

Place Date Language Material Number of texts Type Collections  Find/Acquisition	<p><b>Satabous son of Herieus</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;">ArchID 151. Version I (2013) Francisca Hoogendijk and Birgit Feucht</p>
	<p>Arsinoites (Fayum), meris of Herakleides, Soknopaiou Nesos 20 BC - AD 75 or 88 Greek and Demotic Papyrus 41 certain, 10 uncertain <b>Family archive (2 or 3 generations) (including two lawsuits dossiers)</b> Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum; Cambridge, Westminster College; London, British Library; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Probably found during unofficial excavations at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the Berlin texts may have been excavated by Zucker in 1909.<sup>1</sup> The London texts have been acquired between 1890 and 1895.<sup>2</sup></p>
<p><b>Bibliography</b></p>	<p>P.R. SWARNEY, <i>The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos</i> (ASP 8), Toronto, 1970, p. 41-49.</p> <p>G. MESSERI SAVORELLI, <i>Papiri greci di Soknopaiou Nesos e dell' Arsinoites</i> (CPR XV), Wien, 1990, p. 11-37.</p> <p>F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK, 'Het 'Nestnêphis-proces'. Een strijd tussen Egyptische priesters in de 1ste eeuw n. Chr.', <i>Hermeneus</i> 66 (1994), p. 255-262.</p> <p>M. SCHENTULEIT, 'Die spätdemotische Hausverkaufsurkunde P. BM 262: Ein bilingues Dokument aus Soknopaiou Nesos mit griechischen Übersetzungen', <i>Enchoria</i> 27 (2001), p. 127-154.</p> <p>TH. KRUSE, <i>Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung</i> (AfP Beiheft 11), München-Leipzig, 2002, p. 532-537.</p> <p>H.-A. RUPPRECHT, 'Die Streitigkeiten zwischen Satabous und Nestnephis', in G. THÜR / F.J. FERNÁNDEZ NIETO (eds.), <i>Symposion 1999. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 14)</i>, Köln [etc.], 2003, p. 481-492.</p> <p>N. KRUIT / B. MUHS / K.A. WORP, 'A Bilingual Sale of a House and Loan of Money from Soknopaiou Nesos (P. Boswinkel 1), in F. HOFFMANN / H.J. THISEN (eds.), <i>Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004</i>, Leuven [etc.], 2004, p. 339-368.</p> <p>A. JÖRDENS, 'Griechische Papyri in Soknopaiou Nesos', in S. LIPPERT / M. SCHENTULEIT (eds.), <i>Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römischen Fayum</i>, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 41-56, spec. 45-46.</p> <p>F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK, 'P. Vindob. G 31933: Griechische Übersetzung einer demotisch-griechischen Hauskaufurkunde', <i>ZPE</i> 156 (2006), p. 199-216.</p> <p>M. SCHENTULEIT, 'Satabous aus Soknopaiou Nesos: Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit', <i>CdE</i> 82 (2007), p. 101-125.</p>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *P. Dime* III, introduction p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *P. Lond.* II, Preface.

Description

The find circumstances of this archive are unknown. The family archive consists of 41 certain texts archived by Satabous (who also kept a document of his father), his sons and grandchildren; there are at least 10 uncertain texts. The majority of the archive is formed by documents related to the Nestnephis and the Harpagathes lawsuits.<sup>3</sup> Satabous' archive also contains two literary papyri. A number of receipts written by or made out to Satabous or his offspring in their function of priest were probably kept in the temple archive and are therefore not counted as belonging to the family archive of Satabous.

Satabous, son of Herieus junior and Satabous senior,<sup>4</sup> was probably born around 35 BC and must have died before AD 21/22.<sup>5</sup> Like his father, Satabous was a priest (ἱερεὺς) in the temple of Soknopaios at Soknopaiou Nesos. In a Demotic receipt for sacrificial wheat of 12 BC,<sup>6</sup> written by Satabous,<sup>7</sup> he described himself as a 'priest in charge' (*p3 w' b nty ir hny.t*) of the second phyle, who had the task of collecting the wheat from the storehouse and taking it to the temple bakery.<sup>8</sup> Satabous used the same title in the colophon of a collection of hymns.<sup>9</sup>

From 11 to 5 BC Satabous acted as the 'scribe of the priests' (*sh n3 w' b.w*), one of the most important financial functions within the temple. The one year function was probably allotted to Satabous for 6 years in a row.<sup>10</sup> The scribe of the priests was, among other things, responsible for the revenues and expenditures of the temple. For all revenues taken in by Satabous and handed over to the temple administration, he received a receipt.<sup>11</sup> From 7 BC onwards Satabous also carried the honorary priestly title of 'Lord of Pureness, Governor of the Lake "The Large Green of Nephorsatis"' (*nb w' b.w hry sy w3d-wr N3-nfr-ir-šty.t*).<sup>12</sup>

Satabous married Thaeisis, daughter of Pisais and Thaeisis, with whom he had four sons: Herieus senior, Pisais, Stotoetis and Herieus junior, and four daughters: Satabous, Thaeisis, Thases and Tesenouphis.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>3</sup> It can, however, not be excluded that the contracts and official copies, written and/or registered in the record office (γραφεῖον) of Soknopaiou Nesos, which are assumed to belong to this archive, in fact stem from the *grapheion* archive. Cf. Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 1: 'oder sogar das Grapheion, in dem man einerseits die offiziellen Kopien, andererseits vielleicht auch private Exemplare aus Sicherheitsgründen verwahrte.' For the *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos, cf. *P. Dime* III, p. 103-108.

