



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Marriage traditions and the stem family in ancient Egypt: a study of marriage contracts, social structure and family life

Gompel, S.M.T. van

Citation

Gompel, S. M. T. van. (2025, June 11). *Marriage traditions and the stem family in ancient Egypt: a study of marriage contracts, social structure and family life*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4249984>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4249984>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

MARRIAGE TRADITIONS AND THE STEM FAMILY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

A STUDY OF MARRIAGE CONTRACTS, SOCIAL STRUCTURE
AND FAMILY LIFE

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 11 juni 2025
klokke 16:00 uur

door

Stephanie Martina Theresia van Gompel

geboren te Veldhoven in 1987

Promotor:

Prof. dr. O. E. Kaper

Copromotor:

Dr. K. Donker van Heel

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. J. H. Johnson (United States)

Prof. dr. C. Waerzeggers (secretaris)

Prof. dr. K. Vandorpe (België)

Dr. B. J. J. Haring

*For my parents
in boundless gratitude*

PREFACE

This dissertation that gathers and analyses ancient Egyptian (predominantly demotic) marriage documents, comes 65 years after the foundational works of P. W. Pestman and E. Lüddeckens on this topic. A new review of these documents was long overdue, since the text materials available for study have since almost doubled, and the study of demotic legal documents and clauses has advanced significantly. In addition, this work endeavours to provide a new general theory on Egyptian family practices of marriage, inheritance and household structure, in light of Eurasian historical family traditions. In this respect too, it builds on the works of P. W. Pestman, whose studies of Egyptian family practices through legal documents provided the starting point for the views and re-views in this study.

My thanks go out to Prof. O. Kaper and Dr. K. Donker van Heel, without whose guidance and support this project would not have been possible, and to Dr. Donker van Heel for his advice on writing and styling, without which this project would not have been readable. My special gratitude goes out to Prof. J. H. Johnson, who was gracious enough to comment on the long dissertation of a student halfway across the world she had never met.

I want to thank Dr. I. Regulski for kindly providing access to unpublished texts in the British Museum papyrus collection. In addition, my thanks go out to the Bibliothèque National de France, the Musée du Louvre and the Demotisches Namenbuch project for graciously providing photographs and scans of papyri.

Finally, I thank Dr. F. A. J. Hoogendijk for providing practical and moral support at the Papyrological Institute during the course of this project, and Dr. Jonathan Russell for being the best office mate one could ask for.

Funding for this project was provided by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) under the programme *Promoties in the Geesteswetenschappen*, for which I am very grateful.

This project went through several iterations in attempts to find a way to manage and make understandable the voluminous text materials, and the complexity of the social structures and personal aspirations that produced them. It remains, as any attempt to explain legal texts and life in ancient society, incomplete and imperfect in its explanations. It has cost me perhaps more than I had wanted to give, but that is the nature of the beast. It is a worthy effort, and it is completed.

Leiden, 1 April 2025

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my gratitude to everyone who, in addition to those mentioned in the Preface, has supported and helped me over the years. A special thanks goes out to all colleagues and students who have engaged with my material and my hypotheses at conferences and in personal conversations – especially to the late Prof. S. Allam, who helped me realise I was on the right track.

I thank Petra Hogenboom and Jonny Russell for being in the trenches with me on the hard days. And Imke Maessen, Filiz Dogan, and Mitra Ebrahimpoor, whose support and kindness was invaluable, even if I could never quite explain what my thesis was about. My fellow Egyptologists Graciella, Cathelijne, Renate and Joost, who have been there before and during this project and will be there after. And Sophie, who always answers the phone.

My most heartfelt thanks go out to my parents, Walter and Lea, and my sister, Marit, for their unconditional love and support.

Abbreviations

This study uses BCE (Before Common Era) and CE (Common Era) in year notations.

A. Encyclopedia entries

W. HELCK – E. OTTO, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* Bd. 1–7 (Wiesbaden, 1972 – 1992).

LÄ I 'Adoption', R. TANNER, 66–67.

LÄ I 'Altersversorgung', W. HELCK, 158–159.

LÄ I 'Ehe', S. ALLAM, 1162–1181.

LÄ I 'Ehebruch', S. ALLAM, 1174–1175.

LÄ I 'Eheurkunden', E. LÜDDECKENS, 1181–1183.

LÄ I 'Erbe', T. MRSICH, 1235–1260.

LÄ II 'Familie, soziale Function', S. ALLAM, 101–103.

LÄ II 'Familie(struktur)', S. ALLAM, 104–113.

LÄ II, 'Frau', A. THÉODORIDÈS, 280–295.

LÄ III 'Kinderlosigkeit und –wunsch', E. FEUCHT, 440–441.

LÄ III 'Kind' E. FEUCHT, 424–437.

LÄ V 'Sem(priester)', B. SCHMITZ, 833–836.

LÄ III 'Masse und Gewichte', S. VLEEMING, 1210–1214.

LÄ VI 'Papyri, Demotische, Kairo, aus der äg. Grabung in Tuna el–Gebel', K.-T. ZAUZICH, 831.

LÄ V 'Stab des Alters', H. BRUNNER, 1224.

LÄ VI 'Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen', D. FRANKE, 1032–1036.

E. FROOD – W. WENDRICH (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: online publication)

UEE 'Marriage and Divorce' (2013), J. TOIVARI-VIITALA, pp. 1–17.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002cbdg5>

UEE 'Inheritance' (2013), S. LIPPERT, pp. 1–20.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002hg0w1>

UEE 'Households' (2012), J. C. MORENO GARCÍA, pp. 1–10.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002czx07>

UEE 'Kinship and Family Relations' (2009), M. CAMPAGNO, pp. 1–8.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001nf68f>

UEE 'Sex and Gender' (2009), D. SWEENEY, pp. 1–14.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0027fc04>

B. Periodicals and series

ÄA: Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden, 1960–)

ÄAT: Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Wiesbaden, 1979–)

AegHelv: Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Genève, 1974–)

AfP: Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1900–)

AnSoc: Ancient Society (Leuven, 1970–)

ASP: American Studies in Papyrology (Chico, CA., 1966–)

ÄZ > ZÄS

BACPSI: Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies and Inscriptions (Cairo, 1997–)

BASP: Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (New Haven, 1963–)

BdÉ: Bibliothèque d'études (Le Caire, 1908–)

BES: Bulletin of the Egyptian Seminar (New York, 1979–)

BMSAES: British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London, 2002–) [Online]

BSÉG:	Bulletin: Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Genève, 1979–)
CdÉ:	Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles, 1925–)
CHANE:	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden, 2000–)
CNIP:	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen, 1986–)
CPSA:	Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology (Cambridge, 1958–1973)
CRRAI:	Compte Rendu Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Leiden, 1950–)
CSPEST:	Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time (Cambridge, 1984–)
CSSCA:	Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology (Cambridge, 1990–2003)
CSSH:	Comparative Studies in Society and History: an International Quarterly (The Hague, 1958–)
DMOA:	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui (Leiden, 1947–2002)
DS:	Demotische Studien (Leipzig–Sommerhausen, 1901:1988–)
EQÄ:	Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Berlin–Münster, 2000–)
EU:	Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden, 1982)
EVO:	Egitto e Vicino Oriente: Rivista della sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Università degli Studi di Pisa (Pisa, 1978–)
GM:	Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion (Göttingen, 1972–)
HäS:	Hamburger ägyptologische Studien (Hamburg, 1981–1983)
HES:	Harvard Egyptological Studies (Boston, 2015–)
HOS:	Handbook of Oriental Studies (AKA: Handbuch der Orientalistik) (Leiden, 1996–)
JARCE:	The Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt (Boston, 1962–)
JEA:	The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London, 1914–)
JEH:	The Journal of Egyptian History (Leiden, 2008–)
JESHO:	The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden, 1957–)
JJP:	The Journal of Juristic Papyrology (Warsaw, 1946–)
JNES:	The Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago, 1942–)
JRS:	The Journal of Roman Studies (London–Cambridge, 1911–)
JSSEA:	The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (Toronto, 1977–)
LingAeg:	Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies (Göttingen, 1991–)
MBPR:	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte (München, 1915)
MDAIK:	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Augsburg: Wiesbaden, 1930–1944:1956–)
MRÉ:	Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles, 1971–)
OBO:	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg, Schweiz–Göttingen, 1983–)
OIP:	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago, 1924–)
OIMP:	Oriental Institute Museum Publications (Chicago, 1941–)
OIS:	Oriental Institute Seminars (Chicago, 2004–)
OLA:	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven, 1975–)
OLZ:	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient und seinen Beziehungen zu den angrenzenden Kulturkreisen (Berlin, 1898–)
P. L. Bat.:	Papyrologica Lugduno–Batava (Lugduni Batavorum, 1941–)
PSBA:	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London, 1879–1919)
PTA:	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen (Bonn, 1968–)
RdÉ:	Revue d'Égyptologie (Paris–Louvain, 1933–)
RIDA:	Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité (Bruxelles, 1948)
RSE:	Routledge Studies in Egyptology (New York, 2013–)
SAK:	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg, 1974–)
SASAE:	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (Le Caire, 1946–)
SAOC:	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago, 1931–)
SD:	Studia Demotica (Leuven, 1987–)

SWGS:	Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg (Strassburg, 1907–1919)
TACE:R:	The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports (Sydney, 1989–)
TACES:	The Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies (Sydney, 1989–)
UGAÄ:	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim–Leipzig–Berlin 1896-1964)
WAW:	Writings from the Ancient World (Leiden, 2002–)
WZKM:	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien, 1887–)
ZÄS:	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig–Berlin, 1863)

C. Monographs, Text Editions, Festschriften, etc.

ADLER ET. AL., <i>P. Adler</i>	E. ADLER – J. TAIT – F. HEICHELHEIM – F. LL. GRIFFITH (eds), <i>The Adler Papyri</i> (London, 1939).
ALLAM, <i>HOP</i>	S. ALLAM, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit</i> Bd. 1–2 (Tübingen, 1973)
Andrews, <i>P. BM Andrews</i>	C. A. R. ANDREWS, <i>Catalogue of the demotic papyri in the British Museum IV. Ptolemaic legal texts from the Theban area</i> (London, 1990).
BL	A. A. DEN BRINKER – B. P. MUHS – S. P. VLEEMING (eds), <i>A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic documents I–III</i> , <i>Studia Demotica</i> 7 (Leuven – Dudley, MA, 2005–2013).
BOTTI, <i>P. Tor. Botti</i>	G. BOTTI JR., <i>L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh</i> , <i>Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima. Monumenti e Testi</i> 1 (Torino, 1967).
BGU 8	W. SCHUBART – DIEDRICH SCHÄFER, <i>Spätptolemäische Papyri aus amtlichen Büros des Herakleopolites, ägyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden VIII. Band</i> (Berlin, 1933).
CLARYSSE – THOMPSON, <i>P. Count</i>	W. CLARYSSE – D. J. THOMPSON, <i>Counting the people in Hellenistic Egypt. Vol. 1: Population registers, Vol. 2: Historical Studies</i> (Cambridge, 2006).
CDD	<i>Chicago Demotic Dictionary</i> [accessible online]
DONKER VAN HEEL, <i>P. Louvre Eisenlohr</i>	K. DONKER VAN HEEL, <i>Abnormal Hieratic and early Demotic texts collected by the Theban choachytes in the reign of Amasis : papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr lot (P. Louvre Eisenlohr)</i> (Leiden, 1995) [dissertation].
BAGNALL – FRIER, <i>DRE</i>	R. S. BAGNALL – B. W. FRIER, <i>The demography of Roman Egypt</i> , <i>CSPEST</i> 23 (Cambridge, 1994, suppl. 2006).
EDGERTON, <i>Marriage</i>	W. F. EDGERTON, <i>Notes on Egyptian Marriage. Chiefly in the Ptolemaic Period</i> (Chicago, 1931).
EL-AMIR, <i>P. Philadelphia</i>	M. EL-AMIR, <i>A Family Archive from Thebes. Demotic Papyri in the Philadelphia and Cairo Museum from the Ptolemaic Period</i> (Cairo, 1959).
<i>Fs Fauve-Chamoux</i>	M.-P. ARRIZABALAGA – I. BOLOVAN – M. EPEL et. al. (eds), <i>Many Paths to Happiness? Studies in Population and Family History. A Festschrift for Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux</i> (Amsterdam, 2010).
<i>Fs Zauzich</i>	F. HOFFMANN – H.-J. THISSEN (Hrgs.), <i>Res Severa Verum Gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004</i> , <i>SD</i> 6 (Leuven etc., 2004)
GLANVILLE, <i>'Onchsheshonqy</i>	S. R. K. GLANVILLE, <i>Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum vol. II. The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy (British Museum Papyrus 10508)</i> (London, 1955).
<i>Glossar</i>	W. ERICHSEN, <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> (Kopenhagen, 1954)
GRIFFITH, <i>P. Ryl. Dem.</i>	F. LL. GRIFFITH, <i>Catalogue of the Demotic papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, with facsimiles and complete translations</i> (Manchester, 1909).

