

DEMOTIC PAPYRUS LOEB 62:
A RECONSTRUCTION

BY

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*To Professor Dr. W. Erichsen on
his seventieth birthday, to whom
all Egyptologists are indebted.*

When, in 1938, I published the translation of two trustee documents, part of an archive of demotic papyri from Fayyumic Philadelphia, now in the Library of the University of Michigan¹, I had hoped that soon thereafter I could publish my reconstruction of the similar P. Dem. Loeb 62². A long last the study is ready.

Since when first published this fragmentary document was unparalleled, it was not understood. With the Michigan parallels as a guide the missing parts now can be restored with practical certainty. As far as the position of the trustee is concerned, there is no change in the position which I outlined in the earlier article. However, I now believe that this papyrus has evidence concerning marriage customs of the period which I did not then recognize.

This reconstruction has been worked out with careful regard to the space to be occupied, and each remaining trace of the writing has been studied and fitted into the reconstruction. The width of the missing right hand portion has been estimated from the certain restorations in lines 2, 5, and 6, and the almost certain restoration in line 7. This places the edge of the writing about one centimeter in from the right hand edge of the published plate. Thus in line 6 there would be about 5 centimeters more writing

¹ "Notes on the University of Michigan Demotic Papyri from Philadelphia, 5. The Title 'rbl' and Letters of Agreement," *JEA*, 24 (1938), pp. 78-82.

² Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, cols. 94-97, taf. 34.

to the right, the whole line being about 25.3 centimeters in length at the scale of the reproduction, or about 30 centimeters in length on the original papyrus. The length of the restorations is based on this data in accordance with the style of the script of the papyrus; the transliteration is deceptive in this matter.

Transliteration

(1) [H3.t-sp 7.t . . .] Pr-3 Ptwlmys Ptwlmys irm Klwptr3 n3 ntr.w nty pr.w r w^b (2) [3lgsntrws] irm [n3 ntr.]w sn irm n3 ntr.w mn3.w irm n3 ntr.w mr it-w irm n3 ntr.w nty pr irm n3 ntr.w mr mw.t (3) [. . .] [s] [. .]yfts r s.hm.t 3spsy3 s3.t Krsrmws t3 fy.t šp kny m-b3h (4) [Brnyg3 t3 ntry.y mn3.t r s.hm.t] 3sys s3.t [3pwlmys] t3 fy.t tn3 nb m-b3h 3rsyn3 [t3 mr] sn (5) [r s.hm.t Hyrn3 s3.t Ptwlmys] t3 w^b.t 3rsyn3 t3 mr it-s^a)

n3 hn(.w) i.3r hpr n wy^c b3k H.t-Hr (6) [nb.t tp i3.wt 3st t3 ntry.t] 3.t Hry-w p3 nty hm H3^c-s-3np mw.t Kl3.t irm wy^c b3k H.t-Hr nb.t tp i3.wt 3s.t ntry.t (7) [3.t P3-nfr-hr P3-d3-Sb]k mw.t Dd-hr i.3r-hr 3rbt3 b3k H.t-Hr nb.t tp n3 i3.wt 3s.t t3 ntry.t 3.t [Hry-w] [P3-d3-Hr-mtn]^b)

(8) [3d-w d3-n n3 hn.w]^e) nty hry n-dr.t^f) p3 hrw rn=f r wy^c Hry-w p3 nty hm H3^c-s- 3np nty hry 3d n.im=s [i.3r-hr p3 3rbt3 nty hry] (9) [d3 n=y wy^c] P3-nfr-hr s3 P3-d3-Sbk nty hry 3d 70 hmt sp-sn [3^c.t] 24 3r n 3d.t 2^e) r sttr 350 r 3d 70 3n n r^c-wh3^f) [r p3]^g) 33d3 ms (10) [h3.t-sp 7.t . . . nty hry]

