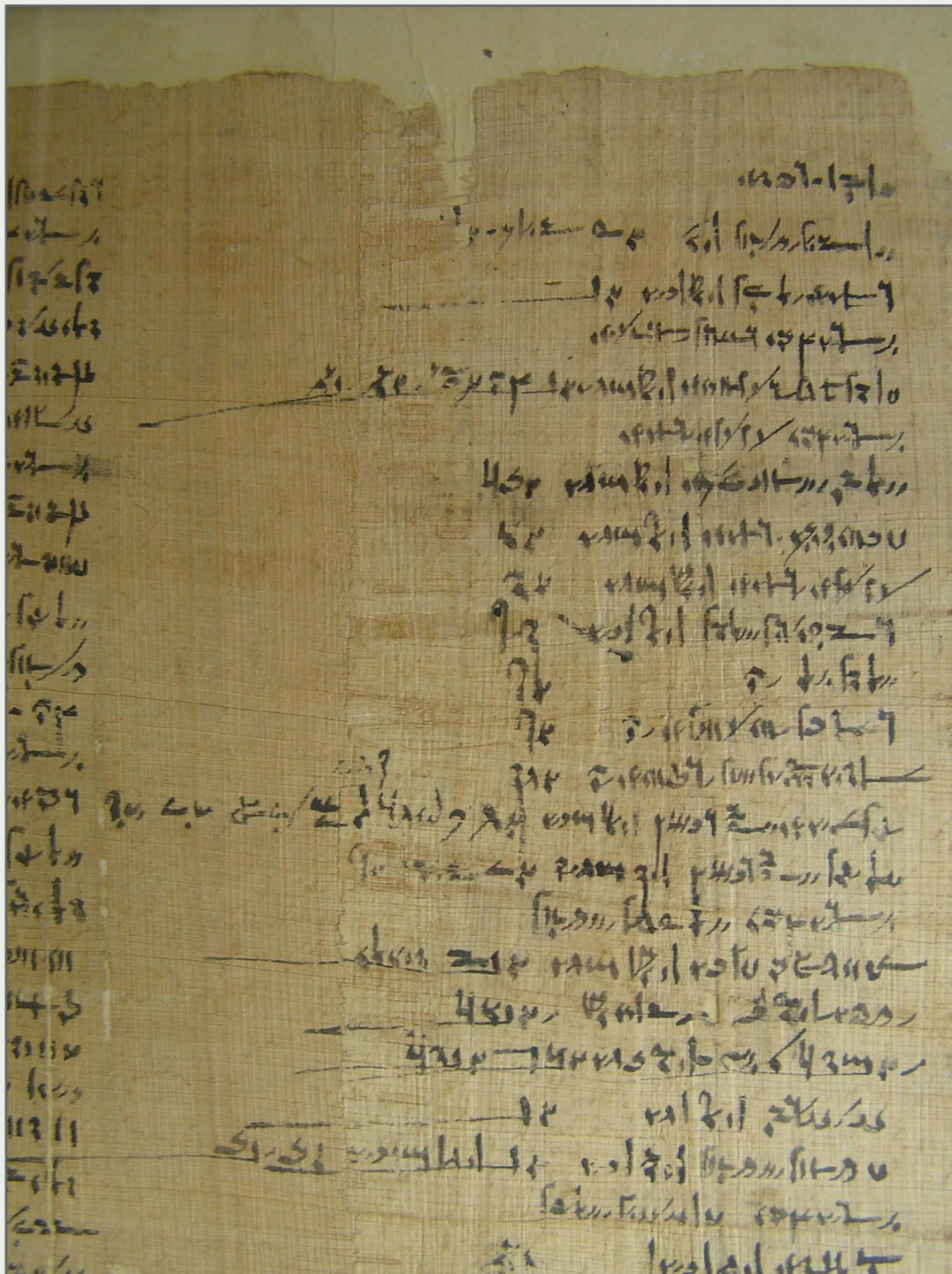


Lending in Ptolemaic Egypt

The Demotic Loan-account Papyri of Panas, Son of Espmetis



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Brian P. Muhs

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Back cover: Bronze coin of Ptolemy IV (222–204 BCE) from the Birabi Hoard, found in a jar buried in front of a Ptolemaic tomb in Thebes, deposited during the Theban revolt (205–186 BCE), excavated 1915–1916, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Object Number 22.3.476. Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1922. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, open access, public domain.

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Brian Muhs

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ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AfP	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i>
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire</i>
CDD	Johnson, Janet, ed. <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago</i> , 2001–. https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary .
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth</i>
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
ClQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications
Chrestomathie	Révillout, Eugène. <i>Chrestomathie démotique</i> . Paris: Vieweg, 1880.
DemBL	Den Brinker, A. A., Brian P. Muhs, and Sven P. Vleeming. <i>A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents</i> . Part A: <i>Papyrus Editions</i> . Part B: <i>Ostrakon Editions and Various Publications</i> . StudDem 7.A, B. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.
Dem. Lesestücke	Erichsen, Wolja. <i>Demotische Lesestücke, II: Urkunden de Ptolemaerzeit, 1. Heft, Texte</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939.
DemNb	Lüddeckens, Erich, et al. <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Vol. 1, fascicles 1–18. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980–2000.
DemStud	Demotische Studien
Enchoria	<i>Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt
NS	new series
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PLB	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
StudDem	Studia Demotica
StudHell	Studia Hellenistica
Urk.	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This volume examines lending practices in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period (332–30 BCE), especially, but not exclusively, through the lens of the demotic loan-account papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis. This first chapter introduces some of the issues associated with the history of ancient lending, and surveys previous discussions of lending practices in Ptolemaic Egypt. It then introduces the demotic loan-account papyri of Panas, and how they alter the current understanding of lending in Ptolemaic Egypt. It concludes with a review of previous work on the papyri. Subsequent chapters of the volume further explore the contents of the papyri, place them in their social, legal, and historical contexts, and conclude with an edition and translation of the papyri.

1.1. Ancient Lending

Lending is here broadly defined as the transfer of material or money with an expectation of return, a definition that covers a wide range of potential lending practices. The expectation of return may be governed by individual loan agreements, and by customs, religious prescriptions, or laws. The expectation may be for the return of the original material or money or its equivalent, sometimes upon request or before a specific date, and sometimes with interest. The expectation may also include consequences in case there is no return, such as the seizure of securities and imprisonment of debtors or their guarantors until their debt is paid.

The history of ancient lending practices is often obscure, in part because many loan agreements were oral and were never written, as well as many of the customs, religious prescriptions, and laws governing them; and in part because most records that were written have not survived, even in areas known for frequent preservation of ancient texts like Egypt and Mesopotamia. Furthermore, the written records that have survived are biased. For example, customs, religious prescriptions, and laws indicate preferred lending patterns, but implicitly acknowledge that not all loans conform to such patterns, otherwise there would be no need for such rules. Similarly, individual loan agreements can diverge widely from customary, religious, and legal norms, but since the purpose of written loan agreements is usually to solicit societal aid in enforcing loan terms, agreements that deviate significantly from societal norms are less likely to be recorded in writing.

It is generally accepted that lending must be an ancient practice, because without it only the simplest of exchanges are possible.¹ It is also frequently assumed that lending was initially only for social advantage, and that lending at interest for profit was a later development, but there is considerable difference of opinion about when and how it appeared and happened. Some scholars have equated money with coinage and have argued that lending at interest could only have developed after the invention of coinage in western Asia Minor in the seventh century BCE, but this argument has been difficult to maintain since ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts have revealed that both money and lending at interest are much older than coinage and date to the third millennium BCE at least.²

Other scholars have accepted the early appearance of interest, but they have argued that profit-seeking was rare among the elites of classical Greece and Rome,³ that it was largely restricted to the Jewish diaspora until the demise of late antique and medieval religious prohibitions against lending at interest,⁴ and that it only became widespread as the result of industrialization and market integration in the nineteenth and early

1. Graeber 2011, 21–41.

2. Graeber 2011, 214–17.

3. Finley 1985, 53–57, 114–20, 141–44; Millett 1991, 127–221.

4. See Mell 2017, 1:113–26 and 2:147–152 for literature.

twentieth centuries CE.⁵ However, these arguments for the late development of profit-seeking are increasingly contradicted by evidence for entrepreneurialism by internal elites in ancient societies like pharaonic Egypt,⁶ and classical Greece,⁷ and for frequent disregard of medieval prohibitions against lending at interest.⁸

Nonetheless, the false narrative that humankind, or groups thereof, originally lived in a state of innocence where lending was done at nominal interest only for social advantage, until outsiders introduced a culture of profit-seeking and lending at usurious interest, is persistent. It is a convenient narrative for those who wish to shift anger at inequality away from internal elites toward minorities and foreigners. To counter this false narrative, it is useful to reexamine the evidence for lending at interest for profit in Ptolemaic Egypt, a particularly well-documented ancient society.

1.2. Lending in Ptolemaic Egypt

Ptolemaic Egypt was a culturally and linguistically diverse society. Most inhabitants of Ptolemaic Egypt in the ancient cities of Memphis and Thebes and in the Egyptian countryside spoke the ancient Egyptian language and worshiped Egyptian gods and goddesses in Egyptian temples. There were also descendants of Carian- and Greek-speakers, and Persian- and Aramaean-speakers, who had settled in Egypt under the Saite Dynasty (664–526 BCE) and the Persian Empire (526–332 BCE), and who had gradually intermarried with and partially acculturated to the majority Egyptian-speakers. The Macedonian king Alexander the Great then detached Egypt from the Persian Empire in 332 BCE, founded a Greek-style city called Alexandria on the coast north of Memphis, and settled thousands of Greek-speaking veterans from his army there. After Alexander died in 323 BCE, his general Ptolemy seized Egypt and eventually declared himself king in 305 BCE. He founded another Greek-style city called Ptolemais on the Nile north of Thebes, and he encouraged thousands more Greek-speakers to immigrate to Egypt, to serve in the army or the administration, and to settle in the cities or the countryside. During the Ptolemaic period (332–30 BCE), these Greek-speakers also adopted aspects of Egyptian culture and sometimes the Egyptian language, even as the indigenous Egyptians adopted aspects of Greek culture and sometimes the Greek language. Legal documents could be written in either Egyptian or Greek or both, and disputes could be adjudicated in either Egyptian or Greek law courts, depending on the languages involved.

This diverse society is known from a wide variety and large quantity of written sources. In addition to the classical historians, from Egypt itself there are monumental inscriptions on stone in hieroglyphic and demotic Egyptian as well as in Greek, and many ephemeral documents on papyrus, ostraca (potsherds and stone flakes), and wooden tablets, in hieratic and demotic Egyptian and in Greek. The ephemeral documents in particular provide a great deal of information about aspects of Ptolemaic society that are usually not discussed by classical historians and monumental inscriptions, such as lending practices, though there are exceptions like the temple loan records from Delos. Scholars have taken a variety of approaches to the study of lending in Ptolemaic Egypt. Some have analyzed the cultural and linguistic contexts of lending; others have studied the institutions and individuals responsible for lending; and still others have examined the forms used to document lending, and their archival contexts.

1.2.1. Greeks and Egyptians

Studies of lending in Ptolemaic Egypt must address the issues of culture and language because loans could be documented in either Egyptian or Greek, using technical vocabulary and concepts derived from distinct Egyptian, Greek, and even Aramaic and Persian legal traditions. Changing models of cultural and linguistic

5. Polanyi 1944; Polanyi, Arensburg, and Pearson 1957, 239–70.

6. Muhs 2016, 47–52, 86–90, 131–40, 169–71, 205–9, 248–52.

7. Bresson 2016, *passim*.

8. Mell 2017, 1:155–316, 2:3–146; 2022, 213–16.

interaction, however, have altered the way that scholars have viewed lending in multicultural and multilingual Ptolemaic Egypt.

