

Dealing about Wheeling in Augustan Thebes A Demotic Lease of a Cart (O.Ashm.Dem. 28)*

Introduction

Demotic Ostrakon Ashmolean Museum no. 28 (hereafter: O.Ashm.Dem. 28) is an early Roman-period pottery sherd from the Thebaid. It records a lease of a transport cart for hauling a harvest.¹ Similar pieces are rare. There are only a few Demotic texts that concern the conveyance of mobile property in any form, not including animals or bridal gifts.² The Greek and Coptic documentation relating to similar transactions is also sporadic. To this date, there are only two published texts, which are comparable to O.Ashm.Dem. 28, that is, well-preserved deeds providing a detailed description of a vehicle as well as regulations for the transaction. Both these documents stem from Aphrodito but are not related to each other directly. The first papyrus is a Greek Late-Antique lease of a transport cart from the famous Dioskoros Archive (*P.Cair.Masp.* III

* I would like to thank Liam McNamara for allowing me to publish O.Ashm.Dem. 28; Edward Love for taking photographs; Friedhelm Hoffmann, Joachim F. Quack, Mark Smith, and Karl-Theodor Zauzich for improving and commenting on my first readings; John Baines for discussing with me various aspects of wheeled transport in ancient Egypt; and Michael Zellmann-Rohrer for improving my English. Any shortcomings and misunderstandings are my responsibility alone.

¹ Discussions of ancient Egyptian wheeled vehicles in general and in religious processions include: W. DECKER, 'Der Wagen im alten Ägypten', in W. TREUE (ed.), *Achse, Rad und Wagen—Fünftausend Jahre Kultur- und Technikgeschichte*, Göttingen 1986, 35-59; K.H. DITTMANN, 'Der Segelwagen von Medinet Mâdi', *MDAIK* 10 (1940), 60-78; W. HELCK, 'Rad', *LÄ* V, 76-78; L. KAKOSY, 'Bark and Chariot', *Stud.Aeg.* 3 (1977), 57-65; H. KÖPP-JUNK, 'Das Rad im Alten Ägypten, (k)eine Erfolgsgeschichte? Wagen und ihre Entwicklungsgeschichte seit dem Alten Reich', *Sokar* 17 (2008), 44-53; *ead.*, 'Desert Travel and Transport in Ancient Egypt—An Overview Based on Epigraphic, Pictorial, and Archaeological Evidence', in F. FÖRSTER – H. REIMER (eds), *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond* (Africa Praehistorica 27), Cologne 2013, 112-113; *ead.*, *Reisen im Alten Ägypten—Reisekultur, Fortbewegung und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit*, (GOF IV 55), Wiesbaden 2015, 132-160; *ead.*, 'Wagons and Carts and their Significance in Ancient Egypt', *JAEl* 9 (2016), 14-58; A.B. LLOYD, *Herodotus—Book II—Commentary 1-98* (EPRO 43), Leiden 1976, 1:286; V. RAZANAJO, 'La stèle de Gemenehorbak (Caire JE 85932)—Dieux, fêtes et rites osiriens à Imet', *BIFAO* 106 (2006), 232; D.B. REDFORD, *The Akhenaten Temple Project—Rwd-Mnw and Inscriptions* (ATP 1), Toronto 1988, 10 and pl. 31 (all contain further refs.). Recently a book relevant for the discussion on wagons has been published which covers many important aspects of this phenomenon: A.J. VELDEMEIJER – S. IKRAM (eds), *Chasing Chariots—Proceedings of the first international chariot conference (Cairo 2012)*, Leiden 2013.

² E.g. *P.Dime* III 35. See also S.L. LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (EQÄ 5), Berlin 2008, 91.

67303) dating to the 6th cent. AD.³ The second one is a Coptic sale of a threshing cart (*P.Copt.Vat.Dor.* 1) from the 7th cent. AD.⁴

A third document important for the study of ancient wagons in Egypt is a Graeco-Coptic wordlist, *P.Rain.Unterricht.Kopt.* 256 (= *P.Lond.* V 1821),⁵ which belongs to the Dioskoros archive already mentioned. It contains a catalogue of terminology relating to different kinds of agricultural and technical implements, among which there are some specifying various wagon parts (see below).

Earlier texts from Egypt detailing wheeled vehicles mostly concern chariots. This material consists mainly of New Kingdom literary sources and the most famous examples are some of the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*⁶ and the so-called *Hymn to the King's Chariot*.⁷

That conveyances of this sort are rarely attested in contracts and similar texts does not necessarily reflect a particular scarcity of wagons or carts in Ancient Egypt. There are many documents from the Graeco-Roman period that relate to such vehicles. They are mentioned in, for instance, tax receipts (τέλος ἀμάξης)⁸ or texts concerning overland transport of goods and agricultural products. Nevertheless, these documents, for the most

³ J. MASPERO, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine* III (CGC nos. 67279—67359), Cairo 1916, 73-75.

⁴ H. FÖRSTER – F. MITTHOF, 'Ein koptischer Kaufvertrag über Anteile an einem Wagen—Edition von *P.Vat.Copt.Doresse* 1', *Aegyptus* 84 (2004), 217-242; H. FÖRSTER, 'Nachtrag zur Edition von *P.Vat.Copt.Doresse* 1', *Aegyptus* 86 (2006), 195-196. The whole text is also found in translation in L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Legal Documents—Law as Vernacular Text and Experience in Late Antique Egypt* (ASMAR 32), Turnhout 2009, 26-28. The author does not consider the corrections of FÖRSTER, *Aegyptus* 86, 195-196. See n. 52 below.

⁵ M. HASITZKA, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht* (MPER N.S. 18), Vienna 1990, 181-190; ed.princ. H.I. Bell – W.E. Crum, 'A Greek-Coptic Glossary', *Aegyptus* 6 (1925), 177-226. The list is also discussed by FÖRSTER AND MITTHOF, *Aegyptus* 84, 226-228. Corrections to the text not included in the works mentioned above are provided by J. OSING, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, Mainz am Rhein 1976, 736-737 n. 890.

⁶ R.A. CAMINOS, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (BEStud. 1), London 1954; A.H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Bi.Ae. 7), Brussels 1937; T. SCHNEIDER, 'Fremdwörter in der ägyptischen Militärsprache des Neuen Reiches und ein Bravourstück des Elitsoldaten (Papyrus Anastasi 1 23, 2-7)', *JSSEA* 35 (2008), 181-205.

⁷ See C. MANASSA, 'The Chariot that Plunders Foreign Lands—"The Hymn to the King's Chariot"', in VELDMEIJER – IKRAM (eds), *Chasing Chariots*, 143-156 (with further refs). Particular wagon parts in the Late Antique papyri are discussed by, for instance, R. BAGNALL, 'The Camel, the Wagon and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt', *BASP* 22 (1986), 2.

⁸ E.g. C. ADAMS, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt—A Study of Economics and Administration of a Roman Province*, Oxford 2007, 65 and 68-69; S.L. WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princ.Stud.Pap. 2), London – Oxford 1938, 206, 281, 301, and 441; U. WILCKEN, *Griechische Ostraca aus Ägypten und Nubien*, Leipzig 1899, 1:145-146.

part, merely mention the existence of wagons and only rarely provide information on their technical features.⁹

The paucity of texts detailing wagons from ancient Egypt obstructs the full interpretation of O.Ashm.Dem. 28. The understanding of the technical terminology relating to carriages, both in Pharaonic and later sources, is particularly impaired by the rarity of relevant sources (see above).¹⁰ The present piece does not shed much new light on the already known wagon lexicon but, in fact, adds a number of *hapaxes*. Yet O.Ashm.Dem. 28 offers several novel insights into the Roman-period transportation business at Thebes and increases our understanding of wagons in the Egyptian countryside in the reign of the Caesars.

Preliminaries

W.M.F. Petrie bought the ostrakon in Egypt., presumably in Luxor, in the late 19th cent. He subsequently gave it to F.Ll. Griffith, who bequeathed it to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford together with several other ostraca from the same source in 1890. This particular piece was registered as no. 307.1890. The reverse of the ostrakon also bears a pencil notation, which attributes it to Karnak. The provenance of the piece, the Theban East Bank, seems to be confirmed by internal evidence as well, although there might be a connection to the West Bank (see below).

The ostrakon is inscribed on both the obverse (convex) and reverse (concave) sides, and seems to have been written with a blunt *kalamos*. The obverse side has 12 lines and is written relatively compactly whereas the script on the reverse, which only has 7 lines, is less dense. In general, the ink is well preserved with only a few abrasions. Only one word in line 11 obv. is marginally damaged. The writing on the last lines on the obverse side is, however, slightly smudged. It is possible that the scribe smeared out the still wet ink with his hand while writing the reverse side.

The scribe seems to have been skilled and executed his writing carefully. Nevertheless, it may be noted that there are some orthographic idiosyncrasies. A peculiarity is that he wrote *l* where one expects *r* in an Upper Egyptian text (e.g., *hlš.t* for *hrš.t* in l. 3 rev.). The writing therefore resembles the one expected from a Fayumic context. Why a scribe with a typical Upper Egyptian name (Teos, son of Peteamenophis), who probably also spoke a Theban Upper Egyptian dialect, engaged in such a practice is elusive. He could clearly distinguish between *l* and *r*, and therefore the lambdacisms cannot be explained in terms of an orthographic confusion between the signs.

⁹ A rare exception is *O.Claud.* IV 871, which mentions a wagon with 12 wheels, although we are not informed about any further particulars, see A. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN, *Mons Claudianus—Ostraca Graeca et Latina IV—The Quarry Texts (O.Claud. 632-896)* (DFIFAO 47), Cairo 2009, 205-206; *id.*, 'Communication, Travel and Transportation in Egypt's Eastern Desert During Roman Times (1st to 3rd Century AD)', in FÖRSTER – REIMER (eds), *Desert Road Archaeology*, 567-570.

¹⁰ See n. 7 above for refs. to literature discussing wagon parts.

