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OBSERVATIONS ON DEMOTIC TAX RECEIPTS FROM THE THEBAN REGION IN
ROMAN TIMES

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Observations on Demotic Tax Receipts from the Theban Region in Roman Times

In an article published a few years ago it was stated that the last demotic tax receipt on an ostrakon from the Theban region dated from A.D. 40.¹ This apparently innocent remark raises questions as soon as one notices that the same author elsewhere mentions a demotic Theban tax receipt dating from A.D. 43.² This case may involve nothing more than an insignificant oversight, but it occurred to me that in the past I had seen a few more demotic texts on ostraka from the Theban region recording tax payments made during even later years. In order to gain a clearer picture I searched through all regular publications of demotic ostraka for ostraka from Roman Thebes.³

Here I wish to present some results of these investigations in tabular form; I hope that these may be of some service to colleagues (both Greek and demotic scholars) who are interested in this particular field. I should like to stress that I do not claim any competence as a demotic scholar; as a Greek papyrologist I have had to rely heavily on the translations of many of the documents that passed my eyes. My lists include the following materials:

a) a table of demotic ostraka dealing with money tax receipts from the Theban region dated to A.D. 40 or later. **NB:** all demotic receipts for the collection of *logia* (listed below in Table II) are excluded from this table, except one text from A.D. 142, which, however, may be not such a receipt (even its Theban provenance is not secure).

Reference	Emp. yr	Date	Provenance	Tax	Collector	Payer	Remarks
DOM 96 = O.dem. Louvre 519 p.226	Gaius 5	30.ix.40	Thebes	dike, bath	Pikos, s. Keph- alos (banker)	Pikos, s. Paëris	
O.Dem. Louvre 530+533 (p. 252)	Claudius 3	42/43	Thebes	?	Pikos, s. Keph- alos (banker)	Paimen, s. N.N., & Psen- chonsis, s. Har- paësis	
O.dem. Louvre 920 (p. 255)	Claudius 4	21.xii. 43	Thebes	dike	Pikos, s. Keph- alos (banker)	Horos, s. Paigesh	
DOM 66	Claudius 7	1?.vii?. 47	Hermonthis?	poll	Snachomneus, s. Psenamenophis, & Psenchonsis, s. Petenephotes	Chemtsneus, s. Palil	Ed.: Thebes; for tax-payer s. also next, DOM 254 (Claudius 8) and the Greek ostraka SB I 1668, 4328- 4329, 4333 and 4345

¹ Cf. ZPE 57 (1984) 243; see also p. 252 and fn.86.

² Loc.cit., 252 fn.90, O.dem.Louvre 920.

³ Cf. the bibliography compiled by D. Devauchelle in O.dem. Louvre, I, p. 4-10.

