

ANDREAS WINKLER – MICHAEL ZELLMANN-ROHRER

A BILINGUAL PETITION FROM THE PRIESTS OF ROMAN TEBTUNIS:
P.MICH. V 226 ONCE AGAIN

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A BILINGUAL PETITION FROM THE PRIESTS OF ROMAN TEBTUNIS:
*P.MICH. V 226 ONCE AGAIN*¹

*P.Mich. V 226*² is a first-century A.D. petition in the form of a memorandum (ὑπόμνημα)³ submitted by the crocodile priesthood at Tebtunis to the στρατηγός of the meris of Polemon.⁴ The document concerns a temple-owned grain storehouse (θησαυρός),⁵ which the priests had leased to three individuals, a woman, now deceased, her son, and his wife. The lessees had mismanaged the property, however, and removed some of its fittings before returning it, rendering it useless to the priests. They therefore ask that the στρατηγός send a subordinate, the ἐπιστάτης, to investigate and summon the culprits to appear before the στρατηγός for an appropriate resolution.

The text is of particular interest because it contains an autographed Demotic subscription (ll. 47–49), otherwise rare in such documents in this period. The three lines of Egyptian are written with an identical or very similar stylus as the Greek text,⁶ which indicates that they were written at the same time as the rest of the petition. Since the same individuals are mentioned in the Greek subscription as are found in the three lines of Egyptian, the latter would appear to be unnecessary, at least from the point of view of the Roman administration, which was ultimately to receive the document. Nevertheless, Demotic subscriptions were allowed by the state authorities, but only if accompanied by a Greek one, often written by a ὑπογραφεύς.⁷ These subscriptions seem to be found on occasions when the active parties were illiterate in Greek, and usually the subscribers were priests. H. C. Youtie interpreted the Egyptian subscription as an opportunity

¹ We would like to express our gratitude to Brendan Haug (Ann Arbor, MI) for permission to publish the unedited Demotic portion of *P.Mich. V 226*; to Roberto Mascellari (Florence) for providing invaluable comments on a preliminary version of this paper and sharing with us his Ph.D. dissertation; and to Klaus Maresch (Cologne) for suggesting further improvements.

² Ed. pr. A. E. R. Boak, *P.Mich. V 226*. It is considered part of the archive of Kronion son of Apion, νομογράφος of the γραφεῖον of Tebtunis: see recently B. Van Beek, in K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse, and H. Verreth, *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*, Coll.Hellen. 6 (Leuven 2015), 215–221, esp. 218 and 220 (and further the Trismegistos Archives database, www.trismegistos.org/archive/93).

³ On the ὑπόμνημα form and the form of petitions in papyri of the Roman period more generally see R. Mascellari, *Le petizioni nell'Egitto romano. Evoluzione di formulario, procedure e organizzazione della giustizia. Documentazione su papiro dal 30 a.C. al 300 d.C.* Ph.D. diss., Florence 2012 (for the present text see the table at 55, no. 96, cf. also 328–329, 429, 510–511, 640–641, 763–764, and 807), and further R. Haensch, Die Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen in der Provinz Aegyptus, *ZPE* 100 (1994), 487–546; for the broader social context see A. Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt: A Study in Legal Interpretation* (Philadelphia 2013) and B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2011) with discussion of the present papyrus at 71 and 213. For a recent study of a Ptolemaic example of the ὑπόμνημα form see G. Baetens, A Petition to the Epimeletes Dorotheos in Trinity College Dublin, *Anc.Soc.* 44 (2014), 91–104; and on Ptolemaic petitions more generally: A. Di Bitonto, Le petizioni al re. Studio sul formulario, *Aegyptus* 47 (1967), 5–57; ead., Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico. Studio sul formulario, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968), 53–107; and ead., Frammenti di petizioni del periodo tolemaico. Studio sul formulario, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), 109–143. See also M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, Dem.Stud. 14 (Sommerhausen 2006), 323–330, for Demotic examples.

⁴ On the μερίς and the role of στρατηγοί in its administration see T. Derda, *ΑΠΣΙΝΟΙΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ. Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*, *JJurPap* Suppl. 7 (Warsaw 2006), 61–112, esp. 87–90 with a citation of this papyrus. Asklepiades is not otherwise attested, cf. id., *op.cit.*, 99, and G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt (Str.R.Scr.2)*, rev. ed., Pap.Flor. 37 (Florence 2006), 36.

⁵ Possibly also mentioned in *P.Mich. V 315, 22* and *SB XIV 12192, 10 (P.Tebt. II 445)*. See C. Tassinari, *Il thesauros di Bakchias. Rapporto definitivo*, Archeologia e storia della civiltà egiziana e del Vicino oriente Antico, Materiali e Studi 16 (Imola 2009) for the Fayumic granaries in general and esp. 33–34 for one example excavated close to the temple precinct, also discussed in detail by C. Gallazzi, I lavori a Umm-el-Breigât (Tebtynis) degli anni 1997–1999, *Acme* 55 (2002), 13–18, containing further references to earlier studies.

⁶ Cf. Depauw, *Companion*, 83.

