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## The girls next door : marriage patterns among the mortuary priests in early Ptolemaic Thebes

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Brian Muhs

**THE GIRLS NEXT DOOR**  
**MARRIAGE PATTERNS AMONG THE MORTUARY PRIESTS**  
**IN EARLY PTOLEMAIC THEBES<sup>1</sup>**

A NUMBER OF PRIVATE ARCHIVES of Demotic papyri are known from Thebes in the Early Ptolemaic Period (332 – ca 200 BC). Several of these private archives belonged to families of mortuary priests, who received revenues in return for caring for mummies in the western necropolis, and some of these private archives contain information about a neighbourhood where many of the mortuary priests lived, known as the ‘House of the Cow’. This article will utilize information from the long neglected archive of Panouphis and Senatumis to expand on previous reconstructions of the ‘House of the Cow’. The new reconstruction of the neighbourhood will then be used to argue that mortuary priests usually married the daughters of other mortuary priests, and often their

<sup>1</sup> This article grew out of research for a review of M. DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Monographies Reine Élisabeth 8), Turnhout 2000, published in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 61 (2004), pp. 289–292. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Colloquium *Alltag am Nil, nach Papyri, Inschriften und Ostraka, Marburg 2–3 October 2004*, on the occasion of 80th birthday of Prof. Dr. Ursula KAPLONY-HECKEL. The author wishes to thank those present for their comments, and particularly Prof. Dr. Hans-Albrecht RUPPRECHT for his response, in which he called attention to the parallels to brother-sister marriage in Roman Egypt. The author would also like to thank the *Gratama Stichting* for its financial support of the project *Law, Life and Death in Late Pharaonic and Early Ptolemaic Egypt*.

neighbours, the 'girls next door'. Finally, it will be suggested that these marriage patterns were intended to counteract the progressive fragmentation of property holdings through radical partable inheritance.

## I. THE ARCHIVE OF PANOUPHIS AND SENATUMIS

Nathaniel Reich recognised already in 1914 the close relationship between the six papyri that I refer to as the private archive of Panouphis and Senatumis.<sup>2</sup> Because Reich did not explicitly call this group of papyri a private archive, however, it will be useful to examine the evidence for doing so. Exactly what constitutes a private archive is subject to debate.<sup>3</sup> I use this term to refer to ancient and deliberate collections of papyri, such as the archive of Psenminis son of Bel, that was discovered intact in two jars during excavations in 1922 in Theban Tomb 156;<sup>4</sup> or the archive of Teos and Thabis, that was acquired nearly intact in three linen bags in 1972.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, many more apparently ancient and deliberate collections of papyri, including the papyri that I refer to as the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis, seem to have been dispersed by dealers before their contents were inventoried. Nonetheless, using intact archives as models, such dispersed archives can sometimes be tentatively reconstructed on the basis of the internal evidence and the acquisition information of papyri, as will now be attempted with the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis.

### *I.A. Internal Evidence*

Intact archives provide a model of how internal evidence can be used to determine whether papyri belong together to form an archive. For exam-

<sup>2</sup> N. REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum (Denkschrift der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 55, Abh. 3)*, Wien 1914, pp. 43–68.

<sup>3</sup> A. MARTIN, 'Archives privées et cachettes documentaires', [in:] A. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23–29 August 1992*, Copenhagen 1994, pp. 569–577.

<sup>4</sup> S. R. K. GLANVILLE, *A Theban Archive of the Reign of Ptolemy I, Soter (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 1)*, London 1939, p. xx n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos* (cit. n. 1), p. 3.

ple, intact archives often consist of one or more groups of documents concerning the title of one or more groups of property.<sup>6</sup> The relationship between such groups of title documents and the archive as a whole is usually clear: new owners of properties received new title documents each time the properties were transferred, as well as all the old title documents made concerning the same properties, except in the case of simple inheritance, for which no new title documents were necessary.<sup>7</sup> Thus the last person for whom new title documents were made was the last owner of the properties and the archive, unless they were subsequently transferred by simple inheritance. Intact archives sometimes also contain documents whose relationship to the archive as a whole is less clear, however. Marriage contracts and transfers of property associated with marriage, for example, spelled out the obligations of husbands to their wives, and therefore wives normally did not preserve such documents at home within the reach of their husbands in case of a dispute, but rather kept them in the archives of relatives or neighbours, at least until their marriage ended or their husbands passed away.<sup>8</sup>

The internal evidence of the six papyri that I refer to as the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis is more or less consistent with the model provided by intact archives. All of the papyri were drawn up either for the benefit of the woman Tanouphis daughter of Amenothès, or for the benefit of one or the other of her three children, Panouphis son of Snachomneus and Taous and Senatumis daughters of Snachomneus. The papyri drawn up for Tanouphis daughter of Amenothès and the properties which they concern are likely to have passed to her children through simple inheritance, suggesting that one or more of her children was probably the archive owner. Taous was probably not the archive owner, since

<sup>6</sup>The archive of Psenminis son of Bel contains three title documents concerning 'House B' (*P. Phil.* 2, 10 and 17); six documents concerning 'House V' (*P. Phil.* 3-4, 7-9 and 16); and six documents concerning a house in Djeme (*P. Phil.* 1, 15 and 20-23).

<sup>7</sup>J. G. MANNING, 'The Land-tenure Regime in Ptolemaic Upper Egypt', [in:] A. BOWMAN & E. ROGAN (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt, from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (*Proceedings of the British Academy* 96), Oxford 1999, pp. 83-105, esp. 87-88.

<sup>8</sup>The archive of Psenminis son of Bel contains three marriage-related documents that do not belong to the owners of the archive: *P. Phil.* 11, a divorce contract; *P. Phil.* 13, a sale probably by a husband to his wife; and *P. Phil.* 14, a marriage contract.

the archive contained her marriage contract, suggesting that the archive owner was either Panouphis or Senatumis or both jointly. I leave the question open and to refer to the archive here as the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis.

P. BM 10074 (Reich),<sup>9</sup> dated to 18 April 230 BC, is a quitclaim contract, and P. BM 10079 B+C (Reich = P.L. Bat. 30, 5),<sup>10</sup> dated to 18 April 230 BC, is a royal oath in double document form. Both were made by 'the man of Aswan, Panouphis whom they call Pekysis son of *Mʒy-rsy*, his mother is Sentotoes' (Dem. *rmt Swn, Pa-nfr ddy n=f Pʒ-igš sʒ Mʒy-rsy, mw.t=f Tʒ-šr.t-twt*),<sup>11</sup> for his ex-wife, 'the woman, Tanouphis daughter of Amenothos, her mother is Tachois' (Dem. *šhm.t, Ta-nfr ta Imn-ḥtp, mw.t=s Tʒy-ḥʒ*). In the quitclaim Panouphis called Pekysis gives up all claim to a number of his ex-wife's mummies, and by extension the revenues derived from caring for them, while in the royal oath he confirms the quitclaim. One would expect to find these documents in the archive of Tanouphis daughter of Amenothos, and subsequently in the archive of one of her children, Panouphis or Taous or Senatumis, in the absence of any transfer documents concerning these mummies and tombs.

P. BM 10240 (Reich),<sup>12</sup> dated to 19 October? 228 BC, is a contract for the appointment of a choachyte to a tomb and its mummies. It was made by the 'god's father, servant of Amun, *Pʒ-imʒ* son of Petebastis, his mother is *Ta-lw*' (Dem. *it-ntr bʒk Imn, Pʒ-imʒ sʒ Pʒ-ti-bʒst, mw.t=f Ta-lw*), for the 'pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Panouphis son of Snachomneus, his mother is Tanouphis' (Dem. *wn Imn-ipy n pr imnt Niw.t, Pa-nfr sʒ Ns-nʒy=w-ḥmn-iw, mw.t=f Ta-nfr*). One would expect to find this document in the archive of Panouphis, in the absence of any transfer documents concerning this tomb.

