

## TWO GREEK-DEMOTIC OSTRAKA FROM THE THERMENMUSEUM

In this contribution we wish to publish two bilingual ostraka from the Thermenmuseum at Heerlen.<sup>1)</sup> Worp has contributed the readings of the Greek parts of these texts, whereas Vleeming has read the demotic parts. Once again, we owe sincere thanks to the Director of the Thermenmuseum, Drs. J.T.J. Jamar, for his kind permission to publish these texts. We also wish to thank Dr. W. Clarysse (Leuven) who helped us with the interpretation of one of the texts published below, O.Heerlen BL 248.

## (1) A BILINGUAL RECEIPT FOR EPIGRAPHE

O.Heerlen BL 248

H. 10.1 x B. 4.7 cms

Tafel VII b

23.iv.103 B.C.

Ostrakon with both sides flat; outside yellowish-brown, inside lightbrown.  
On the inside 1 line of very vague writing (not published).

S.B. 14065

- 1 Έτους ιδ [τοῦ καί ια, φαρμοῦθι η]
- 2 Είσαμεε(τρήκασιν) εἰς [τόν ἐν Διός πό(λει) τῆι με(γάλη) θη(σαυρόν) εἰς]
- 3 τῆν ἐπιγρ(αφὴν) το[ῦ ιδ τοῦ καί ια (έτους) ὑπέρ]
- 4 τοῦ τόπου Πατ[- - τοῦ δεῦνος καί ὁ δεῖνα]
- 5 θοτέως (πυροῦ) ἐ[πτά, (γίν.) (πυροῦ) [ . - - -]
- 6 Δημόφιλος (πυροῦ) [ - - - - - - - - - ]

- |      |   |                                 |
|------|---|---------------------------------|
| 7 [  | ] | -- r sw 7 r htr 'hw'            |
| 8 [  | ] | ibd-4 pr.t <sw> 8.              |
| 9 [  | ] | s3-n P3-3r-Hnsw sw 7 r htr 'hw' |
| 10 [ | ] | p r.t <sw> '8'.                 |

1) Earlier publications of texts from this collection appeared in ZPE 65 (1986) 191-194 and 66 (1986) 131-147. P.J. Sijpesteijn has published some Coptic ostraca in Enchorà 14 (1986) 111-115; he will publish some other Coptic texts from this same collection in a forthcoming volume of Cde.

- 1 Year 14 [= 11. Pharmuthi 8.]  
 2 Have measured into [the granary in Diospolis Magna(?) for]  
 3 the epigraphe of [year 14 = 11 for]  
 4 the topos, Pat[- - -, son of N.N., and N.N., son of]  
 5 Thoteus: of wheat s[even (artabs), total 7 of wheat. - - - - -]  
 6 Demophilos: of wheat 7 [- - - - -]  
 7 [Subscribed by - - - son of - - -]- - concerning 7 (artabs) of wheat  
 for 'extra'-tax.  
 8 [in year 14 = year 11,] 4th month of the *pr.t*-season (Pharmuthi) (day) 8.  
 9 [Subscribed by - - -]- son of Psenchonsis (concerning) 7 (artabs) of  
 wheat for 'extra'-tax,  
 10 [in year 14 = year 11, 4th month of the *p.r.t*-season (Pharmuthi) (day) 8.

One is dealing in this text with a receipt for epigraphe. For such texts, cf. O.Heerlen BL 235 published in ZPE 66 (1986) 133-134 with reference to the relevant literature. For the interpretation of the term epigraphe cf. also below, our note to lines 7, 9.

Notes:

1. The restoration of the regnal years 14 [= 11] (= 104/103 B.C.) bases upon the length of restoration expected in line 2 (cf. note ad loc.), where some 20 letters have been restored. The restoration of the month and the day bases upon the demotic line 8; we assume that both the Greek and the demotic texts were written on the same day.

2. ΕΙΣΗΜΕ(ΤΡΗΧΑΣΙΝ): cf. Z.M.Packman, *The Taxes in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt. Granary Receipts from Diospolis Magna, 164-88 B.B., New Haven - Toronto 1968*, 51. Our restoration of the granary at Diospolis Magna is, of course, only conjectural; one may be dealing with a granary at some other place (cf. ZPE 61 [1985] 54 for a listing of texts from Latopolis, Apollinopolis Magna, Syene, Ombos, and not specified provenances; addenda to this listing in ZPE 66 [1986] 133-134). In general the formula suits the formula for epigraphe-receipts from Diospolis Magna (discussed by Packman, *op.cit.*, 25-28), but a similar formula was used in e.g. Syene (cf. O.Leid. 23).

