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TEMPLE OATHS IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

A STUDY AT THE CROSSROADS OF
LAW, ETHICS AND RELIGION

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Prof. mr. C.J.J. Stolker,
volgens het besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 6 december 2018
te klokke 12.30 uur

door

Viviana Massa

geboren te Moncalieri (Italië) in 1970

Promotores:

Prof. J.F. Borghouts †

Prof. O.E. Kaper

Promotiecommissie:

Dr. K. Donker van Heel

Dr. B.J.J. Haring (secretaris)

Dr. F.A.J. Hoogendijk

Prof. K. Vandorpe (Leuven)

Prof. S.P. Vleeming (Trier)

Prof. K. A. Worp

To the memory of

PROF. P.W. PESTMAN

for teaching me how to read the past

and

To my son

THOMMAS LORENZ VAN GEEL

who is the future

PREFACE

The topic of my dissertation, viz. Demotic temple oaths, was suggested to me a long time ago (1994) by the late Prof. P.W. Pestman and Prof. S.P. Vleeming, when I first came to Leiden as an Erasmus student to study Demotic and Greek Papyrology at the Papyrological Institute.

After completing my master thesis (a joint project of the Turin and Leiden University), in September 1998, I started a PhD research project on the unpublished Demotic temple oaths kept in the collection of the Turin Egyptian Museum under the auspices of the CNWS, Leiden University, with Prof. P.W. Pestman and Prof. J.F. Borghouts as supervisors. Between 1999 and 2001 I was able to make the preliminary transliterations and facsimiles of the Turin temple oaths. My work on these texts has much benefited from regular visits to the Turin Egyptian Museum and from long discussions with Prof. U. Kaplony-Heckel in her home in Marburg, where she generously made her personal notes and photographs of the Turin material available to me. In 2001, in addition to my dissertation, I started working as a teacher of ancient Greek and Latin at the Leiden Stedelijk Gymnasium. Life took over and the years went on: on the bright side, marriage, motherhood and a satisfying teaching career, on the other side, the never-ending struggle to combine it all, and the worsening health issues of Prof. Pestman, which hampered his role as supervisor. On several instances I was inclined to give up this project. In his last days, resourceful as always, Prof. Pestman made me swear I would complete my research; ever since I better understand how the pressure that comes with a solemn promise – an oath – works.

After Prof. Pestman passed away, Prof. Borghouts agreed to act as chief supervisor, although the research topic was not his specialism, and persistently encouraged me to keep researching and writing, despite my busy professional and private life and the consequent lack of time. I cannot find the words to express my gratitude to him for his loyalty and patience, and for the enormous amount of time and advice he gave me over the years. It is mainly because he stuck with me and of a part-time scholarship granted by NWO (2012-2017) that I eventually managed to keep my promise and bring this project to a close.

This has been a long-term project, which was written in several stages over the years and included a change of set-up at a given point (more than once actually). The final manuscript is not a text edition, but a study of the use, formulae and procedure of the temple oaths in the Ptolemaic Period, supplemented by an overview of ancient Egyptian oaths used in a legal setting and a selected group of unpublished Demotic temple oaths from the Turin collection given in translation.

Leiden, 28 Februari 2018

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Now that this long-term project has come to an end, I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to everyone who, apart from my supervisors mentioned in the Preface, has supported and encouraged me over the years.

First, I wish to thank Dr. K. Donker van Heel for all the help he provided during the last crucial months of this project. I am much indebted to him not only for critically reading my manuscript and providing me with many suggestions for improvements, but also for sharing his extensive knowledge of the Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic material and allowing me to read his unpublished manuscript on the Archive of Petebaste, son of Peteamunip. His no-nonsense attitude definitely helped me to keep focus.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. F.A.J. Hoogendijk for commenting on the transcription and translations of the Greek texts and for reading preliminary versions of Chapters 1, 2 and 4. I have much benefited from her valuable tips to improve the readability of the text. Prof. A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and Prof. K.A. Worp are also sincerely thanked for discussing the Greek texts with me, as well as Dr. R. Demarée and Dr. B. Haring for their useful remarks with regard to the Deir el-Medina source material and for reading parts of the preliminary manuscript. This thesis has also benefited greatly from the critique of the lawyer R. Hub, to whom I am truly grateful.

Special thanks are due to Prof. K. Vandorpe for discussing several passages of the unpublished Turin temple oaths on various occasions and for sharing her impressive knowledge of the archives from Pathyris, contributing to identify many parties mentioned in the Turin texts. A similar debt of gratitude is due to Prof. D. Devauchelle for his valuable comments on preliminary versions of chapters 3, 4 and 5 and for his hospitality during a few study days in Lille (2015). I am also deeply indebted to Dr. S. Lippert for her willingness to discuss several passages of P. Mattha with me during my stay in Montpellier (2016) and for allowing me to read her unpublished article about the role of oaths in the Greco-Roman Period.

