



Demotic Texts from Medinet Habu

(Philological, Paleographical, and Cultural Study)

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Summary

Demotic Texts from Medinet Habu (Philological, Paleographical, and Cultural Study)

The current study presents a new group of Demotic ostraca in the belongings of the Cairo Museum. A large part of this group stem from Medinet Habu in the western bank of modern Luxor in Upper Egypt and was discovered in the beginning of the thirties of the last century by the Chicago Oriental Institute (recently renamed as Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures 'ISAC'). A small portion of the collection under consideration come from other Upper Egyptian provenances including Gebelein, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and possibly elsewhere in Thebes. The main goal of the present dissertation is to decipher, translate, and provide a philological, paleographical, and cultural analysis of the group of texts in question. The results of this study are spread over two main parts, the first of which is dedicated to the main and largest part of the collection, i.e. ostraca from Medinet Habu, while the second is concerned with ostraca from other places. The first part comprises of five sections beginning with receipts of money and in-kind payments including some receipts for the payments of the different capitation charges in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, a few for land-related payments, as well as others related to different Ptolemaic monopolies or trades such as a receipt for the price of oil, one for the linen tax, in addition to a unique receipt for the rarely attested fish tax. The second section includes accounts and lists of different kinds be it monetary, in-kind, agriculture, or any other type of lists or accounts that record different everyday transactions. The following section presents a relatively different type of lists, namely lists of personal names. The fourth section incorporates a variety of texts of different concerns, e.g. texts of religious nature, letters, temples oaths, or other private documents. Unidentified texts occupy the fifth and final section of the first part. The second part of the study, which comprises texts that originate from different Upper Egyptian localities, includes three sections, i.e. receipts, accounts, and lists of names.

Demotische Texte aus Medinet Habu (Philologische, paläographische und kulturelle Studie)

Die aktuelle Studie stellt eine neue Gruppe demotischer Ostraka im Bestand des Kairoer Museums vor. Ein großer Teil dieser Gruppe stammt aus Medinet Habu am Westufer des heutigen Luxor in Oberägypten und wurde Anfang der dreißiger Jahre des letzten Jahrhunderts vom Chicago Oriental Institute (kürzlich in Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures „ISAC“ umbenannt) entdeckt. Ein kleiner Teil der untersuchten Sammlung stammt aus anderen oberägyptischen Provenienzen, darunter Gebelein, Edfu, Kom Ombo und möglicherweise anderswo in Theben. Das Hauptziel der vorliegenden Dissertation ist die Entzifferung, Übersetzung und Bereitstellung einer philologischen, paläographischen und kulturellen Analyse der betreffenden Textgruppe. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie verteilen sich auf zwei Hauptteile, von denen der erste dem Haupt und größten Teil der Sammlung, d.h. Ostraka aus Medinet Habu, gewidmet ist, während sich der zweite mit Ostraka aus anderen oberägyptischen Orten befasst. Der erste Teil besteht aus fünf Abschnitten, beginnend mit Quittungen in Geld oder Naturalien, darunter einige Zahlungsquittungen für die verschiedenen Kopfsteuern in der ptolemäischen und römischen Zeit, einige für landbezogene Zahlungen sowie Zahlungsquittungen über verschiedene ptolemäische Monopole oder Gewerben wie z.B. ein Quittung für den Preis des Öls, eine über Leinensteuer sowie eine einzigartige Quittung über die selten belegte Fischsteuer. Der zweite Abschnitt umfasst Listen und Abrechnungen unterschiedlicher Art, sei es über Geld, Natur, Landwirtschaft, oder jede andere Art, die verschiedene alltägliche Transaktionen aufzeichnen. Im folgenden Abschnitt wird eine andere Art von Listen vorgestellt, nämlich Namenlisten. Der vierte Abschnitt enthält eine Vielzahl von Texten zu unterschiedlichen Themen, wie z.B. Texte religiöser Natur, Briefe, Tempelide oder andere private Dokumente. Nicht identifizierte Texte belegen den fünften und letzten Abschnitt des ersten Teils der Studie. Der zweite Teil dieser Studie, der Texte umfasst, die aus verschiedenen oberägyptischen Fundorten stammen, enthält drei Abschnitte: Quittungen, Abrechnungen sowie Namenlisten.

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Abbreviations and Editorial Annotations

General Abbreviations

- Dem. Demotic
- exc. Excavation
- fig. figure
- fn. footnote
- Graff. graffito
- inv. inventory
- l(l). line(s)
- lit. literally
- n. note
- NN anonymous or unnamed person, from Latin *Nomen nescio*
- no(s). number(s)
- O. ostrakon
- P. papyrus
- pl(s). plate(s)
- PN personal name
- SR special registry (Cairo Museum)
- Tab. tablet
- TR temporary registry (Cairo Museum)

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Abbreviations of periodicals, collections, and glossaries used in this study are found in B. Mathieu, *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 8th revue et augmentée, Le Caire, 2023 (downloaded from:

<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/uploads/publications/enligne/IF1324.pdf>). (last accessed on 16.10.2023).

Further abbreviations:

- CCGG Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz.
- CCS California Classical Studies.
- DemNamKorr Demotisches Namenbuch, Korrekturen und Nachträge.
- DTD *Demotische Textdatenbank in Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*
- EFAH Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel.
- HPSMB-PK Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- JARS Journal of Archaeological Research and Studies.
- JBVO Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient.
- PMMAEE Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition.
- SWGS Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Straßburg.
- UCPGA University of California Publications, Graeco-Roman Archeology.
- VHPS-NF Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, Neue Folge.

Cited Texts

Texts are usually cited after their museum's inventory numbers. This usually includes an abbreviated reference to the museum, library, collection, etc., followed by the inventory number. Abbreviations of the place where the object is stored are those given by the text editors. The ostraca excavated by the Chicago Oriental Institute at Medinet Habu are cited after the excavation number which begins with MH. In some other cases, especially in larger text editions, references to the texts may include one or more from the following elements, i.e. the name of the text editor, museum, title of the publication, etc., followed usually by the text's publication number. Non-movable objects (such as graffiti) are cited after the place where they exist. In all cases, a reference to the place where the text is published is given whenever the object is cited.

Editorial Annotations

The following symbols are used in the transliteration and/ or translation:

- [...] indicates short lacuna.
- [---] indicates long or unspecified lacuna.
- [] encloses restored words or signs.
- [] encloses partly broken or faint words or signs.
- () encloses conventionally omitted words or explanatory additions by the author in the translation.
- < > encloses mistakenly omitted words.
- { } encloses superfluous words.
- ` ´ encloses word(s) added above the line.
- ´ ` encloses word(s) added under the line.
- (?) follows word(s) with doubtful reading(s).
- [?] 'question mark in superscript': follows a sign with a doubtful reading.
- _ 'underscore': marks words continued in the following line.

Checking, stress, and terminal marks, partition indicators, as well as blank spaces between words or lines are reflected in the transliteration and translation as they appear in the text.

The formula *ḥn wdʿ snb* is abbreviated in transliteration as ^{c.w.s.} and in translation as ^{L.P.H.} 'life, prosperity, and health.'

Fully or partly preserved determinatives that come after a lacuna are indicated in transliteration by superscripted biliteral abbreviations. The abbreviations utilized here are those used in the *Demotische Wortliste online*:

(https://www.dwl.aegyptologie.uni-muenchen.de/det_hinweise.php?det=alph#tab).

The following abbreviations are used:

- *Fl* 'Fremdland': indicates the foreign land determinative.
- *Go* 'Gott': indicates the divine determinative.
- *Hs* 'Haus': indicates the house determinative.
- *Ma* 'Mann': indicates the normal personal determinative.
- *Pf* 'Pflanze': indicates the plant determinative.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Medinet Habu Demotic Ostraca: An Overview

The group of Demotic ostraca here studied belongs to the collection of the Cairo Museum. While the majority of ostraca stems from the excavation of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (now known as Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures ‘ISAC’) at Medinet Habu, the acquisition circumstances of some other pieces, which originate from Medinet Habu and other parts of Upper Egypt, are so far unknown.

The ostraca which come from the Oriental Institute’s excavation are part of the group excavated by Hölscher at Medinet Habu in the campaigns of 1929-30.¹ By and large, this group is one the largest collections of ostraca to be found *in situ*. It consists of over 4, 500 ostraca with texts dating from the New Kingdom to the Arabic Period and written in Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic, Greek, as well as Arabic. Each piece in the entire collection has a separate excavation number ranging from 1 to 4560.² All numbers are prefixed by the initials MH referring to Medinet Habu. Some other pieces have extra field numbers that are useful in determining their exact find-spots.³ Save a portion of the Demotic ostraca (about 581 pieces) which is apparently still on loan to the Oriental Institute Museum,⁴ the larger part of the collection was returned to the Cairo Museum in the fifties of the last century.⁵

This collection⁶ gives invaluable insights on the different aspects of the daily life in Medinet Habu and Thebes in the Greco-Roman Period, be it on the administrative, social, or economic level. This explains why many scholars have been interested in this group since the time it was discovered. From the collection of the ostraca in the Oriental Institute, Lichtheim carefully picked 160 pieces for publication and left behind the ostraca that are broken, damaged, or what she deemed to be ‘virtual duplicates’ of well-known genres of texts.⁷ Before and after Lichtheim’s work, some other ostraca were published by different scholars such as Parker,⁸ Neugebauer,⁹ and Kaplony-Heckel who published and made mention of few other ostraca in numerous publications.¹⁰ From the group returned to Cairo Museum, Kaplony-

¹ Cf. M. Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, OIP 80 (Chicago, 1957), vii; F. Scalf and J. Jay, “Oriental Institute Demotic Ostraca Online (OIDOO): Merging Text Publication and Research Tools,” in *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies: Leuven, 26-30 August 2008*, ed. M. Depauw and Y. Broux, OLA 231 (Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA, 2014), 243.

² Cf. U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Die Medinet Habu Ostraca: Excavation of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1928/29,” in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J. Johnson (Chicago, 1992), 165.

³ For a list of field numbers alongside the corresponding find-spots, see Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, xiii.

⁴ Cf. Scalf and Jay, “OIDOO,” 243.

⁵ Cf. E. Stefanski and M. Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, OIP 71 (Chicago, 1952), v, fn. 1; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, vii; T. Wilfong, “Western Thebes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographic Survey of Jême and Its Surroundings,” *BASP* 26 (1989): 110, fn. 28; Kaplony-Heckel, “Medinet Habu Ostraca,” 165–66; E. O’Connell, “Ostraca from Western Thebes Provenance and History of the Collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at Columbia University,” *BASP* 43 (2006): 129–30.

⁶ For an overview of the contents of the Medinet Habu Demotic ostraca, see Kaplony-Heckel, “Medinet Habu Ostraca,” 167–68.

⁷ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, vii.

⁸ That is O. MH 4038; cf. R. Parker, “A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement: Medinet Habu Ostrakon 4038,” *JEA* 26 (1941): 84–113; see also F. Hoffmann, “Ein Abschnitt zu Weinherstellung und -Vertrieb im sog. Gardening Agreement,” in *Ripple in Still Water When There Is No Pebble Tossed: Festschrift in Honour of Cary J. Martin*, ed. A. Almásy-Martin et al. (London, 2022), 101–5.

⁹ Cf. O. MH 3377 in O. Neugebauer, “Demotic Horoscopes,” *JAOS* 63 (1943): 115–26; pl. 1.

¹⁰ For example, in 1991, she provided a detailed description of the contents of four unpublished MH ostraca, i.e. O. MH 2686, 2806, 4085, and 4210; cf. U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Das Acker-Amt in Theben-West von 151 bis 141 v. Chr.: die zwanzig Acker-Amt-Quittungen des Sesostris, S. des Anchoapis (übersichtlich beschrieben und aufgelistet),” *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 55–67. Later, she published O. MH 1871, 3605, and 2192 in U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Die interessante *ltm*-Quittung Stockholm MME

Heckel, though she failed to access the originals in Cairo Museum, published 22 temple oaths by virtue of the photos provided to her by Lichtheim.¹¹ More recently, this group received the attention of some Egyptian scholars such as Wahid el-Din, who included 42 pieces in her PhD¹² and Nabil, who studied another 150 ostraca as her PhD topic.¹³ Additionally, the latter presented other few examples in various articles.¹⁴

1.2 The Collection Under Study

1.2.1 Provenance, Acquisition Circumstances, and Physical Description

The current study presents a total of 99 ostraca stored under two inventory numbers in the Cairo Museum's seventh section, third floor, D 57, east. The first number is SR 18952, TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. This number seems to be assigned only to the ostraca returned from Chicago since the special registry book describes the items stored under this number as 'a box containing ostraca returned from Chicago.'¹⁵ Additionally, the fact that all the pieces have 'MH+ excavation number' mostly on the verso or rarely on the recto or thickness makes it clear that they belong to the collection excavated by the Oriental Institute mission at Medinet Habu. To this number belong 78 of the 99 pieces here published. One of these 78 ostraca, namely the sherd with number 1255A (**Text 43**) does not, however, have the initials MH, which is inscribed on all sherds from the Oriental Institute excavation. Instead, it has only the above-mentioned number, i.e. 1255A, written in pencil on its verso. Yet it likely belongs to the group

11055 und die anderen elf demotischen *ltm*-Ostraka," *APF* 49 (2003): 57–78; O. MH 124, 168, 179, 1758, and 1980 in U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Neun neue Leineweber-Quittungen. Anhang: Promemoria DO Medinet Habu 1758," in *Jnt Dr.w: Festschrift für Friedrich Junge*, ed. G. Moers et al., vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2006), 383–400; O. MH 1718, 2651, and 2657 in U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost III: die *r-rh=w*-Tempel-Quittungen und ähnliche Texte. Zweiter Teil: neunzehn *r-rh=w*-Tempel-Quittungen (Nr. 26-44), eine staatliche *r-rh=w*-Quittung (Nr. 30A) und drei *inj*-Tempel-Quittungen (Nr. 35A, 45, 46)," *ZÄS* 133 (2006): 34–50; O. MH 434, 4130, and 4045A in U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Demotische 'Aruren-Ostraka' aus Theben," in *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses: Wien, 22.-28. Juli 2001*, ed. B. Palme (Wien, 2007), 325–46. In 2008, she provided a detailed description and overview of the contents of 10 unpublished *r-rh=w* texts from Medinet Habu, i.e. O. MH 154, 466, 838, 2204, 2770, 2935, 3653, 4093, 4193, and 4353 in U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Die west-thebanischen *r-rh=w*-Acker-Amt-Quittungen II," *ANPM* 29, no. 1 (2008): 41–46. In 2010, she published other three texts, namely O. MH 533, 536, and 539; cf. U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost III, dritter Teil: Zehn *inj*-Tempel-Quittungen (Nr. 47-56), eine Brief-Quittung über *šmw* und *hw-ḥwtj* (Nr. 57), zwei Abkommen über Acker-Pacht (Nr. 58, 58A), sechs (staatliche) Acker-Amt-Quittungen (Nr. 59-64), die drei mir bekannten (staatlichen) *ī.īr.īw*-Quittungen (Nr. 65-67), das Akten-Fragment aus der Öl-Mühle (des Tempels?) (Nr. 68) und Indices," *ZÄS* 137 (2010): 127–44.

¹¹ U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeltexte*, ÄA 6 (Wiesbaden, 1963), viii. The published ostraca are O. MH 399, 482, 595, 1481, 1720, and 4249 in the main corpus and O. MH 491, 514, 516, 840, 1020, 1369, 1756, 1976, 2268, 2678, 2874, 2984, 3655, 4037, 4208, and 4380 in the catalogue; cf. Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeltexte*, 151, 215–16, 261, 296–97, 331–32, 351–52, 387–89.

¹² S. Wahid el-Din, "Demotic Ostraca from Thebes in the Egyptian Museum" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Zagazig, Zagazig University, 2005).

¹³ S. Nabil, "Unpublished Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu in the Egyptian Museum" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Cairo, Ain Shams University, 2011).

¹⁴ E.g. O. MH 2881 in S. Nabil, "Unpublished Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu Dealing with Poll Tax," *BCPS* 27, no. 2 (2010): 1–4; O. MH 2193, 4092, and 4199 in S. Nabil, "Some Unpublished Demotic Ostraca That Deal with Poll Tax from the Roman Period," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress: The Word and Image in Ancient Civilizations*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 2014), 1–5; O. MH 2915, 4043, and 4078 in S. Nabil, "Three Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu," *Abgadiyat* 12 (2017): 28–34; O. MH 1150, 1470, and 3338 in S. Nabil, "Unpublished Demotic Texts from the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods," *BCPS* 37, no. 2 (2020): 563–80; O. MH 196, 4071, 4076, and 4318 in S. Nabil, "Unpublished Demotic Receipts Concerning Land," *BCPS* 39 (2022): 217–28; O. MH 1852, 2770, 3694, and 4085 in S. Nabil, "Unpublished Demotic Land Allotments Receipts from Thebes," *JARS* 12 (2023): 572–81; O. MH 475, 488, 523, 1024, 1809, 1967, 2394, 2773, 2782, 2786, 2796, 2939, 4051, 4275, and 4297 in S. Nabil, "Unpublished Roman Demotic Tax Receipts," *JFA (C)* 14, no. 26 (2023): 109–40.

¹⁵ This box meant here refers to a large container or box that contains various small, tightly closed boxes in which the group of ostraca was stored. Whether this number includes all ostraca returned from Chicago or not, one cannot confirm since I was not allowed to access all the boxes with this number. It is, however, clear that the 1200 Coptic ostraca returned from Chicago are not stored under this SR since the special registry book lists them under another SR, namely SR 18950.

returned from the Chicago Oriental Institute because it is kept in the same boxes dedicated to this group and has the same general SR and TR numbers. Why it does not follow the numbering convention applied in the entire collection is unclear, but it could be a fragment broken from another larger sherd because of the bad storage conditions¹⁶ or frequent transfer of the group (from Cairo to Chicago and vice versa). The remaining 21 ostraca are part of the collection stored under another inventory number, namely SR 18953, TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. The information provided on this number, which contains an enormous group of ostraca, is unfortunately very limited. The special registry book refers to this number as containing ‘ostraca returned by the archaeological society.’¹⁷ In other words, nothing about the provenance or the acquisition circumstances of the ostraca kept under this number is officially recorded. On few occasions, however, indications to the origin of the sherd are provided on its verso or recto. This is luckily the case of 15 ostraca, of which 12 have the initials for Medinet Habu ‘MH’ on the verso, two have references to Gebelein ‘Geb+ 1898’ (one on the recto and another on the verso), and one has ‘Kom Ombo’ recorded on the verso. Thus, in total, the group under consideration contains 90 pieces that stem from Medinet Habu and 9 that come from other known (e.g. Thebes, Gebelein, Kom Ombo, and Edfu) and unknown (yet most likely Upper Egyptian) origins.

As to their physical description, the ostraca here published are mainly potsherds of reddish-brown, reddish, sometimes yellowish, or greyish color. Most sherds with SR 18952, i.e. from the Oriental Institute excavation, are in a relatively bad condition as many of them are broken or suffer from faint ink. This exactly relates to what Lichtheim explained in her introduction to the *Demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu* that she already selected the best-preserved pieces and ruled out the broken and badly preserved ones. The situation is far better when it comes to the group with SR 18953 which are comparatively better preserved and larger in size. Further notes on the physical description are provided to each ostrakon individually.

1.2.2 Dating and Methodology

The texts of the current collection present a range of dates extending from the first half of the third century BC to the late first century AD, or more specifically—as the relatively secure dates show—from about the 17th regnal year of Ptolemy II Philadelphus to the fifth regnal year of the Roman emperor Vespasian, or maybe slightly later. The larger part of texts date from the late Ptolemaic to early Roman Periods, while few to the early Ptolemaic Period. Like most of the short Demotic documents, texts on ostraca do not usually mention the name of the ruler.¹⁸ This is especially applicable to the Ptolemaic ostraca which typically dispense with the name of the Ptolemaic monarch. On the other hand, few Roman texts, such as receipts, regularly include the name of the Roman emperor, save those from the time of Augustus which often omit his name. Thus, the dating of a substantial number of texts in the current group relied solely on paleography,¹⁹ which is often imprecise or approximate to say the least. Kaplony-Heckel and Muhs²⁰ once suggested a method of paleographic classification for the Demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu, according to which, they distinguished three main categories. These are

¹⁶ In the Museum’s special registry book, one reads a note in Arabic stating that ‘many pieces that belong to this number are broken due to the bad storage conditions.’ It is, however, unclear whether this refers to the general state of preservation of this group or to a damage that happened after the return of this group to the Cairo Museum since the group returned from Chicago already contained a lot of ostraca that were found broken from the very beginning. Being damaged or broken was one of the reasons why Lichtheim excluded numerous pieces from her publication.

¹⁷ For more on this special registry number, see E. Abbas, “A New Demotic Horoscope from Medinet Habu,” *JEA* 107, no. 1–2 (2021): 240, fn. 13–14.

¹⁸ M. Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, PapBrux 28 (Brussels, 1997), 70.

¹⁹ For a general overview of the main paleographical stages of Demotic, see O. El-Aguizy, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharqa to the End of the Ptolemaic Period (684-30 B.C.)*, MIFAO 113 (Le Caire, 1998), 2–3.

²⁰ Cf. U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Niltal und Oasen: ägyptischer Alltag nach demotischen Ostraka,” *ZÄS* 118 (1991): 135–36.

the early Ptolemaic stage which includes ostraca that date before 200 BC, the late Ptolemaic and early Roman phase, which contain ostraca that date to the second and first centuries BC, and the late Roman stage, which date to the first and second centuries AD. According to Kaplony-Heckel and Muhs' observations, the early Ptolemaic stage includes texts that are usually short and taciturn. They were written with a rush pen with large edges left. To the second and first century BC belong the texts that are often written with rush pen but sometimes with the reed pen or Greek kalamos. The texts of this period were longer and wordy with no large margins left. The signs are sometimes quite rounded and compact. The Roman texts, on the other hand, were written with the kalamos or the reed pen. The signs often look thin and scratchy; the lines can sometimes overlap. The dates suggested here basically follow this classification, yet a distinction between late Ptolemaic ostraca that date to the second century BC and that which date from the late second to the last third of the first century BC is made whenever possible. Moreover, late first century BC texts whose date cannot be securely assigned to the Ptolemaic or the Roman Period are identified as late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

On the other hand, further hints that can sometimes help providing a more precise dating were also used wherever applicable. This includes prosopographical indications and onomastics (e.g. references to the family of Pasemis who lived in the early Roman Period, references to known scribes, taxpayers, or tax collectors), the reference to certain institutions whose date is securely known (e.g. the granary of Apollonides, the *strategos* from the time of Augustus and Tiberius). The type of taxes or dues paid can be also helpful in identifying the date of some texts (clear examples would be receipts for yoke tax that are well known before year 21 of Ptolemy II²¹ and poll tax receipts which come mainly from the Roman Period, etc.). The text formulae can sometimes be useful in dating (an example is the use of the expression *hn n3 rmt.w n NN* 'among the men of NN,' which occurs only in receipts from the time of Augustus). Other criteria that can be also helpful are high date numbers and coinage standard.

The texts published in this study are dealt with in two main parts following a general introduction. The first part is dedicated to ostraca that come from Medinet Habu, being the larger part within the group. The second one includes a comparatively small number of ostraca of different places of origin. In each part, the texts are thematically divided into sections. Thus, the first part, for instance, comprises five main sections starting with receipts, accounts and lists, lists of names, miscellaneous texts, and ending with unidentified texts. Whenever necessary, the main sections are thematically subdivided into subsections which can be also further subdivided into smaller subsections. In some cases where the text records two different transactions, the text is classified according to the prevailing transaction. This is true of some accounts which record a mixture of monetary and in-kind payments or more than one in-kind payment (e.g. grain and liquids). In each part, section or subsection, the texts are presented in a chronological order. For each text, the following convention is followed: general information on the sherd is given first. This includes the excavation number (this applies only to the ostraca excavated by the Oriental Institute) followed by the museum's SR and TR numbers and the by the sherd's dimensions, which are measured on the spot with the help of the curator in charge and are given in this format 'height x width x thickness,' in addition to the place of origin and the suggested date.²² After that follow the transliteration and translation of the text. Greek renderings of the Egyptian personal names and months in seasons are given in the translation whenever possible.²³ Otherwise, the Egyptian form of the name is retained. The translation is then followed by a general and a line commentary. The general commentary typically includes notes on the sherd's state of preservation and remarks on the text's date and content. The line commentary offers paleographical, philological, and cultural remarks and notes

²¹ For an overview of the taxes in the third century BC, see B. Muhs, "Demotic and Greek Ostraca in the Third Century B.C.," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J. Johnson (Chicago, 1992), 249–50.

²² If the date provided could be assigned to a certain ruler, the dates are calculated using: <https://aegyptologie.online-resourcen.de/home>

²³ The study follows the renderings given in *Trismegistos* database.

on certain words and expressions that occur in each line. Facsimiles of discussed words or newly attested personal names are added to the paleographical commentary whenever necessary and possible.

2 Ostraca from Medinet Habu (nos. 1-90)

2.1 Receipts (nos. 1-29)

This section includes 29 receipts that were issued for different payments including the main taxes and charges known in Egypt in the Greco-Roman Period such as yoke, poll, bath, or dike taxes as well as the various dues collected from land either official charges such as land taxes or rents of royal lands or private like rents paid to private landowners. A few other receipts represent payments related to state monopolies on certain commodities and trades. Another group of texts included in this section are those whose formulary strongly suggests classifying them as receipts, although the purpose of payment cannot be determined due to several reasons. In what follows, all these kinds of receipts are dealt with.

2.1.1 Receipts for Capitation Taxes

Capitation taxes typically signify a kind of charge that is ‘levied on persons at a standard rate, independently of their income, property, consumption, or occupation, and typically according to some kind of census.’²⁴ Capitation taxes in cash are known in Egypt as early as the Ptolemaic Period, i.e. late in the reign of Ptolemy I, or perhaps early in the reign of Ptolemy II.²⁵ The calculation and collection of the capitation taxes as well as other kinds of taxes and dues were most likely based on census,²⁶ whose existence in the Ptolemaic Period seems to be undisputed.²⁷ Such a practice was not entirely new in the Ptolemaic Period and had its roots in Pharaonic Egypt.²⁸ For instance, many scholars²⁹ view the report of Herodotus, in Book II, 177, about the ‘law’ introduced by the Saite ruler Amasis that ‘every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province, ...’³⁰ as a probable example of a pre-Ptolemaic census. Assuming the veracity of Herodotus, they additionally believed such an obligation to have been done in relation to the organization of the compulsory labor requirement imposed on males at that time rather than a ‘broad-based capitation taxes or personal taxes in money,’ for which no evidence can be traced in the Saite Period.³¹ The early Ptolemies may have then utilized this tool to facilitate the calculation and collection of their first capitation tax.³² Although the Ptolemaic census operations constituted an essential source of information about the total adult population of the country, not only those liable to capitation charges,³³ its connection to capitation taxes remained beyond dispute. Such a link became even more evident in the Roman period, in which much of the evidence for

²⁴ A. Monson, “Late Ptolemaic Capitation Taxes and the Poll Tax in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 51 (2014): 128–29.

²⁵ Cf. B. Muhs, *Receipts, Scribes, and Collectors in Early Ptolemaic Thebes (O. Taxes 2)*, StudDem VIII (Leuven, 2011), 7; B. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes*, OIP 126 (Chicago, 2005), 6–8.

²⁶ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 14.

²⁷ Monson, “Late Ptolemaic Taxes,” 130.

²⁸ For more details on the origins of the Ptolemaic census, see W. Clarysse and D. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, vol. II, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge, 2006), 13–14.

²⁹ See for example Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 14; Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People II*: 14.

³⁰ A. Godley, trans., *Herodotus with an English Translation*, vol. 1: Books 1-2, The Loeb Classical Library (first printed (London, 1920), Massachusetts; London, 1975), 493.

³¹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 14; Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People II*: 14.

³² Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 14. The continuous use of this primitive census, prepared to control the compulsory labor requirement levied on males, into the early Ptolemaic Period is seen by Muhs as a probable reason for the exclusive imposition of the first Ptolemaic tax, i.e. the yoke tax, on males, see B. Muhs, “Demotic Ostraca from Ptolemaic Edfu and the Ptolemaic Tax System,” in *Edfu, An Egyptian Provincial Capital in the Ptolemaic Period*, Brussels, 3 September 2001, ed. K. Vandorpe and W. Clarysse (Brussels, 2003), 77.

³³ For the concept and the purpose of Ptolemaic census, see Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People II*: 10–35; W. Clarysse and D. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, vol. I, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge, 2006); Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 14–17.

the census focuses on its significance in the collection of taxes, which, according to Bagnall and Frier, agrees with the view of many modern scholars that the control of taxation process was the main purpose of the census.³⁴ This is also further confirmed through the fact that the main capitation tax of the Roman Period, i.e. poll tax, was known in Greek as λαογραφία, or ‘census-tax,’ since λαογραφία indicates ‘enrollment of the people.’³⁵

By and large, the introduction of a broad-based capitation tax in cash by the early Ptolemies is a sign and perhaps also a stimulator of the rapidly increasing monetization process of the Egyptian economy.³⁶ So far as the new taxes in cash ensured that the Egyptians would make use of the extremely large amount of coinage introduced by the Ptolemies,³⁷ they have also enabled the Ptolemies to gain more money than their predecessors on the throne of Egypt.³⁸ Using evidence from early Ptolemaic Theban receipts, Muhs suggested a reform in the taxation system in Egypt between the years 21 and 22 of Ptolemy II. He proposed that the main capitation tax on males before year 22 of Ptolemy II was the yoke tax (Dem. *ḥd nhb*).³⁹ Other taxes, namely the *nh*-tax and the monthly tax, may have either been supplementary to the yoke tax, or perhaps variant designations of it.⁴⁰ After year 22 of Ptolemy II, and as a result of a fiscal reform, Muhs suggested that the salt tax (Dem. *ḥd hm*) replaced the yoke tax as the main capitation charge.⁴¹ Added to this newly introduced main capitation tax, additional charges such as the server, guard, and wool taxes were also collected.⁴² According to Clarysse and Thompson, the salt tax was probably ‘the most widely applied of all the many personal taxes of the period,’⁴³ yet receipts for this tax seem to suddenly disappear early in the reign of Ptolemy IV,⁴⁴ probably because receipts on ostraca for such tax ceased to be issued since then.⁴⁵ This does not imply the discontinuity of salt tax. On the contrary, later evidence confirms that it continued to be levied, but with a few changes in the way of collection.⁴⁶ As Rathbone explains, the salt tax together with other capitation charges that may have been complementary to it in some places in Egypt (e.g. the Arsinoite nome) were being collected in the second century BC. Then, some changes were likely introduced toward the end of the second century BC. These are the exemption of women and the combination of the taxes into one capitation charge called *syntaxis*.⁴⁷ After being incorporated into the *syntaxis* of the late second century BC, the salt tax, being part of the *syntaximon*, was later incorporated into the poll tax by the Roman administration,⁴⁸ which seems to have subsumed the several capitation taxes of the late Ptolemaic Period under a single capitation charge called *laographia*, or poll tax.⁴⁹

From a different perspective, receipts for the capitation taxes from Lower Egypt were usually written on papyri, in contrast to those from Upper Egypt, which—as Wallace noted—were ordinarily written on ostraca for papyrus was hardly obtainable and thus much more expensive.⁵⁰ On the other hand, as Muhs proposed, Demotic tax receipts on ostraca were possibly initially introduced as a part of the

³⁴ R. Bagnall and B. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time (Cambridge, 1994), 27.

³⁵ S. Wallace, “Census and Poll-Tax in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *AJPH* 59, no. 4 (1938): 432.

³⁶ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 7.

³⁷ B. Muhs, “Money, Coinage and the Ancient Egyptian Economy,” *OINN* 233 (2017): 9.

³⁸ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 10.

³⁹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 29.

⁴⁰ Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 7.

⁴¹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 29.

⁴² Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 7.

⁴³ W. Clarysse and D. Thompson, “The Salt-Tax Rate Once Again,” *CdE* 70 (1995): 223.

⁴⁴ Wallace, “Census and Poll-Tax,” 430; D. Rathbone, “Egypt, Augustus and Roman Taxation,” *CCGG* 4 (1993): 91; Clarysse and Thompson, “Salt-Tax Rate,” 224.

⁴⁵ Clarysse and Thompson, “Salt-Tax Rate,” 224. For more on the reason behind the rarity of receipts for capitation taxes in the second century BC, see Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 91 in contrast to Wallace, “Census and Poll-Tax,” 430–31.

⁴⁶ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 91; Clarysse and Thompson, “Salt-Tax Rate,” 224.

⁴⁷ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 91–92.

⁴⁸ Monson, “Late Ptolemaic Taxes,” 130.

⁴⁹ Monson, “Late Ptolemaic Taxes,” 129. For some new insights into the old debate on the late Ptolemaic capitation taxes and their relation to the Roman poll tax, see Monson, “Late Ptolemaic Taxes,” 127–60.

⁵⁰ Wallace, “Census and Poll-Tax,” 431, fn. 51.

precautionary measures taken by the Ptolemaic state to ensure the protection of the taxpayers from the overzealous tax farmers.⁵¹

The studied group offers receipts of only a few types of capitation taxes, namely, a sole example of the Ptolemaic yoke tax, numerous instances of the Roman poll tax, as well as one receipt of each of the dike and bath taxes of the Roman Period. In the following lines, those receipts are presented.

2.1.1.1 Receipts for the Yoke Tax

Of the different Ptolemaic capitation taxes, the studied group of texts has only one receipt for the yoke tax. This tax, which was very popular in Thebes in the early Ptolemaic Period,⁵² was known in Demotic as *ḥḏ nḥb*, or *ḥḏ (n) nḥb.t*.⁵³ The word *nḥb* is used as a verb with the meaning ‘to harness’,⁵⁴ and *nḥb(β).t*, *nḥb(.t)* or also *nḥby(.t)* is attested as a noun in the sense of ‘neck, shoulders, or yoke.’⁵⁵ The exact dating and identity of this tax were quite controversial.⁵⁶ According to Muhs, discrepancies between scholars regarding the nature of this tax emerge from the uncertainty regarding the dating of the material in hand, which he suggested dating to the first half of the reign of Ptolemy II or more precisely between years 1 and 21 of his reign, when the yoke tax was the main capitation tax. This tax was levied only on men, probably as heads of households and after year 21 of Ptolemy II, as Muhs proposes, it was replaced by the salt tax as a new universal capitation tax.⁵⁷ Yet, Muhs’ hypothesis is still not convincing to some scholars such as Monson who argued against it and raised some objections, e.g. the absence of female taxpayers, the high rates, the coexistence of the *nḥt*-tax that had to be paid with it, and the probable existence of this tax after year 21 of Ptolemy II. He seems, furthermore, inclined to the opinion of

⁵¹ Cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 7. The idea of the connection between the widespread use of receipts on ostraca and tax farming system was suggested to Muhs by Robert Ritner; cf. Muhs, “Ostraca Third Century B.C.,” 249; fn. 2.

⁵² Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 30.

⁵³ Cf. *DemGloss*, 222; *CDD*, N, 102; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 30.

⁵⁴ Cf. *CDD*, N, 101.

⁵⁵ Cf. *DemGloss*, 223; *CDD*, N, 102.

⁵⁶ The identity of the yoke tax received the attention of the Demotists who published its early examples. Mattha, with the help of Herbert Thompson’s remarks, suggested that it might be a tax on cattle analogous to the Greek φόρος βοῶν, or it could be a tax on yoke similar to the Greek τέλος ζευγῶν; see G. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo: Introduction, Texts and Indexes* (Le Caire, 1945), 166, n. to O. Mattha, no. 214, l. 2. In 1956, Mattha considered the Ptolemaic *ḥḏ n nḥb(.t)* as a capitation tax on necks or a poll tax similar to that of the Roman Period which appeared as *ḥḏ n ḥp.t*; cf. G. Mattha, “Notes and Remarks on Mattha’s ‘Demotic Ostraka’” *BFA* 18 (2) (1956): 31. Wängstedt in his comment on *ḥḏ n nḥb(.t)* distinguished between two forms of the word. These are the masculine *nḥb*, which means ‘yoke’ and is probably a tax equivalent to the Greek tax τέλος ζευγῶν or φόρος βοῶν, and the feminine *nḥb(.t)*, which means ‘neck’ and he—following Mattha’s suggestion—thought it represents the poll tax of the Ptolemaic Period; see n. to O. BM 5760, l. 2 in S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Steuerquittungen aus ptolemäischer Zeit,” *OrSuec* 17 (1968): 35. Later, Devauchelle identified *nḥb(.t)* as ‘neck,’ and rejected the view of Mattha and Wängstedt on the identification of the *nḥb*-tax as a tax on animals. Similarly, he denied their suggestion that it was a capitation tax due to the absence of female taxpayers. Alternatively, he saw it as a tax on an industry or service; see D. Devauchelle, *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre, Tome I: Reçus*, BdE 92 (Le Caire, 1983), 42–43. In a try to identify this industry, Vleeming—thanks to a Greek note on O. Uppsala 815—proposed that it was a tax on ‘transport animals’ or ‘transport vehicles;’ cf. S. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia: Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, Chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections*, P.L.Bat. 26 (Leiden, 1994), 15. For O. Uppsala 815, see S. Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka aus der Sammlung des Victoria-Museums zu Uppsala und der Staatlichen Papyrussammlung zu Berlin* (Uppsala, 1954), 117–8; pl. vi. This proposition seemed convincing in Devauchelle’s opinion; cf. D. Devauchelle, “Notes sur quelques ostraca démotiques: à propos d’un ouvrage récent,” *BiOr* 55 (1998): 376. In 2005, Muhs, having studied all these views and opinions, concluded that the yoke tax was one of the capitation taxes in the early Ptolemaic Period; see the following footnote. More recently, Monson revived the old view that it was a sort of transport tax; see A. Monson, “Taxation and Fiscal Reforms,” in *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt*, ed. K. Vandorpe (Chichester, 2019), 150.

⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion of the scholarly opinions and views on the essence and dating of the yoke tax receipts, see B. Muhs, “The Chronology of the Reign of Ptolemy II Reconsidered: The Evidence of the *Nḥb* and *Nḥt* Tax Receipts,” in *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P. W. Pestman*, ed. A. Verhoogt and S. Vleeming, P.L.Bat. 30 (Leiden, 1998), 71–85; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 4, 30–31; Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 7–8.

Vleeming that it was a tax related to transport.⁵⁸ In fact, some of Monson's objections have been already addressed by Muhs.⁵⁹ Furthermore, recent evidence suggests assigning earlier dates to the two examples, i.e. O. Louvre 87 and 1424, which have been dated after year 21 of Ptolemy II.⁶⁰ Eventually, the fairly firm evidence which Muhs' theory has to face is the Greek note referring to a transport tax, which Vleeming has brought to light. Similarly, the alleged occurrence of *t³ nḥb.t* as a tax in the early Roman (year 16 of Tiberius) tax receipt of O. no. 110 in the collection of the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, which Mattha reported about,⁶¹ would be critical in this regard as well, if Mattha's report can be verified through a publication of this ostrakon.

As to its annual rate, Muhs noticed that the recorded payments of this tax in Thebes ranged from $\frac{1}{4}$ kite up to 6 kite. Frequently attested sums are 1 and 2 kite. Smaller amounts that appear in many receipts likely indicate installments of a fixed annual rate.⁶² Moreover, Muhs quoted Devauchelle who supposed 4 kite to be a standard annual rate. A suggestion that is based on an indication in a tax receipt from Elephantine (O. Louvre 261, recto, ll. 1-2; verso, l. 2) that mentions *ḥd qd.t 3 r mḥ ḥd qd.t 4* '3 silver kite to complete 4 silver kite.'⁶³ Having a look at this particular receipt, one would find the text refers to the paid sum as *ḥn p³y=f ḥd (n) nḥb*, which Devauchelle understood as 'sur son argent (du) « cou »' or 'on his money (of) the neck.'⁶⁴ A key word here is *ḥn*, which he translated as *sur* 'on.' In Demotic, *ḥn* appears as a noun meaning 'inside, interior,' and also as an adverb and a spatial preposition meaning 'in, within, inside.' Additionally, it can be used temporally in the sense of 'within (a period of time).' On certain occasions, it can be utilized as a partitive indicator meaning 'from' or lit. '(from) among,'⁶⁵ a sense that seems to have been specifically meant in the above-mentioned phrase, which would be subsequently better translated as '3 silver kite to complete 4 silver kite from among his money of the yoke.' Furthermore, the example here published provides a further proof of the use of *ḥn* to indicate partial payments as we read: *tw=k n=y ḥd qd.t 2/ sttr 1.t/ ḥd qd.t 2 'n ḥn n³y=k ḥd.(w) nḥb* 'you have paid me 2 kite/ 1 stater/ 2 kite again, from among your moneys of the yoke.' On the other hand, few other texts provide some higher sums as standard rates for the yoke tax. Examples of these texts are O. Berlin P 10920, which refers to 6 kite as annual rate;⁶⁶ O. Varia, no. 4, which interestingly stems from Elephantine and refers to a payment in arrears of 2 kite to complete 6 kite;⁶⁷ O. Varia, no. 34, which acknowledges a payment of 1 deben,⁶⁸ in addition to the two texts which Devauchelle excluded from his discussion due to 'content unclarity and differences in wording and formulation,' i.e. O. Louvre 25 and 88, which refer both to a sum of 1 deben and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ kite.⁶⁹ Accordingly, the whole sum acknowledged in O. Louvre 261 could be a partial and not full payment for the yoke tax, and thus this example is no longer a secure or sufficient evidence in this regard. Summing this altogether would also open the door for a probable existence of a higher rate (higher than 4 kite), which is not actually excluded by scholars such as Muhs.⁷⁰ It might also raise some doubts on the existence of a standard annual rate that apply to all places and in all conditions. Normally, there should have been a fixed annual rate, but the problem

⁵⁸ Monson, "Fiscal Reforms," 150. For Vleeming's suggestion, see Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 15.

⁵⁹ For instance, Muhs alluded to the inclusion of women in the payment of the yoke tax by suggesting that it was paid only by males as representatives of their households; cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 8. A further reason for this in Muhs' opinion could be that the early Ptolemies continued to use of the old primitive census that was originally meant to control the compulsory labor requirement levied on males; cf. Muhs, "Ostraca Edfu," 77. He also thinks that the fact that the rate of the yoke tax, even being on the whole household, was greater than the largest rate of salt tax should not be surprising since the rate of the salt tax itself gradually decreased over time; cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 32. Furthermore, the few receipts that date later than year 21 of Ptolemy II have been suspected by Muhs as well; for more on the dating of these receipts, see the following footnote.

⁶⁰ An investigation of the dating of these two ostraca based on new evidence is planned to be published by the author.

⁶¹ See comment to O. Mattha, no. 214, l. 2 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 166.

⁶² Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 31–32; Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 8.

⁶³ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 32; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 42–43, 50.

⁶⁴ Cf. Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 50.

⁶⁵ Cf. *DemGloss*, 381–82; *CDD*, H, 30–34.

⁶⁶ Cf. Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 115.

⁶⁷ Cf. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 16–17.

⁶⁸ Cf. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 77–79.

⁶⁹ Cf. Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 42–44, 49.

⁷⁰ Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 8.

lies perhaps in how it was calculated. Was it reckoned per person or per household? In a try to justify the disappearance of female taxpayers, Muhs suggested that the yoke tax was a kind of capitation tax levied on men as heads of households.⁷¹ Subsequently, one expects the rate to correspond to the size and wealth of each household since it is quite hard to imagine that all households in all places across Egypt had to pay the same rate regardless of their size, status, wealth, or income. In this way, one can probably justify the variation of the rates attested for this tax.⁷²

-1-

Exc. No. (MH 2395). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 9.5x 9.3x 1.4-2.2 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Ptolemaic. Year 17(?) of [Ptolemy II] = 28 December 269 BC(?).

Transliteration:

1. *Hr s3 Pa-hy p3 nty dd n Hr-m-hb*
2. *s3(?) Pa-wn(?) tw=k n=y hd qd.t 2/ sttr 1.t/ hd qd.t 2 cn*
3. *hn n3y=k hd(.w) nhb n h3.t-sp 16*
4. *mtw=y di.t šsp=w s n=k n ip hn*
5. *n3y=k hd(.w) nhb n h3.t-sp 16*
6. *sh Nht-Mnt s3 Twtw r-hrw*
7. *n Hr s3 Pa-hy n h3.t-sp 17(?) ibd-3 3h.t sw 1*

Translation:

1. Horos son of Pais is the one who says to Harmais
2. son of(?) Pagonis(?): you have paid me 2 silver kite/ 1 stater/ 2 silver kite again
3. from among your money(s) of the yoke of year 16,
4. and I will cause that they receive it for you on account from among
5. your money(s) of the yoke of year 16.
6. Has written Nechtminis son of Totoes at the command
7. of Horos son of Pais in year 17(?), Hathyr, day 1.

Commentary:

This sherd has the number MH 20 on top of 20 (could be a field number but is not in Lichtheim's list of field numbers; see introduction above) at the left edge of the bottom of its recto and the number MH 2395 (excavation number) on its verso. The ink is faint in some places. Apart from the paleography which undoubtedly suggests an early Ptolemaic date, the very fact that the text deals with a yoke tax makes the dating to that period uncontroversial. The text is most likely dated to the 17th regnal year of an unnamed ruler. Following the dating suggested by Muhs for this tax (see above for details), this ruler is likely Ptolemy II. Further examples of yoke tax that belong to the same group of ostraca excavated by the Oriental Institute at Medinet Habu were published by Lichtheim⁷³ and Nabil.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 6.

⁷² Trying to clear the obscurity of this variable rate, Vleeming suggested that the sums paid for this tax, being one on transport animals or vehicles, was dependent on the size of the person's business; see Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 17.

⁷³ See O. MH 1490 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 14.

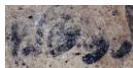
⁷⁴ See O. MH 187 (Text no. 1) in Nabil, "Unpublished Demotic Ostraca," 11–12. This sherd is broken at its bottom left side, and the ink is faded all over the preserved part, yet the identification of the paid tax as *nhb* is secure. The receipt utilizes the impersonal formula (beginning with *hn*), and the date is not preserved. The name of the taxpayer is not preserved, but his father's might be read, as the author suggested, *Pa-wn*. The paid sum is surely 2 kites. *Ns* followed by parts of other unclear (at least in the photo included in the Thesis) signs are the only preserved part of the name of the scribe. The author, based on the occurrence of this scribe in the above cited O. MH 1490, restored *Ns-^tn3y=w-hmnw³[-iw s3 Ns-Mn]*.

L. 1. The stroke for *s*³ of filiation is ligatured with *Hr*.



: Reading *Pa-hy* seems plausible here.⁷⁵ Note, however, the unusual writing of the *pa* in this name here and in l. 7 below as well as *Pa-wn*(?) in l. 2.

The formula used here is the so-called personal formula or the ordinary letter form. Similar formulae occurred in other yoke tax receipts.⁷⁶ A more common formula of yoke tax receipts was that which begins with *in* ‘to bring, pay’ which was equally common in other money tax receipts.⁷⁷ Receipts with both formulae agree in the main formulaic elements as they usually contain the following data: ‘taxpayer+ amount paid+ reference to yoke tax+ year of the tax+ signature of the scribe+ date of payment.’⁷⁸



L. 2. : The writing of the patronym of the taxpayer is quite indistinct; the suggested reading is therefore doubtful. It is unclear whether the small stroke at the very beginning belongs to the name or stands for the *s*³ of filiation. If this stroke was part of the father’s name, one could take it as part of the *p*³ sign and the reading of the name might be *P³-wn*, possibly a variant of *Pa-wn*. The *s*³ of filiation could have then been in the space after the name *Hr-m-hb* in the previous line. If, on the other hand, the initial small slanting stroke was meant to represent the *s*³ of filiation, which was apparently the case, the following name might be read *Pa-wn*. In this latter case, the writing of the *pa* sign at the beginning of the name could be compared with that of the *pa* in *Pa-hy* in ll. 1, 7. In both scenarios, reading the main element of this name as *wn* is uncertain but it could be, nevertheless, an unusual writing that has both the divine and personal determinatives after the initial *wn* sign.⁷⁹

That the payment is acknowledged by the use of the phrase *tw=k n=y* ‘you have paid me’ after the letter form (*NN p³ nty dd n NN*) is, according to Mattha, a peculiarity of early Ptolemaic tax receipts from Hermonthis in contrast to Theban receipts, which normally use the phrase *wn ...* ‘there is’⁸⁰ The same assumption was adopted by Vleeming as well.⁸¹ Limiting this formula to Hermonthis was later proved to be inaccurate by Muhs who identified an early Ptolemaic tax receipt from Edfu with the same formula.⁸² The current receipt, being from Medinet Habu, provides a further confirmation to Muhs’ conclusion.

The paid amount is expressed with the formula *hd qd.t 2/ sttr 1/ hd qd.t 2 cⁿ* ‘2 silver kite/ 1 stater/ 2 silver kite again.’ In the current example, the scribe repeats the same sum in two different coins, while in other receipts the sum could be followed by its half then by the total again. As Pestman noted about similar formulae recurring in marriage contracts, the purpose of the conversion was apparently to avoid possible errors in reading the numbers, which could be at times quite ambiguous. More importantly, it was meant to prevent forgery in the recorded amounts which was not a totally unlikely possibility given that the document (the proof of payment which is the receipt in our case) was to be given to the

⁷⁵ Cf. *DemNam*, 398.

⁷⁶ E.g. O. Mattha, no. 219 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 168–69, O. Louvre 1424 in Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 54, O. Varia, no. 35 in Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 80–81, O. Taxes 2, no. 3 in Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 11–12.

⁷⁷ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 29.

⁷⁸ Cf. the formula quoted in B. Muhs, F. Scalf, and J. Jay, *The Archive of Thotutmis, Son of Panouphis: Early Ptolemaic Ostraca from Deir El Bahari* (O. Edgerton), OIP 146 (Chicago, 2021), 122, n. 2.


⁷⁹ Normally, the name *Pa-wn* was written with one of both determinatives. The convention seems to have been as follows: early writings usually have the divine determinative, while later ones typically utilize the normal personal determinative. In one case, i.e. *DemNam* example no. 36 (and possibly example no. 5 as well) both the divine and normal personal determinatives were used together; cf. *DemNam*, 358.


⁸⁰ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 10.


⁸¹ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 71–72.

⁸² Muhs, “Ostraca Edfu,” 77–78; Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 12, n. to l. 1.

taxpayer.⁸³ With regard to receipts, since many taxes were paid in different installments, the payer could have been still required to pay further amounts and, thus, forgery in the initial receipt is still practically possible.

L. 4. This line is quite faint. The writing of the personal pronoun *y* in the phrase *mtw=y dī.t*  (facsimile is approximate since the ink is faded) is fairly strange as it is written as one or probably two horizontal strokes.

šsp is not clearly visible. However, the remaining parts  show the absence of the middle oblique stroke of the *šsp* sign, a convention that was more common in early writings than in Ptolemaic writings of the word.⁸⁴

The preposition *n* before the word *īp* is probably written as a big dot. The writing of *īp* is quite abstruse because of the severely faded ink. The visible parts of the word show that the lower part of the initial *ī* is rounded and stretched toward the middle *p*, which is written in a small form over the last part of the initial *ī* with a small dot under it. The determinative of *īp* (vertical stroke representing a seated man with a hand to his mouth) is undisputable. A possible facsimile can be like this .

L. 6. The same scribe (Nechtminis son of Totoes) signed another early Ptolemaic tax receipt (O. Taxes 2, no. 22) from Thebes about the salt tax dated to the 29th year of Ptolemy II,⁸⁵ which confirms the dating of the current text to the reign of the latter.

R-hrw n ‘at the command of, at the behest of’ was usually written without *r*,⁸⁶ and it was often followed by a suffix pronoun⁸⁷ that usually corresponds to the number of the speakers.⁸⁸ In the current example it is remarkably followed by a personal name, which is linked to it by means of a genitival *n*. In receipts, *r-hrw* commonly comes after *sh* as part of the subscription to convey the meaning ‘in place of, for, or at the command of,’⁸⁹ which indicates that the scribe acts as a representative of or as mandated by another person or official.⁹⁰ In the present example, this person (i.e. Horos son of Pais) is possibly a tax collector, or more likely a tax farmer since the majority of money tax receipts in the Ptolemaic Period—with the exception of very limited number of receipts that were issued by royal banks or known bankers—used to be issued by local tax collectors’ offices at the behest of tax farmers.⁹¹ In some late Ptolemaic receipts related to debt payments from Gebelein and Thebes, *r-hrw* occurs within the formula *nty sh r-hrw=f* which literally means ‘which is written at his command’ or in its full *nty sh r-hrw=f r dī.t=s* ‘which has been written at his command, to give them,’ for which Kaplony-Heckel assumed a legal connotation. According to her, this formula (with or without *r dī.t=s*) indicates that a debt

⁸³ P. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman*, P.L.Bat. 9 (Leiden, 1961), 33, fn. 5.

⁸⁴ Cf. early writings, nos. 1-12, and Ptolemaic writings, nos. 1-2, 6 in *DemGloss*, 500.

⁸⁵ Cf. Muhs, *O. Taxes 2*, 37-38.

⁸⁶ Cf. *DemGloss*, 366; *CDD*, *H*, 132-133.

⁸⁷ *DemGloss*, 366.

⁸⁸ A. Winkler, “The Bilingual Archive of the Linen Weaver Petechonsis, Son of Thoteus, and O. Bodl. EG. Inscr. 328,” *AncSoc* 45 (2015): 104, n. 5.

⁸⁹ Cf. M. Malinine, “Taxes funéraires égyptiennes à l’époque gréco-romaine,” in *Mélanges Mariette*, ed. [J.] [Sainte Fare Garnot], BdE 32 (Le Caire, 1961), 146, n. d.

⁹⁰ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 143-44, n. gg.

⁹¹ Cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 83; R. Bogaert, “Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” *ZPE* 120 (1998): 166-67; K. Vandorpe and W. Clarysse, “Egyptian Bankers and Bank Receipts in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt,” in *Pistoi dia tèn technèn: Bankers, Loans and Archives in the Ancient World; Studies in Honour of Raymond Bogaert*, ed. K. Verboven, K. Vandorpe, and V. Chankowski (Leuven, 2008), 157.

document is made upon his (i.e. the debtor's) dictation, in which he obliges himself to pay.' Thus, she understood the relative from *nty sh r-hrw=f* in this context as a reference to a debt document.⁹²

L. 7. Reading *h³.t-sp 17* 'year 17' seems very plausible despite the faded ink at this spot. The writing is different from that of year 16 in ll. 3, 5 above. This dating indicates the date of the actual payment, which—taking into consideration the date, for which the payment was due—alludes to a payment in arrears.

2.1.1.2 Receipts for the Poll Tax

Most of the receipts within the current group of ostraca are dated to the Roman Period, and a large portion of them acknowledge payments for the poll tax, being the major capitation tax of that period. This tax was known in Greek as *λαογραφία* (*laographia*), i.e. 'census-tax'⁹³ since *λαογραφία* literally means 'the enrollment of the people' or 'population register.'⁹⁴ In Demotic, this tax, i.e. the poll tax,⁹⁵ was often expressed as (*p³*) *h_d (n) ḥp.t* '(the) silver (of) the head,'⁹⁶ or sometimes *p³ hmt n ḥp.t* 'the copper of the head.'⁹⁷ Additionally, Mattha took note of some regional differences in the designation of this tax; though, all being centered on the word *ḥp.t* 'head.'⁹⁸ It deserves noting that the Demotic *h_d n ḥp.t* is not a rendering of the Greek *λαογραφία*, rather—as Clarysse pointed out—it was probably a loan translation 'calque' of the Latin *capitatio*.⁹⁹ In Wallace's opinion, the Roman poll tax was first introduced in the 7th year of Augustus as a reform to the old capitation tax under the Ptolemies.¹⁰⁰ The imposition of poll tax is seen by Rathbone as 'a potent symbol of subjection to Roman role,' and not simply a fiscal innovation.¹⁰¹ Whether this tax was a pure Roman innovation, or a modified version of a Ptolemaic precursor is still debated.¹⁰²

The poll tax was levied on adult males from the age of 14 to 62 (sometimes up to 65). Slaves, too, were liable to it.¹⁰³ Interestingly, this burden was not even lifted immediately after the taxpayer's death. As scholars explained, a full amount was still due on the estate of the person who died later in the year. For the one who died in the first five months of the year, one half of the amount was to be paid on his behalf. A slightly larger than one half of the annual poll tax rate was due in case the person died in the sixth month.¹⁰⁴ Only few groups of people were exempt from it, including Roman citizens, certain Egyptian officials, as well as some privileged individuals or groups. For instance, citizens of Alexandria seem to have benefited from this exemption from the time of Augustus until the time of Caracalla, when they possibly lost this privilege. Meanwhile, citizens of some metropolises seem to have enjoyed a reduced

⁹² For a discussion, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Zur Form der demotischen Quittungen auf Ostraka und zu ihrer Formel *nty sh r hrw=f r djt-s/ nty sh r hrw=f*," in *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, ed. J. Osing and G. Dreyer (Wiesbaden, 1987), 257–65, more specifically 258, 263.

⁹³ S. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt: From Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton, 1938), 116; Wallace, "Census and Poll-Tax," 432.

⁹⁴ Wallace, "Census and Poll-Tax," 432; Monson, "Fiscal Reforms," 155.

⁹⁵ For some examples of Demotic receipts for poll tax, either paid alone or in conjunction with other taxes, see Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 211–12. For Demotic poll tax receipts in the collection of the Louvre Museum, see Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 212–21.

⁹⁶ Cf. *DemGloss*, 59; *CDD*, c, 55. In English, poll is an archaic word meaning 'head;' cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 30.

⁹⁷ Cf. *DemGloss*, 310; Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 45; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 209.

⁹⁸ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 45.

⁹⁹ W. Clarysse, "Greek Loan-Words in Demotic," in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19-21 September 1984*, ed. S. Vleeming, *StudDem I* (Leuven, 1987), 13.

¹⁰⁰ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 116.

¹⁰¹ Rathbone, "Roman Taxation," 86.

¹⁰² In his recent article from 2014, Monson reviewed the old discussion on the relation between the Ptolemaic capitation charges and the Roman poll tax concluding that it was at least in some way a continuation of the late Ptolemaic capitation taxes; for details, see Monson, "Late Ptolemaic Taxes," 127–60.

¹⁰³ Rathbone, "Roman Taxation," 87.

¹⁰⁴ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 124–25; R. Ritner, "Poll Tax on the Dead," *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 206.

rate.¹⁰⁵ As its Greek name discloses, the collection of this tax was based on a census or registration of population. Bagnall and Frier elucidated that such census declaration had to be carried out every 14 years. They also highlighted the coincidence between the minimum age of liability to poll tax with this 14-years interval of census declarations, hinting at a probable early decision from the state to use this interval.¹⁰⁶

As the majority of the Demotic receipts testify, the poll tax was mainly paid in money to the bank. In the case of Memnonia, for example, the bank was known as *pʹ shn n nʹ ʿw.y=w mht.w* ‘the bank of the northern districts.’¹⁰⁷ In some cases, it could have been paid to a tax collector who might have been either a state official or a tax farmer.¹⁰⁸ As scholars noted, the rate of poll tax was not uniform, and it tended to vary from one place to another, even within the Theban nome itself.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, as Lichtheim explained, most receipts usually acknowledge partial payments or installments and ignore the due total, which makes it hard to accurately calculate the rate of this tax.¹¹⁰ Sometimes it is even unclear whether the recorded sum represents a total or an installment,¹¹¹ which is why some text editors refrained from drawing any conclusions regarding the rate and sufficed to take note of the rates acknowledged in the texts,¹¹² while others tended to draw different conclusions concerning the standard rate for this tax in the different regions. Thus, Wilcken argued that the rate in Memnonia was at least or probably exactly 16 drachmas.¹¹³ Likewise, Mattha concluded that the rate of the poll tax in the early Roman Period was 16 drachmas in some Theban regions including Memnonia, whereas in other regions it was 10 drachmas.¹¹⁴ Lichtheim also noted the recurrence of the payment of 16 drachmas in poll tax receipts from Upper Egypt, although without any decisive conclusion regarding the rate.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, Wallace based on Milne’s observations concluded that the annual rate in Memnonia likely reached 24 drachmas,¹¹⁶ a rate that was apparently accepted by Vleeming as a standard rate of poll tax in Memnonia.¹¹⁷ Rathbone distinguished between two rates in some regions in Lower and Middle Egypt. These are the rate of the metropolis and the basic rate or the rate of the villages, which used to be higher than the former. For Upper Egypt, he noticed that the rate of 16 drachmas was common in several metropolises. He—in disagreement with the traditional view that metropolises in Upper Egypt enjoyed no reduction in rate—speculated that the rate of 16 drachmas was perhaps normal for metropolises, and villages probably had to pay a higher rate. For the Theban region in particular, Rathbone explained that some quarters paid up to 24 drachmas, while others paid only 10 drachmas, which might imply that some districts might have been regarded as metropolises.¹¹⁸ More recently, Monson reaffirmed the classical view that the Thebaid probably enjoyed no reduction in rate as of the reign of Augustus, and he additionally elucidated that the inhabitants of Thebes itself paid the poll tax at an annual rate of 10 drachmas per capita, while those of the Theban nomes had to pay 16 drachmas.¹¹⁹ This conclusion of

¹⁰⁵ For more details, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 117 ff.; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 156.

¹⁰⁶ Bagnall and Frier, *Demography of Roman Egypt*, 2, 27.

¹⁰⁷ A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia: recherches de papyrologie et d’épigraphie grecques sur la nécropole de la Thèbes d’Égypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine*, RAPH 23 (Le Caire, 1952), 64. For more on this bank, see R. Bogaert, “La banque des Memnonia: une mise au point,” *ZPE* 86 (1991): 259–63; R. Bogaert, “Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l’Égypte romaine, 30A-284,” *ZPE* 109 (1995): 16–169.

¹⁰⁸ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16–17.

¹⁰⁹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 210.

¹¹⁰ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16.

¹¹¹ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 210.

¹¹² E.g. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 210.

¹¹³ U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien: ein Beitrag zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. I (Leipzig: Berlin, 1899), 236.

¹¹⁴ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 46.

¹¹⁵ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16.

¹¹⁶ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 130; for Milne’s notes on this concern, see J. Milne, “Greek Texts,” in *Theban Ostraca: Edited from the Originals, Now Mainly in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (London, 1913), 118–19.

¹¹⁷ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 138, n. dd.

¹¹⁸ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 87.

¹¹⁹ Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 155–56.

Monson agrees with the aforementioned assumption of Mattha and the remarks of Lichtheim which alluded to 16 drachmas as a standard rate in some Theban nomes including Memnonia, which is—above all—frequently mentioned through the pertinent Demotic material,¹²⁰ including the receipts here published, of which some refer directly to the standard rate of 16 drachmas (expressed as 4 staters) and many others acknowledge relatively lower payments such as 8 and 4 drachmas, which were apparently installments or partial payments of that annual rate.

The poll tax receipts presented here all date to the early Roman Period (from the reign of Augustus to Claudius). As Lichtheim noted, receipts from the reign of Augustus do not usually mention the name of the ruler in contrast to those of Tiberius and later ones, which used to mention the emperor's name. Therefore, Lichtheim deemed all the receipts not referring to Caesar to belong to Augustus.¹²¹ This note seems applicable to the current group of poll tax receipts since all receipts from the reign of Augustus dispense with any direct reference to him by name. Nevertheless, the date of the current Augustan receipts is highly secure owing to some considerations: some of them indicate a relatively high date that cannot be ascribed to any early Roman emperor other than Augustus who ruled up to 43 years, while others are safely dated to Augustus thanks to some other internal indications. On the other hand, the poll tax receipts from the reign of Tiberius here studied usually refer to his name. When his name was missing for whatever reason (partial damage of the ostrakon for instance), receipts could be luckily dated to his reign with the help of onomastics.

The current group of poll tax receipts, just like most bank and granary receipts, are objectively formulated, i.e. uses the so-called impersonal formula which usually begins with a verb of payment (here *in* is used) followed by the payer and further data.¹²² According to Muhs, this formula was typical for all money receipts since the early Ptolemaic Period. It was also one of the standard formulae of early Ptolemaic temple receipts side by side with other formulae, e.g. the letter form *NN p' nty dd n NN* 'NN is the one who says to NN,' or the formula beginning with *iw n-dr.t NN* 'received on the hands of NN.'¹²³

-2-

Exc. No. (MH 1571). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 4x 5.8x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 26 [of Augustus(?)] = 5-4 BC(?).

Transliteration:

1. *r.in Krr s3 P3y-k3 r*
2. *p3 shn n n3 c.wy(.w) r'mh'[t.w]*
3. *hr p3 hd n cpy.t n h3.t-sp 2'6' (?) [hn n3 rmt.w] (?)*
4. *n Pa-Mnt s3 Pa-iry r's'[ttr 1.t/ hd qd.t 1/] (?)*
5. *sttr 1.t c'n r'sh'[n h3.t-sp 26 ibd ... sw ...] (?)*

Translation:

1. What Krouris son of Pikos has paid to
2. the bank of the 'north'[ern] districts

¹²⁰ It is worth noting here, though, that some Theban Demotic receipts on ostraca, e.g. O. Mattha, no. 29 and 170 (Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 89, 145–46) acknowledged some remarkably and unjustifiably high annual payments per person (12.5 and 15 staters). It is also remarkable that these receipts are dated to the early Roman Period (reign of Augustus and Tiberius), the time from which most of the evidence for 4 staters as a standard rate comes.

¹²¹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16.


¹²² For more on the impersonal formula in comparison with the so-called letter form in Demotic receipts, see Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 9–13.

¹²³ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 29.

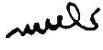
3. for the poll tax of year 26(?) [among the men](?)
4. of Pamonthes son of Paeris: [1]s'[tater/ 1 silver kite/](?)
5. 1 stater again. 'Written' [in year 26, ... month of the ...-season, day ...](?)

Commentary:

The ostrakon is broken on its left side. The receipt likely dates to the reign of Augustus due to the relatively high date recorded in the text. Internal indications seem to support an Augustan date as well. Among such indications is the highly probable (almost certain) reference to the tax collector Pamonthes son of Paeris, who appeared in other poll tax receipts from the reign of Augustus such as O. Theb. D 16 (year 25 of Augustus),¹²⁴ O. MH 2587 (year 27 of Augustus), O. MH 4516 (year 29 of Augustus),¹²⁵ and **Text 3** in the extant collection (year 29 of Augustus) usually preceded by the famous phrase *hn n3 rmt.w n* 'among the men of.' Added to that, the handwriting of the current receipt is very similar to that of O. MH 4516.

L. 1. : The *r* of *r.in* is almost vertically written. The same applies to the *s3* of filiation after *Krr* and the preposition *r* 'to' after *P3y-k3*.

Krr occurs also as *Qrwr*, *Grwr*, *Qrr*, *Grr*,¹²⁶ *P3-qrr*, or *P3y-qrr*,¹²⁷ etc.

L. 3. : *P3hd n* seems to be remarkably ligatured to *hr*.

py.t often occurs as *p.t*.¹²⁸



: Reading the number after 20 in the dating is quite problematic. While reading 26 seems more likely, one cannot completely exclude 29.

The phrase *hn n3 rmt.w* fits perfectly in the lacuna after the date. The restoration of this phrase is also made by analogy with other receipts which have a similar handwriting and contemporaneous dating and make mention of the tax collector Pamonthes son of Paeris, e.g. the above cited O. MH 4516 and O. Theb. D 16.¹²⁹ This phrase, i.e. *hn n3 rmt.w n NN* 'among the men of NN,' mainly occurs in the early Roman bank receipts (from the reign of Augustus) for the poll tax and less frequently in money receipts about weaver, bath, or land tax.¹³⁰ It seems also peculiar to the Demotic tax receipts on ostraca from western Thebes.¹³¹ Although the translation of the phrase seems unproblematic, its connotation does not appear to be so. Having brought most examples of this expression to light, Lichtheim—after making some introductory remarks—concluded that 'among the men of NN' implies that the taxpayer was a member of a group of payers enrolled as liable for poll tax, and that 'NN' was the tax collector responsible for the collection of their payments. In Lichtheim's opinion, a possible reason for using

¹²⁴ H. Thompson, "Demotic Texts," in *Theban Ostraca: Edited from the Originals, Now Mainly in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (London, 1913), 25; pl. x.

¹²⁵ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 22–23; pls. 5–6, 39–40.

¹²⁶ Cf. *DemNam*, 982.

¹²⁷ Cf. *DemNam*, 277.

¹²⁸ Cf. *DemGloss*, 59; *CDD*, *c*, 54–55.

¹²⁹ For a list of the tax collectors attested within this phrase together with the type of collected tax, see D. Agut-Labordère, "Les collecteurs de taxes à Jémé d'Auguste à Claude," *AncSoc* 39 (2009): 102–5.

¹³⁰ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16–17; n. to O. Leiden, no. 8, l. 1 in M. Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Leiden, 1974), 14; U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Der Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis und sein frühromisches Archiv. Anhang: *hn n3 rmt.w n NN s3 NN*," in *Akten der 8. Internationalen Konferenz für demotische Studien: Würzburg 27.-30. August 2002*, ed. K.-Th. Zauzich (Wiesbaden, 2019), 79.

¹³¹ Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis," 79. Nur el-Din, adding a further attestation to this phrase, i.e. O. Leiden, no. 8, l. 1 in Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 14. This list of Nur el-Din was later enhanced by Kaplony-Heckel, see Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis," 79–80. To this later list, the current study adds one certain (**Text 3**) and another possible example (**Text 2**).

such a phrase to refer to tax collectors in the time of Augustus might be the transitional nature of that time in which the tax collection system was gradually converted from the old Ptolemaic tax farming into a system of direct collection by state officials.¹³² Lichtheim's identification of this 'NN' as a tax collector contradicts Thompson's, who deemed 'NN' as a captain of a company in which the taxpayer—whom he perceived as a cleruch—was registered together with his colleagues (i.e. *nʹ rmt.w*),¹³³ and Mattha, who considered 'NN' as an owner of an estate and '*nʹ rmt.w*'—including the taxpayer mentioned in the receipt—as the workmen in this particular estate.¹³⁴ Afterwards, some scholars¹³⁵ adopted the view of Lichtheim, including Bogaert who assumed that this 'NN' is the tax collector who paid the taxes of those persons (namely, the taxpayer in the receipt together with the group referred to as *nʹ rmt.w n NN*) to the bank.¹³⁶

On the other hand, Kaplony-Heckel came up with a slightly different conclusion. In her view, *hn nʹ rmt.w n NN sʹ NN* denotes an employee or an assistant of this 'NN,' whom she—following Lichtheim—recognizes as a tax collector. Her argument for not following Lichtheim's identification of '*nʹ rmt.w*' as taxpayers is based mainly, but not exclusively, on philological grounds. That is the problematic position of this phrase, which had to be directly connected to the taxpayer—preferably by means of a relative clause—, if it was really meant to denote him. Additionally, she noticed that the position of the phrase in question is relatively close to where the name of the scribe should have occurred. As an additional support to her assumption, she compared the current phrase with another one occurred in a late Greek receipt (O. Theb. G. 36, dated to 113 AD) mentioning 'NN tax collector of money taxes in Memnonia through his assistant NN' She additionally provided some examples in which the assistant of the tax collector was mentioned.¹³⁷ In fact, some points seem to favor Lichtheim's proposition over hers. Firstly, even if its position in the text is grammatically not fully accurate, taking this descriptive phrase (*hn nʹ rmt.w n NN*) as a reference to the taxpayer seems more defining and determining of this taxpayer by ascribing him to a certain group. To the contrary, considering the same phrase as indicative of the employee or assistant of the tax collector would be disguising and concealing about his identity. It may also imply that the assistants were too many to be named since if there were two or three assistants, he could have mentioned each one by name instead of using a vague term to identify him. Secondly, if assistants were really meant, one would expect—just as the texts which refer to assistants often do—the mention of their names and titles using a relevant formula as for instance *NN pʹ rt n NN* 'NN the representative of NN,' which Kaplony-Heckel already referred to.¹³⁸ A further formula that could have been used to convey the same meaning is that which utilizes *r-hrw* 'on behalf of, at the behest/ command of.'¹³⁹ Even the Greek example, which she quoted in support of her idea, already refers to the assistant by name and title.¹⁴⁰

More recently, Agut-Labordère—whose goal was to study the group of tax collectors referred to within the phrase *hn nʹ rmt.w n*—shortly reviewed the earlier scholarly views (save that of Kaplony-Heckel) on this matter and settled for Lichtheim's interpretation regarding *rmt.w* being a group of taxpayers ascribed to the tax collector entrusted with the collection of their taxes.¹⁴¹ The absence of this phrase from receipts after the Augustan period is due to the fact that it was used to introduce the name of the tax collector which, according to Agut-Labordère, the Roman administration after Augustus decided to permanently ban from receipts since the names of the collectors were known to the taxpayers as well as

¹³² For a detailed discussion, see Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 16–17.

¹³³ See n. 2 to O. Theb. D. 16 in Thompson, "Demotic Texts," 25.

¹³⁴ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 23 (n. 2 to formula no. 1), 88 (O. Mattha, no. 25, n. to l. 3).

¹³⁵ E.g. S. Wängstedt, *Die demotischen Ostraka der Universität zu Zürich*, BEURU 62 (Uppsala, 1965), 14–15, n. to ll. 2-3.

¹³⁶ R. Bogaert, "Les documents bancaires de L'Égypte Gréco-Romaine et Byzantine," *AncSoc* 31 (2001): 226.

¹³⁷ Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis," 77–79; for the Greek receipt, see O. Theb. G 36 in Milne, "Greek Texts," 95.

¹³⁸ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis," 78–79.

¹³⁹ An example of such formulae appears in an early Ptolemaic receipt (**Text 1**) in this study; see above for more details.


¹⁴⁰ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis," 78.

¹⁴¹ Agut-Labordère, "Collecteurs de taxes à Jémé," 105–6.

to the bankers who apparently had lists of taxpayers together with the collectors responsible for them, hence there was no need in keep recording the names of the tax collectors in the receipts.¹⁴² Eventually, it seems that Lichtheim's explanation of such phrase is the best possible one so far; see also comment on **Text 51**, l. 5 below for further notes.

On the other hand, the assumption that the phrase *hn nʹ rmt.w* can be followed by a reference to the place to which the taxpayer belonged seems unlikely. This idea—which Akeel came up with when she read l. 3 of the Roman receipt of O. Cairo JdE 50453, which is opened by *r.in NN*, as *hn nʹ rmt.w n Dmʹ r.in Hr sʹ Hr-sʹ-ʹs.t hnʹ Pa-Mnʹ sʹ Pʹy-kʹ* ‘among the men of Jeme, Horos son of Harsiesis paid together with Pamothes son of Pikos’¹⁴³—is improbable for many reasons. In the first place, the signs directly after *rmt.w* are not decisively clear and one cannot even verify their reading from the published photograph. Generally speaking, references to the place where the tax has been paid were normally given with the simple formula ‘*n+* place name.’ As many examples show, the place name could even be totally omitted. Also, according to Akeel's reading, the verb of payment occurs twice within the receipt (i.e. at the very beginning and in l. 3), which makes the receipt's formulation fairly odd if compared to the normal formula of receipts in general or those beginning with *r.in* in particular. She also did not provide any possible examples or reasons for such an odd phenomenon. She additionally assumed that the part following the second *r.in* refers to the names of two further payers, which raises the number of payers in this receipt to three, which is highly unlikely. Tax receipts are official documents and were usually issued to one taxpayer. If the receipt has more than one payment, the second payment usually belonged to the same taxpayer and was often introduced by some technical phrases like *ʹn*. I am not aware of any examples where the verb of payment occurred twice in one receipt or where numerous unrelated persons shared the same receipt (for some examples of relatives sharing the same receipts, see **Text 3**, comment on ll. 1-2). It is also not practical to do so if the taxpayers were not close relatives or from the same family. Added to that, the phrase *hn nʹ rmt.w* was always followed by a reference to a person and no example that proves otherwise has been published. In view of that, the reading and identification of the part following the phrase *hn nʹ rmt.w* are doubtful, and the group which Akeel reads as *Dmʹ* should perhaps be read or interpreted differently. It could also be, together with the following signs, part of a certain personal name or if the reading *Dmʹ* is inevitable, it might be taken as a misplaced reference to the place which should have been given directly after the reference to the date, but apparently mistakenly put between the phrase *hn nʹ rmt.w* and the personal name which normally follows it.

L. 4. Restoring *sttr 1.t/ hq qd.t 1* ‘1 stater/ 1 silver kite’ in this line seems certain as the partly preserved initial *s* of *sttr* and the occurrence of *sttr 1.t ʹn* in the following line indicate. Money receipts usually acknowledge the paid sum as follows: sum/ half of the sum/ sum again.

L. 5.  : Similar writings of *ʹn* appear in O. Theb. D 16, ll. 4, 6¹⁴⁴ which belongs to the same tax collector Pamonthes son of Paeris and in O. MH 2196, ll. 4, 5¹⁴⁵ which has a similar date (26th year of Augustus) and handwriting.

The word *sh* was most likely followed by a date. The size of the lacuna and the nature of receipts with the phrase *hn nʹ rmt.w n NN* makes it hard to expect a signature of a scribe after *sh* or the date.

¹⁴² Agut-Labordère, “Collecteurs de taxes à Jémé,” 108.

¹⁴³ Cf. M. Akeel, “Two Demotic Ostraca from (Τά Μερμόνεα),” in *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*, ed. F. Haikal, BdE 164 (Le Caire, 2015), 27–30; fig. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” 25; pl. x.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 31; pl. 11.

-3-

Exc. No. (MH 483). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11.1x 10.3x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 29 of [Augustus] = 25 May 1 BC.

Transliteration:

1. [...]
2. *irm(?) P3(?)*-*r* ...⁷ [... *r p3 shn*]
3. *n n3 c.wy.w mht.w hr(?)*
4. *p3 hḏ n cpy.t n h3.t-sp 29 hn n3 rmt.w n*
5. *Pa-Mnḏ s3 Pa-iry sttr 4/*
6. *sttr 2.t/ sttr 4 c n sh n h3.t-sp 29*
7. *ibd-2 pr.t sw 25 c n tpy šmw sw crqy*
8. *sttr 4/ sttr 2.t/ sttr 4 c n*

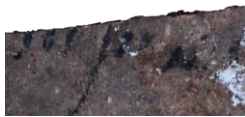
Translation:

1. [...]
2. and(?) Pa(?)*-r* ...⁷ [... to the bank]
3. of the northern districts for
4. the poll tax of year 29 among the men of
5. Pamonthes son of Paeris: 4 staters/
6. 2 staters/ 4 staters again. Written in year 29,
7. Mecheir, day 25. Likewise, Pachons, last day:
8. 4 staters/ 2 staters/ 4 staters again.

Commentary:

The first line and a major part of the second are damaged. Traces of very faint signs appear at the bottom right side of the sherd. The text records a payment for the poll tax of year 29 of an unnamed Roman emperor, who—as the relatively high date strongly suggests—should be Augustus. That the text belongs to the group of receipts that refer to the tax collector Pamonthes son of Paeris, who seemed to have been one of the tax collectors operating under Augustus (see above for more), constitutes further textual support for the proposed dating.

Ll. 1-2. As the formula of bank receipts shows, the text is expected to begin with a verb of payment, e.g. *r.in*, *r.tw*, or *r.wt* followed by the name of the taxpayer, which has then to be followed by a reference to the bank.¹⁴⁶



The reading of the signs at the beginning of the first visible line (could be l. 2) is not completely certain due to the faint ink. One possibility is to read *irm* followed a personal name beginning with *P3*-*r* ...⁷, a reading that would be quite odd for a beginning of a receipt but would be totally normal if taken as introducing the name of a second taxpayer. Further support to such a possibility could be the fact that the receipt acknowledges two separate payments of 16 drachmas each, which—given that 16 drachmas were the standard rate per capita at Memnonia—would correspond to the tax of two persons. In fact, the practice that two or more persons sharing the same receipt, even though not very common, is attested in other Demotic receipts from the same region and period such as


¹⁴⁶ Cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 23, (1); 23 n. 1.

O. Mattha, no. 26, which records three payments (16 drachmas each) for the poll tax of a father and his two sons. In this receipt, which interestingly describes the taxpayer and one of his sons with the phrase here attested, i.e. ‘among the men of NN,’ the scenario was the following: in year 19, Mecheir, day 24, the father and one of his sons have paid 4 staters (16 drachmas; equal to a full payment for one person) for the poll tax. Later, on Epeiph, day 17, another 4 staters for the poll tax were paid and acknowledged on the same old receipt, which they apparently brought with them from home. On the same day, further 4 staters for the poll tax were paid but for a different son.¹⁴⁷ Other examples are O. Mattha, no. 38 and 170 which register payments for the poll tax made by two or more persons from the same family (fathers and their children).¹⁴⁸ A further example is the early Roman receipt of **Text 12** in this study which records a cash payment for the value of wheat made by a man and his son. As these examples show, which is also self-evident, the taxpayers for whom the receipt was issued should have been members of the same household, close relatives, or at least have common work or business so that they can practically make use of a shared receipt. This should have been also the case in the receipt under consideration.

L. 3. The writing of *hr* is quite indistinct due to ink feathering at this spot; its reading is, however, undoubtful.

L. 5. For more on the tax collector Pamonthes son of Paeris, see **Text 2** above.



L. 7.  : The sign after *cn* and before *tpy pr.t* is a quite strange sign and might be a corrected or an abandoned writing. It seems that the scribe wrote *cn tpy* at first, then he realized that *tpy* was already overlapping with the tails of *cn* and *sh* of l. 6. If he had written the name of the season directly after *tpy* (which he should normally do), the result would have been even more chaotic, and the date would have been illegible. Thus, he apparently crossed out the first *tpy* and wrote it again together with the complete date away from the spot in which numerous signs overlap.

-4-

Exc. No. (MH 4066). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.6x 7.2x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 32 of [Augustus] = 16 June 3 AD.

Transliteration:

1. *r.in Pa-Dm^{3c} s³ Pa-Mn¹ s³ Ms-wr*
2. *r p³ shⁿ n n³ c.wy.w mht.w hr p³ h^d*
3. *n^c pe(.t) n h³.t-sp 32 n Dm^{3c} s[ttr 2.t]*
4. */ sttr 1.t/ sttr 2.t cn^c sh¹[n h³.t-sp 32]*
5. *ibd-2 smw sw 22*

Translation:



1. What Pasemis son of Pamonthes son of Mesoeris has paid
2. to the bank of the northern districts for the
3. poll 'tax' of year 32 in Jeme: [2] s[taters]
4. / 1 stater/ 2 staters again. 'Written' [in year 32],
5. Payni, day 22.


¹⁴⁷ Cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 88; pl. iii.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 92, 145–46; pls. v, xv.

Commentary:

The sherd is partly broken at its left edge. The handwriting is early Roman. The text concerns a poll tax receipt issued for the famous taxpayer Pasemis son of Pamonthes son of Mesoeris, known from other early Roman receipts from Medinet Habu. As his burial tax receipt (O. MH 2649)¹⁴⁹ reveals, this man died in the 43rd regnal year of Augustus. Thus, the date here recorded, i.e. regnal year 32, undoubtedly refers to Augustus, a fact that is also confirmed through the high regnal year which is not possible for any other emperor in the early Roman Period than Augustus. In addition to the current text (without field number MH 30.130a), **Text 5** (without field number MH 30.130a and belonging to Psenmonthes, the son of the extant taxpayer) and **Text 12** (with field number MH 30.130a and belonging to Pasemis himself) belong to the archive of the family of Pasemis¹⁵⁰ as well. This archive is one of the few archives to be discovered *in situ*.¹⁵¹ Most of the ostraca which form the base of this archive have the extra field registration number ‘MH 30.130a’ and were found in square R 8 which is located opposite to the western fortified gate at the rear of the great temple of Medinet Habu.¹⁵² John Larson, a museum archivist in Oriental Institute of Chicago, provided Kaplony-Heckel with further description of the exact find spot of these ostraca stating that they were found in a ‘vaulted room’ within square R 8.¹⁵³ Through the study of his archive, Kaplony-Heckel¹⁵⁴ identified four generations from the family of Pasemis, after whom she named the archive, being the most frequently attested individual. The first generation is represented by his grandfather Mesoeris, who does not appear personally in the archive. The second generation includes the father of Pasemis (i.e. Pamonthes) and his uncle (i.e. Psenmonthes). To the third generation belong the children of Pamonthes and Psenmonthes, namely Pasemis himself and his three brothers Psenmonthes, Pates, and ... (?), as well as his cousin Psenmonthes. From the fourth generation, we have Psenmonthes and Pamonthes the two sons of Pasemis. The archive is dated to the time of Augustus and Tiberius (texts belonging to Pasemis do not exist after year 43 of Augustus, being apparently the year of his death) in the early Roman Period, and it constitutes a rich source of information about the economic, agricultural, and social situation in Medinet Habu at that time.¹⁵⁵

L. 1.  *Pa-Dm^{3c}* seems to be corrected from *Pa-Mnḫ*. The same is true for *Pa-Mnḫ*  which is apparently corrected from *Pa-Dm^{3c}*. The scribe apparently confused both names. Correction by overwriting the wrong sign is fairly common in Demotic especially when both wrong and correct signs are graphically alike,¹⁵⁶ which is quite true of both *mn* and *ḏ* signs in both names.

L. 2. : The scribe dispensed with the initial *m* which usually precedes the *mḥ* sign in the word *mḥt.w*. Similar writings of *mḥt.w*, but with the initial *m*, occurred in other early Roman receipts from Medinet Habu such as O. MH 439, l. 2, O. MH 4063, l. 2, and O. MH 2654, l. 2.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 32.

¹⁵⁰ Most of the ostraca that belong to this archive were compiled by Kaplony-Heckel; see lists A and C in Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis,” 81–83.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis,” 64.

¹⁵² Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, vii, xiii; Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis,” 64. For the location of the square R 8, see U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, Volume I: General Plans and Views*, OIP 21 (Chicago, 1934), pl. 2.


¹⁵³ Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis,” 64; fn. 3.

¹⁵⁴ Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis,” 66–67.

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion of the archive and its contribution to the agricultural, economic, and administrative situation at Medinet Habu and Thebes in the early Roman Period, see Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis,” 64–91.

¹⁵⁶ M. Schentuleit, “*Wḥm*—zwischen Wort und Symbol,” in *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions: Of Making Many Books There Is No End. Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming*, ed. K. Donker van Heel, F. Hoogendijk, and C. Martin (Leiden; Boston, 2018), 69.


¹⁵⁷ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 24–25; pl. 7.



 *Hr* ‘for, concerning’ oddly appears as two strokes. These strokes were apparently connected as the remains of the sign show.

Only a tiny part of *hd* is preserved after the *p*³.

L. 3. The reason for adopting the spelling $\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$ in the current study is that it seems to be etymologically more plausible and accurate. The reading of the final part of the name of Jeme as $m^{\text{c}}.t$ has its roots in one of the earliest (if not the earliest) writings of this place name, namely $\underline{D}^{\text{3}} m^{\text{c}}.t$, which dates to the end of the 20th dynasty. According to Ray, the name $\underline{D}^{\text{3}} m^{\text{c}}.t$ could possibly be a derivative of the Egyptian $t^{\text{3}} s.t m^{\text{c}}.t$, whose initial $t^{\text{3}} s.t$ could have developed into d^{3} over time. This designation (i.e. $t^{\text{3}} s.t m^{\text{c}}.t$) was the Ramesside name for some parts of the Theban necropolis which may have been loosely used to refer to the southern parts of the necropolis which include Deir el-Medina and Medinet Habu.¹⁵⁸ This part was also referred to slightly differently in the Egyptian language, so we have writings like $\underline{D}^{\text{3}}mt$ and $\underline{T}^{\text{3}}mt$, which occurred since the 21st dynasty and were apparently used to designate the small temple of Medinet Habu as well as both the neighboring temples of Qasr el-Agouz and Deir Shelwit.¹⁵⁹ Yet, as Ray pointed out, these spellings do not support any obvious etymology.¹⁶⁰ Even though Otto suggested that they may derive from $t^{\text{3}}w-mwt$, i.e. ‘men and mothers,’¹⁶¹ which might imply a relation to the divine ogdoad.

In Demotic, the spelling $m^{\text{c}}.t$ is widely used in the writing of the name of Jeme: in both the name of the place and the deity. This is evident from the numerous Ptolemaic and Roman examples which the

DemGloss and *CDD* provide and in which this name indisputably ends with the m^{c} sign  (Ptolemaic example 8 of *DemGloss*, 678).¹⁶² The same is true of the *DemNam*, which provides multiple examples

in which the name $Pa-\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$ is clearly written with the full writing of m^{c}  (from example 1 of $Pa-\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$ in *DemNam*, 432).¹⁶³ Moreover, the group  (from example 5 of $Pa-\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$ in *DemNam*, 432) which appear in the majority of examples of $\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$, and may appear as if it ends with an *3* and could thus account for the reading $\underline{D}m^{\text{3}}$, is explained by the editors of the *DemNam* as a writing of the m^{c} sign since it replaced the full writing of m^{c} in several examples of the name $\underline{D}hwty-m^{\text{c}}$.¹⁶⁴ This led them to suggest $Pa-\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$ (or $Pa-\underline{D}(\text{3}y)-m^{\text{c}}$) as a better reading for the name listed in *DemNam* as $Pa-\underline{D}m^{\text{3}}$.¹⁶⁵ Apart from the undeniable occurrence of the m^{c} sign in numerous writings of $\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$, other phonetically written examples of this name (of the place and deity alike), end with the ^c sign. This shows that this ^c was an integral part of the spelling that this m^{c} syllable possibly came from m^{c} .¹⁶⁶

More than that, one of the Demotic writings seem to support Ray’s speculative suggestion on the etymology of $\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$, being derivative of $t^{\text{3}} s.t m^{\text{c}}.t$. This is the example of P. Harkness, col. v, l. 8, in which the name is written with an extra *t* at the beginning $T\underline{d}m^{\text{c}}$, which corresponds to the Coptic $\tau\underline{\chi}\mu\epsilon$,¹⁶⁷ which—as Ray explained—could mean that ‘the name has acquired an article, or the scribe is trying to render an unusual sound.’¹⁶⁸

¹⁵⁸ J. Ray, “Thoughts on Djeme and Papremis,” *GM* 45 (1981): 57–58.

¹⁵⁹ E. Otto, “Djeme,” in *LÄ I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 1108–1109.

¹⁶⁰ Ray, “Thoughts on Djeme,” 57.

¹⁶¹ Otto, “Djeme,” col. 1109.

¹⁶² See for example Ptolemaic writing nos. 6, 7, 8, 11 in *DemGloss*, 678; the Ptolemaic O. BM EA 12596, l. 2, the Roman O. Bodl 1278, l. 2 and P Harkness, col. 5, l. 8 cited in *CDD*, *D*, 39-40. Also compare the spelling $\underline{T}^{\text{3}}y-m^{\text{c}}$ in the early Demotic writings of the name $\textit{Imm-T}^{\text{3}}y-m^{\text{c}}$ cited in *DemGloss*, 679.

¹⁶³ Cf. examples nos. 1, 2, 13, 48 of the name $Pa-\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$ in *DemNam*, 432-33.


¹⁶⁴ Cf. examples nos. 5, 7, 11, 14, 17 of $\underline{D}hwty-m^{\text{c}}$ in *DemNam*, 1302.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. note 3 to the name $\underline{D}hwty-m^{\text{c}}$ in *DemNam*, 1302

¹⁶⁶ For examples of the writing $\underline{D}m^{\text{c}}$, see *CDD*, *D*, 39-41.

¹⁶⁷ M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness* (*MMA 31.9.7*) (Oxford, 2005), 79, 221; pl. 7; *CDD*, *D*, 39.

¹⁶⁸ Ray, “Thoughts on Djeme,” 58.

L. 4. The writing of  *cn* is quite strange. The lacuna after *sh* only suffices to restore a date. This receipt, like many receipts of this period, was not seemingly signed by the banker.

-5-

Exc. No. (MH 4084). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.7x 6.4x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 34 of [Augustus] = 4-5 AD.

Transliteration:

1. *r.in P3-šr-Mnṯs3 Pa-Dm3c ʿs3ʿ(?) [Ms-wr(?) r p3 shn]*
2. *n (n3) c.wy.w mhṯ.w [hr p3 hḏ n cp.t n h3.t-sp 34]*
3. *n Dm3c sttr 2.t ʿʿ [sttr 1/ sttr 2 cn]*
4. *sh n h3.t-sp 3ʿ4ʿ [...]*
5. *cn n p3y hrw [...]*
6. *ʿ...ʿ [...]*

Translation:

1. What Psenmonthes son of Pasemis ʿson ofʿ(?) [Mesoeris (?)] has paid [to the bank]
2. of (the) northern districts [for the poll tax of year 34]
3. in Jeme: 2 staters ʿʿ [1 stater/ 2 staters again].
4. Written in year 3ʿ4ʿ [...].
5. Again, on this (the same) day [...]
6. ʿ...ʿ [...]

Commentary:

The left and lower parts of the ostrakon are broken. Thus, the text could have been longer than 6 lines. The paleography, the relatively high date (year 34), and other prosopographical considerations make the dating of the current receipt to the reign of Augustus beyond doubt. On the other hand, the formula of the text, the fact that the payment was made to the bank, and the paid sum (even though it is clearly an installment) strongly suggest a poll tax receipt. Further indications include the fact that the receipt records extra payments made on the same day, which means that the first payment was a poll tax since other payments of other smaller taxes were usually supplemented to it (see comment on l. 5 for more).

L. 1. The restoration of the grandfather's name is possible but not entirely certain. Restoring the name of the grandfather, i.e. *Ms-wr*, followed by *r p3 shn* seems very likely and more fitting to the space available in the lacuna of line 1. It is thus plausible that the taxpayer here mentioned is Psenmonthes the son of the well-known Pasemis son of Pamonthes son of Mesoeris (for more on this person and his family archive, see comment on **Text 4** above). Whereas this person occurred in O. MH 4041,¹⁶⁹ 4082, 2654,¹⁷⁰ 4047,¹⁷¹ 4056,¹⁷² 2636,¹⁷³ 4046,¹⁷⁴ and 4083¹⁷⁵ with his full name, i.e. Psenmonthes son of Pasemis son of Mesoeris, he also appeared under the name Psenmonthes son of Pasemis in O. MH 2640.¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 41; pl. 15.

¹⁷⁰ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 25; pls. 7, 40, 41.

¹⁷¹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 45; pl. 17.

¹⁷² Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 48; pl. 19.


¹⁷³ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 51; pl. 21.

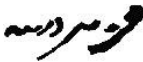
¹⁷⁴ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 52; pl. 21.

¹⁷⁵ Wahid el-Din, "Ostraca from Thebes," 76–77; pl. xxvi; fig. 48.

¹⁷⁶ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 26; pl. 8.

L. 3. Given that this person already paid 4 staters for his poll tax for the years 33 (O. MH 2654) and 38 (O. MH 2640) of Augustus, the 2 staters here paid certainly represent an installment. This is also confirmed by him paying a further installment of 1 stater for year 34. The receipt for this payment is recorded on the above-cited O. MH 4083 and is also only partly preserved. He appears in this text with the name *P3-šr-Mnṯ s3 Pa-ṚDm3c s3 Ms-Ṛwr7*. In contrast to ours, the receipt of O. MH 4083 records only a payment of 1 stater for the poll tax. Although the references to the months are lost in the lacuna in both texts, it seems that our receipt had the last installment of the year as the payment was supplemented by other taxes. This also means that he likely paid his poll tax of year 34, which was apparently 4 staters in total, at 3 installments (2 staters in our receipt, 1 in O. MH 4083, and 1 should have been paid in a third receipt).

L. 4. : The partly damaged number following the number 30 is certainly 4 not 3 since this person has already paid his poll tax (4 staters being the standard rate in Jeme) for year 33 as the receipt of O. MH 2654, which also bears a clearly different writing of the number 3, confirms.¹⁷⁷

L. 5. *cn n p3y hrw*  ‘again on this (i.e. same) day’ normally indicates an extra payment made in the same day and acknowledged in the same receipt. In receipts, it mainly introduces extra payments of different dues made by the same person on the same day. In Demotic accounts, this phrase was also used with the same function, viz. introducing a new transaction made in the same day.¹⁷⁸ O. Mattha, no. 26, ll. 7-8¹⁷⁹—in which this phrase appears as *p3 hrw*—presents a quite different case since this phrase was used to introduce a further payment for the same levy but for a different person (the son of the main taxpayer). A case that necessitated mentioning the name of the person for whom the extra payment was made. In our example, this phrase certainly introduces a payment of a charge other than poll tax since the receipt apparently belongs to the same person. This payment was presumably for the bath tax since in O. MH 2654 and O. MH 2640,¹⁸⁰ the same person paid his poll tax of years 33 and 38 of Augustus in conjunction with his bath tax of the same years. In this case, the recorded sum could have amounted to around 1 kite (2 drachmas), if it was a full payment of the bath tax (see introduction of poll tax receipt below for details).

-6-

Exc. No. (MH 4065). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.3x 8x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 38 of [Augustus] = 7 September 8 AD.

Transliteration:

1. *[r.ṯn/ wṯ(?) NN s3 NN r p3 shn]*
2. *[n n3 c.wy.w] Ṛmṯhṯ.w hr ḥd(?) [c]p[.t](?)*
3. *[n ḥ3.t-sp 3]7 n Dm3c sttr 3/*
4. *[sttr 1] Ṛḥd qd.t 1.t/ sttr 3 cn sh n ḥ3.t-sp 38.t tpy 3ḥ.t sw 10*

Translation:

1. [What NN son of NN has paid to the bank]
2. [of the] Ṛnṯ orthern [districts] for the [the po]ll tax

¹⁷⁷ Compare the present writing with that of the number 33 in O. MH 2654, ll. 3, 4, 6, 8 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 25; pls. 7, 41.

¹⁷⁸ For more on the use of this expression in Demotic accounts, see E. [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts: Some Notes on the Form and Content,” *JARCE* 54 (2018): 54, f. 91.


¹⁷⁹ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 88; pl. iii.


¹⁸⁰ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 25–26.


3. [of year 3]7 in Jeme: 3 staters/
4. [1 stater] and '1 kite' / 3 staters again. Written in year 38, Thoth, day 10.

Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved. According to the recorded date, namely year 38, the reign of Augustus is the only possibility. The surviving parts of the text, the formula, and the paid amount makes the identification as poll tax receipt undeniable.

L. 2. The word *mḥt.w*  is virtually completely preserved, so reconstructing *n nʹ c.wy.w mḥt.w* 'of the northern districts' in this line seems fairly likely. This should be also preceded in l. 1 by the name of the bank which has to be preceded by 'a verb of payment (*r.in/ wt/ ...*) + the name of the taxpayer.'

Reading *ḥd*  is extremely uncertain because of its quite bizarre writing: it looks more like the *c*-sign. Normally, *ḥd* is expected to appear after *hr* as part of the standard designation of poll tax (*ḥd (n) cp.t*). However, it is also possible that this sign was meant to belong to *cp.t*. In this case, it is apparently an extra *c* since the initial *c* of *cp.t* was always written above the *p*.¹⁸¹ As such, the name could be read *ccp.t*,¹⁸² which must have stood alone (i.e. without the preceding *ḥd*) as a designation for the poll tax. A usage that would be comparable to that of *cp.e(t)* in O. Mattha, no. 65, l. 1.¹⁸³

L. 4. : Reading *sttr 3* here and in l. 3 is paleographically plausible. This sum is usually halved as *sttr 1 ḥd qd.t 1*. Thus, the remaining signs at the beginning of this line—which significantly differ from the final signs of *sttr* in ll. 3, 4, and thus exclude restoring *sttr* at this spot—apparently represent *ḥd qd.t 1.t*, which has then to be preceded by *sttr 1* in the lacuna whose size does not oppose such restoration. Since the standard rate of the poll tax in Jeme was seemingly 4 staters (see introduction to poll tax above), the recorded sum here possibly indicates an installment.



: Reading *sw 10* 'day 10' seems unproblematic, despite the ink spot on its upper part which could induce reading 20 instead. Such ink spots spread on various spots at the bottom of the sherd as well.

-7-

Exc. No. (MH 2887). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6x 5.8x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Roman, year 10 or [11], probably of [Tiberius](?) = 24 or 25 AD(?).

Transliteration:

1. *r.in ʹImn-ḥtp sʹ Glʹ rʹ [pʹ shn n nʹ c.wy.w mḥt.w hr pʹ]*
2. *ḥd cp.e.t n ḥʹ.t-sp 10.t n Dmʹc [...]*
3. *tpy šmw sw 14 c.n nʹ(?) [...]*
4. *c.n ʹ...ʹ [...]*
5. *c.n nʹ [...]*

¹⁸¹ Cf. normal writings of *cp.t* in *DemGloss*, 59; *CDD*, c, 54-55.

¹⁸² Similar writing occurs in O. MH 118, l. 4; cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 23; pls. 6, 40.

¹⁸³ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 45, 101; pl. vii.


Translation:


1. What Amenotnes son of Kiales has paid 'to' [the bank of the northern districts for the]
2. poll tax of year 10 in Jeme [...]
3. Pachons, day 14. 'Likewise in' (?) [...].
4. Likewise, '...' [...].
5. 'Likewise in' [...].

Commentary:

The left part of the ostracon is largely damaged. The text mainly, but perhaps not solely, records a payment for the poll tax. On prosopographical and paleographical grounds (see comment on l. 1 below), this text might be dated to the reign of Tiberius, year 10 or perhaps 11 instead.¹⁸⁴

L. 1. This taxpayer is likely the same as the one attested in O. MH 4061,¹⁸⁵ according to which he is said to have paid his poll tax of year 5 under Tiberius. Therefore, the recorded date here (year 10 or possibly year 11) most likely refers to Tiberius as well. More than that, the handwriting of both texts implies that they were likely produced by the same scribe.

L. 2. : Note the vaulted stroke above the *d* of *Dm*^{3c}. This stroke already occurred in connection with *Dm*^{3c} in some examples where it has been taken by editors either as the genitival¹⁸⁶ or the preposition *n*.¹⁸⁷ In the current example, it most likely represents the preposition *n*, and the scribe apparently placed it above the *d* to save some space; for a further example of this practice in the current group of texts, see **Text 50**, l. 1.

L. 4. : The writing is quite indistinct at this spot. The reading of the first sign as *cn* 'likewise' seems very plausible, though. The same is probably true of ll. 3, 5 as well. Whether *cn* was followed directly by a date (month+ day) or was part of the expression '*cn n p3y hrw*' is not completely clear. *cn n p3y hrw* usually introduces a payment of a different tax made on the very same day (see comment on **Text 5**, l. 5 above for more), which is quite different from the expression *cn*+ month+ day 'likewise, again in month+ day' which normally indicates either further installments of the same tax or different payments of other taxes that were often made on later dates. In the current example, which seems to record three additional payments, the expression '*cn*+ month+ day' is expected to introduce at least one of the payments, if not all.

-8-

Exc. No. (MH 2794). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 9x 9.3x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 2 of Claudius = 29 May 42 AD.

¹⁸⁴ Although the text acknowledges a payment of the poll tax of year 10 and most payments of this tax were often made within the same year, it is not completely impossible for the actual payment to be paid in arrears in the following year. In this concern, one might cite the example of O. MH 4061 (Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 24), which interestingly belongs to the same taxpayer. Furthermore, if the first payment was made in year 10 (it has to be in Pachons, day 14 as the text mentions), one or more of the additional payments recorded in the receipt could have been made at the beginning of year 11, had it been paid only 4 months later.

¹⁸⁵ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 24; pls. 6, 40.

¹⁸⁶ E.g. in O. Bucheum, no. 30, col. ii, l. 39; cf. G. Mattha, "The Demotic Ostraka," in *The Bucheum*, ed. R. Mond and O. Myers, vol. 2 (London, 1934), 61; R. Mond and O. Myers, eds., *The Bucheum*, vol. 3 (London, 1934), pls. lxix, lxxa.

¹⁸⁷ E.g. in O. Ashm. DO. 702, l. 2; cf. M. Akeel, "Priestly Allowances in the Temple of Jeme," *AncSoc* 46 (2016): 68, n. to l. 1.

Transliteration:




1. *r.ʔn P3-šr-Mnṯ [s3 NN r p3 šh n n n3 ʕ.wy.w mḥt.w hr]*
2. *p3 ḥd ʕp.t n ḥ3.t-sp 2.t n Dm[3ʕ] [...]*
3. *sh n ḥ3.t-sp 2.t (n) Tybrʕsʔ [ʕ.w.s.] [Gltyys ʕ.w.s.(?) Gysrs ʕ.w.s.(?)]*
4. *Sbstws ʕ.w.s. Gr[mnykws ʕ.w.s. ʔbd-... ...]*
5. *sw 16 ʕn tpy šmw (sw) 1 hr p3 ḥd ʕpʔ[t] [...]*
6. *ʕn ʔbd-2ʔ šmw ʕswʔ 4 hr p3 ḥd ʕp.t n ḥ3.t-spʔ [...]*



Translation:

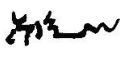


1. What Psenmonthes [son of NN has paid to the bank of the northern districts for]
2. the poll tax of year 2 in Je[me]: [...].
3. Written in year 2 (of) Tiberiuʕsʔ [ʕ.w.s.] [Claudius ʕ.w.s.(?) Caesar ʕ.w.s.(?)]
4. Augustus ʕ.w.s. Ger[manicus ʕ.w.s.] [... month of ...-season]
5. day 16. Likewise (in) Pachons, (day) 1 for the ʔpoll taxʔ [...].
6. Likewise (in) ʔPaʔyni, day 4 for the poll tax of the ʔyearʔ [...].

Commentary:

The left-hand side of the ostrakon is broken. The text records several payments for the poll tax, which—as the structure and formula of the text confirm—might have represented different installments. The preserved parts of the emperor’s name support restoring the name of Claudius, so the text is most likely dated to year 2 of his reign. The handwriting of the text is very similar to those of O. MH 2550, dated to year 21 of Tiberius¹⁸⁸ and O. Theb. D 5, 52, and 37, dated to years 2 and 3 of Gaius (Caligula) respectively.¹⁸⁹ These four texts share some peculiarities with the current text such as the use of the

distinctive writing of ʕn  ‘likewise’ (l. 6; a different writing occurs in l. 5; see facsimile below) in contrast to the normal ʕn ,  (*DemGloss*, 62) ‘again,’¹⁹⁰ and the occurrence of an unusual writing

for the number 2.t  (l. 3; a similar writing occurs in l. 2 as well). Remarkable is also the closely similar handwritings of some words and expressions that appear in almost all five texts, e.g. *r.ʔn* 

(l. 1), *p3 ḥd n ʕp.t*  (l. 2), *mn*  in the name *P3-šr-Mnṯ* (l. 1), *sh*  (l. 3), etc.¹⁹¹ In view of this this, one might think of these texts, including the current text, as belonging to the same scribe. Even though they are dated to three different emperors, the time difference between them—which is just around 9 years at maximum—does not seem to oppose this suggestion.

L. 2. The writing of the number 2 in the dating is quite uncommon. It is, however, comparable with that of the above-mentioned O. Theb. D 5; D 52 and O. MH 2550.

As other parallel formulae suggest, the paid sum is expected to appear in the lacuna after *Dm3ʕ*.

L. 3. The partly preserved three strokes at the end of the name *Tybrs* are read as *s* and not *y* (thus we have *Tybrs* and not *Tybry[s]* or similar) because this scribe usually ligatures the three strokes of the *y*

¹⁸⁸ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 28; pls. 9, 42.


¹⁸⁹ Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” 23–24, 28–29; pl. i.

¹⁹⁰ Both distinctive writings occurred in O. MH 2550 (Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 28, n. 1) and in O. Theb. D 5, 37, and 52 (Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” 23–24, 26–29; pl. i). For the normal writings of ʕn “again, or likewise,” see *DemGloss*, 61–62.

¹⁹¹ For the handwriting of these words as appeared in the different texts, see the photos and facsimiles of the texts in Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” pl. i; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, pls. 9, 42.

(as in the beginning of the name *Tybrs* itself) but separates those of the *s* (as in the beginning and end of the name *Sbstws* in l. 4 below).

The size of the lacuna at the end of this line suggests the existence of further names or titles between *Tybrs* and *Sbstws*. These names are most likely *Gltys* and *Gysrs* whose suggested spellings are simply reproduction of similar writings attested in Medinet Habu ostraca, e.g. O. MH 140,¹⁹² which preserves the name of Claudius.

L. 4. Note the writing of the second *s* of *Sbstws* , which occurs also in O. MH 2550, l. 5.¹⁹³

Restoring Germanicus seems to be beyond doubt because the opening of the cartouche and the first two initials *Gr* are clearly preserved. It is possible that Germanicus was additionally followed by the title *ḳwtwgrts* ‘Autocrator.’ The sequence and order of the names and titles here given makes the reference to Claudius quite certain.¹⁹⁴

The date begins in l. 3 with *sh n ḥḳ.t-sp 2.t* and ends in l. 5 with *sw 16*, it is therefore expected that the month and the season were mentioned at the end of this line. The month should be either in the inundation or winter season, namely earlier than Pachons in which the following payments (in ll. 5-6) were made.

L. 5. The sign representing *sw* ‘day’ in *sw 1* seems to be omitted, while in l. 6 it appears to be extremely faded.

Pḳ ḥd ḳp.t is quite faint, but the reading is doubtless.



is likely a variant of *ḳn* ‘likewise;’ the main form occurs in the next line. Both variants are already attested in O. Theb. D 5, ll. 5, 7,¹⁹⁵ which was perhaps written with the same hand that wrote the extant text.

L. 6. The reading *ḳbd-2* ‘second month’ is safe, though it is very faint. Although the reference to the year is not completely preserved at the end of lines 5 and 6, the further payments possibly indicate installments of the poll tax of the same year, i.e. year 2. Thus, the year mentioned in lines 5 and 6 is probably the same one mentioned in lines 2 and 3 above. Usually, when installments were acknowledged in the same receipt, they were entered after the phrase ‘*ḳn+ month+ day*,’ which was directly and only followed by the paid sum. This is partly true here since the installments are introduced by the same technical phrase but with additional references to the name of the tax and the year, which could induce thinking of a year other than the previously mentioned. This suggestion seems, however, unlikely since all three installments were apparently made in the same year as the expression ‘*ḳn+ month+ day*’ implies.

¹⁹² Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 24; pls. 7, 40.

¹⁹³ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, pls. 9, 42.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. the sequence of his titles and names in P. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d’après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. - 453 ap. J.-C.)*, P.L.Bat. 15 (Leiden, 1967), 96; J.-C. Grenier, *Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne*, PapBrux 22 (Bruxelles, 1989), 26, 29–30.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” pl. i.

2.1.1.3 Receipts for the Dike Tax

Taxes were collected for the upkeep of the dikes and canals since the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁹⁶ This policy was continued into the Roman Period, in which the dike tax was clearly one of the various capitation taxes which the Egyptians had to pay. At that time, as Vleeming explained, the dike tax was paid either in work or in money. The work on dikes was measured in two ways: the work for a specific period of time amounting to five days, or the removal of a certain amount of earth measured in the *naubion*.¹⁹⁷ These variant methods seem to reflect different local practices between Upper Egypt and the Fayyum. In Upper Egypt, the work on dikes was measured by a certain volume of earth removed, i.e. the *naubion* (ναύβιον).¹⁹⁸ This *naubion* was known in Demotic as *nby*, a cubic measure equals 2 royal cubits squared in the Ptolemaic Period and 3 royal cubits squared in the Roman Period.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, ordinary people in the Fayyum were obliged to spend five days of work related to the repair of canals and dikes; this requirement was generally known as πενθήμερος.²⁰⁰ This labor could be commuted by a cash payment.²⁰¹

Roman Demotic receipts attest for the existence of a dike tax called *ḥd nby*, *nby*, or sometimes (especially at Edfu and Dendera) *pʿ wš n nby*.²⁰² This tax, though called *naubion* (ναύβιον) tax,²⁰³ was apparently an equivalent of the Greek χωματικών.²⁰⁴ In the Roman Period, the dike tax or χωματικών was a capitation charge usually paid in cash at a uniform rate of 6 drachmas and 4 obols throughout Egypt.²⁰⁵ Under certain circumstances, however, this rate could be altered in some regions for a specific period of time.²⁰⁶ Wallace—followed by others, e.g. Lichtheim and Devauchelle—argued against taking this tax as a cash equivalent (*adaeratio*) of either the Fayyumic πενθήμερος or the Upper Egyptian ναύβιον.²⁰⁷ He, alternatively, supposed that the dike tax or χωματικών was levied by Augustus as a mean of financing his project to repair and maintain the Egyptian dike and canal system that was left in bad condition by the later Ptolemies.²⁰⁸

As Demotic dike tax receipts from Thebes testify, payments for this tax could be recorded either in a separate receipt,²⁰⁹ or more commonly in the same receipt with other taxes such as poll and bath taxes.²¹⁰ As Mattha noted, the payment was usually done at the end of the year for which it was due, or at the beginning of the following year.²¹¹ Sums smaller than 6 drachmas and 4 obols occurred less frequently

¹⁹⁶ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 140. In the early Ptolemaic Period, Egyptian males were required to do an annual compulsory labor consisting of digging canals and constructing dams and embankments. In early Ptolemaic Thebes this requirement was normally met by moving a certain amount of earth usually measured in the *naubion*; for more on the *naubion* tax in early Ptolemaic Thebes and its correlation with the compulsory labor tax, see Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 57–60.

¹⁹⁷ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 141.

¹⁹⁸ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 142; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18.

¹⁹⁹ CDD, N, 64; for more on the meaning of *nby* in the ancient Egyptian language, see *DemGloss*, 215; CDD, N, 64–66; W. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-Mūt (No. 71) at Thebes*, PMMAEE 15 (New York, 1942), 36–37; S. Wängstedt, “Drei demotische Ostraka aus der Sammlung des Victoria-Museums von Uppsala,” *OrSuec* 2 (1953): 16–18.

²⁰⁰ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 141; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 223.

²⁰¹ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 223.

²⁰² Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 51–52.

²⁰³ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 141.

²⁰⁴ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 51; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 223–24; Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 141.

²⁰⁵ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 140–41; Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 51–52; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 223.

²⁰⁶ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 141; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 223–24.

²⁰⁷ See Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 141–43; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 223.

²⁰⁸ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 143.

²⁰⁹ As for instance the receipt here published (see below). Among other examples are O. MH 1574, 511 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 28–29; pl. 9 and O. Louvre 920 in Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 225–26.

²¹⁰ For examples, see Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 225.

²¹¹ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 51.

in Demotic and Greek sources, and they should be taken as installments or partial payments.²¹² Demotic receipts for the dike tax from Thebes were normally issued by the bank.²¹³ These receipts—including the ones which acknowledge payments of the dike tax in conjunction with other capitation taxes—were often built with the verb *wꜣ* ‘to pay’ within the following formula: *r. wꜣ+ taxpayer+ to the bank+ for the dike tax+ year+ sum+ date+ (signature of the banker)*.²¹⁴ In Medinet Habu, the verb *wꜣ* is sometimes replaced by *in*.²¹⁵ As proven through very few examples from Hermonthis and Medinet Habu, including the one under consideration, the tax could have been also paid to tax collectors and not directly to the bank.²¹⁶ Such receipts have thus utilized a quite different formula, i.e. the so-called letter form, i.e. ‘*NN pꜣ nty dd n NN*.’ Even though it was paid to the tax collector, the tax is expected to end up in a local bank, which in practice acted as branch for the central treasury. As a final step, the dike tax collected from all over the country will head toward the royal treasury in Alexandria where it was kept for future disbursement for the maintenance of the irrigation system.²¹⁷

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Exc. No. (MH 3199). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 4.3x 6.2x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Roman, year 5 of Vespasian = 13(?) February(?) 73 AD.

Transliteration:

1. *Pa-Mnꜣ sꜣ sp-sn ꜣrm nꜣy=f ꜣry.w*
2. *pꜣ(sic) nty dd n ꜣHrꜣ sꜣ Ns-nꜣy=w-hmnw-ꜣw sꜣ(?) Pꜣ-wꜣ(?)*
3. *tw=k n=n hꜣ qd.t 2 dbꜣ.t 5.t 1/2 hr ꜣhꜣ nbe n pꜣ ..e...(?)*
4. *n hꜣ.t-sp 5.t n ꜣwtwgrꜣtwrws^{c.w.s.} Gysrꜣs^{c.w.s.}*
5. *Wswpesnws^{c.w.s.} ibd-2(?) pr.t(?) sw 19*

Translation:

1. Pamonthes son of the likewise named and his colleagues
2. is the one who says to ‘Horos’ son of Snachomneus son of(?) P-out(?):
3. you have paid us 2 silver kite and 5 ½ obols for the dike ‘tax’ in *pꜣ* ..e...(?)
4. in year 5 of Autocrator^{L.P.H.} Caesar^{L.P.H.}
5. Vespasian,^{L.P.H.} Mecheir(?), day 19.

Commentary:

The date of this text, i.e. year 5 of Vespasian, is given in ll. 4-5. The tax collector who issued this receipt, namely Pamonthes son of Pamonthes is apparently the one who issued the Demotic poll and dike tax receipt of O. Mattha, no. 207,²¹⁸ dated to year 8-9 of Vespasian and comes from Hermonthis. In this text, just like the current one, the tax collector and his colleagues are referred to with the same formula. The same is also true for another poll tax receipt from Hermonthis dated to year 2 of Titus, i.e. O.

²¹² Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 141; Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 51; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 224.

²¹³ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 52.

²¹⁴ Cf. formula 5 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 24. For examples of receipts that record payments for the dike tax (either alone or together with other taxes) and apply a similar formula, see O. Mattha, nos. 93a-95, 96 (= O. Louvre 519), 98-102, and 104-105 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 114-18, O. MH 1444 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 27, O. Uppsala 879, 1473, 1529, 1550, 1601, 600, and 739 in Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 95-104, O. Louvre 920, 519 (= O. Mattha, no. 96), and 700 in Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 225-28.

²¹⁵ Cf. for instance O. MH 2550, 1430, 1574, and 511 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 28-29.

²¹⁶ Among the examples that testify to such a practice are the receipts of O. Mattha, no. 207 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 52, 162-63, and O. MH 2635 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 27.

²¹⁷ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 143.

²¹⁸ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 162-63.

Mattha, no. 68,²¹⁹ in which the same tax collector occurs within the same formula but with the epithet $p^3 \text{ } \epsilon^3$ ‘the elder’ after his first name. All three texts have a quite similar handwriting and utilize the so-called personal formula ($NN p^3 nty \underline{dd} n NN$), common in tax collectors’ receipts from Hermonthis,²²⁰ but is also occasionally found in receipts from Medinet Habu.²²¹ In fact, the similarities that the current receipt shares with the above-cited ones seem to suggest that this ostrakon, though certainly found in Medinet Habu, could for some reason²²² have originally been issued in Hermonthis. A further indication that could have helped in determining the text’s provenance is the reference to the place where the tax was paid, had it been clearly legible (see comment on l. 3 below).

L. 2. $P^3 nty \underline{dd}$ should ideally be $n^3 nty \underline{dd}$ because the antecedent of the relative clause is plural. The same is also found in the above-cited O. Mattha, no. 207 and 68.

The writing after the divine determinative of $Ns-n^3y=w-hmnw-iw$ is quite ambiguous, but it apparently represents the name of the grandfather. In fact, the divine determinative of $Ns-n^3y=w-hmnw-iw$ is quite odd and has an oblique stroke ligatured to its tail, which could possibly represent a writing of s^3 of filiation.



The signs following this ligature (i.e. the s^3 of filiation linked to divine determinative) could possibly be read P^3-wt ,²²³ with the initial p^3 being apparently corrected from Pa by crossing out the lower part of the pa .

L. 3. The 2 kite and 5 ½ obols here recorded equals 4 drachmas and 5 ½ obols. This sum, which is 1 drachma and 4 ½ obols less than the amount that was normally paid for the dike tax (i.e. 6 drachmas and 4 obols), likely represent an installment.

The phrase after the name of the tax at the end of this line is probably a reference to the name of the place in which the tax was paid. However, the quite indistinct writing of this phrase makes its reading quite challenging. If the place was the same as the one recorded in the closely related O. Mattha, no. 68²²⁴ and 207,²²⁵ it should then be a word denoting the northern quarter of the city of Hermonthis. In this case, the phrase after the name of the tax could have been $iwy.t mh.t$ ‘northern quarter or district,’ attested in the above-mentioned receipts. Such a reading would be, however, paleographically very doubtful and even hard to explain.²²⁶ The signs at the beginning of this phrase have some similarities with w^3h , which could induce considering a place name beginning with w^3h or $p^3 w^3h$ ‘settlement,’ yet other considerations seem to support a reference to a certain city or a city quarter rather than a small place. Being a tax receipt, the current text is supposed to refer to quite a large locality, e.g. a town or at least a certain quarter within it, but not a small village, settlement, or the like. But which town or quarter was meant? If this text was issued in Jeme (the place where the sherd has been excavated), it was expected to have a general reference to Jeme since—as Vleeming pointed out—people from Jeme, due to the constraints of the local administration, were usually generally ascribed to it without mentioning a specific quarter.²²⁷ This seems to exclude any reference to a quarter or a place in the town of Jeme,

²¹⁹ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 103.

²²⁰ This formula was common in Hermonthis in the early Ptolemaic Period; cf. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 71–72. It was also apparently still frequently used in the Roman Period; cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 30.

²²¹ E.g. that of O. MH 2635; cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 27.

²²² Could it be that Jeme-Memnonia was, as Bataille proposed, possibly administratively subordinate to the Hermonthite nome in the Roman Period; cf. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, 64, or maybe the taxpayer has moved to Jeme after having received this receipt in Hermonthis where he used to live, ... ?

²²³ A further possible example of this name, which interestingly comes from Hermonthis, occurs in O. Bucheum, no. 30, col. ii, l. 1; cf. Mattha, “The Demotic Ostraka,” 60; Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum 3*: pls. lxviii, lxix; *DemNam*, 496.



²²⁴ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 103; pl. vii.


²²⁵ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 162–63; pl. xix.

²²⁶ See, however, O. Mattha, no. 207, l. 3, where Mattha tentatively proposed reading a slightly similar word as $iwy.t$; cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 162–63; pl. xix.

²²⁷ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 138, n. cc.

which is itself already excluded since the writing of its name is distinctly different from the writing here attested. On the other hand, as Worp concluded, naming the quarter from which the taxpayer comes was a peculiarity of the Greek tax receipts from Hermonthis,²²⁸ which—with the above-mentioned hints (see general commentary above) in mind—makes it even more probable that the place name here given refers to a quarter in Hermonthis, even though its reading is not unambiguous.

L. 4. The first *s* in the name *Gysrys*  appears to be the door bolt sign () , which was usually written over another sign or less frequently under another sign. Ideally, it should have been the *s*³-sign (usually written as three strokes), which occurs more frequently in names.

L. 5. The second *s* in the name *Wswpesnws*  looks more like *y*; however, reading *y* after *e* is not likely. The current writing is very similar to that of O. Mattha, no. 207, l. 5.²²⁹

2.1.1.4 Receipts for the Bath Tax

Public baths and public baths owned by private persons began to exist in Egypt since the Ptolemaic Period. Through the imposition of bath taxes, the Ptolemaic administration successfully utilized these baths to help flourishing the state's income. The Romans continued the same practice and relied on taxation to support public baths.²³⁰ The collection of the bath tax in Roman Egypt showed some regional differences between Lower and Upper Egypt since in Lower Egypt, where the Greeks settled and established their own institutions including public baths, the need for public baths supported by taxes was seemingly less urgent than in the Fayyum and Upper Egypt, from which considerable evidence for taxes and fees on public baths come.²³¹ Demotic ostraca provide sufficient evidence to the existence of two kinds of payments concerning baths in Roman Egypt, namely *hḏ n s.t-ḏwn.t* or the 'bath tax,' which is likely an equivalent of the Greek βαλανευτικόν, and *t³ hn.t n s.t-ḏwn.t* or 'the bath fees.'²³²

As to the bath fee (*t³ hn.t n s.t-ḏwn.t*), it was apparently a fee paid for using temple baths.²³³ Payments of this due or fee were usually recorded in separate receipts, i.e. unaccompanied by any other taxes such as the poll or dike tax. All receipts for this fee are recorded on ostraca from Thebes and were usually issued by individuals.²³⁴ Wallace suggested that this due was likely paid to the granary.²³⁵ Although the exact rate of this fee and whether it was payment in money or in kind was not often indicated in the receipts,²³⁶ Wallace, and afterwards Mattha followed by Nur el-Din, argued that this due was probably paid in kind and the cash payment served only as a replacement or an *adaeratio* of the payment in wheat.²³⁷ According to Mattha, the rate of the bath fee in Thebes was $\frac{1}{12}$ artaba of wheat.²³⁸

The bath tax (*hḏ n s.t-ḏwn.t*), on the other hand, was collected to help maintain the public baths. In the Roman Period, as Wallace explained, it was a capitation tax imposed on all Upper Egyptian taxpayers regardless of whether they used the public bath or not. It was assessed at the rate of 2 drachmas and was

²²⁸ K. Worp, "Studies on Greek Ostraca from the Theban Region," *ZPE* 76 (1989): 50–52.

²²⁹ Cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 163; pl. xix.

²³⁰ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 155.

²³¹ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 156.

²³² Cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 57–58; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 20, 22–23; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 229–32.

²³³ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 58; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 23.

²³⁴ Cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 58; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 23; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 231–32.

²³⁵ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 157.

²³⁶ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 231.

²³⁷ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 158; Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 58; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 23.

²³⁸ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 58; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 23.

frequently paid in two installments: the first installment of 1 drachma and 1 ½ obols was paid simultaneous with the poll tax. The remaining 4 ½ obols were usually collected as a second installment together with the dike tax.²³⁹ For Jeme, the situation was not very different from the rest of the Theban region with regard to the collection of the bath tax. As to its rate, Wallace proposes 4 drachmas (equal to 2 kite) as a possible rate in Memnonia.²⁴⁰ This suggestion is at odds with the Demotic receipts for the bath tax, which alternatively suggest 2 drachmas (usually expressed as 1 kite) as a standard rate in Jeme. As Demotic receipts show, this tax was usually given to the bank either as a lump sum or in installments. Like elsewhere in the Theban region, the bath tax was often collected together with other capitation taxes such as the poll and dike taxes.²⁴¹

A further tax on baths, which was probably distinct from the normal bath tax that all individuals were liable to, is the bath tax levied on the operators of private baths.²⁴² It is known that private owners of public baths in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period were required to provide ⅓ of the income of their baths to the state as a tax.²⁴³ In total, as Bogaert summarized, Demotic and Greek documents attest for the existence of three different dues related to baths, i.e. the personal bath tax, the tax of the ⅓ paid by bath operators, and the bath fee which was not a tax in the strict sense of the word.²⁴⁴

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Exc. No. (MH 1721). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.8x 8x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 39 of [Augustus] = 14 February 10 AD.

Transliteration:

1. *r.ʿin Pʒ-šr-ʿMnʿ sʒ Pʒ-dʿ-ʿHnʿsw(?) sʒ ʒny_*
2. *skws(?) r pʒ shn n nʒ c.wy.w mhʿt(.w)*
3. *hr hḏ s.t-ywn.t [n] hʒ.t-sp 38*
4. *n Dmʒc hḏ qd.t 1.t/ hḏ qd.t 1/2/ ʿhḏ qd.t 1.tʿ cʿn*
5. *sh n hʒ.t-sp 39 ʿbd-2 pr.t sw 20*

Translation:

1. What Psenʿminisʿ son of Peteʿchonʿsis(?) son of Ane _
2. skous(?) has paid to the bank of the northern districts
3. for the bath tax [of] year 38
4. in Jeme: 1 silver kite/ ½ silver kite/ 1 silver kiteʿ again.
5. Written in year 39, Mecheir, day 20.

Commentary:

²³⁹ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 156.

²⁴⁰ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 157.


²⁴¹ For conclusions based on evidence from Demotic ostraca, see Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 57; Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 32; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 20; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 230.

²⁴² W. Huss, *Die Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Reichs*, MBPF 104 (München, 2011), 192.


²⁴³ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 155; Huss, *Verwaltung*, 216.


²⁴⁴ R. Bogaert, "Les opérations des banques de l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *AncSoc* 29 (1998–1999): 58.


The handwriting is Roman. Also, the high regnal year, i.e. year 39, makes the reference to Augustus certain. That the receipt records a payment for the bath tax alone is not very common²⁴⁵ since payments for the bath tax were usually paid in conjunction with the poll and dike tax (see above for details).

 L. 1. Reading the father's name as $P^3-dl^i-Hn^i$ is possible on the assumption that the hn group is partly damaged.

Taking the last part of this name as a writing of Dm^3c and thus thinking of a name combined with Dm^3c might be possible but this suggestion is faced by many problems, the first of which is the very abbreviated writing of Dm^3c itself (cf. the writing of Dm^3c in l. 4 below). The second problem will be the identification of Dm^3c and whether the name of the place or the divinity was meant here. On the one hand, taking the first part as P^3-dl^i will result in the name $P^3-dl^i-Dm^3c$ which is not yet attested in Demotic but could theoretically exist since, as Uggetti pointed out, its Greek rendering (i.e. Πετεσήμιος) is already attested.²⁴⁶ A further issue will be the interpretation of the dot after the dl^i sign and before the d of Dm^3c . On the other hand, the first part might be read p^3-rmt (one will have to assume a haplography between the final part of the p^3 and the initial part of rmt) and the name could be read $P^3-rmt-n-Dm^3c$ (i.e. built according to the model p^3-rmt + place name; for more on this combination, see below comment on **Text 64**, l. 5). One of the problems that would emerge in this case is that Dm^3c lacks the place determinative. Another one is that this name is not attested either.

L. 2. The name of the grandfather, i.e. $3nyskw$ , is split over two lines and it is likely a Greek name since it ends with an s followed by the foreign determinative. Since some signs are unclear and some others could be read in different ways, this name might be alternatively read $3nysyws$, $3nersyws$, $3nerskw$, $3nerykw$, or perhaps $Mnyskw$. None of these variants is attested in the *DemNam* or *Trismegistos* people database.

The word $mht(w)$  (facsimile is approximate) apparently consists of the mht -sign followed by the place determinative and the t . The sign after the mht sign could be the t -sign. In this case, the word would lack a place determinative, which would be very odd. The reading could be then $mht.t$.

L. 3. The initial part of the hd sign  is seemingly merged with the final part of the hr sign, which is why this spot is quite thick.

L. 4. Although the second $hd qd.t$ 1 is quite faint, the reading is completely certain. The acknowledged sum, i.e. 1 silver kite (2 drachmas), is the most common sum found in Demotic receipts for the bath tax

²⁴⁵ For some examples of receipts that exclusively record payments for the personal bath tax, see O. Mattha, nos. 152–154 in Mattha, “The Demotic Ostraka,” 138–39, O. Uppsala 1236, 792, 778, and 1441 as well as O. Berlin P 6148 in Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 104–9, O. MH 439, 4082, 2577 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 24–25, O. Dem. Bodl. 949 in S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Steuerquittungen nebst Texten andersartigen Inhalts,” *OrSuec* 16 (1967): 25–26, O. BM 23021 in S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Steuerquittungen aus ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit,” *OrSuec* 19–20 (1971/1970): 41–42, O. Berlin P 6476, 6293, and 6278 in S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Steuerquittungen aus Edfu in der Berliner Papyrus-Sammlung,” in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), 331–32, and O. Dem. Fatatri (publication no. 4) in M. Nur el-Din, “Demotic Ostraca from Private Collections at Leiden,” in *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte*, ed. P. Pestman, P.L.Bat. 23 (Leiden, 1985), 155–56; pl. vii.

²⁴⁶ L. Uggetti, “The God Djeme,” *RdE* 67 (2016): 159. For the sole example of the Greek rendering of this name, see SB I 4334, l. 2 in F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten. Erster Band* (Straßburg, 1915), 333. In contrast, Cena argues against the identification of Jeme as an independent deity and takes the absence of the name $P^3-dl^i-Dm^3c$ as a further support to her suggestion. She even wants to ascribe a geographical connotation to the common name $Pa-Dm^3c$; cf. C. Cena, “Who Hides Behind the God Djeme?,” in *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology: Warsaw, 29 July–3 August 2013*, ed. T. Derda, A. Łajtar, and J. Urbanik, vol. 3, JJP-Suppl. 28 (Warsaw, 2016), 1990–91.

from Medinet Habu and Thebes and appears also to have been the standard annual rate of the bath tax there (see introduction above for details).

2.1.2 Receipts for Payments Concerning Land

2.1.2.1 Official Receipts for Land-related Payments

The land tax, *tributum soli*, together with the capitation tax, *tributum capitis*, constituted the two main elements of the Roman taxation in Egypt.²⁴⁷ On the one hand, capitation taxes from Egypt and other provinces of the Roman empire helped to flourish the Roman economy allowing Italy and the Roman citizens to enjoy exemption from taxation.²⁴⁸ On the other hand, Egypt's *tributum soli*, among others, facilitated the provision of a secure and durable grain supply to Rome and the Roman armies.²⁴⁹ Since the official receipts for land-related payments here examined all date to the Roman Period, and to better understand these receipts, it could be beneficial to give a brief introduction to the land tenure and taxation system in Roman Egypt.

Classification of Land in Roman Egypt

The land classification system of the Ptolemaic Period was quite similar to that of the Pharaonic Period.²⁵⁰ As a whole, the main categories were the royal, temple, cleruchic, and private land.²⁵¹ Regional differences in Ptolemaic land classification became more evident by the second century BC thanks to the new terminology introduced by the Ptolemies, which—in contrast to the traditional Egyptian terminology—allowed drawing a clearer picture of the different land categories and private land rights.²⁵²

After the annexation of Egypt, the Romans introduced some essential modifications in the land tenure system especially with regard to the distinction between public and private land.²⁵³ One of the main classes of the Roman land was the public land, which descended mostly from the Ptolemaic royal land.²⁵⁴ On the other side of the coin stood the private land as the second main category of land in Roman Egypt. Other land subcategories tended to fall somewhere under these two main classes.²⁵⁵ Thus, in addition to private and public land, other classes or more precisely subclasses of land existed in the Roman Period, e.g. imperial estates, *katoikic* land, and temple land.²⁵⁶ The increasing confiscation of public land, which was then sold to private owners, and the privatization of cleruchic lands are believed to be responsible for the extensive growth of private land in the Roman Period.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, the Ptolemaic cleruchic or *katoikic* land seems to have been mainly a subclass of private land in the Roman Period.²⁵⁸ However, according to a newly published text from the Hermopolite nome, both *katoikic* or cleruchic land and privately owned land were viewed as subclasses of *katoikic* land or 'γῆ κατοικική,' which served as a generic term denoting the second main class of land besides the land of the administration or 'διοικήσεως.'²⁵⁹

²⁴⁷ Monson, "Fiscal Reforms," 155.

²⁴⁸ Rathbone, "Roman Taxation," 98–99.

²⁴⁹ Rathbone, "Roman Taxation," 86.

²⁵⁰ J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford, 1996), 27.

²⁵¹ For more details about the different land classes in Ptolemaic Egypt, see A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt* (Cambridge, 2012), 75–79.

²⁵² For more details, see Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 79–93.

²⁵³ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 29.

²⁵⁴ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 29; J. Rowlandson, "Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt," in *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times*, ed. A. Bowman and E. Rogan (Oxford, 1999), 148.

²⁵⁵ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 93.

²⁵⁶ For more details on the Roman land categories, see Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 93–96.

²⁵⁷ Monson, "Fiscal Reforms," 157.

²⁵⁸ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 29.

²⁵⁹ Cf. R.-L. Chang, *Un dossier fiscal hermopolitain d'époque romaine*, BiGen 46 (Le Caire: IFAO, 2014), 108–18; Monson, "Fiscal Reforms," 157.

Levies on Land in Roman Egypt: A Continuation of the Ptolemaic System

Since the early Ptolemaic Period, the type and rate of land-related taxes were dependent on different factors such as the land category, its productivity, as well as the type of the cultivated crop.²⁶⁰ Thus, according to the status of the land, it might be subject to some of these dues, namely land tax, harvest tax, or rental. For example, temple and private grain-bearing land in Thebes were subject to a harvest tax ‘šmw’ that was collected only from the cultivated part of the land. On the other hand, cleruchic and temple lands in Middle Egypt used to pay a land tax called ‘artaba-tax’ or ‘*t3 md.t pr-š3*’ which was levied at the rate of ½–2 artabas per aroura on the whole plot of land regardless of being cultivated or not.²⁶¹ Furthermore, the harvest tax was usually paid in kind from the cultivated crop, or in some cases its value could be paid in money.²⁶² Similarly, in the Roman Period the assessment and imposition of the land-related dues were contingent upon different considerations. Among the deciding factors in this respect was the status of the land and which category it belonged to. Normally different classes of land paid different dues at different rates.²⁶³ For instance, the rent collected from public land was often seen as an equivalent to the tax collected from private land in view of the similarity in the collection’s methods.²⁶⁴ Also, the productivity of a certain plot of land and the deficiencies in the irrigation systems played an important role in the assessment of the tax, which explains why sometimes the rates were varied even within the same locality.²⁶⁵ The quality and quantity of the produce were in turn closely related to the level of the Nile inundation and how the land was affected by it.²⁶⁶ Thus, as a Ptolemaic land survey from Edfu shows, low lands—being easy to irrigate—were taxed at a higher rate than high lands.²⁶⁷ In conclusion, the rate of the land taxes was not uniform, and the medium of payment diversified from various grain or in-kind deliveries to money payments according to the relative circumstances.²⁶⁸

Levies on Public Land (Rents)

Unlike private land, which witnessed more evident changes with regard to its taxation system under the Romans,²⁶⁹ most sorts of public land likely maintained the same treatment of its Ptolemaic precursor, which was in turn probably based on earlier tradition.²⁷⁰ This system was as follows: the land was leased out to private farmers called ‘royal tenants;’ the lessees of grain-bearing land had to pay a rent mainly assessed in wheat, while others of smaller plots of land (e.g. pasturage and unproductive plots) were required to pay a cash rent.²⁷¹ Rents of public lands were normally collected at a higher rate than the taxes imposed on private and cleruchic land.²⁷² Based on the similarity of methods of collections of public levies from both public and private lands, rentals of public lands were often considered by some scholars as some form of taxation.²⁷³ In Roman Egypt, rents of public land were collected at rates ranged from around 2 to 7 artabas per aroura.²⁷⁴ These rates varied from one village to another; the difference

²⁶⁰ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 61.

²⁶¹ Cf. K. Vandorpe, “The Ptolemaic Epigraphe or Harvest Tax (Shemu),” *APF* 46 (2000): 174, 197–99.

²⁶² Cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 61.

²⁶³ Cf. A. Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Studien zum praefectus Aegypti*, HistEinz 175 (Stuttgart, 2009), 107.

²⁶⁴ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 71–72; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 156–57.

²⁶⁵ Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 157; Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 70.

²⁶⁶ Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung*, 97–98.

²⁶⁷ Cf. T. Christensen, D. Thompson, and K. Vandorpe, *Land and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt: An Edition, Translation and Commentary for the Edfu Land Survey (P. Haun. IV 70)*, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge, 2017), 26.

²⁶⁸ Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung*, 96.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 157.

²⁷⁰ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 84; Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 94; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 156.