[šsp]=y s n-dr.t^f) h3.t=y mtr.w [n.im=w] iw=w mh iwty sp nb iw=f hpr r d3=y n=f p3 3d 70 hmt sp-sn [3^c.t] 24 3r n 3d.t 2 nty hry (11) [33^c h3.t-sp 8.t . . . nty hry] iw=f d3.t n=y p3 sš 3d 21^h) pr-3d Pth wthⁱ) [i.3r]=y n rn=f irm T3-wn-nfr t3y=f šry.t nty iw n-dr.t^f) p3 hrw d3.t n=f 3d 70 nty hry (12) [nty iw=y 3r.t s iw=f wwy r p3] [3rbt3 Hry-w]s3 P3-d3-Hr-mtn nty hry n3 h[n.w] nty iw n-dr.t^f) mh sš 2 iw=w d3.t n=y n.im=w p3 hrw rn=f h3r iwty mn

(13) [iw=f hpr bn-p=y d3.t n=f] 3d 70 hmt sp-sn [3^c.t] 24 3r n 3d.t 2 nty hry š3^c h3.t-sp 8.t [. . .] [3rk]^k) [iw=y] ww[y] r p3 3rbt3 Hr[y-w s3 P3-d3-]Hr-mtn n3 hn.w nty] iw n-dr.t^f) (14) [r P3-nfr-hr nty hry m-s=y] mn^l) fy p3 sš 3d 21 pr-3d Pth wt[3 i.3r=y n rn=f irm T3-]Wn[-nfr^m] t3y=f šry.t nty hry h3.t-sp 7.t . . . nty

hry iw=y wwy r] (15) [wy^c P3-nfr-hr nty hry p3] [sš]^m) n3 hn.w
nty hry

r wy^c P3-nfr-hr [s3 P3-di-Sbk nty hry dd n.im=s i.ir-hr p3 'rbt
nty hry]

[iw=f hpr dl n=y] (16) [Hry=w p3 hm s3 H3'-s-] Inp nty hry hd
70 hmt sp-sn 24 ir n k.d.t 2 nty hry š3[^c h3.t-sp 8.t . . . 'rk iw=y
dl.t n=f p3 sš hd 21 pr-hd Pth wth] (17) [i.ir=f n rn=y irm T3-
Wn-]nfr t3y=y šry.t p3 hrw rn=f htr iwty mn iw=y [wwy r p3
'rbt nty hry n3 hn.w nty iw n-dr.t=f^m] mh sš 2 iw=w dl.t s n]
(18) [Hry=w p3 nty hm H3'-s-] Inp nty hry r p3 hrw rn=f htr
iwty mn

iw=f [hpr r st3.t=y [r.r=f]^o] r-db3 p3 sš hd 21 pr-hd Pth wth i.ir=f
n rn=y] (19) [irm T3-Wn-nfr t3y=y šry.t hn^c n3 h]n.w r tm dl.t
s n=f p3 hrw dl.t n=y hd 70 [hmt sp-sn [š^c.t] 24 ir n k.d.t 2 iw=f
ir.t s iw=y dl.t hd . . n3 gll.w] (20) [n3 wtn.w Pr-3 Ptwlmys] irm
Klwptr3 n3 ntr.w mr [mw.t p3 3bd rn=f iw=f m-s3=y dl.t n=f p3 sš hd
21 pr-hd Pth wth nty hry] (21) [hn^c n3 hn.w nty hry 'n . . .]
. . . .^p) [. . .

Translation

(1) [Regnal year 7, . . .] of Pharaoh Ptolemy (son of) Ptolemy
and Cleopatra, the gods who appear: the priest (2) [of Alexander
and the] brother [gods] and the beneficent gods and the gods
who love their father and the gods who, appear and the mother
loving gods being (3) [. . .], (son of) [. .]dotes, the woman
Aspasia, daughter of Chrysermos, being the bearer of the gift of
victory before (4) [Bernice the beneficent goddess,] [Isis], daughter
of Apollonios, [being] the bearer of the golden basket before
Arsinoe the brother [loving], (5) [the woman Eirene, daughter
of Ptolemaios, being] the priestess of Arsinoe who loves her
father^b).

