

THE ARCHIVE OF THOTSUTMIS, SON OF PANOUPHIS



The landscape of the Theban west bank (photo by Foy Scalf, 2009)

THE ARCHIVE OF THOTSUTMIS, SON OF PANOUPHIS

EARLY PTOLEMAIC OSTRACA FROM DEIR EL BAHARI
(O. EDGERTON)

by

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(Photo by Foy Scalf, 2009)

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*In memory of Ursula Kaplony-Heckel (1924-2021),
whose help, guidance, and support made this volume possible*

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ABBREVIATIONS

MONOGRAPHS

<i>BL Dem</i>	<i>A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents: Papyrus Editions</i> . Edited by A. A. Den Brinker, Brian P. Muhs, and Sven P. Vleeming. <i>Studia Demotica</i> 7. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.
<i>CDD</i>	<i>Chicago Demotic Dictionary</i> . Edited by Janet H. Johnson. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
<i>Demot. Nb.</i>	<i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Edited by E. Lüddeckens. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980–2000.
<i>EG</i>	<i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . Wolja Erichsen. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954.
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon, Revised with a Supplement</i> . Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
<i>Ranke, PN</i>	<i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> . Hermann Ranke. Gluckstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935–1977.

SIGLA FOR TEXT EDITIONS

<i>FsZauzich 1</i>	<i>Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004</i> . Edited by F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen. <i>Studia Demotica</i> 6. Leuven: Peeters, 2004.
<i>KSB I</i>	<i>Koptisches Sammelbuch I</i> . Monika Hasitzka. <i>Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer)</i> 23:1. Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1993.
<i>O. Ash. Shel.</i>	<i>Greek Ostraca in the Ashmolean Museum, from Oxyrhynchus and other sites edited with translations and notes</i> . John C. Shelton. <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 17. Florence: Edizioni Gonnelli, 1988.
<i>O. Brook. dem.</i>	<i>Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum</i> . George R. Hughes. <i>Oriental Institute Communications</i> 29. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2005.
<i>O. Louvre dem.</i>	<i>Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre 1: Reçus</i> . D. Devauchelle. <i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i> 92. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1983.
<i>O. Med. Habu</i>	<i>Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu</i> . Miriam Lichtheim. <i>Oriental Institute Publications</i> 80. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1957.
<i>O. Petr. Mus.</i>	<i>Ostraca greci e bilingui del Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (O. Petr. Mus.)</i> . Edited by Maria Serena Funghi, Gabriella Messeri, and Cornelia Eva Römer. <i>Papyrologica Florentina</i> 42. Florence: Gonnelli, 2012.
<i>O. Strass.</i>	<i>Griechische und Griechisch–Demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass</i> . Paul Viereck. Berlin: Weidmannische Buchhandlung, 1923.
<i>O. Tait Bodl.</i>	<i>Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections. Vol. I. Part I. Ostraca of the Ptolemaic Period in the Bodleian Library</i> . John Gavin Tait. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1930.
<i>O. Taxes 1</i>	<i>Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes</i> . Brian P. Muhs. <i>Oriental Institute Publications</i> 126. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2005.
<i>O. Taxes 2</i>	<i>Receipts, Scribes, and Collectors in Early Ptolemaic Thebes (O. Taxes 2)</i> . Brian P. Muhs. <i>Studia Demotica</i> 8. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
<i>O. Varia</i>	<i>Ostraka Varia</i> . Sven P. Vleeming. <i>Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava</i> 26. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
<i>P. BM Andrews</i>	<i>Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area</i> . C. A. R. Andrews. <i>Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum</i> 4. London: British Museum, 1990.

ABBREVIATIONS

- P. BM Glanville* *A Theban Archive of the Reign of Ptolemy I Soter*. S. R. K. Glanville. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 1. London: British Museum, 1939.
- P. BM Reich* *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum*. N. J. Reich. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse 55, Abhandlung 3. Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1914.
- P. Brook. dem.* *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum*. George R. Hughes. Oriental Institute Communications 29. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2005.
- P. Cairo CG III* *Die Demotischen Denkmäler III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*. Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 50023–50165. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1932.
- P. Eheverträge* *Ägyptische Eheverträge*. Erich Lüddeckens. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960.
- P. Eleph. gr.* *Elephantine-Papyri*. O. Rubensohn. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, Sonderheft. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907.
- P. Phil. dem.* *A Family Archive from Thebes: Demotic Papyri in the Philadelphia and Cairo Museums from the Ptolemaic Period*. Mustafa el-Amir. Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1959.
- P. Schreibertradition* *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus Ptolemäischer Zeit*. Karl-Theodor Zauzich. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 19. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968.
- P. Tsenhor* *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor). Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}. 1. Textes*. P. W. Pestman. Studia Demotica 4. Leuven: Peeters, 1994.
- P. Teos-Thabis* *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes, P. Brux E. 8252–8256*. Mark Depauw. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- UPZ II* *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (Ältere Funde): II. Papyri aus Oberägypten*. Ulrich Wilcken. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957.

LIST OF PAPYROLOGICAL SYMBOLS

- | The vertical bar indicates the break line where two fragments join together.
- [] Brackets indicate missing text in a lacuna.
- ⌈ ⌋ Half brackets indicate partially missing text in a lacuna.
- ⟨ ⟩ Angled brackets indicate a scribal error.
- () Parentheses indicate text added by the editors to complete the sense of the passage.
- (?) The question mark between parentheses indicates an uncertain reading.
- ... Ellipses indicate undeciphered text.
- [...] Ellipses in brackets indicate an uncertain amount of text lost in a lacuna.
- = The equals sign indicates the following character group is a bound morpheme of the suffix pronoun class.
- . The period sign separates roots from morphological suffixes such as feminine (.t) and plural (.w) endings.
- The hyphen indicates compound elements.

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We have suggested the siglum *O. Edgerton* for this volume as a tribute to our predecessor in Demotic studies at the Oriental Institute, William F. Edgerton. The reasons behind this tribute will become clear to the reader in chapter 2. Edgerton's legacy to Demotic studies in Chicago continues to reverberate today, both in his impressive work on the graffiti from Medinet Habu and also in his stewardship of the Spiegelberg *Nachlass* that he received after studying Demotic with Wilhelm Spiegelberg in Munich and which became an important asset to the Chicago Demotic Dictionary. We hope such a tribute can help fill the gap of a *Festschrift* or *Gedenkschrift* in honor of his contributions. This tribute is in no way intended to overshadow the important contributions of Ambrose Lansing, his excavations at Deir el Bahari, or the work of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, without which this study, and Edgerton's role in it, would not have been possible.

Brian P. Muhs, Foy D. Scalf, and Jacqueline E. Jay
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PREFACE ON TRANSLATIONS

Preparing editions with translations of texts from the ancient world poses serious issues to the editor in terms of how such treatments implicitly embed modern biases. Such difficulties are particularly pronounced with material from ancient Egypt, a land that had interwoven connections with its African continental neighbors to the west and south, as well as with its neighbors to the east on the Asian continent, and in lands beyond. What we have come to think of as “ancient Egypt” was born at this crossroads, and elements of such crossroads are intrinsic to the shared linguistic diversity of the so-called “Afro-Asiatic” family in which the ancient Egyptian language has been categorized. Furthermore, the “science” of Egyptology is itself embedded into a long colonial history that makes “translating” texts between cultures and times fraught with difficulties, particularly in how our methodologies reflect, often unconsciously, biases and bigotries formulated within this colonialist and imperialist framework. To that end, as scholars we are compelled to consider these matters carefully. This publication is not the place for a detailed argument on these particular issues; many colleagues continue to produce exceptional work in these areas.¹ Rather, we would simply like to lay out the reasoning behind some of the choices made within this publication.

Throughout the discussions and editions in the following pages, the reader will encounter many examples of Egyptian names and certain words anglicized into a form derived from Hellenized transcriptions found in Greek texts of Ptolemaic Egypt. On the one hand, this anglicizing provides a convenient and expedient method for a vocalization of the names that introduces relatively few obstacles of pronunciation for the purposes of the modern reader. Likewise, adopting such transcriptions is a step toward answering calls for further collaboration between Egyptologists and papyrologists by employing well-established norms to make arcane Egyptological publications more easily digested by other scholars working on material from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.² However, we recognize that this practice recreates some aspects of the imperial relationships within Ptolemaic Egypt itself, as well as some aspects of the colonial history of our disciplines. It also is an issue with a long and inconsistent history, as evidenced by the variations in Khufu/Cheops, Senwosret/Sesostri, Amenhotep/Amenophis, etc. Recognizing that fact, the choice made here to employ, in most cases where well-known alternatives are not already established, anglicized versions of Greek transcriptions of Egyptian personal names rested primarily on the fact that such transcriptions are often our best approximation for the pronunciation of such names, even if those pronunciations were influenced by Greek speakers and hearers. That is, the Greek transcriptions were based on Egyptian pronunciations sounded out in Greek with elements such as declensional endings added.³ While the use of Greek script and declensions ultimately derived from Greek culture and Ptolemaic state administration, the names used were part of the multilingual culture of Ptolemaic Egypt, where both Egyptian and Greek names were used in written documentation and presumably

¹ As just a few selected examples where the extensive secondary literature can be consulted, see Carruthers 2015; Colla 2007; Gold 2019; Matic 2018; Navratilova, Gertzen, Dodson, and Bednarski 2019; Reid 2002 and 2015; Riggs 2019; Trafton 2004.

² Following, for example, the work of P. W. Pestman, W. Clarysse, and K. Vandorpe, all of whom have argued for a more inclusive papyrology by combining the use of Greek, Demotic, and other sources, as far as possible (see laudatory comments on Pestman by Thomas and Tait 1998, p. 93). To quote a single case of such a plea: “Because this intertwining of Greek and Demotic documentation is essential for any historical study of the society of Ptolemaic Egypt, it is to be regretted that the combination of Egyptologist and classical scholar, which was still self-evident two generations ago, is steadily giving way to an early specialization; not only are very few classicists studying Egyptology (they always were a tiny minority), but nowadays we get more and more students in Egyptology without any knowledge of Greek. The disadvantages of this can only partially be made up for through interdisciplinary research” (Clarysse 1992, p. 56). We recognize the usefulness of disciplinary divisions in terms of specialized focus and the difficulty of controlling overly broad source material, but we also realize that a more complete understanding can only be derived from analyzing the available evidence together. There is now a wealth of secondary literature conducted over the last thirty years devoted to the multilingual and multicultural nature of the “later” periods of Egyptian history. For some basic discussion and further bibliography, see Thompson 1994; Bagnall 1995, pp. 40–43; Thompson 2009; Fournet 2009; Papaconstantinou 2010; Depauw 2012; Spier, Potts, and Cole 2018; and Vandorpe 2019. As examples of how these divisions remain entrenched, see the recent volumes on epigraphy such as *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (Davies and Laboury 2020), which treats very little Greek, Coptic, or Arabic material, and *The Oxford Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Bowman and Crowther 2020), which focuses primarily on the Greek sources.

³ See the discussion of rendering Egyptian personal names in Greek in Quaegebeur 1974; Pestman 1993, pp. 485–91; Leiwo 2003, especially pp. 3–5; Muhs 2007 and 2010; and Vleeming 2011, pp. 932–76.

elsewhere in daily life. In these regards, we chose to use, for example, Thotsutmis,⁴ son of Panouphis, rather than the extremely artificial Djehutysedjem, son of Panefer, or *naubion*, rather than *neby*.⁵ The latter conventions are comfortable for modern Egyptologists,⁶ but they never represented (or claimed to represent) an “authentic” ancient Egyptian pronunciation of the names or words, may disguise prosopographical and lexical connections for papyrologists, and often produce sequences that are difficult to pronounce for the non-Egyptological reader. For the Egyptologist, the photographs, drawings, and transliterations are available if the anglicized translations prove too opaque. In the end, few of these methodological decisions provide flawless options; for the above reasons, the compromises made here seemed most purposeful for readers and scholars making use of this work, but the authors recognize their conventional and problematic nature.

⁴ Rather than Thotsytms for θοτσύτμς (and variants, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1306), demonstrating the disagreement between European, British, and American scholars on whether to transcribe epsilon as y or u (e.g., Tebtunis vs. Tebtynis).

⁵ Some of these transcriptions were preserved in Coptic (cf. πανογφιογ in *KSB I*, no. 8.4), but not all of them. There is no dispute of the Egyptian origin of ναύβιον “cubic measure” (*LSJ*, p. 1161) in *nby* “*naubion*” (*EG*, p. 215; *CDD N* (19 July 2004): 04:1, p. 64–66). Using “*naubion*” in translation helps scholars connect the technical vocabulary with other texts, though “cubic measure” may be more easily understood by the general reader. How closely ναύβι- reflects an Egyptian pronunciation is unclear, since the word is not attested directly in Coptic. Comparing words with similar consonantal structures shows *nbi* “to burn” > Demotic *lby* > Coptic λιβε; *nb* “lord” > Demotic *nb* “lord” > Coptic νηβ “lord”; *nwb/nbw* “gold” > Demotic *nwb* “gold” > Coptic νογβ “gold”; *nbi* “to swim” > Coptic νεβε “to swim”; Demotic *nby* “sin” > Coptic νοβε “sin.” Thus the central vowel combination -ay- is atypical for these words and more common in Coptic in contact with -w (e.g., αγω, λααγ, μαγ, ναγ, ραγν, ταγε, ωαγ, etc.). For further discussion of the term *nby* with the connection to both ναύβιον and cubit-rods, see Legon 1994 and 1996, as well as Roik 1993 and 1996, with literature cited there.

⁶ In addition to the problem of reconstructing vocalic structure, there are issues of the many sound changes that took place in Egyptian over the millennia (e.g., *d* > *t*, *d* > *t*, *nfr* > νογρε, etc.).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Through the publication and close examination of an archive of texts, the following volume attempts to reconstruct a microhistory of one man and his family working on the west bank of Thebes in the mortuary industry during the early Ptolemaic Period. Although only a rather rough micronarrative can be reconstructed for their activities, the integrity of the archive is essential to expanding and nuancing our view of these individuals and the associated events. Rarely have such collections been found in situ.¹ The forty-two ostraca published in this volume provide a rare opportunity to explore the intersections between an “intact” ancient archive of private administrative documents and the larger social and legal contexts into which they fit.

A note is in order about the references throughout this volume. When referring to individual texts, citations follow the practice common in papyrology by using an accepted siglum, abbreviation, and number from the publication in which the text was published, e.g., *O. Med. Habu*, no. 63. Established sigla have been used where available. In certain cases, a siglum has been created because the authors thought it would prove useful to readers. *Festschriften* in which texts are consecutively numbered have been assigned sigla, e.g., *FsZauzich 1*. For texts found in publications without convenient sigla, they have been cited according to an author-date format followed by the number assigned by the original editor, e.g., Wångstedt 1968, no. 13, or by museum inventory number followed by an author-date reference, e.g., P. Berlin P. 3089 (Vittmann 1982, pp. 166–71). However, when a citation is made to the particular comments of the editor of the text, references follow the author-date format, e.g., Lichtheim 1957, p. 32. All bibliographic information for sigla and citations can be found in the list of abbreviations and sigla along with the bibliography. Line numbers to text are separated from their respective number by a period, so that *O. Med. Habu*, no. 63.1, signifies line 1 of the text assigned the catalog number sixty-three in Lichtheim 1957.

¹ For one exception, see the Early Roman Period archive of Pasemis, son of Psenmonthes, son of Mesoueris, discussed by Kaplony-Heckel 2019. The findspot had already been indicated in Lichtheim 1957, p. xiii.

CHAPTER 2

IDENTIFICATION, DISCOVERY,
AND HISTORY OF THE ARCHIVE

The modern history of the archive of Thotsutmis can be only partially reconstructed through painstaking work in the archives of several major institutions and the collaboration of scholars with intimate knowledge of those archives. We offer the account of that research in the hope that it will benefit future scholars trying to reconstruct similar archives or connect other archives to that described here. In addition, it helps to orient the study of the archive with the context of its provenance history.² After years of searching for clues, we can only partially ascertain the complete provenance of the objects. It is now clear that they were initially discovered in 1915–1916 during the excavations at Deir el Bahari directed by Ambrose Lansing on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA). Thirty-eight of the forty-two ostraca from the archive are now in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago, one is in the Houston Natural History Museum,³ and the location of the remaining four is currently unknown. How the ostraca ended up in these locations is uncertain, but a partial provenance can be reconstructed.

According to the Oriental Institute Museum's registration records, a collection of Egyptian artifacts was removed from a map case in room 216 of the Oriental Institute in July 1959. Unfortunately, the accession records do not reveal how the artifacts had come to be in room 216 in the first place. The assemblage consisted of an unassuming group of Demotic ostraca along with an inscribed wooden palette. All the objects were subsequently registered under accession number 3447 and given registration numbers OIM E19478–E19515 in September 1959. The laconic registration records read simply: "The inscribed wooden palette, and the inscribed ostraca (19478–19515) were removed from map case in room 216, July 1959, unmarked. Provenience unknown, possibly purchased during excavation at Medinet Habu, according to Dr. Hughes."⁴ Based on the appearance of comments by George Hughes, it seems reasonable to believe that he would have recognized the Demotic texts for what they were: a Ptolemaic Period private archive. If he had worked on these texts in any significant way, he left no record of having done so among his publications.⁵

Attempting to trace the provenance of this collection is what brought the authors together. Jackie Jay and Foy Scalf came across several dozen of the ostraca from this archive in their work on the collection of Demotic ostraca in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago. Many of the Chicago Demotic ostraca, and some from this very archive, have since appeared online through the Oriental Institute Demotic Ostraca Online (OIDOO) database and in several publications on the Chicago material.⁶ Brian Muhs had been working simultaneously on the same archive through a group of photographs provided to him by Prof. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel of Marburg University. He first realized that at least some of the sherds in the photographs were now in the Oriental Institute collection when he came across a recent newsletter article highlighting several ostraca.⁷ He then presented a portion of his work on this archive at the 60th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt.⁸ When the authors realized we were working on the very same texts, the authors decided to

² For discussion, see Gates and Wilburn 2005, pp. 171–88.

³ We wish to thank Tom Hardwick for discussing the Houston ostrakon with us.

⁴ We wish to thank Helen McDonald and Susan Allison for this information and for permission to cite the Oriental Institute Museum's registration records. The first registration number was given to the wooden palette (OIM E19478).

⁵ As far as is currently known, no mention is made of the ostraca in the Hughes archival files in the Oriental Institute. Likewise, the Baer archive revealed no further clues. For a catalog of the Baer archive, see Wilfong 1994, pp. 285–323.

⁶ Scalf and Jay 2014, pp. 239–57; Scalf 2015, pp. 361–88; Scalf 2018, pp. 333–44; Jay and Scalf forthcoming.

⁷ Scalf and Jay 2009.

⁸ Brian P. Muhs, "'New' Demotic Texts from Deir el-Bahari," 60th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, April 24, 2009, Dallas, Texas.

collaborate on a full publication of the archive. Little did we recognize the full complexity of the provenance of these ostraca and that nearly a decade would pass before this work would come to fruition.

During our initial collaboration on the material, the photographs from Kaplony-Heckel seemed to provide the key for determining the provenience of this material. Kaplony-Heckel's photographic archive contains five group photographs of what appeared to be forty-six early Ptolemaic ostraca. According to Kaplony-Heckel in private communication with Brian Muhs, these five photographs are part of a larger collection of photos given to her by Miriam Lichtheim in 1959. The five group photographs are themselves identified only by the pencil notation "NY," which Muhs presumed referred to New York, and the ink notation "MH," presumed to refer to Medinet Habu. According to Kaplony-Heckel, however, the latter notation was mere speculation on her part and echoed the speculation of George Hughes in the accession files about the origin of the ostraca and scribal palette. A clue to the origin of these five photographs can be found in the numerous publications of early Ptolemaic ostraca by Sten V. Wängstedt, of Uppsala University. On several occasions he cites as unpublished parallels "DO Metropolitan Museum Cgx," followed by a number.⁹ It turns out that these parallels can all be identified with ostraca in the five group photographs from the photographic archive of Kaplony-Heckel. An examination by Brian Muhs of the Wängstedt archive in Uppsala in 2008 confirmed that Wängstedt possessed copies of the same five group photos.

An association between these group photos and the MMA could initially be supported by other photographs of individual ostraca in the collection of photos given to Kaplony-Heckel by Lichtheim—photos that also bear the annotation "NY" in pencil and/or ink. In some cases, these annotations are further qualified by letter and number codes, such as NY-CO-23, NY-CP-1, NY-CP-7, and NY-CP-18. During a visit to the MMA in New York in 1990, Brian Muhs discovered photographs of two Demotic ostraca in the Museum's photographic archives. At the time, these appeared to be related (but we now know they were not part of the same find). An MMA photo with the number CO 23 carried the additional note "below Hat. temple," while a photo numbered CP 1 carried the additional note "Hat. temple, upper 3 tiers." The MMA indicated that these were field photos from Herbert Eustace Winlock's excavations at Deir el Bahari from 1911–1931. By analogy, it was supposed that the five group photographs could have been field photos from Winlock's excavations, with letter and number codes Cg + number x, or Cgx + number.¹⁰ This supposition would turn out to be a false lead, for in the end it was discovered that although the ostraca did indeed derive from MMA excavations at Deir el Bahari, they were not the excavations of Winlock.

Confirmation of the photographs' association with the MMA excavations came from documents within the archival files of Egyptologist William F. Edgerton at the Oriental Institute. That Edgerton retired from the University of Chicago in 1959 raised the suspicion that the ostraca were discovered when his office was cleared.¹¹ Although his connection with room 216 is lost to institutional memory, his association with the ostraca has now been confirmed. Among the Edgerton files kept at the Oriental Institute is a photograph

⁹ Wängstedt 1978–1979, p. 17; Wängstedt 1980, p. 8 and n. 1.

¹⁰ Wängstedt's reference here is uncertain. The excavation records of the MMA include a "Division Lists of antiquities submitted by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Luxor 1932." On the same sheet the objects are further described as "Objects from excavations of 1915–1916 in the area by the Valley temple of Deir el Bahri temple south of causeway axis." A notation on the top of one sheet among these papers notes "5A CX on print with 5A-R2-X," beneath which is a chart:

5A	CX	on print with 5A-R2-X
...		
C6	OK	
CX	OK	but also 5A 804 with R2

"5A" referred to the fifth season in the Asasif. "C" apparently referred to the courtyard of the portico tomb CC 62, which had been half cleared by Carter and Carnarvon (thus CC) with the remaining half under the MMA excavation concession. "X" applied to the *radim*, so that "CX" referred to the Ptolemaic *radim* from the area of the court tomb. "R" indicated a rock cut tomb chamber and "P" a pit tomb. We wish to thank Christine Lilyquist for this information. It is also possible that Wängstedt's "Cgx" referred to an intended volume of the *Catalogue générale* for the Cairo Museum, since the "Egyptian Antiquities Service also assigned a good number of ostraca excavated by the MMA's Egyptian Expedition to the Egyptian Museum (Cairo)" (O'Connell 2006, p. 113). Finally, it is equally possible that, given the late date of Wängstedt's publications, he knew the ostraca were in Chicago and Cg = Chicago.

¹¹ Hughes 1969–1970, p. 6.

showing nine Demotic ostraca and a scribal palette (Figure 2.1)¹²—one of the very same photos known from the photographic archive of Kaplony-Heckel. This photograph bears the number 5A.861¹³ and has the penciled notations “Ostraca in possession of MMA at Thebes; photo handed to me by A. L. Nov. 1931” and “5A. Ptolemaic Radim” on the reverse (Figure 2.1). “A. L.” must have been Ambrose Lansing, the primary archaeologist in Egypt at the time of World War I,¹⁴ whom Edgerton had known for well over a decade. In his journal from the 1919–1920 Oriental Institute expedition, Edgerton mentions his socializing with Lansing on January 25, 1920:

Arrived Luxor about 9:30 A.M. Saw the temple of Luxor in the morning; in the afternoon walked from the west bank of the river to the Metropolitan Museum House; met Breasted, Bull, and Lansing starting out; saw several tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Kurna, in company with Breasted and Bull. Among the tombs which we saw were those of Sennofer and Ramose. We had tea with Lansing and did not reach the river until after dark—which made us somewhat uncomfortable in passing near the native villages.

His entry for the following day, January 26, again mentions Lansing:

We visited the Ramesseum alone in the morning; at lunch with Lansing; and went with Breasted and Bull to Deir el-Bahari in the afternoon. I was surprised to see how much of the colonnades which one sees in pictures of Hatshepsut's temple is restoration. At the Metropolitan Museum House, just before lunch, I received my first mail since leaving New York. We rode donkeys between the river and M. M. House; being the first time I ever sat on a saddle.

The notation on the copy of photograph 5A.861 in the Edgerton archive connected this group of Demotic ostraca now in the Oriental Institute Museum collection with the MMA excavations in the Asasif in 1915–1916.¹⁵ Further inquiry led to the discovery of all five photographs in the MMA's archives (Figure 2.2).¹⁶ The photographs showing the archive of Demotic ostraca bear the numbers 5A.858–862 (not the Cg numbers found in the publications of Wångstedt). They are referred to in the “Division List of Objects Excavated in 1915–1916 in situ at foot of Hatshepsut Causeway,” and the photo registers describe the ostraca clearly.¹⁷ There is a shipping note from 1932 that contains a “List of contents and value of 49 cases shipped from Alexandria on June 29 by steamer ‘President Van Buren’ to the Metropolitan Museum, New York.” On page two there is a note for Case no. 12, Box C, for “Demotic ostraca” with the value of \$100.¹⁸ As far as it is now known, the ostraca were never accessioned into the MMA, though it seems clear that they were shipped to New York.¹⁹

¹² We wish to thank John Larson for finding this archival material and bringing it to our attention. This discovery seems to rule out any association with other Oriental Institute Egyptologists of the time. The objects would have appealed most to Hughes, who focused extensively on Demotic studies and was known to have a keen eye for deciphering difficult Demotic texts (Johnson 1991–1992, pp. 14–15). George Hughes is quoted in the registration records as suggesting that the ostraca were possibly purchased during the Medinet Habu excavations. If there is any connection between room 216 and Hughes, whose office in 214 is now the home of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary, it is no longer known. Hughes did not make it to Egypt for the first time until 1946, and he was not appointed director of Chicago House until January 1949. It is difficult to imagine that such an archive would have been brought to Hughes's attention only for him to lose all memory of it less than ten years later. At the time, Hughes was running the Epigraphic Survey in Egypt and did not reside full time in Chicago until 1964. He would, however, have been in Chicago periodically, especially in the summer; see Johnson 1993, pp. xi–xiv. If the photos were given by Miriam Lichtheim to Kaplony-Heckel in 1959 (as suggested by the personal communication between Kaplony-Heckel and Muhs), Lichtheim would have been working as a librarian at the University of California, Los Angeles, at the time, but she did spend the year of 1948–1949 in New York and made frequent visits to the MMA. The fact that the objects were removed from room 216 in the Oriental Institute also in 1959 seems to be a simple coincidence. Klaus Baer, also an Egyptologist at the Oriental Institute during this time, was released from the Institute in 1958 when he accepted a position at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1959, and it is uncertain whether he knew of the existence of these ostraca; see Lichtheim 1999, pp. 29–34.

¹³ Similar photograph numbers are referenced in Porter and Moss 1964, p. 617.

¹⁴ Lilyquist 1997, p. 308.

¹⁵ The photos must have been taken prior to the 1931 date on the reverse. The MMA excavations in the Asasif ended in 1936, but the excavations were not closed for good until 1948 by Charles Wilkinson and Walter Hauser. We wish to thank Catharine Roehrig for this information.

¹⁶ We wish to thank Diana Craig Patch and Catherine Roehrig of the MMA and Christine Lilyquist for graciously answering repeated requests in pursuit of this material.

¹⁷ In the entry for 5A.858 there is a note that “lower right is obverse of ostraca in same position in 5A.859.”

¹⁸ A letter from Lansing to Lythgoe from February 13, 1916, lists “ostraca – demotic – numerous” given the value of “20.” We wish to thank Christine Lilyquist for this information.

¹⁹ The authors wish to thank Diana Craig Patch and Christine Lilyquist for this information.



FIGURE 2.1. Print of Metropolitan Museum of Art Field Photograph 5A.861 from the files of William F. Edgerton with notes by Edgerton on the reverse (scan by John Larson, courtesy of the Oriental Institute).

It was not uncommon for the MMA to hold unregistered ostraca, some of which were also sold.²⁰ It is our assumption that the ostraca were in the map case in Edgerton's office upon his retirement in 1959, where they were discovered by Oriental Institute staff and registered into the Oriental Institute Museum's collection.

Although it cannot be demonstrated with certainty, the ostraca may not have been in Edgerton's office for very long. On February 15, 1958, the Oriental Institute, through Pinhas Pierre Delougaz, purchased a lot of de-accessioned material from the MMA (Accession no. 3405) during a period when the it was "cleaning house" as it "sold most of its given, purchased, and unaccessioned excavated ostraca to Columbia University."²¹ The twenty-four objects in this lot were assigned registration numbers E19453–E19474. When the Demotic ostraca were discovered in Edgerton's office in July 1959, their registration numbers started at E19479, just five numbers higher than those applied to the MMA lot. Although the assigning of registration numbers derives simply from circumstances (i.e., the numbers are so close together because of the order of items registered), it is possible, though uncertain as of this publication, that the Demotic ostraca came to the Oriental Institute with this lot. Of the twenty-four objects in the MMA lot, only four had clear MMA accession numbers when museum registrars cataloged them for the Oriental Institute.²² Because of Edgerton's expertise in Demotic, the ostraca may have been turned over to him for research and study purposes when the lot of MMA items arrived and remained there at the time of his retirement. It is also possible that the ostraca arrived in Chicago earlier, sometime after their 1932 shipping to New York, also presumably as study material for scholars working on Demotic texts.



FIGURE 2.2. Metropolitan Museum of Art Field Photographs 5A.858–862 (courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

²⁰ O'Connell 2006, p. 114: "... the Museum accessioned only a very small proportion of the ostraca acquired as the result of its own excavations"

²¹ O'Connell 2006, p. 114.

²² The four objects with clear MMA registration numbers are: OIM E19455, Jar = MMA 32.1.174; OIM E19456, Bowl = MMA 32.1.175; OIM E19470, Stamp Seal = MMA 15.3.694; OIM E19474, Harp = MMA 12.181.206.

Accounting for the ostraca in the MMA photographs does not end with the registration of the objects in the Oriental Institute Museum. According to the Oriental Institute registration numbers applied to the group of objects found in room 216 (E19479–E19515), thirty-four ostraca were acquired under accession 3447 (joins reduce the thirty-seven registration numbers to thirty-four actual objects). However, forty-six ostraca fragments are shown in the photographs from the MMA excavations in the Asasif. As three joins can be made between six fragments (OIM E19502 + E19506, OIM E19503 + E19509, and OIM E19510 + E19513), and as two images in the photographs represent the obverse and reverse of a single ostrakon (MMA Photograph 5A.858, no. 9 + 5A.859, no. 9), forty-two individual texts are represented, thus leaving eight ostraca in the photos unaccounted for in accession 3447. Three more pieces were identified among additional unregistered material discovered in temporary transfer box 4343 (MMA Photograph 5A.859, no. 2, MMA Photograph 5A.858, no. 1, MMA Photograph 5A.858, no. 8).²³ This chance encounter may further suggest that the ostraca came through the Oriental Institute Museum before being passed to Edgerton for study. A single additional piece was identified by Brian Muhs in the Houston Museum of Natural History in 2015.²⁴ The location of the remaining four ostraca shown in the photographs is unknown. They may be awaiting discovery in unidentified boxes within the Oriental Institute Museum, or they may have been sold and dispersed to locations unknown prior to accessioning by the Oriental Institute, such as the ostrakon now in Houston.

The photograph found in Edgerton's files belongs to a series of field photographs taken during the MMA's excavations at the end of the causeway of the temples at Deir el Bahari in 1915–1916.²⁵ Directed by Ambrose Lansing, this work began to the south of the causeways and worked north toward the area previously excavated by Lord Carnarvon in 1907–1911²⁶ where a large courtyard tomb built in the early Middle Kingdom had been uncovered in front of the cliffs of Dra Abu el Naga.²⁷ Lansing sought to “clear” the surface layers in the hope of finding Hatshepsut's valley temple, whose retaining wall was found by Carter and Carnarvon. In digging down to these earlier levels, a cemetery of “Ptolemaic vaulted tombs of the same types as those which had been found in 1912–13 over the Mentuhotep causeway” was removed.²⁸ Carter and Carnarvon had also cleared many Ptolemaic vaulted tombs from their excavations at the foot of Dra Abu el Naga extending away from the temple causeways toward the north,²⁹ and they had also discovered Demotic materials as they excavated the upper strata of this area.³⁰ Thus, between the expeditions of the MMA in 1912–1913 and 1915–1916, as well as that of Carter and Carnarvon in 1907–1911, a vast necropolis of Ptolemaic burials had been uncovered and systematically removed. The records for these excavations have still not been fully published.³¹

The ostraca derive from a layer (*radim*) of the Ptolemaic Period associated with the Ptolemaic burials referred to by Lansing as the “cemetery of brick-vaulted tombs of the period of the Ptolemies” in the Asasif

²³ These items were brought to the attention of Foy Scalf by Oriental Institute Museum Registrar Helen McDonald.

²⁴ According to Curator Tom Hardwick, this material, now in a private collection, was acquired from the collection of Keith Seele.

²⁵ Lythgoe, Lansing, and de Garis Davies 1917, pp. 7–31.

²⁶ Discussed and partially published in Carnarvon and Carter 1912.

²⁷ The excavation records of this tomb, along with its material assemblage, have been an ongoing publication project of Christine Lilyquist, who has made all the related documentation available through an online database: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/individual-scholarship/individual-scholarship-christine-lilyquist>.

²⁸ Lythgoe, Lansing, and de Garis Davies 1917, p. 8.

²⁹ These tombs were briefly discussed by Howard Carter in Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 42–45.

³⁰ Edited by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 46–47, pl. XXXVII.

³¹ Maria Cannata is currently working on publishing a study of this material. See the abstract of her poster presentation “The Necropolis of the Vaulted Tombs at Thebes: The Demotic Material” in Naether 2019, p. xxvii. It should be noted that study of the Demotic ostraca from these excavations had been publicly announced by Brian Muhs in a 2009 paper (“New’ Demotic Texts from Deir el-Bahari”) presented at the 60th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, and several of the ostraca were published in Scalf and Jay 2014 (no. 1 = cat. no. 18; no. 2 = cat. no. 17; no. 3 = cat. no. 20; no. 4 = cat. no. 21, no. 5 = cat. no. 22; no. 6 = cat. no. 12). These ostraca are thus not technically among the “new” objects mentioned in Cannata's description (“Some of the material culture recovered, which included demotic ostraca and inscribed embalmers' pots, is presented here for the first time”).

at the foot of the causeways of the temples of Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut, and Thutmose III.³² The findspot is probably located somewhere in the foreground of MMA photograph 5A.666, which shows Ptolemaic tombs in the center and the depression of the large Middle Kingdom court tomb toward the right, with the Hatshepsut mortuary temple and causeway in the background (Figure 2.3). Winlock noted that his excavation “cleared nearly a hundred” similar tombs in the 1912–1913 season alone.³³ In the northern half of this area, excavated by Carnarvon and Carter in 1907–1911, Demotic ostraca and papyri were discovered.³⁴ The Demotic ostraca discovered by Carnarvon and Carter derive from the upper stratum of their site 14, where the ostraca had been dumped in a refuse pit in antiquity.³⁵ The excavators also discovered two early Ptolemaic coin hoards, one in the corner of one of the outer chambers of a vaulted tomb.³⁶ The southern half of this area was excavated by a series of MMA teams from 1911–1931, though it seems obvious that overlap occurred and there was no clear-cut division between the two excavation areas.³⁷ The MMA team also discovered a second Ptolemaic coin hoard, this one in a pot.³⁸ Based on Lansing’s sketch plan,³⁹ the MMA excavated one-third of the Middle Kingdom courtyard tomb, with the division running diagonally from the southwest corner to the northeast corner of the tomb. This corner is still visible on satellite images today and was clear in the photographs taken by James Henry Breasted on his expedition to the Middle East on behalf of the Oriental Institute in 1919–20 (Figures 2.4–7).

³² Lythgoe, Lansing, and de Garis Davies 1917, p. 7; Strudwick 2003, pp. 172–74 and fig. 3; Eigner 1984, plan 1. The finds from the area are discussed in Porter and Moss 1964, vol. I, part 2, pp. 615–22.

³³ Winlock 1914, p. 14.

³⁴ Edited by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 46–47, pl. XXXVII. The ostrakon was republished in Muhs 2011, no. 135, pp. 178–80. It was also discussed in Muhs 2005a, p. 122, nn. 828–29, and for further discussion see pp. 133–34. Additional Demotic texts from this excavation were published in Wahid el-Din 2004, pp. 639–49 (nos. 76–82). The texts are mentioned in Carnarvon 2007, pp. 66–67. The connection between these texts and the Carter/Carnarvon excavations was pointed out by Muhs 2011, p. 268 with fn. 2.

³⁵ Carnarvon and Carter 1912, p. 47 and pl. XXXIII. The location of the pit was described in Carter’s unpublished excavation report as: “Immediately below this upper or Ptolemaic stratum (near the Osiride pillars of Ramses IV, see plan) was a hole used for refuse where broken objects from late neighboring tombs or dwellings had been thrown. Among this broken refuse were Demotic ostraca.” We wish to thank Christine Lilyquist for this information.

³⁶ Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 8, 43–44. One coin hoard contained coins of Ptolemy IX Soter II, and the other contained coins of Ptolemy III Euergetes, Ptolemy IV Philopator, and Ptolemy V Epiphanes. We wish to thank Christine Lilyquist for this information.

³⁷ For a rough picture of the division see Lythgoe, Lansing, and de Garis Davies 1917, fig. 1, and for discussion of the concessions see p. 12.

³⁸ Tomb card 4047 from the excavation records refers to “pot with hoard of coins, pot—red ware dirtied with use, coins—bronze, Ptolemaic, Pot 22.3.338 ht. cm 21, diam. 17, found below floor level in front of large birbieh 5A, photos 5A 635, 679.” Tomb card 4090 refers to further “coins” discovered in the “5A. Ptolemaic Stratum, Radim Material, Photos 5A.875–876.” See individual coins accessioned into the MMA, e.g., MMA 22.3.353, 22.3.471, 22.3.505, 22.3.460, 22.3.476, 22.3.493, 22.3.349, 22.3.351, 22.3.512. See further Lilyquist 1997, p. 308 n. 4, for mention of Lansing’s discovery of the coin hoard. A letter from Lansing to Lythgoe on December 19, 1915, refers to “a print of a pot we found sunk below floor level outside of the aforesaid big tomb with the coins which it contained. It seemed heavy enough for them to be gold but bronze isn’t so bad, as they are not at all corroded. They are all of the same stamp but differ in size.” We would like to thank Christine Lilyquist for providing us with this information.

³⁹ Lythgoe, Lansing, and de Garis Davies 1917, fig. 1.



FIGURE 2.3. Metropolitan Museum of Art Field Photograph 5A.666, showing Ptolemaic tombs in the center and depression of the large Middle Kingdom court tomb toward the right, with the Hatshepsut temple and causeway in the background (courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).



FIGURE 2.4. N. 4244 / P. 7843 from the 1919-1920 Oriental Institute expedition showing a view of the Deir el Bahari causeway at left looking east toward the alluvium (courtesy of the Oriental Institute).



FIGURE 2.5. N. 4243 / P. 7842 from the 1919–1920 Oriental Institute expedition showing a view of the Deir el Bahari causeway at left looking east toward the alluvium (courtesy of the Oriental Institute).



FIGURE 2.6. N. 4239 / P. 7838 from the 1919–1920 Oriental Institute expedition showing a view of Deir el Bahari looking west toward the temple of Hatshepsut with Saitic tomb in the foreground and the house of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at right (courtesy of the Oriental Institute).



FIGURE 2.7. Photo of Dra Abu el Naga showing the location of the excavation area above the Middle Kingdom courtyard tomb of Lansing (1915-1916) and Carter/Carnarvon (1911-1913) in relation to the Hatshepsut causeway and the tomb of Nebwenenef (TT 157) used by the *choachytes* (photo by Foy Scalf).

It is interesting that among the MMA excavation record tomb cards there are references to MMA archival photos going up to 5A.857 (field slip 4092), then skipping to 5A.863 (field slip 4069), but we were unable to find any references among the cards to the field photos of the Demotic ostraca (5A.858-862). The fact that these Demotic ostraca were discovered in the *radim* suggests there was no specific context in which they were discovered. It implies they were found scattered throughout the area and were not grouped or collected together in any recognizable way. All the more interesting, then, is the fact that the ostraca make prominent mention of a family and its associates. The most likely scenario is that the sherds were at one time kept as a private archive—and perhaps stored in a similar manner to the two Demotic papyri and coin hoards found by Carter and Carnarvon that were sealed in a vessel buried under the floor of the exterior shrine of a Ptolemaic tomb in this area.⁴⁰ It is also possible that the ostraca were discarded as refuse when they were no longer needed, only later to be found by Lansing.⁴¹ The discovery of another thirty-three Demotic ostraca in the Carter/Carnarvon excavations, some of which appear to name the same individuals from the *O. Edgerton* corpus, remains an intriguing course of research for future scholarship.⁴²

⁴⁰ Spiegelberg in Carnarvon and Carter 1912, p. 47.

⁴¹ Of course, it remains possible that the archive had been intact and not discarded, rather, simply disturbed and unrecognizable so many centuries later.

⁴² Spiegelberg in Carnarvon and Carter 1912, p. 47, pl. XXXVII.3. For a view of stoppered amphorae found in situ beneath the floor of one of these tombs, see pl. XXXIV.1.

CHAPTER 3

A FAMILY ARCHIVE FROM WESTERN THEBES
IN THE THIRD CENTURY BC

Much has been written about the religious importance of the Asasif area during the Ptolemaic Period as a focal point for ritual processions and burial.⁴³ As noted by Adam Łajtar, “graves were situated all around in the Deir el-Bahari valley,” but “very little has been preserved from the necropolis of Ptolemaic and early Roman times.”⁴⁴ Numerous documents testify to the vast amount of activity that took place there, however—particularly the work of mortuary priests.

The *O. Edgerton* ostraca probably represent a family archive of one such mortuary priest, Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. It is one of a relatively large number of ostraca and papyri archives belonging to mortuary priests that have survived from early Ptolemaic Thebes. Mortuary priests performed rituals for the deceased in the necropolis on the west bank at Thebes, and they seem to have stored many of their documents in and around the tombs in which they worked, where they were preserved until antiquities dealers and archaeologists began to explore the Theban necropolis from the early nineteenth century AD onward.

Only a few of the surviving archives from early Ptolemaic Thebes were found and recorded by archaeologists, however, and of them the archive of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is by far the largest archive of ostraca published to date. Most of the ostraca and papyri archives from the Theban necropolis were found by antiquities dealers and dispersed on the antiquities market shortly after their discovery. Subsequently, modern scholars have tentatively reconstructed them based on their contents and acquisition histories. Excavated archives provide models for such reconstructions and the standards by which such reconstructions are judged.⁴⁵

The reconstruction of dispersed archives from early Ptolemaic Thebes is complicated because the mortuary priests to whom most of them belonged appear to have been a relatively small and tight-knit community. Each of the archives deriving from this community usually mentions individuals known from other archives within the community. This high degree of connectivity allows social historians to reconstruct the community of mortuary priests in great detail, but this connectivity also makes it difficult to assign individual identities to names referred to in the documents and to assign individual ostraca and papyri to specific archives. The complex and interwoven nature of the documentation can both illuminate as well as obscure.

This section will first discuss why the Edgerton ostraca should be considered a family archive of the mortuary priest Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. It will then survey the other excavated and reconstructed archives of mortuary priests from early Ptolemaic Thebes. Particular attention will be paid to the papyrus archive of the mortuary priest Panouphis II, son of Psenenteris, in which his uncle, a mortuary priest named Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, plays a major role. It will then be argued that the Thotsutmis of the Edgerton ostraca is identical to the Thotsutmis of the papyri.

DEFINING THE CORPUS: ARCHIVES, DOSSIERS, AND LIBRARIES

Papyrologists usually distinguish between collections of texts deliberately made in antiquity, which have traditionally been called libraries or archives depending on whether or not they are primarily literary,⁴⁶ and

⁴³ Budka 2009, pp. 23–31; Coppens 2007, pp. 197–205.

⁴⁴ Łajtar 2006, p. 46.

⁴⁵ For example, see the reconstruction of household archives by a close examination of the archaeological excavation areas published in Bingen and Clarysse 1989.

⁴⁶ For a critical assessment of these distinctions, see Fournet 2018. For a general overview of earlier archives, see Hagen and Soliman 2018.

virtual assemblages of ancient texts made by modern scholars in order to illuminate a particular person, family, organization, or institution, which are called dossiers. Papyrologists often further distinguish between administrative archives and private or family archives and frequently characterize them as either active or living, historical or dead, and discards or wastepaper. Active or living archives continue to acquire new documents and purge irrelevant ones, while historical or dead archives are used for reference only. Discards or wastepaper archives represent groups of material purged from active or living archives.⁴⁷

The Edgerton ostraca probably represent part of a private or family archive of the mortuary priest Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. They certainly represent a collection made in antiquity, for they were found together in the same archaeological context.⁴⁸ They probably also represent a deliberate collection, for most of them concern the same subject matter—taxes—and many of them name the same taxpayer, Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. The vast bulk of the ostraca are receipts (37) of various kinds: price of oil (15), burial tax (8), salt tax (3), compulsory labor (3), unidentified (3), income of a server tax (2), document tax (1), burial plot (1), and permission to build (1). The ostraca also include accounts (3) and letters (2). If all the restorations are accepted, Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis,⁴⁹ is named on twenty of the forty-two texts—nearly 50 percent of the entire archive. His brother Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, is mentioned in one additional text (cat. no. 2), and it is likely that his wife is mentioned in another (cat. no. 32). The individuals Imouthes (son of Lolous), Tarates (daughter of Psenminis), and Taminis (daughter of Ithortes) are each mentioned in two ostraca.

The Edgerton ostraca probably do not represent a living archive, however. Receipts for the annual salt tax are underrepresented among the Edgerton ostraca, and beyond them there is a larger dossier of material associated with Thotsutmis, his family, and his colleagues in the mortuary profession and its administration. The texts from the Carnarvon excavations may turn out to be related to the Edgerton ostraca from the adjoining Lansing excavations, but other texts clearly belong to other archives, and some have unknown provenances. This dispersal of texts relating to Thotsutmis and his family and colleagues among several groups or archives could suggest that these ostraca are discards or purges from active or living archives. The following section addresses this subject.

⁴⁷ Martin 1994, pp. 569–77; Vandorpe 1994, pp. 289–300; Pestman 1995, pp. 91–92; Muhs 2005b, pp. 170–76; Vandorpe 2009, pp. 216–55; Fournet 2018.

⁴⁸ This shared archaeological context is the reason why these ostraca have been edited together here in this volume without necessarily re-editing any or all other ostraca that happen to reference Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, or his family members.

⁴⁹ Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.

ARCHIVES AND DOSSIERS OF THEBAN MORTUARY PRIESTS IN THE EARLY PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

The forty-two *O. Edgerton* ostraca published here are not isolated documents. More than five hundred other ostraca from early Ptolemaic Thebes have been published,⁵⁰ as well as one hundred and twenty papyri.⁵¹ Most of these ostraca and papyri were purchased, but museum archaeology can suggest some proveniences and provenances.⁵² For example, some of the published ostraca probably came from the city of Thebes on the east bank of the Nile, and the town of Djeme on the west bank, when in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries their mudbrick ruins were quarried for *sebakh* (fertilizer) or cleared to expose the underlying temples and monuments better. Collectors and museums acquired large numbers of early Ptolemaic ostraca from Thebes at that time. These ostraca probably derive from archives and discards of a wide range of urban dwellers; consequently, receipts issued to known mortuary priests are rare among them, in contrast to the Edgerton ostraca.⁵³

At least three hundred of the published ostraca, however, may have come from deposits in the cemeteries of western Thebes. These published texts include four deposits containing eighty-one ostraca found in excavations. Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon found a deposit of thirty-three ostraca during excavations in the Birabi between 1907 and 1911 (the Carter-Carnarvon deposit),⁵⁴ of which only seven have been published.⁵⁵ Ambrose Lansing discovered a deposit of forty-two ostraca during excavations in the Birabi from 1915–1916 (the Lansing-Edgerton deposit published in this volume). Karl-Joachim Seyfried excavated a deposit of three ostraca in Shaft 2 of Theban Tomb 373 in el-Khokha in 1982–1983 (the TT 373 deposit),⁵⁶ and Laszlo Kakosy excavated a deposit of three ostraca in the courtyard of Theban Tomb 32 in el-Khokha between 1983 and 1985 (the TT 32 deposit).⁵⁷ A majority of these ostraca are receipts issued to mortuary priests who worked in the cemeteries of western Thebes.

Five more deposits of ostraca containing approximately 225 ostraca can be tentatively reconstructed and probably also come from western Thebes. John Gardiner Wilkinson collected at least 126 ostraca between 1821 and 1833 (the Wilkinson deposit),⁵⁸ William Hodge Mill and Robert Curzon (Baron Zouche) acquired thirteen ostraca in 1838 (the Mill-Curzon deposit),⁵⁹ and Henry James Anderson obtained ten ostraca in 1848 (the Anderson deposit).⁶⁰ Harold Hayden Nelson collected sixty-one ostraca by 1939 (the Nelson deposit),⁶¹ and Georges Michaelides acquired fourteen ostraca before 1968 (the Michaelides deposit).⁶² That collectors acquired these possible deposits outside the period of intensive excavations for *sebakh* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries means the ostraca were probably found in the cemeteries of western Thebes—like the Carter-Carnarvon and Lansing-Edgerton deposits, these deposits have a high proportion of receipts issued to known mortuary priests who worked in the cemeteries of western Thebes.⁶³

⁵⁰ Muhs 2005a, p. 105, counted 381 published ostraca and wooden tags. Wahid el-Din 2004, pp. 639–47, published seven more ostraca. Muhs 2011, p. 1, added 113 previously unpublished ostraca and tags. Muhs 2015a, pp. 303–9, published four more ostraca.

⁵¹ Muhs 2005a, pp. 129–31.

⁵² Muhs 2008, pp. 33–47.

⁵³ Muhs 2008, pp. 43–45.

⁵⁴ Spiegelberg in Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 46–47 and pl. 37.3.

⁵⁵ *O. FsZauzich* 1, nos. 76–81; *O. Taxes* 2, no. 135. *O. FsZauzich* 1, nos. 76–81 have TR numbers 3/12/26/1–2, which are attributed to “1911, Carnarvon” in R. Engelbach’s unpublished *Index to the Journal d’Entrée*, vol. 1, p. 94 (Qurna, KRN); see Muhs 2011, p. 268, n. 2.

⁵⁶ Seyfried 1990, pp. 177, 216–18, and pl. 58 (nos. 2367–2369); *O. Varia*, nos. 54–56.

⁵⁷ Vleeming 1994b, pp. 354–62 (no. 1); *O. Varia*, nos. 50–51.

⁵⁸ Muhs 2008, pp. 41–43 (Wilkinson); Muhs 2011, pp. 273–79. The total includes one hundred and twenty ostraca now in the British Museum and six ostraca illustrated by Wilkinson but now lost.

⁵⁹ Muhs 2008, pp. 42–43 (Curzon) and 43–45 (Mrs. Webb for Mill); Muhs 2011, pp. 285–87.

⁶⁰ Malinine 1961, pp. 144–52 and pls. 1–2. For the provenance, see Hughes 2005, pp. viii and 20–22 (nos. 57–66); Muhs 2008, pp. 41–43 (Anderson).

⁶¹ Muhs 2005a, pp. 125–79; Muhs 2008, pp. 46–47 (Nelson).

⁶² Muhs 2011, p. 2.

⁶³ Muhs 2008, pp. 41–43, 46–47.

