

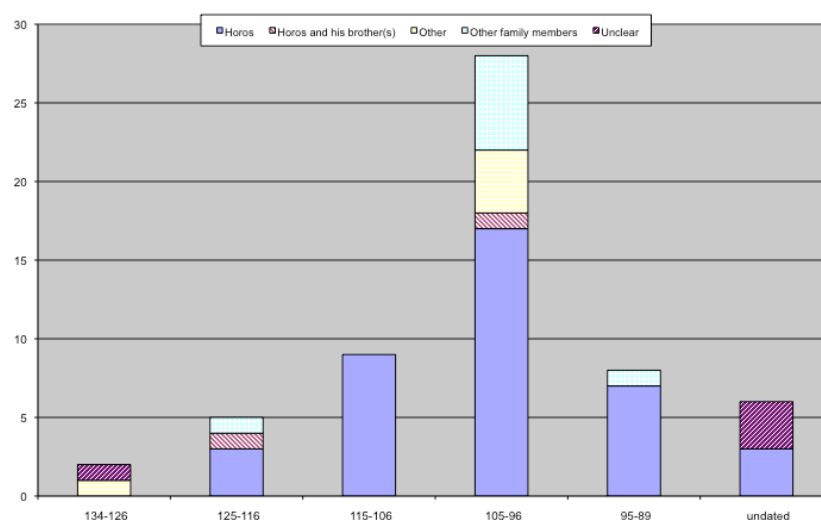
Place Date Language Material Number texts Type Collections Find/Acquisition	Archive of Horos, son of Nechouthes
	Pathyris 134 – 89 B.C. Greek and demotic Papyri and wooden tablets 58 certain, 2 uncertain Family archive (one generation) Ann Arbor, Michigan University; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library; London, British Library; London, British Museum; Milan, Università Cattolica; private collection of M. Schøyen; Turin, Museo Egizio; [uncertain texts in Cairo, Egyptian Museum] Found in Pathyris, bought on the antiquities market in 1924
Bibliography	<p>This description has been printed in K. Vandorpe and S. Waebens, <i>Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives. A Multicultural Community in Hellenistic Egypt</i> (Collectanea Hellenistica 3), Brussels 2009, p. 127-141 §40.</p> <p><i>Edition</i></p> <p>P. Adler [numbers in bold refer to this publication].</p> <p><i>Articles</i></p> <p>M. Chauveau, 'Nouveaux documents des archives de Pétéharsemtheus fils de Panebchounis', in K. Ryholt (ed.), <i>Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies. Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999</i> (CNI Publications 27), Copenhagen 2002, p. 45-57 [p. 53-55: 'Un héros énigmatique'].</p> <p>J. Herrmann, 'Sachteilung und Wertteilung bei Grundstücken. Zu den griechischen Kaufurkunden des Horus-Archivs', in H. Hübner e.a. (edd.), <i>Festschrift für Erwin Seidl. Zum 70. Geburtstag</i>, Cologne 1975, p. 53-60.</p> <p>G. Messeri Savorelli, 'Un nuovo documento dell'archivio di Horos figlio di Nechutes', in <i>AnalPap</i> 2 (1990), p. 53-62.</p> <p>O. Montevecchi, 'Ricerche di Sociologia nei documenti dell' Egitto greco-romano', in <i>Aegyptus</i> 23 (1943), p. 11-89 [p. 72-77].</p> <p>S. Nimmegeers, <i>Het familiearchief van Horos, zoon van Nechouthes (Pathyris, 2de – 1ste eeuw v.C.)</i>, Leuven 2003 [unpublished dissertation].</p> <p>P.W. Pestman, 'Les archives privées de Pathyris à l'époque ptolémaïque. La famille de Pétéharsemtheus, fils de Panebkhounis', in E. Boswinkel, P.W. Pestman and P.J. Sijpesteijn (edd.), <i>Studia Papyrologica Varia</i> (Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIV), Leiden 1965, p. 47-105 [p. 47-48: 'Les archives de Horos, fils de Nekhoutes'].</p> <p>K. Vandorpe, 'Persian Soldiers and Persians of the Epigone. Social Mobility of Soldiers-herdsmen in Upper Egypt', in <i>AfP</i> 54 (2008), p. 87-108.</p>

Description

DISCOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION OF HOROS' FAMILY ARCHIVE

