

## Agreements and Accounts.

### Ongoing Research on economic activities of the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos according to the Demotic Texts<sup>1</sup>

[Lassen wir den Titel so oder passen wir ihn etwas dem Oberthema an?]

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#### Introduction

At the 1<sup>st</sup> International Fayoum Congress in Sommerhausen in 2003 we presented a paper on the economy of the temple of Soknopaios with result of the then still ongoing five-year research project initiated by Karl-Theodor Zauzich in 2000 which aimed at the edition of the late Demotic documentary texts from Dime/Soknopaiou Nesos (30 BCE to 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE).<sup>2</sup> At the time, our study was based mainly on ostraca and receipts pertaining to the temple's financial administration, whereas two text types which are essential to this subject, were still largely unexplored: accounts and agreements, both of which are very well represented in the Demotic material from Soknopaiou Nesos. We gave a preliminary report on the agreements at the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Fayoum Congress in Lecce in 2005<sup>3</sup>, and by the end of the project, the edition volumes on ostraca and receipts were under press<sup>4</sup>. But although Karl-Theodor Zauzich and ourselves had done preliminary work by making transliterations and translations of those accounts and agreements of which we already had photographs, the two volumes on these texts were far from publication-ready, especially since the known source material had exponentially increased through our research in collections.

In 2008 Martin Stadler reignited the Soknopaiou Nesos flame at Würzburg with a new DFG-financed project "Dime im Fayum – ein Tempel im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Multikulturalität im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten" in which Carolin Arlt (Würzburg) is employed as scientific collaborator.<sup>5</sup> While this project concentrated on religious texts, on the Ptolemaic period documentary texts housed at Oxford and the mainly Roman period material that the on-going excavation of the university of Lecce at Soknopaiou Nesos brought to light, it also gave the opportunity to Marie-Pierre Chaufray to spend one year as a post-doc at Würzburg in 2012/13, where she worked on around 100 accounts and set up a database that

<sup>1</sup> This contribution was not presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> LDAS meeting, but is based on the paper "Research on economic activities of the Soknopaios temple according to the Demotic Texts – 16 years on" which we gave at the Round Table of the *Texts in Context* project, "The Island of the Divine Crocodile – Recent Research on Textual and Other Archaeological Remains from Soknopaiou Nesos", organised by Francisca Hoogendijk at the University of Leiden, October 10–12, 2019. The acts of this event are not going to be published, we are therefore grateful to Andrea Jördens, who also attended, to give us the opportunity to include our manuscript into the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> S. L. Lippert/M. Schentuleit, "Die Tempelökonomie nach den demotischen Texten aus Soknopaiou Nesos", in: S. Lippert/M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fayum. Akten des internationalen Symposiums vom 11.–13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen*, Wiesbaden, 2005, 71–78.

<sup>3</sup> S. Lippert, "Die Abmachungen der Priester – Einblicke in das Leben und Arbeiten in Soknopaiou Nesos", in: P. Davoli / M. Capasso (éd.), *New Archeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum. Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology. Lecce, June 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> 2005 (= Papyrologica Lupiensia 14)*, Lecce, 2005, 145–155.

<sup>4</sup> S. L. Lippert/M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime I. Ostraka*, Wiesbaden 2006; eadd., *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II. Quittungen*, Wiesbaden, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> < [www.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/forschung/dime-im-fayum/](http://www.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/forschung/dime-im-fayum/) >.

lists all hitherto known book keeping papyri from Dime with metadata.<sup>6</sup> This led to a joint research project “DimeData”, launched by Würzburg and Bordeaux Universities in 2018, funded by the French *Agence National de la Recherche* (ANR) and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) and directed by Marie-Pierre Chaufray (Bordeaux) and Martin Andreas Stadler (Würzburg), that is concentrating on temple accounts from Soknopaiou Nesos.<sup>7</sup> The scientific collaborators are Déborah Vignot-Kott (since September 2018), Maren Schentuleit (November 2018–August 2019), and now Robert Kade who replaced Maren Schentuleit in October 2019. The planned editing platform will provide transliterations and translations as well as annotations of about 40 texts and will, together with the agreements, furnish the basis for further analyses of the administrative and economic system of Dime in the Roman period.

Additionally, we have recently resumed our work on the agreements in view of a future edition project in collaboration with Karl-Theodor Zauzich. The edition of these texts will be published as *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime IV*.

### Agreements

The temple agreements or *hnw.w*, as they are called in Egyptian, are agreements between the priesthood as a whole and priestly functionaries, dependent craftsmen or persons in charge of certain temple-owned enterprises; they regulate the rights and duties of these individuals or groups in the exercise of professional activities in the context of the temple.

The vast majority of these agreements are still unpublished, although one of them, pBerlin P. 7059<sup>8</sup>, is known to Egyptologists since it appeared as a phototype image in Wilhelm Spiegelberg’s *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig/Berlin), in 1902; it was there identified as a letter, but is in fact an agreement for the *lesonis* (*mr-šn*, “chief controller”)<sup>9</sup> of a sanctuary of Isis Nepherses at Dionysias. The hitherto only fully published agreement from Soknopaiou Nesos is pWien D 4852<sup>10</sup>; it concerns the regulations for the scribe’s office at the Soknopaios temple<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> M.-P. Chaufray was at that time research associate for the project *Dime im Fayum – ein Tempel im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Multikulturalität im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten* funded by the DFG (project no. 107273930) directed by M. A. Stadler and based at the University of Würzburg.

<sup>7</sup> M. Schentuleit, “Keeping Track of Accounts: The Editing Platform DimeData”, in: C. E. Römer (ed.), *News from Texts and Archaeology. Acts of the 7th International Fayoum Symposium 29 October – 3 November 2018 in Cairo and the Fayoum, Wiesbaden, 2020*, 27–32 [derzeitiger Stand]; M.-P. Chaufray, “Comptes du temple de Soknopaios à Dimé à l’époque romaine”, in: T. Derda/A. Layjtar/J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology in Warsaw, 29 July – 3 August*. *Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 28, Warsaw, 2016, 1737–1749; ead., “Registres comptables et pratique scribale à Dimé à l’époque romaine”, in: R. Ast/J. Cromwell/M. Choat/J. Lougovaya-Ast/R. Yuen-Collinridge (eds.), *Observing the Scribe at Work: Scribal Practice in the Ancient World*. OLA (in press).

<sup>8</sup> TM 45755. W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1902, 22, pl. 45. The *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* took this identification over: E. Lüddeckens, s.v. *Papyri, Demotische*, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV*, Wiesbaden 1982, col. 777. For the date cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, “Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV”, *Enchoria* 7 (1977), 152 [..-..].

<sup>9</sup> See M.-P. Chaufray, *La fonction du lesônis dans les temples égyptiens de l’époque saïte à la fin de l’époque ptolémaïque*. *Studia Hellenistica*, Leuven (forthcoming).

<sup>10</sup> = pRainer Cent. 5 = TM 45643 (year 15 of Domitian, i.e. 95/96 CE).

<sup>11</sup> E. Bresciani, “Un documento dell’ anno 15 di Domiziano dall’archivio templare di Dime (P. Vindob. D 4852): Le condizioni previste per lo scriba e l’addetto alla spese dei sacerdoti”, in: *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.)*, Wien, 1983, 181–184. Corrections are published by K.-Th. Zauzich, “Die Bedingungen für das Schreiberamt von Soknopaiou Nesos”, *Enchoria* 12 (1984), 87–90.

