

2. A DEMOTIC SURETY DOCUMENT BY A WOMAN FROM LYSIMACHIS

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The papyrus is broken off on all sides. On top we miss the dating formula and at the bottom the name of the scribe and the witnesses. Only a few signs are missing to the left and the right; in l. 8 the beginning of the line is probably even preserved. If we accept that hypothesis (there seems to be a space before *ss*), it is possible that only one or two signs are lost to the right. Our supplements are based on that idea, but if more is lost to the right, the supplements should simply be divided somewhat differently, without change of text. The supplements of the lacunae are based on the parallel texts in the Sorbonne collection which have been partly published by Françoise de Cenival (PLilleDem II)¹ and of which we are preparing a revised and enlarged edition (PCaution)².

PUL inv. D 59

h. 14,5 × l. 10 cm

Arsinoites, *meris* of Themistos

TM 967190

TAV. 3

About 224-216 BC

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[*h̄3.t-sp X ibd Y n pr-ḥ Ptlwm̄ys s̄ Ptlwm̄ys*]

[*irm Brnyḡ n̄ n̄tr.]w mn̄h.w ḡd sh̄[m.t - - -]*

[*- - - Ta-]sy s̄t Pa-Itm mw.t̄s Ta-Rnn.t n 'P̄3-d̄i-Wsir'*

4 [*s̄ NN*]... *p̄3 rd̄ n Lwsys p̄3 3wqnmw[s̄ n t̄]*

[*dn̄.t n*] *T'm'ystws irm Ḥr-m-ḥb s̄ Ḥr-nb-ḥn̄ [p̄3 sh̄]*

[*pr-ḥ ī.īr*] *'sh̄ ḥrw̄=f r t̄ wpy ḥsmn n n̄ m̄^c.w p̄3 dmy [Sbk]*

[*T̄3-s.]t-Pa-n̄-'db̄3.w' šp̄=y ḡr.t S̄ḡ.ḡ̄w-t̄-w[ty]*

8 *s̄ P̄3-d̄i-B̄st.t ī.īr sh̄ ḥrw̄=f r t̄ wp.t ḥsmn p̄3 dmy 'Sbk'*

[*nty ḥry*] *šp̄-ḡr.t d̄i.t ḥḡ 7 t̄ȳ=w p̄š ḥḡ 3 qt 5 r ḥḡ [7 ḥn]*

[*- - -*]... *īw̄=s mtw̄=k r ḥ^c.wȳ=y wḡ p̄3 ḥḡ 7 [nty ḥry]*

[*r p̄3 sh̄*] *n pr-ḥ ḥr t̄ wp.t ḥsmn (n) p̄3 dmy [nty ḥry ḥn ḥrw Z]*

12 [*ḡd n̄=y*] *wḡ s̄ nty-īw̄=k īr̄=f n ḥtr īwty mn [bn īw̄=y r̄h ḡd]*

[*wt̄=y*] *ḥḡ n p̄3 t̄ n-īm̄=w īwty īw 'īw' [̄=f ḥ^c rd.wy]*

[*nty nb nkt nb nty mt̄*] *w̄=y ḥn^c n̄ nty īw̄=y r d̄i.t ḥpr̄=w [t̄ īwy.t - - -]*

[*- - -*] *p̄3ȳ=k rd̄ p̄3 nty n̄h̄t̄ [r md̄.t nb nty īw̄=f ḡd̄=w]*

16 [*irm̄=y r*] *n md̄.t nb nty ḥry mtw̄=y [īr̄=w r ḥrw̄=f]*

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¹ F. DE CENIVAL, *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'époque ptolémaïque (P. dém. Lille 34 à 96)*, Paris 1973.

² M.-P. CHAUFRAÏ-W. CLARYSSE, *Cautionnements bilingues de la Sorbonne (P.Caution. 1-231)*, Paris forthcoming. The new edition of the Sorbonne surety documents, as well as the one hereby presented of the papyrus kept in Lecce, is published within the ERC project GESHAEM, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement N° 758907).