<sup>9</sup> Published in REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts* (cit. n. 2), pp. 43–51 and pls. 6–7, 9.

<sup>10</sup> Published in REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts* (cit. n. 2), pp. 51–56 and pl. 8; and republished by S. VLEEMING, 'A Demotic Doppelurkunde [Text 5]', [in:] A. VERHOOGT – S. VLEEMING (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt, Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P. W. Pestman (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 30)*, Leiden 1998, pp. 155–170.

<sup>11</sup> The original editor read the patronym as *Gy*, but see G. VITTMANN, *Enchoria 15* (1987), pp. 135–136, and S. VLEEMING, 'A Demotic Doppelurkunde' (cit. n. 10), pp. 161–163.

<sup>12</sup> Published in REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts* (cit. n. 2), pp. 56–59 and pls. 17–18.

P. Berlin 3109 (*Eheverträge* 19),<sup>13</sup> dated to 16 April 225 BC, is a marriage contract. It was made by the 'pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Horos son of Pamonnasis, his mother is  $T^3$ -brws' (Dem. *wn Imm-ipy pr imnt Niw.t, Hr s^3 Pa-mn-n-s, mw.t=fT^3-brws*),<sup>14</sup> for 'the woman, Taous daughter of Snachomneus, her mother is Tanouphis' (Dem. *šm.t, T^3y-<sup>c</sup>w ta Ns-n^3y=w-hmn-iw, mw.t=s Ta-nfr*). One would not expect to find this document in the archive of Horos or his wife Taous, but one might well expect to find it in the archive of Taous' brother Panouphis or perhaps that of her sister Senatumis.

P. Berlin 3096 (*Kaufverträge*),<sup>15</sup> dated to 15 June 222 BC, and P. BM 10073 (Reich),<sup>16</sup> dated to 14 May 218 BC, are both sales contracts. Both were made by 'the woman (of maintenance), Tanouphis daughter of Amenothos, her mother is Tachois' (Dem. *šm.t (n s^c nb), Ta-nfr ta Imm-htp, mw.t=s T^3y-h^3*), for her daughter, 'the woman Senatumis (whom they call Senminis) daughter of Snachomneus, her mother is Tanouphis' (Dem. *šm.t, T^3-šr.t-itm (dd n=s T^3-šr.t-mn) ta Ns-n^3y=w-hmn-iw, mw.t=s Ta-nfr*). Tanouphis sells to Senatumis 1/3 and 1/6 shares respectively of her house (House N, see below) in the 'House of the Cow', and some tombs (not of the mummies named in P. BM 10074 (Reich), however). In the first document, Tanouphis also sells to Senatumis and her brother Panouphis 1/2 share each of the tomb of their father Snachomneus, and 1/2 share of 'the other? tomb'. In the second document, Tanouphis' other children give their consent, namely the pastophoros of Amenophis in the West of Thebes, Panouphis son of Snachomneus, his mother is Tanouphis, and the woman, Taous daughter of Snachomneus, her mother is Tanouphis (Dem. *wn Imm-ipy pr imnt Niw.t, Pa-nfr s^3 Ns-n^3y=w-hmn-iw, mw.t=fTa-nfr, hn^c šm.t, T^3y-<sup>c</sup>w-... ta Ns-n^3y=w-hmn-iw, mw.t=s Ta-nfr*). Tanouphis probably used these sales contracts to ensure that her daughter Senatumis

<sup>13</sup> Published in E. LÜDDECKENS, *Ägyptische Eheverträge (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 1)*, Wiesbaden 1960, pp. 42–45.

<sup>14</sup> The editor read the patronym as *Smn-hms*, but see K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *Die Ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau, Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus Ptolemäischer Zeit (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 19)*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 163.

<sup>15</sup> Published in S. GRUNERT, *Thebanische Kaufverträge des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v. u. Z. (Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 2)*, Berlin 1981.

<sup>16</sup> Published in REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts* (cit. n. 2), pp. 60–68 and pls. 14–15, 18.

received specific properties as her inheritance, rather than allowing her children to divide her properties themselves according to the rules of simple intestate inheritance.<sup>17</sup> Men could make such testamentary arrangements using donation contracts, but women usually used sales contracts instead. One would expect to find these documents in the archive of Senatumis, in the absence of any further transfer documents concerning this house and these tombs.

There is another papyrus which deals with a portion of the same House N as in P. Berlin 3096 (*Kaufverträge*) and P. BM 10073 (Reich), but which is not obviously connected to the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis. P. Louvre N 3263 (*Chrest. dém.*, 369-374),<sup>18</sup> dated to 12 August 215 BC, is a donation contract. It was made by 'the pastophoros of Amenophis in the West of Thebes, Amenotnes son of Psammetichos, his mother being Touaksis' (Dem. *wm n Imn-ipy pr imnt Nw.t, Imn-htp s' P<sup>2</sup>-s-n-mtk, mw.t=f T<sup>2</sup>-wgs*),<sup>19</sup> for his daughter, 'the woman *Ta-iw=y-iy* daughter of Amenotnes, [her mother is 'Tanouphis'] (Dem. *šm.t, T<sup>3</sup>y-iw=y-iy ta Imn-htp [mw.t=s Ta-nfr]*). Amenotnes gives to *Ta-iw=y-iy* 1/12 of a house (House N, see below) in the 'House of the Cow', and some tombs. The house is described as the house of Pekysis son of Parates (Dem. *P<sup>2</sup>-igs' s' Pa-rt*), which was purchased by the woman of maintenance, Tanouphis daughter of Pauris, her mother is Thibis (Dem. *šm.t (n) s'nh, Ta-nfr ta P<sup>2</sup>-hr, mw.t=s Ta-hb*) from *št<sup>2</sup>* daughter of Pekysis (Dem. *št<sup>2</sup> ta Pa-igs*). It is not clear whether this 1/12 of House N is a portion of the 1/3 and the 1/6 of House N received by Senatumis, or another portion. None of the people named in this contract can be identified with any of the people named in the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis, however, and thus it is unclear how this 1/12 of House N could have passed to or from Senatumis by simple inheritance. It could have passed by sale, but until an intervening sales

<sup>17</sup> For the rules of intestate inheritance, see the *Legal Manual of Hermopolis*, col. VIII, line 30 to col. IX, line 26, published by G. MATTHA & G. R. HUGHES, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West (Bibliothèque d'Étude 45)*, Cairo 1975, pp. 15-17, 39-41, and 115-122; and conveniently translated by K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *The Legal Manual of Hermopolis (Uitgaven van wege de Stichting 'Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut' 11)*, Leiden 1990, pp. 93-105.

<sup>18</sup> Published in E. RÉVILLIOUT, *Chrestomathie démotique*, Paris 1880, pp. 369-374.

<sup>19</sup> The editor read the patronym as 'Pamin...', but see E. LÜDDECKENS, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I-3, pp. 212.

contract is found, it seems better not to treat this papyrus as part of the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis.

### *I.B. Acquisition Information*

When an archive was dispersed, the papyri were often acquired within a relatively short time, often by a small number of collectors or dealers. These collectors and dealers were then often responsible for the further dispersion of the archives among European and American libraries and museums. The acquisition information of these libraries and museums can therefore be used to test the likelihood of reconstructions of archives proposed on the basis of the internal evidence of the papyri, a technique often described as 'Museum Archaeology'.<sup>20</sup> If dispersed papyri suspected to belong to an archive were acquired from a relatively small number of collectors or dealers within a relatively short time, then there is a greater likelihood that they originally formed an archive.

