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# PAPYRUS LIBBEY

AN EGYPTIAN MARRIAGE CONTRACT

A MONOGRAPH

BY

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*Karl J. Trübner, Straßburg 1907.*

## PREFACE.

In the month of September in 1906, Emil Brugsch Pascha, Curator of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, was kind enough to send me photographs of a Demotic papyrus which he had seen in Cairo in the possession of Mr. Edward Drummond Libbey of Toledo, Ohio.<sup>1)</sup> Since it appeared from the photograph that this was a document of unusual importance I asked the owner of the original for a new reproduction<sup>2)</sup>, and he very kindly sent it to me with the permission to publish the papyrus. I wish to express here to Mr. Libbey my most sincere gratitude especially as the new text possesses a most extraordinary interest in several respects. I have, therefore, considered it my duty to make it accessible to scholars as soon as possible, and I am indebted to the „Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft in Straßburg“ for having supported this the chief purpose of my publication.

For the sake of speedy publication the philological notes have been made as brief as possible; but I have tried, in my commentary to elucidate the significance of this new papyrus in its bearing upon history and upon the history of civilization. On the other hand, I have refrained from further juridical comments, since in that case it would have been necessary to enter into a new philological investigation of the now very numerous Demotic marriage-contracts, an investigation which lies beyond the scope of the present paper. He who wishes to inform himself about marriage in ancient Egypt according to the present stage of our knowledge may be referred to the literature quoted in the foot-note.<sup>3)</sup> The marriage-contract from the Strassburg Library dating from the time of the Ptolemies (Plate II) and in connection with it the ostrakon from the same collection, which I have brought to bear upon the Papyrus Libbey, are intended to be a new contribution to the material thus far known.

<sup>1)</sup> The papyrus has since been donated by M. Libbey to the Museum of Art at Toledo, Ohio, where it is now to be found. It was purchased at Luxor, and it measures 0,605 × 0,16 m.

<sup>2)</sup> The reproductions on Plate I and III, 1 have been made from this excellent photograph.

<sup>3)</sup> For the older period: W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*. Leipzig 1899. For the later period: Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*. Leipzig 1891, Chaps. VII and IX. Nietzold, *Die Ehe in Ägypten zur ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit*. Leipzig 1903. With regard to the ἔγγραφος and ἄγραφος γάμος cf. my remarks in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égypt. et assyr.* XXVIII (1906) pp. 190 sqq., and in addition Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* IV, 264.

## PAPYRUS LIBBEY (PLATE I).

### TRANSLITERATION.

1 ḥsp(.t) I.t<sup>1</sup>) 'bd III 'h(j)-t n Pr-<sup>c</sup>; Ḥbbš ḏd t; s-t-ḥ(j)m-t St-jr-t-bn(.t) t' P;-tj- Ḥr-p;-hrt  
mw-t-s T;-šrj-t(-n)-M(j)n n wn-pr(?)<sup>2</sup>) n 'mn-'pi pr-'mntj N-t ḏd-ḥr s; P;-<sup>c</sup>w mw-t-f Ns-Ḥr-p;- hrt  
'r-k-t(-i)<sup>3</sup>) n ḥ(j)m-t tj-k n-j ḥt <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> r sttr II<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> r ḥt <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> 'n

2 n p-e šp n s-t- ḥ(j)m-t 'w-i ḥ;-<sup>c</sup>k n hi mtu-i mst-k mtu-i mr kt-ḥ r-r-k 'w-i tj n-k ḥt <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> <sup>1</sup>/<sub>(10)</sub>  
<r ḥt><sup>4</sup>) r sttr I-t <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> r ḥt <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> <sup>1</sup>/<sub>(10)</sub> 'n m ḥn p;i ḥt <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> r sttr 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> r ḥt <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> 'n r tj-k n-j p-e šp  
n s-t-ḥ(j)m-t 'w-i wi-t(-i) r-r-k p; <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> nt nb nk-t nb nt 'w-i

3 r tj ḥpr-w 'rm-k p-k ss n 'r n-j r 'r-k 'r-f mi šp mjt(j) p; sš nt ḥrj r ke ḏm<sup>c</sup> 'w-i r tj šp n-f 'w-i  
'r md-t nb nt ḥrj ḥr p; sš rn-f 'w-i tj mḥ-f n mtr s(?) XVI 'w-i tj-s n-k 'w bn 'w-i rḥ tj n-k  
ke ss hrw nt ḥrj(?) ;t ḏd ḥnb-t(?) nb md-t nb n p; t;

4 'rm-k r sš P;-tj-Ḥr-p;-R<sup>c</sup> p' P;-ḥ;-<sup>c</sup>-s

### TRANSLATION<sup>5</sup>).

1 "In the year I, in (the month of) Athyr, of King *Kh<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>sh<sup>a</sup>*<sup>6</sup>). Has said the lady *Set-yr-b<sup>o</sup>one*, daughter of *Peteharpokrates* and of *Senminis* to the Pastophoros<sup>7</sup>) of Amon of Karnak in Western Thebes, *Teos*, son of *P-<sup>c</sup>w* and of *'ns-Ḥ<sup>r</sup>-p<sup>c</sup>-khr<sup>at</sup>*:

Thou makest me (thy) wife, thou givest me <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) = 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> staters — I repeat <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*)<sup>8</sup>)<sup>2</sup> as my dower. If I discharge thee as (my) husband, hating thee and loving another one more than thee, I shall give thee 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> tenths silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) = 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> staters<sup>9</sup>) — I repeat 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> tenths silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*), which belong to these <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) = 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> staters — I repeat <sup>5</sup>/<sub>10</sub> silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) —, which thou givest me (as) my dower. I cede unto thee<sup>10</sup>) <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> of all and everything that I <sup>3</sup> shall

1) = *αφουρι*. Cf. Sethe: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens III, 94 sqq.

2) See Recueil de travaux XXIII, p. 99, ann. 2.

3) With regard to the suffix added by means of *tw* cf. Junker: Grammatik der Denderatexte, § 52.

4) The scribe has erroneously anticipated the later following *r ḥt* and forgotten to correct his mistake by cancelling the letters.

5) In the translations smaller type is used for uncertain words.

6) In hieroglyphic characters: 

7) Name of a lower order of priests. See Otto: Priester und Tempel im hellenist. Ägypten I, 245.

8) 1 *d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n* = 10 *ḫite*. In the documents of the Saitic and of the Persian periods the latter coin is always counted as a tenth of the former: 1 *ḫite*, therefore, is called a tenth of a *-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*. This corresponds, as is shown above, to <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> silver stater, or 2 drachmae. The above, sum, therefore, = 10 drachmae, i. e. about 2 dollars, and by it it is proved that here the "dower" cannot be the real purchase-price of the bride, but only a formality of a legal marriage. After a very plausible suggestion of Nietzold (l. c., p. 59), however, this fictive present is perhaps only a remnant of the time in which the bride was actually purchased.

9) = about 1 dollar, i. e. half of the dower.

10) Literally: "I go away from thee (with)". This is a

acquire with thee as long as thou art married to me<sup>1)</sup>. Receive<sup>2)</sup> the copy of the above text in another papyrus. I have it drawn up. I affirm every word written above according to the present document. I shall complete it with 16<sup>3)</sup> witnesses. I give it to thee — I shall not be able to fix another date for thee than the above — without negotiating with thee in any way in writing or orally”.

“Written by *Petcharpres*, son of *Pe<sup>e</sup>k<sup>aa</sup>s*”.

Of the 16 names of witnesses which had signed according to l. 3, only the following 5 are preserved on the back (Plate III, 1); they are all autographs:

- l. 1 *Pete* (?) . . . , son of *Pe<sup>t</sup>w* (?)
- l. 2 *Sminis*, son of *Waphris* (*Apris*)
- l. 3 . . . , son of *Phibis*
- l. 4 *Thoteus* (?), son of *Pe<sup>t</sup>w*
- l. 5 The *hrj-sst* priest (?) in Thebes, *Amenophis*, son of *Teos*
- ll. 6 sqq. are desintegrated.

COMMENTARY.