The agreement which was concluded between the farmer,
servant of Hathor- (6) [mistress-of-Atfilh-Isis, the] great [goddess],
Herieus the younger, (son of) Kasanupis, (his) mother (being)
Kollauthis, and the farmer, servant of Hathor-mistress-of-Atfilh-
Isis, the great goddess (7) [Pneferos, (son of) Petesu]chos, (his)
mother (being) Teos, in the presence of the trustee, servant of
Hathor-mistress-of-Atfilh-Isis, the great goddess, [Herieus], (son

of) [Petarmotis]^{b)}. (8) [They said: Let us give the agreement^{c)} aforesaid into his keeping^{d)} on the day stated.

The farmer, Herieus the younger, (son of) Kasanupis, aforesaid, says as follows [in the presence of the trustee aforesaid]:

(9) [The farmer], Pneferos, son of Petesuchos, aforesaid, [has given to me] money, 90 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 obols making 2 kite,^{e)} equaling 350 staters, equaling money, 70 (deben) again, as a loan,^{f)} being the^{g)} principal and interest, (10) [on regnal year 7, . . . , aforesaid].

I [have received] them from his hand; my heart is satisfied therewith, they being complete without any remainder.

If I give him the money aforesaid, 70 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 obols making 2 kite, (11) [by regnal year 8, . . . , the last day], he will give me the document of 21 silver (deben)^{h)} of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage,ⁱ⁾ [which] I [made] in his name and that of Taonnophris his daughter, which is in his possession,^{d)} on the day of giving him the money aforesaid, 70 (deben), (12) [which I shall do, and he will renounce claim on] [the trustee Herieus], son of Petarmotis, aforesaid, in regard to the agreement aforesaid which is in his keeping, making two documents which will be given to me on the day named, of necessity, without delay.

(13) [If I do not give him] the money aforesaid, 70 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 obols making 2 kite, by regnal year 8, [. . .], [the last day],^{k)} [I will] renounce claim on the trustee Her[ieus, son of Pete]armotis, [in regard to the agreement] which is in [his] keeping, (14) [and Pneferos aforesaid will have claim on me] to continue^{l)} to carry the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage, [which I made in his name and that of Ta]on[nophris^{m)} his daughter aforesaid on regnal year 7. . . ., aforesaid, and I will renounce claim on] (15) [the farmer Pneferos aforesaid in regard to the] [document]ⁿ⁾ and the agreement aforesaid.

The farmer Pneferos, [son of Petesuchos, aforesaid, says as follows in the presence of the trustee aforesaid:]

[If] (16) [Herieus the younger, son of Kas]anupis, aforesaid, [gives to me the money aforesaid, 70 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 abols making 2 kite, by [regnal year 8, . . . , the last day, I

will give to him the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage] (17) [which he made in my name and that of Taon]nophris, my daughter, on the day named, immediately, without delay, and I will [renounce claim on the trustee aforesaid in regard to the agreement which is in his keeping, making two documents which will be given to] (18) [Herieus the younger, son of Ka]sanupis, aforesaid, on the day named of necessity without delay.

If [I withdraw [from him]^{b)} concerning the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage, which he made in my name] (19) [and that of Taonnophris my daughter and the agree]ment so as not to give them to him on the day of giving to me the money, 70 (deben) [in copper coinage, 24 obois making 2 kite, which he will do, I will give money, . . (deben), to the burnt offerings] (20) [and libations of Pharaoh Ptolemy] and Cleopatra the [mother] loving gods [in the month named, and he shall have claim on me still to give to him the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage, aforesaid] (21) [and the agreement aforesaid. . . .]^{b)} [. . .

Textual notes

a) In *JEA*, 24 (1938), p. 80, n. 5, I pointed out that this papyrus was written in regnal year 7. This has been independently established by Glanville and Skeat, *JEA*, 40 (1954), p. 51, no. 26, and by Hintze, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, II (1954), pp. 216 f.