4-5. We assume that there were two payers, (a) Pat-, son of N.N., and (b) N.N., son of Thoteus. It seems possible, however, that Θοτέως is the name of the grandfather of Pat-, or that this is an alias-name belonging to the (lost) patronymic of Pat-.

5. The lacuna at the right of the line may have contained the name and siganture of a sitologus (cf. also note to line 6).

6. Demophilos does not state his capacity. If there was a signature of a sitologus at the end of line 5, Demophilos must have acted as an antigraphus. We do not know, however, of a Demophilos acting as an antigraphus

(or as a sitologus) in Theban tax-receipts, i.e. this name is not listed in Pros.Ptol. I (or in the addenda to this volume in Pros.Ptol. VIII). The name Demophilos in itself is rarely found in Egyptian papyri and ostraka.

7.  $\text{ⲓϥ}$  is probably the end of the first, demotic countersigner's patronymic.

7, 9. This text acquaints us with the Egyptian word for epigraphe:  $\text{ⲕⲓⲧⲣ-ⲕⲓⲱ}$ , 'extra-tax'. We happen to know comparable terms from a number of contemporary Theban ostraka (cf. D. Devauchelle, Ostr.Dém.Louvre, I [1983] 131ff.), albeit in reversed word-order (all by one scribe):

O.Louvre 100:  $p\delta$   $\text{ⲕⲓⲱ-ⲕⲓⲧⲣ}$  'the tax-extra'  
 73 :  $p\delta$   $\text{ⲛⲕ(.t) ⲕⲓⲱ-ⲕⲓⲧⲣ}$  'the trifle of tax-extra'  
 102:  $p\delta$   $\text{ⲛⲕ(.t) ⲕⲓⲱ}$  'the extra-trifle'

(Sim. to no. 100 also in O.Louvre 101, 104, 1354, 9054). This formation just might be influenced by the term  $\text{ⲕⲓⲱ-ⲓⲕⲓⲱⲧ}$ , 'rent', to which it stands in opposition in the dossier constituted by these Louvre texts (as noted by Devauchelle, op.cit., 130f.). It is clear that the demotic scribes had not yet worked out a fixed term for  $\text{ἐπιγραφή}$ , if only from the addition  $p\delta$   $\text{ⲛⲕ(.t)}$ , 'the trifle', which designated additional taxes itself; see J.-M.Kruchten, Décret d'Horemheb (Bruxelles 1981), 102 (§ I), 159 (n. 534).

Interestingly the  $\text{ἐπιγραφή}$  in the Louvre dossier was required for a place called 'the southern region' of an island for which also rent and ἀπόμοιρα were paid (cf. O.Dém.Louvre I 103, 902 and 108). 'The extra-trifle' in O. Louvre 102 was paid for only a portion (of derelict land?  $\text{ⲧⲏ-ⲧⲏ?}$ ) from that region. For the very same region land-allotments were drawn up in favour of the owner of the dossier (cf. Devauchelle, op.cit., 131). All this increases our information about the  $\text{ἐπιγραφή}$ , but the assessment of its nature is plainly too large to tackle in these notes.

## (2) A BILINGUAL RECEIPT FOR SALT-TAX

O.Heerlen BL 255

H. 6.6 x B. 8 cms

Tafel VII c  
I<sup>a</sup>/I<sup>p</sup>

SB.18.14066

Reddish brown ostrakon, inside slightly ribbed (not pitched). Some furrows in the surface of the convex side, perpendicular vs. the direction of the writing.