⁷ H. C. Youtie, ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt, *HSPH* 75 (1971), 162–163 (*Scriptiunculae* [Amsterdam 1973], 2:612–613); id., ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 201–221; id., Because They Do Not Know Letters, *ZPE* 19 (1975), 101–108 (*Scriptiunculae posteriores* [Bonn 1981], 1:255–262). See also M. Depauw, Autograph Confirmation in Demotic Private Contracts, *CdÉ* 78 (2003), 90 n. 161 and 111 n. 256.

taken by native priests to write in their mother tongue, but taking the argument one step further, he proposed that

[b]y virtue of their daily round of temple activities they were remote from the ordinary currents of Greek life, and they made no attempt to conform to Greek style. That they should be deemed illiterate in Greek held no social significance for them, and for some the reputation of illiteracy in Greek, the language of the alien and worldly bureaucracy, may have become a point of pride.⁸

An open display of such pride is hardly likely in this case, however, and the primary goal of the document was surely to convince the στρατηγός of the justice of the priests' cause and enlist his support. As such it fits within a broader context of strategic conciliation and cooperation between the Egyptian priests and the Roman government.⁹

The Demotic text has never been fully edited, but a preliminary translation was provided by K.-Th. Zauzich in an article written by Youtie in 1976.¹⁰ Nevertheless, an examination of a photograph¹¹ of the papyrus suggests that Zauzich's rendering of the text is in need of revision. In the same article in which he reported Zauzich's translation of the Demotic text, Youtie offered some observations on the Greek portion in a closing footnote.¹² It now seems worthwhile to print a fresh version of the text and translation with a fuller apparatus and some additional notes, since a full edition of the Demotic text can be provided, and only four of Youtie's nine improvements have been picked up by the *Berichtigungsliste*,¹³ while six more corrections to the Greek text can be added upon examination of a photograph of the papyrus (lines 19, 41, 42, 43, and 44) along with two unnoticed scribal corrections (lines 28 and 46).¹⁴

P.Mich. inv. 1269 <i>P.Mich.</i> V 226 (+ <i>BL</i> VII, 110)	A Petition to the στρατηγός 13.5 cm (w) × 29 cm (h)	27 March – 25 April, A.D. 37 Tebtunis
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front (→)

Ἀσκληπιάδη στρατηγῷ Πολέμ(ω)νος μερίδος
παρὰ Μαρεψήμιος τοῦ Μαρεψήμιος καὶ Μαρε-
σισοῦχου τοῦ Σιγήρεως καὶ Πάχιτος τοῦ Μαρε-
ψήμιος, οἱ τρεῖς ἡγούμενοι, καὶ Πετοσίρις
5 Πακῆκιος γραμματέους καὶ Πανήσιος
τοῦ Πακ(ή)βκιος καὶ Μαρεπκάμιος τοῦ Μαρε-
πκάμιος καὶ Μαρεψήμιος τοῦ Μαρεψήμιος Πε-
σοῦρις καὶ Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Ψύφεως καὶ Μαρσι-
σοῦχου τοῦ Μαρσισοῦχου, οἱ ἑννέα ἡγούμενοι
10 καὶ γραμματέους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φυλῶν τῶν
αὐτῶν εἰσιρέων τῶν ἀπὸ Τεβτύνεως
Κρόνου κρατεοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγίστου. ἐπιδὴ
μεμισθώκαμεν ἔτι πάλαι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσ-
θεν χρόνοις μέχρι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους

⁸ Youtie, *ZPE* 19 (1975), 108.

⁹ As brought out specifically in the case of Roman Tebtunis by T. M. Hickey, *Writing Histories from the Papyri*, in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009), 503–507.

¹⁰ *P.Mich.* V 226, *ZPE* 21 (1976), 196–198 (*Script.Post.*, 1:310–312; *BL* VII, 110).

¹¹ A photograph of the papyrus is available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1352/1269r.tif>.

¹² *Id.*, *art.cit.*, 198 n. 7.

¹³ E. Boswinkel, W. Clarysse, P. W. Pestman, and H.-A. Rupprecht (edd.), *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten 7* (Leiden 1986) [*BL* VII], 110: corrections in lines 23, 34, 39, and 42.

¹⁴ Vide supra n. 11 for an image of the papyrus.

