DEMOTIC PAPYRUS LOEB 62: 
A RECONSTRUCTION

BY

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To Professor Dr. W. Erichsen on 
his seventieth birthday, to whom 
all Egyptologists are indebted.

When, in 1938, I published the translation of two trustee 
documents, part of an archive of demotic papyri from Fayyumic 
Philadelphia, now in the Library of the University of Michigan¹, 
I had hoped that soon thereafter I could publish my reconstruc-
tion of the similar P. Dem. Loeb 62². A long last the study is 
ready.

Since when first published this fragmentary document was 
unparalleled, it was not understood. With the Michigan parallels 
as a guide the missing parts now can be restored with practical 
certainty. As far as the position of the trustee is concerned, there 
is no change in the position which I outlined in the earlier article. 
However, I now believe that this papyrus has evidence con-
cerning marriage customs of the period which I did not then 
recognize.

This reconstruction has been worked out with careful regard 
to the space to be occupied, and each remaining trace of the 
writing has been studied and fitted into the reconstruction. The 
width of the missing right hand portion has been estimated from 
the certain restorations in lines 2, 5, and 6, and the almost certain 
restoration in line 7. This places the edge of the writing about 
one centimeter in from the right hand edge of the published plate. 
Thus in line 6 there would be about 5 centimeters more writing

¹ "Notes on the University of Michigan Demotic Papyri from Philadelphia, 
5. The Title 'pt and Letters of Agreement," JEA, 24 (1938), pp. 78–82.
² Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Papyri Loeb, cols. 84–97, taf. 34.
to the right, the whole line being about 25.3 centimeters in length at the scale of the reproduction, or about 30 centimeters in length on the original papyrus. The length of the restorations is based on this data in accordance with the style of the script of the papyrus; the transliteration is deceptive in this matter.

Transliteration

(1) [Hr.h-sp 7.1 . . . .] Pr.-q Pltwmys Pltwmys irm Klwptri ntr.w nty pr.w r w'b (2) [ilqsntrws] irm [ntr.]w sn irm ntr.w mnš.w irm ntr.w nrw lwirm ntr.w nty pr irm ntr.w mnw.t (3) [. . . .] s [. . .]glts r sh.m.t šqpsyš st.t Kfrsmwš ti fy.t šp kry m-bih (4) [Brrgyi ti ntr.y mnš.t r s.h.m.t] šqsy st.t [pltwmys] ti fy.t lw nb m-bih ḫrsyn; [lw mr] sn (5) [r s.h.m.t Hwēn] st.t Pltwmys ti wšb.t ḫrsyn; ti lw ml-sš(9)

ni hm(.w) l.ir ḫpr n wy šb k Ht.-桓l (6) [nb.t lp lhr.wt lšt ti ntr.y.] ‘q.t Hry-w pī nty lm Ht+.s-Inp mw.t Klš.t lrm wy šb k Ht.-桓l nb.t lp lhr.wt lšt ntr.y. (7) [‘q.t Pr-nfr-hr Pr-dl-Sbk] mw.t Dd-br l.ir-hr rḥbš bīk Ht.-桓l nb.t lp n lhr.wt lšt ti ntr.y. ‘q.t [Hry-w] [Pr-dl-Hr-mtn]š(9)

(8) [gšw dl-n ni hnm.w]š(9) nty Hry n-dr.š(9) pī ḫrw r-nš
r wy šb Hry-w pī nty lm Ht+.s-Inp nty Hry dl nlm-s [l.hr-hr pī rḥbš nty Hry] (9) [dl n-q wyš] Pr-nfr-hr st Pr-dl-Sbk nty Hry ḫd 70 ḫmtp s-nw [šš.t] 24 ir n kš.t 20 r sṭr 35 r ḫd 70 ‘n n r Scheduler f(9) [r prš] gḏš ms (10) [Ht.-h.sp 7.1 . . . . nty Hry]