Other priestly functionaries and dependent craftsmen who have already been identified as parties of such agreements are the priests on active duty (*p3 s3 nty 'q* ‘the phyle who enters (scil. the sanctuary)’), *lesoneis* as representatives of the whole priesthood in Dime, as well as the *lesoneis* of subsidiary sanctuaries<sup>12</sup>, i.e. temples and chapels outside Dime which were administratively dependent on the Soknopaios sanctuary, the priests deputized as public tax collectors (*n3 shn.w pr- '3 n3 w 'b.w* ‘the royal tax collectors of the priests’<sup>13</sup>), for those sent out to collect grain from dependant farmers, for the responsible of the temple granary, and for those collecting the professional fees of the weavers. Besides, we find regulations for the running of temple-dependent businesses like the brewery/bakery of Dime, the dressmaker’s shop, the dying workshop, the ferry service and for the temple’s cattle farmers.

Given the sheer amount of papyrus fragments with agreements from Soknopaiou Nesos stored mainly in Berlin and Vienna, but also in Paris, London and Aberdeen, and the fact that we have not photographs of all of them nor, of course, finished joining the fragments for which we already have images, it is still impossible to assess the total number of manuscripts, and even more so, of individual texts: each manuscript may (and usually did) contain several agreements, and the length of these varies from a few lines to several large columns.

### Accounts

Only a few individual fragments<sup>14</sup> of the 850 inventory numbers identified so far as accounts from the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos have so far been published. The bulk of the documents are stored in the collections of Berlin, London, Paris and Vienna, but there are also fragments in collections in North America. During her time at Würzburg, Marie-Pierre Chaufray was able to identify more than 120 rolls that are more than 1 metre long each.

The layout of the accounts written as lists is easily recognisable, as they consist of generally narrow columns of up to 40 short lines that are often split into two separate vertical rows of entries: a) the text entries and b) the number entries. The number entry is either an amount of money or a quantity of a good or a product. Occasionally, headlines of lists are preserved which consist of a date with a regnal year and an indication like *jp* ‘account’, as well as a

<sup>12</sup> Lippert/Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II. Quittungen*, 15–18; M.-P. Chaufray, “Des lésônes en action dans le temple de Soknopaios à Soknopaiou Nesos à l’époque ptolémaïque”, in: P. Piacentini/C. Orsenigo (eds.), *Egyptian Archives*, Milan, 2009, 153–164. M. Schentuleit, “Organization of the the Priesthood in Soknopaiou Nesos. Transition between the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods”, in: M. Capasso/P. Davoli (eds.), *Soknopaios, the Temple and Worship. Proceedings of the First Round Table of the Centro di Studi Papirologici di Università del Salento Lecce – October 9th–10th 2013*. Edaphos 1, Lecce/Rovato, 2015, 167–185.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lippert/Schentuleit, in: *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos*, 75 and Lippert/Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II. Quittungen*, 21–22.

<sup>14</sup> pBerlin P. 23545 = TM 45592 (K.-Th. Zauzich, “Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV”, *Enchoria* 7 (1977), 167, no. 10), pWien D 6151 = TM 47526 (A. Migahid, “Eine spätdemotische Abrechnungsliste über Naturallieferungen (P. Vindob. D 6151)”, *ZÄS* 130 (2003), 99–102), pWien D 6141 = TM 47527 (A. Migahid, “Ein Auszug aus einem spätdemotischen Kassenbuch”, *ZÄS* 127 (2000), 54–59); pWien D 6454 = TM 47523 (A. Migahid, “Eine neue spätdemotische Abrechnungsliste aus Soknopaiou Nesos oder Umgebung”, *BIFAO* 103 (2003), 342–344); pWien G 19818 vso = TM 112348 und pWien G 19877 vso = TM 171852 (F. Hoffmann, “Doppelte Buchführung in Ägypten. Zwei Wiener Abrechnungen (P. Wien G 19818 Verso und 19877 Verso)”, in: M. Depauw/Y. Broux (eds.), *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies, Leuven, 26–30 August 2008*. OLA 231, Leuven [et al.] 2014, 86–96), pWien D 6500 = TM 47537 und pWien D 6502 = TM 47538 (A. Migahid, “Zwei spätdemotische Listen”, *MDAIK* 55 (1999), 326–328, no. 1; 331–332, no. 2), pWien D 6788 = TM 128993 (A. Migahid, “Ein Auszug aus einem spätdemotischen Steuerbuch”, in: K. Daoud/S. Abd el-Fatah (eds.), *The World of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honor of Ahmed Abd el-Qader el-Sawi*. ASAE Suppl. 35, Kairo 2006, 167–199).

more detailed description of the purpose of the entries. However, not in all cases is it clear whether the account concerns income or expenses of the temple. It is to be presumed that in many cases the columns without headings simply present fragments of lists for which the headings at their beginning are not preserved.

Chaufray has set up a preliminary typology<sup>15</sup> which now, after one year of studying the documents, has been somewhat refined. The following typology combines formal and content-related criteria: Type 1 shows under the heading *p# jp (n) n# hwê(.w) (n) Hw.t-nTr (n) cbk-nb-Pay p# nTr o#* “the list/the account of the expenses of the temple of Soknopaios the great god” enumerations of goods, personal names – occasionally specified with a title –, titles alone, occupational designations and entries mentioning the names of fees or taxes or other specifications of the purpose of the payment (e.g. “the salary”) to which sums of money are assigned. Type 2 consists of lists of names in one column and amounts of money in the other. The headings show that these accounts most likely served the redistribution of the syntaxis, that is the priestly income the state paid to temples that had accepted to have their agricultural domains turned into public land. They enumerate the priests receiving the syntaxis by order of their phylai. In one instance, the amount of money every priest is entitled to is given as 1 silver deben. Type 3 shows calculations of grain quantities on the occasion of processions (*Xo*). Type 4 seems to be a sort of cash ledger, detailing income and expenses in money. Type 5, which mainly concerns shorter accounts, list outstanding payments from taxes, fees and loans. However, there are still texts which are unclear to us.

The *hnw*-agreements and the accounts are part of the extensive Demotic documentation of the temple administration, which also includes the aforementioned receipts and ostraca. Viewed together, they not only give us an idea of the administrative processes of the temple, but also provide a context for the very concisely phrased entries in the accounts, without which these would not have been comprehensible to us.

### **a) Temple book keeping**

The system of temple book keeping and the accounting process can, according to our current knowledge<sup>16</sup>, be described as follows:

Ostraca were used to record expenditure and income in money, wheat, bread etc. on a daily or rather a short-term basis as well as the presence of priests in the temple on specific days.<sup>17</sup> We have not yet found such ostraca for all types of entries we find on papyrus, which could mean that ostraca were used where the scribes had to take down complicated information on place, that is, not in their office, but in the granary, bakery, during festival processions etc., where the temple scribe could not carry around his long account scrolls, nor wanted to waste smaller papyrus sheets for data that had to be recopied only a short time later anyway. Such smaller sheets of papyrus were, however, used for receipts that were handed to those who delivered

<sup>15</sup> Chaufray’s preparatory work is the basis for the typology of accounts used in the article by Schentuleit, in: *News from Texts and Archaeology*, 27–32.