In the early twentieth-century, historians and papyrologists were influenced by then current models of cultural diffusion through migration and colonization, as well as by privileging Greek-language sources over Egyptian-language ones. For example, Ulrich Wilcken and Claire Préaux both suggested that Greek rulers and immigrants imposed both coinage and banking on Ptolemaic Egypt through the creation of state-operated royal banks and the introduction of numerous taxes in money.⁹ In contrast, state-operated granaries and harvest taxes were supposed to be ancient Egyptian institutions,¹⁰ though both Wilcken and Friedrich Preisigke observed that Ptolemaic royal granaries used the same transfer system of accounting as royal banks.¹¹

In the later twentieth-century, historians and papyrologists were influenced by new models of acculturation, elite emulation, and hellenization, and they realized the importance of utilizing Egyptian-language as well as Greek-language sources. Willy Peremans argued that most bankers and granary managers in Ptolemaic Egypt bore Greek names but admitted that some might be hellenized Egyptians, particularly among the granary managers.¹² Raymond Bogaert identified a small number of Ptolemaic royal bankers with Egyptian names,¹³ and pointed out that the Egyptians were familiar with coinage long before Alexander and the Ptolemies because the Greeks had had a trade settlement in Egypt at Naukratis for centuries. The Egyptians had therefore been using Greek coins alongside silver bullion and had minted imitation Greek-style coins already in the Persian period.¹⁴ Pieter Willem Pestman demonstrated that Egyptian language loan contracts provided different information, and reflected different legal traditions, from Greek language loan contracts, and he observed that the conditions for grain loan contracts in both languages differed from those for money loan contracts in both languages.¹⁵

In the early twenty-first century, historians and papyrologists have been exposed to postcolonial models of cultural entanglement, and they have acknowledged that technological and technical transfer is not one-directional, and that there was probably a mutual exchange of ideas and practices, rather than simple imposition or emulation. For example, Robert Ritner and Alexander Schütze have argued that indigenous Egyptian legal traditions influenced those of immigrant Aramaic-speakers in Egypt in the Persian period,¹⁶ rather than the other way around.¹⁷ Similarly, Brian Muhs has argued that the Ptolemies employed Greek banking terminology for their royal banks, but adopted a distributed network for them (in which branches were treated as accounts within the royal treasury), more typical of Egyptian treasuries and granaries than of Greek banks in Greece.¹⁸ He also pointed out that the ancient Egyptians had already been collecting money taxes since the Saite period.¹⁹ Katelijn Vandorpe has shown that Ptolemaic royal granary managers initially frequently had Egyptian names and used the Egyptian language, but later Greek names and Greek language became more common as the state reasserted control over rebellious regions.²⁰ She has also demonstrated that Greek and Egyptian grain loan terminologies sometimes influenced each other when they were used in overlapping spaces by the same people.²¹ Indeed, multiple scholars have suggested the possibility that bilingualism allowed lenders to choose between Egyptian and Greek legal systems.²²

9. Wilcken 1899, 1:634–35; Préaux 1947, 64–67; 1958, 243–55.

10. Wilcken 1899, 1:649–51.

11. Wilcken 1899, 1:513; Preisigke 1910, 3.

12. Peremans 1971, 41–42; 1979, 144–45.

13. Bogaert 1988, 115–38, esp. 119 (Psenchonsis), 125 (Apunchis), and 132 (Imouthes) = 1994, 253–79.

14. Bogaert 1980, 19–27 = 1994, 25–32; 1983, 13–14 = 1994, 33–34.

15. Pestman 1971, 7–9.

16. Ritner 2002, 343–59; Schütze 2022, 55–73.

17. Porten 1992, 259–64.

18. Muhs 2018a, 83–89.

19. Muhs 2005a, 2–6.

20. Vandorpe 2000, 405–20.

21. Vandorpe 2019, 115–16.

22. Keenan et al. 2014, 96–101.

1.2.2. Institutions and Individuals

Much early scholarship on lending in Ptolemaic Egypt focused on state institutions such as royal banks and granaries, as seen in the previous section, and on state regulation of aspects of lending such as interest rates. Scholars have long agreed that the Ptolemies limited interest rates on money loans to 2 percent per month,²³ but there is less agreement whether there was an ancient Egyptian law that limited accumulated interest to the value of the principal,²⁴ and whether the Ptolemies and Romans introduced or maintained it.²⁵ More recent scholarship has questioned the ability of the Ptolemaic state to manage its agents, however, and has looked at the roles of state-licensed bankers and temples as lenders. Bogaert demonstrated that Ptolemaic royal banks were supplemented by state-licensed or monopoly bankers and private bankers,²⁶ though Fabienne Burkhalter has questioned the boundaries between state-licensed or monopoly bankers and private bankers.²⁷ Maren Schentuleit has demonstrated that temples and their personnel also participated in lending, albeit in commodities.²⁸

Some scholarship on lending in the ancient Mediterranean has marginalized or dismissed private lenders as usurers and pawnbrokers,²⁹ perhaps influenced by anachronistic, erroneous, racist, and antisemitic economic models that assumed that ancient and medieval cultures primarily engaged in gift exchange and social lending, and that lending for profit was restricted to small numbers of socially marginalized moneylenders, often of foreign origin or belonging to religious minorities.³⁰ Parallels from Athens in the fourth century BCE,³¹ Egypt in the seventh to eighth centuries CE,³² and in the tenth to thirteenth centuries CE,³³ England in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries CE,³⁴ and even Kyoto in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries CE,³⁵ however, suggest that entrepreneurial lending was widespread among those with wealth and especially liquidity, and was not restricted to specialized professional moneylenders or to specific ethnic or religious groups, even when and where there were prohibitions on who could charge interest. Furthermore, modern distinctions between bankers and usurers and pawnbrokers derive from medieval regulations of lending that for the most part did not exist or were not enforced in the ancient world,³⁶ such as religious prohibitions on charging interest, or on taking pledges,³⁷ mortgages,³⁸ or sureties or guarantors.³⁹

Not surprisingly then, more recent scholarship has revealed the ubiquity of private lending in Ptolemaic Egypt. Sitta von Reden has brought attention to the role of informal forms of credit,⁴⁰ and multiple scholars have emphasized the significance of frequent small-scale loans between private individuals.⁴¹ The demand for credit in Ptolemaic Egypt was probably fueled by a chronic lack of liquidity, due to the cyclical nature of agricultural harvests, and an ongoing shortage of silver coins that bronze coins only partially replaced.⁴²

23. Segré 1924, 125–29; Westerman 1929, 32; Préaux 1939, 281–83; Westerman et al. 1940, 79–81; Finckh 1962, 19–26; Herrmann 1962, 24–25; Kuhnert 1965, 38–50; Rupprecht 1967, 73–89; and Pestman 1971, 7–9.

24. Markiewicz 2008, 309–30, esp. 319–21.

25. Lippert 2004b, 396–98.

26. Bogaert 1984, 181–98 = 1994, 59–75; 1999, 131–43.

27. Burkhalter 2014, 578–81; 2017, 84–85.

28. Schentuleit 2006, 364–66; contra Gabrielsen 2005, 139 n. 13.

29. Finley 1985, 141–45; and Millett 1991, esp. 179–221.

30. Mell 2017, 1:113–26 and 2:147–52 on Polanyi, Duby, and Little; and Mell 2022, 213–16.

31. Shipton 2000, 1–5, 83–95.

32. Papaconstantinou 2016, 613–18.

33. Goitein 1967, 229–66.

34. Mell 2017, 1:155–316; Nightingale 2018, 1–22.

35. Gay 2001, 37–55.

36. Cohen 1992, 41–44.

37. Millett 1991, 77, 256 n.18, 274 n. 38.

38. Harris 1988, 351–82; 1993, 73–95.

39. Cohen 1992, 154–56.

40. Von Reden 2007, 181–252.

41. Kreuzsaler et al. 2014, 226–27.

42. Van Reden 2007, 252–302; Lorber 2013, 135–43.

1.2.3. Documents and Archives

Many studies of lending in Ptolemaic Egypt have examined loan contracts for variations in loan types and terms, through time and across space. This approach reveals the standard written forms used to express and document loans and their variations, the general legal principles involved in lending, and the treatment of specific issues such as loan durations, interest, and penalties in money and commodity loans,⁴³ mortgages,⁴⁴ securities and liability,⁴⁵ and guarantors.⁴⁶ Few studies of lending in Ptolemaic Egypt have examined loan accounts, however, because they are often terse and enigmatic. For example, Pieter Johannes Sijpesteijn treated a loan account with securities as the work of a pawnbroker.⁴⁷ Schentuleit has however profitably examined the loans embedded in temple magazine accounts.⁴⁸

Furthermore, relatively few studies of lending have examined documents related to lenders for information about their social context and their relationships to borrowers, other lenders, and the Ptolemaic state, and the comparative size and frequency of their loans. This might be surprising because many ephemeral documents on papyrus, potsherds, stone flakes, and wooden tablets were preserved together in related groups known as archives, each of which shares a common source that can be used to contextualize its constituent documents, except that many archives were dispersed upon discovery without a record of their constituent documents. There are some archive-focused studies, however. Karolien Geens has looked at the known archives related to Ptolemaic banks and has determined that many documents relate to their money handling activities, such as orders for payment, receipts for deposit, and various accounts, rather than to lending proper.⁴⁹ Similarly, Vandorpe has argued that the bilingual archive of Dryton, his wife Apollonia, and their daughter Senmouthis, shows evidence of entrepreneurial lending.⁵⁰

1.3. The Demotic Loan-Account Papyri of Panas, Son of Espmetis

The demotic loan-account papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis, are a previously unpublished set of documents originally from Egyptian Thebes in the early second century BCE and now in the British Museum, which transform the perception of lending in Ptolemaic Egypt. The next three chapters of this volume (chs. 2–4) examine the sources of information about the lender, Panas, son of Espmetis, about his family, about his profession as a mortuary priest, and about his side hustle as a lender. The following eight chapters (chs. 5–12) examine the demotic loan accounts of Panas, son of Espmetis, and how they give a different perspective from loan contracts on lending in Ptolemaic Egypt. The final chapter (ch. 13) provides editions of the six demotic loan-account papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis.

1.3.1. The Archives of Panas, Son of Espmetis

The second chapter discusses the archive or archives of Panas, son of Espmetis. These include at least eight demotic and Greek papyri in the British Museum dating between 209 BCE and 158 BCE, and acquired in 1901 and 1903. They also include at least one demotic papyrus formerly in the possession of Nathan Elkan Adler and now in the Carlsberg Papyrus Collection of the University of Copenhagen, dating to 177 BCE, and acquired before 1936. Finally, they probably also include the six demotic loan-account papyri published in this volume, dating between 180 BCE and 158 BCE, and probably acquired before 1911. Panas's other papyri

43. Pestman 1971, 7–29; Vandorpe 2019, 111–22.

44. Lippert 2019, 123–52.

45. Manning 2001, 307–26; Markiewicz 2005, 141–67.

46. Sethe and Partsch 1920; Van Soest 1963; Yiftach-Firanko 2012, 365–82.

47. Sijpesteijn 1993, 51–62.

48. Schentuleit 2006, 364–66.

49. Geens 2008, 133–51.

50. Vandorpe 2002, 105–217.

were not recognized as an archive until 1992,⁵¹ however, and their probable association with the demotic loan-account papyri was not recognized until 2011.⁵²

1.3.2. The Family of Panas, Son of Espmetis

The third chapter reconstructs the family and historical context of Panas, son of Espmetis, using information from his own archives and those of other mortuary priests in Thebes. They show that Panas was descended from a family of Theban mortuary priests known from their papyri, the archive of Pechutes, son of Pchorchonsis, dating between 334 BCE and 191 BCE. Furthermore, Panas married into another family of Theban mortuary priests known from their ostraca, the archive of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, dating between 261 BCE and 228 BCE.⁵³ Panas's two daughters married into yet another family of Theban mortuary priests known from their papyri, the archive of the Theban Choachytes (second century BCE),⁵⁴ from which it appears that Panas, his wife, and his daughters had passed away by 140 BCE, when their property was divided among Panas's grandchildren. Panas thus lived in Thebes in Egypt in the middle Ptolemaic period, in the early second century BCE. He lived through the Theban revolt against Ptolemaic rule in Upper Egypt (205–186 BCE), Antiochus IV's invasions of Egypt (169–168 BCE), and the royal dispute between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII (164–163 BCE).

1.3.3. Panas, Son of Espmetis, Mortuary Priest and Lender

The fourth chapter examines the profession of mortuary priest in Ptolemaic Egypt, the practice of lending, and how Panas, son of Espmetis performed them. It is argued that being a mortuary priest was a primary occupation, but lending was one of several entrepreneurial side hustles in which mortuary priests frequently engaged.

1.3.4. The Loan-account Papyri

The fifth chapter describes Panas's loan-account papyri and their format. The loan accounts originally consisted of at least six papyri, three of them working drafts written on both recto and verso, and three of them clean copies only written on the recto. Two clean copies were pasted together in antiquity, however, and all the working drafts were registered together under one number in the British Museum, so there are only three inventory numbers, EA 10556, 10557, and 10670. Panas's loan-account papyri are organized into multiple columns, which in turn consist of multiple lines. There are a total of 94 columns across the six papyri, and 1076 lines of text, 52 of them erased in antiquity. Each description of a loan is an entry. Entries usually consist of between 1 and 3 lines of text. There are a total of 588 entries across the seven papyri, but 120 of them were recorded twice, once in a working draft and once in a clean copy, so 468 unique loans are described. Each entry contains what Panas considered to be the crucial information about the loan: the name of the borrower, the start date of the loan, and the principle. Sometimes the interest rate and/or the security for the loan are also given when they differ from the defaults.

The fifth chapter also discusses the different forms of documentation that lenders used in Ptolemaic Egypt, and how these different forms provide different perspectives on Ptolemaic lending, because they represent different levels of investment. There is increasing recognition that private entrepreneurs were an important source of credit in Ptolemaic Egypt alongside professional moneylenders like bankers. Panas's accounts appear to confirm that impression. First, Panas does not appear to be a banker who relied on deposits as a primary source for credit. Instead, he probably used his regular income as a mortuary priest to provide

51. Pestman 1995a, 93 n. d; Muhs 2015, 89–93, 101–3.

52. Muhs 2015, 93–101.

53. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay (2021) published the archive of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, but the link with the family of Panas, son of Espmetis, was unknown at the time of publication.

54. Pestman 1993.

liquidity to those who lacked regular incomes. Second, Panas's loan accounts suggest that small loans that were not documented with loan contracts were far more numerous than large loans for which loan contracts were made. They also suggest that small loans accounted for most of the credit that Panas provided, despite their small size, because they were so numerous.