- HERRING, P. *Trophitis* D. G. HERRING, *P. Trophitis: New Ptolemaic Papyri Relating to Egyptian Alimentary and Sale Contracts. Greek Abstracts from a 'Kibotos' Archive Edited and Analyzed* (Austin, 1989) [dissertation].
- HUGHES – JASNOW, P. *Hawara OI* G. R. HUGHES – R. JASNOW – J. G. KEENAN, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri. Demotic and Greek Texts from an Egyptian Family Archive in the Fayum (Fourth to Third Century B.C.)*, OIP 113 (Chicago, 1997).
- JORDAN, P. *Mattha Jordan* B. JORDAN, *Die demotischen Wissenstexte (Recht und Mathematik) des pMattha 1–2, Tuna el-Gebel 5* (Vaterstetten, 2015).
- JUNKER, P. *Lonsdorfer I* H. JUNKER, *Papyrus Lonsdorfer I. Ein Ehepakt aus der Zeit des Nektanebos*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch–philologische und historische Klasse 197 Abh. 2 (Wien, 1921).
- LICHTHEIM, LEW M. LICHTHEIM, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context. A Study of Demotic Instructions*, OBO 52 (Göttingen, 1983).
- LÜDDECKENS, P. *Hawara Lüd.* E. LÜDDECKENS – R. WASSERMAN, *Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara*, Verzeichnis Orientalischer Handschriften in Deutschland. Supplementbände 28 (Stuttgart, 1998).
- LÜDDECKENS, P. *Köln Dem.* E. LÜDDECKENS, 'Demotische Texte', in: E. LÜDDECKENS – A. KROPP – A. HERMANN – M. WEBER, *Demotische und Koptische Texte*, Papyrologica Coloniensia. Sonderreihe der Abhandlungen der Nordrhein–Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2 (Köln [etc.], 1968).
- LÜDDECKENS, *Eheverträge* E. LÜDDECKENS, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, ÄA 1 (Wiesbaden, 1960). In the literature references in the Database of texts: LD.
- KAPLONY-HECKEL, P. *Heidelberg* U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Die Demotischen Gebelen–Urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus–Sammlung*, Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus–Sammlung N.F. 4 (Heidelberg, 1964).
- KAPLONY-HECKEL, O. *Tempeleide* U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Die Demotische Tempeleide Teil I–II*, ÄA 6 (Wiesbaden, 1963).
- KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Getreide-Darlehn* U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Das Getreide-Darlehn P. Haun. Inv. Demot. 2 in Kopenhagen*, in: K. RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies. Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, CNIP 27 (Kopenhagen, 2002), pp. 246–248, 'Exkurs zum Titel Dotationsfrau.'
- KORTE – WEGNER, P. *Köln 15* J. KORTE – W. WEGNER, II. Demotische Urkunden, in: C. ARMONI et. al., *Kölner Papyri Band 15* (P. Köln 15), Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia Vol.VII/15 (Köln, 2017).
- KRI K. A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, (Oxford, 1975–).
- KRITA K. A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions: translated and annotated*, (Oxford, 1993–ongoing).
- LÄ W. HELCK – E. OTTO, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* Bd. 1–7 (Wiesbaden, 1972–1992).
- LEXA, P. *Insinger* F. LEXA, *Papyrus Insinger. Les enseignements moraux d'un scribe Égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C.* I-II (Paris, 1926).
- LIPPERT, P. *Lehrbuch* S. L. LIPPERT, *Ein demotisches juristisches Lehrbuch. Untersuchungen zu Papyrus Berlin P 23757 rto*, ÄA 66 (Wiesbaden, 2004).
- LIPPERT, *Rechtsgeschichte* S. LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, EQÄ Bd. 5 (Berlin, 2012).
- LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, P. *Dime 2* S. L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II. Quittungen*. (Wiesbaden, 2006).
- LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, P. *Dime 3* S. L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime III. Urkunden*. (Wiesbaden, 2010).

- MALININE, OLZ 56 M. MALININE, Review of: E. LÜDDECKENS, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, (Wiesbaden, 1960), OLZ 56 nr. 11/12 (1963), pp. 558 - 566.
- MANNING, P. Hauswaldt Manning J. G. MANNING, *The Hauswaldt Papyri : a Third Century B.C. Family Dossier from Edfu*, Demotische Studien 12 (Sommerhausen, 1997),
- MARTIN, P. Dem. Memphis C. J. MARTIN et. al., *Demotic Papyri from the Memphite Necropolis in the Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the British Museum and the Hermitage Museum* (P. Dem. Memphis), PALMA Egyptology 5 (Leiden, 2009).
- MÖLLER, Zwei Eheverträge G. MÖLLER, *Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge aus vorsaitischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1918).
- Namenbuch E. LÜDDECKENS et. al., *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1980–2000).
- NIMS, P. Michigan C. F. NIMS, *University of Michigan Demotic Papyri: Papyri from Philadelphia* (Chicago, 1937) [Dissertation]
- P. Ankhsheshonqy See: GLANVILLE, *Onchsheshkonqy*
- P. Insinger See: LEXA, *P. Insinger*
- PASEK, P. Hawara Pasek S. PASEK, *Hawara. Eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit. 1. Teil: Die Siedlung Hawara; 2. Teil: Die demotischen und griechischen Papyri*, Altertumswissenschaften/Archäologie Band 1–2 (Berlin, 2007).
- PESTMAN, MMP P. W. PESTMAN, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt. A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman*, P. L. Bat. 9, (Leiden, 1961).
- PESTMAN, P. Survey P. W. PESTMAN, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.)* (P. Survey) (Leuven, 1993).
- PESTMAN, P. Tor. Amenothos P. W. PESTMAN, *L'archivio di Amenothos, figlio di Horos (P. Tor. Amenothos): testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a. C.'* (Milano, 1981).
- PESTMAN, P. Tsenhor P. W. PESTMAN, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor): les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius Ier*, Studia Demotic 4 (Leuven, 1994).
- PESTMAN – QUAEGBEUR – VOS, P. Recueil P. W. PESTMAN – J. QUAEGBEUR – J.S. VOS, *Recueil des textes démotiques et bilingues. I: Transcriptions, II: Traductions, III: Index et Plances* (Leiden, 1977).
- REYMOND, P. Ashmolean 1 E. A. E. REYMOND, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the Ashmolean Museum Vol. 1: Embalmers' archives from Hawara* (Oxford, 1973).
- SCHENTULEIT – VITTMANN, CPR XXIX M. SCHENTULEIT – G. VITTMANN, *'Du hast mein Herz zufriedengestellt...'. Ptolemäerzeitliche demotische Urkunden aus Soknopaïou Nesos*, CPR XXIX (Berlin–New York, 2009).
- SETHE – PARTSCH, P. Burgschaft. K. H. SETHE – J. A. A. PARTSCH, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit*, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig Philologisch–historische Klasse 32 (Leipzig, 1920).
- SPIEGELBERG, Denkmäler II W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler II: Die demotischen Papyrus*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Strasbourg, 1906–1908).
- SPIEGELBERG, Denkmäler III W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (50023–50165)*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, (Berlin, 1932).
- SPIEGELBERG, P. Baden W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyri. A. Demotische Scheidebriefe. B. Ein demotischer Alimentationsvertrag aus dem 4. vorchristl. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus–Sammlungen 1 (Heidelberg, 1923).

- SPIEGELBERG, *P. Berlin* W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig–Berlin, 1902).
- SPIEGELBERG, *P. Hauswaldt* W. SPIEGELBERG – J. A. A. PARTSCH, *Die demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt. Verträge der ersten Hälfte der Ptolemäerzeit (Ptolemaios II–IV) aus Apollinopolis (Edfu)* (Leipzig, 1913).
- SPIEGELBERG, *P. Libbey* W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Papyrus Libbey, ein ägyptischer Heiratsvertrag, SWGS 1* (Strassburg, 1907).
- SPIEGELBERG, *P. Strassbourg* W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek* (Strassburg, 1902).
- SOTTAS, *P. Lille* H. SOTTAS, *Papyrus Démotiques de Lille Tome I^{er}* (Paris, 1921).
- The Stem Family in Eurasian Perspective* A. FAUVE-CHAMOUX – E. OCHIAI (eds), *The Stem Family in Eurasian Perspective. Revisiting House Societies 17th-20th centuries* (Paris – Kyoto, 2009).
- THOMPSON, *P. BM Siut* H. THOMPSON, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum. Including an Account of a Trial before the Laocritae in the Year B.C. 170* (Oxford, 1934).
- THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* D. J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 2012 2nd ed.).
- TLA Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (<https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>)
- TM Trismegistos (<https://www.trismegistos.org/>)
- UYTTERHOEVEN, *Hawara* I. UYTTERHOEVEN, *Hawara in the Graeco–Roman Period. Life and Death in a Fayum Village*, OLA 174 (Leuven, 2009).
- VANDORPE, *P. Dryton* K. VANDORPE, *The Bilingual Family Archive of Dryton, his Wife Apollonia and their Daughter Senmouthis*, *Collectanea Hellenistica* 4 (Brussels, 2002).
- VANDORPE – VLEEMING, *P. Erbstreit* K. VANDORPE – S. P. VLEEMING, *The Erbstreit papyri: a bilingual dossier from Pathyris of the second century BC*, SD 13 (Leuven, 2017).
- VITTMANN, *P. Rylands 9* G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9 Teil I–II*, ÄAT 38 (Wiesbaden, 1998).
- VLEEMING, *P. Hou* S. P. VLEEMING, *The gooseherds of Hou (Pap. Hou): a dossier relating to various agricultural affairs from provincial Egypt of the early fifth century B.C.* (Leuven, 1991).
- ZAUZICH, *P. Schreibertradition* K.-TH. ZAUZICH, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit Bd. 1–2* (Harrassowitz, 1968).
- Wb* E. ERMAN – H. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache* Bd. 1–5 (Leipzig, 1926–1931).
- DEROSAS – ORIS, *When Dad Died* R. DEROSAS – M. ORIS (eds), *When Dad Died. Individuals and Families Coping with Distress in Past Societies* (Bern etc., 2002).
- WILCKEN, *UPZ* U. WILCKEN, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (Ältere Funde). Erster Band: Papyri aus Unterägypten (UPZ)* (Berlin, 1922).