O.Ashm.Dem. 28

Provenance: Thebes (Karnak) — Date: March 14, 7 BC

Measurements: 10 cm (h) - 13.5 (w) cm — Material: Pottery

Transcription

Obverse

1. P3-šr-Ḥpⁱ paⁱ P3-šr-Imn p3 nty dd n Ḥb^{cmi} <p>^{iv} 3 pa P3y-k3
2. tw=k n=y t̄y=k kl̄β.t^v r t̄y=s nḥb3.t^{vi} iw=s ir qte^{vii} 2
3. p3y=s mtr^{viii} t̄y=s im3.t^{ix} t̄y=s 3 ḥr(.t)-ib3.t^x (?) p3y=s cm^cme^{xi}
4. n3y=s ql3.wt n3y=s ḥt.w n t̄bl^{xii} n3y=s d̄β̄β.w^{xiii} n3y=s
5. ttwe.w^{xiv} sbte nb n kl̄β.t^{xv} mtw=y di.t^{xvi} n=k ḥr t̄y=s nḥb3.t
6. rtb n sw 7 r 3½ r rtb n sw 7 cⁿxvii tny m^cd.t 12½ r p3 rtb^{xviii}
7. n t̄ m^cd.t n Ta-p3-wr ta P3y-k3^{xix} pa Ḥtbw^{xx} iw=w w^cb iw^t sn.w^{xxi} stḥ
8. iw=w βy.w iw=w sw^t iw bn- iw=y rḥ di.t-s r b3k^{xxii} iw
9. bn-iw=y rḥ di.t mḥ g3e rmt r-r^sxxiii iw bn- iw=y rḥ di.t ir=s
10. hb^{xxiv} m-s^{xxv} t̄^{xxvi} ip.t wy^cxxvii n^{xxviii} t̄ s^cleβ̄=s^{xxix}
11. t̄^βxxx ip.t n qte^{xxxi} nty^{xxxii} ḥpr mtw Ḥb^cxxiii di.t
12. w3ḥ=s^{xxxiv}

Reverse

1. p3 sp nty ws^fxxxv n.im=s^sxxxvi mtw P3-šr-Ḥp di.t-s^{xxxvii}
2. ḥ^c=f^fxxxviii p3 tḥ^{xxxix} nty g^tpe^{xl} ḥ^c=f mtw=y di.t^{xli}
3. t̄y=f^{xl} ḥl̄š.t^{xlii} p3 nty s^rm^{xliii} mtw=y di.t w^c.t̄=f^{xliv}
4. mtw=y ir hb^{xlvi} ḥr t̄ ḥ3s.t^{xlvii} n-t̄y-n ḥsb.t 23.t
5. ibd 4 pr.t sw 1^{xlviii} ḡc-tw=y 9 t̄y(=y) ip.t we^cxlix
6. sh n ḥsb.t 23.t n (Qysrs)^c.w.s. ibd-3 pr.t sw 18ⁱ
7. sh Dd-ḥr pa P3-di-Imn-ipy r ḥrw n p3 s 2ⁱ

Translation

Obverse Side

|⁽¹⁾Psenapis, son of Psenamounis, is the one who speaks to Abos <(the) elder, son of Pikos: |⁽²⁾You have given to me your wagon for its harnessing, while it has two wheels, |⁽³⁾its pole, its floor⁽²⁾, its 3 middle parts, its (wagon) box⁽²⁾, |⁽⁴⁾its bolts, its body wood, its capitals, its |⁽⁵⁾mountings⁽²⁾, (and) every piece of wagon equipment. I shall give to you for its harnessing |⁽⁶⁾7 artabas of wheat, (its half) makes 3½ (artabas of wheat), still making 7 artabas of wheat at the rate of 12½ *medja*-measures to the artaba |⁽⁷⁾with the *medja*-measure of Tapoeris, daughter of Pikos, son of Satabous, being pure and without adulteration and chaff, |⁽⁸⁾while it is carried and delivered, and I will not

be able to give it (the cart) away for a charge, ⁽⁹⁾I will not be able to allow another man to take possession of it, and I will not be able to cause it to carry out (any) ⁽¹⁰⁾work besides the farm labour of the collection (of the harvest). ⁽¹¹⁾(As for) the (other) driving (lit. wheel work), which happens, Abos may cause ⁽¹²⁾it to stop.



Reverse Side

⁽¹⁾The remainder which gets spoiled through it, Psenapis shall replace (lit. give) it ⁽²⁾himself. The *tlh*, which gets lost on its part, I shall replace ⁽³⁾its damage. That which is lost, I shall replace it alone ⁽⁴⁾and I shall work in the outer region from regnal year 23, ⁽⁵⁾month 4 of the Winter Season (Pharmuti), day 1, until I have finished my farm labour’.




⁽⁶⁾Written in regnal year 23 of the Caesar, month 3 of the winter season (Pamenoth), day 18.

⁽⁷⁾Written by Teos, son of Peteamenophis, at the behest of the two men (aforementioned).


Textual Notes

i.  *P3-šr-Ḥp* : ‘Psenapis’ (cf. PREISIGKE, *NB*, 484). The name is not attested in *NB Dem.*, but cf. *T3-šr.t(n)-Ḥp* (*NB Dem.*, 1140). According to RANKE, *PN*, 1:119, a variant of the name with a genitival *n* (*P3-šr-n-Ḥp*) is attested on an Apis-stela in the Louvre (Apis stela 222). A similar but clearer writing of the same name of the same person  is found in l. 1 rev.




ii. The oblique stroke, usually transliterated as *s* ‘son of’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 402), should be read as *pa*, lit. ‘he of’ or as *ta* lit. ‘she of’ if following a feminine name (S.P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from many Publications (Short Texts II 278-1200)* [Stud.Dem. 9], Leuven 2012, 2:846-851 [§ 33]; cf. also Y. BROUX, ‘Ο τοῦ—An Alternative for the Greek Patronymic in Egypt’, *JJurPap.* 41 [2011], 57; W. CLARYSSE, ‘Filiation the Egyptian Way in Greek Documents’, *LingAeg.* 23 [2015], 277). The oblique stroke is also found after a feminine name in l. 7 obv. (see **xix** below).

iii. *Ḥb*ϑ, ‘Abos’ (*NB Dem.*, 779), appears to be written with two determinatives:  resembling the book-roll determinative  followed by the person determinative . A similar writing is found in the names *P3y-k3* ‘Pikos’ (*NB Dem.*, 442-443) on ll. 1 and 7 obv. But such writings are not unique; the *NB Dem.* provides other instances of these two names written with either one or both determinatives. It is possible therefore that we are not dealing with two distinct determinatives but with a doubling of the person determinative, that is, with Vleeming’s *Shape a* and *b* (VLEEMING, *Mummy Labels*, 2:821-826 [§ 15]). *Shape b* is found alone in the name *Ḥtbw* ‘Satabous’ in l. 7 obv. (see **xx** below) and *Dd-ḥr* ‘Teos’ (*NB Dem.*, 368-369) in l. 7 rev.

iv. For the emendation of the definite article *p3* before ϑ, ‘great/elder’, see ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 54; VLEEMING, *Mummy Labels*, 2:907-909 (§ 66).

v. *klβ.t*, ‘wagon, cart’ (*CDD* ϑ, 152), corresponds to Copt. ⲁⲘⲐⲗⲧⲈ (e.g., ČERNÝ, *Copt.Etym.*, 19; VYČIHL, *Dict.étym.*, 24; WESTENDORF, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch*, 19). The word is of Semitic origin and is attested from the New Kingdom in the following form  (*Wb.* I, 236.9). The vehicle designated with this term is often associated with the transport of


heavier goods (CRUM, *Dict.*, 26a-b; KRI VI, 14.10) and the Coptic term is frequently paralleled with the Greek ἄμαξα, ‘wagon’ (LSJ, 76), which is a common designation for a heavy duty transport wagon (ADAMS, *Land Transport*, 66-67; U. HOFMANN, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten* [PhD-thesis, Friedrich Wilhelms Universität], Bonn 1989, 8, 161, and 292; KÖPP-JUNK, *Reisen*, 156-157). The Greek word, however, has a wider range of meaning; it can refer to basically any kind of wheeled vehicle (cf. n. 30 below). J.E. HOCH, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton 1994, 83, recommends ‘[w]agon (drawn by oxen)’ as the proper translation for *ḳlβ.t* (cf. DITTMANN, *MDAIK* 10, 66), but our vehicle is a cart (see vii below) and not a four-wheeled wagon (see vii below). In the New Kingdom donkeys were also used for pulling carts (J.J. JANSSEN, *Donkeys at Deir el-Medīna* [EU 19], Leiden 2005, 74). The hitherto published Demotic attestations, *O.Tempeleide* 144; P.Heid.Dem. inv. 46, col. I.9 ro. (A. MONSON, ‘Landholders, Rents, and Crops in a Ptolemaic Village: P.Heid.Dem. inv. 46’, in A.M. DODSON – J.J. JOHNSTON – W. MONKHOUSE [eds], *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man—Studies in Honour of W.J. Tait*, London 2014, 229-240); P.Berl. 8043, col. IX.28 (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1902, 24) are ambiguous (see also J. JAY – F. SCALE, ‘Oriental Institute Demotic Ostraca Online (OIDOO)—Merging Text Publication and Research Tools’, in Y. BROUX – M. DEPAUW [eds], *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies* [OLA 231], Leuven 2014, 256). The attestations do not contradict Hoch’s interpretation, although they do not do much to confirm it either.

vi. The usually ‘t-shaped’  bottom part of the first ligature in *nḥb.t* , which is read as *nḥ*, is abnormally long and resembles the letter *b* (cf. the writing of the same word in l. 5 obv. and the letter *b*  in *tbl* in l. 4 obv. [see xii below]). It is probable that the scribe wrote the letter *b* instead of the ‘t-shaped’ sign because of phonetic anticipation; the group cannot represent another word since it follows the third pers. fem. poss. pron. *tyz̄s*.