Reference	Emp. yr	Date	Provenance	Tax	Collector	Payer	Remarks
OrSuec 18 (1969) 79 # VIII	Claudius 12	22.iv. 52	Hermonthis?	poll	Snachomneus, s. Psenamenophis, & Psenchonsis, s. Petenephotos	Chemtsneus, s. Palil	Ed.: Thebes; cf. preceding text
DOM 92 = O.dem. Louvre 546 (p. 245)	Vespasian 3	70/71	Thebes?	green- crops	Teos, s. Hatres, c.s.	Psenchonsis, s. Psenchonsis	
DOM 207	Vespasian 8	13.vi. 76 / 25.i. 77	Hermonthis	poll, dike, guard ships	Pamonthes, s. Pamonthes, c.s.	Phthoumonthes, s. Poueris	
DOM 68	Titus 2	7?.v. 80	Hermonthis	poll	Pamonthes sr., s. Pamonthes, c.s.	Phthoumonthes, s. Poueris	
OrSuec 12 (1963) 51 # VIII	Domitian 2	82	Thebes	telos	Porieuthes, s. Phthouminis	Paminis, s. Pantbeus	For Pachon, Pauni
DOM 166	Domitian 3	82/3	Thebes	bath	Asklas, c.s.	Psenamounis, s. Harphmois	For tax payer see O.ROM II 168, introd.
DOM 91	Domitian 4	25.ix.84	Thebes (ed.)	burial	Asklas, s. Teos, c.s.	Tsenpamonthes	
OrSuec 12 (1963) 52 # IX	Domitian 4	84/5	Thebes	telos	Porieuthes, s. Phthouminis	Paminis, s. Pantbeus	Cf. sub Domitian 2, 5, 6
OrSuec 19/20 (1970-71) 46 # XIX	Domitian 5	85/86	Thebes	telos	Porieuthes, s. Phthouminis & Petekametis, s. Phthoumonthes	Paminis, s. Pantbeus	Cf. sub Domitian 2, 4, 6
OrSuec 12 (1963) 53 # 10	Domitian 6	86/7	Thebes	telos	Porieuthes, s. Phthouminis & Petekametis, s. Phthoumonthes	Paminis, s. Pantbeus	Cf. sub Domitian 2, 4, 5
DOM 147	Trajan 4	100/1	Hermonthis	elders (?)	Amphiomis, s. Porieuthes, praktor	Phthoumonthes s. P̄hof	
OMH 119	Trajan 15	6.vi.112	Memnonia	?	Chestphnach- this, s. Harsiesis, & Pamonthes, s. Pamonthes	Horos, s. T3- šr̄(-n)-p3-tw- Hnsw	
OrSuec16 (1967) 43 # XVII	Antoninus 5	22.iv.142	Upper Egypt	logia?	Seleue (?) c.s., Isionomoi of Neit	Hrj-p3-m3j, s. Tsenosiris	
O.dem.Louvre 844 (p.234)	Antoninus 10	1.vi.147	Thebes	bath	Pete---, s. Pete---	Soter	

Comments:

It will be seen that, with the *logia* receipts of Table II all assigned to Hermonthis (West bank), only relatively few demotic documents keep coming from Thebes (East bank). Many *editiones principes* assigned demotic (or, for that matter, Greek) ostraka to 'Thebes', probably simply because the respective editors did not realize that quite a few among these texts might have a provenance other than that of the local center of the antiquities trade in modern times, i.e. Luxor,

where they probably were bought. In fact, there are so few texts with an undisputed Theban provenance dating from A.D. 43 onwards that one might almost be inclined to ask whether the few remaining receipts are not also from some West-bank locality. As far as payments of the poll-tax are concerned, it is of interest to note that before A.D. 107 in Thebes this tax was normally paid into a bank; one banker gave a receipt for this.⁴

In Hermonthis, on the other hand, one encounters in the period before A.D. 107 in Greek poll-tax receipts a body of at least 2 tax collectors called *praktores laographias*: cf. O.Cair. GPW 66 (95P) and 68 (97P).⁵ On the analogy of these Greek texts one might speculate that the demotic poll-tax receipts showing such a multiplicity of tax collectors: Dem.Ostr.Mattha 66 (47P) and OrSuec. 18 (1969) 79 # VIII (52P), also come, like Dem.Ostr. Mattha 207 (76/7) and 68 (80P), from Hermonthis. Moreover, the man paying poll-tax in Dem.Ostr.Mattha 66 occurs also in Dem. Ostr.Mattha 254 (48P), where he delivers a certain amount of wheat to the granary of the Northern quarters (known to be situated in the West bank, cf. Dem.Ostr.Mattha 251). On the other hand, the bath-tax payer found in Dem.Ostr.Mattha 166 (Domitian 3) occurs in a number of Greek texts from Thebes (cf. for him O.ROM II 168, introd.); for that reason the demotic ostrakon, too, presumably belongs to the East bank. One may remark in addition that the tax collector occurring in this text, Asklas, would help filling the gap for Domitian 3 in the list of 'Theban' *telonae* and *epiteretae* collecting the bath- and burial taxes, ZPE 76 (1989) 77-84. The same remark goes for the receipt of burial tax Dem.Ostr.Mattha 91 (Domitian yr 4), also collected by an Asklas. (In this text the patronymic is given; he was the son of Teos.) **NB**: It is not certain that the collectors occurring in these last two ostraka are the same individuals.

b) a survey of demotic and Greek receipts of *logia* in Roman Hermonthis.