²⁷¹ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 84.

²⁷² Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 11; Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 75.

²⁷³ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 71–72; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 156–57. That is also why the current study puts receipts concerning rentals of public land in the same category with receipts about land tax.

²⁷⁴ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 72.

within the same place was, however, quite small.²⁷⁵ As Demotic documents indicate, rent was called *ḥw ḥwḥ* in Upper Egypt and Thebes, while in the Fayyum it was called *šmw*. The same latter term was used refer to land taxes in Upper Egypt and Thebes.²⁷⁶

Levies on Cleruchic, Private, and Temple Land (Rent, Harvest, or Land tax)

In the Ptolemaic Period, as Vandorpe suggested, ‘private’ and temple grain-bearing lands in the Thebaid used to pay a harvest tax. This tax was called *šmw* ‘harvest’ or ‘the tax of year x.’ While in Middle Egypt, temple and cleruchic land paid the land tax which was called *tʿ md.t pr-ʿ* ‘the thing of the Pharaoh’ or the ‘artaba tax.’²⁷⁷ According to Monson, this regional division of Vandorpe is contradictory with the evidence from Upper Egypt, which suggests that the ‘artaba tax’ was collected from temple lands in addition to the harvest tax. It is, thus, possible that the ‘artaba tax’—just like the case of vineyards and orchards, on which the ‘aroura tax’ was imposed on a flat rate side by side with the *apomoira* tax—represented a fixed levy on regular arable temple and cleruchic land in Ptolemaic Egypt.²⁷⁸ It is worthwhile to highlight the uncertainty concerning the administrative and fiscal status of lands with hereditary lease, prevailing mainly in the Thebaid. Although the due collected from that sort of land was seen by the crown as rent, landholders may have acted as real owners of the land. Furthermore, as some evidence indicates, at certain places such land (land on hereditary lease (by private persons)) has probably become part of the private land category and was charged a harvest tax.²⁷⁹

In fact, some scholars consider private land ownership as a ‘Roman novelty.’²⁸⁰ This is likely true in the sense that a clear distinction between public and private land ownership was primarily introduced in the early Roman Period. Now, private land can be easily sold, gifted, or inherited just like any other private property.²⁸¹ These administrative modifications were then followed by some reforms in the taxation system. One of these reforms is that owners (possibly buyers of confiscated temple lands) of private land were not anymore required to pay a rent, but rather—like other subcategories of *katoecic* land—they enjoyed the privileged one-artaba rate of land tax, which was confined to the cleruchic land in the Ptolemaic Period. This situation, as Monson elucidated, went through some significant changes as the owners of this kind of land were then obliged to pay rent again toward the end of the reign of Tiberius. But, in response to their wrathful complaints, this requirement was called off, and they retained the reduced land tax rate again.²⁸² Furthermore, in the early Roman Period, as a result of newly introduced land-related regulations, more temple lands were removed from the temple administrative management.²⁸³ In this latter case, temples would receive a subsidy from the state called ‘*syntaxis*.’ Yet if they were to retain control of their lands, they could have paid a rent to the state instead.²⁸⁴ Not all temple lands were, however, affected by these rules since many of them were already in what can be called a private ownership. It is not, therefore, odd that more Roman temple land turned to be a subclass of public land, while many others were simply considered as sort of private land. In practice, evidence shows that some temple lands used to pay a rent, normally collected from public or royal land, while

²⁷⁵ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 72; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 157. For more details on the average rates of public land rents attested in different Egyptian nomes in the Roman Period, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 11–19; Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 71–75; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 157.

²⁷⁶ See G. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases*, SAOC 28 (Chicago, 1952), 56, 74–75; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 33–34; H. Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge der Ptolemäerzeit: Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entwicklung und inhaltlichen Aspekten einer Gruppe von demotischen Urkunden*, ÄA 58 (Wiesbaden, 1997), 142.

²⁷⁷ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphe,” 174–75.

²⁷⁸ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 172–74. For a detailed discussion of the Ptolemaic land tax, see Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 172–84.

²⁷⁹ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphe,” 195–96.

²⁸⁰ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 84.

²⁸¹ Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, 29.

²⁸² Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 157.

²⁸³ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 94.

²⁸⁴ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 94, fn. 97; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 158.

others paid the one-artaba tax, typical for private land in the Roman Period.²⁸⁵ A similar situation is apparently also reflected by the evidence from Demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu which, as Lichtheim explained, show that some confiscated temple lands were already regarded as public land and have, thus, to pay a rental just like crown lands do. These rentals were usually collected by the granary of the *strategos* and were called *ḥw ḥwḥ* ‘lit. farmer’s profit.’²⁸⁶ On the other hand, some texts show that certain temple lands had to pay land taxes to the temple granary. These lands, as Lichtheim proposed, could be among the lands which the temple retained possession of, and were apparently treated as private land and had to pay taxes.²⁸⁷ This seems to be confirmed through the fact that in some cases,²⁸⁸ the paid tax was remarkably called the ‘artaba tax,’ the tax which the Romans seems to have extended to all private lands. It should be, however, noted that these lands, though apparently treated as private lands, used to pay their taxes to the temple granary and not to the state, which could be confusing.

As to vineyards and orchards, they were taxed quite differently from grainlands. The tax on this type of land was also a harvest tax known as ἀπόμοιρα, which is a broad Greek term means ‘portion.’ The Demotic rendering of this term is *n3 tny.wt* ‘the portions.’ A more specific designation of this tax in Greek was ‘the tax of the sixth’ (Dem. *p3 1/6*) or ‘the tax of the tenth’ (Dem. *p3 1/10*).²⁸⁹ The tax system concerning vineyards and gardens was quite clear and less complicated in comparison with harvest tax on private or cleruchic grainland.²⁹⁰ As the evidence shows, this tax seems to have been affected by the tax reforms carried out between years 21 and 22 of Ptolemy II.²⁹¹ Before this reform, the ἀπόμοιρα-tax was collected from temple lands at the rate of one sixth and was exclusively paid to the temples. After year 22 of Ptolemy II, private vineyards and orchards were also required to pay the ἀπόμοιρα side by side with temple lands. The ἀπόμοιρα collected from private lands was dedicated to the cult of Arsinoe II, while that collected from temple land continued to be paid to the temples.²⁹² Even though this tax was a harvest tax, it was almost paid in money. Practically, given the very short durability of its produce, orchards were to pay their ἀπόμοιρα-tax in money. Vineyards could either pay in cash or in wine. Wine payment was at the end somehow converted into money.²⁹³ The ἀπόμοιρα-tax on orchards seems to have been fixed to one sixth of the produce. Principally, the same was true for vineyards but in certain cases the rate could be reduced to one tenth.²⁹⁴ In the Roman Period, the ἀπόμοιρα-tax continued to be collected from vineyards and orchards. It was, however, assessed in cash as a replacement for the share of the yield. This—as Monson indicates—encouraged the farmers to try to improve their yields since the sum collected was less than the sixth or the tenth of the crop which used to be collected under the Ptolemies.²⁹⁵ The rate of this tax in the Roman Period was fixed to about 3000 bronze drachmas for vineyards and 1500 for orchards, which corresponds to 30 and 15 silver drachmas respectively.²⁹⁶

Added to the ἀπόμοιρα, some other taxes used to be collected from vine and garden lands since the Ptolemaic Period. One of them, as Monson explained, was the ἐπαρούριον or the ‘per-aroura tax,’ which can be alternatively called ἀργυρικοὶ φόροι or ‘money rents.’ This tax, despite the occurrence

²⁸⁵ Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 158.

²⁸⁶ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 34–35.

²⁸⁷ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 35.

²⁸⁸ E.g. in O. MH 837; cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 42.

²⁸⁹ W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, “The Ptolemaic Apomoira,” in *Le culte du souverain dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque au IIIe siècle avant notre ère: actes du colloque international, Bruxelles, 10 mai 1995*, ed. H. Melaerts (Leuven, 1998), 6–8.

²⁹⁰ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphie,” 171.

²⁹¹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 63.

²⁹² Clarysse and Vandorpe, “The Ptolemaic Apomoira,” 10–14; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 63.

²⁹³ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 63.

²⁹⁴ Clarysse and Vandorpe, “The Ptolemaic Apomoira,” 19–20.

²⁹⁵ Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 157–58.

²⁹⁶ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 190.

of different rates, was apparently levied at a flat rate.²⁹⁷ In the Roman Period, its rate was 2000 bronze drachmas per aroura, i.e. 6 silver drachmas and 4 obols.²⁹⁸

On top of that, Greek documents attest for the existence of another tax on vineyards and orchards in the Roman Period, namely the tax referred to in the receipts as ὑπὲρ γεωμετρίας ἀμπελώνων. In the Thebaid, this tax was levied on vineyards at the rate of 40 drachmas per aroura.²⁹⁹ Wilcken—in view of their agreement in rate—concluded that this tax (referred to as ὑπὲρ γεωμετρίας ἀμπελώνων) was likely a later equivalent of the tax whose payment was referred to in the early Roman Period as ὑπὲρ ἀμπελώνων ‘for/ concerning vineyards.’³⁰⁰ Actually, the nature of this tax was never clear and has, thus, drawn the attention of the early editors of its Greek examples. As Préaux explained, scholars held two opinions regarding the identification of this tax.³⁰¹ On the one hand, Wilcken³⁰² followed by other scholars³⁰³ argued that the Roman γεωμετρία was a land tax levied in cash on vineyards and orchards. On the other hand, others, e.g. Grenfell and Hunt³⁰⁴ followed by Preisigke,³⁰⁵ saw it as a contribution paid to cover the land survey costs. Wallace, thereafter, provided some evidence why it should not be considered as land tax on the vine and garden lands.³⁰⁶ He even argued against considering the ἐπαρούριον as a land tax on vineyards, ending up leaving the question of whether they both can be regarded as land taxes on vineyards and gardens unanswered.³⁰⁷ As to the nature of the γεωμετρία, Wallace—in view of the evidence of P. Tebt. I 93, 94, published by Grenfell and Hunt—concluded that it was a fee charged in the Ptolemaic Period at a uniform rate of ½ artaba of wheat for the land survey. He, depending on P. Tebt. II 482, also tentatively proposed that the same tax continued to be collected under Augustus.³⁰⁸ According to Wallace, the γεωμετρία was not assessed annually. He proposed that it was collected at different intervals throughout Middle and Upper Egypt, e.g. five years in the Fayyum and four to five to twelve years in Elephantine-Syene.³⁰⁹ From Wallace’s examination, it seems that he considers it—yet, unfortunately, with no clear-cut confirmation of his position—as a fee imposed for

²⁹⁷ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 163–67; Monson, “Fiscal Reforms,” 153. For more on this tax, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 56–59.

²⁹⁸ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 190–91.

²⁹⁹ This rate was even higher (around 75, 150, up to 350 drachmas) in case of the γεωμετρία of the vineyards paid to the temple in the Thebaid. This, in Wilcken’s perspective, likely corresponds to the relatively high quality of the temple lands; cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:149. On the other hand, its rate in the Fayyum (50 drachmas per aroura) was slightly higher than that of the Theban region or Upper Egypt. Furthermore, such rates of the γεωμετρία-tax on vineyards were usually halved in the case of orchards; cf. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 50–53. For more on this tax and its rates, see mainly Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 47–53; Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:147–50.

³⁰⁰ Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:148, 173–74; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 50.

³⁰¹ C. Préaux, *Les ostraca Grecs de la collection Charles-Edwin Willbour au musée de Brooklyn* (New York, 1935), 68–69.

³⁰² See Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:147–50, 173–77, 313–19.

³⁰³ E.g. Johnson, Hunt, and Martin in their commentary on P. Ryl. II 192(b); cf. J. Johnson, V. Martin, and A. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. II: Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Nos. 62–456) (Manchester, 1915), 243–57; also, Préaux, *Les ostraca Grecs*, 68–69.

³⁰⁴ Cf. P. Tebt. I 93, 94 in B. Grenfell, A. Hunt, and J. Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri. Part I*, UCPGA I (London; New York, 1902), 412–22; n. to P. Tebt. I 5, l. 59 in Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri I*, 39; see also introduction to P. Oxy. 917 in B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part VI* (Oxford, 1908), 271.

³⁰⁵ F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens in den griechischen Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit* (Göttingen, 1915), 42–43.

³⁰⁶ For a discussion, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 48.

³⁰⁷ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 49.

³⁰⁸ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 49. For P. Tebt. II 482, see B. Grenfell, A. Hunt, and E. Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri. Part II*, UCPGA II (London; New York, 1907), 311.

³⁰⁹ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 49–50. Actually, the cycle suggested by Wallace in Elephantine-Syene was inconsistent, and he was not able to indicate any such cycle in the Theban region. Moreover, the few Roman Demotic receipts of *geometria* from Thebes do not support the reconstruction of any consistent cycle, which raises more doubts on the existence of such cycle in Upper Egypt. Examples of the Demotic receipts of *geometria* from the Roman Period are O. Mattha, nos. 12–16 which record payments for the taxes of years 38 and 43 of Augustus and years 7, 11, and 17 of Tiberius respectively; cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 79–82.

surveying the land. Later, other Greek text editors seem to have accepted the Roman γεωμετρία as land-survey tax.³¹⁰

A possible Demotic equivalent of the γεωμετρία tax could be the so-called ‘vineyard tax.’ This tax is attested in the Roman Demotic receipts from Thebes under the name *ḥd ʒlly*, or *ʒlly*.³¹¹ The rate of the vineyard tax in Roman Thebes, where the receipts typically give the land measurement accompanied by the paid sum, was 40 silver drachmas per aroura.³¹² This rate agrees with the rate attested in the Greek sources for the early Roman ὑπὲρ ἀμπελώνων and the latter ὑπὲρ γεωμετρίας ἀμπελώνων, which was apparently the reason why Mattha suggested that the Demotic *ḥd n ʒh ʒlly* ‘the silver of the vineyards’ corresponds to the γεωμετρία of the vineyards.³¹³ The Demotic designation of this tax has to be, however, taken cautiously since it could have been used to denote two different taxes in the Ptolemaic and the Roman Period. On the one hand, Roman receipts of the vineyard tax from Thebes usually record the amount paid together with the area in aroura, and usually specify the due sum as 40 drachmas per aroura, which strongly links this tax to the Roman γεωμετρία. While on the other hand, third century BC Theban Demotic receipts for the vineyard tax (called as *pʒ tny n ʒh ʒlly*, *ḥd n ʒh ʒlly*) only record the paid sum without any land measurements, which makes it difficult to identify the rate of this tax in the Ptolemaic Period.³¹⁴ This obscurity regarding the rate makes it even more difficult to view the ‘vineyard tax’ attested in the third century Theban Demotic receipts as a possible predecessor to the Roman γεωμετρία of the vineyards. Alternatively, as Mattha and later Muhs noted, the Demotic third century ‘vineyard tax’ could possibly be an equivalent to the Greek ἀμπελικόν ‘vineyards,’³¹⁵ which Muhs took as an alternative designation of the harvest tax on vineyards, mainly known as ὀπόμοιρα.³¹⁶ Although Mattha’s identification of the vineyard tax suggests a dissimilarity between the Ptolemaic (ἀμπελικόν) and the Roman (γεωμετρία) vineyard tax, his classification of receipts for both taxes in a single category³¹⁷ gives the impression that they were the same, which does not seem to be accurate.

Medium, Place, and Time of Land Tax Payment

Rents were mainly assessed in wheat. Additionally, an equivalent rate of other kinds of crops, e.g. barley, or beans might be used in rent payments.³¹⁸ In the Roman Period, these grain payments were normally delivered to a series of granaries spread in almost every community of significance. The collected revenue was then moved to larger central granaries, usually located in metropolises. After the farmer delivers his due, the granary official would then issue him a receipt as a proof for his payment.³¹⁹ Usually, rents and taxes from grainland were due directly after the crop was harvested, i.e. in the summer season (Dem. *šmw*).³²⁰ As an alternative for wheat payments, an *adaeratio* in money was also acceptable for land tax in Roman Egypt.³²¹ Such money payments were normally made to the bank and were referred to in Demotic ostraca as payment made ‘for the value of wheat.’ This method of payment was especially applicable to payments in arrears, which could be delayed for one or two years after the

³¹⁰ See for instance O. Leiden G. 130, 182, and 184 in R. Bagnall, P. Sijpesteijn, and K. Worp, *Greek Ostraka: A Catalogue of the Collection of Greek Ostraka in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, with a Chapter on the Greek Ostraka in the Papyrological Institute of the University of Leiden*, Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Zutphen, 1980), 59, 81, 82.

³¹¹ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 42; O. Mattha, nos. 12-16 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 79–82.

³¹² Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 42–43.

³¹³ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 43.

³¹⁴ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 42. For some examples of such receipts, cf. O. Mattha, nos. 8-9 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 78.

³¹⁵ Cf. n. to O. Mattha, no. 8, l. 2 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 78; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 63.

³¹⁶ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 63.

³¹⁷ Cf. subsection 7 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 42–43.

³¹⁸ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 84.

³¹⁹ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 35.

³²⁰ Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases*, 74; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 36.

³²¹ Rathbone, “Roman Taxation,” 84.

time on which they were due.³²² A further situation that might necessitate substituting wheat payments for money—as Mattha and Nur el-Din pointed out—is when the crop of the relevant season falls fully or partly short, which results in failure of in-kind delivery and thus the need to partly or fully pay the pertinent dues in cash.³²³ Although, as mentioned above, the harvest tax on vine and garden lands was usually paid as a fixed portion of the produce in the Ptolemaic time, other taxes on vine and garden lands were paid in money, e.g. the ‘per-aroura tax’ called ἐπαρούριον, the Roman γεωμετρία, in addition to the ὀπόμοιρα which the Romans turned into a pure cash tax.

The official receipts of payments concerning land here published are mainly granary receipts of wheat deliveries. Two examples (i.e. **Text 12**, **Text 16**) are issued by the bank for the value of wheat, which indicates an *adaeratio* of land tax. The date of these receipts—as their handwriting, formulation, and sometimes the recorded date suggest—is early Roman. Despite the poor state of preservation of most of them, the reading of the surviving parts luckily provided enough evidence to successfully recognize the identity and the formula of the texts. Some of the receipts (namely **Text 14**, **Text 15**, and **Text 17**) are issued by the granary of the *strategos*, which was committed with the collection of rents and seed grains from the crown and confiscated temple lands. Moreover, the current group also contains one example of the tax known in Demotic texts as *ḥd ʿlly* ‘vineyard tax’ (**Text 18**), which probably corresponds to the Roman *geometria*-tax attested in the Greek sources. In what follows, official receipts of payments of land-related dues are listed in achronological order. Receipts, to which no specific date is assigned, are added at the end.

-11-

Receipt for a Land-related Due (Possibly Land Tax)

Exc. No. (MH 3667). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.1x 5x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 27 of [Augustus] = likely later than 14 July 3 BC.

Transliteration:

1. [...] ^{Ma(?)} s3 P3-šr-Mnṯ ṽs3³ ʿly-m-ḥtp ṽ r p3 wd3
2. [...] ^r.w3(?) n Dm3^c n ḥ3.t-sp 27.t
3. [...] ṽ[n wš n(?)] šsp ṽsh³ n ḥ3.t-sp 27.t ibd-3 šmw sw 20
4. [...] ^r. 1/2 1/24
5. [...] ^r. 2 sw 2 ḥn

Translation:

1. [...] son of Psenmonthes ṽson of Imouthes ṽ to the granary
2. [...] ^r.(?) in Jeme in year 27
3. [...] ṽ[without extra(?)] charge(?). ṽWritten in year 27, Epeiph, day 20.
4. [...] ^r. 1/2 1/24
5. [...] ^r. 2 (artabas of) wheat again.

Commentary:


The right part of the ostracon is broken. The date indicates the regnal year 27 of an unnamed ruler. The handwriting and the formula of the receipt refers to the early Roman Period. Thus, year 27 should refer to the reign of Augustus. The remaining part of the text indicates a granary receipt of land-related due. The text does not clearly disclose the nature of payment, nor the type of land, nor the granary. If the

³²² Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 36.

³²³ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 49; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 45.

remaining signs at the beginning of line 2 could support restoring $n^3 \text{ }^c.wy.w \text{ } m\dot{h}\dot{t}.w$, one might think of the royal granary and the payment could be thus one for a basic land tax for a public or a private plot of land.

L. 1. The phrase $\text{ }^c.s^3 \text{ }^y-m-h\dot{t}p$ is added above the line, and it apparently represents the grandfather's name.

The reading of the Demotic word for 'granary, treasury, storehouse' is quite controversial. Although this word was commonly read as r^3 ,³²⁴ the argumentations which Quack³²⁵ provided in support of the reading $w\dot{d}^3$, which some earlier scholars already suggested, seems fairly reasonable. In his discussion, Quack quotes examples in which the same scribe makes a clear graphic distinction between r^3 'mouth, gate' and the word for 'storehouse,' which he wrote very similar to $w\dot{d}^3$ 'to be sound, safe, healthy.' Especially important, as Quack noted, is that the word $w\dot{d}^3$ in the sense 'storehouse, treasury' is—in contrast to r^3 —etymologically well-grounded. Quack's first discussion³²⁶ was not completely satisfying to the editors of the *Berichtigungsliste*³²⁷ since the word in question, if taken as $w\dot{d}^3$, would then be lacking the vertical stroke which is always present in all writings of $w\dot{d}^3$ 'safe.' Thus, they preferred the reading r^3 for it explains all elements of the sign. These objections have been also later addressed by Quack³²⁸ who does not consider such a stroke as a phonetic part of the spelling $w\dot{d}^3$ but rather a remnant of the papyrus roll determinative, which is part of $w\dot{d}^3$ 'to be safe' but not of $w\dot{d}^3$ 'storehouse,' which normally has the house determinative. Whether this stroke extraordinarily occurred in the writing of  (facsimile drawn after the original photo) $p^3 w\dot{d}^3$ in the Roman (year 33 of Augustus) granary receipt of O. MH 3338, l. 1³²⁹ remains uncertain, yet it is difficult to ignore such an etymologically well-grounded reading if it is not yet conclusively disproven.

L. 2. There could be a very faint vertical stroke before $n \text{ } \underline{D}m^3\text{ }^c$ at the beginning of this line. This stroke could be part of the word $m\dot{h}\dot{t}.w$ 'northern,' which usually occurs in the phrase $n^3 \text{ }^c.wy.w \text{ } m\dot{h}\dot{t}.w$ 'the northern districts.' This could help determine the granary as the royal granary in Jeme. The possibility of it being the temple granary is still theoretically possible, but it would suppose that the existence of $p^3 \text{ } n\dot{t}r$ before $\text{ }^c.wy.w \text{ } m\dot{h}\dot{t}.w$.

L. 3. $\check{s}sp$ is written above the line. In granary receipts, this word could come within expressions like $\dot{i}w=w \check{s}sp$ 'they are received,' $st \check{s}sp n \dot{i}p$ 'they are received on account,' or $n w\check{s} n \check{s}sp$ 'without extra charge.' The latter phrase is more common than the earlier. Thus, $\check{s}sp$ could have been part of such expression here as well.



: Note the strange way of writing $ibd-3$. A comparable writing is found in the Ptolemaic Theban O. Leiden, no. 87, l. 1.³³⁰

³²⁴ A. Den Brinker et al., eds., *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents. Part B: Ostrakon Editions and Various Publications*, StudDem VII-B (Leuven; Paris; Dudley, MA, 2005), 827-28; *DemGloss*, 240, under r^3 'door, gate'; *CDD*, R, 4-6; *CDD*, W, 212.

³²⁵ J. Quack, "Review of Heinz Felber, Demotische Ackerpachtverträge der Ptolemäerzeit. Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entwicklung und inhaltlichen Aspekten einer Gruppe von demotischen Urkunden (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 58). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1997.," *APF* 45 (1999): 135; J. Quack, "Zu einigen demotischen Gruppen umstrittener Lesung oder problematischer Ableitung," in *Aspects of Demotic Orthography: Acts of an International Colloquium held in Trier, 8 November 2010*, ed. S. Vleeming, StudDem XI (Leuven, 2013), 106-8.


³²⁶ J. Quack, "Review of Felber," 135.

³²⁷ Den Brinker et al., *Berichtigungsliste* B, 827-28.

³²⁸ Quack, "Zu einigen demotischen Gruppen," 108.

³²⁹ For this ostrakon, see Nabil, "Unpublished Demotic Texts," 570-71; pl. vi.

³³⁰ Cf. Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 71, 597.

L. 5.  : The partly preserved signs at the beginning are not clear. Normally, the phrase *sw 2* ^c*n* ‘2 artabas of wheat again’ should be preceded by the halved amount of wheat, which should be in this case *sw 1*, yet the partly preserved signs do not support such a reading. On the other hand, these signs are quite similar to the writing of the number for day 3 which could be part of *sw 13* or *sw 23*. This day date could be then taken as part of a date in which the 2 artabas of wheat (*sw 2*) were apparently paid as a further installment.

-12-

Receipt for the Value of Wheat

Exc. No. (MH 4044). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.5x 7.5x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 36 of [Augustus] = 5 September 6 AD.

Transliteration:

1. [r.în Pa-Dm^{3c} s³](?) Pa-Mn¹ s³ Ms-wr `irm p³y=f(?) šr' r p³ shⁿ
2. [n n³ ^c.wy.w m^ht.w] hr sw n 3h n ntr n h³.t-sp 35 n Dm^{3c}
3. [sttr 6 h^d qd.t 2 1/2] `db^c.t' 5.t/ sttr 3 h^d qd.t 1.t db^c.t 5.t 1/2
4. [/ sttr 6 h^d qd.t 2 1/2 db^c.t] `5.t' ^cn shⁿ n h³.t-sp 36 tpy 3h.t sw 8

Translation:

1. [What] [Pasemis son of](?) Pamonthes son of Mesoeris `and his(?) son´ [have paid] to the bank
2. [of the northern districts] for the wheat of the divine land in year 35 in Jeme:
3. [6 staters, 2 1/2 silver kite,] 5 `obols / 3 staters, 1 silver kite, 5 1/2 obols
4. [/ 6 staters, 2 1/2 silver kite, `5´ [obols] again. Written in year 36, Thoth, day 8.

Commentary:


The find spot of this ostrakon can be precisely determined since it has the number ‘MH 30.130a.’ This field number refers to square R 8 as an exact find spot (see comment on **Text 4**). The sherd is broken at its left side. The remaining text is quite well-preserved and legible. Dating this piece to the early Roman period, year 36 of Augustus, is secure because of the quite high date number mentioned (i.e. year 36). In addition to the paleography, the find spot as well as the highly probable reference to Pasemis son of Pamonthes son of Mesoeris, the main character in the early Roman archive of Pasemis (for more on this archive, see comment on **Text 4** above), further confirm this date. The text represents a bank receipt of a payment concerning temple land, which is likely made in arrears since it is not made in the harvest season, but at the beginning of the following year. Also, the sum was delivered in cash to the bank and not in kind to the granary as it should be, which undoubtedly refer to a payment in arrears of an *adaeratio*. Although the *adaeratio* of this due was normally paid to the only one bank in Jeme, called ‘the bank of the northern districts’ in Demotic ostraca, the formula of the receipt was often indicative of the type and thus purpose of the payment as it usually links it to one of the three granaries dedicated to receiving different land revenues in Jeme, i.e. the royal granary, the granary of the god, and the granary of Apollonides the *strategos*, whose main functions were specified by Lichtheim.³³¹ Thus, since the current receipt mentions *hr sw n 3h n ntr* ‘for the wheat of the land of the god,’ the original wheat payment is supposed to have been made to the granary of the god, i.e. temple granary, which was responsible for collecting the taxes from the land owned by the temple.³³² The text does not directly indicate the type of charge paid. In general, this charge could have been either a rent or a land tax since

³³¹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 33–36.


³³² Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 35.

temple land could be classified either as a private or public land (for more on the status of temple land, see ‘Levies on Cleruchic, Private, and Temple Land (rent, harvest tax, or land tax)’ above). It is notable that receipts for rent deliveries in kind or in cash from Jeme—unlike those for land tax—used to explicitly disclose the purpose of payment as one that was made for the rent.³³³ In the early Roman Demotic receipts of land tax from Medinet Habu as well as other upper Egyptian Ptolemaic land leases, the rent was called *pʒ hw hwʔ*, which literally means ‘the farmer’s profit,’ while the ‘harvest tax’ was referred to as *šmw*, which signified the rent in the Fayyum.³³⁴ In the light of the aforementioned points, it seems certain that the current receipt describes an *adaeratio* of land tax, not of a rent.

L. 1. Comparing the formula of this text with other bank receipts from Medinet Habu,³³⁵ one would expect the name of the bank, i.e. ‘the bank of the northern districts’ to be continued in the following line. This would consequently allow the reconstruction of a further personal name before *Pa-Mnʔ* in this line. This name should either be *Pa-Dmʒ^c* or one of his three brothers, namely, *Pʒ-šr-Mnʔ*, *Pʒ-tw*, or the one whose name is still unread. *Pa-Dmʒ^c* is suggested for he is the main character of this family archive and appears more than his brothers.

The phrase written above the line  could be possibly read *irm pʒy=f(?) šr*. The quite problematic part in this reading would be the writing of *pʒy=f*. The writing of *šr* is also quite strange but can be compared to that of the *ms* sign in the name *Ms-wr*. This phrase apparently refers to one of Pasemis’ sons, namely *Pa-šr-Mnʔ* or *Pa-Mnʔ*.³³⁶

L. 2. The phrase *hr sw* ‘for the wheat’ refers to the purpose of the payment as an *adaeratio* of land tax. The same phrase was used in other receipts, e.g. O. MH 2638, 4052,³³⁷ which were issued for the taxpayer Pasemis son of Pamonthes son of Mesoeris, to whom the current receipt most likely belongs. Ideally, this phrase should have been *hr sw n sw* ‘for the value of the wheat.’³³⁸ The phrase *ʒh n ntr* ‘divine land’ identifies the land as a temple land.

L. 3. The restoration of the partly broken sign at the beginning  as *db^c.t^r* is paleographically and contextually plausible. It is clear through this restoration that the whole sum ends with 5 obols. Since the halved sum (i.e. 3 staters, 1 kite, 5 ½ obols) is fully preserved, the total sum is thus 6 staters, 2 kite, 11 obols. Since 11 obols actually represent ½ kite (= 6 obols) and 5 obols, the whole sum should have been expressed as follows: 6 staters, 2 ½ kite, 5 obols.

L. 4. A quite similar writing of *cn* occurs in O. MH 2638, l. 5,³³⁹ which has a very similar handwriting and likely belong to the same taxpayer.

³³³ Examples of rent payments in kind from Medinet Habu are O. MH 2809, 2880, 521, 2699, 2629. On the other hand, O. MH 2645 represents a receipt issued by two revenue collectors for an *adaeratio* of rent of a temple land; cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 42–44, 48.

³³⁴ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 33–36.

³³⁵ Cf. the formulae of land tax receipts acknowledging cash payments in place of wheat in Roman Medinet Habu, e.g. O. MH 120, 4047, 2548, 4049, 4050, 2638, 1963, 2658, 2572, 4056, 1358 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 45–48.

³³⁶ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis,” 66–67.

³³⁷ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 47.

³³⁸ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 36.

³³⁹ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 47; pls. 18, 46.

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Receipt for Land Tax

Exc. No. (MH 487). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 9.2x 10.7x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 37 of [Augustus] = 19(?) June 8 AD.

Transliteration:

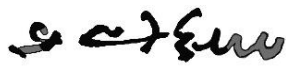
1. *r.in Hr-p³-hm r s³Pa-Mn' [t]*
2. *s³ P³-šr-Mn' r p³ wd³ n n³ c.wy.w*
3. *m h³ t.w n h³.t-sp 37 sw 20 ⁵/₆ ¹/₂₄ /sw 10 ¹/₃ ^r/₁₂*
4. *^r/₄₈ / sw 20 ⁵/₆ ¹/₂₄ c n n p³ h y n i py.t*
5. *n wš n šsp š h n h³.t-sp 37 i bd-2 šmw sw 25(?)*
6. *[š h ...] s³ P³-d³-Hr-i³b t r-hrw P³-i gš s³ Pa-[...]*

Translation:

1. What Harpchemis 'son of' Pa'mon'[thes]
2. son of Psenmon'thes' has paid to the granary of the northern
3. districts in year 37: $\frac{5}{6} \frac{1}{24}$ (artabas of) wheat/ $10 \frac{1}{3}$
4. $\frac{1}{48}$ (?) (artabas of) wheat/ $20 \frac{5}{6} \frac{1}{24}$ (artabas of) wheat again in the measure of the *oipe*
5. without extra charge. Written in year 37, Payni, day 25(?).
6. [Has written ...] son of Peteharegbtis at the command of Pekysis son of P[...].

Commentary:

The upper and lower left edges of the sherd are slightly damaged. The handwriting is clearly Roman; thus, the recorded date number—being a high one—certainly refers to the reign of Augustus. Neither the type of land nor that of the payment is specified in the receipt. In this case, the formula of the receipt and the type of the granary may help in identifying both land and payment type. Firstly, the granary mentioned here is 'the granary of the northern districts,' which seems to be a designation of 'the royal granary of the northern districts.'³⁴⁰ Additionally, this receipt is very similar to the group issued by the royal granary not only in the text's formulation, but also in the sense that they do not normally disclose the type of land or the nature of the payment.³⁴¹ Since land taxes collected from temple lands were normally paid to the temple granary and rentals of both public land and confiscated temple lands were collected by the granary of Apollonides the *strategos*,³⁴² one would suggest that the payment is more likely to concern a basic land tax collected from a public or a privately-possessed land.

L. 1. The reading *Hr-p³-hm*  seems very plausible. The whole compound remarkably ends with a personal determinative, which is not the case in its attested forms,³⁴³ which means also that *Hr-p³-hm* was understood as one compound rather than a combination of *Hr* followed by the epithet *p³ hm* 'the younger.'³⁴⁴ Additionally, *Hr* is apparently written without the oblique stroke in the current name, while in *P³-d³-Hr-i³b t* in l. 6 the stroke is there. Not writing the oblique stroke of *Hr* is unusual but not impossible.³⁴⁵ It is not completely clear whether the scribe left this stroke has been intentionally left out or it has just faded away like the main part of the name *Hr*.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 33.

³⁴¹ Cf. the formula of the receipts issued by the royal granary in Jeme in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 36–39.

³⁴² Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 33–36.

³⁴³ Cf. *DemNam*, 805; cf. also *Hr-hm* in *DemNam*, 832.

³⁴⁴ Greek variants of this name seem to lead to a similar conclusion as well; cf. n. to *Hr-p³-hm* in *DemNam*, 805.

³⁴⁵ For some examples in which *Hr* lacks the oblique stroke, see writings no. 6, 8, 16, 30, 36, 42 of the name *Hr-pa-šs.t* in *DemNam*, 807.

The *s*³ of filiation after *Hr-p³-hm*, a long slanting stroke, is still visible and could be compared with that which precedes the name of the grandfather at the beginning of l. 2.

The remaining signs and space suggest restoring the name of the father as *Pa-Mnṯ*.

L. 2. The *t*-sign and the determinative of *Mnṯ* in the name *P³-šr-Mnṯ* are extremely faint but the reading is beyond doubt.

L. 3. The faint signs at the beginning of this line likely represent the *mḥ* sign followed by three plural strokes that are topped by a sign similar to the *t* (it usually represents an actual *t* or a sitting man). As example writings from Medinet Habu³⁴⁶ show, the *mḥ* sign was normally preceded by an *m* and followed by the *t* sign, the place determinative, and the plural sign (as a vertical stroke³⁴⁷ or sometimes as three strokes topped by another sign that looks like a *t*³⁴⁸). Whether the initial *m* of *mḥt.w* was written in the damaged part at the end of l. 2 is uncertain.

The fraction $\frac{5}{6}$ is typically halved as $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ which upholds the reading of the partly preserved fraction at the end of the line as $\frac{1}{12}$.


L. 4. The number 48, the denominator of the fraction $\frac{1}{48}$, is hardly visible due to the faded ink. The same is almost true for the number 20, of which only some traces are noticeable. The reading is, however, certain in both cases.

The upper part of the oblique stroke after this fraction stroke intersects with the tail of the *mḥ* sign of the line above.

L. 5. The phrase *n wš n* is barely legible. Upon comparison with other parallels from Medinet Habu,³⁴⁹ the reading seems certain.

The number after *sw 20* consists of two parts, hence *sw 25* is suggested.

L. 6. The ink is very faint at the beginning. This line should have begun with *sh* followed by the scribe's first name.

Reading the name of the scribe's father  as *P³-d³-Hr-ibṯt* seems possible. This name is not in the *DemNam*, but the name *Hr-ibṯt* is, albeit for a single person.³⁵⁰

For more on *r-hrw* 'at the behest/ command of,' (see above comment on **Text 1**, l. 6). For some examples where *hrw* is written without determinative (a man with hand-to-mouth), see *DemGloss*, 365-66, Ptolemaic writings no. 3; Roman writings nos. 7, 10, 11, 15; *CDD*, *H*, 132-33.

³⁴⁶ E.g. O. MH 2631, 4040, and 4516 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 22; pls. 5, 39.

³⁴⁷ As for instance in O. MH 439, 4063, and 2654; cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 24-25; pls. 7, 41.

³⁴⁸ As an example, see O. MH 2631, 4040, and 4516 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 22; pls. 5, 39.

³⁴⁹ Compare, for instance, the formula of the numerous granary receipts about land taxes and rents from Medinet Habu published by Lichtheim in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 36-45; pls. 12-17, 44-45.

³⁵⁰ Cf. *DemNam*, 789, 854. This name, whose Greek rendering is already known, means "Horus of the east" and refers to a form of Horus, after which the city located on the eastern bank of the third Upper Egyptian nome is named; cf. H.-J. Thissen, "Zwischen Theben und Assuan: onomastische Anmerkungen," *ZPE* 90 (1992): 293; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 4 (Le Caire, 1927), 33-34.

Receipt for Rent Payment

Exc. No. (MH 1612). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.3x 6.5x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 3 of 'Tiberius' = 4(?) June(?) 17 AD.

Transliteration:

1. $r. r^2 m^7$ [NN s³ NN]
2. $r p^3 w d^3 n r^3 p^7$ [llwnyts] [...] (?) [hr p³ hw]
3. $h w t n h^3 . t - s p 3$ [sw 3 $1/3$ $1/12$ / sw 1 $1/2$ $1/6$ $1/24$]
4. / sw 3 $1/3$ $1/12$ c n n p³ [hy n i py . t sh n h³ . t - s p 3 n Tybrs (?)]
5. Gysrs S^r b^r [sts]
6. $3 w t w g r t w$ ^{c.w.s.} i b d - 2 r s m w⁷ [sw]
7. sw 10 (?) sw 1 $1/2$ $1/8$ r sw 2 $1/2$ $1/4$ $1/24$ [...] (?)

Translation:

1. What [NN son of NN] 'has paid'
2. to the granary of 'Ap'[ollonides] [...] (?) [for the profit of]
3. farmer of year 3: [3 $1/3$ $1/12$ (artabas of) wheat/ 1 $1/2$ $1/6$ $1/24$ (artabas of) wheat]
4. / 3 $1/3$ $1/12$ (artabas of) wheat again in the [measure of *oipe*. Written in year 3 of Tiberius]
5. Caesar Aug[ustus]
6. Autocrator ^{L.P.H.}, Pa^r yni⁷ (?), [day ..] [...]
7. day 10 (?): 1 $1/2$ $1/8$ (artabas of) wheat makes 2 $1/2$ $1/4$ $1/24$ (artabas of) wheat [...] (?)

Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its left side. The text records a granary receipt acknowledging wheat payment. Although the name of the granary is not fully preserved, its identification as the granary of the *strategos* Apollonides seems probable since the first two letters of his name are partly preserved and the receipt concerns a rent payment which was usually paid to the granary of Apollonides. The payment was apparently paid in several installments. The handwriting indicates the early Roman Period, and the recorded date refers most likely to the third year of an emperor whose name is partly preserved. Principally, regnal year 3 could be applicable to all emperors from Augustus to Nero in the early Roman Period. The almost secure reference to Apollonides as part of the granary's name as well as the name of the emperors given in the text could be quite helpful in this regard. Before suggesting a date for this text, it is beneficial to shed some light on Apollonides the *strategos*. By virtue of some evidence from Medinet Habu, Lichtheim concluded that this Apollonides was in office for at least 19 years, i.e. from year 27 of Augustus until year 3 of Tiberius, which—as she already noticed—a quite 'noteworthy' duration for a *strategos*.³⁵¹ According to Spiegelberg's conclusion, his full name was apparently Apollonides son of Apollonides and he could be mentioned with or without his title (i.e. the *strategos*).³⁵² This *strategos* was then studied by Mooren,³⁵³ who tried to more precisely identify and assign dates to the different *stratego*i named Apollonides. In his article, Mooren followed Lichtheim's conclusions regarding the *strategos* Apollonides son of Apollonides known from Medinet Habu ostraca and suggested that he was in office from at least 3-4 BC until 16-17 AD and identified him with Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίδου, the *strategos* of the Hermonthite and Latopolite nomes known from other Greek texts dated to the Augustan Period.³⁵⁴ With this date and identification, he also ruled out

³⁵¹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 35–36.

³⁵² W. Spiegelberg, "Der Stratege Pamenches: (mit einem Anhang über die bisher aus ägyptischen Texten bekannt gewordenen Strategen)," *ZÄS* 57, no. 1 (1922): 90.

³⁵³ L. Mooren, "The Strategos Apollonides (Pp I 219)," *AncSoc* 3 (1972): 121–25.

³⁵⁴ Mooren, "The Strategos Apollonides," 122, 124.

the possibility of the identification of this Apollonides son of Apollonides with another Apollonides attested in some late Ptolemaic Greek texts of earlier date (the text gives year 21, which corresponds to either 73, 44, or 22 BC)³⁵⁵ since ‘the latest possible date (22 BC) would still result in a term of office of some forty years.’³⁵⁶ Another difficulty which Mooren attempted to solve is the relation between Apollonides son of Apollonides and another *strategos* called Nikomachos son of Apollonides. This Nikomachos is known from Greek sources in the late Ptolemaic Period as well,³⁵⁷ and scholars like Van ’t Dack assumed he was probably the son of Apollonides son of Apollonides.³⁵⁸ Yet, as Mooren concluded, this Nikomachos could possibly be the son of the earlier Apollonides known from late Ptolemaic Period and not of Apollonides son of Apollonides who served under Augustus and Tiberius, and if he has anything to do with Apollonides son of Apollonides, he could be his brother who was in office before him.³⁵⁹ Now, the situation was possibly as follows: a certain Apollonides held the office of *strategos* in the late Ptolemaic Period (possibly around 73 BC) and was possibly followed by his son Nikomachos son of Apollonides, who could be followed by his brother Apollonides son of Apollonides.

The group of ostraca under consideration adds further information about Apollonides son of Apollonides. It confirms, on the one hand, Spiegelberg’s conclusion about his full name being Apollonides son Apollonides as it adds one more attestation (see **Text 16**, l. 5) of his full name, which is only rarely attested.³⁶⁰ Evidence from the present collection suggests, on the other hand, that he was apparently still in office until at least year 13 of Tiberius (see commentary on **Text 15**). This adds about 10 more years to his term of office. Thus, he was likely in office from at least year 27 of Augustus (3-4 BC) until year 13 of Tiberius (26-27 AD), i.e. for ± 29 years, which is a fairly long period. The conclusion of Wahid el-Din³⁶¹ that he was in office until year 3 of Claudius (42-43) is apparently inaccurate. On a surface level, the fact that her assumption gives Apollonides son of Apollonides ± 45 years term of office suffices to strongly doubt such a conclusion since such a term is quite unrealistic. Furthermore, having a closer look at the text—upon which she based her deduction—prompts a fairly new conclusion. In this text (i.e. O. Cairo Museum SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4 (published as O. no. 115)),³⁶² which is a granary receipt of rent paid by *Pa-tw s3 P3-šr-Mnṯ s3 Pa-Mnṯ* (the author reads *Mnṯ* but *Pa-Mnṯ* is undoubtedly clear) in year 3 of Claudius,³⁶³ the name of the granary appears in ll. 2-3 as follows:

(Approximate facsimile of l. 2 and part of l. 3 drawn after Wahid el-Din’s fig. 115)

Wahid el-Din reads: (l. 2) *r p3 r3 n 3pllwnyts s^c*- (l. 3) *rsrpswn(?)* ... ‘to the granary of Apollonides *s^c*- (l. 3) *rsrpswn(?)*’ She suggested taking the word after Apollonides, which she cautiously read

³⁵⁵ Mooren, “The Strategos Apollonides,” 122, 124.

³⁵⁶ Mooren, “The Strategos Apollonides,” 124.

³⁵⁷ Mooren, “The Strategos Apollonides,” 122.

³⁵⁸ E. Van ’t Dack, “Recherches sur l’Administration du nome dans la Thébaïde au temps des Lagides,” *Aegyptus* 29, no. 1/2 (1949): 20.

³⁵⁹ Mooren, “The Strategos Apollonides,” 122–23, 125.

³⁶⁰ To my knowledge, the only example that preserves his full name is the unpublished O. Str. D 477 cited by Spiegelberg; cf. Spiegelberg, “Der Strategie Pamenches,” 90.


³⁶¹ See n. to O. no. 66 (O. Cairo Museum SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4), l. 2 in Wahid el-Din, “Ostraca from Thebes,” 108.


³⁶² Wahid el-Din, “Ostraca from Thebes,” 189–90; pl. lxii; fig. 115.


³⁶³ The name is given in ll. 6-8 as ‘Tiberius Claudius Germanicus Sebastos Autocrator.’ Although his name is spelled apparently as *Glṯ’s* (the author reads *Glwts*), the recorded names and their sequence make the reference to Claudius quite certain.

s^crsrpswn, as a title but she did not offer any interpretation for it.³⁶⁴ Assuming his name is followed by a title, she proposed that this Apollonides is the same as the one who operated under Augustus and Tiberius, which is clearly not the case. In fact, the writing which follows the name of Apollonides in ll. 2-3 seems to be an addition to his name followed by the name of his father. As such this part could be better read: (l. 2) *r p³ wd³ 3pllwnyts³⁶⁵ c³* (l. 3) *s³³⁶⁶ Srpy² wn* ‘to the granary of Apollonides, the elder (l. 3) son of Sarapion . . .’ This does not only disprove the identification of this person with the famous the Apollonides son of Apollonides, but also opens the door for adding another person (Apollonides son of Sarapion)³⁶⁷ to the series of the *stratego*i known as Apollonides. This person, if our conclusion is correct, seems to have followed Apollonides son of Apollonides in the office of *strategos* either directly or indirectly.

Now, as we have two persons with the name Apollonides, one is attested in Theban granary receipts until at least year 13 of Tiberius (latest known year of Apollonides son of Apollonides) and the other is only attested in a receipt from year 3 of Claudius (i.e. Apollonides son of Sarapion), which one was meant here and to which emperor did the date here recorded (i.e. year 3) refer? To begin with, the lacuna in l. 2 could barely suffice to write the rest of the partly preserved name of Apollonides as well as the reason for payment which is already continued in l. 3. If a patronym existed in such a limited space—which was not apparently the case—it must have been expressed as *s³ sp-sn*, which would be indicative of Apollonides son of Apollonides. This excludes Apollonides son of Sarapion and subsequently year 3 of Claudius (the only year attested for him) from the equation. The remaining possibilities are year 3 of Augustus, Tiberius, or Caligula. The size of the lacuna as well as the recorded names or titles and their sequence suggest Tiberius³⁶⁸ over Caligula. Augustus is very unlikely because the mentioned names and their sequence does not agree with his titulary, as well as the fact that his name was often omitted in Demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu. More than that, ascribing year 3 to Augustus would extend the term of office of Apollonides son of Apollonides to an extremely long period.

L. 2. The surviving parts  of *3* and *p* makes the restoration of the name Apollonides undoubtful.

Another similar writing of *3* appears in *3wtwgrtw*  in l. 6.

L. 3. Reading the group of signs before the date as *c³hw¹*  seems very plausible, although the current spelling has a second extra slanting stroke after the initial element. Such a stroke occurred in some early Demotic writings of the word.³⁶⁹ The reference to the granary of the granary of Apollonides provide a further confirmation to this reading as well. According to Lichtheim, this granary—which is quite well attested in Demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu—was specialized in collecting rents from both public and confiscated temple lands as well as in giving and receiving loans of grain seeds to and from the cultivators in Roman Jeme.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁴ See n. to O. no. 115 (O. Cairo Museum SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4), ll. 2-3 in Wahid el-Din, “Ostraca from Thebes,” 190.

³⁶⁵ As Prof. Stadler suggested, it could be also *3pllwnyts*. In this case, it should be a form of the same name, i.e. *3pllwnyts*.

³⁶⁶ That the *s³* of filiation is too long should not disturb the reading; for similar writings of the *s³* of filiation, see **Text 13**, ll. 1, 2 above.

³⁶⁷ Two persons with name Apollonides son of Sarapion are listed in *Trismegistos* database, one of them (Apllonides alias pepous son of Sarapion; cf. TM Per 146195) is attested in a Greek text from Memphis dated to the third century AD and the other (Apollonides son of Sarapion; cf. TM Per 243620) is attested in Amarna in a Greek text dated from 332BC-199AD.

³⁶⁸ For the titles of Tiberius as occurred in Demotic texts, see Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne*, 90–95. For an example that records the same titles in the same sequence, see “type I” in Grenier, *Les titulatures*, 16, 22–23.

³⁶⁹ Cf. early writings nos. 2-3 versus Ptolemaic and Roman writing of the word in *DemGloss*, 298.

³⁷⁰ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 35.

L. 4. The writing of the number 3 is quite indistinct and is clearly different from the writing of 3 in the dating in l. 3 above.

The restoration of this part is based on other parallels that has the same formula.³⁷¹

The name of Tiberius should have been in the lacuna at the end of this line. The spelling given here is only a suggestion.

L. 6. Considering the surviving signs and the fact that on-time land revenue payments were usually made in the harvest season, the reading *šmw* seems more plausible.

L. 7. The slanting stroke at the beginning possibly represents *sw 10* rather than a separation stroke between the total amount and its half. The payment which directly follows this day date, i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ apparently represents a payment for a different due or an installment of the one recorded at the beginning of the text. In total, this receipt seems to have recorded at least three payments at three different times. These are the first and main one which is about $3\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}$ (artabas of) wheat. The third payment is the one about $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$, which is most likely precede by another separate payment. This second payment, which was apparently recorded at the end of l. 6, should have been about $1\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{24}$, i.e. an amount equal to the difference between the grand total $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{24}$ and the preserved third payment $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$.

-15-

Receipt for Rent Payment

Exc. No. (MH 2532). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.5x 4.2x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 13 of 'Tiberius' (?) = 26-27(?) AD.

Transliteration:

1. *r.ʔn Pa-Mnʔ 'sʔ' [...]*
2. *Pa-Mn r pʔ wdʔ [n ʔpllwny]_*
3. *ts hr pʔ hw [ʔhwʔ n hʔ.t-sp 13.t(?)]*
4. *sw 7/ sw 3 1/2/ [sw 7 ʔn] [n pʔ hy n ʔpy.t n wš n]*
5. *šsp šh n hʔ.t-sp '13.t' [n Tybrs]*
6. *Sʔbʔsʔ[ts](?) [...](?) [ʔbd .. šmw(?) sw ..] [... sw 1]*
7. */ sw 1/2/ ʔswʔ[1 ʔn] [...](?)*

Translation:


1. What Pamonthes son of [...] has paid [...](?)
2. Paminis to the granary [of Apolloni]_
3. des for the [farmer's] profit (i.e. rent) [of year 13(?)]
4. 7 (artabas of) wheat/ $3\frac{1}{2}$ (artabas of) wheat/ [7 (artabas of) wheat again in the measurement of *oipe* (?) without(?)]
5. extra charge. Written in year '13' [of Tiberius]
6. Augu's [tus(?)] [...](?) [... month of summer(?), day ..]. [... 1 (artabas of) wheat]
7. / $\frac{1}{2}$ (artabas of) wheat/ [1] (artabas of) 'wheat'[again] [...](?)



Commentary:

³⁷¹ For some examples of early Roman granary receipts from Medinet Habu that display the very same formula especially in this part of the text, see O. MH 2809, 2880, 521, 2699, 2629, and 3674 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 42–44; pls. 16–17.

The handwriting indicates the early Roman Period. The left half of the ostrakon is broken. Most of the text could be, however, restored with the help of the surviving parts and the formula of similar receipts. That the receipt is issued by the granary of Apollonides, the *strategos*, seems beyond question. This is not only confirmed through the very likely reference to Apollonides, whose name is partly preserved, but also through the reference to the nature of payment as one of a rent, which was normally collected by the same granary. Although the reference to the type of land is missing, the receipt should have certainly concerned a plot of land that was required to pay rent, namely a public or a confiscated temple land. The name of the granary refers to the well-known *strategos* Apollonides son of Apollonides (for more on him as well as other *stratego*i named Apollonides, see commentary on **Text 14**) since his name certainly ends with Apollonides which indicates either his first or father's name. This confines the date of the extant receipt to the reign of Augustus or Tiberius (note that Caligula does not exceed year 5 and from year 3 of Claudius there seems to have been a different Apollonides in the position of the *strategos*). The reference to year 13 and the very fact that the names of the emperor are mentioned make Tiberius a more plausible suggestion. This would give this *strategos* a term of office of over 28 years.

L. 2. Pamiris could be either the grandfather of the taxpayer Pamonthes or the father of or he himself the person through whom the payment has been made. The reference to an intermediary making the payment on behalf of the taxpayers was quite common in granary receipts from Medinet Habu.³⁷² No information about the identity of the intermediary was usually given in the texts. He might be a normal person entrusted by the taxpayer to make payment on his behalf. This person could be, on the other hand, a tenant who is paying the taxes in the name of his lessor or landowner. This later practice is well-known in land rental agreements since the Ptolemaic Period.³⁷³

L. 3. The writing of *hr*  'for, about, concerning' in two parts is quite strange. A similar writing occurred in O. MH 2880, l. 4³⁷⁴ in which the name Apollonides was also remarkably split over two lines (ll. 3-4). Further similarities between the current receipt and that of O. MH 2880 include the fact that O. MH 2880 dates to the reign of Tiberius, the taxpayer's first name was also—exactly as in the current text—Pamonthes, the fact that both texts refer to a payment of rent made through an intermediary, in addition to the similarities in the writing of some other signs such as *sh* (compare the writing of *sh* in l. 5 of the current text with that of l. 7 in O. MH 2880). Could both texts belong to the same taxpayer and the same scribe?

L. 4. Notice the unusual writings of *sw* 'wheat' ,  in this line, which look more like *hd*. Yet, the formula and context of the text support the current reading more than *hd*.

The expression *np' hyn ipy.t* is restored here since it occurs in most of the receipts issued by the granary of Apollonides from Medinet Habu.

Furthermore, *šsp* is expected to be preceded by *n wš n* or less frequently *iw=w*;³⁷⁵ therefore, the suggested restoration.

L. 5. The text is leant clockwise from this line onwards.

³⁷² As for instance in O. MH 71, 2633, 2515, 1370, 1157, 2809, and 2880 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 37, 38, 39, 40-41, 42, 43.

³⁷³ Upper Egyptian tenants used to pay their land taxes directly to the state. Sometimes, the tenant can pay both the rent and state taxes to the landowner who will have to settle the issue with the state later; cf. Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, 142.

³⁷⁴ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 43; pl. 16.

³⁷⁵ Cf. the formula of the receipts issued by the granary of Apollonides, the *strategos* in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 42-45.

-16-

Receipt for the Value of Wheat

Exc. No. (MH 3660). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7x 4x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, most likely reign of Augustus or Tiberius.

Transliteration:

1. [...] ... s³ sp-sn n-dr.t P³y-
2. [...] s³(?) Pa-]iry(?) r p³ shn n
3. [n³ c.wy.w] r mh⁷ t.w hr sw n sw n
4. [...] hy.w(?) n St³.t=w-t³-wt
5. [...] 3p]T⁷lwnyts s³ sp-sn
6. [p³ srtyqw]s³(?) sttr 2.t /
7. [sttr 1.t/ sttr] r 2.t⁷ c n n wš n w⁷(?)
8. [...]

Translation:

1. [...] ... son of the likewise named through Pi_
2. [...] son of(?) Pa]eris(?) to the bank of
3. [the 'north'ern [districts] for the value of wheat of
4. [...] the expenses(?) of Stotoetis
5. [...] Apo]T⁷lonides son of the likewise named
6. [the *stratego*]s³(?) 2 staters/
7. [1 staters/ r 2⁷ [staters] again, without additional payment(?).
8. [...] r ... [...]

Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its right-hand side and possibly at its bottom as well. The surviving text suggests a bank receipt for the value of wheat as the phrase *hr sw n sw* 'for the value of wheat' implies (for more on this expression, see comment on **Text 12**, l. 2). Cash payments in lieu of wheat as an *adaeratio* of land-related payments were not uncommon in Thebes in the Roman Period (for more on this see section's introduction above). The handwriting indicates the early Roman Period. The type of land and nature of the payment are not clear. The reference to the Apollonides son of Apollonides suggests an early Roman date. This date is likely between years 27 of Augustus and 13 of Tiberius. On the one hand, the occurrence of this *strategos*—who was mainly associated with the granary which was under his supervision and was thus named after him—in a bank receipt would be quite odd, unless the payment acknowledged here was an *adaeratio* of rent or seed grain that should have been originally paid to his granary in kind.

L. 1. The formula of the text seems to have been as follows: 'NN son NN paid through NN son of NN to the bank of the northern districts ...' As such, the lacuna at the start of this line apparently contained a verb of payment followed by the initial part of the name of the taxpayer.

For another, similar writing of *sp-sn*, see l. 5 below.

For a fairly similar writing of *n-dr.t*, see O. MH 4359, l. 5 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 64; pl. 29.

L. 2. The remaining signs at the beginning of this line could possibly represent a name ending with *iry*, possibly *Pa-iry*. This person could be the father of the intermediary whose name seems to begin with *P³y* at the end of l. 1.

L. 4. It is unclear as to which expenses or costs this *hy.w*³⁷⁶ exactly refers, but they are seemingly related to wheat delivery to the granary (for a further example which has the combination *hy+* personal name, see **Text 19**, l. 5).

For *St*³.~~ƒ~~*w-t*³-*w**t*, see *DemNam*, 945.


To get a clearer image of the situation which this receipt could have reflected, one has to clarify some points. Firstly, different payments required from grainlands were usually paid in kind unless the crop fell short in part or in full. In this latter case, the payment or part of it is replaced by a cash equivalent. Secondly, it is clear through the reference to *sw* *sw* that the current receipt certainly records an *adaeratio* of wheat. Thirdly, the mention of Apollonides son of Apollonides shows that the granary to which the original payment should have been made is the granary of the *strategos* which usually receives rents and corn seed payments. Thus, the cash payment here recorded was likely an *adaeratio* of a rent. From another perspective, tenants usually had to pay the rent, the taxes, in addition to other expenses (e.g. transport and collection fees). In his commentary on the phrase *n wš n šsp* ‘without extra charge,’ Mattha—who understood *šsp* as ‘collecting or receiving-dues’—explained that this phrase indicates that the recorded payment does not include the extra charges, which were to be paid at the end of the year as a lump sum.³⁷⁷ Considering these points, the receipt under study could reflect a situation where the tenant had to complement his rent payment in cash, possibly because his crop of the year has fallen short which could be also why he had to pay the expenses in cash as well.

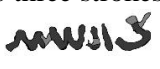
The identity of this Stotoetis is unclear, but he could be the one entrusted with the collection or delivery of the tax to the bank, or he might be a representative of the *strategos* Apollonides son of Apollonides, or perhaps the supervisor of the local branch of the granary of *strategos* for which the original in-kind payment was due. Thus, the lacuna before the name of Apollonides in l. 5 could have contained a title linking this person to Apollonides or the granary bearing his name.

L. 5. The name Apollonides son of Apollonides makes the reference to the *strategos* who held the office under Augustus and Tiberius quite certain. The current example is one of the rare attestations of his full name (see general commentary on **Text 14**).

The stroke for *s*³ ‘son of’ is unusually long.

L. 6. The remaining signs before the foreign land determinative at the beginning could represent the rest of an *s*. These signs could be the end of the title *srtȳqws*, which occasionally appears after the name Apollonides son of Apollonides.

Notable also is the strange writing of *sttr* , in which all the signs after the initial *s* are ligatured to form what looks like a serpentine line or a zigzag. The same is also noticeable in other words such as *hy.w* in l. 4, *špllwnyts* in l. 5, *wƒ* in l. 7. Such a tendency could have caused some superfluous signs in some words such as *sttr* in this line and *wƒ* in l. 7.

L. 7. Note the strange writing of *wƒ*, in which the scribe adds three strokes between the *ƒ*-sign and the final silver determinative, which resulted in spelling it as *wƒ* .

³⁷⁶ *DemGloss*, 266–67; *CDD*, H, 4-7.

³⁷⁷ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 151.

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Receipt(?) of Wheat Delivered to the Granary of a Strategos

Exc. No. (MH 1146). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7x 7.5x 0.5 cm. Medinet Habu. Probably Roman(?).

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] ʿ..ʿ
2. [...] ʿ..ʿ n-dr.t(?) Pa-Mnṯ
3. [...] ... imnṯ
4. [...] ḫw=f šsp r pḏ wḏḏ n
5. [...] pḏ] ʿsʿ rtyqws ʿsw(?)ʿ ʿ8ʿ(?) 1/2(?) 1/4(?)
6. [...] twn Hrms
7. [...] ʿ..ʿ pš imnṯ ʿ..ʿ [..]
8. [...] r rsy [..]
9. [...] ʿ..ʿ [..]

Translation: x+

1. [...] ʿ..ʿ
2. [...] ʿ..ʿ through(?) Pamonthes
3. [...] western ...
4. [...] it is received in the granary of
5. [...] the] ʿsʿ rtrategos ʿ8ʿ(?) 1/2(?) 1/4(?) (artabas of) ʿwheatʿ(?)
6. [...] beside/ before(?) Hermes
7. [...] ʿ..ʿ western half ʿ..ʿ [..]
8. [...] to the south [..]
9. [...] ʿ..ʿ [..]


Commentary:

The handwriting could be Roman. Furthermore, most texts from Medinet Habu that refer to the granary of the *strategos* are often Roman in date. The title ‘*strategos*’ here mentioned could be referring to Apollonides son of Apollonides or to Apollonides son of Sarapion attested in Demotic receipts from Thebes. This would mean that the current text could be dated to sometime between years 27 of Augustus and year 13 of Tiberius, or even to the reign of Claudius as well (see comment on **Text 14**). Although the text is incomplete and its content is quite ambiguous in some places, numerous indications seem to hint at a text (likely a receipt) related to the delivery of an amount of wheat which is or to be received by a granary of a *strategos*, whose name is lost in the lacuna. As a whole, Demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu provide good evidence to the existence of three granaries in Jeme in the early Roman Period, namely the royal granary, the temple granary, and the granary under the supervision of the *strategos*. By virtue of this group of texts, Lichtheim was able to indicate some of the function and responsibilities of the granary of the *strategos* in Jeme in the early Roman Period. These responsibilities include the collection of rentals from crown and confiscated temple lands as well as making and collecting seed grains.³⁷⁸ As such, this receipt—being likely issued by the granary of the *strategos*—might concern one of these transactions, i.e. payment of rent or seed grain.

L. x+1. The surviving sign in this line is quite similar to the determinative of the unclear word at the beginning of l. x+3 below.



³⁷⁸ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 33–36.

L. x+3. The signs before the part read as *imnꜥ* are quite unclear but have some similarity *pke, pkt* ‘fine linen, mourning linen,’³⁷⁹ and *tn* ‘dam, dike.’³⁸⁰ The last seems more fitting to the context than the first. The problem with it is that the initial element (the supposed *tn* sign) appears as if it has a *k* topped by another sign. This reading could be, however, accepted if the *tn* sign was corrected from an earlier writing.

Reading *imnꜥ*  seems plausible, even though the *ꜥ*-sign is slightly different from its second writing in l. x+7 below. Reading *Dḥwty-ꜥ.ir-dꜥs*, which could be similarly written, is less suitable both paleographically and semantically. On the one hand, the divine determinative of *Dḥwty* would be quite short and clearly different from that of *Pa-Mnꜥ* in l. x+2 above, and the writing of *ꜥ.ir-dꜥs* would not easily discernable.³⁸¹ On the other hand, having an adjective in this position seems more suitable than a personal name. In this case, this line could be read *tn imnꜥ* ‘western dam,’ and it could be taken as a description of some plot of land which is abutted by a dam.

L. x+5. If it was originally mentioned, the name of the *strategos* should occur at the beginning of this line. This title, which means ‘general; military, civil governor of a nome,’ is originally a Greek loan-word attested in Demotic with various spellings.³⁸²

The part following the word *srtꜥꜥws* is quite faded. Besides the reading suggested here, this part might be also read as *tꜥy=f* ‘he took.’

L. x+6. The house determinative of *twn*  is comparable with that of *wdꜥ*  in l. x+4 above. The word *twn* ‘breast, bosom,’ sometimes written as *tw*, often occurs as part of the compound prepositions *r-twn*, *ḥr-twn*, *ḥr-twn* whose meaning is centered around ‘beside, next to, at, before.’³⁸³ The preposition *r-twn* is also used in combination with the verb *tm* ‘to join’ to form the verb *tꜥmy r-twn*, which means ‘to approach.’³⁸⁴ Which compound was meant here is not totally clear because of the damage of the area preceding *twn*.

Since the *ḥ* sound is not normally used with Greek names, it can be a misspelling of *h*. Thus, *Hrms* could be a defective writing of *Hrms*.³⁸⁵

L. x+7. The sign before *pꜥ* could be part of a preceding word. Anyway, it is certainly not the definite article *pꜥ* since *pꜥ* ‘half’ is feminine in Demotic.³⁸⁶

The partially preserved sign after *imnꜥ* could belong to *sp* ‘to remain over, remainder.’

-18-

Vineyard Tax Receipt

Exc. No. (MH 4285). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.3x 6.2x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman(?).

Transliteration:

³⁷⁹ *DemGloss*, 141; *CDD*, P, 172.

³⁸⁰ *DemGloss*, 637; *CDD*, T, 235.

³⁸¹ Cf. the different writings of *Dḥwty-ꜥ.ir-dꜥs* in *DemNam*, 1300–1301.

³⁸² Cf. *CDD*, S, 308–313; Clarysse, “Greek Loan-Words in Demotic,” 28–29.

³⁸³ Cf. *DemGloss*, 612; *CDD*, T, 108–9.

³⁸⁴ Cf. *CDD*, T, 196.

³⁸⁵ For some Demotic and Greek examples of this name, see *TM Nam* 4465.

³⁸⁶ Cf. *DemGloss*, 140; *CDD*, P, 165–167.

1. [...] [Pa-D]ᵣ m³ᶜ (?) ḥr ḥd ᵣ ʔlly
2. [...] ᵣ..ᵣ Ḥr-pa-ʔs.t sʔ Mnq-ᵣ Rᶜ
3. [...] ᵣ T.t(?) ḍbᶜ.t 2.t 1/2
4. [...] n ḥʔ.t-sp] ᵣ..4ᵣ (?) ḥd-2 pr.t sw 11


Translation:

1. [...] [Pase]ᵣ misᵣ(?) for the vineyard tax
2. [...] ᵣ..ᵣ Harpaesis son of Monkoᵣ resᵣ
3. [...] ᵣ 1ᵣ(?) [...] 2 1/2 obols
4. [...] in year] ᵣ..4ᵣ(?), Mecheir, day 11.

Commentary:

The text appears to be written with a calamus. Thus, the dating should not be earlier than the second half of the first century BC. In fact, internal indications allude to a Roman date (see comment on ll. 2-3 below). The receipt concerns a payment of the vineyard tax, which apparently corresponds to the Greek ὑπὲρ γεωμετρίας ἀμπελώνων collected from vine gardens and orchards in the Roman period. This tax was collected in Thebes at the rate of 40 drachmas per aroura. Overall, the vineyard taxes in money were usually paid to the bank³⁸⁷ (see the introduction above for details).



L. 1. The partly preserved name  at the beginning of this line ends with a divine determinative which—as the surviving parts show—is likely preceded by the m³ᶜ group, which is also very similar to Dm³ᶜ in the name Pa-Dm³ᶜ in **Text 66**, recto, l. 4. This indicates a name built with Dm³ᶜ. Pa-Dm³ᶜ is suggested due to its popularity in Medinet Habu. On the other hand, the lack of place determinative makes the identification of Dm³ᶜ as a place name quite improbable.

The expression ḥd ʔlly ‘money of vineyards’ refers to the vineyard tax. According to Mattha’s observations, this tax was called in the Ptolemaic receipt from Thebes pʔ tny n ʔḥ ʔlly or ḥd n ʔḥ ʔlly,³⁸⁸ whereas in Roman receipts it was apparently abbreviated to ḥd ʔlly or even as ʔlly.³⁸⁹ This, together with the handwriting of the text, incites assigning a Roman date to the current text.

L. 2. The two vertical strokes before the name Ḥr-pa-ʔs.t could be the remains of rmt followed by the plural stroke, which could have been part of the well-known combination ḥn nʔ rmt.w+ NN ‘among the men of NN.’ If this phrase was already in the lacuna, dating the current receipts to the early Roman Period would be totally unproblematic.

Mnq-Rᶜ is used sometimes as a writing for Mn-kʔ-Rᶜ.³⁹⁰

L. 3. The partly damaged sign before ḍbᶜ.t most likely represents a feminine form of a number whose lower part consists of a vertical stroke. As such, this partly preserved sign must have been part of one of the numbers 1, 2, or 5. Furthermore, if this number was 2 or 5, some remains of its top would have been still visible since it occupies the left part of its top (compare the writing of 2.t after ḍbᶜ.t). Thus, number 1 seems a more fitting restoration here.

The writing of the fraction 1/2 is quite strange because the upper stroke goes unusually down long. Quite similar writings, however, appeared in O. Pisa 460, recto, ll. x+8, 12.³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Bogaert, “Les opérations des banques,” 57.

³⁸⁸ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 42; *DemGloss*, 7.

³⁸⁹ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 42.

³⁹⁰ Cf. *DemNam*, 590.

³⁹¹ Cf. E. Bresciani et al., “Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco,” *SCO* 22 (1973): 231; pl. 12.

For a similar writing of *db^c.t*, see O. MH 512, ll. 3, 4.³⁹²

L. 4. The remaining sign at the beginning of the line supports restoring number 3, or 4. Hence, the regnal year can theoretically be 3, 4, 13, 14, 23, 24, 33, 34, or at the highest 43.

2.1.2.2 *Private Receipts for Land-related Payments*

The Thebaid had a quite distinctive status regarding land classification which probably had its consequences on the juridical status and nature of land-related levies.³⁹³ The roots of such a status, which became more evident under the Ptolemies, appears to have been established in the New Kingdom, where—as the evidence shows—the land administration in Thebes was largely controlled by the temple of Amun.³⁹⁴ This position of the temple of Amun as one of the major landholding entities seems to have been retained in early Ptolemaic Period as well.³⁹⁵ From the third century BC onwards, the Ptolemies confiscated many plots of land in Upper Egypt. According to Vandorpe, the confiscated plots were not retained as royal land, rather they were converted into a kind of ‘private’ land by selling them to private owners in public auctions, perhaps as a sign of respect to the tradition of private land ownership which was common in Thebes since the late New Kingdom.³⁹⁶ Thus, private land together with temple land constituted the main classes of land in the Thebaid in the Ptolemaic Period in contrast to the royal land which seems to be completely absent and the cleruchic land which is barely attested in the Theban region at that time.³⁹⁷ A clear-cut distinction between private land and land leased on hereditary contract is not possible. On the one hand, dues collected from the latter were seen by the crown as a rent; on the other hand, some lands of this type (in Edfu for instance) may have practically become part of the private land and was subjected to the harvest tax.³⁹⁸ Owners of such lands had the right to lease or sublease it to private persons for a rent usually indicated in the lease contract at the beginning of the rent period. As scholars pointed out, most Theban land leases were normally made by the lessee to the lessor unless the latter was in debit to the earlier.³⁹⁹

The following receipts represent examples of such rent payments made between individuals. They all date to the Ptolemaic Period, around the late second century BC. The acknowledgments of rent payments here published are issued by the lessor to the lessee using the personal or letter form.

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Acknowledgement of Rent Payment

Exc. No. (MH 408). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6x 4.3x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic, year 46 of Ptolemy VIII = 11 June 124 BC.

Transliteration:

1. [NN s³ NN p³ nty]
2. [‘dd’ n Dd-ḥr s³ P³-h[b(?) ...]

³⁹² Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 15; pls. 4, 38.

³⁹³ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphe,” 171.

³⁹⁴ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphe,” 172.

³⁹⁵ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 79–80.

³⁹⁶ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphe,” 173–74.

³⁹⁷ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphe,” 173.

³⁹⁸ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphe,” 195–96.

³⁹⁹ G. Hughes, “Notes on Demotic Egyptian Leases of Property,” *JNES* 32 (1973): 157; Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, 118.

3. *tw=y mh n pʒ hw(?)-[^chwʔ]*
4. *[n pʒ]ʔʒhʔ r.ʔr=k n wp.t [...]*
5. *[...].ʔ.ʔ he(?) n Sms [...]*
6. *sh (n) hʒ.t-sp 46 tpy šmw sw 22*
7. *sh Pʒ-šr-Hnsw sʒ Nhʔ-ʔHnsw(?)ʔ*

8. ... ————— [—...]

Translation:

1. [NN son of NN who]
2. 'says' to Teos son of Phi[bis(?) ...]:
3. I am fully paid the [farmer's] profit(?)
4. [of the] 'field' which you cultivated [...]
5. [...].ʔ.ʔ the expense(?) of *Sms* [...]
6. Written (in) year 46, Pachons, day 22.
7. Has written Psenchonsis son of Nechtʔchonsis(?)ʔ

8. ... ————— [— ...]


Commentary:


The text is not completely preserved. The first line is entirely lost. Some parts of the left and right edges of the text are damaged as well. The handwriting is clearly Ptolemaic. Thus, the recorded date definitely indicates the year 46 of Ptolemy VIII, i.e. 124 BC. The surviving parts provide sufficient information to determine the subject of the text, which represents a confirmation of rent payment of a privately possessed land. The text is issued by the lessor to the lessee.

L. 1. This line certainly contains the name of the lessor who is also the speaker in this receipt.

L. 2. The long stroke is the final part of the *dd* sign. Since the damage at the right edge of the sherd is minimal, this line could have only contained the *dd* sign.

For similar writings of *Dd-hr*, cf. *DemNam*, 1368-69.

L. 3. Reading *pʒ hw*⁴⁰⁰  and restoring ^c*hwʔ* seem plausible in view of the remaining signs and the text's context.

L. 4. : The beginning of the word *ʒh* is damaged, but the reading thanks to the surviving parts of the word as well as the text's formula and context which makes a reference to *ʒh* inevitable in this place.


The phrase *ʔr n wp.t* 'to work (a land or field)'⁴⁰¹ conveys the general meaning of cultivation or tillage.

L. 5. The reading *he*⁴⁰² 'expense' seems possible but not completely certain.


⁴⁰⁰ For a quite similar writing, see Ptolemaic example no. 4 in *DemGloss*, 294.

⁴⁰¹ *DemGloss*, 86; *CDD*, *W*, 69.

⁴⁰² For similar writings of *hy*, see *DemGloss*, 266–67; *CDD*, *H*, 4-5.

Sms  likely ends with the personal determinative and might thus be taken as a personal name. The Greek spelling of this name could be Σῆμος.⁴⁰³

The combination ‘*hy*+ personal name’ occurred in another receipt for a land related payment (see **Text 16**, l. 4). What this phrase exactly indicates is not clear. It might be referring to certain expenses related to the delivery, or the collection of the rent and the person named here might have been the one committed with such a task.

L. 7. : The name of the father of the scribe certainly begins with *nhꜥ* and ends with a divine determinative. The part after the *ꜥ*-sign of *nhꜥ* and before the divine determinative is unclear but it should represent a name of a certain deity. Reading this name as *Hnsw* is only a suggestion. If the reading is correct, the *sw* sign would then be written as a small stroke.⁴⁰⁴ A further reason to prefer such a reading in addition to the writing is that the scribe himself is named after *Hnsw*, which could mean that the worship or connection to *Hnsw* was a family tradition.

Another possibility is to read the sign after *nhꜥ* as *mn* sign and thus think of *Mnꜥ* but the writing of the *ꜥ* after *mn* sign will be even more problematic.

L. 8. This line seems to be separated from the main text by a blank space. It is unclear what the signs at the beginning of this line might represent.

The purpose of the long horizontal stroke at the end of this line is also unclear. Could it be meant to prevent any further addition to the text or maybe to separate the above receipt from a following text?

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Acknowledgement of Rent(?) Payment

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11x 10.5 x 1.3 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic, year 2 of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX = 13 December 116 BC.

Transliteration:

1. *Pꜥ-dꜥ-Hr-smꜥ-tꜥ.wy (sꜥ) Ns-Mn sm(ꜥ)^c r Hr-sꜥ-ꜥs.t ꜥsꜥ(?) Nꜥ(?)^r...*
2. *hn^c Hr-pꜥ-bꜥk sꜥ Pa-tꜥ.wy tw=y mh pꜥy=y ꜥhw ꜥꜥhwꜥ(?)*
3. *pꜥ ꜥh r.ꜥr=tn (n) wp.t ꜥn^r Tꜥ-mꜥy(.t)-pa(?)-qd(y)(?) ꜥ..^r(?)*
4. *hꜥ.t-sp 53.t r hꜥ.t-sp 54.t st ꜥsp ꜥn ꜥp^r*
5. *mn md.t ꜥw=y ꜥꜥ m-sꜥ=tn ꜥn.ꜥm^r [=s]*
6. *sh (n) hꜥ.t-sp 2.t ꜥbd-3 ꜥh.t sw 24*

Translation:

1. Peteharsemtheus (son of) Esminis greets Harsiesis ‘son of(?) Na(?)’...
2. and Harpbekis son of Patous. I am fully paid my [farmer’s] profit
3. of the field which you cultivated ‘in’ the island of *Pa(?)*-*qd(y)(?)* ‘..’
4. (from) year 53 until ‘year’ 54. They have been received ‘on account’
5. There is nothing that I legally claim against you ‘concerning’ [it].

⁴⁰³ Cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch: enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern usw) Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Heidelberg, 1922), 384; D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum: Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke* (Milano, 1967–1971), 294.

⁴⁰⁴ A quite similar writing would be the Ptolemaic example no. 4 and the Roman example no. 4 in *DemGloss*, 363.

6. Written (in) year 2, Hathyr, day 24.

Commentary:


The ink is very faint in some places of the text, especially the far-left side of the sherd. The handwriting is Ptolemaic, and the recorded date certainly refers to year 2 of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX, i.e. 116 BC. The text represents a receipt or a confirmation of payment of rent of a plot of land on an island that was probably called ‘the island of *Pa(?)*-*qd(y)*.’ The payment is made to Peteharsemtheus son of Esminis for having the right to cultivate his land for two years, namely year 53 and year 54 of Ptolemy VIII, the last third of which corresponds to year 1 of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX. The text takes the so-called letter format, which is normal for private receipts. Leasing the field from one individual to other individuals is indicative of a land in a private possession.


L. 1. The determinative of *sm* is quite indistinct, and thus difficult to be precisely identified. It could be a writing of the man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative overlapping with the preceding *ꜥ* and the following preposition *r*. Thus, the verb might have been written as *smꜥ*.

The ink is very faint toward the end of the line. The patronym of Harsiesis, which probably begins with *nꜥ*, is expected to follow the very faint *sꜥ* sign.

L. 2. The signs following *pꜥyꜥy* are unfortunately very faint. It should, however, refer to the paid item, which is most likely a rent or something that is exclusively due to the lessor since he uses the possessive article *pꜥyꜥy* ‘my,’ to refer to it. In Upper Egyptian texts concerning land, the expression *hw ꜥhwꜥt* ‘farmer’s profit’ is often used to refer to the rent paid to the lessor. In fact, the remaining traces seem to support restoring *hw*. The problem here is that the available space after it is quite small for a full writing of *ꜥhwꜥt*. As such if *ꜥhwꜥt* was written after *hw*—which should be—it has to be either strongly abbreviated or maybe completed directly under the line.

Ll. 1-2. The formula used in this text is the so-called personal formula, in which the recipient of the payment often addresses the payer in a letter form. A very common personal formula is that which begin with the phrase ‘*NN pꜥ nty ꜥꜥ n NN*’ ‘NN is the one who says (declares) to NN,’ which was peculiar to tax collector’s and private receipts from Ptolemaic Thebes.⁴⁰⁵ This formula is also well attested in early Ptolemaic temple receipts side by side with other impersonal formulae, e.g. formula beginning *in* ‘to bring, to pay’ or other phrases such as *ꜥw n-dr.t NN* ‘received on the hands of NN.’⁴⁰⁶ Another, though less common, letter form is the formula here attested which uses the verb *smꜥꜥ* ‘to greet, to bless,’ which occurs in the current receipt (for more on this formula in letters, see introduction to section 2.4.2). As Mattha noticed, this formula (usually appears as *NN smꜥꜥ r NN ...* ‘NN greets NN ...’) occasionally occurs in receipts issued by temple officials as well as private persons, but not by tax collectors.⁴⁰⁷

L. 3. The writing of *wp.t*  (facsimile is approximate) is quite interesting. It has not only the oblique stroke intersecting with the horizontal stroke of the *wp* sign but also the small sign which appears more often in the early writings⁴⁰⁸ over the *wp* sign. Erichsen provides a Ptolemaic example of this writing in his *DemGloss*.⁴⁰⁹ The determinative of *wp.t* is very faint.

The reading *Pa-qd(y)*  is not completely secure. The key word in this name could be a slightly abbreviated writing of *qd(y)*, which is a masculine name meaning ‘circuit, surroundings, vicinity.’⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 10.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 29.

⁴⁰⁷ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 10, 16, 17.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. the different writings of *wp.t* in *DemGloss*, 86; *CDD, W*, 67-70.

⁴⁰⁹ That is the Ptolemaic example no. 5 in *DemGloss*, 86.

⁴¹⁰ *DemGloss*, 552-53; *CDD, Q*, 97-98.

Normally *qd(y)* ends with the walking legs as a determinative. This could have been the case here as well since the sign following the *qd*-sign can either be the *t* sign or the walking legs. In the current text, *qd* has the lake determinative combined with the place determinative which is quite reasonable since it refers to a geographical location related to the water. If the reading *pa-qd(y)* is correct, the name of the island might be translated as ‘the island of ‘he of the vicinity’.’ On the other hand, *pa* might be an erroneous writing of the definite article *pʒ*. In this case, the translation might be ‘the island of the vicinity.’ To my knowledge, no island with the name *Pa-qdy* is yet attested in Demotic. Since the current ostrakon originates from Medinet Habu, this island was likely located near Medinet Habu or anywhere within the Theban nome. Moreover, the verb *qdy* ‘to go around, surround’ occurred also as part of the name of an island from late Ptolemaic Gebelein called *ʾIn-qdy* ‘Koetis,’⁴¹¹ but it does not seem to relate to the current one.

By and large, geographical names constructed with *mʒy.t* are not uncommon in Demotic, especially in Thebes and Pathyris.⁴¹² The Demotic *mʒy.t* ‘island, or alluvial land’⁴¹³ replaced the old word ‘*ʾw*’ ‘island,’⁴¹⁴ and as Vleeming explained, is derived from *mʒw.t* ‘new land’ in the expression *ʾw n mʒw.t* ‘island of new land.’ In ancient Egypt, this word normally designates a piece of land surrounded by water from all sides, which—quite differently from modern understanding—should not necessarily be in midstream.⁴¹⁵ In fact, a lot of ‘newly-gained’ lands or islands were often formed as a result of the deposit of silt on the bank or the shore of the river forming an island or a peninsula that might become later on part of the agricultural area.⁴¹⁶ In Demotic, this word is sometimes used in combination with *ʒh* ‘field’ to refer to the type of land as island or alluvial land,⁴¹⁷ and it occurs also as part of geographical names.⁴¹⁸

From another perspective, the reference to the location of the land as being on an island makes it more likely for both the rent and state taxes to be assessed at a higher rate than normal land.

L. 4. Year 53 and 54 refer exclusively to the last two years of Ptolemy VIII.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Dem. Tab. Hess 2, ll. 2, 5 in U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Neue demotische Dokumente aus der Sammlung Jean-Jacques Hess,” *MIO* 13 (1967): 181–82; 177, pl. 2; H. Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD*, TOP 5 (Leuven, 2011), 628.

⁴¹² For examples of Demotic names of geographical locations built with *mʒy.t* ‘new land, island’ in Thebes and Pathyris, see Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 64–66. For Demotic geographical names built with *mʒy.t*, see Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 708–9.

⁴¹³ *DemGloss*, 148; *CDD, M*, 15–19; J. Yoyotte, “A propos des ‘terrains neufs’ et de Thmouis (Toponymie de l’Égypte pharaonique III [1]),” *GLECS* 8 (1957–1960): 100–101; J. Yoyotte, “A propos des ‘terrains neufs’ et de Thmouis (Toponymie de l’Égypte pharaonique III [2]),” *GLECS* 9 (1960–1963): 5–9.

⁴¹⁴ K. Vandorpe, “‘The Dockyard Workshop’ or the Toachris Village,” *Enchoria* 22 (1995): 160–61.

⁴¹⁵ S. Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt: An Egyptian Land List from the Tenth Century BC*, HPSMB-PK 2 (Berlin, 1993), 45.

⁴¹⁶ Vandorpe, “‘The Dockyard Workshop,’” 160. For more on the meaning and derivation of the Demotic *mʒy.t* as well as some geographical aspects of islands in ancient Egypt, see Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 45–48.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. *DemGloss*, 9; *CDD, M*, 17.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. *CDD, M*, 18–19. For more examples of Demotic toponyms constructed with *ʾw mʒy.t*, see Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*.

2.1.3 Receipts Related to State Monopolies

Commodity monopoly was undoubtedly a prominent aspect of the early Ptolemaic economy. Although this practice has been probably introduced after the year 22 of Ptolemy II,⁴¹⁹ it seems to have its roots in earlier classical Greek and Egyptian traditions, namely Greek tax farming and the Pharaonic tradition of producing commodities in royal estates for sale or redistribution, which apparently affected the decision of Ptolemy II who applied similar procedures to commodity monopoly.⁴²⁰ Numerous commodities and industries were affected by this policy in the early Ptolemaic Period such as beer, textile, and especially oil which was one of the indispensable needs of the daily life at that time.

2.1.3.1 Price of Oil Receipts

By and large, oil was one of the vital commodities which had its impact on the different facets of the everyday life in many civilizations, including ancient Egypt. From medicine, cosmetics, food preparation, lighting of households and businesses, to religious and funerary rituals and embalming procedures, oil played a remarkable role.⁴²¹ The significance of oil is well reflected in the Demotic marriage contracts in which the husband commits himself to ensure, among other necessities, a certain monthly amount of oil for his wife.⁴²² It is quite interesting that female buyers of oil are well attested in the Demotic price of oil receipts side by side with men, which—in Muhs' viewpoint—might be related to the fulfillment of the promise made by their husbands upon marriage concerning the purchase of oil.⁴²³ Over and above, the importance of oil is seen in the fact that it was a pure state monopoly at that time, i.e. the state reserved the exclusive right to sell and produce oil, and took some steps to control this monopoly in a way that guarantees it a substantial profit margin.⁴²⁴ For instance, to facilitate the selling of oil at a fixed price that secures a desirable gain, the state closely controlled and limited the amount of land that would be cultivated with oil-producing plants on a local scale. It, furthermore, restricted the importation of oil into the countryside, which, again, means that the limited amounts of oil produced locally will yield the maximum profit for the state. Added to that the state also organized the production as well as the distribution of oil among dealers and local retailers who were in a way only underwriters since they had to provide sureties to the state for the quantities of oil they are supposed to sell to the consumer, which means that the state has guaranteed its gain and left them the potential risks or profits of the actual sale of the product.⁴²⁵ Details on the Ptolemaic oil monopoly, different stages of oil production, in addition to its prices and tariffs are given in P. Rev. Laws, cols. 38-72.⁴²⁶

⁴¹⁹ Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 232; Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 72.

⁴²⁰ Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 107.

⁴²¹ D. Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt*, BASP-Suppl. 6 (Atlanta, 1989), 1.

⁴²² Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 75.

⁴²³ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 75; Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 72.

⁴²⁴ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 73.

⁴²⁵ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 73–75.

⁴²⁶ Information on oil monopoly, prices and production is mainly given in cols. 36- 58 of P. Rev. Laws; while cols. 59 – 60.1-17 are essentially a repetition of cols. 57-58, and cols. 60.18-72 provide a list of the nomes together with the amounts of land (in aroura) that should be cultivated with oil-bearing plants (only sesame and castor are mentioned); for the Greek text, translation, and commentary on cols. 38-72 (dedicated to oil monopoly); see B. Grenfell and J. Mahaffy, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Edited from a Greek Papyrus in the Bodleian Library, with a Translation, Commentary, and Appendices* (Oxford, 1896), 21–54, 114–173; Nos. 249, 299 in U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, erster Band: historische Teil, zweite Hälfte: Chrestomathie (Nachdruck der 1. Auflage (Leipzig, 1912), Hildesheim, 1963), 284–86, 348–60; No. 203 A. Hunt and C. Edgar, *Select Papyri with an English Translation*, vol. II: Official Documents, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge; Harvard, 1934), 11–35; J. Bingen, *Papyrus Revenue Laws, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten: Beiheft I* (Göttingen, 1952), 14–27; J. Bingen, *Le Papyrus Revenue Laws: tradition grecque et adaptation hellénistique*, VRWAW/ Geisteswissenschaften 231 (Opladen, 1978); R. Bagnall and P. Derow, *The Hellenistic*

Price of oil receipts were fairly common in Thebes and Elephantine in the early Ptolemaic Period. Such receipts acknowledge payments for purchased amounts of oil, not a tax on oil.⁴²⁷ Numerous examples of these receipts were published by Mattha,⁴²⁸ Wångstedt,⁴²⁹ Devauchelle,⁴³⁰ Vleeming.⁴³¹ More recently, Muhs (earlier alone; later with Scalf and Jay) published some new and represented some previously published examples.⁴³² Scalf and Jay added some more examples.⁴³³ The identity of the recipients of such receipts was a matter of discussion between scholars. On the one hand, Mattha believed that this kind of receipts were issued to the oil retailers in acknowledgment for the payments they made through state officials to the royal bank.⁴³⁴ Similarly, Vleeming assumed that they were issued for the monopoly farmers.⁴³⁵ On the other hand, Devauchelle,⁴³⁶ followed by Muhs,⁴³⁷ deem such a view as very unlikely and alternatively suggested that these receipts were issued for the regular consumer directly. The reason behind this, as Devauchelle elucidated, is that the paid sums, and thus the corresponding amounts of oil received, are too small to be used for retail.⁴³⁸ Furthermore, Muhs explained that ‘the oil sellers received oil on credit, hence the need for sureties.’⁴³⁹

Demotic price of oil receipts are typically composed in the following formula: ‘PN 1 (payer) x amount for the price of oil of (month) y, signed PN 2 (scribe) on date z.’⁴⁴⁰ As Muhs noted, payments for the price of oil were often referred to in Theban receipts as being made ‘for the price of oil of month x.’ The specified month is usually the one prior to the month in which the receipt was issued. In Muhs’ opinion, the mention of the month seems to reflect a requirement of oil monopoly accounts to be balanced on a monthly basis.⁴⁴¹

Unfortunately, Demotic receipts are not informative regarding the exact price of oil since they usually record the paid price without the corresponding amount of oil purchased. Yet, the prices of the different types of oil in the early Ptolemaic Period are known thanks to P. Rev. Laws. Prices of sesame, castor, safflower, gourd seed, as well as lamp oil appear to have been set to 48 drachmas for 12 *chous metretes* (ca. 39.39 liters) of oil.⁴⁴² This means that 4 drachmas can buy one *chous*. As one *chous* is equivalent to 12 *kotulai* (ca. 3.28 liters), one drachma is the price for 3 *kotulai*, and the price for one *kotule* (ca. 0.27 liter) would be then $\frac{1}{3}$ drachma, which is 2 obols since one drachma is worth 6 obols.⁴⁴³

Period: Historical Sources in Translation, Newer edition of Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period (Michigan, 1981) (Oxford; Malden, 2004), 188–95; M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, 2nd augmented edition (London; New York, 2006), 524–31. For scholarly discussion and analysis of the oil monopoly, prices and tariffs, production process, factories of oil, as well as oil-producing plants in Ptolemaic Egypt, see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten. Erster Band: Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft*, MBPF 7 (München, 1925), 197–203, 302–11; C. Préaux, *L’économie royale des Lagides* (Bruxelles, 1939), 65–93; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. I (Oxford; New York, 1941), 302–5; Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 64–71; Sandy, *Production and Use of Vegetable Oils*; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 73–75; J. Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*, ed. R.S. Bagnall, HCS 49 (Edinburgh; California, 2007), 175–77.

⁴²⁷ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 73.

⁴²⁸ Cf. O. Mattha, nos. 106–110 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 118–19.

⁴²⁹ Cf. O. nos. 1–21 in S. Wångstedt, “Demotische Quittungen über Ölsteuer,” *OrSuec* 29 (1980): 6–26.

⁴³⁰ Cf. chapter 4 in Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 63–97.

⁴³¹ Cf. O. Varia, nos. 10–11 in Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 25–28.

⁴³² Cf. O. Taxes 1, nos. 1, 6, 9, 14–16, 21, 35, 39, 42, 45, 53, 57, and 61 in Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 136, 139–40, 142, 145–6, 150, 162–3, 166, 168, 170, 174–5, 177, 179, O. Taxes 2, nos. 77–91 in Muhs, *O. Taxes 2*, 108–23, O. Edgerton, nos. 12–26 in Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 74–97.

⁴³³ Scalf and Jay, “OIDOO,” 250–52.

⁴³⁴ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 52.

⁴³⁵ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 26, n. cc.

⁴³⁶ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 67.

⁴³⁷ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 75.

⁴³⁸ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 67.

⁴³⁹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 75.

⁴⁴⁰ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 30; Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 72.

⁴⁴¹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 74–75.

⁴⁴² Sandy, *Production and Use of Vegetable Oils*, 52, 70, 87; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 73; Muhs, *O. Taxes 2*, 107. For the relevant section of P. Rev. Laws, see the references cited above in the footnotes.

⁴⁴³ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 73; Muhs, *O. Taxes 2*, 107.

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O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.7x 11.5x 1.3 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Ptolemaic, year 32 of Ptolemy II= 1 April 253 BC.

Transliteration:

1. *ḥ3.t-sp 32 ibd-2 pr.t sw 9 n-dr.t Hnsw-ms s3 P3-išwr*
2. *db^c.t 3.t swn nhḥ n tpy pr.t sh P3-di-Hnsw (s3) Pa-n3*

Second hand:

3. *sh Pa-t3.wy s3 Pa-mr-iḥ*

Translation:


1. Year 32, Mecheir, day 9. From the hand of Chesmosis son of Pesouris
2. 3 obols (for) the value of oil of Tybi. Has written Petechonsis (son of) Panas.

Second hand:

3. Signed Patous son of Pelaias


Commentary:


Traces of a deleted old text are still visible on this ostrakon (palimpsest), especially on the beginning of the second line where the name *Dd-hr* can be clearly identified. The text belongs to the price of oil receipts, which were very common in Thebes in the early Ptolemaic Period (more specifically in the period after year 22 of Ptolemy II), when oil among other commodities was a state monopoly (see above for details). Furthermore, the handwriting, which clearly indicates an early Ptolemaic date, and the relatively high regnal year mentioned (i.e. year 32) makes dating the current text to the reign of Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) almost completely certain.


L. 1. Note the strange writing of *ibd-2* , which additionally overlaps with the number 2. The reading *ibd-2* seems certain since it clearly differs from the way of writing of other months of the season. Moreover, the reference to ‘the oil of Tybi’ in the following line (l. 2) makes it very probable for the receipt to be issued in the following month, i.e. Mecheir, which is a well-known tradition in Theban receipts for the price of oil (see above for more).

The writing of the compound preposition *n-dr.t* as a single vertical stroke is not uncommon in Demotic.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. M. Ebeid, “*N-tr.t (m-dr.t)* in the Demotic Inscriptions on the Ibis Coffins and Sarcophagi from the Galleries of the Tuna El-Gebel Necropolis,” in *Scribe of Justice: Egyptological Studies in Honour of Shafik Allam*, ed. Z. Hawass, Kh. Daoud, and R. Hussein, SASAE 42 (Le Caire, 2011), 128. The reading of the single vertical stroke as *n-tr.t* was first suggested by Zauzich to De Cenival; cf. F. De Cenival, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille (III)*, MIFAO 110 (Le Caire, 1984), 23, n. to P. Lille 99, verso, col. II, l. 4; K.-Th. Zauzich, “Eine ptolemäische Abrechnung über innerägyptischen Finanzausgleich (P. Fitzhugh D.4 + P. Wängstedt 7),” in *From Illahun to Djeme: Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft*, ed. E. Bechtold, A. Gulyás, and A. Hasznos, BAR-IS 2311 (Oxford, 2011), 355; H.-J. Thissen and K.-Th. Zauzich, “Ein thebanisches Grab und seine Restaurierung,” in *Festschrift Vleeming*, 153, n. to col. ii, l. 13. For some examples of the different forms of *n-dr.t* including this abbreviated writing, as well as further references, see Ebeid, “*N-tr.t (m-dr.t)*,” 128–35; fn. 14.

P3-šwr  is also attested as *P3-šr* and sometimes *šr*.⁴⁴⁵ This name is derived from the word *šr* ‘Syria, Syrian,’ which occurred sometimes as *šhwr*.⁴⁴⁶ The writing of the *š* in the extant example is quite abbreviated and uncommon. A similar writing of it occurred in the Ptolemaic burial tax receipt of O. Taxes 2, no. 126, l. 2 from Thebes.⁴⁴⁷ Ideally, this name used to be written with a full *š3*-sign,⁴⁴⁸ and it usually ends with the foreign land determinative.⁴⁴⁹ Nonetheless, its determinative in the current text is rather indistinct, and thus difficult to identify.

L. 2. This writing of *db^c.t*  is quite different from its regular forms.⁴⁵⁰ Based on the oil prices given in P. Rev. Laws, these 3 obols are the price of 1 ½ *kotulai* (equals 0.41 liter) (see above for details).

Note the ligature of *n* and *3* in the name *Pa-n*.⁴⁵¹ 

A person called Petechonsis son of Panas occurred in a Ptolemaic account from Thebes on O. Wängstedt, no. 208, l. 2,⁴⁵² yet it is hard to tell whether he is the same person or not.

L. 3. The name *Pa-mr-ih* is commonly written with *p3* not *pa*, but examples of the current form exist also in Demotic.⁴⁵³

That the receipt has two signatures is quite interesting. The occurrence of two signatures undoubtedly reflects the involvement of two people in issuing this receipt. The handwriting of the text is clearly comparable with that of Petechonsis son of Panas, which means that he is the actual scribe. This practice is also found in the unspecified receipt of **Text 24**, as well as in some other Theban receipts for the price of oil, i.e. O. Taxes 2, nos. 77-81.⁴⁵⁴ Two specific scribes, i.e. Nechtminis and Esminis signed these later examples. Analyzing the career of both scribes in the light of the dating of the receipts which they issued, Muhs explained that one scribe (Esminis) succeeded the other (Nechtminis) in office, and he began his career in year 30 of Ptolemy II by ‘countersigning’ receipts signed by his predecessor.⁴⁵⁵ A similar tradition is also found in some Theban Greek receipts relating to oil monopoly such as O. Theb. G. 4, 5.⁴⁵⁶ These receipts, unlike the Demotic examples, are issued by the bank for payments collected from the oil dealers and have two signatures. According to Milne, the relationship between the two officials signing the receipts is quite indistinct. However—by virtue of some textual indications—he suggested that one of them could have been the head of the bank and the other was probably his subordinate.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. *DemNam*, 79, 158.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. *DemGloss*, 42, 45; *CDD*, 'I, 227–228. For a discussion of the writing, see G. Hughes, “A Demotic Astrological Text,” *JNES* 10 (1951): 259–60, n. 6.

⁴⁴⁷ For this example, see Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 168–69.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. G. Vittmann, “Three Demotic Ostraca from Dakhla Oasis (O. Mut 30/ 2, 30/15 and 42/ 12),” *Forthcoming*; *DemNam*, 158.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. *DemNam*, 158. Vos once identified two determinatives (they could possibly be a place determinative followed by three plural strokes topped by a small stroke which could represent a seated man) for the word *šr* ‘Syria, Syrian’ other than the foreign land determinative, which is more common in the name *P3-šr* and its variants in addition to other writings of the word; cf. R. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual: P. Vindob. 3873*, OLA 50, 1993, 309, n. b to verso, col. iib, l. 25. For other examples of the writing of *šr*, see *CDD*, 'I, 227–28.

⁴⁵⁰ For its different forms, see *CDD*, *D*, 31–34.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. *DemNam*, 376, specifically examples nos. 24, 26.

⁴⁵² Cf. S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Bescheinigungen und Abrechnungen,” *OrSuec* 22 (1973): 32–33.

⁴⁵³ Cf. examples nos. 51-52 in *DemNam*, 188–89.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 108–14.

⁴⁵⁵ Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 233–34.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. Milne, “Greek Texts,” 73–74.

⁴⁵⁷ See n. 3 to O. Theb. G. 5 in Milne, “Greek Texts,” 74.

By analogy, the signatures of the current receipt could belong to fellow scribes who might have worked for the same oil dealer simultaneously (one is subordinate to the other) and thus signed the receipts simultaneously. In case it was a countersigning, it might be indicative of two officials who succeeded on another in office. In fact, the exact reason behind this latter practice, i.e. countersigning the price of oil receipts, is not clearly understandable. On an institutional level (such as the state bank of the above-cited Greek ostraca), the idea that one official or banker countersigning a document after his colleague could be understood as a part of the double-checking process expected in such institutions. This, on the other hand, is not easily comprehensible in the case of a dealer or retailer issuing receipts for oil buyers unless the receipts in question were copies made by the employees committed with the oil sale on the time of the actual transaction to be kept in the records and double checked by the oil dealer himself or a higher colleague perhaps upon the monthly balancing of the accounts. This would assume that such receipts were issued in two copies and the receipts in question are not the oil buyer copies.

2.1.3.2 *Linen Receipts*

Another commodity, which seems to have been subject to strict state regulations, was textile. In contrast to that concerning the oil monopoly, the section describing the rules of textile monopoly in P. Rev. Laws, i.e. cols. 87-107, is severely damaged. Yet, the better-preserved regulations of oil monopoly represented a key reference point that helped the scholars to identify the general outline of the rules of textile monopoly.⁴⁵⁸ A clearer picture of these regulations is drawn from instruction to the *dioketes* recorded in the Greek P. Teb. 703.⁴⁵⁹ Compared to other departments of textile industry, e.g. wool and hemp, more information is available on linen industry thanks to the relevant section of P. Teb. 703 which exclusively deals with linen manufacture.⁴⁶⁰ Another significant source of information about linen monopoly is the group of Theban Demotic ostraca from the second century BC (see below for more). On the whole, the linen manufacture process likely resembled that of oil manufacture.⁴⁶¹ As scholars⁴⁶² elucidated, flax cultivation was apparently closely controlled by the state. Certain quantities of flax had to be delivered to the state to be used in the production of linen in the crown or government factories. Towns and villages of each nome were obliged to manufacture certain amounts of linen for the central administration. The work as well as the raw material was distributed among the weavers of each locality. These weavers could either work in the state factories or from their homes. They usually received their payments upon delivery of the woven linen. If the delivered quantity fell short, weavers had to pay a cash payment instead.

Demotic Linen Receipts from Thebes

The information revealed through the Demotic ostraca highly agree with the information acquired from the abovementioned Greek sources. Examples of Ptolemaic Demotic receipts of linen delivery from Thebes were published by Thompson,⁴⁶³ Mattha,⁴⁶⁴ and Lichtheim.⁴⁶⁵ Later, Kaplony-Heckel compiled

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Préaux, *L'économie royale*, 93; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* I:305; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 81.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* I:305; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 81.

⁴⁶⁰ Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* I:305–6.

⁴⁶¹ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 81.

⁴⁶² Cf. Préaux, *L'économie royale*, 98–101; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* I:306; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 81. For more information on the Ptolemaic textile monopoly, see Préaux, *L'économie royale*, 93–116; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* I:305–8; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 81–82.

⁴⁶³ See O. Theb. D 4 and 61 in Thompson, "Demotic Texts," 29–30.

⁴⁶⁴ See O. Mattha, nos. 22-23 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 85–87.

⁴⁶⁵ See O. MH 528, 508, 461, 459, and 460 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 9–11.

a list of published and unpublished Demotic receipts about linen,⁴⁶⁶ and published herself some new examples.⁴⁶⁷

The Demotic receipts revealed some important aspects of the textile monopoly in Thebes. They indicate the weavers' obligation to deliver certain amounts of woven linen to the state according to a quota system. According to these receipts, the monthly quota or due of each weaver at that time was 1 length or bale of woven linen per month.⁴⁶⁸ One bale or length of linen, following Kaplony-Heckel's calculation, measures about 16 m² or 32 cubits.⁴⁶⁹ The cash equivalent for one bale of linen was 100 silver pieces.⁴⁷⁰ Kaplony-Heckel clarified the process depicted in the Demotic and Greek receipts in some detail. Normally, quantities of woven linen had to be delivered to the royal treasury in Thebes 'pr ḥd pr-ꜥ n Nḥw.t.' This does not, however, mean that the weavers delivered their linen and received their receipts in the royal treasury.⁴⁷¹ In fact, as Kaplony-Heckel concluded, the money receipts for the value of linen show that the collector of money, who is also the issuer of the receipt, was the one required to deliver the money to the bank in eastern Thebes after receiving it from the weavers and issuing them receipts on site, i.e. in the western bank. In Kaplony-Heckel's view, the similarity in structure, formulation, and persons involved in both money and in-kind linen receipts seems to suggest that the linen deliveries were likely received the same way as money.⁴⁷² Substituting linen deliveries for money was, in Lichtheim's estimation, possibly a sign of weavers violating textile monopoly policy. She supposed that they might have sold some of the woven linen that was made using the raw material assigned to them by the state in the private market.⁴⁷³ In his interpretation to a bilingual money receipt from early Ptolemaic Elephantine referring to 'the cloth tax (Dem. *tny ḥbs*),' Muhs considered the payment to be a fine paid in place of cloth, if not a price of a bought cloth.⁴⁷⁴ On the other hand, the existence of in-kind and money receipts of linen is seen by Kaplony-Heckel—who deems money receipts for the value of linen to be successors of the in-kind ones—as a result of a reform in the system of collection initiated by Ptolemy VIII. In his 30th regnal year (ca. 140-139 BC), as Kaplony-Heckel believes, he altered the in-kind linen payments into a money tax.⁴⁷⁵

Although Wilcken's⁴⁷⁶ identification of one of the payers appearing in a Greek receipt about linen as a state official has raised some doubts concerning the identity of the payers in such receipts, scholars like Lichtheim⁴⁷⁷ and Kaplony-Heckel⁴⁷⁸ identified the payers in the Demotic receipts about linen as the weavers themselves and not the revenue collectors. Moreover, Kaplony-Heckel suggested that the weavers referred to in the Theban linen receipts were apparently working in the temple weaving mill in Medinet Habu.⁴⁷⁹ In addition to the payers or the weavers, different employees were also mentioned in these receipts. Kaplony-Heckel identified three levels of individuals with their tasks. Firstly, the person appearing at the opening of the receipt, i.e. the issuer of the receipt (usually occupies the place of the letter sender in receipts with a letter format). This person always appears without any accompanying titles. Yet, Kaplony-Heckel suggested that he was a revenue collector or a tax farmer who received the linen or money from the weavers and issued the receipts for them. A well attested person from this category was Ose-aes (*Wsr-ḥꜥ.t*) son of Herieus and Esminis son of Pabis. In some instances, more than

⁴⁶⁶ U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Der thebanische Leineweber Psenchonsis Patemios: Neue demotische Ostraka-Quittungen der späten Ptolemäer-Zeit zum Übergang von Leinwand-Lieferungen zur Leineweber-Steuer," *EVO* 17 (1994): 161, fn. 2; 177–78.

⁴⁶⁷ Kaplony-Heckel, "Neue Leineweber-Quittungen," 383–400.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 6.

⁴⁶⁹ Kaplony-Heckel, "Der thebanische Leineweber," 168–69.

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 6; Kaplony-Heckel, "Der thebanische Leineweber," 169–70.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, "Der thebanische Leineweber," 163.

⁴⁷² Kaplony-Heckel, "Der thebanische Leineweber," 168.

⁴⁷³ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 6.

⁴⁷⁴ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 81–82.

⁴⁷⁵ Kaplony-Heckel, "Neue Leineweber-Quittungen," 384–86.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. No. 308 in Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie*, Erster Band: Historische Teil, Zweite Hälfte: Chrestomathie:368.

⁴⁷⁷ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 7.

⁴⁷⁸ Kaplony-Heckel, "Der thebanische Leineweber," 164.

⁴⁷⁹ Kaplony-Heckel, "Neue Leineweber-Quittungen," 387.

one person issued the receipt together.⁴⁸⁰ Another employee was the scribe, who could be sometimes dispensed with since the tax farmers or collectors could write the receipt themselves. In certain occasions, especially when more than one issuer was involved, somebody else might write the receipts at their behest.⁴⁸¹ A further official that could occur in the receipt was the one who controls or double checks the payments or deliveries acknowledged in the receipt. This employee, whom Kaplony-Heckel calls ‘witness,’ usually checks and confirms the correctness of the receipt by his signature.⁴⁸² Some of the persons entrusted with this role had the title *p³ rt sh pr-^{c3}* ‘the representative of the royal scribe’ as for instance Esminis son of Pabis, while others—like Pabis son of Esminis—had the title *p³ rt sh m^{3c}* ‘the representative of the scribe of the *topos*.’⁴⁸³

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Exc. No. (MH 3245). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.5x 5x 0.5 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic, Ptolemy VI to VIII, but possibly [year 26] Ptolemy VIII = 144 BC(?).

Transliteration:

1. [NN s³ NN p³ nty] *r^cdd³ n P³-šr-Mn (s³) P³-šr³-[...]*
2. [wn ^c.wy pr-^{c3} 1/2/ 1/4/ 1/2 ^cn iw] *r^cin=k³ s r p³ pr-h^cd pr-[^{c3} n Ntw.t n h³.t-sp 26(?) ibd- .. šmw(?) sw 25]*
3. [sh n h³.t-sp 26(?) ibd-..] [šm]*r^cw³(?) sw 25 sh Ns-[Mn s³ Pa-by]*
4. [p³ rt n] *Thwmnsts [p³ sh pr-^{c3}]*
5. [r] *^c.wy 1/2/ 1/4/ 1/2 ^cn*
6. [sh Pa-by s³ Ns-Mn p³] *r^ct³ Pa-n³ [p³ sh m^{3c}]*
7. [r ^c.wy 1/2/ 1/4/ 1/2 ^cn sh n h³.t-sp 26(?) ibd- .. šmw(?) sw 25]

Translation:

1. [NN son of NN is the one who] ‘says’ to Psenminis (son of) P^csen³ [...]:
2. [there are 1/2 (bale) of the pharaoh’s linen/ 1/4/ 1/2 again, which] ‘you brought’ to the ro[yal] treasury [in Thebes in year 26(?), .. month of summer(?), day 25].
3. [Written in year 26(?), .. month of summe]^r(?), day 25. Signed Es[minis son of Pabis],
4. [the representative of] Theomnestos [the royal scribe]
5. [about] 1/2 [length of] ‘linen’/ 1/4/ 1/2 again.
6. [Signed Pabis son of Esminis, the] ‘representative of’ Panas [the scribe of the *topos*]
7. [about 1/2 (bale) of linen/ 1/4/ 1/2 again. Written in year 26(?), .. month of summer(?), day 25].

Commentary:

The right, left, and lower parts of the sherd are broken. The reconstruction of most parts of this text was suggested by comparison of the remaining parts with other texts that were probably identical to it such as O. Str. D 1611 translated by Lichtheim.⁴⁸⁴ In fact, almost all published Demotic receipts about linen seem to follow a closely similar structure and formulation. The formula used in these receipts, and most likely here too, is the so-called subjective or letter form, which usually begins with *NN p³ nty dd n NN* ‘NN is the one who says to NN.’ According to Kaplony-Heckel, this subjective formula was exclusive to both Demotic in-kind and money receipts about linen. Greek money receipts about linen were, on

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 165–66; Kaplony-Heckel, “Neue Leineweber-Quittungen,” 386–88.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 166.

⁴⁸² Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 166–67.

⁴⁸³ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 166–67; Kaplony-Heckel, “Neue Leineweber-Quittungen,” 386–88.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 7.

the other hand, usually objectively formulated, i.e. used the impersonal formula ‘NN has paid ...’⁴⁸⁵ The text is likely to be dated to the reign of Ptolemy VIII, perhaps to year 26 of his reign (see comment on ll. 3, 4, 6 below for details).

L. 1. The final part of the verb *ḏd* is clearly visible. The *n* that is supposed to follow *ḏd* is remarkably placed slightly above the line. This leaves no doubt as to the formula used in the text, which is *NN p³ nty ḏd n NN*.

The issuer of the receipt could be Ose-aes son of Herieus, perhaps accompanied by Esminis son of Pabis. This Ose-aes, more often with Esminis, issued a relatively large number of Demotic receipts of linen including that of O. Str. D 1611 which is almost identical with the current receipt.⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, Kaplony-Heckel noted that Pabis son Esminis, the representative of Panas ‘the scribe of *topos*’ (to whom the second signature in the present receipt most likely belongs) signed many receipts issued by the same pair, namely Ose-aes and Esminis son of Pabis.⁴⁸⁷ Therefore, this receipt is probably issued by the same pair or at least Ose-aes alone.

L. 3. Reconstructing the summer season seems more likely in view of the remaining signs.

According to Kaplony-Heckel’s study of Esminis’ career, he held the title ‘representative of the royal scribe’ from year 26 to year 29 of Ptolemy VIII. Furthermore, if the second signature in l. 6 of this text belongs to his son Panas, the recorded year is likely to be year 26 (cf. comment on l. 6 below).

L. 4. A person called Theomnestos occurs also in the unpublished O. Str. D 781,⁴⁸⁸ which Kaplony-Heckel identified as a linen receipt and dated it to year 26 of Ptolemy VIII or 144 BC.⁴⁸⁹ This Theomnestos, who was a royal scribe in Thebes in 144 BC,⁴⁹⁰ is apparently the same person mentioned in the receipt under consideration. It is thus highly likely that the current receipt is dated to the same time as well.

On the other hand, signing and checking receipts by the representative of the royal scribe confirms the increasing power and responsibility of the royal scribe in the organization of state monopolies. In the early Ptolemaic Period, the control over state monopolies was among the responsibilities of both the *oikonomos* and the *antigraphheus* of the district. Later, toward the middle of the third century BC, the royal scribe appears to have supplanted the *antigraphheus* in this office.⁴⁹¹

L. 5. The determinative of ^c.wy is partly preserved; for ^cw.y or ^c3yw ‘linen,’ cf. *CDD*, ^c, 34; *DemGloss*, 55. Kaplony-Heckel once wanted to read the same group as ^cw.y šs instead, taking šs as ‘linen’ and ^c.wy as measurement with the meaning ‘bale.’⁴⁹² Later, however, she gave up this reading and returned to the reading ^c3yw which—as scholars noted—etymologically derives from the old ^c3.t ‘linen.’⁴⁹³

The delivered quantity of linen, i.e. ½ bale, represents half the quota or due of one month.

L. 6. The determinative is the only preserved part of *p³ rt*.

⁴⁸⁵ Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 162.

⁴⁸⁶ For more information on this pair, see Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 165–66. For a translation of O. Str. D 1611, see Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 7.

⁴⁸⁷ Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 166.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. *DemNam*, 1292.

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 172, 174.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. O. Str. D 1611 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 7-8; no. 123 in C. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Ägypten: das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus*, PapCol 36 (Paderborn, 2012), 262; 444a in W. Peremans and E. Van ’t Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, vol. VIII, StudHell 21 (Leuven, 1975), 56.

⁴⁹¹ Armoni, *Basilikos Grammateus*, 227–28. For a discussion on the increasing power of the royal scribe in this section of the Egyptian economy, see Armoni, *Basilikos Grammateus*, 218–25.

⁴⁹² Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 168; for šs, see *DemGloss*, 522; *CDD*, Š, 206.

⁴⁹³ Kaplony-Heckel, “Neue Leineweber-Quittungen,” 384, fn. 9.

The signature of Pabis son of Esminis is reconstructed here thanks to his partly preserved title ‘representative of Panas, the scribe of the *topos*.’⁴⁹⁴ As Kaplony-Heckel concluded, he signed receipts of linen with the abovementioned title exclusively in year 26 (of Ptolemy VI or VIII). In addition, he also used to sign in the second place after Esminis son of Pabis (who was probably his father).⁴⁹⁵ According to the conclusions of Kaplony-Heckel, the ‘witnesses’ began to have the title ‘representative of royal scribe (who was mentioned by name)’ between years 26-29 of Ptolemy VIII, and this Esminis son of Pabis has also signed the latest in-kind linen receipts from year 29 of Ptolemy VIII with this title.⁴⁹⁶ This, in addition to the fact that current receipt includes the name of the royal scribe Theomnestos who was active around year 26 of Ptolemy VIII (144 BC), seems to allude to somewhere between the 26th and 29th regnal year of Ptolemy VIII as a possible date for this receipt. In fact, if one has to suggest a specific year as a date for this text, it has then to be year 26 of Ptolemy VIII since the text likely refers to the title ‘representative of Panas, the scribe of the *topos*’ which was apparently the title of Pabis son of Esminis which he exclusively used in year 26.

2.1.3.3 Fish Tax Receipts

The fishing industry was one of the domains which was apparently subject to a treatment of slightly different approaches from the Ptolemaic state.⁴⁹⁷ On the one hand, documents from the Fayyum indicate that the fishing industry was directly managed by the Ptolemaic government in a complete monopoly system.⁴⁹⁸ However, the Demotic P. Ox. Griffith M, recto seems also to suggest that waterways located within temple domains were apparently under direct control of the temple (see below for details). This agrees with Wilcken’s view that fishing was not exclusively a royal monopoly and some individuals, priesthood, and perhaps communities also had fishing rights.⁴⁹⁹

Evidence from Upper Egypt, on the other hand, shows that fishermen were to pay a fixed portion of their catch as license-tax to the state, to which all bodies of water theoretically belonged.⁵⁰⁰ It is quite difficult to verify which system was applicable to Lower Egypt since most of the evidence related to fishing industry come from Upper Egypt⁵⁰¹ and the Fayyum. Greek texts from Thebe Nile River refer to the payment for the fishing tax on fishers as τετάρτη ἀλιέων, rarely τετάρτη ιχθυικῶν, or at times even only τέλος.⁵⁰² In Huß’ opinion, the fact that such general Greek designation for tax (i.e. τέλος) was sometimes considered a sufficient identification for the fish tax reflects the popularity this tax had in the country at the Nile river.⁵⁰³ The rate of this tax in Thebes in the second and third century BC was, as the Greek τετάρτη ‘quarter’ indicates, a 25% of the yield.⁵⁰⁴ As Wallace pointed out, it is quite likely that this rate was passed down from the Pharaonic system of taxation as it was a standard rate for in-kind taxes throughout the Ptolemaic era. In the Ptolemaic Period, once the coinage system was put in place, the tax on fishing was changed to a monetary contribution,⁵⁰⁵ typically paid to the royal bank,⁵⁰⁶

⁴⁹⁴ His title is attested in O. Str. D 1611 as well as other unpublished Demotic receipts of linen; cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 7; Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 166.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische Leineweber,” 166.

⁴⁹⁶ Kaplony-Heckel, “Neue Leineweber-Quittungen,” 385–86.

⁴⁹⁷ Préaux, *L’économie royale*, 207; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 219; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* I:297.

⁴⁹⁸ For more on the management of fishing in the Fayyum on the basis of P. Tebt. 701, see Préaux, *L’économie royale*, 202–6; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History* I:297.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:138.

⁵⁰⁰ Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:137–41; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 219; Préaux, *L’économie royale*, 20–207.

⁵⁰¹ Huss, *Verwaltung*, 216.

⁵⁰² Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:137.

⁵⁰³ Huss, *Verwaltung*, 216.

⁵⁰⁴ Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:138; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 219.

⁵⁰⁵ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 219.

⁵⁰⁶ Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:137, 140.

just like various payments related to state monopolies which were often paid at relatively high rates.⁵⁰⁷ Greek receipts of this tax in Thebes were issued by the royal bank to tax farmers who collected the tax from the fishermen on a monthly basis.⁵⁰⁸

A different levy associated with fishing and fishermen in Thebes was the trade tax on fishmongers known as τέλος μεταβόλ(ων) ὀλιέων.⁵⁰⁹ This tax was paid by ‘fishermen who sold their catches at retail in the public market,’⁵¹⁰ and it was thus different from the one imposed on fishing which Wilcken views as a type of ‘Ertragssteuer’ or ‘income tax’ comparable to the basic harvest tax.⁵¹¹ The rate of this tax, being a capitation tax on small trades, is expected to be relatively small in comparison with the one on fishing. Yet, a clear conclusion regarding its rate seems quite difficult due to rarity of material. Greek examples, although very few, show that it was paid monthly. One example, i.e. O. Wilcken II 647, gave a relatively high rate for this tax, i.e. 72 drachmas per month (equal to 3.6 deben or 3 deben and 6 kite), which Wilcken interprets as a payment for an association of fishermen rather than a single taxpayer.⁵¹² Another example, i.e. O. Leiden G. 138, records a sum of 6 drachmas (3 kite) as a monthly payment by a single individual for this tax.⁵¹³

Demotic evidence concerning the fishing system is very limited if compared with the Greek material, which is also not as abundant as one wishes. Demotic documents attest for a tax called *tny tbt* or ‘fish tax.’ Although it is quite difficult to draw a clear view from the limited Demotic sources, it seems that the expression *tny tbt* was not apparently confined to the above-mentioned license-tax on fishing known from Greek documents. Rather, it was seemingly used to refer to the different dues related to fish. On the one hand, in P. Ox. Griffith M, recto⁵¹⁴ (which is actually the only Demotic example for the tax on fishing that I know of), this expression seems to refer to a fishing tax paid to the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos represented by its priesthood. Since the recorded payment in this receipt, i.e. 69 deben (=1380 drachmas), is fairly high⁵¹⁵ for one person especially if it was meant for only two months as the text seems to suggest,⁵¹⁶ it appears that it refers to the tax on fishing paid for the right to fish in the water areas located within the temple domains and possibly for the right to use the temple’s fishing tools including nets, boats, etc. On the other hand, the same expression *tny tbt* occurs in the current group of ostraca (**Text 23**) in reference to what appears to be different tax related to fishing. The recorded rate

⁵⁰⁷ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 83.

⁵⁰⁸ Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:140.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:136.

⁵¹⁰ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 209; Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:136.

⁵¹¹ Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:138.

⁵¹² Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I:136. For O. Wilcken II 647, see U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien: ein Beitrag zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. II (Leipzig; Berlin, 1899), 172.

⁵¹³ Cf. Bagnall, Sijpesteijn, and Worp, *Greek Ostraka*, 62–63; this text is published also as O. Wilcken II 1330, cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* II:355.

⁵¹⁴ E. Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiou Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford: Volume I. P. Ox. Griffith m. 1-75*, TDSA 49 (Milano, 1975), 86–87, 139; pl. xxxiv. A re-edition of this receipts is planned to be made by Dr. Carolin Arlt in her forthcoming book *Die Verwaltung des Temples von Soknopaiou Nesos in tolemäischer Zeit: Studien zu demotischen Texten aus dem Tempelarchiv*; I thank her for sharing this information with me.

⁵¹⁵ If this sum was meant to be paid in copper coinage, which is expected given the date of the text (i.e. mid second century BC), the rate of this tax could have been extremely lower than it appears to be. Since at that time (between 210 and 185 BC) 1 silver drachma was equal to 60 copper drachmas (cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 24), the recorded payment in this receipt (i.e. 1380 drachmas) could have corresponded to 23 silver drachmas. Since it was meant for two months, the monthly rate would be 11 ½ silver drachmas (i.e. 5.75 or 5 ½ ¼ silver kites). This rate might be comparable to the rates attested in Greek documents for the trade tax on fishmongers (see some examples in the main text above). The question would be in this case: if it was the trade tax collected from fishmonger who sold their fish in retail, why was it paid to the temple when it should be paid to the state? This makes it more plausible to assume that this payment was meant for the right to fish in the waterways located within the temple domain, which would not only mean that the payment was paid in silver (even though the text indicates the currency as *hd* not *hd sp-sn*) but would also account for such a high payment. Thus, Bresciani was apparently right when she understood the sums as silver deben (compare her translation in Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico*, 86-87) and compared this tax to the fishing tax on fishers mainly known in Upper Egypt, i.e. τετάρτη ὀλιέων or τετάρτη ἰχθυικῶν (cf. Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico*, 139).

⁵¹⁶ Bresciani already noticed that the reading of the season after *ibd-4* is very uncertain; cf. Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico*, 139. This could open the door for more than two months if a season other than *pr.t* was originally meant.

in the current receipt (likely ½ kite and 1 ½ obols) makes it quite difficult to identify it with the fishing tax attested in P. Ox. Griffith M, recto and other Greek documents since it would be very small to be even viewed as an installment of the license-tax on fishing, for which comparatively high rates are attested. In fact, the payment recorded in the text under consideration—if it was not for a totally different tax related to fishing or fishermen—fits better for the trade tax on fishmongers which was collected every month, just like the current text implies. To my knowledge, the trade tax is not known from Demotic texts and the current text, if it was truly a tax on fishmongers, could represent its first attestation.⁵¹⁷

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O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6x 14.5x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Ptolemaic, year 4 of [Ptolemy III(?)] = 1 April 243 BC(?).

Transliteration:

1. *h³.t-sp 4 ibd-2 pr.t sw 11 n-dr.t Pa-t³.wy s³ Twtw hḏ (qd.t)(?) ¼ hr tny(?) tbt n h³.t-sp ʿ3ʿ*
2. *r mh p³y=f tny(?) tbt n h³.t-sp 3 tn hḏ qd.t ½ (ḏbᶜ.t) 1 ½ hr ibd(?) i.ḏr n³ iw.w*
3. *r.ḏr=w n=f n h³.t-sp 3 hn=w r hn (r) tpy pr.t sw ʿrḡy sh Ns-Mn s³ ʿHrʿ(?)*

Translation:

1. Year 4, Mecheir, day 11, from Patous son of Totoes: ¼ silver (kite)(?) for the fish(?) tax(?) of year ʿ3ʿ
2. to complete his fish(?) tax(?) of year 3, at the rate of ½ silver kite and 1 ½ (obols)(?) per month(?). The payments
3. which were made for him in year 3 are in them until Tybi, last day. Has written Esminis son of ʿHorosʿ(?).

Commentary:


The handwriting indicates the early Ptolemaic Period. Based on onomastics, the recorded date (year 4) could possibly refer to the reign of Ptolemy III (see comment on l. 1 below). The text represents a tax-receipt as the formula suggests. The acknowledged payment represents an installment of a tax on a fish-related due, possibly the trade tax on fishmongers, which is apparently not yet attested in Demotic documents. According to the text, the rate of this tax is likely ½ kite and 1 ½ obols per month.



L. 1. Patous son of Totoes is likely the taxpayer. In the Demotic part of the Greek-Demotic O. Cairo 24, dated to year 5 of Ptolemy III,⁵¹⁸ occurs a like-named Patous son of Totoes as a tax collector. Whether or not he is the same person mentioned here is not totally clear since he occurs here as a taxpayer. Assuming that he was the same person would suggest that the current receipt is not issued by a tax collector to a taxpayer but by the bank to a tax collector. It would also mean that the reference to the bank is omitted. In fact, the recorded payment is too small to be viewed as a payment made by a tax collector to the bank. Added to that, the phrase *r mh p³y=f tny tbt* ‘to complete his fish tax’ in l. 2 seems to imply that the name of the taxpayer is mentioned above in the receipt.



This sign could be read in two ways. Firstly, it can be a writing of ½. The problem with this reading would be the lack of reference to the coin or the medium of payment, which is referred to in l. 2. Another

⁵¹⁷ Whether the fact that fishmongers were usually referred to as *s-n-tbt* in Demotic (cf. *CDD*, T, 158; Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People* I:60, n. to l. 88) could undermine the current identification of this tax is left for further future evidence.


⁵¹⁸ C. Gallazzi, R. Pintaudi, and K. Worp, *Ostraka greci del Museo Egizio del Cairo*, PapFlor XIV (Florence, 1986), 22–23; pl. vi.

possibility is to read $h\bar{d}$ which would stand for $h\bar{d} (qd.t)$,⁵¹⁹ whose occurrence is highly expected since fractions of kite were usually introduced by a writing of the silver sign which expresses $h\bar{d} (qd.t)$.⁵²⁰ That said, one would expect the scribe to apply the same convention all over the text, which is not the case since he already utilized another writing, i.e. a dot followed by a slanting stroke , to express $h\bar{d} qd.t$ before another fraction in l. 2. As Muhs, Scalf, and Jay noted, such a writing was usually utilized by scribes of the early Ptolemaic receipts to introduce whole numbers of kite, yet in some cases the same was applied before fractions. This, in their opinion, could be a way to distinguish the fractions of kite from those of obols.⁵²¹ Now, as both writings (i.e. $h\bar{d} (qd.t)$ before a fraction in l. 1 and $h\bar{d} qd.t$ before a fraction in l. 2) seem paleographically unproblematic, why did the scribe use two variants? Could it be he wanted to avoid confusion between whole numbers of obols with whole numbers of deben? Since in l. 2 the fraction of kite is likely followed by a whole number and a fraction of obol.

Thus, the scribe apparently used $h\bar{d} qd.t$ (i.e. ) instead of $h\bar{d} (qd.t)$ (i.e. ) because the latter can precede whole numbers of deben as well and might lead to reading the whole number after the $\frac{1}{2}$ kite as a number of deben and not obols.

The writing of hr  is slightly different from that which occurs in l. 2 .

The key word of this text is the word that follows hr ‘for,’ which is possibly to be read *tny tbt* ‘the fish tax.’ At first glance, one might think that the *m*-like sign after hr (which luckily recurs in the following line) and the signs following it represent a single word together. In the second attestation, this sign is somehow separated from the following ones and does not even look like an *m*. It seems rather to be a writing of the Demotic word for tax, *tny*.⁵²² In fact, the first writing of *tny* is quite strange and unusually written very close to *tbt* so much as it appears as if it belongs to it. This appears to be the result of the space limitation at the end of the line, which forced the scribe to reduce or omit the space between the words. The strange writing of *tny* in this line could be understood by looking at the way the scribe wrote

the word $t^3.wy$ in the name $Pa-t^3.wy$  at the beginning of the same line. In Demotic, the writing of $t^3.wy$ in $Pa-t^3.wy$ is very similar to that of *tny*.⁵²³ It seems thus that both signs, having a very similar standard writing, have been abbreviated in a very similar way.

Remarkable also in the writing of *tbt* ‘fish’⁵²⁴ is that the stroke after the *b* is not written, which is not strange since this stroke can sometimes be left out even in the writing of *tbt* itself.⁵²⁵ It seems also that the scribe oddly used the two variant writings of the word for fish since the writing in this line seems to be *tbt* while in l. 2 it is clearly *tbt*. Also, the determinative is slightly different in both writings.

L. 2. The $\frac{1}{2}$ which follows the $\frac{1}{2}$ kite probably indicate sums in obols, which means that the scribe omitted the word for obols. i.e. $db^c.t$.⁵²⁶ The practice of omitting the word for obol when whole numbers of obols follow fractions of kite is known from other early Demotic receipts, e.g. O. Taxes 2, no. 61, ll. 1, 5, no. 62, ll. 2, 6, no. 65, ll. 2, 4, no. 74, ll. 1, 5, no. 75, ll. 1, 2, 4,⁵²⁷ and O. Edgerton, nos. 7, 1.1.⁵²⁸

⁵¹⁹ For similar writings of $h\bar{d}$, see *CDD*, *H*, 331 and the Ptolemaic example no. 22 in *DemGloss*, 335. Further similar writings occurred also in many ostraca in the archive of Thotsutmis son of Panouphis such as O. Edgerton, nos. 12, l. 1; 13, l. 1; 16, l. 1; 17, l. 1; cf. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 74, 76, 80, 82.

⁵²⁰ Cf. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 139.

⁵²¹ Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 140.

⁵²² For a slightly similar writing of *tny* ‘tax,’ see Ptolemaic example no. 1 in *DemGloss*, 639.

⁵²³ Compare the writings of the name $Pa-t^3.wy$ in *DemNam*, 420–21 with that of *tny* ‘tax’ in *DemGloss*, 639.

⁵²⁴ *DemGloss*, 622, 625; *CDD*, *T*, 157–58.

⁵²⁵ E.g. in example no. 2 of *tbt* (written as *tby*) and example no. 4 of $N^3-tbt.w$ in *DemGloss*, 622, 625.

⁵²⁶ I thank Prof. Brian Muhs for this suggestion and for providing some examples where the word for obol was omitted.

⁵²⁷ Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 84–85, 89, 102, 103.

⁵²⁸ Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 56.

Thus, the payment acknowledged in this receipt is ‘½ kite and 1 ½ (obols).’ That the current receipt records a payment of ¼ kite means that the taxpayer has already paid ¼ kite and 1 ½ obols for this tax before. This is not only confirmed by the rate of the tax recorded here but also through the phrase *r mh p3y=f tny tbt* ‘to complete his fish tax’ which implies that this installment is the last one.

𐤁𐤃

: This group, though clearly visible and completely preserved, is difficult to interpret. Added to the normal uses of *hr*, i.e. ‘under, for, concerning,’ it can be also used in the sense of ‘per’ provided that it was followed by an expression denoting time.⁵²⁹ This usage seems preferable here since the preceding phrases already introduced the name and rate of the tax and are expected to be followed by the time span or the item on which the tax was levied. With this in mind, one could suggest reading the first sign after *hr*, i.e. 𐤁, as *ibd* ‘month.’ What makes this paleographically plausible reading doubtful,

however, is the group which follows it, i.e. 𐤁𐤃, which might be a determinative to *ibd*.⁵³⁰ Although such a determinative is very unusual, one might compare the first part of it with the writing attested in O. Theb. D. 31, l. 7,⁵³¹ which is listed in *CDD*, I, 83 as a variant of *ibd* with the reading *ibde* ‘a month (of service),’ which appears to have a determinative similar to the current one. This determinative could be the man-with-hand-to-mouth, which is followed by what could be a filling dot.

Ll. 2-3. Other examples for the formula ‘*i3ir n3 iw.w r.ir=w n=f ... hn=w*’ occur in O. Taxes 2, nos. 136, l. 7; 140, l. 2.⁵³² As Muhs noted, the first *i3ir* is likely the second tense converter.⁵³³ This converter was usually prefixed to the main clause to form the second tense. In the current example, it is connected to a nominal subject (*n3 iw.w*) to stress the final adverbial clause, i.e. *hn=w*.⁵³⁴

The second *r.ir* is a relative *r.sdm=f* form.

L. 3. For a similar writing of *n=f*, see example no. 9 in *DemGloss*, 197.

⁵²⁹ See examples in *CDD*, H, 52.

⁵³⁰ I owe this suggestion to Prof. Brian Muhs.

⁵³¹ Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” 51-52; pl. iii.

⁵³² Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 180–81, 189–90.

⁵³³ Cf. n. to O. Taxes 2, no. 140, ll. 2-3 in Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 190.

⁵³⁴ For more on the construction of second tenses in Demotic, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1925), §154-161; J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, 2nd printing with corrections, SAOC 38 (Chicago, 2004), 66 ff.; J. Johnson, *Thus Wrote ‘Onchsheshonqy: An Introductory Grammar of Demotic*, 3rd ed., SAOC 45 (Chicago, 2000), 73–75.

2.1.4 Receipts for Unidentified Transactions

This section includes texts with unclear transactions. Classifying these texts as receipts depends in the first place on their formulary which greatly resembles the receipts formula. For instance, some of them are introduced by the well-known letter form *NN p3 nty dd n NN*, common in temple and private receipts, while others begin with the so-called impersonal formula *r.in NN*, typical for bank receipts. Additionally, other texts record pieces of information or transactions that are strongly indicative of receipts such as the reference to money payments made to some state institutions like the bank of Jeme or having one or more signatures at the end.

The obscurity of the transaction's nature on these receipts might be due to the text's damage in some cases or the lack of a clear reference to the purpose or type of payment in others. Apart from the partly damaged receipts, which could have included information on their subject, it is quite odd for fully preserved receipts not to indicate the payment's purpose, but one has to take into consideration that both of the issuer and recipient of the document were most likely aware of its purpose and that the recorded data was sufficient for them. Practically, identifying the nature of unspecified receipts is a fairly difficult task in view of the diversity of taxes and dues whose payments were often recorded on ostraca. Moreover, most basic taxes were usually paid in several installments which makes the recorded sum almost uninformative about the nature of payment. A possible solution which some scholars offer in this case is to identify such payments as ones for the main and most common tax of the time when the receipt was issued. For this solution to work, however, the date of the text must be precisely identified. This is apparently what Muhs did with the group of receipts for unspecified payments which he dated to the first half of the reign of Ptolemy II in the early Ptolemaic Period, when he suggested identifying them as payments for what he believed was the main capitation tax of that time, namely the yoke tax.⁵³⁵

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Receipt of Unspecified Item

Exc. No. (MH 1491). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.2x 7.8x 1.5 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *P3-ih s3 Hr ibd-4 3h.t sw 14 wp-s.t 1*
2. *ibd-4 3h.t (sw) 15 wp-s.t 16 2/3*
3. *sh Hr-pa-3s.t (n) h3.t-sp 4 ibd-4 3h.t (sw) r... (?)*
4. *sh Hnsw-Dhwty (n) h3.t-sp 4.t ibd-4 pr.t (?)*
5. *sw 14 ... 2/3(?)*

Translation:

1. P-ih son of Horos, Choiak, day 14: 1
2. Choiak, day 15: 16 2/3.
3. Has written Harpaesis (in) year 4, Cho^riak^r, [...] (?).
4. Signed Chesthotes (in) year 4, Pharmuthi (?),
5. day 14 ... 2/3(?).


⁵³⁵ Cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 37–38; comment to O. Taxes 2, no. 144 in Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 195.

Commentary:

The text is probably of a late Ptolemaic date (second century BC) as the paleography suggests. The structure of the text suggests a receipt. It records a transaction made over two consecutive days. Neither the paid item, nor the medium or the reason of payment is known. Three individuals were involved in this transaction. The first one is P-ih son of Horos, who apparently paid the recorded amounts. The other two persons are those who signed the receipt, namely the issuer and scribe of the receipt (Harpaesis) as well as one of his colleagues or a witness (Chesthotes). The two handwritings are not clearly distinguishable, however.