The archive of Horos, son of Nechouthes, is the only 'closed find' known from Pathyris: it turned up on the antiques market as a result of illegal excavations, where it was sold intact in a jar to Lord Adler in 1924. The jar was filled with 21 Greek and 49 demotic papyri, dating from 134 to 89 B.C. The collection was published in 1939 in P. Adler: the Greek texts by J.G. Tait, F. M. Heichelheim and Lord Adler and thirty demotic documents by F.Ll. Griffith. There remain several unpublished demotic fragments (P. Adler, p. 108). The Adler texts were offered for sale in 1989 and now belong to the private collection of M. Schøyen in London-Oslo. Most of the papyri are well preserved and Lord Adler notes: "I think the Hadj was trustworthy when he assured me that my potful had not been tampered with" (P. Adler, p. 3). However, in the same period (c. 1920) a few more papyri belonging to Horos' archive turned up in different collections (Manchester, Dublin, Ann Arbor and Milan): P. Ryl. IV 581, Pap. Lugd. Bat XIX 5, P. Cornell 4 and P. Mil. I.1 2. This implies that either the jar was tampered with or that there existed a second jar. Three wooden tablets (P. BL Add. MS 56920 ined.; *Enchoria* 19-20 (1992/93), p. 78 no. 28 and p. 79 no. 29) are also undoubtedly part of the Horos archive. Wooden tablets were always kept separately from the papyri, so they cannot have come down to us in the jar. Since two other texts mentioning Horos (SB XX 14198 and P. Cairo II 30652) were discovered approximately 30 years earlier, around 1891, it remains uncertain whether these papyri belong to the archive (see also Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives* (2009), §21(5)).

COMPOSITION OF THE ARCHIVE



Graph 1: chronological spread of the texts

Most papyri kept by Horos¹ belong to himself (see graph 1). He was a son of Nechouthes and Thaibis, born between 151 and 138 B.C. Thaibis gave birth to three, possibly five, other children: Pasemis, Phibis, Panebchounis and two other sons whose names are unknown. There is some discussion about the number of sons: **Gr. 2** only mentions four sons in 124 B.C. According to P. Mil. I.1 2, Thaibis divided her palm grove among her sons and sold a sixth in 105 B.C. This suggests that Nechouthes and Thaibis had six children (although O. Montevecchi disagrees²). Lord Adler³ mentions a Peteharsemtheus and Pates as the fifth and sixth son, whereas P.W. Pestman has serious doubts about the last one and only lists five sons in his stemma.⁴ We assume that there were indeed six sons. Horos served several years in the army as a soldier serving for pay (see below), like his brothers Pasemis and Phibis, who were inscribed in the military camp of Pathyris (**Gr. 2**). Horos and other family members also turn up in the Peteharsemtheus documents.⁵ The two families were indeed interrelated through Horos' aunt Tathotis. In 88 B.C. the documentation from Pathyris abruptly ends (Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives* (2009), p. 49-50).

Horos' brothers undoubtedly had their own archives. When mentioned in the contracts (**Gr. 2, 7**), they act together with Horos and in these cases Horos is always mentioned first. In two cases the name of one of his brothers is recorded as first party, but precisely in these cases the text appears to be a copy: the original document is indeed kept by the brother (P. Mil. I.1 2; SB XX 14198), the copy (an *antigraphon*) by Horos (**Gr. 2, 7**). Horos kept one acknowledgement of debt (**Dem. 3**).⁶ Since Horos was not the oldest son, the papers of his parents were apparently entrusted to another son. Like a true father Horos also kept the marriage contracts of his daughters Taesis and Senmenches (P. Eheverträge 46 = **Dem. 14**, 47 = **Dem. 21**). In two documents, Horos acted together with other family members and kept the contracts afterwards (**Dem. 17, 22**). Horos' archive contains furthermore an agreement concerning an inheritance from his niece Kobahetesis (**Dem. 9**), in which the maintenance by her sons is agreed upon. Kobahetesis obviously did not entrust the agreement to her son Peteharsemtheus (§47), who kept the other papers of his mother. Finally, one sale contract belongs to his aunt Senenouphis and niece Sempelaia (**Gr. 9**) and three to his nephew Peteharsemtheus the younger (**Gr. 8, Dem. 13**, P. Mil. I.1 2). The last three texts are linked to each other and are part of a rather puzzling group of documents concerning the palm grove of Thaibis. On 4 December 112 B.C. Pasemis sold half of his share of the palm grove to his brother Horos (**Gr. 3**). A few years later, on 2 July 104 B.C., Thaibis sold Pasemis' whole share to her sons Phibis and Horos (P. Mil. I.1 2). A copy of this contract is drawn up for Horos (**Gr. 7**). After a few days Horos and Phibis renounced their rights on this property in a cession in favour of Pasemis

¹ Pros. Ptol. II (VIII) 4145 = Pros. Ptol. IV 11152 = Pros. Ptol. X 546 (=2659).