The acquisition information for the papyri that I attribute to the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis does not argue against these papyri belonging to the same archive. Three of the papyri in the British Museum (P. BM 10073, 10074 and 10079 B+C) were given by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson in 1834,<sup>21</sup> and a fourth (P. BM 10240) was purchased from Anastasi, at his sale in London in 1839.<sup>22</sup> The two papyri in Berlin (P. Berlin 3096 and 3109) were also purchased from Anastasi, at his sale in Paris in 1857.<sup>23</sup> The British Museum acquired its papyri from the Wilkinson and Anastasi collections in a space of only 5 years. Admittedly the

<sup>20</sup> K. VANDORPE, 'Museum Archaeology or How to Reconstruct Pathyris Archives', *Acta Demotica, Acts of Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993 = Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994), pp. 289–300. The use of the technique is also illustrated by P. W. PESTMAN, 'A Family Archive which Changes History', [in:] S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes (P. L. Bat. 27)*, Leiden 1995, pp. 91–100.

<sup>21</sup> P. BM 10073, according to REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts* (cit. n. 2), p. 60; P. BM 10074, according to REICH, p. 43; and P. BM 10079 B-C, according to REICH, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> P. BM 10240, according to REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts* (cit. n. 2), p. 56: 'Anastasi 40'.

<sup>23</sup> P. Berlin (*Kaufverträge*) 3096 and P. Berlin 3109 (*Eheverträge* 19), according to U. LUFT, 'Aus der Geschichte der Berliner Papyrus-Sammlung. Erwerbungen und Ankaufe Orientalischer Papyri zwischen 1828 und 1861', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 22 (1973), pp. 39–40.

papyri in Berlin were acquired from the Anastasi collection rather later, but they may have simply lain in the Anastasi collection for 18 years between his London and Paris sales.<sup>24</sup> P. Louvre N. 3263 was acquired sometime before 1852, since it was registered in the 'inventaire Napoléon' (indicated by the letter N.) compiled between 1849 and 1852.

## II. THE HOUSE OF THE COW

Several of the Early Ptolemaic archives from Thebes refer to houses that are said to be 'in the northern quarter of Thebes, in the "House of the Cow"'. In some papyri, these houses are further described as being 'to the west of the enclosure of the temple of Mont Lord-of-Thebes', or 'to the north of the great enclosure of the temple of Thebes'.<sup>25</sup> These houses are more specifically located within the 'House of the Cow', not with street addresses, but rather by naming the owners of the houses on the south, north, east and west sides of the house in question. Sometimes it is possible to identify the owner of a neighboring house with the owner of a the house (or a neighbouring house) in another archive. In this way, it is possible to create a virtual map of the neighbourhood in Thebes where the mortuary priests lived.

Glanville proposed the first reconstructions of the 'House of the Cow' in 1939,<sup>26</sup> and again with modifications in 1950,<sup>27</sup> using the information from the archive of Teineni daughter of Teos concerning what Glanville labelled Houses  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , from the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis concerning what Glanville labelled Houses P, S and T, and from the archive of Psenminis son of Bel concerning what Glanville

<sup>24</sup> Compare the archive of Osoroeris son of Horos, dated between 182 and 98 BC. Part of the archive was sold by Anastasi to Leiden in 1828, while another part was sold by Anastasi to Berlin at his sale in Paris in 1857, see P. W. PESTMAN, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.) (Studia Demotica 2)*, Leuven 1993, pp. 11–12.

<sup>25</sup> GLANVILLE, *A Theban Archive* (cit. n. 4), pp. XXI–XXIV; and DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos* (cit. n. 1), pp. 20–22.

<sup>26</sup> GLANVILLE, *A Theban Archive* (cit. n. 4), pp. XXVII–XLVII, 49–56.

<sup>27</sup> S. R. K. GLANVILLE, 'Notes on a Demotic Papyrus from Thebes (B. M. 10026)', [in:] D. WINTON THOMAS (ed.), *Essays and Studies presented to Stanley Arthur Cook*, London 1950, pp. 59–65.

labelled Houses B and V (see Figure 1). These houses are indicated with bold boxes, while houses named as neighbors are indicated with lighter boxes, and streets are indicated with spaces between the boxes. Depauw recently proposed a new reconstruction of the 'House of the Cow' in 2000, combining the information known to Glanville, and new information from the archive of Teos and Thabis concerning what Glanville labelled House L (see Figure 2).<sup>28</sup>

In this paper, I would like to propose yet another reconstruction of the 'House of the Cow', using the information known to Glanville and Depauw, additional information from the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis concerning what Glanville labelled House R, and additional information from the archive of Panouphis and Senatumis concerning what I label House N. I have schematically reconstructed part of the neighbourhood around Houses N and R (see Table 1). The top three rows of the table represent House N and its neighbours. The box in the middle of the second row from the top labelled House N gives the names of the buyer and the seller in each papyrus, while the boxes surrounding House N show the southern, northern, eastern and western neighbours named in these papyri. Only the western neighbours Kolluthis the smith and Apathes stay the same between 222 and 218 BC, but these neighbours and the fact that the buyer and the seller are the same in both years makes it likely that the same House N is involved. In contrast, both the buyer and the seller are different in 215 BC from 222 and 218 BC, but the northern, eastern and western neighbours are identical in 218 and 215 BC, suggesting that another portion of the same House N is involved in 215 BC.

The bottom three rows of the table represent House R and its neighbours that are the subject of a papyrus in the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis, P. Louvre 2425 (*Chrest. dém.*, 278-287).<sup>29</sup> The box in the middle of the second row from the bottom labelled House R shows that in 227 BC one Horos son of Pamonnasis divided House R with his sister Teineni daughter of Pamonnasis, which they had inherited from their father Pamonnasis son of Petemestous son of *P<sup>3</sup>-mrr* son of Spotous. The location of House R has never been correctly identified, but I would like

<sup>28</sup> DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos* (cit. n. 1), pp. 24-31.

<sup>29</sup> Published in RÉVILLEOUT, *Chrestomathie* (cit. n. 18), pp. 278-287.

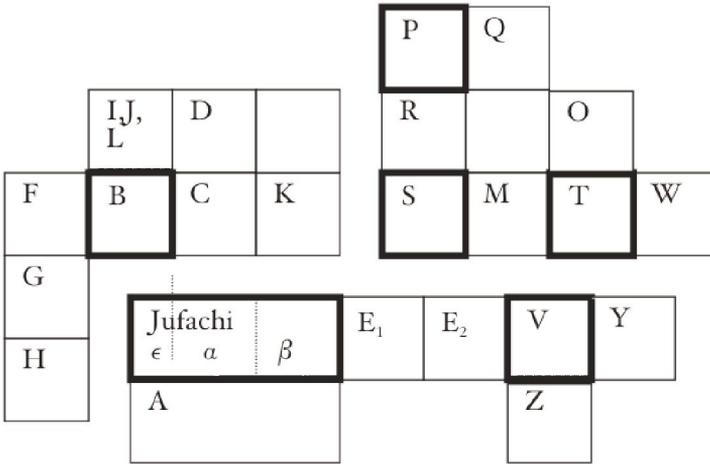


Fig. 1. The Neighbourhood of the ‘House of the Cow’ as reconstructed by GLANVILLE in 1950 (*A Theban Archive*, [cit. n. 4], p. 65, fig. 3)