[ššprš] y s n-dr.š f Ht+h+ y mtr.w [n.lm-w] lw-w mh lhwty sp nb lwš r ḫpr r dlv-n nfr pī ḫd 70 ḫmtp s-nw [šš.t] 24 ir n kš.t 2 nty Hry (11) [šš t hl-sp 8.1 . . . . nty Hry] lwš dlt n-qy pī sš ḫd 21š(9) pr-hd Pšt wšš(9) [l.ir-y] n nwš pirm Tš-wm-nfr ḫyš-f šryš ti nty lw n-dr.š(9) pī ḫrw dlt n-f ḫd 70 nty Hry (12) [nty lw-y irš] s lwš ḫyš r pšš [rḥbš Hry-w]š Pr-dl-Hr-mtn nty Hry ni h.nw nty lw n-dr.š(9) mh sš 2 lw-w dlt n-qy n.lm-w pī ḫrw r-nš hlr lhwty mn

(13) [lwš ḫpr bns-p-y dlt’n f] ḫd 70 ḫmtp s-nw [šš.t] 24 ir n kš.t 2 nty Hry šš Ht+h+sp 8.1 [. . . .] [rḥbš] (14) lwš [y-w st Pr-dl-h]š Hr-mtn ni hnm.w nty lw n-dr.š(9) (14) [r Pr-nfr-hr nty Hry m-sš-y] ntn(9) fy pšš ḫd 21 pr-hd Pšt wšš [l.hr-y n nwš] lrm Tš-]Wn-[nfrš(9) tšš-f šryš ti nty Hry Ht+h+sp 7.1 . . . . nty
Translation

(1) [Regnal year 7, . . .] of Pharaoh Ptolemy (son of) Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the gods who appear: the priest (2) [of Alexander and the] brother [gods] and the beneficent gods and the gods who love their father and the gods who, appear and the mother loving gods being (3) [. . .]., (son of) [. . .]dotes, the woman Aspasia, daughter of Chrysermos, being the bearer of the gift of victory before (4) [Bernice the beneficent goddess,] [Isis], daughter of Apollonios, [being] the bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the brother [loving], (5) [the woman Eirene, daughter of Ptolemaios, being] the priestess of Arsinoe who loves her father.

The agreement which was concluded between the farmer, servant of Hathor- (6) [mistress-of-Atfih-Isis, the] great [goddess], Herieus the younger, (son of) Kasanupis, (his) mother (being) Kollauthis, and the farmer, servant of Hathor-mistress-of-Atfih-Isis, the great goddess (7) [Pneferos, (son of) Petesu]chhos, (his) mother (being) Teos, in the presence of the trustee, servant of Hathor-mistress-of-Atfih-Isis, the great goddess, [Herieus], (son
of) [Petarmotis][b]. (8) [They said: Let us give the agreement[o] aforesaid into his keeping[d] on the day stated.

The farmer, Heriues the younger, (son of) Kasanupis, aforesaid, says as follows [in the presence of the trustee aforesaid]:

(9) [The farmer], Pneferos, son of Petesuchos, aforesaid, [has given to me] money, 90 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 obols making 2 kite,[6] equaling 350 staters, equaling money, 70 (deben) again, as a loan,[f] being the[b] principal and interest, (10) [on regnal year 7, . . . . , aforesaid].

I [have received] them from his hand; my heart is satisfied therewith, they being complete without any remainder.

If I give him the money aforesaid, 70 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 obols making 2 kite, (11) [by regnal year 8, . . . . , the last day], he will give me the document of 21 silver (deben)[b] of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage,[1] [which] I [made] in his name and that of Taonnophris his daughter, which is in his possession,[o] on the day of giving him the money aforesaid, 70 (deben), (12) [which I shall do, and he will renounce claim on] [the trustee Heriues], son of Petarmotis, aforesaid, in regard to the agreement aforesaid which is in his keeping, making two documents which will be given to me on the day named, of necessity, without delay.

(13) [If I do not give him] the money aforesaid, 70 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 obols making 2 kite, by regnal year 8, [. . . . ], [the last day],[b] [I will] renounce claim on the trustee Heriues, son of Petarmotis, [in regard to the agreement] which is in [his] keeping, (14) [and Pneferos aforesaid will have claim on me] to continue[d] to carry the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage, [which I made in his name and that of Taonnophris his daughter aforesaid on regnal year 7, . . . . , aforesaid, and I will renounce claim on] (15) [the farmer Pneferos aforesaid in regard to the] [document][n] and the agreement aforesaid.