Panas's accounts therefore suggest that loan contracts severely underrepresent the amount of credit available in Ptolemaic Egypt due to transaction costs. Loan accounts probably had little more legal standing than memory aids, but individual entries probably also required minimal expense and effort from a scribe. In contrast, loan contracts were intended to have maximal legal standing in courts to protect lenders and borrowers in the event of a dispute, but each loan contract theoretically required a borrower to recite an agreement before the lender (whether they actually did so is another matter), a notary to write the agreement, a payment for the notary, and witnesses to compare the verbal and written agreements and to sign the contract. Consequently, lenders might record all their loans in loan accounts, but they might only require contracts for larger loans that justified the expense of a notarial contract. Loan accounts are therefore more representative of lending practices than loan contracts, and thereby change the understanding of Ptolemaic Egyptian lending practices, which has previously been based primarily on loan contracts.

1.3.5. Dates, Dating, and Loan Durations

The sixth chapter discusses the dates in the loan-account papyri. Panas's accounts almost never provide a due date, suggesting that at least the money loans were open-ended and accumulated interest until they were repaid, in contrast to most Ptolemaic demotic loan contracts, which usually had fixed due dates, amounts due, and penalties, after which securities could be seized. This is probably related to the fact that most of Panas's loans relied on general liability or guarantors for security, and only a minority used pledged objects (see below). Panas's money loans usually indicate the start year and month but not the day, even though the day had become mandatory on contracts after 186 BCE. Presumably only the month was necessary because interest on money loans was calculated monthly. Panas's commodity loans usually only indicate the year, probably because they were due at the first following harvest.

1.3.6. Money, Commodities, Principal, and Loan Sizes

The seventh chapter analyzes the quantification of money and the measurement and identification of commodities in the loan-account papyri, especially to specify loan principals. Previously, it was suggested that Ptolemaic demotic loan contracts mentioned the amount due but not the principal to obscure interest rates that potentially exceeded the maximum rate set by the state (see below). Panas's accounts, however, regularly state the principal, and frequently the interest rates as well, which occasionally did exceed the standard rate. The reason for the absence of the principal and interest rate from Ptolemaic demotic loan contracts is therefore probably simply to prevent attempts to extend the loans and delay the forfeiture of security.

1.3.7. Interest and Penalties

The eighth chapter discusses the specification of interest rates in the loan-account papyri, for money loans and commodity loans respectively. Previously, based primarily on loan contracts, it was suggested that Ptolemy II set a maximum interest rate for money loans of 2 percent per month or 24 percent per year, where it remained until the Roman emperor Augustus or Tiberius reduced it to 1 percent per month or 12 percent per year. Panas's demotic accounts, however, mention a variety of interest rates for money loans, most commonly 1 percent per month or 12 percent per year, 2.5 percent per month or 30 percent per year, and 4 percent per month or 48 percent per year. Most frequently no interest rate is mentioned. An interest rate for money loans of 2 percent per month or 24 percent per year is conspicuously absent, however, suggesting that it was the standard rate applied when no other rate was mentioned. It has also been suggested that the standard repayment for commodity loans was the principal and half-again, due at the first following harvest,

irrespective of how long before the harvest the loan was made. Panas's accounts seem to confirm this, because they regularly state the loan principal, and sometimes qualify it with "each (artaba) makes one-half." Occasionally, the accounts further qualify the principal with "makes (half-again as much as the principal)" to make the repayment amount explicit.

1.3.8. Securities

The ninth chapter describes the use of pledged objects as securities in the account papyri. Pledged objects were less common than general liability in the accounts, and more common than guarantors, but they were almost exclusively used for money loans, and on average the larger ones. This use of pledged objects as security contrasts with Ptolemaic demotic loan contracts. They were often secured with conditional sales or mortgages of real property, which provided sufficient value to secure the larger loans more likely to be recorded in contracts. They were only occasionally secured with pledged objects, which were only sufficient for smaller loans that were less likely to be recorded in contracts.

1.3.9. Guarantors

The tenth chapter discusses the use of guarantors as security in the loan-account papyri. Guarantors were the least common form of security in the accounts, but they were frequently used for commodity loans and mid-value money loans. Previously, it was known that guarantors could occasionally be used to secure private loan and lease contracts, but it was thought that they were primarily used by the Ptolemaic state for tax-farmers, workers in commodity monopolies, farmers of royal land, and prisoners on bail. It was also thought that most guarantors were documented with written agreements or contracts. Panas's accounts, however, suggest that guarantors were widely used for small private loans. These loans were apparently not documented with written agreements or contracts, apart from the loan accounts, so it seems likely that the guarantors were also not documented in writing, apart from the loan-account entries. Presumably the Ptolemaic state's use of written contracts and agreements for guarantors reflects the state's ready access to scribal manpower, rather than a registration requirement for all guarantors, state and private.

1.3.10. General Liability

The eleventh chapter discusses the use of general liability as security in the account papyri. General liability is never explicitly mentioned in the papyri, but references to the inheritance of debts suggest that it was the default and applied when there was no other form of security specified, or when the value of the pledged objects was insufficient to fully secure a debt. General liability was thus the most common form of security in the accounts, frequently used for commodity loans and the lowest value money loans.

1.3.11. Borrowers

The twelfth chapter examines the social context of the borrowers. The clients of Panas, son of Espmetis, frequently bear titles or epithets suggesting professions in medicine, craft, or agricultural work. Perhaps these were professionals who were not closely affiliated with the state or temples and had to turn to private lenders like Panas to bridge irregularities in their incomes; or perhaps they were closely affiliated with the state or temples, but their income was in arrears.

1.3.12. Editions

The thirteenth chapter presents editions of the loan-account papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis, with photographs, transliterations, translations, and commentaries.

1.4. Previous Research on the Demotic Loan-account Papyri of Panas, Son of Espmetis

The British Museum probably acquired the demotic loan-account papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis, by 1911 at the latest. Nathaniel Julius Reich (1876–1943) had photographs of BM EA 10556 dating between 1904 and 1911 in his private records, but he never published on them.⁵⁵ Henry Francis Herbert Thompson (1859–1944) briefly mentioned at least two of the demotic loan-account papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis, in an unpublished manuscript handlist of demotic papyri in the British Museum, which he completed by about 1930.⁵⁶ Much later, the British Museum quoted from the handlist in its online entries for the two papyri, papyrus BM EA 10556,⁵⁷ and papyrus BM EA 10557.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Carol A. R. Andrews briefly described demotic account papyrus BM EA 10556 and noted that it belonged to Panas, son of Espmetis, in a paper given in 1993 and published in 1994.⁵⁹

Based on Andrews's description, Muhs speculated that papyrus BM EA 10556 might belong to an archive of other papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis, in the British Museum identified by Pestman at a colloquium held in 1992 and published in 1995.⁶⁰ Muhs presented this proposal in a paper given in 2005 and published in 2008.⁶¹ Later Muhs studied demotic loan-account papyri BM EA 10556, 10557, and 10670 at the British Museum and concluded that they belonged together and were indeed part of the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, in the British Museum, along with other papyri formerly in the possession of Elkan Nathan Adler. Muhs presented his initial findings in a paper presented in 2011 and published in 2015.⁶² The current volume constitutes the culmination of that research.

55. https://findingaids.library.upenn.edu/records/UPENN_CAJS_CJS.ARCMS20.

56. Glanville 1944, 67–68.

57. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10556-1.

58. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10557.

59. Andrews 1994, 29–37, esp. 35.

60. Pestman 1995a, 91–100, esp. 93. n. d.

61. Muhs 2008, 39.

62. Muhs 2015, 89–103.

Part 1

Panas, Son of Espmetis

CHAPTER 2

THE ARCHIVE(S) OF PANAS, SON OF ESPMETIS

The group of demotic papyri published in this volume are clearly labeled “the accounts of Panas, son of Espmetis,” presumably identifying the individual responsible for the papyri and the hundreds of loans recorded in them. This individual is almost certainly identical to the mortuary priest Panas, son of Espmetis, known from two other groups of papyri from Ptolemaic Thebes in the late third and early second centuries BCE, which helps to situate the loan-account papyri in space, time, and social context. It will therefore be useful to discuss these three groups of papyri and their relationship to each other.

The first group consists of eight demotic and Greek papyri in the British Museum and British Library published between 1907 and 1990, which Pestman identified as the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, in 1995.¹ The second group consists of several demotic papyri formerly in the Adler collection.² One was published by Nathaniel Julius Reich in 1936,³ and is now in Copenhagen, but the others were not published and their current disposition is unknown. I tentatively attributed this group to the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, in 2011.⁴ The third group consists of the six demotic loan-account papyri in the British Museum published in this volume, which I also tentatively attributed to the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, in 2011.⁵

2.1. Pestman’s Archive of Panas, Son of Espmetis

In 1995 Pestman identified an archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, consisting of eight published demotic and Greek papyri in the British Museum and the British Library, originally from Thebes and dating to the late third and early second centuries BCE.⁶ The papyri were purchased rather than excavated, so it is unknown whether they were found together. They were purchased from the same source at nearly the same time, however, which could reflect a common origin. Furthermore, four of the eight papyri were explicitly written for Panas, son of Espmetis, and the other four probably or plausibly belonged to or ended up in Panas’s archive.

All eight papyri that Pestman attributed to the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, were acquired from Chauncey Murch in 1901 and 1903. Reverend Chauncey Murch (1856–1907) was the director of the American Presbyterian Mission at Luxor, Egypt, and a collector and dealer of Egyptian antiquities who sold to the British Museum between 1890 and 1907.⁷ The British Museum Department of Egyptian Antiquities acquired one of the papyri in 1901. Papyrus BM EA 10532A–B (Andrews 31) has registration number 1901-03-09 .12 Murch,⁸ meaning that it was acquired from Murch on March 9, 1901. The Department of Egyptian Antiquities acquired four more of the papyri from the same source in 1903. Papyrus BM EA 10612 (Andrews 30) has registration number 1903-05-12 .236 Murch,⁹ Papyrus BM EA 10613 (Andrews 7) has registration number 1903-05-12 .237,¹⁰ Papyrus BM EA 10614 (Andrews 5) has registration number 1903-05-12 .238,¹¹ and Papyrus BM EA 10615 (Andrews 6) has registration number 1903-05-12 .239,¹² meaning that they were all acquired from Murch on May 12, 1903. The British Museum Department of Manuscripts acquired three more of the

1. Pestman 1995a, 93 n. d.

2. Adler et al. 1936, 65.

3. Reich 1936a, 258–71.

4. Muhs 2015, 101–2.

5. Muhs 2015, 93–101.

6. Pestman 1995a, 93 n. d.

7. Bierbrier 2012, 392.

8. Andrews 1990, 74 (cat. 31).

9. Andrews 1990, 73 (cat. 30).

10. Andrews 1990, 35 (cat. 7).

11. Andrews 1990, 29 (cat. 5).

12. Andrews 1990, 31 (cat. 6).

papyri from the same source later in 1903. Papyrus Lond. III 1200, Pap. Lond. III 1201, and Pap. Lond. III 1202 were purchased from Murch on November 20, 1903.¹³ Papyri Lond. III 1201 and 1202 were later transferred from the Department of Manuscripts to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, where they received Big. numbers BM EA 10823 and 10824, and registration numbers 1971-02-19 .2 and 1971-02-19 .3, meaning that they were registered on February 19, 1971. Papyrus Lond. III 1200 remained in the Department of Manuscripts, however, which became the independent British Library in 1973.

The three papyri acquired by the British Museum Department of Manuscripts were published soon after their acquisition. Frederic Kenyon and H. I. Bell published the Greek Papyrus Lond. III 1200 and the Greek texts on Papyri Lond. III 1201 and 1202 in 1907.¹⁴ Wilhelm Spiegelberg then published the demotic and Greek texts on Papyri Lond. III 1201 and 1202 in 1909.¹⁵ The five papyri acquired by the British Museum Department of Egyptian Antiquities were published much later. Andrews published Papyri BM EA 10532A–B and 10612–10615 in 1990.¹⁶

2.1.1. Papyrus Lond. III 1200

The oldest papyrus in Panas's archive is a receipt for the payment of a transfer tax. Papyrus Lond. III 1200 is a Greek bank receipt dated to year 14, Thoth, day 7, probably of Ptolemy IV (20 October 209 BCE Julian).¹⁷ The receipt was issued by the bank at Thebes under the royal banker Psenchonsis, according to the transfer order (*diagraphe*) from Protarchos the archiphylakites, subscribed by Harnouphis the topogrammateus. The receipt was issued for transfer tax payments for the house of Tsenuris, daughter of Thotsut(m)is, located in Thebes in Chrysopolis on the western side of the wall of the Apollonieion, valued at 200 drachmas. The receipt was issued for a payment of 16 drachmas and 4 ½ obols for the *enkyklion*-tax, and 8 drachmas and 2 ¼ obols for the *khalkeia*-tax. The receipt was written by Diokles, countersigned by Heroides the subordinate of Harnouphis the topogrammateus, and further signed by Heliodoros the subordinate of Dionysios.¹⁸ Chrysopolis is the Greek name for a neighborhood in the northern quarter of Thebes known in demotic Egyptian texts as “the House of the Cow,”¹⁹ where many mortuary priests lived in the third and early second centuries BCE. The Apollonieion is the Greek name for the sanctuary of Montu Lord of Thebes,²⁰ and in demotic texts the House of the Cow is sometimes described as being “west of the wall of the temple of Montu Lord of Thebes,”²¹ as well as “north of the wall of the temple of Thebes.”²²

Papyrus Lond. III 1200 does not name Panas, but it does name Senuris, daughter of Thotsutmis, who is likely to have been the mother of Panas, because other contracts identify him as Panas, son of Espmetis, whose mother is Senuris.²³ Panas is likely to have inherited the receipt from Senuris, and presumably also the house in Thebes to which it refers. Senuris, daughter of Thotsutmis, may also have been the sister of Senmouthis, daughter of Thotsutmis and Tabastis, who ceded nearly a hundred tombs to Panas in Papyrus BM EA Andrews 10615 (Andrews 6) on 21 October 175 BCE (see below).²⁴ It is tempting to further identify Senuris and Senmouthis as daughters of the mortuary priest Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, who is known to have been married to a woman named Tabastis when he died around 214 BCE.²⁵ It was common for the sons

13. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_1200. Page no longer available after ransomware attack on 28 October 2023.