The fem. word *nḥb.t* written with a flesh determinative is commonly rendered as ‘neck’ (ERICHCSEN, *Glossar*, 223), Copt. ΝΔϨΒ(ϵ) (Crum, *Dict.*, 243a-b), also meaning ‘shoulders, back’ (cf. D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Ostraca démotiques du musée du Louvre* [BdÉ 92], Cairo 1983, 1:41-42; B.P. MUHS, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* [OIP 126], Chicago 2005, 30; S.P. VLEEMING, *Ostraka Varia—Tax Receipts and Legal Documents on Demotic, Greek, and Greek-Demotic Ostraka, Chiefly of the Early Ptolemaic Period, from Various Collections* [Pap.Lugd.Bat. 26], Leiden 1994, 14-15). In the present context, one would expect ‘yoke’, but in Coptic this word, ΝΔϨΒ(ϵ), is masc. (CRUM, *Dict.*, 243a) and the same applies to earlier attestations of the word (*Wb.* II, 293.1-2). Thus, the same should be expected in Demotic. Nonetheless, B.P. MUHS, ‘Demotic Ostraca in Amsterdam’, *Enchoria* 30 (2006/2007), 57, suggests the existence of a feminine form of the word for ‘yoke’ in O.Amst.Dem. 4 (early Roman), although the collocation (*nḥb.t n gm*) could equally well be read as ‘neck of a calf’. Here it is possible that the locution is a feminine nominalised form of the verb *nḥb/NOYϨΒ* ‘yoke’ (*Wb.* II, 293.3-7; CRUM, *Dict.*, 243a); that is, *tyz̄s nḥb.t* means ‘its yoking/harnessing’.

vii. *qte* : ‘wheel’. Written with a wood determinative, the word is the Demotic equivalent of Copt. KOT ‘wheel’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 127a).¹¹ The phrase *iwꜣs ir qte 2* makes clear that the vehicle in question is a two-wheeled cart. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303, 13-14, also mentions a wagon that was equipped with two wheels (δύο τροχοί), thus also a cart.


viii. *mtr* : ‘stick, stave, rod (*vel sim.*)’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 184 and 192; E. EDEL, ‘*Pa-t-ḥ.t-rse* – ein fehlgedeuteter demotischer Personennamen – und weitere ähnlich gebildete Personennamen’, *Enchoria* 18 [1991], 179-180; M.A. STADLER, *Isis, Das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung—Neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 recto* [MPER N.S. 28], Vienna 2004, 114). In the present context, the word could be understood as designating different kinds of object. It is possible that it was a term for either the baton with which the driver could hustle the animal pulling the cart or it could be the (draught) pole. The last option is the most convincing solution; a ῥυμός, ‘pole (of a chariot or cart)’ (*LSJ*, 1576), is enumerated among the wagon parts in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303, 14.


There are, however, problems with this interpretation. Other words are used for this object elsewhere, both in Coptic texts and those antedating the Graeco-Roman period. In the New Kingdom, the pole of a wagon is often referred to as , lit. ‘arm’ (*Wb.* I, 159.3; CAMINOS, *LEM*, 98 and 217; HOFMANN, *Fuhrwesen*, 219-220; G. JÉQUIER, ‘Matériaux pour servir à l’établissement d’un dictionnaire d’archéologie égyptienne’, *BIFAO* 19 [1922], 2-3; A.R. SCHULMAN, ‘The So-Called Poem on the King’s Chariot Revisited’, *JSSEA* 16 [1986], 28).¹² Earlier texts use other words –probably of Semitic origin– for this part of the wagon (H. ALTENMÜLLER – A.M. MOUSSA, ‘Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis’, *SAK* 18 [1991], 14 n. 8; HOCH, *Semitic Words*, 164-165), whilst Coptic has the terms $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{Z}}\text{N}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 297b) and $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ (*ibid.*, 184a). The latter locution derives from the meaning ‘spear, javelin’, which indicates that words designating slender wooden objects could be used to describe the pole. Therefore, it is also probable that *mtr*, originally meaning ‘stick’ or ‘staff’, could be used for this part of the vehicle. If the suggested interpretation is correct, it implies


¹¹ Cf. *qrqr.t* ‘(mechanical) wheel’ written with the same determinative (A. JÖRDENS, *Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaïou Nesos* [Pap.Texte Abh. 43], Bonn 1998, 86; S.L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT, ‘Ein Webstuhl mit Zubehör—Die spätdemotische Urkunde P.Berlin P 23779+30009’, *SAK* 32 [2004], 294; K.-TH. ZAUZICH, ‘Schmähworte gegen eine Frau’, *Enchoria* 18 [1991], 141-142). It is possible that P.Leid. 384ro (= *Myth of the Sun’s Eye*) makes another reference to a wheel; there a passage (col. XVII.17) mentions a horse (*ḥtry*) qualified by the term *qtyꜣ.t*. The word is a *hapax*, but F. HOFFMANN – J.F. QUACK, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (EQÄ 4), Berlin 2007, 222, translate it as ‘circling’. The beast must according to the context be a working animal, and it is possible that the term *qtyꜣ.t* in fact refers to a saqiya-wheel *vel sim.*, that is, a ‘saqiya-horse’. I am grateful to Friedhelm Hoffmann for this reference.

¹² Also  (Wb. I, 173.2-6) has been associated with a pole, although this identification may be doubted (CAMINOS, *LEM*, 217; W.R. DAWSON – T.E. PEET, ‘The So-Called Poem to the King’s Chariot’, *JEA* 19 [1933], 172-173; W. GUGLIELMI, ‘Zu einigen literarischen Funktionen des Wortspieles’, in F. JUNGE (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Agyptens zu Ehren von Wolhart Westendorf*, Göttingen 1984, 1:495-496; Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen*, 220; JÉQUIER, *BIFAO* 19, 3 and 154-155; MANASSA, in VELDEMEIJER – IKRAM [eds], *Chasing Chariots*, 148; SCHULMAN, *JSSEA* 16, 19 n. 3).

that the cart would have been similar to a chariot, i.e. having one drawbar for a double yoke and been pulled by at least two draught animals. The same interpretation applies to the cart described in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303. It seems that wagons, or rather carts, from the Pharaonic period often had one pole instead of two shafts surrounding the beast pulling the vehicle.¹³

ix. The first sign in  can only be read as ʒ with an elongated tail (cf. O. EL-AGUIZY, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharka to the End of the Ptolemaic Period*, 684-30 B.C. [MIFAO 113], Cairo 1998, 13-16). ʒmʒ.t written with a wood determinative is a *hapax legomenon*. A tentative suggestion would be to take the locution as a cognate of the older *im* (*Wb.* I, 78.6), attested in the New Kingdom, which has been understood as the ‘floor’ of a chariot (SCHNEIDER, *JSSEA* 35, 187; SCHULMAN, *JSSEA* 16, 40). Yet a problem with this suggestion is that *im* is masculine. But Schneider proposed that the Egyptian word was related to the Semitic ‘*umm*, ‘mother’. If this is correct, the gender confusion might perhaps be explained. Nevertheless, this suggestion is nothing more than a conjecture.


x.  ʒ hr(.t)-ibʒ.t : ‘3 middle (parts)’. See Erichsen, *Glossar*, 321, for the writing of *hry-ib*, of which a feminine variant is attested with the meaning ‘middle’ (*ibid.*; H. BRUNSCH, ‘Die bilingue Stele des Moschion’, *Enchoria* 9 [1979], 9). What a ‘middle (part)’ designates more specifically remains obscure, however.

xi. The last and masc. word in l. 3 obv.  is written with a wood determinative. The two first signs can clearly be read as ʒm(ʒ), and the second group is a repetition of the first one, which renders: ʒmʒme, another *hapax*. A possible cognate word would be ʒmʒm ‘container’ (*Wb.* I, 186.7), attested in sources from the Middle Kingdom. If this identification is correct, the present word could either designate a kind of container or a chest on the wagon. Another possibility is that it refers to the wagon body or box; similar terms are used to describe this item elsewhere. The latter seems plausible considering that this object stands close to a related part (see xii below). A tentative proposal is therefore to translate ʒmʒme as ‘(wagon) box’.¹⁴

¹³ According to the *Pachomian Rule* no. 109 (TH. LEFORT, ‘La règle de S. Pachome (nouveaux documents)’, *Le Museon* 40 [1927], 38-39) it was forbidden for two monks to be simultaneously on the pole (ṀPHṀ) of a wagon or to sit together on a donkey not having a saddle: ṀNHṀPṀME ΔΔΕ [ΕΥ]ΕἰṀ ΕCṀBHṀ ΕΥṀCṀNΔΥ ΟΥΤΕ ṀPHṀ ṀΔΔΟΛΤΕ. This prohibition can be understood as indicating that wagoners occasionally sat or perhaps stood on the pole when driving; cf. THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu I—Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* (OIP 8), Chicago 1930, pls. 32 and 34 (middle), where the driver of an enemy ox-cart appears to stand between the vehicle and the draught animals. The artist probably tried to capture how the wagon driver stood on the pole while hustling it forward. If the pole had been a straight bar, this would have been difficult, however. But poles could be A-shaped, that is, having a broader base (the side attached to the vehicle), on which the driver could stand. See, however, KÖPP-JUNK, *JAEl* 9, 17 fig. 6.