- 15 καὶ ἡμέρας τῆ τετελευτηκυεῖη θησαυρο-
 φύλακι Θεναπύγχι καὶ τοῦ ἐνότος υἱοῦ
 αὐτῆς Ἀπύγχως τοῦ Ἀρμιύσιος καὶ τῆ γυ-
 ναικεὶ Θαήσι τὸν ἐν τῆ προκιμένη κόμη
 20 Τεβτόνι τοῦ Κρόνου κρατεοῦ θεοῦ μεγά-
 λου μεγίστου θησαυρὸν ἐνεργὸν ἐν ᾧ
 πύργος καὶ προσπαρακείμενος ἕτερος πύρ-
 γος καὶ πυλών, ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρ-
 ων ἡμῶν εἰαιρ(έ)ων παραλαμβανόντων
 25 παρὰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων Ἀπύγχως
 καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Θαήσιος τὸν τε θησαυρὸν
 ἐν ᾧ τινα ὧν παρίληφεν σκευῶν τε
 καὶ θυρῶν, εὔραμεν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶ-
 τι μηνὶ Φαρμοῦθι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κγ (ἔτους)
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ τὰς ἐφεστῶσας
 30 θύρας ἡρμένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκωνία-
 τον οὐχ ὡς παρίληφεν ὥστε τῷ ὄλῳ
 κολάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς τοῦ μὴ δυνασθῆ-
 ναι εἰσαγαγῖν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν θη(σαυ)ρὸν
 ἃ μετροῦμεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον πυρικά τε
 35 καὶ κρίθινα δημόσια, διὸ ἀξιοῦμεν γρά-
 ψε τῷ τῆς Τεβτόνεως ἐπιστάτη
 ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν δηλούμενον θη-
 σαυρὸν καὶ ἐπίδη ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐκ-
 πέμψη ἐπὶ σαὶ τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους
 40 πρὸς τὴν ἐσωμένην ἐπέξωδον.
 <M2> Ὀννόφρις Ψοῖφρις καὶ Μαρεψῆμις Μαρεψῆμις
 καὶ Μαρσισοῦχος Σικῆρις καὶ Πάχις τοῦ Μαρ-
 εψῆμις καὶ Πετοσίρις Πακῆκις καὶ Πανῖσις Πα-
 κέβκις καὶ Μαρεπακάμις καὶ Μαρεψῆμις Πεσῶρις
 45 καὶ ὁ λυποὶ ἱερεῦσι ἐπειδεδώκαμεν τὸν προκί-
 μενον ὑπόμνημα. Ὀννόφρις γέγραφα μὴ εἰ-
 δώτων γράματα. (←) <M3> *sh Pa-n-'Is.t (pa) Pa-Gbk pz nty dd twzy di.t (n) pzy mqm(q) r*
nz h¹tr(w) nz (?) grg(w)¹ (n) mh(y) (n) pzy wdj <M4> <sh> M3^c-R^c-hm (pa) M3^c-R^c-hm <M5>
<sh> M3^c-R^c-hm
(pa) M3^c-R^c-hm <pz nty> dd twzy <di.t n> pzy mqmq <M6> sh M3^c-R^c-qmz (pa) sp-sn.w

1 Πολέμ(ω)νος Youtie : Πολέμωνος ed. pr. 41. τρεῖς 5, 10 l. γραμματεὺς 5 Πακῆκιος : Πακῆ(β)κιος ed. pr. 11 l. ἱερέων
 12 l. κραταιοῦ 1. ἐπειδὴ 15 l. τετελευτηκυεῖα 16–17 l. τῷ ἐνότι υἱῷ αὐτῆς Ἀπύγχι τῷ 17–18 l. γυναικὶ
 18 l. προκειμένη 19 Τεβτόνι : Τεβτόνει ed. pr. 1. κραταιοῦ 21 l. προσπαρακείμενος 23 εἰαιρ(έ)ων You-
 tie : εἰαιρῶν ed. pr. 1. ἱερέων 26 l. παρείληφεν 28 ἐν- : ε corr. from τ 30 ἡρμένας Youtie : ἡρμένας ed.
 pr. 30–31 l. ἀκωνίατον 31 l. παρείληφεν 33 l. εἰσαγαγῖν 34 ἃ μετροῦμεν Youtie : μετροῦμεν ed. pr.
 35–36 l. γράψαι 38 l. ἐπίδη 1. πρόκειται 39 l. σὲ ἐγκαλουμένους (l. ἐγκαλουμένους) Youtie : ἐγκαλομένους ed. pr.
 40 l. ἐσωμένην ἐπέξωδον 41 Ψοῖφρις : Ψοίφριος ed. pr. Μαρεψῆμις : Μαρεψῆμιος ed. pr. 42 Σικῆρις Youtie : Σικῆριος
 ed. pr. Πάχις τοῦ : Πάχιτος ed. pr. 43 Πακῆκις : Πακῆβκις ed. pr. 44 Πεσῶρις : Πεσοῦρις ed. pr. 45 l. οἱ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς
 ἐπειδεδώκαμεν 45–46 l. τὸ προκειμένον 46 ὑπόμ(μ)νημα Youtie : ὑπόμνημ(μ)α ed. pr. γεγ corr. from γερ 46–47 l. εἰδῶτων
 47 γράμ(μ)ατα Youtie : γράμματα ed. pr.

Translation

To Asklepiades, *strategos* of the *meris* of Polemon, from Marepsemis son of Marepsemis and Marsisouchus son of Sigeris and Pachis son of Marepsemis – these three being *hegoumenoi* – and Petosiris (5) son of Pakekis, *grammateus*, and Panesis son of Pakebkis and Marepkamis son of Marepkamis and Marepsemis son of Marepsemis *alias* Pesouris and Onnophris son of Psuphis and Marsisouchos son of Marsisouchos – these nine being *hegoumenoi* (10) and *grammateus* and representatives of the *phylai* of the same priests from Tebtunis of Kronos the mighty god, great and greatest. Whereas we have leased since long ago in previous years until the present year (15) and day to the deceased storehouse-guard Thenapunchis and to her living son Apunchis son of Harmiusis and to his wife Thaesis the working (grain) storehouse in the aforesaid village Tebtunis of Kronos the mighty god, great (20) and greatest, in which is a tower and beside it another tower and a gate-house, and, when we and our other priests received from the aforesaid Apunchis (25) and his wife Thaesis the storehouse, in which were some of the implements and doors that he had received, we found in the present month of Pharmouthi of the present 23rd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus that the attached (30) doors had been removed by them and (the storehouse) was unplastered, not as they had received it, so that we have been altogether prevented from being able to load into the same storehouse the tax contributions in wheat and (35) barley that we measure out in payment to the fisc, therefore we ask (you) to write to the *epistates* of Tebtunis, (so that) he, coming to the aforementioned storehouse, may both inspect it as mentioned and send the accused parties to you (40) for the coming punishment.