L. 1. *P3-ih* is a variant of *P3-ihy*.⁵³⁶ For *ih*, or more commonly *ihy* ‘jubilation, joy,’ see *CDD*, *I*, 204-205; *DemGloss*, 40.

Wp-s.t has various meanings such as ‘specifications, particulars, details, viz., namely.’ In some cases, it is better not to translate and simply take as a colon,⁵³⁷ which is applicable to the current text.

L. 4. Reading the season as *pr.t*  seems paleographically very plausible. However, adopting such a reading would widen the difference in time between the first signature and the second one up to 4 months, which would be quite odd.

L. 5. The signs after the date are not completely clear. The very last sign could represent the fraction $\frac{2}{3}$. This fraction could be part of a total, which should be in this case $17\frac{2}{3}$. The preceding signs do not, however, help reach any plausible conclusion.

-25-Receipt of Unidentified Item(s)

Exc. No. (MH 76). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.3x 9.1x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic, (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *P3-šr-Dḥwty s3 Twtw p3 nty ḏd (n)*
2. *P3-ḏt-Hnsw s3 Pa-Dḥwty tw=k n=y ḥḏ(?) ḥ...'*
3. *hn n3 ḥḏ.w nty ḥwḥ=[...]*

Translation:

1. Psenthotes son of Totoes is the one who says (to)
2. Petechonsis son of Pathotes: you have paid me ḥ...’ deben(?)
3. from the moneys ḥwhich’[...]


Commentary:

The bottom left edge of the sherd is broken off. Whether the text continues beyond the third line or not is uncertain. Some faded ink traces appear over the name *Twtw* and *Pa-Dḥwty* in ll. 1, 2 respectively. It is unclear as to what these traces represent. Whether they are traces of old writing or nothing at all, one cannot say. The handwriting refers to the second century BC. The formula of the text, namely *NN p3 nty ḏd n NN* is indicative of a tax collector’s or a temple receipt. Here, the text likely concerns a tax collector’s receipt, in which a certain Psenthotes son of Totoes acknowledges the reception of a certain payment from Petechonsis son of Pathotes. The reason for payment is unknown, likely because of the

⁵³⁶ Cf. *DemNam*, 157.

⁵³⁷ For the different transliterations and translations of *wp-s.t* as well as more bibliography about it, see *CDD*, *W*, 66-67.

text's damage. The phrase $hn n^3 h\bar{d}.w nty \dots$ 'among the moneys which ...' at the beginning of l. 3 implies a partial payment.

L. 2. Reading this sign  as $h\bar{d}$ seems paleographically possible (for similar writings, see **Text 23**, l. 1). The problem with this reading is that the scribe uses a different writing of $h\bar{d}$ in l. 3. It is not certain whether it was meant to indicate $h\bar{d}$ 'deben' or as in **Text 23**, l. 1 $h\bar{d} (qd.t)$ 'kite.'



: The broken group at the end of this line might represent the upper part of number 2.

L. 3. For a similar writing of $h\bar{d}$ , see Ptolemaic example no. 10 in *DemGloss*, 335.

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Receipt of Unidentified Dues

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.9x 5.6x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration:

1. $r.in Pa-Mn\bar{t} s^3 Hr s^3 P^3y-k^3 [\dots]$
2. $n Dm^3c n h^3.t-sp 14.t [\dots]$
3. $p^3y=f(?) \bar{r} \dots n h^3.t-sp 14.t [\dots sttr 1.t h\bar{d} qd.t 1.t 1/2 db^c.t 3.t]$
4. $/ h\bar{d} qd.t 1.t 1/2 db^c.t 4.t 1/2 / st[tr 1.t h\bar{d} qd.t 1.t 1/2 db^c.t 3.t c^n \dots h\bar{d} qd.t 1.t db^c.t 2.t]$
5. $/ h\bar{d} qd.t 1/2 db^c.t 1.t / h\bar{d} qd.t 1.t [db^c.t 2.t c^n \dots h\bar{d} qd.t 1.t 1/2 db^c.t 4.t 1/2 / h\bar{d} qd.t 1/2 db^c.t 5 1/4]$
6. $h\bar{d} qd.t 1.t 1/2 db^c.t 4.t 1/2 c^n \bar{r} \dots [\dots]$
7. $[\dots] \check{s}mw sw 4 [\dots] (?)$

Translation:

1. What Pamonthes son of Horos son of Pikos has paid [...]
2. in Jeme in year 14 [...]
3. his(?) $\bar{r} \dots$ of year 14 [... 1 stater, 1 1/2 silver kite, 3 obols]
4. / 1 1/2 silver kite, 4 1/2 obols / [1] st[ater, 1 1/2 silver kite, 3 obols again ... 1 silver kite, 2 obols]
5. / 1/2 silver kite, 1 obols/ 1 silver kite [2 obols again ... 1 1/2 silver kite, 4 1/2 obols/ 1/2 silver kite, 5 1/4 obols/]
6. 1 1/2 silver kite, 4 1/2 obols again $\bar{r} \dots$ [...]
7. [...] summer, day 4 [...] (?)

Commentary:

The ostrakon is partly broken at its left side. It could be also slightly broken at its bottom. The text is apparently a receipt concerning certain money tax(es), but the damage of the ostrakon does not allow an exact identification of the nature its content. The payer, time, place, and medium of payment are all stated in the receipt, which applies the so-called impersonal formula beginning with $r.in$, which was used widely in bank, granary, and temple receipts (for more on this formula, see the commentary on **Text 2**). The recorded sums might represent installments of different dues. Generally, paying the taxes or dues in installments was a common practice in the Greco-Roman Period, especially when it comes to capitation taxes. Moreover, as Lichtheim already noted, payments of various capitation taxes were

frequently recorded in the same receipt.⁵³⁸ This makes it possible for the current text to be a receipt for different installments of several capitation taxes, whose names could have been possibly recorded in the damaged parts of this receipt.

L. 1. Compared to similar texts from Medinet Habu, this receipt appears to be a bank receipt. The destroyed parts of the sherd could thus have contained a reference to the place of payment, i.e. the bank of Jeme, which was called *p³ shn n n³ c.wy.w mh_t.w* ‘the bank of the northern districts.’

L. 3. Reading the first sign as *p³y=f* is doubtful. The following word refers possibly to the name of the tax, yet it is unfortunately partly rubbed off.

Ll. 3-5. The restoration of the sums seems very plausible in view of the surviving parts of each sum.

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Receipt of Unidentified Due

Exc. No. (MH 4087). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 4.8x 5x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman. Possibly year 34 of Ptolemy VI, VIII, IX, or Augustus = 148-147, 137-136, 84-83 BC, or 4-5 AD.

Transliteration: x+



1. *n(?) h³.t-sp 34 sw ¹/₂ r¹/₄ [/ sw ¹/₂ c_n ...] (?)*
2. *n wš n(?) šsp iw=f hpr*
3. *iw={f} šsp s hr-dr. f=w(?) n(?)*
4. *ip n=k hr h³.t-sp 34*
5. *mtw=y sh^r=s^r*
6. *r h³.t-sp 35*

Translation: x+

1. in/ for(?) year 34: ½ (artabas of) wheat r¹/₄ [/ ½ (artabas of) wheat again ...] (?)
2. without(?) extra charge. If (lit. it happens that)
3. {he} receives it on(?) their(?) behalf(?) on(?)
4. account for you for year 34,
5. I will write ‘it’
6. until year 35.


Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved. Internal indications suggest a receipt for wheat payments. The nature or the purpose of payment is, nevertheless, unknown, possibly due to the text’s damage. The paleography suggests a late Ptolemaic to early Roman date at the latest. The text seems to have been written in the year 34 and refers to regnal year 35, which could refer to that of Ptolemy VI, VIII, IX, or Augustus at the latest.

L. x+1. The strange writing of the first part of *h³.t-sp* , which looks like two vertical strokes, is apparently caused by an uneven rush pen. This seems to have affected the writing of the initial *n*  as well.

⁵³⁸ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 18.

L. x+2. The group before *šsp* likely represents *n wš n* ‘without.’

L. x+3. The reading of the compound preposition *hr-dr. t=w*  is not completely certain. For this preposition, which literally means ‘under the hand of’ and conveys the meanings ‘on behalf of, for, under the authority of,’ see *DemGloss*, 644; *CDD*, *D*, 65. On the other hand, this part could theoretically represent a personal name as well.

The stroke at the end of the line could possibly represent the preposition *n*, which is part of the compound *šsp n ip* ‘received on account.’

L. x+4. The number 4 in 34 is written slightly above the line due to the limited spaced available at this spot. This indicates that the text is probably complete at the left-hand edge.

-28-

Receipt for Payment of Unidentified Taxes or Dues

Exc. No. (MH 1257). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.5x 9.2x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman.

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] ‘...’ [...]
2. [... sttr 1.t]’/’ hḏ qd.t 1.t/ sttr 1.t ḥn sḥ n
3. [...] ‘3ḥ.t’ sw 5 ḥn n sw 14(?) sttr 3/ sttr 1.t hḏ qd.t 1.t
4. [/ sttr 3] ḥn ḥn n tpy pr.t sw 14 sttr 1.t/ hḏ qd.t 1.t/ sttr 1.t ḥn
5. [ḥn n ibd-...]’pr.t’ sw 2 sttr 2.t/ sttr 1.t/ sttr 2.t ḥn
6. [ḥn n ibd-...] sw 24 sttr 2.t/ sttr 1.t/ sttr 2.t ḥn
7. [...] sttr 1.t hḏ qd.t 1.t/ hḏ qd.t 1 1/2/ sttr 1.t hḏ qd.t 1.t ḥn
8. [...] ‘...’

Translation: x+

1. [...] ‘...’ [...]
2. [... 1 stater]’/’ 1 silver kite/ 1 stater again. Written in
3. [...] ‘inundation,’ day 5. Likewise in day 14(?): 3 staters/1 stater and 1 silver kite
4. [/ 3 staters] again. Likewise in Tybi, day 14: 1 stater/ 1 silver kite/ 1 stater again.
5. [Likewise in .. month of] ‘winter’, day 2: 2 staters/ 1 stater/ 2 staters again.
6. [Likewise in .. month of ..-season], day 24: 2 staters/ 1 stater/ 2 staters again.
7. [...] 1 stater and 1 silver kite/ 1 1/2 silver kite/ 1 stater and 1 silver kite again.
8. [...] ‘...’

Commentary:

The upper, right, and lower edges of the sherd are broken. The handwriting is clearly Roman. The text seems to represent a receipt for some money taxes or dues, more likely capitation taxes, which were apparently paid in several installments (for more details, see general commentary on **Text 26** above).

L. x+1. A final tiny part of a certain long-tailed sign is still visible directly above the word *sḥ* in l. x+2.

L. x+3. The writing of the second element of the number referring to the day is quite unclear; thus, reading *sw 14* ‘day 14’ is not completely certain. Since the date of the following payment certainly indicates the 14th day of Tybi (1st month of winter), day 14 in the current line should refer to a month in

the inundation season, just like the partly preserved date before it whose remaining parts support restoring *ḥ.t*.

L. x+4. Notable here is the writing of *ḥn* at the end of the line, which takes the shape of a vertical stroke. Similar writings appear at the end of ll. x+6, 7 as well. It is also worthwhile that this scribe

already used different forms of *ḥn* 'again' in the text, including the ordinary form, e.g. in l. x+2, l.

x+4, and l. x+5.

L. x+5. : The separation stroke after *sttr 1.t* seems to be written above an old writing. It seems that the scribe either directly mistakenly began to write *sttr* before adding the separation stroke or wanted to write a separation stroke followed by the sum *2.t* without *sttr*, or perhaps wanted to write a complementary sum in kite, but quickly realized his mistake and overwrote these signs with a separation stroke and wrote the complete sum beginning with *sttr* afterwards.

L. x+7. The sum recorded in this line was likely preceded by a date as well.

The writing of *ḥd qd.t* in the halved sum unusually has a superfluous extra stroke.

-29-

Receipt of Unidentified Tax(es)

Exc. No. (MH 2898). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.9x 9.6x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Roman, reign of Claudius= 41-54 AD.

Transliteration:

1. [...]' [...]
2. [...]' ^{Go} s³ Mn^r t^r [-.] [...]
3. '...' db^{c.t}(?) 5(?) ḥn(?) hr p³y=k tny^r(?) [... sh ḥ³.t-sp ..]
4. n Tybsrys ^{c.w.s.} rcartouche opening^r [Qlwtys ^{c.w.s.}]
5. Gysrys ^{c.w.s.} p³ s^rb^rs[t]^rs^r [^{c.w.s.}]
6. Grm^cnykws ^{c.w.s.}
7. 3wtwgrtw ^{c.w.s.}
8. ibd-2 ḥ.t sw 11

Translation:

1. [...]' [...]
2. [...]' son of Mon^rt^r [...] [...]
3. '...' 5(?) obols(?) again(?) for your 'tax' (?) [... Written in year ..]
4. of Tiberius ^{L.P.H.} 'cartouche opening' [Claudius ^{L.P.H.}]
5. Caesar ^{L.P.H.} Augus[t]u^rs^r [^{L.P.H.}]
6. Germanicus ^{L.P.H.}
7. Autocrator ^{L.P.H.}
8. Phaophi, day 11.

Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its upper right and left edges. The text is dated to the reign of Claudius. The formula of the text and some internal indications suggest a receipt for a specific money tax, whose name is likely lost in the lacuna after the phrase *hr p̄y=k tny*(?) ‘concerning your ‘tax’(?)’ in l. 3.


L. 2. The divine determinative preserved before the *s* of filiation suggests a theophoric first name for this person. This name could have been built with *Mnt* since it seems to have the *t* sign before the divine determinative.

L. 3. The reading *db̄.t 5 n* ‘5 obols again’ is quite doubtful because of the faded ink.

Reading the partly preserved sign after *p̄y=k* as *tny* is possible but not certain. A comparable writing of the initial element of *tny* would be the Ptolemaic example no. 4 in *DemGloss*, 639.

L. 4. The first *s* in *Tybsrys* ‘Tiberius’  is superfluous and erroneous.

The opening of the cartouche of the name after Tiberius is partly preserved. This, in addition to the size of the lacuna, supports restoring the name Claudius at the end of this line. Furthermore, the sequence and order of the names and titles given in the text seem to be only suitable for Claudius.⁵³⁹ The spelling of the restored name of Claudius is only a suggestion.

L. 8. For a relatively similar writing of *sw 11*  ‘day 11,’ see Roman example no. 5 in *DemGloss*, 709; example no. 2 (i.e. Ptolemaic P. Lille 110, verso, col. iii, l. 13) in *CDD, Days of the Month*, 10.

⁵³⁹ Cf. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne*, 96, as well as the titles and sequence of “K-type” in Grenier, *Les titulatures*, 26, 29–30.

2.2 Accounts and Lists (nos. 30-55)

In this section, accounts and lists of different items are presented in categories based on their themes. In theory, accounts and lists are substantially different, while in practice they are very closely related since—as Ezzamel explained—the practice of accounting entails listing or counting, i.e. the record of entries of counted items.⁵⁴⁰ This concept was initially developed by Ezzamel and Hoskin who defined accounting as a practice of entering in a visible format a record (an account) of named and counted items and/or activities, to which values are attached.⁵⁴¹

In ancient Egypt, accounts are attested since a very early stage of its civilization. In fact, the earliest known ancient Egyptian papyrus archive⁵⁴² contained accounts among other text genres.⁵⁴³ This is the hieratic papyrus archive of Wadi el-Jarf, dated to the reign of Cheops in the fourth dynasty.⁵⁴⁴ Before the discovery of this archive, the Abusir archive, which again includes accounts, was deemed to be the oldest papyrus archive in Egypt.⁵⁴⁵ It is worthwhile that the accounts of these archives—especially Abusir’s—were recorded in a very skillful and sophisticated manner, which hints at a long practice of keeping accounts, on which the scribes of the early Old Kingdom relied. Such a practice possibly evolved in the predynastic era.⁵⁴⁶ This reflects the significance of accounts—as one of the vital tools used to smoothen the workflow of the different institutions—for the establishment and development of the state in ancient Egypt, which in turn justifies the popularity and the growing need for accounts throughout the different stages of the ancient Egyptian history. In Demotic, accounts have been recorded in this script since its rise in the Saite Period. The earliest example of Demotic accounts is P. Louvre E 7840 bis, which is dated to year 29 of Amasis.⁵⁴⁷ As many scholars noted, the Demotic account usually comprises a list of entries of different items that are either paid by or to certain individuals or institutions. An account might also register the revenues and/ or expenses of a given institution in relation to the control of state resources.⁵⁴⁸

Accounts and lists belong to the Demotic documentary texts, and they constituted one of the vital tools which was widely used on both institutional and private levels. This is reflected in the surviving examples of Demotic accounts, in which accounts of public and private nature are well represented.⁵⁴⁹ The introduction of Greek as the official language of administration in Ptolemaic Egypt seems to have affected the popularity and validity of the public Demotic accounts since the accounts and reports submitted to the state had to be written in Greek from that time on. This led some scholars to propose that public Demotic accounts were probably only valid on an internal administrative level, i.e. among the Egyptian personnel of a certain institution. An exception to this might be the Demotic accounts annotated in Greek, which—as their Greek glosses suggest—appear to have been recognized on a higher

⁵⁴⁰ M. Ezzamel, *Accounting and Order*, 1st ed. (London; New York, 2012), 60.

⁵⁴¹ M. Ezzamel and K. Hoskin, “Rethorizing Accounting, Writing and Money with Evidence from Mesopotamia and Ancient Egypt,” *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 13, no. 3 (2002): 335; Ezzamel, *Accounting and Order*, 60.

⁵⁴² P. Tallet, *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I: Le “journal de Merer” (Papyrus Jarf A et B)*, MIFAO 136 (Le Caire, 2017), 4.

⁵⁴³ According to Tallet, accounts are recorded on P. Jarf G, H, I, J, K, L, as well as other fragments; cf. Tallet, *papyrus mer Rouge I*, 161.

⁵⁴⁴ For the published parts of the Wadi el-Jarf archive, see Tallet, *papyrus mer Rouge I*; P. Tallet, *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge II: “Le journal de Dedi” et autres fragments de journaux de bord (Papyrus Jarf C, D, E, F, Aa)*, MIFAO 145 (Le Caire, 2021).

⁵⁴⁵ For the Abusir archive, see P. Posener-Kriéger and J.-L. De Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, HPBM 5 (London, 1968).

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 45; fn. 3.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. F. De Cenival, “Comptes d’une association religieuse thébaine datant des années 29 à 33 du roi Amasis (P. démot. Louvre E 7840 bis),” *RdE* 37 (1986): 13–29. This account has been republished in 1995 by K. Donker van Heel; see K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis: Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, vol. I (Leiden, 1995), 142–68.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 45–46.

⁵⁴⁹ [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 46.

administrative level.⁵⁵⁰ That Demotic accounts were more commonly written on ostraca than on papyri is not odd since the use of papyri was quite limited to vital institutions like temples, religious associations, cult guilds, or other public institutions which could afford to buy such an expensive writing material.⁵⁵¹ This, in addition to the requirement for public accounts to be written in Greek, seems to have contributed to the decline of Demotic account of public nature, which would be typically recorded on papyri. On the other hand, pottery and limestone sherds were abundant, easy-accessible, and above all, inexpensive. This probably made ostraca the first choice when it comes to recording the everyday accounts and transactions, particularly that of private nature.⁵⁵² For practical reasons, ostraca were also used in an institutional context; yet—as Lippert and Schentuleit indicated—the information recorded on them were only temporarily valid and most likely served as elementary notes or drafts that should shortly afterwards be copied on long papyrus rolls. A well-known case is the accounts of the temple of Dime/ Soknopaiou Nesos, in which ostraca were used to record the daily cash or in-kind income and expenses of the temple. In this context, ostraca were likely used to instantly document the transactions in situ, i.e. in the places where the accounting scribe could not take his papyrus roll with him, e.g. in the granary, bakery, during processions or festivals, etc.⁵⁵³ Similarly, few examples attest for the use of ostraca to record accounts of private associations, or more specifically religious association.⁵⁵⁴ Such information on ostraca might have been also a type of preliminary everyday documentation for the association that has to be transferred to papyri since accounts of religious association were typically recorded on papyri.

As clear through the extensive number of published account documents, two terms seem to have been used to denote accounts in Demotic, these are *ip* ‘account’ and *wn* ‘list.’ They were also the most common terms, with which the headings of Demotic accounts were composed.⁵⁵⁵ Similar to the accounts of the classical Pharaonic ages, the Demotic account (particularly the account rolls) was characterized by the use of a typical layout and distinctive formulation.⁵⁵⁶ Despite the agreement in this general principle, the structure of the Demotic account (on both papyri and ostraca) tended to evolve quite differently from that of the Pharaonic accounts, of which many common structural elements have gradually disappeared. In Demotic, accounts were commonly recorded as a continuous text which brought them close to the literary texts in terms of appearance. This is likely due to the disappearance of some accounting practices that were common in the classical ages, e.g. recording accounts in a tabular list, the use of horizontal dividers after each line, the intensive use of the red ink, etc. These changes—which might reflect a development in accounting practices and a growth in the experience of the accounting scribes, so they began to spontaneously record their accounts without using any helping tools—resulted in a relatively different shape or appearance of the Demotic account.⁵⁵⁷ By and large, the Demotic account was usually made up of three main elements, of which one or more could be left

⁵⁵⁰ [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 47.

⁵⁵¹ For further details, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 62–65. Using long papyrus rolls to record accounts was a key feature of the accounts of the temple of Dime in the Greco-Roman Period, which is largely unpublished; cf. M.-P. Chaufray, “Accounts and Scribal Practice in Dime in the Roman Period,” in *Observing the Scribe at Work: Scribal Practice in the Ancient World*, ed. R. Ast et al. (Leuven; Paris; Bristol, CT, 2021), 272–74.

⁵⁵² [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 62, 64.

⁵⁵³ S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, “Agreements and Accounts. On-Going Research on Economic Activities of the Temple of Soknopaiou Nesos According to the Demotic Texts,” in *Legal Documents in Ancient Societies: Accounts and Bookkeeping in the Ancient World*, ed. A. Jördens and U. Yiftach, *Legal Documents in Ancient Societies* 8 (Wiesbaden, 2020), 145. For more on the use of long papyrus rolls to record temple accounts at Dime, see Chaufray, “Accounts,” 272–74.

⁵⁵⁴ For instance, Ebeid suggested that some ostraca from Tuna el-Gebel were apparently relevant to a certain religious association there; cf. M. Ebeid, “Two Demotic Ostraca from Al-Ashmunein Magazine,” *BIFAO* 109 (2009): 101–2; M. Ebeid, “A Clay Bowl with Demotic Inscriptions from Tuna Al-Gebel,” in *Echoes of Eternity: Studies Presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa*, ed. O. El-Aguizy and M. Ali (Wiesbaden, 2010), 169; M. Ebeid, “A Ptolemaic Demotic Account of Bread on an Ostrakon (o. Al-Ashmunein Magazine Inv. No. 1130),” *ASAE* 84 (2010): 160–61.

⁵⁵⁵ For more on the denominatives of accounts in Demotic, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 47–50.

⁵⁵⁶ M. Schentuleit, *Aus der Buchhaltung des Weinmagazins im Edfu-Tempel: der demotische P. Carlsberg 409*, vol. I, CNIP 32 (Copenhagen, 2006), 341–42.

⁵⁵⁷ For a detailed investigation of the structure of the Demotic account in comparison with its earlier counterparts, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 51–56.

out. These are the heading or the introductory formula, which was usually informative regarding the contents of the text. The second element was the main body of the account, which includes the transaction or the main content of the text and was usually recorded in a distinct layout. The third and final element was the closing formula, which occurs only sporadically to announce the end of the account. Demotic accounts were also characterized by the use of a variety of technical vocabulary and precise formulation. They also displayed some distinguished structural types, e.g. running and monthly accounts.⁵⁵⁸ In terms of appearance, entries of the account—which might spread over numerous sections—were often arranged in two main formats. These are what Muhs, Scalf, and Jay called the ‘horizontal and vertical formats.’⁵⁵⁹ In the horizontal format, known also as the one-column layout, no spacing is used to separate the different components of each entry; while in the vertical format, the different pieces of recorded information were usually separated by a blank space which results in a multi-columns layout.⁵⁶⁰ Besides, some complementary elements such as checking, stress, and terminal marks as well as partition indicators used to occur from time to time within the account to serve some specific purpose.⁵⁶¹ As the extensive number of published Demotic accounts—including the examples included in the collection here published—shows, Demotic accounts can be thematically divided into many genres, e.g. accounts concerning money, in-kind accounts, or accounts concerning land and other different items. It is noteworthy in this regard that one account might contain one or more of these sorts. In such a case, the classification will be according to the dominant item. Accounts may also be sorted according to the institution that issued them. In addition to individuals, whose account documents are not uncommon in Demotic, many institutions used to produce Demotic accounts such as temples, private associations (professional and cult-guilds), granaries, and the like. Yet many accounts do not clearly disclose the institution behind them. Thus, to be consistent, the group of accounts here studied are classified according to their content; the institution that issued the account will be acknowledged whenever possible. Since Demotic accounts on ostraca do not usually include indications to their exact date, dates given are often suggested on paleographical grounds.

2.2.1 Monetary Accounts

Accounts of money were noticeably popular in Demotic.⁵⁶² This type of accounts usually records sums of money paid or received by certain persons. It might also record the cash value of some items, or the cash revenues or expenses of specific institutions. The monetary account could be recorded in both horizontal and vertical formats. Entries of the accounts may be recorded according to the persons receiving or paying the cash sums, or sometimes according to the date on which the transaction occurred (e.g. in the daybook account). The money payments could be reckoned in different currencies, e.g. silver and copper deben, kite, staters, obols, talents, etc.⁵⁶³ In fact, coinage was already widely utilized in Egypt in the early Ptolemaic Period, and it was based on a silver standard, according to which the silver deben—whose fractions were expressed in kite—was the standard unit of account. From ca. 210 BC (reign of Ptolemy IV), a copper-based coinage was introduced.⁵⁶⁴ About 30 BC, the silver standard was

⁵⁵⁸ [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 55–56.

⁵⁵⁹ Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 132.

⁵⁶⁰ [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 54–55; Muhs, Scalf, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 132.

⁵⁶¹ [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 51. For more on these secondary elements in accounts and other types of Demotic documents, see M. Nur el-Din, “Checking, Terminal, Stress Marks: Partition Indications and Margin Lines in Demotic Documents,” *Enchoria* 9 (1979): 49–62.

⁵⁶² For some examples of monetary accounts, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 57, fn. 120.

⁵⁶³ For more on Demotic monetary accounts, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 57–59.

⁵⁶⁴ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 23–25.

restored again.⁵⁶⁵ Broadly speaking, the word *ḥd* ‘silver’, and rarely *ḥmt* ‘copper,’ were used to express the broad sense of money in Demotic.⁵⁶⁶

Most of the monetary accounts published here date to the Ptolemaic Period, while only a few are dated to the Roman Period.

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Exc. No. (MH 2753). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.3x 7x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. [---] ṛ. n P³-šr-Ḥnsw ḥd 220
2. [---] ḥd] 180 sp 140
3. [--- P³-šr-t³-iḥ.t(?) ṛḥd' [...]
4. [---] ṛIy-[m-ḥtp](?) [...]


Translation:


1. [---] ṛ. of/ for/ to(?) Psenchonsis: 220 deben
2. [---] 180 [deben], remains 140
3. [--- P³enta]es(?): ‘deben’ [...]
4. [---] I[mouthes](?) [...]


Commentary:

The text is only partly preserved. The paleography suggests a Ptolemaic date; possibly the second century BC. The remaining part of the text indicates an account about money payments.

L. 1. The translation of the *n* that precedes the name depends on the context.

The writing of 20 in the number 220  is quite strange.

L. 3. The partly preserved word, i.e. , is certainly a personal name since it ends with a personal determinative. The remaining signs suggest a name ending with *iḥ.t*, such as *P³-šr-t³-iḥ.t*⁵⁶⁷ or *P³-šr-p³-mr-iḥ.t*.⁵⁶⁸

 : The partly damaged sign after the name could be *ḥd*.

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Exc. No. (MH 10). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.8x 6.8x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

⁵⁶⁵ W. Clarysse and E. Lanciers, “Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period,” *AncSoc* 20 (1989): 117.

⁵⁶⁶ For a quick overview on the evolution of money and coinage in ancient Egypt, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 57–59 and the bibliography cited therein.

⁵⁶⁷ *DemNam*, 262.

⁵⁶⁸ *DemNam*, 236.

Transliteration:**Recto:**

1. $p^3 \dot{p} P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}Mn\dot{t}$ [---]
2. $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}Hr P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}Mn w^c \text{'}.. \text{'}$ [---]
3. $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}D\dot{h}wty s^3 Hnsw(?)\text{-}^2Imn w^c.t \text{'}.. \text{'}$ [---]
4. $wp\text{-}s.t r.tw\neq f n hmt h\dot{d} qd.t 4 \frac{1}{4} \text{'}.. \text{'}$ [---]
5. $Ns\text{-}Mn s^3 P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}^c\dot{p}h\dot{t} \text{'}db^c.t \text{'}$ (?) [---]
6. $Pa\text{-}t^3y\text{-}^2Imn(?) s^3 \text{'Ns}^1\text{'}$ [---]

Verso:

1. [---] ...
2. [---] [$D\dot{h}wty$](?) $\text{-}m^3c p^3 hm$
3. [---] $\text{'s}^3 \text{' Hr$ (?)

Translation:**Recto:**

1. The account of Psenmonthes [---]
2. Psenhyris (son of)(?) Psenminis: one $\text{'}.. \text{'}$ [---]
3. Psenthotes son of Chonsou(?) $\text{-}amounis$: one $\text{'}.. \text{'}$ [---]
4. details of what he has paid in/ for(?) copper: $4 \frac{1}{4}$ silver kite $\text{'}.. \text{'}$ [---]
5. Esminis son of Psenapathes: [...] $\text{'}obol(s)\text{'}$ (?) [---]
6. P-se-amen(?) son of $\text{'Es}^1\text{'}$ [---]

Verso:


1. [---] ...
2. [---] [Thoto](?) $mous$, the younger
3. [---] $\text{'}son of\text{'}$ Horos(?)

Commentary:

The sherd is certainly broken at its left and lower edges. Although the heading of the text is completely preserved at the upper right side of the ostrakon, the ostrakon is seemingly broken at its right side as well, and the heading was probably meant to signify the beginning of a new account in a series of consecutive accounts or a new account-section in a multi-sectioned account. These accounts or account-sections were likely separated by a vertical separating line, of which some traces at the right side of the sherd are still clearly visible. The verso bears traces of three lines of text. The handwriting is Ptolemaic. Based on the probable reference to copper as unit of account, one would assume a date after the introduction of the copper coinage in 210 BC. The topic of the account is not clear due to the damaged state of the text; it seems, however, to record some payments made by certain individuals. Some of these payments were possibly made in copper money.


Recto:

L. 2. It is not entirely sure whether Psenminis is the father of Psenhyris, or both represent two different persons mentioned by the first name only, and thus Psenminis and Psenhyris were meant. The scribe usually writes the s^3 of filiation which makes it quite odd to leave it out only in this name.


L. 3.  : While the second part of the father's name can be securely identified as $\text{'}Imn$, the first part is quite problematic. One could think of a writing (with $h\dot{t}p$ -sign preceded by a h as phonetic

complement; *Wb* III, 188 offers one example where *hṭp* is preceded by *ḥ*) of *Hṭp-ʿImn*.⁵⁶⁹ Alternatively, by analogy with *Hnsw-Dḥwty*,⁵⁷⁰ one could suggest *Hnsw-ʿImn*. In both cases, however, the writing of *Hnsw*⁵⁷¹ or *hṭp*⁵⁷² would be quite odd and problematic. In view of the abovementioned parallel (i.e. *Hnsw-Dḥwty*) as well as the existence of *Hnsw-ʿImn* as a designation for a deity⁵⁷³ and as a personal name,⁵⁷⁴ the reading *Hnsw-ʿImn* seems more possible. As a third option, reading *Hṭp-ʿImn* is paleographically very tempting, yet such a name is not known in Demotic or in Egyptian. In this latter case, the name should be built with *hṭp* ‘hide, to be hidden,’⁵⁷⁵ and might possibly mean ‘Amun is hidden,’ or ‘hidden is Amun.’

L. 4. The meaning of *n* in the phrase *n hmt* ‘in copper’ is not completely certain. It could be well translated as ‘for copper.’


The lower stroke of ¼  is not as long as it should be, but see *DemGloss*, 704; *CDD, Numbers*, 275 for similar writings.


L. 5. Restoring *db^c.t* ‘obol’ seems possible, see *CDD, D*, 31-34 for similar writings of this word.

L. 6.  : Reading *Pa-tʿy-ʿImn* is doubtful. This name is not in the *DemNam*. Its meaning is not clear. If it was built with the verb *tʿy* ‘to take, seize,’ it could possibly be translated ‘he whom Amun has taken/ seized.’ Alternatively, one might think of *Pa-rḥ-s* ‘he of ‘he who knows it’,’ or ‘he of the knowing one.’ In such a name, *rḥ-s* could be referring to the Egyptian *rḥ-sw* ‘he is a knowing-one’ which was used as a designation of Thoth.⁵⁷⁶ This latter suggestion is paleographically less likely.

Verso:

L. 1. The writing is not clearly visible in this line.

L. 2.  : *M^{3c}* is most likely part of a personal name since it is followed by *pʿ hm* ‘the younger.’ This name could have been *Dḥwty-m^{3c}*.⁵⁷⁷

Note the unusual writing of *hm*⁵⁷⁸ , which has an extra stroke before the evil-bird determinative.

L. 3. The reading is doubtful.

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Exc. No. (MH 1008). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 3.4x 7.5x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *tpy ʿḥ.t sw 3 pʿ ip Wsir-wr sʿ Hnm-ib-ʿR^c(?)*

⁵⁶⁹ *DemNam*, 847.

⁵⁷⁰ *DemNam*, 881–82.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. normal writings of *Hnsw* in *DemGloss*, 362–63.

⁵⁷² *DemGloss*, 340.

⁵⁷³ *LGG* V, 763.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. *TM Nam* 20087.

⁵⁷⁵ *DemGloss*, 302; *CDD, H*, 105–108.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. *LGG* IV, 707.

⁵⁷⁷ *DemNam*, 1302.

⁵⁷⁸ *DemGloss*, 359–60.


2. *krkr* 4 ^{cn} *Hr*³(?) *p*³(?) ... *hd* 30
3. *p*³ *wn*(?) *m-s*³ *krkr* 4 *hd* 30
4. 'wp-s.t *p*³ ...' *nty* (r-)^c.wy=f 'hd' (?) 500


Translation:


1. Thoth, day 3, the account of Osoroeris son of Chonomp^rres^r(?):
2. 4 talents. Likewise, Heras(?) the(?) ...: 30 deben
3. The sum(?) due from (lit. behind) (the) 4 talents and 30 deben,
4. 'details: the ...' which is owing from him: 500 'deben'(?)

Commentary:


The lower part of the text is broken. The paleography indicates the second century BC. The text records a monetary account related to some individuals. The talent is used besides the deben as a unit of account which is quite rare in the group under study.

L. 1.  : The upper part of the seat or throne sign is unusually rounded. For *Wsr-wr*, cf. *DemNam*, 124.


Reading  *Hnm-ib-R^c* is not certain either; for this name, see *DemNam*, 887.

L. 2.  : Reading this sign as *hd* seems plausible; for similar writings, see *CDD*, *H*, 331. This sign occurs also as determinative of *krkr* in ll. 2, 3. A relatively bigger variant of the same sign likely appears also in l. 4.

Reading the signs after ^{cn} and before *hd* 30 is quite problematic. The first part could be a writing of

*Hr*³⁵⁷⁹  . The small sign after the final element of *Hr*³ might represent an abbreviated version of the personal determinative.

The following group of signs are quite enigmatic.

L. 3.  : This group is possibly *p*³ *wn*(?) 'the portion, sum.'⁵⁸⁰ It apparently indicates the portion or part remaining from the aforementioned 4 talents and 30 deben. On the other hand, reading *wd*³ 'remainder' is also paleographically and semantically possible. The reason for preferring *wn* is that *wd*³.(t) is usually (save from the examples where the variant *wd*^c.t was rendered—possibly erroneously—by some scribes as masculine) feminine in Demotic.⁵⁸¹

The use of the preposition *m-s*⁵⁸² is nearly literally here as it possibly indicates a remaining sum or an amount that is still due (lit. outside or left behind) the total amount of '4 talents and 30 deben,' a meaning which is close to what De Cenival once suggested.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁹ *DemNam*, 743.

⁵⁸⁰ *DemGloss*, 89; *CDD*, *W*, 85-87. On the reading and different meanings of the group read here as *wn* "portion, sum," see Quack, "Zu einigen demotischen Gruppen," 106-11; F. Hoffmann and J. Quack, "Pastophoros," in *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait*, ed. A. Dodson, J. Johnston, and W. Monkhouse (London, 2014), 139-42.

⁵⁸¹ Cf. *DemGloss*, 108; *CDD*, *W*, 213-214. For *wd*^c.t being wrongly treated by a certain scribe as masculine, cf. n. to O. Mattha, no. 23, l. 6 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 87.

⁵⁸² For *m-s*³ in the sense of "due from," see *CDD*, *S*, 34; for the different meanings of *m-s*³, see *CDD*, *S*, 30-35.

⁵⁸³ F. De Cenival, "Deux textes démotiques du fonds Jouguet relatifs aux cultures de blé: P.dém. Lille 121 (Inv. Sorbonne 539)," *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 14-15.

L. 4. The partly preserved bow-like sign before the number 500 could be a slightly bigger variant of *ḥd*.

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O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 13x 8.5 x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (late second to early first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *p³ iw ḥw n 506 ...*

Col. I:

1. [...] ^ʿ3ḥ.t(?) sw 6(?) 1
2. [...] sw 16 1(?)
3. [...] sw 9(?) 4
4. [...] ^ʿ.ʿ 3
5. [...] ...
6. [...] sw 9(?) 4
7. [...] r 16
8. [...] ^ʿsw 9(?) 4
9. [...] ^ʿ.ʿ
10. [...] ^ʿsw 9² 4
11. [...] ^ʿ.ʿ sw 12 12
12. [...] (?)
13. [...] ^ʿibd-.] ^ʿpr.t sw 7 8
14. [...] ^ʿ.ʿ sw 28 6
15. [...] ^ʿ4² r 18
16. *tpy šmw sw 9 5*
17. *sw 11 5*
18. *r 10*
19. *ibd-2 šmw sw 9 4*

Col. II:

1. *ibd-2 šmw sw 20 5 sw 21*
2. *12 sw 22 12 sw 23*
3. *8*
4. *r 41 ibd-3 šmw sw 5*
5. *4 sw 10 8 sw 25*
6. *8 sw 26 8 sw 27 8*
7. *r 36 ibd-4 šmw sw 9*
8. *5 sw 10 4 ibd-3 3ḥ.t*
9. *r 9 sw 7 20 sw 8*
10. *8 sw 9 4 sw 10 6 sw 11*
11. *^ʿ16² sw 12 12 sw 16*
12. *10*
13. *r 76 r 282*
14. *ibd-3 pr.t sw 12*
15. *irp is ¹/₂ r 14*
16. *tpy 3ḥ.t sw 13 sw 14 ... (?)*
17. *r 6 ḥd qd.t ¹/₂ ^ʿ...*

18. *r hn r sw 16***Translation:**

1. The payment of the surplus of 506 ...

Col. I:

1. [...] 'of inundation', day 6(?): 1
2. [...] day 16: 1(?),
3. [...] day 9(?): 4,
4. [...] '': 3,
5. [...] ...
6. [...] day 9(?): 4,
7. [...] makes 16.
8. [...] 'day 9'(?): 4
9. [...] '.
10. [...] 'day 9': 4
11. [...] '...' day 12: 12
12. [...] (?)
13. [... ...-month of the] 'winter', day 7: 8
14. [...] '...' day 28: 6
15. [...] '4', makes 18.
16. Pachons, day 9: 5,
17. day 11: 5,
18. makes 10.
19. Payni, day 9: 4,

Col. II:

1. Payni, day 20: 5, day 21:
2. 12, day 22: 12, day 23:
3. 8
4. makes 41. Epeiph, day 5:
5. 4, day 10: 8, day 25:
6. 8, day 26: 8, day 27: 8,
7. makes 36. Mesore, day 9:
8. 5, day 10: 4, Hathyr,
9. makes 9. day 7: 20, day 8:
10. 8, day 9: 4, day 10: 6, day 11:
11. '16', day 12: 12, day 16:
12. 10
13. makes 76, makes totally 282.
14. Phamenoth, day 12:
15. ½ (jar of) old wine, makes 14.
16. Thoth, day 13 day 14 ...(?)
17. makes 6 (deben) ½ silver kite '...'
18. until day 16.

Commentary:

The sherd is partly broken on its right-hand side. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. It is also quite similar to that of **Text 34** and **Text 35**, which are dated to the late second to early first century BC. The text represents an account of certain amounts that were most likely paid as surplus. The account is

recorded in two columns. Since the ostrakon is partly broken on its right side, these two columns could probably be part of a larger text. The second column is undoubtedly a continuation of the first one (see below comment on col. ii, l. 4). The space between the columns is not uniform throughout the text, and the ink is faint in some places. The measure or currency in which the amounts were paid is omitted, but such payments were usually paid in deben or their fractions, i.e. kite. A useful clue is the reference to the kite as a fraction of this omitted unit of payment in col. ii, l. 17 which means that the main unit of accounting here was most likely the deben. Whether it was silver or copper based deben is dependent on the date of the text.⁵⁸⁴ In one case, the ‘old wine’ seems to have substituted the deben as a payment method.

As to its structure, the account is opened by a heading occupying the first undivided line; hereafter, the account is divided into two columns with a similar and simple format. This format is the one common in the so-called ‘running accounts,’ or ‘daybook accounts.’ Entries of such type of accounts were typically registered in a day-by-day order for one month. An entry could be too long, i.e. registered in several lines. It can be sometimes extremely short so that one line of text could include numerous daily entries, which is the case in the current account, in which the daily entry only mentions the day together with a number referring to the payment made on it.⁵⁸⁵ At the end of every month, a monthly total is given. This aspect is clear in the better-preserved column II. In fact, the existence of such practice might help assigning a public nature or context to the account since, as Muhs and Dieleman indicated, balancing the account at the end of each month became virtually mandatory to many official accounts since the early Ptolemaic Period.⁵⁸⁶ Toward the end of the second column, and at the end of the account about money payments, the grand total of cash payments is given. Afterwards, the account continues with another item, i.e. old wine. The accuracy of arithmetic in this account is worthwhile. As to the purpose of this series of running accounts, they apparently represent the monthly expenses of a specific institution and seem to have been collected from other small notes that were recorded on a daily basis. Such accounts were usually recorded on papyri.

L. 1. For *iw* ‘payment,’ see *CDD*, *I*, 43; *DemGloss*, 44 (listed as *isw*).

For *hw* ‘surplus, interest, excess,’ see *DemGloss*, 294; *CDD*, *H*, 60-66.

Slightly under the number 506, there are faint traces of another 6 which I cannot explain. The signs after the number 506 are quite indistinct. They might be a fraction that belongs to the preceding number 506. Whether this number indicates the grand total of all transactions and payments that were once recorded in the entire account is not verifiable due to the incompleteness of the text.

Col. I:

L. 1. The reading $\beta h.t$ is uncertain due to the faded ink.

L. 2. The number that follows *sw 16* is very faint.

L. 3. The number indicating the day in this line is definitely built with 9; thus, it must be either *sw 9*, *19*, or *29*.⁵⁸⁷ Although, the reading *sw 9* ‘day 9’ is not completely certain due to the text’s poor state of preservation, it seems more probable than the other two alternatives due to some reasons. As far as one can see, there seem to be no traces of any of the signs indicating 10 or 20 before it. Moreover, in col. i, ll. 10, 16, 19 and col. ii, l. 7—where the reading is quite secure—the first payment of the month usually begins in day 9. Furthermore, in the completely preserved parts of the text, no payments on other days

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 24–25.

⁵⁸⁵ For more details on Demotic daybook accounts, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 54.

⁵⁸⁶ B. Muhs and J. Dieleman, “A Bilingual Account from Late Ptolemaic Tebtunis: P. Leiden RMO Inv. No. F 1974/7.52,” *ZÄS* 133 (2006): 57–58.

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. *CDD*, *Days of the Month*, 7-9, 22-24, 42-47.


connected to 9 (e.g. 19, or 29) are recorded. This might indicate a recurring payment on day 9. The same is true also for the lines in which *sw* 9 is not completely preserved.

L. 4. The reading of the number at the end of the line as 3 is only a suggestion. Before this 3, there is a vertical stroke which might be part of a number indicating a day. In this case, it might be *sw* 1, 11, or 21.


L. 5. The remaining signs in this line are quite indistinct.

L. 7. The recorded sum, i.e. 16, likely refers to a monthly total.

L. 9. The broken part at the beginning of this blank line could have contained a number referring to the monthly total (see comment on col. i, l. 12 below).

L. 10. Reading the partly preserved sign  as *sw* 9 ‘day 9’ seems certain because it is followed in the next line by *sw* 12 ‘day 12.’

L. 12. This line could have been a short line containing one or two signs (as for instance in col. ii, ll. 3, 12) indicating a monthly total. This is also confirmed by the fact that payments for a new month began already in the next line.

L. 13. The writing of *sw* 7 ‘day 7’  is quite strange,⁵⁸⁸ but the reading is certain since it is the only possibility.


L. 17. The small vertical stroke the beginning does not likely belong to this line or the entire column since the monthly total of the first month of summer (i.e. Pachons) given in the following line (i.e. 10 (deben)) agrees with the fully preserved payments of this month, namely 5 (deben) for each of day 9 (in col. i, l. 16) and day 11 (in l. col. i, 17). Furthermore, this sign is separated from the beginning of the line by a small blank space. This, in addition to other factors, confirms that the current text is apparently part of a larger text.

Col. II:

L. 4. These 41 (deben) is the total of 4, 5, 12, 12, and 8 which represent the payments of the first month of summer which began to be recorded in col. i, l. 19.

L. 9. This line begins with *r* 9 ‘makes 9’ which indicates the total of the previous month, namely Mesore. It seems that the scribe has forgotten to record the total of this month total and directly began to record the month in which the following payments were made. Then, after writing *ibd-3 3h.t* (Hathyr) in the previous line (i.e. col. ii, l. 8), and before recording the day, he apparently realized the problem and inserted the forgotten monthly total at the beginning of this line (col. ii, l. 9) and left some blank space before writing the day and going on with the day-by-day entries of the following month, i.e. Hathyr (mostly of the following year).

L. 11. The number 16 is very faint. Reading the current payment as 16 and the monthly total in col. ii, l. 13 as 76 seems very plausible and both readings seem to strengthen each other (see below for details).


L. 13. The writing of 70 in the number 76  is quite odd.⁵⁸⁹ However, the reading of the number in the tens place as 70 seems plausible for many reasons. If we summed up all the payments of the month—except for the payment of day 11 (col. ii, l. 11), whose writing is very faint—we will get 60 (deben). Since the payment of day 11 (col. ii, l. 11) consists of a double-digit number in which 6 is in

⁵⁸⁸ For examples of its standard writing, see *CDD, Numbers*, 5-6.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. the different writings of 70 in *CDD, Numbers*, 157-161.

the units' place, it cannot be smaller than 16, and the monthly total cannot be smaller than 76. Since the number indicating the monthly total is built with 6 in the units' place, the choice is between 76, 86, and 96. Paleographically, 86 can be safely excluded since the writing of 80 (which luckily appears in the following grand total in the same line) is fairly different. Now we have only 76 and 96. For the total to be 76 the faint number that indicates the payment in col. ii, l. 11 has to be 16, and for it to be 96 this number has to be 36. That the writing of this faded number in col. ii, l. 11 is different from the writing of 36 which appears in col. ii, l. 7, makes the reading 16 more plausible, which makes the monthly total 76.

The number 282 refers probably to the grand total of money payments since in the following lines the payment is apparently made in wine instead of money. If recorded together, different items within one account are supposed to be balanced separately; then their subtotals might be summed up to make a grand total.⁵⁹⁰

L. 15. For *ḥs* , also *ḥs* 'old,' cf. *DemGloss*, 43. For examples of the expression *ḥrp ḥs* 'old wine,' see P. Magical London-Leiden, verso, col. v, l. 13;⁵⁹¹ col. vii, l. 5;⁵⁹² P. Berlin P 13602, fragment B, recto, col. x+2, l. x+6.⁵⁹³ For the use of this adjective with other liquids, see *mw ḥs* 'old water' cited in *DemGloss*, 43; *CDD*, I, 220.

L. 16. The last sign looks graphically like $\frac{1}{2}$ but such a reading is not suitable in this context. Firstly, if $\frac{1}{2}$ represents a payment, it should be a payment of the preceding two days (namely day 13 and 14) and it would be very low sum in comparison with daily payments recorded in the whole account. Also, if this $\frac{1}{2}$ was paid for two days, why it is followed in the next line by the phrase 'makes 6 (deben) $\frac{1}{2}$ silver kite' which likely refers to a monthly total. The solution to this problem is to take this the last sign as part of the writing of day 15. In this case, the total mentioned in the following line (col. ii, l. 17) would represent the total payment of these three days together, which is also the monthly total. The reason why the scribe recorded one payment for three days together is probably due to space limitation at the end of the sherd.

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O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 19.4x 11.8x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (late second to early first century BC = 130-30 BC).

Transliteration:

1. *sw 1'2' ḥbs(?) [---]*
2. *ḥd qd.t 2.t ^r1/2(?) ḥbd-4' [---]*
3. *ḥbd-4 šmw sw 29' ^r... [---]*
4. *ḥd qd.t 2.t ^r1/2 ^rsw 12' ḥbs(?) 1 sw 15 ḥbs(?) 1 [---]*
5. *sw 7(?) ḥbs(?) 3 4 ḥw=f šc t(?) sw 11 ḥbs(?) 1 [---]*
6. *n.ḥm=w 25 ^r... ḥrp n tpy ^rḥt [---]*
7. *r qw 10 mḥ-nn(?) p3(?) hw*

8. *^rp3 wn' ḥbd-3 pr.t sw 12 ḥrp ^r1/3 [---]*

⁵⁹⁰ [Abbas], "Demotic Accounts," 54.

⁵⁹¹ F. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, vol. I (London, 1904), 176–77.

⁵⁹² Griffith and Thompson, *Magical Papyrus I*:180–81.

⁵⁹³ A. Von Lieven and J. Quack, "Ist Liebe eine Frauenkrankheit? Papyrus Berlin P 13602, ein gynäkologisches Handbuch," in *Festschrift Vleeming*, 266; pl. xlvi.

9. *sw(?) 1(?) tn(?) ḥd 100 (ḥd) qd.t 4 1/4 r ḥd 40 iw=f šc̣t(?) ibd-4 [pr.t ---]*
10. *ibd-2 šmw sw 9 irp qw 1 1/2 1/4 1/6 r qw ʿ.ʿ [---]*
11. *r ḥd 126 ḥd qd.t 1/2 t3 ʿl.t(?) 2.t ḥd 15 r ḥd [--- r]*
12. *ḥd 183 ḥd qd.t 1/2 p3(?) iw tpy 3ḥ.t sw 1ʿ2ʿ(?) [---]*
13. *sp nty (r-)c.wy=f qw 1 1/2 r ḥd 27 ibd-3 ʿ3 [ḥt ---]*
14. *ʿsw 25ʿ r 4 1/2 r ḥd 31 ḥd qd.t 1/2 sp nty (r-)c.wy=f ḥd [---]*
15. *ʿshnʿ(?) n m3y(?) sp nty (r-)c.wy=f ḥd 249 (n) ḥ3.t-sp 7.t ibd-3 [---]*
16. *[...] ʿ...ʿ*

Translation:

1. Day 1ʿ2ʿ: [...] lamp(?) [---]
2. 2 1/2ʿ(?) ʿsilver kiteʿ, ʿfourth monthʿ [---]
3. ʿMesore, day 29ʿ ʿ...ʿ [---]
4. 2 1/2 silver kite; ʿday 12ʿ: 1 lamp(?); day 15: 1 lamp(?) [---]
5. day 7(?): 3 lamps(?) (makes)(?) 4 which are subtracted; day 11: 1 lamp(?) [---]
6. from them 25 ʿ...ʿ wine in ʿThothʿ [---]
7. makes 10 *qw*-measures and the(?) expense as well(?).

8. ʿThe listʿ, Phamenoth, day 12, 1/3 (*qw*-measure of) wine [---]
9. day 1(?), (for) each(?) 100 deben and 4 1/4 silver kite makes 40 deben which are subtracted. Pharm[uthi ---]
10. Payni, day 9: 1 1/2 1/4 1/6 *qw*-measure of wine, makes ʿ.ʿ[...] *qws*-measure of wine [---]
11. makes 126 deben and 1/2 silver kite; 2 papyrus-rolls(?): 15 deben, makes [...] deben [--- makes]
12. 183 deben and 1/2 silver kite. The(?) payment, Thoth, day 1ʿ2ʿ(?) [---]
13. (the) rest, which is owing from him 1 1/2 *qw*-measures, which makes 27 deben; ʿHathyrʿ [...]
14. ʿday 25ʿ makes 4 1/2, makes 31 deben 1/2 silver kite, (the) rest which is owing from him [...] silver deben [---]
15. the new(?) agreement(?), (the) rest which is owing from him 249 deben (in/ for) year 7, third month of [---]
16. [...] ʿ...ʿ


Commentary:

The ink is quite faded on the upper part of the ostrakon. The sherd is broken at its left side. The paleography indicates the second half of the Ptolemaic Period. The handwriting is very similar to that of **Text 33** and **Text 35**, which indicate a similar date as well. Considering the price of wine mentioned in the text (see below for details), one can suggest a date between 130-30 BC for this text. Moreover, a reference to year 7 of unnamed ruler is made toward the end of the text, which might or not be the date of the text. The text records an account of expenses in money and payments in wine in addition to other items. The account is divided into two sections by means of a small blank space between ll. 7-8.⁵⁹⁴ Even though the text is not completely preserved, the entries of the account appear to be recorded on a month-by-month basis, which is indicative of the so-called ‘monthly summary account,’ which often records the monthly expenses or incomes of a given institution be it temple or private association. The data recorded in such accounts were apparently based on drafts recorded on a daily basis. Moreover, many of the monthly summary accounts were distinguished by a standard layout and showed a distinctive formulation. They could include many sections and subsections which were usually physically separated (i.e. by the use of an adequate partition indicator such as the blank space, which is already



⁵⁹⁴ Despite the popularity of the blank space as a partition indicator in Demotic documents, it occurs less frequently on ostraca than on papyri due to the limited size of the ostraca; cf. Nur el-Din, “Checking,” 56–57.


used in this account), or/ and textually distinguished (i.e. the account-section ends with a balancing or summation and the following one begins with a section-heading).⁵⁹⁵

L. 1. Reading the first sign, i.e. , as *sw 12* ‘day 12’ seems plausible.


The group which follows day 12 is most likely the word written with fire determinative, i.e. , which appears in ll. 4, 5 below. This word likely represents a countable item since it is followed by a number indicating its quantity in ll. 4, 5. Since it is already written with the fire determinative, this item should be related to fire or illumination. In Demotic, the word *hbs*⁵⁹⁶ was usually written (normally phonetically) with this determinative to express the meaning ‘lamp.’ The P. Magical London-Leiden, col. xvii, l. 20,⁵⁹⁷ attest for an example of *hbs* being logographically written with the fire determinative.⁵⁹⁸ Thus, the current sign might probably be an abbreviated form of *hbs* as well.⁵⁹⁹ Using determinatives in place of the whole word was, as Mattha pointed out, a common practice in Demotic.⁶⁰⁰

L. 2. The reading of the sign after *hd qd.t 2.t* as $\frac{1}{2}$ is very probable since the same sum recurs in l. 4 below.

L. 3. Even though the name of the season is quite faint, and its beginning allows reading both *pr.t* and *šmw*, the reading *šmw* is preferred since it is similar to *šmw*  which appears in l. 10 below in comparison with *pr.t*  which appear in l. 8 below.

L. 5. : Reading this group as *sw 7* ‘day 7’ is not entirely certain but seems more probable than other days. Assuming a day in this place is based on the formula applied in the text (e.g. ll. 1, 4, 5) which consists of ‘a day+ *hbs*+ the number indicating its amount.’

Why the number 4 follows 3 is not clear due to the incompleteness of the text; however, it could either indicate a total or more likely represent a correction.⁶⁰¹

Although the expression *iw=f šct*  is quite faded, the traces of the dissolved ink are still completely visible. The same expression recurs in l. 9 of this text and also in **Text 35**, l. x+9. If the current reading is correct, its writing would be quite different from the standard one. The determinative used here is the fallen enemy determinative.⁶⁰² The circumstantial clause *iw=f šct* is used here to signify things or sums which have to be subtracted, but a complete understanding of the circumstances or the context is not possible due to incompleteness of the text.

⁵⁹⁵ For more on this structural type, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 54–55.

⁵⁹⁶ *DemGloss*, 380; *CDD*, H, 27-28.

⁵⁹⁷ Griffith and Thompson, *Magical Papyrus I*:116–17; F. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, vol. II (London, 1905); example no. 6 of the Roman writings in *DemGloss*, 380.


⁵⁹⁸ Cf. Griffith and Thompson, *Magical Papyrus I*:116, n. to l. 20.

⁵⁹⁹ The practice of using some ideograms as abbreviated logographic writings of some words was also common in Demotic horoscopes and astronomical texts. For instance, the fish-sign which usually comes as a determinative of the word *tht* ‘fish’ and *nʿ tht.w* ‘the constellation Pisces’ has been used frequently as an abbreviated logographic writing for the word *tht* as part of the name of the constellation Pisces as for example in the late Ptolemaic (14th year of Cleopatra VII) horoscope of O. Ashmolean Dem. 633, ll. 8, 12. In this example, a hieratic form of the fish sign determined by the star was used as alternative writing of *nʿ tht.w*; cf. O. Neugebauer and R. Parker, “Two Demotic Horoscopes,” *JEA* 54 (1968): 231–34; pl. xxxvi. 2. The same is true also in the Stobart tablets, in which the fish was widely used as a logographic writing of *tht.w*; cf. O. Neugebauer, “Egyptian Planetary Texts,” *TAPS* 32, no. 2 (1941): pls. 23–26.


⁶⁰⁰ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 73.

⁶⁰¹ Writing the correct sign or word after the incorrect one without indicating the wrong one is one of the correction methods in Demotic; cf. Schentuleit, “*Wḥm*,” 69.

⁶⁰² For examples of the standard writing of *šct* “cut, deduct, subtract,” see *DemGloss*, 492; *CDD*, Š, 49–53.

L. 7.  is a writing of the *qws*, the well-known grain and liquid measure.⁶⁰³ In the current example, as in P. Carlsberg 409,⁶⁰⁴ the *qw*-measure appears without a determinative. Numerous examples of this abbreviated writing of *qws*, namely *qw*, occur in P. Carlsberg 409⁶⁰⁵ and other two occur in **Text 35**, ll. 5, 7 in the current collection. As a wine measure *qws* is equal to 4.84 liters.⁶⁰⁶ In l. 13 below, we read *sp nty (r-)c.wy=f qw 1 1/2 r h d 27* ‘rest which is owing from him 1 1/2 *qw* which makes 27 deben.’ This means that the value of one *qw* is 18 deben or 360 drachmas. Since one *keramion* equals, in most cases, 6 *qws*,⁶⁰⁷ the price of a *keramion* of wine here given would be around 108 deben or 2160 drachmas.⁶⁰⁸ Taking a look at the prices of wine in Ptolemaic Period indicated by Clarysse and Lanciers⁶⁰⁹ and complemented by Schentuleit,⁶¹⁰ one would find the following results: in the third century BC, the price of one *keramion* of wine was 5 drachmas (equals 1/4 silver deben, or 2 1/2 silver kite); while between 210-183 BC, it was 220-300 drachmas (11-15 copper deben). From 183 to 173 BC, the cost of a *keramion* was around 420-600 drachmas (21-30 copper deben), while between 173-130 it was 900-1800 drachmas (45-90 copper deben). Between 130-30 BC, the price of *keramion* amounted to 2000-4000 drachmas (100-200 copper deben). From 30 BC-1 AD, the price of a *keramion* of wine went back to 5 silver drachmas again (equals 1/4 silver deben, i.e. 2 1/2 silver kite). Contrasting the price of wine in the current text (108 deben per *keramion*) against these prices shows that the current text was apparently written between 130-30 BC. Besides helping in the dating of the text, this also indicates that the deben here used was apparently based on a copper standard.



: This sign is quite puzzling, and the text’s incompleteness does not help drawing a safe conclusion regarding it. On the one hand, it follows 10 closely and its writing is similar to 1/2 which induces reading it as 1/2. On the other hand, it has an extra dot after it, which makes it look slightly different from the 1/2 which occurs frequently in the text with a uniform, different writing, i.e.  (facsimile of 1/2 in l. 11; very similar writings occur in ll. 4, 10, 12, 13, 14). Taking it as a variant of 1/2 anyway, the sentence would read ... *r qw 10 1/2 p3(?) hw* ‘... makes 10 1/2 *qw*-measures the(?) expense,’ and *p3(?) hw* would be superfluous and difficult to explain.

On the other hand, reading *ml-nn*,⁶¹¹ which is not paleographically impossible,⁶¹² might give a slightly better sense. This word is usually used by Demotic scribes to avoid repeating titles shared by numerous persons. In accounts, it was apparently used in the sense of ‘likewise, as before’ which indicates the

⁶⁰³ Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:358; *DemGloss*, 533; *CDD*, *Q*, 12-14.

⁶⁰⁴ Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:358. Similarly, the Roman example of the *qws*-measure provided in *DemGloss*, 533 does not have a determinative.

⁶⁰⁵ E.g. P. Carlsberg 409, fragment 114, col. iv, ll. 6, 7, 8, 12, col. v, ll. 5, 8, 14, and passim; cf. Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:68-69.

⁶⁰⁶ Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:359. For a discussion of this measure and some other measures of wine, see Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:358-61.

⁶⁰⁷ H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians: Vorarbeiten zu einer Wirtschaftsgeschichte des römischen Ägypten I* (St. Katharinen, 1991), 59; Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:360, fn. 588.

⁶⁰⁸ The *keramion*, as Schentuleit noted, consists in some cases of 5, 7, 8, 12 *qws*, in addition to the more common rate of 6 *qws*; cf. Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:360. Using the price of the *qws* here attested, i.e. 18 deben, to calculate the price of a *keramion* would result in some different values, depending on the used rate of *qws*, as follows: 90, 126, 144, 216, beside 108 deben which corresponds to the most common—and therefore the here applied—ratio between *keramion* and *qws*, i.e. 1:6. As shown from this calculation, the price of *qws* agrees with that which is attested for the period between 130-30 BC, except in the case of using the ratio 1:5, which gives the result of 90 deben (1800 drachmas) and might, thus, cautiously include the period between 173-130 as well.

⁶⁰⁹ Clarysse and Lanciers, “Currency and Dating,” 117, table 1.



⁶¹⁰ Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:361-62.


⁶¹¹ *DemGloss*, 152; *CDD*, *M*, 44-45.

⁶¹² For slightly similar writings, see Roman example no. 1, and especially 2 in *DemGloss*, 152.

repetition of the previous entry,⁶¹³ and it was usually followed by the paid or received items or amounts. In other words, it usually indicates similitude or identification. Applying this meaning to the current phrase will result in ... *r qw 10 ml-nn p3(?) hw* ‘... makes 10 *qw*-measures as well as the expense.’ Such a formulation would be, nevertheless, strange and unparalleled.

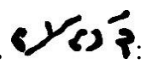
That the second stroke of the *p3* is quite long raises the question whether it can be read as *p3y=f* or not. The same is also true for *p3(?) iw* in l. 12 below. Reading *p3y=f* ‘his’ will not be completely odd since the text refers at some places to a third person involved in the transactions as understood from the phrase *sp nty (r-)c.wy=f* ‘(the) rest which owing from him’ which occurs in ll. 13, 14, 15.

L. 8. The ink of the *p3* in *p3 wn*   is already vanished but it left behind a strongly light-colored traces which are still visible. *P3 wn* ‘the list, account of’ was one of the most common headings of Demotic accounts.⁶¹⁴

L. 9.  : The reading of this group is quite problematic. Being at the beginning of the line, these signs should represent a full writing of one or maybe two words. If it was meant to represent two words, one might suggest *sw 1(?) tn(?)* ... ‘day 1(?), each’

The exact meaning of the phrase *tn(?) hd 100 (hd) qd.t 4 1/4 r hd. 40 iw=f sc1(?)* is not clear. It could possibly refer to a subtraction at the rate of 40 deben form each 100 deben and 4 1/4 silver kite.

The small oblique stroke between the numbers 100 and 4 1/4 is likely to represent (*hd*) *qd.t*. As Muhs, Scaif, and Jay summed up, payments in kite could be written in Demotic texts with different forms. The first form consists of the *hd* sign, which was commonly reduced to a dot, followed by a slating stroke. This form indicates an explicit writing of *hd qd.t* ‘silver kite.’ The second is a slash, which is usually read as *qd.t* ‘kite.’ The third is the dot, which basically represents *hd*. The use of the dot to express *hd* (*qd.t*) ‘silver (kite)’ was apparently only sensible in the case of fractions, not whole number, in order not to confuse whole numbers of *hd* and *qd.t*.⁶¹⁵ Here it is written as a slash and followed by a whole number as well as a fraction of kite. Although fractions of kite could be directly written after the *hd*-sign without having to write down the *qd.t*-sign since fractions of *hd* were expressed as whole numbers of kite, writing down the *qd.t*-sign was mandatory here since we have whole numbers of kite not only fractions of kite and if the *qd.t*-sign was dropped, the whole number of kite could have been understood as whole number of *hd* and the whole sum would become 104 deben and 1/4 silver kite rather than 100 deben and 4 1/4 silver kite.

L. 11.  : Reading *b3 cl.t* seems certain, but not its meaning. Determined by the walking legs (sometimes written very similar to *t*-sign), the verb *cl* is attested in Demotic with different meanings such as ‘to ascend, go up, pick up, transport, bring.’ As a masculine noun, it basically means ‘ascent, lifting, loading of (grain).’⁶¹⁶ But no one of these meanings seems to be meant here; rather, it seems to indicate an item since it is followed by its quantity and its value in cash. Thus, one might think of the feminine *cl.t* ‘papyrus roll,’⁶¹⁷ which is already attested as a measure of manufactured papyri since the 19th Dynasty.⁶¹⁸ It is thus possible that this latter *cl.t* was meant here.⁶¹⁹ Furthermore, the final sign is

⁶¹³ For a discussion of its meaning in accounts, see R. Jasnow, “Two Demotic Papyri in the Oriental Institute,” *Enchoria* 11 (1982): 18–20, n. f.

⁶¹⁴ For similar writings of *p3 wn*, see *DemGloss*, 89; *CDD*, *W*, 84–88. For more on *p3 wn* as a heading and denominative of accounts in Demotic, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 49–50, 52–53.

⁶¹⁵ Muhs, Scaif, and Jay, *Archive of Thotsutmis*, 139–40.

⁶¹⁶ *DemGloss*, 67; *CDD*, *c*, 107–108.

⁶¹⁷ *CDD*, *c*, 111.


⁶¹⁸ W. Helck, “Maße und Gewichte (pharaonische Zt),” in *LÄ III* (Wiesbaden, 1980), cols. 1203, 1207, n. 63.


⁶¹⁹ The current writing of *cl.t* could be compared with that which occurred in O. Uppsala 831, l. 1; cf. Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 181–82; pl. xiv.

apparently the feminine *t*, which means that the word is written without a determinative. Regardless of its identification, the price of one *ᶜl.t* appears to have been 7 ½ copper deben, since 2 *ᶜl.t* equals 15 deben.

L. 12. Toward the middle of this line, a small blank space is left, which—as the heading *p3 iw* ‘the payment’ confirms—apparently marks the start of a new account section.

L. 13. The *r* of the preposition (*r-*)^c.*wy* ‘owing from, at the expense of, chargeable to’ can be sometimes left out.⁶²⁰ This preposition occurs also in **Text 43**, l. 4 and **Text 82**, l. 3 in its full writing.

L. 15. The reading of the group at the beginning of this line, i.e. , as *shn* ‘agreement, also loan’⁶²¹ is extremely doubtful. This word begins apparently with an *s* followed by another sign whose writing is unclear but could be the determinative of *shn* (the striking arm).

Reading *n m3y* , on the other hand, seems possible. For the word *m3y* ‘new’ and the expression *n m3y* ‘anew, again,’ see *DemGloss*, 148; *CDD*, *M*, 14-15. For the use of *m3y* to refer to ‘new land or island,’ see comment on **Text 20**, l. 3 above.

L. 16. This line seems to be completely faded. There are only traces of an erased older text.

-35-

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 20x 11.5x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu (but perhaps written in Chedi, near Dendera). Late Ptolemaic (late second to early first century BC).

Transliteration: x+

1. [---] ᶜ.ᶜf(?) [..] ᶜ.ᶜ fy [---]
2. [---] ᶜ.ᶜ 2(?) ¼(?) iw=w db^c P3-ᶜhm [---]
3. [--- Ns-p3(?)]-hy p3 ᶜ3 hḏ 6 Ns-p3-h[y]-n-Bhḏ [---]
4. [---] [ff]y(?) r.r=w p3 mr-šn 1 hḏ qd.t 2.t ½ P3-ᶜhm s3 P3-wr ᶜT(?) [---]
5. [---] ᶜ.ᶜ(?) ½ p3 wš(?) P3-dḏ-Ihy s3 P3y-Hr r ¼r qw 8 p3 ᶜ.ᶜ [---]
6. [---] ᶜfy r rmt s 11 n p3y hrw sw 7 r H3-ty [---]
7. [---] ᶜ5(?) p3 thm qw 5 ½ P3-dḏ-Hr-sm3-t3.wy s3 Twtw [---]
8. [---] Hr-sy-3s.t p3 hrty(?) hn p3 fy [---]
9. [---] ᶜ.ᶜ r(?) 22(?) hḏ 31 iw=f šᶜt p3 mr-šn 15 ᶜ.ᶜ [---]

Translation: x+

1. [---] ᶜ.ᶜ f(?) [..] ᶜ.ᶜ offering-delivery [---]
2. [...] 2(?) ¼(?) [..] ᶜ.ᶜ, being sealed. Pachoumis [---]
3. [--- Es-p(?)]chois, the elder: 6 deben Es-p-ch[i]-n-behdet [---]


⁶²⁰ *DemGloss*, 52; *CDD*, ᶜ, 5.

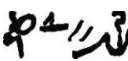
⁶²¹ *DemGloss*, 446–48; *CDD*, *S*, 351–54.


4. [--- car]ry them out(?). The *lesonis*: 1 (deben) and 2 ½ silver kite, Pachoumis son of Poeris: '1' (?) (deben) [---]
5. [---] ' ' (?) ½, the deficit of (?) Pete-ihī son of Pihyris makes ¼, makes 8 *qw*-measures, the ' ' [---]
6. [---] offering-delivery regarding (?) 11 men on this day (and) day 7 to (?) Chedi [---]
7. [---] '5' (?), (for) the invitation (?): 5 ½ *qw*-measures, Peteharsemtheus son of Totoes: [---]
8. [---] Harsiesis, the stonemason (?) from within the offering-delivery [---]
9. [---] ' ' makes (?) 22 (?). 31 deben, which will be subtracted. The *lesonis*: 15 (deben) ' ' [---]


Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved as the ostrakon is broken at the upper, right, and left sides. The paleography of the text hints definitely at the Ptolemaic Period. The handwriting shows some similarities with that of **Text 34**, which is dated to 130-30 BC. Thus, the current text likely comes from the same Period. Other internal indications suggest a late Ptolemaic date as well (see comment on l. x+6 below). The account seems to record the expenditure of a certain religious institution, either a temple or a cult guild. These expenses consist of payments in money and in a specific liquid measured with the *qws* (most likely wine). These amounts were probably distributed among certain individuals or maybe consumed at certain events. The account is divided into sections separated by blank spaces. It also has the so-called single-column format, in which all the components of the entries are recorded without any sort of spacing.

L. x+1.  : The word *fy* appears in Demotic as a verb and a noun with different meanings, e.g. 'to carry, to lift, delivery, income.' Connected with *ih.t*, it can be used in the sense 'to make an offering,'⁶²² referring probably to the delivery of offerings before gods. The determinative of *fy* in this line as well as in ll. x+6, 8 seems to suggest that *fy* apparently denotes 'offering or offering-delivery' in all three places, despite the lost context. On the other hand, the verb *fy* is also attested in the current text as part of the compound *fy r* (see comment on l. x+4 below).

L. x+2. For *db^c*  'to seal, to stamp,' see *DemGloss*, 623; *CDD*, *D*, 30. The determinative used here is probably the seal determinative. A fairly similar determinative occurred in one of the writings of *tb³.t* 'brick.'⁶²³ The circumstantial clause *iw=w db^c* 'being sealed' could be a description of some type of jar for liquid offerings.

L. x+3.  : The partly broken name at the beginning of this line definitely ends with *hy*. *Ns-p³-hy*⁶²⁴ is only a suggestion, but other names built with *hy*⁶²⁵ are also possible. Compare also *hy* in the name *Ns-p³-hy-n-Bht* at the end of this line.

The writing of *c³*, i.e. , is quite strange, but its reading seems plausible thanks to the context.

⁶²² Cf. *DemGloss*, 143–44; *CDD*, *F*, 1–6.

⁶²³ Cf. Roman example no. 4 in *DemGloss*, 617; *CDD*, *T*, 138.

⁶²⁴ *DemNam*, 670.

⁶²⁵ E.g. *P³-šr-p³-hy* or *Pa-hy*; cf. *DemNam*, 238, 404.

The name *Ns-p³-hy-n-Bh_t* ^{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} ‘he belongs to the high/exalted one of Edfu’ is not attested in Demotic but it presumably refers to *Hr-Bh_t.t* ‘Horus of Edfu’ and its hieroglyphic equivalent is *Ns-p³-hy-n-bh_d.t*.⁶²⁶

L. x+4. The remaining parts, i.e. ^{𓂏𓂏}, suggest restoring the verb *fy*. Remarkable here is the absence of the final determinative group ^𓂏 of the noun *fy* which occurred in ll. x+1, 6, 8. The phrase *fy r* is translated in *CDD*, following the suggestion of Hughes, as ‘to proceed to (a place),’ which goes against the translation of Erichsen as ‘to hasten to.’⁶²⁷ In mathematical texts, *fy x r y* is used to denote division in the sense ‘divide x on y, or lit. carry x into y.’⁶²⁸ Also, *fy r* could convey the sense of ‘to deliver, carry out.’⁶²⁹ Since the text is incomplete a secure interpretation of the meaning is not possible. Yet, translating ‘carry out’ or ‘deliver’ could be in line with the context. Thus, [...] *fy r.r=w* could possibly be ‘[...] which NN will] carry them out (deliver them).’

For *mr-šn* ‘lesonis; supervisor/ administrator of temple or cult association,’ see *DemGloss*, 166, 512; *CDD*, *M*, 133-138; for more on this office, see bibliography cited in *CDD*, *M*, 133, and more recently M.-P. Chaufray, *La fonction du lesônis dans les temples égyptiens de l’époque saïte à l’époque ptolémaïque*, StudHell 61 (Leuven; Paris; Bristol, CT, 2023), 127 ff. This title was possibly also used as a personal name,⁶³⁰ either as *Mr-šn*⁶³¹ or *P³-mr-šn*.⁶³² Here, it is possibly used as a title. The etymology of the word *šn* in this title is not clear, even though the connection to inventory and registration makes the most sense semantically.⁶³³ The sum received or paid by the *lesonis* is not accompanied by any currency or measurement, but since it is complemented by a payment in kite, it seems to have been paid in *h_d* ‘deben.’

L. x+5. *Wš* ^𓂏 usually signifies ‘emptiness, hole, lack, gap’⁶³⁴ and here it apparently refers to a ‘deficit or difference in the due payment or delivery.’

Reading the name of the father of *P³-d_i-³Ihy* as *P³y-Hr* ^{𓂏𓂏𓂏} seems more probable than *P³-d_i-Hr* since the stroke after *p³* is quite oblique, which is different from the *d_i* which this scribe writes as vertical stroke as for instance in *P³-d_i-³Ihy* in this line and *P³-d_i-Hr-sm³-b₃.wy* in l. x+7. The same *p³y* was also used in *p³y hrw* in l. x+6. Moreover, the same writing of *p³y* is attested, though not commonly, in some writings of a few personal names, e.g. *P³y-Bs* (*DemNam*, 437) and *P³y-hry-p³-š^c* (*DemNam*, 441).

⁶²⁶ Cf. H. De Meulenaere, “Trois stèles inédites des Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire,” *CdE* 48 (1973): 52, 54, n. (d); *DemNam*, 670, n. to *Ns-p³-hy*. Other names built with *hy* are also known in Demotic; see for instance *P³-šr-p³-hy*, *Pa-hy*, and *Ns-p³-hy* in *DemNam*, 238, 404, 670. For *hy* ‘to be high, tall, long, exalted, etc.,’ see *DemGloss*, 349; *CDD*, *H*, 15-17. For *Bh_t.t* ‘Edfu’, see *CDD*, *B*, 76-77.

⁶²⁷ See *CDD*, *F*, 2; Hughes, “Demotic Astrological Text,” 263 versus the translation of Erichsen as “eilen;” cf. *DemGloss*, 144.

⁶²⁸ R. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri*, BEStud 7 (London, 1972), 8; *CDD*, *F*, 2.

⁶²⁹ Cf. *n³ h_d.w b(w).t r.fy=n r.r=w*, which De Cenival translated as “la contribution des fonctions pour laquelle nous faisons livraison” (the contribution of the offices for which we do deliver) and suggested “to deliver” in the commentary; cf. F. De Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les documents démotiques*, BdE 46 (Le Caire, 1972), 46; 209. In *CDD*, this phrase is translated as “payments for the offices which we carried out;” cf. *CDD*, *F*, 2.

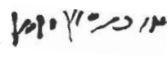
⁶³⁰ Some examples, where this title was believed to be part of a personal name, are still questioned by scholars; cf. Chaufray, *La fonction du lesônis*, 46.


⁶³¹ *DemNam*, 600.

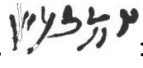
⁶³² *DemNamKorr*, 148.

⁶³³ Chaufray, *La fonction du lesônis*, 93. For a discussion of the etymology of this title, see Chaufray, *La fonction du lesônis*, 47-94.

⁶³⁴ *DemGloss*, 101; *CDD*, *W*, 171.

L. x+6. The reading $p^3y hrw sw 7$  seems reasonable; for this writing of p^3y , see the name P^3y-Hr in l. x+5. The meaning of this phrase is not unambiguous due to the incompleteness of the text. $Sw 7$ could be understood as an addition to $p^3y hrw$, i.e. ‘this day and day 7,’ or maybe explanatory to it. As such $p^3y hrw sw 7$ may be translated as ‘this day, i.e. day 7.’

The place determinative of H^3-ty  or Hdi is partly damaged but the reading is certain. Though present in the current writing, the ntr sign has no phonetic value (see comment on l. x+8). Obsolete readings of this place name, which apparently signifies ‘Chedi’ located to the east of Dendera, include Wh , $H^3dy-ntr$, $H^3-ty-ntr$, and $Hty-ntr$.⁶³⁵ Attestations of Chedi come from the era between 30 BC-14 AD.⁶³⁶ This—alongside other indications (e.g. paleography as well as similarities with other texts; cf. general commentary above)—suggests a late Ptolemaic date for the current text. This place was famous for its sanctuary and religious association which were dedicated to $Hr-sm^3-t^3.wy$, the lord of Chedi.⁶³⁷ Whether the reference to Chedi means that this text was written at Chedi is not clear; the origin of this sherd here given is based on a modern note on its verso stating ‘MH,’ which apparently refers to Medinet Habu as the place where this ostrakon is supposed to have been found or acquired.

L. x+7.  : Reading $p^3 thm$ seems plausible; the writing of the h in two parts seems normal to this scribe; compare $p^3y hrw$ in l. x+6 above. What the writing after the f -like sign (perhaps the leg-sign) represents is not clear because the ink is quite faded and this part overlaps with vertical stroke of $rm\bar{t}$ from the preceding line. As far as one can see, these signs might be two small oblique strokes followed by a vertical stroke. With regard to its meaning, thm occurs in Demotic as a verb in the sense of ‘to summon, invite, load,’⁶³⁸ or ‘to pursue, chase, urge on’⁶³⁹ and as a noun with the meaning ‘invitation, summoning.’⁶⁴⁰ Added to that, another similarly written thm , usually with a jug determinative, was used to signify a certain grain and liquid measure or a receptacle.⁶⁴¹ Despite the ambiguity of the final signs, it seems that the thm -measure was not meant here since the word apparently has the f -like sign⁶⁴² or the leg-sign, which was present in some writing of thm ‘invitation, summoning.’ The thm -measure, on the other hand, was often determined with either the jug or the wood determinative, which the current spelling lacks. Since the text seems to reckon some expenses of a certain institution and $p^3 thm$ is followed by $qw 5 \frac{1}{2}$, it appears that this thm signifies an event in which these $5 \frac{1}{2} qw$ -measures of wine was consumed, which raises the question whether it denotes an ‘invitation’ to an ‘assemblage, gathering, session ... or similar’ here. If this was the case, one has to consider the current text as closely related to a religious association, which typically organized communal drinking sessions for its members. As to its location or the deity for whom such an association was dedicated, the surviving part of the text does not offer clear indications, but one cannot exclude ‘Chedi’ which is mentioned is already the text a probable place of this assumed association. This is of course contradictory to the modern-day remark on the verso of the ostrakon, i.e. MH, which refers to Medinet Habu as its origin.

⁶³⁵ For further details, see Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 211; *CDD*, *H*, 11.

⁶³⁶ Cf. Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 211.

⁶³⁷ For more information, see E. Bresciani, “Due stele demotiche del Museo del Cairo,” *SCO* 9 (1960): 123–24.


⁶³⁸ *DemGloss*, 650; *CDD*, *T*, 269; M. Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung: neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 recto*, *MPER* NS 28 (Wien, 2004), 126.

⁶³⁹ *CDD*, *T*, 269–70.

⁶⁴⁰ *DemGloss*, 560.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. *DemGloss*, 650; *CDD*, *T*, 270–71.

⁶⁴² Thus, one could alternatively read this word as $thm=f$, which would be a new example of nouns built according to the type ‘stem+ suffix pronoun;’ for discussion and examples, see G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, vol. II, *ÄAT* 38 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 499.

L. x+8. P³ *hrty*  is apparently a phonetic writing of the title, usually written in Demotic as *hr(.ty)-ntr* ‘the stonemason.’⁶⁴³ This title is a derivative, more specifically a nisbe, of *hr(.t)-ntr* ‘necropolis.’⁶⁴⁴ In this title, *ntr*, though regularly present in the Demotic writings so far attested, was—as Vittmann pointed out and as the current example seems to confirm—apparently only a graphically-inherited element that does not have any phonetic value.⁶⁴⁵ In fact, the omission of *ntr* from the writing of this title—and thus apparently from its pronunciation—is traceable in various New Kingdom texts in which *hr(.ty)-ntr* was occasionally written *hr.ty*,⁶⁴⁶ which was sometimes even further reduced to *hr.y*.⁶⁴⁷ The same concept is also applicable to the old title *dw³t-ntr* ‘divine adoratrice’ in which *ntr* was frequently omitted.⁶⁴⁸ A further similar case can be found in *H³-ty* (occurs here in l. x+6) whose Demotic writings⁶⁴⁹ (including the current example) were mostly written with the *ntr*-sign but, as Vleeming supposes, this sign ‘has merely ornamental value, for the majority of hieroglyphic instances are written without it,’⁶⁵⁰ which confirms that *ntr* has apparently fallen out of the pronunciation.

Another peculiarity in the extant spelling of this word is the writing of the element *ty* (here phonetically written with *t* over *y*), which was not written in most of the Demotic attestations of this word.⁶⁵¹ As a few examples suggest, both *ty*-signs (the one used to write the adverb ‘here’⁶⁵² and the one used to write the adverb ‘there’⁶⁵³) have been used to convey the same sounds, i.e. the *t* and *y*. This does not only account for the presence of this element (i.e. *ty*), which was not written in many spellings of this word, but also to its writing with the monoconsonantal signs *t* and *y* as purely phonetic variant of the *ty*. On the other hand, it is quite interesting that the same writing of *h(r).ty-ntr* ‘stonemason’ in P. ‘Onch, col. 19, l. 13—yet with an additional place determinative at the end—occurs here as well but as a writing of the place name *H³-ty* (cf. comment on l. x+6). This resemblance in writing between both words, i.e. the word for stonemason in P. ‘Onch, col. 19, l. 13 and the place name *H³-ty*, has already been noted by Zauzich.⁶⁵⁴

A further interesting aspect is the determinative of this title, which is written here as a small circle, which possibly represents a reduced version of the stone determinative. Classical determinatives of this

⁶⁴³ For writings of this title, see *CDD, H*, 59-60. More attestations occurred in the so-called mother of Apis inscriptions from Saqqara. Smith, Andrews, and Davies collected all these attestations in their commentary on this title; cf. H. Smith, C. Andrews, and S. Davies, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: The Mother of Apis Inscriptions*, vol. 2: Commentaries and Plates, EES-TE 14 (London, 2011), 247.

⁶⁴⁴ J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 1st ed., BdE 50 (Le Caire, 1973), 251; Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 58.

⁶⁴⁵ Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 II*:543.

⁶⁴⁶ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 251. For writings of *hr.ty* without *ntr*, cf. *Wb III*, 395; L. Lesko and B. Lesko, eds., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Providence, 2002), 387.

⁶⁴⁷ Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 58.

⁶⁴⁸ Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 II*:543.

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. examples cited in *CDD, H*, 11.

⁶⁵⁰ S. Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications*, StudDem IV (Leuven, 2001), 21.

⁶⁵¹ Cf. writings cited in *CDD, H*, 59-60 as well as attestations in the mother of Apis inscriptions collected in Smith, Andrews, and Davies, *Mother of Apis 2*:247.

⁶⁵² E.g. in P. ‘Onch, col. 19, l. 13, where Zauzich identified a writing of *h(r).ty-ntr* with this *ty*-sign; cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, “Anchscheschonqi: eine Lehre für den Schreiber?,” in *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Schade-Busch (Wiesbaden, 1996), 382–83; *CDD, H*, 59.

⁶⁵³ As for instance in Graff. Gebel el-Teir, ii, 7, l. 1, where Brunsch tentatively read *hr(.ty)-ntr*. The problematic part for Brunsch was the sign after the *ntr*-sign and before the stone determinative, which Zauzich—who affirmed Brunsch’s reading—later explained as *ty*-sign (meaning ‘there’); cf. W. Brunsch, “Sechs demotische Graffiti vom Gebel el-Têr in der Oase Chargê,” *WZKM 72* (1980): 10; pls. 1–3; 10, n. b; Zauzich, “Anchscheschonqi,” 383, fn. 25; photo in D. Devauchelle and G. Wagner, *Les graffites du Gebel Teir: textes démotiques et grecs*, RAPH 22 (Le Caire; Paris, 1984), pl. 21. This reading contrasts Devauchelle’s who read the same word as *hry-hb* ‘lector priest;’ cf. Devauchelle and Wagner, *Graffites Gebel Teir*, 24; pl. 21. Another example for the use of this *ty*-sign is P. Philadelphia 30, col. i, l. 9; cf. Zauzich, “Anchscheschonqi,” 383, fn. 25; Thissen and Zauzich, “Ein thebanisches Grab,” 149; pl. xxix; *CDD, H*, 59. For distinction in writing between both *ty*-signs (i.e. the one meaning ‘here’ and the other one meaning ‘there’) in Demotic, see K.-Th. Zauzich, “Differenzierende Schreibungen bei differierender Wortbedeutung,” in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, 110.

⁶⁵⁴ Zauzich, “Anchscheschonqi,” 383.

word were the ‘man striking with both hands,’ the ‘sitting man,’ or ‘striking arm.’⁶⁵⁵ Demotic determinatives included a ‘piece of stone’⁶⁵⁶ or a ‘sitting man.’⁶⁵⁷

By and large, the title *hr.ty-ntr* is attested since the Old Kingdom⁶⁵⁸ and was initially used to denote ‘necropolis-workmen’ and later used to generally denote the ‘quarryman,’⁶⁵⁹ whose tasks included not only cutting the tombs and ‘quarrying or tunnelling in the rock,’ but also ‘dressing stones in the construction of buildings.’⁶⁶⁰ The occurrence of this title, which appears to have been considered ‘purely as a practical appellation’ in combination with the priestly title *w^cb* lead Smith, Andrews, and Davies to suggest that ‘in some cases necropolis-masons did carry out priestly duties.’⁶⁶¹ This latter suggestion might get some confirmation through the current text where the titleholder, i.e. Harsiesis, occurs in a text that was likely produced by a religious institution among other persons who definitely held priestly title, e.g. *mr-šn*.

L. x+9. For a similar writing of *š^ct*, see **Text 34**, ll. 5, 9.

-36-

Exc. No. (MH 50). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 13.6x 9x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration: x+

1. [...-Mn]r¹(?) (s³) Grwr 10 [...](?)
2. [Pa-Hn]m(?) 10 ‘..’
3. [...]-Mn (s³) P³-brh 10 ‘r h^d’ 2‘00’(?)
4. [Pa-]n³-h¹.w s³ Pa-p³-hr¹ 10 ‘..’
5. P³-šr-Mn¹ s³ Wn-nfr 10
6. T³y-Hr (ta) D¹hwty-s^dm 10
7. Kl³d³ ‘..’(?) 10 [r](?) h^d 200 [...](?)
8. Pa-t³-m(y).t(?) 10
9. p³y=f sn 10
10. Gm¹ 10
11. P³-šr-Mn¹ s³ Glmy³(?) ‘10’(?)

Translation: x+

1. [...-mon]r¹thes¹(?) (son of) Krouris: 10
2. [Pachnou]mis: 10 ‘..’
3. [...]minis (son of) P-bereh: 10, ‘makes’ 2 ‘00’ ‘deben’(?)
4. [Pa]nechotes son of Pachrates: 10 ‘..’
5. Psenmonthes son of Onnophris: 10

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. *Wb III*, 394; Lesko and Lesko, *Dictionary* 1:378.

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. examples cited in *DemGloss*, 387; *CDD, H*, 59-60; Graff. Gebel el-Teir, ii, 7, l. 1; see photo in Devauchelle and Wagner, *Graffites Gebel Teir*, pl. 21. The same determinative occurred also in many of the so-called mother of Apis inscriptions, e.g. no. 22, ll. 5, 7; 36, ll. 6, 8; 121, ll. 2, 4, 5, 6 in Smith, Andrews, and Davies, *Mother of Apis 2*:pls. xix, xxxi, lxvii.

⁶⁵⁷ As perhaps in the mother of Apis inscriptions no. 19, l. x+6; 21, ll. 3, 4, 6 in Smith, Andrews, and Davies, *Mother of Apis 2*:pls. xvii, xviii.

⁶⁵⁸ *Wb III*, 394; D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, BAR-IS 866 (1-2) (Oxford, 2000), 793-794 (2894-96); Smith, Andrews, and Davies, *Mother of Apis 2*:247.

⁶⁵⁹ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 251-52; H. Altenmüller, “Amenophis I. als Mittler,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 5; Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 58.

⁶⁶⁰ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 251-52; Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 58; Smith, Andrews, and Davies, *Mother of Apis 2*:247.

⁶⁶¹ Smith, Andrews, and Davies, *Mother of Apis 2*:247.

6. Tihyris (daughter of) Thotsytmis: 10
7. Kollauthis '...'(?): 10, [makes](?) 200 deben [...] (?)
8. Patemous(?): 10
9. His brother: 10
10. Kametis: 10
11. Psenmonthes son of Gelmia(?): '10' (?)

Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved due to the damage of the sherd. There are some traces of a palimpsest on the lower part of the ostrakon. The paleography indicates a late Ptolemaic date. As clear from its formula, the text is likely an account of money sums that were paid to or by certain individuals. The unit of account, namely *ḥd* 'deben,' is clearly mentioned in l. x+7 where it is followed by what could be a subtotal. This sole mention suffices to suggest that all given amounts were paid in deben. The context and the approximate date do not permit a clear-cut decision regarding the nature of the deben and whether it was a silver or a copper one. The account takes a simple one-column or horizontal format.

L. x+1. Since the divine determinative and part of the *ḫ*-sign are preserved, a theophoric name ending with *Mnḫ* is suggested.

The name *Grwr* is a variant of *Qrwr*, which is a form of the well-attested name *Qrr* or *P3-qrr*.⁶⁶²

L. x+2. The *m*, the sun disk, and the divine determinative preserved at the end of the name makes the reading of the final part of the name as *Hnm* and the whole name as *Pa-Hnm*⁶⁶³ quite plausible.




: The sign at the end of this line probably represents forearm holding a stick. It is not sure whether it stood alone, or it was followed by other signs. This sign could be a writing for words like, e.g. *dī* 'to give,' *nhḫ* 'strong, strength' etc. The same sign most likely recurs at the end of the preserved part of l. x+4. The purpose of this sign or the words that it might represent and its relation to the account is not clear.

L. x+3. For *P3-brḫ*, also *P3-blḫ*, see *DemNam*, 184.

Although the signs for *r*, *ḥd*, and the lower oblique stroke of the number 200 are extremely faint, the reading *r ḥd 200* 'makes 200 deben' is still possible, and it might be comparable with that of l. x+7 below.

L. x+4. For *Pa-n3-ḫt.w*, see *DemNam*, 382-83.

The name *Pa-p3-ḫrt*  might be a variant of *Pa-ḫrt*.⁶⁶⁴

L. x+6. Note the quite strange writing of *Hr* in the name *T3y-Hr*.⁶⁶⁵ 

For *Dḫwty-sdm*, see *DemNam*, 1306.

L. x+7. *Kl3d3* is likely a form of the female name *Qlwd3*, which is attested in various writings.⁶⁶⁶ The first 3-sign seems to have been later fitted in the space between *l* and *d* since it is very small in size. This

⁶⁶² *DemNam*, 277, 982.

⁶⁶³ *DemNam*, 408-9.


⁶⁶⁴ *DemNam*, 411.

⁶⁶⁵ *DemNam*, 1237.

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. *DemNam*, 992.

name is remarkably written with the *k*-sign and not with *q* or *ḳ* as usual. After the partly rubbed off personal determinative of this name, there is another indistinct sign, which is largely rubbed off, which I cannot interpret. It could be a scribal mistake which he wanted to correct by rubbing off.

Hd 200 might indicate a subtotal or total of previously recorded amounts, but the incompleteness of the text does not help to confirm this conclusion.

L. x+8. For *Pa-b̄-m(y).t* , possibly 'he of the cat,' see *DemNam*, 422, 562. The sign after *m*, which is supposed to be the *m̄*-sign, looks very strongly like the phallus determinative.

On the left-hand side of the space between ll. x+8 and 9 there seem to be some traces of faint signs likely indicating a palimpsest. This latter phenomenon might be confirmed by the fairly dark background of the text which is indicative of a washed off or deleted text.

L. x+9. The phrase *p̄y=f sn* 'his brother' refers mostly to a brother of Patemous. This phrase usually follows the name of the individual, replacing the name of his father. Here, it strangely denotes an anonymous person.

L. x+10. For *Gm̄t*, see *DemNam*, 1026.

L. x+11. The scribe seems to have changed the direction of the writing and went slightly up the surface of the ostrakon to continue the father's name, whose final part has become parallel to the preceding line. Reading the patronym as *Glm̄y*⁶⁶⁷ is uncertain because of the damage of the sherd and the faded ink. Furthermore, the first sign might be read as *d̄*. The lower parts of the personal determinative and the number 10 are slightly broken.

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Exc. No. (MH 333). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10.8x 7.6x 0.6-0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *P̄y-Hr hd* 87
2. *P̄y-k̄ p̄y=f sn* 14
3. *P̄-ḥm-n̄tr-sn.nw* 8
4. *Gbyr ḥrp* 1
5. *P̄-msh s̄ sp-sn*
6. *P̄-k̄(?) ḥrm(?) Ta-wr̄(?) hd(?)* 15


Translation:


1. Pihyris: 87 deben
2. Pikos, his brother: 14
3. Phemn-sen-nou: 8
4. Kabiris: 1 (jar of) wine
5. Pemsais son of the likewise named
6. Pi'kos' (?) and (?) Ta-wera(?): 15 deben(?)

Commentary:


⁶⁶⁷ *DemNam*, 1040.

The handwriting indicates the late Ptolemaic Period, possibly the first century BC. The text represents a monetary account. The unit of account is apparently *ḥd* ‘deben,’ which possibly signifies the copper deben here (see comment on l. 1). In l. 4, the wine is mentioned as a unit of payment. The format of the account is very simple as it lists some individuals together with numbers indicating cash payments. In l. 5, however, the name of the person is not accompanied by any sums which could mean that the amount related to this person was not received or paid. The text is apparently related to a religious milieu.

L. 1. The sign  after *P3y-Hr* is most likely the unit of account or the measurement, which is probably *ḥd* ‘deben.’ Given the quite high sums recorded and the date of the text, the copper deben was most likely meant here. Furthermore, *ḥd sp-sn* could have been used to signify the silver deben whenever it was exclusively meant.

L. 2. Reading the group  as *p3y=f.sn* seems plausible despite the quite strange writing of *p3y=f*; for a similar writing of *p3y=f*, see **Text 67**, l. x+4. This phrase was typically used to describe a specific person whose brother is listed directly before him, and it ideally replaces the name of the father, which, unlike the current example, should then accompany the preceding name. Since no father’s name was mentioned before, this phrase should then serve another purpose than being simply a way of reduction. Such a purpose is apparently to distinguish the person it describes by ascribing him to his brother who was apparently well known in so much as his brother can be identified by him. The reason why this person had to be distinguished could be the existence of an a like-named person in this institution for instance.

If added to the fairly strange writing of *p3y=f*, the absence of the father’s name in the preceding entry might be tempting to think of *p3 wcb* ‘the priest’⁶⁶⁸ as alternative reading to this phrase but in this case the writing of the *p3* will be, however, different from the way the current scribe usually writes it (cf. examples in ll. 3, 5, 6).

L. 3. *P3-ḥm-ntr-sn.w*  occupies the place of a personal name and is followed by a personal determinative. Whether it is to be taken as a true personal name or not is, however, not totally evident. By and large, *p3 ḥm-ntr*⁶⁶⁹—which was mainly a religious title—could be also used as personal name in Demotic.⁶⁷⁰ In many occasions, however, its identification as a personal name is not completely secure.⁶⁷¹ The same is true of other combinations with *ḥm-ntr*, e.g. *P3-ḥm-ntr-Mn*, *P3-ḥm-ntr-M3c.t*, *P3-ḥm-ntr-Mnt*, *P3-ḥm-ntr-ḥmt.nw*, *P3-ḥm-ntr-tpy*, in addition to the name here attested, i.e. *P3-ḥm-ntr-sn.nw*, whose usage as personal names is still doubtful.⁶⁷² In Vittmann’s opinion, complex combinations with *p3 ḥm-ntr* were not likely conceived by the ancient Egyptian as actual names; rather, they were probably only titles which were considered a sufficient identification for some well-known individuals.⁶⁷³ In addition to religious titles, other administrative titles could have been also used as personal names.⁶⁷⁴ Among the examples are *p3-rt* ‘the representative’⁶⁷⁵ and *mr-šn* ‘lesonis.’⁶⁷⁶ Some

⁶⁶⁸ *DemGloss*, 82–83.

⁶⁶⁹ *DemGloss*, 305; *CDD*, *H*, 116–125.

⁶⁷⁰ G. Vittmann, “Two Early Demotic Letters (P.Cairo CG 50068 and 50067 + 50087),” in “*Parcourir l’éternité*”: *hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, ed. C. Zivie-Coche and I. Guerneur, vol. 2 (Turnhout, 2012), 1083; *DemNam*, 204.

⁶⁷¹ Cf. *DemNam*, 505.

⁶⁷² Such names were classified as “doubtful” in the *DemNam* since their identification as personal names was not fully certain; cf. the first note to the name *P3-ḥm-ntr* in *DemNam*, 204. For examples of these “doubtful” names, see *DemNam*, 505–6.

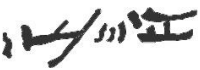
⁶⁷³ Vittmann, “Two Early Demotic Letters,” 1083; G. Vittmann, “Eine kursivhieratische Gefäßinschrift aus Gurna,” in *Festschrift Vleeming*, 90–91.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. P. Pestman, “A Comforting Thought for Demotists? Errors of Scribes in the ‘Archive of the Theban Choachytes,’” in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, ed. S. Bondi et al. (Pisa, 1985), 418.

⁶⁷⁵ *DemNam*, 198.

⁶⁷⁶ *DemNam*, 600; for more on the use of this title as a personal name, see comment to **Text 35**, l. x+4.

other titles such as *ḥṣṣy* appeared sometimes in place of personal names but their usage as true personal names is still doubtful.⁶⁷⁷ From a different perspective, the use of this title as a reference to a certain person, whether it was a true name or a title replacing the name, is a strong indication that the current text is probably the product of a religious milieu, e.g. that of a temple, or a religious association.

L. 4. The name *Gbyr*  is already known from other Demotic and Greek texts from Medinet Habu, Thebes, Gebelein, and other places including Saqqara.⁶⁷⁸ In both Demotic attestations from Medinet Habu, the fathers of the name bearers were Egyptians as clear from their names (Pamonthes and Panechotes).⁶⁷⁹ It is unclear whether the mentioned Kabiris was one of them or not. This name usually ends with the normal personal determinative but in one example it was determined by the foreign land determinative⁶⁸⁰ which seems to hint at a non-Egyptian origin of this name.⁶⁸¹ In fact, it is closely related and could possibly be derived from the Sabaic root *KBR* which is used as adjective, noun, and verb with the meaning ‘great, grand, magistrate, chief administrative officer of a tribe, or to control, to supervise.’⁶⁸² The same root word (i.e. كَبَر) is also used in Arabic with various similar meanings, e.g. ‘great, grand, old in age, etc.’⁶⁸³

Another root that has a great similarity with and might thus be related to the name in question is the ancient Arabic root *GBR*, whose variants are preserved in many other Semitic languages such as Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Syriac. A derivative of this root is *Gbrm*, which is attested as a proper name for one of the tribes in a Sabaic inscription from the early 7th century BC.⁶⁸⁴ This inscription mentions in l. 4/ 10: ... *w-gbrm/ 'dm/ y'ṣṣṣ/ d-ḥwln/ d-yrrt/ ...* ‘... and the *Gabrum*, the subordinates of *Yaṣṣṣ* of the tribe *Ḥawlān dū YRRT*’⁶⁸⁵ This tribe is identified by Al-Salami with *Banū Ḡabr* the modern-day *Ḥawlāny* branch.⁶⁸⁶ The very same word, i.e. (جَبَر), is the root of innumerable Arabic words (verbs, nouns, adjectives, as well as personal names) with meanings that may sometimes seem contradictory.⁶⁸⁷ For instance the root *GBR* is used as a verb with meanings ‘to set or splint (a broken bones), used also when (the broken bones) grow together or mend, to repair (something), to restore (something) to a good condition, to support or help, to console or conciliate (somebody), to compensate or fulfill a shortage or deficiency of (something),’ ‘to round a fraction up to a whole number.’ These meanings might seem contradictory to other sense which the root *GBR* presents, namely ‘to compel (somebody) to do something, to force, to impose, to be arrogant.’ These two sets of meanings are directly related to some personal names that are still in use in the Arabic language today such as the

⁶⁷⁷ For a discussion, see G. Vittmann, “Eine ‘protodemotische’ Abrechnung aus der Dritten Zwischenzeit (Papyrus Köln 5632).” in *Ein Kundiger, der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkel zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Sh.-W. Hsu, V. Laisney, and J. Moje (Münster, 2020), 323, n. 10.

⁶⁷⁸ For an overview of the different attestations of this name, see TM Nam 9709.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. O. MH 120, l. 1 and O. MH 3634, l. 7 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 45, 65; pls. 17, 30.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. example no. 5 in *DemNam*, 1020.

⁶⁸¹ Note, however, that *Trismegistos* database assumes an Egyptian linguistic origin for this name; cf. TM Nam 9709.

⁶⁸² A. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)*, Publications of the University of Sanaa, YAR (Leuven-Beirut, 1982), 76.

⁶⁸³ For the different derivatives of this root, see M. Ibn Manzur, *Lisān Al-‘Arab (Tongue of the Arabs)*, 1st/ Bulaq edition, vol. 6 (Cairo, 1882), 439–45.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. [جزر | المعجم التاريخي للغة العربية - المشاركة - الإتحاد \(almojam.org\)](http://almojam.org): accessed on 08.11.2022. For a transliteration and translation of this inscription, see N. Nebes, I. Gerlach, and M. Schnelle, *Der Tatenbericht des Yīṭa ‘amar Watar bin Yakrubmalik aus Širwāḥ (Jemen). Zur Geschichte Südarabiens im frühen 1. Jahrtausend vor Christus*, EFAH 7 (Tübingen; Berlin, 2016), 81–86; pls. 15–17.

⁶⁸⁵ Nebes, Gerlach, and Schnelle, *Tatenbericht*, 82, 84.


⁶⁸⁶ M. Al-Salami, *Sabäische Inschriften aus dem Ḥawlān*, JBVO 7 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 167; Nebes, Gerlach, and Schnelle, *Tatenbericht*, 84, fn. 301.

⁶⁸⁷ For more on this root and its derivatives in ancient, classical, and modern Arabic, see the root (جَبَر) in: *The Historic Dictionary of the Arabic Language (المعجم التاريخي للغة العربية)*, (online version; project is still ongoing): [جزر | المعجم التاريخي للغة العربية - المشاركة - الإتحاد \(almojam.org\)](http://almojam.org): accessed on 08.11.2022; M. Ibn Manzur, *Lisān Al-‘Arab (Tongue of the Arabs)*, 1st/ Bulaq edition, vol. 5 (Cairo, 1882), 182–86.

name *Ġabr* (جبر) which is originally a noun signifies ‘the opposite to fracture or breakage, a stick used for splinting broken bones, king, man, boy, or slave.’ A miniaturization of this name is the name *Ġubair* (جُبَيْر). Another example is the name *Ġabbār* (جَبَّار) which is derived from an adjective with the meaning ‘strong or great (also signifies a person of a big or great body), tall or high (for a person or a thing), oppressive or oppressor (for a person especially a ruler), arrogant, the one who kills out of anger or wrongfully, etc.’ A similar, rather less common, derivative that has a similar meaning is *Ġibbīr* (جَبْبِير) ‘arrogant, insolent.’ A further name is *Ġābir* (جَابِر) which is derived from an active participle that denotes ‘the one who sets together or restores broken parts (bones or other things), e.g. bonesetter, the carpenter (being the one who sets pieces of wood together),’ or ‘a name for bread.’ This name—given the meaning of the root *GBR*—can also signify ‘the supporter, helper, or comforter, etc.’

While the Greek pronunciation of the name as Καβρις as well as the strong arm determinative of the name in the current example—which could mean that the scribe already knew the meaning of the name and linked it to power, authority, or greatness through the use of this particular determinative—could induce considering *KBR* as a probable root of this name, other points speak even more clearly in favor of the extremely similar Arabic root *GBR*.⁶⁸⁸ Among these is the occurrence of *Gbrm* as a proper name in the 7th century BC. Also, the use of the strong-arm determinative in the Demotic name *Gbr* could be justified by the fact that some derivatives of the Arabic root *GBR* can be related to strength or greatness.

Anyway, the occurrence of this name, which is likely of an Arabic origin, here and in other Demotic texts might be a reflection of the deep integration of some Arabs in the Egyptian society at that time regardless of whether the name bearer was himself an Arab, an Egyptian of an Arabic origin, or even an Egyptian taking a name of an Arabic origin.⁶⁸⁹

Remarkable here too is the abbreviated writing of *irp*⁶⁹⁰, i.e. . The very same writing recurs also in **Text 45**, ll. 1-2. The reference to *irp* as a unit of payment for this particular person seems to confine it to him alone, which in turn speaks in favor of *ḥd* as the main unit of payment throughout the whole account. I have no idea as to why this person alone received or paid his share in wine and not in money like others; yet this is completely possible and acceptable since wine was a standard unit of payment in ancient Egypt.

L. 5. For *P³-msh*, see *DemNam*, 191.


L. 6. The first signs possibly represent the name *P³-k³*; compare *P³y-k³* in l. 2 above.

The reading of the two strokes after the personal determinative of *P³-k³* is quite problematic. Since these signs are separated from the following word (possibly a female name) by a blank space, it is only possible for these signs to be either part of the preceding name or maybe stand for a separate word. Taking them as part of *P³-k³* (in case its reading is correct) seems rather unlikely for this name is attested already in l. 2. If the following is truly a woman’s name, one would think of a connector that links both names, e.g. *irm*. In this case, the question arises whether the first stroke of *irm* was merged with the personal determinative of *P³-k³* by means of haplography.


⁶⁸⁸ Liddell and Scott deemed the connection between the Greek Καβρις and the Semitic *KBR* “great” as uncertain; cf. H. Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Ninth Edition with Revised Supplement (Oxford; New York, 1996), 848.

⁶⁸⁹ Unfortunately, as Vittmann noted, not so much information is known about the existence of Arabs in Thebes in the late and Ptolemaic Period; cf. G. Vittmann, “Fremde im späten Theben,” *WZKM* 89 (1999): 268–69. For an overview of the relations between the ancient Arabs and Egypt in the first millennium BC, see G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, KAW 97 (Mainz am Rhein, 2003), 180–93; J. Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours: Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC*, trans. D. Dzierzbicka, JJP-Suppl. 12 (Warszawa, 2009), 306–339; G. Sperveslage, *Ägypten und Arabien: ein Beitrag zu den interkulturellen Beziehungen Altägyptens*, AOAT 420 (Münster, 2019).

⁶⁹⁰ For this abbreviated writing of *irp*, see *DemGloss*, 39; *CDD*, *1*, 195.

Reading *Ta-wr*  is only a suggestion; for this name, see *DemNam*, 1171. Such a name is the feminine version of the name *Pa-wr*, which is apparently a variant of *Pa-wr.t*; cf. *DemNam*, 360. Ideally, name built with *wr.t* was determined by the female divine determinative, while in one example (example no. 8 in *DemNam*, 360), both the divine and female divine determinatives were used. In the current assumed example, the divine determinative is used alone.

Whether this group can be considered as a phonetic unetymological writing for *Ms-wr* is uncertain.

Taking the group  directly before the number 15 as *ḥd* is doubtful since its writing differs noticeably from the first writing of *ḥd* in l. 1.

-38-

Exc. No. (MH 4397). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.8x 7x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly first century BC).

Transliteration: x+


1. *ḥd-2(?) ʒḥ.t(?) sw 1(?) Pa-Mnṯ sʒ Pʒy-ʿkʒ(?)*
2. *ḥd 45 Pa-tw sʒ Pʒy-kʒ*
3. *ṛrp 2 ḥd 25 sp tny.(t) ṛrp 1 r ṛrp 3*
4. *ḥd 25*


Translation: x+


1. Phaophi(?), day 1(?) Pamonthes son of Piʿkosʿ(?):
2. 45 deben, Pates son of Pikos:
3. 2 (shares of) wine and 25 deben (and) 1 share of wine remains over, makes 3 (shares of) wine
4. and 25 deben.

Commentary:

Although the visible parts of the text are almost completely preserved, the fact that no margin is left above the first line despite the large (more than half of the sherd) blank space available below the text seems to suggest otherwise. It is, thus, probable that the sherd is broken directly above the first line and the upper parts of some words in the first line (e.g. *Pʒy-kʒ*) were subsequently damaged. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic, possibly first century BC. The text is apparently an account of money and wine quantities received by certain individuals.

L. 1. : The reading of this group as *ḥd-2(?) ʒḥ.t(?) sw 1(?)* is only a suggestion. If the reading is correct, *ḥd-2* is remarkably written above and overlapping with the first sign of *ʒḥ.t*. Since such a practice is unprecedented, the reading *ḥd-2 ʒḥ.t* is extremely doubtful. Reading the following signs as *sw 1* is possible but dependent on the reading of the preceding signs as *ḥd-2 ʒḥ.t*. Otherwise, the last signs could be read as *sh*.

Reading the father's name as *Pʒy-kʒ*  is quite doubtful since the same name recurs in l. 2 below with a fairly different writing. While the upper part of the *kʒ* sign could have been lost in the lacuna above this line, the final determinative is very strange in so much as it could doubt the reading of the name.

L. 3. For *sp*  'to remain over, remainder,' see *DemGloss*, 426-427; CDD, S, 183-187.

For *tny(.t)* 'share, portion,' see *DemGloss*, 638-639; CDD, T, 237-241.

LI. 3-4. The total given here, namely 3 shares of wine and 25 deben, refers apparently the amount which Pates son of Pikos was supposed to receive, not what he has already received since 1 share of wine is marked as 'remainder.'

-39-

Exc. No. (MH 1984). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.2x 8x 0.6 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly first century BC).

Transliteration:

Col. I:

1. (sw) 28 p³ r^c-wh³
2. n³ ỉry.w-^{c3} H.t-Hr hđ
3. '.. 9'(?) P³-šr-Mn³ s³ P³-šr-'Dhwt³ 'hđ' '1'(?)
4. Ns-n³y=w-hmnw-³iw [...]
5. n³ sh³t.w(?) hđ '...' [...]
6. Ns-mtr(?) 'p³ hm³(?) [...]
7. 'Imn-h³tp³(?) s³(?)[...]

Col. II:

1. P³-šr-Pth hđ 1

Translation:

Col. I:

1. (Day) 28, the debt-claim
2. of the *pastophoroi* of Hathor: '.. 9'(?) deben
3. '.. 9'(?) Psenmonthes son of Psen^cthotes': '1'(?) 'deben'
4. Snachomneus: '... deben'
5. The weavers(?) '...' deben [...]
6. Esmetis(?), 'the younger' [...]
7. 'Amenothes'(?) 'son of' [...]

Col. II:

1. Psenptais: 1 deben

Commentary:

The ostrakon is partly damaged, and the ink is quite faded at the end of the text where the lines of the text overlap. The handwriting indicates a late Ptolemaic date, possibly the first century BC. The text represents an account of cash sums related to debt repayment. These sums could represent repayments received from or even lent sums subject to be claimed from different the listed individuals⁶⁹¹ and groups (for more on money loans, see below **Text 82**). The listed groups include the *pastophoroi* of Hathor

⁶⁹¹ For an example of an ostrakon recording individuals in relation to loan, see S. Wahid el-Din, "Four Demotic Ostraca of Accounts," *Abgadiyat* 7 (2014): 51–52.

and the weavers. The reference to these titles and groups is indicative of an institutional context, most likely a temple context.

Col. I:

L. 1. The phrase ‘(sw) 28 p³ r^c-wh³’ represents the heading of the list. As Haring outlined, headers of lists or accounts might consist of a general introductory (i.e. a statement that governs the following entries) phrase provided that it was preceded by a date,⁶⁹² which is the case in the extant example.

For p³ r^c-wh³ ‘(debt) subject to claim,’ see *DemGloss*, 98, 242; *CDD*, R, 22-23. As Lippert and Schentuleit explained, the literal meaning of this word is ‘Tätigkeit des Einforderns’ (‘activity of claim’). This connotation is fairly different from the word ‘loan’ which refers to the act of lending money. A better translation of r^c-wh³, according to them, is ‘Rückforderung’⁶⁹³ (‘reclamation’).

L. 2. ³Iry-^c ‘pastophoros, doorkeeper, lit. ‘who belongs to the door’ is the reading suggested by Hoffmann and Quack instead of the old reading wn.⁶⁹⁴ A variant spelling of this word appears in this study in **Text 45**, ll. 1, 2. This title could be combined with divine names including Hathor herself,⁶⁹⁵ which is attested in the current example. More recently, Chauveau, reviving the old suggestion wn-pr as the proper reading for the title translated as ‘pastophoros,’ argued against Hoffmann and Quack’s reading. He additionally distinguished it from the title ³Iry-^c in terms of writing and function. According to Chauveau, the pr-sign was not just a determinative in wn-pr rather it was an indispensable constituent of the word in contrast to ³Iry-^c, whose abbreviated writings constantly dispense with the pr-sign. He—with regard to the function of the title holder—explained that the ³Iry-^c (attested at least since the New Kingdom) practiced a purely material function related to the different institutions and administrations whether secular or religious, whereas the later known (attested since Saite Period) wn-pr was exclusively associated with temples.⁶⁹⁶

L. 3. The sherd is damaged at the beginning of this line and the ink is very faint. The visible signs suggest a number ending with 9 in the units’ position.

The broken number after *ḥd* at the end of the line seems to be 1, possibly comparable with col. ii, l. 1 where *ḥd 1* occurs.

L. 4. For *Ns-n³y=w-ḥmnw-iw*, cf. *DemNam*, 680-682.

L. 5. Although the ink is quite faded, reading the first word in this line as *n³ sh^t.w*⁶⁹⁷ ‘the weavers’ seems possible. Above the *n³*, there is a sign similar to the definite article *p³*. This sign is located between l. 4 and l. 5 but does not seem to belong to any of them.

⁶⁹² K. Donker van Heel and B. Haring, *Writing in a Workmen’s Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina*, EgUit 16 (Leiden, 2003), 123.


⁶⁹³ S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II: Quittungen* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 200; S. Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 2nd ed., EQTÄ 5 (Münster, 2012), 99.

⁶⁹⁴ For a detailed discussion of the writings, reading, and interpretation of this title, see Hoffmann and Quack, “Pastophoros,” 127–55. The old reading, i.e. *wn*, is quoted in *CDD*, W, 89-92; *DemGloss*, 89. On the role of the *pastophoroi*, see S. Thomas, “The Pastophorion Revisited: Owners and Users of ‘Priests’ Houses’ in Ptolemaic Pathyris and Elsewhere in Egypt,” *JEA* 100 (2014): 122–24.

⁶⁹⁵ For the different combinations with this title, previously read as *wn*, see *CDD*, 89–92; *DemGloss*, 89.

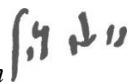
⁶⁹⁶ M. Chauveau, “Démotique,” *AEPHE*, section des sciences historiques et philologiques 151 (2018-2019) (online 2020): 4–10. Some doubts were also raised by Stadler, even though he eventually accepted Hoffmann and Quack’s reading; cf. M. Stadler, *Das Soknopaiosritual: Texte zum täglichen Ritual im Tempel des Soknopaios zu Dimê (SPR)*, ÄOPH 6 (Berlin; Boston), 2022, 187.

⁶⁹⁷ *DemGloss*, 457–58; *CDD*, S, 393–94.

L. 6.  : This name might possibly be read *Ns-mtr*, a variant of *Ns-p³-mtr*.⁶⁹⁸ The writing of *Ns* without the oblique stroke is odd, but it seems normal to this scribe, compare *Ns-n³y=w-hmnw-²iw* in l. 4 above.

Col. II:

L. 1. This line is written alongside the first line of col. I but quite separated from it, which means that it was not meant to be a continuation of it. Thus, the current line has been taken as the beginning of a new column. It seems that the scribe did not mean to write in a two columns format from the beginning since the sherd is already too small, but he was forced to fit this line into the vacant space which was already available thanks to the quite short heading. It appears also that the scribe realized early on that the space will not suffice for the whole text and thus began to reduce the line spacing from l. 3 onwards, which resulted in some lines overlapping with each other.

P³-šr-Pth  is not common in Upper Egypt.⁶⁹⁹

-40-

Exc. No. (MH 1762). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10.1x 10x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *p³ ḫp r ... ḫ...ḫ [...]*
2. *wp-s.t S.ws* 12 *ḫd qd.t 5'*
3. *P³-mny(?)* 37 *ḫd qd.t 5*
4. *Ḥr-Dḥwty* 25
5. *Ḥr-s³-šs.t* ḫ...ḫ(?)
6. *Dḥwty-².ir-dī=s* 37 *ḫd qd.t 5*
7. *ḫwty⁷-ms* 25
8. *[P³]-qrr* 25 212 *ḫd qd.t 5 š^cḫ [25](?)*
9. *m-s³=w* 187 *ḫd qd.t 5 wb³ ... ḫ...ḫ [...]*

Translation:

1. The account concerning ... ḫ...ḫ [...]
2. details: *S.ws* 12 (deben) and 5 kite
3. P-meni(?) 37 (deben) and 5 kite
4. Harthotes 25 (deben)
5. Harsiesis ḫ...ḫ(?) (deben)
6. Thotortaios 37 (deben) and 5 kite
7. ḫThot⁷mosis 25 (deben)
8. [P]krouiris 25 (deben) 212 (deben) and 5 kite, minus [25](?),
9. behind them: 187 (deben) and 5 kite, for(?) ... ḫ...ḫ [...]

Commentary:

The text is almost completely preserved, but the ink is faded in some places. The paleography hints at a late Ptolemaic date, possibly the first century BC. The text is an account of money sums that were


⁶⁹⁸ *DemNam*, 664–66.

⁶⁹⁹ Most of the examples of this name come from the Memphite area and the Fayyum; cf. *DemNam*, 244.


apparently paid by certain individuals. The unit of payment is not clearly mentioned in the account; yet through the mention of the kite as supplementary to it, the unmentioned main currency is apparently the deben. Given the dating of the text, this deben could have been of a copper-based one. The account takes the two-columns or vertical layout, i.e. the persons and the related payments are separated by a space, making thereof two vertical columns of text. The account is opened by a heading built with $p^3 ip$ ‘the account,’ and closed by an account balancing.

L. 1. The part following $p^3 ip r$ is not clearly visible and is also damaged at the end of the line, which makes the reading rather difficult. The broken sign at the end of the line might indicate a number beginning with 100.

L. 2. *Wp-s.t* ‘details, specifications’⁷⁰⁰ usually makes the transition from the heading to the main body or the content of the account whenever it follows the heading.⁷⁰¹ It is thus highly likely that it was followed by the first entry of the account, which—as the format of the account confirms—should begin with a personal name. This is also confirmed by the fact that it is already accompanied by a sum that likely represents his/ her payment.

The group after *wp-s.t*, i.e. , appears to begin with *s* and end with *ws*. The writing in between could also represent either two (maybe *y*, followed by *m*) or one (perhaps *y*) monoconsonantal sign. A possible reading could then be either *Syws*, or *Symws*, which could be a variant of *Sms* which occurs in **Text 19**, l. 5.

If, on the other hand, the sign before the *w* can be a form of *r*—which is unlikely since the sign is relatively bent and dissimilar to the usual form of *r* which is attested in $[P^3]-qrr$ in l. 8 below—one might read *Syrws*; cf. *DemNam*, 907.

L. 3. : Reading P^3-mny ‘the herder’⁷⁰² seems plausible. This name is not in the *DemNam*, compare, however, $P^3-mny-wd^3$ in *DemNamKorr*, 148.

L. 5. The reading of the sum linked to the person in this line is quite problematic due to the extremely faded ink. Additionally, this number seems to have been corrected by washing off, if not entirely deleted. As far as one can notice, there are some faint traces of 25, apparently written over an old writing. Whether this 25 was corrected from or to another number cannot be determined neither from the remaining traces nor from the context. Which number should be restored here depends on the balancing of the account recorded in ll. 8-9, which is rather ambiguous and open to different interpretations. If, on the one hand, the ‘212 (deben) and 5 kite’ mentioned in l. 8 represents the total of the listed sums, then the sum missing here should be 50. On the other hand, it could be understood from the account balancing that this ‘212 (deben) and 5 kite’ are a grand total and the ‘187 (deben) and 5 kite’ were apparently part of it (a subtrahend or a remainder). This means that this ‘187 (deben) and 5 kite’ could represent the total of the sums listed in the account and thus the missing sum would be 25. This conclusion seems to agree with the with the very faint traces of the number corresponding to this person. A third possibility is to assume that the scribe recorded for this person a sum of 50 at the beginning, which—as his correct summation shows—resulted in a total of 212 deben and 5 kite. Later, upon checking (by him or a higher ranked colleague), he found out that this person had received (or maybe should receive) 25 deben and not 50. Then, after correcting his mistake in reality, he corrected

⁷⁰⁰ See also comment to **Text 24**, l. 1.

⁷⁰¹ [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 53.

⁷⁰² *DemGloss*, 160; *CDD*, *M*, 94–96.

it on the account and deducted the 25 deben from the previous grand total and noted that in writing at the end of the account.

Ll. 8-9. The sum ‘212 (deben) and 5 kite’ likely indicates a grand total. It is, however, not clear as to which details this total reflects; see comment on l. 5 above for the different possibilities. Such unclarity is caused in part by the fact that the scribe did not introduce this sum with something like *ir*, *r*, *dmd*, etc., which could have clarified its relation to the details stated above in the account. Another cause of confusion is the probable damage of the text after $\check{s}^c t$ ‘minus,’ which makes it difficult to determine whether it was directly followed by $m-s^3=w$ 187 $h d q d . t$ 5 or if there was additional information after $\check{s}^c t$, i.e. the number indicating the difference between the total and the ‘187 (deben) and 5 kite’ that follows $m-s^3=w$, which would be in this case 25.

As De Cenival explained, $m-s^3=w$ could be sometimes used to mark sums or amounts remaining from a certain total, a usage that applies a nearly literal meaning of $m-s^3=w$ ‘after them, outside them, behind them’ and equates it in sense with *sp* ‘remainder.’ In this sense, $m-s^3=w$ usually follows the amount that has to be deducted from the total and introduces the amount remaining after the deduction.⁷⁰³ Applying this sense here would mean that the ‘187 (deben) and 5 kite’ is the remainder resulting from subtracting a certain sum (has to be 25) from the aforementioned ‘212 (deben) and 5 kite.’ This interpretation of $m-s^3=w$ as well as of the whole expression of balancing is also confirmed by the use of $\check{s}^c t$, which usually indicates subtraction, here possibly with the meaning ‘minus.’⁷⁰⁴ Added to that, the space in the assumed lacuna after $\check{s}^c t$ is sufficient for writing the number that has to be deducted, i.e. 25.

A further challenge that the account balancing presents is the meaning of $w b^3$, which was normally used as a preposition, or at times as adverb, in the sense of ‘opposite, against, for.’ In this more general connotation, it was often followed by a noun, a nominalized clause, or also a personal name.⁷⁰⁵ In the sense of ‘for, concerning,’ this preposition can either introduce the reason or the date of payment.⁷⁰⁶ The same $w b^3$ is also attested in mathematical texts, mainly as preposition with the meaning ‘equivalent to, opposite,’⁷⁰⁷ and possibly as a noun signifying ‘equivalent.’⁷⁰⁸ In this context, it was typically followed by a number. It was also interestingly utilized within expressions referring to the remainder of a mathematical operation, often in the formula ‘ sp + number+ *nty* $w b^3$ + a number equal to the number stated before it.’⁷⁰⁹

Which meaning was applied here is dependent on the identification of the part following $w b^3$, which is unfortunately not completely preserved. This part seems, however, to preserve parts of what could be a number (possibly 10 or less likely 100), which would thus mirror the connotation and usage of $w b^3$ in mathematical texts, even though the expression used to indicate the remainder in the current text which uses ‘ $m-s^3=w$ ‘behind them’+ remaining sum,’ differs from the one used in the above cited mathematical texts which mainly use ‘*sp* ‘remainder’+ remaining sum.’ If $w b^3$ was truly followed by a number beginning with 10 or 100, which could perhaps be inferred from the remaining signs, the question would be, how can such a number be an equivalent to the number 187 ½? To begin with, the number following $w b^3$ cannot be simply 187 ½ since it should be followed by another way of expressing the number 187 ½ and not a repetition of the number itself. Thus, the partly preserved sign after $w b^3$ is not seemingly

⁷⁰³ De Cenival, “Deux textes démotiques,” 14. A similar usage of the preposition $m-s^3$ occurs also in **Text 32**, l. 3 in the studied collection.

⁷⁰⁴ Taken literally, it might be a verb, either in imperative form ‘cut, subtract, deduct,’ or in qualitative form ‘to be cut off, to be short of, to be lacking;’ cf. *CDD*, §, 49–52.

⁷⁰⁵ Cf. *DemGloss*, 84–85; *CDD*, *W*, 59–62.

⁷⁰⁶ U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Die 28 demotischen Hibis-Ostraka in New York,” *Enchoria* 26 (2000): 62.

⁷⁰⁷ *CDD*, *W*, 59; Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, 79. For a discussion of its meaning and usage in mathematical context, see B. Jordan, *Die demotischen Wissenstexte (Recht und Mathematik) des pMattha*, vol. 1, Tuna el-Gebel 5 (Vaterstetten, 2015), 397–99.

⁷⁰⁸ *CDD*, *W*, 59; Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, 79, 22. Recently, Jordan, proposed reading *wsh* ‘width’ instead of Parker’s $w b^3$ [*hr t/s 6*], and thus argued against the assumed use of $w b^3$ as a noun, see Jordan, *Wissenstexte* 1:398–99.

⁷⁰⁹ E. g. in P. Cairo 89127, col. b, l. 3; col. c, l. 19; cf. Parker, *Mathematical Papyri*, 14, 16; pl. 1.

part of a number beginning with 100. It is equally hard to imagine a number beginning with 10 to be an equivalent to $187 \frac{1}{2}$ unless it was, for instance, part of a mathematical operation (a multiplication starting with 10), a practice for which I know no parallels. If it was nevertheless the case, such an operation could have been expressed in Demotic as *10 sp 18 1/2 1/4* ‘10 times $18 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$.’ On the other hand, assuming that the balancing of the account contained a repetition of the number indicating the remainder raises a further question, i.e. why did the scribe have to make such repetition and what purpose does it serve? As to its purpose, repeating the same number with two equivalents might be useful to prevent manipulation or forgery in the final result and to avoid confusion (see comment on **Text 1**, l. 2 for more). The reason that possibly pushed the scribe to reaffirm the number again—a practice that was mainly used in official documents such as marriage contracts, loan, receipts, etc.—could be possibly the mistake and the correction which he seemingly made when recording the sum received by the person in l. 5.

If, on the other hand, this preposition was meant to simply refer to the reason or date of the payment as one would expect in such a text, one has to think of the partly preserved signs after it as a beginning of a noun in the first place since it is difficult to make a date out of it. Although the preserved sign looks like the beginning of *pr.t* and *šmw*, it is difficult to take them as writings for these seasons and thus references for the times of payments⁷¹⁰ since the sign indicating the month (*tpy*, *ibd-2*, etc.) is not there. It might be also tempting to read *pr* ‘seed’⁷¹¹ or *šmw* ‘harvest-tax,’ yet it would be difficult to reconcile the cash payments recorded in the account with the fact that *pr* and *šmw* should have been paid in kind. It should be noted that the harvest tax for vineyards and orchards could be paid in money, but it was referred to with different names rather than *šmw*. It is possible that such a noun was one beginning with the *pr* or *š* or any similar sign.

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Exc. No. (MH 4363). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 9.5x 13.7x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration:

Col. I: x+

1. [---] ‘...’ [...]
2. [---] *ta Pa-iry* ...
3. [---] *r.tw=s Ta-Imn (n) rnp.t(?) [...]* “*n(?) rn=s*”
4. [---] *hd 17 hd qd.t 1/2 c n=s(?) hd 8*
5. [---] *c n=s(?) sw 1/6 r hd 5*

Col. II: x+

1. [...] ‘...’ [---]
2. *T3-šr.t-Ŵsır t3 rmt.t n P3y-[---]*
3. *ibd-4 pr.t r rnp.t ‘...’ [---]*
4. *c n=s(?) hd 2 c n=s(?) mdt(?) [---]*
5. *hd 3 hd qd.t 1/2 p3y=s sp(?) [---]*
6. *P3-lyn n ... [---]*
7. *n rnp.t 3.t ... [---]*

⁷¹⁰ As in O. Hibis 18, where it was followed by a reference to the month in which the payment was made; cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Hibis-Ostraka,” 72; pl. 9.

⁷¹¹ In O. Hibis 17 and 19, this preposition was followed by *pr(t)* “seed-grain” in reference to the purpose of payment; cf. Kaplony-Heckel, “Hibis-Ostraka,” 71–72, 73; pl. 19.

8. ${}^c n=s(?) w^c(?) n nwy(?) [---]$

Translation:

Col. I: x+

1. [---] '...` [...]
2. [---] daughter of Paeris ...
3. [---] which Tamounis paid it (for) [...] 'year(s)'(?) 'in' (?) her name`
4. [---] 17 deben and '½ kite`, repetition(?): 8 deben
5. [---] repetition(?): ⅙ (artabas of) wheat makes 5 deben.

Col. II: x+

1. [...] '...` [---]
2. Senosiris, the wife of Pi-[...]
3. Pharmuthi makes '...` year(s) [---]
4. repetition(?): 2 deben, repetition(?): onion(?) [---]
5. 3 deben and ½ kite. Her reminder(?) [---]
6. Plenis for(?) ... [---]
7. for three years ... [---]
8. repetition(?): one(?) *nwy*-cloth(?) [---]


Commentary:

The handwriting likely indicates the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period. The text is not completely preserved. The subject of the account is not fully clear, but it seems to record money sums that were apparently paid as value for certain items, e.g. wheat, onion, and other goods. The persons involved in this account are mainly women.

Col. I:




L. x+3. The phrase ${}^c n^t(?) rn=s$ is written between lines x+3 and 4 and it seems to belong to l. x+3. It appears to be added after finishing the text.

L. x+4. The signs after *hd 17* are quite faint but they apparently represent *hd qd.t 1/2*; compare *hd 3 hd qd.t 1/2* in col. ii, l. x+5.

L. x+5. The first two sign, i.e. , appear to be ${}^c n=s(?)$ in a slightly different writing; for other writings and commentary on this phrase, see comment on col. ii, l. x+4 below.

Col. II:

L. x+3. The broken sign after *rnp.t* could possibly be the number *3.t* as in l. x+7 below.

L. x+4. The group at the beginning of this line, namely , appears also in col. i, l. x+4, 5, col. ii, l. x+8. Other than the current text, I know of only one text from Medinet Habu where this group occurred, namely O. MH 196.⁷¹² The reading and interpretation of this group is quite problematic. Although the first sign could be certainly read as ${}^c n$, the reading of the following two signs is not certain. Looking at the examples of O. MH 196, l. 3  and l. 4  (facsimiles drawn after the published photograph), it appears to represent the dependent pronoun *s*. Thus, the reading of this phrase in the text under consideration and in O. MH 196 is probably ${}^c n=s$ and ${}^c n$ should be a verb or an infinitive rather


⁷¹² Cf. Nabil, "Receipts Concerning Land," 221; pl. iii.

than an adverb. In all examples where this group appears, it was used to indicate a new entry or payment that has the same condition as the previous one, i.e. belonging to the same person or the same date. In this sense, however, the Demotic ϵn is only attested as an adverb and not as a verb. This adverb which means in both Egyptian and Demotic ‘again, likewise, anew, etc.’ is a derivative of the verb ϵn ‘to return, turnaround, invert, go back, withdraw, etc.’⁷¹³ Added to that, the *DTD* lists ‘wiederholen’ (to repeat)’ as a further meaning to ϵn ,⁷¹⁴ which could be helpful in resolving the current problematic expression which could be then taken as an imperative form that literally means ‘repeat it (i.e. the payment or transaction),’ which conveys the meaning ‘repetition, recurrence (of previous transaction).’ In this context, this expression could be followed by an item or a reference to an item or a transaction. This phrase could be grammatically comparable to *wp-s.t* ‘specification, details’ whose literal meaning has been interpreted by some scholars as ‘specify it.’⁷¹⁵ On the other hand, taking $\epsilon n=s$ as a *s $\overline{d}m=f$* form in the sense of ‘she repeated (the previous transaction, i.e. she paid/ brought again’⁷¹⁶ or repeated the payment)’ is grammatically possible, but does not seem to be meant by this expression since in O. MH 196, l. 4 we have the phrase $\epsilon n=s$ *r.tw=s n Ta-...[...]* which could possibly be translated ‘repetition(?): what she has paid for Ta-...[...].’⁷¹⁷ Unlike the current examples in which $\epsilon n=s$ is followed by what could be taken as an object, in this latter phrase of O. MH 196, l. 4, $\epsilon n=s$ is followed by a relative clause referring apparently to a payment and not a direct object which makes it less probable (though not impossible) to be a *s $\overline{d}m=f$* form. Eventually, this interpretation remains fairly speculative due to the lack of sufficient examples on the one hand and the incompleteness of the available examples on the other hand.

The signs after the second $\epsilon n=s(?)$ probably represent *mdl* ‘onion.’⁷¹⁸

L. x+6. For *P3-lyn*, see *DemNam*, 199.

The partly preserved signs after the preposition *n* could be for instance a female name beginning with *ta*; thus, we would have *n Ta-[...]* ‘for *Ta-[...]*.’ It might be also a writing of *h3.t-sp* ‘[...].’; thus, we would have *n h3.t-sp* ‘[...].’

L. x+8. Reading the sign after $\epsilon n=s(?)$, i.e. , as *w^c* is doubtful. This sign is also quite similar to *ty* ‘there’ but *ty* does not make sense here.



: Reading *nwy* is only a suggestion; see comment on **Text 53**, l. 2 for more details.

⁷¹³ Cf. *Wb* I, 188–89; *DemGloss*, 61–62; *CDD*, c, 72–74.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. *DTD* under (ϵn): <https://aaew.bbaw.de/ta/servlet/GetWcnDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&wn=972&db=1> accessed 19.06.2023.

⁷¹⁵ Pestman, following Caminos, suggested that the Demotic *wp-s.t* means literally ‘specify it;’ cf. P. Pestman et al., *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive*, P.L.Bat. 20 (Leiden, 1980), 77; R. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, BEStud 1 (London, 1954), 110. The same translation was suggested by Gardiner, who replaced his earlier suggestion to take it as meaning literally ‘opening of it;’ cf. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1957), 560b, versus A. Gardiner, ‘Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn,’ *JEA* 27 (1941): 49.

⁷¹⁶ For ϵn in the sense of ‘wieder(bringen, –geben);’ cf. *Wb* I, 189/ 9, 10.

⁷¹⁷ Nabil read this phrase as ‘*n bt kt 6 bt n Ta-hb*’ [...] ‘again emmer makes 6 kite emmer of *Ta-hb*’; cf. Nabil, ‘Receipts Concerning Land,’ 221. This reading does not seem to be correct for a few reasons. At first, reading the group after ϵn as *bd.t* is not paleographically plausible (cf. *bd.t* in *DemGloss*, 126). Since *qd.t* is feminine, the following number (i.e. 6) has to agree with it in gender, which is not the case in this example. Moreover, if it was the price or money equivalent of *bd.t*, the scribe should have mentioned the quantity of *bd.t* for which the 6 kite were paid. Above all, the structure of the sentence does not make any sense with this reading.

⁷¹⁸ *DemGloss*, 195; *CDD*, M, 308–9.

Exc. No. (MH 1028). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.3x 10.3x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman.