The nature of these deposits is not entirely clear. On the one hand, receipts of a single person or household dominate some of these deposits, thus suggesting they could represent family archives. Small numbers of receipts of other people in these deposits could belong to relatives or friends. The Mill-Curzon deposit consists of thirteen receipts all issued to Harsiesis, son of Amenothēs, and his wife Chibois.⁶⁴ The Anderson deposit contains ten receipts, of which three belong to Panouphis, son of Petenephotes, and six to Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, probably the son of Panouphis, son of Petenephotes.⁶⁵ In the Lansing-Edgerton deposit, as many as twenty of the forty-two ostraca were issued to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, and one was issued to his brother Psenenteris, son of Panouphis.⁶⁶

Other deposits, however, contain receipts of larger numbers of people with no one individual or household dominating, thus suggesting that these archives could be communal. In the Wilkinson deposit, four individuals or families are represented on seventy-nine of the 126 ostraca: Amenothēs, son of Parates, is mentioned on eight ostraca; Panas, son of Pchorchonsis, on twenty-seven ostraca; Esminis, son of Petenephotes, and his wife Tabis on thirty ostraca; and Chalbes, son of Petenephotes, and his wife Tabis, daughter of Parates, on fourteen ostraca.⁶⁷ In the Nelson deposit, three individuals are represented on twenty-five of the sixty-one ostraca: Amenothēs, son of Parates, appears on twelve ostraca;⁶⁸ Psenchonsis, son of Teos, on seven ostraca;⁶⁹ and Senmonthes, daughter of Amenothēs, on six ostraca.⁷⁰ Indeed, lists of mortuary priests found on ostraca in several of these deposits argue that groups of mortuary priests may have formed professional associations, which could have held the archives of their members.⁷¹ Alternatively, individual mortuary priests sometimes underwrote or “farmed” the collection of burial taxes from their fellow mortuary priests—a practice that could have encouraged the mortuary priests to keep their receipts together.

That receipts issued to the same individuals frequently appear in multiple deposits, however, argues that the deposits might represent dead archives, that is to say periodic discards or purges from active archives. Receipts on ostraca were most useful for as long as the state could ask for back taxes, which length of time seems only to have been a few years in the Ptolemaic Period, so there would have been plenty of opportunities for the discarding or purging of archives. For example, receipts issued to Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, predominate in the Anderson deposit, but they also occur in the Lansing-Edgerton and Michaelides deposits. The Anderson deposit appears to represent an earlier discard, with three receipts of Psenenteris’ father, Panouphis, dating from years 15–19 of Ptolemy II (270–266 BC),⁷² and six receipts of Psenenteris dating from years 21–26 of Ptolemy II (264–259 BC).⁷³ In contrast, the Lansing-Edgerton deposit appears to represent a later discard, with only one receipt of Psenenteris dating from year 30 of Ptolemy II (255 BC), and eighteen receipts of Psenenteris’ younger brother Thotsutmis dating from year 24 of Ptolemy II to year 19 of Ptolemy III (261–228 BC).

Not all deposits are neatly sequential, however. The Mill-Curzon deposit contains thirteen ostraca naming Harsiesis, son of Amenothēs, and his wife Chibois dating from year 37 of Ptolemy II to year 6 of Ptolemy III,⁷⁴ but the Carter-Carnarvon deposit also has one ostrakon naming Harsiesis, son of Amenothēs, dating to year 4 of Ptolemy III (243 BC).⁷⁵ Likewise, the Wilkinson deposit contains eight ostraca naming Amenothēs,

⁶⁴ Muhs 2011, pp. 285–87.

⁶⁵ Malinine 1961, pp. 144–52 and pls. 1–2.

⁶⁶ Published in this volume.

⁶⁷ Muhs 2011, pp. 273–79.

⁶⁸ Muhs 2005a, pp. 108–9.

⁶⁹ Muhs 2005a, p. 113.

⁷⁰ Muhs 2005a, p. 117.

⁷¹ Muhs 2005a, pp. 127–28; Muhs 2011, pp. 206–7.

⁷² Malinine 1961, pp. 147–49 (nos. 2–4).

⁷³ Malinine 1961, pp. 146–52 (nos. 1, 5–9).

⁷⁴ Muhs 2011, pp. 285–87.

⁷⁵ *O. Taxes* 2, no. 135.

son of Parates, dating from years 12–18 of Ptolemy II,⁷⁶ and the Carter-Carnarvon deposit may have two ostraca dating to years 19–26 and 33 of Ptolemy II,⁷⁷ but the Nelson deposit has twelve ostraca dating from years 13–34 of Ptolemy II.⁷⁸ These examples suggest that discards or purges of ostraca from archives were not always thorough or systematic.

In contrast to ostraca, more than one hundred and twenty papyri from early Ptolemaic Thebes probably all come from the cemeteries of western Thebes. Papyri are more fragile than ostraca, and in Thebes they rarely survived outside archives stored in tombs for safekeeping, though in other places papyrus archives occasionally survived in *sebakh*, and discarded papyri and archives survived in rubbish heaps or were reused as mummy cartonnage. Consequently, the majority of surviving archives from Thebes belonged to mortuary priests who worked in tombs and kept their archives there. Two early Ptolemaic papyrus archives containing twenty-nine papyri have been found in excavations in western Thebes. The Carnarvon archive of two papyri (202 BC) was found in the Birabi during Carter and Carnarvon's excavations between 1907 and 1911.⁷⁹ The archive of Psenminis, son of Bel, consisting of twenty-seven papyri (317–217 BC) was found in Theban Tomb 156 in Dra Abu el Naga during Clarence Fisher's excavations for the University of Pennsylvania in 1922.⁸⁰ One of these two archives, that of Psenminis, son of Bel, belonged to a family of mortuary priests.

Nine more early Ptolemaic papyrus archives containing at least eighty-eight papyri were dispersed by dealers and collectors but can be reconstructed from their contents and acquisition information. These archives include those of Pechutes, son of Pchorchonsis, containing at least twenty-two papyri (334–191 BC);⁸¹ Teos and Thabis, containing twelve papyri (327–311 BC);⁸² Teineni, daughter of Teos, containing at least twenty-two papyri (324–274 BC);⁸³ the Anonym, containing seven papyri (270–ca. 191 BC);⁸⁴ Panouphis and Senatumis, containing six papyri (230–218 BC);⁸⁵ Panouphis, son of Psenenteris, containing three papyri (230–214 BC);⁸⁶ Thoteus, son of Psenminis, containing three papyri (214–210 BC);⁸⁷ Panas, son of Espmetis, containing at least eight papyri (209–159 BC);⁸⁸ and Psenchonsis, son of Amenotnes, containing at least four papyri (199 BC).⁸⁹ Eight of these nine archives belonged to mortuary priests. Only the archive of Thoteus, son of Psenminis, makes no mention of funerary activities.

Most of these papyrus archives were probably active when they were deposited. The papyri are for the most part contracts that documented title transfers of individual property. Old contracts were retained along with new ones to document chains of title, however, so they were sometimes kept for more than a century, in contrast to tax receipts on ostraca. Most of these archives deal with tombs in western Thebes, from which mortuary priests derived their income in return for their mortuary services. Payments of taxes on tombs and burials were recorded on ostraca, but transfers between mortuary priests through sale or inheritance were recorded on papyri. Interestingly, these tombs are regularly said to be “in the necropolis of Djeme.” Djeme is the ancient Egyptian name for Medinet Habu, but it is often used to refer to the entire Theban west bank and thus can be applied to tombs in the area of Deir el Bahari as well.⁹⁰

⁷⁶ Muhs 2011, pp. 273–79.

⁷⁷ *O. FsZauzich* 1, no. 78 and possibly no. 80.

⁷⁸ Muhs 2005a, pp. 108–9.

⁷⁹ Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 8, 43, 46–47; Spiegelberg 1913, pp. 150–61.

⁸⁰ el-Amir 1959, Part 2, p. 21.

⁸¹ Revillout 1880, pp. 1–22; Pestman 1995, p. 93, n. b; Muhs 2008, pp. 37–38.

⁸² Depauw 2000, pp. 3–12.

⁸³ Glanville 1939, pp. xx–xlvii; Struve 1954, pp. 51–61; Muhs 2008, p. 39.

⁸⁴ Pestman 1995, pp. 93, n. e, and 94–100.

⁸⁵ Muhs 2005b, pp. 170–76.

⁸⁶ Pestman 1995, p. 93, n. a.

⁸⁷ Muhs 2008, p. 39.

⁸⁸ Pestman 1995, p. 93, n. d; Muhs 2015b, pp. 89–103.

⁸⁹ Muhs 2008, p. 38.

⁹⁰ Pestman 1993, pp. 412–14.

Many of these papyrus archives also deal with houses in eastern Thebes, where the mortuary priests lived. Houses represented a significant investment of capital, so sales and inheritances of houses or fractions of houses were carefully recorded.⁹¹ Interestingly, many of the mortuary priests were neighbors, and they married the girls and boys next door—the daughters and sons of other mortuary priests. These endogamous marriages ensured that inheritances of tombs and houses would circulate within the community of mortuary priests and would not pass out of it.⁹²

Many of the early Ptolemaic papyrus archives from western Thebes belonged or refer to mortuary priests who may also be named in the early Ptolemaic ostraca deposits from western Thebes. For example, the excavated archive of Psenminis, son of Bel (twenty-seven papyri, 317–217 BC), frequently refers to the *pastophoros* Teos, son of Osoroeris, who may have been the actual archive holder and who may appear in name list *O. Taxes* 1, no. 30. The archive also contained the marriage contract (*P. Phil. dem.*, no. 13) of the *pastophoros* Amenotthes, son of Parates, who may be the same man of that name appearing on twenty-five ostraca, including eight burial tax receipts, one burial plot receipt, and name list *O. Taxes* 2, no. 155.⁹³ Moreover, the archive contains a contract to be a mortuary priest (*P. Phil. dem.*, no. 24) that includes a copy of a receipt for a burial plot which is virtually identical in form to those found in ostraca deposits in western Thebes,⁹⁴ thereby supporting the identification of the *pastophoroi* in the papyri with the like-named *choachytes* in the ostraca (the relationship between *pastophoroi* and *choachytes* is discussed in more detail below).

The archive of Pechutes, son of Pchorchonsis (twenty-two+ papyri, 334–191 BC), also contains references to several *pastophoroi* who may appear on ostraca. The *pastophoros* Pchorchonsis I, son of Panas I, may appear in a yoke tax receipt.⁹⁵ The *pastophoros* Panas II, son of Pchorchonsis I, may appear on thirty-three ostraca, including twenty-two burial tax receipts.⁹⁶ The *pastophoros* Patemis, son of Pchorchonsis I, may appear on three ostraca, including two burial tax receipts.⁹⁷ Finally, the *pastophoros* Pchorchonsis II, son of Panas II, the father of the final archive holder Pechutes, may be the recipient of burial tax receipt *O. Taxes* 2, no. 130, and may appear in name list *O. Taxes* 2, no. 156. Furthermore, two papyri that probably also come from this archive were written on behalf of the *pastophoros* Amenotthes, son of Psenamounis,⁹⁸ who appears on three ostraca, including name list *O. Taxes* 2, no. 157.⁹⁹

The archive of Teos and Thabis (twelve papyri, 327–311 BC) belonged to the grandparents of one Parates, son of *ἰw=f-ʿw*, who may be related to a like-named individual who appears on eight ostraca, including name list *O. Taxes* 2, no. 155.¹⁰⁰ The archive of Panouphis and Senatumis (six papyri, 230–218 BC) may have been held by the *pastophoros* Panouphis, son of Snachomneus, who may in turn appear in name list *O. Taxes* 1, no. 4. Furthermore, one of the papyri in the archive (*P. BM Reich* 10240) also refers to a tomb belonging to a *choachyte* Harsiesis, son of Amenotthes, who may appear on eighteen ostraca, including one burial tax receipt, three burial plot receipts, name list *O. Taxes* 1, no. 30, and name list *O. Taxes* 2, no. 156.¹⁰¹ The archive of Panas, son of Espmetis (eight+ papyri, 209–159 BC), contains a papyrus that mentions his father, Espmetis, son of Panas, who may be the same Espmetis, son of Panas, who appears on four ostraca containing three burial tax receipts, one burial plot receipt, and name list *O. Taxes* 2, no. 156.¹⁰²

⁹¹ Muhs 2005b, pp. 176–81.

⁹² Muhs 2005b, pp. 181–94.

⁹³ Theban Taxpayer 6, Muhs 2005a, pp. 108–9; Muhs 2011, p. 269.

⁹⁴ Muhs 2005a, pp. 96–97.

⁹⁵ Wångstedt 1968, pp. 39–40 (no. 13).

⁹⁶ Theban Taxpayer 16, Muhs 2005a, pp. 113–15; Muhs 2011, p. 269.

⁹⁷ Theban Taxpayer 22, Muhs 2005a, p. 119; Muhs 2011, p. 269.

⁹⁸ P. Marseille 298 and 299 (Vittmann 1980, pp. 127–39).

⁹⁹ Theban Taxpayer 27, Muhs 2005a, p. 121; Muhs 2011, p. 270.

¹⁰⁰ Theban Taxpayer 21A, Muhs 2011, pp. 270–71.

¹⁰¹ Theban Taxpayer 29, Muhs 2005a, p. 122; Muhs 2011, pp. 269–70.

¹⁰² Theban Taxpayer 39, Muhs 2005a, pp. 126–27; Muhs 2011, p. 270.

Finally, the archive of Panouphis, son of Psenenteris (three papyri, 230–214 BC), concerns the properties of the *pastophoros* Psenenteris, son of Panouphis—who may appear on eleven previously published ostraca, including seven burial tax receipts, name list *O. Taxes 1*, no. 30, and name list *O. Taxes 2*, no. 155¹⁰³—and of the *pastophoros* Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis—who may appear on eight previously published ostraca, including four burial tax receipts, name list *O. Taxes 1*, no. 4, and name list *O. Taxes 2*, no. 157.¹⁰⁴ Both of these men may be sons of Panouphis, son of Petenephotes, who may appear on four ostraca, including three burial tax receipts.¹⁰⁵ In addition to these previously published ostraca, Psenenteris and Thotsutmis, sons of Panouphis, are central figures in the Lansing-Edgerton ostraca deposit, published here, so it will be useful to discuss further the relationship between this papyrus archive and the ostraca deposit treated in the following section.

THE ARCHIVE OF PANOUPHIS, SON OF PSENENTERIS

The papyrus archive of Panouphis II, son of Psenenteris, consists of three Demotic contracts concerning a set of tombs. The papyri come from Thebes and date between 230 and 214 BC. The set of tombs was originally the possession of Patemis, son of Panouphis I, who drew up a contract selling the set to his older brother Psenenteris, son of Panouphis I. This contract is now lost. Psenenteris, son of Panouphis I, in turn drew up a contract dividing these tombs with another brother—Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis I. This contract is also lost. The division of a sibling's property among other siblings was common in ancient Egypt when a sibling died without heirs; it seems this had occurred with the property of Patemis. The fact that Patemis sold the property to Psenenteris, who then divided it with Thotsutmis, implies that Psenenteris was the eldest brother of the three, though his age in relation to Thotsutmis is never specified. Subsequently, Panouphis II, son of Psenenteris (son of Panouphis I), and Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis I, drew up contracts for each other dividing these same tombs in year 17 of Ptolemy III (230 BC). These two contracts have survived as *P. BM Andrews*, no. 15, and *P. Berlin P. 3089* (Vittmann 1982, pp. 166–71) + *P. BM Andrews*, no. 20. Presumably the two contracts were written after Psenenteris, son of Panouphis I, had died, by year 17 of Ptolemy III (230 BC). Later, Thaubastis, daughter of Petenesis and wife of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis I, drew up a contract ceding any claim to these tombs to Panouphis II, son of Psenenteris (son of Panouphis I), in year 8 of Ptolemy IV (214 BC). This contract has also survived as *P. BM Andrews*, no. 16. Presumably at that point Thaubastis also returned to Panouphis II the division contract he had previously drawn up for Thotsutmis, thus explaining why that contract ended up in Panouphis II's archive along with the two other contracts that Thotsutmis and Thaubastis wrote for Panouphis II. Again, these events presumably occurred after Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis I, had died, by year 8 of Ptolemy IV (214 BC). It is not clear why Thaubastis ceded claim to tombs of Patemis, son of Panouphis I, to which her husband Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis I, previously had claim. In contrast to Patemis, Thotsutmis had heirs who survived him and who theoretically could have inherited his claim to the tombs. These heirs were Thaubastis and Peteminis, son of Thotsutmis and Thaubastis, the *pastophoros* of Amenope in the west of Thebes, attested in *P. BM Andrews*, no. 19, lines 3–4 (199 BC);¹⁰⁶ and the woman Tsenmouthes, daughter of Thotsutmis and Thaubastis, attested in *P. BM Andrews*, no. 6, line 2 (175 BC).

The acquisition histories of these three papyri support their attribution to the kind of private archive described above. Two of the papyri and a portion of the third were acquired from an auction of Giovanni Anastasi's collection in London in 1839, and the other portion of the third papyrus was acquired from another auction of Anastasi's collection in Paris in 1857. Interestingly, the papyrus archive of Panouphis¹⁰⁷ and Senatumis, which consists of six Demotic contracts, also comes from Thebes, has similar dates (230–218 BC), and has a similar acquisition history. Three of the papyri are in the British Museum and were given by

¹⁰³ Theban Taxpayer 17, Muhs 2005a, pp. 115–16; Muhs 2011, p. 269.

¹⁰⁴ Theban Taxpayer 33, Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.

¹⁰⁵ Theban Taxpayer 12, Muhs 2005a, p. 112.

¹⁰⁶ Date corrected from 194 BC in *BL Dem*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁷ This Panouphis is not the same man as either Panouphis I, son of Petenephotes, or Panouphis II, son of Psenenteris. The Panouphis of the Panouphis and Senatumis archive is designated in that archive as “the man of Aswan, Panouphis, who is called Pekysis, son of Mires, whose mother is Sentotoes.”

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson in 1834; a fourth papyrus was purchased from the auction of Anastasi's collection in London in 1839; and two papyri in Berlin were purchased from the auction of Anastasi's collection in Paris in 1857.¹⁰⁸ This situation raises the possibility that one of these two archives was entrusted to the holder of the other archive, so that the two archives were discovered together, much like the archive of Thabis III, daughter of Teos, which was discovered together with the archive of Psenminis, son of Bel, in two jars in a tomb.

The three relevant papyri from the archive of Panouphis, son of Psenenteris, are as follows:

P. BM Andrews, no. 15 = P. BM EA 10227

Date:	Year 17 Epeiph (<i>ibt 3 šmw</i>) of Ptolemy III = 16 August 230 BC.
Document Type:	Document of Division (<i>šḥ n pš</i>).
Contractor A:	The <i>pastophoros</i> of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, his mother is Tawa.
Contractor B:	The <i>pastophoros</i> of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panouphis, son of Psenenteris, his mother is Tamounis.
Subject:	The possessions of Patemis, son of Panouphis, his mother is Tawa, "my brother, the younger brother of Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, your father" (= A's brother, B's uncle), which Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, "your father" (= B's father) purchased from him and concerning which he made him a document, while Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, "your father" (= B's father), made for A a document for their division, namely several tombs; while A constrains B according to the law of the document of division (<i>šḥ n pš</i>) which B has made for A on year 17 Epeiph of the pharaoh who lives forever (surely P. Berlin P. 3089 + P. BM 10426).
Scribe:	Amenothēs, son of Herieus.
Provenance:	Purchased from the Anastasi collection in 1839 at the sale in London, papyrus no. 14.
Publication:	Andrews 1990, pp. 50–52 and pls. 37–39 (cat. no. 15).

P. BM Andrews, no. 20 = P. BM EA 10426 + P. Berlin P. 3089

Date:	Year 17 Epeiph (<i>ibt 3 šmw</i>) of Ptolemy III = 16 August 230 BC.
Document Type:	Document of Division (<i>šḥ n pš</i>).
Contractor A:	The <i>pastophoros</i> of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panouphis, son of Psenenteris, his mother is Tamounis.
Contractor B:	The <i>pastophoros</i> of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, his mother is Tawa.
Subject:	The possessions of Patemis, son of Panouphis, whose mother is Tawa, "your brother, the younger brother of Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, my father" (= B's brother, A's uncle), which Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, "my father" (= A's father), purchased from him and concerning which he made him a document, while Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, "my father" (= A's father) made for B a document for their division, namely several tombs; while A constrains B according to the law of the document of division (<i>šḥ n pš</i>) which B has made for A on year 17 Epeiph of the pharaoh who lives forever (surely P. BM 10227). The woman,

¹⁰⁸ Muhs 2005b, pp. 175–76.

	Tamounis, daughter of Snachomneus, whose mother is Taesis, “his mother” (= A’s mother), consents to the transaction of A “her eldest son.”
Scribe:	Amenothes, son of Herieus.
Provenance:	P. Berlin P. 3089 was purchased from the Anastasi collection in 1857 at his sale in Paris by Lepsius. ¹⁰⁹ P. BM 10426 was purchased from the Anastasi collection in 1839 at his sale in London.
Publication:	Vittmann 1982, pp. 166–71 and pls. 5–8; Andrews 1990, p. 59 and pl. 41 (cat. no. 20).

P. BM Andrews, no. 16 = P. BM EA 10377

Date:	Year 8 Phamenoth (<i>ibt 3 pr.t</i>) of Ptolemy IV = 14 April 214 BC.
Document Type:	Document of no claim (<i>sh n wy</i>).
Contractor A:	The woman, Thaubastis daughter of Petenetis, her mother is Thatris.
Contractor B:	The <i>pastophoros</i> of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panouphis, son of Psenenteris, his mother is Tamounis.
Subject:	The possessions of Patemis, son of Panouphis, whose mother is Tawa, “the younger brother of Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, your father” (= B’s father), concerning which B made a document for Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, “my husband” (= A’s husband), concerning which Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, “my husband” (= A’s husband) made a document for A, namely several tombs; A has given B the document which A has made for B concerning them.
Scribe:	Petiesis, son of Paes.
Provenance:	Purchased from the Anastasi collection in 1839 at his sale in London, papyrus no. 37.
Publication:	Andrews 1990, pp. 52–53 and pls. 37, 40–41 (cat. no. 16).

Thotsutmis and Psenenteris, both sons of Panouphis I, are also mentioned in other ostraca (Tables 3.1 and 3.2). These texts indicate that Thotsutmis was active in year 38 of Ptolemy II, and years 4, 8, and 22 of Ptolemy III. If he passed away in year 8 of Ptolemy IV, as discussed above, he must have had a career of at least thirty-four years (at least one year in the reign of Ptolemy II, all twenty-five years of the reign of Ptolemy III, and eight years in the reign of Ptolemy IV), a conclusion that is not improbable. The ostraca mentioning Psenenteris, son of Panouphis I, indicate that he was active in years 21, 23–26, 30, 31, and 36 of Ptolemy II and year 4 of Ptolemy III. If he passed away in year 17 of Ptolemy III, as discussed above, he must have had a career of at least thirty-five years (eighteen years in the reign of Ptolemy II and seventeen years in the reign of Ptolemy III)—again, a conclusion that is not improbable. The ostraca referencing these brothers are as follows:

¹⁰⁹ Luft 1973, pp. 39–40.

Table 3.1. Ostraca Referencing Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis ¹¹⁰

	<i>Inv. No.</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Taxpayer</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Payment</i>
1	<i>Fs. Zauzich 1</i> , no. 79	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 38, Mecheir 30	<i>Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ Pa-nfr</i> ¹¹¹	<i>Hr-sṯ-ṯs.t</i>	½ silver kite
2	<i>Fs. Zauzich 1</i> , no. 81	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III, Year 3, Khoiak 17	<i>Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ</i> <i>Pa-[nfr(?)]</i> ¹¹²	[...] <i>Hry=w(?)</i>	½ silver kite
3	<i>O. Taxes 2</i> , no. 157	List of Names (with Psenenteris, son of Panouphis)	Ptolemy III, Year 4, Pharmouthi 21	-----	-----	½ silver kite
4	Wängstedt 1978–79, no. 15	Salt Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III, Year 8, Pachons 21	<i>Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ</i> <i>Pa-nfr(?)</i> ¹¹³	<i>Pṯ-ti-Nfr-ḥtp sṯ Pṯ-šr-Mn</i> <i>sṯ Pṯ-ti-Mn</i>	½ silver kite
5	<i>O. Taxes 2</i> , no. 131	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III, Year 22, Mecheir	<i>Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Mṯy-rs sṯ Pṯ-ti-Wsir(?)</i>	½ silver kite + 1 obol
6	<i>O. Taxes 1</i> , no. 14	Price of Oil Receipt	Phamenoth 13	<i>Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	1 obol
7	<i>O. Taxes 1</i> , no. 10	Burial Tax Receipt	Phamenoth	<i>Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ Pṯ-nfr(?)</i>	<i>Mr-wr-[Mn(?) sṯ</i> <i>Pṯ-ti]-Ḥnsw-mṯ^c-ḥrw</i> ¹¹⁴	[...]
8	<i>O. Taxes 1</i> , no. 4	List of Names	-----	-----	-----	-----
9	<i>O. Taxes 2</i> , no. 155	List of Names (with Psenenteris)	-----	-----	-----	-----

¹¹⁰ Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.¹¹¹ Wahid el-Din read *Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ Pa-Mnṯ*, reread in Muhs 2011, p. 268, n. 2.¹¹² Wahid el-Din read *Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ Pa-[...]*, reread in Muhs 2011, p. 268, n. 2.¹¹³ Wängstedt read *Dḥwty-sḏm sṯ Wn-nfr*, tentatively reread in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.¹¹⁴ Muhs read *Wrš(?)-[...]* | *Ḥnsw-mṯ^c-ḥrw*, reread in Muhs 2011, p. 183, n. to lines 8–9.

Table 3.2. Ostraca Referencing Psenenteris, son of Panouphis I¹¹⁵

	<i>Inv. No.</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Taxpayer</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Payment</i>
1	Malinine 1961, no. 1	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 21, Epeiph 29 ¹¹⁶	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ns-Mn s3 P3-ti-Ḥr-p3-Rc + Imn-rwš</i>	½ silver kite
2	Vleeming 1994b, no. 1	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 22, Thoth 30	<i>Ḥnsw-m3c s3 Wpy-Mn + P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Pa-rt s3 Ḥr-m-ḥb + Imn-rwš s3 Twtw + P3-ti-Ḥr-p3-Rc s3 Ns-Mn</i>	½ silver kite
3	Malinine 1961, no. 5	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 23, Epeiph 30	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>P3-ti-Imn-nsw-t3.wy s3 Pa-wrm</i>	½ silver kite
4	NMNH A74620-0 ¹¹⁷	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 24, Phaophi 8	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>P3-ti-Imn-nsw-t3.wy s3 P3-wrm</i>	½ silver kite
5	Malinine 1961, no. 6	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 24, Tybi 30, and his son ¹¹⁸	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>P3-ti-Imn-nsw-t3.wy s3 Pa-wrm</i>	½ silver kite
6	Malinine 1961, no. 8	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 25, Pachons 1	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ḥr-pa-3s.t + Imn-rwš</i>	½ silver kite
7	Malinine 1961, no. 7	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 25, Pachons 10, and his son	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>P3-wr-tiw s3 Ḍḥwty-3.ir-ti-s + Imn-rwš s3 Twtw</i>	½ silver kite
8	Malinine 1961, no. 9	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 26, Mecheir 11	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ḥr-pa-3s.t + Imn-rwš</i>	½ silver kite
9	<i>O. Louvre dem.</i> , no. 303	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 30, Epeiph 18	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>[P3-ti-Imn]-ipy(?) [s3 Nḥt-Ḥr-m-ḥb(?)]¹¹⁹</i>	½ silver kite
10	<i>O. Taxes 2</i> , no. 122	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 31, Mesore 9	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w</i>	<i>P3-ti-Imn-nsw-t3.wy s3 Kp=f-ḥ3-Mnt</i>	½ silver kite
11	Wångstedt 1980, no. 7	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 36, Pachons 26	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	½ silver kite
12	<i>O. Taxes 2</i> , no. 93	Price of Natron Receipt	Epeiph, Mesore	<i>P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr</i>	<i>P3-rmt-...</i>	½ + ½ silver kite
13	<i>O. Taxes 1</i> , no. 30	List of Names	-----	-----	-----	-----
14	<i>O. Taxes 2</i> , no. 155	List of Names (with Thotsutmis)	-----	-----	-----	-----
15	<i>O. Taxes 2</i> , no. 157	List of Names (with Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis)	-----	-----	-----	-----

¹¹⁵ Theban Taxpayer 17 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 115–16.¹¹⁶ Malinine had read the date as “year 14,” but “year 21” was suggested in Hughes 2005, p. 21 (no. 61).¹¹⁷ To be published in a forthcoming article by Brian Muhs and Tasha Vorderstrasse, who discussed this ostrakon at the 2019 Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research.¹¹⁸ If the reign to which these ostraca were ascribed had been in question, the dating formula “Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, and Ptolemy, his son,” assigns them securely to the years 268/7–259/8 of Ptolemy II. For discussion of this dating formula and the identity of “Ptolemy, his son,” see Skuse 2017, pp. 89–101; Tunny 2000, pp. 83–92; Huß 1998, pp. 229–50.¹¹⁹ Unread by Devauchelle, tentatively suggested in Muhs 2005a, p. 93, n. 670.

CHAPTER 4

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOTSUTMIS,
SON OF PANOUPHIS, AND HIS FAMILY

THE IDENTITY OF THOTSUTMIS, SON OF PANOUPHIS

The name Thotsutmis (*Dḥwtꜣ-sḏm*) was very common in the early to mid-Ptolemaic Period and peaked in popularity in the second and first centuries BC before declining rapidly during the first two centuries AD.¹²⁰ The name was most common in the Upper Egyptian regions of Thebes, Gebelein, and Edfu, with a strong presence also in the delta, but less well represented in the Fayum and Middle Egypt, according to available evidence. What we know from the Edgerton collection of ostraca is that a Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, was working on the west bank of Thebes in the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III. According to cat. no. 32, his wife's name was Tarates (*Ta-rꜥ tꜣy=f rmtꜥ.t*).¹²¹ A woman named Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, is named in the archive on two other receipts for the salt tax dated to late in the reign of Ptolemy II.¹²² It is tempting to identify these payments of the capitation salt tax as belonging to the same Tarates who is described as Thotsutmis's wife, thereby justifying their presence in this "family archive."

The most obvious identification of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is with the individual known as the "pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes" (*iry-ꜥ n ḥmn-ipy n pr-imnt Niw.t*),¹²³ previously identified from Theban papyrus archives and several additional ostraca.¹²⁴ It is clear that our archive concerns the role of mortuary priests, as demonstrated by the presence of the burial receipts, the references to *choachytes*, and the probable lists of priests. It seems likely that the *pastophoros* Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is the same person as the Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, referenced in these ostraca. While Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is identified in the papyrus documentation as a "pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes" (*iry-ꜥ n ḥmn-ipy n pr-imnt Niw.t*), no such title appears in the Edgerton ostraca, where Thotsutmis is never given a specific title. However, prominent mentions of "*choachytes*" (*wḥ-mw*),¹²⁵ the common occurrence of payments related to burial services (cat. nos. 1–11), and the discovery of the archive in the Ptolemaic necropolis on the Theban west bank suggest that he was working in a mortuary profession. The apparent discrepancy between Thotsutmis's profession as a *pastophoros* in the papyrus archive and his work as a *choachte* in the necropolis

¹²⁰ According to the numbers available in *Trismegistos People*; further, see Pestman 1995, p. 95.

¹²¹ It must be noted that the name Thotsutmis is restored on cat. no. 32 before his patronym [...] *sꜥ Pa-nfr*. However, the traces of Demotic signs (consisting of the end of the *sḏm*-sign and bookroll determinative) following the break strongly suggest that the name Thotsutmis can be confidently restored.

¹²² Cat. no. 30, dated to year 34, and cat. no. 31, dated to year 37.

¹²³ The title translated "*pastophoros*" has been variously read as *wn* (EG, p. 89; CDD W (7 August 2009): 09.1, pp. 89–92), *wn-pr*, and *iry-ꜥ*. For a history of the scholarship and an argument in favor of reading *iry-ꜥ* "door-keeper," see Zauzich 2000, pp. 38 and 47–48; Hoffmann and Quack 2014, pp. 127–56; Muhs 2019, pp. 133–34; Cannata 2020, p. 26, with n. 44.

¹²⁴ See Andrews 1990, p. 47, for a family tree of the archive of Timounis, daughter of Thabis, referencing Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis; and Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24, for a discussion of other documents related to Thotsutmis, including the "archive of Panouphis," a subset of three papyri published in *P. BM Andrews*, nos. 15, 16, and 20 (see further Muhs 2005a, p. 131, and chapter 3 above). Identification of additional texts belonging to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, had been made by Muhs 2011, p. 268 with fn. 2. The reconstructions of the archives, dossiers, and family trees in Andrews 1990 were critically reviewed and partially corrected by Pestman 1995, pp. 91–100.

¹²⁵ Cat. nos. 10.1 and 10.3; cat. no. 39.6. Cat. no. 39 mentions [...] *sꜥ Pꜥ-šr-Mn pꜥ wḥ-mw* "[...] ... son of Psenminis, the *choachte*." The name Psenminis is extremely common, but Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, is listed as the wife of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, in cat. no. 32. It is possible that the individual mentioned in cat. no. 39 is Tarates's brother.

is illusory;¹²⁶ it was common for the priestly staff of a temple to take necropolis work to make a living when not serving their monthly rotations in the local phyle. In the description of Hoffmann and Quack:

Neokoros, “Tempelwächter, Sakristan” ist bei der hier vertretenen Deutung des Pastophoros als Türhüter eine akzeptable Alternative, passt aber schlecht zur konventionellen Deutung als Schreinträger. Die Entsprechung Choachyt dürfte sich schließlich aus der sozialen Konstellation erklären. Da die Tempelbediensteten sich im monatlichen Turnus abwechselten, waren alle betreffenden Personen zwar für einen Teil der Zeit im Tempel beschäftigt und erhielten dafür einen Tempeltitel (Pastophoros), mussten die restliche Zeit über aber ihren Lebensunterhalt privat verdienen. Sofern es für die Pastophoren eines Tempels üblich war, in ihrer Zeit außerhalb des Tempeldiensts als Choachyten Gräber verstorbener Menschen zu versorgen, konnten sie in Dokumenten als Choachyten bezeichnet werden. Auch die im Prozess des Hermias gegebene Beschreibung der Rolle der Choachyten dürfte durchaus zu derjenigen von Tempelbediensteten passen, die als Wächter und Faktota dem Zug den Weg bahnen, während das Tragen von Götterschreinen für sie dort nicht erwähnt wird.¹²⁷

Furthermore, in the various records now known as the archive of the Theban *choachytes*, the *choachytes* are designated as *iry-ʿ n ḫmn-ipy* “pastophoros of Amenophis” in the Demotic documents, while in the Greek documents they are designated as *χοαχύτης* “choachytes” (Egyptian *wḥ-mw*).¹²⁸ The related roles between the *pastophoroi* of Amenophis and *choachytes* makes sense in the light of the Decade Feast of Ameno-pe, during which *choachytes* performed offering rituals throughout the necropolis (see further below).

Further support for identifying the Thotsutmis of the papyrus archives with the Thotsutmis of the Edgerton ostraca is found in the references to other members of the family of Thotsutmis. Cat. no. 2 names as the payer of the burial tax *P3-šr-n3-nṯr.w s3 Pa-nfr* “Psenenteris, son of Panouphis,” who is a brother of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, known from the papyrus archives. Although there were certainly multiple people with the names Thotsutmis and Psenenteris in early Ptolemaic Thebes, it seems more likely that the individuals from the Edgerton archive are the same as those from the papyrus archives. If Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, and Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, are known brothers, this fact explains why receipts issued to both men were found together in the same archive. Furthermore, the necropolis context of the find, along with the internal contents of the archive related to mortuary administration, matches what is known of these individuals from the papyrus sources. It seems rather unlikely that there were so many different individuals active in the same mortuary circles at the same time all with the same names, patronyms, and jobs. The archive can perhaps be extended further back in time if their father Panouphis I can be identified with the Panouphis, son of Petenephotis, known from four tax receipts dated to what is likely the early reign of Ptolemy II.¹²⁹ The chronology seems to fit, given that the ostraca mentioning Panouphis, son of Petenephotis, occur roughly ten to twenty years prior to those mentioning the brothers Thotsutmis I and Psenenteris I. Furthermore, Panouphis, son of Petenephotis, is called a “choachyte” in one of the ostraca (Malinine 1961, no. 4).

There is one complication for concluding that these references to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, refer to the same individual. In cat. no. 32 we find [*Dḥwty-sdm*] *s3 Pa-nfr ḥd qt ½ Ta-rt t3y=f (?) rmt.t* “[Thotsutmis], son of Panouphis, ½ silver kite, Tarates, his(?) wife” If the interpretation of this text is correct, it means Thotsutmis had a wife named Tarates. However, the Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, in the Theban papyrus archives was married to Thaubastis (*Ta-B3st.t*). In the original publication of these documents, Carol Andrews wrongly associated yet another man named Thotsutmis (designated here as Thotsutmis A) together with Thotsutmis I, son of Panouphis. As discussed by Pestman, there are at least two individuals named Thotsutmis referenced in these Theban archives from the early Ptolemaic Period. On the one hand, there is Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, who married Thaubastis. On the other hand, there is another Thotsutmis, who married Timounis, with whom he had a son named Amenotes. The patronym of Thotsutmis A, husband of Timounis

¹²⁶ Note the comments of Cannata 2009, pp. 58–59: “The evidence shows that the latter [*pastophoros*] was the official and professional title by which this class of mortuary priests was known, while the occupational title of *choachyte* was used to designate their main activity.” See also Muhs 2019, pp. 137–41; Cannata 2020, pp. 25–31.

¹²⁷ Hoffmann and Quack 2014, pp. 136–37. See also the discussion of the “community magician” in Ritner 1993, pp. 232–33.

¹²⁸ Pestman 1993, p. 6. For further discussion on the role of the *choachytes*, see Donker van Heel 1992, pp. 19–30; Vleeming 1995, pp. 241–55; Cannata 2009, pp. 57–68. For extending the chronological range of attestations to the *choachytes*, see Winkler 2014, pp. 50–62.

¹²⁹ Taxpayer 12 in Muhs 2005a, p. 112.

and father of Amenotnes, is not provided in the documents where all three names appear together, so he cannot be securely identified; but Pestman persuasively argued that Thotsutmis I, son of Panouphis, was a separate individual from Thotsutmis A, husband of Timounis and father of Amenotnes.¹³⁰

The references to Thotsutmis I's wives are more difficult to reconcile, but it is possible that he had taken two wives during his lifetime. The best attested wife is Thaubastis, who mentioned her husband in 214 BC in a cession of inherited tombs.¹³¹ This mention is the last reference to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, and it is assumed that he died somewhere close to this time. However, the cession document of 214 BC is also the first reference to Thaubastis, who is attested in documents down to 175 BC. It is therefore quite possible that Tarates—perhaps the same as Tarates, daughter of Psenminis—was his previous wife, who is first attested in year 34 of Ptolemy II and last attested in the archive in year 2 of Ptolemy III (cat. no. 32). Her fate is unknown. Perhaps she was separated from Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, by death or divorce. There is a final, tantalizing clue in the archive: an account lists a Thaubastis (*Ta-Bʿst.t*), but unfortunately without a patronym. The context does not allow for any certain association to be made, and the ostrakon is undated.¹³² If these identifications are sound, the archive covers forty-seven years in the life of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, from year 24 of Ptolemy II (262–261 BC)¹³³ to sometime just before year 8 of Ptolemy IV (215–214 BC).¹³⁴ If Thotsutmis were a young man (between the ages of 15–25) at the time of the earliest reference, it would place him in his sixties at the time of his death—a long, but not unreasonable, span of life in Ptolemaic Egypt.

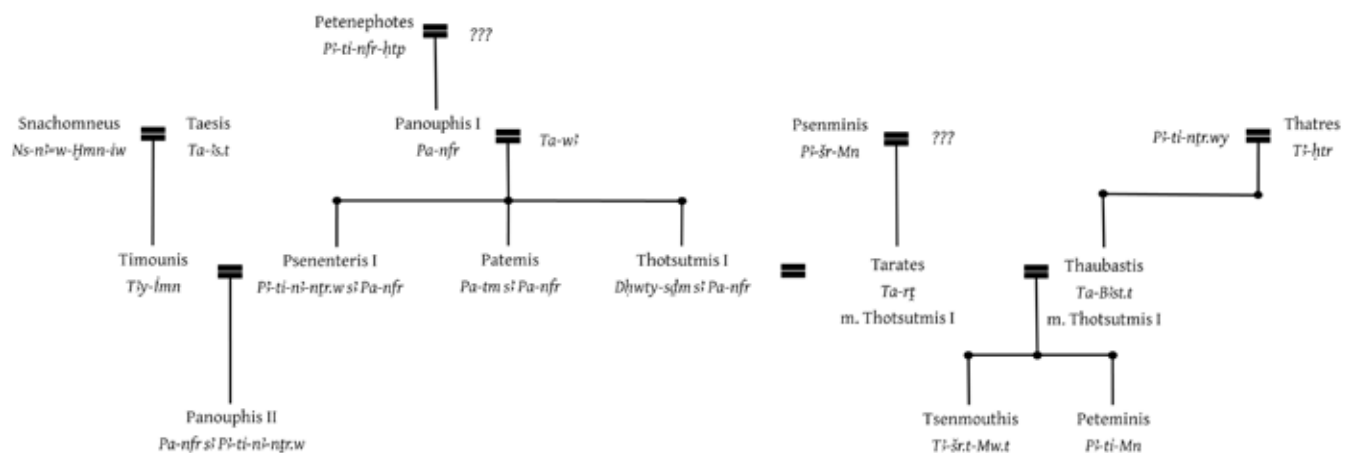


FIGURE 4.1. Potential reconstruction of the genealogy for the family of Thotsutmis I.

¹³⁰ In each documented case, the connection between the three individuals is through the son, who provides his parentage: *ḥmn-ḥtp sʿ Dḥwty-sḏm mw.t=f Tʿy-ḥmn* “Amenotnes, son of Thotsutmis, whose mother is Timounis” (P. BM Andrews, nos. 3 and 19); see Pestman 1995, pp. 94–95.

¹³¹ P. BM Andrews, no. 16, cited also by Pestman 1995, p. 95.

¹³² Cat. no. 40.

¹³³ This observation assumes that the reference in cat. no. 1 to Thotsutmis, where he appears without a patronym, is to the same Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. If this reference is to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, it is the earliest known reference to him. In the papyrus archives, Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is not attested until year 38 of Ptolemy II (see section 3.1 below), and the next earliest reference is from year 31 of Ptolemy II in cat. no. 12; therefore, if the reference in cat. no. 1 names a different Thotsutmis, it would reduce his attested career by seven years.

¹³⁴ P. BM Andrews, no. 16, is a cession document in which Thaubastis, the wife of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, relinquishes her rights to tombs that had previously belonged to Thotsutmis.

THE ARCHIVE OF THOTSUTMIS, SON OF PANOUPHIS

The prominence of Thotsutmis I in the archive suggests that he was the owner—or at the very least a primary administrator—of the documentation, but who then are the other individuals mentioned in these receipts? Were they family members? Were they friends whose payments Thotsutmis helped to document? For example, there are two receipts for the salt tax for Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, that were issued three years apart (years 34 and 37 of Ptolemy II). If the reading and restoration of cat. no. 32 is correct, a Tarates (patronym not given) is identified there as Thotsutmis I's wife. If this Tarates is the same as the Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, from the salt tax receipts, this fact would help explain why her tax receipts were kept among the archive of Thotsutmis I. Furthermore, only three salt tax receipts are preserved in the archive: one for Thotsutmis I and his wife Tarates, and two for Tarates, daughter of Psenminis—very suggestive that Tarates, wife of Thotsutmis I, and Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, are the same person.

A receipt for paying the burial tax (cat. no. 2) belonged to Thotsutmis I's brother Psenenteris. Their entire family held positions as *choachytes* and *pastophoroi* for at least four generations, including their grandfather Petenephotes,¹³⁵ their father, Panouphis I; and their own children, such as Panouphis II, son of Psenenteris. Based on these observations, it is likely that other individuals attested in the archive likewise served in these or related positions, such as Teos, son of Paminis, and Samtous, for whom burial tax receipts are present in the archive (cat. nos. 4 and 7); Hereius, son of Thoteus, and his brother who purchased a burial plot in the cemetery near “Amenope(?) (of) Djeme” (cat. no. 9); and Amenotheres, who is called “the servant(?) of the *choachytes*” (cat. no. 10). The two letters in the archive discuss matters related to necropolis work, namely the delivery of oil to tombs (cat. no. 38) and the making of offerings (cat. no. 39). So the congruity of the archive is held together by the presence of Thotsutmis I, his family, and his associates. Besides these individuals, the most prominent person in this archive is the scribe Esminis, who is well attested in the reign of Ptolemy II as a scribe working for tax farmers in the oil monopoly. Presumably, these price of oil receipts also relate to mortuary work requiring torches and lamps in darkened tombs. The lists and accounts in the archive (cat. nos. 40–42) may also be associated with this work, perhaps as lists of priests and priestesses or the dead for whom the *choachytes* worked.¹³⁶

The findspot of the ostraca further reinforces their relationship to the mortuary industry. The area in Ptolemaic times had become a thriving necropolis with tombs extending from north of the Hatshepsut causeway, covering the Mentuhotep causeway, and extending south across what would be called the Memnonia (Μεννώνια). The many Ptolemaic tombs there were excavated by Carter and Carnarvon, Lansing for the MMA, and others, with most results remaining largely unpublished.¹³⁷ Many vaulted tombs of the Ptolemaic Period were found in this area.¹³⁸ This cemetery was most likely the place where Thotsutmis and the members of his social network were employed. *Choachytes* routinely used empty tombs—so-called “waiting tombs” (‘wy n hrr), such as the one near the famous tomb called “Thunabounoun” (T3-hw.t-Nb-wnn = Θυνάβουνοῦν = TT

¹³⁵ In this respect, there is an interesting reference in *P. BM Andrews*, no. 1, where Neskhonsu (daughter of Teos and Thabis) transfers property to her eldest son, Panas. In the list of neighbors to one of the properties is p3 ‘wy n P3-ti-nfr-hṭp s3 ḫr.t=w-rd p3 wḫ-mw nty ḫr n3y=f ḫrṭ.w “the house of Petenephotes, son of Ithortes, the *choachyte*, which is held by his children.” Elsewhere, Petenephotes is called a iry-ḫ n ḫmn-ḫpy n pr-ḫmnṭ n Niw.t “*pastophoros* of Amenope in the west of Thebes” (e.g., *P. Rylands* 11; see *Andrews* 1995, p. 21, n. 46), and he is sometimes given the name ḫmn-ḫṭp “Amenotheres” (e.g., *P. Rylands* 14; see *Griffith* 1909, p. 128, n. 2). It is impossible from the currently available evidence to know whether this Petenephotes is the same individual as the grandfather of Thotsutmis I, but it is interesting that he is a *pastophoros* and *choachyte* and that his property is referenced as being in the possession of his children (presumably indicating that Petenephotes was deceased at the time *P. BM Andrews*, no. 1, was written in 265–264 BC). Likewise, the name of his father Ithortes is attested for an individual named as the father of Taminis in cat. nos. 17–18. Ithortes, father of Taminis, cannot be the same individual as Ithortes, father of Petenephotes, for they are from separate generations. However, it would be possible for Ithortes, father of Taminis, to be the grandson of Ithortes, father of Petenephotes. This circumstance would place Taminis in the same generation as Thotsutmis I and her father Ithortes in the same generation as Panouphis I, which scenario fits the context of the archive. However, these associations are purely speculative. Until further evidence becomes available, it is probably safest to assume the two mentions of Petenephotes name different individuals.

¹³⁶ For lists of priests, cf. *O. Brook. dem.*, no. 153, p3 rn n wḫ.w Mnṭ “the list of the priests of Montu.”

¹³⁷ Maria Cannata is currently working on a publication of the MMA excavation material related to the Ptolemaic remains.

¹³⁸ Porter and Moss 1964, vol. I, part 2, pp. 619, 622.

157, the tomb originally constructed for *Nb-wnn=f*)—and local workshops in the necropolis for the storage of their tools, goods, and other items.¹³⁹ It seems likely that the Edgerton archive was stored (or discarded after its usefulness expired) in such an area, only to be rediscovered in the excavations of Lansing.

The working environment of these *pastophoroi* and *choachytes* can be imagined from the archaeological remains (Figure 4.2). On the west bank, shuffling between thousands of tombs and their chapels on the surface, they made various trips to the cliffs of Dra Abu el Naga to the tomb of Thunabounoun (roughly .5–1 kilometer away from the findspot of the ostraca) up a rise of roughly 30–35 meters (Figure 2.7). Photos from the early twentieth century help contextualize this work. Vaulted graves and chapels that would have been on the surface in early Ptolemaic times are visible in the photos of Carter and Carnarvon—photos showing the cliffs of Dra Abu el Naga and the tomb of Thunabounoun just in the background.¹⁴⁰ The landscape was littered with tombs in use, both newly built tombs for which building permits had been issued, as well as many reused tombs from earlier centuries, such as TT 157 (Thunabounoun) in the cliffs of Dra Abu el Naga and TT 32¹⁴¹ and TT 373 in the rise of el-Khokha just south of the Deir el Bahari causeway (Figure 4.2; Figures 2.4–7). The Memnonia stretched across this entire landscape as the setting for the mortuary industry and its variety of tasks.



FIGURE 4.2. Google Earth satellite image showing primary sites discussed in the text.

¹³⁹ Pestman 1993, p. 8; Vleeming 1995, pp. 247 and 250–51; Cannata 2020, p. 440. The traditional identification of the Thunabounoun with TT 157, the tomb of *Nb-wnn=f*, was recently called into question by Gee 2019 in a very speculative article where Gee suggested that the tomb of Ibi (TT 36), the chief steward of Nitocris, be identified with the tomb of *ibw-nfr* mentioned in the *choachyte* archives (Cannata 2020, p. 441) and, moreover, that the majority of the archival material derives from this tomb (not the Thunabounoun).

¹⁴⁰ Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pls. XXXIII and XXXIV.2.

¹⁴¹ TT 32 continued to be in use until at least the middle of the first century AD, when it was occupied by the burials of the archon Soter, his extended family, and other associates. See Kákossy 1995; Schreiber 2017; cf. also TT 400 discussed in Schreiber, Vasáros, and Almásy 2013.

Thotsutmis and his associates likely performed the *choachyte* offerings at least once a week in association with the Decade Feast of Amenope.¹⁴² This feast tied together their two primary occupations, one in the temple administration of Djeme as *iry-ʕ n Ḳmn-ipy n pr-Ḳmnt Nḡw.t* “pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes,” and the other in the necropolis as *wḥ-mw* “choachyte.” Since at least the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the Decade Feast of Amenope had occurred every ten days in the Theban region when Amenope (*Ḳmn-ipy.t* “Amun of Luxor” and earlier *Ḳmn-m-ipy.t* “Amun in Luxor”) traveled to Djeme (*Ḳmḥ*) on the west bank in order to perform cultic rites for Amun-Re “sacred of place” (*Ḳmn-Rḥ dsr s.t*) and the divine ancestors of the Ogdoad.¹⁴³ The ten-day division represented the length of the Egyptian week, thus the “decade feast,” resulting in three weeks per month and thirty-six weeks per year supplemented by the epagomenal days that made up the Egyptian civil calendar. In the renovations made by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II on the small temple at Medinet Habu, there is a scene of the king offering to Amenope with a framing text referencing the ritual of *qbḥ mw tp sw 10 nb* “libating water every ten days.”¹⁴⁴ This portal formed an important segment of the Decade Feast’s procession and would have been central to the work of *pastophoroi* such as Thotsutmis.

Funerary and temple texts of the Greco-Roman era reference the Decade Feast of Amenope very prominently, and the feast clearly remained a particularly important part of Theban funerary rituals.¹⁴⁵ The processional path intersected with that of the Opet festival (*ḥb nfr in Ḳp.t*)¹⁴⁶ and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley (*ḥb nfr n in.t*). Amenope appeared first in the temple of Luxor on the east bank before traveling to the west bank temple of Medinet Habu.¹⁴⁷ Having performed the offerings for the primordial gods, he continued to the temple of Karnak. Whether the procession of the god went north to Deir el Bahari and then east, or directly east from Medinet Habu, remains uncertain. At Karnak, the god was rejuvenated from a reunion with Osiris prior to returning to Luxor. The rituals accompanying the festival were of great cosmological importance, as Amenope’s visit to the small temple of Medinet Habu represented an intersection with creation itself where the cult of the primordial Amun “who completes his moment” (*km-ʕ.t=f*) and accompanying Ogdoad took place. The western portal (*rwyt Ḳmnt.t*) of this temple “was the point of contact with the netherworld that, figuratively, lay beyond: the liminal point at which the demiurge Amun-Re *Djeser-set*, who was here, and only here, identified specifically with Osiris, came forth every tenth day, as the divine deceased, to receive funerary offerings from his godly descendant.”¹⁴⁸ Just as when Amenope traveled to make offerings to his divine ancestors, this occasion provided the opportunity for the priests to distribute offerings at tombs throughout the entire west bank necropolis, for which mortuary cults were still active.

