THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SLAVERY AND SERVITUDE IN LATE PERIOD EGYPT (C. 900–330 BC)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2022

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מוקדש לאמא ואבא, מן הסתם.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Voilà, c'est fait.

My sincerest thanks go out to the members of my committee: Professors Brian Muhs, Janet Johnson, and Alain Bresson. Thanks to Brian for supporting this topic, explaining Egyptian marriage contracts to me in detail many times over, and for introducing me to opportunities like the publication of the Edgerton ostraca. Thank you to Jan for teaching me Demotic in the winter of 2017, which allowed me to pursue this work, and to Alain for long conversations about surnames and enslavement as well as bringing me on as your course assistant, which was a valuable experience. And finally, thank you all for reading this dissertation and providing your insightful feedback, as well as your encouragement and aid during my relocation.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Deborah Sweeney, whom I met in the Open Day of Tel Aviv University in 2012 and who first taught me Middle Egyptian in a sweltering Tel Aviv classroom; I'll always be grateful for your quirky earrings, Christmas cheer, and compassion for all creatures great and small. The idea for this dissertation first came up in Stuart Creason's Imperial Aramaic class in the winter of 2019, and I am grateful for his encouragement to explore the topic further. I am also grateful to the other proponents of this idea: Nadine Moeller, who advised me early in my graduate career to pick a topic "with a small corpus and a big impact," and Courtney Wiersema of the career advising office, who memorably said in my second year that "if a non-Egyptologist wouldn't be somewhat interested in your dissertation, don't do it." You've all helped a half-baked idea become what it is today.

I could not have finished this project while living in California without the people who helped me find digital versions of all the research materials I needed: the staff of the Regenstein Library, who fulfilled my (literal) hundreds of scan and deliver requests, and the tireless members of the "Egyptology Quarantine Library" Facebook group. Thanks is also due to Eline Scheerlink, who made her way to the Leiden library in mid-winter to find photos of "just that one page" that I needed. When all those options failed, thanks to Foy Scalf, who has an

uncanny knack for finding PDFs that no one else can track down. I am grateful, too, to the staff of WeWork in Irvine, where I wrote large portions of this dissertation in late 2021, for their encouragement and free peanut butter cups when I was feeling low.

I would also like to thank a number of my friends (and this is by no means an exhaustive list): eternal gratitude to my best friend Alison Ruiz for thousands of hours of phone calls and draft read-throughs, letters sent back and forth, FaceTimes while making eggy bowls, and above all her love: οὐκ ἔμοιγε σοῦ. Thanks to Chance Bonar for his feedback, empathy, and audio memos, and to Luiza Osorio Guimarãs da Silva for Taylor Swift singalongs, Treasure Planet, and dinner with the smoke alarm beeping. To my writing group (Émilie Sarrazin, Thalia Lysen, and Emily Smith) for the little notes of positive reinforcement and hope we sent to each other, that endless Google Doc, and the Zoom meetings we pulled off over four time zones. To Amanda Young, for the emotional and administrative support at the challenging end of a graduate career. To Katie Kearns, for the practical advice to keep a running word count at the end of each week to feel like I'm actually getting somewhere, and Brendan Hainline, for fruitlessly trying to get me to go to social hour (sorry, Brendan). To Mills McArthur, even though we never did track down Mrs. Riddle, though maybe we still will. Last but certainly not least, I owe a special debt to Seth Richardson, without whom this dissertation could not possibly have been written—and for the *andurāru*, when I needed it most.

And, of course, I am grateful for my family. My parents, Iris and Ori Karev, for their love and encouragement across many thousands of miles. Thank you for keeping me curious, and (mostly) humble. To my brother, Adam Karev, and his partner Lena Gendelman: с днем грустной веганской колбасы. For my little dog Kookie, who will live forever. And thanks to Adam Kaplan, for everything.

Finally, for the people whose lives I've investigated so thoroughly: the slaves branded on their right arm, sold, and used as debt collateral. You haven't been forgotten.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένεα, καὶ τούτων οἳ μὲν ἱρέες οἳ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἳ δὲ βουκόλοι οἳ δὲ συβῶται, οἳ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἳ δὲ ἑρμηνέες, οἳ δὲ κυβερνήται.
The Egyptians are divided into seven classes: priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, merchants, interpreters, and pilots."
Herodotus, 2.164.1

§1. Introduction

This dissertation seeks to define the nature and extent of slavery in Late Period Egypt, delineated in this dissertation as from the end of the Third Intermediate Period to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period (c. 900–330 BC). It is important to note that the term 'slavery' is used here for convenience only; the labor relationships evident in the corpus of this dissertation could be suitably labelled by a variety of terms, including (but not limited to): chattel slavery, domestic slavery, serfdom, debt bondage, indentured servitude, unwilling/involuntary servitude, forced labor, bound labor, unfree labor, and unfree personhood.[1]

[1] Miers, "Slavery," 12.

The quote which opens this dissertation—and its conspicuous lack of 'slave' in the list of professional classes—long stood as evidence that slavery did not exist in Herodotus' Egypt.[2] Some scholars offered a more nuanced response, stating that Egypt exhibited a broader status of subordination not reflected in social classification and terminology.[3] Either way, both stances side-step the crux of the matter; the issue is not whether 'slave' existed as a social class but rather whether sources of the Late Period record social status and labor practices which could be defined as 'slavery'. Answering this question requires one to—as recommended by scholars of slavery studies—"use local terms and describe their meaning,"[4] exploring sources which use words glossed as 'slave' and in order to determine the full spectrum of labor relationships they could represent.

Slavery and forced servitude from the Old Kingdom[5] to the New Kingdom[6] as well as in Graeco-Roman Egypt[7] have been explored in Egyptological scholarship,[8] with mixed results. In 1952,

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[2] "It is not for nothing that Herodotus does not list the slave in the list of Egyptian professions (Nicht umsonst fehlt in Herodots Aufzählung der ägyptischen Berufsstände der Sklave)" Vittmann, "Ägypten vom Alten Reich". There are obviously more than seven professions in Egypt, and reliance on this quote as some kind of defining feature of Egyptian society may also just reflect an over-appreciation of Greek authors by modern scholars.
[3] Loprieno, "Lo Schiavo," 226.
[4] Miers, "Slavery," 11.
[5] Moreno García, "Acquisition"; Quirke, "State"; Eyre, "Work [...] Old Kingdom".
[6] Morris, "Mitanni"; Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*; Eyre, "Work [...] New Kingdom".
[7] Bieżuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage*; Thompson, "Slavery".
[8] Goelet, "Problems"; Helck, "Sklaven"; Loprieno, "Slavery"; Vittmann, "Ägypten vom Alten Reich". For further references see below, n. 15.

Abd el-Mohsin Bakir[9] wrote an oft-cited and problematic survey of Egyptian slavery, combining evidence from the Old Kingdom to the Late Ptolemaic Period with no regard for changing social, economic, and political context from these periods, assuming continuity even when continuity is not implied. Studies focused on the Late Period emerged in the 70s and 80s,[10] led by Bernadette Menu, who published studies in 1977,[11] 1985,[12] 1998,[13] and 2005.[14] Due to the sparse nature of documentation from the Late Period, it has only been briefly touched-upon in comprehensive histories of slavery, with scholars preferring to focus on the preceding or succeeding periods—both of which are far better documented.[15]

This dissertation is the first full-scale work dedicated to Late Period slavery, and the first to integrate extensive Aramaic sources. In embarking upon this work, I adhered to two interrelated goals: first, to expand upon and challenge the existing scholarship, incorporating updated concepts of ownership, possession, and enslavement. This, in turn, is intended to fill

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[9] Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*.
[10] Cruz-Uribe "Slavery in Egypt," 47–71.
[11] Menu, "Les rapports," 391–401.
[12] Menu, "Cessions de services," 73–87.
[13] Menu, "Les échanges," 193–207.
[14] Menu "Captifs de guerre," 187–210.
[15] For example, *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery* ends its "Slavery in Ancient Egypt" entry at the New Kingdom (Rodriguez, 245); the recent *Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume I: The Ancient Mediterranean World* (2011) dedicates less than a page and a half of its 500 pages of text to pre-Ptolemaic Egypt; in a comprehensive publication dealing with the "Mediterranean context" of the ancient slave trade, David Lewis dedicates less than three pages to pre-Ptolemaic slavery (Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems,* 251–253).

the scholarly gap created by a disproportionate focus on earlier and later periods by providing a comprehensive qualitative and quantitative study of Late Period enslavement. In attempting to achieve these goals, this dissertation also reflects upon and incorporates recent developments in the wider discourse on ancient slavery, especially with regards to the definitions of enslavement.[16]

§2. Research Aims

With the ultimate objective to define the nature and extent of slavery in Late Period Egypt, four broad aims lie at the core of this dissertation: (1) delineating the scope of usage of terminology used in Egyptian and Aramaic documentation to refer to enslaved persons; (2) contextualizing enslavement within Late Period labor and sale practices; (3) exploring the lived experience of enslaved persons, including the social alienation of enslavement; and (4) discussing the connections between enslavement and other social systems of patronage and protection in Late Period Egypt, including familial relationships.

[16] Taking into account Patterson *(Slavery)* and Lewis ("Orlando"); for further discussion, see **Chapter 3, §2.1** and **Chapter 5, §3.**

Achieving the first goal is a matter of examining the Egyptian and Aramaic terms which appear with reference to enslavement and servitude—Egyptian *bꜣk, ḥm, ḳḏwḏ n-ʿmḥty, rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty,* and Aramaic *ʿbd, ʾmh,* and *ʿlym*—within the context of the documents in which they appear, and the implications of that context. For example, the appearance of *bꜣkw* in itemized inheritance lists alongside cattle and real estate implies treatment as property, at least within the context of inheritance division. While *ḳḏwḏ/rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty* are translatable—as Gazan/Man of the North—the remaining terms are left untranslated in the body of the dissertation in order to avoid issues of semantics when translating; i.e., the implications of a preference for 'slave' over 'servant', or 'handmaiden' over 'female slave'.

This focus on the semantics of subordinate labor also leads to a discussion on whether the English term "slave" or "enslaved person" is taxonomically appropriate for the subordinate labor relationships of Late Period Egypt, which necessarily requires an examination of secondary literature regarding the definition of slavery. This dissertation delves into the two major competing definitions: the "property" definition (i.e., that people owned as property are enslaved) and the "social death" definition (i.e., that people who are enslaved are removed from social context and therefore "socially dead").[17]

[17] See **Chapter 3, §2.1** and **Chapter 5, §3.1, §3.2,** and **§3.3.**

Contextualizing enslavement within Late Period labor and sale practices requires an understanding of pricing of both commodities and labor, to provide a basis for determining comparative pricing of labor. This also requires an understanding of labor practices for the Late Period, for which evidence is lacking; conclusions have to be gleaned from limited sources. The lived experience of enslavement is delineated through onomastics, which aid in determining geographic origin and familial relationships (the latter through filiation) and a critical examination of the methods of entry into and exit from enslavement; in other words, how and why did people become enslaved?[18] This question also leads to the hereditary nature of enslavement, considered through the inclusion of children in self-sale documents. The investigation of the lived experience also issues a discussion on the motivations behind engaging in labor once enslaved (i.e. what motivated slaves to do their work?[19]).

Lastly, this dissertation discusses the connections between enslavement and other social systems of patronage and protection in Late Period Egypt through an analysis of the obligations a subordinate had to his superior, as well as the reverse, that is, the obligations a

[18] E.g. capture through war and possibly (though unlikely) debt bondage; see **Chapter 5, §4.1**.
[19] Including the threat of expulsion from a household or corporal punishment; see **Chapter 5, §4.3.**

superior had to his subordinate, whether or not the superior actually performed these obligations. The latter is investigated specifically with regards to protection: from debt, starvation, or abuse.

§3. Historical Overview (800–330 BC)

This dissertation covers a period in Egyptian history generally referred to as the "Late Period",[20] which usually begins with the Saite reunification of Egypt in the 650s BC and ends with Alexander the Great's arrival in Egypt in 332 BC. These three centuries include four phases: the Saite Period (664–525 BC, the 26th Dynasty), the first Persian Period (525–404 BC), a period of Egyptian rule (404–343 BC) and the second Persian Period (343–332 BC). This dissertation expands the definition of the "Late Period" slightly, including the end of the Third Intermediate Period (c. 800–664 BC) in the corpus of texts consulted.

The Third Intermediate Period is characterized by the division of Egypt into two: northern (Lower) Egypt, ruled by kings from the city of Tanis in the north-eastern Delta, and southern (Upper) Egypt, ruled first by the high priests of Amun, and later by a line of kings separate

[20] Lloyd, "The Late Period," 364.

from those at Tanis. The fragmentation of the Third Intermediate Period came to an end first with the conquest of Egypt by the Kushite kings from Nubia, and then by a series of Assyrian invasions which finally drove the Kushites out of Egypt in 663 BC. The Assyrians had installed a king from Sais—Necho I—in 672 BC, who was later killed by the Kushites; his son, Psammetichus I, was then installed during their last invasion in 663 BC and began the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Though ruling from the Delta, the Saite kings appointed their daughters as God's Wives of Amun at Thebes, re-unifying the country. The Saite Period ended with the defeat of the Saite Psammetichus III by Cambyses II in 525 BC, and Egypt became the sixth satrapy of the Achaemenid empire, with Aramaic as its *lingua franca*.[21]

After a number of failed revolts against Persian rule, a successful revolt led by Amyrtaeus led to the founding of the Twenty-Eighth Dynasty in 404 BC.[22] This Twenty-Eighth—and its quickly succeeding Twenty-Ninth and Thirtieth dynasties—ruled a unified Egypt under Egyptian kings, until the Persians re-conquered Egypt under Artaxerxes III in 342 BC.[23] Persian rule was maintained until Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 BC, which in scholarship traditionally signifies the end of the Late Period and the beginning of the Ptolemaic.

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[21] See also **Chapter 2, §1.**

[22] Ruzicka, *Trouble*, 37–40; Lloyd, "The Late Period," 377–382.

[23] Ibid., 199–209.

The Persians ruled Egypt from afar. They maintained the judicial and administrative districts of Egypt from before Persian rule, but instituted a provincial governor known as a satrap, below whom there were district governors assisted by scribes.[24] The satrap also had a number of officials who administered his personal holdings in Egypt.[25] One satrap, Arsames,[26] left behind an archive of business documents which served as a valuable resource for historians in general and specifically for this dissertation.

The 5th century Persian rule in Egypt also saw the rise of the Jewish community at Elephantine,[27] which produced a wealth of texts in Aramaic: two family archives and one communal archive. The community at Elephantine was composed of a group of Jewish soldiers who staffed a military garrison under Persian commanders, along with their families and other community leaders, such as the religious officials of the Jewish temple.[28] The temple itself was destroyed by Egyptian priests in collusion with Persian officials around 419 BC, and the Jewish community petitions Arsames to be allowed to rebuild it.[29]

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[24] King, "House of the Satrap," 366–380.
[25] Tavernier, "Persian," 87–94.
[26] Tuplin, "Aršāma," 38–48.
[27] On Semites in Egypt, See also **Chapter 5, §2.2.3.1.**
[28] Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 74–84.
[29] TADA4.6 and TADA4.7; Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 135–144.

The constant changes in rule from the 7th to the 4th centuries BC undoubtedly led to changes in labor practices and enslavement from earlier periods. It is the purpose of this dissertation to employ the limited documentary evidence with regards to enslavement in order to paint a picture of the kinds of labor practices which may have been evident during this period. Despite Herodotus' characterization of Egyptian society as one which does not include enslaved persons among its seven classes, the documentary evidence of this period outlines a society in which the trade, sale, and inheritance of enslaved persons (both native and foreign) did play a part.

§4. The Open Corpus[30] of the Dissertation

With reference to bound labor and laborers, seven words consistently appear in the textual record of the Late Period: two in Demotic (*bꜣk* and *ḥm*), two in Abnormal Hieratic (*rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥ* and *ḳḏwḏ n ꜥ-mḥ*), and three in Aramaic (*ʿbd [*masculine*], ʿlym* [masculine] and *ʾmh* [feminine]).

[30] The word "corpus" is used consistently throughout the dissertation to refer to the thirty-four texts described in this subsection; this erroneously implies that the corpus is closed (i.e., no other texts use terms referencing subordinate laborers, and no other texts were consulted). Therefore, throughout the dissertation, "corpus" refers to the group of texts at the heart of the dissertation, and which are provided with translations and notes in Appendix 3. All other texts relevant to the discussion, along with their bibliographical details, appear in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

The Aramaic words are gendered, while in Egyptian, both *bꜣk* and *ḥm* can be converted to a feminine form (*bꜣkt/ ḥmt)*, and the Abnormal Hieratic terms appear only in the masculine. The usage of the terms *bꜣk* and *ḥm* has been investigated through the Ramesside period by Tobias Hofmann,[31] while the Aramaic terms have yet to be discussed in a scholarly context beyond case-by-case analyses.[32] These terms provided one of the limitations for deciding which texts are included in the core group of texts at the heart of this dissertation's analysis, a total of three limitations: (1) dating: texts needed to be dated to the period under discussion (c. 900 BC to 330 BC); (2) terminology: the text needed to include one or more of the terms used to refer to enslaved persons: *bꜣk*, *nmḥ*, *ḥm, and ḳ̲dwḏ/rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty* in Egyptian, and *ʿbd*, *ʾmh,* and *ʿlym* in Aramaic;[33] and (3) subject matter: enslaved persons need to be the subject of the text, whether it is a sale, court case, or marriage.[34] This group of texts of contains a total of thirty-four documents written in Egyptian (Third Intermediate Period Hieroglyphs, Demotic, Abnormal Hieratic) and Aramaic. Of these, two are written in Hieroglyphs, five in Abnormal Hieratic, ten in Demotic, and seventeen in Aramaic.

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[31] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen.*

[32] E.g. Porten and Szubin, "The Status" .

[33] On terminology, see **Chapter 2**. Only one document is exempted from this, in that it does not include slave-related terminology: the Demotic adoption or 'self-sale as son' P. Louvre E7832, Appendix, **§1.2.10**. See below, **§4.1.2.**

[34] Which is why (e.g.) texts referencing *bꜣkw* as part of property lists or self-deprecatory uses of *bꜣk* in letters are not included in the open corpus of Appendix 3.

Most of the Egyptian documents (eleven out of a total of fifteen) represent sales or self-sales, and the remainder record transactions such as a labor contract, quitclaim, title transfer, and an adoption. The Aramaic documents are more varied in type; while there are only two sales in the Aramaic record, it includes documents not attested in the Egyptian record for enslaved persons: marriage contracts, court records, and a manumission. In this introduction as well as in the appendix of texts, the Egyptian evidence is split into Hieroglyphs, Abnormal Hieratic, and Demotic. Although these are three scripts ostensibly representing the same language, the separation is necessary due to the legal and cultural changes undergone in this period.[35]

Throughout this dissertation, Egyptian texts in the corpus are referred to by their museum inventory number (e.g. P. Vatican 10547). When relevant, the name of the publication is also referenced in parentheses: e.g. P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7). The appendix contains a table with previous identifiers, including publication data (e.g., P. Tsenhor 7) and older museum inventory numbers (e.g. P. Vatican 10547 = P. Vatican 2038c). This table also includes the text's number on the online Trismegistos Texts database (TM), which contains information from a number of databases of ancient texts, including the Database of Demotic and Abnormal

[35] Specifically on the transition from Abnormal Hieratic to Demotic, see **Chapter 3, §3.1.**

Hieratic Texts and the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis. The TM number is a stable identifier[36] with a stable URL on trismegistos.org which allows a reader to find a text even if the museum inventory number has been updated (which would change, for instance, P. Turin 2122 to a different number) or if the text has been republished (which would change, in turn, P. Tsenhor 7 to the most recent publication).

As is standard in Aramaic scholarship, the Aramaic texts throughout this dissertation are referred to by their publication in Porten and Yardeni's four-volume collection of Aramaic texts from Egypt, the *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (TAD), in which each volume is represented by a letter (volume 1 = TADA, volume 2 = TADB, and so on). Only two texts in this Aramaic corpus have not been published in Porten and Yardeni's collection, and are referred to by their number in Segal's 1983 publication (e.g. Segal 50). As with the Egyptian texts, the Appendix provides previous identifiers, as well as a stable identifier in the form of a reference number for CAL, the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon project (cal.huc.edu).[37]

§4.1 Abnormal Hieratic

[36] https://www.trismegistos.org/about_how_to_cite.php

[37] On CAL, stable identifiers are grouped and then given sub-numbers; e.g., all texts under TADA2 are given the number 22550, with a modifier for each individual text so that TADA2.1 = 22550.1.

The Abnormal Hieratic portion of this corpus includes five documents ranging in date from 727 to 685 BC: P. Leiden F1942/5.15 (727 BC); P. Vatican 10547 (725 BC); P. Louvre E3228e (695 BC); P. Louvre E3228d (688 BC); and P. Louvre E3228 c (685 BC). Of these five texts, the three bearing Louvre museum inventory numbers belong to the Archive of Petebast the choachyte. All five texts use the term "Man/Gazan of the North (*rmṯ/ḳḏwḏ n-ʿmḥty*)"[38] to refer to the enslaved person in question.

The earliest Abnormal Hieratic text, P. Leiden F1942/5.15 (727 BC),[39] records the sale of a "Man of the North (*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*)" named Paneferiu for three deben and 1 kite of silver. Dating to only two years later, P. Vatican 10547 (725 BC),[40] another "Man of the North (*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*)" is sold by two women for the price of one silver deben; here, they state that he is sold so that he may "be a bꜣk (*ỉr bꜣk*)" in the house of the buyer.[41] Both of these documents follow Abnormal Hieratic sale formula.

[38] On the use of this term, see **Chapter 2, §2.4**; on "Men of the North" as prisoners of war, possibly from Gaza, see **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.1**; on their pricing, **Chapter 4, §5.4.2**.
[39] Appendix 3, **§1.1.1.**
[40] Appendix 3, **§1.1.2.**
[41] See **Chapter 3, §4.2.2.**

The remaining three Abnormal Hieratic contracts belong to a single business archive of a Theban mortuary priest, the choachyte[42] Petebast son of Peteamonope, who lived and drew up contracts during Dynasty 25, the so-called "Kushite Dynasty" (c. 715–664 BC).[43] Of these three texts, only one is unquestionably a sale: P. Louvre E3228e[44] (695 BC), recording the sale of a "Gazan (*ḳ̲dwḏ̲*) of the North" for 2 deben and 2 ½ kite of silver. P. Louvre E3228d (688 BC) possibly records a lease of a "Man of the North" for 2 deben and 4 kite, though this is not entirely certain; it could also represent a sale.[45] The final Abnormal Hieratic contract in the corpus (P. Louvre E3228c, 685 BC)[46] is not a sale, but rather a quitclaim drawn up following a court order over a disputed object: a "Man of the North" who had been previously sold for 4 deben of silver.

§4.2 Demotic

The Demotic portion of this corpus includes nine documents ranging in date from 592 to 350 BC: Louvre E706 (592 BC); P. Rylands 3, 4, and 5 (569 BC); P. Rylands 6 (568 BC); P. Rylands 7 (563

[42] On the title and its responsibilities, Cannata, *Three Hundred Years,* 25–31.
[43] For a detailed background on Petebast the choachyte, Donker van Heel, *The Archive of Petebast*, 36–59; on the collection itself (including the confusion surrounding old and new catalogue numbers), Ibid., 23–35
[44] Appendix 3, **§1.1.4.**
[45] See **Chapter 3, §4.2.1.**
[46] Appendix 3, **§1.1.3**.

BC); P. Turin 2122 and P. Bibl. Nat. 223 (517 BC); and P. Inv. Sorb. 1276+1277 (c. 360 BC). The five Rylands papyri[47] belong to a single archive belonging to a family of priests[48] and pertain to the complex labor relationships of one individual. P. Turin 2122 and P. Bibl. Nat. 223 also belong to a single archive, of Tsenhor the female Theban mortuary priest,[49] and also refer to a single person who is sold and re-sold.

Louvre E706 (592 BC)[50] records the self-sale[51] of a woman and is unusually inscribed on a bowl, rather than written on papyrus. Although it is written in Demotic, it contains an oath to Amun standard in Abnormal Hieratic. The contract also evidently had no witnesses, at a time when most transactions included at least four[52] and as many as twenty-one,[53] though this may be due to lack on space on the bowl. The woman, Djedtaweryiusankh, promises to be the bꜣkt of her new owner and agrees to never again act as an "independent person (*rmṯ nmḥ*)".[54]

[47] Also known as the "El-Hibeh" papyri in the *ed. princ.* Griffith, *Catalogue*.
[48] This numerous generations of priests named Petiese with sons named Udjasematawy, featured in P. Rylands 9, the "Petition of Petiese". An Udjasematawy son of Petiese is attested as the owner of a *bꜣk* in P. Rylands 5, 6, and 7.
[49] On the archive, Pestman, *Les papyrus,* 1–2; on Tsenhor and her family, Donker van Heel, *Mrs Tsenhor*, 1–30 and Pestman, *Les papyrus,* 2–9.
[50] Appendix 3, **§1.2.1.**
[51] See **Chapter 2, §2.1.1.3** and **Chapter 3, §3.8.1.3.**
[52] E.g., P. Louvre E3228e.
[53] E.g., P. Rylands 6.
[54] On this term, **Chapter 2, §2.3**.

The Rylands group of papyri[55] are a series of contracts dating to a five-year period. The first three contracts all date to 569 BC: an initial agreement of self-sale between a *bꜣk* named Payftjawawykhonsu and his new owner, Djedbastiufankh (P. Rylands 3);[56] a transfer of title of the *bꜣk* to a new owner (P. Rylands 4);[57] and an acknowledgement drawn up by Payftjawawykhonsu of his new owner, Udjasematawy (P. Rylands 5).[58] A year later, a new document of acknowledgement (or maybe self-sale) is drawn up by Payftjawawykhonsu to Udjasematawy (P. Rylands 6),[59] despite the two contracts of a year previous; and, after a gap of five years, a renewal and renegotiation of terms (P. Rylands 7).[60]

In the personal and business archive of Tsenhor the female choachyte, P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7, 517 BC)[61] records a sale of a *bꜣk* named Pasherenpaqed, with a five deben penalty for reneging on the sale contract. Pasherenpaqed is sold again shortly thereafter in P. Bibl. Nat. 223 (P. Tsenhor 8, 517 BC).[62] In the latter document, he makes a statement consenting to the sale.

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[55] See **Chapter 2, §2.1.1.3**; **Chapter 3, §3.7.1.7**; **Chapter 4, §5.4.5**; **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.4.**
[56] Appendix 3, **§1.2.2.**
[57] Appendix 3, **§1.2.3.**
[58] Appendix 3, **§1.2.4.**
[59] Appendix 3, **§1.2.5.**
[60] Appendix 3, **§1.2.6.**
[61] Appendix 3, **§1.2.7.**
[62] Appendix 3, **§1.2.8.**

The fragmentary P. Inv. Sorb. 1276 and P. Inv. Sorb. 1277 (350 BC)[63] are treated together, as they are near-identical, though the reason why is unknown—perhaps a copy for the buyer and a copy for the seller, though more likely an early example of a paired sale and cession. [64] The contract records the sale of two *bꜣkw*, a woman named Gemuhep and her son, Keredj. Thereare no witnesses, but unlike Louvre E706 it is possible that the witnesses were in the part of the papyrus which has not been preserved.

The final text in the Demotic corpus (P. Louvre E7839)[65] is an adoption styled as a self-sale, dating to 539 BC. It is not entirely clear that the adopted individual is indeed enslaved before he is adopted, but evidence of adoption from other corpora (e.g. the Aramaic TADB3.9) suggests that adoption is a method of exiting enslaved status, and points to the links between familial ties and enslavement.

§4.3 Aramaic

[63] Appendix 3, **§1.2.9.**
[64] On the paired sale-cession in Ptolemaic documents, Depauw, "Sale," 70–72; Lippert, *Einführung*, 148–149.
[65] Appendix 3, **§1.2.10**; **Chapter 3, §3.6.1**; **Chapter 5, §4.2.2.**

The Aramaic portion of this dissertation includes seventeen texts. Of these, four originate from the archives of the Jewish community at Elephantine (TADB2.11, TADB3.3, TADB3.6, and TADB3.9); two from the correspondence of the satrap Arsames (TADA6.3, TADA6.7); ten from the deposit of papyri excavated in Saqqara in 1966 (Segal 50, Segal 97, TADB5.6, TADB8.1, TADB8.2, TADB8.3, TADB8.4, TADB8.6, TADB8.7 and TADC4.3); and one with unknown provenance (TADD7.9). The dated texts range from 449 to 410 BC. While the majority of the texts are undated, the findspot of the Saqqara papyri dates them to the 5th and 4th centuries BC,[66] and the Arsames letters are dated on palaeography and context to 410 to 405 BC.[67]

From Elephantine, the archive of Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah paints a picture of a highly-connected woman of means. She was married twice, the second time to an Egyptian (Eshor son of Djeho) who would later be known as Nathan, with whom she had two children. These two children would be the contractors on a division of the enslaved persons belonging to her, written in 410 BC (TADB2.11).[68] The four *ʿbdn*—a woman, Taba, and her three male children—had previously belonged to Mibtahiah; with this contract, Mibtahiah's children divide between them two of Taba's children, leaving Taba herself and one of her sons in joint possession.

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[66] Segal, *Aramaic Texts,* 4.

[67] Tuplin, "Aršāma," 122.

[68] Appendix 3, **§1.3.5**; **Chapter 2, §3.1.2.2**; **Chapter 5, §2.3.3.2.**

Two of the texts from Elephantine refer to one woman, an *ʾmh* named Tamet. Both contracts are a part of the family archive of her husband, Ananiah son of Azariah, a Jewish temple official (*lḥn*).[69] Her marriage to Ananiah is recorded in TADB3.3 (449 BC),[70] and it is her owner Meshullam son of Zaccur who gives her away as a father would, including the payment of her dowry. In this document, Meshullam also yields his claim to Pilti, his son by Tamet,[71] to Ananiah. Notably, though, this marriage does not guarantee Tamet's manumission, which is only afforded upon Meshullam's death in 427 BC (TADB3.6);[72] the record of the manumission is also included in the archive of Ananiah. The manumission includes a daughter, Jehoishma, who had not been mentioned in the marriage contract but had very likely also been fathered by Meshullam.

The archive of Ananiah also includes a document which rightly belongs in Meshullam's archives: Meshullam's son, Zaccur, sells a "boy (*ʿlym*)" named Jedeniah to an Aramaean named Uriah, who then adopts Jedeniah in a contract drawn up in 416 BC (TADB3.9).[73] The document,

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[69] On the archive in general and of Ananiah son of Azariah, see Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 80-81.
[70] Appendix 3, **§1.3.6**; **Chapter 2, §3.2.1**; **Chapter 4, §4.5**.
[71] On Tamet's children, see **Chapter 5, §2.3.3.2** and **§4.2.1** and **Chapter 2, §3.2.1.**
[72] Appendix 3, **§1.3.7**; **Chapter 5, §4.2.1.**
[73] Appendix 3, **§1.3.8**; **Chapter 2, §3.1.1.1**; **Chapter 3, §3.7.2.3**; **Chapter 5, §4.2.1.**

which promises to protect his adopted son's non-servile status, somehow made its way into Ananiah's archive; presumably Zaccur had a copy of the original purchase of the *ʿlym* Jedeniah, which was never found.[74]

The Arsames letters are a series of letters housed in the Bodleian Library from the Achaemenid high official Arsames,[75] satrap[76] of Egypt and estate-holder in both Egypt and Babylonia, to people in Egypt: a fellow Persian high-official, an Achaemenid military commander, and his Egyptian estate managers, Psamshek and Nakhthor. Two of these letters concern enslaved persons: in one (TADA6.3),[77] Psamshek submits a complaint that *ʿbdn* stole his property and fled, and demands that they be punished. In another (TADA6.7),[78] Arsames orders that his seized Cilician *ʿbdn* are given back to him after they had been seized.

Ten papyri of the corpus were excavated in 1966 as part of a large deposit of organic material in a courtyard north of a temple to Osiris-Apis which yielded 128 Aramaic papyri.[79] All of these

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[74] Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri*, 80.
[75] Tuplin, "Aršāma," 3–72.
[76] See above, **§3.**
[77] Appendix 3, **§1.3.3**; **Chapter 2, §3.1.3**; **Chapter 5, §4.2.2.**
[78] Appendix 3, **§1.3.4**; **Chapter 2, §3.1.3**; **Chapter 4, §5.2**; **Chapter 5, §2.2.3.3.**
[79] Emery, "Prelminary Report," 143–144; Segal's collection also includes papyri excavated in 1971 and 1972, none of which reference enslaved persons; Segal, *Aramaic Papyri*, 2–3.

papyri are very fragmentary, and some of them only preserve portions of a handful of lines. Nevertheless, they do add some valuable information to the corpus of situations otherwise poorly attested, such as: sales (Segal 50, TADB5.6);[80] complaints (Segal 97);[81] transfer of pledges (TADB8.1);[82] court records of stolen *ʿbdn* (TADB8.2,[83] TADB8.3,[84] TADB8.7);[85] corporal punishment of enslaved persons (TADB8.4);[86] testimonies by *ʿbdn* in court (TADB8.6);[87] and witness-lists bearing the title "son of the house" (TADC4.3).[88]

The final text in the Aramaic corpus is a letter dated to approximately 475 BC (TADD7.9).[89] The letter is directed towards an unnamed woman and possibly reflects a leasing of an enslaved woman, an *ʿlmyt* named Tetosiri. The letter specifies that Tetosiri is to be given by a man named Uriah to the writer of the letter, for the purpose of weaving. The writer then instructs to bring Tetosiri to another man, Gemariah, who would assess the profits made from weaving and pay those profits to Uriah, ostensibly her owner.

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[80] Appendix 3, **§1.3.1** and **§1.3.9**, respectively; **Chapter 2, §3.1.1**; **Chapter 3, §3.8.2**; **Chapter 5, §2.3.3.1**.
[81] Appendix 3, **§1.3.2**; **Chapter 5, §2.3.1.**
[82] Appendix 3, **§1.3.10; Chapter 2, §3.1.2.1**; **Chapter 5, §2.3.3.1**.
[83] Appendix 3, **§1.3.11**; **Chapter 5, §2.4.**
[84] Appendix 3, **§1.3.12**; **Chapter 5, §3.4.2.**
[85] Appendix 3, **§1.3.15**; **Chapter 2, §3.1.2.1**; **Chapter 4, §5.4.2.**
[86] Appendix 3, **§1.3.13**; **Chapter 5, §4.3.1.**
[87] Appendix 3, **§1.3.14**; **Chapter 5, §4.3.1.**
[88] Appendix 3, **§1.3.16; Chapter 5, §2.3.3.**
[89] Appendix 3, **§1.3.17**; **Chapter 2, §3.1.1.2**; **Chapter 3, §4.2.3.**

§4.4 Other Texts

The corpus of this dissertation also includes two Third Intermediate Period stelae: the Abydos stela of Sheshonq (Cairo JdE 66285)[90] and the Apanage Stela of Iuwelot (Cairo JdE 31882).[91] These two stelae are styled as oracular pronouncements by Amun, approving endowments for funerary purposes (Cairo JdE 66285) or as apanage, i.e. land assigned as financial support for members of the royal family (Cairo JdE 31882). These two stelae are included in the corpus because they both reference enslaved persons (*ḥmw, ḥmw n-ʿ-mḥ*) as part of the itemized endowment, alongside cattle and land.[92]

The Abydos Sheshonq Stela (Cairo JdE 66285) includes in its itemized list: land, both cultivated and not, oxen, a number of laborers (weavers, beekeepers, thurifers, oil-pressers, brewers), valuables like silver vessels, honey, and also a "cultivator (*ꜣḫwty*)" along with 4 named *ḥmw* who appear to belong to him; even though they are 'his', this cultivator is included in the

[90] Appendix 3, **§1.4.1**; **Chapter 4, §4.2, §4.3, and §5.4.2**; **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.1**.
[91] Appendix 3, **§1.4.2**; **Chapter 2, §2.4**; **Chapter 4, §4.2, §4.3, and §5.4.2**; **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.1**.
[92] They also serve as useful sources for price comparison; see **Chapter 4, §4.1.**

purchase price (4 deben, 1 kite) of the five persons. Two other *ḥmw* also appear in the stela, also named, but without a price listed.

Iuwelot's Apanage Stela (Cairo JdE 31882) includes an itemized list similar to Cairo JdE 66285. Included in the donation are 32 male and female *ḥmw*, who are said to be "purchased from private owners in the country (*i-in.f r-ḏb; ḥḏ m-dỉ n; nmḥw n p; t;*)" for a price of 15 deben and ⅓ kite of silver. This text also includes a reference to *ḥmw* "of the North",[93] who are perhaps related to the Men of the North sold in the Abnormal Hieratic corpus; no price is listed for them, and none of the *ḥmw* are named.

§5. Methodology

The research aims outlined above (**§2**) can be achieved through a variety of approaches: philological, legal, economic, and sociological. Since any study of the Late Period is already disadvantaged by its relatively meagre data set, it is therefore beneficial to attempt to approach this topic from every angle. Employing a variety of approaches means that each

[93] See **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.1.**

approach offers clarification on one facet of the practice of enslavement, ideally providing as complete a picture as possible.

The philological approach comes in the form of the tracking of usage of terms related to enslavement and bound labor and interpreting the contexts in which they appear. However, this philological approach cannot exist in a vacuum, and the overarching goal of this dissertation is to place these terms in their socio-historical context. In order to do so, is it necessary to explore legal history, since the primary sources are primarily legal documents (e.g. contracts and bills of sale).

A legal approach employs the "property definition" of enslavement, comparing and contrasting the documents in this corpus which relate to the sale of persons with documents from the Late Period that record sales of property like cattle or land and discussing the definition itself (and its critics).[94] This approach looks only at the formulae of sales and leases. The intent is to determine whether sales of persons were formulaically similar to sales of other commodities, and the implications of this similarity on concepts of ownership and property.

[94] As noted above, n. 12.

An economic approach is similarly necessary. There is limited data regarding the pricing of commodities and enslaved persons, but this data can be employed comparatively to provide some insight into the relative value of enslaved persons and the value of labor in general. This takes into account the cost of maintenance: enslaved workers needed to be maintained (though salaries for hired workers were also paid in rations) and enslaved people were investments, generating income through both work and re-sale. This approach is necessary to determine whether a cost/benefit analysis played a part in whether an individual chose to hire or purchase the labor they needed.

Finally, a sociological approach ties these three approaches together: for example, suggesting reasons other than economic for which someone might purchase an enslaved laborer. A sociological approach also adds a personal element, investigating the geographical origins of enslaved persons, how they entered enslavement, and whether they can be defined as "slaves" in modern sociological frameworks. The synthetic use of all these approaches—legal, economic, and sociological—also addresses the issue of which approach is preferable, a topic of some debate.[95]

[95] E.g. Patterson's work vocally prefers a sociological approach to a legal or economic; Patterson, "Revisiting," 266–281.

§6. Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of six chapters: four thematic chapters, the introduction, and the conclusion. These four thematic chapters are written in the mold of the methodological approaches outlined above in **§5**: Chapter 2 follows a philological approach, tracking usage of terms; Chapter 3 follows a legal approach, examining the clauses used in legal documentation of enslavement; Chapter 4 follows an economic approach, assessing the value of labor and wages; and finally, Chapter 5 follows a sociological approach, using onomastics, prosopography, and modern theories of enslavement to investigate the lived experience of enslaved persons in Late Period Egypt.

Following the present Chapter 1, which is a broad introduction to the corpus and research aims, Chapter 2 tracks the usage of the various terms in Egyptian and Aramaic that suggest a subordinated labor relationship, intended to establish a common vernacular to speak about these subordinated laborers in the context of this dissertation. This chapter covers the varied usage of each of the terms noted above (*bꜣk, ḥm*, *rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥ*, *ḳḏwḏ n ꜥ-mḥ*, *ꜥbd, ꜥlym*, and *ꜣmh*), including sales, adoption, manumission, and collateral in contract loans.

Chapter 3 defines the similarities and differences between the documents in this corpus that could be considered sales of persons and sale documents in Egyptian and Aramaic record that evidence sales of other property, such as cattle and land. If one follows a "property definition" for enslavement—that is, that persons treated as property are taxonomically "slaves"—then the similarities between the sale documents and the sale of persons suggests that the people in question could be indeed described as "slaves". This chapter also explores the obligations and responsibilities of a property owner to his property, human or otherwise.

Chapter 4 examines the prices and wages evident in Late Period documentation, with an eye to determining of the relative value of enslaved persons, including the price of maintenance, in comparison with other items, as well as to discuss the reasoning behind employing slave labor as opposed to hired labor in view of factors such as the commodification of labor and the monetary value of wages for hired labor evident in the sources. Ultimately, the comparative pricing indicates that the price of purchasing an enslaved person was high, and required maintenance to effectively function as a laborer. The value of an enslaved person was therefore not in their price or productivity, but rather the degree of control their owner had over them.

Chapter 5 explores the lived experience of enslaved persons in the Late Period: their geographical origin; their entry into (and potential exits from) the status of enslavement; whether they were noticeably different from other strata of society, through body modification or onomastics; and their familial relations (i.e. children). This chapter also explores competing theories of enslavement; namely, the "property" definition and the "social death" theories, and determines that it is possible to use the "property" definition as a taxonomic tool—as it is employed in Chapter 3—and the "social death" parameters as lenses through which to better understand the social effects of enslavement.

Finally, I present my conclusions in Chapter 6. This chapter establishes the primary contributions of my dissertation: first, that a practice which can be described as slavery in modern taxonomy did exist in Late Period Egypt, challenging some previous scholarship; second, that this practice took the form of small-scale, personal transactions that often overlapped with familial obligations and other systems of patronage and protection; and third, that the value of enslaved persons lay in their dual purpose as laborers and economic tools.

CHAPTER 2: LANGUAGES AND TERMINOLOGY

§1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to track the usage of the various terms in Egyptian and Aramaic that suggest a subordinated labor relationship, namely *bꜣk*, *nmḥ*, *ḥm, and ḳ̲dwḏ̲/rmṯ̲ n mḥ* in Egyptian, and *ʿbd*, *ʾmh,* and *ʿlym* in Aramaic. In Egypt in the time period under discussion (664–332 BC), there were a number of active scripts and languages in use.

Throughout its long history, the Egyptian language has been written in Hieroglyphs as well as their more cursive counterpart, Hieratic; the former was often used for religious texts and inscriptions whereas the latter was intended for documentary purposes. During the Saite Period (664–525 BC), a highly cursive form of Hieratic arose in the Theban area, following Upper (Southern) Egyptian tradition and formulae. This script, known as Abnormal Hieratic, is evidenced in some of the texts used in this dissertation. Ultimately, Abnormal Hieratic was superseded by the Demotic, the language developed from the Lower (Northern) Egyptian scribal tradition. Under Amasis II, the last ruler before the Persian Conquest in 525, Demotic

became the *de facto* official language of Egypt.[1] Following the Persian Conquest, Egypt adopted the Persian Empire's official language, Aramaic. There were certainly still documents written in Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic. However, the bulk of official correspondence and contracts were written in Aramaic to allow Egypt to function as a satrapy in the context of Achaemenid Persia.[2]

This chapter is split into two sections: Egyptian (which includes both Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic) and Aramaic. The Egyptian section includes the two terms of subordinated laborers (*bꜣk* and *ḥm*), the term for the opposite of a *bꜣk* (*nmḥ*, sometimes translated as 'freeman') and other terms (e.g. 'man of the north'). The Aramaic section includes instances where both *ʿbd* and *ʾmh* appear together as gendered terms, devotes a subsection to the use of *ʾmh* individually, and also includes a subsection for other attested terms (e.g. *ʿlym, grdʾ*).

Previous authors have begun with their language of translation and then insert the terms into categories. For example, Bernadette Menu in 1977 listed three types of dependent laborers and then attempted to insert *ḥm* and *bꜣk* into those categories.[3] In contrast, this work will only look

[1] Wente, "Scripts," 210.
[2] Shaked, "Aramaic," 260.
[3] Menu, "Les rapports," 394.

at the context of the term and the kind of interactions and relationships in which a *ḥm* or a *bꜣk* may have taken part with the ultimate goal of an emic rather than an etic analysis. This dissertation in general (but this chapter in particular) employs an emic rather than etic analysis.[4] An etic analysis applies broad theoretical models across a number of societies—for instance, suggesting a translation for a term such as *bꜣk*—whereas an emic analysis concentrates on the indigenous use of the term and thus suggest a translation that is more context dependent. In other words, as recommended by scholars of slavery studies, I endeavour to "use local terms and describe their meaning."[5]

The consideration of both Egyptian and Aramaic evidence in this chapter is intended to consolidate the sources from both those languages since both were in use during this time period. However, I do not mean to suggest that the Egyptian and Aramaic terminology represented identical labor practices. Nevertheless, there is significant overlap. The terminologies in both Aramaic and Egyptian evidence the use of individuals who were bought, sold, and transferred like property and yet played a part in their own sale, even occasionally speaking during the transaction. Both linguistic traditions also record a familial aspect to the

[4] Scott, "Emic and Etic," and Lloyd, *Demystifying*, 7–20.
[5] Miers, "Slavery," 11.

labor relationship, blurring the lines between parent and child, owner and laborer, husband and wife. Ultimately, the terminologies paint a picture of a complicated and multifaceted labor practice difficult to define in modern English terms.

§2. Egyptian

This section covers the Egyptian languages and scripts in use at the time, both Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic, and examines in depth the terms used to refer to individuals in subordinated labor: *bꜣk*, *ḥm*, and *nmḥ*. All of these terms can potentially be feminized with a *t* ending (e.g. male *bꜣk* vs. female *bꜣkt*), though it is understood that when the masculine plural is used (e.g. *bꜣkw*) both males and females may be included in the collective; the plural may be alternatively indicated with the representation of the singular masculine and feminine together (*bꜣk bꜣkt, ḥm ḥmt*). This section also includes some unusual terms that appear to refer to a subordinate labor relationship, and which only appear once each: *ḳḏwḏ n mḥ* and *rmṯ n mḥ*, both referring to the 'North'. The focus is largely on the noun form of these terms, but there is also some discussion of the usage of *ỉr* ('to do, to act') accompanied by the infinitive form of these terms (*ỉr bꜣk, ỉr nmḥ*) and the implications of this usage.

§2.1 *Bꜣk* (noun)

The noun *bꜣk* is paralleled by its verb, which means to labor or to do work.[6] The most recent dictionary definition of the term, in the Chicago Demotic Dictionary, defines *bꜣk* as "servant", though cites Erichsen's *Demotisches Glossar*, which in turn offers both slave ("Sklave") and servant ("Diener").[7] Both the noun and the verb forms of *bꜣk* have a long history of use, from Old Egyptian to Coptic (as ⲃⲱⲕ). This subsection explores the usage of *bꜣk* in the Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic texts and the relationship this usage implies.

The dictionary definitions of the term *bꜣk* have left the choice of whether to translate the term *bꜣk* as 'slave' or 'servant' seemingly always up to the translator, allowing him/her to present a biased interpretation of the text based on their translation of *bꜣk*. In contrast, I do not suggest a translation for *bꜣk*, avoiding the modern distinction between slave and servant; instead, I offer a series of statements regarding the relationships evidenced in these documents.

[6] CDD B 02.1, p. 13.

[7] The CDD also cites Cruz-Uribe, "Slavery in Egypt," who chooses "slave" for the same term; Erichsen, *Glossar,* 124.

For the contextualization of the term *bꜣk* from the Old to the New Kingdom, I am indebted to Tobias Hofmann's analysis of the terms *bꜣk* and *ḥm* from 2005. In his work, Hofmann focuses on the conceptual chiasmus between the terms from the Middle to the New Kingdom, in which *bꜣk* replaces the earlier *ḥm* as a term for any subordinated individual: both a subordinated laborer who cannot make their own decisions and a person who is of a lower rank.[8] In turn, the term *ḥm* became a metaphorical subordinate, as in the Ptolemaic inscription "I am your *ḥm* (*ỉnk ḥm.k*)".[9]

§2.1.1 Sales and Self-Sales

One of the defining characteristics of what modern scholarship defines as a "slave" is an individual who can be sold in exchange for money, since this act dehumanizes the individual and reduces them to the status of property.[10] There are a number of documents from the period under examination that evidence such an interaction, and each will be explored in detail below. However, these texts raise a contentious question: do these texts evidence a sale

[8] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 257–9.
[9] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 258; cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften*, No. E12.
[10] For further discussion, **Chapter 3, §2.1** and **Chapter 5, §3.1, §3.2,** and **§3.3.**

of individuals, or a sale of labor?[11] Bernadette Menu has been a vocal proponent of the latter, calling all of these texts "hiring of services (*louage de service*)", "cessions of service (*cessions de service*)" or "commitments of debt bondage (*engagements de servitude pour dette*)".[12] Of the thirteen texts that Menu uses to establish her thesis, only seven actually involve the term *bꜣk*[13]—and of those, five are the consecutive Rylands group.

This subsection will examine only those texts pertain to the sale of a *bꜣk*, without prejudice for how that term has been defined in modern scholarship. The goal is to facilitate an analysis of the transaction unencumbered by the term's translational ambiguity and based, as much as is possible, on the nature of the transaction itself in its appropriate context. The documents in question examined by Menu are the Rylands group (P. Rylands 3–7), P. Vatican 10547, and the bowl Louvre E706; this subsection will additionally look at P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276 and 1277, P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7), and P. Bibl. Nat 223 (P. Tsenhor 8). These texts can be further divided into 'self-sale', in which the individual being sold is one of the contracting parties (P.Rylands 3–7 and Louvre E706), and more straightforward sales in which a third party is the contractor (P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276 & 1277, P. Tsenhor 7, P. Tsenhor 8, and P. Vatican 10547).

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[11] **Chapter 3** is devoted to this question, especially **§6.**

[12] Menu "Les rapports," 394 ; Menu, "Cessions de services," 73 ; Menu, "Les échanges," 369.

[13] The remainder use either *ḥm* or *ḳḏwḏ n mḥ/rmṯ n mḥ*, discussed below in **§2.2** and **§2.4**, respectively.

§2.1.1.1 Sale

The following documents (P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276 and 1277, P. Tsenhor 7, and P. Tsenhor 8) form a small corpus which uses traditional sale formula[14] with the only change being the term for the object being sold: a *bꜣk*. In all four texts, the *bꜣk* is named, including a patronym and matronym.[15] The *bꜣk* is not a contracting party, as opposed to the Rylands papyri and Louvre E706.

P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7) evidences a transaction of five deben between the seller Iahmose son of Pasenmetek to the buyer Tjaw-heser son of Neskhonsu. Following the objective and subjective declarations, the object of the sale is introduced as male child (*ḫr ḥwt*) named Pasherenpaqed, son of Djehutymes and Khedebirtbin. He is followed by a restatement of the property—"he is your *bꜣk* (*pꜣy.k bꜣk pꜣy*)"—the usual guarantees to intervene in court if needed, then a breakdown of the price (four deben and 9 ⅔ ⅙ $^{1}/_{30}$ $^{1}/_{30}$ $^{1}/_{60}$$^{1}/_{60}$ kite). Finally, the document states that this individual will be the *bꜣk* of Party B "forever" (*šꜥ ḏt*), as will his

[14] Depauw, "Sale," 67–78; for a comparison of Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic sale formulae with the formulae of these sale texts, see **Chapter 3**, **§3.1** and **§3.7.1.**

[15] On onomastics and filiation, **Chapter 5, §2.3.2.**

children (*ḥnʿ nꜣy.f ḫrdw*). Regardless of what a translator might think of the interpretation of the term *bꜣk*, it is clear that a *bꜣk,* named *Pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-ḳd,* is sold as property in this document.

A few months after the events of P. Tsenhor 7, the *bꜣk* Pasherenpaqed is re-sold, this time from Tjaw-heser son of Neskhonsu to the eponymous Tsenhor (*Tꜣ-snt-n-ḥr*). By and large, the documents are extremely similar and contain all the elements of a sale. However, P. Tsenhor 8 (P. Bibl. Nat. 223) evidences three interesting deviations from the first sale of this *bꜣk*. First, P. Tsenhor 8 includes an additional clause about acting as a *nmḥ*, a term further explored below (**§2.3**) and has usually been taken to mean "freeman", though this is disputed. Second, this sale adds the possessions of the *bꜣk* and his children, as well as "everything that they will acquire (*nty nb nty mtw.w ḥnʿ nꜣ nty iw.w r dit ḫprw*)". This addition mirrors an earlier specification from an inheritance document: in P.Cairo 50058,[16] a *bꜣk* is inherited along with all his current and future property (see **§2.1.2.1**). And finally, this document is the only one of the sales (as opposed to self-sales) in which the *bꜣk* makes a declaration himself, identical to the sale clause:

P. Tsenhor 8 *ỉnk pꜣy.t bꜣk ḥnʿ nꜣy[.ỉ] ḫrdṯw ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw.n ḥnʿ nꜣ nty iw.n r dit ḫprw bn iw.w rḫ ỉr nmḥ ỉỉr-n.t ʿn sp-sn šʿ ḏt*

[16] Erichsen, *Auswahl,* 17-21; den Brinker et al. *Demotic,* 141f.

> I am your *bꜣk* along with my children, along with all that which we have and all that which we will acquire. They will not be able to be *nmḥw* with regards to you, again, twice over, for ever.

P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276 and 1277,[17] identical copies of one another, record an exchange of money between two parties, neither of which is the *bꜣk* him/herself. Unusually for the Demotic texts, more than one *bꜣk* appears to exchange hands in this text: a female *bꜣkt* whose name is not preserved[18] and a male *bꜣk* named Keredj, her son. Possibly, she was accompanied by her son because he was too young to be separated from her. Although the usual objective clause refers only to the *bꜣkt*, there is enough space in the lacuna for an identical clause in the lacuna for the male *bꜣk*, since they are referred to in the plural in P. Inv. Sorb. 1277:

P. Inv. Sorb. 1276 *[mtr.k] ḥꜣty.i n pꜣy ḥḏ n ỉr n.k bꜣkt [...]*
[you have satisfied] my heart in this silver of being for you a *bꜣkt* [...]

P. Inv. Sorb 1277 *[nꜣy.i bꜣkw] ỉ.dỉ.i n.k nꜣy.k bꜣkw nꜣy ḥnʿ nꜣy.w ḫrdw ḥnʿ nty nb [...]*
[my *bꜣkw*] whom I have given to you, they are yours, they are your *bꜣkw*, along with their children and everything [...]

The texts also include the guarantee against intervention, of which little is preserved in both 1276 and 1277 but can be pieced together with the two texts in tandem:

[17] de Cenival, "Une vente," 31–39.
[18] Her patronym, however, is preserved: *Gm.w-ḥp*.

P. Inv. Sorb. 1276 *bn ỉw rḫ rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ ỉr sḫy n-ỉm.w pꜣy.k bnr [...]*
[anyone in the world cannot] exercise authority over them except for you [...]

P. Inv. Sorb. 1277 *[pꜣ nty-ỉw.f] r ỉy r-r.k r-ḏbꜣṯ.w dỉ.ỉ wy r-r.k [...]*
[he who] opposes you on this matter, I will make them be far from you [...]

§2.1.1.2 Self-Sale

The documents labelled as a "self-sale" are ones in which the contracting party is also the object of the sale: this includes the Rylands group and Louvre E706. Of these, I argue that Louvre E706 is a true self-sale, whereas the Rylands group represent a different kind of subordinate labour relationship despite using similar phrases and terminology. Additionally, both documents imply perpetuity with the phrase "for ever (*šꜥ ḏt*)",[19] though temporal obligations and terms could be (and are) re-negotiated in the case of the Rylands group.

Rylands Papyri

[19] On "forever" and implied perpetuity, see **Chapter 3**, **§4.3**.

The Rylands group refers to a set of papyri from the Petiese archive—P. Rylands 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7—dating from 569 to 563 BC, housed in the John Rylands Library, and also known as the El-Hibeh papyri.[20] The texts evidence a relationship between three individuals: Payftjawawykhonsu, Djedbastiufankh, and Udjasematawy. The sequence of events can be a little difficult to untangle, but they seem to evidence an agreement of servitude, followed by a transfer of ownership of the individual, a series of acknowledgements of servitude to the new owner, and finally a renewal of terms.

In P. Rylands 3, dated to 569 BC, Payftjawawykhonsu enters a contractual relationship with Djedbastiufankh, in which Payftjawawykhonsu serves is both one of the contractees and the object of the transaction. No money is exchanged, but instead this is more of a declaration, with Payftjawawykhonsu's phrasing nearly identical to the on in P. Tsenhor 8: "I am your *bꜣk* for ever. I will not be able to be as *nmḥ* with regards to you, again, twice over *(ink pꜣy.k bꜣk šʿ ḏt bn-iw[.i] rḫ ir nmḥ ir-n.k ʿn sp-sn)".* Also like P. Tsenhor 8, the children of the *bꜣk* are not exempt from this contractual obligation, with Payftjawawykhonsu stating that his children (both those

[20] Griffith, *Catalogue*; Revillout "Textes démotiques," 71; Menu, "Les rapports," 83; see also **Chapter 3, §3.7.1.7.**

born and those who will be born) are included in the deal: "along with my children who are born and those who will be born to us *(ḥnʿ nꜣy.i ḫrṯw nt ms ḥnʿ nꜣ nt ỉw.w ms.w n.n)*".[21]

P. Rylands 4 is tentatively dated to the same year as P. Rylands 3 by Griffith, and in fact intertextually refers to P. Rylands 3 (titling it as a 'document of *bꜣk'* —*ḏʿm bꜣk*—of Payftjawawykhonsu). The text is contracted by Djedbastiufankh, and seems to be a transfer of ownership and/or release to a new contracting party (not preserved in P. Rylands 4, but presumed to be Udjasematawy on the basis of P. Rylands 5). Djedbastiufankh promises that he will not be able to exercise authority (*ỉr sḏy*) over Payftjawawykhonsu, and additionally promises that he will not bring forth another document (*ḏʿm*). Unlike P. Rylands 3, this text also mentions a fine (20 deben) in the event that someone questions the new owner's right to his *bꜣk*.

In the same year, a new contract (P. Rylands 5) is drawn up by Payftjawawykhonsu and Udjasematawy. This contract is nearly identical to P. Rylands 3, including all of the declarations: "I am your *bꜣk* for ever *(ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk šʿ ḏt)*"; "I will not be able to be as *nmḥ* with

[21] The "to us (*n.n*)" is a little unusual considering that no wife or woman is mentioned in the transaction, however see below; according to the yearly amount of grain provided to Payftjawawykhonsu, it is entirely possible that a wife was included in the transaction despite not being mentioned.

regards to you, again, twice over *(bn-iw[.i] rḫ ir nmḥ iir-n.k ꜥn sp-sn)*"; "along with my children who are born and those who will be born to us *(ḥnꜥ nɔy.i ḫrṯw nt ms ḥnꜥ nɔ nt iw.w ms.w n.n)*". This contract includes an additional guarantee that any man who questions Udjasematawy's right is liable to seizure of any items that Udjasematawy sees fit.[22] P. Rylands 5 is particularly interesting because it includes an explanation as to why Payftjawawykhonsu is now contractually indebted to Udjasematawy: when Payftjawawykhonsu was on the verge of death in year 2, Udjasematawy gave him provisions (*ꜥḳ*).

A little over a year later, now in the third year of the reign of Amasis II, Payftjawawykhonsu and Udjasematawy draw up yet another contract. Payftjawawykhonsu indicates that his heart has been pleased with the money received for being a *bɔk (mtr ḥɔty[.i] n pɔy[.i] ḥḏ ir n.k bɔk).* Once again all the now-familiar declarations are included: Payftjawawykhonsu promises to be *bɔk* to Udjasematawy forever, agrees that he will never be *nmḥ,* and guarantees that any man who challenges Udjasematawy's claim shall be liable to seizure of his own property.

[22] It's unclear how this fits in with the 20 deben fine contracted by Djedbastiufankh in P. Rylands 4, though it is likely that the newer contract supersedes the older.

All in all, the first four documents in the Rylands group seem like a set of straightforward contracts and transfers of title, albeit ones for eternity (*šʿ ḏt*): P. Rylands 3 contracts Payftjawawykhonsu along with all his belongings and his future children to Djedbastiufankh; P. Rylands 4 transfers that contract to Udjasematawy, and P. Rylands 5 and 6 detail the terms of the contractual agreement between Udjasematawy and Payftjawawykhonsu. However, P. Rylands 7, written five years after the events of P. Rylands 3-6, somewhat complicates this theory. If a *bꜣk* contracts of P. Rylands 5 and 6 were for eternity, they should not need renewal—and yet, P. Rylands 7 clearly evidences an extension or revision of a contract.

Written in 563 BC, P. Rylands 7 is again an agreement between Payftjawawykhonsu and Udjasematawy. In this text, unlike any of the others in the group, Payftjawawykhonsu (named as a *bꜣk* in the opening lines) states that he has been with Udjasematawy since Year 8, month 1 of Akhet, day 5, and will continue to be with him until Year 9, month 1 of Akhet, day 5—i.e., a full calendar year. He also stipulates his rations of food and clothing (*ʿḳ ḥbs*)[23] that he is to receive: 120 *ḥḳꜣt*-measures[24] of emmer and 100 *ḥḳꜣt*-measures of Lower Egyptian barley. Neither

[23] For a discussion of the concept of *ʿḳ-ḥbs* in the New Kingdom and earlier, see Handoussa, "Remarks," 29-30; in the context of choachytes, see Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 122.

[24] The volume measures remain unmentioned, but are more likely to be *ḥḳꜣt* rather than *ḫꜣr* if only because 220 *ḫꜣr*-measures would yield an unreasonably-high ration for even a family of eight.

the temporal limitations nor the stipulation of *ʿḳ-ḥbs* had been mentioned in earlier contracts. It is notable that these rations are too much food for one individual, providing him with nearly 3kg[25] of food a day, whereas adult male caloric needs are fulfilled with a little over 600g.[26] However, these rations do indeed make sense Payftjawawykhonsu is contracted along with a wife and perhaps a child; this clarifies the earlier contract clauses of " my children who are born and those who will be born to us". Although the wife and child remain unmentioned by name, they are certainly still part of the agreement since it is this contract which will feed them for the coming year.

The P. Rylands 7 contract closes out with a repetition of the usual clauses, with a notable difference: rather than stating "I am your *bꜣk* (*ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk*)", Payftjawawykhonsu states that he is "serving forever (*ỉw.ỉ šms šʿ ḏt*)" before proceeding his declaration that he will never be able to act as *nmḥ* again, along with his property and his children. Despite the contract seemingly ending in Year 9, the final lines indicate otherwise, stating that the contract begins in Year 8 but goes on to any year (*r rnpt nb*).

[25] Following Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 192 that a *ḥḳꜣt* is equivalent to approximately 4.8 litres; 220 *ḥḳꜣt*-measures then yield 1056 kg.
[26] Garnsey, *Food and Society*, 19–20. See also Miller, "Counting Calories," 268–9.

To return to the question posed above—whether these evidence a sale of labour or the sale of an individual—it appears that the Rylands group evidence are a series of contracts in which *bꜣk* is used to designate an individual in a subordinated relationship of a unique sort: his labour and personhood are owned by another person (P. Rylands 3), and this owner can transfer the ownership to a new owner if he sees fit (P. Rylands 4), though this requires the *bꜣk* to enter into a new contract (P. Rylands 5 and 6). This seems to suggest a sale, or at the very least a transfer of title.

The Rylands group documents all declare that the subordinate relationship is one that seemingly lasts forever (*šꜥ ḏt*), which is clearly disproven by P. Rylands 7. I suggest a more nuanced interpretation of the phrase *šꜥ ḏt*: rather than referring to an eternal contract, this phrase suggests a contract that is simply beyond the lifespan of one (or both) of the contracting parties, similar to modern-day 99-year leases that are not literally for 99 years but instead meant to represent an arbitrary time span beyond the life expectancy of any possible lessee.[27]

[27] Identical to the Ptolemaic self-dedications (Thompson, "Two Demotic,") in which *šꜥ ḏt* is equated with *rnpt 99.* These documents, as well as the phrase *šꜥ ḏt* in contracts, cf. **Chapter 3**, **§4.3.**

Louvre E706

Inscribed on a bowl, Louvre E706 details an agreement between a woman, Djedtaweryiwsankh and a man named Amunpawia. In the contract, Djedtaweryiwsankh states that her heart has been satisfied by the money (*mtr.k ḥꜣt[.i] n pꜣy[.i] ḥḏ*) of being a *bꜣk* (*n ỉr n.k bꜣk*). She then proceeds with the standard declarations seen in P. Tsenhor 8, P. Rylands 3, and P. Rylands 6, claiming that she is the *bꜣk of* Amunpawia (*ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣkt*); that no man will be able to lay claim over her (*ỉw rḫ rmṯ nb [n] pꜣ tꜣ ỉrt sḫy n-ỉm[.i]*); that she will never be able to act as *nmḥ* (*bn-ỉw[.i] rḫ ỉr nmḥ ỉỉr-n.k*); and that her current and future belongings as well as her current and future children are also part of this agreement (*ḥnʿ nꜣ[.i] ḫrdw nty-ỉw.ỉ r ms ḥnʿ nty nb nty ỉnk s ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-ỉw.ỉ r dỉt ḫprw*).

Like P. Rylands 5 and 6, the object of the sale (and simultaneously, the contractor) guarantees that any man who questions her new owner's claims will be liable to the seizure of his own property. Louvre E706 includes a set of additional promises: Djedtaweryiwsankh claims that her new owner is behind her (*ỉw.k m-sꜣ.ỉ*) in any house where she is found (*m ʿwy nb nty-ỉw.k r gmṯ.ỉ n-ỉm.w*); and lastly, that she herself will never lay claim against the document (*bn-ỉw.ỉ ḏ ʿḏe r mdt nb nty nt-ḥry*). Though unique to documents referring to *bꜣkw*, this set of additional

promises is not unique and also appears in sources like a sale of priestly duties from the reign of Psammetichus I (P. Rylands 1) and a grant of place in the temple (P. Rylands 2).[28]

P. Rylands 3 does not suggest an exchange of money, but P. Rylands 6 still includes a clause identical to Louvre E706; both P. Rylands 6 and Louvre E706 clarify that not only was money exchanged, but what that money was for: money of being a *bꜣk* for you (*ḥḏ n ỉr n.k bꜣk*). However, I believe this similarity to be misleading. In P. Rylands 6, Payftjawawykhonsu should not be the recipient of money; his contract of labour to Djedtaweryiwsankh was simply being transferred to a new owner. If anything, Djedtaweryiwsankh should be the recipient of the funds, but this would convert the labour contract into a sale—which Djedtaweryiwsankh was evidently not interested in doing. Therefore, I suggest that of these documents only Louvre E706 can be considered a self-sale, whereas P. Rylands 3-7 are service contracts. Although all of these contracts use similar phraseology and the term *bꜣk*, they represent different types of subordinate labour relationships.

[28] Griffith, *Catalogue,* 46–48.

§2.1.1.3 *ỉr bꜣk*

Both the Rylands papyri and Louvre E706 use the term *bꜣk* to refer to the contractor selling themselves or their labour. However, Louvre E706, P. Rylands 6, and P. Louvre 1276 use the term in a phrase which warrants further examination: *ỉr bꜣk*. Notably, this phrase also appears in P. Vatican 10547, which evidences two women who are selling a "man of the north", *ḳ̲dwḏ̲ n mḥ* (more below, **§2.4.1**), but despite not being qualified as a *bꜣk*, he is promised to be a *bꜣk* (*ỉr bꜣk*) towards the buyer, Djedtaweryiwsankh. This statement could be taken one of two ways, depending on whether *ỉr* is taken to mean "to act" or "to do", and whether *bꜣk* is taken as a reference to the position of the *bꜣk* or the meaning of *bꜣk* as "labour"; either he is meant to act as a *bꜣk*, or meant to do *bꜣk*, which could potentially be limited in time.

It is possible that the phrase *ỉr bꜣk* is simply a contrast to *ỉr nmḥ*. If this were the case, however, one would expect *ỉr bꜣk* in every instance of *ỉr nmḥ*, to contrast the two social situations. Instead, the evidence provides the following contrasts:

Table 1: ỉr bꜣk

Text	***bꜣk* usage**	***nmḥ* usage**
P. Rylands 3	*ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk*	*bn ỉw.ỉ rḫ ỉr nmḥ*
P. Rylands 5	*ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk*	*bn ỉw.ỉ rḫ ỉr nmḥ*
P. Rylands 6	*[ḥḏ̲ n] ỉr bꜣk … ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk*	*bn ỉw.ỉ rḫ ỉr nmḥ*

Table 1: ỉr bꜣk (continued)

P. Rylands 7	*ḏ bꜣk Pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw … ỉw.ỉ šms*	*bn-ỉw.ỉ rḫ ỉr nmḥ*
P. Inv. Sorb. 1276/7	*ỉr tꜣy.k bꜣkt*	-
P. Tsenhor 7	*pꜣy.k bꜣk pꜣy*	-
P. Tsenhor 8	*ḥḏ n ỉr n.t bꜣk … pꜣy.t bꜣk pꜣy*	*bn-ỉw.w rḫ ỉr nmḥw*
Louvre E706	*ḥḏ n ỉr n.k bꜣk…ỉnk tꜣy.k bꜣkt*	*bn-ỉw.ỉ rḫ ỉr nmḥ*
P. Vatican 10547	*ḳḏwḏ n mḥ … ḥḏ n ỉr n.k bꜣk*	-

Every instance of *ỉr nmḥ* is not accompanied by *ỉr bꜣk*, but *ỉr bꜣk* can be—though isn't always—accompanied by *ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk*. Therefore I don't believe *ỉr nmḥ* and *ỉr bꜣk* to be direct contrasts. Rather, I believe this highlights a distinction: someone who is not a *bꜣk* (for example, a *ḳḏwḏ n mḥ*) may still *ỉr bꜣk*.

§2.1.2 Property Lists

The function of a *bꜣk* as property is evidenced by the usage of the term (in both the plural *bꜣkw* and the gendered *bꜣk/bꜣkt*) in property lists for legal purposes: inheritance, debt collateral, and dowries. This subsection examines how the term *bꜣkw* is used in the context of property transfers, and the role of the *bꜣk* as movable and transferable property.

§2.1.2.1 Inheritance

The transfer of a *bꜣk* as property for inheritance purposes is set down in law in the Codex Hermopolis (also known as the Demotic Legal Code). Though dated to the 3rd Century BC, internal evidence shows that the laws date from the Saite period (664–526 BC) or earlier and likely represents the one compiled under Darius I.[29] In the Codex, the section from the middle of Column VIII through the beginning of Column IX is dedicated specifically to the problems of inheritance and the rights of the eldest son. The final three lines of Column VIII and the first line of Column IX outline the kind of property a father could leave his eldest son:

Col. VIII, 30-31 *ỉn-nꜣw rmṯ mwt ỉw wn-mtw.f ꜣḥ kꜣm dnỉ[t] nḥt-nṯr bꜣkw ỉw wn-mtw.f šr ỉw bn-pw.f sḫ n dnỉ[t] n nꜣy.f ḫrdw ỉw.f ʿnḫ*
If a man dies, while he has farmland, garden, temple-shares, (and) *bꜣkw*, while he has a son without having written a division for his children while he was alive, it is his eldest son who takes possession of his property.

Col. VIII, 33-XI, 1 *nꜣ bꜣkw ỉrm nꜣ ḏmʿw r-ḏbꜣ nꜣ prtw nꜣ nktw nty ỉs pꜣy.f ỉt ỉỉr nꜣ rmṯw ḫr dỉ.w st n.f*
The *bꜣkw* and the documents regarding the seeds and (regarding) the items which were owed to his father by the people, they are given to him [i.e. the eldest son].

The order of the property—first land, then *bꜣkw*—is mirrored in other legal documents pertaining to or involving property, such as: 'maintenance' documents (*sḫ n sʿnḫ*); division of properties (*pš*); gift of a wife (*šp n sḥmt*); document of a woman (*sḫ n ḥmt*); and sales (*sḫ ḏbꜣ ḥḏ*).

[29] Lippert, "Codex Hermopolis"; Lippert, *Ein demotisches*, 149–175.

In all of these documents, the *bꜣkw* (or the gendered *bꜣk* [m.] *bꜣkt* [f.]) appear after real estate but before cattle and objects like metals and seeds. Of the twelve property documents in the relevant time period that involve *bꜣkw*, five relate to inheritance, and an additional two relate to the sale of inherited property. The inheritance documents are not identical in their property lists, but all are consistent in the placement of *bꜣkw* after real estate and before other types of property.

In Vienna KM 3853 (P.Tsenhor 2), Psense, the future second husband of the businesswoman Tsenhor, receives his share of parental inheritance from by way of a 50/50 contract with his elder brother around year 41–44 of Amasis (530-526 BC). This share includes half of the inherited "fields, houses, *bꜣkw*, bread of the temple, bread of Osiris, (and) a tomb in the necropolis". Also in Tsenhor's archive are P.BM EA 10120b (P.Tsenhor 4), P.Bibl.Nat 216 (P.Tsenhor 5), and P.Bibl.Nat. 217 (P. Tsenhor 6), all dating to 517 BC. In P.Tsenhor 4, Psense (now married to Tsenhor) promises an equal part of his own inheritance to his daughter Ruru; in P.Tsenhor 5, Tsenhor promises half of her inheritance to her son from her first marriage; in P.Tsenhor 6, she does the same to her daughter with Psense, Ruru. All three documents include the now-formulaic clause that includes *bꜣkw* after real estate:

P. Tsenhor 4 *prw ꜣḥ bꜣkw ḥḏ ḥmt ḥbs ỉt bdt ỉḥ ꜥ tp-n-ỉꜣwt nb ḳnbt nb nty nb n nkt n pꜣ tꜣ*

houses, fields, *bꜣkw*, silver, copper, clothing, barley, wheat, cow, donkey, every title, and everything else in the land.

P. Tsenhor 5 *nty nb mtw[.i] n sḫt ḥwt-nṯr pꜣ dmi prw ꜣḥ bꜣkw ḥḏ ḥmt ḥbs it bdt iḥ ꜥꜣ st n pꜣ ḏw nty nb nkt n pꜣ tꜣ*
everything which I own in the field, the temple, and the town: houses, fields, *bꜣkw*, silver, copper, clothes, barley, wheat, cow, donkey, a tomb in the necropolis, and everything else in the land.

P. Tsenhor 6 *nty nb mtw[.i] n sḫt ḥwt-nṯr pꜣ dmi prw ꜣḥ bꜣkw ḥḏ ḥmt ḥbs it bdt iḥ ꜥꜣ st n pꜣ ḏw nty nb nkt n pꜣ tꜣ*
everything which I own in the field, the temple, and the town: houses, fields, *bꜣkw*, silver, copper, clothes, barley, wheat, cow, donkey, a tomb in the necropolis, and everything else in the land.

Nearly twenty years after these documents were written, Tsenhor's archive yields another inheritance document (P. Turin 2126) from her second husband Psense to his children by Tsenhor, Ruru and Ituru. With only minor additions, this document also evidences that *bꜣkw* are to be inherited alongside all the other kinds of property allotted to his children:

P. Tsenhor 13 *nty nb nty mtw[.i] ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty iw[.i] r dit ḫpr[.w n] sḫt ḥwt-nṯr pꜣ dmi prw ꜣḥ bꜣk ḥḏ ḥmt ḥbs it bdt iḥ ꜥꜣ st n pꜣ ḏw ꜥḳ n wsir nty nb nkt n pꜣ tꜣ*
everything which I own and which I will acquire in the field, the temple, and the town: houses, fields, *bꜣk*, silver, copper, clothing, barley, wheat, cow, donkey, a tomb in the necropolis, the bread of Osiris, and everything else in the land.

An inheritance, including its *bꜣkw*, could apparently be transferred to a third party. P. Louvre E9204 and P. BM 10450[30] evidence the sale of an inheritance by the woman Tanetamunkhenemwast to a choachyte named Paherbes. The shares (*dnỉt*) of the inheritance include, as in Tsenhor's archive, "[...] shares in the field, in the temple domain and in the town: houses, fields, *bꜣkw*, a place in the necropolis, bread of Osiris [...] (*dnỉtw n sḫt n ḥwt nṯr pꜣ dmỉ prw ꜣḥ bꜣkw st n pꜣ ḏw ʿḳ n wsỉr*)".

Shares of inheritance divided among siblings also include *bꜣkw*. P. Cairo 50058,[31] dated to 543 BC, details the property inherited by the two brothers of the contract: the office of pastophoros, the houses inherited and the limitations of their property lines, and a single *bꜣk*. This document is notable not only because the *bꜣk* is named, but also because the contract provides tantalising details about the *bꜣk* himself and the nature of inheriting him:

P.Cairo 50058	*ḥnʿ bꜣk pꜣy.f-ḥry-ʿ-wy-wp-wꜣwt sꜣ bꜣk Pꜣy.f-ḥry-ʿ-wy-pꜣ-mdw-šps mwt.f bꜣkt iʿḥ.s-n-pr-wp-wꜣwt ḥnʿ nꜣy.f ḫrdw ḥnʿ nty-nb nty m dỉ.w ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-ỉw.w [r] dỉt ḫprw* [you own the houses] along with the *bꜣk* (named) Payfheryawy-pawepwawet, son of a *bꜣk* (named) Payfheryawy-pamedushepes, his mother is a *bꜣkt* (named) Iahesenper-wepwawet, along with his children

[30] Both papyri published by Cruz-Uribe, "A Sale," 120–126; in the publication, Cruz-Uribe argues that the similarity of the two papyri indicate that they are copies of the same text.
[31] Erichsen, *Auswahl*, 17–21; den Brinker et al. *A Demotic*, 141f.

> and together with everything that belongs to them and that which they will acquire.

In this case, the *bꜣk* to be inherited is specified as the son of a *bꜣk* and *bꜣkt*. It's unclear if this unique specification comes as a result of a common understanding—namely, that all *bꜣkw* are originally born to a *bꜣk* and *bꜣkt*—or vice versa, that Payfheryawy-pawepwawet is unique in being born to parents who are both *bꜣkw*. Regardless, one point remains clear: any children born to Payfheryawy-pawepwawet would also be *bꜣkw* and therefore also be transferrable as property, as he was.

§2.1.2.2 Contract Loans and *Sḫ n Sʿnḫ*

In contracts regarding loans and contracts of maintenance of a wife (*sḫ n sʿnḫ*),[32] *bꜣkw* are again listed as property to be seized or given, in the same order: real estate, *bꜣkw,* and then other movable property like clothing, grain, or cattle. In P. Louvre E9293, the porter of the Temple of Amun Iretertay loans one artaba of wheat from a man named Iufaw and pledges to return 1 ½ artaba within a month. If the loan is not returned with interest, the contract stipulates that

[32] Following the translation from Johnson, "The Range," 249–265.

Iufaw is allowed to seize whatever he wishes (*nty mr.k*) from among the property of Iretertay: seeds (*prt*), fields (*ꜣḫt*), *bꜣkw*, and possibly even Iretertay's own children (*šrỉ srt*).[33]

In P. Berlin 3110, a long and complex document detailing the search for a loaned cow, Party A stipulates that Party B is entitled to payment in silver if the cow is not found; barring that payment, Party B is then entitled to seize whatever property he desires (*nt ỉw mr.f)* from among the security of Party A, including houses (*prw*), fields (*ꜣḫ*), *bꜣk bꜣkt*, cow *(ỉḫt*), donkey (*ꜥꜣ*), silver (*ḥḏ*), copper (*ḥmt*), clothing (*ḥbs*), wheat (*ỉt*), and emmer (*bdt*). Unlike P. Louvre E9293, the children of Party A can't be seized as security. However, his children are liable to the payment and possible seizure of property; the debt is said to be "on their heads" (*r ḏ-ḏꜣ nꜣy[.i] ḫrṯ.w*).