The ruler from whose reign the Papyrus Libbey is dated has heretofore been known from two contemporary monuments<sup>4)</sup> only. Our papyrus is the first Demotic document to bear his name. Except on the few contemporary monuments the name of King *Hbbš* is met with also in an edict<sup>5)</sup> of the year 312 B. C. issued by the satrap Ptolemy, later on King Ptolemy I Soter who gave back to the gods of Buto a temple-district which had belonged to the gods from the days of old, but had been confiscated during the time of the Persian rule, “the district of the goddess Buto”. The edict tells about the earlier history of this temple-territory as follows:

“? When this great prince (i. e. the satrap Ptolemy) wished to be beneficial to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, his following and the great ones of the Delta told him:

The marsh-land called “the Land of Buto”<sup>6)</sup> was given (once) by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Snn-Tnn-stp-n- Pth*<sup>7)</sup>, the son of Re<sup>c</sup>, *Hbbš*, living for ever, to the gods<sup>8)</sup> of *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p*<sup>9)</sup>, after His Majesty (viz. *Hbbš*) had marched to *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p*, when he visited the marsh-land all around on his journey in the Delta, when he inspected each branch of the Nile that flows into the Mediterranean Sea in order to keep away the Asiatic (i. e. Persian) fleet from Egypt.

Then said His Majesty (viz. *Hbbš*) to his following: Inform me about this marsh-land! Now they related before His Majesty: The marsh-land called “the Land of Buto” belongs to the gods of *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p* of old, before the wicked *Hšriš* (Xerxes)<sup>10)</sup> confiscated it. He offered no sacrifice in it (viz. the marsh-land) to the gods of *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p*.

technical term of the documents of tradition; see Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Papyrus der Straßburger Bibliothek, p. 10, ann. 8.

<sup>1)</sup> Literally: “(at) thy time of being husband to me, which thou shalt make”. *ḥi* (\*ḥḡar) “to be husband, to be married” is a technical term frequently used in the contracts of the Persian period (Pap. Berl. 3076<sup>5</sup>, 3077<sup>4</sup>, 3079<sup>8</sup>, and elsewhere). Here, *hi* is to be supplied.

<sup>2)</sup> With regard to *mi* cf. Thes. papyr. 2, 10. 16 *mi hb n-j n-m-s* “write it to me”.

<sup>3)</sup> Also the Demotic Papyrus I of Strassburg of the time of Alexander the Great bears the autograph signatures of 16 witnesses. With regard to the word *mḥ* cf. Pap. Louvre 3440 Verso (after Legrain in Revue égyptol. V, Plate 22) where at the end of the 16 names of the “list of names of witnesses that are written under this writ” there is written “in order to make full 16 men”.

<sup>4)</sup> See Flinders Petrie: History of Egypt III, 368.

<sup>5)</sup> Sethe: Urkunden II, 11 sqq.; for the first time recognized and translated by H. Brugsch (Ägypt. Zeitschrift IX, 1 sqq.).

<sup>6)</sup> In Egyptian *Pete-netó*, in Coptic πτεπετω, also in the name of the nome Φθενότης. Cf. Brugsch: l. c., p. 11 and Amélineau: Géogr. de l'Égypte, p. 387.

<sup>7)</sup> I. e. “likeness of the god *Tenen* (surname of the god Ptah of Memphis) chosen by Ptah”.

<sup>8)</sup> These are the gods called elsewhere “the Souls of Buto”, whose prototypes Sethe (l. c.) has recognized in the kings of the oldest dynasties before the union of the two empires.

<sup>9)</sup> The two quarters of Buto, the history of which is given by Sethe: Untersuchungen III, 12.

<sup>10)</sup> This is probably a confusion with Artaxerxes; cf. below, p. 5.

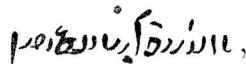
Then said His Majesty: Fetch the priests and the great ones of *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p*. They were quickly brought to him. Then said His Majesty: Let me know how the spirits of the gods of *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p* did unto the wicked man on account of his wickedness. Behold<sup>1)</sup>, they relate that the wicked *Hšriš* (Xerxes) acted wickedly against *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p* taking away its property. Then they said before His Majesty: Prince our Lord! Horus<sup>2)</sup>, the son of Isis, the son of Osiris, the Prince of Princes, the King of Kings of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, the avenger of his father, the lord of *Pe<sup>e</sup>*, the beginning and the end of the gods, whom no king resembles, he has expelled the wicked *Hšriš* (Xerxes) from his palace with his eldest son<sup>3)</sup>. — This is to be seen<sup>4)</sup> (even) to-day at Sais, the town of Neit<sup>5)</sup>, at the side of the mother of god<sup>6)</sup>.


Then said His Majesty (i. e. *Hbbš*): O, thou god who art mighty among the gods, whom no king resembles, lead me on the way of His Majesty<sup>7)</sup> in order that I live for Him.

Then said the priests and the great ones of *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p*: May Thy Majesty (i. e. *Hbbš*) command that the marsh-land called “the Land of Buto” be given<sup>8)</sup> (back)<sup>9)</sup> to the gods of *Pe<sup>e</sup>-D<sup>e</sup>p* with bread, beverages, oxen, geese, and all good things”.

In consequence of this report of the priests of the temple of Buto Ptolemy grants their request and ratifies the restoration of the old temple-property<sup>10)</sup> enacted by *Hbbš* by a new edict<sup>11)</sup>.

If in the preceding translation the expression “Majesty” is taken as referring to the Pharaoh or to the god, but not to the satrap Ptolemy — which would be without parallel —, the reign of *Hbbš* must be dated later than that of *Hšriš*; Professor U. Wilcken<sup>12)</sup> was the first to recognize this. By the new Papyrus Libbey even the last doubt is removed. For it is signed<sup>13)</sup> by the same notary as the Demotic Papyrus I of the Strassburg Library<sup>14)</sup>, which is dated in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Alexander

the Great (324 B. C.). In the document the signature appears as , in the second as

 The identity of both names is absolutely certain; in hieroglyphic characters they would look as follows:

 <sup>15)</sup> “*Petcharpres*, son of *Pe<sup>e</sup>k<sup>aa</sup>s*”.

<sup>1)</sup> The same writing of *mj* is to be found in Urk. II, 48, 5.

<sup>2)</sup> All the following are titles of the god Harendotes (l. 13) who is represented in the upper part of the stele.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. p. 6.

<sup>4)</sup> Literally: “is known”. This seems to indicate that even at the time of the satrap Ptolemy at the side of the cult-image of Neit of Sais there was an inscription in which the murder of Xerxes (= Artaxerxes III? and of his eldest son was mentioned — perhaps called the vengeance of the goddess. This sentence would then be a parenthesis like the well-known phrase in the Old Testament which says that some town was called so and so “unto this day” (e. g. Deut. 3, 14). In Egyptian here we read for “to-day” literally “on this day”, the same expression used in l. 13 for the time of the satrap Ptolemy.

<sup>5)</sup> Sais is called *Siu n N(j)t* also in Petrie: Naukratis II, 23, 1c.

<sup>6)</sup> I. e. the name of the goddess Neit.

<sup>7)</sup> Here *hn* must refer to the god, viz. Harendotes; in the

same way it is used in several other places, e. g. Stele Naples l. 12, Serapeum No. 34. 35. 90. 131. 133 (ed. Chassinat). The meaning is probably: Lead me according to thy will that I live, and not die like the wicked Xerxes (= Artaxerxes).

<sup>8)</sup> *rdj-t* written erroneously in the same way as in l. 2.

<sup>9)</sup> Often not expressed in Egyptian, cf. Recueil XXIX, 57 ann. 1. Thus Canopus 6, *rdjj-t* “given” corresponds to Greek ἀποδιδόναι.

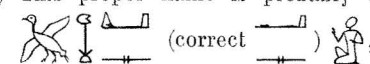
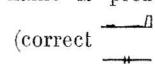
<sup>10)</sup> Following l. 20 *Hbbš* had added a donation of his own to the restored old property.

<sup>11)</sup> The priests ask Ptolemy: “Have his (i. e. *Hbbš*) restoration repeated in thy name!”

<sup>12)</sup> Ägypt. Zeitschrift XXXV, p. 85.

<sup>13)</sup> The text itself is written by an official scribe.

<sup>14)</sup> Plate III, and Plate X (Verso) of the publication.

<sup>15)</sup> This proper name is probably contained also in  (correct ) in Marucchi Catal. Vatican. 181. 198. 239.



Since the name of the father occurs very seldom<sup>1)</sup>, it is very plausible to take both notaries<sup>2)</sup> to be the same person, all the more plausible as the script of both documents belongs to the same period, or at least furnishes no objection.

Thus the same *Peteharpres*, son of *Pekās*, was notary in the first year of the reign of King *Hbbš* and in the year before the death of Alexander the Great (324 B. C.). It is, therefore, impossible to date the first of the two rulers before Xerxes (486—465), since the same notary cannot have lived before 486 B. C. and after 324 B. C., and Prof. Wilcken's interpretation of the above text is brilliantly confirmed by the document under discussion.