The name of the priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies stood at the beginning of line 3. Hintze takes the first traces after the break, [s], as the final letter of the name of the priest, Philost[ratos], as known from the Greek papyri. However, the space seems too long for this name.

In the name of the Athlophoros, Hintze suggests reading a medial ϝ. This is possible, but perhaps the scribe merely added an extra stroke by mistake.

In the Greek papyri the name of the Kanephoros is Isidora. After the certain ϝϣ here the following signs do not fit *trϝ*, and

I am of the opinion that they read *s*. It is possible that the demotic scribe has shortened the name to Isis.

b) The name of the father of the trustee is found in line 12, and a few traces of it are found toward the end of line 13. The traces of the name of the trustee here, and in lines 12 and 13, fit *Hry-w*; see the writing of this name in line 7, where it is that of the party of the first part.

c) This restoration is based on P. dem. Mich. Inv. No. 4200, lines 6-8, [*h'-w*] *i.ir-hr 'rbt P3-nfr-[hr nty] hry dd di-n n-k t3 š'.t h[n.w nty iw h.t=s] sš.w hry*, "[They stood] in the presence of the trustee Panefer[os, aforesaid,] saying: Let us give you the letter of agree[ment whose contents] are written below." I now believe that the *sdm=f* form of the verb *dl* here is to be translated as an optative; see Spiegelberg, *Demotisches Grammatik*, s. 121.


d) *n-dr.t f*, literally, "in his hand." I have translated "in his keeping" when the document referred to is the agreement, of which the trustee was merely the custodian, but "in his possession" when the document of 21 silver (*deben*) is concerned. The latter was actually the property of Pneferos until he returned it to Herieus the younger on repayment of the loan.

e) In the phrase, *hd 70*, etc., there are several matters that require comment.

Mattha, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University*, XVIII (1956), pp. 43 ff., believes that the sign "apparently written *ht* [*hd*] followed by a number should invariably be read *tbn*, not *ht*." I prefer to retain the traditional reading *hd*, and translate it "money"; see *Acta Orientalia*, XXIII, pp. 132 f.

The reading of *sp-sn* after *hmt* was pointed out to me by Erichsen; I had taken this group as a determinative. In light of this reading, I now believe that P. d. Lille 21,6 reads *r h.t hmt sp-sn r t3 sttr*, and that no word for "obol" is written there. I have followed Mattha, op. cit., p. 43, in translation of *hmt sp-sn*.

After considerable hesitation I have followed Mattha also in the reading of the next sign as *š'.t*, "obol". If this reading is correct, Wente points out that the sign must represent Ω , and the writing perhaps derived from a hieratic form similar to that in Černý and Gardiner, *H. O.*, pl. XXVIII A, 4 recto, lines 2, 3,

and 5, and not from  (of which the reading would be $\mathfrak{s}^t.t$ [$\mathfrak{s}^d.t$], see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, pp. 492 f.), as Mattha states. In the New Kingdom the $\mathfrak{s}^t.t$ was valued at $\frac{1}{12}$ deben of gold or silver, see Černý, "Prices and Wages in Egypt," *Journal of World History*, I (1953-54), pp. 910 ff. In the Ptolemaic period the obol was $\frac{1}{120}$ deben. I believe there is still much to be said for the reading of the sign as *tn*, "at the rate of," suggested to me some years ago by Hughes. I have not read it here because the group following the number 24, best preserved in line 10, near the end, apparently is *ir n*, "making."

f) The translation of *r'-whj=f* (also elsewhere written *r'-whj*) as "loan" first was given, to the best of my knowledge, by Seidl in a letter to Erichsen which the latter showed me in the summer of 1957. However, Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (SAOC 28), p. 89, n. 25, closely approaches this definition.