Connections between the Decade Feast of Amenope and the mortuary tasks of the *choachytes* are found in many hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Demotic texts from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Pouring water (*wḥ mw*) is a specific theme of such texts. In the Ritual of Embalming, Amenope makes libation for the dead: *wḥ n=k Ḳmn-ipy.t mw hr ḥtp iw=f m ḥn tḥ in.t iw=f hr wḥ mw n it=f mw.t=f hr tp sw 10 nb* “May Amenope pour water for you upon the libation¹⁴⁹ table when he is in the valley pouring water for his father and his mother at the

¹⁴² Ten-day weeks also served to structure the “inpayments to the local counting house” as part of the tax collection process. See Clarysse and Thompson 2006, p. 77.

¹⁴³ The Theban Decade Feast has been long studied. See the discussion in the following: Sethe 1929, pp. 57–59; Wild 1954, pp. 183–85; Doresse 1971, pp. 113–36; de Cenival 1972, p. 112; Goyon 1972, pp. 299–302; Doresse 1973, pp. 92–135; Doresse 1979, pp. 36–65; Goyon in Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979, pp. 80–86; Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson 1981, pp. 130–34; Herbin 1984; Derchain-Urtel 1989, pp. 143–51; Quaegebeur 1990, p. 788; Favard-Meeks 1991, pp. 401–33; Smith 1993, p. 41 with n. 36; Herbin 1994, pp. 143–45; Bommas 2005, pp. 257–72; Gillam 2005, p. 123; McClain 2011, pp. 69–96; Klotz 2012, pp. 55–58 and 385–86; Smith 2017, pp. 491–92.

¹⁴⁴ McClain 2011, p. 72, with n. 21, MH.B 207a.

¹⁴⁵ Klotz 2012, pp. 52–58, notes the important distinction between the manifestation of Amenope the creator god and father of the Ogdoad and Amenope of Djeme, the heir of the Ogdoad.

¹⁴⁶ For the Opet festival, see Waitkus 2013, pp. 136–46.

¹⁴⁷ See Goyon in Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979, pp. 80–86, for the processional route of the Decade Feast and the role of the edifice of Taharqa at Karnak.

¹⁴⁸ McClain 2011, p. 93.

¹⁴⁹ The word frequently spelled *ḥtp.t* “offering table” is found here with the water determinative.

beginning of each decade.”¹⁵⁰ In a Demotic coffin inscription, the pouring of water is noted to occur on each of the three weeks of the month: *w3h n=k İmn-ipy 3 n Dm3 ntr 3 ny-sw.t ntr.w mw r htp.t n qb3 n p3 3 sw 10 hr İbt nb* “May Amenope, great one of Djeme, great god, king of the gods, pour water for you at the offering table as a libation on the three decades every month.”¹⁵¹ In the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing, it is Horus, as *choachyte*, who makes the offerings: *dd=w rn=k İir n3 htp.w(t) n Hr n p3 w3h-mw n sw 10* “May your name be spoken at the offering tables of Horus as the *choachyte* on the decade.”¹⁵² Individuals often added wishes to be included in the Decade Feast’s offering rituals: *mİ w3h=w n=i h.wt m-b3h İmn-İp.t p3y=f sw 10 nb n İİ İw İ3.t T3mw.t* “Have offerings made for me before Amenope at each of his decades when coming to Djeme.”¹⁵³ While there were certainly additional duties for the *choachytes* on other days, Thotsutmis and his associates had extremely important weekly duties attending to both the Decade Feast of Amenope in the west of Thebes in their roles as *pastophoroi*, but also at the tombs throughout the valley in their roles as *choachytes*.

The distribution of the archive across text types reveals the importance of necropolis work to Thotsutmis and his associates, with eleven receipts being for the burial tax and related expenses (Table 5.1).¹⁵⁴ In order to perform their jobs, the *choachytes* needed to have tombs available for the burial of the dead, typically brought to the *choachytes* by relatives. It appears that *choachytes* received permission to build tombs from a central administration (cat. no. 11), paid fees associated with the burial plots (cat. nos. 9 and 10), sold the tombs to those wishing to bury their dead, and paid the tax for each burial made in the necropolis (cat. nos. 1–9) to an official representative (the “overseer of the necropolis”) on behalf of the families.¹⁵⁵ The fees were collected by the temple of Amun, overseen by the office of the *lesonis*, whose representative was the “overseer of the necropolis,” with a portion going to the local village scribes for their work in registration on behalf of the administration.¹⁵⁶ Nominally, the *choachytes* were supervised by the temple of Amun, but they also organized themselves into labor associations meant to build community, share expenses, and regulate industry conduct.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰ P. Boulaq 3 (x+3.22–23), for which see: Sauneron 1952, p. 10; Herbin 1994, p. 143; Töpfer 2015, pp. 103, 108, pls. 6–7. This same section of text (x+3.22) also mentions the deceased’s participation in the Opet Festival: *m33=k İmn-R3 ny-sw.t ntr.w m h3b=f nfr 3bd 2 3h.t sw 19* “May you see Amun-Re, king of the gods, in his beautiful festival, on Phaophi 19.”

¹⁵¹ Barns 1952; corrected reading in Smith 1993, p. 41, n. 38; followed by Vleeming 2011, pp. 616–18, nr. 1070.

¹⁵² Smith 1993, pp. 24 (transliteration), 30 (translation), 40–41 (commentary), pl. 2 (photograph); Smith 2009, p. 360. Smith notes that Amenope could assimilate to Horus as he made offerings to his ancestors on analogy with Horus offering to his father Osiris and cites the liturgical text associated with the Decade Feast published by Herbin 1984 in which Horus offers to Osiris Onnophris (see especially Herbin 1984, pp. 122–23). At Philae, Horus and Isis presented offerings to Osiris every decade, with Horus as the *choachyte* (Bommas 2005, p. 270; Bell 2011, pp. 416–20).

¹⁵³ Herbin 2008, p. 133 (translation), pls. 104–105.

¹⁵⁴ Receipts for the Burial Tax: cat. nos. 1–8. Receipt for a Burial Plot: cat. no. 9. Receipt for the Document Tax: cat. no. 10. Receipt to Build a Tomb(?): cat. no. 11.

¹⁵⁵ Vleeming 1995, pp. 248–50; Cannata 2020, pp. 17–23 and 295–96.

¹⁵⁶ See the explicit breakdown in P. Philadelphia 30, 2.25–28 (an account related to tomb building and restoration) of the necropolis tax and the scribal fee: *p3 tny n t3 h3s.t n-dr.t Hr-s33s.t s3 P3-ti-İmn-İpy p3 mr-h3s.t qt 2 P3-ti-Hr-p3-R3 s3 Hr p3 sh pr-tmy qt ½ r h3d qt 2½* “the tax of the necropolis in the hand of Harsiesis, son of Petemenophis, the overseer of the necropolis: two kite. (For) Peteharpres, son of Horos, the village scribe: ½ kite, totaling 2½ kite.” For edition, see Thissen and Zauzich 2018, p. 151, and their commentary on p. 154: “Der Dorfschreiber wird für die Quittierung der Nekropolensteuer zuständig sein, die üblicherweise mittels Ostraka erfolgte. Seine Tätigkeit wird immerhin mit einem Viertel des Steuersatzes belohnt und dürfte ihn wie alle Steuereintreiber wenig beliebt gemacht haben.” That the ½ kite was a fee for the scribe is also made explicit in P. BM Glanville, no. 10528. The 2½ kite tax was commonly attested on houses (Muhs 2005a, pp. 68–70) and burial plots (Muhs 2005a, pp. 95–98; Muhs 2011, pp. 176–83). For the latter, see cat. no. 9. The scribe of P. Philadelphia 30, Peteharpres, son of Horos, is known from other documents, including documents for the 2½ kite house tax; see Depauw 2000, pp. 56–74; Muhs 2005a, pp. 68–70.

¹⁵⁷ Such associations have an extensive documented history. P. Louvre E 7840 bis, from the mid-sixth century BC, and P. Berlin 3115, from the end of the second century BC, preserve accounts and an agreement for associations of Theban *choachytes*. For editions of the texts, see de Cenival 1986, pp. 13–29; de Cenival 1972, pp. 103–31. For a general discussion, see Cannata 2020, pp. 159–66, who points out that one of the *choachyte* associations was organized around Amenope (*swn.t n İmn-İpy*). For a general discussion of the purpose of such associations in the Roman Period, see Venticinque 2016.

The *pastophoroi* and *choachytes* existed within a larger and somewhat complex hierarchy of religious and administrative personnel that included “lector priests of the necropolis of Djeme” (*hr-ḥb t3 ḥ3s.t Dm3*),¹⁵⁸ the “overseer of the necropolis” (*mr-ḥ3s.t*), and the *lesonis* (*mr-šn*). Exactly how all these individuals interacted is not always entirely clear, but the “overseer of the necropolis” appears to have been responsible for collecting burial tax payments as an administrator subordinate to the *lesonis*, who administered the holdings of the temple. In two ostraca for the sale of property on which a tomb is to be constructed,¹⁵⁹ the scribe Phibis, son of Apathes, is described as “the agent of the god’s father, prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods, *lesonis* of Amun, Khafchonsis, son of Petearpres” (*p3 rt n it-ntr Imn-r3 nsw ntr.w mr-šn n Imn H=f-Hnsw*).¹⁶⁰ These references demonstrate the potential for combining the cultic (*it-ntr*) and administrative (*mr-šn*) roles of temple personnel. Such interactions are on display in a letter receipt dated to year 22 Thoth 30 of Ptolemy II (= 264 BC) issued by Amenrosis, son of Totoes (known to have been overseer of the necropolis), to *Hnsw-m3*, son of *Wpy-mn*, for the payment of the burial tax. In the text (lines 5–6), Amenrosis states: “... while (I) shall not be able to interfere with Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, in his name about the money of the overseer of the necropolis” (*iw bn iw=(y) rh sh (r) P3-šr-(n3)-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr (n) rn=f n ḥd mr-ḥ3s.t*).¹⁶¹ What role Psenenteris, brother of Thotsutmis, plays in this text is unclear, but it is suggestive of similar language in *P. BM Glanville*, no. 10591—a document related to farming out the burial tax and the price of burial plots that is dated to year 14 of Ptolemy I (291 BC). In lines 1–2, the lector priest Pelaias, son of Thotortaio, says to the lector priest Harsiesis, son of Panas (who is also known to have been the *lesonis* of Amun):

It is my obligation to you to not interfere with you (*st mtw=k r-ḥ.wy=y r tm sh r-r=k*) about the money, and any of the lector-priests who are in the necropolis of Djeme, about the five silver *deben*, (their half) equals twenty-five *staters*, (their total) equals five silver *deben* again, about which I have written to the commissioner saying “I will give them in the name of the overseer of the necropolis, the money which they will give on account of the tombs, amounting to 2½ *kite* for one, and the money which they will give to the overseer of the necropolis for the men whom they will bring out to the necropolis of Djeme, while mine is all the money in question in return for the five silver *deben*.”

In line 5 Pelaias adds, “while I will make sure that they will not bother any of the lector priests (*iw bn iw=y ti.t sh=w r n3 hr-ḥb.w dr=w*) in the name of the five silver *deben* aforementioned.”

A significant proportion of the deceased clients of Psenenteris and Thotsutmis, sons of Panouphis, were priests or *pastophoroi* of Souchos (cat. nos. 1–2). This high proportion is remarkable, for Souchos priests were not particularly common in the Theban area. It is therefore possible that Psenenteris and Thotsutmis had a special arrangement to serve as *choachytes* for the priests of Souchos. There is some evidence that *choachytes* could make agreements with groups as well as individuals.¹⁶² Another *choachyte*, Pchorchonsis, son of Panas, refers in a Demotic sales contract to “my occupation as *choachyte* of Hermonthis, concerning which the [priests(?)] of Montu, Lord of Hermonthis, of the four phyles have made a *shn*-appointment for me.”¹⁶³ A more oblique reference occurs in a Demotic quitclaim contract to “my occupation as *choachyte* of Hermonthis and the *shn*-appointments which were made for me in temple and town.”¹⁶⁴

The preserved and published documentation for the Theban *choachytes* extends chronologically over more than five centuries, with a few gaps for which information is sparse.¹⁶⁵ From the late fourth through the late second centuries, several ancient archives and reconstructed dossiers allow us to follow closely the inner workings of the *choachytes*, their families, and related business dealings. For the second century, the foundational study is Pestman’s *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*. However, a similar synthesis of the third-century

¹⁵⁸ For the archive of Amenotnes, son of Horos and Tashebra, who was the “high priest of the necropolis of Djeme” (*hr-ḥb tp n t3 ḥ3s.t n Dm3*), see Pestman 1981.

¹⁵⁹ In *P. BM Andrews*, no. 13, the property is described as *r-qt=f n p3 hry P3-šr-Dḥwt3* “which he built for the exalted Psenhotnes.” For the correct reading, see Depauw 2000, p. 68.

¹⁶⁰ *P. BM Andrews*, no. 13 verso, lines 8–10; *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 92, lines 7–10.

¹⁶¹ O. TT 32, published in Vleeming 1994b, pp. 356–60.

¹⁶² Cannata 2020, pp. 31–36.

¹⁶³ *P. Schreibertradition*, no. 5.2, dated to 292 BC.

¹⁶⁴ *P. Schreibertradition*, no. 108.2, dated to 277 BC.

¹⁶⁵ See the chart in Depauw 2000, p. 13.

material has not yet been published.¹⁶⁶ The archives of Teos and Thabis (327–311 BC); Panouphis and Senatumis (230–218 BC); Pechutes, son of Pchorchonsis (334–191 BC); Psenminis, son of Bel (317–217 BC); and Teineni, daughter of Teos (324–274 BC) represent the primary material for this period.¹⁶⁷ Placing the prosopographic references in these archives into a genealogy has demonstrated that several families are attested over a period of more than two hundred years and many generations.¹⁶⁸ It further demonstrates that *choachyte* work was largely a family affair, with a great deal of intermarrying between extended family members in an effort to maintain control over wealth and property while extending their social networks.¹⁶⁹

In placing the *O. Edgerton* corpus into this context, the documentation suggests that the family of Thotsutmis was perhaps an “outsider” or “secondary” family trying to establish itself among the more powerful and wealthy *choachytes*.¹⁷⁰ From the currently available documentation, it does not seem that Thotsutmis, Psenenteris, or other family members intermarried with the other families that dominate the preserved *choachyte* archives. For example, all the archives mentioned above—Teos and Thabis (327–311 BC); Panouphis and Senatumis (230–218 BC); Pechutes, son of Pchorchonsis (334–191 BC); Psenminis, son of Bel (317–217 BC); and Teineni, daughter of Teos (324–274 BC)—involve related members of one large, extended family. Teos and Thabis were the great-great-grandparents of Pechutes. Panouphis and Senatumis were in-laws—uncle and aunt, respectively—to Pechutes. Psenminis was related by marriage to Tamounis, who previously had been married to Teos, who himself was a great-grandson of Teos and Thabis through his mother. Teineni was a sister of Teos’s father Osoroeris and therefore a sister-in-law to his mother. This large family dominates the preserved and published documentation. However, there are other *choachytes* and related families who are less well attested, and it is uncertain whether these “outsider” families were actually less influential or whether the surviving archives from early Ptolemaic Thebes may overrepresent one of several closely knit groups of families of mortuary priests through the accident of preservation.

The best-attested payment in the corpus is for the price of oil, with fifteen separate such receipts.¹⁷¹ Given the prominence of the oil receipts and documents related to the mortuary industry, the question arises as to whether the oil was used for *choachyte*-related work in addition to its importance in daily life. It may have played an especially important role for mortuary priests as they attempted to negotiate darkened tomb chambers and conduct work prior to sunrise and after sunset, when lamps were necessary for illumination. There are also three receipts for compulsory labor,¹⁷² three receipts for the salt tax,¹⁷³ two receipts for the income of a server tax,¹⁷⁴ three unidentified receipts,¹⁷⁵ two letters,¹⁷⁶ and three accounts.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁶ Cannata 2020 surveys much of the data, but the wide focus of the publication leaves many details of the Theban *choachytes* in the third century BC undiscussed.

¹⁶⁷ Muhs 2005b, pp. 169–94.

¹⁶⁸ See Depauw 2000, pp. 15–17.

¹⁶⁹ Regarding the “*pastophoroi* of Amenophis” and the “*pastophoroi* of Amun,” Cannata 2009, p. 59, n. 9, pointed out how the priestly positions remained tightly within individual families, with little evidence for crossover or intermarriage between the groups. See further Muhs 2005b, 169–94; Cannata 2020, pp. 171–75, 182–86.

¹⁷⁰ For a discussion of the social class of *choachytes*, see Donker von Heel 2019, pp. 299–304.

¹⁷¹ Receipts for the Price of Oil: cat. nos. 12–26.

¹⁷² Cat. nos. 27–29.

¹⁷³ Cat. nos. 30–32.

¹⁷⁴ Cat. nos. 33–34.

¹⁷⁵ Cat. nos. 35–37.

¹⁷⁶ Cat. nos. 38–39.

¹⁷⁷ Cat. nos. 40–42.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SECURELY DATED DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THOTSUTMIS I AND HIS FAMILY

264 BC, September 21	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Paberga (Malinine 1961, no. 1). ¹⁷⁸
262 BC, September 22	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for the mother of Psenminis (Malinine 1961, no. 5).
261 BC, January 1	Thotsutmis (no patronym provided, but assumed to be Thotsutmis I) paid the burial tax for Psenmonthes (cat. no. 1).
261 BC, March 17	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Psentkhelmin (Malinine 1961, no. 6).
260 BC, June 24	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Tatiousiris(?) (Malinine 1961, no. 8).
260 BC, July 3	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Paminis (Malinine 1961, no. 7).
259 BC, April 5	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Psenpaoueris (Malinine 1961, no. 9).
255 BC, January 31	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Nechthminis (cat. no. 2).
255 BC, September 8	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Nehemesmenou (<i>O. Louvre dem.</i> 303).
254 BC, June 30	Thotsutmis I paid for the price of oil (cat. no. 12).
254 BC, September 29	Psenenteris I paid the burial tax for Peteamounis (<i>O. Taxes</i> 2, no. 122).
253–252 BC	Thotsutmis I paid the income of a server tax (cat. no. 33).
252 BC, April 3	Thotsutmis I paid the burial tax for Peuoris (cat. no. 3).
249 BC, May	Thotsutmis I paid the income of a server tax (cat. no. 34).
249 BC, June 7	Thotsutmis I paid for the price of oil (cat. no. 14).
249 BC, July 16	Psenenteris I paid for the price of oil (Wångstedt 1980, no. 7).
248 BC, November 5	Thotsutmis I paid for the price of oil (cat. no. 19).
248 BC, December 24	Thotsutmis I received permission to build (cat. no. 11).
247 BC, April 21	Thotsutmis I paid the burial tax for Tapaapis(?) (<i>Fs Zauzich</i> 1, no. 79).

¹⁷⁸ Malinine read the year as “year 14” of Ptolemy II, but “year 21” of Ptolemy II was suggested in Hughes 2005, p. 21 (no. 61).

246–245 BC	Thotsutmis I and his wife Tarates paid the salt tax (cat. no. 32).
244 BC, February 6	Thotsutmis I paid the burial tax for Petechonsis (<i>Fs Zauzich</i> 1, no. 81).
243 BC, June 10	Thotsutmis I and Psenenteris I appeared in an account, perhaps associated with priests (<i>O. Taxes</i> 2, no. 157). An undated list of names also appeared to include “Psenenteris, Thotsutmis, his brother” (<i>O. Taxes</i> 2, no. 155).
242 BC, April 30+	Thotsutmis I paid the burial tax for Petosiris (cat. no. 5).
239 BC, July 9	Thotsutmis I paid the salt tax (Wångstedt 1978–79, no. 15).
235 BC, November 2	Thotsutmis I paid the burial tax for Peteueris(?) (cat. no. 6).
Prior to 230 BC	Psenenteris I purchased tombs from his brother Patemis (source lost, inferred from <i>P. BM Andrews</i> , nos. 15 and 20).
Prior to 230 BC	Psenenteris I divided the tombs now in his possession (previously belonging to Patemis) with his brother Thotsutmis I (source lost, inferred from <i>P. BM Andrews</i> , nos. 15 and 20).
230 BC, August 16	Thotsutmis I divided the estate of his brother Patemis with his nephew Panouphis II (<i>P. BM Andrews</i> , no. 15).
230 BC, August 16	Panouphis II divided the estate of his uncle Patemis with his uncle Thotsutmis I (<i>P. BM Andrews</i> , no. 20).
225 BC, March–April	Thotsutmis I paid the burial tax for Senchoumis(?) (<i>O. Taxes</i> 2, no. 131).
214 BC, April 14	Thaubastis, wife of Thotsutmis I, ceded her rights to the tombs previously belonging to her brother-in-law Patemis to Panouphis II, nephew of Patemis (<i>P. BM Andrews</i> , no. 16).
199 BC, Nov–Dec	Amenothēs, son of Thotsutmis A and Timounis, borrowed wheat and barley from Peteminis, son of Thotsutmis I and Thaubastis (<i>P. BM Andrews</i> , no. 19). ¹⁷⁹ One year later on 198 BC, December 11, this same Amenothēs (son of Thotsutmis A and Timounis) sold and ceded rights to tombs to Panas, son of Espmethis (<i>P. BM Andrews</i> , no. 3).
175 BC, October 21	Tsenmouthis, daughter of Thotsutmis I and Thabastis, ceded rights for tombs to Panas, son of Espmethis (<i>P. BM Andrews</i> , no. 6). On this same day, Panas also acquired the rights for another set of tombs from Amenothēs, son of Harsiesis (<i>P. BM Andrews</i> , no. 5).

¹⁷⁹ Pestman 1995, pp. 97–98, redated this text to 199 BC.

CHAPTER 5

CATALOG OF THE OSTRACA FROM THE ARCHIVE OF THOTSUTMIS, SON OF PANOUPHIS

The forty-two catalog entries that follow have been arranged by document type according to the following order: Receipts for the Burial Tax, Receipt for a Burial Plot, Receipt for the Document Tax, Receipt for the Permission to Build, Receipts for the Price of Oil, Receipts for Compulsory Labor, Receipts for the Salt Tax, Receipts for the Income of a Server Tax, Receipts Unidentified, Letters, and Accounts. Within each category, the ostraca have been arranged chronologically by date given in the text when possible. Such a sequence presents a compromise between a strictly chronological, inventory number, or numerical (most attested to least attested) presentation, following the rationale that the texts most specific to Thotsutmis and his career should come first (the “necropolis” section of receipts for burial tax, burial plot, document tax, and permission to build). This corpus is followed by the “commodity monopoly” section (e.g., price of oil receipts), representing the numerically largest group (comprised of fifteen ostraca), and then the “census” section, consisting of the receipts for compulsory labor, salt tax, and server tax (comprised of eight ostraca). Finally, the unidentified receipts, letters, and accounts make up the remainder (eight ostraca).

Each text is presented with a new photograph and hand copy. The size of the photo is indicated as a percentage of the original size of the ostrakon. Due to the enlargement or reduction in image size, the relative size of the ostraca to each other is best viewed in the field photographs (Figure 2.2 and Plates 1–5). In many cases, ink is more visible on the MMA field photographs. Those field photographs are provided at an enlarged size with superimposed catalog numbers in plates 1–5 for comparison. The task of producing the hand copies was apportioned among the authors, so that one-third of the corpus was drawn by each. Drawings were produced digitally using Adobe Photoshop and Wacom drawing tablets from digital photographs or scans of archival photographs, with repeated physical autopsy of the ostraca for collation on multiple occasions. A stippling technique was used to fill in the ink and traces of ink seen on the ostraca. The authors felt this stippling technique allowed for a more nuanced rendering of the flow from the scribe’s brush as well as the fading and flaking that has affected the surfaces. For this particular publication, focus in the drawings was placed on interpreting the ink remaining on the surface of the ostraca and not on duplicating exactly the physical appearance of the object or even the sequence of brush strokes¹⁸⁰—the often unstated “standard” for hand copies of Demotic text editions, which essentially seek to “lift” the text off its medium and place it on a neutral background.¹⁸¹ The authors hope that this initial “layer” of interpretation is helpful to those who study these texts, especially where printed photos are less than clear, digital photos are unavailable, and the traces of ink are difficult to interpret.¹⁸² Copies were made using a combination of layered photographs in Adobe Photoshop, with the result that an individual copy may not match exactly with an individual photograph.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. the approach taken for the hieratic of the Hekanakht dossier in Allen 2002, pp. 76–85, 227–42, where the number of dips and brush strokes was counted and paired with the hand copies in the plates that indicated fading color through the use of gray as well as unfilled strokes in the sign list (pp. 193–226).

¹⁸¹ There has been relatively little comment on the production and use of hand copies in the research literature, though their presence in publications of Demotic texts is often assumed. For a selection of critical comments about such hand copies, see Scalf 2015, pp. 372–73.

¹⁸² Digital photos of all ostraca in this study are available on both the Oriental Institute Collections Database (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>) and in OIDO (<https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/oidoo>).

Table 5.1. *O. Edgerton* Archive of Thotsutmis, Son of Panouphis

No.	Reg. No.	Contents	Date	Taxpayer	Scribe	Payment
Receipts for the Burial Tax						
1	MMA 5A.860, no. 3	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 24, Hathyr 6	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm</i>	<i>Pȝ-wr-tiw sȝ Pa-rt</i>	½ silver kite
2	MMA 5A.858, no. 3	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 30, Khoiak 8	<i>Pȝ-šr-nȝ-nṯr.w sȝ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Pȝ-ti-ḏmn-ipy sȝ Nḥt-Ḥr-m-ḥb</i>	½ silver kite
3	HMNS 13.1999.040	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 33, Mecheir 11	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm sȝ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Pȝ-ti-ḏmn-nsw-tȝ.wy sȝ Kp=f-ḥȝ-Mnṯ + ḏmn-ḥtp</i>	½ silver kite
4	OIM E49083	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 38, Tybi 10	<i>Ḍd-ḥr sȝ Pa-mn</i>	<i>Ḥr-sȝ-ȝs.t sȝ Ns-mn</i>	½ silver kite
5	OIM E19509 + E19503	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III(?), Year 5, Phamenoth 10+	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm sȝ Pa-[nfr]</i>	[...]	[...]
6	OIM E19502 + E19506	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III(?), Year 13, Thoth 13	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm sȝ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Tny.t-Ḥnsw</i>	[...] silver kite
7	OIM E49084	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III(?), Year 16, Khoiak	<i>Smȝ-tȝ.wy</i>	<i>Pȝ-ti-Ḥr-pȝ-Rȝ sȝ Ḍḥwty-ir-ti-s</i>	½ silver kite + 1 obol
8	OIM E19510 + E19513	Burial Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III(?), Year 19, Tybi 12(?)	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm sȝ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>[Ns]-pȝ-mty(?) sȝ Pȝ-šr-tȝ-iḥ.t</i>	½ silver kite
Receipt for a Burial Plot						
9	OIM E19490	Burial Plot Receipt	Ptolemy II (?)	<i>Hry=w sȝ Ḍḥwty-iw + Pȝ[...]</i>	-----	Price of 1 ground cubit
Receipt for the Document Tax						
10	OIM E19482	Document Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III(?), Year 13, Mesore 20	<i>ḏmn-ḥtp</i>	-----	6 silver kite
Receipt for the Permission to Build						
11	OIM E19494	Permission to Build	Ptolemy II, Year 38, Phaophi 2	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm sȝ Pa-nfr</i>	-----	-----
Receipts for the Price of Oil						
12	OIM E19483	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 31, Pachons 8	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm sȝ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	½ silver kite
13	OIM E19481	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 36, Pharmouthi 17	<i>Tȝ-šr.t-ḏy-m-ḥtp</i>	<i>Ns-mn</i>	½ silver kite
14	OIM E19496	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 36, Pharmouthi 17	<i>Ḍḥwty-sḏm sȝ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	½ silver kite
15	OIM E19485	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 36 (?), Mesore(?) 26(?)	<i>Tȝ-šr.t-tȝ-...</i>	<i>Ns-Mn(?)</i>	½ silver kite
16	MMA 5A.860, no. 11	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 37, Phamenoth 6	<i>ḏy-m-ḥtp sȝ Rrw</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	½ silver kite
17	OIM E19498	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 38, Khoiak 30	<i>Ta-Mn ta ḏr.t=w-rḏ</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	½ ₁₂ silver kite

Table 5.1. *O. Edgerton* Archive of Thotsutmis, Son of Panouphis (*cont.*)

No.	Reg. No.	Contents	Date	Taxpayer	Scribe	Payment
18	OIM E19491	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 38, Pharmouthi 29	<i>Ta-Mn ta ĩr:t=w-rđ</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	¼ silver kite
19	OIM E49085	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 38, Thoth 12	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	¼ silver kite
20	OIM E19493	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II, Ephiphi 4	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Ns-Mn</i>	¼ silver kite
21	OIM E19504	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II-III, Thoth 2	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Pđ-šr-ĭmn (sđ) Pđ-ti-Ĥr-pđ-R^c</i>	¼ silver kite
22	OIM E19514	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II-III, Hathyr	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Pđ-ti-Ĥnsw sđ Mnđ-R^c</i>	¼ silver kite
23	OIM E19489	Price of Oil Receipt	Ptolemy II-III, Mesore	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa[~]-nfr</i>	<i>Pđ-ti-Ĥnsw sđ Mnđ-R^c</i>	¼ silver kite
24	OIM E19511	Price of Oil Receipt	[...]	[...]	[...] <i>-ĭmn sđ Mnđ-R^c</i>	¼ silver kite
25	OIM E19508	Price of Oil Receipt	[...]	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa-nfr</i>	[...]	[...]
26	OIM E19512	Price of Castor Receipt	-----	[...]	<i>Pđ-ti-ĭtm(?)</i>	¼ silver kite
Receipts for Compulsory Labor						
27	OIM E19480	Compulsory Labor Receipt	Ptolemy III, Year 4, Pachons 5	<i>ĭmn-ĥtp sđ Pđ-šr-Mnđ</i>	<i>Pđ(?) -šr(?) -ĭy-m-ĥtp sđ Ns-mn</i>	30 naubia
28	OIM E19505	Compulsory Labor Receipt	Ptolemy III(?), Year 13, Pachons 21(?)	Θοτσουτομ Πανουφιος	<i>[Ĥr]-wđđ(?) sđ Đd-ĥr +</i> <i>Ερμóκλης</i>	30 naubia
29	OIM E19500	Compulsory Labor Receipt(?)	...	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>ĭmn-ĥtp(?)</i>	15(?) naubia
Receipts for the Salt Tax						
30	OIM E19488	Salt Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 34	<i>Ta-rđ ta Pđ-šr-Mn</i>	<i>Đhwtý-ir-rđ-s</i>	¼ silver kite
31	OIM E19492	Salt Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 37, Khoiak 30	<i>Ta-rđ ta Pđ-šr-Mn</i>	<i>Đhwtý-ir-rđ-s</i>	¼ silver kite
32	OIM E19501	Salt Tax Receipt	Ptolemy III, Year 2	<i>[Đhwtý-sđm] sđ Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Hry=w</i>	¼ silver kite
Receipts for the Income of a Server Tax						
33	OIM E19507	Income of a Server Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 33	<i>[Đhwtý-sđm sđ] Pa-nfr</i>	<i>Đhwtý-ir-ti-s</i>	¼ silver kite + ¼ obol
34	OIM E19515	Income of a Server Tax Receipt	Ptolemy II, Year 36, Phamenoth or Pharmouthi 10	<i>[Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa]-nfr</i>	<i>Đhwtý-ir-rđ-[s]</i>	¼ silver kite + ¼ obol
Receipts (Unidentified)						
35	OIM E19486	-----	Ptolemy II(?), Year 36(?), Mesore(?) 27	<i>Đhwtý-ir-rđ-[s]</i>	[...] <i>... sđ Pđ-ti-nfr-ĥtp</i>	1 silver kite
36	OIM E19499	-----	Year 8(?)	...	[...]	...
37	OIM E19495	-----	Payni 22	<i>Đhwtý-sđm sđ Pa-nfr</i>	-----	-----

Table 5.1. *O. Edgerton* Archive of Thotsutmis, Son of Panouphis (*cont.*)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Reg. No.</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Taxpayer</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Payment</i>
Letters and Memoranda						
38	MMA 5A.858, no. 9 + 5A.859, no. 9	Memorandum	Ptolemy II, Year 36, Tybi 10	----	<i>Ns-Mn sʹ</i> <i>Pʹ-ti-ḥmn-nsw-tʹ.wy</i>	1 bowl of oil
39	OIM E19479	Letter	----	----	----	----
Accounts						
40	OIM E19487	Account	----	----	----	----
Lists of Names						
41	OIM E19484	List of Names	----	----	----	----
42	OIM E19497	List of Names	----	----	----	----

RECEIPTS FOR THE BURIAL TAX: CATALOG NOS. 1–8

HISTORY

Egyptian temples appear to have collected a burial tax on individuals as they were buried in temple cemeteries from the Saite Period (664–525 BC) and Persian Period (525–332 BC) onward, if not earlier. The temple official in charge of collecting the burial tax was often known as the “overseer of the necropolis” (*mr-ḥꜣs.t*). He in turn appears to have been a subordinate of the *lesonis*, the chief financial officer of a temple.¹⁸³ In a Demotic papyrus from Thebes dated to year 38 of King Amasis (533 BC), the overseer of the necropolis acknowledges to his superior the receipt of a red bull for the temple endowment of Amun in exchange for the things that are given to the overseer of the necropolis. The purpose of the payment is not specified, but it could have been for burial taxes.¹⁸⁴ Demotic *P. Cairo CG III*, no. 50060, from Assiut and dated to year 5 of King Cambyses (525 BC), is an account of silver that the overseer of the necropolis gave to the *lesonis*; the account apparently consisted of distributions of beer and wine to temple personnel, the goods being valued in silver for accounting purposes.¹⁸⁵ Demotic *P. Cairo CG III*, no. 50062, from the same Assiut archive and dated to year 6 of King Cambyses (524 BC), records a series of payments of a half silver *kite* for burials (*qsi*) that were brought (*r-in*), presumably for the burial tax.¹⁸⁶

Egyptian temples appear to have continued to collect the burial tax in the early Ptolemaic Period (332–205 BC), though they now paid the tax to the state treasury, if they had not done so previously. The temple officials responsible for the collection of the burial tax—the overseer of the necropolis and his superior, the *lesonis* or steward—may have underwritten or farmed the tax, or at least they were held responsible for shortfalls in payment to the treasury.¹⁸⁷ Demotic *P. BM Glanville*, no. 10528, from Thebes and dated to year 14 of Ptolemy I (291 BC), is a promissory contract written by one mortuary priest, a lector-priest of the Ape, for another lector-priest of the Ape also known to have been the *lesonis* of Amun. The first contractor has promised to give the *shn*-officials five *deben* of silver and not to interfere with any lector-priest in the necropolis of Djeme if they give to him “the money which is to be paid in the name of the tombs” and “the money which is to be paid to the overseer of the necropolis for the bodies which are to be brought out to the necropolis of Djeme” from year 14 Pharmouthi to year 15 Tybi. In other words, the first contractor appears to have farmed the burial tax and the price of a burial plot for a five *deben* payment to the state in return for the tax revenues for eight months.¹⁸⁸

Priests of the temple of Edfu also appear to have farmed the collection of funerary taxes in the early Ptolemaic Period. A series of twenty-two Demotic receipts on ostraca dating between years 13 and 16 of Ptolemy III (234–231 BC) appear to record collective payments for the funerary tax (*pꜣ tny ḥꜣs.t*) by the tax-farming priests to the temple, and the contemporary Greek *P. Eleph. gr.*, no. 8, from the archive of Milon appears to be a letter confirming that the priests had farmed the funerary taxes (ταριχειαί) and were making payments to the temple.¹⁸⁹ Perhaps because the burial tax was underwritten, or farmed, receipts for individual payments of the burial tax began to be issued to taxpayers in the early Ptolemaic Period. The earliest individual receipt, Demotic *P. Teos-Thabis*, no. 6, from Thebes from year 7 of King Alexander IV (310 BC), was on papyrus and refers to the tax as the money of the “overseer of the necropolis” (*ḥꜣ mr-ḥꜣs.t*).¹⁹⁰ Receipts on ostraca appear early in the reign of Ptolemy II and survive in large numbers from Thebes.¹⁹¹

¹⁸³ Muhs 2016, pp. 185–86.

¹⁸⁴ Devauchelle 1987, pp. 154–55 and pl. 23; Donker van Heel 1996, pp. 222–25 (Text 22); Donker van Heel 2012, pp. 149–50.

¹⁸⁵ Spiegelberg 1932, pp. 46–48, and pls. 21–22.

¹⁸⁶ Spiegelberg 1932, pp. 52–53, and pls. 26–27.

¹⁸⁷ Muhs 2016, pp. 225–26.

¹⁸⁸ Depauw 2000, pp. 70–73.

¹⁸⁹ Muhs 2003, pp. 82–91.

¹⁹⁰ Depauw 2000, pp. 189–93 (Text 6).

¹⁹¹ Muhs 2005a, pp. 88–95.

FORMULAE

Early Ptolemaic receipts on ostraca for the burial tax are exclusively in Demotic and can take a variety of forms. The most common form is “(Taxpayer) PN1 has brought amount X for the money of the overseer of the necropolis, in the name of (deceased) PN2 who was brought to the necropolis, signed (scribe) PN3, at the command of (official) PN4 on date Y.” Some receipts are in the form of a letter and begin “(Official) PN4 is the one who says to (taxpayer) PN1, ‘You have given to me amount X’” Sometimes the amount X is alternatively described as “the portion of the overseer of the necropolis” (*tny mr-h̄s.t*), or “for the temple” (*r h̄w.t-ntr*), or is unspecified apart from being “in the name of” (*n rn n*) PN2. Sometimes the presumably deceased individual PN2 is alternatively described as one “who was brought to the necropolis when he/she was buried” or “who was brought to the west,” or is simply not described.

TAXPAYERS

Both male and female payers of the burial tax are attested on early Ptolemaic receipts, though males greatly outnumber females. Payers of the burial tax are usually assumed to be *choachytes*, who earned income for regularly performing ritual offerings of water for deceased individuals in the necropolis. A few payers are explicitly labeled on the receipts as *choachytes*, and many more payers are known from contemporary papyri concerning the incomes they received for performing the rituals.

RATES

At least through year 6 of Ptolemy III (241 BC), the burial tax was collected at the fixed rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ kite (six obols) per person interred in the necropolis.¹⁹² The fixed rate was then increased to $\frac{1}{2}$ kite plus one obol (seven obols) per person starting by year 13 of Ptolemy III.¹⁹³ The only exceptions appear in two receipts dated to years 19 and 20 of Ptolemy III that mention payments of $\frac{1}{2}$ kite per person; both receipts are signed by the same scribe—Espmetis, son of Psentaes.¹⁹⁴

SCRIBES AND OFFICIALS

Many scribes signed early Ptolemaic burial tax receipts on ostraca from Thebes. Most of these scribes were probably attached to temples in some capacity, for some give the title “god’s father,” and more are found as witnesses to Demotic contracts drawn up by temple notaries. Some scribes noted that they wrote at the command of an official, who was alternatively titled the “overseer of the necropolis,” the “representative of the steward,” or the “representative of the *lesonis* of Amun,” thereby implying that the overseer of the necropolis was an agent of the steward or the *lesonis* of Amun.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Last attested in *O. Taxes* 2, no. 129, dated to year 6, Khoiak, day 2, probably of Ptolemy III (22 January 241 BC).

¹⁹³ First attested in *O. Taxes* 1, no. 55, dated to year 13, ... day 30, probably of Ptolemy III (21 October 235 – 20 October 234 BC).

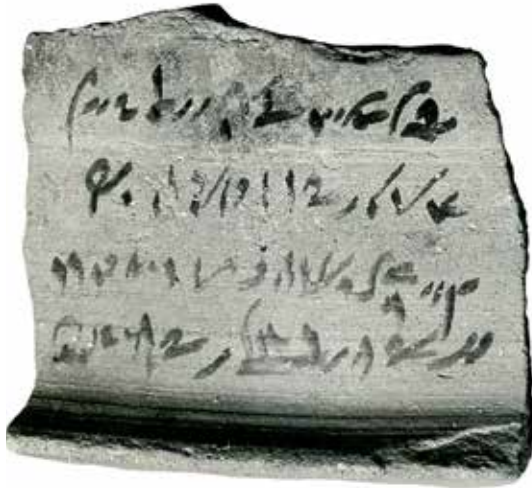
¹⁹⁴ Cat. no. 8, dated to year 19, Pachons day 12, probably of Ptolemy III; Devauchelle 1998, no. 4, dated to year 20, Phaophi day 24, probably of Ptolemy III.

¹⁹⁵ Muhs 2011, pp. 238–51.

CATALOG NO. 1

 Receipt for the Burial Tax

5.2 × 5.5 cm (Image 129%)

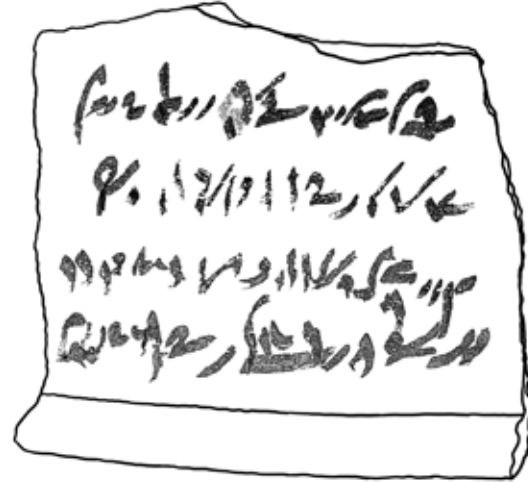


MMA 5A.860, no. 3

Ptolemy II, Year 24, Hathyr 6

= 1 January 261 BC

Unpublished



- 1 *Dḥwtȝ-sḏm rn Pȝ-šr-Mntȝ*
- 2 *Grȝ r-in=w (n) İšwr(?) ḥḏ qt ½*
- 3 *šḥ Pȝ-wr-tiw sȝ Pa-rȝ ḥsb.t 24 ibt 3 ȝḥ.t sw 6*
- 4 *pȝȝ ȝry-ȝ Sbk r-in=w (r) ḥȝs.t(?)*

Thotsutmis (in) the name of Psenmonthes,
 (son of) Gales, who was brought (from) Syria(?), ½
 silver kite.
 Signed Portis, son of Parates (in) year 24, Hathyr, day
 6,
 (for) this *pastophoros* of Souchos who was brought (to)
 the necropolis(?).

Notes to cat. no. 1:

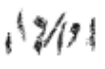
1. The current location of this ostracon has not been identified. The hand copy was produced exclusively from the MMA's field photograph.
2. The text can be attributed to the reign of Ptolemy II based on several factors. Receipts for the burial tax dated later than year 20 are far more plentiful from the reign of Ptolemy II than from the reign of Ptolemy III. The payment of ½ silver kite seems to have been raised by one *obol* in the middle of the reign of Ptolemy III. See Muhs 2005a, pp. 88–95 and 100, for discussion of the burial tax receipts.

Line 1:





1. Based on the contents of the archive, Thotsutmis here is assumed to be Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis = Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.

Line 2:



1. For the name *Grȝ*, cf. *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1034, no. 4.

2. For a discussion of the formulae $r-in=w s r p^3 imnt$ and $r-in=w s r t^3 h^3s.t$ used in burial tax receipts, see Muhs 2005a, pp. 88–89; Wahid el-Din 2004, p. 644.
3. Following the formula $r-in=w$ in line 2 is a geographic name  with a clear geographic determinative. The reading $\dot{s}wr$ “Syria” (EG, p. 45; CDD I (18 April 2011): 11.1, pp. 227–28; Hughes 1951, pp. 259–60) seems most likely, though the second sign for \dot{s} is more abbreviated than expected, and it leaves uncertain the nature of the sign before the geographic determinative. It could be the determinative for a foreign name, though it lacks the horizontal cross bar typically found with that sign, or it could potentially be read as \dot{s} in $\dot{s}wr$. If the reading is correct, the reference here to a person “brought from Syria” recalls the person “brought from the Island of the Syrians” mentioned in the burial tax receipt O. Taxes 2, no. 122; that tax was paid by a man named Psenenteris, who may very well be same man as the brother of Thotsutmis (also named Psenenteris). It is uncertain whether the text here should be interpreted as literally referring to “Syria” or whether it is an abbreviation for another place name, such as “the Island of the Syrians,” which referred to an area near Coptos. If literal, the reference suggests the death of this person from Egypt in the area of the Levant, where at the time of the writing of this ostrakon (261 BC) engagements were taking place that would ultimately spark the Second Syrian War of 260–253 BC (Fischer-Bovet 2014, p. 61). There is another local Theban name that is roughly similar, $\dot{s}rw$ “Asheru,” referring to the Mut complex (CDD I (18 April 2011), pp. 228–30). However, the writing of the w before r in this example and the relative rarity of $\dot{s}rw$ as a geographic name in the *choachyte* corpora argues against such a suggestion.
4. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver kite is one *drachma* (six *obols*)—the usual rate for the burial tax until the second half of the reign of Ptolemy III (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 88–89; cf. cat. no. 7).

Line 3:

1. The divine determinative of $P^3-wr-tiw$ appears to ligature to the following s^3 “son of.” For a similar group of signs at the end of the name $P^3-wr-tiw$, cf. no. 13 in *Demot. Nb.*, p. 179.
2. For the name $Pa-rt$, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 394. As noted by Vleeming 1994a, p. 108 n. (1), the Pa - sign in this name is often severely reduced, appearing as little more than a dot (e.g., O. Varia, no. 52.1 ). In cat. no. 1 there is a slight downstroke , thus suggesting that this sign may be simply a reduced writing of Pa . However, it is tempting to explain the most abbreviated examples as Demotic variants of the hieroglyphic egg sign  (H8) used in filiation, for which a reading pa has been conclusively demonstrated (Vleeming 2011, pp. 846–51, §33), despite a suggested early derivation from the goose hieroglyph  (G39) by Vleeming 1991, pp. 214–17, §51.

Line 4:

1. Thotsutmis and his brother Psenenteris buried a number of priests of Souchos. In addition to the reference to $p^3y iry-^3 Sbk$ “this *pastophoros* of Souchos” in this receipt, three out of eight burial tax receipts issued to Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, identify the deceased as priests of Souchos (see cat. no. 2, n. to line 3).
2. The writing of the relative form $r-in=w$  is clear. The reading of the following word  is less certain, but the first two Demotic signs are reminiscent of the first two signs in $h^3s.t$ “necropolis,” $h^3s.t$ “necropolis” being one of the expected elements of the formula employed here. The final signs ended up cramped and unclear as the scribe attempted to squeeze them into the final space on the ostrakon, but the orthography has similarities to other attested sources, such as P. Louvre 3266 cited in CDD H (14 June 2006): 06:1, p. 9.

CATALOG NO. 2

Receipt for the Burial Tax

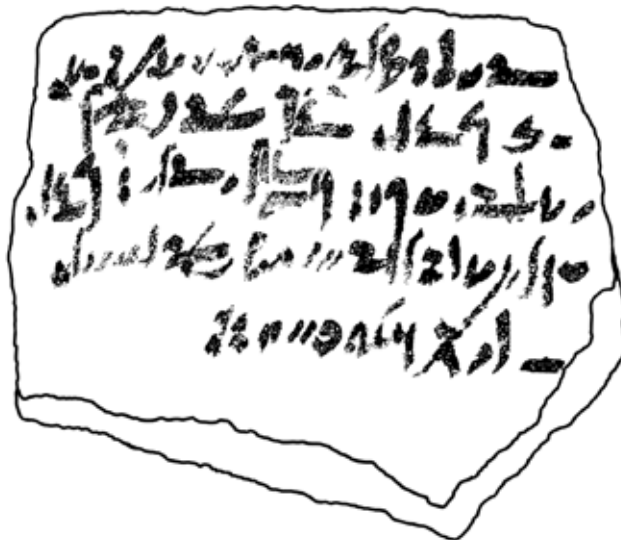
6.4 × 7.5 cm (Image 113%)

MMA 5A.858, no. 3 (Wångstedt Cgx + 12)

Ptolemy II, Year 30, Khoiak 8

= 31 January 255 BC

Unpublished

1 *in P3-šr-n3-ntr.w s3 Pa-nfr ḥd qt ½ n ḥd*2 *n mr-ḥ3s.t rn Nḥt-Mn*3 *s3 P3-ti-3s.t p3 w3b Sbk r-in=w r t3 ḥ3s.t*4 *sh it-ntr P3-ti-ḥmn-ipy s3 Nḥt-Ḥr-m-ḥb*5 *n ḥsb.t 30 ibt 4 ḥ.t sw 8*Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, brought ½ silver *kite*
for the taxof the overseer of the necropolis (in) the name of
Nechthminis,son of Petiesis, the priest of Souchos, who was
brought to the necropolis.Signed the god's father Peteamenophis, son of Nech-
tharmais,

in year 30, Khoiak, day 8.

Notes to cat. no. 2:

1. The current location of this ostrakon has not been identified. The hand copy was produced exclusively from the MMA's field photograph.

Line 1:

1. The divine determinative that usually occurs at the end of *Pa-nfr* has been omitted, abbreviated, or damaged; nonetheless, the referent is probably Theban Taxpayer 17 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 115–16, and Muhs 2011, p. 269, the brother of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis (see above).
2. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver *kite* is one *drachma* (six *obols*)—the usual rate for the burial tax until the second half of the reign of Ptolemy III (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 88–89; cf. cat. no. 7).

Line 2:

1. The appearance of the indirect genitive *n* is unusual in similar burial tax receipts.

Line 3:

1. Priests of Souchos (*w^b Sbk*) are not common in the Theban area, yet they constitute a surprisingly high proportion of the ten other deceased individuals for whom Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, paid the burial tax (see Table 3.2, nos. 1–10). In addition to this receipt, three other burial tax receipts (Malinine 1961, nos. 5–6; and NMNH A74620-0, Table 3.2, nos. 3–5) were for priests of Souchos.
2. The occurrence of *h³s.t* in line 3 is more compressed than the example in line 2 due to the lack of space at the end of the line.