“|¹ [... Year X, month Y of king Ptolemy son of Ptolemy]
 |² [and Berenice,] the Beneficent gods, has said the ... [...]
 |³ [NN Ta]sis daughter of Patymis, her mother being Tharmouthis to Petosiris
 |⁴ [son of NN] the representative of Lysias the *oikonom[os]* of the
 |⁵ [*meris* of] Themistos and Harmais son of Harnebonychos [the royal]
 |⁶ [scribe who] has contracted for the work of natron of the places of the village [of
 Souchos]
 |⁷ ‘The-place-of-Panetbeus’: I have given surety to Stotoetis
 |⁸ son of Petobastis who has contracted for the work of natron of the village of
 Souchos
 |⁹ [above-mentioned] in a surety of payment of 7 deben, their half is 3 deben 5 kite,
 [which makes 7 deben again]
 |¹⁰ [...] ... I owe you to pay the [above-mentioned] 7 deben
 |¹¹ [to the] royal bank for the work of natron of the [above-mentioned] village [within
 Z days]
 |¹² [that one has said to me :] «Pay it», necessarily and without delay. [I will not be able
 to say:]
 |¹³ «I [have paid] any money at all of it» without receipt [as proof.]
 |¹⁴ [Anything and everything which belongs to me] and what I shall acquire [is the
 guarantee of ...]
 |¹⁵ [...] Your representative is the one authorized [for everything which he will discuss]
 |¹⁶ [with me con]cerning everything mentioned above and I shall do it [according to
 his order ...]”

1-2. The *oikonomos* Lysias (l. 4) is mentioned in PCaution 100 (PLilleDem II 94 [TM 4515]) belonging to the reign of Ptolemy IV. The supplement is made accordingly, although in PCaution 100, the mention of the Brother gods follows the Beneficent gods. Under Euergetes, the mention of the Beneficent gods also appears in the dating but the *oikonomoi* are Apollonios (year 11, 18-24) and Aristokritos (year 25-26).

2. Women as guarantors are rare in the Sorbonne surety documents: PCaution 22 (PLilleDem II 81, [TM 4504]) where 3 women act as surety, PCaution 70 (PLilleDem II 52, [TM 4482]), PCaution 168 (inv. Sorb. 1443, [TM 901251]), PCaution 172 (inv. Sorb. 1369, [TM 4519]), PCaution 173 (SB XVI 12416, [TM 3150]). Their occupation is never mentioned, except in PCaution 70 where the woman is a brewer. A few times they are called «woman» (*sh̄m.t*):

PCaution 22 and 168. Here *shm.t* looks a possible reading for the last preserved word of l. 2, but there is place for more signs in the lacuna and *shm.t* normally stands alone. In PapLugdBat XLII 7 [TM 971948], the woman acting as guarantor is «singer servant of Thoth».

3-4. In the Sorbonne sureties the *oikonomos* always figures in person, not through an intermediary as here. The lacuna is large enough for a name and patronymic. Though the name and patronymic are not clear, they are certainly Egyptian.

4. The *oikonomos* Lysias ([TM Per 16295], L. MOOREN-W. SWINNEN, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica VIII. Addenda et corrigenda aux volumes I (1950) et II (1952)*, Studia Hellenistica, 21, Louvain 1975, nr 1059a) is also mentioned in PCaution 100 (216 BC), together with the royal scribe Harmais ([TM Per 5896], MOOREN-SWINNEN, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica VIII* cit., nr 427). The latter is well-attested in the Sorbonne surety documents from 224 to 216 BC, which yields an approximate date for the present text.

5. There can be no doubt that the village is situated in the *meris* of Themistos, like the Sorbonne sureties. We found no example for the *meris* name written with *m* under *t*, but compare the writings of *tmstm*, «galena», in J.H. JOHNSON (ed.), *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Letter T*, Chicago 2012, pp. 214 ss.