List of terms used

<i>infra</i>	below
<i>supra</i>	above
<i>cf.</i>	<i>conferatur</i> , compare
<i>e.g.</i>	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
<i>i.e.</i>	<i>id est</i> , namely
Bilateral (cognatic):	Through both the male (or father's) line and the female (or mother's) line.
Cognatic:	See <i>bilateral</i> .
Collateral:	A horizontal connection or mode of transmission.
Conjugal unit:	A married couple, husband and wife.
Consanguineous:	Blood related, people descended from the same ancestor.
Corporate:	Something that is held and administered jointly and as a whole, but of which parts are owned by multiple entities or people.
Corporation:	A group of people who act as a single entity, often legally considered a person.
Corporate inheritance:	An inheritance tradition in which property is kept as a whole, while multiple heirs own rights to parts of the whole.
Endogamy/endogamous:	In-marriage and in-marrying: when marriage partners must be found within a group a person belongs to, be it family group, social group, occupational group, etc.
Exogamy/exogamous:	Out-marriage and out-marrying: when marriage partners must be found outside of the group a person belongs to, be it family group, social group, occupational group, etc.
Family:	Lineal kin centred around one or more conjugal couples.
House:	A physical structure in which people and families reside, a dwelling.
Household:	A family group that shares in the same domestic economy.
Impartible inheritance:	An inheritance tradition in which property is indivisible and given to one privileged heir.
Joint family (community family):	A family system in which all children of one sex remain connected to the parental household after marriage, resulting in households that contain multiple conjugal units in different generations concurrently. Its domestic cycle creates nuclear, stem and joint household formations.
Kin:	One's family and relations.
Lineal:	A vertical connection or mode of transmission.
Lineage:	A lineal descent line from one or more ancestors.
Partible inheritance:	An inheritance tradition in which property and assets are divided among heirs – property is passed on to the next generation in separate shares for separate heirs.
Patrilineal:	A mode of transmission from father to child, often father to son.
Patrilocal:	Residence of a married couple in the house or household of the husband and his parents; also used for wives moving in with their husbands after marriage (for this use, see p. 259 fn. 1248, <i>infra</i>).
Matrilineal:	A mode of transmission from mother to child.
Matrilocal:	Residence of a married couple in the house or household of the wife and her parents; also used for husbands moving in with their wives after marriage (for this use, see p. 259 fn. 1248, <i>infra</i>).
Nuclear family:	A family system in which no children remain connected to the parental household after marriage, in which households do not survive past the lifetimes of their founders and only contain one conjugal unit at a time.
Stem family:	A family system in which one child remains connected to the parental household after marriage, resulting in households that contains two conjugal units in different generations concurrently. Its domestic cycle creates nuclear and stem household formations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume 1: Text

PREFACE	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABBREVIATIONS	v
LIST OF TERMS USED	xi
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	xxi
OVERVIEW TABLES OF MARRIAGE DOCUMENT TYPE FORMATS	xxiii
Table 1: Type A marriage document format	xxv
Table 2: Type B marriage document format	xxx
Table 3A: Type C marriage document format: <i>s^cnh</i>	xxxiii
Table 3B: Type C marriage document format: <i>db³-hd</i>	xxxv
Table 4: Hermopolis texts	xxxvii
Table 5: Akhmim texts	xxxviii
Table 6: Other texts with mixed formats	xxxix
CHAPTER 1. AIMS, METHOD, AND STATE OF RESEARCH	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.1.1 Topic and relevancy of this study	1
1.1.2 Structure of this study	3
1.2 Method and Methodology	3
1.2.1 Methodological considerations	4
1.2.1.1 The validity of historical comparison?	4
1.2.1.2 Employing a bird's eye perspective	6
1.2.1.3 Men, women and monoliths	6
1.2.1.4 Terminology	7
1.3 The state of research on Egyptian marriage and family traditions	7
1.3.1 Marriage documents and marriage practices	8
1.3.2 Other family practices	9
1.3.3 Family and household structure	10
1.4 Egyptian women in marriage, family and society	12
1.4.1 Women in the past and research bias	13
1.4.2 Family form and the position of women in society	15
1.5 Social scientists on Egyptian marriage and family	17
1.6 Hypotheses of this study	21

CHAPTER 2: THE EGYPTIAN MARRIAGE DOCUMENTS	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 The categorisation and typology of marriage documents, and related texts	26
2.2.1 Marriage document types A, B, C and + (tables 1–5)	26
2.2.2 The distribution of marriage document types	30
2.2.2.1 In time	30
2.2.2.2 In place	31
2.2.3 Terms for marriage documents	33
2.2.4 Pre-Ptolemaic texts and the development of marriage document types over time	35
2.2.4.1 Abnormal hieratic documents	35
2.2.4.2 Early demotic documents	38
2.2.4.3 Early demotic documents between husband and father-in-law	40
2.2.4.4 Early demotic documents with the wife as the first contractual party	41
2.2.5 A non-typology marriage document	42
2.2.6 Models and templates of marriage documents	43
2.2.7 Egyptian marriage documents in Greek scribal registers	44
2.2.8 Greek marriage documents from Egypt	46
2.2.9 Related texts that provide information about marriage and property settlement	49
2.2.9.1 Documents of <i>grg.t</i>	49
2.2.9.2 Divorce documents	50
2.2.9.3 Temple Oaths	50
2.2.10 Marriage documents in secondary legal texts: <i>P. Mattha recto</i> and <i>P. Berlin P 23757 recto</i>	52
2.2.10.1 The laws regarding <i>s^cnh</i> contracts cited in the Assiut Trial Proceedings	59
2.3 Reconstructing a marital property system: marriage payments and property mechanics	60
2.3.1 Marriage documents as informative sources for marriage practice?	61
2.3.1.1 The wife's goods, and what is 'hidden' in the wife's marriage payment	62
2.3.1.2 The wife's maintenance	63
2.3.1.3 The three forms of inheritance clause	63
2.3.1.4 The wife's marriage payment called <i>grg.t</i>	64
2.3.1.5 Wives with two marriage documents	65
2.3.2 The initial marriage payments: <i>šp n s.ḥm.t</i> , <i>ḥd n ir ḥm.t</i> , <i>ḥd n (p3y=t) s^cnh</i>	66
2.3.2.1 The <i>šp n s.ḥm.t</i> revisited	67
2.3.2.2 The <i>šp n s.ḥm.t</i> in the wife's property lists: real or a fiction?	70
2.3.3 'Food-and-clothing' maintenance clauses, and the support of the wife	76
2.3.3.1 Products and times of delivery	79
2.3.3.2 Coins, silver and copper values, and grain measures in marriage documents	80

2.3.3.2.1 Silver, copper, gold, and coinage in marriage documents	80
2.3.3.2.2 Silver and the Treasury of Ptah	82
2.3.3.2.3 ‘Small gold’	84
2.3.3.2.4 Grain and bread in marriage documents	84
2.3.3.3 Maintenance and the wife’s marriage payment	86
2.3.3.4 Where maintenance was to be paid	89
2.3.3.5 The arrears of maintenance clause	90
2.3.4 Security clauses and descriptions of the husband’s estate	90
2.3.4.1 Security clauses	90
2.3.4.2 The descriptive security clause	91
2.3.4.3 Future inheritance and detailed descriptions of property	93
2.3.5 Divorce clauses and the return of the wife’s property	95
2.3.5.1 Divorce clauses in type A documents	95
2.3.5.2 Divorce clauses in type B documents	98
2.3.5.3 Divorce clauses in type C documents	100
2.3.5.4 Mixed format texts: Hermopolis (B+) and Akhmim (A+)	101
2.3.5.5 Differences between divorce stipulations?	103
2.3.5.6 The return of ‘stolen’ property	104
2.3.6 Inheritance clauses	106
2.3.6.1 Named heirs	110
2.3.6.2 ‘Partners of division’	112
2.3.6.3 Inheritance shares	112
2.3.7 Synthesis: Reconstructing Egyptian marriage mechanics	113
2.4. Remaining legal clauses and notable terms in marriage documents	117
2.4.1 A ‘new’ legal clause in marriage documents: the return of property in childless marriages	117
2.4.2 The parties	119
2.4.3 The <i>nkt.w n s.hm.t</i> clauses	127
2.4.3.1 The enigmatic item <i>inw</i>	130
2.4.3.2 The categorisation of items in the <i>nkt.w</i> -lists	137
2.4.4 Ownership and control of the woman’s goods: the <i>šy</i> and <i>shf</i> clause	137
2.4.4.1 Two new attestations of the term <i>shf</i>	139
2.4.5 Consent clauses	140
2.4.6 Oath clauses and promises to honour the stipulations of the document	144
2.4.6.1 Oath clauses and pledges specific to marriage documents and marital property	144
2.4.6.2 Oath clauses and pledges not specific to marriage documents	145
2.5 Summary	148
EXCURSUS A. MATTERS OF <i>s^cnh</i>	153
A.1 Translations	153

A.2. Refuting Kato: of <i>s^cnh</i> , maintenance and ‘fines’	154
A.2.1 Kato’s hypothesis and <i>P. Mattha Recto</i>	158
A.2.2 Synthesis	160
A.3 <i>s^cnh</i> outside of marital context	160
A.3.1 The earliest attestations of the term <i>s^cnh</i>	160
A.3.2 Uses of <i>s^cnh</i> in demotic private legal texts	161
A.3.3 Synthesis	164
A.4 ‘ <i>s^cnh</i> -women’ and their contracts in southern Egypt	165
A.4.1 A <i>s^cnh</i> -woman at the scribal office in Djeme	167
A.4.2 <i>s^cnh</i> -women in priestly families in Gebelein	168
CHAPTER 3: EGYPTIAN MARRIAGE AND FAMILY SYSTEM AT THE END OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE	170
3.1 Introduction	170
3.2 Historical Family Systems	173
3.2.1 Family systems: history of a typology	174
3.2.1.1 The nuclear family system	176
3.2.1.2 The stem family system	177
3.2.1.3 The joint family system	179
3.2.1.4 Variant and intermediate forms	181
3.2.1.5 Recognising family systems in historical sources	181
3.2.1.6 ‘Extended nuclear’ versus ‘incomplete stem’ households	182
3.2.1.7 Percentages of household types in an historic snapshot	182
3.2.1.8 Differences in ideology and the status and agency of women	183
3.2.1.9 The origins of family systems	185
3.2.1.10 Historical families and marriage patterns	186
3.2.1.11 Methodological considerations 5: three inaccuracies in Egyptological discourse about household and family	188
3.3 The Egyptian data from the end of the first millennium	190
3.3.1 Marriage practices	190
3.3.1.1 Motivation to marry	190
3.3.1.2 Marriage consensus, ceremonies, and stages	191
3.3.1.3 Consensus and marriage negotiations	194
3.3.1.4 Pre-marriage stages and payments	195
3.3.1.5 Trial Marriages?	197
3.3.1.6 Terminology	198
3.3.1.7 Partner choice	201
3.3.1.7.1 Occupational endogamy	202
3.3.1.7.2 Kin endogamy	205
3.3.1.7.3 Where else to meet a spouse	210
3.3.1.7.4 Interethnic marriage and ‘hypergamy’	212

3.3.1.7.5 Synthesis	214
3.3.1.8 Marriage as a support construction?	215
3.3.1.9 Polygamy	217
3.3.1.10 Moral behaviours	218
3.3.1.10.1 Virginity	219
3.3.1.10.2 Adultery and Infidelity	220
3.3.1.10.3 Remarriage	223
3.3.2 Age at first marriage and age differentials in marriage context	227
3.3.2.1 Age at first marriage	230
3.3.2.2 Age differentials between spouses	233
3.3.2.3 Age at which the (first) children are born	237
3.3.2.4 Synthesis	238
3.3.3 Inheritance and succession	240
3.3.3.1 Partible, impartible and corporate inheritance	240
3.3.3.2 Egyptian inheritance and succession practices	241
3.3.3.3 The structural and ideological position of the 'eldest son'	246
3.3.3.4 Weakening of the position of the 'eldest son'?	248
3.3.3.5 Daughters as heir-successors, and the in-marrying son-in-law	251
3.3.3.6 Buying out children from inheritance	254
3.3.3.7 Virtual and real division of family property	255
3.3.4 Households and living arrangements	259
3.3.4.1 Living arrangements after marriage and household formation	264
3.3.4.2 <i>grg pr</i> and household formation	260
3.3.4.3 Household structure in <i>P. Count</i>	261
3.3.4.3.1 Additional data from southern Middle Egypt	265
3.3.4.4 The <i>Stato Civile</i>	266
3.3.5 Adoption	268
3.3.5.1 Covert adoptions in large offspring sets?	271
3.3.6 Ideology about the family: moralistic literature	272
3.3.6.1 Marriage	274
3.3.6.2 Inheritance and family matters	280
3.3.6.2.1 Fathers and (eldest) sons	280
3.3.6.2.2 Property and inheritance	282
3.3.6.2.3 Family and care	283
3.3.6.2.4 In-laws	284
3.3.6.3 Anxieties inherent in the family system	284
3.3.7 Hierarchy, authority and agency within household and family	286
3.3.7.1 Authority, headship and marriage	286
3.3.7.2 Retirement	287
3.3.7.3 Transfer of headship	290
3.3.8 Roles in the household	293