Line 4:

1. *P³-tⁱ-*Imn-ipy s³ Nht-Hr-m-hb* has already been read by Wångstedt 1974–1975, p. 22, n. 2: “Vgl. auch DO Metropolitan Museum Cgx + 12/4 (Theben. Jahr 30). Unveröffentlicht.” He is attested in several burial tax receipts dating between years 27 and 30 of Ptolemy II and appears as Scribe 55 in Muhs 2011, pp. 246–47.*

CATALOG NO. 3

HMNS 13.1999.040

5A.862, no. 2 (Wångstedt Cgx + 41)

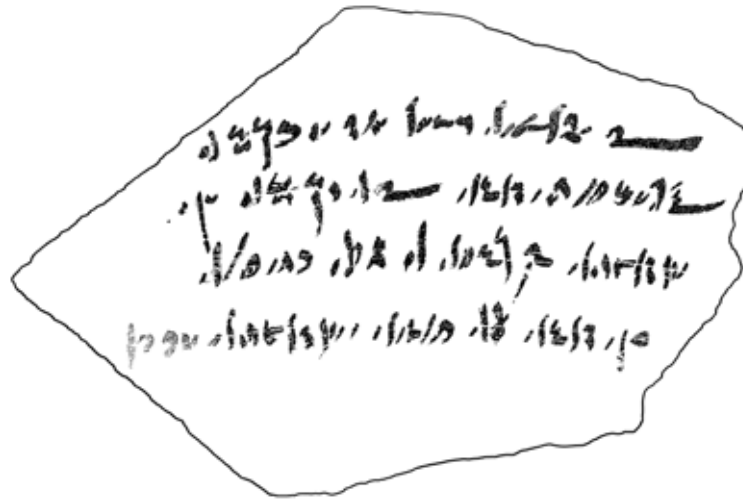
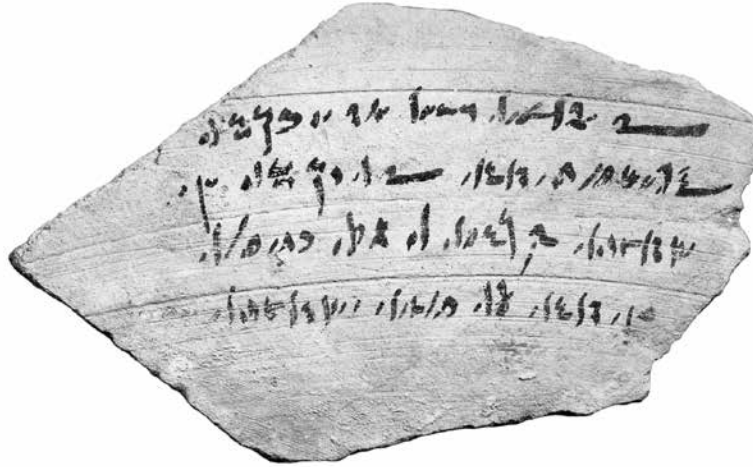
Receipt for the Burial Tax

Ptolemy II, Year 33, Mecheir 11

= 3 April 252 BC

7.8 × 10.8 cm (Image 96%)

Unpublished



- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | <i>in Dḥwty-sḏm sḏ Pa-nfr ḥd qt ½ ḥd mr-ḥʒs.t</i> | Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, brought ½ silver kite (for) the tax of the overseer of the necropolis |
| 2 | <i>rn Pʒ-whr sḏ Imn-ḥtp r-in=w r tʒ ḥʒs.t sh</i> | (in) the name of Peuoris, son of Amenothēs, who was brought to the necropolis. Signed |
| 3 | <i>Pʒ-ti-Imn-nsw-tʒ.wy sḏ Kp=f-ḥʒ-Mntḫ ḥsb.t 33.t ibt 2 pr.t sw 11</i> | Petemestous, son of Kepefhamēthes, (in) year 33, Mecheir, day 11. |
| 4 | <i>sh Imn-ḥtp r ḥrw n Hry=w sḏ {sʒ} Pʒ-ti-Imn-nsw-tʒ.wy pʒ mr-ḥʒs.t</i> | Signed Amenothēs, at the request of Herieus, son of Petemestous, the overseer of the necropolis. |

Notes to cat. no. 3:



1. This ostrakon was identified by Brian Muhs in the Houston Museum of Natural Science in 2015 during the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt. It was on loan from an anonymous private collector and was said to derive originally from the collection of Keith Seele (according to information provided by Curator Tom Hardwick).
2. A small portion of the top of this ostrakon is cut off in MMA photo 5A.862 (Plate 5). Here it has been digitally reconstructed from photos taken of the ostrakon on display in the galleries of the Houston Museum of Natural Science.



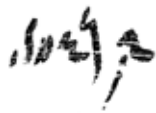
Line 1:


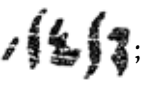

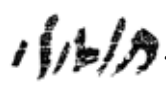
1. Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.
2. ½ silver kite is one *drachma* (six *obols*)—the usual rate for the burial tax until the second half of the reign of Ptolemy III (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 88–89).

Line 2:

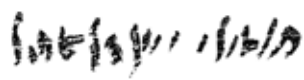
1. *P3-whr*, πευωρις, *Demot. Nb.*, p. 181; see especially no. 6.
2. At the end of the name *ḫmn-ḥtp* “Amenothēs” there is a short diagonal stroke. It may at first seem to be the *r* of *r-in=w*, but some idiosyncratic features of this scribal hand complicate matters—first, the spacing. The stroke immediately follows the personal name, and a short space precedes the writing of *in*. The second idiosyncrasy is the fact that this scribe seems to use such a stroke as an abbreviated determinative follow-

ing vertical strokes. Compare the following: Line 1: *Dḥwty-sdm* ; Line 2: *ḫmn-ḥtp* ;

Line 2: *sh* ; Line 3: *P3-ti-ḫmn-nsw-t3.wy* ; Line 3: *Kp=f-ḥ3-Mnṯ* ; Line 4: *sh*

; Line 4: *ḫmn-ḥtp* ; Line 4: *ḥrw* ; Line 4: *Hry=w* . In the examples from

line 1 (*Dḥwty-sdm*) and line 3 (*P3-ti-ḫmn-nsw-t3.wy*), the stroke appears at first glance to be a writing of *s3/pa* for the patronymic (for a discussion of the reading of this sign, see Vleeming 2011, pp. 846–51). The examples in line 2 (*ḫmn-ḥtp*) and line 4 (*ḫmn-ḥtp*) could potentially be interpreted as *r-in=w* and *r ḥrw* respectively. However, this possibility does not explain the stroke’s appearance in line 4 after *ḥrw* (which could be

interpreted as *n*), the dittography of the sign in line 4  *Hry=w s3 {s3} P3-ti-ḫmn-nsw-t3.wy*

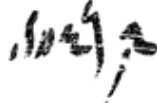
“Herieus, son of Petemestous,” or the stroke after *sh*. The editors have retained the traditional readings *r-in=w* and *r ḥrw* here based on previous editions of texts with similar orthographies associated with these early Ptolemaic scribes.

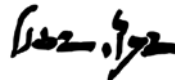


Line 3:

1. *P3-ti-ḫmn-nsw-t3.wy s3 Kp=f-ḥ3-Mnṯ* has already been read by Wängstedt 1974–1975, p. 22, n. 2: “Vgl. auch DO Metropolitan Museum Cgx +41/3 (Theban. Jahr 30). Unveröffentlicht.” *P3-ti-ḫmn-nsw-t3.wy s3 Kp=f-ḥ3-Mnṯ* is attested on several burial tax receipts from years 31–33 of Ptolemy II and appears as Scribe 58 in Muhs 2011, p. 248. For *Kp=f-ḥ3-Mnṯ*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1006.

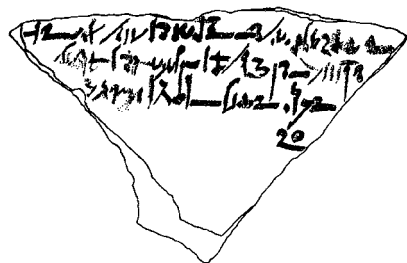
Line 4:

1. This receipt was signed with the names of two scribes: Petemestous, son of Kepefhamenthes, and Amenothēs (no patronym provided). As noted above, Petemestous, son of Kepefhamenthes, signed other burial tax receipts, a comparison of which suggests that he was not the scribe who wrote cat. no. 3. Differences

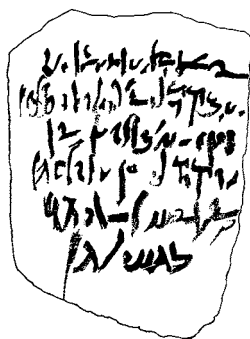
can be observed, for example, in the writings of $Kp=f-h^3-Mnt$ (cat. no. 3: ; O. Taxes 2, no. 122:

; O. Taxes 2, no. 124: ; O. Taxes 2, no. 125: ). For convenience,

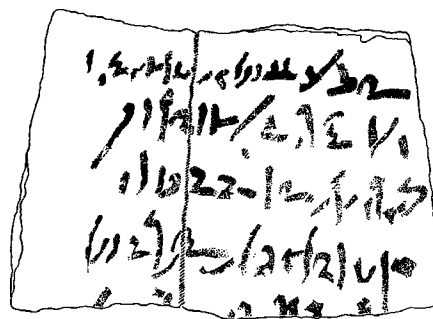
the scribal hand of cat. no. 3 can be compared with texts attributed to Petemestous, son of Kepefhamenthes.



O. Taxes 2, no. 122




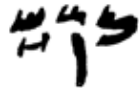

O. Taxes 2, no. 124





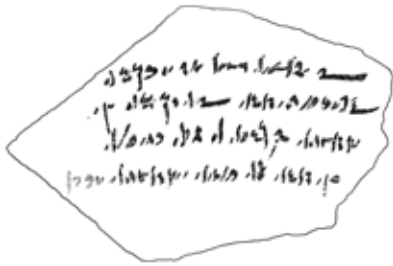
O. Taxes 2, no. 125

As Amenothēs did not provide a patronym in this text, it is difficult to be certain about his identification. However, an Amenothēs, son of Peteminis, signed a number of receipts—several of them at the request of the overseer of the necropolis, Amenrosis, son of Totoes. There are both similarities and differences between the known texts written by Amenothēs, son of Peteminis, and cat. no. 3, making the identification between this Amenothēs and Amenothēs, son of Peteminis, possible, but uncertain. Some of the similarities

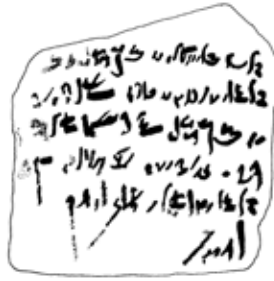
include the writing of $mr-h^3s.t$ “overseer of the necropolis” (cat. no. 3: ; O. Taxes 1, no. 23:

; Wångstedt 1974–1975, no. 17: ) and rn “name” (cat. no. 3: ; O. Taxes

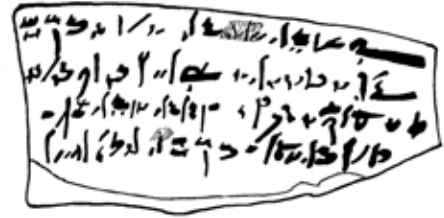
1, no. 23: ; Wångstedt 1974–1975, no. 17: ). By comparison, Petemestous, son of Kepefhamenthes, used a much shorter stroke in rn : see O. Taxes 2, no. 124; O. Taxes 2, no. 125. Amenothēs, son of Peteminis, also shares a similar proclivity for the reduced personal determinative and diagonal stroke tightly grouped after personal names as the scribe of cat. no. 3. For convenience, the scribal hand of cat. no. 3 can be compared with texts attributed to Amenothēs, son of Peteminis.



Cat. no. 3



O. Taxes 1, no. 23



Wångstedt 1974–1975, no. 17

2. *Hry=w s3 P3-ti-İmn-nsw-t3.wy* is attested on several burial tax receipts from years 32–36 (and maybe 38?) of Ptolemy II. He appears as Scribe 56 in Muhs 2011, pp. 247–48. Here we have the first example where his name appears together with *P3-ti-İmn-nsw-t3.wy s3 Kp=f-h3-Mnt*.
3. The designation of Herieus, son of Petemestous, as “the overseer of the necropolis” conforms to a pattern of the overseer of the necropolis employing other scribes to sign on his behalf. Amenrosis, son of Totoes, was a known overseer of the necropolis who made ample use of such dictation scribes (see Muhs 2011, pp. 243–45 and 247–48; Vleeming 1994b, pp. 358–61) and is likewise designated as the overseer of the necropolis in a signature from Wångstedt 1974–1975, no. 17: *sh İmn-htp s3 P3-ti-nfr-htp r hrw n İmn-rwš p3 mr-h3.t ḥsb.t 26 ibt 1 šmw sw rgy* “Signed Amenothēs, son of Petenephotes, at the request of Amenrosis, son of Totoes, the overseer of the necropolis, (on) year 26, Pachons, day 30.”

CATALOG NO. 4

OIM E49083 (D. 16499)

5A.859, no. 2

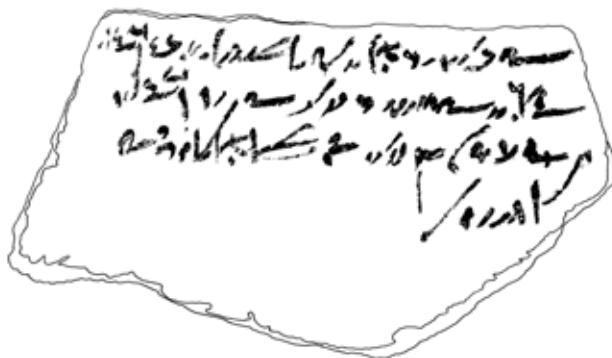
Receipt for the Burial Tax

Ptolemy II, Year 38, Tybi 10

= 2 March 247 BC

9.0 × 5.3 cm (Image 96%)

Unpublished

1 *in Dd-ḥr s3 Pa-Mn ḥd qt ½ n ḥw.t-ntr n ḥd mr-ḥ3s.t*Teos, son of Paminis, brought ½ silver *kite* to the temple for the tax of the overseer of the necropolis2 *rn P3-gyr s3 Pa-Ḥr r-in=f r t3 ḥ3s.t*

(in) the name of Pchoilis, son of Pauris, whom he brought to the necropolis

3 *iw=f qs sh Ḥr-s3-3s.t s3 Ns-Mn (n) ḥsb.t 38*

when he was buried. Signed Harsiese, son of Esminis, (in) year 38,

4 *ibt 1 prt sw 10*

Tybi, day 10.

Notes to cat. no. 4:

1. This ostrakon was brought to the attention of Foy Scalf by Oriental Institute Museum Registrar Helen McDonald after it was discovered along with several other Demotic ostraca in Temporary Transfer Box 4343. It was registered in October 2013, when it was given registration number E49083.

Line 1:

1. Teos, son of Paminis, may be identified with the *pastophoros* of the same name who drew up a loan for his brother Horos, son of Paminis, in P. Marseille 297, dated to year 5 Hathyr of Ptolemy IV, published in Menu 1972, pp. 120–28. If this identification is correct, there are approximately thirty years between his attestation in cat. no. 4 (2 March 247 BC) and P. Marseille 297 (December 218 BC – January 217 BC).
2. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver kite is one *drachma* (six *obols*)—the usual rate for the burial tax until the second half of the reign of Ptolemy III (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 88–89).

Line 2:

1. For *P³-gyr*, cf. *P³-gyl*, *πχοιλίς*, *Demot. Nb.*, p. 279.

Line 3:

1. The scribe Harsiese, son of Esminis, regularly adds the qualification *r t³y=f/s qs.t* (in Muhs 2011, pp. 168–70, nos. 126–127) or *iw=f qs.t* “when he was buried” after the qualification *r-in=f r t³ h³s.t* “whom he brought to the necropolis.” See also O. Cairo SR 12469 (= TR 3-12-26-1), line 3, *r-in=w r p³(?) hwy(?) r t³ qs.t*, published in Wahed el-Din 2004, pp. 644–45, no. 79.
2. The scribe Harsiese, son of Esminis, Scribe 59 in Muhs 2011, pp. 248–49, is attested in other burial tax receipts: *O. Taxes* 2, no. 126, dated to year 38 of Ptolemy II, Pharmouthi 14; *O. Taxes* 2, no. 127, dated to year 38 of Ptolemy II, Pachons, day 20. A scribe Harsiese (*Hr-s³-s.t*), without patronym, signed Wahed el-Din 2004, no. 79, dated to year 38 of Ptolemy II, Payni, day 30 (not Mecheir, day 30 as suggested by the editor).

CATALOG NO. 5

OIM E19509 (D. 16484) + OIM E19503 (D. 16472)

MMA 5A.861, no. 4 + 5A.860, no. 10

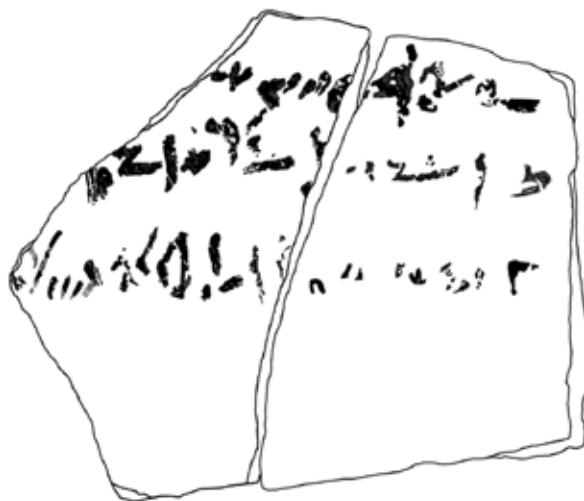
Receipt for the Burial Tax

Ptolemy III(?), Year 5, Phamenoth 10+

= 30+ April 242 BC

6.1 × 2.4 + 5.5 × 4.0 cm (Image 113%)

Unpublished

1 *in Dḥwty- | -ṣdm̄ s̄ Pa-[...]*

Thot- | -sutmis, son of Pa[nouphis] brought [...]

2 *ṛmr-ḥ̄s.t̄ | rn P̄-ti-Wsir [...]*the overseer of the necropolis | (in) the name of Peto-
sir̄is [...]3 *ṛsh̄ ... | ... n ḥsb.t̄ 5.t̄ ibt 3 pr.t̄ sw 10+*

Signed ... | ... in year 5, Phamenoth, day 10+.

Notes to cat. no. 5:

1. These baked-clay fragments were registered as two separate ostraca and photographed as such for the purposes of this publication. It was realized, however, that the two pieces joined and belonged originally to a single sherd, which case was confirmed on examination of the originals. Here the join is illustrated digitally from two separately produced photographs. Due to inconsistencies in angle, a small space was left between the two fragments to indicate this digital join.
2. The date seems certain based on the chronological distribution of the texts from late in the reign of Ptolemy II to early in the reign of Ptolemy III.

Line 1:

1. Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.

CATALOG NO. 6

OIM E19502 (D. 16478) + OIM E19506 (D. 16470)

MMA 5A.861, no. 9 + 5A.862, no. 4

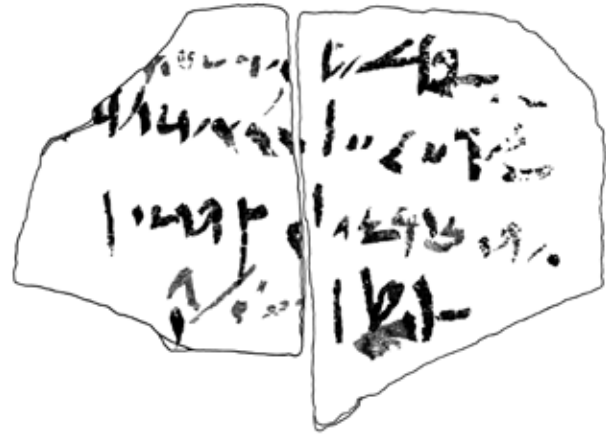
Receipt for the Burial Tax

Ptolemy III(?), Year 13, Thoth 13

= 2 November 235 BC

5.7 × 4.0 cm + 4.8 × 4.0 cm (Image 112%)

Unpublished

1 $\text{r}^{\text{in}} \text{D}^{\text{hwt}}\text{-s}^{\text{dm}} \mid \text{s}^{\text{i}} \text{Pa-nfr} \text{h}^{\text{d}} \text{qt} [\dots]$

Thotsutmis, | son of Panouphis, brought [...] silver kite [...]

2 $\text{rn} \text{p}^{\text{3}} \text{šr} \text{P}^{\text{3}}\text{-ti-} \mid \text{-Hr(?) s}^{\text{i}} \text{Krw}^{\text{d}}$

(in) the name of the son of Pete-|ueris(?), son of Kollouthos,

3 $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{y-f} \text{tny.t} \text{mr-h}^{\text{3}}\text{s.t} \mid \dots \text{sh} \text{Tny.t-Hnsw}$

his tax of the overseer of the necropolis | ... Signed Teionchonsis

4 $\text{n} \text{hsb.t} \text{13} \text{i}^{\text{b}}\text{t} \text{1} \mid \text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{.t} \text{sw} \text{13}$

in year 13, Thoth, | day 13.

Notes to cat. no. 6:

1. These baked-clay fragments were registered as two separate ostraca and photographed as such for the purposes of this publication. It was realized, however, that the two pieces joined and belonged originally to a single sherd, which case was confirmed on examination of the originals. Here the join is illustrated digitally from two separately produced photographs. Due to inconsistencies in angle, a small space was left between the two fragments to indicate this digital join.

Line 1:

1. Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.

Line 3:

1. A scribe named Teionchonsis, son of Harmais, is Scribe 60 in Muhs 2011, p. 249, known from several burial tax receipts from years 2, 3, and 5 of Ptolemy III.

CATALOG NO. 7

OIM E49084 (D. 16501)

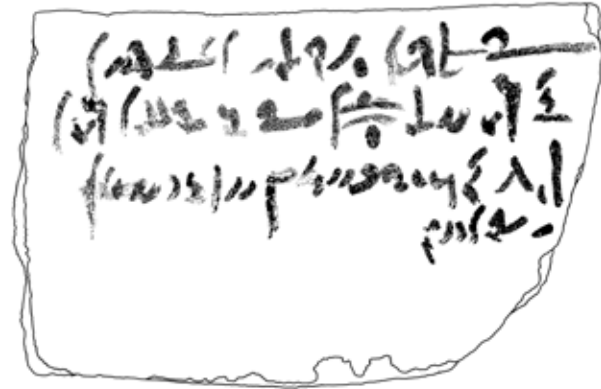
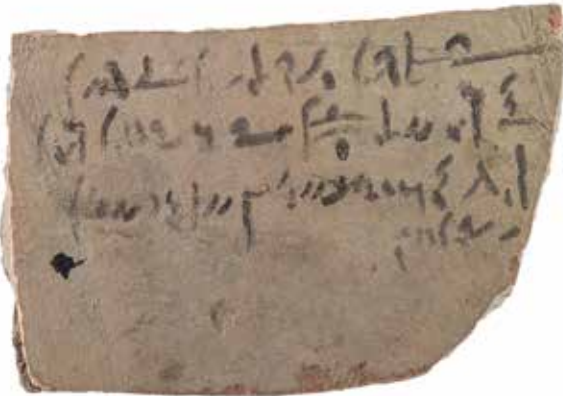
5A.858, no. 1

Receipt for the Burial Tax

Ptolemy III(?), Year 16, Khoiak
= 18 January – 16 February 231 BC

7.8 × 4.9 cm (Image 105%)

Unpublished



- 1 *in Sm3-t3.wy ḥd qt ½ (db^c.t) 1.t r ḥw.t-nṯr*
 2 *rn P3-šr-Mn r-in Pa-Mnṯ sn*
 3 *ḥsb.t 16 ibt 4 ḥ.t sh P3-ti-Ḥr-p3-R^c*
 4 *s3 Dhwtj-ir-ti-s*

Samtous brought ½ silver kite and one (obol) to the temple
 (in) the name of Psenminis whom Pamonthes, (his) brother, brought
 (in) year 16, Khoiak. Signed Petearpres, son of Thotortaios.

Notes to cat. no. 7:

1. This ostrakon was brought to the attention of Foy Scalf by Oriental Institute Museum Registrar Helen McDonald after it was discovered along with several other Demotic ostraca in Temporary Transfer Box 4343.

Line 1:

1. For the payment of seven obols, see Muhs 2005a, p. 89.
2. The rate of *ḥd qt ½* “½ silver kite” for the burial tax was generally raised to ½ kite and one obol per burial in the middle of the reign of Ptolemy III (see Muhs 2005a, p. 89).

Line 2:

1. Taking the final group as *sn* “brother” provides the most logical sense. The vertical stroke at the end of the group is attested in other Ptolemaic orthographies (see CDD S (15 November 2013): 13.1, pp. 148–249). It is possible to read *Mw.t*, perhaps as part of a personal name. The name *Pa-Mnṯ-k3-Mw.t* is not attested in *Demot. Nb.* or in *Ranke, PN*. It is, however, attested in Greek as Παμοντκαμητις in ostraca from the Theban west bank (*O. Petr. Mus.*, no. 245.1; *O. Petr. Mus.*, no. 373.4), though all are of later dates in the Roman Period. An alternative but less likely reading may be *Pa-Mnṯ-(s3)-Mw.t*, though this reading is unattested as well. It seems preferable here to read *sn* “brother” than to restore *-k3-* to Pamant(ka)metis or to assume that there are two individuals here mentioned (i.e., Pamonthes (and) Muthis).

Line 3:

1. This line almost certainly names the same scribe who signed burial plot receipt *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 93, no date, together with *P3-ti-Hnsw s3 P3-šr-Dḥwty*. The original editor of *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 93, read the name as *P3-ti-Hr-m-ḥb s3 Dḥwty-i.ir-ti-s*; see Devauchelle 1983, pp. 157–58, pl. XXIII, with note to line 10 regarding the reading of the name.

CATALOG NO. 8

OIM E19510 (D. 16492) + OIM E19513 (D. 16486)

MMA 5A.859, no. 7 + MMA 5A.862, no. 8

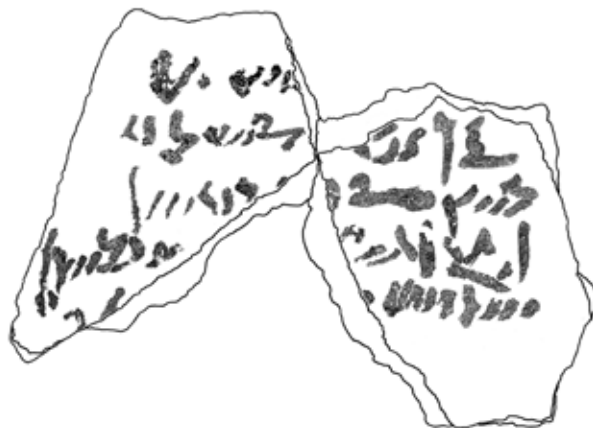
Receipt for the Burial Tax

Ptolemy III, Year 19, Tybi 12(?)

= 27 February 228 BC

5.7 × 3.3 cm + 5.1 × 4.0 cm (Image 110%)

Unpublished



1 [in PN s] | [PN] ... ḥd qt ½

[PN, son of PN, brought] | ... ½ silver kite

2 rn Hr-|-sʒ-ʒs.t(?) sʒ Pʒ-ḥ-

(in) the name of Har-|-siese(?), son of Pakha-

3 -my r-in=w(?) | [r tʒ] ḥʒs.t(?)

my, who was brought(?) | [to the] necropolis(?)

4 ḥsb.t 19 ibt 1 pr.t | [sh Ns]-pʒ-mty(?)

(in) year 19, Tybi. | [Signed(?) Es]pmetis(?),

5 sʒ Pʒ-šr-tʒ-ih.t(?) | [...] sw 12(?)

son of Psentaes(?) | [...] day 12(?).

Notes to cat. no. 8:

1. These two baked-clay fragments were registered as two separate ostraca and photographed as such for the purposes of this publication. It was realized, however, that the two pieces joined and belonged originally to a single sherd, which case was confirmed on examination of the originals. Here the join is illustrated digitally from two separately produced photographs. Due to inconsistencies in angle, a small space was left between the two fragments to indicate this digital join.
2. The other attestations of the scribe Espmetis, son of Psentaes, favor attributing year 19 to Ptolemy III (see note to lines 4–5 below). The payment of ½ silver kite for the burial tax would normally favor attributing year 19 to Ptolemy II, if the scribe were not Espmetis, son of Psentaes (see note to line 1 below).

Line 1:

1. The restoration [in(?)] “[has brought?]” is likely but not certain, because the scribe Espmetis, son of Psentaes, used the verb *in* “has brought” in receipts *O. Taxes* 2, no. 128; Devauchelle 1998, no. 4; *O. Varia*, no. 53; *O. Varia*, no. 56; and *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 314, but he did not use it in receipt *O. Taxes* 2, no. 130.
2. The rate of ḥd qt ½ “½ silver kite” for the burial tax was generally raised to ½ kite and one obol per burial in the middle of the reign of Ptolemy III (see Muhs 2005a, p. 89). The scribe Espmetis, son of Psentaes, however, issued an anomalous receipt for one kite for two burials, or ½ kite per burial, in year 20 probably of Ptolemy III (see Devauchelle 1998, no. 4).

Line 4:

1. The *Ns* of [*Ns*(?)]-*pʒ-mty sʒ Pʒ-šr-tʒ-ih.t*(?) “[*Es*]pemetis(?), son of Psentaes(?)” is lost, and the *pʒ* is damaged, but the *mty* is clear, as is the patronym. The orthography is similar to that of a scribe Espmetis, son of Psentaes, who is attested as a witness in contracts dated to years 17 and 21 of Ptolemy III and who signed a burial tax receipt dated to year 20, probably also of Ptolemy III. This text is written with a broader brush than the other texts, thereby obscuring some details of orthography, but the main difference is that *ih.t*(?) in the patronym is written with four strokes in this text, while in the other texts it is written with only three strokes. The same man may also be the scribe Espmetis who signed burial tax and burial plot receipts dated to years 5, 16, 20, and 21, probably also of Ptolemy III (see Muhs 2011, pp. 250–51, Scribe 63).

Line 5:

1. The scribe Espmetis, son of Psentaes, usually writes the date after his signature in his other burial tax receipts, just as with sw 12(?) “day 12(?)” here.

RECEIPT FOR A BURIAL PLOT: CATALOG NO. 9

HISTORY

In addition to the burial tax on individuals, the overseer of the necropolis collected a fee for plots of land on which tombs were built in temple cemeteries during the Saite Period (664–525 BC), the Persian Period (525–332 BC), and onward.¹⁹⁶ In the Demotic Stela Louvre C. 101, dated to year 8 of King Psammetichus I (657 BC), the overseer of the necropolis declares to a tomb owner that he is satisfied with the money for a tomb which a mason has built.¹⁹⁷ In hieroglyphic Stela Florence 1658 (2536), dated to year 4 of an unnamed king, the overseer of the necropolis declares to a tomb owner that he has received the money for a tomb.¹⁹⁸ In Demotic *P. Tsenhor*, no. 10, from Thebes and dated to year 12 of King Darius (510 BC), the overseer of the necropolis declares to a *choachyte* that his heart is satisfied with the money for a plot of land.¹⁹⁹

A fee for burial plots continued to be collected in the early Ptolemaic Period (332–205 BC), but the official most often named in conjunction with it is the *lesonis*, rather than the overseer of the necropolis as in the preceding periods. The earliest receipts—Demotic *P. Teos-Thabis*, nos. 8 and 9, from years 2 and 7 of King Alexander IV (315 and 310 BC)—were on papyri and refer to the tax of the tomb-chapel (*tny tʃ s.t.*, or *tny tʃ štʃ*).²⁰⁰ Receipts for the price of a burial plot on ostraca are attested from the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III,²⁰¹ and a copy of such a receipt is included in a Demotic contract for mortuary service, *P. Phil. dem.*, no. 24.2–3, dated to year 21 of Ptolemy III (227 BC).²⁰² The practice of issuing receipts may have developed as a result of tax farming. Demotic Papyrus *P. BM Glanville*, no. 10528, from Thebes and dated to year 14 of Ptolemy I (291 BC), suggests that the price of burial plots was farmed together with the burial tax,²⁰³ as was discussed in the introduction to receipts for the burial tax.

FORMULAE

Early Ptolemaic receipts on ostraca for the price of a burial plot are exclusively in Demotic and can take a variety of forms. The most common form is “(Taxpayer) PN1 has brought amount X to the temple as the price of the plot / in the name of (the deceased) PN2, signed (scribe) PN3, at the command of (official) PN4 on date Y.” Some receipts locate the plot in the necropolis of Djeme by listing its southern, northern, eastern, and western neighbors, and some give the measurements of the plot, namely its length and width in divine cubits, and/or its surface area in square cubits or ground cubits.

TAXPAYERS

Many of the payers of the price of a burial plot also paid the burial tax, and therefore the profile of the taxpayers is the same. They are mostly male, but one female payer is attested, and they are often also known from contemporary papyri as mortuary priests.

¹⁹⁶ Vleeming 1994a, pp. 113–19; Vleeming 1995, pp. 248–50; Depauw 2000, pp. 65–70.

¹⁹⁷ Malinine 1975, pp. 168–74.

¹⁹⁸ Bosticco 1972, pp. 38–39 (no. 28), and pl. 28.

¹⁹⁹ Malinine 1953, pp. 85–88 (no. XI); Pestman 1994, pp. 71–73 (no. 10).

²⁰⁰ Depauw 2000, pp. 198–204 (no. 8 and 9).

²⁰¹ Muhs 2005a, pp. 95–98; Muhs 2011, pp. 176–83.

²⁰² el-Amir 1959, pp. 110–14; Muhs 2005a, pp. 96–97.

²⁰³ Depauw 2000, pp. 70–73.

RATES

The fee for a burial plot appears to have been fixed at 2½ silver *kite*, regardless of the size of the plot,²⁰⁴ which was often specified and which varied from 43 square cubits²⁰⁵ to 5 ground cubits = 500 square cubits.²⁰⁶

SCRIBES AND OFFICIALS

Many of the scribes who signed receipts for the price of burial plots also signed receipts for the burial tax, which practice is not surprising if the price of burial plots was farmed together with the burial tax. The scribes sometimes describe themselves as representatives of an official, who usually bears the title *lesonis*.²⁰⁷ Alternatively, in *O. Louvre dem.*, nos. 93 and 314, the payments for the burial plots are described as “the monies of the document of the *lesonis*” (*nʾ ḥḏ.w pʾ bʾk pʾ mr-šn*; [*nʾ ḥḏ.w*] is restored in *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 314).

²⁰⁴ Vleeming 1994a, pp. 113–16.

²⁰⁵ *O. Taxes* 2, no. 137, erroneously translated as “ground cubits” in the edition.

²⁰⁶ *P. Phil. dem.*, no. 24.2–3, dated to year 21 of Ptolemy III (227 BC).

²⁰⁷ Muhs 2011, pp. 238–51.

CATALOG NO. 9

OIM E19490 (D. 16445)

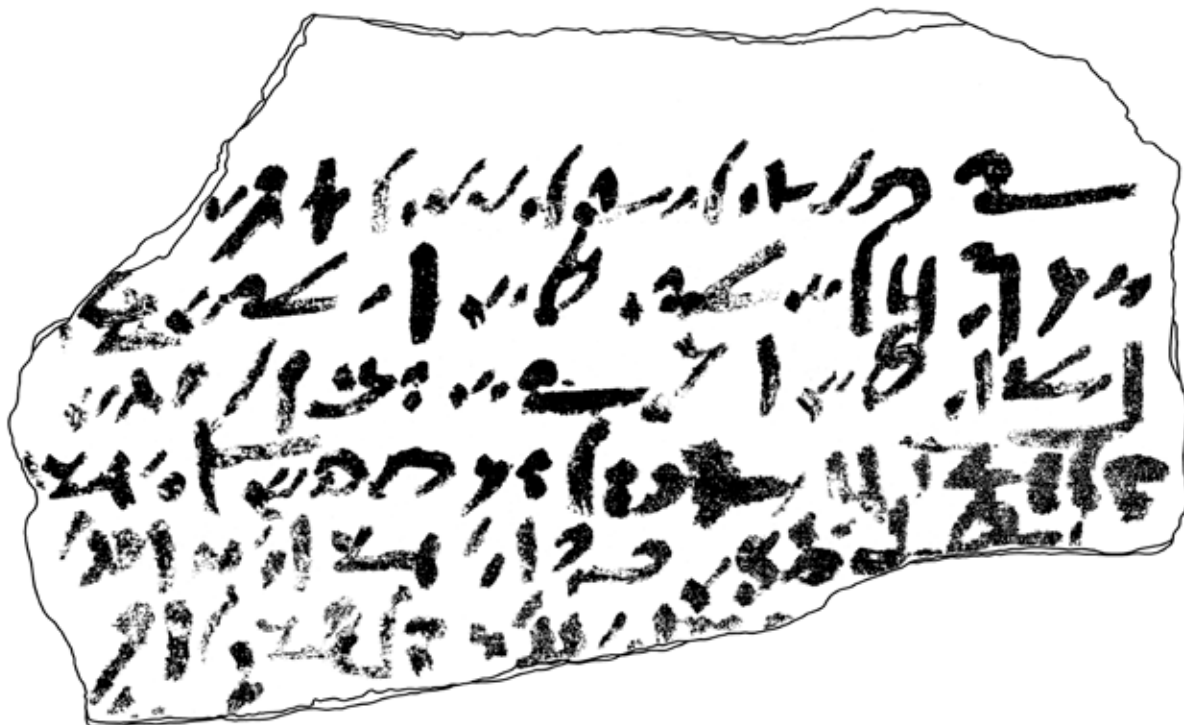
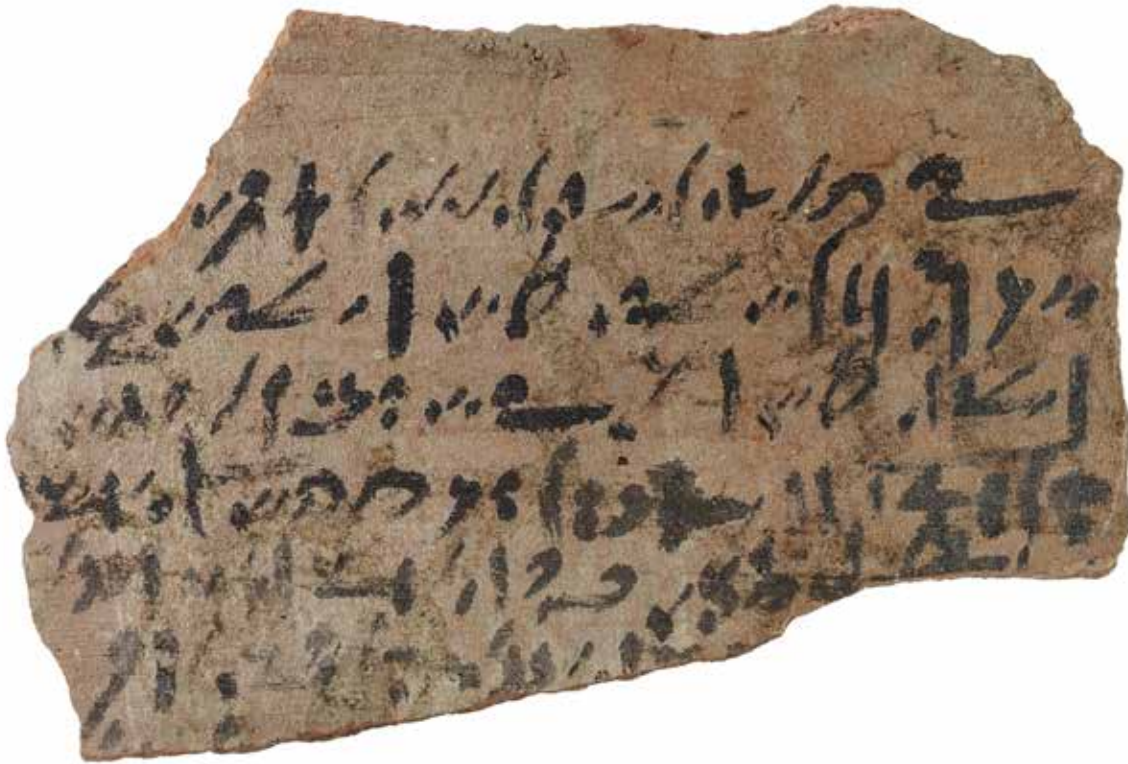
MMA 5A.858, no. 5

Receipt for a Burial Plot

Ptolemaic

11.8 × 7.0 cm (Image 130%)

Unpublished



1	<i>in Hry=w sʒ Dḥwty-īw ḥnʿ Pʒ-[...]</i>	Herieus, son of Thoteus, together with Pa[...],
2	<i>pʒy=fsn sw(n) mḥ-itn 1 r mḥ-ḥt</i>	his brother, paid (for the) price of one ground cubit, equals one hundred square cubits,
3	<i>100 r mḥ-itn 1 ʿn ḥn nʒ wrḥ.w</i>	equals one ground cubit again among the plots
4	<i>n ḥmn-ipy(?) Dmʒ nʒy=fh(y)n.w rsy tʒ s.t</i>	of Amenope(?) (of) Djeme. Its neighbors. South: the place of
5	<i>... (PN(?)) mḥt tʒ s.t Pʒ-ti-Ḥr</i>	... (PN(?)) North: the place of Peteueris.
6	<i>[... iʒb.t(?)] ʿtʒ s.t ʿḤr sʒ(?) ḥmn-ḥtp ḥnʿ</i>	[... East:] ʿthe place of ʿHoros, son(?) of Amenothēs, together with
7	<i>[...] ... [...]</i>	...

Notes to cat. no. 9:

1. For a discussion of receipts for burial plots, see Muhs 2005a, pp. 95–98; Muhs 2011, pp. 176–83.

Line 1:

1. It appears that *ḥnʿ* is a correction written over *pʒ*.

Line 2:

1. A square cubit was a surface measure equivalent to an area one divine cubit or 0.5 meters on a side. A ground cubit was equivalent to one hundred square cubits or 25 square meters. See Vleeming 1985, pp. 208–29.

Line 3:

1. The qualification of the burial plot as being “among the vacant plots | of Amenope of Djeme” (*ḥn nʒ wrḥ.w | n ḥmn-ipy(?) Dmʒ*) is unique. Most early Ptolemaic Theban receipts for burial plots do not qualify vacant plots, or they qualify them as “of Amun” (*n ḥmn*), as in Andrews 1990, no. 13; Vleeming 1994a, no. 56; Muhs 2011, no. 134; and Muhs 2011, no. 135. The association of vacant plots with Amenope of Djeme is not surprising, however, because Demotic papyri often refer to *choachytes* as “*pastophoroi* of Amenope in the west of Thebes” and locate their tombs in “the necropolis of Djeme in the west of Thebes.”

Line 6:

1. Restoration of *iʒb.t(?)* “east” is based on the traditional order of listed neighboring properties: south, north, east, and west.
2. The reading of the fragmentary ʿ*tʒ s.t* is based on the appearance of this word in lines 4 and 5.

RECEIPT FOR THE DOCUMENT TAX: CATALOG NO. 10

HISTORY

The name of this tax was initially read as the slave tax (*ḥḏ bꜣk*),²⁰⁸ then as the fruit tax (*ḥḏ tgy*),²⁰⁹ and finally as the document tax or the money or monies of the document (*ḥḏ bꜣk* or *nꜣ ḥḏ.w n bꜣk*).²¹⁰ As more receipts for the document tax were published, it became clear that the taxpayers were mostly if not all mortuary priests, known as *choachytes*, and that many of the scribes who signed the receipts also signed burial tax and burial plot receipts.²¹¹ Two receipts, *O. Taxes* 2, no. 143, and cat. no. 10, explicitly refer to the monies of the document of the *choachytes* (*nꜣ ḥḏ.w bꜣk n wꜣḥ-mw.w*). Two other receipts, *O. Louvre dem.*, nos. 93 and 314, explicitly refer to the monies of the document of the *lesonis* (*nꜣ ḥḏ.w pꜣ bꜣk pꜣ mr-šn*; [*nꜣ ḥḏ.w*] is restored in 314) and to burial plots. Consequently, it has been suggested that the document (*bꜣk*) in question may be a tax-farming agreement between the mortuary priests and the overseer of the necropolis or the *lesonis* for burial tax and burial plot revenues, like *P. BM Glanville*, no. 10528, from Thebes and dated to year 14 of Ptolemy I (291 BC). If the document is such a tax-farming agreement, then payments for the money or monies of the document could include payments for the burial tax or the price of a burial plot.²¹²

FORMULAE

Early Ptolemaic receipts on ostraca for the document tax display a great deal of variation. Their basic form is “(Taxpayer PN1) has brought amount X in the document tax, signed (scribe) PN2 at the command of (official) PN3.” Some receipts are in the form of a letter and begin “(Official) PN3 is the one who says to (taxpayer) PN1, ‘I am/You are filled with the amount X’”

TAXPAYERS

Only male payers of the document tax are attested. Many payers of the document tax appear to have been mortuary priests of the type known as *choachytes*, either because they are also attested as payers of the burial tax or the price of a burial plot, or because they are known from contemporary papyri concerning the incomes mortuary priests received for their duties.²¹³

RATES

The amounts paid for the “money of the document” vary from 2¼ *obols* in *O. Taxes* 2, nos. 142 and 143, to 2½ silver *kite* in *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 314. The most common amount is two silver *kite*. Many of the amounts may be partial payments, however, because they are said to be “in” or “from” (*ḥn*) the money or monies of the document. Two possibly related receipts, *O. Taxes* 1, no. 7, and *O. Taxes* 2, no. 138, mention monies in or from five silver *deben*, which in one case (*O. Taxes* 1, no. 7) are said to have been given by the *choachytes* to the temple. Neither receipt explicitly refers to the money or monies of the document, but funerary tax revenues are farmed for five silver *deben* in *P. BM Glanville*, no. 10528, from Thebes and dated to year 14 of Ptolemy I (291 BC).²¹⁴

²⁰⁸ Vleeming 1994a, p. 79 n. nn.

²⁰⁹ Muhs 1996, p. 184; Muhs 2005a, pp. 87–88.

²¹⁰ Ritner 2004, pp. 503–6.

²¹¹ Muhs 2011, pp. 183–84.

²¹² Muhs 2011, pp. 184–85.

²¹³ Muhs 2011, pp. 183–84.

²¹⁴ Muhs 2011, pp. 184–85.

SCRIBES AND OFFICIALS

Several of the scribes whose names appear on receipts for the document tax are also attested on burial tax or burial plot receipts. These include Petenephotes;²¹⁵ Parates, son of Harmais;²¹⁶ Psenuris, the agent of the steward;²¹⁷ and Petemenophis, son of Nechtharmais.²¹⁸ On burial tax receipts, the title “agent of the steward” (*pꜣ rt pꜣ ʿ3-n-pr*) alternates with “agent of the *lesonis*” (*pꜣ rt pꜣ mr-šn*) and with “overseer of the necropolis” (*pꜣ mr-hꜣs.t*), thus suggesting that the temple and specifically the overseer of the necropolis also collected the document tax.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Scribe 45 in Muhs 2011, p. 240.

²¹⁶ Scribe 50 in Muhs 2011, p. 243.

²¹⁷ Scribe 54 in Muhs 2011, pp. 246.

²¹⁸ Scribe 55 in Muhs 2011, pp. 246–47.

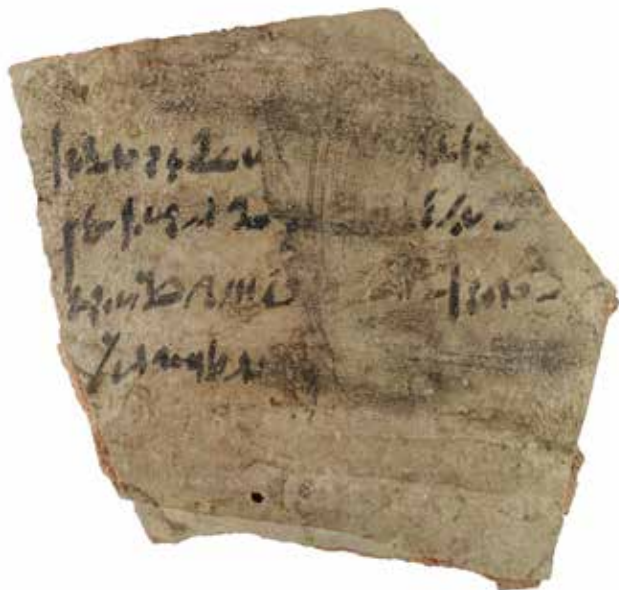
²¹⁹ Muhs 2011, pp. 184, 238–51.

CATALOG NO. 10

OIM E19482 (D. 16428)

Receipt for the Document Tax

8.8 × 8.2 cm (Image 100%)

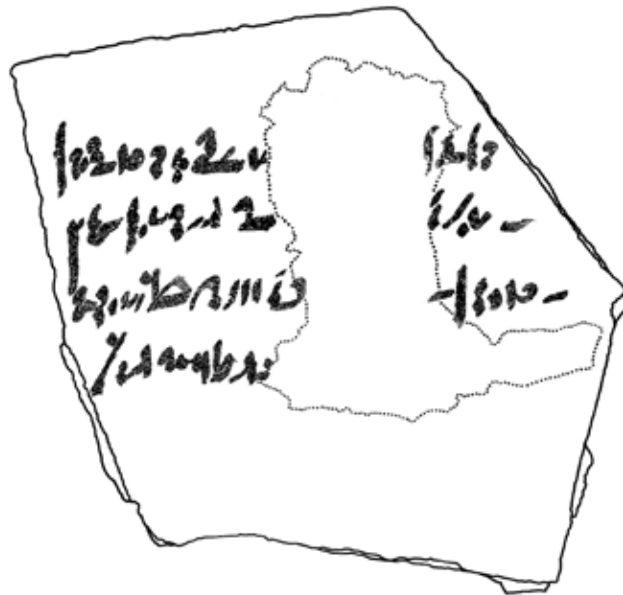


MMA 5A.860, no. 5

Ptolemy III(?), Year 13, Mesore 20

= 5 October 234 BC

Unpublished



- 1 [...] *l̥mn-ḥtp* [...] *pʒ šms(?) nʒ wʒh-mw.w*
- 2 [...] *r ḥd qt 6* [...] *hn nʒ ḥd.w bʒk*
- 3 *n wʒh-mw.w n ḥw.t-nṯr(?) ṯ mtw=y ti šp(=w) s n=k*
- 4 [...] *ḥsb.t*] 13 *ibt* 4 *šmw* 20

[...] Amenothēs ... the server(?) of the *choachytes*
 [...] for six silver *kite* ... in the document tax
 of the *choachytes* ṯ for the temple(?) ṯ and I have caused
 that it be received for you
 ... year] 13, Mesore, day 20.



Notes to cat. no. 10:

1. The text on the ostrakon has been partially obscured by a large smear across the middle of the text.

Line 1:

1. The text is smudged along the right-hand edge, thus making it difficult to see whether any text has been broken off on the right. However, parallels such as *O. Taxes 2*, no. 142, and *O. Taxes 2*, no. 143, suggest that some text may indeed be missing. In these texts, the name of the official is followed by his title, *pʿ šms(?) nʿ wʿh-mw*, then by the name of the taxpayer, which is otherwise missing here.
2. The patronym is lost in the damage to the ostrakon, but several individuals named Amenothēs are attested in early Ptolemaic receipts for the document tax. See Muhs 2011, pp. 183–84.
3. The same title *pʿ šms(?)* appears in *O. Taxes 2*, nos. 142.1 and 143.1.

Line 3:

1. The orthography of  *wʿh-mw.w* “choachytes” in line 3 contains only the canal determinative and is missing the water sign  employed in line 1. However, *O. Taxes 2*, no. 143, provides a nearly identical orthography in the very same phrase *hn nʿ ḥd.w bʿk n wʿh-mw.w* “in the money of the document of the choachytes.”
2. A parallel to the phrase *mtw=y tī šp(=w) s n=k* “And I have caused that it be received for you” can be found in *O. Taxes 2*, no. 139.2, which contains *mtw=y tī šp=w(?) s* “And I have caused that it be received.”

RECEIPT FOR THE PERMISSION TO BUILD: CATALOG NO. 11

HISTORY

This letter giving permission to build appears to be closely related to receipts for the price of burial plots. The scribe describes himself as “the agent(?) of the *lesonis*(?)” (*pʔ rt*(?) *pʔ mr-šn*(?)), which is a title used by several scribes of receipts for the price of burial plots and several officials named on receipts for the burial tax. On burial tax receipts, the title can alternate with “agent of the steward” (*pʔ rt pʔ ʕ-n-pr*) and with “overseer of the necropolis” (*pʔ mr-hʕs.t*).²²⁰ Furthermore, receipts for the price of a burial plot implicitly gave title to the burial plot—and presumably also implicitly gave permission to build. One combined receipt for the burial tax and the price of a burial plot, *O. Taxes* 2, no. 134, makes the permission to build explicit. The payments are first said (in line 4) to be “in order that he build the place of rest” (*r qt*(?)=*fʕ.wy htp*), and then the scribe concludes (in line 9) “and I will cause/allow that they build it” (*mtw=y tʔ qt=w s*). Another receipt for the price of a burial plot, *O. Varia*, no. 56, begins “PN has brought ...” and concludes (in lines 5–6) “and you have built the place with a vault” (*ti=k {qp} qt | tʔ s.t (n) qp*). Possibly this letter arose because permission to build was needed but not a receipt for the price of a burial plot, perhaps because the addressee of the letter already had title to the burial plot.

