

Bilingual Papyrological Archives

In the course of the last century more than 50,000 papyrus and 10,000 ostraca of the Greco-Roman period have been published, most of them Greek, but also texts in Latin, Demotic and Coptic. The Greek texts are now easy to search with the help of the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis* (a database of all documentary texts)¹, the *LDAB* (a database of all literary texts)² and the *Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri* (full Greek text of all documentary papyri)³; for the Demotic texts M. Depauw has recently put on line a full list (corresponding to the *Gesamtverzeichnis* and the *LDAB* for Greek papyrology)⁴ and in Berlin G. Vittmann enters the full text of the demotic documents as part of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiacae*⁵. Coptic documents are now listed by A. Delattre⁶, who also intends to make a full text database, whereas literary Coptic texts are being included in the *LDAB*. Within less than ten years all this material will be available world wide on a simple click of the mouse.

Most papyrus texts were discovered by Egyptian fellahin searching for soil to fertilise their fields in the abandoned villages near the desert edge, or by papyrus hunters, philologists who were barely interested in the archaeological contexts of their finds. Even so, it is clear that relatively few papyri were found as individual items. More often the documents were placed in a box, a jar, or at least rolled up in a bundle with other texts; some were reused as mummy cartonnage or as stuffing for the mummified sacred crocodiles, hidden under the threshold of a door or thrown with others on a garbage dump.

Definition

As a start I want to make clear what I mean with the term "archive". An archive is a group of several texts which were brought together in Antiquity by an institution or a person.

¹ <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/gvz.html>.

² <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be>.

³ <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html>

⁴ <http://www.trismegistos.org/daht>.

⁵ <http://aaew2.bbaw.de/tla/>.

⁶ <http://dev.ulb.ac.be/philo/bad/copte>.

Alain Martin⁷ adds that, in order to make up an archive the individual texts "ne peuvent être un conglomérat fortuit, fût-il ancien, mais elles doivent avoir fait l'objet d'une accumulation et d'un classement délibérés." I agree, but I would take the second criterion in a broad sense : some of our archives may well be made up of documents which the owner had for some reason decided to throw away. Discarding some pieces from the bulk of his archive is, in my view, also a form of classification and even such a grouping may be considered an archive.

But how can we know that three, five or twenty texts were grouped by a person living in ancient Egypt and not just assembled by a modern papyrologist on the basis of the names, dates and types of documents?

The importance of the archaeological context

Whenever this is possible, the archaeological context should decide. If a group of papyri are found together in a jar or rolled inside a parcel of linen (see : <http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.be>) there is no place for doubt : these form an ancient unit that we can label an "archive". This is, unfortunately, only the case for a very small percentage of our texts, mostly for those found under ideal circumstances in a scientific excavation. Clandestine diggers usually discard the "container".

The archive of Sarapammon and Sarapias

A recent article by Arthur Verhoogt shows how such a conglomerate can appear fortuitous⁸. Verhoogt discusses nine Greek texts written on seven papyri, found by Grenfell and Hunt in Tebtynis. They were duly published in vol. II of the P.Tebt., with a short notice accompanying P.Tebt. II 326 : "this papyrus was found tied up in a bundle with nos. 285, 319, 335, 378, 406 and 588". Starting from this comment Verhoogt has reconstructed the dossier : four texts of a certain Marcus Aurelius Sarapammon, dating from 248 to 265, and two drafts written on the back of a reused papyrus. The recto was written nearly a century earlier (in 165) and is only indirectly

⁷ A. MARTIN, *Archives privées et cachettes documentaires*, Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen, 1994) pp. 569-577 (citation p. 570).

⁸ A.M.F.W. VERHOOGT, *Family Papers from Tebtunis. Unfolding a Bundle of Papyri*, in : A.M.F.W. VERHOOGT and S.P. VLEEMING (edd.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman*, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava XXX (Leiden, 1998), pp. 141-154.

linked to the archive. Sarapammon rents out agricultural land, he owns a house in Krokodilon polis and he is probably a citizen of Antinoopolis. Two texts deal with the inheritance of Paulus, the husband of Sarapias. Paulus' heir is neither his wife nor their daughter Paulina, but his brother. The reason for this is to be found in a response of the emperor Gordian, which was found in the same parcel. The three texts can be dated to the period AD 264-270, but without the archaeological note by Grenfell and Hunt it would have been impossible to link Sarapias with Sarapammon (no doubt her father) and we would certainly never have understood why Sarapias' daughter could not inherit from her father. This is why archives are so important : each text becomes clearer in the context of the others, because of the material and personal links between them, which are not visible when the texts are studied by themselves.

Limits of the archaeological context : the *cantina dei papiri* at Tebtynis

In March 1934 Italian archaeologists discovered several hundreds of papyri in what they called the *cantina dei papiri*, a room in a house near the dromos of Tebtynis. The texts date from the first and second centuries AD. Most are documents, but on the same occasion was found the famous papyrus containing the *diegeseis* of Kallimachos (LDAB 470), which offers a valuable table of contents to the main work of this poet. Unfortunately this find, made by a team of professional archaeologists and not by ignorant peasants or papyrologists, was not well registered : there is no full list of what was found on that particular day, so that we do not know for certain which papyri were found in the *cantina* or elsewhere in the village; the papyri have been separated and no one registered how they were classified in the room or in boxes within it. Thus this marvellous discovery turned into a disaster for scholars interested in the archaeological context of their papyri. Thanks to Gallazzi⁹ we now at last have a photo of the *cantina*, but this was taken after the room had been completely emptied and cleaned. There is no photographic documentation of the discovery itself.

One may wonder if papyri thrown away among the rubbish in order to be used as fuel - which could be the case for the contents of the Tebtynis *cantina* - can be considered archival material. In my view there was effectively a "deliberate classification", not in the way the papyri were stored in the lumber-room, but before this, as is shown by

⁹ Cl. GALLAZZI, *La "Cantina dei Papiri" di Tebtynis e ciò che essa conteneva*, ZPE 80 (1990) pp. 283-288 et pl. XVIII.

links between a large number of the documents. The first editors already grouped the papyri according to the persons mentioned in them. Thus they identified several family archives, among which were the archive of the sons of Patron, a rich metropolitan family with roots and land in Tebtynis¹⁰, the archive of Kronion and that of the sons of Pakebkis¹¹. Since the archaeological context is lacking, the grouping was made purely on the basis of prosopography. But why would a rich family like that of Patron, who lived in Arsinoe, keep part of its archive in the village of Tebtynis, including ephemeral letters addressed to their stewards concerning small details of the daily organisation of their estates? The so-called archive of the sons of Patron has less in common with those of other aristocratic families than with that called after L. Bellienus Gemellus, which in fact belonged to his steward (*phrontistes*) Epagathos. The main *phrontistes* of the Patron family is known to us. His name, Turbo, recurs in another archive found in the *cantina*. The family of Kronion son of Pakebkis rents agricultural land from the Patron family. Kronion has two sons, one of whom is called Turbo; this Turbo concludes a contract of bail and a loan contract with Sabinus, a grandson of Patron. Ruben Smolders, one of my junior collaborators, suggests that this Turbo is identical with the *phrontistes* and that he grouped the two dossiers, which would then together constitute a single archive, kept by the person who was at the same time tenant and steward of the wealthy descendants of Patron.

I have presented this example to show not so much the shortcomings of Anti's excavations as the limits to what the archaeological context can offer. Even where texts have been found together in an archaeological context, it is not always clear if they are part of a single archive or of several. A typical instance are the papyri found in mummy cartonnages: most of our Ptolemaic archives are divided over more than one mummy and nearly always a single mummy contains texts from several archives. In that case the texts themselves will be decisive : the types of documents, the date and provenance, the prosopography will all play a roll¹².

¹⁰ For the name "archive of the sons of Patron" rather than of "archive of Laches", see W. Clarysse - C. Gallazzi, *Archivio dei discendenti di Laches o dei discendenti di Patron?*, in : *Anc. Soc.* 24 (1993), pp.63-68.

¹¹ For these three archives see :

http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/sample_arch.php?id=66,

http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/sample_arch.php?id=125

http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/sample_arch.php?id=64.