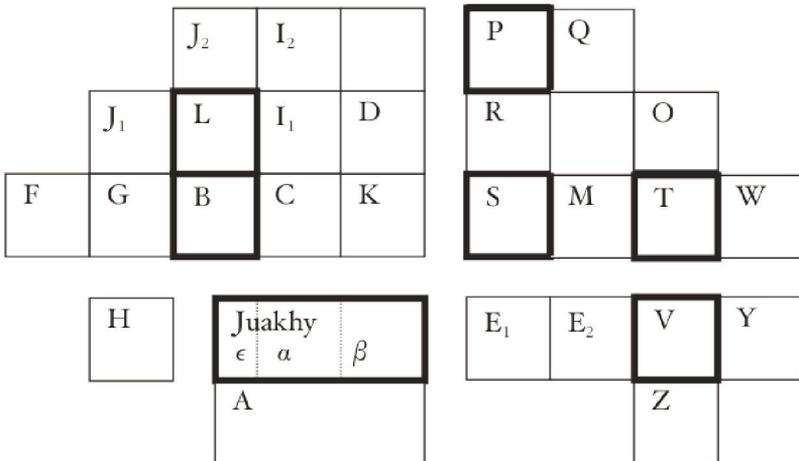


Fig. 2. The Neighbourhood of the ‘House of the Cow’ as reconstructed by DEPAUW in 2000 (*The Archive of Teos and Thabis* [cit. n. 1], p. 27)

TABLE I

The Neighbours of Houses N and R proposed by MUHS in 2005  
 The histories of Houses P, R and S before 250 BC  
 are omitted for reasons of space

	<p><b>222:</b> Amenother son of Psenamounis, and <i>P<sup>3</sup>-nf</i>  <b>218:</b> Paminis the gardener  <b>215:</b> Paminis the gardener</p>	
<p><b>222:</b> Petenephotes the choachyte, and Kolluthes the smith, and Apathes   <b>218:</b> Kolluthes the smith, and <i>P<sup>3</sup>-niwt</i>, and Apathes   <b>215:</b> <i>P<sup>3</sup>-niwt</i> and Kolluthes, and ...</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>HOUSE N</b></p> <p><b>222</b> (P. Berl. Kauf. 3096): Tanouphis d. of Amenother, her mother is Tachois; and Senatumis d. of Snachomneus, her mother is Tanouphis.   <b>218</b> (P. BM Reich 10073): Tanouphis d. of Amenother, her mother is Tachois; and Senatumis d. of Snachoneus, her mother is Tanouphis.   <b>215</b> (P. Louvre 3263): Amenother son of Psammetichus, his mother is Touaksis; and <i>Ta-iw=y-iy</i> d. of Amenother, [her mother is Tanouphis].</p>	<p><b>222:</b> Psenenteris son of Esminis   <b>218:</b> <i>Grwr</i> son of Psenamounis, and Petenephotes   <b>215:</b> <i>Grwr</i> the choachyte</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>HOUSE P</b></p> <p><b>227:</b> Amenother son of Petenephotes  <b>222:</b> <i>Rl<sup>3</sup></i> son of <i>Hry=w-s-n=f</i>, and <i>P<sup>3</sup>-mrr</i> son of <i>Hr<sup>2</sup>-[...]</i>  <b>218:</b> Amenother son of Petenephotes the choachyte  <b>215:</b> Pauris the choachyte</p>	

(HOUSE D)

(HOUSE R)

TABLE I (continued)  
The Neighbours of Houses N and R proposed by Muhs in 2005

## (HOUSE P)

HOUSE D	HOUSE R	
<p><b>227:</b> <i>H<sup>3c</sup> ?-?</i>, in the possession of Harmais son of Pamimis</p>	<p><b>249:</b> Petemestous son of <i>P<sup>2</sup>-mrr</i></p> <p><b>245:</b> Esminis son of Pamonthes</p> <p><b>243:</b> Petemestous son of <i>P<sup>2</sup>-mrr</i></p> <p><b>227</b> (P. Louvre 2425): Horos son of Pamonnasis, his mother is <i>Ta-blw<sup>sy</sup></i>; and Teineni d. of Pamonnasis, her mother is <i>Ta-blw<sup>sy</sup></i>, concerning the house of Pamonnasis son of Petemestous son of <i>P<sup>2</sup>-mrr</i> son of Spotous</p>	<p><b>227:</b> Psenenteris son of Esminis</p>
HOUSE K	HOUSE S	HOUSE M
<p><b>249:</b> Harmais son of Petearpres</p> <p><b>245:</b> Harmais son of Petearpres</p> <p><b>243:</b> Harmais son of Petearpres</p>	<p><b>249</b> (P. Louvre 2443): Patemis son of Pchorchon- sis I, his mother is Eschon- sis; and <i>Ta-ktm</i> d. of <i>Rlw</i>, her [mother] is <i>T<sup>3</sup>y-ntm</i></p> <p><b>245</b> (P. Louvre 2438): Patemis son of Pchorchon- sis I, his mother is Eschon- sis; and <i>Ta-ktm</i> d. of <i>Rlw<sup>2</sup></i>, her mother is <i>T<sup>3</sup>y-ntm</i>.</p> <p><b>243</b> (P. Louvre 2431): <i>Ta-ktm</i> d. of <i>Rrw</i>, her moth- er is <i>T<sup>3</sup>y-ntm</i>; and Pchor- chonsis II son of Panas II, [his mother is Tathotes]</p>	<p><b>249:</b> Achoapis son of <i>Hry=s-n=f</i></p> <p><b>245:</b> Achoapis son of <i>Hry=s-n=f</i></p> <p><b>243:</b> Achoapis son of <i>Hry=s-n=f</i></p>

to try to do so here.<sup>30</sup> Five papyri in the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis concern a House S in 267, 265, 249, 245 and 243 BC. In all but one of these papyri, the northern neighbour of House S is named Pestemestous son of *P<sup>3</sup>-mrr*. This man is also named in 227 BC, in P. Louvre 2425, as the grandfather of Horos son of Pamonnasis and his sister Teineni, from whom they received House R which they divided between themselves. Clearly, House R was located immediately to the north of House S. Furthermore, the northern neighbour of House R in 227 BC is one Amenotnes son of Petenephotes. This man is also named as the southern neighbour of House N in 218 BC, suggesting that House N was located two houses to the north of House R.

This information can now be integrated into earlier reconstructions of the neighbourhood of ‘the House of the Cow.’ (see Figure 3). As before, houses that are the subject of papyri are indicated with bold boxes, while houses named as neighbours are indicated with lighter boxes, and streets are indicated with spaces between the boxes. House R has been added in bold immediately to the north of House S, and House N and its neighbours have been added two houses to the north of House R.

### III. THE GIRLS NEXT DOOR

It is possible to reconstruct the genealogies of the families of mortuary priests that lived in the ‘House of the Cow’, as well as the neighbourhood itself, using information in the archives of the mortuary priests. The reconstructed genealogies suggest that sons and daughters of mortuary priests frequently married each other, and comparison with the reconstructed neighbourhood suggests that they frequently married their neighbours, the ‘girls next door.’

<sup>30</sup> DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos* (cit. n. 1), p. 19, identified this house as House S. DEPAUW was perhaps led to this conclusion by the statement in P. Louvre 2425 that the southern neighbor of this house was ‘the temple of the good black cow, while the street of pharaoh is between them’, implying that this house lay just to the north of the street of pharaoh, like House S. This statement is probably due to the fact that the owner of House S was the husband of Teineni the owner of half of House R, which may have led the scribe to conclude that Houses R and S had been united and that the nearest ‘neighbor’ to the south was one house further down, across the street of pharaoh.