g) The scribe of this document writes *hd* and *pj* identically. In all but three instances (before *hrw* in lines 10, 12, and 17) there is a stroke before the usual form of the sign which apparently is sometimes meaningless, but which can be read *r* where the context admits. In this instance *r hd djd ms*, "being money, principal and interest," is equally possible.

h) In the Greek abstracts of marriage settlements of the "document of endowment" type published by Boak, *JEA*, 12 (1926), pp. 100 ff., the amount is in $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\tilde{\alpha}$.³ He noted that the gold stater was 4 drachmas, and this drachma was worth $12\frac{1}{2}$ times the similar silver coin. Thus a gold stater was worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the silver deben of 20 drachma. Since these abstracts were of the time of Claudius, Boak believed that there was a substitute of the $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\tilde{\alpha}$ for the silver deben at some period.

However, in the Greek registry docket on P. dem. B. M. 10606, Hamburg 7, and Hamburg 3, dated about 100-90 B. C., belonging to the Harawa archive being edited by Erichsen, the amounts concerned in the documents of endowment are also in

³ Later republished by Boak in *Papyri from Tebtunis*, I, *Michigan Papyri*, II, (University of Michigan Studies, "Humanistic Series," XXVIII), pp. 39 ff., 45 f., 52 f., 58 ff., and 67 f. My references are to the earlier publication.

χρυσῶ,⁴ showing that gold was accepted as the standard for such documents in the registry office of the place and time concerned.

The problems that this gold standard introduce are solved by a notation in Liddell and Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*, p. 2009, under χρύσεος, 3: "in papyri not a coin but the equivalent of 20 silver drachmac." Thus it appears that the χρύσεος of these abstracts and docketts does not represent a gold stater, but the equivalent value in gold of a silver deben.

i) Mattha, *op. cit.*, p. 38, translates *wth* "in bullion." Literally meaning "refined," it denotes unbased metal, but I do not believe it was necessarily uncoined.⁵

k) While I have taken the traces as belonging to *rḳ*, they could belong to the following *iw*, in which case the day mentioned is lost. The last day of the month was often that on which an obligation fell due.

l) I believe that the traces at the beginning of the line make the reading, *mn*, certain. The following heavy stroke under the *f* of *fy* may belong to *mn*, or may be *r*. I know of no demotic parallel to this phrase, "to continue to carry."

m) The top of the *wn* is preserved, and is in the correct position for the name of the daughter.

n) The traces here fit *sš*, but I am not entirely sure of the preceding restoration beginning with *iw=y* at the end of line 15. Another possible restoration would be [*mtw=f m-s=y*] (15) [*r ir.t n=f pḥ hp n pḥ*] *sš*, "[and he shall have claim on me] (15) [to do for him the right of the] document," etc.

o) These words are not always present in this clause.

p) I think it probable that the traces in line 21 belong to the name of the scribe or that of his father.

General Commentary

The reconstructed Loeb 62 adds nothing to the understanding of the position of the trustee beyond the earlier conclusion "that

⁴ I am indebted to Erichsen for permission to use this data. The transcriptions of the docketts were made by Dr. Tage Larsen.

⁵ I must point out in regard to Mattha's remarks on *hr*, here and on p. 39, that only in reference to Erichsen, *Auswahl*, p. 31. 5 (the papyrus concerned is

'*rbt* is the legal title for a disinterested party who has in his care the record of a transaction in order that there may be available such a record in case the contract is not fulfilled."⁶ However, there is an additional piece of collaborating evidence. Mr. George Michaelides, of Cairo, has given me permission to publish a demotic letter from his collection, P. dem. Michaelides 7. While I do not fully understand the whole, it seems to concern a dispute over the payment of money. Pending full publication, I quote the following extract, lines x + 6 to 9, which mentions a trustee.

<i>dd=y s irm Dd-hr Nht-[sy- Imn]</i>	I spoke with Teos, (son of) Necht-[siamun.]
<i>dl=f in=w p} 'rbt</i>	He caused to be brought the trustee,
<i>dl=f dl=f p} sš hpr=f p} sš</i>	that he might cause him to give the document, inasmuch as the document
<i>qr.t=f</i>	was in his keeping.