¹² The archive of Leon, for instance, preserved in Yale, to which R. Bagnall added some texts from the Bodleian, contains texts from at least three different backgrounds, ranging in date

The archaeological context neglected : the ostraca of Karanis

At Karanis the Michigan archaeologists registered their finds in a far more professional manner than did the Italian team in Tebtynis. In fact, these American excavations of the thirties are still exemplary in many ways. But in this case the papyrologists have shown hardly any interest in the possibilities offered by this rich and precise documentation. About ten years ago Peter van Minnen has demonstrated how putting the papyri back into their archaeological context can add to their interpretation¹³. As a case study he took house B17 in Karanis, where the archaeologists found no less than 200 papyrus fragments of the 2nd century AD in two rooms. For each object, including also each papyrus, they registered the level (B) and the number of the house (17) where it was found. As soon as van Minnen had assembled the papyri found in house B17, it became clear that the texts were all linked to a certain Sokrates and his sons¹⁴. Sokrates cultivated some land, but his main activity was that of tax collector, a liturgy which brought him a comfortable income. His papers cover a long period, from 117 until 171, since his sons continued his business. His handwriting can easily be identified and we now know that he is the scribe who copied some of the well-known "tax rolls" of Karanis and added in the margin an reference to Kallimachos¹⁵. In his house, which was larger than average (it covers 120 m² and has at least seven rooms) some unused papyrus rolls were found, at least three ink-wells and several fragments of literary papyri. Alongside two grammatical texts and a piece of Menander, there was also a fragment of the *acta Alexandrinorum*, a form of pamphlet in which Alexandrian notables oppose the Jews and even the Roman emperors¹⁶. Sokrates (or his sons) apparently combined their role as tax collectors with a passive opposition against the very empire for which they worked.

from the mid third to the mid second century BC; see W. CLARYSSE - A.E. VÉISSE, *Anc. Soc.* 37 (2007), forthcoming.

¹³ P. VAN MINNEN, *House-to-House Enquiries: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis*, ZPE 100 (1994), pp.237-249.

¹⁴ For details, see : http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/sample_arch.php?id=109.

¹⁵ On this, see H.C. Youtie, *Callimachus in the tax rolls*, Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology (Toronto, 1970) pp. 545-551 (= H.C. YOUTIE, *Scriptiunculae* II, Amsterdam, 1973, pp. 1035-1041).

¹⁶ For these literary texts, see LDAB 15, 477, 1466, 2643, 4764.

Until recently, papyrus editors have completely neglected the precious notes of the archaeologists. The volume of Michigan ostraca, for example, is arranged by type of document, and within each type, by date. In 1991 Liesker and Worp have identified a group of receipts for transport from the granary to the harbour, all found in house 25/2072¹⁷. All of these were addressed to Ammonios son of Papeis. The house can now be identified as that of a donkey driver, who worked in Karanis at the end of the third century (285-295 AD). Thanks to the excavations numbers it was even possible to supplement a damaged text which was clearly part of the same lot.

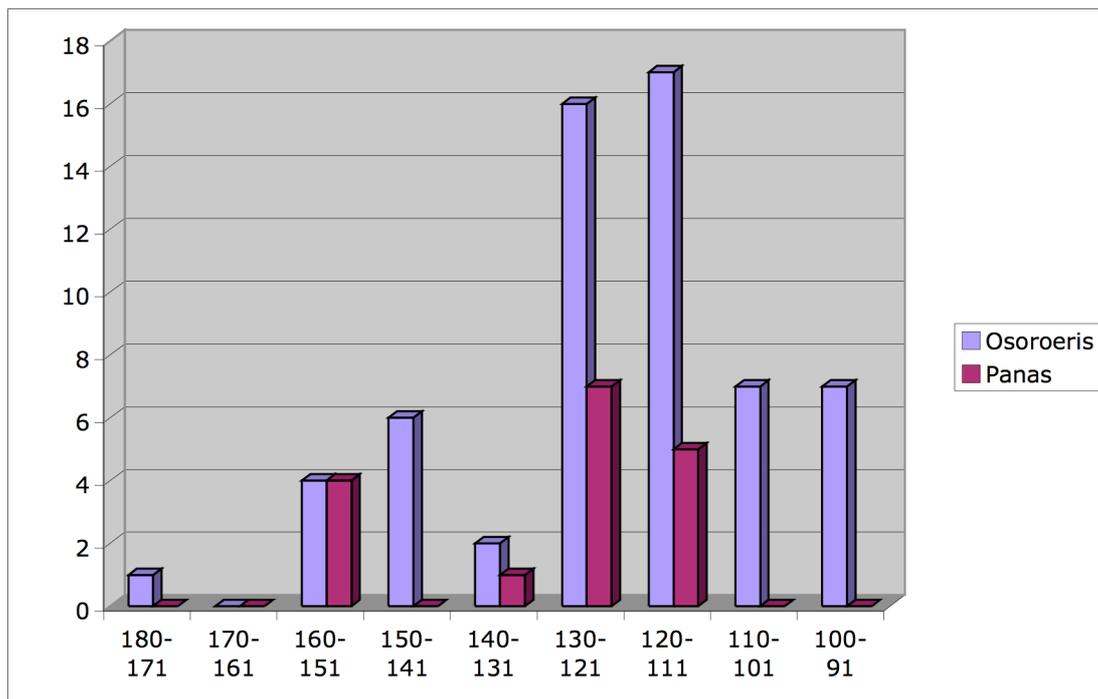
The lack of an archaeological context

The overwhelming majority of papyri, however, were bought on the antiquities market and here the original connection between the texts is largely lost.

The archive(s) of the choachytes

One of the earliest finds of a bilingual archive belonged to the Theban choachytes, to which I shall return later. Here I use it as an example of the lack of interest shown by papyrologists for the archival origin of their texts. The archive of the Theban choachytes was discovered, no doubt in a tomb somewhere in the Memnoneia, about 1819. The texts were distributed among a few major European collections (London, Paris, Leiden, Turin). The Greek part was published very quickly, the Demotic papyri remain largely unpublished to present day, nearly two centuries later. In 1993 Pestman created some order in his book "The archive of the Theban choachytes". In a first chapter he clearly showed that there are in fact two archives, one bought about 1819, the other entering the market in the 1860's. Both belong to native families of undertakers-priests (*choachytai*), they overlap in time, and there are even contacts between the two families, that of Osoroeris son of Horos and that of Panas son of Pechytes. But the texts were not found together and made completely separate journeys to the European and American collections. It is a pity, therefore, that Pestman, after having shown that we are dealing here with two different archives, treats them as a single unit, even using the title "The archive of the Theban choachytes". In the following graph I have tried to separate them again.

¹⁷ W.H.M. LIESKER - K.A. WORP, *Datings in third century Michigan ostraca*, ZPE 88 (1991), pp.182-183.



graph 1 : archives of Osoroeris and Panas

Museum archaeology

The choachytes archives show that even for texts which have come to us through the antiquities market archival reconstruction is not exclusively based on internal data. Often one can reconstruct the journey taken by the papyri between the moment of their discovery and their arrival in our museums. Thus the purchase history of the great collections can carry us back part of the way to the clandestine discovery and take the place, up to a certain point, of the excavations themselves. Katelijm Vandorpe has called this "museum archaeology"¹⁸.

In the early 20th century about one thousand papyri and ostraca were discovered in Pathyris, in southern Egypt. Their dates range from 186 to 88 BC. Most arrived on antiquities market in small groups, often in a fragmentary state. Many can be grouped into archives. The best known of these is that of the family of Dryton, a cavalry officer of Cretan descent and a citizen of Ptolemais, the Greek city in Upper Egypt. His wife Apollonia was officially Cyrenean, but in practice thoroughly Egyptianised. After her

¹⁸ K. VANDORPE, *Museum Archaeology or How to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives*, Acta Demotica. Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists. Pisa, 4th-8th September 1993 [= EVO 17 (1994)], pp. 289-300.

marriage to an elderly Greek officer she stressed her Hellenic status, but her four daughters all married (and often divorced) Egyptian men by means of Demotic contracts. The archive of this family is particularly interesting because the family members truly live in two worlds. Apollonia, who is a keen business lady, concluded loan contracts in the Greek way, with her husband as guardian, but in daily life she used her Egyptian name Senmonthis and she cooked in a egg-shaped cooking pot of a traditional Egyptian type. In another bilingual dossier from Pathyris, the so-called *Erbstreit* archive, this same Apollonia is involved in a lawsuit with her cousins about an inheritance of two fields. For a long time the *Erbstreit* dossier was considered part of the Dryton archive, but Katelijjn Vandorpe, by reconstructing how the text arrived in the European museums, has shown that the two archives did not come from the same find. In fact the *Erbstreit* dossier was not kept by Apollonia but by the other party in the dispute, her cousins, who in the end won the lawsuit¹⁹. The texts appeared on the antiquities market some ten years after the Dryton archive. Again the archaeological context (including museum archaeology) and information from the texts themselves need to be combined. For legal historians it makes a real difference that the *Erbstreit* dossier presents not Apollonia's point of view but that of the other party.