Now, the name of King *Hbbš* is not found among the rulers of the dynasties XXIX—XXX covering the time from 398 until 342 B. C., and for this reason he must have reigned either before 398 or after 342. If we adopt the former date, the term of *Peteharpres* would have lasted at least from 398—342, but probably very much longer, and this is well nigh impossible. Consequently *Hbbš* must needs be dated after 341, since only in this way a normal term of the office of the notary is gained. *Hbbš*, therefore, must have reigned between the years 342 and 332, i. e. in the decade before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, the last epoch of the Persian rule when Artaxerxes III Ochus (342—339), Arsēs (339—336) and Darius III (336—331 B. C.) reigned shortly after each other. This last period of the Persian sway is shrouded in darkness. Taking into account the internal weakness of the decaying Persian empire, and especially the quarrels over the succession after the death of Ochus, we are led to believe that during this whole time the foreign rulers reigned over the subdued country only with the utmost difficulty, perhaps only nominally<sup>3)</sup>. Under such political conditions it must have been easy for an enterprising prince to do away with the foreign dynasty which then was weak and which was bitterly hated since the last revolution had been cruelly suppressed by Ochus. *Hbbš* succeeded in this, at least during a period of two years<sup>4)</sup>, and during this time he ruled over the whole of Egypt down to the Mediterranean Sea. For from the inscription of the satrap Ptolemy (cf. above p. 2) we learn that he inspected the fortifications at the mouths of the Nile in order to be ready against an attack by the Persian fleet. His throne-name indicates a special connection between him and Memphis, and it would be natural to suggest that he had his residence there in the ancient capital.

So far we have no record of the way in which the new king succeeded in his daring enterprise, but perhaps the name of the king may give us a clue. It has been remarked several times<sup>5)</sup> that *Hbbš* — vocalized perhaps *Kh<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>sh<sup>a</sup>* — is not an Egyptian name. It seems to me that it bears so much resemblance to the known names of the Ethiopic Dynasty, to *Sh<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>*, *Sh<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>t<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>*, *T<sup>a</sup>h<sup>a</sup>r<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>*, that in all likelihood the king may be taken to be an Ethiopian. If this suggestion should be confirmed, we might conclude that the Ethiopian king *Kh<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>sh<sup>a</sup>* making a wise use of the decadence of the Persian rule kept the throne of the Pharaohs for a time — at least for two years —, in the same way as more than 400 years before his time another Ethiopian king, *Piankhi*, under a similar combination of circumstances had conquered Egypt and ruled over it for a brief period<sup>7)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> No reference to this name is given in Lieblein: Dict. de noms hiérog.

<sup>2)</sup> Perhaps our notary occurs as contracting party in a papyrus of the Louvre (Corp. pap. V, No. 4) dated in the 3rd year of Alexander the Great.

<sup>3)</sup> It is characteristic of this period that none of the names of the three kings has so far been found in a contemporary inscription.

<sup>4)</sup> Äg. Zeitschrift IX, 13.

<sup>5)</sup> See the references in Maspero: Histoire des peuples de l'Orient classique III, 714, foot-note.

<sup>6)</sup> Between the two *b* there was a clearly pronounced vowel. A lengthened *b* (with «Dagesh forte») would not have been indicated by a double *b*; also in the Demotic it is written twice. The common form *Khab-bash* is, therefore, wrong, I think.

<sup>7)</sup> Attention may be called to another fact which furnishes the opportunity of a new combination. The last native king Nektanebos (*Nkt-nb-f*) fled from the approaching Persian army with his treasure to Ethiopia (Diodor. XVI, 51). It is not impossible that he had a hand in the Ethiopian invasion.

It is certain, however, that this Ethiopian episode is not to be placed at the end of the Persian rule; for when Alexander the Great appeared in Egypt, a Persian satrap, named Mazakes<sup>1)</sup>, handed the country over to him without fighting.

As is shown by the stele of the satrap, the Ethiopian king followed the approved method of so many foreign rulers before and after his time: he revered the Egyptian gods, a very effective policy after the brutal persecution of the gods by Artaxerxes III Ochus<sup>2)</sup>, to which, as I am led to believe, the above mentioned inscription refers. For I have a very strong suspicion that *Hšriš* (= Xerxes) of the stele of the satrap stands for Artaxerxes, assuming that in this text written long after the Persian period the better known name of Xerxes has been substituted for the less known name in the same way as in some other cases<sup>3)</sup>. The following considerations speak against the assumption that Xerxes is meant here. First, even if Xerxes, according to Herodotos (VII, 7) "made Egypt much more enslaved than it had been under Darius", yet he respected the religious feelings of the Egyptians, whereas the inscription asserts the opposite. Moreover, on the stone the name of the king is not surrounded by the royal cartouche, which is always put around the name of the true Xerxes in the contemporary inscriptions, but is followed by the determinative indicating bad people (enemies, criminals). And it seems to me impossible that the Egyptians of a later period considered Xerxes to be a sacrilegist as is indicated by the inscription and the determinative of the name, for this reason: nowhere on the monuments have there been discovered any traces that his name was intended to be scratched out or anything of that sort. On the other hand, the text as well as the passionate determinative of the name of the king are entirely in keeping with the feelings left by Artaxerxes in the hearts of the Egyptians on account of his cruel policy. Secondly, it is utterly improbable and almost inconceivable that the temple-land confiscated by Xerxes should have been restored to the gods only after the reign of the native dynasties lasting 60 years. For the restoration of the secularized temple-property was always one of the first deeds by which, after the time of foreign sway, the new national era was inaugurated<sup>4)</sup>. But all the difficulties disappear if *Hšriš* is taken to mean Artaxerxes. He may be considered capable of having secularized the

<sup>1)</sup> Arrian.: Anab. III, 1, 2 and Niese, Geschichte der griechischen und makedon. Staaten I, 84.

<sup>2)</sup> See the literature in Judeich: Kleinasiatische Studien p. 178, 2.

<sup>3)</sup> Concerning the confusion between Xerxes and Artaxerxes in classical literature I owe to Professor Bruno Keil the following remarks; they support the above suggestion very strongly, but they are not meant to be exhaustive. This confusion is found:

1. in the interpolation Xenophon Hell. II, 1, 8 where Ξέρξου stands for Ἀρταξέρξου;
2. in Harpokration s. v. Ἀριοβαρζάνης (p. 33, 19 Bekk.): "παρὰ Ξέρξου οὐκ ἀπέστη" instead of Ἀρταξέρξου,
3. in Phot. bibl. cod. 72 p. 39 a 14 Bekk. (i. e. Ktesias), where Amytis is called the daughter of Artaxerxes, whereas in Athen. 609 A (i. e. Deinon) she is the daughter of Xerxes;
4. perhaps it is partly due to this confusion that Ephoros, Deinon, Kleitarchos, Herakleides following the Socratic philosopher Aischines (in Aristides II 293 Dind.) make Themistocles go to Xerxes, whereas he cannot have gone to anybody but Artaxerxes. cf. about this question Busolt: Griech. Gesch. III, 1, 133, 2.

The confusion between Artaxerxes and Xerxes was very natural during the time of the rhetors; for the rhetors know only one Persian king except Kyros and Dareios, i. e. Xerxes. The name of Artaxerxes is not given by a single rhetor. It is significant that even Xenophon in the Hellenika gives his name only in the official document of the peace of Antalkidas (V, 1, 31). Xerxes was known as an individual king by the year 480, but his successors were known to the Greeks only under the name of βασιλεύς, about in the same sense as many parts of the Old Testament speak of Pharaoh. The official documents contained in the genuine Greek inscriptions give only βασιλεύς, never the proper name. Even in Aristoteles the name Artaxerxes is never found, with Plato only in the doubtful Alkibiades I. It is therefore very easily understood that in tradition the less known name was corrupted to the well known name of Xerxes (cf. the instructive variant reading ἀνερέτην for ἀρταξ. Schol. Aristoph. Ri. 84). It is only by a learned interpolation that in the Extracts from Ktesias (3) the name of Xerxes was replaced by Artaxerxes.

<sup>4)</sup> Papyrus Harris 75, 5 sqq. Cf. with this Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie égypt. et assyr. XXIX, 57.

temple-land which shortly afterwards was restored by the Ethiopian king. The prophecy of the god Harendotes is also true of Artaxerxes III Ochus who like his eldest son was murdered by his favourite Bagoas. If this interpretation be true, *Kh<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>sh<sup>a</sup>* would have reigned after Ochus 339 B. C.<sup>1)</sup>

In spite of his benefactions towards the Egyptian gods and in spite of the fact that he appeared as a Pharaoh of the old style not merely in his throne-name, the Ethiopian king remained a stranger for the Egyptians like the Persian kings before him. The last native king was thought to be Nektanebos who disappeared in Ethiopia and who, for this reason, according to the Egyptian legends<sup>2)</sup>, is the immediate predecessor and father of Alexander the Great.