² O. Montevecchi, 'Ricerche di Sociologia' (1943), p. 73.

³ P. Adler, p. 4.

⁴ P.W. Pestman, 'Pétéharsemtheus' (1965), p. 48.

⁵ Ibid., p. 47-48, n. 5.

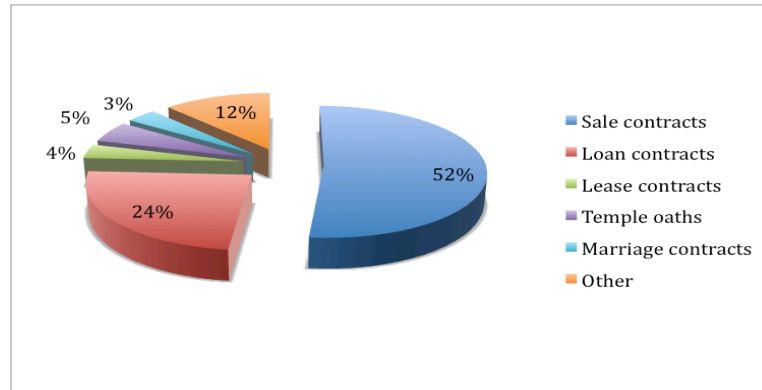
⁶ According to E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (Ägyptologische Forschungen 22), Glückstadt 1962², p. 133, n. 4, it is a draft, since the text is written on the verso of an old document.

(SB XX 14198) and handed over P. Mil. I.1 2 to him. Shortly afterwards, Thaibis sold the share in question to her other son Panebchounis (**Gr. 8**), who received P. Mil. I.1 2 from Pasemis. Finally, on 29 December 98 B.C., Panebchounis sold his share of the grove to his nephew Peteharsemtheus the younger, son of Nechouthes (**Dem. 13**). On this occasion the previous papyri (**Gr. 8**, P. Mil. I.1 2) probably came in the possession of the latter. According to G. Messeri Savorelli,⁷ Thaibis divided her property among her six children. Since she is still alive and has rights on this land, this division became only effective after her death. The sales in question are rather purchases in trust, since the property later belonged to Thaibis again. Thaibis probably lent some money from her sons and gave a share of her palm grove in trust. Apparently an irregularity occurred, because her sons ceded this land shortly afterwards: according to **Gr. 8**, Thaibis did not observe the agreements fixed before (l. 10). The question remains why these documents are part of the archive: Horos either kept the papers for his nephew or he bought the goods described in these papers and received the papers belonging to him.

Four documents of the Horos archive (**Gr. 1, 10, 13, 18**) are not related to family members. As they mention the previous owners of the land purchased by Horos, they were older title deeds, handed over to the new owners after a sale (for **Gr. 18** we can only assume this, since no sale contract confirms the purchase of the land by Horos). For a detailed study of the land mentioned in the archive, see P.W. Pestman, 'Pétéharsemtheus' (1965), p. 73-87. One of these older title deeds is linked to a conflict: on 22 June 101 B.C., Panas, son of Pates, borrowed 12 talents from Agathinos, son of Philoxenos and Pates, son of Poeris (**Gr. 10**). When he could not repay his debt, he sold four plots of his land to Pates on 12 July 100 B.C. (**Gr. 13**). One year later, on 22 May 99 B.C., Panas sold three of these plots to Horos and handed the two previous documents over to him (**Gr. 16**). Afterwards Pates' heirs quarrelled with Horos, claiming that he had paid only four talents for the plots, whereas they were worth twelve talents. Horos, however, swore a temple oath that he had paid the additional sum of seven talents to Pates (**Dem. 28**).

⁷ G. Messeri Savorelli, 'Horos figlio di Nechutes' (1990), p. 54-57.