<sup>4</sup> Mother and son have the same name. Satabous is in origin an Aramaic name, which in Roman Egypt was used for men and women alike, cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Satabous must have been at least 20 years old when he functioned as a 'priest in charge' in *P. Dime* II 44 of 12 BC, cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 112-113. Moreover, he was a party in the contract *P. Dime* III 36 of 20 BC and therefore adult by that date. Satabous is assumed to have died at the time of the contract of division of his properties between his children, *P. Dime* III 37 of AD 21/22.

<sup>6</sup> *P. Dime* II 44.

<sup>7</sup> On Satabous' handwriting, see Schentuleit 2007, p. 111-112.

<sup>8</sup> Schentuleit 2007, p. 108-109.

<sup>9</sup> P. Vienna inv. no. D 6951: see below with note 83.

<sup>10</sup> No evidence has been found for the 22nd (9-8 BC) and 23rd (8-7 BC) regnal year. According to Schentuleit 2007, p. 109 with n. 49 it is, however, possible that Satabous held this job continuously from 11 to 5 BC.

<sup>11</sup> *P. Dime* II 56 (11 BC), 57 (10 BC), 58 (9 BC), 59 (9 BC), 60 (7 BC), 61 (6 BC), 62 (6/5 BC), 63 (6-5 BC), 64 (5 BC). See Schentuleit 2007, p. 109.

<sup>12</sup> *P. Dime* II 60-64; *P. Dime* III 5; in the Greek translations *CPR* XV 1-3 and *SB* I 5231, 5275 the title is phonetically rendered as νεβουαπει ρισηι γετου Νεφορσαται and variants. For this title see Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* II, p. 15 and *P. Dime* III, p. 111.

<sup>13</sup> *P. Dime* III 37 (AD 21/22), a contract of division of property of Satabous between his four sons and three of his daughters on one side, and the fourth daughter Satabous on the other side. The children are probably listed in order of seniority.

THE NESTNEPHIS LAWSUIT: A FAMILY FEUD

Satabous' life was marked by two lawsuits. The famous Nestnephis lawsuit appears to have been a climax in a long standing feud between the families of Nestnephis and Satabous. Below a survey is given of its preamble, the actual lawsuit and the aftermath.

In AD 11 Satabous bought a house<sup>14</sup> with a veranda (προνήσιον), an atrium and empty plots (ψιλοί τόποι) for 740 drachmas from the priest (προφήτης και ἀρχιστολιστής) Chairemon and his wife Tomsais. According to the receipt an advance (ἄρραβών) of 300 drachmas was paid on the 18th of Hathyr.<sup>15</sup> The remaining sum was paid seven days later and a Demotic contract of sale and cession was written, provided with a Greek registration, a Greek subscription by Chairemon and a Demotic one by Satabous.<sup>16</sup> Subscriptions were usually written in Greek. Satabous, however, preferred Demotic, probably because he could not write Greek.<sup>17</sup> Five Greek translations of this document survive, which were probably used as evidence in court by Satabous (in AD 14-15).<sup>18</sup> After the sale was completed, Satabous started building on his newly acquired land.<sup>19</sup>

Around AD 14 the priest Nestnephis, son of Teses, filed a complaint<sup>20</sup> against Satabous with the royal scribe Asklepiades.<sup>21</sup> Some empty plots (ψιλοί τόποι) Nestnephis wanted to buy from the Idios Logos were already occupied by Satabous.<sup>22</sup> According to Nestnephis, the house (and land) Satabous had bought, had been ownerless (ἄδέσποτον) and belonged to the Idios Logos instead of to Chairemon.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the real value of the property would have been 1500 instead of 700 drachmas.<sup>24</sup> Finally, in AD 13, during the building of some walls,<sup>25</sup> Satabous would have incorporated an adjacent piece of ownerless land, worth 300 drachmas.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For details of houses in Soknopaiou Nesos, cf. Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 116-119.

<sup>15</sup> *P. Vind. Sal.* 4. On the verso one line of Demotic is preserved, containing a summary of the document.

<sup>16</sup> *P. Dime* III 5 (including the Greek part earlier published as *P. Lond.* II 262). The contract was registered in Psinachis, even though Soknopaiou Nesos had its own *grapheion*, cf. above, note 3.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. G. Messeri Savorelli, *CPR* XV, p. 19; Schentuleit 2001, p. 153. For Demotic contracts and their subscriptions cf. M. Depauw, 'Autograph Confirmation in Demotic Private Contracts', *CdE* 78 (2003), p. 89-96; H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der Griechischen papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft X.5.2)*, München, 1978, p. 41; Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 40-50.