	Language	Reference	Date	Collector	Payer	Amount	Purpose
1	Demotic	WAO 37	47/48	Psenenteris/Peteesis	[]	Not specif.	'for the god', yrs. 7, 8 (46-48)
2	Demotic	WAO 38	48/49	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	1 stater	'for [the god]'
3	Demotic	ZÄS 54 118(3)	50/51	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	5 silver stat.	'for Isis'
4	Greek	WO II 402	16.9.52	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr., 2 ob.	εμφίλας = ἐν Φίλαις?
5	Demotic	DOZ 11	21.3.52	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Horar/Peteesis	1 stat., 10 ob.	'for the god'
6	Demotic	DOM 186	53-54	Argeios & Harpaesis	Petechonsis/Pete- psais	1 stat., 10 ob. ⁶	'for the god'
7	Demotic	OrSuec 16 (1967) 41 # XVI	54/55	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Haryothes c.s.	1 stater	'for Isis'
8	Demotic	DOM 187	4.2.55	Psenamunis/Pekysis	?	1 stat., 10 ob.	'for the god'
9	Demotic	ZÄS 54 117 (1)	55/56	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	5 silver stat.	'for Isis'
10	Demotic	WAO 39	12.6.57	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	5 stat.	'for Isis'
11	Demotic	WAO 40	10.6.58	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	5 stat.	'for Isis'

⁴ For the details of the procedure cf. R. Bogaert in ZPE 57 (1974) 241ff.

⁵ Cf. for various praktors before A.D. 107 also the references supplied by Bogaert in ZPE 57 (1984) 279 fn.320.

⁶ The ed. of Dem. Ostr. Mattha 186 read the number of staters as '9', but Prof. Pestman tells me that this is not correct; he reads the expected '1' on the photo of the ostrakon (pl. XVII).

	Language	Reference	Date	Collector	Payer	Amount	Purpose
12	Greek	PSI III 262	30.7.58	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Eponychos/Prem-senes	4 dr., 10 ob.	'for the god'
13	Demotic	ZÄS 54 119 (4)	13.1.60	Sosikotes?/Psanmous	Pibouchis/Peteesis	5 silver stat.	'for Isis', yr. 5 (=58/59)
14	Demotic	ZÄS 54 118 (2)	5?2.60	Psenenteris/Peteesis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	5 silver stat.	'for Isis'
15	Greek	O.Cair GPW 76	10.5.60	Psenamunis/Pekysis	[- -]thes/Psen-monthes	4 dr., 10 ob.	'for the god'
16	Greek	WO II 412	12.8.62	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Petearnouphis/Peteesis = Pibouchis	4 dr., 10 ob.	'for the god'
17	Greek	WO II 413	4.8.63	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr., 1 ob.	'for Isis'
18	Greek	WO II 414	4.8.63	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr., 2 ob.	'for the god'
19	Greek	WO II 415	4.7.64	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr., 2 ob.	'for Isis'
20	Greek	WO II 416	1.6.65	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr., 2 ob.	'for Isis'
21	Greek	WO II 417	5.3.67	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr., 2 ob.	'for Isis'
22	Greek	WO II 418	4-5.67	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	5 dr., 3 ob.	'for the god'
23	Greek	WO II 420	16.3.68	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr., 2 ob. ⁷	'for Isis'
24	Greek	WO II 421	69	Psenamunis/Pekysis	Pibouchis/Peteesis	4 dr.	'for Isis'
25	Greek	WO II 472 + add.	30.11.87	not specified	Psentithoes/Pibouchis/Peteesis	1 ob.	
26	Greek	O.Petr.89	29.1.93	not specified	Phthomonthes/Phthomonthes/Poriuthes	[- -]	

Comments:

As far as these payments of *logia* are concerned, almost all demotic texts listed here can be safely attributed to Hermonthis on the basis of prosopographical considerations.⁸ Only in the case of Dem.Ostr.Mattha 186 have I not found any immediately perceptible prosopographical links between this text and other documents from Hermonthis, but one may argue, perhaps, that the collection itself was a specific Hermonthis phenomenon. This list allows of a few extra observations:

1- Our dossier, especially that of the demotic texts, has grown sizably since the discussion of the tax by S. L. Wallace in 1938.⁹

2- We see now that the payments were collected by a number of priests who apparently officiated more or less simultaneously.¹⁰

⁷ The ed. of WO II 420 read the amount paid as '4 dr., 5 ob.', but Dr Poethke writes (by letter of 19.vi.1989) that a reading of 2 obols (=) is to be preferred (to be sure, he informs me that the amounts as given in the edd. princ. of WO II 413, 418 and 421 are correct).