3.3.8.1 Sons and daughters	293
3.3.8.2 Wives and husbands	295
3.3.8.3 Women, honour and property rights	297
3.3.9 Blind spots in the family system	297
3.4 Synthesis: Comparing the Egyptian data with the Family Systems typology	300
3.4.1 Redefining the Egyptian family system	300
3.4.1.1 Reconsidering the ‘uniqueness’ of Egyptian women	304
3.4.1.2 Demotic marriage documents in a stem family system	305
3.4.2 The Egyptian stem family: shelter or a ‘small hell’?	306
CHAPTER 4: MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLDS BEFORE AND AFTER: THE EGYPTIAN FAMILY SYSTEM IN EARLIER PHARAONIC AND ROMAN EGYPT	308
4.1 Traces of stem families in earlier Pharaonic Egypt	308
4.1.1 Marriage and inheritance	309
4.1.1.1 Ideology about marriage and family	309
4.1.1.2 Marriage documents	310
4.1.1.3 Inheritance and succession	312
4.1.1.4 The emergence of primogeniture and joint property in the Old Kingdom?	313
4.1.2 Stem household structures	316
4.1.2.1 Egyptian household records, again	316
4.1.2.2 Stem households in large estates in Amarna and el-Lahun	317
4.1.2.3 The structuring of physical space in the house as reinforcement of stem ideology	319
4.1.3 The household of Heqanakht	319
4.1.4 The <i>3b.t</i> : stem families in the hereafter	321
4.2 Roman Egyptian households and families	322
4.2.1 The Roman census	323
4.2.1.1 Roman Egypt and a mixed population	324
4.2.1.2 Households and family in the Roman census	325
4.2.1.3 Marriage in the Roman census	328
4.2.2 Households and families in <i>P. Oxy. 984A</i>	329
4.2.2.1 Household structure in <i>P. Oxy 984A</i>	330
4.2.2.2 Marriage in <i>P. Oxy 984A</i>	332
4.3 Synthesis: Consistency and change in families in Pharaonic and Roman Egypt	332
4.4 The regional perspective and the limitations of this study	334
EXCURSUS B. SIBLING MARRIAGES IN THE ROMAN CENSUS: OF SON-IN-LAW ADOPTIONS AND INBREEDING DEPRESSION	336

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION: EGYPTIAN MARRIAGE DOCUMENTS, MARRIAGE, AND FAMILY SYSTEM	345
INDEX AND LITERATURE	358
CURRICULUM VITAE	379
NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING	381

Volume 2: Database of Texts

List of tables and figures

Volume 1: Text

Fig. 1: Visual approximation of the regional distribution of Ptolemaic marriage document types	32
Fig. 2: Family systems and structure visualised on a sliding scale	175
Fig. 3: The nuclear family system	177
Fig. 4: The stem family system	179
Fig. 5: The joint family system	180
Fig. 6: An ambiguous household constellation	182
Table 1: Type A marriage document format	xvi
Table 2: Type B marriage document format	xxi
Table 3A: Type C marriage document format: <i>s^cnh</i>	xxiv
Table 3B: Type C marriage document format: <i>db3-hd</i>	xxvi
Table 4: Hermopolis texts	xxviii
Table 5: Akhmim texts	xxix
Table 6: Other texts with mixed formats	xxx
Table 7. Maintenance in type C texts + the height of the wife's initial marriage payment	76
Table 8. Maintenance in type B texts and the height of the wife's initial marriage payment	77
Table 9. Maintenance in type A texts and the height of the wife's <i>nkt.w n s.hm.t</i>	78
Table 10. Maintenance in mixed format texts and the height of the wife's initial marriage payment	79
Table 11. Overview of titles and ethnicons recorded in marriage documents	125

Volume 2: Database of Texts

Fig. 1: Visual approximation of the regional distribution of Ptolemaic marriage document types	14
Table 12.: Concordance of database and collection numbers, provenance, date, TM nr., <i>P. Eheverträge</i> nr.	5
Table 13. : Concordance of related texts	10
Table 14. : Overview of texts sorted by date, type and provenance	11

Overview tables of marriage document formats

This section contains a tabular overview of the distinct types of marriage documents, their contractual format and their legal clauses. This classification follows Pestman's ABC-typology of marriage texts, with emendations that allow for the inclusion of texts that I classify as ABC+ or 'mixed' texts. The overall typology of marriage documents and the legal clauses that are presented within them are the topic of discussion in Chapter 2.

The tables below are based on the marriage documents that are currently available and do not offer a representative view of which types of marriage documents were most commonly used or most 'popular'. Documents from Middle Egypt are underrepresented in the corpus.

The following restrictions apply to the tables:

1. The tables list the most common and longest known version of legal clauses and subclauses. Marriage texts may show smaller or larger variation in standard legal clauses. I have tried to include notable variants where possible.
2. The tables include only texts from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, the times in which the formats for marriage documents were most fully developed. While pre-Ptolemaic texts show some clauses similar to those of documents from the Ptolemaic period, they are usually significantly shorter, or have completely different formats all together (e.g., the abnormal hieratic texts **146–149**). In the Database these texts are indicated as ('Pestman type, pre-Ptolemaic', e.g. 'Type A, pre-Ptolemaic').
3. The sequence of the clauses in the table does not (always) reflect the sequence of clauses in the actual documents, which is variable in the preserved examples.

Notes to the tables

Demotic marriage documents start with a dating formula and a clause naming the contractual parties and their respective fathers and mothers. These are omitted from the tables; the Database of Texts includes the clause naming the contractual parties, but not the dating formulae. Marriage documents usually ended with the name and title(s) of the scribe who wrote the document; a witness list was usually included. Texts could further include signatures and subscriptions. These are all omitted from the Database of Texts and from the tables below.

A consent clause could optionally be added to any type of marriage document. These clauses are omitted from the tables.¹ The optional stock phrases *n ḥtr iwꜥ mn/ iwꜥ šḥ nb* at the end of various legal clauses are also omitted.²

Transcriptions have been normalised to keep the tables readable. Transcriptions with indications of damage, lacunae, and emendations, as well as notes on transcriptions and translations, can be found in the Database of Texts under the text entries.

{ } brackets indicate optional elements or subsections in a clause. A place name + text number e.g. Thebes(73) indicates that a clause or variant occurs in that text in particular and not in all texts from that specific place.

¹ For these clauses, Chapter 2 **2.4.5**.

² For these clauses, p. 148 *infra*.

Table 1: Type A marriage document format

Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Marriage clause	<i>ir=y t=t (n) hm.t</i>	I have made you a wife.	Thebes, Hermonthis, Gebelein, Hibis, Edfu, Aswan, Pallas.
Initial marriage payment clause (husband to wife, <i>šp n s.hm.t</i>)	<i>di=y n=t hđ X n p3y=t šp n s.hm.t</i> (var. <i>tw=y n=t</i>)	I have given to you X silver (deben) as your <i>šp n s.hm.t</i> .	Thebes, Hermonthis, Hibis, Edfu, Aswan, Pallas.
<i>Variant</i>	<i>tw=y n=t hđ X rtb sw X n p3y=t šp n s.hm.t</i>	I have given to you X silver (deben), X artabas of wheat, as your <i>šp n s.hm.t</i> .	Gebelein
Maintenance clause (annuity clause, food-and-clothing clause), split ³	<i>mtw=y di.t n=t (k-psy/hbs/(hn) nhđ tgm/hđ n hy) {hr hrw hr ibd hr rnp.t} n p3y=t k-hbs mtw=y di.t s n=t {hr hrw nb hr ibd nb} hr rnp.t nb</i> (var. <i>mtw=y di.t n=t p3y k-hbs nty sh hry hr rnp.t nb</i> (Thebes, 68))	And I will give to you (baked breads/clothing/(hin) of oil/spending money) {per day, per month per year} for your food-and-clothing. And I will give them to you {every day, every month} every year.	Thebes
Arrears of maintenance clause	<i>mtw=t nty nhđ r t3 wd3.t n p3y=t k-hbs nty i(w)=s r hpr r c.wy=y {n w.c.t rnp.t}</i> (var. <i>p3y=t r t3 p3 nty nhđ</i>)	And you are the one who is to be believed about the arrears of your food-and-clothing which will be to my charge {in one year}.	Thebes
Maintenance clause (annuity clause, food-and-clothing clause), split	<i>mtw=y di.t s n=t {hr rnp.t nb} {r p3 c.wy nty iw mr=t s}</i>	And I will give them to you {every year} {to the house in which you desire it}.	Thebes
Security clause	<i>nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y r di.t hpr=w n t3 iw3.t n md nb nty nb nty hry š^c-tw=y ir n=t r-h.t=w</i>	Everything that is mine together with the things that I will cause to come into being (is) for the security of every word that is above, until I have acted in accordance with them for you.	Thebes(72) only
Divorce clause I	<i>iw=y h3^c=t n hm.t {mtw=y mst=t} mtw=y hn k.t s.hm.t {n hm.t} r-hr=t iw=y di.t n=t hđ X</i>	If I divorce you as wife {because I hate you} (or) because I prefer another woman {as wife} to you, I will give to you X silver (deben).	Thebes, Pallas
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=y h3^c=t n hm.t {mtw=y mst=t} mtw=y hn k.t s.hm.t {n hm.t} r-hr=t iw=y di.t n=t hđ X p3 bnr n p3(y) hđ Y (...) nty hry r.tw=y n=t n p3y=t šp n s.hm.t {r mh hđ X+Y}</i>	If I divorce you as wife {because I hate you} (or) because I prefer another woman {as wife} to you, I will give to you X silver (deben) aside from the/this Y silver (deben) (...) that are above, that I have given to you as your <i>šp n s.hm.t</i> , {to complete X+Y silver (deben)}.	Gebelein, Hibis, Edfu, Aswan
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=y h3^c=t n hm.t {mtw=y mst=t} mtw=y hn k.t s.hm.t {n hm.t} r-hr=t iw=y di.t n=t hđ X (...) p3 bnr r t3 wd3.t n p3y=t k-hbs nty hry irm n3 nkt.w n s.hm.t</i>	If I divorce you as wife {because I hate you} (or) because I prefer another woman {as wife} to you, I will give to you X silver (deben) (...) aside from the arrears of your food-and-clothing that are above and the <i>nkt.w n s.hm.t</i>	Thebes(83)

³ The arrears of maintenance clause comes between two parts of the maintenance clause. Cf. the maintenance clauses in [Table 2, 3A](#).

Table 1 Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Joint property division clause	<i>mtw=y di.t n=t p3 1/3 n nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y (r)</i> <i>di.t hpr=w</i> (var. <i>mtw=y di.t n=t t3 pš.t</i> (Thebes 71))	And I will give you the 1/3 rd of everything that is mine together with the things that I will cause to come into being.	Thebes, Gebelein
<i>Variant</i>	<i>mtw=y di.t n=t p3 1/3 n nty nb nkt nb nty iw=y di.t hpr=w iw_t=y</i> <i>irm=t {n-t3y p3 hrw r-hry}</i> (var. <i>nty iw=w (r) hpr iw_t=y irm=t</i>)	And I will give you the 1/3 rd of everything that I will cause to come into being between you and me {from today onwards}.	Edfu, Thebes, Aswan
Inheritance Clause 1. Eldest son	<i>p3y(=y) šr 3 p3y=t šr 3 p3y p3 nb n nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3</i> <i>nty iw=y di.t hpr=w (n pr 3h etc.))</i> (var. <i>p3y=t šr 3 p3y(=y) šr 3</i>) (var. <i>p3y=t šr 3 p3y(=y) šr 3 p3 nb ...</i>)	My eldest son, your eldest son is he, the owner of everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being (in house field, etc.). (var. Your eldest son (is) my eldest son, the owner ...).	Thebes, Pallas
Inheritance Clause 2. Eldest son among the children	<i>p3y=t šr 3 p3y(=y) šr 3 hn n3 hrd.t.w {r.ms=t n=y hn^c n3} nty</i> <i>iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y {p3 nb nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y</i> <i>di.t hpr=w}</i>	Your eldest son (is) my eldest son among the children whom {you have borne to me together with the ones whom} you will bear to me, {the owner of everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being}.	Gebelein, Thebes, Edfu
<i>Variant</i>	<i>p3y=t šr 3 p3y(=y) šr 3 hn n3 hrd.t=w nty iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y n3</i> <i>nb.w n nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w</i> (var. <i>n3 nty iw=y r di.t hpr=w hn^c 3h.y.t(=y) n it.t-mw.t n sh.t hw.t- ntr p3 dmy</i> (Aswan 144))	Your eldest son (is) my eldest son among the children whom you will bear to me, the owners of everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being.	Thebes, Hermonthis, Gebelein, Aswan
<i>Variant</i>	<i>n3 hrd.t.w r.ms=t n=y hn^c n3 iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y n3 nb.w nty nb nkt</i> <i>nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w n3w p3y=t šr 3 p3y(=y) šr</i> <i>3 p3y hn n3 hrd.t.w r.ms=t n=y hn^c n3 iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y</i>	The children whom you have borne to me together with the ones whom you will bear to me, the owners of everything that is mine together with the things that I will cause to come into being, are they. Your eldest son, my eldest son is he, among the children whom you have borne to me together with the ones you will bear to me.	Edfu (137)
Inheritance Clause 3. All children	<i>mtw n3 hrd.w nty iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c</i> <i>n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w</i>	To the children whom you will bear to me belongs everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being.	Thebes (79)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw n3 hrd.t.w nty iw=t r.ms.t=w n=y n3 nb.w n nty nb nkt.w nb nty</i> <i>mtw=y (...)</i>	While the children whom you will bear to me are the owners of everything that is mine (...).	Edfu (135)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>n3 hrd.t.w nty iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y n3y(=y) hrd.t.w 3.y.w n3 nb.w n</i> <i>nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y (...)</i>	The children whom you will bear to me are my eldest children, the owners of everything that is mine (...).	Thebes (69)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>n3 hrd.t.w nty iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y n3 iry.w pš(.t) n n3y(=y) hrd.t.w n</i> <i>nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y (...)</i>	The children whom you will bear to me are the partners of division with my (other) children, of everything that is mine (...).	Thebes (84)
The women's goods/nkt.w n s.hm.t clause	{ <i>tw=s</i> } <i>p3 wn n n3y=t nkt.w n s.hm.t r.in=t r p3y(=y) 3.wy {irm=t/n-</i> <i>dr.t=t}</i> : (List + total value of items listed)	{Behold} the list of your <i>nkt.w n s.hm.t</i> that you have brought to my house {with you/in your hand} : (List + total value of items listed)	Thebes, Hermonthis, Gebelein, Edfu, Aswan, Pallas