<sup>18</sup> *SB* I 5231, *SB* I 5275, *CPR* XV 2, 3 and 4. Since translations into Greek were often made in view of legal proceedings before a Greek court, these five documents must have been written after Nestnephis had filed his petition in AD 14. Cf. Hoogendijk 1994, p. 257; Hoogendijk 2006, p. 201; Schentuleit 2007, p. 105.

<sup>19</sup> *Chrest. Mitt.* 68, 11-12. These building works involved houses for Satabous' children, cf. Hoogendijk 2006, p. 204; Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 422.

<sup>20</sup> *CPR* XV 5, a fragmentary summary of the original petition, which is lost.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Chrest. Mitt.* 68, 3 and *SB* I 5239, 2.

<sup>22</sup> *Chrest. Mitt.* 68, 5.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. e.g. *SB* I 5240, 2. So even though the petition is directed against Satabous alone, the previous ownership of Chairemon is denounced as well.

<sup>24</sup> In *CPR* XV 5 the price paid by Satabous is stated as 700 drachmas. In the receipt of the advance paid by Satabous (*P. Vind. Sal.* 4), 740 drachmas is mentioned. It is possible that Nestnephis did not have the correct information or maybe even that Satabous, after having paid the advance, managed to lower the price from 740 to 700 drachmas. Cf. G. Messeri Savorelli, *CPR* XV 5, p. 26 comm. to l. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the petition of Satabous *SB* I 5232, 24-27.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *SB* I 5232, 26-27 and also *SB* I 5236 + 5237 (two fragments of the same text, cf. Hoogendijk 2006, p. 204, n. 29). *SB* I 5236 + 5237 are a copy of a report, with on the verso the remains of one unpublished line of Demotic. According to Hoogendijk 1994, p. 258 and Swarney 1970, p. 43 this was the piece of land Nestnephis wanted to buy from the Idios Logos, but since *Chrest. Mitt.* 68, 5-8 clearly states that Nestnephis was interested in buying the empty plot sold by Chairemon to Satabous, it is better to regard Satabous and not Nestnephis as the subject in 5237, 4.

Since ownerless property was the competence of the Idios Logos, the case was transferred to Seppius Rufus by the royal scribe.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, Satabous and Nestnephis were summoned to appear before the Idios Logos on the conventus (διαλογισμός) in Alexandria before the end of Epeiph.<sup>28</sup> In the petition of which *Chrest. Mitt.* 68<sup>29</sup> is a draft, Satabous asked the Idios Logos to register his presence.<sup>30</sup>

Around the same time the complaint was filed and dealt with by the Idios Logos in AD 14-15, the feud got out of hand. First, a complaint was filed against Nestnephis by Satabous' oldest son Herieus,<sup>31</sup> who was also a priest. Multiple charges were pressed: illegal occupation of ἀδέσποτα, theft of bricks (πλίνθοι) from the Herakles sanctuary and possibly also the evasion of taxes levied on oil mills.<sup>32</sup> Further information on this case is missing. At the end of Pachon AD 14, Satabous was beaten up by Nestnephis and some accomplices.<sup>33</sup> During the following night Nestnephis came back with his accomplices, entered Satabous' house, a mill,<sup>34</sup> and stole a mill stone. Satabous petitioned to the *strategos* Dionysodorus (and his deputy Diophantos)<sup>35</sup> and to the prefect Magius Maximus.<sup>36</sup> Nestnephis was sentenced to return the mill stone. He refused and beat up Satabous again. Satabous sent a third petition, to the centurion Lucretius,<sup>37</sup> but it is not clear how this conflict ended.

At or after the conventus, on 6 Epeiph AD 15, the Idios Logos ordered an investigation into Satabous' real estate. Four copies of his letters to the centurion Lucretius and the royal scribe Asklepiades have been preserved.<sup>38</sup> After the investigation was finished, reports had to be presented again to the next conventus. Satabous, who had requested a delay of the lawsuit so as to gather his evidence, was ordered to present this evidence, which had to be inspected by the centurion first, at the same conventus.

After this order of the Idios Logos, Satabous sent him a petition:<sup>39</sup> the sale contract of AD 11, which had to be inspected as a part of the Idios Logos' investigation, was not to be found in the

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Hoogendijk 1994, p. 258. *SB* I 5236 + 5237 might be a copy of the report sent by the royal scribe to the *Idios Logos*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Chrest. Mitt.* 68, 12-15.

<sup>29</sup> The draft *Chrest. Mitt.* 68 was written on the back of a used scrap of papyrus, cf. Hoogendijk 1994, p. 258.

<sup>30</sup> Whether Satabous was present, is, however, not sure. Cf. Rupprecht 2003, p. 483 n. 6; Schentuleit 2007, p. 105; Swarney 1970, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> *Pace* Schentuleit 2007, p. 115, who assumes this is Herieus junior, who would, however, probably be too young to hand in a petition at that time.