The farmer Pneferos, [son of Petesuchos, aforesaid, says as follows in the presence of the trustee aforesaid:] [If] (16) [Heriues the younger, son of Kasanupis, aforesaid, [gives to me the money aforesaid, 70 (deben) of copper coinage, 24 abols making 2 kite, by [regnal year 8, . . . . , the last day, I]
will give to him the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage] (17) [which he made in my name and that of Taonnophris, my daughter, on the day named, immediately, without delay, and I will [renounce claim on the trustee aforesaid in regard to the agreement which is in his keeping, making two documents which will be given to] (18) [Herius the younger, son of Ka]sanupis, aforesaid, on the day named of necessity without delay.

If [I withdraw [from him]3) concerning the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage, which he made in my name] (19) [and that of Taonnophris my daughter and the agreement so as not to give them to him on the day of giving to me the money, 70 (deben) [in copper coinage, 24 obols making 2 kite, which he will do, I will give money, .. (deben), to the burnt offerings] (20) [and libations of Pharaoh Ptolemy] and Cleopatra the [mother] loving gods [in the month named, and he shall have claim on me still to give to him the document of 21 silver (deben) of the treasury of Ptah, of good coinage, aforesaid] (21) [and the agreement aforesaid. . . .] . . . .p) [. . .

Textual notes

a) In JEA, 24 (1938), p. 80, n. 5, I pointed out that this papyrus was written in regnal year 7. This has been independently established by Glanville and Skeat, JEA, 40 (1954), p. 51, no. 26, and by Hintze, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, II (1954), pp. 216 ff.

The name of the priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies stood at the beginning of line 3. Hintze takes the first traces after the break, [s], as the final letter of the name of the priest, Philost[ratos], as known from the Greek papyri. However, the space seems too long for this name.

In the name of the Athlophoros, Hintze suggests reading a medial ῥ. This is possible, but perhaps the scribe merely added an extra stroke by mistake.

In the Greek papyri the name of the Kanephoros is Isidora. After the certain ῥυ here the following signs do not fit ῥυ, and
I am of the opinion that they read .schema. It is possible that the demotic scribe has shortened the name to Isis.

b) The name of the father of the trustee is found in line 12, and a few traces of it are found toward the end of line 13. The traces of the name of the trustee here, and in lines 12 and 13, fit ḫr- CType; see the writing of this name in line 7, where it is that of the party of the first part.

c) This restoration is based on P. dem. Mich. Inv. No. 4200, lines 6–8, [ẖ₄-w] ḫr-hr “ḥb’ ḫ₂-nfr-[ḥr nty] ḫry ḫd di-sn n-k ḫ[,] ḫ₄ ḫ[n.w nty lw h₄-s] sš.w ḫry, “[They stood] in the presence of the trustee Panefer[as, aforesaid,] saying: Let us give you the letter of agreement whose contents are written below.” I now believe that the sdm-f form of the verb di here is to be translated as an optative; see Spiegelberg, Demotisches Grammatik, s. 121.

d) n-dr₄ f, literally, “in his hand.” I have translated “in his keeping” when the document referred to is the agreement, of which the trustee was merely the custodian, but “in his possession” when the document of 21 silver (deben) is concerned. The latter was actually the property of Pneferos until he returned it to Herius the younger on repayment of the loan.

e) In the phrase, ḫd 70, etc., there are several matters that require comment.

Mattha, Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, XVIII (1956), pp. 43 ff., believes that the sign “apparently written ḫt [ḥd] followed by a number should invariably be read ṭbn, not ḫt.” I prefer to retain the traditional reading ḫd, and translate it “money”; see Acta Orientalia, XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

The reading of ṣp-sn after ḫmt was pointed out to me by Erichsen; I had taken this group as a determinative. In light of this reading, I now believe that P. d. Lille 21,6 reads ḫl ḫmt ṣp-sn ḫl ṣṭlr, and that no word for “obol” is written there. I have followed Mattha, op. cit., p. 43, in translation of ḫmt ṣp-sn.

