



New Light on the Archive of Teōs son of Horos from Tuna el-Gebel Necropolis (191-162 BC)¹

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Abstract: In November 1954, the archaeological mission of Cairo University in Tuna el- Gebel discovered, under the direction of Zaki Aly, a collection of papyri in two jars under the floor of a house in the necropolis (later designated as TG2002.K3). At that time, it was expected that the demotic papyri would be studied by Mattha, but he did not. Eventually, in 1962, the archive was transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where it was kept under the inventory TR 24/11/62/1-24/11/62/15 (SR numbers 3741-3755). This archive belonged to *Dd-ḥr*, son of *Ḥr* (Teōs son of Horos), who was probably the last keeper of the archive. It includes 15 papyri consisting of ten demotic papyri, four bilingual demotic-Greek papyri, and one Greek papyrus. The majority of these documents are in excellent condition, although one of the demotic pieces (No. 14) is poorly preserved. This archive dates to 191-162 BC, representing the reigns of Ptolemies V, VI, VIII, and Cleopatra II. This article aims to explore this captivating archive and its pertinent issues.

Keywords: Archive – Papyri – Demotic – Greek – Ptolemaic - Tuna el – Gebel.

¹ This article forms an integral component of my doctoral thesis, which was completed in 2017 at Helwan University's esteemed Department of Archaeology and Civilization. The thesis, entitled “*Miscellaneous Demotic and Greek Documents from Tuna el-Gebel Necropolis: A Philological, Palaeographical, and Cultural Study*,” was meticulously supervised by a distinguished panel of experts, comprising of Late Professor Mohammed Kashaf from Ain Shams, Late Professor Mahmoud Ebeid from Cairo, and Professor Maha Akeel from Helwan. It underwent a thorough examination by Professors Günter Vittmann from Würzburg and Ola El-Aguizy from Cairo.

أضواءٌ جديدةٌ على أرشيفِ المدعو "تيوس ابن حورس" من جبانة تونة الجبل

(١٩١-١٦٢ ق.م.)

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الملخص: في نوفمبر من عام ١٩٥٤، عثرت بعثة جامعة القاهرة الأثرية في تونة الجبل، مركز ملوي بمحافظة المنيا تحت رئاسة العالم الراحل "زكي علي" على مجموعة رائعة من البرديات الديموطيقية واليونانية محفوظة في جرّتين أسفل أرضية منزل إداري بالجبانة (والذي يسمى الآن بالمبنى TG2002.K3). في ذلك الوقت، كان مفترضاً أن يدرس "جرجس متى" البرديات الديموطيقية، لكن ذلك لم يحدث. ثم نُقل ليُحفظ بالمتحف المصري بالقاهرة عام ١٩٦٢. يحتوي هذا الأرشيف على خمسة عشرة بردية عشرة ديموطيقية، يونانية، ديموطيقية - يونانية، وهي التي تحمل أرقاماً مؤقتة (TR24/11/62/1-15)، وأرقاماً مؤقتة (3741-3755). وتتوّج هذه البرديات من حيث موضوعاتها ما بين عقود إعاشة أو نفقه، وعقود زواج، وعقود بيع وتنازل، وقرض مال، وإخطار إثبات حالة (*προσάγγελμα*). وينسب هذا الأرشيف للمدعو "چد-حر *Dd-hr*" أو "تيوس" باليونانية، ابن "حورس *Hr*"، والذي من المحتمل أنه كان آخر من قام بحفظ هذه المجموعة. ويؤرخ بالفترة من ١٩١ ق.م. إلى ١٦٢ ق.م. والتي تمثل فترات حكم الملوك بطلميوس الخامس، السادس، الثامن، وكليوباترا الثانية. ويهدف هذه المقال إلى استكشاف هذا الأرشيف الأسر.

الكلمات الدالة: أرشيف - بردي - ديموطيقي - يوناني - بطلمي - تونة الجبل.

The site and date of discovering the archive of Teōs¹

In November 1954², the archaeological mission of Cairo University in Tuna el-Gebel discovered a collection of papyri under the direction of Zaki Aly, who worked at the site for two successive winter seasons, from January 1954 until March 1955. Zaki Aly mentioned the following on the original location of the archive of Teōs: “The spot from which this was unearthed lies about a hundred meters to the north of the famous temple of Petosiris and only a few paces from one of the eastern entrances to the spacious and long Ibis galleries”.³



Fig. 1. TG 2002.K3 wherein the archive of Teōs was found (singled out by a red circle).

Google Earth (Retrieved in September 2023), Tuna el-Gebel, Malawi, Egypt.

<http://www.earth.google.com> & information on the map added by the author.

(27° 44' 21" N: 27° 44' 11" N; 30° 42' 11" E: 30° 42' 19" E; 2052 ft)

Zaki Aly's elaborate description of the discovery of the archive is fundamental. Previously, it was believed that the archive was found in the priests' house, situated on the left of the entrance to the galleries. However, the description provided by Aly perfectly matches what is now referred to by German colleagues as “TG 2002.K3”

¹ TM Nam 1349, www.trismegistos.org/name/1349.

² El-Amir and Lüddeckens mistakenly mentioned in three articles that the archive was found in 1962, I. Mostafa El-Amir, “Varia Demotica,” in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Marburg/Lahn, 2.-6. August 1971, eds. Emil Kießling and Hans-Albert Rupprecht, *MBPF 66* (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1974), 112; II. Erich Lüddeckens, “Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel mit einer genealogischen Skizze”, in *Akten des 13. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Marburg/Lahn, 2.-6. August 1971, ed. Emil Kießling and Hans-Albert Rupprecht, *MBPF 66* (München: Beck, 1974), 235; III. Mostafa El-Amir and Erich Lüddeckens, “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester,” *Enchoria* 3, no. 1 (1973):3. Apparently, they believed that the registration date of Cairo Museum was the date of discovering the archive.