Although some of my remarks are only conjectural for the present, yet one certain result is gained, which I wish to emphasize here once more, viz. that *Kh<sup>a</sup>b<sup>a</sup>sh<sup>a</sup>* reigned over Egypt between 341 and 332 B. C.

As important as the Papyrus Libbey is from a historical point of view, it is of equal value for the history of civilization. The wife has here such a predominant — one is tempted to say matriarchal — position as is known to me only from the following Papyrus of the Berlin Museum<sup>3)</sup>.

TRANSLITERATION.

- 1) ḥsp(-t) XXX 'bd I 'ḥ(j)-t n Pr-'; Ntriuš t; s-t-ḥ(j)m-t 's-t(?) s;-t w;ḥ-mw n t; 'n-t 'nh-p;-ḥrt
- 2) mw-t-s T;-tj-'mn-nb-4) W;s-t n w;ḥ mw n t; 'n-t jr-t-w-r-w s; P;- Šw-t-f-nḥt mw-t-f Hn-w-(?) nb(?)
- 3) 'r-k t(-i) ḥbs p; hrw(?) tj-k n-j ḥt 1/10 n pr Pth wḥ n p-e šp t; (?) s-t-ḥ(j)m-t mtu(-i) ḥ;'k [n] hi
- 4) mtu(-i) mst-k mtu(-i) mr n-j(?) kt-ḥ r-'r-k 'nk 'w 'r tj n-k ḥt 1/10 n pr Pth
- 5) wḥ n ḥ;-t p;ḥ ḥt 1/10 n pr Pth wḥ 'w tj-k n-j p-e šp t; (?) s-t-ḥ(j)m-t nt ḥr(j) 'w(-i) wi-t(-i)
- 6) nt nb nk-t nb n p; t; nt 'w-i tj ḥpr-w 'rm-k<sup>5)</sup> ;t knb-t(?) nb n p;-t;
- 7) sš Ḥr-wd; p' Ns-Ḥr-p;-ḥrt

1) I wish to sound a note of warning here regarding a combination which only at the first moment seems plausible, viz. the identification of our *Hbbš* with Σαβάκης (Arrian.: Anab. II, 11, 8), among the Persian satraps the second from the last, who was killed at Issos. First, this is impossible for phonetic reasons, since š can not be rendered by k. But above all the name of a Persian satrap surrounded by the royal cartouche is absolutely inconceivable. For even the satrap Ptolemy, the actual ruler of Egypt under Alexander IV., could not claim the royal cartouche, as is shown by the stele of the satrap.

2) Cf. Reitzenstein: Poimandres 309.

3) Pap. 3078 (Plate II of the Publication of the Berlin Demotic Papyri). — This papyrus is, by the way, the

oldest marriage-contract known thus far. For the document heretofore claimed to be such (Corpus pap. No. 7) is in reality a contract concerning the hiring of a slave-girl. If the text is correctly read and interpreted, it contains no reference to marriage.

4) The same group for nb "lord" is also found in Corpus papyr. 22, 1. It is furthermore contained in the royal name *Mr-nb-Pth* (Setne 4, 6); a transliteration of this name, viz. Βερενέβθικ and varr., is furnished now by the papyri of the time of Ptolemaios Euergetes I., found by O. Rubensohn at Elephantine. Probably the Demotic form is nothing but *Mr-n-Pth* "beloved of Ptah". The reading proposed by Griffith (P. S. B. A. 1901, XXIII, p. 16) is therefore to be corrected.

5) Cf. Äg. Zeitschrift XXXVII, 32.

TRANSLATION.

1) "In the year 30 in (the month of) Thot, of King Darius —

[493/2 B. C.]

Has said the lady *Isis* (?), the daughter of the choachyte of the valley (i. e. necropolis) *Khapokhrates* 2) and of *Tete -am<sup>o</sup>n-n<sup>e</sup>b- W<sup>e</sup>s<sup>e</sup>*, to the choachyte of the valley *Jarte-erow* 1), the son of *P-sh<sup>o</sup>-t<sup>f</sup>-n<sup>a</sup>kht<sup>e</sup>* and of *H<sup>e</sup>n<sup>u</sup>-n<sup>u</sup>b* (?):

3) Thou makest me (thy) wife<sup>2)</sup> to-day, thou givest me 1/10 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) from the treasury of Ptah, cast, as my dower. If I discharge thee as (my) husband 4) hating thee and loving another one more than thee, I shall give thee 1/20 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*)<sup>3)</sup> from the treasury of Ptah, 5) cast, of<sup>4)</sup> this 1/10 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) from the treasury of Ptah, which thou hast given me as my above dower. I cede unto thee, 6) all and everything that I shall acquire with thee, without negotiating with thee in any way in writing."

"Written by *Haryothes*, son of 'Ns- *H<sup>a</sup>r-p<sup>e</sup>-khr<sup>a</sup>t*."

On the back there are four autograph signatures of witnesses.

In order to appreciate the special character of these two marriage-contracts it is necessary to compare with it the scheme of the Ptolemaic age, in which the husband speaks to the wife about as follows<sup>5)</sup>: (During the early Ptolemaic period:)

- § 1. I make thee (my) wife.
- § 2. I give thee 2 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*)<sup>6)</sup> as a dower.
- § 3. I give thee moreover every year a contribution towards thine alimony, in kind and in money.
- § 4. The oldest son is to be the heir of the entire common property, present and future.
- § 5. "If I discharge thee as (my) wife, hating thee and taking another one than thee, I shall give thee 10 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*)."

(During the later Ptolemaic period: 7))

- § 1. I make thee (my) wife.
- § 2. I give thee 100 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*)<sup>8)</sup> and 10 artabs of wheat as a dower.
- § 3. The oldest son is to be the heir of the entire common property, present and future.
- § 4. The husband signs a receipt of the dowry which is specified in all details and estimated<sup>9)</sup> in its money-value,
- § 5. and which remains at the free disposal of the wife.
- § 6. At the time when I discharge thee as (my) wife, or when thou wishest to go of thine own free will, I shall give back to thee thy dowry, as above, in kind or its value in money as written above.
- § 7. The husband shall not be able to deny the receipt of the dowry under oath in court.
- § 8. The wife shall be able to obtain it by force.

The latter scheme of which naturally many variant forms are extant in proportion as the conditions of life, the social position and the means vary, may be illustrated by a new document which a few years ago became part of the Strassburg collection of papyri.

1) Not Inaros, cf. Recueil XXVIII, 201.

2) This passage proves clearly that  $\delta$  ḥbs is not, as W. Max Müller (Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter S. 4) suggested, a word for "betrothed", but, as is also indicated by the older literature, is a synonym for "wife".

3) I. e. again half of the dower, as in Papyrus Libbey.

4) r (? or n?) ḥ;-t in the same meaning Corpus papyr. No. 15, 8.

5) After Papyr. Berlin 3109 (Plate VI).

6) About = 8 dollars. — The woman in question is of very modest means.

7) After Demot. Pap. Strassburg 43 (Plate VIII).

8) About = 400 dollars.


9) It represented a total value of 1480 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) = about 5920 dollars.

DEMOTIC PAPYRUS STRASSBURG 56 (PLATE II).

Light-brown. H/V. 0.26 (at the right end a small strip is wanting) × 0.25 m, with a joint in the middle.

TRANSLITERATION.