Records of papyrological archives

The first list of papyrological archives was dressed up by Orsolina Montevocchi in her handbook of Papyrology (1973); with the addenda of 1988, she counts 135 archives, but her list is clearly provisional²⁰. Thus the archives of the Petrie papyri are simply grouped as "archivi individuali nei cartoni di mummie dei P.Petrie" (p. 249 no. 3). In his studies of the juridical systems of the Graeco-Roman period²¹, Erwin Seidl also included a selection of 80 Demotic archives. Seidl was the first to propose a typology of archives (family archives, bookkeeping archives, official archives), naming archives after the person who was the last to be in charge of them, which is not always possible to know (e.g. neither Zenon nor Menches were the last archive keepers of the archives named after them). For nearly a century archives were studied from a

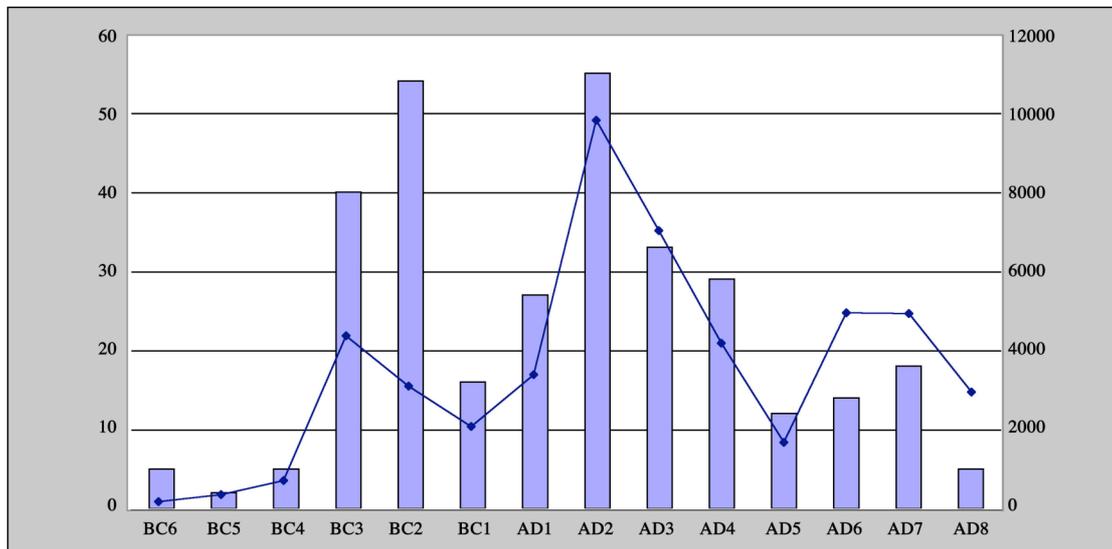
¹⁹ For the "Erbstreit" dossier, see :

http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/sample_arch.php?id=81

²⁰ O. MONTEVECCHI, *La Papirologia*, 1st edition (1973), pp. 247-261; addenda in the 2nd edition (1988), pp. 575-578.

²¹ E. SEIDL, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, Aegyptologische Forschungen 22, 1962; *Römische Rechtsgeschichte und römisches Zivilprozessrecht* (Academia Iuris. Lehrbücher der Rechtswissenschaft), 1962.

prosopographical point of view, in order to reconstruct the life of a person or the history of a family. Pestman has created a model of how to treat archives in their own right. One of his main contributions has been to introduce some order into the huge archive of Zenon²².



graph 2 : Papyrological archives (bar graphs; figures left) by century against the background of the number of papyri (line graph; figures right)²³

In the Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections²⁴ we have tried to combine the documentary background of Montevecchi with the archival description of Pestman. At this moment we have listed 326 archives, from the Saite up to the early Arab period, in Demotic, Greek, Latin, Coptic and even one where Greek, Coptic and Arabic appear side-by-side. The number of archives coincides more or less with that of papyri preserved for each period, as can be seen in the graph above. The downs in the 1st century BC and the 5th century AD, for instance, recur in both graphs²⁵. There are still

²² P.W. PESTMAN e.a., *A Guide to the Zenon archive*, Pap. Lugd.-Bat. XXI (1981).

²³ The data are based on the LHPC for the archives and on Trismegistos (<http://www.trismegistos.org>) for the papyri in general. Trismegistos includes Greek, Latin, Demotic, hieratic and Coptic papyri. Papyri dated AD01 - AD02 in the database are counted as 0.5 for first and second century respectively. Ostraca are not included and Coptic literary texts are also missing. At the time of consulting Trismegistos listed 47,778 documentary papyri in all.

²⁴ <http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.be> (see under "archives").

²⁵ The high number of archives compared to the number of papyri in the 3rd cent. and 2nd centuries BC is largely due to the fact that most papyri of that period come from mummy cartonnage, which contain many small fragmentary archives.

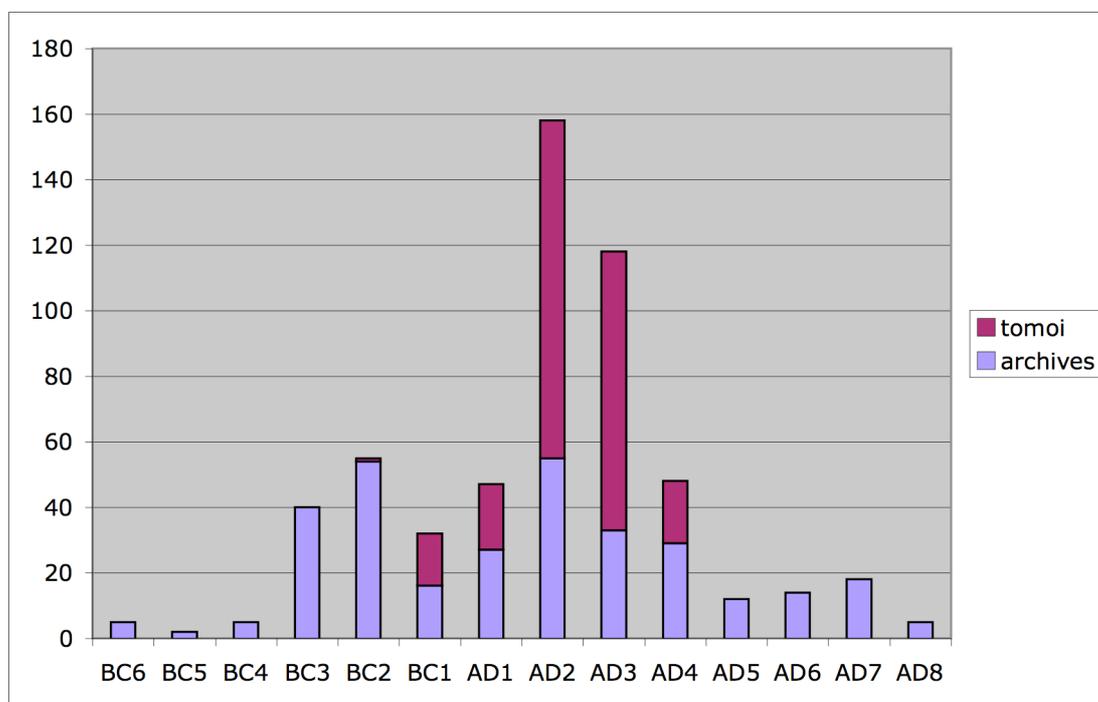
some serious gaps in our project, e.g. for pre-Ptolemaic Demotic and for Coptic after AD 650. Perhaps the greatest lacuna is the underrepresentation of archives of ostraca. Most ostraca have been bought on the antiquities market and it is not easy to reconstruct their find circumstances : one would expect that tax receipts were given to the taxpayers and kept in their houses, as was clearly the case in the village of Elkab, which was excavated by a Belgian mission. Here the ostraca were published within their archaeological context and this even allowed us to "see" two brothers going together to the tax office and receiving each half of the same potsherd (O. Elkab 81 + 82). But two or three or four receipts for the same person in different collections are not yet proof of an archive. The taxpayer may well have thrown his receipts away after a couple of years. We include only substantial groups of ostraca, for which the origin is guaranteed by their forming part of a few large purchases or collections. The model for this is the unpublished dissertation by P. Heilporn on the ostraca at Strasbourg. But in this domain, work has barely started. From the ostraca found in the rubbish dumps of the Roman camps in the eastern desert, which have been excavated and registered in exemplary fashion, it is all but impossible to reconstruct archives. The recent publications of this material are organised by theme (e.g. the *laissez-passer*, illness and death, private letters) and around persons (e.g. the correspondence of Dioskoros or of Petenephtes), but it remains unclear if the finds of ostraca in the rubbish dumps in any way reflect an ancient collection and classification.

