

	<b>Petemenophis son of Pamonthes, and sons</b>	TM Arch 580. Version I (2020) Lore Van Melkebeke and Katelijn Vandorpe
Place	Thebes (East and/or West bank)	
Date	AD 3 - 69	
Language	Demotic, Greek and bilingual Demotic/Greek and Greek/Demotic	
Material	Ostraka	
Number of texts	28 (plus unpublished ostraca), 1 uncertain	
Type	Tax receipts archive	
Collections	Berlin, Staatliche Museen; Cairo, Egyptian Museum; Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; Paris, Louvre; Uppsala, Victoria Museum	
Find/Acquisition	Purchase by Piehl for Uppsala collection 1882-1884; Louvre purchase pre-1885; Insinger purchase pre-1897; donation by Reiss in 1889 to Berlin Collection; Sayce collection acquired at end 19 <sup>th</sup> cent.; ?excavations Medinet Habu 1929/1930	

### Bibliography

A.E. SAMUEL / W.K. HASTINGS / A.K. BOWMAN / R.S. BAGNALL, *Death and Taxes: Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum*, Toronto, 1971, p. 6 no. 7.

K.A. WORP, "Remarks on Some Greek Marginalia in Demotic Tax Receipts", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 80 (1990), p. 256, no. 6.

The numbers in **bold** refer to *O. Wilcken* 2.

### Description

The archive of Petemenophis, son of Pamonthes and Senphthouminis, and his sons Psenamounis, Pamonthes and Petechonsis, consists of 28 published Greek, Demotic and bilingual tax receipts and a number of unpublished ones from the period AD 3-69.<sup>1</sup>

Most texts (Greek and bilingual) derive from the private collection of Sayce, who visited Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century, and were transferred from the Bodleian Library to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford after the Second World War<sup>2</sup> (**1548**, **369**, **379**, **394**, **401**, **1566**;<sup>3</sup> *O. Bodl.* 2 479, 482, 487, 566, 957, 961, 1056). Greek **400** was donated by Reiss to the Staatliche Museen Berlin in 1889.<sup>4</sup> Three Greek ostraca, kept in the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden, were acquired by Insinger before 1897 (*O. Leiden. Gr.* 63, 64, 86).<sup>5</sup> Bilingual *SB I* 2133, Demotic *O. Wångstedt* 8, 20, 27, 48, 58, and *Orientalia Suecana* 2 (1953), p.15, were purchased by Karl Piehl, the Victoria Museum director in Uppsala, when he was in Egypt (Thebes and Elephantine) in the period 1882-1884;<sup>6</sup> three of these ostraca (*O. Wångstedt* 8, 27, 58) have a note about the place of origin ("Karnak") probably endorsed by the dealer,<sup>7</sup> as have a number of yet unpublished Greek receipts in the Victoria collection

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to Todd Hickey, who informed us about the unpublished pieces in the Uppsala-collection and intends to edit the archive.

<sup>2</sup> K.A. Worp, 'Konkordanz zwischen den Inventarnummern der Bodleian Ostraka und deren Veröffentlichungen', *ZPE* 98 (1991), p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> The ostraca published in *O. Wilcken* were presented to Wilcken in 1885 or 1896, see *O. Wilcken* 1, p. 51-52.

<sup>4</sup> See <https://berlpap.smb.museum/01548/>.

<sup>5</sup> *O. Leiden Gr.*, p. v.

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.trismegistos.org/collection/344#collref-more-info>; on K. Piehl, see <https://www.gustavianum.uu.se/collections/gustavianum-historical-collections/egyptology/the-egyptian-collection/a-short-introduction-to-the-victoria-museum-s-collection/>;

<sup>7</sup> *O. Wångstedt*, p. 8.

which belong to the archive.<sup>8</sup> The two Demotic receipts from the Louvre were acquired before their first publication (date of publication: 1885 and 1895, respectively, see TM 49660 and 16314).