In P.OI 17481,[34] a *sḫ n sꜥnḫ*, a man acknowledges his wife's endowment, which includes house (*pr*), field (*ꜣḫ*), courtyard *(inḥ*), *bꜣk bꜣkt*, every cow (*iḫt*), office/title *(iꜣwt nb*), every legal instrument (*ḳnbt nb*), anything belonging to a free man[35] on earth (*mtt [rmṯ] nmḥ nb n pꜣ tꜣ*). Interestingly, this document also labels all of these belongings as an *ꜥḳ-ḥbs*—the same term

[33] For further discussion and implications of debt bondage, see **Chapter 5, §4.1.1**.
[34] Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische*, 142–45; Hughes and Jasnow, *Oriental Institute*, P. Hawara 1, 9–15.
[35] Further discussion on *nmḥ* below, **§2.3.**

used to refer to the provisions of a bꜣk in P. Rylands 7. P.OI 25257,[36] only slightly outside of the range of this study (it dates to 331 BC), is another *sḫ n sʿnḫ* that guarantees *bꜣkw* as part of the wife's endowment, which includes: house (*pr*), field (*ꜣḥ*), courtyard (*ỉnḥ*), building-plot (*wrḥ*), bꜣk bꜣkt, cow (*ỉḥt*), donkey (ʿꜣ), all small cattle (*tp [n] ỉꜣwt nb*), every office (*ḳnbt nb*), anything belonging to a free man on earth (*mtt [rmṯ] nmḥ nb n pꜣ tꜣ*).

In short, throughout this period, *bꜣkw* are included in property lists as items that incur monetary value, can be transferred between individuals in a legal context, and presumably re-sold at the recipient's prerogative, much like any form of property.

This tradition—of including *bꜣkw* in property transfers or agreements involving property—is not isolated to this period in time and continues well into the Ptolemaic period. Another *sḫ n sʿnḫ* (P. OI 25259),[37] dated to 311 BC, is identical in its property list to P. OI 25257, including the *bꜣk bꜣkt* clause immediately after the contractor's real estate holdings (*pr ꜣḥ ỉnḥ wrḥ*). P. Rylands 10, a *šp n sḥmt* document dated to 315 BC, includes the *bꜣk bꜣkt* clause after the real estate holdings and the *sʿnḫ* to be granted. Two other contracts from Hawara, P. OI 25262[38] and P. OI

[36] Hughes and Jasnow, *Oriental Institute*, P. Hawara 2, 16–18.
[37] Ibid., P. Hawara 3, 19–22.
[38] Ibid., P. Hawara 4, 23–32.

25388,[39] dated to 292 BC and 259 BC respectively, include *bꜣkw* in lists of property divided among individuals. Documents of payment, like P. Cairo 30601,[40] dated to 230 BC, include the *bꜣk bꜣkt* clause after the real estate and the *sʿnḫ* but before the cattle. The same clauses are also evidenced in P. Louvre N2409,[41] dated to 184 BC.

§2.1.3 Pherendates Correspondence

One attestation of the term *bꜣk* seems, at first glance, to reflect a genitival relationship between a man and his *bꜣk*: P. Berlin 13540. This letter, dated to 492 BC, describes a number of priests of Khnum at Elephantine and references one of them as *iw pꜣ nty iw bꜣk n ky rmṯ*, translated by Hughes[42] as "one of them, he is a servant of another man". Hughes adds that this means that the man in question had sold himself and his descendants, citing the labor contracts P. Rylands 6 and 7. This document is problematic as a textual source, since it bears the "unmistakable marks of a literal translation from an Aramaic original draft".[43] It is impossible to know what Aramaic term was translated by the scribe as *bꜣk*; as a result, unfortunately, this document

[39] Ibid., P. Hawara 6, 33–37.
[40] Johnson, "The Range," 260; Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische*, 38–41.
[41] Revillout, *Chrestomathie*, 115.
[42] line 7-8; Hughes, "The So-Called," 81.
[43] Ibid., 77.

sheds no light on the usage of *bꜣk* nor on whatever Aramaic term would have been used in the original document from which this one was translated.

§2.1.4 Letters to Superiors and Divinities

Although distinct from the usage above, a study of the term *bꜣk* would be incomplete without looking at the most common epistolary opening from the Saite and Persian periods: *ḫrw-bꜣk*,[44] a "voice of the *bꜣk*".[45] This metaphorical term is distinct from the *bꜣk* documents discussed above, and appears to have been broad in its usage; nevertheless, it provides some evidence that a *bꜣk* was considered of the lowest social level in that usage of the term provides a sense of deference. Additionally, these petitions give us the contrast between a *bꜣk* and whoever s/he is writing to: his/her *ḥry*.

This usage of *bꜣk* and *ḥry* in a formal address is a direct descendent of earlier hieratic forms and remains so throughout the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Throughout the 2nd and 1st centuries, this

[44] Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, 118f. (as an exterior address) and 128f. (as an internal address)
[45] Originally, this term was read by Spiegelberg as *bꜣk* meaning "letter" or "document", with the group preceding it read as *my*, on parallel with Greek ἴσον. However, this was convincingly disproven by Hughes, "A Demotic,"6–8 in a correction of Erichsen's *Glossar*.

form of address is gradually replaced, with the exception of school exercises, oracle questions, and letters to gods.[46] Even in the heyday of this usage, the intent was not to represent the actual position of the *bꜣk* in society and certainly not that the writer him/herself was a *bꜣk*, but rather, as Depauw so succinctly states:

> "[the terms *bꜣk* and *ḥry*] are used by the sender to express his respect for the addressee, divine or human. The slightly archaic and reverential character of the formula is also reflected in the use of the preposition *m-bꜣḥ,* which in Demotic is normally preserved for kings or gods.[47]

The metaphorical usage of slave/servant terminology is by no means restricted to Demotic Egyptian sources. In deference to higher-status individuals and the gods, slave/servant terminology is attested as early as 2090–2040 BC in seal inscriptions and letters from Mesopotamia,[48] the Amarna letters in Akkadian, and in Hittite and Ugaritic correspondence.[49] Reflecting this broad Near Eastern pattern of usage, this is also very common in the Hebrew Bible.[50]

§2.2 *Ḥm*

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[46] Continuing into Coptic, in which ⲙⲛⲁϩ is limited to deference to God; See Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, 132.
[47] Depauw, *The Demotic Letter*, 132.
[48] e.g. Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, 30, 24–25; Hallo, "Letters," 455–62.
[49] Bridge,"The Metaphoric," 14.
[50] Bridge, "The Metaphoric," 13–28; Lindhagen, *The Servant*, 262–275; Bridge, "Loyalty," 360–378.

The term *ḥm* is of older usage than its counterpart *bꜣk,* and, as noted by Hofmann, the terms switch meanings at the beginning of the period under investigation in this work, towards the end of the Third Intermediate Period.[51] Nevertheless, the usage of *ḥm* in the Late Period warrants some discussion, as both the predecessor of the terms for subordinated individuals discussed here and as a standalone term in the Late Period.[52] In the Old and Middle Kingdoms, *ḥmw* appear as subordinated laborers in a variety of contexts, but are never exchanged for money in the kinds of labor relationships we later see with *bꜣkw.* This changes by the New Kingdom and certainly by the Third Intermediate Period, heading into the period under discussion in this dissertation:

The term *ḥm* is old, appearing as early as the Pyramid Texts.[53] Generally speaking, the usage of the term *ḥm* in the Old Kingdom suggests subordination but also a close personal relationship to the king. Importantly, although *ḥmw* are often seen in royal contexts, they are reserved for low-value and low-ranking works.[54] A category of *ḥmw* known as the *ḥmw* "of the king" (*ḥmw-*

[51] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen,* 255–259. This idea stands in contrast with—and is better supported than—Menu's suggestion that the terms were interchangeable: Menu, "Captifs du guerre," 321; "Deux contrats," 184-199.
[52] There is some limited evidence that the terms *ḥmw ḥmwt* made their way into 5th century Aramaic as *ḥmy ḥmw* though the examples are so fragmentary that it makes interpretation near impossible (Segal 95 and 96).
[53] Loprieno, "Slavery," 14.
[54] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 102–3.

nswt) appear to be seasonal field laborers on the king's domains. Evidence from this period of *ḥmw* is sparse, but money does not seem to ever be exchanged for *ḥmw* nor their labor.

By the Middle Kingdom, the term evolves in scope. The *ḥmw-nswt* are no longer limited to the king's lands but maintain their royal title despite working for private individuals.[55] One of the more illuminating pieces of evidence for the use of *ḥmw-nswt* in the Middle Kingdom is the verso of P. Brooklyn 34.1446,[56] which evidences a list of approximately eighty *ḥmw-nswt* and *ḥmwt.* The list does include ethnonyms, gender, and occupation. The addition of an occupation provides further evidence that *ḥm* was very likely a socioeconomic designation. Like the Old Kingdom, no document from this period evidences an exchange of money for a *ḥm* or his/her labor.[57]

By the New Kingdom, the labor relationships of *ḥmw* with their superiors can be more clearly defined, including their forced resettlement and their rights (or lack thereof).[58] Most important to this study, however, is that this period evidences a significant change: *ḥmw* can,

[55] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 170.
[56] Hayes, *A Papyrus,* but cf. also Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 141–156 and Janssen, "Debts," 140.
[57] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 91–97; 125–165.
[58] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 244–246.

in the New Kingdom, be exchanged for money. For example, in P. Cairo 65739,[59] in which an Egyptian woman attests to a clear exchange of money for a *ḥmt*, in this case a Syrian girl; moreover, it's specified that it is a Syrian man who sells her. The reason for this change is unclear, but it has been suggested that the sale of *ḥmw* is a direct result of the empirical expansion of the New Kingdom.[60]

The Third Intermediate Period presents more evidence of the sales of *ḥmw*. The Apanage Stela of Iuwelot[61] is styled as an oracular pronouncement by the god Amun-Ra ratifying the allotment of land as financial support for a member of the royal family, in this case Iuwelot's son Khaemwase. In the stela, 35 *ḥmw* "of the north" (*ḥmw n-ʿ mḥ*)[62] are exchanged for 15 deben and ⅓ kite, roughly half a deben a person.

By far the most common usage of the term *ḥm*—and certainly the frequent usage by the time period under discussion—is that of *ḥm* is in compounds, particularly of the religious and funerary sphere.[63] This usage should be separated from that of the *ḥm* as subordinate laborer;

[59] Gardiner, "A Lawsuit," 140–146.
[60] Hofmann, *Zur sozialen*, 245–6.
[61] Ritner, *Libyan,* 271ff. is the first integral translation.
[62] On this and similar terms such as *kḏwḏ n-ʿ mḥ*, see **§2.4.**
[63] *CDD,* Ḥ, p. 115.

in a sense, this usage is more similar in its scope to the epistolary self-deprecation of *bꜣk* and *ʿbd*.[64]

§2.3 *Nmḥ*

Any discussion of the term *bꜣk* necessitates also a discussion of the term often used in apposition with it, especially in the Rylands papyri: *nmḥ*. The volume of research on this oft-ambiguous term is considerable, as its usage is broad and employed to qualify a wide range of commoditized objects: people, water rights, land, and cattle. In Middle and Late Egyptian, the word *nmḥ* is taken to mean somewhere along the spectrum of "poor", both economically and metaphorically;[65] a poor man or an orphan. Some translators of Egyptian documents, especially in the early 20th century, viewed the term as continuing its Middle and Late Egyptian tradition well into Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic, translating the term as a poor individual or

[64] See also above, **§2.1.4.**

[65] Lesko, *A Dictionary*, 238; also Erman and Grapow, *Das Wörterbuch*, 286; Griffith, *Catalogue*, 52.

perhaps a beggar.[66] But when Spiegelberg[67] and Lacau[68] identified of *rmṯ-nmḥ* as the source of the Coptic ⲣⲙⲉ (‘free man’),[69] scholarship turned to translating the term as ‘free’ instead.[70]

This identification seemed to be supported by the frequent of *nmḥ* in apposition with *bꜣk* when referring to individuals; when referring to land, cattle, and water rights, the definition is not as straightforward. In turn, this led to the suggestion that *nmḥ* represents a concept such as ‘private’ or ‘unencumbered’.[71] I suggest that the term means someone or something that is unprotected: an orphan, a poor man, an unclaimed cow or field, and someone who is not part of a household or institution. Entering the status of enslavement meant entering a more protected status, and therefore meant that the person in question was no longer a *nmḥ*. This subsection examines the usage of this term in relation to humans and non-human objects (land, cattle, water) and then turns to the implications of the usage of *nmḥ* in apposition to *bꜣk.*

[66] Revillout, “La condition juridique,“ 105; Battiscombe, “The Religion,” 83; Klasens, *A Magical Statue*, 96.
[67] Spiegelberg, “Demotische Miszellen,”
[68] Lacau, “Rapport,” 721.
[69] Sethe, “Bemerkungen,” 12.
[70] Gauthier, “Une fondation,” 66; Thompson, “Two Demotic,” 68; Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 56; Bakir, *Slavery*, 50; Tanner, “Untersuchungen,” 80; Girgis, *Demotic Legal*, 70. This translation is also supported by the use of the term as a translation for ἐλευθέριος in Ζεὺς ἐλευθέριος, for which see CDD/N and Felber, “Augustus,” 28.
[71] Gardiner (1933), 21; Gardiner, “Adoption,” 206; Gardiner, “The Gods,” 60; Helck, “Das Dekret,” 135; Meeks, “Les donations,” 613; Menu, “Les échanges,” 193; Ritner, “Third Intermediate,” 350; Cruz-Uribe, “Slavery,” 49-50; Cruz-Uribe, “Saite and Persian,”50. Wente’s translation of *nmḥ* as “waif” is unexplained, “*iw iw .f*,” 120.

§2.3.1 *Nmḥ* relating to Inanimate Objects

The chief body of evidence of *nmḥ* in the Late Period is its use to qualify land, water, and cattle. Perhaps the two most well-known examples are the Third Intermediate Period Apanage Stela of Iuwelot and the Dakhleh Stela,[72] which respectively qualify land and water as *nmḥ*.

Land and Water

The Apanage Stela of Iuwelot evidences a series of purchases from two extended families, including land and people.[73] The transfer of land includes frequent[74] use of land labelled as *ỉḥ nmḥw nʿ*. The *nmḥ* land[75] is contrasted with the lower-priced land titled *sṯȝ tny*; Gardiner understood this to suggest that the *nmḥ* land is tenanted in some way, and therefore its higher price includes its tenants. However, on the basis of price comparison, Baer[76] convincingly argued that the price of *nmḥ*-land was the "ordinary land at normal prices", meaning that the

[72] Ritner, *Libyan*, 173ff.; see also Gardiner, "The Dakhleh," 19-30 and Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 359.
[73] For the *nmḥ*-people, see below, **§2.4.**
[74] The expression is used 12 times; lines 3, 6, 8, 9-10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 18-19, 19, 20, and 21.
[75] For extended discussion on *nmḥ*-land and the development of the term from the 2nd millennium specifically with reference to fields, Moreno García, "Temples," 232–238.
[76] Baer, "The Low Price," 26 n. 10.

tny-land was priced lower due simply to its lower quality. The question remains, therefore, of the meaning behind designating certain lands as *nmḥ*.

Two sales of *nmḥ*-land date to the reign of Psammetichus I. In the first (P. Turin 246), dated to 634 BC, a brother and a sister sell some land which they had inherited from their father, described as being on the domain of the Temple of Amun. Fifteen years later, the fields are re-sold (P. Turin 247) still holding their *nmḥ* designation. In both instances, the fields are priced similarly to the *nmḥ*-fields in the Apanage Stela.[77]

A similar sales contract dated to 542 BC (P.BM EG 10117)[78] evidences the sale of 30 aroura of *nmḥ*-land, translated as "tenanted (mit Pächtern)" in the *editio princeps*.[79] Nothing else in the contract seems out of the ordinary. However, there is mention of the previous owners of the field, the God's Father of Amun (l. 3-4); it is possible that the designation of *nmḥ* is intended to clarify that these previous claims have been forfeited.

[77] Baer, "The Low Price," 26.
[78] Reich, *Papyri Juristischen*, 9–12; Revillout, "Textes démotiques," 92.
[79] Reich indicates that the term is unclear ("nicht ganz sicher)" and relies on Erman's 1897 translation of the Iuwelot Stela ("Zu den," 19–29).

Land is not the only resource to be referred to as *nmḥ*. The Dakhleh Stela, another oracular pronouncement, records the settling of a local well dispute (ostensibly) by the god Seth. Some of wells are declared as *nmḥ*-water (*mw-nmḥ*) in contrast with the water of Pharaoh (*mw-pr-ꜥ*):

S. Ashmolean 1894 *ỉw mw nmḥwyw nꜣw mn mw pr-ꜥ ꜥ.w.s ỉm.w nsy-sw pꜣ nmḥ nty-ỉw.f ỉnt.w [r]-bnr pꜣ hꜣ*
[...] since they are *nmḥ*-waters. There is no water of Pharaoh l.p.h. among them. They belong to the *nmḥ* who will irrigate from them at this time.

In Gardiner's publication of the text, he claimed that the "antithesis demands that the expression should be rendered 'private waters'";[80] however, I argue that while this suggestion is sound, the antithesis demands nothing more than saying that the *mw-nmḥ* does not belong to Pharaoh. In addition, it's entirely possible that *mw-nmḥ* is intended to refer to the water as belonging to *nmḥw*, an explanation suggested by the following line that declares that the *mw-nmḥ* belongs to any *nmḥ* who will irrigate them.

One of the ostraca from Ayn Manawir (O. Manawir 5446)[81] has gained attention for using the subversive regnal dating of "Inaros, the prince of rebels". More relevant to our interests,

[80] Gardiner, "The Dakhleh," 21.
[81] Chauveau, "Inarôs," 39-46.

however, this ostracon also includes a sale of access to water rights, and part of the sale clause also states that now, after the sale, "it is your *nmḥ*-water (*pꜣy.t mw nmḥ pꜣy*)" implying that the rights to the water are now released from its owner; in other words, the water is now unhindered by its earlier claims.

Finally, one of the texts in the Tsenhor archive (P. Tsenhor 1)[82] details a donation of 10 arourae of *nmḥ*-fields by one of Tsenhor's sons, Pasenmetjekmenkhib to another choachyte. Though not explicitly stated, it is possible that once more this designation is intended to imply that the land has no other claims attached to it and can therefore be disposed of as wished by the contractor Pasenmetjekmenkhib.

Cattle

Cruz-Uribe's thorough study of cattle sales of the Saite and Persian periods include five texts in which the term *nmḥ* to qualify a cow,[83] though unfortunately these usages offer little to clarify the meaning behind the term. In all of the texts, the term *nmḥ* is not used to qualify the cow

[82] P. Louvre 10.935; Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 34-42.

[83] P. Berlin 13571; P. Michigan 3535a; P. Michigan 3525b; P. Michigan 3525c; P. Berlin 15831 + 15831. See Cruz-Uribe, "Saite and Persian," and Appendix 2.

being sold, but rather indicate that the cow being sold is the offspring of a *nmḥ*-cow; the only additional clarification we get is that all the *nmḥ*-cows are additionally qualified as being "born in my corral (*r-msṯ.w n pꜣy.i ỉhy*)".

§2.3.2 *Nmḥ* Relating to Humans

The translation of *nmḥ* as "orphan" in Middle and Late Egyptian is relatively clear: autobiographical stelae boast of being a "husband to a widow, a father to a *nmḥ*",[84] and childless people are advised to get a *nmḥ* to continue their family line.[85] The translation of "poor man" is equally understandable; the *nmḥ* is the backbone of a governor's position,[86] he frequently gets beaten,[87] and in a topsy-turvy world a *nmḥ* can become a "great man".[88] But in essence, these usages are identical; an orphan and a poor man are both lacking in protection, which they seek from other sources. Thus, the meaning does not change as drastically as it would seem from the New Kingdom to the Late Period.

[84] Stela of Amenemhat (Hannover 2927), Landgráfová and Navratilová, *It is*, 88; P. Berlin 3023; MMA 12.184.
[85] O. Berlin 10627; Wente, *Letters*, 149.
[86] O. Gardiner 357; P. Boulaq 4.
[87] P. BM 10418.
[88] P. BM 9994.

In the Late Period, the *nmḥ*-land of the Apanage Stela is also designated as having come from the *nmḥw*-people (*m-dı̇ nmḥw*)[89] and, in one instance, a named *nmḥt*. In the same text, the *nmḥw*-people are also contrasted with the *ḥmw* who are sold for money in the same text:

Cairo JdE 31882 *nꜣ ḥmw ḥmwt ı̇-ı̇.f r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ m-dı̇ nꜣ nmḥw n pꜣ tꜣ n mı̇tt s st 32 ı̇r n ḥḏ dbn 15 wdt ⅓ ḥnꜣ pꜣy 3 ḥmw n ʿ-mḥt ı̇.dı̇.f ḥr.s*
The *ḥmw* and *ḥmwt* whom he brought for silver (i.e. purchased) from the *nmḥw*

Although this is not a direct contrast, it does suggest that where *ḥmw* can be sold for money, the *nmḥw* were not, and are actually the sellers of the *ḥmw*. This is also the case in earlier periods: the New Kingdom stela of Usersatet, the viceroy of Nubia, references *bꜣkw* who belong to *nmḥw*.[90]

Also in the Late Period, the term *nmḥ* is also used in the construction *rḫ ı̇r nmḥ* ('to be able to be *nmḥ*) opposite *ı̇r bꜣk* (see above, *Table 1*) six times, four of those in the Rylands group. In all six cases, the expression is followed by "with regards to you (*ı̇ı̇r-n.k/.t*)". In other words, by participating ina sale or self-sale, the individuals in question are no longer *nmḥ* specifically

[89] Thompson ("Two Demotic," 68) suggests that this independence implies that the owners of the land are necessarily "peasant owner[s] or small farmer[s]"; I don't believe there is enough evidence to qualify them as such.

[90] Boston MFA 25.632. *Contra* Darnell ("The Stela," 254) who reads this part of the text (*ptr pꜣ bꜣk n nmḥyw*) as "Look after the bureaucratic outsider of a servant" due to the orthography of *bꜣk*.

with regards to their new owner; they are now in the protective fold of the household, and no longer unprotected, a direct result of the sale and enacted by the owner.

The expression *rmṯ-nmḥ* continues to be used throughout the Ptolemaic period, though the bulk of its usage is in catch-all clauses added to the property lists of dowries, sales, and *sʿnḫ* documents; along with the remainder of the property to be transferred or bought, the contractor includes "anything relating to/of a *nmḥ*-person (*mdt rmṯ-nmḥ n pȝ tȝ*)".[91]

§2.3.3 *Nmḥ* Conclusions

With regards to goods (land, water, cattle) the designation of *nmḥ* implies a private right of use for the holder; this is certainly the case in the Saite sales of lands, and it could additionally be inferred in the cattle sales. The extension of this meaning also suits the context of the Apanage Stela and the Dakhleh Stela. The usage of *nmḥ* with reference to inanimate objects suggests, as with humans, the sense is implied of a lack of claim to their ownership, whether their own claim or someone else's—and like an unclaimed piece of property, they lack

[91] P. OI 25388; P. Carlsberg 35; P. OI 25256; Louvre N2409 ; P. Cairo T 24/11/62/2 ; see also Thissen, *Die Demotischen*, 39-40.

protection. In the self-sale documents, when individuals pledge to "no longer be able to be *nmḥ* (*bn ỉw.ỉ rḫ ỉr nmḥ*)" with regards to the buyer (*ỉỉr-n.k*), the individual can no longer designate themselves to be *nmḥ*, or free of claims of ownership; likewise, they can no longer claim to be unprotected.

As Eugene Cruz-Uribe stated in his own exploration of the term, the translation "free" suggests modern connotations that are not relevant to Egyptian societies.[92] To that, I wish to add that the translation "free" implies in its apposition that a *bꜣk* is fundamentally "unfree", a concept problematic in its interpretation and also one which suggests that being a *nmḥ* is somehow preferable to becoming a *bꜣk*. In a return to the earlier translations of "orphan" and "poor man", it appears that the opposite is true: a state of *bꜣk* offers protection which a *nmḥ* would otherwise lack.[93]

§2.4 Other terms: *ḳḏwḏ n mḥ* and *rmṯ n mḥ*

[92] For a similar discussion with regards to the term *eleutheria* in Greek slavery, see Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*, 57–79.
[93] On protection as a motivating factor behind enslavement, see **Chapter 3, §6, Chapter 5, §5**, Karev, "Ancient Egyptian," on *nmḥ* as representing the "vulnerable and voiceless", David, "The *nmḥ,*" 73–85.

There are two additional Egyptian terms that still require some discussion. Though not identical, both the term *ḳḏwḏ n mḥ* and *rmṯ mḥty* seem to refer to the same concept: a subordinated laborer of some kind from the north.[94] These similar terms[95] appear five times in different contexts: P. Vatican 10574; P. Leiden 1942/5.15;[96] the Apanage Stela of Iuwelot;[97] and three documents from the archive of Petebast son of Peteamonope: P. Louvre E3228e (dated to Year 10 of Shabaka), P. Louvre E3228d (dated to Year 3 of Taharqa), and P. Louvre E3228c (dated to Year 6 of Taharqa). An examination of each of these contexts in depth supports the idea that these individuals originated either from the North of the country—following Pharaoh Py's conquests in the area—or as prisoners of war from the Levant, and were then sold as *bꜣkw*. It is unclear if their fate as *bꜣkw* was intended as punishment or simply as an outcome of conquest, though the latter is more likely.[98]

[94] I do not fully agree with Vleeming's qualification that the term "man of the North" is "a common designation of slaves in the abnormal hieratic texts" as there are really only five true uses of the term to refer to an individual being sold, three from the same archive; Vleeming, "Sale," 14.
[95] Cf. also Leclant and Yoyotte ("Notes," 27), though the term appears only in a footnote.
[96] Vleeming, "Sale," 14.
[97] Cairo JdE 31882; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften*, 79; cf. Malinine, *Choix*, 39 n. 6; Ritner, *Libyan*, 276.
[98] Vittmann, "Fremde," 254-5.

The earliest appearance of a similar term is in the Apanage Stela of Iuwelot (*ḥm n-ʿ mḥ*).[99] The Stela, as mentioned before, is a record of a transaction of transfers and sales of land. Included with a land is what appears to be a sale of 32 individuals:

Cairo JdE 31882 *nꜣ ḥmw ḥmwt i-i.f r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ m-di nꜣ nmḥw n pꜣ tꜣ n mitt s st 32 ir n ḥḏ dbn 15 wdt ⅓ ḥnꜣ pꜣy 3 ḥmw n ʿ-mḥt i.di.f ḥr.s*
The *ḥmw* and *ḥmwt* whom he brought for silver (i.e. purchased) from the *nmḥw* of the country in like manner: 32 men and women, amounting to 15 deben and ⅓ kite of silver; together with these three *ḥmw n-ʿ mḥ* whom he added to it.

Later texts drop the *ḥm* title entirely to use the shorthand of *rmṯ n-ʿ mḥ* or *rmṯ mḥty*. In his 1946 publication of Abnormal Hieratic P. Vatican 10574, Malinine refers to the text as a "sale of a slave (*vente d'esclave*)" and indeed the text seems to reflect that kind of interaction.[100] Two women sell a *rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty* named Bentayit to the Chief Steward of Amun Djediufankh for one silver deben, with the express purpose that Bentayit will be as a *bꜣk* (*ir bꜣk*) in the house of the Chief Steward. In this case, it appears that Revillout was correct in his *editio princeps* of the text in that whoever Bentayit was, he originally came from the north and eventually became a *bꜣk*; he was not the one to profit from this, but rather two unrelated women who sell him.

[99] For more on the term *ḥm*, see above, **§2.2.**
[100] For further discussion, see **Chapter 3, §4.2.2**.

Abnormal Hieratic P. Leiden 1942/5.15, dated to 727 BC, reflects the sale[101] by a man named Payifditmen of a *rmṯ (n) ʿ-mḥty* named Paneferiu for 3 deben and 1 kite of silver. The contractor Payifditmen adds the clauses which were only fragmentary in P. Vatican 10547: that no man on earth could lay claim to the man now sold. Four witnesses confirm the receipt of the money and its purpose. Unlike P. Vatican 10547, the text does not use the term *bꜣk* or *ỉr bꜣk,* and therefore it is possible that this sale represents a different form of subordinated labor than the one represented in P. Vatican 10574, or a simple incursion of the later term *bꜣk* in the latter.

The term reappears as *ḳ̲dw̲ḏ n mḥ* or *ḳ̲dw̲ḏ n ʿ-mḥtṯ* in the archive of Petebast son of Peteamonope. Until 1995, the interpretation of the word *ḳ̲dw̲ḏ* was considered as a *hapax*,[102] but Quaegebeur[103] proved that the term referred to a "Gazan" or, at the very least, someone from that region.[104] Whether from the north of Egypt or from north *of* Egypt, the *ḳ̲dw̲ḏ n mḥ* of the Petebaste archive are leased, bought, and sold for money as well as discussed in the context of property transfer.

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[101] **Chapter 3, §3.7.1.1.**

[102] Malinine, *Documents*, 39 n. 6, though he did venture that the term has a geographic origin; Menu left the term untranslated in "Captifs," 353.

[103] Quaegebeur, "À propos," 260ff.

[104] For further discussion on this term, **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.1.**

P. Louvre E3228e evidences a sale[105] by a woman named Tayifiuiu of a Gazan of the North (*ḳḏwḏ n-mḥ*) named Menetirdites to the eponymous choachyte Petebaste for 2 deben and 2 ½ kite of silver. The text contains the early Demotic satisfaction clause to demonstrate Tayifiuiu's legal acceptance of the price paid and a legal clause listing the various categories of potential claimants, common in abnormal hieratic and early demotic legal documents.[106] Ultimately, this sale is straightforward in its intent: the exchange of money for the use of an individual, in this case a Gazan from the north.

Whereas P. Louvre E3228e was very likely a sale, P. Louvre E3228d of the same archive was possible representative of a lease[107] since the exchange of this Man of the North (*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥtṯ*) was for an express purpose, the burial of the lessee' parents. In this, the document limits the buyer's usage of the Man of the North until the completion of a task and cannot be considered a true sale, though the Man of the North himself was likely owned by the lessor, who profits off his labor.

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[105] Donker van Heel titles this a "lease or sale" but I believe the clause of "I have received the 2 deben 2 ½ kite of silver from the Treasury of Harsaphes as the silver for Montirdis (*šp.i pꜣ dbn 2 qt 2 ½ ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ ḥry-šfy n Pꜣ ḥd mnṯi-iir-dit.s)"* to sufficiently prove that this is a sale. The price, however, is an issue; 2 deben and 2 ½ kite are in parallel to the 2 deben and 4 kite of the lease P. Louvre E3228d. Nevertheless, there could be other factors affecting price.
[106] See Donker van Heel, *The Archive of Petebast*, 101; Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 62; Vleeming, "Sale," 15.
[107] **Chapter 3, §4.2.1.**

The most complex of the three documents mentioning Men of the North in the Petebaste archive, P. Louvre E3228c records a quitclaim following a court order. In essence, a husband and wife sue the choachyte Petebaste over a Man of the North whom they had bought from him and then sold back to him, with a 2 deben profit. The court ultimately rules the claim as unfounded, ordering the husband and wife to write a quitclaim with regards to the Man of the North. The term used for the transfer of the Man of the North—*swḏ*—is generally used for the delivery of a physical commodity, but can also be used in a legal sense in the transfer from one individual to another of a purchased commodity.[108]

§3. Aramaic

The Aramaic in use during the two Persian occupations of Egypt (525–404 and 343–332 BC) is also known as Imperial or Official Aramaic. This standardized form of the Aramaic language served as the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid Persian empire throughout its Near Eastern provinces, including Egypt. By nature as a North-western Semitic language, Aramaic shares many orthographic and linguistic traits with languages such as Phoenician, Ugaritic, and

[108] Donker van Heel, *The Archive of Petebast*, 142; *Wb*. IV, 78; for use of the term in the donkey leases of Deir el-Medina see Janssen, *Donkeys*, 76-7.

Hebrew; all of these languages will serve as important comparisons in tracing the usage and origins of terms for subordinated laborers.

This section examines the terms used for subordinated laborers in the Aramaic corpus. Unlike the Egyptian term *bꜣk/ḥm*—which can be gendered according to need—the Aramaic corpus evidences two distinct gendered terms: *ʿbd* for a male laborer and *ʾmh* for a female laborer. These terms may appear together (as *ʿbd ʾmh*, in a parallel to *bꜣk bꜣkt)* or individually. This section will also explore the usage additional terms which appear to refer to subservient individuals, namely: *grdʾ* and *ʿlym,* and compare these terms to the more common *ʿbd* and *ʾmh*.

§3.1 *ʿbd* and *ʾmh*

This subsection focuses on the collective use of the terms *ʿbd* and *ʾmh*. More often than not, the two terms appear together as a gendered pair: *ʿbd* (plural *ʿbdn*) for men, *ʾmh* (plural *ʾmwt*) for women. When only *ʿbdn* appear, it is presumed that the text references only males. This section examines both usages—as a gendered pair and the collective *ʿbdn*—with *ʾmh* and *ʾmwt* treated in a separate section (**§3.2**).

Much like *bːk*, *ʿbd* originates from the root lemma of "to do, to make, to work". The term is evident not only in Aramaic, but also in Hebrew, Akkadian, Syriac, Ugaritic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and also encompasses work in the service of god, early on adopting the adjacent meaning of 'worship'.[109]

On the other hand, the etymology of *ʾmh* is unknown.[110] It is possible that the term derives from *ʾmt* ('forearm', likely the origin of the common translation 'handmaiden'),[111] but it is equally possible that the term is related to maternity (*ʾmhw/ʾmhy).* In the context of the relationships evident in the usage of *ʾmh* independent of *ʿbd* (see below, **§3.2**), I tentatively suggest that *ʾmh* was not simply a female version of *ʿbd*, but rather represented a different form of subordinated labor, perhaps one that was gendered by nature.

§3.1.1 Sales

[109] Klein and Sarel, *A Comprehensive*, 461.
[110] The meaning of the term in a biblical context is described to some extent in Bridge, "Female Slave," 1; see also Porten and Szubin, "The Status," 51.
[111] Sokoloff and Brockelmann, *A Syriac*, 53–4, 58.

The evidence for the sales of *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt* in Aramaic is as sparse as the evidence for the sales of *bꜣkw* in the Egyptian textual record. Nevertheless, an isolated example and a compelling archive from Samaria of roughly this time period suggest that *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt* were indeed sold in exchange for money, in a reflection of the practice evident in the Egyptian documentation.

One of the papyri from Saqqara (Segal 50), though fragmentary, evidences the purchase—with the verb meaning "to buy" (*qnyt*)—of brothers (*ʾḥyn*) and an additional woman. The section mentioning the woman isn't preserved, but a woman is certainly part of the deal; the third line of the text references the children to be borne by her (*tld mnh*) as included in the purchase. Interestingly, although a woman is involved in the deal, the purchased individuals are collectively labelled as *ʿbdn*. Unfortunately, since this example is so fragmentary, and the only one in which a woman is included in the collective *ʿbdn*, no conclusions can be drawn from this usage. This text is also important in that it does have a price preserved: 2 karashin and 11 hallurin, roughly 20.25 shekels. Based on the prices from the Samaria papyri, as well as Porten's calculations,[112] this is very likely the price of one *ʿbd*, rather than the collective price.[113]

[112] Porten, *Archives*, 75.

[113] As suggested by Segal, *Aramaic Texts*, 70.

Our best evidence for the sales of *ʿbdn* does not come from Egypt, but from Samaria. Although these texts come from a different region, their similarities to Egyptian sale texts and their use of the same terminology provides some insight into how *ʿbdn* may have been sold in Egypt if the evidence had survived. The Samaria papyri[114] are a group of eighteen legal documents all dating to the fourth century BC, nine of which are sales of *ʿbdn*. The basic structure of the sales follows that of Aramaic sales of inanimate objects (notably real estate): declaration of receipt, receipt-quittance formula, defension clause, and objective reformulation of the deed as a whole.[115] Of these texts, six evidence the sale of *ʿbd* or *ʿbdn*, and two evidence the collective sale of *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt*.[116] The prices range between 10 to 35 shekels, in line with the evidence from Saqqara as well as the earlier Egyptian evidence.[117]

§3.1.2 Property Lists and Property Transfers

[114] Published collectively as "The Slave Sales" in Gropp, "The Samaria," and in the larger collection of Samaria papyri (*Wadi Daliyeh II*); the first papyrus was published by Gropp's advisor Cross, "Samaria Papyrus 1," 7–17.
[115] Gropp, "The Samaria," ix and 130–139.
[116] One of the texts (P. Samaria 7) preserves the price but not the terminology used for the individuals being sold. In P. Samaria 8, *ʾmwt* are pluralized as *ʾmhn.*
[117] See **Chapter 4, §5.4.2.**

Unlike the Egyptian textual record, lists of property (as was customary with a dowry) did not include *ʿbdn* among them.[118] Other items are standard for the dowries: garments, oil, sandals, and even real estate. However, neither *ʿbdn* nor *ʾmwt* are included in these lists of property that a woman brings into a marriage. It appears that when *ʿbdn* were treated as property—as, for instance, in the case of inheritance—they warranted their own documentation (cf. **§3.1.2.2**).

§3.1.2.1 Debt Collateral

In near identical usage to the Egyptian *bꜣk*, *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt* can be included in lists of items that can be seized in the event that an individual defaults on a loan.[119] Like the Egyptian documents, there is a specific order to the items that can be seized, with the *ʿbd ʾmh* clause following real estate, similar to the *bꜣk bꜣkt* clause in Egyptian documentation.

TADB3.1 *ʾnt mšlm w-bnyḵ šlyṭn lmlqḥ lk kl ʿrbn zy tškḥ ly by zy lbnn ksp w-ḏhb nḥš w-przl ʿbd ʾmh ṣʿrn kntn w-kl zwn zy tškḥ ly ʿd ttmlʾ b-kspk w-mrbyth*
You, Meshullam, and your children have right to take for yourself any security which you will find (belonging) to me—brick house, silver or gold, *ʾbd, ʾmh,* barley, emmer, or any food which you will find (belonging) to me—until you have full (payment) of your silver and its interest.

[118] Of the five dowry and dowry-related documents in Porten, *The Elephantine*, none evidence *ʿbdn.*
[119] I have not included TADB4.6 in this discussion because *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt* are restored and not preserved in the text; on the suggestion that this practice leads to debt bondage, see **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.**

TADB3.13 *ʾnt pḥnwm šlyʾ bʿrbny lmḥd w-tlqḥ mn by zy lbnn ʿbd w-ʾmh mʾn nḥš w-przl lbwš zy thškḥ ly b-yb w-b-swn w-bmdntʾ w-ʿbwr ʿd tšlm b-kspk zy mnʿl*
[And if I default on the loan, then] you, Pakhnum, have right to seize my security and take for yourself from (among) brick house, *ʿbd, ʾmh*, bronze or iron utensils which you will find (belonging) to me in Elephantine or in Syene or in the province, raiment or grain, until you are paid your silver which is written above.

The children of the debtors are not seized in the Aramaic documentation but rather liable for the debt and seizure of property in the event of the death of the debtor, as in the Demotic P. Berlin 3110. In one of the above documents (TADB3.13), Ananiah son of Haggai loans some grain from Pakhnum son of Besa. Ananiah indicates that he will be liable for the repayment of the grain with a fine of either 1 karsh of pure silver and, if he defaults on that fine, then Pakhnum will be able to seize any of his belongings, including his *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt*. But notably, before the seizure clause, Ananiah also says that his children are liable for the debt:

TADB3.13 *w-hn mʾtt w-l-ʿd šlmt w-yhbt lk kspʾ zylk zy mnʿl ktyb ʾḥr bny wʾdrngy yšlmwn lk kspk zy mnʿl ktyb*
And if I die and have not yet paid and given you the silver of yours which is written above, then my children or my guarantors will pay you your silver which is written above.

In P. Berlin 3110, the loan of a cow, the clauses are reversed: first, the party taking out the loan (Djedher son of Rery) first indicates that the party loaning out the cow (Nesher son of Patiher)

is allowed to seize any property (including *bꜣk bꜣkt*) and then states that his own children are liable, by saying that the loan is "upon their heads" (*ḥr ḏꜣḏꜣ.w*), but the meaning remains essentially the same. That is, the children are *not* to be seized as property, and a distinction is to be made between children and *bꜣk bꜣkt/ʿbd ʾmh.*

One of the Saqqara papyri (TADB8.3)[120] may refer to an *ʿbd* who is being transferred as part of a fulfilment of guarantee. Although very fragmentary, the text appears to be from the viewpoint of one of the *ʿbdn*, who was previously owned/employed by the lender ("I was employed in the house of Meseshyk" *b-byt mssyk ʿbydt hwyt*) and then then transferred (*yblwni*) "with the remainder (*ʿm šʾryt*)" to the guarantor (*ʾḥry*). The purpose of the written document is unclear, but the inclusion of a start date ("from year 19" *mn šnt 19*) does seem to indicate some reference to a contractual agreement. It is possible that this document was meant as an addendum to a document which would verify that the lender Meseshyk had indeed paid his dues through transfer of his *ʿbdn*.

[120] Segal, *Aramaic Texts*, 47–48.

§3.1.2.2 Inheritance

Much like the Egyptian documentation, *ʿbdn* are also included in lists of property to be transferred, usually through inheritance; these inheritance documents may include *ʿbdn* as simply an additional piece of property to be inherited or, as in one particularly detailed example, specify the division only of the *ʿbdn* as inheritance. In TADB2.11 (Cowley 28), two brothers named Mahseiah and Jedeniah split up the property of their mother Mibtahiah, which consists of a woman named Taba and her three children. Jedeniah claims one of the children, Petosiri, while Mahseiah claims another, named Bela. The document also contains a clause that indicates the rights each son has to his new property:

TADB2.11 *ʾnt ydnyh šlyṭ b-ptwsyry ʿbdʾ zk zy mṭʾk b-ḥlq mn ywmʾ znh w-ʿd ʿlm w-bnyk ʾḥryk w-l-mn zy ṣbyt tntn*
You, Jedeniah, have right to Petosiri, that *ʿbd* who came to you as portion, from this day and forever and so do your children after you, and you may give (him) to whomever you desire.

Notably, this document also implies that certain *ʿbdn* are not divided at the time of writing, but rather a later date. The woman Taba and her son Lilu are left out of this property division, but not forever: the contract states that when the time comes (*kzy ʿdn yhwh*) they will be divided (*nplg hmw*) and another contract will be drawn up. It is unclear why Mahseiah and Jedeniah

choose not to divide Taba and Lilu at the time the contract is drawn, but it is possible that the child Lilu is not yet of an age to be separated from his mother; indeed, "Lilu" may not be the boy's personal name at all, but rather an Aramaic transcription of Demotic *llw*, 'youth'. The sons are collectively referred to as *ʿlymyʾ* (see below**, §3.3.1**) perhaps alluding to their young age.

§3.1.3 Punishment and Seizure

The Arsames archive provides, in two of its letters (TADA6.3 and TADA6.7), unique perspective into the punishment[121] and ownership of *ʿbdn*, as well as their potential geographical origin.[122] These two texts provide a clue: the *ʿbdn* in both of the texts are named, providing some onomastic information, and in one of the texts (TADA6.7) the *ʿbdn* are specifically referred to as Cilicians (*ḥylkn*).

In TADA6.7, dating to the late 5th century BC, Arsames writes to his subordinate Artahant about thirteen *ʿbdn* who were seized when a garrison was overtaken. He qualifies these men as

[121] See also **Chapter 5, §4.3.1.**
[122] See also **Chapter 5, §2.2.**

Cilicians. Although some of the names given seem Cilician (e.g. Pariyama), some are not necessarily so: one of the individuals is named Ka, very likely an Egyptian name.[123] Regardless of their geographical origin, this document proves that *ʿbdn* can be seized and, on the order of their owner, released:

TADA6.7 *ʿbdn zyly bmṣryn [...] kl gbrn 13 ʾbšwkn mmnyn hww byn bgyʾ zyly zy bʿlytʾ wtḥtytʾ ʾḥr kzy mṣrtn mrdt wḥylʾ hndyz hww ʾdyn prymʾ zk wknwth lʾ šnṣyw lmnʿl bbyrtʾ ʾḥr ... nd[r]w lḥyʾ ʾḥd hmw ʿmh hww [...] yštbkw ʿbydtʾ zyly yʿbdw kzy qdmn*
my *ʿbdn* in Egypt [...] in total, 13 men, pressers who had been appointed in my domains which are in the Upper and Lower (Egypt). Afterwards, when Egypt rebelled and the troop was garrisoned, then that Pariyama and his colleagues did not succeed in getting into the fortress. Afterwards, the wicked [..]*nd[r]w* seized them (and) they have been with him [...] Let them be released. Let them do my work as formerly.

Arsames and his staff have apparently agreed that these men are to be collectively referred to as Cilicians. In TADA6.15, this letter is referenced in conversation between two of Arsames' subordinates:

TADA6.15 *w-kʿt mspt pqydʾ zyly šlḥ ʿly kn ʾmr bbl lm ʾgrt mn ʾršm yhbt ʿl ps[mš]k br ʾḥḥpy lmntn ḥlkyn*

[123] Cazelles, "Nouveaux documents," 93 also says that two of the names are Persian, but does not specify which ones. He also argues that the *ḥlkyn* designation is a miswriting of *hlqyn*, though I agree with Tuplin, "The Bodleian," 112–113 who says that there is "not much to be said" for this view, and provide additional evidence from Grelot, *Documents*, 307.

> And now: Misapata my official has sent (word) to me. He says thus, saying: 'In Babylon, a letter from Aršama was given to Psa[mše]k the son of ʿA(n)khoḥapi, (ordering him) to give (me) Cilicians.

These 'Cilician' laborers, if they are indeed so, then join a handful of other Cilician *ʿbdn* evidenced in the fragmentary Saqqara documents: in Segal 50, two *ʿbdn* are reported stolen, a Cretan named Thibarcos (*Tbrḥš*) and a woman who is perhaps his daughter, named *Tḥmpt* (interpreted as either an Iranian[124] or an Egyptian[125] name). The document also mentions a Hyrcanian named *Sḥh*, though the context in which he appears is unclear. Saqqara 59 and 68, both extremely fragmentary, may also bear Cilician names.[126]

In TADA6.7, Arsames appeared as the benevolent owner of *ʿbdn*: when they were seized, he had them released. However, Arsames can, and does, punish *ʿbdn*,[127] even those who do not officially belong to him. In TADA6.3, a man named Psamshek writes to Arsames complaining that eight *ʿbdn*, belonging to his father, have stolen property and fled. The complainant requests that, when he catches the *ʿbdn*, he could present them to Arsames' subordinate Artavanta and have them punished. In this text, Arsames writes back in the affirmative and

[124] Tuplin, "The Bodleian," 115.
[125] Tavernier, *Iranica*, 533 prefers an Egyptian interpretation.
[126] Tuplin, "The Bodleian," 115; cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 311, 467, and 345.
[127] On punishment, see **Chapter 5, §4.3.1.**

allows Psamshek to punish the *ʿbdn* in whatever way he sees fit; these *ʿbdn*, at least, could be punished in whatever way their owner desired with no regard for their position as humans rather than inanimate property.

§3.1.4 Letters to Superiors

In parallel with the Egyptian usage of *bꜣk* in personal letters, *ʿbd* is also frequently used as a deprecatory epistolary self-reference.[128] In fact, the earliest known Aramaic letter on papyrus, dating to the 7th century BC, includes the use of *ʿbd* as self-reference.[129] Most of the Egyptian Aramaic letters in which *ʿbd* is used self-deprecation are in conjunction with *mrʾ/mrʾt* ("lord/lady"), though at least one (TADA3.1v) uses *ʾdwn*, with near-identical meaning and connotations.

§3.2 *ʾmh*

[128] TADA1.1:1, 6, 8; TADA2.4:1; TADA3.1v:1; TADA3.7:1, 5; TADA3.9:1, 9; TADA3.11:1; TADA4.2:1, 17; TADA4.3:2, 12; TADA4.7:1, 4, 22; TADA4.8:1, 3, 21; TADA4.10:1; TADA5.3:1; TADA6.1:1, 5; TADD.9:1; TADD1.14:1; TADD1.16:1, 3; TADD1.17:1; TADD7.21:1

[129] TADA1.1, the "Adon Letter". This letter also includes a Demotic subscript in which the individual self-referencing as *ʿbd* is translated as 'the great one' (*pꜣ wr)*, proving that the Aramaic title is solely deprecatory.

The term *ʾmh* can appear unaccompanied by *ʿbd*, though it does so infrequently. In fact, there are only seven texts in which *ʾmh* used independently of *ʿbd,* and one of those texts does not originate from Egypt at all, but rather from Samaria. In such a limited corpus, only limited conclusions can be reached. However, it is clear from the use of *ʾmh* alongside *ʿbd* that the people referred to by these terms were at least somewhat parallel in their subordination.

By far the most well-attested *ʾmh* is a woman named Tamet (sometimes represented as Tapamet) daughter of Patu, who features in the archive of Anani. She appears in six documents (though not always labelled as an *ʾmh*) ranging over 47 years, including a marriage agreement, property inheritance (in which she is the recipient), and the only attested manumission document from Egypt of this period.

§3.2.1 Marriage and Children

Tamet and her family provide a snapshot of the possible life of an *ʾmh* in Elephantine, aided by her well-documented life, including marriage. In 449 BC, Tamet's superior Meshullam son of Zaccur draws up a contract with Anani son of Azariah, giving his *ʾmh* Tamet away in marriage—as if he were her father. The well-preserved document (TADB3.3) allows us to draw three major

conclusions: first, an *ʾmh* could indeed get married, and that her dowry (albeit sparse) is provided for; second, that her superior can (and did) father children with her, at least in this case; and finally, that marriage in itself did not guarantee manumission, as Tamet's manumission was guaranteed only at the death of Meshullam (see **§3.2.2**).[130]

The existence of a marriage documents proves that an *ʾmh* could marry at all, which may not be immediately obvious. Her dowry is paid for by Meshullam, though as later cases prove, any family member who previously laid claim to the bride may pay the dowry (see below, the case of Jehoishma). Her dowry is objectively meagre: 7 shekels and 7 ½ hallur, approximately 7.2 shekels. In comparison, the average dowry at Elephantine ran about 60-65 shekels.[131] The payer of the dowry and the contracting opposite the groom was Meshullam, the man who claimed rights over Tamet, rather than Tamet's father. Otherwise, however, the marriage contract is identical to any other woman married in Elephantine in this period.

Although only one child is mentioned in TADB3.3—a son named Pilti—it is very likely that Meshullam actually fathered two children by Tamet. Tamet's manumission document (**§3.2.2**)

[130] This is supported by Segal 30b, a fragment which references a woman who is "your *ʾmh*, his wife (*ʾmtky ʾntth*)"; presumably this woman has, like Tamet, been married but not yet manumitted.
[131] Porten, *Archives*, 74-5; on costs associated with marriage see also **Chapter 4, §4.5**.

manumits both her daughter, Jehoishma,[132] who Meshullam clearly states is his daughter as well ("my daughter whom you bore me *brtky zy ylty ly*"). Pilti, also born to Meshullam and Tamet, is not included in the manumission document; however, in the marriage document TADB3.3, Pilti is actually adopted by his new stepfather Anani son of Azariah and Meshullam forfeits all claim to him with the threat of a fine:

TADB3.3 *w-ʾnh mšlm mḥr ʾw ywm ʾḥrn lʾ ʾkl ʾnṣl l-plṭy mn tḥt lbbk [...] w-hn hnṣlth mnk ʾntn l-ʿnny ksp kršn 5*
I, Meshullam, tomorrow or another day I will not be able to seize Pilti from under your heart [...] if I do reclaim him from you, I shall give Anani silver, 5 karsh.

It could be understood that in forfeiting all claims to Pilti, he is as good as manumitted;[133] this would bear some resemblance to the adoption document TADB3.9 (**§3.1.1.1**) in which a newly-adopted youth cannot be branded or made into an *ʿbd* under any circumstances. Despite not being mentioned in the marriage contract, Jehoishma does appear to legally be Anani's daughter; in 434 BC, Anani gifts Tamet a portion of an apartment (TADB3.5), purchased three years earlier. In the final clauses of this gifting contract, Anani indicates that if Tamet dies, her

[132] On this, I disagree with Porten (*Archives*, 217–218) who argues that Jehoishma was Anani's daughter since she was not included in the marriage document. The fact that she was included at all in the manumission document TADB3.6, and that her dowry was paid for by Zaccur son of Meshullam, suggest that she was indeed Meshullam's daughter.
[133] See also **Chapter 5, §4.2.1.**

children whom she bore to Anani will inherit the house; and if Anani dies, it is his two children—Pilti and Jehoishma—who have right to this house.[134] Anani also refers to Pilti and Jehoishma as his children in 420 BC, gifting them another house and a shared courtyard (TADB3.7), and again refers to Jehoishma as his daughter when granting her yet another house in 404 BC (TADB3.10).

Jehoishma later marries of her own accord (TADB3.8) seven years after Meshullam's death and her own manumission. Interestingly, Jehoishma's hefty dowry (78 ½ shekels) is paid for not by her adopted father Anani, but rather by Meshullam's son born of marriage, Zaccur—and he refers to her as his sister. Although Anani does not pay her dowry, he does add on to it, almost twenty years after her marriage. In 402 BC, presumably on his deathbed,[135] Anani bequeaths an apartment to Jehoishma as an addendum (*pssrt*) to her dowry (TADB3.11) that was paid for by Zaccur son of Meshullam.

[134] Both Pilti and Jehoishma are equated with children born to Tamet by Anani, even though that is not the case: *plṯy w-yhwyšmᶜ [...] bny zy yldty ly* "Pilti and Jehoishma [...] my children whom you bore me".
[135] In 404, when bequeathing the first apartment to Jehoishma (TADB3.10), Anani says the apartment is to be granted to her at his death (*yhbt lh b-mwty*) since she supported him when he was very old; yet two years later he is well enough to add to her dowry.

Although Tamet's marriage was to a free man,[136] the marriage itself did not guarantee Tamet's manumission, as evidenced by the separate manumission document drawn up in 427 BC upon Meshullam's death. Nor did her marriage guarantee the manumission of Tamet's children by Meshullam, Pilti and Jehoishma, unless they are *de facto* adopted by her new husband (as is the case for Pilti). Jehoishma is manumitted alongside her mother at a later date.

§3.2.2 Manumission

The only attested manumission document from Egypt of this period is that of an *ʾmh*, which suggests two important conclusions: first, that the *ʾmh* was in fact a subordinate position from which one would need to be manumitted; and second, since the format of the manumission document is strikingly similar to an adoption, that the relationship between the contractor and the *ʾmh* was analogous to a familial relationship.

In 427 BC, Meshullam draws up a document of manumission releasing Tamet "upon [his] death", manumitting Tamet and her daughter by him, Jehoishma (TADB3.6). The document is

[136] Anani son of Azariah bore the title *lḥn* of YHW, very likely an important position in the Jewish community, and owned a number of properties; Porten, *Archives,* 200–203.

an unequivocal manumission: Meshullam uses the phrase "I have released[137] you as a free person (*ʾzt šbqtky*)", employing an Iranian loanword (*ʾzt*)[138] to represent free personhood. Meshullam further states that he has released Jehoishma and Tamet "from the shade to the sun (*mn ṭlʾ lsmšʾ*) and "to God (*l-ʾlhʾ*). [139]Anyone who claims right to Tamet and Jehoishma as a ruler (*šlyṭ*) or brands one of the women as a sign of ownership is liable to a hefty 50 karsh (500 shekel) fine; the highest fine in the Elephantine documents. The terminology used is strikingly similar to the adoption document of an *ʿlym* (**§3.3.1**) which carries a 30 karsh penalty for re-enslavement and/or branding.[140]

The similarities to adoption go beyond the fine, and lie in the statement ostensibly made by Tamet and Jehoishma as part of the manumission agreement. Both women agree to serve Meshullam "as a son or daughter supports his father in your lifetime (*yplḥnk zy ysbl cr w-brh w-ʾbwhy bḥyyk*)" and, after his death, to serve his son Zaccur "like a son who supports his father (*kbr zy ysbl lʾbwh*)". If they do not serve Meshullam and Zaccur as their children, they are then liable to the same 50 shekel fine. Due to the fact that this manumission document is one of a

[137] The root *šbq* is the same one used to reference the release of Arsames' *ʿbdn* in TADA6.3. See Appendix 3, **§1.3.4.**
[138] Ciancaglini, *Iranian*, 104; Muffs, *Studies,* 40, n. 2.
[139] Porten, *The Elephantine*, 220 n. 21 claims these to be "Jewish in nature" and erroneously references the Passover Haggadah. For expanded discussion see Appendix 3, **§1.3.7.**
[140] On branding, cf. Karev, "Mark,".

kind, it is impossible to ascertain whether it is standard procedure or specific to Tamet and her relationship with Meshullam. Nevertheless, the similarity of manumission to adoption suggests significant similarities and overlap between servile and familial relations, especially with reference to parent-child relationships.[141]

§3.3 Other Terms

There are two other terms in the Aramaic corpus that refer to some kind of subordinate labor relationship: *ʿlym* (masculine, also gendered as *ʿlymt*) and *grdʾ* (masculine only). One of these, *grdʾ*, is a loanword from Persian, but should be examined in contrast with *ʿbdn*, especially in the Arsames correspondence in which the *grdʾ* appear to be some kind of marked[142] (i.e. branded or tattooed) laborers possibly distinct from *ʿbdn*; however, the difference between them is murky at best.

§3.3.1 *ʿlym/ʿlymt*

[141] For further discussion on these overlaps, see **Chapter 5, §4.2.1** and **Chapter 6, §2.2.**
[142] Very likely branded rather than tattooed; see Karev, "Mark," and **Chapter 5, §3.4.2.**

The term *ʿlym* is defined as "youth" or "young boy",[143] and indeed this meaning is used alongside that of a subordinated labor relationship. The *ʿlmyn* of the Aramaic corpus of this dissertation are leased—as one would expect from an *ʿbd*-like relationship—but there does appear to be a difference between *ʿbdn* and *ʿlmyn*. They can be adopted (see below, **§3.1.1.1**) and appear to hold property, perhaps even *ʿbdn* of their own.

Unfortunately, the corpus does not provide enough information to accurately define the extent of the difference between *ʿlym* and *ʿbd*, and this is further confused by the continued usage of the term to refer to young boys. For instance, in TADB2.11 (the division of *ʿbdn* as property), *ʿlym* is used interchangeably with *ʿbd* to refer to the children of Taba who are being divided as property. However, this may be age-related; at least one of the children is too young to be allotted, and the reference to his brothers as *ʿlym* may simply serve as that distinction.[144]

Yet, other documents suggest that an *ʿlym* was a designation for a different type of subordinate individual. In TADA6.3, Arsames the satrap writes a letter to his subordinate with an order to

[143] Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *Dictionary*, 854.

[144] On another note, this usage of *ʿlym* may be a continuation of a long-standing tradition of infantilizing adult male laborers, as reflected in the Greek term παῖς. Cf. Zelnick-Abramovitz, "Doulos," 263–277 on translation of *ʿbd* as παῖς. On the comparison of the infantilizing use of παῖς on par with "boy" for American slaves of the 19th century, see Benitez, "Boy," 107–8.

have *ʿbdn* punished. The order hinges upon the complaint presented by Arsames' *ʿlym*, a man named Psamshek son of Ankh-hapi. The relationship between Arsames and Psamshek is subordinate, as Arsames refers to Psamshek as "mine (*zyly*)", and yet the guilty *ʿbdn* are said to belong to Psamshek's father Ankh-hapi, not to Arsames himself, indicating that an *ʿlym* can own property and even *ʿbdn* of his own. It is possible that in this case, *ʿlym* is used to indicate either the young age of Psamshek (similar to the usage in TADB2.11) or to indicate a different kind of subordination such as a servant.

The latter usage is further implied by two other letters from the Arsames correspondence, TADA6.12 and TADA6.9. In TADA6.12, Arsames orders the giving of rations to a man in his employ, a sculptor (*ptkrkr*) further defined as "my *ʿlym* (*ʿlymʾ zyly*)". Judging by the fact that the sculptor has a profession and earns his own rations, it is more likely that this usage of *ʿlym* is intended to suggest a wage-earning servant of some kind.[145] The wage-earning (or, at least, ration-earning) capacity of the *ʿlym* is supported by TADA6.9, in which Arsames details the rations[146] to be given to his *ʿlmyn,* interchangeably referred to as "men (*gbrn*)", indicating that age is not a factor in their characterization as *ʿlmyn*.

[145] On this point see also Tuplin, "Aršāma," 7 and below**, §3.3.2.**

[146] These rations are unimpressive—a handful of flour per man per day—but nevertheless indicate some responsibility of a superior to feed his subordinates.

§3.3.1.1 Adoption

At least once, an *ʿlym* was adopted in the Jewish community at Elephantine.[147] Zaccur son of Meshullam—the same Meshullam who had previously owned Tamet—sells an *ʿlym*[148] named Jedeniah son of Takhoi to another man, Uriah son of Mahseiah, who promptly adopts Jedeniah and draws up a declaration that the *ʿlym* is now his son and cannot, under any circumstances, be enslaved or marked by anyone, including Uriah himself:

TADB3.9 *lʾ ʾkhl ʾnh ʾwryh w-br w-brh ly ʾḥ w-ʾḥh ly w-ʾyš ly ykbšnhy ʿbd bry yhwh ʾnh w-br w-brh ly w-ʾyš ly w-ʾnš ʾḥrn lʾ šlyṭn l-mšnth lʾ ʾkhl ʾnh w-br w-brh ly ʾḥ w-ʾḥh ly w-ʾyš ly nqwm l-mʿbdh ʿbd lmšnth*
I shall not be able, I, Uriah, nor any son or daughter of mine, or man of mine, he (shall not be able) to press him to be an *ʿbd*. My son he shall be. I nor son or daughter of mine, or brother sister of mine, or man or man—we (shall not able) to stand up to make him as an *ʿbd*, or mark him.

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[147] See also **Chapter 3, §4.2.1.**

[148] Though the word used is "give" (*yhv*), Porten sees this clause as a sale, and I am inclined to agree. Though no sale document has been found, and no price is mentioned, the document itself is alluded to by name (*w-spr ktbt ly ʿlʾ*). It is possible that the document represents some kind of inheritance, but Zaccur son of Meshullam and Uriah son of Mahseiah are unrelated by blood and therefore a sale is more likely.

The fine for enslaving the newly-adopted Jedeniah is a hefty 30 karsh (300 shekels); one of the highest fines in the Elephantine corpus, second only to the 50 karsh fine for enslaving the manumitted *ʾmh* Tamet. For comparison, the price of a house in the Elephantine corpus for this time period ran approximately 21 shekels (TADB3.12), and a dowry of a well-off woman was 65.5 shekels (TADB2.6).[149]

§3.3.1.2 Possible Leasing

One of the more unusual texts in this dissertation's corpus is a short letter dated to approximately 475 BC that not only employs two *hapax legomena* to seemingly refer to subordinated laborers (*ḥntʾ* and *kpyr*), but also includes the only reference to a female *ʿlym* (*ʿlymt*). The letter (TADD7.9)[150] is directed towards an unnamed woman and specifies the giving of a woman (*ḥntʾ*, "gift")[151] from a man named Uriah to the writer of the letter for the purpose of weaving (*lnskʾ*).[152] The writer instructs to bring this woman to another man, Gemariah, in

[149] On relative prices in the Elephantine corpus, see Porten, *Archives*, 75 and **Chapter 4, §4.**
[150] See also **Chapter 3, §4.2.3.**
[151] Porten and Yardeni determined that the *ḥntʾ* was an inanimate gift (*TADD*, 162). Although I don't agree with Lindenberger, *Ancient*, 47 in translating the term as "slave girl", I do believe the reference to evaluation (*yʿrkh*) of wages (*škrʾ*) suggests a person, rather than an inanimate gift.
[152] The translation of "libation" in Porten and Yardeni appears to be conjectural based on their translation of *ḥntʾ* as "gift".

order to assess the profits made from weaving (*škrʾ*) which are then passed on to Uriah. The letter also refers to an *ʿlymt* named Tetosiri, whom the writer orders to be marked upon her arm[153] above the mark which is already there, specifically in order to ensure that her new ownership is clear:

TADD7.9 *yktbwh ʿl drʿh lʾ mn ktbtʾ zy ʿl drʿh hlw kn šlḥ lʾmr zy lʾ yškḥn ʿlymth mtktbh ʿl šmh*
Let them write upon her arm, above the writing which is upon her arm. Lo, thus, he sent, saying that they should not find his *ʿlymt* marked with his name.

In essence: Uriah gives (*yhb*) to the writer a woman (*ḥntʾ*) for the purposes of weaving; this woman's earnings are then assessed (*yʿrk*), and those earnings are brought (*blw*) to Uriah; then, Tetosiri is commanded to be marked so that her old mark of ownership cannot be read. It is possible that Tetosiri (an *ʿlymt*) is the same woman of the first line, and that although she now belongs to the writer of the letter—hence her new arm marking—the labor of her weaving earns money for her previous owner, Uriah.[154] Two other options are possible, in both of which the marking of Tetosiri is separate from the first request: first, that the *ḥntʾ* is an unrelated

[153] For a discussion of body mutilation as a mark of ownership, see **Chapter 5**, **§3.4** and Karev, "Mark".
[154] This interpretation also clarifies Lindenberger's confusion in assuming Uriah is the new inscriber rather than the old owner (Lindenberger, *Ancient*, 57, "if so, it is unclear why the writer would call the slave 'our own Tetosiri'").

woman, a weaver; and second, that the *ḥntʾ* is an inanimate object, a gift of some kind given to the writer and valued by Gemaryah son of Ahio. Of these, the first is more likely.[155]

§3.3.2 *Grdʾ*

There is considerable literature about the status of the Iranian *garda*/Elamite *kurtaš* laborers who appear in everything from the Persepolis fortification tablets, the Murašu archive, and Darius' Behistun Inscription.[156] For the purposes of this dissertation, I am only interested in the contrast which *grdʾ* provide to *ʿbdn* in Aramaic Egyptian documents such as those in the Arsames archive, the only Egyptian source in which they appear.

In the aforementioned TADA6.12, Arsames refers to his sculptor as an *ʿlym* and includes him as one of the *grdʾ* in reference to rations: "that one, give rations to him as to the other *grdʾ* (*zk ptpʾ hb lh kʾḥrnn grd*)". This suggests two conclusions: first, that someone may be both an *ʿlym* and a *grdʾ*; and second, that the *grdʾ*, unlike *ʿbdn* we have thus far encountered, can hold highly-skilled professions like a sculptor.

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[155] Further discussion in **Chapter 3, §4.2.3.**

[156] Allen, "The Bodleian," 12–18 provides a thorough overview of the history of literature; see also Briant, *From Cyrus*, 429–439, 456–60, 940–942, 944–945; and King, "House of the Satrap," 179 and 183.

One of the Arsames letters, TADA6.10, refers to two different kinds of laborers: *grdʾ* and *ʾmnn*. This letter consists of instructions from Arsames to his subordinate Nakhthor, ordering him to guard the people of Arsames' household but also to add to their ranks "from elsewhere (*mn ʾtr ʾḥrn*)". The first term, *ʾmnn*, is relatively straightforward, relating to artisans, skilled workers, or craftsman.[157] The fact that the two terms appear together suggests that—although *grdʾ* can hold skilled positions, as above—it does seem that the intent here is to refer to two separate classes of workers: a skilled *ʾmn* and an unskilled *grdʾ*. TADA6.10 is significant in that Arsames instructs Nakhthor to take both kinds of laborers—the *grdʾ* and the *ʾmnn*—and brand them (*w-sṭrw bšntʾ zyly*), indicating that although there may have been differences in the class of individual, ultimately they were both treated like property.[158]

The term *grdʾ* is mentioned once more in the Arsames correspondence, in the one of the two documents mentioning Cilicians (TADA6.15, cf. **§3.1.3**), though the mention is obtuse, with Arsames simply warning that *grdʾ* are not to be assaulted and instructions that the individual who has done just that should return whatever he goods he took from the *grdʾ*: "The *grdʾ* of my

[157] Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *A Dictionary*, 71–73.
[158] See **Chapter 5**, **§3.4**.

lady he assaulted, and he took goods from her [...] whatever goods you took from my *grdʾ*, return them."

Ultimately, the distinction between *grdʾ* and other kinds of subordinated laborers like *ʿbdn* is hardly watertight. The term can be used to refer to personnel of a household (as in TADA6.15) without indicating their status, and yet they can be distinct in holding skilled positions; but at the same time, *grdʾ*—like *ʿbdn*—can be branded like cattle or property.

§3.3.3 Undefined Terms

The unusual Aramaic letter TADD7.9 noted above with regards to the term ʿlymt includes another unusual terms: after discussing the *ḥntʾ* and the *ʿlymt* Tetosiri, the writer moves to a different topic, thrice using the term *qpyrʾ*, an unexplained term. Porten and Yardeni translate the term as "pot," apparently identifying the word with Akkadian *qapīru,* a container or measure of capacity.[159] Lindenberger chooses "slave", according to him, "a conjecture based on context".[160] However, the context is not as helpful as suggested by Lindenberger:

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[159] Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *A Dictionary*, 1020 offer no clarity on the term, suggesting "sapphire", "net", "basket", and ultimately "unknown object".
[160] Lindenberger, *Ancient*, 57.

TADD7.9v: 12-15 *ḥzy nḥt qpyr' zy hytt bydy hwšrwhy ly w-qpr' zy hwšrt lkn mn mpi nhr' w-qpyr' rb' zy yhb ly mlkyh hwšry hmw ly*
See to Nakht, the *qpyr'* which I brought with me; have him sent to me; and the *qpr'* which I sent to you, from Memphis, by river, and the big *qpyr'* which Malkiyah gave to me; send them to me.

The fact that a *qpyr'* is a person is evidenced by the use of the Egyptian name Nakht, but itis not entirely clear that this person is a subordinated labourer of any kind.[161] The use of the verb *yhb* to refer to the apparent sale of an individual is attested in other documentation (e.g. TADB3.9), and so it would not be far-fetched to assume that a *qpyr'*, like an *ʿbd* or an *ʿlym*, may be bought or sold, but the complete lack of context and additional evidence of the term *qpyr'* means that it is impossible, at this time, to definitively identify the relationship which this term represents.

§4. Conclusions

[161] Porten and Yardeni, *TADD*, 162 translate *nḥt* as "stand" for the *qpyr'* which they translate as "pot"; while this is a conceivable translation based on the root of the word, it's actually unattested as a "stand" or a pot or anything else, cf. CAL *nḥt.*

This chapter aimed to explore the terminology in use to describe subordinated laborers in the languages employed during the period under discussion. Over the course of this investigation, the discussion highlighted key differences and similarities between different terms for subordinated laborers across these languages and established a common vernacular to speak about these subordinated laborers in the context of this dissertation. As in the chapter itself, conclusions have been split between the two majority languages.

§4.1 Egyptian

The corpus presents evidence that a person identified as a *bꜣk* can be bought and sold (P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276 &1277, P. Tsenhor 7, P. Tsenhor 8, and P. Vatican 10547), used for debt collateral (P. Louvre E9293, P. Berlin 3110, P.OI 17481), inherited (P. Cairo 50058) and transferred like property (P. Tsenhor 4, 5, and 6).

Unlike property, which is ostensibly owned until sold or destroyed,[162] the status of the *bꜣk* as property is not permanent nor is it interminable; the best example of the latter is perhaps P. Rylands 7—a renewal of terms—which should theoretically not have been necessary if the *bꜣk*

[162] For further discussion on legal limits of ownership of both animate and inanimate property, see **Chapter 3**, **§5.**

relationship were truly 'forever (*šꜥ ḏt*)'. This is not to say that the *bꜣk* relationship cannot be strictly defined in order to fulfil a task or temporally limited to a time needed to fulfil a task (e.g. P. Louvre E3228d, which possibly records the contracting of a *bꜣk* for only the amount of time needed to bury an individual).

Other terms used for subordinate laborers, such as 'Man of the North' (*rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥ/ḳḏwḏ n mḥ)*, indicate that there were other laborers who shared some traits of their status—such as being bought and sold—and yet were different enough to warrant the use of a different term. These differences may have come down to the origin of their subordination; for instance, the *ḳḏwḏ n mḥ*, with their geographical name, have often been suggested to have been captured as prisoners of war or following a revolt, as opposed to *bꜣkw* like Payftjawawykhonsu of the Rylands group.

Finally, the slippery term *nmḥ* can be loosely defined as an individual who is free of claims of ownership, and in that sense cannot be a *bꜣk*. This term can also be understood as 'unprotected' by way of its association with orphans, poor men, and other unclaimed persons. It is also important to note that the translating (or understanding) *nmḥ* as 'free' is to be avoided, since this understanding would imply that a *bꜣk* is in essence 'unfree', a modern conception.

§4.2 Aramaic

The Aramaic evidence is distinct from the Egyptian in its gender differentiation: unlike the male *bꜣk* and female *bꜣkt* of the Egyptian evidence, Aramaic presents two different terms, the male *ʿbd* and the female *ʾmh*.

The male *ʿbd* represents a very similar labor relationship to a *bꜣk*: one in which the *ʿbd* could be bought and sold (Segal 50), transferred and inherited (TADB2.11), and used as debt collateral (TADB3.1, TADB3.13). An *ʾmh*, unlike her Egyptian counterpart *bꜣkt,* does not appear to be simply a female version of an *ʿbd.* The use of the two terms together, especially in documents relating to property, indeed suggest that the *ʿbd* and the *ʾmh* occupied similar levels of subordination in their society, and this is further strengthened by the evidence of buying and selling of *ʾmwt*. However, the complex marital history of Tamet and her family (**§3.2**) show that they were not just property, but rather a kind of family member; a status an *ʿbd* is not attested to have had, in the admittedly limited corpus. After all, Tamet shared two children with her owner, and it is her owner who paid her dowry when she got married, and moreover passed that duty unto his son when Tamet's daughter got married years later.

Other terms, like *grdʾ*, indicate that beyond the tradition of *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt* there were other individuals employed in subordinate labor relationships that differed enough to warrant their own terminology. Unlike the *qḏwḏ n mḥ* of the Egyptian convention, this does not seem to be geographically oriented but rather (as evidenced in the Arsames correspondence) related to the status of this kind of laborer in comparison with the others.

§4.3 Overall Conclusions

The range of terminology used in Egyptian and Aramaic documentation of this period to describe subordinate labor status attests to the existence of different and distinct types of subordinate labor relationships. It may be suggested that this range of terminology is simply a function of the various languages in use at the time and present in the corpus. However, a closer read of the evidence in its social context shows this is not simply a matter of the same concept of "slave" rendered across multiple languages; the clear differences in terms like the Egyptian *bꜣk* and Aramaic *ʿbd* and *ʾmh* provide a window into the different socio-economic statuses a subordinate laborers could occupy in Late Period Egypt. Indeed, it should be remembered that this is discussion occurs not only at the intersection of several distinct

lexicons, but also at the intersection of distinct cultural contexts, each contributing different aspects of subordinate labor relationships.

On the other hand, this chapter has identified a salient aspect of Late Period subordinate labor relationships, which is important to keep at the forefront of the discussion: namely, that subordinate laborer status was not a permanent condition, but rather a temporary status of a contracted individual. The nature of the contract allowed the contracted individual to now be sold, bought, and transferred exactly like inanimate property, real estate, or cattle. The sociological implications of the impermanence of this condition is explored further in subsequent chapters.[163]

[163] **Chapter 3, §6**; **Chapter 4, §6**; **Chapter 6, §2.3.**

CHAPTER 3: SALE AND OWNERSHIP

§1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to define the similarities and differences between the documents in this corpus that could be considered sales of individuals and sale documents in Egyptian and Aramaic that evidence sales of other property, such as cattle and land. The first part of this chapter addresses the notion of "sale" in the Egyptian and Aramaic tradition, and sets out to answer whether the sale documents in the corpus indeed fit the definition presented by economic scholars. The second part of this chapter concentrates on the connection between sale and ownership with an eye towards the ownership of enslaved individuals. This chapter will also touch upon the meaning attached to such a juridical construction.

This discussion arose from a dispute in current scholarship, led by Bernadette Menu, as to whether the documents of this period that ostensibly evidence sales of individuals have been defined as "hiring of services (*louage de service*)", "cessions of service (*cessions de service*)" or "commitments of debt bondage (*engagements de servitude pour dette*)". This chapter will address each of these definitions in turn and address how the documents under examination fit—or do not fit—into that narrow framework.

This chapter comes with two important caveats: first, the fact that certain texts follow similar clauses and formulae does not *necessarily* indicate that they are indeed the same type of document. The formulae of a sales document often served as a mold for all kinds of legal transactions with reciprocal obligations: exchange, partition, inheritance, and adoption.[1] Nevertheless, a similarity between contracts can be thought of as analogous; i.e., if a sale document of an individual follows the same formulae as a sale document of a cow, this does not indicate that they are identical transactions but rather similar enough to warrant the reuse of the clauses, and therefore could be logically classified under the same modern scholarly framework. In other words, the Egyptians saw a sale of a person and a sale of a cow as so similar that they could employ identical clauses; this similarity between these two types of documents can therefore be inferred as emic.

The second caveat refers to a transition in scribal and legal tradition. The time period covered by this study spans just such a transition: the merging of the separate traditions represented in

[1] For other documents styled as sales, see below, **§3.6**.

the north by Demotic and in the south by Abnormal Hieratic.[2] This was not just a difference in script: legal formulae were heavily influenced by the scribal tradition from whence they originated. An examination of the legal terminology of this period of transition therefore presents some challenges. It can be difficult to compare, for instance, Abnormal Hieratic sales with their Demotic counterparts, since by definition, they will not exhibit the same formulae—they represent different legal traditions. In an additional complication, scholarship tends to focus on Demotic formulae, rather than Abnormal Hieratic;[3] a focused work dedicated to Abnormal Hieratic legal terminology is a *desideratum*.[4]

Ultimately, this chapter concludes that transfers of title of individuals occurred in Egypt during this period. Leases are likely to have occurred, but the evidence is inconclusive. At the least, the evidence of sales strongly suggest that the status of the *rmṯw n ꜥ-mḥ*, *bꜣkw*, *ꜥbdn*, and *ꜣmwt* was equated with other property for which title was held, albeit with an important distinction: since these individuals could theoretically change their status,[5] the sales were

[2] On further discussion of the merging of these scribal and legal traditions, see below, **§3.1**; Donker van Heel and Martin, "Dead," 13–27; Vittmann, "Der Stand," 383–390; Martin, "The Saite," 25–38; Vleeming, "La phase," 33–44; Malinine, "Une vente," vii–xxi.

[3] See **§3.1**, below.

[4] However, the foundations for this kind of undertaking have already been laid in Donker van Heel*, The Archive,* Ritner, *Third Intermediate*, and Menu, "Les actes."For Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, see each text in the publication for notes comparing legal formulae and terminology to New Kingdom antecedents.

[5] E.g., through manumission or adoption; **Chapter 5, §4.2.1.**

indefinitely limited: that is, *rmṯw n ʿ-mḥ , bꜣkw*, *ʿbdn*, and *ʾmwt* were sold and they were property so long as they remained in their status of *rmṯ n ʿ-mḥ , bꜣk*, *ʿbd*, or *ʾmh.* As long as the status was maintained, the sales represented the same kind of transaction evidenced in other real property transfers such as those of cattle and houses.

The classification as property implies that *rmṯw n ʿ-mḥ, bꜣkw*, *ʿbdn*, and *ʾmwt* were then subject to ownership and possession (see below, **§5**). Aside from the value of this statement taxonomically—since these individuals could perhaps be considered "slaves" in modern slavery studies (see **§2**)—this also means that the owner was then responsible for the people s/he owned, just as s/he would be responsible for the upkeep of any other kind of living property, like cattle. This responsibility manifests in the form of practical protection from starvation and homelessness;[6] in turn, this could provide some explanation for the practice of self-sale which is unrelated to personal debt.[7]

§2. Sale, Property, and Ownership in Slavery Studies

[6] P. Rylands 7 details the rations given to a self-sold *bꜣk*; enslaved persons presumably lived with their owners, as expulsion was considered a punitive measure (see **Chapter 5, §4.3.1**).