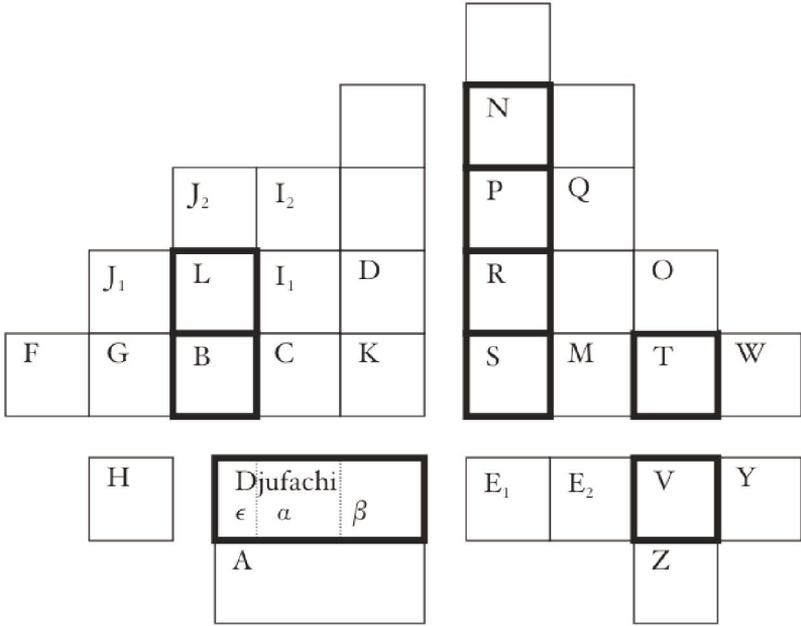


Fig. 3. The Neighbours of the ‘House of Cow as reconstructed by MUHS in 2005

There have been several previous attempts to reconstruct the genealogies of the families of mortuary priests that lived in the ‘House of the Cow’, by Thissen in 1971,<sup>31</sup> Andrews in 1990,<sup>32</sup> Pestman in 1993,<sup>33</sup> and Depauw in 2000.<sup>34</sup> These largely agree, except where individuals bearing the same names are identified with each other without corroborating evidence such as the same parents’ names, the same titles, and/or ownership of the same houses. Such identifications are attractive and plausible because the mortuary priests used a limited repertoire of names and clear-

<sup>31</sup> H.-J. THISSEN, ‘Bemerkungen zur Prosopographie von Theben-West’, *Enchoria* 1 (1971), pp. 19–28.

<sup>32</sup> C. A. R. ANDREWS, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 4)*, London 1990, pp. 16, 37 and 47. See also the comments of Pestman, ‘A Family Archive’ (cit. n. 20), pp. 91–100.

<sup>33</sup> PESTMAN, *Theban Choachytes* (cit. n. 24), pp. 28–32.

<sup>34</sup> DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos* (cit. n. 1), pp. 15–17.

ly intermarried. The genealogies reconstructed here (see Figures 4 and 5), however, attempt to minimize the number of such identifications without corroborating evidence,<sup>35</sup> since one of the subjects of this study is the frequency of intermarriage between mortuary priests and neighbours.<sup>36</sup>

The frequency of intermarriage between mortuary priests and neighbours can be examined by means of the marriage contracts from the archives of the mortuary priests (see Table 2).<sup>37</sup> In all seven of these marriage contracts, one of the contracting parties lived in one of the houses known from the 'House of the Cow'. That is to be expected, because that is why these marriage contracts ended up in the archives of the mortuary priests. In six of these marriage contracts, the husband is a mortuary priest.<sup>38</sup> In four of these marriage contracts, a mortuary priest marries the daughter or sister of another mortuary priest (compare Table 2 and Figures 4 and 5).<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, in three of these marriage contracts, both of the contracting parties lived in houses known from the 'House of the

<sup>35</sup> Teos the husband of Thabis in the archive of Teos and Thabis is not identified with Teos II in the archive of Psenminis son of Bel, as suggested by THISSEN, 'Bemerkungen' (cit. n. 31), Taf. 8. Tamounis the wife of Teos III in the archive of Psenminis son of Bel is not identified as the daughter of Panas II and Tathotes in the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis, as suggested by THISSEN, *loc. cit.* Tathotes the wife of Panas II in the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis is not identified as the daughter of Teos II and Taminis in the archive of Psenminis son of Bel, as suggested by PESTMAN, *Theban Choachytes* (cit. n. 24), pp. 29, 30; and DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos* (cit. n. 1), p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> Hence the omission of genealogical links to families of mortuary priests whose places of residence are unknown, as in the archives of Panouphis son of Psenenteris and of the Anonym, see ANDREWS, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts* (cit. 32), pp. 37 and 47, with the comments of PESTMAN, 'A Family Archive' (cit. n. 20), pp. 91–100.

<sup>37</sup> Published by LÜDDECKENS, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (cit. n. 13): *P. Libbey* (*Eheverträge* 9), dated to 337 BC; *P. Rylands 10* (*Eheverträge* 10), dated to 315 BC; *P. Phil. 14* (*Eheverträge* 13), dated to 265/4 BC; *P. Louvre 2433* (*Eheverträge* 14), dated to 252 BC; *P. Louvre 2429* (*Eheverträge* 15), dated to 232 BC; *P. Berlin 3109* (*Eheverträge* 19), dated to 225 BC; and *P. Phil. 25* (*Eheverträge* 20), dated to 223 BC.

<sup>38</sup> In all but *P. Rylands 10* (*Eheverträge* 10), dated to 315 BC, where he is titled a carpenter of the temple of Amun.

<sup>39</sup> *P. Phil. 14* (*Eheverträge* 13), dated to 265/4 BC; *P. Louvre 2429* (*Eheverträge* 15), dated to 232 BC; *P. Berlin 3109* (*Eheverträge* 19), dated to 225 BC; and *P. Phil. 25* (*Eheverträge* 20), dated to 223 BC.

<sup>40</sup> *P. Phil. 14* (*Eheverträge* 13), dated to 265/4 BC; *P. Louvre 2429* (*Eheverträge* 15), dated to 232 BC; and *P. Berlin 3109* (*Eheverträge* 19), dated to 225 BC.