Table 1 Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Reception (of <i>nkt.w n s.ḥm.t</i>) clause	<i>šp=y st n-dr.ḫ=t iw=w mh iwḫ sp nb ḥ3.ḫ=y mtry.w n-im=w</i>	I have received them from your hand, while they are complete without any remainder. My heart is satisfied with them.	Thebes, Hermonthis, Gebelein, Aswan
Recognition of wife's continuing ownership clause	<i>iw=t n-ḥn iw=w n-ḥn irm=t iw=t r-bnr iw=w (r-)bnr irm=t</i> <i>(var. iw=w n-ḥn iw=w n-ḥn irm=t iw=w r-bnr iw=w r-bnr irm=t)(var. iw=t n-ḥn iw=t n-ḥn irm=w iw=t r-bnr iw=t r-bnr irm=w) (var. iw=t n-ḥn n-bnr iw=t n-ḥn n-bnr irm=w)</i>	When you are inside they are inside with you, when you are outside they are outside with you.	Thebes, Edfu, Gebelein, Pallas, Hermonthis
šy and shf clause	<i>mtw=t p3y=w šy ink p3y=w s(y)ḥf</i>	Yours is their šy, mine is their s(y)ḥf.	Thebes, Hermonthis, Gebelein
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw/r ink p3y=w s(y)ḥf</i>	While their s(y)ḥf is mine.	Edfu, Pallas
Oath clause (regarding the <i>nkt.w n s.ḥm.t</i>) + <i>nhḫ</i>-clause	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t ḥnh m-s3=t {r di.t ir=t s} r-db3 n3y=t nkt.w s.ḥm.t nty ḥry dd bn-pw=t in.ḫ=w r p3y(=y) ḥ.wy irm=t {mtw=t nty nhḫ n-im=w r-ḥr=y}</i>	I will not be able to place an oath on you {to cause that you take it} on account of your <i>nkt.w s.ḥm.t</i> that are above, saying: 'You have not brought them to my house with you!' {You are the one who is to be believed about them versus me}.	Thebes, Hermonthis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t ḥnh m-s3=t n p3 ḥ.wy p3 wpy.ḫ r-db3 p3 hp n3y=t nkt.w n s.ḥm.t nty ḥry dd bn-pw=t in.ḫ=w r p3y(=y) ḥ.wy n-dr.ḫ=t {mtw=t nty nhḫ r-ḥr=y n-im=w}</i>	I will not be able to place an oath on you in the house of judgement on account of the law of your <i>nkt.w n s.ḥm.t</i> that are above saying: 'You have not brought them to my house in your hand!' {And you are the one who is to be believed about them versus me}.	Gebelein
<i>Variant (oath + reception clause)</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t ḥnh m-s3=t r-db3 n3y=t nkt.w n s.ḥm.t nty sh ḥry dd bn-pw=t in.ḫ=w r p3y(=y) ḥ.wy irm=t n3y=t nkt.w n s.ḥm.t {nty iw p3y=w wn sh ḥry} {in=t st r p3y(=y) ḥ.wy irm=t šp=y s n-dr.ḫ=t iw=w mh iwḫ sp ḥ3.ḫ=y mtry.w n-im=w}</i>	I will not be able to place an oath on you on account of your <i>nkt.w s.ḥm.t</i> that are written above, saying: 'You have not brought them to my house with you, your <i>nkt.w n s.ḥm.t</i> !' {of which their list is written above}. {You have brought them to my house with you. I have received them from your hand which they are complete without any remainder. My heart is satisfied with them}.	Edfu
Divorce clause II	<i>p3 ssw n ḥ3ḥ=t (n) ḥm.t {nty iw=y (r).ir=f} gr iw.ir=t mr šm n=t ḥḥ=t {r tm ḥpr iw mtw=y n ḥm.t} iw=y di.t n=t p3 smt n3y=t nkt.w s.ḥm.t {r.in=t r p3y(=y) ḥ.wy irm=t} nty ḥry gr swnt=w n ḥd r-ḥ p3 nty sh ḥry</i> <i>(var. Edfu(136–138) gr swnt=w ḥd r-ḥ p3 šḥr nty sh r-r=w)</i>	The moment of divorcing you as wife {which I will do} or if you desire to go yourself {in order to no longer be with me as wife}, I will give to you the like of your <i>nkt.w n s.ḥm.t</i> {that you have brought to my house with you} that are above or their value in silver according to what is written above.	Hermonthis, Gebelein, Pallas, Edfu
<i>Variant</i>	<i>in-n3.w iw.ir=t mr šm n=t ḥḥ=t {r tm ir n=y ḥm.t} iw=y di.t n=t n3y=t nkt.w n s.ḥm.t nty ḥry gr swnt=w n ḥd {r-ḥ p3 nty sh ḥry} {p3 bnr n t3 wd3.t n p3y=t ḥk-ḥbs}</i> <i>(var. iw(=y) ḥ3ḥ=t ḥm.t gr iw.ir=t mr šm n=t ḥḥ=t)</i>	If you desire to go for yourself {in order to no longer act for me as wife} I will give to you your <i>nkt.w n s.ḥm.t</i> that are above, or their value in silver {according to that which is written above} {aside from the arrears of your food-and-clothing}.	Thebes

Table 1 Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Variant	<i>in.n3.w mtw=t iw.ir šm n=t iw=t h3^c(=y) n hy iw=t di.t n=y hđ kt X (...)</i> <i>hn p3y hđ kt Y nty sh hry r.di=y n=t n p3y=t šp n s.ħm.t</i>	If it is you who goes yourself when you leave (me) as husband, you will give to me X silver kite (...) within these Y silver kite that are written above, that I have given to you as your <i>šp n s.ħm.t</i>	Edfu(135)
Variant	<i>iw.ir=t šm n=t iw=y di.t s n=t iw=y h3^c=t n ħm.t iw=y di.t s n=t ċn</i>	If you go yourself I will give them to you, if I divorce you as wife I will give them to you again (i.e. as well).	Aswan(144)
Variant	<i>mtw=y mh=t nty nb r.in=t r p3y(=y) ċ.wy irm=t mtw=y t3y p3y=w s(y)hf gr mtw=y mh=t swm.t=w r-h p3 nty sh r.ir=w</i>	And I will repay you all that you brought to my house with you and I will revoke their <i>s(y)hf</i> , or I will pay your their value according to that which is written about them.	Unknown(152)
Clause about the death of the spouses when there are no heirs	<i>iw=t mwt h3.t iw mn mtw=y šr šr.t iw=t iw=t iw=y iw=t isg(?) <...> n p3y=t nkt n s.ħm.t r p3 m3^c (n) p3y=t nkt n s.ħm.t iw=y [...] p3y sh r-bnr hr=y [...]</i> <i>iw=y mwt h3.t iw mn mtw=y šr šr.t iw=t irm=t p3 rmt nb n p3 t3 nty iw=f hwy.t=t r-bnr n p3y(=y) ċ.wy=y mtw=f lg p3y(=y) nkt iw.ir-hr=t iw=f ir n=t r-h p3 hp n p3 sh nty hry</i>	If you die first while I have no son (or) daughter, (born) between me and between you, I will not delay <'returning' or a similar verb> your <i>nkt n s.ħm.t</i> to the place of your <i>nkt n s.ħm.t</i> , while I [...] ...(?) this document outside, before me(?) [...]. If I die first while I have no son or daughter, (born) between me and you, any man on earth who will throw you out of my house, and who will remove my property from you, he will act for you according to the law of the document that is above.	This clause is attested fragmentarily in three texts: 69 (Thebes), 90 (Hermonthis), 144 (Aswan). Chapter 2 2.4.1 .
Clauses about executing the stipulations of the document	<i>bn-iw=t hn...[...p3] sh nty hry iw.ir=y ir=w n=t [... mtw]=y ir n=t h p3 hp n p3 sh nty hry</i>	You will not ...[... the] document that is above. I will do them for you [... and] I [will] act for you according to the law of the document that is above.	Thebes(69)
Oath clause (regarding the document)	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t ċnh m-s3=t r.ir=f n=y r-db3 p3 hp n p3y sh nty hry r hđ.w [...]</i>	I will not be able to place an oath on you to do it for me, on account of the law of this document that is above, about the silvers(?) [...].	Thebes(69)
Unknown clause: husband records a claim on his children(?)	<i>iw=y m-s3 Hr-[pa-Is.t s3] Ty-m-htp p3 ħm Twtw(?) s3 Ty-m-htp r si 2 n3y(=y) hrd.t.w r.ms=t n=y hn^c n3 hrd.t.w nty iw=t r.ms.t=w n=y [... ..] ... [...]</i> <i>mtw=t iw.ir [... ..]</i>	I am behind <i>Hr-[pa-Is.t]</i> son of <i>Ty-m-htp</i> , the younger, (and) <i>Twtw</i> son of <i>Ty-m-htp</i> , makes 2 persons, my children, whom you have borne to me, together with the children whom you will bear to me and you will ...	Unknown(152)
Closing formula	<i>iw.t dd knb.t nb md nb n p3 t3 irm=t</i>	Without disputing any legal document or any claim on earth with you.	Thebes, Hermonthis, Gebelein, Hibis

Table 1 Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
<p>Clause about the husband's legal documents pertaining to his property + Clause for warding off claimants</p>	<p><i>n3 sh.w r.ir n=y s.hm.t T3y-h3 ta Dd-hr t3y(=y) mw.t r t3 pš.t n nty nb nkt nb nty i(w)=s P3-hl-Hnsw s3 Pa-n3 p3y(=y) it.t r-sh=s n=y r.r=w hn^c p3 sp sh(.w) nty mtw=s n-dr.t(=y) mtw=t st hn^c p3y=w hp mtw=t p3 nty iw=y m3^c=k n-im=f rn=w p3 šr t3 šr.t mtw=y nty iw=f r iy r-hr=t r-db3.t w iw=f di.t n=t hđ 20 r sttr 100 r hđ 20 n iw=f wy.t r-hr=t n-im=w n iw.t sh nb sh</i></p>	<p>The documents that the woman <i>Ta-h3</i> daughter of <i>Dd-hr</i> my mother, made for me, about the half of everything that belonged to <i>P3-hl-Hnsw</i> son of <i>Pa-n3</i>, my father, about which she wrote them for me, together with the remaining documents that were hers, that are in my hand. They are yours, together with their law. Yours is that by which I am justified regarding it in their name. My son or daughter, if they (lit.: he) come against you on account of them, they (lit.: he) will give to you 20 silver (deben), makes 100 stater, makes 20 silver (deben) again, while they (lit.: he) will be far from you regarding them, again, without any obstruction.</p>	<p>Thebes(72)</p>