¹⁴ Cf. with the older term for this wagon part ʒrq (*Wb.* I, 213.8-9), which has been interpreted as the ‘wagon box’ (GUGLIELMI, in JUNGE [ed.], *Studien*, 1:495-496; SCHULMAN, *JSSEA* 6, 29-30) even if there are other suggestions (HOFMANN, *Fuhrwesen*, 221).

xii. *tbl* written with a wood determinative is not found in Erichsen, *Glossar*, but STADLER, *Isis*, 136, discusses a similar lemma written with the linen determinative in P.Vindob. D 12006, col. IV.11ro. He understands the word as a predecessor of the Coptic ΤΒΗΛ, ‘fold (for sheep), enclosure, canopy’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 400b; VYICHL, *Dict.étym.*, 211; OSING, *Nominalbildung*, 735-737 n. 890).¹⁵ The locution most probably derives from an original meaning ‘wicker basket’,¹⁶ which may be compared to the translation ‘grid’ offered by WESTENDORF, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch*, 222. The term ΤΒΗΛ occurs in one of the sections translating various wagon paraphernalia in the Greek-Coptic glossary from the Dioskoros Archive *P.Rain.Unterricht.Kopt.* 256. It is there equated with the Greek locution κυρκαθός (γυργαθός), ‘(larger) wicker basket’ (*LSJ*, 364).¹⁷ The word is therefore used in a transferred sense, namely as a designation for a particular wagon part, most probably its body. Such a meaning would fit the present context well; *ht n tbl*, lit. ‘enclosure/wagon body wood’, could designate the planks that made up the body of the cart, which in a sense could be compared to an enclosure or a larger wicker basket. Whether the body of the cart was wooden or the planks constituted the frame on which the body was attached is not clear, however. But because the term *εmεme* (see xi above) could be interpreted as the cart’s body, perhaps the latter suggestion is palatable.¹⁸

¹⁵ R. JASNOW – K.-TH. ZAUZICH, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth—A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, Wiesbaden 2005, 108 and 293, discuss a similar word, also written as *tbl* but corresponding to the Copt. ΤΔΒΙΡ ‘sanctuary’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 400b), the older  (Wb. V, 439.4). The two examples are written with the cattle hobble determinative ꜥ (V19) (see n. 16 below) in one version (pl. 53) and the linen determinative in another (pl. 14). Because the word discussed by Jasnow and Zauzich appears in Fayumic texts, a lambdacism influencing the pronunciation of *r* must be considered. This makes it an unlikely candidate for *tbl* in the present context. In a Theban text, it would probably have been written as **tbr*. Yet it should not be forgotten that our scribe seems to have used *l* on occasion where one expects *r*.



¹⁶ ČERNÝ, *Copt.Etym.*, 182-183, explains the word as originating from *m(β)tb(β)l*, ‘basket, net’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 189), which he believes to have a Semitic origin. VYICHL, *Dict.étym.*, 211, argues along the same lines, but see H.J. THISEN, ‘Ein semitisches ghost word im Demotischen’, *GM* 200 (2004), 95-96. OSING, *Nominalbildung*, 736-737 n. 890, explains the word as deriving from *dbn* ‘(round) wooden case’ (Wb. V, 437.16), which occasionally could be written with the cattle hobble determinative ꜥ (V19). This determinative was often used for various words designating mats and baskets. This indicates that the *dbn* was made of wickerwork.

¹⁷ BELL – CRUM, *Aegyptus* 6, 188 and 202, understand the word incorrectly, taking it as a fem. variant of ΒΙΡ ‘basket’ (Crum, *Dict.*, 41b) written with the def. art. Τ-. In Demotic, a fem. form of the word *byr* ‘basket’ (cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 112), i.e. *bly(t)*, is attested (H. THOMPSON, in *Theban Ostraca ...* [University of Toronto Studies 1], London 1913, 64 n. 3; P. GALLO, *Ostraca demotici e ieratici dall’archivio bilingue di Narmouthis* (nn. 34-99) [QMM 3], Pisa 1997, 165 n. 135). Nevertheless, since ΤΒΗΛ is attested as a masc. word (ΠΕΤΤΒΗΛ) in *SB Kopt.* III 1436 (= *P.Lond.* IV 1631) in a context that also relates to wagons, the equation with ΒΙΡ seems erroneous (OSING, *Nominalbildung*, 736 n. 890).

¹⁸ Can *ht.w n tbl* be equated with ξυλινοβαστάκιον in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303, 15, which BAGNALL, *BASP* 22, 2, translates as ‘wooden wagon box’? The edition describes the part as: ‘le partie de voiture, fait de

It is also possible that the term *tbl* could have been used in a figurative sense, not necessarily denoting a wicker body or a frame. Although no clear evidence suggests that the present cart had such a body, many depictions of wagons and chariots in antiquity show this feature,¹⁹ similar to some of the depicted wagon hearses from the Graeco-Roman period (H. KOCKELMANN, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden, die Mumienbinden und Leinenamulette des memphitischen Priesters Hor* [SAT 12], Wiesbaden 2008, 1:185). This is the case in, for instance, the wagon hearses depicted on the coffin BM EA 10265 (*ibid.*, 1:5, pl. 15 and photo pl. 3); Turin 1870.1; Leiden T 17 (S. QUIRKE, ‘Two Books of the Dead of a Ptolemaic Psametek’, *OMRO* 79 [1999], 45, pl. 2 and 57, pl. 57), or the one illustrated in the tomb of Petosiris (G. LEFEBVRE, *Le tombeau de Petosiris III*, Cairo 1923-1924, pl. 30 and 34; N. CHERPION – J.P. CORTEGGIANI – J.F. GOUT, *Le Tombeau de Pétoisiris à Touna el-Gebel—Relevé photographique* [BiGen. 27], Cairo 2007, 134-135). See also KÖPP-JUNK, *JA EI* 9, 36.

xiii. A masculine word *ḏḏ* written with a wood determinative is not attested in any Egyptian dictionary. Yet, no doubt, the word is derived from *ḏḏ*, ‘head’ (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 673) and is here used in a transferred sense. The term designates some part of the cart of which there was more than one, since the word is written in plural. It is likely to be understood as ‘capital(s)’ or ‘top(s)’ (cf. *Wb.* V, 531.15).

xiv.  *ttwe.w*: ‘mountings’. The translation of the locution is uncertain. Being written in the plural form and followed by a wood determinative, it is a part of which there was more than one. The *Apis Embalming Ritual* (P.Vindob. 3873), col. IV.4, mentions two *ttwe* , written with a wood determinative. According to the text the two *ttwe* surround the coffin of the Apis Bull, which was resting on a vehicle used for the ritual transport of the animal to its tomb.²⁰ The editor understands the two *ttwe* as *ḏd*-pillars (R.L. VOS, *The Apis Embalming Ritual—P.Vindob. 3873* [OLA 50], Leuven 1993, 146), but it is possible that the word refers to ‘mountings’, which would fit the context in both instances. The word is possibly a Demotic forerunner of ΤΩΤΕ ‘border, fringe, mounting’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 439b; WESTENDORF, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch*, 250).

planches de bois, qui support le chargement’ (cf., however, FÖRSTER – MITTHOF, *Aegyptus* 84, 227). It might be added that the Greek expression is translated into Coptic in the papyrus; it is rendered with a masc. noun, *ḲΩM*, another *hapax legomenon* (MASPERO, *Papyrus grecs*, 74; CRUM, *Dict.*, 109a). Or can *περίρθος* ‘wicker basket, body of a cart’ (*LSJ*, 1355), which BAGNALL, *BASP* 22, 2, translates as ‘basket seat’ in connection with the wagon described in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303, be its equivalent? In *P.Rain.UnterrichtKopt.* 256, *περίρθος* is connected with the Coptic fem. noun *ḲHHE* ‘(wagon) body’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 689; Westendorf, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch*, 376), which derives from the older and masc. noun *hnw* ‘box, chest’ (cf. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 277; E. BROWARSKI, ‘Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests in the Old Kingdom’, in E. TEETER – J.A. LARSON [eds], *Gold of Praise—Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* [SAOC 58], Chicago 1999, 32-38). It is possible to understand one as the body (*περίρθος*), while the other (*ξύλινοβαστάκιον*) may be a wooden frame. See also n. 52 below.

¹⁹ See n. 29 below for depictions of chariots.

²⁰ I am grateful to Joachim F. Quack for this reference.

The vehicle described in *P.Vat.Copt.Dor.* 1 is equipped with what may be understood as ‘mountings’, though the term there is $\text{Ϝ}\text{P}\text{C}$ and only appears in the singular (Förster – Mitthof, *Aegyptus* 86, 228). MACCOULL, *Legal Documents*, 27 n. 9, suggests, however, that the word may designate some type of container.

Another option is that the word is related to $\text{T}\text{E}(\text{E})\text{T}\text{E}$ ‘haunch (vel sim.)’ (*CDD t*, 326; K.-TH. ZAUZICH, ‘Das demotische „Buch des Geckos“ und die Palmomantik des Melampus’, in V. LEPPER [ed.], *Forschungen in der Papyrussammlung—Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum* [ÄOP 1], Berlin 2012, 364), thus some rear parts of the wagon. Nevertheless, this solution appears to be less satisfactory.

xv. *sbtē nb n ḥklβ.t*, ‘(and) all the wagon equipment’, concludes the list of items contained in the lease of the cart. The phrase states that the lessee was entitled to all necessary gear belonging to the vehicle. Cf. *P.Copt.Vat.Dor.* 1, 18: ... $\text{M}\text{N}\ \text{T}\text{E}\text{C}\text{E}\text{Z}\text{A}\text{P}\text{T}\text{I}\text{A}\ \text{T}\text{H}\text{P}\text{C}\ \text{P}\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}\ \text{Θ}\text{E}\ \text{E}\text{C}\text{Ω}\ \text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}$: ‘... and all its equipment (ἑξαρτία) according to (πρός) how it is made’.