³ Zaki Aly, “Egypt's Contribution towards the Promotion of Papyrological Studies. Appendix: A Proselgelma from Hermopolis Magna,” in *Association Internationale de Papyrologues. Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology*, Oslo 19th -22nd August 1958, eds. Leiv Amundsen and Vegard Skånland (Oslo: Norwegian University press, 1961): 329.

(formerly known as 'House C'). Thus, later, based on what Aly mentioned concerning the description of the building and its significant number of rooms totaling forty-five, it applies to the largest administrative building in the necropolis (TG 2002.K3)¹.

This area, to the east of the subterranean galleries, was excavated previously by Gabra in 1937, where he might have found the demotic legal code of Hermopolis. Then he resumed his excavations in the same area in season 1946-1947.² Afterward, the excavations in the area were resumed by the joint mission of Cairo and Munich universities. From 2002 till 2012, the last excavation yielded five administrative buildings (the so-called “tower houses”), two of them (TG 2002.K2, TG 2002.K3) lying to the south, while three (TG 2006.K4, TG 2010.G5, TG 2012.K6) are to the north. These buildings are being extending into two phases. The first one dates to the reign of Ptolemy II, and the second phase dates to the reign of Ptolemy VI. They were made from mudbrick measuring 30×15×10 cm or 32×16×11 cm.³ These houses were used in the various administrative activities of the necropolis.

The building TG 2002.K3⁴

The room complex TG 2002.K3 can be found west of the house belonging to the novelist Taha Hussein. It is situated across from the Osiris-Baboon temple and is situated above the galleries. Its location, at the final point of the pathway leading from the eastern settlement and turning south towards the Serapeum temple, signifies that it was constructed closer in time to the new Ptolemaic temple building program.⁵ The dimensions of the building are approximately 10.06×9.54 meters, with wall thickness ranging between 0.96 and 1.23 meters.⁶

¹ See the full description of the discovery of the archive in: Aly “A Prosangelma from Hermopolis Magna,” 329-330.

² Sami Gabra, “Fouilles de l’Université Fouad 1er, à Hermopolis Ouest Touna el-Gabal et Meir, saison 1946-47”, *Bulletin du Faculté des Lettres Univ. Fouad 1er* 9, (part I 1947): 132.

³ Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze, “Les maisons-tours de l’association religieuse de Touna el-Gebel, in *Les maisons-tours en Égypte durant la Basse-Époque, les périodes Ptolémaïque et Romaine*”, Acts de la table-ronde de Paris Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) 29-30 November 2012, Séverine Marchi ed., *NeHeT* 2, no. 2 (June 2014): 14.

⁴ The complete publication of the building doesn’t appear yet. The preliminary description could be found in the excavation reports of seasons 2002-2004: see Dieter Kessler et al, “Tuna el- Gebel: Report about the field campaign spring 2002”, Excavation report of the joint mission of Cairo and Munich Universities 2002, 4-5; Dieter Kessler and Abdelhalim Nur el-din, “Report about the excavation at Tuna el- Gebel 2003”, Excavation report of the joint mission of Cairo and Munich Universities 2003, 1-8; Dieter Kessler, “Excavation at Tuna el- Gebel 2004: Preliminary report of the joint mission of Universities of Cairo and Munich”, 1-10; Flossmann-Schütze, “Les maisons-tours,” 9-31, the plan of the building TG2002.K3 can be found in Flossmann-Schütze, “Les maisons-tours,” 15, a general plan of the animal cemetery and superstructures of Tuna el- Gebel including the building TG2002.K3 can be found in Dieter Kessler, “Tuna el-Gebel. die Oberbauten des Ibiotapheion von Tuna el-Gebel,” Abb. 4, 52.

⁵ Dieter Kessler et al, “Tuna el- Gebel: Report about the field campaign spring 2002”, Excavation report of the joint mission of Cairo and Munich Universities 2002, 4.

⁶ Flossmann-Schütze, “Les maisons-tours,” 16.

Why was the archive kept in TG2002.K3?

The finding of the archive in this administrative building raises a question concerning the reason lurking behind keeping personal documents in such a place. A suggestion could be that this building was used as a safe place where private documents and valuable items were kept. A small hoard of 137 Greek copper coins¹ and a new archive from the same period discovered in 2003 in the same complex², can be considered instances supporting this suggestion. Moreover, Ebeid was inclined to believe that the documents of the legal code of Hermopolis came from the same location.³

Four years after discovering the archive, Zaki Aly published only the Greek text (P. 24/11/62/15) in the Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology in Oslo in 1958. During that time, it was supposed that the demotic papyri would be studied by Mattha, but the result of his work never appeared. In 1962, the archive was moved to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where it was kept under the inventory numbers TR 24/11/62/1-24/11/62/15 and SR numbers 3741-3755.

In 1970, both El-Amir and Lüddeckens set out to examine the archive. Unfortunately, they did not finish their work. They only wrote preliminary studies in the archive (see the previous studies below). It is to be noted that in the articles of El-Amir and Lüddeckens⁴ there is no mention of the first one who found this archive (Zaki Aly) or of the paper in which he published the only Greek text of the archive.⁵

Moreover, some other scholars have investigated the archive. Malinine, for example, checked out the archive, particularly Papyrus No. 1, where he observed the uncommon feminine dative form $n=t$ \downarrow .⁶ Finally, in 1986, Adel Farid got permission to study the archive, but he published only three documents: two in 2005⁷ and one in 2009⁸ (see previous studies below).

¹ These coins were found deposited in two small jars lying on the floor of room No. 19 of TG2002.K3 (Aly, "A Prosangelma from Hermopolis Magna," 330).