14. Kenyon and Bell 1907, 2–3 (1200), 3–4 (1201), 5 (1202).

15. Spiegelberg 1909, 91–106.

16. Andrews 1990, 29–36 (cat. 5–7); 73–75 (cat. 30–31).

17. All dates BCE are Julian.

18. Kenyon and Bell 1907, 2–3.

19. Verreth 2011, 219–21.

20. Verreth 2011, 168–69.

21. Verreth 2011, 220.

22. Verreth 2011, 220–21.

23. BM EA 10614 (Andrews 5), BM EA 10615 (Andrews 6), BM EA 10613 (Andrews 7), and BM EA 10824 (P. Lond. III 1202).

24. Andrews 1990, 31–34 (cat. 6).

25. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, 19–21, 26–27.

of mortuary priests to marry the daughters of other mortuary priests,²⁶ and Senmouthis was almost certainly the daughter of a mortuary priest, since she had a claim to nearly a hundred tombs that she ceded to Panas.

2.1.2. Papyrus BM EA 10612 (Andrews 30)

The next four papyri in the archive concern tombs and are probably related to the activities of mortuary priests. Panas is named in two of the papyri, and the other two can plausibly be associated with him and his archive. Papyrus BM EA 10612 (Andrews 30) is an agreement dated to year 6, Payni, day 11, presumably of Ptolemy VI (13 July 175 BCE). The first line gives the date followed by the statement “Tathotes has agreed (*mtr*) with Senthotes her sister to divide (*r ps*) the burial places among themselves.” The second line is a heading, “The list of the burial places which have fallen to her (*i.ir ph=s*) among them,” which is followed by a list of twenty-two tombs. The agreement concludes by reiterating that they will divide according to a divine oath, and it gives a penalty for violating the oath of 300 deben makes 1500 staters makes 300 deben again. There are no signatures of a scribe or witnesses.²⁷

Papyrus BM EA 10612 also does not name Panas, but it does mention two sisters named Tathotes and Senthotes. Tathotes may have been the wife of Panas, because other contracts refer to Senuris and Senthotes, daughters of Panas and Tathotes.²⁸ Siblings typically divided familial property after the death of a parent or another sibling,²⁹ and the qualification of the properties “which have fallen to her” also points to an inheritance.³⁰ The inheritance and division of tombs suggests that the sisters Tathotes and Senthotes were daughters of a mortuary priest. Because daughters of mortuary priests frequently married the sons of other mortuary priests, their title documents often ended up in the family archives they shared with their husbands.³¹ In this case, the agreement was acquired together with contracts naming the mortuary priest Panas, son of Espmetis, so it probably entered Panas’s archive through his marriage to Tathotes.

2.1.3. Papyrus BM EA 10615 (Andrews 6)

Papyrus BM EA 10615 (Andrews 6) is a notarial quitclaim contract dated to year 7, Thoth, day 16 of Ptolemy VI (21 October 175 BCE). The first contractor is the woman, Senmouthis, daughter of Thotsutmis, her mother is Tabastis. She addresses the second contractor, who is again the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panas, son of Espmetis, his mother is Senuris. Senmouthis cedes to Panas nearly a hundred tombs, which are listed. The contract was again notarized by the scribe Amenotbes, son of Totoes, who wrote in the name of the representatives of the (female) prophet of Djeme.³² Panas probably had a claim to the tombs to which Senmouthis relinquished her claim, either by purchase or by inheritance. No corresponding sale contract is known, but Panas could have had a claim to the tombs through his mother Senuris, who may have been a sister of Senmouthis. Like Senuris, the woman Senmouthis, daughter of Thotsutmis and Tabastis, might be the daughter of the mortuary priest Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis. One cannot be certain, because Thotsutmis is a common name, and Papyrus BM EA 10615 (Andrews 6) only gives the name of Senmouthis’s father and not her grandfather, but Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is known to have been married to a woman named Tabastis when he died around 214 BCE.³³ Furthermore, Senmouthis’s parents are likely to have been mortuary priests, since she had a claim to nearly a hundred tombs. If Senmouthis was indeed the

26. Muhs 2005b, 188–94.

27. Andrews 1990, 73–74 and pls. 61, 66 (cat. 30).

28. Pestman 1993, 24, 85 (text 15), 292 (Senhuris (a)), and 294 (Senthotis (c)).

29. Pestman 1987, 67–68.

30. Pestman 1987, 64–67.

31. Muhs 2005b, 188–94.

32. Andrews 1990, 31–34, and pls. 15, 17–19 (cat. 6).

33. Muhs, Scalf and Jay 2021, 19–21, 26–27.

daughter of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, her cession of tombs to Panas might represent the end of her family's business.³⁴

2.1.4. Papyrus BM EA 10614 (Andrews 5)

Papyrus BM EA 10614 (Andrews 5) is also a notarial quitclaim contract dated to year 7, Thoth, day 16 of Ptolemy VI (21 October 175 BCE), the same day as Papyrus BM EA 10615 (Andrews 6). The first contractor is the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Amenother, son of Harsiesis, his mother is Chibois. He addresses the second contractor, who is the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panas, son of Espmetis, his mother is Senuris. Amenother cedes to Panas six tombs, which are listed. The contract was notarized by the scribe Amenother, son of Totoes, who wrote in the name of the representatives of the (female) prophet of Djeme.³⁵ Presumably Panas had a claim to the six tombs to which Amenother relinquished his claim, for example, by inheritance, or purchase, or as security for a loan, but it is not clear how. However, in Papyrus BM EA 10832 (Andrews 8), no date, from the archive of the "anonym," a man named Totoes, son of Totoes, swore an oath for Panas, son of Espmetis, about a cession that Totoes caused Amenother, son of Harsiesis, to make for Panas.³⁶

Amenother was distantly related to Panas by the marriage of Amenother's sister Senamounis to Panas's cousin Pechytes in demotic marriage contract Papyrus Marseille 296 (Eheverträge 29), dated to year 14, Hathyr, of Ankhwennefer or Chaonnophris (9 December 192–7 January 191 BCE).³⁷ Amenother later sold several tombs to his sister Senamounis in demotic sales contract Papyrus BM EA 10226 (Reich), dated to year 20, Phamenoth, day 18 of Ptolemy V (23 April 185 BCE),³⁸ but those tombs are distinct from the ones that Amenother ceded to Panas in 175 BCE.³⁹ The mortuary priest Amenother, son of Harsiesis and Chibois, is also known from his own family archive, consisting of at least eleven demotic and Greek documents written on or pasted into at least five separate rolls of papyri, dating between 18 June 182 BCE and 26 September 170 BCE.⁴⁰ The archive concerned the acquisition of a group of five ruined houses in the northern quarter of Thebes in Chrysopolis or the House of the Cow, located north of the enclosure wall of the temple of Amun, and west of the enclosure wall of the temple of Montu Lord of Thebes.⁴¹

2.1.5. Papyri BM EA 10532 A and B (Andrews 31)

Papyri BM EA 10532 A and B (Andrews 31) are two undated lists of tombs on two fragments of papyri that were registered together, and which may have been parts of a single document. They certainly seem to be related, because the first line and label of Papyrus BM EA 10532 A reads "The tombs of Tachutes that Lolous gave," and is followed by a list of at least twelve tombs, while the first line and label of Papyrus BM EA 10532 B reads "The tombs of Senesis that Lolous gave," and is followed by a list of at least eight tombs.⁴² It is tempting to see the two lists as a draft for a pair of division agreements between two heirs, like the one recorded on Papyrus BM EA 10612 (Andrews 30), but it is unclear how they relate to Panas, son of Espmetis.

2.1.6. Papyrus BM EA 10823 (P. Lond. III 1201)

The final three papyri in the archive directly or indirectly relate to Panas's activities as a lender. Papyrus BM EA 10823 (P. Lond. III 1201) is a notarial loan contract dated to year 20, Phaophi, day 2, of Ptolemy VI

34. Muhs and Scalf 2022, 16–19.

35. Andrews 1990, 29–30, and pls. 15–16, 19 (cat. 5).

36. Andrews 1990, 36–37 (cat. 8).

37. Lüddeckens 1960, 70–71 (Urk. 29).

38. Reich 1914, 73–77, and pls. 11–13, 19.

39. Ryholt 2022, 15–16.

40. Ryholt 2022, 3–6.

41. Ryholt 2022, 6–10.

42. Andrews 1990, 74–75, and pl. 62 (cat. 31).

and Cleopatra II (3 November 162 BCE). The first contractor is the herdsman, servant of Montu Lord of Hermonthis, Harsiesis, son of Kerkeris, his mother is Tausiris.⁴³ He addresses the second contractor, who is the woman, Ata, daughter of *P3-rmt-m3tn*,⁴⁴ her mother is Senthotes. Harsiesis acknowledges that he owes Ata 690 deben makes 3450 staters makes 690 deben again, and that he will pay it by year 20, Pachons, day 30 (28 June 161 BCE). If he does not, it will serve as payment for ten arouras of high land in the endowment of Montu in the field of Tarkutis in the northern houses in the west of the province of Pathyris. The contract was notarized by the scribe Harsiesis, son of Khonstephthnaxis, who wrote in the name of Osoroeris the elder called Amenothos, son of Espmetis, the prophet of Djeme.⁴⁵

This loan contract does not mention Panas, son of Espmetis, but it almost certainly belongs to his archive. The borrower and first contractor, Harsiesis, son of Kerkeris, wrote the contract for the lender and second contractor, Ata, daughter of *P3-rmt-m3tn*, to secure a loan of 690 deben with ten arouras of land. If Harsiesis repaid the loan, the contract would have been returned to him so Ata could not claim title to the land serving as security. If Harsiesis defaulted on the loan, the contract would have been given to Ata to provide title to the forfeited land. Harsiesis undoubtedly repaid the loan and received the contract back, however, because two years later Harsiesis used the same piece of land to secure a loan from Panas, son of Espmetis, in Papyrus BM EA 10824 (Lond. III 1202), something he could not do if the land had been forfeited. Harsiesis then defaulted on this loan and forfeited the land to Panas, along with loan contract Papyrus BM EA 10824 that gave title to the land. Panas would also have received Papyrus BM EA 10823 from Harsiesis at that time, as the new owner of the land.

2.1.7. Papyrus BM EA 10613 (Andrews 7)

Papyrus BM EA 10613 (Andrews 7) is a notarial loan contract dated to year 21, Pachons, day 24, of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II (22 June 160 BCE). The first contractor is again the herdsman, servant of Montu Lord of Hermonthis, Harsiesis, son of Kerkeris, his mother is Tausiris. He addresses the second contractor, who is the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panas, son of Espmetis, his mother is Senuris. Harsiesis acknowledges that he owes Panas 444 deben makes 2240 staters, and that he will pay it by year 22, Pachons, day 30 (28 June 159 BCE). If he does not, he will pay 1½ deben per 1 deben the following month, and all of his property is security for the loan (general liability). The contract was notarized by the scribe Paes, son of Petiesis, who wrote in the name of the woman of annuity, the daughter of a *wab*-priest, Senchonsis, daughter of the god's father Spotous, the (female) prophet of Djeme.⁴⁶ The use of general liability for a relatively large loan is unusual, as is the fact that Harsiesis wrote another loan contract (Papyrus BM EA 10824) for Panas before Papyrus BM EA 10613 was due, but there is no evidence that the loan of Papyrus BM EA 10824 was a renewal of the loan of Papyrus BM EA 10613.

2.1.8. Papyrus BM EA 10824 (Lond. III 1202)

Papyrus BM EA 10824 (Lond. III 1202) is a notarial loan contract dated to year 22, Tybi, day 10, of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II (8 February 159 BCE). The first contractor is again the herdsman, servant of Montu Lord of Hermonthis, Harsiesis, son of Kerkeris, his mother is Tausiris. He addresses the second contractor, who is again the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panas, son of Espmetis, his mother is Senuris. Harsiesis acknowledges that he owes Panas 592 deben makes 2960 staters makes 592 deben again, and that he will pay it by year 23, Khoiak, day 30 (29 January 158 BCE). If he does not, it will serve as payment for ten arouras of high land in the endowment of Montu in the field of Tarkutis in the northern houses. The con-

43. The edition incorrectly transliterates *Ta-iy-m-htp*, but correctly translates Tausiris; see *DemBL*, 695.

44. The edition read *P3-rmt-...?*, but see *DemBL*, 695.

45. Spiegelberg 1909, 92–95, and pls. 1–2.

46. Andrews 1990, 35–36, and pls. 20–22 (cat. 7).

tract was notarized by the scribe Paes, son of Petiesis, who writes in the name of the woman of annuity, the daughter of a *wab*-priest, Senchonsis, daughter of the god's father Spotous, the (female) prophet of Djeme.⁴⁷

2.2. The Adler Papyri of Panas, Son of Espmetis

I suggested in 2011 that a group of demotic papyri formerly in the possession of Adler (1861–1946) might have been part of the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis.⁴⁸ Adler famously acquired fifty-two Greek and demotic papyri from the archive of Horos, son of Nechoutes, from Pathyris in 1924.⁴⁹ Adler, John Gavin Tait, Fritz Heichelheim, and Francis Llewellyn Griffith published the archive in 1936, and Griffith mentioned that Adler also possessed several other unpublished demotic papyri, probably from Thebes, at least some of which dated to the early second century BCE.⁵⁰

The papyri in the Adler collection are said to have been found together in a pot, where no doubt they had been placed by the ancient owner to protect them from white ants. In addition to the contents of this pot Mr. Adler acquired from independent purchases some scraps which include a fragment of Arabic, a fragment of Coptic, and several pieces of demotic which may be attributed to Thebes.