[7] For the validity of the argument of personal debt leading to self-sale, see Markiewicz, "Security," 144–146 and in-depth discussion in **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.**

A clearer delineation of the texts in the corpus of this dissertation as "sales" and, moreover, sales that represent the concepts of "ownership" and "property", is important in the contextualization of this work within slavery studies. Until the publication of Orlando Patterson's 1982 *Slavery and Social Death*,[8] slaves were defined in terms of property and ownership: the slave was an article of property (the object of the relationship) held in ownership (the relationship itself) by his or her owner (the subject of the relationship). This definition remained solid in scholarship and beyond; indeed, it is the "property definition" which was promulgated by the League of Nations in 1926 in which slavery was defined as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised".

§2.1 The "Property Definition"

Patterson changed the field by rejecting the "property definition" in favor of a "social definition", namely as "the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally

[8] See the response in Lewis, "Orlando," 31–54. For a more through discussion, see **Chapter 5, §3**.

dishonored persons."[9] This definition has been generally favorably received in the scholarly community, and adopted by many ancient historians working in the field of slavery studies,[10] but may not be entirely appropriate for the study of Egyptian slavery. As David Lewis argues, there is no reason to completely abandon the "property definition";[11] slavery, he states, is a "historically distinctive species of the genus of dependent labor, because it is founded on a universal institution with common features across all societies, viz. ownership".[12] This distinction is not free from issues, however; although there are, as Lewis states, "common features", the rights and obligations associated with ownership are neither uniform nor absolute in the ancient Mediterranean world. Nevertheless, it can be useful, as suggested by Lewis,[13] to accept the "property definition" as a taxonomic tool and use Patterson's variables (natal alienation, violent domination, etc.) as analytical strategies to understand the social effects of enslavement.[14]

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[9] Patterson, *Slavery*, 13.
[10] Morris, *Burial,* 174; Scheidel, "The Hireling," 176; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly*, 25–27; Rankine, "Odysseus," 35; Kleber, "Neither."
[11] Lewis, "Orlando," 47–8.
[12] Ibid., 48.
[13] Ibid., 48.
[14] See also **Chapter 5, §3.**

Despite the imperfection of the "property definition", the comparison of sale documents and sales of dependent laborers holds some value. Whatever the bundle of rights and obligations that defined ownership was in the Late Period, it is important to determine whether there is a possibility that enslaved persons were covered by the same rights and obligations; thereby taxonomically distinguishing them from other kinds of laborers.

§3. Sale Formula in Egyptian and Aramaic Textual Tradition

Although it is undoubtedly difficult to create a typology of documents, the typology of sales in Egyptian and Aramaic is a well-developed topic, as sales (or sales-adjacent[15]) documents are the most common types of contract to survive through time.[16] In 1956, Erwin Seidl published *Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, defining Egyptian sales as characterized by the concept of *notwendige Entgeltlichkeit* ('necessary consideration'). Since his publication, other scholars have expanded upon the concept but maintained that it serves as an important marker of a sale in the Egyptian record.[17] A 'consideration' is a modern legal term, referring to something bargained for and received by a promiser from a promisee. This could apply to a

[15] Such as cession, division, donation, exchange, etc.; see Depauw, "Sale," 68.
[16] Depauw, *A Companion*, 142.
[17] Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 56; Yaron, *Introduction*, 79; Depauw, *A Companion*, 141; Lippert, *Einführung,* 138.

sale, in which the promiser (buyer) receives an item from the promisee (seller) in exchange for money. The money and the item are both reciprocal considerations.

Types of consideration include real or personal property, a return promise, some act, or a forbearance. Notably, money does not necessarily need to exchange hands for consideration to occur.[18] In the case of Demotic sale documents,[19] this consideration is accomplished by the phrase "you have caused my heart to be satisfied by the silver" (*ti.k mty ḥꜣt.i n pꜣ ḥḏ*);[20] Seidl characterizes all sale documents by the use of this phrase. However, Seidl focuses on Demotic documentation, rather than Abnormal Hieratic.

§3.1 From Abnormal Hieratic to Demotic

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Late Period spans a period of transition in scribal and legal tradition. In 656 BC, the Saite ruler Psametik I re-united Egypt and took control of an Egypt which had not been united for roughly 350 years. The result of this non-

[18] For example, P. Louvre E10935, in which consideration consists of benefits from future acts transferred to the owner; failure to perform those acts would be thought of as non-payment or non-consideration; see Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian*, 79.

[19] But not Abnormal Hieratic; see **§3.1.1**.

[20] In Abnormal Hieratic, could also appear as *m ib hr.n.* See below, **§3.1**, on differences and shared features of Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic documentation.

union was a fragmented administration, evidenced in legal tradition. After the fall of the New Kingdom in the 11th century BC, written legal texts dropped in frequency and became increasingly rare; when written texts become plentiful again—around the 8th century BC—it is evident in both script and formulae that the legal and judicial systems of the New Kingdom had developed separately in the north and south of the country,[21] which had presumably developed due to a lack of central authority.

In the south (specifically Thebes and the surrounding area), scribes followed a tradition known as Abnormal Hieratic;[22] meanwhile, the northern scribal tradition developed into what would become Demotic. The former had maintained the scribal and legal traditions of Upper Egyptian hieratic, whereas the latter developed from the scribal and legal traditions of Lower Egyptian Ramesside administrative hieratic. Of these, it is likely that Demotic more accurately reflected the everyday spoken language, while the Abnormal Hieratic formulae represented a kind of "fossilized legalese" used only in administrative and legal texts.[23]

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[21] Vleeming, "La phase," 34 includes a useful schematic visual depiction of this parallel development.
[22] Vittmann, "Kursivhieratische," 383–390 follows the development of hieratic ('normal', early, 'classic', and late), preferring 'late cursive hieratic' to 'Abnormal Hieratic'. This article also contains a useful list of known abnormal hieratic sources (as of 2015), 411–421.
[23] Donker van Heel and Martin, "Dead People," 26.

The earliest document with clear Demotic influence is Stela Louvre C101, dated to 675 BC, and the earliest fully-Demotic documents are P. Rylands 1 and 2 (644 BC).[24] The replacement of the Demotic legal tradition was relatively swift;[25] the last Abnormal Hieratic text is dated to 544 BC.[26] There appear to have been three stages to the process of adopting Demotic as the standard for legal and scribal tradition: (1) the inclusion of demotic clauses within Abnormal Hieratic texts; (2) the presence of both Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic writing in the same text, side-by-side; and (3), the complete disappearance of Abnormal Hieratic from the textual record.[27] Of the fourteen non-Aramaic texts in this dissertation's corpus pertaining to slavery, nine are written in Demotic, five in Abnormal Hieratic, and two (the earliest documents in the corpus) are written in Third Intermediate Period Hieroglyphs.

Written title to real property was an important feature of Egyptian law across both legal traditions.[28] An Egyptian sale, literally "document of exchange for money (*sẖ ḏbꜣ ḥḏ*)", could be

[24] However, P. Rylands 2 includes the Abnormal Hieratic oath formula.

[25] So swift that it has been suggested that these changes were part of a larger sweep of Amasis' administrative reforms, in line with the other reforms detailed by Herodotus (2.177) and Diodorus (I.95). See Martin, "The Saite," 29–30. It is equally likely that this relatively rapid transition was a question of intelligibility. To quote Donker van Heel and Martin ("Dead People"), "You can imagine trainee scribes asking the obvious question: 'why can't we write these texts in the language we speak?'"

[26] P. Cairo II 30665, published in Cruz-Uribe, "A Look," 41–43; Martin, "The Saite," 30.

[27] Described by and detailed in Martin, "The Saite," 30. This gradual process can be followed through the texts of a Theban scribal family: see Donker van Heel, "The Lost," 115–124, texts published individually in Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic."

[28] Manning, *Land and Power*, 210.

used for a number of conveyances.[29] Certain exchanges, such as those of cattle, land, burial plots, and priestly positions were considered to be of high enough value to warrant their recording as a notary contract rather than an informal spoken or epistolary agreement.[30] Although the exchange of money was crucial to the transaction, most Demotic documents did not include a price—however, many Abnormal Hieratic documents did. Egyptian sale documents, unlike Aramaic sales, may also contain third-party agreements from interested persons (such as the seller's wife, children, or other heirs).[31]

In order to determine whether the documents of this corpus constitute a sale on the basis of their similarity to other sale documents, the documents will be evaluated according to the legal tradition to which they belong: Abnormal Hieratic documents are assessed according to the Abnormal Hieratic formulae (**§3.1.1**); and Demotic documents according to the Demotic formulae (**§3.1.2**). Due to the period of transition between the two traditions, there are some documents which present a hybrid formulary, which are discussed in their sections.

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[29] Zauzich, *Die ägyptische*; Depauw, *A Companion*, 141.

[30] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 202; Depauw, *A Companion*, 141; Lippert, *Einführung,* 141 makes the distinction between movables and immovables (of which enslaved persons would certainly be the former); however, enslaved persons would be high value enough to warrant a written declaration, like other valuable objects (e.g. a loom, P. P 23779+P 30009).

[31] Lippert, *Einführung,* 148–149.

§3.1.1 Abnormal Hieratic Sale Formula

Abnormal Hieratic documents differ from their Demotic counterparts in a number of ways: script, layout, dating formula, inconsistently in naming the sovereign (Demotic always does), and format of witness attestations.[32] Most importantly to this dissertation, however, Abnormal Hieratic documents—sales in particular—differ in the legal formulae employed to demonstrate that a sale has taken place. Abnormal Hieratic sale documents include the following clauses: (1) a receipt of the price; (2) an acknowledgement by the seller of delivery of the item sold; and (3) a guarantee not to renege on the document, usually accompanied by an oath to Amun.[33]

The receipt of the price included the price itself—a notable feature of Abnormal Hieratic—and was reflected by the seller stating: "I have received, from you, *x* deben of silver of the Treasury of Harsaphes as the price/in exchange for for [item] (*šp.i n.k pꜣ x dbn ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ ḥry-šfy r-ḏbꜣṯ [item]*)". This clause is found in Abnormal Hieratic sales of weaving thread (P. Louvre E3168), cattle (P. Vienna D12002), land (P. Turin 2118; P. Turin 2120), and perhaps also enslaved persons (P. Louvre E3228e; P. Louvre E3228c; P. Vatican 10547; and P. Leiden F1942/5.15).

[32] Vleeming, "La phase," 35–41, restated by Martin, "The Saite," 29.
[33] Reformatted from Menu, "Les actes," to focus on the Abnormal Hieratic documentation.

Acknowledgement of the delivery of the item was reflected by the seller[34] stating: "I have given [he/she/it] to you, today, in exchange for it (*dỉt[.ỉ] sw n.k m pȝ hrw r-ḏbȝṯ.f*)". This clause usually immediately follows the previous clause acknowledging receipt of the price. It is found in all the documents stated in the previous paragraph.

Finally, Abnormal Hieratic sale documents include a two-part personal guarantee to uphold the terms of the document, usually—though not always[35]—accompanied by an oath to Amun and pharaoh. The first part was a personal guarantee to not renege on the contract and could take the form of promising monetary compensation (P. Vatican 10547), but more often was an oath accompanied by a guarantee to the new owner that his/her title would not be challenged (P. Louvre E3228d; P. Vienna 12002; P. Turin 2118; P. Turin 2120). The second part of the guarantee was, in essence, a quitclaim—a promise, accompanied by an oath to Amun and pharaoh, that the seller (or his/her relatives and representatives) could no longer claim rights on the item (P. Leiden 1942/5.15; P. Vatican 10547; P. Louvre E3228e; P. Louvre E3168; P. Turin 2118; P. Turin 2120).

[34] The buyer does not acknowledge receipt, but it is unknown why not.

[35] E.g. the Abnormal Hieratic sale of weaving thread (P. Louvre E3168) which does not include an oath to Amun.

§3.1.2 Demotic Sale Formulae

The Demotic legal tradition presents a different formula for legal transactions, with seemingly different conceptual understandings of property and ownership. A Demotic sale document usually includes the following clauses:[36] (1) a receipt of silver, though with the exact price absent, reflected by a "satisfaction clause"; (2) an acknowledgement of the new owner; (3) transfer of title; (4) personal guarantee not to challenge the title of the new owner (without an oath to Amun or pharaoh) and against third-party action; and (5) a "distancing (*wy*)" between the buyer and any contest.

Receipt of silver (*ḥḏ*) was reflected by a statement by the seller, often called a "satisfaction clause", literally stating "you have satisfied my heart with the silver of [item] (*tỉ.k mtr ḥꜣṯ.ỉ n pꜣ ḥḏ n [item]*)". Notably, the price of the object is absent. This is a distinguishing feature of Demotic sales documents, appearing in sales of tombs, priestly prebends, cattle, land, houses, and perhaps also enslaved persons.

[36] Adapted from Zauzich, *Die ägyptische*; Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte*; Cruz-Uribe, "A Transfer"; Menu, "Les actes"; and Lippert, *Einführung*, 148–149.

The acknowledgement of the new owner—a new development from Abnormal Hieratic—involved a statement of ownership by the seller: "It is yours. It is your [item] (*mtw.k s, pꜣy.k [item] pꜣy*)". The Abnormal Hieratic acknowledgement of delivery is preserved in some Demotic documents in which the seller acknowledges that s/he has 'given' the item before proceeding to the acknowledgement of the new owner (e.g. P. Berlin 13571; P. Rylands 8; P. Bibl. Nat. 223; P. Loeb 68; P. Michigan 3525b).

Transfer of title, another Demotic development, was represented by the seller restating that only the buyer could consider the purchased item as his/her own, excluding any "father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter" and the seller him/herself from claiming proprietary rights. Usually, this clause also included the stipulation that terms would take hold "from today" until "forever (*šꜥ ḏt*)".[37] Not all Demotic sale documents included this transfer of title, indicating that it was perhaps optional (e.g. P. Turin 2118; P. Turin 2120; P. Lille 26, 27).

Like Abnormal Hieratic, Demotic sale documents also included a personal guarantee not to challenge the title of the new owner, but with two key differences: the Demotic guarantee was

[37] On this term, see below, **§4.3**.

usually done without an oath to Amun[38] and was considerably more involved, including the buyer's renunciation of rights to the property, restatement of rights of the beneficiaries, and a guarantee against third-party action. The buyer's renunciation took the form of a seller statement indicating no contest to the new owner (P. BM. 10118; P. Bibl. Nat. 223; P. Turin 2123; P. Louvre E7128; P. Louvre E9294; P. Louvre E2430; P. Vienna 10151).

The restatement of rights evolved from the personal guarantee of Abnormal Hieratic. This clause often overlaps with the transfer of title and the guarantee against third-party action, and essentially obligates the seller to allow the buyer to take action if the contract is reneged upon, usually in the form of property seizure.

Finally, "distancing" sometimes appeared by itself (e.g. "If someone comes against you, saying 'this is not your donkey', I will cause them to be far from you", P. Loeb 43), and sometimes combined with other clause: a clause of compensation of a certain amount of money (most evident in cattle sales, e.g. P. Berlin 13571, P. Turin 2122, P. Loeb 44); a clause of quitclaim (P.

[38] The inclusion of one is considered to be an Abnormal Hieratic intrusion in an otherwise-Demotic document (e.g. Louvre E706; P. Rylands 1; P. Rylands 2).

BM 10117; P. Bibl. Nat. 223; P. Turin 2123); or sometimes both (P. Vienna 10151; P. Loeb 68; P. Louvre E9292).

The following subsections examine sale documents that sell items other than a *bꜣk*: cattle and donkeys **(§3.2)**; land **(§3.3)**; burial plots (**§3.4**); and miscellaneous other sales (**§3.5**) and determine whether these sale documents contain the clauses listed above according to their legal tradition. The same examination is applied to the Aramaic sale documents **(§3.6)**. Finally, the documents of this corpus that could be considered a sale are assessed on identical criteria to see if they could indeed fit the classification of 'sale' (**§3.7**) and the implications of such a classification.

§3.2 Cattle and Donkeys

Most of the attested cattle sales from this period are in Demotic, and only one in Abnormal Hieratic. There are two attested donkey sales; one of an adult donkey, and one of a foal, both in Demotic. The Demotic cattle sales were the subject of Cruz-Uribe's 1986 *Saite and Persian Cattle Documents*, to which I have also added Menu's publication of P. IFAO 901 and 902,[39] two Demotic

[39] Menu, "Deux contrats."

cattle sales of the mid-4th century BC. The donkey sales both originate from the Archive of the Gooseherds of Hou.[40] The Demotic documents of cattle and donkeys follow the standard Demotic sales formulae, and the singular Abnormal Hieratic cattle sale (**§3.2.2**) follows Abnormal Hieratic sales formulae.

§3.2.1 Demotic

Despite following the Demotic sales formulae closely, the cattle sales do evidence some variation, indicating that the formulaic nature of the document could be added to in order to match the sellers' (or buyers') need. For example, in P. Cattle 7, the right to only one-half of a cow was sold;[41] P. Cattle 9 and P. Cattle 17 sell more than one cow at a time (Document 9 sells a cow and her calf,[42] whereas P. Cattle 17 sells two cows and a calf[43]). Nevertheless, the five clauses outlined above for Demotic sales (**§3.1.2**) remain unchanged.

Table 2: Demotic Sale of Cattle

Receipt of silver, no price mentioned, with a satisfaction clause		
Text	**Date**	**Variation(s)**
P. Berlin 13571 (P. Cattle 2)	588 BC	
P. Rylands 8 (P. Cattle 3)	562 BC	

[40] Vleeming, *Gooseherds*.
[41] Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian*, 14.
[42] Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian*, 19.
[43] Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian*, 36.

Table 2: Demotic Sale of Cattle (continued)

P. Louvre E9292 (P. Cattle 7)	501 BC	
P. Michigan 3525A (P. Cattle 8)	501 BC	
P. Michigan 3525B (P. Cattle 9)	496 BC	
P. Cairo 50146 (P. Cattle 16)	Not preserved	Added: "You have given to me her price."
P. Berlin 15831/P. Cairo 50160 (P. Cattle 17)	364 BC	
P. IFAO 901	349 BC	
P. IFAO 902	345 BC	
Acknowledgement of New Owner ("S/he is yours" or "S/he belongs to you")		
P. Berlin 13571 (P. Cattle 2)	588 BC	
P. Rylands 8 (P. Cattle 3)	562 BC	
P. Louvre E9292 (P. Cattle 7)	501 BC	"Her half belongs to you"
P. Michigan 3525A (P. Cattle 8)	501 BC	
P. Michigan 3525B (P. Cattle 9)	496 BC	
P. Michigan 3525C (P. Cattle 14)	Not preserved	
P. BM 10846A (P. Cattle 15)	Not preserved	
P. Cairo 50146 (P. Cattle 16)	Not preserved	
P. Berlin 15831/P. Cairo 50160 (P. Cattle 17)	364 BC	
P. IFAO 901	349 BC	
P. IFAO 902	345 BC	
Transfer of Title		
P. Berlin 13571 (P. Cattle 2)	588 BC	
P. Rylands 8 (P. Cattle 3)	562 BC	
P. Louvre E9292 (P. Cattle 7)	501 BC	
P. Michigan 3525A (P. Cattle 8)	501 BC	
P. Michigan 3525B (P. Cattle 9)	496 BC	
P. Michigan 3525C (P. Cattle 14)	Not preserved	

Table 2: Demotic Sale of Cattle (continued)

P. BM 10846A (P. Cattle 15)	Not preserved	
P. Cairo 50146 (P. Cattle 16)	Not preserved	
P. Berlin 15831/P. Cairo 50160 (P. Cattle 17)	364 BC	
P. IFAO 901	349 BC	
P. IFAO 902	345 BC	
Personal Guarantee		
P. Berlin 13571 (P. Cattle 2)	588 BC	
P. Rylands 8 (P. Cattle 3)	562 BC	
P. Louvre E9292 (P. Cattle 7)	501 BC	
P. Michigan 3525A (P. Cattle 8)	501 BC	
P. Michigan 3525B (P. Cattle 9)	496 BC	
P. Michigan 3525C (P. Cattle 14)	Not preserved	
P. BM 10846A (P. Cattle 15)	Not preserved	
P. Cairo 50146 (P. Cattle 16)	Not preserved	
P. Berlin 15831/P. Cairo 50160 (P. Cattle 17)	364 BC	
P. IFAO 901	349 BC	
P. IFAO 902	345 BC	
Distancing and Recompense		
P. Berlin 13571 (P. Cattle 2)	588 BC	Head-for-head replacement or 5 deben
P. Rylands 8 (P. Cattle 3)	562 BC	Head-for-head replacement or 5 deben
P. Louvre E9292 (P. Cattle 7)	501 BC	Head-for-head replacement or 2.5 deben
P. Michigan 3525A (P. Cattle 8)	501 BC	Head-for-head replacement or 5 deben

Table 2: Demotic Sale of Cattle (continued)

P. Michigan 3525B (P. Cattle 9)	496 BC	Head-for-head replacement or 5 deben
P. Michigan 3525C (P. Cattle 14)	Not preserved	Head-for-head replacement
P. BM 10846A (P. Cattle 15)	Not preserved	Head-for-head replacement
P. Cairo 50146 (P. Cattle 16)	Not preserved	Head-for-head replacement
P. Berlin 15831/P. Cairo 50160 (P. Cattle 17)	364 BC	Defense in court
P. IFAO 901	349 BC	Defense in court
P. IFAO 902	345 BC	Head-for-head replacement

The dossier of the Gooseherds of Hou,[44] a collection of twelve early Demotic texts, relate to the private chattels and goods of a small number of gooseherds of the domain of Amun and some other men from Hou. The dossier contains two sales: one of cattle (Document 9) and one of a donkey foal (Document 6). Other documents, labelled by Vleeming as "receipts", appear to be related not to a sale but rather a venture in which the Gooseherds were put in charge of small-medium flocks of geese, paying a yearly rent for the usufruct of the geese,[45] generating profits for the Gooseherds and resembling a land lease (see below, **§4.1**).

[44] Vleeming, *Gooseherds*.

[45] Vleeming, *Gooseherds*, 8.

Document 6 evidences the same five clauses described in **§3.1**; however, it is missing an outright declaration that the new owner has rights to the offspring of the animal. This may be because the offspring of a female animal belong to the owner of that animal, rendering the declaration of offspring moot in the case of a male animal. Document 9 is poorly preserved, but does include the exchange of silver and embedded consideration clause as well as the declaration of possession.

Table 3: Sales from the Archives of the Gooseherds of Hou

Receipt of silver, no price mentioned, with a satisfaction clause		
Text	**Date**	**Variation(s)**
P. Loeb 44+49 (P. Hou 6)	489 BC	
P. Loeb 51 (P. Hou 9)	495 BC	
Acknowledgement of New Owner ("S/he is yours" or "S/he belongs to you")		
P. Loeb 44+49 (P. Hou 6)	489 BC	
P. Loeb 51 (P. Hou 9)	495 BC	
Transfer of Title		
P. Loeb 51 (P. Hou 9)	495 BC	Absent: offspring
Personal Guarantee		
P. Loeb 51 (P. Hou 9)	495 BC	
Distancing and Recompense		
P. Loeb 44+49 (P. Hou 6)	489 BC	Head-for-head replacement, or 5 deben
P. Loeb 51 (P. Hou 9)	495 BC	

§3.2.2 Abnormal Hieratic

There is only one attested Abnormal Hieratic cattle sale: P. Vienna 12002D (640 BC),[46] which closely follows Abnormal Hieratic sales formula. A woman sells her cow to a choachyte with the standard sale phrases: the exchange of silver ("I have received from you 3 ½ kite of silver of the Treasury of Harsaphes as its price [lit. *ḥḏ*, silver]; the declaration of giving ("I have given my cow to you"); and the personal guarantee, with the inclusion of an oath to Amun and pharaoh.

§3.3 Land

Several Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic papyri evidence the sale of land for silver, and some donation texts indirectly reference the chain of title.[47] In the archive of Pefheryhesy, Abnormal Hieratic P. Turin 2118A (635 BC)[48] and 2120 (620 BC)[49] evidence the successive sales of the same ten arourae of land. As is standard for Abnormal Hieratic sales, the documents include the receipt of silver, including the price, but add a satisfaction clause in the Abnormal Hieratic style (i.e., *m ỉb hr.n* rather than the Demotic *dỉ.k mtr ḥ3t.ṯ.ỉ).*

[46] Vittmann, "Nochmals", 103–112.
[47] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 204.
[48] Malinine, *Choix*, 56–71; labelled as P. Turin 246; 2118B published in Pernigotti, "Un nuovo," 73–95.
[49] Malinine, *Choix*, 72–84; labelled as P. Turin 247.

P. Turin 2118A, l. 12–13 *dỉ.n s n.k ỉ.bnr pȝ hrw m ỉb hr.n šp.n n.k tȝy ḳdt 3 ḥḏ pr-ḥḏ ḥry-šf r-ḏbȝt.w n pȝy.w ḥḏ m ỉb hr.n*
We have given it to you, today, to the satisfaction of our heart.[50] We have received from you these 3 kite of silver of the Treasury of Harsaphes in exchange for their silver (i.e. price), to the satisfaction of our hearts.

The lack of the acknowledgement of the new owners is interesting in these specific Abnormal Hieratic texts because the long chain of title for these particular ten arourae leave little doubt that the lands were indeed *possessed*; P. Turin 2119 records harvest-tax payments by the new owners,[51] and those same owners re-sell the property in P. Turin 2120. In Abnormal Hieratic contracts, it is likely that the acknowledgement of the new owners was less important because the amount of silver exchanged is usually stated explicitly. It may be more important in Demotic contracts, where the emphasis is on the seller's satisfaction; this emphasis is also relevant to the patchy inclusion of the "satisfaction" clause in Abnormal Hieratic, but its virtual necessity in Demotic contracts.

[50] More accurately translated as "in the heart of my satisfaction"; this phrase can also appear without a suffix pronoun, translated by Griffith, *A Catalogue*, 13 as "in contentment of heart" and by Ritner as "with contented heart" (Ritner, "Third Intermediate," 347–348). For the current translation, see also Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 99.

[51] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 204.

P. Turin 2120 follows the same formula as P. Turin 2118A, including the exchange of silver "to the satisfaction of my heart (*m ỉb hr.ỉ*)", the declaration by the sellers that the document will not come into question, and the penalty clauses embedded in an oath to Amun. These new owners, again, are indeed the owners of the land—three years after the sale, P. Turin 2121[52] records that the same ten arourae are donated by the wife and children of the purchaser in P. Turin 2120.

The Tsenhor archive yields two Demotic donation texts (P. Tsenhor 1[53] and P. Tsenhor 14[54]) which include the chain of title of the land to be donated. The lands are intended to serve as an endowment for deceased persons. Formulaically, these are not as relevant to this discussion. However, they are important as a point of comparison to the sale documents from the Abnormal Hieratic Pefheryhesy archive: in the Tsenhor archive, there is no indication that money was exchanged for the giving of the land. In reference to previous sales, the Tsenhor texts instead employ "to bring [the land] in exchange for silver (*ỉn r ḏbȝ ḥḏ*)".

§3.4 Other Sales

[52] Malinine, *Choix*, 117–124; labelled as P. Turin 248, see also below, **§3.7.2.**
[53] Malinine, *Choix*, 128–129; Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 35–42.
[54] Revillout, *Contrats*, 528–535; Pestman, *Les papyrus,* 82–84.

Inherited property—which included land, houses, trees, food, and *bꜣkw*—could also be sold in exchange for silver, as evidenced in P. Louvre E9294 and P. BM 10450, two copies of the same text.[55] The formula for a sale of inherited property seems to have followed the same clauses as any other sale. No price is mentioned, which has led to some speculation that the sale of inherited property in this case represents property and income solely involved with the office of choachyte;[56] this was convincingly disproven by Cruz-Uribe.[57]

"Days of water (*hrw n mw*)" (that is, the right of access to irrigation for a day) could also be sold in this period, a special case of the Western Oases.[58] The three ostraca which evidence the sale of water days (O. Man. 3946, 3974, 3975) follow all the clauses described above, when preserved; O. Man. 3946 is too short and broken to evidence all the clauses but does include the satisfaction clause, which led Chauveau and Agut-Labordère to classify it as a sale rather than a lease.[59] By their nature, these sale documents are limited in term of usage—when a day of access is sold, the access naturally ends after a day—but they are distinguished from leases

[55] Cruz-Uribe, "A Sale," 120–126; also Malinine, *Choix*, 113.
[56] Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 22; Malinine and Pirenne, *Documents*, 47.
[57] Cruz-Uribe, "A Sale," 125–6.
[58] Chauveau, "Les archives," 10; these days could also be leased (O. Man. 3928, 3973, 4163), see below, **§3.4.4.**
[59] Chauveau, "Les archives," 11.

since the buyer (i.e., the user of the water access) is not expected to provide any product in return beyond the purchase price.

§3.5 Aramaic Sales and Sale Formula

The main elements of an Aramaic sale are near-identical to those in the Egyptian textual tradition.[60] Documents are composed following a standard formulary that includes the date and place of the transaction, the declaration of sale, description of the property, the sale price, acknowledgement of receipt, satisfaction clauses, the declaration of rights of the buyer (investiture), a quitclaim by the seller, a general warranty against suits by third parties, the name of the scribe, a dictation clause, the name of the witnesses, and an endorsement.[61] In the Elephantine corpus, the Aramaic sale formula closely mirrors the Egyptian sale formula, including all five clauses explored above. The Samaria papyri do not follow the Egyptian and Aramaic sale formulae, and instead follow a completely different legal tradition; in his analysis

[60] Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 200–203; Gross, *Continuity*, 7. Whether the Aramaic formula is derived from the Egyptian or vice versa is an important question—but not relevant to this study.
[61] Detailed in Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian,* 150–161; Gross, *Continuity*, 20–25.

of the Samaria corpus, Gross determined that these papyri follow a Babylonian legal tradition, albeit written in Aramaic.[62]

The Elephantine corpus provides us with two deeds of sale: a sale of abandoned property (TADB3.4) and a sale of an apartment to a son-in-law (TADB3.12),[63] both from the archive of Ananiah son of Azaria. In addition, this subsection investigates the formulae of the sales of *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt* from Samaria.[64] As in the earlier sections examining Demotic sales, this subsection examines the evidence of sales in Aramaic in order to compare and contrast the shared formulae and terminology employed. These formulae are then applied to the documents which form the corpus of this dissertation in order to determine whether these documents could be classified as 'sales'.

§3.5.1 Houses and Abandoned Property

[62] Gross, *Continuity*, 21, 71ff, 169ff.
[63] Although these are the only *sale* documents of the Elephantine corpus, they are part of a larger establishment of a title chain including TADB3.5, TADB3.7, and TADB3.12. See Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy,* 204.
[64] See **Chapter 2**, **§3.1.1**

The two sales of houses from the Ananiah archive (TADB3.4, 437 BC; TADB3.12, 404 BC) are well-preserved and detailed and include all of the sale clauses evidenced in the Demotic corpus, usually with further detail: for example, unlike Demotic sale formulae the price is specified in both Aramaic house sale documents, and the explanation of the rights over the property includes the specification that the rights the purchaser's children and what he may do with his newly-acquired property. Some of the clauses appear as direct parallels to the Demotic sale formulae, such as the 'heart satisfaction'[65] in the exchange of silver:

P. Berlin 13571[66] *tỉ.k mtr ḥꜣṯ.ỉ n [pꜣ] ḥḏ n tꜣy[.i] ỉḥt*
you have satisfied my heart with the silver for my cow.

TADB3.4 *ʾnḥn zbn w-yhbn lk byth zy ʾpwly br msdy [...] ʾnḥn zbnhy lk w-yhbt lk dmwhy ksp krš 1 šqln 4 b-ʾbny mlkʾ ksp zwz l-krš 1 w-ṭyb lbbn bdmyʾ zy yhbt ln*
we sold and gave you the house of Apuly son of Misdaya [...] we sold it to you and you gave us its payment in silver, 1 karsh 4 shekels by the weights of the king [...] and our heart was satisfied with the payment you gave us.

TADB3.12 *ʾnḥnh zbn w-yhbn lk bytn zy zbn mn bgzšt br pryn [...] w-yhbt ln dmwhy ksp krš ḥd šqln 3 ksp ywn b-mnyn sttry 6 šql 1 w-ṭyb lbbn b-dmyʾ zy yhbt ln*
we sold and gave you our house which we bought for silver from Bagazushta son of Friyana [...] you gave us the price of our house (in)

[65] See also Westbrook, "The Phrase," 219–224; in his book Botta promises a forthcoming article on the parallels of the satisfaction clause (*Aramaic and Egyptian*, 24 n. 103), but this article seems to not have come to fruition. Although the satisfaction clause is limited in this study to sales, it was used in a wider variety of legal contexts; see Gross, *Continuity*, 51; Muffs, *Studies*, 77–86, 95–99, 117–120.

[66] P. Cattle 2; Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian*, 3–4.

silver, one, that is 1, karsh, 3 shekels; (in) Ionian silver 6 staters, one shekel—and our heart was satisfied in the silver which you gave us.

The declaration of possession is also paralleled, with further detail; the Aramaic house sales include that the purchase may both give away ("affectionately, *rḥmt tntn*") and sell their newly-acquired property, and that the right to the property extends to the purchaser's children.

P. Berlin 13571 *mtw.k s tȝy.k iḥt sḥmt tȝy [n] ṯȝy pȝ hrw r-ḥry ḥnʿ nȝy.s ḫrṯw nt iw.s r msṯ.w*
She belongs to you, she is your female cow, from today onwards together with her offspring which she will bear.

TADB3.4 *ʾnt ʿnnyh br ʿzryh šlyṭ b-bytʾ zk w-bnyk mn ʾḥryk w-l-mn dy ṣbyt l-mntn*
You, Ananiah son of Azariah, have right[67] to this house (so do) your children after you and (anyone) to whom you desire to give (it).

TADB3.12 *ʾnt ʿnny šlyṭ bh mn ywmʾ znh w-ʿd ʿlmn w-bnyk šlyṭn ʾḥryk w-l-mn zy rḥmt tntn ʾw zy tzbn lh b-ksp*
You, Anani, have right to it [the house] from this day and forever, and your children have right after you, and (so does) anyone to whom you give it affectionately or to whom you sell it for silver.

The quitclaim declaration, or the withdrawal,[68] appears only in TADB3.4 but not in TADB3.12;[69] in the latter, the withdrawal may have come in the form of a physical handing-over of title,

[67] On the *šlyṭ* clause, see Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 83–90 and below, **§5.2.**
[68] See discussion and historical overview of the usage of the terms '*wy*' and '*rḥq*' in Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 175–179.
[69] For possible explanations regarding the absence of the withdrawal formulae in TADB3.12, Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian,* 118–119.

along with a statement by the seller that "we gave you the old document [...] the document of purchase [of the house] which he [the previous seller] sold us and for which we gave him its payment in silver (*ʾp yhbn lk sprʾ ʿṭyqʾ zy ktb ln bgzšt spr znbtʾ zy zbn ln w-yhbt lh dnwhy ksp*)". In TADB3.4, the withdrawal is very similar to its Demotic counterpart:

TADB3.4	*ʾnḥn zbn w-yhbn lk w-rḥqn mnh mn ywmʾ znh w-ʿd ʿlmn* We sold and gave (the house) to you and we are far from it from this day and forever.
P. Louvre E7850[70]	*šp.i pꜣy iḥ nty ḥry ḥꜣṯ[.i] mtr.w n-im.f tw.i wy r-r.f n md nb* I have received this bull mentioned above. My heart is satisfied with it. I am far from him [the seller] regarding every suit.

Finally, the two Aramaic house sales also include a personal guarantee to protect the title of the purchaser in court, from themselves or any other party. The failure to protect title comes with a 20 karsh penalty, paid by the seller (TADB3.4) or the party who attempts to bring suit (TADB3.12). TADB3.4 also includes an additional guarantee that any attempt to bring suit will obligate the sellers to "cleanse (*pṣl*)" the house within thirty days; failing that, the sellers are then obligated to give the buyers a "house in its likeness (*byt l-dmwt bytk*)" or the value of the building improvements (*bnynʾ*) in silver.

[70] Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic," 222–225.

§3.5.2 *ʿbd* and *ʾmh*

The sales of *ʿbdn* and *ʾmwt* from Samaria form an important part of this dissertation, despite their geographical origin (i.e., not from Egypt). However, they are actually not entirely relevant to the question of sales in Egypt since they themselves do not follow Egyptian Aramaic textual tradition in their formula.

The Samaria papyri closely follow a common formula, extensively analysed in Gropp's original publication of the document.[71] There are some distinct formulaic differences between the Samaria papyri and sales from Egypt; generally speaking, the formula appears closer to the cuneiform legal tradition than the Egyptian, especially in their usage of a third-person narration rather than first-person declarations from the perspective of the seller.[72] The basic formula includes elements familiar from Egyptian sales—a declaration of sale, a quittance formula, and a defension clause—but the wording of these clauses is significantly different from their Aramaic counterparts from Elephantine.

[71] Gropp, "Samaria Papyri," 140ff.

[72] This is unique to the Samaria papyri; Aramaic deeds of conveyance generally follow first-person declarations as in Egyptian legal texts; see Gross, *Continuity*, 20.

The most glaring difference between the Elephantine sales and the Samaria papyri is the "satisfaction" clause. Whereas the Aramaic and Egyptian formulae indicate that the seller is satisfied with the price (*w-tyb lbbn bgw* in Aramaic*; dỉ.k mtr ḥꜣt.ỉ* in Egyptian), the Samarian sales indicate *mutual* satisfaction: "and they were mutually satisfied with the bond between them (*wrʾyw ḥd mn ḥd ʾsrʾ bynyhm*)".

§3.6 Documents Styled as Sales

In the introduction to this chapter, I noted that sale formulae could be used for contracts which did not necessarily represent sales, but rather contractual obligations of other kinds: donation, partnerships, acknowledgements of division, and exchanges of title. The most important element in this case appears to have been the title and the seller's guarantee to protect it, with an oath (as was standard in Abnormal Hieratic) or without (as was standard in Demotic).

In Abnormal Hieratic, it is relatively easy to distinguish between sales and contracts which adopt sale formula, since the price is usually included in sales and excluded in other types of documents. In Demotic, this distinction becomes more difficult; contracts missing elements of

sale may still ostensibly evidence a sale, whereas contracts with all sale elements present may still contextually evidence a different type of transaction. In general, however, contracts which appear to evidence donations, partnerships, and acknowledgements of division lack the satisfaction clause.

This blurred distinction between sales and documents styled as sales means that the documents evaluated as 'sales' need to not just employ sale formulae, but employ sale formulae *in a sale*, rather than representing a different transaction with sale formulae. This was precisely the argument proposed by Menu, who recommended that these documents were representative of labor transactions like cessions of service; while this kind of re-use of formulae is possible, the labor transactions she suggests are hypothetical and not otherwise attested.[73]

§3.6.1 Self-Sale as a Son: Adoption (P. Louvre E7832)[74]

[73] See below, **§4.4.**

[74] Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic," 177–182.

Adoption also fell into the category of non-sale documents that adapted the mold of sales contracts. This kind of transaction is represented in the early Demotic P. Louvre E7832 (539 BC), in which a man named Hor son of Petiese[75] declares that the choachyte Iturudj son of Djekhy has paid him a sum of money, in exchange for which he (i.e., Hor) will be a son (*ỉr šr*) to Iturudj. The formulae for adoption closely follows Demotic sale formulae, with one important change: the acknowledgement of the new owner has been reworked into a statement of filiation: "It is your cow"/ "I am your *bꜣk*" has become "I am your son".

P. Louvre E7832	*ỉnk pꜣy.k šr ḥnʿ nꜣy[.ỉ] ḫrdw nty ỉw.w ỉ.msṯ.w n.ỉ ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw[.ỉ] ḥnʿ nꜣ nty ỉ[w.ỉ[ỉ.dỉt ḫprw* I am your son, along with my children who will be born to me, together with all that which I have and all that which I will acquire.
P. Berlin 13571	*tꜣy.k ỉḥt sḥmt tꜣy* [...] ḥnʿ nꜣy.s ḫrṯw nt ỉw.s r msṯ.w She is your female cow [...] along with her children which she will bear.
P. Tsenhor 8	*ỉnk pꜣy.t bꜣk ḥnʿ nꜣy[.ỉ] ḫrṯw ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw.n ḥnʿ nꜣ nty ỉw.n r dỉt ḫprw* I am your *bꜣk* along with my children, together with all that which we have and all that which we will acquire.[76]
Louvre E706	*ỉnk tꜣy.k bꜣkt [...] nꜣy[.ỉ] ḫrdw nty-ỉw[.ỉ r] msṯ.w ḥnʿ nty-nb nty ỉnk s ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-ỉw[.ỉ] r dỉt ḫpr.w*

[75] Who is unfortunately absent from the remainder of this archive, so we are unsure what became of him or whether he fulfilled his obligation as son.

[76] It is unclear if the inclusion of this clause means that *bꜣkw* were able to acquire property, or if it is included just as a matter of adhering to formulae. See also **Chapter 5, §3.4.**

I am your *bꜣkt* [...] along with my children whom I will bear, along with all that which I have and all that which I will acquire.

P. Rylands 6[77] *ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk [...] ḥnʿ nꜣy[.ỉ] ḫrdw nty ms ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-ỉw.w [r] msṯw n.n [...] ḥnʿ nty-nb nty mtw.n ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-ỉw.n*
I am your *bꜣk* [...] along with my children who are born and those will be born to us[78] [...] along with all that which we have along with all that which we will acquire.

The parallel between Hor's declaration ("I am your son") and the Demotic acknowledgement of a new owner ("S/he is your [object]"/ "I am your *bꜣk*") may indicate a parallel in the Egyptian legal formulary between self-sale and adoption, or it may be a matter of convenience; a simple reuse of Demotic sale formulae for other types of contracts. Nevertheless, it is interesting that it sale formulae which forms the mold for adoption; in contrast, the Aramaic adoption document TADB3.9[79] is not based on sale formulae.

§3.6.2 Other Contracts

[77] See below, **§3.6.2**.
[78] On 'to us' possibly indicating that Payftjawawykhonsu was enslaved along with his family, see **Chapter 2, §2.1.1.3.**
[79] See this chapter, **§3.7.2.3**.

Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic contract donations of administrative offices (P. Vienna D10150; P. Vienna 10152+3), land (P. Rylands 2; P. Louvre E10935; P. Louvre E3231a; P. Turin 2121; P. Turin 2125; P. Louvre E7858), building plots (P. Turin 2123), parts of houses (P. Turin 2125), and funerary rights (P. Turin 2127) employed some parts of sale formulae despite not evidencing sales, commonly the protection of title and the acknowledgement of ownership ('it is yours').

The adoption of clauses varies in Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic. For example, the Demotic land donation P. Louvre E10935 only adopts a personal guarantee at the end of a long chain of title, whereas the Abnormal Hieratic land donation evidences all elements of a sale bar the price; this means that it is easier to ascertain whether a certain document is (or is not) a sale in Abnormal Hieratic, since the price is usually included in Abnormal Hieratic sales.

Demotic acknowledgements of division of inheritance (P. Vienna 3858; P. Turin 2126) and heirs (P. BM 10120B) also employed sale formulae: the personal guarantee with regards to protection of title. As an example, P. Turin 2126 evidences the division of an inheritance between a brother and sister by their father, with a contract addressed to the daughter. After specifying that exactly one-half will go to each child, their father guarantees that:

P. Turin 2126 *pꜣ nty ỉw.f ỉy r-ḥr.t r-ḏbꜣṯ.w n rn[.ỉ] n rn n rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt wy.f r-ḥr.t*
He who will come against you regarding them (i.e. the inheritance) in my name, or in the name of (any) another man on earth, I will cause him to be far from you.

A Demotic contract partnership of a cow (P. Loeb 41) also employs Demotic sale formulae. Though the exchange of silver and satisfaction clause are absent, an acknowledgement of partnership stands in place of the usual acknowledgement of a new owner ("you are my partner [...] its half belongs to you, *mtw.k pꜣy.ỉ ḫbr [...] mtw.k tꜣy.s pš*") and the personal guarantee remains in place, albeit only over half of the cow; this contract is very obviously not a sale as the cow has already been purchased ([...] which we have bought for silver between the two of us, *r.ỉn.n r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏwṯ.n n pꜣ s 2*").

§3.6.3 Burial Plots

The sale of already-occupied tombs as real estate was forbidden by law,[80] but there is some evidence that there was some kind of market in newly-built, unoccupied tombs—or, perhaps, a market in self-styled sales of unoccupied tombs.[81] Four documents from this period refer to the

[80] Lippert, *Ein demotisches*, 91; Hermopolis legal code 9.30-32.
[81] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 204; Malinine, "Vente des tombes," 164.

sale of a tomb: Hieroglyphic Stela Florence 1659,[82] Demotic Stela C101,[83] Demotic P. Louvre 7128 (P. Tsenhor 10),[84] and Abnormal Hieratic P. Louvre E2432.[85] The first three texts exhibit the clauses detailed for Demotic sale above (**§3**), with only minor differences; for example, Stela C101 evidences *ḏꜣr* instead of *ḥḏ* in the satisfaction clause;[86] and the later—and more standardized—P. Tsenhor 10 includes an additional clause to specify that the tomb is unbuilt.[87] P. Louvre E2432 is more elusive, as it does not list the price as expected in an Abnormal Hieratic sales document; however, it does list monetary recompense for reneging on the contract.

These contracts appear in this section ('documents styled as sales') rather than 'sales' because they are most likely representative of sale of usufruct rather than a true sale/transfer of title. The sales of these burial plots were issued by the overseer of the necropolis—an agent of the Temple of Amun—and made out to mortuary priests. This has led some scholars to suggest that

[82] Most likely a transcription of a Demotic document: Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 204; Lippert, "Egyptian Law." Published in Bosticco, *Museo*, 38–9, pl. 28.
[83] Malinine, "Vente des tombes," 168–174.
[84] Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 71–3.
[85] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 13–23.
[86] Malinine, "Vente des tombes," 173; for the meaning of *ḏꜣr* as "value" see Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 19.
[87] Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 72.

the land upon which these tombs stood in the necropolis was in effect owned by the temple, and that this land could then be sold for usufruct; in other words, a lease styled as a sale.[88]

§3.7 Sales in the Corpus

In the corpus of this dissertation, eight documents should be examined as possible evidence for sales of enslaved persons on the basis of their formulaic similarity to other sale documents: P. Vatican 10547,[89] P. Inv. Sorb. 1277 + 1276, Louvre E706, P. Leiden F1942/5.15,[90] P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7),[91] P. Bibl. Nat 223 (P. Tsenhor 8),[92] Segal 8,[93] and perhaps also Segal 50 (though fragmentary). The corpus also includes three documents from the archive of Petebast son of Peteamonope: P. Louvre E3228e,[94] P. Louvre E3228d,[95] and P. Louvre E3228c.[96]

[88] On this practice in the Late Period, see Cannata, *Three Hundred Years*, 369–372; in the Ptolemaic Period, ibid., 363-–369. On the idea that these sales were a roundabout way to hire the services of a choachyte, ibid., 367.
[89] Malinine, "Une vente."
[90] Vleeming, "A Sale."
[91] Pestman, *Les papyrus,* 60–62.
[92] Pestman, *Les papyrus,* 63–66.
[93] Segal, *Aramaic Texts*, 22–23.
[94] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 93ff.
[95] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 107ff.
[96] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 131ff.

These documents were briefly examined in **Chapter 2** (**§2.1.1.2**, **§2.4**, and **§3.1.1**) in the context of the terminology they employ. Ultimately, these documents evidence that the items sold—namely, a *bꜣk* (Louvre E706, P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277+1276, P. Tsenhor 7 and 8) and a *rmṯ/ḳ̲dwḏ̲ n ʿ-mḥṯ*[97] ('Man of the North'; P. Vatican 10547 and P. Leiden F1942/5.15) are exchanged for money.[98] The question remains as to what makes these documents "sales", and if they can truly be considered as such in light of the scholarship already done on Demotic and Aramaic sales.

§3.7.1 Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic

The following seven documents (P. Leiden F1942/5.15; P. Louvre E3228e; P. Louvre E3228d; Louvre E706; P. Tsenhor 7; P. Tsenhor 8; P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277) are examined to determine whether they follow the sale formulae of their respective legal tradition, and if so, whether they can be classified as sales. Three of these contracts are in Abnormal Hieratic (P. Leiden F1942/5.15; P. Louvre E3228e; P. Louvre E3228d) and four are in Demotic (Louvre E706; P. Tsenhor 7; P. Tsenhor 8; P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277). In Louvre E706, the person seemingly sold is a

[97] See **Chapter 2**, §**2.4**.

[98] All of these documents, with the exception of P. Tsenhor 7 and 8, were treated by Menu as "service cessions" or "engagements resulting from debt". Menu, "Cessions du services," 78ff.

party to the contract and the subject of the transaction; the remainder have two contracting parties with a third party as the subject of the transaction. The majority of these contracts appear to be representative of a straightforward sale, and only P. Louvre E3228d warrants further discussion.[99]

§3.7.1.1 P. Leiden F1942/5.15[100]

This contract (727 BC) evidences the sale of the a "man of the north" for silver, closely following Abnormal Hieratic sales formulae. Silver is exchanged, with an explicit mention of the price: "I have received from you the 3 deben and 1 kite of silver of the Treasury of Harsaphes as the payment[101] for Paneferiu, the Man from the North"; the Man of the North is declared to have been given: "I have given him to you today in exchange for it (i.e. the payment)"; and the oath to Amun and pharaoh to uphold the terms of the agreement: "I do not have son, daughter,[102] brother, sister, or any man in the world who will be able to have a claim

[99] For this discussion, see below, **§4.2.1.**
[100] Vleeming, "A Sale"; Menu, "Captifs," 74–5.
[101] Following Vleeming's suggestion of "payment" for *ḥḏ*, though his own translation employs "money"; Menu's claim ("Captifs," 75) that *ḥḏ* stands for "counterpart" is a biased selection from the numerous translations offered by Allam, "Silber," 416–420.
[102] Literally "they are not with me as son, daughter, … (*bn st m-dı.ı m šr šrt…*)" rather than the later construction. See Vleeming, "A Sale," 15 n. 50.

on him. Anyone who would have a claim, his deposition shall not be heard in any Hall of Writings, tomorrow and after tomorrow".

Not only does this document follow Abnormal Hieratic sale formulae, it also involves a clear transfer of title.[103] The seller acknowledges that the most likely challengers of the buyer's claim to Paneferiu are the seller's immediate heirs: children and siblings. This contract is similar to another Abnormal Hieratic contract, P. Vatican 10547, though the latter appears with an additional specification that the "Man of the North" is expected to "act (as) *bꜣk* (*ỉr bꜣk*)", and may represent a different kind of labor agreement.[104]

§3.7.1.2 Petebast Archive

Several of the documents in the Abnormal Hieratic Petebast archive reflect a series of transactions that evidence sale or lease of several individuals, following Abnormal Hieratic legal formulae and traditions. These documents revolve around the burial and funeral services of a couple, orchestrated by Petebast the choachyte who lent his name to the archive.

[103] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 158.
[104] See below, **§4.2.2**.

The formulae used in these documents do not clearly follow the Abnormal Hieratic sale clauses, which *could* call the nature of these documents into question: If money is exchanged, ostensibly for an individual, and yet the term of labor is limited by time period or task, it stands to reason that the text represents a lease. Alternatively: if money is exchanged and the term of labor is not limited by time or task, and yet no new owner is identified, it is equally possible that the text represents lease as well.

In Year 10 of Shabaka (706 BCE, P. Louvre E3228e) Petebast pays 2 deben and 2 ½ kite of silver for a man named Montirdis, a Gazan from the Northern region (*ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥtṯ*). No time limit or specific task is mentioned for the exchange, but the contract itself is interminable: part of the personal oath guarantee indicates that no person (including an extensive list of relatives) will be able to "raise an issue (*mdt*)" about Montirdis, "tomorrow (and) after tomorrow (*dwꜣ ḥr-sꜣ dwꜣ*)". This document follows Abnormal Hieratic sale formula, and includes the Abnormal Hieratic satisfaction clause (*m ỉb hr.n*). This contract also includes a tantalizing hint that there were unwritten rights to the purchased item, with the phrase "one has done in accordance

with the procedure of giving them (*iw.ṯ ir mỉ-ḳd tp-n-dit st*)"[105] suggesting that there is, in fact, a procedure (*tp*). Despite Donker van Heel's suggestion,[106] this contract is most likely representative of a sale of Montirdis—indicating that Gazans of the North, as well as "Men" of the North, could be sold.

A few years later, in Year 3 of Taharqa (688 BCE, P. Louvre E3228d), money is exchanged between one party (Pensemenamun and his sister Tabes) and another (the singer of the interior of Amun Diesehebsed) for a "Man of the North" named Wedjahor, possibly for the purpose of burying the siblings' parents. The text does not expressly indicate that the term of Wedjahor's ownership by his new owner will end when the burial is complete, and he would return to his "original" owner. However, this level of specificity suggests that this is in fact the case; otherwise, why is the reason at all to mention the task for which ownership was exchanged? Other transfers of ownership do not include this specification.[107]

[105] Menu, "Cessions du services," 77. The "procedure of giving (*tp-n-dit*)" also occurs in the Apanage Stele, see Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 100.
[106] "Lease or sale" (Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 94).
[107] For further discussion on this document, see below, **§4.2.1**.

Wedjahor, the same "Man of the North", appears again in the archive in P. Louvre E3228f,[108] dated to Year 5 of Taharqa (686 BC). This text, not a sale, is an acknowledgement by a man named Petekhnum of payments made by Petebast in connection with the burial of his (i.e. Petekhnum's) grandparents. Four people are actually involved: two women (referred to vaguely as "woman", *sḥmt*), Wedjahor, and an additional *bꜣk* named Pagegiu. The relationship between these people and the amount paid by Petebast to Petekhnum is unclear; they may have been leased, sold, or hired.

In Year 6 of Taharqa (685 BC), a quitclaim (P. Louvre E3228c) is drawn up after a court order. As this document is not quite a sale, it does not neatly fit into this section; nevertheless, as a document referencing an earlier sale, it holds some significance here. In this text, a man named Petekhnum and his ex-wife sue the choachyte Petebast on account of a sale of a "Man of the North" named Iretuertja. Petekhnum claims that he and his sister bought ("brought for his price, *i.in.i r snn.f*") the "Man of the North" for 4 deben and resold him to Petebast for 6 deben. At the time of writing the document, the couple says that Petebast still owes them 2 deben, but the court rules their claim invalid and orders them to write a quitclaim for

[108] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 124ff; Bakir, *Slavery*, pl. XV–XVI; Menu, "Cessions du services," 77–78.

Petebast.[109] This quitclaim is significant for two reasons: (1) it proves that "Men of the North" could be sold and resold and (2) issues of arbitration over "Men of the North" were very likely settled in court, as this one was—much like disputes over property.

§3.7.1.3 Louvre E706[110]

This early Demotic contract, inscribed on a bowl, includes all of the clauses expected of a Demotic sale, with an important variation: the seller is the *bꜣkt* herself. This also means that presumably she would earn money as a result of this transaction; money which she could then use, for example, to purchase property; that property, however, would be included in "all that [she] will acquire" and would therefore belong to her new owner.

Formulaically, the clauses are identical to any other sale: the receipt of silver with a satisfaction clause ("you have satisfied my heart with the silver…"); transfer of title ("No man in the world will be able to exercise authority over me, except you"); personal guarantees ("He

[109] In this, I follow—and agree with—Donker van Heel's interpretation of the series of events (*The Archive*, 143), rather than Malinine's (*Choix*, 171ff) or Menu's ("Cessions du services," 80–81). Malinine's reconstruction allows 20 years to elapse between first and final payment, whereas Menu's ignores that Petekhnum's sister had apparently already received payment. See also Appendix 3, **§1.1.3**.

[110] See **Chapter 2, §2.1.1.3.**

who will come to you on my account, including any man in the land, saying, 'she is not your *bꜣkt*', he will give you any silver, any corn, that will please your heart, I still being your *bꜣkt*"); the acknowledgement of the new owner ("I am your *bꜣkt*") and the owner's right to reclaim his property ("together with my children whom I will bear, and everything that belongs to me, and those things which I will gain, and the clothing which is on my back [...] you are entitled to take me in any house which you will find me"). Were the seller anyone other than the *bꜣkt* herself, this contract would be identical to later sale documents such as P. Tsenhor 7 and 8—and, in that sense, identical in that sense to other sale documents of cattle and land.

§3.7.1.4 P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7)

P. Tsenhor 7 and P. Tsenhor 8 could be considered as a pair, since in both the object of the sale is the same: a male child (*ḫr ḥwt*) named Pasherenpaqed, son of Djehutymes and Khedebirtbin. The first document, P. Tsenhor 7, contains the clauses expected of a Demotic sale. First, after the date and the names of the involved parties, comes the receipt of silver and the satisfaction clause:

P. Tsenhor 7, l. 2 *di.k mtr ḥ‹t[.i] n pꜣ ḥḏ n ḫr ḥwṯ pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-ḳd sꜣ ḏḥwṯ-ms mwt.f ḫ[d]b-irt-bin pꜣy[.i] bꜣk i.di[.i] n.k r bnr*

You have satisfied my heart with the silver for the male child Psenpaqed son of Djehutymose, whose mother is Khedebirbin, my *bꜣk* that I have handed over to you.

Followed by the acknowledgement of the new owner, from the seller to the buyer:

P. Tsenhor 7, l. 2–3 *mtw.k s pꜣy.k bꜣk pꜣy*
He is yours, he is your *bꜣk.*

This is followed by a transfer of title and personal guarantees, including a monetary penalty[111]

in the event that the seller is not able to protect the buyer's rights to the *bꜣk*:

P. Tsenhor, l. 3–4 *pꜣ nty ỉw.f ỉy r.r.k r-ḏbꜣ.f n rn[.ỉ] rn rmt nb n pꜣ tꜣ n sn snt ỉt mwt ḥry ḥryt ỉnk ḥꜣ[.ỉ] mỉtt ḏd bn pꜣy.k bꜣk ỉn pꜣy ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt wy.f r.r.k ỉw[.ỉ] tm dỉt wy.f r.r.k ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt n.k ḥḏ 5 n pr-ḥḏ ptḥ n wḏḥ ỉ ḥḏ 4 ḳdt 9 2/3 1/6 1/10 /1/30 1/60 1/60 ḥḏ 5 n pr-ḥḏ ptḥ ꜥn*
As to the one who will come to you on account of him in my name or in the name of any other person on earth, namely brother or sister, father or mother, master or mistress—including me—saying: that is not your bꜣk, I will cause him to be far from you. If I do not cause him to be far from you, I will give you five (deben) of silver from the Treasury of Ptah, being four deben and 9 2/3 1/6 1/10 /1/30 1/60 1/60 kite, again making five (deben) of silver from the Treasury of Ptah.

[111] In contrast with the penalties for cattle, in which the seller is able to provide an identical cow ("according to her likeness") in place of a fee.

Functionally speaking, this document is near-identical to the cattle sales evidenced in **§3.2.1**; in fact, a cow could easily be swapped out for *bꜣk* with no change to the remainder of the document.

§3.7.1.5 P. Bibl. Nat 223 (P. Tsenhor 8)

A few months later, the same *bꜣk*, Pasherenpaqed, is sold again to a new party. This document, like its immediate predecessor, contains all the clauses expected of a Demotic sale: the exchange of silver ("you have satisfied my heart", l. 2); the acknowledgement of a new owner ("he is your *bꜣk*", l. 3); the transfer of title, this time adding the possessions of the *bꜣk* ("he belongs to you together with his children and everything that they own and will acquire", l. 3); the quitclaim ("I have no issue whatsoever regarding them on this earth. No man on earth can exercise authority over them—including me— except you, from today onward forever and ever." l. 3–4); and, finally, the guarantee to protect title ("As to the one who will come to you on account of them, in my name or in the name of any other person on earth, I will cause him to be far (from you). I will ensure that he will be clear of any title or claim on earth." l. 4).

There are three key differences between P. Tsenhor 7 and P. Tsenhor 8. First, no compensation price is listed, possibly because both documents were kept (and were meant to be read and understood) together.[112] Second, P. Tsenhor 8 includes an additional clause about acting as a *nmḥ*, a term explored in **Chapter 2 (§2.3)**. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this document includes something which could never appear in the cattle sales: a declaration from the item being sold. Although the inclusion is notable, the phrasing itself is not; the statement is virtually identical to the declaration of possession and the declaration of proprietary rights:

P. Tsenhor 8 *ỉnk pꜣy.t bꜣk ḥnʿ nꜣy[.i] ḫrdṯw ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw.n ḥnʿ nꜣ nty ỉw.n r dỉt ḫprw*
I am your *bꜣk* along with my children, along with all that which we have and all that which we will acquire.

The statement of the enslaved person occurs in the "consent clause", in which a third party would assent to the aforementioned transaction and waive their rights to the property in question. In this sense, the implication is that the enslaved Pasherenpaqed is, in effect, the third party, waiving his rights to himself.[113]

[112] However, lack of a price is also not uncommon; see Markiewicz, "Security," 144. Similar documents "filling the blanks" for each other is suggested also for the Rylands papyri; see below, **§3.6.1.**

[113] See below, **§3.6.1** for a comparison and discussion of this statement of consent with the Rylands self-acknowledgement, the Louvre E706 self-sale, and the Adoption papyrus P. Louvre E7832.

§3.7.1.6 P. Inv. Sorb. 1277 + 1276[114]

These documents, identical copies of one another, are both fragmentary. By comparing the two, it is possible to restore some of the lacuna. The documents include the exchange of silver ("[you have satisfied] my heart", 1276, l. 2); the declaration of possession ("they are your *bꜣkw*", 1277, l. 2); the declaration of proprietary rights including any future children ("along with their children", 1277, l. 2); the declaration of quitclaim ("[No person in the world can] consider them their property except for you, starting [from today", 1276, l. 3); and finally, the penalty clauses ("Whoever comes to oppose you about them, I will remove him from you; and I will] free them for you from any judicial document [...]", 1276, l. 3). In other words, there is little to indicate that these two documents are not sales. Much like the Tsenhor papyri, the *bꜣkw* of P. Inv. Sorb. 1276 + 1277 could be swapped with a sale document for any other sellable item with no change to the document itself.

§3.7.1.7 P. Rylands 3–7

[114] de Cenival, "Une vente," 31–39.

Finally, though no less importantly, is the interesting case of the Rylands papyri.[115] This group of Demotic contracts (P. Rylands 3–7) evidence a series of labor contracts. The first three contracts all date to 569 BC: an initial agreement of self-sale between the *bꜣk* Payftjawawykhonsu and his new owner, Djedbastiufankh (P. Rylands 3); a transfer of title of the *bꜣk* to a new owner (P. Rylands 4); and an acknowledgement by the *bꜣk* of the new owner, Udjasematawy (P. Rylands 5). A year later, a new document of acknowledgement (or maybe self-sale) is drawn up by Payftjawawykhonsu to Udjasematawy (P. Rylands 6), despite the two contracts of a year previous; and, after a gap of five years, a renewal and renegotiation[116] of terms (P. Rylands 7). P. Rylands 4 is very fragmentary, and perhaps intended as an addendum to a more complete transfer of title which has not been preserved. Of the remaining contracts, P. Rylands 5 and 6 could arguably be classified as a self-sale, similar to Louvre E706,[117] and perhaps also P. Rylands 3. A comparison of these three Rylands papyri with Louvre E706 does indicate a great deal of similarity, but also yields some interesting results:

[115] Also discussed in **Chapter 2, §2.1.1.3**.
[116] On "forever" and its implications, see below, **§4.3**.
[117] See above, **§3.8.1.3.**

Table 4: Comparison of Self-Sales

	Louvre E706	**P. Rylands 3**	**P. Rylands 5**	**P. Rylands 6**
Receipt of silver and satisfaction	You have satisfied my heart with the silver of acting as (*ir*) your *bꜣkt*.	*Absent*	*Absent*	You have satisfied my heart with the silver of acting us (*ir*) your *bꜣk*.
Transfer of title	No man in the world will be able to exercise authority over me, except you.	No [man] in the land shall [be able] to exercise authority over us except you.	*Absent*	*Absent*
Ownership clause	I am your *bꜣkt*.	I am your *bꜣk*, for ever.	I am your *bꜣk*, for ever, on account of the rations[118] you gave me.	I am your *bꜣk*, for ever.
Personal guarantee	Never again shall I be able to act as *nmḥ* unto you.	Never again shall I be able to act as *nmḥ* unto you.	Never again shall I be able to act as *nmḥ* unto you, twice over.	Never again shall I be able to act as *nmḥ* unto you, twice over.

[118] **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.4**.

Table 4: Comparison of Self-Sales (continued)

Owner's right to compensation	Unto any silver, any grain, any type of property together with my children whom I will bear, and everything that belongs to me, and those things which I will gain, and the clothing which is on my back [...] He who will come to you [...] saying, 'she is not your *bꜣkt*', he will give you any silver, any corn, that will please your heart [...] you are entitled to take me in any house which you will find me.	Unto any silver, any grain, together with my] children [who were born and those] who will be born to us, and all that belongs to us and those things which we shall acquire, and the clothes which are upon our backs.	Unto any silver, any grain, anything in the land together with my children and those who will be born to us, all that belongs to me and those things which I shall acquire, and the clothes which are upon my back. He who will come to you [...] saying, 'he is not your *bꜣk*', he will give you any silver, any corn, that will please your heart	Unto any silver, any grain, anything in the land, together with my children and those who will be born to us, and the clothes which are upon our backs and all that belongs to us and those things which we shall acquire.

All three are missing elements otherwise present in sales (and also present in Louvre E706): P. Rylands 3 and 5 do not include a receipt of silver, and P. Rylands 6 does not include a formal transfer of title. A possible explanation of these absences may be that P. Rylands 4, 5, and 6—all

contracts regarding Udjasematawy's status as owner—were intended to be kept and understood together; that is, P. Rylands P. Rylands 5 and 6 do not *need* to include the transfer of title as it was implied in the fragmentary P. Rylands 4, and the exchange of silver in P. Rylands 6 is meant to fill the gap left by P. Rylands 5.

However, this does not explain the absence of the exchange of silver and satisfaction clause in P. Rylands 3, which pertains to Payftjawawykhonsu's previous owner, Djedbastiufankh. The absence of this clause possibly indicates that the heart of Djedbastiufankh was indeed unsatisfied; in other words, a self-sale contract was drawn up between Payftjawawykhonsu and Djedbastiufankh which was contingent on some *other* obligation, rather than exchange (or even theoretical exchange) of silver, conceivably the satisfaction of a debt, though this is speculative.[119]

The final document relating to Payftjawawykhonsu is P. Rylands 7, which poses more questions than it answers. In this contract, the *bꜣk* Payftjawawykhonsu states that he will complete his single calendar-year obligation (despite seemingly obligating himself "forever" in

[119] The similarity cannot be overlooked with other contracts which do not include a satisfaction clause—namely partnerships and donations, see **§3.7.2.** See also **Chapter 5, §4.1.4.**

previous contracts as well as this one[120]) and stipulates the rations of food he is to receive in specific weight-measures. This contract is unique in its formula and intriguing in its implications: could the self-sold *bꜣkt* of Louvre E706 also renegotiate her terms in a year or perhaps five? Could *bꜣkw* who were sold from Party A to Party B (i.e., not a self-sale) do the same? Or is this situation unique to Payftjawawykhonsu for reasons unknown? The paltry evidence from this period, and its nature, means that these questions are near-impossible to answer.

§3.7.2 Aramaic

The two Aramaic papyri in this corpus that appear to evidence sale, although fragmentary, follow similar clauses as other sale documents and, in the case of Segal 50, include a recognizable element from the Egyptian sale documents: a clause regarding the future children of the sold individual.

[120] See below, **§4.3**.

§3.7.2.1 TADB5.6 (Segal 8)

One of the papyri from Saqqara provides evidence for a sale of three individuals for five shekels. Although the papyrus is missing large lacunae, certain phrases are almost certainly elements of sale clauses: the satisfaction clause ("you have satisfied [...] *ḥwṭbt*"); the declaration of possession ("they are yours *lkw hmw*") and proprietary rights ("with all their [...] *lkw hmw ʿm [...]w*"), and perhaps even quitclaim ("I have not with you [...] in their name *lʾ ʾyty ly ʿmk [...] bšmhm*"). However, it does not seem that a penalty clause was part of the agreement.

§3.7.2.2 Segal 50

Another papyrus from Saqqara evidences a sale of *ʿbdn* alongside other goods (*nksyʾ*). This text also includes an element of sale recognisable from Egyptian sales of cattle as well as individuals: "[all the children] she will bear by him (*tld mnh*)", suggesting that at least one of the goods exchanged for money was an *ʾmh* who could bear children for her owner. This document is the only one in the corpus which uses an unequivocal verb of acquiring (*qny*) [121]

[121] Although *zbn* might be more expected, *qny* is unsurprising; Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *A Dictionary*, 1015ff.

possibly because the *ʿbdn* only form part of a purchase which includes other goods as well. The lacunae in this text can be filled with a clause familiar from the Egyptian documentation:

Segal 50 *[w-kl dy ʾyty ly] qnyt w-zy ʾqnh*
[and everything which belongs to me, everything which] I acquired and which I will acquire.

§3.7.2.3 Adoption/Manumission in the Aramaic Record (TADB3.9)

The single case of adoption evident in the Aramaic record[122] (TADB3.9) is not as formulaically similar to Aramaic sales as its Demotic counterpart (P. Louvre E7832) was to Demotic sales; also unlike P. Louvre E7832, there are no self-sales in the Aramaic record with which to compare the self-acknowledgement. Indeed, the newly-adopted Jedeniah of TADB3.9 does not seem to play a part in the exchange, and does not speak; the document is drawn up on behalf of his adoptive father. Adoption in both the Aramaic and Demotic record was a form of exit from enslavement,[123] but where Demotic adoption adapted sale formulae to represent the

[122] Segal 11 might represent the end of an adoption document, as it includes the phrase "you will be a son to him (*thwh lh bnʾ*), but it is so fragmentary as to not be useful to this discussion.
[123] See **Chapter 5, §4.2.1.**

interaction,[124] Aramaic adoption preferred formulae distinct from both sales and the other extant manumission for which we have a record (TADB3.6).

Prior to this adoption, Jedeniah had been enslaved—an *ʿlym*, or 'boy'[125]—who had been sold by Zaccur to Uriah. This document is styled as a statement from Uriah to Zaccur before the official Vidranga, in which Uriah first states that he will not be able to press Jedeniah into slavery (*ykbšnhy ʿbd*), and then that Jedeniah shall now be his son (*bry yhwh*). These two statements are repeated twice over, with Uriah claiming that no man on earth (including Uriah nor any of his relatives) will be able to press Jedeniah into slavery or brand him (*mšnth*). The document ends with a statement that whoever shall brand Jedeniah or attempt to enslave him will pay Vidranga[126] a hefty penalty of thirty silver karsh, and the document is attested by eight witnesses.

Though dissimilar to sale documents, this adoption bears some similarity to the manumission document of Tamet and Jehoishma (TADB3.6); however, the latter is more formal and specific,

[124] See **§1** in this chapter.
[125] See **Chapter 2, §3.1.1;** specifically regarding the adoption, in the same chapter, see **§3.1.1.1.**
[126] The payment to Vidranga—as opposed to Uriah or Jedeniah—suggests an official character to the adoption: fines paid to Vidranga were usually in the event of a crime committed; Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 234.

including the statement "I have released you as a free person (*ʾzt šbqtky*)". The phrasing of the penalties listed in the event of re-enslavement is identical to that of Tamet and Jehoishma, though their penalty is higher (50 karsh). Tamet and Jehoishma's manumission also details a compensatory obligation in exchange for freedom, which is absent here: the obligations of a child to his/her father. The similarities between the two documents—and the enslaved status of the persons involved—suggest that although there is no analogy between self-sale and adoption in the Aramaic record, the concepts of enslavement and parent-child relationships were still involved.[127]

§3.7.3 Conclusions: Sale of Enslaved Persons

The documents in this corpus that evidence sales of *rmṯw/ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥ, bʾkw*, *ʿbdn*, or *ʾmwt* bear enough of a formulaic similarity to other sale documents of items such as cattle or land to qualify as sales in their own right. Although it is possible that debt was involved in the original entrance into bondage, these texts in themselves provide little indication that these documents refer to a "cession" or "debt bondage".

[127] For expansion on the parallels between manumission and adoption, see **Chapter 5, §4.2.1**.

It may be argued that the contracts mentioned above—especially the Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic contracts (**§3.8.1**)—simply represent the use of sale formulae for a different type of contract. This reuse of formulae certainly occurred, not only in ambiguous documents like P. Louvre E3228d, but also in documents that did not represent an exchange at all; rather, a complete transfer of title (e.g., land donation, see **§3.7**). It is this transfer of title, and the promise by the seller to uphold the title against other claimants, that become most relevant to the discussion at hand: it indicates that these individuals were subject to title that *could* be transferred, and therefore were similar in their treatment to other forms of property that are bought, sold, or donated.

§4. Leases

If it appears that the contracts in this corpus are formulaically analogous to sale documents of other items such as cattle or land, the question arises as to why these documents could have been understood as leases in earlier scholarship at all. The act of leasing involves the transfer of usufruct in exchange for consideration, with no transfer of ownership. The lease term can

be for life, for a fixed period, or a period terminable at will,[128] but the inclusion of a *definite* or *determinable* duration for the lease is a crucial element.[129]

There is some precedence to the idea of leased laborers: in the New Kingdom, laborers[130] could certainly be leased for a fixed number of days (as seen in P. Berlin 9784 and P. Gurob II.1-2).[131] It is unclear what express purpose these two texts serve, but nevertheless they certainly do not reflect sale formulae. Notably, in some cases, the compensation paid for temporary service appears to be extraordinarily high;[132] this was suggested to reflect a hiring for some expensive service such as sex work[133] or, much more likely, that the period of hiring was longer than originally indicated.[134]

This subsection explores the formulae and usage of leases in order to determine whether any of the documents in this corpus could be understood as a lease of an owned individual, rather than a sale. As in the first section of this chapter, leases of other items—such as land and

[128] Martin, "Ptolemaic," 346; Manning, *Land and Power*, 57–58; Black, *Law Dictionary*, 970.
[129] Wilkie, "Essential," 4.
[130] Employing the earlier word *ḥm* rather than *bꜣk*. On this term, see **Chapter 2, §2.2**.
[131] Černý, "Prices and Wages," 919; Gardiner, "Four Papyri," 28ff.
[132] On prices and compensation for labor, see **Chapter 4**.
[133] Though quickly dismissed as "unlikely". Gardiner, "Four Papyri," 44.
[134] Navailles and Neveu, "Qu'entendait-on," 113.

animals—will first be examined to determine formulaic similarities. Two Abnormal Hieratic documents (P. Vatican 10547 and P. Louvre E3228d) may arguably demonstrate leasing of persons, though the evidence is inconclusive.

§4.1 Lease Formula

Most surviving lease documents in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic are for land: fields, gardens, and orchards.[135] However, the Demotic Hermopolis legal code does preserve templates for leases of various objects,[136] which both eases reconstruction of leasing formulae[137] and suggests that this formulae could be broadly applied.

The Demotic lease formula for land, houses, and water days[138] included the word *sḫn,* meaning to "lease, entrust, commit".[139] Importantly, leases always mention the length of usufruct and the price paid by the leasee—paid after the usage of the lands is complete (e.g. the harvest has

[135] For a general overview, see Felber, *Ackerpachtverträge*, 1–14*;* also Lippert, *Einführung*, 157–9.
[136] (Hermopolis 2.23–3.22) a field, weaver's workshop, brewery, poultry farm, shop, garden. See Mattha, *Demotic Legal*, 22–25.
[137] Formulae here is adapted from Felber, *Ackerpachtverträge*, 215–221 and Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 74–77.
[138] Not included in the Hermopolis legal code, though it's possible that it is part of the unpreserved portion at the end of Column 3.
[139] CDD/ *S*, 349 ; for range of meaning see Felber, *Ackerpachtverträge*, 116–119.

been collected) or the term of the lease has ended (e.g. end of the days of water usage). Leases could (and often did) occur in partnership, with sometimes as many as fifteen lenders.[140] Animal leases were limited in time but involved an up-front payment rather than payment after usage.

§4.1.1 Land Lease

The leasing of land was common in Egypt and is a relatively well-explored topic in scholarship, especially of the later Ptolemaic period.[141] There are a total of twenty-two known lease documents from the Late Period:[142] eleven in Abnormal Hieratic,[143] ten in Demotic, and one in Aramaic. In Demotic, the lease documents use the verb *sḥn,* "to commission, entrust", which is now understood to mean "lease", but this term is absent in Abnormal Hieratic.[144] Instead, Abnormal Hieratic documents use the verb *šp*, "to receive", to indicate the lessors have received the land in question. In both legal traditions, this is followed by a description of the

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[140] See Hughes, *Saite Demotic*; Cruz-Uribe, "A Transfer," 93; Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 67.
[141] Manning, *Land and Power*, 198–201; Hughes, *Saite Demotic*; Martin, "Ptolemaic," 241–242.
[142] Hughes, *Saite Demotic*; re-edited by Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic." P. Loeb 45 included in Vleeming, *Gooseherds*, 7–8.
[143] For an introduction to Abnormal Hieratic land leases, see Donker van Heel ("Kushite Abnormal"; "P. Louvre E7852"; "P. Louvre E7851"; "P. Louvre E7856").
[144] With one exception (P BM. EA10432) which is considered a hybrid Abnormal Hieratic/Demotic document, Donker van Heel, "Kushite Abnormal," 97.

land; a re-acknowledgement of the manner in which the land will be used—usually involving the word "plough (*sḫ*)"—and delineation of the amount of crop to which the lessor is entitled as a result of the lease (usually a fourth of the harvest).[145]

These clauses do not necessarily appear in the same order, and some include an additional penalty clause[146] or repeat the date of departure.[147] The leases from this period do not specify the size of the plot of land or the boundaries of the land to be leased, though this changes in the Ptolemaic period.[148]

The singular Aramaic lease document (TADB1.1) is actually the oldest Aramaic contract in Egypt, dating to 515 BC.[149] The document presents a number of complications in that it is unique, meaning that we cannot prove that the Aramaic formulae for leasing in this document is unique or commonly-used in Egyptian Aramaic documents . Nevertheless, there are some interesting comparisons between this early Aramaic text and Demotic land leases. The phrase

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[145] Manning, *Land and Power*, 198–199; However, note that Abnormal Hieratic leasing documents did not seem to follow a fixed formula; see Donker van Heel, "Kushite Abnormal," 96.
[146] e.g. P. Louvre E7844, Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 18; P. Louvre 7833A, Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 51.
[147] Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 29.
[148] Manning, *Land and Power*, 199; this is not the only difference between the relatively terse Saite land leases and their Ptolemaic counterparts, though it is likely that the conditions stipulated in the Ptolemaic land leases were implied in earlier contracts, see Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 3.
[149] Porten and Szubin, "Aramaic Joint Venture."

which led Porten and Szubin to classify this document as a "joint venture" finds a parallel in Demotic:

TADB1.1	*ṭbʾ wlḥyʾ nplg* The good and the bad we shall divide.
P. Louvre E7836[150]	*ỉ̈r ḫw gwy ḫpr iwṯ.n s 2* Gain (and) loss is to be divided between us, 2 persons.

In Demotic, this phrase occurs both in documents in which the parties split the produce equally (P. Louvre E7836) and in which the investor takes only ⅓ as his share (with the remaining ⅔ taken as payment for his oxen; P. Louvre E7833). Though not as neat a parallel, it is interesting that TADB3.1 stipulates that the agreement does *not* include an animal for ploughing,[151] suggesting that such a lease could potentially include an animal, as seen in some Demotic land leases.