² i.e., the archive of $Dd-hr$, son of $Dhwj=iw$, see Flossmann-Schütze, "Les maisons-tours," 24.

³ Ebeid, Pers. Comm. 27-12-2016.

⁴ Lüddeckens mentioned in 1971 that he wished to co-operate with Fritz Uebel, Jena concerning the Greek remarks! (Lüddeckens, "Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel," 235). Albeit he might mean the other Greek dockets,

⁵ Aly "A Prosangelma from Hermopolis Magna," 328-334.

⁶ Michel Malinine, "Jeux d'écriture en Démotique," *RdE* 19 (1967): 165-66.

⁷ Adel Farid, "Two Demotic Annuity Contracts," in Studies in Honor of A. Radwan, ed. Khaled A. Daoud, Shafia Bedier, and Sawsan Abd el-Fatah, *CASAE* 34/I (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2005), 323-46

⁸ Adel Farid, "A Demotic Sale Contract of the Whole Property," in The Horizon: Studies in Egyptology in Honour of M. A. Nur el-Din (10-12 April 2007), ed. Basem Samir El-Sharkawy (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2009), 3:261-76.

Classification of the documents

The archive of Teōs (*Dd-hr* son of *Hr*) contains 15 papyri¹ (ten Demotic papyri, four bilingual Demotic-Greek papyri, and one Greek papyrus). They were found intact in a big jar² wrapped in brown linen cloth. Most of these documents are in fine condition except document No. 14, which is in a bad state of preservation.³

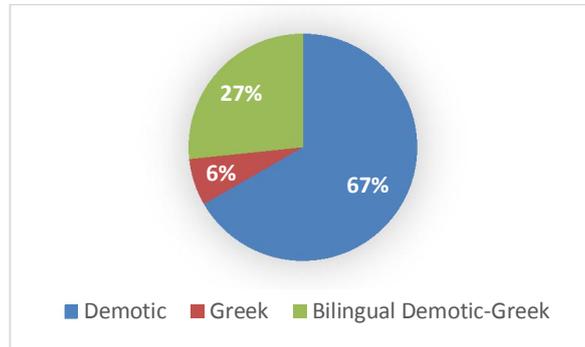


Fig. 2: Classification of the archive according to script

The Keeper (last owner⁴) of the Archive

It is most likely that Teōs, son of Horos, is highly probable to have served as the last keeper of the archive. His name (*Dd-hr*) accompanied by the phrase *dd=w n=f* which denotes “they call him by his nickname,” is associated with his title *P3-isw* meaning “the sheep/the ram”⁵ (*isw*⁶ derived from older *sr*⁷). For reference, an example of the hieroglyphic combination *Dd-hr-p3-isw* can be found in Ranke, *Personennamen*, 411: 14, although it should be noted that the translation “*Dd-hr*, der Alte” requires amendment.⁸ It is worth mentioning that his name and title exhibit some variations across different documents, as seen in the following instances:

¹ Erich Lüddeckens, “Papyri, Demotische, Kairo aus der Ägyptische Grabung in Tuna el-Gebel,” in *LÄ IV*: 1982, col. 831, s.v.; Erich Lüddeckens, “Urkundenarchive, Hermupolis,” in *LÄ VI*: 1986, col. 881.

² Unfortunately, there is no information or photos of this jar during excavation or afterward.

³ Aly “A Proangelma from Hermopolis Magna,” 330.

⁴ In terminology of some scholars, see: Katelijm Vandorpe, ‘Archives and Dossiers’, in *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, chapter 10, ed. R.S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 233.

⁵ The intention behind the given description remains unclear, as it is uncertain whether it should be interpreted as a form of self-aggrandizement, likening the man to a powerful ram, or a form of mocking sarcasm, as the Egyptians have been known to use the term “sheep man **رجل خروف**” to denote a man who is deemed pliant and easily influenced. Additionally, it is worth noting that, even in present times, Egyptian vernacular frequently employs the sheep metaphor to describe men perceived as yielding to the authority of their wives or mothers.

⁶ The common writing of the word after the 19/20 dynasties, see Erichsen, *Glossar* 43 and 441; CDD, Letter *I* (18 April 2011), 221.

⁷ Lüddeckens has read *Dd-hr-p3-sr* following the old reading *sr*, Lüddeckens, “Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel,” 236; 239.

⁸ I owe this reference to G. Vittmann.

(P. no. 6) *Dd-ḥr dd=w n=f Dd-ḥr-p3-isw*

(P. no. 7) *Dd-ḥr dd=w n=f Dd-ḥr-p3-isw*

(P. no. 10) *Dd-ḥr dd=w n=f P3-isw*

(P. no. 11) *Dd-ḥr dd=w n=f P3-isw*

(P. no. 12) *Dd-ḥr dd=w n=f P3-isw*

Teōs was one of the youngest adult members of the family, as both five documents directly related to him – Nos. VI, VII, X, XI and XII - date to 162 BC. While another seven documents are indirectly related to him (i.e., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4,5, 8 and 9).

As mentioned in documents Nos. X-XII, Teōs, son of Horos, was working *šms n n3 ntr.w n p3 ʿ.wj ḥtp n p3 hb p3 ʿn ntj ir imnt n Hmnw* “follower (server) of the gods of the resting place of the ibis and monkey, which is in the west of Hermopolis”. He was a half-brother of *Dd-ḥr* son of *Dd-Dḥwtj-iw=f ʿnh*: the mother is the same, but the father (from a second marriage) is different.