Transliteration: x+


1. 𐤏𐤓 [...]
2. / P³-r ... 𐤏𐤓(?) 𐤏 ... 𐤇𐤃(?) 1 𐤇𐤃 qd.t 1.t db^c.t [...]
3. / Pa-Mn^t hm(?) s³ P³-šr-Mn^t s³ Wn-nfr sttr 𐤏𐤓 [...]
4. / Dhwtj-sdm s³ P³-šr-t³-ih.t 𐤇𐤃 qd.t 1.t [...]
5. / P³-šr-t³-ih.t 𐤏𐤓 qd.t(?) [...]
6. Pa-iry s³ P³-šr-t³-ih.t [...]
7. Wn-nfr [...]


Translation: x+


1. 𐤏𐤓 [...]
2. / Pa ... 𐤏𐤓 'son of' (?) 𐤏 ... 1 deben(?) 1 kite [..] obol [...]
3. / Pamonthes, (the) younger son of Psenmonthes son of Onnophris 𐤏𐤓 stater [...]
4. / Thotsytmis son of Psentaes 1 kite [...]
5. / Psentaes [..] 𐤏𐤓 'kite' (?) [...]
6. Paeris son of Psent 'aes' [...]
7. Onnophris [...]

Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its upper, lower, and left sides, and some black spots cover parts of the text especially on its right edge. The handwriting indicates the early Roman Period. The text deals probably with an account of money sums. Lines x+2-5 are marked with oblique strokes at the beginning while lines x+6-7 are not, which might suggest that the persons recorded in these later lines have not paid or received their due amounts. The layout of the text is the so-called vertical layout, i.e. the listed persons are separated from the relevant sums by a blank space, making two columns of text.

L. x+2. The partially preserved word at the beginning, , could possibly be read P³-t³-mtr^re'. The initial p³ should be then a writing of pa, and it would be a variant of the name Pa-t³-mtr^re 'he of the center/ middle.'⁷¹⁹ In this writing, mtr^re seems to begin with a small bow for m followed by a sign that looks like number 10. As Spiegelberg and after him Neugebauer noted, the number 10 (read as md) was used in some Theban texts as a writing for mtr,⁷²⁰ which could be true of the current example as well.


Note also the quite odd writing of 𐤇𐤃 , which could be alternatively taken as a writing of sttr (cf. l. x+3 below).



L. x+3. : The group after the name Pa-Mn^t likely represents hm 'young.' While the determinative (evil bird) is unproblematic, the initial sign is quite unclear, yet it could be a writing of one the two initials h and m. One might also think of a short writing of hm (with the determinative only; cf. *DemGloss*, 359-60), if the initial sign was meant to be part of the name Pa-Mn^t as it was in some of

⁷¹⁹ *DemNam*, 423.


⁷²⁰ W. Spiegelberg, "Die ägyptischen Namen und Zeichen der Tierkreisbilder in demotischer Schrift," *ZÄS* 48 (1910): 150, fn. 4; Neugebauer, "Demotic Horoscopes," 118; *CDD, M*, 283.

its Ptolemaic writings.⁷²¹ The problem with this idea is that this stroke does not follow *Mnṯ* in the name *P3-šr-Mnṯ* which directly follow the name under discussion.

This circle-like sign  is most likely an abbreviated writing of *sttr* ‘stater.’⁷²² This writing occurs also in various Demotic ostraca that are mainly dated to the Roman Period and originate from the Theban area such as O. Mattha, no. 19, ll. 1, 2, 3, 6,⁷²³ O. Leiden, no. 174, ll. 2-5.⁷²⁴ In addition, it appeared also multiple times in **Text 43** in this study.⁷²⁵ The identification of this abbreviated writing of stater was initially suggested by Griffith upon the publication of the Demotic magical papyrus of London-Leiden in which it was frequently attested (e.g. in recto, col. xii, ll. 1, 2; col. xxiv, 15, 18; verso, col. ix, ll. 4-7).⁷²⁶ In his commentary, he stated:

‘Graphically ,  (fem.) are hieroglyphic equivalents of the demotic for Kite, ‘didrachma,’ but from 24/15, 18 the former should be a small multiple of the latter. $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ (Copt. $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\epsilon$, fem.) is common as a weight = ‘tetradrachma,’ in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri.’⁷²⁷

I could not find any similar writing for kite in hieroglyphic. If this sign has a hieroglyphic equivalent, could it refer to one of the three small grains which were usually used as a determinative of *nb* ‘gold’ and *ḥd* ‘silver’ in hieroglyphic, and less frequently of *qd.t* ‘kite’ in hieroglyphic⁷²⁸ and Demotic?⁷²⁹ Or, maybe, it is better to think of it as a logographic writing for the stater in the form of a drawing of a coin and the small point inside it could represent the figure or whatever depiction on it.

L. x+4. For *Dḥwty-sdm* , see *DemNam*, 1306. The three ligatured strokes which follow the *sḏm*-sign likely represent the papyrus roll determinative.

For a similar writing of *P3-šr-t3-ḥ.t*, see *DemNam*, 262, especially examples nos. 28-30.

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Exc. No. (MH(?) 1255A). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.5x 9.8x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Roman, late first century AD.

Transliteration:

1. [...] *sw* 28
2. [...] *s3 P3-ḥmt-sn.w sttr 20.t*
3. [...] *ʿBʿḥ p3y=f sn sttr 20.t*
4. *ʿPaʿ-n3(?) - ... s3 Hr sttr 20.t r-ʿ.wy=f*
5. *ʿPa-Mnʿ ṯ s3 ʿImn-ḥtp sttr 2.t*
6. *Wd3-ʿrnʿ=ʿs t3y P3-ḥdw-Mnṯ sttr 20.t*
7. *[Pa-Mn]ʿ ṯ s3 ʿImn-ḥtp sttr 20.t*
8. [...] *ʿ ... ʿFl sttr 3.ʿt*
9. [...] *ʿ ... ʿGo sttr ʿ20.t*

⁷²¹ Cf. writings nos. 3, 4 of *Pa-Mnṯ* in *DemNam*, 372.

⁷²² *DemGloss*, 482; *CDD*, S, 522.

⁷²³ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 83; pl. ii. 19.

⁷²⁴ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 142–43, pl. 11; facsimile in 614.

⁷²⁵ For more examples of the writings of *sttr*, see *DemGloss*, 482; *CDD*, S, 522.

⁷²⁶ Griffith and Thompson, *Magical Papyrus I*:86–87, 150–51, 180–81; F. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, vol. III (London, 1909), 101.

⁷²⁷ Griffith and Thompson, *Magical Papyrus I*:87.

⁷²⁸ Cf. *Wb* II, 237 ff.; *Wb* III, 209; *Wb* V, 79.

⁷²⁹ Cf. *DemGloss*, 552.

Translation:

1. [...] day 28
2. [...] son of Pchentsneus: 20 stater
3. [...]ʿbouʿchis, his brother: 20 staters
4. ʿPaʿn(?) - ... son of Horos: 20 staters owing from him
5. ʿPamonʿthes son of Amenothes 2 staters
6. Oseʿrinʿis daughter of Phthoumonthes: 20 staters
7. [Pamon]ʿthesʿ son of Amenothes: 20 staters
8. [...] ʿ...ʿ: 3 staters
9. [...] ʿ...ʿ: ʿ20ʿ staters

Commentary:

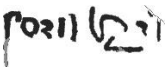
Unlike other ostraca from the group with the inventory number SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3, which have the initials ‘MH+ excavation number’ inscribed on their versos or rectos, this piece has only the number 1255A penciled on its verso without any accompanying initials, but it seems to originate from the Oriental Institute’s excavation as well (see *section 1.2.1* above for more information). The handwriting of the text indicates the late first century AD. The upper and lower parts of the sherd are partly broken, and the ink is quite faded toward the lower right edge. The text represents an account or a list of money sums which are paid by or to certain individuals in stater. The account lists the individuals together with the relevant payments in a horizontal format. The listed persons are all men except in line 6 where a woman is listed. In both lines 5 and 7, two different payments are apparently oddly made by or to one person called Pamonthes son of Amenothes. If he is the same person, it would be quite remarkable to have two separate payments recorded for him instead of summing them up in one entry.

L. 1. The partly preserved date represents the introductory formula of this account, and it could have stood either alone or as part of a preceding heading formula.

L. 2. For more on this abbreviated writing of *sttr* ‘stater,’ see comment on **Text 42**, l. x+3.

Given the current writing, reading the number at the end of this line as *l.t* seems also plausible but the extra *t* under it will remain unexplained. Since the abbreviated writing of *sttr* could be sometimes written as a circle followed by *t* sign under it (see comment on **Text 42**, l. x+3), one could think of this *t* after the circle and below the number as part of the short writing of *sttr*. This cannot be the case here since the *t* is quite well separated from the sign for *sttr* and written directly under the number. Moreover, in l. 5, the *t* is ligatured to number 2 and the sign for *sttr* stands alone before them. It seems, therefore, that this *t* belongs to the number which should be thus read here and in the following lines as *20.t*.⁷³⁰

L. 3. The name in this line ends with *Bḥ*; thus, the full name could have been *Pa-Bḥ* or *Pʿy-Bḥ*,⁷³¹ or less likely (given the space availability) *Pʿ-šr-Wsḥr-Bḥ* or *Pʿ-dī-Wsḥr-Bḥ*.⁷³²

L. 4. The reading of the first name, i.e. , is quite problematic even though it is almost completely preserved. This name likely begins with *Pa-nʿ* or perhaps *Pa-tʿ* and likely ends with a divine determinative which is preceded by a circle-like sign. It seems thus likely that the part following *Pa* refers to a certain divinity, which is possibly unattested in Demotic. The strange sign(s) after *nʿ* or *tʿ* is somewhat similar to *ḍr* ‘all, entirety.’⁷³³ Could it then be a defective writing of *ḍr.w*, which might refer to *nʿ ḍr.w* ‘ancestors(?)’,⁷³⁴ or the phonetically and semantically similar *nʿ ḍr.t.w* ‘ancestors, or falcon

⁷³⁰ For some relatively similar writings of *20.t*, see *CDD, Numbers*, 79-80.

⁷³¹ *DemNam*, 364, 436.

⁷³² *DemNam*, 233, 300.

⁷³³ *DemGloss*, 641-42.

⁷³⁴ Cf. *LGG VII*, 630.


gods’?⁷³⁵ Could the name thus be *Pa-n³-dr.w* or *Pa-n³-dr_l.w*, possibly meaning ‘he of the (divine) ancestors’?

The use of the personal determinative with *Hr* is not uncommon in Demotic, and most examples come from late Ptolemaic and Roman Period.⁷³⁶

The compound ‘*r.wy*+ suffix pronoun’ appears also in **Text 34**, ll. 13-15 and **Text 82**, l. 3 in this study. Could the note ‘owing from him’ mean that all individuals listed here had to pay the sums listed alongside them? Or does it mean that this person is the only one who had to pay unlike others?

L. 5. The first part of *Pa-Mn_l* is slightly faded, but its reading seems certain.

L. 6. Although the ink of the very first signs of this name is totally vanished, bright traces in the place

of the vanished signs are still visible, and thus the reading  *Wd³-rn=s* ‘sound is her name’⁷³⁷ seems very likely. Here, this name-bearer is certainly a woman. In the *DemNam*, however, it was taken as a male name. In fact, in P. Berlin P 5507, l. 6 and P. Berlin 3098, l. 6⁷³⁸ which are cited in the *DemNam*, the sex of the name-bearer is not fully obvious, and nothing speaks against taking it as a female, which is even more plausible in view of the existence of the male and female forms of the name, i.e. *Wd³-rn=f* and *Wd³-rn=s* in both Egyptian⁷³⁹ and Demotic.⁷⁴⁰

The use of *t₃y* in place of *ta* ‘daughter of’ is known from other Demotic texts.⁷⁴¹

The name *P³-fdw-Mn_l* ‘the four Montus’⁷⁴² is well attested in Thebes and its neighborhood. It appears also on a Medinet Habu ostracon published by Parker (O. MH 4038, col. a, l. 3).⁷⁴³ The four Montus referred to in this name are the four local forms of Montu worshipped in four towns in the Theban area, namely Armant, Tod, Medamud, and Thebes. These forms were seemingly bulls, and there were perhaps united in one bull, which might be Buchis.⁷⁴⁴

L. 7. Just like the name in the previous line, the ink is totally faded away at the beginning of the name, yet its bright traces are still clearly visible, which makes its reading as *Pa-Mn_l* quite certain. It is remarkable, however, that the same person, i.e. Pamonthes son of Amenothes was already listed in l. 5 above. Furthermore, the current name—as the traces under it indicate—is underlined. It remains, however, obscure why one person might be recorded twice on the same list with two different payments. Was it not possible to sum up the two payments in a single entry? Could this mean that the two payments were not made simultaneously and had, thus, to be recorded after one another to avoid correcting the previously recorded payment? In fact, this latter point seems less reasonable since both payments were apparently made on the same day, i.e. day 28, as the heading confirms. It is quite notable that in the first entry concerning this person, the recorded sum was *2.t* which is quite small compared to all other sums recorded in the whole list, while that in the second entry is the same as most of the listed individuals. Moreover, the name in the second entry is underlined, which possibly indicates a special case for this

⁷³⁵ Cf. *LGG* VII, 636–38.

⁷³⁶ See for instance writings nos. 26, 35, 38, 43, 50, 52 in *DemNam*, 787.

⁷³⁷ *DemNam*, 130.

⁷³⁸ R. Mairs and C. Martin, “A Bilingual ‘Sale’ of Liturgies from the Archive of Theban Choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 413,” *Enchoria* 31 (2008–2009): 27, 39; pls. 1–8.

⁷³⁹ H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. I (Glückstadt, 1935), 88.

⁷⁴⁰ For *Wd³-rn=s*, see *DemNam*, 130; TM Nam 8110. For *Wd³-rn=f*, see *DemNamKorr*, 141; TM Nam 8109.

⁷⁴¹ E.g. texts nos. 22, 32, and 43 in G. Vittmann, “Die Mumienbilder in Petries Denderah,” *ZÄS* 112 (1985): 156, 158, 159; pls. v–vi; texts nos. 19, 20, 22, and 72a in C. Arlt, *Deine Seele möge leben für immer und ewig: die demotischen Mumienbilder im British Museum*, StudDem X (Leuven, 2011), 16–17, 47–48; pls. iv–v, xxviii.

⁷⁴² *DemNam*, 185.

⁷⁴³ R. Parker, ‘A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement: Medinet Habu Ostracon 4038’, *JEA* 26 (1941), 85.

⁷⁴⁴ Parker, “Gardening Agreement,” 90. For more on the four Montus, see É. Drioton, “Les quatre Montou de Médamoud: palladium de Thèbes,” *CdE* 6 (1931): 259–70; H. Fairman, “The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions,” in *The Bucheum*, ed. R. Mond and O. Myers, vol. 2 (London, 1934), 45–50.

name or entry. Could this special case be a correction of the previous entry? Or was it simply meant to draw the attention to the second payment of this person? In this latter case, the underline could be added to the circle and half circle as a new stress mark.

L. 8. Although the name is not visible due to the faded ink, it clearly ends with the foreign land determinative.

L. 9. The name in this line apparently ends with the divine determinative, which is most likely preceded by a faded small circle. Before the circle there appears to be faint traces of three signs similar to those appearing in the unread name in l. 4. It is, thus, possible that the name in this line is the same as the first name of the person listed in l. 4 above. However, the current person might not be the same person mentioned before since the father is not mentioned here in contrast to the person in l. 4.

2.2.2 In-Kind Accounts (Grain, Liquids, and Goods)

The second main type of accounts represented in this study is the so-called in-kind accounts, which usually list certain amounts of items that are either paid or received by certain individuals. As some scholars noted, this type of accounts may be subdivided into three secondary classes, under which other various types can be inserted. These are accounts of grain, accounts of liquids, and accounts of goods.⁷⁴⁵ Some in-kind accounts might deal with items representing one or more of these subcategories together.⁷⁴⁶

As to accounts of grain, they constitute one of the popular sorts of in-kind accounts in Demotic. The abundance of grain accounts could be basically attributed to the fact that grain, in addition to its regular usage as food, was one of the significant media of taxation in ancient Egypt.⁷⁴⁷ Since the Ptolemaic Period, as Muhs elucidated, hard wheat (Dem. *sw*) seems to have replaced emmer wheat (Dem. *bd.t*) and barley (Dem. *it*) as the dominant grain used for the daily life purposes. In the Roman Period, the usage of barley was extremely limited and emmer wheat seems to have totally vanished. The reason behind this shift is what Muhs called ‘nutritional superiority’ of the *sw*-wheat which was used to produce finer and more popular sorts of bread in contrast to the *bd.t*-wheat which was only utilized in producing more rough sorts of bread. On the other hand, the preference of wine over beer as a drink in the Roman era has negatively affected the spread and popularity of barley, which was mainly used in making beer.⁷⁴⁸

As shown by numerous Demotic examples, grain accounts typically record quantities of different grains, namely wheat, barley, and emmer together with the persons paying or receiving them.⁷⁴⁹ Since the early Ptolemaic Period, wheat seems to have been a standard scale of value for grain, and other grains such as barley and emmer used to be reckoned to it at a certain ratio.⁷⁵⁰ Besides the several artabas (Dem. *rtb*) of different *choinikes*, many other grain measures, e.g. *hn*, *md³.t*, *ipy.t*, etc., regularly appear in grain accounts.⁷⁵¹

For accounts of liquids, they often register quantities of the different fluids such as wine, beer, oil, as well as other liquids including water which was particularly popular in accounts from Roman Oxyrhynchus.⁷⁵² Various liquid measures could occur in this kind of accounts as for example the *hn*, *tl³* or *ql³*, *qws*, *lq*, *bnt* (especially for water accounts), *wth*, *šš* or *ššw*, etc.⁷⁵³

The third type of in-kind accounts is accounts of goods which often register various quantities of one or more of the different commodities other than liquids and grains such as copper objects, flax, resin, herbs, bricks, or foodstuff like bread, meat, slat, dates, etc.⁷⁵⁴ In what follows, the different types of in-kind accounts identified in the group of text under study will be presented in chronological order.

⁷⁴⁵ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 113, 143, 163; [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 59–60.

⁷⁴⁶ For some examples of accounts dealing with items representing one or more of the different subclasses of in-kind accounts, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 60.

⁷⁴⁷ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 25.

⁷⁴⁸ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 25.

⁷⁴⁹ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 113; [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 59. For some examples of Demotic accounts of grain, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 59, fn. 144.

⁷⁵⁰ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 25; S. Vleeming, “Some Notes on the Artabe in Pathyris,” *Enchoria* 9 (1979): 97–98.

⁷⁵¹ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 113. For an overview of the different measurements used in Demotic, see S. Vleeming, “Maße und Gewichte in den demotischen Texten,” in *LÄ III* (Wiesbaden, 1980), cols. 1209–14. On the different artabas, see Vleeming, “Notes on Artabe,” 93–100.

⁷⁵² [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 59–60. For some examples of Demotic accounts of liquids, see [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 60, fn. 146.

⁷⁵³ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 143; Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409* I:358–61; [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 60–61.

⁷⁵⁴ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 163; [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 60. Some examples of accounts of goods are collected in [Abbas], “Demotic Accounts,” 60, fn. 148.

-44-

Exc. No. (MH 805). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 13.3x 10.9x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:**Col. I:** x+

1. [---]
2. [---]
3. [---] ^r.
4. [---] ^rMa^r(?)
5. [---]-^rhtp^r(?)
6. [---] ^r..^rMa
7. [---] ^r.^rMa
8. [---]
9. [---]
10. [---]

Col. II: x+

1. sw ^rmd^r [3.t] [2.t](?)
2. sw md³.^rt 2.t^r(?)
3. sw md³.t 2.t
4. sw md³.t 2.t
5. sw md³.t 2.t
6. sw md³.t 2.t
7. sw md³.t 2.t
8. sw md³.t 2.t
9. sw ¹/₆.t
10. [...] ^r.

Translation:**Col. I:** x+

1. [...]
2. [...]
3. [...] ^r.
4. [...] ^r.
5. [...] -^rhtp^r(?)
6. [...] ^r..^r
7. [...] ^r.
8. [...]
9. [...]
10. [...]

Col. II: x+

1. [2](?) ^rmd³.t^r of wheat
2. ^r2^r(?) md³.t^r of wheat
3. 2 md³.t of wheat

4. 2 *md³.t* of wheat
5. 2 *md³.t* of wheat
6. 2 *md³.t* of wheat
7. 2 *md³.t* of wheat
8. 2 *md³.t* of wheat
9. $\frac{1}{6}$ (*oipe*)(?) wheat
10. [...].⁷

Commentary:

The sherd is broken in its upper, lower, and right-hand sides. The paleography suggests a late Ptolemaic date. As the partly preserved signs on the right edge suggest, the original text certainly consisted of at least two columns separated by a quite large blank space, which might be indicative of how big the complete ostrakon originally was. The surviving part of the sherd contains the rest of the second column. The first column seems to have included personal names. This is clear from the endings of some lines, in which personal determinatives are clearly visible. Having more than one column is indicative of the so-called vertical layout, which is very common in Demotic accounts particularly in papyri. In such a format, which is also true in the current text, the first column usually lists the personal names (here we have only traces of these names) and the second includes the sums or amounts together with its quantity and measure (here the text lists different amounts of *sw* ‘wheat’ measured in *md³.t*).

Col. I:

L. x+3. The remaining part might represent the lower part of the third personal pronoun *w*, the plural stroke, or more likely the divine determinative.

L. x+4. This line seems to end with the normal personal determinative.

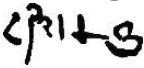
L. x+5. A name ending with the divine determinative (possibly ending with *h_{tp}*) seems to have occupied the final part of this line.

Ll. x+6, 7. The remaining writing in these lines probably represent names that ending with the normal personal determinative.

Col. II:

L. x+1. The reading of the first sign as *sw* ‘wheat’ seems more likely than *it* ‘barley,’ even though Vleeming explained that the short form of both words can be very similar or even sometimes merge.⁷⁵⁵

Since the same amount is repeated in the following lines, the restoration of ‘*md³.t*’ [*2.t*] seems

plausible. The *md³.t*  (facsimile of l. 8; the writing is similar throughout the text), written also at times as *m^cd.t*, *m^cd³.t*, *md^c.t*, was used as a measure of dry units such as grain and dates. It probably equals around $\frac{1}{12}$ artaba.⁷⁵⁶ In Coptic, it was known as **MAAXE**.⁷⁵⁷ As Vleeming noted, references to the *md³.t* as a term denoting grain-measure in Demotic are more frequent than attestations for it being used as an actual measure. Although its capacity was given as $\frac{1}{11}$ of the artaba in some instances, Vleeming proposed that the difference of 1 *md³.t* in these instances was apparently as a discount deducted for some reasons (e.g. cost of cleaning and shifting), and thus he assumed that the proportion of the artaba to *md³.t* established from Coptic, i.e. 1: 12, is also true of Demotic texts. Nevertheless, the capacity of the artaba, of which the *md³.t* represents $\frac{1}{12}$, remains uncertain.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁵ Vleeming, “Notes on Artabe,” 94.

⁷⁵⁶ *CDD, M*, 302–4; *DemGloss*, 194.

⁷⁵⁷ W. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 213.

⁷⁵⁸ S. Vleeming, “Note on the Maače,” *Enchoria* 11 (1982): 115–16.

L. x+9. The reason why the $md^3.t$ measure is omitted or changed in this line is far from clear. Assuming that the $md^3.t$ -measure was meant here seems unlikely since the scribe consistently wrote the $md^3.t$ -measurement throughout the text and he had no reason not to write it in this line. Also, the amount received by this person will be too small compared to what other listed persons received, if it was measured in $md^3.t$. In fact, the amount of $\frac{1}{6} md^3.t$, if calculated on the basis of $\pm 80 hin$ artaba, will be about 1.11 hin which equals about 0.55 liter. This amount will be even less, if calculated according to the $\pm 60 hin$ artaba. Therefore, the measurement meant here seems to be something other than $md^3.t$. Thinking of the artaba, the most commonly used grain measure of that time, is not a good idea for two reasons. Firstly, if it was reckoned in artaba, the recorded amount ($\frac{1}{6}$) will be equal to 2 $md^3.t$ -measures. Then, using two measurements to express the same amount will be pointless. The second and more significant reason is that the number indicating the amount is given in the feminine form which does not agree with the masculine artaba. For this reason, the omitted measurement here is highly likely to be feminine. As such, one would think of the $ipy.t$, which could be sometimes omitted, as a probability. If this $\frac{1}{6}$ was given in *oipe* (one *oipe* equals ± 20 liters), this means that the amount was around ± 3.33 liters of wheat. To explain the relation of this amount to the amounts mentioned in the account, a few points have to be clarified. Firstly, as the $md^3.t$ is ca. $\frac{1}{12}$ of the artaba, two $md^3.t$ -measures are equal to $\frac{1}{6}$ artaba. Secondly, calculating this amount at the basis of the traditional ± 40 liters (80- hin) artaba would result in ± 6.66 liters (or ca. 13.33 hin) for each 2 $md^3.t$ -measures. Thus, 1 $md^3.t$ will be around 3.33 liters (or ca. 6.66 hin). According to this calculation, the given amount in *oipe* (in case the *oipe* was meant) would more or less correspond to 1 $md^3.t$, i.e. the amount received or paid by this person was half of the above listed individuals. In this case the question will be: why did the scribe not record it as 1 $md^3.t$ instead of changing the measurement? On the other hand, if the calculation was based on the ± 30 liters ($\pm 60 hin$) artaba, 1 $md^3.t$ will be around 2.5 liters (or ca. 5 hin), which would mean that the $\frac{1}{6} oipe$ or ± 3.33 liters are slightly above 1 $md^3.t$, which might give the idea of using a measurement other than $md^3.t$ in this line some rationality.

L. x+10. Very small traces of ink (compare the upper part of $\frac{1}{6}$ in the previous line) appear in this line. Given the available space after this line, three further lines could have occupied the broken part of at the bottom of the ostrakon.

-45-

Exc. No. (MH 4432). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 12.9x 11.4x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

1. $\text{rpy } \check{s}mw^1(?) \text{ sw } 22(?) \text{ r}n(?) \text{ swr } n^3(?) \text{ } \check{i}ry.w\text{-}^c\check{s} \text{ } \check{i}rp \text{ } 1$
2. $\text{tpy } \check{s}mw \text{ sw } 23 \text{ n swr } n^3 \text{ } \check{i}ry.w\text{-}^c\check{s} \text{ } \check{i}rp \text{ } 1$
3. [...]
4. [...]
5. [...]
6. [...]
7. $\text{r.tw } n=y \text{ P}^3y\text{-}k^3 \text{ s}^3(?) \text{ } [.. \text{ b}] \check{h}n.w \text{ } [...]$
8. [...]
9. [...]
10. [...]
11. [...]
12. [...] $\check{h}r \text{ p}^3 \check{h}w(?) \text{ nty } \check{i}^{\text{r}} \text{ } [..] \text{ } [...]$



Translation:

1. 'Pachons'(?), day 22(?) 'for(?) the drinking of the(?)' *pastophoroi*: 1 (jar of) wine
2. Pachons, day 23 for the drinking of the *pastophoroi*: 1 (jar of) wine
3. [...]
4. [...]
5. [...]
6. [...]
7. What Pikos son of(?) [Panob]chounis has given me [...]
8. [...]
9. [...]
10. [...]
11. [...]
12. [...] concerning/ for the surplus(?) which '...' [...]

Commentary:

Only a few parts of the text are preserved. The handwriting indicates a late Ptolemaic date. After the first two lines, in which the ink is already very faint, the text seems to be washed off or erased. Toward the middle and the end of the ostrakon some traces of faint text appear. The remaining parts of the text suggest an account concerning wine. Textual indications, e.g. the reference to the *ỉry.w-ꜥ3* 'shrine openers, or *pastophoroi*,' suggest this account to be the product of an organization to which the indicated *pastophoroi* could have belonged, perhaps a temple or more likely a religious association. The fact that the account records some quantities of wine which was used for the 'drinking of the *pastophoroi*' is especially indicative of religious association, of which holding a communal wine drinking was a key feature (see below for more).

L. 1. Although the ink is quite faint in this line, its reading is confirmed through the next line which is almost identical with it.

Reading the signs after *n3* in this line as well as in l. 2, i.e. , as *ỉry.w-ꜥ3* '*pastophoroi*' seems possible (for the title *ỉry-ꜥ3*, which occurs also in **Text 39** in this study, albeit with a clearly different writing; see comment on **Text 39**, col. i, l. 2). In the current example, the first sign apparently represents the normal writing of *ỉry-ꜥ3*, i.e. the ligatured combination of the door-sign above a striking arm.⁷⁵⁹ This combination is followed by the normal determinative of *ỉry-ꜥ3*, namely the house determinative. After the house determinative, there seems to be three plural strokes topped by a sitting man. Expressing the plural in this way is known in Demotic but not very common.⁷⁶⁰ The hieroglyphic transcription is apparently: .

From a different perspective, the phrase *swr n3 ỉry.w-ꜥ3* 'drinking of the *pastophoroi*' might help assigning the current text to a private or more specifically a religious association. As documented in their rules, almost all association required their members to attend communal drinking of beer or wine on certain occasions.⁷⁶¹ Furthermore, as the rules of one of the crocodile associations illustrated, members were required to sit and drink together on six specified days in addition to the days which the association shall agree upon. These days were called *hꜥ.w* or 'processions.'⁷⁶² Added to other aspects, communal drinking sessions and meetings were deemed to strengthen the social interactions between the members.⁷⁶³ Social interactions, some economic measures, as well as ethical codes embedded in the association rules are seen by Monson as chances where the members can signal their trustworthiness

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. Hoffmann and Quack, "Pastophoros," 139.

⁷⁶⁰ For the writing, cf. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §37.

⁷⁶¹ B. Muhs, "Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis," *JESHO* 44 (2001): 2; A. Monson, "The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations," *AncSoc* 36 (2006): 230.

⁷⁶² Muhs, "Membership," 2, 15.

⁷⁶³ Muhs, "Membership," 18.

toward each other, show their readiness to embrace common values, and reinforce the credibility of their commitment to the association. This, in Monson's viewpoint, does not only explain why some social activities such as sitting and drinking together were obligatory, but also justifies the high contributions paid by some members and the relatively high fines imposed for infringements of ethical conduct.⁷⁶⁴

For this abbreviated writing of *irp* 'wine,' see **Text 37**, l. 4.

L. 7. *P3y-k3* is seemingly followed by the name of the father which apparently ends with *bhn.w* 'the pylons.' It should be, therefore, either *Pa-nb-bhn* or one of its variants; cf. *DemNam*, 386.

-46-

Exc. No. (MH 1019). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 12.2x 8.5x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

1. *h3.t-sp 11.t ibd-2 3h.t p3 ip n p3 'n'?* _
2. *n3 (i.)ir 'sm' (?) r-bnr(?)*
3. *Ta-Dhwty rtb 1 1/6 T3-sr.t-p3-k3 1/4*
4. *[T3]-sr.t-Imn 1/6 T3-sr.t-P3y-k3 1/6*
5. *[Ta-B]h 1/4 Ta-Nw3 1/3*
6. *[...] 'sn.t' (?) 3.t(?) 1/12 tw=w hw 1/12*
7. *[...] '1/12'*

Translation:

1. Year 11, Phaophi. The account of the 'rad' _
2. ish(?), which has gone(?) out(?).
3. Tathoytis: 1 1/6 artabas, Senpikos: 1/4 (artaba)
4. Senamounis 1/6 (artaba) Senpikos: 1/6 (artaba)
5. [Tabou]chis 1/4 (artaba) Tanous 1/3 (artaba)
6. [...] elder(?) 'sister' (?) 1/12 (artaba) a surplus of 1/12 (artaba) has been paid
7. [...] '1/12'



Commentary:

The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. The text is dated to year 11 of an unnamed ruler and represents an account of a certain item measured in artabas. This item might be radish (see below). The text is opened by a date followed by the heading. The purpose of the account is not clearly defined, but the listed quantities could have been received by or from the women named in the text. The ambiguity concerning the nature of these quantities and whether they were paid or received is caused by the uncertainty of the reading of the key phrase in l. 2. On the one hand, if the suggested reading *(i.)ir 'sm' r-bnr* 'which has gone out' is correct, one might think of these amounts as 'radish(?)' quantities (perhaps seeds) given out to these women. Conversely, reading the phrase in question as *(i.)ir 'ph' r.r=k* 'which reached you' might mean that these amounts could have been delivered by the named individuals to a certain person. Both possibilities could have been related to oil production monopoly. It is known through the well-preserved Ptolemaic oil monopoly rules that the harvest of oil-producing lands has to be ultimately delivered to the state which took care of oil production⁷⁶⁵ (for more on oil monopoly, see above). It is

⁷⁶⁴ Monson, "Ethics and Economics," 233–34.


⁷⁶⁵ Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 73.

quite striking, however, that all persons mentioned in the account are women. Could they be then landowners?

L. 1. The last sign in this line seems to be part of the word written at the beginning of the next line. As the article *pʒ* suggests, this word is masculine and certainly ends with *nt* followed by a plant determinative. Its reading is probably *pʒ nnt* | . Given the size of the broken part of the sherd as well as the preserved part of the sign, there seems to have been only one sign with a rounded right edge, typically *ʒ* or *n*. Paleographically, restoring an *n*  seems more plausible. This would then result in *pʒ nnt* as a suggested reading. Such word is not yet attested in Demotic, but it might be related to the Coptic **NOYNE**⁷⁶⁶ which means ‘radish.’ Besides **NOYNE**, radish was also known in Coptic as **CM**.⁷⁶⁷ This latter word apparently corresponds to the Demotic *sym*, which was generally used to designate ‘grass, greens, herbs, hay, fodder, vegetation,’⁷⁶⁸ including possibly radish.⁷⁶⁹ In fact, some points seem to support the current identification: firstly, the orthography of the word *nnt* is not drastically different from the Coptic **NOYNE**. Added to that both words agree in gender, and both indicate a plant. Moreover, the content of the account favors this idea since it lists quantities of an item measured in a grain measure, or artaba. As proved through Coptic texts, radish was also measured by grain measures such as *mdʒ.t*⁷⁷⁰ and *oipe*.⁷⁷¹ It is, therefore, possible for it to be measured by the artaba, the main and more common grain measure. What strongly stands against this identification, however, is that the Coptic rendering, i.e. **NOYNE** has no *t*, while the proposed Demotic word, i.e. *nnt*, ends with a strong *t*-sign.

While the existence of radish as a plant in ancient Egypt is unquestionable, the term for radish in the ancient Egyptian language, particularly in Demotic, is far from clear. As understood from Herodotus’ narration, radish should have been known in Egypt since at least the fourth dynasty in the Old Kingdom since he reported about radish being among the food consumed by the builder of the great pyramid of Cheops.⁷⁷² Much like different regions in the orient, radish was an important plant for the Egyptian, who ate its leaves and root and utilized its seeds in the production of oil.⁷⁷³ As to the term for radish in the Egyptian language, Loret once suggested that the Coptic word for radish, i.e. **NOYNE**, corresponds to the quite well-attested hieroglyphic ‘*Noun*’ (apparently referring to *nn.t*, (*Wb* II, 274)).⁷⁷⁴ But Keimer rejected Loret’s suggestion and proposed that *nn.t* indicates a type of plant that was used to make baskets, perhaps rush or reed.⁷⁷⁵ The current word or *nnt* is apparently different from *nn.t*.

L. 2. The reading of the group after *ir* is not certain since the ink is quite faint. For the compound *šm r-bnr* ‘to go out from, depart,’ see *CDD*, Š, 125-126. Reading (*i.*)*ir* *r-ph* *r.r=k* ‘which reached you’ instead of (*i.*)*ir* *r-sm* *r-bnr* is not completely unlikely.

L. 3. The name  is to be read *Ta-Dḥwty*,⁷⁷⁶ although the *ta* looks more like *šr*; compare also the *ta* with that of *Ta-Nwʒ* in l. 5 below. It is odd that the space left between the name of Tathoytis and the

⁷⁶⁶ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 228a.

⁷⁶⁷ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 334a.

⁷⁶⁸ *CDD*, S, 207–11; *DemGloss*, 430.

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. *nḥḥ n sym* in *CDD*, S, 210; *DemGloss*, 430.

⁷⁷⁰ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 213a.

⁷⁷¹ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 256a.

⁷⁷² V. Loret, *La flore pharaonique d’après les documents hiéroglyphiques et les spécimens découverts dans les tombes* (Nachdruck der 2. Auflage (Paris, 1892), Hildesheim; New York, 1975), 108; L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, ed. R. Germer, vol. 2, SDAIK 13 (Mainz, 1984), 29–30. For Herodotus’ account on the building of the great pyramid, see the translation of chapter 125 of Herodotus’ second book in G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*, 4th ed., vol. 2 (London, 1880), 201–3.

⁷⁷³ Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen* 2:29.

⁷⁷⁴ Loret, *Flore pharaonique*, 108.

⁷⁷⁵ Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen* 2:29.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. *DemNam*, 1224, especially examples nos. 6, 10, where the *ta* looks quite similar to the current writing.

amount linked to her is quite large; furthermore, the amount which she received or delivered is also very large in comparison with what have all other women received or delivered.


The name of the second woman in this line is likely to be read $T\beta\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}p\beta\text{-}k\beta$, while in l. 4 a different $T\beta\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}P\beta y\text{-}k\beta$ occurs. It seems that both names signify two separate persons here since they are listed in the same account with different payments and slightly different names. Could this mean that $P\beta\text{-}k\beta$ and $P\beta y\text{-}k\beta$ were simply two different names and not interchangeable variants of the same name? For $T\beta\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}P\beta y\text{-}k\beta$, see *DemNam*, 1110.

L. 5. The surviving parts uphold the reading of the second part of the name as $B\dot{h}$. The first part could be reconstructed in different ways; the most compelling one of them is Ta , which would be in line with the fact that all persons in this text are female on the one hand and with the size of the lacuna on the other hand. For $Ta\text{-}B\dot{h}$, see *DemNam*, 1176.

The name $Ta\text{-}Nw\beta$ is likely to mean ‘she of the (goddess) Iunit,’ but the lack of the female divine determinative in the current example as well as in other middle Demotic examples in the *DemNam* (examples nos. 1-9 in particular) makes the reference to Iunit uncertain. The translation suggested in the *DemNam* is apparently dependent on the late Demotic forms of the name, in which the female divine determinative clearly appears.⁷⁷⁷ On the other hand, others suggest the meaning ‘the one of Dendara.’⁷⁷⁸

L. 6. For $\dot{h}w$ ‘surplus, excess,’ see *CDD*, 3, 60; *DemGloss*, 294-95. Although the reading $tw=w \dot{h}w \frac{1}{12}$ is quite certain, its translation seems quite problematic and depends on whether the listed amounts were delivered or received. The suggested translation is based on the translation of the key phrase in l. 2, which seems to suggest that they received the listed amounts and, thus, the surplus consequently. In case these amounts were paid by the listed individuals, a proper translation could be ‘they have paid a surplus of $\frac{1}{12}$.’

By and large, the purpose of the $\frac{1}{12}$ artaba surplus is not clear. It is also not clear whether it was meant for every person of them or for them all, though the last one seems more plausible. Furthermore, the reading of the amount can be $1 \frac{1}{12}$ instead of $\frac{1}{12}$, if the partly preserved stroke was meant to be writing.

L. 7.  : The surviving signs in this line suggest that it ended with $\frac{1}{12}$. It is not clear what this fraction represented. Normally, the total of items should be given at the end of the account. If all amounts (including the surplus) are to be added together, the result would be as follows: $1\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{12} = 2 \frac{1}{2}$. This total could, however, end with $\frac{1}{12}$, if the surplus of $\frac{1}{12}$ is not included in the calculation of the total. In this case, the result would be as follows: $1\frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{12} = 2 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$.

-47-

Exc. No. (MH 451). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11.3x 7.4x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration:

1. $P\beta y\text{-}B\dot{h} s\beta \dot{H}lbn \dot{t}t 52$
2. $Pa\text{-}Mn\dot{t} P\beta\text{-}\beta b^c\beta s\beta P\beta\text{-}d\dot{t}\text{-}Nfr\text{-}\dot{h}tp$

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. *DemNam*, 1194. For more on Iunit, who was venerated in the Theban region; see references cited in G. Vittmann, ‘Ein Mumienbrett im Britischen Museum (BM 36502),’ in *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten: Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*, ed. M. Bietak et al. (Wien, 1994), 255, n. oo.

⁷⁷⁸ Cf. *TM Nam* 12396.

3. $\dot{u}t$ 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
4. $P\dot{3}-d\dot{l}-Nfr-htp$ s^3 $Pa-Mn\dot{t}$ $\dot{u}t$ 21
5. $Pa-iry$ s^3 $Pa-Mn\dot{t}$ $\dot{u}t$ '26'(?)
6. $Wn-nfr$ s^3 $Gd\dot{3}d\dot{3}$ [$\dot{u}t$] [...](?)
7. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
8. r [...]


Translation:

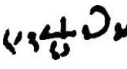
1. Pibouchis son of Helben: 52 (artabas of) barley
2. Pamonthes and(?) Pebos son of Petenephotes:
3. 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ (artabas of) barley
4. Petenephotes son of Pamonthes: 21 (artabas of) barley
5. Paeris son of Pamonthes: '26' (?) (artabas of) barley
6. Onnophris son of Katytis: [... (artabas of) barley]
7. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ [(artabas of) barley]
8. makes(?) [...]

Commentary:


The text is slightly broken at the right-hand and lower edges. It records a grain account of barley. The paleography suggests the late Ptolemaic Period to the early Roman Period as a probable date. Furthermore, some of the people listed here could have been mentioned also in **Text 69**, which dates to the early Roman Period.

L. 1. For $P\dot{3}y-Bh$, see *DemNam*, 436. For a similar writing of Bh , see example no. 2 of the name $P\dot{3}-d\dot{l}-Wsr-Bh$ in *DemNam*, 300; *DemGloss*, 121. This Pibouchis son of Helben could be the same person mentioned in **Text 69**, l. 7. Only few examples of the father's name, i.e. $Hlbn$ (or at times $Hlbnw?$)⁷⁷⁹ are known so far and they all come from the Theban region (see comment on **Text 69**, l. 7).

The writing of $\dot{u}t$  'barley' seems to be at its full form, though the horizontal stroke above is quite strange.⁷⁸⁰

L. 2. $P\dot{3}-\dot{3}b\dot{3}$  is probably a variant of $P\dot{3}-\dot{3}b\dot{3}$.⁷⁸¹

Although the s^3 of filiation can be sometimes left out, the current scribe consistently wrote it. This means that the three names in this line likely indicate two persons, i.e. Pamonthes and Pebos son of Petenephotes (both could have been brothers and thus shared the same entry with a single communal reference to their father) rather than one, i.e. Pamonthes (son of) Pebos son of Petenephotes.

L. 4. The lower part of the number 1 in the number 21  might induce reading it as 21.t, which is not correct since $\dot{u}t$ is masculine. What makes the current reading even more certain is the occurrence of a very similar writing of the number 1 with this lower hook and an additional feminine t in O. MH 1768, l. 4.⁷⁸²

L. 5. A person named Paeris son of Pamonthes occurs in **Text 69**, l. 4. Yet, apparently as a father of somebody else.

⁷⁷⁹ *DemNam*, 845, 866.

⁷⁸⁰ For similar writings of $\dot{u}t$, but without this strange stroke, see *DemGloss*, 46; M. Malinine, "Un prêt de céréales à l'époque de Darius I (Pap. dém. Strasbourg No 4)," *Kêmi* 11 (1950): 12 ff.; pl. ii.

⁷⁸¹ *DemNam*, 154.

⁷⁸² Cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 51; pl. 47.

The number indicating barley amount which is partly broken could be probably 26.

L. 6. For *Gḏḏḏ*, see *DemNam*, 1014.

L. 7. This line is apparently a continuation of the previous line. Whether the mentioned fractions represented the whole amount received by the person named here or they were part of a partly broken bigger number is not certain.

L. 8. The first and only preserved sign in this line could be read *r* ‘makes,’ which might have been followed by the grand total of the barley amounts listed.

-48-

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 13x 11x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Possibly early Roman.

Transliteration:


1. *Ta-nḥ tḥ rmt.t n Pḥ-šr-ḥ²tltyl 1/4*
2. *Tḥ-šr.t-Dḥwty tḥ šr.t n Lḥ 1/2*
3. [...] 17.t
4. [...] ^{Go(?)} sḥ Mnq-R^c 91 bd.t(?) 1/2
5. [... Ta(?)]-ḥ^rn^ḥ(?) (ta) ^{cḥ}-{n-}pḥty(?) 1/6
6. [... Tḥ šr].t-n-Gtws(?) 1/6
7. [...] *Gḏḏḏ* 1/6
8. [... tḥ] rmt.t n Pḥ-rmt-Tḥ-qḥy-^rrsy^r(?) 1/6
9. [...] . ^{Ma} 1/6 tḥ rmt.t n Pa-Mn^t sḥ Pḥ-šy
10. [...] ^rPḥy^r-Wsr(?) 1/6
11. [...] Ns(?)-.^r...^r [...]
12. [... ^rIḥy^r(?) [...]

Translation:

1. Tanas, the wife of *Pḥ-šr-ḥtltyl*: 1/4
2. Senthotes, the daughter of Lolous: 1/2
3. [...] 17
4. [...] son of Monkores: 91 (deben)(?), and 1/2 (artabas of) emmer(?)
5. [... Ta(?)]nas(?) (daughter of) Apathes(?): 1/6
6. [... Se]n-getous(?): 1/6
7. [...] (artabas of) barley: 1/6
8. [... the] wife of Prom-t-kehi-^rresi^r(?): 1/6
9. [...] .. 1/6. The wife of Pamonthes son of Psais
10. [...] ^rPi^r-osiris(?): 1/6
11. [...] Es(?)-.^r...^r [...]
12. [... i]^rhi^r(?) [...]

Commentary:


The text is broken from the right and the bottom left edges. The handwriting is possibly early Roman or very late Ptolemaic at earliest. The text records specific amounts of a certain item, apparently emmer-wheat, which was possibly received or paid by the individuals connected to them. Most of the listed individuals are women.

L. 1. Except for the initial one, the reading of all signs of the name of the husband, i.e.  *P3-šr-htltyl*, are certain. This name is not in the *DemNam*, and the meaning of its final part, which seems to have the dying warrior determinative, is unclear.

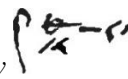
L. 2. The name *Llβ* is likely a form of *Llw*, which occurs in many writings including *Rr3* and *Rlβ*.⁷⁸³

L. 4. The sign at the beginning of this line might be the divine determinative.


The name *Mnq-R^c*, a variant of *Mn-k3-R^c*, occurs also in **Text 18**, l. 2 as well.

The sign after the number 91, i.e. , seems to be a writing of *bdt* ‘emmer,’ although the determinative is slightly separated from the first two strokes, which are also fairly vertical. The reference to *bdt* ‘emmer’ here could perhaps mean that the different fractional amounts connected to the rest of the persons listed in this account could have been paid in emmer as well. It could also additionally imply that the aforementioned sum, i.e. 91, represents a quantity of something other than *bdt* (possibly *deben*), which is apparently why *bdt*—though absent in the whole account—occurs suddenly after number 91 to ensure clarity and avoid confusion.

L. 5. Reading *Ta-n3* at the beginning of the line is not certain, however, the first three signs are comparable with the name *Ta-n3* in l. 1.

Reading the father’s name as *3-3n-3phty* , a possible variant of *3-ph3t*, is only a suggestion. Remarkable is that the final part of this name, in case it was meant, is written with the normal *t* followed by two slanting strokes, instead of the strong *t*-sign.⁷⁸⁴ Note also the unusual occurrence of the *n* between *3* and *phty*.

L. 6. The occurrence of the *t* before the genitival *n* supports restoring either *t3 šr.t* or *t3 rmt.t* in the broken part. Thus, the name is apparently *T3-šr.t-n-Gtws* or less probably *t3 rmt.t n Gtws* ‘the wife of *Gtws*.’ The first suggestion seems more plausible since the remains before the *t* sign do not support restoring *rmt.t*.

The reading  *Gtws*, especially the final *s*-sign, is not certain. If the current reading and restoration are correct, this name might be *T3-šr.t-n-Gtws* and could be the female counterpart of the doubtful *P3-šr-Gtws*.⁷⁸⁵ This name is apparently built with the name *Gtws* using the pattern ‘*t3-šr.t*+PN’ (see below comment on **Text 64**, l. 5 for more on this pattern). The name *Gtws* is known from only one Demotic example, i.e. O. Pisa 1163 bis, recto b, l. 1,⁷⁸⁶ where it was apparently written without the personal determinative just like the current example.

L. 8. Reading *rsy* in *P3-rmt-T3-qhy-rsy* is very doubtful since the ink is extremely faint at this spot. While *P3-rmt-T3-qhy-rsy* ‘the man of the southern district’ is unknown as a personal name, the geographical name *T3-qhy-rsy* ‘the southern district’ is already attested in Demotic and it likely refers to a location or quarter in Hermopolis.⁷⁸⁷ By and large, personal names built with ‘*p3 rmt*+ geographical location’ are quite common in Demotic (for more on the combination, see comment on **Text 64**, l. 5). Likewise, geographical names built with *qh*, *qh3*, or *qhy*⁷⁸⁸ are also common in Demotic.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸³ *DemNam*, 727.

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. the writings of *3-ph3t* in *DemNam*, 95.


⁷⁸⁵ For this name, which might be read *P3-šr-gbws*, see *DemNam*, 520.

⁷⁸⁶ E. Bresciani et al., “Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco,” *SCO* 24 (1975): 73; pl. 2; TM Nam 20511.


⁷⁸⁷ Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 624.

⁷⁸⁸ For *qh* “district, territory,” see *DemGloss*, 547–48; *CDD*, *Q*, 81–82.

⁷⁸⁹ For examples, see Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 88, 246, 364–65, 386–87, 495–96, 534–35, 624, 670.

L. 9. Note the quite strange writing of *Pa-Mn̄* .

For *P̄šy*, see *DemNam*, 220.

L. 10.  : Reading *P̄y-Ws̄ir* is possible despite the quite strange writing of *Ws̄ir*. This name is probably a form of *Pa-Ws̄ir*.⁷⁹⁰

Small traces of ink, forming a circle-like sign, occur after *P̄y-Ws̄ir* and before the fraction $\frac{1}{6}$, but these traces do not apparently represent writing.

For a similar example for the reading $\frac{1}{6}$, see *CDD, Number*, 278.

L. 12. The faint traces surviving in this line are possibly part of a name ending with *'Ihy*.

⁷⁹⁰ For *Pa-Ws̄ir*, see *DemNam*, 360, 549. For *P̄y-Ws̄ir*, see TM Nam 20295.

2.2.3 Agricultural Accounts

Agricultural accounts are also well known in Demotic, and they usually register various transactions concerning land. As Depauw summarized, such accounts could record land measurements as well as lists of farmers. They might also record the registration of land work or land inspection. Some land accounts might register some notes on the delivery of certain items such as wheat and money.⁷⁹¹ Other transactions recorded in agricultural accounts include reckoning the cost of plowing of certain amounts of land. Areas of land registered in these accounts were usually measured by the aroura (Dem. *stj*), which was the standard land measure in Demotic.⁷⁹² The studied collection of ostraca provided three examples of land-related accounts which will be presented on the following pages.

-49-

Exc. No. (MH 906). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.4x 9.5x 0.8 cm. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:


1. [...] '...' n h³.t-sp 7.t stj(?) [...] '1/4'(?)
2. [...] 'p³y=f' sp stj(?) 137 1/4 wr(3) 6 ... (?) 1/8
3. [...] ' 2' (?) n³(?) c^w(.w)(?) 8(?) nty jr stj(?) 12 1/2 n Hⁿsw-t³y=f-nh^t

Translation:

1. [...] '...' in year 7 [...] '1/4' (?) arouras(?)
2. [...] 'his' remainder (for) 137 1/4 arouras(?): 6 (artabas of) bean, 1/8 (artabas of) ...(?)
3. [...] ' 2' the(?) increase(s)(?) of 8(?) (arouras), which makes 12 1/2 arouras(?), for/ of Chestphnachthis.

Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its right side. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic, possibly second century BC. The recorded date indicates the 7th year of an unnamed ruler. The text apparently records certain areas of land measured in aroura as well as some amounts of a few vegetables such as *wr(3)* 'bean' and another unknown plant (maybe *jt* or *3tr*); thus, it might be part of a land-related account.

L. 1. The two small strokes  after the date, which recur in ll. 2-3, might be *stj* 'aroura',⁷⁹³ but the reading is not completely certain.

The number following these two strokes or *stj* is likely in hundreds. Since its remainder (in l. 2) is more than one hundred, it should be more than one hundred, possibly 500 as its beginning suggests.

This 500 is possibly followed by a fraction whose lower part is still preserved. It could possibly be 1/4 or 1/3.

L. 2. For more on *wr³*, also *wr* and *wre* 'bean,' see *CDD*, *W*, 115-117; *DemGloss*, 93.

⁷⁹¹ Depauw, *Companion*, 130.


⁷⁹² [Abbas], "Demotic Accounts," 61.



⁷⁹³ Cf. the writings of *stj* in *DemGloss*, 472-73; *CDD*, *S*, 498-99.



: This group seems to denote a type of plant since it ends with the plant determinative. No word with a similar writing is known to me. Its reading is unknown as well. A similar group occurs as a determinative in some Demotic words that denote plants such *sm* ‘grass, herbs, vegetables, hay,’⁷⁹⁴ *sh̄t* ‘type of grass,’⁷⁹⁵ as well as *fd* ‘plant used for the preparation of *Kyphi*’⁷⁹⁶ which is not attested in Demotic. On the other hand, this initial sign is also very similar to the sign that represent the backbone, ribs and spinal cord which is used to convey the sound *ḥ.t* in Egyptian⁷⁹⁷ or *ḥt* in Demotic.⁷⁹⁸ This word *ḥ.t* or *ḥt* was remarkably used to signify some botanical items both in Egyptian and Demotic. For instance, the *Wb* lists an example where *ḥ.t*, followed by a tree determinative, was used to signify a type of ‘tree’ and another one where it was followed by a plant determinative and denoted a certain ‘Nutzpflanze.’⁷⁹⁹ In both examples, however, it occurs in a purely alphabetical writing. Demotic texts, on the other hand, provide only one instance, O. Bodl. 964, ll. 3-4,⁸⁰⁰ where a phonetic writing of *ḥt* followed by a plant determinative was employed to denote an unknown plant. Wängstedt, who published this example, suggested that it marks a type of plant since it has the plant determinative, but as he could not find examples for such a plant, he did not exclude the possibility of it being an erroneous writing for *ḥtr* ‘papyrus(?)’.⁸⁰¹ In light of this, it seems plausible to assume that the sign attested here is to be read *ḥ.t* or *ḥt*. Alternatively, if the last slanting stroke which intersects with the final plant determinative was meant to represent an *r* rather than being part of the first element of this word, one could also suggest *ḥtr*. In both cases, it seems that the first element is apparently used to express the two-consonantal sign *ḥt*. The identification of this plant remains unclear, but it is obviously one that is measured with the artaba or its fraction.

From another perspective, the relation between the 137 ¼ arouras of land mentioned in this line and the following amount of 6 (artabas of) bean and 1/8 (artabas of) ‘*ḥt* or *ḥtr*’ is not clear, but they both seem to represent a remaining amount. Thus, can the amounts of vegetables indicate a remainder of the produce of the specified amount of land, or the remainder of the seeds required for this land, or remaining dues on this land (tax, rent, etc.)?

L. 3. The reading of the three signs that follow the broken sign at the beginning of the line is extremely doubtful. Besides the suggested *n̄*, the first sign, i.e. , could paleographically represent *t̄*, 1/2, or perhaps another word. But all these readings make less sense than *n̄*. To read 1/2, there should be an item or bigger number before it so that it can be linked or related to it. Also, the group under consideration is separated from the previous group by a small blank space, which means that it begins a new sentence. This, in addition to the fact that it is indirectly followed by a relative clause (i.e. *nty ḥr*), assumes that this sentence begins with a defined noun which eliminates the 1/2 or other suggestions besides the definite articles *t̄* and *n̄*. For it to be *t̄*, a feminine noun should follow it, which does not seem to be the case here. Thus, *n̄* seems to be more fitting here.

Another problem is the group of signs which follow the assumed *n̄*, namely . This group consists of two signs, which can represent the monoliteral signs *ḥ* followed by a *p*, or *q*, or probably number 8. The definite article at the beginning suggests that this sentence began with a noun which means that these signs or at least the first one, i.e. , has to be that noun. Furthermore, to my knowledge, taking both signs as one word would not produce any Demotic word that makes sense in

⁷⁹⁴ *DemGloss*, 430; *CDD*, S, 207–11.

⁷⁹⁵ *DemGloss*, 458; *CDD*, S, 398.

⁷⁹⁶ *Wb* I, 582.

⁷⁹⁷ *Wb* I, 26.

⁷⁹⁸ *DemGloss*, 12.

⁷⁹⁹ *Wb* I, 27.

⁸⁰⁰ S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Ostraka: Varia II,” *OrSuec* 30 (1981): 32; pls. xxii–xxiii; *CDD*, 3, 103.

⁸⁰¹ See n. to O. Bodl. 964, ll. 3-4 in Wängstedt, “Varia II,” 32.

the current context. It is thus plausible to read both signs separately. For the first one, one would in the first place suggest a ϵ rather than other possibilities such as st^3 'aroura,' which is not a good reading both paleographically and semantically since it is already written differently all over the text and having st^3 here will not make sense. This ϵ could be a writing of ϵ_w , a variant of ϵ^3 'size, greatness' that could be used sometimes in the sense of 'excess, increase (of land).'⁸⁰² Different from the *CDD*, which lists this ϵ_w as derivative of ϵ^3 'to be great, old, important,'⁸⁰³ Erichsen believed it was derivative of ϵ^3 'to be wide, to stretch,' yet with reference to the writings of ϵ^3 'to be great'⁸⁰⁴ indicating that both writings were apparently interchangeable. Among the writings of this ϵ^3 'great,' Erichsen quoted some abbreviated forms of the singular form (written as ϵ only)⁸⁰⁵ that seem to correspond to the writing present in the current example in which the scribe seems to have additionally left out the plural stroke. This ϵ_w occurs also in the expression $\epsilon_w (n) \underline{hy}$ which refers to 'increase of measurement,'⁸⁰⁶ which appears to have been meant here as well since it was followed by areas of land measured by aroura. The following sign, i.e. ϵ , could be then taken a writing of the number 8. As such these group of signs might be read $n^3 \epsilon_w(.w) 8 nty \dot{r} st^3 12 \frac{1}{2} n \dots$ 'the increase(s)/ extension(s) of 8 (arouras), which makes 12 ½ aroura, for/ of'

For $\underline{Hnsw-t^3y=f-nht}$, see *DemNam*, 880.

-50-

Exc. No. (MH 141). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10.4x 10.6x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration:

1. [...] $\epsilon^3 \dots n \underline{Dm}^3 \epsilon \underline{hn}$
2. [...] $\epsilon^3 p^3 y = w(?) \dot{3} h pr - \epsilon^3 \epsilon_w . s \quad sw \frac{1}{8} r st^3 1 . t \dot{3} h$
3. [...] $sw \frac{1}{5}$
4. [...] $\epsilon^3 \dot{3} h n rmt - nm \dot{h} \quad sw 4 r sw 4 \frac{1}{2}$
5. [$\dot{s} h \dots$] $\epsilon^3 n n h^3 . t - sp 25 . t$

Translation:

1. [...] $\epsilon^3 \dots$ in Jeme from among/ within
2. [...] their(?) royal land $\frac{1}{8}$ (artaba of) wheat for 1 aroura of field
3. [...] $\frac{1}{5}$ (artaba of) wheat
4. [...] $\epsilon^3 \dots$ private land 4 (artabas of) wheat, makes 4 ½ (artabas of) wheat.
5. [Has written ...] $\epsilon^3 n$ in year 25.

Commentary:

The sherd is damaged on its right side. The paleography suggests a late Ptolemaic or an early Roman date. The text is likely concerned with an agricultural account dated to the 25th year of an unnamed ruler and records some amounts of wheat that were possibly collected from certain areas of land in Jeme. These areas apparently belong to at least two types of land, namely $\dot{3} h pr - \epsilon^3$ 'royal land or lit. land of the Pharaoh' and $\dot{3} h n rmt - nm \dot{h}$ 'private land' (for more information on these types of lands, see receipts concerning land above and comment on l. 4. below). The purpose of the payment or the account is not

⁸⁰² *CDD*, ϵ , 27.

⁸⁰³ *CDD*, ϵ , 23-28.

⁸⁰⁴ *DemGloss*, 57.

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. early examples nos. 1-2 and Ptolemaic example no. 1 in *DemGloss*, 54.



⁸⁰⁶ *DemGloss*, 57, 347; *CDD*, ϵ , 27.

specified. By and large, different dues might be collected from land depending on the type and administrative status of the land. Although payments of land-related dues were usually documented in receipts, the layout and formulation of the current text does not conform with those of the receipts concerning land-related payments. For instance, receipts were typically recorded continuously without any spacing between the paid amount and the payer or the purpose of payment. Also, the paid amounts or sums were documented in a unique way to exclude mistakes or manipulation, namely ‘paid sum/ amount+ its half+ paid sum/ amount again’ (see receipt concerning land above for more details). This, as the remaining parts suggest, does not apply to the current text which looks more like a list of payments separated from their purposes or payers by blank spaces. On the other hand, some of the information provided in this text, e.g. the reference to the place where the land is located (\underline{Dm}^3c), references to amounts of wheat and areas of land, to the date and most likely to the scribe of the text, as well as the use of the preposition \underline{hn} which possibly refers to the piece of land as being within a certain area or land are reminiscent of the so-called $r.rh=w$ texts which usually include quite similar data. Yet the formula of the text, the way the data is presented, and above all the concentration of the current text which seem to have been on the wheat amounts rather than areas of land make it difficult to identify it as an $r.rh=w$ text (for an overview on this type of texts, see section on $r.rh=w$ texts below).


L. 1. The stroke over the d of \underline{Dm}^3c apparently represents the preposition n , although it is not quite understandable why would the scribe place the preposition n over the d in this example when there is no need to do that (in terms of space availability at least) unless it was a kind of an ornamental writing; for further examples, see comment on **Text 7**, l. 2 above.

Given the context, \underline{hn} could be partitive indicator (for more on this use of \underline{hn} , see introduction to yoke tax receipts above) in the sense of ‘from among’ or ‘maybe within.’

L. 2. The group before βh at the beginning of the line might be $p^3y=w$ ‘their’ or possibly part of a broken word.

The combination $st^3 x \beta h$ ‘x aroura of field’ is quite common in Demotic texts.⁸⁰⁷ For this writing  of st^3 , see *CDD*, S, 498-99; *DemGloss*, 472-73. A different writing of it, i.e.  (facsimile of l. 2), appears in **Text 51**, ll. 2-5 below.

There is a small dot at the end of the number 1 which might be taken as a feminine ending.


L. 4. The expression $\beta h n rmt-nmh$ ‘private/ privately owned land, lit. land of a free man’⁸⁰⁸ occurs also in **Text 51**, l. 2. Spiegelberg interpreted $\beta h nmh$ as ‘Ländereien, die zwar Eigentum der Krone (Staatsland), aber dabei doch in Privatbesitz waren.’⁸⁰⁹ In fact, the concept of private land ownership was often debated. Even though its location within a temple or royal domain encouraged some scholars to reject the idea of private property ownership, private land is fairly different from temple and royal land, which could be also at times privately held. The differences were centered around the legal rights given to private landholders such as the ability to sell, donate, and bequeath it to his heirs.⁸¹⁰ Furthermore, in Monson’s view, the location of the private land in the temple or state domain

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, “Die Bruchzahlen des Pap. Brit. Mus. 10598,” *Enchoria* 2 (1972): 146. For an example of this formula in Medinet Habu ostraca, see O. MH 4045A, ll. 2, 3 in Kaplony-Heckel, “Demotische ‘Aruren-Ostraka,’” 326. More examples are compiled by Vittmann in *DTD*.

⁸⁰⁸ For the different combinations with nmh and $rmt-nmh$ in Demotic, cf. *CDD*, N, 87-89; *DemGloss*, 219. For a discussion and references for $rmt-nmh$, see H.-J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu: Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im ptolemäischen Ägypten*, *DemStud* 10 (Sommerhausen, 1989), 39-40; H. Felber, “Augustus Ζεὺς ἑλευθέριος im Demotischen und die Etymologie von $\rho\mu\epsilon$,” *GM* 123 (1991): 27-36.

⁸⁰⁹ W. Spiegelberg, “Demotische Miscellen,” *ZAS* 53 (1917): 116-17. For a discussion of $\beta h-rmt-nmh$, see H. Thompson, “Two Demotic Self-Dedications,” *JEA* 26 (1940): 74-76.

⁸¹⁰ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 110.

does not necessarily entail any limitations of the landholder legal rights.⁸¹¹ Historically, as Monson noted, some forms of private land ownership could be traced back to the Middle Kingdom. In the New Kingdom, a category of private land located within temple estates or royal taxation is attested in some sources. This land was interestingly known as *ḥt nmḥ.w* ‘land of free people,’ and is comparable in status to the private land of the Ptolemaic Period.⁸¹²

In the group of texts in question, the phrase *ḥt n rmt-nmḥ* occurred accompanied by and contrasted to *ḥt pr-ꜥ* ‘royal land, or lit. land of the Pharaoh’ in the extant example and to *ḥt n ntr* ‘divine or temple, or lit. land of the god’ in that of **Text 51** below. Furthermore, in **Text 51** below, pieces of *ḥt n ntr* ‘temple land’ and *ḥt n rmt-nmḥ* are said to belong to a single person (namely *P3-šr-ꜥImn* son of Pagonis(?)), which could indicate that he owned a piece of private land and another piece of temple land or possibly a confiscated temple land. This seems to confirm the existence of private land and highlight the difference between private land and private temple land.

Although they are written differently, taking both numbers in the phrase *sw 4 r sw 4 1/2* as variants of 4 seems possible.⁸¹³

L. 5. Before the date formula, there seems to have been the name of a scribe or his father. According to the surviving parts, this name ended apparently with the foreign determinative preceded by *n*. In this case, names like *Wynn*⁸¹⁴ or *P3-wynn*,⁸¹⁵ etc., are expected.

-51-

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11.9x 10.8x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman, year 26 of [Augustus]= 5-4 BC.

Transliteration:

1. *p3 ip n P3-šr-ꜥ[Imn](?) s3 Pa-wn(?) n ḥ3.t-sp 26.t*
2. *p3y=f ḥt n rmt-nmḥ st3 2 1/2 1/8*
3. *p3y=f ḥt n ntr st3 2 1/2*
4. *p3 ḥt n Pa-iry s3 Hr-pa-3s.t st3 2 1/4*
5. *ꜥn ḥn p3 ip n Pa-Mnt s3 Pa-iry st3 1*

Translation:

1. The account of Psen[amounis](?) son of Pagonis(?) in year 26
2. his private land $2 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ arouras
3. his divine land $2 \frac{1}{2}$ arouras
4. the land of Paeris son of Harpaesis $2 \frac{1}{4}$ arouras
5. Likewise, from within the account of Pamonthes son of Paeris 1 arouras.

Commentary:

⁸¹¹ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 112.


⁸¹² Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 110–11. For more on private land in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, see Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 78–79, 95–96, 110–14 and the references cited therein.


⁸¹³ The first form of 4 here attested might be compared with the forms of 4 in O. MH 1733, l. 7, O. MH 4546, l. 3, and O. MH 4015, l.3; cf. Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 29, 47, 50; pls. 10, 19, 20, 46; *CDD, Numbers*, 31–32. For similar and securely identified writings of the second form of 4, see for instance O. MH 1745, ll. 2, 3, 5 and O. MH 2640, l. 3 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 21, 26; pls. 5, 8, 39.


⁸¹⁴ *DemNam*, 114.

⁸¹⁵ *DemNam*, 175.

The handwriting is apparently late Ptolemaic or early Roman. The recorded date specifies the 26th year of an unnamed king. According to some textual indications (see comment on l. 5), this date could refer to the reign of Augustus. The text presents a private account recording measurements of various types of lands, including private and temple land that belonged to a person called Psenamounis(?) son of Pagonis. The aroura is used here as a measurement unit. The measured areas are recorded in ascending order according to their size. Temple and private land were the most common types of land in the Thebaid (see receipt concerning land above for more details). It is quite remarkable here that temple land is described as ‘his temple land,’ referring seemingly to the person as a private owner of a temple land and not a tenant (see comment on l. 3 below for more details). In addition to parcels of private and temple land, two further small parcels of land are recorded in the account. Although these parcels are described as the land of two different persons other than the one acknowledged in the account’s heading, they might have belonged to him as well, although the text is not clear enough in this regard (see comment on ll.4-5 for more details). The purpose of the text is not clearly stated, yet recording land areas for a given person might be beneficial for the calculation of the different dues he had to pay.

L. 1. The part following $p^3\text{-}\dot{s}r$  is damaged but given the divine determinative, the provenance of the text as well as the available space, $\dot{y}mn$ might be the best fitting.

For $Pa\text{-}wn$ , see *DemNam*, 358, especially late writings, e.g. examples 29, 31, 34, 35, 37. If this name to be read $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}[\dot{y}mn](?) s^3 Pa\text{-}wn$, it should be noted that a person with a similar name occurred as witness in P. Tur. Suppl. 6074, verso, l. 14, dated to Ptolemy VIII (143 BC),⁸¹⁶ which is quite earlier than the current text.

L. 2.  : $P^3y=f \dot{y}h$ is obviously corrected from $p^3 rmt$. It seems that the scribe initially wanted to write $p^3 rmt\text{-}nmh$ instead of $\dot{y}h\text{-}rmt\text{-}nmh$, but he only wrote $p^3 rmt$, and after recognizing his mistake, he corrected it to $p^3y=f \dot{y}h$ by putting a dot on the first stroke of the p^3 and writing $\dot{y}h$ over the rmt -sign and adding the plant determinative at the end.

For more on $\dot{y}h\text{-}rmt\text{-}nmh$, see comment on **Text 50**, l. 4 above.

L. 3. $\dot{y}h n ntr$ ‘divine field, sacred land, lit. land of the god’⁸¹⁷ is the term used for temple land. The use of the possessive pronoun $p^3y=f$ with $\dot{y}h n ntr$ might be indicative of a privately owned temple land, and not a temple land given out on a leasehold. As scholars illustrated, temple land may be managed in three different ways. That is by the temple represented by its priesthood, by the tenants, or even by private owners.⁸¹⁸ In the Roman Period, as a result of the reforms initiated by the Roman administration, areas of temple lands were confiscated, and the temples had the choice either to have their lands turned into public land and receive a subsidy from the state called ‘syntaxis,’ or to pay a rent to the state if they to retain control of their land.⁸¹⁹ Monson argued against the traditional scholarly view in this regard stating that ‘most scholars mistakenly believe that nearly all temple land were thereby converted into public land to be cultivated by public farmers or auctioned to new owners.’⁸²⁰ He also explained that these reforms did not drastically change the Ptolemaic system of land tenure as they seem to have only affected temple land under direct control of the temple, not privately owned temple lands which were

⁸¹⁶ G. Botti, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh*, vol. I, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, serie prima - monumenti e testi, I (Firenze, 1967), 74; pl. xii.

⁸¹⁷ *CDD*, 3, 64.

⁸¹⁸ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 134–35.

⁸¹⁹ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 136–37.

⁸²⁰ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 131–32.

turned into a form of private land and had to pay a fixed land taxes usually paid by private landowners.⁸²¹ He also discussed many examples which provided support for the existence of privately owned temple land in addition to temple land under the control of the temple.⁸²²

In view of this, the current text, in case its supposed Roman date is correct, seems to lend a further support for Monson's argument for the existence of private temple land and that the Roman reforms did not mean to violate the rights private temple landowners. Also, contrasting 'his temple land' with 'his private land' underlines the distinction between the privately held temple land and the private land, which might or might not be located in temple or state domain.

L. 4. A person named Paeris son of Harpaesis occurred in a list of names from Medinet Habu recorded in O. MH 2799, l. 8 whose date is unknown.⁸²³ It is not sure if he is the same person recorded here.

L. 5. A like-named person appears in **Text 2**, l.4, which is dated to the reign of Augustus and in some early Roman ostraca from Medinet Habu, e.g. O. MH 4516, l. 4, dated to the 29th year of Augustus⁸²⁴ and O. MH 2587, l. 1, dated to the 27th year of Augustus.⁸²⁵ As Lichtheim concluded, this person is apparently the same person mentioned in both O. MH 4516 and 2587, and he was most likely a tax collector as one of the texts seems to suggest.⁸²⁶ If the current person is the same one appeared in the above-mentioned texts, the date of the current text could be securely dated to the 26th year of Augustus.

Interesting here is that this Pamonthes son of Paeris occurs in Lichtheim's O. MH 4516 introduced by the debatable phrase *hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-Mnt s3 Pa-iry* 'among the men of Pamonthes son of Paeris' (for more on this phrase, see comment on **Text 2**, l. 3 above). Referring to him here (if he was meant) within the phrase *n hn p3 ip n Pa-Mnt s3 Pa-iry* 'likewise, from within the account of Pamonthes son of Paeris' likely indicates him as an owner of a large amount of land from which 1 aroura will be given to somebody else. This might also be the case in l. 4 which records 2 ¼ aroura as 'the land of Paeris son of Harpaesis,' possibly indicting that this amount of land was allocated to the main person in the account from the land of Paeris son of Harpaesis. These indications raise some questions regarding the ownership and nature of this land and whether it belongs to these individuals or to Psenamounis son of Pagonis, to whom the account seems to have been made. If it belonged to them, it means that the account records parcels of land of multiple persons which contradicts the account's heading (which usually govern the following entries) which refers to the account as exclusively belonging to Psenamounis son of Pagonis. If it belonged to Psenamounis son of Pagonis, which appears to be the case, what is the relationship between him and them? Was it a private lease? Was he a cultivator working in their estates? Was it a parcel of land exchanged between individuals, or was the land expropriated from them and reallocated to him due to their incapability to pay their dues or for whatever reason? An exact answer to these questions is unfortunately not possible.

It might be important to note that evidence from the Ptolemaic Period shows that some individuals could exchange certain areas of land between one another. Also, temples might withdraw the allocated land from one person and give it to another for certain reasons, including the failure in the tax payments.⁸²⁷ In such scenarios, the mentioned persons would represent previous holders of the land and ascribing the land to them in the current text could be meant as a kind of distinction to these areas of land from the private and temple land listed in the same account. What might, however, cast some doubts on this idea is the lack of any pertinent indications such as the phrase *wn m-dr.t* 'formerly in the hand of,'

⁸²¹ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 132, 136–37, 140–41.

⁸²² Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 138–40. For more details on temple land in the Greco-Roman Period, cf. Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 77, 94, 131–41.

⁸²³ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 59.

⁸²⁴ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 22.

⁸²⁵ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 23.

⁸²⁶ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 23.

⁸²⁷ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 135.

which refers to the land that was formerly in the care of another person.⁸²⁸ Other possibilities include the idea that he could be a cultivator who rented some parcels of land from different estate owners. In this case, it could mean that Psenamounis son of Pagonis was a cultivator who rented different areas of land from different types of landowners (temple and private estate owner) beside owning some private land. Could the identification of these persons, especially Pamonthes son of Paeris who is already attested in relation to the controversial expression *hn nʹ rmt.w n NN*, as estate owners help reviving the often-rejected view of Mattha regarding this phrase that it was meant to denote the taxpayer as one of the workmen of an estate named after its owner? (See comment on **Text 2**, l. 3 above).

⁸²⁸ Monson, *From the Ptolemies*, 133, fn. 135; S. Vleeming, “Review of A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l’organisation du domaine d’Amon: XXe-XXIe dynasties, à la lumière des papyrus Prachov, Reinhardt et Grundbuch* (avec édition princeps des papyrus Louvre AF 6345 et 6346-7), 2 vols. BdE104. Le Caire: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1988.,” *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 222.

2.2.4 Miscellaneous Accounts and Lists

This section includes a few accounts and lists that do not seem to belong to either of the previous categories. One example apparently represents a dowry list, while the other records some items that could be related to the dowry items. Another interesting example records the number of days assigned to certain individuals.

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Exc. No. (MH 379). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11.4x 9.6x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *p³ ip(?) nkt.w(?) {nty}(?) nty-*iw*{=f}(?) Pa-Mn<f>(?) p³ *cs* (r) *t³y*.*t*=w(?)*
2. *gd³ 1.t hr h^d 75*
3. *thf 2.t hr 65*
4. *mhy.t 1.t 109*
5. *lkn³ hr h^d 45*
6. *P³-šr-Mn¹ gtgy hr '130'(?)*
7. *d^{cr}..' hr '210'*

Translation:

1. The account(?) of object(s){which}(?) which {he}(?) Pamon<thes>(?), the elder, will take(?)
2. 1 earring for 75 deben
3. 2 *thf* for 65 (deben)
4. 1 *mhy.t*-bowl (for) 109 (deben)
5. frying pan for 45 deben
6. Psenmonthes, *gtgy* for 1'30'(?) (deben)
7. *d^{cr}..'*-pot(?) for '210' (deben)

Commentary:


The paleography indicates the second century BC. The text records a list of items together with their values in deben. Although the text is almost completely legible, precise identification of some listed items is not possible. Added to the formula of the text (list of items+ their amount+ their value), the identification of some items as dowry objects or household related items strongly suggests a dowry list. It is quite remarkable that all listed items are determined with the copper determinative which implies a list of metal objects made of copper. The prices given for the recorded items are quite high, which suggests a copper deben as a unit of account. A further support for this could be the use of *h^d* rather than *h^d sp-sn* which was usually utilized when the true silver deben was meant. If the unit of account was truly a copper based one, the date of the text should not be earlier than 210 BC or later than 30 BC, which is also in line with the paleography. Although dowry objects constituted an essential part of the marriage contract, some of them were often recorded on ostraca.⁸²⁹ These, as Lichtheim assumed, could

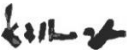
⁸²⁹ For some examples of dowry lists on ostraca, see O. Str. D 110 in W. Spiegelberg, *Der Papyrus Libbey: ein ägyptischer Heiratsvertrag*, SWGS 1 (Straßburg, 1907), 11; pl. iii; O. Berlin P 1109, O. Uppsala 603, and 1406 in Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 161–64; pl. xi; O. MH 3259 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 59–60; pls. 25, 49; O. Zürich, nos. 39–41 in Wängstedt, *Ostraka Zürich*, 43–47; pls. 39–41; O. Leiden, nos. 276–277 in Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 218–20, 637–38; pl. 19. For the dowry objects as appeared in the Demotic marriage contracts, see E. Lüdeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, ÄA 1 (Wiesbaden, 1960), 289–304; Pestman, *Marriage*, 91–102.


have been informal registrations.⁸³⁰ Such records might have been drafts that should be recorded later in the official contract; yet no concrete example can be used to support this conclusion.


L. 1. The reading of this line is uncertain. The structure is quite odd.

Reading *nkt*⁸³¹ seems possible, even though its determinative is quite indistinct.


The reading of the name  as *Pa-Mnt* is doubtful since the writing of *Mnt* differs from that of l. 6 and the final *t*-sign is lacking. It might be also a writing of *Pa-WSr*.


L. 2. *Gd*  is perhaps a writing of *gd(y)* ‘earring’,⁸³² which occurs as an item in dowry lists and was usually used in the combination *c.wy n gd* ‘pair of earrings.’⁸³³ The determinative used here is the copper determinative, which is not the case in the earlier attestations, in which the silver determinative was used. This could hint at a different manufacturing material.

L. 3. *Thf*  is not attested in Demotic and Egyptian in general. As the determinative suggests, it seems to be a metal object.

L. 4. The small dot after the *y* of *mhy.t*  apparently represents the feminine *t*. The number indicating the quantity confirms the word’s gender as feminine. This word is not attested in Demotic. It could be, however, derived from the Egyptian *mḥ.t*,⁸³⁴ which is attested since the 18th dynasty to denote a ‘dish, or bowl’ usually used for liquids, meat, and sweets. According to *Wb*, *mḥ.t* could be made also from metal (or more specifically silver). This seems to have been the case here since it has the metal determinative (but the copper one). Comparing its attestations in Egyptian with the current one (being part of a dowry list), it seems to signify a metal bowl which used within the household.

The writing of number 9, i.e. , is quite strange. *DemGloss*, 699 provides some writings in which the lower stroke is quite vertical.

L. 5. *Lknḥ*  is probably a type of a ‘frying pan, cauldron.’⁸³⁵ This word does not appear very frequently in Demotic.⁸³⁶ In some of its attestations, it was determined by the fire determinative in addition to the metal determinative which led Tait to suggest that it was probably a dish used in connection with an incense spoon.⁸³⁷ The current form of *lknḥ* has the metal determinative only but not the fire determinative. Moreover, it is probably a part of dowry list which usually records household items. This suggests a type of dish, or pot used for cooking or otherwise.

L. 6. *Gtgy*  possibly represents a metal object; but its exact identification is difficult since the word is unknown both in Demotic and Egyptian.

The number at the end seems to be 130, even though the writing of 30 is indistinct and written very close to 100, which could be due to the limited space at the end of the line.

⁸³⁰ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 59.

⁸³¹ *DemGloss*, 229–30; *CDD*, N, 132–136.

⁸³² *DemGloss*, 595; *CDD*, G, 80.

⁸³³ Lüdeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 303.

⁸³⁴ *Wb* II, 126.

⁸³⁵ *CDD*, L, 18.

⁸³⁶ Tait made mention of two writings that are similar to the current one and collected also some other related writings; see J. Tait, “A Demotic Word-List from Tebtunis: P. Carlsberg 41A,” *JEA* 68 (1982): 216.

⁸³⁷ Tait, “Demotic Word-List,” 217–18.

L. 7. The first sign could be read d^c , or less likely bs .⁸³⁸ The following sign(s) are broken and thus difficult to be read, but it certainly ends with a combination of the fire and the copper determinatives, which could be indicative of a cooking pot or vessel made of copper.

-53-

Exc. No. (MH 2940). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.6x 5.9x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. P^3 -šr-Mn^rt' [...]
2. 5 nwy(?) [...]
3. ll 10 n [...]
4. ḥd 8 r.tw=f^cn [...]

5. P^3 -Wynn
6. $\dot{\text{r}} \dot{\text{r}}$ sw 9(?) ..^r' [...]
7. [...]' $\dot{\text{r}} \dot{\text{r}}$ [...]


Translation:

1. Psenmon^rthes^r [...]
2. 5 [...] nwy-cloth(?) [...]
3. 10 necklaces for [...]
4. 8 deben, which he paid again [...]

5. Pouaininis
6. $\dot{\text{r}} \dot{\text{r}}$ day 9(?) ..^r' [...]
7. [...] $\dot{\text{r}} \dot{\text{r}}$ [...]

Commentary:

The left and lower parts of the ostracon are broken. The handwriting suggests the second century BC. The text apparently represents an account or list divided into two sections by a blank space. Each section seems to belong to a different individual: the first to someone called Psenmonthes, and the second to someone called Pouaininis. Among the items recorded in the first section is *nwy*(?), which denotes a 'type of cloth' and *ll* 'necklace,' which often appear among the object of the dowry. Moreover, the account records some money sums, which could well represent the value of the aforementioned items.

L. 2. The reading *nwy*  is tentatively suggested in *CDD*.⁸³⁹ This word occurs in some Theban ostraca⁸⁴⁰ and was read by Lichtheim as *nwhy* without any identification.⁸⁴¹ Later, Kaplony-Heckel accepted Lichtheim's reading and assumed a meaning close to *nwh* 'cord, rope'.⁸⁴² Recently, depending on the appearance of the *nw* group in a securely read name, the editors of the *CDD* preferred the reading

⁸³⁸ For the writing of the *b*-sign without a following stroke, compare the writings of the *bs* 'metal vessel' in *CDD*, B, 82.

⁸³⁹ *CDD*, N, 34-35.


⁸⁴⁰ Some examples are compiled in *CDD*, N, 34-35; others in Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempelide*, 360, n. 2.

⁸⁴¹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 71.

⁸⁴² Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempelide*, 360, n. 2.

nwy over *nwhy*, and suggested a ‘type of cloth or an item made of cloth’ as a possible identification.⁸⁴³ Furthermore, *nwy* could possibly be identified with the *inw* or *in.nw*⁸⁴⁴ ‘woman’s garment’ (previously read as *inšn*), a type of cloth that is usually referred to in dowry lists.

It is remarkable in the current example, however, that the writing of the *nw* sign is relatively similar to that of the *ʒ* sign, which might raise the question whether this sign could be truly read as *ʒ*, and thus the whole word as *ʒny*. In this case, one might consider *ʒny* as a Demotic rendering of *iny*⁸⁴⁵ ‘cord, ship’s rope.’ The identification in all cases will be related to cloths, either a type of cloth, a rope, or something made of cloth as the cloth determinative at the end of the word confirms.

L. 3. Ll  ‘necklace, bracelet’ was one of the items in the dowry lists.⁸⁴⁶

L. 5. P³-Wynn ‘the Greek’⁸⁴⁷ is attested also as personal name⁸⁴⁸ which is likely the case here since it begins a new account section which, like the first account section, could have begun with a personal name.

L. 6. Reading *sw 9* ‘day 9’⁸⁴⁹ is possible but not completely certain.

-54-

Exc. No. (MH 1471). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.6x 6.8x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. [... *sw1 sw 2 sw 3 sw 4 sw 5 sw 6 sw*] ‘7’ *sw 8 sw* ‘9’[*sw*] ‘10’
2. ‘.’ r 10
3. *Pa-ʒry sʒ Pa-ʒr(?) sw 11 sw 12 sw 13 sw 1[4 sw 15 sw 16]*
4. *sw 17 sw 18 sw 19*
5. r 9
6. *ʒy-m-ʒtp sʒ Pa-Ḍmʒ^c sw 15 sw 1[6]*
7. r 2
8. *Ns-nʒy=w-ʒmnw-ʒw sʒ ʒ-ʒphʒ(?) [sw ...]*
9. r 1 |(?) *Pa-ʒrʒ(?)*
10. *Pa-Ḍmʒ^c sʒ ʒImn-ʒtp’ [sw ... sw ...]*
11. r 2
12. ... [...]

Translation:

1. [... day 1, day 2, day 3, day 4, day 5, day 6, day] ‘7’, day 8, day ‘9’, [day] ‘10’
2. ‘.’ makes 10
3. Paeris son of Paos(?): day 11, day 12, day 13, day 1[4, day 15, day 16,]
4. day 17, day 18, day 19

⁸⁴³ CDD, N, 34.

⁸⁴⁴ Cf. CDD, ʒ, 164-166; B. Muhs, A. Grünwald, and G. Van den Berg-Onstwedder, “The Papyri of Phanesis Son of Nechthuris, Oil-Merchant of Tebtunis, and the Ptolemaic Cloth Monopoly,” *Enchoria* 28 (2003): 68, 70; Quack, “Zu einigen demotischen Gruppen,” 100–105.

⁸⁴⁵ Wb I, 93.

⁸⁴⁶ DemGloss, 262; CDD, L, 10–11; Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 295.

⁸⁴⁷ DemGloss, 80; CDD, W, 30-31.

⁸⁴⁸ DemNam, 175.

⁸⁴⁹ DemGloss, 708.

5. makes 9
6. Imouthes son of Pasemis: day 15, day 1[6]
7. makes 2
8. Snachomneus son of A^ˆpathes^ˆ: [day ...]
9. makes 1 [(?) Pachrates(?)]
10. Pasemis son of Ameno^ˆthes^ˆ: [day ..., day ...]
11. makes 2
12. ... [...]

Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved. Some white dots cover some parts of the sherd. The paleography indicates the late Ptolemaic Period, possibly the first century BC. The formula of the text goes as follows: at the beginning, it provides a personal name with a patronym, followed by a number of days that probably refer to him; then, the total of these days follows in a separate single line. I am not aware of any Demotic accounts with similar structure and theme.⁸⁵⁰ It is, therefore, difficult to define the purpose of this account with certainty, but it could be a division of labor days among workmen or allotment of service days between temple personnel, or the like. The structure and format of this list recalls that of the Ramesside hieratic O. BM EA5634 from Deir el-Medina, which contained a record of the workmen's absence days on both its recto and verso. In this list, similar to the current one, the name of each workman was followed by a series of days.⁸⁵¹ However, the differences between the current list and that of Deir el-Medina are quite obvious since the latter notes the reason of absence above each day, which makes its purpose beyond doubt in contrast to the current list. Furthermore, the current text records a series of consecutive days (up to 10 days in some cases) for each person, and, as lines 1-5 reveal, some persons have succeeded one other in the action recorded in these days, namely one began from day 1 to day 10 and the other continued from day 10 onwards. This makes it difficult to view the listed days as absence days rather than work or service days.

L. 1. *Sw 9* is quite faint.

In view of the format of the text and the given total in l. 2, namely 'makes 10,' one would expect a series of days from day 1 to day 10 to be mentioned in the damaged parts of this line, which makes the restoration quite secure.

L. 2. There seems to be a washed-off sign before *r 10*.

L. 3. The reading of *Pa* in *Pa-ḥr* is secure, which is not the case of *ḥr*.⁸⁵² That the personal determinative seems to be left out in *Pa-ḥr* as well as in *Pa-ḥry* is quite uncommon.⁸⁵³

The restoration of the partly preserved *sw 14* as well as *sw 15* and *sw 16* seems certain in view of the size of the lacuna, the fact that the dates continue in the next line with *sw 17*, and the fact that total given is 9. Likewise, the assumed number of days restored in ll. 6, 8, 10 is proposed depending on the total of days given in the following lines.

L. 6. A better writing of  *Pa-Dm^c* occurs in l. 10 below.

⁸⁵⁰ It is worthwhile to note that some lists of days or months were produced as school exercises for students in elementary educational stages, yet the format of the current text does not support identifying it with such school exercises, which were usually a mere enumeration of months or days in a month with no relevant information; for more on Demotic school exercises, see general comment to **Text 58** below.

⁸⁵¹ Cf. J. Černý and A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), 22; pls. lxxxiii–lxxxiv.

⁸⁵² Cf. *DemNam*, 401.

⁸⁵³ Cf. their writings in *DemNam*, 352, 401.

Reading *sw 15* is plausible since the number in the units' position is made up of two parts which, in view of its writing, can be either 5 or 8 (6 and 7 are written in two parts but they look completely different). Since 8 has already occurred within *sw 8* and *sw 18* in ll. 1, 4 with a slightly different writing, the current number in the units' position seems to be 5 and thus the date is likely *sw 15*. Moreover, throughout the text the days assigned to each person are usually consecutive, which means that if we read *sw 18*, the only possible option for the partly preserved day number which follows it would be *sw 19* since the following day number is certainly combined with 10 as the preserved parts show. Given the writing of *sw 19*, whose lower part is usually long and goes far to the right, one would expect the lower part of *sw 19* to be visible under the 18 just like in l. 4 above, which is not the case. In view of that it is very likely that the days in this line were *sw 15* and *16*.

L. 8. Restoring the name of the father as $\text{ʕ-ph}t$ is possible but not completely sure.

L. 9. For *Pa-hr* \bar{t} , cf. *DemNam*, 411. According to the text's structure, this line should contain the total. Therefore, *r l* 'makes 1' refers most likely to the total of days.

The part following the total is quite problematic. If the reading *Pa-hr* \bar{t} was meant, the vertical stroke before is either superfluous or a separation mark. Unless the current reading and identification are inaccurate, having a personal name in this place is quite odd and unjustifiable given the consistent formula of the text.

2.2.5 Unidentified Accounts

This subsection includes accounts whose content is unclear. On the whole, the ambiguity of the content of such accounts is caused sometimes by the text's damaged state of preservation, the ambiguity of some key words, or the lack of any relevant internal indications. Such texts can be generally classified as accounts sometimes by virtue of their heading or more commonly their format. The group of texts under consideration contains one such text, which is presented here.

-55-

Exc. No. (MH 335). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 9.5x 9.5x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] ʿ.ʿ [...]
2. \ Pa-Mnṯ sṯ ʿ.ʿ [...]
3. ————— r 15(?)
4. Pṣ(?)^{-c}.wy(?)⁻Pṣy-kṣ [...](?)
5. \ Imn-ḥtp sṯ Pa-Dmṣ^c ʿIʿ(?)
6. \ Hr-pa-ṣs.t (pṣ) ḥm 7
7. \ Pa-Mnṯ sṯ Pṣ-šr^{-c}-phṯ 10
8. \ Pṣ-ḥmt-sn.w sṯ Hr 1
9. r 19 st(?) [...]

Translation: x+


1. [...] ʿ.ʿ [...]
2. \ Pamonthes son of ʿ.ʿ [...]
3. ————— makes 15(?)
4. Pṣ(?)^{-c}.wy(?)⁻Pṣy-kṣ [...](?)
5. \ Amenothēs son of Pasemis ʿIʿ(?)
6. \ Harpaesis, (the) younger 7
7. \ Pamonthes son of Psenapathes 10
8. \ Pchentsneus son of Horos 1
9. makes 19. They(?) [...]

Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved. The handwriting indicates the late Ptolemaic Period. The text represents an account of an unspecified item. Except that of ll. x+3, 4 and 9, which represent a total (in ll. x+3, 9) and a section heading (l. x+4), all entries of the account are marked by a slanting stroke at the beginning of each line. A short horizontal line, apparently separating two account sections, appears between l. x+2 and x+4.


L. x+3. This line begins with a long horizontal stroke. It might represent a partition indicator signifying the end of an account section and the beginning of a new one. This might be confirmed through the fact that it is most likely followed by the total of the previous account section. Moreover, it was followed by a new account that apparently has the same format.

The reading of the signs following this stroke might be *r 15* ‘makes 15.’ Number 5 appears to be corrected from another number, possibly 6. What this amount refers to is not specified in the account, but it could be a total of previously recorded sums of money.

L. x+4. The reading of the part before *P3y-k3* as *p3 c.wy*  is possible but not completely certain since the writing of the *p3* is bit strange, and the *c.wy*-group is somewhat separated from the following stroke and the house determinative. But if the reading is correct anyway, the compound *P3-c.wy-P3y-k3* would most probably refer to a geographical location ‘hamlet or small village’ that has to be situated in Medinet Habu or nearby. The use of the combination ‘*p3 c.wy* ‘the house/ place of’+ divine or personal name’ to designate geographical locations is not uncommon in Demotic.⁸⁵⁴ Commenting on a like-structured name, De Cenival pointed out that names built with the element *p3 c.wy* ‘the place of’ are likely to indicate villages named after the owners of important estates within them,⁸⁵⁵ which might be the case in the example under consideration.

From a different perspective, the entry recorded in this line is quite distinct from the following entries since it is the only entry in the account which is not preceded by a checking mark. Additionally, the current entry does not have any linked numbers to it since the total given in l. x+9 corresponds to the details given in ll. x+5-8. It is, furthermore, preceded by a horizontal line, which probably represents a partition indicator referring to the beginning of a new account-section. It seems, thus, possible that it represents a sub-heading to a new section of the account.

L. x+5. A very tiny part of the number representing the paid amount is preserved at the end of the line. It is likely to be 1 (see also comment on l. x+9 below).

L. x+6. Note the unusual writing of *Hr* in *Hr-pa-3s.t* .

The number 7 is clearly corrected from 9.

L. x+8. There are traces of a deleted text under the name *P3-hmt-sn.w*.⁸⁵⁶ This deleted text, as far as one can see, probably indicates *r* ‘makes’ (intersecting with *p3*) followed by a total amount consisted of 10+ number (its remaining traces intersects with *hmt-sn.w*). A possible reason for this is that the scribe wanted to mistakenly conclude the account at this point before recording the last entry, which he then added directly above the deleted text.

L. x+9. For the recorded total, i.e. *19*, to match the above-mentioned details, there should be an amount of *1* linked to the name in l. x+5 which already has a checking mark before it.

Whether the sign after the total can be considered as *st* ‘they,’ which might possibly be part of a phrase like *st šsp n ip* ‘received on account,’ is not completely certain due to the damage of the text.

⁸⁵⁴ For some examples, see *CDD*, c, 9; Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 702.

⁸⁵⁵ F. De Cenival, “Compte de céréales de plusieurs villages du Fayoum: P. Dém. Lille 110 (inv. Sorbonne 205 à 213),” in *Livre du centenaire: 1880-1980*, ed. J. Vercoutter (Le Caire, 1980), 197, fn. 1.

⁸⁵⁶ For *P3-hmt-sn.w*, see *DemNam*, 209; compare also *hmt-sn.w* and *P3-fdw-sn.w* in *DemNam*, 876, 186.

2.3 Lists of Names (nos. 56-70)

The current collection offers a reasonable number of lists of personal names. Such lists constitute one of the main topics of Demotic ostraca. The date and more importantly the heading which could, at times, reveal some information about the purpose of the text are mostly left out. This is the case in most of the examples published here, which do not preserve these elements, except for a solitary example which luckily contains a heading, i.e. **Text 64**.

In name lists, people are usually referred to by their first and father's names. In some cases, the name of the grandfather could be also mentioned, while in other cases the person is identified only by his first name, e.g. in **Text 56**, l. 3; **Text 62**, l. 4, **Text 64**, l. 10, and **Text 99**, l. 1 (from Gebelein). In cases when the name of the father is identical with that of the son, a short technical expression, namely *sp-sn* which indicates that the person is the son of a man with the same name, could replace the name of the father. Examples of this expression appear in **Text 37**, l. 5, **Text 60**, l. 5, **Text 67**, ll. x+ 3, 7, **Text 69**, l. 10, etc. Other pieces of information such as titles could rarely accompany some names as in **Text 64**, ll. 6, 8 for instance. In very few cases, mainly lists of women, the lady can be described as *t' rmt.t n NN* 'the wife of NN' as for example in **Text 64**, ll. 5, 6. Also, if a person was followed by the name of his son, daughter, or brother in the same list, the name of the son, daughter, or the brother was usually followed by certain phrases that indicate this relationship. Examples for such phrases, which usually replace the name of the father, in the group under study are *t'y=s šr.t* 'her daughter' in **Text 64**, l. 11 and *p'y=f sn* 'his brother' in **Text 61**, l. 5, **Text 67**, l. x+4, and **Text 69**, l. 8.

Some scribal practices that occur every now and then in name lists include the use of checking marks, which occurs for instance in **Text 67**, **Text 70**, and **Text 99** (from Gebelein). The exact purpose of such marks, just like the purpose of the listing itself, is mostly kept in the mind of the scribe. According to Nur el-Din, the scribe used these marks to indicate a certain case concerning the marked person. In analogy with modern times, and depending on the situation, this case can be for instance the presence or absence of this person at work or a certain occasion.⁸⁵⁷ Additionally, the present lists of names provide a fairly new checking mark. That is a circle which occurred twice in **Text 99**, l. 3, 8 (from Gebelein). This is not to be confused with the already known practice of encircling the name itself as a kind of stress or sometimes as a sign of cancellation. A practice which is also attested in the present group of name lists (cf. **Text 63**, ll. x+ 6, 7). Furthermore, certain headings were strongly related to name lists. These includes the heading *p' rn+ n+* counted item 'the list of (lit. the name of)+ counted item.' This special heading, which occurs in the name list of **Text 64**, was also used as a header for accounts whose entries were mainly made up of personal names.⁸⁵⁸

Although the purpose of name lists on ostraca is not always clearly indicated within the text, some scholars have already made a few suggestions in this regard. For instance, Nur el-Din proposed that they possibly record the names of certain groups of people who mostly share the same profession (e.g. workmen, craftsmen, priests, officials in different departments, etc.)⁸⁵⁹ or are supposed to do something in common (e.g. doing specific work together, paying a certain tax, or the like).⁸⁶⁰ This idea is also confirmed by Muhs who already identified some known mortuary priests among the lists of names on ostraca from Thebes. According to him, these lists were probably meant to serve various intentions on different levels. From a general perspective, as Muhs explains, they might have been part of the census lists initiated by the Ptolemaic state in the context of tax collection control. On an internal

⁸⁵⁷ Nur el-Din, "Checking," 49.

⁸⁵⁸ [Abbas], "Demotic Accounts," 54.

⁸⁵⁹ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 290.

⁸⁶⁰ Nur el-Din, "Checking," 50.

administrational level, they could have been utilized by temples as part of ration distribution and redistribution system. In a narrower extent, the priests might have made such lists themselves as a register of the members of their profession.⁸⁶¹ This latter procedure is typical of private associations, (cult guilds and religious associations) which used to keep a record of their members, their accounts, alongside their annual rules on pieces of papyri.⁸⁶² Moreover, listing the people for taxation and other purposes is well known in Greco-Roman Egypt.⁸⁶³

Text 64 provides a concrete example for the use of name lists on ostraca in a daily life situation. In this text, the purpose of the list is remarkably disclosed in the heading as follows: *p3 rn n n3 shm.wt i3r iy r p3 irp n Dhwtj* ‘the list (lit. name) of the women who have come for the wine of Thoth.’ This heading indicates the purpose of the following list as a registration of women who came to the temple ‘for the wine of Thoth’ or *r p3 irp n Dhwtj*. Although this phrase reveals the broad purpose of the list, it unfortunately leaves open its exact purpose. On the one hand, one might think of this text as list of members of a certain religious association who came to drink wine as part of their communal meeting, especially that communal drinking of beer or wine was a very common activity in such associations.⁸⁶⁴ Some other points speak clearly in favor of this suggestion such as the unity of gender of all listed individuals, i.e. all of them being women. Another point is that some of the listed women are already ascribed to their husbands who bear official titles like *p3 sh n wd3* ‘the scribe of the granary’ and priestly titles such as *p3 wcb n Dhwtj* ‘the priest of Thoth,’ which indicates that at least some of these women could have had priestly positions since priesthood was—like many professions in ancient Egypt—a family tradition. On the other hand, one could simply think of a list of people (women in this case) who came to the temple of Thoth (presumably the temple of Qasr el-Agouz near Medinet Habu temple) to present a wine offering. Such an offering could be remarkably related to the one of the forms of Thoth worshipped in this temple, i.e. *Dhwtj-stm*, which some scholars interpreted as reference to the function of Thoth as ‘libationer’ (for more, see comment on **Text 64**, l. 4). Yet, the text does not record or refer to any amounts of wine offered or received by anyone. Another key point is the reference to the agent or *p3 rt* who has a key role in the administration of both the temple and religious associations. As scholars explained (see comment on **Text 64**, l. 2 for details), the agent was not responsible for the reception or distribution of wine offerings in religious associations, and the person responsible for that was the *lesonis*. This, though seems to favor a temple context to a certain extent, is not indisputable since the text does not refer to the agent as the one who received or made distributed the wine and he could simply be the one who wrote this list to present it to the *lesonis*. An alternative possibility is to assume this list was prepared in the frame of ration distribution and redistribution process inside the temple, and the listed women could have come to receive their shares of the wine presented as offering to Thoth. This seems less probable due to the lack of supporting indications, e.g. references to rations of wines or any relevant information. This would also mean that all the listed women were part of the temple personnel, which is unlikely. Eventually, it seems more plausible to assume that this list was produced by a certain religious association, which would remarkably represent probable evidence for a religious association of women in Thebes.⁸⁶⁵

On the other hand, the recurrence of some certain people (see for example **Text 66**, recto, l. 3) in both name lists and witness lists, which was often recorded on the verso of various Demotic contracts, raise

⁸⁶¹ Muhs, *O. Taxes 2*, 205.

⁸⁶² Muhs, “Membership,” 7–14; A. Monson, “Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts,” in *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum: Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology. Lecce, June 8th - 10th 2005*, ed. M. Capasso and P. Davoli (Galatina (Lecce), 2007), 183–84.

⁸⁶³ On the purpose of the Ptolemaic census lists, see Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People II*:12–35.

⁸⁶⁴ Muhs, *O. Taxes 2*, 206. For more on this activity, see Muhs, “Membership,” 1–21; Monson, “Private Associations,” 181–96.

⁸⁶⁵ Religious associations of women are attested through some Demotic papyri, namely P. dém. Lille 97, 98, 31; cf. F. De Cénival, “Deux papyrus inédits de Lille: avec une révision du P.dém. Lille 31,” *Enchoria 7* (1977): 1–49; Monson, “Private Associations,” 192–93.

the question on the purpose of some names lists on ostraca and whether some of them could serve as drafts of such witnesses lists or not?

Furthermore, the possibility of name lists being produced in the context of scribal training should not be excluded. As scholars noted, some personal name lists—especially those which follow systematic arrangement such as an alphabetical order—could have been used as ‘teacher’s model’ or ‘reference book for name formation’ issued by professional scribes or teachers,⁸⁶⁶ while some others—especially short texts that are written on ostraca with poor handwriting—may have been produced by students as exercises.⁸⁶⁷ Possible examples of such practice might be found in **Text 58** and **Text 63** in the current collection; for more on Demotic school exercises in general, see comment on **Text 58** below.

-56-

Exc. No. (MH 4206). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.8x 8.4x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

1. *Hr-sʒ-ʒs.t sʒ Pʒ-šr-ʔImn*
2. *Pa-wn sʒ Wn-nfr*
3. *Ns-mr-R^c*
4. *Pa-Mnʔ sʒ ...*
5. *ʔImn-ḥtp sʒ Pʒy-kʒ*
6. *Pa-ʔwnʔ(?) sʒ ʔ...ʔ*

Translation:

1. Harsiesis son of Psenamounis
2. Pagonis son of Onnophris
3. Es-mer-re
4. Pamonthes son of ...
5. Amenothos son of Pikos
6. Pa-ʔgonisʔ(?) son of ʔ...ʔ

Commentary:

The ink is very faint in some places of the text. Signs of a palimpsest can be seen in the left side of the sherd where some traces of a wiped-off text that goes perpendicular to the current text can be noticed. From this text, one can read ‘... *r rmt 3 ...*’ ‘... makes 3 men’

L. 1. The second part of the name  *Hr-sʒ-ʒs.t*⁸⁶⁸ is quite indistinct.


L. 2. Reading *Wn-nfr*⁸⁶⁹ seems plausible despite the strange writing of *nfr*.

⁸⁶⁶ For a discussion and examples, see K. Davis, “Conceptions of Language: Egyptian Perspectives on Writing and Grammar in the Late Period and Greco-Roman Period” (PhD Thesis, Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, 2016), 133–34; J. Tait, “A Demotic Onomatological Fragment from North Saqqara,” in *Text Editions of (Abnormal) Hieratic, Demotic, Greek, Latin and Coptic Papyri and Ostraca: Some People Love Their Friends Even When They Are Far Away. Festschrift in Honour of Francisca a. J. Hoogendijk*, ed. J. Stolk and G. Van Loon, P.L.Bat. 37 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 28–32.

⁸⁶⁷ For a discussion and examples, see Davis, “Conceptions of Language,” 133–34.

⁸⁶⁸ Cf. *DemNam*, 834–35.

⁸⁶⁹ *DemNam*, 118.

L. 3. To my knowledge, the name *Ns-mr-R^c*  is not attested in Demotic or Egyptian. Similar names such as *Ns-mr-Pth* and *Ns-mr-Hr* are, however, known in Egyptian.⁸⁷⁰ The current name could thus have been built in the same way. On the other hand, could it be an unetymological writing of the name *Wsr-m^{3c}.t-R^c* which can be also written as *Ns-mn-R^c*, *Smn-R^c*, *Wsr-²Imn-R^c*, or *Wsy-mn-R^c*?⁸⁷¹

L. 4. The name of the father is unclear, and it seems to overlap with some signs of the old wiped-off text. It is, however, similar to the name ³*Iw=y-iw*.⁸⁷²

L. 6. The reading *Pa-⁵wn⁷* is uncertain due to the faint ink; compare, however, the name in l. 2 above. The preserved part of the father's name is faint and unclear.

-57-

Exc. No. (MH 4405). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 4.5x 6.5x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Ptolemaic.

Transliteration: x+

1. ⁵[..] ⁵s³(?) ³P³-mr-³h⁷(?) [...](?)
2. *Pa-Mn³ s³ P³-šr-Mn³ [...](?)*
3. *Hr s³ P³-šr-Mn³ [...](?)*
4. *P³y-k³ s³ P³-šr-D³hwty [...](?)*
5. *Hr s³ P³-šr-²Inp [...](?)*

Translation: x+

1. ⁵[..]'son of⁷(?) 'Pelaias⁷(?) [...]
2. Pamonthes son of Psenmonthes [...](?)
3. Horos son of Psenmonthes [...](?)
4. Pikos son of Psenthotes [...](?)
5. Horos son of Psenanoupis [...](?)

Commentary:

The text is incomplete as the ostrakon is broken in its upper, lower, and left parts. The handwriting is Ptolemaic. The remaining part suggests a list of personal names. Despite being apparently broken at the left side, it is not clear whether the text goes on in this side or not since some the names of the fathers are already completely preserved and most of name lists usually only provide the name of the person and the father. Unless the text is other than a list of names (an account for instance), nothing should be lost in the lacuna on the left side.

-58-

Exc. No. (MH 1138). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.3x 5.1x 0.5 cm. Medinet Habu. Ptolemaic.

⁸⁷⁰ Cf. Ranke, *Personennamen* I:176.

⁸⁷¹ Cf. *DemNam*, 128 and addendum to this name in *DemNamKorr*, 140.

⁸⁷² For this name, see *DemNam*, 59; *DemNamKorr*, 134; K.-Th. Zauzich, "Der verborgene Name des Gottes Amun in demotischen Texten," in *New Approaches in Demotic Studies: Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies*, ed. F. Naether, ZÄS-B 10 (Berlin; Boston, 2019), 305–7.

Transliteration:**Recto:** x+

1. [...] ϵ...? [...]
2. [...] ϵPaʹ-Mnϵ [...]
3. [Pa]-ϵDʹmʹ^c sʹ Pa-[...]
4. Pa-Dmʹ^c sʹ Pa-R^c [...](?)
5. Pa-Dmʹ^c sʹ Pa-R^c [...](?)
6. Ta-hb ϵ..? [...]
7. r.tw=y [...]

Verso:

1. [...] ϵ..? ...

2. hrϵ psy

Translation:**Recto:** x+

1. [...] ϵ...? [...]
2. [...] ϵPaʹmonthes [...]
3. [Pa]-ϵseʹmis son of Pa[...]
4. Pasemis son of Pares [...](?)
5. Pasemis son of Pares [...](?)
6. Taibis ϵ..? [...]
7. which I have given [...]

Verso:

1. [....] ϵ..? ...

2. burnt piece of cloth(?)

Commentary:

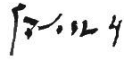
The sherd is broken from the upper right and left sides as well as the bottom left side. The handwriting is Ptolemaic. The text is apparently a list of names which could have been done as a school exercise due to various reasons. Firstly, the handwriting seems quite primitive, and the signs are somehow big. Secondly, the names are written with some extra spacing between the signs of each name. Thirdly, the name of Pasemis son of Pares is repeated at least twice, which might indicate an educational practice. Further hints include the correction of the first part of *tw* in *r.tw=y* and the fact that the writing ground is an ostrakon.⁸⁷³ The verso has two lines of text whose handwriting appears to be quite different from that of the recto.

⁸⁷³ For more on the characteristics of Greek school texts written on ostraca from the Greco-Roman Period, of which many are also found in Demotic school texts, see R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ASP 36 (Atlanta, 1996), 75–96; R. Criboire, “Literary School Exercises,” *ZPE* 116 (1997): 54; J. Lougovaya, “Greek Literary Ostraca Revisited,” in *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World: New Discoveries and Methodologies*, ed. C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya (Berlin, 2020), 124–26.

Generally speaking, Demotic school exercises⁸⁷⁴ are often written on ostraca and at times on wooden tablets or papyri.⁸⁷⁵ They usually comprise exercises on different subjects that were supposed to be part of the curriculum used in a scholastic education be it linguistic, such as grammatical exercises and word-lists, arithmetical such as exercises on mathematical operations or the writing of numbers,⁸⁷⁶ or even simple writing training which could even include training on how to hold and use the pen and ink. Evidence for this latter point is some sherds “covered with c-shapes, loops and zigzag lines” which Lippert and Schentuleit believed to be resulted from “children’s efforts to master pen and ink.”⁸⁷⁷ Scholars usually identify such texts using certain criteria, some of which—as Tassier already noticed—are ‘partially subjective.’ One of these criteria is the content which should be befitting to educational purposes. This can be true of lexicographical lists, grammatical exercises, or exercises on mathematical operations for instance.⁸⁷⁸ In some cases, however, some texts are classified as scribal or school exercises just because they seem to serve no apparent purpose or—as Nur el-Din described—‘meaningless.’⁸⁷⁹ Also, the writing ground plays a role in the classification as well. Typically, ostraca of pottery or limestone and wooden boards are common material to use when it comes to school exercises.⁸⁸⁰ Some teaching models may be written on papyri as well.⁸⁸¹ Another standard for identifying such text is the quality of handwriting and grammar.⁸⁸² A good number of school exercises, especially those produced by students, are characterized by primitive handwriting, poor quality of grammar, and repetition of words. In rare cases (e.g. O. Uppsala 672, l. 7), the text could even include indications (i.e. ‘Ich habe (es) umgeschrieben(?)’) that refer to its purpose being a writing exercise.⁸⁸³

Recto:

L. x+2. The *Pa*, *mn*, and *t* of *Pa*-*Mnt* are quite separated from each other. This seems to be typical

for this scribe, compare the writing of *Pa-Dm*^{3c}  (l. x+5) in ll. x+3, 4, 5 below.

L. x+3. That the determinative of *Pa-Dm*^{3c} here and in l. x+5 is too long and goes down to the end of the text could be another sign of scribal training.

The name of the father in this line could be *Pa-R*^c.

⁸⁷⁴ For further discussions and examples of Demotic school exercises, see for instance W. Erichsen, *Eine ägyptische Schulübung in demotischer Schrift*, DVSM 31 (4) (København, 1948); S. Wängstedt, “Aus der demotischen Ostrakonsammlung zu Uppsala. II,” *OrSuec* 6 (1957): 9–13; U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Schüler und Schulwesen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit,” *SAK* 1 (1974): 227–46; Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 286–89; D. Devauchelle, “Remarques sur les méthodes d’enseignement du démotique (à propos d’ostraca du Centre Franco-Egyptien d’Etude des Temples de Karnak),” in *Grammata demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, ed. H.-J. Thissen and K.-Th. Zauzich (Würzburg, 1984), 47–59; M. Nur el-Din, “Some Demotic School Exercises,” *ASAE* 71 (1987): 199–204; J. Johnson, “L’Egiziano,” in *Storia della linguistica*, by G. Lepschy, vol. 1 (Bologna, 1990), 86–96; E. Tassier, “Greek and Demotic School-Exercises,” in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J. Johnson (Chicago, 1992), 311–15; Depauw, *Companion*, 116; W. Clarysse, “A Demotic School Exercise in Two Copies,” in *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*, ed. F. Haikal, BdE 164 (Le Caire, 2015), 81–83; Davis, “Conceptions of Language,” and the bibliography cited therein; G. Vittmann, “Ein frühdemotisches Schultäfelchen (Louvre E 9846),” in *En détail - Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert*, ed. M. Brose et al., vol. 2, ZÄS-B, 7.2 (Berlin; Boston, 2019), 1191–1210; S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, “Demotic Ostraca and Their Use in Egyptian Temple Context from the Greco-Roman Period: Soknopaiou Nesos and Hut-Repit,” in *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World: New Discoveries and Methodologies*, ed. C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya (Berlin, 2020), 199; A. Boud’hors et al., “Les dépotoirs à tessons de Hout-Répit/Athribis et leur matériel inscrit: rapport préliminaire (mission 2019-2020),” *BIFAO* 121 (2021): 95–96; Tait, “Demotic Onomatological Fragment,” 28–32.

⁸⁷⁵ Cf. E. Tassier, “Greek and Demotic School-Exercises,” 311; Depauw, *Companion*, 116; Davis, “Conceptions of Language,” 126.

⁸⁷⁶ For an overview of the different subjects that formed the Demotic curriculum, see E. Tassier, “Greek and Demotic School-Exercises,” 311; Depauw, *Companion*, 116; Davis, “Conceptions of Language,” 125–138.

⁸⁷⁷ Lippert and Schentuleit, “Demotic Ostraca and Their Use,” 199.

⁸⁷⁸ E. Tassier, “Greek and Demotic School-Exercises,” 311.

⁸⁷⁹ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 286.

⁸⁸⁰ Tassier, “Greek and Demotic School-Exercises,” 311.

⁸⁸¹ Some examples are discussed in Davis, “Conceptions of Language,” 133, 134.

⁸⁸² Tassier, “Greek and Demotic School-Exercises,” 311.



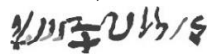
⁸⁸³ Cf. S. Wängstedt, “Aus der Ostrakonsammlung Uppsala. II,” 9–13.

L. x+4. It is not clear whether the text continues after *Pa-R^c* in this line and the following line.

L. x+6. For *Ta-hb*, see *DemNam*, 1201.

Verso:

L. 1. The remaining signs in this line are unclear. At the beginning, there could be a name ending with a divine determinative. Whether the following sign could be taken as an unusual writing of the number 10 is not sure.

L. 2. The first word is likely *hrt*  'bandage, strip of cloth,'⁸⁸⁴ and the second is *psy*  (determinative is unclear, thus its facsimile is approximate) 'to cook, to bake, heating, baking, baked, cooked, boiled.'⁸⁸⁵ The determinative of *psy* resembles its hieroglyphic version. The phrase  *hrt psy* could mean 'burnt piece of cloth.'

-59-

Exc. No. (MH 424). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.6x 5.2x 0.5 cm. Medinet Habu. Ptolemaic.

Transliteration: x+

1. *ʿPʰ-hb(?) (sʰ) Pʰ-šr-[...]*
2. *Pʰ-šr-Dḥwty sʰ ..ʿ..ʿ[...]*
3. *Pa-tʰ-qly(?) [...]*
4. *Pʰ-šr-Dḥwtyʰ(?) sʰ Pa-(?).. [...]*
5. *Ta-nfr(?) ta Pʰ-šr-[...]*
6. *Pʰ-šr-ʿʰ-phḥ sʰ Hr [...]*
7. *Pa-nʰ-hḥ.w (sʰ) Pʰ-dī-ʿʰs.tʰ(?)*
8. *Pʰ-dī-ʿʰImn-ipy (sʰ) Pʰ-šr-Dḥwty*
9. *Wsr-mʰʿ.t-R^c*
10. *Ns-Mn sʰ Šr-pʰ(?)... [...](?)*

Translation: x+


1. *P^hhibis (son of) Psen[...]*
2. *Psen^hthotes son of ..ʿ..ʿ [...]*
3. *Pa-t-kales (?) [...]*
4. *Psen^hthotes^h(?) son of Pa(?).. [...]*
5. *Tanouphis(?) daughter of Psen[...]*
6. *Psenapathes son of Horus [...]*
7. *Panechotes (son of) Pete^hesis^h(?)*
8. *Petemenophis (son of) Psen^hthotes*
9. *Zmanres*
10. *Esminis son of Senpa(?) ... [...](?)*

Commentary:


⁸⁸⁴ *DemGloss*, 367; *CDD*, *H*, 149-151.

⁸⁸⁵ *DemGloss*, 139; *CDD*, *P*, 161-162.


The right side of the sherd has a small hole, which seems to have been in the original vessel or vase before it was broken up into sherds. The text is apparently of Ptolemaic date.


L. x+1. For P^3 - hb , see *DemNam*, 202, especially example no. 35 where the vertical part of the b sign either unusually goes down or has a small dot under it seems plausible.


L. x+2. The name of the father might be one that begins with n^3 + adjective.⁸⁸⁶


L. x+3. The name $Pa-t^3-qly$  is apparently a variant of $Pa-t^3-qry$, marked as doubtful in the *DemNam*.⁸⁸⁷ The same t^3-qry occurred also as part of the name $P^3-šr-t^3-qry$.⁸⁸⁸ Given the current writing, the final part of the last name (i.e. $P^3-šr-t^3-qry$) might be read qle rather than qry which agrees with the suggestion of Pestman who originally suggested $P^3-šr-t^3-ql$.⁸⁸⁹

L. x+4. Reading the sign between $šr$ and the divine determinative as $Dḥwty$ is possible but not entirely certain.

L. x+5. Reading $Ta-nfr$  seems possible; cf. *DemNam*, 1194-1195.

L. x+6. Reading $P^3-šr-c^3-ph$  seems possible; notice, however, the strange writing of ph .

L. x+7. : It is not clear where the name $Pa-n^3-ht.w$ ends. This uncertainty is caused by the two similar groups after the nh -sign. It seems, however, that the first one is the t -sign followed by the plural stroke which usually marks the end of $Pa-n^3-ht.w$, and the second is possibly P^3-dl which would belong to the father's name which could be something like $P^3-dl-ʿs.t$. In this case the s^3 of filiation would be omitted just like the names in ll. x+1, 8.

L. x+8. For $P^3-dl-ʿImn-ipy$ , see *DemNam*, 282–83. One can notice here the unusual writing of $ʿImn$ which has an additional dot before the mn group.

-60-

Exc. No. (MH 1373). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.5x 5.5x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. $P^3-dl-ʿIry-ḥm[s-nfr][s^3 \dots](?)$
2. $Dḥwty-ī.īr-dl=s s^3 Pa-n^3-ḥ[ḫ.w]$
3. $Pa-Dm^3c s^3 P^3-dl-Ḥnsw$
4. $P^3-fdw-Mnḫ s^3 P^3-dl-Ḥnsw$
5. $Ḥnsw-Dḥwty s^3 sp-sn$
6. $P^3-šr-ʿImn s^3 Pa-ḥ^3(?)$
7. $[P^3y-k^3 D^3d^3-n-ʿT[\dots]](?)$

⁸⁸⁶ For examples of such names, see *DemNam*, 616 ff.

⁸⁸⁷ *DemNam*, 562.

⁸⁸⁸ *DemNam*, 269.

⁸⁸⁹ P. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, P.L.Bat. 21 (Leiden, 1981), 455; *DemNam*, 269.

⁸⁹⁰ *DemNam*, 230.

8. $[P^3\text{-}\check{s}r]\text{-}^rMn\check{t}^r(?) s^3 P^3\text{-}d\check{l}\text{-}Wsr$

Translation:


1. Petear^rsenou^r[phis] [son of ...](?)
2. Thotortaios son of Panechotes
3. Pasemis son of Petechonsis
4. Phthoumonthes son of Petechonsis
5. Chesthotes son of the likewise named
6. Psenamounis son of P-cha(?)
7. [Pi]kos (son of)(?) Djadja-n-l[...] (?)
8. [Psen]^rmonthes^r(?) son of Petosiris


Commentary:

The sherd is partly broken at its lower and left-hand edges. The handwriting indicates the second century BC.

L. 1. It is not clear whether the father's name followed the first name or not.

L. 2. The n^3 of $Pa\text{-}n^3\text{-}h[t.w]$ is written as a dot, which is known from other writings of the name.⁸⁹¹

L. 6. $Pa\text{-}h^3$  might be the name attested in the Ptolemaic P. Lille 104, verso, col. i, l. 3 and read by De Cenival as $Pa\text{-}h^3$ ⁸⁹² which is then tentatively reread in the *DemNam* as $Pa\text{-}h^3$.⁸⁹³ Whether this name can be a variant of $Pa\text{-}h^3$, which can be used as a writing for $Pa\text{-}hy$ ⁸⁹⁴ is not sure. The determinative of this name is covered by a spot of a light black substance which I cannot identify, but it could be ink.

L. 7. After $P^3y\text{-}k^3$ there is a compound beginning with d^3d^3 'head'⁸⁹⁵ . Here, it is not clear what it represents. It should be either a title or a personal name. Compound names with d^3d^3 are quite rare in Demotic, and d^3d^3 is usually the second part in such compounds.⁸⁹⁶ Names beginning with d^3d^3 almost do not exist in Demotic. The only probable example is $D^3d^3\text{-}n\text{-}y\check{l}it$ whose identification as a personal name is still in question.⁸⁹⁷ Taking the current compound as a title or descriptive statement is not unlikely here given that it follows the name directly without the s^3 of filiation, which the scribe wrote in all listed names.

L. 8. A theophoric name with Montu is expected here; $P^3\text{-}\check{s}r\text{-}Mn\check{t}$ seems more likely than others in view of the available space and remaining parts.

-61-

Exc. No. (MH 4346). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.9x 5.4x 0.5 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

⁸⁹¹ Cf. *DemNam*, 382.

⁸⁹² De Cenival, *Papyrus Lille (III)*, 67; pl. xii.

⁸⁹³ Cf. addendum to $Pa\text{-}h\text{-}?.?$ in *DemNamKorr*, 179.

⁸⁹⁴ For $Pa\text{-}hy$ and its variants, see *DemNam*, 404–5; TM Nam 643. In *Trismegistos*, this name is listed as a variant of $Pa\text{-}hy$; cf. TM Nam 643; TM Ref 119509.

⁸⁹⁵ For d^3d^3 , see *DemGloss*, 673; *CDD*, *D*, 10.

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. $G\text{-}d^3d^3$ in *DemNam*, 1014 and $T^3y\text{-}d^3d^3$ as a variant of $T^3y\text{-}dy$ in *DemNam*, 1354.

⁸⁹⁷ Cf. *DemNam*, 1377.

Transliteration:

1. [Pa-*i*]ry s³ P³-šr-Mn_ḫ
2. [...] s³ Pa-*iry*
3. [...] -*hṭp*(?) s³ P³-šr-Mn_ḫ
4. [Pa]-*iry* s³ Hry=*w* s³ G³lyy^rn^{7?}
5. [Hr-]p³-*hrṭ*(?) p³y=*f*^rsn⁷ Qll s³ P³-šr-*Mnḫ*
6. [...] ^r...^r T³-šr.t-pa-Mn_ḫ
7. [...] ^r...^r [...]


Translation:

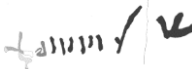

1. [Pae]ris son of Psenmonthes
2. [...] son of Paeris
3. [...] -*hṭp*(?) son of Psenmonthes
4. [Pa]eris son of Herieus son of K³leo^rn⁷
5. [Har]pochrates(?) his brother. Chaliles son of Psen^rmonthes^r
6. [...] ^r...^r Senpamonthes
7. [...] ^r...^r [...]


Commentary:

The right and lower parts of the sherd are broken. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic.

L. 3. The first name could possibly end with *hṭp*.

L. 4.  : The s³ of filiation is probably written directly over the personal determinative of the *Pa-iry*. Traces of a sign similar to the p³-sign are still preserved above the *h* of *Hry=w*.

The part after the *g* of *Glyyn*  is continued under the line. The reading of the last sign  as *n* is not sure due to the severely faded ink; it could be an *3* as well. This name seems to end with a foreign determinative as the remaining traces confirm. The current name is not in the *DemNam* but might be a variant of *Gl3n* which occurs also as *Glyn*, *Gly3*, or *Qryn*.⁸⁹⁸

L. 5. This line begins with a name ending with p³-*hrṭ*, which suggests [Hr-]p³-*hrṭ*⁸⁹⁹ . Alternatively, names like *ḥh*-p³-*hrṭ*, *Ns*-p³-*hrṭ*, or also P³-*dī*-Hr-p³-*hrṭ* could have been meant as well. What remains unclear, though, is the vertical stroke that follows the divine determinative of this name.

The lower part of *sn*  is quite faint.

Mnḫ of the name P³-šr-Mn_ḫ is continued in the available space under the line just after the last name of line 5, which accidentally ends with *Mnḫ* as well.

⁸⁹⁸ *DemNam*, 1035, 1048, 981.

⁸⁹⁹ *DemNam*, 805; see also the final part with P³-šr-Hr-p³-*hrṭ* and P³-*dī*-Hr-p³-*hrṭ* in *DemNam*, 254, 328.

Exc. No. (MH 429). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.3x 6.3x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

1. [Pa(?)]-^rMn^rṯ s³ Hr^ry^r[^rw](?)
2. Sybw^sy[...]
3. Dḥwty-s^dm s³ Gm^rṯ
4. Sr^rpyywn
5. P³y-k³ s³ Pa-Mn^rṯ-g^rm^r[ṯ]
6. Pa-[nb-b(?)]^rḥn^r s³ P³-rmt^r-Twtw
7. ^rPa-Mn^rṯ s³ P³-fdw-Mn^rṯ
8. [...] ṯ(?) ^{Go} p³ ḥm(?)
9. [...] .. ^{Go} s³ P³-šr-Mn^rṯ
10. [...] . ^{Go} s³ Pa-[...]


Translation:

1. [Pa(?)]^rmon^rthes son of Her^rie^r[us](?)
2. Sebousi[...]
3. Thotsytmis son of Kame^rtis^r
4. Sarapion
5. Pikos son of Pa-Montou-ge^rme^r[ti]
6. Pa[nb(?)]^rchounis^r son of Prom-toutou
7. ^rPamon^rthes son of Phthoumonthes
8. [...] ṯ(?), the craftsman(?)
9. [...] .. son of Psenmon^rthes^r
10. [...] . son of P[...]

Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved. It is not clear whether line 1 is the beginning of the list or not. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic.

L. 1. Although Mn^rṯ is almost completely preserved, the restoration of the first part of the first name as Pa is not certain. What supports the current restoration, however, is the occurrence of a person called Pamonthes son of Herieus in two Late Ptolemaic witnesses lists, namely P. Turin 6111, verso, l. 2 and P. Turin 6088, verso, l. 2, dated to year 119 and 111 BC successively.⁹⁰⁰ The dates of these two lists agree with the paleographically-based dating of the current text to the Late Ptolemaic Period.

The surviving parts of the father's name suggest reading Hr^ry^r=w . Other names that employ the hr^ry^r⁹⁰¹ are paleographically possible but Hr^ry^r=w seems more plausible given that it might be referring to a known individual.


L. 2. The name Sybw^sy[...]

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. Botti, *L'archivio demotico* I:95, 125; pls. xiv. ii, xxvii. ii.


⁹⁰¹ For examples of such names, cf. *DemNam*, 744–52.

L. 4. The name in this line is apparently a form of the Greek name *Srpy³n* which occurs in many other spellings such as *S³r³py³n*, *Srpy³wn* and *Srpyⁿ*.⁹⁰² Note also the hieroglyphic spelling of this name, i.e. *Sr^cpy^cn*, in which the ^c was put after the *r*.⁹⁰³


L. 6. The first name is either *Pa-nb-b^hn* or a variant of it, e.g. *Pa-n³-nb-b^hn*, *Pa-n³-b^hn*, *P³-nb-^hn*, etc.⁹⁰⁴

The name *P³-rmt^t-Twtw*  is not attested in Demotic. In this name, *Twtw* refers to a geographical location. Besides the fact that names built with ‘*P³-rmt^t+ geographical name*’ were common in Demotic (see comment on **Text 64**, l. 5), the place determinative after *Twtw* makes the reference to a place name beyond doubt. Furthermore, *Twtw* was already used as a geographical

designation of Tod in the Demotic,⁹⁰⁵ e.g. in stela Louvre E 14761, l. 1.⁹⁰⁶ The current writing of *rmt^t*  is not the standard one but it exists in Demotic.⁹⁰⁷

L. 7. The *mn* of *P³-fdw-Mn^t*  is joined to the lower part of *fdw*. The upper hook of the *mn* is not written.

L. 8. The name at the beginning certainly ends with a divine determinative which is possibly preceded by a *t*-sign.

Reading *p³ hm*  ‘the craftsman’⁹⁰⁸ after the divine determinative of the previous name seems plausible.

-63-

Exc. No. (MH 2781). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.6x 4.8x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration: x+

1. [... *Ns-p³*]-*hr^t*(?)^{c³} [...]
2. [...] *s³ Ns-p³-hr^t*^{c³} [...]
3. *Mnh s³ P³-d^t-p³*-[...]
4. *Mnh s³ P³-d^t-p³*-[...]
5. *Pa-³ry s³ Pa-nf*(?)
6. *P³-³r-*Wsr* s³ Hr*(?)
7. – *T³-³r.t-^{c³}-p^h^t*(?) [...]
8. –(?) [...]

Translation: x+

1. [... Es-po]‘chrates’(?), (the) elder [...]

⁹⁰² *DemNam*, 933.

⁹⁰³ Cf. R. El-Farag, U. Kaplony-Heckel, and K. Kuhlmann, “Recent Archaeological Explorations at Athribis (*Hwt Rpij.t*),” *MDAIK* 41 (1985): 5; *DemNam*, 933.

⁹⁰⁴ Cf. *DemNam*, 386.

⁹⁰⁵ Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 676.

⁹⁰⁶ Cf. Text no. 213 in Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 216; A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen aus Berlin, Chicago, Durham, London und Oxford mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften aus Paris und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*. (Berlin, 1995), 288–89.


⁹⁰⁷ Cf. the Roman writings nos. 4-5 in *DemGloss*, 247; cf. also *rmt* in *P³-rmt-P³-mwhy* in *DemNam*, 197.

⁹⁰⁸ Cf. Ptolemaic writings nos. 2, 9 in *DemGloss*, 303–4; *CDD*, *H*, 110.


2. [...] son of Es-pochrates, (the) elder [...]
3. Menches son of Petepa[...]
4. Menches son of Petepa[...]
5. Paeris son of Pa-nef(?)
6. Psenosiris son of Horos(?)
7. – Senaꜥpathesꜥ(?)
8. –(?) [...]

Commentary:

The text is incomplete; the handwriting indicates the late Ptolemaic Period. The surviving parts of the text suggest a list of names. In this list, some names are repeated. The exact reason behind this repetition is not clear, but it could be indicative of a school exercise.


L. x+1. The remaining parts of this line are comparable to the name *Ns-pꜣ-hrꜥ*⁹⁰⁹  in l. x+2; thus the restoration. Since the name in ll. x+3-4 is repeated twice, it is possible that ll. x+1-2 had the same name also.

L. x+5. The determinative of *Pa-ꜣry*  is linked with the following *sꜣ* of filiation.

The name of the father could possibly be read *Pa-nf* . In this case the partly preserved sign, which looks like a dot, should be part of the final determinative of *nf*. Also, the initial *n* is written as vertical stroke in contrast to the known examples of *Pa-nf* in which a full writing of *n* was used.⁹¹⁰

L. x+6. This name and the names in l. x+7 and possibly l. x+8 are encircled, probably as a type of stress.⁹¹¹

The reading of the signs following the name *Pꜣ-šr-ꜣsꜣr* as *sꜣ Hr* is very doubtful.

L. x+7. : Restoring *Tꜣ-šr.t-ꜣphꜥ*⁹¹² is possible, but not entirely certain. In addition to the circle, this name seems to have been marked by a horizontal stroke at the beginning.

L. x+8. The name in this line could have a checking mark before it as well.

-64-

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 18.7x 16x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (late second to first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *hꜣ.t-sp 4.t*

⁹⁰⁹ *DemNam*, 670.

⁹¹⁰ Cf. G. Vittmann, "Ein thebanischer Verpfändungsvertrag aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' III. Euergetes: P. Marseille 298 + 299," *Enchoria* 10 (1980): 138; *DemNam*, 387.

⁹¹¹ For the use of the circle as a stress mark, see Nur el-Din, "Checking," 60. On the other hand, it could also be used to indicate cancellation; cf. Nur el-Din, "Checking," 60, fn. 6.

⁹¹² *DemNam*, 1092.

2. *tpy šmw sw 16 p³ rt(?)*
3. *n Dḥwty p³ ntr³ n(?) ḥ.t-ntr p³ rn*
4. *n n³ šḥm.wt i.īr iy r p³ irp n Dḥwty*
5. *T³-šr.t-Dḥwty t³ rmt.t n P³-rmt-Pr-iw-lq*
6. *T³-šr.t-Hr t³ rmt.t n P³-dī-Hr-sm³-t³.wy p³ sh n wd³*
7. *T³-šr.t-Ihy ta P³-rmt-Pr-iw-lq*
8. *t³ rmt.t n P³-i³rw p³ w^cb n Dḥwty n P³-mwh*
9. *T³-šr.t-p³-ḥm ta Pa-t³-s.t-ḥ³.t*
10. *T³-šr.t-t³-ḥ³.t*
11. *T³-šr.t-Ihy t³y=s šr.t*
12. *t³ rmt.t n P³-šr-Dḥwty s³ Dḥwty-^ri.īr-dī=s³*
13. *T³-šr.t-p³-ḥf t³ rmt.t n Pa-²Inp*
14. *'T³-šr.t ...' t³ rmt.t [n ...]*
15. *[...] '...'*


Translation:



1. Year 4,
2. Pachons, day 16. The agent(?)
3. of Thoth the great god of(?) the temple, the list (lit. name)
4. of the women who came for the wine of Thoth
5. Senthotes, the wife of Prom-pilakis
6. Senhyris, the wife of Peteharsemtheus, the scribe of the granary/ magazine
7. Senaies daughter of Prom-pilakis
8. 'The wife' of Pa-arou, the priest of Thoth in Pamouchis
9. Senpachoumis daughter of Patseous
10. Sen-t-achit
11. Senaies, her daughter
12. The wife of Psenthotes son of Thot^rortaios^r
13. Senphophis, the wife of Panoupis
14. 'Sen ...' 'the wife' [of ...]
15. [...] '...'

Commentary:

The handwriting is late Ptolemaic, likely late second or first century BC. Based on the date mentioned and some internal indications (see comment on l. 2 below), this text should not be earlier than the reign of Ptolemy VIII. The text presents a list of women. It begins with an introductory formula that consists of the date followed by *p³ rt n Dḥwty p³ ntr³ n(?) ḥ.t-ntr p³ rn n n³ šḥm.wt i.īr iy r p³ irp n Dḥwty* which indicates the subject of the text. In view of this heading and further data provided in the text, this list is certainly the product of a religious milieu, likely a religious association or maybe a temple (see introduction to *section 2.3* for discussion). After the introductory formula, a group of women are named. It is remarkable that almost all the names of listed women are built with *T³-šr.t* followed by a theonym (see comment to l. 5 for discussion). It is also noteworthy that in some cases, the woman is additionally described as 'the wife of NN,' while in others this phrase, i.e. 'the wife of NN' was considered a sufficient identification for the woman whose own name was strangely omitted (see comment on l. 8 for details).