§4.1.2 Animal Lease

[150] This phrase also appears in P. Louvre E7833; Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 45 and 51, respectively.
[151] l. 13–14: "and you shall carry the [grain] of the threshing-floor with your own donkey (*wts [..]ry ʿdr bḥmr npšk*)".

The most complete record of animal leases dates to earlier than the period under discussion and comes from Deir el-Medina,[152] but nevertheless warrants a mention for both the practice itself and the formulae used. There are thirty-three secure examples of donkey leases, usually in cases of donkeys owned by the workmen of the necropolis and leased to water-carriers and other personnel.[153] The documents are distinguished from sales of donkeys by the use of the phrase "[given] for his/her work (*r bꜣkw.f/s*)" and the designation of the period of hire.[154]

Oxen were occasionally included as part of a land lease.[155] In P. Louvre E7833a and E7833b (both dated to 534 BC),[156] a man named Udjahor leases his land to a man named Petemont. In the first text, the lease includes a yoke of oxen which are intended for use in cultivating the land. In the second text, Petemont is accompanied in his lease by unnamed associates. Included in this lease are six oxen, five of which are to be used by Petemont's associates and one which is included in this particular lease for Petemont himself. A portion of the harvest proceeds are then given back to the lessor in exchange for the usufruct of the animals.

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[152] Janssen, *Donkeys*.

[153] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 130.

[154] Janssen, *Donkeys*, 83–4, 108; the phrase "for his work" is occasionally excluded from documents perceived as animal leases, though Janssen notes that when *bꜣkw.f* is missing, "it is doubtful whether indeed a hire-transaction is noted."

[155] Other than isolated cases, it seems that the normal arrangement was that the lessee supplied everything required for farming the land; customarily also the case in Ptolemaic arrangements. Hughes, *Saite Demotic,* 5, 21.

[156] Hughes, *Saite Demotic,* 68; Cruz-Uribe, "A Transfer," 94–95.

§4.1.3 Days of Water Leases

The Persian-period Manawir ostraca evidence both the sale and the lease of days of water access.[157] The leases are distinguished from the sales in that—as in land leases—the leasee is expected to provide payment in the form of produce grown from the watering after the days of lease (O. Man. 4163, 3973). One of the ostraca (O. Man. 3928) employs the term "lease, loan (*sḥn*)" to refer to the transaction itself.[158]

§4.2 Possible Leases in the Corpus

The corpus of this dissertation includes two documents which are perhaps representative of a leasing relationship. The first, Abnormal Hieratic P. Louvre E3228d, may involve payment for a fixed purpose, which presumably is also limited in time: the burial of the lessor's parents; however, this document can be interpreted otherwise. The second text, P. Vatican 10547, is

[157] On the sale of water access, see **§3.5.**

[158] As land leases; see **§4.1.1.**

less clear in its intention, but seems to be closer to the donkey lease documents from Deir el-Medina than the sales discussed above.

§4.2.1 P. Louvre E3228d

The one document of this dissertation's corpus which may suggest a leasing relationship is the Abnormal Hieratic P. Louvre E3228d, an agreement in which a man and his sister exchange silver for a man 'from the north' called Wedjahor. In this document, dated to 688 BC, Pensemenamun and his sister Tabes are paid 2 deben and 4 kite of silver from the singer of the interior of Amun Diesehebsed in exchange for Wedjahor. The classification of this document as a lease partially hinges on the interpretation of a statement by Pensemenamun and his sister (emphasis is my own):

P. Louvre E3228d	*šp.n n.t pꜣ 2 dbn ḳt 4 ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ ḥry-šfy r-ḏbꜣ.f i.ḳst sṯꜣ-imn-gw ḥnʿ ḥtp-ỉst* We have received from you the 2 deben and 4 kite of silver from the Treasury of Harsaphes on account of him [Wedjahor] for the burial of Setjaamungu and Hetepese.

There are two possible interpretations for this particular line: first, that Wedjahor was exchanged for the purpose of providing silver for the burial of Pensemenamun and Tabes'

parents, i.e., that the 2 deben and 4 kite are intended to pay for the burial; alternatively, as suggested by Donker van Heel,[159] it could be that Wedjahor was transferred for the express purpose of the burial of their parents, i.e., that Wedjahor is meant to labor at the burial, overseen in some way by the Singer of the Interior of Amun. This statement is followed by a standard oath to Amun and pharaoh to protect the terms of the contract, and five witnesses who faithfully copy out the entire document.

A classification as a lease for the purpose of burial raises some questions. If Pensemenamun and Tabes, who belonged to a family of choachytes themselves, owned Wedjahor, why should they have to lease him out to the high-status Singer of the Interior of Amun? In other words, could they not have simply put him to work themselves? It is possible that the Singer of the Interior of Amun was tasked with the burial of Pensenamun and Tabes' parents,[160] and simply required a laborer—a laborer that Pensenamun and Tabes happened to own and were willing to lease out; phrased differently, the relationship between Pensenamun and Tabes may not even have been relevant. Either way, if this is indeed a lease, it does not answer a fundamental question: why bother? This document required Pensenamun and Tabes to swear an oath to

[159] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 108.

[160] Although it would be unclear *why* she specifically is managing this task, regardless of the classification of the text as a lease or a sale; choachytes were responsible for burials, not singers.

protect the title, *and* invest in five individuals who copy out the entire document, for a lease that may only last a few days; this seems like a great deal of labor for a short-term commitment.

However, a classification as a sale for the purpose of paying for the burial is not entirely free of questions, either. If this indeed a straightforward sale, there is no real need to list the purpose for which Wedjahor has been sold. That said, while most Abnormal Hieratic documents do not list the purpose for the sale (or, at least the intent for the silver),[161] it can appear; for example, in P. Rylands 5, the *bꜣk* Payftjawawykhonsu specifies his self-sale is a result of the care he was given by his new owner (lit. "gave rations, *dit ʿḳ*") when he was "about to die (*iw wn-nꜣw iw[.i] mwt*)". P. Louvre E3228d may instead represent a fictive sale, intended perhaps to repay a debt: the children of the deceased may have owed 2 deben and 4 kite to the Singer of the Interior of Amun, and repaid this debt through the "sale". The alternative is also possible, that through a fictive sale, Diesehebsed repaid *her* debt of 2 deben and 4 kite.[162] But, if that is the case, why involve Wedjahor at all?

[161] e.g. P. Vienna 12002; P. Louvre E3168; P. BM. 10800; P. Turin 2118, 2120.
[162] As suggested by Malinine, "Une vente," 43 and 44.

The suggestion that Wedjahor was leased for his labor in the burial—rather than playing a role in a sale or fictive sale—can be supported by P. Louvre E3228c,[163] in which the same man is listed as one of the three "people (*rmṯw*)"[164] of Setjaamungu and his wife Hetepese—Pensemenamun and Tabes' parents, the ones buried in P. Louvre E3228d. There is not much in the document to suggest the relationship between Setjaamungu and Wedjahor, only that the choachyte Petebast has paid some sum to Petekhnum in connection with the burial. It is possible that, like Diesehebsed the Singer of Amun, Petebast simply needed some additional labor. As part of the transaction, he paid for the labor of the three individuals in this document. Rather than forming an additional contract like P. Louvre E3228d, the costs were all rolled in together in this acknowledgement of payment drawn up by Petekhnum. Ultimately, both explanations—that of a lease or a sale, fictive or otherwise—are possible.

§4.2.2 P. Vatican 10547[165]

[163] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 124–130; Menu, "Cessions du services," 78.
[164] Two women appear with Wedjahor. None of these individuals have a patronym, which has led some to suggest this as a marker of low status; though possible, this needs to be investigated further. See Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 128.
[165] Malinine, "Une vente,"; Menu, "Captifs," 75–6.

This fragmentary Abnormal Hieratic document represents a labor agreement in which money is exchanged in order for a "man of the North (*rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty*)" named Bentayit—not called a *bꜣk*—will nevertheless act as one (*ir bꜣk*). There are two possibilities here: first, that "man of the North" is an formal designation for a type of enslaved person, while *bꜣk* is an informal term, with the two existing more or less as synonyms;[166] alternatively, that this text represents a slightly different type of labor agreement, representing one in which someone who is not yet in the state of being a *bꜣk* nevertheless agrees—or is coerced to—act as a *bꜣk*, though we don't have a clear idea of what that would mean. Ultimately, both explanations are equally possible.[167]

In this text, two women (one named and one unnamed) exchange this "man of the north" for one deben of silver. Menu labelled this document as a "cession of service", arguing that "men of the north" were loaned out for specific purposes[168] (e.g. the lease of one in P. Louvre E3228d,

[166] Vleeming, "A Sale," 14, fn. 45.

[167] It could be argued that the usage of the term *bꜣk* is an encroachment of Demotic terminology, but 726 BC would be early for this kind of intrusion.

[168] Menu, "Cessions du services," 74–6. It is important to note that Menu's identification of this document (as well as many others) as "cessions of service" stems from her belief that there can be no private property in Egypt (Menu and Harari, "La notion," 125–154) and therefore all sales are actually just transfers of usufruct, with the king/temples remaining the singular 'true' owners of property. This definition is difficult to defend—it would mean, for instance, that there is equally no private property in the United States because the government can exercise eminent domain (an example I owe to B. Muhs, pers. comm., 1 November 2021).

§4.2.1). However, the usage of the same term in both a sale and a lease document is not a convincing argument that a sale of such a person could not exist. For instance, cattle are both sold and leased. The document is fragmentary, but large portions can be reconstructed from the witness statements (which restate the terms of the contract).

An identification of the nature of this document on the basis of the terminology used (i.e. "man of the North" vs. *bꜣk*) presents some difficulty. In Abnormal Hieratic documentation, this is the only instance of the term *bꜣk*—all others refer to a "Man of North (*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥ*)" or a "Gazan of the North (*ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥtt*)", whereas *bꜣk* was a mainstay of Demotic documents. The only 'fact', as it were, is that money is indisputably exchanged: one silver deben for the man Bentayt to "be as a *bꜣk* (*ỉr bꜣk*)" in the household of Djedbastiufankh. The use of *ỉr bꜣk* here is reminiscent of other self-sales, like P. Rylands 6 and Louvre E706, as well as the parallel *ỉr šr* ("to be a son") of the adoption contract P. Louvre E7832 (**§3.6.1**).

§4.2.3 TADD7.9[169]

[169] Also in **Chapter 2, §3.1.1.2.**

There is only one Aramaic letter which could potentially record a leasing arrangement, but its unusual terms for laborers (including two *hapax legomena*), the unclear referents of pronouns, and the fact that this text references an otherwise-unattested practice make it difficult to interpret. A reading of this text as a lease hinges upon the translation of an unknown word, *ḥntʾ,* which could be translated as "gift",[170] but may represent a female laborer. The first three lines of the letter read:

TADD7.9 *kʿnt ḥzw ḥntʾ zy yhb ly ʾwryh l-nskʾ hbyh l-gmryh br ʾḥyw w-yʿrkh mn škrʾ w-blwh l-ʾwryʾ*
Now, regard the *ḥntʾ* which Uriah gave me for the weaving. Bring her/it to Gemaryah son of Ahio and let him determine the profit, and bring it[the profit]/her [the *ḥntʾ*] to Uriah.

If *ḥntʾ* represents a gift in the form of an enslaved weaver, then this text may represent a leasing arrangement, with events reconstructed as follows: (1) Uriah gives the writer of the letter the *ḥntʾ* (woman); (2) the *ḥntʾ* (woman) is brought to Gemaryah son of Ahio; (3) Gemaryah son of Ahio determines the profits from the weaving; and (4) these profits/the *ḥntʾ* are given to Uriah, who owns the *ḥntʾ* (weaver). The last line is also not free of complications; both "profit

[170] As Porten and Yardeni, *TADD*, 162, on the assumption that it derives from the base lemma "*ḥn* (mercy, favor, supplication)". The term shows up two more times in equally uncertain circumstances (TADD7.40; TADD7.36). Porten and Yardeni take the term to mean an inanimate gift, translating "*hbyh*" as "give it" rather than "give her".

(*skrʾ*)" and "*ḥntʾ*" are feminine, meaning that the suffix pronoun of "*blwh* (bring her/it)" could refer to either the profit or the woman; either way, one will return to Uriah.

If the *ḥntʾ* is an inanimate gift, this letter does not record a leasing arrangement but rather a simple process of delivering an object, with events reconstructed as follows: (1) Uriah gives the writer of the letter the *ḥntʾ* (object); (2) the *ḥntʾ* (object) is brought to Gemaryah son of Ahio; Gemaryah son of Ahio determines the profits from the weaving; and (4) these profits or the object itself are given back to Uriah.

Of these two possibilities, I suggest that the first is more plausible; if Uriah, the owner of the *ḥntʾ*, profits from this arrangement, it stands to reason that the *ḥntʾ* is important to the process of weaving. Although this is possible for an object that is somehow crucial to the process of weaving, if the *ḥntʾ* was an object, there would be no need to bring it to a third party (namely, Gemaryah son of Ahio) to determine profit; this action makes more sense if the *ḥntʾ* is a woman.[171]

§4.3 99-Year Lease vs. *šʿ ḏt*

[171] Porten and Yardeni, *TADD*, 162 circumvent this issue by translating *škrʾ* as "beer".

At this juncture, it becomes important to compare the Demotic sales and leases which are ostensibly for 99 years (and yet seem to represent a title with no end) with the documents from this corpus which are ostensibly "forever (*šꜥ ḏt*)" and yet are renewed after a few years. Both expressions of time appear in varied contexts, including cattle sales,[172] land leases,[173] adoption contracts,[174] sales[175] and self-sales[176] into enslavement, self-dedications to a deity,[177] conflict settlements,[178] requests for blessings from a deity,[179] choachyte appointments,[180] and sale of water days (i.e. access to water sources for a certain period of time).[181]

The idea of a 99-year lease is well-known in legal scholarship: the 99-year lease was an important aspect of feudal British law[182] and is still in current use, famously in the case of the lease of Hong Kong from China to Britain which ended in the reversion of the territories to

[172] P. Rylands 8, P. Louvre E9292; P. Mich. 3525A, B, and C.
[173] P. Warsaw 148.288.
[174] P. Louvre E7832.
[175] P. Inv. Sorb. 1276; P. Turin 2122; P. Bibl. Nat. 223; P. Louvre E3228e.
[176] P. Rylands 3, 4, 5, and 6; Louvre E706.
[177] Turin 3180; P. BM. EA. 10622; P. Mich. Inv. 3603; P. BM. EA 10624.
[178] P. Louvre E7848.
[179] P. Louvre E7840.
[180] P. BM. EA 10388 ; P. BM. EA 10240 ; P. Turin 2132 ; P. Berlin 3139; P. Berlin 3106; P. Turin 2130.
[181] O. Manawir 3974.
[182] Wilkie, "Essential," 3–4.

China in 1997.[183] Modern 99-year leases, despite lasting longer than the average lifetime, are understood to be *actually* temporally bound, ending when the term of 99 years was up. In contrast, the 99-year leases of this period seem to represent interminable title; in other words, 99 years is so long to as be practically equivalent with the concept of 'forever'.

Alternatively, some documents state that they are "forever (*šꜥ ḏt*)" and yet are not. For example, the Rylands group of papyri[184] include P. Rylands 7 (563 BC) which evidences a renewal of the contractual relationship between the *bꜣk* Payftjawawykhonsu and his owner, Udjasematawy. Four of the five Rylands papyri appear to show a self-sale and re-self-sale of the same individual, Payftjawawykhonsu. In all of these documents, Payftjawawykhonsu declares himself to be the *bꜣk* of his new owner "forever (*šꜥ ḏt*)". However, the labor contract is renewed after only five years—clearly, the original self-sale was not forever, but only until a new contract was drawn up.

In some contexts, the nature of the contract itself implies temporal limitation, like in the sale of usufruct of one day of water lease in one of the ostraca from Manawir (O. Manawir 3974, see

[183] Overholt, "Hong Kong," 471–484.
[184] See also above, **§3.7.1.7** and **Chapter 2, §2.1.1.3**.

§**3.1.5**). The nature of a sale of days of water usage means that the usufruct itself is limited in time; indeed, this particular sale is limited to a single day of water usage. Yet, the text of the lease includes *š‹ ḏt*:

O. Manawir 3974, l. 1v — *mtw.k s nꜣy.k [...] n-ṯꜣy pꜣ hrw sḫ (r-)ḥry š‹ ḏt*
[The water days] are yours [...] from the day written above, until forever.

By the Ptolemaic period, the limitation to 99 years in land leases and self-dedications had become relatively frequent. A well-known example is the second century BC P. Warsaw 148.288, a priest and his younger brother lease (*sḥn*) a plot of land for 99 years. This is often interpreted as "in effect, a permanent transfer",[185] or perhaps indicative of a business relationship in which the temple estate wanted to maintain an interest in the land.[186] The latter is possible but less likely, since there are other land leases also for 99 years that do not seem to involve the temple. [187]

[185] Manning, *Land and Power*, 189.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Taubenschlag, *The Law*, 268. Two more 99-year leases have been uncovered at Oxyrhynchus, unpublished as of the time of writing, but referenced in Lippert (2016): .g., pTebt.Suppl. 0,568 and pTebt.Frag. 12,000b+12,028

In Ptolemaic self-dedications,[188] 99 years (along with its precise equivalent in months) appears as the period of time for which the contractor will serve as the *bꜣk* of the god to whom they have dedicated themselves. These terms were also very likely interchangeable, as in Ptolemaic P. BM 10240,[189] a choachyte contract which states that the choachyte is to be appointed to that tomb for ninety-nine years (*rnpt 99*)—or, in other words—forever (*šꜥ ḏt*). In both the self-dedications and the choachyte contract, this clause is taken to indicate perpetuity.[190] For example, the self-dedications include any future children of the persons promised.[191] It is possible that the children (and presumably grandchildren) were released from contractual obligations 99 years after the writing of the initial contract, but we have no way of knowing if this was indeed the case; everyone involved in the contract would be long-dead.

I suggest that both expressions—*šꜥ ḏt* and 99 years—did not refer to *actual* time or the object of the sale, and instead referred to the perpetuity and validity of the sale itself. In essence, none of these agreements were intended to last 'forever', or even ninety-nine years; the intent was that the agreement was valid until an essential characteristic of the contract was altered,

[188] Thompson, "Two Demotic," 68–78.
[189] Reich, *Papyri Juristischen*, 56–59.
[190] Thompson, "Two Demotic," 70; Ryholt, "Two Self-Dedications," 217 ; Manning, *Land and Power*, 189 n. 48.
[191] E.g. P. Cairo CG 50018.

through the writing of another contract (e.g. manumission of a slave, sale of choachyte duties) or otherwise (e.g. death of cow). In other words—'forever' meant 'until something changes'. This concept could be understood on the basis of a modern analogy: the life sentence (at least in the American legal system). In the United States, the vast majority of life sentences are considered "indeterminate life sentences", which offer a possibility of parole after a certain term served or at the decision of a judge.[192] Ostensibly, these sentences are 'forever', but in effect they are only until something changes.

§4.4 Conclusions

The classification of the ten aforementioned documents in this corpus as "sales" ultimately comes down to a colloquial expression: if it looks like a duck, swims like a duck, and quacks like a duck, then it probably *is* a duck. These texts exhibit most—if not all—of the clauses expected from sales of other property such as cattle, houses, tombs, land, and even more ephemeral concepts like days of water usage. The practice of selling laborers may have coexisted with the practice of leasing them, but the evidence is not conclusive.

[192] For instance, in the event that a convicted prisoner has been diagnosed with a terminal illness; Black, *Law Dictionary*, 1055.

Menu's argument that these documents all represent some kind of leasing and/or debt arrangement originates from an *a priori* assumption that private slavery did not exist as a practice[193] and therefore, these could not possibly be reflective of evidence of slave sales or anything similar.[194] Following this conclusion, she attempts to slot these documents into other categories instead into which they do not fit: debt bondage, which likely did not exist in Egypt of this period;[195] cessions of service in which the money represents a "transfer tax", for which there is no evidence;[196] or hiring of services, which generally took the form of piecemeal hiring, rarely warranting written documentation with as many as twenty-one witnesses.[197]

The confusion surrounding the classification of these documents should instead focus on separate issue: these sales—though they are most certainly sales—were indefinite in nature, relying on the enslaved person maintaining their enslaved status. That is to say, unlike an ox or a field, a *bꜣk* or *ʿbd* could lose their status as *bꜣk* through manumission or adoption,[198]

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[193] Menu, "L'esclavage," 77–79.
[194] Menu, "Captifs," 356–358.
[195] See **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.**
[196] Menu, "Cessions du services," 73.
[197] As in the hired services of the funerary workers of Petebast, who only appear in itemized lists indicating that they had indeed been paid; cf. **Chapter 4, §5.1.1.** The 21 witnesses is in reference to the Demotic self-sale contract P. Rylands 5.
[198] On methods of exiting enslavement, see **Chapter 5, §4.3.**

whereas an ox could never stop being an ox. Still, this does not make the sale any less valid. In other words, a *bꜣk* is sold in exchange for money, and fully belongs to their new owner, so long as they remain a *bꜣk*. The indefinite nature of the sale, does not, however, negate that the documents in this corpus are fully and functionally sales of a person.

§5. Ownership and Possession

In the first two sections of this chapter, I argued that *rmṯw n ʿ-mḥ*, *bꜣkw, ᶜbdn*, and *ᵓmwt* could be sold in exchange for money, and perhaps also leased. This implies that these individuals were subject to forms of transferring possession: permanent (sales, gifts, exchanges, and donations) and temporary (leases). This, in turn, indicates that they were indeed owned, with all the responsibilities and obligations assumed therein, at which we can only make an educated guess; if ownership was strictly precisely defined in Egypt, such a definition has not been preserved in writing, and therefore any investigation into ownership is reliant on interpretation of the legal terminology.

This subsection examines the limits of possible rights which an owner would have over a person that s/he owned; or, more accurately, the lack of limits. Any delineation of the

limitations on what an owner could do to his/her property is undefined by the written evidence. This is not to say that there were no limits, only that they were either commonly accepted and unwritten, or not ordained nor enforced by the state. It appears that the state only became involved when it came to property dispute resolution—i.e., disputes ultimately relating to ownership. Rather than focusing on the negative evidence of the limitations of property rights, this subsection will treat *bꜣkw, ʿbdn*, and *ʾmwt* as any other property and examine what an owner *could* do rather than what they *could not* do, because while there is some evidence of the former, there is simply no written record of the latter.

Perhaps more importantly, this subsection explores the implications of the concept of people as owned property (see below, **§5.3**). The status of these people as "owned" afforded them protection as both an owned investment (i.e., it is in the best interest of the owner to maintain his investment, whether this comes in the form of repairing a house, ploughing a field, or keeping a human being alive) and as part of a household, in which dependents were afforded a degree of protection.[199]

[199] For further discussion on protection as part of a household and protection as a motivating factor, see **Chapter 5, §4.3.1**; **Chapter 6, §1.**

§5.1 Defining Ownership and Possession

There is a distinction to be made between "possession" and "ownership" in modern scholarship. "Possession" is legally defined as "the detention and control, or the manual or ideal custody, of anything which may be the subject of property, for one's uses and enjoyment, either as owner or as the proprietor of a qualified right in it".[200] On the other hand, "ownership" is defined as the "collection of rights to use and enjoy property, including the right to transmit to others', and 'the complete dominion, title or proprietary right in a thing or claim".[201]

The differentiation between ownership and possession was a dominant characteristic of both Ptolemaic and Roman law, but in the period under discussion there does not appear to be a formalized distinction.[202] This section will examine the *ownership* of these individuals, rather than their possession; in other words, the "bundle of rights and privileges" used to refer to property ownership and usufruct by Manning and Hohfeld.[203] It is also important to note that

[200] Black, *Law Dictionary*, 1163.
[201] Ibid., 1106.
[202] Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 86; Manning, *Hauswaldt*, 20.
[203] Manning, *Land and Power*, 195; Hohfeld, *Fundamental Legal Concepts.*

there does not appear to have been any kind of universal ownership; rather, ownership was relative between the buyer and the seller.[204] This is best summarized by Botta:

> "The affirmation that something 'is yours' is more of a strong affirmation of your right to the property in opposition to my rights to it than a universal right of ownership. When I say 'it is yours' it implies that it is not mine anymore, but I am transferring to you 'my' ownership rights, namely not a universal right to the property, but the previous rights to it that I held. Thus, the investiture clause is not a transfer of universal rights of ownership but a transfer of the alienor's rights. Therefore, a transfer of title from the alienor to the alienee should be expressed in the transfer clause, i.e. 'it is yours in respect to me'."[205]

Our clearest approach to determining the rights over these purchased persons is to first examine the rights over other kinds of property sold and leased, especially land. Unfortunately, there is little in the way of legal terminology regarding rights in land, or indeed any other type of property. In Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic, property was simply considered (literally) "under (*ḫr*)" someone, and one could "exercise control (*ỉr sḫy*)" over property they owned.[206] In Aramaic, the concept of control is an important element of

[204] See also Manning, *Land and Power*, 195.
[205] Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 89.
[206] Manning, "Instruments of Transfer," 20–21.

property conveyances,[207] and the "control (*šlyṭ*)" clause[208] is attested in sales from Elephantine,[209] Samaria,[210] and Palmyra.[211]

§5.2 "Exercising Control" over Property

The question remains as to what exactly "exercising control (*ỉr sḫy*)" means over one's property. Property in the Egyptian textual record—whether cattle, land, or indeed, people—could be sold, gifted, exchanged, donated, leased, and inherited.[212] This chapter examined only sales and exchanges of persons, but *bꜣkw* could certainly be inherited, in addition to sold and/or leased (examined in depth in **Chapter 2**, **§2.1.2.1**). These inheritances could also be transferred to a third party or divided among siblings.

Much like rights to property in Egyptian, rights to property in Aramaic essentially come down to control over the property itself. It has been suggested that this control implies "less than

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[207] Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 82–91.
[208] On the origins of this clause, see Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 81 n. 3.
[209] TADB2.4: 6, 9; TADB4.4: 19; B3.1: 8; B3.13: 10
[210] Gropp, "Samaria Papyri," 32.
[211] Hillers and Cussini, *Palmyrene*, 415.
[212] The right to pass the property unto children and sell it as desired was embedded in the proprietary rights; Manning, "Instruments of Transfer," 15.

full ownership"[213] because it only allows one to "possess" a piece of property (i.e., to use it) rather than "own" a piece of property with full proprietary rights, like passing the property on through inheritance. But this distinction does not apply to slaves, over whom full proprietary rights were exercised, including inheritance; in addition, it cannot be satisfactorily proven that control over property is indeed indicative of "less than" full ownership.[214]

Property in Aramaic law—exactly like in the Egyptian documentation—could be sold, gifted, exchanged, donated, leased and inherited.[215] The control that owners have over their human property in particular seems to also extend to any property that the enslaved individuals may have owned or had in their own control, including children. P. Bibl. Nat. 223 (P. Tsenhor 8), which allows the *bꜣk* to speak for himself, states that his new owner owns not only him, but also "my children and all that belongs to us and what we will still acquire (*nꜣy[.i] ḫrdṯw ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw.n ḥnʿ nꜣ nty iw.n r dit ḫpr.w*)". Louvre E706, a self-sale contract, further specifies what these belongings might be:

Louvre E706 *ḥḏ nb prt nb nkt nb n pꜣ tꜣ ḥnʿ nꜣy.i ḫrdw nty-iw.i r ms.w ḥnʿ nty-nb nty ink s ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-iw.i r dit ḫpr.w ḥnʿ nꜣ ḥbs nty ḥr-ꜣtṯ.i*

[213] Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 86; Szubin and Porten, "The Status," 58–59.
[214] I am unconvinced by Botta's argument, which relies on the fact that in TADB3.3, the *ʾmh* Tamet's property is considered to be "under the control (*šlyṭ*)" of Meshullam rather than inherited by him in the event of her death; the same *šlyṭ* clause is used for sources like the Samaria slave-sale papyri that indicate full proprietary rights. See Gropp, "Origin and Development," 32.
[215] Muffs, *Studies,* 55–56; Yaron, "Aramaic Deeds."

> any silver, any corn, any kind of property in the land, together with my children which I will bear, and everything that belongs to me, and those things which I will gain, and the clothing which is on my back.

The same appears to be true in the fragmentary Aramaic sales as well. Segal 8 includes the tantalizing ("with all their [...] *lkw hmw ʿm [...]w*"), which likely refers to children rather than property in light of what remains in Segal 50: an inclusion of "[all the children] she will bear by him (*tld mnh*)".

Although the evidence is limited, it seems that owners and lessees of property were responsible for its upkeep. This is especially relevant in the case of cattle. In the case of a lease, it is clear that a lessee would be responsible for the upkeep of a cow while it is leased: P. Berlin 3110, the aftermath of a failed lease, records that person who was meant to protect the cow ("cause her to be safe, *tỉ wḏ̱ʒ.s*") slaughters her instead,[216] with the result that the man tasked with the protection of the cow must produce a suitable replacement or her value in cash. In the case of an owned cow, it is unwritten—but stands to reason—that one would want to protect an investment by keeping their cow alive rather than letting it starve to death.

§5.3 Implications

[216] Cruz-Uribe, Saite and Persian," 25–30.

Not yet discussed in this subsection is the idea that ownership did not necessarily only favor one side of the arrangement. In their status as an owned investment, these individuals were warranted a certain level of protection: food for themselves and their children,[217] dowries paid.[218] This protection was not *only* as an owned investment; the relationship between an elite superior and their subordinate came with a social obligation on both ends, discussed in **Chapter 5 (§4.3.1)**. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, this level of protection—as an owned investment and a subordinate—provides an explanation for what can be considered self-sale; for example, texts such as Louvre E706, in which the seller and the object of the sale are one and the same.[219]

Texts such as Louvre E706 and the Rylands group of papyri were usually taken to reflect self-sale as a result of indebtedness,[220] leading to scholarly discussions regarding the regarding the Greek accounts which record that the pharaoh Bocchoris (24th Dynasty, c. 720 BC) outlawed the practice of debt slavery.[221] Whether or not Bocchoris actually outlawed debt slavery, it seems

[217] As in the food provided for Payftjawawykhonsu in P. Rylands 7.
[218] E.g., Tamet's dowry was paid for by her owner Meshullam; TADB3.3.
[219] See **Chapter 2**, **§2.1.1.3**.
[220] Griffith, *A Catalogue*, 51; Bakir, *Slavery*, 74–76, Markiewicz, "Security," 144; Markiewicz, "Bocchoris," 322.
[221] Markiewicz, "Bocchoris," 309–330.

that these self-sales—especially Louvre E706—did not actually result from debt.[222] However, more important is that through self-sale, a person such as the woman Djedtaweryiwsankh of Louvre E706 was afforded protection: like the *bꜣk* of P. Rylands 7, she could expect rations to keep her alive and perhaps also a roof over her head; like the *ꜥmh* of TADB3.3, she could expect her dowry to be paid. These protections, too, were afforded to her children following her self-sale.

The later Ptolemaic self-dedications into temple service[223] reflect a similar practice of self-sale (employing the term *bꜣk*) for protection, though with the addition of a payment by the supplicant of a monthly fee.[224] In exchange, the supplicant is provided with protection against a list of supernatural evils: dead men, spirits, drowned men, and demons.[225] In contrast, Louvre E706 does not explicitly list the dangers from which the *bꜣkt* will now be protected; nevertheless, due to her new status as owned property, she is now under the protection of the owner; and notably, unlike her Ptolemaic self-sale counterparts, Djedtaweryiwsankh does not pay a monthly fee for that protection.

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[222] For further discussion, see **Chapter 5, §4.1**.
[223] Thompson, "Two Demotic,"; Ryholt "Two Self-Dedications"; also briefly above, **§4.3**.
[224] The thirty-seven Ptolemaic texts that document the practice of self-dedications warrant a separate work. Thompson's assertion that it is "difficult to avoid the conclusion that a system of temple prostitution existed at the Sobek temple" is questionable and should be critically examined.
[225] Thompson, "Two Demotic," 76–78.

§6. Conclusions

This chapter aimed to more clearly define the nature of documents in the corpus that have been variously labelled "leases" and "sales" through comparison with sales and leases of different types of property. Moreover, this chapter examined the notion of ownership over property to determine whether the individuals sold and leased were indeed subject to the same obligations expected of an owner.

Neither one of the Aramaic texts appeared to reflect the lease of labor, but rather a sale of persons. Of the Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic texts, some seemed to be representative of sales of individuals (Abnormal Hieratic P. Leiden F1942/5.15, P. Louvre E3228e; Demotic Louvre E706, P. Tsenhor 7, P. Tsenhor 8) whereas others were more ambiguous in their intent (Abnormal Hieratic P. Louvre E3228d and P. Vatican 10547). Ancillary documents regarding previous title transfers (P. Louvre E3228f, P. Louvre E3228c) seem to support the interpretation of these contracts as sales, indicating that the individuals referenced were subjected to the transfer of "their" title. In Demotic documents, this transfer of title may have included some element of their own consent, as evidenced in P. Tsenhor 7 and the self-sale Louvre E706.

The difference between these individuals as property and other kinds of property come down to the indefinite nature of the sale (see above, **§4.4**) and the sociological relationship between these individuals and their owners. Crucial to this study is the distinction that although these people were owned—and indeed, sold, gifted, and inherited as property—this does not mean that they inhabited the same sociological sphere[226] as cattle. There was some awareness that the enslaved person was party to their transaction, as seen by the statements in P. Tsenhor 7 and Louvre E706.

To return to the issue raised above—the nature of the relationship between owner and owned—it seems to be the case that the *rmṯw/ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥ*, *bꜣkw*, *ʿbdn*, and *ꜣmwt* who were sold in the corpus of this dissertation were treated like property in their conveyance. In the context of modern slavery studies, this does suggest that they can be classified as "slaves" in modern taxonomy following the "property definition". More importantly, perhaps, it indicates that they were these persons were treated like property not just in their conveyance, but also in the rights exercised over them and the obligations of the property owner to their property: as

[226] On the sociological sphere and lived experience of slaves, see **Chapter 5, §2.3.1, §3**, and **§4.3.**

an investment, they were fed and housed, and therefore protected from debt and poverty at the most basic level.[227]

[227] On the obligation to protect extending beyond property ownership and into subordinate-superior relationships of patronage and protection, see **Chapter 5, §4.3.1.**

CHAPTER 4: PRICING AND LABOR

§1. Introduction

This chapter examines the prices and wages evident in Late Period documentation. In this chapter, 'prices'[1] refers to anything given a value in silver: items exchanged for a certain value of silver (land, cattle, house); the monetary values involved in marriage; items valued in silver but not necessarily exchanged (dowry lists, luxury items); and monetary penalties. 'Wages' refers to methods of compensation for (slave and hired) labor, including silver, rations, and the valuation of those rations in silver. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: first, to suggest a relative value of enslaved persons on the basis of pricing of other items (in other words, how "expensive" or "cheap" a slave is in comparison with a cow); second, to discuss the reasoning behind employing slave labor as opposed to hired labor in view of factors such as the commodification of labor, the monetary value of wages for hired labor evident in the sources, and the question of the maintenance of an enslaved person.

[1] Strictly speaking, the pricing data in this chapter is more accurately the expression of the purchasing power of silver, or its "exchange value" (see van der Spek, "Growing Silver" for this phenomenon in Babylonia); but for the sake of simplicity, it will be translated as "price" throughout. On 'price' vs. 'exchange value', see also Hayden, "Price Formation," 26–49.

The first section of this chapter (**§2**) is dedicated to a discussion of labor as a commodity which can be bought or sold and the commodification of labor (**§2.1**), as well as the various considerations which need to be taken into account when comparing labor as its own entity (**§2.2**): skilled vs. unskilled, slave vs. free, long-term vs. short-term, constantly available vs. *ad hoc*. The second section of this chapter (**§3**) focuses on the system of exchanges in practice during the Saite and Persian Periods (**§3.1, §3.2**) and the role of markets (**§3.3**), especially in light of labor demand and supply in an agricultural economy. This chapter then explores pricing data of the Egyptian and Aramaic textual tradition (**§4**). As noted above, this pricing data includes: anything exchanged for silver (cattle, **§4.2**, land, **§4.3**, houses, **§4.4**); costs involved in a marriage (**§4.5**); items priced in silver but not necessarily exchanged (**§4.6**); and monetary penalties (**§4.7**). Lastly, this chapter then explores the sources for pricing of labor (**§5**): the compensation for hired labor in silver and rations (**§5.1**); the possibilities for imported (**§5.2**) and leased labor (**§5.3**); and the price of purchasing enslaved laborers (**§5.4**). This final section on the pricing of slave laborers considers pricing data from earlier and later periods (**§5.4.1, §5.4.3**) and other geographical regions (**§5.4.5**), the fluctuating supply of slave labor (**§5.4.4**) and the considerations regarding the maintenance (i.e., food and housing) of slave labor (**§5.4.6**).

The paucity of sources—economic and otherwise— from this period can hardly be overlooked. This scarcity can be approached in one of two ways: (1) a cautious approach and an inclusion of a caveat that any comparative economic work of this period is necessarily unreliable or (2) an optimistic rendering of the socio-economic structure of the period comprised of educated guesses, based upon the previous chapters in this dissertation as well as the evidence from earlier and later periods. I believe in the latter approach, but the former holds sway in that ultimately, there is simply not enough data to fully determine the value of slave labor vs. hired or even commodity prices vs. cost of living. Nevertheless, even the meagre data available can lend itself to some conclusions.

A comparison of pricing of certain items and the prices of enslaved persons suggests that although prices of slaves were relatively low in Egypt (in contrast to other regions in the Mediterranean), the average price of an enslaved person would still buy a large quantity of other property for which there is an attested monetary value, like houses or cattle. This expense, along with the potential costs of maintaining an enslaved person, makes hired labor seem more attractive. I argue that the draw to use enslaved persons as laborers was based not on pricing, but rather on control, dependability, and their role as value-holding commercial devices.

§2. Labor and Labor-as-Commodity

An attempt to define labor in Egypt in any period—including the Late Period under discussion—will invariably lead to the same methodological issue faced in **Chapter 2**; namely, the inability of the modern historian to precisely define Egyptian concepts of labor.[2] The two terms used most often to refer to labor, sometimes in juxtaposition,[3] in this period and in earlier Egyptian history, are *kꜣt* and *bꜣk*.[4] The association of the latter with the word for "slave" or "servant" (see **Chapter 2**) has led to some scholars to suggest that *bꜣk* as a verb might denote some degree of involuntary labor, whereas *kꜣt* applies to work of a more voluntary nature,[5] though this may not necessarily be the case.[6] Much like *bꜣk* the noun, it appears that both terms could accommodate a wide semantic range and can therefore be translated variously according to context.

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[2] As concisely noted by Goelet, "Problems," 524: "the study of labor in ancient Egypt often leads into a definitional and lexicographical morass."

[3] E.g. P. Sallier I 6,10-6.11: "Be a scribe. It saves you from toil (*kꜣt*) and protects you from all manner of work (*bꜣk*)." As noted by Eyre, *Use of Documents*, 9 and Goelet, "Problems," 529. Translation from Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 317.

[4] These are not the only words used to refer to labor, but only the most common; they also don't have an element of coercion like the words for labor in the Old Kingdom exemption decrees (e.g. *wpt*). See Goedicke, *Königliche*, 60, 119–120, 47, 61, 132, and 167–168; Eyre, "Village Economy," 52–53.

[5] Kóthay, "La notion," 155–165, especially 156–7; a different analysis suggested by Eyre, *Use of Documents*, 208, that *kꜣt* is work "in the sense of physical labor" as against *bꜣk* "in the sense of production".

[6] see Goelet, "Problems," 528–529 for a thoughtful breakdown which takes Janssen ("*Bꜣkw*") into consideration.

Regardless of the distinction between *kꜣt* and *bꜣk*, the evidence suggests that the Egyptians did distinguish between labor, the product of that labor, and labor added to a commodity.[7] This means that they understood labor as a separate concept, distinct from the product it created, which could be bought and sold. In theory, this means that the labor could be bought and sold, which was the case in the broader Aramaic-speaking world.[8] Although we do not have conclusive evidence that labor itself was bought and sold in the Late Period Egyptian legal tradition (e.g., something akin to the 'days of service' bought and sold at Deir el-Medina),[9] we could suggest that the understanding of labor as a separate concept, and the evidence of buying and selling from earlier periods and other geographic regions, implies that this was the case.

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[7] On the determination of value through added labor and the criticism of this theory, see Hayden, "Price Formation," 19–22. Menu, "Les échanges," 194; though she employs this definition of labor-as-commodity to support her argument that all documents which appear to be slave sales are instead sales of labor, since unpaid labor was provided by the institutional practice of *corvée*; ibid., 206.

[8] Botta, *Aramaic and Egyptian*, 34; see also Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*, 552: "In the Aramaean mentality, a man's labour is distinct from his person: it is a saleable and marketable commodity that can be sold to others without this implying a change in his social condition or personal subjection to an employer".

[9] See **Chapter 4, §4** and below, **§5.3.**

However, it is important to note that the buying, selling, and trading of labor does not mean that labor *itself* is a commodity, here defined as an item or concept with use value[10] that also has exchange value.[11] Generally speaking, commodities are expected to be uniform,[12] but this uniformity is on a sliding scale, meaning that while all oranges are commodities, not all oranges would fetch the exact same price; for this reason, this chapter can compare varying types of house or land as commodities, despite differences in their qualities which affected pricing. In the same way, one could theoretically approach labor as a commodity, considering various types of labor—long-term vs. short-term, skilled vs. unskilled, and free vs. enslaved—as qualifiers, no different than sizes of houses or ages of cattle. However, the labor of an enslaved person cannot be separated from the person, and so this is not an issue of qualification of the labor itself as much as it is an issue of comparing two different commodities: hired labor and slave persons, the latter of which have the value of labor embedded within them.

§2.1 Commodification of Labor

[10] For a concise summary, including the Aristotelian idea of use value, Hayden, "Price Formation," 10–13.
[11] Kopytoff, "Cultural Biography," 64; *cf.* Hayden, "Price Formation," 6, who defined a commodity as an "undifferentiated good", i.e., a thing whose qualities affect the price consumers are willing to pay for it. Redistributive economies ironically provide some of the best examples of commodification, since salaries of equal units of grain and cloth are considered functionally identical; on exchange value see van den Spek, "Growing Silver," and Hayden "Price Formation," 26–49.
[12] Kopytoff, "Cultural Biography," 69.

The idea of commodification of labor is a modern concept.[13] Commodification transforms a non-economic entity to the "ultimate power of the market";[14] when applied to labor, this essentially means that human work can be approached uniformly; e.g., in this configuration, one hour of slave labor would be equal to one hour of hired labor, and the differences between them are just a matter of qualification. However, the uniformity suggested by such a comparison cannot exist, largely because the labor of the slave is not actually the commodity sold and traded, but rather the enslaved person with embedded labor value. In addition, such a comparison between slave labor and hired labor does not factor in the agency that is inherent to the latter and lacking in the former.

The agency of free labor plays into its supply and demand, and therefore its value. A free laborer is not entirely reliable: s/he can strike,[15] petition for higher wages, take the day off, take a second job, or threaten his/her first employer with a more attractive offer. For example, the workmen at Deir el-Medina were provided with housing, wages, and rations—and yet still

[13] First introduced by Marx and Engels as an important element of a capitalist society; for further explorations of the concept including critique of the Marxist idea, see Prodnik, "A Note," 274–277.
[14] Prodnik, "A Note," 274.
[15] Famously at Deir el-Medina, as recorded in the Turin Strike Papyrus (P. Turin 1880); Edgerton, "The Strikes," 137–145; Frandsen, "Editing," 166–199.

engaged in side projects for extra income at the expense of their work,[16] or simply didn't show up for work at all,[17] sometimes without providing an excuse.[18] The Ptolemaic state understood the unreliability of the paid labor force, to the point at which valuable commodities under government monopoly required commodity laborers to find guarantors who would be responsible for them (and their absence from work).[19] Compulsory (and enslaved) labor has no such agency; even if it comes at a "lesser cost" than hiring a laborer, the benefit is not in the cost itself but in the degree of control and dependability.[20] This is doubly relevant if enslaved labor is not actually cheaper than hired labor. A higher price for an enslaved person becomes reasonable when factored in that this individual cannot strike or take the day off.

In light of the above note regarding agency, however, it is important to note that this chapter does not set out to compare hired labor vs. slave labor, but employ them for different purposes. Whether or not labor was truly commodified in Egypt is not relevant, because the pricing of hired labor is only employed to suggest quality of life (e.g., in determining how

[16] Davies, *Who's Who*, 95; Cooney, *Cost of Death*, 12–16.
[17] Janssen, "Kha'emotre," 230; Janssen, "Absence," 127–152.
[18] Austin, "Accounting," 79.
[19] I am grateful to Brian Muhs for both of these examples of labor agency, pers. comm. 1 November 2021. On guarantors in monopolized commodities of the Ptolemaic period, see Hayden, "Price Formation," 283 and Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 237–238.
[20] For further discussion, see below, **§5.4.5** and **§6**.

many months of wages it would take to pay off a penalty of contract breach). With regards to slave labor, the pricing comparisons in this chapter are not intended to compare one hour of slave labor vs. one hour of hired labor as commodities, but rather *an enslaved person as a commodity* vs. another commodity to suggest the relative value (e.g., in determining what an individual could purchase with 250 g of silver).

§2.2 Skilled Labor, Labor Supply, and Labor Availability

When examining the value of labor (enslaved or not), it is important to also consider three interrelated factors that contribute to this value: skill level, supply, and availability. Skilled or specialized labor—naturally in shorter supply than unskilled labor—is more frequently employed in long-term contracts, which ensure the availability of that labor at all times. Short-term contracts are more frequently used for unskilled labor since it is easily available, and allow for a greater degree of flexibility for the employer; unskilled laborers are only contracted when they are needed. That said, there is also a consideration of constant availability with regards to long-term contracting of certain forms of unskilled labor; for example, although a domestic laborer is unskilled, the nature of their work means that it is desirable for them to be easily available, favoring long-term contracting for such work.

The use of skilled enslaved labor is rarer than unskilled enslaved labor, likely because skilled slaves were themselves rarer than unskilled; but they did exist, especially in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods,[21] sometimes trained for specific purposes by their owners.[22] The majority of skilled professionals (e.g. scribes) in the Ptolemaic Period were free people with long-term contracts to temples and other institutions,[23] and the majority of skilled laborers (e.g. weavers) were also free; the operators of the Ptolemaic monopolies preferred free skilled laborers guarded by bondsmen[24] over slave laborers.

The evidence for skilled enslaved labor in the Late Period is sparse:[25] in one letter, Arsames calls his Cilician *ʿbdn* "oil-pressers (*ʾšwkn*)",[26] which requires some skill.[27] The enslaved woman of one ostracon[28] may have been a trained weaver. But beyond these two examples, it seems

[21] Zenon, for example, of the 3rd century BC, employed slave labor in his weaving workshops; see Scheuble-Reiter, "Social Identity,"289; Bieżuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage*, 66–68; Loftus, "Textile Factory," 173–186.
[22] For papyrus apprenticeship contracts involving slave children, see Bradley, *Slavery and Society*, 106–119 and Scheuble-Reiter, "Social Identity," 295. Whether this practice was entrepreneurial in nature—i.e., training for the purpose of raising a sale price, as in *Oec*. 7. 41—is unknown. For an earlier example, cf. the *ḥm* taught to write by his owner in P. Kahun 35 = UCL 32210 (Collier and Quirke, *UCL Lahun*, 133).
[23] Muhs, *Receipts*, 220.
[24] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 251.
[25] Further discussion on the type of work that enslaved persons did in **Chapter 5, §4.3.2.**
[26] TADA6.7; See below, **§5.2.**
[27] On the mechanics of oil-pressing, Rowan, "Utility," 110.
[28] TADD7.9; but this is a highly unusual text. For further discussion see **Chapter 3, §4.2.3.**

that most enslaved labor of the Late Period was unskilled (and unspecified) domestic or agricultural work.[29] We also have minimal and inconclusive evidence of the hiring out of enslaved labor,[30] which is in line with the reasoning that skilled or unskilled enslaved people are unlikely to be hired out unless slave labor is particularly abundant or cheap[31] or if their use generated a great deal of profit,[32] neither of which appears to be the case in Late Period Egypt.

The correlation between skill and availability impacts the discussion of wages and enslaved labor in that it implies that the division between free and enslaved labor was less important to the Egyptians than the division between short-term and long-term labor arrangements, with enslavement fitting into the latter category. Long-term labor arrangements[33] exchanged labor for rations, (probably) housing, and, in the case of wage laborers, salaries in silver. Short-term labor arrangements,[34] in contrast, were likely a bonus for skilled laborers who were engaged in long-term labor arrangements elsewhere: for example, a tomb-builder at Deir el-Medina who

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[29] On the skilled laborers of the Third Intermediate Period donation stelae who may have represented some form of serfdom, see **Chapter 6, §2.5.**

[30] On 'leasing', see **Chapter 3, §4.2.1**; on pricing for leasing, see below, **§5.3.**

[31] Likely not the case; see below, **§5.4.**

[32] As in the highly-profitable coffee plantations of the Belgian Congo; see van Melkebeke, "Coerced," 187–207. The assumption that Late Period slavery did not generate enormous profits is based on the reasoning that most slaves were engaged in agricultural labor, which was not a particularly profitable venture but rather a necessary aspect of life.

[33] Like the soldiers at the Syene garrison, **§5.1.2.**

[34] Like the funerary workers from the Archive of Petebast, **§5.1.1.**

receives rations and a stipend as a tomb-builder, but earns additional income from piecemeal sales of craftwork.[35]

In this sense, enslavement was another form of the long-term unskilled labor arrangements evident in Egypt. Like enslavement, these arrangements came with an obligation from the part of the employer/owner to maintain his laborers, though it is unclear to what extent. Also like enslavement, some of these labor arrangements were implied to be permanent and hereditary. The differences between free and enslaved long-term labor arrangements are twofold: first, as noted above, the value of hired labor is the labor itself, rather than the person performing it, whereas the opposite is true for enslaved labor; and second, as a result, this means that enslaved persons can be treated as property in their conveyance.[36]

§3. Prices, Systems of Exchanges, and Markets

In the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms of Egypt, weights of silver, gold, and copper (standardized as *deben* and *kite*) served as standard measures of value of objects in a

[35] Davies, *Who's Who*, 95; Cooney, *Cost of Death*, 12–16.

[36] For discussion and implications, **Chapter 3, §6**; on the "property definition" of enslavement, **Chapter 5, §3.**

transaction. However, they were less frequently used as media of exchange; copper, cloth, grain, and other commodities were involved in the actual transaction, whereas weights of silver and gold were meant only to indicate value.[37] The Saite period witnessed two changes: (1) a shift to weights of silver (rather than copper or other metals);[38] and (2) these silver weights became the standard[39] as both measures of value and the media of exchange.[40] Minted coins were uncommon; although they existed as part of hoards, they were not used as the sole medium of exchange.

The Egyptian and the Aramaic textual traditions each have their own system of measurements—deben and kite in the Egyptian documentation, karsh and shekel in Aramaic documentation—but ultimately these systems are near-identical (1 deben = 10 kite = 10 shekels = 1 karsh; 1 deben = 91 g of silver = 1 karsh),[41] which eases comparison of commodity pricing.

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[37] On the distinction between metals as a measure of value and metals as a media of exchange, see Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 37.

[38] This is in line with the larger trend of "silverization" in the eastern Mediterranean in this time period; see Bresson, "Silverization," 209–248, especially 211–225.

[39] Although, Late Period documentation is skewed towards high-value exchanges, which were more likely to employ silver as their medium of exchange (regardless of the macro moves towards silverization). On silverization in general of the 5th and 6th centuries BC, Bresson, "Silverization," 211–225; on the Late Period bias to high value exchanges in silver, Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 165–166.

[40] This is not to say that commodities were *never* used as a media of exchange; see below, TADB2.7, **§4.2**; see also P. Louvre E7850 in Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic," 222.

[41] See below, **§3.1** and **§3.2**, and also Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 159.

Prices in the subsections on commodity pricing below are given in whatever currency they appear in their text, but also in the equivalent value in grams of silver.[42]

§3.1 Egyptian

The Egyptian deben unit of measurement was in use from the 4th Dynasty (c. 2613–2494 BC) to the Roman period, though it did not always symbolise the same weight value. At the beginning of its usage, the deben weighed approximately 13.6 grams, which grew to 91 grams by the reign of Thutmose III (c. 1479–1425 BC), a weight maintained for the remainder of its usage as a unit of measurement.[43]

By the Saite Period, the deben and the kite were equated with 91 and 9.1 grams respectively, and had shifted to a silver standard, rather than copper.[44] Therefore, the deben was worth 91 grams *of silver*,[45] with the kite worth 9.1 grams; i.e. 10 kite were equivalent to 1 deben. Silver was used not just as a medium of exchange but also as a store of wealth, in the form of ingots,

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[42] For more on this choice, see below, **§4**.

[43] On the development of the deben weight, see Hayden, "Price Formation," 241–245; Castle, "Structural Study," 43–46.

[44] On the use of the copper standard up until the Ramesside Period, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 101–2.

[45] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 190, and Hayden, "Price Formation," 243.

jewellery, or chopped pieces known as *Hacksilber*. Although coins were attested—especially in the Persian Period—they were less commonly used for transactions than equivalent weights in *Hacksilber*.[46] The "Ionian stater" (likely representative of the Athenian tetradrachm, weighing in at 17.2–17.5 grams of silver) was equated with 2 kite in a number of sources,[47] including the Demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir.[48]

The weights of the deben and kite are referred to in Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic contracts as "by the Treasury of Thebes" (Saite Period) or the "Treasury of Ptah" (Persian Period).[49] It is unclear whether this refers to a purity standard set by a temple treasury,[50] some kind of mark upon silver ingots,[51] or a standard of weight;[52] in light of the Aramaic evidence (see below, **§3.2**), the last option seems the most likely.

The period under examination in this dissertation also witnessed a change from Abnormal Hieratic legal formulae to Demotic.[53] One of the major changes between these two systems was

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[46] Hayden, "Price Formation," 243.
[47] Chauveau, "La première," 139.
[48] O. Manawir 620; O. Manawir 733 ; O. Manawir 820; see also Duyrat and Agut-Labordère, "The Monetary," 69–88.
[49] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 160.
[50] Griffith, *A Catalogue*, 76.
[51] Müller-Wollermann, "Ägypten," 1359.
[52] Vleeming, *Gooseherds*, 88.
[53] See **Chapter 3**, **§3.1.**

a shift in focus: whereas Abnormal Hieratic seemed to document an actual exchange of a sum of money for an object sold, Demotic was instead a record of transfer—and protection—of title. This shift means that it was not standard in Demotic sales to record the price of an object. Therefore, pricing data needs to be gleaned from suggestions of value (e.g., the penalty for a lost or damaged object).

§3.2 Aramaic

The Aramaic system of exchange relied on four units based in weight: the silver karsh, hallur, shekel, and zuz. One karsh was equivalent to ten shekels; one shekel to two zuz; one zuz to twenty hallurs.[54] Much like the equivalences in the Demotic Manawir ostraca (2 kite to an Ionian stater), Aramaic papyri equate 2 shekels with one Ionian stater.[55] This equivalence to the stater from both the Aramaic and Egyptian documentation implies that, in this period, the Aramaic karsh (which was split into ten shekels) was equivalent to the Egyptian deben (which was split into ten kite).

[54] Porten, *Archives*, 64–66.

[55] TADB4.5; TADB4.6; TADB3.12; Porten, *Archives*, 64.

Like their Egyptian counterparts, these weights were standardised: in two instances, according to the "stones of Ptah"—undoubtedly the same Treasury of Ptah as the Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic documents—and in other instances, according to the "stones of the king". These stones represented weights, standardized to represent certain units of measurement. Two papyri record the actual weighing of the silver on the balance.[56]

§3.3 The Role of Markets in Price Formation and Fluctuation

In general, this chapter focuses on pricing and wages as comparative tools; however, this gives the misleading impression that the economy of Saite and Persian Egypt was a market economy, when the nature and organization of the economy of the period was rather a mix of market and redistribution.[57] In a centralized redistributive economy, the state collects taxes in kind and in labor, which is subsequently redistributed on socially useful measures (taxes in agricultural produce distributed as wages or in case of famine, labor employed for hydraulic

[56] TADB2.6; TADB3.7.

[57] Moreno García, "Review," 147–149; on classification of Egypt as "a market economy with a state tax system", Warburton, *Fundamentals*, 285–287; on the overemphasis placed on state documentation, Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 7–8.

works or monumental architecture). Simultaneously, Egypt also developed some elements of markets of goods[58] and early commercial entrepreneurialism.[59]

In a hypothetically pure market economy, it is the market which sets the prices for property, including enslaved people, and labor. In a hybrid redistributive-market economy, prices for types of labor and commodities are dependent on whether they are a part of the redistributive system or the market system,[60] meaning that there is an uneven development of markets—markets for certain labor and commodities may be less developed than markets for other labor and commodities. This subsection defines two facets of this hybrid economy: the role of silver in a hybrid agricultural economy (**§3.3.1**) and the implications of a hybrid economy on the availability of labor, especially when that labor is also agricultural (**§3.3.2**).

§3.3.1. Silver and Redistribution

[58] Moreno García, "Temples," 203–214.
[59] Ibid., 214–221.
[60] Some commodities may play a role in both private markets and the redistributive economy, notably grain.

Egypt's economy was based in agriculture. Most Egyptians were farmers,[61] and those who were not still received agricultural products from their employer (who could also be the state) as a stipend,[62] regardless of their profession. Therefore, the demand for agricultural products was probably low and the market limited; this makes determining the price for grain in such an economy difficult.[63] As a result of this limited market for agricultural products, the need to use silver to purchase agricultural products was also limited. Indeed, silver functioned largely as a long-term store of wealth which could be used for high-value exchanges rather than a constant circulation.[64] This use of stores of wealth in silver in high-value exchanges in effect converts them into different stores of wealth in the form of houses, cattle, and enslaved persons.[65]

§3.3.2 Labor Markets and Labor Supply

[61] Moreno García, "Temples," 225.
[62] On stipends of grain for workmen and soldiers, Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 129, 167.
[63] Though an attempt is made below, **§5.1.2.**
[64] Moreno García argues for a greater role of the circulation of silver in a forthcoming article ("Silver, Markets, and Growth"), but as of writing this (January 2022) only the abstract is available; for an attempt to calculate the amount of silver in circulation in 1st millennium Babylonia, van der Spek ("Growing Silver").
[65] Further discussion on enslaved persons as economic tools below, **§6**.

As an agricultural society, the supply of free unskilled labor[66] in Egypt varied considerably with the seasons. The Egyptian civil calendar is divided into the three agricultural seasons: Akhet (the rising and falling of the Nile, after which seed could be sown); Peret (ploughing, planting, and the beginning of harvest); and Shemu (harvest, which ended as the water began to rise). Each of these seasons were divided into four months.[67] When fields were flooded, agricultural laborers had nothing to do, creating a surplus but with little need; during times of planting and harvest, those same agricultural laborers would be occupied, creating a labor shortage when they were most needed.[68] During these periods, the state employed the practice of compulsory corvée labor, which could manifest in a variety of ways: regular and irregular, skilled and unskilled, agricultural and not.[69]

This labor market also means that there was seemingly little need for a servile class of agricultural laborers. After all, they would have nothing to do for a large portion of the year,

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[66] On the supply of slave labor, see **§5.4.4.**

[67] Parker, *Calendars*, 31–32; however, the Egyptian civil calendar (based on lunar months) was faced with an issue in that it was only 365 days long, as opposed to the solar year which is 365.25 days long, today the reason for the intercalation of the 29th of February once every four years. This disparity increasingly became a problem in the Ptolemaic Period, leading to attempts in calendar reform as evidenced in the Canopus Decree.

[68] Eyre, "How Relevant," 164–169; this would've made free hired labor very competitive, especially during harvest and planting, see below, **§5.4.4.** On the evolution of the agricultural workforce, see Moreno García, "Temples," 248–250 and Moreno García, "L'organisation," 39–45.

[69] Eyre, "How Relevant," 181–182; it is important to note that the timing of this corvée as aligning with agricultural labor supply and demand would not be relevant for certain projects and professionals, e.g. the fishermen (who work year round) tasked with clearing a channel through the First Cataract (*Urk. IV*, 815, 1–2).

meaning that purchasing them for the purpose of serving as agricultural laborers does not appear to be worth the cost. However, enslaved cultivators[70] and farmers[71] are attested in the corpus, with no additional evidence implying that they were hired out in any way to generate income during the times of the year during which they would be underemployed.

§4. Commodity Prices in the Late Period

This subsection explores the commodity prices of cattle, land, houses, bridal gifts and dowries, and miscellaneous commodities (e.g. wool garments) of the Late Period in both the Aramaic and Egyptian sources. This section also includes penalties to provide a sense of relative value. For the sake of comparison, prices are included in whatever format they appear in their text (e.g. in the Aramaic documents, karsh and shekels; in the Egyptian documents, in deben and kite) alongside their weight in silver (expressed in grams). Comparison of relative value is therefore reliant on weights of silver, which is intended to contend with the problem of regional variation in measures and units of value by creating a baseline.[72]

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[70] A 'cultivator (*ꜣḥwty*)' is priced along with his four *ḥmw* in the Sheshonq stela (Cairo JdE 66285).
[71] In P. Rylands 5, the *bꜣk* Payftjawawykhonsu is titled 'farmer (*ḥwṯ*)'.
[72] This choice follows Rathbone, "Mediterranean Grain Prices," 216, and of course comes with its own set of problems (e.g., the market price of silver bullion and the weight or purity of silver coinage), but also following Rathbone, it remains—if not the best method for measuring common value—the "least bad", since the media of exchange all rely on silver bullion of high purity.

At this juncture, it is important to note that price does not necessarily indicate value, though the two may overlap.[73] Whereas value can be determined by numerous factors—including investment of labor in a commodity, inherent value, or economic value—price is determined by societal factors, the structure of the market, and the media of exchange.[74] It is unclear precisely *how* prices were set in the market economy of the Late Period,[75] and it is not the intended purpose of this chapter to suggest any method of price formation or reasons behind fluctuation.

Indeed, the price comparison in this chapter is incomplete in its scope and intended only for comparative purposes with the prices of labor and persons sold for their labor. A complete economic work examining the price fluctuations of commodity prices during the Late Period[76] is a desideratum and beyond the scope of this dissertation. In addition, most of the data

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[73] For a concise analysis of previous scholarship on the relationship between price and value, see Hayden, "Price Formation," 13–26.

[74] This final factor is perhaps most relevant for the prices in this chapter, **§5.4**, which compares prices for enslaved persons in weights of silver with an important caveat that the accessibility of silver differs by geographical location.

[75] For pricing mechanisms, see Hayden, "Price Formation," 26–27 and Beckert, "Where do Prices," 757–786.

[76] Similar to Hayden, "Price Formation," which explores the Ptolemaic period or Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, for the Ramesside Period. Menu, "Le prix," provides a study of sale and rent of land, but she stipulates that these prices do not represent sales but rather the price of usufruct, since all property ostensibly belonged to the king. Van Alfen, "Pant'agatha," presents a comprehensive study of commodity trading in the Persian Period, but it is focused on the Levant and the Aegean, and additionally does not list pricing, except in very few cases.

regarding pricing comes from the Aramaic textual record; few Egyptian deeds of sale mention silver as the media of exchange, but rather as a measure of value.[77]

§4.1 Egyptian Sources for Pricing Data

The previous subsection on Egyptian media of exchanges (**§3.1**) gives a somewhat-misleading idea that prices were both regular and regularly included in sale documents. However, as noted in **Chapter 3**,[78] this is simply not the case in Demotic documentation. Therefore, pricing data from the Late Period is scant, owing to the general scarcity of documents from this time period but also to the changing nature of property transfers. The following subsections (**§4.2–6**) therefore paint a patchwork picture, employing earlier sources (before the shift to Demotic legal formulae) and Aramaic sale documents to attempt to understand commodity prices of the period. This still leaves a considerable gap in the data: Demotic documentation of the Late Period, since it does not state prices, is not included in this analysis.

[77] Markiewicz, "Security," 144.
[78] **§3.1**.

Early sources which provide a great deal of pricing data include Third Intermediate Period oracular property decrees.[79] These decrees were an early form of documenting previously-oral property transfers, and were inscribed on stelae or on temple walls. Unlike later sale documents, these were used to deter disputes, rather than guarantee or protect title,[80] but nevertheless served as written confirmation of payment to the previous owners of a property—including price. Often, these served as written record of a 'donation' to the temple, and it is here that we can glean some pricing data, especially for cattle and land.

§4.2 Cattle and Fowl

The dossier of the Gooseherds of Hou and the Demotic cattle sale documents collected by Eugene Cruz-Uribe have both been employed as valuable sources in **Chapter 3** to determine the nature of sale. In this chapter, these sources are used not to examine sale formula but rather only as a source for the pricing of commodities such as cattle and fowl. According to Demotic legal tradition, the actual price of the animal is rarely stated. In the event that a seller

[79] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 152–157, including oracular property transfers, donations, and oracular 'consultations' in which disputants consulted an oracle over a property dispute, likely because any previous transfer of title was oral, and therefore not able to be consulted. See also Muhs, "Oracular," 264–276.
[80] Though it could be argued that deterring disputes through the threat divine retribution is a form of title protection; Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 155 and "Oracular," 270, 272.

has somehow not delivered on the sale, he promises a replacement—either head-for-head "according to its likeness", or, in the event that the animal cannot be replaced, he promises a monetary sum.[81]

Earlier documents, such the donation stelae Cairo JdE 36861,Cairo JdE 66285, and the Abnormal Hieratic P. Vienna D12002 provide some pricing (rather than penalty) data from earlier periods. Abnormal Hieratic P. Louvre E7850[82] records the exchange of a bull "as the replacement of the wages[83] which are given to the overseer of the necropolis"; these wages could represent the rate paid to the overseer of the necropolis, which was usually a half kite payment for burial,[84] suggesting an equivalence of the bull with ½ kite but not explicitly stating that this is the case.

Table 5: Prices and Penalties for Cattle and Donkeys

Date	**Description**	**Price/penalty per unit in deben (and grams of silver)**	**Text**
950 BC	38 oxen	0.78 deben (70.98 g of silver) [price]	Cairo JdE 66285

[81] This subsection could theoretically also fall under "Penalties" (§**4.7**); but unlike penalties, the penalties on cattle and fowl sales appears to have had standard pricing which could then be adjusted under specific conditions (e.g. a pregnant cow), whereas other penalties were decided on a case-by-case scenario. Not every cattle sale had this option: P. Berlin 12571 (P. Cattle 2), P. BM. 10846A (P. Cattle 15), P. IFAO 901 and P. IFAO 902 only include a head-for-head replacement rather and no possible monetary compensation.

[82] Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic," 222–225.

[83] *šbt,* translated as "commodities" by Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic," 224; *contra* the translation of *šb* as "wages" in Donker van Heel and Golverdingen, *Abnormal Hieratic*, 34.

[84] Cannata, *Three Hundred Years,* 23; Muhs, *Receipts*, 184–185.

Table 5: Prices and Penalties for Cattle and Donkeys (continued)

872 BC	10 oxen	0.2 deben (18.2 g of silver) [price]	Cairo JdE 36861
640 BC	1 cow	3 ½ kite (31.85 g of silver) [price]	P. Vienna D12002
562 BC	1 cow (pregnant)	1 deben 5 kite (136.5 g of silver) [penalty]	P. Rylands 8
501 BC	½ cow (co-owned)	5 kite (45.5 g of silver) [penalty]	P. Louvre E9292
501 BC	1 cow	5 kite (45.5 g of silver) [penalty]	P. Michigan 3525A
496 BC	1 cow	5 kite (45.5 g of silver) [penalty]	P. Michigan 3525B
490 BC	1 cow	5 kite (45.5 g of silver) [penalty]	P. Cairo 50146
489 BC	1 donkey foal	5 kite (45.5 g of silver) [penalty]	P. Loeb 44
486 BC	1 cow	5 kite (45.5 g of silver) [penalty]	P. Berlin 3110

This replacement valuation appears at a standard rate of 5 kite (45.5 grams of silver) per cow, or 2 ½ kite (22.75 grams of silver) for half a cow. There is one exception: P. Rylands 8 (P. Cattle 3) sets the penalty at 1 deben 5 kite (136.5 grams of silver), very likely because the cow in question is pregnant.[85] The rate of 5 kite (45.5 grams of silver) seemingly applied also to donkeys; in P. Loeb 44, dated to 489 BC, a donkey foal is sold. Like the cattle documents, the seller claims that in the event that he fails to produce the animal or its likeness he will provide the buyer with 5 kite (45.5 grams of silver).

The stelae of the Third Intermediate Period do state the price of the animals donated, and these prices seem to be mostly in line with the standard penalty for replacement, ranging from

[85] But, this does not explain why the cost was not simply doubled (i.e. 1 deben).

18.2 to 70.98 g of silver (2 to 7.8 kite) per animal. A Memphite donation stela (Cairo JdE 36861) evidences a price of 0.78 deben (70.98 g of silver) per ox.[86] The Sheshonq Donation stela (Cairo JdE 66285) evidences 2 deben for ten oxen (18.2 grams of silver per ox). The single Abnormal Hieratic cattle sale (P. Vienna D12002) states a price of 3 ½ kite (31.85 grams of silver) for one cow. In general, the price for one cow in the Late Period appears to be in the range of 18.2 to 70.98 g of silver, in line with a standard replacement valuation of 45.5 g of silver.

§4.3 Land

We are once more faced with the difficulty that Demotic sale documents did not usually mention the price of the item sold, with the additional challenges that the price of land is highly affected by the agricultural quality of the land and its legal status—both of which are not always clear from the documentation—and also by the large degree of variation in the data. Third Intermediate property transfers attest to prices as low as 0.91 grams of silver per aroura, but also as high as 100.1 grams of silver per aroura.[87] Two Abnormal Hieratic papyri from the Archive of Pefheryhesy record a chain of title with prices ranging from 2.73 to 45.5 g

[86] 30 deben of silver for 38 oxen. See Ritner, *Libyan*, 512.

[87] Baer, "Low Price," 26. An aroura is roughly equivalent 3444.54 m^2 (⅔ of an acre or ¼ of a hectare). See Vleeming, "Demotic Measures," 225.

of silver per aroura for the same ten arourae, sixteen years apart.[88] One Demotic land sale includes a price of 81.9 grams of silver for one aroura. Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic evidence sales of roughly the same size of plot: in both legal traditions, most plots sold to individuals appear to have been between 2 and 5 arourae, the produce of which could support a family. A larger plot would be around ten arourae.[89]

The Third Intermediate Period oracular property decree for the high priest of Amun Iuwelot and his son Khaenwase (914 BC)[90] provides the most data—a total of 556 arourae—and evidences exchanges of large plots of land[91] and their prices. Some of these plots are sold along with their fruit trees, wells, and sycamores, which complicates the calculation of deben/aroura; these plots are excluded from *Table 6*, which only evidences those plots sold without any additional trees or wells included in the price.

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[88] P. Turin 2118 and P. Turin 2120, both in Pernigotti, "Un nuovo," 73–95.

[89] Based on Baer, "Low Price," 42; for the average plot, see Porten and Szubin, "Aramaic Joint Venture," 73. When plot size is even mentioned; this is also a rare occurrence; Manning, *Land and Power*, 219. A plot of roughly ten arourae would produce 8,000 litres of grain and therefore be able to sustain an extended family, Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor*, 31.

[90] Ritner, *Libyan*, 271ff. is the first integral translation; see also **Chapter 2, §2.4.**

[91] The land itself theoretically belonged to the temple domain of Amun-Re, but the prices were paid to the cultivators themselves. See Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 167.

Table 6: Prices of Land in the Iuwelot Stela (Cairo JdE 31882)

Area (in aroura)	**Purchase Price**	**Price (in kite per aroura)**
10	1 kite (9.1 g of silver)	0.1 (0.91 g of silver)
30	6 kite (54 g of silver)	0.2 (1.82 g of silver)
37	1 deben and 1 ¼ kite (102.4 g of silver)	0.03 (2.76 g of silver)
15	6 kite (54.6 g of silver)	0.4 (3.64 g of silver)
1	½ kite (4.55 g of silver)	0.5 (4.55 g of silver)
5	2 ½ kite (22.75 g of silver)	0.5 (4.55 g of silver)
45	8 kite (72.8 g of silver)	0.17 (1.55 g of silver)
3	⅔ kite (6.01 g of silver)	0.22 (2.01 g of silver)
69	1 deben 5 kite (136.5 g of silver)	0.27 (2.46 g of silver)
10	3 ⅔ kite (29.4 g of silver)	0.32 (2.91 g of silver)
5	1 ⅔ kite (15.11 g of silver)	0.33 (3 g of silver)
2	⅔ kite (6.01 g of silver)	0.33 (3 g of silver)
10	3 ⅔ kite (33.31 g of silver)	0.37 (3.37 g of silver)

There is some fluctuation, but by and large the prices of the plots of land demonstrate relatively stable pricing: between 0.1 and 0.5 kite per aroura (0.91-4.55 g of silver per aroura). Beyond the donation stelae, evidence is scarce: a Third Intermediate oracular consultation (P. Brooklyn 16.205) after a dispute of payment; a Third Intermediate Period public record of transaction (Cairo JdE 70218) evidencing two exchanges; two Abnormal Hieratic papyri recording a chain of transfer of the same ten arourae with significant variation in price (P. Turin 2128 and P. Turin 2120); and one unusual Demotic document (P. Loeb 68) which also includes the price for a small plot.

Table 7: Prices of Land

Date	Price per aroura (in g of silver)	Text
c. 997 BC[92]	58.24[93]	P. Brooklyn 16.205 [Hieratic]
970 BC	45.5–101.1	Cairo JdE 70218
950 BC	7.28–10.92	Sheshonq Stela (Cairo JdE 66285)
914 BC	0.91–4.55	Iuwelot Stela (Cairo JdE 31882)
635 BC	2.73	P. Turin 2118 [Abnormal Hieratic]
619 BC	45.5	P. Turin 2120 [Abnormal Hieratic]
501 BC	81.9	P. Loeb 68 [Demotic]

It is difficult to find any kind of pattern in these data. P. Brooklyn 16.205, an oracular consultation following disputes over purchased land, records two transactions, both for ⅝ of an aroura,[94] at a price of 58.24 g of silver per aroura. The stela Cairo JdE 70218 evidences two exchanges with seemingly high prices: in the first, the Overseer of the Treasury Ity pays Ankhefenkhonsu 2 deben and 2 kite (200.2 g of silver) for 2 arourae; in the second, Ity pays Harsekhty 1 deben (91 g of silver) for 2 arourae. The price per aroura in the first transaction is

[92] P. Brooklyn 16.205 records disputes in "year 49" of an unnamed king. Menu, "Le prix," 249 dates the texts to 670 BC, but this date is unsupported; the original publication of the text in Parker, *Saite Oracle*, 49 dates it to year 49 of Sheshonq III (774 BC). Recent efforts at redating indicate that this 'year 49' could only refer to Psusennes I (998 BC) or perhaps the High Priest of Amun Mekheperre (996 BC). See Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 146; Thijs, "The Burial," 215–6; von Beckerath, "Zur Datierung," 15–17.

[93] This text evidences two transactions, both of ⅝ of an aroura. The list of payments (l. 32–52) is in commodities, in total worth 4 *rwḏ*-cloths for each plot. The Oracular Property Decree for Menkheperre equates 30 ½ *rwḏ*-cloths to 305 copper deben; 4 cloths are therefore worth 40 copper deben, or 0.4 silver deben (36.4 g of silver) for 5/8 an aroura. Menu's calculation ("Le prix," 262) relies on grain value of 0.2 kite per *khar* of emmer, but the source of this figure is unknown.

[94] However, the second transaction lists the ⅝ as ½ and ⅛, likely representing two plots of land sold together; Parker, *Saite Oracle*, 52.

therefore 100.1 g of silver, and 45.5 g of silver in the second transaction. And yet, land prices in both the donation stela are very low. Following the donation stelae—after a gap of three hundred years—the only evidence we have is in the Abnormal Hieratic P. Turin 2118, which also exhibits low prices—but then P. Turin 2120 evidences a relatively high price of 45.5 g of silver per aroura.[95] Roughly a century later, the Demotic P. Loeb 68 (501 BC)[96] includes the price of the plot sold: 1 aroura of land for 9 kite (81.9 g of silver).

The low prices of land are somewhat understandable: most land lacked a secure title that could be transferred, and land was commonly inherited by heirs whose families had ancestral claim after the land had been gifted by the king;[97] in other words, there was virtually no market for grain land, driving prices down. But it is hard to reconcile this with the high prices evidenced in Cairo JdE 70218, P. Turin 2120, and P. Loeb 68, which are as much as a hundred times higher (e.g., the 101.1 g of silver per aroura in Cairo JdE 70218, compared with the 0.91 g of silver per aroura in the Iuwelot stela, Cairo JdE 31882).

[95] This could be ascribed to the nature of P. Turin 2120; these documents serve as a chain of title for the choachyte who ultimately handled this land, once the same ten arourae that were sold in P. Turin 2118 were donated to the god Osiris, as evidenced in P. Turin 2119.

[96] Spiegelberg and Wenger, *Die Demotischen*, 103–106, pl. 37–8.

[97] On this practice in the New Kingdom, Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 140.

It is possible—and an avenue for further research—that the new development of a grain land market in the Third Intermediate Period is concurrent with a growing trend towards land ownership and leasing as an entrepreneurial venture;[98] until prices stabilized to reflect the accumulation of surplus and further exchanges, they varied widely. The lack of price data from the 6th to the 4th centuries BC precludes any concrete conclusions, but when documentation begins to be plentiful again in the late 3rd century BC, evidence from the Ptolemaic period demonstrates a median price of land as 6000 bronze drachma per aroura,[99] or 13.3 silver drachma (29.93 g of silver).[100] In general, during the Ptolemaic period, prices are more uniform and do not exhibit the dramatic variations[101] of the Late Period data, possibly indicating the stabilization of land pricing following the development of the grain market.

§4.4 Tombs, Houses, and Abandoned Property

[98] On this possibility see Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 171.
[99] Cadell, "Le prix," 301.
[100] Based on a ratio of 450 bronze drachma to 1 silver drachma, and 2.25 g of silver per drachma. Monson, *Ptolemies*, 194–195.
[101] Until the Roman period, which evidenced a sudden jump in pricing; Monson, *Ptolemies*, 193.

Although there are sales of tombs[102] in the Egyptian textual record (e.g. Hieroglyphic Stela Florence 1659,[103] Demotic Stela C101,[104] and P. Louvre 7128[105]), the lack of a price or valuation makes comparison difficult. Only one sale of a house with a price is attested from the Late Period (P. Berlin 3048v[106]) in the Egyptian record. Nevertheless, the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine preserve four real estate purchases, which can allow for some context on the value of houses.

Table 8: Houses and Property Values

Date	**Description**	**Price**	**Text**
879 BC	House	2 deben (182 g of silver)	P. Berlin 3048v
446 BC	House	5 karsh[107] (455 g of silver)	TADB2.7
437 BC	Abandoned house	1 karsh, 4 shekels, 1 silver zuz to 1 karsh (127.4 g of silver)	TADB3.4
434 BC	Apartment/room in larger property	5 karsh, 2 quarters to 1 karsh[108] (455 g of silver)	TADB3.5
402 BC	Apartment/room in larger property	1 karsh, 3 shekels, in Ionian silver 6 staters, 1 shekel (118.3 g of silver)	TADB3.12

[102] These 'sales' may also only have been styled as such, see **Chapter 3, §3.6.3**.
[103] Most likely a transcription of a Demotic document: Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 204; Lippert, "Egyptian Law." Published in Bosticco, *Museo*, 38–9, pl. 28.
[104] Malinine, "Vente de tombes," 168–174.
[105] Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 71–3.
[106] Möller, "Ein Ägyptische," Urk. C; see Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 168.
[107] Note that this particular document involved an exchange for goods *worth* 5 karsh, rather than 5 karsh *in silver*: "in exchange for your goods worth (in) money: 5 silver karsh (*ḥlp nksyk ʾlk dmy ksp kršn 5*)".
[108] This is not a sale price, but rather a valuation of the apartment in the event of the death of the person to whom the apartment was bequeathed; i.e., a determination of the sale price in a sale which has not yet occurred.