DOCUMENT TYPES



Graph 2: document types in the archive

All texts in the Horos archive are incoming and juridical documents such as title deeds, loan and marriage contracts. According to graph 2, half the archive consists of sale contracts: title deeds (**Dem. 1, 2, 7, 13, 18, 23; Gr. 1, 3, 5, 7-9, 11, 13, 16-18, 20, 21**; P. Ryl. Gr. IV 581; Pap. Lugd. Bat XIX 5; P. Mil. I.1 2), purchases in trust (**Dem. 27, Gr. 12**) and cessions (**Gr. 2, 14; Dem. 8, 15, 20, 22**). Horos and his family members usually became the owners of the real estate (19 out of 30), consisting of land, parts of (pigeon) houses (**Gr. 9, 11**; P. Ryl. Gr. IV 581) and palm groves (**Gr. 3, 7, 8**; P. Mil. I.1 2; **Dem. 13**).

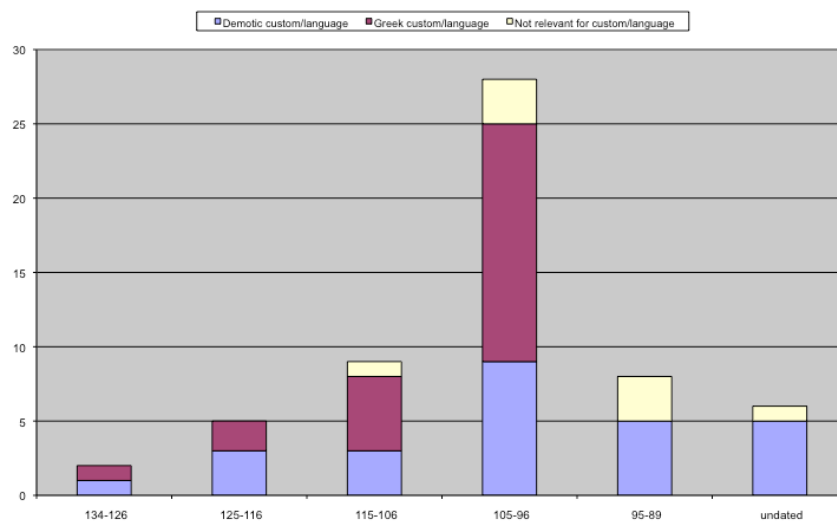
Contracts registrating lending activities form the second largest group of texts: loans (**Gr. 6, 10, 15; Dem. 3-6, 11, 12, 25, 26**), acknowledgements of debt (**Gr. 4, 19**), repayments of debt (**Dem. 20, 22**) and a loan request (**Dem. 10**). For lending large amounts, the parties went to a Greek or Egyptian notary, for minor amounts, an acknowledgement of debt was sufficient. In 9 out of 14 cases Horos was the creditor. He mostly lent wheat and barley, but also wine (**Dem. 4**), money (**Gr. 10**) and even iron (**Gr. 19**). When Horos was the debtor, he always borrowed small amounts of wheat or barley (**Gr. 15, Dem. 10, 20, 22**).

The Horos archive further contains three temple oaths (**Dem. 17, 19, 28**), two marriage contracts (P. Eheverträge 46 = **Dem. 14**, 47 = **Dem. 21**), two lease contracts (**Dem. 16, 24**), three receipts of measurement on wooden tablets (P. BL Add. MS 56920 ined.; *Enchoria* 19-20 (1992/93), p. 78 no. 28 and p. 79 no. 29) and two agreements (**Dem. 9**; P. Cornell 4). The receipts concerning the measurement of land ($r-rh=w$) are directly related to the harvest tax.⁸ Each year vineyards were measured before the harvest and the part under cultivation was registered, since taxes were paid on the cultivated area only. A receipt of the measurement was afterwards issued to the owner or the cultivator (Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives* (2009), §3). According to the tablets, Horos owned $\frac{1}{2}$

⁸ K. Vandorpe, 'The Ptolemaic Epigraphic or Harvest Tax (shemu)', in *AfP* 46 (2000), p. 165-228.

aroura vineyard land belonging to the temple of Hathor in 108 and 103 B.C. One of the temple oaths (**Dem. 19**) is linked to a dispute about a loan. In 100 B.C., Horos borrowed grain and barley from Horos, son of Horos (**Gr. 15**). Seven years later, on 5 July 93 B.C., the heirs of the deceased lender declared this debt to be acquitted in a cession (**Dem. 20**). They gave up their claims on Horos' property because he had pledged an oath a few days earlier, swearing that he did repay this loan.