In the enumeration of wagon parts, one essential component seems to be missing, the axle. This component is mentioned in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303 (see n. 52 below) and is enumerated among the wagon paraphernalia in *P.Rain.Unterricht.Kopt.* 256. It was thus probably regarded as important.²¹ It is possible, however, that the piece was included in the *sbtē nb n ḥklβ.t*, unless *ḥmβ.t* (see **ix** above) or *ḥmḥme* (see **xi** above) have been misinterpreted above.


xvi. The obligations of the lessee are expressed with an independent conjunctive: *mtw=ʔy dī.t n=k ḥr tʔy=s nḥbβ.t*: ‘I shall give to you, because of its harnessing’ (cf. J. JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System* [SAOC 38], Chicago 1976, 188; O.Strasb.Dem.159 [S. VINSON, *The Nile Boatman at Work* [MÄS 48], Munich 1998, 176-177]; see **vi** [above] for *nḥbβ.t* ‘harnessing’).

xvii. For the payment formula, see K. SETHE – J. PARTSCH, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* (ASAW 32), Leipzig 1920, 21-22; F. NAETHER, ‘Weizen für den Tempel—Die Syntaxis-Quittung O.Lips.ÄMUL dem. 1418 („Ostrakon Ebers“), in L. POPKO – N. QUENOUILLE – M. RÜCKERT (eds), *Von Sklaven, Pächtern und Politikern—Beiträge zum Alltag in Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom* (ArchivBeih. 33), Berlin 2012, 188.

xviii. $12\frac{1}{2}\ mḥd.t$ to one artaba corresponds well with what is known about this measure in the Roman period (G. MATTHA, *Demotic Ostraca ...* [Publ.Soc.Foad. 6], Cairo 1945, 176 nn. 4-5; MUHS, *Enchoria* 30, 59; P.W. PESTMAN – J. QUAEGBEUR – R.L. VOS, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden 1977, 2:47 n. p; SETHE – PARTSCH, *Demotische Urkunden*, 185-186).

xix. A *mḥd.t*-measure attributed to another party is not uncommon, but it is not clear in all cases who the owners were (cf. SETHE – PARTSCH, *Demotische Urkunden*, 186). In the present instance, the holder of the measure is a woman named *Ta-pḥ-wr*, ‘Tapoeris’ (*NB Dem.*, 1178). She appears in at least three other texts from the Theban East Bank: *O.Mattha* 273; *O.BM EA* 25378;

²¹ The axle is usually called $\text{T}\text{Ω}\text{P}\text{E}$ lit. ‘hand’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 425a) in Coptic. In *P.Rain.Unterricht.Kopt.* 256, the term is equated with the Greek ἄξων ‘axle’ (*LSJ*, 172; BELL – CRUM, *Aegyptus* 6, 208). Another Coptic locution for this item is $\text{E}\text{T}\text{E}\text{P}\text{C}\text{O}\text{M}\text{2}$ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 342a; FÖRSTER – MITTHOF, *Aegyptus* 84, 227).

O.Upps.Dem. 1389 (unpubl.: see S.V. WÅNGSTEDT, ‘Demotische Ostraka—Varia II’, *OrSu* 30 [1980], 31). In the last instance (l. 5), the name is written as follows: . The fact that all three texts date to the reign of Augustus suggests that they refer to the same person.²² The present text not only extends the number of known attestations of Tapoeris; it also provides her with a patronymic (Pikos) and paponymic (Satabous; see **xx** below).


The sign after Tapoeris looks like a writing of what traditionally has been understood as *šj* ‘son of’. The oblique stroke is not a scribal error, however, but one of the means by which a scribe could render *ta-* ‘she of’ (see **ii** above).

xx. *Htbw*, ‘Satabous’, is originally a Semitic name, which is otherwise mostly written with a final *ḥ* (*NB Dem.*, 882-883; W.W. MÜLLER – G. VITTMANN, ‘Zu den Personennamen der aus Ägypten stammenden Frauen in den sogenannten “Hierodulenlisten” von Ma^cīn’, *Orientalia* 62 [1993], 7-8 n. 58; M. SCHENTULEIT, ‘Satabus aus Soknopaiou Nesos—Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit’, *CdE* 82 [2008], 102-103 and 111-112). The final *w* might be a dialectal variant, but it is hard to tell from this one instance. A similar writing is possibly attested in *CPR XXIX* 7, 10vo. The current example is the only extant example of the name in Demotic from any region outside the Fayum. In the Thebaid, the name is mostly rendered as *Χαταβους* in Greek while *Σαταβους* is predominant in the Fayum (PREISIGKE, *NB*, 365 and 473), though both forms are present there.

A Pikos, son of Satabous, is attested in one other contemporary text, *O.Wilck.* 1209, col. II.3. Probably the two documents refer to the same person.²³

That a second patronymic was added to the name is unusual for the current period on the Theban East Bank. Possibly it was added in order to distinguish between the two fathers named Pikos in the text. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that the addition of a paternal grandfather is a common trait for texts written on the Theban West Bank. It is therefore possible that the scribe or either one of the two parties had connections to that side of the river.

xxi. See E. BOSWINKEL – P.W. PESTMAN, *Les archives privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephala* (Pap.Lugd.Bat. 22), Leiden 1982, 88 n. p, for the expression *iw^zw w^cb iw^t sn.w*.

xxii. *bšk*  is written with a silver determinative. The word is therefore usually translated as ‘charge, fee, income’ (ERICHSSEN, *Glossar*, 124), which seems to be appropriate here. *iw bn-iw^zy rḥ di.t-s r bšk*, ‘... while I will not be able to give it (away) for a charge’, ought to imply that the lessee is not allowed to sublease the wagon to a third party.

²² One wonders whether the owner of a *md^c.t*-measure by the name Tsenpoeris (*Tš-šr.t-pš-wr*; *NB Dem.*, 1098) attested in the Augustan period O.Amst.Dem. 4, 6 (MUHS, *Enchoria* 30, 58-60) is related to Tapoeris. It is at least plausible; the two women have similar names and it would be a striking coincidence that two individuals with next to identical names and similar roles in the same period would not be related.

²³ A cursory remark is that the date for the text could thus be narrowed down to the early years of the first century AD or the second half of the first century BC. In the *ed.princ.*, the text is mentioned as being of Roman date.


xxiii. The verb *mḥ*, ‘seize, control’ (*ibid.*, 172-173), is usually constructed with *n* and not *r*, though there are a few parallels, e.g., *Setne II* (= P.BM EA 10822), col. III.13 (HOFFMANN – QUACK, *Anthologie*, 341); CRUM, *Dict.*, 9b.




See ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 570, for similar writings of *ky*, ‘another’, as *gʿe*.

The sense of *īw bn-īw=y rḥ di.t mḥ gʿe rmt r-r=s*, ‘... while I will not be able to cause another man to take control of it’, ought to be that the lessee is not allowed to permit another individual to use the wagon during the time of the lease, thus a clause tightly related to the one discussed in **xxii** above.



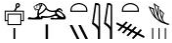
xxiv. *ir hb*, ‘do work, work’, corresponds to Copt. ⲉⲠ ⲓⲠⲃ, (CRUM, *Dict.*, 654a), and cannot be a periphrastic writing of ‘send’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 271-272). The same phrase is again found in l. 4 rev.

xxv.  *m-sʿ*, ‘after, besides, except’ (*ibid.*, 404-405), expresses exclusion.

xxvi. The sign  following the above-discussed group is not easily deciphered because a small crack, which runs over its middle, obscures the reading. The best interpretation, which can be offered here, is to read it as the fem. def. article *b*. The scribe wrote these somewhat irregularly, cf. l. 3 rev. with l. 3 obv. (in *bʿy=s* [bis]) and l. 7 obv.

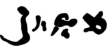
xxvii. The first element  in the collocation *ip.t wyʿ*, ‘farm labour’ (*ibid.*, 79 and 86), is smudged, but the same word is written in the line below where it appears more clearly  (also most probably preceded by the fem. def. art. *b*, see **xxx** below) and  in l. 5 (rev.). The narrower sense of the corresponding Coptic expression ⲉⲓⲠⲠⲉ ⲠⲮⲠⲉⲓⲉ, ‘tillage’ (Crum, *Dict.*, 81b), seems unlikely in the present context (cf. WESTENDORF, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch*, 50). In the framework of a wagon, ‘farm labour’ ought to mean transportation of agricultural produce (see **xviii** below); tilling cannot possibly have been conducted with the help of a wagon.






xxviii. *n* is probably an indirect genitive, though one cannot exclude the possibility of a particle introducing apposition, ‘namely’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 201).

xxix.  reads *sʿleβ=s* and is related to the Coptic verb ⲘⲠⲓⲧ, ‘glean, collect’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 356b), with the older cognate *srd*  (*Wb.* IV.204.17; ČERNÝ, *Copt.Etym.*, 162; VYČIHL, *Dict.étym.*, 197; WESTENDORF, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch*, 195). In the New Kingdom, the word could be written as follows:  (*vel sim.*), which is close to the present rendering. As a nominalised verb, obtaining the feminine gender, an *s*-suffix could be added to the word (see OSING, *Nominalbildung*, 330-332). Though the phenomenon is already encountered in earlier stages of Egyptian and is common in Coptic, most Demotic examples come from texts with an alleged later date than O.Ashm.Dem. 28, such as P.Leid. 384ro; *P.Mag.LL.* (= *PDM* xiv); *The Dem. Gardening Agreement* (R.A. PARKER, ‘A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement’, *JEA* 26 [1941], 84-113 esp. 93). Other Demotic examples include: *sʿt* – *sʿt=s* = ⲠⲁⲗⲧⲘ ‘portion’

(ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 493; CRUM, *Dict.*, 593b) and *qte* – *qteʒs* = ROTC ‘turning, circuit’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 553; CRUM, *Dict.*, 127a).²⁴

xxx. Only a dot remains of *t* but the traces seem to exclude any other reading. This line introduces a series of regulations (ll. 11 rev. – 3 obv.) pertaining to the handling of the wagon. These are introduced by a nominal phrase followed by an independent conjunctive (see **xvi** above). The nominal phrase serves as a transposed object of the action described in the main clause.

xxxi.  *qte* : ‘wheel’ (see **vii** above). The expression *ip.t n qte*, lit. ‘wheel work’, is unknown from any other source. Nevertheless, the best translation seems to be ‘rolling’ or ‘wheeling’, perhaps to be understood as ‘driving’.

xxxii.  resembles *nty r hpr*. Similar writings of the relative converter are found on the rev. side of the ostrakon:  (l. 1),  (l. 2), and  (l. 3). In the last instance, it is preceded by a masc. def. art. The same writing of the relative converter is also found in the *Dem. Gardening Agreement*, cols. A.19; D.5; D.10 (PARKER, *JEA* 26, 106-107). The first instance parallels the construction found in our ostrakon: *t šcʔs  hpr r pʒy=y |⁽²⁰⁾kmw mtw=k šm --- mtw=k in šte.wt...*, ‘(Regarding) the cutting which takes place in my ⁽²⁰⁾garden, you shall go --- and bring (palm) fibres...’.²⁵ Also *P.Mag.LL.* contains such a writing of the relative converter, but not in the same type of construction.²⁶ Parker translates A.19 in the *Dem. Gardening Agreement* as a future, while he takes the instances in D.5 and D.10 as reflecting past tense, though no tense is *de facto* indicated. The group under discussion is best understood as an alternative writing of the rel. converter *nty* (see ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 241).