<sup>32</sup> *SB* I 5233. The date of this complaint is not preserved, but a date of circa AD 14 seems likely.

<sup>33</sup> Swarney 1970, p. 42, who could not know the texts in *CPR* XV, dates this affair to AD 12.

<sup>34</sup> *CPR* XV 1 (3 BC) is a Greek translation of the Demotic contract of cession of the mill. Satabous bought the mill from Satabous and Papos. The Greek translation may have been made to prove Satabous' ownership in court. On the verso some traces of Greek have been preserved.

<sup>35</sup> *CPR* XV 7 may be part of the petition to Dionysodorus. This petition possibly clarified the theft's connection to the lawsuit on the ἀδέσποτα. Unfortunately too little of the papyrus is preserved. Cf. also Rupprecht 2003, p. 486.

<sup>36</sup> *SB* I 5235.

<sup>37</sup> *SB* I 5238.

<sup>38</sup> *SB* I 5239 (to the royal scribe Asklepiades), *SB* I 5954 (to centurion Lucretius), *P. Lond.* II 276 a (p. 148) (to centurion Lucretius) and *SB* X 10308 (to centurion Lucretius; the verso of this text contains one unpublished line in Demotic). The *strategos* was also involved in the investigation (cf. *SB* I 5954). No letter to him was preserved.

<sup>39</sup> *SB* I 5232. Rupprecht 2003, p. 484-485 suggests that Satabous' petition was a reaction on a preceding one by Nestnephis, in which Nestnephis had already drawn attention to the not registered sale contract of AD 11. Such a petition is, however, not preserved.

official archive (βιβλιοθήκη) of Alexandria. Apparently, the local notaries (συναλλαγματογράφοι) Sokrates and Sambas had never officially registered the contract in the capital and, as a consequence, the contract had no legal authority. Hence, Satabous requested an investigation into the notaries' responsibility.<sup>40</sup>

During the conventus of AD 16, probably in Memphis,<sup>41</sup> judgement was finally rendered by the Idios Logos. Three copies of Seppius Rufus' sentence have been preserved.<sup>42</sup> Chairemon vowed in court that the sold property was originally his via his parents, but this vow was apparently not taken into account, as written title deeds were lacking.<sup>43</sup> Chairemon's vow was countered by Nestnephis, who contended that the empty plots (ψιλοὶ τόποι) sold by Chairemon had belonged to an old *laarches* and had afterwards become part of the ownerless property (ἀδέσποτα) of the Idios Logos.<sup>44</sup> The college of elders (πρεσβύτεροι), which had also been consulted, decided the matter by stating that the empty plots (sold in AD 11)<sup>45</sup> seemed to be ownerless (ἀδέσποτοι). Finally, Satabous was sentenced to pay 500 drachmas as a guarantee (ἐπιβεβαίωσις)<sup>46</sup> of the empty plots. By paying this fine, Satabous remained the owner of the land. A copy of the receipt of payment by Satabous on 26 Phaophi AD 17 is preserved in *SB I 5240*.

Remarkably, this sentence focused only on the empty plots (ψιλοὶ τόποι) sold in AD 11. The land which Satabous was said to have incorporated in AD 13 and the house are no longer mentioned.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps the sentence on the house is lost or Satabous was not sentenced for the house at all.<sup>48</sup> According to Rupprecht, the πρεσβύτεροι declared that the house was property of Chairemon's family (and thus lawfully his to sell).<sup>49</sup> Finally, no sentence is passed on the validity of the sale by Chairemon to Satabous. Whether Satabous ever pressed charges against Chairemon for selling him ownerless property (ἀδέσποτα), is unclear.<sup>50</sup>

This final sentence implies that Nestnephis was not able to buy the empty plots (ψιλοὶ τόποι),

<sup>40</sup> The outcome of this petition is unknown.

<sup>41</sup> Hoogendijk 1994, p. 260; Schentuleit 2007, p. 106.

<sup>42</sup> *P. Lond.* II 355, *CPR XV 6* and *SB I 5240*.

<sup>43</sup> *SB I 5240*, 9-12; *P. Lond.* II 355, 1-5. In the contract of AD 11 Chairemon promised to help Satabous, whenever his ownership was doubted by a third party. Cf. *P. Dime* III 5, lines DG 6-8, DA 5-7, GH 6. In *Chrest. Mitt.* 68, 10-11, Satabous also stated that Chairemon had inherited the property from his parents. He had, however, crossed these words out in his draft, maybe because he already knew at that point that this could not be proven in court. Cf. Hoogendijk 1994, p. 258.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *P. Lond.* II 355; *CPR XV 6*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *P. Lond.* II 355, 9-11; *CPR XV 6*, 5-7.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Rupprecht 2003, p. 486: 'eines Entgelts mit Bußcharakter'.