Public archives and private archives. The *tomoi synkollesimoi*.

For many years now historians and archivists have included under the name "archives" also the groupings of texts by private individuals side by side with public archives. Public archives were already well-known in earlier times and some examples have been found among the papyri, e.g. the archive of village scribes of Kerkeosiris (Menches archive), the texts issued by the notarial office at Tebtynis (period of Claudius and Nero) or the *enteuxeis* of the Sorbonne, which were collected in the office of the *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome. The overwhelming majority of papyrological archives, however, are private archives, belonging to an individual, a family or a collectivity such as the temple. Official texts may be included in such a private archive (the archive, for instance, of the engineers Kleon and Theodoros contains private letters and correspondence about a law-suit, alongside official correspondence and even contracts for irrigation works). Apparently the engineers incorporated part of their official papers within their private archives, or was it the other way round? Private archives may even include literary texts, part of the library of

their owner, as is the case of the *katochos* Ptolemaios and his brother Apollonios²⁶.

One type of filing seems to have been overlooked, however, by all those interested in archives, the so-called *tomoi synkollesimoi*²⁷. The administrative offices of the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods were accustomed to keep their files not in boxes or in folders, but by gluing individual papyri one to the other in long "glued rolls". If one considers each *tomos synkollesimos* as the remnant of an archive, the number of preserved archives nearly doubles. Since nearly all *tomoi synkollesimoi* formed part of public archives, this category, which to date appeared underrepresented in our documentation, suddenly receives its due place. Even if many of these *tomoi* now consist of a single papyrus with a few fragments of a second one attached to it, they are all witnesses to a form of filing which has been largely ignored in archival studies.



graph 3 : archives and tomoi synkollesimoi

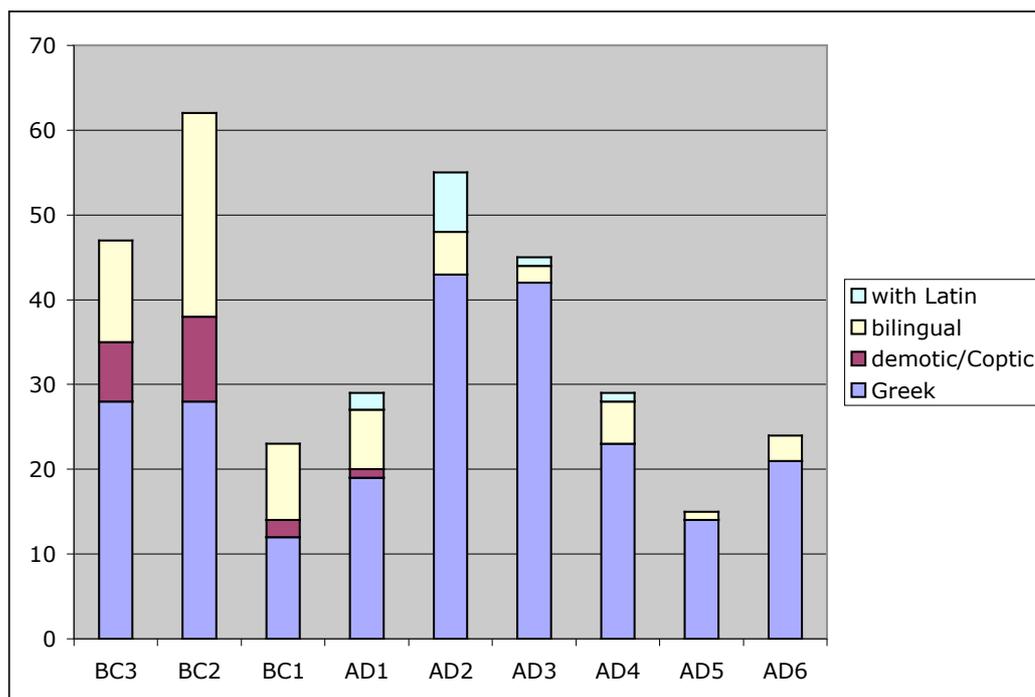
²⁶ See most recently D.J. THOMPSON, *Ptolemaios and the "Lighthouse": Greek Culture in the Memphite Serapeum*, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 213 = N.S., 33 (1987) pp. 105-121.

²⁷ For this type of filing archives, see now W. CLARYSSE, *Tomoi synkollesimoi*, in : M. BROSIUS (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents (Oxford, 2003) pp. 344-359.

As a filing system the *tomos synkollesimos* was popular in the administration from the late Ptolemaic period until the third century AD. A few years ago I collected 235 items, nearly as many as the preserved archives²⁸. There are of course also archives containing several *tomoi*, but the *tomoi* preserved out of context should be considered remnants of an archive. The texts were indeed brought together in Antiquity and have undergone a deliberate form of classification, often topographical and/or chronological. In many cases a scribe has even numbered each papyrus in his roll(s), a clear sign of true archiving. The documents incorporated into a *tomos* often belong to the same type, e.g. declarations of property for the census (*kat' oikian apographai*), official reports, petitions; often they are addressed to a single office (*strategos, logistes* etc.), where they were no doubt kept. The documents are nearly always originals, not copies, as is clear from the change of hands within each text. The habit of filing papers by gluing them one to the other was typical of officials and notaries; examples in the private sphere are rare. By the early 4th century the *tomoi* disappear; all examples after 320 come from the office of the *logistai* (curatores) of the city of Oxyrynchus, who continue until 350 (perhaps these are the fragmentary remains of one archive of *tomoi*!). The change in filing practices is not due to the spread of the documentary codex, since around 300 the codex is not yet found in use outside the literary (Christian) book.

Bilingual archives

²⁸ The list is online available (download in excel format) on the following address : http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.be/archives_folder/tomos.xls.

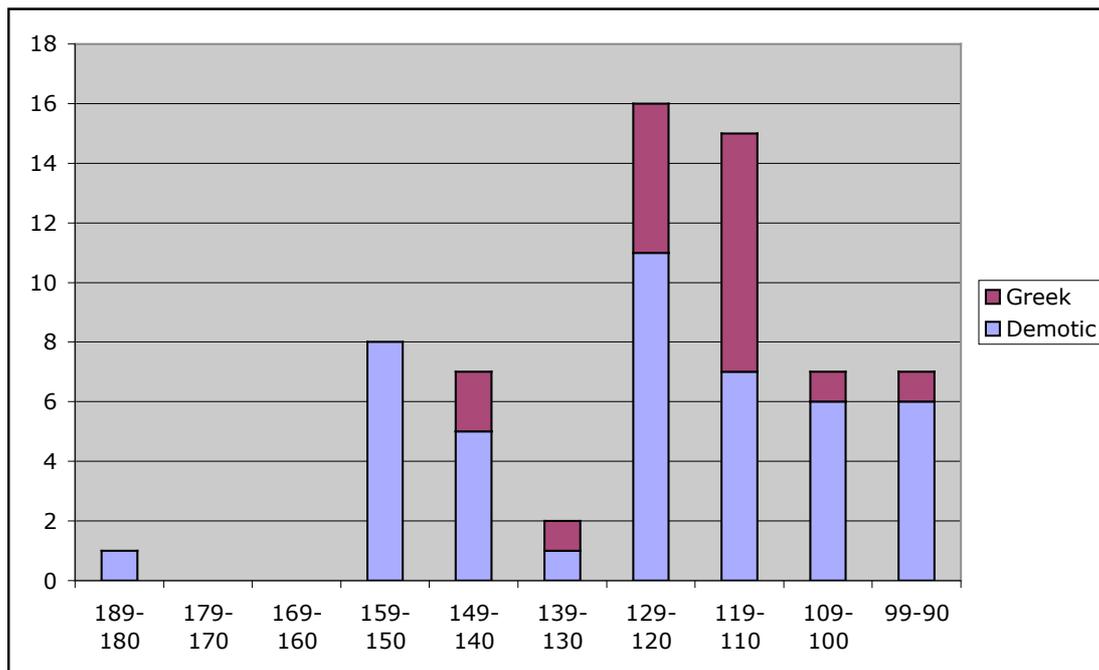


graph 4 : archives and language

It is time to have a closer look at the bilingual archives, some of which have already been mentioned in passing. I start with a brief overview with the help of a graph. The preponderance of Greek archives is the first thing that catches the eye. The second point is the rarity of pure Demotic and Coptic archives. For Coptic my database may be somewhat incomplete, but I will concentrate here on the earlier period, when Greek and Demotic are the most common scripts. Purely Demotic archives are rare, no more than 14 % as against 34 % bilingual archives. In this 14 % I have included, for example, the archives of Pabachtis (Edfou) and of Sochotes (Tebtynis), which in my account consist exclusively of Demotic texts. Though several of these papyri received a Greek registration note I have not counted these archives as bilingual.