It looks like that when it stopped growing (*ca.*162 BC), the archive was already passed on to Teōs, who was probably acting as the head of the family, safekeeping the papers of his relatives. El-Amir noted that presently, in Upper Egypt, it is customary for families to rely on a trusted individual within their kinship as a dependable and honest caretaker. This person is entrusted with the responsibility of safeguarding their valuable belongings and important documents, providing the family with a sense of security.¹ Thus, it matches both conditions mentioned by Vandorpe for keeping an archive by a single person².

Sealing the archive documents

All the documents in the archive are not sealed except P. Nos. 6 and 7, which were sealed with a mud seal *ca.* 2.2 cm, with an unclear figure in the middle³. This figure looks like the quail check sign  or the sign of the white crown of upper Egypt ⁴. Sealing just these two documents could be influenced by the Greek practice of writing a document twice and sealing the scriptura interior. As TM mentions, the Egyptians adopted this practice for specific contracts, particularly oaths and acknowledgments of debts⁵.

¹ El-Amir, “Varia Demotica,” 112.

² Vandorpe, ‘Archives and Dossiers’, 233.

³ This seal was sent from the Egyptian museum to the Antiquities Museum of Bibliotheca Alexandrina.

⁴ This interpretation was suggested to me by Florence Albert (IFAO, 12-07-2017).

⁵ Seals and Stamps from Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt: https://www.trismegistos.org/seals/overview_2e.html. (Consulted 14 September 2023)



Fig. 4. Seal of P. No. 6 and 7© Antiquities Museum - Bibliotheca Alexandrina. Inv. No. 0531 Alex. Bibl.

Several other papyri discovered in the necropolis, specifically during the Saite Period, were found to have been sealed with hieroglyphic impressions. For instance, the Papyri Mallawi museum, numbered 486 A and B, which were part of an archive belonging to the priests of Hormerti, featured the sign . The administration of Mallawi museum suggested that these papyri were from the reign of King Psammetichus, primarily based on the presence of the sign *m* and another seal of papyrus “Hormerti-5” displaying the name *Psmṯk* within a royal cartouche. However, Ebeid contested this assertion, arguing that it would be incorrect to solely rely on the names found on the seals for dating the papyri, as these names could also be personal or parts of personal names instead of the ruling pharaoh's name.¹



Fig. 5. P. Mallawi Inv. Nos. 486 A and B folded and with their clay seals.

© Mallawi Museum

Studies of the Archive of Teōs

In 1958, Zaki Aly published the Greek text (P. No. 15) from this collection in the Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology. The article was titled “Egypt's Contribution to the Promotion of Papyrological Studies. Appendix: A Prosangelma from Hermopolis Magna”.² It consisted of three sections. The first section provided a general introduction to notable Papyrologists and their contributions, with a focus on the role of the Egyptian society of Papyrology and its periodical ‘Études de Papyrologie’. The second section discussed recently discovered papyrological materials in Hermopolis magna, specifically in Tuna el-Gebel, offering a detailed description of the archive of Teōs. The third section presented the publication of the only Greek text in

¹ Mahmoud Ebeid, “The unknown Hormerti and the archive of his priests in the Ibiotapheion of the Tuna al-Gebel necropolis,” in *Tuna el-Gebel. Kleine Götter- Grosse Götter: Festschrift für Dieter Kessler zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Mélanie C. Flossmann-Schütze, Maren Goecke-Bauer, Friedhelm Hoffmann et al. (Vaterstetten: Verlag Patrick Brose, 2013), 122.

² Aly “A Prosangelma from Hermopolis Magna,” 328-334; TM 5794; S.B. VIII, 9792.

the archive of Teōs (P. 24/11/62/15), which was a “Prosangelma”¹. In 1971, Lüddeckens shed light on this archive in an article titled “Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el-Gebel mit einer genealogischen Skizze”² during the 13th International Congress of Papyrology. This article served as a valuable introduction to studying the archive, providing details about its discovery, and discussing the genealogy of Teōs' family. El-Amir also contributed to the same congress with an article titled “Varia Demotica”³, addressing the circumstances of discovering demotic family archives, a demotic account i.e., P. Philadelphia 30 (dated to the reign of Ptolemy Soter I ca.301 BC), the question of Egyptian Roman law, and listing demotic words and expressions that persisted in colloquial Arabic in Egypt. The article mentioned our archive as one of four discovered under floors or hidden in corners of dwellings, confirming that this was a common practice among native Egyptians to preserve their deeds and documents.⁴

In 1973, El-Amir and Lüddeckens added the names of the eponymous priests and priestesses mentioned in the archive to the list of names of this priesthood in their article “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester”. They also provided some insights on the dating of certain documents (i.e., P. Nos. 8 and 9).

Lüddeckens listed the documents of the archive, along with their numbers and topics, in his article in LÄ IV (1982), p. 831, under the entry “Papyri, Demotische, Kairo aus der Ägyptischen Grabung in Tuna el-Gebel”. In another article in LÄ VI (1986), p. 881, under the entry “Urkundenarchive, Hermupolis”, he briefly mentioned the name of the archive, its date, its discovery in two jars, and that it contained 14 papyri.⁵

In 2005, Farid published two demotic papyri from this collection (TR numbers 24/11/62/2 and 24/11/62/3) titled “Two Demotic Annuity Contracts”⁶. He later published another document (TR number 24/11/62/4) in 2009 under the title “A Demotic Sale Contract of the Whole Property”.⁷

In 2017, the marriage contracts of the archive (Documents Nos. 1, 5, 8, and 9) were studied in the PhD dissertation of the author of this article. The dissertation, titled “Miscellaneous Demotic and Greek Documents from Tuna el-Gebel Necropolis: Philological, Palaeographical, and Cultural Study”, was supervised by Prof. Mohammed Kashaf (Äin Shams), Prof. Mahmoud Ebeid (Cairo), and Prof. Maha Akeel (Helwan), and examined by Prof. Günter Vittmann (Würzburg) and Prof. Ola El-Aguizy (Cairo).