<sup>47</sup> Pace Rupprecht 2003, p. 488, who states that it is unclear whether the judgement focuses on the empty land (ψιλοὶ τόποι) bought in AD 11 or on the empty plots, which Satabous supposedly incorporated in AD 13. Schentuleit 2007, p. 106, doubts whether the land bought in AD 11 is involved or some other plot of land not mentioned in any other document. The priests' verdict, however, focused on the empty land (ψιλοὶ τόποι) sold in AD 11 (*CPR XV 6*, 5-6: *περὶ δὲ μόνω[ν] τῶν πεπραμένων ψιλῶ[ν] τό[πων] κεχε[ι]ρογραφε[μένων] [ἀδ]εσπότου[ς] αὐτοῖς πεφηνέναι*) and it is this land, which is mentioned in the sentence preceding the line in which the ἐπιβεβαίωσις is stated (cf. *P. Lond.* II 355, 10-13; *CPR XV 6*, 5-8).

<sup>48</sup> As suggested by Hoogendijk 1994, p. 261.

<sup>49</sup> Rupprecht 2003, p. 485.

<sup>50</sup> A possible reference may be found in *CPR XV 7*, 12-13. Cf. Hoogendijk 1994, p. 260.

which may have been his objective. Since there was no personal gain for Nestnephis, Schentuleit suggests that Satabous and Nestnephis were involved in a family feud.<sup>51</sup> Nestnephis malevolently gave Satabous a hard time by prosecuting him in court and maybe even faked his interest to buy the ψιλῶι τόποι. The petition from Satabous' son Herieus against Nestnephis and the violent theft of the mill stone by Nestnephis can be seen as part of this feud. Lippert and Schentuleit suggest that the feud's roots might go back to 8 BC.<sup>52</sup> In that year Herieus junior, the father of Satabous, and Teses, the father of Nestnephis,<sup>53</sup> together bought part of a house with surrounding empty plots in the eastern part of Soknopaiou Nesos.<sup>54</sup> Thirty years later the same property, changed into two houses, still forms part of the inheritance that Satabous' children divide after his death,<sup>55</sup> so Satabous must also have become the owner of the half which was originally bought by Teses. Maybe this acquisition underlies the conflict between the two priestly families.

Many years after the death of Satabous the struggle apparently still went on. In Pauni AD 36 Stotoetis, Satabous' then 30 year old son, vowed to the Idios Logos that his father had indeed paid the 500 drachmas guarantee (ἐπιβεβαίωσις) he was long ago sentenced to pay. Possibly new doubts had recently arisen concerning the ownership of the empty land and Stotoetis took the vow to secure the inherited property.<sup>56</sup>

#### THE HARPAGATHES LAWSUIT

While the Nestnephis lawsuit was still ongoing, Satabous got involved in a second trial.<sup>57</sup> This small subarchive on Harpagathes concerns the repayment of a loan. In Phamenoth AD 12 Satabous lent 325 drachmas to Harpagathes, son of Panephremmis. In return Harpagathes pawned his revenues from the temple of Soknopaios to Satabous. When Harpagathes was unable (or, according to Satabous, not willing)<sup>58</sup> to repay his loan, Satabous demanded to receive Harpagathes' temple revenues. This, however, was prohibited by Harpagathes, who even tried to remove his revenues from the temple.<sup>59</sup> Several petitions from Satabous have been preserved.<sup>60</sup> He requested to register his petition and to notify the temple's superior priest, so he could guard Harpagathes' temple revenues until after sentence had been produced. All further information on this case is missing. Schentuleit interprets this silence as a positive sign and suggests that Satabous eventually got his money back.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Schentuleit 2007, p. 104.

<sup>52</sup> Schentuleit 2007, p. 107; Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 423.

<sup>53</sup> The identification for Teses is suggested by Messeri / Pintaui, *P. Harrauer* 32, p. 80, comm. to l. 8 and followed by Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 137.

<sup>54</sup> *P. Dime* III 2.

<sup>55</sup> *P. Dime* III 37.

<sup>56</sup> *P. Vind. Sal.* 3, see below.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Messeri Savorelli, *CPR XV*, p. 31; Jördens 2005, p. 46; Schentuleit 2007, p. 107-108.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *CPR XV* 8, 15.

<sup>59</sup> *CPR XV* 10a, 7-8.

<sup>60</sup> *CPR XV* 8 and 9 (no recipients mentioned, maybe private copies; cf. *CPR XV*, p. 31), 10 (probably a copy, since traces of another document are visible at the bottom), 10 a (copy of a petition to the strategos Dionysodorus) and 11 (to the strategos Dionysodorus). The texts of *CPR XV* 8, 9 and 10 are identical. Texts 8, 9, 10 and 11 are written by the same hand as *CPR XV* 2 and *SB I* 5231 from the Nestnephis lawsuit (cf. *CPR XV*, p. 31).

<sup>61</sup> Schentuleit 2007, p. 108.

OTHER TEXTS IN THE ARCHIVE

The oldest document in the archive is a contract of division of 20 BC, in which Satabous, together with two relatives, confirms the rights to parts of two houses inherited on mother's side from a certain Harpagathes, possibly a cousin.<sup>62</sup> Satabous also kept in his archive the contract in which his father Herieus junior, together with Teses, buys part of a house with empty land in 8 BC (see above).