From another source Mr. Adler also obtained a marriage settlement of year 6 Choiak 8 of Ptolemy [Philometor] (175, Jan. 11) naming Hippalos son of Soos (S's) as priest in the Thebais of Ptolemy [Soter, &c.], cf. Dem. Pap. Berl. Taf. 13–15, Nos. 3111, 3141.

Another has a date year 4 Mesore 28 of a Ptolemy, Philometor or later mentioning a choachyte Pane, son of Espmeti, and some land at Jeme.⁵¹

Others are from accounts with names (not of Gebelen type), and amounts in silver and dates of years 4, 5, 6, 7, 20, 37.

As Griffith noted, Adler permitted Reich to publish one of his Theban demotic papyri in 1936, which Reich called “the Elkan Adler Papyrus no. 31.”⁵² This was the papyrus that Griffith dated to “year 4 Mesore 28 of a Ptolemy, Philometor or later mentioning a choachyte Pane, son of Espmeti, and some land at Jeme.” Reich did not fully understand this papyrus, however, so it will be useful to present it here with some corrections before discussing its nature and date.⁵³

Papyrus Elkan Adler no. 31:

Right fragment: 17 cm high by 12 cm wide; Left fragment: 15.5 cm high by 5.5 cm wide.

1. *[ḥsb.t 4 ibt 4 šmw] sw '2'8 n pr-ꜥꜥ .w.s. [...]*
2. *[...]. pꜥ ntr mr mw.t=f [...].*
(space)
3. *[in? wꜥḥ]-mw Pa-nꜥ sꜥ Ns-pꜥ-mtr swn mḥ-[itn] 10 r*
4. *[mḥ]-ḥti 1000 r mḥ-itn 10 cꜥ n ḥn nꜥ wrḥ.[w Niw.t?] ḥ? ḥs.t Dmꜥ*
5. *[nꜥ] ḥyn.w rsy pꜥ mꜥꜥ [Pꜥ]-whr ḥnꜥ [...] Tꜥy-pꜥ*
6. *[mḥt] pꜥ mꜥꜥ n Pꜥ-tw-[... sꜥ?] Pꜥ-ti-ky? [(space)] ḥbt*

47. Spiegelberg 1909, 95–98, and pls. 3–4.

48. Muhs 2015, 89, 101–2.

49. Adler et al. 1936, 3.

50. Adler et al. 1936, 65.

51. “Since the above was written this fragment has been published by Professor Nathaniel Julius Reich as ‘The Elkan Adler Papyrus No. 31,’ in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVI.1 (1936), 258–71” (Adler et al. 1936, 65).

52. Reich 1936a, 258–71.

53. Kim Ryholt is preparing a new edition of this papyrus, and in the meantime I thank him for allowing me to consult the original on May 22–23, 2024.

7. [p₃] m³c n n³ gmi.w (space) [imnt] p₃ tw tmt n³ hyn.[w n?] p₃ mh-itn
8. 10 nt h_{ry} tr=w (space) mh=f sw n r h_w.t-n_{tr} (space)
9. sh Ns-mn s₃ Ns-p₃-mtr 'nt' iw n³ wrh.w Niw.t t₃? 'h₃s.t' Dm³
10. sh_n.t n=f hr h₃b.t 4.t sh h₃b.t 4 ibt 4 šmw sw 28
(space)
11. sh Hr-m-hb s₃ Nht-hr-m-hb
12. sh Pa-mn_t s₃ P₃-šr-mn_t
13. [sh ...]'dhwty?' s₃ Hr-[...]

1. [year 4, Mesore], day 28 of Pharaoh l.p.h. [Ptolemy l.p.h. ...]
2. [...]... the god who loves his mother [...].
(space)
3. [Has brought? the choa]chyte Panas, son of Espmetis, the price of 10 ground-cubits makes
4. 1000 square-[cubits] makes 10 ground-cubits again, in the vacant plots [of Thebes? in] the? necropolis of Djeme.
5. [The?] neighbors, south: the place of [P]ouoris and [his wife?] T₃y-p^c,
6. [north:] the place of Patou-[... son of?] P₃-ti-ky? [(space)], east:
7. [the] place of the young bulls, (space) [west:] the mountain, total of the neighbors [of?] the 10 ground-cubits
8. which are above entirely. (space) He has completed the price for the temple. (space)
9. Has written Esminis, son of Espmetis, to whom the vacant plots of Thebes in the? necropolis of Djeme
10. are appointed during year 4. Written in year 4, Mesore, day 28.
(space)
11. Has written Harmais, son of Nechtharmais.
12. Has written Pamonthes, son of Psenmonthes.
13. [Has written ...]-thotes?, son of Hor-[...].

Editorial Corrections:

1. The first sign of the cartouche surrounding the king's name is preserved, but not the king's name itself.
2. The determinative of an epithet following the king's name is preserved; see discussion below.
4. t₃? may be written before h₃s.t, cf. line 9, unread by ed.
5. [... s₃ ...]-p^c (ed.) reread as [...] T₃y-p^c. The feminine name suggests restoring "[his wife?]" in the break.
7. n³ gmi.w (ed. not translated) translate as "the young bulls" (Ray 1972, 310); see *DemBL*, 636.
9. n[t] hr, "who is in charge of" (ed.) reread as 'nt' iw, "to whom" resumed by n=f in line 10. iw is clear, contrast hr in line 10.
9. n t₃? appears to be written after Niw.t, unread by ed.
10. sh_n.t=f, "it was let on lease (to him)" (ed.) reread as sh_n.t n=f, "(to whom) are appointed," that is, he was the official responsible for collecting the price of burial plots in year 4.
10. sw 22 (ed.) reread as sw 28. Reich (1936a, 262) recognized that the days in lines 1 and 10 were written alike and should be read the same, but then he perversely chose to read the day in line 1 as [2]8, and the one in line 10 as 22. The reading 22 is however impossible in Ptolemaic demotic.
11. Hr-p₃-R^c (ed.) reread as Hr-m-hb in *DemNb* 1-11, 812.35; see *DemBL*, 636.
11. Ns-hr-p₃-h₃rt (ed.) reread as Nht-hr-m-hb in *DemNb* 1.10, 703.3; see *DemBL*, 636.

Papyrus Elkan Adler no. 31 is a receipt issued by temple officials to the choachyte Panas, son of Espmetis, for the purchase of a vacant plot located in a cemetery of burial-places in the necropolis of Djeme on the west bank of Thebes, presumably for the purpose of building another burial place. Reich recognized this already

in 1936,⁵⁴ but numerous parallels have been published since then, most of them written on ostraca, and most of them from the third century BCE, though a few examples from the second century BCE are also known. The third century BCE parallels usually indicate the price paid for the burial plot, which was fixed at 2½ silver kite, regardless of the size of the plot, which varied from forty-three square cubits to five ground cubits or five hundred square cubits.⁵⁵ The second century BCE parallels, like this receipt, do not indicate the price, and merely state that it has been paid.⁵⁶ Most of the second century BCE parallels combine the statement of payment with an order to bury,⁵⁷ which is absent from this receipt, but they date to the second half of the second century BCE, and thus are probably later than this receipt (for the date, see below).

The papyrus dates to year 4, Mesore, day 28, and the regnal date probably refers to Ptolemy VI Philometor (28 September 177 BCE). The name of the king is mostly lost except for the epithet *p3 ntr mr mw.t=f*, “the god Philometor.” Ptolemy VI occasionally used this epithet early in his reign,⁵⁸ after the death of his mother Cleopatra I in late year 3 (September 178 BCE),⁵⁹ and before his marriage to his sister Cleopatra II in mid-year 6 (spring 175 BCE). Thereafter the couple used the plural epithet *n3 ntr.w mr mw.t=w*, “the gods Philometor.”⁶⁰ Reich recognized this,⁶¹ but he read the determinative of [*p3 ntr mnḥ*] before *p3 ntr mr mw.t=f*, giving “[the god Euerget]es, the god Philometor,” and he thought that this combination would not appear together before the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II, to which he dated the papyrus (6 September 113 BCE).⁶² Reich’s proposed dating should be rejected, however. The determinative is hardly decisive and is contradicted by the singular “pharaoh l.p.h.” in line 1, because Ptolemy IX was junior coregent with his mother Cleopatra III, who appears first in dating formulas.

Based on his dating, Reich erroneously denied that the choachyte Panas, son of Espmetis, in this papyrus could be identified with the mortuary priest Panas, son of Espmetis, in Papyrus Lond. III 1202, dated to year 22, Tybi, day 10 of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II (8 February 159 BCE).⁶³ Rejecting Reich’s dating, however, makes the identification attractive and plausible. Furthermore, Reich also claimed that none of the officials and scribes named on the papyrus were known. Subsequent rereadings of the name and patronym of the first countersigner as Harmais, son of Nechtharmais, however, allow him to be identified with witness 5 in Papyrus BM EA 10721 and 10727 (Andrews 9), dated to year 24, Phaophi, day 6, of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (12 November 182 BCE).⁶⁴ This identification is plausible because temple funerary tax officials and scribes frequently served as witnesses to temple notary contracts.⁶⁵

The redating of Papyrus Elkan Adler No. 31 to Ptolemy VI, and the identification of the Panas, son of Espmetis, named therein with the mortuary priest Panas, son of Espmetis, raises the possibility that the other Theban demotic papyri in the collection of Elkan Adler mentioned by Griffith might also relate to Panas, son of Espmetis, and his archive. The marriage contract of year 6, Khoiak, day 7, of Ptolemy VI Philometor (11 January 175 BCE) certainly fits within the date range of other contracts in the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis. Furthermore, the “accounts with names (not of Gebelein type), and amounts of silver and dates of years 4, 5, 6, 7, 20, 37”⁶⁶ sound like the loan accounts of Panas, son of Espmetis, described in the next chapter, though the description is too vague for certainty.

54. Reich 1936a, 259–61, 266–67.

55. Vleeming 1994, 113–16; Muhs 2005a, 95–98; 2011, 176–83; Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, 60–63.

56. Devauchelle 1987, 141–60; Muhs 2003, 102–5.

57. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, 68.

58. Pestman 1967, 48; Lanciers 2020, 181–83.

59. Lanciers 2020, 183–84.

60. Pestman 1967, 48.

61. Reich 1936a, 266 n. 34.

62. Reich 1936a, 263–65.

63. Reich 1936a, 265–66.

64. Andrews 1990, 39, 41 n. 34 (cat. 9).

65. Muhs 2011, 238–51.

66. Adler et al. 1936, 65.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to examine these papyri to confirm or deny this. After Nathan Elkan Adler's death in 1946, his papyri were sold to the collector Martin Bodmer of Geneva in 1948. Bodmer in turn sold the Adler papyri in 1970 to the bookseller Hans Peter Kraus of New York in 1970, to help finance the creation of Bodmer's Foundation.⁶⁷ The late Professor Karl-Theodor Zauzich told me that he saw the Adler papyri when they were shipped to Kraus, and that at that time they included both the archive of Horos, son of Nechoutes, and the other Theban demotic papyri mentioned by Griffith.⁶⁸ Kraus however only mentioned the archive of Horos, son of Nechoutes, in one of his catalogues.⁶⁹ Kraus then sold the Adler papyri to the collector Martin Schøyen of Oslo in 1989, and they became his MSS 128–179. I inquired of Schøyen and he responded to me that they only consisted of the published Adler papyri.⁷⁰ Schøyen in turn auctioned the Adler papyri at Sotheby's on 10 July 2012, "The History of Script: Sixty Important Manuscript Leaves from the Schøyen Collection" (Sale L12242), Lot 2,⁷¹ and they were purchased by the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection at the University of Copenhagen. I enquired of Kim Ryholt and he confirmed to me that these only included the published Adler papyri, that is, the archive of Horos, son of Nechoutes, and Papyrus Elkan Adler no. 31.⁷² Consequently, the current location of the other unpublished Adler papyri is unknown.

2.3. The Loan-account Papyri of Panas, Son of Espmetis

I also suggested in 2011 that six demotic loan-account papyri in the British Museum, catalogued under inventory numbers EA 10556, 10557, and 10670, might also have been part of the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis.⁷³ The museum records for the loan-account papyri do not provide much information about their provenance and how they arrived in the British Museum, but photographic evidence suggests that they arrived around the same time as Pestman's archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, and the contents of the loan accounts demonstrate that they form a connected group that belonged to Panas, son of Espmetis.