House prices range from 14 shekels (127.4 g of silver; TADB3.4) to 50 shekels (455 g of silver; TADB3.5; TADB2.7). The low price of the house in TADB3.4—virtually the same as the price paid for an room in TADB3.12—may at least be explained by the fact that the property was abandoned, and presumably in a state of disrepair.[109] The more standard price for a house or large room (the apartment in TADB3.5 measures 81 cubits) appears to be somewhere around 5 karsh (455 g of silver).[110] These houses could be gifted and sold in parts: half of the house purchased by Ananiah in TADB3.4 is then gifted to his wife Tamet (TADB3.5); rooms in the same house are given to his adopted daughter Jehoishma (as part of her dowry, TADB3.7; TADB3.10); and then the remainder is sold to his son-in-law Ananiah son of Haggai, Jehoishma's husband (TADB3.12).

§4.5 (Some) Costs involved in Marriage

[109] Porten, *Archives*, 75 and Ginsberg, "Brooklyn Museum," 162.

[110] In light of this, I don't agree with Porten (*Archives*, 185) that Mahseiah deliberately omitted the price of the house in an attempt to obscure that the house is worth less (or more) than the 5 karsh worth of goods transferred to him by his daughter in exchange for the house; rather, this phrasing is just intended to highlight that Mahseiah received goods of that value rather than actual silver.

Marriage in Aramaic and Egyptian legal tradition was a contractual arrangement, and involved the valuation of costs, penalties, and items brought into the marriage by the bride. These values can be helpful in determining relative value of goods (**§4.6**, **§4.8**). Egyptian marriage contracts, in some cases, also include an allotment of maintenance (lit. 'rations and clothing, *ʿḳ ḥbs'*)[111] for the bride in grain and silver, which can serve as comparanda to the maintenance allotted to enslaved persons (**§5.4.6**) or hired laborers (**§5.1.2**). This subsection examines the silver brought into the marriage by the bride; the valuation of the list of items brought into the marriage are examined in **§4.6**, and the penalties in the event of divorce in **§4.7.1**.

§4.5.1 Marriage Costs in Aramaic Legal Tradition

There are three complete documents of wifehood (*spr ʾntwt*) from Elephantine: that of Mibtahiah (TADB2.6), Tamet (TADB3.3), and Tamet's daughter Jehoishma (TADB3.8). These documents include a a gift from the groom (or his family) to the family of the bride and a gift from the family of the bride to the bride herself, which is usually identified as the dowry and equated with the biblical concept of a *mohar*.[112] These two gifts are presented in the documents

[111] On this concept in the New Kingdom and earlier, Handoussa, "Remarks," 29-30.
[112] On this identification, and specifically on the term "Bride Price", see Azzoni, *Private Lives*, 43, n. 1.

of wifehood separately—the gift in monetary value of silver and the dowry in an itemized list—but ultimately added up to determine the total value of goods and money brought into the marriage.

The dowry lists are examined below (§**4.6**); this subsection examines the gift from the groom to the family of the bride, presented as a monetary amount. This amount varies between the three women, though not widely: 12 shekels (109.2 g of silver); 15 shekels (136.5 g of silver); and 22.125 shekels (201.34 g of silver). Although Tamet is an *ʾmh*, the monetary amount she brings into the marriage (paid for by her owner Meshullam) falls in the middle, at 15 shekels (136.5 g of silver). Unlike the other two documents, this amount is added on the external side of the document of wifehood, after the document had already been sealed, though it is unknown why this is the case. The highest monetary amount is that of Jehoishma (22.125 shekels,[113] 201.34 g of silver), paid for by her so-called "brother" (Zaccur son of Meshullam, the man who had previously owned both Jehoishma and her mother Tamet).

§4.5.2 Marriage Costs in Egyptian Legal Tradition

[113] 2 karsh, 2 shekels, 5 hallur.

There are five different kinds of costs or priced items associated with an Egyptian marriage: the gift of/for a woman (*šp n sḥm.t*)[114] given from the groom to the bride; the money for/of becoming a wife (*ḥḏ n ỉr sḥmt*)[115] from the bride to the groom, a security in exchange for which she receives food and clothing (*ꜥḳ ḥbs*); an annuity (*sꜥnḫ*)[116] from the bride to the groom, also with food and clothing (*ꜥḳ ḥbs*)[117] in return; and finally, the things of a woman (*nktw n sḥmt*),[118] which the woman brings into the marriage with her and which she will be able take with her in the event of a divorce.

These costs formed part of the classification system employed by Pestman in his analysis of Late Period and Ptolemaic marriage contracts, classified by Pestman into four types,[119] labelled as Type A, B, C, and Z. Type A involves the gift of/for a woman (*šp n sḥm.t*), given to the bride from the groom, in theory at the outset of the marriage but in practice if the woman chooses to leave it of her own accord. If the husband initiates the divorce, he gives the woman the *šp n sḥm.t* as well as an additional divorce penalty.[120] Type B involves the exchange of the money

[114] Pestman, *Marriage,* 108–114.
[115] Pestman, *Marriage,* 102–104.
[116] Pestman, *Marriage,* 104–108.
[117] Pestman, *Marriage,* 145–150; Azzoni, *Private Lives*, 74.
[118] Pestman, *Marriage,* 91–101; also below, **§4.6.**
[119] Pestman, *Marriage*; Smith, "Marriage," 48–54 refers to type B and C as B1 and B2, since they are closely related.
[120] For further on divorce penalties, see below, **§4.7.1**.

for/of becoming a wife (*ḥḏ n ỉr sḫmt*) from the bride to the groom with a stipend of food and clothing (*ʿḳ ḫbs*) from the groom to the bride, usually in the form of silver and rations.[121] Type C is very similar, but instead of a money for/of becoming a wife (*ḥḏ n ỉr sḫmt*), the bride provides the groom with an annuity (*sʿnḫ*). Type Z is a divorce document.

Thirteen Late Period marriage contracts are attested, dating from 668–341 BC,[122] summarized below in *Table 9*. Of these, four are classified by Pestman's 'Z' type and therefore do not provide a monetary valuation of the costs involved in the marriage.[123] Seven are classified by Pestman's 'A' type, and include the *šp n sḫmt* and the divorce penalty.[124] One of the Late Period 'A' documents includes the valuation of the *nktw n sḫmt*.[125] The remaining two contracts belong to the 'B' and 'C' type respectively;[126] the 'B' type includes the *ḥḏ n ỉr sḫmt* and the divorce penalty, but no valuation of the other costs involved (*šp n sḫmt* or *sʿnḫ*). The single contract classified as a 'C' type is the only Late Period marriage contract to include the *sʿnḫ*.

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[121] In the Ptolemaic Period these ration lists can be quite detailed, including oil, cooked cakes, and money both in deben as well as "spendable" income (Pestman, *Marriage*, 146), but appear only once in the Late Period evidence, and only as grain and silver.

[122] P. Cairo 30907 (668 BC); P. Louvre E7849 (588 BC) ; P. Louvre E7846 (548 BC) ; P. Cairo 30665 (542 BC) ; P. Berlin 13614 (536 BC) ; P. BM. 10120a (517 BC) ; P. Berlin 3076 (513 BC); P. Berlin 3079 (489 BC); P. Berlin 3077 (488 BC); P. Berlin 3078 (482 BC); P. Lonsd. I (364 BC); P. OI. 17481 (361 BC); P. Libbey (341 BC).

[123] P. Cairo 30665 (Z no. 1); P. Berlin 3076 (Z no. 2); P. Berlin 3079 (Z no. 3); P. Berlin 3077 (Z no. 4).

[124] P. Cairo 30907 (A no. 5); P. Louvre E7849 (A no. 6); P. Louvre E7846 (A no. 7); P. Berlin 13614 (A no. 8); P. Berlin 3078 (A no. 9); P. Libbey (A no. 11).

[125] P. Lonsd. I (A no. 10).

[126] P. BM. 10120a (B no. 1); P. OI. 17481 (C no. 1).

Table 9: Costs Attested in Egyptian Marriage Contracts

Text	Date	Type	*šp n sḫmt*	*ḥḏ n ỉr sḫmt*	*sʿnḫ*	*nktw n sḫmt*
P. Cairo 30907	668 BC	A no. 5	*x* deben, 20 artaba emmer			
P. Louvre 7849	588 BC	A no. 6	2 deben, 50 artaba emmer			
P. Louvre 7846	548 BC	A no. 7	2 deben, 50 artaba emmer			
P. Cairo 30665	542 BC	Z no. 1	-			
P. Berlin 13614	536 BC	A no. 8	*x* deben, 50 artaba emmer			
P. BM. 10120a	517 BC	B no. 1	-	3 deben		
P. Berlin 3076	513 BC	Z no. 2	-			
P. Berlin 3079	489 BC	Z no. 3	-			
P. Berlin 3077	488 BC	Z no. 4	-			
P. Berlin 3078	482 BC	A no. 9	0.1 deben			
P. Lonsd. I	364 BC	A no. 10	0.5 deben			1.4 deben
P. OI 17481	361 BC	C no. 1	-		30 deben	
P. Libbey	341 BC	A no. 11	0.5 deben			

When attested, the *šp n sḫmt* is provided with a monetary value or as a monetary value along with an amount of grain. In the seven contracts in which the *šp n sḫmt* is attested, it is given as a monetary value with grain in four contracts,[127] and as a monetary value alone in the remaining three.[128] As a monetary value alone, it ranges from 0.1 deben (0.91 g of silver) to 0.5

[127] P. Cairo 30907; P. Louvre E7849; P. Louvre E7846 ; P. Berlin 13614.

[128] P. Berlin 3078; P. Libbey; P. Lonsd. I.

deben (4.55 g of silver). When it appears alongside grain—usually 50 artaba of emmer—it appears to be set at 2 deben (18.2 g of silver).[129]

The valuation of the *nktw n sḫmt*, the *ḥḏ n ỉr sḫmt*, and the *sʿnḫ* are each only attested once, in three separate Late Period contracts. When the valuation of the *nktw n sḫmt* is attested,[130] it is listed as 1.4 deben (127.4 g of silver) along with a shawl/bolt of cloth[131] valued at 0.15 deben (1.365 g of silver); the *ḥḏ n ỉr sḫmt* is attested as 3 deben (27.3 g of silver), but in that document the stipend of food and clothing (*ʿḳ-ḥbs*) is not valued. In its single Late Period attestation, the annuity (*snʿḫ*) paid by the bride to the groom is valued at 30 deben (273 g of silver). In return, she is given a stipend of food and clothing (*ʿḳ-ḥbs*) of 36 artaba of emmer and 1.2 deben (10.92 g of silver).

§4.6 Other Commodities

[129] 50 artaba of emmer is attested in P. Berlin 13614, P. Louvre E7849, and P. Louvre E7846; 20 artaba of emmer are attested in P. Cairo 30907. The amount of silver is not preserved in P. Berlin 13614 nor P. Cairo 30907, so it is unknown if the amount of grain would affect the silver added on to it.

[130] P. Lonsd. I.

[131] Read by Pestman as *ỉnšn*, though possibly could be read as *ỉnw* (CDD/*Ỉ*). This item is rarely missing from the list of things of a woman (*nktw n sḫmt*); Pestman, *Marriage*, 94, leading some to translate it as "bridal veil" (e.g. Erichsen, *Glossar*, further citations in Pestman, *Marriage*, 94 n. 1) though this translation is misleading and should be avoided.

Evidence of commodities beyond land, cattle, and houses is limited to dowry lists from Elephantine, an account of beer and wine from 525 BC, and some commodities evidenced in a letter from 411 BC. The commodities from the letter all appear to be luxury goods (bronze mirrors, woolen shawls) or building materials (sawdust, sulfur) and not commodities which would ease conversion, or, indeed, be used in a day-to-day context (e.g. barley).

A Demotic account papyrus dated to 525 BC (P. Cairo 50060) details the payment for quantities of beer and wine in *hin* (app. 0.48 liters), across three columns. The wine is sometimes qualified ("of Pharaoh, *n pr-ꜥ*"; "sweet, *ntm*"[132]) and sometimes not; the beer is not qualified. The prices of wine are remarkably consistent: Column I evidences average pricing of 12.5 g of silver/*hin*; Column II 11.27 g of silver/*hin*; and Column III 10.9 g of silver/*hin*, with an overall average price of 11.56 g of silver/*hin* (or 24 g of silver/litre of wine). Surprisingly, there seems to be no significant difference in pricing between wine qualified as "of Pharaoh" (average price 11.8 g of silver/*hin*), "sweet" wine (average price 11.9 g of silver/*hin*), and unqualified wine (average price 10.9 g of silver/*hin*). The four accounts of beer all list them at the same price: 4.55 g of silver/*hin* (9.48 g of silver/liter).

[132] Not *nmḥ*, as suggested by Cruz-Uribe ("Slavery, 51); see den Brinker et al., *Berichtigungsliste*, 145.

One of the letters from the Arsames correspondence (TADA6.2, dated to 411 BC) details prices paid for commodities that would allow for a damaged boat to be repaired. These prices are far higher than any of the other commodities examined in this chapter, but that can be ascribed to the fact that these commodities may have included the price of labor for repair[133] and the large quantities of materials needed (e.g. 425 nails).

Table 10: Commodity Prices for Boat Repair

Item Description	**Price**
Sawdust/small blocks	1 talent, 10 mina (5,460 g of silver)
Sulphur	10 karsh (910 g of silver)
Arsenic	100 karsh (9100 g of silver)
Thick linen cloth	180 karsh (16,380 g of silver)
Sheeting	250 karsh (22,750 g of silver)

The Archive of Petebast provides additional evidence for commodity prices. As expected from Petebast's profession—a choachyte tasked with burial—all these commodities fall within the realm of funerary expenses, including the wages of dancers and singers.[134]

[133] Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 120.

[134] On these, see **§5.1.1**, below.

Table 11: Commodity Prices from the Archive of Petebast

Item Description	**Price**	**Text**
Cut of meat from an ox	2 kite (18.2 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228h
Cloth	8 kite (72.8 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228h
Wrapper	⅓ kite (3.01 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228h
Resin for ten processions	1 ½ kite (13.65 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228h
Textiles for wrapping	2 deben (182 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228a
Resin (9 hin)	3 kite (27.3 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228a
ḫ̬ꜣ·t[135] (3 sacks)	2 kite (18.2 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228a
Sycamore wood	3 kite (27.3 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228a
Eye paint	2 kite (18.2 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228a
Ration of beer for a singer	1 kite (9.1 g of silver)	P. Louvre E3228a

Some of these prices are difficult to reconcile. For instance, the 2 deben worth of textiles for wrapping versus the 8 kite of cloth; but then again, prices for cloth are meaningless unless we know the amount of cloth involved. Nonetheless, many of these prices provide context for other commodities, such as the cut of meat, or price per *hin* of resin (roughly 3 grams of silver, or ⅓ kite).

An additional source for commodity pricing are a part of the Aramaic marriage documents, the

[135] Some kind of jar or vessel, though unclear how this would be measured in "sacks". See Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 166.

so-called “dowry lists”: an itemized list of the assets the woman has brought with her into the marriage. The paltry nature of Tamet’s dowry has come under much debate,[136] but the price of the individual items in her dowry list is in line with expected (e.g. the price of her 7 shekel wool garment is identical to the 7 shekel wool garment from TADB2.6).

Table 12: Dowry List from TADB2.6 (449 BC)

Item Description	**Price**
New dyed wool garment	2 karsh, 8 shekels (254 g of silver)
New shawl	8 shekels (72.8 g of silver)
Wool garment	7 shekels (63.7 g of silver)
Bronze mirror	1 shekel, 2 quarters (13.65 g of silver)
Bronze bowl	1 shekel, 2 quarters (13.65 g of silver)
Bronze cups (2)	2 shekels (18.2 g of silver)
Bronze jug	2 quarters (4.55 g of silver)

Table 13: Dowry List from TADB3.3 (449 BC)

Item Description	**Price**
Wool garment	7 shekels (63.7 g of silver)
Mirror	7.5 hallurs (1.64 g of silver)

Table 14: Dowry List from TADB3.8 (420 BC)

Item Description	**Price**
New wool garment	1 karsh, 2 shekels (109.2 g of silver)
New dyed wool garment	1 karsh, 7 shekels (154.7 g of silver)
New fringed garment	1 karsh (91 g of silver)
New shawl	8 shekels (72.8 g of silver)
Worn garment	1 shekel, 20 hallurs (13.65 g of silver)
New skirt	1 shekel (9.1 g of silver)

[136] Porten and Szubin, “The Status,” 43–64.

Table 14: Dowry List from TADB3.8 (420 BC), (continued)

New linen garment	1 shekel (9.1 g of silver)
Worn linen garment	1 shekel (9.1 g of silver)
Bronze mirror	1 shekel (9.1 g of silver)
Bronze bowl	1 shekel, 10 hallurs (11.375 g of silver)
Bronze cup	1 shekel, 10 hallurs (11.375 g of silver)
Bronze (?) cup	20 hallurs (4.55 g of silver)
Bronze jug	20 hallurs (4.55 g of silver)

While Tamet's dowry list pales in comparison with Jehoishma and Mibtahiah, it is likely that they too were out of the ordinary in the wealth of their dowry lists; as Porten states, "it is doubtful that every bride was as well-endowed".[137] Mibtahiah's father Mahseiah owned several houses and was a leader in the Jewish community at Elephantine; at some point, Mibtahiah herself was well-off enough to provide her father with 50 shekels (455 g of silver) worth of unspecified goods (TADB2.7). Meshullam, who had previously owned Tamet, provided his son Zaccur with enough resources to provide Jehoishma with both a significant dowry list and the most expensive bridal gift of the three women for whom we have evidence. Despite the disparity between the three women—and the obvious means of Jehoishma and Mibtahiah's families—the wide range of goods still provides some insight into relative value.

[137] Porten, *Archives*, 76.

Table 15: Commodity Prices Based on Aramaic Dowry Lists

Item Description	**Price Range (shekels)**
Woolen garment	7–28 (63.7– 254.8 g of silver)
Linen garment	1–1.5 (9.1–13.65 g of silver)
Bronze item	0.5–1.5 (4.55–13.65 g of silver)

All three dowry lists include some kind of bronze item valued between 0.5–1.5 shekels (4.55–13.65 g of silver); a linen garment valued between 1–1.5 shekels (9.1–13.65 g of silver); and a woolen garment valued between 7 and 28 shekels (63.7– 254.8 g of silver); the more expensive version qualified as "new" and "dyed" which would have added to the price. The total value of the dowries was around 60 ½ – 68 shekels (550.5–618.8 g of silver).[138]

The total value of Aramaic dowry lists can be compared with the 'things of a woman (*nktw n sḥmt*)' of Egyptian marriage.[139] In its single Late Period attestation,[140] this clause values the things of a woman as a total of 128.765 g of silver. This is far lower than the 550.5–618.8 g of silver value of the Aramaic dowry lists. However, this may just be a feature of that particular marriage; itemized lists of the 'things of a woman (*nktw n sḥmt*)' from later periods[141] are more

[138] This excludes Tamet's dowry, which is significantly lower than the others; see Porten, *Archives*, 75.
[139] See above, **§4.5.1**.
[140] P. Lonsd. I.
[141] P. Haus. 4 (246 BC); P. BM. 10394 (226 BC); P. Haus. 6 (219 BC); P. Haus. 15 (217 BC); P. Haus. 14 (208 BC).

detailed and range in value from 2.6–8.3 deben (236–755.3 g of silver), much more in line with the Aramaic evidence.

§4.7 Penalties

Relative value can also be ascertained through an examination of legal penalties, especially in the Elephantine papyri. Unlike the monetary compensation offered for cattle in the Saite and Persian cattle documents (**§4.2**), there does not appear to have been a standard for penalties,[142] but rather a wide range. For example, bringing suit against a contracted party or reneging on a contract could range from 5 karsh (455 g of silver) to 30 karsh (2730 g of silver). Especially relevant for the topic of this dissertation is the heft of the penalty incurred for re-enslavement of a manumitted or adopted person, between 30 karsh (2730 g of silver) to 50 karsh (4550 g of silver).

Table 16: Fines and Penalties at Elephantine

Date	Offence	Penalty	Text
434 BC	Bringing of suit by a third party	20 karsh (1820 g of silver)	TADB3.5
434 BC	Bringing of suit by seller	5 karsh (455 g of silver)	TADB3.5

[142] Excepting divorce penalties in Aramaic, which were standardized; see **§4.7.1**.

Table 16: Fines and Penalties at Elephantine (continued)

459 BC	Bringing suit after a bequest of a house	10 karsh, 2 quarters to the 10[143] (910 g of silver)	TADB2.3
495 BC	Bringing suit after withdrawal	5 karsh (455 g of silver)	TADB5.1
446 BC	Third party bringing suit after withdrawal	10 karsh (910 g of silver)	TADB2.7
440 BC	Bringing suit after withdrawal from goods	5 karsh (455 g of silver)	TADB2.8
429 BC	Bringing suit after withdrawal from goods	10 karsh, 2 quarters to 1 karsh (910 g of silver)	TADB2.9
451 BC	Bringing suit after withdrawal from goods	5 karsh (455 g of silver)	TADB3.2
416 BC	Enslavement of adopted son	30 karsh (2730 g of silver)	TADB3.9
420 BC	Eviction attempt	10 karsh, 2 quarters to the 10 (91 g of silver)	TADB3.7
459 BC; 420 BC	Expulsion of wife	20 karsh (1820 g of silver)	TADB2.6; TADB3.8
402 BC	Failure to repay grain loan	1 karsh (91 g of silver)	TADB3.13
427 BC	Re-enslavement of manumitted parties	50 karsh (4550 g of silver)	TADB3.6
427 BC	Refusal to support manumitter "as a father"	50 karsh (4550 g of silver)	TADB3.6
471 BC	Reneging on a contract to build a wall	5 karsh (455 g of silver)	TADB2.1
402 BC	Reneging on a house sale contract	20 karsh (1820 g of silver)	TADB3.12

[143] The addition of "2 quarters to the 10", "zuz to the 10", and similar notations are a result of the adaptation of the Persian karsh to the Elephantine shekels. The weight of a karsh is roughly 83.3–83.6 grams, meaning that 1 karsh would be 4.3 grams short of 10 Elephantine shekels (which would weigh 87.6 grams). To equate the units, half a shekel (1 zuz, or 4.55 grams) would be added to the karsh. See Porten, *Archives*, 66–7.

Table 16: Fines and Penalties at Elephantine (continued)

464 BC	Reneging on a land sale contract	20 karsh, 2 quarters to the 10 (1820 g of silver)	TADB2.2
459 BC	Reneging on an usufruct contract	10 karsh, 2 quarters to the 10 (910 g of silver)	TADB2.3
404 BC	Reneging on an usufruct contract	30 karsh (2730 g of silver)	TADB3.10
402 BC	Reneging on an usufruct contract	30 karsh (2730 g of silver)	TADB3.11
437 BC	Reneging on sale contract	10 karsh, 2 quarters to the 10 (910 g of silver)	TADB3.4

The penalties evidenced in the Egyptian record (mostly the Tsenhor archive) for bringing suit after withdrawal are lower, ranging from 1 kite (9.1 g of silver)[144] to 5 deben (455 g of silver)[145] in comparison with the Aramaic penalties as high as 2730 g of silver for the same transgression.

Table 17: Penalties in Demotic Papyri

Date	**Offence**	**Price**	**Text**
492 BC	Reneging on unspecified contract	5 deben (455 g of silver)	P. Berlin 13572
494 BC	Reneging on unspecified contract	5 kite (45.5 g of silver)	P. Tsenhor 15 (P. Louvre AF 9761)
517 BC	Bringing suit after withdrawal	5 deben (455 g of silver)	P. Tsenhor 7 (P. Turin 2122)
530 BC	Bringing suit after withdrawal	1 deben (91 g of silver)	P. Tsenhor 2 (P. Vienna KM 3853)

[144] One kite penalty for reneging on a cattle sale: P. Turin 2128 (P. Cattle 12); P. Turin 2124 (P. Cattle 6).
[145] Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor*, 112; Martin, "Demotic," 292–293.

Monetary penalties are, at their core, intended as a deterrent. If they are too low, they do not serve their purpose; incurring the fee of a contract breach should be something to fear. This is crucial in the context of relative value: penalties ranging from 91–1820 g of silver were considered 'expensive' enough to allow them to serve as deterrent penalties. This would certainly be the case if one was earning wages of roughly 3.75–22.5 g of silver per month;[146] a penalty of 455 g of silver would take nearly two years of wage-earning to pay off.

§4.7.1 Divorce Penalties

Both the Aramaic and Egyptian legal traditions include a penalty in the event of a divorce, though the approach is different. All three Aramaic marriage contracts (TADB2.6; TADB3.3; TADB3.8) attest a standardized penalty of divorce (7 ½ shekels/68.25 g of silver) known as the "silver of hatred".[147] In Egyptian documentation, the divorce penalty relies on who has left the marriage: if the bride has chosen to end the marriage, she receives a certain amount; if the groom has chosen to end the marriage, he pays the woman a certain amount and occasionally also an additional penalty. In contrast, in the Aramaic legal tradition, the "silver of hatred" can

[146] See **§5.1**.

[147] A direct translation of "*ksp sn'h*" (TADB2.6: 22; TADB3.3: 7); for further discussion on divorce in the Aramaic legal tradition, Azzoni, *Private Lives*, 64–80.

be afforded to either party: if the wife chooses to end the marriage, she is responsible for providing the husband with 7 ½ shekels (68.25 g of silver), and vice versa.

In the thirteen Late Period marriage contracts of the Egyptian legal tradition,[148] a penalty in the event of a divorce[149] is attested in eight contracts.[150] Of these, in five contracts[151] the penalty is equal to the gift of a woman (*šp n sḥmt*); in other words, the groom gives this amount to the woman regardless of who has chosen to end the marriage. In two contracts,[152] the divorce penalty is only half of the value of the gift of a woman (*šp n sḥmt*); but in one of those,[153] if the groom is the one who has chosen to leave the marriage, he additionally gives her ⅓ of his property. And in the final of these eight contracts,[154] the divorce penalty in which a man ends the marriage is the heftiest, including the gift of a woman (*šp n sḥmt*), an additional penalty equal to its value, ⅓ of the man's property, and 0.25 deben (2.275 g of silver).

§4.8 Commodity Prices: Conclusions

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[148] See **§4.5.2**.
[149] For a concise summary of the mechanism of divorce penalties in Egyptian documentation, Smith, "Marriage," 51.
[150] P. Cairo 30907; P. Louvre E7849; P. Louvre E7846 ; P. Berlin 13614 ; P. Berlin 3078 ; P. Lonsd. I ; P. Libbey.
[151] P. Cairo 30907; P. Louvre E7849; P. Louvre E7846 ; P. Berlin 13614.
[152] P. Berlin 3078; P. Libbey.
[153] P. Libbey.
[154] P. Lonsd. I.

Taking the above sections (§**4.2–7**) into consideration, it is possible to delineate ranges of commodity prices based on the available textual sources (*Table 18)* in order to determine the relative value of purchased individuals.

Table 18: Comparative Commodity Prices

Item Description	**Price Range in grams of silver**
Bronze item	4.55-13.65
Linen garment	9.1–13.65
Penalty for contract breach	91–1820
House/Apartment	91–455
Bridal gift (Aramaic)	109.2–273
Divorce penalty (Aramaic)	68.25
"Gift of a woman" (Egyptian)	0.91–18.2
Cattle	45.5–136.5
Woolen garment	63.7–254.8
Wine (per liter)	22.72–26.1
Beer (per liter)	9.48

Of course, the contents of this table are much more valuable with the context of wages and the cost of living, a standard by which one could judge relative value;[155] however, these data do provide useful comparative points for *relative* value. In other words, twenty shekels worth of silver (182 g of silver) could buy one a modest house, a bride, an expensive woolen garment,

[155] As recognized by Janssen, "*Bꜣkw*," 455 and reiterated by Hayden, "Price Formation," 61.

ten modern-day bottles (750 ml) of wine, or a cow. This also means that the penalty for contract breach—200 shekels, or 1820 g of silver—could potentially be ten times the price of one's house. These commodity prices are employed comparatively with the price of purchased persons (**§5.2**) to provide context for the relative value of purchasing a laborer.

§5. Price of Labor

This subsection examines the price of labor in hired laborers (**§5.1**) and the price of purchased individuals (**§5.4**). Unfortunately, there is virtually no data regarding wages of hired laborers in this period, so conclusions are based upon the following, all of which come with a qualification: (1) wages before the period under investigation (i.e. the Third Intermediate Period) and after (i.e. the early Ptolemaic period); (2) the rations afforded to the soldiers in the Syene garrison (with a note that these soldiers were additionally given unknown quantities of silver as wages); and (3) the wages afforded to the funerary workers in the Archive of Petebast.

Each of these points, as noted, needs to be qualified. First, wages from before and after the Late Period provide a useful point of comparison, but ultimately do *not* represent the Late Period. The transition from the New Kingdom to the Late Period and subsequently from the Late

Period to the Ptolemaic involved a great deal of socioeconomic change (and, in the case of the New Kingdom, a shift from a copper to a silver standard); data from before and after the Late Period, therefore, cannot be considered equal to data from the Late Period itself.

Second, the rations afforded to the soldiers in the Syenian garrison—which come in the form of grain and silver—only evidence the amount of grain the soldiers are meant to have received, without much clarity regarding the amount of silver. Calculating this amount involves a calculation of the price of barley in this period, for which data is also scarce. We can only suggest the value of the barley they receive, and in turn, the amount of silver received alongside the barley.

Finally, the wages of the funerary workers in the Archive of Petebast give us valuable data—but no real sense of how many days per month (or year) they are meant to have worked in their profession. The data suggests that a single night of working per month may have been sufficient to support a worker, but this is only backed by one piece of evidence. All in all, this section is meant to give some context for the price of purchased individuals in comparison with the price of commodities.

§5.1 Wages

Direct wages, i.e. wages in money or commodities, are only one method of compensation for labor. Other methods of compensation for labor include indirect wages (room and board, for example) and invisible wages (which usually refers to non-contractual appropriation of goods, like monetary 'perks'). Direct wages, with which this section is mostly concerned, can be further sub-divided in three: (1) compensation for timed work, like an hourly or monthly wage; (2) compensation for the result of work (e.g., piece rates for a product); and (3) some combination of time-based and result-based wages.[156]

Pertinent wage data from this period is limited to the wages of the soldiers housed at the garrison at Syene and some data from the Archive of Petebast the choachyte, the former reflecting time-based compensation and the latter a hybrid: the soldiers at the garrison of Syene were paid monthly, and the funerary laborers from the Archive of Petebast were paid for their time (the night of the burial) but also for their result (a performance or the act of wrapping). Even with both sources, the data set is incomplete. Therefore, this analysis of wages is meant only as a suggestion for the purposes of comparison, rather than an exact assessment.

[156] For this classification of wages as a motivation for labor, see van der Linden, "Dissecting," 307.

These two case studies also serve as examples of the two kinds of labor arrangements discussed in **§2.2**: long-term and short-term labor contracts. The soldiers at Syene were engaged in a long-term labor arrangement, in which they were housed, fed, and paid on a monthly basis. Although we are not entirely certain of what kind of work the soldiers did, we can assume that it included both skilled and unskilled labor.[157] Regardless, their status as long-term contractees was likely unrelated to their skill level and rather can be ascribed to the fact that they needed to be constantly available to perform their duties. In contrast, the skilled funerary workers of the Archive of Petebast were engaged in a short-term labor engagement, presumably because their primary obligation was to another institution which provided them with rations and housing, though we cannot say for sure.

It is important to note, once more, that (much like the overview of commodity prices in this chapter), a more thorough investigation of wages in the Late Period[158] remains a gap in current scholarship; here, the investigation into wages is restricted by the shortage of both sources

[157] Their labor could have included such varied activities as: tax collection, serving as a police force, managing satrapal agricultural lands, defending property from brigands, and providing military escorts for shipments. See Fried, "Aramaic," 286–288.
[158] Similar to Černý, "Prices," for the Ramesside period.

and secondary scholarship. Data from earlier and later periods provide some context, but this must be taken with some reservations due to price inflation and fluctuation.

§5.1.1. Funerary Workers from the Archive of Petebast

Burial in Egypt of the 7th century was a complex business unto itself, and the wages of the people involved in this operation are detailed in the archive of the choachyte Petebast son of Peteamonope. The last night before the burial of a woman named Taperet are detailed in two documents from the archive (P. Louvre E3228a and P. Louvre E3228h). These costs include commodities such as cloth and oil,[159] but also wages for the people involved: singers, dancers, draftsmen, and a guardian. These wages reflect payment for one night only—the "night of the burial" (*grḥ ḳst*)[160]—and they are in exchange for high-skill labor.

Table 19: Wages for Funerary Workers from the Archive of Petebast

Profession	**Wage**	**Notes**
Dancer	2 kite (18.2 g of silver)	
Wrapper[161]	⅓ kite (2.74 g of silver)	

[159] See above, **§4.6**.

[160] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 175 n. 628; see also Smith, *Catalogue*, 28.

[161] *pꜣ ʿrf*, a term used also for bags of myrrh used in the mummification process, though Donker van Heel (*The Archive*, 177) claims that in this last stage of the mummification and burial the term is referring to the individual performing the final wrapping of the mummy.

Table 19: Wages for Funerary Workers from the Archive of Petebast (continued)

Singer	2 ½ kite (22.75 g of silver)	
(Male) singer of Nekhbet	⅓ kite (2.74 g of silver)	
Draftsman	⅔ ⅓ kite (9.1 g of silver)	
Dancer	½ kite (4.55 g of silver)	Additional compensation
Singer	⅓ kite (2.74 g of silver)	Additional compensation
Servant of the Place of Truth	⅓ kite (2.74 g of silver)	
Guardian[162]	⅓ kite (2.74 g of silver)	

Of these, the dancer and the singer receive the highest wage: 2 kite and 2 ½ kite, respectively. Beyond these wages, they also received additional compensation (*šb*),[163] along with additional provisions rations.[164] It is unknown how many of these "nights of burial" a member of any ones of these professions is expected to have participated in over the course of a month, so it is impossible to determine their monthly wages. It is entirely possible that these wages were a 'bonus', additional income similar to the Deir el-Medina craftspeople who moonlit for other projects at a piecemeal rate. A (much) later Ptolemaic contract suggests a low number of days

[162] As noted by Donker van Heel (*The Archive*, 179), there is no particular reason as to why a guardian (*sꜣw*) would need to be included in this particular list, but Donker van Heel reasonably suggests a person hired to guard the embalming workshop or perhaps a person who assumes a cultic function, i.e., a guard against the entrance of Seth.

[163] For the translation of *šb* as 'wages', based on Coptic ϣⲃⲉⲱ, see Černý, "Abnormal Hieratic," 56. See also Donker van Heel and Golverdingen, *Abnormal Hieratic*, 34; Hughes, *Saite Demotic*, 60.

[164] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 174.

worked per year: a "dancer of Heliopolis, Man of Anubis" in P. Ashmolean D16 (69 BC) is contracted for six days yearly, worked in half-days once every month.[165]

§5.1.2 Soldiers at Syene

The garrison at Elephantine was one of several garrisons established by the Saite king Psammetichus I (664–610 BC): Elephantine served the southern border against the Ethiopians, Daphnae the north-eastern border against Syrians, and Marea (Mareotis) the north-western border against Libyans.[166] According to Herodotus, the garrison at Elephantine was originally staffed by Egyptians, but they had revolted after they had not been relieved for three years and deserted to Ethiopia.[167] And by the reign of Apries (589–570 BC), the garrison was at least partially staffed by foreign mercenaries; this re-staffing did not stop a further revolt, however.[168]

During the Persian period, there were two units at Elephantine: the "Jewish troop"[169] and the "Syenian troop". These troops were further divided into detachments and then centuries; both

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[165] Cannata, *Three Hundred Years*, 71.
[166] These are the three mentioned by Herodotus (II.30). Other garrisons are known from excavations, see Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 196.
[167] Herodotus II.30.
[168] Schäfer, "Die Auswanderung," 152–163.
[169] TADA4.1.

of these sub-units were headed by men with either a Persian or a Babylonian name. Soldiers belonged to detachments, but so did the members of the town (e.g. the woman Mibtahiah belonged to the detachment leader Varyazata).[170] Information regarding the compensation for the soldiers at the garrison and their families comes from seven documents: two letters (TADA2.3; TADA3.3); a loan of silver (TADB4.2); a quitclaim (TADB5.5); a loan of grain (TADB3.13); an obligation to deliver grain (TADB4.4); and, most useful to this discussion, a disbursement of grain to the Syenian troop (TADC3.14).

The soldiers at Syene were given a monthly stipend in grain and legumes by the royal treasury (*ptp*[ʾ]) along with a monthly payment in silver to both men and women (*prs*).[171] The amount in grains and legumes is known, but the amount of silver is not. Both the payment of silver and the payment of grain were apparently reliable enough that a soldier could repay a loan from them (repayment of silver in silver, TADB4.2; repayment of grain in grain, TADB3.13) and referenced in other economic exchanges as a source of income (TADB5.5).

[170] Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 83–4.
[171] Porten, *Archives,* 77; Tuplin, "Military," 296–297.

These monthly stipends were a source of concern to the soldiers and their families: when it was received, they reported to their family (TADA2.3; TADD7.9), when it was not, they filed complaints (TADA3.3). The failure to deliver rations and wages was also important to the suppliers of the grain: TADB4.4 evidences a guarantee to deliver grain to the chief of the detachment or to be held liable for the extraordinarily high penalty of 100 karsh (9100 g of silver).

Of the 54 individuals who received rations of grain in TADC3.14 (419 BC), 22 received 1 ardab of barley, 32 received 2 ½ ardab of barley, and 2 received 1 ½ ardab of barley. Even without the addition of the silver stipend, it could be possible to determine the value of the rations if we had data regarding barley prices of the 5th century BC. However, information regarding the prices of commodities not included in dowry lists (see above, **§4.6**) and yet invariability traded and sold (e.g. barley) is woefully lacking for this time period.

There is only one document that hints as to the price of grain and the ratios of rations/silver: a fragmentary papyrus of the 5th century (TADC3.25) that lists the monthly wages of an individual as 1 karsh total: 4 shekels in silver (36.4 g of silver) and the equivalence of 6 shekels

in 13 ardab of emmer (497.64 litres).[172] With a caveat that grain prices can—and did—fluctuate, comparison can be made with earlier and later periods to provide some degree of clarity.

This amount of grain evident in TADC3.25—13 ardab of emmer—is a huge contrast to the 1–2.5 ardab of barley received by the soldiers in the Syene garrison. However, data from the New Kingdom community of Deir el-Medina suggests that it is the ration of 13 ardab which is the anomaly, not the Syene rations. In the New Kingdom, laborers received rations in both emmer and barley in *khar*-measures, and the ration of emmer was often higher.[173] Despite a considerable rate of variation, a pattern does emerge: higher-ranking laborers received between 3 and 5 *khar*-measures of emmer per month, whereas lower-ranking laborers received between 1 and 4 *khar*-measures.[174] In barley, the rations are between 1 to 2 *khar*-measures for a higher-ranked laborer and ½ to 1 *khar*-measures for a lower-ranked laborer.[175] A *khar* is equivalent to 76.56 litres of grain,[176] and an ardab is equivalent to about half that (38.28 litres).[177] Thus, the 2 ½ ardab ration of barley (95.7 litres) afforded to the garrison soldiers at

[172] Based on 38.28 litres/ardab, see Edelman, "Economy," 182.
[173] Černý, "Prices," 917.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid., 919.
[176] Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 113.
[177] Edelman, "Economy," 182.

Syene is in line with 1-2 *khar*-measures (76.56-153.12 litres) given to higher-ranked laborers in the New Kingdom community of Deir el-Medina.

Determining the monetary value of these rations is difficult not only because data from the Late Period is virtually non-existent, but also because there are so many variables in the determination of grain value: the changing value of silver, the condition of the grain (cleaned or uncleaned; sifted or unsifted; bleached or unbleached), the time of year in which the grain was delivered and/or purchased, and the harvest at that time.[178]

Once again, data from earlier and later periods can be of some use to suggest the value of grain in silver, if not exact pricing. The Ramesside papyrus P. Turin 1881 lists the price of barley as 4 kite of silver (36.4 grams of silver) for 6 *khar*-measures (i.e., 6 grams of silver per *khar*). Similar prices are reflected in the early Ptolemaic period. A Demotic annuity contract dating to 365 BC (P. Hawara 1)[179] equates 1 deben and 2 kite (109.2 g of silver) to 36 sacks of emmer or 24 sacks of barley; in other words, a price of 3.03 grams of silver per *khar* of emmer, and 4.55 grams of silver per *khar* of barley. Throughout the Ptolemaic period, these prices balloon. Barley prices

[178] Von Reden, "Wheat," 264, with regards to Ptolemaic grain prices.
[179] Hughes and Jasnow, *Oriental Institute*, 9.

from the Ptolemaic period evidence an average price of about 47.16 grams of silver per 100 litres,[180] which can be converted to 36.1 grams of silver per *khar*-measure (or 18.05 grams of silver per ardab).[181]

At these prices, it is hard to understand where the 5th century grain ration of TADC3.14 fits in. At a value of 6 shekels for 13 ardab, 1 ardab of barley would be worth 0.46 shekels (i.e. 8.4 grams of silver per *khar*-measure); higher than the Ramesside and the early Ptolemaic pricing, but yet far less expensive than the later Ptolemaic prices. Since the prices fall between 4.55 and 6 grams of silver per *khar* of barley, I suggest using 5 g of silver/*khar* of barley as a reasonable estimate of what barley may have cost in the Late Period.

The limited data regarding grain wages can also be used for determining a "wheat wage", a simplified means of assessing income by calculating the daily wage of an unskilled laborer, expressed in litres of wheat. This concept was used originally by historians of early modern Europe,[182] but has recently been used for the Mesopotamian economy by Walter Scheidel[183] and

[180] Rathbone and von Reden, "Mediterranean and Near Eastern," 425.
[181] See also Hayden, "Price Formation," 725 and Chauveau, "Un compte," 21–22.
[182] van Zanden, "Wages," 185–188.
[183] Scheidel, "Real Wages."

2nd century Ptolemaic Egypt by Lorber and Fischer-Bovet.[184] The benefit to this admittedly crude method of wage calculation is that there is no need to calculate the price of barley in order to use these data comparatively. For instance, in 6th century Babylon, the median daily wheat-wage was 3.5–6.5 litres per day and in Ptolemaic Egypt[185] it was between 3.23 and 4.3 litres a day; very much in accordance with the wheat-wage of the soldiers at the garrison in Syene (3.73–6.3 litres per day). This calculation is also in line with other evidence, such as the Abnormal Hieratic tablet Leiden I. 431,[186] which suggests between 3.5–3.93 litres per person per day,[187] as well as the amounts of grain from the Late Period marriage documents which suggest an allotment of 2–5.24 litres per person per day.[188]

The implications of these calculations for the Syene garrison—and wages in general—are that although we do not have the supplemental silver the soldiers would have received as wages, it is likely that they received at least the equivalent monetary value of the barley in

[184] Lorber and Fischer-Bovet, "Getting Paid," 169–201.
[185] Lorber and Fischer-Bovet, "Getting Paid," 200–201.
[186] Černý, "Abnormal Hieratic," 46–56.
[187] The annual wage is 150 *khar*, but it is unclear how many people are meant to be paid with this amount of grain; the range is intended to accommodate the possible range of 8–11 persons who are meant to be paid by 150 *khar*, divided into 365.
[188] Based on the 20–50 ardab of grain allotted yearly as part of the *šp n sḥmt* in P. Cairo 30907, P. Louvre E7849, P. Louvre E7846, and P. Berlin 13614 as well as the yearly 35 ardab of grain as part of the *sꜥnḫ* of P. OI. 17481; the latter would come out to 3.77 litres per person per day.

supplemental silver (i.e., 2.5–6.25 grams of silver).[189] The inadequate sources at my disposal mean that this estimate does not even pretend to accuracy, but simply gives a suggestion for the wages that the soldiers at Syene *may* have earned per month as a result of their labor: an average of 57.42 litres of barley, along with a supplement in silver probably equivalent with the price of barley and coming out to an average of 3.75 grams of silver, though the supplemental wages in silver may have been higher.[190]

It is admittedly difficult to compare the Elephantine wages with the funerary workers' wages of the Archive of Petebast (**§5.1.1**), not only because of the calculations and assumptions involved in reaching this number but also because we have virtually no sense of how often the funerary workers worked, or whether the funerary workers were paid elsewhere in addition to their short-term contracts. However, there is benefit in comparison: if the funerary workers of the Archive of Petebast worked—like their Ptolemaic counterparts—for one night a month, they would earn an average of 5.69 grams of silver, with additional compensation and rations, for only one night of work, in comparison with a rough estimate of 3.75 g of silver for a

[189] This is far lower than the wages suggested by Porten (*Archives*, 73) based on Athenian wages: 12.5 shekels a month.

[190] As raised by Janssen, *Commodity*, 459 in the context of Deir el-Medina wages, this amount is also intended not just to support the soldiers themselves, but also their families, and we have no real sense of how large these families were; certain soldiers may have received more or less rations and wages than their fellows to feed their family.

month's work provided to the soldiers at the garrison. The skilled singers and dancers of the funerary business, who were paid between 18.2 and 22.5 grams of silver for one night of labor, would have been quite well off.

§5.2 Imported Labor

The foreign soldiers at the garrison of Syene raises the question of imported labor in Egypt of this period,[191] especially in the military. The 're-staffing' of the Syene garrison mentioned in **§5.1.2** involved mercenaries from Ionia and Caria, which had been provided to Psammetichus I (664–610 BC) by the Lydian king Gyges.[192] Their presence is attested by inscriptions[193] and graffiti, the latter of which were left where the army had travelled alongside Psammetichus II.[194] According to Herodotus,[195] these Carian and Ionian mercenaries received land in the Eastern Delta—though it is unclear whether this land was theirs to cultivate, or intended to serve as a stipend. Insofar as we can speak of 'voluntary' migration for the purposes of labor, it

[191] The geographical origins of people known to be enslaved is explored further in **Chapter 5, §2.2.**
[192] As recorded in the Assurbanipal Prism A; see Cogan and Tadmor ("Gyges," 78–80) for translation and commentary. Herodotus provides a more fantastical version of events in which the Carian and Ionian mercenaries are actually bronze men foretold in a prophecy (Herodotus II.152.2–5).
[193] Adiego, *Carian*, 26.
[194] Adiego, *Carian*, 31.
[195] Herodotus (II.152.5; II.154.1–5)

seemed that Ionians and Carians provided a steady flow of migration into Egypt, where they achieved a reputation for heavy infantry.[196]

Greek mercenaries recruited under the Saite kings remained in service during the Persian period. Herodotus notes that Greeks travelled to Egypt after Cambyses' conquests; some to do business, others to fight (mercenaries), and still others to see the country.[197] However, it is likely that Greek presence—military or otherwise—diminished by the 5th century in the wake of Graeco-Persian hostility. In the 4th century, close to the end of the Late Period, Greek mercenaries once more make an appearance as a large force recruited by the Spartan king Agesilaos, coming to the aid of the Egyptian Teos (362–360) against the Persians.[198] It is unknown how these mercenaries were paid, or how much.

The Persian-period correspondence of the satrap Arsames provides some limited evidence for the importation of labor. One of the letters from his archive (TADA6.7) concerns thirteen Cilician enslaved men who are appointed as oil-pressers.[199] Arsames refers to them as

[196] Kaplan, "Cross-Cultural," 7.
[197] Herodotus III.129.1.
[198] Lloyd, "Egypt," 341; 349.
[199] Tuplin, "Commentary," 117–118. A similar word appears in the Persepolis Fortification Archives with reference to people who press sesame oil (Ibid., 117 fn. 124).

"enslaved persons (*ʿbdn*)", but from his point of view, that is what they became when they were assigned to his estates. Therefore, it is unclear if these men were oil-pressers *before* they entered his service—and if so, whether they were imported specifically because of their previous qualification—or whether they became oil-pressers as a result of their enslavement (and were then perhaps trained by his current staff). Cilicians also appear as subordinate laborers (*ʿlymn* rather than *ʿbdn*) in a late 5th century letter in which they are paid with a ration of one handful of flour per day.[200]

§5.3 Leased Laborers

As noted in **Chapter 3** (**§4**), the leasing of (likely owned) laborers is a practice known from the New Kingdom. A small number of papyri dating to the 18th Dynasty[201] record the hiring of services of female slaves by the day (*hrw n ḥm/bꜣk*), though the service expected from them is not specified. The daily fee could be returned, under certain circumstances.[202] The prices for

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[200] TADA6.9.

[201] P. Berlin 9784, P. Gurob II, 1, ; P. Gurob II, 2. Gardiner, "Four Papyri," 28*ff.* These papyri record five different transactions: P. Berlin 9784 (two days of service each of two different female slaves; two days of service of a third female slave); P. Gurob II, 1 (seventeen days of service of one female slave; four days of service of another female slave); P. Gurob II, 2 (six days of service of a female slave).

[202] E.g. P. Berlin 9784, l. 27, translated as "If the two days are hot which I have given to you in (service of) the *ḥmt* Henut, compensation shall be given.", Gardiner, "Four Papyri," 32. This translation came into question by Neveu and Navailles, "Qu'entendait-on."

the service of these women seem high: 1 to 2 *sniw* of silver a day, when the monthly grain payment to a Deir el-Medina workman was equivalent to 1 ½ *sniw*.[203] These high prices have attracted some attention, with some early translators suggesting situations like sex work,[204] and others simply stating that these rates can "hardly represent the typical cost for ordinary servile labor".[205]

In examining these texts, Neveu and Navailles suggested a different interpretation: that these women were owned by the city and were exploited by what they called a "sort of time-sharing arrangement".[206] The price of 1 or 2 *sniw* of silver represented a yearly price; the number of days' labor to be provided by slaves was per-month, and implicitly renewable on a monthly basis. Regardless of whether these papyri represent a high-cost hire of a few days or a time-share as suggested by Neveu and Navailles, they do provide evidence that days of labor of enslaved persons were bought and sold.[207]

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[203] Eyre, "Work [...] New Kingdom," 211.

[204] Delicately stated, and then dismissed, as "it should not be over-looked that in most cases, if not in all, the slaves were of the female sex: but the supposition that thus involuntarily suggests itself does not seem to be at all likely." Gardiner, "Four Papyri," 44.

[205] Eyre, "Work [...] New Kingdom," 211.

[206] Neveu and Navailles, "Qu'entendait-on," 122–3.

[207] Menu ("Le systéme," 197–8) offers an interpretation in line with her assertion that there were no enslaved persons in Egypt; namely, that these women were parties in selling their labor with the intent of joining a family or becoming trained in a skill.

After the New Kingdom, there is virtually no conclusive evidence of leased laborers. P. Louvre E3228d (688 BC), discussed previously in this dissertation,[208] potentially represents a lease of a laborer for the purposes of a burial. The price in this document is set at 2 deben and 4 kite of silver (218.4 g of silver). This would not be an entirely unreasonable price for the purchase of the laborer as a slave (see *Table 20,* below). If this document is indeed representative of a lease—and the sources are inconclusive—then this price would be the cost of this man's labor for the task of a burial. Even so, it is impossible to calculate any kind of wage as we don't know (1) what tasks he is meant to have undertaken with regards to the burial nor (2) how long the process of the burial would have taken.

§5.4 Price of Enslaved Persons

This section explores prices of enslaved persons in the Late Period. In doing so, the interpretation of data in this section relies upon a supposition established in **Chapter 3**: namely, that the documents in *Table 20* are more likely to represent the sale of individuals,

[208] See **Chapter 3, §4.2.1.**

rather than the sale of their labor.[209] This data is compared with earlier prices (**§5.4.1**), later prices (**§5.4.3**) and across geographical regions (**§5.4.4**).

§5.4.1 New Kingdom Prices

Including the price of purchased commodities in sale documents was commonplace in the New Kingdom.[210] Unfortunately, New Kingdom documentation of transfer of enslaved persons is limited, perhaps because they were not considered high-value enough for a written transaction (and therefore remained as an oral transaction only). The meagre information we have regarding the prices of enslaved persons is only from the Ramesside period, and originates from dispute resolution (e.g. P. Cairo 65739; P. Berlin 9784) or second-hand reporting (e.g. P. Mayer A; P. BM 10052) rather than property exchange or transfer.

The Hieratic P. Cairo 65739 (c. 1300 BC)[211] records a trial resolving a property dispute, over ownership of an enslaved girl (*ḥmt*). The list of commodities used for purchasing the girl are

[209] A position contradicted by Menu ("Captifs de guerre," 187–210).
[210] Albeit usually as lists of commodities with their value listed in deben of copper or silver. On documentation of property transfers and media of exchange in the New Kingdom, see Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 112–5.
[211] Gardiner, "A Lawsuit," 42.

totalled as equivalent to 4.1 silver deben (373.1 g of silver). P. Berlin 9784 (c. 1390 BC)[212] records the purchase of a *ḥmt* for two cows and two calves, which would've been worth[213] approximately 2.34 silver deben (212.94 g of silver). Finally, P.BM 10052 (c. 1190)[214] records that one *ḥm* had been previously purchased for 2 deben of silver and 60 deben of copper (236.6 g of silver), [215] and another for 2 deben (182 g of silver).[216] In average, these prices reflect a price of roughly 250 g of silver per enslaved person in the Ramesside period.

§5.4.2 Late Period Prices

As with determining pricing and silver exchange values of anything in the Late Period, this section is complicated by the fact that most Demotic documents do not list price; the two exceptions include P. Vatican 10547 and P. Turin 2122. The other sources are early (Cairo JdE 66285; Cairo JdE 31882) or in a different legal tradition (Abnormal Hieratic P. Louvre E3228d and P. Leiden F 1942/5.15; Aramaic TAB8.7 and P. Samaria 1, 3, and 4). This data is intended to

[212] Gardiner, "Four Papyri," 28–35.
[213] Baer, "Low Price," 26; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 530–531.
[214] *KRI* 6, 767–803; Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*.
[215] Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, 144.
[216] Ibid., 152.

be employed comparatively with other commodity prices of the Late Period to suggest relative value of these purchased individuals.

Table 20: Prices of Purchased Individuals

Date	**Persons purchased**	**Listed Price**	**Price (g of silver/person)**	**Text**
950 BC	5 *ḥmw*	4 deben and 1 kite	74.62	Cairo JdE 66285
950 BC	11 *ḥmw*	6 deben and 1 kite	50.46	Cairo JdE 66285
872 BC	35 *ḥmw*	15 deben and ⅓ kite	39.01	Cairo JdE 31882
726 BC	1 *bꜣk*	1 deben	91	P. Vatican 10574
726 BC	"Man of the North"	3 deben and 1 kite	282.1	P. Leiden F 1942/5.15
685 BC	"Man of the North"	6 deben	546	P. Louvre E3228d
517 BC	1 *bꜣk*	5 deben	455	P. Turin 2122
500 BC	Multiple *ʿbdn*	25 karsh	200 (?)[217]	TADB8.7 (Segal 4)
335 BC	1 *ʿbd*	35 shekels	318.5	P. Samaria 1
334 BC	1 *ʿbd*	10 shekels	91	P. Samaria 3
330 BC	1 *ʿbd*	30 shekels	273	P. Samaria 4

Two observations become apparent: first, that there is a wide degree of variation—an enslaved individual could be purchased for a price between 39.01–546 g of silver; and second, that there does appear to have been value in purchasing more than one enslaved individual at a time. In the cases where multiple persons were purchased (Cairo JdE 66285, Cairo JdE 31882)[218] the price

[217] Difficult to calculate because the number of *ʿbdn* sold is not preserved in this fragmentary papyrus. The figure in the table is a reverse-engineered estimate based on the large sum of money (2275 g of silver) and the average price per person.

[218] On the possibility that it was the services of the persons which were transferred in these stelae, rather than their personhood, and on the suggestion for serfdom, see **Chapter 6, §2.4**.

per person is low, ranging from 39.01–50.5 g of silver per person. When only looking at cases of single-person purchase, the price ranges from 91–546 g of silver, with an average of 293.8 g of silver per person. This average is in line with the earlier Ramesside pricing (**§5.4.1**) of approximately 250 g of silver per person.

§5.4.3 Ptolemaic and Roman Period

The documents relating to enslaved persons dated to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods are extensively studied, due not only to the considerably larger body of evidence but also the long-standing idea that chattel slavery was "a Greek discovery",[219] and had therefore only begun in Egypt with the entrance of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemaic dynasty. Although that assertion was not entirely accurate—this dissertation is dedicated to the purchase of enslaved persons—the nature of enslavement in Egypt did indeed change with the incursion of Greek economy and society, and more closely followed models of enslavement in Greece (and subsequently Rome). A discussion of the nature of slavery in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods

[219] Finley, *Ancient Slavery*, 114–5.

has already been undertaken[220] and is not necessary here; the inclusion of pricing data from later periods is only intended to provide context for the pricing data of the Late Period.

The Ptolemaic and Roman periods offer considerably more data on the prices of enslaved persons. Throughout the Ptolemaic period, pricing seems to be in line with the Late Period evidence (between 91 and 546 g of silver per person): evidence suggests that the price of an enslaved person could be as low as 50 drachma (112.5 g of silver) or as high as 300 drachma (675 g of silver), but generally tended to fall between 112–150 drachma (252–337.5 g of silver),[221] only slightly higher than the average price from the Late Period. Rewards for recovering enslaved persons who had run away are in line with these purchase prices: UPZ 1.121, dated to 180 BC, states that the reward is between 2–5[222] copper talents (approximately 315–787 g of silver).[223]

Roman Egypt is particularly rich in data regarding enslaved persons, all of which suggests a different labor market than the one in Rome. Roman Egypt evidenced a stable and well-

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[220] Bieżuńska-Małowist (*L'esclavage*), on Ptolemaic slavery in Egypt.
[221] Bieżuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage*, 20–21; Westermann, *Slave Systems*, 61.
[222] Depending on where the enslaved person is recovered (e.g., recovered from a temple would result in a reward of 2 talents, in the house of a wealthy man, 5 talents).
[223] This conversion based on a ratio of 70 silver drachmae per copper talent. Around 180 BC, this ratio varied between 60 and 80; see Segre, "Ptolemaic," 175.

endowed free labor market, in which the purchase price of an enslaved person in Roman Egypt was high: the median price of an enslaved person aged 16–25 was 1100 drachmae[224] (2475 g of silver). When compared with real labor costs (i.e. a hired person), the purchase and use of enslaved persons was costlier, and therefore less common.[225]

§5.4.4 Supply of Slave Labor in the Late Period

Enslaved people were not a redistributive element in the economy; in other words, enslaved labor was not collected by the state and redistributed elsewhere.[226] Assuming that there was a 'market'[227] for slave labor, we can examine supply and demand as it relates to the pricing data of *Table 20*. In a market economy, prices are inextricably linked to supply and demand. High prices are reflective of high demand and low supply, and conversely, low prices to low demand and high supply.[228] Generally speaking, the ancient Near East is characterized by a higher

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[224] Scheidel, "Real Slave," 3.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Separating it from the coerced labor of corvée, which is certainly an element of redistributed labor; Moreno García, "Markets and Transactions," 185.
[227] Though unlikely to have been an actual 'market-place' or 'auction-block'. The few sales that we have appear to have been small-scale and personal (i.e., all the parties knew one another, including the enslaved person); for further discussion on the 'personal' element, see **Chapter 6, §2.2.** ; on the possibilities that a market for slave labor existed in the broader Near East during the New Kingdom, Haider, "Menschenhandel," 127–156.
[228] Hayden, "Price Formation," 34–36, for a summary of Locke and Smith's theories on supply and demand. On supply and demand in a slave market, see van der Linden, "Dissecting," 317 and Green, "The Economics," 39–70, especially 67–68.

demand than supply of labor,[229] which is one of the reasons why capture of labor abroad was attractive and well-attested: it provided a steady stream of agency-free labor of both genders, skilled and unskilled.

Abduction and entry into enslavement through capture in war is well-attested throughout Egyptian history,[230] but was most prominent in the New Kingdom, at the height of Egyptian expansion into the Levant. The autobiography of the General Ahmose[231] evidences how he "brought away" two enslaved women (*ḥmwt*) as booty (*ḫꜣḳ*) from his conquests in the Levant. As part of his retirement gift of land and gold, he was gifted nineteen more enslaved persons, some of whom bore foreign names and originated from similar campaigns. The stela of Usertat, the viceroy of Kush, lists among the achievements of the king that he possesses a "female slave from Babylon, a female slave from Byblos, a little girl of Alalakh, and an old woman of Arrapkha".[232] Papyrus Harris I, a New Kingdom administrative document,[233] includes a

[229] Jursa, "Market Performance," 83–106; this is stated explicitly in one Babylonian letter dated to 550 BC (CT 22, 133), in which a temple weaver complains that he is "beleaguered by men who are for hire". See also Harper ("Slave Prices," 208–209) for Late Antique supply and demand of slave labor.
[230] On prisoners of war in this dissertation's corpus, see **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.**
[231] *Urk. IV*, 1–10.
[232] Darnell, "The Stela," 239–276.
[233] Grandet, *Le papyrus*.

historical section that details the king's capture of persons in military campaigns in Nubia, Libya, and the Levant, numbering in the "tens of thousands".[234]

After the end of the New Kingdom and the upheaval of the Third Intermediate period, Egypt no longer had the military presence in the Levant that would provide such influxes of foreign labor.[235] Fewer enslaved people could have driven up their prices, which in turn would have made free unskilled agricultural labor more competitive, especially in the harvesting and planting seasons. In other words: any agricultural laborer (enslaved or not) would be in high demand during planting and harvesting, and in low demand during inundation. If there were fewer enslaved people and a surplus of hired agricultural laborers in times of high demand, then we could reason that hired labor would be more attractive at that time due to supply and demand, [236] but we simply do not have enough evidence that this was the case, only that there were few enslaved persons.

[234] P. Harris I, 77.4–6.

[235] The 'men of the north' captured through war by the Kushite kings are examples of slaves captured abroad, but are very few in number; see **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.**

[236] This would also not be relevant to enslaved laborers who are doing anything unrelated to agriculture: domestic labor, weaving, fishing, or quarrying.

When the month is preserved, it seems that enslaved people were sold or self-sold either at the beginning of the civil calendar or at its end; that is, immediately before ploughing and planting or during the harvest months.[237] It is unknown whether this was related to agricultural timing (e.g., purchasing in advance of the ploughing and planting seasons) or a matter of purchasing before or after the end of the fiscal year for accounting purposes.[238]

§5.4.5 Comparative Prices of Enslaved Individuals in the Eastern Mediterranean

Comparative data from other geographical regions (see below) seemingly indicate that the price of purchasing an enslaved person in Egypt of the Late Period was lower than other locations in this period of time. However, two factors need to be taken into consideration: (1) since silver is the media of exchange, a change in the availability of silver[239] (and therefore its

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[237] Texts which preserve the month include P. Rylands 6, P. Bibl. Nat. 223 (Akhet 1); P. Leiden F1942/5.15 (Akhet 2); P. Rylands 7 (Akhet 4); P. Vatican 10547 (Shemu 2); Louvre E706 (Shemu 2); P. Rylands 5 (Shemu 2); P. Louvre E3228e (Shemu 4); P. Turin 2122 (Shemu 4). The single outlier is P. Louvre E3228d (Peret 1), which may support its interpretation as a lease or fictive sale (see **Chapter 3, §4.2.1**).

[238] Although the civil year began on the first month of Akhet (Thoth), the fiscal year began on the second month of Peret (Mechir), see Jones ("On the Reconstructed," 157–166); purchases and sales of slaves which appear to be distributed towards the beginning and end of the civil calendar may well be distributed before/after the beginning and end of the fiscal calendar. The timing of slave sales appears to be unrelated to the timing of Late Period loans; the latter are rather evenly distributed over the calendar but the amount of time before repayment is expected varies. On the effect of seasonal variation on slave sales, see van der Linden ("Dissecting," 316).

[239] On the increase in the amount of silver from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period, see Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 230. On the change in availability of silver in Greece due in part to the use of the Laurion mines, see Bresson, *The Making*, 274–276. There was almost certainly an impact of the supply of silver in Egypt as well on

price as a commodity) may impact the overall prices of enslaved persons more than market fluctuations and/or availability of persons for purchase; and (2) prices of enslaved persons were highly variable, and this limited data set allows only for educated guesses. However, patterns of pricing (e.g. from Babylonia) suggest that despite variation, these prices would have likely followed a pattern.

In 4th century Greece, evidence shows that an enslaved person could be sold for anywhere between 105–360 drachma (with an average price of 179 drachma),[240] roughly equivalent to an average price of 89.5 silver shekels (814.45 g of silver).[241] In Babylonia in the 6th–5th centuries BC, the price was between 50 and 60 shekels (455–546 g of silver).[242] In Assyria of the same time period we are lucky to have a great deal of evidence regarding slave pricing, and two basic conclusions can emerge: first, that despite a great deal of variability in pricing—not unlike what we see in the Egyptian and Aramaic record—a pattern of pricing does occur; second, that

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market prices (see Duyrat and Agut-Labordère, "The Monetary," 69–88), but because pricing data is so scanty it is hard to detect any real patterns.

[240] Compare with Scheidel ("Real Slave," 11) and Lewis (*Greek Slave Systems*, 171) who both cite 200–500 drachma/enslaved person.

[241] On the standard of 2 drachma (4.5g of silver)/1 shekel (9.1g of silver). See above, **§3**, see also Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 190.

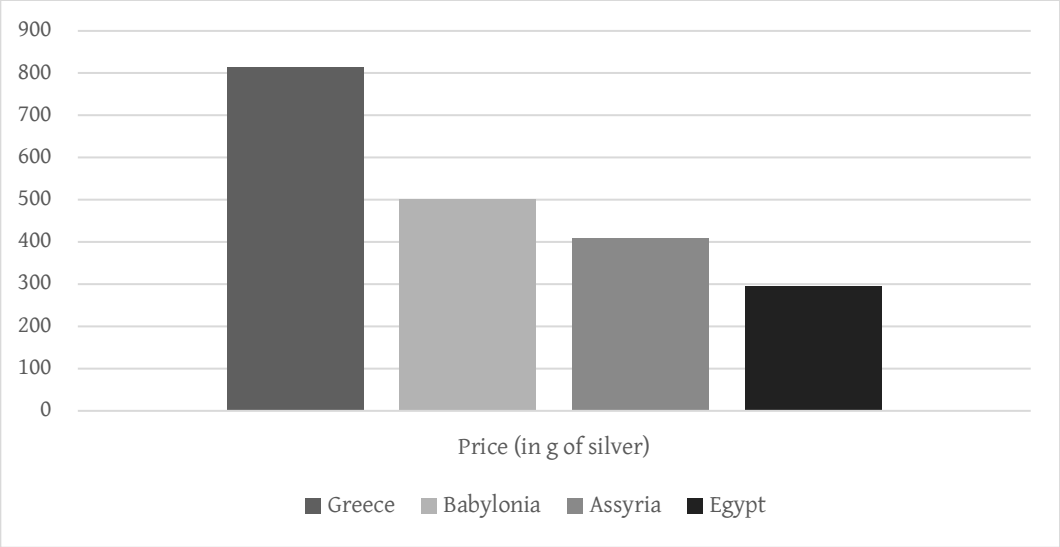
[242] For Babylonia, see Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 246–8; Jursa, *Aspects*, 745; Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*, 239; For Assyria, see Baker, "Slavery," 15–30; Ponchia, "Slaves," 157–179. Despite the apparent lower price in raw silver, the relative value of slaves in Babylonia may have actually been higher since prices *in general* were lower in Babylonia (Alain Bresson, pers. comm. 31 January 2022); a work focused on slave pricing in Babylonia could explore the relative value of slaves more thoroughly.

male labor was at a premium. The average cost for an enslaved man was 1 mina (546 g of silver), and the average price for an enslaved woman was 0.5 mina (273 g of silver).[243]

In comparison with the relatively predictable prices from Ptolemaic Egypt, the pricing in Greece of the same time period shows a steady increase: from 179 drachmae for an adult man in 414 BC[244] (402.75 g of silver), to 405 drachma (911.25 g of silver) for an adult man in 200 BC, and ultimately 641 drachma (1442.25 g of silver) a century and a half later. However, this increase is roughly in line with the conventional range suggested by Xenophon[245] of 200 to 500 drachmae (450–1125 g of silver) per person.

Figure 1: Comparative Pricing in the Eastern Mediterranean, c. 6th-5th century BC

[243] Fales, "Prices," 30; Radner, *Die neuassyrischen*, 230–248; Müller, "Zur Entwicklung," 184–197. Note that the conversion of 1 mina to 60 shekels may not be always accurate, as noted by Fales ("Prices," 30–32), but the rate of variation he suggests would still not result in prices as low as those indicated by the Egyptian documentation.
[244] Scheidel, "Real Slave," 11.
[245] *Mem.*II.5.2 notes that slaves could vary widely in value, from 50 to 1000 drachmae; the "conventional range" is suggested by Scheidel "Real Slave," 11. However, Xenophon also suggested a price for enslaved mine workers, set at 180 drachmae (405 g of silver).



If, indeed, the purchasing price of an enslaved person was lower in Egypt of the Late Period and Early Ptolemaic Period than in other regions of the Mediterranean, it is possible that slave labor was simply more widely available, thereby driving the costs down.[246] If this is the case, it creates an apparent paradox: if slave labor was so competitively priced, why don't we have *more* evidence of enslaved persons? This lack of evidence could at least be partially ascribed to the general scarcity of written documentation from the Late Period.

But another possibility is that, indeed, there was little demand for slave labor, even when the prices were low comparative to the rest of the Mediterranean region, due to the low cost and

[246] This is not to say that purchasing an enslaved person was cheap relative to other commodities in Late Period Egypt, but rather that it was cheaper than other regions in which slave labor was far more widely used, e.g. Greece.

easy availability of hired labor, the latter of which was unlikely to warrant written documentation. It is no coincidence that the wage data we do have from the Late Period comes from institutions and businesses, rather than private employers and employees. On a smaller scale, if a laborer was paid a low sum of money, or—more likely—a small amount of rations[247] for a day's work, the transaction would not involve a title transfer (temporary or otherwise) and was not contestable in court; therefore had no need for any kind of written proof. Put simply, the price of enslaved persons may have been cheap in Egypt, but on a small-scale need for labor, it was not preferable to hired labor.

§5.4.6 Supporting Enslaved Individuals

As noted in **§2**, comparing the cost of a day of "free" labor vs. enslaved labor (which is ostensibly for life) presents a number of problems. Theoretically, we can do what Scheidel did,[248] and attempt to calculate the cost of maintenance of an enslaved person as a factor in a cost-benefit analysis of free vs. enslaved labor. The cost of maintenance is certainly a matter

[247] We are lucky for the throwaway reference to a "handful of flour" given to laborers under Arsames (TADA6.9; Tuplin, "Commentary," 150) in a letter about an entirely different matter; it is unlikely that this handing-out of rations would've warranted a written agreement.
[248] Scheidel, "Real Slave," 12–14.

for speculation, but ultimately both impossible to calculate[249] and likely not actually a factor when an employer[250] weighed the costs of purchasing an enslaved individual.

On the impossibility of calculation, a lifetime of maintenance of an enslaved person would necessarily rely on at least a rough idea of the lifespan of an individual in the Late Period. Life expectancies and mortality rates are unpredictable in antiquity,[251] and even more so in a period from which we have so little documentation. This calculation would also necessarily rely on some idea of grain prices in the Late Period; as demonstrated above (**§5.1.2**), this is a number which we can only estimate.

Our only indication of what kind of support an enslaved laborer would have expected comes from P. Rylands 7, a negotiation of rations by the *bꜣk* Payftjawawykhonsu. In this contract, Payftjawawykhonsu stipulates that he is to receive 120 *ḥḳꜣt* (576 litres) of emmer and 100 *ḥḳꜣt* (480 litres) of Lower Egyptian barley as a monthly ration (*ʿḳ ḥbs*) for himself and his family.[252]

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[249] As Moses Finley said (*Ancient Slavery*, 129) when a Roman scholar attempted to do the same, this is likely a case of "pseudo statistics".
[250] This term is used very loosely only in the sense of a person or institution who hands out wages or rations.
[251] Zarkrzewski, "Life Expectancy"; for a sense of the multiple variables involved in attempting to understand life expectancies, even with a large data set, see Bagnall and Frier (*Demography*, 75–110) in their estimation of life expectancies in the Roman period.
[252] See **Chapter 2**, **§2.1.1.3**.

Even with the supplemental silver received by the soldiers at the Syene garrison, the amount given to Payftjawawykhonsu dwarfs the soldiers' monthly ration of 57.42 litres of barley. The amount given to Payftjawawykhonsu is also higher than the monthly ration (*ꜥḳ ḥbs*) provided to a married woman[253] (114.9 litres a month), but presumably that amount was intended only for her rather than the entire family. Despite their enslaved status, Payftjawawykhonsu and his family were better-fed—and therefore more costly to their "employers"—than the soldiers at the Syene garrison.

Perhaps more importantly, however, it is likely that the maintenance of an enslaved person was not a factor in whether or not a person or institution chose to purchase an enslaved individual. Even laborers whom we would not consider "enslaved", like the laborers at Deir el-Medina[254] or the soldiers at Syene expected a degree of support from their employers in the form of rations—and the employers provided. In other words, their employers were feeding and housing them, thereby maintaining them as a labor force, albeit a "free" one in that they could leave if they so desired.[255] If one needed to feed and house both hired and enslaved labor, it is unlikely that the cost of maintenance alone would be a factor in deciding which form of

[253] P. OI. 17841; on this monthly stipend, see **§4.5.2**.
[254] Černý, *A Community*, 91–120 on the workmen at Deir el-Medina.
[255] See the discussion on "agency" in **§2**.

labor to employ; however, the cost of maintenance coupled with a high purchase price (as in the case of slave labor) may have been a factor.

§6. Conclusions

This chapter set out to suggest a relative value of enslaved persons on the basis of pricing of other items and to discuss the reasoning behind employing slave labor as opposed to hired labor in view of factors such as the commodification of labor, the monetary value of wages for hired labor evident in the sources, and the question of the maintenance of an enslaved person.

The average monetary value of a purchased individual in the Late Period (293 g of silver) is roughly equivalent to that of eight cows, twelve liters of wine, an apartment in a house, or a large plot of land.[256] In terms of relative value, this means that the purchase of an enslaved individual was an investment, both in terms of the actual silver required and the protection of the investment by keeping a person alive; although we cannot estimate how much that

[256] Ten arourae at the Abnormal Hieratic price evidenced in P. Turin 2118 (2.73 g of silver per aroura). Ten aroura would produce approximately 8,000 litres of grain in the annual harvest, enough to support an extended family; Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor*, (2014), 31.

maintenance would've cost—or even if it was a factor in choosing to employ slave labor rather than hired labor, since hired labor also required maintenance—it still would have been a drain on resources in conjunction with a high purchase price.

In light of this expense, the low cost and (usually) easy availability of short-term hired labor, and the exposure of the purchaser to liability, we are faced with an apparent paradox: why use slave labor at all? A purchase price of 293 g of silver could buy its owner eight heads of cattle who, for instance, would not be able to negotiate the terms of the rations they were fed in a written (and therefore contestable) contract.

The dwindling supply of enslaved persons (especially from abroad) and the fluctuating demand as a result of the agricultural calendar could provide one reason for the use of enslaved labor. When demand for short-term contract agricultural laborers was high—during the planting and harvest—and supply low, the purchase of an enslaved person would have been attractive despite a relatively high purchase price. The evidence shows that most enslaved persons were sold or self-sold immediately before planting or in the midst of harvest, which *could* suggest timing motivated by agricultural demand. However, it is equally possible that the timing of these purchases was a matter of aligning with the fiscal year, especially

since we cannot be certain that all of the enslaved laborers of these sales were intended for agricultural work.

The economic value of enslaved persons seems not have been embedded in their price, which was relatively high, nor their labor, which could be done more easily through short-term contract labor. Instead, the value of enslaved persons was in the degree of control their owner had over them with a basis in long-term contract labor and the availability this implies, especially for domestic laborers, the "agency-free" dependability of their labor, and, lastly, the economic role as a commercial device:[257] as property, they held value and served as stores of wealth, but they also served as collateral[258] (that continued to work while standing as collateral), and could satisfy a debt through sale.[259] In other words, enslaved persons held value as both financial instruments *and* productive laborers.

[257] On this concept, and the argument that Babylonian slaves in particular were "primarily financial instruments in a mercantile economy, and only secondarily productive laborers", see Richardson, "Walking Capital," 1–58.
[258] **Chapter 2, §2.1.2.2** (Egyptian) and **§3.1.2.1** (Aramaic).
[259] One of the possible explanations for the transaction recorded in P. Louvre E3228d.

CHAPTER 5: IDENTITY AND PERSONHOOD

§1. Introduction

After three chapters dedicated to linguistic (**Chapter 2**), legal (**Chapter 3**), and economic (**Chapter 4**) aspects of slavery in Late Period Egypt, this chapter examines the lived experience of enslaved persons in Late Period Egypt: their geographical origin; their entry into (and potential exits from) the status of enslavement; whether they were noticeably different from other strata of society, through body modification or onomastics; and their familial relations (i.e. children).

Part of the investigation into the lived experience of enslaved people relates to the definitions of slavery briefly touched upon in other chapters, especially the "property definition" and its counterpart, Orlando Patterson's "social death" theory. In the context of the lived experience of Late Period enslavement, this chapter espouses a synthesis of both definitions: the former for taxonomical classification (as used in **Chapter 2**) and the latter as lenses through which to analyse the social effects of enslavement.

This chapter is split into three parts: the first deals with the onomastics of enslaved persons in Late Period Egypt (**§2**), examining the geographical origins of these names (**§2.2**), the appearance of filiation (**§2.3**), and other epithets (**§2.4**). The second part of this chapter examines to definitions of slavery (**§3.1, §3.2**) and how they are relevant for the enslaved persons of Late Period Egypt (**§3.3**), using re-naming and branding as case studies (**§3.4**). The third (and final) section deals with the characterization of coerced labor through 'moments' of entry, exit, and extraction: the chapter discusses entry into enslaved status (**§4.1**), including an examination of debt slavery (**§4.1.1**) and prisoners of war (**§4.1.2**); exit from enslaved status (**§4.2**), including manumission (**§4.2.1**) and escape (**§4.2.2**). Finally, this chapter explores labor extraction (i.e., how people lived and worked while enslaved, **§4.3**).

§2. Onomastics

It can perhaps go without saying that names are an invaluable resource for social historians: names establish identity and signal familial and marital relationships to others.[1] In addition to

[1] Vittmann, "Personal Names: Function," 1; Patterson, *Slavery*, 54.

this social interpretation, Egyptian and Aramaic names held literal meanings:[2] *Ns-ḫnsw* was not just Neskhonsu, but rather "He belongs to Khonsu"; *Mḥsyh* not just Mahseiah, but "Jehovah is refuge". These meanings were well-known, and names were often given with intent.[3] With the idea of the name as a social marker in mind—and the additional facet of the meaning behind a name—an investigation of the names which appear in this dissertation's corpus can function as a tool for analysis of the social effects of enslavement. Names can provide insight into the geographic origin of enslaved persons, their relationships with their parents and children, and the practice of renaming enslaved persons.[4]

There is currently no Egyptological study on slave names,[5] but the field has recently experienced a minor resurgence in the study of Athenian slaves: scholars have published

[2] These two examples happen to be theophoric, but names carried significance whether or not they happened to mention a god. For Egyptian names, see Vittmann ("Function"); for Aramaic names in the Elephantine corpus, Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 84–88.

[3] *Mnḥm* "comforter", was an especially popular name for a baby following the death of a family member, Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 86; *nḥt.n.i* "she whom I desired" is likely in reference to a wished-for child, Vittmann, "Function," 2.