ETHNICITY OF HOROS' FAMILY



Graph 3: spread of the texts by custom/language

All family archives from Pathyris are bilingual (Greek-demotic) from 136 B.C. – the introduction of a Greek notary being responsible for an increase of Greek texts⁹ –, but certain types of documents as well as the language used in these reveal the native language and the Greek or Egyptian customs (see Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives* (2009), §4 and §31).

Like most families from Pathyris, the family of Horos lived according to Egyptian customs (marriage contracts of Horos' daughters, P. Eheverträge 46 = **Dem. 14**, 47 = **Dem. 21**) and used demotic in their private documentation (**Dem. 10**, a loan request written by Horos himself). All family members had Egyptian names and only a few bore a Greek double name: Phibis alias Hermophilos, the grandfather of Horos' mother, and two of his uncles on the father's side, Pelaias the younger alias Areios and Patseous alias Asklepiades, who were both *agoranomoi*. According to P.W.

⁹ P.W. Pestman, 'Agoranomoi et actes agoranomiques', in P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* (Pap. Lugd. Bat. XXIII), Leiden 1985, p. 9-10; K. Vandorpe, 'A successful, but fragile biculturalism. The hellenization process in the Upper-Egyptian town of Pathyris under Ptolemy VI and VIII', in A. Jördens and J.F. Quack (edd.), *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äußerem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. bis VIII.* (Philippika: Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 45), Wiesbaden 2011, p. 292-308.

Pestman, adopting a Greek name helped their career in this typical Greek branch of administration.¹⁰

Almost all male family members bore the hereditary title of *Πέρσης*, *Πέρσης τῶν προσγράφων*, *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* or *Περσίνη* (*Wynn ms n Kmy* in demotic). Recent research¹¹ has shown that these Persians were in fact Egyptians who entered the Ptolemaic army as soldiers serving for pay (*misthophoroi*), probably having some legal and fiscal privileges (§4). These soldiers serving for pay passed on their ethnic to their children who became either Persian soldiers or Persians of the Epigone (Persians of the reserve troops). They Hellenized to a certain degree: from 136 B.C. onwards, the Persians went for most of their contracts to the Greek notary, without altering, however, their Egyptian traditions. Soldiers could be recruited from these Persians of the Epigone for particular campaigns, for instance during the “War of the Scepters” (103-101 B.C.). When recruited, the Persians of the reserve (Epigone) temporarily became Persian soldiers serving for pay, but afterwards reverted to their former status as Persians. Thus Horos is found alternately as an active and a non-active (unpaid) soldier.¹² He was a *misthophoros* in his youth (124-110 B.C.; **Dem. 4**). In 124 B.C. he served under the eponymous officer Lokhos (**Dem. 2**). From 108 to 104 B.C. he is attested as a non-active Persian (of the Epigone; **Gr. 5** and **6**). In 103-101 B.C. he was recruited for the military campaigns of the Judean-Syrian-Egyptian war (**Dem. 7**), resulting in a “*conspicuous gap in the archive of Horos*”.¹³ After the end of the war, he once again became a non-active Persian (of the Epigone) in 99-98 B.C. (**Gr. 11, 14, 17, 19, 21**). A letter from his fellow-soldier and distant relative Petesouchos, son of Panebchounis (a grandson of Horos’ aunt Tathotis), indicates that he was mobilized in 96-95 B.C. (**Dem. 15**) for a military operation in Diospolis Mikra under the command of the *strategos* Ptolion (Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives* (2009), §4).¹⁴ According to another letter (Dem. Conf. VII (Copenhagen 1999), p. 50 no. P. Claude 2) Horos even received a royal *chiton* and a golden diadem as military decoration.¹⁵

FINANCIAL SITUATION AND PROPERTY SIZE OF HOROS AND HIS FAMILY

The family of Horos was relatively prosperous. Horos, son of Nechouthes, lived in the northern quarter of town (Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives* (2009), §3), where his archive may have been found. His house bordered a building lot, which had a pigeon house

¹⁰ P.W. Pestman, ‘L’agoranomie: un avant-poste de l’administration grecque enlevé par les égyptiens’, in H. Maehler and V. Strocka (edd.), *Das Ptolemäische Aegypten*, Mainz am Rhein 1978, p. 203-210.

¹¹ K. Vandorpe, ‘Persian Soldiers and Persians of the Epigone’ (2008), p. 87-108.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹³ E. Van ‘t Dack e.a., *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C. A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a “War of Sceptres”*, (Collectanea Hellenistica 1), Brussels 1989, esp. p. 54.

