

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ

ΑΡΙΑΔΝΗ

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ
ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ

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ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ

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P.Mich. inv. 4219: A wooden label used as a wooden board and as a mummy label*

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Inventory no 4219 at the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection is a wooden label. Its size is 23.3 cm (length) x 4.6 cm (height) x 0.75 cm (thickness). The label, as it is preserved, was worked to be used as a label for a mummy. The shape is the common one among these labels: it is rectangular (left part, 18.7 cm in length) ending at the right hand side in an “ear”, which is in a triangular shape and 4.6 cm in length. Just 2 cm from the sharp point the center of a hole is drilled, 0.5 cm in diameter.¹ At the right bottom are some small holes made by the woodworms.

On one side three lines are preserved written in black carbon ink with a brush. The text is written in Demotic and was published by Spiegelberg (1930, 39) and republished by Zauzich (1987, 99-100). The translation is as follows: “Harsiesis the elder, son

* I came across this label during my work on the APIS project in the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. I would like to thank Prof. Traianos Gagos for granting me permission to publish the text and the images here. Also, I would like to thank Prof. Karl-Theodor Zauzich, Arthur Verhoogt, Terry Wilfong, Ghislaine Widmer, Ivan Guerneur for responding immediately to my questions regarding the demotic text and Professors Dieter Hagedorn and Claudio Gallazzi for their remarks. Also, Philip Deloria for informing me about the archives found in tombs and all of them for our valuable discussions concerning the scenarios discussed here and bibliographical references.

The papyrological citations follow the abbreviations used in the web edition of *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

¹ Through that hole, a piece of string, not preserved now, was drawn and then tied around the neck of the mummy. The kind of wood could not be specified in this edition; generally for the wood used in mummy labels see Quaegebeur 1978, 234. For the shapes of the mummy labels and the holes see Quaegebeur 1978, 235.

of Kolanthes, alias Se, priest, who died 67 (?) years old, who had lived in the 10th district". The difficulty arises from the word *mr(.t)-iwe.t*, which was so far not found in Demotic and is comparable only with the Coptic PAYH, ΛAYH, which means district of a city.²

In both editions, however, there is no mention of the Greek text on the other side, and it is certain that this information was not communicated to the editors at the time of the publication. This is a receipt for the payment of εἴσκρισις to the government for entering hereditary offices of the priests. It is dated in September 3, A.D. 139. The fee was called εἰσκριτικόν (Wallace 1938, 249-252). The area declared in l. 1 is Φενεβ(), which only points to Phenebythis, a village or a toparchy of the Panopolite nome (*P.Panop.Beatty*, p. xxxvii; Calderini 1987, 67, s.v.).³

The receipt is issued in the name of Harsies, the third son of Kolanthos and Senpeteminis, grandson of Orsenouphis, for entering into the priesthood in the temple of Aphrodite and Apollo and the other associated gods in the same temple. The amount paid is 20 drachmae and the payment is made through another person, Ploutog(), son of Ket().

The scribe of the receipt took into consideration the angular ear of the right hand side, which means that he did not write on a rectangular board, which was later cut to form a label, but on an already formed label, a shape well known to be used as a label and not as a board. Also, when the hole was drilled, a lengthwise split of wood in the surface was made and the scribe wrote on top of it. Writing a receipt on a wooden tablet is not the commonest practice in Egypt, even though there are some examples (Brashear and Hoogendijk 1990, 21-2; Worp 1997, 1014-1015 = *SB XXIV 15919*); furthermore, writing a receipt on a wooden label is even less common (Gallazzi 2000; 181-5; Jördens 2003, 163-4). Note that this is the only example of a mummy label, which was used for writing a receipt and a mummy label. But which side was written first cannot be said with certainty.⁴

² This explanation seems right, since, even in the Greek texts of mummy labels we have the the abbreviation λ' after the numerals 7, 9, 10, that is, the seventh, ninth and tenth district; cf. Spiegelberg 1930, first edition of *P.Mich. inv. 4534 (2)* (by mistake 4534 (11), then *P.Coll.Youtie II 111*; *BL IX*, 58); 4534 (3) (by mistake 4534 (10), then *P.Coll.Youtie II 112*; *BL IX*, 58); 4534 (4) (by mistake 4534 (11), then *P.Coll.Youtie II 113*; *BL IX*, 59). See also Smith 1999, 284, footnotes 18 and 19.