While all these receipts surfaced at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Demotic *O. Med. Habu Dem.* 35 was found during the Chicago Oriental Institute's 1929/1930 excavations in the Roman houses at Medinet Habu (Theban West bank), where the tax was indeed paid (Djeme). One may doubt the attribution of this ostrakon to the archive because of its acquisition history, but one may not forget that the site had been subject to “intense destruction at the hands of *sebakh*-diggers”.<sup>9</sup> The ostrakon is now kept in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo.

The earlier tax receipts are written in Demotic (AD 3-31) or in Demotic with a Greek summary (AD 29-38), the later receipts in Greek (AD 33-69), some with a Demotic summary (AD 45-52). The summaries record among other things the name of the tax payer and his father and/or mother (e.g. **394**, **401**, *O. Bodl.* 2 479, *SB I* 2133).<sup>10</sup> It is not clear who added the Demotic or Greek lines.

The protagonist (TM Per 149006) may be identified<sup>11</sup> with the Petemenophis attested in a Theban list of names (*O. Leiden. Gr.* 303, TM Per 370915), but it is unlikely that this list is part of the archive as its acquisition history is different from the other Leiden ostraca of the archive.<sup>12</sup> The name of Petemenophis, written in full in *SB I* 2133 and probably also in *O. Bodl.* 2 961, is elsewhere abbreviated as Peteme( ) or Petemeno( ). The protagonist's name was initially misread as Πετεμω( ) for Πετεμώ(νθης) in **369**, **400** and **401**, but Tait and Viereck (BL 2.1, p. 57-58) already hesitated between the reading Petemo(nthes) and Peteme(nophis) for **369** and **400**, and the Demotic summary of **401** also shows Peteme(nophis) should be read there.

The protagonist's metronymic is attested in the Demotic version of **394** and in the Demotic receipt *O. Louvre* p. 247, no. 671, while her name is nowhere recorded in the published Greek versions except for *O. Leiden Gr.* 86 which has only the first letter (Σ[ ]). The mother's name was initially read as *T3-šr.t-n-Hr-nfr* (Senarnouphis), a name rarely attested (*O. Heid.* 417) and to be corrected into the common name *T3-šr.t-n-p3-ftw-Mn* (Senphthouminis), as suggested to us by Todd Hickey on the basis of some unpublished Greek tax receipts from the Uppsala-collection.

While Petemenophis is active as a tax payer between AD 3 and 67, his sons Psenamounis, Pamonthes and Petechonsis are found in the period AD 67-69 (see App. 2). They probably lived in Djeme, where one of the ostraca has been found and where Petemenophis paid the bath tax for the northern toparchy (*O. Med. Habu Dem.* 35).

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<sup>8</sup> See note 1.

<sup>9</sup> *O. Med. Habu Dem.*, p. vii.

<sup>10</sup> Except for the name and father's name of the tax payer the Demotic text is illegible in **401** and *SB I* 2133; *O. Bodl* 2 479 contains one unpublished Demotic line.

<sup>11</sup> See *O. Leiden Gr.*, p. 31; the mother's name is not mentioned in the list. If the identification is correct, this list should be dated to the first rather than the second century.

<sup>12</sup> The list *O. Leiden Gr.* 303 has been acquired through Insinger in 1899, a few years later than the other Leiden ostraca which are part of the archive, see above and see *O. Leiden Gr.*, p. v.

THE TAXES

Ten receipts record money taxes on the family's land, more specifically the sacred palms tax (ὕπερ φοινικίωνων ἱερατικῶν, *ḥd n bne n ntr*), a *geometria* tax on private palm land destined for the temple treasury.<sup>13</sup> Most other levies are capitation taxes paid in cash: eleven receipts record the bath tax, seven the *laographia* or poll tax, five the dyke tax; in several cases the bath tax is paid together with the *laographia* or the dyke tax.