L. 2. That *sw* 'day' is separated from the name of the season is quite unusual.

The last word of the line is probably $p^3 rt$  ‘agent, representative,’⁹¹³ although it lacks a determinative. In Demotic, this title is attested in various phrases and expressions such as $p^3 rt+$ divine name (e.g. $p^3 rt n \dot{s}.t$ ‘the agent of Isis,’ $p^3 rt n Sbk$ ‘the agent of Sobek,’ etc.), $p^3 rt+$ place name (e.g. $rt.w n Nwt$ ‘agents of Thebes,’ $p^3 rt n p^3 \dot{c}.wy$ ‘the agent of the temple,’ etc.), $p^3 rt+$ personal name or group of people (e.g. $p^3 rt n+$ personal name $p^3 hm ntr n Dhwtj$... ‘the agent of+ personal name, the priest of Thoth ...,’ $p^3 rt n n^3 w^c.b.w$ ‘the agent of the priests,’ etc.),’ as well as other expressions like $p^3 rt n p^3 ntr$ ‘the agent of the god,’ etc.⁹¹⁴ By and large, the agent played a significant administrative role in ancient Egypt. This role is fairly evident in the administration of the temples and religious associations in the Ptolemaic Period. He, as De Cenival explained, was mandated by the members of the association to ensure that the rules are strictly followed, and their decisions are properly executed. Additionally, the agent was responsible for collecting some kinds of taxes which the members had to pay, and then spending these revenues according to the will of the members of the association. Nevertheless, the administrative role of the agent of the association was as extensive as that of the *lesonis* ‘ $p^3 mr \dot{s}n$,’ who was responsible for the reception and the distribution of wine. As to his administrative role in the temple, the real administrator of the temple was the *lesonis* and not the agent. The agent—as his name shows—only represented the executive branch of the temple, and as shown by some examples, he frequently appeared in the place of the *lesonis* as well.⁹¹⁵ In the early Roman Period, the agent seemed to have taken responsibility for ‘the new boom of temple construction and renovation’. For instance, there is some evidence that the agents Psenenteris and Psenamounis supported the reconstruction of the temple of Isis at Deir Shelwit by helping finance the building program through the collections (Dem. $p^3 \dot{s}ty$) they took from fellow devotees.⁹¹⁶

L. 3. The writing of the n  before $h.t-ntr$ is quite different from other writings of n which were written as a dot  (facsimile of l. 8; cf. also ll. 4, 6, 13). Although reading r seems paleographically more suitable, n suits the context better.

$Dhwtj p^3 ntr \dot{c} n h.t-ntr$ may refer to the temple of Thoth at Qasr el-Agouz, which is located a few meters to the southwest of the great temple of Medinet Habu. In this temple, which was built at the time of Ptolemy VIII (Euergetes II), Thoth was worshipped under the forms $Dhwtj-stm$ and $Dhwtj-dd-hr-p^3-hb$.⁹¹⁷ This means that the current text is not older than the reign of Ptolemy VIII and perhaps even later than his reign. The text registers a list of women who apparently came either to attend a meeting in a religious association or perhaps to make offerings to Thoth in his temple, which indicates that the temple was fully functioning at that time. If year 4 of the reign of Ptolemy VIII was meant, it would entail that he ordered the building of this temple at the very beginning of his reign (between years 1 and 3), which is not a very likely possibility since Ptolemy VIII was a co-ruler at this time which was also a period of war and instability. It is, therefore, possible that year 4 here mentioned refers to a Ptolemaic king later than Ptolemy VIII if he was truly the builder of this temple. On the other hand, the temple of Thoth mentioned here could be one in Pamouchis not in Medinet Habu. This can be understood from l.

⁹¹³ *DemGloss*, 256–57; *CDD*, R, 76–77.

⁹¹⁴ *DemGloss*, 256–57; *CDD*, R, 76–77. For more details and discussion of this title in Demotic, see for example K. Sethe, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgerrechtsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* (Leipzig, 1920), 56–57; De Cenival, *Les associations religieuses*, 164–65; J.-M. Kruchten, “L’évolution de la gestion domaniale sous le Nouvel Empire égyptien,” in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978*, ed. E. Lipiński, vol. II (Leuven, 1979), 517–25; Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 II*:412.

⁹¹⁵ De Cenival, *Les associations religieuses*, 166. It should be also noted that the agent was entrusted with the collection of taxes and the administration of the estates in the Pharaonic Period; see D. Klotz, “Λογεία-Receipts and the Construction of Deir Shelwit,” *ZPE* 168 (2009): 254, n. 21.

⁹¹⁶ Klotz, “Λογεία-Receipts,” 254; E. Lanciers, “The Isis Cult in Western Thebes in the Graeco-Roman Period (Part II),” *CdE* 90 (2015): 379–80.

⁹¹⁷ Y. Volokhine, “Le dieu Thot au Qasr el-Agoûz: $Dd-hr-p^3-hb$, $Dhwtj-stm$,” *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 406. For more on this temple, see C. Traunecker, “Le temple de Qasr el-Agoûz dans la nécropole thébaine, ou Ptolémées et savants thébains,” *BSFE* 174 (2009): 29–69.

8, which refers to $P^3\text{-}r\dot{w} p^3 w^c b n \underline{D}hwt\dot{y} n P^3\text{-}m\dot{w}h$ ‘Pa-arou, the priest of Thoth in Pamouchis.’ This would, however, be contradictory to what the initials MH (referring most likely to Medinet Habu) on the verso of the sherd imply. An implication that is further supported by the existence of a temple of Thoth near the temple of Medinet Habu.

For more on $p^3 rn$ as an introductory formula of Demotic name lists and accounts (see chapter introduction above).

L. 4. For more on the different implications of the phrase $r p^3 \dot{i}rp n \underline{D}hwt\dot{y}$ ‘for/ concerning the wine of Thoth,’ see the introduction to *section 2.3* above. Generally speaking, unlike beer, wine was considered a quite prestigious drink due to its relatively high price resulting from its laborious production process. Thus, it was used more frequently by the elite upper class as a social drink. It was also utilized in some medical purposes. Additionally, as the innumerable wine offering scenes on the walls of most of the temples and elite tombs show, it was commonly used as funerary offering that was usually presented to the deceased for his or her consumption in the underworld. It was a significant divine offering, which was then used in many different rituals and purposes.⁹¹⁸ One of these rituals is the libation rites in which wine as well as other liquids, though not as common as water, could be used.⁹¹⁹ Thus, in case the wine referred to here was meant as offering, the individuals could have come (some individuals apparently came from distant areas, see comment on l. 8 below) to present wine to Thoth at Qasr el-Agouz in connection with the function of Thoth as ‘libationer.’ This connection between Thoth of Qasr el-Agouz and libation rites was reinforced—among other considerations—by a reinterpretation of his forms worshipped there, i.e. $\underline{D}hwt\dot{y}\text{-}stm$, as reference to Thoth as ‘libationer ($sty\ m\dot{w} > stm$)’ or Thoth the ‘*se(te)m*-priest,’ rather than ‘Thoth the listener.’⁹²⁰

L. 5. The name of the woman in this line as well as in ll. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 follows the pattern ‘ $t^3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t+$ name of a deity.’ This type of names—which usually ascribe the person to certain deity as if this person has a genealogical relation to the deity included in his name—is known since at least the late New Kingdom.⁹²¹ In the late and Greco-Roman Periods it has become quite common.⁹²² From the late Ptolemaic and specially in the Roman Periods, names built with $t^3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t$ and $p^3\text{-}\dot{s}r$ began to have normal personal names in the place of divine names.⁹²³

The name $P^3\text{-}rmt\text{-}Pr\text{-}\dot{i}w\text{-}lq$ ⁹²⁴ appears also in l. 7. Names beginning with $p^3\text{-}rmt$ are well attested in Demotic, and this term was usually followed by a toponym or rarely by a divine name.⁹²⁵ It is worthwhile that such compositions were even more frequently used as indications of origin or as titles.⁹²⁶

L. 8. The name of the woman listed in this line is not mentioned, and she is only identified as ‘the wife of Pa-arou, the priest of Thoth . . .’ The same is true of the woman listed in l. 12 who was described as

⁹¹⁸ M.-Ch. Poo, “Wine,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. D. Redford, vol. III (New York; Oxford, 2001), 502–3. For more on the wine as offering, see M.-Ch. Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, Studies in Egyptology (London; New York, 1995), 29–30; 39–69.

⁹¹⁹ J. Borghouts, “Libation,” in *LÄ III* (Wiesbaden, 1980), col. 1015, fn. 1. For more on libation in general, see Borghouts, “Libation,” cols. 1014–1015.

⁹²⁰ Volokhine, “Thot au Qasr el-Agoûz,” 419–23; M. Stadler, “Thoth,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (Los Angeles, 2012), 11.

⁹²¹ S. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications (Short Texts II 278-1200)*, vol. 2, StudDem IX-B (Leuven, 2011), 922–23.

⁹²² G. Jennes, “ $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r+$ Personal Name: An Expression of Genealogical Relations?,” *ZÄS* 140 (2013): 132.

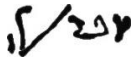
⁹²³ Vleeming, *Short Texts II*, 2011, 2:923; Jennes, “ $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r+$ Personal Name,” 132. For a detailed discussion of this pattern of names with examples and proposed interpretation, see Vleeming, *Short Texts II*, 2011, 2:922–32; Jennes, “ $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r+$ Personal Name,” 132–41.


⁹²⁴ *DemNam*, 197.

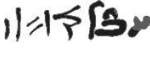
⁹²⁵ For examples of such names, see *DemNam*, 195–97.

⁹²⁶ *DemNam*, 195, n. to $P^3\text{-}rmt\text{-}\dot{i}bt$. For more on the combination $rmt+$ place name, see Muhs, *O. Taxes* 2, 152.

‘the wife of Psenthotēs son of Thotortaios.’ The reason why the woman’s name is omitted in certain examples and preserved in others is not totally clear. Assuming that the husband was a well-known person who has a good position and reputation (here the husband is already described as ‘the priest of Thoth in Pamouchis’) and the woman chose, possibly out of pride, to be only ascribed to him might be undermined by the fact that the same would remain true if the name of the husband was added after the woman’s own name. Assuming that the scribe forgot the woman’s name presupposes a situation where he was writing the whole list from memory and not registering them on the time and place of action, which is contradictory to the fact that ostraca were meant to help achieving an instant *in situ* documentation. A further assumption is to take these two phrases as continuations of the previous lines and thus references to the women mentioned in these lines. The problem with such an assumption is that the women mentioned in ll. 7, 11 are already clearly identified: in l. 7 the woman is called ‘Senaies daughter of Prom-pilakis’ and in l. 11 the woman is remarkably identified by her mother who is mentioned in l. 10 as the text mentions her as ‘Senaies, her daughter.’ Even if it is not completely unlikely, a further description for both women would make the sentence formulation (especially in the case of the women referred to in l. 11) more complicated and unprecedented. A further, more challenging problem is that the scribe registered the references to the women in ll. 8 and 12 as separate entries and left a large space between these descriptions and the names of the women they are supposed to describe.

The name $P^3\text{-}\overline{3}rw$  is not in the *DemNam*. It could be, however, a variant of the name $\overline{3}rw$ which is listed in the in the *DemNam* as doubtful.⁹²⁷

In the word w^{cb} ‘priest,’  the small oblique stroke and the following lake-sign are ligatured together. In addition, the word $rm\overline{t}$ from the previous line overlaps with this ligature as well.

$P^3\text{-}mwh$  is written phonetically and has the house and the place determinative. Thus, it apparently refers to a place name. This place is most likely the village ‘Pamouchis,’⁹²⁸ which is located near Thebes and belongs to the Koptite nome.⁹²⁹ This toponym is rarely attested in Demotic. Besides the current spelling, i.e. $P^3\text{-}mwh$, the name of this village occurred in Demotic as $P^3\text{-}mwhy$,⁹³⁰ $P^3\text{-}mwhys$,⁹³¹ and possibly as $P^3\text{-}mh$ ⁹³² as well.

The phrase $P^3\text{-}\overline{3}rw p^3 w^{cb} n \overline{D}hwty n P^3\text{-}mwh$ ‘Pa-arou, the priest of Thoth in Pamouchis’ is a clear indication to the existence of a local a cult (temple, chapel, or the like) dedicated to Thoth in Pamouchis in the late Ptolemaic Period. That the current text is the product of this temple or chapel in Pamouchis is not a completely excluded possibility. Yet other indications seem to favor Medinet Habu as an origin for the extant text (see comment on l. 3 above). If the text originates from Medinet Habu and refers to the temple of Qasr el-Agouz, the question would be whether Pa-arou and whether this worked as a priest

⁹²⁷ *DemNam*, 52.

⁹²⁸ Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 550; F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten). Nach den Zeichnungen von Georges Legrain* (Straßburg, 1915), 14, fn. 4.

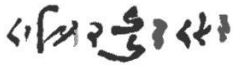
⁹²⁹ Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 550.


⁹³⁰ Attested as part of the personal name $P^3\text{-}rm\overline{t}\text{-}P^3\text{-}mwhy$; cf. *DemNam*, 197 and Text no. 230, l. 3 in Preisigke and Spiegelberg, *Inschriften und Graffiti aus Gebel Silsile*, 14; pl. xv.

⁹³¹ This spelling occurs in P. BM 10605, l. 6 where Lüddeckens originally read $P^3\text{-}mwhyys$ and understood it as a place name; cf. E. Lüddeckens, *Demotische Urkunde aus Hawara: Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 28* (Stuttgart, 1998), 146; 151, n. 15; pl. 19. This reading was corrected by Vittmann to $P^3\text{-}mwhy$; cf. G. Vittmann, “Review: Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara. Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar von Erich Lüddeckens,” *WZKM* 89 (1999): 280. The same reading is adopted by the editors of the *DemNam* as well; cf. *DemNamKorr*, 149–50.

⁹³² The reading is after Brugsch’s hand copy of this toponym as appeared in P. Dem. Berlin Ax. 18; cf. H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l’ancienne Égypte* (Leipzig, 1879), 296.

of Thoth only in Pamouchis or he additionally served also as priest of Thoth at Qasr el-Agouz. The latter seems more plausible since his name is used as an identification to his wife whose name is not given in the text, which means that he was well known to the scribe of the text or maybe his co-worker in the temple. Moreover, being only a priest of Thoth in Pamouchis could mean that he lived there, and his wife came from Pamouchis to attend a meeting or present wine offering to Thoth at Qasr el-Agouz. This latter point, though not very likely, could be an indication to the significance of this temple, to which people come from distant localities, despite having (as the title of Pa-arou, i.e. $p^3 w^c b n \underline{D}hwty n P^3-mwh$, entails) a temple or sanctuary of Thoth nearby. That this woman came specifically from Pamouchis ‘for the wine of Thoth’ could—if this wine was presented in connection to libation rites and if $\underline{D}hwty-stm$ was truly a representation of Thoth as performer of libation rites as some scholars suggested (see comment on l. 4 above)—demonstrate the importance and popularity of the form $\underline{D}hwty-stm$ not only in Medinet Habu or Thebes but also in the neighboring nomes.

L. 10. The name $T^3-\dot{s}r.t-t^3-c^h^3.t$  is not in the *DemNam*. $c^h^3.t$ is a variant of $c^hy(.t)$ ‘chapel-with-aviary,’ written also as $c^he.t$; cf. *DemGloss*, 70; *CDD*, c, 129-130. The same $c^hy(.t)$ is also meant in the name $Pa-t^3-c^hy(.t)$ ‘he of the chapel/ Ibion’⁹³³ and $T^3-c^hy(.t)$ ‘the Ibion.’⁹³⁴

L. 13. For the name $T^3-\dot{s}r.t-p^3-hf$ , see the doubtful examples in *DemNam* 1316; *TM Nam* 32035; compare also P^3-hf in the *DemNam*, 204.

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Exc. No. (MH 2516). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.9x 9.5x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (late second to first century BC).

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] $\dot{c}^3 Ta-I[t]m(?)$
2. [...] $Ta^3-Imn t^3 rmt.t n N^3-nht=s-I[n]p$ _____
3. [...] $\dot{c}^3 Ta-nfr t^3 \dot{s}r.t N^3y-hmnw(?)$
4. [...] $T^3-\dot{s}r.t-Pk^2 yw^3(?)$
5. [...] ... $nywt^3(?)$
6. [...] $t^3 rmt.t n Pa-Mnt(?)$

Translation: x+


1. [...] $\dot{c}^3 Ta-a[ty]mis(?)$
2. [...] $T^3 amounis$ the wife of Nechta[nou]pis _____
3. [...] $\dot{c}^3 Tanouphis$, the daughter of Nachomneus(?)
4. [...] Sen- $Pk^2 yw^3(?)$
5. [...] ... $nywt^3(?)$
6. [...] ‘the wife’ of Pamonthes(?)


Commentary:

The text is only partly preserved. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. The remaining parts suggest a list of female names.

⁹³³ *DemNam*, 421.

⁹³⁴ *DemNam*, 1055.

L. x+1. : Reading *Ta-ʿItm* is possible if *ʿItm* was written phonetically. A phonetic writing of *ʿItm* is found in example no. 16 of *P3-d1-ʿItm* in *DemNam*, 294. The name *Ta-ʿItm* is already attested in Demotic; cf. *DemNam*, 1167.

L. x+2.  *N3-nh1t=s-ʿInp* ‘may Anubis protect him’ is a variant of *Nh1t=s-ʿInp*.⁹³⁵ The rest of this line is occupied by a long horizontal stroke.

L. x+3. The phrase *t3 šr.t* is used here to express filiation.

The reading of the name after *t3 šr.t* is extremely doubtful. If *N3y-hmnw* was truly meant, it could have been a short form of the frequently attested name *Ns-n3y=w-hmnw-tw*.

L. x+4. The part after *t3-šr.t* is written with monoconsonantal signs and could possibly represent a personal name.

L. x+5. The surviving parts of this name are apparently written phonetically.

-66-

Exc. No. (MH 1434). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 9.2x 6.1x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (probably first century BC).

Transliteration:

Recto:

1. *P3-d1 s3 P3-hm-bik*
2. *Ns-n3-h1t.w s3 Pa-ʿTmʿ*
3. *ʿIy-m-h1tp s3 Pa-n3-h1t.ʿwʿ*
4. *Pa-Dm3c s3 Dhwtj-sdm*
5. *ʿImn-h1tp s3 ʿIy-m-h1tp*
6. *Pa-Mn1 s3 Hr-t3y=f-nh1t*
7. *P3-d1 s3 P3-k3*
8. *ʿIy-m-h1tp s3 ʿHrʿ(?)-[...](?)*
9. *P3y-k3 [s3 ...]*
10. *ʿHrʿ(?) [s3 ...]*

Verso:

1. *Wn-nfr s3 P3-šr-Mn*
2. *Hr (s3) Ns-n3-h1t.w*
3. *P3-3b3 s3 Pa-D[m3c](?)*
4. *P3-d1-p3-šy (s3) Pa-[...]*
5. *Pa-Mn1 (s3) ʿIgš*
6. *[...] ʿ..ʿ[...]*

Translation:

Recto:

1. Pates son of P-chem-bik

⁹³⁵ *DemNam*, 656.

2. Esnechates son of Pa^rtemis^r
3. Imouthes son of Panechot^res^r
4. Pasemis son of Thotsytmis
5. Amenotheres son of Imouthes
6. Pamonthes son of Hartephnachthes
7. Pates son of Pikos
8. Imouthes son of ^rHoros^r(?)-[...](?)
9. Pikos [son of ...]
10. ^rHoros^r(?) [son of ...]


Verso:

1. Onnophris son of Psenminis
2. Horos (son of) Esnechates
3. Pebos son of Pase[mis](?)
4. Petepsais (son of) P[...]
5. Pamonthes (son of) Ekysis
6. [...] .. [...]

Commentary:

The sherd is inscribed on its recto and verso. The left upper and lower sides of the sherd are broken. The handwriting as well as other internal indications suggest a late Ptolemaic date.

Recto:


L. 1. The $P^3-d\dot{i}$ , which comes also in l. 7, appears in many different forms including the more common P^3-tw .⁹³⁶ This particular form of the name is known from an early Roman ostrakon (24th year of Augustus) from Medinet Habu (O. MH 119, l. 1),⁹³⁷ in which a person named $P^3-d\dot{i}$ appeared as the father of somebody else. Given some other considerations (see note to recto, l. 4; verso, l. 5 below), this person could be the same one listed in the current text.

Furthermore, $P^3-d\dot{i}$ occurred also as a haplographic writing for $P^3-d\dot{i}-\dot{I}ry-\dot{h}ms-nfr$ ⁹³⁸ in the late Ptolemaic (60 BC) P. Cairo 50149, verso.

For the name $P^3-\dot{h}m-b\dot{i}k$, possibly means ‘the little falcon,’ see TM Nam 8227. In the *DemNam*, this name is listed as a writing of $P^3-\dot{c}hm-b\dot{i}k$.⁹³⁹

L. 2. For *Pa-Tm*, see *DemNam*, 430.

L. 3. A person named Imouthes son of Panechotes occurred in the list of witnesses of the late Ptolemaic (112 BC) P. Turin 6089, verso, l. 8,⁹⁴⁰ whose provenance and handwriting are very similar to the current text.

L. 4. The father’s name, i.e. , is likely to be read $D\dot{h}w\dot{t}y-s\dot{d}m$.⁹⁴¹ A person called Pasemis son of Thotsytmis appears in an early Roman ostrakon (year 23 of Augustus) as a father of someone

⁹³⁶ *DemNam*, 429.

⁹³⁷ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 21; pl. 4.


⁹³⁸ *DemNam*, 288.

⁹³⁹ *DemNam*, 168, 208.

⁹⁴⁰ Botti, *L'archivio demotico* I:115; pl. xx.ii.

⁹⁴¹ *DemNam*, 1306.


called Thotsytmis,⁹⁴² which makes the current reading quite certain. On the other hand, this example, in addition to that of P^3-d^i , strongly suggests the first century BC as a probable date for the current text.

L. 7. P^3-k^3  is perhaps not interchangeable with the well-known P^3y-k^3 ,⁹⁴³ rather it could be a slightly similar name; see **Text 46**, l. 3 for more hints.


L. 8. The father's name seems to begin with Hr , which could have been followed by other signs.

L. 10. Reading Hr is doubtful.

Verso:

L. 3.  : Reading P^3-b^3 ⁹⁴⁴ seems plausible. The p^3 is still traceable although the ink is totally faded at this spot. The b^3 is quite indistinct.

L. 4. For $P^3-d^i-p^3-sy$, see *DemNam*, 208.

L. 5. The name $'Igs$ , usually spelled as $P^3-'Igs$ or sometimes $'Ikš$,⁹⁴⁵ is derived from $'Ikš$ 'Kush, Nubia, Ethiopia, Nubian, or Ethiopian.'⁹⁴⁶

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Exc. No. (MH 2696). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.4x 7.5x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] $\epsilon \cdot \tau$ $Go s^3 P^3-d^i(?) - \epsilon \cdot \tau$ [...]
2. [...] $s^3 P^3y-k^3$
3. [...] $(?) - Hr^r - p^3 - hr^t s^3 sp-sn$
4. [$Pa-t^3$]- $sbt(t) p^3y=f sn$
5. $\epsilon / P^3-d^i-Hnsw s^3 Pa-Dm^3c s^3 P^3-šr-^2Inp$
6. / $Pa-Dm^3c s^3 Kl.$
7. / $P^3-t^he(?) s^3 sp-sn$
8. $r 10$

Translation: x+

1. [...] $\epsilon \cdot \tau$ son of $Pe^r te^r(?) - \epsilon \cdot \tau$ [...]
2. [...] son of Pikos
3. [...] $(?) - Hr^r$ pochrates son of the likewise named
4. [Pat]sebtis, his brother
5. $\epsilon /$ Petechonsis son of Pasemis son of Psenanoupis
6. / Pasemis son of $Kl.$
7. / P-tihi(?) son of a the likewise named

⁹⁴² Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 20–21.

⁹⁴³ *DemNam*, 442–43.

⁹⁴⁴ *DemNam*, 154.

⁹⁴⁵ *DemNam*, 80, 160.


⁹⁴⁶ *DemGloss*, 45; *CDD*, *I*, 233–234.

8. makes 10


Commentary:


The upper right side of the ostrakon is broken, and the left-hand side is slightly damaged. Three lines might be lost at the beginning (see comment on l. x+10). The paleography indicates the late Ptolemaic or the early Roman Period.

L. x+3. The remaining sign before the p^3 supports restoring Hr ; thus, the name is either $Hr-p^3-hr\bar{t}$ or another one that is built with $Hr-p^3-hr\bar{t}$, e.g. $P^3-d\bar{t}-Hr-p^3-hr\bar{t}$, $Ns-Hr-p^3-hr\bar{t}$, or similar.

L. x+4. $Pa-t^3-sbt^3(.t)$  'the one of the hill' occurred before in a Roman text from Medinet Habu (O. MH 2880, l. 2) published by Lichtheim.⁹⁴⁷ In Lichtheim's example and in general, the word $sbt(.t)$ 'hill'⁹⁴⁸ is normally determined by the house determinative. Yet this name unusually ends with a divine determinative. Could the hill referred to in this name have been a sacred place of a divinity in Jeme? If this was the case, this divinity could be Maat since she was described in a Ptolemaic Demotic text from Thebes (P. Turin 6070, l. 3) as $M^3c.t\ hnw.t\ \bar{t}\ imn\bar{t}\ nty\ hr\ t^3\ sbt(.t)\ n\ Dm^3$ 'Maat, mistress of the west, which is upon the hill of Jeme.'⁹⁴⁹

L. x+5. As the tiny remains suggest, this line might have had a checking mark at its beginning; such mark appears also in the next two lines (ll. x+6, 7).

L. x+6. The reading of the father's name, i.e. , is quite difficult. The name clearly begins with kl and ends with a personal determinative. The reading of the signs in between is quite problematic. A paleographically plausible reading of these signs is mw 'water.'⁹⁵⁰ Combining mw 'water' with kl , in case it is a writing for ql , ql^3 , or qr which could signify 'bank, shore, dock, ...'⁹⁵¹ would result in $Kl-mw$ which could possibly mean 'water's shore' or, assuming there is an n before mw , $Kl-n-mw$ 'shore of the water.' The problem with this writing is that ql is usually determined with the house determinative, which is not true in the current example. Moreover, such a name would be quite odd, and no similar names are attested in Demotic so far. On the other hand, if the sign following the l could be taken as a bad or erroneous writing of d , one could think of Kld^3 , a variant of $Qlwd$.⁹⁵² This would be, however, fairly strange since the scribe already wrote the d differently in the name $Pa-Dm^3c$ earlier in this line and in l. x+5 above. Another possible reading, in case it was written with monoconsonantal signs, could be $Klpw^c$. According to the last reading, the sign after the l might be a combination of the w over a p . This combination might also be p over t , which would then result in $Klpt^c$.

L. x+7. Reading P^3-the  could be possible; cf. P^3-thy in *DemNam*, 346. This name has some resemblance to the final parts of the name ending with $Hr-p^3-hr\bar{t}$ in l. x+3 above, yet it lacks a divine determinative. Also, it would be illogical to have the same person recorded twice in a list of names.

L. x+8. $R\ 10$ 'makes 10' likely refers to the total number of the persons listed here; thus, three names or lines are likely lost in the upper part of this ostrakon.

⁹⁴⁷ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 43; *DemNam*, 427.

⁹⁴⁸ *DemGloss*, 423; *CDD*, S, 164–6.

⁹⁴⁹ *CDD*, S, 166; Botti, *L'archivio demotico* I:26, 28. For proposed corrections of Botti's reading of this line, see K.-Th. Zauzich, "Korrekturvorschläge zur Publikation des demotischen Archivs von Deir el-Medineh," *Enchoria* 1 (1971): 44.

⁹⁵⁰ *DemGloss*, 154; *CDD*, W, 62–64.

⁹⁵¹ *DemGloss*, 543; *CDD*, Q, 55–58.

⁹⁵² *DemNam*, 990–91.

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Exc. No. (MH 91). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10.4x 5.4x 1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [...]]
2. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ $\overset{Go}{\cdot}$ [...]]
3. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ P β y β -k β [...]]
4. [...] b β rmt.t $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ n β [...]]
5. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ $\overset{Ma}{\cdot}$ Ta-B β st.t $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ta β [...]]
6. [T β -šr.t(?)]- $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ Hr β (?) T β -šr.t- $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ph β [...]](?)
7. [...] T β -šr.t-pa-Mn β $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [...]]
8. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ $\overset{Go}{\cdot}$ T β - β ly[š](?) [...]]
9. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ $\overset{Go}{\cdot}$ Ta-n β - $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ h β $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [w ...]]
10. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ T β -šr.t β -pa-[...]]

Translation: x+

1. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [...]]
2. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [...]]
3. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ Pi $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ kos [...]]
4. [...] the wife $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ of β [...]]
5. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ Taubastis $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ daughter of β [...]]
6. [Sen(?)] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ hyris β (?) Senapathes[...]](?)
7. [...] Senpamonthes $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [...]]
8. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ T β - β ly[š](?) [...]]
9. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ Tane β chatis β [...]]
10. [...] $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ Sen β pa [...]]

Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved. The handwriting is possible late Ptolemaic or early Roman. As the surviving names suggest, the text probably represents a list of women.

L. x+6. The surviving parts suggest restoring T β -šr.t-Hr β ; for this name, see *DemNam*, 1129.

The determinative of $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ph β is not preserved. It is not certain whether this line ends with $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ph β or not. Since b β šr.t is apparently preceded by a name of another woman, it is not clear whether it is used here to indicate filiation in the sense of ‘daughter of’ (as for instance in **Text 65**, l. 3). In this case, the name of the woman listed in this line could be T β -šr.t-Hr β b β šr.t $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ph β ‘Senhyris daughter of Apathes.’ If b β šr.t was part of the name T β -šr.t- $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ph β , we would simply have two women, namely T β -šr.t-Hr β (and) T β -šr.t- $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ph β , listed after one another female name. This seems to have been the case in l. x+5, in which Ta-B β st.t was possibly directly preceded by a personal name (of which personal determinative is preserved) without any filiation in between. The same could also be true in ll. x+8, 9, where the names T β - β ly[š] and Ta-n β - $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ h β $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ [w] are apparently preceded by personal names ending with divine determinatives. In view of this, b β šr.t is understood here as part the name T β -šr.t- $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ ph β .

L. x+8. For T β - β lyš , see *DemNam*, 1310.

Exc. No. (MH 4186). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 15.2x 9.5x 1.2 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman.

Transliteration:

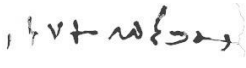
1. [...] [sʒ(?) Pʒ-dʒ-ʒIry]-ḥms-nfr
2. [Ns(?) -nʒ-ḥ]ʒt.ʒw(?) sʒ Br
3. [...] ʒGoʒ(?)
4. [...] [sʒ Pa]-ʒiryʒ sʒ Pa-Mnʒ
5. [...] [sʒ] ʒHrʒ-pʒy-ʒs.t
6. [...] Pa-ʒry sʒ Pa-tw
7. [...] Pʒyʒ-ʒBʒh sʒ Hʒlbn
8. [Pa-Mnʒ]ʒgmʒ(?) pʒyʒ=ʒfʒ snʒ(?)
9. Pa-Mnʒ sʒ Pʒ-ʒr-Mn sʒ Pʒ-dʒ-Nfr-ḥtp
10. Dḥwty-sdm sʒ sp-sn
11. Pʒ-ʒr-Mnʒ ... [sʒ] ...-ḥtpʒ(?)
12. ʒPa-Mnʒʒ sʒ Pʒ-ʒdʒʒ-[... sʒ ...] ʒPʒ-ʒʒ .. ʒGoʒ

Translation:

1. [... son of(?) Petear]senouphis
2. [Esnecha]ʒtesʒ(?) son of Belles
3. [...]
4. [...] [son of Pa]ʒerisʒ son of Pamonthes
5. [...] [son of] ʒHarʒpaesis
6. [...] Paeris son of Pates
7. [...] Pi]ʒbouʒchis son of Helben
8. [Pa-Mon]ʒtou-gemetiʒ(?) ʒhisʒ brotherʒ(?)
9. Pamonthes son of Psenminis son of Petenephotes
10. Thotsytmis son of the likewise named
11. Psenmonthes ... [son of] ...-ḥtpʒ(?)
12. ʒPamonʒthes son of Peʒteʒ son of ...] ʒPʒʒ ..ʒ

Commentary:


The ostrakon is broken on its right and lower edges. The handwriting backed by some internal indications (see below comments to ll. 2, 7) suggests an early Roman date.


L. 1. The surviving parts support reading the name  either as ʒIry-ḥms-nfr, or more likely Pʒ-dʒ-ʒIry-ḥms-nfr.⁹⁵³ Personal names built with ʒIry-ḥms-nfr ‘Arensnuphis’ are attested from the third century BC onwards in several Demotic documents from Thebes and Medinet Habu.⁹⁵⁴ The spread of theophoric names with Arensnuphis in the Thebes is due to the popularity of his worship in western Thebes, which—according to Lanciers—has evolved in the Theban area from the early third century BC from the cult of the god Chnum-Arensnuphis whose worship is well evidenced in Elephantine between 685-349 BC. The worship of the autonomous Arensnuphis was undoubtedly active in some shrines in Thebes until the late second century BC, and as some indirect onomastic data (the current example can be added to it) suggest, he might have received worship until at least the early second century AD. It is also notable that this deity is considered by some scholars as Nubian; however,

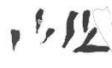
⁹⁵³ *DemNam*, 73, 89, 288–89.


⁹⁵⁴ For more on the geographical distribution of the theophoric names with Arensnuphis, see E. Lanciers, “The Cult of Arensnuphis in Thebes in the Graeco-Roman Period,” *SAK* 45 (2016): 203–6.

Lanciers' study of the chronological evolution of Arensnuphis' cult in Egypt and Nubia evidently supports an Egyptian origin of this god.⁹⁵⁵


L. 2. The remaining parts uphold the reconstruction of the name  as *Ns-n³-ht.w* or *Pa-n³-ht.w*.⁹⁵⁶


: The reading of the father's name as *Br*, a variant of *Bl*, seems very plausible. This name ends with the personal determinative and the scribe unusually dispensed with the custom determinative (i.e. the eye) of *br* or *bl* 'blind'.⁹⁵⁷ This is also true of some other attestations of this name like that of O. Mattha, no. 2, l. 1.⁹⁵⁸ (appears as *Bl*) and O. Bodl. Eg. Inscr. 57, l. 1.⁹⁵⁹ (appears as *Bll3*), in which variants of this name occur without the eye determinative. It is remarkable, as Vittmann noticed, that most attestations of this word (i.e. *br* or *bl* 'blind') happen to occur in personal names. Since a massive percentage of Demotic personal names are somehow connected to gods, Vittmann suggested that this adjective presumably refer to some deity. This deity could be Horus, for which the name *Hr-br* 'Horus the blind' is attested or even Mekhenti-(en-)irti, of whom blindness was considered a particular feature.⁹⁶⁰

L. 4. The second part of *Pa-iry*  and the personal determinative are well preserved and can be compared with the same name in l. 6. The lacuna before *Pa-iry* is sufficient for another name, which means that Paeris son of Pamonthes could have appeared here as a father of somebody else.

L. 5. : The surviving parts of this name suggest reading it as '*Hr*'-*p³y-3s.t*, a variant of the name *Hr-pa-3s.t*.⁹⁶¹

L. 6. The writing of *tw* sign in *Pa-tw* is quite strange, but the reading seems certain.⁹⁶²

L. 7. The occurrence of the same person in another ostrakon (namely **Text 47**, l. 1) and the remains of the second part (*Bh*) help in restoring the son's name here as *P³y-Bh* .

The same is true of the father's name, i.e. *Hlbn* , whose initial sign could be *h* instead of *h*. However, the reading as *Hlbn* is already confirmed through the above-mentioned ostrakon (**Text 47**, l. 1) and another example published by Lichtheim (O. MH 2933, l. 9).⁹⁶³ The use of *h* instead of *h* is not unlikely. Furthermore, this particular person occurred in an early Roman receipt about sesame probably from Hermonthis (O. Mattha, no. 3, l. 1), but the name of the father (Helben) was mistakenly read by Mattha as *Mltwn*,⁹⁶⁴ and later corrected by Nur el-Din upon a careful re-examination of the ostrakon as

⁹⁵⁵ Lanciers, "Cult of Arensnuphis in Thebes," 209, 214–16. For more information and literature about Arensnuphis, see *LGG* I, 409.

⁹⁵⁶ Cf. the writings of both names and specially their Theban forms in *DemNam*, 382–83, 679.

⁹⁵⁷ Cf. *DemNam*, 143; *DemGloss*, 120; *CDD*, B, 68.

⁹⁵⁸ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 73; pl. i.

⁹⁵⁹ M. Akeel, "Two Demotic Ostraca from the Roman Period," in *En détail - Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert*, ed. M. Brose et al., vol. 1, ZÄS-B, 7.1 (Berlin; Boston, 2019), 7–8.

⁹⁶⁰ G. Vittmann, "Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion: Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names," *Enchoria* 24 (1997–1998): 95. For the name *Hr-br*, see *DemNam*, 799.


⁹⁶¹ *DemNam*, 807, 858.

⁹⁶² Cf. the different forms of the name in *DemNam*, 429.

⁹⁶³ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 59; pl. 25; *DemNam*, 845.

⁹⁶⁴ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 74, pl. i; *DemNam*, 866.

Hlbwn.⁹⁶⁵ On the other hand, Mattha paleographically dated his text to the reign of Augustus,⁹⁶⁶ which strongly agrees with the current text whose handwriting is not far away from that date as well.

L. 8. : The name *Pa-Mnḏ-gmḏ*⁹⁶⁷ might be meant here. The writing of the second part is, however, fairly strange which makes the reading quite problematic and uncertain.

The signs following this name are likely to be read *pʒy=f sn* ‘his brother.’

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Exc. No. (MH 2469). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 13x 8x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Early Roman.

Transliteration:

1. *Pʒ-dḏ-Hr-pʒ-Rḥ*
2. *Pʒy(?)-lws*
3. *GḔ sʒ Tʒy-[...]*
4. *ʾIn-ir.t-Hr-r.r=w [sʒ] ʾTʒy=f-nḥḏ.t(?)*
5. *ʾPʒ-dḏ-[...][sʒ] Pʒ-šr-pʒ-rʾyʒt(?)*
6. *ʾḤ Hr sʒ Sl*
7. *Mlsys pʒ gl-hb*
8. *Nʒ-nḥḏ-Mnḏ pʒ gl-hb*
9. *Ta-ʒs.t tʒ rmt.t n Pʒ-šr-Hnm*
10. *Ns-Nb.t-h.t*
11. *ʾḤ nʒ hrḏ.w n Tʒ-šr.t-pa-wr.t(?)*
12. *ʾḤ GḔ*
13. *ʾḤ Hr-wḏʒ*
14. *Pʒ-wr-ḏʒbt*
15. *Pʒ-šr-Mnḏḏ ʾsʒ ʾHrʾ-wḏʒ*
16. *[..] ʾ..ʾ Gḥ*

Translation:

1. Peteharpres
2. Pi(?)-rous
3. Kiales son of Si[...]
4. Inaroy[s] [son of] ʾTeph ʾnachthis(?)
5. ʾPeteʾ[...] [son of] Psenperʾeʾt(?)
6. ʾḤ Horos son of Sales
7. Milesios(?), the Ibis feeder(?)
8. Nechtmonthes, the Ibis feeder(?)
9. Taesis, the wife of Psenchnoumis
10. Snebthys
11. ʾḤ The children of Senpaueris(?)
12. ʾḤ Kiales
13. ʾḤ Haryotes
14. Porieuthes

⁹⁶⁵ M. Nur el-Din, “The Proper Names in Mattha’s Demotic Ostraka: A Reconsideration,” *Enchoria* 9 (1979): 46.


⁹⁶⁶ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 74.

⁹⁶⁷ *DemNam*, 373.

15. Psenmon^rthes^r 'son of' Har^ryotes
 16. [..]^r..^r


Commentary:

The sherd has an extra number, i.e. 129.196/7, on its recto. It is unclear what this number represents but it could be a field number. The ink is quite faded in some places. There are also a lot of small ink dots all over the ostrakon. One can also notice some checking marks (a very faint oblique stroke) at the beginning of ll. 6, 11, 12, 13. The handwriting is early Roman.

L. 2.  : This name is possibly to be read *P³y(?)*-*lws*,⁹⁶⁸ despite the strange writing of *p³y* which might also be *p³*.


L. 3. For the name *G^lb* 'lame,' see *DemNam*, 1034.


L. 4.  : *In-ir.t-Hr-r.r=w* is a variant of *'Ir.t-Hr-r.r=w*.⁹⁶⁹

The father's name, i.e.  is probably to be read *'T³y=f-nht.t(?)*.⁹⁷⁰

L. 5. The ink is very faint in this line. The first name seems to begin with *p³-di*.

The name of the father is very faint, the visible parts suggest reading *P³-šr-p³-r^ry^rt*.⁹⁷¹

L. 6. *Sl*  could be a form of the name *Sl³*.⁹⁷²

L. 7. Another *M^lsys*  is already attested in a Roman text from Medinet Habu (i.e. O. MH 1444, ll. 1-2).⁹⁷³ In both cases, the name has the foreign land determinative which, considering the name ending, hints at a Greek origin.⁹⁷⁴

P³ gl-hb is probably used here as title; for the compound *NN p³ gl-hb*, see *DemGloss*, 587; *CDD*, G, 53. Vittmann suggests 'Ibisfütterer' (Ibis feeder) as a possible translation for this unclear title.⁹⁷⁵ In *Trismegistos*, *Gl-hb* is interpreted as 'he who betakes himself to the ibis;' cf. TM Nam 392. Additionally, *P³-gl-hb*, or also *Gl-hb*, occurs sometimes as a personal name.⁹⁷⁶

L. 10. Reading *Ns-Nb.t-ht*.⁹⁷⁷ seems possible, even though the ink is quite faint.

L. 11. The last signs before the divine determinative of the name *T³-šr.t-pa-wr.t*.⁹⁷⁸ are not clear.

⁹⁶⁸ Cf. *P³y-rws* in *DemNam*, 439.

⁹⁶⁹ *DemNam*, 72–73.

⁹⁷⁰ *DemNam*, 1232.

⁹⁷¹ *DemNam*, 237.

⁹⁷² *DemNam*, 935.

⁹⁷³ *DemNam*, 604; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 27.

⁹⁷⁴ Possibly from the Greek Μιλήσιος 'Milesios,' or 'the man of Miletos' (cf. TM Nam 44727) or Meliasos, attested in Demotic as *Mly³sws* (cf. TM Nam 451).

⁹⁷⁵ See *gl-hb* in *DTD*, <https://aaww.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&wn=-3270&db=1>. For a discussion of this title, see G. Vittmann, "Drei thebanische Urkunden aus dem Jahre 175 v. Chr. (Papyri Louvre E 3440 A+ B und Berlin P 3112)," *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 124–25.


⁹⁷⁶ *DemNam*, 280, 1032.

⁹⁷⁷ *DemNam*, 683.

⁹⁷⁸ For this name, see *DemNam*, 1107. For similar writings of *Pa-wr.t*, cf. *DemNam*, 360.

L. 14. For  $P^3\text{-wr-}i^3b\dot{t}$, see *DemNam*, 178.

L. 15. The \dot{t} -sign and the divine determinative of $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r Mn\dot{t}$ are faded out.

The faint traces of the father's name are comparable with $Hr\text{-}w\dot{d}^3$  in l. 13 above, hence the suggested reading.

L. 16. The ending of the partly preserved name in this line is similar to that of $Pa\text{-}Dm^3c$.

2.4 Miscellaneous Texts (nos. 71-82)

This section covers the different types of texts (mainly documentary) that do not belong to any of the previous categories. These include one text of a religious nature and another of a medical relevance, in addition to examples of other official and private texts that reflect upon the different aspects of the daily life such as letters, temple oaths, texts of legal nature like loans, texts related to contracts or agreements, *r.rh=w*-texts, etc.

2.4.1 Texts of Religious Nature

Recording Demotic texts of religious nature on ostraca was not very common. As the available material testifies, religious texts written on ostraca usually represent hymns and invocation to gods and goddesses⁹⁷⁹ or short versions of known religious texts such as the underworld decrees.⁹⁸⁰ Scholars have made a few suggestions regarding the purpose of such texts and why they were recorded on ostraca.⁹⁸¹ For instance, ostraca with hymns addressed to certain deities could have been used as votive offerings presented to that deity. This is particularly true of ostraca found in temple areas such as O. BM EA 50601, found in the middle platform of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, the place in which Amun, Amenhotep son of Hapu, and Imhotep were worshipped during the Greco-Roman Period.⁹⁸² A similar usage is suggested for O. Leuven Dem. 1-2 which Depauw and Smith believed to be copies produced in the frame of private devotions to gods.⁹⁸³ Moreover, being inexpensive in comparison to papyri and other writing material, ostraca with religious texts could have been used by priests while performing religious rituals in the temple. In this context, the priest was supposed to recite the ritual from the ostrakon which he holds in his hand.⁹⁸⁴ Furthermore, as Stadler pointed out, ostraca with texts of

⁹⁷⁹ Cf. Depauw, *Companion*, 95; M. Stadler, *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*, EQTÄ 7 (Berlin; Münster, 2012), 74–85.

⁹⁸⁰ On the 'underworld decrees' with reference to short versions on ostraca, see Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 147–49. For an introduction to the Demotic religious texts, see mainly Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*. For examples of Demotic texts of religious nature on ostraca, see O. Hor 10 in J. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, Excavations at North Saqqâra: Documentary Series I (London, 1976), 46–48; pl. xi; Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 74–81; O. Hor 18 in Ray, *Archive of Hor*, 66–73; pls. xix–xx; Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 74–81; J. Quack, "Eine Götterinvokation mit Fürbitte für Pharao und den Apisstier (Ostrakon Hor 18)," in *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, ed. J. Quack (Tübingen, 2014), 83–119; O. Corteggiani D 1 in B. Menu, "Deux ostraca démotiques inédits: O. D. Corteggiani No 1 et 2," *CRIPEL* 6 (1981): 215–24; J. Quack, "Ein Standardhymnus zum Sistrumspiel auf einem demotischen Ostrakon (Ostrakon Corteggiani D 1)," *Enchoria* 27 (2001): 101–19; Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 83–85; O. Leuven dem. 1-2 in M. Depauw and M. Smith, "Visions of Ecstasy: Cultic Revelry Before the Goddess Ai / Nehemait. Ostraca Faculteit Letteren (k.u.Leuven) Dem. 1-2," in *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift Für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, ed. F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen, StudDem VI (Leuven; Paris; Dudley, MA, 2004), 67–93; J. Quack, "Demotische Hymnen und Gebete," in *Hymnen, Klagelieder und Gebete*, ed. B. Janowski and D. Schwemer, TUAT NF 7 (Gütersloh, 2013), 270–72; O. Str. D 132+133+134 in M. Smith, "A Divine Decree for the Deceased (O. Strasbourg D. 132+133+ 134)," in *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, ed. H. Knuf, C. Leitz, and D. von Recklinghausen (Leuven, 2010), 439–45; M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2009), 607–9; O. Bucheum, no. 167 in Mattha, "The Demotic Ostraka," 56; Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum* 3; pls. lxxviii, lxxvii; Quack, "Demotische Hymnen," 269–70; O. BM EA 50601 in M. Smith, "A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn," *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 115–49; M. Smith, "O. Hess= O. Naville= O. BM 50601: An Elusive Text Relocated," in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. E. Teeter and J. Larson (Chicago, 1999), 397–404; Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 81–83; O. Uppsala 672 in Wängstedt, "Aus der Ostrakonsammlung Uppsala," 9–13; S. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications (Short Texts II 278-1200)*, vol. 1, StudDem IX-A (Leuven, 2011), 720–21; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 573–74.

⁹⁸¹ Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 85.

⁹⁸² Smith, "Elusive Text Relocated," 404; Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 85.

⁹⁸³ Depauw and Smith, "Visions of Ecstasy," 91.

⁹⁸⁴ Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 85–86. For the question whether papyrus rolls were frequently used for this end or not, see Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 86. For ostraca being used for religious texts out of economic reasons, see also Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 573, 608.

religious nature could have been also produced as a kind of scribal training or private notes.⁹⁸⁵ Whether one of these possibilities applies to the text under study or not is difficult to say in view of the incomplete state of the text, the unknown find spot, and the lack of precise information about the nature of the text.

-71-

A Description of a Funerary Ritual(?)

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 13.4 x 13.3x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] 'y' [...]
2. [...] '...' iw=w 'cš [n]=f'...' [...]
3. [...] 'c(?)' n=f r t s.t iw=w '...' [...]
4. [...] 'f' n h³.t mtw=f qdy r t³(?) '4.t' [...]
5. [...] '...' wt(?) n t³ 4.t n n³ šy.w nty hn 'p³' [...]
6. [...] '...' Hs 4(?) hn p³ dd n h^c mtw=w šsp [...]
7. [...] iw=] 'w' 'c' n=f r hn n t³ s.t n pr mw.t=f iw='w' [...] (?)
8. [...] iw]= 'w' pry iw hr=f w³h r pr i³b¹ hn p³ dd
9. [...] '...' [...] (?) t³ nmm.t iw=w (r) t³y. t=f r p³ w(i³) iw=w 'hn'
10. iw=w 'c' q=f r hry

Translation: x+



1. [...] '...' [...]
2. [...] '...' they will recite [for] him '...' [...]
3. [...] enter(?) to him to the place, while they '...' [...]
4. [...] 'it/ him' (?) [...] in the fore, and he will go around to the 'four' [...]
5. [...] '...' for(?) the four in(?) the lakes which are in 'the' [...]
6. [...] '...' four(?) in the chapel(?) of appearance, and they will receive [...]
7. [...] and] 'they' will enter to him in the place of the house of his mother, while 'they' [...] (?)
8. [...] and] 'they' will go out while his face is directed to the east in the chapel(?)
9. [...] '...' [...] (?) the bier, they will take him to the bark, they will 'row',
10. they will bring him up.


Commentary:

The upper, right and left sides of the ostrakon are broken. The handwriting indicates the late Ptolemaic Period. The text, though being only partly preserved, appears to be of a religious nature. Such a conclusion is based on the occurrence of certain words and expressions peculiar to religious texts such as 'cš 'to recite,' p³ dd n h^c 'the chapel(?) of appearance' nmm.t 'bier,' w³ 'sacred bark.' Moreover, the use of the hieratic script for words like dd 'chapel(?),' which is written as a dd-pillar followed by a divine determinative, is also indicative of a religious text since scribes of such texts tended to use some unusual writings and to employ some kind of archaism. Moreover, the preserved part of the text seems to describe some religious events which a group of people (referred to as 'they') will perform to an unidentified person (referred to as 'he, him'). This person could be for instance a certain deity, a king, or more probably a deceased individual. These events include the following: reciting for him, entering to him in a certain place called 'the place of the house of his mother,' going out 'while his face is


⁹⁸⁵ Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 86. In O. Uppsala 672, the text alluded to its purpose as a probable scribal exercise; cf. Wängstedt, "Aus der Ostrakonsammlung Uppsala," 10–12; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 573.


directed to the east in the chapel(?),’ taking him to the bark, rowing, bringing him up (possibly to the necropolis). The text refers to something (possibly a place) called *dd n h^c* ‘the chapel(?) of appearance,’ in which events can happen or a person can be. It additionally refers to *t³ nmm.t* ‘the bier’ which could be also related to the appearance of this person. In conclusion, this part seems to represent a description of a funerary ritual or ceremony made for the benefit of this person (see line commentary below for more details). A precise identification of the nature of the text is not possible due to the incompleteness of the text.


L. x+3. The ‘walking legs’ determinative, i.e. , appears at the very beginning of this line, possibly as a determinative of *cq*; compare *cq*  in l. 7 below.

L. x+4. The partly preserved sign  at the beginning could be *f*, which could possibly be a pronominal object (of the infinitive), or maybe be part of the pronominal form of some preposition like *n* or *r*.

The conjunctive *mtw=f qdy* might also signify a ‘result clause’ especially if the subject of the conjunctive clause was different from that of the main clause.⁹⁸⁶ Thus, an alternative translation for *mtw=f qdy* could be ‘so that he may go around.’ Since the subject of the main clause is unknown, a more general meaning of the conjunctive, i.e. being a continuation of a preceding clause, is suggested here.⁹⁸⁷ Assuming a future tense for the conjunctive is based on the extensive use of the future in most of the main clauses in the text. The same is also applicable to *mtw=w šsp* in l. x+6 below.

The sign after *r* at the end of the line could also be *t³*. The broken sign at the end of this line, i.e. , is probably part of *4.t*.

L. x+5. : The signs at the beginning possibly represent the end of a plural feminine noun.

The translation and interpretation of the phrase  *n t³ 4.t n n³ šy.w* is quite complicated since the context is lost. The translation of the first preposition *n* could be ‘for, of, or in.’ It seems that *n t³ 4.t* is connected with a previous sentence. In this case, *t³ 4.t* would be a nominalized number referring to a group of four persons or things previously mentioned. A possible translation of ... *n t³ 4.t* could thus be ‘... for the four.’ Understanding the second *n*, namely the one after *4.t*, as a genitival and thus translating *t³ 4.t n n³ šy.w* as ‘the four of the lakes’ is not possible due to the disagreement between *t³ 4.t* (feminine) and *n³ šy.w* (plural masculine) in gender. In case this *n* was meant as a genitival adjective, the phrase *t³ 4.t* should then refer to 4 items or persons related to the 4 lakes and the whole phrase might be translated ‘... for the four (persons, items, or similar) of the lakes.’ Another possibility is to understand the phrase *n n³ šy.w* as an adverbial phrase with the meaning ‘in/ to the lakes.’ The whole phrase might be translated ‘... for/ of the four (persons, items, or similar) in/ to the lakes.’

From another perspective, it is not clear to which lakes and to which context this expression refers. The current text does not provide any information as to the function or location of these lakes. Here the text refers to *n³ šy.w nty hn ...* ‘the lakes which are in ...,’ which means that these lakes are probably located within a specific place whose name could be lost in the lacuna. However, the reference to *šy.w* ‘lakes’ combined with the mention of other words, events, and phrases with funerary and religious implications

⁹⁸⁶ Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 184, fn. 172. Spiegelberg also noted that the connection that the conjunctive sets between the clauses is not purely temporally coordinated, but it was often contentwise subordinated and often signified “die innere kausale Folge” (‘so dass’); cf. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §147.

⁹⁸⁷ For the uses of the conjunctive, see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §141-153; Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 182–90.

such as ‘recite for him,’ ‘the chapel(?) of appearance,’ ‘bier,’ ‘take him to the bark,’ ‘rowing,’ ‘bring him up (possibly to the necropolis)’ tempt thinking of a funerary fest, celebration, or ritual in which ‘the lakes’ and ‘rowing’ played a key role.

In this regard, it could be useful to recall the so-called *nt-c n šy wr n Hnsw* ‘the ceremony of the great lake of Khonsu’ mentioned in the Demotic part of P. Rhind I, col. 3, l. 2.⁹⁸⁸ Möller describes this ceremony as one that possibly goes back to the old custom of bringing the deceased on a festive voyage from the east to the west bank where the necropolis was located. In the late period this water journey developed into this mysterious ceremony, namely *nt-c n šy wr*, which took place at the lake which existed in larger towns. As probable references to the same ceremony, Möller quotes, among other Egyptian texts and scenes, Diodorus’ report in Book I, 92 about the deceased being ‘about to cross the lake’ as part of the funerary ritual before the burial and after the mummification of the deceased.⁹⁸⁹ Merkelbach explained that such a ceremony on the lake was supposed to indicate that the deceased has crossed the Nile and has been brought to the necropolis.⁹⁹⁰ He, just like Möller, suggested that the ‘lake’ mentioned by Diodorus is the same meant in ‘the ceremony of the great lake of Khonsu.’⁹⁹¹ He, confirming the accuracy of Diodorus’ account on this matter, assumed the existence of a worldly judgement of the deceased before the burial.⁹⁹² In addition to Merkelbach, Quack—based on the correction he suggested for the reading of some words in P. Insinger, col. 18, ll. 5-12—proposed the existence of a ‘Seefahrt’ (sea voyage, boat-trip, or the like) at the end of the mummification process in connection with a worldly judgement of the deceased before his burial.⁹⁹³ Stadler, on the other hand, argued strongly against the existence of a dramatically performed judgement before burial and interpreted the Egyptian texts which were used in support of this theory as being associated with netherworld events rather than worldly events.⁹⁹⁴ He, reinterpreting Quack’s *hne* ‘boat-trip’ as *hne* ‘friend,’ has entirely rejected the reference to such a voyage in the relevant passage of P. Insinger.⁹⁹⁵ Stadler’s objections to Merkelbach’s view were accepted by Smith,⁹⁹⁶ who additionally refuted Merkelbach’s identification of the ‘lake’ mentioned by Diodorus with that mentioned in P. Rhind I, II within the reference to ‘the ceremony of the great lake of Khonsu.’ According to Smith, the rites of this ceremony were performed in the ‘day of rowing’ in a place called the ‘great sea of Khonsu’ which he believed to be a place or an area inside the embalming place rather than a real body of water. He also saw the application of such a name to the place where the mummification takes place as a reflection of the fact that the mummification process was symbolically seen as a bark voyage.⁹⁹⁷ Later, Quack defended his earlier conclusion regarding the ‘sea-trip’ in P. Insinger, col. 18, ll. 5-12 against Stadler’s and Smith’s critiques and explained that *hne* should be understood as ‘Ruderfahrt’ (rowing), and the mention of this ‘rowing,’ backed by the reference to the embalming substances within the text, should be clear indications to a ritual rowing in the course of the burial rites.⁹⁹⁸ Despite the opposing views of the scholars, the reference to a ‘sea-voyage’ or ‘rowing’ in the course of mummification rituals seems undisputable. The question which is still awaiting a decisive answer is: was this trip an actual or a symbolic one? Another question which is relevant to the extant text is: could the reference to ‘the lakes,’

⁹⁸⁸ G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg*, DemStud 6 (Leipzig, 1913), 18; pl. iii.

⁹⁸⁹ Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, 78–79. For a translation of Diodorus I, 92, see E. Murphy, *The Antiquities of Egypt: A Translation with Notes of Book I of the Library of History of Diodorus Siculus*, revised (New Brunswick, NJ, 1990), 117–18.

⁹⁹⁰ R. Merkelbach, “Diodor über das Totengericht der Ägypter,” ZÄS 120 (1993): 73–74.

⁹⁹¹ Merkelbach, “Diodor über das Totengericht,” 76.

⁹⁹² Merkelbach, “Diodor über das Totengericht,” 77.

⁹⁹³ J. Quack, “Balsamierung und Totengericht im Papyrus Insinger,” *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 27–38.

⁹⁹⁴ M. Stadler, “War eine dramatische Aufführung eines Totengerichts Teil der ägyptischen Totenriten?,” *SAK* 29 (2001): 331–48.

⁹⁹⁵ M. Stadler, “Zwei Bemerkungen zum Papyrus Insinger,” ZÄS 130 (2003): 189–96.

⁹⁹⁶ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 314–15.


⁹⁹⁷ Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 305–6; 316; Smith’s views regarding ‘the ceremony of the lake of Khonsu’ were welcomed by Stadler as well, cf. Stadler, *Ägyptische Religion*, 146.

⁹⁹⁸ J. Quack, “Nochmals zu Balsamierung und Totengericht im großen demotischen Weisheitsbuch,” *Enchoria* 34 (2016): 105–18.

‘rowing,’ in addition to the seemingly funerary context of the text under study be related to the ‘lake-trip’ or ‘rowing’ above discussed?

Apart from this ceremony and the accompanying ‘rowing,’ the phrase *n3 šy.w nty hn ...* ‘the lakes, which are in ...’ could be referring to real lakes in the vicinity which might have been used in a religious or funerary context. In this case, given the text’s provenance, one has to think of a place in or near Medinet Habu which has more than one lake. This place could of course be the great temple of Medinet Habu. According to Geßler-Löhr, a few bodies of water have been identified within the enclosure wall of this temple. These include a pond at the southeast corner of the outer temple area, another one located to the west of the palace, the sacred lake of the 18th dynasty temple, in addition to a few fountains from different periods. The water of such fountains, as the decorations on one of them shows, was likely used in the purification and libation required in cultic rituals.⁹⁹⁹

L. x+6. The four mentioned in this line could be related to the four recorded in l. x+5. The nature of these four is unclear. In this line, the four (items, persons, ...) are said to be inside the *dd*-chapel, while in l. x+5 the four are linked to the ‘lakes,’ which are inside a place whose name is lost in the lacuna (*dd*-chapel cannot be excluded). This means that the ‘lakes’ could be related to the *dd*-chapel.

Remarkable here is the phrase *hn p3 dd n hc* in which the *dd* is written with a hieratic *dd*-pillar, i.e. , followed by a divine determinative.¹⁰⁰⁰ The same writing of *dd* recurs in l. x+8 as well.

Generally speaking, the *dd*-pillar was one of the important symbols in the ancient Egyptian religion, especially in the Osirian cult in which the ‘erection of the *dd*-pillar’ was considered as a sign of Osiris’ resurrection and triumph over his enemies. Such a ceremony probably originated in Memphis where it was connected to Sokar and was performed at the Sokar feast to symbolize his triumphal resurrection.¹⁰⁰¹ Moreover, the body of Osiris was believed to have been concealed in a pillar.¹⁰⁰² Besides Osiris and Sokar-Osiris, Ptah was also connected with the *dd*-pillar since a very early stage of Egyptian history. In later periods, the *dd*-pillar was also associated with some other deities such as Onuris, Arensnuphis, and Shu.¹⁰⁰³ Thus, in the Egyptian language, it was used as a designation for gods such as Osiris or Sokar-Osiris.¹⁰⁰⁴

What could this *dd* represent in our example? Initially, the current writing of *dd* and the association of the *dd*-pillar with Osiris might induce taking it as reference to Osiris or of the sacred *dd*-pillar connected to his cult in the first place. Yet the use of the word written with *dd*-pillar within the expression *hn p3 dd n hc* ‘in the *dd* of appearance’ in l. x+6 and in the sentence *iw=w pry iw hr=f w3h r pr i3b3 hn p3 dd [...]* ‘they will go out, while his face is directed to the east in the *dd* [...] in l. x+8-9 enforces a different understanding of this word here. Pondering upon the context in which this word appears, it seems as if the *dd*-pillar is used in both lines to refer to a certain place (not a geographical one) or an object which

⁹⁹⁹ B. Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel: ein Beitrag zur Deutung sakraler Baukunst im alten Ägypten*, HÄB 21 (Hildesheim, 1983), 118. For more details on both the archeologically proven and the textually attested water bodies attached to the temple of Medinet Habu, see Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen*, 120–24. For the different Demotic compounds and phrases with *šy* ‘body of water, especially “lake”,’ see *CDD*, Š, 6–11; *DemGloss*, 484–85.

¹⁰⁰⁰ A similar writing of the *dd*-pillar occurs in the name *N3-dd-k3-Rc* and *Dd-k3-Rc* (cf. *DemNam*, 625). One of the Ptolemaic ostraca from the tomb of the dogs in Asyut, i.e. (S11/20), offers an example of *dd* ‘Dauer’ written with the *dd*-pillar followed by a divine determinative; cf. G. Vittmann, “Demotische Ostraka aus dem ‘Hundegrab’ in Assiut: ein Vorbericht,” in *The Tomb of the Dogs at Asyut: Faunal Remains and Other Selected Objects*, ed. C. Kitagawa, J. Kahl, and G. Vittmann, The Asyut Project 9 (Wiesbaden, 2016), 162; fig. 10.

¹⁰⁰¹ H. Altenmüller, “Djed-Pfeiler,” in *LÄ I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 1100–1105.

¹⁰⁰² H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature*, phoenix edition (Chicago; London, 1978), 178; D. Mostafa, “The Role of the Djed-Pillar in New Kingdom Private Tombs,” *GM* 109 (1989): 41.

¹⁰⁰³ Cf. Altenmüller, “Djed-Pfeiler,” 1100–1105; Mostafa, “Role of the Djed-Pillar,” 41–51.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *LGG VII*, 677–78. For more on the *dd*-pillar, see A.-M. Amann, *Der Djed-Pfeiler* (Tübingen, 1992); see also bibliography cited in *LGG VII*, 678.

somebody can enter or be in, even though it lacks a relevant determinative like the place determinative. But what place or object can be called *dd* in Demotic? Although the *dd*-pillar can be sometimes utilized in writing the name of *Ddw* ‘Busiris’ and *Dd(t)* ‘Mendes’ in Demotic (see below), the context in which *dd* is used here does not refer to any one of them or any other geographical location. It seems, if a certain place was meant, to indicate a hall, room, chapel, or their like. To my knowledge, no such a place that was called *dd* or was written with the *dd*-pillar is yet attested in Demotic. One could therefore think of this *dd* as a variant or maybe an archaizing writing of another word. Among the Demotic nouns¹⁰⁰⁵ that can employ an archaizing writing of the *dd*-pillar is the word signifying the sacred *dd*-pillar itself which was usually written in Demotic as *twtw*¹⁰⁰⁶ and at times as *Ddw*.¹⁰⁰⁷ The same is also true of Busiris which occurs normally as *twtw*, but also as *Ddw* (written with two hieratic *dd*-pillars),¹⁰⁰⁸ and Mendes for which the writing *Dd(t)* (with two hieratic *dd*-pillars)¹⁰⁰⁹ as well as *twtw* are attested.¹⁰¹⁰ This—even though it is normal since the *d* sound was pronounced *t* in Demotic and hence *dd* became *twtw*¹⁰¹¹—might mean that Demotic words written as *twtw* could be at times archaized as *dd* regardless of their meaning and etymology. Thus, it is possible that the *dd* here is an unetymologically archaizing writing of a place that is usually expressed as *twtw* in Demotic. This of course recalls the Demotic *twtw*, also *twtwe*, *ttw*, or *twt* ‘chapel for ceremonial barks.’¹⁰¹² Hoffmann, who initially identified this *twtw* or ‘Stationskapelle,’ suggested derivation from the Egyptian *d3d3* ‘a place in front of the temple where the processions stop.’¹⁰¹³ On the other hand, Vittmann¹⁰¹⁴ views it as a derivative of the Egyptian *d3d.w* (hall).¹⁰¹⁵ Vittmann’s preference of *d3d.w* over *d3d3* was even explained by Hoffmann as being based on ‘phonetic reasons.’¹⁰¹⁶ This latter suggestion makes it even more probable to have this *twtw* unetymologically archaized as *dd* (which would only have a phonetical value) given the phonetic similarity between it and *d3d.w*. Also, if *d3d3* or *d3d.w* and *dd*—despite the difference in meaning and etymology—can be expressed in Demotic as *twtw*, then why cannot *twtw* be archaized as *dd*? In view of this, the expression *p3 dd n hc* would then denote a ‘chapel(?) of appearance,’ ‘a processional chapel(?)’ or the like. The identification of such a chapel with the ‘Stationskapelle’ remains possible, but not fully certain.

Apart from being a reference to a place, *dd* might also denote an object that can contain people or—taking the funerary context of the current text into consideration—their corpses as well. This object

¹⁰⁰⁵ Besides the different nouns cited in the main text below, the verb ‘to endure, remain,’ which was usually written as *twtw* in Demotic, was sometimes written as *dd* (a hieratic *dd*-pillar). This is the case in the name *N3-dd-k3-Rc* ‘enduring is the Ka of Re’ which occurred also as *Dd-k3-Rc* ‘may the Ka of Re endure;’ cf. *DemNam*, 625.

¹⁰⁰⁶ For examples, see *DemGloss*, 617; *CDD*, *T*, 136.

¹⁰⁰⁷ As two *dd*-pillars in hieratic writing followed by a divine determinative. An example of this writing in Demotic occurred in BM mummy board EA 35464, l. 38 within the phrase *t3 hry.t c3.t n Ddw*, which describes Isis. At first, Vittmann took *Ddw* as a place name, i.e. Busiris, and translated the phrase as ‘the great widow of Busiris;’ cf. G. Vittmann, “Ein neuer religiöser demotischer Text: (Mumienbrett BM 35464),” *ZAS* 117 (1990): 82–83, 88; pl. v. Then he considered the “*dd*-pillar” as a better translation of *Ddw*; cf. Vittmann, “Mumienbrett,” 222, fn. 2. After him, Smith also preferred the translation ‘*dd*-pillar,’ which he understood as a designation of Osiris. Thus, Isis is described as “the great widow of the *dd*-pillar (scil. Osiris);” cf. Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 589, fn. 17.

¹⁰⁰⁸ For examples of both writings, i.e. *twtw* and *Ddw*, see *CDD*, *D*, 90–91.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See examples in *CDD*, *D*, 89–90.

¹⁰¹⁰ This writing occurred within the compound *pr-Bntwtw*, i.e. ‘House of the ram of Mendes, or House of Banebdjet’ which refers to ‘Mendes;’ cf. *CDD*, *D*, 89; *Bntwtw* in *DemGloss*, 118.

¹⁰¹¹ F. Hoffmann, “Das Gebäude *t(w)t(we)*,” *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 188–89.

¹⁰¹² *CDD*, *T*, 133–35.

¹⁰¹³ Hoffmann, “Das Gebäude *t(w)t(we)*,” 187–89. Stadler describes such a ‘Stationskapelle,’ as a building in the procession’s way where the portable processional barks can be put down; cf. M. Stadler, “Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg),” in *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen*, ed. B. Janowski and D. Schwemer, NUAT NF 8 (Gütersloh, 2015), 425, fn. 430. For *d3d3*, see *Wb* V, 532.


¹⁰¹⁴ See under *twtw* ‘Stationskapelle,’ in Vittmann’s *DTD*:

(<https://aew.bbaw.de/ta/servlet/GetWcnDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&wn=7152&db=1>).

¹⁰¹⁵ *Wb* V, 527.

¹⁰¹⁶ F. Hoffmann and J. Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, Zweite, neubearbeitete und erheblich erweiterte Auflage, EQTÄ 4 (Berlin; Münster, 2018), 378, n. ac.

could be something like a coffin for instance. To my knowledge, there is no reference to a coffin called *dd* or *twtw*, or written with the *dd*-pillar in Demotic. In Egyptian, according to the *Wb*, the ‘coffin of Osiris’ was called *dd.t* in the Greco-Roman Period.¹⁰¹⁷ Calling the ‘coffin of Osiris’ as *dd.t* (written with two *dd*-pillars) would not be strange since the body of Osiris was believed to have been concealed in a pillar, and the *dd*-pillar plays a significant role in the Osirian cult. If the coffin of Osiris can be called *dd.t*, that of the deceased can be called so as well since the deceased was identified with Osiris. Furthermore, in view of the possible connection between the current text and the so-called ‘ceremony of the great lake of Khonsu,’ (see comment on l. x+5 for discussion) one might refer to one of the scenes used by Möller in support of his description of this ceremony. That is the scene of the funeral of the high priest ‘Ankhpakhered’ (*nh-p³-hrd*) depicted on his coffin which is now in Berlin Museum (no. 20132) and dated to the 22nd dynasty.¹⁰¹⁸ This scene depicts a coffin loaded in a boat accompanied by mourners. On board there are some priests including someone that does the recitation. Within the coffin appears a person between two *dd*-pillars and next to the coffin there is a depiction of a crocodile, which is supposed to represent the body of Osiris brought by Horus out of the water. Besides being a possible reference to the ‘lake-trip’ at the end of the embalming rituals, a further significant aspect that this scene presents is the depiction of the deceased’s coffin with two *dd*-pillars between which the deceased was supposed to be put. Could this, added to the use of *dd.t* as designation to the coffin of Osiris, account for the use of *dd* in reference to the coffin of the deceased? Another point of comparison between this scene and the current text is that the face of the person is apparently directed to the east inside the coffin (he is directed toward the mourners who are supposed to be in the eastern side, i.e. the place where the living people are). This seems to match the description given in l. x+8 of the current text: ... *iw hr=f w³h r pr i³bt hn p³ dd [...]* ‘... while his face is directed to the east in the *dd* [...].’ If this scene and the current text are truly connected to some ritual or ceremony performed for the deceased after mummification and before burial, it could be possible that the *dd* here mentioned is used to denote the coffin in which the deceased was put during this rite or celebration. As such, *dd n h^c* could possibly refer to ‘the coffin of appearance or festival.’ The problem with this interpretation is that the word *dd.t*, away from being only rarely attested in this sense, was—according to the *Wb*—feminine in Egyptian, whereas in the current text it is masculine.

With regard to *h^c* , it usually indicates ‘appearance, festival, festive procession.’¹⁰¹⁹ Here, it could possibly mean ‘a processional or festive appearance.’ Whose appearance is meant remains unclear, but possibly that of the deceased’s corpse, see comment on l. x+9 below for more.

L. x+7. It is not clear what *t³ s.t n pr mw.t=f* ‘the place of the house of his mother’ refers to. Given the mortuary connotation of the text, could it signify this phrase be another way to say the deceased’s own home, i.e. the home in which he was born and from which his corpse will be taken after death?

L. x+8. For a similar construction of the phrase *iw hr=f w³h r pr i³bt*, see *iw hr=w w³h r n³ qrw³.w r-hr n³ h^c.w n ’Imn ...* ‘while their faces were directed to the bank (shore) to the procession of Amun ...’ attested in P. Spiegelberg, col. v, l. 15.¹⁰²⁰

In *pr i³bt*, the *pr* stands for the definite article *p³*; cf. *DemGloss*, 17.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Wb* V, 631.

¹⁰¹⁸ Möller, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, 79. For a photo of this scene, see R. Anthes, “Die deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913,” *MDAIK* 12 (1943): pl. 12; H. Schaefer, *Aegyptische Kunst*, Kunstgeschichte in Bildern. Neue Bearbeitung: systematische Darstellung der Entwicklung der Bildenden Kunst vom klassischen Altertum bis zur neueren Zeit I: Das Altertum. Erstes Heft (Leipzig, 1913), 22.

¹⁰¹⁹ *DemGloss*, 350–51; *CDD*, *H*, 29–33.

¹⁰²⁰ W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis: nach dem Strassburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken*, *DemStud* 3 (Leipzig, 1910), 18–19; pl. v; see also Hoffmann’s translation in Hoffmann and Quack, *Anthologie*, 109.

L. x+9. The word *nmm.t* ‘bier’¹⁰²¹ is not very common in Demotic and occurs mainly in religious texts. In P. Berlin P 8351, col. ii, l. 9 and P. Bodl. MS. Egypt. c. 9(P)+ Louvre 10605, col. ii, l. 7, the deceased is addressed with the following statements: *šsp=w t̄=k r t̄y=k m̄nme.t n h^c* ‘you (masculine) will be received at your bier of appearance.’ The same is true of P. Louvre E 10607, l. 22, in which the deceased is addressed as follows: *šsp=w t̄=t r t̄y=k nmm.t n h^c* ‘you (feminine) will be received at your bier of appearance.’¹⁰²² That the current text refers to *p̄ dd n h^c* ‘the chapel(?) of appearance’ and to *t̄ nmm.t* ‘the bier’ could possibly mean that *t̄ nmm.t* here mentioned refers also to the *nmm.t n h^c* ‘bier of appearance.’

For reading the word for ‘(divine) bark,’ as *w(b)*, see F. Hoffmann, “Die Lesung des demotischen Wortes für ‘Götterbarke,’” *Enchoria* 23 (1996): 39–51. Other scholars—taking the boat determinative as *w̄b̄* and the initial *w* as a phonetic complement—prefer the etymological transcription *w̄b̄*.¹⁰²³

Ll. x+9-10. This passage speaks about the transport of somebody or maybe his corpse using a bark. It also refers to a bier (likely with his corpse in it) and that he (the person or his corpse) will be taken to the bark, and they will row, and they will bring him up. ‘Bring him up’ refers apparently to the necropolis in the western bank since necropolises were usually located uphill.

2.4.2 Letters or Correspondences

Demotic letters were commonly written rather on papyrus than on ostraca.¹⁰²⁴ As Depauw explains, in some specific regions in ancient Egypt such as the oases, the paucity of papyrus could have forced the utilization of ostraca as an alternative. In other regions, the abundance and accessibility of ostraca could have endorsed its usage as a writing medium for letters.¹⁰²⁵ Letters on ostraca tend to be shorter in length and simplified in formula. In some of them the epistolary formula is reduced to an interior address and closing formula. Others, more specifically those larger in size, could have served as drafts to letters on papyri.¹⁰²⁶ Due to the nature of ostraca, the contents of the letter cannot be kept secret.¹⁰²⁷ Thus, ostraca are more suitable for letters of public nature such as complaints, letters about work-related affairs, and similar.¹⁰²⁸ While most letters on ostraca were seemingly immediately thrown away, others—particularly business or administrative letters—could have been kept for a longer period.¹⁰²⁹

Although scholars were able to identify some types of letters in Demotic, e.g. official, professional, private, etc., the borders between these genres are not always evident and some features of the different genres could be present in the same letter. This makes it quite difficult to make a clear distinction

¹⁰²¹ *CDD, N*, 94–95. For a discussion of its writing and meaning in Demotic, see M. Smith, “Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts II,” *Enchoria* 13 (1985): 104–7.

¹⁰²² Cf. M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford, 1993), 25–31.

¹⁰²³ Cf. *CDD, W*, 3–6.

¹⁰²⁴ S. Abd el-Aal, “Correspondences Through Demotic Documents (Their Types, Formulae, and Elements) [Originally in Arabic]” (Unpublished MA Thesis, Cairo, Cairo University, 1983), 14. For more on the different writing grounds of Demotic letters, see Abd el-Aal, “Correspondences,” 14–16; M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions Against Their Intra- and Intercultural Background*, *DemStud* 14 (Sommerhausen, 2006), 71–85.

¹⁰²⁵ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 84.

¹⁰²⁶ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 84–85.

¹⁰²⁷ Abd el-Aal, “Correspondences,” 15; Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 84.

¹⁰²⁸ Abd el-Aal, “Correspondences,” 15.

¹⁰²⁹ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 85.

between the different classes of letters in Demotic.¹⁰³⁰ Broadly speaking, Demotic letters usually concern the different aspects of the professional and private life.¹⁰³¹

As to their formula, Demotic letters on ostraca normally lack an exterior address since they were visible during transport, and thus, the interior address or the introductory formula played the role of the exterior address.¹⁰³² Analogous to the considerable number of papyri without an exterior address, which could have been handed over to the recipient by means of a personal messenger who knew the address by heart,¹⁰³³ letters on ostraca could have also been delivered in the same way. The introductory formula usually provides some information about the identity of the correspondents. It could occasionally contain an initial courtesy.¹⁰³⁴ Some introductory phrases, e.g. *A sm^{3c} r B m-b^{3h} G*, could combine the function of interior address and initial courtesy.¹⁰³⁵ The studied group of ostraca preserves only two introductory or interior address formulae:

1. *A (sender) sm^{3c} r B (addressee) 'A blesses B,'* which is the abbreviated form of *A sm^{3c} r B m-b^{3h} G* 'A blesses B before G.'¹⁰³⁶ A more casual translation of the verb *sm^{3c}*, i.e. 'greet' is often applied whenever the religious element of the formula (*m-b^{3h} G*) is omitted and thus the religious connotation is minimized.¹⁰³⁷ This formula is common in Thebes and Medinet Habu. According to Depauw, it was used as introductory formula in Demotic letter from about the 6th century BC until about the second century AD, and it was quite common in the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁰³⁸
2. *A p³ nty dd n B 'A is the one who says to B,'* which was used in letters from the early Ptolemaic Period but was more common in late Ptolemaic Period. In fact, the use of the verb *dd* in introductory formula of letters is attested since the Old Kingdom.¹⁰³⁹ Besides *n* 'to,' other preposition, e.g. *n-³ir-³hr*, *i.³ir-³hr*, *r-³hr*, and *r.³ir* might sometimes precede the addressee to convey the same meaning.¹⁰⁴⁰ As Depauw explained, this formula was initially used in formal correspondences, but afterwards it has been used in a more private context, e.g. correspondences between friends or even family members.¹⁰⁴¹
3. *A or B '(from) A' or '(to) B':* interior addresses built up with this formula could refer to either the sender or the addressee. The identification of the person acknowledged in this formula is dependent on the context, which could sometimes have some revealing indications. As Depauw elucidated, this formula is quite common ostraca and was mainly utilized in business correspondences. Short letters between well-acquainted correspondents could also utilize this interior address.¹⁰⁴²

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Exc. No. (MH 4055). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.7x 8.8x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration: x+

1. [---] '...' [---]

¹⁰³⁰ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 108.

¹⁰³¹ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 108–9.

¹⁰³² Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 113.

¹⁰³³ M. Depauw, "The Demotic Epistolary Formulae," *EVO* 17 (1994): 88.

¹⁰³⁴ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 127.

¹⁰³⁵ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 133.

¹⁰³⁶ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 137.

¹⁰³⁷ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 135, 139. For more on the different combinations with *sm^{3c}*, see *DemGloss*, 430–31; *CDD*, S, 211–19.

¹⁰³⁸ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 138.

¹⁰³⁹ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 147.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 144–45.

¹⁰⁴¹ Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 146.

¹⁰⁴² Depauw, *Demotic Letter*, 150–51.

2. [---] *swr r iw=k ir* [---]
3. [---] *... iw w3h(?) dr. t=w(?) r h3t=k* [---]
4. [---] *r' iw=k ir hrw-nfr mtw=y* [---]
5. [---] *... 101 bn-iw rh T3y-...[...]* [---]
6. [---] *...[...]*

Translation: x+

1. [---] *...[...]*
2. [---] drink(ing), you will make [---]
3. [---] *...[...]* who put(?) their(?) hand(s)(?) to(?) your heart [---]
4. [---] you will have a festive day, and I [---]
5. [---] *...[...]* 101, Si^r.^r[...] will not be able to [---]
6. [---] *...[...]*


Commentary:

The text is only partly preserved. The paleography suggests a second century BC date. Despite the complete absence of epistolary formulae, which could be due to the text's damage, the text seems to be a type of correspondence or letter. This classification is based on the style of the surviving passages in which a person addresses another using the second singular pronoun. If it was truly a letter or a form of communication, its subject could have been related to a certain festival in which there has probably been a drinking session.


L. x+2. Whether *swr* is to be translated as 'drink' or 'drinking' is dependent on what preceded it. Moreover, the reference to 'drink(ing)' might have some connections with the celebration mentioned in l. x+4 below.

The initial *r* in the phrase *r iw=k ir* 'you will make' in this line and in l. x+4 is apparently the extra *r* which some scribes used to add before the convertor *iw* when building the future tense.¹⁰⁴³



L. x+3. Reading of the phrase after *iw* as *w3h dr. t=w*  is not certain. If the reading is correct, this sentence could be interpreted as a relative form of the past tense, in which the subject of the relative clause is identical with the antecedent. Thus, the past participle of the verb *ir*, namely *iw*, plus the infinitive of the main verb was used to build the relative form.¹⁰⁴⁴

L. x+4. As Depauw and Smith noted, celebrating a *hrw nfr* 'festive, happy day' in ancient Egypt involved some erotic pleasures besides eating and drinking.¹⁰⁴⁵ Thus the *hrw nfr* here mentioned could have included the act of drinking mentioned above in l. x+2.

L. x+5. : *T3y* is seemingly part of a personal name, which is also grammatically expected in this place. The partly preserved vertical signs after the *t3y*-group seem to favor restoring *T3y-hp-n.im=w*¹⁰⁴⁶ in comparison with the different names built up with *t3y*.

¹⁰⁴³ Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 100; 101, table 20.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cf. Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 118; Johnson, *Thus Wrote*, 64.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For a discussion, see Depauw and Smith, "Visions of Ecstasy," 81–82.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *DemNam*, 1350–51.

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Exc. No. (MH 1455). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 4.2x 7.4x 0.6 cm. Late Ptolemaic (late second to early first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *Pa-Mnꜥ sꜣ sp-sn sꜣ Wn-nfr*
2. *r.ꜥry sꜥn n Pa-Mnꜥ sꜣ*
3. *Mnh ꜥrm Pꜣ-fdw-Mnꜥ*
4. *[sꜣ]ꜣPꜣ-šrꜣ-ꜣImn r pꜣ¹/₅ n pꜣ mꜣ*
5. *[...] ꜣ..ꜣ*

Translation:

1. (To) Pamonthes son of the likewise named son of Onnophris:
2. Make a lease for Pamonthes son of
3. Menches and Phthoumonthes
4. [son of] ꜣPsenꜣamounis concerning the $\frac{1}{5}$ of the canal
5. [...] ꜣ..ꜣ


Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its bottom. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic, likely late second to early first century BC. The content of the text is apparently related to a lease contract as is clear from internal indications, e.g. *r.ꜥry sꜥn n* ‘make a lease for,’ the names of the lessees as well as a reference to the leased item, i.e. the $\frac{1}{5}$ of the canal. The general format of the text, however, indicates a letter. This can be deduced from the introductory formula or interior address which seems to follow the ‘A or B’ (‘from) A’ or ‘(to) B’ pattern which introduces either the sender or the addressee. In the current text, it seems to introduce the addressee due to the use of the imperative which is also as a sign of direct speech between the sender and the addressee, which represents a further confirmation to the identification of the text as a letter.

L. 2. *R.ꜥry* is an imperative form of the verb *ꜥr*.¹⁰⁴⁷ The lease phrase here used, namely *r.ꜥry sꜥn n NN*, is reminiscent of the phrase *ꜥrꜣy sꜥn x n NN* ‘I leased x to NN,’ well known in Demotic land lease documents.¹⁰⁴⁸

L. 3. For *Mnh*, see *DemNam*, 595.

L. 4. The preposition *r* ‘concerning’ is meant to introduce the subject of the lease. For the expression *ꜥr sꜥn r* ‘to make a lease concerning,’ see *CDD*, *S*, 353. The use of *r* to introduce the subject of the documents is quite common in the so-called ‘Geldbezahlungsschrift,’ in which the expression *pꜣ sꜥ ꜥbꜣ-ꜥd r* ‘the money-payment document concerning’ often occurs.¹⁰⁴⁹

Reading the group after *pꜣ*, i.e. , as $\frac{1}{5}$ seems paleographically more plausible than the quite similarly written *bꜣ* ‘land.’ In the writings of *bꜣ*, the upper hook and the stroke above it are usually more vertical than what we have here.¹⁰⁵⁰ Also, using *bꜣ* ‘land’ in reference to fields or in combination with

¹⁰⁴⁷ *DemGloss*, 36; Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 20–21.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. *DemGloss*, 448.

¹⁰⁴⁹ For some examples of this phrase, see W. Erichsen, “Einige demotische Urkundenvermerke,” in *Ägyptologische Studien*, ed. O. Firchow (Berlin, 1955), 79; P. Turin 6075, recto b, ll. 5, 6; P. Turin 6080, recto b, ll. 6, 7; P. Turin 6078, recto b, ll. 5 and passim in Botti, *L'archivio demotico* I:33–35, 40–42, 62–63.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cf. the different writings of *bꜣ* in *DemGloss*, 598–99.

*m*³ ‘canal’ would be quite odd.¹⁰⁵¹ It is not clear what is meant by the phrase *p*³ ¹/₅ *n* *p*³ *m*³ ‘the ¹/₅ of the canal.’ Perhaps it refers to a share of a canal leased to these two individuals for irrigation purposes. A precise identification of this canal is not possible through the preserved part of the text. Whether it is the same *m*³ *n* *Dm*^{3c} ‘canal of Jeme’ attested in other texts from Thebes, e.g. P. Turin 6081, l. 9,¹⁰⁵² or another canal¹⁰⁵³ in Jeme is not certain. As Thompson noted, denoting a plot of land after the canal bounding it was quite common in land-related texts.¹⁰⁵⁴

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Exc. No. (MH 1283). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.6x 5x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (late second to first century BC).

Transliteration:

Recto:

1. *Twtw*
2. *s*³ *P*³*y*-*hr*
3. *sm*^{3c} *r* *P*³-*whr*
4. *w*³*h*=*w* *d*^l.*t* *i**w* *n*=*k* *r**m*^t ^c*s*³
5. *d*^d(?) *n*=*k*(?) *i**m* ^c*h*^c=*y*
6. *i**r**m*{*=y*} =*f* ^c*s*^c *t*³
7. ^r*w*³*n**w*.*t*
8. [*.*]^r..^r*bs*(?)
9. [*...*]^r..^r

Verso:

1. *p*³ *w*³*h* *n**f**r*(?)
2. *i*.*i*^r-*hr*=*k*

Translation:

Recto:

1. Totoes
2. son of Paos
3. greets Pouoris.
4. They have already caused that many people came to you,
5. saying(?) to you(?) come back! I stood
6. with {me} him until
7. now
8. [*.*]^r..^r*bs*(?)
9. [*...*]^r..^r

Verso:

1. the good answer

¹⁰⁵¹ Normally, *t*³ was used to denote “the land or earth” in general. Thus, it appeared in many expressions referring to geographical territories and countries and not to fields or parcels of land that can be leased, for which *h*³ “field, agricultural land,” was usually utilized. For more details on *t*³ versus *h*³, cf. *DemGloss*, 9; 598–99; *CDD*, 3, 61–5; *CDD*, *T*, 46–52.

¹⁰⁵² Botti, *L'archivio demotico* I:45, 49. For more on *m*³ “canal,” see *DemGloss*, 147; *CDD*, *M*, 9–12.

¹⁰⁵³ For other canals or places built with *m*³ in Thebes, see Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 710, 468, 472–73.

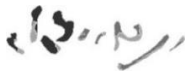
¹⁰⁵⁴ Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” 35, n. 3.

2. to you

Commentary:


The sherd is broken at its bottom. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. The text is apparently continued on the verso which has two lines of text that appear to be written by the same hand. The text represents a private letter sent from a person called Totoes son of Paos to another called Pouoris and opened by one of the common introductory formulae of letters on ostraca, which serves also as an interior address. That is A $sm^c r$ B 'A greets B.' The subject of the letter is not obvious. Through the available information, it seems that this letter was a continuation of earlier oral correspondence between the sender and the addressee. This is referred to by the sender in the phrase, 'they have already caused that many people came to you saying, ...' It seems also that at least four parties were involved in the issue about which this letter was sent. These are the sender, the recipient, a group of people (referred to as $rm\zeta\varsigma$), and another unidentified party (referred to as the subject of $w^3h=w\ d\dot{i}.t$ 'they caused'). Moreover, as could be understood from the letter, the addressee is asked to come back. Considering these points, one might assume an issue or conflict between the correspondents according to which the addressee might have fled, and some parties intervened to help resolving the issue and let him return back.



Recto:



L. 2. P^3y-hr  is a variant of $Pa-hr$ 'he of the face;' cf. *DemNam*, 401.

L. 3. For P^3-whr , see *DemNam*, 181.

L. 4. The compound $rm\zeta\varsigma y$ is well attested in the sense 'common/ ordinary man.'¹⁰⁵⁵ In this example, however, it seems to mean 'many people' for some considerations. Firstly, it lacks a definite article. Secondly and more importantly, the context seems to favor this translation since the first interpretation, i.e. $rm\zeta\varsigma$ 'common/ ordinary man,' will be referring to an unspecified person which would make less sense given that the text is a letter and this $rm\zeta\varsigma$ is supposed to be a messenger conveyed an oral message to the addressee and should be therefore named, or well known to both persons. On the other hand, a literal meaning of $rm\zeta\varsigma$ or 'many people' could be intended here, which might have been a way of exaggeration to show their seriousness and insistence in asking him to come back by sending him more than one person with the same request.

L. 5. The ink is quite faint at the beginning of this line yet reading  $dd(?) n=k(?) im$ seems paleographically plausible. While placing the initial stroke of im ¹⁰⁵⁶ quite lower than it should be could

raise doubts about its reading, the similarity between the determinative (walking legs) of im  and iw  in the previous line could help clarifying these doubts.


The main problem is $dd(?) n=k(?)$. Firstly, dd is not very clear due to the faded ink. Secondly, the writing of $n=k$, , is clearly different from its form in the previous line, i.e. . On the other hand, if we took dd as a conjunctive meaning, 'saying,' which is the best solution here, the phrase $n=k$ would be superfluous. Furthermore, taking all the signs before im as writing of dd could be a solution to this grammatical problem. Yet, the small slanting stroke linked to the end of its tail would represent a paleographical problem, unless it was also superfluous.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *DemGloss*, 72; *CDD*, c, 139-140.



¹⁰⁵⁶ Cf. the normal writings in *DemGloss*, 30.

Ll. 5-6. Although the compound $^c h^c \dot{i}rm$ could mean ‘meet with, confer with, visit,’¹⁰⁵⁷ it seems here to convey the meaning of ‘support, lit. stand with,’¹⁰⁵⁸ which is already known in Demotic.

The speaker (also the subject) in the phrase $^c h^c =y$ seems to be every one of the $rm \dot{t}^c \dot{s}^3$ and not the sender of the letter himself, which might explain why he mixed up the personal pronoun after $\dot{i}rm$. It appears that the sender initially wrote $\dot{i}rm=y$ referring apparently to himself (being the speaker in the current letter and the person meant in the previous correspondence) as if he was the speaker in the sentence. But he quickly realized that the speaker is every one of the many people sent earlier to the addressee, and the reference to him is made by those people. Thus, he corrected $\dot{i}rm=y$ to $\dot{i}rm=f$ by writing the pronoun f directly after y . This method of correction is already attested in Demotic.¹⁰⁵⁹

L. 8. The visible signs in this line  could be a b over an s followed seemingly by a personal determinative. Thus, they might be part of a personal name.

Verso:

L. 1. While reading the first part, i.e. , as $p^3 w^3 h$ seems paleographically unproblematic, reading the second part, i.e. , as nfr does not appear to be so given the odd writing of its determinative.¹⁰⁶⁰

L. 2. For the compound preposition $\dot{i} \dot{i}r-hr$ ‘before, to, at the time of,’ see *DemGloss*, 318; *CDD*, ‘I, 23-26.

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Exc. No. (MH 4282). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.6x 6.3x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration:

1. [NN] $s^3 Hr-s^3-s.t p^3 nty \dot{d}d n$
2. [...] $^c htp^3(?) s^3 P^3-sr-Dhwty tw=y$
3. [$n=k(?) t^3y(?)=k tny.t^2 n hnqe (n) Dm^3c$]
4. [...] $t^3y=k mw.t$
5. [...] $^c ..^c .. \dot{i}w=f^c \dot{s}^3$

Translation:

1. [NN] son of Harsiesis is the one who says to
2. [...] $^c htp^3(?)$ son of Psenthotos: I have given
3. [you(?) yo]ur share(?) of beer, [...] (?) in Jeme
4. [...] your mother
5. [...] $^c ..^c ..$ he will call upon (complain(?))

Commentary:

The sherd is broken on its right-hand side. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. The text begins with A $p^3 nty \dot{d}d n$ B ‘A is the one who says to B,’ known in letters as well as receipts. The current text seems to be a letter concerning a matter related to beer. Whether this issue was about beer tax or beer share cannot be decisively determined since the beginning of the possessive article which determines the


¹⁰⁵⁷ *DemGloss*, 68; *CDD*, c, 118.



¹⁰⁵⁸ *CDD*, c, 117.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cf. Schentuleit, “*Whm*,” 69.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. normal writings of its determinative in *DemGloss*, 216–17.

gender of the word and subsequently differentiates the feminine *tny.t* ‘share’ from the masculine *tny* ‘tax’ is lost and could thus be interpreted both ways. Thus, the reading here adopted *tʒy=k tny.t n hnqe* ‘your share of beer’ could have been also *pʒy=k dny n hnqe* ‘your beer-tax,’ which might induce thinking of a tax receipt about beer tax rather than a letter. Yet the formula and style of the text are quite different from tax receipts of beer tax,¹⁰⁶¹ in which the personal formula, i.e. *A pʒ nty dd n B*, was not widely used. Also, in receipts where the formula *A pʒ nty dd n B* is used, the first person (A) often represents the tax collector who addresses the taxpayer (B) in the second personal pronoun acknowledging the reception of his payment as follows: *tw=k n=y ...* ‘you have given/ paid me’ This is actually not the case in the current text since the speaker—who is supposed to be the recipient of the beer tax—is apparently the one who gave the beer tax since he addressed the other person saying: *tw=y [n=k tʒy]=k tny n hnqe* ‘I have given/ paid to your beer tax.’ Moreover, receipts of the beer tax usually indicate it within the formula ‘*pʒ tny/ hd (n) hnq.t* or simply *hnq.t*+ regnal year.’¹⁰⁶² They often contain references to one or more of these pieces of information, i.e. the money paid, the date, the signature of the scribe, etc. In the preserved part of the current text, no such information is present or can be at least certainly deducted. It is thus probable that the text is a letter, or a confirmation in a letter format, about an issue regarding the distribution or delivery of beer shares.¹⁰⁶³

L. 2.  : The partly damaged sign at the beginning of this line is most likely the *hṭp*-group since it is followed by the *p* as a phonetic complement and the divine determinative.

L. 3. The partly damaged possessive article, i.e. , could be also read *[p]ʒy=k*,¹⁰⁶⁴ which would necessitate reading the following word  as *tny* ‘tax’ rather than *tny.t* ‘share.’¹⁰⁶⁵ The context favors *tʒy=k tny.t* over *pʒy=k tny*; see general commentary above for details.

L. 4. The phrase *tʒy=k mw.t* could have been preceded by something like *hn^c* ‘and, together with.’ Suggesting *hn^c* before *tʒy=k mw.t* is based on some examples of beer tax receipts in which *hn^c tʒy=f mw.t* (e.g. O. Berlin P 6464, l. 1-2)¹⁰⁶⁶ or *hn^c tʒy=f rmt.t* (e.g. O. Leiden, no. 5, l. 2)¹⁰⁶⁷ appeared as part of the impersonal formula (beginning with *in*) to refer to a second payer.

¹⁰⁶¹ Cf. the formula and style of Demotic beer tax receipts such as O. Mattha, nos. 138-144 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 56, 133–35; O. Berlin P 6464 in Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 113–14; O. Leiden, nos. 5-6 in Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 10–12; O. BM 20321, which was initially identified by Wängstedt as a salt tax receipt and reidentified by Muhs as beer tax receipt; cf. S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Quittungen über Salzsteuer,” *OrSuec* 27–28 (1978–1979): 14–15; Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 80, fn. 581; O. BM 20279 in S. Wängstedt, “Demotische Ostraka: Varia III,” *OrSuec* 31–32 (1982–1983): 8–9; O. Louvre 72 in Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 153.

¹⁰⁶² Muhs, *Tax Receipts*, 79.

¹⁰⁶³ In fact, the distribution of beer quantities for consumption in some meetings or ceremonies held by religious association was known through other Demotic and Greek ostraca from Dime and Tebtunis; see for instance O. Dime 198-204 in S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime I: Ostraka* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 122–25.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Cf. the writings of both the masculine and feminine singular possessive articles in *DemGloss*, 128, 602.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. the writings of both words in *DemGloss*, 638–39.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 113.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 10.

2.4.3 Temple Oaths

Two types of Demotic oaths are already known, namely king's oath and temple oath.¹⁰⁶⁸ While the 'king's oath' reflects the Ptolemaic Egyptian expression *ḥnḥ n pr-ḥ*,¹⁰⁶⁹ 'temple oath' is a term used by modern scholars for this kind of texts and is not a reflection of any Egyptian or Greek text denominative.¹⁰⁷⁰ In the different types of Egyptian oaths, a divine authority was usually invoked, either a certain deity, deities, or even the ruling king being himself deified.¹⁰⁷¹ The invocation of a higher divine authority was meant to ensure the truthfulness and integrity of the oath's taker and of the contents of the oath itself concerning the issue at hand.¹⁰⁷² Moreover, the functionality of the oath was largely dependent on the deeply rooted belief, and thus fear, that gods, given their nature, and kings, given their actual role, can retaliate for any lie made in their name or any false oath that goes against the cosmic system or the social norms which they were supposed to keep.¹⁰⁷³ While king's oaths originate mainly from Lower Egypt and less frequently from Upper Egypt,¹⁰⁷⁴ temple oaths stem from Upper Egypt, mainly from Gebelein and the Theban region.¹⁰⁷⁵ Known examples of Demotic temple oaths are dated from ca. 200 BC until the early Roman Period.¹⁰⁷⁶ In contrast to king's oaths, which were typically written on papyri,¹⁰⁷⁷ temple oaths—save a few examples (i.e. those which were parts of certain archives and thus were written on papyri)—were mostly written on ostraca.¹⁰⁷⁸

By and large, oaths could be either assertory or promissory.¹⁰⁷⁹ While promissory oaths were mostly king's oaths used in non-judicial situations, assertory oaths, on the other hand, were employed in a judicial context and were generally meant to help resolve disagreements between two parties.¹⁰⁸⁰ In Wilson's view 'the assertory oath is an attestation with regard to the present or past, while the promissory oath is a vow with regard to the future.'¹⁰⁸¹ According to Massa, the Ptolemaic assertory oaths could be subdivided according to their purpose into two main subclasses. The first, and rarely attested, subcategory is the 'assertory oaths of guarantee used in a contractual context (contractual oaths).' The second, and widely attested, is the 'assertory oaths to settle a legal dispute once and for all (decisory oaths).'¹⁰⁸² While contractual assertory oaths, judging from the available examples, were king's oaths written in Greek for they were usually dealing with state related affairs,¹⁰⁸³ decisory oaths were concerned with legal disputes resulting from all kinds of private transactions or dealings between

¹⁰⁶⁸ U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Eid, demot.," in *LÄ I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), col. 1200; O. El-Aguizy, "Two New Demotic Temple Oaths on Ostraca," *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 1–2; Depauw, *Companion*, 138.

¹⁰⁶⁹ El-Aguizy, "Two Temple Oaths," 1; Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 176.

¹⁰⁷⁰ V. Massa, "Temple Oaths in Ptolemaic Egypt: A Study at the Crossroads of Law, Ethics and Religion" (PhD Thesis, Leiden, Leiden University, 2018), 77. Massa suggests a term like "god's oath" as a more accurate designation for this type of texts; nevertheless, she continued to use the term "temple oath" throughout her Thesis "for ease of reference and for the sake of immediate recognition;" cf. Massa, "Temple Oaths," 77.

¹⁰⁷¹ J. Wilson, "The Oath in Ancient Egypt," *JNES* 7 (1948): 129.

¹⁰⁷² Massa, "Temple Oaths," 2.

¹⁰⁷³ Massa, "Temple Oaths," 2. For more on the meaning and functioning of oaths in ancient Egypt, see Massa, "Temple Oaths," 1–8.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Kaplony-Heckel, "Eid, demot.," col. 1200. For a general overview of the Demotic king's oath, see Kaplony-Heckel, "Eid, demot.," cols. 1200–1201; Depauw, *Companion*, 139; Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 176.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Kaplony-Heckel, "Eid, demot.," col. 1201; Depauw, *Companion*, 138. For an overview of the common places in which Demotic temple oaths were found, see Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 3–6. For a general overview of the Demotic temple oaths, see the bibliography cited in Massa, "Temple Oaths," 78, fn. 317.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Kaplony-Heckel, "Eid, demot.," col. 1201; Depauw, *Companion*, 138; Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 174.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Kaplony-Heckel, "Eid, demot.," col. 1200.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 6; Depauw, *Companion*, 138; Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 175.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Wilson, "Oath in Ancient Egypt," 129.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Massa, "Temple Oaths," 82.

¹⁰⁸¹ Wilson, "Oath in Ancient Egypt," 129.

¹⁰⁸² Massa, "Temple Oaths," 88.

¹⁰⁸³ Massa, "Temple Oaths," 88.

the different individuals.¹⁰⁸⁴ Thus, most of the Demotic temple oaths, given their purpose and content, are considered as decisory oaths.¹⁰⁸⁵

As to their formula, temple oaths had a distinctive introductory formula which was uniform in almost all oaths irrespective of their place of origin.¹⁰⁸⁶ In general, as Kaplony-Heckel summarized, the oath usually begins with ‘text of the oath which NN (without titles) will take,’ followed by other elements whose order differs slightly from one oath to another other. These are the place, the date of the oath, the opponent, the invoked deity who is usually mentioned within the phrase ‘by NN (divine name) who rests here together with the deities that rest here with him.’ After that, the assertory clause concerning the disputed matter follows. Then the verdict or the judgment formula usually follows in the form of two conditional clauses, i.e. ‘if he takes the oath, ...,’ ‘if he does not take the oath, ...’ Sometimes, the one who helps to take the oath (‘Eidhelfer’), the date of writing the text of the oath and the person responsible for keeping it (in oaths from Thebes), the scribe, and occasionally other pieces of information can be mentioned.¹⁰⁸⁷ These components fall within five main elements or oath clauses, i.e. the so-called protocol (‘das Protokoll’), text of the oath (‘der Eideswortlaut’), judicial decision (‘der gerichtliche Entscheid’), and postscripts (‘die Nachschriften’).¹⁰⁸⁸ More recently Massa, depending on previous studies as well as new materials, provided a thorough outline of the formula of temple oaths. She divided the oath formula—given that it is fully written—into eight clauses, of which some are standard, and others are optional.¹⁰⁸⁹ The standard clauses are the protocol, the text of the oath, and the consequences of taking or refusing to take the oath. These components were almost uniform in all temple oaths, regardless of the writing ground (be it ostraca or papyri) or their provenance (whether Thebes or Gebelein).¹⁰⁹⁰ The optional clauses, as Massa explained, were apparently a reflection of the local usage and different local procedures. These are ‘the assertion of truthfulness,’ ‘the mention of the scribe of the oath,’ ‘the mention of the trustee,’ ‘the postscript,’ and ‘archival notes.’¹⁰⁹¹

The collection of ostraca here published provides two new temple oaths. Despite being incomplete, they are most likely decisory oaths. In both texts, the protocol (including parts of the introductory formula, the date, the name of the parties, the place, the invoked deity) is mostly preserved, while the text of the oath is only partly preserved. It is not clear whether they contained other clauses of the oath formula or not since the end of the texts is lost. Both texts date to the Ptolemaic Period.

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Exc. No. (MH 2726). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.9x 7.8x 0.6 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic, year 26 of Ptolemy VI or Ptolemy VIII= 155 or 144 BC.

Transliteration:

1. [ḥ pʒ]ʿc nḥ' nty-ḏ.ḏr ʒhwre.t ta [...]
2. [... n Dmʒc] n ḥʒ.t-sp 26 ḏbd-2 šmw sw 13 n '...' [...]
3. [... ḏd c nḥ 'Imn]-nʒy=w-ḥmnw-ḏw nty [ḥtp ty ḏrm ntr nb nty]
4. [ḥtp ty ḏrm=f(?) <pʒy> ll(?) nty ḏw=t md.t ḏrm=y [n.ḏm=f(?)]
5. [...] bw ḏr rh=y [...]

¹⁰⁸⁴ Massa, “Temple Oaths,” 89.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 129; Depauw, *Companion*, 138. For an overview of the major corpus editions of Demotic temple oaths, see Massa, “Temple Oaths,” 78, fn. 317.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Massa, “Temple Oaths,” 81.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Kaplony-Heckel, “Eid, demot.,” col. 1201.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 16. For a detailed discussion of these elements, see Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 16–30.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Massa, “Temple Oaths,” 100.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Massa, “Temple Oaths,” 100–101.

¹⁰⁹¹ Massa, “Temple Oaths,” 101. For more details on the format of temple oaths as analyzed by Massa, see Massa, “Temple Oaths,” 99–175.

6. [...] '...' [...]

Translation:

1. [The text of the] 'oath', which Ahouret daughter of [...] will take]
2. [... in Jeme] in year 26, Payni, day 13 in '...' [...]
3. [... saying: by Amun]-nachomneus who [rests here and every god who]
4. [rests here w]ith him(?), <this> necklace(?) which you dispute with me [concerning it(?)]
5. [...] I do not know [...]
6. [...] '...' [...]

Commentary:

The ostracon is broken at three of its sides, namely the right, left, and lower. The handwriting indicates a late Ptolemaic date. The text records the 26th year of an unnamed ruler. Taking the paleography into account, year 26 could be that of Ptolemy VI or Ptolemy VIII. As the surviving parts indicate, the text represents a temple oath. Moreover, the remaining parts support a 'person– place– date' protocol which was common in oaths from Medinet Habu.¹⁰⁹² Although the text only preserves the first name of the defendant, namely Ahouret, the second party or the plaintiff appears to be also a woman since she was addressed in the second personal feminine pronoun *t* in l. 4. Given the origin of the ostracon and since the woman has to swear by Amun-nachomneus, this oath was most likely done in the temple of Jeme, which was referred to in temple oaths as *pr Dm^{3c}* 'the house of Jeme' or *hftḥ n Dm^{3c}* 'the dromos of Jeme'.¹⁰⁹³

Swearing by Amun-nachomneus 'Amun of the ogdoad' is known through numerous ostraca from Thebes and Medinet Habu, e.g. O. MH 1456,¹⁰⁹⁴ O. Tempeleide, nos. 34, 55, 58, 61, 65, 72, 75, 77¹⁰⁹⁵ etc., in addition to some other fragments from Medinet Habu identified by Kaplony-Heckel, i.e. O. MH 1020, 1369, 1756, 3655, 4208.¹⁰⁹⁶ Besides Amun of the ogdoad, Amun and Jeme were also often invoked in oaths from western Thebes.¹⁰⁹⁷ An important deity that was often invoked in oaths from Jeme and western Thebes was Montu, the bull of Medamud,¹⁰⁹⁸ for whom a subsidy cult was apparently established in acknowledgement of his oracles.¹⁰⁹⁹ Vleeming,¹¹⁰⁰ by the help of Nims,¹¹⁰¹ notes, identified the niche located to the south of the eastern high gate of Medinet Habu as part of a small mud brick chapel which served as a place of worship for Montu in Jeme. Likewise, El-Aguizy adopted Nims' suggestion that the phrase *pr Mnṯ nb Mṯn* 'the house of Montu lord of Medamud,' which appears in

¹⁰⁹² Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 17. Examples of similar protocol can be found in O. MH 1456, 480, 115, and 903 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 69–71; O. Tempeleide, nos. 34, 55, 58, 61, 65, 72, 75, 77, 156, and 178 in Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 81–82, 122–23, 127, 131–32, 138–39, 153–56, 261, 296–97.

¹⁰⁹³ Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 21.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 69–70.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 81–82, 122–23, 127, 131–32, 138–39, 150, 153–56.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 388–89.

¹⁰⁹⁷ U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Sowahr der Stier von Medamod lebt! Ueber die Ortsgötter in den Tempel-Eiden," in *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, ed. C. Eyre, A. Leahy, and L. Leahy (London, 1994), 150. Recently, Cena and Uggetti proposed that Jeme was an alternative designation of Amun of the ogdoad which was, in turn, a designation of *'Imn-R^c-dsr-s.t* the patron god of the small temple of Medinet Habu; for a discussion, see Cena, "Who Hides Behind the God Djeme?"; Uggetti, "The God Djeme."

¹⁰⁹⁸ See for instance O. Tempeleide, nos. 1-2, 4-6, 8-9 in Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 32–34, 36–41, 43–45; O. Varia 57 in Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 129–35.


¹⁰⁹⁹ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 133, n. ff.


¹¹⁰⁰ Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 132, n. dd.

¹¹⁰¹ Nims identified the two figures appearing on the scenes of the Ptolemaic niche in the south side of the eastern high gate of Jeme as depictions of Montu and proposed that this place was the place referred to in oaths; cf. C. Nims, in *Medinet Habu-Volume VII: The Eastern High Gate with Translations of Texts (Plates 591-660)*, ed. The Epigraphic Survey, OIP 94 (Chicago, 1930), xii; pl. 660.


temple oaths from Jeme, does not refer to the temple of Montu in Medamud, but to this small sanctuary of Montu in Medinet Habu.¹¹⁰²

The oath is a decisory oath, but the preserved part of the text does not precisely disclose the subject of the oath or the problem. But if the reading *ll* ‘necklace’ at the beginning of l. 4 is correct, one might think of a dispute between two women about a necklace.

L. 1. *ʒhwre.t*  often occurs as *ʒhwre.t*, see *DemNam*, 74.

L. 2. The remaining signs  at the beginning of this line are probably the last part of *Dm^{3c}*, which is also expected in this spot. The number indicating the day could probably be read as 13; however, it would then be a strange writing of this day number; cf. *CDD, Numbers*, 12.

L. 3. The restored parts in this line and in l. 4 are typical in the formula of temple oaths in Demotic.

L. 4. Reading *ll*  ‘necklace’¹¹⁰³ is possible, yet not completely certain.

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Exc. No. (MH 440). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.8x 8.1x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

1. [h p³ cⁿ] h^r nty-*ʒ*.*ʒr*
2. [NN] s³ P³y-B^h r *ʒr=f* n
3. [hft] h^r n *Dm^{3c}* n h³.t-sp 12 *ʒbd-2 pr.t*
4. sw 23 n Pa-tw s³ Pa-Mn^t *dd c^{nh} ʒImn-*
5. n³y=w-hmnw-*ʒw* nty htp ty
6. *ʒrm ntr nb nty htp ʒrm=f* ...
7. ‘...’ *ʒr=f*(?) n n³ šw(.w)(?) P³-*dⁱ-Mn*(?) w³h=k *ʒr=f* n b³k
8. [...]’..’[...]

Translation:

1. [The text of the oa]’th’ which
2. [NN] son of Pibouchis will take
3. [in the dromo]’s’ of Jeme in year 12, Mecheir,
4. day 23 for Pates son of Pamonthes saying: by Amun-
5. nachomneus who rests here,
6. and every god who resets with him ...
7. ‘...’ make(?) ‘it’(?) in the waste-ground(s)(?) of Peteminis(?), and you had worked it
8. [...]’..’[...]


Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its top right and lower edges. The handwriting indicates a late Ptolemaic date. The text contains a date referring to year 12 of an unnamed ruler. The oath’s protocol is arranged as



¹¹⁰² El-Aguizy, “Two Temple Oaths,” 3, fn. 12; C. Nims, “Places about Thebes,” *JNES* 14 (1955): 120.


¹¹⁰³ *DemGloss*, 262; *CDD, L*, 10–11.

follows: person- place- date. The god invoked is Amun-nachomneus ‘Amun of the ogdoad.’ The text represents a decisory oath, whose topic seems to be an issue related over some kind of field work executed by one of the parties.


L. 3.  : Restoring *hftḥ* ‘dromos’¹¹⁰⁴ seems plausible in view of the context and the surviving parts of the word, i.e. the remains of *ḥ* as well as the house and divine determinative.

L. 4. *ḥnh* ‘by, or lit. may (divine name) live’¹¹⁰⁵ is reminiscent of the modern Egyptian common oath phrase *wi ḥyāt* (in Arabic: وحياة) translated ‘by the life of.’

L. 6. The signs after *irm=f* at the end of this line, which represent the beginning of the issue about which the oath was taken, are unfortunately unclear. The first group is very similar to *wp.t*  ‘work, job, craft, product.’¹¹⁰⁶ The following signs could be  *iw* or *iw=f* or something similar. Reading these signs as *wp.t iw* or *wp.t iw=f* might be paleographically possible, yet it is grammatically problematic. One could thus alternatively think of a verb followed by the personal pronoun *y* in a *sḏm=f* form. In this case, the reading of the first group of signs would be more problematic.

L. 7.  : Reading this group, which follows *ir=f* at the beginning of the line as, *n nʹ šw(.w)(?)* is only a suggestion.

For *šw* ‘dry, or empty (i.e. untilled),’ and *šw* ‘damage, waste,’ see *CDD*, Š, 63-64; see also the old reading *šby(?)* ‘change(?), bad state of field’ in *DemGloss*, 498. The reading and interpretation of *šw* as a substantive signifying a type of land, i.e. ‘untilled land, vacant land, or waste-ground,’ was initially suggested by Hughes.¹¹⁰⁷ The word here attested has some paleographical similarities with a few writings of *šw*.¹¹⁰⁸ Although the determinative looks slightly different from that which occurs in the other attestations of this word, it should be the ‘evil bird’ determinative which can be written in two ways.¹¹⁰⁹

The reading *Pʹ-dī-Mn*  is possible, but very uncertain because of the unusual writing of the sign for *Mn* and the divine determinative.

2.4.4 *R.rḥ=w*-documents

Although the group under consideration does not have any text which is explicitly introduced by the well-known *r.rḥ=w*-formula, the classification of the example presented in this subsection as *r.rḥ=w* document seems certain (for some examples and notes on the abbreviated versions of *r.rḥ=w* documents, see commentary on **Text 78** below). Furthermore, a totally conclusive identification of the nature of such texts is still lacking and the discussion thereon seems not yet settled. Hence, the adoption of this

¹¹⁰⁴ *DemGloss*, 359; *CDD*, *H*, 78-82

¹¹⁰⁵ *CDD*, *c*, 82.

¹¹⁰⁶ *DemGloss*, 86; *CDD*, *W*, 67-68.

¹¹⁰⁷ G. Hughes, “Are There Two Demotic Writings of *šw*?,” *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 86–88.

¹¹⁰⁸ Cf. Hughes, “Writings of *šw*,” 82, col. b: 6.

¹¹⁰⁹ Both forms of this determinative were used in words like *byn* ‘evil,’ for instance; cf. *DemGloss*, 112.

term, which—as Kaplony-Heckel proposed¹¹¹⁰—was used by the Egyptians themselves to designate this type of texts, might be the best way to avoid any terminology that could be inaccurate or misleading with regard to the nature of these texts. Besides, the use of *r.rh=w* conveniently puts the text here published in the same category with the texts usually called in earlier publications ‘field-work receipts’ (Acker-Arbeitsquittungen)¹¹¹¹ or more commonly ‘land allotments,’ while they seem to be a kind of ‘confirmations’ about cultivated areas of land. Before presenting our new example, it is beneficial to quickly revisit the scholarly discussions regarding the interpretation of *r.rh=w*, the purpose, and meaning of such texts.

The first scholar to tackle the meaning of *r.rh=w* was Thompson, who suggested a technical meaning for it and according to him *r.rh=w* *r* apparently means ‘to recognize as belonging to, measure out to, adjudge (allot) to.’ He derived this meaning from the Coptic ϣϣϣϣ which—followed by ϣ—was used to indicate the same sense.¹¹¹² Mattha proposed identifying *rh* in this context with the Coptic ϣϣϣ ‘to measure,’ and in his interpretation *r.rh=w* is an emphatic *sdm=f* form,¹¹¹³ whereas Wängstedt thought about a relative form of the verb *rh* which he, following Thompson, believed has the technical meaning ‘to allot, measure out.’¹¹¹⁴ These two main ideas about the semantical and grammatical interpretation of *rh* dominated the subsequent publications of *r.rh=w* texts for a while. Thus, Thompson’s translation of *rh* as ‘to allot, allocate’ was adopted by many scholars from the fifties of the last century until quite recently such as Wängstedt,¹¹¹⁵ Lichtheim,¹¹¹⁶ Kaplony-Heckel,¹¹¹⁷ De Meulenaere,¹¹¹⁸ Nur el-Din,¹¹¹⁹ Devauchelle,¹¹²⁰ Abd el-Aal,¹¹²¹ Wahid el-Din,¹¹²² and Nabil.¹¹²³ Others adopted Wängstedt’s interpretation of *r.rh=w* being a relative form, e.g. De Meulenaere,¹¹²⁴ Pezin,¹¹²⁵ Devauchelle,¹¹²⁶ Kaplony-Heckel (see below). On the other hand, scholars like Betrò¹¹²⁷ and Vandorpe¹¹²⁸ preferred Mattha’s interpretation of *rh* as ‘to measure,’ yet with *r.rh=w* being a relative form and thus taking the formula *r.rh=w r NN* as ‘that which was measured to NN.’ Kaplony-Heckel—who paid a special attention to this kind of texts—suggested a fairly different translation for this expression which she believed literally means ‘was sie <an Leistung> anerkannt haben ...’¹¹²⁹ (‘what has been recognized <in

¹¹¹⁰ This suggestion is based on her interpretation of the heading of the unpublished O. BM 31289+ 31412, which presents a guide to the wording of some text genres; cf. U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Thebanische Acker-Amt-Quittungen,” in *Grund und Boden in Altägypten (rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse): Akten des internationalen Symposions, Tübingen 18.-20. Juni 1990*, ed. S. Allam (Tübingen, 1994), 193; U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Theben-Ost I,” *ZÄS* 120 (1993): 42. For O. BM 31289, see also U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Zur Landwirtschaft in Oberägypten: demotische Akten und Urkunden aus Gebelein (II. Jht. v. Chr.) und der arabische Leitfaden des Maḥzūmī ([gest. am] 1189 n. Chr.),” in *Land und Leute am Nil nach demotischen Inschriften, Papyri und Ostraka: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. U. Kaplony-Heckel, ÄA, 71.2 (Wiesbaden, 2009), 1060, fn. 12.

¹¹¹¹ To my knowledge, Kaplony-Heckel is the first to call such texts ‘receipts’ (Quittungen) apparently because she took them at first as evidence or proof received by farmers in acknowledgement for the work which they achieved in the same way tax receipts are evidence for tax payments. This idea proved later to be inaccurate, which is why the current text is not classified as a receipt.

¹¹¹² Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” 44.

¹¹¹³ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 23.

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. n. to O. Berlin P 8364, l. 1 in Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 167.

¹¹¹⁵ Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 166–75; Wängstedt, *Ostraka Zürich*, 41–43.

¹¹¹⁶ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 53–55.

¹¹¹⁷ U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Demotische Texte aus Pathyris,” *MDAIK* 21 (1966): 146, 152 and passim.

¹¹¹⁸ H. De Meulenaere, “Prosopographica Ptolemaica: troisième série,” *CdE* 42 (1967): 297.

¹¹¹⁹ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 62.

¹¹²⁰ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 136, 138.

¹¹²¹ S. Abd el-Aal, “Some Demotic Ostraca Dealing with Land Allotments,” *BCPS* 20, no. 1 (2003): 47.

¹¹²² S. Wahid el-Din, “Two Demotic Receipts of *r.rh=w*,” in *Proceedings of the First Scientific Conference on Tourism and Antiquities. Opportunities and Challenges*, Supplement to First Volume of Bulletin of the Faculty of Tourism and Hotels-Mansoura University (Mansoura, 2017), 57, 59.

¹¹²³ Nabil, “Demotic Land Allotments.”

¹¹²⁴ De Meulenaere, “Prosopographica Ptolemaica: troisième série,” 298.

¹¹²⁵ M. Pezin, “Un ostracon démotique inédit *r.rh.w r*,” *Enchoria* 9 (1979): 143.

¹¹²⁶ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 136, 138.

¹¹²⁷ M. Betrò, “Due tavolette demotiche a il P.gr.Amherst II 31,” *EVO* 7 (1984): 45; 56, fn. 12.

¹¹²⁸ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphie,” 188.

¹¹²⁹ Kaplony-Heckel, “Theben-Ost I,” 42.

terms of achievement> ...'). Contextually, the formula *r.rh=w r NN* is understood by Kaplony-Heckel as 'Bestätigt wird dem NN ...'¹¹³⁰ or 'Man bestätigt dem NN'¹¹³¹ Vittmann, though he presented an example (Graff. Satetempel) in which he interpreted *rh* as a '*Terminus technicus*' for 'to assign, allocate,' deemed Kaplony-Heckel's translation, i.e. 'bestätigen,' to be more fitting than 'to assign, allocate' in the context of *r.rh=w ostraca*.¹¹³²

It seems, after all, that a more literal meaning of *rh* rather than a purely technical sense is meant in this context. Among the suggested interpretations, identifying *rh* with the Coptic **ⲣⲟⲩ** 'to measure' seems less likely, no matter how striking the phonetic similitude between both words is. This identification presupposes a non-abstract, technical meaning for *rh* which would require a proper determinative that can help specify this meaning and differentiate it from the more normal, abstract senses of the word.¹¹³³ The fact that no use of *rh* in the sense of 'to measure' or similar meaning can be traced back in the earlier phases of the ancient Egyptian language should be taken into account as well. Moreover, other terms were more commonly used to convey this meaning (namely 'to measure') such as *hy* which remarkably occurs in a considerable number of *r.rh=w* documents within the expression *ʾw n hy* 'receipt of measurement,' which Vandorpe¹¹³⁴ saw as another designation for *r.rh=w* texts. While both designations can refer to the same type of document, the use of *ʾw n hy* after *r.rh=w* clearly implies a different meaning of *rh* and *hy*, rather than a synonymous one. In conclusion, the precise meaning of *r.rh=w* has not been yet satisfactorily clarified, but a more abstract sense such as 'what has been ascertained/ recognized (lit. come to be known)' which is suggested in *CDD, R, 55-56*, in accordance with Kaplony-Heckel suggestions, seems more plausible.

As to the nature of such texts, which is also somehow hinging on the meaning of *rh*, Thompson cautiously called these texts 'land allotments' since 'the amount of land is sometimes so small as to exclude the idea that they can be allotments of *kleroi* or of farms to royal *georgoi*.' He speculatively added 'these ostraca may refer to rectification of boundaries of land disturbed by inundation.'¹¹³⁵ Wängstedt followed Thompson's interpretation and less cautiously titled the section containing the *r.rh=w* texts as 'Landverteilungsurkunden.'¹¹³⁶ Lichtheim even more confidently talked about some of the recorded transactions being 'real land allotments,' while others seem to be 'transfers of land from one owner to another' or 'allotment of marginal or waste land which the government was anxious to restore to cultivation and which it assigned to the village of Jeme for distribution among its peasants.'¹¹³⁷ Lichtheim's identification of such texts as true 'land allotments' seems to have been accepted by many editors of Demotic texts such as Wängstedt,¹¹³⁸ Nur el-Din,¹¹³⁹ Devauchelle,¹¹⁴⁰ and even more recently Abd el-Aal,¹¹⁴¹ and Wahid el-Din.¹¹⁴² De Meulenaere—in line with this suggestion—referred to these texts as 'allocations of land to farmers.'¹¹⁴³ Pezin also believed they were allotments of land and additionally suggested that the land allocated represent land that was gained from the Nile alluviations

¹¹³⁰ U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Zur Landwirtschaftsverwaltung in Oberägypten," in *Wiener Papyri: als Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harrauer* (P. Harrauer), ed. B. Palme (Wien, 2001), 38.

¹¹³¹ Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Amt in Theben-West," 56–58. Similar translation is also applied in nearly all *r.rh=w* texts published by Kaplony-Heckel.

¹¹³² G. Vittmann, "Das demotische Graffito vom Satetempel auf Elephantine," *MDAIK* 53 (1997): 272, n. w.

¹¹³³ Note for instance when *rh* 'to know, be able' was used to convey a more concrete sense, namely 'to have sex with' (cf. *CDD, R, 55*), a relevant determinative (i.e. phallus) was supplemented. Similarly, one expects a relevant determinative to give the meaning 'to measure, allocate,' be it the wood determinative (as measuring cord), the striking arm (as in *hy* 'to measure, measurement,' or *ps* 'to divide, division' for instance), or any other determinative.

¹¹³⁴ Vandorpe, "Ptolemaic Epigraphe," 187 ff.

¹¹³⁵ Thompson, "Demotic Texts," 44.

¹¹³⁶ Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 166.

¹¹³⁷ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 53.

¹¹³⁸ Wängstedt, *Ostraka Zürich*, 41.

¹¹³⁹ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 62.

¹¹⁴⁰ Devauchelle, *Ostraca Louvre*, 136–38.

¹¹⁴¹ Abd el-Aal, "Some Demotic Ostraca," 47.

¹¹⁴² Wahid el-Din, "Two Demotic Receipts," 56.

¹¹⁴³ De Meulenaere, "Prosopographica Ptolemaica: troisième série," 297.

and from islands that became peninsulas or new lands,¹¹⁴⁴ an idea which is not very far from Thompson's who also saw the effect of the Nile inundation on land boundaries as a probable stimulus for issuing such texts. Betrò cited De Meulenaere's suggestion regarding *r.rh=w* texts being assignment of lands for rent as the most accepted hypothesis. She also presented the fact that some texts already mention certain grain amounts which apparently represented the rent required from these lands as a reasonable supportive argument to such a suggestion.¹¹⁴⁵ She, nevertheless, held this hypothesis to be unlikely and unapplicable to the text she discussed, i.e. Tab. DH Str. 13. She suggested that all *r.rh=w* texts probably relate to the *iw n hy* 'receipt of measurement' documents but left the questions on the nature and reason of such relation for further future studies.¹¹⁴⁶

Kaplony-Heckel¹¹⁴⁷ viewed the *r.rh=w* documents as parallels to the Greek dike-work receipts and thus gave them a name similar to that which Wilcken used to describe the Greek dike-work receipts, namely 'Acker-Arbeitsquittungen' or 'field-work receipts.' She considered these documents as a kind of confirmations for achieved field cultivation which indicate that their recipients (the farmers) have successfully plowed, watered, and sown the fields assigned to them. Such documents were normally issued in the spring during the inspection of the sprouted seeds. Since the scribes of the *r.rh=w* documents did not seemingly appear in other documents, she presumed they were employed by a specialized office, the so-called 'Acker-Amt,' after which she also called the *r.rh=w* documents 'Acker-Amt-Quittungen.' In Kaplony-Heckel's view, farmers needed these confirmations to prove that they achieved the cultivation of the areas which they were required to till according to the compulsory lease policy introduced by Ptolemaic VI.¹¹⁴⁸ Thus, the *r.rh=w* texts are, according to Kaplony-Heckel and Kramer, not normal land allotments but 'Zwangszuweisungen.'¹¹⁴⁹

Felber, on the other hand, deemed the relation between *r.rh=w* and 'Zwangspacht' as 'nicht mehr vertretbar.'¹¹⁵⁰ The same is also true of Vandorpe, who does not see the *r.rh=w* texts as evidence for field work achieved in the frame of a compulsory lease policy, nor as land allotments. These texts, in Vandorpe's viewpoint, represent land measurements of the productive parts of lands made in connection with harvest tax collection.¹¹⁵¹ In her extensive discussion of the nature of these receipts, she quoted Felber who referred to these *r.rh=w* documents as being possibly the *iw.w-n-hy* 'receipts of measurement' referred to in the Demotic land lease contracts.¹¹⁵² She cited also some examples where some of the *r.rh=w*-documents were, as she believes, explicitly called *iw n hy*.¹¹⁵³ This led her back to Mattha's identification of *rh* with the Coptic ϣϣ 'to measure' (see above) being—in her opinion—a plausible interpretation of this word.¹¹⁵⁴ To prove the relation between *r.rh=w* documents and the collection of the harvest tax, Vandorpe put forward some important points such as the fact that these texts date directly after the second survey (of the crops). Another point is that the focus of *r.rh=w* texts was on the productive part of the land which is why they record small areas of land since the harvest tax was only imposed on this part of land. For the same reason, i.e. the focus on the productive part of a larger plot of land, the land recorded was often described as being within (*hn*) another area of land. Further plausible argumentations laid down by Vandorpe include the practice that some of these texts

¹¹⁴⁴ Pezin, "Ostrakon démotique," 143, fn. 1.

¹¹⁴⁵ Betrò, "Due tavolette demotiche," 46; 56, fn. 13.

¹¹⁴⁶ For more details, see Betrò, "Due tavolette demotiche," 46–55.

¹¹⁴⁷ U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Der thebanische Acker-Schreiber Sesostris, Sohn des Anchoapis," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J. Johnson (Chicago, 1992), 169–70; Kaplony-Heckel, "Thebanische Acker-Amt-Quittungen," 193; Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost I," 41.

¹¹⁴⁸ Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Schreiber Sesostris," 169; Kaplony-Heckel, "Thebanische Acker-Amt-Quittungen," 196; Kaplony-Heckel, "Niltal und Oasen," 130.

¹¹⁴⁹ U. Kaplony-Heckel and B. Kramer, "Ein griechisch-demotisches Holztäfelchen mit Sitologenquittung und Privatabrechnung für Epigraphe aus Krokodilopolis," *ZPE* 61 (1985): 52–53.

¹¹⁵⁰ Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, 148, fn. 259.

¹¹⁵¹ Vandorpe, "Ptolemaic Epigraphe," 182–85, 188.

¹¹⁵² Vandorpe, "Ptolemaic Epigraphe," 187; Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, 148.

¹¹⁵³ Vandorpe, "Ptolemaic Epigraphe," 187; fn. 59–60.

¹¹⁵⁴ Vandorpe, "Ptolemaic Epigraphe," 188.

occasionally refer to the amount of tax required from the recorded plots or even sometimes more explicit indications to the land status with regard to taxation, e.g. certain lands being listed under ‘tax-free’ land (*p3 w3y*) or ‘taxable’ (*p3 htr*). She also noticed that numerous *r.rh=w* texts were issued for the lessees, not the landowners, and connected that with the custom that the lessee was the one who paid the taxes to the granary, and hence he would need a proof about how much land is liable to taxation.¹¹⁵⁵

Before Vandorpe, the relation between *r.rh=w*-documents and the harvest tax was also noticed by Kaplony-Heckel and Kramer upon their interpretation of the Greek-Demotic text from Gebelein which records a payment for the harvest tax on the recto and an *r.rh=w* text on the verso. Yet they presumed that *r.rh=w* texts present an evidence for ‘Zwangspacht’ policy.¹¹⁵⁶ Felber also clearly referred to the *iw.w n hy* ‘receipts of measurements,’ which he suspected to be the same as the *r.rh=w* texts, as the basis for harvest tax calculation.¹¹⁵⁷ After Felber’s and Vandorpe’s criticism to the view that *r.rh=w* are reflection of a ‘Zwangspacht’ policy, Kaplony-Heckel seems to have abandoned this idea and suggested these documents were issued for farmers with ‘Erbpacht’ (‘hereditary lease contract’).¹¹⁵⁸ She also clearly deemed them to be the basis for the harvest tax calculation.¹¹⁵⁹

It seems, eventually, that the *r.rh=w* texts were sort of confirmations about the cultivated plots of land which were issued for farmers or landowners and were meant to organize and smoothen the tax collection process.

-78-

Exc. No. (MH 2807). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.4x 9x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman, year 12 of [Ptolemy XII, Cleopatra VII, or Augustus] = 70-69, 41-40, or 19-18 BC.

Transliteration:

1. *Pa¹-Mn¹ s³ P³y-k³ n*
2. *Dm^{3c} st³ 5.t/ st³ 2.t^{1/2}/ st³ 5.t^cn sh*
3. *P³y-k³ n h³.t-sp 12 sw 6^{2/3}*

Translation:

1. ‘Pa’monthes son of Pikos in
2. Jeme: 5 arouras/ 2 ½ arouras/ 5 arouras again. Has written
3. Pikos in year 12, 6^{2/3} (artabas of) wheat.

Commentary:

The text is seemingly a palimpsest. The handwriting refers to the first century BC, i.e. late Ptolemaic to the early Roman Period (see comment on l. 3 for more details). The formula and content point strongly toward an *r.rh=w* text, even though *r.rh=w* is left out. The text is most probably completely preserved. The spacing in the text raises, however, some doubts on its completeness since the margins and the spaces left between lines are quite tight although the ostrakon is quite sizeable if compared to the

¹¹⁵⁵ Vandorpe, “Ptolemaic Epigraphie,” 188–90.

¹¹⁵⁶ Kaplony-Heckel and Kramer, “griechisch-demotisches Holztafelchen,” 51–53.

¹¹⁵⁷ Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, 148. For his discussion of the relation between *r.rh=w* and *iw.w n hy*, see Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, 146–48.

¹¹⁵⁸ U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der Acker-Schreiber Paous (Prag P 3907) und die west-thebanischen Acker-Amt-Quittungen I,” *ANPM* 28, no. 1 (2007): 11.

¹¹⁵⁹ Kaplony-Heckel, “Acker-Schreiber Paous,” 13; Kaplony-Heckel, “*R.rh=w*-Acker-Amt-Quittungen II,” 33; U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Der thebanische ‘Ortsschreiber’ Panas und seine Kollegen,” in *Texte - Theben - Tonfragmente: Festschrift für Günter Burkard*, ed. D. Kessler et al. (Wiesbaden, 2009), 231.

recorded information, and a large margin is left at the bottom. The lines are not vertically aligned. The text's formula is an abbreviated one as well. This could mean either that the preserved part of the text and the sherd itself are in fact part of a larger text and sherd, or that the scribe wrongly estimated the expected length of his text and thus started at the very top of the sherd with very tight margins and line spacing. Could it be that he was planning to record more plots of land¹¹⁶⁰ in a single ostrakon, thus wanted to exploit the whole surface, possibly also shortened the formula of the text, and did not initially include the name of the witnesses, which he possibly intended to add at the very end, but he ended up recording only one plot of land and for some reason did not continue with the other plots?

Be that as it may, such abbreviated versions of the so-called *r.rh=w*-texts are not uncommon. This type of brief *r.rh=w* texts, which Kaplony-Heckel called 'Kurz-Acker-Amt-Quittungen,' usually contain the more important elements of the *r.rh=w* documents, i.e. the name of the farmer, the amount of land in arouras, scribe, witnesses, and the pertinent year. They mostly dispense, however, with their normal heading formula, i.e. *r.rh=w*. The reason behind the abbreviation is unknown but Kaplony-Heckel once suspected they might represent drafts or rough version of the administrative files of the local agricultural office or 'Acker-Amt.'¹¹⁶¹ In fact, omitting the heading or certain elements of the text was common in texts recorded on ostraca and must not be an issue as long as the ostrakon records the essential information. Thus, these abbreviated versions were apparently also farmers' copies of the *r.rh=w*. In analogy with other shortened versions,¹¹⁶² the brevity of the current text is quite extreme since it drops other key elements¹¹⁶³ besides the *r.rh=w* formula including the quality and location of the field in Jeme, the scribe's patronym, and the names of the witnesses. A possible reason for this could be that the scribe was planning to add further pieces of land and have his full name as well as the names of the witnesses added at the very end.

L. 1. The farmer Pamonthes son of Pikos is not known from other western Theban *r.rh=w* texts.¹¹⁶⁴

L. 2. For a similar writing of *stj* in the studied collection, see **Text 51**, ll. 2-5.

L. 3. A scribe called Pikos signed with his first name only some western Theban *r.rh=w* texts, for which Kaplony-Heckel suggests a date after 88 BC (between the reign of Ptolemy XII and the early reign of

¹¹⁶⁰ It is normal for one farmer to have numerous parcels recognized in one document; cf. Kaplony-Heckel, "Thebanische Acker-Amt-Quittungen," 195.

¹¹⁶¹ U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost II: zwölf neue *r.rh=w*-Quittungen und fünf Kurz-Quittungen aus dem Acker-Amt," ZÄS 126 (1999): 43.

¹¹⁶² Examples of the shortened versions of *r.rh=w* texts include O. Uppsala 962 in Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, 176–77; O. Bodl. 1105, O. Leipzig 2024, O. Berlin P 6157, O. Berlin P 9706, and O. Str. D 1957 in Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost II," 51–54; O. Vindob. D 345 in Kaplony-Heckel, "Zur Landwirtschaftsverwaltung," 39; O. MH 421 in Kaplony-Heckel, "Zur Landwirtschaftsverwaltung," 38, fn. 42; O. BM 14163 in Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost III, zweiter Teil," 37; O. Str. D 293 in Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost III, dritter Teil," 139.

¹¹⁶³ For the main elements of a complete *r.rh=w* document, see Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Schreiber Sesostris," 170; Kaplony-Heckel, "Thebanische Acker-Amt-Quittungen," 193. For distinction criteria between eastern and western Theban *r.rh=w* documents, see Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost I," 43; U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost III: die *r.rh=w*-Tempel-Quittungen und ähnliche Texte. Erster Teil: allgemeiner Teil und Texte Nr. 18–25," ZÄS 128 (2001): 26; Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Schreiber Paous," 6–7. For the difference between state and temple *r.rh=w* documents, see Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost III, erster Teil," 24–26; Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Schreiber Paous," 6; Kaplony-Heckel, "Ortsschreiber Panas," 231, fn. 15.

¹¹⁶⁴ For a list of farmers, landowners, witnesses, and scribes of the western Theban *r.rh=w*-texts published until 2008, see Kaplony-Heckel, "*R.rh=w*-Acker-Amt-Quittungen II," 66–76.