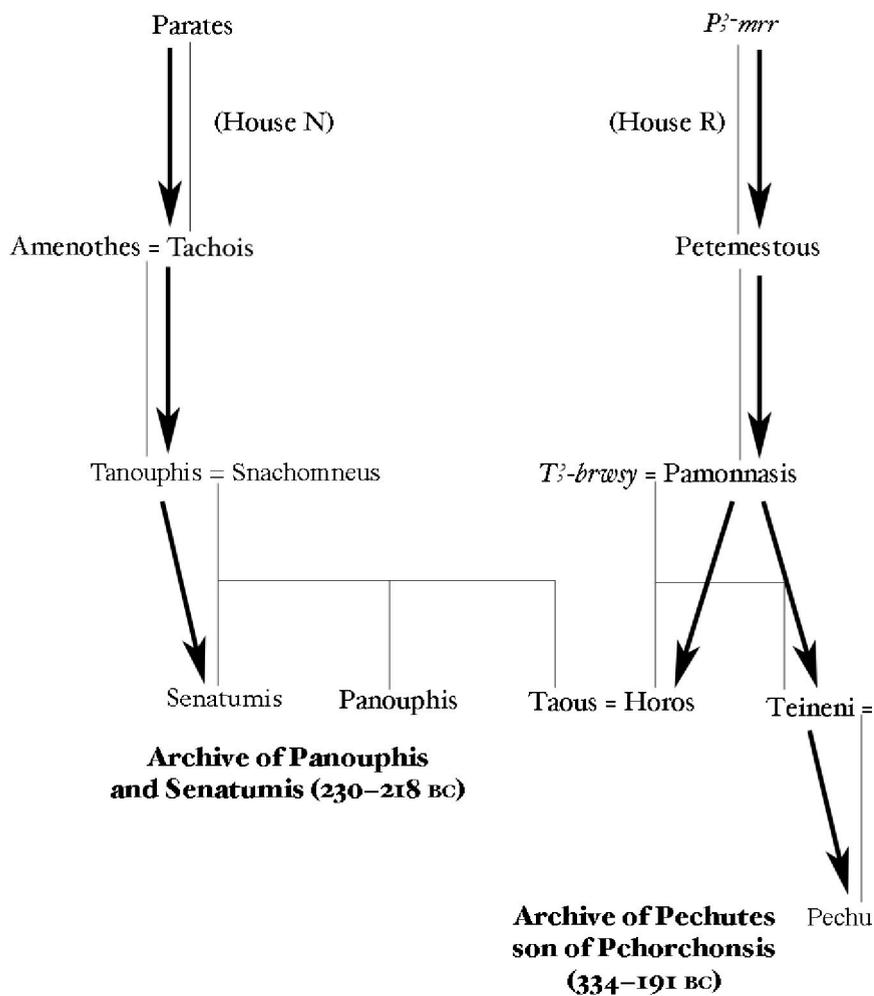
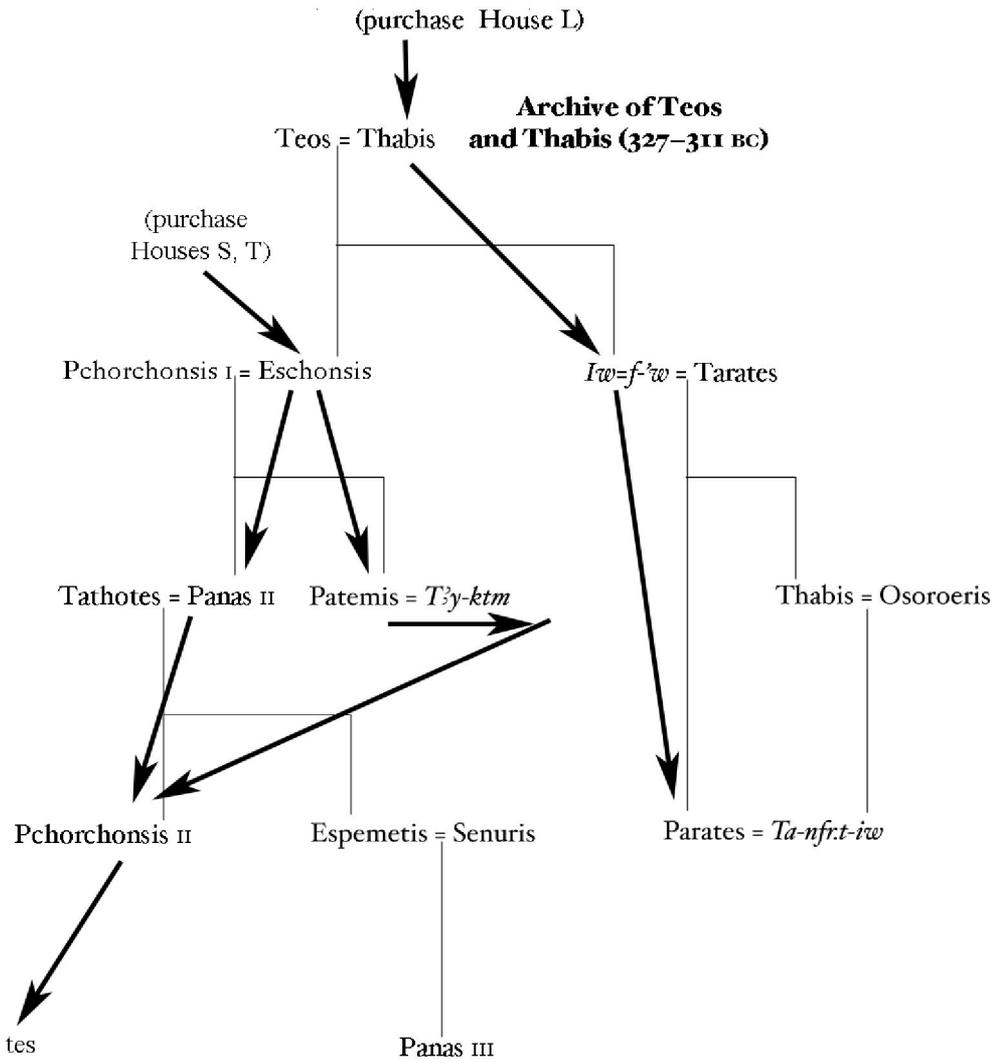


Fig. 4. The Neighbours of the 'House



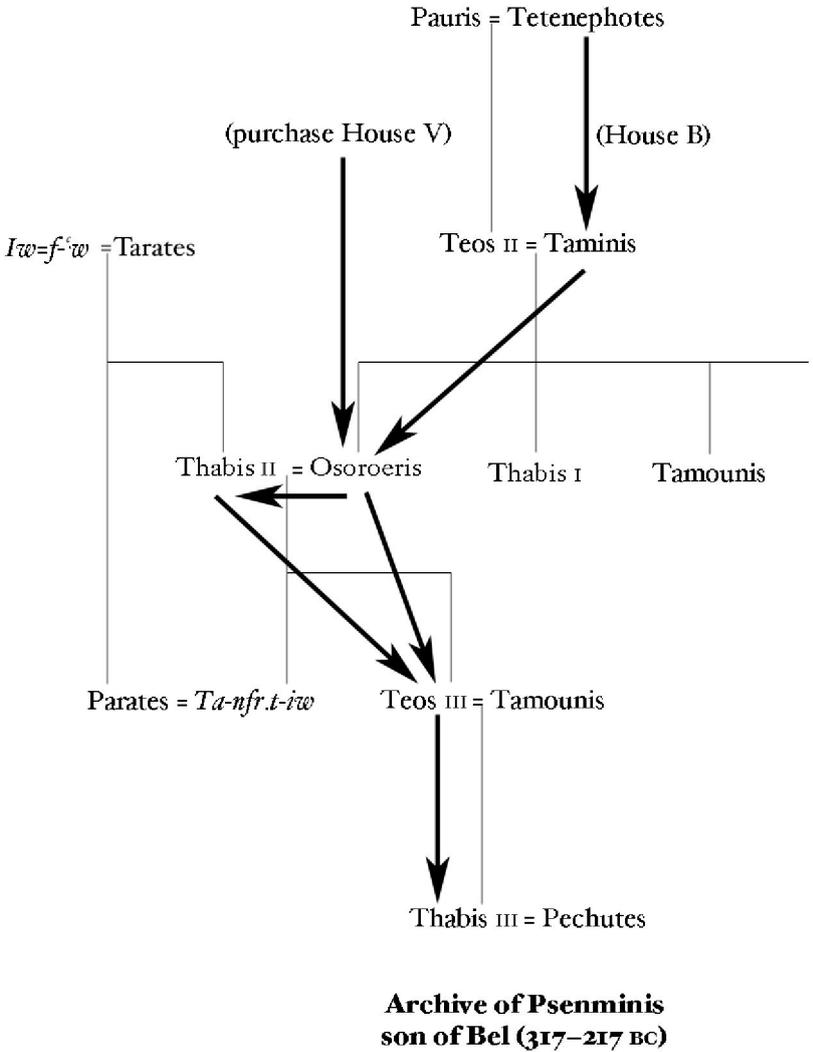
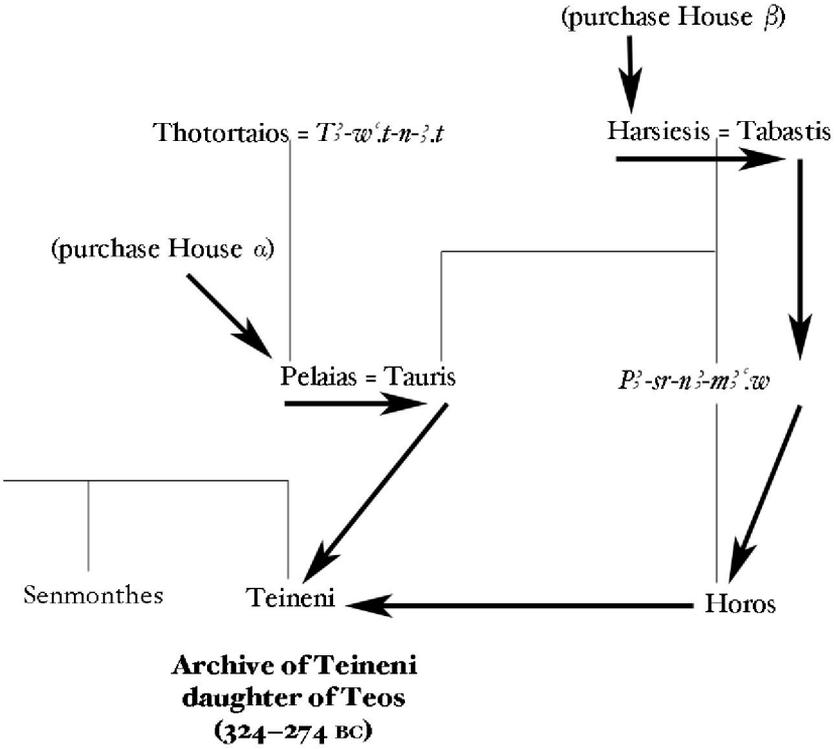