xxxiii. At the end of l. 11, the first obligations of the lessor are expressed. The scribe inserted the requirements of party B by referring to him in the third person, mentioning his name, instead of allowing the lessee to address him in the second person (=k) or letting him speak for himself. In the few preserved bilateral deeds, e.g., *P.Ackerpacht. 21* (= *P.Dion. 5*); *P.Ackerpacht. 22* (= P.BM EA 10560: C.J. MARTIN, ‘A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia—P.BM 10560’, *JEA* 72 (1986), 172); *P.Cairo II 30630* (A. WINKLER, ‘Swapping Lands at Tebtunis in the Ptolemaic Period—A Reassessment of P.Cairo II 30630 and 30631’, in BROUX – DEPAUW [eds], *Acts*, 361-391); *P.Tor.Botti 23* (P.W. PESTMAN, ‘Lo scriba privato Amenotnes, figlio di Panas—tre documenti provenienti dall’archivio di Totoes’, in P.W. PESTMAN [ed.], *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* [Pap.Lugd.Bat. 23], Leiden 1985, 176 n. k), this feature is expressed

²⁴ Perhaps one could compare the clause with *P.Cair.Masp. III 67303*, 11-12, where the lease is described as being *πρὸς ὅσας ἡμέρας τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς μόνης συλλογῆς τῶν ἐμῶν γενημάτων*: ‘for all the days of the work of the single gathering of my harvest’.

²⁵ PARKER, *JEA* 26, 86, connects *t šcʔs ---* to the previous sentence and understands the conjunctive *mtw=k šm* as the beginning of a new main clause. The parallel in O.Ashm.Dem. 28 opposes such a solution, however. In the two other instances of the nominal phrase, *N nty sdm*, it is followed by a future 1.


²⁶ The instance, col. XXI.21, quoted by JOHNSON, *The Demotic Verbal System*, 120, as a possible parallel has later been reinterpreted by her and R.K. RITNER in D. BETZ (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Chicago 1986, 230. See also W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1925, 242 (§ 535).


differently. Usually the second party speaks in the first person after an introduction: ‘NN speaks: ‘I shall do so-and-so’.


xxxiv. The Demotic verb *w3h* can either be translated as ‘add, place, set’ or ‘stop, quit’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 76), Copt. OΥΩϚ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 505a-507b) or OΥΩ, ‘cease, stay’ (*ibid.*, 474a). The combination *di.t w3h* (OΥΩϚ) is not uncommon in Demotic, while † OΥΩ, ‘make cease, release’, is a set phrase in Coptic (*ibid.*, 474a). Nevertheless, whether this was the case already in the early Roman period is not clear. † OΥΩ translates *inter alia* the Greek λύω, denoting the action of ‘unyoking, unharnessing (horses)’ (*LSJ*, 910), which would be sensible in the context of a wagon. The clause could thus imply that the lessor is allowed to unharness the draught animals pulling the wagon if it was used improperly, i.e. employed for any other transport than the one intended.

Another interpretation of *di.t w3h* is to take it as ‘cause to stay’ with a similar consequence, namely that Abos is allowed to stop the vehicle, viz. the wheeling or ‘driving’. Both suggestions demand that the ‘driving’ (see **xxx** above) is of another nature than that intended by the foregoing stipulations, which explains the emendation of ‘other’ in the translation.


Which solution is more plausible depends on what antecedent the *≠s* has, the cart or the ‘driving’. In the following clause of the same construction, the object of the verb in the conjunctive is not the wagon, but the transposed nominal phrase (see **xxx** above). Thus, the same can be anticipated here.

xxxv. In spite of the wood determinative in *wsf* , the locution must be a verb: ‘be/leave idle, annul, bring to naught, neglect’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 100). The syntax requires such an interpretation; it follows a relative converter (see **xxxii** above). Few verbs can be written with this determinative (e.g., *fty*, *hbʿ*, *hm*, *hn*), but they are often found in connection with words that are related to wooden objects. Although none of the usual translations of *wsf* appear to make much sense in the present instance, perhaps ‘bring to naught’ in the sense of ‘being spoiled’ may be a palatable fit.

xxxvi.  *n.im≠s* can be understood as either a direct object marker or as introducing an agent (CRUM, *Dict.*, 215b; ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 199). In the first case, the fem. suffix. pron. would refer to the wagon, while in the second case it designates the ‘driving’ (*b ip.t n qte*). Both could apply, but the second suggestion seems more reasonable (cf. **xxxiv** above).


xxxvii.  *di.t-s* : lit. ‘give it’. The verb should probably be understood in a transferred sense, ‘replace’. The same applies to the instances of the same verb in the lines below.

xxxviii. The third pers. suffix pron. refers to the lessee and should be translated as ‘for his part’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 651a). The reflexive pron. is probably inserted in order to underline the change of speakers.

xxxix. The reading of  as *tlh*, written with a knife determinative, is certain, but the word seems to be otherwise unattested. It is possibly related to *tlh* (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 649), also written with a knife determinative and found in, for instance, O.Brux. E 354 (M. DEPAUW, ‘A Demotic Business Letter—O. Brux. E 354’, *OLP* 26 [1995], 45). The editor of that ostrakon

translates *tlh* as ‘needle’^(?), but the term could possibly designate a sharp object of any kind. The equation between *tlh* and *tlh* depends on the rare but attested phenomenon of confusing *h* (= *h*) and *h* in Graeco-Roman-era texts from Upper Egypt (A.M. BLACKMAN – H.W. FAIRMAN, ‘The Myth of Horus at Edfu II—The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies—A Sacred Drama (Concluded)’, *JEA* 30 [1944], 21; H.W. FAIRMAN, ‘Ptolemaic Notes’, *ASAE* 44 [1944], 265; D. MUELLER, ‘On the Verb ‘To Seal’ in Coptic and Egyptian Texts’, *JEA* 61 [1975], 222-226). In Sahidic, *z* can stand for the older *h*, *h*, *h*, and rarely *h* (e.g., J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Language—An Historical Study*, Cambridge 2013, 17-18). Demotic examples of words where *h/h* and *h* may interchange include: *h̄tm* – *h̄tb* ‘close’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 338 and 372), *th̄th̄* – *th̄th̄* – *th̄th̄* ‘confuse’ (*ibid.*, 655), and *dh̄p̄h̄* – *dh̄(m)p̄h̄* ‘apple’ (*ibid.*, 667). Nevertheless, what *tlh* would designate in relation to a wagon remains unclear.

Another tentative suggestion would be to take *tlh* as a metathesis of *th̄r*, which in the New Kingdom designates a chariot part of leather (HOCH, *Semitic Words*, 363; MANASSA, in VELDEMEIJER – IKRAM [eds], *Chasing Chariots*, 150-151; Schneider, *JSSEA* 35, 190). In the present context, it may be a crafted part; the knife determinative could indicate this. In that case, it was easily worn down (see **xxxix** below). If it is a part particular to the cart, one may wonder, however, why it was not mentioned in the list of wagon paraphernalia (ll. 2-5 obv.).



xl.  *gtpe*: ‘defeat, subdue (vel sim.)’ (e.g., *CDD* g, 76; ČERNÝ, *Copt.Etym.*, 338; F. HOFFMANN, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros—Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus* [MPER N.S. 26], Vienna 1996, 364 n. 2203). In the *Dem. Gardening Agreement*, D.13, PARKER, *JEA* 26, 89 and 108, translates the stative form of the verb as ‘being disposed of’. In the present case, such a nuance of *gtpe* makes sense, implying that the lessee is to replace (*di.t*) any lost *tlh*-part (see **xxxix** above). This translation is possible considering that ⲄⲠⲧⲠ may be used as a synonym of ⲠⲮⲠⲟⲩⲥ, ‘be worn down, perished, destroyed’ (CRUM, *Dict.*, 505a and 833b).

xli. See **xxxvii** above for the translation of *di.t* ‘give’ as ‘compensate (for)’ and thus: ‘... and I am to compensate |⁽³⁾for its damage and loss’ (see **xliii** below).

xlii. The fem. poss. pron. *ty=f* refers back to the *tlh* (see **xxxix** above).


xliii. The fem. noun *hl̄š.t* written with the warrior determinative can be understood as a variant of *hr̄š(t)* ‘lack, damage’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 367; F. DE CENIVAL, ‘Les nouveaux fragments du Mythe de l’œil du soleil ...’, *CRIPPEL* 7 [1985], 114). The word seems to exist both in a masc. and fem. form (BOSWINKEL – PESTMAN, *Les archives*, 118 n. g; OSING, *Nominalbildung*, 773 n. 948; G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* [ÄAT 38], Wiesbaden 1998, 630-631).