2.3.1. Acquisition Records for the Loan-account Papyri

The British Museum records do not provide acquisition information for the loan-account papyri. Acquisition information for objects in the British Museum used to be recorded in a register book under the registration number for each object, but the registration numbers for these papyri lack the usual year-month-day prefix that gives the date of registration. Instead, they consist solely of the suffixes .10556, .10557, and .10670, which correspond to their inventory numbers (or Big. nos.). This suggests that the papyri were never entered into the register or that their registration numbers were lost and only their inventory numbers survived. The British Museum online collection database hints at some kind of confusion, because it comments about EA 10557 that "According to Birch slip this Big. no. corresponds to reg. no. 1911-01-12.3-6, however in relevant register these reg. nos. correspond to Big. no. EA 10555."⁷⁴

The inventory numbers or Big. nos. for the loan-account papyri reveal little about when they were acquired. Blocks of British Museum inventory numbers are reserved for different categories of objects and appear to be assigned sequentially. Comparison of inventory and complete registration numbers, however, indicates that objects were not always inventoried in the same order that they were registered, and sometimes long after they were registered. For example, a demotic papyrus from Pestman's archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, with registration number 1901-03-09.12 was assigned inventory number EA 10532A–B, while

67. Kraus 1978, 283.

68. Email of 22 August 2011.

69. Kraus n.d., 98–99 (no. 96).

70. Email of 18 March 2010.

71. I am grateful to Prof. K.-Th. Zauzich for drawing my attention to the auction: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/2012/the-history-of-script-sixty-important-manuscript-leaves-from-the-schyen-collection/overview.html>. Page no longer available.

72. Email of 19 October 2012.

73. Muhs 2015, 89, 93–101.

74. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10557.

other demotic papyri from Pestman's archive with registration numbers 1903-05-12.236-239 were assigned inventory numbers EA 10612–10615. In between, however, a demotic papyrus with registration number 1922-10-16.1 was assigned inventory number EA 10560.⁷⁵ This suggests that the British Museum inventory numbers between EA 10532 and 10615 were assigned in the early 1920s, even though many but not all of the papyri were acquired before the First World War.

Two of the inventory numbers for the loan-account papyri, EA 10556 and 10557, fall within this range, and consequently they too may have been assigned in the early 1920s. The inventory number EA 10670 was probably assigned somewhat later, but all of the loan-account papyri could have been acquired earlier. The proximity of inventory numbers EA 10556 and EA 10557 indicates that they were inventoried together, which could suggest but does not prove that they were acquired together. Inventory number EA 10670 could reflect a later acquisition date, or simply a longer delay before being inventoried, due to the smaller size and poorer preservation of its fragments.

The earliest written reference to the loan-account papyri appears to be an unpublished manuscript handlist of demotic papyri in the British Museum, which the Egyptologist Henry Francis Herbert Thompson (1859–1944) completed by about 1930.⁷⁶ I have not seen this handlist, but the British Museum online catalogue entry for papyrus BM EA 10556 apparently quotes it as Thompson's MS Catalogue:⁷⁷ "a Banker's or Moneylender's accounts with many references to pledges and guarantees for sums of money. Date. regnal years from 5 to 23 – no King named. Mid-Ptolemaic(?). Origin. from the names prob. Thebes or neighbourhood." The British Museum online catalogue entry for papyrus BM EA 10557 also quotes Thompson's MS Catalogue:⁷⁸ "similar accounts to those contained in no. 10556 – prob. an earlier sheet as the years run from 3 to 11."

There is however photographic evidence that the loan-account papyri were already in the British Museum before the First World War. The private records of the demoticist Nathaniel Julius Reich (1876–1943) are located in the archives at the library of the Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania (ARC MS 20), and one file (box 16, folder 14) contains photographs of Papyrus BM EA 10556.⁷⁹ The back of each photograph contains a faint stamp:⁸⁰

Artist Illustrators, Ltd.
66 Ludgate Hill
London, E.C.
Donald Macbeth

According to British Museum records, Macbeth made photographs for the British Museum between 1906 and 1932, but he was at 66 Ludgate Hill between 1904 and 1911,⁸¹ which suggests that Reich's photographs of Papyrus BM EA 10556 date no later than 1911.

2.3.2. The Loan-accounts Belong to Panas, Son of Espmetis

Fortunately, the contents of the loan-account papyri provide some information about their probable provenance. The loan-account papyri clearly belong together because loan entries on one papyrus are frequently copied on another papyrus. Furthermore, the loans were probably made by a single individual, Panas or more fully Panas, son of Espmetis, who is named as account holder on most of the papyri. Papyrus BM EA 10670A, fragment 1a recto begins in column 1 with the label "[The] account of Panas" (line 1,1: [p] ip Pa-ni). Its clean copy, Papyrus BM EA 10557, also begins in column 1 with the label "The account of Panas" (line 1,1:

75. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10560.

76. Glanville 1944, 67–68.

77. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10556-1.

78. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10557.

79. https://findingaids.library.upenn.edu/records/UPENN_CAJS_CJS.ARCMS20.

80. Pers. comm. on 21 February 2024 by Dr. Bruce Nielsen, Judaic public services librarian and archivist, library at the Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

81. <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BLOG84633>.

p3 ip n Pa-n3). No labels survive for papyrus BM EA 10670B, but some of its accounts are copied in papyrus BM EA 10556A, which begins in column 1 with the label “The account of Panas” (line 1,1: *p3 ip n Pa-n3.w*). The beginning of papyrus BM EA 10556A is copied in papyrus BM EA 10556B, which begins in column 20 with the label “The account of Panas, son of Espmetis” (line 20,1: *p3 ip n Pa-n3 s3 Ns-p3-mty*). Papyrus BM EA 10670C, fragment 6b recto begins in column 1 with the label “The account of Panas, son of Espmetis” (line 1,1: *p3 ip n Pa-n3 s3 Ns-p3-mty*). Papyrus BM EA 10670C, fragment 5 verso begins in column 1 “Year 23 the account of the seed of Panas” (line 1,1: *p3 ip? n3 prw? n Pa-n3*), followed by grain loan accounts. Column 3 in the same papyrus fragment 5 verso begins “An account of money of wine in the hand of Panas” (line 3,1: *wC ip n h3d.w irp n-dr.t Pa-n3*), followed by wine loan-accounts reckoned in money.

There are a couple of other references to accounts in the papyri, but they do not seem to refer to primary account holders. Papyrus BM EA 10556B, column 23 begins with the label “[The] account which Pamomnasis? made for *Wn-mw.t*?” (line 23,1: [*p3 i*] *p i.ir Pa-mnn-n-s? (n?) Wn-mw.t?*). The label could suggest that Pamonnasis or *Wn-mw.t* was a lender, but the column consists of only five lines referring to a single loan. Papyrus BM EA 10670B, fragment 3b recto, column 6 contains an entry “Another account of Panechutes, son of Pchorchonis” (line 6,9: *ky ip Pa-n3-h3t(.w) s3 P3-h3l-h3nsw*). The following line continues “60 [deben] in year 20, Phaophi, each makes 2 kite” (line 6,10: [*h3d*] *60 n h3sb.t 20 ibt 2 h3t tn ir h3d-kt? 2*), however, which suggests that Panechutes, son of Pchorchonsis, was the borrower rather than a lender.

The account holder Panas, son of Espmetis, is probably identical to the mortuary priest and lender Panas, son of Espmetis, known from his archive of eight demotic and Greek papyri from Ptolemaic Thebes dating from 209 BCE to 159 BCE, first identified by Pestman in 1995.⁸² Not only are the names and patronyms of the account holder and the archive holder the same, but the loan account on Papyrus BM EA 10557, column 2, line 24, records a loan to “Harsiesis, son of Kerkeris, year 7, Phaophi, 120 deben,” and three papyri in the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, also record loans to Harsiesis, son of Kerkeris: Papyrus BM EA 10823 (P. Lond. III 1201), dated to year 20, Phaophi 2 of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II his sister (3 November 162 BCE);⁸³ Papyrus EA BM 10613 (Andrews 7), dated to year 21, Pachons 24 of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II his sister (22 June 160 BCE);⁸⁴ and Papyrus BM EA 10824 (P. Lond. III 1202), dated to year 22, Tybi 10 of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II his sister (8 February 159 BCE).⁸⁵

2.4. Archive or Archives of Panas, Son of Espmetis?

The preceding descriptions and discussions of the three groups of papyri attributed to Panas, son of Espmetis, have demonstrated that all three are likely to have belonged to him and to have come from Thebes in the second century BCE. Most well-preserved documentary papyri from Ptolemaic Thebes survived as parts of archives, so it is likely that these three groups of papyri did as well. It is tempting to attribute them all to a single archive belonging to Panas, son of Espmetis, but individuals with archives of their own occasionally gave one or more of their papyri to others for safekeeping, so that their papyri are known from multiple archives.⁸⁶ None of the find circumstances for any of the three groups of papyri are known, so it remains unclear whether they were found together in one archive or in two or three separate archives.

The acquisition and attestation dates for the papyri are equally ambiguous. The apparent disparity of dates could suggest that they came from at least two archives, one found before the First World War, and one found later. Pestman’s archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, was acquired by the British Museum and Library

82. Pestman 1995a, 93 n. d.

83. Spiegelberg 1909, 92–95, and pls. 1–2.

84. Andrews 1990, 35–36, and pls. 20–22 (cat. 7).

85. Spiegelberg 1909, 95–98, and pls. 3–4.

86. E.g., among the archives of mortuary priests in early Ptolemaic Thebes one finds P. Phil. 12, a lease contract between Teineni daughter of Teos and her sister, which was kept in the archives of Teos son of Osoroeris and Psenminis son of Bel, rather than in her own archive; and P. Libbey, the marriage document of Teos and Thabis, which was probably kept in the archive of Teineni daughter of Teos, rather than in their own archive; see Muhs 2005a, 130–31.

in 1901,⁸⁷ and 1903,⁸⁸ and the loan-accounts of Panas were in the British Museum by 1911, whereas the Adler papyri of Panas, son of Espmetis, were first mentioned in writing in 1936.⁸⁹ The apparent disparity of acquisition and attestation dates may be an illusion, however. Griffith and Reich first mention the Adler papyri of Panas in 1936,⁹⁰ but Adler is known to have acquired the archive of Horos son of Nechoutes in 1924,⁹¹ and he may have acquired the Panas papyri earlier than that. It is therefore possible that all three groups of papyri came from a single archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, but it is not certain.

87. Andrews 1990, 74 (cat. 31).

88. Andrews 1990, 29 (cat. 5), 31 (cat. 6), 35 (cat. 7), 73 (cat. 30); http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_1200. Page no longer available after ransomware attack on 28 October 2023.

89. Adler et al. 1936, 65; Reich 1936a, 258–71.

90. Adler et al. 1936, 65; Reich 1936a, 258–71.

91. Adler et al. 1936, 3.

CHAPTER 3

THE FAMILY OF PANAS, SON OF ESPMETIS

This chapter reconstructs the family of Panas, son of Espmetis, using information from his own archive(s) of papyri, and from archives of other mortuary priests in Thebes in the third and second centuries BCE. The chapter then situates Panas and his family in the broader context of Ptolemaic Theban history.

3.1. Panas's Father Espmetis

Panas's contracts regularly identify his father as Espmetis. A mortuary priest Espmetis, son of Panas, is known from demotic Papyrus Vienna KHM 6052, dated to year 8, Phamenoth, of Ptolemy III Euergetes (20 April–19 May 239 BCE). The pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Pchorchonsis, son of Panas, his mother is Tathotes, sells a tomb to his brother, the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Espmetis, son of Panas, his mother is Tathotes.¹ A mortuary priest Espmetis, son of Panas, is also known from demotic Papyrus BM EA 10388 (Andrews 2), dated to year 24, Tybi, of Ptolemy III Euergetes (15 February–16 March 223 BCE). The pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Espmetis, son of Panas, his mother is Tathotes, sells land for a tomb in the necropolis of Djeme to the Greek Dionysios called Petosiris, son of Ptolemaios, his mother is *Tj-hny*, and agrees to serve as choachyte for the tomb.² It is tempting to attribute these two papyri to the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, inherited from his father. The archive of Panas, son of Espmetis, was acquired by the British Museum from Murch in Egypt in 1901 and 1903, and Papyrus Vienna KHM 6052 was probably acquired by J. Krall in Egypt in 1885, so it is just plausible that they came from the same find. Papyrus BM EA 10388 was acquired by the British Museum from the Robert Hay collection in 1868, however, and Robert Hay was last in Egypt in 1834, which is far too early to have been part of the archive of Panas, son of Espmetis.

Espmetis, son of Panas, is also known from several demotic ostraca relating to the activities of mortuary priests.³ Ostrakon Birbeh 4, dated to year 20, Phaophi, day 24, probably of Ptolemy III (11 December 228 BCE) is a burial tax receipt issued to Espmetis, son of Panas.⁴ Ostrakon Birbeh 3, dated to year 24, Mesore, day 21, probably of Ptolemy III (3 October 223 BCE) is a double burial tax receipt, both issued to Espmetis, son of Panas.⁵ Ostrakon Louvre Dem. 314, no date, is a burial plot receipt issued to Espmetis, son of Panas.⁶ Ostrakon Zürich 1869, no date, is an account of rations naming Espmetis, son of Panas, as well as Pchorchonsis, son of Panas, presumably his brother.⁷

Espmetis, son of Panas, his brother Pchorchonsis, son of Panas, and their common ancestors are well known from the papyrus archive of Pechutes, son of Pchorchonsis. It consists of twenty-two papyri dating from year 2 of Darius III to year 14 of Chaonnophris (334–191 BCE). Nineteen papyri in the Louvre and one in Marseille were acquired from the Clot-Bey collection between 1853 and 1861, while two papyri in the British Museum were acquired from the Hay collection in 1868.

