KATELIJN VANDORPE - WILLY CLARYSSE

A GREEK WINERY FOR SALE IN A FAYUM DEMOTIC PAPYRUS*
[TEXT 4; PLATES VI-VIII]

We consider this papyrus a fitting tribute for Professor P.W. Pestman, not only because it is kept in the Netherlands (Amsterdam), but even more so because the demotic text allows us to combine demotic and Greek sources, a game at which P.W. Pestman is the master. Our demotic papyrus is a sale by Greeks (woman, father and husband), of a Greek winery; the terminology also finds its parallels in Greek rather than in demotic papyri.

DATE AND PROVENANCE. — The date of the papyrus is lost in the lacuna, but the remaining part of the dating protocol in line 1 allows to date the papyrus to ca. 107-30 BC (see note **a**). The second Greek subscription in line 7 shows that the sale concerns immovables in the Arsinoite village of Sebennytyos (see note **r**). The clauses of the contract find parallels in other Fayumic sales (see note **a** and **d**).

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPYRUS. — The demotic papyrus Gieben 2 (H. x W.: c. 27 x 30 cm.) almost certainly comes from cartonnage, though no traces of plaster are visible. It is broken off to the left and the right. The top and bottom margins are preserved. A first sheet join is at 8.5 cm. from the left edge, a second at 5.5 cm. from the right edge. The kollesis in the middle measures 15.5 cm. The papyrus is torn vertically, the two parts being attached at foot and head, but due to the state of preservation lines 3 to 5 do no longer fit. Nothing is lost, however, as can be seen when the photograph and the facsimile are compared.

The demotic text is a deed of conveyance (*sh n db3-hq*) of which only about a third part is preserved (see note **k**). If there was a deed of cession, it was probably written to the left on the same papyrus, as in *P. Ashm.* 16 and 17. Under the deed(s) two Greek subscriptions were written in different hands (see below under *Contents*).

* = *P. dem. Gieben 2* (*P. dem. Gieben 1* has been published by M. DEPAUW & K. VANDORPE, 'A Ptolemaic Letter on Looters. The Demotic Papyrus Gieben 1', *Chron.d'Ég.* 72, 1997, 229-241).

We thank J.C. Gieben for permission to publish the papyrus, C. Van Winkel for the restoration, D.J. Thompson for several useful suggestions. D.J. Thompson also corrected our English.

CONTENTS. — The woman Philotera, daughter of Diodoros and Eirene (or Helene, see note b), sells a quarter¹ of a winery with its appurtenances to a merchant, whose name is lost.² The sale is approved by three persons:³ her father Diodoros (l. 4), her husband(?) Sosigenes (Greek subscription 1), and a third person whose name is lost. Several demotic deeds from the Fayum contain a similar clause of assent from the third century onwards until the end of the Ptolemaic era. Usually only one person gives his or her approval: the father,⁴ the mother⁵ or the wife-*s^cnh*.⁶ In *P. Chicago Hawara* App. two persons (mother and sister) and in *P. Ashm.* 5 probably four or more persons (mother, wife, father and other(s)) give their assent.

The first Greek subscription contains the name of the husband(?) Sosigenes, most probably one of the three persons who gave their approval; the subscription, written in a practised hand, may have recorded the three names. Such subscriptions by the consenting partner(s) are attested in few other texts.⁷

The second Greek subscription contains information on the goods which are sold and is thus presumably the registrar's docket. It is written in clumsy capitals and with weak spelling (see note r). The sale was probably registered at a local office; the registrar's docket of *P. dem. Cairo* II 30628 (Tebtynis, 120/119 BC), for instance, is also written in uncertain capitals and contains a mistake in the name of the month.

THE WINERY. — The sale concerns

- an agricultural establishment for producing wine including (4)
- a heliasterion (1)
- *pr-hq.w* (storehouses) and *wrh.w* (vacant plots) (2)
- *ym(.w)* (basins) and *qd.w r hm (?)* (constructions for treading the grapes(?)) (3)

¹ The immovables sold are specified in the fragmentary l. 2 as '[1/4 of a building] and 1/4 of its appurtenances' and are recapitulated in l. 5: *t3 dni.t 1/4 nty nb nty hry*, 'the quarter of everything mentioned above'.

² The buyer is a man and acts on his own account, as is confirmed by the use of *p3y=k* (your) in l. 5.

³ According to l. 5 the buyer has a claim against four persons: the seller Philotera and apparently three persons who give their assent.

⁴ *P. Chicago Hawara* 1 (Hawara, 365/364 BC); *P. Lille* II 48 (Meris of Themistos, 224 BC).

⁵ *P. Ashm.* 16 (Hawara, 69/68 BC); *P. dem. Cairo* II 30623 (Tebtynis, III BC).