Augustus).¹¹⁶⁵ These texts are O. BM 43656, 43556, and 43595¹¹⁶⁶ in addition to the unpublished FM 50 (FMNH 31.632-50)¹¹⁶⁷ and O. Str. D 151.¹¹⁶⁸ This, added to the handwriting, suggests a similar date for the current text as well.¹¹⁶⁹ As such, year 12 here mentioned likely indicates that of Ptolemy XII, Cleopatra VII, or Augustus.

The $6\frac{2}{3}$ artabas of wheat probably indicate the harvest tax which is either paid or to be paid on the amount of land recorded in the text (see introduction to *r.rh=w* texts above), yet it is unclear whether they represent the total amount or the rate per aroura. For a total amount of harvest tax on 5 arouras, this amount seems quite low as it assumes a rate of $1\frac{1}{3}$ artabas per aroura, whereas *r.rh=w* documents from the Thebaid usually give a rate of 4 to 6 artabas of wheat per aroura on average. This rate could even sometimes reach 7 to 8 artabas.¹¹⁷⁰ Logically, the $6\frac{2}{3}$ artabas seem to represent the rate on aroura. Yet, the lack of respective terminology could undermine such a conclusion.

2.4.5 Other Private Documents

-79-

Document Related to Land Sale Contract

Exc. No. (MH 191). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10.3x 8.2x 1.3 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic, probably year 29 of [Ptolemy VI or VIII] = ca. 153-152 or 142-141 BC.

Transliteration:

1. *h3.t-sp 29.t r'ibd-4' (?) [---]*
2. *s3 P3-s3r-Twtw [...]*
3. *iw=f di.t (r)-db3 hd [---]*
4. *st3 33 1/4 3h iw=w r..' [---]*
5. *wc.t ht.t n.im=w r'r' [---]*
6. *P3-s3r-Twtw s3 Hr irm n3y=y sn.w [---]*
7. *[...]r..' ... 3bt(?) P3-s3r-i(?) [---]*
8. *[...]r..' ... ht(?) t3 kt(?) [---]*
9. *[...]r..' [---]*

Translation:

¹¹⁶⁵ This date is not only based on the handwriting but also on the fact that they were written by a scribe named Pikos and not by the well-known scribes in western Thebes who were active before year 88 BC such as Achoapis, Harthotes, or Sesoosis, whose names began to disappear from *r.rh=w*-documents after 88 BC. From this time on, as Kaplony-Heckel noticed, scribes with names like Pikos and Pasemis began to occur in *r.rh=w*-documents from western Thebes. This, in her view, is one of the results of the Theban revolt in 88 BC, which led not only to the vanishing of the military colony in Pathyris and Krokodilopolis but also to the disappearance of certain prestigious scribes families in Thebes from the scene; cf. U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-West und Theben-Ost (31 demotische *r-rh=w* Ostraka aus dem British Museum)," in *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, ed. S. Israelit-Groll, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1990), 523–24.

¹¹⁶⁶ Kaplony-Heckel, "*R.rh=w*-Acker-Amt-Quittungen II," 53. For the publication of these texts, see Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-West und Theben-Ost," 568–69, 570–71, 576–77.

¹¹⁶⁷ Kaplony-Heckel, "*R.rh=w*-Acker-Amt-Quittungen II," 40.

¹¹⁶⁸ Kaplony-Heckel, "*R.rh=w*-Acker-Amt-Quittungen II," 57.



¹¹⁶⁹ In fact, all *r.rh=w* ostraca from Thebes date from the late Ptolemaic and early Roman Period, i.e. from the time of Ptolemaic VI until the time of Augustus, and no examples that date before or after this time have been yet discovered; cf. Kaplony-Heckel, "Acker-Schreiber Sesostris," 170; Kaplony-Heckel, "Thebanische Acker-Amt-Quittungen," 194; Kaplony-Heckel, "Theben-Ost I," 42; Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 53. For a discussion of the chronology of some early-published *r.rh=w*-texts, see De Meulenaere, "Prosopographica Ptolemaica: troisième série," 297–300.

¹¹⁷⁰ Vanderpe, "Ptolemaic Epigraphie," 196.

1. Year 29, 'fourth month' [---]
2. son of Psentotoes [---]
3. he will sell [---]
4. 33 ¼ arouras of land, they being '...' [---]
5. one plot of land from them [...]
6. Psentotoes son of Horos with my brothers [---]
7. [...] ... east(?) Psen-i(?) [---]
8. [...] '...' ... tomb(?) the other(?) [---]
9. [...] '...' [---]


Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved, particularly on the left-hand side. The handwriting suggests a late Ptolemaic date, possibly the second half of the second century BC. The text mentions the 29th regnal year of an unnamed ruler. This could theoretically refer to Ptolemy VI, VIII, IX or XII. Taking the text's paleography into consideration, Ptolemy VI and VIII seem more probable. The text is apparently related to land sale. This could be deduced from the occurrence of some keywords in the text, e.g. *ḳw=f dī.t r-dḅḅ ḥd* 'he will sell,' reference to *stḅ 33 ¼ ḅḥ* '33 ¼ arouras of land,' and *w^c.t ḥt.t n.ḳm=w* 'a plot of land from them' which apparently refers to a portion of the sold land. By and large, Demotic contracts were mainly written on papyri, while ostraca and other writing materials were only occasionally used. This use of ostraca and other writing grounds becomes even more scarce when it comes to Demotic sale contracts, of which less than ten examples were recorded on surfaces other than papyri.¹¹⁷¹ It is, thus, unlikely for the current text, being on an ostrakon, to be a sale contract. It could be rather a document related to it, e.g. a letter, a confirmation, or something similar.


L. 3. (*R*)-*dḅḅ*  is quite faint, but the following *ḥd*  seems clearer. The expression *dī.t r-dḅḅ ḥd* 'to sell (lit. give ... in exchange for money)¹¹⁷² is widely used in relation to sale of propriety in the so-called *sh n dḅḅ-ḥd* 'money payment documents' which was usually accompanied by a cession document.¹¹⁷³

L. 4. For similar writings of *ḅḥ*  'land, field,' see *DemGloss*, 9.

The predicate of *ḳw=w* sentence is not preserved.

L. 5. For *ḥt.t*  'parcel/ plot (of land),' which could be at times determined with the plant determinative, see *DemGloss*, 371; *CDD*, *H*, 170-71.

L. 7. The beginning of this line is damaged, and I cannot read the partly preserved signs at this spot. The following signs could be *ḅḅḥ* 'east' followed by a name beginning with *Pḅ-šr-ḳ*.... The relation of *ḅḅḥ* 'east' to the following personal name is not clear. It could indicate the land boundary.

L. 8. The reading of the signs in this line is extremely doubtful. The completely preserved signs at the beginning, i.e. , could be read *r(?) ḅ(?) ḥ.t(?)* 'to the tomb.'

¹¹⁷¹ M. Depauw, "Sale in Demotic Documents: An Overview," in *Sale and Community. Documents from the Ancient World: Individuals' Autonomy and State Interference in the Ancient World. Proceedings of a Colloquium Supported by the University of Szeged, Budapest 5-8.10.2012*, ed. É. Jakab (Trieste, 2015), 77.

¹¹⁷² *DemGloss*, 605, 620; *CDD*, *H*, 339.

¹¹⁷³ Depauw, *Companion*, 140-43; Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 147-50; Depauw, "Sale," 70. For more on the Ptolemaic sale contracts, see K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit*, vol. 1, AA 19 (Wiesbaden, 1968).

For *k.t*, see *DemGloss*, 559, especially Roman writings.

-80-

Confirmation(?) Concerning a Marriage Dissolution(?)

Exc. No. (MH 52). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 4.2x 9.5x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

1. [...] $\overset{r}{p}^3y=s$
2. [...] $\overset{r}{n}^3y=tn(?)$ *pr.wt* (n) $h^3.t-sp(?)$
3. [...] $\overset{r}{d}i.t^1$ $n=f p^3y=f sh-(n)-hm.t$
4. [...] *m]tw=s wy r.r=f n p^3 hp*
5. [...] $p^3y=f sh-(n)-hm.t$
6. [...] $\overset{c}{n}h Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c p^3y$


Translation:

1. [...] her
2. [...] $\overset{r}{n}^3y=tn(?)$ your(?) grains (of) year(?)
3. [...] 'give' to him his marriage document
4. [...] and she is far from him with reference to the law
5. [...] his marriage document
6. [...] it is [the] $\overset{r}{o}$ 'ath of Zmanres


Commentary:

The text is not completely preserved. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. It seems to be a confirmation, a letter, or maybe a cession regarding a marriage dissolution as some key phrases suggest (see line commentary below). Despite the clarity of these key words and phrases, the incompleteness of the text and, above all, the improbability of recording such legally significant documents on ostraca makes a decisive identification of the text as a 'cession' quite difficult. Thus, the term 'confirmation' is preferred.

L. 2. For more on *pr.t* 'grain, seed,' see *DemGloss*, 135-136; *CDD*, P, 122-127. It is not clear whether

or not these *pr.wt*  have something to do with the so-called *šp n shm.t* or the gift that the man was supposed to pay his wife upon marriage in form of a payment of money, which can be occasionally supplemented by an amount of grain. A useful hint could be the fact that this type of payment is mainly known from 'type A' of marriage settlements, namely *sh-(n)-hm.t*,¹¹⁷⁴ which is referred to in the current text.


L. 3. The phrase *sh-(n)-hm.t* refers to a type of documents that represented settlements about proprietary rights emerged from the marriage and were not required for entering a legally valid marriage.¹¹⁷⁵

If the restoration *dī.t*  is correct, it is certainly the infinitive form of *dī* and could be part of a sentence in the future tense. This sentence could be as follows: [... *īw=s (r)(?)*] $\overset{r}{d}i.t^1(?)$ $n=f p^3y=f sh-$


¹¹⁷⁴ For an extensive discussion of *šp n shm.t*, see Pestman, *Marriage*, 13–20.

¹¹⁷⁵ Pestman, *Marriage*, 31; Depauw, *Companion*, 139. For a discussion of *sh-(n)-hm.t*, see Pestman, *Marriage*, 21–32. For more details on the Demotic marriage settlements, see mainly Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*; Pestman, *Marriage*.

(n)-hm.t ‘[... she will] ‘give’ to him his marriage document.’ To better understand this phrase and consequently the current text, it is worthwhile to note that the document related to marriage, e.g. the sh-(n)-hm.t here mentioned, was only legally operative after it has been given from the husband to the wife who, then, had to keep it in a temple or her family archive as evidence for her rights.¹¹⁷⁶ After divorce, the husband had to fulfill certain obligations toward his wife and thus could demand a proof confirming the fulfillment of his duties. This can be done in different ways: either by asking her to perform a decisive oath, to provide him with a proof of completing the payments stipulated in the marriage settlement, or to give him back his original settlement drawn up upon marriage so that she could not use it against him anymore.¹¹⁷⁷ The, unfortunately incomplete, current text seems to contain references to two of these procedures since it refers to the wife promising to give the husband his sh-(n)-hm.t back, which could be inferred from the phrase [... iw=s (r)(?)] ‘di.t(?) n=f p3y=f sh-(n)-hm.t ‘[... she will] ‘give’ to him his marriage document,’ and to her discharging him of any legal claims, which could be understood from the phrase [... m]tw=s wy r.r=f n p3 hp ‘[... a]nd she is far from him according to the law.’

L. 4. It seems as if the determinative of , i.e. the road-sign combined with the walking legs, is ligated with the final stroke of the y-sign. For the compound wy r+ pronominal subject+ n+ noun ‘I am far from+ pronominal subject+ with reference to+ noun,’ see *DemGloss*, 78; *CDD*, W, 20-21. This compound was common in the Demotic sh n wy commonly referred to as ‘Abstandsschriften,’ or ‘cessions,’¹¹⁷⁸ which—as Allam explained—were primarily issued with the aim of ending a legal dispute between two parties. In the Ptolemaic Period, cession documents were added to the so-called sh n db3-hd ‘money payment documents’ as a further confirmation that the second party or the vendor, having received his money, has no future claims with regard to the sold item. Both documents, i.e. the money payment document and the cession were usually written by the same scribe at the same day and could be, at times, written on the same papyrus.¹¹⁷⁹ Added to that, cessions could be also drawn up in other occasions, e.g. when an obligation (a debt for instance) has been fulfilled earlier than agreed, in cases of inheritance division, or similar.¹¹⁸⁰ On some occasions, the cession could be packed up by an oath.¹¹⁸¹ Interestingly, some divorce documents have been even classified as special cases of cessions since they contained the cession formula.¹¹⁸² Although, the current text seems to be related to divorce and contains the cession formula, it is difficult to consider it as divorce document, rather than a confirmation or cession following a divorce.

L. 6. The determinative of  nh supports the meaning ‘oath.’¹¹⁸³

In writing  Wsr-m3c.t-Rc, the scribe seems to have dispensed with the striking arm determinative of wsr and just wrote the wsr-sign followed perhaps by an s as a phonetic complement.¹¹⁸⁴

¹¹⁷⁶ Pestman, *Marriage*, 32; fn. 3.

¹¹⁷⁷ Pestman, *Marriage*, 161.

¹¹⁷⁸ Zauzich, *Schreibertradition*, 1:149; Depauw, *Companion*, 143; S. Thomas, “Demotic ‘Cessions’ in the British Museum Collection: A Legal and Historical Analysis,” *JJP* 42 (2012): 302; Depauw, “Sale,” 71.

¹¹⁷⁹ S. Allam, “Bemerkungen zur Abstandsschrift,” *Enchoria* 13 (1985): 1–2.

¹¹⁸⁰ Depauw, *Companion*, 143; Depauw, “Sale,” 70–72. For more on the different types of cessions or “Abstandsurkunden,” see Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 152–54.

¹¹⁸¹ Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 153.

¹¹⁸² Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 171.

¹¹⁸³ In addition to the meaning here attested, i.e. ‘oath,’ nh could also mean ‘to live, life, living, alive,’ ‘by “in oaths,”’ ‘poquette,’ ‘mirror,’.... However, the writing and determinative differ according to each meaning, see *DemGloss*, 63–64; *CDD*, c, 78-91.

¹¹⁸⁴ Fairly similar writings are interestingly attested in other examples from Memnonia, e.g. writings nos. 14, 15, 24 in *DemNam*, 128.

Grammatically, the phrase $^c n\dot{h} Wsr-m^3c.t-R^c p^3y$ indicates a nominal sentence in which the copula pronoun p^3y replaced its third personal pronominal subject.¹¹⁸⁵ If the reading and interpretation of this sentence is correct, the oath here mentioned could have been related to divorce as well. As mentioned above, the man could have asked his former wife to perform an oath affirming that he had fulfilled the obligation stipulated in the marriage agreement. On some occasions, sessions or confirmations could be packed up by oaths. In fact, it is not decisively clear whether the woman had to do an oath in addition to giving the man his marriage document back.

-81-

A List of Medicinal Ingredients(?)

Exc. No. (MH 188). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 4.9x 7x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. $\dot{3}lly-kmy$
2. $gyw n w\dot{h}e$
3. $^r \dots^r p\dot{h}r.t(?) n s\dot{h}m.t$
4. $^r \dots^r \dot{h}[n]qy ntm p^3 \dot{i}by$
5. $^r \dots^r P^f(?) 4.t(?) n(?) s^3(?) \dot{h}tr-\dot{i}\dot{h}$
6. $[...] s.t(?) ^r \dots^r [...]$

Translation:

1. Egyptian grapes
2. gyw -plant of the oasis
3. $^r \dots^r$ medicament for a woman
4. $^r \dots^r$ sweet beer, the honey
5. $^r \dots^r$ 4(?), as(?) amulet(?) pair of oxen(?)
6. [...] place(?) $^r \dots^r$ [...]

Commentary:

The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. The beginnings of some lines (e.g. ll. 3-5) are faint. The text records different items, some of which do not, at first glance, seem to be closely related. The listed items include ‘Egyptian grapes,’ ‘ gyw -plant (cyperus grass) of the oasis,’ ‘medicament,’ ‘sweet beer,’ ‘honey,’ ‘amulet(?),’ and ‘pair of oxen(?)’ Also, the text lacks a heading and does not give any further information regarding these items such as quantities, prices, whether they were paid or received, in which context they are used, etc. Looking for a context that can involve using all these items together, one would find numerous indications that support a medical context. Whereas ‘Egyptian grapes,’ ‘sweet beer,’ and ‘honey’ could be used as food, they could be also used as medicaments. In fact, the use of food items (vegetables, fruits, plants, and the like) in making drugs was quite common in ancient Egypt.¹¹⁸⁶ Grape for instance was extensively used for medical purposes,¹¹⁸⁷ and wine was one of the common vehicles¹¹⁸⁸ (i.e. an inert medium (such as a syrup) in which a medicinally active agent is

¹¹⁸⁵ Johnson, *Thus Wrote*, 15.

¹¹⁸⁶ J. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996), 138; 14–15, tables 1.1-1.3.

¹¹⁸⁷ H. Von Deines and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, GMA 6 (Berlin, 1959), 10–12; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 15, table 1.2; R. Germer, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, Philippika 21 (Wiesbaden, 2008), 18–19.

¹¹⁸⁸ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 15, n. 1 to table 1.2; 140.

administered). Also, honey was among the most commonly used remedies.¹¹⁸⁹ As Nunn explained, it was a component in numerous medicaments. Besides being used externally and taken internally, it was also sometimes utilized as a vehicle.¹¹⁹⁰ Beer¹¹⁹¹ and more specifically ‘sweet beer’¹¹⁹² were also utilized as a drug and were frequently mentioned in medical prescriptions on papyri.¹¹⁹³ Both ‘beer’ and ‘sweet beer’ were beneficial in the treatment of the urinary system,¹¹⁹⁴ in addition to being used as vehicles.¹¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, the reference to ‘*gyw*-plant of the oasis’ is also indicative of a medical context. This plant, i.e. the *gyw*-plant (cyperus grass), was used frequently in the production of drugs.¹¹⁹⁶ It was among the remedies for the gastro-intestinal¹¹⁹⁷ and urinary systems.¹¹⁹⁸ Besides other usages, this plant was a component in some ointments.¹¹⁹⁹ Possible reference to words like ‘medicament,’ whose medical connotation is beyond doubt, and ‘amulet(?)’ which could be used for magico-medical purposes, clearly allude to a medical context as well. In fact, amulets were believed to provide a sort of magical protection to their wearers both in this life and the afterlife.¹²⁰⁰ The use of magic for healing purposes was well known in ancient Egypt.¹²⁰¹ Moreover, combining magic with the so-called ‘rational method’ of curing was a common healing method in ancient Egypt as well.¹²⁰² In view of that, the current text might represent a list of ingredients of a certain medicinal ‘recipe,’ or maybe an exercise for a scribe who studies medicine, or even a general (lexicographical) scribal exercise.

By and large, medical prescriptions were sometimes recorded on ostraca and, according to Westendorf, they were excerpts copied from papyri. These were a type of ‘Merkzettel’ or leaflets which could have been made for the doctor’s home visit or for a certain (literate) patient, or maybe just as a school exercise. It can sometimes have a heading. As a kind of emphasis, the heading and the quantities could be at times put in rubrics. Most of the examples of such texts are dated to the New Kingdom and written in hieratic script.¹²⁰³ In Demotic, such texts are rare on ostraca, and even some of the alleged examples were later reclassified. For instance, Nur el-Din interpreted O. Leiden, no. 334 as a medical prescription.¹²⁰⁴ His identification was based on the content which refers to the steps and portions required for the preparation of a certain substance which he believed will be used in the treatment of an illness.¹²⁰⁵ However, he did not read a key word at the heading of the text but suggested ζy^c as a possible reading and connected it with the Egyptian ζ^c ‘illness.’¹²⁰⁶ Ritner agreed with Nur el-Din’s suggestion regarding this word and read ζy^c and interpreted it as an illness but conversely deemed the text to be a kind of a ‘hostile sorcery’ which contains a ‘recipe for inflicting the ζy^c -disease/possession.’ He did not, however, exclude the possibility of the text being a medical text aiming for treatment of a certain

¹¹⁸⁹ Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 156–68; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 148.

¹¹⁹⁰ For more on the medical benefits of honey, see Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 148.

¹¹⁹¹ Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 372–74; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 160, table 7.8; W. Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, vol. 1, HdO, erste Abteilung 36 (Leiden, 1999), 513.

¹¹⁹² Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 374–76; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 160, table 7.8.

¹¹⁹³ E.g. in P. Ebres; for a translation of P. Ebers, see for example W. Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, vol. 2, HdO, erste Abteilung 36 (Leiden, 1999), 547 ff.

¹¹⁹⁴ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 160, table 7.8.

¹¹⁹⁵ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 140.

¹¹⁹⁶ Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 534–37; Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 152, table 7.4; 159, table 7.7; Westendorf, *Handbuch der altäg. Medizin*, 1999, 1:509, 512; Germer, *Heilpflanzen*, 146–47.

¹¹⁹⁷ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 159, table 7.7.

¹¹⁹⁸ Cf. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 160, table 7.8.

¹¹⁹⁹ Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 534 ff. For a detailed list of usages, see Germer, *Heilpflanzen*, 146–47.

¹²⁰⁰ C. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 6.

¹²⁰¹ Westendorf, *Handbuch der altäg. Medizin*, 1999, 1:524–28; W. Westendorf, “Die altägyptische Medizin,” in *Texte zur Heilkunde*, ed. B. Janowski and D. Schwemer, TUAT NF 5 (Gütersloh, 2010), 214.

¹²⁰² Westendorf, “Die altägyptische Medizin,” 215.

¹²⁰³ Westendorf, *Handbuch der altäg. Medizin*, 1999, 1:59–60. For examples of medical prescriptions on ostraca, see Westendorf, *Handbuch der altäg. Medizin*, 1999, 1:59–65.


¹²⁰⁴ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 266–68; pl. 26.


¹²⁰⁵ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 268.


¹²⁰⁶ Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 266, n. to l. 1.

ꜥꜣꜥ-illness, or ‘attempting (a cure for) ꜥꜣꜥ by spell.’¹²⁰⁷ Following Nur el-Din’s identification, Westendorf included this ostracon in his list of medical texts on ostraca as the only Demotic example of medical prescriptions on ostraca.¹²⁰⁸ On the other hand, Quack—upon reinterpretation of Nur el-Din’s ꜥꜣꜥ and Ritner’s ꜥꜣꜥ as ꜥꜣꜣ.t-*ntr* ‘Gottesstein’ as well as Ritner’s *sp* ‘spell’ as *sp* ‘soaking’—suggested the text to be ‘ein Rezept zum Bereiten von Gottesstein (ꜥꜣꜣ.t)-*nčr*, der durch Eintunken (*sp*) auf Objekte appliziert wird,’ i.e. ‘a recipe for preparing a divine precious substance by soaking,’ rather than a medical prescription.¹²⁰⁹ He also drew the attention to another medical prescription on ostraca which was recorded in a letter published by Thompson.¹²¹⁰

On the other hand, medical recipes are also known from Greek ostraca. As Lougovaya elucidated, such texts usually record ingredients of one or more medicaments accompanied by their quantities with or without an introductory formula.¹²¹¹ In comparison with medical prescriptions on Greek and Demotic ostraca, the current text appears to be only a list of ingredients or items that might have been used in the production of drugs. Key differences from other texts would be the lack of references to quantity, purpose, dose, or other information typical to medical prescriptions.

L. 1. Taking the quite long final stroke of the *y* in ꜥꜣꜣ  ‘grapes’¹²¹² as a short form of the ‘vine on trellis’ determinative and thus reading ꜥꜣꜣ (cf. example 1 in *DemGloss*, 7) instead of ꜥꜣꜣ does not seem suitable here since this last stroke is directly linked to the preceding strokes and the ‘vine on trellis’ determinative appears at the end of the compound ꜥꜣꜣ-*kmy*.

The expression  ꜥꜣꜣ (*n*) *Kmy* ‘Egyptian grape’¹²¹³ is known in Demotic, although not frequently attested. Here, this expression is written as one compound since it is connected directly with no genitival *n* in between and more importantly it has the ‘vine on trellis’ determinative or the plant determinative after *kmy* and does not have it after ꜥꜣꜣ which indicates that this determinative is meant for the whole compound. It is worth noting that the expression ⲬⲘⲎⲔⲎⲔⲎⲔ was used in Coptic to convey the meaning ‘bruise, dark colored like grapes.’¹²¹⁴ Here it refers likely to ‘Egyptian grapes,’ which is confirmed through the context as well as the use of place determinative after *kmy*.

L. 2. *Gyw*  seems to be written with monoconsonantal signs and has the plant determinative. It likely indicates the plant known in Egyptian language as *gy.w* which could be identified with the ‘cyperus grass.’¹²¹⁵ In Demotic, the name of this plant is not yet attested, and the current example is apparently its first attestation.

¹²⁰⁷ R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago, 1993), 69, fn. 311; R. Ritner, “O. Gardiner 363: A Spell Against Night Terrors,” *JARCE* 27 (1990): 33, fn. 28.

¹²⁰⁸ Westendorf, *Handbuch der altäg. Medizin*, 1999, 1:63–64; 63, fn. 83.

¹²⁰⁹ J. Quack, “Ein neues medizinisches Fragment der Spätzeit (pAshmolean Museum 1984.55 rt.),” *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 146, fn. 10; *CDD*, 3, 33.

¹²¹⁰ Quack, “Medizinisches Fragment,” 146, fn. 10. For this letter, see H. Thompson, “A Demotic Ostracon,” *PSBA* 35 (1913): 95–96; pl. xxvii; R. Jasnow, “Three Notes on Demotic Lexicography: *nhꜥt-ntr*,” *Enchoria* 12 (1984): 12–13; F. Hoffmann and J. Quack, “Demotische Texte zur Heilkunde,” in *Texte zur Heilkunde*, 310–11. For more on the Demotic texts of and related to a medical context, see Hoffmann and Quack, “Demotische Texte zur Heilkunde,” 298–316.


¹²¹¹ Lougovaya, “Greek Literary Ostraca,” 115–16.


¹²¹² *DemGloss*, 7; *CDD*, 3, 56–57.


¹²¹³ *CDD*, 3, 56.

¹²¹⁴ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 55a.




¹²¹⁵ For *gyw*, see Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 534–37; *Wb V*, 157–58. The exact botanic identification of this plant was a matter of discussion between scholars; for a possible identification as ‘Zypergras,’ see Westendorf, *Handbuch der altäg. Medizin* 1:509; for identification with ‘*Cyperus esculentus* L.,’ see Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen* 2:67–71; for a possible identification with the closely related ‘*Cyperus rotundus* L.,’ see Germer, *Heilpflanzen*, 148, 251; for *giw* being a designation of both ‘*Cyperus esculentus* L.’ and ‘*Cyperus rotundus* L.,’ see Loret, *Flore pharaonique*, 26.


Whe  often occurs as *why*.¹²¹⁶ The expression *gy.w n wh̄̄.t* ‘cyperus grass of the oasis’ is also known in Egyptian texts.¹²¹⁷ In some medical prescriptions, this *gy.w n wh̄̄.t* was used in making a suppository, while in others it was possibly used in making an ointment or a bandage.¹²¹⁸


L. 3. : Reading *phr.t* ‘remedy or medicament’,¹²¹⁹ is possible but not entirely certain due to the unclear writing indistinct determinative. The phrase *phr.t n shm.t* ‘medicament for woman’ seems to generally refer to a ‘remedy for gynecological disease,’ or a ‘women’s medicament,’ rather than a remedy for a specific woman.

L. 4. For *iby*  ‘honey,’ see *DemGloss*, 26; *CDD*, I, 80-81. The scribe apparently dispensed with the jug determinative, which is the normal determinative of this word, because of the lack of space at the end of the line.

L. 5. The reading and interpretation of most of the words in this line are not certain. The signs at the beginning of the line are quite faint and unclear. The following sign could probably be the number 4.

For  *s3* ‘amulet,’ see *DemGloss*, 403. It is not clear what the small sign  before *s3* indicates. It possibly indicates an *n* rather than the definite article *p3* since it differs significantly from the *p3*  of *p3 iby* in l. 4 above; yet *p3* is not completely excluded.

The word *htr* in the expression  *htr-ih̄̄*¹²²⁰ has an additional determinative after the animal determinative. This determinative is very similar to the knife determinative, or perhaps the striking arm determinative which usually comes with *htr* ‘to compel, (most often qualitative) to be necessary, obliged, compelled.’¹²²¹ If *htr* ‘pair, team’ was meant, which seems to be the case, this determinative is superfluous and could have been added out of confusion between both words. Translating this combination as ‘team of oxen’ is also possible. The relation of this compound to the previous *s3* ‘amulet’ as well as to the text in general is not totally evident. Is *s3 htr-ih̄̄* to be understood as ‘amulet (for) a pair of oxen,’ or maybe as ‘a pair of oxen amulet’? This latter translation presupposes the existence of an amulet that takes the form of two oxen. In this regard, one recalls Andrews’ description of the type of amulets that take the form of double bull which belong to the series of amulets that take the form of two animals’ foreparts joined back to back. Such amulets can additionally take the form of double lions, rams or a combination of lion and bull.¹²²² Whether such a pair of oxen or two oxen amulet existed and for what purpose is unclear.

If the latter sense was meant here, this sign  could be then taken as *p3*, and thus ... 4 *p3 s3 htr-ih̄̄* could be translated as ‘4 ..., the pair of oxen amulet’ and this line would contain two items, namely 4 of the unread item at the beginning and an amulet that takes the form of two oxen.

L. 6. The reading *s.t* ‘place’ is not certain, and it might be *iy* ‘to come’ instead.

¹²¹⁶ *DemGloss*, 98; *CDD*, *W*, 139-140.

¹²¹⁷ Cf. Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 535; *Wb* V, 158.

¹²¹⁸ Cf. Von Deines and Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 535.

¹²¹⁹ *DemGloss*, 139; *CDD*, *P*, 157-158.

¹²²⁰ *DemGloss*, 342; *CDD*, *H*, 311.

¹²²¹ *DemGloss*, 343; *CDD*, *H*, 313-314.

¹²²² Cf. Andrews, *Amulets*, 90; 89, fig. 91.

Acknowledgement of a Money Debt

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10.5x 10x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman, probably [Ptolemy X, XII, or Augustus] = ca. 87, 54, or 3 BC.

Transliteration:

1. *P3-šr-Mn s3 P3y-k3*
2. *p3 nty dd n Ta-Mn ta P3y-k3 wn mtw=t*
3. *sttr 2.t r-c.wy=y irm db^c.t 4.t r-c.wy=y*
4. *mtw=y mh=t n.im=w r hn r h3.t-sp 27 ibd-2 šmw sw 1*
5. *sh n h3.t-sp 27 tpy šmw sw 15*

Translation:

1. Psenminis son of Pikos
2. is the one who says to Taminis daughter of Pikos: you have
3. 2 staters owing from me together with 4 obols owing from me,
4. and I will fully pay you with respect to them until year 27, Payni, day 1.
5. Written in year 27, Pachons, day 15.

Commentary:

The handwriting is very similar to the one of **Text 51**, which is probably late Ptolemaic or early Roman. The date recorded in this text refers to the 27th year of an unnamed ruler, who could be Ptolemy X, Ptolemy XII, or perhaps Augustus. The text represents an acknowledgment of a debt formulated in the so-called personal or epistolary formula. This formula was widely utilized in receipts as well as in private arrangements of loans (see below for details). In the current text, a person called Psenminis son of Pikos addresses a woman called Taminis daughter of Pikos acknowledging his debt of 2 staters together with 4 obols (most likely as interest; see below) and promising to repay her the whole sum in a 15-days period (since the agreement is written (and probably the sum is lent on this day as well) on the 15th day of Pachons and the lent sum will be paid back on the first day of Payni of the same year). Having the same father's name (i.e. Pikos), Psenminis (the debtor) and Taminis (the creditor) are possibly siblings. That their first names are built with *Mn* could also affirm this kinship.

Loans, as Vandorpe explained, could be given according to two types of agreements, namely private arrangements and notarial deeds. Private arrangements usually concern smaller loans and take the form of an acknowledgment of debt written by or for (if he was illiterate for instance) the debtor himself and were often formulated in the so-called epistolary style (*NN p3 nty dd n NN*). In such arrangements no notary was required.¹²²³ The current text clearly belongs to this type. As to notarial deeds or loan contracts, they were issued by temple notaries and normally concern loans of larger amounts of goods or money.¹²²⁴ Demotic loan contracts issued by temple notaries were kept by the creditor or a third person. Once the loan is returned, the debtor could either receive the original loan contract or a receipt confirming the repayment of the debt.¹²²⁵ Due to their legal significance, loans were more commonly written on papyri than on ostraca¹²²⁶ and other material. This does not seem to have been the case in the places in which papyrus was scarce and ostraca prevailed as a standard writing ground such as the oases.

¹²²³ K. Vandorpe, *The Bilingual Family Archive of Dryton, His Wife Apollonia and Their Daughter Senmouthis* (P. Dryton), CollHell 4 (Brüssel, 2002), 105–6.

¹²²⁴ Vandorpe, *Archive of Dryton*, 106.

¹²²⁵ Vandorpe, *Archive of Dryton*, 111.

¹²²⁶ Apart from the Ain Manawir ostraca cited below, there seem to be only very few examples of Demotic loans on ostraca; cf. O. Theb. D 22 in Thompson, "Demotic Texts," 37–38; pl. ii; O. Mattha, no. 235 in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 175–76; pl. xxii.

A good example of that is Ain Manawir in Kharga oasis, in which a reasonable number of loans on ostraca were discovered.¹²²⁷ In the current example, the use of ostraca is very plausible and completely understandable. Since the loan is given for a short period of time and the lent sum was relatively small, the creditor and the debtor, being most likely siblings, seem to have opted for saving their time and money through the use of ostraca. On the other hand, according to the Egyptian and Greek law, individuals could also orally agree on loans without a written document.¹²²⁸ By and large, loans documents or *sh n r^c-wh³* are well known in Demotic. Usually, Demotic loan contracts concerned two main types of lent items, namely money and in-kind items.¹²²⁹ Loans of money were often formulated with the personal or epistolary formula, in which the debtor addresses the creditor acknowledging the sum of money he owes him. Save few cases, including probably the current text, loans of money used to state the total sum with no reference to the interest.¹²³⁰ This does not mean, however, that loans were normally given for free, rather it could mean that the interest was typically included in the acknowledged total sum.¹²³¹ Although interests on loans were diverse, its upper limit was fixed at 100% of the lent sum.¹²³² For the pre-Ptolemaic times, Demotic documents testify to an interest rate ranging from 50% to 100%.¹²³³ Whether or not the length of the loan was taken into account is not clear.¹²³⁴ The percentage of interest was seemingly as low as 30% in the early Ptolemaic time. By the time of Ptolemy II, it was further reduced to about 24% annually or 2% monthly at maximum.¹²³⁵ In the first century AD, interest on money loans was around 1% per month or 12 % per annum.¹²³⁶ If, for any reason, the repayment of the loan was delayed, a fine may be imposed on the debtor.¹²³⁷ On the other hand, loans in kind in both pre-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic periods were regularly given at an interest rate of 50% of the lent item.¹²³⁸ While some scholars believed that the interest on loans in kind was paid regardless of the loan duration, Lippert deemed that to be inaccurate and provided a case showing the effect of the loan duration on the interest rate.¹²³⁹

L. 1. The divine determinative of *P³-šr-Mn* is very faint, but clearly visible in the name *Ta-Mn* in l. 2.

Ll. 2-3. The phrase *wn mtw=t sttr 4 r^c.wy=y* ‘you have 4 staters owing from me’ indicates a loan or in this case a debt acknowledgement formula. This formula often appears in Ptolemaic loans and

¹²²⁷ M. Wuttmann et al., “Premier rapport préliminaire des travaux sur le site de ‘Ayn Manāwīr (oasis de Kharga),” *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 412. Among the early Demotic ostraca from Ain Manawir published online, 18 texts deal with loans. The absolute majority of them concern loans of barley (mostly called *ūt nfr* ‘beautiful barley’), rare examples deal with loans of wheat, and a single case represents a loan of stater money. Here follows the examples in a chronological order with the undated texts at the end: O. Ain Manawir 4159 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 4159 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 3441 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 3441 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 5491 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 5491 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 4981 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 4981 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 3424 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 3424 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 3976 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 3976 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 4018 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 4018 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 5488 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 5488 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 5524 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 5524 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 4321 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 4321 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 4067 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 4067 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 6808 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 6808 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 6049A (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 6049A [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 4608 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 4608 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 5436 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 5436 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 5490 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 5490 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 5548 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 5548 [achemenet.com]); O. Ain Manawir 7183 (Ostrakon d’Ayn Manāwīr 7183 [achemenet.com]), (website last accessed on 26.03.2023).

¹²²⁸ Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 99.

¹²²⁹ Depauw, *Companion*, 146–47.

¹²³⁰ P. Pestman, “Loans Bearing No Interest?,” *JJP* 16–17 (1971): 7; fn. 3.

¹²³¹ Depauw, *Companion*, 147. On the other hand, interest-free loans were still possible as well; cf. Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 100.

¹²³² Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 100.

¹²³³ S. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (Pap. Hou): A Dossier Relating to Various Agricultural Affairs from Provincial Egypt of the Early Fifth Century B.C.*, StudDem III (Leuven, 1991), 161, n. ee; 165, gg.

¹²³⁴ Depauw, *Companion*, 147.

¹²³⁵ Depauw, *Companion*, 147; Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 100.

¹²³⁶ Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 100.

¹²³⁷ Vandorpe, *Archive of Dryton*, 108.

¹²³⁸ Pestman, “Loans Bearing No Interest?,” 9; Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 161, n. ee; 165, n. gg.

¹²³⁹ Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 99–100.

acknowledgements of debt as *wn mtw=k x i.ir-n=y* ‘you have x owing from me (lit. on my hands),’¹²⁴⁰ where the preposition *i.ir-n+* suffix ‘against/ from (indicating obligation)+ suffix’¹²⁴¹ replaces the preposition *r-^c.wy+* suffix ‘owing from+ suffix (lit. on the hands of+ suffix),’¹²⁴² which occurs in our text. In early Demotic loans, the same formula also appeared,¹²⁴³ yet sometimes as *wn mtw=k x m-dr.t=y* ‘you have x with me,’ which could also be complemented by *n p^y=y^c.wy* ‘in my house.’¹²⁴⁴ This use of *m-dr.t=y* in this formula could be compared to *r-^c.wy=y*, lit. ‘on my hands,’ used in the current text. Further formulae of loans in early Demotic documents were *tw=k n=y x* ‘you have given me x,’¹²⁴⁵ and possibly *šsp=y n=k x* ‘I have received x from you.’¹²⁴⁶

L. 3. Expressing the sum as *sttr 2.t r-^c.wy=y irm db^c.t 4.t r-^c.wy=y* ‘2 staters owing from me together with 4 obols owing from me’ is quite strange. Despite the absence of any clear keywords that point at an interest, it seems likely that the 4 obols were meant to be an interest on the lent sum. Thus, expressing the two sums separately and the use of the preposition *irm* ‘and, with’ seem to have conveyed such sense. Otherwise, it should have been formulated as follows: *sttr 2.t db^c.t 4.t r-^c.wy=y*. Interest in Demotic was usually referred to using terms like *hw* ‘surplus, addition,’ *ms.t* ‘interest,’ or in some cases concerning seeds borrowed to be sown, *šmw* ‘harvest tax, rent.’¹²⁴⁷ The interest rate given here, i.e. 2 obols per stater, would be approximately $\frac{1}{12}$ of the lent sum or 8.33%. Although the loan was given for 15-day period, the interest seems to be calculated as if it was for a whole month. The annual interest rate in this case would be approximately 100% (8.33x 12). To assume that the interest was on a half month period of loan is less probable since the annual rate will amount to ca. 200%, and—as Lippert noted—the maximum rate of interest was not allowed to exceed 100 % of the capital.¹²⁴⁸ In any case, this rate is very high if compared to the rates valid for the Ptolemaic (24% since Ptolemy II) and first century AD (12%).¹²⁴⁹

The preposition *r-^c.wy* ‘owed/ owing from’ occurs also in **Text 34**, ll. 13-15 and **Text 43**, l. 4 in the current collection.

¹²⁴⁰ *DemGloss*, 37, 88; *CDD*, *W*, 80. For *wn mtw* in the sense of ‘to have,’ see *DemGloss*, 88; *CDD*, *W*, 80. For some Ptolemaic Theban and Pathryite examples of this formula, see P. Marseille 297, recto, l. 3 in B. Menu, “Un contrat de prêt démotique conclu sous le règne de Ptolémée IV Philopator (P. Marseille, Inv. No 297),” *RdE* 24 (1972): 125–26; pl. 11, P. Dryton 28 (Berliner Papyrussammlung P. 13385), l. 3 in U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Die demotischen Gebelên-Papyri der Berliner Papyrussammlung,” *ForschBer* 8 (1967): 77; Vandorpe, *Archive of Dryton*, 208, P. Dryton 24 (Berliner Papyrussammlung P. 13388), l. 2 in Kaplony-Heckel, “Gebelên-Papyri der Berliner Papyrussammlung,” 76–77; Vandorpe, *Archive of Dryton*, 192, P. Adler Dem. 3, l. 2, P. Adler Dem. 4, l. 6, P. Adler Dem. 6, l. 6, P. Adler Dem. 11, l. 6, P. Adler Dem. 12, verso, l. 2, and P. Adler Dem. 25, l. 11 in F. Griffith, “Demotic Papyri from Gebelên,” in *The Adler Papyri* (London, 1939), 76, 77–78, 80–81, 85–86, 87, 104–5; pls. vi, vii, ix, x, xv respectively.

¹²⁴¹ For this preposition, see *DemGloss*, 37; *CDD*, *I*, 18–21.

¹²⁴² For this preposition, see *CDD*, *c*, 5; *DemGloss*, 52. In addition to the current text, this preposition occurred in the Theban loans of O. Theb. D 22 and O. Mattha, no. 235 (cited above) as a complementary to the loan formula “*wn mtw=k x*.”

¹²⁴³ An early example of this formula, namely *wn mtw=k x*, occurred in P. Straßburg 4, ll. 2–3; cf. Malinine, “Prêt de céréales,” 3–4; Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 182–84. Other early examples include P. Berlin P. 23805, ll. 3–4, in which a similar formula is supposedly lost in the lacuna; cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, “Ein demotisches Darlehen vom Ende der 30. Dynastie,” *Serapis* 6 (1980): 241–43, as well as the above-cited early Demotic ostraca from Ain Manawir.

¹²⁴⁴ Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 160, n. dd; 182, dd.


¹²⁴⁵ Malinine, “Prêt de céréales,” 2; Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 160–61, n. dd.

¹²⁴⁶ Vleeming, *Gooseherds of Hou*, 160–61, n. dd.

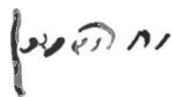
¹²⁴⁷ Pestman, “Loans Bearing No Interest?,” 12–13; 12, fn. 21; K. Vandorpe, “Interest in Ptolemaic Loans of Seed-Corn in the ‘House of Hathor’ (Pathyris),” in *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur: Part II*, ed. W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems (Leuven, 1998), 1460, 1462–63, 1468.

¹²⁴⁸ Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 100.

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. Lippert, *Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 100.

 L. 4. This group is likely to be read *mḥ* ‘to fill, complete,’ or often ‘to pay, satisfy a requirement.’¹²⁵⁰ Slightly close writing of it appeared in O. MH 478, l. 4.¹²⁵¹ The use of *mḥ* in combination with *n* ‘with, in respect to’ is well attested in Demotic.¹²⁵²

Usually, after acknowledging the debt, the debtor promises to repay it at a specific date. This statement was often expressed as follows: *mtw=y dḥ.t+* the lent item+ *n=k r hn r+* date of repayment ‘and I will pay+ the lent item+ to you until+ date.’



: There is a stroke after *r hn r* and before *ḥḥ.t-sp* which could be part of *ḥḥ.t-sp* or even superfluous traces of ink.



L. 5. : A sign similar to *sw ḥrqy* ‘last day’ seems to overlap with *sw 15*. This could be a scribal mistake which was corrected straight away. Reading *sw 15* is more plausible so that we have a loan duration of 15 days. Assuming that *sw ḥrqy* is corrected from *sw 15* would result in a one-day loan duration (according to this reading, the loan was probably given on the last day of Pachons and has to be paid at the first day of Payni) which is not at all possible.

¹²⁵⁰ *DemGloss*, 171–72; *CDD, M*, 168–76.

¹²⁵¹ Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 52; pl. 21.

¹²⁵² For a similar example as the current one, see P. Dem. Bonn BoS L 1646, l. 15 in which the phrase *mtw=y mḥ=k n.ḥm=w ...* ‘and I will pay you with them ...’ occurs; cf. H.-J. Thissen, ‘Ein Vertrag über Gipsfabrikation,’ in ‘... vor dem Papyrus sind alle gleich!’: *Papyrologische Beiträge zu Ehren von Bärbel Kramer (P. Kramer)*, ed. R. Eberhard et al., APF, Beiheft 27 (Berlin; New York, 2009), 235. For more examples, see stative uses of *mḥ* in *CDD, M*, 175. Also, in active uses of *mḥ*, the phrase *r mḥ* ‘amounting to’ was exclusively attested in Theban documents as *r mḥ n*; cf. *CDD, M*, 174–75.

2.5 Unidentified Texts (nos. 83-90)

The following section comprises texts whose content is not identified either because some of them are in a damaged state or simply because the text lacks keywords or clear indications that clearly disclose its nature or content.

-83-

Exc. No. (MH 1615). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.7x 6.2x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:


1. *[ʿImn]-ʿḥtpʿ s3 Hnsw-Dḥwty [...]*
2. *ḥw=f tne r rnp.t [...]*
3. *ʿlm-d3d3 [...]*
4. *šḥm.t T3-šr.t [...]*
5. *Pa-D[m3c](?)[...]*
6. *ʿ.ʿ [...]*

Translation:

1. [Ameno]ʿthesʿ son of Chesthotes [...]
2. he is [...] years old [...]
3. ... -haired(?) [...]
4. the lady Sen[...]
5. Pase[mis](?)[...]
6. ʿ.ʿ [...]


Commentary:

The sherd is only partly preserved. The handwriting indicates the second century BC. The remaining parts do not help reconstruct the content of the text. Anyway, it seems to begin with a physical description of a person, which is quite interesting to have on an ostrakon. As Mairs and Martin noticed, physical description of persons occurred sporadically in Demotic documents if compared to Greek documents. Such a feature is mainly found in sale contracts (in money payment documents and/ or cessions) written on papyri. Most of the known examples are dated to the second century BC and come from the Theban area including Hermonthis.¹²⁵³

L. 2. For  *tn(e)* ‘to be(come) old,’ and the expression *ḥw=f/ s tne r rnp.t x* ‘he/ she is x years old,’ see *DemGloss*, 637; *CDD*, T, 224-225.




: The preposition *r* is written as a tiny stroke touching *rnp.t*.

L. 3. *ʿlm-d3d3*  is phonetically written and has no determinative and written as if it is a compound with *d3d3*. The current writing of *ʿlm* and its direct connection to *d3d3* recalls the expression

¹²⁵³ Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 33; 33–34, fn. 38.

that occurred in the Theban Ptolemaic P. BM EA 10390 b, l. 4, and was read by Andrews as *slm* $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$.¹²⁵⁴ In their commentary on the word *slm*, Mairs and Martin quoted P. BM EA 10390 b, l. 4 as a further example of *slm* and noted that it was written ‘without determinative and followed immediately by $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$, as though it were a compound.’¹²⁵⁵ Having a look at the writing of this word in P. BM EA 10390 b, l. 4,

i.e.  (facsimile cited in *CDD*, S, 315), one would find that the sign which Andrews read as *s* could be in fact read as \mathcal{C} . Furthermore, unlike *slm* which was always written with a determinative,¹²⁵⁶ this word is written has no determinative and is followed directly by $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$ just as in the current ostrakon. Another possible example of this compound appeared in the Roman Demotic magical text of P. Louvre E 3229, verso, l. 22 where $\mathcal{C}lm$ is combined with $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$ ¹²⁵⁷ and, in contrast to the above-mentioned examples, has a determinative that could be the striking arm or the hand holding a stick. Although the context of the last text (being a magical text) is quite different from the first two examples (being related to physical description of persons), $\mathcal{C}lm$ - $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$ in P. Louvre E3229, verso, l. 22 seems to be related to a physical description as well since it was preceded by other body parts such as h^3t ‘heart’ and followed by a further reference to the head. In view of this, it seems that all three examples are references to the same compound, namely $\mathcal{C}lm$ - $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$. It seems also that $\mathcal{C}lm$ is different from *slm* unless the scribes of these texts mistakenly replaced the initial *s* by a \mathcal{C} . This expression refers apparently to a physical description of the head area. The exact meaning of it cannot be determined with certainty. It might be comparable to *slm*, which was also used in connection with $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$.¹²⁵⁸ Although the meaning of *slm* is not yet clear,¹²⁵⁹ it seems to describe the hair¹²⁶⁰ and—according to Mairs and Martin’s conclusion—it could perhaps mean ‘straight-haired’ or ‘curly-haired.’¹²⁶¹ Similarly, $\mathcal{C}lm$ - $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$ could refer to a different characteristic or type of hair.

L. 5. The signs at the beginning of this line could be read as *mw.t* ‘mother’ as well.

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Exc. No. (MH 1115). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6x 10x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. n^3 *rmt.w(?)*... P^3y - Hr p^3 *hm*
2. ‘*Pa-wn(?)*’ s^3 *Pa-r* t *n-dr.* t *Bry(?)*
3. (*Sy-p* 3 -*mw* t s^3 *Hr* *n-dr.* t P^3 -*d* 3 -*Nfr-h* t p)
4. ‘*Pa(?)*’- Hr s^3 Hr - $t^3y=f-nh$ t (?) [...]

¹²⁵⁴ C. Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, CDPBM (London, 1990), 79–80; pl. 65.

¹²⁵⁵ Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 35.

¹²⁵⁶ Note the different writings of *slm* (save the example of P. BM 10390 b, l. 4 here discussed) cited in *CDD*, S, 314–15; *DemGloss*, 444.

¹²⁵⁷ Cf. J. Johnson, “Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 66, 75; pl. 17. For a recent translation of P. Louvre E3229, see C. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar, eds., *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies: Text and Translation*, vol. 1, CCS 9 (Berkeley, California, 2022), 282–99. In *CDD*, \mathcal{C} , 113, this $\mathcal{C}lm$ is quoted as a single word not part of a compound; the reading $\mathcal{C}l$, a variant of $\mathcal{C}lw^3$ ‘to be dumb/ mute,’ is also tentatively suggested there. Yet, this suggestion cannot be true, if it is part of the compound $\mathcal{C}lm$ - $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$ here discussed.

¹²⁵⁸ Mairs and Martin noted that *slm* appears mainly in relation to physical description and could stand in texts on its own or sometimes followed by $\underline{d}^3\underline{d}^3$; cf. Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 34; fn. 42–44.

¹²⁵⁹ Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 34; *CDD*, S, 314.

¹²⁶⁰ Zauzich adopted Thompson’s translation of *slm* as “long-haired;” cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, “Schmähworte gegen eine Frau,” *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 137, 145, n. to l. 13. This translation, according to El-Amir, was supposed to be in the manuscript of Thompson’s Demotic dictionary; cf. M. El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes: Demotic Papyri in the Philadelphia and Cairo Museums from the Ptolemaic Period. Part II: Legal and Sociological Studies* (Cairo, 1959), 75, fn. 5.


¹²⁶¹ Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 34; 34–35, fn. 49.


Translation:


1. The men(?) ... Pihyris, the craftsman
2. Pa^rgonis^r(?) son of Parates through(?) Belles(?)
3. (Siepmous son of Horos through(?) Petenephotes)
4. 'Pa^r(?)hyris son of Har^rtephnachthes(?)' [...]

Commentary:

The text is faint in some places. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic (second century BC). The content of the text cannot be specified with certainty due to the lack of relevant indications.

 L. 1. The signs are quite difficult to read. If one reads the first three signs as *n³ rmt.w* 'the men,' which seems plausible, the reading and interpretation of the following sign, which resembles the *t*-sign or the silver determinative, will remain unresolved.

 For the title *p³ hm* 'craftsman,' see *DemGloss*, 303-304; *CDD*, *H*, 110-114.

L. 2. The name at the beginning of this line is possibly  *Pa-wn*; cf. *DemNam*, 358, particularly examples 28, 30.

For *Pa-rt*, see *DemNam*, 394.

The use of the preposition *n-dr.t*, which usually conveys the meaning 'by, from the hand of, in(to) the hand of, in the possession of'¹²⁶² in ll. 2-3 is quite problematic since no payments or transactions are mentioned. It is also unusually preceded and followed by a personal name, which makes its interpretation rather difficult. If the text was just a list of individuals and no payments or transaction were meant, the phrase *NN n-dr.t NN* might mean 'NN in the control/ supervision of NN.'

The determinative of *Bry* is not clear. It usually has the eye as a determinative.¹²⁶³

L. 3. The whole line appears as if it is written in brackets. The exact purpose of these brackets cannot be determined since the context is not clear, but they seem to represent some kind of a stress mark. A closely related stress mark could be the half circle, which was used to put more stress on words or phrases it encircled. Moreover, as Nur el-Din explained, encircling could also be used to indicate cancelation.¹²⁶⁴ Whatever their purpose may be, the occurrence of the brackets here is remarkable.

For *Sy-p³-mwt*, see *DemNam*, 902.

L. 4. The upper part of the *pa* in *Pa-Hr*¹²⁶⁵ is still visible while the lower is broken.

The reading of the father's name as *Hr-t³y=f-nht*¹²⁶⁶ is not certain since the final part is very indistinct.

¹²⁶² *CDD*, *D*, 63-64.

¹²⁶³ Cf. *DemNam*, 143. For a similar writing of *Bry*, see example no. 13 in *DemNam*.

¹²⁶⁴ Nur el-Din, "Checking," 60, fn. 6.

¹²⁶⁵ *DemNam*, 400.

¹²⁶⁶ *DemNam*, 840.

-85-

Exc. No. (MH 389). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7x 9.8x 1.1 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

1. [...] ... *bn-ḥw=f gr³*
2. [...] *ḥb³s š^c p³ nw*
3. [...] *ḥ³ sw 16 ḥw=w t³y ḥ³[...]*
4. [...] *ḥ³ [...]*


Translation:


1. [...] He will not swathe
2. [...] *ḥ* cloth until the time(?)
3. [...] *ḥ³* day 16, they will take *ḥ³* [...]
4. [...] *ḥ³* [...]


Commentary:

The handwriting signifies the late Ptolemaic Period. The text is incomplete, and the content cannot be precisely identified.

L. 1. The preserved signs at the beginning of this line could possibly be *nty(?) ḥw(?) tw(?)* but having such phrase at the end of a sentence would be strange.

Gr³  'to swathe, wind, clothe' is also attested as *gl, gl³, gl^c*, and *gr^c*.¹²⁶⁷ Here, regardless of the faded ink at that spot, it seems to have the cloth determinative.

L. 2. Restoring *ḥbs*  'cloth, clothing'¹²⁶⁸ seems plausible given the nearly completely preserved *s*-sign as well as the completely preserved cloth determinative.

According to the writing, *nw*  seems to denote 'seeing.'¹²⁶⁹ Thus, an alternative translation could be 'until the seeing.'

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Exc. No. (MH 3641). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.8x 5.8x 0.9 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly first century BC).

Transliteration: x+

1. [---] *ḥ³ ...³* [...]
2. [---] *p³ ntr md.t nb nty ḥw=f r t³y*
3. [*n.ḥm=s(?)*] [---] *t³y=w(?) š^ct.t(?) r-ḥ ḥd 8 n sttr(?) '90`*
4. [---] *b³k n p³ 1/3 n 1/2(?) t³y=f tny.t*
5. [---] *ḥw=f r st³.t r tm ḥr*

¹²⁶⁷ CDD, G, 54; DemGloss, 589.

¹²⁶⁸ DemGloss, 300–301; CDD, H, 95–97.

¹²⁶⁹ Cf. the writings of *nw* in DemGloss, 209–10.

6. [---] [m]tw=w dī.t ḥd ḥkrkr 5
 7. [---] ḥ..ḥ ..

Translation: x+


1. [---] ḥ..ḥ [...]
2. [---] the god, everything [, concerning which(?)] he will come
3. [---] their subtraction(?) at the rate of (according to) 8 silver deben of '90' staters(?)
4. [---] document concerning the third of half(?) of his share
5. [--- if(?)] he will refuse to do
6. [---] and they will pay 5 talents of ḥ silver'
7. [---] ḥ..ḥ ..

Commentary:


The sherd is broken at its upper and right edges. The left side appears to be only slightly broken, if at all. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. Although some formulae can be clearly identified (e.g. in l. x+5), the content of the text is still unclear.

L. x+1. The silver sign, ḥd, is the only preserved sign in this line. It is not clear whether it was used in the sense of 'silver, deben, money' or as a determinative.

L. x+3. The remaining signs at the beginning of the line support the reading $p^3y=w$.

The sign  is likely an abbreviated writing of $\xi^c t t$ 'subtrahend or an amount to be deducted or subtracted, piece, portion'.¹²⁷⁰ This word usually has the t -sign, and in the current example it is not clear whether it had it or not since the ink is very faint at this spot. A more paleographically appealing reading of this group is $d i . t$, whose usage here would be quite odd here. Thus, reading $\xi^c t . t$ seems more plausible and suitable to the context since it is followed by what seems to be a subtraction or deduction, whose rate is likely 8 deben from 90(?) staters(?).

For the translation of $r-h$ as 'at the rate of,' compare $r-h d b^c . t 1 \frac{1}{2} r t^3 s t t r 1 . t$ 'at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ obols to each stater' occurred in O. Mattha, no. 7, l. 4¹²⁷¹ and other similar expression in which $r-h$ was used in the same sense.¹²⁷²

The reading of the last word of this line, i.e. , as $s t t r$ is paleographically possible but not certain. Other considerations, however, support this reading such as the use of $r-h$ 'at the rate of' which was often used to express the ratio. In this usage, it was normally followed by two sums. Since it is followed here directly by ḥd 8 as the first sum, one would expect the second sum to appear after it. Also, the last word is followed a number, namely the number 90 which is inserted slightly below the line. Above all, this word begins with an s sign followed by what can be well interpreted as two t signs and r . The only problematic part of this word ($s t t r$) would be the partly preserved final sign which looks like a vertical stroke, which is not expected at the end of $s t t r$.¹²⁷³

That the number 90 is written under the line is quite remarkable. Typically, additions of forgotten words or corrections were inserted above the line. It is also hard to imagine that the scribe has forgotten the number indicating the money sum for it is among the most important information in any document and perhaps the reason why the document was issued. Thus, it does not seem that number 90 was added as

¹²⁷⁰ *DemGloss*, 492–93; *CDD*, §, 53–54.

¹²⁷¹ Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 75–76; *DemGloss*, 375.

¹²⁷² See the examples collected in Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 76–77.

¹²⁷³ Cf. the different writings of $s t t r$ in *DemGloss*, 482; *CDD*, S, 517–23.

a later addition, rather it was likely written under the line for a purpose. Furthermore, the damage of the text on the sherd's left side seems to be very trivial since ll. x+4-7 are complete at their left ends and the last signs of the current line and l. x+2 are only slightly damaged. This means that *sttr* was apparently the last word of the line, and there was no vacant space after it. Taking this into consideration, it seems plausible that the scribe ran out of space at the end of this line and did not want to separate the number from the currency to avoid confusion. He, therefore, decided to directly attach it to the currency. To do this, he had two options: either above or under the line. He seems to have chosen the second option because the space above the line was not enough since the vertical stroke of *ly* goes slightly down and the *s* and final vertical sign of *sttr* go slightly up the line. Furthermore, he had the chance to account for this added sign when writing the next line, which he apparently did since the last word of l. x+4 ends directly before it.

L. x+4. The remaining part at the beginning, i.e. , could represent *b3k* 'document'.¹²⁷⁴



: The reading $\frac{1}{2}$ *t3y=f tny.t* 'half of his share' seems plausible. For an example of $\frac{1}{2}$ followed by *t3 tny.t*, see the phrase *iw=f šn(?) n=f^{1/2} t3 tny.t n ...* 'demanding' for himself half the share of ...' occurred in P. Wien D 10151, l. 5.¹²⁷⁵

L. x+5. For the expression *st3.t (r) tm (ir)* 'decline, refrain, or refuse to do'(lit. withdraw in order not to do), cf. *DemGloss*, 474; *CDD*, S, 493.

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Exc. No. (MH 3041). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 6.1x 6x 0.6 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic (possibly first century BC).

Transliteration: x+

1. [...] *nty iw* [...]
2. [...] '...' *r ir r-h p3(?)* [...]
3. [...] '30'(?) *r-h n ... hn(?)* [...]
4. [...] '...' *t3y=f(?) mw.t(?) mtw Ns-Nb.t-h.t* [...]
5. [...] *ir=f n-dr. f=f sh n* [...]
6. [...] *h3.t-sp* [.] (?) '5'(?) *ibd-3 šmw sw 3*

Translation: x+

1. [...] which [...]
2. [...] '...' in order to act according to the(?) [...]
3. [...] '30'(?) according to ... from(?) [...]
4. [...] his(?) mother(?), and *Snebthys* [...]
5. [...] will(?) make it through him. Written in [...]
6. [...] year] [.] (?) '5'(?) *Epeiph*, day 3


¹²⁷⁴ *DemGloss*, 125; *CDD*, B, 16-21.

¹²⁷⁵ E. Lüddeckens, "P. Wien D 10151, eine neue Urkunde zum ägyptischen Pfründenhandel in der Perserzeit," *NAWG* 5 (1965): 109, 112; C. Martin, "The Demotic Texts," in *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, by B. Porten et al., 2nd revised, DMOA 2 (Atlanta, 2011), 353. For the photo, see E. Lüddeckens, "Nachtrag zum P. Wien D 10151," *Enchoria* 1 (1971): pl. 6.

Commentary:

The text is incomplete; the handwriting is likely late Ptolemaic. The content is not clear due to the damage of the text.


L. x+3. The reading of this line is uncertain.


L. x+4.  : The partly preserved sign before *mw.t* at the beginning of this line could possibly be *t3y=f*.

The final parts of the name *Ns-Nb.t-ḥ.t*¹²⁷⁶ , i.e. the house and the female divine determinative, are lost in the lacuna.

L. x+5. The phrase *ir=f* could probably represent the infinitive of the conjunctive clause beginning with *mtw Ns-Nb.t-ḥ.t*. In this case, the pronoun after *ir* should be the object of the infinitive. This would also mean that not too much text is lost between *mtw Ns-nb.t-ḥ.t* and *ir=f*, perhaps a title, a short description of Snebthys such as *t3y=f ḥm.t* 'his wife,' or similar phrases. The sentence could have possibly been the following: *mtw Ns-Nb.t-ḥ.t t3y=f ḥm.t r ir=f n-dr.ḥ=f* 'and Snebthys, his wife, will make it through him.'

L. x+6. The broken sign at the beginning could be the number 5, which would be part of the number indicating the year. Possible year numbers are 5, 15, 25, 35, 45.

ʔIbd-3  is unusually written in two parts.

For similar writings of *sw 3*  'day 3,' see *CDD, Days of the Month, 2*.

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Exc. No. (MH 1234). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 5.3x 6.3x 0.7 cm. Medinet Habu. Probably late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration: x+

1. *sw 2 n3(?) ʔbd(.w) n ʔr(?) n p3 fʔyʔ [---]*
2. *sw 3 p3 hwe n p3 fʔy [---]*
3. *mḥ(?) -9 wpr(.t) ʔ30ʔ(?) [---]*


Translation: x+


1. Day 2: (for)(?) the(?) month(s) of acting(?) for the offering-delivery [---]
2. Day 3: the expense of the offering-delivery [---]
3. 9th(?): provisions ʔ30ʔ(?) [---]

Commentary:

The text is only partly preserved. The handwriting is possibly late Ptolemaic or early Roman. The text is unclear, but possibly related to a temple context. It could be a record or an account of temple expenses and provisions.


¹²⁷⁶ Cf. *DemNam*, 683, particularly example no. 4.


L. x+1.  : The reading of some signs in this line is quite problematic. While the reading of the initial sign as *sw* 2 ‘day 2’ seems secure, reading the following sign as *n*³ is less certain. The sign after this *n*³ is most likely *ibd* ‘month.’¹²⁷⁷

The writing of *ir*  is quite strange, particularly the thick stroke at the end, which—if *ir* was truly meant—seems to be superfluous.

The phrase *n*³(?) *ibd*(.w) *n* *ir*(?) *n* *p*³ *f**y*⁷ could be referring to a payment (could have been written in the lacuna at the end of the line) for the months in which a certain individual worked in the delivery of the offerings in the temple.

Ll. x+1, 2. The meaning of *fy* is not clear since it is not completely preserved. It can mean ‘(offering) delivery, income.’¹²⁷⁸ Here the more common meaning is suggested.

L. x+3. Reading *mḥ* in *mḥ* 9  is possible but not completely certain because it presupposes the existence of 8 entries (built up with 8 ordinal numbers) before it, which is not traceable and might not be possible in such a short text. For the use of *mḥ* as a prefix in building ordinal numbers, see *DemGloss*, 172; *CDD, M*, 177-179. There are also traces of a faint vertical stroke which overlaps with the number 9. The purpose of this stroke and whether it represents writing or not is unclear.

Wpr(.t) , or at times *wpre.t* ‘provisions,’ is mainly known from Roman Theban.¹²⁷⁹ Vittmann argued that the same word could have been used in Aramaic as an Egyptian loanword with a similar meaning (generally related to income, supply, provisions, etc.). He also suggested a relation with the Arabic root *wfr* (وفر) ‘to be abundant, numerous’, from which the noun *wafrah* (وفرة) ‘abundance, great in quantity’ comes.¹²⁸⁰

Since this word was mainly used in temple related texts such as accounts of temple provisions¹²⁸¹ and liturgical contracts concerning days of service in the temple,¹²⁸² it is possible that the current text comes also from a temple context.

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Exc. No. (MH 1131). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 8.5x 8.7x 0.8 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

¹²⁷⁷ *DemGloss*, 27; *CDD*, I, 82 ff.

¹²⁷⁸ *DemGloss*, 143–44; *CDD*, F, 3-4.

¹²⁷⁹ *CDD*, W, 75-76; *DemGloss*, 87. All attestations of this word are of a Theban origin and a Roman date except for that of the unpublished O. Louvre 133, l. 10 which is believed to originate from Nag’ el-Mesheikh and date to the Ptolemaic Period; cf. V. Rondot, ed., *Champollion: la voie des hiéroglyphes* (Paris, 2022), 262. It is also noteworthy that the writing of this word in O. Louvre 133, in case the same word was meant, is fairly different from its Theban counterparts, especially that it lacks the standard determinative of this word (i.e. the grain over the three plural strokes); cf. the photo cited in *CDD*, W, 76; Rondot, *voie des hiéroglyphes*, 262.

¹²⁸⁰ For a detailed discussion, see G. Vittmann, “Ägyptisch-Aramäische Kleinigkeiten,” *WZKM* 83 (1993): 233–38.

¹²⁸¹ E.g. O. MH 4033 in Lichtheim, *Ostraca Medinet Habu*, 65–66; pls. 30, 50.

¹²⁸² E. g. O. Theb. D 31 in Thompson, “Demotic Texts,” 51–52; pl. iii; U. Kaplony-Heckel, “Rund um die thebanischen Tempel (Demotische Ostraka zur Pfründen-Wirtschaft),” in *Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich*, 313–14; O. Leiden, no. 324 in Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 258–60, 649; pl. 24.

Transliteration:


1. 'tpy' pr.t sw 22
2. $r \text{'} \text{ibd-2 pr.t sw 22}$
3. $\text{Hnsw-t} \text{'y} \text{=} \text{f-nh} \text{'t} \text{s} \text{' Pa-Mn} \text{'t} \text{.. [---]}$
4. $p \text{'} \text{rt [...]} \text{N} \text{'-nh} \text{'t} \text{=} \text{w} \text{'(?) ' ..' [---]}$
5. $P \text{'-di-Hr-wr s \text{'} \text{'} \text{'sg} \text{'T' [..] [---]}$
6. $\text{... s} \text{'} \text{Ms-wr 'p} \text{'} \text{'} \text{'(} \text{'(} \text{' n 's} \text{'} \text{'(?) [---]}$
7. $n p \text{'} \text{ibd n rn} \text{=} \text{f' ..' [---]}$

Translation:

1. 'Tybi, day 22,
2. to Mecheir, day 22
3. Chestephnachthis son of Pamonthes.. [---]
4. the agent [...] Nechthoys(?) ' ..' [---]
5. Peteharoeris son of Ask'I' [..] [---]
6. ... son of Mesoeris 'the' chief of 'the phyle' (?) [---]
7. in the same month ' ..' [---]

Commentary:


The text is not completely preserved, and the ink is faint in some places. The handwriting refers to the first century BC, i.e. late Ptolemaic to early Roamn. This text is opened by a date indicating a time period of one month, i.e. from day 22 of Tybi up to day 22 of Mecheir, followed by some personal names. The surviving parts of the text do not provide sufficient information that could help to determine its purpose. If the title $\text{'} \text{n s} \text{'}$ 'the chief of the phyle' in l. 6 was meant, the text should relate to a temple context.

L. 3. Reading the name of the father as $\text{Pa-Mn} \text{'t}$  seems possible, the faded ink notwithstanding. The space between the mn and 't signs is quite larger than usual.

L. 4. As a title $p \text{'} \text{rt}$ 'agent, representative,' can be followed by personal, divine, or even some place names.¹²⁸³ It is, thus, possible that the faint signs after it represented one of these genres.



is likely $\text{N} \text{'-nh} \text{'t} \text{=} \text{w}$, a variant of $\text{N} \text{'t} \text{=} \text{w}$.¹²⁸⁴


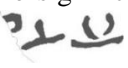
L. 5. : The reading of the initial sign of $\text{'} \text{'sg} \text{'T' [..]}$ as ' is doubtful due to the partial damage of the sign, especially in the place where the small hook of the ' was supposed to be. If the reading $\text{'sg} \text{'T' [..]}$ was meant, which is probable, it could be a writing of a name like 'sglpyt which has different writings such as 'sglpyts , 'sqlpyts , etc., or 'sglpytwtws , written also as 'sglpyts .¹²⁸⁵ The third sign of this name could be also read q instead of g without changing the identification. If, on the other hand, the first sign was meant as m , we would have the name $\text{M} \text{'sg} \text{'T' [..]}$, which is not in the *DemNam*.

¹²⁸³ Cf. *DemGloss*, 256–57; *CDD*, R, 76–77.

¹²⁸⁴ For $\text{N} \text{'t} \text{=} \text{w}$, see *DemNam*, 647; *TM Nam* 523. For the variant $\text{N} \text{'-nh} \text{'t} \text{=} \text{w}$, see *TM NamVar* 68308.

¹²⁸⁵ Cf. *DemNam*, 42.

L. 6. The signs before *s3 Ms-wr* seem to represent a personal name whose writing is fairly indistinct. The sign in the middle could be the *t*-sign.

Reading the final signs of this line, i.e. , as *s3* 'phyle' seems possible despite the quite strange writing of the *s3* sign. Ideally, the lower part of the vertical crossing stroke of the *s3* sign was written even as a very short stroke. In some cases, scribes could even dispense with the upper part of this stroke, but not the lower one as in the current example.¹²⁸⁶ Yet, this reading is suggested here for two reasons. Firstly, among other Demotic signs, *s3* is the nearest one to the current one in writing, especially when the following determinative is taken into consideration. Secondly and more significantly, this *s3* is preceded by ^c(*β*) *n*, which would be a reference to the well-known title, i.e.  ^c(*β*) *n s3* 'chief of a (priestly) phyle.'¹²⁸⁷

L. 7. For the phrase *n p3 ibd n rn=f* 'in the same/ named month,' cf. *DemGloss*, 27; *CDD*, 1, 86.

-90-

Exc. No. (MH 915). Cairo Museum, SR 18952. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 3. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.8x 5.5x 0.5 cm. Medinet Habu. Late Ptolemaic or early Roman.

Transliteration: x+

1. [---] ^r..^r [---]
2. [---] ^š^c *ibd-4 pr.t sw 26* [---]
3. [---] ^š^c *sw 17 'Imn-ḥtp s3 'Iy-^rm-ḥtp^r* [---]
4. [---] ^š^c ~~*sw 9(?)*~~ *sw 19 'Iy-m-ḥtp s3 Hr* [---]
5. [---] ^š^c ~~*sw 1*~~ *ibd-3 šmw sw 1 'Imn-[ḥtp(?) ---]*
6. [---] ^r*w^r=f ḥ³^c r-ḥry*
7. [---] ^r*g^r šr(?) nty(?) ip(?) r sw 3 ^r..^r* [---]
8. [---] ^r...^r ... *mtw=f t³y ...* [...]
9. [---] ^r*Iy-m-ḥtp*(?) *s3 Hr n³(?) he(.w)(?) ^r..^r*[---]
10. [---] ^r..^r[---]

Translation: x+



1. [---] ^r..^r [---]
2. [---] until Pharmuthi, day 26 [---]
3. [---] 'until' day 17 Amenotes son of I[mouthes ---]
4. [--- un]til ~~day 9(?)~~ day 19, Imouthes son of Horos [---]
5. [---] until ~~day 1~~ Epeiph, day 1 Ameno[thes(?) ---]
6. [---] while he/ it is disregarded(?)
7. [---] 'Kala^rsiris(?) who(?) is assigned(?) to the 3rd day ^r..^r[---]
8. [---] ^r...^r ... and he will take(?) ... [...]
9. [--- Imouthes](?) son of Horos, the(?) expense(s)(?) ^r..^r[---]
10. [---] ^r..^r [---]


Commentary:


¹²⁸⁶ Cf. the different writings of *s3* in *DemGloss*, 404; *CDD*, S, 23–24.

¹²⁸⁷ For ^c(*β*) *n s3*, see *DemGloss*, 54; *CDD*, c, 30.



The ostrakon is broken at almost all sides. The handwriting suggests a late Ptolemaic or early Roman date. Although the preserved parts of the texts are mostly clear and comprehensible, the content of the text remains unfortunately obscure.


L. x+3. : The partly preserved sign at the beginning of this line is most probably š^c , although it is quite different from its other writings  (facsimile of l. 5) in the text, e.g. in ll. x+2, 5.

For similar writings of  *sw 17*, see *CDD, Days of the Month*, 20.

L. x+4. : The crossed-out¹²⁸⁸ sign in this line is probably a writing of *sw 9* inscribed over another sign, perhaps a small writing of *ibd-3*. It could be that the scribe erroneously wrote the old sign, i.e. *ibd-3*, and then after recognizing that the entry still belongs to the previous season, he intended to write *sw 19* over it. However, before even completing the writing of *sw 19*, his correction resulted in a more confusing sign which he ended up crossing it out and writing *sw 19* besides it anew.

L. x+6. The exact meaning of the compound $\text{h}^c \text{r-hry}$ ‘lay down, set aside, disregard’¹²⁸⁹ is unknown and is dependent on the preceding sentence which could be lost in the lacuna; the meaning here adopted one is merely a suggestion.

L. x+7. : The remaining parts at the beginning of the line suggest reading $\text{g}^c \text{šr}$ ‘soldier, warrior’,¹²⁹⁰ The normal transliterations of this title, i.e. *glšr*, *gl-šr*, or *gr-šr*, were basically based on the hieratic phonetic writings used for ‘Kalasiris’ as a personal name, i.e. . Recently, Vittmann clarified the unanswered question about the etymology of this word by virtue of a newly attested writing on the early Demotic Tab. Louvre E 9846.¹²⁹¹ According to this writing, he suggested that this word was derived from $\text{qr}^c \text{-šr}$, whose first part (namely qr^c) is written with *q* not the *g* or *k* as usual in *glšr*.¹²⁹² He also interpreted qr^c , which appeared with the striking man as a determinative, as ‘shield bearer or shield holder.’ Thus, the literal meaning of $\text{gr}^c \text{-šr}$ would be ‘small shield bearer.’¹²⁹³

: Reading *nty ip r* seems possible but not completely sure due to the faint ink and the anachronistic writing of the *p* of *ip*.¹²⁹⁴ The phrase *nty ip r sw 3* ‘who is assigned to day 3’ could be a reference or description to the aforementioned kalasiris. For *ip r* in the sense of ‘assign to, or to belong to,’ see *CDD, I*, 91-92. Compare the phrase *glšr fnt iw=f ip r Swn* ‘kalasiris of *fnt* who is assigned to

¹²⁸⁸ While the purpose of crossing-out here is clearly the correction of scribal mistakes, this phenomenon is common in other Demotic documents (especially those of legal nature), in which the crossing-out was meant to mark the legal invalidity of the text, or to indicate the fulfillment of the obligation stated in it. For some case studies and discussion, see J. Korte, “Zerreißen, Durchstreichen, Auswischen: Zerstörung von demotischen (und einer abnormhieratischen) Rechtsurkunden,” in *Zerstörung von Geschriebenem: historische und transkulturelle Perspektiven*, ed. J. F. Quack, K. Oschema, and C. Kühne-Wespi (Berlin; Boston, 2019), 232–48.

¹²⁸⁹ *CDD, H*, 6-7.

¹²⁹⁰ *DemGloss*, 588; *CDD, G*, 61-62. For more on the *kalasiris*, see the bibliography cited in *CDD, G*, 62.


¹²⁹¹ Vittmann, “Frühdemotisches Schultäfelchen,” 1196–97.


¹²⁹² Vittmann, “Frühdemotisches Schultäfelchen,” 1197–98.

¹²⁹³ Vittmann, “Frühdemotisches Schultäfelchen,” 1198.

¹²⁹⁴ Such writing comes mainly in early Demotic texts, while the current text is late Ptolemaic or early Roman. For similar writings of the *p* in *ip* ‘to count, to reckon, account,’ cf. *DemGloss*, 28; *CDD, I*, 89-94.

Aswan' and the similarly structured title *rmꜥ nty šn nty ip r nꜥ irpy.w* 'inspector who is assigned to the temple' cited in *CDD*, I, 92.

The two signs after *r*, i.e. , likely represent *sw* 3 despite the quite strange writing of *sw*. This writing could be slightly comparable to that of *sw* in *sw* 17 in l. x+ 3 above.¹²⁹⁵

L. x+9.  : Restoring *'Iy-m-htp* in the lacuna at the beginning of the line seems reasonable given that the divine determinative and the vertical sign in the middle of the name are partly preserved. Added to that, a like-named person (likely the same person) is already mentioned in l. x+4 above.

Reading the sign after *Hr* as *nꜥ* is not completely certain. It could also be a personal determinative of *Hr*, which would be quite unusual but not entirely improbable. The fact that this line and line 4, where the name *Hr* appears, are not completely preserved makes it quite difficult to decide whether this sign belongs to the name or not. Likewise, the reading of the following group as *he(.w)* is not secure. On the one hand, if the initial sign was meant to represent the personal determinative of *Hr*, the group read as *he(.w)* should then indicate a singular name rather than plural, which would be in line with its writing which already lacks any plural indicators. Paleographically, this group might be read *hrw* 'day' instead.

¹²⁹⁵ Slightly similar writings of *sw* can be seen in some examples of *sw* 1 in *DemGloss*, 707.

3 Ostraca of Different Provenances (nos. 91-99)

This part includes ostraca that do not originate from Medinet Habu, but they are stored together with ostraca from Medinet Habu and other places under the common number SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Except for a few instances where the provenance of the ostrakon is noted on the sherd's recto or verso, no information is usually given about the origin of the text, and the identification is often based on internal indications. In cases where the context does not help to determine the text's origin, the provenance is noted as unknown. All texts appear, however, to be of an Upper Egyptian origin.

3.1 Receipts (nos. 91-92)

-91-

Acknowledgement of Income Reception

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 7.8x 13.5x 1.2 cm. Unknown Provenance, likely Upper Egypt. Late Ptolemaic (late second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *Ta-thy r.ms P3-šr-Dḥwty sm^{3c} r Ntm-ḥnh*
2. *s3 P3-šr-Dḥwty tw=k n=y rtb sw 1/2 ḥn p3y=y ḥtp*
3. *(n) ḥ3.t-sp 6 iw=f šsp (n) ip 'sh' P3-ḥm p3 ḥm*
4. *s3 Ntm-ḥnh r-ḥrw Ta-thy (n) ḥ3.t-sp 6*
5. *tpy pr.t sw 29*

Translation:

1. Tatichis born of Psenthotis greets Netem-anch
2. son of Psenthotis. You have paid me 1/2 artaba of wheat from my prebend
3. (of) year 6. It is received on account. 'Has written' Pachoumis, the younger
4. son of Netem-anch at the command of Tatichis (in) year 6,
5. Tybi, day 29.

Commentary:

The date recorded in the text indicates year 6 of an unnamed ruler. The paleography indicates a late Ptolemaic date, probably the second half of the second century BC. The handwriting and formula of the text suggest an Upper Egyptian origin. The text takes the so-called letter form, common in receipts issued by temples and individuals (tax farmers or collectors). It presents a confirmation of income receiving, in which a woman called Tatichis acknowledges the reception of half an artaba of wheat as part of her annual *ḥtp*-income. Despite the strong tendency toward monetization initiated in the Ptolemaic Period (for more information, see introduction to receipts capitation tax in the first part of the study above), priestly incomes appear to have continued to be primarily paid in kind. For this goal, as Muhs elucidates, temples were allowed to maintain their redistributive networks, through which some temple revenues (from offerings and otherwise) were produced and returned to the priests as their income.¹²⁹⁶

¹²⁹⁶ B. Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000-30 BCE* (Cambridge, 2016), 241–42.

Interesting here is that the payee (Tatichis daughter of Psenthotos), the payer (Netem-anch son of Psenthotos), and the scribe (Pachoumis the younger son of Netem-anch) apparently belong to the same family. The text provides no titles for the woman, nor for her brother from whom she received her *htp*-income, which makes the identification of the nature of her position in the temple and the official relationship between them quite complicated. As scholars indicated, the work of women in the temple is known in ancient Egypt as early as the Old Kingdom. At that time, women were mostly responsible for some ceremonial positions. Later in the Greco-Roman Period, priestesses were engaged in Egyptian and Greek cults. Their main duties included singing and playing musical instruments during the rituals, in addition to other different tasks.¹²⁹⁷ According to Schentuleit, the organization of female priesthood differed from that of the males. In her view, belonging to one of the temple's *phylai* was reserved to men. She, additionally, argued against the existence of priestesses in the temple *phylai* or in hierarchically higher priestly offices in Egyptian temples.¹²⁹⁸ As to the rare cases in which women appear to have been assigned to a certain phyle in the temple, Schentuleit proposed that they were meant to serve a different purpose, e.g. showing the advantageous priestly descent on both sides of a new-born child.¹²⁹⁹

That said, the current text might be valuable in this concern since it refers to a woman as a recipient of a *htp*-income. As shown by its attestations (see comment on l. 2 below for details), *htp*¹³⁰⁰ seems to refer to the income of higher classes of priests, i.e. *w^cb.w*-priests and *hm-ntr*, to whom the *htp-ntr* of the temple was given back as their priestly prebend or *htp*-income. This could imply that the woman here mentioned was a holder of a *phylai*-priestess office or apparently at least a beneficiary from such a position. But how did she get this position? A reasonable hypothesis is to assume that she inherited the position and the associated income from her father.¹³⁰¹ The fact that she had a brother might induce suggesting that she possibly co-inherited the position with him and was, subsequently, entitled to a share of the income, which might also help explaining why she received her income from her brother directly and not from the temple (if the brother was acting on behalf of the temple, one would expect his priestly or any administrative titles to be recorded here). This seems also to suggest that she did not *de facto* work and her brother did the work on her behalf. As Schentuleit explained, a woman who inherits a priestly position can benefit from her inheritance in many ways that does not necessarily include doing the duties of the job herself, e.g. leasing it out, or asking a male relative to perform on her behalf,¹³⁰² which seem to have been the case here.

The current text has some similarities with the Demotic receipt from Gebelein recorded on O. Zürich, no. 45.¹³⁰³ In this text, which Wängstedt dates to 98/ 97 BC, three women acknowledged the reception of 2 artabas of wheat as their or perhaps part of their *htp.w* 'incomes.' Lines 4-6 read: *wn rtb sw 2/ sw 1/ sw 2 ʕn iw tw=k st n=n hr nʕy=n htp.w n pʕ 1/3 n H.t-Hr n hʕ.t-sp 17 tpy pr.t sw 21*. Wängstedt translates this passage 'Es sind 2 Artaben Weizen, die du uns gegeben hast als unseren Lohn, als das Drittel der (Göttin) Hathor, für Jahr 17, am 21. Tybe.' As is clear from his translation, Wängstedt considered the 2 artabas as one-third of the women's incomes which they received in return for their service at the

¹²⁹⁷ J. Rowlandson, ed., *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, 1998), 55; M. Schentuleit, "Gender Issues: Women to the Fore," in *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt*, ed. K. Vandorpe (Chichester, 2019), 353.

¹²⁹⁸ Schentuleit, "Gender Issues," 353–54.

¹²⁹⁹ Schentuleit, "Gender Issues," 353; M. Schentuleit, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen zweisprachiger Textdokumentation am Beispiel des Titels 'Phylenpriesterin,'" in *Le Fayoum: archéologie–histoire–religion. Actes du sixième colloque international, Montpellier, 26–28 octobre 2016*, ed. M.-P. Chaufray et al. (Wiesbaden, 2018), 162.

¹³⁰⁰ For a discussion of the meaning of *htp* and the division of *htp.w* among the temple priesthood, see Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 II*:292–95, 490–91.


¹³⁰¹ The priestly status was usually passed on to the person from his father; cf. W. Clarysse, "Egyptian Temples and Priests: Graeco-Roman," in *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, ed. A. Lloyd, vol. I (Oxford, 2010), 287; Schentuleit, "Gender Issues," 353.

¹³⁰² Schentuleit, "Gender Issues," 353.

¹³⁰³ Wängstedt, *Ostraka Zürich*, 50–52; pl. vii.

temple of Hathor.¹³⁰⁴ This translation of Wängstedt might be slightly changed, if we took the *n* after *ḥtp.w* as a genitival adjective and thus the phrase *ḥr n̄y=n ḥtp.w n p̄¹/3 n H.t-Hr* would be understood as ‘for our incomes of the one-third of Hathor.’ In this case, the interpretation of ‘our incomes of the one-third of Hathor’ could, among other possibilities, be referring to the incomes of the women from the one-third of the service days at the temple of Hathor which they received either in return for doing the service themselves or maybe for leasing out their share of the service days. By and large, the practice of dividing, leasing out, and selling service days was not uncommon in Greco-Roman Egypt. For example, the Ptolemaic Demotic papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos, namely P. Wien D 10098 (a and b), P. Wien D 6844, P. Wien D 6846, and P. Wien D 3 (a and b), provide evidence for the selling of one-third, two-thirds, one-fourth, and some shares of the service-days in the sanctuary of *Ḥr-p̄³-šr-n-šs.t.*¹³⁰⁵ Examples of agreements of lease of temple service-days were also preserved on ostraca from the Greco-Roman time, e.g. the group of Theban Demotic texts studied by Kaplony-Heckel.¹³⁰⁶ Regardless of its interpretation (either a reference to the one-third of their incomes, or their incomes of the one-third of services days of Hathor), it is quite strange that the text leaves out some details and information (e.g. the name of the temple, place, nature of service, any reference to lease or selling, etc.), some of which should have been at least mentioned. This is also similar to the current *p̄³* text, which does not indicate any further information about the nature or reason for payment. In fact, such a shortened formula in the text under consideration and O. Zürich, no. 45 might be justified by the fact that both parties, namely the payer and payees, knew the exact reason and nature of the payment. Let alone that both texts are written on ostraca, which do not usually offer spacious room for inserting all details.

In conclusion, the similarities between the text under consideration and O. Zürich, no. 45 both in formulation and general content as they both concern *ḥtp*-income received by women,¹³⁰⁷ added to the fact that O. Zürich, no. 45 directly links this income to a certain deity as well as the indicative usage of *ḥtp* (see below for details) in both texts strongly suggest a temple context for the text under study.

L. 1. : *Ta-thy* ‘she who belongs to drunkenness’¹³⁰⁸ is not in the *DemNam*. Demotic name constructed with *thy*, sometimes written *thy*, include *Nb.t-thy*,¹³⁰⁹ *Nb.t-h.t-thy*¹³¹⁰ and possibly *lythy*¹³¹¹ whose determinative suggests a connection to *thy*. Like the different names built with *thy*, the current name is not very common in Demotic. In addition to the current text, only a few Middle Egyptian examples of *Ta-thy* are known to me. These are a few attestations in the Ptolemaic P. Wien D 10098 (a and b), recto¹³¹² and P. Wien D 6844, recto¹³¹³ from Dime (Soknopaiou Nesos), and a further attestation in l. 5 of the Ptolemaic P. Heidelberg D 42a+ Köln 1869 from Tebtunis.¹³¹⁴ This name, as its available

¹³⁰⁴ Wängstedt, *Ostraka Zürich*, 51, n. to ll. 4-5.

¹³⁰⁵ Cf. M. Schentuleit and G. Vittmann, “*Du hast mein Herz zufriedengestellt...*”: *ptolemäerzeitliche demotische Urkunden aus Soknopaiou Nesos*, CPR 29 (Berlin; New York, 2009), 32-61-98-118.

¹³⁰⁶ Kaplony-Heckel, “Um die thebanischen Tempel,” 283-325.

¹³⁰⁷ O. Ashm. DO 702 lists two women and four men as recipients of wheat in the context of what Akeel speculatively suggested to be a “priestly allowance” reception; cf. Akeel, “Priestly Allowances,” 67-72. Yet, in contrast to our example and that of O. Zürich, no. 45, no reference to *ḥtp* was made in this text.

¹³⁰⁸ Cf. *thy* in *DemGloss*, 654; *CDD, T*, 287-288.

¹³⁰⁹ *DemNam*, 639.

¹³¹⁰ *DemNam*, 638.


¹³¹¹ Cf. examples and comment to this name in *DemNam*, 721.


¹³¹² In this papyrus, which concerns a sale contract dated to the end of year 122 BC, the Demotic form of this name occurs in l. 2 of the money payment document (‘Geldbezahlungsschrift’) and l. 3 of the cession document (‘Abstandsschrift’). Additionally, its Greek equivalent Τᾰτϣιϑ occurs also in l. 1 of the Greek hypograph of the same papyrus; cf. Schentuleit and Vittmann, *Ptolemäerzeitliche demotische Urkunden*, 33, 36, 39; 40, n. 2; pls. ii, vii.

¹³¹³ This document is dated to the end of year 119 BC and concerns a sale contract. Here, the name occurs in l. 5 of the money payment document (Geldbezahlungsschrift) and l. 5 of the cession document (Abstandsschrift); cf. Schentuleit and Vittmann, *Ptolemäerzeitliche demotische Urkunden*, 50, 52; pl. iv.


¹³¹⁴ This text is planned to be published among other Demotic and Greek texts from Tebtunis as part of Wolfgang Wegner’s PhD dissertation at the University of Würzburg; I am grateful to my colleague Wolfgang Wegner for sharing this information with me.

attestations show, was usually written without the personal determinative and in most cases, including the current instance, the lotus-flower was apparently used as determinative. As to its meaning and significance, it is worthwhile to mention that drunkenness was not simply as a result of one's gratification of his desire, but it additionally had its religious and magical significance in ancient Egypt.¹³¹⁵ According to the myth of annihilation of the human race, pacifying Re's eye (i.e. Sekhmet) through drunkenness helped rescuing humankind from destruction. Among other divinities associated with drunkenness in ancient Egypt was Hathor, for whom the epithet 'mistress of drunkenness' is attested.¹³¹⁶ Furthermore, the above cited Demotic name *Nb.t-ḥ.t-thy* 'Nephthys is drunk' shows a possible connection of Nephthys to drunkenness. It seems thus possible that the name *Ta-thy* 'she who belongs to drunkenness' identifies its bearer with one of these goddesses associated with the drunkenness. For the current example, being possibly from Upper Egyptian, this name could be referring to Hathor.

Striking here is that paternal filiation is unusually composed with *r.ms* . Normally, *r.ms*—the relative form of the verb *ms* 'to give birth'—was used to express the maternal filiation of the person since the mother is the one who practically gives birth. Such a usage is confirmed through multiple examples in the London-Leiden magical papyrus in which *r.ms* was used to introduce the mother's name, sometimes even contrasted with *sʹ* used to the father's name.¹³¹⁷ Further examples occur in P. Harkness, col. iii, l. 35, col. iv, l. 12, col. v, l. 28, and col. vi, l. 29.¹³¹⁸ *R.ms* is also used within the expression *mn r.ms mn.t* 'so and so, whom (the women) so and so bore,' which refers to the mother's name as well.¹³¹⁹ Notable here also is the use of a shortened writing of *ms*.¹³²⁰

 *Ntm-ḥnh* 'sweet of life'¹³²¹ is not common in Demotic. The *ḥnh* sign is quite oblique, which is quite different from its normal writing which luckily appears in l. 4 below. This name has its religious connotation in ancient Egypt as well since it was used as a designation of some deities including *Hr-Bḥt* in Edfu.¹³²² If, on the other hand, this name was used here in connection with *Hr-Bḥt*, one might think of Edfu as a possible provenance for this text. This suggestion would also be in line with the possible connection of the name *Ta-thy* to Hathor which was also sacred in Edfu side by side with Horus-Behdeti.

L. 2. The phrase *hn pʹy=y ḥtp* 'from my prebend' indicates a partial payment of income.

 : *Ḥtp* indicates a 'priestly prebend or income,'¹³²³ which—as Vittmann explained—was normally taken from the *ḥtp-ntr* 'temple revenues.' Remarkable, however, is that this *ḥtp* is less frequently attested in this sense than one would expect, and the general term *tny.t* 'share' was more commonly used to convey this meaning.¹³²⁴ Apart from the current attestation and that of the above

¹³¹⁵ Cf. n. c to P. BM 10507, col. viii, l. 18 in M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, CDPBM 3 (London, 1987), 106. For more on the religious and magical significance of drunkenness in ancient Egypt, see literature cited in Smith, *Papyrus BM 10507*, 106, n. to col. viii, l. 18.

¹³¹⁶ H. Brunner, "Die theologische Bedeutung der Trunkenheit," *ZÄS* 79 (1954): 82.

¹³¹⁷ As for instance in P. Magical London-Leiden, col. ii, l. 16; col. xviii, l. 16; col. xxvii, l. 3 in Griffith and Thompson, *Magical Papyrus I:28–29, 120–21, 162–63*.

¹³¹⁸ Cf. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, 71, 74, 81, 86.

¹³¹⁹ *CDD*, M, 85.

¹³²⁰ *DemGloss*, 177–78; *CDD*, M, 224–227.

¹³²¹ *DemNam*, 694.


¹³²² For more on the religious significance of *Nḏm-ḥnh* as well as its female form (*Nḏm.t-ḥnh*), see *LGG* IV, 599, 602.

¹³²³ *DemGloss*, 339; *CDD*, H, 301–302.

¹³²⁴ For a detailed discussion, see Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 II:292–95*.

cited O. Zürich, no. 45, which remarkably recorded on ostraca and come from Upper Egypt, other instances of *hṭp* in the sense of ‘priestly prebend or income’ were recorded on papyri and originated mainly from Middle Egypt. These are the Saite example in P. Rylands 1, l. 2¹³²⁵ and the multiple instances in P. Rylands 9 which come from El-Hiba.¹³²⁶ Other attestations are those of the Ptolemaic archive of the temple of Sknopaiu Nesos, i.e. P. Ox. Griffith S 1, recto, l. 8;¹³²⁷ P. Ox. Griffith T 2, recto, l. 4;¹³²⁸ P. Ox. Griffith H 3, recto, l. 5;¹³²⁹ P. Ox. Griffith V, recto, ll. 9, 19;¹³³⁰ P. Ox. Griffith N 1, l. 4.¹³³¹ In addition to some attestations from Ptolemaic Tebtunis, e.g. P. BM EA 10647, col. v, l. 2,¹³³² P. Cairo 30611, l. 8,¹³³³ and P. Tebt. SCA 7186; ll. 7, 11.¹³³⁴

In most of these instances, *hṭp* was either directly or indirectly connected to priests of *w^cb.w*-class or higher, which seems to confine its meaning to indicating the income of these specific classes of priests, and not all the temple personnel. This conclusion is very important for the understanding of the current text as it might imply that *Ta-thy* likely held a higher priestly position, which—despite going against the custom of assigning ceremonial and secondary positions (e.g. singers, musicians, Sistrum players, etc.) for women in the temples in ancient Egypt—is not completely unlikely (see above for more details).

L. 3.  : *p³ hm* ‘the younger’ is unusually written without a determinative.¹³³⁵

L. 4. For more on *r-hrw* ‘at the behest of, at the command of,’ see comment on **Text 1**, l. 6 above.

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Acknowledgement of Rent Payment

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11.5x 11.2x 0.9 cm. Upper Egyptian, possibly Thebes. Late Ptolemaic, year 33 of Ptolemy VI, VIII, or IX = 19 December 149 BC, 17 December 138 BC, or 3 December 85 BC.

Transliteration:

1. *P³-dī-Hr-sm³-t³.wy ... sm^{3c}*
2. *r P³-htr s³ Plws mh=k*

¹³²⁵ For transliteration, see F. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester: With Facsimiles and Complete Translations*, vol. III (Manchester; London, 1909), 202; G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, vol. I, ÄAT 38 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 224. For a translation, see Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester: With Facsimiles and Complete Translations*, 1909, III:45; Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 II*:292; see pl. 1 in F. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester: With Facsimiles and Complete Translations*, vol. I (Manchester; London, 1909).

¹³²⁶ As for instance in col. i, l. 3; col.iii, l. 9; col. xv, ll. 19, 20; col. xvi, l. 19; cf. Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 I*:116–17, 122–23, 168–69, 172–73.

¹³²⁷ Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico*, 42–43; pl. xx.

¹³²⁸ Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico*, 90–91; pl. xxxv.

¹³²⁹ Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico*, 94–95; pl. xxxvi.

¹³³⁰ Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico*, 98–99; pl. xxxix.

¹³³¹ The publication of this text is being currently prepared by Dr. Carolin Arlt as part of her book *Die Verwaltung des Temples von Soknopaiu Nesos in ptolemäischer Zeit: Studien zu demotischen Texten aus dem Tempelarchiv*; I would like to thank her for drawing my attention to this as well as some other attestations of *hṭp*.

¹³³² A. Monson, “Priests of Soknebtunis and Sokonopis: P. BM EA 10647,” *JEA* 92 (2006): 211.

¹³³³ In the initial publication of this papyrus, Spiegelberg tentatively suggested the reading *tw=n* in place of *hṭp*; cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler 30601-31270 50001-50022, II: die demotischen Papyrus*, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 39 (Straßburg, 1906), 37–39. The reading *hṭp* is recently suggested by Wolfgang Wegner, who is currently preparing a re-edition of this papyrus among other papyri from Tebtunis.

¹³³⁴ This text is planned to be published by Kim Ryholt and others; I owe this information to Wolfgang Wegner.

¹³³⁵ Cf. the usual forms in *DemGloss*, 359–60; *CDD*, *H*, 83–96.

3. $p^3 \text{ hw } ^c \text{ hw } \text{ (n) } p^3 \text{ } ^3 \text{ h}$
4. $(n)(?) \text{ t}^3 \text{ m}^3 \text{ y}(\text{.t})\text{-phy} \{ \text{t}^3 \text{ } ^c \text{ m}^3 \text{ y}(\text{.t})\text{-phy}^c \}$
5. $r\text{-h } p^3 \text{ shn } (r).\text{ir}=\text{k } n=y \text{ st } \check{s}sp$
6. $(n) \text{ ip } \text{ hr } \text{ h}^3.\text{t-sp } 33$
7. $sh \text{ (n) } \text{ h}^3.\text{t-sp } 33 \text{ ibd-3 } ^3 \text{ h.t sw } 22$


Translation:


1. Peteharsemtheus ... greets
2. Phatres son of Plous. You fully paid
3. the farmer's profit (of) the field of
4. (on)(?) the *phy*-island { 'the *phy*-island' }
5. according to the lease (which) you made to me. Received
6. (on) account for the regnal year 33.
7. Written (in) year 33, Hathyr, day 22.


Commentary:



The handwriting is clearly Ptolemaic. Overall, the relatively high date of the text, i.e. year 33, limits the dating possibilities to four Ptolemies, namely Ptolemy II, VI, VIII, or IX. Since the handwriting cannot be early Ptolemaic, one might safely exclude Ptolemy II. In this way we will be left with one of Ptolemy VI, VIII, or IX as probable candidates. Internal evidence seems to favor Ptolemy VI over the other two candidates (see comment on l. 7 below).

Although the provenance of this ostrakon is not officially recorded, the text's style and formulation appear to be Upper Egyptian, or more specifically Theban (see the line commentary below for details). The text represents a receipt or confirmation of rent payment. Assigning a Theban or Upper Egyptian origin for this text is very helpful in the identification administrative category of the land due to the distinctive status of the Theban area in this regard. It is thus more probable for the current text to concern a rent payment of either a temple or a private land for these were the main land categories in the Thebaid in the Ptolemaic Period. In fact, identifying the land mentioned here as private land seems more likely since the text is already free of any signals that could suppose a temple land, e.g. reference to temple officials or priests receiving the payment, designating the land as 'the land of the god' or 'the land of the temple,' etc. More than that, the text refers plainly to a payment of a rent which—as l. 5 confirms—was paid $r\text{-h } p^3 \text{ shn } (r).\text{ir}=\text{k } n=y$ 'according to the lease which you made to me,' which makes the reference to a private or a privately possessed land that was leased to a private cultivator, even more likely.


L. 1.  : This group, which follows $P^3\text{-d}^i\text{-Hr-sm}^3\text{-t}^3.\text{wy}$, is not clear. Typically, it should represent a reference to his father by name or otherwise, or possibly a title of Peteharsemtheus himself. That this group of signs ends with what appears to be the divine determinative makes it more likely to represent a theophoric father's name. Whether this name could be read $P^3\text{-}^i\text{hy}$ (a variant of *ihy* 'spirit;' cf. *DemGloss*, 42) is not completely certain. Such a name is not yet known in Demotic. If this reading is correct, the first stroke would represent the s^3 of filiation ligatured to the initial p^3 .

L. 2. : *P3-htr* ‘the twin’¹³³⁶ was often determined by the child determinative together with divine determinative. In the current example, the personal determinative remarkably replaced both determinatives.¹³³⁷

: *Plws*, or at times *Plw*,¹³³⁸ is not very well attested in Demotic. The current name is probably the same as the one occurred in the Theban P. BM EA 10615, recto, l. 7 and was understood by Andrews, together with another one called *Plw* (in l. 8), as variant of the well-attested Greek name *Hplws*. In these examples, Andrews assumed that the *h* of *hry* is used as a haplographic writing for the initial *h* of *Hplws*.¹³³⁹ Moreover, the current writing is also very similar to that of the name read by Nur el-Din as *Klws*.¹³⁴⁰ According to the *DemNam*, this latter name could be a form of *Plws*.¹³⁴¹ It seems thus that all three attestations (the current one, that of Nur el-Din, and both forms of Andrews) are variants of the same name, which—in view of the current writing and that of P. BM EA 10615—could have been *Plws*. On the other hand, the fact that all the previously known forms (i.e. *Plws*, *Plw*, and *Klws*) originate from Ptolemaic Thebes makes—if added to other indications—assigning a Theban origin for the current text more fitting.

L. 3. : The word *hw t* is quite faint, and it likely ends with a strange form of *t* sign, i.e. .

The expression *p3 hw hw t* ‘the surplus/ profit of the farmer, or rental’¹³⁴² is also quite informative regarding the text’s provenance. As established by many scholars, the rent paid by land cultivators in Upper Egypt in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period was normally called *p3 hw hw t*, while *šmw* indicated the same meaning in the Fayyum. This additionally suggests an Upper Egyptian, more likely a Theban, origin for this text.

L. 4. : The reading of the name of the island as *b3 m3y(t)-phy* seems certain; its location is, however, not known for sure but it could be somewhere in the Thebaid. As far as I know, the name of this island is not attested in Demotic. Broadly speaking, geographical names built with *m3y.t* are quite common in Theban and Pathyris; for more on *m3y.t* ‘island, new land,’ see comment on **Text 20**, l. 3 above.

Furthermore, the reference to *m3y.t* in the current example helps identifying the type of land for which the rent is paid as an island land, that is, a land that is easy to irrigate and thus—even if the current text does not refer to any rates—was probably taxed and rented at a higher rate than other kind of high lands (see introduction to receipts for payments concerning land in the first part of the study above for more).

Another interesting aspect is that the name of the island, *b3 m3y(t)-phy*, is written twice in this line, although the second writing is very faint. Such a repetition could be simply the result of a scribal error, i.e. dittography, which the scribe tried to correct by wiping it out.¹³⁴³ The scribe most likely copied the name of the island from another source. This source should be the lease contract referred to in l. 5 within the phrase *r-h p3 shn (r).ir=k n=y* ‘according to the lease which you made to me.’ A possible scenario

¹³³⁶ For *htr*, see *DemGloss*, 341–42; *CDD, H*, 310. For the name *P3-htr*, see *DemNam*, 206.

¹³³⁷ For a similar, though quite earlier, example, see in *DemNam*, 206, example no. 2.

¹³³⁸ *DemNam*, 472–73.

¹³³⁹ Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts*, 31–34; n. 58.

¹³⁴⁰ Cf. O. Leiden, no. 344, l. x+1 in Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 277, 655.

¹³⁴¹ *DemNam*, 1003.

¹³⁴² *DemGloss*, 298; *CDD, H*, 64–65.

¹³⁴³ As Schentuleit noted, wiping erroneous signs or words out was one of the most common techniques of corrections used in Demotic documents; cf. Schentuleit, “*Whm*,” 69.

could be that the scribe could have, for some reason, paused at this spot and upon continuation, he might have re-copied the last thing he had written, i.e. the name of the island. If, on the other hand, the second mention of *tʃ mʃy(.t)-p̄hy* was not meant to be deleted, the first mention *tʃ mʃy(.t)-p̄hy* could be taken a part of the name of the field and the second one as a reference to its location. As such, the phrase *pʃ ʒh tʃ mʃy.t p̄hy (n) tʃ mʃy.t p̄hy* would apparently mean ‘the field of the *p̄hy*-island (on) the *p̄hy*-island.’

L. 5. Knowing that the speaker in this receipt is the lessor (he addresses the lessee in l. 2, saying, *m̄h=k* ‘you fully paid’), the phrase *r-h pʃ s̄hn (r).ir=k n=y* ‘according to the lease which you (have) made to me’ clearly implies that the lease here mentioned was originally made by the lessee, which is in line with the conclusion that most Theban land leases were normally made by the lessee to the lessor unless the latter was in debit to the earlier.¹³⁴⁴

L. 7. Excluding Ptolemy II for paleographical reasons, year 33 may refer to one of Ptolemy VI, VII, or IX. It might be important to note that the available attestations for the name *Plw(s)* (save that of Nur el-Din, which differs in its writing and is generally dated as Ptolemaic) from Thebes are those of P. BM 10615 which is dated to year 7 of Ptolemy VI (ca. 175 BC). Since P. BM EA 10615 refers to the tomb of someone called Plous, the person here mentioned—who occurs here as a father—could be the same Plous whose tomb was referred to P. BM EA 10615, which would then confine the dating possibilities to Ptolemy VI.

¹³⁴⁴ For this conclusion, see for instance Hughes, “Notes on Demotic Leases,” 157; Felber, *Demotische Ackerpachtverträge*, 118.

3.2 Accounts (nos. 93-96)

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O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 12.5x 10.3x 1.4 cm. Provenance unknown; probably Edfu. Early Ptolemaic.

Transliteration:

Recto:

1. ϵ^3 -n-10 Pa-t³.wy s³ Ns-p³-Hy

2. n³ h^cq.w it 1/2
3. n³ šn^c.w it 1/2
4. Hy-t³y=f-nh^t p³ swnw it 1/2
5. Pa-t³.wy s³ Pa-h³c=w it 1
6. P³-cⁿh s³ Dd-hr it 1/2
7. r it 3 my ir=w iw r n³(?)w(?)
8. Pa-rhw s³ Wn-nfr it 1/2
9. r it 3 1/2

Verso:

1. Pa-t³ s³ Dd-hr it 1/2
2. r it 5

Translation:

Recto:

1. The chief of ten, Patous son of Es-p-hi

2. The barbers(?) 1/2 (artabas of) barley
3. The bakers 1/2 (artabas of) barley
4. Hi-tephnachthis, the physician 1/2 (artabas of) barley
5. Patous son of Pkas 1 (artabas of) barley
6. Ponches son of Teos 1/2 (artabas of) barley
7. makes 3 (artabas of) barley. Let a receipt be made concerning the(?)w(?)
8. Paleuis son of Onnophris 1/2 (artabas of) barley
9. makes 3 1/2 (artabas of) barley.

Verso:


1. Pa-tos son of Teos 1/2 (artabas of) barley
2. makes 5 (artabas of) barley.

Commentary:

The provenance of this ostrakon is unknown, but onomastics suggest Edfu (see comment on l. 8 below). The text is completely preserved. The paleography suggests the early Ptolemaic Period, namely early third century BC. This date is also supported by the occurrence of the title ϵ^3 -n-10 'chief of ten,' which is known from the third century BC (see comment to l. 1 below). The text concerns an account of barley amounts likely received by certain individuals. Most individuals are referred to by name, while others by profession. The account begins on the recto and continues on the verso and takes the so-called

vertical format. At the end of the account, the total of the different quantities is given. No measurement is mentioned, but the artaba could have been meant. It is notable in this account that most listed individuals or groups receive a similar amount, i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ (artaba) of barley, save one person (in recto, l. 5) who is said to have received 1 (artaba) of barley. Furthermore, ll. 2-3 of the recto refer to certain groups of people such as ‘the barbers’ and ‘the bakers’ as recipients, which means that the whole group shared the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba and thus the share of each individual from the group was smaller than the people listed in the account. This could possibly be due to the difference in rank between them (barbers and bakers) and the other listed individuals who could have been of higher ranks. The same seems to be true of Patous son of Pkas who received double the amount that other persons and groups received. In view of that the current account seems to be related to a certain institution, possibly a temple or a religious institution, etc., and might represent either a payment of ration or shares by a group of temple personnel.

Recto:

L. 1. Reading  ζ -*n*-10 seems certain.¹³⁴⁵ Titles like ζ -*n*-10 ‘chief of 10’ and ζ -*n*-50 ‘chief of 50’ are already known since the New Kingdom, and were used in military context.¹³⁴⁶ In Demotic, the compound ζ *n* was also commonly used with numbers such as 10, 29, 100, and even higher.¹³⁴⁷ The usage of such titles was extended to a more general and was not only confined to a military context.¹³⁴⁸ For instance, the title ζ -*n*-29 was held by a female member of a religious associations.¹³⁴⁹ Also, some scholars connected the Demotic ζ -*n*-10 with the Greek δεκάταρχος ‘overseer of ten (men),’ which was used in the third century BC and in the Roman Period to refer to the chief of a team of ten workmen (e.g. of stonecutters, royal cultivators, etc.).¹³⁵⁰ This is apparently what ζ -*n*-10 signifies in the current text. Furthermore, the fact that the Ptolemaic attestations of this title were seemingly limited to the third century BC seems to ascribe an early Ptolemaic date to the current text. On the other hand, as cleruchs can be designated as ζ -*n*-... ‘overseer of (x arouras),’ ζ -*n*-10 can consequently be connected to the Greek δεκάρουρος ‘overseer of 10 arouras,’ which is used to refer to a cleruch who has been allotted 10 arouras. Such title, as Monson explained, was first attested in the second century BC.¹³⁵¹



: *Ns-p³-Hy* is apparently a writing of *Ns-p³-²Ihy*, in which *Hy* is used as an alternative writing for ²*Ihy*. This name is listed in the *DemNam* as a doubtful variant for *Ns-p³-²Ihy*.¹³⁵² The same concept (writing ²*Ihy* as *Hy*) was possibly applied in l. 4 below.

Ll. 1-2. There is a horizontal stroke between lines 1 and 2. The explanation of such stroke is quite problematic. It could have been, however, meant as a type of separation mark that distinguishes the entry of the first line, which mentions ‘the chief of ten Patous son of Es-p-hi,’ from the following list. In fact, the person recorded in the first line of the account does not have any amounts or quantities linked to his name in contrast to all the following persons. Therefore, it appears that he was the one by whom or for whom the account was issued. Thus, to avoid confusion, the scribe could have separated his name from the others by means of a short vertical stroke.

¹³⁴⁵ For a similar writing, see P. Heid. Dem. Inv. 46, recto, col. ii, l. 1 in A. Monson, “Landholders, Rents, and Crops in a Ptolemaic Village: P. Heid. Dem. Inv. 46,” in *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait*, ed. A. Dodson, J. Johnston, and W. Monkhouse (London, 2014), 232; pl. 1.

¹³⁴⁶ J. Tait, “A Demotic List of Temple and Court Occupations: P. Carlsberg 23,” in *Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens*, 227.

¹³⁴⁷ *CDD*, c, 28-29.


¹³⁴⁸ F. De Cénival, “Fautes d’orthographe ou orthographes aberrantes systématisées en démotique,” *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 3. For more on titles built with ζ *n*, see *CDD*, c, 28-29; De Cénival, “Deux papyrus inédits,” 9–10; De Cénival, “Fautes d’orthographe,” 2–6.

¹³⁴⁹ Cf. De Cénival, “Deux papyrus inédits,” 9–10.


¹³⁵⁰ Monson, “P. Heid. Dem. Inv. 46,” 235.


¹³⁵¹ Monson, “P. Heid. Dem. Inv. 46,” 235.

¹³⁵² *DemNam*, 704.


L. 2.  : Reading $n^3 h^c q.w$ ¹³⁵³ is likely, despite the quite strange writing some signs. It could either refer to the ‘barbers,’¹³⁵⁴ or possibly the ‘cobbling tailors.’¹³⁵⁵ The writing of the definite n^3 is quite strange and seems to be corrected from (written over) another sign. This sign could have been the definite p^3 which the scribe crossed out and wrote the n^3 over it. The determinative is not clear, but it could be the ‘pustule with liquid issuing from it’ or ‘schlechtes Paket.’


For it  ‘barley,’ see *DemGloss*, 46; *CDD*, *I*, 235.


L. 3.  : For more on sn^c ‘backer,’ read earlier as $mr^c.wy-psy$, cf. *DemGloss*, 139; *CDD*, *Š*, 173–74. For a detailed discussion of this title, see G. Vittmann, “Zwei Spätzeittitel,” *SAK* 21 (1994): 338–43. The singular form of this title occurs in **Text 95**, l. 2 in this study. The mention of $n^3 sn^c.w$ ‘the bakers’ and $n^3 heq.w$ ‘the barbers’ among other individuals could also be indicative of a certain institution to which these groups and individuals belong.


L. 4.  : Reading $Hy-t^3y=f-nht$ seems paleographically certain. Hy stands apparently (as in the name $Ns-p^3-Hy$ in l. 1 above) for Ihy and thus the name would be a form of $Ihy-t^3y=f-nht$ which is not yet attested in Demotic. The use of $t^3y=f-nht$ in combination with divine names is quite common in Demotic¹³⁵⁶ and using it with Ihy is not unlikely.

For $swnw$ ‘physician, doctor,’ see *DemGloss*, 415; *CDD*, *S*, 89-92.

L. 5.  : For $Pa-h^3c=w$, which is apparently a writing of $P^3-h^3c=w$, see *DemNam*, 507; compare also $P^3-h^3c=s$ in *DemNam*, 207.

L. 6. For  $Dd-hr$, see *DemNam*, 1368–69.

L. 7. The reading of this group  is quite difficult. It seems to be a plural word since it apparently begins with n^3 and ends with the plural stroke.

L. 8. $Pa-rhw$  was quite common personal name in Edfu in the third century BC.¹³⁵⁷ Depending on its Greek form (namely Παλέυτις) as well as its spread in Edfu where many Jews settled, Zauzich initially tentatively assumed that this name could have a semitic origin and could be derived from the well-known Jewish name ‘Levi.’ Thus, $Pa-rhw$, according to him, would mean ‘He of (the tribe) of Levi.’¹³⁵⁸ Then, upon the publication of graffiti from Gebel Teir, he suggested a different etymology for this name as he identified it with $p^3 lhw$, which appeared in one of the graffiti as serpent deity whose name could be spelled as rhw or lhw as well.¹³⁵⁹ Accordingly, the new meaning of this

¹³⁵³ Cf. the different writings of $h^c q$ in *DemGloss*, 378–79; *CDD*, *H*, 25.

¹³⁵⁴ *DemGloss*, 379; *CDD*, *H*, 25.

¹³⁵⁵ *DemGloss*, 378; *CDD*, *H*, 25; W. Clarysse, “Some Egyptian Tax-Payers in Early Roman Thebes,” *JJP* 23 (1993): 41.

¹³⁵⁶ It was for instance combined with Ihn , $3s.t$, Hr , $Hnsw$; cf. *DemNam*, 68, 79, 840, 880.


¹³⁵⁷ K.-Th. Zauzich, “Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu,” *Enchoria* 12 (1984): 72; *DemNam*, 392–93.

¹³⁵⁸ Zauzich, “Zwischenbilanz,” 72.


¹³⁵⁹ K.-Th. Zauzich, “Ein neuer Schlangengott,” *GM* 87 (1985): 89.

name would be ‘He of (the god) *rhw*.’¹³⁶⁰ Later, Manning wondered if the name could be linked to the name of the chief of Punt *P3-rhw*, which was mentioned in the reliefs of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. Just like Zauzich, he also assumed that *rhw* should be either a divine or place name, yet he inclined to consider it as a place name rather than divine one and he proposed eastern Sudan as a possible location for it.¹³⁶¹ Following Manning’s speculation, the name *Pa-rhw* would then mean ‘He of the *rhw*-(land).’

On the other hand, the popularity of this name in Edfu induces proposing Edfu or a nearby area as a provenance of this ostrakon.

L. 9. Paleographically, the number indicating the subtotal, i.e. , is better to be read 4, yet the preceding amounts strongly support the reading 3. What makes the current reading, however, more problematic is that we have a further sum of ½ (artaba of) barley recorded on the verso followed by a grand total of 5 (artabas of) barely instead of 4. If the text of the recto and verso are linked, and the total in the verso is not a mistake, this would mean that an amount of 1 artaba of barley is missing between the last line of the recto, i.e. l. 9 and the first line of the verso. In this case, one might think of a damaged line at the end of the recto, which should have had the missing entry. On the other hand, given that no amounts are recorded for the person in the first line of the account, the missing amount of 1 artaba could be the unrecorded amount of this person, which was added to the subtotal and the total. In this latter case, the reading of the numbers indicating the subtotals will be 4 in l. 7 and 4 ½ in this line.

Verso:

L. 1. For *Pa-t3* , see *DemNam*, 420. The *pa*—just like that of *Pa-rhw* in recto, l. 8—is quite abbreviated.

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O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10x 11.3x 0.8 cm. Kom Ombo. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *p3 hw n irp n n3 ʿb3.wʿ [...]*
2. *n p3 hms m-b3h P3-nb-t3.wy*
3. *Hr-nfr s3 Nh.t-Hr-m-hb irm n3y=f hr.t.w*
4. *qws 2 lq w^c*
5. *Hry=w(?) s3 H^c-Hr irm n3y=f hr.t.w qws w^c lq 2 1/2*
6. *Nh.t-Hr-m-hb s3 Pa-t3.wy qws w^c lq 4*
7. *Pa-t3.wy ʿs3ʿ H^c-Hr T[q](?)[...]*
8. *P3-di-P3-nb-t3.wy s3 Pa-t3.wy ʿ.ʿ [...]*
9. *Ns-Hr s3 H^c-[...]*
10. *P3-ʿ.ʿʿ[s3 ...]*

Translation:

1. The expense of the wine of the offerings [...]

¹³⁶⁰ *DemNam*, 392.


¹³⁶¹ J. Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri: A Third Century BC Family Dossier from Edfu. Transcription, Translation and Commentary*, *DemStud* 12 (Sommerhausen, 1997), 26.

2. for the sitting (i.e. session)/ convention before Pnebteus
3. Harnouphis son of Nechtharmais with his children:
4. 2 *qws*-measure and one *lq*-measure
5. Herieus(?) son of Chaiehyris with his children: one *qws*-measure and 2 ½ *lq*-measure
6. Nechtharmais son of Patous: one *qws*-measure and 4 *lq*-measure
7. Patous 'son of' 'Chaie'hyris: ... 'l'[*q*]-measure(?) [...]
8. Petepnebteus son of Patous: '...' [...]
9. Eshyris son of 'Chaie' [...]
10. P³-c '...' [son of ...]

Commentary:

The provenance of this sherd, i.e. Kom Ombo, is fortunately recorded on its verso.¹³⁶² This is also confirmed through internal textual evidence, e.g. reference to the child god of the temple of Kom Ombo and to personal names known only from Kom Ombo. The sherd is broken at its lower part and the ink is quite faint in some places. The handwriting probably indicates the second century BC. The text presents an account about the expenses of the wine of the offerings. Although the text does not unambiguously clarify it, these wine quantities seem to have been distributed among certain individuals. This can be deduced from the use of *hw* 'expense' (referring to items spent) as a heading of this account. However, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that the wine amounts were presented by the recorded individuals as offering to Pnebteus (P³-nb-t³.wy). Anyway, if they were to be received by these individuals, the listed amounts could well represent their shares from the offering made for the god Pnebteus, or perhaps given to them on the occasion of a communal drinking before this deity. In fact, as Muhs illustrated, paying priestly incomes in-kind within the redistributive system was a common practice in Egyptian temples, notwithstanding the fact that the Egyptian economy underwent a rapid monetization process under the Ptolemies. Thus, temples, through their redistributive networks used to produce and redistribute some temple revenues gained from offerings and otherwise among the priests as their income.¹³⁶³ This is also confirmed through numerous Demotic texts as well, e.g. the famous text of P. Rylands 9. On the other hand, communal drinking was a key feature of the religious association in the Greco-Roman Egypt (see comment on **Text 45**, l.1 for more). It is, therefore, likely that this text was the product of a temple or a religious association and these individuals could either belong to the temple personnel, or even to a religious association dedicated to Pnebteus.

Wine quantities recorded in this account are measured by *qws* (for more on the *qws*-measurement, see comment on **Text 34**, l. 7) and *lq* which is also attested sometimes as *rq*.¹³⁶⁴ This latter measurement is attested in Coptic as $\lambda\omicron\kappa$ 'cup, bowl' with the same usage as liquid measure.¹³⁶⁵ As Schentuleit already noted, 1 *qws* equals 12 *lq*, and since 1 *qws* roughly contains 4.84 liter, the *lq* has to be ca. 0.4 liter.¹³⁶⁶ The account takes the horizontal format, i.e. no spacing is made between the listed individuals and the amount related to them which makes the text appear like one column.

L. 1. : The last signs and the determinative of the word *ḥtp.w* 'offerings' are not clearly visible, yet there appears to be three ligated strokes topped by another sign (apparently a small circle),

¹³⁶² Only few Demotic ostraca are already known from Kom Ombo; cf. O. Prinz-Joachim, nos. 23-29 in F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka: griechische und demotische Beisetzungsurkunden für Ibis- und Falkenmumien aus Ombos*, SWGS 19 (Straßburg, 1914), 12-19.


¹³⁶³ Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 241-42. On the division of *ḥtp.w* 'offerings' among the temple priesthood as their *ḥtp.w*-incomes, see Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9 II*:292-95, 490-91.


¹³⁶⁴ CDD, L, 17; *DemGloss*, 264.


¹³⁶⁵ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 138a.


¹³⁶⁶ Schentuleit, *P. Carlsberg 409 I*:359.


which is the typical ending of *ḥb.w* ‘offerings.’ Additionally, the context leaves no room for confusing the current word with the similarly written *tḥ* *ḥb.t* ‘chapel.’¹³⁶⁷

 L. 2. : Reading *pḥ hms* seems possible. A big black spot, probably of ink, covers the final parts of the word *hms*.

 : After the name of *Pḥ-nb-tḥ.wy* there is a small dot of ink that might represent a filling dot. *Pḥ-nb-tḥ.wy* ‘the lord of the two lands’ is the famous child-god and the third member of the triad worshipped in the temple of Kom Ombo, namely *Hr-wr*, *Tḥ-sn.t-nfr.t* and *Pḥ-nb-tḥ.wy* or *Pḥ-nb-tḥ.wy-pḥ-hr.t*.¹³⁶⁸

 L. 3. : *Nḥt-Hr-m-hb*¹³⁶⁹ is quite faint, but the reading is certain; compare the same name in l. 6 below.

 : There is an extra sign before *t* and after the seated child of the word *hr.t.w* ‘children,’ which is apparently the flesh determinative. There is also an extra small dot after the seated child. Such writing of *hr.t.w* is totally unusual.¹³⁷⁰ The same is true in its second writing in l. 5 below.

 L. 5. : The spelling of *Hry=w* is quite odd since it has an extra sign similar to *tw* ‘give’ between the heart determinative and the final vertical stroke which apparently represents the plural sign *w*.¹³⁷¹ Although *hry* is often combined with divine names or sometimes with certain personal pronouns to form personal names,¹³⁷² this extra sign that we have here does not seem to represent any divine name or personal pronoun; thus, it is taken here as part of the name *Hry=w*. This sign occasionally appears as a determinative in the word *hry-ib* ‘the middle/ central point’ in which the word *ib*, just like in *hry*, is written with the heart sign followed by a vertical stroke.¹³⁷³ Erichsen followed by Cruz-Uribe and Hughes identified this sign (i.e. the *tw*-like sign that follows the heart and the vertical stroke in *hry-ib*) as a form of the place or city determinative.¹³⁷⁴ This sign here as well as in the word *hry-ib* could be the papyrus roll determinative.¹³⁷⁵ Why it is added to this name is unclear, but this scribe of the current text seems to have a tendency to add what appears to be irrelevant signs or determinatives to certain words, e.g. the flesh determinative of *hr.t.w* in l. 3, 5 as well as the extra sign in the current name.

For *H^c-Hr*, see *DemNam*, 875.

Only a small part of the determinative (the jug) of the word *lq* is preserved at the end of the line. Additionally, the number indicating its quantity, i.e. 2 ½, is written above it.

¹³⁶⁷ For the writings of both words, see *DemGloss*, 58; *CDD*, c, 49-51.

¹³⁶⁸ *LGG* III, 11.

¹³⁶⁹ *DemNam*, 655.

¹³⁷⁰ Cf. the normal writings of this word in *DemGloss*, 392-93; *CDD*, H, 72-74.

¹³⁷¹ For the usual writings of *Hry=w*, see *DemNam*, 746-47.

¹³⁷² For examples of such names, see *DemNam*, 744-52.

¹³⁷³ See the writings of *hry-ib* which contain this determinative in *DemGloss*, 26; *CDD*, H, 208-209.

¹³⁷⁴ See comment to P. Berlin 13616, recto, l. 2 in W. Erichsen, “Ein Bericht über Steinbrucharbeiter auf der Insel Elephantine in demotischer Schrift,” in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1843 - 4 giugno 1943)*, vol. 2 (Pisa, 1955), 78; pl. ix. i; E. Cruz-Uribe and G. Hughes, “A Strike Papyrus from the Reign of Amasis,” *Serapis* 5, no. 1 (1979): 22, fn. 6.

¹³⁷⁵ Suggested to me by Prof. Martin Stadler.



L. 6. : The *Pa* in the name *Pa-t³.wy* seems to be corrected from *p³* which is still clearly visible.

L. 7. The *s³* of filiation after *Pa-t³.wy* as well as the *h^c* sign of the name *H^c-Hr* are very faint.

The partly preserved small slanting stroke at the end of this line is likely to be part of *lq*.

L. 8. The name *P³-dⁱ-P³-nb-t³.wy*¹³⁷⁶ is only known from Kom Ombo.

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O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 13.1x 11x 1.7 cm. Gebelein. Late Ptolemaic, ca. 186 BC- 88 BC.

Transliteration:

Recto:

1. *h³.t-sp 4.t tpy pr.t sw 1 r(?) sw(?) 20(?)*
2. *p³ ip n P³-šr-²Inp p³ šn^c*
3. *tpy pr.t sw 1 n³ wt.w hn^c t³ hr(.t) n³ w^cb.(w) Sbk p³y hrw*
4. *bd.t (rtb) 1 (ipy.t) 3 1/2 [...]*
5. *t³ hr(.t) n³ w^cb.w H.t-Hr tpy pr.t sw 1 r {sw 2} sw 4 r hrw 4(?)*
6. *tn bd.t (ipy.t) 1/2 hn 1 hr(?) hrw bd.t (ipy.t) 2 hn 4*
7. *sw 13(?) p³ hrw-ms (n) p³ hm-ntr H.t-Hr bd.t (ipy.t) 1/2 hn 2 n^cq 10+⁷(?)*
8. *sw 15(?) m-b³h Sbk nb (b)hn bd.t (ipy.t) 1*
9. *13y⁷(?) tpy pr.t sw 9 r sw 18 r hrw 10⁷ c^q w^cb H.t-Hr 4*
10. *tn c^q 2 r 1 8⁷ r p³ hrw 10 c^q 80 r bd.t (rtb) 1 (ipy.t) 1/3 hn(?) 4*
11. *1...⁷ [...]*

Verso:

1. *p³ hrw n³y=w mnt(.w)(?) hr hrw*
2. *t³y tpy pr.t (sw) 1 r sw c^qy sw 2 n-dr.t P³-tnf(?)*
3. *Nht-Dhwty(?) c^q 1*
4. *sw 3 n-dr.t Hr-s³-šs.t(?) (s³) P³-dⁱ-Mn c^q 1*
5. *1...⁷ n-dr.t P³-šr-Mn p³ shn(?) c^q 1*
6. *1...⁷ n-dr.t šg²n²yrqs (c^q)(?) 1*
7. *sw 11 r sw 12 p³ srtyqs 1c^q1(?) 2*
8. *1...⁷ 1c^q1 2⁷*
9. *[...] 1...⁷*
10. *[...] 1...⁷ [c^q](?) 2 1/2⁷(?)*

Translation:

Recto:

1. Year 4, Tybi, day 1 to(?) day(?) 20(?).
2. The account of Psenanoupis, the baker
3. Tybi, day 1. The surcharge payments and the food of the priest(s) of Sobek. (On) this day:
4. 1 (artaba) and 3 1/2 (*oipe*) emmer [...].

¹³⁷⁶ DemNam, 305.

5. The food of the priests of Hathor. Tybi, day 1 to {day 2} day 4, makes 4(?) days,
6. at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ (*oipe*) and 1 *hin* emmer per (?) day (makes) 2 (*oipe*) and 4 *hin* emmer.
7. Day 13(?), the birthday of (the) prophet of Hathor: 2 (*oipe*) and 2 *hin* emmer for '10+'(?) loaves of bread.
8. Day 15, before Sobek, the lord of the pylon: 1 (*oipe*) emmer.
9. 'From' (?) Tybi, day 9 to day 18 makes '10' days. The bread of the four priests of Hathor
10. at the rate of 2 bread-loaves per one (i.e. one priest), (makes) '8' bread-loaves for 10 days (makes) 80 bread-loaves makes 1 (artaba) and $\frac{1}{3}$ (*oipe*) and 4 *hin*(?) emmer.
11. '...' [...]

Verso:

1. The day of their daily rations(?)
2. Tybi, day 1 to the last day. Day 2, through Psomphis(?)
3. (son of) Nechthotes(?): 1 bread-loaf
4. Day 3, in the hand of/ through Harsiesis(?) (son of) Peteminis: 1 bread-loaf
5. '...' in the hand of/ through Psenminis, the administrator(?): 1 bread-loaf
6. '...' in the hand of/ through $\text{3g}^2\text{n}^2\text{yrqs}$: 1 bread-loaf
7. Day 11(?) to(?) day 12(?) the *strategos*: 2 'bread-loaves'
8. '...' '2' 'bread-loaves'
9. [...]
10. [...] '...' 2 ' $\frac{1}{2}$ '(?) [bread-loaves](?)

Commentary:

The origin of this sherd is indicated by a modern handwriting on its recto reading 'Geb. 1898,' which most likely refers to Gebelein. Additionally, some internal indications suggest Gebelein or perhaps a more specific area near it as the origin of this ostrakon (see below). The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. The text dates from early second to early first century BC (186 BC- 88 BC), the era from which most of the known Gebelein documents come.¹³⁷⁷ The text begins in the recto and continues into the verso. It is opened by a date that indicates year 4 but unfortunately without the name of the ruler. After the date, the heading formula of the account continues by referring to the main person involved in this account by his name and occupation as it mentions $p^3 \dot{i}p n P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}^2Inp p^3 \dot{s}n^c$ 'the account of Psenanoupis, the baker.' Through the content of the account and the title given to this person, he seems to have produced this account as proof of the expenditure he or the institution under his responsibility has spent for a certain period. The account records several emmer-wheat amounts, some of which might have been paid as surcharge payments, while others were likely used for the production of food for the priests. The food ' $\text{B hr}(t)$ ' mentioned here (in recto ll. 3, 5) is nothing but the bread-loaves given to the priests as their daily rations.¹³⁷⁸ A detailed account of this distribution is given toward the end of the recto and continued on the verso. The expended amounts of emmer and daily rations are calculated for a specific time, usually for a specific day or days. The emmer amounts were apparently measured by the artaba, whose fractions are likely expressed in *oipe* and *hin*. Remarkable, here, is the employment of the quite rarely attested fraction signs of the artaba, which Zauzich¹³⁷⁹ first deciphered but identified as simple *hekat* units and thus interpreted the omitted bigger measurement as *oipe*. Later, Den Brinker, Muhs, and

¹³⁷⁷ Most Demotic and Greek documents from the Gebelein area come from the beginning of the second century BC, i.e. the time following the establishment of a military base in that area, until around 88 BC when the city and its neighboring towns declined; see K. Vandorpe, "Museum Archaeology or How to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives," *EVO* 17 (1994): 289–90; K. Vandorpe and S. Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives: A Multicultural Community in Hellenistic Egypt*, CollHell 3 (Brussel, 2009), 18.

¹³⁷⁸ For some accounts that concern the daily bread rations of the temple personnel, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Das tägliche Brot: 'q 'Brot, Ration' auf demotischen Erment-Ostraka," *BdE* 121 (1998): 207–40.

¹³⁷⁹ K.-Th. Zauzich, "Unerkannte demotische Kornmaße," in *Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*, 462–71, followed by *CDD, Numbers*, 314–316.

Vleeming—though accepting Zauzich’s reading—suggested equating these fraction signs with the quadruple *hekat* or *oipe* which would be then a fraction of the artaba. Thus, they replaced Zauzich’s *oipe* with artaba and *hekat* with *oipe*.¹³⁸⁰ The current examples of *oipe* units are among the first attestations of these units on ostraca, if not the first. As to the source of these emmer amounts, they could have come from the offerings made to the lord of the temple or maybe other sources. Egyptian temples have their own redistributive networks according to which these various items from the temple revenues were produced and redistributed among the temple personnel as their income (for more see general commentary on **Text 91** and **Text 94**).

Furthermore, the recorded information suggest that this account is related to a temple or a sanctuary of Sobek, who is mentioned in l. 8 of the recto as *nb (b)hn* ‘lord of the pylon,’ and Hathor, whose *w^cb.w*-priests are mentioned together with the *w^cb.w*-priests of Sobek. This common place of worship of both Sobek and Hathor should have been in Gebelein or somewhere in its neighborhood. As Vandorpe and Waebens explained, Sobek, Hathor, and Harsemtheus were the members of the triad of Gebelein in the Ptolemaic Period. Moreover, in the majority of oaths from Gebelein people used to be sworn in the temple of *Sbk nb-bhn*, which indicates that he apparently had a chapel dedicated to him in Gebelein where some priests used to serve him and Hathor together.¹³⁸¹ This latter point is actually confirmed through the current text which refers to the priests of both Hathor and Sobek ‘lord of the pylon.’

On the other hand, Sobek was also worshipped in two areas near Gebelein, namely *Smn* and Krokodilopolis whose exact identification and location was until recently quite controversial.¹³⁸² Recently, Dalino identified the different divinities worshipped in ancient Gebelein and their exact places of worship. As Dalino summarized, in addition to Hathor *nb.t inr.ty* the main deity in Gebelein and Anubis who was venerated in some places in the neighborhood of Gebelein, Sobek was worshipped in this area in two forms, i.e. Sobek *nb Swmnw* and Sobek *nb ’Iw-m’trw*.¹³⁸³ In the first form, i.e. Sobek *nb Swmnw* (the title *Sbk-R^c nb Smn*¹³⁸⁴ is known in Demotic), he was worshipped in the area near the modern day Dahamsha or Mahamid al-qibly, located between Gebelein and Armant (ca. 4 km north of Gebelein). His New Kingdom sanctuary could have been slightly displaced from its earlier location because of the changes in the course of the Nile. This temple could have been also totally dismantled and fallen in ruins in the Greco-Roman Period as some blocks of it were reused in the building of the sacred lake in the temple of Tod. The same sanctuary was also known as that of the *im’*-tree. Therefore, Sobek had a local cult there as *hry-ib p’ im’* and *nb p’ im’*. Other deities worshipped with him were Hathor *imy.t p’ im’* and Thoth *hry-ib p’ im’*. Accordingly, Dalino suggested that these three deities could have formed the triad of *Swmnw*.¹³⁸⁵ This place, according to Verreth, could probably be a site near Krokodilopolis or maybe the religious name of this town.¹³⁸⁶ The second form of Sobek worshipped in that region, according to Dalino, is Sobek *nb ’Iw-m’trw* the main deity in the area near

¹³⁸⁰ Den Brinker et al., *Berichtigungsliste B*, 805–806. For the identification of these signs as *oipe* units—yet with the principal grain measure being apparently the *h’r*—in abnormal hieratic and early Demotic texts, see Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts* I:247–48, n. j.

¹³⁸¹ Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives*, 38–39; D. Takacs, “Gebelein and the Cult of Hathor: An Overview,” in *The Land of Fertility II: The Southeast Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Muslim Conquest*, ed. Ł. Miszk and M. Waclawik (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017), 12. In such oaths, Sobek was invoked as *Sbk nb bhn* “Sobek, lord of the pylon,” and his temple was referred to as *h.t-n’r n nb bhn*, or *h.t-n’r n t’ bhn.t*; cf. Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, 20–21; S. Abd el-Aal, “More New Demotic Tempel Oaths from Gebelein,” in *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, ed. Sh. Bedier, Kh. Daoud, and S. Abd El-Fattah, vol. 1, SASAE, 34/ 1 (Le Caire, 2005), 35.

¹³⁸² Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives*, 36–37. On the cult of Sobek in Gebelein and its neighborhood, see H. Kockelmann, *Der Herr der Seen, Sümpfe und Flußläufe: Untersuchungen zum Gott Sobek und den ägyptischen Krokodilgötter-Kulten von den Anfängen bis zur Römerzeit*, vol. 2: Kulttopographie und rituelle Wirklichkeit, AA 74 (Wiesbaden, 2017), 304–21.

¹³⁸³ E. Dalino, “Amenouahsou et les deux Sobek de Gebelein: prosopographie et géographie religieuse d’*Inr.ty* à *Jw-Mjtrw*,” *BIFAO* 122 (2022): 167–68.