1. Bresciani 1969, 35–42.

2. Andrews 1990, 22–24, pls. 8–10 (cat. 2).

3. Muhs 2005a, 126–27 (taxpayer 39); 2011, 270 (taxpayer 39).

4. Devauchelle 1998, 145, 148; name reread in Muhs 2005a, 127 n. 842.

5. Devauchelle 1998, 142–44, 149; name reread in Muhs 2005a, 127 n. 843.

6. Devauchelle 1983, 168–69, pl. 49; Muhs 2005a, 98 n. 716, 127 n. 844.

7. Wängstedt 1965, 37–38, pl. 5 (no. 30); republished as Muhs 2011, 208–9 (no. 156).

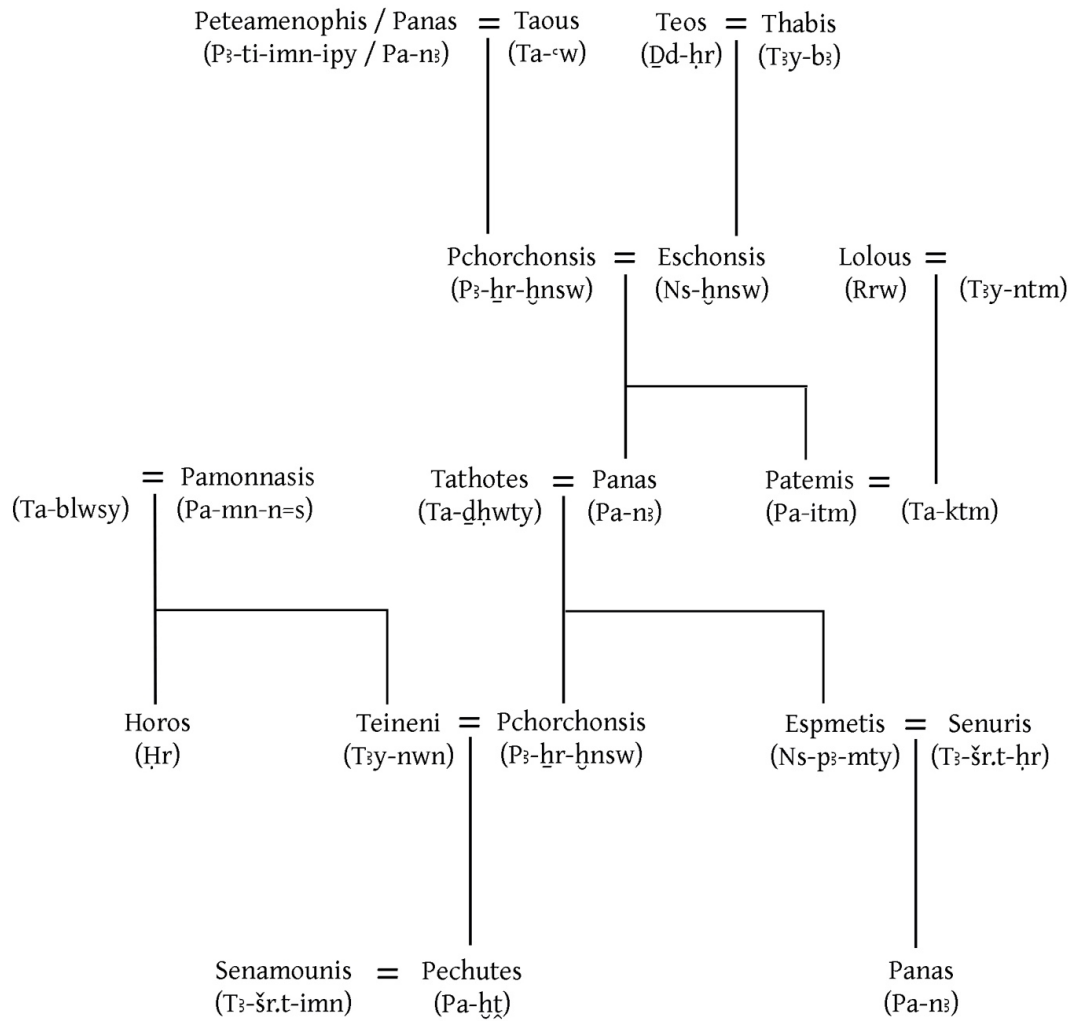


Figure 3.1. Family tree of Panas's father Espmetis.

3.2. Panas's Mother Senuris

Panas's contracts regularly identify his mother as Senuris. A woman named Senuris, daughter of Thotsutmis, appears in Panas's archive in Papyrus Lond. III 1200, dated to year 14, Thoth, day 7, probably of Ptolemy IV (20 October 209 BCE). The papyrus records the purchase of a house, and its presence in Panas's archive suggests that Senuris, daughter of Thotsutmis, could be the same person as Panas's mother Senuris. A woman named Senmouthis, daughter of Thotsutmis, her mother is Tabastis, also appears in Panas's archive in Papyrus BM EA 10615 (Andrews 6), dated to year 7, Thoth, day 16 of Ptolemy VI (21 October 175 BCE).⁸ The papyrus records that Senmouthis ceded nearly a hundred tombs to Panas, which makes sense if Senmouthis was a sister of Panas's mother Senuris. A man named Peteminis, son of Thotsutmis, his mother is Tabastis, appears in Papyrus EA BM 10831 (Andrews 19), dated to year 7, Phaophi, of Chaonnophris (12 November–10 December 199 BCE).⁹ A pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Amenotheres, son

8. Andrews 1990, 31–34 (cat. 6).

9. Andrews 1990, 57–59 (cat. 19), date corrected in Pestman 1995a, 98.

of Thotsutmis, his mother is Timounis, owes one and a half artabas of wheat and three and a half artabas of barley to the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Peteminis, son of Thotsutmis. Pestman suggested that Panas paid the debt for Amenopes and that Amenopes then gave this papyrus to Panas along with a group of tombs sold and ceded to Panas in Papyrus BM EA 10830 (Andrews 3), discussed further below.¹⁰ The link to Panas suggests that Peteminis could have been a brother of Panas's mother Senuris. If so, then Senuris, Senmouthis, and Peteminis might have been children of the mortuary priest Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, who is known to have been married to a woman named Tabastis when he died around 214 BCE.¹¹

The mortuary priest Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, is well known from his own ostraca archive, as well as from the ostraca archive of his brother Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, and the papyrus archive of his nephew Panouphis, son of Psenenteris. The papyrus archive of Panouphis, son of Psenenteris, consists of three papyri dating from year 17 of Ptolemy III Euergetes to year 8 of Ptolemy IV Philopator (230–214 BCE). Two and a half papyri in the British Museum were purchased from the Anastasi collection at his sale in London in 1839, and the other half papyrus in Berlin was purchased from the Anastasi collection at his sale in Paris in 1857.¹² The ostraca archive of Psenenteris, son of Panouphis, consists of eleven ostraca dating between years 21 and 26 of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Ten ostraca in the Brooklyn Museum were acquired by Anderson in 1848,¹³ and one in the Smithsonian was acquired by Samson also in 1848.¹⁴ The ostraca archive of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis, consists of forty-two ostraca dating between year 24 of Ptolemy II and year 19 of Ptolemy III. The ostraca were found during excavations by Ambrose Lansing in western Thebes in 1915–16.¹⁵

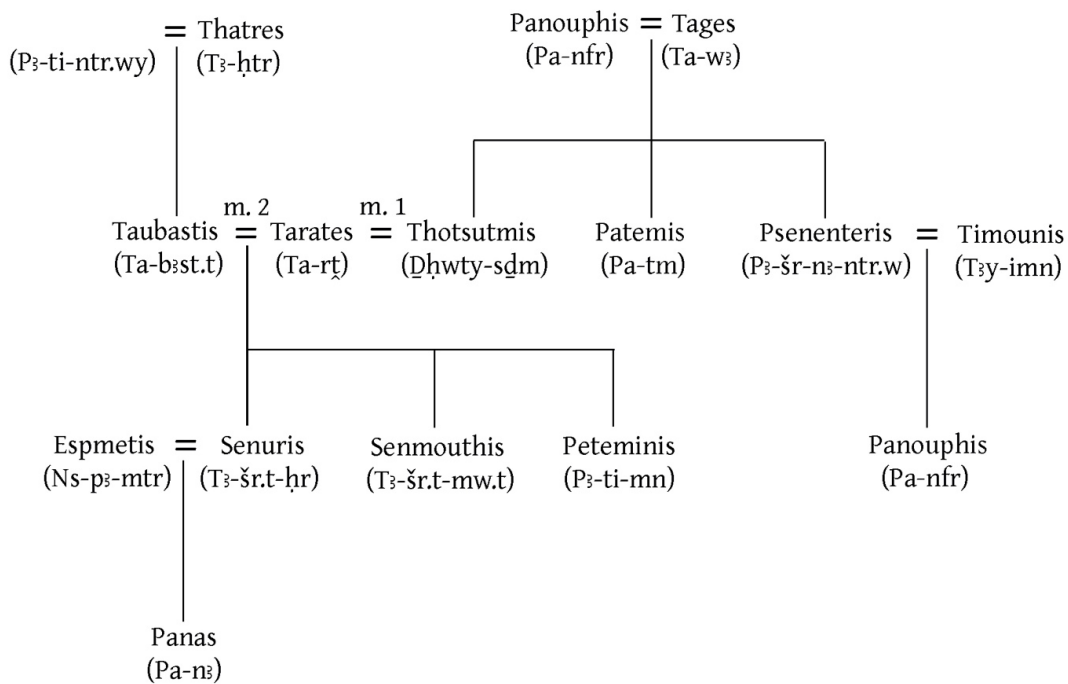


Figure 3.2. Family tree of Panas's mother Senuris.

10. Pestman 1995a, 98 n. 17.

11. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, 19–21, 26–27.

12. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, 19–21.

13. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, 16 and 23.

14. Muhs 2022, 125–29 (text no. 16).

15. Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, *passim*.

3.3. Panas

Panas, son of Espmetis, frequently appears in papyri from archives of other mortuary priests, notably that of “the anonym.” Papyrus BM EA 10830 (Andrews 3), dated to year 8, Hathyr, of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (11 December 198–9 January 197 BCE) is a sale and cession of tombs by the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Amenotheres, son of Thotsutmis, his mother is Timounis, to the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panas, son of Espmetis, his mother is Senuris.¹⁶ Pestman suggested that Amenotheres, son of Thotsutmis, his mother is Timounis, may have been in debt to Panas’s mother’s brother Peteminis the previous year, in Papyrus BM EA 10831 (Andrews 19), dated to year 7, Phaophi, of Chaonnophris (12 November–10 December 199 BCE), see above, and that the sale and cession of tombs in Papyrus BM EA 10830 (Andrews 3) might have been part of the payment for the debt in Papyrus BM EA 10831 (Andrews 19).¹⁷ Papyrus BM EA 10839 (Andrews 4), date lost, probably of Chaonnophris, is a cession of these same tombs by the pastophoros of Amenope in the west of Thebes, Panas, son of Espmetis, to an individual whose name is lost, “the anonym.”¹⁸ Presumably Papyrus BM EA 10830 (Andrews 3) and Papyrus BM EA 10831 (Andrews 19) were transferred to “the anonym” at the same time, as previous title documents for the same tombs. Papyrus BM EA 10832 (Andrews 8), no date, is an oath sworn by Totoes, son of Totoes, for Panas, son of Espmetis, about a cession that Totoes caused Amenotheres, son of Harsiesis, to make for Panas.¹⁹ It is unclear why this papyrus ended up in the archive of “the anonym” because Amenotheres, son of Harsiesis, did cede some tombs to Panas, son of Espmetis, in Papyrus BM EA 10614 (Andrews 5), dated to year 7, Thoth, day 16 of Ptolemy VI (21 October 175 BCE), which did end up in Panas’s archive.²⁰

3.4. Panas’s Wife Tathotes

Panas’s archive does not identify his wife, but a papyrus from the communal archive of the Theban choachytes from the second century BCE does. The unpublished demotic Papyrus Amherst 51 (Survey 15), dated to year 30, Khoiak, day 20, of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III (14 January 140 BCE), is an agreement to divide inherited property between the grandchildren of Panas, son of Espmetis.²¹ It refers to the women Senuris and Senthotes as daughters of Panas, son of Espmetis and of Tathotes, thereby identifying Panas’s wife as Tathotes.²² A woman named Tathotes appears in Panas’s archive in Papyrus BM EA 10612 (Andrews 30), dated to year 6, Payni, day 11, presumably of Ptolemy VI (13 July 175 BCE).²³ The papyrus records an agreement between Tathotes and her sister Senthotes to divide some tombs. The presence of this papyrus in Panas’s archive makes sense if Tathotes was Panas’s wife, and Senthotes was her sister. Papyrus BM EA 10612 (Andrews 30) does not give the names of Tathotes’s and Senthotes’s parents, but it does suggest that they were mortuary priests, since Tathotes and Senthotes inherited tombs from them.

