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Katelijan Vandorpe

**HOROS SON OF AMENOTHES,
SCRIBE AT THE "THESAUROI OF THE PATHYRITES"***

The Upper-Egyptian town of Pathyris has provided us with hundreds of Greek and demotic papyri and hundreds of Greek and demotic ostraka. The Cairo and the Torino collection have a huge amount of unpublished demotic ostraka and wooden tablets from Pathyris; other musea apparently have small amounts.¹

HARSIES SON OF NEPHERPRES

Ursula Kaplony-Heckel noted that some eleven *thesauros* receipts on ostraka and wooden tablets were written by Harsiesis, son of Nepherpres. She found the same man in P. dem. Heid. 714, col. III, l. 25,² where he is recorded as being the *sh n tš T3-šd.t-rsy* (scribe of the nome "The southern district").³ Since the

* I would like to thank P. VAN DESSEL for correcting my English.

¹ Some of these have already been explored and studied by Ursula KAPLONY-HECKEL, see, for instance, her recent publications of ostraka and wooden tablets from the Cairo-collection, in *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/93), p. 45-86; *Enchoria* 21 (1994), p. 23-62; *Enchoria* 22 (1995), p. 40-122.

² Edition by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies presented to L. Kákosy* (= *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14), Budapest 1992, p. 326-327.

³ It is not clear what is meant by the archaic designation "The southern district", attested until ca. the beginning of the second century. It has in the past often been identified with the Thebaid, see, for instance, B. PORTEN, *Archives from Elephantine*, Berkeley - Los Angeles 1968, p. 42-45; D. MEEKS, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou* (= *Bibliothèque d'étude* 59), Le Caire 1972, p. 139. For the title *Pa-T3-šd.t-rsy* ("The chief of The southern district"), see P. dem. *Eleph.* I 13543, 13582 and II 13566. R. MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN („Demotische Termini zur Landesgliederung Ägyptens", in *Life in a multi-cultural Society* (= SAOC 51), Chicago 1992, p. 243-247) thinks it was the area around Syene. New evidence, however, shows that "The southern district" was closely connected with

papyrus dates to 180/179 B.C., Ursula Kaplony-Heckel was able to redate some of the demotic *thesauros* receipts written by this scribe (see Table I).

“THE *THESAUROI* OF THE PATHYRITES”

It struck me that in all these receipts the tax was paid “to the granaries [plural] of the Pathyrites” (*r n3 r3.w n P3-tš-Pr-Ḥw.t-Ḥr*). I found four more examples, this time Greek ostraka, in which the tax was said to be paid *εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῶι Παθ(ρίτῃ) θη(σαυρούς)* (to the *thesauroi* [plural] of the Pathyrites). Some of these Greek ostraka were wrongly or not precisely dated. In one of them (*PSI VIII 988*) the expression is unjustly read and supplemented as *εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Παθ(ρεί) θη(σαυρούς)* (to the *thesauroi* of Pathyris). I collected all *thesauros* receipts from the Pathyrites and came to the following scheme:

The payments to “the *thesauroi* of the Pathyrites” are attested for the period 186-160 B.C.⁴ Until ca. 168 they are written in demotic by Harsiesis son of Nephres, the scribe of “The southern district”. From Nov. 165 at the latest they are issued by Greek officers; a parallel situation is found in Diospolis Megale, where from 164 B.C. onwards a lot of Greek *thesauros* receipts turn up.⁵

In 160-159 B.C. the situation changes: the tax is no longer paid to the “*thesauroi* of the Pathyrites”, but either to the *thesauros* [singular] of the lower-toparchia of the Pathyrites (probably to be located in the Memnoneia, see *O. Gr. Stras. 311*), or to the *thesauros* [singular] of the upper-toparchia in Krokodilopolis (see *O. Gr. Stras. 312*).

Table I

Text	Date (year and date B.C.)	Paid to	Scribe
<i>O. dem. Zürich 15</i> ⁶	?186 = y. 19 = ?162	<i>r n3 r3.(w) n P3-tš-Pr-Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>	Harsiesis s.o. Nephres
<i>O. dem. Stras. 250</i> ⁷	175 = y. 6 = 164	<i>r n3 r3.w n P3-tš-Pr-Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>	Harsiesis s.o. Nephres

Krokodilopolis and is indeed most probably to be identified with the Thebaid (*P. dem. Heid. 714*, col. II, l. 2-3 and col. III, l. 28.1, see U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 326).