[4] On this practice, see below **§2.2.1**; on the practice as a part of the "social death" described by Patterson, see below, **§3.2** and **§3.4.1.**

[5] i.e., names of enslaved persons, rather than a distinct category of servile names, which likely did not exist. See also Lewis, "Notes," 93 fn. 11; for the high percentage of slave names that were shared with citizens, see Vlassopoulos, "Athenian," 113. A comparison of the Egyptian names from this dissertation's onomastic dataset with the names from the *Demotisches Namenbuch* would be enlightening, but beyond the scope of this dissertation.

catalogues of slave names and discussed their implications.[6] In classical Greece, compiling this onomastic data is eased by the clarity with which enslaved labor is divided from other forms of labor; in Egypt, this process of compilation is more difficult since it relies on determining who is indeed enslaved or not, a point on which scholars do not always agree (e.g., whether *bꜣk* represents a servant or a slave).

This section approaches onomastic data from Late Period Egypt by assuming that any person bearing the qualification of one of the terms explored in this dissertation (*ꜥbd, ꜣmh, ꜥlym, bꜣk, ḳḏwḏ/rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty*) warrants inclusion in the database. This is not a nuanced categorization;[7] this assumption groups together persons who may not necessarily have shared the same status (e.g. *ꜥbd* vs. *ꜥlym*, *bꜣk* vs. *rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty*). However, the research in previous chapters of this dissertation (**Chapter 2**, **Chapter 3**) strongly suggests that although these people may have experienced the extraction of their labor differently, they were all very likely enslaved, allowing this system of categorization—imperfect as it is—to proceed.

[6] Fragiadakis, "Die attischen"; Solin, "Griechische"; Hartmann, "What Name"; Robertson, "Slave Names"; Vlassopoulos, "Athenian"; Lewis, "Notes"; Vlassopoulos, "Plotting".
[7] Cf. the far more detailed categorization of Greek slave names in Vlassopoulos, "Athenian," 114.

This subsection presents the onomastic data (**§2.1**) and then surveys the following in light of the data: the possibilities of renaming (**§2.2.1**) and their implications for assigning geographic origins to names of enslaved persons, which is nevertheless explored (**§2.2.3**); filiation and the implications of its absence (**§2.3**); and a critical examination of epithets previously thought to be markers of enslavement (**§2.4**).

§2.1 The Data

This subsection briefly introduces the onomastic data set and elements of identification before delving into more detailed analyses in the following subsections. Elements of identification are relevant in that an onomastic data set in both Egyptian and Aramaic documents can—and does—include not only an individual's name, but also a title, qualification (e.g., *bꜣk*) and filiation. Contracts and other documentary texts tend to provide more extensive identification than other types of texts (e.g. letters), since there is usually a greater degree of specificity required. This discussion of the data set covers the aforementioned elements of identification: the name itself, including its geographical origin and possibilities for re-naming; filiation; and qualifications of enslavement.

This dissertation's corpus of documentary texts evidences a total of 65 unique names appearing alongside qualifications of enslaved persons (*ʿbd, ʾmh, ʿlym, bꜣk, ḳ̲dw̲d̲/rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*). The vast majority of these names appear in the Aramaic documentation (53 out of 65), with only a handful in Demotic (7 out of 65) and Abnormal Hieratic (5 out of 65). All of the names in the Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic documents are Egyptian in origin, while the names in the Aramaic documents exhibit a variety of geographical origins,[8] possibly suggestive of a practice of renaming enslaved persons in Egyptian documentation, discussed below in **§2.2.1**.

Over half of the names (40 out of 65) do not evidence any filiation;[9] the next greatest category include only a patronym (11 out of 65); implied parentage (e.g., the parent is mentioned elsewhere in the document but not immediately following the name of the enslaved person, 6 out of 65); only a matronym (4 out of 65); and lastly, both parents (4 out of 65). Though not *quite* onomastics, it is important to note that although 20 of the 53 names in Aramaic sources are followed with the epithet "his/her name (*šmh*)", it does not appear to be an indication of enslaved status.[10]

[8] See below, **§2.2**.
[9] See below, **§2.3.2.**
[10] See below**, §2.4**.

§2.2 Geographical Origins

A glance at the origins of the names in this corpus presents a slightly skewed idea that over half of the people in the corpus are Egyptian: 37 out of a total of 65 names. However, it should be noted that 11 of the 37 Egyptian names come from Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic and comprise all of the Egyptian documentation; that is to say, all of the names of enslaved people in the Egyptian sources are Egyptian names. To adjust for this, *Fig. 1* only includes the Aramaic corpus (53 names) to present a more accurate picture. This adjustment also brings up an interesting question: why do all the enslaved persons in the Egyptian corpus bear Egyptian names?

The relative scarcity of Egyptian documents should be taken into account, but nevertheless we are left with what is likely evidence of renaming. As explored further below (**§2.2.1**), assigning ethnicity on the basis of name origin is often thought to be fraught because of the possibility for renaming enslaved persons, i.e., we can never be sure if someone bearing an Egyptian name is Egyptian, or simply renamed.[11] The fact that all of the names of enslaved persons in the Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic sources bear Egyptian names—as opposed to the variety

[11] For this concept in the study of Greek slave names, see Lewis, "Notes," 96 fn. 23.

exhibited in the Aramaic sources—as well as the precedence for the practice of renaming in Egyptian history, implies that renaming may indeed have occurred in the Egyptian sources.

In contrast to the Egyptian record, the Aramaic sources evidence a wide variety of geographical name origins. This suggests that renaming did *not* occur, or else we would see a higher incidence of Semitic names (more below, **§2.2.1**); in turn, this allows us to explore the geographical origins of the names in the Aramaic record as very likely indicative of the origin of the enslaved person him/herself. This brings us to another observation: the vast majority of the names in the Aramaic record are Egyptian, while their owners bear Aramaic names. The question then turns from "where did they come from?" to "how did they become enslaved?", which is explored below (**§4.1** and **§4.2**).

§2.2.1 Renaming of Enslaved Persons and Significance of Names

In examining onomastic data of slave names, the practice of renaming by the owner[12] presents a major hurdle.[13] Classical historians examining slave names cite Strabo, who claims that slaves

[12] On self-motivated name-change, see Vlassopoulos, "Athenian," 118–120.
[13] Lewis, "Notes," 96.

were given names on the basis of their geographical origin,[14] Varro, who states that slaves could be named after the dealer from whom they were purchased,[15] and especially Plato, who explicitly states that the names of slaves were changed.[16] It is likely that the majority of these changed names were simply the giving of a Greek name;[17] this is reflected in the Egyptian record. Like Greek slave-owners, Egyptian evidence from the Middle and New Kingdom and the complete absence of foreign slave names in the Late Period Egyptian record suggests that Egyptians changed the names of their slaves, obscuring geographical origins on the basis of onomastic data.[18] Although the renaming of earlier periods seemed to carry some significance, indicating servile status or foreign origin (e.g. "from the West"), the Egyptian names of the Late Period do not appear to do the same.

[14] Strabo 7.3.12.

[15] Varro *Ling*. 8.9.

[16] Crat. 384d: "ὥσπερ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἡμεῖς μετατιθέμεθα".

[17] Rather than a pet/derogatory name, or a changing of ethnicity. On the giving of pet/derogatory names and on the practice of renaming as part of the "ritual of enslavement", see Patterson (*Slavery*, 55) and **§3.4.1** below; on the low incidence of such a practice see Vlassopoulos ("Athenian," 121–122); on the changing of ethnicity as an unlikely occurrence despite Strabo, Lewis ("Notes," 92–96).

[18] Although the name of the enslaved girl in the judicial papyrus examined below (P. Cairo 65739) is unknown, her "new" name suggests a western origin, in line with the ethnonym given in the first few lines of the papyrus.

Egyptian evidence of the renaming of enslaved persons dates to the Middle and New Kingdom. The late Middle Kingdom papyrus P. Brooklyn 35.1446[19] records a list of approximately[20] ninety persons (*ḥmw*) who appeared to have abandoned their duties and run away, in three columns: names, alternative names, and professions. Roughly half (46 out of 90) of these people are designated as "Asiatic (*ꜥꜣm*)" and bear Northwest Semitic names.[21] Of these "Asiatics", two features should be noted: first, when the mothers (bearing Northwest Semitic names) appear with their children, the children bear Egyptian names;[22] second, the alternative names in the second column seem to be representative of the assignment of new Egyptian names with the formula "S/he is called (*ḏdw n.f [m] / ḏdt n.s [f]*)".[23]

Renaming could carry its own significance or be seemingly arbitrary. Some of the 'new' Egyptian names of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 appear to be reflective of the status of their bearers, representing servitude (four women are renamed as "her-mistress-is-well, *snb-ḥnwt.s*"; one man is named "his-master-is-well, *snb-nb.f*" and another "my-master-is-my-Ka, *kꜣ.i-pw-nb.i*") or

[19] Hayes, *A Papyrus.*
[20] The state of preservation makes it difficult to determine exactly how many. Hayes (*A Papyrus*, 87–88) lists 95 lines.
[21] Goelet, "Problems," 572; Hayes, *A Papyrus*, 90.
[22] E.g., "The female Asiatic, Ashra, her daughter Senebtisy [...] the female Asiatic Aduna, her son, Ankhu".
[23] This was also the formula used for some people on the list who bore Egyptian names; Hayes (*A Papyrus*, 102) refers to these as "nicknames" and suggests that they could be used to differentiate two people of the same common name.

occasionally alienation ("I-am-prayed-for-in-a-foreign-land, *nḥ.n.i-m-ḫ3st*"; "we-will-come-to-our-land, *iw.n-r-t3-n*"; "my-god-is-behind-me, *nṯr.i-m-s3.i*"). Conversely, many of these re-namings are just ordinary Egyptian names, even theophoric with Egyptian gods: "Amun-at the-forefront, *imn-m-ḥ3t*"; "she-who-is-beloved-of-the-gold (Hathor), *mryt-nbw*"; and the popular name Ankhu (*ʿnḫw*) both alone and in combinations such as "Ankhu-is-well, *ʿnḫw-snb*".

Another example of renaming with significance is evidenced in a New Kingdom judicial papyrus, P. Cairo 65739.[24] The papyrus records contention over a previously-purchased imported Syrian girl. In the report of how she came to be enslaved, her owner explicitly states that he gave her an Egyptian name after he purchased her from a merchant:

P. Cairo 65739 *iw.f dit n.i t3y ḥmt iw.i ḥr ḏd n.s gm.n.i-ḥr-imntt r rn*
And he gave me this *ḥmt*, and I called her Gemniheriment for a name.[25]

The girl's new name, otherwise unattested,[26] refers to her origin—its meaning is "I found (her) in the West" or "(she) who I found in the West." The girl's original name is apparently of no

[24] Gardiner, "A Lawsuit," 140–146.
[25] Ibid., 142.
[26] Ranke, *Personennamen*, 323.

interest, and it is not mentioned. It is unknown why her owner chose to give her a 'significant' new name rather than a standard Egyptian one.

The main takeaway from this short historical excursus into renaming is that when approaching Egyptian names of enslaved persons in the Late Period corpus, bearing an Egyptian name in Egyptian sources may not be indicative of an Egyptian origin of the enslaved person. They may have been renamed,[27]or, alternatively, chosen to rename themselves; Egyptianized foreigners of higher status renamed themselves (though evidence is sparse).[28] In the Ptolemaic period, many Egyptians adopted a Greek name which they would use in an official Greek context alongside their Egyptian name; without double documents, it can be difficult to ascertain if the bearer of a Greek name in a Greek document is actually Greek, or a double-named Egyptian.[29] Turning to the Late Period, even those enslaved persons whom we suspect to be of foreign origin bear Egyptian names. In Abnormal Hieratic, the specification of

[27] On renaming as an example of "social death" according to Patterson, see below, **§3.4.1.**
[28] One Late Period example can be found of a Greek who adopted an Egyptian name, Vittmann (*Ägypten*, 203); an example can also be found the high-ranking Egyptian from Elephantine, Eshor son of Djeho, who would later be known as Nathan; Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 79.
[29] Coussement, *Polyonymy*.

a "Man/Gazan of the North (*rmṯ/ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥtṯ*) suggests a foreign origin for these enslaved persons,[30] and yet they all bear Egyptian names.[31]

Unlike the New Kingdom judicial papyrus P. Cairo 65739 and some of the names in P. Brooklyn 35.1446, the Egyptian names in the Late Period corpus do not appear to have had any special meaning attached to them that could shed some light on why they had been assigned to their bearers (if they had been assigned at all, rather than simply Egyptians).

Table 21: Meanings of Egyptian Slave Names in Egyptian Sources

Name	Meaning	Text	Title
pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-ḳd	the child of the vicinity[32]	P. Turin 2122	*bꜣk*
pꜣy.f-ḥr-ʿwy-wp-wꜣwt	his Horus is in the hands of Wepwawet	P. Cairo 50058	*bꜣk*
pꜣy.f-ḥr-ʿwy-pꜣ-mdw-šps	his Horus is in the hands of the Noble Staff	P. Cairo 50058	*bꜣk*
iʿḥ.s-n-pr-wp-wꜣwt	her moon is of the house of Wepwawet	P. Cairo 50058	*bꜣkt*
wḏꜣ-ḥr	hail Horus	P. Louvre E3228d	*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*
pꜣ-nfr-iw	the good comes	P. Leiden 1942/5.15	*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*
mnṯ-iir-dit.s	Montu has given him	P. Louvre E3228e	*ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥ*
bn-ꜣt-it[.f]	it is not the one who does not have [his] father	P. Vatican 10547	*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*

[30] On "Men/Gazans of the North" as prisoners of war, see below, **§4.2.**.

[31] Not all *ḳḏwḏ* were the same, however; a man titled "the Gazan (*pꜣ ḳḏwḏ*)"—with an Egyptian name and an Egyptian patronym (*pꜣ-iwiw-ḥr* son of *ns-imn*)—is apparently a relatively well-to-do legal entity in his own right wrapping up the financial misgivings of a marriage gone wrong. See below, **§4.2.**, and Donker van Heel, "A Day," 165.

[32] Following Pestman, *Les papyrus*, 109. Unattested name.

Table 21: Meanings of Egyptian Slave Names in Egyptian Sources (continued)

ỉrt.w-r-ṯ͗y	the eyes will seize (the enemy)	P. Louvre E3228c	*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*
ḏd-t͗-wry-ỉw.s-ʿnḫ	Taweret has said: "she will live"	Louvre E706	*b͗kt*
ḳrḏ	cub	P. Inv. Sorb. 1277	*b͗k*

None of these names are immediately suggestive of subordinate status (e.g. "her mistress is well, *snb-ḥnwt.s*") or foreign origin (e.g. "I found her in the West, *gm.n.ỉ-ḥr-ỉmntt*)". It's possible that some of these names give clues—for instance, "the child of the vicinity" could refer to a neighborhood child, "cub" could refer to a child's age (perhaps explaining why he is sold alongside his mother), and "Taweret has said: 'she will live'" could reference why our *b͗kt* has chosen self-sale—but this is somewhat fantastical conjecture. All we can say for certain is that these persons, regardless of their origin (which may well have been Egyptian) appear with Egyptian names.

In contrast to the Egyptian sources where an Egyptian name may not necessarily represent an Egyptian individual, an Egyptian name in an *Aramaic* document very likely is representative of an Egyptian origin. The Aramaic sources exhibit a wide variety of geographical name origins along with Semitic (i.e. Aramaic) names: Egyptian, Cilician, Iranian, Hyrcanian, and Cretan. This wide variety strongly suggests that renaming was not an overarching practice; in other

words, an enslaved person appears to have been able to keep their 'original' name, albeit transcribed into Aramaic. Therefore, we can use the Aramaic sources as a relatively reliable method of determining geographic origins of enslaved people in question.

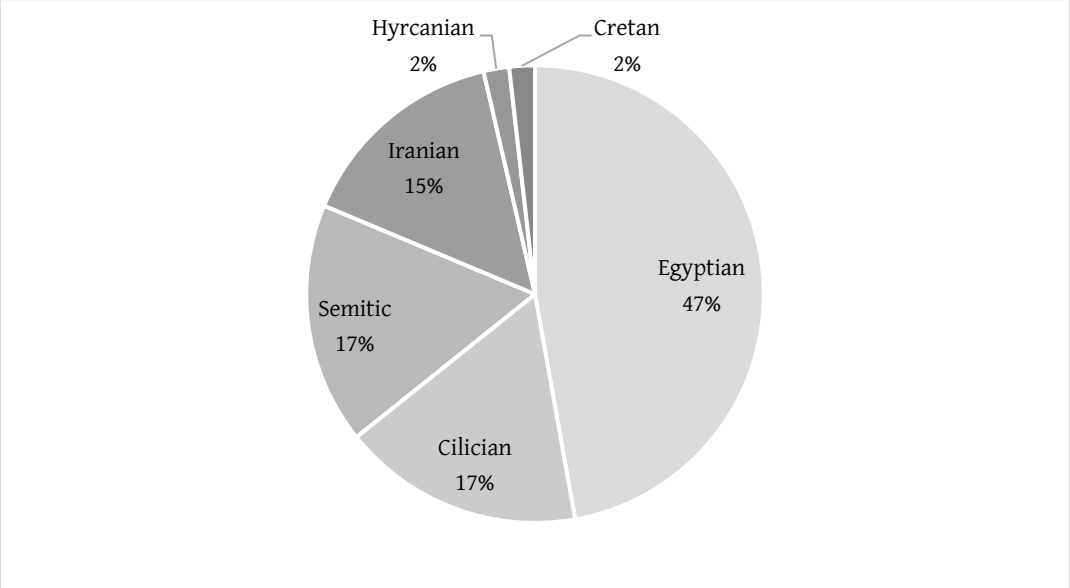
Upon an examination of the data, it is clear that the majority of the names of enslaved persons in the Aramaic record are Egyptian. An argument might be made that the clear majority of Egyptian names in Aramaic documents might be indicative of some kind of renaming—e.g., a family in Elephantine giving their foreign-born slave an Egyptian name—but I find this unconvincing. If any renaming occurred in Aramaic documentation, I believe the expectation would be for a Semitic name,[33] and on a case-by-case basis, e.g., if a child was born to an enslaved mother and her owner, as in the case of Jehoishma daughter of Tamet and her owner Meshullam,[34] or the adopted Jedeniah. On the basis of the reasonable assumption that Egyptian names in the Aramaic sources indeed represent enslaved Egyptians, we can then delve into how they entered their enslaved status (**§4.1** and **§4.2**).

§2.2.2 Geographic Origins: Evaluations

[33] As with Eshor son of Djeho, who changed his own name to Nathan; Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 79.
[34] But, her brother born of the same parentage is given an Egyptian name, Pilti. However, most of the children borne of enslaved (Egyptian) mothers bore Egyptian names. See below, **§2.3.3**.

In the previous section, I noted that the Aramaic sources exhibit a wide variety of geographical name origins. These origins are determined on the basis of language and/or a geographical qualifier, when it is present. Determination on the basis of language is relatively straightforward, with a note that some names could appear to originate from two distinct languages,[35] and the possibilities for re-naming (see above, **§2.2.1**). Determination on the basis of a geographical qualifier can aid when identification on the basis of the language of the name is questionable, or regions use similar languages (i.e., distinguishing between a Cilician and a Cretan, when both would employ Greek-based names).

Figure 2: Geographic Origins of Names of Enslaved Persons



[35] E.g., *ṯḥpmt* of TADB8.3, whose name could be interpreted as Egyptian or Iranian; see Appendix 3, **§1.3.12**.

This onomastic data from the Aramaic sources in Egypt should also further sub-divided into names which originate from the Elephantine corpus, the Saqqara papyri, and the Arsames correspondence. All nine of the slave names originating from Elephantine are either Egyptian or Semitic; the geographical variety of *Fig. 2* comes from Saqqara (28 names) and the Arsames correspondence (16 names). In these sources, we can attribute the variety to proximity to the greater Achaemenid Empire, both physical (Saqqara) and metaphorical (Arsames' position as satrap).

in contrast to both earlier and later periods,[36] which evidence names (or ethnonyms) almost exclusively from the Levant and adjacent regions,[37] the Late Period is unique in the makeup of its enslaved population: this data presents a picture in which most of the enslaved persons are themselves Egyptians. It is impossible to determine precisely why this is the case; the Achaemenid Empire was certainly capable of importing foreign slaves into Egypt. It's possible

[36] *C.Ptol.Sklav*.37–52. See also Bieżuńka-Małowist, *L'esclavage*, 54–58.

[37] This can be ascribed to the influx of enslaved labor following Egyptian expansions into the Levant; Goelet, "Problems," 544.

that this is reflective of a rise in Egyptians entering slavery as a whole,[38] but the evidence is inconclusive.

In this data set, only the Semitic and Egyptian names appear with filiation. Of the 25 enslaved persons in the Aramaic record with Egyptian names, 11 appear with no filiation; 9 with an Egyptian patronym; 2 with an Egyptian matronym; and 3 with implied Egyptian filiation (the three sons of the *ʾmh* Taba in TAB2.11). Of the 9 enslaved persons in the Aramaic record bearing Semitic names, 6 appear with no filiation; 1 with a patronym, not preserved; 1 with an Egyptian matronym (the adopted Jedeniah son of Takhoi); and finally, 1 with implied Egyptian filiation (Jehoishma the daughter of the *ʾmh* Tamet).

Assuming that the bearers of these names actually reflected their origins, the question remains as to how these individuals—Semites, Iranians, Cilicians, Hyrcanians, and Cretans—ended up in Egypt, enslaved or otherwise, and how native Egyptians ended up in their enslaved status. Possible methods of entry into slavery (as well as the concept of "entry into slavery") are

[38] On entry into slavery, see below, **§4.1**.

discussed below (**§4**) in more detail; the following is intended as an overview of these ethnic groups within Egypt of the Late Period.[39]

§2.2.2.1 Semites

The Semitic-speaking population of Late Period Egypt is mostly comprised of Judeans, who arrived and settled in Egypt over the course of several waves of migrations, some of which are recorded in the Old Testament.[40] Many of these Judeans settled on the island of Elephantine, which had been occupied since the Old Kingdom and housed a New Kingdom temple to the god Khnum.[41] By 525 BC, the community had grown enough to build their own temple.[42] However, the Judeans of Elephantine were not the only Semitic people in Egypt. A fragmentary 6th century papyrus (P. Berlin 13615)[43] records a task force of some sixty soldiers from Syria and Assyria (*rmṯw n ḫꜣrw/išr*), bearing Semitic names.

[39] For a concise summary of foreigners in Persian Egypt, Vittmann, "Multi-Ethnic," 263–277.
[40] Isa. 30:2; Jer. 24:8–10; 42–44.
[41] The corpus from Elephantine is also addressed in **Chapter 1, §4.1.3.3.**
[42] This temple was destroyed in 407 BC by Vidranga, under the orders of Darius. The existence of the temple from before the time of Cambyses is referenced in the request to rebuild the temple, TADA4.9 and TADA4.10.
[43] Erichsen, "Erwähnung," 56–61.

It is desirable, but unfortunately impossible, to separate 'Semitic' names from 'Judean' names in the Aramaic corpus, as Aramaic itself is a Semitic language. It is difficult, for instance, to determine if one of the enslaved persons is a Jew from Elephantine or an Aramaean from Samaria, as both would bear Semitic names.[44] It is tempting to think that the prevalence of Semitic names is a result of re-naming, but as argued above (**§2.2.1**) this is likely not the case, and it is more likely that the bearers of these Semitic names are Semitic in origin. The Semitic names in this data set, like the Iranian (see below, **§2.2.3.2**) are not particularly remarkable and unfortunately do not give a clue as to the origin of their bearer beyond "Semite".

§2.2.2.2 Iranians

Egypt was part of the Iranian Achaemenid Empire for around 200 years, from 525 to 332 BC, with a brief sixty-year interlude from 404 to 343 BC during which Egypt was ruled by native kings.[45] The appearance of Iranian names should therefore be unsurprising, even as low-status enslaved laborers. However, it is surprising that they make no appearance as such in the Elephantine corpus; there, all enslaved persons bear either Semitic or Egyptian names, and

[44] Some distinction can be made if the name in question is theophoric with YHW (e.g. *yhwmwry* of Segal 54), but this is not necessarily indicative of Judaism.
[45] See **Chapter 1, §3.**

Iranian names are reserved for people with influence in the community.[46] It is only in the Saqqara papyri that we see evidence for enslaved Iranians. Of the 27 attested Iranian names in the Saqqara papyri,[47] 8 belong to enslaved persons. None appear with filiation.

Table 22: Iranian Names of Enslaved Persons in the Saqqara Papyri

Name	Reconstruction[48]	Qualification	Text
ḥyrnm	xira-nāma	*ʾmh*	TADB5.6 (Segal 8)
ʾwstn	(h)u-stana	none	TADB8.6 (Segal 9)
nmbr	nāma-bara[49]	none	Segal 54
wzn	wazāna	*ʿbd*	Segal 68
ʾzk	āzaka	*ʿbd*	Segal 59
bzn	baujana[50]	*ʿbd*	TADB5.6 (Segal 8)
tḥmpt	taxma-pitā[51]	none	TADB8.3 (Segal 5)
bzmy	bazmiya	*ʿbd*	Segal 195

These are rather ordinary Iranian names, attested in other Aramaic and Persian sources outside of Egypt. As noted earlier, the fact that Iranians only appear as enslaved in the Saqqara

[46] Usually officials, but not always. Iranians preferred to give their children Iranian names, but there are at least two examples of an Iranian father with a Semitic-named son; see Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 84–85.
[47] Zadok, "On Some," 41–44.
[48] Following Segal (*Aramaic Texts*), unless otherwise noted.
[49] Zadok, "On Some," 42.
[50] Tavernier, *Iranica*, 148.
[51] Zadok, "On Some," 43; contra Segal (*Aramaic Texts*, 20), who suggested an Egyptian unattested name (*tꜣ-ḥmt-n-pꜣ-tꜣ*).

corpus is likely due to the geographical proximity of Saqqara to the Delta and the wider Mediterranean world, easing the import and subsequent employment of enslaved labor.

§2.2.2.3 Cilicians and Hyrcanians

Cilicia and Hyrcania were, like Egypt, satrap-administered provinces of the Achaemenid Persian Empire in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, though both provinces are documented more sporadically than the Persian administration of Egypt.[52] There were apparently strong economic trade ties between Egypt and Cilicia,[53] but there is meagre evidence of Cilicians in Egypt.[54]

Cilicians appear three times in the Aramaic Arsames correspondence, always as laborers, and not always named: in TADA6.7, Arsames requests the release of 13 Cilician *ʿbdn* who had been taken from him (notably, only nine of these men actually bear Cilician names, despite their ethnonym); in TADA6.9, two unnamed Cilicians are among some laborers given a handful of flour as rations; in TADA6.15, Arsames relays a specific request for 5 Cilician men to be

[52] Weiskopf, "Cilicia," 561–563.
[53] van Alfen, "Herodotus," 14.
[54] As an ethnic group, they also don't appear to be addressed in Vittmann (*Ägypten*); Cilicians *in Egypt* are not addressed in general works about Cilicia, e.g., Casabonne (*La Cilicie*).

delivered from Babylon. This evidence does not give us much information regarding how the Cilicians ended up enslaved under Arsames; specifically, we have no real sense of whether they were imported for him as a 'perk' of satrapal duties, or whether they served a part in a larger system of Cilician enslaved laborers. Our single Hyrcanian and Cretan names appear in a fragmentary context (TADB8.3), offering little clarity on the matter.

§2.3 Inherited Status and Filiation

The Aramaic and Egyptian documents of this corpus evidence a hereditary nature to enslavement: self-sales and sales include in the transaction any children which are born and have yet to be born, and release from enslavement only follows manumission or adoption (see below, **§5.1**). Since Egyptian and Aramaic onomastics include filiation, onomastics can shed some light on children of enslaved persons. Following Patterson's "social death" theory, it has been argued that the lack of a patronym (or its replacement with a matronym) is a marker of enslavement through natal alienation;[55] by which it follows that the appearance of patronym suggests that its bearer is not enslaved.[56]

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[55] See below, **§2.3.2**.

[56] For example, the "Gazan (*ḳ̲dwḏ̲*)" bearing a patronym in P. BM. 10907, for which Donker van Heel (argued is representative of his not being enslaved; Donker van Heel, "A Day," 165; *The Archive*, 98. See below, **§4.1.1.**

However, an examination of the data proves that this is not entirely accurate; over half of the named enslaved persons in this corpus have no filiation at all, but nearly 20% of the names appear with a patronym, and a handful of persons in the Demotic sources appear with full filiation (i.e., both parents named). Although a complete lack of filiation *might* be indicative of enslaved status, it is important to note that the replacement of a patronym with a matronym is not necessarily a mark of enslavement, and conversely, that the appearance of a patronym does not preclude enslavement.

This subsection examines the onomastics of enslaved persons with an eye to the hereditary nature of enslavement in Late Period Egypt by comparing the filiation data of enslaved persons with onomastic filiation in the Egyptian and Aramaic textual tradition, to analyse the implications of the lack or appearance of a patronym. This section also assesses the names of so-called "houseborn slaves" in the Aramaic record, ultimately determining that they did not bear distinctive onomastics; included in this analysis is a critical examination of the Aramaic epithet "son of the house", previously thought to belong to "houseborn slaves", but more likely a title for Achaemenid officials.

§2.3.1 Hereditary Enslavement

In Demotic and Aramaic sales and self-sales of enslaved persons, the status of enslavement of the person in question appears to contractually extend to their children. This extension manifests as an explicit statement of proprietary rights of the new owner, either by the enslaved person or by the seller, claiming that the new owner has rights to the enslaved person as well as along with any children,[57] sometimes including also those who are yet to be born.[58] This clause is notably absent in the Abnormal Hieratic sources. It is possible that the hereditary nature of enslavement was only relevant to the *bꜣkw* and *ʿbdn/ʾmwt* of the Demotic and Aramaic sources, respectively; nevertheless, it is clear that in those sources, children are included in sales and self-sales and inherit enslaved status.

[57] P. Turin 2122 "your *bꜣk* and his children will belong to you, for ever (*iw mtw.k pꜣy.k bꜣk ʿn ḥnʿ nꜣy.f ḫrdw šʿ ḏt*)"; P. Bibl. Nat. 223 "along with my children (*ḥnʿ nꜣy[.i] ḫrdṯw*)"; P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277 "together with their children (*ḥnʿ nꜣy.w šrỉw*)"

[58] Louvre E706 "together with my children whom I will bear (*ḥnʿ nꜣy[.i] ḫrdw nty-iw[.i r] ms.w*)"P. Rylands 3, "along with my children who are born and those who will be born to us *(ḥnʿ nꜣy.i ḫrṯw nt ms ḥnʿ nꜣ nt iw.w ms.w n.n)*"; P. Rylands 6 "along with my children which have been born and those who shall be born to me *ḥnʿ nꜣy[.i] ḫrdw nty ms ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-iw.w [r] ms.w n.i*)"; Segal 50 "[all the children] she will bear for him ([...] *tld mnh*)".

Other Aramaic sources allude to this hereditary nature.[59] In TADB2.11, the four *ʿbdn* of the woman Mibtahiah are divided between two brothers: an *ʾmh* named Taba and her three sons, two of whom are branded; they appear to have inherited enslaved status from her.[60] The *ʾmh* Tamet births two children to her owner: one, a boy, is manumitted through adoption by her new husband (TADB3.3), and the other is manumitted alongside her at the death of their former owner (TADB3.6).

In the Aramaic sources, it is relatively certain that the status of enslavement passed from mother to child, regardless of whether the father was enslaved or not, aligning with the evidence from Delphi of the 1st and 2nd centuries BC in which children inherited enslaved status from, and were manumitted alongside, their mothers.[61] The inheritance of enslavement from the mother, rather than the father, aligns with the Justinian legal principle in which the "mother is always certain (*mater semper certa est*)",[62] i.e., because it is known that the children

[59] For a further discussion of "houseborn" slaves, see below, **§2.3.3.2.** I do not include the adopted Jedeniah here; while he was certainly owned (and sold) before his adoption, it is not obvious that he held that status by virtue of his mother's enslavement, *contra* Porten (*Elephantine Papyri*, 235, fn. 9), who claims that the mother's Egyptian name is enough evidence to suggest that she was enslaved and that Jedeniah inherited that status from her.
[60] The father is unknown, but presumably Mibtahiah's husband Nathan.
[61] Tucker, "Women," 225–236; when they even appear, free fathers of enslaved children are only implied in that they are the manumitters and in that they add a clause that the mother and her children are to continue living with him.
[62] *The Code of Justinian* (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*) II, 4, 5.

are the mother's, and it cannot be certain that they are the father's, they necessarily inherit status (enslaved or otherwise) from the mother. That said: the fact that there is only tenuous Late Period Aramaic evidence of children inheriting their status from their enslaved father[63]—or perhaps as a result of an *ʾmh/ʿbd* pairing—does not mean that the practice necessarily did not occur.

In Demotic sources, children could inherit their enslaved status from their father: P. Rylands 3 and 5, P. Turin 2122, P. Bibl. Nat. 233, and P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277[64] all feature a male *bꜣk* who extends his enslavement to his children. In the Rylands papyri, it is possible that the male subject of the self-sale is married to a woman who is *also* enslaved,[65] and perhaps the children are enslaved as a result of their enslaved mother, but her existence is not entirely certain; besides which, there is no possible enslaved wife in P. Turin 2122, P. Bibl. Nat. 233, and P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277, meaning that the children of those *bꜣkw* are inheriting enslaved status by virtue of their father alone.

[63] Only one example of a "son of an *ʿbd* (*br ʿbd*)" in the very fragmentary Segal 97. It is unclear if the daughter of the Cretan *ʿbd* of TADB8.3 (Segal 5) inherited her status from her father or not.
[64] P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276+1277 record the sale of a woman and her son; the son's children are also included in the transaction.
[65] On this possibility, see **Chapter 2, §2.1.1.3.**

§2.3.2 Filiation

Filiation, or the parentage of a given person, is an important part of onomastics and identity formation. In places where filiation is still in use,[66] it serves a dual purpose. First, practically speaking, filiation allows people to distinguish individuals who happen to bear the same name, the same purpose that surnames serve today. Second, filiation provides an association with a family, with everything involved therein: mutual obligations between children and parents (e.g., a dowry for a daughter, upkeep of a funerary cult for a parent), protection within the family unit, and identity.

Filiation may be comprised of the name of the father (patronym), the name of the mother (matronym), or both parents. In line with other Near Eastern naming systems, Egyptian and Aramaic documentation tended towards patronyms, rather than matronyms; that said, matronyms were far from uncommon in contracts of Egyptian legal tradition, and both textual traditions evidence the use of a matronym in magical contexts. The lack of a patronym—

[66] E.g., Iceland, in which patronyms and matronyms are used in place of surnames; the son or daughter of a man with the given name *Sigurd* would be *Sigurdsson* or *Sigurdssdóttir* respectively. Patronymics are the origin of many European surnames ending in -son, -sohn, and -se, Jewish surnames beginning in Ben- or Ibn-, and Celtic names beginning with Mac-/Mc- or O'-. See Lawson "Personal Naming Systems," 169–198.

whether a complete absence or through replacement with a matronym—is often cited as evidence of Patterson's "social death"[67] of enslaved persons through "natal alienation",[68] or at the very least evidence of enslaved status.[69] In the case of Late Period Egypt, the data as well as earlier and later Egyptian naming conventions suggest while a complete lack of filiation may have been representative of enslaved status, the inclusion of a matronym (or the replacement of a patronym with a matronym) was not.

§2.3.2.1 Filiation in Egyptian Textual Tradition

Patronymics were standard in Egyptian textual tradition from the Old Kingdom, occasionally also extending to include the name of the paternal grandfather.[70] The word "son (*sꜣ*)" or "daughter (*sꜣt*)" was inserted between the name of the child and his/her father, e.g. PN^{child} son

[67] For more on this concept, see below, **§3.2.**

[68] Patterson, *Slavery*, 5, 11; specifically on naming practices, 55–7, 189 see also below **§3.4.1**.; on matronyms in Mesopotamia as an indicator of enslaved status, see Westbrook, "Old Babylonian," 382; on the exclusion of a patronym as exclusion from Babylonian society, see Richardson, "Walking Capital," 48 fn. 295.

[69] Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 200 fn. 13: "Slaves were normally known by their mother [...] who sired our three slave lads? There is no mention of any father."; see also Thompson ("Two Demotic"), who suggested temple prostitution in the Ptolemaic self-dedications in which no patronym is included; the Samaria slave sales include patronyms for all its named individuals, Gropp ("Samaria Papyri," 11) stated that due to the inclusion of a patronym, they must have been "free-born citizens reduced to slavery by poverty" or perhaps "palace servants [...] the patronym is a token of higher status".

[70] Depauw, "Elements," 87–92; by the Late Period, the inclusion of the paternal grandfather's name was rarer than that of the mother's. Maternal grandmothers only appear in genealogies from 60 AD onwards.

of (*sꜣ*) PN^{father}.[71] The use of matronyms was more rare, but not uncommon; it was used in cases in which it was necessary to distinguish between the children of first and second wives, in legal documents such as wills,[72] and notably also in religious contexts like funerary texts, magical papyri, and inscriptions on ivory wands for the protection of children.[73] While the reason for this inclination for matronyms in religious and magical is unknown, it does not seem to have been indicative of "fatherless" status.[74]

When the maternal filiation appeared alone (i.e. without a patronym), it was expressed the same way as paternal: PN^{child} son of (*sꜣ*) PN^{mother} . In magical texts, the matronym appeared alone but in a different format, with reference to the bearing of the child: PN^{child} whom PN^{mother} bore, or as "PN^{child} the son of (*pꜣ šr n*) PN^{mother}".[75] In Late Period contracts, the preference was for the names of both parents.[76] When a matronym was used along with a patronym, the patronym

[71] Broux and Depauw, "Identification," 37–38; on the argument that *sꜣ* ("son") eventually evolved into *pa-* ("the one of") see Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek*, 846–851.
[72] David, "David," 60.
[73] For the use of matronyms in Roman era Demotic funerary texts, see Scalf, "Passports," 187–188; in Demotic magical papyri and its antecedents, see Dieleman, "What's in a Sign," 139–142, Ritner, "Two Third," 175–176; on the Egyptian use of matronyms influencing Greek usage, Scalf, "Passports," 187 fn. 4.
[74] Scalf, "Passports," 188; *contra* Malouta, "Fatherlessness," 120.
[75] Ibid., 187; also Depauw, "Identification," 90–91.
[76] Depauw, "Identification," 90; Vittmann, "Function," 2.

was expressed as if it appeared alone, with the matronym following a designation that the name following is the child's mother: PN[child] son of (*sꜣ*) PN[father] his mother is (*mwt.f*) PN[mother].

§2.3.2.2 Filiation in Aramaic Textual Tradition

As in Egyptian texts, patronyms (occasionally including the name of the paternal grandfather) were standard also in the Aramaic textual tradition, expressed in the same way, with *br* ("son") and *brt*: ("daughter"): PN[child] son (*br*) PN[father]. Also like Egyptian texts—though it is unclear if the traditions influenced each other—the use of a matronym in place of a patronym occurred in magical contexts, such as incantation bowls and amulets.[77] When a matronym appeared, it was expressed the same way as a patronym (PN[child] son of [*br*] PN[mother]).

The names of both parents rarely appeared together. When they did, they were expressed either in a reflection of Egyptian filiation: PN[child] son of (*br*) PN[father] his mother is (*ʾmh*) PN[mother], or as a simple genitive: PN[child] son of (*br*) PN[father] from (*mn*) PN[mother]. Often, this inclusion of the

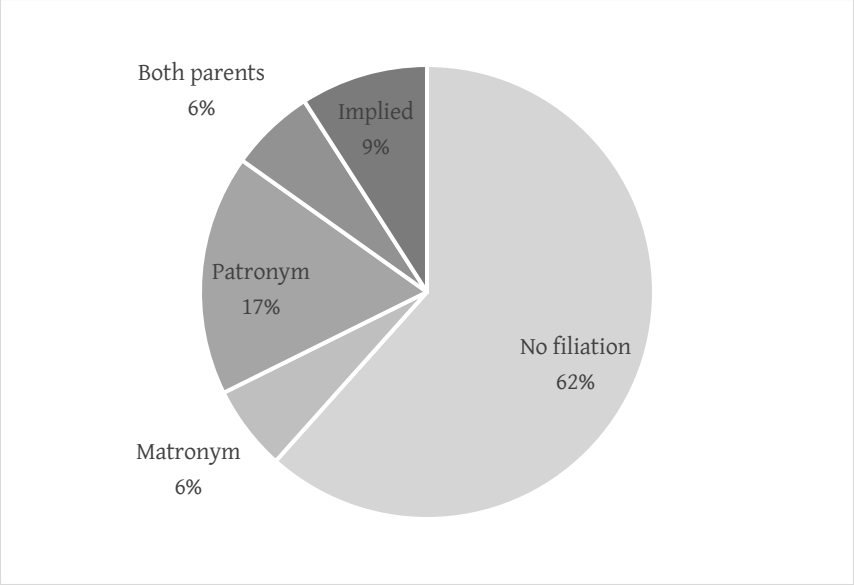
[77] First noted in Gordon ("Aramaic and Mandaic, 109) and restated in "Aramaic Incantation," 118. For a summary of all published Aramaic incantation texts, see Morony, "Religion," 414.

mother's name was contextually appropriate; for example, to indicate that two brothers shared not only the same father, but also the same mother.[78]

§2.3.2.3 Filiation in the Onomastic Data

The names of the 70 enslaved persons in this corpus were categorized according to whether they exhibited no filiation, a patronym, a matronym, both parents, or implied filiation. This data is summarized in *Figure 5.2* and discussed in more detail below.

Figure 3: Filiation of Enslaved Persons



[78] E.g., TADB2.9 "Jedeniah and Mahseiah, sons of Eshor son of Djeho from Mibtahiah daughter of Mahseiah" (Eshor had been previously married); TADB2.10 "Jedeniah son of Nathan and Mahseiah son of Nathan, their mother (being) Mibtahiah."

Of the 64 names, well over half (40 names) exhibit no filiation. In Abnormal Hieratic sources, all 5 of the attested enslaved persons lack filiation, and they all bear Egyptian names;[79] in contrast, all of the enslaved persons in the Demotic sources have at least one parent named, with the majority (4 out of 7 names) appearing with both parents. In the Aramaic sources (53 names), a total of 35 persons appear with no filiation, with names from varying origins: Egyptian (11), Cilician (9), Semitic (6), Iranian (7), Cretan (1) , and Hyrcanian (1).

Following a complete lack of filiation, the next greatest category of names (15 names) include a patronym but no matronym; except for one, they all originate from the Aramaic sources. Out of the total of 53 names attested in Aramaic, 10 include a patronym: 9 Egyptian names and 1 Semitic. In Demotic, there is only one instance of an included patronym: the woman who sells herself in Louvre E706.

In some cases (1 Demotic, 5 Aramaic), filiation is implied, but not explicitly mentioned. For example, the Demotic sale document P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276+1277 records the sale of two *bꜣkw*, a woman and her son. The woman is provided with a patronym, while the son has no filiation,

[79] As standard in Egyptian and Abnormal Hieratic documents. See above, **§2.2**.

but his parentage is implied by virtue of his sale alongside with his mother, who is referred to as such. The same is true for Jehoishma (TADB3.3) and Pilti (TADB3.5), whose parentage is not explicitly stated but referenced earlier in the same document in which they appear.

A handful of names (4) appear with only a matronym; 3 in the Aramaic sources, 1 in the Egyptian sources. Of the 3 names from the Aramaic sources, 2 are Egyptian and 1 Semitic. The single Egyptian attestation is of the mother from the aforementioned P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276+1277.

A total of 4 names, all from Demotic sources, appear with full filiation (i.e., the names of both parents). One of these documents (P. Louvre E7832) represents an adoption styled as a sale, so it is not entirely certain that the person involved in it was a *bꜣk* or formerly enslaved, but the remainder of the documents refer to enslaved persons: P. Turin 2122 (sale); P. Rylands 3 (self-sale); and P. Cairo 50058 (division of inheritance). This last contract is particularly intriguing because the parents of the *bꜣk* in question are not only named, but also qualified as *bꜣkw* themselves:

P.Cairo 50058 *bꜣk pꜣy.f-ḥry-ʿ-wy-wp-wꜣwt sꜣ bꜣk Pꜣy.f-ḥry-ʿ-wy-pꜣ-mdw-šps mwt.f bꜣkt iʿḥ.s-n-pr-wp-wꜣwt ḥnʿ nꜣy.f ḫrdw ḥnʿ nty-nb nty m dỉ.w ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-ỉw.w [r] dỉt ḫprw*

> the *bꜣk* (named) Payfheryawy-pawepwawet, son of a *bꜣk* (named) son of Payfheryawy-pamedushepes, his mother is a *bꜣkt* (named) Iahesenper-wepwawet, along with his children and together with everything that belongs to them and that which they will acquire.

As noted earlier in this dissertation,[80] it is not entirely clear if this qualification of both parents is an indicator that Payfheryawy-pawepwawet is unique in being born to parents who are both *bꜣkw*. As the children of *bꜣkw* are *bꜣkw* themselves,[81] this kind of qualification seems superfluous.[82]

§2.3.2.4 Conclusions

As evidenced by the modest percentage of names of enslaved persons who appear with the patronym, the mere exclusion of one or its replacement with a matronym does not necessarily indicate enslaved status,[83] and, equally, its inclusion does not mean that a person was *not*

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[80] Previously noted in **Chapter 2, §2.1.2.1.**

[81] See above, **§2.3.1.**

[82] That said, the use of a title was virtually obligatory in contracts, even when the title was more or less meaningless (e.g. *sḥmt,* 'woman'); Brian Muhs, pers. comm. 30 January 2022; this may be the reason for the appearance of an otherwise-superfluous title.

[83] And certainly not "temple prostitution", cf. Thompson, "Two Demotic," 68. The self-dedication documents he examines include both parents in the filiation, with "I do not know his name" as a placeholder for the father. There are over 100 self-dedication papyri, mostly from Tebtunis (Ryholt, "Two Self-Dedications," 216–217; Ryholt, "Self-Dedication," 329–330), of which only a handful have been published. An examination of filiation within them would be enlightening but does not exist as yet.

enslaved.[84] The most reliable indicator of enslaved status appears to be a complete lack of filiation, in both the Aramaic and Egyptian documentation; while not all enslaved persons lacked filiation, it seems[85] that many of those who *lacked* filiation were enslaved.

§2.3.3 "Son of the House" in Aramaic

Certain individuals in the Aramaic corpus have appeared with "son of the house (*br byt*ˀ)" in place of their filiation. This has led to some scholarly debate, with most scholars citing Kraeling's suggestion in the *editio princeps*[86] that this is in reference to "house-born slaves", i.e., children born to an enslaved woman, perhaps (but not necessarily) fathered by the woman's owner, and perhaps later adopted by their father or their mother's husband. This conclusion is not entirely unfounded: the term is known from the Old Testament[87] and other Semitic sources,[88] the dynamic of a male owner and a female slave is likely to lead to such a situation—

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[84] The appearance of patronyms of enslaved persons in the Egyptian record is explained by Tuplin ("Commentary," 80) by "the need to distinguish between plentiful homonymous Egyptians"; but this does not address why enslaved Egyptians would appear with a patronym in Egyptian contexts, which was more common anyway.

[85] This is uncertain; proving it beyond a doubt would require a study of all names which appear in Late Period Demotic, Abnormal Hieratic, and Aramaic sources and determining whether they appear with or without filiation. Such a study is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[86] Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum*, 255–256; see also Segal, *Aramaic Texts*, 76. Porten (*Archives*, 230) first dismissed this suggestion but then reclaimed it (*Elephantine Papyri*, 245 fn. 44).

[87] Syr. *bar baytā*; Heb. *ylyd byt* (Gen. 17, 12; Lev. 22, 11)

[88] Akk. *wilid bitim*, Mendelsohn, *Slavery*, 57.

indeed, it is apparently so common that they appear in royal edicts from the Ptolemaic period[89]—and the Elephantine corpus evidences at least six people born to enslaved women and possibly free fathers. However, the evidence suggests that "son of the house" in the Aramaic texts of the Late Period is actually indicative of some kind of high-status title, shared with Arsames the satrap and other individuals, and not a mark of birth to an enslaved mother.

§2.3.3.1 "Sons of the House" as Witnesses

The term "son of the house (*br byt*ˀ)" appears in the Elephantine corpus in place of the filiation of only one man, named Nahum. This mysterious individual is absent as the subject or party of any contracts or letters in the corpus, but serves as a witness on four contracts: a dowry addendum (TADB3.11); an apartment sale (TADB3.12); a loan of grain (TADB3.13); and a debt acknowledgement (TADB4.6). The first three of these contracts belong to the archive of Ananiah, perhaps suggesting a relationship between these Nahum and Ananiah, though we have no more evidence of such a relationship.

[89] Rotman, Scholl, and Straus, "Slavery," 447; in the New Kingdom, impregnating a slave was considered an undesirable act, cf. the tomb of Amenemhat, who lists among his accomplishments that he did not impregnate a female slave; Gardiner, "Tomb of Amenemhet," 92.

In the *editio princeps* of the Elephantine papyri in which Nahum appears, Kraeling suggested that this "son of the house" was a houseborn slave based on parallels from the Old Testament and Babylonian sources.[90] When Porten turned to the Elephantine corpus, he initially dismissed this suggestion based on the idea that it is doubtful that an enslaved person would witness a document, houseborn or otherwise.[91] However, this is not necessarily true. Although we do not have evidence of witnesses qualified as enslaved (i.e., bearing the title *ʿbd* or *ʾmh*), it is possible that they could give evidence in court. The fragmentary court record TADB8.1 (Segal 29)[92] preserves a testimony regarding the fulfilment of a debt obligation, by the *ʿbd* himself who had been enslaved (*ʿbyd*) and transferred "with the remainder (*ʿm šʾryt*)" as part of the fulfilment of the guarantee. Another court record, TADB8.9 (Segal 2), might also represent the swearing of an oath by an *ʿbd* that had been branded by a contested owner. The defendants claim that they "did not mark him with the brand which [they] carried. If he swears… (*lʾ sṭrn bšnytʾ zʾ zy nšʾt hn ymʾ…*)". Unfortunately, the papyrus is broken here, and state of preservation is too poor to be certain that it is the *ʿbd* who is meant to swear, one of the defendants, or

[90] Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum*, 255–256.
[91] Porten, *Archives*, 230, fn. 89: he credits Professor A. L. Oppenheim with this idea; he later changed his mind and reclaims the original suggestion (*Elephantine Papyri*, 245 fn. 44).
[92] See also **Chapter 2, §3.1.2.1.**

perhaps the plaintiff. If enslaved persons could testify in court, it is not entirely certain that they were incapable of lending their name to a witness list.

In the Aramaic texts from Saqqara, the term "son of the house" appears in two texts: a witness list in which it is in place of filiation for three individuals (TADC4.3)[93] and once in a fragment in which the name of the person is not preserved (Segal 74). The witness list is fragmentary, but it likely contained upwards of twenty witnesses,[94] of which only eleven are preserved; seven of the witnesses bear Egyptian names,[95] three Semitic names,[96] and one Akkadian name.[97] Of the eleven, all have patronyms excepting the three "sons of the house", in which the qualifier appears in place of their filiation. Two of the three bear Egyptian names (*tḥwtmʿw = ḏḥwt-mꜣʿ*; *pḥwn = pꜣ-ḥwn*) and one a Semitic name (*ʿqb*). This does not exclude the possibility that they are officials; there are several examples of people with non-Persian names holding important imperial administrative offices.[98]

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[93] Read as *br bytʿ[l]* by Porten and Yardeni (*TADD*, 274), restoring a Semitic PN, but there is no trace of this in the photograph, *cf.* Segal, *Aramaic Texts*, pl. 13.
[94] See Segal, *Aramaic Texts*, pl. 13.
[95] *tḥwt[...]; psmšk; tḥwtmʿw; pkmy; pmwn; pʾḥ; pḥwn*
[96] *ʾrby; ʿqb; bytʾlnwry*
[97] *mnky*
[98] Colburn, "Archaeology," 30.

§2.3.3.2 "Houseborn Slaves"

Kraeling's translation of a "son of the house" as "houseborn slave" fathered by an enslaved woman and her owner is, as mentioned earlier, not entirely without reason. It is certain that such pairings occurred and produced children, who were distinguished as such as in Mesopotamian sale documents, the Old Testament, and in later Ptolemaic contexts. In Old Babylonian and in the Old Testament, the terminology used is even similar to "son of the house": "child of the house" in Akkadian (*wilid bītim*) and Hebrew (*ylyd byt*).

Old Babylonian texts regularly distinguished between foreign and houseborn slaves in sales and letters as well as laws and edicts.[99] Enslaved persons born in the house were considered higher-value; one letter even advises its addressee to purchase an enslaved woman only if she is houseborn.[100] In the Neo-Babylonian period, the concept existed of a houseborn slave (and his/her distinction from a purchased slave), but there was no term corresponding to a "son of the house".[101] In the Old Testament,[102] the term "child of the house (*ylyd byt)* is used in

[99] Reid, "Children of Slaves," 36–7.
[100] Richardson, "Walking Capital," 18.
[101] The Assyrian term for a houseborn slave is *unzarḫu*; evidence suggests that they were rarely sold outside of the home. Baker, "Slavery," 21–2.
[102] Gen. 17, 12; Lev. 22, 11.

apposition with a "purchased" person (*mqnt ksp*); ostensibly, both terms referring to parallel methods of acquiring enslaved persons—acquisition through purchasing or birth.

Slavery in the Ptolemaic period was heavily influenced by the slavery of the Hellenistic world, including the idea of the "houseborn slave". P. Harris I, 61 (C. Ptol. Sklav. 8), dated to 176 BC, records a series of regulations regarding the registration of the general population, including an obligation by owners to register house-born slaves (οἰκογενής)[103] under the age of 15. It's unclear if such a child was thought to be fathered by the owner, only that s/he was born to an enslaved mother.[104] Evidence from Delphic manumissions suggests that the father's identity was irrelevant to whether a child was considered "house-born" (and therefore enslaved).[105]

§2.3.3.3 Courtly Title

In his 1968 work on the Elephantine corpus, Porten originally rejected the idea of a "son of the house" as an enslaved person. Instead, he suggested that Nahum was "some official whose

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[103] In Greece, the term first appears in the 5th century in reference to objects and cattle but quickly becomes exclusive terminology for enslaved persons born in the home; they were apparently of higher value than enslaved people purchased in a market. See Zelnick-Abramovitz, "Greek and Roman," 3–4.
[104] See above, **§2.3.1**, on the relevance of this principle to Late Period sources.
[105] Tucker, "Women," 227.

function eludes us".[106] But in the 1996 re-publication of the corpus, Porten returns to the "houseborn slave" designation.[107] In publishing the Saqqara papyri, Segal agrees, defining "son of the house" as a term used for "persons born of a union between a female slave and her master"[108] and dismissing the suggestion that it could be a "court title".[109]

Outside of the Elephantine corpus, the title "son of the house" is used for none other than the satrap Arsames, in the external line address of three letters in which he is the addressor (TADA6.3; TADA6.4; TADA6.7), as well as the inscription on his seal (TADD14.6). An exact translation in Akkadian (*mār bīti*) is used to refer to him in the Murašu archive[110] along with at least ten other individuals[111] who also appear in additional sources as high-status officials. Arsames is aware that he is not the only "son of the house" in Egypt: he also describes two other Persian estate-holders, Varuvahya and Virafsha, as "sons of the house" (TADA6.13 and TADA6.7, respectively). The "house", in this sense, is the royal household, though one does not necessarily need to be a member of the royal family, nor do they have to be Persians: the

[106] Porten, *Archives*, 230.
[107] Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 245 fn. 44.
[108] Segal, *Aramaic Texts*, 76 fn. 6.
[109] Ibid. He cites Henning ("Survival," 95), but Henning actually supports that *br-byt'* is a courtly title.
[110] Clay and Hilprecht, *Business Documents*, 44. This parallel is surprisingly not mentioned in Cussini, "The Career."
[111] Zadok, "Iranians," 109–111.

Murashu archive evidences at least thirteen different men who wield economic and social power but bear non-Persian names and have no connection to the Persian royal household.[112]

But perhaps most convincing of the argument that "son of the house" is a courtly title rather than a mark of birth into enslavement is the fact that *actual* house-born slaves are not referred to by this title. There are at least six persons in the Elephantine corpus who are either enslaved or previously enslaved, five male and one female: Jehoishma (f.) and Pilti (m.); Lilu (m.), Petosiri (m.), and Bela (m.); and Jedeniah (m.).

Jehoishma and Pilti are born to the *ʾmh* Tamet and her owner Meshullam. When Tamet marries in 449 BC (TADB3.3), her new husband Anani adopts her son Pilti, but not her daughter Jehoishma, who isn't even mentioned. It is only when Tamet is manumitted in 427 BC (TADB3.6) that Jehoishma is included in the manumission, as the daughter borne by Tamet to Meshullam ("my daughter whom you bore me *brtky zy ylty ly"*). Neither Pilti nor Jehoishma bear any kind of title referencing the status of their birth. Both are listed as Anani's children in his bequest of an apartment to his wife Tamet (TADB3.5), a gift to the two of them (TADB3.7),

[112] Tuplin, "Commentary," 303, 310, 313, 337–338.

and a house for Jehoishma (TADB3.10). Seven years after her manumission, Jehoishma is called a "lady (*nšn*)" in her own marriage document (TADB3.9), and Pilti appears without title.

Like Jehoishma and Pilti, the three *ʿbdn* Lilu, Petosiri, and Bela are born to an *ʾmh*. They appear in an inheritance division dating to 410 BC (TADB2.11), a contract is between the brothers Mahseiah and Jedeniah, dividing four *ʿbdn* (the three *ʿbdn* and their mother Taba) who previously belonged to their mother Mibtahiah. Only two *ʿbdn* are apportioned, Petosiri and Bela, both branded with Mibtahiah's name; Taba and Lilu are determined to be divided "when it will be time (*ʿdn yhwh*)". Taba's three children—ostensibly "houseborn slaves"—are not referred to as "sons of the house", but rather either *ʿbdn* or *ʿlmyn* ("young boys"),[113] and no father is mentioned in a patronym or otherwise.

Finally, Jedeniah is a previously-purchased *ʿlym* who is officially adopted, and thereafter manumitted, by his owner Uriah son of Mahseiah in 410 BC (TADB3.9).[114] It is not entirely clear who fathered Jedeniah, as he is identified only by his matronym, an Egyptian woman (*tḥwʾ*,

[113] Possibly also a term for subordinate laborers, though here *ʿlmyn* is used interchangeably with *ʿbdn* to refer to the three. See **Chapter 2, §3.3.1.**

[114] See **Chapter 3, §3.7.2.3,** and **Chapter 2, §3.1.1.1.**

Takhoi),[115] but it is entirely possible that he was fathered by his previous owner, Zaccur son of Meshullam (the same Meshullam who fathered Tamet's children) or by Meshullam himself; there are only seventeen years between Meshullam's death in 427 BC and Jedeniah's adoption in 410 BC. Either way, like the five other enslaved or previously-enslaved persons mentioned above, Jedeniah is *also* not referred to as a "son of the house".

It appears that "son of the house" was therefore not a term used in the place of filiation for enslaved and manumitted persons whom we know to have been born to *ʾmwt*, and very likely fathered by the owners of those *ʾmwt*. When these persons appear in the corpus, it is either with a matronym (as in the case of Jedeniah, Lilu, Petosiri, and Bela) or without a filiation at all (Jehoishma and Pilti).[116] The replacement of a patronym with "son of the house" in our four extant cases is likely not a mark of enslavement either; the satrap Arsames himself appears "son of the house" in place of a patronym in three of his letters.[117]

§2.4 "His Name" as a Mark of Enslavement

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[115] Leading Porten (*Elephantine Papyri*, 235, fn. 9) to suggest that he was "probably a houseborn slave" as he had a "Jewish name popular at Elephantine but he was filiated with an Egyptian mother".

[116] However, their patronym is implied in later documentation written on behalf of their adoptive father Anani, in which they are consistently referred to as "my daughter" or "my son"; e.g. TAB3.11; TADB3.7.

[117] TADAA6.3 A6.4, A6.7. Arsames never appears with a patronym, though no one ever considers this a mark of enslavement.

In Aramaic scholarship, the appearance of a matronym in place of a patronym and the title "son of the house" are not the only onomastic elements considered to be representative of enslavement: we can also add the epithet "his name (*šmh*)" following the name of a person. This epithet has been described as "affixed to the name of a non-free person"[118] and "a qualifier regularly attached to the name of a slave".[119] In reality, this epithet was no more than an indication of the first occurrence of a given individual in a text—and even then, an individual who is an important element of the text, such as the subject of the letter. In this sense, it is not only a direct translation of the similar Egyptian term "*[n] rn.f* ([by] his name/ by name)" but also analogous in usage.[120]

Certainly, the names of enslaved individuals were followed by this epithet in the Aramaic record: all of Arsames' Cilician *ʿbdn* (TADA6.7) as well as his *ʿlym* Psammetichus (TADA6.3); all of Mibtahiah's *ʿbdn* (TADA2.11) divided among her children; Tamet the *ʾmh* (TADB3.3, TADB3.6, TADB3.7); Jehoishma before her manumission (TADB3.8); the newly-adopted and manumitted

[118] Porten and Szubin, "The Status," 50.
[119] Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*, 209 fn. 8; 200 fn. 12.
[120] These two expressions are used in comparison by Porten himself ("Aramaic-Demotic, 261); on *n-rn.f*, see Johnson ("What's in a Name," 148), including a discussion that it may invoke legal authority of the person named.

Jedeniah (TAB3.9); a stolen Cretan *ʿbd* (TADB8.3); a Saite[121] *ʿbd* involved in a court case (TADB8.6); and an Iranian *ʿbd* in a fragmentary papyrus (Segal 55a).

This usage was far from the only appearance of "his name (*šmh*)" following a person. Household personnel (*nšy byt*ˀ), leaders of the Jewish community at Elephantine, military commanders, and Iranian officials all carry the "his name (*šmh*)" designation without any indication of enslaved status. The argument that this epithet was a mark of subordination is possible: many of these persons are lower in rank in comparison with the writer of the letter (e.g. TADA6.6, Arsames writing about his subordinate Nakhthor).[122] In turn, this may also have been used for self-effacement, as in the Jewish community leaders writing to Arsames in TADA4.10.

However, the idea that "his name (*šmh*)" is *necessarily* a mark of subordination or enslavement, or always follows slave names, is not accurate. All of the Aramaic documents in which "his name (*šmh*)" follow an enslaved name record a transaction which revolves around an enslaved person: letters about them, a division of them, their marriage, manumission, adoption, or

[121] *sykn*, from Sais; see Appendix 3, **§1.3.14**.
[122] Other examples: TADA6.9, TADA6.11, TADA6.12, TADA6.13, TADC2.1.

involvement in a court case. The fact that they happen to be servile has little to do with the epithet; rather, they are the subject of the document at hand.

Fragmentary cases seem to support the idea that the term referred to the person (or people) serving as the subject matter of the document. We have no way of knowing exactly why only some of the people in TADB8.2, TADB8.5, and TADC3.19 warranted "his name (*šmh*)", but in at least one of these cases (TADB8.2), one of the people *without* the designation was an *ʿbd*, but simply not the subject of the document itself.

§2.5 Conclusions

This subsection surveyed the onomastic data of names of enslaved persons in the Late Period corpus in Aramaic and Egyptian (Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic). The Aramaic evidence was far more lucrative, contributing 82% of the names to the data. The Aramaic record was also a richer source for geographic origins. All of the enslaved persons in the Egyptian corpus bear Egyptian names; while this is useful for providing evidence for re-naming, it obscures geographic origins, for which the Aramaic data was employed.

Some of the data yielded in this study were surprising. In contrast to earlier and later periods, there was a high percentage of enslaved Egyptians—nearly half of the enslaved persons in the Aramaic corpus bore Egyptian names. Although not entirely surprising, the data also evidenced that although many enslaved persons lost their filiation (i.e., Patterson's "kinship tie"), not all did; almost 30% of the people in the corpus carried some mark of filiation, and the appearance of one does not exclude enslaved status.

Finally, this section also examined two epithets erroneously thought to be markers of enslavement in the Aramaic record: "son of the house (*br-byt*ˀ)" and "his name (*šmh*)". The former was specifically thought to refer to 'house-born' slaves, of which we have evidence—and they do not bear this epithet. "Son of the house" likely refers to some kind of official title, and its bearers appear without patronym not as a mark of disrespect, but rather the contrary; the satrap Arsames himself appears bearing the title with no patronym. The second epithet, thought to be a fixture of enslaved names, was simply analogous to the Egyptian "of his name (*n-rn.f*)", indication of the first occurrence of a given individual in a text.

§3. Desocialization of Enslaved Persons

As part of the investigation into the lived experience of enslavement in Late Period Egypt, this chapter must necessarily address Orlando Patterson's 1982 "social death" theory of enslavement, which holds that enslavement is a form of desocialization. Patterson's "social death" theory arose in contrast to the "property definition" of enslavement, which had until then been favoured by scholars of slavery. In this dissertation, the "property definition" has been used only in that it allows for comparison with other owned commodities like cattle,[123] but it warrants some additional discussion. Both concepts are explored below (the "property definition" in **§3.1**; "social death" in **§3.2**).

Ultimately, neither concept is perfect; defining enslavement through a strict "property definition" as well as completely abandoning it in favor of a "social definition" are both fraught with issues. A more nuanced approach, as suggested by Lewis,[124] is a synthesis: accepting the "property definition" as a taxonomic tool[125] and using Patterson's variables (e.g., alienation) as analytical strategies to understand the social effects of enslavement (**§3.3**). An example of this synthesis is presented below in two case studies: renaming and the lack of filiation as natal alienation (**§3.4.1**) and branding of slave bodies as social alienation (**§3.4.2**).

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[123] See **Chapter 3**, especially **§2.1**.
[124] Lewis, "Orlando," 48.
[125] As in **Chapter 3, §2.1.**

§3.1 The "Property Definition"

Until the publication of Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death*, scholars preferred to define slavery in terms of ownership: the slave was property held in ownership by an owner. This definition, which came to be known as the "property definition", has its roots in classical sources. Aristotle famously defined a slave as a piece of property with a soul,[126] and Roman law ensured classification of slaves as "animate property" akin to cattle.[127] This was the definition maintained during the explorations and colonization of the world from the 14th to the 19th centuries ; people assumed ownership over lands and goods which were not their own, including human beings.[128] Perhaps the most well-known "property definition" is the one provided by the League of Nations in 1926, which states that "slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised."[129]

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[126] "ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμάτι ἔμψυχον", *Politics* 1253b32.

[127] Specifically in the 3rd century BC *Lex Aquilia*; see Perry, "Sexual Damage," 55–56. On slavery in Justinian law, see Allain, *Slavery in International Law*, 14–16, and fn. 11.

[128] As set out in the 1650 *Exposition of Fecial Law and Procedure*; see Allain, *Slavery in International Law*, 45.

[129] This definition has since then been expanded upon by the United Nations, but not changed substantially with regard to "ownership" as a crucial element; see Allain, *Slavery Conventions*.

Generally speaking, this "property definition" was, for quite some time,[130] both the traditional definition of slavery and one which allowed certain governing bodies—for instance, the League of Nations—to taxonomically determine what defined a slave vs. another kind of subordinate laborer. Patterson rejected this definition (more below, **§3.2**), and his approach has largely overshadowed the "property definition", but the property definition of enslavement nevertheless continues to be cited.[131]

The most notable weakness of the "property definition" is the assumption of cross-cultural consistency regarding the definition of both property and ownership. This is part of the reasoning behind Patterson's rejection: he understood the legal claims and powers of "ownership" are so broad as to be useless for defining enslavement, citing the claims a woman has over her husband or a football team has over its players.[132] On the other hand, Patterson saw "property" as narrowly defined, relevant only to "Western" societies whose systems of law are based upon Roman principles.[133]

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[130] E.g., Finley, *Ancient Slavery*.
[131] Flaig, *Weltgeschichte*, 13–15.
[132] Patterson, *Slavery*, 22–24.
[133] Patterson, *Slavery*, 20; Patterson, "Trafficking," 323.

§3.2 Orlando Patterson and the Concept of Social Death

Orlando Patterson's rejection of the "property definition" came with a new theory: his conceptualization of enslavement as a form of dehumanization and desocialization through "social death". According to Patterson, the "property definition" was insufficient not because slaves were not property, but rather because *only* defining slaves as property "does not really specify any distinct category of person".[134] Instead, Patterson suggested a new method of classification, in which a slave was defined not by their status as property (rejected as too nebulous) but rather defined on the basis of their desocialization, or alienation from a place in any kind of social order.[135]According to Patterson, the state of "social death" resulted from three principal symbolic instruments of enslavement: violent compulsion, natal alienation, and general dishonor. These three elements are combined in the famous (and oft-quoted) definition summarizing Patterson's work: "slavery is the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons."[136]

[134] *Slavery*, 21.
[135] Patterson, *Slavery*, 5.
[136] Patterson, *Slavery*, 13.

Generally speaking, this "social death" definition has been favorably received in the scholarly community, and adopted by many ancient historians working in the field of slavery studies,[137] but not without criticism. Patterson's zero-sum rejection of the "property definition" and the idea that natal alienation is a defining characteristic of enslavement have both come under fire; the former as premature[138] and the latter as excluding other dependent laborers who are not enslaved yet still suffer natal alienation.[139]

§3.3 A Synthetic Approach in Late Period Egyptian Slavery

As ever when there are two competing theories, it seems that synthesis may be the best solution. Patterson's rejection of the "property definition" on the basis of a lack of consistency is a convincing counter-argument, but there is a twist: as pointed out by Lewis[140] (on the basis of Honoré's essay on ownership[141]), there do exist some cross-culturally consistent features of

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[137] Morris, *Burial*, 174; Meillassoux, *The Anthropology*; Thalman, "Female Slaves," 24; Scheidel, "The Hireling," 176; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly Free*, 25–27; Rankine, "Odysseus," 35; Kleber, "Neither Slave," 101–112.
[138] Lewis, "Orlando."
[139] Baker ("Slavery") adds that in the Neo-Assyrian empire, natal alienation was by no means inevitable.
[140] Lewis, "Orlando," 34–37; I am less convinced by Patterson's rebuttal in the same volume ("Revisiting," 266–270), which wholesale rejects Honoré's thesis because he does not believe it relevant for pre-capitalist societies; though Cruz-Uribe ("Slavery," 66–67) does not mention Honoré, he does note the property rights as evident in Egypt before Roman usage, and they fall along the lines of Honoré's qualifications.
[141] Honoré, "Ownership," 107–147.

ownership, albeit with variations (e.g., the right to possess is consistent, while there is variation in the types of things that can be possessed).

This is not to say that we should reject Patterson's "social death", but rather—as noted above—use the "property definition" as a legal, taxonomic tool to distinguish enslaved laborers from other kinds of laborers (as in **Chapter 3**) and employ Patterson's "instruments of enslavement" (violent compulsion, natal alienation, and general dishonor) as tools to understand the lived experience of enslavement.

§3.4 Social and Natal Alienation in Late Period Egypt

In his brief 1982 investigation into Late Period slavery, Cruz-Uribe stated that he does not believe Patterson's approach to be relevant Egyptian slavery, especially in the Late Period.[142] Like Lewis, Cruz-Uribe finds fault with Patterson's rejection of the "property definition", but specifically with regard to Egyptian slavery rejects the notion that enslaved persons in Late Period Egypt were "socially dead". According to Cruz-Uribe, an enslaved person in Late Period

[142] Cruz-Uribe, "Slavery," 65–67.

Egypt was a "competent legal entity [...] bound in a bilateral relationship" who abrogated rights in exchange for subsistence and "retained kinship ties".

This study has shown that although this may have been true in some contexts, it was not a rule. For example, Cruz-Uribe cites the full filiation of Payftjawawykhonsu (P. Rylands 3–7) as proof of retention of his kinship ties,[143] but full filiation is not necessarily the standard; although all of the enslaved persons in the Demotic sources name at least one parent, all of the names in Abnormal Hieratic and over half of the names in Aramaic lack any filiation.[144] Cruz-Uribe also does not consider the practice of re-naming, which very likely occurred.[145]

That said, I do generally agree with Cruz-Uribe's classification of the enslaved person as a legal entity in Late Period Egypt, citing the fact that Payftjawawykhonsu (P. Rylands 3–7) served as a party to his own self-sale contract. In further support of this idea, however, we know that even when the enslaved person was not party to the contract (e.g., the sale P. Bibl. Nat 223), there is evidence that the enslaved person had a legal responsibility to consent to the transaction, in

[143] Cruz-Uribe, "Slavery," 66.
[144] See above, **§2.3.2**.
[145] See above, **§2.2.1**.

effect waiving his rights to himself.[146] There would be no need for this kind of clause if the enslaved person himself was not a legal entity in his own right. My one point of contention is that we are not entirely certain that an enslaved person could own property; the list of property for potential seizure included in a self-sale (e.g. Louvre E706) may simply be part of boilerplate sale formula and not necessarily an indicator that those enslaved persons *de facto* own property.

This subsection investigates two case studies related to enslavement in the Late Period, analysed through the lens of social and/or natal alienation: the renaming of enslaved persons (**§3.4.1**) and the practice of human branding (**3.4.2**). Although renaming of enslaved persons occurred in Egypt, and is often cited as a marker of enslavement through natal alienation, it may not have functioned as such in the Late Period, but rather as a practical decision (perhaps even undertaken by the enslaved person himself);[147] removal of filiation, however, may be seen as an example of natal alienation. Branding is particularly significant because it represents the synthesis of the "property definition" and the theory of "social death" in that branding is a marker of property and also a marker of social alienation.

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[146] Also noted in **Chapter 3, §3.7.1.5**; compared with the Rylands self-acknowledgement, the Louvre E706 self-sale, and the Adoption papyrus P. Louvre E7832 in the same chapter, **§3.6.1.**

[147] As in some Graeco-Roman naming practices, which were self-motivated; see below, **§3.4.1**.

§3.4.1 Renaming as Natal Alienation

As noted earlier in this chapter (**§2.2.1**), renaming of enslaved individuals occurred in Egypt in the Middle and New Kingdoms, and very likely occurred also in the Late Period. Patterson considered renaming as a "major feature of the ritual of enslavement", a symbolic act of stripping a person of his former identity, and a marker of "social death" because "the slave's former name died with his former self."[148] Within this practice of renaming, Patterson included the removal of filiation, claiming it "the surest mark of slavery".[149] Each of these comments should be addressed in turn, as they are not all relevant to the enslavement of Late Period Egypt.

In discussing the significance of re-naming, Patterson cites that in many societies "a person's name has magical qualities";[150] the Egyptians were no exception. Since the earliest record of Egyptian history, names were considered vital aspects of personality and crucial to keep alive

[148] Patterson, *Slavery*, 55.
[149] Ibid., citing Bakir, *Slavery,* 103–107.
[150] Patterson, *Slavery,* 55.

even after one's death.[151] Names were important not just for their significance as a name but also for their literal meanings: *nḫt* (strong); *ḏd-ptḥ-ỉw.f-ʿnḫ* (Ptah said: he will live); *mrrw-kȝ.ỉ* (whom my Ka loves).[152] This is reflected both in the re-naming practices of the Middle Kingdom evidenced in P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (see above, **§2.2.1**), in which some enslaved persons were given names referencing their status or foreign origin. The meaning of a name was apparently important enough that its replacement with a sinister name (e.g. "Ra hates him, *msḏ-sw-rʿ*") could be issued as a punishment for a crime.[153]

However, an awareness of the significance of names is not necessarily mutually exclusive with the adoption of new names. Egyptians had no issue with adopting a second (or third, or fourth)[154] name for reasons of practicality. There is no indication that once a second name had been adopted that the first one would "die"; in fact, two different names of a person could alternate when inscribed either on the same object. In the Ptolemaic period, many Egyptians adopted a Greek name which would be used in Greek contexts while they maintained the use

[151] Vittmann , "Function," 6; see also Rollston, "Ad Nomen," 367–370.
[152] Noted earlier, **§2**. As pointed out by Vittmann, "Function," 1–2, there does need to be a distinction between the original context of a name and the reason for its use in a particular case. E.g, not every child named "Amun of the festival" was born on the festival of Amun, despite that being the original implication of the name; the child may be named after the grandfather (papponymy).
[153] Brunner-Traut, "Namenstilgung," 340.
[154] Vittmann, "Function," 5.

of their Egyptian name in Demotic contexts.[155] It is entirely possible that the re-named individuals of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 would continue to use their 'old' Semitic names in daily contexts, but use their 'new' Egyptian name only in written documentation. Although this practice is frustrating for the ancient historian in that it obscures geographic origin (and occasionally makes it appear as though there are two people in place of one bearing two names in different contexts[156]) it appears that the practice of re-naming enslaved persons was not necessarily a case of natal alienation as described by Patterson, but rather a matter of practicality, no different than an Egyptian adopting a second or foreign name.

The lack of filiation—Patterson's "surest mark of slavery"—does not appear to be an overarching rule in Egypt. As noted previously (**§2.3.2**, **§3.3**), many enslaved persons did lack filiation, in line with Patterson's social alienation by way of eliminating kinship ties, but conversely, some enslaved persons (including all of those which appear in the Demotic sources) bore at least partial filiation. In other words, although some enslaved people retained their filiation, there is evidence that lack of filiation had *something* to do with being enslaved; indeed, most enslaved people did not retain their filiation, and those that did demonstrated

[155] Coussement, *Polyonymy*.
[156] Broux and Coussement, "Double Names," 119–138.

some degree of agency (e.g., the Rylands contracts). Within the larger framework of people treated as property, there were different experiences of enslavement, including presence or lack of filiation.

§3.4.2 Branding as Social Alienation

One of Orlando Patterson's variables of social death of enslaved persons revolved around alienation through visible identification of enslaved bodies,[157] by race, hairstyle, ornaments, clothing, or body modification.[158] Of the latter, Patterson says that "surprisingly few societies in the pre-modern world branded slaves",[159] but this is not accurate. In Babylonia contemporary to Late Period Egypt, enslaved persons were frequently branded: the "mark of servitude" (*šindu amūti*) is attested as a brand to be placed upon slave women, and fugitives who have not been branded are legally to be placed in fetters.[160] Enslaved persons who were

[157] Patterson, *Slavery*, 58–62; though claiming that "in every slave-holding society we find visible marks of servitude" (Ibid., 58), Patterson cites Rome a few paragraphs later as an example in which enslaved persons were not easily distinguishable from free.

[158] Interestingly, he does not discuss permanent vs. impermanent markers of enslavement, which would speak to his "permanence" variable: Patterson, *Slavery*, 13.

[159] Patterson, *Slavery*, 59; *contra* Lewis in the response volume to Patterson ("Orlando," 41), who says that in Babylonia "it was common to brand slaves".

[160] *CAD* Š/2 288; Waerzeggers, *Ezida Temple*, no. 169; Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 232 fn. 211; Stolper, "Inscribed," 133–143. Enslaved persons in Babylonia also had some kind of other, impermanent mark called an *abbuttum*; see Mendelsohn, *Slavery*, 43–6; Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 91, 95, 100–2, 229–34.

bought and sold are often described as having the names of their owners on their right hand or wrist; by the Seleucid period, this practice was so common that the absence of a mark was worth mentioning.[161]

This branding of enslaved persons—specifically of the name of the owner, and specifically on the right hand—also appears in the Aramaic sources from Egypt. Several of the sources refer to some kind of marking of enslaved bodies (*Table 23*). The words used for the action of marking—and which can both be defined as "mark"—are *sṭr* and *šnt*, used individually (*šnt bšntʾ*, or *sṭr* as an adjective) or in a pair (*sṭr bšntʾ*). In translation, scholars have usually opted for "brand" or "tattoo"[162] (or, in one case, the vague mark'),[163] but it is more probable that this mark refers to a brand.[164]

Table 23: Aramaic References to Marking of Enslaved Bodies

Text	Date	Translation	Transliteration
Segal 97	undated	he seized him, the mark (*šnt*) [...] son of his *ʿbd* [...]	*[...] ʾḥzh šnyt [...] br ʿbdh*
TADA6.10	undated	... bring them (the *ʿbdn*) into my courtyard, and mark (*sṭr*) them with my mark (*šnt*)	*... hnʿlw b-trbṣʾ zyly w-sṭrw bšntʾ zyly*

[161] Stolper, "Inscribed," 135 n. 10.
[162] Tuplin, "Commentary," 192–195.
[163] Lindenberger, *Ancient Aramaic*, 48.
[164] For further discussion, Karev, "Mark."