Fig. 5. The Neighbours of the 'House of



Cow', within one or two houses of each other (compare Table 2 and Figure 3).<sup>40</sup> Thus a majority of sons of mortuary priests married the daughters of other mortuary priests, and half the sons of mortuary priests married the 'the girls next door'.

Why did the sons and daughters of mortuary priests so often marry each other, particularly when they lived next door? One possibility that can be rejected is that the sons and daughters of mortuary priests preferred to marry their neighbours, and that these just happened to be the sons and daughters of other mortuary priests. Depauw has compiled a list of 173 inhabitants of the 'House of the Cow'.<sup>41</sup> No title is given for 35 of them, and 42 are simply titled 'woman'. Of the 96 individuals bearing occupational or religious titles, 28 are titled 'choachyte' or '*pastophoros* of Amenophis in the west of Thebes', and 6 are titled '*taricheutes*'. Only a third of the inhabitants of the 'House of the Cow' are mortuary priests, yet a majority of sons of mortuary priests marry the daughters and sisters of other mortuary priests. If proximity were the determining factor, one would expect to see far more diversity in marriage partners. Clearly, the sons and daughters of mortuary priests preferred to marry each other, and only secondarily tended to marry neighbours.

Why did the sons and daughters of mortuary priests prefer to marry each other? There may have been economic incentives for mortuary priests to marry within their occupation group. The ancient Egyptians frequently practiced patrilocal residence, that is daughters married out of their paternal household, while sons stayed to take over the household business when their fathers became too old.<sup>42</sup> This presented no problem for most priests, because their offices passed undivided from father to eldest son through patrilineal succession. This did present a challenge to

<sup>41</sup> DEPAUW, *The Archive of Teos* (cit. n. 1), pp. 31–54 (3.5. The social profile of 'The House of the Cow').

<sup>42</sup> In marriage contracts, the first contractor addresses the second contractor concerning the possibility of divorce, 'If I cast you away,' presumably from the house. In six of the seven marriage contracts from the archives of the Early Ptolemaic Theban mortuary priests, the man addresses the woman, implying patrilocal residence; in *P. Libbey* (*Eheverträge* 9), dated to 337 BC, however, the woman addresses the man, implying the opposite. See further P. W. PESTMAN, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 9), Leiden 1961, p. 77.

mortuary priests, however, because the positions of choachytes and their revenues derived from caring for mummies were treated as private property rather than offices, and consequently were divided among all their sons and daughters through radical partable inheritance.<sup>43</sup> If their daughters married out of their households, as was usual, their households would be impoverished when their daughters inherited. One solution may be seen among the mortuary priests in Early Ptolemaic Thebes, namely endogamy, where sons and daughters of mortuary priests married within their occupational group. If most daughters of mortuary priests married the sons of other mortuary priests, the mummy-revenues belonging to one household would be divided among its sons and daughters, but each new household formed by those sons and daughters through marriage would receive mummy-revenues from both the husband and the wife. The total number of mummy-revenues held by the all the mortuary priests would thus not diminish, they would simply be redistributed among the households. In favour of this interpretation is the fact that Theban mortuary priests in the Late Ptolemaic Period (c. 200–30 BC) seem to have consciously tried to retain mummy-revenues within their occupational group, by ‘buying out’ male heirs who left the occupational group, by giving them their inheritances in another form than mummy-revenues.<sup>44</sup>

But why did the sons and daughters of mortuary priests tend to marry neighbours? In some cases, there may have been economic incentives for this as well. The bulk of mortuary priests’ property consisted of their mummy-revenues and their houses, and the latter like the former were subject to radical partable inheritance. Sons and daughters of mortuary

<sup>43</sup> For the pattern of property inheritance among the Ancient Egyptians, see P. W. PESTMAN, ‘The Law of Succession in Ancient Egypt’, [in:] J. BRUGMAN, M. DAVID, F. R. KRAUS, P. W. PESTMAN & M. H. VAN DER VALK, *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession (Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia 9)*, Leiden 1969, pp. 58–77. For the difference between patrilineal succession to priestly offices (*jꜣw.t*) and radical partable inheritance of private positions (*šꜣn*), see B. MUHS, ‘Of Priests and Pastophoroi’, [in:] K.-Th. ZAUZICH (ed.), *Akten der 8. Konferenz für Demotische Studien, 27.–30. Augustus 2002*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, in press.

<sup>44</sup> P. W. PESTMAN, ‘“Inheriting” in the Archive of the Theban Choachytes (2nd Cent. BC)’, [in:] S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography (Studia Demotica 1)*, Leuven 1989, pp. 57–73, esp. p. 60–61.

TABLE 2

Marriage Contracts from the Mortuary Priests in Early Ptolemaic Thebes  
 (\* Indicates the two marriage contractors are known to be neighbours)

**P. Libbey (Eheverträge 9), dated to 337 BC**

- Wife: the woman, *St<sup>3</sup>.t-ir.t-bin* (=Thabis) daughter of Petarpochrates, her mother is Senminis. Future purchaser of **House L** in 311 BC (*P. Teos-Thabis* 3).
- Husband: the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Teos son of *Iw=f<sup>c</sup>w*, his mother is Esarpochrates.

**P. Rylands 10 (Eheverträge 10), dated to 315 BC**

- Husband: the carpenter of the temple of Amun, Petechonsis son of *Dwf<sup>c</sup>hy*, his mother is Estphenis. Owner of **House a**, 324-314 BC (*P. Strass. dem. 1* and *P. Phil. 2*).
- Wife: the woman, Taesis daughter of Petamenophis, his mother is Esortais.