⁸ For the name of Pibouchis cf. W. Clarysse, *Theban personal names and the cult of Bouchis*, in 'Grammata demotika. Festschrift E. Lüddekens', Würzburg 1984, 25-39. Through this man the collectors Psenenteris, s.o. Peteesis, Psenamunis, s.o. Pekysis, and Sosikotes(?), s.o. Psanmous, are all linked to Hermonthis.

⁹ Cf. his 'Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian' (Princeton 1938), 244-45. Wallace knew of fifteen texts in Greek or demotic, we now have twenty six such texts, i.e. our documentation has grown by more than 66%.

¹⁰ Especially illuminating seems the situation in A.D. 60, where we find three different priests in one year.

3- Most of our twenty six receipts date from the period A.D. 47-69, but there are two texts from ca. twenty years later (and maybe one from an even later date, cf. above, p. 243 and Table I). Obviously, the nature of the payment has changed, and the formula of these two receipts is different from that found in the preceding texts.

4- A few texts (all concerning payments 'for the god') mention the amount of the payment as being '1 Stater' (in demotic texts) / '4 drachmae' (in Greek texts) + '10 obols'. This is remarkable, in that one might expect 10 obols to have been converted into '1 drachma, 4 obols'. Probably, a cash payment of 10 copper coins next to 1 billon stater/tetradrachme is meant. Occasionally one encounters also in other demotic texts amounts slightly higher than six obols being paid for taxes, e.g. in Dem.Ostr.Mattha 167: seven obols, and in Dem.Ostr.Leid. 21: eight obols. One sees that one person paid in A.D. 63 on a single day for two different collections, i.e. one 'for Isis' and another one 'for the god' (=the Buchis bull?), a total amount of 8 dr., 3 ob.; in A.D. 67 these two collections amounted to a total of 9 dr., 5 ob. The variations between the various amounts are remarkable and not easily explicable. The most striking variation is found in the payments 'for Isis', 1 - 5 staters.

5- In one text, WO II 402 from A.D. 52, the destination of the money is rendered in the Greek text not by 'ὕπερ τῆς Φεννησίας', i.e. 'for the priesthood/cult of Isis', but by the enigmatic ἐνφίλας. Should one perhaps interpret this as ἐν Φίλαις, and is the destination of the money collected in Hermonthis ὕπερ τῆς Φεννησίας perhaps the renowned cult center of Isis on the island of Philae?

One might have deduced from the preceding tables that the use of demotic for administration purposes in the Theban region is, by ca. A.D. 100, almost extinct. A certain number of texts, collected in the following table, contradicts this impression:

c) demotic receipts for deliveries of wine to the Ratou chapel in Thebes:

1) OrSuec 22 (1973) 13 (VIII),	Hadrian	yr	5	(120/1)
2) Dem.Ostr.Mattha 263,		yr	7	(122/3)
3) OrSuec 12 (1963) 54 (XI),		yr	11	(126/7)
4) Dem.Ostr.Mattha 264,		yr	20	(135/6)
5) Dem.Ostr.Mattha 265,		yr	22	(137/8)
6) OrSuec. 22 (1973) 17 (IX),		yr	22	(137/8)
7) Dem.Ostr.Mattha 266,	Antoninus	yr	9	(145/6)
8) OrSuec 16 (1967) 40 (XV),		yr	9	(145/6)
9) OrSuec 12 (1963) 55 (XII),		yr	10	(146/7)

Comment:

It is interesting to see that at such an advanced date (until shortly before the mid of the 2nd century) the conservative Theban temple administration, while handing out such receipts, still clung to the use of demotic, while the state's administration had started to give up the use of demotic by almost a century earlier. The archival character of this collection of receipts is underlined by the fact that they all come from a pretty well-defined period of time. In all texts except # 6 the deliverer is the same man, Amenhotep, son of Harpbek. The collectors are various priests attached to the administration of the chapel.