⁶ *P. Ashm.* 3 (Hawara, 116/115 BC); ? *P. Ashm.* 7 (Hawara, II BC); *P. Chicago Hawara* 5 (Hawara, 285/246 BC); *P. Chicago Hawara* 7 (Hawara, 245 BC); *P. Chicago Hawara* 9 (Hawara, 239 BC).

In *P. Lille* II 53 and II 42 + 79 the komogrammateus gives his assent (Athenas Kome, 226 BC).

⁷ *P. Ashm.* 3: subscription in Greek by the Greek representatives of the wife-*s^cnh*, who gave her assent; the approval is called *ἐπικελεύειν* in this Greek subscription; *JEA* 45 (1959), p. 62 (f) and p. 74, n. 59: subscription in demotic by the father, who gave his assent (Memphis, 69 BC).

1. Our papyrus is earlier than the oldest Greek reference for the word ἡλιαστήριον in Strabo XVII 1.44 (Augustan period), where it indicates a 'basking-place in the sun' for the sacred crocodiles. In Greek documentary papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods the word is fairly well attested from the second half of the first century AD onwards.⁸ According to Liddell-Scott's lexicon ἡλιαστήριον in the papyri means 'a place for drying fruit'.⁹ This meaning, however, is hardly attested.¹⁰ As shown by Schnebel¹¹ and generally accepted by papyrologists, the heliasterion is 'a sunning-ground, i.e. an enclosure in the open air with no roof to store the new wine and mature it by the heat of the sun'.¹² According to the *Geoponica* 7.2 this procedure is used especially for strong wines (τὸν ἰσχυρότερον οἶνον ὑπαίθριον θετέον, τοὺς δὲ λεπτοὺς οἶνους ὑπὸ στέγην θετέον).

Heliasteria go with vineyards,¹³ but also with houses,¹⁴ and in several instances with houses and vineyards together.¹⁵ The wine stored in them is a valuable commodity which has to be well guarded.¹⁶ Quite often they are part of an establishment including other buildings and appurtenances (χρηστήρια).¹⁷

βουστάσιον

P. Flor. I 50, l. 98; *SPP XX* 218, l. 16

ἐπαύλη

P. Vindob. Sal. 12, l. 4

ἐποίκιον

P. Oxy. XLIX 3491, l. 16; *P. Oxy.* LI 3638, l. 8; *PSI XIII* 1328, l. 43

⁸ *P. Oxy.* 41 2970 (AD 62); *SB VIII* 9699, l. 85 and 374 (= *P. Lond.* I 131; AD 78); *SB XX* 14409 (AD 90). In *PSI VIII* 918, l. 2 (AD 38) ἡλιαστήριον is supplemented by the editor.

⁹ *LSJ*, p. 768 and Supplement by P.G.W. Glare – A.A. Thompson, p. 145, s.v. ἡλιαστήριον.

¹⁰ The only instance where this does seem to apply is in *SB VI* 9132, but the interpretation of this text is based on the word ἐξερευκώς, derived by the editor (and the lexica) from an uncertain hapax legomenon ξερεύω 'to dry'.

¹¹ M. SCHNEBEL, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 7, 1925), 289.

¹² The most important papyrological discussions are found in *P. Oxy.* XVI 1631, l. 17, note; A. SWIDEREK, *La propriété foncière privée dans l'Égypte de Vespasien et sa technique agricole d'après P. Lond. I 131 recto* (Académie Polonaise des Sciences. Institut d'Histoire de la culture matérielle, Bibliotheca Antiqua 1), Wrocław 1960, p. 60; *P. Vindob. Sal.*, p. 142; W.E.H. COCKLE, *Euripides, Hypsipyle. Text and Annotation based on a Re-examination of the Papyri* (Texts and Commentaries 7, 1987), 205 (= *SB XX* 14409). The definition used above is that of Cockle.

¹³ E.g. *P. Oxy.* IV 729, l. 25 (*BL I*, p. 327); *P. Oxy.* LI 3638, l. 9; *SPP XX* 218, l. 16.

¹⁴ E.g. *P. Flor.* I 50, l. 32 and l. 67 (Hermopolis, near the western stone gate); *CPR XVII* 5, l. 2 (Hermopolis, western amphodos); *P. Ross.-Georg.* II 28, l. 37; *PSI XIII* 1328, l. 44.

¹⁵ *P. Flor.* I 50, l. 98; *P. Hamb.* I 68 (Aphrodito; the heliasterion goes with land, but is situated ἐν τὸς τῆς λιβικῆς αὐθεντικῆς θύρας); *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3491, l. 16 (house in the amphodos of the camp of the Lycians, with land and a heliasterion); *P. Ryl.* II 206, l. 48 (a heliasterion in the western amphodos of Hermopolis, together with a vineyard).

¹⁶ *P. Oxy.* VI 985, l. 11 (ἐργάται τηροῦντι τὸν οἶνον ἐν ἡλι(α)στηρίῳ); *P. Strasb.* VII 696, l. 8 (φυλαξαι τὸν προκειμένον οἶνον ἐν τῷ ἡλιαστηρίῳ); *P. Vindob. Sal.* 12, l. 9 (a heliasterion with doors and keys).

