the other activities households are underataking – migration isn’t the sole risk-management activity

1. E.g. village space defined by tax-collector, must be quite fluid; considered a migrant if paid taxes away from the village, but this individual could have returned home within the same year.

**In a sense, an ἀνᾰχωρητής reduced the size of the registered population, so I also added them back on top of the total number of registered taxpayers.** [↑](#footnote-ref-1)