While working on the demotic and demotic/Greek ostraka from the Theban region I compiled another list which may be helpful, viz.

d) a provisional list of demotic ostraka from Roman times and dealing with tax receipts or receipts for rent paid which can be taken to come from the West bank, more especially from Hermonthis or the Memnonia.¹¹

The inventory has been compiled mainly on the basis of criteria for the attribution of texts to this region which I have taken over from R. Bogaert, ZPE 57 (1984) 278ff.

-1) Reference made to the 'Bank of the Northern Quarters';

-2) Use in receipts for money payments of the verbal form *in* meaning 'has paid';

-3) Use of the phrasing 'belonging to/from the men of N.N.';

-4) Use of the word 'n'n = Gr. ὁμοίως in sequential tax payments;

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Ment'd in ZPE 57 (1984) 278f. (reference made to footnote) / other remarks</i>
Dem.O.Leid.		
8	2, 3	fn. 323; 329
11	2	fn. 327, 328, 330
19	2	receipt for bath (?) -tax; Roman
33	2	isw-tax receipt; early Roman
Dem.O.Louvre		
# 666, p.215-6	2	fn. 329
Dem.O.Mattha		
1	1, 2	fn. 337
2	1, 2	fn. 337
3	editor	delivery of sesame, Augustus (?) yr 10
20	3	fn. 325
25	3	fn. 314; 325; 329
26	2, 3	fn. 314; 323; 329
27	2; Djeme ment'd	fn. 314; 324; 329
28	2, 3	poll-tax receipt, Augustus yr 22
30	2, 3	fn. 323; 329
33	1, 2	fn. 330
35	1, 3	fn. 323; 329
37	2, 3	fn. 323; 328
66		poll-tax receipt, Claudius yr 7; Cf. above, p. 245; same person in DOM # 254
68	ed.; N.Quarter ment'd	poll-tax receipt, Titus yr 2; same persons in DOM # 207
111	mentions Djeme	tax on madder, early Roman
144	2	beer-tax receipt, Augustus yr 35
147	N.quarter in Hermonthis ment'd	tax on elders (?), Trajan yr 4
153	2, 3	fn. 323

¹¹ Cf. for a (partial) counterpart the provisional list of Greek ostraka from Roman Hermonthis in ZPE 76 (1989) 55-57; cf. also below, fn. 13.

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Ment'd in ZPE 57 (1984) 278f. (reference made to footnote) / other remarks</i>
(Dem.O.Mattha)		
168	1, 2	fn. 334
172	4	fn. 327; 335
173	1, 2	fn. 335
174	1, 2	fn. 335
183	1, 2; same person in 193 (cf. also Dem.O.Zürich 4,1-3n.)	fn. 314; 335
186	logia payment	Cf. above, table II
187	logia payment	Cf. above, table II
193	3; cf. # 183	receipt for unspecified tax, Augustus yr 22
206	2	receipt for ferry dues, Gaius yr 5
207	N.Quarter ment'd	poll-tax, Vespasian yr 8; same persons in # 68
213	1, 2	receipt for ship silver, Augustus yr 34(?)
245	mentions Djeme	delivery of wheat, Augustus yr 26
246	2, 3	fn. 323; 337
251	granary of the N. quarter	delivery of wheat, Augustus yr 41
254	granary of the N. quarter	delivery of wheat, Claudius yr 8; same person in # 66
259	1, 3	fn. 314; 337

Dem.O.Med.Habu: All texts published in O.Med.Habu are in principle from the West bank, except one text, OMH 29, which definitely comes from Thebes (cf. banker's signature and use of prosdiagraphomena).

Dem.O.Toronto

p.23, D.5	1, 2, 4	fn. 321; 330
p.25, D.16	1, 2, 3, 4	fn. 314; 315; 319; 329
p.26, D.37	1, 2, 4	fn. 307, 321
p.28, D.52	1, 2, 4	fn. 321 (D.51!)
p.31, D.28	Djeme ment'd	delivery of wheat to granary, Domitian yr 3

Cf. also the discussion of some allotments of land in Djeme on p. 45 (on this subject see also O.Med.Habu p. 53)