- <sup>1</sup> ḥsp(-t) LIII 'bd IV pr-t sw XX n Pr-'; Ptlumis p; ntr mnḥ p' Ptlumis 'rm t; Pr-':t Kluptr t-f sn-t  
<sup>2</sup> 'rm t; Pr-':t Kluptr t-f s-h(j)m-t n; ntr(w) mnḥ 'rm p; w'b Ḥrgsntrs 'rm n; ntr(w) nt nḥm 'rm  
n; ntr(w) sn(w) n; ntr(w)  
<sup>3</sup> mnḥ n; ntr(w) mr jt n; ntr(w) nt pr p; ntr r (=w) tn jt-f p; ntr mr mw-t-f p; ntr [mr] jt n;  
ntr(w) mnḥ 'rm t; fi kn  
<sup>4</sup> nš(t) Brnik t; mnḥ-t 'rm t; fi tnu nb m-b;ḥ Ḥrsin t; mr sn 'rm t; w'b Ḥrsin t; mr jt-s r ḥ  
n; nt smne  
<sup>5</sup> [n] R-ḳd 'rm n; nt n Pr-sui n p; tš N-t dd wn-pr(?) 'mn-'pi n t; 'mnt-t n N-t P'-n; s; Ḥr-s;-s-t  
mw-t-f T;-šrj-t(-n) Thwtj n s-t-h(j)m-t  
<sup>6</sup> T;-šrj-t(-n)-Thwtj t' Ns-p-w-t; mw-t-s T;-ḥn-'s-t 'r-i-t-t ḥ(j)m-t tj-i n-t ḥt X r [str] L r ḥt X 'n  
. ? . XXIV <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> r pe-t špe s-t-h(j)m-t nk-t s-t-h(j)m-t  
<sup>7</sup> [r] 'n-t p'w (=na) ' w' mnw(?) r ḥt CCC w' t gtn r ḥt CXXX w' ll sb r ḥt CXXX w' ll str(?) ḥt  
XXX w' wth ḥt XXX w' il ḥt L  
<sup>8</sup> w'-t mrḥ; r ḥt CCCL(?)w' ' d'b r ḥt X ḥt [ḥt] III 'rm w' bs r ḥt [C]CL(?) w'-t(?) . . . -si(?) ḥt LXX  
ḥmt . . . XXIV <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> ḥt CCCCCC  
<sup>9</sup> w' (?) kll r ḥt . ? . <sup>6</sup>/<sub>10</sub> w' hlk <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> glt gsur <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> w' ' wh . ? . . nb XLII js ne-t nk-t s-t-h(j)m-t  
[r] 'n-t r p'w (=na) ' ḥt MCCCCCCCCXXX  
<sup>10</sup> [r] krkr VI + CXXX r ḥt MCCCCCCCCXXX 'n ḥmt 24 <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> ḥt . ? . I nb XLII šp-i s n  
t-t-t 'w-w mh ; t sp ḥ ; t-i mt n-'m-w  
<sup>11</sup> [w-]t n ḥn 'w-t n ḥn 'rm-w 'w-t n bnr 'w-t n bnr 'rm-w 'n mtw-t p-w šī [nk p-w sfh] 'w-i  
ḥ ; 't n ḥ(j)m-t mtw-i ḥt(?)<sup>1</sup> kt s-t-h(j)m-t r-t  
<sup>12</sup> 'w-i tj n-t ḥt C r str CCCCC r ḥt C 'n . ḥmt XXIV <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> p; bnr n sw-n-t ne-t nk-t s-t-h(j)m-t  
. . . . . ḥt CCCCCXXX ḥt . ? . I nb XLII 'w 'r-t mr  
<sup>13</sup> šm n-t ḥ ; t-t r tm 'r n-j ḥ(j)m-t 'w-i tj n-t sw-n-t ne-t nk-t s-t-h(j)m-t nt wn ḥr nt 'r ḥt  
[MCCCCCCCCXXX] ḥt . ? . I nb XL[II] Ns-p-w-t; P;-n;  
<sup>14</sup> [p'w] šrj ' ; 'rm(?) Ḥr-s;-s-t p-f sn r s II ne ḥrt r ms-t n-j ḥn' n; ḥrt nt 'w 'r-t r[ms-t-w n-j]  
n; nb nt nb [nk-t] nb nt mt-j ḥn' n; nt 'w-i tj ḥpr-w  
<sup>15</sup> [t] dd ḥnb-t(?) nb md-t nb n p; t; 'rm-t sš Wsjr-wr s; Klud p; rt Klud [s; P'-]bi nt sš  
n rn n; w'b 'mn- R'-stnj-ntr(w)  
<sup>16</sup> [ḥn' ?] n; ntr(w) nt ḥtp 'rm-f p; V s

<sup>1</sup>) I give this reading with all reserve. I connect it with  
 *šdj* (*ḥynte*) "to take", but it is still to be con-

firmed palaeographically. There can be no doubt,  
however, about the meaning of the expression.

TRANSLATION.

! In the year 53 on the 20<sup>th</sup> [of the month of] Pharmuthi, of King Ptolemy, the Be-  
neficient God<sup>1</sup>), the son of Ptolemy, and of Queen Cleopatra, his sister, <sup>2</sup> and of Queen Cleopatra,  
his wife, the Beneficient gods<sup>2</sup>),

and of the priest of Alexander and of the Gods that save<sup>3</sup>), and of the Fraternal Gods<sup>4</sup>) the  
Beneficient Gods<sup>2</sup>), <sup>5</sup> the Father-loving Gods<sup>5</sup>), the Illustrious Gods<sup>6</sup>), the God whose father is noble<sup>7</sup>),  
the Mother-loving God<sup>8</sup>), the Father-loving God<sup>9</sup>), the Beneficient Gods<sup>2</sup>),

and (under the priestess) who carries the victory <sup>4</sup> (and the power) of Berenike the benefactress<sup>10</sup>),  
(and under the priestess) who carries the golden basket before Arsinoë who loves her brother<sup>11</sup>),  
and (under) the priestess of Arsinoë who loves her father<sup>12</sup>), as they <sup>5</sup> are nominated

in Rakotis and in *Psoi* in the nome of Thebes.

Has said the pastophoros of Amon of Karnak in Western Thebes, *Panas*, son of *Harsiesis*  
and of *Sentheutes*, to the lady <sup>6</sup> *Sentheutes*, daughter of *Spotus* and *Thenesis*: I make thee (my)  
wife, I give thee 10 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) = 50 [staters], I repeat 10 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) — 24 (copper) obols  
(at the rate of) <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) —<sup>13</sup>) as thy dowry, <sup>7</sup> which thou hast brought into my house —

One <i>mnw</i> (?) -stuff <sup>14</sup> )	300 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
One <i>gtn</i>	130 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
One <i>sb</i> -bracelet (λΗΛ) <sup>15</sup> )	130 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
One <i>str</i> (?) -bracelet (?) (λΗΛ) <sup>16</sup> )	30 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
One ear-ring (?)	30 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
One mirror (εταλ)	50 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>8</sup> ) One mortar (?)	350 (?) silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
one <i>d<sup>e</sup>b</i> -receptacle (?)	10 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
One <i>tb</i> -vessel	3 [silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )]
with one <i>bs</i> -vessel	x + 50 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
. . . ? . . .	70 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )

— 24 copper obols (at the rate of) <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*)

(moreover)

? One (?) necklace (κλαλ) at	<sup>6</sup> / <sub>10</sub> silver . . ? . .
One ring (εταλκ)	<sup>2</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
<i>Glt</i> <sup>17</sup> ) -ring, <i>gsur</i> (κκοσρ) -ring	<sup>2</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
One letter-case (?) at	42 gold . . . .

Behold, thy dowry which thou hast brought into my house amounts to 1930 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*).

<sup>10</sup>) = 6 talents + 130 (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) — I repeat 1930 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) — 24 (copper) obols (at the rate of)  
<sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) — (+) 1 silver . . ? . .<sup>18</sup>) (+) 42 gold . . . .

<sup>1</sup>) = Θεός Εὐεργέτης.  
<sup>2</sup>) = Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται.  
<sup>3</sup>) = Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες.  
<sup>4</sup>) = Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί.  
<sup>5</sup>) = Θεοὶ Φιλοπάτορες.  
<sup>6</sup>) = Θεοὶ Ἐπιφανεῖς.  
<sup>7</sup>) = Θεός Εὐπάτωρ.  
<sup>8</sup>) = Θεός Φιλομήτωρ.  
<sup>9</sup>) = Θεός Φιλοπάτωρ.  
<sup>10</sup>) = ἀθλόφορος Βερενίκης Εὐεργετίδος.  
<sup>11</sup>) = κανηφόρος Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου.

<sup>12</sup>) = ἰέρεια Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος.  
<sup>13</sup>) Cf. Papyrus Reinach p. 185 sqq.  
<sup>14</sup>) Perhaps = *m(y)nw* (Brugsch: Wb. II, 656. VI, 602.  
Maspero: Études égyptol. I, 93).  
<sup>15</sup>) The meaning "armilla" for the Coptic word is found  
only in Kircher.  
<sup>16</sup>) Perhaps the *stwr* found in Brugsch: Wb. IV, 1339.  
VI, 1158. It seems that *sb* and *str* denote the various  
ways in which the bracelets (?) were manufactured.  
<sup>17</sup>) = δακτύλιος Canopus 41, Rosettana 144.  
<sup>18</sup>) <sup>6</sup>/<sub>10</sub> + <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> + <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub> = 1.



I have received them (i. e. these things) from thee, complete without remainder. My heart is content with it.

<sup>11</sup> When thou art at home, thou art at home with them; when thou art away, thou art again away with them. Thou hast the disposal of them, [I shall protect them<sup>1)</sup>]. If I divorce thee, preferring another woman to thee, <sup>12</sup> I shall give thee 100 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) = 500 staters — I repeat 100 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) — 24 (copper) obols (at the rate of) <sup>2/10</sup> (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) — besides the value of the dowry.