- 1 - - -  $s\delta-n$   $sp-sn$   $p\delta$   $nti$   $\text{ⲓⲃ}$   $n$  - - - - -  
 2  $tw.y$   $m\text{ⲏ}$   $n$   $p\delta$  (?) - - - - -  
 3 - - - - -  
 4  $^c n$   $n$   $\text{ⲓⲃ}$ -4  $\text{ⲧⲏ.t}$   $sw$   $^c r\text{ⲕ}$  - - - - -  
 5 (Greek, very faded, at end:  $\text{δύο}$ , traces)

$\text{ⲓⲃⲓⲱⲧⲓⲱⲧ}$   
 $\text{ⲧⲏ-ⲧⲏ}$   
 $\text{ⲧⲏ-ⲧⲏ}$   
 $\text{ⲧⲏ-ⲧⲏ}$

- 6 Μεχειρ κε ἀλικ(ῆς) δραχ(μῆν) μίας ὀβολ(οῦς) δύο, (γίν.) (δρ.) α=  
 7 Φαμενώθ 'κε' ὁμοί(ως) ἀλικ(ῆς) δραχ(μῆν) μίας ὀβολ(οῦς) δύο, (γίν.) (δρ.)  
 α[=  
 8 Φαρμουθι κε ἀλικ(ῆς) δραχ(μῆν) μίας ὀβολ(οῦς) δύο, (γίν.) (δρ.) [α=  
 9 TRACES  
 6,7,8 μίαν
- 1 - - - - son of dito says to - - - - -  
 2 'I am paid the - - - - -  
 3 - - - - -  
 4 Again in the 4th month of the 3ḫ.t-season (Choiak), last day, - - - -'.  
 5 [Tybi 25th(?), for salt-tax, one drachma, obols] two, [total 1 dr., 2 ob.]  
 6 Mecheir 25th, for salt-tax, one drachma, two obols, total 1 dr., 2 ob.  
 7 Phamenoth 25th likewise for salt-tax, one drachma, two obols, total 1 dr., 2 ob.  
 8 Pharmuthi 25th, for salt-tax, one drachma, two obols, total 1 dr., 2 ob.

This bilingual ostrakon contains a receipt for payment of the salt-tax, as far as the lines written in Greek are concerned. We suppose that the demotic lines 1 - 4 contained a similar receipt, though the key-word for this cannot be read (cf. note to line 2). The Greek can be dated palaeographically to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period, and the formula found in the Demotic part seems to confirm a dating into the Roman period: cf. line 1-2 n. For the salt-tax in Egypt see the literature listed in O. Leid. 3 and P.Amst. I 59; see also H. Cadell in *Atti del XI Congresso di Papirologia*, Milano 1966, 272 - 285 (for texts of the Roman period esp. 279 n. 4). The Greek part contains payments made on Mecheir 25, Phamenoth 25 and Pharmuthi 25 (lines 6 - 8; line 5 will probably have contained an entry for payment made in the month of Tybi [cf. note to line 4]; if line 9 contains writing rather than just dirt, it may have contained an entry for a payment made in Pachon (25?)).

#### Notes:

1. The tax-collector's name cannot be recognized.
- 1-2. The formula of the demotic part of this receipt is typical for the Roman period as against the Ptolemaic period; see S.V.Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte Demotische Ostraka* (Uppsala, 1954), p. 19.
2. The demotic word for 'salt-tax',  $\dot{h}d-\dot{h}m\bar{3}$ , cannot be recognized in the preserved traces, but the reading of the Greek ἀλικ(ῆ) in line 6 is secure. One wonders whether the sign following our  $p\bar{3}$  (?) just might be the suffix  $tn$ , in  $p\bar{3}<y>.tn$ , 'your' (plural). This should have been followed by  $\dot{h}d-\dot{h}m\bar{3}$ , but the writing is too vague to warrant much speculation.
4. This is probably the last line of the demotic part of the text. Choiak is the very month preceding Tybi which could have been the first month for

which payments were recorded in the Greek text (cf. above, introd.). This suggests that the demotic and Greek texts of our ostrakon are not copies of one transaction, but that they supply each other.

5. For the possibility of an entry in this line acknowledging receipt of a payment in Tybi see above, the introduction, and note to line 4.

6-8. The 3 months recorded in these lines form a consecutive series. If one adds to these the 2 months mentioned in the (demotic) line 4 and the (Greek) line 5, Choiak and Tybi, and if one takes into account that the demotic lines contained payments for at least 2 months (NB "again", line 4!), the number of monthly payments must have been 6 or even more (cf. the introduction on the possibility of another payment recorded for the month of Pachon).

9. It is possible that the "traces" contain writing (see above, the introd., for the possible contents), but it is also possible that we are dealing with a dirty ostrakon surface.

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