Table 23: Aramaic References to Marking of Enslaved Bodies (continued)

TADB2.11	410 BC	... marked (*šnt*) upon her right hand, a mark (*šnt*) of an Aramaic inscription thus: (belonging) to Mibtahiah ...	*šnyt ʿl ydh bymn šnytt mqrʾ ʾrmyt kznh lbṭḥyh*
TADB3.6	427 BC	... Ta{pa}met by her name, an *ʾmh*, who is marked (*šnt*) on her right hand thus: (belonging) to Meshullam ...	*t{p}mt šmh ʾmth zy šnyth ʿl ydh btmn kdnh lmšlm*
TADB3.9	416 BC	... another person will not have the right to mark (*šnt*) him ... whosoever shall stand up against that Jedeniah to mark (šnt) him or make him an *ʿbd* shall give you a penalty ...	*... w-ʾnš ʾḥrn lʾ šlyṭn l-mšnth ... zy yqwm ʿl ydnyh l-mšnth w-l-mʿbdh ʿbd yntn lk ʾbygrn ...*
TADB5.6	undated	my *ʾmh*, who is marked (*sṭr*) with my name ...	*ʾmtʾ zyly zy sṭyrh ʿl šmy*
TADB8.2	440 BC	[...] and he marked (*sṭr*) [him] above the mark (*šnt*) [...]	*[...] w-sṭr[h] ʿlwy šnytʾ*
TADB8.3	undated	his *ʿbd* marked (*sṭr*) with a mark (*šnt*) [...]	*ʿbdh sṭyr b-šnytʾ*
TADB8.6	undated	[...]marked (*sṭr*) with a mark (*šnt*) [...]	*[...] sṭyr b-šnytʾ [...]*
TADD7.9	475 BC	have her marked (*ktb*) on the arm ... above the mark (*ktb*) that is (already) on her arm ... he will not find his *ʿlymth* marked (*ktb*) with his name.	*yktwbwh ʿl drʿh ʿlʾ mn ktbtʾ zy ʿl drʿh ... lʾ yškṭḥn ʿlymth mktbth ʿl šmh*

The implications of this branding of enslaved bodies are threefold: first, a brand marks its bearer as property, doubly so if the brand represents a name; second, this status-as-property is akin to other forms of branded property (i.e., cattle); and finally, such a mark—as opposed to a

distinctive haircut or clothing style—is permanent. Even when no longer enslaved, a person would bear a mark of property in a visible location for the rest of their lives. The single case of manumission in the corpus, the *ʾmh* Tamet, is herself branded with the name of her previous owner; the brand is even noted in her manumission document (TADB3.6).

As previously noted, accepting one strict definition of enslavement is fraught with issues.[165] The synthetic approach mentioned above, i.e., to accept the "property definition" as a taxonomic tool and use Patterson's variables as analytical strategies, is well-represented by the branding of enslaved persons in Egypt represents: the brand is a mark of property—by which definition, the enslaved persons are themselves property, fitting the "property definition"—and it is simultaneously a marker of social alienation. Even when they are no longer enslaved (and therefore no longer property), the bearers of a brand remain socially alienated.

§4. Entry, Exit, and Extraction: Living While Enslaved

In 2016, Marcel van der Linden defined all forms of coerced labor as characterized by three 'moments': entry (how people become enslaved); extraction of labor (how people lived and

[165] See above, **§3.1** and **§3.2**; briefly in **Chapter 3, §2.**

worked while enslaved); and exit from slavery (methods by which people ceased to be enslaved).[166] These elements are inextricably related: how a worker enters into a labor relationship affects how h has to work and his possibilities for exiting.

Specifically with regards to Late Period slavery, it is difficult to fill in the blanks for some of these moments;[167] for instance, sources are not forthcoming about entry into enslaved status or the motivations behind self-sales, and exit is only attested in two sources. Nevertheless, using these three elements as an analytical lens can shed some light on the lived experiences of enslavement. The following section follows van der Linden's 'moments', examining entry into enslaved status (**§4.1**), exit from enslaved status (**§4.2**), and labor extraction (**§4.3**) to better understand the experience of enslavement in Late Period Egypt.

§4.1 Entry into Enslaved Status

[166] van der Linden, "Dissecting," 298.

[167] On the application of these characterizations throughout Egyptian history, see Karev, "Ancient Egyptian."

van der Linden identified ten possible methods of entering enslavement: sale, hiring, self-sale, debt, birth, abduction, community pressure, as payment of monetary taxation,[168] wage slavery, and free choice.[169] Most of these are attested throughout Egyptian history, but the Late Period only evidences self-sale, abduction (i.e. capture through war), and birth.[170]

Historically, persons entered into enslaved status through capture in war,[171] seizure as collateral,[172] or private purchase through a merchant[173] throughout the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms in Egypt. The most well-attested method (though not necessarily the most common) was through capture in war, a practice attested since the Old Kingdom. The origin of most of the enslaved persons in the Late Period corpus—i.e., the source of their entry into enslavement, rather than their geographical origin—is unknown.

Some are almost certainly prisoners of war (see below, **§4.1.2**), but in most cases, it is unclear how they ended up in their current status. This is especially true of the enslaved persons

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[168] In this, he includes corvée labor as a form of enslavement, though that classification is not entirely accurate for Egyptian society. See Eyre ("How Relevant").
[169] van der Linden, "Dissecting," 298–306; graphic on p. 299.
[170] On birth, see **§2.3.1**.
[171] Old Kingdom, especially of Nubians: Bietak, "Zu den Nubischen," 87–89; Middle Kingdom: Darnell, "A Bureaucratic," 791; New Kingdom: P. Harris I, 77.4–6.
[172] Loprieno, *Slavery*, 5, referencing the First Intermediate Period.
[173] E.g. New Kingdom P. Cairo 65739, P. Berlin 10470.

bearing Egyptian names in the Egyptian sources; presuming that they are indeed Egyptian, rather than re-named, we still don't know how they became enslaved. In the (much richer) Aramaic corpus, it is still unclear. For example, it is impossible to know whether the *ʾmh* bearing an Iranian name who was sold in TADB5.6 was captured abroad and only then enslaved, voluntarily immigrated to Egypt and then sold herself, or whether this sale attests to her entry into enslavement. Similarly, it is difficult to determine if the Cilician oil-pressers of TADA6.7 were enslaved before or after they were imported to serve Arsames.

Specifically for Egyptians in the Egyptian corpus, it has been suggested that debt or impoverishment was a motivator for entry into enslavement, especially with regards to self-sales.[174] This subsection explores two methods of entry into enslaved status as attested in the Late Period corpus: debt bondage (**§4.1.1**) and capture in war (**§4.1.2**). Of these two, it is likely that people did not enter enslavement through debt bondage, but did through capture in war. These conclusions are drawn mostly from the Egyptian (Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic) corpus, as most of the Aramaic corpus gives little to no indication as to the origin of its enslaved persons.

[174] For this argument regarding Semitic names in the Samaria papyri, see Gropp, "Samaria Papyri," 11.

§4.1.1 Debt Bondage

Debt bondage results from debtor insolvency and can take a number of forms. Generally speaking, there are three types of debt bondage: (1) creditor-motivated seizure of security[175] following a failure to pay; (2) debtor-consented seizure of security (also known as distraint of a pawn) until the debt is repaid; and (3), self-sale by the debtor into slavery to satisfy the debt, that is, the debt is considered repaid following the self-sale. All three of these types may be applied to different statuses of person: for example, a slave, a free laborer, and a free child of a debtor can all be put up as collateral and potentially seized, or a free laborer could sell themselves into slavery to pay off their own debt.

These types of debt bondage are distinct in their purpose as well as their result. Creditor-motivated seizure of security (*Type 1*) could take the form of seizure of slaves or entry into enslavement of otherwise free persons (e.g., the seizure of free children pledged as collateral). In this type of debt bondage, the creditor seizes collateral promised in the original loan

[175] Defined as personal property of the debtor which serves to guarantee the creditor that the loan will be repaid; Manning, "Demotic," 310.

agreement following an elapsed period of time in which the debt was not repaid. After seizure, the creditor could dispose of the labor of the collateral until the debt was repaid.[176]

Similarly, the distraint of a pawn (*Type 2*) would allow the creditor to dispose of labor until the debt is paid. The difference between creditor-motivated seizure (*Type 1*) and debtor-motivated distraint (*Type 2*) lies in contractual obligation vs. reality: seizure occurs only after the debtor has been insolvent, whereas distraint happens while the debt is outstanding. Both of these forms of debt bondage end when the debt is repaid, and the pawn is returned. The main principle is that in both forms, the labor of the person seized does not efface or reduce the original debt for which s/he was pledged.

Self-sale as satisfaction of a debt (*Type 3*) is the most distinctive of the three types of debt bondage, despite Finley's suggestion that "'sale' into bondage and debt-bondage cannot be distinguished very sharply."[177] Certainly, pledging collateral in the form of the debtor's own person could lead to seizure until the debt is repaid, but self-sale is a different mechanism in

[176] Testart, "The Extent," 178–180; see also van der Linden, "Dissecting," 300–301.
[177] Finley, *Ancient Slavery*, 151; he is not the only scholar to conflate seizure or distraint with self-sale, e.g, van Koppen ("The Geography," 11), who equates self-sale with a creditor claiming the pledges of a previous loan contract—in other words, seizure following default.

that the transaction *in itself* satisfies the debt.[178] It is also, by this nature, more final than self-seizure;[179] in order to exit enslavement, a person who has sold themselves would then need to pay the debt through self-purchase. In previous scholarship, self-sales such as Louvre E706 and the Rylands group were usually taken to reflect self-sale as a result of indebtedness,[180] leading to scholarly discussions regarding the Greek accounts which record that the pharaoh Bocchoris (24th Dynasty, c. 720 BC) outlawed the practice of debt bondage.[181]

In a previous chapter,[182] I had noted that it is difficult to accurately determine whether or not these self-sales were a result of debt owed, but due to the persistence of the idea,[183] it is worth a critical examination. This subsection investigates the possibility that some persons entered enslaved status through indebtedness, by examining the liability clauses in loans (**§4.1.1.3**) and the potential evidence for self-sale as debt satisfaction (**§4.1.1.4**). Ultimately, the evidence suggests that debt slavery was not practiced as seizure of human pledges following a default on

[178] Testart, "The Extent," 179–180.
[179] Although, both *Type 1* and *Type 2* could theoretically also result in permanent enslavement if the debt is not repaid.
[180] Griffith, *A Catalogue,* 51; Bakir, *Slavery*, 74–76, Markiewicz, "Security," 144 ; Markiewicz, "Bocchoris," 322; Menu, "Les rapports," 394 ; Menu, "Cessions," 73 ; Menu, "Les échanges," 369.
[181] Markiewicz, "Bocchoris," 309–330.
[182] **Chapter 3, §5.3**.
[183] Manning, "Demotic," 308, 322; Menu, "Modalités," 390.

a loan, and very likely not practiced as a result of self-sale to satisfy a debt, though the evidence for the latter is more nebulous.

§4.1.1.1 Loans, Debt, and Security in Late Period Egypt

Evidence for loans and debt before the 8th century BC is meagre, though the notions associated with pledging and security do appear to have existed: the family of an absconder from mandatory labor can be seized to encourage him to return to work; a farmer's family is seized after missing tax payments; a man is seized when his father refuses to return copper tools; and thirty deben of silver are seized by the official Wenamun until his missing property is returned.[184] But all in all, these are vague examples of security. Before the first millennium, security was served by social and religious credit: an oath in the name of a local deity (invoking beatings and a fine if the debt is not repaid); community trust in the individual to repay his debt; or an infrequent appearance of a third-party guarantor.[185] Clearly formulated loan documents—including security and interest—are a feature of the first millennium onwards.

[184] Jasnow, "Pre-Demotic," 37.
[185] Manning, "Demotic," 310.

The three types of debt slavery are also roughly aligned with the three types of loan security in Demotic documents, as outlined by Manning:[186] (1) the conditional conveyance of property, which could turn into real conveyance upon debtor default (seizure following failure to pay); (2) the conveyance of one or more items of value from the debtor to the creditor in exchange for money or a commodity (distraint as pawn); and (3) the conveyance of a legal instrument as security (self-sale to satisfy a debt). This, in turn, prompts a general discussion of the nature of security in loan contracts before delving into debt bondage; in other words, what would happen to any (non-human) property pledged as security in the event of a debtor default?

A total of fourteen contract loans from the Late Period (dating from 882 BC to 400 BC) are attested in Aramaic, Demotic, and Abnormal Hieratic. Most of these contract loans (eight out of fourteen) record the loan of an amount of grain, five record a loan of an amount of silver, and one records the loan of a cow. Repayment is expected between a month to 9 months after the contract is drawn up, usually with interest; and most importantly to this discussion, eight[187] of these loans include security. The term for security in Demotic was *iwyt,* derived from an earlier Egyptian word *iwꜣ,* which was used in reference to a replacement or substitute person seized

[186] Manning, "Demotic," 314–315.

[187] TADB4.6 ; TADB3.13 ; TADB3.1 ; P. Berlin 3110 ; P. Loeb 48+49; P. Louvre E9293; P. BM. 10013; P. Berlin 3048v; very likely also TADB4.5, but the bottom half of the contract where the security appears is missing.

for compulsory labor.[188] By the Late Period, the seizure was hypothetical and *iwyt* referred only to the security itself.[189]

Loans were almost always accompanied by a statement of the security[190] against which the loan was taken. In the Late Period, most of the contract loans in both Aramaic and Egyptian included a full guarantee of "general liability" which allowed the creditor to seize whatever he wants from a list of the debtor's property,[191] rather than a specific security, meaning that the creditor protected his interests by ensuring that the entire property of the debtor was pledged.

In both the Aramaic and Demotic legal tradition, these lists were categorical and detailed, with little variation between them, and include everything that a person might conceivably own: houses, fields, male and female slaves, cows, donkeys, silver, copper, clothing, wheat, and

[188] A thorough analysis of this term in Middle Kingdom texts is in Di Teodoro (*Labour,* 27–41); specifically on the overlap between a substitute and a pledge, Ibid. 29, 87.
[189] With an additional nuance of legal bond or guarantee; Di Teodoro, *Labour*, 30, Manning, "Demotic," 311.
[190] Following Markiewicz' ("Security," 141–142, n. 2) definition of security as "property pledged to the creditor or his property right, which are to guarantee fulfilment of an obligation; it is especially an asset guaranteeing repayment of a loan that may become property of the creditor if the loan is not repaid."
[191] In Demotic documents of the Ptolemaic period, this clause of general liability had evolved into a more general statement of "everything I shall have". See Markiewicz, "Security," 153.

emmer. On two occasions, these lists also included children,[192] leading to the suggestion that these dependents could be seized following a default on a loan.

For evidence of seizure of (non-human) pledged property, we can turn to Manning's classification of types of security: seizure following default; pawning; and transfer of title as security. Of these, in the Ptolemaic Period pawning appears to have been the most common, and seizure following default occurring only in the form of conditional conveyance ripening to true conveyance once a debtor defaults. Pawning and transfer of title were both essentially a kind of conditional sale, in which money was exchanged for an object, and the object returned after the money had been repaid.

The typical process of pawning was as follows: an item would be given from the debtor to the creditor, and the creditor would acknowledge receipt as well as promise to maintain the value of the pledged object during the time of the deposit. If the debtor redeemed the pledged item, the creditor was required to return the objects or an equivalent value in money. Basically, this was a kind of conditional sale: the creditor gave money in exchange for an object; after a certain period of time, or repayment of the money loaned, the object could be returned. At

[192] P. Louvre E9293 and P. BM. 10013.

least in the Ptolemaic Period, an additional document may have been drawn up to establish the rights of the creditor to the pledged property while awaiting the repayment of the loan.

Conditional conveyance as security involved the contractual obligation of a debtor to sell an item in the event that the debt is not repaid by a certain period of time. In effect, the money loaned to the debtor served as the purchase price of the item pledged, but *only* if the debtor defaulted on the loan. In the time between the loan contract and repayment, this pledged (conditionally sold) item could be sold to a third party; however, the creditor could object and also request seizure of the item from the third party in the event of debtor insolvency. In the Ptolemaic period, this developed into a system of trusteeship.[193] In sum, the process of a debtor conveying property to a creditor—as a pledge, a conditional sale, or pawning—was a complex and contractual process. There is no evidence of this process occurring in the Late Period. As ever when dealing with written contracts, it is entirely possible that this process was oral and not documented; but at the very least, one would expect some (perhaps indirect) evidence of such seizure.[194]

[193] Manning, "Demotic," 320–321.

[194] As Richardson, "Walking Capital," 33–39; indirect evidence includes (e.g.) complaints that a distrained pawn has been kept after the debt has already been re-paid.

§4.1.1.2 The Bocchoris Question

According to Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca Historia* I.79.3), the pharaoh Bocchoris abolished debt-slavery. The repayment of loans (says Diodorus) could "could be exacted only from a man's estate (τὴν ἔκπραξιν τῶν δανείων ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μόνον ἐποιήσατο)"; the debtor's person could not be subject to seizure because the bodies of citizens belonged to the state. Markiewicz analyzed the reliability of Diodorus' account of Bocchoris as a law-giver, ultimately determining that it is generally unreliable.[195]

But when he came to the analysis of the abolishment of debt slavery, Markiewicz noted that the evidence for Egyptian enslavement is so scant as to preclude a definite determination, stating that the self-sale contracts "could have resulted from unpaid debts, but need not have."[196] An examination of these self-sale documents is below (**§4.1.1.4**) along with possibilities for seizure following defaulting on a loan or seizure as distrained pawns (**§4.1.1.3**), both of which could fall under the umbrella of Bocchoris' (supposed) abolishment of debt

[195] Markiewicz, "Bocchoris," 309–330.
[196] Ibid., 321.

slavery. Whether through Bocchoris' legislation or not, it appears that debt slavery did not play a significant role.

§4.1.1.3. Seizure following Failure to Pay (Type 1) or as Pawn (Type 2)

In Aramaic and Demotic documents, the categorical list of the debtor's property liable to seizure (see above, **§4.1.1.1**) followed a relatively standard format: immovables (houses, fields, building plots); dependents (*bꜣkw/ʿbdn/ʾmwt,* children); movables (silver, bronze, clothes, grain); cattle; offices; and deeds. Interestingly, wives are not included as dependents who could be pledged against debt.[197] The economic role that the dependents play in this situation is clear: they serve as the security on a debt, no different than the other property included in the list.[198]

However, the question remains as to what could *actually* happen if the debtor defaulted on his debt. With enslaved persons, it is relatively certain that they would simply be transferred into

[197] Markiewicz ("Security," 153 fn. 32) takes this to signify "the high position of women in Egyptian law"; I am not sure that this indicates a "high" position, but simply one that does not allow the person to be pledged as collateral.

[198] On enslaved persons in these property lists, see **Chapter 2, §2.1.2.2** (Egyptian sources) and **§3.1.2.1** (Aramaic sources).

the new owner's possession, perhaps even without a written transfer of title.[199] But what would happen to the children? Would they, as Markiewicz states, "become the creditor's slaves", [200] and thereby enter the status of enslavement through seizure? Or would they serve as pawns and be distrained, entering enslavement until the debt was paid? Ultimately, there no evidence for either; however, earlier evidence suggests that distraint as a pawn is more likely.

In the Egyptian sources, male and female children (*šrỉ šrt*) are included in the security against a loan in two Egyptian contract loans: Demotic P. Louvre E9293 (498 BC) and Abnormal Hieratic P. BM 10113 (570 BC). In both contracts, children follow the enslaved persons (*bꜣk bꜣkt/ḥm ḥmt)*. It is possible that these children could therefore be seized like any other property, but it is likely that this did not warrant enslavement for life.

The Ramesside letter O. BM 5631[201] records the account of an adult child who had been seized (along with twelve *ḥmw*) following his father's failure to return loaned copper tools. After the tools were returned, he was set free, in line with the definition of 'pawned' persons used as

[199] E.g., in Abnormal Hieratic P. BM. 10113 the debtor states that the creditor may take any of the property listed "without citing any document (*iwṯ ḏd ḳnbt nb*)"; Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic," 231.
[200] Markiewicz, "Security," 153 fn. 32.
[201] Wente, *Letters*, 146.

pledges.[202] It is unclear if the author of this letter (or, for that matter, the *ḥmw* seized alongside him) actually did any work during the time of their bondage, or if they simply served as collateral. This is an important distinction not just in determining the result of seizure but for its implication on the value of enslaved persons as collateral; it appears that it is the *person*, rather than their *labor*, that holds value in this case.[203]

In general, seizure of adult children (following default or as pawns) is not a particularly efficient method of repaying a debt. Even if the pawn is put to work in conditions analogous to enslavement,[204] their labor—albeit benefiting the creditor—does not go towards reimbursing the debt for which they were pawned. This is perhaps the reason that we rarely see children appearing in loan contracts, and never evidence of the actual seizure of enslaved persons (despite their presence in the property lists).[205] Ultimately, a creditor's interests lie in getting their loan repaid; that is not happening if they are feeding and housing a dependent awaiting a repayment which may never come.

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[202] Testart, "The Extent," 177.
[203] On enslaved persons holding value through their role as economic instruments, see **Chapter 4, §6**.
[204] As suggested by Seidl (*Rechtsgeschichte*, 55) for P. Louvre E9293 and P. BM. 10113.
[205] Although this may be attributed to seizure without drawing up new title; see Donker van Heel, "Abnormal Hieratic," 231.

Enslaved persons remain a feature of property lists of security, but children only appear again in a separate clause of personal liability in which the debtor states that the repayment of the loan will fall "on his head (*r ḏ;ḏ;.i*)" and sometimes also on the heads of his children (*r ḏ;ḏ; n;y[.i] ḥrṯ.w*),[206] as in the Demotic P. Berlin 3110 and P. Loeb 48 (P. Hou 12). Although it is tempting to read this as evidence of the debtor offering his body (and that of his children) as security for debt, it is far more likely that the primary function was to secure the creditor's interests in the event of the debtor's death.[207]

An Aramaic loan contract dating to 402 BC (TADB3.13) supports this analysis. In this contract, the debtor specifically claims that if he dies before he has paid off the loan, his children are not to be seized—but they are liable for the payment of the loan in silver: "And if I die and have not yet paid and given you the silver of yours which is written above, then my children or my guarantors will pay you your silver which is written above (*w-hn mʾtt w-l-ʿd šlmt w-yhbt lk kspʾ zylk zy mnʿl ktyb ʾḥr bny wʾdrngy yšlmwn lk kspk zy mnʿl ktyb*)."

[206] On this formulae, Botta, "Three Additional," 36–7.

[207] As suggested by Revillout (*Précis*, 1233, 1240). Vleeming (*Gooseherds*, 171) proposes that the clause was intended "to prevent the debtor's children from objecting to the alienation of any part of their patrimony in payment of their father's debt," but I agree with Markiewicz ("Bocchoris," 323) that it is only rational to assume that this clause refers to the fact that the debt did not expire when its debtor did. Pierce ("Three Demotic," 176) does not believe this clause to be "primarily concerned with assuring the persistence of debt beyond the lifetime of the debtor" but does not explain why.

To return to the question posed at the outset of this subsection, there is no evidence that previously-unenslaved persons did *not* enter enslaved status through seizure on a defaulted debt nor as distrained pawns. People who were already enslaved at the time of the writing of the loan contract (*bꜣkw, ʿbdn, ʾmwt*) could be included in the list of security, and in theory, they could be seized following default or distrained as pawns, maintaining their enslaved status once transferred, but in practice we have virtually no record of this occurring.[208]

§4.1.1.4. Self-sale as Debt Satisfaction (Type 3)

There are three self-sale documents in this dissertation's corpus, all in Demotic (Louvre E706, P. Rylands 3 and 6)[209] and one transfer of title possibly referring to a fulfilment of an obligation (P. Rylands 5). Bakir argued that these serve as evidence of self-sale for the satisfaction of a debt because there is "no mention of the exact consideration [i.e., price]".[210] However, absence

[208] Only one possible example is in TADB8.1 (Segal 29), which may evidence an *ʿbd* transferred as part of a guarantee, but the document is too fragmentary to be certain. See also **Chapter 2, §3.1.2.1.**
[209] For a comparison of these documents, see **Chapter 3, §3.7.1.7.**
[210] Bakir, *Slavery*, 119.

of a price is a feature of Demotic sale documents,[211] and so this argument can be dismissed.[212] The question remains as to whether anything in these documents does point to debt as the motivator behind self-sale. One of these contracts (P. Rylands 3) is lacking sale clauses, which might imply another obligation to be fulfilled; another (P. Rylands 4) references rations for which reason title of a *bꜣk* had been transferred. All in all, this is unconvincing evidence to suggest self-sale through debt satisfaction.

First, a distinction should be made between self-sale as a satisfaction of debt versus transfer of title following seizure, as the two are often conflated.[213] Pledging collateral in the form of the debtor's own person could lead to seizure until the debt is repaid, but self-sale is a different mechanism in that the transaction in itself satisfies the debt.[214] It is also, by this nature, more final than self-seizure; in order to exit enslavement, a person who has sold themselves would then need to pay the debt through self-purchase.[215]

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[211] See **Chapter 3, §3.1.2.**

[212] As Markiewicz, "Bocchoris," 321.

[213] E.g., van Koppen, ("Geography," 11), who equates self-sale with a creditor claiming the pledges of a previous loan contract—in other words, seizure following default.

[214] Testart, "The Extent," 179–180.

[215] We have no record of this happening in Egypt, but that doesn't exclude it as a possibility; we only have three self-sales, of which only two are potentially as a result of an obligation—and they belong to the same individual.

Of the documents mentioned above, the only two which could plausibly reference the satisfaction of a debt are P. Rylands 3 and 5, though the evidence is inconclusive. Louvre E706 can almost immediately be rejected as self-sale to satisfy a debt. The contract is near-identical to sales of other property,[216] and only different in that the vendor is the same person as the object of the sale, a woman named Djedtaweryiusankh. There is no mention of the motivation behind the sale. Slightly differing in formula, P. Rylands 3 and 6 record the self-sale of a man named Payftjawawykhonsu to two different individuals; the second self-sale (P. Rylands 6) follows a transfer of title (P. Rylands 5).

P. Rylands 3, the first of the self-sales in the Rylands group, is missing two important clauses usually featured in Demotic sales: the "heart satisfaction" clause and the exchange of silver. As noted in a previous chapter,[217] this absence possibly indicates that P. Rylands 3 represents a self-sale contract contingent on some *other* obligation, rather than exchange of silver; conceivably, this obligation could be the satisfaction of a debt owed to the second party in the contract, Djedbastiufankh.

[216] See **Chapter 3, §3.7.1.3.**
[217] See **Chapter 3, §3.7.1.7.**

The other self-sale from the Rylands group, P. Rylands 6, records Payftjawawykhonsu's self-sale to a new owner, Udjasematawy. This contract is also missing an important clause—the transfer of title—but since there are two previous contracts acknowledging transfer of title to Udjasematawy (P. Rylands 4 and 5), it is very likely that these documents were kept together, and that P. Rylands 6 is merely intended as a formal addendum to the previous two contracts. Since these documents were probably kept together, it is interesting that the transfer of title (P. Rylands 5) does seem to reference a reason behind the self-sale which follows it (P. Rylands 6). In P. Rylands 5, Payftjawawykhonsu specifies that he is now the *bꜣk* of his new owner Udjasematawy, because he claims that Udjasematawy took care of him (lit. "gave rations, *dit ʿḳ*") when he was "about to die (*iw wn-nꜣw iw[.i] mwt*)". It is possible that this transfer of title is indeed a direct result—perhaps repayment—of the rations given to Payftjawawykhonsu. However, Payftjawawykhonsu had already sold himself before, to Djedbastiufankh, without any motivation.

It has been additionally suggested that the adoption papyrus P. Louvre E7832 was a sale of the adoptee Hor son of Petiese in order to pay off a debt.[218] However, this is somewhat of a circular argument: this theory is based on the supposed outlawing of self-sale into slavery, with the

[218] Menu, "Cessions," 87.

being that since self-sale was illegal, sale as a son would take its place.[219] However, the classical account of the outlawing of self-sale has proven to be unreliable, and so the sale of Hor to pay off a debt is unlikely; if anything, this adoption represents a form of conditional manumission.[220]

§4.1.1.5. Conclusions

This section examined the inclusion of children security on loans and the motivations behind self-sale into enslavement to investigate whether these could have led to debt bondage in the Late Period. Ultimately, it seems that although debt bondage was a theoretical threat, it never became a practical reality. Although children are included as debt security in two contract loans, there is no evidence that these children included were ever seized following default or distrained as pawns while the debt was outstanding. When a debtor defaulted, it is likely that other property listed in the security was taken instead; this is supported by some Aramaic loan documents which include an order-of-operations in the event of insolvency: first a fine, then seizure.[221] The hefty interest rates—as high as 100% monthly—and fines evidenced in many of

[219] Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 55, n. 1.
[220] See below, **§4.2.1**.
[221] TADB3.13.

the loan contracts suggest that this was preferable to seizing a person which a creditor would then have to feed and house while awaiting repayment of a loan.

With regards to the possibility of self-sale into enslavement to satisfy a debt, the four extant self-sales from the Late Period do not appear to be related to debt. If debt motivated the self-sale, Demotic legal tradition suggests that this debt would have been alluded to directly (e.g. through mention of the debt owed and perhaps even its amount) or indirectly (e.g. by noting an earlier document related to the transaction). The self-sales do not evidence such references; the single reference to a motivation is that to a transfer of title of a previously self-sold slave, since his (now) owner took care of him when he was about to die.

In addition, the self-sale contracts are lacking some level of specificity if they were indeed intended as debt satisfaction. In Demotic legal tradition, there is an emphasis on the guarantee of title to property as well as a defined quitclaim by the seller; both of these ensure that the seller would no longer have any right to the property in question, along with a promise to protect the owner's new title in court and against any challengers.[222] Also evident in Demotic

[222] Many documents end with the disclaimer that the transfer of (written) title deeds are crucial to the transaction and that they may not be challenged in court; Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian*, 37; Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 32–33.

legal tradition is a high degree of specificity of contracts; money (or, indeed, any commodity) is rarely exchanged without reference to the reason *why* or *what for*, including money being the reason for exchange.[223]

The emphasis on both chain of title (and its protection) as well as the degree of specificity are intended to protect the parties of the contract in court: for example, in a sale, the seller could never claim that he did not transfer the title in exchange for silver, and conversely the buyer could not claim that he did not give the silver and receive the title in return, since these were in writing.

In this context, self-sale as a separate transaction from the debt it satisfies does not seem likely. A self-sale as a result of a debt, with no mention of that debt, would leave the debtor vulnerable to a challenge in court. A creditor could potentially take the now-enslaved creditor to court and claim that the debt was not paid, and that the self-sale was independent of (and

[223] Hence, e.g. a cow is exchanged "for silver", with a defined clause dedicated to the satisfaction of the seller and the receipt of the cow by the buyer. As noted above, however, exact prices are not mentioned in Demotic legal formulae, a deviation from earlier Abnormal Hieratic practice (Martin, "The Saite," 29). It is unclear why prices disappear from the record, though it has been argued that this is a transition from sale contracts representing real conveyance (i.e. an exchange of silver for a commodity) and towards sale contracts representing title (Martin, "The Saite," 28–29; Manning, "Demotic Egyptian," 15–16) similar to a modern-day American vehicle title which can—but does not necessarily—include the sale price of the vehicle.

unrelated to) the loan. In turn, the debtor could argue that self-sale satisfied the debt, but this would be an oral testimony versus the written transaction of self-sale. At the very least, one would expect a statement of release of the obligation, if not an entirely separate contract.[224]

§4.1.2 Prisoners of War

Entry into enslaved status as a result of capture in war had been a part of Egyptian history since the Old Kingdom; Old Kingdom expeditions into Nubia are particularly well-attested in personal autobiographies of military officials (e.g. Pepynakht, son of Heqaib), which boast of the capture and enslavement of thousands of captives (*sḳrw-ʿnḫ*). Although it is unclear how the "Asiatics" of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 entered Egypt—they may have been traded—considering Egypt's expansion into the Levant, it is likely they were captives as well. In the New Kingdom, Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela mentions, among his accomplishments, that he had filled the workhouses of his officials and priests with men and women, who had been brought as booty

[224] As in the releases from credit obligations in P. Adler 20 (93 BC) or P. Turin 2136 (126 BC). Cancellation of debts is attested in Aramaic, but only in a fragment (TADB4.1); since the document is so fragmentary, it is unclear how the debtor has repaid his debt, only that he is now released from it.

and entered into slave status; the annals of Thutmosis III[225] and the records of Amenhotep II's second campaign to the Levant[226] record thousands of captives from the region.[227]

In the Late Period corpus, prisoners of war are likely the source of the Abnormal Hieratic "men of the North" (**§4.1.2.1**); captives enslaved as a result of internal Egyptian fighting are also alluded to in the Arsames correspondence (**§4.1.2.2**), a practice which continues into the Ptolemaic period.

§4.1.2.1 "Man/Gazan of the North"[228]

The first appearance of subordinate laborers "of the Northern region (*n ꜥ-mḥtt*)" is in the Third Intermediate Period Iuwelot stela (Cairo JdE 31882). Alongside an account of 32 men and women that Iuwelot is said to have purchased for 15 deben and ⅓ kite of silver, the text adds

[225] References and some discussion in Ahituv, "Economic," 103.
[226] *Urk.* IV, 1308.19 – 1309.3; Edel, "Die Stelen," 169; Lorton, "Terminology," 63–64.
[227] See also Langer, *Egyptian Deportations*, 404–414.
[228] On this term, see also **Chapter 2, §2.4**.

"along with these 3 *ḥmw* of the Northern region (*ḥnʿ pȝy ḥmw n ʿ-mḥt*)".[229] As "people (*rmṯw*)" of the Northern region, they appear again in the Third Intermediate Period Kawa VI Stela.[230]

In Abnormal Hieratic, the designation of a "Man (*rmṯ*) of the North(ern region)" appears in four times with regards to enslaved persons: twice in the archive of Petebast (P. Louvre E3228c; P. Louvre E3228d), P. Leiden F1942/5.15, and P. Vatican 10547. To this, we can also add the designation of a "Gazan (*ḳḏwḏ*) of the North(ern region)", who appears in P. Louvre E3228e. As all of these texts deal with enslaved labor, it appears that this designation is a byword for *bȝk*; on one occasion (P. Vatican 10547), a "Man of the North" is contracted to "be (*ỉr*) a *bȝk*".[231]

The earliest of these four contracts (P. Leiden F1942/5.15) dates to 727 BC, and the latest (P. Louvre E3228c) to 685 BC, placing them in the middle of—and immediately following—Kushite military campaigns in Middle and Lower Egypt.[232] The "North(ern region)" of these titles refers

[229] Line 22, Ritner, *Libyan*, 274; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften*, 79.
[230] Line 15, Leclant and Yoyotte ("Notes," 27 fn. 2) identify these with the (enslaved) *rmṯw n ʿ-mḥty* of Abnormal Hieratic; Ritner (*Libyan*, 551) translates "people of Lower Egypt". The context does not make it entirely clear if they are enslaved or not: "To it [his city] he appointed gardeners from among the very best of Bahriya oasis and the same from among the people of the North (*rdỉ.n kȝry.w r.s m stpw nw ḏsḏs mỉtt ỉr[y].w m rmṯw nw tȝ-mḥ*)".
[231] See **Chapter 3, §4.2.2.**
[232] Redford, *From Slave*, 74–79; Spalinger, "Military Background," 273–301.

to Lower Egypt and the Delta;[233] and the "people (*rmṯw*)" are very likely captives of these campaigns,[234] either enslaved by virtue of their capture or captured and then enslaved at a later date.[235]

The identification of the term *ḳḏwḏ* as "Gazan"[236] certainly suggest that the "Gazan (*ḳḏwḏ*) of the North(ern region)" in P. Louvre E3228e, Montirdis,[237] originated from Gaza. It is entirely possible that the "North(ern region)" of Egypt also includes southern Syria-Palestine (i.e., Gaza), equating "Man of the North" with "Gazan of the North".[238] Alternatively, our Gazan could have been captured in Kushite incursions into the region[239] and then resettled in the Delta (warranting both titles of "Gazan" as well as "of the North").[240] In both cases, it appears that Montirdis was captured prior to his sale in 695 BC.

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[233] Use of "the North" to refer to Lower Egypt is common; see *Wb* I 157, 20 & 2, 125; Spalinger, "Foreign Policy," 24 fn. 6.

[234] Vleeming, "Sale," 14 fn. 45; Parker, "King Py," 113–4; Leclant and Yoyotte, "Notes," 27.

[235] Suggested in the earlier discussion of P. Vatican 10547 in **Chapter 3, §4.2.2.** as a possible explanation for the appearance of the construction "to be a *bꜣk* (*ỉr bꜣk*).

[236] Quaegebeur ("À propos"); summarized in Vittmann, "Fremde," 254–5. Left untranslated by Menu, "Captifs," 353 fn. 866.

[237] The fact that he has an Egyptian name is irrelevant as he could have been renamed. See above, **§2.2.1**, and Vittmann, "Fremde," 255.

[238] Quaegebeur, "À propos," 265.

[239] Quaegebeur, "À propos," 262–3, following Redford, "Saïs," 12, *contra* Kitchen, *Third Intermediate*, 144.

[240] On *ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥty* as representative of prisoners of war captured and then resettled in the Delta, Vittmann, "Fremde," 255.

The only other appearance of the term[241] "Gazan (*ḳ̲dwḏ̲*)" appears without the geographical designation "of the North" and is mentioned with a patronym, in the Abnormal Hieratic P. BM. 10907,[242] dating to the same time period. Donker van Heel suggests that since this Gazan appears with a patronym—as opposed to the other subordinate individuals in the Petebast archive, and in contrast with Montirdis the Gazan—that he is likely not enslaved.[243] To support this argument, Donker van Heel also cites the nature of P. BM 10907: the financial resolution of a marriage gone wrong. I am not entirely convinced; though not evidenced in Abnormal Hieratic, enslaved individuals in Demotic sources can—and do—bear patronyms, they can attest to their own sale, and lastly, there is no real evidence that enslaved persons could not get married (and, apparently, suffer the consequences when such marriages go awry). However, it is also possible that this Gazan was a free man, and simply used "Gazan" as an ethnonym despite its association with enslaved persons, if he was even aware of such an association.

§4.1.2.2. Egyptian Prisoners of War in the Arsames Correspondence

[241] Malinine (*Choix*, 39 fn. 6) called it a *hapax*.
[242] Donker van Heel, "A Day," 165.
[243] Donker van Heel, *The Archive*, 98. On filiation, see above **§2.3.2.**

The Arsames correspondence provides a hint that some native Egyptians may have been captured and enslaved as a result of rebellion, either through elites leveraging the state of upheaval to add to their estates or as a measure of punishment against rebelling Egyptians. In TADA6.10, Arsames writes a letter to his subordinate Nakhthor and instructs him to carefully guard the "personnel and goods (*grdʾ w-nksyʾ*)" of his estate so that others won't try to seize them. In the same letter, he orders Nakhthor to do exactly that: seize people from "from elsewhere (*mn ʾtr ʾḥrn*)", bring them into the courtyard, and brand them.

This would not be the last time that Egyptians would be enslaved in Egypt as a result of a rebellion. In 198 BC, a royal decree was issued stating that Egyptians who took part in rebellious unrest would then be enslaved, allowing citizens to own slaves "originating from the rebellion in the countryside (σώματα Αἰγύπ[τι]α ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ χώραι ταραχῆς)". The decree is quoted in P.Mich. 6947, which pertains to the purchase of an Egyptian woman (Thaybastis) who has become enslaved due to these circumstances.[244]

§4.2 Exit from Enslaved Status

[244] Also in Scholl, *Sklaventexte*, no. 9.

According to van der Linden, a person can terminate a coerced labor relationship on the basis of seven variables, divided into two categories: physical compulsion (i.e., forced to leave or forced to stay); and constrained choice (can leave, but chooses not to).[245] Some of these methods of exit are not germane to Late Period Egypt. Methods such as "unconditional exit" would not warrant a contract of any sort in the Egyptian legal tradition, and therefore we have no way of knowing if such a practice existed; "exit forced by another power" (van der Linden cites the British abolition of slavery) are similarly irrelevant.

Of van der Linden's seven methods of exit, only three are relevant: exit despite impediment (i.e., running away), though the evidence is scanty; conditional exit (i.e., adoption and manumission, the latter of which listed obligations of its manumitted party); and death, which is, of course, the final and irrevocable termination of a labor relationship. This subsection explores two methods of exiting enslavement as attested in the Late Period record: manumission and adoption (**§4.2.1**) and escape (**§4.2.2**).

§4.2.1 Manumission and Adoption

[245] van der Linden, "Dissecting," 310–313; graphic on p. 311.

Manumission and adoption are treated together here because they are both conditional exits from slavery which not only require something from the manumitted party in exchange for manumission, but in effect require the same thing: the manumitter has to serve their parent as their child. This practice was already attested in Egyptian history. The New Kingdom "Adoption Papyrus" (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96) details the adoption of a female slave named Dinihetiri by a childless couple; her children are also adopted, as well as any children she may bear in the future. Their adoption grants their manumission.[246] In the Late Period corpus, there are only two instances of adoption (the early Demotic P. Louvre E7832 and the Aramaic TADB3.9)[247] and only one of manumission (the Aramaic TADB3.6).[248] Adoption (and consequent manumission) are implied in one document: when the *ʾmh* Tamet is married (TADB3.3), her son Pilti is adopted by her new husband.

Despite the similarities between them, the two adoption documents are formulaically dissimilar. The adoption of P. Louvre E7832 is styled as a sale, re-using many Demotic sale clauses, including the exchange of money. Apparently, the 'father' Iturudj has paid for the

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[246] *Editio princeps* Gardiner ("Adoption"); discussion in Cruz-Uribe ("A New Look"), Allam ("A New Look"), and Eyre ("The Adoption").

[247] See also **Chapter 3, §3.6.1** (Demotic) and **§3.7.2.3** (Aramaic). Segal 11 might represent the end of an adoption document, as it includes the phrase "you will be a son to him (*thwh lh bnʾ*), but it is so fragmentary as to not be useful to this discussion.

[248] See also **Chapter 2, §3.2.2.**

privilege of adopting his new son, Hor. It is actually unknown whether Hor was enslaved before the adoption, but the parallels between self-sale and this document suggest that he was. Alternatively, the exchange of silver may supplant the manumission; in other words, instead of exchanging Hor's manumission for adoption, Hor received a sum of silver to act as a son. But why? The contract does not detail Hor's responsibilities as a son, but only that he (and his belongings, and his children) would also be subject to the contract. Although we can only suggest the reasoning behind the adoption, it is likely to be motivated by both practical and religious reasons: practically speaking, Hor would continue the family business if Iturudj had no sons of his own;[249] perhaps more importantly, from a religious standpoint, he—as an eldest son—would be expected to present Iturudj the necessary funerary offerings after he had died.[250]

In contrast to P. Louvre E7832, the Aramaic adoption document (TADB3.9) is not styled as a sale and is explicit that the adopted son (Jedeniah) had previously been enslaved and would now be manumitted by way of adoption. Like its Demotic counterpart, TADB3.9 says almost nothing about the responsibilities of Jedeniah to his new father beyond "he will be my son (*bry yhwh*)".

[249] Recalling the New Kingdom advice for a man with no son to find and raise an orphan (O. Berlin 10627); Wente, *Letters*, 149.

[250] On this practice, see Mattha, "Rights," 113–118; Cannata, *Three Thousand*, 513.

Instead, the contract focuses on the fact that Jedeniah can no longer be enslaved or branded. The contract ends with a statement that whoever shall brand Jedeniah or attempt to enslave him will pay a penalty of thirty silver karsh, one of the heaviest penalties extant in the Elephantine corpus. It's unknown why Uriah has adopted Jedeniah, but perhaps he, too, had a family business to maintain and no eldest son.[251]

The Aramaic manumission of Tamet and her daughter Jehoishma (TADB3.6) is more similar than dissimilar to the adoption of Jedeniah (TADB3.9). Upon his deathbed, Meshullam son of Zaccur releases[252] Tamet along with the daughter she bore him, Jehoishma. Like the adoption contract, this document focuses on the fact that they are no longer eligible to be enslaved or branded, and anyone who will attempt to do so will pay a penalty of 50 silver karsh. But this manumission is not free of obligations: the contract includes a statement by Jehoishma and Tamet that they swear to "serve [Meshullam] as a son or daughter supports his father (*brth ʾnḥn yplḥnk zy ysbl br w-brh l-ʾbwhy*)" as long as he lives, and that after his death they will support his son, Zaccur, "as a son who supports his father (*kbr zy ysbl l-ʾbwh*)". If they fail to do

[251] Uriah son of Mahseiah does not appear again in the corpus, and so we cannot be sure.

[252] The word used for "release (*šbq*)" is the same one used in TADA6.7 referencing Cilician *ʿbdn* who have been captured and whom Arsames requested to be released. In the latter context, the clause that follows makes it clear that the release is not referencing manumission but rather release from their capture: "let them be released, so that they do my work as previously. (*yštbqw ʿbdʾ zyly yʿbdw kzy qdmn*)".

so, they *also* incur the 50 karsh penalty. Unfortunately—as this would've clarified the duties expected of Jedeniah in TADB3.9—the contract does not detail what, exactly, a son is meant to do to support his father.

In short, manumission and adoption were closely related, and both recorded a reciprocal relationship, a conditional exit from enslavement: in exchange for exit from enslavement, the formerly-enslaved party is now obligated to provide certain services. These services could take the form of funerary responsibilities in the Egyptian tradition; in the Aramaic tradition, this could reflect the continuation of a business or perhaps the practical elements of taking care of someone in their old age.

§4.2.2 Escape

One method of exiting enslavement is surprisingly under-attested in Egypt: escape. Runaway slaves—and notices advertising their escape, offers for rewards following recapture, and recapture—were veritable industries in other slave-holding societies like Mesopotamia[253] and

[253] Westbrook, "Slave," 65–68; On the relative scarcity of runaways in the Old Babylonian Period, and especially on the fact that they appeared to run away not to escape bondage but to be enslaved in a different household, see Richardson ("Walking Capital," 30); on "slave-catchers" in the Ur III period, see Reid, "Runaways."

Ptolemaic Egypt.[254] The aforementioned Middle Kingdom papyrus P. Brooklyn 35.1446 records that many of the people in the list are attempting to escape forced labor; but whether all of these people are enslaved, or some enslaved and some escaping state-led forced labor is unclear. There is some New Kingdom evidence which suggests that a slave could leave on the basis of a justifiable grievance[255] or be taken away by a third party and given to another,[256] but none explicitly referring to escaped slaves.

There is virtually no evidence of escaped slaves in Egypt in the Late Period. This is not to say that enslaved persons did not escape; the meagre evidence is nevertheless evidence that it could happen. The self-sold *bꜣkt* of Louvre E706 hints at such a possibility, suggesting that her new owner may take her if he finds her in another house: "I am your *bꜣkt* ... you are entitled to me (lit. behind me) in any house in which you will find me (*iw[.i] mtw.k n bꜣkt ... iw.k m-sꜣ[.i] m ʿwy nb nty-iw.k r gmṯ.i*)".

[254] Evidenced in notices advertising escape (P.Cair.Zen.1.59070; P.Cair. Zen.2.59213; P.Cair. Zen.4.59613; C. Ptol. Sklav. 61–85) and letters regarding their recapture (P. Zen. Pestm.36; P.Hib. 1 54; C. Ptol. Sklav. 72; C. Ptol. Sklav. 69).

[255] P. BM 10107; Cruz-Uribe ("Slavery," 54), quoting Glanville ("The Letters," 305).

[256] P. Louvre E3230b ; Peet "Two Eighteenth."

The more conclusive Late Period evidence we have is from the Arsames archive: a letter dated to the middle of the 5th century BC (TADA6.3) records an official complaint filed by a man named Psamshek. In it, he requests for Arsames to punish eight *ʿbdn*—belonging to Psamshek's father—who he claims have taken his property and fled. Psamshek is apparently intending to recapture these *ʿbdn*, though he doesn't indicate how; his request is that, when Psamshek brings the (re-captured) men to the official Artavanta, that Artavanta will punish them as Psamshek sees fit.

The reason behind the lack of evidence for escaped slaves in the Late Period is not immediately obvious. It is possible that this is a matter of the scarcity of documentation; after all, the corpus of this dissertation is remarkably small for such a long period of time. It is also possible that escape was not considered a viable option for exit from slavery, for whatever reason, ranging from the fear of retribution to a sense of loyalty.[257]

§4.3 Labor Extraction

[257] On loyalty as a method of labor extraction (i.e. motivation to labor, see below, **§4.3.1**).

Once an employer (or owner) has a laborer at his disposal, he must somehow induce the laborer to actually work. But how? Marcel van der Linden approached this question from the viewpoint that no one individual can be forced to work through physical compulsion alone; rather, physical compulsion is only one of the three factors which motivate a worker to work. These three factors are compensation (i.e., wages),[258] conditional force (i.e., punishment), and commitment (e.g., loyalty).[259]

§4.3.1. Motivation to Labor

Commitment is the most nebulous motivator to determine with regards to ancient labor in general. However, the statement of commitment by the enslaved person in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic sources (including self-sale) suggests a level of personal loyalty, at the very least to a contractual relationship. In other words, the workers are motivated to work by their own oath to do so—sometimes, as in the case of the Demotic Louvre E706, as reflected by an actual oath, part of the Abnormal Hieratic legal tradition.

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[258] See **Chapter 4, §5.1.**

[259] van der Linden, "Dissecting," 306–310, graphic on p. 308.

Although wages appear to be irrelevant to enslaved labor, "compensation" also includes "indirect wages", such as housing, food, and social perks like the payment of a dowry or the social connections to have a complaint heard in a court of law.[260] In return for labor and freedom, an enslaved person received the obligation of their owner to protect them from debt and poverty as well as serve as their advocate.[261] This system of protection was likely the premier motivation behind working as an enslaved laborer, and perhaps even entry into enslavement. Entering a household, even while enslaved, was *still* entry into a household and provided protections a foreigner or orphan might otherwise not have.

Conditional force, or the threat to inflict harm, may have been relevant only insofar as the invocation of criminal law.[262] Certain Aramaic sources record that *ʿbdn* would be liable to punishment if they stole goods,[263] and that this punishment was likely corporal.[264] But there is little evidence for specific slave-related crime, like escape; when the *bꜣkt* of Louvre E706 alludes

[260] Specifically on differential access to justice, see Muhs, "Patronage."
[261] On this system of protection as related to the obligations of owners over property, see **Chapter 3, §5.2**; **§5.3**; **§6;** and **Chapter 6, §2.2.**
[262] However, cf. the Late Period *Instructions of ʿOnchsheshonqy* (7.18) which specify that a *bꜣk* who is not beaten has great curses in his heart, suggesting that corporal punishment may have taken place outside of criminal law, though we have no concrete evidence of it happening.
[263] TADA6.3, **§4.2.2.**
[264] TADB8.4 (Segal 28b), referencing a man who had been enslaved (*ʿbdwny*) and beaten on the palms and legs following a court dispute. TADB8.6 (Segal 9) also involves corporal punishment, but it is not entirely clear that the person in question was enslaved.

to escape, she does not mention any punishment beyond recapture. It is possible that once escaped, it was discouraged to help *bꜣkw* return to their owners, as noted in the Late Period Instructions of ʻOnchsheshonqy.[265] If the motivation to labor lay in protection, then expulsion may have served as a conditional threat, but we have no tangible evidence of expulsion from the Late Period.[266]

§4.3.2. Experiences of Labor

The study of labor in Late Period Egypt presents another question which cannot necessarily be answered: what did enslaved laborers actually *do*? The sources are not exactly forthcoming. Statistically speaking, many were likely agricultural laborers,[267] as that formed the backbone of the Egyptian economy; one of the enslaved persons in the corpus (Payftjawawykhonsu, in P. Rylands 5) calls himself a 'farmer (*ḥwṯ*)'. Some were oil-pressers[268] or weavers.[269] They could be

[265] *Instructions of ʻOnchsheshonqy* (16.6): "Do not deliver a *bꜣk* into the hand of his master."
[266] However, we do have evidence from earlier periods: in the Middle Kingdom, the landlord Heqanakhte sends instructions to dismiss a *bꜣkt* for "doing evil (*ir bn*)". Heqanakhte I, 14-15v. Allen, *Heqanakht*, 15–16. The Late Period *Instructions of ʻOnchsheshonqy* (10.9) suggest expulsion from the "house of a master (*ḥry*)" as a possibility, but it is unclear if the person to whom the aphorism is directed is enslaved or not.
[267] Goelet, "Problems," 525. This is especially true of the *ḥmw* appearing in the Apanage Stela, who are allocated alongside agricultural land.
[268] TADA6.7.
[269] TADD7.9.

involved in the process of burial,[270] though what they actually contributed is unknown. Presumably, enslaved women cooked and cleaned, but that did not deem mention in any written context. In no sense is this work distinctive from or exclusive of any work attested for persons who were not enslaved; they, too, farmed,[271] wove,[272] pressed oil,[273] worked at burials,[274] cooked, and cleaned. There is no reason to assume that these laborers—enslaved and not—could not work side-by-side.

§5. Conclusions

This chapter set out to survey the lived experience of enslaved persons in the Late Period, examining onomastics to reveal geographical origin, familial relationships, and epithets; their de-socialization as enslaved people, methods of entry and exit from enslavement, their motivations to work, and what kind of work they did.

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[270] P. Louvre E3228d; this may also be a fictive sale for the payment of the burial. See **Chapter 3, §4.2.1.**
[271] Eyre, "How Relevant." See also the weavers of Stela Cairo JdE 66285; Ritner (2009), 170.
[272] Eyre, "Work [...] New Kingdom," 200–201.
[273] Very likely the "oil-man (*ʿnṯ*)" of Stela Cairo JdE 66285 was indeed such a presser. Ritner, *Libyan,* 170. It is hard to imagine that the oil monopoly of the Ptolemaic period was fuelled by enslaved oil-pressers alone.
[274] P. Louvre E3228h details the wages of such funerary workers; see also **Chapter 4, §5.1.1.**

The onomastic data was particularly revealing. The Egyptian sources only evidence Egyptian names, which could either be suggestive of a practice of re-naming or the drawing of labor from an Egyptian supply. The former is supported by historical Egyptian practice, but the latter by the Aramaic sources, which record that nearly half of the enslaved persons bore Egyptian names, and likely originated in Egypt. These data stand in contrast to earlier and later periods, in which most enslaved persons bore Semitic names; native Egyptians still appeared, but to a lesser degree.[275]

Filiation in onomastics is not a wholly reliable indicator of enslavement or, conversely, of non-enslavement. Many enslaved persons did bear some kind of filiation, with some in the Demotic sources recording full filiation (i.e., both parents). Though not a "sure sign of enslavement", a complete lack of filiation can serve as a taxonomic tool, as it appears that while not all enslaved persons lacked filiation, all those who lacked filiation were indeed enslaved.

The status of enslavement was hereditary, as evidenced by the wording in sale and self-sale documents. In Aramaic sources, it appears that the status was inherited from the mother; in Egyptian sources, the status could be inherited from either parent. Children born to enslaved

[275] E.g. the Ptolemaic Thaybastis; cf. above, **§4.1.2.2.**

mothers and non-servile fathers in the Aramaic record are recognized either with a matronym or without a filiation at all, and do not seem to carry a specialized title like the Greek οἰκογενής. Epithets previously thought to be a mark of enslavement in the Aramaic record (*br byt*ˀ, *šmh*) serve different purposes.

Social and natal alienation, as described by Orlando Patterson, are useful lenses through which to describe the effects of enslavement, while still accepting the "property definition" as a taxonomic tool. In other words, the enslaved persons of the Late Period could be classified as property—and were indeed sold, pledged as collateral, and possibly leased[276] as if they were—but that does not call for a wholesale rejection of Patterson's ideas, which function to help describe the process behind re-naming or branding of human chattel.

The most evident method of entry into enslavement was capture in war, though other methods, especially small-scale sales, occurred and did not warrant mention in the written record. Theoretically, debt slavery could serve as a method of entry into enslavement in this period; practically speaking, although it was common to pledge enslaved persons (and

[276] See **Chapter 3, §2.1, §5.**

occasionally children) as collateral on loans, it is unlikely that these persons were actually seized if the debtor defaulted.

An owner could manumit or adopt his slave and grant them exit from enslavement. The processes of adoption and manumission were near-identical, and represented a reciprocal relationship between the adoptee (previously, the enslaved) and the parent (previously, the owner). In return for manumission, the adoptee would now be responsible for their parent with regards to prolonging the family line, taking care of them in their old age, or giving funerary offerings as is the responsibility of the eldest son. Escape from enslavement by running away is unattested, but there are suggestions that it occurred; its lack of attestation is likely due to the small size of the corpus.

The lack of distinction between servile and non-servile labor supports a point from the previous chapter: the value of an enslaved laborer was not in their productivity, nor in some calculation of cost vs. labor value. Their work was not exclusive to slavery, and could be done by hired labor, probably at a lower cost.[277] Their value, instead, was in their role as a commercial device and the degree of control their owner had over them. In exchange for the

[277] See **Chapter 4, §6.**

"indirect wages" of housing, feeding, and protecting an enslaved person, the owner received a worker without agency who could only exit the labor arrangement through the owner's consent (and with which the owner would receive a child in return) or through their death. In exchange, the enslaved person received protection:[278] the social perks and protections of an advocate in a law court and a payment of their dowry as well as the practical applications of food for themselves and their children and a roof over their heads.

[278] See also **Chapter 3, §6.** For implications, see **Chapter 6, §1, §4.1,** and **§4.2.**

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

§1. Introduction

This dissertation defines the nature and extent of slavery in Egypt from the end of the Third Intermediate Period to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period (c. 900–330 BC). This study began with a core question of whether there was there slavery in Late Period Egypt. The short answer is simply yes. The longer answer is tripartite: first, what we consider 'slavery' in modern scholarship is more useful taxonomically than analytically; second, that the labor practices evident in Egypt of the Late Period do fit into that taxonomy; and third, that this classification as 'slavery' does not mean that all 'slavery' is the same, and that the slavery of the Late Period and it should be approached as a unique social system.

Until recent decades, 'slavery' within and without the field of slavery studies was generally defined by Roman law: i.e., a person is a slave if they are equated with property. Scholars either agreed with that definition or rejected it in favor of social (rather than legal) parameters; only very recently has there been a push towards a more synthetic approach. Outside of the nuances of slavery studies, the 'property' definition has been more widely accepted as taxonomic tool: both a method of differentiation between free and unfree labor

and a simplistic way to define chattel slavery for legal purposes,[1] regardless of whether such persons meet the social considerations of being enslaved.[2] The simplicity of this legal definition is fraught—not least because this definition means that other forms of unfree labor are excluded from 'slavery'[3]—but it is precisely this simplicity which provides a straightforward taxonomy otherwise difficult to achieve: *if* people are owned as property,[4] *then* they are enslaved. This is not to say that this definition is all-encompassing nor that it is the only way with which one could define slavery; rather, that it is a useful tool that allows for categorization of various forms of labor *and,* once so employed, also allows for comparative work that could otherwise be bogged down by nuance.[5]

This naturally leads to the next question, which is whether people were owned as property in Late Period Egypt. Some scholars, particularly Bernadette Menu, assert that there was no private property ownership at all before the Ptolemaic Period; ergo, people could also not be

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[1] E.g. when it comes to defining chattel slavery for the purposes of outlawing it, as in the League of Nations/United Nations (for which, Allain, *Slavery in International Law*, 215, 246–254); see also Rodríguez-García, "Legal Boundaries," 16–24; Miers, *Slavery,* 54–55; Bales and Robins, "No One," 21; Allain and Bales, *Slavery*, 10; Black, *Law Dictionary*, 1515, 1618; Lewis, "Orlando," 47–48.

[2] "Social considerations" as defined by Patterson, *Slavery,* 35–76 and "Revisiting," 285–292.

[3] Rodríguez-García, "Legal Boundaries," 11–14, 27–29.

[4] Which begs the question of what "as property" means across geographical and historical boundaries; for further discussion see below**, §2.1**.

[5] E.g. the forms of enslavement in Classical Greece and the American South are extremely different, but do share the element of people-as-property, which allows them to even be categorized under the same form of coerced labor.

owned. But as Chapter 3 of this dissertation demonstrates, sales of people could (and did) take place. People-as-property were also treated like property in other respects, such as collateral for debts and division of inheritance.

The ownership of persons as property qualifies these people as 'slaves' in modern legal discourse, but this is only part of the analysis, and excludes the scholarly attempts at defining slavery based on social parameters—notably Orlando Patterson's "social alienation" theory, with which he defines enslavement.[6] The question that follows is whether the people owned as property in Late Period Egypt were also socially alienated, in addition to their status as property. To some extent, they *were* socially alienated: branded, re-named, and lacking a patronym, they seem to have existed outside the boundaries of Egyptian society. However, this is not necessarily the case, because they gained in their enslavement an entry *into* society.[7] Entering the status of slavery meant entering a household or an institution, albeit at a lower social stratum, but in return gave the enslaved person practical protection from debt and

[6] Patterson, *Slavery,* 35–76 and "Revisiting," 285–292.

[7] Patterson argues that enslaved people *not only* existed fully outside of society or only within society as a bodily extension of their owner, but that enslavement ensured their placement outside of society: Patterson, *Slavery,* 38–51 and "Revisiting," 272–274, 280.

starvation as well as social protection through a connection to a high-status individual or institution.

This 'protective' aspect of slavery in Late Period Egypt throws a wrench in a wholesale acceptance of Orlando Patterson's "social death" theory; through protection and patronage, slavery often offered its participants an entry into the protective fold of society,[8] rather than killing them through social alienation. This is not to say that the slaves of Late Period Egypt were not socially alienated at all, nor that the protective "benefits" somehow alleviated the burden of slavery, but rather that the *more* socially alienated persons were those who were not enslaved and still lay outside the norms of Egyptian society, therefore lacking protection: unclaimed orphans, vagrants, sentenced criminals,[9] and foreigners.[10] These people would have

[8] Whether as part of a household (e.g. domestic laborer) or an institution (e.g. a field or industrial laborer, especially working temple lands; for which see Moreno García, "Temples," 228–232, and Eyre, "How Relevant," 184–186). There is no evidence that living and working as a domestic laborer was easier or more humanizing than its counterpart in the field; such an understanding may be tinged by an erroneous equivalence of ancient slavery with the agricultural- industrial slavery of the American South.

[9] The distinction of "sentenced" criminals rather than just "criminals" is to account for the families and social connections criminals are privileged to before they are caught, sentenced, and punished.

[10] "Foreigners" here refers to people who have not yet assimilated nor built up a community, whether that community is with people of their own geographic origin (e.g. the Jewish community at Elephantine), social connections with other foreign communities (e.g. the Greek-speakers of Alexandria interacting with Aramaic-speaking Jews of Alexandria), or 'melting-pot' communities made up of various geographical origins and members of the indigenous population. On non-assimilated/alienated foreigners in Egypt, see Ray, "Jews," 273–274; Smith, "Foreigners," 295–302; Vittmann, "Multi-Ethnic," 263–264.

to seek out some way of entering the social fabric, including slavery, to find the protection they needed to function as members of society.

§2. Summary of Findings

The chief takeaways from this study are split into four: first, that a practice which can be described as slavery in modern legal taxonomy[11] did exist in Late Period Egypt, challenging some previous scholarship; second, that this practice took the form of small-scale, personal transactions that often overlapped with familial obligations and other systems of patronage and protection; third, that the value of enslaved persons lay in their dual purpose as laborers and economic tools; and finally, that the majority of enslaved persons in Egypt originated from Egypt, in contrast with earlier and later periods.

§2.1 'Slavery' in Modern Legal Taxonomy

[11] See above, **§1** n. 1.

The idea of 'slavery' in modern legal taxonomy is addressed in Chapters 3 and 5.[12] In essence, the "property definition" is a taxonomic tool which allows us to differentiate between enslaved and unenslaved laborers, but what this taxonomic tool does *not* do is tell us anything about the nature of that slave labor or the enslaved persons themselves; for that kind of analysis, we are drawn to other definitions of slavery, which is why this dissertation employs a synthetic[13] approach, using 'property' as a taxonomic tool and Patterson's categories of social alienation as analytic tools.[14] Nonetheless, the effectiveness of the 'property definition' in clearly delineating slave vs. not slave permits an investigation of ownership, and whether people could be owned. Indeed, they were—people were bought and sold, gifted, and transferred as inheritance and as collateral.

The counterargument for this conclusion of people-as-property suggests that what we view as 'sales' are actually documents styled as sales, but representing other transactions: the satisfaction of a debt, the sale of labor, or the cession of services with a monetary tax.[15] Debt

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[12] **Chapter 3, §2**; **Chapter 5, §3.**

[13] Though, importantly, using the 'property' definition taxonomically and Patterson's social alienation analytically means that I am using one definition methodologically (the property definition) and one theoretically (social alienation) rather than fully accepting one or the other.

[14] I.e., using "social death" to examine the lived experience of slavery (**Chapter 5, §3.4**) or theories of entry, exit, and extraction (**Chapter 5, §4**).

[15] Menu, "Cessions," 73.

bondage likely did not exist in Egypt of this period;[16] there is equally no evidence of a 'transfer tax' which could have been applied to these cessions of services; and finally, the hiring of labor generally took the form of piecemeal hiring,[17] rarely warranting written documentation with as many as twenty-one witnesses.[18] I propose that they are no more than what they appear to be: sales of enslaved people. Put simply, 'slavery', when defined as the commoditization of persons, took place in Late Period Egypt.

This qualification is more than a "legalistic quibble";[19] as noted in the introduction, 'slavery' is an umbrella term that could cover a broad variety of dependent labor relationships. But calling these practices 'slavery' in Late Period Egypt is an important distinction to make not just because it clearly contradicts earlier scholarship,[20] but also because it contextualizes Late Period Egypt in the study of the ancient Mediterranean world. Egyptian slavery was obviously different from, for instance, Greek slavery.[21] However, explicitly and unambiguously calling

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[16] See **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.**

[17] As in the hired services of the funerary workers of Petebast, who only appear in itemized lists indicating that they had indeed been paid; cf. **Chapter 4, §5.1.1.**

[18] E.g. the 21 witnesses of the Demotic self-sale contract P. Rylands 5.

[19] Eyre, "How Relevant," 177.

[20] Finley, *Ancient Slavery,* 247; Menu, "Les rapports," 391; Heinen, "Ägyptische," 232.

[21] Not only because of differing concepts of ownership, but also due to such varied factors such as: the social structure of Athens; the nature of agriculture of Greece; the status of women in Greek society; the legal system of Greece in general and Athens specifically; supply and demand of slave labor before and after Hellenistic expansion; the effect of the wars with Persia; differing forms of enslavement (e.g. helots); etc. Greek slavery is

both the practices evident in Egypt and Greece 'slavery' allows for future comparative study that would take the nature of these practices into account. In other words, rather than saying slavery did not exist in Late Period Egypt because it was dissimilar to other forms of slavery in the Mediterranean,[22] it is more accurate to say that slavery manifested differently in Egypt than it did elsewhere. This dissertation does not undertake such a comparative study beyond a brief price comparison;[23] but, this dissertation *did* establish that people were owned as property—by the property definition, then, "enslaved"—paving the road for future scholarship.

It is important to note that adhering to an understanding of slaves as owned persons naturally prompts a discussion of the legal and cultural definitions of being owned "as property" and how these definitions vary across time and cultures. Indeed, Patterson's critique of an acceptance of the 'property' definition revolved around the idea that the notion of property and property ownership differs too widely across geographical and historical boundaries to

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explored in-depth in a variety of sources, to list just a few: Hunt, *Ancient Greek*; Hunt, *Slaves, Warfare*; Zelnick-Abramovitz, *Not Wholly*; Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*; Silver, *Slave-Wives.*

[22] Finley, *Ancient Slavery*, 114–5.

[23] **Chapter 4, §5.4.5**; Such a comparison would be a book-length project similar to Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*.

allow for its use as a definitional tool.[24] Lewis attacked this claim, arguing for certain universal elements of property ownership and a partial adoption of the 'property' definition.[25]

This dissertation's synthetic approach to this debate, while useful within the framework of this study, admittedly does not address the issue at the core of Patterson and Lewis' discussion: the question as to whether there is any universality—or, at least, universal elements—of ownership. In fact, by still employing the 'property' definition as a tool, the dissertation conflates different constructions of ownership.[26] However, this is a conscious elision to allow for comparative work focused on enslavement, not ownership.

Eliding "ownership" across geographical and temporal boundaries allows for a comparison of "people who are owned" in (e.g.) Athens vs. "people who are owned" in Egypt, without delving into what "owned" actually means as a cultural and legal construction. In other words, while this dissertation established that people were owned as property in Egypt, we don't know

[24] Patterson, "Revisiting," 266–281.
[25] Patterson agrees that there are certain (basic) universal elements of property ownership ("Revisiting," 266–267) but maintains that the existence of these elements is "inadequate for any comparative study of slavery" (ibid., 266). This debate, and the suggestion for a synthetic approach, are discussed in **Chapter 5**, **§3.1**, **§3.2**, and **§3.3**.
[26] E.g., the comparison of slave prices in **Chapter 4, §5.4.5**, which implies that 'owned' persons are the same in contemporaneous Assyria as they are in Egypt, when in fact concepts of ownership (of both enslaved humans and other chattel) in Assyria were different; for which see Baker, "Slavery," 24–25 and McGeough, *Exchange*, 175–215.

exactly how different or similar "people who are owned" in Egypt are from "people who are owned" in Athens; such a distinction would require an exploration of the Egyptian concept of ownership not undertaken in this work. This is not to say that such an exploration—including the possibility of a universality (or universal concepts) of ownership[27] at large—is not worthy of further investigation, only that it is not addressed here. This issue warrants a dissertation-length work of its own, taking into account modern legal and economic theory as well as Roman law and its influence.

§2.2 Personal Transactions, Patronage, and Protection

There can be no doubt that chattel slavery, at its core, is an inhumane[28] practice: people were bought and sold, branded like cattle, and labored without agency. Yet, this dissertation has established that enslavement offered slaves some form of protection. When people entered enslavement (voluntarily, as in the case of self-sale, or involuntarily as captives), they were granted a roof over their heads and limited social benefits in exchange. It is crucial to note,

[27] On the idea of "universal concepts" of ownership, Lewis, "Orlando," 34–37 on the basis of Honoré, "Ownership," 107–147; for a rebuttal and (partial) acceptance, see Patterson, "Revisiting," 266–267.
[28] See Murtagh ("Inhuman") for a definition of 'inhuman', 'inhumane', and 'degrading', especially within the context of slavery.

however, that this is only the illusion of choice: slavery was only the "better of two evils" when the secondary evil was starvation, homelessness, or death. Labor was not *exchanged* for protection as much it was *sacrificed*. That said, the limited social benefits of enslavement should be summarized as a way to contextualize enslavement as a structure that existed within the other social structures of Late Period Egypt.

There is no evidence that there was wide-spread use of enslaved labor nor of economic reliance on slave labor, as in the silver mines of Laurion.[29] The transactions which evidence slavery are small-scale and personal.[30] This personal element also included obligations involved, which overlapped with familial obligations: an owner fed[31] and (possibly) housed his slaves and paid the dowry of his female slaves,[32] as he would have done for his own children. When slaves were manumitted, it was in the form of simultaneous adoption.[33] In exchange for agency-free labor for life, a person was given entry into the protection of a household.

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[29] Rihll, "Skilled Slaves," 203–220; Jones, "Laurion," 169–183; extensive bibliography on the slaves of the Laurion silver mines in Epstein, "Why Did," 109 n. 9.

[30] There is no detailed description of slaves, just as there is no detailed description of cattle being sold (on the latter, see Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian*, 100); this is opposed to (e.g.) sales of houses, which clearly describe the property sold. This does not invalidate any of these documents as sales, but merely implies scale.

[31] P. Rylands 7; TADA6.9.

[32] TADB3.3; not necessarily after using them as sex slaves, e.g. the payment of Jehoishma's dowry by her ex-owner's son, Zaccur (TADB3.8), with no evidence of any sexual relationship between the two; she is referred to in her marriage document as his sister.

[33] TADB3.6; TADB3.9; P. Louvre E7832. See **Chapter 5, §4.2.1.**

This facet of protection as motivation extends beyond the household to the systems of patronage and protection evident in Egypt. Patronage and protection were held in high regard in Egyptian society, whether this protection originates from the gods, the king, high officials, or simply another person who can provide a degree of protection. This ideology is apparent in teachings and wisdom texts from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period: instructions urge to seek out "a strong superior"[34] when one has been injured and warn against taking a superior to court "without protection".[35]

In return, superiors were morally obligated to take care of their dependents, whether these dependents were their own children or other members of their household—including slaves—from illness, lawsuits, and illegal seizure.[36] Thus, we see an overlap between the vocabulary of slavery and other forms of voluntary subordination for which a person would receive protection, such as pleas to a god for patronage.[37]

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[34] *Teachings of Amenemope* 22.1–4; Moreno García "The 'Other'," 1030.
[35] *Instructions of Onksheshonqy* 8, 11.
[36] Moreno García, "The 'Other'," 1051; Chauveau, "La première," 99–109.
[37] Migahid, *Demotische Briefe*, 80–84.

§2.3 Laborers and Economic Tools

As noted above, the slave-owner relationship involved an exchange of protection from the owner for labor for life by the slave. Part of the discussion in Chapter 4 revolved around the costs involved in buying and maintaining such labor, including the costs of maintenance of the slave and their current and future children. If we can imagine Egyptian slave-owners performing a true cost-benefit analysis—which they did not[38]—then owning a slave hardly seems economically viable. Chapter 4 demonstrated that the purchase prices of enslaved persons were relatively high:[39] this expense and the obligation of the purchaser to protect his investment—both as owner and superior—makes slave labor seemingly unattractive, if one does not take other social and economic factors into account.

The value behind employing slave labor lay in both its lack of agency and the value of the slave as a commercial instrument. The lack of agency inherent to slave labor means that a slave

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[38] As detailed in **Chapter 4,** there were various factors involved in the use of slave labor, including (but not limited to): skilled vs. unskilled labor **(§2.2**); long-term vs. short-term contracts (**§2.2**); labor demand and supply (especially in reference to the agricultural calendar and prisoners of war, **§5.4.4**). This cost-labor analysis reference is meant only as a segue into a discussion of slaves as economic tools; nevertheless, there may have been some version of a cost-benefit analysis, especially in decisions surrounding whether to keep an enslaved laborer following a bad harvest.

[39] **Chapter 4, §5.4.5.**

can't strike, petition for higher wages, take the day off, take a second job, or threaten an employer with a more attractive offer. Even when slave labor came at a higher cost, the value of its lack of agency remained attractive.[40] Lastly, the role of enslaved persons as commercial instruments meant that they held value not just as property, but as property that could serve as collateral[41] while continuing to work. They were laborers, but in addition they could play a valuable economic role that hired laborers would not.

§2.4 Geographic Origin, Self-sale, and Debt Bondage

The onomastic analysis in Chapter 5 demonstrated that the majority of the enslaved persons in the corpus were very likely Egyptian;[42] this is a stark contrast to both the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Period, in which most enslaved people were foreigners from the Levant. This has interesting implications for the social structure of Egypt in the Late Period (see below, **§3**) but also leads to the question of how people became enslaved beyond capture abroad, the practice of self-sale, and the low likelihood that debt bondage was involved in self-sale.[43]

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[40] See **Chapter 4, §2** (agency), **§5.4.2** (pricing); **§5.4.5** (cost of maintenance). The lack of agency also relates to the constant availability of slave labor, particularly relevant to domestic laborers who also provided sexual services; see **Chapter 4, §2.2**.

[41] **Chapter 2, §2.1.2.2** (Egyptian) and **§3.1.2.1** (Aramaic).

[42] **Chapter 5, §2.2.**

[43] See **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.**

Debt bondage has often been suggested as the reasoning for the self-sales of the Late Period, despite classical evidence indicating that the practice was outlawed; whether or not as a result of systematic reform, debt bondage appears to have not been a main source of Egyptian slaves. The suggestion of debt bondage is not entirely unfounded, since (presumably adult) children and slaves were both included in lists of property serving as security on loans.[44] However, conflating self-sale with the pawning (or possible seizure) of children actually confuses three different methods of entry into debt bondage: (1) self-sale as debt satisfaction; (2) distraint as a pawn; and (3), seizure of pledged property as debt collateral.

Self-sale as debt satisfaction[45] is difficult to prove unless the debt is mentioned in some way in the self-sale document. In the few self-sales in the corpus, no debt is mentioned. A motivation is given for a transfer of title one time, but the person in question had already sold himself once before without recording a motivation. It is always possible that these self-sales were a result of an unmentioned debt, but then, a written contract would seemingly not serve its

[44] Slaves: TADB4.6 (Aramaic); TADB3.13 (Aramaic); TADB3.1 (Aramaic); P. Berlin 3110 (Demotic); P. Loeb 48 (Demotic); P. Louvre E9293 (Demotic); P. BM 10113 (Abnormal Hieratic); children alongside slaves: P. Louvre E9293 (Demotic) and P. BM. 10113 (Abnormal Hieratic). See **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.3.**

[45] **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.4.**

intended purpose; in other words, why write a contract which would satisfy a debt, but then leave the actual debt unspoken?[46]

Debt satisfaction through seizure of otherwise-unenslaved persons (as distrained pawns or following default)[47] is simply unattested in the Late Period sources. As always, it is possible that such seizure occurred without written record. However, seizure would saddle the creditor with more obligations, and simultaneously not contribute to the reimbursement of the debt. Ultimately, a creditor's interests lie in getting their loan repaid; that is not happening if they are feeding and housing a dependent awaiting a repayment which may never come. In light of the negative evidence of seizure, and the context in which seizure could occur, I suggest that while children were included in lists of security, they rarely—if ever—entered a state of debt bondage as a result.

§2.5 Unanswered Questions

[46] Further discussion in **Chapter 5, §4.1.1**, including reference to emphasis on the guarantee of title to property and a defined quitclaim in Demotic legal tradition.
[47] **Chapter 5, §4.1.1.3.**

The small core of texts analyzed in this dissertation means that some questions, pertinent and important though they are, could simply not be answered conclusively. The most obvious example is represented in Chapter 4, which relied on a great deal of assumptions due to the meagre data set: we still do not have a clear idea of how and when people were paid, how much, the ratios of grain to silver in payments, and whether one form of payment was preferred over the other. By no means does this suggest that we should not be asking these questions; indeed, a large-scale study of commodity and labor pricing for the Late Period remains a desideratum, and would fill a scholarly gap much as this study did for slavery.