Private Demotic archives including Greek texts

The archive of the Theban choachytes



graph 5 : Greek and Demotic in the archive of Osoroeris

The archives of Osoroeris were classified and studied by P.W. Pestman in his P. Survey Choachytes (1993). These archives are mainly Demotic, as one would expect from a family of Theban funerary priests. But many of the Demotic contracts have received a Greek subscription, indicating that the sales tax was paid and/or that the document was registered (in 146 BC a royal order made obligatory the deposition of Demotic contracts in the official archives, where they received a Greek abstract before a copy was returned to the owner). The real Greek texts, 18 texts out of a total of nearly one hundred (98) are the following :

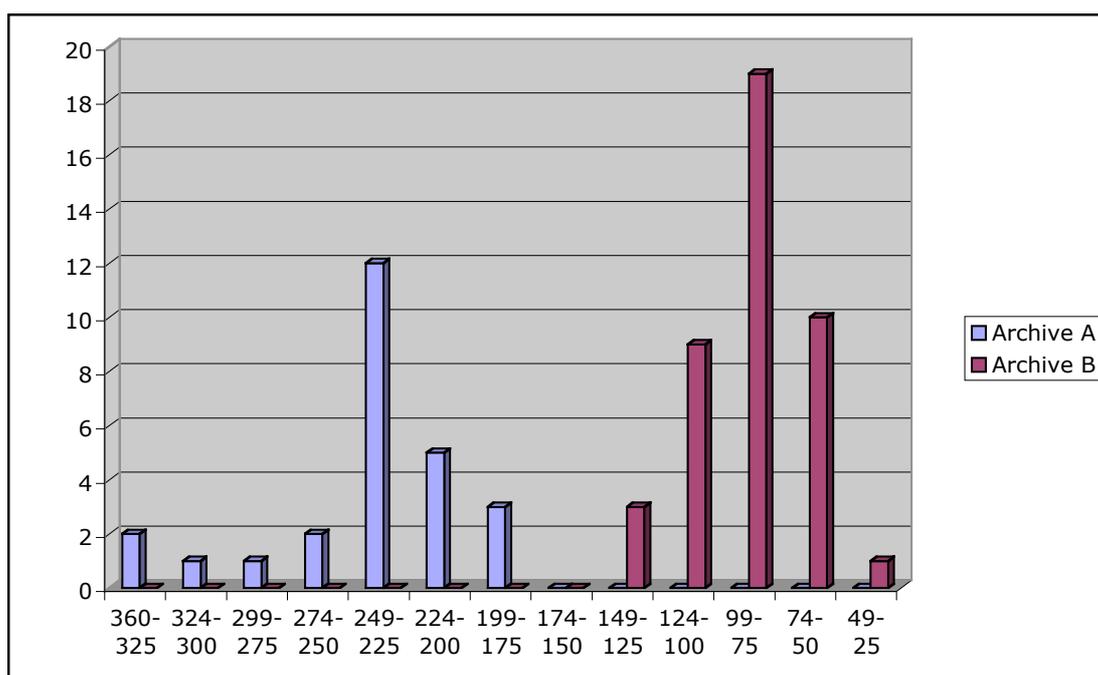
- twelve texts addressed to or issued by Greek judges. The choachytes were engaged in two lawsuits against Greeks, one against the cavalryman Apollonios alias Psenmonthes, and the other against the well-known Greek officer Hermias. In a third case Osoroeris and his colleagues address a Greek petition to the *epistrategos* against a Greek official (Survey 59-60). Nine Greek texts, therefore, relate to a dispute between Egyptians and Greeks. But in three cases Egyptians address the Greek administration, in Greek of course, against fellow Egyptians : a lawsuit between *nekrotaphoi* and *choachytai* (Survey 19), a complaint against a priest of Hathor about a theft in a tomb (Survey 23) and a lawsuit before the *epistates* between two women of the family of the choachytes concerning an inheritance (Survey 57).
- two translations of Demotic contracts of sale of priestly liturgies (Survey 12 and 17)

were no doubt also made for use in a lawsuit. One of them is the Grey papyrus (UPZ II 175a), of which both the Demotic original and the Greek translation are preserved. This well-known text has played a role in the decipherment of Demotic.

- far less self-evident are two Greek agoranomic contracts of the late second century : in Survey 62 four choachytes sell a vacant lot to another Egyptian; four years later Sachperis buys the same house, this time by means of a Demotic contract. The very last document of the archives is a Greek renewal of a Demotic loan in 98 BC.

Though the last two texts suggest a growing influence of Greek, in fact the number of Greek texts does not increase. The two peaks of Greek texts in the years 120 and 110 are due to two lawsuits concerning the well-known house of the choachytes in Thebes : first the lawsuit against Apollonios, and secondly the lawsuit against Hermias.

The *nekrotaphoi* of Hawara



graph 6 : the Hawara archives

These archives present some similarity to those of the Theban choachytes. Again two archives are closely linked, perhaps they were even found together, but they have taken separate paths. Both were sold on the antiquities market and the earlier one is now in Chicago and Copenhagen, whereas the second is mainly in Cairo and in Oxford. Unlike the choachytes archives these two archives do not overlap in time :

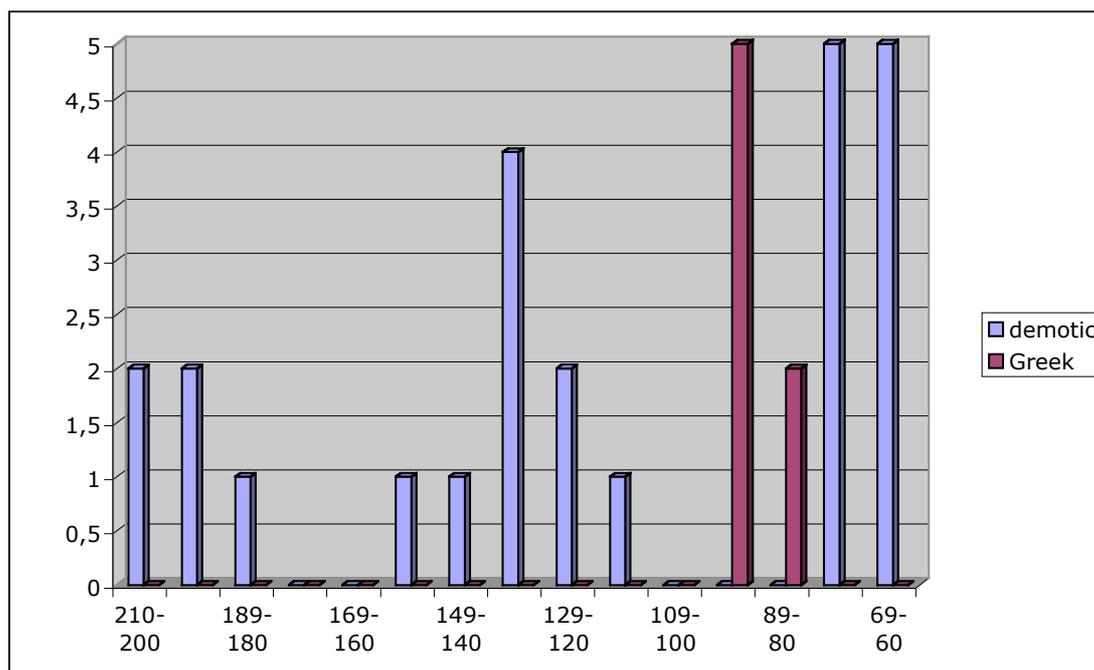
there is a one generation gap between the first and the second group, as is clearly shown on the graph above.

These archives largely consist of title deeds and marriage contracts (marriage contracts deal first and foremost with the property rights of the wife and her children), and nearly all of these are written in Demotic.