Table 2: Type B marriage document format

Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Marriage clause	<i>ir=y t̄=t n hm.t (var. ir=y t̄=t n=y hm.t)</i>	I have made you a wife.	Memphis, Dime, Tebtunis
Initial marriage payment clause (wife to husband, <i>hd n ir hm.t</i>)	<i>di=t n=y hd X (...) n p3y=t hd n ir {n=y} hm.t sp=y s(t) n-dr.t̄=t h3.t̄=y mtry.w n-im=w iw=w mh iw̄t sp nb (var. tw=t n=y hd)</i>	You have given to me X silver (deben) (...) as your money of making a wife [for me]. I have received them from your hand. My heart is satisfied with them, while they are complete without any remainder.	Hawara, Dime, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>di=t mtry h3.t̄=y hd X (...)</i>	You have caused my heart to be satisfied with the X silver (deben) (...).	Memphis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>di=t n=y hd X {n n3 dni.wt} n pr-hd n Pth wth (...)</i>	You have given to me X silver (deben) {of the pieces} of the Treasury of Ptah, refined (...).	Thebes(73), Arsinoite Nome(10, 12)
Confirmation of ownership(?)	<i>[... mtw=t n3 hd.w iw]=t di.t st n=y di=t st n=y</i>	[... Yours are the silvers that] you will give to me (and) that you gave to me.	Aphroditopolis(20)
Oath clause (regarding the marriage payment)	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t n̄h m-s3=t m-b3h p3 ntr pr-ε3̄.w.s dd bn-pw=t di.t st n=y</i>	I will not be able to place an oath on you before the God and Pharaoh ^{l.p.h.} saying 'You have not given them to me'.	Dime, Tebtunis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t n̄h m-s3=t m-b3h ntr pr-ε3̄.w.s n-t3y p3 hrw r-hry i(w)=s mtw=t r ε.wy=y</i>	I will not be able to place an oath on you before God and Pharaoh ^{l.p.h.} from today onwards, while they are yours (and) to my charge.	Hawara(48)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t n̄h m-s3=t [m-b3h p3 ntr pr-ε3̄.w.s(?)...]... hr-mtw{=t}<=y> mh.t̄[=t n-im=]f</i>	I will not be able to place an oath on you [before the God and Pharaoh ^{l.p.h.} (?) ...] ... until I have repaid [you regarding] it.	Dime(24)
Divorce clause (claim, 30 days)	<i>p3y=t ssw wh3 n3y=t hd.w nty hry {r.di=t n=y} {mtw=y} nty iw.ir=t ir=f iw=y di.t st n=t n-im=f n w^c hrw hn hrw 30 n {p3 ssw} wh3=w mtw=y nty iw.ir=t {n=y} ir=f (var. p3y=t ssw wh3 hd X (...) nty hry n-dr.t̄=y hn^c p3 ssw tm ir n=y n hmt) (var. p3 ssw n wh3 p3y hd X (...) nty hry) (var. iw=y di.t st n=t n-im=f n w^c hrw hn hrw 30 n wh3=w n-dr.t̄=y nty iw.ir=t ir=f)</i>	Your moment of claiming your silvers that are above {that you have given to me} {from me}, which you will do, I will give them to you regarding it on one day within 30 days from {the moment of} claiming them from me, which you will do {to me}.	Aphroditopolis, Dime, Hawara, Thebes(73)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=y h3̄.t̄=t n hm.t t̄3y p3 hrw r-hry gr mtw=t iw.ir sm n=t n-mit.t̄ iw=y r di.t n=t hd X nty hry n w^c hrw hn hrw 30 n p3 ssw n h3̄.t̄=t n hm.t nty iw=y ir=f hn^c p3 ssw sm n=t n-mit.t̄ nty iw.ir=t r ir=f</i>	If I divorce you as wife from today onwards or if it is you who goes yourself likewise, I will give to you (the) X silver (deben) that are above, on one day within 30 days from the moment of divorcing you as wife which I will do, or the time of going yourself likewise, which you will do.	Memphis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=y di.t n=t p3 hd X nty hry n w^c hrw hn hrw 30 wh3=w nty iw.ir=t ir=f sm n=t gr3 r tm [...]t [...] mtw]=y ... hn^c p3 s[p...] p3y nty iw.ir=t t̄3y=f r-bnr p3y(=y) ε.wy=y hn=w irm.n=t</i>	I will give to you the X silver (deben) that is above on one day within 30 days (of) claiming them which you will do, (or) going for yourself in order to not [...] [...] be wit[h] me ... together with the remain[der ...] this [...] that you will take outside of my house (is) within them, (and) with you.	Tebtunis(31)

Table 2 Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Maintenance clause (annuity clause, food-and-clothing clause) A: independent	<i>mtw=y di.t n=t bdt (...) ḥd (...) n p3y=t ʕk-ḥbs hr rnp.t {r p3 ʕ.wy nty iw=t mr=t s}</i>	And I will give to you emmer (...), silver (...) for your food-and-clothing per year {to the house in which you desire it}.	Aphroditopolis, Hawara, Arsinoite Nome(12, 14)
Maintenance clause B: following a divorce clause	<i>iw=y tm di.t n=t ḥd X nty hry hn p3 hrw 30 nty hry iw=y di.t n=t (ʕk-psy/rtb sw/nhh tgm/ḥd n ir hy) n p3y=t ʕk-ḥbs {p3y=t nhh tgm p3y=t ḥd n ir hy} {hr hrw hr ibd} hr rnp.t/wʕ.t rnp.t {r p3 ʕ.wy nty mr=t s}</i>	If I do not give to you (the) X silver (deben) that are above within the 30 days that are above, I will give to you (baked loaves/artabas of wheat/oil/spending money) for your food-and-clothing {your oil, your spending money} {per day, per month} per year/in one year, {to the house in which you desire it}.	Memphis, Tebtunis, Dime
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=y tm di.t n=t ḥd X nty hry hn p3 hrw 30 nty hry n-dr.ʕ=y iw=y di.t n=t ʕk-ḥbs r-h p3 ʕk-ḥbs nty sh hry p3 bdt ḥd ḥmt sh hry š3ʕ-di=y di.t n=t ḥd X nty hry</i>	If I do not give to you (the) X silver (deben) that are above within the 30 days that are above from my hand, I will give to you food-and-clothing according the food-and-clothing that is written above, the emmer, silver, copper, that is written above, until I have given to you (the) X silver (deben) that are above.	Hawara(48)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>[mtw]{=t}<=y> [tm] di.t st [n=t n-im=f] iw=y di.t{di.t} st n=t hn p3 hrw [30 nty hry mtw=y di.t n=t rtb sw3] 2 nhh lg 2 <ḥd(?)> 15 n ḥmt [n ḥd n(?) ir hy hr ibd ... n p3y=t ʕk-ḥbs] hr rnp.t nb r p3 ʕ.wy nty mr=t st mtw=y di.t{di.t} st n=t</i>	[If I do not] give them [to you regarding it (immediately)] I will give them to you within the [30] days [that are above,] (or) I will give to you] 2 [artabas of wheat]; oil: 2 lok; 15 <silver (deben)> in copper [as spending money per month(?), ... for your food-and-clothing] per year to the house in which you desire them. And I will give them to you.	Dime(24)
Penalty clause + clause about executing the stipulations of the document	<i>iw=y tm di.t st n=t wʕ hrw hn hrw 30 n wh3=w mtw=y nty iw.ir=t ir=f iw=y di.t n=t ḥd hl ḥd X (...) hr.r=w n p3 hrw m-s3 p3 hrw 30 n rn=w (...)</i> <i>bn-iw=y rh di.t n=t ky ssw hrw r.r=w m-s3 p3 ssw hrw nty hry bn-iw=y rh dd tw=y n=t ḥd hl nty nb p3 t3 n-im=w iwʕ isw [...] n-im=w ir=y n=t p3 hp p3 sh nty hry iw p3 sh nty hry n-dr.ʕ=t iw p3 hp n3 ḥd.w nty hry hnʕ n3y=w hl.w hpr d3d3=y hnʕ n3y(=y) hrd.ʕ.w</i>	If I do not give them to you on one day within 30 days of claiming them from me which you will do, I will give to you penalty-silver for them: X silver (deben) (...) on the day after the 30 days in question (...) I will not be able to give (them) to you at another time, after the time that is above. I will not be able to say 'I have given to you the penalty-silver (or) anything on earth regarding them', without a receipt [...] about them, (or) 'I have executed for you the law of the document that is above', while the document that is above is in your hand. While the law of the silver (deben) that are above, together with their penalties will be on my head, and that of my children.	Thebes(73)
Arrears of maintenance clause	<i>mtw=t t3 nty nhʕ r t3 wd3.t n p3y=t ʕk-ḥbs {p3y=t nhh p3y=t ḥd n ir hy} nty i(w)=s hpr r ʕ.wy=y mtw=y (r) di.t st n=t</i>	And you are the one who is to be believed about the arrears of your food-and-clothing {your oil, your spending money} which will be to my charge. And I will give them to you.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Hawara

Table 2 Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Security clause	<i>nty nb {nkt nb nty} mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y r di.t hpr=w t3 iw3.t n p3 hp n p3 sh nty hry (var. t3 iw3.t p3 hp p3y sh nty sh hry)</i>	Everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being (is) the security of the law of the document that is above.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime
<i>Variant</i>	<i>nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w t3 iw3.t n n3y=t hd.w nty hry hn^c n3y=w hl.w s^c-tw=y mh=t n-im=w</i>	Everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being (is) the security of your silvers that are above, together with their penalties, until I have paid you regarding them.	Thebes(73)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>nty nb nkt nb nty n-mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w t3 iw3.t n p3 bdt n hd (nty) sh hry</i>	Everything that is mine together with the things that I will cause to come into being (is) the security for the emmer (and) silver (that is) written above.	Hawara(48)
Oath clause (regarding the document's stipulations)	<i>p3 nh^c h^c-rd mtw=w di.t s m-s3=t r di.t ir=y s n rn=w iw=y ir=f r.ir=f</i>	The oath, the evidence that they will place on you to cause that I do it in their name, I will do it.	Dime(25)
Clauses about executing the stipulations of the document	<i>mtw=y ir n=t p3 hp p3 sh nty hry</i>	And I will execute for you the law of the document that is above.	Memphis(5)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh dd di=y n=t hd n-im=w r p3 sh nty hry n-dr.t=t</i>	I will not be able to say 'I have given you silver regarding them' while the document that is above is in your hand.	Memphis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh dd di=y tw=y n=t [hd.w (nty hry?) iw^t] iw</i>	I will not be able to say: 'I have given to you [the silvers (that are above) without] a receipt.	Dime(25)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh dd n=t ir=y n=t r-h md nb nty hry p3 sh n-dr.t=t mtw=t t3 nty nh^t md nb nty iw.ir(=t) dd irm=y (n) rn md nb nty hry mtw=y ir=w hrw=t htr=t</i>	I will not be able to say to you 'I have acted for you according to every word that is above' (while) the document is in your hand. And you are the one who is to be believed (about) every matter which you will dispute with me, (in) name of every word that is above. And I will do them at your command, compulsorily.	Hawara(48)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=y rh dd di=y n=t hd.w nty hry nty nb n p3 t3 n rn p3 sh nty hry di.t st n=t rmt nb p3 t3 n rn=y r.ir=y n=t p3 hp p3 sh nty hry p3 sh nty hry n-dr.t=t</i>	I will not be able to say 'I have given to you the moneys that are above' (or) 'anything on earth in name of the document that is above' (or) 'any man on earth has given them to you in my name' (or) 'I have executed for you the law of the document that is above', (while) the document that is above is in your hand.	Aphroditopolis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>p3y=t r^t p3 nty nh^t r md nb nty iw=f dd.t=w irm=y</i>	Your representative is the one who is to be believed about every word that he will dispute with me.	Thebes(73)
Inheritance clause 3. All children	<i>mtw n3 hrd.t.w nty iw.ir=t ms.t.w n=y nty nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w [...]</i>	To the children whom you will bear to me belongs everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being [...]	Arsinoite Nome(14)
	Possible inheritance clause with named heirs		Arsinoite Nome(12)

Table 3A: Type C *s^cnh* marriage document format:

Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Initial marriage payment clause (wife to husband, <i>s^cnh</i>)	<i>dī=t mtry ḥ3.ḫ=y n ḥd X n n3 dni.wt nty n pr-ḥd n Pth n wth (...)</i> <i>n p3y=t s^cnh</i> Often shortened to: <i>ḥd X n pr-ḥd Pth wth (...)</i> <i>n p3y=t s^cnh</i>	You have caused my heart to be satisfied (with) X silver (deben) of the pieces that are in the Treasury of Ptah, refined (...) for your <i>s^cnh</i> . Often shortened to: X silver (deben) of the Treasury of Ptah, refined (...) for your <i>s^cnh</i> .	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara, Hipponon, Gebelein(104a)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>dī=t n=y ḥd X n pr-ḥd n Pth wth (...)</i> <i>n p3y=t s^cnh</i>	You have given me X silver (deben) of the Treasury of Ptah, refined (...) for your <i>s^cnh</i> .	Assiut(55)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>dī=k n=y ḥd X n pr-ḥd n Pth wth (...)</i> <i>n s^cnh k3.w (n) s.ḥm.t Y</i>	You have given me X silver (deben) of the Treasury of Ptah, refined (...) for the <i>s^cnh</i> (and) food (of) the woman Y.	Memphis(1)
Maintenance clause (also annuity clause, food-and-clothing clause)	<i>mtw=y dī.t n=t bdt (...)</i> <i>ḥd (...)</i> <i>n p3y=t ḥk-ḥbs hr rnp.t r p3 ḥ.wy nty mr=t s(t)</i> (var. <i>ḥk-ḥbs-ḥd</i>)(var. <i>rnp.t nb; w^c.t rnp.t</i>) (var. <i>r p3 ḥ.wy nty iw=t r mr s nb</i> (Hawara 47))	And I will give to you emmer (...), silver (...), for your food-and-clothing per year, to the house in which you desire it.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara, Hipponon, Gebelein(104a), Assiut(55)
Arrears of maintenance clause	<i>mtw=t t3 nty nhṯ r t3 wd3.t p3y=t ḥk-ḥbs nty i(w)=s ḥpr ḥ.wy=y</i> <i>mtw=y dī.t s n=t</i> (var. <i>ḥk-ḥbs-ḥd</i>) (var. <i>mtw=s ḥpr ḥ.wy=y</i>)	And you are the one who is to be believed about the arrears of your food-and-clothing, which will be to my charge. And I will give them to you.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara, Hipponon, Gebelein(104a), Assiut(55)
Security clause	<i>nty nb nty mtw=y ḥn^c n3 nty iw=y r dī.t ḥpr=w t3 iw3.t p3y=t s^cnh nty ḥry</i> (var. <i>t3 iw3.t n p3y=t s^cnh nty ḥry ḥn^c t3 wd3.t n p3y=t ḥk-ḥbs-ḥd nty ḥry</i> (Aphroditopolis 18a))	Everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being (is) the security of your <i>s^cnh</i> , that is above.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara, Hipponon, Gebelein(104a), Assiut(55)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>nty nb nkt.w nb nty mtw=y ḥn^c n3w nty iw=y r dī.t ḥpr=w n pr 3ḥ inh (...)</i> <i>md n rmt nmḥ.w nb n p3 t3 mtw=y st ḥpr n iw3.t n p3y=t s^cnh nty ḥry</i>	Everything that is mine, together with these things that I will cause to come into being in house, field, courtyard (...) anything of a free man on earth that is mine, they will be(come) the security of your <i>s^cnh</i> , that is above.	Hawara(36)
Divorce clause (claim, <i>s^cnh</i> -payment)	<i>bn-iw=y rh dd {n=t} šp p3y=t s^cnh nty ḥry {n-dr.ḫ=y} p3y=t ssw wh3=f {mtw=y} iw=y r dī.t st n=t n-im=f</i>	I will not be able to say {to you}: ‘Receive your <i>s^cnh</i> that is above {from my hand}’. Your moment of claiming it {from me}, I will give it to you regarding it.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara, Hipponon, Gebelein(104a)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>r bn-pw=y rh dd n=t šp p3y=t s^cnh n p3y=t ssw mr šp=f iw=y dī.t s n=t n-im=f</i>	While I will not be able to say: ‘Receive your <i>s^cnh</i> .’ At your moment of desiring its reception, I will give it to you regarding it.	Assiut(55)
Inheritance clause 3: All Children	<i>mtw n3 ḥrd.ḫ w nty iw.ir=t ms=w n=y nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y ḥn^c n3 nty iw=y r dī.t ḥpr=w (n) pr 3ḥ inh (...)</i> <i>md rmt-nmḥ nb p3 t3 {mtw=y}</i>	To the children whom you will bear to me belongs everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being (in) house, field, courtyard (...) anything of a free man on earth {that is mine}.	Tebtunis, Assiut(55), Hawara

Table 3A Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
<i>Variant</i>	<i>mtw=t n3 hrd.t.w {r.ms=t n=y hn^c n3} nty iw.ir=t ms.t=w n=y nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y r di.t hpr=w (n) pr 3h inh (...) md rmt h-nmh nb p3 t3 mtw=y {mtw=t st}</i> (var. <i>mtw=t n3 hrd.t.w nty iw.ir=t ms=w n=y ir nb(?) Tebtunis (32b)</i>)	To you and the children (whom you have borne to me together with the ones) whom you will bear to me belongs everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being (in) house, field, courtyard (...) anything of a free man on earth that is mine. {And they are yours}.	Assiut(55), Hawara(37) Tebtunis(32a)
2: All children + eldest son	<i>mtw n3 hrd.t.w {r.ms=t n=y hn^c n3 hrd.t.w} nty iw.ir=t ms=w n=y nty nb mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w p3y=t sr^c p3y=y sr^c p3y p3 nb nty nb mtw=y hn^c nty iw=y di.t hpr=w {hn n3 hrd.t.w nty iw.ir=t ms=w} {hn^c n3 hrd.t.w nty iw.ir=t r ms=w n=y}</i>	To the children (whom you have borne to me together with the children) whom you will bear to me belongs everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being. Your eldest son, my eldest son is he, the owner of everything that is mine together with that which I will cause to come into being, {among the children whom you will bear to me}{together with the children whom you will bear to me}.	Aphroditopolis, Hawara, Hipponon
Variant: Only male children	<i>{.. n3y=t hrd.t.w r.ms=t n=y hn^c} n3 hrd.t.w hw^t nty iw.ir=t ms=w n=y n3 nb.w n nty nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w</i>	{... your children whom you have borne to me together with} the male children whom you will bear to me are the owners of everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being.	Memphis (6a, 4a) And see Table 3B Inheritance clause .
Oath clause (regarding the location of valid oaths).	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t n^ch m-s3=t p3 bnr n p3^c.wy nty iw n3 wpt.w n-im=f</i> (var. <i>bn-iw=y rh di.t n^ch m-s3=t hn^c p3 mtry n p3 sh (Hawara 35–36)</i>)	I will not be able to place an oath on you except in the house in which the judges are.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=w di.t n^ch m-s3=t r.ir=f n=y iw.ir=t r.ir=f n=y n p3^c.wy nty iw n3 wpt.w n-im=f</i>	If they place an oath on you to do it for me, you will do it for me in the house in which the judges are.	Memphis, Tebtunis, Hawara, Arsinoite Nome(13), Hipponon, Gebelein(104a)
Clauses about executing the stipulations of the document	<i>iw.ir=y ir n=t p3 sh nty hry iw=t m-s3=y n p3 hp n sh nb r.ir=y n=t mtw=y ir n=t p3y=w hp p3 bnr ir n=t p3 hp n p3 sh nty hry</i>	I will execute for you the document that is above, while you are behind me (about) the law of every document that I have made for you. And I will execute their laws for you, aside from executing the law of the document that is above for you.	Hawara(40)

Table 3B: Type C *db3-hd* marriage document format:

Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
Reception of payment clause	<i>dī=t mtry ḥ3.ḫ=y n p3 ḥd nty nb nty mtw=y ḥn^c n3 nty iw=y dī.t ḥpr=w n pr 3ḥ inh (...) md rmt nmḥ nb n p3 t3 {mtw=y ḥn^c n3 nty iw=y dī.t ḥpr=w} {mtw=t st t3y p3 hrw r-ḥry}</i> <i>(var. n p3 ḥd (n) sw n nty nb nkt nb)(var. rmt ḥ-nmḥ)</i>	You have caused my heart to be satisfied with the silver for everything that is mine together with the things that I will cause to come into being in house, field, courtyard (...) anything of a free man on earth {that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being}. {They are yours from today onwards}.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara.
<i>Variant</i>	<i>dī=y st n=t r-db3 ḥd šp=y sw n=w n-dr.ḫ=t ḥ3.ḫ=y mtry.w n-im=w iw=w mḥ iwḫ sp</i>	I gave them to you in exchange for silver. I have received their price from your hand. My heart is satisfied with them while they are complete without any remainder.	Dime, Aphroditopolis
<i>Variant</i>	<i>tw=y n=t nty nb nty sh ḥry mtw=t st tw=y s n=t r-db3 ḥd ḥ3.ḫ=y mtry n-im=w</i>	I have given to you everything that is written above. It is yours. I have given it to you for money. My heart is satisfied with them.	Edfa
Waiver of claims	<i>mn mtw=y md nb p3 t3 iw.ir.n=t n rn=w {t3y p3 hrw r-ḥry š^c dt}</i>	I do not have any claim on earth against you in their name {from today onwards until forever}	Memphis, Dime, Hawara, Edfa
Authority clause	<i>bn-iw rh rmt nb n p3 t3 {ink mit.ḫ} iw.ir-shy n.im=w bnr=t {t3y p3 hrw r-ḥry}</i>	No man on earth {myself likewise} will be able to exercise authority over them except for you {from today onwards}	Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Hawara, Edfa
Clause for warding off claimants	<i>p3 nty iw=f r iy(.t) r-ḥr=t r-db3.ḫ=w {n rn=y} iw=y dī.t wy=f r-ḥr=t {mtw=y dī.t w^cb=w n=t {n ssw nb} r sh nb knb.t nb md nb p3 t3}</i> <i>(var. p3 rmt nb n p3 t3 nty iw=f r iy r-ḥr=t)</i>	The one who comes before you on account of them {in my name}, I will cause that he is far from you. {And I will cause that they are cleared for you {at any time} from any document, any legal document, any claim on earth}.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara, Edfa
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=y tm dī.t wy=f r-ḥr=t iw=y dī.t wy=f r-ḥr=t ḥtr iwḫ mn</i>	If I do not (voluntarily) cause that he is far from you, I will (still) cause that he is far from you, compulsorily, without delay.	Dime(22), Hawara(46b)
<i>Variant</i>	<i>p3 rmt nb n p3 t3 nty iw=f r iy r-ḥr=t db3.ḫ=w n rn=y rn it.ḫ mw.t sn sn.t šr šr.t rmt nb n p3 t3 iw=y dī.t wy=f r-ḥr=t</i>	Any man on earth who comes against you on account of them in my [na]me (or the) name of (my) father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, or anyone on earth, I will cause that he is far from you.	Edfa
Clause about the husband's legal documents pertaining to his property	<i>mtw=t sh nb {knb.t nb} r.ir=w r.r=w ḥn^c sh nb {knb.t nb} r.ir=w n=y r.r=w ḥn^c sh nb {knb.t nb} nty iw=y m3^c.k n-im=w n rn=w mtw=t st ḥn^c p3y=w hp mtw=t p3 nty iw=y m3^c.k n-im=f n rn=w {š^c d.t}</i> <i>(var. mtw=t sh nb r.ir=w r.r=w ḥn^c sh nb r.ir=w n=y r.r=w ḥn^c sh nb r.ir=w p3y(=y) it t3y(=y) mw.t r.r=w)</i>	Yours is any document, {any legal document}, that one made about them, together with any document, {any legal document}, that one made for me about them, together with any document, {any legal document}, through which I am justified regarding them in their name. They are yours together with their law. Yours is that through which I am justified regarding it in their name {forever}.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara
Oath clause (regarding those husband's legal documents).	<i>p3 ḥnh p3 ḥḥ^c-rd.wy nty iw=w r dī.t s m-s3=t r dī.t ir=y s(t) n rn=w iw=y ir=f</i>	The oath, the evidence that one will place on you to cause that I do it in their name, I will do it.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Tebtunis, Dime, Hawara