(*second hand*) We, Onnophris son of Psoiphis and Marepsemis son of Marepsemis and Marsisouchos son of Sikeris and Pachis son of Marepsemis and Petosiris son of Pakekis and Panisis son of Pakebkis and Marepakamis and Marepsemis son of Pesuris (45) and the rest of the priests, have submitted the preceding memorandum. I, Onnophris, have written (on their behalf) since they are illiterate.

(*third hand, Demotic*) Signed by Panesis son of Pakebkis (who) is the one who speaks: “I submit this memorandum concerning the taxes and the storehouse implements (of) this granary”. (*fourth hand, Demotic*) (Signed by) Marepsemis son of Marepsemis. (*fifth hand, Demotic*) (Signed by) Marepsemis (son of) Marepsemis (who is the one who) speaks: I (submit) this memorandum. (*sixth hand, Demotic*) Signed by Marepkamis son of the like-named.

Textual Notes

5 Πακήκιος : Πακή(β)κιος ed. pr., but the variant also appears in the writing of the same individual’s name below in line 43.

γραμματέους (l. γραμματεύς). On the form, which represents an orthographic variant of the genitive (γραμματέους for γραμματέως) in place of the nominative (to agree with Πετοσίρις; but the gen. is perhaps motivated by the preceding παρά), see Gignac, *Gram.* 2:85, where the present papyrus is cited.

6–7 Μαρεπκάμιος τοῦ Μαρεπκάμιος; so ed. pr.; Μαρεπκέμιος τοῦ Μαρεπκέμιος seems paleographically possible but in view of the writing Μαρεπακάμις in line 44, the former is preferable. On the name and its orthographic variants in Greek, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Proper Name MAPEIKAMIC/MAPEIKAIMIC*, *ZPE* 31 (1978), 123–125.

2–12. The structure of the Greek makes fairly clear that while all nine of the petitioners are priests of the temple of Soknebtunis, only the first three, Marepsemis son of Marepsemis, Marsisouchos son of Sigeris, and Pachis son of Marepsemis, are ἡγούμενοι (“presidents”); the fourth, Petosiris son of Pakekis, is γραμματέύς (“secretary”); the remaining five, Panesis son of Pakebkis, Marepkamis son of Marepkamis, Marepsemis son of Marepsemis *alias* Pesouris, Onnophris son of Psuphis, and Marsisouchos son of Marsisouchos, are ἀπὸ τῶν φυλῶν (“representatives of the tribes”), one for each of the five priestly tribes into

which the priests of Egyptian temples were divided since the Ptolemaic period (W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* [Leipzig 1905], 1:26–38; S. R. K. Glanville, The Admission of a Priest of Soknebtynis in the Second Century BC, *JEA* 19 [1933], 39–40; J. A. S. Evans, A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Graeco-Roman Period, *YCIS* 17 [1961], 180–183; J. Ray in id. [ed.], *O.Hor.*, pp. 79–80 and 141–142; S. Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret von Kanopus (238 v. Chr.)*, *ArchivBeih.* 18 [Leipzig 2004], 115–121 and 238–241); *contra* Youtie, *ZPE* 21, 196–197 and ed. pr. (cf. Mascellari, *Petizioni*, 640 n. 9; Youtie apparently later changed his mind and adopted an interpretation similar to the one offered here, according to an unpublished handwritten note of his mentioned in the catalogue entry of Paul Heilporn, available through the University of Michigan APIS database [http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1352/1269r.tif]). See also F. Mitthof in id. (ed.), *CPR* XXIII, pp. 7–8, and *Korr.*, *Tyche* 17 (2002), 249 no. 433. Line 45 further indicates that these nine petition on behalf of the Tebtunis priesthood as a whole.

The role of the ἡγούμενοι, whose title translates the Egyptian *mr-mš^c.w*, occasionally rendered as λεμῆσαι, has been discussed briefly by S. L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit in eadd. (edd.), *P.Dime* II, pp. 12 and 20; M. Schentuleit, Organization of the Priesthood in Soknopaiou Nesos. Transition between the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, *Edaphos* 1 (2015), 170 and 179–182; A. Winkler, Third Time’s the Charm? A Document from the Reign of Claudius and the Councilor Priests, Redux, *JARCE* 51 (2015), 78 n. 29 with references to further literature.

12 Κρόνου. This petition seems to be the earliest example of the identification of the god to whom the Tebtunis temple was consecrated, Soknebtunis, with the Greek Kronos, which becomes standard in later documents (F. Collin in H. Melaerts [ed.], *P.Bingen*, p. 235). For an example of the earlier phrasing, with a direct transliteration of the Egyptian, cf. the reference to a priest “of the god Soknebtunis, great and great” in a tax receipt of 125 B.C., *P.Tebt.* II 281 (*W.Chr.* 289), 12–16 παρὰ ... ἱερέως Σοκνεβτύνιος θεοῦ μεγάλου) μεγάλου. See further W. J. R. Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte im Faiyum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn 1974), 180–183 and Ronchi, *Lex.Theon.*, 596–597 s.v. Κρόνος (the present text should be added) and 998–1000 s.vv. Σοκνεβτῦνις and Σοκνεβτῦνις Κρόνος. On the unusual step of syncretisation, as it seems, undertaken by the subject Egyptians rather than their Roman overlords, as a possible example of conciliation towards the authorities, see Hickey in Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 507.