¹⁷ *P. Flor.* I 50, l. 68; *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3491, l. 16 (AD 157); *P. Oxy.* LI 3638, l. 9; *P. Vindob. Sal.* 12, l. 9.

θησαυρός	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 50, l. 103
κέλλα	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 50, l. 103; <i>P. Ross. Georg.</i> II 28, l. 37; <i>P. Vindob. Sal.</i> 12, l. 4
κεραμικὸν ἐργαστήριον	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 50, l. 68 and 103
κυκλευτήριον	<i>SPP XX</i> 218, l. 6
ληνών, ληνός	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 50, l. 98 and 103; <i>P. Oxy.</i> LI 3638, l. 8; <i>PSI XIII</i> 1328, l. 43-44; <i>P. Vat. Aphrod.</i> 25 A, l. 20
ληνόπιθος	<i>SPP XX</i> 218, l. 16
μηχανή	<i>P. Oxy.</i> LI 3638, l. 8; <i>PSI XIII</i> 1328, l. 44-45
οἰκόπεδον	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 50, l. 32, 98 and 103
ὄργανον	<i>P. Oxy.</i> LI 3638, l. 9 (στεμφυλουργικὸν ὄργανον); <i>SPP XX</i> 218 l. 16 (ξύλικον ὄργανον)
πίθος	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 50, l. 99 and 103; <i>P. Oxy.</i> LI 3638, [l. 8]; <i>PSI XIII</i> 1328, l. 44; <i>P. Vat. Aphrod.</i> 25 A, l. 20
πύργος	<i>P. Vindob. Tand.</i> 28, [l. 10]; <i>SPP XX</i> 218, l. 16
ὑδρευμα	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 50, l. 99; <i>P. Oxy.</i> XLIX 3491, l. 16; <i>P. Oxy.</i> LI 3638, l. 8; <i>PSI XIII</i> 1328, l. 44
φρέαρ	<i>P. Vindob. Sal.</i> 12, l. 5

2. In the present text too the heliasterion is part of a form of farmstead, a building with beams and doors, together with other agricultural implements: $n\beta j=s\ ym(.w)$, $n\beta y=s\ qd.w\ r\ hm(?)$, $n\beta y=s\ pr-hd.w$, $n\beta y=s\ wrh.w$ (l. 2). The last two words (a) $pr-hd$ ¹⁸ and (b) wrh may correspond to the (a) θησαυρός or κέλλα and (b) the οἰκόπεδον¹⁹ in *P. Flor.* I 50, l. 103.

3. In Greek texts the term heliasterion is often linked with ληνός and πίθος. The close connection between these two words is clear from their joint use,²⁰ and even led to a compound ληνόπιθος. Schnebel stresses that they belong to the immovables and are therefore fixed in their location. The ληνός is the area in which the grapes are trodden,²¹ the πίθος (perhaps identical with προλήνιον) the vat in which the juice is collected. It is tempting therefore to look for the equivalent of ληνός and πίθος in the remaining two words of the list.

¹⁸ For $pr-hd.w$, 'storehouses', as part of private property, see, for instance, *PSI VIII* 909 append., l. 4. For wine (*irp*) being kept in $pr-hd.w$, see for instance *P. Onchsheshongy*, col. 22, l. 13. N. KRUIT, 'The meaning of various words related to wine', *ZPE* 90 (1992), 270.

¹⁹ For wrh ($n^c.wy$) corresponding to Greek οἰκόπεδον, see P.W. PESTMAN, in: *P. L. Bat.* XXIII, p. 118-119.

²⁰ E.g. *P. Flor.* I 50, l. 17 ([λη]νώνι καὶ πίθ[ω] καὶ [ήλι]αστηρί[ω]); l. 98: ληνώνος καὶ πίθου καὶ ήλιαστηρίου; l. 103 ληνώνων καὶ πίθων καὶ ή[λ]ιαστηρίου; *P. Oxy.* LI 3638, l. 8-9 (λη[νοῦ καὶ πίθου] καὶ στεμφυλουργικοῦ ὀργάνου καὶ ήλιαστηρίου; *PSI XIII* 1328, l. 43-44: ἐποικίου ἐν ᾧ ληνός καὶ πείθος καὶ ήλιαστηρίου; *P. Vat. Aphrod.* 25 A, l. 20-21: ληνώνος καὶ πίθου καὶ ήλιαστηρί[ο]υ; *SPP XX* 58, col. 2, l. 19 (ληνών σὺν πίθω).

²¹ See D.W. RATHBONE, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt. The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge, 1991), 253-254.