<sup>16</sup> The following update slightly modifies our view of the accounting procedures already presented in S. Lippert, “Seeing the Whole Picture: Why Reading Greek Texts from Soknopaiou Nesos is not Enough”, in: T. Gagos (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor July 29 – August 4, 2007*. American Studies in Papyrology, Special Edition, Ann Arbor, 2010, 427–434 (esp. p. 432).

<sup>17</sup> O.Dime I 1–85, 176–204.

goods and or paid money to temple officials.<sup>18</sup> The ostraca with short accounts of goods or money, attendance and allocation lists<sup>19</sup> were taken back to the accounting office and kept there until, after a certain period of time (rather hours or days than months), a scribe transferred the information to papyrus as part of his account lists on long papyrus scrolls. These in turn were periodically audited and, if the numbers turned out to be correct, the priesthood issued discharge receipts on papyrus for the scribe of the priests who acted as book keeper of the temple.<sup>20</sup> The lists also served as basis of recapitulating accounts in Greek which the temple drew up to fulfil their obligations toward the state administration.<sup>21</sup>

## b) Contexts

The following examples can show how entries in accounts are sometimes only understandable on the basis of other text types from Soknopaiou Nesos. The first example concerns an entry that occurs repeatedly:

*sw-x nhḥ n3 sb ˙w (n) P3-ḥ3-n-Īs.t* “Day x: oil for the doors of Pa-ha-en-Iset<sup>22</sup>

All by itself, this would be quite cryptic, but the agreement pBerlin P. 7059, which concerns sanctuaries in Dionysias, contains the following instruction (ll. 17–20):

“[The *lesonis*] of Per-hy-Iset (*Pr-ḥy-(n-)Īs.t*<sup>23</sup>) shall give a ½ (measure) (and) [a] *chous* of oil for the door of the western gate and the door of the northern gate and the .[.] of the ‘room of the lionesses’<sup>24</sup> at the day of procession. He shall cause the *lemeisa* of the priests to stand/be present and have them oint [them]. If he does not act accordingly, he shall give the priests one deben of silver money.”

This passage shows that the oil listed in the accounts is used in the context of a ritual treatment of the doors in connection with a procession, i.e. the days for which these entries are made would have been festival days. The agreement specifies the quantity as ‘half a (measure) (and) [a] *chous*’ – unfortunately, it is not quite clear what unnamed measure is meant here<sup>25</sup> – the *keramion* or *metretes*? –, and which capacity it had<sup>26</sup>, but from the mention

<sup>18</sup> P.Dime II 1–55.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. S. Lippert/M. Schentuleit, “Demotic Ostraca and their Use in Egyptian Temple Context from the Graeco-Roman Period – Soknopaiou Nesos and Hut-Repit”, in: C. Caputo/J. Lougovaya (eds.), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World: New Discoveries and Methodologies. Heidelberg, 12–14 October 2017. Materiale Textkulturen* (forthcoming).

<sup>20</sup> P.Dime II 56–69. Lippert/Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II. Quittungen*, 236–237.

<sup>21</sup> P.Louvre I 4; SPP XXII 183; SB VI 9199; ChrW 93 = BGU I 149.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. pVienna D 8a recto IV/30, VII/33 and X/10; pVienna D 8b recto VI/30 (the toponym is lost).

<sup>23</sup> The writing is an alternative rendering of *P3-ḥ3-n-Īs.t*.

<sup>24</sup> pBerlin 6848B Col. 3 l. 6: Th. Dousa/F. Gaudard/J. Johnson, “P. Berlin 6848, a Roman Period Temple Inventory”, in: F. Hoffmann/H. J. Thissen (eds.), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*. *Studia Demotica* 6. Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA, 2004, 148 [139–222], cf. fn. 81 for the feminine form *mzy.wt*.

<sup>25</sup> In the accounts from Roman Soknopaiou Nesos, an unnamed measure for wine occurs which constitutes a daily ration for one person and thus can hardly be more than 1,5 to 2 litres – on the basis of the prices, it might have been half a *chous* (cf. S. Lippert, “Of Pots, Sherds and Drachmas. Demotic Ostraca from *Hw.t-Rpy.t* (with a detour to Soknopaiou Nesos)”, in: F. Naether (ed.), *New Approaches in Demotic Studies. Acts of the 13<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Demotic Studies*. ZÄS Beihefte 10, Berlin/Boston, 2019, 153–154

of more than a *chous* we already see that this treatment did not simply mean that the hinges were oiled, but that the large wooden door leaves were anointed, which probably had a practical purpose, such as preserving the wood against insects or cracking in the hot sun, even though it was done in a ritual context, i.e. on a festival day and by the priests themselves instead of hired workmen. In the account pVienna D 8, for which no year date is preserved, no quantity is given, but simply the value of the oil, in one case 16 obols<sup>27</sup>. But since oil prices fluctuated vastly, between 2,5 and 10 obols per lok<sup>28</sup>, this does not help us determine the quantity used.

The second example does not simply concern a detail, but the fundamental understanding of the account keeping at Soknopaiou Nesos. As mentioned above, most accounts consist of long lists of entries such as food stuff or objects in one row and the amounts of money in the other. The obvious explanation would be that these amounts correspond to revenues or expenditure of money for these products.

pVienna D 8b recto III/23–25:

23	<i>snsn (n p3) sh-tmy</i>	<i>db'.t 7 ½</i>	bread (for the) village scribe	7 ½ obols
24	<i>3wš</i>	<i>db'.t 4</i>	resin	4 obols
25	<i>irp [hḏ sp-2] qd.t 4 (db'.t) 3</i>		wine	4 kite [of silver money] 3 (obols)

Even though it is not stated explicitly, these are certainly expenses of the temple, and the scribe received bread, resin and wine. But what about the money? Did the temple pay for the bread etc. and gave it then to the scribe? Since we know that the temple had a bakery and most likely also a wine cellar, since there are receipts for wine deliveries, this scenario is not very likely. But if in reality these goods simply came out of the temple stocks, why do they appear in an account of money? The solution can, in our opinion, be found in a passage of the already mentioned agreement for the function of the scribe of the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos, pVienna D 4852 (ll. 7–17):

“He shall draw up the running (account of) expenses until it (the account) is settled with him (...) He shall enter large bread(s) (and) small bread(s) into the (account of) expenses according to the estimated street price. (...) He shall enter olive oil, radish oil (and) safflower(?) oil into the (account of) expenses of the priests according to the estimated street price. (...) Each pigeon that one will roast, he shall count it at 1 ½ obols. Any resin that one will burn, [he] shall [count it] at 2 obols (...) Any green fodder<sup>29</sup> which he will give, he shall count it according to [the estimated street price.] (...)”

[151–174]). However, this unnamed wine measure cannot be the same as the one used here for oil, because it would then have been mentioned after the *chous*, and not before.

<sup>26</sup> For the discussion of the varying capacities of the *keramion/metretes* see N. Kruit/K. Worp, “Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt”, *APF* 45 (1999), 120–127 [96–127].

<sup>27</sup> pVienna 8a recto VII/33.

<sup>28</sup> 2,5 obols per lok: pBM gr. 262 (the demotic accounts are written upside-down in the interstices of a Greek account), col. 6, l. 6, 15; 10 obols per lok: pBerlin P. 9563 A, col. x+2, l. 5–6, 11 (1,5 lok oil = 15 obols), 18, 23; x+3, l. 3, 9, 11 (6 lok oil = 2 kite (à 27 obols) and 4 obols).