Satabous' archive was inherited by his children. After his death his daughter Satabous probably added her contract of division of the inheritance (AD 21/22) to the archive. This document shows that Satabous' oldest son Herieus senior<sup>63</sup> received 2/9 of the inheritance, the other seven children 1/9 share each. Herieus senior signed the contract in Demotic, his younger brothers signed in Greek, while his sisters could not write.<sup>64</sup> Satabous' third son Stotoetis must have added the oath of AD 36 to the archive. *P. Vind. Sal.* 3 is a copy of the oath. It was written by a *nomographos*, although Stotoetis could write Greek himself.<sup>65</sup> Since Stotoetis was the son taking the oath, one might assume that his two older brothers died early, before AD 36.<sup>66</sup>

Most of the remaining documents inform us on the life of Stotoetis, who probably took over his father's archive in the end. He was born ca. AD 6.<sup>67</sup> Like his father, Stotoetis was a priest of the second phyle.<sup>68</sup> His name was found on an ostrakon connected to the temple, which may have been used to allot priesthoods.<sup>69</sup> In a Demotic receipt for sacrificial wheat, written by Stotoetis, his title is not mentioned, but one would expect him to be a 'priest in charge' (*p3 w' b nty ir hny.t*).<sup>70</sup> Stotoetis married Tesenouphis, who was probably his own sister, in AD 28 (?), but the marriage ended in a divorce.<sup>71</sup>

Stotoetis inherited one quarter of a house from his father.<sup>72</sup> To enlarge this property, he bought

<sup>62</sup> *P. Dime* III 36.

<sup>63</sup> Earlier it was thought that Stotoetis was the oldest son, cf. Kruit / Muhs / Worp 2004, p. 361. If Herieus senior is indeed the (adult) priest who petitions against Nestnephis in *SB* I 5233 and if this text is justly dated to AD 14 (see above with note 31), Herieus must have been born before AD 1. The age of the sisters can be deduced from the fact that three of them are adult in AD 21/22: Satabous, Thaesis and Thases must be born before AD 7/8. Tesenouphis is still (just) under age, she is 20 when she gets married in *P. Dime* III 40 of AD 28 (?) and probably born around AD 8.

<sup>64</sup> *P. Dime* III 37; the signatures in line GH 9-10.

<sup>65</sup> Stotoetis already wrote a Greek subscription in the contract of division *P. Dime* III 37 (AD 21/22), as well as in his marriage contract *P. Dime* III 40 (AD 28?); later he wrote on behalf of a certain Herieus in *SB* XII 10882 (AD 45), and he subscribed to the original contracts of which we have the copies *SB* I 5247 (AD 47) and *P. Vindob. G* 31933 (Hoogendijk 2006, p. 207); he subscribed in Greek to *P. Dime* III 26 (AD 51; cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 114-115).

<sup>66</sup> Herieus senior died before AD 54 (his house is owned by his children in *P. Dime* III 27) and Pisais died before AD 47 (his house is owned by his children in *Vindob. G* 31933 [Hoogendijk 2006, p. 207]).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *P. Vind. Sal.* 3 of AD 36, where Stotoetis is described as 30 years old; *SB* I 5247 of AD 47, where he is said to be about 40 years old; *P. Dime* III 26 of AD 51, where he is said to be circa 45 years old.

<sup>68</sup> Schentuleit 2007, p. 114.

<sup>69</sup> *O. Dime* I 157; cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 114. See in general C. Arlt, 'The Name Ostraca from Soknopaiou Nesos', in C. Arlt / M.A. Stadler, *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit*, Wiesbaden, 2013, p. 7-17.

<sup>70</sup> *P. Dime* II 45; cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 114. This is a palimpsest, the papyrus was previously used for accounts.

<sup>71</sup> *P. Dime* III 40. This marriage contract ('Ehefrauenurkunde') was crossed out to show that the contract was annulled and that Satabous had returned the dowry to Tesenouphis (cf. *P. Dime* III, p. 442, comm. to line GH 6 and p. 443). Cf. P.W. Pestman, *P. Vind. Tand.*, 1976, p. 173; Schentuleit 2007, p. 115.

<sup>72</sup> Another house, owned by Stotoetis and his brother Herieus in common, is mentioned in *P. Dime* III 23, line DG 13-14, DA 10-11 (AD 47).

parts of the house of their neighbours to the north. He probably wanted to connect them to his adjacent property.<sup>73</sup> After the death of the original owner Horos this house had been divided between his four or five daughters.<sup>74</sup> In AD 47 Stotoetis bought 1/5 of the house (with garden) and of an empty plot, which constituted the part inherited by Horos' daughter Isis and her daughter Herieus.<sup>75</sup> In AD 50 Stotoetis bought a second share (of 1/10) of the same house and land.<sup>76</sup> In AD 51, being 45 year old, Stotoetis bought another 1/10.<sup>77</sup> Stotoetis apparently tried to buy the entire house and land. This plan, however, failed at least initially, since 1/5 of the empty land was sold or rather given as security to a certain Artemidoros (after AD 52).<sup>78</sup> Since two of Stotoetis' sale contracts are Greek translations of original Demotic contracts, it is tempting to suggest that Stotoetis got involved in yet another lawsuit.<sup>79</sup>