⁴ Or 177-160 B.C., if *O. dem. Zürich 15* is to be dated to 162 instead of 186 B.C., see Table I.

⁵ See Z. PACKMAN, *The Taxes in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt. Granary Receipts from Diospolis Magna 164-88 B.C.* (= *American Studies in Papyrology* 4), New Haven – Toronto 1968.

⁶ Ed.: “Wahrscheinlich 96/95 v. Chr.”; corrected by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL (in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 333): “163/162 oder 152/51 v. Chr.”; exact date: 17 May 186 or 11 May 162 (probably not 152/151, since there is no year 19 of Ptolemy VIII attested).

O. dem. Bodl. 269 ⁸	175 = y. 6 = 164	<i>r n3 r3.w n</i> <i>P3-tš-Pr-Hw.t-Hr</i>	Harsiesis s.o. Nepherpres
O. dem. Cairo JdE 50,448 ⁹	175 = y. 6 = 164	<i>r n3 r3.w n</i> <i>P3-tš-Pr-Hw.t-Hr</i>	Harsiesis s.o. Nepherpres
O. dem. BM 29,738 ¹⁰	174 = y. 7	<i>r n3 r3.w n</i> <i>P3-tš-Pr-Hw.t-Hr</i>	Harsiesis s.o. Nepherpres
O. dem. NewYork 21.2.123 ¹¹	174 = y. 7	<i>r n3 r3.w n</i> <i>P3-tš-Pr-Hw.t-Hr</i>	Harsiesis s.o. Nepherpres
O. dem. Zürich 18 ¹²	172 = y. 9	<i>r n3 r3.w n</i> <i>P3-tš-Pr-Hw.t-Hr</i>	Harsiesis s.o. Nepherpres
O. Gr. Cairo GPW 25 ¹³	176 = y. 6 = 165	εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῶι Παθυ(ρίτῃ) θη(σαυρούς)	And() ¹⁴
O. Gr. Cairo GPW 26 ¹⁵	175 = y. 6 = 164	εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῶι Παθυ(ρίτῃ) θη(σαυρούς)	Dionysios ¹⁶

⁷ Edited by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *MDAIK* 21 (1966), no. 24: "19. Mai 111 v. Chr."; corrected by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL (in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 333): "176/175 oder 165/164 v. Chr."; exact date: 14 June 175 or 11 June 164.

⁸ Edited by S. T. WÄNGSTEDT, in *Or. Su.* 14/15 (1965/66), p. 28; date: ed.: 112/11 v. Chr.; corrected by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL (in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 333): "176/175 oder 165/164 v. Chr."; exact date: 9 July 175 or 6 July 164.

⁹ Edited by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992/93), p. 54 no. 1: "Aug./Sept. 175 oder 164 v. Chr.".

¹⁰ Edited by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in *MDAIK* 21 (1966), no. 25; "8. Juli 110 v. Chr."; corrected by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL (in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 333): "175/174 oder 164/163 v. Chr."; exact date: 24 July 174 (probably not 21 July 163, since from April/May 163 onwards the 18th year of Ptolemy VI started).

¹¹ Edited by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *MDAIK* 21 (1966), no. 4; "10. Sept. 110 v. Chr."; corrected by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL (in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 333): "175/174 oder 164/163 v. Chr."; exact date: 26 Sept. 174 (probably not 23 Sept. 163, since from April/May 163 onwards the 18th year of Ptolemy VI started).

¹² Ed.: "Wahrscheinlich 109/108 v. Chr."; corrected by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL (in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 333): "173/172 oder 162/161 v. Chr."; exact date: 6 Aug. 174 (probably not 162/161, since there is no year 9 of Ptolemy VIII attested).

¹³ Ed.: "III/ II sec. a.C."; exact date: 8 Nov. 176 or 5 Nov. 165.

¹⁴ The reading of the name is uncertain.

¹⁵ Ed.: "III/ II sec. a.C."; exact date: 13 July 175 or 10 July 164.

¹⁶ The editor read 'Ανραῖος.