<sup>29</sup> For *swb* meaning “green fodder” and not “weeds” (cf. *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* <<https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago>>, letter *s*, 72–73), see S. Lippert/M. Schentuleit, “Papyrus Berlin P. 7056: division of a *kleros* between

Our working hypothesis is that this means that certain expenses made in kind, that is, from products that came directly from temple factories, storage or farms, were converted into monetary values, mainly according to the current market price, sometimes also according to a pre-set fixed price, in order to be entered into the accounts of temple expenses.

A possible explanation for this practice is that in this way, the total volume of temple expenses could be numbered as monetary value, which might have played a role for the declaration of expenses which the temple had to make for the state authorities in the form of financial statements in Greek. At least one example of this type of text shows not only the total expenses, but also the surplus, which in this specific case had to be paid in total to the tax authorities “for the poll tax of the supernumerary priests” (P.Louvre I 4, l. 41). Thus, it looks like the above-mentioned accounting method served to minimize the surplus which had to be paid in money.

Viewed in this context, the practice to enter into the accounts the expenses connected to various officials of the state administration can also be better understood. Especially interesting are those entries that contain several lines for goods and food stuff, like this elaborate example from pVienna D 8b recto **col. 3, l. 1–21**:

1	... [...]. <i>šmw sw-1</i>		... [...]. shemu-season, day 1
2	<i>hnṯ št p3 fy-sfy</i>	<i>db'.t 1 ½</i>	acacia wood (and) cushion(s) (for) the swordsman 1 ½ obols
3	<i>snsn</i>	<i>db'.t 5</i>	bread 5 obols
4	<i>mw dyt</i>	<i>db'.t 2</i>	water (and?) olives 2 obols
5	<i>nḥḥ</i>	<i>db'.t 2</i>	oil 2 obols
6	<i>sw-2 snsn t3wy</i>	<i>db'.t 5</i>	Day 2: breakfast bread 5 obols
7	<i>dyt</i>	<i>db'.t [.]</i>	olives [.] obols
8	<i>snsn rhe</i>	<i>db'.t 5</i>	dinner bread 5 obols
9	<i>3wš</i>	<i>db'.t 3</i>	resin 3 obols
10	<i>nḥḥ</i>	<i>db'.t 2</i>	oil 2 obols
11	<i>wst'</i>	<i>ḥḏ sp-2 qd.t 4.t</i>	travelling allowance(?) 4 kite silver money
12	<i>ḥbs</i>	<i>[db'.t] ½</i>	lamp ½ [obol]
13	(...)		(...)
14	<i>hnṯ trns p3 mḥr</i>	<i>db'.t 2 ½</i>	acacia wood for (the) <i>telones</i> of the magazine 2 ½ obols
15	<i>s.t sḏr 2</i>	<i>db'.t 5</i>	2 sleeping places 5 obols
16	<i>nḥḥ lq 1</i>	<i>db'.t 8</i>	oil, 1 lok 8 obols
17	<i>snsn</i>	<i>db'.t 15(?)</i>	bread 15(?) obols
18	<i>3wš</i>	<i>db'.t 4</i>	resin 4 obols
19	<i>mw</i>	<i>[ḥḏ sp-2] qd.t 8.t</i>	water 8 kite silver money
20	<i>irp(?) snsn</i>	<i>db'.t 10</i>	wine(?) (and?) bread 10 obols
21	<i>dyt</i>	<i>[db'.t] 1.t ½</i>	olives 1 ½ obols

members of a priestly family from Roman Soknopaiou Nesos”, in: B. Bryan/Ch. Di Cerbo/M. Escolano Poveda/M. Smith (eds.), *One Who Loves Knowledge. Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow* (forthcoming).

These examples show that different officials visited Dime, or at least spent time there on their journey elsewhere, and had to be accommodated by the temple: up to now, we have discovered temple expenses for the village scribes of Tama(u)is<sup>30</sup>, Dionysias and Neilupolis, for a *strategos* (*stryqs*) a *shn* (tax collector or governor?), several swordsmen (*fy.w-sfy, machaiophoroi*), an inspector (*rmt-šn, epistates*), a scribe of “the one of the private person” (*pa-p3-rmt-nmh*), that is, of the *bibliothêkê enktêhseôn*<sup>31</sup>, a register or private property kept in the nome capital Arsinoe, *telones* of the magazine, a *nomarch* (*shn-dn.t*) and a state scribe or perhaps even a *basilikos grammateus* (*sh pr-‘3*)<sup>32</sup>. The nomarch travelled with his retinue: in his entry, three sleeping places are mentioned.<sup>33</sup> But other officials also were accompanied by a body guard, armed with a sword, that is, a *fy-sfy* or *machaiophoros*.<sup>34</sup>

When staying overnight, these people received a sleeping place or at least bedding, fire wood, lamps and oil, resin to chase off mosquitoes, and of course food and drinks. Occasionally, not just bread and olives were provided, but real cooking seems to have taken place, because at least once, a metal kettle is entered into the account.<sup>35</sup> The corresponding monetary values for the consumed goods or even just provided objects were again calculated and then entered into the running account of temple expenses. As with the bedding and lamps, putting a price on the mere use of cooking utensils was probably justified by the fact that even though they were given back to the temple afterwards, they had to be cleaned. Some people even received travel provisions (*snsn iw=f mš`*) for the next part of their journey and/or *wst`*, which, according to the agreement pVienna D 4852, could be a travelling allowance in money.

When it is possible to analyse accounts running over a longer time period, this will hopefully provide us with information about the frequency of such official visits in Dime, and also which parts of the state administration thus came into direct contact with the priests. As for the reasons for such visits and the tasks accomplished there, these might rather be gleaned from the agreements and Greek documents.

## Regional Networks

The *hnw*-agreements show that the economic network of the Soknopaios temple was largely linked to cultic activity. Already in the Ptolemaic period, the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos leased out two branch sanctuaries, one of Isis Nepherses in Dionysias and one of Isis Nephremmis in a place called *T3-3te.t*, outside of Dime<sup>36</sup>. In the Roman period, these were

<sup>30</sup> For the identification of *T3-m3y.t* as Tama(u)is (modern Tamiya) instead of an abbreviation of *T3-m3y.t-Sbk-nb-Pay* (Soknopaiou Nesos), see below.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the term *pa-rmt.w-nmh.w* in pBerlin P. 8092, ll. 7, 8, 12 and perhaps 18 (S. Lippert/M. Schentuleit, “Stoetis in geheimer Mission – Der Brief pBerlin P 8092”, in: H. Knuf / Chr. Leitz / D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. OLA 194, Louvain, 2010, 365, 372–373 [357–381]).

<sup>32</sup> For the *basilikos grammateus*, see Ch. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des ptolemäischen Ägypten: das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus*. Pap.Col. 36, Paderborn, 2012, and T. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30 v. Chr.–245 n. Chr.)*. APF Beihefte 11, München/Leipzig, 2002. For *sh pr-‘3* simply meaning “scribe of the state administration”, see P.W. Pestman, “Bail à ferme de la terre « La Pointe »”, in: E. Boswinkel/P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, P.L.Bat. 19, Leiden, 1978, 10 n. i) [3–12].

<sup>33</sup> pWien D 8b recto V/16.