In the first group, the earliest document of which predates the reign of Alexander the Great, the only Greek texts are four receipts for the sales tax (*enkyklion*), which were written on separate sheets of paper. Usually the scribes of the tax office wrote a Greek subscript below Demotic documents and in that case the texts would have counted as "Demotic" in my system, not even as bilingual. The second archive also contains some tax receipts for the sale of houses; of these the sale documents (no doubt written in Demotic) are lost. But in 107 BC Pasion alias Pasis and Phantias son of Pais, the sons of Leon alias Sesophmois ("Sesostris the lion"), who have adapted Greek-Egyptian double names, confirm their earlier Egyptian contracts (συνγραφαὶ Αἰγύπτιαι ἃς τέθεινται πρὸς ἑαυτούς) by a new notarial contract in Greek. They are not able, however, to write Greek themselves and leave the personal subscription to a third person. Moreover, the archive contains a Greek administrative letter, addressed to the *archidikastes* Ptolemaios, who is in charge of the court of the *chrematistai*". Just as in Thebes it is because of a lawsuit before a Greek court that Greek documents enter native archives. From an archival point of view it is interesting that at least three of the Greek texts have an archival note in Demotic. The very last text of the Hawara archives was written in the free spaces and on the verso of a contract drawn up more than a century before. It is an account dated in year 22 which is also year 7, the very last year of queen Cleopatra²⁹. The last owner of the archive carefully lists, month by month, all important events during this *annus horribilis* of Egyptian history, but of course neither the battle of Actium nor the death of the queen appear in his diary. His interests are purely local and we assist at the burial of several individuals from Hawara and the neighbouring villages, including Meidoum.

Chonouphis of Saqqara

²⁹ The text will be published by the present author in the proceedings of the 9th international congress for Demotic studies, Paris 2005



graph 7 : the archive of Chonouphis

A third family of funerary priests is that of Chonouphis and his son Peteesis in Saqqara. Like the archive of the Theban choachytes these texts were discovered in the early 19th century, the Greek texts were again published immediately, whereas the Demotic part of the archive is spread over scores of often obsolete publications and a large part of the archive still awaits a real publication. Dorothy Thompson has put some order in this labyrinth³⁰, but as she is not a Demotist she was unable to base her survey on a rereading of the originals, as was done by Pestman for Thebes.

Eight texts out of 32 are Greek (13 Demotic texts have a Greek subscription), but the number of Demotic texts will certainly grow when the archives are properly published. The first Greek texts appear at the beginning of the first century BC, when Peteesis himself hands in a petition to king Ptolemy Alexander, when the king pays a visit to Memphis. Peteesis has been troubled and even molested several times by an official and he asks the king to forbid by a royal order (*entole*) anybody disturbing him in the future. This royal order, written in Greek and in Demotic (ἐνχώρια καὶ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα), is to be affixed on his door on a whitewashed wooden board (λεύκωμα). Again, it is through the use of royal justice that an Egyptian priest starts making use of the Greek language. As formulated by Thompson, "for many Egyptian families increasing familiarity with Greek legal processes is likely to have aided the process of

³⁰ D.J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Princeton 1988, pp.155-189; for the texts in the archives, see pp. 280-282.

hellenisation"³¹. Ten years later Chonouphis, the son of Peteesis, made a loan contract in Greek, no doubt in the *grapheion*. His daughter, having adopted the Greek name Sarapias, was married by means of a Demotic contract (a *syngraphe trophitis*), but when her marriage broke down, Chonouphis turned to the court of the *chrematistai*, the royal judges, who were in fact Greek judges.

The nekrotaphoi of the Kynopolites

I would like to finish this chapter on funerary priests with an archive which is in part preserved in Leuven. In 1967 the Arts Faculty bought four Greek papyri of the late Ptolemaic period. Three of them are written by the same hand. They are receipts for payments of products used for mummification (φάρμακον καὶ κεδρία) by the undertakers (*nekrotaphoi*) Harendotes and his sons. The fourth is a fine contract of a Greek type (*synchoresis*) by which the tax farmers Pleombris and Kollouthes give permission to Harendotes and his sons to mummify and bury all persons who may die in an unspecified 22nd year in the lower toparchy of the Kynopolite nome. The contract contains interesting details on the price to be paid for a first and second class burial, and on the reduction allowed to the priests; it even explicitly states that the bodies are first to be buried in the sand and then exhumed after 70 days. The text forms an excellent commentary on the section in Herodotus' second book dealing with mummification. When we bought the papyri, they clearly constituted a group, a small Greek archive. In 1989, in the proceedings of a colloquium in Bologna, Ali Hanafi published a receipt for *pharmakon* and *kedria*, addressed by the tax farmers Pleombris and Kollouthes to the *nekrotaphoi* Harendotes and his sons³². The text was found in a jar, placed in a tomb, during the Egyptian excavations at Sharona in Middle Egypt, together with 6 Demotic texts. The latter are typically Egyptian documents, divisions of tombs and houses, and also a lawsuit report in Demotic. Their dates range between 108 and 80 BC and show that the Greek texts, which contain only a regnal year but no royal names, should be dated to 93 BC. Though Harendotes and his sons are not (yet) mentioned in the Demotic texts there can be no doubt that the papyri, Greek and Demotic, come from the same find, and that here again funerary priests (*htm.w-ntr*) preserved their papers in one of the tombs in their charge.

³¹ D.J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, p.188.

³² See now SB XX 14426.

Greek private archives containing Demotic texts

The archive of Zenon

The most extensive archive of the Ptolemaic period, that of Zenon, is massively Greek. Out of a total of nearly 2000 texts a mere 25 contain any Demotic. Half of these are Greek receipts followed by a Demotic subscription, which were issued during a very brief period, October-November 257 BC, when Apollonios' estate in Philadelphieia was headed by Panakestor. Egyptian farmers declare in their own language that they have received money or grain from the administration of the *dorea*. Besides there are four royal oaths (one of them bilingual), two contracts, two letters, a bilingual memorandum and two accounts. The best known bilingual text connected with Zenon and his patron Apollonios does not form part of the Zenon archive : P.Lille I 1 (= P. Lugd.-Bat. XX suppl. A), a text kept in the Sorbonne, is a detailed estimate for irrigation work needed to bring into cultivation the 10,000 arourae of the *dioiketes* Apollonios. This was found in a mummy cartonnage and does not, therefore, come from Zenon's files. The text is written in Greek by an Egyptian scribe, who does not use the Greek *kalamos*, but rather a brush as typically used to write Egyptian. He added a small map of the estate, marking the four compass points in Demotic. Already in 260 BC Egyptian scribes wrote a fluent Greek cursive and had adapted well to the new political situation.

Though Demotic and bilingual texts make up no more than one percent of the archive, they are important in showing the *dorea* and the world of Zenon from a different angle from that of the Greek texts.

The archive of the *katochoi* of Memphis

One of the most remarkable archives of the Ptolemaic period is that of the *katochos* Ptolemaios and his young brother Apollonios. Ptolemaios had taken refuge, perhaps at the time of the invasion of Antiochos Epiphanes, which thoroughly upset Egypt, in the temple of Osiris-Apis, the Serapeum near Memphis. There, in the early 19th century, were found the papers of the two brothers. They were published in a masterly way by Ulrich Wilcken in his *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, and date between 164 and 152 BC. In Wilcken's *magnum opus* the archives are Greek, containing mainly petitions, accounts and letters, but the young Apollonios is also found learning his alphabet and

copying out some literary works. His small library contains among other things the story of Nectanebo the last Egyptian pharaoh, the beginning of Euripides' *Telephos*, a philosophical treatise full references to Greek literature and an illustrated astronomical study attributed in an acrostychic poem to Eudoxos of Knidos. Ptolemaios also writes Greek in a rather shaky hand, and in his petitions, he complains that he is importuned by the temple personnel "because he is a Greek". Reading Wilcken one would at times forget that the brothers lived more than ten years in an Egyptian temple and among Egyptian neighbours day and night. They constantly used second-hand papyrus which has been first written on in Demotic, often notarial deeds, which left a lot of space for writing in the margins and on the back. But they also wrote down their dreams, not only in Greek, but also in Demotic and even once in Egyptian transliterated in Greek characters, one of the oldest precursors of Coptic. The Greek petitions in which Ptolemaios complains about an attack against his person in the temple are confirmed by a Demotic witness account by his room-mate Harmais, who writes in Demotic on a sheet of papyrus which also contains a Demotic wisdom texts the verso of which has been reused for Ptolemaios' accounts. One wonders if the brothers were also able to read some Demotic. For this the Demotic texts of the dossier, which have received only scanty attention from demotists, should be studied again. In his recent book Bernard Legras gives an excellent photo of a list of Macedonian i.e. Alexandrian months, written by Apollonios³³. This Greek is written on the left of the papyrus; to the right there is an older Demotic text, a contract mentioning "the gardens of the army of the Greeks in Egypt". This contract is dated 216 BC, but one wonders if the brothers could have read what was written there.