The first word is damaged, but the reading *ym* is relatively certain (see note f). The determinative is that of water, as if this is the word 'lake'. This interpretation hardly fits the context, however, and we therefore prefer to interpret it as 'wine vat', a meaning which is also found for the Coptic equivalent *ειομ* (see note f). The second word consists of two parts, of which the first can be fairly safely read as *qd.w* (see note g); the second one we tentatively read as *r hm* (?). If this is right *qd.w r hm* mean 'constructions for treading' and correspond to *ληνός*. In the present text therefore the *πίθοι* (*n3 ym(.w)*) apparently precede the *ληνός* (*n3 qd.w r hm*).

4. The feminine word missing in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 2 (see note d) must be an agricultural establishment 'with beams and doors', of which the other implements are part. The most likely equivalent suggested by the Greek parallels quoted above is *ἐποίκιον*. An *epoikion* can be a building or a group of buildings for agricultural purposes according to Husson.²² Though the examples given by Husson are all Byzantine, the word is found with that same meaning in the examples given above, especially in *P. Oxy.* LI 3638, l. 8-9: *ἐποικίου καὶ λη[νοῦ καὶ πίθου] καὶ στεμφυλουργικοῦ ὀργάνου* (wine press) *καὶ ἡλιαστηρίου*, *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3491, l. 16: *ἐποίκ(ιον) καὶ ἡλιαστήριον* and *PSI XIII 1328*, l. 43-44 (see below).

All things considered *PSI XIII 1328*, l. 43-44 and *P. Flor.* I 50, l. 103 offer the best parallels:

PSI 13 1328	P. Flor. I 50	P. dem. Gieben 2
ἐποικίου ἐν ᾧ		[- - - nty qd iw=s g]rg sy sb3 hn ^c ([building which is built being] provided with beams and doors and)
ληνός	ληνώνων	n3y=s qd.w r hm (?) (its constructions to tread)
καὶ πείθος	πίθων	n3y=s ym(.w) (its basins)
καὶ ἡλιαστήριον	ἡλιαστηρίων	t3y=s h3ly3stryn (its heliasterion)
	κελῶν καὶ θησαυρῶν	n3y=s pr-hd.w (its storehouses)
	οἰκοπέδων	n3y=s wrh.[w - - -] (its building plots)

²² G. HUSSON, *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série Papyrologique 2, 1983), 83.

TEXT

- 1 [H3.t-sp - - - month, season, n pr-c3 Ptlwmys - - - p3 w^{cb} 3lgs] 3ⁿtrws
irm n3 nty iw(=w) sh n.im=w (n) R^c-q[d^a d]d shm.t Phylwtr3 s3.t
Ty^r3 3ⁿtrs mw.t=s H3rn3^b n^ršw^r[t(?)^c N.N. s3 N.N. mw.t=s N.N. - - -]
- 2 [- - - t3 dni.t 1/4 - - - nty qd iw=s g]rg sy sb3^d hn^c t3 dni.t 1/4 n3y=s^e
ym(.w)^f n3y=s qd.w r hm(?)^g t3y=s h3ly3stryⁿ n3y=s pr-hd.w n3y=s
wrh.[w - - -]
- 3 [- - -] n3 hyn.w rsy mht i3bt n3 3h.w 3plwnys nty iw(=w) dd n=[f] - -
h^rimn^r[n3] 3h.w...^r šw(?)ⁱ mtw=k s t3y-n p3 hrw r-hry^j bn iw
rh[rmt nb p3 t3 - - -]
- 4 [- - - nty iw=y] m3^c.k n.im=w nb rn=w^k p3 cⁿh p3 c^hc¹-rt nty iw=w
(r) dy.t s m-s3=k r dy.t ir=y s.t rn=f^rw^r iw=y r ir=f^riw^r wynn Ty3trs s3
3r[- - - mw.t=f N.N. hn^cN.N. - - - hn^cN.N. - - - dd - - -]
- 5 [- - - - mtw=n dy.t w^{cb}m] n=k t3 dni.t 1/4 nty nb nty hry sh nb qnb.t
nb md.t nb p3 t3. iw=w dd t3 h 4.tⁿ ir=k r p3y=k mr.t n.imn=n t3
h 4.t r[dy.t o - - -]
6. (1. Hand) [- - Σωσιγέ]νης Σωσιγένους μη(τρός) Βερενίκης ὁ ἀνή(ρ) (?)^p.
7. (2. Hand) [- - -]των καὶ [τῶ]ν [συνκυρό]ντων^a πάντων περὶ Σεβένυτων^r τῆ[ς
Ἡρακλείδου] μ[ερίδος].

Verso

Traces of the signatures of 12 witnesses^s.

TRANSLATION

Date

(1) [Year - month - day - of King Ptolemy - - - the priest of Alex]ander and those who are recorded in Alexandria.

Contracting parties

The woman Philotera daughter of Diodoros and Eirene (Helene?) has said to the merchant(?) [- - -]

Contract

(2) ["You have caused my heart to agree to the money for the quarter of - - - which is built being] provided with beam(s) and door(s), as well as the quarter of its basins, of its constructions to tread(?), of its sunning ground, of its storehouses, of its building plots [- - -] (3) [- - -]

the boundaries:

south, north, east: the fields of Apollonios also called - - - ;

west: the dry(?) lands.