<sup>34</sup> pWien D 8a recto VII/8 mentions a swordsman of the *sh pr-‘3*.

<sup>35</sup> pWien D 8a IX/7.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. P.Ox.Griff. 42–44, 48–51.

administered by *lesoneis* subordinate to the priesthood of the Soknopaios temple for which *hnw* agreements were drawn up, but we no longer find lease offers – perhaps the system had changed to one of appointment on fixed terms rather than lease offers from the applicants. These branch sanctuaries were used as a kind of administrative “outposts” of the Soknopaios temple in the sense that their *lesoneis* had to take on tasks pertaining to the enterprises and dependent workers of the temple in their vicinity, in addition to their duties within the sanctuary itself.

The sanctuary called Pa-ha-en-Isis, “the chapel of Isis”, containing an altar (*ḥwy.t*) of Isis Nepherses, was situated within the temple precinct of the Sobek temple of Dionysias alias *P3-tmy-m3y* “The New Town”, at the western end of the Themistou meris. The *lesonis* of this sanctuary also administered the “room of the lionesses”, equally located within the temple precinct. The relation of the “room of the lionesses” to the “Bubasteion” mentioned in a Greek text from Dionysias<sup>37</sup> is unclear, since the latter gave its name to a quarter of the village. Either, this Bubasteion is a different sanctuary outside the *temenos*, or, if it is to be identified with the “room of the lionesses”, it was situated inside the *temenos*, but was directly accessible via a secondary gate in the *temenos* wall and thus could still have served as eponymous sanctuary of the town area just outside this gate.

In one of the agreements pertaining to this *lesonis*, there is a clause allowing him to sub-lease the altar of Isis Nepherses and the room of the lionesses<sup>38</sup>, but in an addendum to the same text, this permission – presumably copied from an earlier agreement – is retracted and the licence to lease out these sanctuaries is granted to the *lemeisa* and elders of the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos instead<sup>39</sup>. Nevertheless, the *lesonis* of Pa-ha-en-Isis retains the permission to lease out the altar of Isis Nepherses at Neilupolis and the house of the *nomographos* (probably also at Neilupolis), but the rent he is allowed to demand is capped at 25 deben.

One of his obligations is to do an inventory on the first day of the year, at the first hour of the day, that is, immediately after he takes over<sup>40</sup>. By chance, one such inventory list<sup>41</sup> has actually survived and tells us that in the chapel of Isis Nepherses, the deified Satabus had a cult, while in the room of the lionesses, the deified Harpagathes and Peteamonipe were venerated (and perhaps their mummies kept). This is interesting because “Panomieu”, i.e. “The one of the lionesses”, “Satabus” and “Harpagathes” are three of the most common personal names of Soknopaiou Nesos. Indeed, these close connections between Dionysias and Soknopaiou Nesos date back to the Ptolemaic period: documents from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE show that the agricultural domain of the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos was situated at Dionysias, meaning the grain supply for the temple came from there, via boat<sup>42</sup>. For the Roman period, we have no information about a temple domain – it is likely that the *hiera gē* of Soknopaiou Nesos was, as elsewhere, turned partly into public land.<sup>43</sup> But a grain receipt

<sup>37</sup> BGU I 53, l. 13 (133 CE).

<sup>38</sup> pBerlin P. 7059, l. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. pBerlin P. 7059, l. 24–25.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. pBerlin P. 7059, l. 20–21.

<sup>41</sup> pBerlin P. 6848 = pZauzich 12 (TM 46246) (see fn. 24 above).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. S. Lippert, “Chapels, Chambers and Gateways : the religious architecture of Soknopaiou Nesos according to the demotic documentary papyri”, in: M. Capasso/P. Davoli (eds.), *Soknopaios. The Temple and Worship. Proceedings of the First Round Table of the Centro di Studi Papirologici of Università del Salento, Lecce, October 9th 2013*. Edaphos 1 (Lecce 2015), 161–162.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans. Political and Economic Change in Egypt*, Cambridge, 2012, 136–138.

following the pattern of receipts for offering wheat<sup>44</sup>, but made by the *phyle* in service not for the “responsible of the offering” (*p3 rd n p3 fy*), that is, the manager of the temple granary, but to the *lesonis* of Pa-ha-en-Isis, could point to the fact that the grain supply for the Soknopaios temple, at least in part, still came from Dionysias, and that, perhaps due to delivery problems, the phyle in this particular case had to get the grain for baking the offering breads directly from there instead of simply collecting it at the temple granary of Soknopaiou Nesos.

We have already heard that the *lesonis* of Pa-ha-en-Isis had to organise the impregnation of the doors of the Isis chapel and of the “room of the lionesses” with oil. Another task of this *lesonis* was the supervision of the fishermen, for whom he has to establish (*smn*) something “for the god” – presumably the fees which they had to pay to the temple for exercising their trade<sup>45</sup>. On the other hand, the agreements mention that he should not spend too much time on the lake shore either (more precisely, no more than five days per month, not even when it was his time to do his five days of compulsory dike work), probably because some *lesoneis* had made this their main activity instead of taking care of the Isis chapel. On the other hand, he had the right to take off a day to go fishing during the summer months (more precisely, between May 15 and the end of August)<sup>46</sup>.

While two Ptolemaic lease offers for the chapel of Pa-ha-en-Iset in Dionysias contain the promise to build “the room of Harpsenesis”<sup>47</sup>, we do not know where this room was and which status it had in relation to the Soknopaios temple in the Roman period, because we have not yet been able to find it in the Roman period sources. It cannot be the Harpsenesis temple at Soknopaiou Nesos, which existed well before 118 BCE<sup>48</sup>, and it is unlikely to be the sanctuary of Harpsenesis near *T3-3te.t* which will be discussed below. The likeliest solution is that this “room of Harpsenesis” was also in Dionysias, and in that case, it might well be the sanctuary that gave its name to the ἀ[μ]φόδ( ) Ἄρποκρατ( ) in Dionysias<sup>49</sup>, as “Harpokrates” is the common Greek translation of Harpsenesis<sup>50</sup>.

The chapel (*'by.t*) of Isis Nephremmis at Ta-atet (*T3-3te.t*) was another branch sanctuary which, in the Roman period, was administrated by *lesoneis* subject to *hnw* agreements made with the priesthood of Soknopaiou Nesos. Like for Pa-ha-en-Iset, there are also Ptolemaic lease offers for this chapel. Greek documents show that a cult of Isis Nephremmis existed in Neiloupolis, Pelusion and Gynaikon Nesos. Of these, the Demotic name of Neiloupolis – *Pr-H'py* – is known, so the remaining two have to correspond to the two other demotic toponyms, namely *Pr-hq* and *T3-3te.t*. But which is which? While we cannot be absolutely sure, a number of indications point to *Pr-hq* being Pelusion and *T3-3te.t* being Gynaikon Nesos:

<sup>44</sup> For this category of receipts, see Lippert/Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II. Quittungen*, 145–183 (esp. p181–183) and S. Lippert, “Au clair de la lune – The organisation of cultic service by moon calendar in Soknopaiou Nesos”, in: Gh. Widmer / D. Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> congrès international des études démotiques. Paris, 31 août–3 septembre 2005*. BdE 147, Le Caire, 2010, 183–194.

<sup>45</sup> pVienna D 6869 + 6877 + 6880 + 6888 B, ll. 9–10.