Except for four ostraka (**400**, *O. Bodl. 2 482*, *O. Leiden Gr. 86*, *O. Med. Habu Dem. 35*) the following tax collectors are recorded in Greek receipts:

Petemenophis, son of Pikos (**369** and **1548**), AD 33,  
Pikos, son of Kephalos (**379**, **394**, possibly in *O. Bodl. 2 479*<sup>14</sup>; also one Demotic receipt, see below), AD 37, 45, 49,  
Kephalos (**1566**, *O. Leiden Gr. 63*), AD 49, 54,  
Alexandros, son of Kephalos (*SB I 2133*), AD 50,  
Apollonios (*O. Leiden Gr. 64*, *O. Bodl. 2 957*), AD 50, 52,  
Bassos, son of Dekmos (**401**), AD 52,  
Apion (*O. Bodl. 2 487*, 961), AD 58, 67.

Menodoros son of Pikos (*O. Wångstedt 8*, 20, 27) and Pikos son of Kephalos (*O. Louvre p. 219 no. 534*) signed Demotic bank receipts.

Two Demotic receipts testify to tax payments in wheat, probably for the harvest tax, and were collected by Dionysios at the state granary (*O. Louvre p. 247 no. 671*; *O. Wångstedt 48*).

Finally, one Demotic receipt records dyke work (*Orientalia Suecana 2* (1953), p. 15, AD 17), a labour requirement for men, who had to move a fixed amount of earth for which in Thebes the *naubion* (*nby*) was used, a measurement unit of about 1 cubic metre<sup>15</sup> (in casu: Petemenophis moved c. 4 cubic metres).

Archive texts

*Certain: O. Bodl. 2 479, 957, 482, 487, 961; O. Leiden Gr. 86, 63, 64; O. Louvre p. 247 no. 671; O. Louvre p. 219 no. 534; O. Mattha 79; O. Med. Habu Dem. 35; O. Wångstedt 8, 20, 27, 48; O. Wilcken 2 369, 379, 394, 400, 401, 1548, 1566; Orientalia Suecana 2* (1953), p. 15; *SB I 2133; SB XVI 12884; SB XX 14946, 14947, 14949.*

*Uncertain: O. Leiden Gr. 303.*

Text types

Tax receipts.

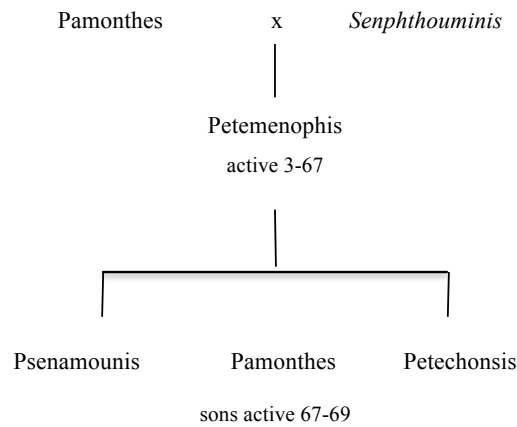
*Uncertain: list of names (O. Leiden Gr. 303).*

<sup>13</sup> Wallace 1938, p. 51-52.

<sup>14</sup> See BL 6, p. 211.

<sup>15</sup> See P.W. Pestman, in *P. L. Bat.* 19, p. 121; B. Muhs, in *O. Chic. Muhs*, p. 57.

Appendices App. 1. Genealogy of the family



App. 2. Chronological overview of the published tax receipts (Greek (G), Demotic (D), bilingual Greek-Demotic (G/D) and Demotic-Greek (D/G))