If thou <sup>13</sup> wishest to go of thine own free will so as not to be a wife to me, I shall give thee the value of thy dowry described above, which amounts to 1930 silver (*-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n*) (+) 1 silver . . . ? . . . (+) 42 gold . . . .

*Spotus*<sup>2)</sup>, son of *Panas*, <sup>14</sup> [my] eldest son, and *Harsiesis*, his brother — 2 persons — my children, whom thou hast borne unto me, and the children whom thou [wilt bear] unto me, are the owners of all (and) [everything] that belongs to me and that I acquire with thee, <sup>15</sup> without negotiating with thee in any way in writing or orally.

Written by *Osoroeris*, son of *Kolluthes*, the substitute of *Kolluthes*, son of *Phabis*, who writes in the name of the 5 classes of *Amonrasonther*<sup>3)</sup> <sup>16</sup> [and] of the gods that are united with him<sup>4)</sup>.”

Below this

Ἡρακλείδης μ[ε]τεῖ[λ]ηφ(εν) εἰς ἀναγρ(αφήν) Λνγ φαρμοῶθι κ̅<sup>5)</sup>.

On the back (Plate III, 2) there are the following 16 signatures of witnesses all written by the same notary

- <sup>1</sup> *Thoteus*, son of *Khesthotes*
- <sup>2</sup> *Pmenkhes*, son of *Pekhytes*
- <sup>3</sup> . . . ? . . . , son of *Phuonsis*
- <sup>4</sup> *Ps<sup>e</sup>n-j<sup>o</sup>h* (?), son of *Peteharendotes* (?)
- <sup>5</sup> *Petekhonsis*, son of *Petenephertemis*
- <sup>6</sup> [*Psen*]apathes, son of *Peteharpres*
- <sup>7</sup> *Harpaesis*, son of *Pamontes*
- <sup>8</sup> *Psenesis*, son of *Imuthes*
- <sup>9</sup> *Pkhorkhonsis* (?), son of *Osor*- . . . . .
- <sup>10</sup> . . . ? . . . son of *S<sup>o</sup>bk*- . . . . .
- <sup>11</sup> . . . ? . . . . .
- <sup>12</sup> *Onnophris*, son of *P<sup>a</sup>-W<sup>o</sup>s<sup>e</sup>r*
- <sup>13</sup> . . . . . son of *Totoes*
- <sup>14</sup> *Khesthotes* (?), son of *Herieus*
- <sup>15</sup> *Pmenkhes*, son of . . . ? . . . . .
- <sup>16</sup> . . . . . ? . . . . .

In connection with this papyrus the following ostrakon (D. 110) of the Strassburg collection may be published (Plate III, 3)<sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> See Recueil XXVIII p. 203.

<sup>2)</sup> According to this the contracting woman had children before being formally married. Perhaps in this contract the loose form of the ἄγραφος γάμος is changed into the permanent form of the ἔγγραφος γάμος. Cf. Recueil XXVIII, 193 sqq.

<sup>3)</sup> = “Amon-Re, King of the Gods”. See Dittenberger: *Orientalis graecae inscr.* 194, p. 277, ann. 7.

<sup>4)</sup> The Egyptian rendering of σύννομοι θεοί. Cf. especially Kenyon: *Greek Pap. Brit. Mus.* I, p. 46, No. III, 28 sqq.

<sup>5)</sup> Read by Professor U. Wilcken.

<sup>6)</sup> The script seems to date from the beginning of the time of the Roman Emperors.

TRANSLITERATION.

<sup>1</sup> tj-i-s p; wn n; nk-t		
<sup>2</sup> n h(j)m-t n N-nht-s t' Wn-nfr mwt-s		
<sup>3</sup> Swnt(?) <sup>2</sup> -s-t		
<sup>4</sup> w <sup>e</sup> (?) mnw	r ht	700
<sup>5</sup> ke (?) mnw	r ht	650
<sup>6</sup> hmt(?) dbn(?)	ht	200
<sup>7</sup> 3 tbe tn ht 50 r p; tbe	r ht	150
<sup>8</sup> w <sup>e</sup> -t mrhe	r ht	80
<sup>9</sup> w <sup>e</sup> -t kndue	r ht	60
<sup>10</sup> k-t kndue	r ht	40
<sup>11</sup> w <sup>e</sup> ht ? )	r ht	100
<sup>12</sup> w <sup>e</sup> še	r ht	100
	r ht	2080

TRANSLATION.

<sup>1</sup> “List of the inventory<sup>2)</sup> of the dowry <sup>2</sup> of *N<sup>a</sup>-n<sup>e</sup>kht<sup>e</sup>s*, daughter of *Onnophris* and of <sup>3</sup> *Sw<sup>e</sup>nt-es<sup>e</sup>* (?)

<sup>4</sup> 1 piece(?) of <i>mnw</i> -stuff(?)	=	700 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>5</sup> 1 other piece(?) of <i>mnw</i> -stuff(?)	=	650 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>6</sup> copper . . . ? . . .		200 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>7</sup> 3 <i>tb</i> -vessels — each 50 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )	=	150 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>8</sup> 1 mortar(?)	=	80 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>9</sup> One <i>kndue</i>	=	60 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>10</sup> Another <i>kndue</i>	=	40 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>11</sup> One . . . ? . . .	=	100 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
<sup>12</sup> One brasier	=	100 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )
		<hr/> Total 2080 silver ( <i>-d<sup>e</sup>b<sup>e</sup>n</i> )”

This list of the dowry of a woman was probably afterwards incorporated in the marriage-contract.

Returning after this digression to the Papyrus Libbey we notice at once the difference between its wording and that of the documents of the Ptolemaic period. The conditions have been wholly reversed. In one case the wife rules, in the other the husband, the formulae are — *mutatis mutandis* — almost literally the same, except that in the first case the wife speaks, in the other the husband. But we must be careful not to draw from this single case general conclusions with regard to a change of the marriage practices in the different periods — conclusions that would imply that at the time of Alexander the Great when the Greek spirit entered Egypt, Greek law also entered and changed the position of woman which in Egypt always had been very free. For

<sup>1)</sup> This group looks like *šm<sup>e</sup>* “rush” or the like, but that gives no satisfactory sense.