14. On the inclusion of the date, see Mascellari, *op.cit.*, 232–233.

25 τὸν τε θησαυρόν. The τε is not answered with a corresponding καί or τε in the subsequent clauses. Perhaps the writer originally intended a second object of παραλαβόντων such as σκεύη or θύρας but then opted to express the recovery of these items with a relative clause describing their location in the θησαυρός.

On the construction of grain storehouses as attested in archaeological evidence and the papyri, including the present petition, see G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d’après les papyrus grecs*, Publ.Sorb.Pap. 2 (Paris 1983), 91–93; and on removable doors and their specification in lease contracts, ead., *op.cit.*, 93–107; cf. also M. El-Amir in id. (ed.), *P.Fam.Theb.*, p. 87.

30–31 ἀκωνίατον (l. ἀκονίατον). On the necessity of covering the interior surfaces of the granary with a coating of plaster, for which the lessee was responsible, see Husson, *op.cit.*, 91.

32 κολάζεσθαι. Ed. pr. takes the verb as a synonym for κωλύεσθαι but without further comment. A parallel can probably also be seen in the letters *SB* XXIV 16289, requesting more supplies for a building project, “so that once we have begun the construction, we may not be impeded in any respect” (ἵνα ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν ἐν μηδενὶ κολαζώμεθα, 13–14; though ed. translates “pour que ... nous ne subissions aucun dommage”), and *O.Did.* 368, explaining difficulties in sending more items, “if I were not impeded, I would have sent you more” (εἰ μὴ ἐκολαζόμην, περισ(σ)ότερα ἄν σοι ἔπεμψα, 8–11; ed. translates the protasis as “if I were not short”, and κωλύομαι can in general mean “to be in need” [*LSJ* s.v. 4], but the preceding sentence suggests the present interpretation, as it explains the difficulty with reference to a specific obstacle, that the rider [ἵππεύς] taking the delivery departed before the writer could dispatch the shipment). There is probably a further example in *P.Col.* X 255, 16–18 (Theadelphia, A.D. 131; cf. *SB* XVIII

13311) ἐὰν δὲ κολάσωμαι τὸ κοπρη[γε]ῖ[ν], ἀποδώσω σοι τὰ ναῦλα διπλᾶ, “If I am impeded in (fail to provide, *ed.*) the transportation of dung, I will pay you the freight charges two-fold”, with the review of J.-L. Fournet, *REG* 112 (1999), 278–279, who finds an additional parallel in *P.IFAO* II 28, 6.

36–40. Most likely ἴνα is to be understood following ἐπιστάτη, construed with γράψε and governing the following subjunctives. Cf. note of *ed. pr. ad loc.* For the role of the ἐπιστάτης as chief village official (“superintendent”) and commander of local security personnel in the Ptolemaic period, responsible for investigation of crime scenes and summoning of defendants, see J. Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2013), 101–111; and for the present text also Mascellari, *op.cit.*, 429.

40 πρὸς τὴν ἐσωμένην ἐπέξωδον (l. ἐσομένην ἐπέξωδον). It has now been convincingly shown that ἐπέξωδος here refers to judgment dispensed by the στρατηγός, very likely punishment specifically, and not to additional proceedings at an “assize” as *ed. pr.* and others had interpreted (see Kelly, *Petitions*, 190–191; R. Mascellari, Note a petizione di epoca romana, *Anal.Pap.* 21–22 [2009–2010], 143–147; cf. *P.Bingen* 58, 25). The participle ἐσομένη may take on the additional connotation “appropriate” as suggested particularly by the seemingly interchangeable use of ἐσομένη and δέουσα to qualify ἐπέξωδος in parallel texts (Mascellari, *art.cit.*, 144 n. 19), but the more neutral translation “coming” has been maintained here, which also fits with the same rhetorical effect: the petitioners profess to take for granted that whatever judgment the στρατηγός dispenses will be the appropriate one.

41–45. Only eight of the nine named petitioners are repeated here; the order of their names is the same, except that the writer of the subscription, Onnophris son of Psoiphis (Psuphis), promotes himself to the head of the list, while the last, Marsisouchos son of Marsisouchos, is subsumed here within “the rest of the priests” (οἱ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς). It is therefore possible that he was not present when the subscription was drafted. He is not mentioned in the Demotic subscription, as Youtie and Zauzich assumed, in which the signatories are in fact one of the three ἡγούμενοι, Marepsemis son of Marepsemis, and three φύλη representatives, Panesis son of Pakebkis, Marepsemis son of Marepsemis, and Marepkamis son of Marepkamis. It is no longer possible to distinguish between the two Marepsemis-homonyms, as neither includes an *alias* for his father in the Demotic subscriptions.