<i>O. Gr. Cairo GPW 37</i> ¹⁷	y. 20 = 161	εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῶι Παθυ(ρίτη) θη(σαυρούς)	Eukles
<i>PSI VIII 988</i> ¹⁸	y. 21 = 160	εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῶι Παθυ(ρίτη) θη(σαυρούς)	Eukles
<i>O. Gr. Stras. 311</i> ¹⁹	y. 22 = 159	tax for the Με(μνονεῖων)	Eukles ²⁰
<i>O. Gr. Stras. 312</i> ²¹	y. 24 = 157	tax for the ἄνω το(παρχίας)	Apollonio[s] ²²

HOROS SON OF AMENOTHESES

A second item that caught my attention was that most of these demotic and Greek receipts of the *thesauroi* of the Pathyrites were countersigned, always in demotic, by a controller called *Hr s3*? (Horos son of?).²³ The name of the father caused a reading problem. It was read as *Qr?* or *Prq?*, otherwise unknown names, but also as *Ij-m-ḥtp* (Imouthes) and *Imn-ḥtp* (Amenothses). The cases in which the father's name was read as Imouthes and Amenothses were never linked to the ostraka where *Qr?* or *Prq?* was read. So this Horos (son of?)

¹⁷ Ed.: "94 a. C."; exact date: 21 Aug. 161; the early date is confirmed by the name of the scribe Eukles, see *PSI VIII 988*.

¹⁸ Ed.: "II-Ia"; corrected by P. W. PESTMAN (in: *Aegyptus* 43 [1963], p. 13-14) on the basis of the name of the taxpayer Psenthotes son of Psenenoupis, who is also recorded in: *P. dem. Heid.* 700 of 164/3 B.C.; exact date: 21 Aug. 160.

¹⁹ Ed. "Wohl 2. oder 1. Jahrh. v. Chr."; because of the name of Eukles and of the countersigner (Horos son of Amenothses, see below), I consider year 22 that of Ptolemy VI (and not of Ptolemy X: 93/92); the early date is confirmed by the name of the scribe Eukles, see *PSI VIII 988*; exact date: 21 June 159 B.C.

²⁰ The editor read Εὐκλᾶς.

²¹ Ed. "2. oder 1. Jahrh. v. Chr."; because of the name of the countersigner (Horos son of Amenothses, see below), I consider year 24 that of Ptolemy VI (and not of Ptolemy X: 91/90); see also P. W. PESTMAN (in: *Aegyptus* 43 [1963], p. 14), who dates the ostrakon to 18 Aug. 157, since Psenthotes son of Horos, mentioned in: *O. Gr. Stras.* 312, "essendo nato nel 185a (*BGU III 993, II 10-11*)"; exact date: 16 Aug. 157 B.C.

²² The editor read Α..ιλλ....

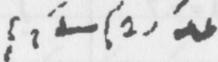
²³ Another countersigner, attested in connection with some of the *thesauros* receipts written by Harsiesis son of Nephherpres, is Teos son of Peteminis. He acts as countersigner — together with or without Horos son of Amenothses — in demotic *thesauros* receipts of the period 175-162 B.C. (or 186-172 B.C.): *O. dem. Stras.* 250 (175), *O. dem. BM 29,738* (174), *O. dem. NewYork* 21.2.123 (174), *O. dem. Zürich* 18/(172) and 15/(186 or 162), see Table I.

worked at the *thesauros*, often together with the above-mentioned Harsiesis son of Nepherpres. P. dem. Cairo 30710, to be dated to the beginning of the second century B.C.,²⁴ mentions among the witnesses *p3 sḥ r3 Hr s3 Imn-ḥtp* (the scribe of the *thesauros* Horos son of Amenotes). P. dem. Heid. 714²⁵ of 180/179 B.C., written by the just-mentioned Harsiesis, records among the witnesses *p3 sḥ r3 [- - s3] Imn-ḥtp* (the scribe of the *thesauros* [- - son of] Amenotes).