³ The possible identification of Phenebythis with the Demotic place name *Pr-nb-wt* has been discussed (Quaegebeur 1978, 251; Zauzich 1987, 97, 6n.; Chauveau 1992, 108; Smith 1999 and 2005). The name of the area is not mentioned in the Demotic side. If it could be *Pr-nb-wt*, which is found in another mummy label at the Michigan collection (*inv. no 4535.10*, line 2) as well, then the reference in the Greek text to Φενεβ() should shed new light to this topographical problem. Moreover, this receipt is dated in A.D. 139 and it could be interesting for the paleography of the Demotic text on the other side.

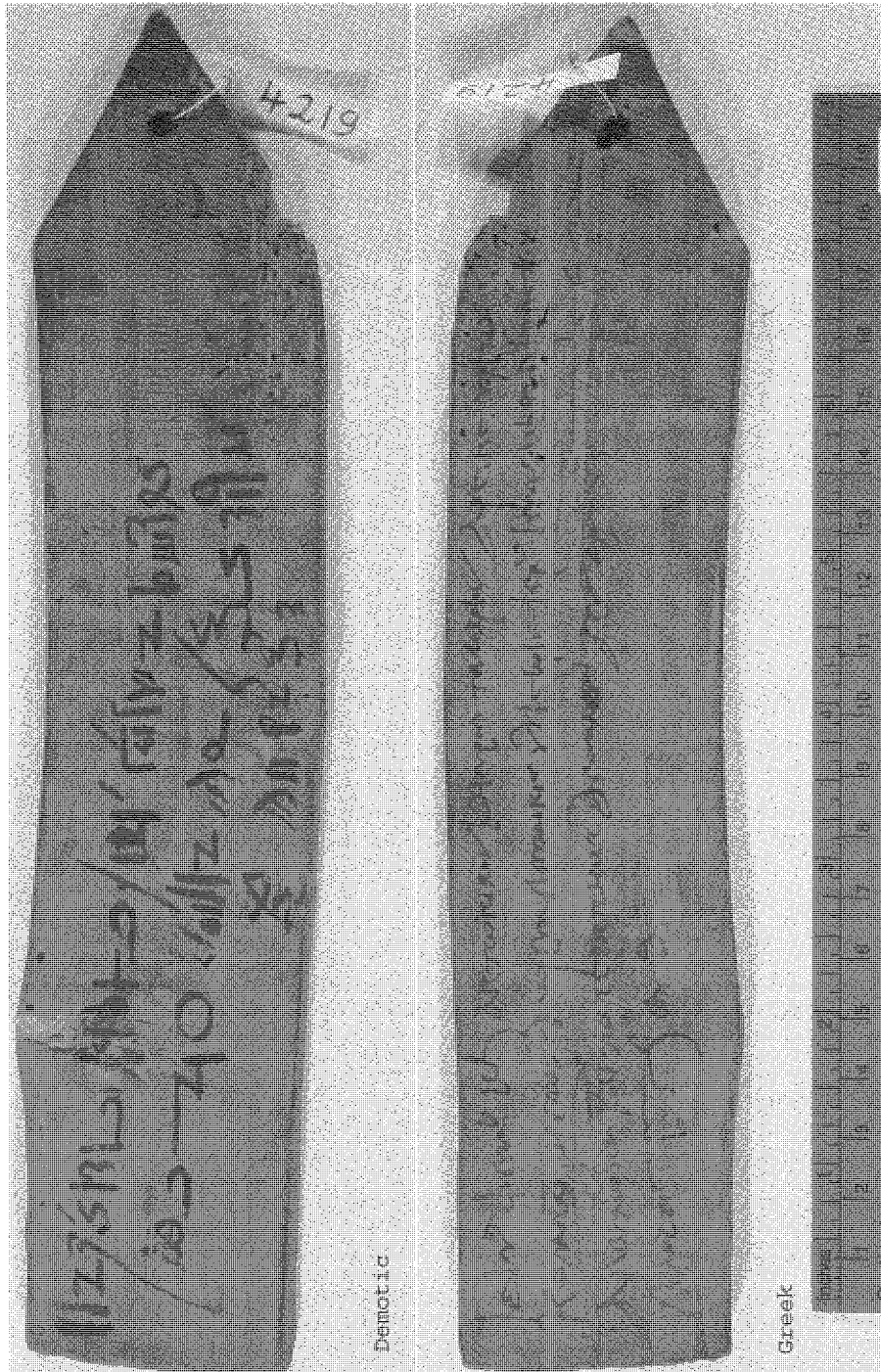
⁴ We could think many possible scenarios, but I am proceeding having in mind H. Youtie's criticism