Archives of officials

The nomarch Aristarchos

When Jouguet published the Lille papyri in the early 20th century he grouped "a series of six letters sent or received by an official named Aristarchos". He carefully noted the provenance of each text as "cartonnage Ghoran 201", which guarantees the conclusion that this is really an archive. Hélène Cadell added a royal oath, derived from the same excavations. Seven other letters were added by Bernard Boyaval. Thus a nice little dossier can be recognised, a archive of fourteen Greek administrative letters centered

³³ B. LEGRAS, *Lire en Egypte, d'Alexandre à l'Islam*, Paris 2002, p. 141. The demotic text will be fully published par W. CLARYSSE and K. VANDORPE in *Anc. Soc.* 36 (2006), pp. 000-000.

on the *nomarches* Aristarchos.

When in 1969 Françoise de Cenival published a Demotic text from the Sorbonne collection addressed to a *shn* Aristarchos, a double document with the same text repeated twice, she nowhere mentioned the nomarch. The identification was first proposed in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* VIII 879. It has meanwhile been confirmed by the find of the Greek abstract which was added under the document. From this two-line abstract it also appears that Harchebis was not a policeman, but a *myriarouros*, an official subordinate to the *nomarches* and responsible for the irrigation infrastructure of the newly won agricultural land in the Fayum³⁴. A very similar text, of the same date and also addressed to Aristarchos by a *myriarouros*, was published by de Cenival in P.Lille dem. III 108. A third text was added in 1991, with the title "bail de terres royales avec serment"³⁵. In the meantime, I have discovered a fourth Demotic text in the Sorbonne collection and it has become abundantly clear that the archives of Aristarchos contain an interesting Demotic side to them. Each time the administration has added beneath the demotic text a short abstract in Greek, rendering the personal names, the titles and the toponyms of the Demotic text. At the same time this case illustrates the difficulties involved in identifying bilingual archives : in the *Institut Papyrologique* Greek and Demotic papyri are kept in different cupboards on different floors. Scholars studying one linguistic dossier do not necessarily know the other half of the archive and whereas for the Greek papyri Jouguet carefully noted the numbers of the mummy cartonnages, this information seems to be lost for the Demotic papyri.

This is not an exceptional case. During a colloquium in Lecce in 2005 my American colleague Todd Hickey told me that he found in Berkeley, among the papyri taken from the cartonnage of the sacred crocodiles from Tebtynis, new texts of the archive of Menches, the village scribe of Kerkeosiris. Thus far the Menches archive was purely Greek, now we know that Menches also received and wrote Demotic texts. As a result of the division of our studies by language the native side of this dossier had been completely obliterated.

³⁴ W. CLARYSSE, *A new myriarouros in a bilingual text*, *Enchoria* 19-20 (1992-1993), pp. 215-217.

³⁵ F. DE CENIVAL, *Two texts Demotic du fonds Jouguet relatifs aux cultures de blé*, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 13-22.

The surety documents of the Sorbonne

In the Sorbonne collection about a hundred Demotic texts have been found of a single type : they are contracts written in double and addressed to an Egyptian scribe (the *topogrammateus* and/or royal scribe) and a Greek official (the *oikonomos*) of the *meris* of Themistos in the Fayum by persons who act as sureties for other persons. The guarantees concern some branch of the royal economy. Those involved are artisans, mainly brewers, but also some fullers or washermen and oil-sellers. The texts are written in Demotic, but the clerks have regularly added a short Greek abstract on the back. An exceptional feature of this dossier is that for once the Demotic texts have been largely published - in the collection I have traced some twenty to thirty unpublished fragments - whereas the Greeks versos still await a final publication. And yet, these versos are full of surprises. They show, for example, that the village Alexandrou Nesos "island of Alexander" is the Greek equivalent of Demotic *p3 m3y n p3 whr* "the island of the dog" or rather "the island of Mr. Pouoris", maybe the Egyptian name of this same Alexandros. An Egyptian who in Demotic bears the title "carrier of the gods of Thoeris in the village of Souchos The-foundation-of-Thoth (Kerkethoth)" turns into a prosaic "donkey driver" in Greek. Similarly a demotic "astronomer of Herishef the great god" appears in Greek as *skyteus*, a cobbler³⁶.

For our present purpose it would be interesting to know how these texts were classified within the archive. In one single case two texts are glued one to the other (P.Lille dem. II 50 and 51) and one wonders if this is an early example of the later *tomoi synkollesimoi*. If this were indeed the case, the recto of the roll could be read as a Demotic roll and the verso would be a kind of Greek roll. But it is also possible that the texts were simply stored one on top of the other or that a cord was stuck through the lozenge-shaped hole which separates the *scriptura interior* from the *scriptura exterior*. In any case, this is an interesting example of how the Greek administration received Demotic texts and ordered them by means of the Greek abstract on the verso.

³⁶ See W. Clarysse, *Sureties in Fayum villages*, in : H. Harrauer - R. Pintaudi, *Gedenkschrift Ulrike Horak*, Papyrologica Florentina 34, Firenze 2004, pp. 279-281

Mixed archives.

Really mixed archives are found mainly in Pathyris. Fifteen years ago, together with E. Van 't Dack, I published a group of letters written between soldiers on campaign in the Delta and in Palestine in 102 BC³⁷. The addressees, the officers Pates and Pachrates, presumably took the letters with them on their return to their hometown Pathyris. There are six Greek and three Demotic letters, and the correspondents seem to have used the two languages (and scripts) arbitrarily. This is also the impression given by other archives from Pathyris, of which I present here only a single one, which has recently been reedited by my Leuven colleague Katelijn Vandorpe.

The archive of Dryton and his family³⁸

As already noted above, Dryton was a Greek cavalry officer. He has a typically Cretan name and in several texts he is explicitly called a Cretan. At the same time, however, he was a citizen of Ptolemais, the only Greek city in Upper Egypt. From a first marriage he has a son Esthladas. His first wife is either dead or divorced when in 150 BC, at the age of 42, he takes as his second spouse Apollonia, the daughter of a colleague, quite a young girl. The newly weds establish themselves at Pathyris, where they have five daughters. When the youngest daughter is born Dryton must have been nearly sixty. Dryton and his son Esthladas were cultivated Greeks, both of them literate. Dryton even left his signature in the valley of the kings, when he paid a visit to the royal tombs (P. Dryton, pp. 410-412) and he copied a Hellenistic love poem in his own hand (P. Dryton 50). He made a will at least three times, in Greek, though in 126, when he made his third and final will, four of the six witnesses signed in Demotic. Later on, when the notary makes a copy of the document, he translates their signatures in Greek, adding "these four witnesses have signed in the native script (*enchoria grammata*) because there were not enough Greeks present". This illustrates the situation at Pathyris in the 2nd century : the small Egyptian town, where the clergy of Hathor held sway as a local elite, had received an influx of Greek immigrants after the great revolt. These soldiers made themselves at home in the town, people like Dryton, but also like Apollonia's Ptolemaios. He was nominally a Cyrenaean, but had adapted

³⁷ E. VAN 'T DACK e.a., *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian conflict of 103-101 B.C.*, Collectanea Hellenistica I, Bruxelles 1989.