Probably also kept in the family archive is the contract of a loan on security (AD 54) of another son of Satabous, Herieus junior.<sup>80</sup> Grandchildren of Satabous, the children of Herieus junior, named Satabous, Stotoetis, Taesis and Tesenouphis, may have added their two contracts of sale to the archive.<sup>81</sup> Satabous, son of Stotoetis, grandson of Satabous is attested in documents from, probably, the temple archive as 'scribe of the priests' and as 'priest in charge' of the second phyle of the temple of Soknopiaiou Nesos by the end of the first century AD.<sup>82</sup>

#### LITERARY TEXTS

Satabous' archive also contains two literary papyri. One is a collection of hymns.<sup>83</sup> The recto contains seven columns of hymns to Sobek. One column on the verso has a hymn to Horos. This same hymn was copied by a second hand on the recto. In the colophon of this papyrus Satabous wrote his name, affiliation and function, after having erased the name of the original writer of the hymns. Thanks to the colophon the collection of hymns can be dated to October-November 8 BC. On the verso several small columns with accounts have been added next to the Horos hymn. The second literary papyrus is the apocalyptic story of 'The Lamb of Bokchoris', written by Satabous himself.<sup>84</sup> The colophon of this fragmentary text contains the

<sup>73</sup> By buying this house and land his father Satabous had become the southern neighbour of Horos. Cf. *P. Dime* III 5 of AD 11, the sale and cession contract of the Nestnephis lawsuit; see above. After Satabous' death, this property was divided among his four sons, see the plans in Hoogendijk 2006, p. 205-206 and *P. Dime* III, p. 336.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 114. Hoogendijk 2006, p. 199-216 gives an overview (with plans) of the division of Horos' house and land and the consequent sale of several pieces; cf. the updated information of Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 335-336 with a new family tree of the Horos family.

<sup>75</sup> *SB* I 5247, a Greek translation of the Demotic contract of sale.

<sup>76</sup> *P. Vindob. G 31933* (Hoogendijk 2006, p. 207-216), a Greek translation of the original bilingual contract of sale.

<sup>77</sup> *P. Dime* III 26, bilingual sale and cession.

<sup>78</sup> *CPR* I 4 = *Chrest. Mitt.* 159, a copy of the Greek contract. Cf. Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 335, where it is also argued that this part of the property, together with the copy of the contract, probably ended up in the hands of Stotoetis.

<sup>79</sup> Hoogendijk 2006, p. 207.

<sup>80</sup> *P. Dime* III 27, registered in the *grapheion* of Nilopolis.

<sup>81</sup> *BGU* I 184 (AD 72): sale, perhaps concerning the security on a former loan, of 1/9 share in one of the family houses with garden; *P. Strasb.* IV 208 (AD 75 or 88): sale of 1/9 share in the same house with garden; cf. Kruit / Muhs / Worp 2004, p. 367.

<sup>82</sup> *P. Dime* II 66 (AD 90); 67 (AD 90); 48 (AD 90); 38 (AD 90-91); 49 (AD 91); 26 (AD 98); 55 (Domitian/Trajan).

<sup>83</sup> *P. Vienna* inv. no. D 6951 Ro & Vo [1]: F. Hoffmann, 'Die Hymnensammlung des P. Wien D6951', in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 219-228 (description).

<sup>84</sup> *P. Rainer Cent.* 3. Cf. also H-J Thissen, 'Das Lamm des Bokchoris', in A. Blasius / B.U. Schipper (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*