It is yours from this day for ever. [No man on earth] will be able [to - - -] (4) [- - -] everything by which I am entitled to them. The oath or the court proof that might be required of you in order to cause that I perform it concerning them, I shall perform it."

Clause of assent by three persons and Notary

Whereas the Greek Diodoros son of Ar[- - - and N.N. - - - and N.N. - - -] (5) [- - - say: " - - - we set free] for you the quarter of everything mentioned above from every document every title deed everything on earth". Whereas they say, the four (above-mentioned) persons: "You are against the one you wish among us, being the four (above-mentioned) persons, to [cause - - -]. Has written - - -]

Greek subscription 1: names of the partners of the seller Philotera

(6) [- - - Sosige]nes son of Sosigenes and Berenike, her(?) husband(?).

Greek subscription 2: registrar's docket(?)

(7) [- - -] and all the appurtenances around Seben(n)ytos in the meris of Herakleides.

Verso

Illegible signatures of 12 witnesses

NOTES

- a. Demotic papyri show the shortened list of the holders of the eponymous priest-hoods from the end of the second century onwards (reign of Kleopatra III and Alexander). Contrary to for instance Memphite contracts, papyri from the Fayum (Tebtynis and Hawara), dating to the period 107/106-66/65 BC, retain in the shortened version the title of the Alexander priest.²³ Many Greek texts from the Fayum, dating to 103-51 BC,²⁴ have the same formula: *name of the king – reigning year – ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ*. A similar formula is still found in 36-35 BC in a text from Herakleopolis.²⁵

In the relative clause *nty iw(=w) sh* (l. 1) and *nty iw(=w) dd n=[f]* (l. 3) the suffix =w is omitted. In the circumstantial clause of line 5 the suffix =w is plainly written: *iw=w dd*.

- b. The Greek names Ἑλένη and Εἰρήνη are not well distinguished in demotic. Εἰρήνη usually receives a superfluous aspiration and is then written *Hryn3* (with y). Ἑλένη should have an -l- in later demotic.²⁶ Eirene is the more common name. A similar problem of reading is found in the well-known mummy portrait from Stuttgart.²⁷
- c. The name of the second party is lost in the lacuna. Of his title only two parallel slanting strokes remain, which fit the reading *šwt*, proposed by S.P. Vleeming:

The writing of the title *šwt*, 'merchant', with the *šw*-feather is discussed by G.R. Hughes, *Are there two demotic writings of šw?*, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 80-88.

²³ E.A.E. REYMOND, 'Sale of Inherited Property in the First Century B.C.', *JEA* 45 (1959), 63, n. 4, and in *P. Ashm.*, p. 87-88, n. 2.

²⁴ *P. Mert.* I 6, l. 5-6 (77 BC; Epoikion of Nestos); *P. Ryl.* IV 587, l. 4-5 (87 BC; Tebtynis); *P. Ryl.* IV 588, l. 3-4 (78 BC; Ptolemais Euergetis); *PSI* X 1098, l. 3-4 (51 BC; Tebtynis); *P. Strasb.* VI 565, l. 4-5 (91-89 BC; Ptolemais Euergetis); *P. Tebt.* I 104, l. 6-7 (92 BC; Kerkeosiris); *P. Tebt.* I 105, l. 9 (103 BC; Kerkeosiris); *P. Tebt.* I 106, l. 4-5 (101 BC; Ptolemais Euergetis); *P. Tebt.* I 109, l. 7-8 (93 BC; Kerkeosiris); *P. Würzb.* 6, l. 4-5 (102 BC; Theadelphia); *SB* V 7532, ext. l. 3-4 (74 BC; Neilopolis); *SB* VI 9405, ext. l. 2-3 (75 BC; Ibion Eikosipentarouon); *SB* XVI 12569, l. 9 (66-58 or 55-51 BC; ?Tebtynis).

²⁵ *BGU* XIV 2376, col. 1, l. 2-3: ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

²⁶ See *P. L. Bat.* XXIV, p. 84 and 143.

²⁷ In that case the demotic reads *Hryn3*; cf. E. DOXIADIS, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits from Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), 172-173; S. WALKER - M. BIERBRIER, *Ancient Faces. Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), 115 no. 111.

- d. The expression [nty qd iw=s g]rg sy sbʒ, 'which is built being provided with beam(s) and door(s)' is often attested in Ptolemaic texts from the Fayum.²⁸ Memphite and Theban contracts have a different formula.²⁹ The determinative of *grg* is simplified and placed under the second *g*: 𐪎𐪓.

The name of the building, corresponding presumably to Greek ἐποίκιον 'out-house, farmstead', is lost in the lacuna, but must be feminine (see note e and see introduction under *Winery*). The masculine *qr*, which can be 'una specie di casa di campagna, una cascina', suggested as an equivalent for ἐποίκιον by P.W. Pestman,³⁰ is excluded here.