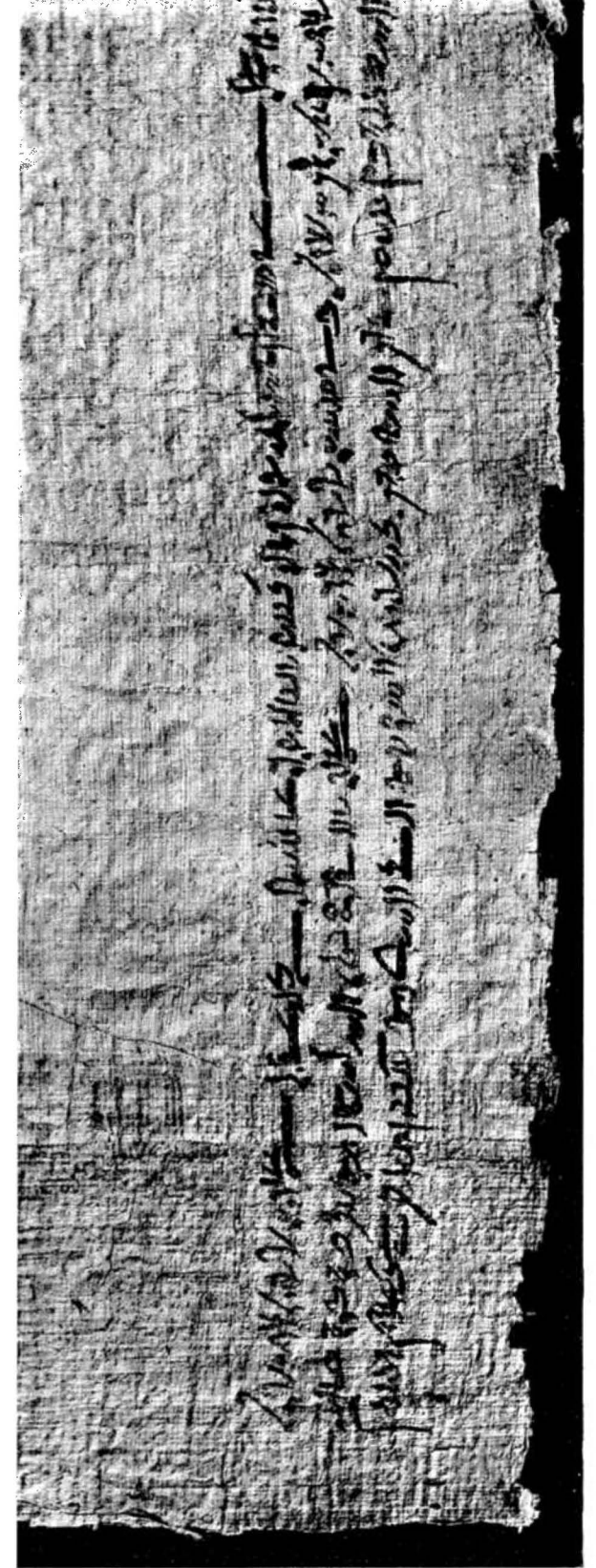
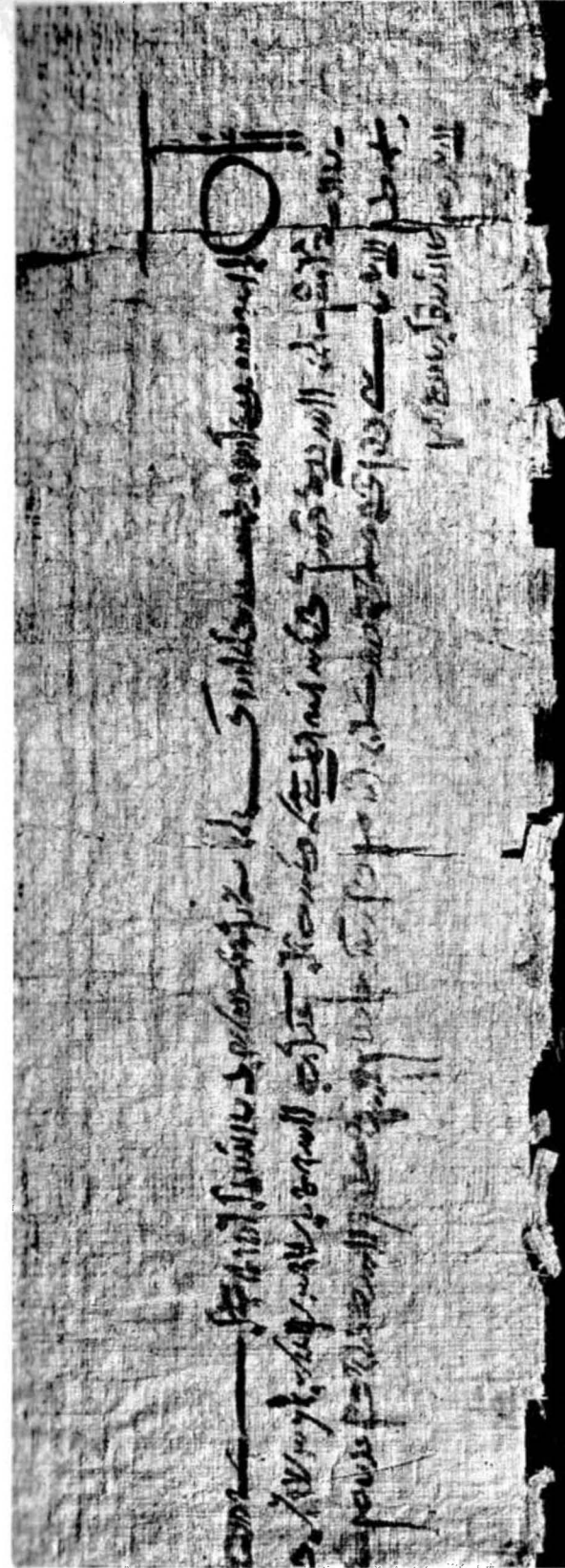
<sup>2)</sup> The same expression is found in Demot. Pap. Strassb. 43, 3. Literally: “I give it, (viz.) the list”; the object

is anticipated by the suffix, as is often done in older demotic documents (e. g. Corpus pap. No. 23). This is a peculiarity of the younger language. Cf. Junker: *Grammatik der Denderatexte* § 270.

it is certainly only accidental that thus far we have two contracts from the Persian period in which the wife predominates. The bills of divorce issued by the husbands, which date from the same period<sup>1)</sup>, prove clearly that at that time also there were marriage-contracts drawn up in which the husband appeared in the same rôle as in the Ptolemaic age. On the other hand, even in the Greco-Roman period the older form of the marriage-contract did probably exist, although at present we have no documentary evidence for it. This is plainly indicated by the well known passage from Diodorus (I, 27)<sup>2)</sup> who gives the report — often questioned — that in Egypt among the middle-classes the wife ruled over the husband and that this was expressed by the fact that in the marriage-contract the husband promised implicit obedience to the wife. We learn now what the actual conditions were upon which the report of Diodorus is based, i. e. such marriage-contracts as Pap. Berlin 3078 and Papyrus Libbey. Probably at all times these contracts were in use as well as those of the other form which is considered — without cogent reason — to be the specifically Ptolemaic form. It is better not to venture any suggestion about the cases in which the two different forms of the contract were chosen, because the material at hand is not sufficient to answer this question. It may very well be accidental that in the two documents of the Persian period the contracting persons are of very moderate means. We must, therefore, wait for new material, and for the present be thankful for the light which the Papyrus Libbey has thrown on the problems connected with a period of which hitherto very little has been known to us.

1) Cf. Pap. Berlin 3076. 3077. 3079; see the translation in the text, p. 5.  
 2) και παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις κυριεύειν τὴν γυναῖκα τάνδρος,

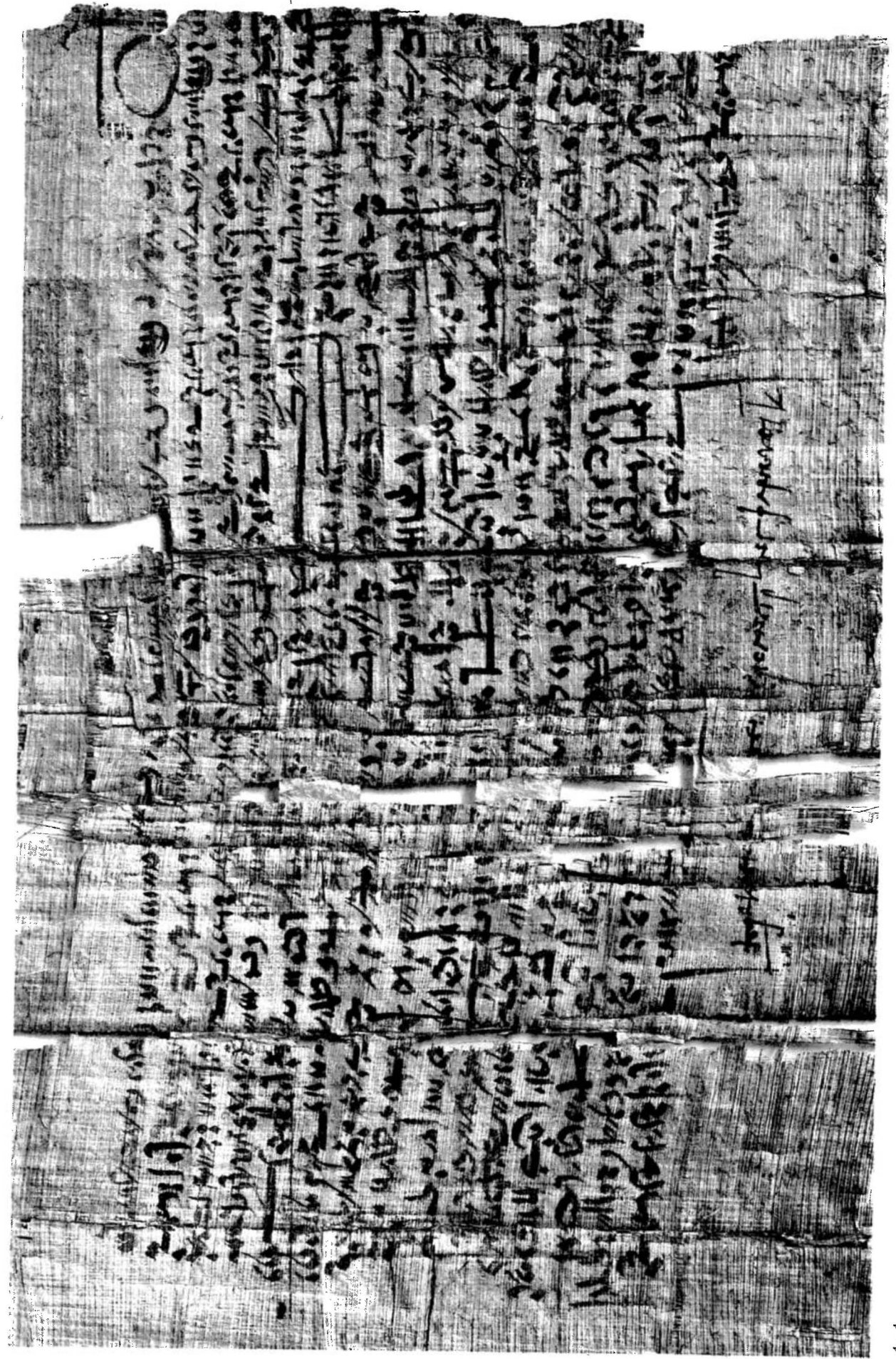
ἐν τῇ τῆς προικὸς συγγραφῇ προσομολογούντων τῶν γαμούντων ἅπαντα πειθαρχεῖν τῇ γαμουμένῃ.