Alternatively, this letter giving permission to build could reflect a broader trend away from the use of receipts to establish title to, and to give permission to build on, burial plots and to bury the dead in them. Receipts for the burial tax and for the price of burial plots are relatively common in the early Ptolemaic Period (332–205 BC), at least in Thebes, but they are rare in the late Ptolemaic Period (205–30 BC) and the reign of Emperor Augustus in the early Roman Period (30 BC – AD 14). Seven Demotic wooden mummy tags from Hermonthis—dated between years 14 and 37, probably either of Ptolemy X (100–88 BC) or Augustus (16 BC – AD 7)—are letters from priests to a “master of secrets” (*hry sšʔ*) giving permission to bury using the periphrastic imperative “bury” (*r.iry qrs.t*, *i.iry qrs.t*, *i.ir qrs.t*, or *ir qrs.t*).²²¹ Six Demotic ostraca from Edfu, dated between years 26 and 53 of Ptolemy VIII (145–116 BC), are also letters giving permission to bury; they alternate between using the periphrastic imperative “bury” (*i.iry qrs.t*) and the causative imperative “cause that they bury” (*my ir=w qrs*). The letters include a statement that “the tenth for the burial” has been paid, so they serve as receipts as well as permissions.²²² Two more Demotic ostraca from Thebes, both dated to year 30, probably of Ptolemy VI (152 BC) or Ptolemy VIII (141 BC), are letters addressed to a “master of secrets” (*hry sšʔ*) that give permission to bury using the simple imperative “bury” (*qrsy*). The letters also state that the writer has not allowed a hindrance (*ti ʕʕ*) for the deceased.²²³ Another Demotic ostrakon from Thebes, dated to a year 6 of an unnamed king, uses a causative imperative, “cause that they bury” (*my ir=w qrs*), to give permission to bury.²²⁴

²²⁰ Muhs 2011, pp. 184, 238–51.

²²¹ Nur el-Din, Pestman, and Vos 1978, pp. 171–89 (nos. 42–48); Vos 1978, pp. 260–67. For the earlier dating, see Clarysse 1980, p. 171b.

²²² Devauchelle 1987, pp. 141–60; Muhs 2003, pp. 102–5.

²²³ Muhs 2009, pp. 393–95, rereading and redating the ostraca published by Cruz-Urbe and Vinson 2005–2006, pp. 113–17.

²²⁴ Wängstedt 1981, pp. 23–24 (no. 14).

CATALOG NO. 11

OIM E19494 (D. 16453)

MMA 5A.859, no. 5

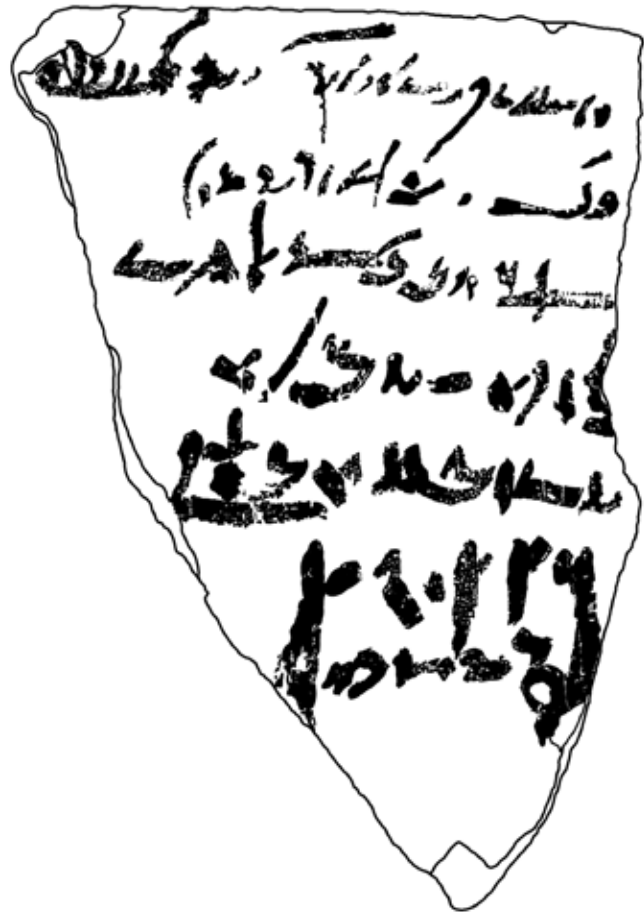
Permission to Build

Ptolemy II, Year 38, Hathyr 2

= 24 December 248 BC

9.2 × 6.4 cm (Image 126%)

Unpublished



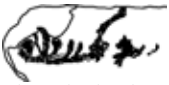
- 1 ^hbq s³ T³y-Hr-p³-t³ p³ rt(?) p³ mr-šn(?)
- 2 [p³] nty dd n D^hwty-s³dm s³ Pa-nfr
- 3 [...] ink (p³y) iir dd qt n=k(?)
- 4 [...] ḥt³e.(t)(?) n p³ wrh(?)
- 5 [...] p³ gme(?) mtk(?)
- 6 sw(?) 9(?) sh
- 7 ḥsb.t 38 ibt 3 ḥ.t sw 2

[It is] Abukis, son of Searpthos, the agent(?) of the
lesonis(?),
who speaks to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis.
[...] It is I who has said: “Build for yourself(?)
[...] (on) the parcel of vacant land(?)
[...] the mixed(?) garden(?),
nine(?) (artabas of) wheat(?)” Signed,
(in) year 38, Hathyr, day 2.

Notes to cat. no. 11:

Line 1:

1. For 'bq, 'Αβωχ ('Αβυκίς), see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 96.

2.  After the personal name and patronym, the scribe had written *pʒ nty dd* “the one who said.” The slight horizontal stroke connecting the *nty* group to the second stroke of *pʒ*, the small dot below the original *nty*, the ligature of the upper and lower strokes of *dd*, and the thickened lines of *dd* suggest that the scribe made a half-hearted attempt to correct the writing to *pʒ rt* “the agent,” the expected title found in similar texts. With the title “fixed,” he then inserted [*pʒ*] *nty dd* at the beginning of the next line as needed. One interesting aspect of this correction is that it conforms to the pattern noted by Vleeming 1994b, p. 360, that the title *pʒ rt* “the agent, the representative” were later emendations made by the scribes of burial tax receipts.

Line 2:

1. Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.

Line 3:

1. Perhaps restore [*dd*] at the beginning of the line for opening quote.
2. An alternative reading for *iir dd* could be *pʒ nty dd*.
3. The dative *n=k* at the end of the line is very questionable on paleographic grounds. Perhaps an alternative is to read here *qt 40* “Develop 40”

Line 5:

1. The readings of this line are extremely tentative and uncertain. *Pʒ-gme* could potentially be a personal name as in *Demot. Nb.*, p. 279, or perhaps we have here a writing of *pʒ km(?)* “the garden(?)”

Line 6:

1. Letter receipts often omit the signature of the scribe before the date because the official or scribe is already indicated in line 1.

Line 7:

1. The reading of the month as *ibt 3* is to be preferred over a potential reading *ibt 2* since the latter would have a more compact and rounded appearance.

RECEIPTS FOR THE PRICE OF OIL: CATALOG NOS. 12–26

HISTORY

Receipts for the price of oil stand among the salt tax, yoke tax, and burial tax as the most commonly attested receipts from early Ptolemaic Thebes. At that time, oil was a state monopoly, a situation that likely began after year 22 of Ptolemy II.²²⁵ As shown by Papyrus Revenue Laws, the state first auctioned off to contractors the right to produce oil and then auctioned off the oil itself to registered dealers and retailers at the village level for local sale.²²⁶ As a result, receipts “for the price of oil” reflect the purchase of goods and not a true tax. Most price of oil receipts are dated to the three months of harvest just before the annual flood and the month immediately following the flood, thus suggesting that oil from the harvest was produced, distributed, and sold very quickly.

FORMULAE

Early Ptolemaic receipts on ostraca for the price of oil are most often in Demotic and usually take the form “(Payer) PN1 X amount for the price of oil for (month) Y, signed (scribe) PN2 on date Z.” A few are in Greek,²²⁷ or are bilingual,²²⁸ and employ parts of a formula: “(Payer) PN1 has paid X amount for the price of oil/castor for (month) Y, through (official) PN2.”

TAXPAYERS

Males and females alike are attested as purchasers of oil. In the larger corpus, more than one third of the buyers attested are women.²²⁹ Muhs suggests they may be women purchasing oil guaranteed to them by their husbands in their “marriage” contracts. Of the fifteen price of oil receipts in the *O. Edgerton* corpus, ten belong to men (eight to Thotsutmis himself) and three to women. Two do not preserve the name of the payer.

RATES

The regulations of Papyrus Revenue Laws, cols. 38–72, dated to year 27 of Ptolemy II, established set prices for oil, thus enabling us to determine the exact amount of oil individuals would have received in specific transactions. The most common payment (both within our corpus and overall) is $\frac{1}{2}$ silver kite (two *obols*), which is the price of one *kotule* (0.27 liters) of oil.²³⁰ Oil seems to have been distributed on credit. That most price of oil receipts are dated to the month after the oil is said to have been received suggests that the accounts of the oil monopoly were balanced each month. However, larger gaps of time are attested, for example in cat. no. 14 Thotsutmis did not pay for the oil received for the second month of winter (Mecheir) until midway through the fourth month of winter (Pharmouthi).

SCRIBES AND OFFICIALS

The scribes of commodity monopoly receipts (such as receipts for the price of oil) seem to have been appointed annually, depending upon which tax farmer won the contract for the year. Presumably, the scribes were the employees of the tax farmers. The scribe Esminis (who wrote nine of the receipts in the *O. Edgerton*

²²⁵ Muhs 2011, p. 232.

²²⁶ Bingen 2007, pp. 175–77.

²²⁷ *O. Strass.*, no. 2; *O. Tait Bodl.*, nos. 27 and 28; *O. Taxes 1*, no. 34.

²²⁸ *O. Taxes 1*, no. 35; *O. Taxes 2*, nos. 77–80 and 82–86.

²²⁹ Muhs 2005a, p. 75.

²³⁰ Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75.

corpus) is particularly well-attested and was active in the years 30–31, 33, and 36–38 of Ptolemy II.²³¹ He typically uses an abbreviated orthography for *nḥḥ* (see Index).²³² Cat no. 21 is signed by Psenamounis, son of Petearpres,²³³ attested in years 34 and 35 of Ptolemy II. Several scribes known to have written price of oil receipts are also attested as the scribes of salt tax receipts in other years; perhaps their skill made them particularly employable.²³⁴

²³¹ Muhs 2005a, chart on pp. 76–78, 136 n. c.; Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

²³² Attested in Cat nos. 13 and 22–24.

²³³ Scribe 38 in Muhs 2011, p. 236.

²³⁴ Muhs 2011, p. 233.

CATALOG NO. 12

OIM E19483 (D. 16430)

MMA 5A.860, no. 7 (Wångstedt Cgx + 28)

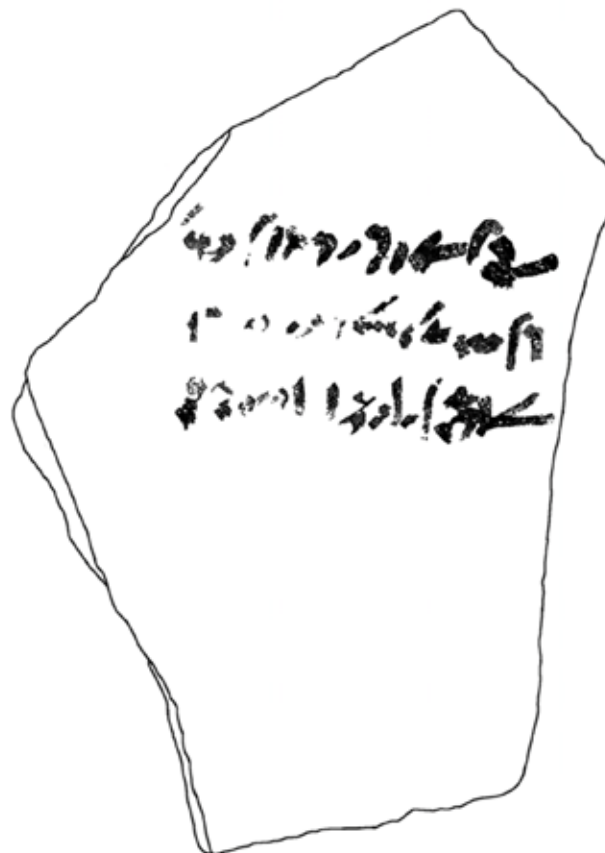
Receipt for the Price of Oil

Ptolemy II, Year 31, Pachons 8

= 30 June 254 BC

9.1 × 6.3 cm (Image 123%)

Published: Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 252, no. 6.



- 1 *Dḥwty-sdm sʿ Pa-nfr ḥd (qt) ½*
- 2 *swn nhḥ ibt 4 pr.t sh*
- 3 *Ns-Mn n ḥsb.t 31 ibt 1 šmw sw 8*

Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, ½ silver (kite)
 (for) the price of oil of Pharmouthi. Signed
 Esminis in year 31, Pachons, day 8.

Notes to cat. no. 12:

Line 1:

1. Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24.
2. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver *kite* is two *obols*—the price of one *kotule* (0.27 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75). For the shape of the Demotic signs in $\frac{1}{2}$, see the discussion in Appendix II.

Line 2:

1. Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 252, read the date as “Phamenoth(?)” but the traces to the left of the group in their hand copy suggest *ibt* 4 “Pharmouthi(?)” Despite fading, the reading *pr.t* seems certain. Since many price of oil receipts are dated by the scribe to the following month, reading “Pharmouthi” in line 2 and “Pachons” in line 3 adheres to this pattern. See introduction to receipts for the price of oil above.

Line 3:

1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

CATALOG NO. 13

OIM E19481 (D. 16426)

MMA 5A.858, no. 6 (Wångstedt Cgx + 13)

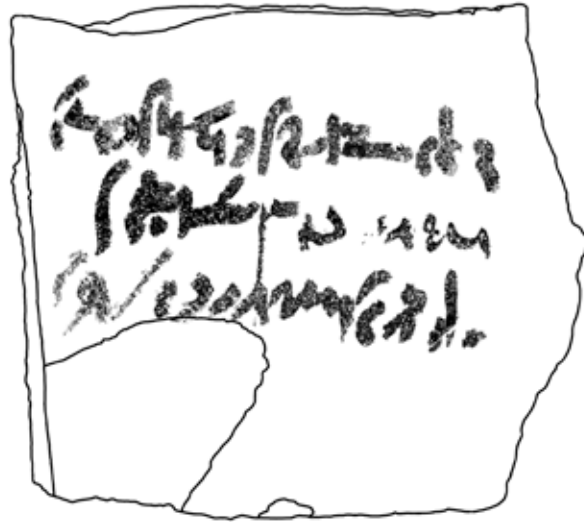
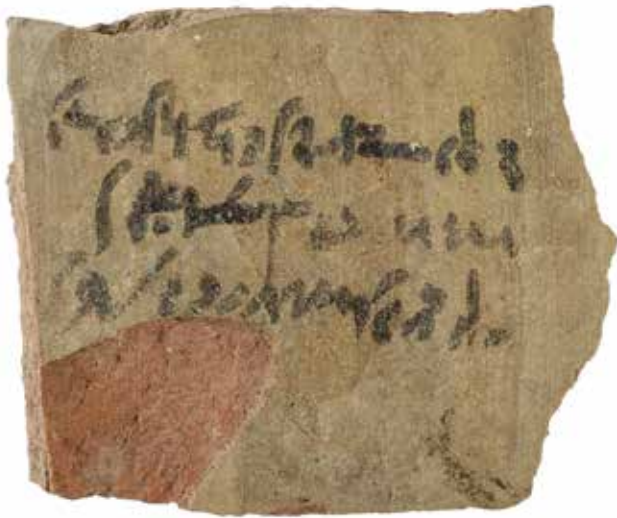
Receipt for the Price of Oil

Ptolemy II, Year 36, Pharmouthi 17

= 7 June 249 BC

6.0 × 5.2 cm (Image 135%)

Unpublished




- 1 *T3-šr.t-İy-m-htp ḥd (qt) ½ swn nhḥ*
- 2 *İbt 3 pr.t šḥ Ns-Mn*
- 3 *n ḥsb.t 36 İbt 4 pr.t sw 17*

Senimouthes ½ silver (kite for) the price of oil
of Phamenoth. Signed Esminis
in year 36, Pharmouthi, day 17.

Notes to cat. no. 13:

1. The ostracod is complete. There is a flake out of the surface that may have already been present when the receipt was issued as the last line slopes slightly up and toward the left to avoid the damaged area, and there are very faint traces of ink just crossing the break line beneath the determinative on *pr.t*.

Line 1:

1. *nhḥ* was already read by Wångstedt 1980, p. 8, and n. 1: “Die Schreibung des Wortes *nhḥ* ‘Öl’ ist stark abgekürzt ... Vgl. ferner DO Metropolitan Museum Cgx + 22 (Dateierung mangelt), Cgx + 28 (Jahr 31), Cgx + 13 (Jahr 36). Alle unveröffentlicht.” As noted by Wångstedt, Esminis used an abbreviated orthography here for  *nhḥ*. A similarly short writing occurs in cat. nos. 22–24, written by Petechonsis, son of Menchpres.
2. ½ silver *kite* is two *obols*—the price of one *kotule* (0.27 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75). For the shape of the Demotic signs in ½, see the discussion in Appendix II.

Line 2:

1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

CATALOG NO. 14

OIM E19496 (D. 16457)

MMA 5A.862, no. 3

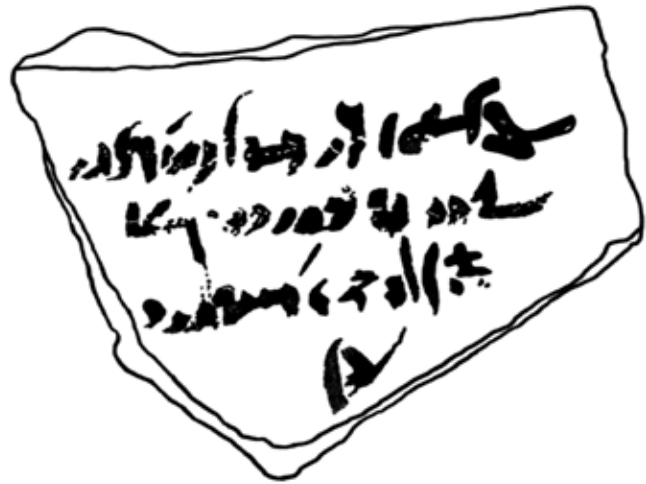
Receipt for the Price of Oil

Ptolemy II, Year 36, Pharmouthi 17

= 7 June 249 BC

5.5 × 4.7 cm (Image 142%)

Unpublished



- 1 *Dḥwty-sḏm s3 Pa-nfr ḥḏ (qt) ⅓ swn*
 2 *nḥḥ ḥbt 2 prt sh Ns-*
 3 *Mn ḥsb.t 36 ḥbt 4 prt*
 4 *sw 17*

Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, ⅓ silver (*kite* for) the price
 of oil of Mecheir. Signed
 Esminis (in) year 36, Pharmouthi,
 day 17.

Notes to cat. no. 14:

Line 1:

1. Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. ⅓ silver *kite* is two *obols*—the price of one *kotule* (0.27 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75). For the shape of the Demotic signs in ⅓, see the discussion in Appendix II.

Line 2:

1. *ḥbt 2 prt*: In this case, Thotsutmis did not pay for the oil received for the second month of winter (Mecheir) until midway through the fourth month of winter (Pharmouthi). Such receipt of oil on credit is a common phenomenon throughout the archive, and receipts for price of oil payments in arrears are attested elsewhere.
2. The scribe Esminis has split the writing of his name between lines 2 and 3 and the writing of the date between lines 3 and 4 to conform to the shape of the ostrakon—a phenomenon that is relatively rare.

Line 3:

1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

CATALOG NO. 15

OIM E19485 (D. 16434)

Receipt for the Price of Oil

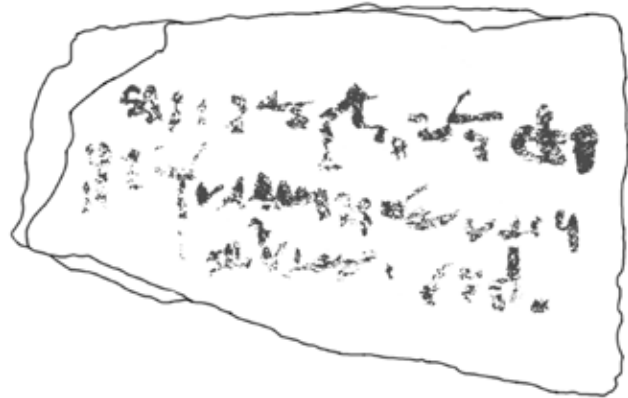
6.6 × 4.2 cm (Image 126%)

MMA 5A.859, no. 1

Ptolemy II, Year 36(?), Mesore(?) 26(?)

= 14 October 249 BC

Unpublished



- 1 $T\bar{s}$ -šr.t-t̄-... ḥd (qt) ½
- 2 sw n nh̄ ḥt 4 šmw sh Ns-mn(?)
- 3 n ḥsb.t 36(?) ḥt 4(?) šmw sw 26(?)

Sent-... ½ silver (*kite*)
 (for) the price of oil of Mesore. Signed Esminis(?)
 in year 36(?), Mesore(?), day 26(?).

Notes to cat. no. 15:

1. There are a few traces of Demotic on the reverse of this ostrakon, but not enough is preserved to decipher a connected text:



Figure 15.1. Reverse of OIM E19485 showing traces of Demotic signs (D. 16435).

Line 1:

1. The first two signs of the taxpayer's name can be confidently read *Tʒ-šr.t*. The following signs may be *tʒ* with phonetic complement *t* above, followed by what may be *p*, thus suggesting perhaps *Tʒ-šr.t-tʒ-py.t*, a name meaning “the daughter of the Libyan” (cf. *Tʒ-py.t* in *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1064). Such a suggestion would fit with what looks like the foreign-name determinative.
2. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver *kite* is two *obols*—the price of one *kotule* (0.27 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75). For the shape of the Demotic signs in $\frac{1}{2}$, see the discussion in Appendix II.

Line 2:

1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

CATALOG NO. 16

Receipt for the Price of Oil

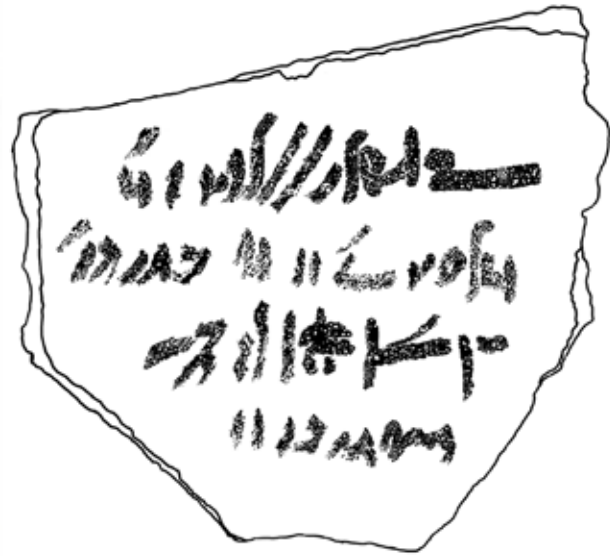
5.7 × 6.2 cm (Image 137%)

MMA 5A.860, no. 11

Ptolemy II, Year 37, Phamenoth 6

= 27 April 248 BC

Unpublished



- 1 *Ỉy-m-Ỉtp sỈ Rrw Ỉđ (qt) Ỉ*
- 2 *swn nỈỈ Ỉbt 2 pr.t*
- 3 *sỈ Ns-Mn Ỉsb.t 37*
- 4 *Ỉbt 3 pr.t sw 6*

Imouthes, son of Lolous, Ỉ silver (*kite*)
 (for) the price of oil of Mecheir.
 Signed Esminis (in) year 37,
 Phamenoth, day 6.

Notes to cat. no. 16:

1. The current location of this ostrakon has not been identified. The hand copy was produced exclusively from the MMA's field photograph.

Line 1:

1. *Īy-m-ḥtp sꜣ Rrw*: A taxpayer *Īy-m-ḥtp sꜣ Rrw* is known from yoke tax receipt *O. Taxes* 2, no. 6, dated to year 16 Hathyr 13, probably of Ptolemy II; from salt tax receipt *O. Taxes* 2, no. 26, dated to year 29 Epeiph 25 of Ptolemy II; and from cat. no. 42. See further, Muhs 2005a, p. 270.
2. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver *kite* is two *obols*—the price of one *kotule* (0.27 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75). For the shape of the Demotic signs in $\frac{1}{2}$, see the discussion in Appendix II.

Line 3:

1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

Line 4:

1. *ibt 3 pr.t* “Phamenoth”: A slight extra curve in the second downstroke could also be interpreted as *ibt 4*, but note that most price of oil receipts are dated to the month after the oil accounting month, in this case *ibt 3 pr.t* “Phamenoth.”

CATALOG NO. 17

OIM E19498 (D. 16461)

MMA 5A.859, no. 6

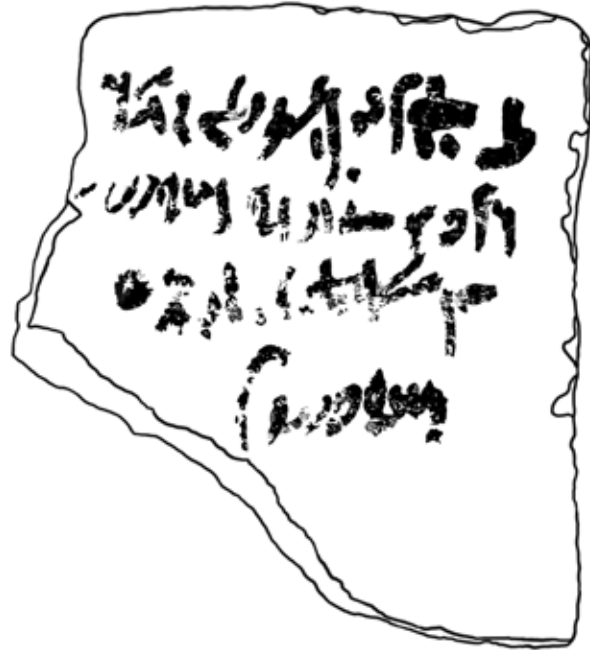
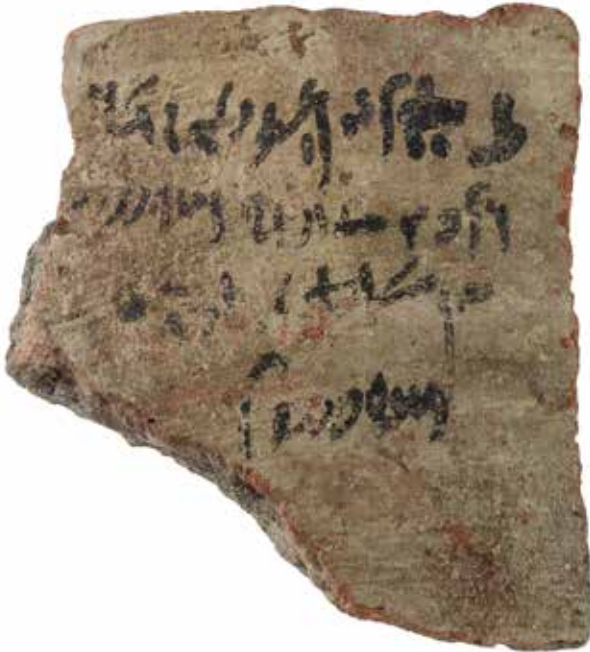
Receipt for the Price of Oil

Ptolemy II, Year 38, Khoiak 30

= 20 February 247 BC

5.7 × 6.0 cm (Image 143%)

Published: Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 246, no. 2

1 *Ta-Mn ta ĩr.t=w-rđ ḥđ (qt) ½*

Taminis, daughter of Ithortes, ½ silver (kite)

2 *swn nhḥ ibt 4 ḥ.t*

(for) the price of oil of Khoiak.

3 *sh Ns-Mn n ḥsb.t 38*

Signed Esminis in year 38,

4 *ibt 4 ḥ.t ṛqy*

Khoiak, day 30.

Notes to cat. no. 17:

Line 1:

1. Taminis, daughter of Ithortes, also appears in cat. no. 18, a receipt for the price of oil.
2. The name *ĩr.t=w-rđ* is a variant of *ĩr.t=w-r-tjy* (Ranke, *PN*, p. 42; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 71). Neither the *Demotisches Namenbuch* nor Trismegistos People reference an attested Greek rendering of this name. “Ithortes” is a hypothetical reconstruction based on parallel names starting with *ĩr.t=w-*, e.g., *ĩr.t=w-r-r=w* Ἰθորως “Ithoros” (*Demot. Nb.*, p. 70).
3. ½ silver kite is one obol—the price of ½ *kotule* (0.14 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75).

Line 3:

1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

CATALOG NO. 18

OIM E19491 (D. 16447)

MMA 5A.858, no. 2

Receipt for the Price of Oil

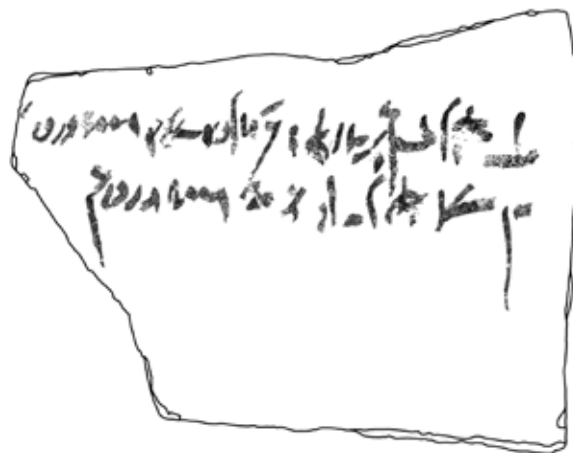
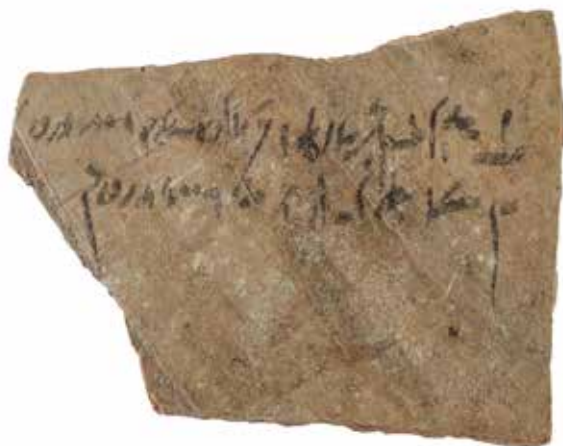
Ptolemy II, Year 38, Pharmouthi 29

= 19 June 247 BC

5.2 × 6.5 cm (Image 116%)

Published: Scalf and Jay 2009, pp. 13–17;

Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 246, no. 1

1 *Ta-Mn ta ĩr.t=w-rđ ḥđ (qt) ¼ swn nhḥ ibt 4 pr.t*Taminis, daughter of Ithortes, ¼ silver (*kite* for) the price of oil of Pharmouthi.2 *sh Ns-Mn n ḥsb.t 38 ibt 4 pr.t sw 29*

Signed Esminis in year 38, Pharmouthi, day 29.

Notes to cat. no. 18:

Line 1:

1. For the name of the father *ĩr.t=w-rđ* “Ithortes,” previously read incorrectly as *Pa-rṯ* in Scalf and Jay 2009, pp. 13–17, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 71. Taminis, daughter of Ithortes, also appears in cat. no. 17, a receipt for the price of oil.
2. ¼ silver *kite* is three *obols*—the price of 1½ *kotulai* (0.41 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75).

Line 2:

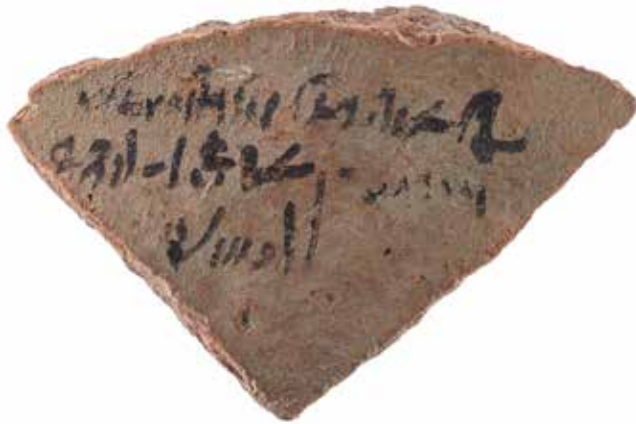
1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

CATALOG NO. 19

OIM E49085 (D. 16503)

Receipt for the Price of Oil

7.1 × 5.0 cm (Image 118%)



MMA 5A.858, no. 8

Ptolemy II, Year 38, Thoth 12

= 5 November 248 BC

Unpublished

1 *Dḥwty-sḏm sꜣ Pa-nfr ḥꜣ (qt) ½ swn nḥḥ*2 *ibt 4 šmw šḥ Ns-Mn n ḥsb.t 38*3 *ibt 1 ḥ.t sw 12*Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, ½ silver (*kite* for) the price of oil

of Mesore. Signed Esminis in year 38,

Thoth, day 12.

Notes to cat. no. 19:

1. This ostrakon was brought to the attention of Foy Scalf by Oriental Institute Museum Registrar Helen McDonald after it was discovered along with several other Demotic ostraca in Temporary Transfer Box 4343.

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwty-sḏm sʾ Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. $\frac{1}{2}$ silver *kite* is two *obols*—the price of one *kotule* (0.27 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75). For the shape of the Demotic signs in $\frac{1}{2}$, see the discussion in Appendix II.

Line 2:

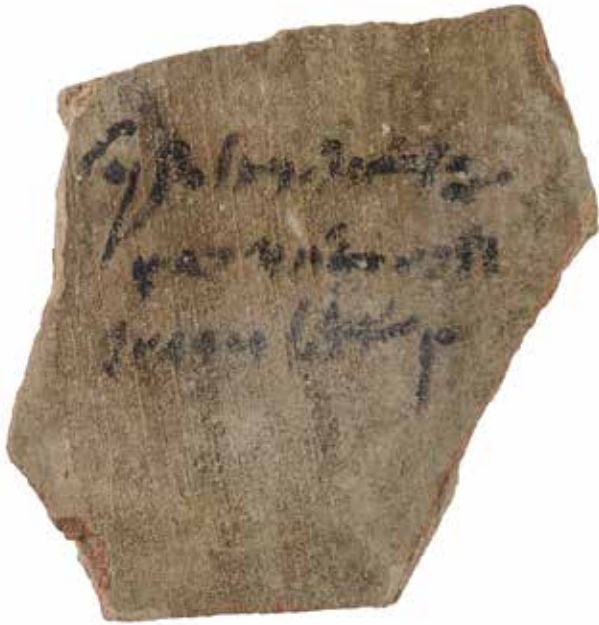
1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.

CATALOG NO. 20

OIM E19493 (D. 16451)

Receipt for the Price of Oil

6.0 × 6.0 cm (Image 138%)



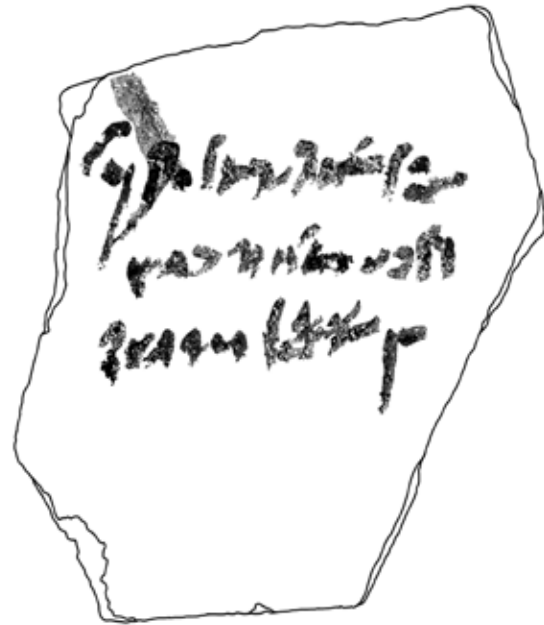
- 1 *Dḥwty-sdm sʾ Pa-nfr ḥd qt ¼*
- 2 *swn nhḥ ibt 2 šmw*
- 3 *sh Ns-Mn ibt 3 šmw sw 4*

MMA 5A.861, no. 1

Ptolemy II, Epeiph 4

= 285–222 BC




Published: Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 247, no. 3



Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, ¼ silver kite
(for) the price of oil of Payni.
Signed Esminis (in) Epeiph, day 4.

Notes to cat. no. 20:

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwty-sḏm s3 Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver kite is three *obols*—the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kotulai* (0.41 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75). The signs here  are slightly obscured by what appears to be a partial attempt at an erasure. It seems that the scribe had first written the dot for *ḥd* and then the sign for $\frac{1}{2}$ . At that point, he may have attempted to erase the $\frac{1}{2}$ sign by wiping up with his thumb or finger, thereby leaving the streak of ink moving toward the upper left. Then the diagonal stroke for *qt* was added, followed by $\frac{1}{4}$, presumably intending .

Line 3:

1. Esminis is Scribe 35 in Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35.
2. Although no year is provided, the scribe Esminis is known from texts dated late in the reign of Ptolemy II; see Muhs 2005a, chart on pp. 76–78 and 136, note c.
3. Originally read “20” in Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 247. The form of the sign matches most closely the examples of sw 4 in EG, p. 707.

CATALOG NO. 21

OIM E19504 (D. 16474)

MMA 5A.860, no. 2 (Wångstedt Cgx + 20)

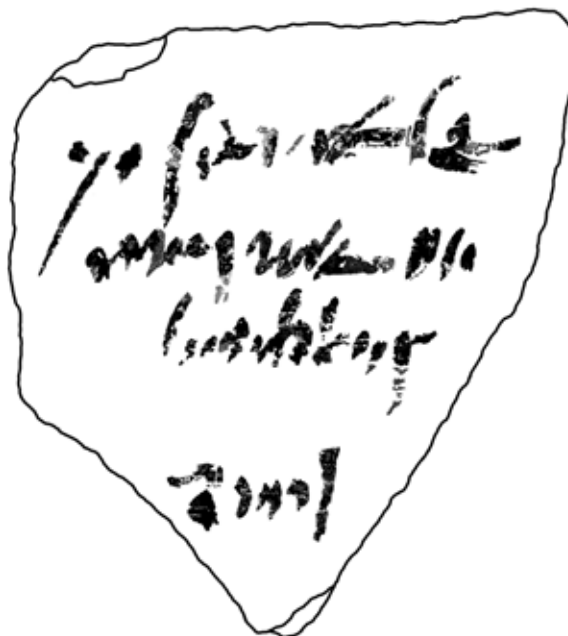
Receipt for the Price of Oil

Ptolemy II–III, Thoth 2

= 285–222 BC

6.3 × 5.2 cm (Image 138%)

Published: Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 247, no. 4



- 1 *Dḥwty-sḏm sꜣ Pa-nfr ḥꜣ (qt) ¼*
- 2 *swn nḥḥ ibt 4 šmw*
- 3 *sh Pꜣ-šr-Ḳmn (sꜣ) Pꜣ-ti-Ḥr-pꜣ-Rꜥ*
- 4 *ibt 1 ḫ.t sw 4*

Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, ¼ (silver) kite
 (for) the price of oil of Mesore.
 Signed Psenamounis, (son of) Petearpres,
 (in) Thoth, day 4.

Notes to cat. no. 21:

1. Date: Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is attested with certainty in documents throughout the second half of the reign of Ptolemy II and through the reign of Ptolemy III. Several other price of oil receipts from late in the reign of Ptolemy II were signed by the scribe Psenamounis, (son of) Petearpres, but he may also be the same Psenamounis who signed salt tax receipts from early in the reign of Ptolemy III (Scribe 38 in Muhs 2011, p. 236).

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwtꜣ-sḏm sꜣ Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver kite is three *obols*—the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kotylai* (0.41 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75).

Line 3:

1. Psenamounis has already been read by Wångstedt 1980, p. 11: “Pshenamun erscheint in noch einer thebanischen Ölsteuerquittung (DO Metropolitan Museum Cgx-20. Unveröffentlicht.)” It is possible that Psenamounis’s father, Petearpres, is the same as the scribe Petearpres, son of Thotortaïos, in cat. no. 7, which dates to year 16 of an unnamed king. Given the chronological distribution of the corpus, this king is more likely to be Ptolemy III rather than Ptolemy II, and if Psenamounis was the son of the scribe who wrote cat. no. 7, then cat. no. 21 is also likely to date to the reign of Ptolemy III.

CATALOG NO. 22

OIM E19514 (D. 16494)

MMA 5A.860, no. 4

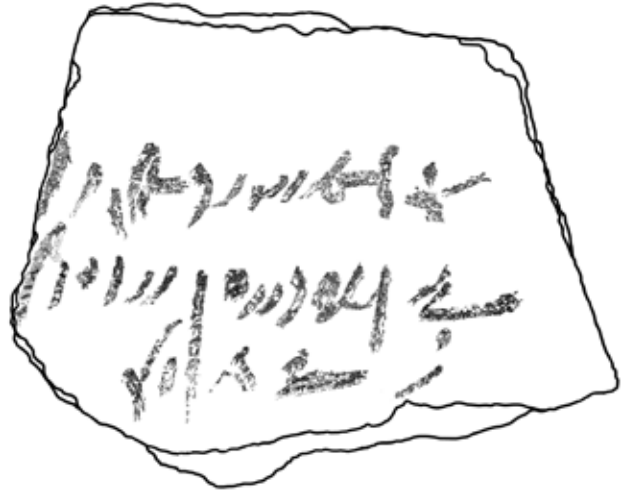
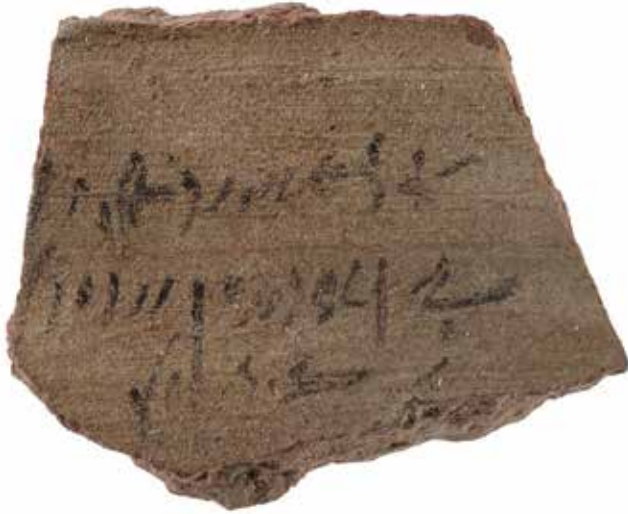
Receipt for the Price of Oil

Ptolemy II-III(?), Hathyr

= 285–222 BC

3.7 × 4.6 cm (Image 180%)

Published: Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 248, no. 5.



- 1 *Dḥwty-sḏm s3 Pa-nfr ḥḏ qt ⅔ [swn]*
- 2 *nḥḥ ibt 3 ḥ.t sh P3-ti-Ḥnsw*
- 3 *s3 Mnḥ-R(?)*

Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, ⅔ silver kite [for the price]
 of oil of Hathyr. Signed Petechonsis,
 son of Menchpres(?).


Notes to cat. no. 22:

1. The left side of the ostrakon is broken diagonally across lines 1 and 2, apparently resulting in the loss of the end of line 1 and its margin, and the end margin of line 2.

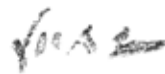
Line 1:

1. *Dḥwtj-sḏm sḏ Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. *ḥd qt ⅔ [sw]* “⅔ silver kite [for the price]” was previously read *ḥd ¼ s[wn]* “¼ silver (kite) for the p[rice]” in Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 248. Similarities in ductus suggest that the same scribe wrote cat. nos. 22–24. Based on these similarities, the reading *ḥd ¼ s[wn]* is unlikely when compared to the writing of ¼ in cat. no. 23.1, which extends far below the writing line, and writings of *sw* in cat. nos. 23.2 and 24.1, where the *s* is very short. “⅔ silver kite” (eight *obols*) would represent four *kotulai* (1.08 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, p. 74).

Line 2:

1.  *nhḥ* “oil” has been abbreviated to the *nh*-group, and the same abbreviated writing occurs in cat. nos. 22–24.
2. *Pḏ-ti-Ḥnsw* “Petechnosis” is probably the same scribe who signed cat. no. 23. Note the identically abbreviated writing of *nhḥ* “oil” in line 2 and the same sublinear dot following the final divine determinative in names.

Line 3:

1.  *Mnḥ-R(?)* “Menchpres(?)” seems to be the same patronym found in cat. nos. 23–24, all written by the same scribe. The name is here partially obscured by the vertical stroke of *sh* from line 2 above. Scalf and Jay 2014, p. 248, had originally suggested the reading *r ibt 3(?) ḥ.t(?)sw* 12.

CATALOG NO. 23

OIM E19489 (D. 16443)

Receipt for the Price of Oil

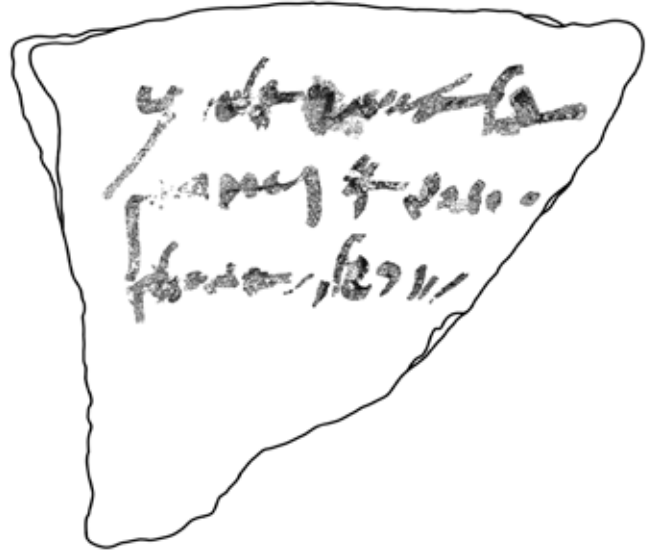
6.2 × 5.5 cm (Image 121%)

MMA 5A.860, no. 6

Ptolemy II–III, Mesore

= 285–222 BC

Unpublished



- 1 *Dḥwty-sḏm s3 ʿPaʿ-nfr ʿḥd qtʿ ¼*
- 2 *n swn nhḥ ibt 4 šmw sh*
- 3 *P3-ti-Ḥnsw s3 Mnḥ-R(?)*

Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, ¼ silver kite
for the price of oil of Mesore. Signed
Petechonsis, son of Menchpres(?).

Notes to cat. no. 23:

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwty-sḏm sʿ Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270. The scribe has left a smudge obscuring the transition between *Dḥwty-sḏm* and *sʿ Pa-nfr*.
2. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver *kite* is three *obols*—the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kotulai* (0.41 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 73–75).

Line 2:

1. *nḥ* “oil” has been abbreviated to the *nḥ*-group, and the same abbreviated writing occurs in cat. nos. 22–24.

Line 3:

1. *Pṣ-ti-Ḥnsw* “Petechonsis” is probably the same scribe who signed cat. nos. 22 and 24.
2. *Mnḥ-R(?)* “Menchpres(?)” seems to be the same patronym found in cat. nos. 22 and 24.

CATALOG NO. 24

OIM E19511 (D. 16488)

Receipt for the Price of Oil

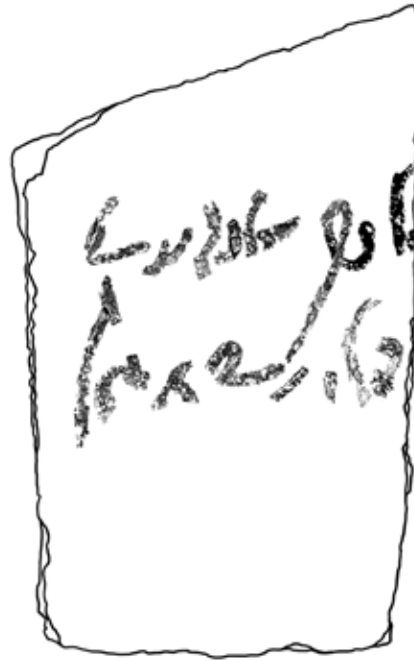
5.3 × 3.2 cm (Image 167%)

MMA 5A.860, no. 9

Ptolemy II–III

= 285–222 BC

Unpublished



1 [in PN sꜣ PN] ḥd (qt) ½ n swn nhḥ

[PN, son of PN, brought] ½ silver (kite) for the price of oil

2 [... shꜣ Pꜣ-ti]-Ḥnsw sꜣ Mnḥ-R(?)

[... Signed Pete]chonsis, son of Menchpres(?).

Notes to cat. no. 24:

1. The right half of the sherd is broken away.

Line 1:

1. Only the divine determinative of the personal name is preserved after the break. Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, cannot be excluded, for this scribe writes the patronym with the divine determinative. See cat. nos. 22 and 23.
2. ḥd (qt) ½ “½ silver kite” is four *obols*—the price of two *kotulai* (0.54 liters) of oil (see Muhs 2005a, p. 74).
3. nhḥ “oil” has been abbreviated to the nh-group, and the same abbreviated writing occurs in cat. nos. 22–24.

Line 2:

1. The reading of the scribe’s name as [Pꜣ-ti]-Ḥnsw is based on the parallels found in cat. nos. 22–23, which seem to be written by the same scribe. Alternatively, the preserved signs could here be read [...]-Ḥmn.
2. The circular sign at the end of the father’s name suggests the reading Mnḥ-R(?) rather than Mnḥ (cf. *Demot. Nb.*, p. 595).

CATALOG NO. 25

OIM E19508 (D. 16482)

Receipt for the Price of Oil

6.0 × 4.0 cm (Image 135%)

MMA 5A.861, no. 7

Ptolemy II–III

= 285–222 BC

Unpublished

1 *Dḥwty-sḏm sʿ Pa-nfr* [*ḥd* (*qt*) ...]2 *swn nh*[*h* ...]3 *sh* [...]Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, [... silver (*kite*)]

(for) the price of oi[l ...]

Signed [...]

Notes to cat. no. 25:

1. The left half of the sherd is broken away.

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwty-sḏm sʿ Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.

CATALOG NO. 26

OIM E19512 (D. 16490)

Receipt for the Price of Castor

5.3 × 4.7 cm (Image 171%)

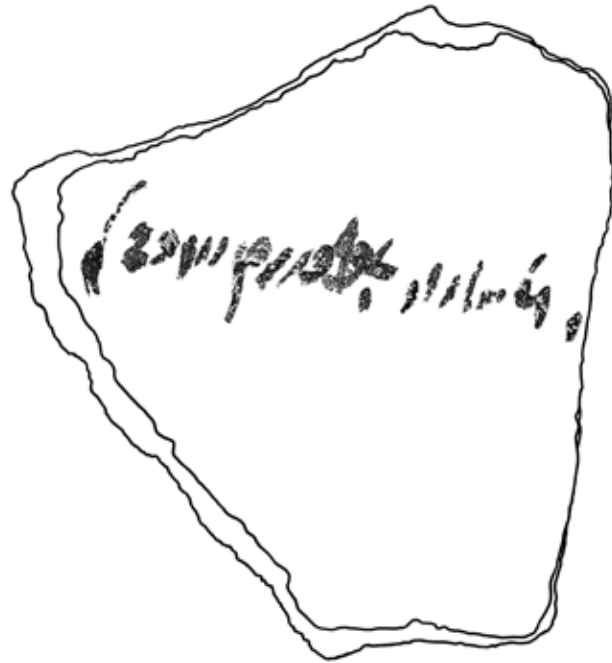
1 [...] ḥd^ṯ (qt) ½ n sw n tgm sh P^ṯ-tī-Ḥnsw

MMA 5A.861, no. 5

Ptolemy II(?), Years 25–31(?)

= 261–254 BC

Unpublished




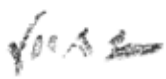


[...] ½ silver (kite) for the price of castor. Signed Petechonsis.