6, 8. The formula *'sh hrw=f r t wpy hsmn* recurs in l. 8 and is also found in PCaution 2, ll. 9 s. (PLilleDem II 50, [TM 4480]) and PCaution 3, l. 13 (PLilleDem 51 [TM 4481]), where the work is in the oil business. F. de Cenival interprets it as «on his proposal»³. We follow the translation and interpretation of B. Muhs⁴. N. Dogaer suggests that *wpy* in this context could be the demotic equivalent of Greek ὠνή, «tax farming»⁵. If this is accepted the royal scribe Harmais also acted as a tax official and Stotoetis son of Petobastis would then be his subcontractor for a single village. This is surprising, but perhaps paralleled by PMich XVIII 776-780, where the local official Peteminis, perhaps a *topogrammateus* (see A. LOFTUS-G. SCHWENDNER, 776. *Report of Violence*, in C.E. RÖMER-T. GAGOS, *P. Michigan Koenen* (= *P. Mich. XVIII*). *Michigan Texts Published in Honor of Ludwig Koenen*, Amsterdam 1996, p. 140) is a candidate for collecting the beer tax of Mouchis in PMich XVIII 776.

6. For surety documents in the natron trade, cf. PCaution 44 (PLilleDem II 73, [TM 4493]) and PCaution 45 (PLilleDem II 75, [TM 4498]) in the village of Dionysias and PCaution 129 (PLilleDem II 82, [TM 4505]), PCaution 130 (PLilleDem II 84, [TM 4507]) and PCaution 133

³ DE CENIVAL, *Cautionnements démotiques* cit., p. 125.

⁴ B. MUHS, *Demotic Ostraca from Ptolemaic Edfu and the Ptolemaic Tax System*, in K. VANDORPE-W. CLARYSSE (eds.), *Edfu, an Egyptian Capital in the Ptolemaic Period*, Brussels 2003, p. 86 n. 67.

⁵ N. DOGAER, *Beer for the Gods and Coin for the Priests. Temple Involvement in the Beer Industry in Hellenistic Egypt*, «AncSoc» 51 (2021), pp. 84-85 n. 21, an idea that he intends to substantiate in his forthcoming book: N. DOGAER, *Industry, Trade and State in Ptolemaic Egypt*.

(PLilleDem II 45+76a, [TM 4478]) in Philoteris. Natron was used by washermen (*rhṯ*), but we did not find this word in our text.

7. The reading of the toponym [*T3-s.]t-Pa-n3-ṯdb3.w*¹ is based on PCaution 59 (PLilleDem II 74, [TM 4497]), where it corresponds to Lysimachis in the Greek verso. The village is discussed online in Trismegistos⁶.

9. Seven deben (= 140 drachmas) is exceptionally high for a surety of payment, which is normally 5 or 10 drachmas. Comparable sums are found in PCaution 126 (PLilleDem II 64, [TM 4492]), 40 drachmas for oil, PCaution 128 (PLilleDem II 77, [TM 4500]), 40 drachmas, and PCaution 168 (inv. Sorb. 1443, [TM 901251]), 40 drachmas for beer. In PCaution 19 (inv. Sorb. 1322b, [TM 901083]), in Apias, the sum of 130 drachmas is only preserved in the Greek verso and may give a total of several contracts. In PLeconte 1, also a surety document for payment, the sum is 40 deben in copper, which equals 13 drachmas and 2 obols in silver for one fifth of the total⁷.

10. The payment obligation clause («I owe you to pay») generally immediately follows the amount of the surety. Sometimes the reason of the surety is given *hr ṯ wp.t*, «for the work of ...» but the traces do not fit [*wp.t*] *ḥsmn*.

13. For the supplement *iw[≠f ḥ^c rd.wy]*, cf. PCaution 100, l. 16 (PLilleDem II 94, [TM 4515]).

14-15. In the lacuna one can supplement [*(p3 hp) ṯ š^c.t nty ḥry*], «of the obligation of the present document», or [*md.t nb nty ḥry*], «of everything above-mentioned».

⁶ [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1275.php?geo_id=1275]

⁷ D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Un cautionnement démotique : P. dém. Leconte 1*, «REG» 30 (1978), pp. 67-77.