After considerable hesitation I have followed Mattha also in the reading of the next sign as ḫ₄-t, “obol”. If this reading is correct, Wene points out that the sign must represent ẖ₄, and the writing perhaps derived from a hieratic form similar to that in Černý and Gardiner, H. O., pl. XXVIII A, 4 recto, lines 2, 3,
and 5, and not from (of which the reading would be ḥt [ṣd.t], see Erichsen, *Demotic Glossar*, pp. 492 f.), as Mattha states. In the New Kingdom the ḥt was valued at \( \frac{1}{12} \) deben of gold or silver, see Černý, "Prices and Wages in Egypt," *Journal of World History*, I (1953–54), pp. 910 ff. In the Ptolemaic period the obol was \( \frac{1}{120} \) deben. I believe there is still much to be said for the reading of the sign as ḫn, "at the rate of," suggested to me some years ago by Hughes. I have not read it here because the group following the number 24, best preserved in line 10, near the end, apparently is ḫ ṅ, "making."

f) The translation of ḫ-ḥf (also elsewhere written ḫ-hf) as "loan" first was given, to the best of my knowledge, by Seidl in a letter to Erichsen which the latter showed me in the summer of 1957. However, Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (SAOC 28), p. 89, n. 25, closely approaches this definition.

g) The scribe of this document writes ḫd and ṃ Ṽ identically. In all but three instances (before ḫw in lines 10, 12, and 17) there is a stroke before the usual form of the sign which apparently is sometimes meaningless, but which can be read ḫ where the context admits. In this instance ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ, "being money, principal and interest," is equally possible.

h) In the Greek abstracts of marriage settlements of the "document of endowment" type published by Boak, *JEAL*, 12 (1926), pp. 100 ff., the amount is in ḫwσκ. He noted that the gold stater was 4 drachmas, and this drachma was worth 12\(\frac{1}{2} \) times the similar silver coin. Thus a gold stater was worth 24\(\frac{1}{2} \) times the silver deben of 20 drachma. Since these abstracts were of the time of Claudius, Boak believed that there was a substitute of the ḫwσκ for the silver deben at some period.

However, in the Greek registry dockets on P. dem. B. M. 10606, Hamburg 7, and Hamburg 3, dated about 100–90 B. C., belonging to the Harawa archive being edited by Erichsen, the amounts concerned in the documents of endowment are also in

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χρυσά, showing that gold was accepted as the standard for such documents in the registry office of the place and time concerned.

The problems that this gold standard introduce are solved by a notation in Liddell and Scott, Greek English Lexicon, p. 2009, under χρυσεος, 3: "in papyri not a coin but the equivalent of 20 silver drachmæ." Thus it appears that the χρυσεος of these abstracts and dockets does not represent a gold stater, but the equivalent value in gold of a silver deben.

i) Mattha, op. cit., p. 38, translates with "in bullion." Literally meaning "refined," it denotes undebased metal, but I do not believe it was necessarily uncoined.5

k) While I have taken the traces as belonging to τρατ, they could belong to the following ἰω, in which case the day mentioned is lost. The last day of the month was often that on which an obligation fell due.

l) I believe that the traces at the beginning of the line make the reading, μν, certain. The following heavy stroke under the f of ἴω may belong to μν, or may be r. I know of no demotic parallel to this phrase, "to continue to carry."

m) The top of the ων is preserved, and is in the correct position for the name of the daughter.

n) The traces here fit σς, but I am not entirely sure of the preceding restoration beginning with ἰω-γ at the end of line 15. Another possible restoration would be [μλω-σ μσσ-γ] (15) [τρστ πτ ἤπε ρτ] σς, "[and he shall have claim on me] (15) [to do for him the right of the] document," etc.

o) These words are not always present in this clause.

p) I think it probable that the traces in line 21 belong to the name of the scribe or that of his father.

General Commentary

The reconstructed Loeb 62 adds nothing to the understanding of the position of the trustee beyond the earlier conclusion "that

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4 I am indebted to Erichsen for permission to use this data. The transcriptions of the dockets were made by Dr. Tage Larsen.

5 I must point out in regard to Mattha’s remarks on br, here and on p. 30, that only in reference to Erichsen, Auswahl, p. 31. 5 (the papyrus concerned is
'rbt is the legal title for a disinterested party who has in his care the record of a transaction in order that there may be available such a record in case the contract is not fulfilled."6 However, there is an additional piece of collaborating evidence. Mr. George Michaelides, of Cairo, has given me permission to publish a demotic letter from his collection, P. dem. Michaelides 7. While I do not fully understand the whole, it seems to concern a dispute over the payment of money. Pending full publication, I quote the following extract, lines x + 6 to 9, which mentions a trustee.