Notes to cat. no. 26:

1. The right half of the receipt is broken away. Based on the preserved portion, the scribe rather unusually seems to have written the entire receipt in a single line across a wide sherd.
2. Receipts for the price of castor oil (*tgm*) appear to be restricted to years 25–31 of Ptolemy II, after which time only receipts for the price of oil (*nḥḥ*) are attested. *nḥḥ* may be a more generic term for all kinds of oil, and its adoption over *tgm* (“castor oil”) may be a gradual reaction to the regulations for the oil monopoly in Papyrus Revenue Laws, col. 40, dated to year 27 of Ptolemy II. Those regulations raised the price of castor oil, colocynth oil, and lamp oil from thirty to forty-eight *drachmas* per *metretres*, which was also the price of sesame oil and cnecus oil, and made specification of the type of oil irrelevant (Bingen 2007, p. 180).
3. There are seven receipts for castor oil from Thebes besides the one published here. *O. Taxes 1*, no. 34, is a purely Greek receipt for τιμὴν κικίος “the price of castor oil” dating to year 25 of Ptolemy II. Six receipts (*O. Taxes 1*, no. 35, and *O. Taxes 1*, nos. 77–81) were written by a single scribe, *Nḥt-Mnt*, alone or with another scribe, *Ns-mn*, and date to year 30 of Ptolemy II. The scribe *Ns-mn* on his own, however, and most other Theban scribes, usually wrote *nḥḥ* “oil” rather than *tgm* “castor oil” (Muhs 2011, pp. 233–34, Scribes 34 and 35). Receipts for castor oil from Elephantine are similarly restricted in number and date. In Devauchelle 1983, there are five receipts for *tgm* “castor oil” (*O. Louvre dem.*, nos. 94, 96, 97, 163, and 331) dating to years 27 and 29 of Ptolemy II, and four receipts for *pʾ nḥḥ pʾ tgm* “the oil, (namely) the castor oil” (*O. Louvre dem.*, nos. 29, 30, 267, and 290) dating to years 27 and 31 of Ptolemy II. In contrast, there are numerous receipts for *nḥḥ* “oil” (*O. Louvre dem.*, nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 22, 27, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 275, 276, 284, 301, 302, 311, 775, 944, and 1408) dating to years 4 through 21 of Ptolemy III, with only a few (*O. Louvre dem.*, nos. 7(?), 301(?), and 311) from years 30(?), 36, and 38 of Ptolemy II.

Line 1:

1. In *tgm* “castor oil,” phonetic *t* is written above and ligatured to phonetic *g* below. A reduced phonetic *m* follows, along with two diagonal strokes instead of the more usual single stroke.
2. The scribe *Pʾ-ti-Ḥnsw* “Petechnosis” may very well be the same scribe as *Pʾ-ti-Ḥnsw sʾ Mnḥ-Rʾ(?)* “Petechnosis, son of Menchpres(?)” from cat. nos. 22–24. Several paleographic similarities also suggest that all of these sherds were written by the same scribe. In cat. nos 23 and 26 , the element *-Ḥnsw* in his name is written in a slightly abbreviated style, with the first sign reduced to a curled stroke. The partially preserved name in cat. no. 24  would likewise conform to this orthography. Furthermore, both cat. no. 26  and cat. no. 22  show a tendency to overlap the final divine determinative of a personal name with a following globular stroke that is likely to be a reduced-form seated-man determinative (A1) of personal names.

RECEIPTS FOR COMPULSORY LABOR: CATALOG NOS. 27–29

HISTORY

The annual compulsory labor requirement of the early Ptolemaic Period was a continuation of earlier practices of the Pharaonic Period and thus contrasts with the new annual capitation and occupational taxes in money introduced by the Ptolemies. Periodic compulsory labor for plowing, harvesting, and quarrying for state officials is attested in the Old Kingdom (*mꜥd* and *hꜥ*), Middle Kingdom (*kꜣ.t* and *ḥn.t*), and New Kingdom (*bḥ*), and compulsory labor fields (*iḥ.t-bḥ*) are attested in the Late Period.²³⁵ These compulsory labor requirements were probably enforced with the help of censuses of individuals and households, which are attested from the Middle Kingdom onward.²³⁶ These censuses may in turn have inspired the early Ptolemaic use of censuses to collect annual capitation taxes paid in money starting in the reign of Ptolemy II.²³⁷

A Greek papyrus (*UPZ II*, no. 157) from Thebes and dated to year 6, probably of Ptolemy III (242–241 BC), is a report to the *oikonomos* of the Peritheban district about compulsory labor; as such, this papyrus reveals that adult males were required to work on dikes and embankments in moving thirty *naubia* of earth each year, with the *naubion* (Demotic *nby*, Greek ναύβιον) being a cubic measure of volume measuring two cubits on each side, or one cubic meter. Once a man had fulfilled his annual labor requirement, he received a receipt for thirty *naubia*.²³⁸ Receipts for a compulsory labor tax paid in money (specifically a sum of two *kite*, or four *drachmas*) suggest that at least some individuals possessed the option of buying themselves out of the labor requirement. This option seems to have been the common situation at Elephantine, where there was less agricultural land than at Thebes and thus less of a need for annual upkeep of the irrigation system.²³⁹ There exists a combined receipt for the compulsory labor tax in money and the salt tax—*O. Ash. Shel.*, no. 2, from Thebes and dated to year 8, probably of Ptolemy III—which shows that both of these money taxes could be farmed together.

FORMULAE

Early Ptolemaic receipts for compulsory labor can be written in Demotic or Greek or both. The Demotic formula typically reads “Taxpayer PN1, X *naubia* (for year Y), signed scribe PN2 on date Z.”²⁴⁰ One receipt in this corpus, cat. no. 27, uses a variant of the formula that begins with the verb “to do, make, perform” (*ir*). Two basic Greek formulae are attested for receipts of this type.²⁴¹ The bilingual ostrakon published below, cat. no. 28, does not conform exactly to either one of these formulae (the date, for example, appears in the middle rather than the beginning), but it comes quite close to the formula “Date X, taxpayer PN 1 has completed in the Peritheban (tax) district Y *naubia*, (signed) official PN2.”

TAXPAYERS

The early Ptolemaic compulsory labor requirement was exacted only upon males. The Greek report to the *oikonomos* of the Peritheban district about compulsory labor on *UPZ II*, no. 157, implies that the mortuary priests called *choachytes* were exempt from compulsory labor,²⁴² but several receipts for compulsory labor were issued to known mortuary priests, such as Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, on cat. no. 28 and perhaps

²³⁵ Hayes 1955, pp. 129–134; Muhs 2005a, pp. 2–3.

²³⁶ Muhs 2016, pp. 30, 64–67, 108–109.

²³⁷ Clarysse and Thompson 2006, pp. 12–17.

²³⁸ Muhs 2005a, pp. 57–58.

²³⁹ Muhs 2005a, pp. 58–59; Muhs 2010, p. 127.

²⁴⁰ Muhs 2005a, p. 57.

²⁴¹ Muhs 2005a, p. 57.

²⁴² Muhs 2005a, pp. 56–58.

also on cat. no. 29. Mortuary priests could also avoid the compulsory labor requirement by paying the compulsory labor tax—priests such as Harsiesis, son of Amenophis, on *O. Taxes* 2, no. 94. Intriguingly, the temple administration of Thebes may also have been able to use compulsory labor, as seen in cat. no. 27, issued for “thirty *naubia* at the house of rest of the Ibis,” and in cat. no. 29, written to Nechthminis, the overseer of the necropolis, about compulsory labor performed by Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. Perhaps mortuary priests were exempt from compulsory labor for the state when they performed it for temples.

SCRIBES AND OFFICIALS

As noted above, a Greek tax farmer signed a combined receipt for the compulsory labor tax in money and the salt tax (*O. Ash. Shel.*, no. 2), thus indicating that both money taxes could be farmed together. Tax farmers and their scribes did not sign receipts for compulsory labor proper, however, because compulsory labor could not be farmed. Instead, the scribes who signed receipts for compulsory labor sometimes also signed receipts for the harvest tax, another commodity that could not be farmed.²⁴³ These scribes may have been permanent state employees, for one of them, Haruotes, son of Teos, who signed cat. no. 28, dated to year 13, probably of Ptolemy III (234 BC), may also have signed Demotic contract *P. Eheverträge*, no. 22, from Thebes dated to year 3 of Ptolemy IV (220 BC), with the title “royal scribe” (*sh pr-ꜣ*).²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Muhs 2011, p. 128.

²⁴⁴ Scribe 41 in Muhs 2011, pp. 237–38.

CATALOG NO. 27

OIM E19480 (D. 16424)

MMA 5A.862, no. 5

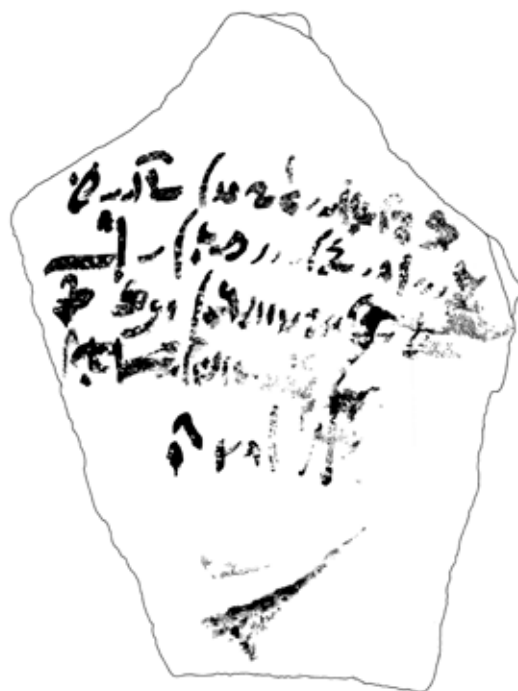
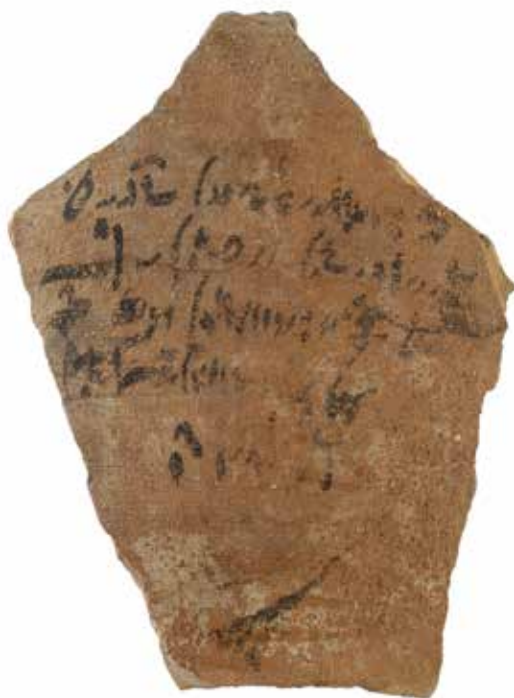
Receipt for Compulsory Labor

Ptolemy III, Year 4, Pachons 5

= 24 June 243 BC

10.0 × 7.3 cm (Image 93%)

Unpublished







- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 <i>ir(?) ĩmn-ḥtp sꜣ Pꜣ-šr-Mnꜥ nb(y)</i></p> <p>2 <i>30 r pꜣ ꜥwy ḥtp n pꜣ hb r-ḥ n</i></p> <p>3 <i>ꜥPꜣ-šr-Dḥwty ꜥirm Pꜣ-ḥm-nꜥr-Mw.t iw=f ir n=w(?)</i></p> <p>4 <i>ꜥsh Pꜣ(?) -šr(?) -ĭy-m-ḥtp ꜣsꜣ Ns-Mn</i></p> <p>5 <i>ꜥḥsb.t ꜥ4 ibt 1 šmw sw 5</i></p> | <p>Amenothēs, son of Psenmonthes, has done(?) (the work of) thirty <i>naubia</i></p> <p>at the house of rest of the ibis according to</p> <p>Psenthotes and Phentenmous, for whom he acts(?).</p> <p>Signed Psenimouthes(?), son of Esminis</p> <p>[year] 4, Pachons, day 5.</p> |
|---|--|

Notes to cat. no. 27:

1. The text on cat. no. 27 has suffered from surface flaking and fading but otherwise appears to be complete. Although the nature of the text is certain, the reconstruction of several Demotic groups is less than certain. At the bottom of the ostracon is a wide stroke that appears to be simply an errant swipe of the scribe's brush.

Line 1:

1. *ir*: The first sign  is partially obscured due to surface flaking. The expected formula for compulsory labor receipts begins with the personal name "PN 1, X *naubia* for year Y," for which see the discussion in Muhs 2005a, pp. 57–60. However, three other compulsory labor receipts begin in a similar fashion.  in *O. Taxes*

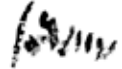
2, no. 96, and  in Muhs 2015a, no. 4, are unambiguous writings of *ir*. An unidentified group  occurs at the beginning of *O. Taxes 1*, no. 31. Although Maren Schentuleit had suggested the reading *ibt 2 pr.t* “Mecheir” for this particular group (Schentuleit 2009, p. 292), it seems more likely, based on these comparative labor receipts, that the first sign in *O. Taxes 1*, no. 31 should be interpreted as *ir*. As noted by Muhs 2015a, p. 308, the use of *ir* in the Demotic labor receipts may reflect the formulae of the Greek labor receipts that often begin with ἀπεργάζομαι or ἀναβάλλω. Note especially cat. no. 28, a bilingual compulsory labor receipt, which begins on line 5 with a form of ἐργάζομαι “to work, make, do, perform,” a verb used especially for manual labor (*LSJ*, p. 681b).

2. *ḫmn-ḥtp sꜣ Pꜣ-šr-Mnꜥ* “Amenothēs, son of Psenmonthes” may be identified with the *pastophoros* of the same name to whom the woman *Tꜣy-bꜣ ta Pa-nfr* sold her tombs in *P. Schreibertradition*, no. 20, dated to year 22 of Ptolemy III (225 BC). Another attestation may be on *O. Taxes 2*, no. 156, where an “Amenothēs, son of Psenmonthes” occurs in a list of names along with a “Petenethis(?), son of Psammetichos,” who may be the same individual as the recipient of the compulsory labor receipt Muhs 2015a, no. 4.
3. Thirty *naubia* was the annual male compulsory labor requirement (see Muhs 2005a, 57–59).

Line 2:

1. The indication of where the compulsory labor took place, or the institution it benefitted, is rarely indicated in the Demotic receipts but was common in Greek receipts. Where cat. no. 27 has *r pꜣ ꜥwy ḥtp n pꜣ ḥb* “at the house of rest of the ibis,” *O. Taxes 2*, no. 96, and Muhs 2015a, no. 4, have *r qḥ(?) Nīw.t(?)* “for the district(?) of Thebes(?)”; therefore, while most labor receipts follow the formula “PN 1, X *naubia* for year Y,” these three receipts follow the formula “PN made X *naubia* at GN.” See the discussion in Muhs 2011, pp. 131–32.
2. The “house of rest of the ibis” refers to the catacombs employed in the interment of mummified ibis bundles. Since this text derives from Deir el Bahari, this phrase could very well refer to TT 11–12 and TT 141, reused in the Ptolemaic Period for the burial of votive mummies of ibises and falcons. The tomb has been the focus of excavations by a Spanish mission led by José M. Galán (see Galán 2007, pp. 777–88; Galán 2009, pp. 155–81). Demotic texts known from these tombs were originally studied in Spiegelberg 1908 and are now being restudied, with very interesting results, by Richard Jasnow and Chistina Di Cerbo as described in their paper, “Demotic Graffiti Pertaining to the Ibis and Falcon Cult from Dra Abu Naga,” presented at the 64th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt on 19 April, 2013 (to appear as Di Cerbo and Jasnow 2021). The Oriental Institute Museum contains a small corpus of Demotic votive texts, also without provenience and acquired through uncertain means, that refer to “the gods of the house of rest” (*nꜣ nꜥr.w n pꜣ ꜥwy n ḥtp*), some of which were dedicated specifically to “Thoth, the Ibis” (*Dḥwty pꜣ ḥb*). In the publication of these texts, the Theban west bank was suggested as a possible provenience, but the suggestion remains tentative (see Scalf 2015, pp. 361–72). The fact that receipts were issued for compulsory labor performed at *ibiotapheia* further proves the importance of state sponsorship and economic support within these cults.

Line 3:

1.  *Pꜣ-ḫm-nꜥr-Mw.t* “Phentenmous,” see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 783; *CDD M* (13 July 2010): 10.1, p. 68. The group could potentially be read as the title *pꜣ ḫm-nꜥr Mw.t* “the priest of Mut,” but the reference at the end of the line to *n=w* “for whom” requires more than a single individual to be named.

CATALOG NO. 28

OIM E19505 (D. 16476)

MMA 5A.861, no. 6

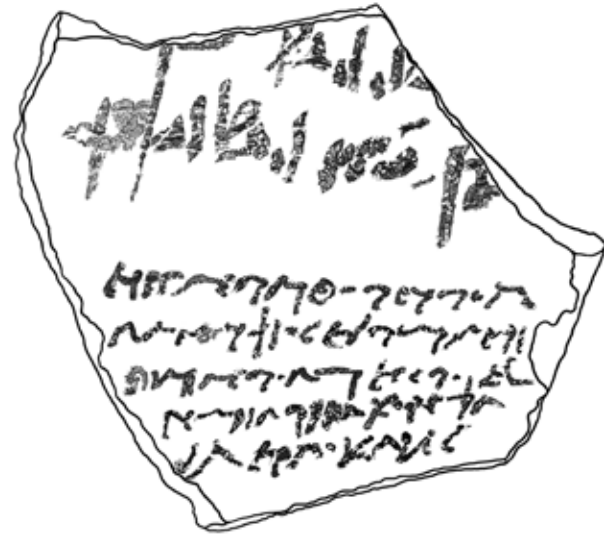
Receipt for Compulsory Labor

Ptolemy III(?), Year 13, Pachons 21(?)

= 8 July 234 BC

5.0 × 5.0 cm (Image 150%)

Unpublished



- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | [...] ... <i>hsb.t</i> 13 <i>sh</i> | [...] ... year 13. Signed |
| 2 | [<i>Hr</i>]- <i>wḏ</i> 3(?) <i>s</i> 3 <i>Dd-ḥr</i> (n) <i>hsb.t</i> 13 <i>ibt</i> 1 <i>šmw</i> sw 21(?) | [Har]uotes(?), son of Teos, (in) year 13, Pachons, day 21(?). |
| 3 | εἴργασται Θοτσουτομ | Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, has done (the work) |
| 4 | Πανουφιος ἐν τῷ περι | in the Peri- |
| 5 | θήβας τόπωι εἰς τὸ ἰδ (ἔτους) | Theban (tax) districts for the 14 th (year) |
| 6 | ναύβια τριάκοντα | (of) thirty <i>naubia</i> , |
| 7 | (γίνεται) λ' Ἑρμοκλῆς | (makes) thirty, Hermokles. |

Notes to cat. no. 28:

1. The top and upper right corner of the ostracon have broken away.

Line 2:

1. The patronym *Dd-ḥr* is clear, and the preceding traces resemble the writing of *wḏ*3 by the compulsory labor scribe no. 41 in Muhs 2011, pp. 237–38, previously attested in years 10, 17, and 24 of Ptolemy III. A compulsory labor receipt of the scribe *Ns-mn s*3 *Dd-ḥr* is attested in Muhs 2015a, no. 4, dated to year 11 of Ptolemy III, but the traces here do not resemble his writing of *Mn* in *Ns-Mn*.
2. The first sign of the season's name could belong either to *pr.t* or *šmw*, but *pr.t* can be excluded, for during *ibt* 1 *pr.t* "Tybi" the Egyptian civil year would still be the same as the Greek financial year. Consequently, the smudge after the first sign of the season's name should be seen as part of the number of the day rather than the season. The smudge is roughly diagonal with a horizontal extension and thus is most likely to be read together with the following vertical stroke as 21 (rather than 17, which the traces somewhat resemble).

Line 3

1. The initial epsilon and following iota of εἰργασται are ligatured, as are the first alpha and following sigma, and the second alpha and following iota. This use of the verb ἐργάζομαι is unique in Greek compulsory labor receipts. Five others use ἀπεργάζομαι (*O. Tait Bodl.*, nos. 243 and 244, and *O. Taxes* 2, nos. 97, 98, and 99), and one uses ἀναβάλλω (*O. Tait Bodl.*, no. 242). The sense of the verb, however, is close to the Demotic verb *ir* found in three receipts (cat. no. 27; *O. Taxes* 2, no. 96; Muhs 2015a, no. 4).
2. Θοτσυτομ | Πανουφιος is Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270. The personal name Thotsutom reflects its Egyptian origin and lacks a Greek declensional ending, usually rendered Thotsuthmis or Thotsutmis in the nominative. The patronym Panouphis is also of Egyptian origin, but it possesses a Greek ending and is declined in the genitive to indicate filiation according to Greek practice. For such linguistic interference in Greek representations of Egyptian names, see Muhs 2007, pp. 793–806; and Muhs 2010, pp. 187–197. Following the suggestion of Clarysse 1997, pp. 177–84, the Egyptian names written in Greek are not accented here.

Line 4:

1. ἐν τῷ περὶ | Θήβας τόπωι: The initial epsilon and following nu are ligatured, as are omega and iota, eta and beta, and the final alpha and sigma. The same Greek phrase occurs in *O. Tait Bodl.*, no. 244 (abbreviated ἐν τῷ περὶ Θή(βας) τόπωι), while *O. Tait Bodl.*, no. 243, has the singular variant “in the Peritheban (tax) district” (abbreviated ἐν τόν περὶ Θή(βας) τόπον). See cat. no. 27 for a general discussion of geographical names in compulsory labor receipts.

Line 5:

1. εἰς τὸ ἰδ (ἔτους): The initial epsilon and iota are ligatured. Greek year dates usually refer to the fiscal year introduced under Ptolemy II that began in Mecheir. Egyptian dates in the scribal signature refer to the civil year that began in Thoth, so in Pachons the Greek year date is one number higher than the Egyptian year date. For further discussion of these dates, see the introduction to salt tax receipts below, with the literature cited there.

Line 6:

1. ναύβια τριάκοντα | (γίνεται) λ: The upsilon expected in ναύβια is much reduced. There may be a metathesis of rho and iota in τριάκοντα, and kappa, omicron, and nu in τριάκοντα are ligatured. Thirty *naubia* was the annual requirement for male compulsory labor (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 57–59).

Line 7:

1. Ἑρμοκλῆς: This Greek tax official is otherwise unattested and should not be confused with the Greek compulsory labor official Hermophilos attested in *O. Taxes* 1, no. 97, dated to year 22 of Ptolemy III.

CATALOG NO. 29

OIM E19500 (D. 16465)

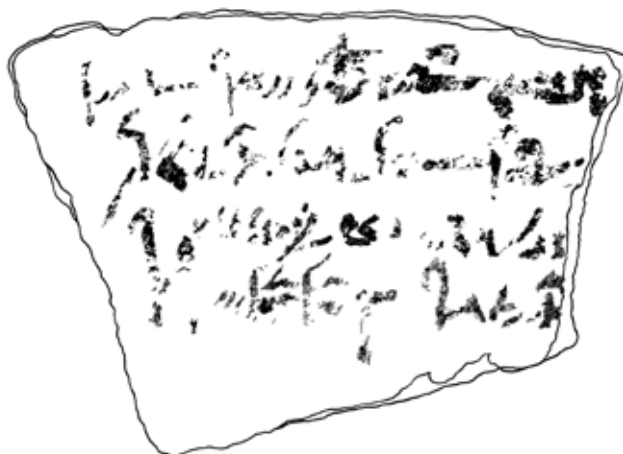
Receipt for Compulsory Labor

8.0 × 5.7 cm (Image 104%)

MMA 5A.862, no. 7

Ptolemaic

Unpublished



- 1 *īir-ḥr Nḥt(?) -Mn pʒ ...*
 2 *Dḥwty-sḏm sʒ Pa-nfr nby(?) 6 ḥ=f(?)*
 3 *[...] Ḥr-pa-ʒs.t(?) ... ḥr-r=f(?) ... nby(?) 9*
 4 *[...] nby(?) 15 sh Ḳmn-ḥtp(?) sʒ Pʒ-...*

To Nechthminis(?), the ...
 Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, six *naubia*(?) himself(?)
 [...] Harpaesis(?) ... under him(?) ... nine *naubia*(?)
 [...] fifteen *naubia*(?). Signed Amenotnes(?), son of Pa-

Notes to cat. no. 29:

Line 1:

1. The reading of a personal name ending in *-Mn* “-min” seems fairly certain. Although *Nḥt-mn* would appear to be the most likely possibility, the *nḥt* sign lacks the diagonal stroke and has an extra curve over the top. But the same problem arises with the reading *Ns-mn*, for which, moreover, we would not expect the extra signs between *Ns* and *mn*.
2. The end of the line is even more problematic. The reading *pʒ* after the PN seems likely, thus suggesting a title, with one possibility being *mr-ḥʒs.t* (“overseer of the necropolis”)—but the *mr* is rather small. A very speculative reading of the end of this line is *mr-ḥʒs.t n ḥḏ ḥʒs.t* “overseer of the necropolis for the tax of the necropolis.” However, references to *naubia* in the text makes this suggested reading unlikely. Alternatively, the dot and vertical stroke after the *pʒ* could be *sh* (“scribe”). It is possible to read the following group as *ḥw.t-nṯr* in *pʒ sh ḥw.t-nṯr* “the scribe of the temple.” The faded nature of the text on this ostrakon has made these suggestions tentative.

Line 2:

1. The reading *Dḥwty-sḏm sʒ Pa-nfr* seems quite clear, though admittedly the *sḏm* group, being somewhat elongated, does not have the orthography common in this corpus. Nor does the name typically end with a divine determinative.

2. The reading *nby* at the beginning of line 4 seems plausible, thus suggesting that the same word is also to be read in lines 2 and 3. Admittedly, these writings are quite different; they do, however, have parallels—see *O. Taxes* 1, nos. 31, 48, and 49; *O. Taxes* 2, nos. 95–99; Muhs 2015a, no. 4.

Line 3:

1. The *h=f* at the end of line 2 suggests that Thotsutmis is making a payment for himself and someone else. Thus we would expect a personal name in line 3.
2. The *ʒs.t* in our proposed *Hr-pa-ʒs.t* is admittedly not a very good writing, but for a parallel see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 807, no. 18. What follows could be a patronym with *Hr-...*, or perhaps a description beginning with something like *i.ir=s ...*, or *hr ...*

Line 4:

1. The beginning of line 4 presumably gives the total of lines 2 and 3. The annual requirement for *naubia* was thirty, but payments of seven and one-half, fifteen, and twenty-five are known (*O. Tait Bodl.*, no. 242; *O. Taxes* 1, no. 49; *O. Tait Bodl.*, no. 243, respectively).
2. The reading *ʔmn-htp* for the scribe's name seems plausible, but it fails to account for the strokes at the end of the line.

RECEIPTS FOR THE SALT TAX: CATALOG NOS. 30–32

HISTORY

The salt tax was an annual capitation tax in money on males and females introduced in year 22 of Ptolemy II. It appears to have replaced the yoke tax, a capitation tax in money on males only and attested from years 1–21 of Ptolemy II.²⁴⁵ The salt tax was exacted with the help of information contained in censuses, many fragments of which have survived on papyri. Village scribes listed the households in their villages, the names of the individuals in each household and their sex, and the occupations of the male heads of household. This information was summarized and passed up through the scribal administration, from village scribes to district scribes to provincial scribes and ultimately to the *dioiketes*, or chief financial minister, in Alexandria. Using this information, it was possible to predict closely the salt tax revenues from each village and to keep an accurate record of who had and had not paid the required salt tax.²⁴⁶

The predictability of the salt tax made it attractive to underwrite or tax farm. Papyrus Revenue Laws, columns 1–22, dated to year 27 of Ptolemy II, describes general rules for tax farming that presumably applied to the salt tax. Each year, provincial scribes conducted auctions in the provincial capitals—auctions in which tax farmers bid for the right to collect the salt tax in each district for the year. The state was guaranteed the amount of the winning bid because the tax farmers were liable for any shortfalls in collection and had to present securities for the amount of their bid. The tax farmers could make a profit, however, on any revenues collected above the amount of the winning bid.²⁴⁷ The state seems to have required tax farmers to issue receipts, usually on ostraca, to individuals or households who paid the salt tax in order to protect the taxpayers from avaricious or overzealous tax farmers.²⁴⁸

FORMULAE

Early Ptolemaic receipts on ostraca for the salt tax can be in Demotic, Greek, Aramaic (though rarely), or be bilingual. Demotic receipts usually take the form “(Taxpayer) PN1 (has brought) amount X for the salt tax for year Y, signed (scribe) PN2 on date Z.” In this formula, “year Y” refers to a fiscal year and “date Z” refers to a regnal year.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Muhs 1998, pp. 71–83; Muhs 2005a, pp. 6–10.

²⁴⁶ Clarysse and Thompson 2006, pp. 59–70.

²⁴⁷ Bingen 2007, pp. 163–68.

²⁴⁸ Muhs 2005a, pp. 21–23.

²⁴⁹ For a discussion of the correspondence of dating between the civil and fiscal calendars, see Vleeming 1994a, pp. 38–39. Building on Vleeming’s assembled data and conclusions, Jos Paulissen gave a paper at the Thirteenth International Conference of Demotic Studies arguing that “the commonly accepted view that the Greeks introduced the financial calendar in Egypt is challenged, since an Egyptian fiscal calendar must have been in operation earlier” (for the abstract, see Naether 2019, pp. xxii–xxiii). This research has recently been published in Paulissen and Vandorpe 2019, which includes an online supplement of tables derived from Trismegistos data. They disagree that “the Egyptian tax year” (e.g., “salt tax of year 37”) corresponded to “the Egyptian civil year (starting in Thoth)” (Paulissen and Vandorpe 2019, p. 147), in line with Vleeming’s observation, and thus propose reevaluating the traditional understanding of tax-year dates in Demotic documents represented by Clarysse and Thompson 2006, pp. 75–76: “For the salt-tax levy in the third century BC the fiscal year starting in Mecheir was probably used, though we have already noted that in demotic receipts the traditional Egyptian year is employed.” For Paulissen and Vandorpe, the one-year discrepancy between Greek fiscal years and Egyptian fiscal years where Greek fiscal year X = Egyptian year X-1 was the result of Ptolemy II’s backdating his regnal years to include his time spent in coregency with Ptolemy I (Paulissen and Vandorpe 2019, pp. 153–54, n. 36); they note, “the backdating of the Macedonian Year probably happened already early in Ptolemy’s reign (shortly after Dios 282 BCE), that of the Egyptian civil year took place later, on 29 October 267 BCE.” However, this conclusion does not take account of Muhs 1998, who demonstrated that Ptolemy II’s Egyptian regnal years were *not* backdated. Muhs’s conclusions were adopted in Depauw 2008 (see especially pp. x–xi). In addition to Muhs 1998 and the bibliography cited in Paulissen and Vandorpe 2019, the important discussion of Bennett 2018, adding Muhs 1998 data to the discussion, should be consulted.

TAXPAYERS AND RATES

Both males and females paid the salt tax, but at different rates, which changed through time. The salt tax was introduced in year 22 of Ptolemy II at the fixed “A” rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ kite (nine *obols*) per male and $\frac{1}{2}$ kite (six *obols*) per female per year, and it could be paid in semiannual installments. In year 32 of Ptolemy II, the “A” rate was replaced by a lower “B” rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ kite (six *obols*) per male and $\frac{1}{4}$ kite (three *obols*) per female per year. In year 5 of Ptolemy III, the “B” rate was supplemented by a still lower “C” rate of $\frac{1}{3}$ kite (four *obols*) per male and $\frac{1}{6}$ kite (two *obols*) per female per year.²⁵⁰

SCRIBES AND OFFICIALS

Many scribes signed early Ptolemaic salt tax receipts on ostraca. Many of these scribes were probably attached to temples in some capacity, for they are also found as witnesses to Demotic contracts drawn up by temple notaries. The scribes or teams of scribes who signed receipts for the salt tax seem to change in step with the tax farmers named on bilingual salt tax receipts. This observation suggests that the tax farmers who won the tax-farming bids hired their scribes away from the temples for the duration of their tax-farming contracts.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Clarysse and Thompson 2006, pp. 36–59.

²⁵¹ Muhs 2011, pp. 219–20.

CATALOG NO. 30

OIM E19488 (D. 16441)

Receipt for the Salt Tax

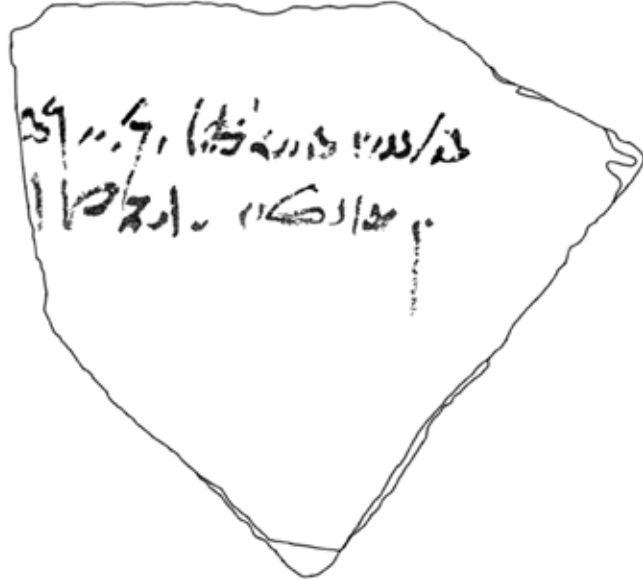
7.2 × 6.7 cm (Image 110%)

MMA 5A.861, no. 2 (Wångstedt Cgx + 31)

Ptolemy II, Year 34

= 252–251 BC

Unpublished



1 *Ta-rꜥ ta Pꜣ-šr-Mn ḥꜥ (qt) ¼ n ḥꜥ ḥmꜣ [...]*

Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, ¼ (silver) kite for the salt tax [...].

2 *sh Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-s n ḥsb.t 34 ibt 1 [...]*

Signed Thotorches on year 34, first month [...].

Notes to cat. no. 30:

1. The upper left corner of the ostrakon has broken away, along with the ends of both lines of text.

Line 1:

1. For *Ta-rṯ* (= Ταρατις), see *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 1198–99.
2. Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, is also attested in salt tax receipt cat. no. 31, dated to year 37 of Ptolemy II, Khoiak 30.
3. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver *kite* is $\frac{1}{2}$ *drachma* (three *obols*)—the annual female “B” rate for the salt tax from year 32 of Ptolemy II (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 41–43).

Line 2:

1. For *Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-s* (= Θοτορχης), see *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 1299–300. The name has already been read by Wångstedt 1978–1979, p. 17: “Noch einige von diesem Schreiber ausgefertigten Quittungen sind mir bekannt: DO BM 19338 (Ölsteuer. Jahr 32), DO Metropolitan Museum Cgx + 31. (Salzsteuer. Jahr 34), Cgx + 3. (? Jahr 36) und Cgx + 19. (Salzsteuer. Jahr 37).” The same parallels are also cited in Wångstedt 1980, p. 8 and n. 2. The name was common in early Ptolemaic Thebes, and without a patronym or matronym it is difficult to associate the simple name Thotorches with a known individual. Based on the similarity of the scribal hand, it seems likely that the scribe of cat. no. 30 is the same scribe named Thotorches who signed another salt tax receipt—one dated to year 34 of Ptolemy II, Pachons 14 (*O. Taxes* 1, no. 2). That receipt was made out for Amenothēs, son of Parates, who is attested in a bilingual salt tax receipt from year 29 of Ptolemy II (*O. Taxes* 1, no. 38) that is also signed by a scribe named Thotorches but on which the scribal hand looks different. The association between Amenothēs, son of Parates, and a scribe named Thotorches is attested in several other receipts, this time for the document tax and house tax (Muhs 2005a, pp. 87–88; corrected in Muhs 2011, pp. 183–85). At least three different scribes named Thotorches are known: scribe no. 15 in Muhs 2011, pp. 224–27, attested on salt, server, and guard tax receipts from years 29–37 of Ptolemy II and years 2–4 of Ptolemy III and possibly identical to the scribe of cat. nos. 30, 31, and 34; scribe 36 in Muhs 2011, p. 235, attested on price of oil receipts from year 32 of Ptolemy II; and scribe 44 in Muhs 2011, pp. 239–40, attested on the document tax and house tax receipts from years 2–12 of Ptolemy II.

CATALOG NO. 31

OIM E19492 (D. 16449)

MMA 5A.860, no. 1 (Wångstedt Cgx + 19)

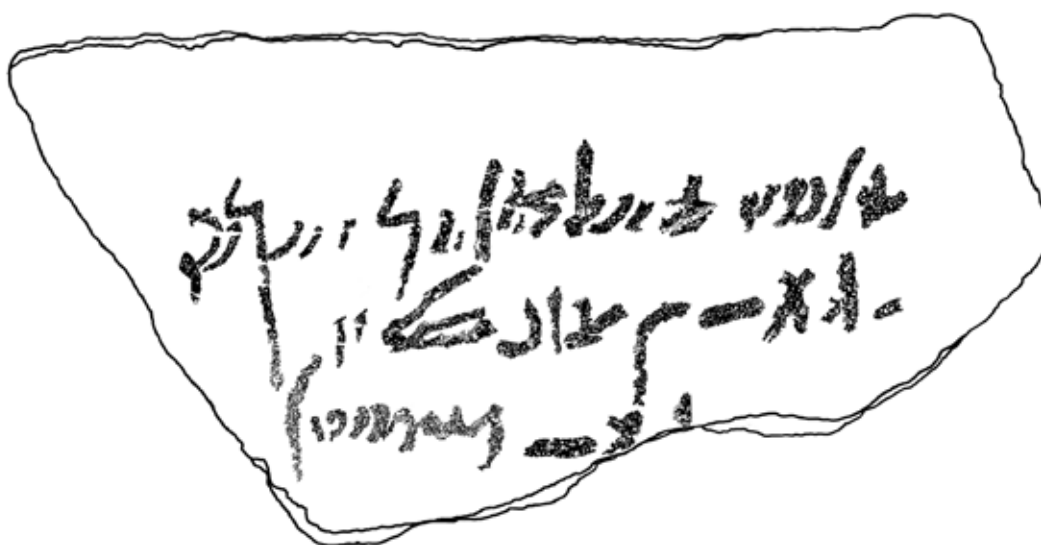
Receipt for the Salt Tax

Ptolemy II, Year 37, Khoiak 30

= 20 February 248 BC

9.0 × 5.9 cm (Image 165%)

Unpublished

1 *Ta-rꜥ ta Pꜣ-šr-Mn ḥꜣ qt ¼ r ḥꜣ ḥm?*Tarates, daughter of Psenminis, ¼ silver *kite* for the salt tax2 *n ḥsb.t 37 šꜣ Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-s*

of year 37. Signed Thotorches

3 *ꜥn ḥsb.t 37 ibt 4 ḥ.t sw 30*

ꜥon year 37, Khoiak, day 30.

Notes to cat. no. 31:

Line 1:

1. *Ta-rṭ ta Pš-šr-Mn* “Tarates, daughter of Psenminis” is also known from the salt tax receipt cat. no. 30, dated to year 34 of Ptolemy II.
2. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver kite is $\frac{1}{2}$ *drachma* (three *obols*)—the annual female “B” rate for the salt tax from year 32 of Ptolemy II (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 41–43).
3. *Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-s* “Thotorches” has already been read by Wångstedt 1978–1979, p. 17. The same parallels are also cited in Wångstedt 1980, p. 8 and n. 2. The same scribe may have signed cat. nos. 30 and 34.

CATALOG NO. 32

OIM E19501 (D. 16468)

MMA 5A.858, no. 7

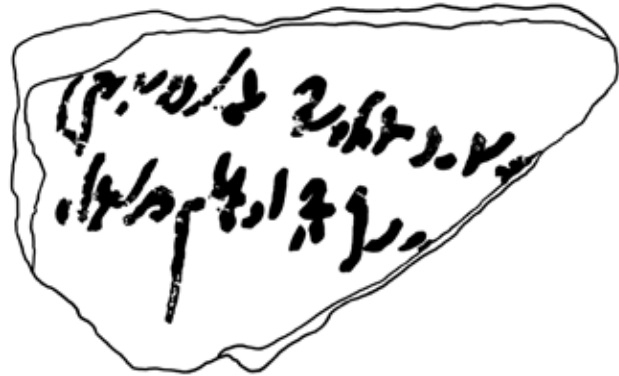
Receipt for the Salt Tax

Ptolemy III, Year 2 or 3

= 22 March 245 – 21 March 244 BC

5.9 × 3.6 cm (Image 147%)

Unpublished





- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | [Dḥwty-sdm] s3 Pa-nfr ḥd qt ½ Ta-rṯ t3y=f(?) rmt.t(?) | [Thotsutmis], son of Panouphis, ½ silver kite, Tarates, his(?) wife(?), |
| 2 | [...] ḥd ḥm3 ḥsb.t 2.t sh Hry=w | [... for] the salt tax of year 2. Signed Herieus. |

Notes to cat. no. 32:

1. The lower right corner of the ostrakon has broken away, along with the beginning of both lines of text.
2. The only date preserved in the text is the “salt tax of year 2.” Until recently, these so-called “tax year” dates were assumed to refer to Egyptian regnal years (see the discussion in the introduction to the salt tax receipts above). According to the recent theory of Paulissen and Vandorpe 2019, following from the observations of Vleeming 1994a, pp. 38–39, such dates referred to an Egyptian fiscal year (separate from the Greek fiscal year). If their hypothesis is correct, the reference to tax year 2 in this text could be equivalent to either regnal year 2 or 3 of Ptolemy III, as their proposed Egyptian fiscal year ran one year behind the Egyptian civil calendar for the first five months of the year (Thoth–Tybi). Thus, Egyptian tax year 2 for the reign of Ptolemy III would run from regnal year 2, Mecheir 1, to regnal year 3, Tybi 30. The absolute dates provided were based on this span of time.

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwtꜣ-sḏm sꜣ Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. ½ silver kite is one *drachma* (six *obols*)—the annual male “B” rate for the salt tax from year 32 of Ptolemy II (see Muhs 2005a, pp. 41–43).
3. For the reading of  as *tꜣy=f(?) rmt.t(?)* “his wife,” cf. the writing of  *tꜣ rmt.t* “the wife of ...” in *O. Taxes 2*, no. 65, a wool tax receipt from year 38 in the reign of Ptolemy II written by the same scribe Herieus. If the reading of *tꜣy=f(?) rmt.t(?)* “his wife” is correct, it allows us to identify Tarates as the wife of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. For further discussion, see chapter 4.

Line 2:

1. A scribe named Herieus is attested on several salt, wool, server, and guard tax receipts dating from year 34 of Ptolemy II to year 3 of Ptolemy III, once with the patronymic “son of Esminis.” See Scribe 21 in Muhs 2011, pp. 228–29.

RECEIPTS FOR THE INCOME OF A SERVER TAX: CATALOG NOS. 33-34

HISTORY

The income of a server tax appears to have been an annual occupational tax in money levied on males who performed religious services. It is first attested in year 23 of Ptolemy II, shortly after the introduction of the salt tax in year 22 of Ptolemy II, and combined receipts for the salt tax and the income of a server tax appear in year 5 of Ptolemy III.²⁵² The income of a server tax was probably collected with the help of the census, which listed the occupations of male heads of households. This coordination would help explain the server tax's close association with the salt tax, which was also collected with the help of the census.²⁵³ The income of a server tax was probably also farmed together with the salt tax—even before the appearance of combined receipts. The same teams of scribes signed receipts for the salt tax and receipts for the income of a server tax in the same fiscal years, and the teams of scribes seem to change in step with the tax farmers named on bilingual salt tax receipts.²⁵⁴

FORMULAE

Early Ptolemaic receipts on ostraca for the income of a server tax are exclusively in Demotic and usually take the form “(Taxpayer) PN1 (has brought) amount X for the income of a server tax for year Y, signed (scribe) PN2 on date Z.”²⁵⁵ The same form is used for Demotic salt tax receipts, probably because the same scribes wrote them.

TAXPAYERS

Only male payers of the income of a server tax are attested. Many payers of the income of a server tax appear to have been mortuary priests of the type known as *choachytes*, either because they are also attested as payers of the burial tax or because they are known from contemporary papyri concerning the incomes that mortuary priests received for their duties.

RATES

The income of a server tax is first attested in year 23 of Ptolemy II at the rate of three *obols*. It is then attested from year 27 of Ptolemy II at the rate of 3¼ *obols*. Starting in year 38 of Ptolemy II, combined receipts are issued for the income of the server tax, the guard tax, and one other tax, with an implied rate of 3¼ *obols* for the income of a server tax. In year 5 of Ptolemy III, combined receipts begin to be issued for the salt tax, the income of a server tax, and other taxes, again with an implied rate of 3¼ *obols* for the income of a server tax.²⁵⁶

SCRIBES AND OFFICIALS

The same teams of scribes signed receipts for the salt tax and receipts for the income of a server tax in the same fiscal years.

²⁵² Vleeming 1994, pp. 29–30; Muhs 2005a, pp. 55–56; Muhs 2011, pp. 91–95.

²⁵³ Clarysse and Thompson 2006, pp. 70–74.

²⁵⁴ Muhs 2011, pp. 219–32.

²⁵⁵ For a discussion of the “year Y” as referring to a fiscal year and “date Z” as referring to the Egyptian regnal year, see the introduction to the salt tax receipts above.

²⁵⁶ Muhs 2011, pp. 91–95.

CATALOG NO. 33

OIM E19507 (D. 16480)

MMA 5A.860, no. 8

Receipt for the Income of a Server Tax

Ptolemy II, Year 33

= 253–252 BC

5.0 × 3.8 cm (Image 166%)

Unpublished



1 [Dḥwty-sḏm sꜣ] Pa-nfr ḥꜣ (qt) ¼ dbꜣ.t ½ ¼ pꜣ q

[Thotsutmis, son of] Panouphis, ¼ silver (kite and) ¾
obol (for) the income

2 [rmꜥ iw=f šms n ḥsb.t] 33 sh Dḥwty-ir-ti-s ḥsb.t 33

[of a server (tax) of year] 33. Signed Thotortaïos in
year 33,

3 [...]

[... month of ... season, day]

Notes to cat. no. 33:

1. The right side of the ostrakon has broken away, along with the beginning of the first two lines of text and the entirety of a probable third line of text.

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwtj-sḏm s3 Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver *kite* $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ *obol* is $3\frac{3}{4}$ *obols*—one of the “standard” rates attested for the income of a server tax in the Theban area during the early Ptolemaic Period (see Muhs 2005a, p. 55; Vleeming 1994a, p. 30).

Line 2:

1. Separate receipts for the server tax were previously unattested for years 33–37 of Ptolemy II, though they were expected to exist by comparison with the receipts for the guard tax in years 33 and 34 of Ptolemy II (cf. cat. no. 34).

Line 3:

1. The final portion of the date is missing from the broken portion of the right-hand side of the ostrakon. Restoring the month, season, and date is warranted by comparing the attested dates in the seven receipts for the income of a server tax published in Muhs 2011, pp. 95–102, nos. 67–73. In each case, the signature of the scribe is followed by the year, month, and day—or just the month and day, when the year of payment is the same as the tax year indicated after the tax name.
2. Here there does not appear to be space for the signature of another scribe, though a second signature is attested on one other receipt for the income of a server tax (*O. Taxes* 2, no. 70).

CATALOG NO. 34

OIM E19515 (D. 16496)

MMA 5A.859, no. 8 (Wångstedt Cgx + 3)

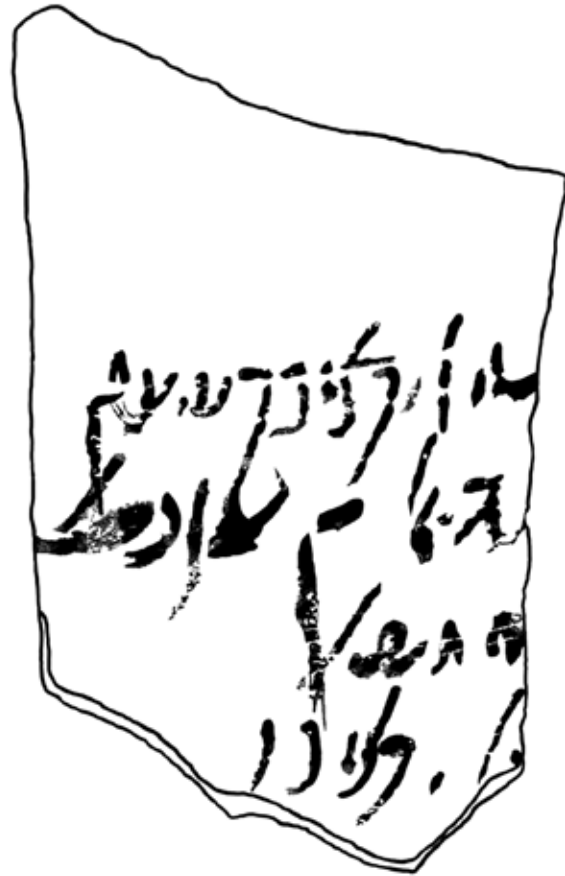
Receipt for the Income of a Server Tax

Ptolemy II, Year 36, Phamenoth or Pharmouthi 10

= 1 May 249 BC or 31 May 249 BC

5.3 × 3.3 cm (Image 219%)

Unpublished

1 [Dḥwty-sḏm s3 Pa]-nfr ḥd (qt) ¼ db^c.t ½ ¼ p3³ q rmt[Thotsutmis, son of Pa]noupḥis, ¼ silver (kite) ¾ obol
(for) the income of a

2 [iw=fšms n ḥsb.t] 36 sh Dḥwty-ir-rḥ[-s]

[server (tax) of year] 36. Signed Thotorche[s]

3 [...] ibt [...] pr.t sw 10

[...] planting season, day 10.

4 [...] sw 10 ḥd (qt) ¼ db^c.t ½ ¼

[...] day 10, ¼ silver (kite), ¾ obol.

Notes to cat. no. 34:

1. The right half of this ostrakon is missing, and the very bottom of the final line has been slightly damaged by a few small chips in the surface. There may be a small piece missing from the left-hand side as well, as indicated by the incomplete writing of the personal name in line 2.
2. For the date of this ostrakon, the reference to tax year 36 is well-enough preserved. The regnal year date is no longer preserved in the scribal signature. We are left with a date on day 10 in either Phamenoth or Pharmouthi (see the commentary below for a discussion of the reading of the month). If the Egyptian fiscal calendar proposed by Paulissen and Vandorpe 2019 ran from approximately 1 Mecheir – 30 Tybi, and if their suggestion that the majority of tax payments were made within the tax year—specifically within the first seven months of the tax year (see also Clarysse and Thompson 2006, pp. 76 and 80)—then it is likely the day 10 in either Phamenoth or Pharmouthi corresponded to regnal year 36 as well. The absolute dates provided for this text are based on a calculation employing day 10 of either Phamenoth or Pharmouthi in regnal year 36 of Ptolemy II.

Line 1:

1. *Dḥwtꜣ-sḏm sꜣ Pa-nfr* “Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis” is Theban Taxpayer 33 in Muhs 2005a, pp. 123–24; Muhs 2011, p. 270.
2. $\frac{1}{4}$ silver kite $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ obol is $3\frac{3}{4}$ obols—one of the “standard” rates attested for the income of a server tax in the Theban area during the early Ptolemaic Period (see Muhs 2005a, p. 55; Vleeming 1994a, p. 30).
3. For the form of *rmṯ*, cf. *tꜣy=f rmṯ.t* in cat. no. 32.1.

Line 2:

1. For “Thotorche[s],” see note to cat. no. 30.2. The same scribe may also appear in cat. no. 31.

Line 3:

1. The month is either Phamenoth (*ibt 3 pr.t*) or Pharmouthi (*ibt 4 pr.t*), as the traces at the beginning of line 3 do not fit for *ibt 1* or *ibt 2*.

Line 4:

1. The repetition of the amount paid after the scribal signature in line 2 suggests that the sherd originally bore a countersignature of a second scribe. A possible name for this second scribe cannot be suggested, for personal tax receipts from year 36 of Ptolemy II are extremely rare.

RECEIPTS UNIDENTIFIED: CATALOG NOS. 35-37

A few Demotic receipts do not identify the purpose of the payments recorded on them. Such unidentified receipts are unusual, for most receipts were intended to serve as evidence or proof that a tax or service obligation had been fulfilled. Consequently, most receipts carefully identified the obligation, the individual who had satisfied the obligation, and the scribe or official who had witnessed the completion of the obligation. Many obligations recurred annually, so dates were usually also provided, and tax rates sometimes varied, so amounts paid were often also specified.