3.5. Panas’s Children Senuris and Senthotes

Panas’s archive does not mention his children, but they appear in a papyrus from the communal archive of the Theban choachytes from the second century BCE. Papyrus Amherst 51, mentioned above (§3.4), refers to the children and grandchildren of Panas and Tathotes.²⁴ Panas and Tathotes evidently had two daughters, the woman Senuris, daughter of Panas, and the woman Senthotes, daughter of Panas, who had both died

16. Andrews 1990, 25–28 (cat. 3).

17. Pestman 1995a, 98 n. 17.

18. Andrews 1990, 28–29 (cat. 4).

19. Andrews 1990, 36–37 (cat. 8).

20. Pestman 1995a, 96–97.

21. Pestman 1987, 67 (ex. 16a–b), 70 (ex. 27a–c); 1993, 85–86 (no. 15).

22. Pestman 1993, 24, 85 (text 15), 292 (Senhuris (a)), and 294 (Senthotis (c)).

23. Andrews 1990, 73–74 (cat. 30).

24. Pestman 1987, 67 (ex. 16a–b), 70 (ex. 27a–c); 1993, 85–86 (no. 15).

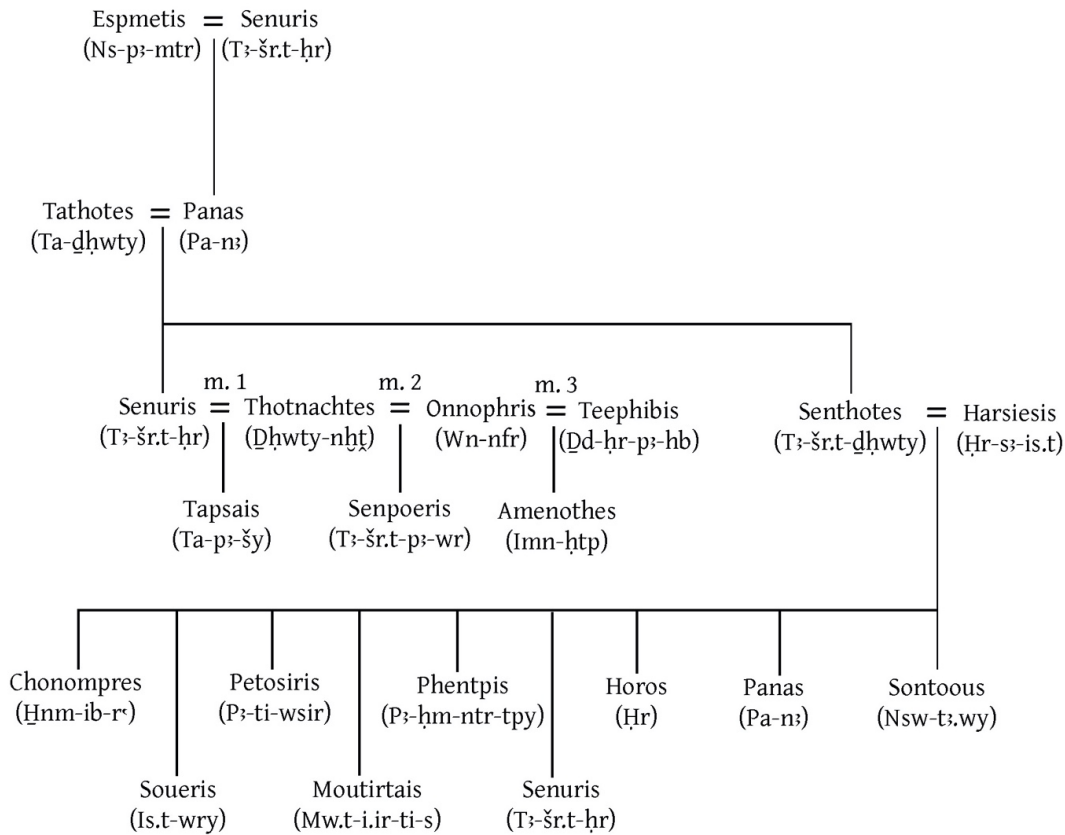


Figure 3.3. Family tree of Panas's children Senuris and Senthotes.

by the time Papyrus Amherst 51 was written.²⁵ Presumably the daughters were named after Panas's mother and Tathotes's sister respectively. The elder daughter Senuris had three children with three different husbands.²⁶ Papyrus Amherst 51 names her children as the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Amenonthes, son of Teephibis; the woman Tapsais, daughter of Thotnachthes; and the woman Senpoeris, daughter of Onnophris.²⁷ The younger daughter Senthotes married Harsiesis and probably had nine children.²⁸ One of them, the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Chonompres, son of Harsiesis, his mother is Senthotes, represented his brothers and sisters in Papyrus Amherst 51.²⁹

The children of Senthotes and Harsiesis appear in several other papyri from the communal archive of the Theban choachytes from the second century BCE. The unpublished demotic papyrus Amherst 62a (Survey 77), date lost, is an agreement by the heirs of Harsiesis (here called Harpaesis) to divide a house.³⁰ Four heirs share the upper story: Phentpis and Panas, sons of Harpaesis; Soueris, daughter of Harpaesis; and Sensontoous, daughter of Sontoous, presumably a granddaughter. Four more heirs share the lower story: Horos (son of Harpaesis) and Senuris (daughter of Harpaesis), and two others whose names are lost, probably Chonompres, son of Harpaesis; and Moutirtais, daughter of Harpaesis. A ninth heir, Petosiris,

25. Pestman 1993, 24, and 85–86 (text 15).

26. Pestman 1993, 24, and 292 (Senhuris (a)).

27. Pestman 1993, 85–86 (no. 15).

28. Pestman 1993, 24, and 294 (Senthotis (c)).

29. Pestman 1993, 85–86 (text 15).

30. Pestman 1993, 231–32 (text 77).

son of Harpaesis, receives money instead of his one-ninth share of the house. Papyrus Amherst 62a should date before Papyrus Naples 8414 (Survey 24 = Tor. Choachiti 13), dated to year 44, Pachons, day 25, of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III (15 June 126 BCE), which refers to only six children, namely Chonompres, Petosiris, Phentpis, Horos, and Panas, sons of Harsiesis, and Soueris, daughter of Harsiesis.³¹ The other three children were not necessarily deceased, however, because one of them appears in the unpublished demotic papyrus Amherst 61 (Survey 53), dated to year 4, Hathyr, day 10, probably of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter (29 November 114 BCE).³² It is an oath sworn by Chonompres, son of Harsiesis, for his sister Moutirtais, daughter of Harsiesis, regarding a share of mummies inherited from Harsiesis and Senthotes.

3.6. Panas, Son of Espmetis, in Historical Context

The documents of Panas, son of Espmetis, and his family almost never explicitly describe their historical circumstances, but they can be supplemented and contextualized by the history of Thebes and Egypt constructed from other sources. Revolts and invasions help explain some significant gaps in the Panas's documentation.

Panas, son of Espmetis, produced documents between 198 BCE and 158 BCE, a span of forty years. He was probably born at least a decade before his first document, however, since he was able to legally represent himself in 198 BCE, and he could have been born several years earlier than that.³³ Panas's father Espmetis produced documents between 239 BCE and 223 BCE, though his last date may in part reflect the disappearance of tax receipts on durable potsherds from Thebes in the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 BCE). Panas's mother Senuris produced one document in 209 BCE, a tax receipt on papyrus.

Panas's family does not seem to have produced many documents during the Theban revolt (205–186 BCE). During this period, Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 BCE) lost control of the Levant to the Seleucids during the Fifth Syrian War, and he lost control of Upper Egypt to an indigenous king or kings named Horwennefer or Hurgonnophris, and Ankhwennefer or Chaonnophris, whose regnal years ran concurrently with those of Ptolemy V. He also lost control of Lower Nubia to the Meroite kingdom, due to the intervening revolt in Upper Egypt. Panas's maternal uncle made a grain loan in 199 BCE, and Panas received tombs from the borrower the following year in 198 BCE. It may be significant that Panas's sole document produced during the Theban revolt dates to a period when Ptolemaic troops briefly regained control of Thebes.

Panas resumed producing documents during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–164, 163–145 BCE), several years after the Ptolemies definitively retook Thebes in 191 BCE, and after they captured Chaonnophris in 186 BCE. Panas's first group of loans began in 180 BCE and ended in 169 BCE. Most of Panas's documents relating to his activities as mortuary priest date between 177 and 175 BCE. Several documents were made for his wife in 175 BCE, suggesting that Panas married around that time if not before.

Panas's first group of loans abruptly ended in 169 BCE, almost exactly when Antiochus IV invaded Egypt and threatened the existence of the Ptolemaic state. The Sixth Syrian War ended one year later in 168 BCE, when the Romans ordered Antiochus IV to leave Egypt, but it was followed by a revolt led by Dionysios Petosarapis around 168–164 BCE, and then a dispute between Ptolemy VI and his coregent Ptolemy VIII Euergetes in 164–163 BCE. There may also have been several bad harvests and famines, possibly the result of a series of volcanic eruptions between 168 and 158 BCE.³⁴ Nonetheless, Panas's second and third groups of loans date between 166 and 158 BCE, suggesting that having avoided conquest, the Ptolemaic state was able to manage and limit the effects of the revolt, the dispute between the coregents, and the possible famines.

31. Pestman 1992, 198–205 (no. 13); 1993, 103–5 (text 24).

32. Pestman 1993, 177–79 (text 53).

33. P. Berlin P. 3115, text A, paragraph 1, lines 2–4, states that family members of the choachytes who reach ten years of age may join the professional association of the choachytes, and that family members who reach sixteen years of age must join the association; see De Cenival 1972, 15, 148–49.

34. Manning et al. 2017, 6; Singh et al. 2023, 267–68.

Food crises in particular were liable to be ameliorated or exacerbated by the human responses to them.³⁵ There are no surviving legal documents from this period recording any activity by Panas as a mortuary priest, however.

Panas's latest documents are loan accounts dated to 158 BCE. His archive, or at least the part that has survived, was presumably abandoned soon afterward. Panas may have died and abandoned his entire archive at that point, or he could have discarded his documents up to that point and continued working. Panas, his wife Tathotes, and their daughters Senuris and Senthotes all appear to have died by 140 BCE, however, when their estate was divided between the children of Senuris and Senthotes.

Dates:

- 20 April–19 May 239 BCE = year 8, Phamenoth, Ptolemy III
 - Pchorchonsis, son of Panas, sells a tomb to his brother, Panas's father Espmetis.³⁶
- 11 December 228 BCE = year 20, Phaophi, day 24
 - Panas's father Espmetis pays a burial tax.³⁷
- 15 February–16 March 223 BCE = year 24, Tybi, Ptolemy III
 - Panas's father Espmetis sells a tomb to Dionysios/Petosiris, son of Ptolemaios.³⁸
- 3 October 223 BCE = year 24, Mesore, day 21
 - Panas's father Espmetis pays two burial taxes.³⁹
- Circa October–December 222 BCE = year 26 = year 1, Thoth–Hathyr
 - Death of Ptolemy III, accession of Ptolemy IV.
- 22 June 217 BCE
 - Fourth Syrian War, Battle of Raphia, Ptolemaic victory.⁴⁰
- 20 October 209 BCE = year 14, Thoth, day 7
 - Panas's mother Senuris daughter of Thotsutmis buys a house.⁴¹
- Circa 13 October–10 November 205 BCE = year 18 = year 1, Thoth
 - Theban revolt, Hurgonnophris becomes king at Thebes and is recognized as far north as Abydos and as far south as Pathyris, Ptolemaic soldiers flee to Aswan and Elephantine.⁴²
- Circa July–August 204 BCE = year 18 = year 1, Pachons–Epeiph
 - Death of Ptolemy IV in his year 18, accession of Ptolemy V.
- Summer 200 BCE
 - Fifth Syrian War, Battle of Panion, Seleucid victory.⁴³
- Circa 12 October–10 November 199 BCE = year 7, Thoth
 - Hurgonnophris is succeeded by, or changes his name to, Chaonnophris.⁴⁴
- 11 November–10 December 199 BCE = year 7, Phaophi, Chaonnophris
 - Panas's maternal uncle Peteminis, son of Thotsutmis, lends to Amenotches, son of Thotsutmis.⁴⁵
- Circa 11 December 199–9 January 198 BCE
 - Ptolemaic forces briefly retake Thebes.⁴⁶

35. Garnsey 1988, *passim*.

36. P. Vienna KHM 6052; see Bresciani 1969, 35–42.

37. O. Birbeh 4; see Devauchelle 1998, 145, 148; name reread in Muhs 2005a, 127 n. 842.

38. P. BM EA 10388; see Andrews 1990, 22–24, pls. 8–10 (cat. 2).

39. O. Birbeh 3; see Devauchelle 1998, 142–44, 149; name reread in Muhs 2005a, 127 n. 843.

40. Hölbl 2003, 129–32; Grainger 2010, 195–218.

41. P. Lond. III 1200; see Kenyon and Bell 1907, 2–3.

42. Pestman 1995b, 104–5.

43. Hölbl 2003, 136–37; Grainger 2010, 245–71.

44. Pestman 1995b, 107.

45. P. BM EA 10831; see Andrews 1990, 57–59 (cat. 19); date corrected in Pestman 1995a, 98.

46. Pestman 1995b, 105–7.