¹⁴ M. Chauveau, ‘La correspondance bilingue d’un illettré: Petesouchos fils de Panobchounis’, in L. Pantalacci (ed.), *La lettre d’archive. Communication administrative et personnelle dans l’antiquité proche-orientale et égyptienne. Colloque Lyon, 9-10 July 2004 (Topoi Suppl. 9)*, Le Caire 2008, p. 27-42.

¹⁵ *Id.*, ‘Pétéharsemtheus’ (2002), p. 54-56.

(**Gr. 11**). Horos was a pigeon fancier. He and his family owned several building lots in town, parts of (pigeon) houses, several plots of grain land, palm groves, vineyards and even other types of land. They also leased out their land (**Dem. 24**) and were cattle owners. Horos is once described as a ‘servant of Harsemtheus’ (**Dem. 22**), indicating that he was probably in charge of sacred flocks (Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives* (2009), §3-§4),¹⁶ and he swore a temple oath (O. Tempeleide 51) that he had not stolen three cows from Peteosiris. According to two wooden tablets, Horos owned ½ aroura vineyard land belonging to the temple of Hathor in 108 and 103 B.C. (*Enchoria* 19-20 (1992/93), p. 78 no. 28 and p. 79 no. 29). Since half of the Horos archive consists of sale contracts, he invested in land, thus enlarging his fortune and property. Graph 1 shows that Horos was most active during the years 105-96 B.C. The loan contracts confirm that Horos was relatively wealthy: in most cases, he was the creditor (9 out of 14).

The family property consisted of a patchwork of plots, mostly located in the plain around Pathyris. In three cases, Horos bought land in nearby Krokodilopolis (**Gr. 5, 17, 20**). Cl. Préaux states that Horos tried to restore the paternal property, which was divided amongst him and his brothers.¹⁷ It seems more likely, however, that he tried to build up his own property, in which he clearly succeeded, although both his daughters married sons of his brothers Phibis and Panebchounis (P. Eheverträge 46 = **Dem. 14**, 47 = **Dem. 21**). The contracts of lease, loan and sale give a general idea about the size of his property. Horos bought or sold medium-sized plots: from 3 arouras (less than 1 ha.) to 7 arouras (less than 2 ha.). Using two different calculating methods (one based on the number of arouras mentioned in the documents, the other on studying the prices of the plots), we estimate that his property covered an area of about 27 arouras or 7 ha. Horos was therefore a medium-sized property owner, especially when compared to the dimensions of the plots (from 0,25 aroura to 3,5 arouras) and the size of the property (about 35 arouras or 10 ha.) owned by his distant relative Peteharsemtheus, son of Panebchounis (Vandorpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives* (2009), §47).

Text types

Sale contracts (19 Greek, 11 demotic), loan contracts (5 Greek, 9 demotic), agreements (1 Greek, 1 demotic), marriage contracts (2 demotic), lease contracts (2 demotic), temple oaths on papyrus (3 demotic), receipts of measurement (3 demotic), 2 fragments; *uncertain*: sale contracts (1 Greek, 1 demotic); *related*: temple oath on ostrakon.

¹⁶ K. Vandorpe, ‘Persian Soldiers and Persians of the Epigone’ (2008), p. 101.

¹⁷ Cl. Préaux, ‘The Adler Papyri’, in *Chron. d’Ég.* 14 (1939), p. 393.

Archive
texts

The texts are presented chronologically: the undated documents are listed at the end. The names in *italic* refer to family members of Horos, the underlined names to persons in whose archive we would expect the document.