Table 3B Clause	Transliteration	Translation	City attested
<i>Variant</i>	<i>p3 s^{nh} p3 s^h-rd.wy nty iw=w di.t st m-s3=t (r) di.t ir=y st n rn md nb nty hry iw=y ir=f mtw=y wy=f iw^t dd knby.t nb md nb n p3 t3 irm=t bn-iw=y rh dd n=t pnk p3y=w ssw n di.t w^cb mtw=y di.t w^cb=w n=t n ssw nb</i>	The oath, the evidence that one will place on you to cause that I do it in name of any stipulation that is above, I will do it. I will cause that it is far, without disputing any legal document (or) any claim on earth with you. I will not be able to say to you 'Postpone(?) their moment of clearing'. I will cause that they are clear for you at any time.	Edfa
Inheritance clause variant	<i>bn-iw=y rh di.t nkt nb n p3 t3 hn nty nb r.sh=y n=t r.r=w nty hry n rmt nb n p3 t3 n.m-s3 X p3y(=y) sr s3 p3y=t sr s3 r.ms=t n=y hn^c n3 hrd.t.w hwty nty iw.ir=t ms=w n=y n-t3y p3 hrw r-hry</i>	I will not be able to give any property on earth out of anything about which I have written for you above, to any man on earth, aside from X, my eldest son, your eldest son, whom you have borne to me, together with the male children whom you will bear to me, from today onwards.	Memphis(2) only. But cf. Table 5: Akhmim, Inheritance restrictions clause.
Clauses about executing the stipulations of the document	<i>{iw=y ir n=t p3 sh db3-hd} {nty nb nty mtw=y hn^c n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w} {nty hry} {iw=t m-s3=y sh nb r.ir=y n=t hn^c n3y=w hp} iw=t m-s3=y {p3 hp} p3 sh s^{nh} hd X r.ir=y n=t {n h3.t-sp (...)} hn^c p3y=f hp r mh sh 2 {r.ir=y st n=t} iw=t m-s3=y n-im=w hn^c p3y=w hp mtw=y ir n=t r-h md nb nty hry {mtw=y ir n=t p3y=w hp} {iw=y wy r-hr=t n nty nb nkt nb nty sh hry}</i>	{I will execute for you the document of <i>db3-hd</i> {for everything that is mine together with the things that I will cause to come into being} {that is above.} {You are behind me (through) any document which I have made for you together with their law.} You are behind me (through) {the law of} the document of <i>s^{nh}</i> of X silver (deben) that I have made for you {in regnal year (...)} together with its law – to complete 2 documents {that I have made for you}. You are behind me regarding them, together with their law, and I will act for you according to every word that is above. {And I will execute their law for you.} {And I will be far from you about everything that is written above}.	Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Dime, Edfa
<i>Variant</i>	<i>iw=y ir n=t p3 sh db3-hd nty hry tw=t m-s3=y p3 hp p3 sh s^{nh} hd X r.ir=y n=t mtw=y ir n=t p3y=f hp hn^c p3 hp p3 sh db3-hd nty hry mh sh 2 iw=y ir n=t p3y=w hp</i>	I will execute for you the document of <i>db3-hd</i> that is above, while you are behind me (about) the document of <i>s^{nh}</i> of X silver (deben) that I have made for you. And I will execute for you its law together with the law of the document of <i>db3-hd</i> that is above, completing 2 documents. I will execute their law for you.'	Tebtunis, Hawara

'Mixed' format texts.

Four marriage documents come from Hermopolis, of which three texts used the same format.⁴

Table 4: Hermopolis (52–54): type B+ marriage document format

Clause	Transliteration	Translation
Marriage clause (A+B)	<i>ir=y f=t hmt</i>	I have made you (a) wife.
Initial marriage payment clause (wife to husband, like B)	<i>di=t mtry h3.f=y n hq X n hmt 24 kt 2</i>	You have caused my heart to be satisfied with X silver (deben) in copper (at the rate of) 24 (obols to) 2 kite.
Divorce clause (claim, like B/C)	<i>mtw=y di.t st n=t n p3 ssw wh3=w mtw=y nty iw.ir=t ir=f</i>	And I will give them to you at the moment of claiming them from me which you will do.
inw-clause	<i>r sw n p3 inw nty iw r hpr hr-3t.f=t n p3 ssw rn=f hn=w</i>	While the value of the <i>inw</i> , which will be upon you at the moment in question, (is) within them.
Maintenance clause (also annuity clause, food-and-clothing clause): tied to divorce. (like B)	<i>iw=y tm di.t st n=t {n3 hq.w nty hry} iw=y di.t n=t hr hrw w^c k- psy X n p3y=t k hr hrw hq X n p3y=t hbs hr rnp.t X hn nh n p3y=t nh h hr ibd hq X n p3y=t hy hr ibd r p3 wy nty mr=t st {s^c3-tw=y ir n=t p3 hp n pay sh}</i>	If I do not give them to you, {the moneys that are above}, I will give to you on one day X baked loaves for your food per day; X silver (deben) for your clothes per year; X hin of oil for your oil per month; X silver (deben) for your spending per month, to the house in which you desire it, {until I have done for you the law of this document}.
Arrears of maintenance clause (extended)	<i>mtw=t B nty nh r B wd3.t p3y=t k-hbs nh hy nty i(w)=s hpr r wy=y n-B y p3 hrw smy r-hr=y nty iw.ir=t r=f hry mtw=y r di.t s n=t</i>	And you are the one who is to be believed about the arrears of your food-and-clothing, oil, spending (money), which will be to my charge from today onwards (in) a complaint against me which you will make about the above. And I will give them to you.
Clauses about executing the stipulations of the document	<i>bn-iw=y rh dd ir=y n=t r-h md nb nty hry n pay sh n-dr.f=t</i>	I will not be able to say 'I have acted for you according to every word that is above' about this document in your hand.

⁴ Text 51 deviates from this format, see below in [Table 6](#).

From Hermopolis there is also evidence that documents of type C were in use. Type C *s^cnh*-contracts are mentioned in *P. Mattha recto*, and a type C contract made by a man for his mother comes from this city (p. 29 fn. 138, p. 157 fn. 642).

The Akhmim format is notable in that it does not start with an initial marriage payment of any kind. The divorce clauses, most similar to those of type A texts, suggest that a *šp n s.hm.t* may have been the initial marriage payment, therefore I have classified these texts as type A+. Pestman sorted these texts under his type A.

Table 5: Akhmim (58–59, 61–63): type A+ marriage document format

Clause	Transliteration	Translation
Marriage clause (like type A/B)	<i>ir=y t̄=t n hm.t</i>	I have made you a wife.
Inheritance clause 3: All Children	<i>mtw n3 hrd.t.w nty iw=t r ms.t̄=w n=y nty nb nty mtw=y hn̄ n3 nty iw=y r di.t hpr=w n sh.t hw.t-nt̄ p3 dmi pr (...) md rmt nmh.w nb mtw=y is n3 hrd.t.w nty iw=t r ms.t̄=w n3y n=y</i>	To the children whom you will bear to me belongs everything that is mine, together with the things that I will cause to come into being in field, temple, the town, house (...) anything of a free man that is mine, it belongs to these children whom you will bear to me.
<i>Variant(?)</i>	<i>mtw=t n3 hrd.t.w nty iw=t r ms.t̄.w n=y nty nb nty mtw=y hn̄ n3 nty iw=y di.t hpr=w n sh.t p3 dmy pr wrh</i>	To you (and) the children whom you will bear to me belongs anything that is mine together with the things that I will cause to come into being in field, the town, house, empty plot. (58 only)
Inheritance restrictions clause	<i>bn-iw=y rh t̄y nkt nty nb p3 t̄ n-im=w r di.t st k.t-h.t šr rmt nb p3 t̄ m-s3 n3 hrd.t.w nty iw=t r ms.t̄.w n3y n=y</i>	I will not be able to take anything on earth regarding them to give to another child (or) anyone on earth, except to these children whom you will bear for me.
<i>Variant</i>	<i>bn-iw=t rh di.t st k.t-h.t šr m-s3 n3 hrd.t.w nty iw=t r ms.t̄=w n=y</i>	You will not be able to give them to another child except (to) the children whom you will bear to me. (58 only)
Maintenance clause (like C)	<i>mtw=y di.t n=t bdt X h̄d X nh̄h X tgm X r di.t n p3y=t t̄k-h̄bs hr rnp.t nb</i>	And I will give to you X emmer, X silver (deben), X <i>nh̄h</i> -oil, X <i>tgm</i> -oil, to give for your food-and-clothing every year.
Arrears of maintenance clause (like A/B/C)	<i>mtw=t nty nh̄t r t̄ wd3.t n p3y=t t̄k-h̄bs nty i(w)=s r hpr t̄.wy=y {hr ibd nb hr rnp.t nb} mtw=y di.t st n=t r p3 t̄.wy n nty iw mr=t st</i>	And you are the one who is to be believed to the arrears of your food-and-clothing which will be to my charge {every month, every year}. And I will give them to you to the house in which you desire them.
Divorce clause I (like A)	<i>iw=y h3̄.t̄=t n hm.t iw=y di.t n=t h̄d X bdt X iw=y hny k.t s.hm.t r-hr=t iw=y di.t n=t h̄d Y bdt Y r mh̄ h̄d X+Y bdt X+Y</i>	If I divorce you as wife I will give to you X silver (deben), X emmer. If I prefer another woman to you, I will give to you Y silver (deben), Y emmer, to complete X+Y silver (deben) (and) X+Y emmer.
<i>Variant: divorce clause with a division of joint property and penalty clause</i>	<i>iw=y h3̄.t̄=t hm.t gr t̄h̄t-rd.wy r-hr=y(?) dd ink.y nty(?) hwy bnr=t iw ir s w̄c irm 2 mtw=y di.t n=t t3 p̄s.t n nkt nb h̄d nb h̄bs nb n k.t-h.t nkt nty iw=w r hpr n=y iw̄t=y iw̄t=t t̄y h̄3.t-sp 6 ibd 2 pr.t nty hry n pr[-t̄3 t̄.w.s.] t̄nh̄ d.t n3 ssw.w nty <iw>=t r ir=w p3y(=y) t̄.wy</i>	If I divorce you as wife or I testify against you(?), saying: ‘I am the one who will throw you out’, when it is done(?), either or both, then I will give to you the half of all property all money, all clothing, and other property that will come into being for me between me and you, from year 6 month 2 of Peret that is above, of Pha[raoh ^{l.p.h.}], who lives forever, (during) the times that you will spend (in) my house.

Other texts with 'mixed' formats (Table 6)

51 (Hermopolis) = B+

- Marriage clause (like A/B)
- Initial marriage payment clause (wife to husband, like B)
- Divorce clause (like A?)
- Maintenance clause
- Divorce clause
- inw*-clause (unique, different from 52–54)
- Security clause
- Clause(s) about executing the stipulations of the document.
- Oath clause (regarding the location of valid oaths)

56 (Assiut) = A+

- Marriage clause (like A/B)
- Women's goods/*nkt.w n s.hm.t* clause (like A)
- Divorce clause (claim, 30 days) (like B)
- Maintenance clause B: following a divorce clause (like B)
- Arrears of maintenance clause (like A/B/C)
- Clause(s) about executing the stipulations of the document.
- Security clause (like C/B/A)
- Clause for warding off claimants (like C *db³-hd*/sales documents)
- Consent clause

57 (Assiut) = C+

- Initial marriage payment clause (wife to husband, like C but does not mention *s^cn^h*)
- Divorce clause (claim, like B/C)
- Maintenance clause B: following a divorce clause (like B)
- Arrears of maintenance clause (like A/B/C)
- Clause(s) about executing the stipulations of the document
- Security clause (like C/B/A)
- Closing formula (like A)

65 (Thebes, pre-Ptolemaic) = B+

- Initial marriage payment clause (wife to husband, like B)
- Divorce clause I (like A) with embedded clause about joint property division (like A)

70 (Thebes, pre-Ptolemaic) = B+

- [Initial marriage payment lost]
- Unclear clause – maintenance?
- Arrears of maintenance clause (like A/B/C)
- Divorce clause (claim, B/C) (?)
- Maintenance clause B: following a divorce clause (like B)

143 (Aswan, pre-Ptolemaic) = B+

- Marriage clause (like A/B)
- Initial marriage payment clause (wife to husband, like B)
- Unclear clause – maintenance?
- Divorce clause I (like A)
- Maintenance clause B: following a divorce clause (like B)
- Arrears of maintenance clause (like A/B/C)
- Clause about the deduction of property the wife took illicitly
- Clause(s) about executing the stipulations of the document