<sup>46</sup> pWien D 6869 + 6877 + 6880 + 6888 B, col. 3, l. 8–9.

<sup>47</sup> P.Ox.Griff. 43 (118 BCE) and 44 (end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> C. BCE).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. CPR XXIX 2 (122 BCE); CPR XXIX 3 (119 BCE). see also M. Schentuleit/G. Vittmann, “Du hast mein Herz zufriedengestellt ...” *Ptolemäerzeitliche demotische Urkunden aus Soknopaiou Nesos*. CPR 29, Berlin/New York, 2009, 119–121.

<sup>49</sup> BGU I 53, l. 12 (133 CE). [Die Editoren haben die Abkürzung (wegen des vorausgehenden *epi* im Genitiv) als ἀ[μ]φόδ(ου) Ἄρποκρατ(ίονος) aufgelöst, aber wäre das nicht das “Viertel des Harpochration (Person)”? Der Genitiv von “Harpochrateion=Harpokrates-Tempel” sollte doch Ἄρποκρατ(είου) heißen, oder?]

<sup>50</sup> See also below (Isis Nephremmis and Harpokrates in Gynaikon Nesos)

1) The demotic accounts, agreements and receipts never mention a *lesonis* of *Pr-ḥd*, but simply payments for the altar of Isis Nephremmis made directly to the main temple at Soknopaiou Nesos. Indeed, a Greek complaint by a group of priests of Soknopaiou Nesos who accuse someone to have deprived them of their rightful income from the altar of Pelusion<sup>51</sup> states that this sanctuary was family-owned, which means that the altar would not have had yearly changing *lesoneis* selected by the main temple.

On the other hand, the *lesoneis* of the *'by.t*-chapel of Isis Nephremmis at *T3-3te.t* are well attested through a receipt<sup>52</sup> and several agreements<sup>53</sup>, and these find their counterparts in the *lesoneis* of Isis Nephremmis at Gynaikon Nesos who, in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, lease out the altar of Isis Nephremmis at Neilupolis<sup>54</sup>.

2) The name *T3-3te.t* means “the (mountain) back”, “the ridge”, which fits a Greek toponym containing the element *nêsos* “island” such as Gynaikon Nesos. However, this “island of the women” does not need to be an island today, or even still have been one during the Roman period, when the water level of the lake had already sunk to its modern height of about 43–45 m below sea level<sup>55</sup>: in order to receive this Greek name, it would have sufficed that it was one in the early Ptolemaic period, when the level of the Fayum lake was still much higher, at around sea-level (5m below by the time of Ptolemy II<sup>56</sup>), or perhaps simply that people at that time still remembered that it had once been an island (as was the case with Soknopaiou Nesos). We will come back to a possible location for this ridge later.

For *Pr-ḥd*, which means “treasury, storage room” and Pelusion, called after the eastern Delta town of the same name, no such similarity in meaning between the two names can be detected. However, it is possible that *Pr-ḥd* “storage room” is an Egyptian pseudo-etymology of “Pelusion” based on a phonetic similarity (remember the tendency of the Fayumic dialect to pronounce /r/ as /l/), and perhaps also an allusion to one of the Egyptian names of Pelusion, *Swnw*, which translates as “emporium”.

The cultic activities of the *lesonis* of the chapel of Isis Nephremmis at *T3-3te.t* also include care for “the house of Stothoetis the god”, another deified person who, like the aforementioned Satabus and Harpagathes at Dionysias, also had a heavy influence on naming practices at Soknopaiou Nesos. And of course, Panephremmis “The one of (Isis) Nephremmis” is another of the typical Soknopaiou Nesos names.

The accessory tasks of the *lesonis* of *T3-3te.t* are even more varied than those of the *lesonis* of Pa-ha-en-Iset. He leases out the altar of Isis Nephremmis at Neilupolis and also the house of a *nomographos* (probably also at Neilupolis, since *T3-3te.t*/Gynaikon Nesos seems not to have had much village infrastructures), and again the rent is capped at 25 deben. That probably means that this house of the *nomographos* was sometimes leased out by the *lesonis* of Pa-ha-

<sup>51</sup> SPP XXII 184 = SB XVI 12685 (139 CE).

<sup>52</sup> P.Dime II 54 (pBerlin P. 15505). The toponym (ll. 6 and 9) had been read *T3-mzyn* by K.-Th. Zauzich, “Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden II”, *Enchoria* 2 (1972), 65, and we proposed *T3-iwe.t(?)* in our re-edition in *Demotische Dokumente aus Dime II. Quittungen*, 185. However, comparison with other attestations shows that *T3-iwꜥ(.t)* or *T3-3ꜥ(.t)* should be read.

<sup>53</sup> pBerlin P. 15654 (late 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE); pVienna D 4854 + 4855 + 4856 + 4857 + 4861 + 4864 + 4866 + 4867 + 6011 + 6110 (late 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE); pVienna D 6054 + 6055 + 6874 + 6078 (1<sup>st</sup> half 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE);

<sup>54</sup> BGU III 916 (69–79 CE).

<sup>55</sup> .....

<sup>56</sup> M. Rebenitsch, “Notes on the Maps Fayyum Blue Moeris at End of Volume” in: C. E. Römer (ed.), *News from Texts and Archaeology. Acts of the 7<sup>th</sup> International Fayoum Symposium 29 October – 3 November 2018 in Cairo and the Fayoum*, Wiesbaden, 2020, 194.

en-Iset and sometimes by the *lesonis* of *T3-3te.t*. Both of these had, as we have seen, the task to lease out the altars of “their” respective goddesses at Neilupolis, so the responsibility for house of the *nomographos* might have switched annually from one to the other.

The *lesonis* of *T3-3te.t* also collected the professional tax of the “shipmasters of *T3-3te.t*” (*n3 ˆ n-mr.w T3-3te.t*). These were, like the “shipmasters of Soknopaiou Nesos”, responsible for running a ferry service and transporting goods between Soknopaiou Nesos and temple properties on the other side of the Fayum lake. The *lesonis* of *T3-3te.t* had to have boats built and steering oars produced for them, and he is also involved in wood trade: the agreements explicitly mention olive, acacia and tamarisk wood, and he has to deliver specified quantities to the temple of Soknopaios – it is therefore likely that there were groves in the vicinity of *T3-3te.t* which could be used for this purpose. Finally, he is the only one allowed to sell wine at *T3-3te.t*, so perhaps there were vineyards on the hill of *T3-3te.t*.