Finally, we should point to the date and the place of the present receipt. As it seems from the lists in Gallazzi (2000, 181-3) and Jördens (2003, 164), there are only a few examples of receipts written on mummy labels dated from the Roman period. Also, it is the only label used for writing a receipt originated from the Panopolite nome, while the place of provenance of the most of the other labels is the Pathyrite nome (Gallazzi 2000, 185).

to L. Youtie when she published the mummy labels in *P.Coll. Youtie* II 97-120; see footnote 1 of her edition: "Don't put in what you don't know! Make it rich! Give it substance! Don't theorize! Don't make religious history! No romance!".

The most probable scenario concerning which side was written first, in my view, is that the receipt was written first on an unwritten at this time wooden mummy label, when the young Harsies paid his fee for entering the priesthood. This receipt could be issued any time, either before or after his elder brother's death. The latter is better justified because of the hereditary type of the offices in the Egyptian temples. Thus, when Harsies the elder died, his younger brother or another person used this label for the purpose it was made: a mummy label. If we assume that Harsies the third reused the label and exclude the possibility that he could not find another label to use for his brother –since certainly the temple should offer many, and he was a priest, not whoever person– we must assume that he did it with purpose. But, which was the exact purpose is questionable. Harsies, having paid a considerable sum, had this receipt issued once. This receipt was one of the most valuable documents of his live hood and he should have to keep it for a life time. It is not the annual payment of a mere tax, it is one of his most important documents, by which he could declare or denote his job. We know from other examples in Egypt that valuable documents were kept in tombs by the priests of a temple, since this could be considered as a safe place. Cf. the archive of Totoes (Botti 1967) and the archive of Psenminis and Tamounis (El-Amir 1959; Pestman 1993, 28-30), where a considerable number of documents (Greek and Demotic) were kept in jars in tombs and bibliography in *Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Archives and Collections* in http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/sample_arch.php?id=248 and http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/archives/sample_arch.php?id=203). Harsies knew that by writing it there and then hanging it in the neck of his brother's mummy and burying it with the mummy, the receipt was safe, at least for the time he was a priest in this temple. Of course, there is a parallel more simplified scenario. Harsies or another relative of the dead just found this label (already written on one side) handy in their house and used it as a mummy label.

The scenario that the mummy label was written first and then taken from the buried mummy to be recycled cannot work, because the young brother would never take the label of his brother to reuse. Of course, sometime later someone could reuse it, but certainly not the brother or other relatives of the dead. On the other hand, nobody can exclude the possibility that for a certain and unknown to us reason –e.g. wrong details written concerning the dead (?)– the label for the mummy of Harsies was not hung from the neck of the mummy, and instead of throwing it away or wash away the text, the other side was used for writing the receipt.



- 1 Ἰδίου λ(όγου). Φενεβ(ύθεως). β (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. Ἄρσιης
τρίτος
- 2 Κολάνθ(ου) Ὀρσενού(φεως) μη(τρὸς) Σενπετεμίνιος ὑ(πέρ) ἰσκρισ(εως) ἱερῶ(ν)
ἱεροῦ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ
- 3 Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν λογι(μου) ἀργ(υρίου) δραχ(μάς) εἴκοσι (γί-
νονται) (δραχμαὶ) κ διὰ
- 4 Πλουτογ() Κητ(). γ (ἔτους) Θῶθ σ̄.