I further want to extend my heartfelt thanks to the staff of the NINO library for the opportunity to use the library after closing time and take books home for the weekend. Also C. van Zoest, secretary of the NINO, is much thanked for always finding time to help me out with printing and computer-related problems.

I am most grateful to Dr. A.M. Donadoni Roveri, former director of the Turin Egyptian Museum and to Dr. C. Greco, the current director, who allowed me to study the unpublished Demotic temple oaths and provided access to the ostraca whenever necessary. It is a privilege that the edition of the Turin temple oaths (scheduled for 2019) has been accepted in the series of the 'Studies of the Turin Egyptian Museum'.

This research project could not have been carried out without the financial support of the Center for Non Western Studies (CNWS, PhD scholarship 1999-2001) and the

Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO, doctoral grant for teachers 2012-2017). I also wish to thank the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) for providing me with an inspiring and interdisciplinary work environment, in particular Prof. M. van Crevel, former Academic Director, for his support and refreshing solution-oriented attitude.

I want to express my gratitude to B. Vieveen, rector of the Leiden Stedelijk Gymnasium, and my employer, for his willingness to grant me study leave for two days a week (2012-2017). My colleagues at school are also much thanked for their support during my research project.

My sincerest thanks go to my friends and colleagues at the Leiden University I. Morfini and Dr. R. de Boer, who agreed to be my paranymphs. I am truly grateful to J. van Aaken to patiently answer my questions about English expressions and wording, as well as to S. Moore, assyriologist and fellow PhD student at Leiden University, for checking the English of my manuscript even though he was severely pressed for time.

My acknowledgments end with my dearest ones. A special note of thanks goes to my parents, Delfina and Fiorentino, for supporting my choices and always believing in my abilities. I am glad and grateful that both of them, at the age of 90 and 96, are able to see the manuscript finished. Last, but not least, I want to thank from the depth of my heart my husband Patrick and my son Thommas for putting up with a wife and a mum often locked in her study working very late hours. This is my book, I could not have written it without your limitless support. I hope I have made you proud.

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<i>Afp</i>	Archiv für Papyrusforschung (Leipzig, 1900 ff.)
<i>Aegyptus</i>	Aegyptus. Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e Papirologia (Milano, 1920 ff.)
<i>AHDO</i>	Archives d'histoire du droit orientale (Bruxelles, 1937-1951)
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<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l' Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Le Caire 1901 ff.)
<i>BiOr</i>	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden, 1943 ff.)
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<i>JARCE</i>	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-Cambridge-Princeton, 1962 ff.)
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London, 1914 ff.)

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<i>JESHO</i>	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden, 1958 ff.)
<i>JJP</i>	Journal of Juristic Papyrology (New York-Warsaw, 1946 ff.)
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<i>P.L. Bat.</i>	<i>Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava</i> (Leiden, 1941 ff.)
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i> (Bruxelles, 1954 ff.)

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Verhoogt and Vleeming (eds), <i>Studies Pestman</i>	A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming, <i>The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman</i> (<i>P.L. Bat.</i> 30, 1998)
<i>Vicino Oriente</i>	<i>Vicino Oriente</i> (Roma, 1989 ff.)
Vittmann, <i>P. Rylands 9</i>	G. Vittmann, <i>Der demotische P. Rylands 9</i> , I-II (1998)
Vleeming, <i>Ostraka Varia</i>	S.P. Vleeming, <i>Ostraka Varia. Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka. Chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections</i> (<i>P.L.Bat.</i> 26, 1994)
<i>UEE</i>	UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (online)
Westbrook (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Law</i>	R. Westbrook (ed.), <i>A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law</i> , I-II (2003)
Wolff, <i>Justizwesen</i>	H.J. Wolff, <i>Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer</i> (1962)
<i>YJLH</i>	Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities (1989 ff.)
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig-Berlin, 1863 ff.)
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik (Köln, 1967 ff.)
<i>ZSS.RA</i> (also: <i>ZRG RA</i>)	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung (Weimar, 1880 ff.)

EDITORIAL ANNOTATIONS

Conventions used in the transcriptions, transliterations and translations of texts:

[]	lacuna in the original text
()	addition made by the editor for clarity and omissions
< >	mistaken omission by the ancient scribe
⌈ ⌋	deletion by the ancient scribe
⸀ ⸁	text is damaged
˘ ˙	interlinear addition
?	uncertain reading
...	plain dots: approximate numbers of illegible or lost words (in translations)
---	approximate numbers of illegible or lost letters and of not reported words
...	underscore dots: precise numbers of lost letters
αβγ	uncertain letters

Personal names:

When possible, for the sake of readability, Egyptian personal names in the Pharaonic Period are translated according to B. Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina* (1999) and in the Ptolemaic Period by the phonetic version of their known Greek equivalents, if they exist; otherwise their Egyptian transliteration will be given instead.

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