- e. The feminine suffix =s in nʒy=s and tʒy=s must refer to the name of the building lost in the lacuna at the beginning of the line (see note d). This expression finds its parallels in several demotic³¹ and Greek³² texts.

- f. The word *ym* is damaged, but the reading is certain: 𐪎𐪓𐪎. Semitic *yamm* is a 'basin' that (1) could serve as a wine press or rather a place where the grapes are trodden, or (2) denote a water basin, including a lake or the sea. Egyptian *ym* has retained both meanings,³³ the second being the more common one. Since *ym* here goes with a heliasterion, it is either a place where the grapes are trodden (Greek ληνός or ληνών) or a receptacle for the juice (Greek προλήνιον or πίθος), although the determinative is that of the water and the channel. The same uncertainty is found in Coptic ⲉⲓⲟⲙ³⁴ (which can correspond to Greek ληνός, but also to προλήνιον, the vat in front of the ληνός), and in Greek ληνός.³⁵

Demotic parallels³⁶ for *ym* with a similar meaning are known for the Roman period: a temple inventory from Medinet Habu on a bronze plaque³⁷ lists two *ym.w* among its tools, and a demotic gardening agreement³⁸ records how grapes

²⁸ See, for instance, *P. Ashm.*, index p. 163 (late Ptolemaic) and *P. Chicago Hawara*, index p. 80 (IV-III BC); the examples in *P. Chicago Hawara* are to be added to E.A.E. Reymond, in *P. Ashm.*, p. 108-109, n. 12.

²⁹ E.A.E. Reymond, in *P. Ashm.*, p. 108-109, n. 12.

³⁰ *P. Tor. Amenotes*, p. 150-151, n. d.

³¹ From the Fayum: a house with beams and doors 𐪎𐪓𐪎 tʒy=y dni.t ... pʒy=f inḥ (*P. Ashm.* 7; *P. Ashm.* 14).

³² E.g. *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3491, l. 16: ἀμπελικὸν (...) κτήμα καὶ τὰ τούτου ὕδρε(ύματα) ...

³³ W. VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven, 1983), 63.

³⁴ W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), col. 77b; J. ČERNÝ, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 46, rejects the meaning wine press.

³⁵ See N. KRUIT, 'The meaning of various words related to wine', *ZPE* 90 (1992), 268-269 (ληνός: 'wine press' or 'fermentation vat = πίθος').

³⁶ J. ČERNÝ, *op. cit.* (n. 34), also cites *O. Campbell* 13, l. 4, but we have not been able to trace this ostrakon.

³⁷ *St. Cairo* 30691, col. 1, l. 33.

³⁸ R.A. PARKER, *JEA* 26 (1940), p. 89, D l. 14.

are gathered in a basket, carried by *htjt* (?) and taken to a *y^cm iw=f ph*.³⁹ The same passage (D l. 15) contains another Egyptian word for wine press or vat: *hrwf* (Coptic ϩρωτ), attested only here in demotic.

- g. The substantive *kw* *qd.w*, 'constructions, things built', (and not *c.wy*, 'houses', because of the determinative 𓂏) is a few times attested in Ptolemaic papyri.⁴⁰ *Qd.w* is modified by 𓂏 , which we tentatively read as *r hm* (?), 'to tread', rather than *m-m³c*, 'true, real', or *r mh 2*, 'to fill 2'. The verb *hm* has a vase determinative with a rather long tail. It corresponds to Coptic ϩωM , 'to tread, trample, beat', especially treading grapes in a wine vat; ϩωM MΠICMΔϩ , 'to tread the bunch of grapes', corresponds to Greek $\lambda\eta\nu\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ and a PϩϩωM or ϩΔMHT is a treader in a wine vat.⁴¹ The expression *qd.w r hm* (?) would then indicate constructions where the grapes are trodden.
- h. If the reading *imnt* [n3] *3h.w . . .* *šw* is correct, little space remains for the Egyptian name of Apollonios (*3plwnys nty iw(=w) qd n=[f] - -*). *Hr*, Horos, a suitable counterpart for the Greek name Apollonios could however be fitted in. For the abbreviated writing *iw(=w)*, see note a.
- i. Details on the western boundary are damaged: 𓂏 *imnt* [n3] *3h.w . . .* *šw* (?), 'west: the dry(?) lands'. We know of *wrh.w* and *3h.w* which are *šw* or 'dry, waste, untilled': *wrh n šw*,⁴² 'dry vacant plot', or *n3 3h.w šw*,⁴³ 'the dry lands'. It is not clear what is to be read between *3h.w* and *šw*.
For the writing of *šw* with the *šw*-feather, see G.R. Hughes, *Are there two demotic writings of šw?*, in *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 80-88, esp. 82 and 85-86.
- j. The common expression *t3y-n p3 hrw r-hry*, 'from this day for ever' is written in a very shortened form: 𓂏 .