In 2022, documents nos. 6, 7, 10, and 11 were revealed in an MA thesis conducted by Dina el-Sayed Rashad at Mansoura University. The thesis was titled “Unpublished

¹ A “Prosangelma” is notification implying denunciations, either against persons or unknown ones in cases of robbery.

² Lüddeckens, “Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel,” 235-239.

³ El-Amir, “Varia Demotica,” 111-116.

⁴ El-Amir, “Varia Demotica,” 111-112.

⁵ The total number of papyri in the collection is fifteen, not fourteen. It appears evident that Lüddeckens was unaware of the Greek papyrus (no. 15) which had been previously published by Zaki Aly.

⁶ Farid, “Two Demotic Annuity Contracts,” 323-346.

⁷ Farid, “A Demotic Sale Contract,” 261-276.

Demotic Papyri from Tuna El-Gebel” and supervised by the late Prof. M.A. Nur el-Din and Prof. Soheir Wahid El-Din.

Contents and Dating of the Archive

In 2022, documents nos. 6, 7, 10, and 11 were revealed in an MA thesis conducted by Dina el-Sayed Rashad at Mansoura University.

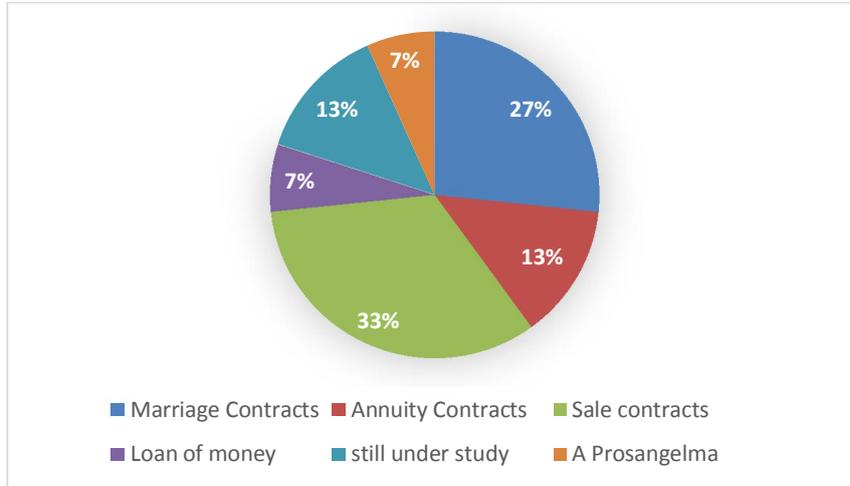


Fig. 6 Topics of the archive’s documents

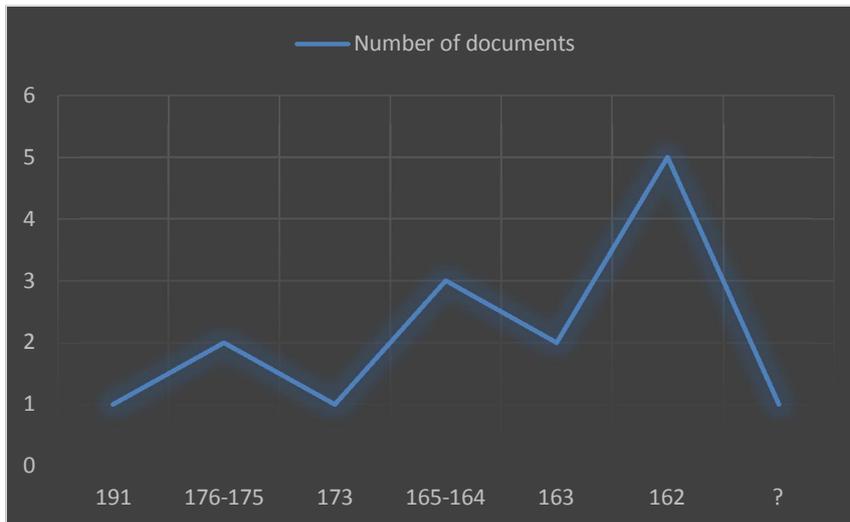


Fig. 7. rate of written documents through the period of the archive (191-162 BC)

The following table gives more details regarding the script of each document, its content, and the date given in publications and the TM database:

TR No.	SR No.	Type of script	Date		Content	TM No.	Publication
24/11/62/1	3741	Demotic	Year 14 of Ptolemy V	BC 192 Oct 10 - 191 Oct 9 ¹	Marriage contract	TM 46225	M. el-Bokl PhD thesis, no. I.
24/11/62/2	3742	Demotic	Year 6 of Ptolemy VI Philometor	176-175 BC ² BC 178 Dec 6? (year 04, Hathyr 01) or BC 176 Dec 5? (year 06, Hathyr 01) ³	Annuity contract	TM 46227	Farid, Fs. Radwan.
24/11/62/3	3743	Demotic	Year 6 of Ptolemy VI Philometor	176-175 BC ⁴ BC 178 Dec 5? (year 04, Hathyr 01) or BC 176 Dec 5? (year 06, Hathyr 01) ⁵	Annuity contract	TM 48334	Farid, Fs. Radwan.
24/11/62/4	3748	Demotic	Year 9 of Ptolemy VI	BC 173 Oct 5 - 172 Oct 4 ⁶	Sale of the whole possession contract	TM 46228	Farid, Fs. Nur el-Din.

¹ El-Amir and Lüddeckens, "Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester," 1; TM Dateref 46225 (consulted 13-09-2023).

² Date provided by Farid, "Two Demotic Annuity Contracts," 324-337.

³ TM Dateref 46227 (accessed 13-09-2023).