I am convinced that all the above-mentioned cases concern the *thesauros* scribe Horos son of Amenotes. In the two papyri P. dem. Heid. 714 and P. dem. Cairo 30710 this Horos is mentioned with his title in the witness list on the recto of the papyrus, a list always written not by the witnesses themselves, but the scribe of the contract;²⁶ both texts are, in addition, copies of the original contracts. Thus, when the copying scribe writes the name of Horos son of Amenotes, one has no problems with reading the name as such, but when Horos son of Amenotes writes his name himself, acting as countersigner of *thesauros* receipts, scholars have difficulties with the reading of the father's name; the facsimiles make clear why: the god determinative after *Imn* (Amun) is quite oblique and looks more like an *r*.

Table II

The unpublished witness list of the Theban papyrus P. dem. Mainz 6 (184 B.C.) has as one of the witnesses a Horos son of Amenotes.²⁷ The contract was written in eastern Thebes; it is possible that, as U. Kaplony-Heckel suggested, it concerns the *thesauros* scribe Horos son of Amenotes, but his handwriting differs from the examples in the list below:

Text	Date (year and date B.C.)	Facsimile (the name is written by Horos himself)	Reading of the editor
P. dem. Mainz 6(δ)	184 = y. 19		Hr s3 Imn-ḥtp

²⁴ U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 324.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 326.

²⁶ See, for instance, P. dem. Ryl. 12.

²⁷ The verso with the witness list is not published, see U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14, p. 334. I would like to thank Prof. dr. K.-Th. ZAUZICH, who was so kind as to provide a photocopy of the verso.

Papyri mentioning the *thesauros* scribe Horos son of Amenothès (the name is written by the scribe of the contract, not by Horos himself):

Text	Date (year and date B.C.)	Facsimile (the name is not written by Horos himself)	Reading of the editor
P. dem. Heid. 714 + P. dem. Berlin 23,841	180/179 = y. 2		[Hr] s3 Imn-ḥtp p3 sh r3
P. dem. Cairo 30,710	[- -]		Hr s3 Imn-ḥtp p3 sh r3

Ostraka recording Horos son of Amenothès as countersigner of *thesauros* receipts (the name is written by Horos himself):

Text (see Table I)	Date (year and date B.C.)	Facsimile (the name is written by Horos himself)	Reading of the editor
O. dem. Zürich 15	?186 = = y. 19 = ?162		Hr s3 Prq?/Qr?
O. dem. Stras. 250	175 = = y. 6 = 164		Hr s3 Prq?
O. dem. Bodl. 269	175 = = y. 6 = 164		Hr s3 Qr?
O. dem. BM 29,738	174 = y. 7		Hr s3 Prq?
O. dem. New York 21.2.123	174 = y. 7	traces	?
O. dem. Zürich 18	172 = y. 9		Hr s3?
O. Gr. Flor. XIV 25	176 = = y. 6 = 165		" " s3 Imn-ḥtp

O. Gr. Flor. XIV 26	175 = = y. 6 = 164		Hr s3?
PSI VIII 988 (Gr.)	y. 21 = 160		"Harimouthes"
O. Gr. Stras. 311	y. 22 = 159		"Horos s. o. Amenothos"
O. Gr. Stras. 312	y. 24 = 157		"Horos s. o. Amenothos"

A Horos son of Amenothos is attested in two texts from Pathyris from a later date: a *thesauros* receipt of 121 B.C., where the man acts as countersigner (the reading of the name, however, is not certain). As last witness of the marriage contract *P. dem. Ryl. 22* from 115-108 B.C., a man also called Horos son of Amenothos put down his name.²⁸ Since there is no resemblance in the writing of the name and since these texts are of much later date (184-157 versus 121-108 B.C.), I prefer not to identify this man with the above-mentioned Horos son of Amenothos.

Younger texts mentioning (probably another) Horos son of Amenothos from Pathyris:

Text	Date (year and date B.C.)	Facsimile (the name is written by Horos himself)	Acting as
O. Gr. Cairo GPW 32	121		countersigner <i>thesauros</i> receipt
<i>P. dem. Ryl. 22</i> , verso, l. 16	ca. 115-108		witness

[Leuven]

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²⁸ P. W. PESTMAN identifies the Horos son of Amenothos of *P. dem. Ryl. 22* with the Horos son of Amenothos of the not exactly dated papyrus *P. dem. Cairo 30710* and *O. Gr. Stras. 312* of 157 B.C.