A third branch sanctuary with its own *lesoneis* was a temple of Harpsenesis: it is never labelled through a toponym, but always simply by the theonym. It seems most likely that it was also at *T3-3te.t*/Gynaikon Nesos or in its close vicinity: there is an early Roman agreement for the *lesonis* of Isis Nephremmis, Harpsenesis and Stothoetis, which at that period seems to have been a single post, and in the later Roman agreements for the *lesonis* of Ta-atet, Harpsenesis is still occasionally mentioned.<sup>57</sup> Two Greek inventory rolls kept at the Soknopaios temple even mention that in the branch sanctuary of Gynaikon Nesos, there was, besides the *naos* for Isis Nephremmis, also a wooden *naos* for Harpokrates<sup>58</sup>, and a Greek account lists grain for the purificatory meals of the priests of Soknopaios who participated in the festival processions of Isis Nephremmis and Harpsenesis at Gynaikon Nesos (κω[μασίας] ἐν Νήσῳ Γυναικῶν <sup>(94)</sup> λε[γομένη] Ἰσιδος Νεφρέμιδος καὶ Ἀρποκράτου <sup>(95)</sup> θεῶν μ[ε]γίστων)<sup>59</sup>. A clue to the location of Gynaikon Nesos and the temple of Harpsenesis lies in the fact that the main extra-cultic activity of the *lesonis* of Harpsenesis is the supervision of oil production and oil trade to which we will come back more in detail later: Greek texts mention a toponym Psenarpsenesis or Psinarpsenesis<sup>60</sup> in the Herakleidou meris which is quite often connected with olive groves. This Psenharpsenesis was not a village<sup>61</sup>, but rather a region<sup>62</sup> – the toponym is generally used in the phrase “the plain (*pedion*) of Psenharpsenesis”<sup>63</sup>, and this plain was cultivated with wheat, date palms and especially olive trees<sup>64</sup>. Several *topoi* are mentioned within this region, but documents concerning

<sup>57</sup> E.g. in pVienna D 6054 + 6055 + 6874 + 6078, l. x+6, x+10.

<sup>58</sup> P.David 1 = SB X 10281, col. 2, l. 7 (138–161 CE).

<sup>59</sup> SPP XXII 183, l. 93–96 (138 CE?); P.Louvre I 4, col. 3 l. 74–76 (before 166 CE) is restored after this passage.

<sup>60</sup> Only in P.Petrie III 104 (244/3 BCE).

<sup>61</sup> E. A. Selim, “Where was Psenharpsenêsis”, *ICDS XXVII.3*, 1980, thus corrects the two instances where editors had once wrongly restored *kômê* in a lacuna before Psenharpsenesis and once wrongly restored Psenharpsenesis instead of Karanis after *kômê*.

<sup>62</sup> Selim, *ICDS XXVII.3*, 1973.

<sup>63</sup> Selim, *ICDS XXVII.3*, **passim**. Cf. BGU I 282 (175–181 CE), BGU II 558 (201–225 CE), BGU XIII 2341 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE), Chr.Wilck. 364 (169–171 CE), P.Alex.Giss. 6 (2<sup>nd</sup> half 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE), P.Gen. III 145 (206 CE), P.Mich. Mchl 11 (180–210 CE); SP XXII 15779 (98–100 CE) mentions special “watchmen of the plain”.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Selim, *ICDS XXVII.3*, 1974–1975. Texts mentioning olive groves on the territory of Psenharpsenesis: P. Mich. IX 539 (53 CE), P. Mich. IX 540 (53 CE), BGU II 379 (67 CE), SB XXII 15346 (88–89 CE), P.Mich. IX 554 (93 CE), BGU II 444 (98–117 CE), SB XIV 12022 (100 CE), P.Lond. II 151 = BASP 55, p. 224–227 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE), P.Prag. II 171 (106–117 CE), P.Corn. 7 (126 CE), BGU II 657 (151–200 CE), P.Lond. II 168

Psenharpsestis are generally written in Karanis<sup>65</sup>, with which it also shared the police force<sup>66</sup>. Moreover, the “priest of Harpokrates” with the typical soknopaiounesiotic name Phanomgeus, son of Phanomgeus (i.e. *Pa-n3-m3y.wt*, son of *Pa-n3-m3y.wt*) who appears in several tax accounts from Karanis as paying the *epistatikon hierēōn*<sup>67</sup> might well be the *lesonis* of the Harpsestis temple mentioned in the documentation from Soknopaiou Nesos. As said before, the territory of Psenharpsestis must have bordered the territory of Karanis, presumably on the north<sup>68</sup>, but we do not know how far this plain stretched east, south and west<sup>69</sup>. While it has been proposed that the element Pse-/Psi- of Psenharpsestis means “the sand” (*p3 š*)<sup>70</sup>, and that the Harpsestis in question was an individual who had land there, it is phonetically more convincing that this initial element Pse-/Psi- is in fact *P3-šy*- “the lake”<sup>71</sup>. Now, a body of water called *mikra limne*, or “small lake” existed once in the Herakleidou meris: when the water level of the Fayum lake fell after the New Kingdom, it had split off from the main lake. It is only attested in Greek texts of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE<sup>72</sup> and had disappeared by the Roman period, when the water level fell another 40 meters<sup>73</sup>. Geomorphological modelisation suggests that in its latest stage, the *mikra limne* had retracted to the south of the prominent elongated ridge to the west of Tama(u)is/Tamiya<sup>74</sup>. But since this toponym<sup>75</sup> can certainly be

(162 CE), SB XXIV 16252 (163 CE), Chr. Wilck. 364 (ca. 169–171 CE), SB IV 7379 (177 CE), P.Mich.Mchl. 11 (180–210 CE), BGU I 282 (175–180 CE), BGU II 558 (201–225 CE), P.Gen. III 145 (206 CE). The tax receipts for Petheus, son of Phaesis on P.Mich. VI 383 (107–109 CE), l. 26–27 and 34–35 mention his “garden land of Psenharpsestis” and immediately afterwards the tax for transporting olives.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. P.Corn. 7 (126 CE) or Chr. Wilck. 364 (ca. 169–171 CE).

<sup>66</sup> Selim, *ICDS XXVII.3*, 1975.

<sup>67</sup> W. J. R. RübSam, *Götter und Kulte in Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn 1974), 98–99 and n. 4: P.Mich. 223, l. 1467 (171/2 CE), P.Mich. 224 l. 802 (172/3 CE) and P.Mich. 225 l. 1135 (173/4 CE).

<sup>68</sup> Selim, *ICDS XXVII.3*, 1976. Joint mention of Karanis and Psenharpsestis e.g. in P.Lond II 151 = *BASP* 55, p. 224–227 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE) *περ<ι> Καρανίδα καὶ (5) Ψεναρψενήσιν* „in the vicinity of Karanis and Psenharpsestis“; P.Mich.Mchl. 11 (ditto, phrased as *περὶ πε[δ]ίον Ψε(5)ναρ[ψ]ενησιν κώμης Καρα(6)νίδος* „in the plain of Psenharpsestis of the village Karanis“), P.Alex.Giss. 6 (2<sup>nd</sup> half 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE): *περὶ κώ(μην) (6) [Καρα]νίδα πεδί[ο]ν Ψεναρψε(7)[νήσε]ως*. “near the village Karanis, of the plain of Psenharpsestis”. Proximity is also implied in P.Mich. IX 554 (93 CE) in which an inheritance consisting of property in Karanis and Psenharpsestis is divided.

<sup>69</sup> Selim suggests on the basis of the *penthemeros* certificate P.Grenf. II 53g for work *ἐν χώμ(ατι) (4) Ψε( ) Φιλαδελ( )*, which he understands as ‘on the dike of Pse(nharpsestis) and Philadel(phia)’, that the two places should have been connected by a dike and canal, which he supposes to be the Bahr Wardan, i.e. the early Ptolemaic canal following the desert edge around the eastern and northern border of the Herakleidou meris. However, as G. Claytor, “Penthemeros Certificates of the Granary C123, Karanis”, *BASP* 50 (2013) 55, note to l. 2 [49–75], points out, the extension of the abbreviation Ψε( ) as “Psenharpsestis” is by no means obligatory, as there are the dikes of Psenalitis and Psenonnophris attested in this region (cf. also *op.cit.*, 59–60).