Dem.O.Zürich

5	1, 2, 3	fn. 329
6	2, 3; same Greek scribe in O. Mattha 37	fn. 324; 329
7	1, 2, 4	fn. 307; 330
8	1, 2, 4	fn. 312; 335
10	2; mentions chapel in Djeme	fn. 324; 338
11	logia payment	Cf. above, table II
17	granary of N. quarter	receipt for wheat, Augustus yr 38
27	mentions bath in Djeme	receipt for bath-tax, Augustus yr 29

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Ment'd in ZPE 57 (1984) 278f. (reference made to footnote) / other remarks</i>
Wängstedt, Ausgew. Ostr.		
4	1, 2	fn. 329
22	1, 3; same Greek scribe in O. Mattha 37	fn. 323; 331
23-26	2, 3	fn. 323; 331
37-40	logia payments	Cf. above, table II
Botti, Testi demotici		
p.60-61, O.8088, TDF 14	Memnonia ment'd	payment of unspecified tax, Tiberius yr 3
p.61-62, O.Botti 1 = TDF 15	Memnonia ment'd	tax payment [tax name lost], Tiberius yr 3
Enchoria		
10 (1985) 15.1	Memnonia ment'd	receipt for some commodity in kind, yr [?] of Augustus
OrSuec		
14-15 (1965-6)		
24, # IV	2	receipt for unspecified tax, Augustus yr 9
29, # IX	Memnonia ment'd	receipt for wheat, Augustus (?) yr 4
16 (1967)		
27, # V	Memnonia ment'd	receipt for tax on madder, Augustus yr 2; cf. DOM 111
34-7, ## X-XI	granary (of the god) in the N. quarters	for granary cf. DOM 251, 254 and Dem.O.Zür.17
41, # XVI	logia payment	Cf. above, table II
18 (1969)		
79, # VIII		receipt for poll tax, Claudius yr 12; cf. above, p. 245
80-1, # X	2, 4, 5	receipt for bath-tax and chomatikon, Augustus yr 20
25-26 (1976-7)		
13, # V	2	receipt for price of wheat Augustus (?) yr 25
PSBA 35 (1913)		
152, # 1	1, 2, 4	fn. 332
187, # 1	1, 2, 4	fn. 330
188, # 2	1, 2, 4	receipt for chomatikon and apomoirā, Tiberius (?) yr 18
262, # 1	1, 2	fn. 337
262, # 2	1, 2, 4	fn. 337
ZÄS 54 (1918)		
117f.	logia payments	Cf. above, table II

If the verb *in* used in the receipts for deliveries of wheat Dem.O.Mattha 245, 251, 254, Dem.O.Zürich 17, Dem.O.Toronto D.28 (p.31) and OrSuec 16 (1967) 34-37 ## X-XI would be,

as in money tax payments, a reliable criterion for distinguishing between West-bank and East-bank texts, the following ostraka might be attributed, at least in principle, also to the West bank:

Dem.O.Leiden # 52; 62; 71; 72;

Dem.O.Louvre # 277 (p.252); # 609, p.246-7; # 671, p.247 (=Dem.Ostr.Mattha 82)

Dem.O.Mattha # 181 (for the official Apollonides also O.Med.Habu, p. 35 and cf. G. Bastianini-J.E.G. Whitehorne, *List of Strategi*, p.66 mid); 252; for # 82 cf. Dem.O.Louvre # 671;

Dem.O.Zürich # 22; 29;

Wångstedt, *Ausgewählte Ostraka*, 44; 47-50;

OrSuec 14-5 (1965-66) 25.VII; 31.X; 40.XVI;

16 (1967) 33.IX; 38.XIII;

18 (1969) 87.XVI.

In order to back up this hypothesis one might argue, moreover, that some of these texts mention the *oiphi* measure which seems to have been used with some particular frequency in West-bank texts; in addition to the many instances of this measure found in the Dem.Ostr.Med.Habu (passim), Dem.Ostr.Mattha 251, 254, Dem.Ostr.Zürich 17, Dem.Ostr.Toronto D.28 (p.31) and in OrSuec 16 (1967) 34-37 ## X-XI, one finds this measure in the following of the texts already listed supra:

Dem.Ostr.Mattha 181; 252;

Wångstedt, *Ausgew. Ostr.* 47;

OrSuec 14-15 (1965-66) 31.X;

16 (1967) 33.IX;

18 (1969) 87.XVI.