\[
gdl-g s \text{ irm} \text{ Ddl-hr Nht-[sq-} \text{ Imn]} \quad \text{I spoke with Teos, (son of)}
\]
\[
\text{Necht-[siamun,]}
\]
\[
dlf \text{ in-w pti 'rbt} \quad \text{He caused to be brought the}
\]
\[
\text{trustee,}
\]
\[
dlf dlf pti ss \text{ hpr-f pti ss} \quad \text{that he might cause him to give}
\]
\[
\text{the document, inasmuch as}
\]
\[
\text{the document}
\]
\[
\text{was in his keeping.}
\]

In studying the content of Loeb 62 it must be emphasized that the reconstruction of any document, including this one, is to some extent hypothetical. Nevertheless, in spite of the large gaps, I believe that the restorations, based on the parallels which I have previously published in translation, are correct in the essential details.

Herierus the younger borrowed from Pneferos a sum which, with interest added, amounted to 70 copper deben on an unknown day in year 7, with repayment due on an unknown day in year 8. Thus the period of this loan could be from about one month to twenty-four months in length.

As security for this loan Herierus the younger gave Pneferos a document of 21 deben of silver made out to Pneferos and Taonophris his daughter. If Herierus repaid the loan on the date due, the document of 21 deben of silver would be returned to

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6 B.M. 10120. A), can hr possibly be the equivalent of w lh. In all other phrases quoted it means "penalty." For a full study see Hughes and Nims, AJSN, LVII (1940), pp. 252 ff.

7 JEA, 24, p. 82.
him. If he did not then repay it, the document of 21 deben of silver would remain in force and in the possession of Pneferos. There is no provision for the repayment of the loan at any time later than the date due.

Apparently the document of 21 deben of silver itself did not record the terms of this loan. Thus an agreement, Loeb 62, was drawn up stating these terms and given to the trustee to hold for the period of the loan. On the date the loan was due the trustee was to deliver this agreement to Heriæus the younger if the loan were repaid, or to Pneferos if repayment was not forthcoming.

With one exception, all documents of 21 deben of silver known to me are documents of endowment. This exception is B. M. 10594, a marriage settlement executed at Siut in regnal year 9 of Ptolemy Philometor, the second year after the date of Loeb 62. The Siut document makes no provision for the transfer of property to the wife and children as do the documents of endowment.

Erichsen and I have offered the hypothesis that another category of marriage settlements provided for the support of the wife during the first period of marriage, until it was determined whether or not she could bear children, with the implication that if the woman did not become pregnant the marriage could be abrogated. In one of the three documents of this class the instrument was cancelled by cross hatching, indicating that there was a divorce.

The situation in Loeb 62 appears similar. I now think it probable that the document of 21 deben of silver mentioned was a marriage settlement. The father of the wife turned over to her husband a sum of money in consideration of the husband’s

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7 Other documents of endowment are for different amounts. This article is written before the appearance of Lüdeckens, Ägyptische Eheverträge, which includes previously unpublished marriage settlements, including documents of endowment. Nor do we yet have the long awaited publication of the Tunah el Gebel legal papyrus by Matthä; a considerable section of this papyrus is devoted to documents of endowment.

8 Thompson, A Family Archive from Siut, pp. 70 ff., pls. XXVI, XXVII. See also Acta Orientalia, XXIII, p. 120.

executing the settlement. If within the allotted time the woman bore a child or became pregnant, this sum would be treated as dowry\textsuperscript{10} and the marriage continue in force. Should, however, the marriage be unfruitful, the husband would return the sum with interest and the marriage would be abrogated.\textsuperscript{11} Until a different reconstruction and interpretation of Loeb 62 is presented, we may accept it as additional evidence that the birth of children was a prime consideration in Egyptian marriages of the period.

\textsuperscript{10} Dowry: “the money, goods, or estate, which a woman brings to a man in marriage,” Webster’s New International Dictionary, 2nd ed., loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{11} In JEA, 24, p. 80, n. 3, I took a different view. There also I pointed out that P. d. Bibl. Nat. Paris 219, a document of endowment, was made out to a man for his daughter. In connection with the matter of a loan made in consideration of a document of alimentation, note should be taken of P. Torino 13, the pertinent part of which is discussed by Edgerton, Notes on Egyptian Marriage (SAOC, 1), pp. 21–24.