In studying the content of Loeb 62 it must be emphasized that the reconstruction of any document, including this one, is to some extent hypothetical. Nevertheless, in spite of the large gaps, I believe that the restorations, based on the parallels which I have previously published in translation, are correct in the essential details.

Herieus the younger borrowed from Pnferos a sum which, with interest added, amounted to 70 copper deben on an unknown day in year 7, with repayment due on an unknown day in year 8. Thus the period of this loan could be from about one month to twenty-four months in length.

As security for this loan Herieus the younger gave Pnferos a document of 21 deben of silver made out to Pnferos and Taonnophris his daughter. If Herieus repaid the loan on the date due, the document of 21 deben of silver would be returned to

B. M. 10120. A), can *hr* possibly be the equivalent of *wth*. In all other phrases quoted it means "penalty." For a full study see Hughes and Nims, *AJSL*, LVII (1940), pp. 252 ff.

⁶ *JEA*, 24, p. 82.

him. If he did not then repay it, the document of 21 deben of silver would remain in force and in the possession of Pneferos. There is no provision for the repayment of the loan at any time later than the date due.

Apparently the document of 21 deben of silver itself did not record the terms of this loan. Thus an agreement, Loeb 62, was drawn up stating these terms and given to the trustee to hold for the period of the loan. On the date the loan was due the trustee was to deliver this agreement to Herieus the younger if the loan were repaid, or to Pneferos if repayment was not forthcoming.

With one exception, all documents of 21 deben of silver known to me are documents of endowment.⁷ This exception is B. M. 10594, a marriage settlement executed at Siut in regnal year 9 of Ptolemy Philometor, the second year after the date of Loeb 62.⁸ The Siut document makes no provision for the transfer of property to the wife and children as do the documents of endowment.

Erichsen and I have offered the hypothesis that another category of marriage settlements provided for the support of the wife during the first period of marriage, until it was determined whether or not she could bear children, with the implication that if the woman did not become pregnant the marriage could be abrogated. In one of the three documents of this class the instrument was cancelled by cross hatching, indicating that there was a divorce.⁹

The situation in Loeb 62 appears similar. I now think it probable that the document of 21 deben of silver mentioned was a marriage settlement. The father of the wife turned over to her husband a sum of money in consideration of the husband's

⁷ Other documents of endowment are for different amounts. This article is written before the appearance of Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, which includes previously unpublished marriage settlements, including documents of endowment. Nor do we yet have the long awaited publication of the 'Tunah el Gebel legal papyrus by Mattha; a considerable section of this papyrus is devoted to documents of endowment.

⁸ Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut*, pp. 70 ff., pls. XXVI, XXVII. See also *Acta Orientalia*, XXIII, p. 129.

⁹ "Another Category of Demotic Marriage Settlements," *Acta Orientalia*, XXIII, pp. 119-133.

executing the settlement. If within the allotted time the woman bore a child or became pregnant, this sum would be treated as dowry¹⁰ and the marriage continue in force. Should, however, the marriage be unfruitful, the husband would return the sum with interest and the marriage would be abrogated.¹¹ Until a different reconstruction and interpretation of Loeb 62 is presented, we may accept it as additional evidence that the birth of children was a prime consideration in Egyptian marriages of the period.

¹⁰ Dowry: "the money, goods, or estate, which a woman brings to a man in marriage," *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed., *loc. cit.*

¹¹ In *JEA*, 24, p. 80, n. 3, I took a different view. There also I pointed out that P. d. Bibl. Nat. Paris 219, a document of endowment, was made out to a man for his daughter. In connection with the matter of a loan made in consideration of a document of alimentation, note should be taken of P. Torino 13, the pertinent part of which is discussed by Edgerton, *Notes on Egyptian Marriage* (SAOC, 1), pp. 21-24.