A few other texts, however, mention the god Amonrasonther, who was venerated particularly in Karnak (East bank), i.e.

Dem.Ostr.Zürich 22;

Wångstedt, *Ausgewählte Ostr.* 44; 50

OrSuec 14-5 (1965-66) 25.VII and 40.XVI

Furthermore, we have some early Roman receipts for specific deliveries of wheat, i.e. 'for the things of the King'; these texts are subscribed by:

Dem.O.Louvre 609, p.246-7 (Tiberius yr 7): *W.s3nwsys s3 P3-sr-Mnw*

Transl.: Ou.sanousis, fils de Pshermenou

Wångstedt, *Ausgew. Ostr.* 48 (Tib. yr 15): *Tj3[nsjs]*

Transl.: Dio[nysios]

Wångstedt, *Ausgew. Ostr.* 49 (Tib. yr 15): *Tj3[nsjs] s3 P3-sr-<n>-Mn*

Transl.: Dionysios, Sohn des Pshenmin

Dem.O.Louvre 671, p.247= (Tib. yr 16): *Ty3nsys*

Dem.O.Mattha 82 Transl.: Dionysios

Dem.Ostr.Leiden 52 (Tib. yr 20): *Tj3ns s3 P3-sr-Mn*

Transl.: *Tj3ns*, son of *P3-sr-Mn*

It will be seen that the names and patronymics of the scribes of these receipts share quite a few common elements and in fact I believe that we are dealing with just one person named Dionysios, son of Psenmin. This means that the reading in the first text, Dem.O.Louvre 609, should be adapted to '*Ty3nsys s3 P3-sr-Mn*'. This granary scribe Dionysios also seems to have operated on the East rather than on the West bank; cf. the occurrence of Pamonthes, son of Psen-

monthes, in the first text, Dem.Ostr.Louvre 609, and his other attestations listed *ibidem*, p.216. It is striking, too, that in none of these texts use is made of the *oiphi*-measure.¹²

One must be cautious, therefore, in the matter of using the verb *in* while trying to distinguish between East-bank and West-bank receipts for payment in kind; for the present moment we have no further criteria to assign Dem.Ostr.Leiden 62, OrSuec 16 (1969) 38.XIII (both receipts for chaff), Dem.O.Leiden 71,72, Dem.O. Zürich 29 (three receipts for rent) and Dem.O.Louvre 277 (p.252) (precise contents uncertain) to a more specific place with certainty.

Finally, I should like to stress that these lists, like their predecessor containing the Greek texts from Hermonthis, are not necessarily already now 'complete and correct'.¹³ I shall be grateful for any addenda and corrigenda.¹⁴

Santpoort

K.A. Worp

¹² There is another Dionysios known to have been active in the thesaurus administration on the East bank as a sitologus, cf. WO II 767 (1/2P); one cannot be certain that this man is identical with the granary scribe.

¹³ Cf. fn 11. Since that list appeared, a number of prosopographical links came to my attention; therefore, the reader is kindly requested to add the following references: SB I 4334 (72); WO II 388 (44), 389 (44), 428 (70), 430, (71), 432 (72), 433 (73), 435 (72-73), 439, 440, 441, 442 (all 76), 445 (77), 427+add. (78), 447 (78), 449 (79), 450 (79), 455 (82), 460 (84), 1281 (79, 80), ?1282 (83), 1283 (83, 84?); O.Tait. II 517 (103), 642 (32), 672 (69), 818 (72); O.Petr. 86 (68) and 95 (96, 97).

¹⁴ I should like to express my gratitude to a few colleagues who have been very helpful during my work on this article: to Prof. Mr P.W. Pestman (Leiden) who let me benefit unstintingly from his unique experience as a demotic scholar; to Dr. G. Poethke (Berlin) who checked readings in a number of ostraka kept in the papyrus collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-DDR; to Prof. Dr. P.J. Sijpesteijn (Amsterdam) who read an earlier version of my article and contributed many useful suggestions. Dr. R.L. Hunsucker (Amsterdam) was so kind as to correct my English. Finally I should like to put on record how much I owe to the stimulating article published by Prof. Bogaert (Gent) in ZPE 57 (1984) 241-296; without this my own studies in the field of Theban ostraka would probably never have come off the ground.