Archive texts	<p>date (1 August, AD 4) and the name of the writer, Satabous.</p>
	<p><i>BGU</i> I 184; <i>CPR</i> XV 1-10, 10a, 11; <i>Chrest. Mitt.</i> 68; <i>P. Dime</i> III 2, 5, 26, 27, 36, 37, 40; <i>P. Lond.</i> II 276a (p. 148), 355 (p. 178); <i>P. Rainer Cent.</i> 3; <i>P. Strasb.</i> IV 208; <i>SB</i> I 5231-5233, 5235, 5236+5237,<sup>85</sup> 5238-5240, 5247, 5275, 5954; <i>SB</i> X 10308; <i>P. Vind. Sal.</i> 3-4; <i>P. Vindob. inv. no. G 31933</i>;<sup>86</sup> <i>P. Vienna inv. no. D 6951 Ro &amp; Vo [1]</i>;<sup>87</sup> <i>uncertain: CPR</i> I 4 = <i>Chrest. Mitt.</i> 159,<sup>88</sup> <i>Chrest. Wilck.</i> 176, 312;<sup>89</sup> <i>P. Dime</i> III 32;<sup>90</sup> <i>P. Lond.</i> II 140 (p. 180);<sup>91</sup> <i>P. Ryl.</i> II 161;<sup>92</sup> <i>PSI</i> XIII 1319,<sup>93</sup> <i>SB</i> XII 10882;<sup>94</sup> <i>P. Vienna inv. no. D 6823</i>;<sup>95</sup> <i>P. Vienna inv. no. D 6951 Vo [2]</i>.</p> <p>Documents from the temple archive, concerning Satabous: <i>P. Dime</i> II 44, 56-64; Satabous' son Stotoetis: <i>O. Dime</i> I 157, <i>P. Dime</i> II 45; Satabous' grandson Satabous: <i>P. Dime</i> II 26, 38, 48-49, 55, 66-67.</p>
Text types	<p>Petitions (<i>CPR</i> XV 5, 7-10, 10a-11; <i>SB</i> I 5232-5233, 5235, 5238), contracts of sale and cession (<i>P. Dime</i> III 2, 5, 26), contract of loan on security (<i>P. Dime</i> III 27), letters (<i>P. Lond.</i> II 276 a (p. 148); <i>SB</i> I 5239, 5954; <i>SB</i> X 10308), contracts of division (<i>P. Dime</i> III 36, 37), contract of marriage (<i>P. Dime</i> III 40, 'Ehefrauenurkunde'), receipt (<i>P. Vind. Sal.</i> 4), Greek translations of Demotic contract of sale and/or cession (<i>CPR</i> XV 1-4; <i>SB</i> I 5231, 5247, 5275; <i>P. Vindob. inv. no. G 31933</i>), report (<i>SB</i> I 5236+5237), memorandum (<i>Chrest. Mitt.</i> 68, draft), judicial sentence (<i>CPR</i> XV 6; <i>P. Lond.</i> II 355 (p. 178); <i>SB</i> I 5240), oath (<i>P. Vind. Sal.</i> 3), Demotic literature (<i>P. Rainer Cent.</i> 3; <i>P. Vienna inv. no. D 6951 Ro &amp; Vo [1]</i>) = incoming documents (receipt, contracts of sale and cession) and copies or drafts of outgoing documents (memorandum, petitions), sometimes palimpsests (<i>Chrest. Mitt.</i> 68; <i>CPR</i> XV 10; <i>P. Vienna D</i></p>

(*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 107), Leuven e.a., 2002, p. 113-138. On the probable identification of Satabous, writer of the hymns, with Satabous, the defendant in the Nestnephis lawsuit, cf. K-Th. Zauzich, 'Der Schreiber der Weissagung des Lammes', *Enchoria* 6 (1976), p. 127-128.

<sup>85</sup> Two fragments of the same text, cf. Hoogendijk 2006, p. 204, n. 29.

<sup>86</sup> Hoogendijk 2006, p. 207-216.

<sup>87</sup> See above, note 83.

<sup>88</sup> See above, note 78.

<sup>89</sup> *Chrest. Wilck.* 176 (AD 60) and 312 (AD 55): the identification of Herieus, son of Satabous in these texts with Herieus junior of the archive was suggested by P.W. Pestman in *P. Vind. Tand.*, p. 173, but must remain uncertain. Cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 166.

<sup>90</sup> In the sale contract *P. Dime* III 32 (after AD 83) the seller Stotoetis, son of Satabous, may well be the son of Satabous son of Herieus junior and thus a great-grandchild of Satabous. But the names are too common in Soknopaiou Nesos to make sure that the text belongs to the family archive, cf. Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, p. 388-389.

<sup>91</sup> *P. Lond.* II 140 (AD 69/70): the identification of Tesenouphis as the daughter of Herieus junior is uncertain, cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 116.

<sup>92</sup> *P. Ryl.* II 161 mentions the Stotoetis, son of Satabous of *P. Dime* III 32, see above note 90.

<sup>93</sup> *PSI* XIII 1319 (AD 76) perhaps mentions Satabous, son of Herieus junior, cf. Schentuleit 2007, p. 116.

<sup>94</sup> *SB* XII 10882 (AD 45) is a receipt in which a Stotoetis son of Satabous signs a document on behalf of a lady (Herieus, daughter of Sambathion) who cannot write. The identification of Stotoetis with the son of Satabous was suggested by P.W. Pestman, *P. Vind. Tand.*, p. 173, and is considered probable but not entirely certain by Schentuleit 2007, p. 115 ('P. Westminster College 1'). Even if Stotoetis is identical with the son of Satabous, it is highly unlikely that this document belonged to the family archive, since the parties in this agreement do not seem to be family members.

<sup>95</sup> A. Migahid, 'Zwei spätdemotische Zahlungsquittungen aus Soknopaiou Nesos', *BIFAO* 103 (2003), p. 327-339; the text is considered a loan by Schentuleit 2007, p. 109-110. The identification of Satabous, son of Herieus junior with the main character of this archive is uncertain.

6951, 6823).

Appendix Stemma of the family

See Lippert / Schentuleit, *P. Dime* III, Tafel 10.