¹³⁸⁴ *DemGloss*, 423; *CDD*, S, 236.


¹³⁸⁵ Dalino, “Les deux Sobek,” 122, 167.


¹³⁸⁶ Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 578.


the modern day Rizeiqat, located between Dahamsha and Armant (6 km north of Dahamsha), where he shared the temple with Khonsu *ḥry-ib ʿIw-mʿtrw*.¹³⁸⁷ This site is frequently referred to in Demotic as *ʾmwr* or sometimes *ʾImwr* and is tentatively identified by Verreth as Krokodilopolis.¹³⁸⁸


In conclusion, if the extant text does not come from Gebelein where Sobek and Hathor had a cult together, it might be from the ancient site of *Smn* or *Swmnw* (the modern-day village of Dahamsha or Mahamid al-qibly), the area where Sobek and Hathor were venerated together in the same temple or sanctuary as part of a local triad that additionally included Thoth.

Recto:






L. 1. A similar writing of  4.t occurs in P. Heid 781c, l. x+7,¹³⁸⁹ which originates from Gebelein as well.

The reading of this group  as *r sw 20* is not completely certain, but the small signs after *sw 1* can be taken as a shortened form of *r* which is closely linked to an abbreviated writing of *sw 20*.


L. 2. For  *P3 šr-ʾInp*, see *DemNam*, 226.

L. 3.  : Reading *n3 wt.w* ‘the surcharge payments’¹³⁹⁰ seems plausible, yet the writing of the silver determinative is quite strange.

For *ḥr.t*  ‘food,’ see *DemGloss*, 389; *CDD*, *H*, 62-65.

L. 4. Despite the controversy concerning its identification (see general commentary above), reading the signs after *bd.t 1*, i.e.  3,  ½ (similar writings in ll. 6, 7) as units of *oipe* seems certain; the same is also true of  2 in l. 6,  1 in l. 8, and  ⅓ in l.10.

Some traces of rubbed off writing are still visible after the initial signs of this line.

L. 5.  : *Sw 2* ‘day 2’ seems to be corrected to *sw 4* ‘day 4,’ i.e. day 4 is added after day 2 as a correction without erasing the wrong word.¹³⁹¹ This conclusion seems very plausible since the food of the priests of Hathor is reckoned in l. 6 for a period of 4 days.

Reading the number after *hrw* at the end of the line as 4 is quite problematic given its writing, but it could be compared to the number after *ḥ3.t-sp* in l. 1 above. This reading is also backed up by the reading of the previous date as *tpy pr.t sw 1 r sw 4* as well as the calculation of the food in l. 6 for a period of 4 days.

L. 6. For in the combination *tn ... r/ḥr...* ‘at the rate of ... per ...,’ see *DemGloss*, 635; *CDD*, *T*, 227.


¹³⁸⁷ Dalino, “Les deux Sobek,” 122, 167.


¹³⁸⁸ Verreth, *Toponyms in Demotic*, 370–72.


¹³⁸⁹ U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Gebelen-Urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, VHPS-NF 4 (Heidelberg, 1964), 42–43, 97; *CDD*, *Numbers*, 30.

¹³⁹⁰ *DemGloss*, 103–4; *CDD*, *W*, 186.

¹³⁹¹ This way of correction is known from other Demotic documents; cf. Schentuleit, “*Wḥm*,” 69.

For *hn*  ‘vessel, used as liquid and corn measure,’ see *DemGloss*, 277; *CDD*, *H*, 62-65.

L. 7. This group  apparently indicates a day date, but its reading as *sw 13* is not completely secure.

Paleographically, the number  which follows *ᶜq* should be +10, possibly 11. Textual indications seem to support such reading as well (see comment on recto, l. 10 below).

L. 8. *Sbk nb (b)hn* ‘Sobek, lord of the pylon’ is an epithet of Sobek in Gebelein.¹³⁹² This title, as Colin explained, occurs in three variant spellings, namely *nʹ bh̄n.w*, *nb bh̄n*, and *nb hn*. Since *nb hn* (which occurs in the current text) does not offer any meaning, it is apparently a distorted spelling of one of the above mentioned variants gained by phonetic analogy, either from *nʹ bh̄n.w* by a permutation of homophone signs, or from *nb bh̄n* by a contraction of successive *b* phones.¹³⁹³ As Colin stressed, these three forms are homophones and variants of a single expression, which is also clear from Demotic personal names in which these expressions interchangeably occur.¹³⁹⁴ As to the derivation of these forms, some scholars suggested that these forms are distorted spellings for the title *nb bh̄n* ‘lord of the pylon,’ while Colin—in light of his understanding of some new attestations of *nb hn* (namely in O. Str. D 156, ll. 4, 7)—suggested that the variants *nb bh̄n* and *nb hn* derive actually from *nʹ bh̄n.w* ‘the pylons.’ Based on O. Str. D 156, ll. 4, 7, Colin deemed *nb hn* to refer to a toponym. In his understanding, the text (of O. Str. D 156) describes the temple of *nb hn* as having five monumental doors (the text uses *wᶓmʹ*, which he believes was partially synonym with *bh̄n*), at least one of them could have been part of a pylon, which could be the reason why this place became known as *nʹ bh̄n.w* ‘the pylons’ on a commemoration of this series of the eye-catching monumental doors. Thus, he suggested taking *nb-hn* and *nb-bh̄n* as orthographic forms of the place name *nʹ-bh̄n.w*.¹³⁹⁵ The current example does not conform with such an interpretation since *nb (b)hn* is clearly a title for *Sbk* and cannot be referring to a place name as Colin proposed. In the current example, *nb* and *(b)hn* are clearly separated in writing, which suggests two separate words rather than a compound word (i.e. *nb-hn*). This separation even excludes the possibility to assume a haplographic writing of *nb nb-hn*, which should have followed the name of *Sbk* either literally or in the variant *nb nʹ (b)hn.w*, for the current example to be harmonious with Colin’s interpretation in this regard.

L. 9. The signs at the beginning of the line are quite rubbed off, yet they could represent *tʹy* ‘from,’ which appears also in verso, l. 2 as part of the compound ‘*tʹy*+ date.’



: The number 10 in the phrase *r hrw 10* ‘makes 10 days’ is additionally written above the line, which means that it was initially forgotten by the scribe.

For *ᶜq* ‘ration, loaf,’ see *DemGloss*, 73; *CDD*, *ᶜ*, 144-148. Notable here, however, is that the final vertical stroke is quite longer than usual.

¹³⁹² E. Boswinkel and P. Pestman, *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues (P.L.Bat. 19)*, P.L.Bat. 19 (Leiden, 1978), 221, n. b; Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives*, 39.

¹³⁹³ F. Colin, “Documents démotiques de Strasbourg, III 6: la dorure de monuments sacrés dans l’Égypte hellénistique et romaine,” *CdE* 91 (2016): 62–63.

¹³⁹⁴ Colin, “Documents démotiques,” 63. For some examples of names composed with the title *nb hn*, which occurs in our text, see *DemNam*, 386, examples nos. 2, 5, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23; Boswinkel and Pestman, *Textes*, 221; P. Pennsylvania Museum E-16743, recto, l. 1 in A. Farid, “Zwei demotische Privatbriefe: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, Inv.-Nr. E-16336 und E-16743,” *ZÄS* 132 (2005): 6, pls. iv–v.


¹³⁹⁵ For an exhaustive discussion, see Colin, “Documents démotiques,” 63–66.

L. 10. According to this line and the previous one, the amount given to each one of the four priests of Hathor is two bread-loaves or rations for each priest per day, which makes 8 bread-loaves for each day. Each priest has received that amount for ten days which means that the four priests received 80 bread-loaves or rations in total.

The last part of this line seems to indicate the emmer amounts used for making the above-mentioned 80 bread-loaves or rations. Reading this part as *r bd.t (rtb) 1 (ipy.t) 1/3 hn(?) 4* is paleographically plausible, although the writing of *hn* is quite unclear if compared to other writings in recto, ll. 6-7.

From another perspective, it is not completely clear whether the principal measure was the artaba or another measure¹³⁹⁶ but since the text dates to the Ptolemaic Period and the fraction units are probably expressed in *oipe* and certainly in *hin*, the use of the artaba seems more plausible. Another issue that one has to determine, if we accepted the artaba as a standard measure in the current text, is the capacity of this artaba. As a matter of fact, the artaba used here should contain 4 of the smaller measure, which is interpreted as *oipe*. This means that, for this *oipe* to be 1/4 of the artaba, its capacity should be smaller than that of the old *oipe* of 40 *hin*. Furthermore, since the current text comes from Gebelein, the choices seem to be limited to one of the artaba of ± 60 *hin*, ± 48 *hin*, or ± 80 *hin*.¹³⁹⁷ The phrase *r bd.t (rtb) 1 (ipy.t) 1/3 hn(?) 4* ‘makes 1 (artaba) and 1/3 (*oipe*) and 4 *hin(?)* emmer’ seems to exclude the capacity of ± 48 *hin* because the *oipe* of this artaba will be 12 *hin* and thus the 1/3 (*oipe*) here mentioned will be equal to the 4 *hin* while, according to the text, 1/3 (*oipe*) is definitely bigger than 4 *hin* which is why the scribe uses the latter to supplement the former. On the other hand, as Vleeming explained, Demotic and Greek texts do not provide a clear proof to the use of the ± 80 *hin* artaba in Gebelein,¹³⁹⁸ which seems to favor the ± 60 *hin* artaba as the standard one in this text. Now as other indications seem to allude to the ± 60 *hin* artaba as the one that was likely meant here, one has to test such a speculation against the information which the ratio of bread to emmer given in ll. 10, 7 offers. As the quite clearer equation of line 10 explains, 1 (artaba), 1/3 (*oipe*), and 4 *hin(?)* of emmer are supposed to have produced 80 bread-loaves or rations. The amount of emmer, assuming an artaba of ± 60 *hin*, could be expressed in *hin* as follows: 60 *hin*(= 1 artaba)+ 5 *hin*(= 1/3 *oipe*) + 4 *hin*, which amounts to a total of 69 *hin*. The fact that 69 *hin* of emmer produced 80 bread-loaves or ration means that 1 *hin* of emmer produces ca. 1.1594 bread-loaves. Applying this result to the equation of line 7 would mean that the 9 1/2 *hin* (expressed as 1/2 *oipe* (= 7 1/2 *hin*) and 2 *hin*) mentioned there would produce an amount slightly over 11 bread-loaves or rations. This result seems in line with the remains of the number indicating the bread-loaves, whose partly preserved beginning indicates either the number 10 or a number greater than it.

Verso:

L. 1. For similar writings of *n3y=w* , cf. *DemGloss*, 205.





: Reading *mn.t(w)* ‘daily rations’ is only a suggestion, but see *CDD*, *M*, 103, where this meaning is cautiously quoted after Wångstedt. The reading of the first two signs of this word as *m* followed by the *mn*-sign seems possible here. The following signs are not completely clear, but they could represent the sun disk followed by an oblique stroke.


¹³⁹⁶ Zauzich takes the fractions (read here as *oipe*) as simple *hekat* units and thus assumes that the main measure was *oipe*; cf. Zauzich, “Unerkannte demotische Kornmaße,” 462–71. Yet he did not completely exclude the possibility that these fractions represent *oipe* units, and thus the principal measure should be the *h3r*; cf. Zauzich, “Unerkannte demotische Kornmaße,” 463–64, 471. On the different ancient Egyptian measures of capacity, see generally T. Pommerening, *Die altägyptischen Hohlmaße*, SAK-B 10 (Hamburg, 2005).


¹³⁹⁷ Vleeming, “Notes on Artabe,” 97–100.


¹³⁹⁸ Vleeming, “Notes on Artabe,” 100, n. 26.

L. 2. For the preposition *by* , also (*n*) *by* (*n*), ‘since, from’ which usually introduces a date or period of time, see *DemGloss*, 667; *CDD*, T, 9-10.


This name  is likely to be read *P³-tnf* ‘the dancer.’¹³⁹⁹


L. 3. The reading *nh_t* in the name  *Nht-Dhwty* is doubtful as the ink is faded, but the name itself exists in Demotic.¹⁴⁰⁰


L. 4. For *sw* 3  ‘day 3,’ see *CDD*, *Days of the Month*, 1-2.

 : The name *Hr-s³-s.t* seems to intersect with the name *P³-di-Mn*. The writing of *Hr-s³-s.t* is quite unclear, and it seems that *s.t* is written twice. While the first throne sign seems very small and close to the middle *s³* and has a small dot beside its left end, the second is quite bigger and seems to have been added after the scribe wrote the name of the father *P³-di-Mn* since it already covers the *p³* of *P³-di-Mn*. Why did the scribe do that is unclear but perhaps the first writing was quite small and unclear, and he was not satisfied with; thus, he improved it by adding the second bigger one?

L. 5. At the beginning of this line there are some traces of damaged sign that could be a day date. The same could be true of l. 6 as well.

 : Reading this group as *p³ shn* ‘the administrator’¹⁴⁰¹ is not entirely certain due to the strange writing of the *s*-sign. This writing might, however, be comparable with the *s* of *Sbk* in the name *P³-di-Sbk* in P. Adler Dem. 14, verso, l. 15,¹⁴⁰² which comes from Gebelein as well.

L. 6.  : That this name ends with an *s* and most likely a foreign land determinative suffices to assume a Greek origin. The name is apparently phonetically written. The writing of the second and especially the third signs is quite unclear. Their given readings are thus speculative. If the third group was meant to represent two signs above each other, they could be an *s* over an *n*. An alternative reading in this case may be *gs³n⁷yrqs*. From another perspective, if these signs were placed next to one another, they might be an *s* followed by a small *r*; thus, the name could have been *s³ryrqs* instead.

L. 7.  : The reading *sw* 11 *r* *sw* 12 ‘day 11 to day 12’ is only a suggestion, but it can perhaps get some support from the fact that this person received two bread-loaves, an amount that could have been for two days since every person normally received one loaf per day.

Ll. 8-10. Save very some traces of few signs, the ink in this area is almost vanished.

¹³⁹⁹ For some examples of this writing of this name which used to be read as *P³-bnr-fj*, see J. Quaegebeur, “Le terme *tnf(j)* ‘danseur’ en démotique,” in *Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens*, 159–62; *DemNam*, 345. For more on the term *tnf*, or at times *dnt*, see Quaegebeur, “Le terme *tnf(j)*,” 157–70; *DemGloss*, 640, 682; *CDD*, T, 247.

¹⁴⁰⁰ For examples of this name, see *DemNam*, 704; *DemNamKorr*, 186.

¹⁴⁰¹ *DemGloss*, 447; *CDD*, S, 344–45.

¹⁴⁰² Griffith, “Demotic Papyri from Gebelên,” 91; pl. xi.

L. 9. At the end of this line, which is very faint, there are some traces of appears to be the left ending of an oval shape, which seems to have been part of an encircled entry. This encircling might have been done as a kind of stress,¹⁴⁰³ correction, or cancellation mark.¹⁴⁰⁴

-96-

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11.5x 11.8x 1.2 cm. Provenance is unknown, but mostly of Theban origin. Late Ptolemaic (first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. *ʿP3-ʿnhʿ(?) ʿ...ʿ n(?) ʿh3.t-spʿ(?) 6 wp-s.t p3y=f iw*
2. *tpy 3h.t 200 ibd-3 3h.t 82 hd qd.t 5 ibd-4 3h.t 500*
3. *tpy pr.t 101 ibd-3 pr.t 71 ibd-4 pr.t 20*
4. *tpy šmw 186 ibd-2 šmw 180 dmd(?) 1340 hd qd.t 5*
5. *swn 3ky 240 r 1580 hd qd.t 5*

6. *sp 219 hd qd.t 5*
7. *ʿ... hd qd.t 5ʿ(?)*

Translation:

1. 'Ponches' (?) '...' in/ of (?) 'year' (?) 6. The details of his payment.
2. Thoth: 200 (deben), Hathyr: 82 (deben) and 5 kite, Choiak: 500 (deben).
3. Tybi: 101 (deben), Phamenoth: 71 (deben), Pharmuthi: 20 (deben).
4. Pachons: 186 (deben), Payni: 180 (deben). Total (?): 1340 (deben) and 5 kite.
5. The price of sesame: 240 (deben), makes 1580 (deben) and 5 kite.

6. remain 219 (deben) and 5 kite
7. '... 5 kite' (?)

Commentary:


The handwriting indicates the late Ptolemaic Period (possibly the first century BC). This is confirmed through the fairly high sums acknowledged in the account, which makes it more probable to be paid in bronze deben, which was used as base for the currency from ca. 210 until 30 BC. The text tackles a monthly summary account of paid sums, which is quite remarkable since monthly summary accounts are not very common on ostraca. In fact, the monthly summary accounts were often inscribed on papyri, and they used to record the summary of monthly transactions for a certain institution (more often temples and religious associations) usually for one year. Typically, such accounts were quite lengthy and, thus, needed to be recorded on papyri rather than other writing materials. Yet, extremely simplified versions of the monthly summary accounts might be recorded on ostraca such as the current example.¹⁴⁰⁵ In terms of physical structure, the current text takes the horizontal format. The monthly entry simply records the name of the month followed by the paid sum. The account begins with the month of Thoth and ends with Payni. For the inundation and winter, recorded payments concerned the first, third, and fourth month, while for the summer, the payments concerned the first and second month. The main part


¹⁴⁰³ On the use of the circle as a stress mark, see Nur el-Din, "Checking," 60.


¹⁴⁰⁴ On the use of the circle to mark cancellation, see Schentuleit, "*Whm*," 69; Nur el-Din, "Checking," 60, n. 6.

¹⁴⁰⁵ For more on the Demotic monthly summary accounts, see [Abbas], "Demotic Accounts," 54–55. O. Leiden, no. 190 is another example of a monthly summary account recorded on ostraca; cf. Nur el-Din, *Ostraca Leiden*, 158, 619.

of the account, which ends with the grand total, is separated from the following part which records the rest amount by a large blank space. This partition indicator was quite common in Demotic accounts; but given the difference in size and thus the available space, it was more common on papyri than ostraca,¹⁴⁰⁶ but it could be used here to clearly distinguish the paid sums from the rest sum which is probably still to be paid. The arithmetic of this account is very precise. As to the unit of payment, it is not clearly mentioned in the account, yet it is likely to be the deben, whose fraction (i.e. the kite) was mentioned in ll. 2, 6. This deben seems to have been a copper or a bronze one since the mentioned sums are quite high. For a monthly summary account, such sums might be considered normal, yet the extremely high possibility that these monthly payments were made to one person makes them fairly high. This person is referred to in the phrase *pʿy=fʿiw* ‘his payment’ at the end of the first line, and he could be also mentioned by name at the beginning of the account.

L. 1. The beginning of the account is very badly preserved due to the sherd’s damage and the faded ink, which makes the reading quite difficult. Thus, reading the initial group  (facsimile is approximate) as *Pʿ-ʿnh* is extremely doubtful; but compare example no. 4 in *DemNam*, 162 for a possibly similar writing. Reading *ʿnh* alone and taking it as a noun ‘life, oath’ is paleographically possible but would make less sense in this context.

L. 4.  : The two strokes preceding the subtotal might be cautiously read as *dmd* ‘total.’¹⁴⁰⁷ In l. 5, however, the grand total is introduced by *r* ‘makes.’ If this latter word was also meant to introduce the subtotal here, one might think of an alternative reading, according to which the first slanting stroke might be taken as *r* ‘makes’ and the second would be considered as a mistake on the side of the scribe, who apparently began to write the number indicating the subtotal by 100 instead of 1, 000 and then quickly abandoned his erroneous start and wrote the correct subtotal afterwards.

L. 5. For *ʿky*  ‘sesame,’ or more often *ʿqy*, cf. *DemGloss*, 12; *CDD*, ʿ, 88; for a discussion and more examples, see Vittmann, ‘Ostraca Dakhla,’ forthcoming.

L. 7. The ink is severely faint in this line and the signs are barely visible.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Nur el-Din, “Checking,” 56–57.

¹⁴⁰⁷ *DemGloss*, 634; *CDD*, T, 219–21.

3.3 Lists of Names (nos. 97-99)

-97-

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 11.1x 8.5x 0.7 cm. Provenance unknown. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration: x+

1. [P3]-r^rmr-ih^r [s3] Pa-...^r
2. Pa-swn.t s3 P3-mr-r^rih^r
3. P3-mr-ih^r s3 Pa-Hnm
4. Pa-swn.t s3 Wrše r^rs3^r [...]
5. Pa-Hnm (s3) P3-dl-Nfr-htp
6. Pa-Hnm s3 P3-dl-Sbk
7. P3-dl-Sbk s3 bq
8. Ns-mtr s3 P3-mr-ih^r
9. P3-mr-ih^r s3 P3-wr-[i3bt](?)
10. Ns-mtr s3 Pa-swn^r.t^r
11. Hr-wd3 s3 P3-dl-Sb'k
12. [... s3] Hr-wd3


Translation: x+

1. [Pe]r^rlaias^r [son of] Pa^r...^r
2. Pasis son of Pela^rias^r
3. Pelaias son of Pachnoumis
4. Pasis son of Orseus r^rson of^r [...]
5. Pachnoumis (son of) Petenephtes
6. Pachnoumis son of Petesouchos
7. Petesouchos son of Abykis
8. Esmetis son of Pelaias
9. Pelaias son of Por[ieuthes](?)
10. Esmetis son of Pasis
11. Haryotes son of Petesou^rchos^r
12. [... son of] Haryotes

Commentary:

The sherd is broken at its upper, lower, and left-hand edges. The handwriting probably refers to the second century BC. This ostrakon shares a lot of similarities with **Text 98** in terms of the material, paleographical aspects, handwriting, and content. Therefore, it can be of the same provenance and date, and maybe also written by the same hand (see commentary on **Text 98**).

L. x+2. For *Pa-swn.t*, see *DemNam*, 414.

L. x+4. : The father's name, i.e. *Wrše*, appears to be followed by the *s3* sign which entails a following grandfather's name. This name might be Pachnoumis since he appears as the father of Orseus in **Text 98**, col. ii, l. x+9.

L. x+9. The beginning of $\beta\beta t$ in the name  $P^3\text{-wr-}\beta\beta t^{1408}$ is still preserved, which makes the reading plausible.

L. x+11. For  $Hr\text{-}w\beta$, see *DemNam*, 797–98.

-98-

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4(?). Potsherd. Dimensions: 17.7x 11.5x 0.8 cm. Provenance is unknown. Late Ptolemaic (second century BC).

Transliteration:

Col. I: x+

6. [...]' ..'
7. [...]' ..'
8. [...]
9. [...]
10. [...] ×
11. [...]
12. [...] ' ×'

Col. II: x+

1. [...] ' ×'
2. [... s₃] 'P³-mr- $\dot{i}h$ ×
3. [β (?)]phn s₃ P³-mr- $\dot{i}h$ ×
4. Pa-Hnm s₃ P³-šr- $\dot{i}mn$ ×
5. P³-šr-p³-wr s₃ Pa-swn.t
6. Dd-hr s₃ P³-mr- $\dot{i}h$ Symn ×
7. P³-šr-p³-wr s₃ P³-mr- $\dot{i}h$ ×
8. P³-mr- $\dot{i}h$ s₃ 'bq ×
9. Wrše s₃ Pa-Hnm ×
10. r rmt 37 'tn h \dot{d} (?) 2' h \dot{d} qd.t 5
11. r h \dot{d} (?) 92 h \dot{d} qd.t 5
12. p³(?) h \dot{d} (?) rmt 'q(?) 7 h \dot{d} qd.t 5 r 100

Translation:

Col. I: x+

6. [...]' ..'
7. [...]' ..'
8. [...]
9. [...]
10. [...] ×
11. [...]' ..'
12. [...] ' ×'

¹⁴⁰⁸ *DemNam*, 178.

Col. II: x+

1. [...] ' × '
2. [... son of] 'Pe'laiias ×
3. [A(?)]phanes son of Pelaiias ×
4. Pachnoumis son of Psenamounis ×
5. Psenpoeris son of Pasenis
6. Teos son of Pelaiias (son of)(?) Simon ×
7. Psenpoeris son of Pelaiias ×
8. Pelaiias son of Abykis ×
9. Orseus son of Pachnoumis ×
10. makes 37 persons 'at the rate of 2 deben' and 5 kite each,
11. makes 92 deben(?) and 5 kite,
12. the(?) money(?) of the man of income(?) 7 deben and 5 kite, makes 100 (deben).


Commentary:

This ostrakon has another different *Temporary Register* number, i.e. (23/ 2/ 29/ 1), inscribed on its bottom. A small part on the top of the ostrakon is restored. This piece is similar to **Text 97** in terms of fabric, handwriting, and thus perhaps date and origin as well. The current text, just like that of **Text 97**, records a list of names. The named individuals were meant to receive or perhaps pay certain sums of money (2 deben and 5 kite each). Most of the names have the cross × as a checking mark after them, which probably indicate that they successfully received or paid the sums they were supposed to pay or receive. According to the recorded information (see comment on col. ii, l. x+10) as well as the damage of the upper and right side of the sherd, this text was part of a larger one that might have been recorded on a larger ostrakon, of which **Text 97** could possibly have been a part.

Col. I:

L. x+10. The cross (×) is apparently used here as a checking mark. In this sense, it was occasionally utilized in accounts or lists of personal names on ostraca, and it was usually placed either before or before and after the name it marks.¹⁴⁰⁹ In the current example, the cross appears after almost all names in col. II, except for the one in l. x+5. Since col. ii, l. x+10 gives a total of 37 men who have received 2 deben and 5 kite each (see below for details) and since almost all men are checked, it is evident that the cross indicates the successful reception or delivery of the recorded sums. On the other hand, the cross might be also used as terminal mark¹⁴¹⁰ or an invalidation mark (see comment on **Text 99**, l. 8).

Col. II:

L. x+3.  : The last three signs of this name, i.e. *phn* and the foreign determinative are clearly visible. Thus, names like *ʒphn*,¹⁴¹¹ *Trwphn*, which is a form of *Trwpn*,¹⁴¹² or *Smphn(?)*¹⁴¹³ are expected. The first one (*ʒphn*) seems more plausible in view of the size of the lacuna.

¹⁴⁰⁹ The cross is not quite common as a checking mark. Examples compiled by Nur el-Din were only accounts or name lists on ostraca; cf. Nur el-Din, "Checking," 54. The use of the cross as a checking mark on papyri was also possible as some temple accounts on papyri from Dime show; cf. Chaufray, "Accounts," 275. For further examples on ostraca, see O. Cat. Brooklyn, no. 148, l. 1, no. 179, ll. 1-7 in G. Hughes, B. Muhs, and S. Vinson, *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum* (Chicago, 2005), 58, 71; pl. 38b.

¹⁴¹⁰ Nur el-Din, "Checking," 59.

¹⁴¹¹ *DemNam*, 17.

¹⁴¹² *DemNam*, 1285.

¹⁴¹³ *DemNam*, 957.

L. x+6. : *Symn* is a grecized form of the Hebrew name Simon¹⁴¹⁴ which is still in use today. On the other hand, it is unclear whether Simon represents the grandfather, or another separate person mentioned by first name only. One should note that this scribe always wrote the *s* of filiation.

L. x+8. : The *mr*-sign in *P³-mr-ih* is not fully preserved.

: *bq* ‘raven’ usually has the normal personal determinative; yet sometimes, including the extant example, it could have the bird determinative.¹⁴¹⁵

L. x+10. According to this line, the total of individuals that have received or paid money is 37, of whom only 9 persons (including a supposed person in the damaged l. x+1) appear in the preserved part of col. ii of the current sherd. Since one of these 9 (in l. x+5) is unchecked, which would most likely mean that he was not actively involved in the transaction, and should be thus excluded from the total, the actual number of people appearing in this text will be 8. This would mean that 29 individuals are still missing from the full list of people. Taking into account the partly preserved col. I, which could have contained at least up to 12 individuals, there would be still around 17 people missing from the original list. If we also took into consideration that some persons (the unchecked ones) might be eliminated from the total (for example, the person in col. ii, l. x+5 is certainly unchecked; the same is most likely true of the supposed persons in col. i, l. x+7, 11 and maybe more), the number of missing persons might have been even more than 17. Considering the abovementioned points, the current ostrakon is probably part of a larger sherd which might have been broken into pieces. Given the paleographical and textual commonalities which **Text 97** has with the current one, and the fact that it contained about 12 persons (relevant ones might have been less, if it listed unchecked persons), **Text 97** could possibly have been part of this larger ostrakon.

L. x+11. The writing of *hd* () in this line as well as the one suggested in l. x+12 () is very abbreviated and thus doubtful.

L. x+12. : The writing of *cq*¹⁴¹⁶ is quite strange. The expression *rmq* *cq* is not known in Demotic and is quite problematic here. In Demotic, *rmq* was part of numerous combinations.¹⁴¹⁷ The translation here suggested is very doubtful. It is not sure if ‘the man of income,’ ‘the man of food,’ or ‘the man of bread/ ration’ was meant. In any case, if the usual sense of *rmq* (i.e. ‘man of’) was meant, the title holder was probably responsible for or somehow related to the bread or food production, or maybe involved in income distribution. The purpose of the payment recorded in this line is dependent on the meaning of *hd* and whether it simply signified money paid to the title holder as his stipend for instance or referred to a certain due or tax paid by him. In the latter case, the expression should be read *p³ hd(?) -rmq-^cq* ‘the tax of the man of the income’(?).

Another alternative, which is paleographically and contextually acceptable, is to read the three small signs at the beginning of this line as *irm* ‘and, with.’ In this case, the reading and meaning of this line would be *irm rmq^cq 7 hd qd.t 5 r 100* ‘with (in addition to) personal(?) income of 7 (deben) and 5 kite, makes 100.’ A comparable phrase for *rmq^cq* in this sense would be *rmq^cl* ‘personal(?) contribution.’¹⁴¹⁸

¹⁴¹⁴ Cf. *DemNam*, 905.

¹⁴¹⁵ *DemNam*, 96.

¹⁴¹⁶ For the writing as well as the different expressions with *cq*, see *DemGloss*, 73; *CDD*, *c*, 144-148.

¹⁴¹⁷ Cf. *DemGloss*, 247-48; *CDD*, *R*, 37-46.

¹⁴¹⁸ Cf. *CDD*, *c*, 110.

O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953. TR 25/ 1/ 55/ 4. Potsherd. Dimensions: 10x 6.3x 0.7 cm. Gebelein. Late Ptolemaic (late second to early first century BC).

Transliteration:

1. ● *Gnps*
2. ● *P3-dī-Hr-sm3-t3.wy s3 Wnš[e]*
3. ○ *Pa-mnh s3 Pa-t3.wy*
4. / *N3-nht=f s3 Wnše*
5. / *Hr-qn-n3s.t*
6. / *P3-šr-mnh s3 Pa-s[y](?)*
7. ● *Dhwtj-3.ir-d3s s3 Pa-tw*
8. ✕ *P3-mr-ih (s3) '.. [...]*
9. / *Ta-p3-rwr(?)*
10. / *'Pa-n3[h3.w](?)*

Translation:

1. ● Kanopos
2. ● Peteharsemtheus son of Ouou'nsis'
3. ○ Pamenos son of Patous
4. / Nechoutes son of Ouonsis
5. / Harkonesis
6. / Psenmenches son of Pas[is](?)
7. ● Thotortaios son of Pates
8. ✕ Pelaias (son of) '.. [...]
9. / Tap'oeris'(?)
10. / 'Pane'[chotes](?)


Commentary:

The origin of this ostrakon—as the modern note ‘Geb. 1898’ on its verso suggests—is certainly Gebelein. Also, most of the recorded names were quite common in Gebelein. The handwriting is late Ptolemaic. Internal evidence suggests a late second to early first century BC (see commentary on l. 2). The text presents a list of personal names, each of which is remarkably marked by one of three different types of checking marks which occur at the beginning of every line.¹⁴¹⁹ These are the oblique stroke, the dot, and the circle. Moreover, a fairly new checking mark, i.e. the circle, is also used. Besides being an indication to a ‘double control,’¹⁴²⁰ the utilization of three marks in the same text suggests a distinction in function. The specific function of each mark is not known for sure, and the current example does not unfortunately help in this regard. Given the mention of some persons who worked in the temple (see comment on l. 2), this list comes apparently from a temple context, and it might be an attendance list of some temple personnel, or a checklist of persons required for certain activities, list of income recipients, list of payers of certain dues ... or the like. The list is apparently prepared in advance. Afterwards, upon the actual inspection (in case it was attendance or checklist for certain activity) or payment (in case of reception or payment of certain dues), the different checking marks were apparently applied according to the status of each person. Thus, in an attendance or checklist scenario, the circle


¹⁴¹⁹ Using different checking marks in the same text is known from other Demotic documents, particularly lists of witnesses; cf. Nur el-Din, “Checking,” 55.


¹⁴²⁰ Cf. Chaufray, “Accounts,” 275.


could have marked the absent persons or those failed to complete a requirement, while the oblique stroke could have marked the present ones or those who completed certain requirements. In a payment reception or delivery, the oblique stroke could have marked successful payment or reception, while the small circle could have indicated the opposite. In all cases, the dot must have then conveyed a different case about marked individuals.

L. 1. *Gnps*  is known from a few other Demotic documents from Gebelein.¹⁴²¹

This person and the ones in ll. 2, 7 are marked by a dot. The dot was usually used as a checking mark in lists of personal names and accounts on both papyri and ostraca.¹⁴²²

L. 2.  : The name *Wnše* is only partly preserved in this line, while in l. 4 it is fully preserved. This name is mainly known from the Adler papyri which come also from Gebelein.¹⁴²³ Furthermore, Peteharsemtheus son of Ouonsis mentioned here is attested in the Demotic P. Adler 7, dated to 103 BC.¹⁴²⁴ In P. Adler 7, which represents an agreement about the sale of a share of land, this person was mentioned together with six of his brothers, including the one mentioned in l. 4 of the current text, namely Nechoutes son of Ouonsis who was a singer in the temple of Hathor in Pathyris. The reference to these persons here suggests a late second to early first century date to the current text. That some of the listed individuals worked as singers in the temple of Hathor suggests a temple context to the text as well.

L. 3. For a similar writing of  *Pa-b.wy*, see example no.15 in *DemNam*, 420.

L. 4.  *N3-nht=f*¹⁴²⁵ is quite common in Gebelein. The small sign that follows this name and precedes the *s3*-sign which follows it likely represents the personal determinative.

L. 5. For  *Hr-qn-n-3s.t*, see *DemNam* 863.

L. 6. The father's name is possibly to be read  *Pa-sy*, which is probably a hypocoristic form of *P3-di-Wsir* or *Pa-Wsir*.¹⁴²⁶

¹⁴²¹ On this name, see comment to O. Uppsala 1481, recto, l. 6 in S. Wängstedt, "Eine Kalksteinscherbe Mit Demotischer Aufschrift," *OrSuec* 11 (1962): 93; TM Nam 3566.

¹⁴²² Nur el-Din, "Checking," 54. A good example of the extensive use of the dot as a checking mark in accounts is the accounts of the daily expenses of the temple of Dime. Accounts of the temple daily expenses included products and items that were already mentioned in the so-called *hm.w*-agreement which describes the functions of the scribe of the priests who was, among other duties, responsible for recording the daily expenses. The dot and other checking marks used in these accounts were apparently meant to check the items registered in the daily accounts against those recorded in the agreements; cf. Chaufray, "Accounts," 275.

¹⁴²³ Cf. *DemNam*, 120.

¹⁴²⁴ Griffith, "Demotic Papyri from Gebelên," 81–83; pl. viii.

¹⁴²⁵ *DemNam*, 620–21.

¹⁴²⁶ H. De Meulenaere, "Anthroponymes égyptiens de Basse Époque," *CdE* 38 (1963): 215. For more examples, see *DemNam*, 412; TM Nam 760.



L. 8. : At the beginning of this line two marks interestingly overlap, that is the circle and the cross. Here the cross seems to indicate invalidation or cancelation of the precious marking.¹⁴²⁷ The possibility of the circle being an indication of absence could mean that this person was initially marked as absent, probably out of a mistake or scribe's hasty conclusion, a status that has been then invalidated by means of a cross. This usage seems to relate to the function of the cross as a terminal mark that brings a text to an end and prevents or invalidates any future addition.¹⁴²⁸ On the other hand, the cross was also used as a checking mark in lists of names and accounts on ostraca,¹⁴²⁹ possibly to indicate payment's successful reception or delivery (see comment on **Text 98**, col. i, l. x+10). This latter case is hardly applicable to the current example, which is simply a name list that does not involve any payment. Thus, conceiving the cross here as nullifier of the previous checking mark seems more plausible.

L. 9. The name in this line is not completely preserved and the initial part of it is covered by some extra traces of ink. It could be, however, read *Ta-p³-wr*¹⁴³⁰ who would be the only woman in this list. Thinking of a name of a man, i.e. *(P³)-šr-p³-wr*,¹⁴³¹ would mean that the initial *p³* of the name was omitted which is not probable.



L. 10. : The signs preserved in this line resemble the initial part of the name *Pa-n³-h³t.w*.

¹⁴²⁷ In a similar case, where an oblique stroke was written over a cross, Chaufray proposed the oblique stroke to be a correction mark; cf. Chaufray, "Accounts," 275.

¹⁴²⁸ Cf. Nur el-Din, "Checking," 59.

¹⁴²⁹ Nur el-Din, "Checking," 54.

¹⁴³⁰ *DemNam*, 1178.

¹⁴³¹ *DemNam*, 234.

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Indices

1. Selected Vocabulary¹⁴³²

<i>ʕlly</i>	grape, grapevine	ʿ18.1ʿ; 81.1
<i>ʕh</i>	field, land	12.2; ʿ19.4ʿ; 20.3; 50.2, 4; 51.2, 3, 4; 79.4; 92.3
<i>ʕky</i>	sesame	96.5
<i>ʕbt</i>	east	71.8; 79.7(?)
<i>ʕy</i>	to come	71.8; 79.7(?)
<i>ʕw</i>	qualitative of <i>ʕy</i>	74.4
<i>ʕby</i>	honey	81.4
<i>ʕbd</i>	month	23.2(?); 88.1; 89.7
<i>ʕp</i>	account, list	1.4; 20.4; 27.4; 31.1; 32.1; 40.1; 46.1; 51.1, 5; 52.1(?); 91.3; 92.6; 95.2
<i>ʕp r</i>	to assign to	90.7(?)
<i>ʕpy.t</i>	<i>oipe</i> (measurement)	13.4
<i>ʕm</i>	imperative of <i>ʕy</i>	74.5
<i>ʕmnʔ</i>	west, western	17.3, 7
<i>ʕn</i>	to bring, pay	2.1; 4.1; 5.1; 7.1; 10.1; 13.1; ʿ14.1ʿ; 15.1; 22.2; 26.1
<i>ʕr</i>	to do, make, act, acting	19.4; 20.3; 23.2, 3; 49.3; 72.2, 4; 77.2, 7; 86.5; 87.2, 5; 88.1(?); 92.5; 93.7
<i>ʕ.ʕr</i>	relative of <i>ʕr</i>	46.2(?); 64.4; 72.3; 76.1; 77.1
<i>ʕ.ʕr-ħr</i>	to	74.vso.2
<i>ʕry</i>	companion, colleague	9.1
<i>ʕry-ʕʕ</i>	<i>pastophoros</i>	39.I.2; 45.1, 2
<i>ʕrp</i>	wine	33.II.15; 34.6; 34.8, 10; 37.4; 38.3; 45.1, 2; 64.4; 94.1
<i>ʕrm</i>	with	3.2(?); 9.1; 12.1; 37.6(?); 73.3; 74.6; 76.4; 77.6; 79.6; 82.3; 94.3, 5
<i>ʕh</i>	ox, in <i>ħtr-ʕh</i> ‘pair of oxen’	81.5
<i>ʕs</i>	old	33.II.15
<i>ʕt</i>	barley	47.1, 3, 4, 5; 93.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; 93.vso.1, 2
^c .wy	house, district	2.2; 3.3; 4.2; 5.2; 10.2; 13.2
^c .wy	linen	ʿ22.5ʿ
^c (ʕ)	great, old, chief	35.3; 52.1; 63.1, 2; 64.3; 89.6
^c (ʕ)-n-10	chief of ten	93.1

¹⁴³² Definite articles, personal pronouns, and common prepositions (e.g. *n*, *r*, etc.) are not listed. Words are listed in singular. References to words in texts are given as follows: text numbers are given in **bold** Arabic numbers, while line numbers are referred to in normal Arabic numbers. If not preceded by vso (short for ‘verso’), line numbers normally refer to the recto. If applicable, column numbers are given in Roman numbers. Partly preserved or faint words are given in half square brackets. Doubtful words are followed by ‘(?)’. Words that are not in the *DemGloss* or *CDD* as well as names or name variants that are not in the *DemNam* are introduced by ‘!’.

<i>ʕ.t</i>	great, old (feminine)	46.6(?)
<i>ʕ(w)</i>	increase	49.3(?)
<i>ʕbʕ</i>	offering	94.1
<i>ʕp.t</i>	head, in <i>hd ʕp(y).t</i> 'poll tax'	2.3; 3.4; 4.3; 6.2(?); 7.2; 8.2, '5', 6
<i>ʕn</i>	again	1.2; 2.5; 3.6, 8; 6.4; 10.4; 11.5; 12.4; 13.4; 14.4; 16.7; 22.5; 26.6; 28.2, 4, 5, 6, 7; 29.3(?); 53.4; 78.2
<i>ʕn</i>	likewise, again	3.7; 5.5; 7.3, 4, '5'; 8.5, 6; 28.3, 4, 32.2; 51.5
! <i>ʕn=s(?)</i>	repetition (lit. repeat it)(?)	41.I.4, 5, II.4, 8
<i>ʕnh</i>	oath	'76.1'; '77.1'; '80.6'(?)
<i>ʕnh</i>	by (in temple oaths)	77.4
<i>ʕ.t(?)</i>	papyrus-roll(?)	34.11
! <i>ʕlm-dʕdʕ</i>	a quality of the hair(?)	83.3
<i>ʕh^c</i>	stand	74.5
<i>ʕhwʕ</i>	farmer	14.3; 92.3
<i>ʕš</i>	to call, to recite, also in <i>ʕš m-sʕ</i> 'have a legal claim against'	20.5; '71.2'; 75.5
<i>ʕšʕ</i>	many, numerous	74.4
<i>ʕq</i>	to enter	71.7, 10
<i>ʕq</i>	loaf of bread, ration	95.7, 9, 10; 95.vso.3, 4, 5, '7'(?); 98.II.12(?)
<i>wʕh</i>	to put	72.3(?)
<i>wʕh</i>	answer	74.vso.1
<i>wʕh r</i>	to be directed to	71.8
<i>wʕh</i>	auxiliary verb of perfect tense	74.4; 77.7
<i>w(iʕ)</i>	bark	71.9
<i>wy</i>	to be far	80.3
<i>w^c</i>	one	31.2; 41.II.8(?); 94.4, 5, 6
<i>w^c.t</i>	one	31.3; 79.5
<i>w^cb</i>	<i>w^cb</i> -priest	64.8; 95.3, 5, 9
<i>wbʕ</i>	for, equivalent to(?)	40.9
<i>wp.t</i>	work	19.4; 20.3
<i>wp-s.t</i>	specification, details, sometimes simply represents a 'colon'	24.1, 2; 31.4; '32.4'; 40.2; 96.1
<i>wpr(t)</i>	provisions	88.3
<i>wn</i>	sum, portion, list	32.3(?); 34.8
<i>wn mtw</i>	to have	82.2
<i>wnw.t</i>	moment, in <i>š^c bʕ wnw.t</i> 'until now'	74.7
<i>wr(ʕ)</i>	bean	49.2
<i>whe</i>	oasis	81.2
<i>wš</i>	lack, deficiency, also in <i>n wš n</i> 'without'	13.5; 16.7; 27.2; 35.5(?)
<i>wt</i>	surcharge payment	95.3
<i>wdʕ</i>	granary	11.1; 13.2; 14.2; 15.2; 17.4; 64.6
<i>bʕk</i>	work	77.7
<i>bʕk</i>	document	86.4

<i>bw ṛ rh</i>	negative aorist with <i>rh</i>	76.5
<i>bn-ṛw</i>	negative of future	72.5; 85.1
<i>bd.t</i>	emmer	48.4(?); 95.4, 6, 7, 8, 10
<i>(b)ḥn</i>	pylon, in the title <i>nb</i> <i>(b)ḥn</i> ‘lord of the pylon’	95.8
<i>p³y</i>	This (demonstrative pronoun)	5.5; 35.6; 95.3
<i>p³y</i>	copula pronoun	‘80.6’
<i>p³y=y</i>	my	20.2; 91.2
<i>p³y=w</i>	their	50.2(?)
<i>p³y=f</i>	his	12.1; 23.2; 26.2; 36.9; 37.2; 43.3; ‘49.2’; 51.2, 3; 61.5; ‘69.8’; 80.3, 5; 96.1
<i>p³y=s</i>	her	41.II.5; ‘80.1’
<i>p³y=k</i>	your	29.3
<i>pr</i>	house	71.7
<i>pr</i>	in place of <i>p³</i>	71.8
<i>pr-ᶜš</i>	pharaoh, royal	‘22.2’; 50.2
<i>pr-ḥd</i>	treasury	22.2
<i>pr.t</i>	grain	80.2
<i>pry</i>	to go out	71.8
<i>phr.t</i>	medicament	81.3(?)
<i>psy</i>	burnt(?)	58.vso.2
<i>pš</i>	half	17.7
<i>fy</i>	offering-delivery	35.1, ‘4’, ‘6’, 8; 88.‘1’, 2
<i>fy r</i>	to carry out(?)	‘35.4’
<i>m-b³ḥ</i>	before	94.2, 8
<i>m-s³</i>	behind, after, except, also in ᶜš <i>m-s³</i> ‘have a legal claim against’	20.5; 32.3; 40.9
<i>m³</i>	canal	73.4
<i>(n) m³y</i>	new	34.15(?)
<i>m³-nn</i>	likewise, as well(?)	34.7(?)
<i>my</i>	let ‘imperative of <i>dī</i> ’	93.7
<i>mw.t</i>	mother	71.7; 75.4; 87.4(?)
<i>mn</i>	there is no	20.5
<i>mnt</i>	daily ration(?)	95.vso.1(?)
<i>mr-šn</i>	<i>lesonis</i>	35.4, 9
<i>mḥ</i>	to fill, complete, pay	19.3; 20.2; 23.2; 82.4; 92.2
<i>mḥ</i>	prefix of ordinal numbers	88.3(?)
! <i>mḥy.t</i>	metal bowl(?)	52.4
<i>mḥt</i>	north	2.2; 3.3; 4.2; 5.2; ‘6.2’; 10.2; 13.2
<i>mtw</i>	conjunctive prefix	1. 4; 27.5; 71.4, 6; 72.4; ‘80.4’; 82.4; ‘86.6’; 87.4; 90.8
<i>md.t</i>	thing, matter, dispute	20.5; 76.4; 86.2
<i>md³.t</i>	<i>md³.t</i> -measure	44.II. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
<i>mdl</i>	onion	‘41.II.4’(?)
<i>n³y=w</i>	their	95.vso.1
<i>n³y=f</i>	his	9.1; 94.3, 5
<i>n³y=k</i>	your	1.2, 5
<i>n³y=tn</i>	your	80.2

<i>n.ḡm=w</i>	pronominal form of <i>n</i>	34.6; 79.5; 82.4
<i>n.ḡm=s</i>	pronominal form of <i>n</i>	ʿ20.5ʼ
<i>n-dr.t</i>	through, from, in the hand of	16.1; 17.2(?); 21.1; 23.1; 84.2, 3; 87.5; 95.vso.2, 4, 5, 6
<i>nḡy=y</i>	my	1.3; 79.6
<i>nḡy=f</i>	his	9.1
<i>nw</i>	time, or perhaps seeing	85.2
<i>nwy</i>	<i>nwy</i> -cloth	41.II.8(?); 53.2(?)
<i>nb</i>	every	77.6; 86.2
<i>nb</i>	lord	95.8
<i>nbe</i>	dike	9.3
<i>nfr</i>	good	74.vso.1(?)
<i>nnm.t</i>	bier	71.9
! <i>nnṯ</i>	radish(?)	46.ʿ1ʼ–2
<i>nḥb</i>	yoke	1.3, 5
<i>nḥḥ</i>	oil	21.2
<i>nkt</i>	thing, object	52.1(?)
<i>nty</i>	relative converter	1.1; 9.2; 25.1, 3; 32.4; 34.13, 14, 15; 45.12; 49.3; 52.1(?); 71.5; 75.1; 76.1, 3, 4; 77.1, 5, 6; 82.2; 86.2; 87.1; 90.7(?)
<i>ntm</i>	sweet	81.4
<i>nṯr</i>	god, divine	12.2; 51.3; 64.3; 77.6; 86.2
<i>(r)-c.wy</i>	owing from	32.4; 34.13, 14, 15; 43.4; 82.3
<i>r-bnr</i>	out	46.2
<i>r.ṯry</i>	imperative of <i>ṯr</i>	73.2
<i>r.r=w</i>	pronominal form of <i>r</i>	35.4
<i>r.r=f</i>	pronominal form of <i>r</i>	80.4
<i>r hn (r)</i>	until, up to	23.3; 33.II.18; 82.4
<i>r-ḥrw</i>	at the command of	1.6; 13.6; 91.4
<i>r-ḥ</i>	according to, at the rate of	86.3; 87.2, 3; 92.5
<i>(r)-dbḡ</i>	in exchange for, in <i>dḡ.t</i> <i>(r)-dbḡ ḥd</i> ‘sell’	79.3
<i>r^c-whḡ</i>	debt-claim	39.I.1
<i>rmt</i>	man	3.4; 35.6; 74.4; 84.1(?); 98.II.10, 12
<i>rmt-nmḥ</i>	private (‘lit. free man’)	50.4; 51.2
<i>rmt.t</i>	wife	41.II.2; 48.1, 8, 9; 64.5, 6 ʿ8ʼ, 12, 13, ʿ14ʼ; 65.2, ʿ6ʼ; 68.4; 70.9
<i>rn</i>	name, list	41.I.3; 64.3
<i>rn=f</i>	same, named, in <i>pḡ ḡbd</i> <i>rn=f</i> ‘the same/ named month’	89.7
<i>rnp.t</i>	year	41.ʿI.3ʼ(?), II.3, 7; 83.2
<i>rh</i>	to know, to be able to	72.5; 76.5
<i>rsy</i>	south	17.8
<i>rt</i>	representative, agent	ʿ22.6ʼ; 64.2(?); 89.4
<i>rtb</i>	artaba	46.3; 91.2
<i>ll</i>	necklace	53.3; 76.4(?)
<i>lq</i>	measure of liquids	94.4, 5, 6, ʿ7ʼ(?)
<i>lḡnḡ</i>	frying pan	52.5
<i>hy/ he/ hw(e)</i>	expense, cost	16.4; 19.5; 34.7; 88.2; 90.9(?); 94.1
<i>hp</i>	law	80.4
<i>hn</i>	measure of liquids	95.6, 7, 10(?)

<i>hrw</i>	day	5.5; 35.6; 95.3, 5, 6, 10; 95.vso.1
<i>hrw-ms</i>	birthday	95.7
<i>hrw-nfr</i>	celebration, festive day	72.4
<i>h.t</i>	tomb	79.8(?)
<i>h.t-ntr</i>	temple	64.3
<i>h³.t</i>	fore	71.4
<i>h³.t-sp</i>	regnal year	1.3, 5, 7; 2.3; 3.4, 6; 4.3; 5.4; 6.4; 7.2; 8.2, 3, '6'; 9.4; 10.3, 5; 11.2, 3; 12.2, 4; 13.3, 5; 14.3; 15.5; 19.6; 20.4, 6; 21.1; 23.1, 2, 3; 24.'3', 4; 26.2, 3; 27.1, 4, 6; 34.15; 46.1; 49.1; 50.5; 51.1; 64.1; 76.2; 77.3; 78.3; 79.1; 80.2(?); 82.4; 82.5; 91.3, 4; 92.6, 7; 95.1; '96.1'(?)
<i>h³t</i>	heart	72.3
<i>hw</i>	surplus, profit	15.3; 19.3; '20.2'; 33.1; 45.12(?); 46.6; 92.3
<i>hbs</i>	cloth	'85.2'
<i>hm</i>	craftsman	62.8(?); 84.1
<i>hm-ntr</i>	prophet	95.7
<i>hms</i>	sitting, session	94.2
<i>hmt</i>	copper	31.4
<i>hm.t</i>	wife, in <i>sh-n-hm.t</i> 'marriage document'	80.3, 5
<i>hn^c</i>	(together) with, and	20.2; 95.3
<i>hnqe/ hnqy</i>	beer	75.3; 81.4
<i>hr</i>	face	71.8
<i>hry</i>	nisbe of <i>hr</i> 'upon'	71.10
<i>htp</i>	to rest	77.5, 6
<i>htp</i>	prebend	91.2
<i>htr</i>	pair, in <i>htr-ih</i> 'pair of oxen'	81.5
<i>hd</i>	deben, money, tax	1.3; 2.3; 3.4; '4.2'; 6.2(?); 7.2; 8.2, 5, 6; '9.3'; 10.3; 18.1; 25.2(?), 3; 30.1, '3'; 32.2, 3, '4'(?); 34.9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; 35.3, 9; '36.3', 7; 37.1, 6(?); 38.2, 3, 4; 39.I.2, '3', 5, II.1; 41.I.4, 5, II.4, 5; 42.2; 52.2, 5; 53.4; 79.3; 86.3, '6'; '98.II.10'(?), 11(?), 12(?)
<i>h^{3c} r-hry</i>	to disregard, lay down	90.6
<i>h^c</i>	appearance(?)	71.6
<i>hpr</i>	to become, happen	27.2
<i>hft^h</i>	dormos	'77.3'
<i>hm</i>	young	31.vso.2; '39.I.7'(?); 42.3(?); 55.6; 91.3
<i>hr^t</i>	piece of cloth, bandage	58.vso.2
<i>ht.t</i>	parcel of land	79.5
<i>hy</i>	measure	13.4
<i>h^cq</i>	barber	93.2(?)
<i>hbs</i>	lamp(?)	(34.1, 4, 5)(?)
<i>hn</i>	row	'71.9'
<i>hn</i>	inside, partitive indicator (from (among))	1.3, 4; 3.4; 23.3; 25.3; 35.8; 50.1; 51.5; 71.5, 6, 7, 8; 87.3(?); 91.2

<i>hr</i>	for, concerning	2.3; 3.3(?); 4.2; 6.2; 8.5, 6; 9.3; 10.3; 12.2; 16.3; 18.1; 23.1(?), 2; 27.4; 29.3; 45.12; 52.2, 3, 5, 6, 7; 92.6; 95.6(?)
<i>hr-dr. ṭ=w</i>	on their behalf of(?)	27.3
<i>hr(.t)</i>	food	95.3, 5
<i>hrty</i>	stonemason(?)	35.8(?)
<i>hrṭ</i>	child	70.11; 94.3, 5
<i>s</i>	person	35.6
<i>s.t</i>	place	71.3, 7; 81.6(?)
<i>s.t-ywn.t</i>	bath	10.3
<i>s³</i>	amulet	81.5(?)
<i>s³</i>	phyle	‘89.6’(?)
<i>sw</i>	wheat	11.5; 12.2; 13.3, 4; 14.4, 7; 15.4, 7; 16.3; ‘17.5’(?); 27.1; 41.I.5; 44.II. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; 50.2, 3, 4; 91.2
<i>swn</i>	price, value	16.3; 21.2; 96.5
<i>swnw</i>	doctor, physician	93.4
<i>swr</i>	drinking	45.‘1’, 2; 72.2
<i>sp</i>	to remain over, remainder, rest	30.2; 34.13, 14, 15; 38.3; 41.II.5(?); 49.2; 96.6
<i>sp-sn</i>	twice, ditto, also replaces the father’s name if it was the same as the name of the son	9.1; 16.1; 16.5; 37.5; 67.3, 7; 69.10
<i>sm(β^c)</i>	to greet	20.1; 74.3; 91.1; 92.1
<i>sn</i>	brother	36.9; 37.2; 43.3; ‘61.5’; 67.4; 69.8(?); 79.6
<i>sn.t</i>	sister	‘46.6’(?)
<i>srtqws</i>	<i>strategos</i>	‘17.5’; 95.vso.7
<i>shm.t</i>	woman	64.4; 81.3; 83.4
<i>shn</i>	to lease, agreement, lease	‘34.15’(?); 73.2; 92.5
<i>shn</i>	administrator	95.vso.5(?)
<i>shn</i>	bank	2.2; 4.2; 10.2; 12.1; 16.2
<i>shṭ</i>	weaver	39.I.5(?)
<i>sh</i>	to write, sign	1.6; 5.4; 6.4; 8.3; 10.5; ‘11.3’; 12.4; 13.5; 15.5; 19.6, 7; 20.6; 21.2, 3; 22.3, 24.3, 4; 27.5; 28.2; 78.2; 82.5; 87.5; ‘91.3’; 92.7
<i>sh</i>	scribe	64.6
<i>sh</i>	document, in <i>sh n hm.t</i> ‘marriage document’	80.3, 5
<i>st³.ṭ</i>	to withdraw, in the phrase <i>st³.ṭ r tm ṭr</i> ‘refuse to do’	86.5
<i>sttr</i>	stater	1.2; 2.5; 3.5, 6, 8; 5.3; 6.3; 6.4; 12.3; 16.6; ‘26.4’; 28.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 42.3; 43.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; 82.3; 86.3(?)
<i>st³</i>	aroura	49.1(?), 2(?), 3(?); 50.2; 51.2, 3, 4, 5; 78.2; 79.4
<i>šy</i>	lake	71.5

<i>š^c</i>	until	74.6; 85.2; 90.2, '3', 5
<i>š^ct</i>	to subtract, minus	34.5(?), 9(?); 35.9; '40.8'
<i>š^ct.t</i>	subtraction	86.3(?)
<i>šw</i>	waste ground	77.7(?)
<i>šm</i>	to go	'46.2'(?)
<i>šn^c</i>	baker	93.3; 95.2
<i>šr.t</i>	daughter	48.2; 64.11; 65.3
<i>šsp</i>	to receive, extra payment	1.4; 11.3; 13.5; 15.5; 17.4; 20.4; 27.2, 3; 71.6; 92.5
<i>qw(s)</i>	measure of liquids	34.7, 10, 13; 35.5, 7; 94.4, 5, 6
<i>qdy</i>	to go around	71.4
<i>(hd) qd.t</i>	kite	1.2; '6.4'; 9.3; 10.4; 12.3; 23.1(?), 2; 26.3, 4, 5, 6; 28.2, 3, 4, 7; 31.4; 33.II.17; '34.2', 4, 9, 11, 12, 14; 35.4; 40.2, 3, 6, 8, 9; 41.I.'4', II.5; 42.2, 4, '5'(?); 96.2, 4, 5, 6, '7'(?); 98.II.10, 11; 98.II.12
<i>kmy</i>	Egypt, in <i>šlly kmy</i> 'Egyptian grapes, or lit. grapes of Egypt'	81.1
<i>krkr</i>	talent	32.2, 3; 86.6
<i>! gyw</i>	gyw-plant	81.2
<i>gr³</i>	swathe	85.1
<i>gl-hb</i>	Ibis feeder(?)	70.7, 8
<i>glšr</i>	kalasiris, 'shield bearer'	'90.7'(?)
<i>! gtgy</i>	dowry item from metal(?)	52.6
<i>gd³</i>	earring	52.2
<i>t³y</i>	daughter of	43.6
<i>t³y=w</i>	their	86.3(?)
<i>t³y=f</i>	his	86.4; 87.4(?)
<i>t³y=s</i>	her	64.11
<i>t³y=k</i>	your	75.4
<i>ty</i>	here	77.5
<i>tb¹</i>	fish	23.1, 2
<i>tw</i>	to give, pay	1.2; 9.3, 25.2; 31.4; 41.I.3; 45.7; 46.6; 53.4; 58.7; 75.2; 91.2
<i>tw=y</i>	present tense, 'I am'	19.3; 20.2
<i>twn</i>	beside, before	17.6
<i>tm</i>	negation verb	86.5
<i>tn</i>	each, per, at the rate of	23.2; 34.9(?); 95.6, 10; 98.II.10
<i>tne</i>	to be(come) old	83.2
<i>tny</i>	tax	(23.1(?), 2(?); '29.3'(?))
<i>tny.t</i>	share	38.3; 75.3(?); 86.4
<i>thm</i>	invitation	35.7
<i>! thf</i>	a dowry item from metal(?)	52.3
<i>t³y</i>	to take	52.1(?); 71.9; 85.3; 90.8
<i>t³y</i>	from (temporal)	'95.9'(?); 95.vso.2
<i>d¹.t</i>	to give (infinitive form)	1.4; 74.4; 79.3; 79.3; '80.3'; 86.6
<i>dmd</i>	total	96.4(?)

$\underline{d}^c..?$	type of pot(?)	52.7
\underline{db}^c	to seal	35.2
$\underline{db}^c.t$	obol	9.3; 12.3; 18.3; 21.2; 26.4, 5, 6; 29.3(?); ‘31.5’(?); 42.2; 82.3
$\underline{dr}.t$	hand	72.3
\underline{dd}	to say, declare	1.1; 9.2; ‘19.2’; ‘22.1’; 25.1; 74.5(?); 75.1; 82.2
\underline{dd}	conjunction (saying, that)	77.4
! \underline{dd}	type of chapel(?)	71.6, 8

2. Place Names

$^c.wy.w mh.t.w$	northern districts, a quarter in Jeme	2.2; 3.3; 4.2; 5.2; ‘6.2’; 10.2; 13.2–3; [16]‘.3’
! $P3-^c.wy-P3y-k3$	hamlet in Thebes(?)	55.4(?)
$P3-mwh$	Pamouchis	64.8
$H3-ty$	Chedi	35.6
kmy	Egypt	81.1
! $T3-m3y(.t)-pa-qd(y)$	island in Jeme or Thebes(?)	20.3(?)
! $T3-m3y(.t)-phy$	island in Thebes(?)	92.4
$\underline{Dm}3^c$	Jeme	4.3; 5.3; 6.3; 7.2; 8.2; 10.4; 11.2; 12.2; 26.2; 50.1; 75.3; 77.3, 78.2

3. Divine Names

$^?Imn-n3y=w-hmnw-iw$		‘76.3’; 77.4–5
$P3-nb-t3.wy$		94.2
$H.t-Hr$		39.1.2; 95.5, 7, 9
Sbk		95.3, 8
$\underline{D}hwty$		64.3, 4, 8

4. Royal Names

Tiberius	$[Tybrs(?)] Gysrs$ $S^c b^? [sts] 3wtwqrtw$;	‘14.4–6’;
	$[Tybrs] S^c b^? s^? [ts](?) [$ $...](?)$	‘15.5–6’(?)
Claudius	$Tybr^? s^? [^c.w.s.] [Gltyys$ $^c.w.s.(?) Gysrs ^c.w.s.(?)$ $Sbstws ^c.w.s. Gr[mnykws$;	‘8.3–4’;
	$Tybsrys ^c.w.s. [Qlwtys ^c.w.s.]$ $Gysrys ^c.w.s. p3$ $s^c b^? s^? [t]^? s^? [^c.w.s.]$ $Grm^cnykws ^c.w.s. 3wtwgrtw$ $^c.w.s.$	‘29.4–7’

Vespasian

$\text{ʒwtwgr}^c\text{twrws}^{\text{c.w.s.}}$ *Gysrys* 9.4–5
 c.w.s. *Wswpesnws* c.w.s.

5. Personal Names ¹⁴³³

ʒpllwnyts	(^{14.2}); (^{15.2–3}); s. <i>sp-sn</i> (^{16.5})
ʒphn	s. <i>Pʒ-mr-ih</i> (^{98.II.3} ?)
! ʒnyškws	f. <i>Pʒ-dī-ʿHnʿsw</i> (?) f. <i>Pʒ-šr-ʿMnʿ</i> (^{10.1–2})
ʒhwre.t	d. [...] (^{76.1})
ʒsgl[...]	f. <i>Pʒ-dī-Hr-wr</i> (^{89.5})
! ʒgnyrqs	(^{95.vso.6} ?)
ʿIy-m-htp	(^{30.4} ?) s. <i>Pa-Dmʒc</i> (^{54.6}); s. <i>Pa-nʒ-hʿt.ʿwʿ</i> (^{66.3}); f. <i>ʿImn-htp</i> (^{66.5}); s. <i>ʿHrʿ</i> (?)-[...] (?) (^{66.8}); f. <i>ʿImn-htp</i> (^{90.3}); s. <i>Hr</i> (^{90.4})
ʿImn-htp	s. <i>Gβ</i> (^{7.1}); f. [...] (^{39.I.7}); f. <i>ʿPa-Mnʿt</i> (^{43.5, 7}); f. <i>Pa-Dmʒc</i> (^{54.10}); s. <i>Pa-Dmʒc</i> (^{55.5}); s. <i>Pʒy-kʒ</i> (^{56.5}); s. <i>ʿIy-m-htp</i> (^{66.5}); s. <i>Hnsw-Dhwtʿy</i> (^{83.1}); s. <i>ʿIy-ʿm-htpʿ</i> (^{90.3}); (^{90.5} ?)
ʿIn-ir.t-Hr-r.r=w	s. <i>Tʒy=f-nhʿt.t</i> (?) (^{70.4})
ʿIḡš	f. <i>Pa-Mnʿt</i> (^{66.vso.5})
cʒ-phʿt	(^{54.8} ?)
! $\text{cʒ-ʒn-}phty$	f. <i>Ta</i> (?)-ʿnʒʒ(?) (^{48.5} ?)
cʒq	f. <i>Pʒ-dī-Sbk</i> (^{97.7}); f. <i>Pʒ-mr-ih</i> (^{98.II.8})
<i>Wn-nfr</i>	f. <i>Pʒ-šr-Mnʿt</i> (^{36.5}); f. <i>Pʒ-šr-Mnʿt</i> (^{42.3}); (^{42.7}); s. <i>Gdʒdʒ</i> (^{47.6}); f. <i>Pa-wn</i> (^{56.2}); s. <i>Pʒ-šr-Mn</i> (^{66.vso.1}); f. <i>Pa-Mnʿt</i> ‘occurs as <i>sp-sn</i> ’ f. <i>Pa-Mnʿt</i> (^{73.1}); f. <i>Pa-rhw</i> (^{93.8})
<i>Wnše</i>	f. <i>Pʒ-dī-Hr-smʒ-tʒ.wy</i> (^{99.2}); f. <i>Nʒ-nhʿt=f</i> (^{99.4})
<i>Wrše</i>	f. <i>Pa-swn.t</i> (^{97.4}); s. <i>Pa-Hnm</i> (^{98.II.9})
<i>Wsir-wr</i>	s. <i>Hnm-ib-ʿRc</i> (?) ^{32.1} (?)
<i>Wsr-mʒc.t-Rc</i>	^{59.9} ; ^{80.6}
<i>Wdʒ-rn=s</i>	d. <i>Pʒ-fdw-Mnʿt</i> (^{43.6})
<i>Br</i>	f. [<i>Ns</i> (?)- <i>nʒ-hʿt.ʿw</i> (?) (^{69.2})
<i>Bry</i>	(^{84.2} ?)
<i>Pʒ-ʒbʒ</i>	s. <i>Pa-D[mʒc]</i> (?) (^{66.vso.3})
! <i>Pʒ-ʒbʒcʒ</i>	s. <i>Pʒ-dī-Nfr-htp</i> (^{47.2})
! <i>Pʒ-ʒrw</i>	(^{64.8})
<i>Pʒ-ih</i>	s. <i>Hr</i> (^{24.1})
<i>Pʒ-ʿIšwr</i>	f. <i>Hnsw-ms</i> (^{21.1})
<i>Pʒ-ʿIḡš</i>	s. <i>Pa-[...]</i> (^{13.6})
<i>Pʒ-ʿnh</i>	s. <i>Dd-hr</i> (^{93.6}); (^{96.1} ?)
<i>Pʒ-ʿhm</i>	s.(?) [...] (?) (^{35.2}); s. <i>Pʒ-wr</i> (^{35.4}); s. <i>Ntm-ʿnh</i> (^{91.3})

¹⁴³³ Writing variants are listed separately. The following abbreviations are used to indicate filiation: d.= daughter of; f. = father of; h. = husband of; s. = son of; w.= wife of.

<i>P3-Wynn</i>	(53.5)
<i>P3-wr</i>	f. <i>P3-^chm</i> (35.4)
<i>P3-wr-^lb^lt</i>	(70.14); f. <i>P3-mr-^lh</i> (‘97.9’(?))
<i>P3-whr</i>	(74.3)
<i>P3-fdw-Mn^lt</i>	f. <i>Wd^l-^rrn^l=s</i> (43.6); s. <i>P3-d^l-H^lns^w</i> (60.4); f. ‘ <i>Pa-Mn^lt</i> ’ (62.7); s. ‘ <i>P3-šr^r-^lImn</i> ’ (73.3).
! <i>P3-mny</i>	(40.3(?))
<i>P3-mr-^lh</i> (see also <i>Pa-mr-^lh</i>)	f.(?) ‘ <i>[...]</i> ’ (‘57.1’(?)); s. <i>Pa-^r...^r</i> (‘97.1’); f. <i>Pa-swn.t</i> (‘97.2’); s. <i>Pa-Hnm</i> (97.3); f. <i>Ns-mtr</i> (97.8); s. <i>P3-wr-^lb^lt</i> (?) (97.9); f. [...’] (‘98.II.2’); f. [^l (?)] <i>phn</i> (98.II.3); f. <i>Dd-hr</i> (98.II.6); f.(?) <i>Symn</i> (98.II.6); f. <i>P3-šr-p3-wr</i> (98.II.7); s. ‘ <i>bq</i> ’ (98.II.8); s.(?) [...’] (99.8)
<i>P3-ms^lh</i>	s. <i>sp-sn</i> (37.5)
<i>P3-rmt-Pr-^lw-lq</i>	h. <i>T3-šr.t-D^lhwty</i> (64.5); f. <i>T3-šr.t-^lIhy</i> (64.7)
! <i>P3-rmt-Twtw</i>	f. <i>Pa-[nb-b]^rhn^r’</i> (62.6)
! <i>P3-rmt-T3-qhy-rsy</i>	(‘48.8’(?))
<i>P3-lyn</i>	(41.II.6)
<i>P3-hb</i>	f. <i>Dd-hr</i> (‘19.2’(?)); s.(?) <i>P3-šr-[...]</i> (‘59.1’(?))
<i>P3-hm-ntr-sn.nw</i>	(37.3)
<i>P3-^ltr</i>	s. <i>Plws</i> (92.2)
<i>P3-hm-b^lk</i>	f. <i>P3-d^l</i> (66.1)
<i>P3-hmt-sn.w</i>	f. [...’] (43.2); s. <i>Hr</i> (55.8)
<i>P3-šy</i>	f. <i>Pa-Mn^lt</i> (48.9)
<i>P3-šr-^lImn</i>	s. <i>Pa-wn</i> (?) (‘51.1’(?)); f. <i>Hr-s3-šs.t</i> (56.1); s. <i>Pa-h3</i> (?) (60.6); f. <i>P3-fdw-Mn^lt</i> (‘73.4’); f. <i>Pa-Hnm</i> (98.II.4)
<i>P3-šr-^lInp</i>	f. <i>Hr</i> (57.5); f. <i>Pa-Dm^{3c}</i> (67.5); (95.2)
<i>P3-šr-^{c3}-ph^lt</i>	f. <i>Ns-Mn</i> (31.5); f. <i>Pa-Mn^lt</i> (55.7); s. <i>Hr-(?) [...]</i> (59.6)
<i>P3-šr-^lWs^lr</i>	s. <i>Hr</i> (?) (63.6)
<i>P3-šr-p3-ryt</i>	f. ‘ <i>P3-d^l-[...]</i> ’ (‘70.5’(?))
<i>P3-šr-p3-wr</i>	s. <i>Pa-swn.t</i> (98.II.5); s. <i>P3-mr-^lh</i> (98.II.7)
<i>P3-šr-Pth</i>	(39.II.1)
<i>P3-šr-Mn</i>	s. <i>P3-d^l-^rHn^rsw</i> (?) s. <i>šnyskws</i> (?) (‘10.1’); s. <i>P3-šr^r-[...]</i> (22.1); f.(?) <i>P3-šr-Hr</i> (31.2); f. <i>Wn-nfr</i> (66.vso.1); f. <i>Pa-Mn^lt</i> (69.9); s. <i>P3-d^l-Nfr-htp</i> (69.9); s. <i>P3y-k3</i> (82.1); (95.vso.5)
<i>P3-šr-mnh</i>	s. <i>Pa-s[y]</i> (?) (99.6)
<i>P3-šr-Mn^lt</i>	s. <i>Pa-Dm^{3c}</i> s. [<i>Ms-wr</i>] (5.1); s. [...’] (8.1); s. ‘ <i>Iy-m-htp</i> ’ (11.1); f. <i>Pa-^rMn^r[^lt]</i> f. <i>Hr-p3-hm</i> (13.2); (31.1); s. <i>Wn-nfr</i> (36.5); s. <i>Glmy3</i> (?) (36.11); s. <i>P3-šr-^rD^lhwty</i> ’ (39.I.3); (f. <i>Pa-Mn^lt</i> (42.3); (s.

	<i>Wn-nfr</i> (42.3); (52.6); (53.1); f. <i>Pa-Mnṯ</i> (57.2); f. <i>Hr</i> (57.3); s. <i>P3-dl-Ḥswr</i> ('60.8'(?)); f. [<i>Pa-i</i>]ry (61.1); f. [...] <i>hṯp</i> (?) (61.3); f. <i>Qll</i> (61.5); f. [...] ('62.9'); s.(?) ...- <i>hṯp</i> (?) (69.11); s. 'Hr ² -wd ³ (70.15)
<i>P3-šr-Hr</i>	s.(?) <i>P3-šr-Mn</i> (31.2)
<i>P3-šr-Hnsw</i>	s. <i>Nhṯ-Hnsw</i> (?)(19.7); (30.1)
<i>P3-šr-Hnm</i>	h. <i>Ta-šs.t</i> (70.9)
! <i>P3-šr-hltlyl</i>	h. <i>Ta-n3</i> (48.1(?))
<i>P3-šr-t3-ḫ.t</i>	('30.3'(?)); f. <i>Dḥwty-sdm</i> (42.4); (42.5); f. <i>Pa-iry</i> ('42.6')
<i>P3-šr-Twtw</i>	f. [...] (79.2); s. <i>Hr</i> (79.6)
<i>P3-šr-Dḥwty</i>	s. <i>Twtw</i> (25.1); s. <i>Hnsw</i> (?)- ² <i>Imn</i> (31.3); f. <i>P3-šr-Mnṯ</i> ('39.I.3'); f. <i>P3y-k3</i> (57.4); s. '...'[...] (59.2); s. <i>Pa</i> (?).. ('59.4'(?)); f.(?) <i>P3-dl-Imn-ipy</i> (59.8); s. <i>Dḥwty-ḫ.ir-dl=s</i> ' (64.12); f. [...]-' <i>hṯp</i> '(?) (75.2); f. <i>Ta-thy</i> (91.1); f. <i>Ntm-ḥnh</i> (91.2)
<i>P3-šr-[...]</i>	f. <i>P3-šr-Mn</i> ('22.1'); f.(?) ' <i>P3</i> '- <i>hb</i> (?) (59.1); f. <i>Ta-nfr</i> (?) (59.5)
<i>P3-šr-i</i> (?)[...]	(79.7)
<i>P3-qrr</i>	('40.8')
<i>P3-k3</i>	('37.6'(?)); f. <i>P3-dl</i> (66.7)
<i>P3-tnf</i>	(95.vso.2(?))
<i>P3-the</i>	s. <i>sp-sn</i> (67.7(?))
<i>P3-dl</i>	s. <i>P3-ḥm-bik</i> (66.1); s. <i>P3-k3</i> (66.7)
<i>P3-dl-šs.t</i>	f.(?) <i>Pa-n3-ḫṯ.w</i> ('59.7'(?))
<i>P3-dl-Imn-ipy</i>	s.(?) <i>P3-šr-Dḥwty</i> (59.8)
<i>P3-dl-²Iry-ḥms-nfr</i>	('60.1'); f.(?) [...] ('69.1')
<i>P3-dl-²lhy</i>	s. <i>P3y-Hr</i> (35.5)
<i>P3-dl-Ḥswr</i>	f. [<i>P3-šr</i>]-' <i>Mnṯ</i> '(?) (60.8)
<i>P3-dl-P3-nb-t3.wy</i>	s. <i>Pa-t3.wy</i> (94.8)
<i>P3-dl-p3-šy</i>	s. <i>Pa</i> -[...] (66.vso.4)
<i>P3-dl-p3-[...]</i>	f. <i>Mnh</i> (63.3; 63.4)
<i>P3-dl-Mn</i>	(77.7(?)); f. <i>Hr-s3-šs.t</i> (?) (95.vso.4)
<i>P3-dl-Nfr-hṯp</i>	f. <i>P3-šb^{c3}</i> (47.2); s. <i>Pa-Mnṯ</i> (47.4); f. <i>P3-šr-Mn</i> (69.9); (84.3); f. <i>Pa-Hnm</i> (97.5)
! <i>P3-dl-Hr-i3bt</i>	f. [...] (13.6)
<i>P3-dl-Hr-wr</i>	s. ³ <i>sgT</i> [...] (89.5)
<i>P3-dl-Hr-p3-R^c</i>	(70.1)
<i>P3-dl-Hr-sm3-t3.wy</i>	s. <i>Ns-Mn</i> (20.1), s. <i>TwTw</i> (35.7); h. <i>T3-šr.t-Hr</i> (64.6); s.(?) ... (92.1); s. <i>Wⁿš³[e]</i> (99.2)
<i>P3-dl-Hnsw</i>	f. <i>P3-šr-Mn</i> ; s. <i>šnyskws</i> (?) ('10.1'(?)); s. <i>Pa-n3</i> (21.2); s. <i>Pa-Dḥwty</i> (25.2); f. <i>Pa-Dm^{3c}</i> (60.3); f. <i>P3-fdw-Mnṯ</i> (60.4); s. <i>Pa-Dm^{3c}</i> s. <i>P3-šr-²Inp</i> (67.5))
<i>P3-dl-Sbk</i>	f. <i>Pa-Hnm</i> (97.6); s. ^c <i>bq</i> (97.7); f. <i>Hr-wd3</i> ('97.11')

<i>P3-dl^r...[...]</i>	f. [...] ('67.1'(?)); f. 'Pa-Mn ^r ḫ (69.12); s. P3-šr-p3-r ^r y ^r t(?) ('70.5')
<i>Pa^rInp</i>	h. T3-šr.t-p3-ḫf (64.13)
<i>Pa^riry</i>	f. Pa-Mnḫ (2.4; 3.5); f. P3y-[...] (16.2); f. [...] (41.1.2); s. P3-šr-t3- ^r ḫ.t ^r (42.6); s. Pa-Mnḫ (47.5); s. Hr-pa-3s.t (51.4); f. Pa-Mnḫ (51.5); s. Pa-ḫr(?) (54.3); s. P3-šr-Mnḫ ('61.1'); f. [...] (61.2); s. Hry=w s. G ^r lyy ^r n ^r ? ('61.4'); s. Pa-nf(?) (63.5); f. [...] ('69.4'); s. Pa-Mnḫ ('69.4'); s. Pa-tw (69.6)
<i>Pa-wn</i>	f. Hr-m-ḫb (1.2(?)); f. P3-šr-[Imn] (?) (51.1(?)); s. Wn-nfr (56.2); s. '...' ('56.6'(?)); s. Pa-rḫ ('84.2'(?))
<i>P3-brḫ</i>	f. [...] -Mn (36.3)
<i>! Pa-p3-ḫrḫ</i>	f. [Pa-]n3-ḫḫ.w (36.4)
<i>Pa-Mn</i>	f.(?) [...] (15.2)
<i>Pa-mnḫ</i>	s. Pa-ḫ.wy (99.3)
<i>Pa-Mnḫ</i>	s. Pa-iry (2.4; 3.5); f. Pa-Dm3 ^c (4.1); s. Ms-wr (4.1); s. sp-sn (9.1); s. Ms-wr (12.1); f. Hr-p3-ḫm (13.1); s. P3-šr-Mn ^r ḫ (13.1); s. [...] (15.1); 17.2; s. Hr s. P3y-k3 (26.1); s. P3y- ^r k3 (?) (38.1); s. P3-šr-Mnḫ s. Wn-nfr (42.3); s. Imn-ḫtp ('43.5', 7); (47.2); (f. P3-dl-Nfr-ḫtp (47.4); f. Pa-iry (47.5); s. P3-šy (48.9); s. Pa-iry (51.5); (52.1(?)); s. '...' [...] (55.2); s. P3-šr- ^c 3-phḫ (55.7); s. ... (56.4); s. P3-šr-Mnḫ (57.2); ('58.2'); s. Hr ^r y ^r [=w] (?) ('62.1'); s. P3-fdw-Mnḫ ('62.7'); h. [...] (65.6(?)); s. Hr-t3y=f-nḫḫ (66.6); s. Igš (66.vso.5); f. [Pa]- ^r iry' (69.4); s. P3-šr-Mn s. P3-dl-Nfr-ḫtp (69.9); s. P3- ^r dl ^r -[...] ('69.12'); s. sp-sn s. Wn-nfr (73.1); f. Pa-tw (77.4); s. P3y-k3 ('78. 1'); f. Hnsw-t3y=f-nḫḫ (89.3)
<i>Pa-Mnḫ-gmḫ</i>	f. P3y-k3 ('62.5'); ('69.8'(?))
<i>Pa-mr-ḫ</i>	f. Pa-ḫ.wy (21.3)
<i>Pa-n3</i>	f. P3-dl-Hnsw (21.2); (22.6)
<i>Pa-n3-ḫḫ.w</i>	s. Pa-p3-ḫrḫ ('36.4'); s.(?) P3-dl- ^r 3s.t' (?) (59.7); f. Dhwtly-ḫr-dl=s ('60.2'); f. Iy-m-ḫtp ('66.3'); ('99.10'(?))
<i>Pa-n3-[...]</i>	s. Hr ('43.4'(?))
<i>Pa-nb-bḫn</i>	s. P3-rmt-Twtw ('62.6'(?))
<i>Pa-nf</i>	f. Pa-iry (63.5(?))
<i>Pa-R^c</i>	f. Pa-Dm3 ^c (58.4); (58.5)
<i>Pa-rhw</i>	s. Wn-nfr (93.8)
<i>Pa-rḫ</i>	f. 'Pa-wn' (?) (84.2)
<i>Pa-ḫy</i>	f. Hr (1.1; 1.7)
<i>Pa-Hr</i>	s. Hr- ^r t3y=f-nḫḫ (?) ('84.4'(?))

<i>Pa-hr</i>	f. <i>Pa-iry</i> (54.3(?))
! <i>Pa-hj^c=w</i>	f. <i>Pa-t³.wy</i> (93.5)
<i>Pa-hj³</i>	f. <i>P³-šr-²Imn</i> (60.6(?))
<i>Pa-Hnm</i>	(^{36.2} (?)); f. <i>P³-mr-ih</i> (97.3); s. <i>P³-d³-Nfr-htp</i> (97.5); s. <i>P³-d³-Sbk</i> (97.6); s. <i>P³-šr-²Imn</i> (98.II.4); f. <i>Wrše</i> (98.II.9)
<i>Pa-hrt₁</i>	(54.9(?))
<i>Pa-sy</i>	f. <i>P³-šr-mnh</i> (^{99.6} (?))
<i>Pa-swn.t</i>	s. <i>P³-mr-¹ih⁷</i> (97.2); s. <i>Wrše</i> (97.4); f. <i>Ns-mtr</i> (97.10); f. <i>P³-šr-p³-wr</i> (98.II.5)
<i>Pa-t³</i>	f. <i>Dd-hr</i> (93.vso.1)
<i>Pa-t³.wy</i>	f. <i>Hr-p³-bik</i> (20.2); s. <i>Pa-mr-ih</i> (21.3); s. <i>Twtw</i> (23.1); s. <i>Ns-p³-Hy</i> (93.1); s. <i>Pa-hj^c=w</i> (93.5); f. <i>Nht-Hr-m-hb</i> (94.6); s. <i>H^c-Hr</i> (94.7); f. <i>P³-d³-P³-nb-t³.wy</i> (94.8); f. <i>Pa-mnh</i> (99.3)
<i>Pa-t³-m[y].t</i>	(36.8(?))
<i>Pa-t³-s.t-³.t</i>	f. <i>T³-šr.t-p³-^chm</i> (64.9)
<i>Pa-t³-sbt(.t)</i>	(^{67.4} (?))
! <i>Pa-t³-qly</i>	(59.3(?))
<i>Pa-tw</i>	s. <i>P³y-k³</i> (38.2); f. <i>Pa-iry</i> (69.6); s. <i>Pa-Mnt₁</i> (77.4); f. <i>Dhwty-¹.ir-d³=s</i> (99.7)
<i>Pa-Tm</i>	f. <i>Ns-n³-ht.w</i> (^{66.2})
! <i>Pa-³y-²Imn</i>	s. <i>Ns⁷-[...]</i> (31.6)(?)
<i>Pa-Dm^{3c}</i>	s. <i>Pa-Mnt₁</i> s. <i>Ms-wr</i> (4.1); f. <i>P³-šr-Mnt₁</i> (5.1); (^{18.1} (?)); f. <i>Iy-m-htp</i> (54.6); s. <i>'Imn-⁷htp'</i> (54.10); f. <i>'Imn-htp</i> (55.5); s. <i>Pa-[...]</i> (^{58.3} ; s. <i>Pa-R^c</i> (58.4; 58.5); s. <i>P³-d³-Hnsw</i> (60.3); s. <i>Dhwty-sdm</i> (66.4); f. <i>P³-³b³</i> (^{66.vso.3} (?)); f. <i>P³-d³-Hnsw</i> (67.5); s. <i>P³-šr-²Inp</i> (67.5); s. <i>KL.</i> (67.6); (^{83.5} (?))
<i>Pa-Dhwty</i>	f. <i>P³-d³-Hnsw</i> (25.2)
<i>Pa-[...]</i>	f. <i>[Pa]-⁷D³m^{3c}</i> (58.3); f. <i>P³-šr-⁷Dhwty⁷</i> (?) (59.4); f. [...] (62.10); f. <i>P³-d³-p³-šy</i> (66.vso.4); f. <i>[P³]-⁷mr-ih⁷</i> (97.1)
<i>P³y-²Wsr</i>	(^{48.10} (?))
<i>P³y-Bh</i>	s. <i>Hlbn</i> (47.1); s. <i>H²lbn</i> (^{69.7}); f. [...] (77.2)
<i>P³y-lws</i>	(70.2(?))
<i>P³y-Hr</i>	f. <i>P³-d³-²Ihy</i> (35.5); (37.1); (84.1)
<i>P³y-hr</i>	f. <i>Twtw</i> (74.2)
<i>P³y-k³</i>	f. <i>Krr</i> (2.1); f. <i>Hr</i> f. <i>Pa-Mnt₁</i> (26.1); (37.2); f. <i>Pa-Mnt₁</i> (^{38.1} (?)); f. <i>Pa-tw</i> (38.2); s. <i>[...b]hn.w</i> (45.7); f. <i>'Imn-htp</i> (56.5); s. <i>P³-šr-Dhwty</i> (57.4); s.(?) <i>D³D³-n-⁷T[...]</i> (?) (^{60.7}); s. <i>Pa-Mnt₁-g⁷m⁷[t]</i> (62.5); s.(?) [...] (66.9); s. [...] (67.2); (^{68.3}); f. <i>'Pa⁷-Mnt₁</i> (78.1); (78.3); f. <i>P³-šr-Mn</i> (82.1); f. <i>Ta-Mn</i> (82.2)

<i>P³y-[...]</i>	s. <i>Pa-]iry(?)</i> (16.1–2); (41.II.2)
<i>Plws</i>	f. <i>P³-htr</i> (92.2)
<i>Mnh</i>	s. <i>P³-dī-p³-[...]</i> (63.3; 63.4); (73.3)
<i>Mnq-R^c</i>	f. <i>Hr-pa-³s.t</i> (‘18.2’); f. [...] (48.4)
<i>Mn₁-[.]</i>	f. [...] (29.2)
<i>Mlsys</i>	(70.7)
<i>Ms-wr</i>	f. <i>Pa-Mn₁</i> f. <i>Pa-Dm^{3c}</i> (4.1); f. <i>Pa-Mn₁</i> f. [<i>Pa-Dm^{3c}</i>](?) (12.1); f. ... (89.6)
<i>N³-nh₁≠w</i>	(89.4(?))
<i>N³-nh₁≠f</i>	s. <i>Wnše</i> (99.4)
<i>N³-nh₁-Mn₁</i>	(70.8)
<i>N³-nh₁≠s-²Inp</i>	(h. <i>Ta-²Imn</i> (‘65.2’))
<i>N³-...²</i>	f. <i>Hr-s³-³s.t</i> (‘s ³ ’(?)) (20.1(?))
! <i>N³y-hmnw</i>	f. <i>Ta-nfr</i> (65.3(?))
<i>Nh₁-Mn₁</i>	s. <i>Twtw</i> (1.6)
<i>Nh₁-Hr-m-hb</i>	f. <i>Hr-nfr</i> (94.3); s. <i>Pa-t³.wy</i> (94.6)
<i>Nh₁-Hnsw</i>	f. <i>P³-šr-Hnsw</i> (‘19.7’(?))
<i>Nh₁-Dhwty</i>	(95.vso.3(?))
<i>Ns-p³-Hy</i>	f. <i>Pa-t³.wy</i> (93.1)
<i>Ns-p³-hy</i>	(‘35.3’(?))
! <i>Ns-p³-hy-n-Bh₁</i>	(35.3)
<i>Ns-p³-hr₁</i>	(‘63.1’(?)); f. [...] (63.2)
<i>Ns-Mn</i>	f. <i>P³-dī-Hr-sm³-t³.wy</i> (20.1); s. [<i>Pa-by</i>] (‘22.3’); s. ‘ <i>Hr</i> ’(?) (23.3)(?); s. <i>P³-šr-³-ph₁</i> (31.5); s. <i>Šr-p³(?)</i> -...[...](?) (59.10)
! <i>Ns-mr-R^c</i>	(56.3)
<i>Ns-mtr</i>	(39.I.6(?)); s. <i>P³-mr-ih</i> (97.8); s. <i>Pa-swn^r.t</i> (97.10)
<i>Ns-n³-h₁.w</i>	s. <i>Pa-^rTm^r</i> (66.2); f. <i>Hr</i> (66.vso.2); s. <i>Br</i> (‘69.2’(?))
<i>Ns-n³y=w-hmnw-²iw</i>	f. ‘ <i>Hr</i> ’ (9.2); s. <i>P³-w₁</i> (?) (9.2); (39.I.4); s. ‘ <i>ph₁</i> ’(?) (54.8)
<i>Ns-Nb.t-h.t</i>	(70.10); (87.4)
<i>Ns-Hr</i>	s. ‘ <i>H^c</i> ’-[...] (94.9)
<i>Ns-...²</i>	(48.11(?))
<i>Ns-[...]</i>	f. <i>Pa-t³y-²Imn</i> (?) (‘31.6’)
<i>Ntm-^cnh</i>	s. <i>P³-šr-Dhwty</i> (91.1); f. <i>P³-^chm</i> (91.4)
! <i>Ll³</i>	f. <i>T³-šr.t-Dhwty</i> (48.2)
<i>Hr³</i>	(32.2(?))
<i>Hry=w</i>	f. [<i>Pa</i>]- <i>iry</i> (61.4); s. <i>G^rlyy^rn^r’²</i> (61.4); f. <i>Pa-Mn₁</i> (‘62.1’(?)); s. ‘ <i>H^c</i> ’- <i>Hr</i> (94.5)(?)
! <i>Hy-t³y=f-nh₁</i>	(93.4)
<i>Hr</i>	s. <i>Pa-hy</i> (1.1; 1.7); s. <i>Ns-n³y=w-hmnw-²iw</i> s.(?) <i>P³-w₁</i> (?) (9.2); f. <i>Ns-Mn</i> (23.3(?); f. <i>P³-ih</i> (24.1); f. <i>Pa-Mn₁</i> (26.1); s. <i>P³y-k³</i> (26.1); f. [...] (31.vso.3(?); f. <i>P³-hmt-sn.w</i> (55.8); s. <i>P³-šr-Mn₁</i> (57.3); s. <i>P³-šr-²Inp</i> (57.5); f. <i>P³-šr-Ws^r</i> (63.6(?)); s.(?) [...] (‘66.10’); s. <i>Ns-n³-h₁.w</i> (66.vso.2); s. <i>Sl</i>

	(70.6); f. <i>P3-šr-Twtw</i> (79.6); f. <i>Sy-p3-mwt</i> (84.3); f. <i>'Iy-m-htp</i> (90.4); f. [<i>'Iy-m-htp</i>](?) (90.9)
<i>Hr-wd3</i>	(70.13); f. <i>P3-šr-Mn'f'</i> ('70.15'); s. <i>P3-dš-Sb'k'</i> (97.11); f. [...] (97.12)
<i>Hr-p3-bik</i>	s. <i>Pa-t3.wy</i> (20.2)
<i>Hr-p3-hm</i>	s. <i>Pa-fMn'[t]</i> s. <i>P3-šr-Mn'f'</i> (13.1)
<i>Hr-p3-hrt</i>	('61.5'(?))
<i>Hr-pa-3s.t</i>	s. <i>Mnq-R^c</i> (18.2); (24.3); f. <i>Pa-iry</i> (51.4); (55.6)
<i>Hr-p3y-3s.t</i>	f. [...] ('69.5')
<i>Hr-m-hb</i>	s. <i>Pa-wn</i> (?) (1.1)
<i>Hr-nfr</i>	s. <i>Nht-Hr-m-hb</i> (94.3)
<i>Hr-s3-3s.t</i>	s. <i>N3</i> (?)-'...?' (20.1); (40.5); s. <i>P3-šr-'Imn</i> (56.1); f. [...] (75.1); s. <i>P3-dš-Mn</i> (95.vso.4(?))
<i>Hr-sy-3s.t</i>	(35.8)
<i>Hr-qn-n-3s.t</i>	(99.5)
<i>Hr-t3y=f-nht</i>	f. <i>Pa-Mnt</i> (66.6); f. <i>'Pa'-(?)Hr</i> ('84.4'(?))
<i>Hr-Dhwty</i>	(40.4)
<i>Hr-(?) [...](?)</i>	f. <i>P3-šr-3-ph₁t</i> (59.6); f. <i>'Iy-m-htp</i> (66.8)
! <i>Hrms</i>	(17.6)
<i>Hlbn</i>	f. <i>P3y-Bh</i> (47.1); f. [<i>P3y</i>]-'B'h' (69.7)
<i>H^c-Hr</i>	f. <i>Hry=w</i> (?) (94.5); f. <i>Pa-t3.wy</i> ('94.7')
<i>H^c-[...]</i>	f. <i>Ns-Hr</i> (94.9)
<i>Hnsw-'Imn</i>	f. <i>P3-šr-Dhwty</i> (31.3(?))
<i>Hnsw-ms</i>	s. <i>P3-išwr</i> (21.1)
<i>Hnsw-t3y=f-nht</i>	(49.3); s. <i>Pa-Mnt</i> (89.3)
<i>Hnsw-Dhwty</i>	(24.4); s. <i>sp-sn</i> (60.5); f. [<i>'Imn</i>]-'htp' (83.1)
<i>Hnm-ib-R^c</i>	f. <i>Wštr-wr</i> ('32.1'(?))
<i>Sy-p3-mwt</i>	s. <i>Hr</i> (84.3)
! <i>Sybwswy[...]</i>	(62.2)
<i>Symn</i>	s.(?) <i>P3-mr-iḥ</i> (98.II.6)
! <i>Sms</i>	(19.5)
<i>Sr^cpyywn</i>	(62.4)
! <i>Sl</i>	f. <i>Hr</i> (70.6)
<i>Sb3.t=w-t3-wt</i>	(16.4)
<i>S..ws</i>	(40.2)
<i>Šr-p3</i> (?)-'...[...]	f. <i>Ns-Mn</i> (59.10(?))
<i>Qll</i>	s. <i>P3-šr-'Mnt</i> ' (61.5)
<i>Krr</i>	s. <i>P3y-k3</i> (2.1)
! <i>Kl..</i>	f. <i>P-Dm3^c</i> (67.6)
! <i>Kl3d3</i>	(36.7)
<i>Gbyr</i>	(37.4)
<i>Gm₁t</i>	(36.10); f. <i>Dhwty-sdm</i> ('62.3')
<i>Gnps</i>	(99.1)
<i>Grwr</i>	f. [...- <i>Mnt</i>]' ₁ ' (36.1)
<i>Gl3</i>	f. <i>'Imn-htp</i> (7.1); s. <i>T3y-[...]</i> (70.3); (70.12)

! Glyyn	f. Hry=w (61.4)
Glmy ³	f. P ³ -šr-Mn [†] (36.11(?))
Gd ³ d ³	f. Wn-nfr (47.6); (48.7)
T ³ -lyš	(^{68.8} (?))
T ³ -šr.t- ³ Imn	(^{46.4})
T ³ -šr.t- ³ Ihy	d. P ³ -rmt-Pr- ³ iw-lq (64.7); (64.11)
T ³ -šr.t- ³ -ph [†]	(^{63.7} (?)); (68.6(?))
T ³ -šr.t-Ws [†] r	(41.II.2)
T ³ -šr.t-p ³ - ³ hm	d. Pa-t ³ -s.t- ³ .t (64.9)
T ³ -šr.t-p ³ -hf	w. Pa- ³ Inp (64.13)
T ³ -šr.t-p ³ -k ³	(46.3)
T ³ -šr.t-pa-wr.t	(70.10(?))
T ³ -šr.t-pa-Mn [†]	(61.6); (68.7)
T ³ -šr.t-pa-[...]	(^{68.10})
T ³ -šr.t-P ³ y-k ³	(46.4)
T ³ -šr.t-Pkyw ³	(65.4(?))
! T ³ -šr.t-n-Gtws	(48.6(?))
T ³ -šr.t-Hr	w. P ³ -d [†] -Hr-sm ³ -t ³ .wy (64.6); (^{68.6} (?))
! T ³ -šr.t-t ³ - ³ h ³ .t	(64.10)
T ³ -šr.t-D [†] hwty	d. Ll ³ (48.2); w. P ³ -rmt-Pr- ³ iw-lq (64.5)
T ³ -šr.t ...	w.(?) [...] (^{64.14}); (83.4)
Ta- ³ s.t	w. P ³ -šr-Hnm (70.9)
Ta- ³ Imn	(41.I.3); w. N ³ -nh [†] -s- ³ I[n]p (^{65.2})
Ta- ³ Itm	(^{65.1} (?))
Ta-wr ³	(37.6(?))
Ta-B ³ st.t	d. [...] (68.5)
Ta-B [†] h	(^{46.5})
Ta-p ³ -wr	(^{99.9} (?))
Ta-Mn	d. P ³ y-k ³ (82.2)
Ta-n ³	w. P ³ -šr-h [†] ltyl (48.1); d. ³ -{n-}p [†] hty(?) (^{48.5} (?))
Ta-n ³ -h [†] .w	(^{68.9})
Ta-Nw ³	(46.5)
Ta-nfr	d. P ³ -šr-[...] (59.5(?)); (d. N ³ y-hmnw(?)) (65.3)
Ta-hb	(58.6)
! Ta-thy	d. P ³ -šr-D [†] hwty (91.1); (91.4)
Ta-D [†] hwty	(46.3)
T ³ y=f-nh [†] .t	f. ³ In- ³ ir.t-Hr-r.r=w (70.4(?))
T ³ y-Hr	d. D [†] hwty-s [†] dm (36.6)
Twtw	f. Nh [†] -Mn [†] (1.6); f. Pa-t ³ .wy (23.1); f. P ³ -šr-D [†] hwty (25.1); f. P ³ -d [†] -Hr-sm ³ - t ³ .wy (35.7); s. P ³ y-hr (74.1)
Thwmnsts	(22.4)
T ³ y-[...]	f. GB (70.3); (72.5)
! D ³ d ³ -n- [†] T[...]	f.(?) [P ³ y]-k ³ (^{60.7} (?))
D [†] hwty- ³ .ir-d [†] =s	(40.6); s. Pa-n ³ -h [†] [t.w] (60.2); f. P ³ -šr- D [†] hwty (^{64.12}); s. Pa-tw (99.7)
D [†] hwty-m ³ c	(³¹ .vso.2(?))
D [†] hwty-ms	(^{40.7})

<i>Dḥwty-sdm</i>	f. <i>Tʒy-Ḥr</i> (36.6); s. <i>Pʒ-šr-tʒ-ḫ.t</i> (42.4); s. <i>Gmʿtʿ</i> (62.3); f. <i>Pa-Dmʒ^c</i> (66.4); s. <i>sp-sn</i> (69.10)
<i>Dd-ḥr</i>	s. <i>Pʒ-hʿb(?)</i> (19.2); f. <i>Pʒ-ḥnḫ</i> (93.6), f. <i>Pa-tʒ</i> (93.vso.1); s. <i>Pʒ-mr-ḫ</i> (98.II.6)
<i>[...ʿI]ʿḫyʿ(?)</i>	(48.12)
<i>[...]ʿBʿḫ</i>	(f.) <i>Pʒ-hmt-sn.w</i> (43.3)
<i>[...b]ḫn.w</i>	f. <i>Pʒy-kʒ</i> (45.7)
<i>[...]ʿMn</i>	s. <i>Pʒ-brḫ</i> (36.3)
<i>[...-Mn]ʿtʿ</i>	s. <i>Grwr</i> (36.1)
<i>... nywḫ</i>	(65.5(?))
<i>[...](?)ʿḤrʿ-pʒ-ḫrḫ</i>	s. <i>sp-sn</i> (67.3)
<i>[...]ʿḫtp</i>	s. <i>Pʒ-šr-Mnḫ</i> (61.3(?)); f.(?) <i>Pʒ-šr-Mnḫ</i> (69.11)

6. Numerals

<i>1</i>	14.7, 23.2; 24.1; 33.I.1; 33.I.2(?); 34.4, 5, 10, 13; 35.4; 37.4; 38.3; ʿ39.I.1ʿ(?), II.1; 42.2, ʿ3ʿ; 45.1, 2; 46.3; 51.5; 54.9; 55.ʿ5ʿ(?), 8; 93.5; 95.4, 6, 10; 95.vso.3, 4, 5, 6
<i>1.t</i>	1.2; 2.5; 4.4; ʿ6.4ʿ; 10.4; 12.3; ʿ18.3ʿ(?); 26.4, 5, 6; 28.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 42.2, 4; 50.2; 52.2, 4
<i>2</i>	1.2; 9.3; 11.5; 14.7; ʿ35.2ʿ(?); 38.3; 41.II.4; 51.ʿ2ʿ, 3, 4; 54.7, 11; 94.4, 5, 7; 95.vso.7, ʿ8ʿ; 98.II.10ʿ
<i>2.t</i>	3.6, 8; 4.4; 5.3; 8.2, 3; 16.6, ʿ7ʿ; 18.3; 20.6; 28.5, 6; 34.2, 4, 11; 35.4; 43.5; 44.II. ʿ2ʿ, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 52.3; 78.2; 82.3
<i>3</i>	6.3; 6.4; 12.3; 14.3, 4; 15.4; 23.1, 2, 3; 28.3; 33.I.4; 34.5; 38.3; 41.II.5; 93.7, 9
<i>3.t</i>	21.2; 41.II.7; ʿ43.8ʿ
<i>4</i>	3.5, 6, 8; 23.1; 24.3; 31.4; 32.2, 3; 33.I.3, 6, 8, 10, ʿ15ʿ, 19; 33.II.5, 8, 10; 34.5, 9, 14; 50.4; 71.6; 94.6; 95.5(?), 6, 9, 10
<i>4.t</i>	24.4; 26.4, 6; 64.1; 71.4, 5; 81.5(?); 82.3; 95.1
<i>5</i>	29.3(?); 33.I.16, 17; 33.II.1, 8; 35.7; 40.ʿ2ʿ, 3, 6, 8, 9; 41.I.5; 53.2; 86.6; ʿ87.6ʿ(?); 93.vso.2; 96.2, 4, 5, 6, ʿ7ʿ(?); 98.II.10, 11, 12
<i>5.t</i>	9.3, 4; 12.3, ʿ4ʿ; 78.2
<i>6</i>	33.I.14; II.17; 35.3; 49.2; 78.3; 91.3, 4; 96.1
<i>7</i>	15.4; 55.6; 98.II.12
<i>7.t</i>	34.15; 49.1

8	'17.5'(?); 33.I.13; 33.II.3, 5, 6, 10; 35.5; 37.3; 41.I.4; 49.3(?); 53.4; 86.3; '95.10'
9	33.II.9; 54.5
10	13.3; 33.I.18; II.12; 34.7; 36.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, '11'(?); 53.3; 54.2; 55.7; 67.8; 95.9, 10
10.t	7.2
11	35.6
11.t	46.1
12	33.I.11; II.2, 11; 49.3; 77.3; 78.3
13.t	'15.5'
14	33.II.15; 37.2
14.t	26.2, 3
15	34.11; 35.9; 37.6; 55.3(?)
16	1.3, 5; 24.2; 33.I.7; 'II.11'
17	1.7(?); 41.I.4
17.t	48.3
18	33.I.15
19	55.9
20	13.3, 4; 33.II.9; 96.3
20.t	43.2, 3, 4, 6, 7, '9'
21	47.4
22	35.9(?)
25	34.6; 38.3, 4; 40.4, 7, 8
25.t	50.5
26	2.3, 5; '47.5'(?); 76.2
26.t	51.1
27	34.13; 82.4; 82.5
27.t	11.2, 3
29	3.4, 6
29.t	79.1
30	32.2, 3; '87.3'(?); '88.3'(?)
31	34.14; 35.9
32	4.3; 21.1
33	79.4; 92.6, 7
34	'5.4'; 27.1, 4
35	12.2; 27.6
36	12.4; 33.II.7
37	6.3(?); 13.3, 5; 40.3, 6; 98.II.10
38	10.3
38.t	6.4
39	10.5
40	34.9; 47.3
41	33.II.4
45	38.2; 52.5
46	19.6
52	47.1
53.t	20.4
54.t	20.4
65	52.3
71	96.3
75	52.2

76	33.II.13
80	95.10
82	96.2
87	37.1
90	86.3
91	48.4
92	98.II.11
100	34.9; 98.II.12
101	72.5; 96.3
109	52.4
126	34.11
130	‘52.6’(?)
137	49.2
140	30.2
180	30.2; 96.4
183	34.12
186	96.4
187	40.9
200	‘36.3’(?), 7; 96.2
210	‘52.7’
212	40.8
219	96.6
220	30.1
240	96.5
249	34.15
282	33.II.13
500	32.4; 96.2
506	33.1
1340	96.4
1580	96.5

7. Fractions

$\frac{5}{6}$	13.3, 4
$\frac{2}{3}$	24.2, 5(?); 78.3
$\frac{1}{2}$	9.3; 10.4; 11.4; 12.3; 14.7; 15.4, 7; 17.5(?); 18.3; 22.5; 23.2; 26.4, 5, 6; 27.1; 28.7; 33.II.15, 17; ‘34.2’(?), 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 35.4, 5, 7; ‘41.I.4’, II.5; 47.3, 7; 48.2, 4; 50.4; 86.4(?); 91.2; 93.2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9; 93.vso.1; 94.5
$\frac{1}{3}$	13.3; 14.4; 34.8; 46.5; 86.4
$\frac{1}{4}$	14.7; 17.5(?); 22.5; 23.1; ‘27.1’; 31.4; 34.9, 10; 35.2(?), 5; 46.3, 5; 47.3, 7; 48.1
$\frac{1}{5}$	50.3; 73.4
$\frac{1}{6}$	34.10; 41.I.5; 46.3, 4; 48.5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
$\frac{1}{6.1}$	44.II.9
$\frac{1}{8}$	14.7; 49.2; 50.2
$\frac{1}{12}$	‘13.3’; 14.4; 46.6, ‘7’

$\frac{1}{24}$	11.4; 13.3, 4; 14.7
$\frac{1}{48}$	‘13.3’

8. Fractions of Aroua

$\frac{1}{2}$	49.3; 51.‘2’, 3; 78.2
$\frac{1}{4}$	‘49.1’(?), 3; 51.4; 79.4
$\frac{1}{8}$	51.2

9. *’Ipy.t(?)*-Notations

3	95.4
2	95.6
1	95.8
$\frac{1}{2}$	95.4, 6, 7
$\frac{1}{3}$	95.10

10. Months

<i>tpy 3ht</i>	6.4; 12.4; 32.1; 33.II.16; ‘34.6’, 11; 96.2
<i>ibd-2 3h.t</i>	29.8; 38.1(?); 46.1
<i>ibd-3 3ht</i>	1.7; 20.6; 33.II.8; ‘34.13’; 92.7; 96.2
<i>ibd-4 3h.t</i>	24.1, 2, ‘3’; 96.2
<i>tpy pr.t</i>	21.2; 23.3; 28.4; ‘89.1’; 91.5; 95.1, 3, 5, 9; 95.vso.2; 96.3
<i>ibd-2 pr.t</i>	3.7; 9.5(?); 10.5; 18.4; 21.1; 23.1; 77.3; 89.2
<i>ibd-3 pr.t</i>	33.II.14; 34.8; 96.3
<i>ibd-4 pr.t</i>	24.4; 41.II.3; 90.2; 96.3
<i>tpy šmw</i>	3.7; 7.3; 8.5; 19.6; 33.I.16; 45.‘1’, 2; 64.2; 82.5; 96.4
<i>ibd-2 šmw</i>	4.5; 8.6; 13.5; ‘14.6’; 33.I.19; 33.II.1; 34.10; 76.2; 82.4; 96.4
<i>ibd-3 šmw</i>	11.3; 33.II.4; 87.6; 90.5
<i>ibd-4 šmw</i>	33.II.7; ‘34.3’

11. Days of the Month

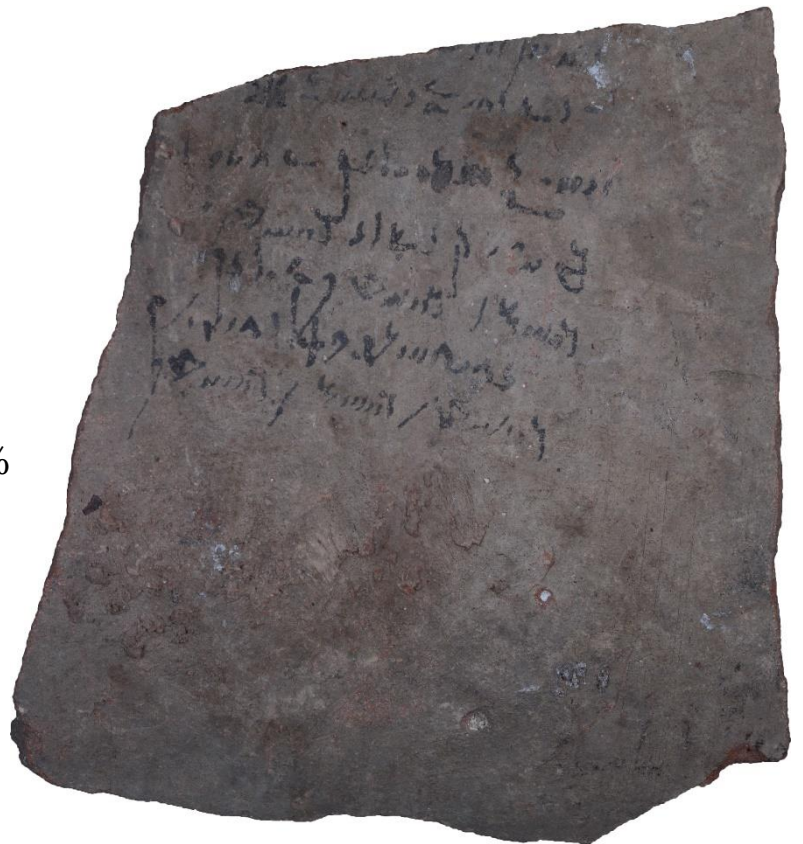
1	1.7; 8.5; 34.9(?); 38.1(?); 82.4; 90.5; 95.1, 3, 5; 95.vso.2
2	28.5; 88.1; 95.5; 95.vso.2
3	32.1; 87.6; 88.2; 90.7; 95.vso.4
4	8.6; 26.7; 95.5
5	28.3; 33.II.4
6	33.I.1(?)
7	33.I.13; II.9; 34.5(?); 35.6; ‘54.1’

8	12.4; 33.II.9; 54.1
9	21.1; 33.I.3(?), 6(?), '8'(?), '10', 16, 19; 33.II.7, 10; 34.10; 53.6(?); '54.1'; 95.9
10	6.4; 14.7; 33.II.5, 8, 10; '54.1'; 93.1(?)
11	18.4; 23.1; 29.8; 33.I.17; II.10; 34.5; 54.3; 95.vso.7
12	33.I.11; II.11, 14; '34.1', '4', 8, '12'(?); 40.2; 54.3; 95.vso.7
13	33.II.16; 54.3; 76.2; 95.7(?)
14	7.3; 24.1, 5; 28.3(?), 4; 33.II.16; '54.3'
15	24.2; 34.4; 54.6; 82.5; 95.8(?)
16	8.5; 33.I.2; II.11, 18; '54.6'; 64.2; 85.3
17	54.4; 90.3
18	54.4; 95.9
19	9.5; 54.4; 90.4
20	10.5; 11.3; 33.II.1; 95.1
21	33.II.1
22	4.5; 19.6; 33.II.2; 45.1(?); 89.1, 2; 92.7
23	33.II.2; 45.2; 77.4
24	20.6; 28.6
25	3.7; 13.5(?); 22.3; 33.II.5; '34.14'
26	33.II.6; 90.2
27	33.II.6
28	33.I.14; 39.I.1; 43.1
29	'34.3'; 91.5
<i>crqy</i>	3.7; 23.3; 95.vso.2

Plates



1 (MH 2395) – 100%

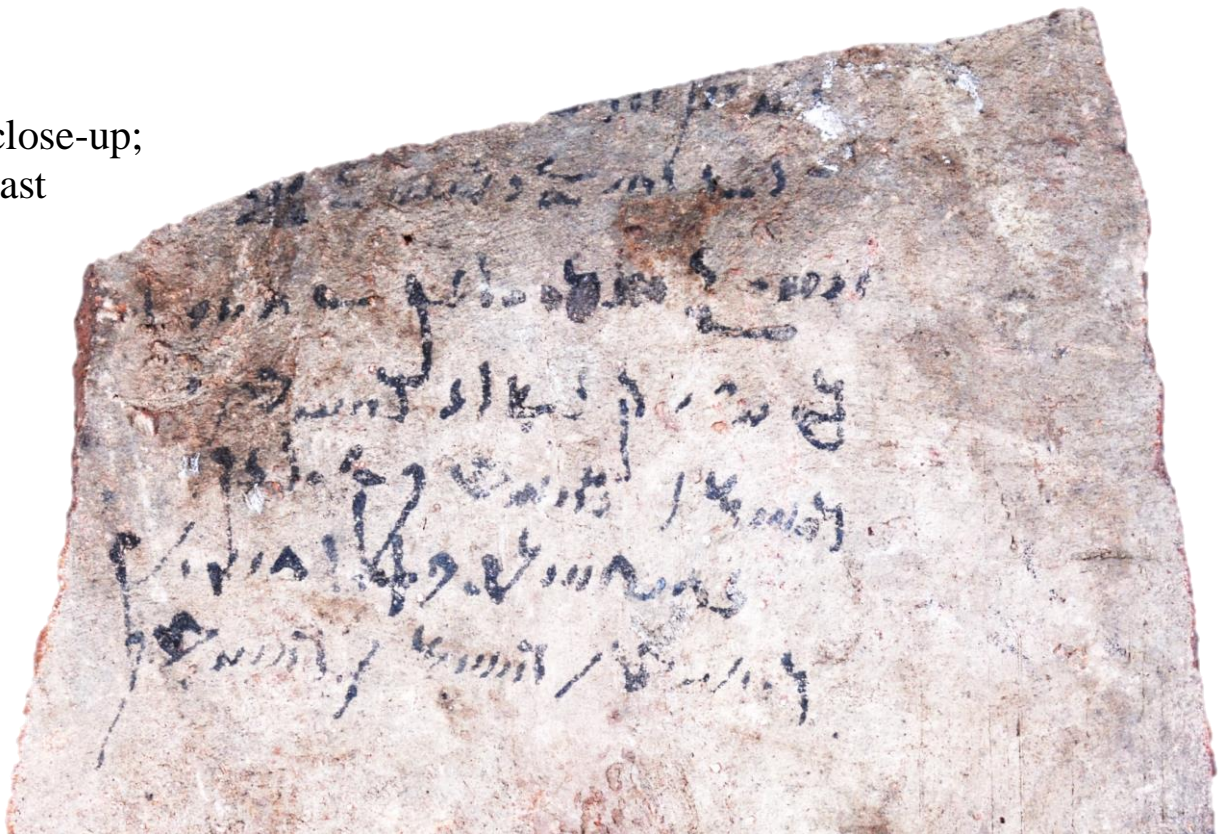


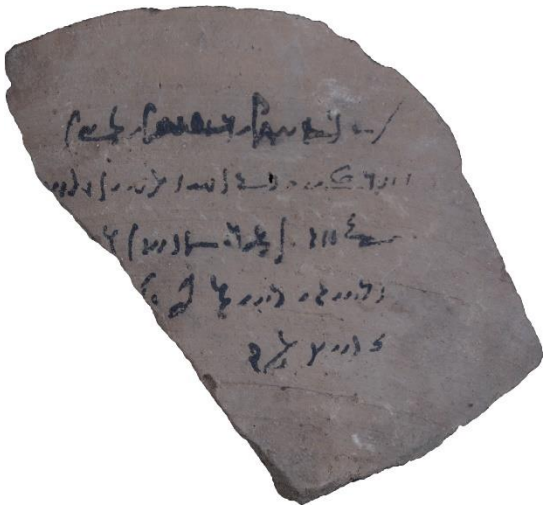
3 (MH 483) – 100%



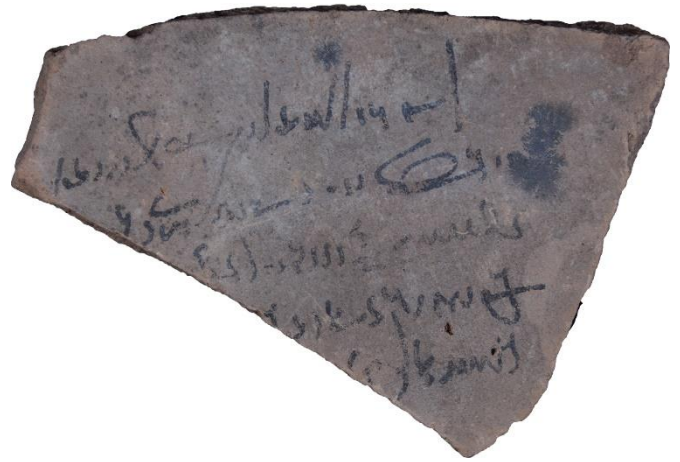
1 (MH 2395) – close-up;
enhanced contrast

3 (MH 483) – close-up;
enhanced contrast

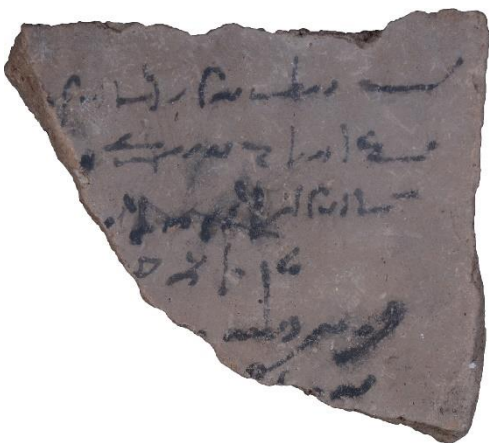




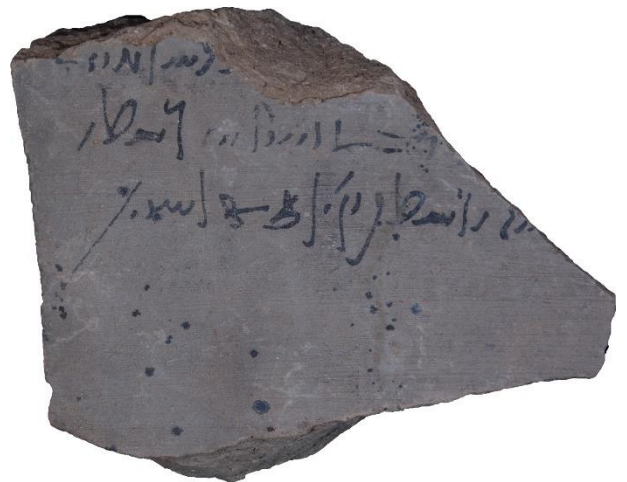
4 (MH 4066) – 100%



2 (MH 1571) – 150%



5 (MH 4084) – 100%



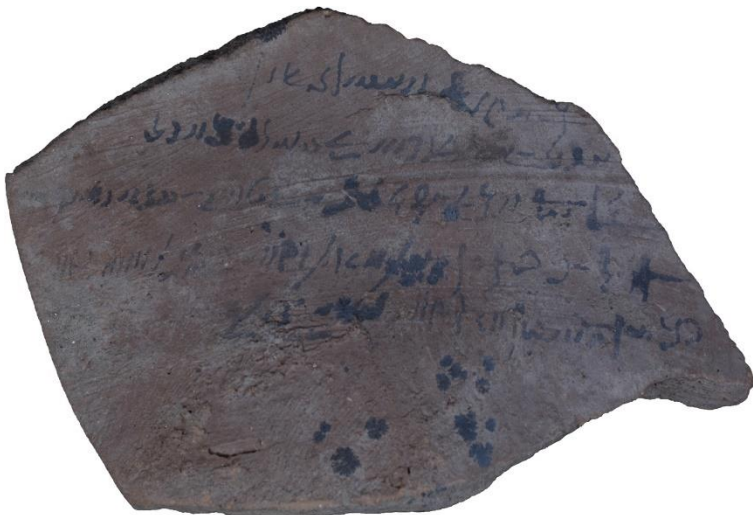
6 (MH 4065) – 100%



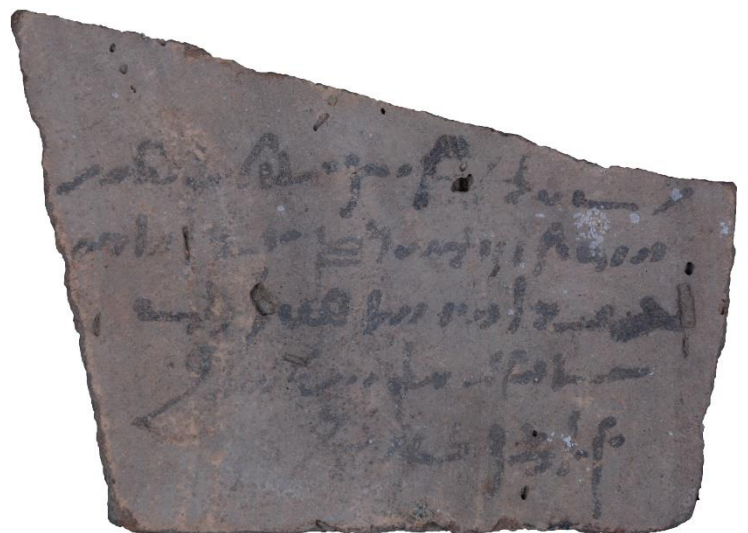
7 (MH 2887) – 150%



8 (MH 2794) – 100%

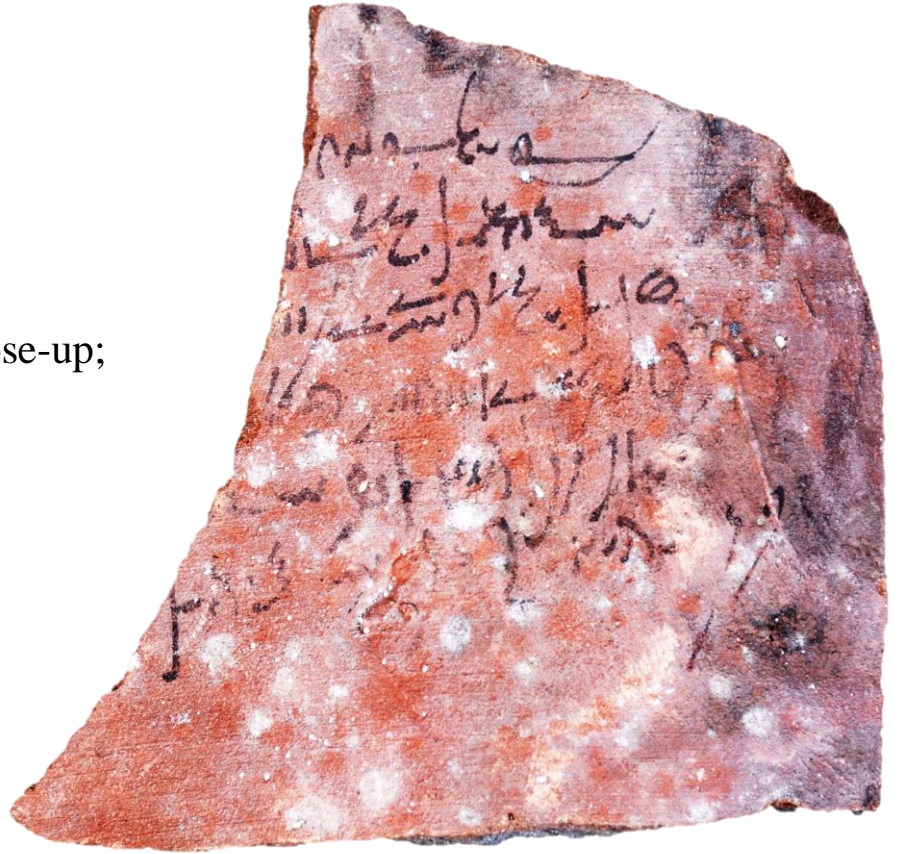


9 (MH 3199) – 160%

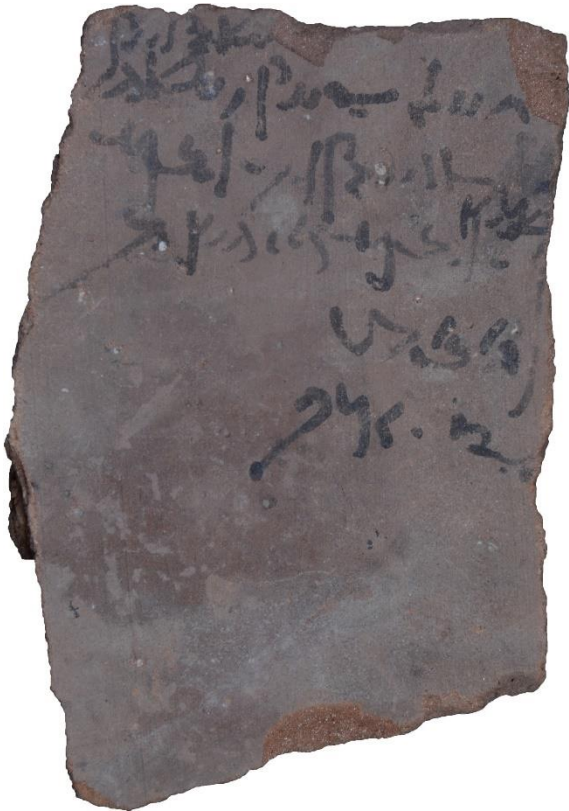


10 (MH 1721) – 120%

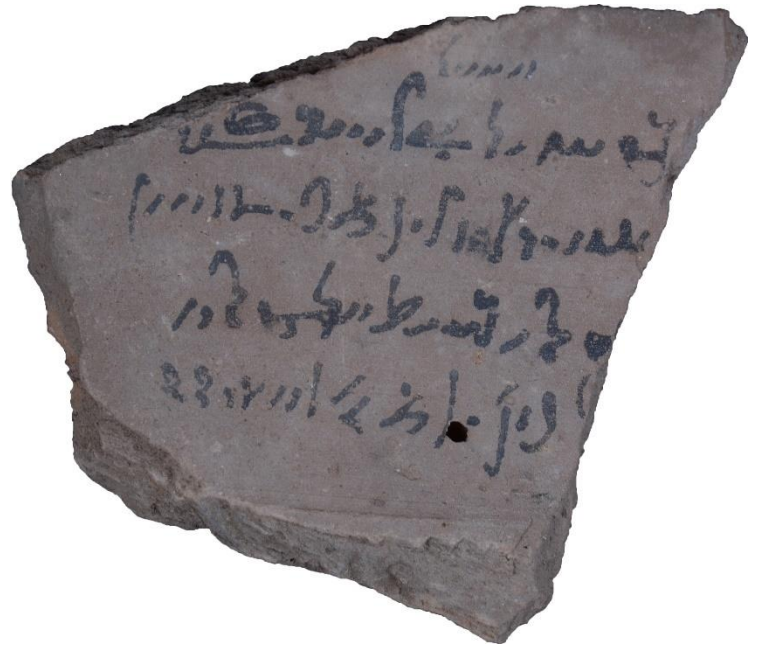
8 (MH 2794) – close-up;
enhanced contrast



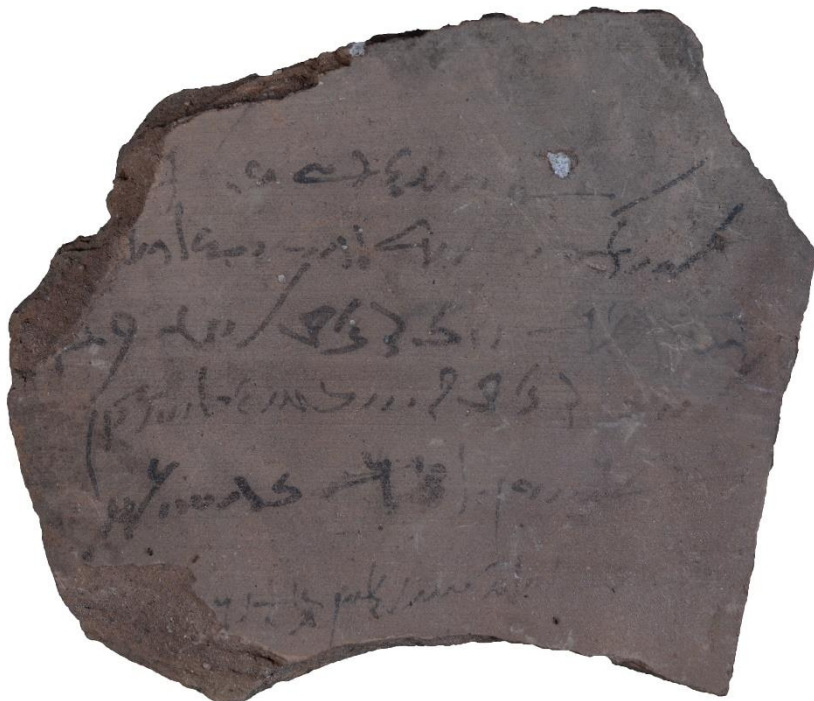
9 (MH 3199) – close-up;
enhanced contrast



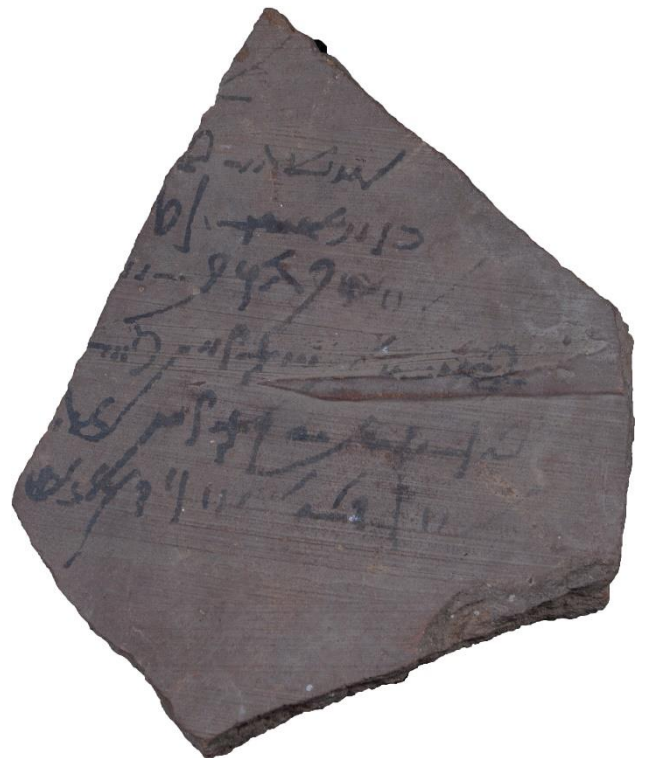
11 (MH 3667) – 150%



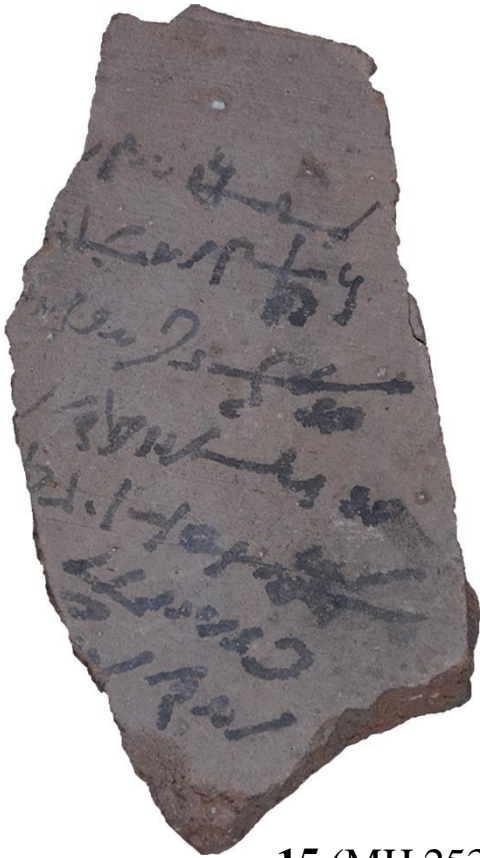
12 (MH 4044) – 130%



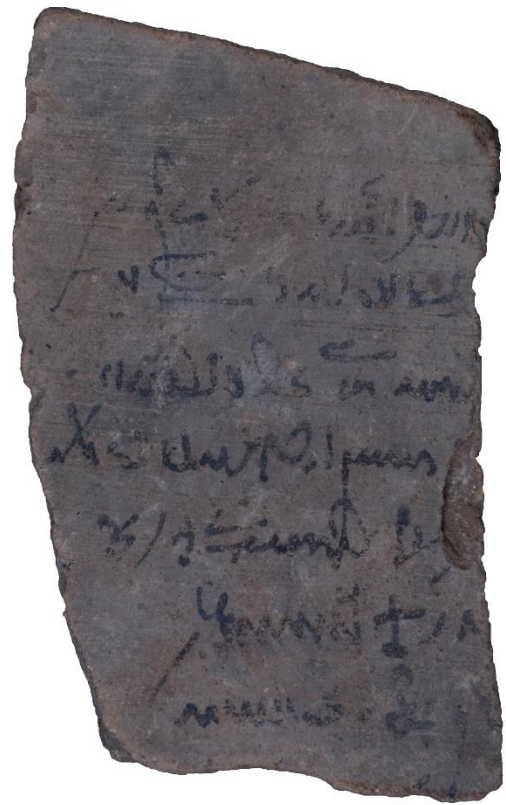
13 (MH 487) – 100%



14 (MH 1612) -120%



15 (MH 2532) – 150%



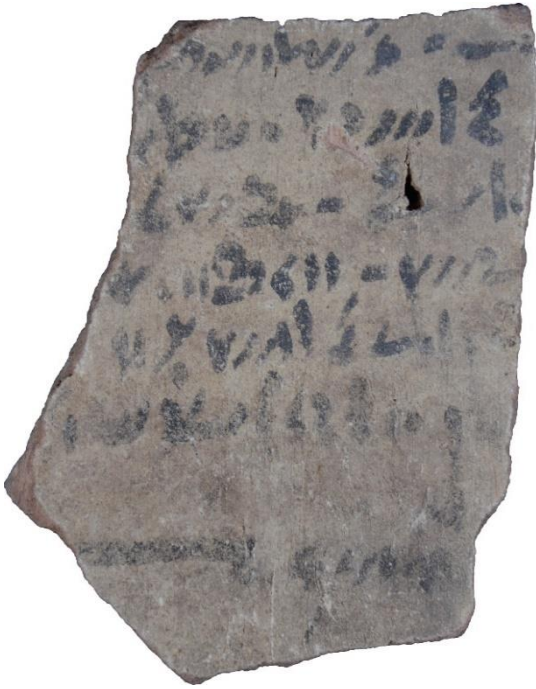
16 (MH 3660) – 150%



17 (MH 1146) – 130%



18 (MH 4285) – 130%



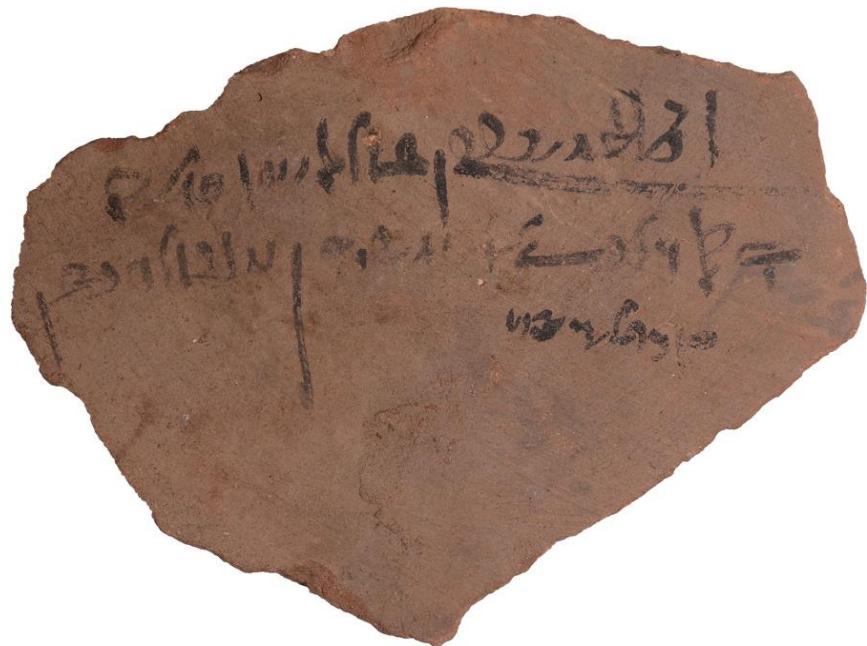
19 (MH 408) – 150%



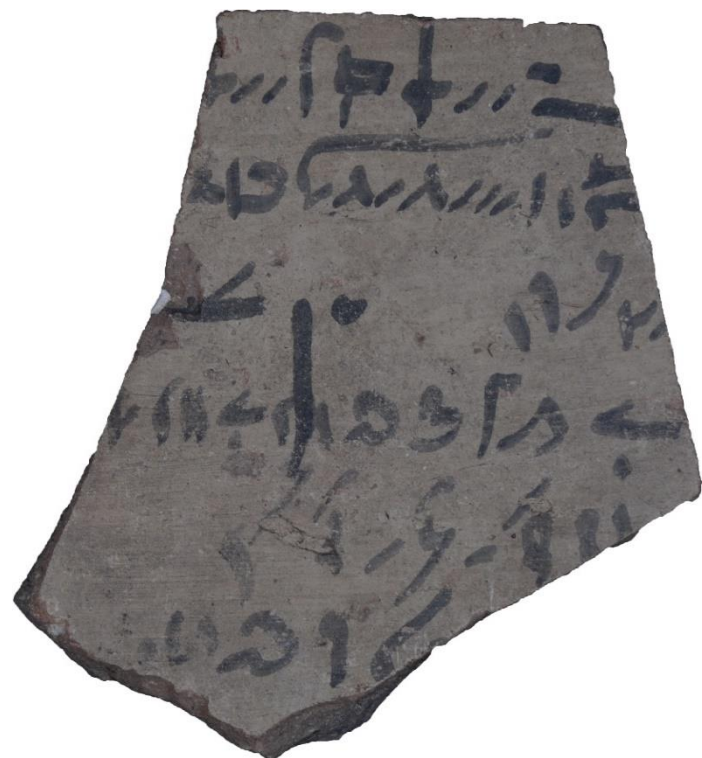
20 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 100%