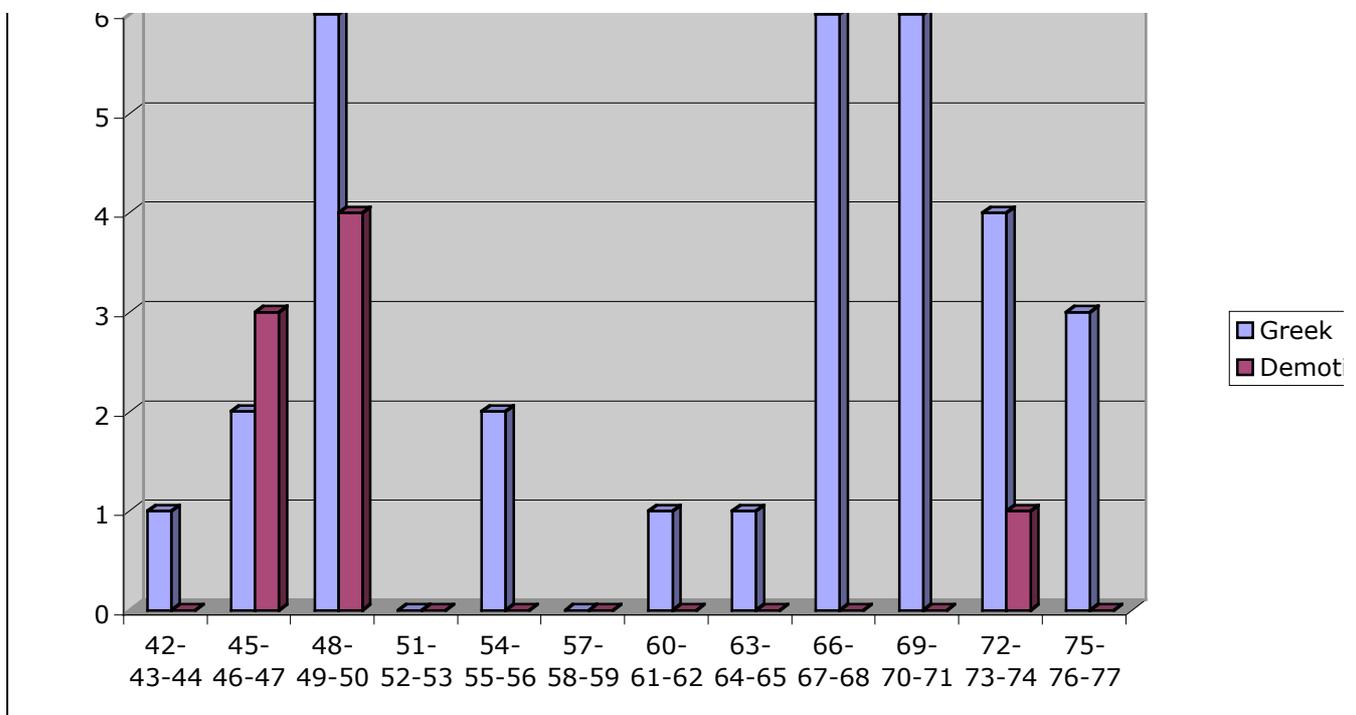
³⁸ K. VANDORPE, *The bilingual family archive of Dryton, his wife Apollonia and their daughter Senmouthis*, Collectanea Hellenistica IV, Bruxelles 2002.

far more to the local environment than did Dryton. He used, for instance, a Graeco-Egyptian double name - Ptolemaios alias Pamenos -, and his daughters also had Greek and Egyptian names : Apollonia - Senmonthis and Herais - Tiesris show that the family had links with nearby Thebes, where Montou (Senmonthis) and Mout (the lady of the *isrw* = Ti-esris, identified with Greek Hera) were worshipped.

For the distribution of Greek and Demotic texts in the archive the loan contracts are particularly interesting. Apollonia becomes a real business lady and issues loans to different persons. Since there is no Greek notarial office in Pathyris, but only a scribal office linked to the temple, Apollonia has her contracts drawn up at this office, in Demotic. But as soon as an *agoranomeion* is established at Pathyris in 136, Apollonia prefers Greek documents, even though for this type of deeds she needs a male guardian (*kyrios*), whereas according to Egyptian law she can act independently. Clearly it was more important to her to show off her superior status as a Greek lady, a status which she had already stressed in the Demotic texts of the first period. After the death of Dryton, the second generation returns to Demotic, not only for loans but also for contracts of marriage and divorce. The Greek impulse given by Dryton was only temporary. Even his son Esthladas married the Egyptian way³⁹.

In order actually to know the language spoken by Dryton and his family, to hear them speak so to say, we can use two approaches : we know the handwriting of Dryton and his son and we know that they wrote their daily accounts in Greek, that Dryton signed for illiterates, that he copied a poem, that he penned down accounts (full of abbreviations) for himself and for Apollonia. Nothing similar is known for either Apollonia or her daughters. We have no clue as to whether they were literate or not. Once Dryton has disappeared the accounts are again written in Demotic. In the second place, here and there we find short abstracts on the back of some texts. When Dryton makes use of an Egyptian contract, he adds a Greek abstract on the back. Completely unexpected is the Demotic note on the back of Dryton's first testament, written when Esthladas' mother was still alive. With Vandorpe I imagine that this was written for

³⁹ For the Egyptianisation of Dryton's family, see K. VANDORPE, *Apollonia, a Businesswoman in a Multicultural Society (Pathyris, 2nd-1st centuries B.C.)*, in H. MELAERTS et L. MOOREN (edd.), *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine*. Actes du colloque international, Bruxelles - Leuven 27-29 novembre 1997 = *Studia Hellenistica* 37 (Leuven - Paris - Sterling, Virginia, 2002) pp. 325-336.



Apollonia, the second wife, at a much later date.

Tax receipts

Chemtsneus and his son Kabiris

I finish with an archive of ostraca, which I identified accidentally when leafing through the *Sammelbuch* before visiting the large Vienna collection. The texts belong to the first century AD, between year 4 of Claudius and year 7 of Vespasian, covering a period of about thirty years. The protagonists, Chemtsneus ("the-three-brothers") and his son Kabiris ("the-left-handed-one"), pay taxes for capitation (*laographia*), for the dykes (*chomatikon*) and for the baths (*balaneutikon*), as did everybody, but also some more specific taxes, such as the weavers' tax and the market tax. Chemtsneus pays first at Thebes, and later in the Memnoneia, on the left bank of the Nile, where he actually had his home. There is a gap in the documentation from year 2 to year 7 of Nero. After this gap, in year 8 of Nero, Chemtsneus returns to the left bank, perhaps with his pockets full of receipts for all the taxes which he had paid at Thebes. It is not impossible that he had temporarily "disappeared" during the years of crisis in the reign of Nero and that he profited from the amnesty of year 8 to take up his life at home again⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ I borrow the idea from T. Hickey who is going to publish this dossier, with P.Heilporn and

Most of the receipts of Chemtsneus and all those of his son Kabiris are written in Greek. Demotic is mainly used by two tax collectors of the Memnoneia, Snachomneus and Psenchonsis. Apparently receipts for the capitation tax in Thebes could be written in Demotic until AD 48, when Greek became obligatory. In fact Snachomneus and his colleagues provided Demotic receipts until that year, whereas two years later, in AD 50, Amenrosis, one of the scribes who until that date wrote in Demotic, finally changed to Greek, with quite a few problems. In four instances, the scribe of the bank writes the receipt in Greek, as expected in a bank, but he adds a short notice in Demotic including the name of the tax payer. Was Chemtsneus perhaps able to read Demotic and was this line added for his benefit? In order to find an answer to this type of question, we shall have to leave the archives and investigate scribal habits in the early Roman period more generally.

Preliminary conclusions

In the archives of Egyptian families, which due to the find circumstances are often archives of funerary priests, the growing impact of Greek can clearly be seen.

From the third century BC onwards registration notes in Greek appear, at first still written with an Egyptian brush. In the second century such registration becomes obligatory and the bank receipt for the sales tax (*enkyklion*) is often written beneath the Demotic contract. In other instances, it stands on a separate sheet.

As soon, however, as Egyptians appear before a Greek court, the royal judges or *chrematistai* or local officials, Demotic no longer suffices. They have to write a petition in Greek, their title deeds have to be translated into Greek, they have to show in Greek that the taxes have been duly paid. As a result Greek legal dossiers are compiled within Demotic archives. Even the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos need Greek documents when they get involved in a lawsuit (P.Amherst II 33, 35, 55-60).

From the early Roman period onwards, Demotic contracts must be accompanied by Greek subscriptions in order to be valid and this brings about an end to Demotic archives⁴¹ and to Demotic legal texts in general. The only thing remaining are groups of ostraca, where Demotic holds out for another century. The disappearance of demotic is now being studied by my colleague Mark Depauw as part of a project at the University of Cologne. After the disappearance of Demotic, Greek can be accompanied by Coptic. The relation between these two languages is entirely different, but I will stop here and leave the bilingual Greek-Coptic archives to others, who are more competent than I am in this domain.

Willy Clarysse, Leuven

⁴¹ For the end to the use of Demotic in contracts, see M. DEPAUW, *Autograph confirmation in demotic private contracts*, CdE 78 (2003), pp. 66-111.