³⁹ The exact meaning of *ph* in this context is not clear: 'which bursts, breaks?'.

⁴⁰ *P. BM Andrews* 21, l. 7 (124 BC); *P. Mattha*, col. 6, l. 10 (III BC) = Greek $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\phi\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$, see P.W. PESTMAN, in: *P. L. Bat.* XXIII, p. 128, n. i; *P. Tor. Botti* 25B, l. 13 and 22 (108 BC).

⁴¹ W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, col. 674b-675a.

⁴² *P. Berl. Kaufv.* 3097 + 3070 (150 BC) = Greek $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\upsilon\omega\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron(\mu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha)$ (for the reading *n3 qd.w* see P.W. PESTMAN, in: *P. L. Bat.* XXIII, p. 128 n. i and *P. Survey*, p. 65, n. b; *P. dem. Adler* 2, l. 4 (124 BC) and *P. dem. Rylands* 18, l. 4 and 5 (117 BC).

⁴³ *P. Hauswaldt Manning* 17, l. 6 (213 BC).

- k. If the lacuna between ³Bn iw rh [rmt nb - - -] and ⁴[- - - iw=y] m³c.k n.im=w nb rn=w, is supplemented with the clauses found in contemporary Fayumic papyri,⁴⁴ two thirds of each line are lost.
- l. The sun-determinative of ^ch^c '4 in ^ch^c-rd is borrowed from ^ch^c, 'life-time', as was pointed out by S.P. Vleeming. M. Malinine⁴⁵ gives examples where ^ch^c, 'life-time', is written with the determinative of ^ch^c, 'to stand', and describes such mistakes as "erreurs anodines, mais fréquentes, dues à l'emploi d'orthographes dites «non étymologiques»".
- m. For our supplement [- - - mtw=n dy.t w^cb] n=k t³ dni.t 1/4 nty nb nty hry sh nb qnb.t nb md.t nb p³ t³, see *P. dem. Cairo* II 30617a, l. 5 (Tebtynis, 98/97 BC).
- n. We prefer to read in line 5 and as t³ h 4.t, 'the 4 persons' and not as s h 4.t,⁴⁶ because parallel passages have a variant p³ s 4 (with the article).⁴⁷
- The word h.t, 'body, people', sometimes denotes (1) the two 'parties' of a contract⁴⁸ or (2) the 'persons' themselves. In the latter case it is used instead of s, 'person'.⁴⁹ In our text, the four h ('persons') are the seller and three persons who give their approval (see introduction under *Contents*).
- o. The clause ir=k (for iw=k) r p³y=k mr.t t³ h 4.t r [dy.t - - -], 'You have a claim against the one you wish among us, being the four (above-mentioned) persons, to cause ...' means that the buyer can hold any one of the four persons (seller and three partners) responsible. This clause and variants are discussed in *P. Bürgsch.*, p. 40-41 and *P. Ashm.*, p. 199, n. 22. Our text has iw=k r, instead of the regular expression iw=k m-s³, 'you are behind'. The lacuna r [dy.t - - -] can be supplemented in several ways, see *P. Bürgsch.*, p. 41 and *P. dem. Cairo* II 30612a+b.
- p. Sosigenes son of Sosigenes is described as : ó áv.(). The trace above the -v-

⁴⁴ E.g. *P. Ashm.* 16, l. 6-7 (Hawara, 69 BC); *P. dem. Cairo* II 30612a+b, l. 7 (Tebtynis, 97/96 BC).

⁴⁵ 'Jeux d'écriture en démotique', *RdÉ* 19 (1967), 163-165.

⁴⁶ See, for instance, *P. Ashm.* 17, l. 10: s ht 4.t.

⁴⁷ E.g. *P. dem. Cairo* II 30612a + 30612b, l. (Tebtynis, 97/96 BC).

⁴⁸ See *P. Bürgsch.*, p. 198-199.

⁴⁹ Used in a clause parallel to that of *P. dem. Gieben* 2: *P. Ashm.* 16, l. 9; 17, l. 10; used in a different context: *O. Tempeleide* 36, l. 12; *P. Tor. Botti* 24, l. 15, as corrected in *Enchoria* 2 (1972), 92.