⁴ Date given by Farid, "Two Demotic Annuity Contracts," 324-337.

⁵ TM Dateref 48334 (accessed 13-09-2023).

⁶ TM Dateref 46228 (accessed 13-09-2023); Farid, "A Demotic Sale Contract," 261.

24/11/62/5	3749	Demotic	Year 6 of Ptolemy VI, VIII, and Cleopatra II. ¹	BC 165 Oct 3 - 164 Oct 2 ²	Marriage contract	TM 46229	M. el-Bokl PhD thesis, no. II.
24/11/62/6	3744	Demotic with a docket in Greek	year 6 of Ptolemy VI and year 6 of Ptolemy VIII	BC 165 Oct 3 – 164 Oct 2 ³	Sale contract and cession (house)	TM 46230	Dina Rashad MA thesis.
24/11/62/7	3745	Demotic	Ptolemy VI, VIII, and Cleopatra II	BC 165 Oct 3 - 164 Oct 2 ⁴	Sale contract and cession (house)	TM 48336	Dina Rashad MA thesis.
24/11/62/8 ⁵	3750	Demotic with a Greek docket	Year 7 Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II ⁶	BC 163 Jun 30 - Jul 29 ⁷	Marriage contract	TM 46231	M. el-Bokl PhD thesis, no. III.
24/11/62/9	3751	Demotic with a Greek docket	Year 19 Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II ⁸	BC 163 Oct 3 - Nov 1 ¹	Marriage contract	TM 46232	M. el-Bokl PhD thesis, no. IV.

¹ El-Amir and Lüddeckens, “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester,” 2.

² TM Dateref 46229, (accessed 13-09-2023); Lüddeckens, “Papyri, Demotische, Kairo,” LÄ IV: 1982, col. 831.

³ TM Dateref 46230, (accessed 13-09-2023); Lüddeckens, “Papyri, Demotische, Kairo,” LÄ IV: 1982, col. 831.

⁴ TM Dateref 48336, (accessed 13-09-2023); Lüddeckens, “Papyri, Demotische, Kairo,” LÄ IV: 1982, col. 831.

⁵ The date of P. no. 8 was calculated based on the joint rule of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II, which is mentioned in the first line: (*H3.t-sp 7.t ibt-2 šmm n pr-š3 Ptwlmsj^{c.w.s.} š3 Ptwlmsj^{c.w.s.} irm Kłwp3tr3 n3 ntr.w ntj pr*). This means that the year 7 corresponds to the first year of their joint rule (BC 163 Jun 30 - Jul 29). On the other hand, P. no. 9, which also dates to the same year (163 BC), calculates the date from the start of Ptolemy VI's reign in 180 BC. This is mentioned in the first and second lines: (*H3.t-sp 19 tpj 3h.t (sw 15), n3 pr-š3.w Ptwlmsj^{c.w.s.} irm Kłwp3tr3 n3 hrj.w Ptwlmsj^{c.w.s.} irm Kłwp3tr3 n3 ntr.w ntj pr*). Therefore, the year 7 (beginning of the joint rule) is the same as the year 19 (12 years of Ptolemy VI alone plus 7 years of the joint rule with Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II), which corresponds to the year 163 BC, see El-Amir and Lüddeckens, “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester,” 3, note 11.

⁶ El-Amir and Lüddeckens, “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester,” 3.

⁷ TM Dateref 46231 (accessed 13-09-2023).

⁸ El-Amir and Lüddeckens, “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester,” 3.

24/11/62/10	3746	Demotic with a Greek docket	(Year 19 of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II) ²	BC 163 Oct 3 - 162 Oct 2 ³	Sale contract and cession (liturgies)	TM 46226	Dina Rashad MA thesis.
24/11/62/11	3747	Demotic	Year 19 of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II	BC 163 Oct 3 - 162 Oct 2 ⁴	Sale contract and cession (liturgies)	TM 48337	Dina Rashad MA thesis.
24/11/62/12	3752	Demotic	Year 19 of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II	BC 163 Oct 3 - 162 Oct 2 ⁵	A demotic loan of money	TM 48338	Under publishing
24/11/62/13	3753	Demotic	?	?	Still under study		Under publishing
24/11/62/14	3754	Demotic	?	?	?		Under publishing
24/11/62/15	3755	Greek	Year 19 of Ptolemy VI ⁶	BC 162 Aug 4 ⁷	A Prosangelma προσάγγελμα	TM 5794	Zaki Aly, Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology, Oslo 1958.

Table 1: Full details of the archive of Teōs

¹ TM Dateref 46232 (accessed 13-09-2023).

² El-Amir and Lüddeckens, “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester,” 4.

³ TM Dateref 46226 (accessed 13-09-2023).

⁴ TM Dateref 48337 (accessed 13-09-2023); El-Amir and Lüddeckens, “Ergänzungen zur Liste der eponymen Priester,” 4; Lüddeckens, “Papyri, Demotische, Kairo,”

⁵ TM Dateref 48338 (accessed 13-09-2023).

⁶ Aly “A Prosangelma from Hermopolis Magna,” 334.

⁷ TM Dateref 5794 (consulted 13-09-2023).

Marriage affinities in the family of Teōs

The documents list a total of 31 individuals, with 16 men and 15 women. Based on the family's genealogy, we can determine that 14 of the men were married. However, for *Dd-ḥr-p3-sr* (mentioned in P. Nos. 6, 7, 10, and 12) and *St3.t-w-irt-bjn* (the first party in P. No. 4), there is no information confirming whether they were married or not.

Out of the 14 men, 11 were married once, while two were married twice, and one man was married to three women. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the woman *Rnp.t-nfr.t* (mentioned in P. Nos. 6 - 7) was ever married. Among the 15 women, 14 got married, with 10 of them marrying once and four marrying twice.