Textref.	Party A	Party B	Type document	Date
Gr. 1	<u>Isidoros,</u> <u>son of Theon</u>	Ptollis, son of Hermokrates; Nechouthis, daughter of Pekysis and Harpaesis, son of Krouris	Sale contract (land)	17/9/134
Dem. 1	?	Psemminis, son of Harsiesis	Fragment of a sale contract (land)	Before 125
Gr. 2	<i>Panebchounis,</i> <i>Phibis, <u>Horos,</u></i> <i>Pasemis and Thaibis</i> (copy for Horos)	<i>Panereus,</i> <i>son of Gounsis</i> <i>and Senenouphis,</i> <i>daughter of Phibis</i>	Cession, probably of a purchase in trust	22/8/124
Dem. 2	<u>Horos</u>	Isidoros, son of Theon	Sale contract (waste land) + tax receipt	15/12/124+ 3/8/123
P. Ryl. Gr. IV 581 = P. Mil. I 2c-e	<u>Horos</u> (copy)	Isidoros, son of Theon	Sale contract (pigeon house)	31/3/121
Pap. Lugd. Bat XIX 5	<u>Horos</u>	Peteharoeris, son of Patous	Sale contract (land) + tax receipt	2/5/118 + 19/5/118
Dem. 3	<i>Horos</i>	<u>Thaibis</u>	Loan contract (wheat); Vo of P. Adler Dem. 1	21/9/116- 20/9/115
Gr. 3	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Pasemis</i>	Sale contract (land + palm tree) + tax receipt	4/12 + 18/12/112
P. Cornell 4	Petes	<u>Horos</u>	Agreement	22/4/111
Dem. 4	<u>Horos</u>	?, Petosiris, son of Pates and Esthotes, <i>son of Gounsis</i>	Loan contract (wine)	13/11/110
Gr. 4	<u>Horos</u>	Psemminis	Loan contract (debt acknowledgement)	10/2/109
Gr. 5	<u>Horos</u>	Hermogenes, son of Theon	Sale contract (land)	28/5/108

Textref.	Party A	Party B	Type document	Date
Enchoria 19-20 (1992/93), p. 78 no. 28 (wood)	<u>Horos</u>		Measurement receipt (vineyard)	19/9/109- 18/9/108
Dem. 6	<u>Horos</u>	Harmais, son of Pelaias	Loan contract (barley)	5/12/107
Dem. 5	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Psenenoupis,</i> <i>son of Gounsis</i>	Loan contract (wheat)	15/6/106
Gr. 6	<u>Horos</u>	Horos, son of Lamenthis	Loan contract (kroton)	19/10- 17/11/106
Dem. 9	<i>Peteharsemtheus,</i> <i>Petesouchos,</i> <i>Phagonis and</i> <i>Psennesis</i>	<i>Panebchounis and</i> <i>Kobahetesis</i>	Familial agreement concerning a vineyard	18/9/105- 17/9/104
P. Mil. I.1 2 = P. Mil. I 2a-b ined. + SB III 6645	<u>Phibis and Horos</u>	<i>Thaibis</i>	Sale contract (palm garden)	2/7/104
Gr. 7	<u>Phibis and Horos</u> (copy for Horos)	<i>Thaibis</i>	Copy of previous contract	2/7/104
Gr. 8	<u>Panebchounis</u>	<i>Thaibis</i>	Sale contract (palm garden)	9/7/104
Gr. 9	<u>Senenouphis and</u> <u>Sempelaia</u>	Haketephnachthes, son of Psemmonthes	Sale contract (house) + tax receipt	3 + 12/9/104
Enchoria 19-20 (1992/93), p. 79 no. 29 (wood)	<u>Horos</u>		Receipt of measurement; see previous wooden tablet	18/9/104- 17/9/103
Dem. 7	<u>Horos</u>	<i>7 sons of Gounsis</i>	Sale contract (land suitable for palm trees)	14/1/103
Dem. 8	<u>?Horos</u>	<i>?7 sons of Gounsis</i>	Fragment of a contract (cession)	14/1/103
Dem. 10	Harsiesis, son of Pamenos	<u>Horos</u>	Request for loan (barley)	18/9/102- 16/9/101
Gr. 10	<u>Agathinos, son of</u> <u>Philoxenos and Pa-</u> <u>tes, son of Poeris</u>	Panas, son of Pates	Loan contract (money)	22/6/101
Gr. 12	<u>Horos</u>	Kollouthes, son of Phagonis	Sale contract (land) (purchase in trust)	26/10/101