1 ιδιου^λ φενεβ^β βS 2 κολανθ̄ ορσενου) μη, υ), ισκρισ̄, I. εισκρισ(εως); ιερ^ω

3 λογ^ι αργ̄ δραχ^λ, / s κ 4 πλουτογ̄ κητ̄ γS

Of Idios Logos. Of Pheneb(ythis). The 2nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. Harsies, the third, son of Kolanth(os), grandson of Orsenouphis, his mother being Senpetem-inis, (paid) for admission to the priesthood of the famous temple of Aphrodite and Apollo and the associated gods 20 silver drachmas, total 20 drachmae, through Ploutog(), son of Ket(). The 3rd year, Thoth 6.

1 Ἰδίου λ(όγου): Cf. *SPP* XXII 171, 6 (Soknopaiou Nesos; A.D. 158) ἰδίου λόγου ἰσκρισεως and *SPP* XXII 116, 3 (Soknopaiou Nesos; A.D. 180) ἰδίου λόγου; cf. *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3470, 20n.; Wallace 1938, 250. Idios Logos was responsible to collect the fees in the Roman period.

The fee is considered as paid by (and, therefore, referred to) the priesthood of Phenebythis in the second year of Antoninus Pius, even though the receipt was issued in the sixth day of the following third year.

Ἄρσιης: A person Ἄρσιης, the same form of the name as in the present label, from Phenebythis, but with different parents and dated in A.D. 222, is recorded in another mummy label, *C.Étiq.Mom.* 2102 (= Boyaval 1986, 172). For the name, meaning “Horus, son of Isis” see Lüddeckens 1992, 834-5, s.v.

τρίτος: Even the last two letters are not clear, the reading seems certain. In cases the full name is written, the position of the adjective is always after the personal name and before the father’s name; cf. *P.Mich.* V 241, 8 (Tebt.; A.D. 16); 248, 1 (Tebt.; I A.D.); *P.Prag.* II 137, 79 (Arsin. polis; A.D. 222); *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 318 (Pan.; A.D. 298). An elder and a younger (the third son) brother are recorded together in *P.Mich.* V 305, 1 (Tebt.; I A.D.) Εὐτυχὸς πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐτυχὸς τρίτος καὶ Σισιχαλῆς καὶ Σισοῖς οἰκοδόμος οἱ τέσσαρες Εὐτύχου μητρὸς Θερμέθιος.

2 Κολάνθ(ου): This is one of the possible resolutions of the genitive; alternatively, Κολανθ(ᾶτος). For the name see *P.Coll.Youtie* II 110, note; Lüddeckens 1992, 994-5, s.v.

Σενπετεμίνιος: The name Senpetemini is attested mainly in mummy lables from the Panopolite nome; e.g. the first edition of *P.Mich. inv.* 4533 (3) (see footnote

2 above); *T.Mom.Louvre* 1175, A, 2; The name means “the daughter of Peteminis” (Peteminis means “The one who has been given by the god Min”); cf. Lüddeckens 1992, 1124, s.v.

ιερῶ(ν): The superscripted letter is in the form of a cup, often used for ω. The examples from Soknopaiou Nesos give the plural ιερέων; cf. *SPP XXII* 116, 3-4 prints ιδίου λόγου [ιερέ]ων Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσο(ν); 143, 8 ὑπὲρ εἰσκριτικοῦ ιερέων Σοκνο(παίου) Νήσ[ο]ν; 171, 6 ὑπὲρ εἰσκ[ρί]σεως ιερ(έων) Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσο(ν); *P.Lond.* II 329, 7 (*BL* I, 253; *BL VIII*, 177) ἰσκρισεω(ς) ἰρέων Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσο(ν); see Wallace 1938, 250.

3 ἀργ(υρίου) δραχμ(άς) εἴκοσι: For the various amounts of payments see Wallace 1938, 250.