Appendix: Greek loan-words in demotic. an update

There can be no doubt that *h3ly3stry*n is the demotic rendering of Greek ἡλιαστήριον, a word that is thus far only attested in Greek papyri of the Roman period. The following list updates Clarysse's collection of Greek loan-words in demotic from 1987.⁵²

2a	Ἀθηναῖος (Athenian)	<i>3th3nys</i>	<i>Enchoria</i> 8 (1978), p. 39.	138 BC
15a	γερδιακόν (weavers' tax)	<i>krtyaqe</i>	<i>Archiv</i> 6 (1920), p.131 no. 7	AD 19
24a	ἐγκύκλιον (tax on sales)	<i>3ggryn</i>	<i>P. BM Andrews</i> 18, cf. P.W. Pestman ⁵³	209 BC
27a	ἐπαρούριον (land tax on vineyards)	<i>h3prwry3n</i>	<i>Stud. Hell.</i> 34 (Leuven 1998), p. 32-33	119 BC
32a	ζωνοφόρος (girdle wearer)	<i>snwpwrs</i>	<i>P. BM Andrews</i> 11, cf. <i>Enchoria</i> 18 (1991), p. 177	171 BC
33a	ἡλιαστήριον (drying place)	<i>h3ly3stry</i> n	See our text, l. 2	End II - I BC
34a	ἱερεύς (priest)	<i>phy3rws</i>	<i>P. dem. Cairo</i> III 50025	I BC
42a	κουρεύς (barber)	<i>gwrw</i>	W. Spiegelberg, <i>Eigennamen</i> , p. 47* no. 320a	AD II - III
45a	Κυρηναῖος (Cyrenaean)	<i>Gwrnys</i>	<i>P. Count</i> 22 (see above p. 4)	III BC
46a	κομαστής (participant in a procession)	<i>qmst.w</i>	<i>CRIPEL</i> 6 (1981), p. 230 (see <i>JNES</i> 45, 1986, p. 307)	II BC
53a	Μύσος (Mysian)	<i>Mss</i>	<i>P. Count</i> 22 (see above p. 4)	III BC
65a	Ῥωμαῖος (Roman)	<i>Hwrmys</i>	<i>Graff. Medinet Habu</i> 239 (see p. 176)	"year 3"
80a	τῆλις (fenugreek)	<i>tl3</i>	<i>P. BM</i> 10516 ined. (cf. Černý, <i>CED</i> , p. 186)	s.d.
82a	Ὑλλεύς (?) (demoticon from Ptolemais ⁵⁴)	<i>Hylws</i>	<i>AcOr</i> 25 (1960), p. 277-294, cf. <i>P. L.-Bat.</i> 24, p. 47 no 133bis	158/157 BC

⁵² W. CLARYSSE, 'Greek Loan-Words in Demotic', in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19-21 September 1984* (Studia Demotica 1, 1987), 9-33.

⁵³ P.W. PESTMAN, in: *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (SAOC 51, 1992), 350. This replaces no. 2 (ἀγγάρειον) in Clarysse's list.

⁵⁴ Cf. W. DITTENBERGER, *OGIS* I 48, l.4.

fits either -ω- or -η-. We cannot offer a meaningful interpretation for ὁ ἀνὼ(). If ὁ ἀνή(ρ) (?) is read, Sosigenes is Philotera's husband and one of the three persons who give their approval to the sale by Philotera (see introduction under *Contents*).

- q. The supplement in καὶ [τῶ]ν [συνκυρό]ντων πάντων περὶ Σεβέννυτων τῆ[ς] Ἡρακλείδου] μ[ερίδος] perfectly fits the traces and the length of the lacuna. Τὰ συνκύροντα is usually followed by πάντα, see for instance Wilcken, *Chrest.* 111, l. 12 (Arsinoites, AD 6): part of land, house and τῶν [συν]κυρόντων πάν[των] ἐν τρι]σὶ σφραγεῖσι [περὶ] Ἡρακλείαν τῆς [Θεμίστ(ου) μερί]δος.
- r. περὶ Σεβέννυτων (read: Σεβέννυτον): according to A. Calderini, *Dizionario* IV, p. 253 the earliest reference to Sebennutoi or Sebennuta (in the meris of Herakleides) in the plural is in 178/179 AD. The present text would therefore be by far the earliest instance where the plural is used instead of the regular Σεβέννυτος. But the clumsy handwriting and the erroneous spelling of Σεβέννυτων with a single -v- suggest a scribal mistake: περὶ is here followed by a normal accusative to indicate a place and the -ω- is merely an error for -ο-.

The village was situated in the south of the meris of Herakleides⁵⁰ and is not attested in contemporary texts. The only other reference from the first century BC could be SB XX 14085, col. 2, l. 9 (13 BC or AD 31).

For Greek presence in Sebennytyos, see F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst 1968. 3, Berlin 1968), p. 70-71, no. 132-137.

- s. The list of twelve witnesses is badly damaged. Only *Hr* in line 3 and perhaps *Iy-m-htp* in line 9 can be recognized.

The witness list on the verso starts under a long horizontal line with a small vertical stroke indicating where *gd* ('Has said', l. 1) is written on the recto, 'comme la signature de chaque témoin est censée confirmer le discours du déclarant'.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Cf. P. Sorb. I 32, l. 11, note.

⁵¹ P.W. PESTMAN, *P. Tsenhor*, p. 26; see also *P. Tor. Amenotches*, p. 161.

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PRESENTED TO
P.W. PESTMAN

(P. L. Bat. 30)

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