Onnophris son of Psoiphis, Marsisouchos son of Marsisouchos, and Marepsemis son of Marepsemis (one or the other) are also among the priests who subscribed P.Mich. inv. 664 (*P.Zauz.* 59 = *P.Mich.* V 342; K. Ryholt, Demotic Receipts for Temple-tax on Property Transfer at Tebtunis in the Roman Period (*P. Carlsberg* 268, 431, 432, 469, 582; *P. Mich. Inv.* 664; *P. Botti* II), in F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen [edd.], *Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich*, *Stud.Demot.* 6 [Leuven 2004], 518; Winkler, *art.cit.*, 75–91, esp. 77). Only Marepsemis son of Marepsemis signed both documents in Demotic (see note to l. 48 below).

41 Ψοῖφης: Ψοίφρος *ed. pr.* No trace of an ο or the crossbar of an ε is visible. If there is any ink, as opposed to some other discoloration of the papyrus, between the c and the preceding letter, it is better regarded as the light tracing of the lift-line from the bottom of the latter. In this and the following patronymics, the writer seems to treat the name as indeclinable (that it is not merely an error of nominative for genitive is suggested by the consistent repetition for the rest of the names).

Μαρεψημῆς: Μαρεπήμιος *ed. pr.* Only faint traces of the end of the name remain; the space seems insufficient for ο, and the practice of this writer supports the termination in -ης.

43 Πακήκεις: Πακήβεις *ed. pr.*, see note to line 5.

44 Πεσούρις: Πεσοῦρις *ed. pr.* The variant is rare but paralleled, cf. *P.Petr.* III 102 ii 4, and fits the traces better than the reading of *ed. pr.*; it also seems preferable to Πισούρις, which is palaeographically possible but even less common. The patronym here uses only the second part of the double name given to this individual in 7–8, Μαρεπήμιος τοῦ Μαρεπήμιος Πεσοῦρις.

45 ἱερεῦσι. The use of dative for nominative is difficult to explain; we know of no parallels.

46–47 γέγραφα μὴ εἰδῶτων γράμματα. Understand ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν after γέγραφα, as suggested by *ed. pr. ad loc.* The formula, on which see the studies of Youtie cited above (n. 7), must apply here only to Greek γράμματα; indeed, Panesis son of Pakebkis wrote the initial formula of the Demotic subscription, and three





other priests signed in Demotic (vide supra n. to ll. 41–45). For an example of a scribe who worked in both Demotic and Greek at Tebtunis in the Roman period, see commentary to P.Mich. inv. 664. Youtie suggests that Petosiris son of Pakekis would have been able to write Demotic in his role as priestly γραμματεὺς (*art. cit.*, 196–197). Curiously he did not subscribe here in Demotic, however. See e.g. S. Sauneron, Les conditions d'accès à la fonction sacerdotale à l'époque gréco-romaine, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 55–57; S. L. Lippert, *Pap.Congr.* XXV, 427–434, for the language proficiency of the Egyptian clergy.


47 *Pa-n-'Is.t (pa) Pa-Gbk*. See S. P. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, *Stud.Demot.* 9 (Leuven 2011), 2:846–851 (§33) for *pa* expressing filiation, formerly read as *sz* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 402). Note with R. A. Parker, An Abstract of a Loan in Demotic from the Fayum, *Rev.d'Ég.* 24 (1972), 134 n. 2, that the omission of this word is common in Fayumic documents.

mqm appears to be an error for *mqqm* “memorandum, petition” (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 183), correctly written in line 49. It is possible, however, that the final *q* was not always pronounced; *mqqm* without a final *q* (*mqm*) reoccurs in several Roman-period texts from, for instance, Narmouthis (e.g. *O.Dem.Narm.* III 116, 5; 120, 3; 186, 15), but cf. Crum, *Dict.*, 162a. The Egyptian term usually translates the Greek ὑπόμνημα (Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, 323–324; K. Sethe in id. [ed.], *P.Bürgsch.*, p. 250). The phrase *di.t (n) pzy mqm<q>* “submit this memorandum” is therefore a one-to-one rendering of ἐπίδιδωμι ... ὑπόμνημα (cf. ll. 45–46). Note the use of the plant determinative with this noun.








For additional Roman-era Demotic *mqqm*-documents written by the priests of Tebtunis, see e.g. *P.Cair.* II 31221 and *P.Zauz.* 60 (with corrections in J. F. Quack, review of F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen [edd.], *Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor*, *Dem.Stud.* 6 [Wiesbaden 2004], *Archiv* 51 [2005], 185).

The preposition *r* at the end of this line should be translated as “concerning, regarding” (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 236); it does not indicate direction, nor can it be understood as a nominal circumstantial converter, as the first translation seems to do (Zauzich *apud* Youtie, *art.cit.*, 197). Had a direction been implied, the preposition *n* would have been expected instead (cf. e.g. *P.Fitzhug.* 1, 1–3, 9–10; G. R. Hughes, On Two Demotic Egyptian ‘Memoranda’, *Serapis* 6 [1980], 63–64; *P.Siut.* 10591vo cols. 4, 22; 7, 5; *P.Oxf.Griff.* 37, 8; 38, 9; 39, 21; 41, 1, 14; cf. also Depauw, *op.cit.*, 324–325).