ιεροῦ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος: For the cult of Aphrodites (= Hathor) in Egypt see Rübsam 1974, 53. In *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2415, 48 (III A.D.) a boat has the two gods (Aphrodite and Apollo), as an ensign. Note that Harsies became a priest of the temple of these two Greek gods, who were identified with the two Egyptian gods that his name consisted of, Isis and Horus respectively. For Isis-Aphrodite see Dunand 1979, 68, and n. 124.

4 Πλουτογ(): The personal name Ploutogenes is found in the Panopolite nome; cf. for instance *P.Achm.* 9, fr. 1, 44 (II A.D.); *T.Mom.Louvre* 19, A, 1 (III A.D.); *P.Panop.Beatty*, passim (A.D. 298); *P.Berl.Bork.* passim (A.D. 298-330); *SB I* 1254, 2.

Κῆτ(): The letters are not certain. The first could be either κ or ι. The second resembles η of μη, l. 2. The third is superscripted and could be either τ, μ, γ, υ. The personal name Κῆτις is attested in Thebes; cf. *P.Rein.* II 140, 6 (A.D. 159) Σενμώνθιος Κῆτιος; also *P.Sakaon* 5, 33 (Theadelphia; A.D. 312) Κῆτιδος.

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**P.Mich. inv. 4219: Μία ξύλινη ετικέτα
που χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως πινακίδα γραφής
και ως ετικέτα μούμιας**

ΝΙΚΟΣ ΛΙΤΙΝΑΣ

Περίληψη

Μία ξύλινη ετικέτα ανήκει στην παπυρολογική συλλογή του Πανεπιστημίου του Μίσιγκαν με διαστάσεις 23,3 εκ. (μήκος) x 4,6 εκ. (ύψος) x 0,75 εκ. (πλάτος). Η μία πλευρά χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως πινακίδα για να γραφεί στα ελληνικά μία απόδειξη καταβολής τελών (20 δραχμών) για την είσοδο στην τάξη των ιερέων στο ιερό της Αφροδίτης και του Απόλλωνα. Η καταβολή του ποσού έγινε από τον Αρσιή, τον τρίτο γιο του Κολλάνθου και της Σενπετεμίνιος μέσω ενός άλλου προσώπου στις 3 Σεπτεμβρίου του 139 μ.Χ. Στην άλλη πλευρά της ίδιας ξύλινης ετικέτας κάποιος έγραψε στα αιγυπτιακά δημοτικά τα προσωπικά στοιχεία (όνομα, ονόματα γονέων, επάγγελμα, ηλικία, τόπο κατοικίας) του νεκρού μεγαλύτερου αδελφού του Αρσιέως. Την ετικέτα τότε θα την κρεμούσαν στον λαιμό της μούμιας και θα την χρησιμοποιούσαν ως ταυτότητα για τον νεκρό. Μπορούμε να εξετάσουμε πολλές εκδοχές σχετικά με το ποια πλευρά γράφτηκε πρώτη και γιατί ο μικρότερος Αρσιής χρησιμοποίησε μία ετικέτα μούμιας (χρησιμοποιημένη ήδη ή όχι για τον αδελφό του) για να γράψει τη σημαντική γι' αυτόν απόδειξη. Οι πρώτοι εκδότες του αιγυπτιακού δημοτικού κειμένου δεν είχαν πληροφορηθεί την ύπαρξη του ελληνικού κειμένου και έτσι η συγκεκριμένη ετικέτα μούμιας παρέμενε ασήμαντη ανάμεσα σε πολλές άλλες. Τώρα σε συνδυασμό με το ελληνικό κείμενο η παρούσα ετικέτα αποτελεί μία σπάνια: Είναι η μοναδική που χρησιμοποιήθηκε και ως πινακίδα γραφής και ως ετικέτα μούμιας, η μοναδική φορολογική απόδειξη γραμμένη σε ετικέτα μούμιας που προέρχεται από τον Πανοπολίτη νομό της Άνω Αιγύπτου και από τις ελάχιστες που χρονολογούνται στη ρωμαϊκή εποχή.