Papyrus Libbey — Recto.

2:3





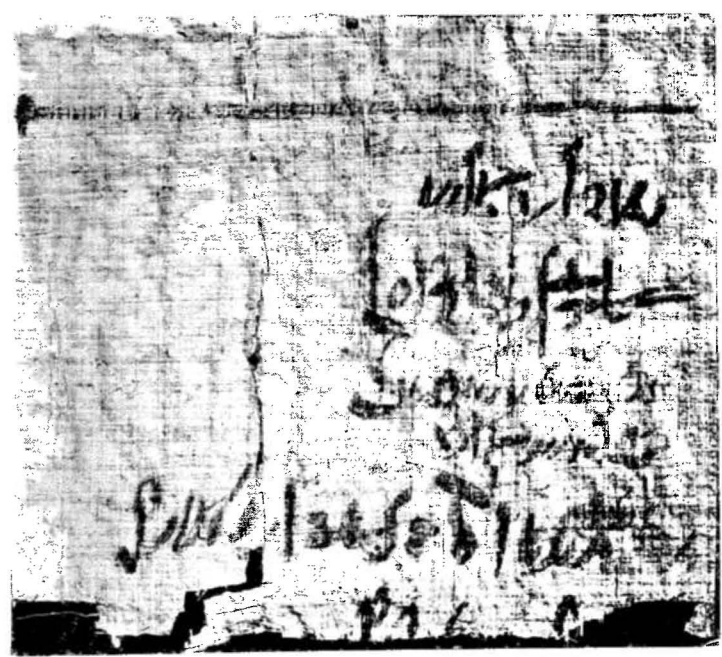
1:1

Demot. Pap. Strassburg 56 — Recto.

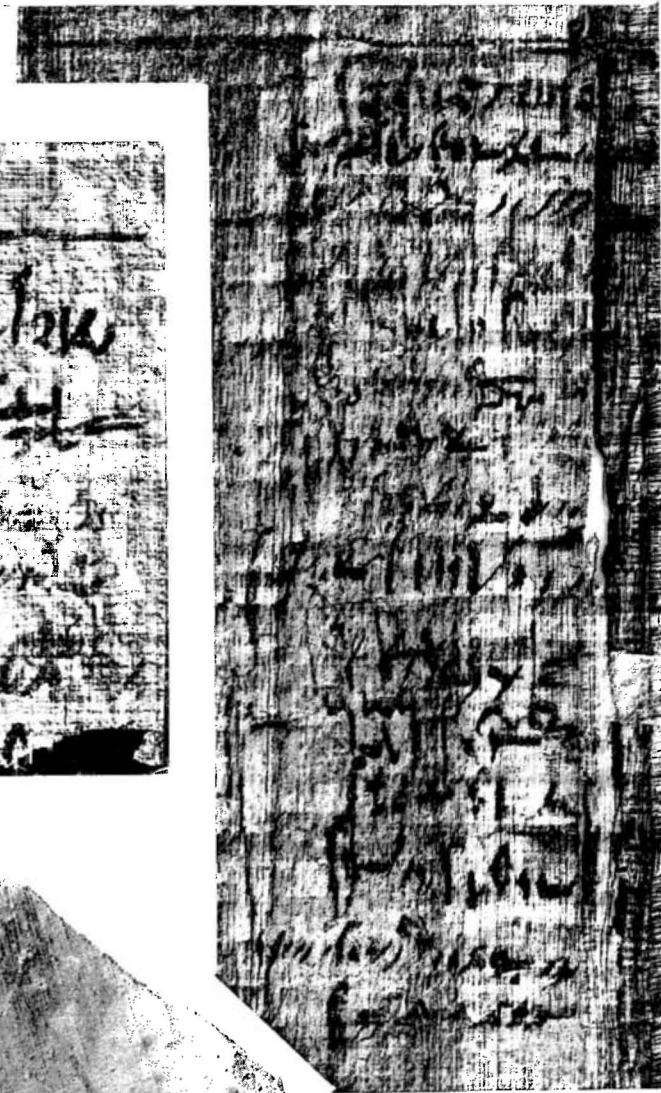
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10

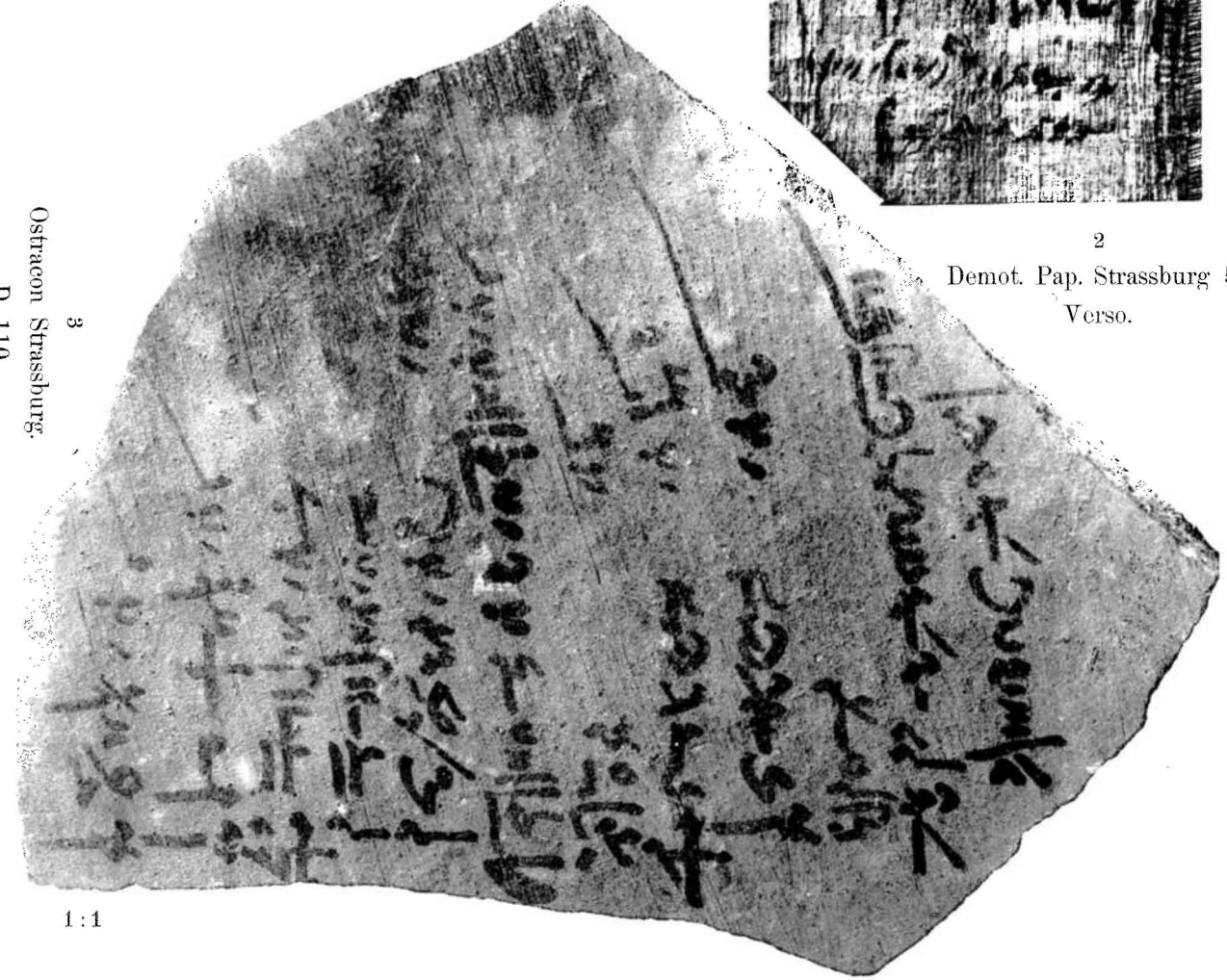
15



1  
Papyrus Libbey — Verso.



2  
Demot. Pap. Strassburg 56  
Verso.



3  
Ostrakon Strassburg.  
D. 110.

1:1