Although two men married twice and one man married three times, there is no indication that they were married to multiple women at the same time.

Doc. No.	1 st party	2 nd party	Relative relations
24/11/62/1	<i>Ir.t-ḥr-r.r=w</i> S. <i>Dd-ḥr</i> , whose mother <i>Htp-ḥnsw</i>	<i>Ta-is</i> d. <i>Šp-ḥp</i> , whose mother <i>T3-rnp.t</i> ³ <i>t</i>	Marriage between <i>Ir.t-ḥr-r.r=w</i> and <i>Ta-is</i> .
24/11/62/2	<i>Dd-Dḥwtj-iw=f</i> ¹ <i>nh</i> S. <i>Dḥwtj-gm</i> ¹ , whose mother <i>Ta-rt</i>	<i>Ta-rt</i> d. <i>P3-tj-k3-km</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-ḥ3.t</i> <i>T3-³t</i>	Son and his mother
24/11/62/3	<i>Dd-Dḥwtj-iw=f</i> ¹ <i>nh</i> S. <i>Dḥwtj-gm</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-rt</i>	<i>Ta-rt</i> d. <i>P3-tj-k3-km</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-ḥ3.t</i> <i>T3-³t</i>	Son and his mother
24/11/62/4	The woman <i>Ta-sj</i> , d. <i>T3-³t</i> ² , whose mother is <i>T3j-n3</i> ³	<i>St3.t-w-irt-bjn</i> , S. <i>Dd-ḥr-p3-hb</i> , whose mother is <i>Ta-sj</i> ; the elder son of the first party	Son and his mother
24/11/62/5	<i>Dḥwtj-iw</i> S. <i>Hr-p3-bjk</i> , whose mother	<i>Ta-rt</i> d. <i>P3-tj-k3-km</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-</i>	∅

¹ This is the reading of Lüddeckens (“Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel,” 239), while it was read as *Dḥwtj-ir-tj=s* by Farid in P. nos. 2& 3 (Adel Farid, “Two Demotic Annuity Contracts,” 325, 340).

² Lüddeckens read: daughter of *šn^c* (Lüddeckens, “Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel,” 239).

³ Farid was confused concerning the reading of mother of *Ta-sj*. In the introduction of his article, he read *T3j-n3*, while in the entire text, *T3j-ḥnsw*? (Farid, “A Demotic Sale Contract,” 261-76). Lüddeckens read it *T3j-3w*, which is more reasonable.

	<i>T3-mw.t-nfrt</i>	<i>h3.t T3-ʿ3.t</i>	
24/11/62/6 and 7	<i>Rnp.t-nfr.t</i> d. <i>Dḥwtj-īw</i> , whose mother <i>Is.t-m-h3.t</i>	<i>Dd-hr-p3-sr</i> S. <i>Hr</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-is</i>	∅
24/11/62/8	<i>Dd-hr</i> S. <i>Dd-Dḥwtj-īw=f ʿnh</i> , whose mother <i>Is.t-m-h3.t</i>	<i>Ta-h3.t</i> d. <i>Dḥwtj-īw</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-h3.t</i>	Marriage between <i>Dd-hr</i> and <i>Ta-h3.t</i>
24/11/62/9	<i>Dḥwtj-gm</i> S. <i>Dd-Dḥwtj-īw=f ʿnh</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-is.t</i>	<i>T3j- st3. ʿw</i> d. <i>Dd-hr</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-sj</i>	Marriage between <i>Dḥwtj-gm</i> and daughter of his half-brother <i>Dd-hr</i>
24/11/62/10	<i>Dḥwtj-īw</i> S. <i>Hr-p3-bjk</i> , whose mother <i>T3-mw.t-nfr.t</i>	<i>Dd-hr-p3-sr</i> S. <i>Hr</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-is</i>	∅
24/11/62/11	<i>Dḥwtj-īw</i> S. <i>Hr-p3-bjk</i> , whose mother <i>T3-mw.t-nfr.t</i>	<i>Dd-hr-p3-sr</i> S. <i>Hr</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-is</i>	∅
24/11/62/12	<i>Dḥwtj-īw</i> S. <i>Hr-p3-bjk</i> , whose mother <i>T3-mw.t-nfr.t</i>	<i>Dd-hr-p3-sr</i> S. <i>Hr</i> , whose mother <i>Ta-is</i>	∅
24/11/62/13	?	?	?
24/11/62/14	?	?	?
24/11/62/15	Προσάγγελμα from Seos, son of Horos to Mnaseas, diadochus and epistates of the guards.		∅

Table No. 2: Parties of the contracts and their relative relations

The (∅) symbol refers to the fact that there is no relative relation between the two parties.

Marriage Affinities in the family of Teōs

I. Men being married only once.

<i>P3-tj-k3-km</i> P. 2 &5	→	<i>Ta-ḥ3.t T3- ʿ3.t</i> P. 2 &5
<i>Dḥwtj-gm (I)</i> P. 2	→	<i>Ta-rt</i> P. 2
<i>Ḥr-p3-bjk</i> P. 5 &10	→	<i>T3-mw.t-nfrt</i> P. 5 &10
<i>šn^c</i> P. 4	→	<i>T3j-3w</i> P. 4
<i>Dd-ḥr-p3-hb</i> P. 4	→	<i>Ta-sj</i> P. 4&9
<i>Dḥwtj-gm (II)</i> P. 9	→	<i>T3j- st3.t≠w</i> P. 9
<i>Ḥr-wd3</i> P. 1	→	<i>Ta-immn</i> P. 1
<i>Dd-ḥr</i> P. 1	→	<i>Ḥtp-ḥnsw</i> P. 1
<i>šp-ḥp</i> P. 1	→	<i>T3- rnp.t ʿ3.t</i> P. 1
<i>ʿIr.t-ḥr-r. r=w</i> P. 1	→	<i>Ta-is</i> P. 1
<i>Ḥr</i> P. 1	→	<i>Ta-is</i> P. 1