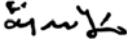
48 *n3 htr(.w)*.  cannot be read as “Onnophris (?)” (cf. *NB Dem.*, 118–119), as suggested in the previous translation (Zauzich *apud* Youtie, *loc.cit.*) and must be understood as two groups. The first one appears to begin with *s* (), but to interpret the group as a noun beginning with *s* is implausible considering that a preceding article would be lacking. What makes the horizontal stroke resemble *s* is a vague slightly curved vertical line, probably only a smudge, that coalesces with the horizontal one in the left corner. A plausible interpretation is to take it as the horizontal and occasionally slightly bent top stroke of the pl. def. article *n3* (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 202) below which  is written (cf. ). Another possible, but less likely, solution would be to read the first group as a somewhat misshapen feminine definite article *t3* (id., *op.cit.*, 597); the usually masculine noun *htr* (v.i.) also seems to have a feminine form (e.g. *P.Dime* II 34, 5; 69, 7).

The next word begins with  (*h*), but due to the lacuna in the papyrus its exact reading must remain hypothetical; the end of the word is partially lost. A plausible suggestion would be to interpret it as *htr(.w)* “taxes, duties, charges” (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 343; cf. also R. Jasnow, The Dispute in the Hawara Necropolis Reopened, in Hoffmann and Thissen [edd.], *op.cit.*, 270 with further references; Lippert and Schentuleit in eadd. [edd.], *op.cit.*, pp. 12–13; W. Wegner, Zu den Fischereiabgaben in Soknopaiu Nesos, *ZPE* 165 [2008], 164), referring to the grain which the priests were supposed to store in the granary and later remit as public taxes (v.i.). Here the plural form *n3 htr(.w)* may refer to more than one impost or charge that the temple had to surrender to the state (cf. e.g. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, *Princ.Stud.* Pap. 2 [London 1938], 238–254; Evans, *art.cit.*, 245–259; Lippert and Schentuleit in eadd. [edd.], *op.cit.*, 9–14).

Due to a hole in the papyrus it is not certain whether the traces of ink preceding *grg* (v.i.) represent the end of *htr* or a plural definite article *nʒ*. The latter interpretation would make grammatical sense, however, and the scant traces of ink appear to fit this reading.

grg. Though *grg* “equipment, implements (*vel sim.*)” (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 586–587) is partially lost in a hole in the papyrus, the ink traces suit the suggested reading (cf. e.g. *PSI VIII 909*, 3 ) . The ultimate *g* appears, however, to be written unusually high up on the *rl* (cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* III Dem. 1, 7), but that would apply to any sign following *rl*, unless another one was not written below it. *grg* is often written with the granules determinative in Tebtunis (e.g. *P.Cair.* II 30630, 10  and 30631, 11  : A. Winkler, Swapping Lands in Ptolemaic Tebtunis. A Reassessment of *P.Cairo* II 30630 and 30631, in Y. Broux and M. Depauw [edd.], *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies*, OLA 231 [Wiesbaden 2014], 361–390, ed. pr. W. Spiegelberg, *P.Cair.* II; cf. Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 587), but in those instances it usually refers to agricultural implements or animals (C. Martin, A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P.BM 10560, *JEA* 72 [1986], 168–169). The verbal form is on occasion written with the house determinative (e.g. *P.Cair.* II 30617a, 4 ; *P.Mich.* V 253, 5 ). The remains of the determinative  could therefore be interpreted as the house sign rather than that representing the granules; in the latter case one would expect an additional circular sign on top of the one preserved (v.i.). If so, the house determinative would be written in the abbreviated form (cf. *P.Tebt.* I 227: Parker, *art.cit.*, 130; A. Winkler, New Names, Divine Dues, and Archaising Terminology: Three Notes on P.Zauzich 59 and the διδραχμία τοῦ Σούχου in Roman Tebtunis, *Archiv* 60 [2014], 129–132, esp. 131). What may argue against the reading of the determinative as a house, however, is that the same scribe wrote the fuller form  (cf. Vleeming, *op.cit.*, 2:861–862 [§42]) in the following word (v.i.). Alternatively, the sign could be read as the plural determinative, which would fit grammatically, but would be unusual for *grg*.

grg(w) (n) mḥ(y). Though *mḥ(y)* “granary, storehouse” (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 176) qualifies *grg* the expression “storehouse implements” must correspond to σκεύη (l. 26) in the Greek section and probably also includes the removed doors (l. 30). Whether the Egyptian term also encompasses the plaster(ing) remains an open question.