Cf. the late Ptolemaic or early Roman-era promissory temple oath O.Amst.Dem. 5, 8 (MUHS, *Enchoria* 30, 60-62), which reads: *iw=y di.t p̄y=f nby*, ‘I shall give its damage’, for a parallel to *mtw=y di.t ty=f hl̄š.t*, ‘I will give its damage’. The clause in the Amsterdam ostrakon, which concerns horticultural work, appears in a section in which the declarant states that he will compensate the owner of an orchard if he damages the harvest or fails in his responsibilities. A similar situation can be envisaged here, but referring to the wagon and its equipment.

xliv.  is best read as *p³ nty srm*. The sign following *p³ nty* (cf. **xxxii** above) is the tripartite *s* (). The third stroke of the sign is slightly bow-shaped, pointing to such a reading; the third and final stroke of the letter *y* is otherwise curved leftwards in the current text (cf. e.g., *bn-ⁱw=y* in ll. 8 and 9 obv. and *mtw=y* in ll. 2 and 3 rev. with the two letters in *Qysrs* in l. 6 rev.). The orthography is slightly different from the examples in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 443 (cf. K.-TH. ZAUZICH, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine* [Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 3], Berlin 1993, P.Berlin 13666 [l. x+6], 3), but similar writings are known from other texts, e.g., O.Amst.Dem. 3, 4 (MUHS, *Enchoria* 30, 55-57). Probably the intransitive aspect of *srm* ‘what is lost’ (cf. CRUM, *Dict.*, 355a) applies here.²⁷

xlv. *di.t w^c.t=f* is seemingly a scribal error for *di.t w^c.t=y*, lit. ‘replace (it) alone’ (see ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 81), implying that the lessee alone shall compensate for possible damage to the wagon.

xlvi. See **xxiv** above, for *ir hb*, ‘work’.

xlvii.  *hs.t* : ‘necropolis, desert, hill country, outer (foreign) region’ (ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 347-348; cf. *O.Med.Hab.* 63 and 64). In the context of a transport vehicle supposed to haul a harvest, it is probably better to understand the term as ‘outer region’. It is hard to assume that any cultivation would have taken place in the desert or the necropolis. Therefore, the locution can perhaps be understood as referring to irrigated land outside the flooded areas, usually known as ‘highland’. Presumably conditions on non-flooded lands were better suited for wheeled transport than in the Nile valley (cf., e.g., KÖPP-JUNK, in FÖRSTER – REIMER [eds], *Desert Road Archaeology*, 112).

xlviii. The date on which the lease was supposed to become valid, regnal year 23 of Augustus, month 4 of *pr.t* (Pharmuthi), day 1, corresponds to March 27, 7 BC. It appears as if the lessee obtains the cart a couple of days prior to the commencement of the reaping season; in Upper Egypt, the barley harvest began typically at the beginning of April (M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* [Münch.Beitr. 7], Munich 1925, 162-167), which corresponds roughly with the month Pharmouthi, whilst wheat seems to have been harvested somewhat later. Barley is furthermore a crop in need of less water than wheat, and therefore it is possible that it was grown on lands with scarcer water resources (cf. **xlvii** above).

xlix.  *we^c* : ‘farmer’ (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 179).

i. The text was written, year 23, month 3 of *pr.t* (Pamenoth), day 18 of Augustus, which corresponds to March 14, 7 BC. The lease was therefore drawn up 13 days prior to the one on which the agreement was supposed to come into effect.

ii. The final remark indicates again that the document is a bilateral agreement (see M. DEPAUW, ‘The Evolution and Use of Demotic Contracts in Epistolary Form’, in U. YIFTAH-FIRENKO [ed.], *The Letter—Law, State, Society and the Epistolary Format in the Ancient World*

²⁷ *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303, 19-20 also stipulates that the lessee is obliged to return the wagon with its equipment in the same undamaged state as it was when the lease was drawn up: καὶ ἐτοιμῶς ἔχομεν τὴν εἰρημένην |⁽²⁰⁾ ἄμαξαν ἀποκαταστήσαι ὑμῖν ἐξηρτισμένην ἀβλαβῶς ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους ὡς καὶ παρειλήφαμεν νῦν.

[Philippika 55], Wiesbaden 2013, 164-166; VLEEMING, *Ostraka Varia*, 143-144; U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, 'Zur Form der demotischen Quittungen auf Ostraka und zu ihrer Formel *nty sh r hr=f r djt=s / nty sh r hr=f*', in J. OSING – G. DREYER [eds], *Form und Maß—Festschrift für Gerhardt Fecht* [ÄAT 12], Wiesbaden 1987, 257-258). Should both parties (A and B) speak in one text, the statement could refer to both the issuer and receiver of the document as in, e.g., *P.Tor.Botti 23*.

General Commentary

O.Ashm.Dem. 28 is one of the few Demotic contracts recording a conveyance of *res mobiles*,²⁸ a wagon or rather a cart since it has only two wheels.²⁹ A transfer of a cart or other vehicle is hitherto unattested in any other published Demotic document, although similar transactions are recorded in a few Late-Antique Greek and Coptic texts.³⁰

The ostrakon is a so-called letter document (š^c.t).³¹ This type of deed appears to have been fairly widely used during the Roman period compared to the *sh*-documents, which in addition to the Demotic texts required a Greek subscription.³² For this period it has been suggested that the letter documents were employed mainly for internal agreements in, for instance, the temple and perhaps within a professional association.³³ The present document records a lease or a rental agreement, even if the term *shn* 'lease'³⁴

²⁸ Cf. n. 2 above.

²⁹ There are numerous depictions of transport carts from the New Kingdom and later. Two-wheeled vehicles, like transport carts or chariots, are only depicted as having one wheel on the side (cf., e.g., THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu I*, pls. 32 and 34; C.R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien V*, vol. X, Geneva 1973², pl. 41b; T. SAVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* [PTT 1], Oxford 1957, 27 and pl. 22).

³⁰ *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303 (see n. 3 above) and *P.Vat.Copt.Dor.* 1 (see n. 4 above). Nevertheless, the latter document concerns a threshing cart, δόλατε ἰῆϑει (FÖRSTER, *Aegyptus* 86, 195-196; see also W.E. CRUM, *Varia Coptica*, Aberdeen 1939, 47, for another example; n. 49 below). It is of interest that the vehicle is only referred to as ἄμαξα in the Greek subscription to *P.Vat.Copt.Dor.* 1.

³¹ Cf. DEPAUW, in YIFTAH-FIRENKO (ed.), *The Letter*, 155-170; H. FELBER, *Die demotischen Ackerpachverträge der Ptolemäerzeit—Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Entwicklung und inhaltlichen Aspekten einer Gruppe von demotischen Urkunden* (ÄA 58), Wiesbaden 1997, 86-7; LIPPERT, *Einführung*, 139-140 and 157-159.

³² LIPPERT, *Einführung*, 138-9; S.L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT, *Urkunden* (DDD 3), Wiesbaden 2010, 5.

³³ LIPPERT – SCHENTULEIT, *Urkunden*, 5; P. HEILPORN, 'À la recherche du clergé thébain à l'époque romaine', in A. Delattre – P. Heilporn (eds), « *Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages ...* » *Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine—Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 2 et 3 décembre 2005* (Pap.Brux. 34), Brussels 2008, 129-134; id., *Thèbes et ses taxes—Recherches sur la fiscalité en Égypte romaine (Ostraca de Strasbourg II)* (Collections de l'Université de Strasbourg: Etudes d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne), Paris 2009, 133-137.

³⁴ ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 448.

or ‘entrust’³⁵ is not used. Instead, we find the term *tw* ‘(have) given’.³⁶ A similar phrasing is present in some of the Theban leases of liturgies and temple-related emoluments, e.g., *O.Zauz.* 18 and 25,³⁷ or in a Ptolemaic lease of a donkey from Soknopaiou Nesos, *P.Oxf.Griff.* 59. These examples show that the two terms were more or less interchangeable.

The stipulated price for the wagon was seven artabas of pure and unadulterated wheat (l. 6 obv). This amount corresponds approximately to a half-year’s required sustenance for a working male.³⁸ In Roman Thebes, the value of the wheat would have been equal to roughly 18 to 24 drachmas,³⁹ an amount corresponding to about one or one and a half month’s income for an average Egyptian according to Drexhage’s estimation of salaries for the first century AD.⁴⁰

There are only a few comparable documents that allow for a more precise evaluation of the costs of hiring a wagon. In *O.Templeide* 144, the sum 200 ‘silver pieces’ (*ḥd*) is mentioned in relation to a wagon. It is not clear whether the amount represents part of the price of a sold wagon or the costs of hiring such a vehicle. Nevertheless, the figure, which according to the usual accounting rule would correspond to approximately 4000 drachmas,⁴¹ would have been excessive if given in silver. Although the text is dated to the

³⁵ FELBER, *Ackerpachtverträge*, 117; G.R. HUGHES, ‘Notes on Demotic Egyptian Leases of Property’, *JNES* 32 (1973), 154-159; J.G. MANNING, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt—The Structure of Land Tenure*, Cambridge 2003, 189; A. MONSON, ‘Sacred Land in Ptolemaic and Roman Tebtunis’, in S.L. LIPPERT – M. SCHENTULEIT (eds), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos—Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*, Wiesbaden 2005, 83; PESTMAN – QUAEGBEUR – VOS, *Recueil*, 2:102; A. WINKLER, ‘Collecting Income at Kerkesoucha Orous—New Light on P.Cairo II 30625’, *JEA* 96 (2010), 167.

³⁶ ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, 604-605.

³⁷ U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, ‘Rund um die thebanischen Tempel (Demotische Ostraca zu Pfründen-Wirtschaft)’, in F. HOFFMANN – H.J. THISSEN (eds), *Res severa verum gaudium—Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (Stud.Dem. 6), Leuven 2004, 287, 292-8, and 306.

³⁸ See, e.g., A.K. BOWMAN, *Egypt After the Pharaohs 332 BC – AD 642—From Alexander to the Arab Conquest*, Berkeley 1996, 238; D. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris—An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971, 122-31; H.J. DREXHAGE, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians*, St. Katharinen 1991, 440-448; A. MONSON, ‘The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations’, *AncSoc.* 36 (2006), 225; P.W. PESTMAN, *The New Papyrological Primer*, Leiden 1990, 49. See also L. FOXHALL and H.A. FORBES, ‘Sitometreia—The Role of Grain as a Staple Food in Classical Antiquity’, *Chiron* 12 (1982), 41-90.

³⁹ DREXHAGE, *Preise*, 18.

⁴⁰ DREXHAGE, *Preise*, 407, 412-413, 425, and 453.