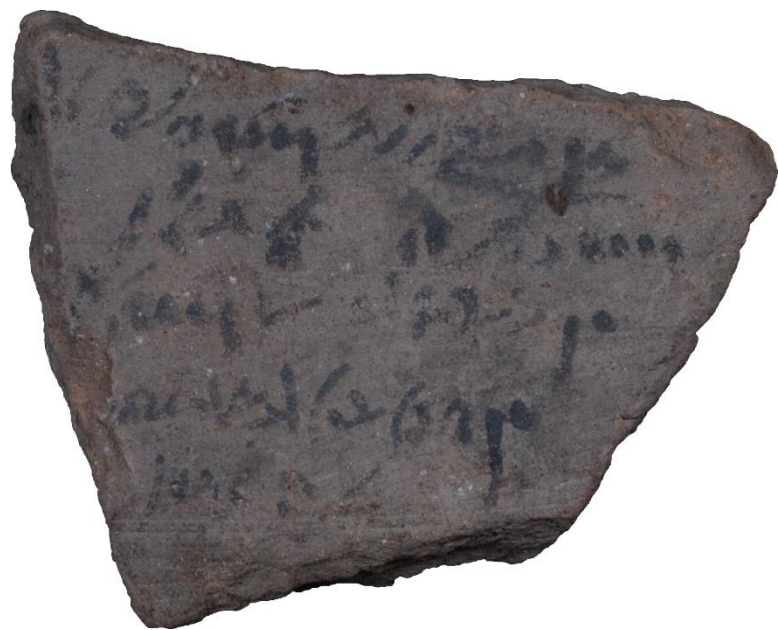
20 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953)
– enhanced contrast



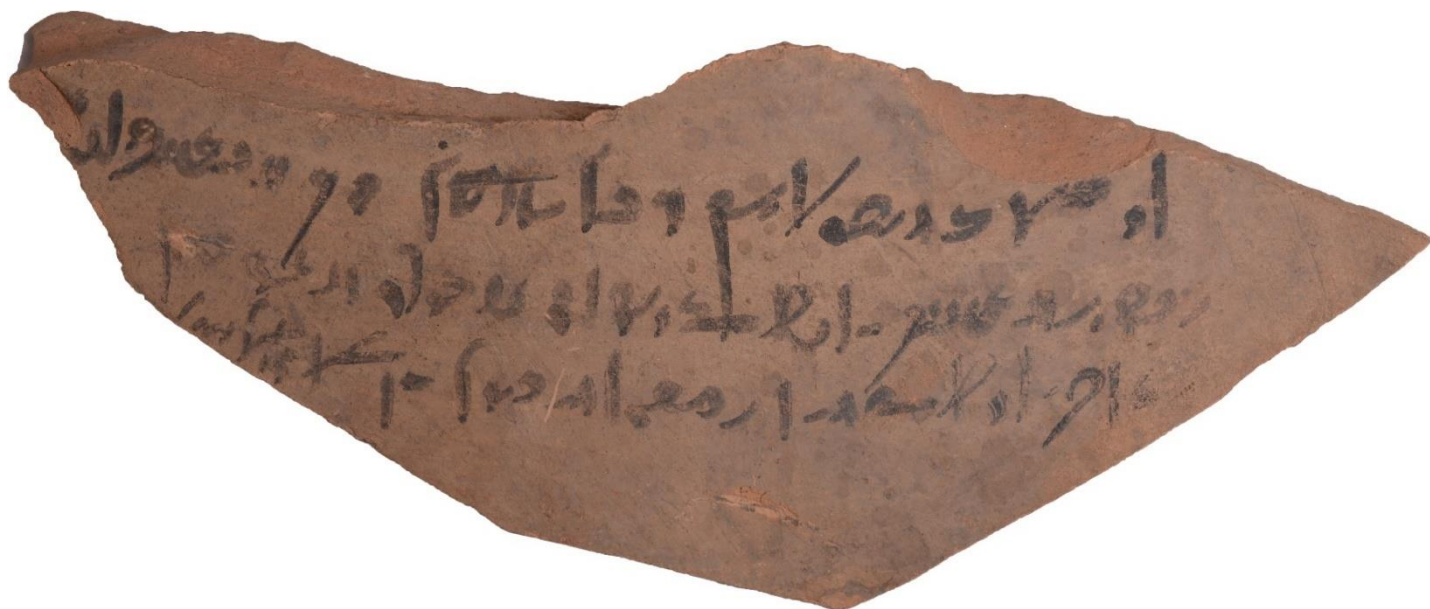
21 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 100%



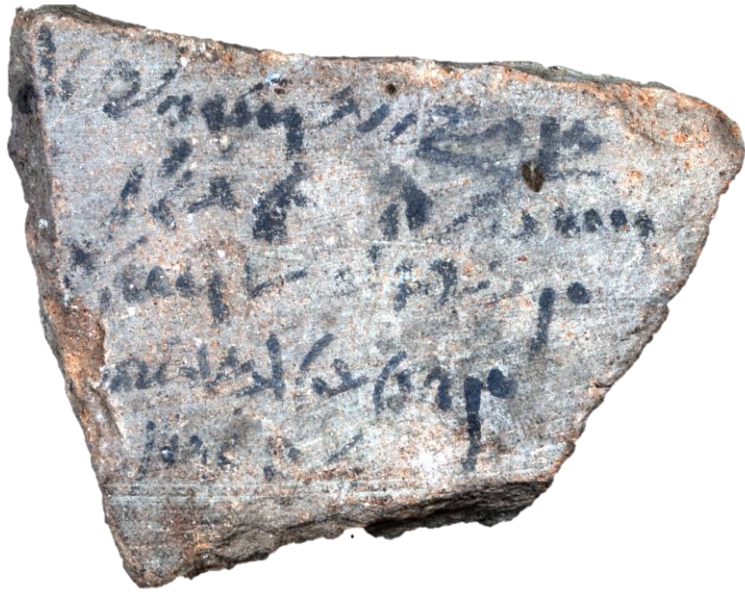
22 (MH 3245) – 180%



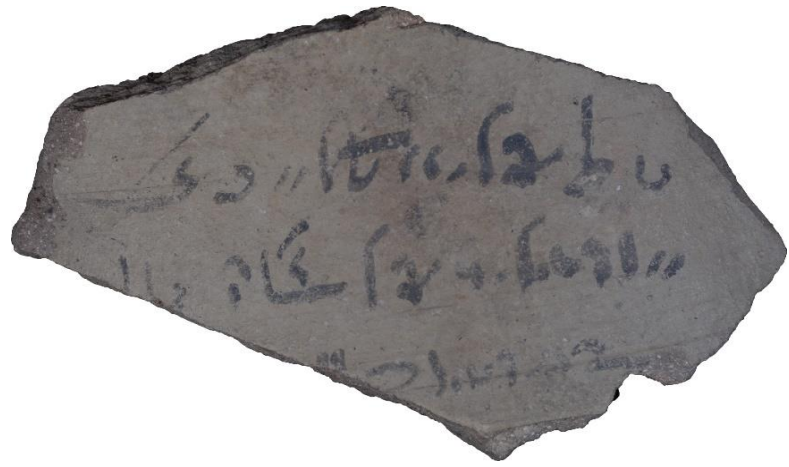
24 (MH 1491) – 130%



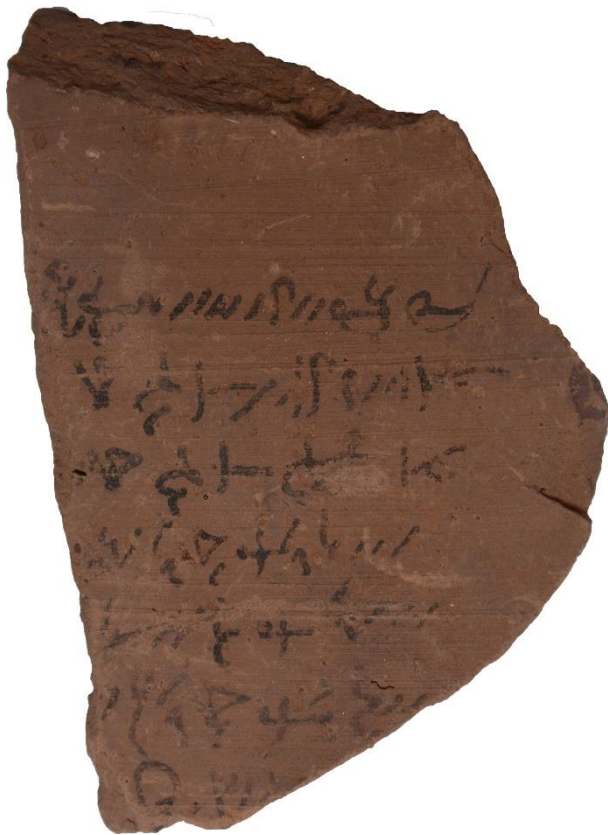
23 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 130%



24 (MH 1491) – enhanced contrast



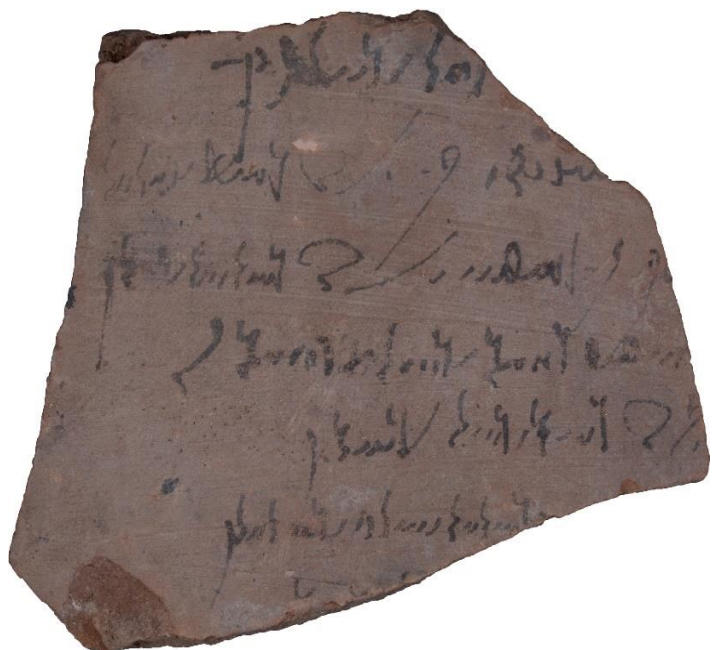
25 (MH 76) – 110%



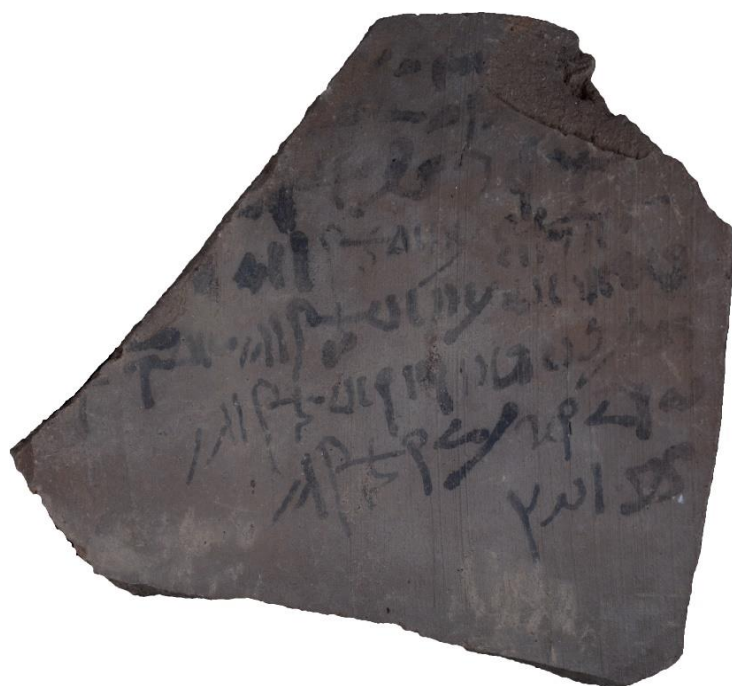
26 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 140%



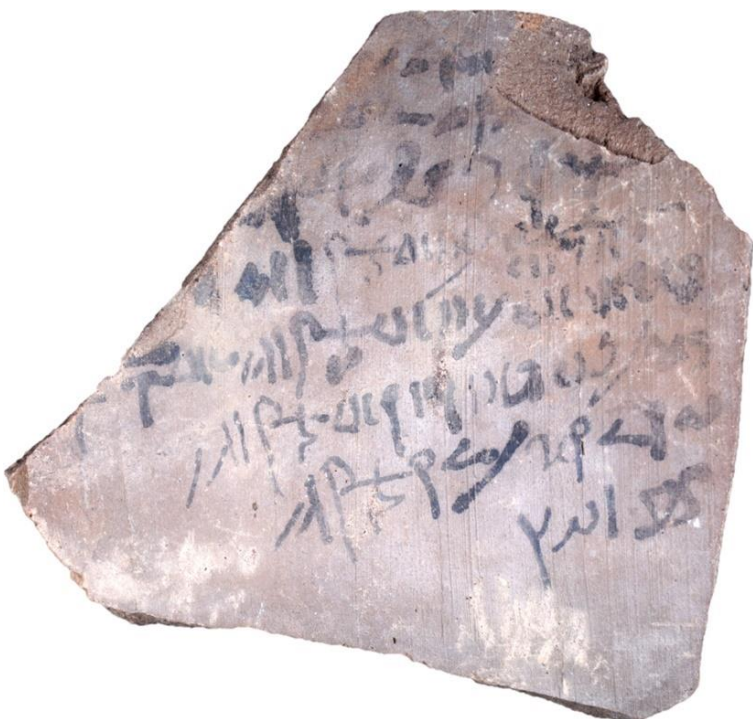
27 (MH 4087) – 200%



28 (MH 1257) – 100%



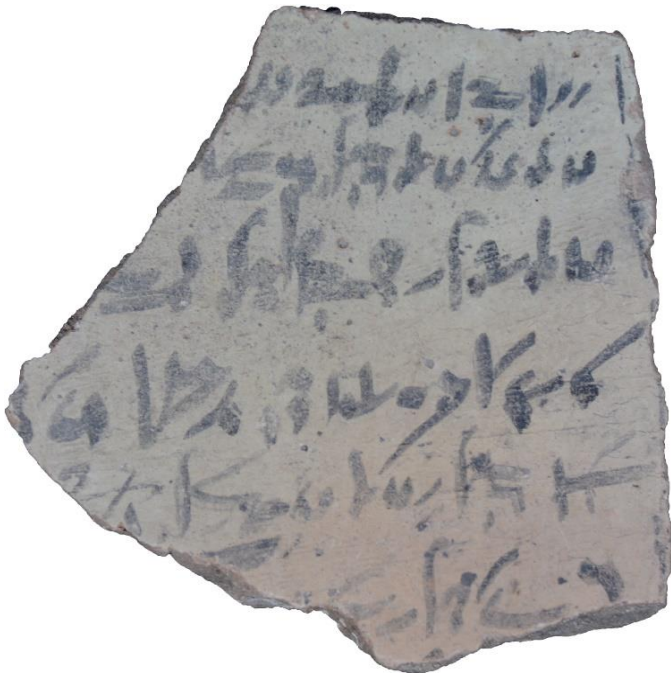
29 (MH 2898) – 100%



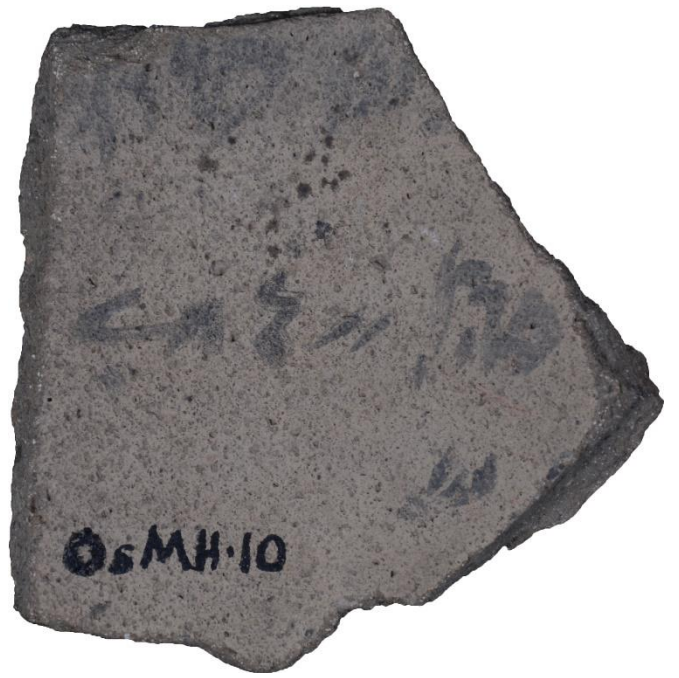
29 (MH 2898) – enhanced contrast



30 (MH 2753) – 130%



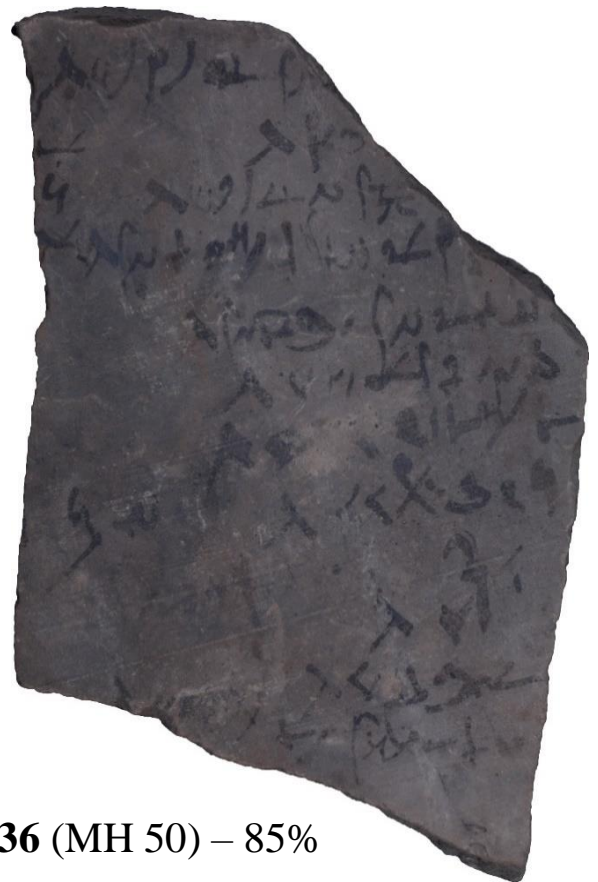
31 (MH 10), Recto – 130 %



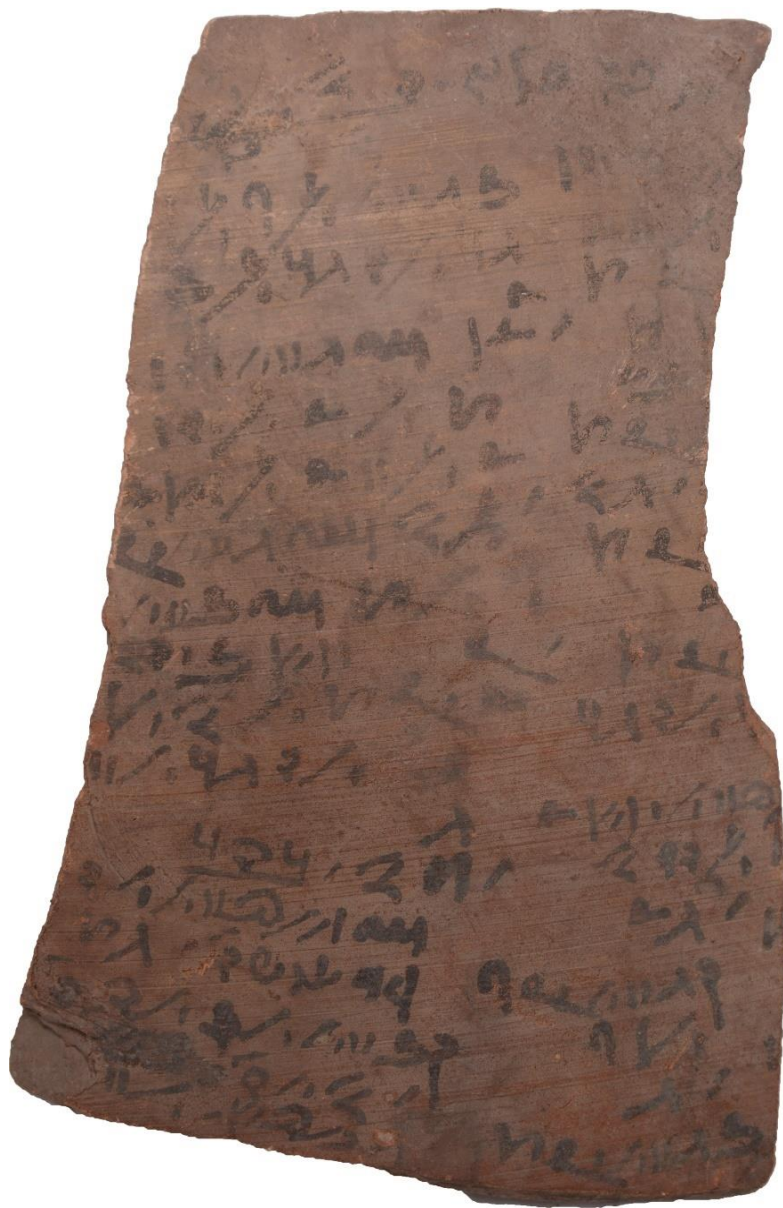
31 (MH 10), Verso – 130%



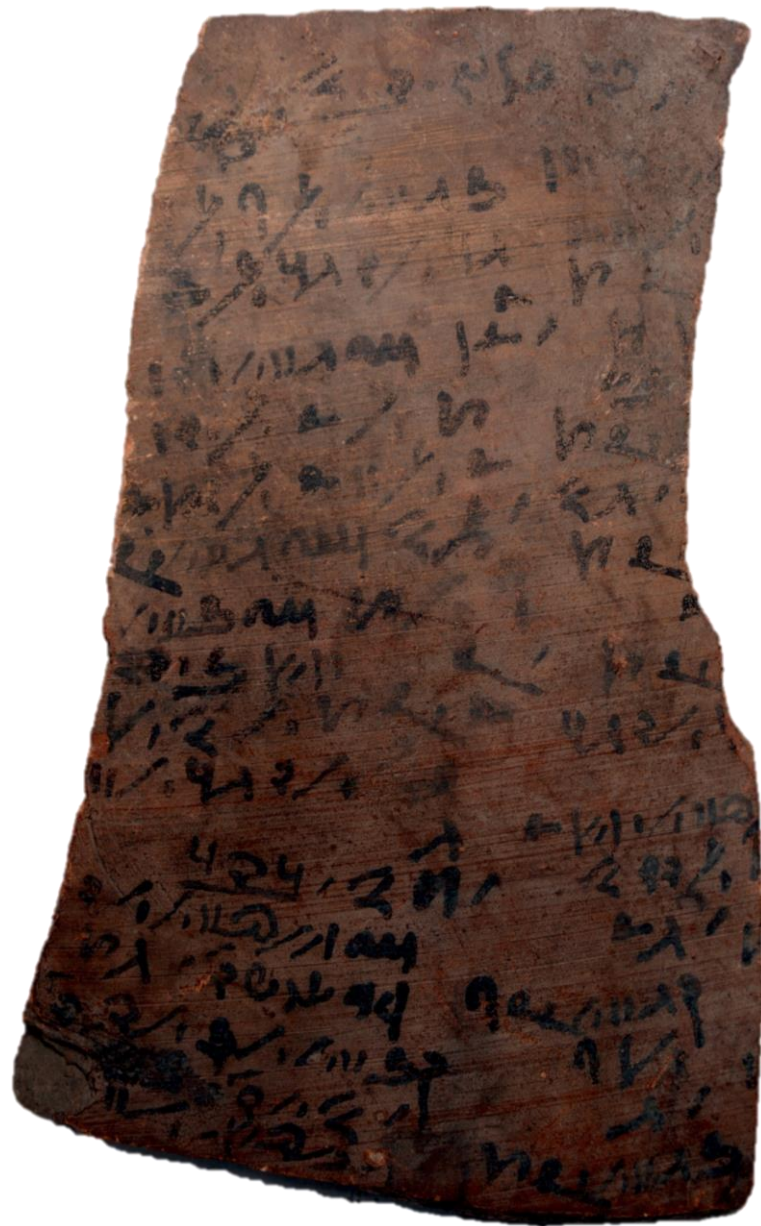
32 (MH 1008) – 130%



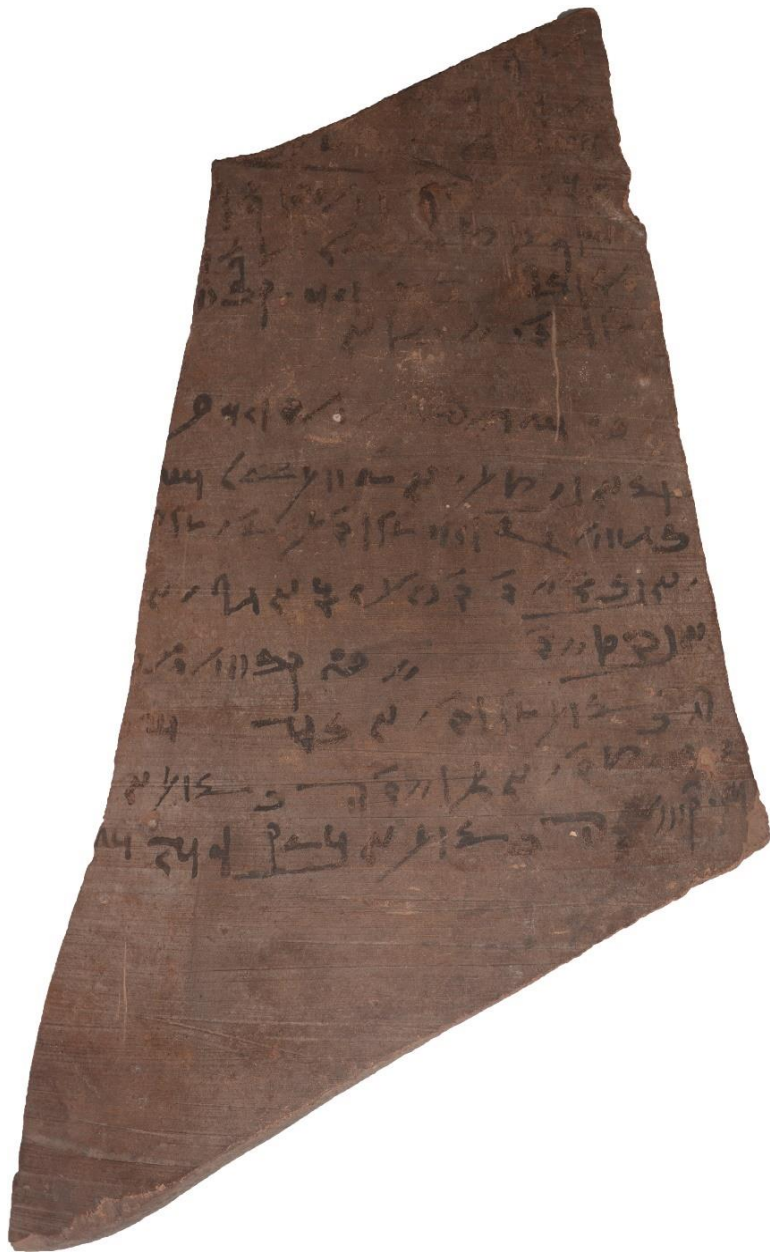
36 (MH 50) – 85%



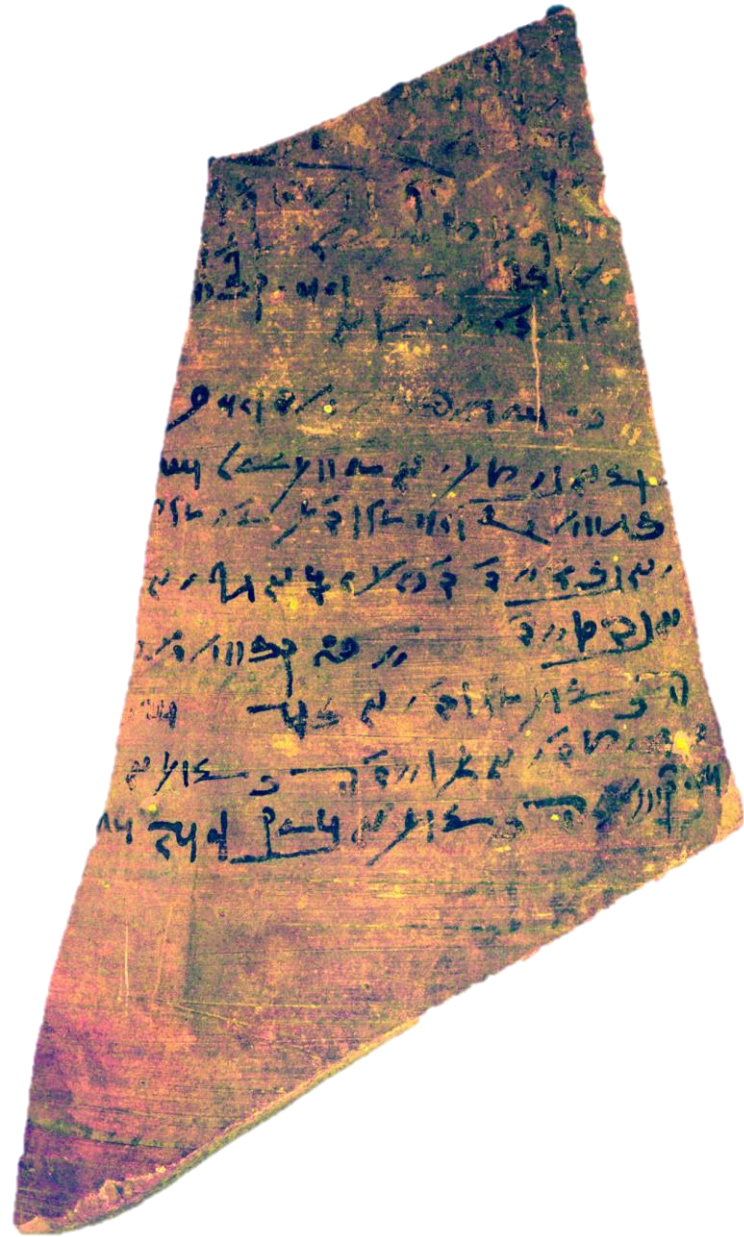
33 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 120%



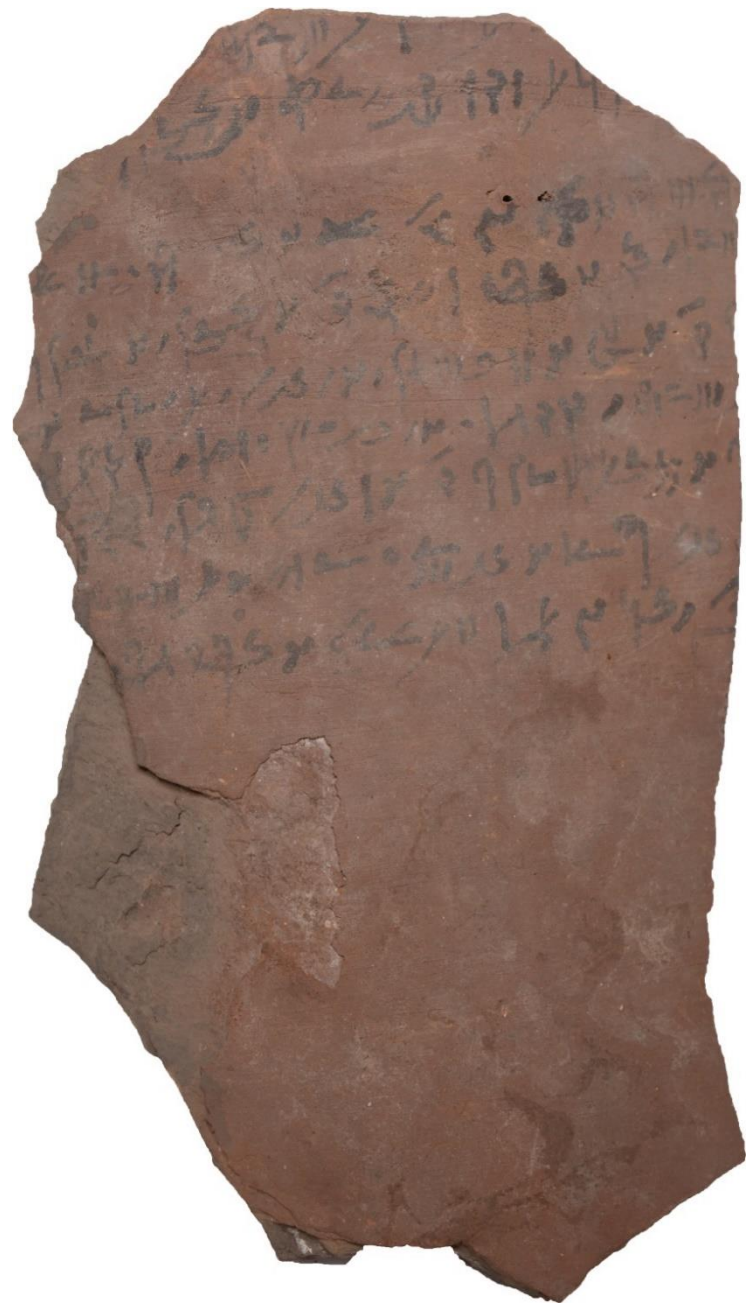
33 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) –
enhanced contrast



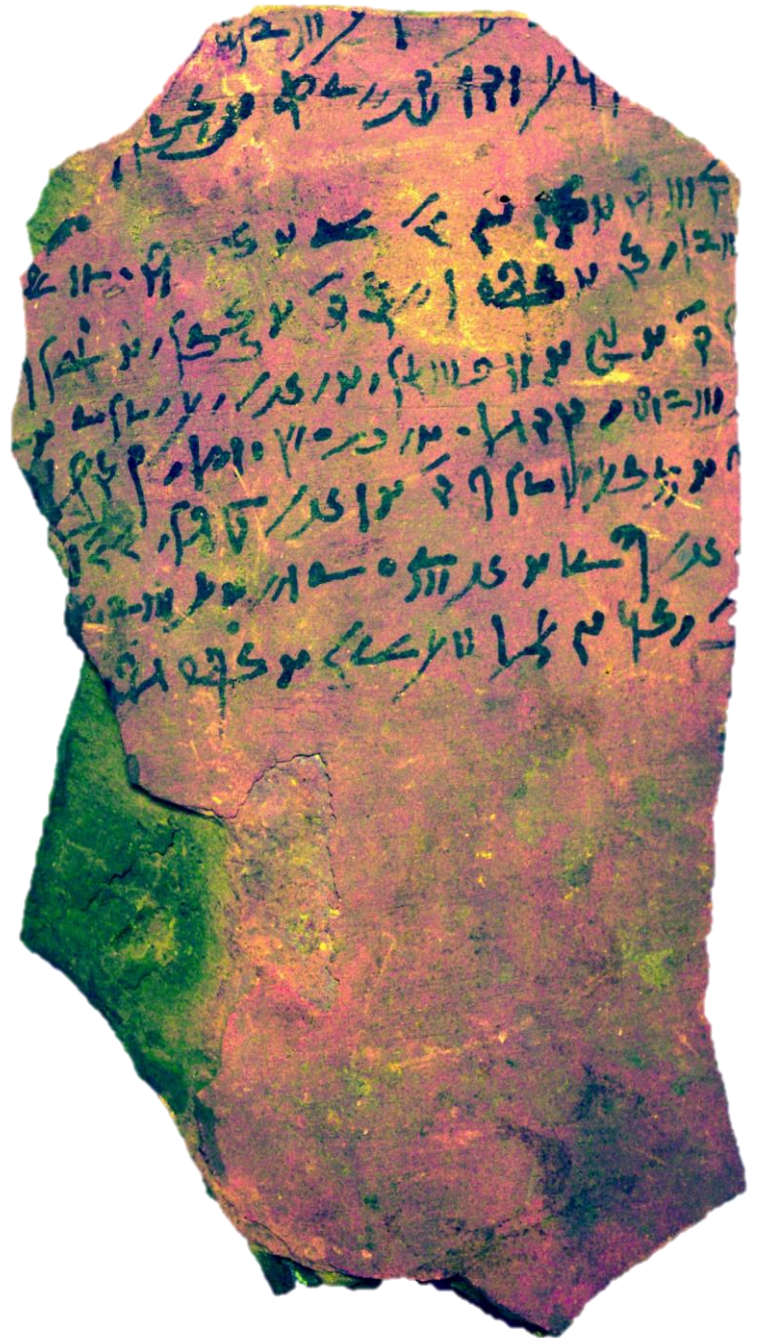
34 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 85%



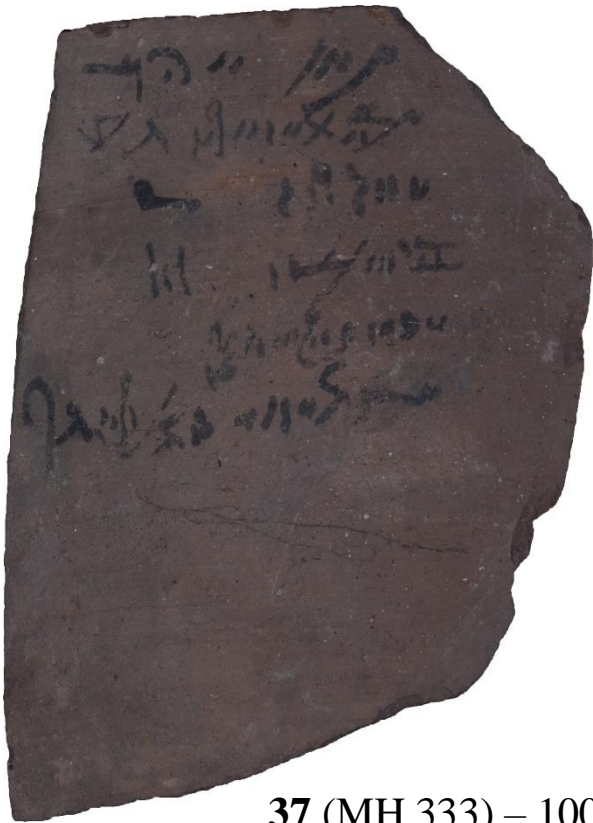
34 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – enhanced contrast



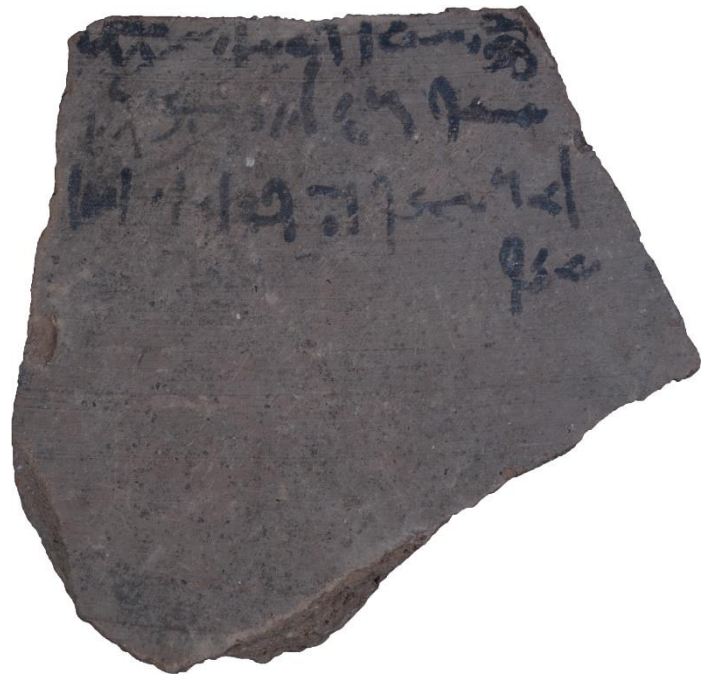
35 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 85%



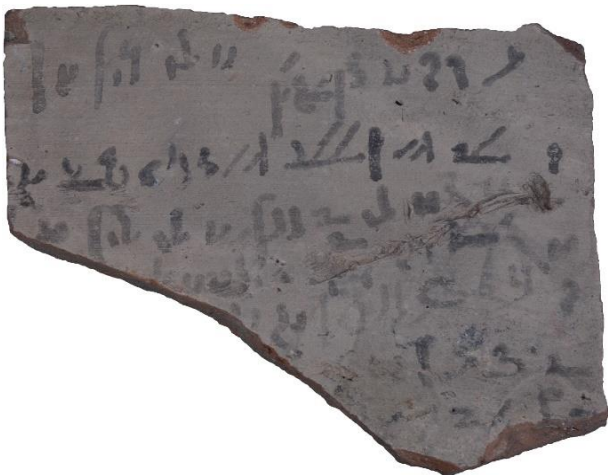
35 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) –
enhanced contrast



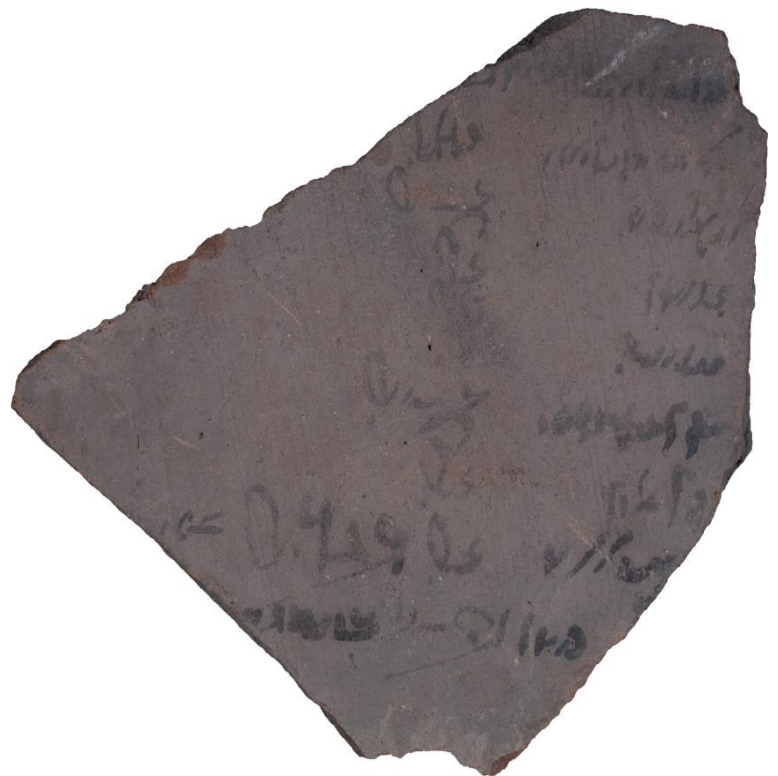
37 (MH 333) – 100%



38 (MH 4397) – 130%



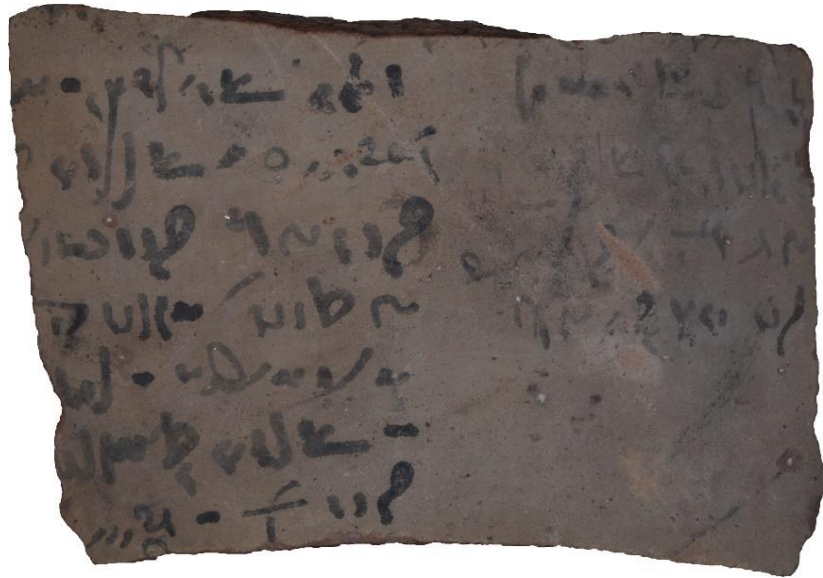
39 (MH 1984) – 100%



40 (MH 1762) – 100%



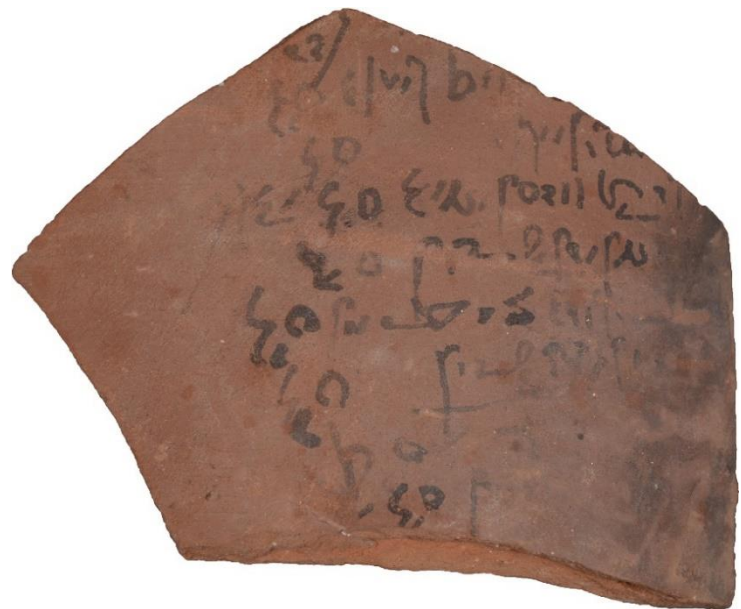
40 (MH 1762) – enhanced contrast



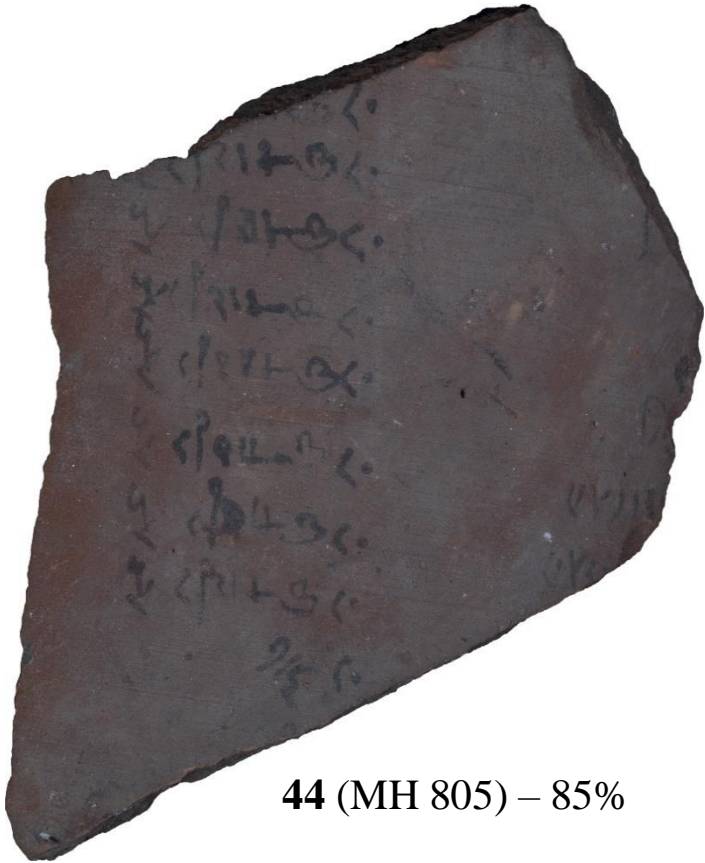
41 (MH 4363) – 100%



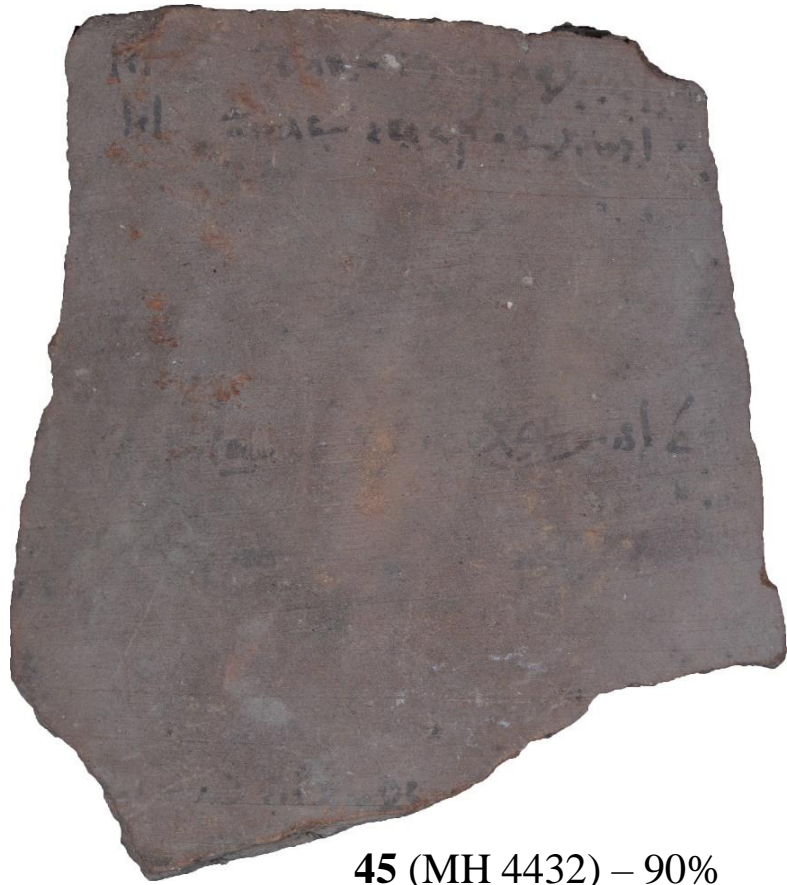
42 (MH 1028) – 100%



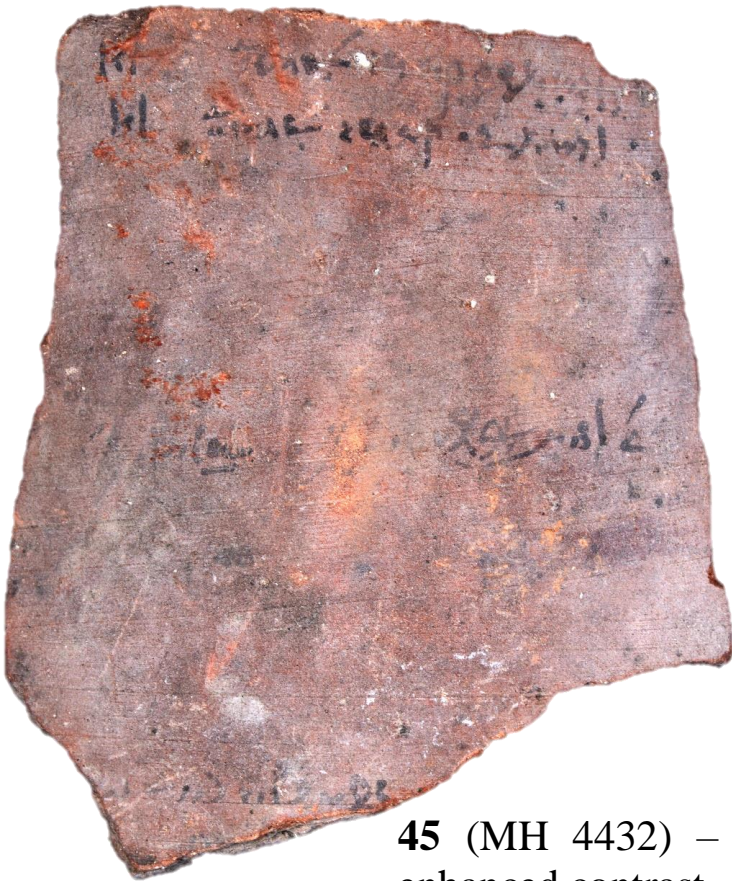
43 (MH(?) 1255A) – 100%



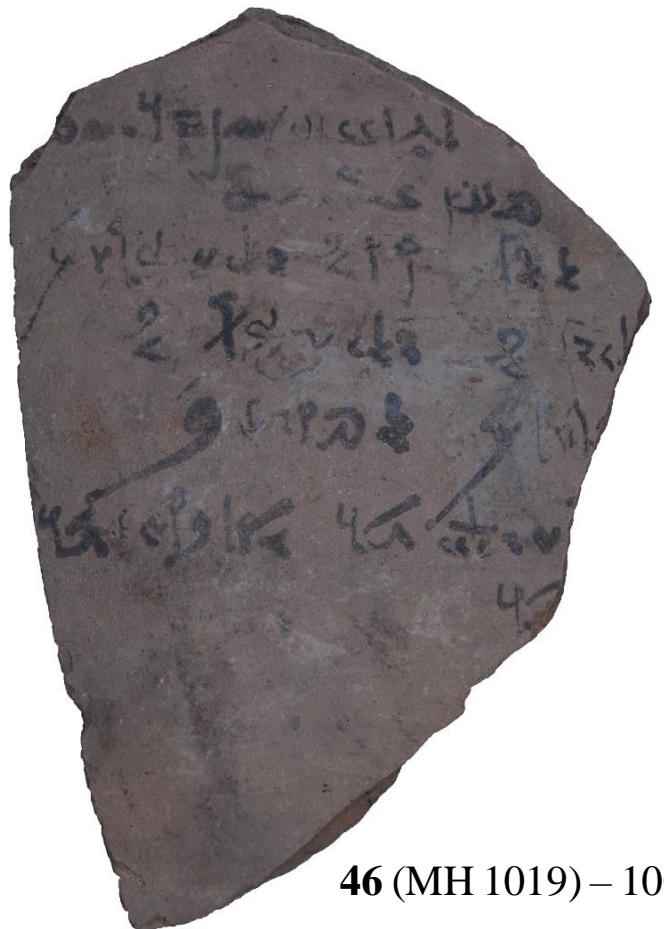
44 (MH 805) – 85%



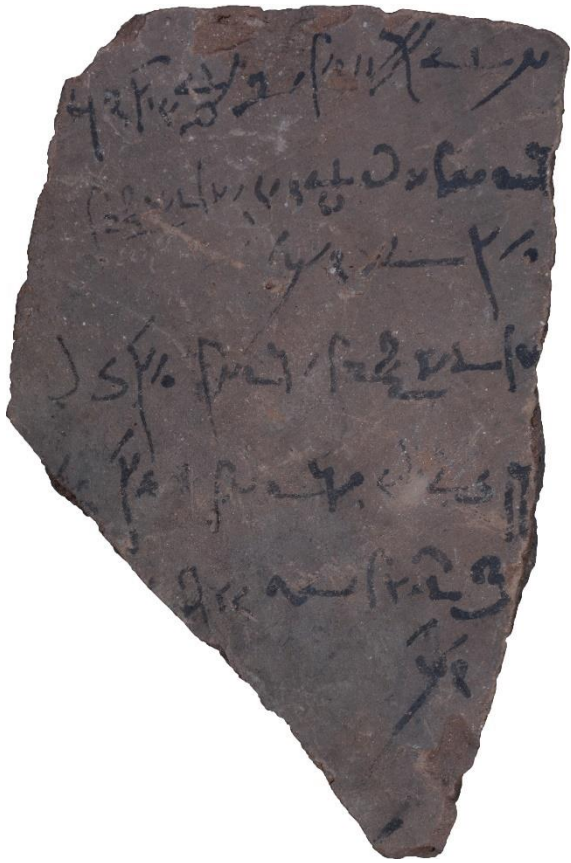
45 (MH 4432) – 90%



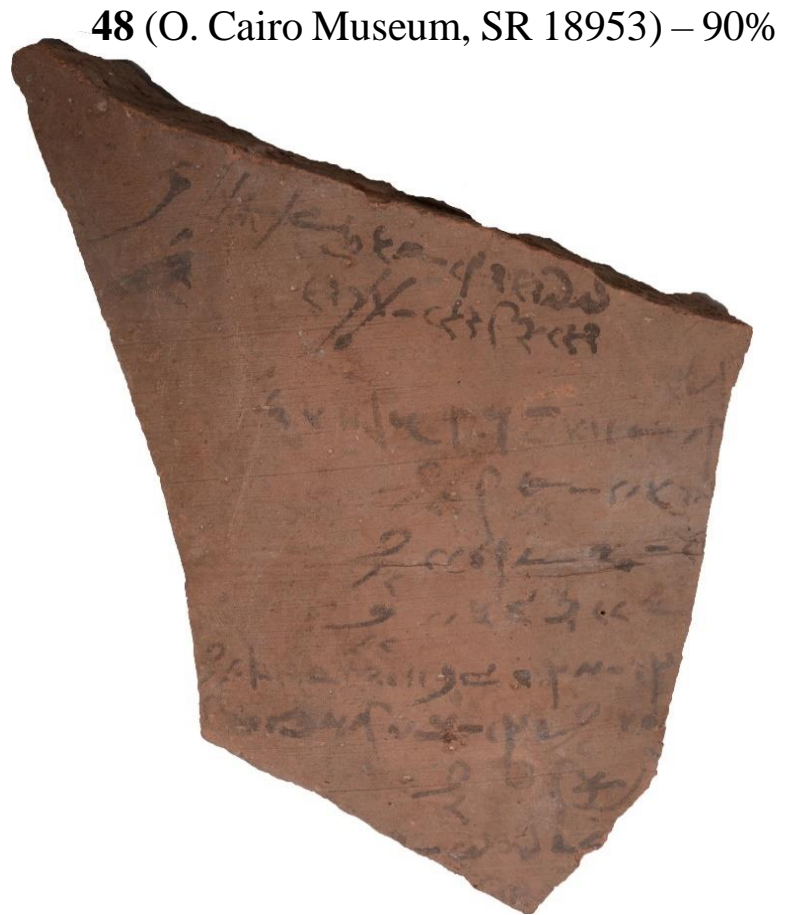
45 (MH 4432) –
enhanced contrast



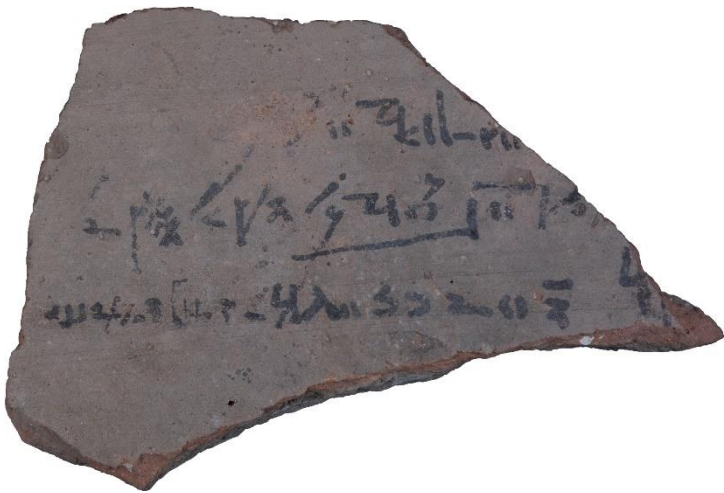
46 (MH 1019) – 100%



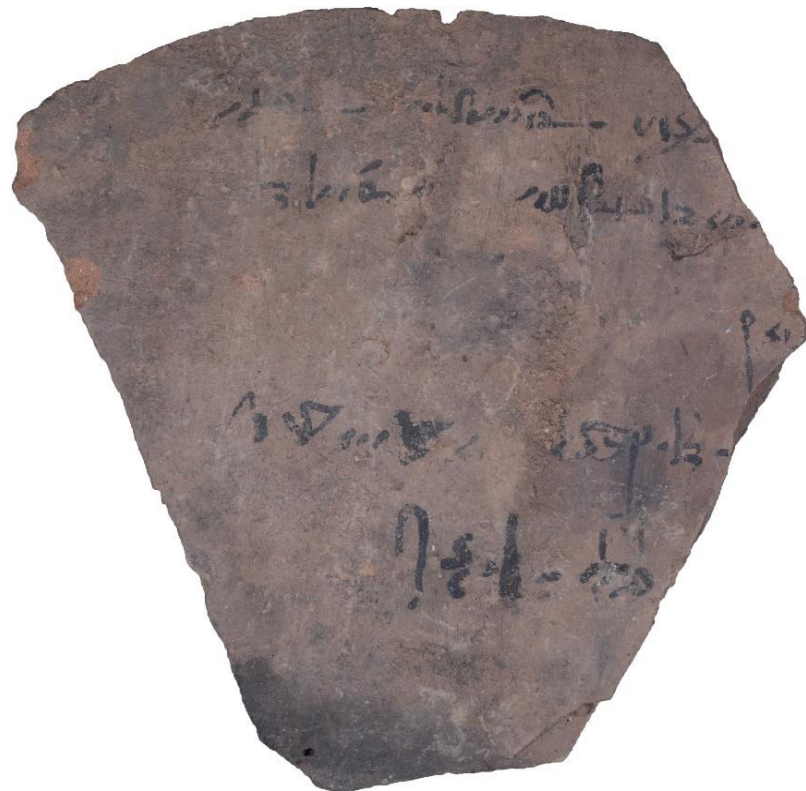
47 (MH 451) – 100%



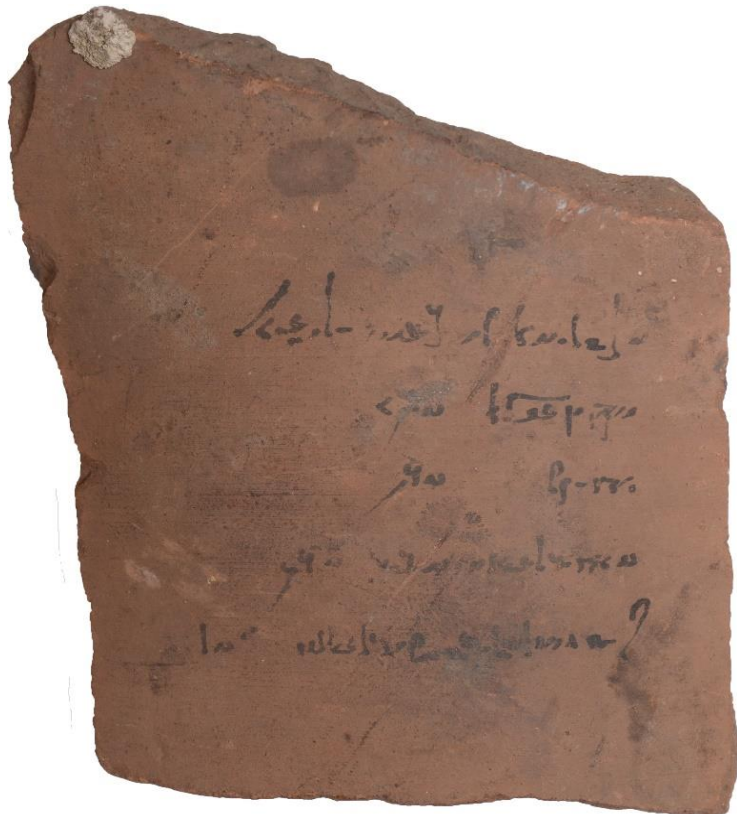
48 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 90%



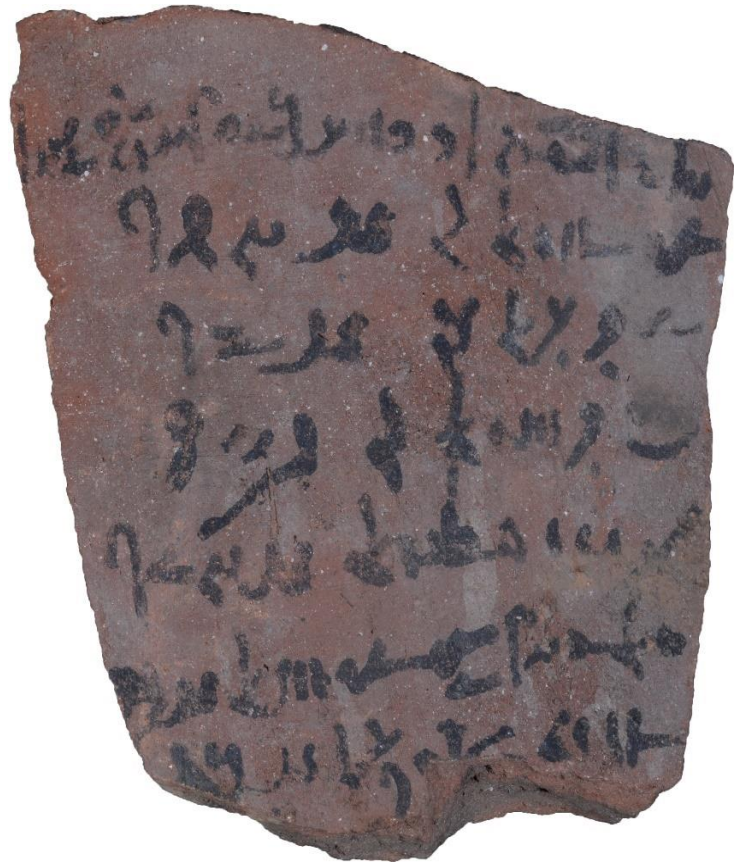
49 (MH 906) – 100%



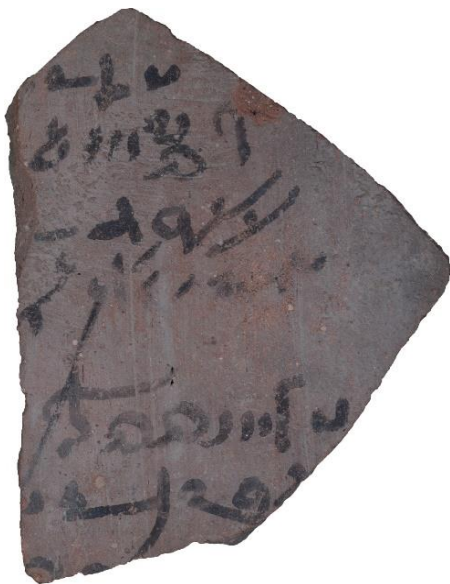
50 (MH 141) – 100%



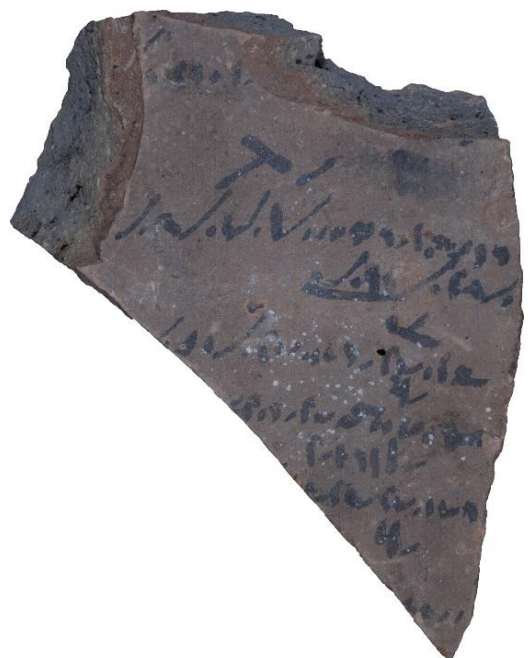
51 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 90%



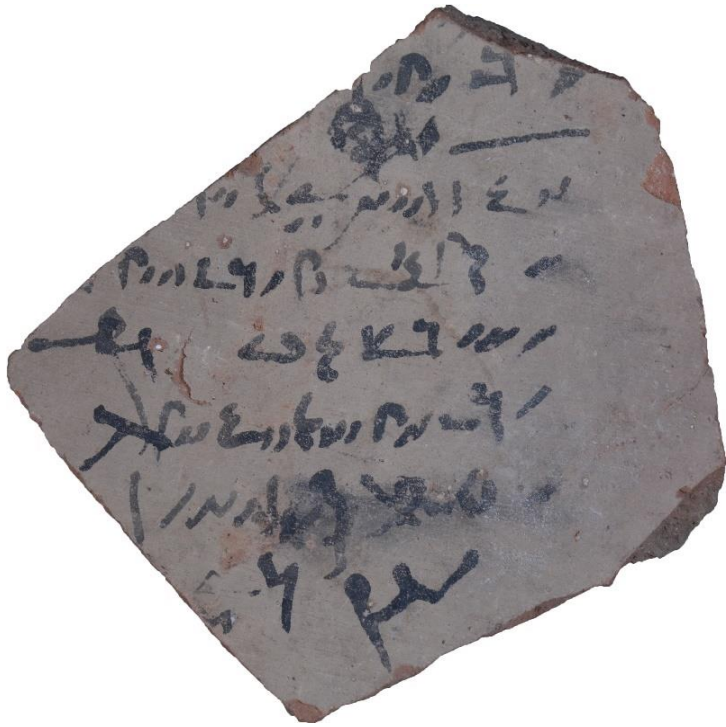
52 (MH 379) – 100%



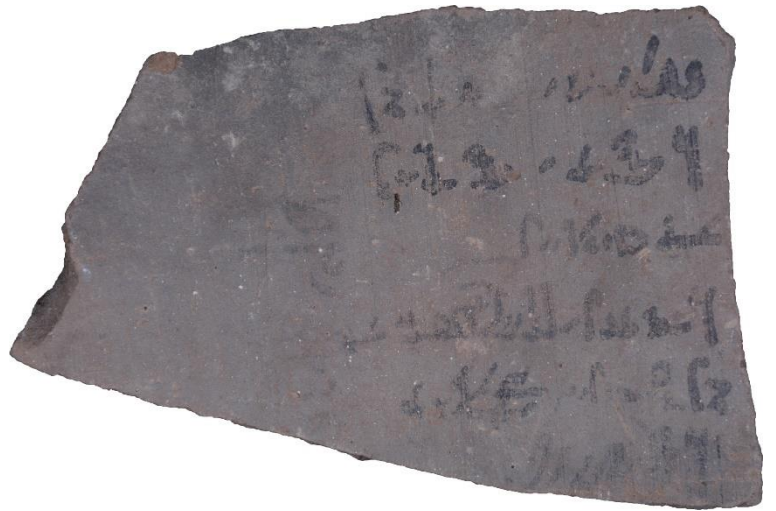
53 (MH 2940) – 100%



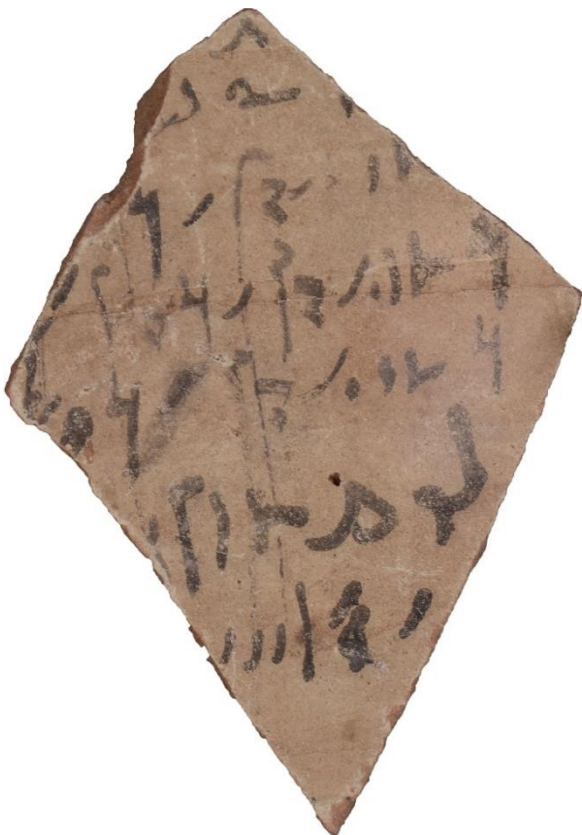
54 (MH 1471) – 100%



55 (MH 335) – 100%



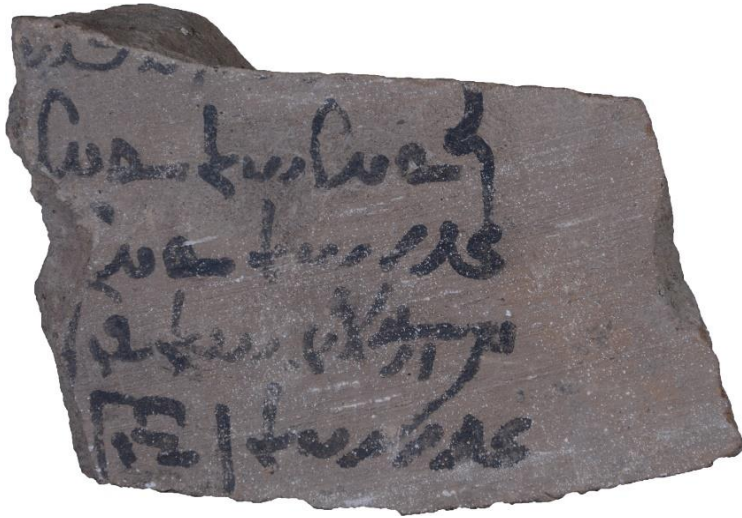
56 (MH 4206) – 115%



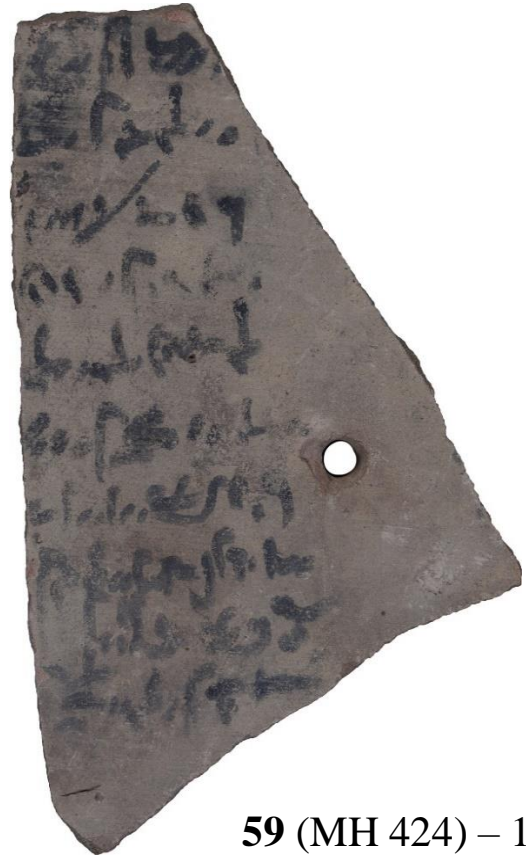
58 (MH 1138), Recto – 150%



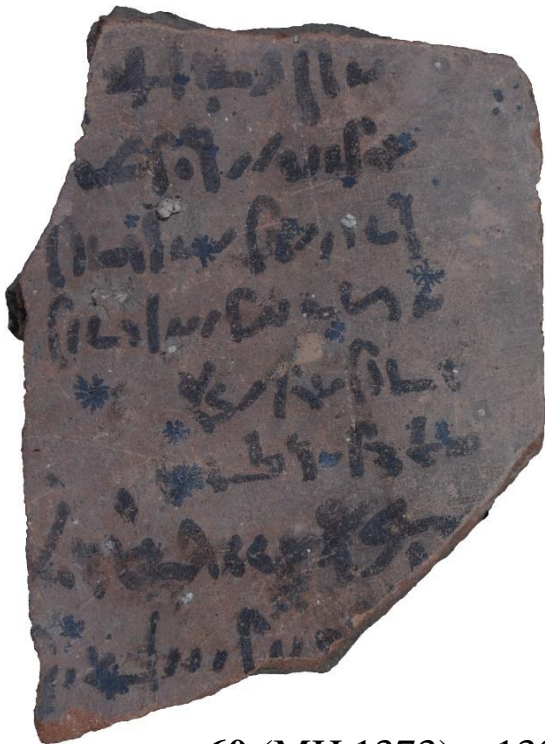
58 (MH 1138), Verso – 150%



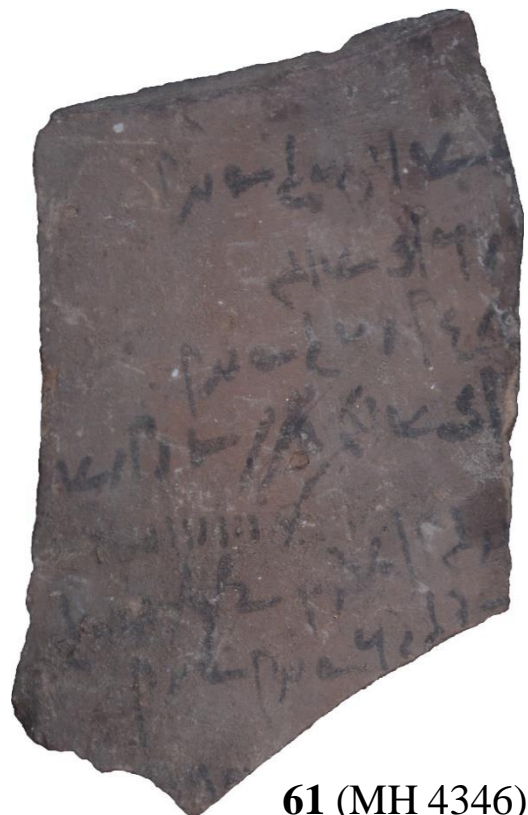
57 (MH 4405) – 150%



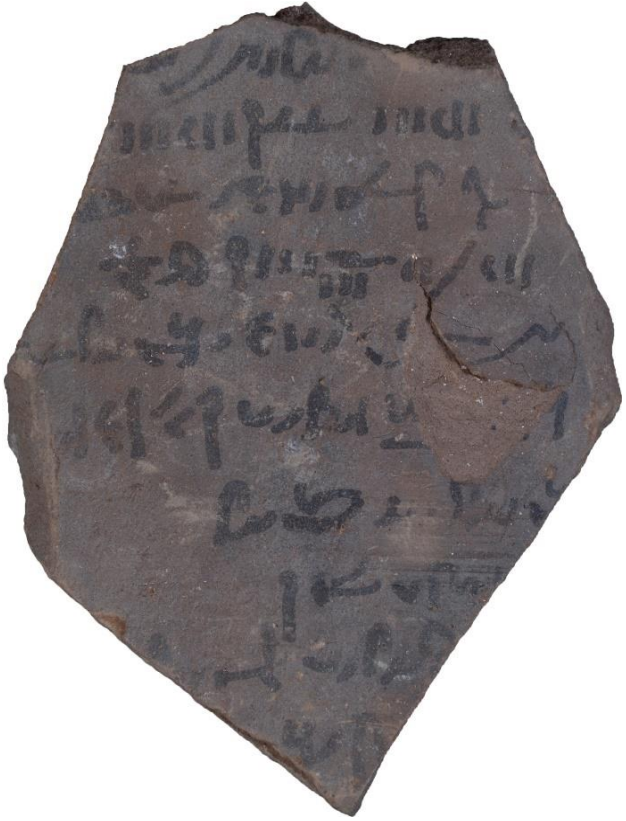
59 (MH 424) – 130%



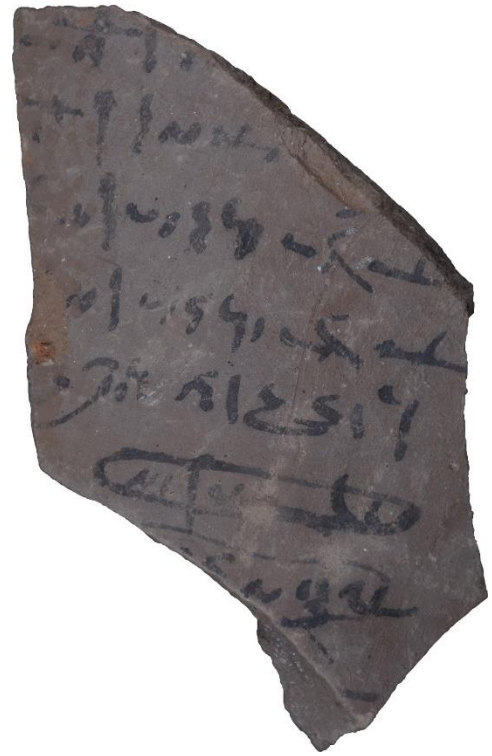
60 (MH 1373) – 130%



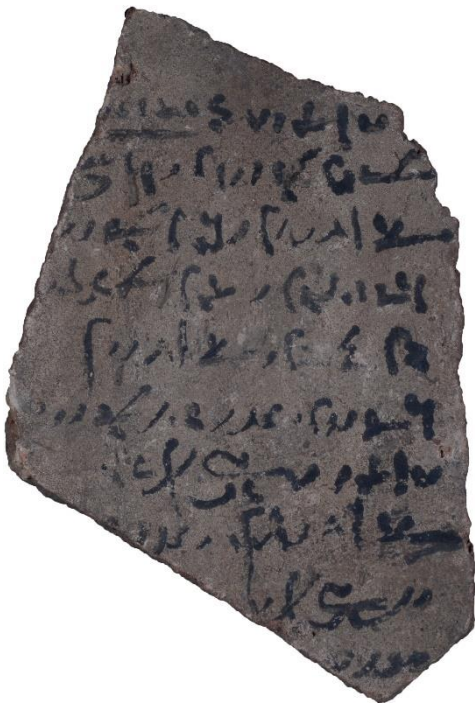
61 (MH 4346) – 120%



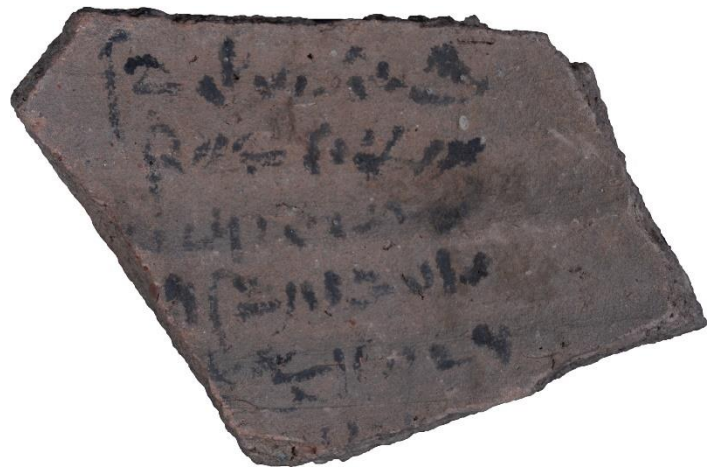
62 (MH 429) – 130%



63 (MH 2781) – 130%

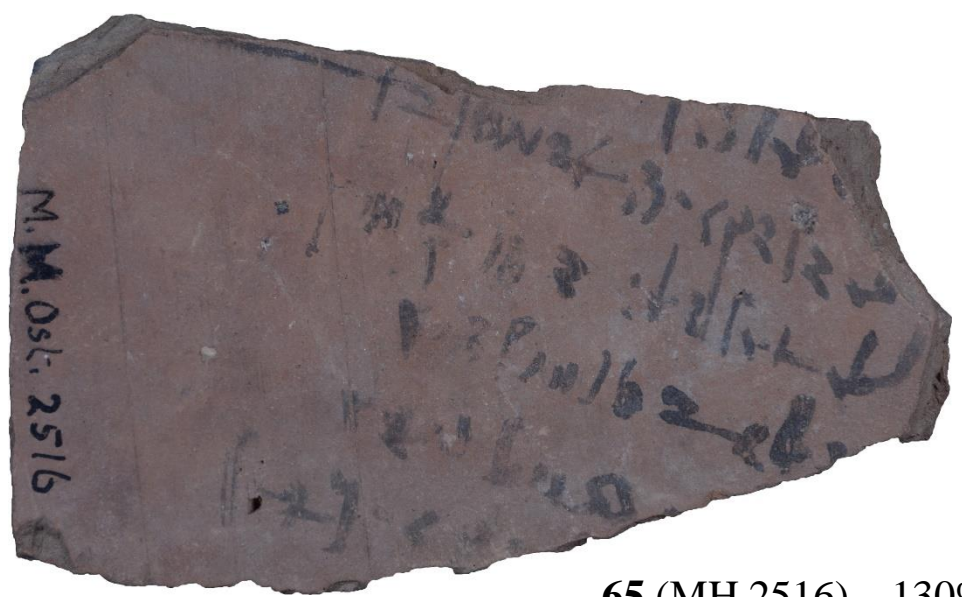
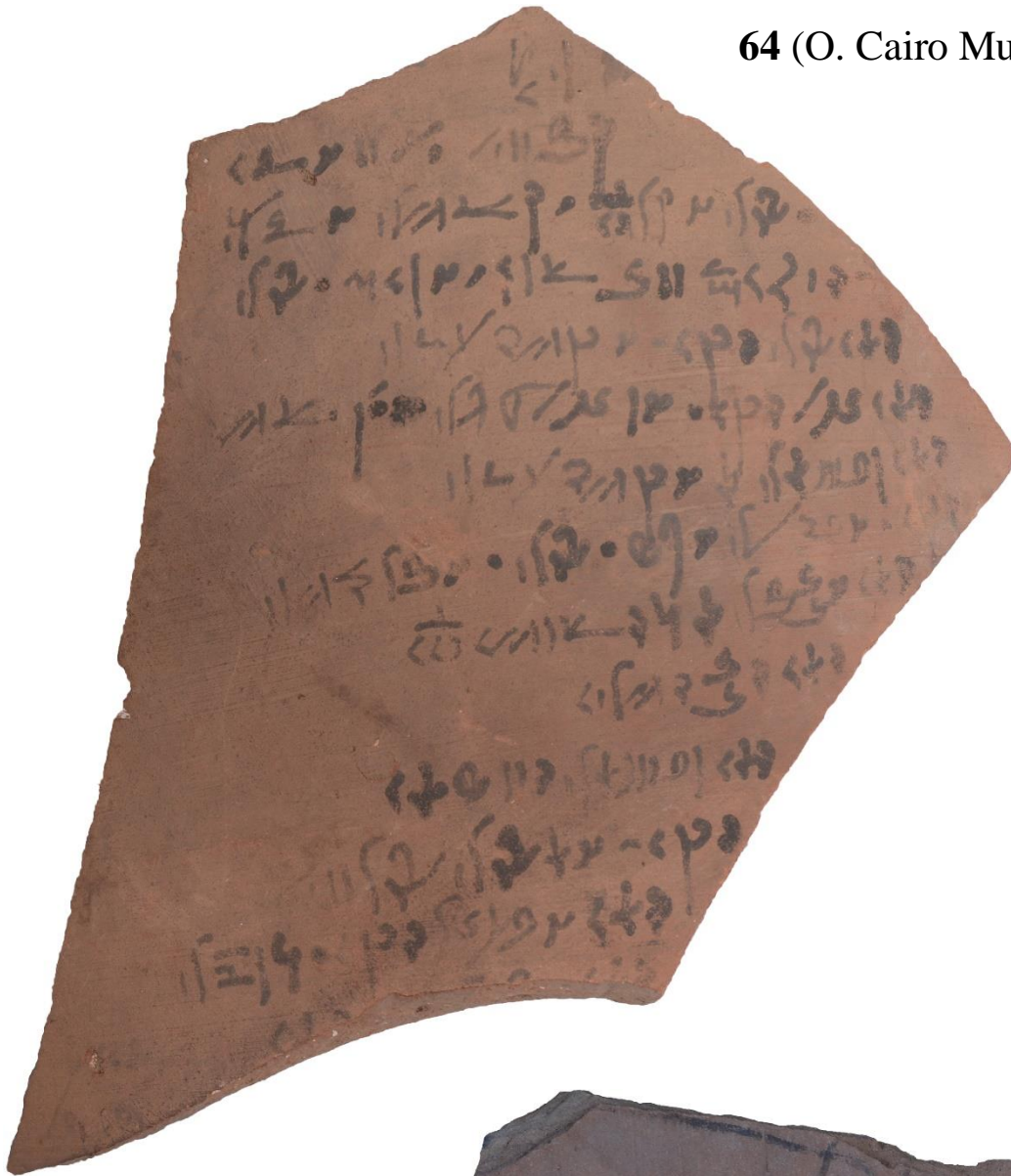


66 (MH 1434), Recto – 100%

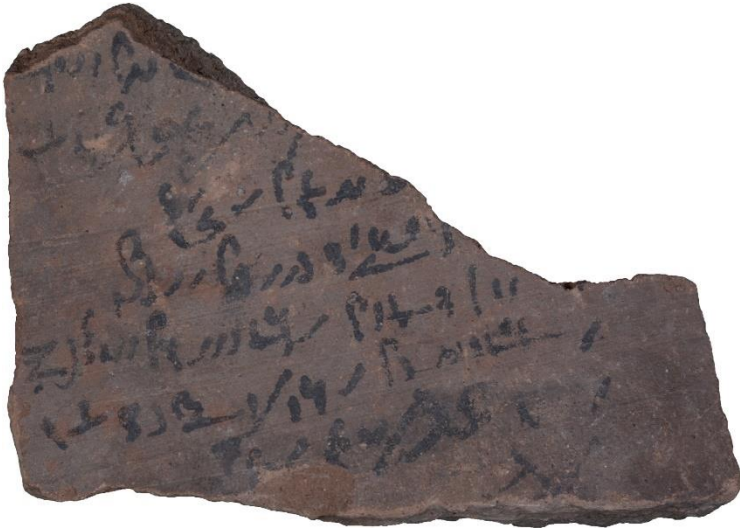


66 (MH 1434), Verso – 100%

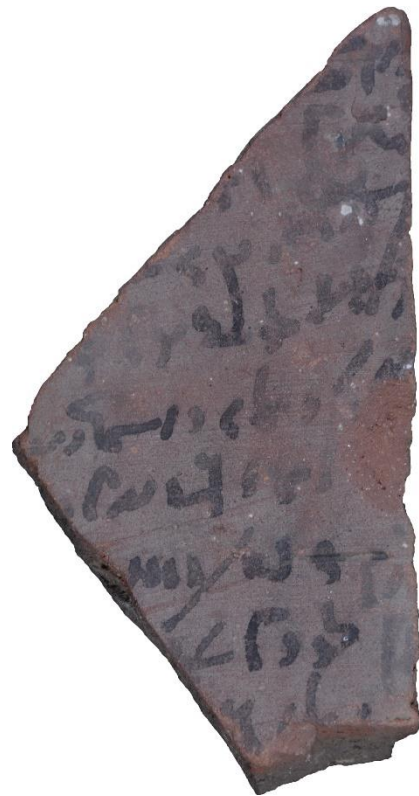
64 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 85%



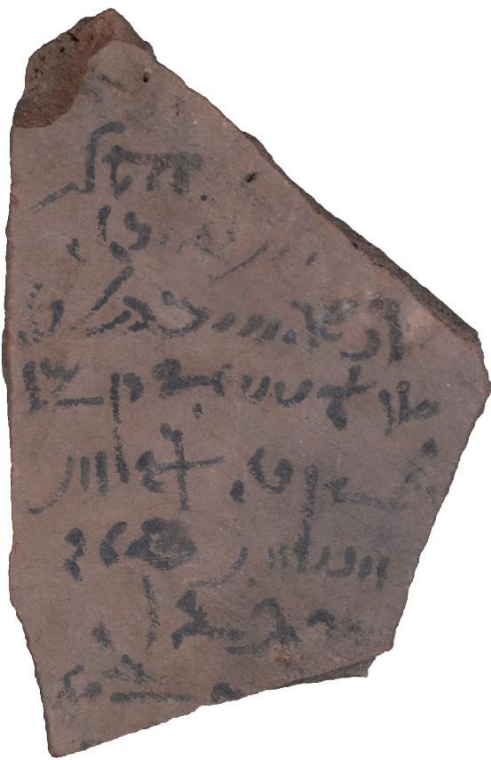
65 (MH 2516) – 130%



67 (MH 2696) – 130%



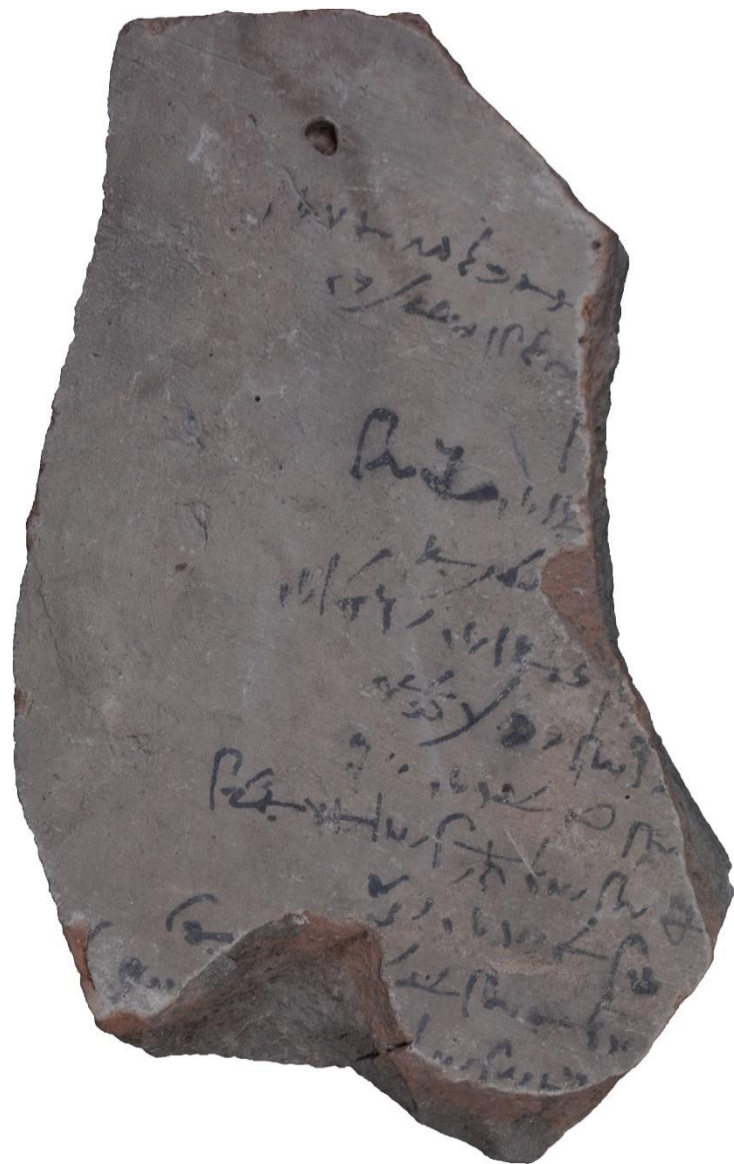
68 (MH 91) - 100%



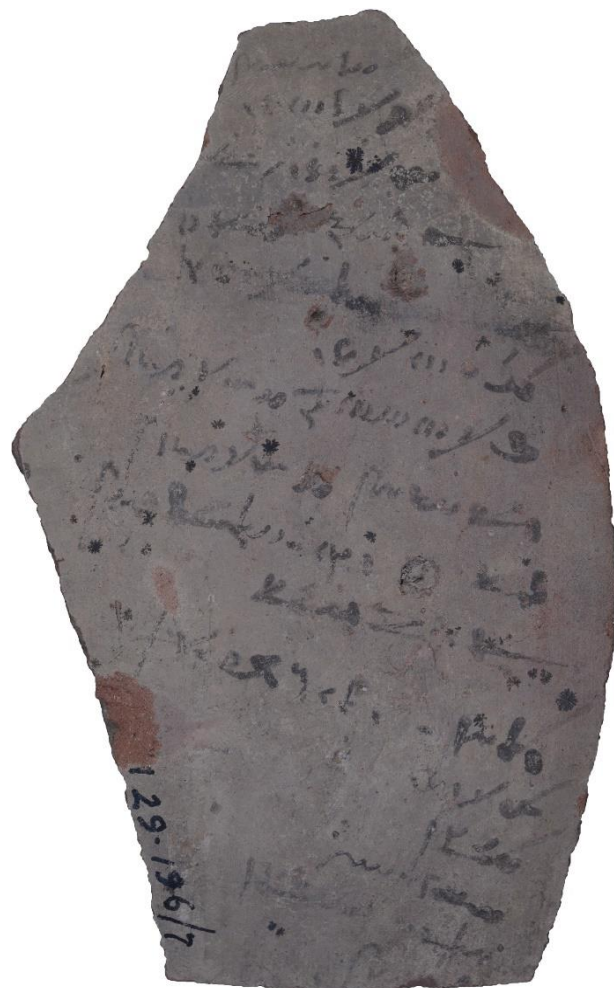
74 (MH 1283), Recto – 130%



74 (MH 1283), Verso – 130%



69 (MH 4186) – 100%

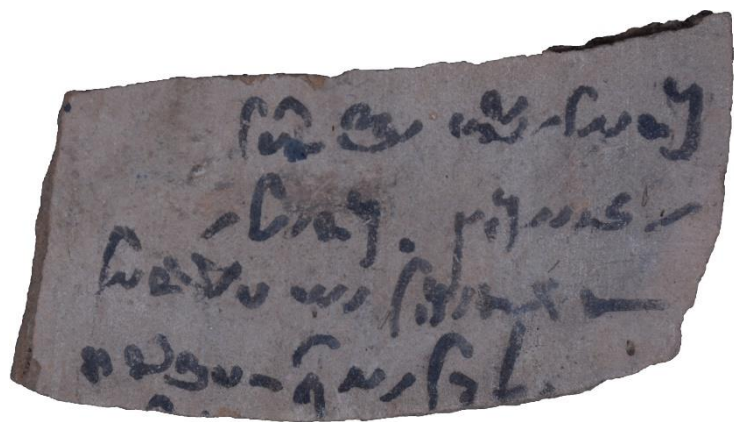


70 (MH 2469) – 100%

71 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 100%



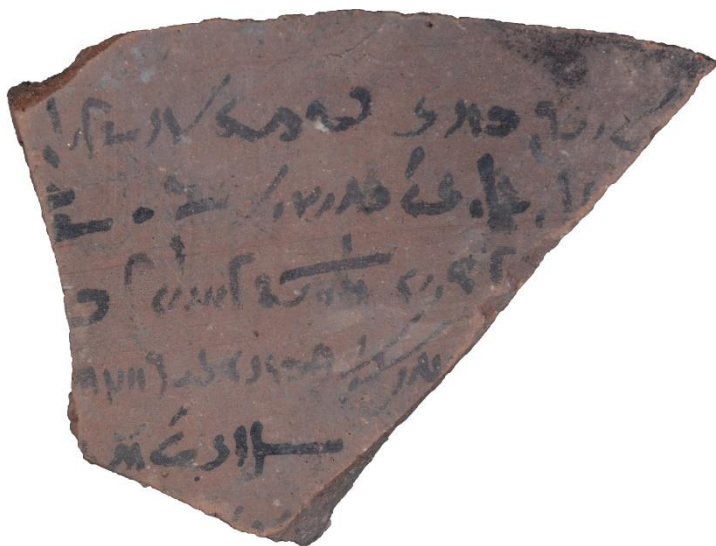
72 (MH 4055) – 130%



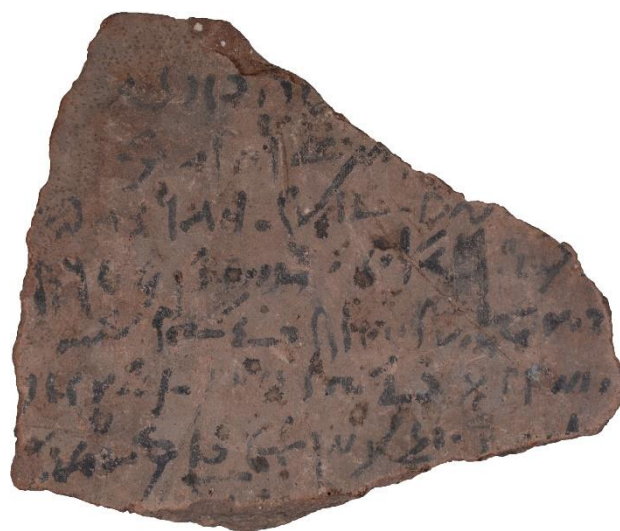
73 (MH 1455) – 130%



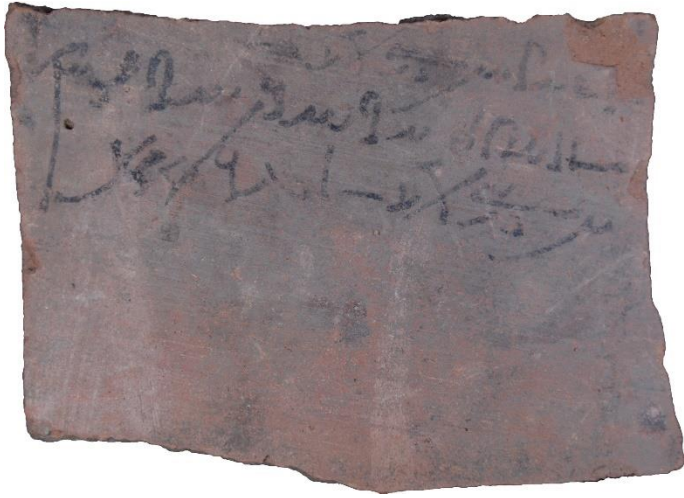
75 (MH 4282) – 100%



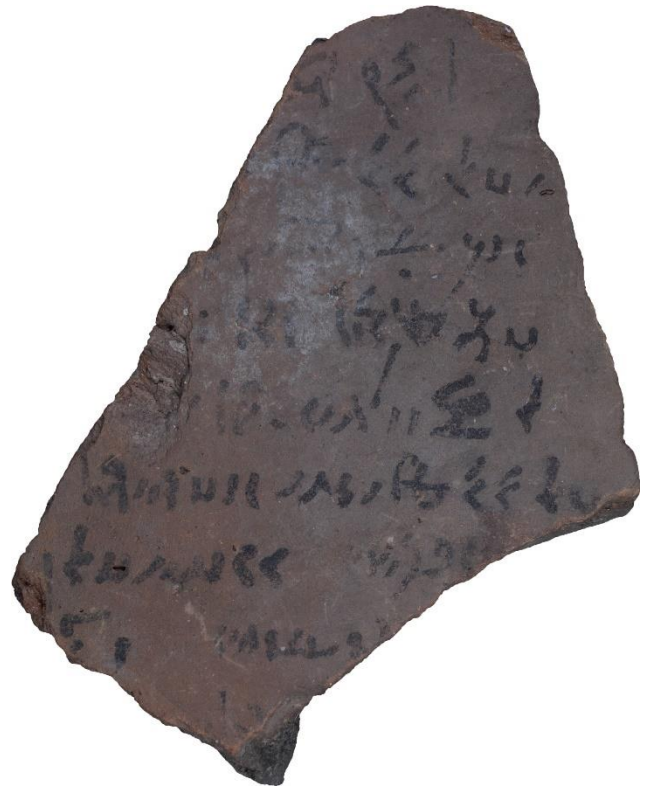
76 (MH 2726) – 120%



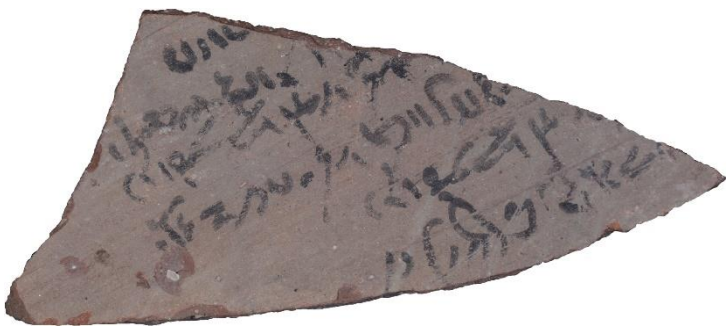
77 (MH 440) – 100%



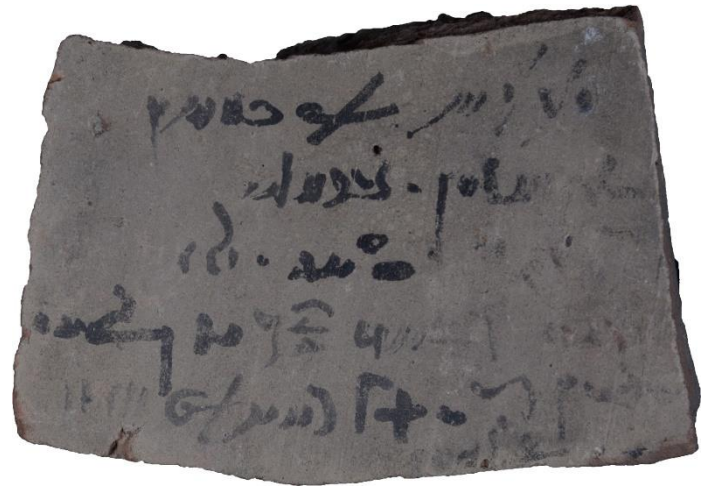
78 (MH 2807) – 100%



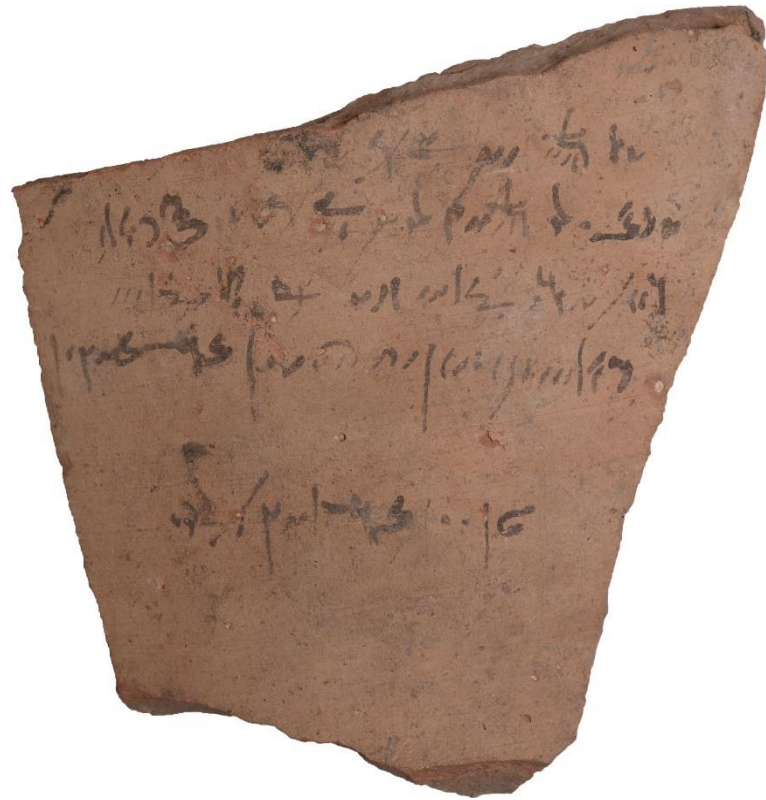
79 (MH 191) – 100%



80 (MH 52) – 100%



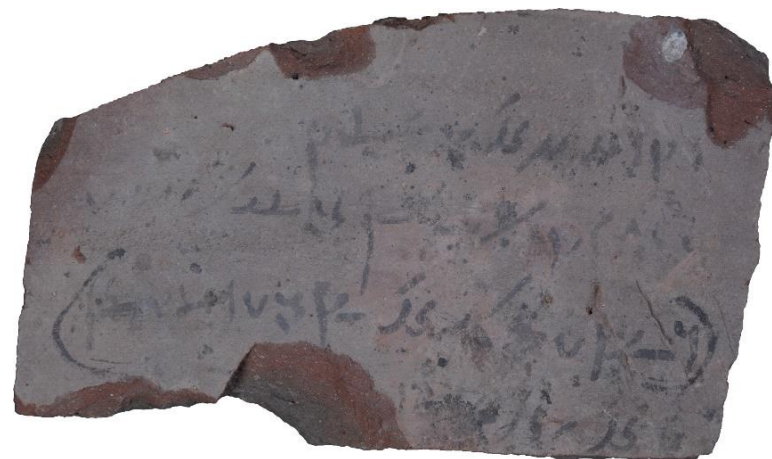
81 (MH 188) – 130%



82 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 100%



83 (MH 1615) – 130%



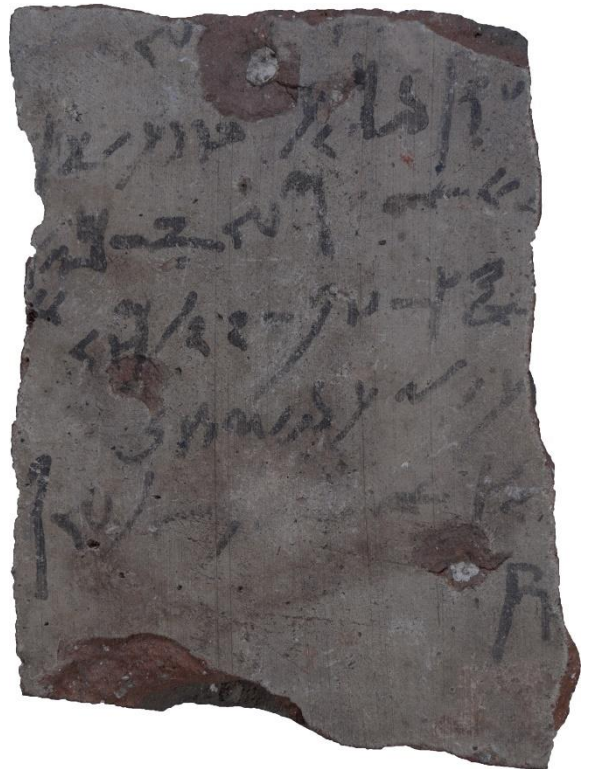
84 (MH 1115) – 100%



84 (MH 1115) – enhanced contrast



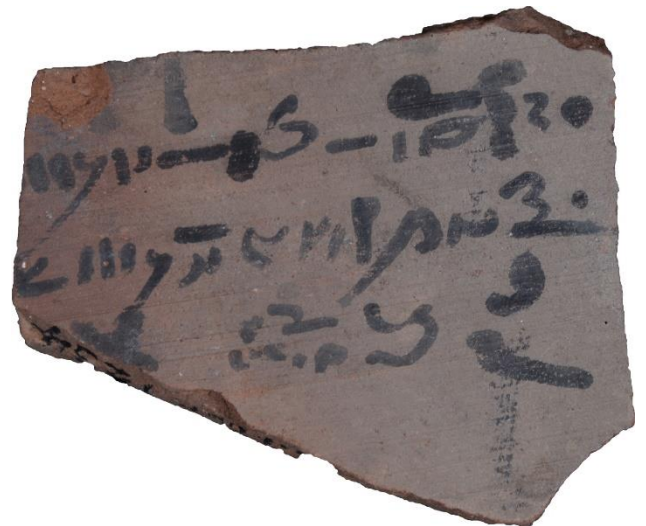
85 (MH 389) – 100%



86 (MH 3641) – 130%



87 (MH 3041) – 130%



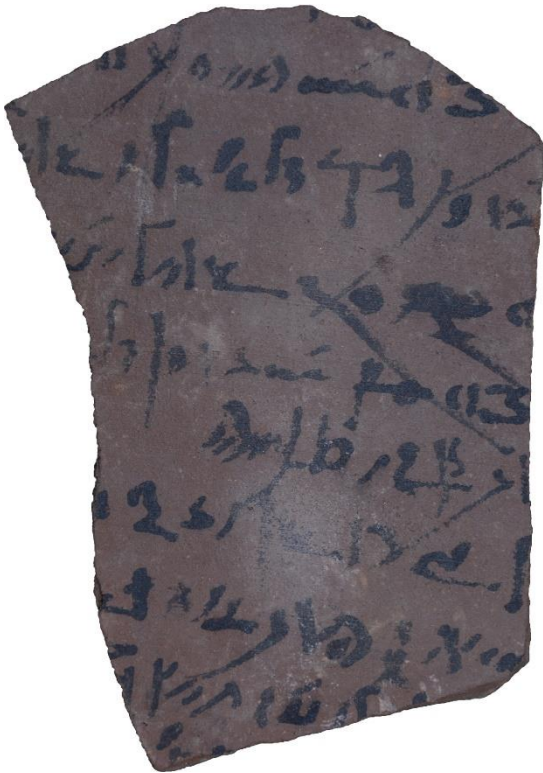
88 (MH 1234) – 130%



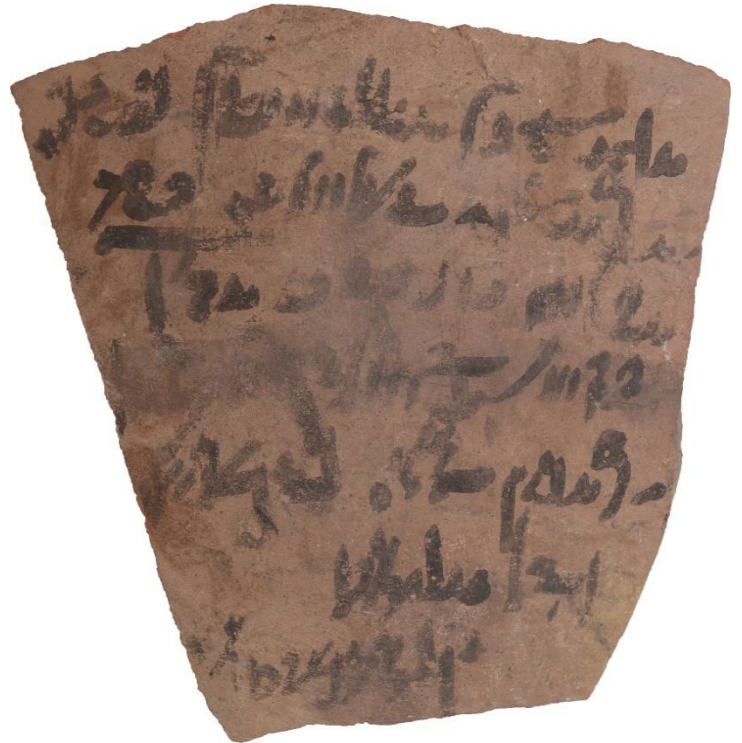
89 (MH 1131) – 100%



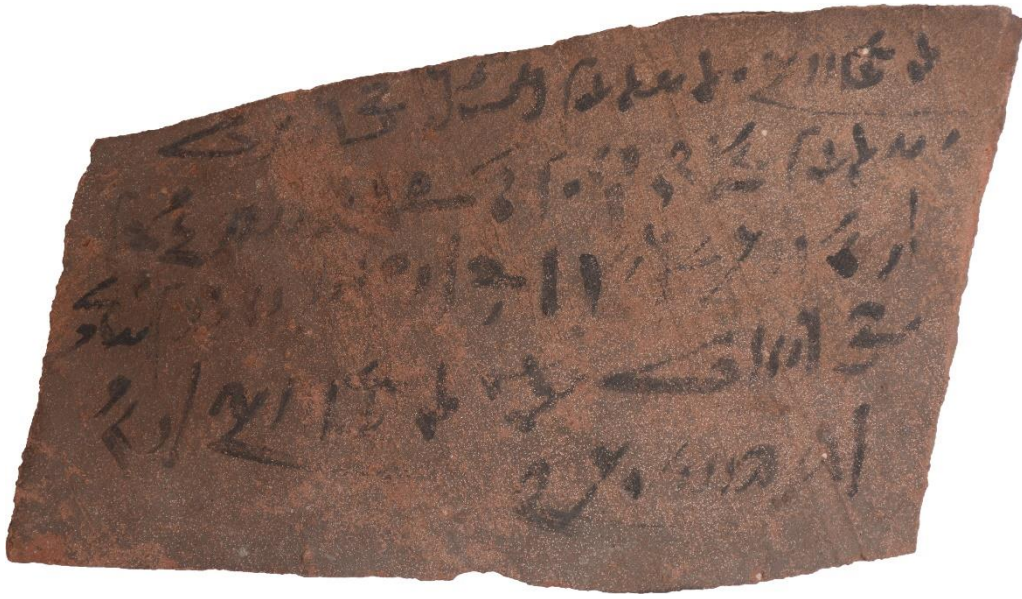
89 (MH 1131) – enhanced contrast



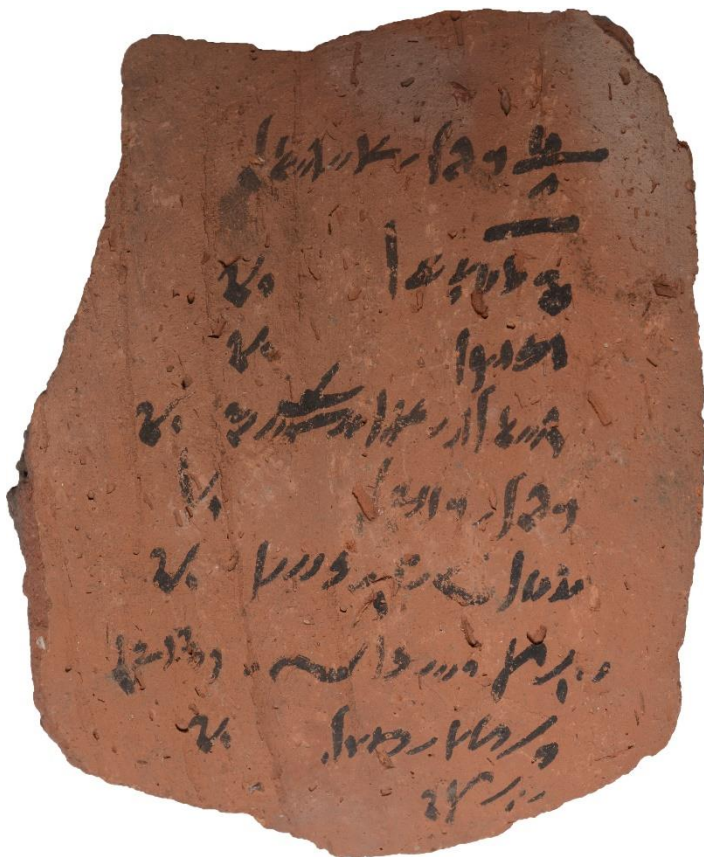
90 (MH 915) – 130%



92 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 85%



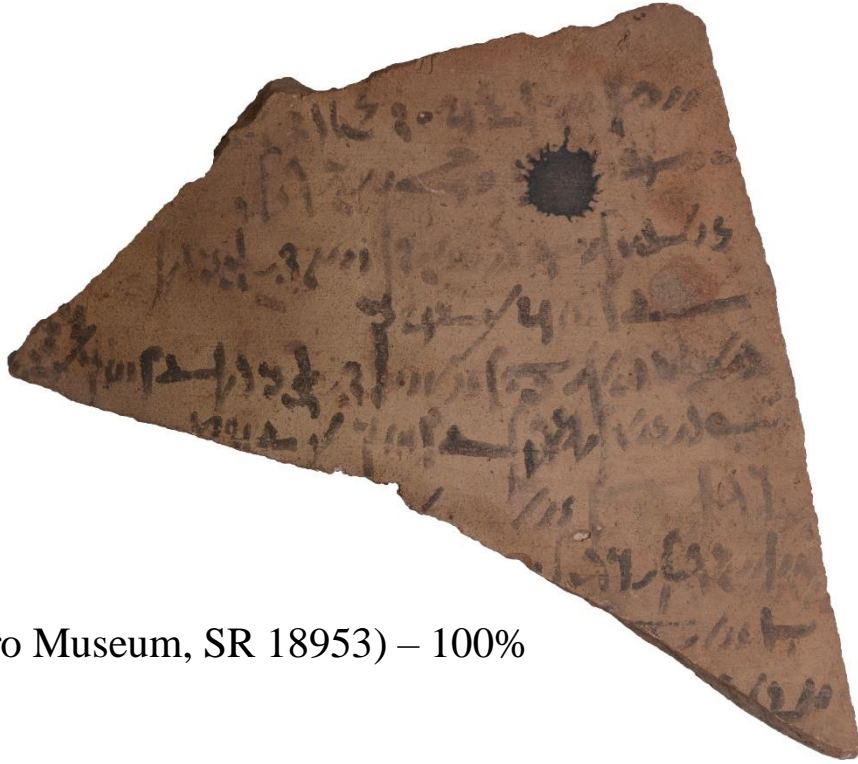
91 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 100%



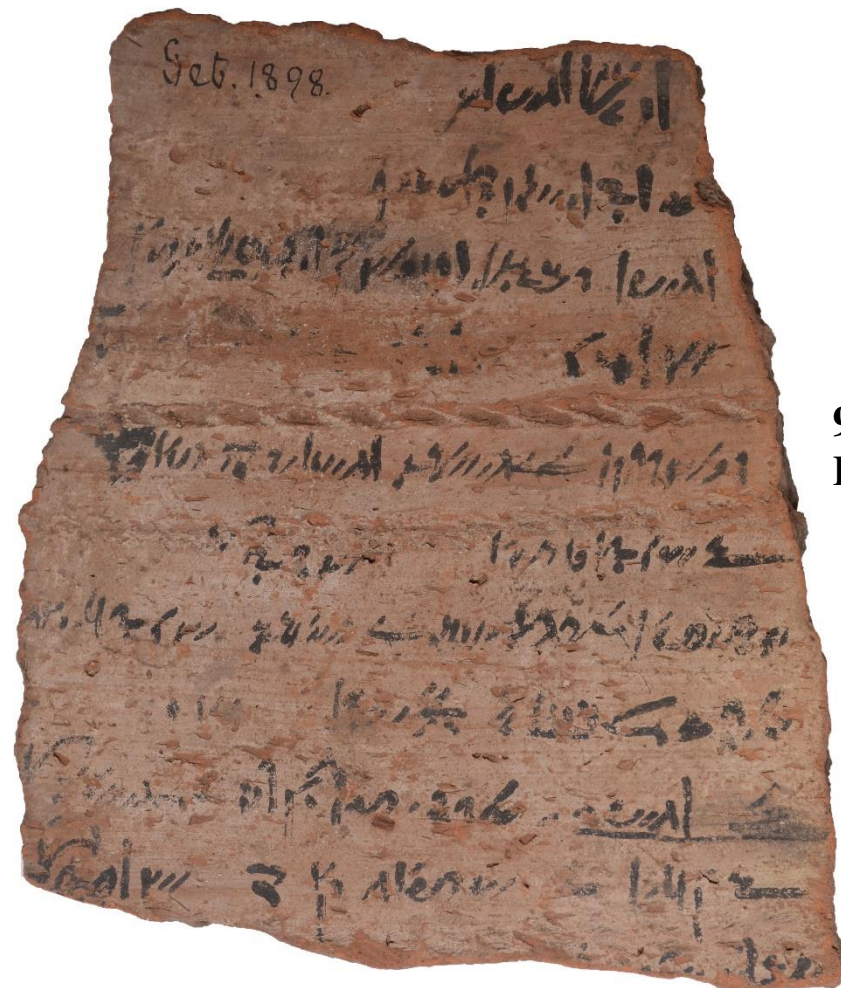
93 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953), Recto – 90%



93 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953), Verso – 90%

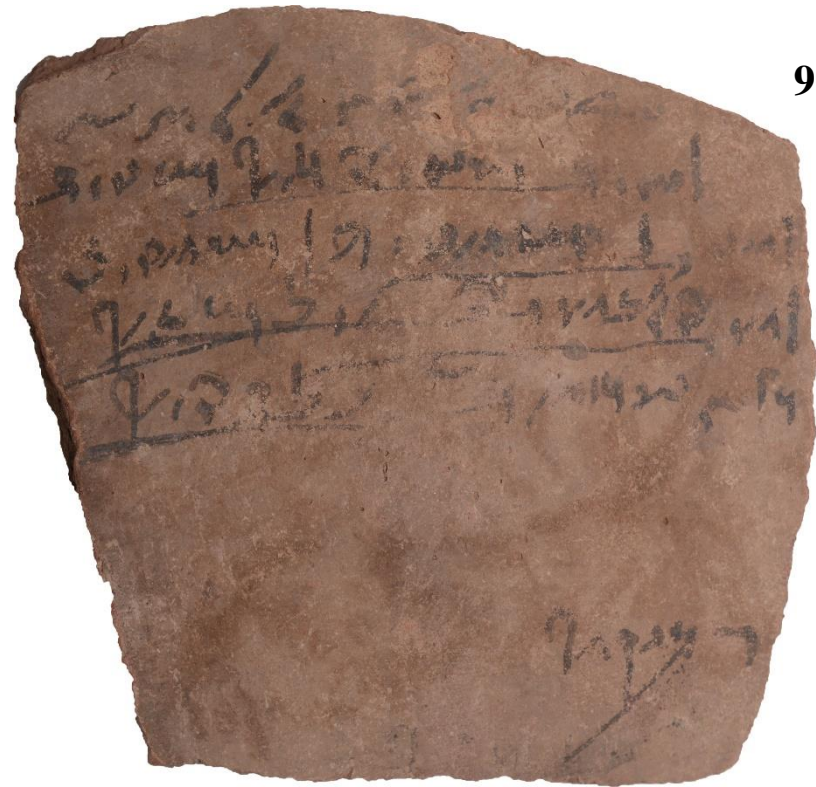


94 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 100%

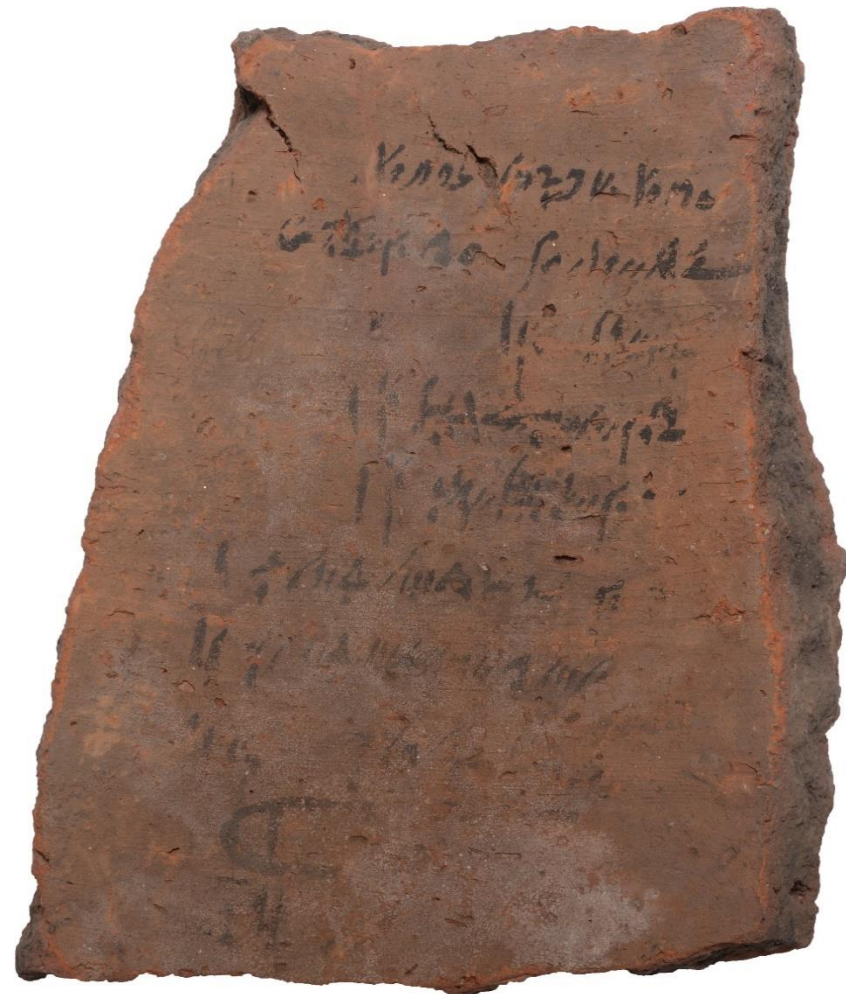


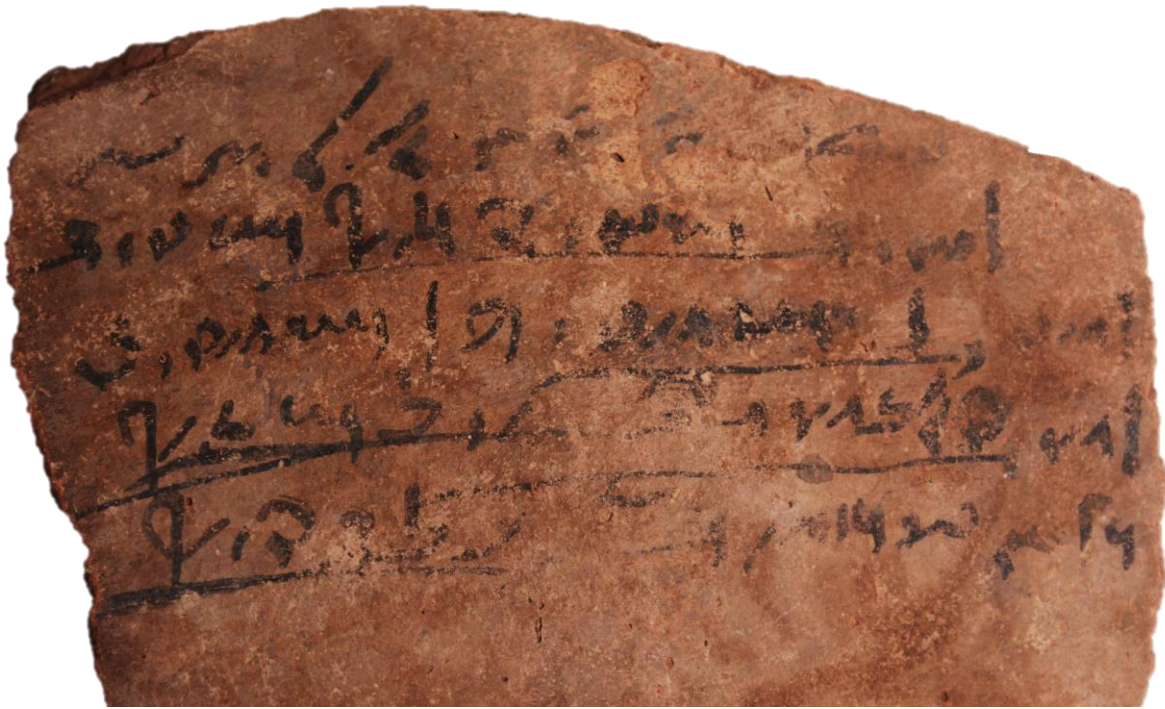
95 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953),
Recto – 100%

96 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 90%

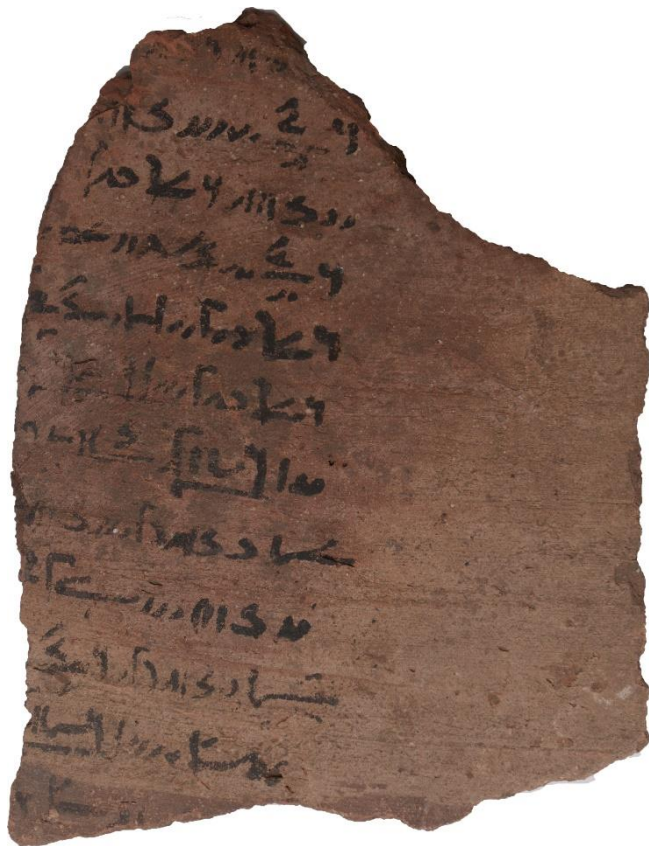


95 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953),
Verso – 100%



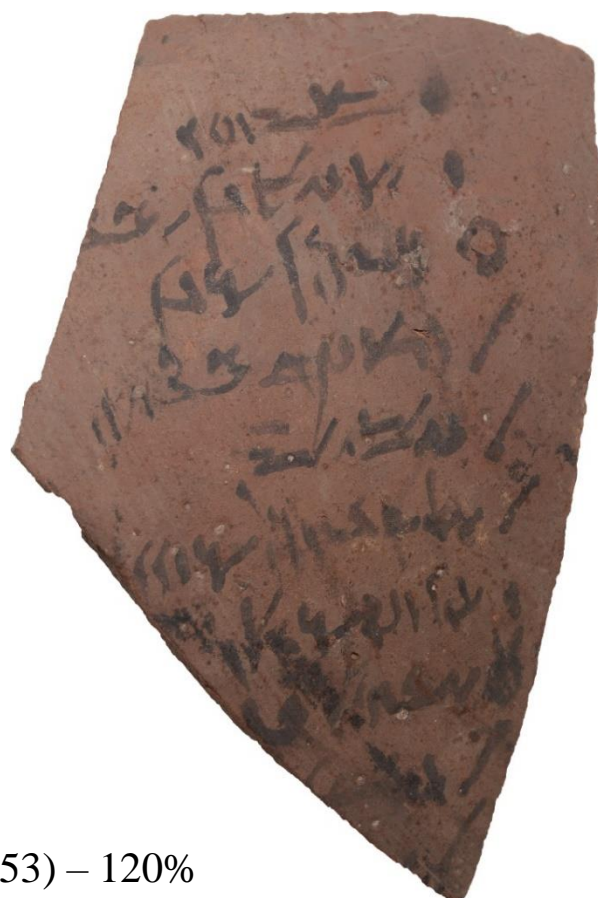
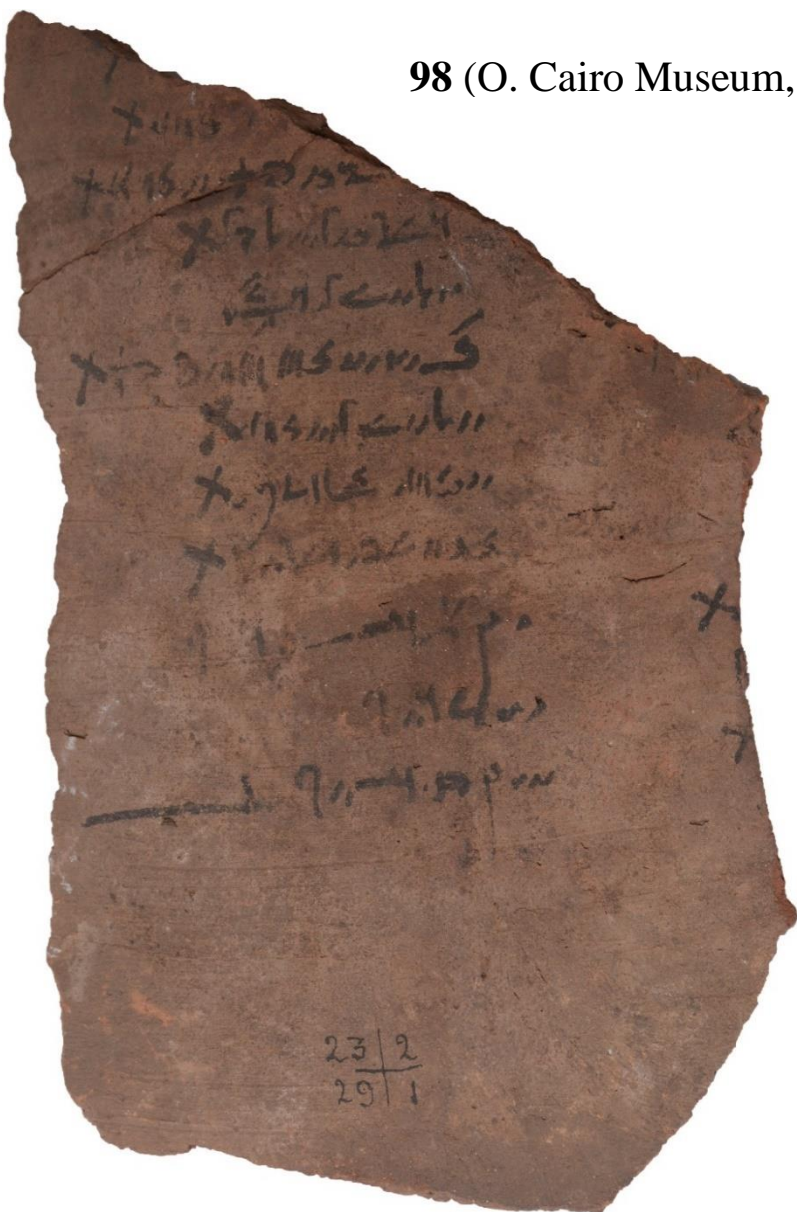


96 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – enhanced contrast; close-up on ll. 1-5



97 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 100%

98 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 90%



99 (O. Cairo Museum, SR 18953) – 120%