I. Men being married twice.

<i>Dd-Dḥwtj-iw=f ʿnh</i> P. 2, 3, 8 and 9	→	<i>Is.t-m-ḥ3.t</i> P. 6&8
	→	<i>Ta-is</i> P.6,7,9,10,11, and 12.
<i>Dd-ḥr</i> P. 8&9	→	<i>Ta ḥ3.t (II)</i> P. 8
	→	<i>Ta-sj</i> P. 9

III. Men married three times.

<i>Dḥwtj-iw</i> P. 5, 6 and 8	→	<i>Is.t-m-ḥ3.t</i> P. 6&8
	→	<i>Ta ḥ3.t (I)</i> P. 8
	→	<i>Ta-rt</i> P. 2, 3 and 5

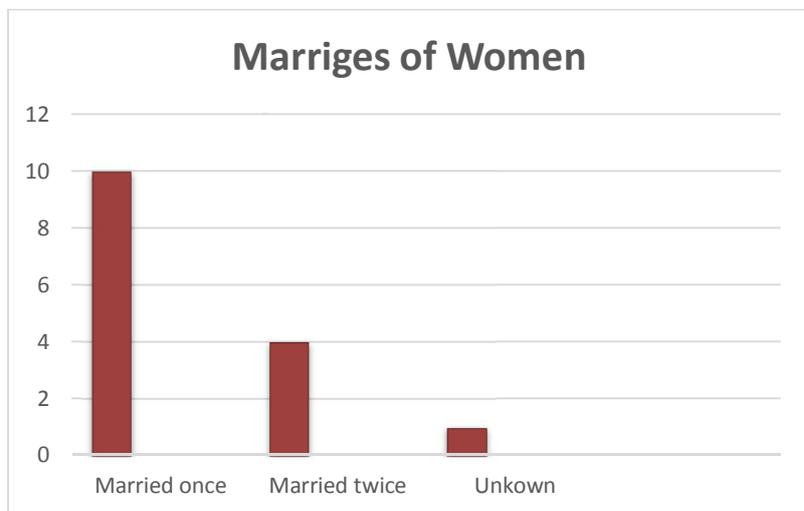
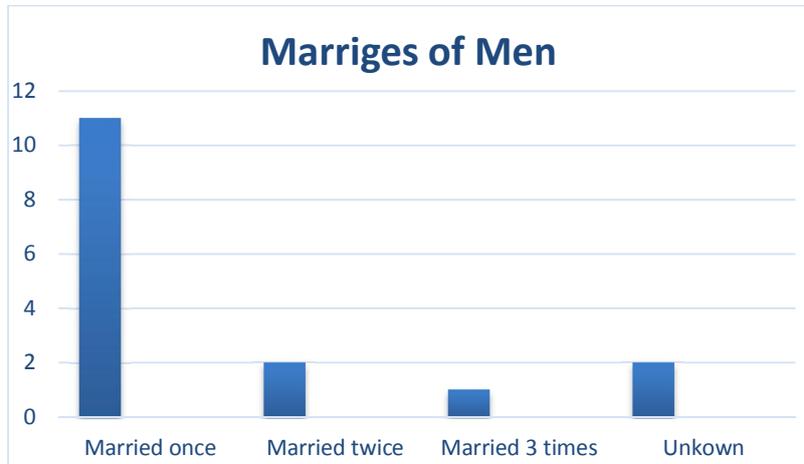
Red color = woman married more than one time.

IV. Men there is no mention if they got married or not.

1. *Dd-hr-p3-sr* P. 6, 7, 10, 11and 12
2. *St3.t=w-irt-bjn* P.4

V. Women there is no mention if they got married or not.

1. *Rnp.t-nfr.t* P. 6&7



Conclusion:

This paper presents a thorough analysis of the Teōs archive, which originates from the Tuna el-Gebel necropolis, dating back to the Ptolemaic period in ancient Egypt (191-162 BC). The valuable insights gained from this archive shed light on the historical context of the era. The archive was discovered in 1954 by the Cairo University archaeological mission, led by Zaki Aly. However, there are a couple of misconceptions regarding the archive. Specifically, it has been incorrectly stated in three articles by El-Amir and Lüddeckens that the archive was found in 1962. Additionally, the exact location of the archive was initially believed to be the priests' house, situated to the left of the gallery entrance. However, it was eventually found in the administrative building TG 2002.K3, which not only served as a storage space for personal documents and valuable possessions but also fulfilled other administrative activities. The archive encompasses a diverse collection of documents, including marriage contracts, annuity contracts, sale contracts, loan agreements, and a Prosangelma. Teōs, likely the last caretaker of the archive, was entrusted with safeguarding the papers of his relatives, as evident from the cluster of documents indirectly associated with him.

Zaki Aly's publication of the Greek text from the collection (Προσάγγελμα) in 1958 was an initial contribution, followed by subsequent studies by various scholars. These studies have provided valuable insights into the genealogy and dating of the documents within the archive. Ongoing research, such as Farid's two papers, Mahmoud el-Bokl's PhD dissertation focusing on the four marriage contracts of the archive, and Dina Rashad's MA thesis centered on the examination of the sale contracts, continually brings to light and analyzes previously unpublished demotic and bilingual demotic-Greek papyri. These endeavors contribute to a deeper understanding of this remarkable collection. Furthermore, the paper also provided essential insights into the marital connections within Teōs' family. I eagerly anticipate the forthcoming publication of this archive as a collaborative endeavor, expected to occur in the near future.

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