In most receipts that do not identify the purpose of the payment, the name of the obligation has been lost through damage, as in cat. nos. 35 and 36. In a few cases the name of the obligation was never clearly specified, however, as in cat. no. 37, which only refers to *tnty.t*, “tax.” Such unspecified receipts could theoretically record the fulfillment of regular but unnamed obligations; alternatively, they could record the satisfaction of irregular, ephemeral, or private obligations that had no formal names. Cat. no. 37 might represent one of the latter possibilities, for the scribe also omitted his signature, the payer’s patronym, and the regnal year.

CATALOG NO. 35

OIM E19486 (D. 16437)

MMA 5A.861, no. 3

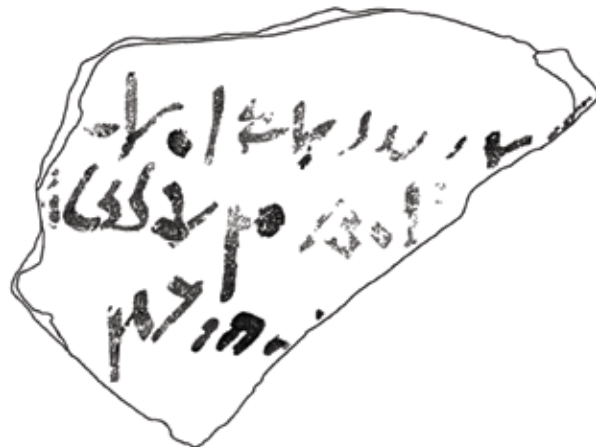
Receipt

Ptolemy III, Year 6, Epeiph or Mesore(?) 27

= 13 September or October 241 BC

7.8 × 4.3 cm (Image 110%)

Unpublished



- 1 ʾDd-ḥr sʾ P3-ti-nfr-ḥtp ḥd qt 1 n
- 2 [...] ḥsb.t 6 sh Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-[s]
- 3 [...] šmw sw 27

- ʾTeos, son of Petenephotes, 1 silver kite for
 [...] year 6. Signed Thotorch[es]
 [...] Epeiph or Mesore(?), day 27.


Notes to cat. no. 35:

1. The right half of this ostracum is missing, along with the beginnings of all three lines.
2. What this payment was for has been lost. The payment of “one silver kite” is most common in yoke tax receipts from the reign of Ptolemy II prior to year 22 (Muhs 2005a, pp. 30–36), though this amount also occurs in the document tax and the house tax (see Muhs 2011, pp. 183–86; and Muhs 2005a, pp. 70–71). The formula of this ostracum also adheres to the formulaic pattern of the yoke tax receipt: PN ḥd qt X n ḥd nhb ḥsb.t Y sh PN DATE “PN, X silver kite for the yoke tax of year Y. Signed PN on DATE.” *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 285, is another published yoke tax receipt (from year 6, dated to Epeiph 26), also for a payment of “one silver kite,” that had been attributed by the original editor to the reign of Ptolemy III (Devauchelle 1983, p. 51). These examples of the yoke tax have now been redated to the reign of Ptolemy II (Muhs 1998, pp. 71–85; Muhs 2005a, pp. 6, 30–31). Dating cat. no. 35 to year 6 of the reign of Ptolemy II, however, seems out of place with the contents of the archive, where the majority of dates derive from late in the reign of Ptolemy II, with the uncertain dates in the ostraca being best attributed to the reign of Ptolemy III. The formula suggests an annual fee paid in a single installment (“one silver kite for [the ... tax] of year 6”). For the early reign of Ptolemy III, the annual capitation tax was the salt tax, paid at a rate of ½–⅓ kite annually for men and ⅓ kite annually for women (Muhs 2005a, p. 42). The various incongruities make it difficult to say more than that cat. no. 35 most closely resembles those receipts from early in the reign of Ptolemy II.

Line 1:

1. The initial long diagonal stroke extends over the chip in the corner of the sherd. This stroke could form part of *ḏd* or perhaps *ḥr*. The traces at the end fit most appropriately to *ḏd-ḥr* (*Demot. Nb.*, pp. 1368–69), rather than, e.g., *ḥr-sj-ḥs.t* (*Demot. Nb.*, pp. 834–35). A taxpayer named Teos, son of Petenephotes, is attested in five yoke tax receipts (Muhs 2005a, p. 110, = Taxpayer 8) and one burial tax receipt (Muhs 2011, pp. 150 and 268, = *O. Taxes* 2, no. 110) from years 11–15 of the reign of Ptolemy II.
2. The flat horizontal stroke at the end of the line has traditionally been interpreted as the preposition *n* “to, for,” but Muhs 2011, p. 10, n. to line 4, suggests that such strokes can be interpreted as “‘filler strokes’ to prevent fractions from being added, particularly when there is no following tax name” (cf. *O. Taxes* 2, nos. 5.1–5 and 7.1–2).

Line 2:

1. The left side of the ostrakon is largely intact, with a small chip causing a lacuna at the very end of the scribe’s name  *Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-[s]*. The orthography of this name, with its distinctively curved divine determinative on *Dḥwty*, is very reminiscent of Scribe 44 in Muhs 2011, pp. 239–40, attested on Wångstedt 1967, no. 18; *Fs. Zauzich* 1, no. 53; *O. Louvre dem.*, no. 78; and Wångstedt 1969, no. 13.

Line 3:

1. Epeiph or Mesore(?): Remaining traces of the date must be either *ibt* 3 or *ibt* 4.

CATALOG NO. 36

OIM E19499 (D. 16463)

Receipt

6.4 × 3.6 cm (Image 125%)



MMA 5A.861, no. 8

Ptolemaic, Year 8, Pharmouthi 20

Unpublished



- 1 [...] ...
- 2 [...] ... *mḥt(?) Mȝy-rs(?)*
- 3 [...] ... *n ḥsbt(?) 8.t(?)*
- 4 [...] *ibt 4 pr.t sw 20*

- 1 [...] ...
- 2 [...] ... north(?) Mires(?)
- 3 [...] ... in year(?) 8(?).
- 4 [...] Pharmouthi, day 20.

Notes to cat. no. 36:

1. The top (and right?) sides of this ostracon have broken away.

Line 2:

1. For *Mȝy-rs(?)*, cf. *Demot. Nb.*, p. 576.

CATALOG NO. 37

OIM E19495 (D. 16455)

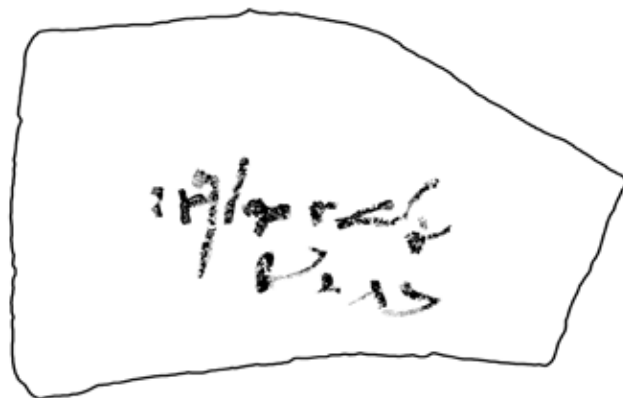
Receipt

7.5 × 5.0 cm (Image 108%)

MMA 5A.859, no. 3

Ptolemaic, Payni 22

Unpublished

1 *Ḏḥwty-sḏm ḏb^c.t(?) 1(?) tny.(t)(?)*Thotsutmis, one(?) *obol*(?) (for) the tax(?)2 *ibt 2 šmw sw 22*

Payni, day 22.

Notes to cat. no. 37:

Line 1:

1. It is tempting to read the end of the line after *Ḏḥwty-sḏm* “Thotsutmis” as a patronym *sḏ Pa-nfr* “son of Pa-nouphis,” but this reading does not seem possible. The first two signs might be *ḏb^c.t(?)* 1 “one *obol*,” and the final three signs might be *ḥm?* “salt,” but one *obol* is not a known rate for the salt tax. An alternative would be to read the final word as *ḥnq* “beer” and interpret this receipt as one for the beer tax. However, the payment of “one *obol*” is likewise not a known payment for the beer tax. Reading *tny.(t)(?)* as a generic reference to a tax payment is convenient and reminiscent of the receipts for the “tax of month X” (see Muhs 2005a, 37–39).

LETTERS: CATALOG NOS. 38–39

Demotic letters were more commonly written on papyri than on ostraca.²⁵⁷ The use of ostraca was comparatively rare in the fourth and third centuries BC (when only about 10 percent of letters were written on ostraca) but became more common in the second and first centuries BC, when the use of ostraca for letters grew fivefold (to about 50 percent).²⁵⁸ Demotic letters often employed a range of regular formulae to identify the sender and the intended recipient. Letters written on papyri were usually rolled or folded and sealed, and therefore required an exterior address.²⁵⁹ Letters written on ostraca could not be rolled, folded, or sealed, however, and often began with what would be the interior address on papyri—for example, *A sm r B* “A blesses B,” *iir-hr B* “To B,” or *A p nty dd (n B)* “It is A who speaks (to B).”²⁶⁰

Some letters on ostraca, however, dispense with some or all of the usual epistolary formulae identifying the sender and the intended recipient. For example, cat. no. 38 begins with a declarative statement *šp n rmt.w p hry Pa-smʒ-tʒ.wy lq nhḥ 1 r-h fʒy n-im=f wbʒ p hry Pa-smʒ-tʒ.wy* “The people of the deceased Psemtous have received one bowl of oil in accordance with delivering it on account of the deceased Psemtous.” It then turns to direct speech: *ink iir dd n=f dd fʒy m-bʒ Pa-smʒ-tʒ.wy bn iw=y ...* “I am the one who says to him: Deliver before Psemtous. I will not” Neither the sender nor the intended recipient is identified, however, unless the name and patronym on the reverse refers to one of them. Cat. no. 39, in contrast, begins with an epistolary formula, *st ir-rḥ s dd* “This is to inform as follows.”²⁶¹ It too turns to direct speech, and it also fails to identify either the sender or the intended recipient.

Some categories of administrative documents regularly adopt some of the usual formulae of letters, while others only occasionally do so.²⁶² For example, cat. no. 11 appears to provide permission to build on a plot of land. Like many other permissions to build, it begins like a letter by identifying the sender and the intended recipient: *ʿbq sʒ Tʒy-Hr-pʒ-tʒ pʒ rt(?) pʒ mr-šn(?) [pʒ] nty dd n Dḥwty-sdm sʒ Pa-nfr* “[It is] Abukis, son of Searphos, the agent(?) of the *lesonis*(?), who speaks to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis.” Cat. no. 29, on the other hand, looks like a receipt for performance of compulsory labor by Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, and its presence in his ostraca archive supports that interpretation. Unlike most receipts, however, it begins like a letter addressed to an official rather than to Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis: *iir-hr Nḥt(?) -Mn pʒ sh(?) ḥw.t-ntr(?)* “To Nechthminis(?), the scribe(?) of the temple(?)”

²⁵⁷ Depauw 2006, pp. 71–85 and Graph 2.

²⁵⁸ Depauw 2006, pp. 91–92 and Graph 3.

²⁵⁹ Depauw 2006, pp. 113–27.

²⁶⁰ Depauw 2006, pp. 127–59.

²⁶¹ Depauw 2006, p. 277.

²⁶² Depauw 2006, pp. 317–21.

CATALOG NO. 38

Memorandum

6.1 × 6.1 cm (Image 100%)



Obverse

- 1 šp nʒ rmt.w pʒ hry Pa-smʒ-tʒ.wy
- 2 lq nhḥ 1 r-ḥ ʒy n-im=f
- 3 wbʒ pʒ hry Pa-smʒ-tʒ.wy ink iir ḡḡ
- 4 n=f ḡḡ ʒy m-bʒḥ Pa-smʒ-tʒ.wy bn iw=y
- 5 ti rh(?) [...]

Reverse

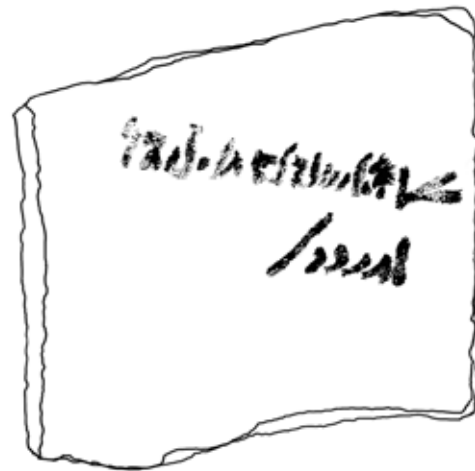
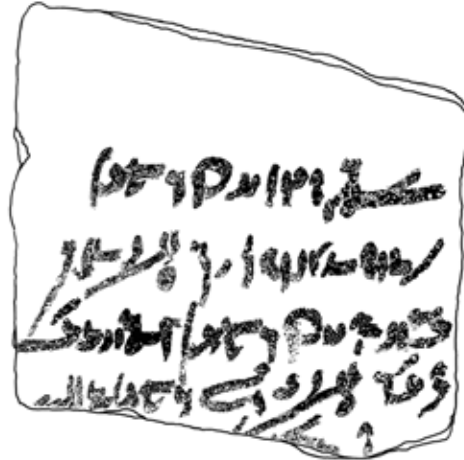
- 1 Ns-Mn sʒ Pʒ-ti-ḡmn-nsw-tʒ.wy n ḥsb.t 36(?)
- 2 ibt 1 prt sw 10

MMA 5A.858, no. 9 + 5A.859, no. 9

Ptolemy II, Year 36, Tybi 10

= 2 March 249 BC

Unpublished



Obverse

The people of the deceased Psemtous have received one bowl of oil in accordance with delivering it on account of the deceased Psemtous. I am the one who says to him: Deliver before Psemtous. I will not allow ... to know(?) [...]

Reverse

Esminis, son of Petemestous, on year 36(?), Tybi, day 10.

Notes to cat. no. 38:

1. The current location of this ostrakon has not been identified. The hand copy was produced exclusively from the MMA's field photograph.
2. The bottom left corner of the ostrakon has been broken away, thus resulting in the loss of the end of line 5 and any further lines that existed on the obverse. The text on the reverse appears complete.

Obverse:

Line 2:

1. For the reading $f\bar{y} n-im=f$ "delivering it," cf. the same verb that occurs in line 4, but here there is an extra group between the verb and the suffix $=f$. This group could be a \bar{t} infix before the suffix, but it looks more like the suffix form of the preposition m ($n-im=$). The use of the durative form of the direct object here would be unusual, however.

Line 4:

1. There is no logical antecedent for the singular pronoun "him" in $n=f$ "to him" because "the people" is plural and Psemtous is deceased. Presumably the pronoun refers to a delivery person, over whom the writer asserts his exclusive authority.
2. $\bar{d}d$ "saying" has been written with the speech determinative to distinguish the direct speech marker from the verb $\bar{d}d$ "to say," which appears in line 3.
3. Orders for payment or delivery ($f\bar{y}$ "deliver") usually employ a causative imperative with my , "Cause that," rather than the simple imperative used here.
4. The base of the second vertical stroke after the bn group in $bn iw=y$ "I will not" is partially obscured by the beginning of the suffix pronoun $=y$, but enough of this second vertical stroke is visible so that a reading $bn-pw=y$ "I have not" can be excluded.

Line 5:

1. The shape of the bottom right corner of the sherd seems to be original, for the beginning of this line appears to have been indented to accommodate the shape. The loss of the bottom left corner of the sherd, however, renders the reading $rh(?)$ "know(?)" in $ti rh(?) \dots$ [...] "allow ... to know(?) [...]" uncertain.

Reverse:

Line 1:

1. Regarding the scribe $Ns-Mn s\bar{y} P\bar{z}-t\bar{i}-\bar{I}mn-nsw-t\bar{z}.wy$ "Esminis, son of Petemestous," we know that a scribe named Esminis was responsible for most Theban price of oil receipts dated between years 30 and 38 of Ptolemy II (see Muhs 2011, pp. 234–35, Scribe 35). This ostrakon is an order for delivery apparently associated with a funerary cult, however, rather than a price of oil receipt associated with a commodity monopoly.
2. The ones digit of the regnal year ($hsb.t$ 36(?) "year 36(?)") is faint and uncertain. "Six" is the most likely reading, though the lower element is almost a straight line rather than the expected c-shape. "Five" and "two" are also possible, but the necessary link between the two vertical elements is not visible.

CATALOG NO. 39

OIM E19479 (D. 16422)

Letter

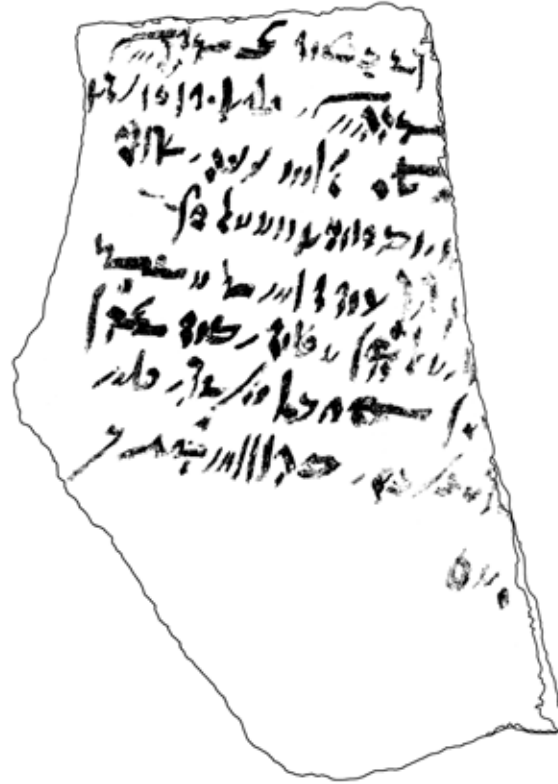
13.0 × 7.4 cm (Image 82%)



MMA 5A.859, no. 4

Ptolemaic

Unpublished



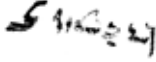
- 1 [...] *st ir-rḥ s ḏḏ šm n=y*
- 2 [...] *šm n=y r nʒ ʿwy.w n nʒ Ḳšwr(?)*
- 3 [...] *rsy(?) tw=y iw r rʒ*
- 4 [...] *.w Tʒy-wʒḥ-mw irm Pʒ-šr-Ḳmn*
- 5 [...] *... iw=s ḥwy.t=n bnr*
- 6 [...] *... sʒ Pʒ-šr-Mn pʒ wʒḥ-mw r-ir=s ḥtp.w*
- 7 [...] *=w(?) m-ir hb=w ʿrq r-ḥr=y*
- 8 [...] *... pʒ ḥr(?) r-wn-nʒw iw=y in.t=f*
- 9 [...] ...

- [...] This is to inform as follows: Go for me,
 [...] Go for me to the houses of the Syrians(?)
 [...] south. I have come to the gate
 [...] Taywahmu and Psenamounis
 [...] ... and she cast us out.
 [...] ... son of Psenminis, the *choachyte*, whom she
 made(?) offerings
 [...] Do not send them. Swear to me
 [...] ... the food which I had brought
 [...] ...

Notes to cat. no. 39:

1. The right side of the ostrakon has broken away, along with the beginning of all nine lines.

Line 1:

1. For the expression  *st ir-rḥ s dd*, see the comments of Martin, Smith, and Davies 2011, p. 276, note (c) to P. S.H5-DP 27 [1625], line 2. For the alternative translation “They know how to say ...,” see *CDD R* (01.1), p. 56, citing *EG* 690, and for “They know that ...,” see Jasnow and Pouls Wegner 2006–2007, no. 15.2. As noted in Depauw 2006, p. 277, this formula frequently introduces the main body of a letter after the introductory formulae identifying the sender and intended recipient, which formulae are not preserved on Cat. No. 39.
2. One expects *m-šm* for the imperative. The verb *šm* plus ethical dative usually has the sense of “go away, withdraw,” as in contracts, for which see *CDD Š* (10.1), p. 124.

ACCOUNTS: CATALOG NOS. 40–42

Demotic accounts and lists were more commonly written on ostraca than on papyri.²⁶³ Scholars often distinguish between Demotic accounts with multiple variables, or “accounts,” and those with a single variable, or “lists,” but many single-variable “lists” were probably implicitly accounts. The two main Demotic terms for accounts, *ip* “account” and *wn* “list,” could suggest a similar distinction, but Demotic scribes did not apply them consistently to accounts with multiple or single variables respectively.²⁶⁴

Demotic scribes used two main formats for accounts. Horizontal formats simply list names or numbers one after another from right to left in a line of text, while vertical formats list names or numbers one after another from the top down in a column. Horizontal formats correlate pieces of data by juxtaposing names or numbers next to each other in the same line, while vertical formats do so by juxtaposing names or numbers next to each other in parallel columns.²⁶⁵ Cat. nos. 40–42 are all vertical-format accounts or lists. Loss of columns in damaged vertical-format accounts can make them appear to be lists, and in fact both cat. nos. 41 and 42 have lost their left sides and could be damaged accounts rather than lists of names.

Accounts and lists may begin with headings that explain their purpose. These headings often begin with a phrase—such as *pꜣ ip* “the account,” *pꜣ wn* “the inventory,” *pꜣ rn* “the name,” *pꜣ rmt* “the man,” or *pꜣ hy* “the expense”—and are modified and specified by a genitive or a relative clause.²⁶⁶ Cat. no. 41 is an example of an account or list that begins with a heading in line 1: *nꜣ rmt.w nty iw wn-nꜣ.w* [...] “the men who were [...]” Other accounts and lists, however, consist solely of names or numbers whose significances were once clear to their long deceased scribes.²⁶⁷ Cat. nos. 40 and 42 are examples of accounts or lists without headings. Some accounts and lists employ check marks to distinguish the status of different items.²⁶⁸ Cat. no. 42 uses such check marks.

²⁶³ Eid 2018, pp. 64–65.

²⁶⁴ Eid 2018, pp. 47–50.

²⁶⁵ Eid 2018, pp. 54–55.

²⁶⁶ Eid 2018, pp. 51–53.

²⁶⁷ Eid 2018, p. 56.

²⁶⁸ Eid 2018, p. 53.

CATALOG NO. 40

OIM E19487 (D. 16439)

Account

8.3 × 5.3 cm (Image 107%)



Column 1

- 1 *P3y-3s.t 1.t*
- 2 *Ta-B3st.t 3.t*
- 3 *Ta-km 2.t*
- 4 *Gm=w-3p(?) 2.t*
- 5 *T3-3r.t-3nm 2.t*
- 6 *Ta-ry 2.t*
- 7 *[T3]-3r.t(?)-3mn ta Ns-Mn(?) 2.t*

Column 2

- 1 [...]
- 2 [...]
- 3 [...]
- 4 ... [...]
- 5 *Ta-... [...]*
- 6 *T3-... [...]*
- 7 [...]

MMA 5A.858, no. 4

Ptolemaic

Unpublished



Column 1

- Piesis, 1
- Thaubastis, 3
- Takem, 2
- Komoapis, 2
- Tsenchnoubis, 2
- Tary, 2
- [T]senamounis, daughter of Esminis(?), 2

Column 2

- [...]
- [...]
- [...]
- ... [...]
- Ta... [...]
- Te... [...]
- [...]

Notes to cat. no. 40:

1. This ostrakon preserves a list of seven names, with amounts in whole numbers next to the names. It is uncertain exactly what is being tallied. A second column followed, of which only the very beginning elements from two personal names are preserved. Out of the seven names of individuals in this account, at least five are certainly the names of women, while one remains uncertain (line 4). In addition, the fragmentary traces of names from additional columns to the left begin also with feminine elements (*Ta-* or *Tʔ-*). That this account would contain such a high proportion of women is suggestive of a specific purpose—perhaps money lending between women (cf. the Coptic archive of Kolodje in Wilfong 1990; Wilfong 2002) or even an association of priestesses (cf. De Cenival 1977, pp. 6–12). Compare NAVZ ostrakon no. 12 (for women) and NAVZ Ostrakon no. 20 (for men with priestly titles, e.g., *ḥm-nṯr* and *mr-šn*), published in Jasnow and Pouls Wegner 2006–2007, pp. 32–33, and 36.

Line 1:

1. For *Pʔy-ʔs.t* (= Πησε), see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 435. Although the reading *Pʔ-mʔy* (= Πμοις—see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 186) is tempting, the group for *mʔy* is lacking the expected signs at the end.

Line 3:

1. The reading of *Ta-km* seems clear. Perhaps this name is related to *Ta-kmy* “the Egyptian” (*Demot. Nb.*, p. 1215) or the root *kʔm* “garden” (EG 557).

Line 4:

1. For *Gm=w-ḥp(?)*, cf. *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1024.

Line 6:

1. For *Ta-ry*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1196, and cf. *Ta-rṯ* (= Ταπατις), *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1198.

CATALOG NO. 41

OIM E19484 (D. 16432)

List of Names

9.3 × 5.5 cm (Image 82%)

MMA 5A.862, no. 6

Ptolemaic

Unpublished

1 *n3 rmṭ.w nty iw wn-n3w ... [...]*

The men who were ... [...]

2 *Pa-n3-ḥt.w s3 ... [...]*

Panachetes, son of ... [...]

3 *Imn-ḥtp s3 ... [...]*

Amenothes, son of ... [...]

Notes to cat. no. 41:

1. The left half of the ostracon has broken away, along with the ends of all three lines. The bottom of the ostracon may also be broken away.

Line 1:

1. An alternative reading for *iw wn-n3w* could be *iw wn mtw=w* “to whom belongs [...]”

Line 3:

1. Several individuals with the name Amenothes are mentioned throughout the archive: cat. nos. 10, 9, and 3. In burial tax receipt cat. no. 3, there is a deceased individual named Peuoris, son of Amenothes, in line 2 and a scribe named Amenothes in line 5. In burial plot receipt cat. no. 9.6, a Horos, son of Amenothes, is a burial plot owner. In the document tax receipt cat. no. 10, an “Amenothes [son of(?) ...]” is the taxpayer in line 1. Amenothes here in cat. no. 41 cannot be securely identified with any of these individuals.

CATALOG NO. 42

OIM E19497 (D. 16459)

List of Names

8.8 × 6.4 cm (Image 89%)

MMA 5A.862, no. 1

Ptolemaic

Unpublished



- 1 — Pa-rꜥ sꜥ Pa-wꜥ ... [...]
- 2 — ꜥy-m-ꜥtp sꜥ Rrw [...]
- 3 — Ns-na-ꜥmnw-ꜥw [...]
- 4 — Pa-rꜥ sꜥ ꜥw=f-ꜥw [...]
- 5 — Pꜥ-ꜥtr [...]

- ✓ Parates, son of Paues [...]
- ✓ Imouthes, son of Lolous ... [...]
- ✓ Snachomneus [...]
- ✓ Parates, son of Ioufaa ... [...]
- ✓ Phatres [...]

Notes to cat. no. 42:

Line 1:

1. Here the sign transliterated “—” is a simple check mark next to the personal name in what is perhaps a work roster recording the presence of workmen.

Line 2:

1. A taxpayer Imouthes, son of Lolous, is known from yoke tax receipt *O. Taxes* 2, no. 6, dated to year 16 Hathyr 13, probably of Ptolemy II; from salt tax receipt *O. Taxes* 2, no. 26, dated to year 29 Epeiph 25 of Ptolemy II; and from price of oil receipt cat. no. 16 (see further, Muhs 2011, p. 270).

Line 4:

1. The patronym ꜥw=f-ꜥw is faded, but a taxpayer Pa-rꜥ sꜥ ꜥw=f-ꜥw is attested on tax receipts *O. Taxes* 1, no. 19, and *O. Taxes* 2, nos. 13, 15, 139, and 146, dating between years 24 and 28 of Ptolemy II, as well as name list *O. Taxes* 2, no. 155 (see Taxpayer 21A in Muhs 2011, pp. 270–71).



Line 5:




1. The occurrence of Pꜥ-ꜥtr [...] in the line immediately following Pa-rꜥ sꜥ ꜥw=f-ꜥw could perhaps indicate that this is Pꜥ-ꜥtr sꜥ ꜥw=f-ꜥw, brother of Pa-rꜥ sꜥ ꜥw=f-ꜥw, known from *O. Taxes* 2, nos. 151 and 155. It is common to find brothers listed one after the other, as in *O. Taxes* 2, nos. 155 and 156.



CHAPTER 6

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: READING THE DEMOTIC SIGNS FOR ḥḏ , ḥḏ-qt , AND qt

Scribes of the Ptolemaic Period recorded payments of *deben* and *kite* with a variety of Demotic sign groups followed by numerals and/or fractions depending upon whether the payment was made in whole *deben*, whole *kite*, or fractions of *kite*.²⁶⁹ As the *kite* was itself $\frac{1}{6}$ of a *deben*, there were no fractions of *deben* as such.²⁷⁰ The appearance of the Demotic signs was further determined by the personal preference of the individual scribe. Interpreting the various signs requires not only close attention to the form of the signs themselves, but also the context of the individual payments. Didier Devauchelle has discussed the potential confusion of these signs, and his basic conclusions are supported by the evidence from the archive of Thotsutmis, among others.²⁷¹ When written out in most explicit form, the Demotic sign for ḥḏ “silver (*deben*)” is followed by a diagonal stroke for *qt* “kite” (in $\text{ḥḏ qt } \frac{1}{2}$: cat. no. 2: ; cat. no. 3: ). Scribes commonly, and inevitably, abbreviated these signs in a number of ways that has resulted in a confusing plethora of interpretations for the signs and how to read them, perhaps reflective of confusion in the ancient sources.



The abbreviated Demotic sign forms that occur before the numeral in such payments can be roughly described as a dot  (•), a dot with a slash  (/•), or just a slash  (/).²⁷² In general, it has been assumed that the dot (•) represents ḥḏ “silver,” the dot with a slash (/•) represents ḥḏ qt , and the slash alone (/) represents *qt*.²⁷³ Some editors have taken the signs as essentially interchangeable, with ḥḏ being understood as short for ḥḏ qt “silver (*kite*),” and *qt* as short for ḥḏ qt “(silver) *kite*.”²⁷⁴ In several cases, there occurs a sign for which it is difficult to determine with certainty whether a dot or a slash was intended. The signs, however, are not interchangeable, and the sign indeterminate between a dot or slash is most likely to be read as ḥḏ qt “silver (*kite*),” rather than the alternative ḥḏ *qt* “(silver) *kite*,” regardless of whether it appears more or less like a slash or dot. The slash (/) rarely occurs alone and most commonly appears together with the dot for ḥḏ qt “silver *kite*,” mostly to avoid confusion with ḥḏ + whole number “silver (*deben*)” vs. ḥḏ + fraction “silver (*kite*).” As pointed out by Devauchelle, ḥḏ before whole numbers indicates ḥḏ (tbn) “silver (*deben*),” and ḥḏ before fractions indicates ḥḏ qt “silver (*kite*).” There was no need to indicate *deben* or *kite* in these cases, for fractions of *deben* did not exist. Or to phrase it in another way, *kite* were the fractions for the *deben*.

²⁶⁹ The phenomenon is well illustrated by *O. Varia*, no. 41.1–2, where we find  $\text{ḥḏ 3 qt } \frac{4}{5}$ “3 (*deben*), $\frac{4}{5}$ kite of silver” next to  ḥḏ qt 5 “5 silver *kite*.”

²⁷⁰ Note the remarks of Vleeming 1994a, p. 123, n. bb: “If the sum consisted entirely of fractions, the *kite* sign could be omitted by the demotic scribes without risk of confusion; for the higher monetary unit, *dbn*, could have no fractions in demotic.”

²⁷¹ Devauchelle 1986, pp. 157–58.

²⁷² Erichsen in his *Glossar* (p. 552) conflates these forms, along with forms for $\text{ḏb}^{\text{c}}\text{t}$ “*obol*.”

²⁷³ In *O. Varia*, no. 4.2–3, the scribe first writes  ḥḏ qt 2 “2 silver *kite*” in line 2, then abbreviates it in line 3 as  for the writing of ḥḏ qt 6 “6 silver *kite*.” As the editor Vleeming notes, “The scribe writes alternatively the full ḥḏ sign (l. 2) and this abbreviation to a mere dot, if combined with the word *ḏd*” (Vleeming 1994a, p. 16, n. c).





²⁷⁴ For comparison, in *O. Varia*, no. 61.3, a dot with a slash is interpreted as *qt* (1) “(1) *kite*,” as opposed to the interpretation of the dot with a slash as ḥḏ qt “silver *kite*” in Vleeming 1994a, discussed in the note above. However, *O. Varia*, no. 61, is Early Roman in date, when the *deben* had fallen out of use and was replaced by the *stater*. At that point, there was no longer a need to distinguish between ḥḏ (tbn) “silver *deben*” and ḥḏ qt “silver *kite*.”

Consequently, *qt* “kite” or *ḥḏ qt* “silver kite” only needed to be explicitly written out before whole numbers between one and nine, where there could be ambiguity between *deben* and *kite*. For these reasons, we tend to favor reading a single sign in front of a fraction as *ḥḏ* “silver (*kite*),” rather than *qt* “(silver) kite.”

Early Ptolemaic receipts confirm that the dot and slash (/•) are usually carefully written out before whole numbers of *kite*; before whole numbers, the slash by itself (/) is rare, and the dot (•) alone is non-existent. There are no attested examples of the dot before whole numbers, which by context must represent *kite*. Contrary to Devauchelle, however, the dot and slash (/•) are sometimes also written in front of fractions, perhaps to distinguish between fractions of *kite* and fractions of *obols* (*ḏbʿ.t*). The most unambiguous examples in the Thotsutmis archive derive from the burial tax receipts, where *ḥḏ qt ½* “½ silver kite” is clearly written in several examples (cat. nos. 2–4). There is also an example in a salt tax receipt (cat. no. 32). All these receipts were signed by different scribes.

Examples from the O. Edgerton corpus have been gathered in Table 6.1 below. The table is organized first into groups based on a writing of *ḥḏ qt* and *ḥḏ (qt)*, then by descending amount of commodity, and finally by similarity of sign form. The table is representative for the corpus with the exception of several fragmentary and less certain examples that were omitted from the table.

Table 6.1. The Demotic Groups for $h\bar{d} qt$ and $h\bar{d} (qt)$

$h\bar{d} qt$		$h\bar{d} (qt)$	
Cat. no. 10.2	 $h\bar{d} qt 6$	Cat. no. 24.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{6}$
Cat. no. 35.1	 $h\bar{d} qt 1$	Cat. no. 18.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
Cat. no. 2.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{2}$	Cat. no. 30.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
Cat. no. 3.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{2}$	Cat. no. 16.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
Cat. no. 4.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{2}$	Cat. no. 13.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
Cat. no. 32.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{2}$	Cat. no. 17.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{12}$
Cat. no. 7.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{2}$		
Cat. no. 8.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{2}$		
Cat. no. 1.2	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{2}$		
Cat. no. 20.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{4}$		
Cat. no. 31.1	 $h\bar{d} qt \frac{1}{4}$		
		Cat. no. 33.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
		Cat. no. 21.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
		Cat. no. 34.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
		Cat. no. 19.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$
		Cat. no. 14.1	 $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$

APPENDIX II: THE DEMOTIC GROUP FOR $\frac{1}{2}$

In Table 6.1, the orthographies for the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ in cat. nos. 13, 14, 16, and 19 may appear somewhat unusual and closely resemble a possible writing of the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$, according to the standard dictionaries.²⁷⁵ However, the scribe Esminis uses a standard orthography for the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$ in cat. nos. 18 and 20, thus making $\frac{1}{2}$ the better reading in cat. nos. 26 and 13.²⁷⁶ This writing of the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ is in fact a common orthography used by Esminis and his contemporary price of oil scribe Nechthminis, who account for many of the extant examples: *O. Taxes 1*, nos. 6, 21, 35, 42, 61; *O. Taxes 2*, nos. 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, and 88.²⁷⁷ The writing also occurs in *O. Taxes 2*, nos. 5, 16, 51, 73, 92, and 93 and perhaps also *O. Taxes 1*, no. 28, this last example being written by the yoke tax scribe Paches.

²⁷⁵ EG, p. 704. For a similar orthography of $\frac{1}{2}$, see CDD, “Numbers,” where *P. Cairo CG III*, no. 50060, is cited. For an additional example, see Jasnow 2018, esp. p. 202, commentary to line 21.

²⁷⁶ Chauveau 1986, p. 26 (n. 11, 2); Muhs 2005a, p. 139, note b to cat. no. 6.

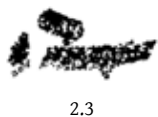
²⁷⁷ For their relationship, see Muhs 2005a, p. 162, note d to cat. no. 35.

INDICES

The Demotic index is organized according to the standard order found in modern Demotic dictionaries. References are given according to the catalog number followed by the line number where the word appears, with the two numbers being separated by a period (e.g., 7.2 refers to cat. no. 7, line 2). If the word has been restored in the text edition, the line number will appear enclosed in square brackets—e.g., 7.[2]. Where text is only partially preserved, line numbers are surrounded by half brackets—e.g., 7.⌈2⌋. If the word had been supplied by the editors in the text edition, the line number will appear enclosed in parentheses—e.g., 7.(2). If the reading of the word is uncertain, a question mark enclosed in parentheses will follow the line number. The reverse is indicated by a lower case “r” following the number—e.g., 38r.1 means cat. no. 38, reverse, line 1. In one case, the initial signs of a second column are preserved (cat. no. 40). The signs from the column are cited as 40, 2.5 (= cat. no. 40, column 2, line 5). The arrow → is used for cross-references to other entries in the indices. Variant orthographies for individual examples precede their individual cat. no. and line references where provided.

DIVINE NAMES

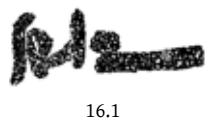
ʒs.t



“Isis”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Hr-sʒ-ʒs.t*; *Pʒ-ti-ʒs.t*

ʒy-m-ḥtp



“Imouthes”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *ʒy-m-ḥtp*; *Pʒ(?)-šr(?)-ʒy-m-ḥtp*; *Tʒ-šr.t-ʒy-m-ḥtp*

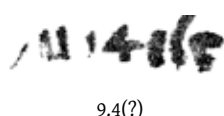
ʒmn



“Amun”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *ʒmn-ḥtp*; *P-šr-ʒmn*; *Pʒ-ti-ʒmn-ipy*; *Pʒ-ti-ʒmn-nsw-tʒ.wy*

ʒmn-ipy



“Amenope” 9.4(?)

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pʒ-ti-ʒmn-ipy*

Pʒ-R^c



“Pre”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pʒ-ti-Hr-pʒ-R^c*

→ DIVINE NAMES: *R^c*

Mn



“Min”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Nḥt-Mn*; *Ns-Mn*; *Pʒ-šr-Mn*; *Pa-Mn*

Mnt

1.1

“Montu”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pa-Mnt*; *Pš-šr-Mnt*; *Kp=f-ḥ-Mnt**R*^c

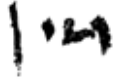
24.2

“Re”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Mnh-R*^c→ DIVINE NAMES: *Pš-R*^c*Hr*

9.6

“Horus”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pš-ti-Hr(?)*; *Pš-ti-Hr-pš-R*^c; *Pa-Hr*; *Nḥt-Hr-m-ḥb*; *Hr*; [*Hr*]-*wḏš(?)*; *Hr-pa-šs.t(?)*; *Hr-sš-šs.t*; *Tšy-Hr-pš-tš**Hnsw*

6.3

“Chonsu”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pš-ti-Hnsw*; *Tny.t-Hnsw**Sbk*

2.3

“Souchos” 1.4; 2.3

Dḥwty

1.1

“Thoth”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pš-šr-Dḥwty*; *Dḥwty-iir-rḥ-s*; *Dḥwty-iir-ti-s*; *Dḥwty-iw*; *Dḥwty-sḏm*

PERSONAL NAMES

İy-m-ḥtp

16.1

“Imouthes” (son of Lolous) 16.1; 42.2

İw=f-‘w

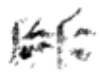
42.4

“Ioufaa” (father of Parates) 42.4

İmn-ḥtp


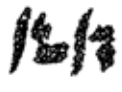

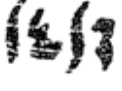
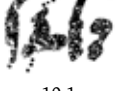





27.1

“Amenonthes” (son of Psenmonthes) 27.1

İmn-ḥtp(?)

29.4

“Amenonthes(?)” (son of Pa...) 29.4

<i>Imn-ḥtp</i>		“Amenothēs” (son of [...]) 41.3
	41.3	
<i>Imn-ḥtp</i>		“Amenothēs” (father of Peuoris) 3.2
	3.2	
<i>Imn-ḥtp</i>		“Amenothēs” (father of(?) Horos) 9.6
	9.6	
<i>Imn-ḥtp</i>		“Amenothēs” (the scribe) 3.4
	3.4	
<i>Imn-ḥtp</i>		“Amenothēs” 10.1
	10.1	
<i>Ỉr.t=w-rđ</i>		“Ithortes” (father of Taminis) 17.1; 18.1
	18.1	
ḥq		“Abukis” (son of Searpthos) 11.1
	11.1	
<i>Pa-wʾ</i>		“Paues” (father of Parates) 42.1
	42.1	
<i>Pa-Mn</i>		“Paminis” (father of Teos) 4.1
	4.1	
<i>Pa-Mnt</i>		“Pamonthes” (brother(?) of Psenminis) 7.2
	7.2	

Pa-nꜣ-ḥt.w

41.2

“Panachetes” (son of [...]) 41.2

Pa-nfr

19.1

“Panouphis” (father of Thotsutmis and Psenenteris) 2.1; 3.1; 5.[1]; 6.1; 11.2; 12.1; 14.1; 19.1; 20.1; 21.1; 22.1; 23.Ὶ1Ὶ; 25.1; 29.2; 32.1; 33.1; 34.Ὶ1Ὶ
πανουφιος 28.4*Pa-rꜥ*

42.4

“Parates” (son of Ioufaa) 42.4

Pa-rꜥ

42.1

“Parates” (son of Paues) 42.1

Pa-rꜥ

1.3

“Parates” (father of Portis) 1.3

Pa-Ḥr

4.2

“Pauris” (father of Pchoilis) 4.2

Pa-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy

38.1

“Psemtous” (the deceased) 38.1; 38.3; 38.4

Pꜣ-[...]

9.1

“Pa[...]” (brother of Herieus, son of Thoteus) 9.1

Pꜣ-...

29.4

“Pa...” (father of Amenothēs(?)) 29.4

Pꜣ-whr

3.2

“Peuoris” (son of Amenothēs) 3.2

Pꜣ-wr-tiw

1.3

“Portis” (son of Parates) 1.3

P3-ḥm-nṯr-Mw.t

27.3

“Phentenmous” 27.3

P3-ḥtr

42.5

“Phatres” 42.5

P3-ḥꜥ-my

8.2-3

“Pakhamy” (father of Harsiese(?)) 8.2-3

P3(?)-šr(?)-ḥy-m-ḥtp

27.4

“Psenimouthes(?)” (son of Esminis) 27.4

P3-šr-ḥmn

21.3

“Psenamounis” (son of Petearpres, the scribe) 21.3

P3-šr-ḥmn

39.4

“Psenamounis” 39.4

P3-šr-Mn

31.1

“Psenminis” (father of Tarates) 30.1; 31.1

P3-šr-Mn

7.2

“Psenminis” 7.2

P3-šr-Mn

39.6

“Psenminis” (father of [...] ..., the *choachyte*) 39.6*P3-šr-Mnṯ*

27.1

“Psenmonthes” (father of Amenothes) 27.1

P3-šr-Mnṯ

1.1

“Psenmonthes” (son of Gales) 1.1

P3-šr-n3-nṯr.w

2.1

“Psenenteris” (son of Panouphis) 2.1

P3-šr-t3-iḥ.t(?)

8.5

“Psentaes(?)” (father of [Es]pemetis(?)) 8.5

P3-šr-Dḥwty

27.3

“Psenthotes” 27.3

P3-gyr

4.2

“Pchoilis” (son of Pauris) 4.2

P3-ti-3s.t

2.3

“Petiesis” (father of Nechthminis) 2.3

P3-ti-Ḳmn-ipy

2.4

“Peteamenophis” (son of Nechtharmais, the scribe and god’s father)
2.4*P3-ti-Ḳmn-nsw-t3.wy*

3.3

“Petemestous” (son of Kepefhamentes) 3.3

P3-ti-Ḳmn-nsw-t3.wy

3.4

“Petemestous” (father of Herieus) 3.4

P3-ti-Ḳmn-nsw-t3.wy

38r.1

“Petemestous” (father of Esminis) 38r.1

P3-ti-Wsir

5.2

“Petosiris” 5.2

P3-ti-nfr-ḥtp

35.1

“Petenephotes” (father of Teos) 35.1

$P^3-ti-Hr$

9.5

“Peteueris” 9.5

 $P^3-ti-Hr(?)$

6.2

“Peteueris(?)” (son of Kollouthos) 6.2

 $P^3-ti-Hr-p^3-R^c$

7.3

“Petearpres” (son of Thortaios) 7.3

 $P^3-ti-Hr-p^3-R^c$

21.3

“Petearpres” (father of Psenamounis) 21.3

 $P^3-ti-Hnsw$

26.1

“Petechonsis” (likely the same scribe as Petechonsis, son of Mechpres) 26.1

 $P^3-ti-Hnsw$

23.3

“Petechonsis” (son of Menchpres) 22.2; 23.3; 24.2

 $P^3y-3s.t$

40.1

“Piese” 40.1

 $Mnh-R^c(?)$

24.2

“Menchpres” (father of Petechonsis) 22.3; 23.3; 24.2

 $Nht-Mn$

2.2

“Nechthminis” (son of Petiesis) 2.2

 $Nht(?) - Mn$

29.1


“Nechthminis(?)” 29.1

 $Nht-Hr-m-hb$

2.4

“Nechtharmais” (father of Peteamenophis) 2.4


[Ns]-pꜣ-mty(?)



8.ꜥ4¹

“[Es]pemetis(?)” (son of Psentaes(?)) 8.ꜥ4¹


Ns-Mn



13.2

“Esminis” (the scribe) 12.3; 13.2; 14.2–3; 15.2(?); 16.3; 17.3; 18.2; 19.2; 20.3


Ns-Mn



38r.1

“Esminis” (son of Petemestous) 38r.1


Ns-Mn



4.3

“Esminis” (father of Harsiese) 4.3

Ns-Mn



27.4

“Esminis” (father of Psenimouthes(?)) 27.4


Ns-Mn



40.7

“Esminis” (father of [T]senamounis) 40.7

Ns-na-Ḥmnw-ꜣw



42.3

“Snachomneus” 42.3


Rrw



16.1

“Lolous” (father of Imouthes) 16.1; 42.2


Hry=w



3.4

“Herieus” (son of Petemestous) 3.4


Hry=w



9.1

“Herieus” (son of Thoteus) 9.1

Hry=w



32.2

“Herieus” (the scribe) 32.2

Hr

9.6

“Horos” (son of(?) Amenothos) 9.6

[Hr]-wdꜣ(?)

28.2

“[Har]uotes(?)” (son of Teos) 28.2

Hr-pa-ꜣs.t(?)

29.3

“Harpaesis(?)” 29.3

Hr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t

4.3

“Harsiese” (son of Esminis) 4.3

Hr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t(?)

8.2

“Harsiese” (son of Pakhamy) 8.2

Smꜣ-tꜣ.wy

7.1

“Samtous” 7.1

Kp=f-ḥꜣ-Mntꜣ

3.3

“Kepefhamentes” (father of Petemestous) 3.3

Krwd

6.2

“Kollouthos” (father of Peteueris(?)) 6.2

Gm=w-ḥp(?)

40.4

“Komoapis(?)” 40.4

Grꜣ

1.2

“Gales” (father of Psenmonthos) 1.2

Ta-[...]

40, 2.5

“Ta...” 40, 2.5

Ta-Bꜣst.t

40.2

“Thaubastis” 40.2

Ta-Mn

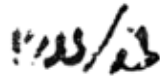
17.1

“Taminis” (daughter of Ithortes) 17.1; 18.1

Ta-ry

40.6

“Tary” 40.6

Ta-rꜥ

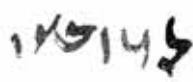
30.1

“Tarates” (daughter of Psenminis) 30.1; 31.1

Ta-rꜥ

32.1

“Tarates” (wife(?) of Thotsutmis, perhaps the same as Tarates, daughter of Psenminis) 32.1

Ta-km

40.3

“Takem” 40.3

Tꜣ-[...]

40, 2.6

“Te...” 40, 2.6

Tꜣ-šr.t-ꜥy-m-ḥtp

13.1

“Senimouthes” 13.1

[Tꜣ]-šr.t(?)-ꜥmn

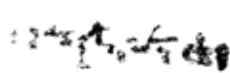
40.7

“Tsenamounis(?)” (daughter of Esminis(?)) 40.7

Tꜣ-šr.t-Ḥnm

40.5

“Tsenchnoubis” 40.5

Tꜣ-šr.t-tꜣ-...

15.1

“Sent...” 15.1

Tȝy-wȝh-mw

39.4

“Taywahmu” 39.4

Tny.t-Ḥnsw

6.3

“Teionchonsis” (the scribe) 6.3

Tȝy-Ḥr-pȝ-tȝ

11.1

“Searpthos” (father of Abukis(?)) 11.1

Dḥwty-iw

9.1

“Thoteus” (father of Herieus) 9.1

Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-s

31.2

“Thotorches” (the scribe) 30.2; 31.2; 34.2; 35.2

Dḥwty-ir-ti-s

33.2

“Thotortaios” (the scribe) 33.2

Dḥwty-ir-ti-s

7.4

“Thotortaios” (father of Petearpres) 7.4

Dḥwty-sdm

1.1

“Thotsutmis” (son of Panouphis) 1.1; 3.1; 5.1; 6.1; 11.2; 12.1; 14.1; 19.1; 20.1; 21.1; 22.1; 23.1; 25.1; 29.2; 32.[1]; 33.[1]; 34.[1]; 37.1 = θοτσυτομ 28.3

Dd-ḥr

4.1

“Teos” (son of Paminis) 4.1

ⲓⲃⲁⲓⲣ

35.1

“Teos” (son of Petenephotes) 35.1

Dd-ḥr

28.2

“Teos” (father of [Har]uotes(?)) 28.2

TITLES AND EPITHETS

iry-ʕ

1.4

“pastophoros” 1.4

it-ntr

2.4

“god’s father” 2.4

wʕh-mw

10.1

“water-pourer, choachyte” 10.1; 10.3; 39.6

wʕb Sbk

2.3

“priest of Souchos” 2.3

mr-ḥʕs.t

2.2

“overseer of the necropolis” 2.2; 3.1; 3.4; 4.1; 5.2; 6.3

mr-šn

11.1(?)

“lesonis, overseer of inspection” 11.1(?)

rmt [iw=fšms]

34.1-[2]

“server,” lit., “a man [who serves]” 33.[2]; 34.1-[2]

ḥm-ntr

27.3

“prophet” → PERSONAL NAMES: Pʕ-ḥm-ntr-Mw.t

šms(?)

10.1(?)

“servant(?)” 10.1(?)