**\* P. Phil. 14 (Eheverträge 13), dated to 265/4 BC**

- Husband: the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Parates son of *Iw=f<sup>c</sup>w*, his mother is Tarates. He may be the son of the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, *Iw=f<sup>c</sup>w* son of Teos, who was named as owner of **House L** in 282 BC (*P. Phil. 10*).
- Wife: the woman, *Ta-nfr.t-ir* daughter of Osoroeris, her mother is Thabis. She is probably the daughter of the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Osoroeris son of Teos II, who acquired 2/3 of **House B** in 282 BC (*P. Phil. 10*).

**P. Louvre 2433 (Eheverträge 14), dated to 252 BC**

- Husband: the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Patemis son of Pchorchonsis, his mother is *T<sup>3</sup>y-br*. Owner of 1/2 of **House S**, 267-245 BC (*P. Louvre 2424, 2443, and 2438*).
- Wife: the woman, *T<sup>3</sup>-ktm* daughter of *Rlw*, her mother is *T<sup>3</sup>-ntm*.

## TABLE 2 (continued)

Marriage Contracts from the Mortuary Priests in Early Ptolemaic Thebes

(\* Indicates the two marriage contractors are known to be neighbours)

\* **P. Louvre 2429 (*Eheverträge* 15), dated to 232 BC**

– Husband: the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Pchorchonsis II son of Panas, his mother is Tathotes. Purchased 1/2 of **House S**, 243 BC (P. Louvre 2431).

– Wife: [the woman, Teineni daughter of Pamonnasis, her mother is *T3*]-*blwisy*. Acquired 1/2 of **House R** in 227 BC (P. Louvre 2425). Sister of the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Horos son of Pamonnasis, his mother is *Ta-blwisy*, who acquired 1/2 of **House R** in 227 BC (P. Louvre 2425).

\* **P. Berlin 3109 (*Eheverträge* 19), dated to 225 BC**

– Husband: the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Horos son of Pamonnasis, his mother is *Ta-blwisy*. Acquired 1/2 of **House R** in 227 BC (P. Louvre 2425).

– Wife: the woman, Taous daughter of Snachomneus, her mother is Tanouphis. Sister of Senatumis daughter of Snachomneus, owner of 1/2 of **House N**, 222–218 BC (P. Berlin 3096, and P. BM 10073). Sister of the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Panouphis son of Snachomneus, his mother is Tanouphis in 218 BC (P. BM 10073).

**P. Phil. 25 (*Eheverträge* 20), dated to 223 BC**

– Husband: the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Pechutes son of Panouphis, his mother is Tkalibis.

– Wife: the woman, Thabis III daughter of Teos III, her mother is Tamounis. She was probably the daughter of the pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes, Teos III son of Osoroeris, who acquired 1/6 of **House B** in 241 BC (P. Phil. 17).

priests therefore often inherited fractions of houses. In some cases these fractions may have been treated as a shared ownership of an undivided house, while in other cases the houses were physically divided by walling up interior doors and creating separate entrances.<sup>45</sup> In either case, it was not uncommon for owners of one fraction to attempt to acquire ownership of other fractions. This could be done by 'buying out' other heirs or by direct purchase,<sup>46</sup> but it could also be done through marriage to neighbours, literally the 'girls next door'.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, marriage to neighbours may have been a rational consequence of marriage within the occupational group of mortuary priests, since the house fractions resulting from radical partable inheritance would have circulated within the same endogamous community as the mummy-revenues.

Finally, there may have been social as well as economic incentives for sons and daughters of mortuary priests to marry within their occupation group, to their neighbours. The common practice of daughters marrying out of their paternal households into the paternal households of their husbands could have placed daughters at a disadvantage in the event of conflicts. Such disadvantages could have been countered to some extent,

<sup>45</sup> Most explicitly in the archive of Teineni daughter of Teos in *P. Strassburg dem.* 1, dated to 324 BC, which divided the House of Jufachi into Houses *a*, *β* and *ε*.

<sup>46</sup> In the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis, the woman Eschonsis divides House S between her sons Panas II and Patemis in *P. Louvre 2424 (Schreibertradition 11)*, dated to 267 BC, and *P. BM 10026 (Andrews 1)*, dated to 265 BC. Pchorchonsis II son of Panas II presumably inherited a half share of House S from his father, and he purchases the other half share of House S from Patemis' wife *Ta-ktm* daughter of Lolous in *P. Louvre 2431 (Schreibertradition 15)*, dated to 243 BC.

<sup>47</sup> In the archive of Pechutes son of Pchorchonsis, Pchorchonsis II son of Panas II, owner of reunited House S, marries Teineni daughter of Pamonnasis, owner of a half share of the adjoining House R, in *P. Louvre 2429 (Eheverträge 15)*, dated to 235 BC. House R was not originally part of House S, but a half share of an adjoining house was probably more interesting than a half share of a non-adjoining house.

The archive of Teineni daughter of Teos contains the title deeds of House *a*, which Teineni daughter of Teos purchased, and the title deeds of House *β*. The latter could have been kept in trust for a neighbor, or the two fractions of the original House of Jufachi could have been reunited, perhaps by marriage, see P. W. PESTMAN, 'Some Aspects of Egyptian Law in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Title-Deeds and *ὑπάλλαγμα*', [in:] E. VAN'T DACK, P. VAN DESSEL & W. VAN GUCHT (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World (Studia Hellenistica 27)*, Leuven 1983, pp. 281–302, esp. pp. 288–290.

however, if daughters of mortuary priests married into households near enough to their paternal households that their parents or siblings could apply pressure on their husbands in the event of a dispute.<sup>48</sup> Such disadvantages could be further countered if daughters of mortuary priests married other mortuary priests who belonged to the same professional association or 'guild' as their fathers or brothers, since professional associations generally had rules to resolve conflicts between members. The rules for just such a profession association of mortuary priests and their sons, known as the 'Association of Amenophis', survives from Thebes in the Late Ptolemaic Period,<sup>49</sup> and accounts that may come from a similar association of mortuary priests survive from Thebes in the Saite Period (664–525 BC).<sup>50</sup> There is no direct evidence for such an association of mortuary priests from Early Ptolemaic Thebes, but the Early Ptolemaic choachytes already bore the same formal title 'pastophoros of Amenophis in the west of Thebes' that they bore in Late Ptolemaic Period and which either refers to, or is referred to by, the name of the association in the Late Ptolemaic Period.

These patterns of marriage between members of the same occupational groups and neighbours seen in the archives of the mortuary priests in Early Ptolemaic Thebes may have wider implications. Together they suggest that these mortuary priests consciously took proactive measures to prevent the progressive fragmentation of their properties through radical partable inheritance, in addition to reactive measures such as buying out other heirs and property shareholders. These and similar measures are unlikely to have been unique to mortuary priests, however, because property fragmentation through radical partable inheritance threatened

<sup>48</sup> Compare the role of extended families in dispute resolution in New Kingdom Deir el-Medina, see J. TOIVARI, 'Man versus Woman: Interpersonal Disputes in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40 (1997), pp. 153–173.

<sup>49</sup> P. Berlin 3115, dated from 109 to 106 BC, published by F. DE CENIVAL, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques (Bibliothèque d'Étude 46)*, Cairo 1972, pp. 103–135.

<sup>50</sup> P. Louvre E 7840 bis, dated from 542 to 538 BC, published by F. DE CENIVAL, 'Comptes d'une association religieuse thébaine datant des années 29 à 33 du roi Amasis', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 37 (1986), pp. 13–29.

all households whose wealth and status derived primarily from property ownership rather than offices. It is likely that other communities, less well represented by documentary evidence than the mortuary priests, also adopted the practices of endogamy within their occupational group or local community, and of marriage to the 'girls next door,' in order to counteract progressive fragmentation of property.

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