⁴¹ M. LICHTHEIM, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (OIP 80), Chicago 1957, 1; K. MARESCH, *Bronze und Silber—Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Pap.Col. 25), Opladen 1996, 34-51.

early Roman period on palaeographic grounds,⁴² the price must be regarded as given in copper in order not to be astronomical. Dividing the sum by the exchange rate for copper to silver makes the amount more realistic.⁴³ In that case, it would be worth nearly three or four artabas of wheat in the Theban region in the early Roman period.⁴⁴

P.Dryton 40 and 43 (mid 2nd cent. BC) record that the cost for hiring a carriage was 25 artabas of cereals (wheat and barley). Unfortunately, no information on the duration of the lease or exact use of the vehicle is recorded.⁴⁵ *SB VIII 9699* (1st cent. AD) provides a price of 10 drachmas for hiring two wagons for transporting twelve loads of cereals.⁴⁶ The amount corresponds roughly to one artaba of wheat according to the same text. The Theban *O.Berl.* 71 (2nd cent. AD) shows that a wagon for transporting goods was let out for one drachma and three obols (a day). A figure in the range of 1½ to 2 drachmas a day is also recorded in the Roman-era *O.Wilck.* 1180. This expense is somewhat less than the cost of an artaba of wheat in the same region in the given period. An amount of ‘one myriad talents’ is connected with a wagon in *P.Kell.* 46 (4th cent. AD). The sum equals nearly the price of 10 artabas of wheat.⁴⁷ The rather modest amount indicates that we are not dealing with a sales price but with the hiring cost or similar. A relatively late source is the already mentioned *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303 (6th cent. AD). The papyrus specifies the charge as 10 artabas of cereals for leasing a cart. Just as in our text, no exact information is given on how long the vehicle was let, although the text mentions that it was for ‘all the days of the harvest’ (ll. 11-12).⁴⁸ This statement should be compared to the clause describing the length of the lease in our document, l. 5 (obv.): ‘... until I have finished my farm labour’ (šc-tw=y Ꝁ by(=y) ip.t weꝀ).

A special case is the ‘wagon’ sold in *P.Vat.Copt.Dor.* 1 from the 7th cent. AD; it is not a transport vehicle but a threshing cart.⁴⁹ The price corresponds roughly to that of an

⁴² U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Die demotischen Tempelide* (ÄA 6), Wiesbaden 1963, 1:244.

⁴³ LICHTHEIM, *Demotic Ostraca*, 2; MARECH, *Bronze und Silber*, 115-119

⁴⁴ DREXHAGE, *Preise*, 18.

⁴⁵ *BGU VII 1541* (late 3rd or early 2nd cent. BC) mentions that a person was paid 15 copper drachmas for driving a wagon a certain distance. The text does not make clear with what the vehicle could have been loaded or how far the distance was, whether only the driver was included in the price or whether the price was for both the driver and the wagon including draft animals. In total, the wagoner obtained 500 copper drachmas for having travelled the distance roughly thirty times (cf. R. SCHOLL, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte* [Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei Beih.1], Stuttgart 1990, 663-664).

⁴⁶ Drexhage, *Preise*, 341.

⁴⁷ K.A. WORP, *Greek Papyri from Kellis I* (OMS 54), Oxford 1995, 136-138; Cf. also R. BAGNALL, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (BASP Suppl. 5), Chico 1985, 64.

⁴⁸ See n. 24 above.

⁴⁹ FÖRSTER – MITTHOF, *Aegyptus* 84, 217-242; Förster, *Aegyptus* 85, 195-197. A threshing cart looks like a sled on which there is a seat and the two runners are connected through axels on which there are wheels that

expensive donkey, a horse, or what one would have to pay for a cheap camel, according to the editors of the document.⁵⁰ A threshing cart is generally a simpler vehicle than a proper wagon, and so one would expect the price of the latter to be higher.⁵¹

The somewhat cursory survey of prices for either buying or hiring a wagon suggests that the cost for the cart found in O.Ashm.Dem. 28 was in the same range as that of similar vehicles in other texts of the same period and that it does not depart too much from what can be expected.

Conclusion

Much of the text above remains ambiguous. Not only does the technical terminology pose problems,⁵² but the stipulations describing how the wagon was supposed to be used are also occasionally opaque. It is furthermore not clear what the nature of the objects transported is. Most likely, however, we are dealing with an agreement for transporting the harvest (of barley) through the desert or the outer regions on a cart. Although pack animals seem to have been more common for such haulages,⁵³ carts transporting a harvest are already known from at least the New Kingdom,⁵⁴ whilst wagons appear to have been used mostly for shipping heavier goods.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the texts above indicate that grain transported on wheeled carriages would not have been all too uncommon⁵⁶ and wagons

thresh the grain as the vehicle moves over it, often being pulled by oxen (see SCHNEBEL, *Landwirtschaft*, 175).

⁵⁰ FÖRSTER – MITTHOF, *Aegyptus* 84, 228. The half tremis mentioned in connection with a similar item in *Crum VC* 119 cannot possibly be its market price.

⁵¹ Whether the sum of 80 drachmas (20 staters) mentioned for the purchase of a mule cart (ήμιονικὸν ἄρμα) in *BGU III* 814 (3rd cent. AD) is to be taken at face value is unclear. The text is a letter and therefore the sum mentioned may not reflect its actual market price but a ‘rhetorical figure’; the writer mentions the amount and says he has spent it all on the vehicle.

⁵² It is possible, however, to compare the description of our wagon with the one leased in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303, 13-15. It is an ἐλκυστή ἄμαξα σεσιδηρομένη καὶ ἐξηρτισμένη: ‘equipped transport wagon covered with iron’ and the gear included is described as follows: δύο τροχοὶ σὺν περιβλήμασι σιδηροῖς καὶ χοινικίσι καὶ ἴτυσι καὶ πυρίνθῳ σὺν κρικίοις καὶ ῥύμῳ καὶ ζυγῳ σὺν ἀλύσει καὶ ἄξωνι καὶ ξυλινοβαστακίῳ: ‘two wheels with the iron outer coverings and the hubs and the rims and basket seat with rings and pole and yoke with chains and axle, and a wooden wagon box’ (transl. BAGNALL, *BASP* 22, 2; see also FÖRSTER – MITTHOF, *Aegyptus* 84, 226-227; n. 18 above).

⁵³ See, e.g., A.C. JOHNSON, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome II—Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, Baltimore 1936, 400-407; F. REITER, ‘Vorschläge zur Lesung einiger Transportbescheinigungen’, *ZPE* 134 (2001), 191-207 esp. 192 and 198-201.

⁵⁴ KÖPP-JUNK, *JAEl* 9, 16.

⁵⁵ ADAMS, *Land Transport*, 49-69.

⁵⁶ BAGNALL, *BASP* 22, 1-6.

seem to have been used for such and similar purposes as early as the Middle Kingdom,⁵⁷ if not before.⁵⁸

Regarding the background of the two acting parties, not much can be said; they are not given any titles. It is possible, however, that at least the lessor belonged to a transportation company that let out wagons,⁵⁹ whilst the lessee would have been a farmer.

In conclusion, I hope that colleagues will be able to bring further clarification to the matters discussed here. Although it may seem a contradiction in the present case, I feel obliged to close with Ulrich Wilcken's final comment to his discussion of the wagon tax in Roman Thebes: '[v]ielleicht bringen neue Texte Licht'.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ J. BAINES, 'The Stelae of Amenisonbe from Abydos and Middle Kingdom Display of Personal Religion', in J. BOURRIAU – D. MAGEE – S. QUIRKE (eds), *Sitting Besides Lepsius—Studies in Honour of Jaromír Malek at the Griffith Institute* (OLA 185), Leuven 2009, 3; KÖPP-JUNK, *JAEl* 9, 24. The most common type of wagon seems to have been hearses. These were used from at least the Second Intermediate Period through the Late Antiquity. Many references are found in, e.g., P.P. CREASMAN – N. DOYLE, 'Overland Boat Transportation During the Pharaonic Period—Archaeology and Iconography', *JAEl* 2/3 (2010), 17 and 21-24; KOCKELMANN, *Untersuchungen*, 1:182-185; KÖPP-JUNK, *JAEl* 9, 18-40; R. VAN WALSEM, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden—Technical and Iconographic/Iconographical Aspects*, Leiden 1997, 1:227-228. C. NÄSER, 'Jenseits von Theben—Objektsammlung, Inszenierung und Fragmentierung in ägyptischen Bestattungen des Neuen Reiches', in CH. KÜMMEL – B. SCHWEIZER – U. WELT (eds), *Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung—Totenritual und Grabkultur in frühen Gesellschaften* (TAT 6), Münster 2008, 450, mentions abrasions on a New Kingdom coffin (Sendjem) caused by wheels during transport. A good image of this coffin is found in F. LABRIQUE, 'Le regard d'Hérodote sur le phénix', in L. COULON – P. GIOVANNELLI-JOUNNA – F. KIMMEL-CLAUZET (eds), *Hérodote et l'Égypte—Regards croisés sur le livre II de l'enquête d'Hérodote* (CMOM 51), Lyon 2013, 137; see also KÖPP-JUNK, *Reisen*, pl. 9. A rather late attestation of this practice is found in the Bohairic and Greek *Vita of Pachomius* (Ch. 27). The text mentions that after the funerary rites (ΚΘΩC) had been carried out on a deceased nun, her corpse was transported to the cemetery (ΤΩΟY) on a wagon (δαολ†/ἄμαξα), after which the rest of the monastery followed in procession mourning.

⁵⁸ A ceremonial cart is depicted in the pyramid causeway of Sahure's sun temple (T. EL-AWADY, *Sahure—The Pyramid Causeway—History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom* [Abusir 16], Prague 2009, 168-171, pl. 6). The king is represented as receiving gifts, being seated upon his throne, which in turn is placed on a platform besides which there is a ramp. The platform seems to be fitted with wheels; two semicircles below the platform represent these. The wheeled platform, furthermore, is raised, not level with the ramp or ground, but this feature is not remarked or even noted by the author. The throne of Nyuserre is also equipped with wheels (L. BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re* [Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1], Leipzig 1907, 90). The use of ceremonial carts renders it plausible that real wagons existed in the same period. I am grateful to John Baines for pointing out these references to me.

⁵⁹ Cf. ADAMS, *Land Transport*, 68.

⁶⁰ WILCKEN, *Griechische Ostraca*, 1:146.