TAXES

‘*q* *rmṭ* [*i*w=*fšms*]

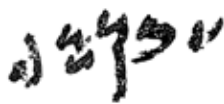

34.1-[2]

“income of a server (tax)” 33.1-[2]; 34.1-[2]

ḥḍ *bṣk*


10.2

“document tax,” lit., “money of the document”

in *nṣ ḥḍ.w bṣk*: 10.2*ḥḍ* (*n*) *mr-ḥṣs.t*


3.1

“tax of the overseer of the necropolis” 2.1-2; 3.1; 4.1; 5.[1]-[2]

ḥḍ *ḥmṣ*


32.2

“salt tax” 30.1; 31.1; 32.2

tny.t *mr-ḥṣs.t*


6.3

“tax of the overseer of the necropolis” 6.3

MONEY PAYMENTS

ḥḍ (*qt*)


19.1

“silver (*kite*)”in *ḥḍ* (*qt*) $\frac{1}{3}$: 24.1in *ḥḍ* (*qt*) $\frac{1}{4}$: 18.1; 21.1; 30.1; 31.1in *ḥḍ* (*qt*) $\frac{1}{4}$ *ḍbṣ.t* $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$: 33.1; 34.1; 34.4in *ḥḍ* (*qt*) $\frac{1}{6}$: 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.1¹; 16.1; 19.1; 25.[2]; 26.1¹in *ḥḍ* (*qt*) $\frac{1}{12}$: 17.1

$h\bar{d} \text{ } qt$ 

“silver kite” 6.1

in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt$ 1: 35.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt$ 6: 10.2in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{2}{3}$: 22.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{1}{2} (\bar{d}b^c.t)$ 1.t: 7.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{1}{2}$: 1.2; 2.1; 3.1; 4.1; 8.1; 32.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{1}{4}$: 20.1; 23.1 qt 

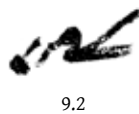
“kite”

in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt$ 1: 35.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt$ 6: 10.2in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{2}{3}$: 22.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{1}{2} (\bar{d}b^c.t)$ 1.t: 7.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{1}{2}$: 1.2; 2.1; 3.1; 4.1; 6.1; 8.1; 32.1in $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{3}$: 24.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{1}{4}$: 20.1; 23.1in $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4} \bar{d}b^c.t \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$: 33.1; 34.1; 34.4in $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4}$: 18.1; 21.1; 30.1; 31.1in $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{6}$: 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.1¹; 16.1; 19.1; 26.1¹in $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{12}$: 17.1 $\bar{d}b^c.t$ 

“obol”

in $\bar{d}b^c.t(?)$ 1(?): 37.1in $h\bar{d} \text{ } qt \frac{1}{2} (\bar{d}b^c.t)$ 1.t: 7.1in $h\bar{d} (qt) \frac{1}{4} \bar{d}b^c.t \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$: 33.1; 34.1; 34.4

MEASURES

 $m\bar{h}$ 

“cubit”

in $m\bar{h}-itn$: 9.2; 9.3in $m\bar{h}-ht$: 9.2

nby

27.1

“naubion” 27.1; 29.2(?); 29.3(?); 29.4(?)

DATES

YEARS

hsb.t 2.t

32.2

“year 2” (Ptolemy III) 32.2

[hsb.t] 4

27.5⁷“year 4” (Ptolemy III) 27.5⁷

hsb.t 5.t

5.3

“year 5” (Ptolemy III(?)) 5.3

hsb.t 6

35.2

“year 6” (Ptolemy II or III) 35.2

hsb.t 8.t

36.3(?)

“year 8” (Ptolemy III(?)) 36.3(?)

hsb.t 13

28.2

“year 13” (Ptolemy III(?)) 6.4; 10.4⁷; 28.1; 28.2

hsb.t 16

7.3

“year 16” (Ptolemy III(?)) 7.3

hsb.t 19

8.4

“year 19” (Ptolemy III) 8.4

hsb.t 24

1.3

“year 24” (Ptolemy II) 1.3

hsb.t 30

2.5

“year 30” (Ptolemy II) 2.5

hsb.t 31

12.3

“year 31” (Ptolemy II) 12.3

hsb.t 33.t

3.3

“year 33” (Ptolemy II) 3.3
in *hsb.t* 33: 33.2 (2x)*hsb.t* 34

30.2

“year 34” (Ptolemy II) 30.2

hsb.t 36

13.3

“year 36” (Ptolemy II) 13.3; 14.3; 15.3(?); 34.2; 38r.1(?)

hsb.t 37

16.3

“year 37” (Ptolemy II) 16.3; 31.2; 31.᠑3᠑

hsb.t 38

18.2

“year 38” (Ptolemy II) 4.3; 11.7; 17.3; 18.2; 19.2

MONTHS AND SEASONS

ibt 1 *ḥ.t*

21.4

“Thoth” 6.4; 19.3; 21.4

ibt 3 *ḥ.t*

22.2

“Hathyr” 1.3; 11.7; 22.2

ibt 4 *ih.t*

7.3

“Khoiak” 2.5; 7.3; 17.2; 17.4; 31.3

ibt 1 *pr.t*

38.r2

“Tybi” 4.4; 8.4; 38r.2

ibt 2 *pr.t*

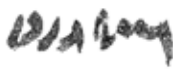
3.3

“Mecheir” 3.3; 14.2; 16.2

ibt 3 *pr.t*

16.4

“Phamenoth” 5.3; 13.2; 16.4

ibt 4 *pr.t*

18.2

“Pharmouthi” 12.2; 13.3; 14.3; 18.1; 18.2; 36.4

ibt 1 *šmw*

27.5

“Pachons” 12.3; 27.5; 28.2

ibt 2 *šmw*

20.2

“Payni” 20.2; 37.2

ibt 3 *šmw*

20.3

“Epeiph” 20.3

ibt 4 *šmw*

21.2

“Mesore” 10.4; 15.2; 15.Ὶ(3)Ὶ; 19.2; 21.2; 23.2

DAYS

sw 2

11.7

“day 2” 11.7

sw 4



“day 4” 20.3; 21.4

sw 5



“day 5” 27.5

sw 6



“day 6” 1.3; 16.4

sw 8



“day 8” 2.5; 12.3

sw 10



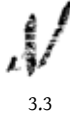
“day 10” 4.4; 34.3; 34.4; 38r.2

sw 10+



“day 10+” 5.3

sw 11



“day 11” 3.3

sw 12



“day 12” 8.5; 19.3

sw 13



“day 13” 6.4

sw 17









“day 17” 13.3; 14.4





sw 20



“day 20” 10.4; 36.4

sw 21	 28.2(?)	“day 21” 28.2(?)
sw 22	 37.2	“day 22” 37.2
sw 26	 15.3(?)	“day 26” 15.3(?)
sw 27	 35.3	“day 27” 35.3
sw 29	 18.2	“day 29” 18.2
ʿrqy	 31.3	“last day of the month, day 30” 17.4; 31.3

DEMOTIC WORDS

ʒh.t	 7.3	“inundation season” N.F. in dates: 1.3; 2.5; 6.4; 7.3; 11.7; 17.2; 17.4; 19.3; 21.4; 22.2; 31.3 → DATES: MONTHS AND SEASONS
ʒs.t	 2.3	“Isis” → PERSONAL NAMES: <i>Hr-sʒ-ʒs.t</i> ; <i>Pʒ-ti-ʒs.t</i>
iir	 11.3	→ <i>iri</i>
iir-ḥr	 29.1	“to, for” PREP. 29.1

Ỉy-m-Ỉtp

16.1

“Imouthes”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Ỉy-m-Ỉtp*; *PỈ(?) -Ỉr(?) -Ỉy-m-Ỉtp*; *TỈ -Ỉr.t-Ỉy-m-Ỉtp**Ỉw*

41.1

CIRCUMSTANTIAL CONVERTER

41.1

in *Ỉw=f*: 4.3; 27.3in *Ỉw=y*: 39.8in *Ỉw=s*: 39.5in ‘*q rmt* [*Ỉw=fỈms*]: 33.1–[2]; 34.1–[2]*Ỉw*

38.4

FUTURE III PART.

in *bn Ỉw=y*: 38.4*Ỉw*

39.3

“come” V.INTR.

39.3

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *DỈwty-Ỉw*; *Ns-na-Ỉmnw-Ỉw**Ỉbt*

“month” N.M.

in *Ỉbt* [...]: 34.3in *Ỉbt* 1: 4.4; 6.4; 8.4; 12.3; 19.3; 21.4; 27.5; 28.2; 30.2; 38r.2in *Ỉbt* 2: 3.3; 14.2; 16.2; 20.2; 37.2in *Ỉbt* 3: 1.3; 5.3; 11.7; 13.2; 16.4; 20.3; 22.2in *Ỉbt* 4: 2.5; 7.3; 10.4; 12.2; 13.3; 14.3; 15.2; 15.ᵀ(3)ᵀ; 17.2; 17.4; 18.1; 18.2; 19.2; 21.2; 23.2; 31.3; 36.4

→ DATES: MONTHS AND SEASONS

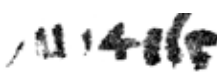
Ỉm

38.2

→ *n*→ *n-Ỉm=**Ỉmn*

3.2

“Amun”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Ỉmn-Ỉtp*; *P-Ỉr-Ỉmn*; *PỈ-tỈ-Ỉmn-Ỉpy*; *PỈ-tỈ-Ỉmn-nsw-tỈ.wy**Ỉmn-Ỉpy*

9.4(?)


“Amenope” 9.4(?)

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *PỈ-tỈ-Ỉmn-Ỉpy*

ini

2.1

“bring, pay” V.TR.

in *in*: 2.1;  3.1; 4.1; 5.1; 6.1; 7.1; 8.[1]; 9.1in *r-in*=: 1.2; 1.4; 2.3; 3.2; 4.2; 7.2; 8.3(?); 39.8 (*in.t=f*)*ink*

11.3

“I, me, my” 1CS IND.PRON.

11.3; 38.3

iri

27.3

“do, make” V.TR.

27.1(?); 27.3

iir

11.3

“one who does, makes” PARTICIPLE

11.3; 38.3

ir-rh

39.1

→ *rh**m-ir*

39.7

→ *m**r-ir=*

39.6

39.6

iry-ʕ

1.4

“pastophoros” 1.4 N.M.

irm

39.4

“with, together with” PREP.

27.3; 39.4

šwr

1.2(?)

“Syria(?)” GN

1.2(?)

in *n šwr*:  39.2(?)

it-ntr

2.4

“god’s father” N.M.

2.4

→ TITLES AND EPITHETS

itn

9.2

“earth, ground” N.M.

in *mḥ-itn*: 9.2; 9.3*=y*

10.3

“I, me, my” 1C.S. PRON.

in *mtw=y*: 10.3in *n=y*: 39.1; 39.2in *tw=y*: 39.3in *r-ḥr=y*: 39.7in *iw=y*: 38.4; 39.8*‘wy*

27.2

“house” N.M.

in *‘wy ḥtp n pḥ hb*: 27.2in *‘wy.w*: 39.2*‘n*

9.3

“also, again” ADV.

9.3

‘rq

39.7

“swear” V.TR.

39.7

‘rqy

17.4

“last day of the month, day 30”

17.4; 31.3

‘q

33.1

“income, rations” N.M.

in *‘q rmt [iw=fšms]*: 33.1–[2]; 34.1–[2]

→ TAXES

=w



39.7

“they, them” 3PL. PRON.

in *r-in=w*: 1.2; 1.4; 2.3; 3.2; 8.3(?)in *n=w*: 27.3(?)in *hb=w*: 39.7→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Hry=w**wḫ*




10.3

“place, set, pour”

in *wḫ-mw*: 10.1; 10.3; 39.6*wḫ-mw*


10.1

“water-pourer, choachyte”

10.1;  10.3;  39.6

→ TITLES AND EPITHETS

wḫ


2.3

“priest” N.M.

in *wḫ Sbk*: 2.3*wbʾ*


38.3

“for, on account of, opposite” PREP.

38.3

wn-nʾw


41.1


IMPERFECT CONVERTER

41.1

in *r-wn-nʾw*: 39.8*wṛḫ*


9.3

“vacant plot” N.M.

 11.4(?)in *wṛḫ.w*: 9.3*bḫ*


38.4

→ *m-bḫ*

bꜣk



10.2

“document” N.M.

in nꜣ ḥd.w bꜣk: 10.2

bn



38.4

“not” NEG.PART.

38.4

bnr



39.5

“out, outside” ADV.

39.5

pa



38.1

“the one of” M.S. POSS.PREF.

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pa-wꜣ*; *Pa-Mn*; *Pa-Mnꜣ*; *Pa-nꜣ-ḥt.w*; *Pa-nfr*; *Pa-rtꜣ*; *Pa-Ḥr*; *Pa-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy*; *Ḥr-pa-ꜣs.t*

pꜣ



11.4

“the” M.S. DEF.ART

2.3; 3.4; 6.2; 10.1; 11.1 (2x); 11.[2]; 11.4; 11.5; 27.2 (2x); 29.1; 33.1; 34.1; 38.1; 38.3; 39.6; 39.8

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pꜣ-[...]*; *Pꜣ-...*; *Pꜣ-whr*; *Pꜣ-wr-tiw*; *Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr-Mw.t*; *Pꜣ-ḥtr*; *Pꜣ-ḥꜣ-my*; *Pꜣ(?)-šr(?)-ḥy-m-ḥtp*; *Pꜣ-šr-Ḥmn*; *Pꜣ-šr-Mn*; *Pꜣ-šr-Mnꜣ*; *Pꜣ-šr-nꜣ-nṯr.w*; *Pꜣ-šr-tꜣ-ih.t(?)*; *Pꜣ-šr-Dḥwty*; *Pꜣ-gyr*; *Pꜣ-ti-ꜣs.t*; *Pꜣ-ti-Ḥmn-ipy*; *Pꜣ-ti-Ḥmn-nsw-tꜣ.wy*; *Pꜣ-ti-Wsir*; *Pꜣ-ti-nfr-ḥtp*; *Pꜣ-ti-Ḥr*; *Pꜣ-ti-Ḥr-pꜣ-Rꜣ*; *Pꜣ-ti-Ḥnsw*; *[Ns]-pꜣ-mty*; *Tꜣy-Ḥr-pꜣ-tꜣ*

Pꜣ-Rꜣ



7.3

“Pre”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pꜣ-ti-Ḥr-pꜣ-Rꜣ*

pꜣy



1.4

“this” M.S. DEM.ART.

1.4

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pꜣy-ꜣs.t*

pꜣy

COPULA

11.(3)

pꜣy=



9.2

“his, her, their” POSS.ART.

in pꜣy=f: 9.2

pr.t



3.3

“planting season”

in dates: 3.3; 4.4; 5.3; 8.4; 12.2; 13.2; 13.3; 14.2; 14.3; 16.2; 16.4; 18.1; 18.2; 34.3;
36.4; 38r.2

→ DATES: MONTHS AND SEASONS

=f



38.2

“he, his, him” 3SG.M PERS.PRON.

in r-in=f: 4.2

in iw=f: 4.3; 27.3

in tʔy=f: 6.3; 32.1

in pʔy=f: 9.2

in nʔy=f: 9.4

in h=f: 29.2(?)

in hr-r=f: 29.3(?)

in ‘q rmt [iw=fšms]: 33.1-[2]; 34.1-[2]

in n-im=f: 38.2

in n=f: 38.4

in in.t=f: 39.8

fʔy



38.2

“carry, deliver”

38.2; 38.4

m-



38.4

→ m-bʔh

m-ir



39.7

“don’t” PROH.

39.7

m-bʔh



38.4

“before” PREP.

38.4

mw

10.1

“water” N.M.

in *w3ḥ-mw*: 39.6in *w3ḥ-mw.w*: 10.1; 10.3

→ TITLES AND EPITHETS

Mn

13.2

“Min”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pa-Mn*; *P3-šr-Mn*; *Nḥt-Mn*; *Ns-Mn**Mnt*

1.1

“Montu”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pa-Mnt*; *P3-šr-Mnt*; *Kp=f-ḥ3-Mnt**mr*

2.2

“overseer” N.M. (< *imy-r3*)in *mr-ḥ3s.t*: 2.2; 3.1; 3.4; 4.1; 5.2; 6.3in *mr-šn*: 11.1(?)*mr-ḥ3s.t*

2.2

“overseer of the necropolis” 2.2; 3.1; 3.4; 4.1; 5.2; 6.3

→ TITLES AND EPITHETS

mr-šn

11.1(?)

“lesonis, overseer of inspection” 11.1(?)

→ TITLES AND EPITHETS

mḥ

9.2

“cubit” N.M.

in *mḥ-itn*: 9.2; 9.3in *mḥ-ḥt*: 9.2*mḥt*

9.5

“north” ADV.

9.5

mtw=

10.3


CONJUNCTIVE CONVERTER

in *mtw=y*: 10.3*mḥk*

11.5

“mixed(?)”

11.5


<i>n</i>		“to, for” P.DAT.
	2.1	2.1; 4.1 (2x); 10.3; 11.2; 23.2; 24.1; 26.1; 30.1; 35.1
	<i>n=y</i>	“for me” 39.1; 39.2
		
	39.2	
	<i>n=k</i>	“for you” 10.3; 11.3(?)
		
	10.3	
	<i>n=f</i>	“to him” 38.4
		
	38.4	
	<i>n=w</i>	“for them” 27.3(?)
		
	27.3(?)	
<i>n</i>		“of” P.GEN.
	2.2	2.2; 3.4; 9.4; 10.3; 11.4; 27.2 (2x); 31.2; 33.[2]; 34.[2]; 39.2
<i>n</i>		“in, on, from” P.LOC.
	2.5	1.(2); 2.5; 5.3; 6.4; 12.3; 13.3; 15.3; 17.3; 18.2; 19.2; 28.(2); 30.2; 31.3; 34.[2]; 36.3; 38r.1
	<i>n-im=</i>	in <i>n-im=f</i> : 38.2
		
	38.2	
<i>=n</i>		“we, us” 1C.PL. PERS.PRON.
	39.5	in <i>hwy.t=n</i> : 39.5

nʒ


10.1

“the” PL. DEF.ART.


9.3; 10.1; 10.2; 38.1; 39.2 (2x); 41.1

nʒy=

9.4

“his, her, its” POSS.ART.



in *nʒy=f*: 9.4*nby*

27.1
“*naubion*” unit of volume N.M.

27.1; 29.2(?); 29.3(?); 29.4(?)

nḥḥ

16.2

“oil” N.M.

38.2

 in *sw nḥḥ*: 12.2;  13.1; 14.2; 15.2; 16.2; 17.2; 18.1; 19.1; 20.2; 21.2;
 22.2; 23.2; 24.1; 25.2
nty

11.2

“who, which” REL.CONV.

11.2; 41.1

nṯr

7.1

“god” N.M.

in *it-nṯr*: 2.4in *ḥw.t-nṯr*: 4.1; 7.1; 10.Ṛ3(?)Ṛ*r*

4.2

“at, to, concerning” PREP.








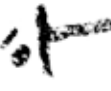



2.3; 3.2; 4.2; 7.1; 8.[3]; 9.2; 9.3; 10.2; 27.2; 31.1; 39.2; 39.3;

in *r ḥrw*: 3.4in *r-ḥ*: 27.2; 38.2in *r-ḥr=y*: 39.7*r-*

39.6

RELATIVE CONVERTER

in *r-wn-nʒw*: 39.8in *r-in=*: 1.2; 1.4; 2.3; 3.2; 4.2; 7.2; 8.3(?)in *r-ir=*: 39.6

<i>rʒ</i>	 39.3	“door, gate” N.M. 39.3
<i>R^c</i>	 24.2	“Re” → PERSONAL NAMES: <i>Mnh-R^c</i>
<i>rmṭ</i>	 41.1	“person, man” N.M. in <i>rmṭ.w</i> : 38.1; 41.1 in ‘ <i>q rmṭ</i> [<i>iw=fšms</i>]: 33.1–[2]; 34.1–[2]
<i>rmṭ.t</i>	 32.1(?)	“wife” N.F. 32.1(?)
<i>rn</i>	 7.2	“name” N.M. 1.1; 2.2;  3.2; 4.2; 5.2; 6.2; 7.2; 8.2
<i>rh</i>	 39.1	“learn, know” V.TR. 38.5(?) in <i>ir-rh</i> : 39.1
<i>rsy</i>	 9.4	“south” ADV. 9.4; 39.3(?)
<i>rt</i>	 11.1	“agent, representative” N.M. 11.1
<i>lq</i>	 38.2	“bowl, cup” measure for liquids 38.2
<i>hb</i>	 39.7	“send, write” V.TR. 39.7

hb

27.2

“ibis” N.M.

27.2

hn

9.4

“neighbor” N.M.

in *nȝ=fh(y)n.w*: 9.4*h*

29.2(?)

“self” N.M.

in *h=f*: 29.2(?)*hw.t-ntr*

7.1

“temple” N.F.

in *hw.t-ntr*: 4.1; 7.1; 10.3;in *sh hw.t-ntr(?)*: 29.1(?)*hwy*

39.5

“cast, throw” V.TR.

in *hwy.t=n*: 39.5*hm*

27.3

“prophet”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pȝ-hm-ntr-Mw.t**hmȝ*

32.2

“salt” N.F.

in *hd hmȝ*: 30.1; 31.1; 32.2*hnꜥ*

9.6

“with, together with” PREP.

9.1; 9.6

Hr

9.6

“Horus”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pȝ-ti-Hr(?)*; *Pȝ-ti-Hr-pȝ-Rꜥ*; *Pa-Hr*; *Nḥt-Hr-m-hb*; *Hr*; [*Hr*]-*wdȝ(?)*; *Hr-pa-ȝs.t(?)*; *Hr-sȝ-ȝs.t*; *Tȝy-Hr-pȝ-tȝ**hr*

39.7

“upon, on” PREP.

in *r-hr=y*: 39.7

hry



38.1

“master, chief, deceased, saint” N.M.
38.1; 38.3

hsb.t



2.5

“regnal year” N.F.

in dates: 1.3; 2.5; 3.3; 4.3; 5.3; 6.4; 7.3; 8.4; 10.[4]; 11.7; 12.3; 13.3; 14.3; 15.3;
16.3; 17.3; 18.2; 19.2; 27.ʽ5ʽ; 28.1; 28.2; 30.2; 31.2; 31.ʽ3ʽ; 32.2; 33.[2]; 33.2; 34.[2];
35.2; 36.3(?); 38r.1

→ DATES: YEARS

hṭp



27.2

“rest” N.M.

in ʽwy hṭp n pʽ hb: 27.2

hṭp



39.6

“offering” N.M.

in hṭp.w: 39.6

hḏ



10.2

“silver, tax” N.M.

in hḏ qt: 1.2; 2.1; 3.1; 4.1; 6.1; 7.1; 8.1; 10.2; 20.1; 22.1; 23.ʽ1ʽ; 32.1; 35.1

in hḏ (qt): 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.ʽ1ʽ; 16.1; 17.1; 18.1; 19.1; 21.1; 24.1; 25.[1]; 26.ʽ1ʽ;
30.1; 31.1; 33.1; 34.1; 34.4

in hḏ mr-hʽs.t: 2.1–2; 3.1; 4.1

in hḏ hmʽ: 30.1; 31.1; 32.2

in nʽ hḏ.w bʽk: 10.2

hʽs.t



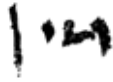
2.2

“necropolis” N.F. 1.4(?)

in mr-hʽs.t: 2.2; 3.1; 3.4; 4.1; 5.2; 6.3

in tʽ hʽs.t: 2.3; 3.2; 4.2; 8.3(?)

Ḥnsw



6.3

“Chonsu”

→ PERSONAL NAMES: Pʽ-ti-Ḥnsw; Tny.t-Ḥnsw

ḥrw



3.4

“voice” N.M.

in r-ḥrw: 3.4

ht

“cubit, square” N.M.
in *mh-ht*: 9.2

9.2

h

“manner, form” N.F.
in *r-h*: 27.2; 38.2

27.2

hn

“in, from, among” PREP.
9.3; 10.2

10.2

hr

“under” PREP.
in *hr-r=f*: 29.3(?)

29.3(?)

hr

“food, provisions” n.m.
39.8(?)

39.8(?)

s

“it, him” 3M.S. PRON.
10.3; 39.1

39.1

=s

“she, her” 3F.S. PRON.
in *iw=s*: 39.5
in *r-ir=s*: 39.6

39.5

s.t

“place” N.F.
9.4; 9.5; 9.「6」

9.5

sʒ

“son” N.M.
→ in patronymics (PN *sʒ* PN): 1.3; 2.1; 2.3; 2.4; 3.1; 3.2; 3.3; 3.(4); 4.1; 4.2; 4.3;
5.1; 6.1; 6.2; 7.4; 8.[1]; 8.2; 8.5; 9.1; 9.6(?); 11.1; 11.2; 12.1; 14.1; 16.1; 19.1; 20.1;
21.1; 21.(3); 22.1; 22.3; 23.1; 23.3; 24.[1]; 24.2; 25.1; 27.1; 27.4; 28.2; 29.2; 29.4;
32.1; 33.[1]; 34.[1]; 35.1; 38r.1; 39.6; 41.2; 41.3; 42.1; 42.2; 42.4


2.1

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Hr-sʒ-s.t*

sw

“day”
→ DATES: DAYS

swn


16.2

“price” N.M.

9.2; 26.1

in *swn nhḥ*: 12.2; 13.1; 14.1; 15.2; 16.2; 17.2; 18.1; 19.1; 20.2; 21.2; 22.[1]; 23.2;
24.1; 25.2

sn


9.2

“brother” N.M.

7.2; 9.2

Sbk


2.3

“Sobek”

in *iry-ʿ Sbk*: 1.4in *pʿ wʿb Sbk*: 2.3


→ DIVINE NAMES

→ TITLES AND EPITHETS

šh


3.4

“write” V.TR./INTR.

in signatures: 1.3; 2.4;  3.2; 3.4; 4.3; 5.ʿ3ʿ; 6.3; 7.3; 8.[4]; 11.6; 12.2; 13.2;
14.2; 15.2; 16.3; 17.3; 18.2; 19.2; 20.3; 21.3; 22.2; 23.2; 24.[2]; 25.3; 26.1; 27.ʿ4ʿ;
28.1; 29.4; 30.2; 31.2; 32.2; 33.2; 34.2; 35.2

st


39.1

“they” 3C.S. PRON.

39.1

sdm


1.1

“listen, hear” V.TR.


→ PERSONAL NAMES: *ḏḥwtj-sdm*

šp



38.1

“receive” V.TR.

38.1

in *tī šp(=w)*:  10.3

šm


39.2

“go” V.INTR.

39.1; 39.2

šmw



20.3

“harvest season”

in dates: 10.4; 12.3; 15.2; 15.᠓(3)᠓; 19.2; 20.2; 20.3; 21.2; 23.2; 27.5; 28.2; 35.3; 37.2

→ DATES: MONTHS AND SEASONS

šms

“serve” V.INTR.

in ‘q rmt [iw=fšms]: 33.1–[2]; 34.1–[2]

šms



10.1(?)

“server” N.M.

10.1(?)

šn



11.1(?)

“inspection” N.M.

in mr-šn: 11.1(?)

šr



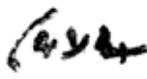
6.2

“son, child” N.M.

6.2

→ PERSONAL NAMES: P᠔(?)–šr(?)–İy-m-ḥtp; P᠔–šr–İmn; P᠔–šr–Mn; P᠔–šr–Mn᠔; P᠔–šr–n᠔–ntr.w; P᠔–šr–t᠔–iḥ.t(?); P᠔–šr–Dḥwty; T᠔–šr.t–İy-m-ḥtp; [T᠔]–šr.t(?)–İmn; T᠔–š.t–Hnm; T᠔–šr.t–t᠔–...

qs



4.3

“embalm, bury, prepare for burial” V.TR.

4.3

qt



2.1

“kite” N.F.

in ḥd qt: 1.2; 2.1; 3.1; 4.1; 6.1; 7.1; 8.1; 10.2; 20.1; 22.1; 23.᠓1᠓; 32.1; 35.1

in ḥd (qt): 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.᠓1᠓; 16.1; 17.1; 18.1; 19.1; 21.1; 24.1; 25.[1]; 26.᠓1᠓; 30.1; 31.1; 33.1; 34.1; 34.4

qt



11.3

“build” V.TR.

11.3

=k



10.3

“you” M.PRON.SUF.

in n=k: 10.3; 11.3(?)











gm᠔



11.5

“garden(?)”

11.5

<i>ta</i>	 18.1	“the one of” F.S. POSS.PREF. in patronymics (PN <i>ta</i> PN): 17.1; 18.1; 30.1; 31.1; 40.7
<i>tʒ</i>	 2.3	“the” F.S. DEF.ART. in <i>tʒ hʒs.t</i> : 2.3; 3.2; 4.2; 8.[3(?)] in <i>tʒ s.t</i> : 9.4; 9.5; 9.6 ⁷
<i>tʒy=</i>	 6.3	F.S. POSS.ART. in <i>tʒy=f</i> : 6.3; 32.1
<i>ti</i>	 10.3	“give, put, place, cause” in <i>ti rh</i> : 38.5 in <i>ti šp</i> : 10.3
<i>tw=</i>	 39.3	PROCLITIC PRONOUN MORPHEME 39.3
<i>tny.t</i>	 6.3	“tax” N.F. 37.1(?) in <i>tny.t mr-hʒs.t</i> : 6.3
<i>tgm</i>	 26.1	“castor” N.M. in <i>swn tgm</i> : 26.1
<i>ḏbꜥ.t</i>	 34.1	“obol” N.F. in <i>ḏbꜥ.t 1.t</i> : 7.(1); 37.1(?) in <i>hḏ (qt) ¼ ḏbꜥ.t ½ ¼</i> : 33.1; 34.1; 34.4
<i>Ḍmʒ</i>	 9.4	“Djeme” F.GN 9.4
<i>Ḍhwtj</i>	 1.1	“Thoth” M.DN. → PERSONAL NAMES: <i>Ḍhwtj-sḏm</i>

dd

38.3

“say, speak” V.TR.

11.2; 11.3; 38.3; 39.1

in introduction to quotation: 38.4

DEMOTIC NUMBERS

1



9.2

“one” 40.1

in *lq nhḥ* 1: 38.2in *ḥḏ qt* 1: 35.1in (*ḏb^c.t*) 1.t: 7.1; 37.1(?)in *mḥ-itn* 1: 9.2; 9.3

2



32.2

“two”

in *ḥsb.t* 2.t: 32.2

in 2.t: 40.3; 40.4; 40.5; 40.6; 40.7

3



40.2

“three”

in 3.t: 40.2

4



27.᠑5᠑

“four”

in *ḥsb.t* 4: 27.᠑5᠑

5



5.3

“five”

in *ḥsb.t* 5.t: 5.3

6



29.2

“six”

in *nby(?)* 6: 29.2in *ḥsb.t* 6: 35.2

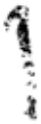









8



36.3(?)

“eight”

in *ḥsb.t(?)* 8.t(?): 36.3(?)

9	 29.3	“nine” in <i>nby</i> (?) 9: 29.3
13	 10.4	“thirteen” in <i>hsb.t</i> 13: 6.4; 10.4; 28.1; 28.2
15	 29.4	“fifteen” in <i>nby</i> (?) 15: 29.4
16	 7.3	“sixteen” in <i>hsb.t</i> 16: 7.3
19	 8.4	“nineteen” in <i>hsb.t</i> 19: 8.4
24	 1.3	“twenty-four” in <i>hsb.t</i> 24: 1.3
30	 2.5	“thirty” in <i>hsb.t</i> 30: 2.5 in <i>nby</i> 30: 27.2
31	 12.3	“thirty-one” in <i>hsb.t</i> 31.t: 12.3
33.t	 3.3	“thirty-three” in <i>hsb.t</i> 33.t: 3.3 in <i>hsb.t</i> 33: 33.2 (2x)
34	 30.2	“thirty-four” in <i>hsb.t</i> 34.t: 30.2

36



13.3

“thirty-six”

in *hsb.t* 36: 13.3; 14.3; 15.3(?); 34.2; 38r.1(?)

37



16.3

“thirty-seven”

in *hsb.t* 37: 16.3; 31.2; 31.᠑3᠑

38



18.2

“thirty-eight”

in *hsb.t* 38: 4.3; 11.7; 17.3; 18.2; 19.2

100



9.3

“one hundred”

in *mḥ-ḥt* 100: 9.3 $\frac{2}{3}$ 

22.1

“two-thirds”

in *ḥd qt* $\frac{2}{3}$: 22.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 

2.1

“one-half”

in *ḥd qt* $\frac{1}{2}$: 1.2; 2.1; 3.1; 4.1; 7.1; 8.1; 32.1in *ḥd (qt)* $\frac{1}{4} db^c.t \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$: 33.1; 34.1; 34.4 $\frac{1}{3}$ 

24.1

“one-third”

in *ḥd (qt)* $\frac{1}{3}$: 24.1 $\frac{1}{4}$ 

18.1

“one-fourth”

in *ḥd (qt)* $\frac{1}{4}$: 18.1; 21.1; 30.1; 31.1in *ḥd qt* $\frac{1}{4}$: 20.1; 23.1in *ḥd (qt)* $\frac{1}{4} db^c.t \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$: 33.1; 34.1; 34.4 $\frac{1}{6}$ 

26.1

“one-sixth”

in *ḥd (qt)* $\frac{1}{6}$: 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.᠑1᠑; 16.1; 19.1; 26.1 $\frac{1}{12}$ 

17.1

“one-twelfth”

in *ḥd (qt)* $\frac{1}{12}$: 17.1

GREEK WORDS

γίγνομαι



28.(7)

“be, become, make” V.INTR. LSJ 349a

in γίνεται: 28.(7)

εἰς



28.5

“to, for” PREP. LSJ 491a

28.5

ἐν



28.4

“in” PREP. LSJ 551a

28.4

ἐργάζομαι

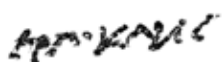


28.3

“work at, make, do, perform” V.TR. LSJ 681b

in εἰργασται: 28.3

Ἑρμοκλῆς



28.7

“Hermokles” P.N.

28.7

ἔτος



28.(5)

“year” N.M. LSJ 704a

in ἔτους: 28.(5)

Θήβαι

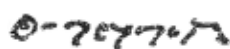


28.5

“Thebes” G.N.

in περὶ Θήβας: 28.5

Θοτсуттис



28.3

“Thotsutmis” P.N.

in Θοτсуттоμ: 28.3

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Dḥwty-sdm*

ναύβιον



28.6

“naubion, cubic measure” LSJ 1161b

in ναύβια: 28.6

ὁ, τὸ



28.5

“the” DEF.ART.

28.5

in τῶι: 28.4

Πανουφίς

28.4

“Panouphis” P.N.

in Πανουφίος: 28.4

→ PERSONAL NAMES: *Pa-nfr*

περὶ

28.4

“near, around” PREP. LSJ 1366a

in περὶ θήβας: 28.4

τόπος

28.5

“place, region, district” N.M. LSJ 1806a

in τόπωι: 28.5

τριάκοντα

28.6

“thirty”

28.6

ιδ

28.5

“fourteen”

28.5

λ

28.7

“thirty”

28.7

UNCERTAIN READINGS

“...” 5.3 (Personal name of the scribe)

“...” 11.4

gmṯ “garden(?)” 11.5*mṯk* “mixed(?)” 11.5*T3-šr.t-t3-*... “Sent-...” 15.1

“...” 28.1

sh hw.t-ntr(?) “scribe of the temple(?)” 29.1

Hr-pa-3s.t(?) ... “Harpaesis(?) ...” 29.3

hr-r=f(?) ... *nby*(?) 9 “under him(?) ... nine *naubia*(?)” 29.3

P3-... “Pa...” 29.4

“...” 36.1

“...” 36.2

“...” 36.3

[...].w 39.4

“...” 39.5

“...” 39.6

“...” 39.8

“...” 39.9



“...” 41.2



“...” 41.3

TEXTS BY INVENTORY NUMBER

HMNS 13.1999.040	Cat. no. 3
OIM E19479	Cat. no. 39
OIM E19480	Cat. no. 27
OIM E19481	Cat. no. 13
OIM E19482	Cat. no. 10
OIM E19483	Cat. no. 12
OIM E19484	Cat. no. 41
OIM E19485	Cat. no. 15
OIM E19486	Cat. no. 35
OIM E19487	Cat. no. 40
OIM E19488	Cat. no. 30
OIM E19489	Cat. no. 23
OIM E19490	Cat. no. 9
OIM E19491	Cat. no. 18
OIM E19492	Cat. no. 31
OIM E19493	Cat. no. 20
OIM E19494	Cat. no. 11
OIM E19495	Cat. no. 37
OIM E19496	Cat. no. 14
OIM E19497	Cat. no. 42
OIM E19498	Cat. no. 17
OIM E19499	Cat. no. 36
OIM E19500	Cat. no. 29
OIM E19501	Cat. no. 32
OIM E19502	Cat. no. 6
OIM E19503	Cat. no. 5
OIM E19504	Cat. no. 21
OIM E19505	Cat. no. 28
OIM E19506	Cat. no. 6
OIM E19507	Cat. no. 33
OIM E19508	Cat. no. 25
OIM E19509	Cat. no. 5
OIM E19510	Cat. no. 8
OIM E19511	Cat. no. 24
OIM E19512	Cat. no. 26
OIM E19513	Cat. no. 8
OIM E19514	Cat. no. 22
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OIM E49085	Cat. no. 19

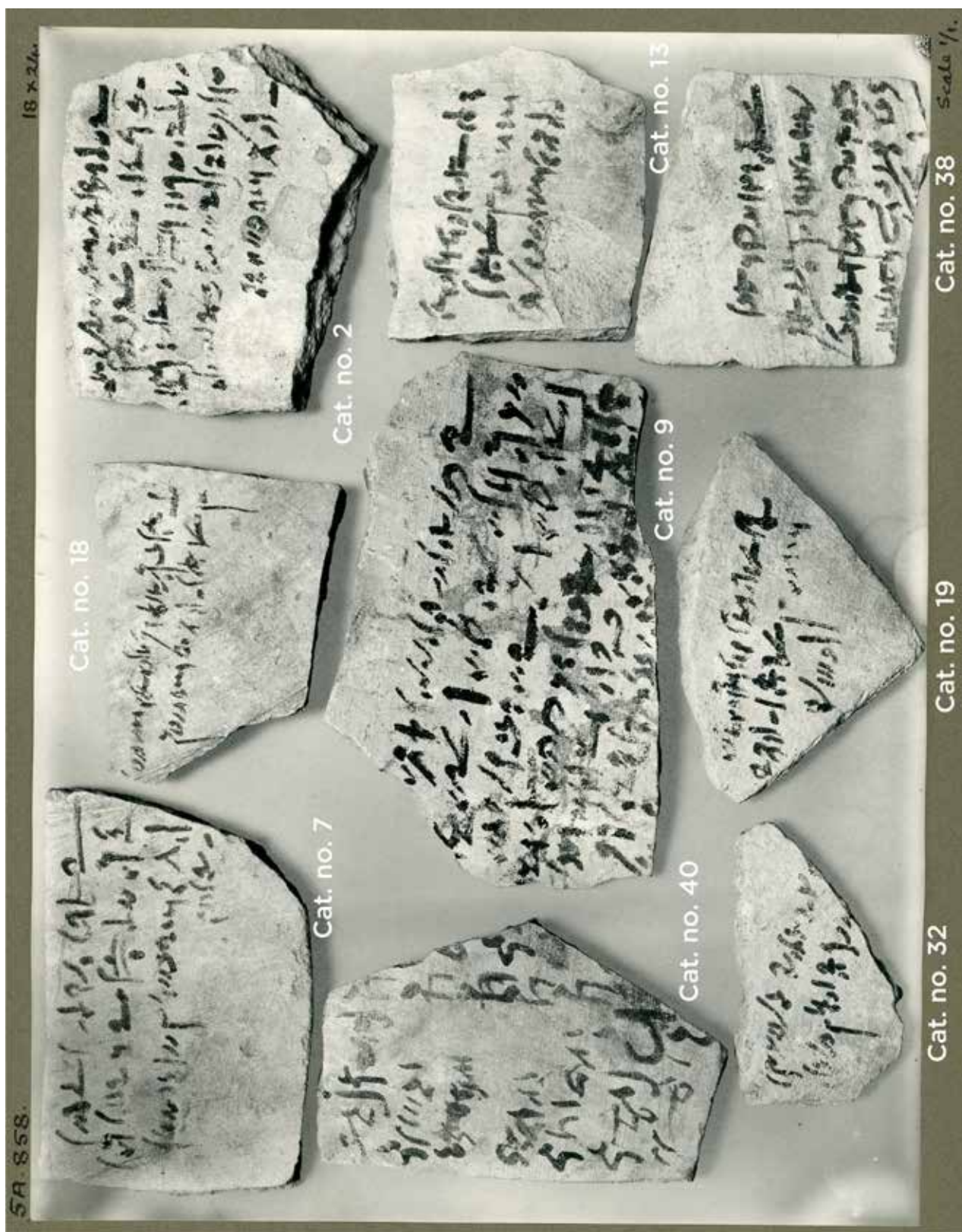
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D. 16424	Cat. no. 27
D. 16426	Cat. no. 13
D. 16428	Cat. no. 10
D. 16430	Cat. no. 12
D. 16432	Cat. no. 41
D. 16434	Cat. no. 15
D. 16435	Cat. no. 15; fig. 15.1
D. 16437	Cat. no. 35
D. 16439	Cat. no. 40
D. 16441	Cat. no. 30
D. 16443	Cat. no. 23
D. 16445	Cat. no. 9
D. 16447	Cat. no. 18
D. 16449	Cat. no. 31
D. 16451	Cat. no. 20
D. 16453	Cat. no. 11
D. 16455	Cat. no. 37
D. 16457	Cat. no. 14
D. 16459	Cat. no. 42
D. 16461	Cat. no. 17
D. 16463	Cat. no. 36
D. 16465	Cat. no. 29
D. 16468	Cat. no. 32
D. 16470	Cat. no. 6
D. 16472	Cat. no. 5
D. 16474	Cat. no. 21
D. 16476	Cat. no. 28
D. 16478	Cat. no. 6
D. 16480	Cat. no. 33
D. 16482	Cat. no. 25
D. 16484	Cat. no. 5
D. 16486	Cat. no. 8
D. 16488	Cat. no. 24
D. 16490	Cat. no. 26
D. 16492	Cat. no. 8
D. 16494	Cat. no. 22
D. 16496	Cat. no. 34
D. 16499	Cat. no. 4
D. 16501	Cat. no. 7
D. 16503	Cat. no. 19
MMA 5A.666	Fig. 2.3

MMA 5A.858	Fig. 2.2; pl. 1
MMA 5A.858, no. 1	Cat. no. 7
MMA 5A.858, no. 2	Cat. no. 18
MMA 5A.858, no. 3	Cat. no. 2
MMA 5A.858, no. 4	Cat. no. 40
MMA 5A.858, no. 5	Cat. no. 9
MMA 5A.858, no. 6	Cat. no. 13
MMA 5A.858, no. 7	Cat. no. 32
MMA 5A.858, no. 8	Cat. no. 19
MMA 5A.858, no. 9	Cat. no. 38
MMA 51.859	Fig. 2.2; pl. 2
MMA 5A.859, no. 1	Cat. no. 15
MMA 5A.859, no. 2	Cat. no. 4
MMA 5A.859, no. 3	Cat. no. 37
MMA 5A.859, no. 4	Cat. no. 39
MMA 5A.859, no. 5	Cat. no. 11
MMA 5A.859, no. 6	Cat. no. 17
MMA 5A.859, no. 7	Cat. no. 8
MMA 5A.859, no. 8	Cat. no. 34
MMA 5A.859, no. 9	Cat. no. 38
MMA 5A.860	Fig. 2.2; pl. 3
MMA 5A.860, no. 1	Cat. no. 31
MMA 5A.860, no. 2	Cat. no. 21
MMA 5A.860, no. 3	Cat. no. 1
MMA 5A.860, no. 4	Cat. no. 22
MMA 5A.860, no. 5	Cat. no. 10
MMA 5A.860, no. 6	Cat. no. 23
MMA 5A.860, no. 7	Cat. no. 12
MMA 5A.860, no. 8	Cat. no. 33
MMA 5A.860, no. 9	Cat. no. 24
MMA 5A.860, no. 10	Cat. no. 5
MMA 5A.860, no. 11	Cat. no. 16
MMA 5A.861	Fig. 2.1; pl. 4
MMA 5A.861, no. 1	Cat. no. 20
MMA 5A.861, no. 2	Cat. no. 30
MMA 5A.861, no. 3	Cat. no. 35
MMA 5A.861, no. 4	Cat. no. 5
MMA 5A.861, no. 5	Cat. no. 26
MMA 5A.861, no. 6	Cat. no. 28
MMA 5A.861, no. 7	Cat. no. 25
MMA 5A.861, no. 8	Cat. no. 36
MMA 5A.861, no. 9	Cat. no. 6
MMA 5A.862	Fig. 2.2; pl. 5

MMA 5A.862, no. 1	Cat. no. 42
MMA 5A.862, no. 2	Cat. no. 3
MMA 5A.862, no. 3	Cat. no. 14
MMA 5A.862, no. 4	Cat. no. 6
MMA 5A.862, no. 5	Cat. no. 27
MMA 5A.862, no. 6	Cat. no. 41
MMA 5A.862, no. 7	Cat. no. 29
MMA 5A.862, no. 8	Cat. no. 8
N. 4239	Fig. 2.6
N. 4243	Fig. 2.5
N. 4244	Fig. 2.4
P. 7838	Fig. 2.6
P. 7842	Fig. 2.5
P. 7843	Fig. 2.4

PLATES

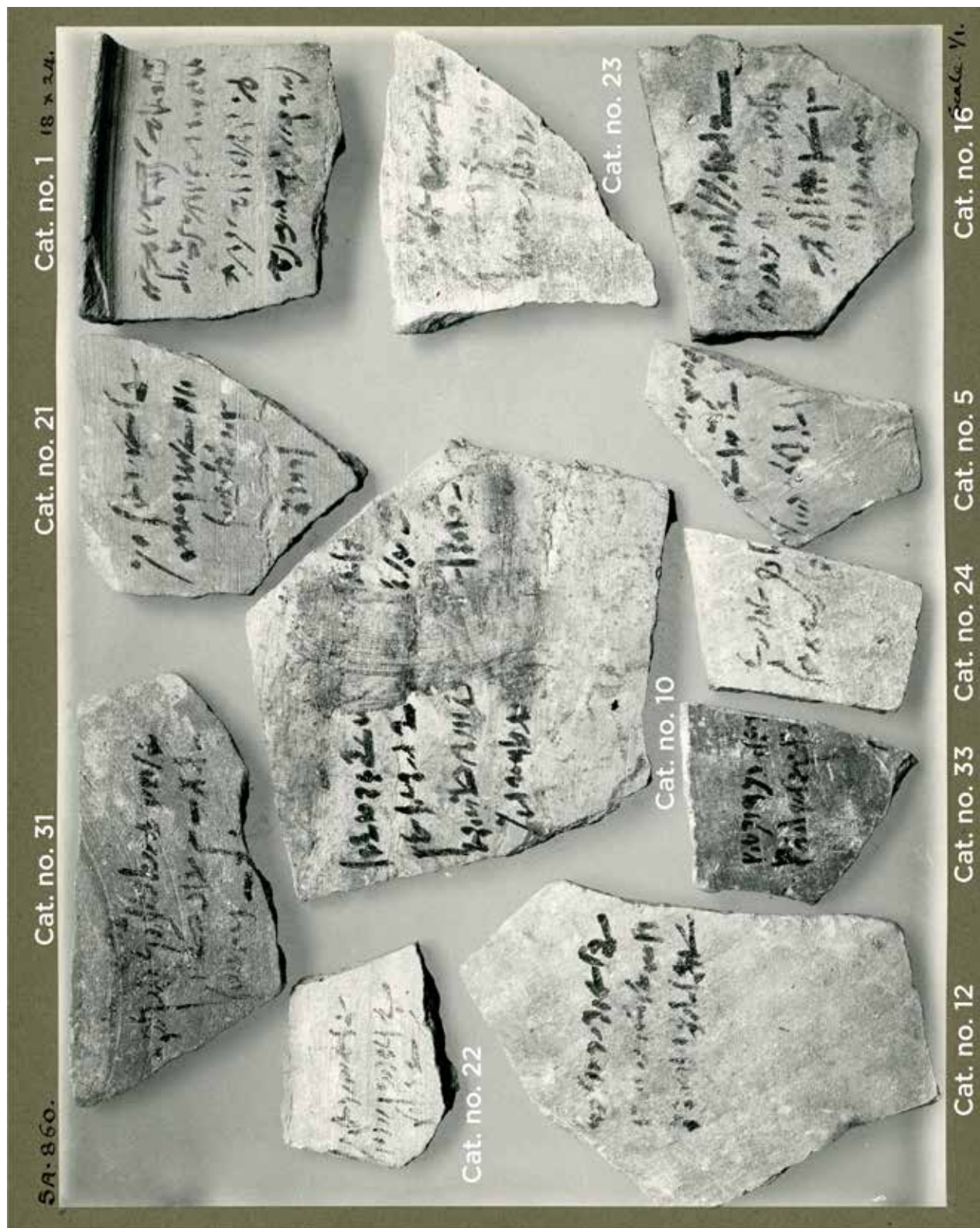


MMA Photograph 5A.858, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, with superimposed catalog numbers.

PLATE 2



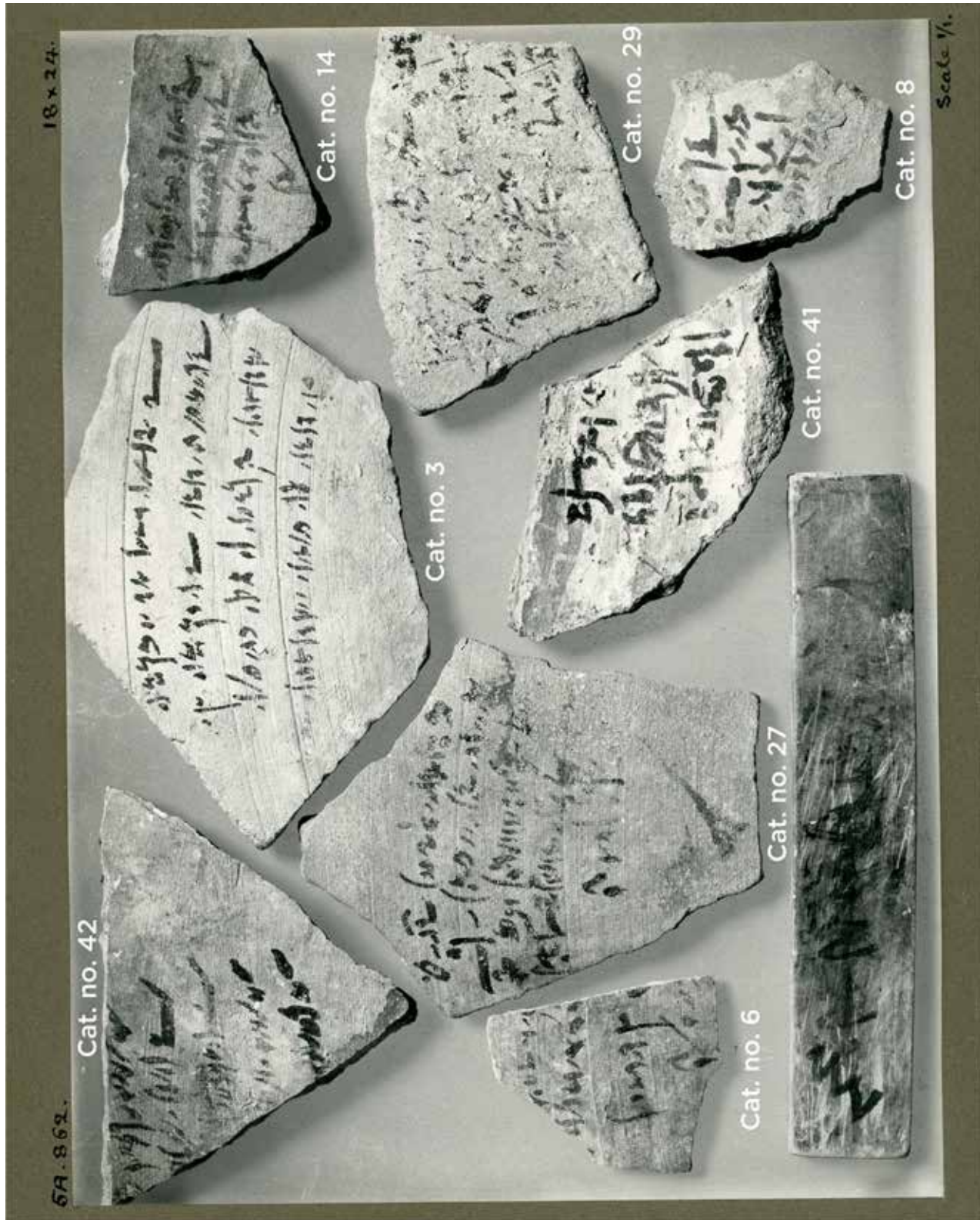
MMA Photograph 5A.859, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, with superimposed catalog numbers.



MMA Photograph 5A.860, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, with superimposed catalog numbers.



MMA Photograph 5A.861, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, with superimposed catalog numbers.



MMA Photograph 5A.862, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, with superimposed catalog numbers.