Ostracon	TM	Date AD	Tax and name tax payer
			<b>Receipts by Petemenophis AD 3-67</b>
<i>O. Med. Habu Dem.</i> 35 (D)	49930	21 May 3	Bath tax Petemenophis (D) (Northern toparchy, Djeme)
<i>Orientalia Suecana</i> 2 (1953), p.15 (D)	51441	June – July 17	Dyke work Petemenophis (D)
<i>O. Wångstedt</i> 48 (D)	50715	18 July 29	State tax (“tax of Pharaoh”), paid in wheat to the state granary, probably the harvest tax Petemenophis (D)
<i>O. Wångstedt</i> 8 + <i>SB</i> XX 14946 (D/G)	23834	4 Jan. 29	<i>Laographia</i> Petemenophis (D and G)
<i>O. Louvre</i> p. 247, no 671 (D)	49660	16 July 30	State tax (“tax of Pharaoh”), paid in wheat to the state granary, probably the harvest tax Petemenophis; mother's name Senphthouminis (not read by ed., see his note on l. 2) (D)
<i>O. Wångstedt</i> 20 + <i>SB</i> XX 14947 (D/G)	23835	7 Sept. 30	Dyke and bath tax Petemenophis (D and G)

<i>O. Wångstedt</i> 27 + <i>SB XX</i> 14949 (D/G)	23837	10 Sept. 30	Sacred palms tax Petemenophis (D and G)
<i>O. Mattha</i> 79 (D)	49742	9 Sept. 31	Sacred palms tax Petemenophis (D)
<b>1548</b> (G)	77844	19 Dec. 33	Sacred palms tax Peteme()
<b>369</b> (G)	76889	27 Nov. 33	Sacred palms tax Peteme()?, BL 2.1, p. 57 (ed. Petemo())
<b>379</b> (G)	76896	11 Dec. 37	Ed. ὑπ(ἐρ) φι. . ρα (?), undoubtedly the sacred palms tax, φοι(νικόνων) ἱερατ(ικῶν) Petemeno()
<i>O. Louvre</i> p. 219 no. 534 + <i>SB XVI</i> 12884 (D/G)	16314	17 Jun. 38	<i>Laographia</i> and bath tax Petemenophis (D and G)
<b>394</b> (G/D)	50768	15 Oct. 45	Dyke and bath tax Petemen[ ], Demotic has Petemenophis, also name of mother Senphthouminis (read as Senarnouphis by Thompson in BL 2.1, p. 58)
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 2 479 (G/D)	71177	19 May 49	<i>Laographia</i> and bath tax Petemeno()
<i>O. Leiden Gr.</i> 63	24635	26 Sept. 49	Sacred palms tax Petemeno()
<i>O. Leiden Gr.</i> 64	24636	4 Dec. 50	Sacred palms tax Peteme()
<b>400</b>	76913	Aug. 50 – Aug. 51	Sacred palms tax Petemo() or Peteme(), cf. BL 2.1, p. 58
<i>SB I</i> 2133 (G/D)	23077	27 Aug. 50	Dyke and bath tax Petemenophis
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 2 957	71647	20 Nov. 52	Sacred palms tax Petemeno()
<b>401</b> (G/D)	50771	25 May 52	<i>Laographia</i> and bath tax Petemo() ed.; Demotic has Petemenophis (Thompson in BL 2.1, p. 58), so should be Peteme()
<b>1566</b>	77860	29 Sept. 54	Dyke and bath tax Petemeno()
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 2 482	71180	Aug. 53 - Aug. 54	<i>Laographia</i> and bath tax Petemeno()
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 2 487	71185	18 July 58	<i>Laographia</i> and bath tax Peteme()
<i>O. Bodl.</i> 2 961	71651	8 Feb. 67	Sacred palms tax [Petemeno]phis

			<b>Receipts by sons of Petemenophis AD 67-69</b>
<i>O. Bodl. 2 1056 (G)</i>	71743	June 67	Payment in money Petechonsis s.o. Petemenophis
<i>O. Bodl. 2 566 (SB 1 3563) (G)</i>	71262	25 Aug. 69	Dyke tax Petechonsis s.o. Petemenophis
<i>O. Wångstedt 58 (D)</i>	50725	BC 30 – AD 99	A memorandum about money Pamonthes s.o. Petemenophis
<i>O. Leiden. Gr. 86</i>	26431	1st century	<i>Laographia</i> and bath tax [Peteme]nophis, mother is S[enphthouminis] (ed. S[ ])