<sup>70</sup> Selim, *ICDS XXVII.3*, 1974, n. 7. Given the unsatisfactory phonetics (Demotic *š* ‘“sand” > Coptic *ϣω*, *ϣοϣ*, cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, 549b; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1965/1977, 302) it is hard to believe that this etymology was really suggested to him by Willy Clarysse, as he claims.

<sup>71</sup> *šy* “lake” > Coptic *ϣη*, *ϣει* “pit, cistern” (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 547b; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 306). So already proposed by *Trismegistos Places* <<https://www.trismegistos.org/geo/>>, GEO\_Id 1955.

<sup>72</sup> TM\_GeoID 1256. Cf. also Van’t Dack, *Studia Hellenistica* 7, 1951, p. 46; P. L. Bat. 20, 1980, p. 268 [da komme ich im Augenblick nicht dran].

<sup>73</sup> D. Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l’eau du Nil dans l’Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine*. PdÄ 8, Leiden, 1993, 53. Cf. also H. Geremek, *Karanis, une communauté rurale de l’Égypte Romaine au II<sup>e</sup>–III<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère*. *Archiwum Filologiczne* 17. Wrocław, 1969, 50.

<sup>74</sup> Rebutisch, in: *News from Texts and Archaeology*, map 3.

<sup>75</sup> TM GEO\_Id 2238.

identified with demotic *T3-mzy.t*, “The Island”, a toponym frequently occurring in the *hnw*-agreements for the *lesonis* of *T3-zte.t*<sup>76</sup>, it is obvious that earlier on, this lake must have extended north, around this ridge and Tamauis/Tamiya, and the ridge itself is a very obvious candidate for *T3-zte.t* “the mountain back” alias Gynaikon Nesos “the island of the women”, where the above-mentioned chapel of Isis Nephremmis was situated, and quite likely the sanctuary of Harpsenesis as well. Thus, it seems plausible to propose that the plain of Psenharpsenesis – “the lake of Harpsenesis” (*P3-šy-Hr-p3-šr-n-Is.t*) – took its name from this former lake, in the middle of which was a sanctuary of Harpsenesis, and which by slowly shrinking towards the south, had left behind a fertile agricultural plain in the north.

As mentioned earlier, the main non-cultic activity of the *lesonis* of Harpsenesis was the supervision of oil production and oil trade in this region. He kept the official oil measure and collected the professional fees – in oil for the oil producers and in money, at 4 obols per log oil, from the oil sellers<sup>77</sup>. He was allowed or even encouraged to exercise these activities himself, as some of the agreements show, but obviously should not neglect his priestly service in the temple of Harpsenesis: he still has to burn incense there each day. Part of the oil he produced and what he levied from the other oil mills<sup>78</sup> was sent to the Soknopaios temple for the illumination there – if the *lesonis* of Harpsenesis failed to do so, he had to pay one silver kite per day<sup>79</sup>.

As mentioned above, the “small lake” no longer existed in the Roman period, but there was still a canal, which might be the “canal of Tared” (*t3 hny.t Ta-rd*) that appears once in a very fragmentary *hnw* agreement<sup>80</sup> which does not help us locating it. However, it is also mentioned in a Greek lease offer<sup>81</sup> for an oil radish field<sup>82</sup> in the plain of Psenharpsenesis as διῶρυξ Ταραιτις λεγομένη “the canal called Taraitis”. Therefore it might have been on this canal that the “shipmasters of *T3-zte.t*”, which had to pay their dues to the *lesonis* of *T3-zte.t*, were active, although they might also have crossed the Fayum lake in order to reach Soknopaiou Nesos.

### **Conclusion [könnte man wohl etwas kürzen, denn die Wiederholungen sind bei einem Aufsatz als Erinnerungsstütze ja nicht nötig]:**

Taking together the various Demotic sources from the temple book keeping has allowed us to retrace the different steps of accounting, such as the inclusion of virtual expenses, perhaps as a means to reduce the surplus of income that had to be paid to the tax authorities, although much is still to be learned from the many meters of papyrus rolls that are currently being studied. Comparisons between Demotic and Greek sources has helped us locate the two main

<sup>76</sup> At first, we had taken the toponym *T3-mzy.t* as an abbreviation of *T3-mzy.t-Sbk-nb-Pay*, Soknopaiou Nesos (cf. S. Lippert/M. Schentuleit, *Demotische Dokument aus Dime III. Urkunden*, Wiesbaden, 2010, 405, commentary to pVienna D 10085 = P.Dime III 36, DT 1. 1), but it would indeed be strange that in the agreements, this abbreviation was only used in texts also mentioning *T3-zte.t*.

<sup>77</sup> An unpublished account, pBerlin P. 15579 rto, is labelled “Year 5. The account of oil from *T3-zte.t*” and then listed at least 21 persons who each gave half a ššw-jar of oil.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. the agreement pVienna D 4854 + 4855 + 4856 + 4857 + 4861 + 4864 + 4866 + 4867 + 6011 + 6110, col. 2, l. 34–35: each oil producing priest had to give him 15 log oil for the illumination before Soknopaios.

<sup>79</sup> pVienna D 4854 + 4855 + 4856 + 4857 + 4861 + 4864 + 4866 + 4867 + 6011 + 6110, col. 2, l. 9–10.

<sup>80</sup> pBerlin P. 15661+15666 (col. 2, l. 4): agreement for the transport of wheat from temple domain land to Soknopaiou Nesos by boat.

<sup>81</sup> BGU XI 2123, l. 11.

<sup>82</sup> For the interpretation of *lachanospermon* as oil radish seed, instead of sesame, see Lippert/Schentuleit, in: *One Who Loves Knowledge* (forthcoming).

branch sanctuaries, Pa-ha-en-Iset at Dionysias and the sanctuary of Isis Nephremmis at *T3-3te.t* alias Gynaikon Nesos: their convenient situation at the western and eastern end of the Fayum lake probably prompted the priesthood to saddle their *lesoneis* with administrative tasks and thus make these places anchor points for the economic network of the Soknopaios temple.

The *hnw* agreements also show that over time, such arrangements could change. We have seen that at some point, the *lesonis* of Pa-ha-en-Isis-Nepheres at Dionysias was allowed to lease out the altar of Isis Nepheres and the “room of the lionesses”, but later he was expressly forbidden to do so, as this now fell to the *lemeisa* and elders of the priests, i.e. was organised directly by the Soknopaios temple. Another example is the creation of a separate office of *lesonis* of Harpsenesis, who took over the administration of everything oil-related, at some point in the 1<sup>st</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, while in an agreement from the beginning of the Roman period, the offices of *lesonis* of the chapel of Isis Nephremmis at *T3-3te.t*/Gynaikon Nesos and of *lesonis* of Harpsenesis were joint into a single function<sup>83</sup>.

This is of course still a very preliminary assessment. It will take more time, and intensive study of the hundreds of fragments of *hnw* agreements and accounts, to get to the point where we can draw a complete picture of the temple administration of Soknopaiou Nesos not only at a given moment in time, but also in its chronological development.

[Wo fügen wir am besten unsere Karte ein?]

<sup>83</sup> pWien D 6054 + 6055 + 6874 + 6078 text A, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (year 22 of Tiberius? = 35/36 CE).