Textref.	Party A	Party B	Type document	Date
Gr. 13	<u>Pates,</u> <u>son of Poeris</u>	Panas, son of Pates	Sale contract (land) + tax receipt	12/7/100
Gr. 14	<u>Horos</u>	Kollouthes, son of Phagonis	Cession of land	29/10/100
Gr. 15	Horos, son of Horos	<u>Horos</u>	Loan contract (wheat and barley)	31/10/100
Dem. 11	? <u>Horos and</u> <u>Pasemis</u>	Petesouchos, son of Kales	Loan contract (barley)	Before 13/6/99
Dem. 12	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Psenenoupis,</i> <i>son of Gounsis</i>	Loan contract (wheat) on Vo, Ro remains of accounts	Before 13/6/99
Gr. 16	<u>Horos</u>	Pates, son of Poeris	Sale contract (land)	22/5/99
Dem. 28 = Tempeleide 30	<u>Horos</u>	Pelaïas, son of Harthotes and Nechouthes	Temple oath (copy)	After 22/5/99
Gr. 17	<u>Horos</u>	Nechouthes, son of Sekous	Sale contract (land)	9/6/99
Gr. 18	<u>Kalibis,</u> daughter of Petearsnoupis	<i>Psenenoupis,</i> <i>son of Portis</i>	Sale contract (land)	20/11/99
Gr. 19	<u>Galates,</u> <u>son of Pelaïas</u>	<i>Horos</i>	Acknowledgement of debt (iron)	16/3-14/4/98
Gr. 20	<u>Horos</u>	Horos, son of Hermias; Arsinoe, daughter of Belles and Ptolemaïos, son of Psenmenches	Sale contract (land)	?15/4-14/5/98
Gr. 11	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Petesouchos,</i> <i>Panebchounis, Horos,</i> <i>Thaïbis and Sennesis</i>	Sale contract (pigeon house)	14/10/98
Gr. 21	<u>Horos</u>	Hetpeesis, daughter of Pates	Sale contract (land)	20/11/98
Dem. 13	<u>Peteharsemtheus</u> <u>the younger</u>	<i>Panebchounis</i>	Sale contract (palm garden)	29/12/98
Dem. 14 = P. Eheverträge 46	<i>Onnophris</i>	<u>Taesis</u>	Marriage contract	16/9/97- 15/9/96
Dem. 15	<u>Horos</u>	Hetpesouchos, son of Nechthanoupis	Cession of something in trust	18/10/96
Dem. 16	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Nechthminis,</i> <i>son of Gounsis</i>	Lease agreement	17/12/96

Textref.	Party A	Party B	Type document	Date
Dem. 17 = Tempeleide 29	<u>3 persons (?Horos)</u>	6 persons	Temple oath (copy)	23/12/94
Dem. 19 = Tempeleide 67	<u>Horos</u>	Philippos, son of Onnophris & Horos	Temple oath (copy)	1-9/7/93
Dem. 20	<u>Horos</u>	Philippos, son of Onnophris, Sennesis and Horos	Cession (repayment of debt)	3 or 5/7/93
P. Eheverträge 47 (Ro) = Dem. 21	<u>Senmenches</u>	<i>Panebchounis</i>	Marriage contract	1/8/92
Dem. 22	<u>Horos</u> , <i>Panebchounis and 4 family members</i>	Tamenos, Nechoutis and Qw	Cession (repayment of debt)	3/5/90
Dem. 23	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Nechouthes, son of Pelaias</i>	Sale contract (land)	12/1/89
Dem. 24	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Nechouthes, son of Pelaias</i>	Lease contract	12/1/89
Dem. 25	<u>Horos</u>	<i>Patous, son of ?Panebchounis and Tapremmis</i>	Loan contract (wheat)	14 or 16/4/89
Dem. 18	<u>Horos</u>	?, a priest	Sale contract (land)	99-93
Dem. 26			Fragment of a loan contract	Undated
Dem. 27	<u>?Horos</u>		Purchase in trust (fragment)	Undated
Dem. 29			Fragment of a contract	Undated
Dem. 30			Fragment	Undated
P. BL Add. MS 56920 ined.	<u>Horos</u>		Measurement receipt	Undated

Uncertain texts				
P. Cairo II 30652	<u>Horos</u>	?, an isionomos	?Sale contract	?29/10/99
SB XX 14198 = <i>AnalPap 2</i> (1990), p. 53-61	<u>Pasemis</u>	<i>Phibis & Horos</i>	Cession (palm garden)	3 + 8/7/104

Related text				
O. Tempeleide 51	<u>Horos</u>	Peteosiris	Temple oath	2/2/95

Family tree
(next page)

Compare P. Adler, p. 4; O. Montevicchi, 'Ricerche di Sociologia' (1943), p. 72; corrections by P.W. Pestman, 'Pétéharsemtheus' (1965), p. 48, n. 5 and S. Nimmegeers, *Het familiearchief van Horos, zoon van Nechouthes (Pathyris, 2de – 1ste eeuw v.C.)*, Leuven 2003 [unpublished dissertation], p. 80-81. Names with an asterisk are added to the family tree from the unpublished Greek papyrus P. Berlin 13608, see U. Kaplony-Heckel, 'Papyrus 13608' (1994), p. 85.