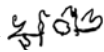



pʒy wdʒ. The word represented by the ligature  is a noun; it is preceded by the masculine demonstrative pronoun, but its interpretation is problematic. The group can be read in several ways, depending on the two determinatives. The second of the two is the granules determinative, while the first can be understood either as the abbreviated book-roll or a shorthand writing for the house (vide supra). The demonstrative pronoun signals that it is a known entity, something already mentioned in the petition. Therefore *wdʒ* “granary, depot, storehouse, treasury” (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 109; J. F. Quack, Zu einigen demotischen Gruppen umstrittener Lesung, in S. P. Vleeming [ed.], *Aspects of Demotic Orthography*, Stud. Demot. 11 [Leuven 2013], 106–111) seems to be the most plausible suggestion. This reading is possible if the first determinative is the abbreviated form of the house (vide supra). The granules determinative is used rarely in this context, but could be indicating that the magazines are used for storing grain. Alternatively the scribe conflated two graphically similar words, e.g. *šp* with *wdʒ* (cf. Ryholt, *art.cit.*, 520, for a conflation between *rʒ* “mouth” and *šp* “reception” in *P.Mich.* inv. 664, which are written with similar ligatures; add e.g. *P.Zauz.* 56, 3 for another example). *wdʒ* often renders θησαυρός (Sethe in id. [ed.], *op.cit.*, 176), but the fact that a barn or storehouse (*mḥy*) is already mentioned may militate against this interpretation. Yet there seems to be a slight difference in meaning between the two Egyptian nouns. *mḥy* designates a particular building (e.g. *P.Siut* 10591vo col. 8, 8) or a storage area of a larger structure, i.e. that of a house for instance (e.g. *P.Brit.Mus.* EA 10075, 3; *P.Bodl. Ms. Eg.* a. 41, 3; M. Cannata, Papyrus BM EA 10075 and Papyrus Bodleian Ms. Egypt. a. 41 (P): Two Halves of a Ptolemaic Contract of Sale Reunited, *JEA* 92 [2006], 185–203), while *wdʒ* seems to be used for the institution (village, state, or temple granary, cf. e.g. *O.Med.Hab.* 65–93; P. Heilporn in id. [ed.], *O.Stras.* II, p. 27; Wallace, *op.cit.*, 35–36) or perhaps a complex of storage buildings (cf. ll. 20–22: Husson, *op.cit.*, 91–92; Gallazzi, *Acme* 55, 13–18). It should be noted that *mḥy* is written without a definite article and therefore does not serve as object in its own right, but as a qualifier of *grg* (vide supra).

Although the Demotic text is properly a subscription, the first signatory, Panesis son of Pakebkis, recapitulates the content of the text (ll. 47–48), enumerating the main points of the petition. After stating that he has submitted the petition, he mentions the dues, which the priests had to pay, and the storehouse implements, probably also referring to the stolen doors. Though the priesthood submitted the petition to the authorities in order to get compensation for the damage caused by the lessees, the inability to pay taxes would also have been a major concern for them, and possibly the authorities as well. The risk of being unable to remit payments in grain to the fisc may therefore be regarded as a second theme of the petition, perhaps even serving to place a valid excuse for potential arrears on official record in advance.

Since both the taxes and the storehouse implements are mentioned in the subscription, it resembles a docket for the document, contrary to Youtie's assumption (*art.cit.*, 197). Because the three lines of Egyptian were autographed by the signatories, however, it is unlikely that the Egyptian text was supposed to serve as a caption summarizing the main content of the text for an Egyptian temple official unversed in Greek, as may have been the case on occasion in bilingual documents (cf. R. Mairs, Bilingual 'Tagging' of Financial Accounts in Demotic and Greek, *ZÄS* 139 [2012], 38–45; G. Mattha in id. [ed.], *O. Mattha*, pp. 31–32).

On paleographical grounds, it seems next to certain that the first of the two Marepsemis-homonyms also signed the temple receipt P.Mich. inv. 664, as signer no. 10 (the numbering of the signers follows the edition in Winkler, *JARCE* 51, 91). The first individual's name was misread as Marepkemis son of Marepkemis in the previous translation (v.i. l. 49). The same erroneous reading is also found in K.-Th. Zauzich, review of E. Bresciani, *L'archivio Demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos*, TDSA 49 (Milan 1975), *Enchoria* 6 (1976), 133.

49. *twꜣy* can be interpreted as either the first pers. procl. pronoun, in which case the signer forgot to introduce a verb, *di.t*, following the phrasing found in line 47. Alternatively it can be read as the perfect form of the verb *di.t*, which would correspond to ἐπιδέδωκα (cf. ἐπειδέδωκαμεν [l. ἐπιδεδώκαμεν] in 45). It is notable that *mqmq* in this line is written with what seems to be a wood determinative in the same function as the plant determinative in line 47.

$M_3^c-R^c-qm_3$ (*pa*) *sp-sn.w*. The final name  was misread in the first translation as: "Mares son of the like-named" and was understood as a shortened form of Marsisouchos (Youtie, *art.cit.*, 198 n. 4), thus Marsisouchos son of Marsisouchos. The sign read as *sp-sn.w* "ditto" in the first translation must be read as *qm_3*, however, thus $M_3^c-R^c-qm_3$, a variant of $M_3^c-R^c-p_3-gm$ (*NB Dem.*, 581), which is rendered Marepekemis (or similar) in Greek (vide supra n. to ll. 6–7). But the name is followed by an unmistakable *sp-sn.w*  (Erichsen, *op.cit.*, 425–426; Vleeming, *op.cit.*, 2:906–907 [§95]). The name Marepekemis is discussed in more detail in Winkler, *art.cit.*, 89–90. For additional Demotic writings from Tebtunis of the name Marepkemis, see the patronymic in the names <P>-*Syf* (*pa*) $M_3^c-R^c-qm_3$ "<P>suphis (son of) Marepkemis"  (signer no. 4) and $M_3^c-R^c-hm$ (*pa*) $M_3^c-R^c-qm_3$ "Marepsemis, (son of) Marepkemis"  (signer no. 5) in P.Mich. inv. 664.

Andreas Winkler, University of Oxford
andreas.winkler@orinst.ox.ac.uk

Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, University of California, Berkeley
michael.zellmann-rohrer@berkeley.edu