This study also did not investigate the possibility that serfdom (or serfdom-like practices)[48] are evidenced in the Third Intermediate Period donation stelae[49] and their connection to earlier forms of agricultural labor and laborers.[50] Serfdom is a system in which a tenant farmer is bound to a plot of land and to the owner of that land.[51] Notably, a serf cannot be owned and bartered as chattel in the same way a slave might be; and although that has little practical bearing on personal autonomy, economically and socially this is *not* a "distinction without

[48] Eyre, *The Use*, 168–171.
[49] Cairo JdE 66285 (Appendix 3, **§1.4.1**) and Cairo JdE 31882 (Appendix 3, **§1.4.2**).
[50] I.e., the *mrt*-personnel: Allam, "Une classe," 123–156; Moreno García, "Acquisition," 123–139; Moreno García (1998), 71–83; Eyre, "Feudal Tenure," 107–134; Goelet, "Problems," 547–548.
[51] Kahan, "Notes," 86.

much difference".[52] If the arrangement evidenced in these stelae can indeed be qualified as serfdom—which would require an in-depth analysis of the text and a reappraisal of Menu's claims[53]—it would hold broad implications for both land tenure and servile status in the Third Intermediate Period, suggesting the existence of a class of persons are, as yet, not well-defined.[54] A future investigation would answer questions such as whether the tenants of the lands were transferred along with their land as persons or as service-providers, whether their position would be filled once they died,[55] the obligations of the land-owner to his tenant farmers, if there are any differences from (and similarities to) helotage, and how much agency these people had within the confines of the land donation of the stelae.

Finally, as noted above in this chapter (**§2.1**), although this dissertation employs a 'property' definition to categorize types of unfree laborers and briefly delves into defining ownership in the Late Period,[56] this study does not undertake a thorough analysis of the construction of property ownership in Late Period Egypt, nor a comparison of ownership across geographical

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[52] Goelet, "Problems," 542, 547.

[53] I.e., that the tenants were transferred as service-providers, and that it was their labor (not their personhood) which was considered attached to the land; Menu, "Le prix," 245–65.

[54] Briefly addressed in Moreno García, *L'agriculture,* 9.

[55] Some of the tenants are listed with the epithet "true of voice (*mꜣʿ-ḫrw*)", perhaps indicating that they had died and their position (e.g. beekeeper, butcher, weaver) had not yet been filled. See Goelet, "Problems," 551 and Menu, "Le prix," 251–252.

[56] **Chapter 3, §5.1** and **§5.2.**

and temporal boundaries. Such a comparative and analytical study would have important implications for the use of the 'property' definition, and should be further explored in the future.

§3. Implications of these Findings

This section explores not how this study contributes to scholarship—which is addressed below, **§4**—but rather what other studies we can now undertake and questions we can now ask based on the findings outlined in **§2**. To reiterate, these findings are as follows: (1) as defined by the property definition, slavery did take place in Late Period Egypt, and it is important to use the term 'slavery' when referring to the labor practices evidenced at the time; (2) that slaves were afforded some degree of protection from their owner; (3) that slaves played a role as an economic device that held value beyond their labor and the quality of their labor; and (4) that the majority of the slaves in the Late Period were Egyptian in origin.

Previous ideas about slavery in Late Period Egypt—whether Menu's position that it did not exist[57] or more equivocal positions[58]—imply that Egyptian economy lacked a certain level of economic sophistication. By calling the labor practices evident in the corpus of this dissertation 'slavery', I imply the opposite. This is not to say that distinctions between different types of coerced labor weren't blurred, because they most certainly were; rather, this is intended to establish a common vernacular when speaking about coerced labor in general in Late Period Egypt and beyond. In other words, this is simply a matter of determining what a certain labor practice would mean for *our* social and economic concepts—crucial for comparative studies—but it does not necessarily mean that all of the modern conceptions of slavery were what the Egyptians had in mind when they engaged in these practices.

It is important to note that the acknowledgement of enslavement as a relationship in which labor was given to an owner, and protection received in return, does not suggest nor imply that Egyptian slavery was an institution with humane intentions. Even though there were some limited social benefits for the enslaved person, slavery was *still* the commodification of

[57] Further discussed below, **§4.1.**

[58] Especially Eyre ("Feudal Tenure," 177), who argued that the usage of specific terms like "slave" or "serf" are not culture-neutral, and so no term can be satisfactorily translated; this is a valuable point, but one which is lost when trying to integrate studies of coerced labor in Egypt with studies of coerced labor elsewhere; confusingly, he then proceeds to use both "serf" and "slave" on the next few pages.

human bodies for exploitation, with all that implies: the use of female slaves as involuntary sex workers, subjugated labor, and body mutilation. However, this finding does mean that enslavement—and indeed, any dependent relationship in Egypt—should be examined with an eye to the social mores of obligations, patronage, and protection, especially if the relationship in question is exploitative in nature. This discussion also fits into ongoing research within the field of slavery studies into the sacrifice of autonomy in exchange for security in other bound labor relationships.[59]

Exploring the dual role of slaves as productive laborers and economic tools opens up new avenues of analysis for other systems of bound labor in Egypt, especially the agricultural laborers called *mrt*. Previous studies have focused largely on the productivity of their labor or their social status,[60] but it is worth investigating whether these people held economic value in their *persons* rather than their *labor*. This also leads to a question of whether they could be considered as part of an income-generating asset for the state, which is one the defining factors for medieval serfdom.[61]

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[59] van der Linden, "Dissecting," 319–322; Breman, *Patronage* and *Beyond Patronage*.

[60] Especially Allam ("Une classe," 123–156), who also examined the permanence of this status; Moreno García, "La population," 71–83.

[61] Kahan, "Notes," 86–87; this is important for contextualizing Moreno García ("La population," 71), who asserted that the *mrt*-personnel are "not serfs".

The majority presence of native Egyptians as slaves and the evidence of self-sales lead to a number of questions regarding the social structure of the Late Period, one of which (whether debt bondage was a factor in self-sale) was addressed in the body of the dissertation, but many others remain, not all of which can be answered, but which are nevertheless worth exploring. These questions have one question at their core: what, in this historical context, created a social environment in which native Egyptians were enslaved, through self-sale or otherwise? This leads us to questions regarding the administration of Saite and Persian Egypt: for example, whether slaves were imported throughout the Achaemenid Persian empire, and if they did (or, perhaps, did not) make their way into Egypt.[62]

§4. Significance of Contribution

I conclude this study with the inevitable question facing every dissertation: why does this *matter*? Practically speaking, this dissertation filled a gap in Egyptological scholarship not yet satisfactorily approached and challenged previous ideas that have implications for our understanding of private property rights. This dissertation also underscored the significance

[62] Forays into this topic are recent; see King and Pirngruber, "Slavery."

of social systems as driving forces for entering (and remaining) in a servile relationship, which is germane to both Egyptology and broader studies: the former through contextualization of Late Period slavery within other known Egyptian social networks of protection; the latter as relating to theories in slavery studies regarding the "social death" of individuals. Finally, this dissertation promotes the idea that slaves held value as both laborers and economic tools, which may be relevant to historians of other slave systems, especially in the ancient world.

§4.1 Within Egyptology

In 2012, Antonio Loprieno contributed an entry to the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* in which he stated, that for the first millennium BC, the "status of slaves, if any, remains elusive".[63] This dissertation fulfilled that practical purpose: there *were* slaves, and our conception of their status is more concrete than it was before this study. We now have a better understanding of what terms were used to refer to slaves, where slaves came from, whether they could inherit their slave status and pass it to their children, their relative value as laborers and as commodities, how they entered the status of slavery (and speculations as to why), and how they could exit that status once in it.

[63] Loprieno, "Slavery," 12.

This study also vocally contradicts Bernadette Menu's oft-cited[64] position that there were no slaves in Egypt.[65] Part of her argument relies on her understanding of property ownership: if, as she reasons, there was no concept of private property, it stands to follow that there was also no private slavery.[66] According to this idea, all documents which appear to be sales are actually just transfers of usufruct, while the state remains as the singular 'true' owner of any property. It's the purpose of this dissertation to focus on that particular claim only with regards to its applicability to studying slavery in Late Period Egypt: following the assertion that there is no private slavery, Menu categorized what she called "alleged"[67] sales documents as other kinds of contracts, like "hiring of services (*louage de service*)", "cessions of service (*cessions de service*)" or "commitments of debt bondage (*engagements de servitude pour dette*)".[68]

Simply put, these characterizations do not fit the evidence. To restate a point made in Chapter 3,[69] but with a different colloquial expression: when you hear hoofbeats, think horses, not zebras. The documents which appear to represent sales of human beings parallel sales of other

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[64] Testart, "L'esclavage," 40; Eyre "Feudal Tenure," 177; Allam, "Une classe," 185 ; Allam, "Ein Erbstreit," 89–96.
[65] Menu, "Notes," 401.
[66] Menu and Harari, "La notion," 125–154.
[67] « prétendu » ; Menu, "Cessions," 73.
[68] Menu, "Notes," 394 ; Menu, "Cessions," 73 ; Menu, "Les échanges," 369.
[69] **Chapter 3, §4.4.**

items, and do indeed represent the sale of human beings, rather than a more complicated labor arrangement such as a cession of service with a transfer tax or a commitment of debt bondage, both of which are otherwise unattested. The implications of this assertion for Menu's broader claims, especially in the Late Period, are that there cannot be a zero-sum rejection of the concept of private property ownership.[70] Her theories should be assessed with regard to other property, like cattle and land, as they are perhaps more applicable in those cases.

Finally, as noted above, this study also highlights the significance of reciprocal systems of patronage and protection in Late Period Egypt and the role they play in various social relationships: parent-child, superior-subordinate, and owner-slave. These reciprocal systems involve a set of implicit and explicit obligations for both parties involved. This current study can be integrated with other studies of systems of protection[71] to explore both the importance of such systems in Egyptian society and to better understand the obligations implied for the parties in these systems.

§4.2 Beyond Egyptology

[70] Menu and Harari, "La notion," 153.

[71] Moreno García "The 'Other'"; Moreno García, "Limits"; Moreno García "Leadership."

Beyond Egyptology, this dissertation contributes to the more general studies both of the ancient Mediterranean and of slavery and coerced labor. For the former, this study contextualizes Late Period Egypt in the ancient Mediterranean world of the 10th–4th centuries BC, similar to David Lewis' work on Greek slavery of the 9th–2nd centuries BC.[72] In addition, this study fills the current scholarly gap in studies of Near Eastern law[73] and comparative studies of slavery with the Near East or the classical world,[74] which tend to gloss over the pre-Ptolemaic Period.

For the latter, this study is relevant to theories of slavery, delving into Patterson's 'social death' theory[75] and its applicability to enslavement in the Late Period as well as Marcel van der Linden's theories of coerced labor and indirect compensation for labor.[76] The latter is particularly intriguing in the context of the social factors which drove practices of enslavement in the Late Period, especially with regards to systems of protection and

[72] Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*.
[73] Westbrook, *A History*.
[74] Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*; Bradley and Cartledge, *Cambridge World History*; Rodriguez, *Historical Encyclopedia*.
[75] Patterson, *Slavery*.
[76] van der Linden, "Dissecting."

patronage, fitting into ongoing research regarding these systems and their effects in pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt.[77]

Lastly, by filling the scholarly gap created by the bookending of the Late Period by—and subsequent focus on—two periods with significantly more written documentation of slavery (the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Period), this study paves the way for my planned *longue durée* study of Egyptian slavery and forced labor. As of 2022, the only full-length work on Egyptian slavery is Bakir's 1952 monograph,[78] which suffers from its approach and use of evidence and yet remains cited extensively. I agree with other ancient historians in that it desperately needs updating,[79] and I look forward to incorporating my Late Period study into that update.

[77] Moreno García, "The 'Other'"; Moreno García, "Leadership"; Moreno García, "Limits"; Muhs, "Patronage."
[78] Although Bakir is the only *full-length* work, there are a handful of useful—albeit terse—encyclopedia entries such as Loprieno, *Slavery* and short studies like Goelet, "Problems."
[79] "A new, up-to-date book to replace Bakir (1952) is a *desideratum*." Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*, 18; "Bakir (1952) is outdated in terms of documentary evidence [...]" Loprieno, *Slavery*.

APPENDIX 1: SOURCES CONSULTED

As noted in the introduction, the Egyptian sources are arranged by museum inventory number, and the Aramaic sources by their primary publication. Sources listed with an asterisk (*) make up this dissertation's corpus, and can be found in the Appendix with a full transcription, translation, bibliography, and notes.

Text	TM/CAL	Content	Date	Language/Script
Cairo CG 65739	755208	Sale of a slave	1300 BC	Hieratic
Cairo JdE 31882	113520	Oracular Pronouncement	872 BC	Hieroglyphs
Cairo JdE 66285	N/A	Oracular Pronouncement	950 BC	Hieroglyphs
Cairo JdE 70218	N/A	Sale of land	970 BC	Hieroglyphs
Florence Stela 1639	50981	Sale of rooms	585 BC	Demotic/Hieroglyphs
Leiden I. 431	54159	Letter	557 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
Louvre E706	48742	Self-sale	592 BC	Demotic
MMA 35.3.317ro	47612	Grain loan	688 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
MMA 35.3.317vo	47613	Silver loan	688 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
O. Manawir 3928	738021	Lease of days of water use	410 BC	Demotic
O. Manawir 3946	738028	Sale of water use	404 BC	Demotic
O. Manawir 3973	738030	Lease of days of water use	406 BC	Demotic
O. Manawir 3974	738031	Sale of water use	407 BC	Demotic
O. Manawir 3975	738032	Sale of water use	408 BC	Demotic
O. Manawir 4163	738050	Lease of days of water use	407 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 13571	45685	Sale of cattle	588 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 13572	45686	Receipt	492 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 13614	45692	Marriage contract	536 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 15831	45649	Sale of cattle	364 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 23595	45723	Lease of land	577 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Berlin 3048v	97876	Sale of house	879 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Berlin 3048v	48774	Silver loan	882 BC	Hieratic

P. Berlin 3076	46045	Divorce contract	513 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 3077	46046	Divorce contract	488 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 3078	46047	Marriage contract	482 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 3079	46216	Divorce contract	489 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 3110	46051	Sale of cattle	486 BC	Demotic
P. Berlin 9784	755055	Sale of a slave	1390 BC	Hieratic
P. Bibl. Nat. 216	46165	Contract division	517 BC	Demotic
P. Bibl. Nat. 217	46424	Contract division	517 BC	Demotic
P. Bibl. Nat. 223	46167	Sale of a slave	517 BC	Demotic
P. BM 10052	380850	Sale of a slave	1190 BC	Hieratic
P. BM 10432	46069	Land lease	556 BC	Demotic
P. BM 10800	51403	Sale of ushabti	700 BC?	Abnormal Hieratic
P. BM 10846A	46073	Sale of cattle	600 BC?	Demotic
P. BM 10906	58231	Receipt	700 BC?	Abnormal Hieratic
P. BM 10907	58230	Debt acknowledgement	700 BC?	Abnormal Hieratic
P. BM. 10117	46066	Sale of land	542 BC	Demotic
P. BM. 10120a	46067	Marriage contract	517 BC	Demotic
P. BM. 10120b	46068	Acknowledgement of heir	517 BC	Demotic
P. BM. 10394	2733	Marriage contract	226 BC	Demotic
P. BM. EA 10113	46065	Silver loan	570 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Brooklyn 16.205	372045	Sale of land	997 BC?	Hieratic
P. Cair. 30657	46082	Lease of land	547 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Cair. 30661	45792	Contract	600 BC?	Demotic
P. Cair. 30665	45793	Divorce contract	542 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Cair. 30907	46090	Marriage contract	668 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Cair. 50058	45567	Inheritance division	543 BC	Demotic
P. Cair. 50059	45568	Sale of priesthood	522 BC	Demotic
P. Cair. 50060	45569	Account	525 BC	Demotic
P. Cair. 50062	45572	Account (?)	524 BC	Demotic
P. Cair. 50146	45651	Sale of cattle	399 BC?	Demotic
P. Cair. 50150	45652	Contract cession	380 BC	Demotic
P. Hausw. 14	8496	Marriage contract	208 BC	Demotic
P. Hausw. 15	8488	Marriage contract	217 BC	Demotic
P. Hausw. 4	8492	Marriage contract	246 BC	Demotic

P. Hausw. 6	8487	Marriage contract	219 BC	Demotic
P. IFAO 901	138349	Sale of cattle	349 BC	Demotic
P. IFAO 902	45662	Sale of cattle	345 BC	Demotic
P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277	45905	Sale of slave	350 BC	Demotic
P. Leiden F1942/5.15	46106	Sale of slave	727 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Libbey	46108	Marriage contract	341 BC	Demotic
P. Lille 23	45881	Sale of land	380 BC	Demotic
P. Lille 24+25	45882	Sale of land	380 BC	Demotic
P. Lille 26	45884	Sale of land	393 BC	Demotic
P. Lille 27	45935	Sale of house	341 BC	Demotic
P. Loeb 41	46431	Contract partnership (cow)	485 BC	Demotic
P. Loeb 43	46432	Sale of donkey	483 BC	Demotic
P. Loeb 44	46430	Sale of donkey foal	489 BC	Demotic
P. Loeb 45	46429	Lease of land	507 BC	Demotic
P. Loeb 48+49A	46436	Silver loan	487 BC	Demotic
P. Loeb 50	46434	Contract (cow)	489 BC	Demotic
P. Loeb 68	46292	Sale of land	501 BC	Demotic
P. Lonsd. I	45648	Marriage contract	364 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre AF 9761	47179	Contract cession	494 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E10935	46299	Contract donation (land)	556 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E2430	46113	Sale of inherited property	333 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E3228a	46123	Account	688 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E3228b	46125	Grain loan	703 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E3228c	46122	Quitclaim	685 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E3228d	46124	Sale/Lease of slave	688 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E3228e	46121	Sale of slave	695 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E3228g	46109	Contract division (house)	660 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E3228h	48858	Account	678 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E3231a	46160	Contract donation (land)	497 BC	Demotic

P. Louvre E7128	46128	Sale of building plot	510 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7832	46129	Adoption	539 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7833	46130	Lease of land (w/ animal)	534 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7834	46131	Tax receipt	536 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7835	46132	Tax receipt	537 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7836	46133	Lease of land	535 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7837	46134	Lease of land	535 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7838	46135	Tax receipt	536 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7839	46136	Lease of land	533 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7840	46137	Lease of land	534 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7841	46318	Tax receipt	559 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7842	46319	Tax receipt	540 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7843	46138	Contract partnership	536 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7844	46139	Lease of land	555 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7845A	46140	Lease of land	554 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7845B	48866	Lease of land	550 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7846	46141	Marriage contract	548 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7848	46142	Dispute agreement	559 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7849	46162	Marriage contract	588 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7850	46143	Receipt	533 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7851r	48865	Lease of land	665 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7851v	48864	Lease of land	665 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7852	46144	Lease of land	675 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7853	93279	Contract	572 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7854	46774	Letter	550 BC?	Demotic
P. Louvre E7855	46775	Letter	559 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E7856r	48867	Lease of land	672 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7856v	48741	Lease of land	672 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7858	46146	Contract donation (land)	609 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7860	46147	Lease of land	573 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E7861	46148	Contract cession	568 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre E9292	46155	Sale of cattle	501 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre E9293	46156	Grain loan	498 BC	Demotic

P. Louvre E9294	46157	Sale of inherited property	491 BC	Demotic
P. Louvre N2432	46114	Sale of burial plot	636 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Louvre N3168	46120	Sale of yarn	675 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Michigan 3525A	45666	Sale of cattle	501 BC	Demotic
P. Michigan 3525B	45667	Sale of cattle	496 BC	Demotic
P. Moscow 135	45742	Sale of priesthood	348 BC	Demotic
P. OI. 17481	41454	Marriage contract	364 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 1	45670	Sale of priesthood	644 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 2	45671	Sale of priesthood	644 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 3	45672	Self-sale	569 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 4	45673	Transfer of contract	569 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 5	45674	Contract of *bꜣk*	569 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 6	45676	Self-sale	568 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 7	45677	Renewal	563 BC	Demotic
P. Rylands 8	45678	Sale of cattle	562 BC	Demotic
P. Samaria 1	26300.1	Sale of slave	335 BC	Aramaic
P. Samaria 2	26300.2	Sale of slave	351 BC	Aramaic
P. Samaria 3	26300.3	Sale of slave	334 BC	Aramaic
P. Samaria 4	26300.4	Sale of slave	330 BC	Aramaic
P. Strasbourg 4	46437	Grain loan	487 BC	Demotic
P. Turin 2118	46180	Sale of land	635 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Turin 2120	46183	Sale of land	620 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Turin 2121	46184	Contract donation (land)	618 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Turin 2122	46185	Sale of slave	517 BC	Demotic
P. Turin 2123	46186	Contract donation	512 BC	Demotic
P. Turin 2124	46187	Contract exchange (cattle)	507 BC	Demotic
P. Turin 2125	46188	Sale of house	506 BC	Demotic
P. Turin 2126	46189	Contract division	498 BC	Demotic
P. Turin 2127	46190	Contract donation	491 BC	Demotic
P. Turin 2128	46191	Contract exchange (cattle)	498 BC	Demotic
P. Vatican 10547	46207	Sale/Lease of slave	726 BC	Abnormal Hieratic

P. Vienna D10150	45743	Contract donation	510 BC	Demotic
P. Vienna D10151	45744	Contract exchange	460 BC	Demotic
P. Vienna D10152+3	45745	Contract donation	510 BC	Demotic
P. Vienna D12002/8	46213	Sale of cattle	640 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Vienna D12003	46214	Contract cession	648 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Vienna D12004	46215	Contract division	660 BC	Abnormal Hieratic
P. Vienna KM 3853	46210	Contract division	530 BC	Demotic
Segal 29	N/A	Complaint (?)	450 BC?	Aramaic
Segal 50	23311.50	Sale	450 BC?	Aramaic
Segal 97	23311.97	Fragment	450 BC?	Aramaic
Stela Louvre C101	N/A	Sale of tomb	657 BC	early Demotic
TADA2.3	22550.3	Letter	500 BC?	Aramaic
TADA3.3	22551.3	Letter	450 BC?	Aramaic
TADA6.3	24550.3	Order of punishment	425 BC	Aramaic
TADA6.7	24550.7	Order of release	425 BC	Aramaic
TADB1.1	23301	Lease of land	515 BC	Aramaic
TADB2.1	23302.1	Grant of built wall	471 BC	Aramaic
*TADB2.11	23302.11	Apportionment of slaves	410 BC	Aramaic
TADB2.2	23302.2	Withdrawal from land	464 BC	Aramaic
TADB2.3	23002.3	Land donation	459 BC	Aramaic
TADB2.6	23002.6	Marriage contract	449 BC	Aramaic
TADB2.7	23002.7	Title transfer	446 BC	Aramaic
TADB2.8	23002.8	Withdrawal from goods	440 BC	Aramaic
TADB2.9	23002.9	Withdrawal from goods	420 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.1	23302.11	Silver loan	546 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.10	23003.1	Bequest of house	404 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.11	23003.10	Dowry addendum	402 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.12	23003.11	Sale of house	404 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.13	23003.12	Grain loan	402 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.2	23003.2	Withdrawal	451 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.3	23003.3	Marriage contract	449 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.4	23003.4	Sale of house	437 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.5	23003.5	Bequest of apartment	434 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.6	23003.6	Manumission	427 BC	Aramaic

TADB3.7	23003.7	Estate of usufruct	420 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.8	23003.8	Marriage contract	420 BC	Aramaic
TADB3.9	23003.9	Adoption	416 BC	Aramaic
TADB4.2	23004.2	Silver loan	487 BC	Aramaic
TADB4.4	23004.4	Obligation to deliver grain	483 BC	Aramaic
TADB4.5	23004.5	Debt acknowledgement	407 BC	Aramaic
TADB4.6	23004.6	Debt acknowledgement	400 BC	Aramaic
TADB5.1	23005.1	Exchange of inheritance	495 BC	Aramaic
TADB5.5	23005.5	Quitclaim	420 BC	Aramaic
TADB5.6 (Segal 8)	23005.6	Sale of slave	450 BC?	Aramaic
TADB8.2 (Segal 10+44)	23308.2	Court record	440 BC	Aramaic
TADB8.3 (Segal 5)	23008.3	Court record	450 BC?	Aramaic
TADB8.6 (Segal 9)	23008.6	Court record	450 BC?	Aramaic
TADB8.7 (Segal 4)	23008.7	Valuation of slaves	450 BC?	Aramaic
TADC3.14	23556.14	Disbursement of grain	419 BC	Aramaic
TADC3.25	23556.25	Wage list	450 BC?	Aramaic
TADC4.3 (Segal 53)	23352.3	Witness list	450 BC?	Aramaic
TADD7.9	22555.9	Letter	475 BC	Aramaic

APPENDIX 2: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF PRIMARY SOURCES CONSULTED

As noted in the introduction and the list of sources consulted, the Egyptian sources are arranged by museum inventory number, and the Aramaic sources by their primary publication. This list is not intended as an exhaustive bibliography, but rather to cite the main or initial publication of the source consulted. Additional information about each source can be found under their Trismegistos record (Egyptian sources) or Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon record (Aramaic sources). Since the Aramaic sources are already listed by primary publication, their 'bibliographical details' records any secondary publication (e.g. a publication of TADA6.7 in the more recent volume of Arshama letters). Sources listed with an asterisk (*) make up this dissertation's corpus, and can be found in the Appendix with a full transcription, translation, bibliography, and notes.

Text	TM/CAL	Bibliographical Details
Cairo CG 65739	755208	Gardiner 1935, 140–146.
Cairo JdE 31882	113520	Ritner 2009, 271–278.
Cairo JdE 66285	N/A	Ritner 2009, 166–172.
Cairo JdE 70218	N/A	Ritner 2009, 161–162.
Florence Stela 1639	50981	Malinine 1975, 166.
Leiden I. 431	54159	Černý 1932, 45–56.
*Louvre E706	48742	Menu 1985, 81–82.
MMA 35.3.318ro	47612	Černý and Parker 1971, 127–128.
MMA 35.3.318vo	47613	Černý and Parker 1971, 127–128.
O. Manawir 3928	738021	Chauveau and Agut-Labordère 2014 [online]
O. Manawir 3946	738028	Chauveau and Agut-Labordère 2014 [online]
O. Manawir 3973	738030	Chauveau and Agut-Labordère 2014 [online]
O. Manawir 3974	738031	Chauveau and Agut-Labordère 2014 [online]
O. Manawir 3975	738032	Chauveau and Agut-Labordère 2014 [online]
O. Manawir 4163	738050	Chauveau and Agut-Labordère 2014 [online]
P. Berlin 13571	45685	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 3–4 (P. Cattle 13)
P. Berlin 13572	45686	Martin 1996, 292–293.
P. Berlin 13614	45692	Martin 1996, 346–347.
P. Berlin 15831	45649	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 36–38 (P. Cattle 17 & 18)
P. Berlin 23595	45723	Zauzich 1971, 222.
P. Berlin 3048v	97876	Lüddeckens 1960, 11–12 (no. 3)

P. Berlin 3048v	48774	Möller 1918, 4-6.
P. Berlin 3076	46045	Spiegelberg 1902, 5.
P. Berlin 3077	46046	Spiegelberg 1902, 5.
P. Berlin 3078	46047	Lüddeckens 1960, 19 (no. 7); re-dated in Cruz-Uribe 1980, 35–39.
P. Berlin 3079	46216	Spiegelberg 1902, 5.
P. Berlin 3110	46051	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 25–29 (P. Cattle 13).
P. Berlin 9784	755055	Gardiner 1906, 28–35.
P. Bibl. Nat. 216	46165	Pestman 1994, 53–56 (P. Tsenhor 5).
P. Bibl. Nat. 217	46424	Pestman 1994, 57–69 (P. Tsenhor 6).
*P. Bibl. Nat. 223	46167	Pestman 1994, 63–66 (P. Tsenhor 8).
P. BM 10052	380850	Kitchen 1983, 767–803.
P. BM 10432	46069	Donker van Heel 1995, 236–239.
P. BM 10800	51403	Edwards 1971, 122.
P. BM 10846A	46073	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 31–33 (P. Cattle 15).
P. BM 10906	58231	Donker van Heel 2004, 163.
P. BM 10907	58230	Donker van Heel 2004, 155.
P. BM. 10117	46066	Malinine and Pirenne 1950, 25–28 (no. 17).
P. BM. 10120a	46067	Pestman 1994, 46–49 (P. Tsenhor 3).
P. BM. 10120b	46068	Pestman 1994, 50–52 (P. Tsenhor 4).
P. BM. 10394	2733	Pestman and Quaegebeur 1977, 58–64.
P. BM. EA 10113	46065	Donker van Heel 1995, 229–235 (no. 23).
P. Brooklyn 16.205	372045	Parker 1962.
P. Cair. 30657	46082	Malinine 1958, 224–225.
P. Cair. 30661	45792	Spiegelberg 1908, table V.
P. Cair. 30665	45793	Cruz-Uribe 1984, 42.
P. Cair. 30907	46090	Lüddeckens 1960, 12 (no. 2).
P. Cair. 50058	45567	Erichsen 1950, 17–20.
P. Cair. 50059	45568	Spiegelberg 1932, 42–46.
P. Cair. 50060	45569	Jelínková-Reymond 1955, 33–55.
P. Cair. 50062	45572	Spiegelberg 1932, 52–53.
P. Cair. 50146	45651	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 34–35 (P. Cattle 16).
P. Cair. 50150	45652	Cruz-Uribe 1985b, 42–46.
P. Hausw. 14	8496	Manning 1997, 121–125 (no. 14).
P. Hausw. 15	8488	Manning 1997, 126–129 (no. 15).

P. Hausw. 4	8492	Manning 1997, 53–55 (no. 4).
P. Hausw. 6	8487	Manning 1997, 63–66 (no. 6).
P. IFAO 901	138349	Menu 1981, 57–76.
P. IFAO 902	45662	Menu 1981, 57–76.
*P. Inv. Sorbonne 1277	45905	de Cenival 1972, 31–39.
*P. Leiden F1942/5.15	46106	Vleeming 1980, 1–17.
P. Libbey	46108	Lüddeckens 1960, 22 (no. 9).
P. Lille 23	45881	Malinine and Pirenne 1950, 51–52 (no. 28).
P. Lille 24+25	45882	Malinine and Pirenne 1950, 50–51 (no. 27).
P. Lille 26	45884	Malinine 1950, 110–111.
P. Lille 27	45935	Malinine and Pirenne 1950, 34–35 (no. 21).
P. Loeb 41	46431	Vleeming 1991, 109–125 (P. Hou 7); Cruz-Uribe 1985, 1–2 (P. Cattle 1).
P. Loeb 43	46432	Vleeming 1991, 127–139 (P. Hou 8).
P. Loeb 44	46430	Vleeming 1991, 94–108 (P. Hou 6); Cruz-Uribe 1985, 22 (P. Cattle 11).
P. Loeb 45	46429	Vleeming 1991, 72–93 (P. Hou 5).
P. Loeb 48+49A	46436	Vleeming 1991, 156–177 (P. Hou 12).
P. Loeb 50	46434	Vleeming 1991, 149–153 (P. Hou 10); Cruz-Uribe 1985, 21 (P. Cattle 10).
P. Loeb 68	46292	Spiegelberg 1931, 103–106, pl. 37–8 (no. 68).
P. Lonsd. I	45648	Lüddeckens 1960, 21 (no. 8).
P. Louvre AF 9761	47179	Pestman 1994, 85–87 (P. Tsenhor 15).
P. Louvre E10935	46299	Pestman 1994, 35–42 (P. Tsenhor 1).
P. Louvre E2430	46113	de Cenival 1966, 12–16.
P. Louvre E3228a	46123	Donker van Heel 2021, 51–60 (no. 2).
P. Louvre E3228b	46125	Donker van Heel 2021, 69–76 (no. 4).
*P. Louvre E3228c	46122	Donker van Heel 2021, 77–92 (no. 5).
*P. Louvre E3228d	46124	Donker van Heel 2021, 39–50 (no. 1).
*P. Louvre E3228e	46121	Donker van Heel 2021, 93–102 (no. 6).
P. Louvre E3228g	46109	Donker van Heel 2021, 61–68 (no. 3).
P. Louvre E3228h	48858	Donker van Heel 2021, 115–123 (no. 8).
P. Louvre E3231a	46160	Pestman 1994, 82–84 (P. Tsenhor 14).

P. Louvre E7128	46128	Pestman 1994, 71–73 (P. Tsenhor 10).
*P. Louvre E7832	46129	Donker van Heel 1995, 177–182 (no. 13).
P. Louvre E7833	46130	Donker van Heel 1995, 200–209 (no. 19).
P. Louvre E7834	46131	Donker van Heel 1995, 189–191 (no. 16).
P. Louvre E7835	46132	Donker van Heel 1995, 183–185 (no. 14).
P. Louvre E7836	46133	Donker van Heel 1995, 192–196 (no. 17).
P. Louvre E7837	46134	Donker van Heel 1995, 210–215 (no. 20).
P. Louvre E7838	46135	Donker van Heel 1995, 186–188 (no. 15).
P. Louvre E7839	46136	Donker van Heel 1995, 216–221 (no. 21).
P. Louvre E7840	46137	Donker van Heel 1995, 142–168 (no. 11).
P. Louvre E7841	46318	Donker van Heel 1995, 88–92 (no. 3).
P. Louvre E7842	46319	Donker van Heel 1995, 169–176 (no. 12).
P. Louvre E7843	46138	Donker van Heel 1995, 197–199 (no. 18).
P. Louvre E7844	46139	Donker van Heel 1995, 101–106 (no. 5).
P. Louvre E7845A	46140	Donker van Heel 1995, 107–115 (no. 6).
P. Louvre E7845B	48866	Donker van Heel 1995, 116–119 (no. 7).
P. Louvre E7846	46141	Donker van Heel 1995, 125–136 (no. 9).
P. Louvre E7848	46142	Donker van Heel 1995, 93–100 (no. 4).
P. Louvre E7849	46162	Lüddeckens 1960, 12–13 (no. 3).
P. Louvre E7850	46143	Donker van Heel 1995, 222–227 (no. 22).
P. Louvre E7851r	48865	Donker van Heel 1999, 138–143.
P. Louvre E7851v	48864	Donker van Heel 1999, 143–144.
P. Louvre E7852	46144	Donker van Heel 1997, 81–93.
P. Louvre E7853	93279	Donker van Heel 2004b, 129–137.
P. Louvre E7854	46774	Donker van Heel 1995, 127–141 (no. 10).
P. Louvre E7855	46775	Donker van Heel 1995, 83–87 (no. 2).
P. Louvre E7856r	48867	Donker van Heel 1998, 91–99.
P. Louvre E7856v	48741	Donker van Heel 1998, 99–102.
P. Louvre E7858	46146	Donker van Heel 2014b, 49.
P. Louvre E7860	46147	Revillout 1912, 240–243 (P. Contrats 24).
P. Louvre E7861	46148	Donker van Heel 1995, 75–82 (no. 1).
P. Louvre E9292	46155	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 14–16 (P. Cattle 7).
P. Louvre E9293	46156	Malinine 1953, 20–24 (no. 3).
P. Louvre E9294	46157	Malinine 1953, 113–116 (P. Choix 17); den Brinker et al. 2005, 166–167.

P. Louvre N2432	46114	Donker van Heel and Martin 2021, 13–27.
P. Louvre N3168	46120	Malinine 1983, 98.
P. Michigan 3525A	45666	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 17–18 (P. Cattle 8).
P. Michigan 3525B	45667	Cruz-Uribe 1985, 19–20 (P. Cattle 9).
P. Moscow 135	45742	Martin 1996, 356–359.
P. OI. 17481	41454	Hughes and Jasnow 1997, 9–15 (P. Hawara 1).
P. Rylands 1	45670	Griffith 1909, 42–46.
P. Rylands 2	45671	Griffith 1909, 47–48.
*P. Rylands 3	45672	Griffith 1909, 52.
*P. Rylands 4	45673	Griffith 1909, 52–53.
*P. Rylands 5	45674	Griffith 1909, 53–54.
*P. Rylands 6	45676	Griffith 1909, 54–55.
*P. Rylands 7	45677	Griffith 1909, 55–56.
P. Rylands 8	45678	Griffith 1909, 59–60; Cruz-Uribe 1985, 5–6 (P. Cattle 3).
P. Samaria 1	26300.1	Gropp 1986, 1–37.
P. Samaria 2	26300.2	Gropp 1986, 38–62.
P. Samaria 3	26300.3	Gropp 1986, 63–82.
P. Samaria 4	26300.4	Gropp 1986, 83–90.
P. Strasbourg 4	46437	Vleeming 1991, 178–188 (P. Hou 13).
P. Turin 2118	46180	Pernigotti 1975, 80.
P. Turin 2120	46183	Malinine 1953, 72–84 (P. Choix 10).
P. Turin 2121	46184	Malinine 1953, 117–124 (P. Choix 18).
*P. Turin 2122	46185	Pestman 1994, 60–62 (P. Tsenhor 7).
P. Turin 2123	46186	Pestman 1994, 67–70 (P. Tsenhor 9).
P. Turin 2124	46187	Pestman 1994, 74–76 (P. Tsenhor 11); Cruz-Uribe 1985, 12–13 (P. Cattle 6).
P. Turin 2125	46188	Pestman 1994, 77–79 (P. Tsenhor 12).
P. Turin 2126	46189	Pestman 1994, 80–81 (P. Tsenhor 13).
P. Turin 2127	46190	Pestman 1994, 88–89 (P. Tsenhor 16).
P. Turin 2128	46191	Pestman 1994, 90–92 (P. Tsenhor 17); Cruz-Uribe 1985, 23–24 (P. Cattle 12).
P. Vatican 10547	46207	Malinine 1946, 57–118.
P. Vienna D10150	45743	Martin 1996, 348–350.
P. Vienna D10151	45744	Martin 1996, 351–355.

P. Vienna D10152+3	45745	Erichsen 1963, 347–363.
P. Vienna D12002/8	46213	Vittmann 1996, 103–112.
P. Vienna D12003	46214	Malinine 1973, 203–204.
P. Vienna D12004	46215	Malinine 1973, 204–205.
P. Vienna KM 3853	46210	Pestman 1994, 43–45 (P. Tsenhor 2).
Segal 29	N/A	Segal 1983, 48–50.
*Segal 50	23311.50	Segal 1983, 69–70.
*Segal 97	23311.97	Segal 1983, 106.
Stela Louvre C101	N/A	Malinine 1975, 168–174.
TADA2.3	22550.3	Bresciani and Kamil 1966, 361–371, plate I (no. 1).
TADA3.3	22551.3	Fitzmeyer 1979, 219–220 (no. 1).
*TADA6.3	24550.3	Tuplin 2020, 61–87.
*TADA6.7	24550.7	Tuplin 2020, 111–130.
TADB1.1	23301	Dupont-Sommer 1944, 1–46.
TADB2.1	23302.1	Cowley 1923, 10–15 (no. 5).
TADB2.2	23302.2	Cowley 1923, 15–18 (no. 6).
TADB2.3	23002.3	Cowley 1923, 21–25 (no. 8).
TADB2.6	23002.6	Cowley 1923, 44–50 (no. 15).
TADB2.7	23002.7	Cowley 1923, 37–31 (no. 13).
TADB2.8	23002.8	Cowley 1923, 41–43 (no. 14).
TADB2.9	23002.9	Cowley 1923, 57–60 (no. 20).
*TADB2.11	23302.11	Cowley 1923, 103–106 (no. 28).
TADB3.1	23003.1	Cowley 1923, 29–32 (no. 10).
TADB3.10	23003.10	Kraeling 1953, 235–246 (no. 9).
TADB3.11	23003.11	Kraeling 1953, 247–258 (no. 10).
TADB3.12	23003.12	Kraeling 1953, 268–282 (no. 12).
TADB3.13	23003.13	Kraeling 1953, 259– 267 (no. 11).
TADB3.2	23003.2	Kraeling 1953, 131–139 (no. 1).
*TADB3.3	23003.3	Kraeling 1953, 140–151 (no. 2).
TADB3.4	23003.4	Kraeling 1953, 152–166 (no. 3).
TADB3.5	23003.5	Kraeling 1953, 167–177 (no. 4).
*TADB3.6	23003.6	Kraeling 1953, 178–190 (no. 5).
TADB3.7	23003.7	Kraeling 1953, 191–200 (no. 6).

TADB3.8	23003.8	Kraeling 1953, 201–223 (no. 7).
*TADB3.9	23003.9	Kraeling 1953, 224–234 (no. 8).
TADB4.2	23004.2	Cowley 1923, 32–35 (no. 11).
TADB4.4	23004.4	Cowley 1923, 3–7 (no. 2).
TADB4.5	23004.5	Cowley 1923, 106–108 (no. 29).
TADB4.6	23004.6	Cowley 1923, 129–131 (no. 35).
TADB5.1	23005.1	Cowley 1923, 1–3 (no. 1).
TADB5.5	23005.5	Cowley 1923, 144–147 (no. 43).
*TADB5.6 (Segal 8)	23005.6	Segal 1983, 22–25.
*TADB8.2 (Segal 10+44)	23308.2	Segal 1983, 27–29, 62–64.
*TADB8.3 (Segal 5)	23008.3	Segal 1983, 19–20.
*TADB8.6 (Segal 9)	23008.6	Segal 1983, 25–26.
*TADB8.7 (Segal 4)	23008.7	Segal 1983, 17–19.
TADC3.14	23556.14	Cowley 1923, 78–83 (no. 24).
TADC3.25	23556.25	Cowley 1923, 188 (no. 78).
*TADC4.3 (Segal 53)	23352.3	Segal 1983, 76–77.
TADD7.9	22555.9	Lindenberger 1994, 47–48 (no. 18).

APPENDIX 3: TEXT EDITIONS

Concordance of Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts

Text	TM no.	Other Sigla	Type
P. Leiden F1942/5.15	46106	P. Leiden K128	Sale
P. Vatican 10547	46207	P. Vatican 2038c	Sale
P. Louvre E3228c	46122		Quitclaim
P. Louvre E3228d	46124		Sale/Lease
P. Louvre E3228e	46121		Sale
Louvre E706	48742		Self-sale
P. Rylands 3	45672		Self-sale
P. Rylands 4	45673		Title transfer
P. Rylands 5	45674		Self-sale
P. Rylands 6	45676		Self-sale
P. Rylands 7	45677		Labor contract
P. Turin 2122	46185	P. Tsenhor 7	Sale
P. Bibl. Nat. 223	46167	P. Tsenhor 8	Sale
P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276+1277	45905		Sale
P. Louvre E7832	46129		Adoption

§1.1. Abnormal Hieratic Texts

§1.1.1 P. Leiden F1942/5.15

TM: 46106
Date: 727 BC
Type: Sale

Bibliography

Vleeming, (1980), 1–17; Donker van Heel and Golverdingen (2013), 31–32; Menu, (1985), 74–5.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *pꜣy.f-dit-mn* son of *pꜣy-pnw*

- **Addressee**: *ỉt-[...]* son of [not preserved]
- **Scribe**: *ỉrt-ḥr-r.w* son of *ḥr-sꜣ-ỉst* son of *bꜣ-sꜣ*
- **Subject(s)**: *pꜣ-nfr-ỉw*, Man of the North (*rmṯ n ʿ-mḥty*)
- **Witnesses**: 4

Content

Payfditmen son of Paypenu states that he has received from the choachyte Itshery three deben and one kite of silver as the money for 'a Man of the North' named Paneferiu.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 21 ꜣbd 2 ꜣḫt [hrw] 8 n pr-ʿꜣ py sꜣ-ỉst mry-ỉmn*	Year 21, month 2 of Akhet (day) 8, under Pharaoh Py, son of Isis, beloved of Amun.
2	*ḏd.w pꜣy.f-dỉt-mn sꜣ pꜣy-pnw n wꜣḥ-mw*	What Payfditmen son of Paypenu has said to the choachyte
3	*ỉt [....] sꜣ [...] šp[.ỉ] n.k pꜣ dbn 3 ḥḏ-ḳt 1 [n] pr-ḥḏ*	It[....] son of [...] I have received from you the 3 deben and 1 kite of silver of the Treasury
4	*ḥr-šf n pꜣ ḥḏ n pꜣ-nfr-ỉw pꜣ rmṯ n ʿ-*	of Harsaphes, as the money for Paneferiu, the Man
5	*mḥty dỉ.t[.ỉ] n.k [n] pꜣ hrw r-ḏbꜣṯ.f ḏd.w.f ʿnḫ ỉmn ʿnḫ pr-ʿꜣ*	of the North. I have given him to you today in exchange for it. What he has said: As Amun lives, as Pharaoh lives,
6	*snb.f bn st m-dỉ[.ỉ] [m] šr šrt sn snt rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ*	may he be healthy – I do not have a son, daughter, brother, sister (or) any man in the world
7	*ỉw ỉw.w rḫ mdt ỉm.f ỉr pꜣ nty ỉw.f mdt*	who will be able to have a claim on him. Anyone who would have a claim
8	*bn sn sḏm rꜣ.f n ḫꜣ n sḫw dwꜣ ḥr-sꜣ*	his deposition will not be heard in any Hall of Writings, tomorrow (and) after
9	*dwꜣ pꜣ mtr-sḫ ỉrt-ḥr.r-w sꜣ ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣst sꜣ bꜣ-sꜣ*	tomorrow. The witness scribe: Iretheru son of Harsiese son of Basa.

10	*m-bꜣḥ ḥry sꜣ ꜥnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw sꜣ ḥry pꜣ sḫ [n] pr-ḥḏ ỉ rꜣ pꜣy.f-dỉt-mn*	In front of Hor son of Ankefenkhonsu son of Hor, the Treasury Scribe, concerning the deposition of Payfditmen
11	*sꜣ pꜣy-pnw r pꜣ 3 dbn pꜣ ḥd-kt pꜣ ḥḏ r pꜣ rmṯ n-ꜥmḥty*	son of Paypenu, concerning the 3 deben and 1 kite of silver, the money for the man of the North.
12	*m-bꜣḥ [...]mnty sꜣ ḥr [?] sꜣ [...] mnty ỉ rꜣ pꜣy.f-dỉt-mn sꜣ*	In front of .....-Menti son of Hor son of [...] -Menti, concerning the deposition of Payfditmen son of
13	*pꜣy-pnw r 3 dbn pꜣ ḥd-kt n pꜣ rmṯ n-ꜥmḥty*	Paypenu, concerning the 3 deben and 1 kite of silver, the money for the man of the North.
14	*m-bꜣḥ [...] sꜣ pꜣ-[...] sꜣ [...] pꜣ sḫ [n] tꜣ šnwt n pr-ỉmn*	In front of [...] son of Pa-[...] son of [...], the granary scribe of the Domain of Amun
15	*ỉ rꜣ pꜣy.f-dỉt-mn sꜣ pꜣy-pnw ỉw ḏd.f šp[.ỉ]*	concerning the deposition of Payfditmen son of Paypenu, as he said: I have received
16	*pꜣ dbn 3 ḥḏ-ḳt n pr-ḥḏ n ḥr-šf r pꜣ ḥḏ pꜣ rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty*	the 3 deben and 1 kite of silver of the Treasury of Harsaphes, as the money for the Man of the North.
17	*m-bꜣḥ ns-sw-ỉmn-ỉpt sꜣ ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣst sꜣ ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ*	In front of Nesuamenope son of Harsiese son of Djedamuniufankh,
18	*ỉ rꜣ pꜣy.f-dỉt-mn sꜣ pꜣy-pnw ỉw ḏd.f*	concerning the deposition of Payifditmen son of Paypenu, as he said:
19	*šp[.ỉ] pꜣ dbn 3 n pr-ḥḏ n ḥr-šf r pꜣ ḥḏ [n pꜣ rmṯ] n ꜥ-mḥty*	I have received the 3 deben of silver of the Treasury of Harsaphes, as the money for (the man of the) North.

Notes

This translation is based on the facsimile of the text in Vleeming (1980), 10–11 and the photograph and notes provided in Donker van Heel and Golverdingen (2013), 32.

Line 3: Vleeming's restoration of the name of the choachyte as *ỉt-[šry]* is possible. If his reconstruction is correct, it could be the same Itshery of P. Louvre 3168 (at left).[1]

§1.1.2 P. Vatican 10547

TM: 46207
Date: 725 BC
Type: Sale

Bibliography

Malinine (1946), 119–131; Griffith (1909), 58; Griffith (1910), 5–8; Malinine and Pirenne (1950), 65–67; Menu (1985), 75–76; Parker (1966), 112; Revillout (1896), 288-289; Revillout (1907), 140–141.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *šp-n-ꜣst* daughter of *ḏd-ỉw[.f-ꜥnḫ* along with her daughter
- **Addressee**: *ḏd-bꜣst-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ* son of [not preserved]
- **Scribe**: the witness-scribe *ỉrt*[...] son of [not preserved]
- **Subject(s)**: *bn-tꜣ-ỉt*, man of the North
- **Witnesses**: 7

Content

Two women sell a "man of the north" named Bentayt to the chief steward of Amun, Djedbastiufankh. The witness list (which includes a summary) states that the price is one silver deben (otherwise, we wouldn't be able to reconstruct the price because the left half

[1] Malinine (1982), 93–100.

of this papyrus is missing). First reference of *ỉr bꜣk*, reminiscent of *ỉr bꜣk* in Demotic Louvre E706 and the *ỉr šr* of the Adoption papyrus P. Louvre E7832.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 22 ỉbt 2 šmw hrw 12 pr-ꜥꜣ psmṯk sꜣ [ꜣst mry ỉmn ꜥ.w.s šꜣꜥ ḏt]*	Year 22, second month of Shemu, day 12, under the Pharaoh Py, son [of Isis, beloved of Amun, l.p.h. for eternity]
2	*[m] hrw pn ḏd.w sḫmt šp-n-ꜣst sꜣt ḏd-ỉw[.f-ꜥnḫ ḥnꜥ tꜣ sḫmt ....]*	On this day has declared the lady Shepenast daughter of Djedamuniuf[ankh and the woman PN daughter of PN]
3	*[tꜣy.s] šrt ꜥꜣt n ỉmy-r-pr wr n ỉmn ḏd-bꜣst-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ sꜣ [...]*	[her] elder daughter, to the chief steward of Amun Djedbastiufankh, son of [...]
4	*pꜣ rmṯ n-ꜥ-mḥty n pꜣ hrw [šp.ỉ n.k 1 dbn ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ n ḥr-šf...]*	the man of the North, today [I have received from you the 1 silver deben of the Treasury of Harsaphes ...]
5	*pꜣy.f ḥḏ [n] ỉr bꜣk m pꜣy.k pr ḫr.f ỉr [...*	his silver [of] being a *bꜣk* in your house, thereby. If [...
6	*šp [?] pry ỉ.f ỉnk dỉt n[.ỉ] n.k [...*	the reward (?) which belongs to him, I will have to rehabilitate myself with regards to you [...
7	*m-bꜣḥ ỉmn ỉ-ḏd bn ỉnk ỉ-ỉr dỉt ỉy[...*	before Amun, saying: It is not I who caused him to come [...
8	*ỉr ỉw[.ỉ] stꜣ[ỉ] ỉỉr.k [...]. ḥnꜥ tꜣy.ỉ šrt [...ỉ]*	If I recuse myself from you [...] and my daughter, [...
9	*[ꜥnḫ] ỉmn ꜥnḫ pr-ꜥꜣ snb.f dỉ n.f ỉmn pꜣ ḳn[... bn s m-dỉt šrỉ šrt sn snt rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ ḏr.f]*	as Amun lives, as pharaoh lives, as he is well, as Amun gives him strength: [....belong to any son, daughter, brother sister, any person in the]
10	*ỉw ỉw.w rḫ mdw dwꜣ ḥr-sꜣ dwꜣ [ỉr pꜣ nty ỉw.f mdw bn sḏm.tỉ rꜣ.f m]*	whole [world] that will be able to make a complaint (about him), tomorrow and after tomorrow. [As for the one who wishes to make a complaint, his declaration will not be heard in]

11	*[pꜣ] ḫꜣ nb sḫ.w pꜣ mt[r] sḫ irt.w[...*	any of the archives. The witness-scribe Irt[ourow(?), son of PN]
12	*m-bꜣḥ ꜥnḫ-ḫnsw sꜣ n pꜣ-di-imn-ipt i-rꜣ n sḥmt [šp-n-ꜣst sꜣt ḏd-iw.f-ꜥnḫ ... di.i]*	In the presence of Ankhkhonsu, son of Padiamenope, regarding the matter of the woman [Shepenaset daughter of Djedamuniufankh who has said: I have given]
13	*bn-tꜣ-it pꜣ rmṯ n-ꜥ-mḥty ḥnꜥ pꜣ [mtr n] ḏꜥm [...*	Bentayit, the man of the North, and (witness to the?) document [...
14	*m-bꜣḥ pꜣ-ḫꜣr sꜣ ḫꜣby [i-rꜣ n tꜣ sḥmt šp-n-ꜣst sꜣt ḏd-imn-iw.f-ꜥnḫ ḏd.w šp.i n.k]*	In the presence of Pakhar, son of Habi, [regarding the matter of the woman Shepenaset, daughter of Djedamuniufankh, who has said: I have received from you]
15	*pꜣ dbn-ḥḏ [n] ḥḏ pꜣ rmṯ n-ꜥmḥty [...*	1 deben of silver (as) money for the man of the North [...
16	*m-bꜣḥ irt-ḥr-r.w sꜣ [...i-rꜣ n tꜣ sḥmt šp-n-ꜣst sꜣt ḏd-imn-iw.f-ꜥnḫ ḏd.w šp.i n.k]*	In the presence of Irtherou son of [PN, regarding the woman Shepenaset, daughter of Djedamuniufankh, who has said: I have received from you]
17	*[pꜣ] dbn-ḥḏ n pꜣ ḥḏ n bn-tꜣ-[it pꜣ rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty...]*	1 deben of silver (as) money for Benta[yit, the man of the North ...]
18	*m-bꜣḥ iw.f-ꜥꜣ sꜣ ḥr-nḫt i-rꜣ [n tꜣ sḥmt šp-n-ꜣst sꜣt ḏd-imn-iw.f-ꜥnḫ ḏd.w rdi.i]*	In the presence of Iefow, son of Harnakht, son of Iefow, regarding the matter of [the woman Shepenaset, daughter of Djedamuniufankh, who has said: I have given]
19	*bn-tꜣ-it pꜣ rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty ḥnꜥ [ḏꜥm ...]*	Bentayit, the man of the North, and [regarding the document above].
20	*m-bꜣḥ pꜣ-wr sꜣ ns-imn i-rꜣ [tꜣ sḥmt šp-n-ꜣst sꜣt ḏd-imn-iw.f-ꜥnḫ ḏd.w šp.i n.k]*	In the presence of Pawer, son of Nesamun, regarding the matter of the woman [Shepenaset, daughter of Djedamuniufankh, who has said: I have received from you 1]
21	*dbn-ḥḏ n pꜣ ḥḏ n bn-tꜣ-it pꜣ [rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty ...*	deben of silver (as) money for Bentayit, the [man of the North...]

22	*m-bꜣḥ pꜣ-ṯꜣw-dỉt-ỉmn sꜣ gm[...] ỉ-rꜣ [n tꜣ sḥmt šp-n-ꜣst sꜣt ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ ḏd.w šp.ỉ n.k dbn-ḥḏ]*	In the presence of Patjawditamun son of Gem[...] regarding the matter of [the woman Shepenaset, daughter of Djedamuniufankh, who has said: I have received from you 1 deben of silver]
23	*pꜣ ḥḏ n bn-tꜣ-ỉt pꜣ rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥty [...*	(as) money for Bentayit, the man of the North [...
24	*m-bꜣḥ pꜣ-mw-mwt sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn ỉ-rꜣ n tꜣ sḥmt šp-n-ꜣst [sꜣt ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ ḏd.w rdỉ.ỉ]*	In the presence of Pamoumout son of Padiamun, regarding the matter of the woman Shepenaset daughter of [Djedamuniufankh, who has said: I have given
25	*bn-tꜣ-ỉt pꜣ rmṯ n-ꜥ-mḥty nty-ḥr [...*	Bentayit, the man of the North, above [...

Notes

This translation is based on the hieroglyphic transcription in Malinine (1946), 121–2 and Revillout (1907), 140–141. The photo provided in Griffith (1910) is preserved only on microfilm and is of very poor quality; new photography of this text is a *desideratum*.

§1.1.3 P. Louvre E3228c

TM: 46122
Date: 685 BC
Type: Quitclaim after court order

Bibliography

Donker van Heel (2021), 78–91; Bakir (1952), plates VIII-XI; Jansen-Winkeln (2007), 216–219; Menu (1985), 78–79; Malinine (1951) : 157–178, plates IV-VI.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *pꜣ-dỉ-ḫnmw* son of *ỉrt-ḥr-r.w* and his ex-wife *Ns-Nḥm-ꜥnw* daughter of *ꜥnḫ-ḥr*
- **Addressee**: *pꜣ-dỉ-bꜣstt* son of *Pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉp*
- **Scribe**: *ḥtp-ỉmn* son of *ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ*

- **Subject(s)**: *sꜣw irt.w.r.ṯꜣ,* a Man of the North *(rmṯ n ʿ-mḥtt)*
- **Witnesses**: 6

Content

In 703 BC (Year 7 of Shabaka), Petekhnum and his sister Hetepese purchase the Man of the North Iretuertja for 4 deben. Sometime between 703 BC (Year 7 of Shabaka) and before 681 BC (Year 2 of Taharqa), they resell Iretuertja to Petebast. In 681 BC (Year 2 of Taharqa), Petebast delivers a payment—either the full payment of 6 deben or an additional 2 deben. Around 680 BC (Year 3 of Taharqa), a conflict erupts over the alleged non-payment of 2 deben, not the full purchase price. Petekhnum and Nesnehemanu sue Petebast before the court and lose. Finally, in 685 BC (Year 6 of Taharqa), this quitclaim is written by order of the court, after it had ruled that Petekhnum's claim was unfounded. All nine people involved have to take an oath that Petebast had indeed fulfilled his payment.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 6.t ỉbd 2 šmw [sw] 6 n pr-ʿꜣ tꜣḥꜣrḳꜣ sꜣ ỉst mr ỉmn ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb rʿ nb*	Regnal year 6, second month of Shemu, day 6 under Pharaoh Taharqa, son of Isis, beloved of Amun, l.p.h. every day.
2	*ḏd wʿw pꜣ-dỉ-ḫnmw sꜣ ỉrt-ḥr-r.w mwt.f tꜣ-bs sꜣt n wꜣh-mw ṯʿ ḥnʿ sḥmt*	Has said the marine Petekhnum son of Irethoreru, whose mother is Tabes daughter of the choachytes Tja, and the woman
3	*ns-nḥm-ʿnw sꜣt n ʿnḫ-ḥr sꜣ ỉỉr.f-ʿꜣ-w.-n-ḫnsw tꜣy.f ḥmt ḥʿtt.f n wꜣh-mw pꜣ-*	Nesnehemanu daughter of Ankhhor son of Irefau(en)Khonsu, his former wife, to the choachytes Pe-
4	*dỉ-bꜣstt <sꜣ> pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt pꜣ wꜣḥ-mw n ḥsy-ḫn-ỉmn ỉrt.w-r.w sꜣt n pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt*	-tebaste <son of> Peteamenope, the choachytes of the singer of the interior of Amun Ituru daughter of Peteamenope:
5	*ỉr[.ỉ] ḳnbt ỉrm.k m-bꜣh nꜣ sry.w n tꜣ ḳnbt ʿꜣ[t] nỉwt ḥnʿ pꜣ ḥry sḫ n tmꜣ*	"I have gone to trial with you before the magistrates of the Great Court of Thebes and the chief scribe of the mat

6	*ḥr tꜣ md n pꜣ 2 dbn ḥḏ m-ḫn pꜣ 6 dbn ḥḏ i.dỉ.k n.n ỉ pꜣ swḏ*	on account of the issue of the 2 deben of silver forming part of the 6 deben of silver that you have given us <for> the transfer
7	*sꜣw ỉrt.w.r.ṯꜣ pꜣy rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥtṯ ỉ.ỉn[.ỉ] ỉ snn.f ỉ.r-ỉwd[.ỉ] ỉ-*	of the guardian (?) Iretuertja, this man from the northern region, whom I bought for his price between me
8	*ỉwd sḥmt ḥtp-ỉst tꜣy.ỉ snt tꜣ wꜣḥ-mw n sḥmt ỉmn mr-sw-ỉmn sꜣt n ṯꜣw-nfr*	and the woman Hetepese, my sister (and) the choachytes of the woman of Amun Mersuamun daughter of Tjaunefer (?)
9	*ḫr pꜣy 4 dbn ḥḏn ḥꜣt-sp 7.t pr-ꜥꜣ šꜣbꜣkꜣ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw dmḏ ḥḏ dbn 6 ỉw pꜣ ḥry*	for these 4 deben of silver in regnal year 7 of Pharaoh Shabaka, true of voice, in total 6 deben, whereas the chief
10	*sḫ n tmꜣ ḥnꜥ nꜣ sryw n tꜣ ḳnbt ꜥꜣ[t] nỉwt ḏd sḫ n.f ḏd mn dỉ[.ỉ]*	scribe of the mat and the magistrates of the Great Court of Thebes have said: ‘Write for him saying: I have no
11	*md nb r.r-ỉwd sꜣw ỉrt.w-r-ṯꜣ pꜣy rmṯ n ꜥ mḥtṯ ỉ.dỉ.w n.n pꜣ*	issue between (me and) the guardian (?) Iretuertja, this man from the northern region, on account of whom they have given us the
12	*6 dbn ḥḏ ỉ-ḏbꜣṯ.f ỉ.dỉ[.ỉ] ꜥrḳ sw pꜣ 9 rmṯ m-bꜣḥ ỉmn ḥr pꜣ*	6 deben of silver, and about whom I made the nine people swear before Amun because of the
13	*2 dbn ḥḏḏd ỉ.ỉr.k ḫꜣṯ.w ỉw ns-nḥm-ꜥnw dy nỉwt ỉw.s ḥmsṯ*	2 deben of silver, saying: “you have measured them out when Nesnehemanu was here in Thebes, living
14	*tꜣ ḥꜣ[t] pꜣ-my <ỉ> pꜣ swḏ n sꜣw ỉrt.w-r-ṯꜣ ḥsbt 2.t ḥḳ[ꜣ] pn*	(in) the tomb of Pamy, <for> the transfer of the guardian (?) Iretuertja in regnal year 2 of this ruler.”
15	*ỉmy-rn.w wp-st wꜥw pꜣ-dỉ-ḫnmw sꜣ ỉrt-ḥr-r-w ḥnꜥ sḥmt ṯꜣ-pw-r.w tꜣy.f ḥmt pḥ*	Their list, specification: the marine Petekhnum son of Irethoreru and the woman Tjapuru, his latest wife,
16	*sꜣw pꜣ-my ḥnꜥ sḥmt tꜣy-dỉ tꜣy.f ḥmt ḥnꜥ wꜥw ns-bꜣstt sꜣ pꜣ-*	the guardian (?) Pamy and the woman Taydi, his wife, and the marine Nesbaste son of Pa-

17	*šr-n-ḥwt-ḥr ḥnʿ sḥmt ns-nḥm-ʿnw tȝ ḥmt ḥȝtṯ.f pȝ-dỉ-ḫnmw ḥnʿ sḥmt*	sherenhathor and the woman Nesnehemanu, the former wife of Petekhnum and the woman
18	*ỉrt.w-r-w ḥʿn sḥmt tȝ-nḫtṯ ḥnʿ sḥmt ỉ.ỉr.w sȝt n pȝ-bgȝ-<nḥ>m-ʿnw*	Ituru and the woman Tanakhte and the woman Iru daughter of Pebag<neh>emanu,
19	*dmḏ s 9 wp-st ḥwṯ 3 sḥmt 6 dmḏ s 9 ʿn mn dỉ.n md nb r.r-ỉwd*	in total nine persons, specification: three male, six female, in total 9 persons again. "We have no issue at all between (us and)
20	*sȝw ỉrt-w-r-ṯȝ pȝ rmṯ n ʿ mḥtṯ ỉ.dỉ.w n.n pȝ 6 dbn ḥḏ*	the guardian (?) Ireturetja the man from the northern region, for whom they have given us the 6 deben of silver
21	*ỉ.ḏbȝṯ.f n-ṯȝy pȝ hȝ r-ḥry ỉw ḏd.w wȝḥ ỉmn ʿnḫ pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s*	from today onwards," whereas they said: "As Amun endures. As pharaoh lives, life, prosperity, health.
22	*snb.f dỉ n.f ỉmn pȝ ḳn bn st m-dỉ.n n šr n šrt sn snt rmṯ*	May he be healthy. May Amun give him victory. We have no-one, be it son, daughter, brother, sister or any
23	*nb n pȝ tȝ ḏr.f ỉw ỉw.w rḫ md n-ỉm.f dwȝ ḥr-sȝ dwȝ ỉr pȝ nty*	man in the entire world, who will be able to raise an issue about him, tomorrow (and) after tomorrow. As for the one who
24	*ỉw.f md ỉm.f bn sḏm.ṯ rȝ.f {n} m ḫȝ nb n sḫ*	will raise an issue about him, his statement shall not be heard in any Hall of Writing. "

Notes

This translation is based on the photograph in Donker van Heel (2021), 78, and aided by the transliteration and translation of the following pages.

Line 7: Line 3: On the use of the term *ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥtṯ*, see **Chapter 2, §2.4**; **Chapter 5, §4.1.2.1.**

I am inclined to agree with Donker van Heel's reconstruction of events (summarized above, in 'contents')[2] rather than the reconstructions offered by Malinine[3] or Menu.[4] Malinine claims that Petekhnum and Hetepese purchase Iretuertja before 703 BC (Year 7 of Shabaka), cede him to Petebast as a pledge for 4 deben, and then, in 681 BC (Year 2 of Taharqa), pay 2 deben for the "final transfer".

Menu's view of the text is more complicated, and in line with her idea that these documents all represent cessions of service: in 703 BC (Year 7 of Shabaka), Hetepese cedes her half of the "rights to the services of Iretuertja" to Petebast for 4 deben, forcing Petekhnum to cede his own half, worth 2 deben. At some point before 685 BC (Year 6 of Taharqa), Petekhnum tries to reclaim Iretuertja, seemingly ignoring that his sister had already received 4 deben, but apparently willing to give 2 deben to Petebast. Petekhnum then sues Petebast in court (but why?) and the judges rule that Petebast has now acquired Iretuertja for 6 deben.

§1.1.4 P. Louvre E3228d

TM: 46124
Date: 688 BC
Type : Sale/Lease

Bibliography

Donker van Heel (2021), 51–59; Bakir (1952), pl. V-VII; Griffith (1909), 57; Jansen-Winkeln (2007), 212-213; Malinine (1953), 17–20, pl. VI; Malinine and Pirenne (1950), 63–65; Menu (1985), 77.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *pn-smn-ỉmn* and his sister *tꜣ-bs* the children of *sṯꜣ-ỉmn-gw*
- **Addressee**: *dỉ-ỉst-ḥb-sd* daughter of *ỉrt.w-r-ṯꜣ*
- **Scribe**: *ỉrt-ḥr-r.w* son of [not preserved]
- **Subject(s)**: *wḏꜣ-ḥr* a Man of the North *(rmṯ n ʿ-mḥtt)*

[2] (2021), 88.
[3] (1951), 171ff.
[4] (1985), 80–81.

- **Witnesses:** 5

Content

Lease (or perhaps a sale) of Wedjahor, a Man of the North, sold by (or leased from) a man and his sister to the Singer of the Interior of Amun. The interpretation of this text as a lease hinges on whether we take the clause of "for the burial" in line 3 as an express purpose of the transfer of Wedjahor or as an identification of what his purchase price is intended to be used for. It could be either of this options; a third possibility was that this was a roundabout way to pay for the burial, and the Singer of the Interior of Amun didn't even need an enslaved person.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 3.t ỉbd-1 prt (sw) 10 n pr-aꜣ tꜣḥꜣrḳꜣy sꜣ ỉst mr ỉmn ꜥnḫ wḏꜣ snb rꜥ nb sp-sn.*	Regnal year 3, month 1 of Peret, day 10 under Pharaoh Taharqa, son of Isis, Beloved of Amun, l.p.h., each and every day.
2	*hꜣ pn ḏd pn-smn-ỉmn sꜣ sṯꜣ-ỉmn-gw ḥnꜥ tꜣ-bs tꜣy.f snt n ḥsy-ḫn-ỉmn-dỉ-*	(on) this day Pensemenamun son of Setjaamungu and Tabes, his sister, said to the singer of the interior of Amun di-
3	*ỉst-ḥb-sd sꜣt n ỉrt.w-r-ṯꜣ dỉ.n n.t wḏꜣ-ḥr pꜣ rmṯ n ꜥ-mḥtṯ ỉ ḳst sṯꜣ-ỉmn-gw*	esehebsed daughter of Iretuertja: We have given you Wedjahor, the man from the northern region, for the burial of Setjaamungu
4	*ḥnꜥ ḥtp-ỉst tꜣy.f ḥmt tꜣy.n mwt ỉrm pꜣy.ỉ ỉt šp.n n.t pꜣ 2 dbn ḳt 4 ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ ḥry-šfy*	and Hetepese, his wife and our mother, together with my father. We have received from you the 2 deben and 4 kite of silver from the treasury of Harsaphes
5	*r-ḏbꜣ.tw.f ỉ ḳst sṯꜣ-ỉmn-gw ḥnꜥ ḥtp-ỉst mn dỉ[.ỉ] šṯṯw*	in exchange for him for the burial of Setjaamungu and Hetepse. I have no claimant
6	*ḥḏ šṯṯw bdt sn snt šr šrt ḥry ḥryt rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ ḏr.f nty ḥry [?] n sṯꜣ-ỉmn-*	of silver, claimant of emmer corn, brother, sister, master, mistress, or any

		man on the whole earth who is above (?) of Setjaamungu,
7	*-gw md m-dỉ wḏ3-ḥr ḏd.w ꜥnḫ ỉmn ꜥnḫ pr-ꜥ3 snb.f dỉ n.f ỉmn p3 ḳn ꜥnḫ dw3-nṯr*	(who will) raise an issue about Wedjahor. They said: As Amun lives, as pharaoh lives, may he be healthy. May Amun grant him victory. As the Divine Adoratrice
8	*ỉmn t3y.ỉ ḥnwt ḳ3 p3y.s ꜥḥꜥ bn ỉw.ỉ rḫ sṯ3 t3 hr nty ỉr ḥry*	of Amun lives, my mistress. May her life be long. I will not be able to withdraw the written document that was made above.
9	*p3 mtr-sḫ ỉrt-ḥr-r.w [s3 NN n ḥ3t-sp 3.t] ỉbd-1 prt [sw] 10.*	The witness scribe Iretheoreru [son of PN in regnal year 3], month 1 of Peret, day 10.
10	*m-b3ḥ p3-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt s3 ḥr-bs ỉ r3 n sḫ nb nty ḥry ḥsbt 3.t ỉbt 1 prt sw 10*	Before Peteamenope son of Herbes regarding the statement in any writing which is above, in regnal year 3, month 1 of Peret, day 10.
11	*m-b3ḥ ḫnsw-[m]-ḥ3t-nṯr-nb s3 bs s3 p3-ḫr-ḫnsw ỉ r3 <pn>-smn-ỉmn s3 sṯ3-ỉmn-gwỉw*	Before Khonsu[em]hatnetjerneb son of Bes son of Pekhorkohnsu regarding the statement of <Pen>semenamun son of Setjaamunguiu
12	*ḥnꜥ sḥmt t3-bs t3y.f snt ỉw ḏd[.w] šp.n dbn 2 ḳt 4 ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ*	and the woman Tabes, his siter, whereas they said: "We have received 2 deben and 4 kite of silver
13	*n ḥr-šf n p3 ḥḏ wḏ3-ḥr p3 rmṯ ꜥ-mḥtṯ ỉ ḳrs n št3-ỉmn*	of Harsaphes as the silver for Wedjahor, the man from the northern region, to bury Setjaamun-
14	*gwỉw p3y.n ỉt ḥnꜥ ḥtp-ỉst t3y.n mwt ḥnꜥ sḫ nb nty ỉr [ḥry]*	-guiu, our father, and Hetepese, our mother, together with every writing which was made [above (?)]
15	*[n] ḥsbt 3.t ỉbt 1 prt sw 10*	in (?) regnal year 3, month 1 of Peret, day 10.
16	*m-b3ḥ s3-nt s3 ꜥnḫ-ḫnsw s3 ḏd-mnṯ-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ ỉ r3 n pn-smn-ỉmn s3 sṯ3-ỉmn-gw*	Before Saneith son of Ankhkhonsu son of Djedmontuiufankh regarding the statement of Pensemenamun son of Setjaamungu

17	*ḥnˁ tȝ-bs tȝy.f snt ḥnˁ nȝ sḫ[w] nty ỉr ḥry ḥsbt 3.t ỉbt 1 prt sw 10*	and Tabes, his sister, and the writings which were made above in regnal year 3, month 1 of Peret, day 10.
18	*m-bȝḥ [...]-nswt ỉw.f mtr ỉ rȝ n pn-smn-ỉmn sȝ sṯȝ-ỉmn-gw*	Before the royal [... ..]. who testifies (?) regarding the statement of Pensemenamun son of Setjaamungu
19	*ḥnˁ sḥmt tȝ-bs tȝy.f snt dmḏ s 2 ỉw.w rȝ wˁ ỉw ḏd.w n ḥsy-ḫn-ỉmn*	and the woman Tabes, his sister, total: 2 people, who are one testimony, while they said to the Singer of the Interior of Amun
20	*dỉ-ỉst-ḥb-sd sȝt n ỉrt.w-r-ṯȝ šp.n n.t pȝy dbn 2 ḳt 4 ḥḏ pr-ḥḏ ḥr-šf n*	Diesehebsed daughter of Iretuertja: "We have received from you these 2 deben and 4 kite of silver from the Treasury of Harsaphes, as
21	*pȝ [ḥḏ wḏȝ-ḥr pȝ rmṯ ˁ-mḥtṯ]*	the [silver for Wedjahor, the Man of the North].
22	*m-bȝḥ pȝ-dỉ-ỉmn <sȝ> pȝ-šr-n-nt-ỉmȝy ỉ rȝ n pn-smn-ỉmn sȝ sṯȝ-ỉmn-gw ḥnˁ tȝ-bs tȝy.f snt*	Before Peteamun <son of> Pasherenneithimay regarding the statement of Pensemenamun son of Setjaamungu and Tabes, his sister,
23	*ỉw ḏd.w šp.n pȝ [dbn] 2 ḳt 4 ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ ḥr-šf ỉ ḳrs sṯȝ-ỉmn-gw pȝy.mn ỉt ḥnˁ ḥtp*	whereas they said: "We have received the 2 deben and 4 kite of silver of the Treasury of Harsaphes to bury Setjaamungu, our father, and Hetep-
24	*ỉst tȝy.n mwt n-ỉm.w n pȝ ḥḏ n wḏȝ-ḥr pȝy.w rmṯ [mn] dỉ[.ỉ] rmṯ nb n pȝ tȝ md*	ese, our mother, with them, as the silver for Wedjahor, their man. I have no man in the world (who will) raise an issue
25	*ỉw[d].f ṯȝy pȝ hȝ r-ḥry*	between (himself and) him from today onwards."

Notes

This translation is based on the photograph in Donker van Heel (2021), 52.

Wedjahor appears again in the archive in P. Louvre E3228f, dated to Year 5 of Taharqa (686 BC). This text, not a sale, is an acknowledgement by a man named Petekhnum of payments made by

Petebast in connection with the burial of his (i.e. Petekhnum's) grandparents. Four people are actually involved: two women (*sḥmt*), Wedjahor, and an additional *bꜣk* named Pagegiu. The relationship between these people and the amount paid by Petebast to Petekhnum is unclear; they may have been leased, sold, or hired.

On the question of leasing vs. hiring specifically with regards to this document, see **Chapter 3, §4.2.1**.

§1.1.5 P. Louvre E3228e

TM: 46121
Date: 695 BC
Type: Sale

Bibliography

Donker van Heel (2021), 40–50; Bakir (1952), 91–92, pl. XII-XIV; Jansen-Winkeln (2007), 34–36 ; Malinine (1953), 14–17, pl. V; Malinine and Pirenne (1950), 35–42; Menu (1985), 76–77.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: tꜣy.f-ỉwỉw* daughter of *pꜣy-ṯꜣw*
- **Addressee**: *pꜣ-dỉ-bꜣst* son of *pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt*
- **Scribe**: [not preserved] son of *ḥr*
- **Subject(s)**: *mnṯ-ỉỉr-dỉt-s* a Gazan of the North *(ḳḏwḏ n ʿ-mḥtṯ)*
- **Witnesses**: 4

Content

Sale by the woman Tayfiuiu of a Gazan from the northern region called Montirdis to the choachyte Petebaste son of Peteamunip for 2 deben and 2 ½ kite of silver. I am unsure why

Donker van Heel[5] qualified this document as a "lease/sale", as it seems to be reflective of a sale without a leasing element.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[ḥsbt 10 ỉbt 4 šmw ꜥrḳy n pr-ꜥ₃ šₛbₛkₛ sₛ ỉst mr ỉmn ꜥ.w.s rꜥ nb]*	[Regnal year 10, month 4 of Shemu, last day under Pharaoh Shabaka Son of Isis, Beloved of Amun, life, prosperity, health, every day].
2	*hₛ pn ḏd sḫmt tₛy.f-ỉwỉw sₛt n pₛy-ṯₛw sₛ pₛ-dỉ-ḫnsw n wₛh-mw pₛ-dỉ-bₛst*	(On) this day the woman Tayfiuiu daughter of Paytjau son of Petekhonsu said to the choachyte Petebast
3	*sₛ pₛ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt dỉ[.ỉ] n.k mnṯ-ỉỉr-dỉt-s pₛy ḳḏwḏ n ꜥ-mḥtṯ šp[.ỉ] n.k*	son of Peteamenope: I have given to you Montirdis, this Gazan from the Northern region. I have received from you
4	*pₛ dbn 2 ḳt 2 ½ ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ n ḥr-šf r-ḏbₛ.f pₛ hₛ m ỉb hr[.ỉ] ỉw.ṯ ỉr mỉ-ḳd tp-n-dỉt st*	(on)this day the 2 deben and 2 ½ kite of silver from the Treasury of Harsaphes on account of him, to the satisfaction of my heart, whereas one has done in accordance with the procedure of giving them.
5	*[ꜥḥꜥ] ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ n ḥr-šf dbn [2 ḳt 2 ½ wp-st] ỉw m-ḏrt wₛḥ-mw pₛ-dỉ-bₛst <sₛ> pₛ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt ỉ-ḥr*	Summation: silver from the Treasury of Harsaphes, [2] deben [(and) 21/2 kite. Specification]: has come from the hand of the choachyte Petebaste <son of> Peteamenope before the face of
6	*sḫmt tₛy.f-ỉwỉw sₛt n pₛy-ṯₛw sₛ pₛ-dỉ-ḫnsw n pₛ ḥḏ n mnṯ-ỉỉr-dỉt-s n ḥḏ n pr-ḥḏ n*	the woman Tayfiuiu daughter of Paytjau son of Petekhonsu as the silver for Montirdis in silver from the Treasury of
7	*ḥr-šf dbn 2 ḳt 2 ½ ḏd.s ꜥnḫ ỉmn ꜥnḫ pr-ꜥ₃ snb.f dỉ n.f ỉmn pₛ ḳn bn st m-dỉ[.ỉ] šr šrt*	Harsaphes: 2 deben (and) 2 1/2 kite. She said: As Amun lives. As Pharaoh lives.

[5] (2021), 40.

		May he be healthy. May Amun give him victory. I have no son, daughter,
8	*sn snt rmṯ nb n pȝ tȝ ḏr.f ỉw ỉw.w rḫ md n-ỉm.f dwȝ ḥr-sȝ dwȝ ỉr*	brother, sister or any man in the entire world, who will be able to raise an issue about him, tomorrow (and) after tomorrow. As for
9	*pȝ nty ỉw.f md bn [sḏm]ṯ rȝ.f m ḫȝy nb n sḫ pȝ mtr-sḫ pȝ-[...*	the one who will raise an issue, his statement shall not be [heard] in any Hall of Writing. The witness scribe Pa-[...]
10	*sȝ ḥr sȝ ḏd-ḫnsw*	son of Hor, son of Djedkhonsu.
11	*m-bȝḥ ḥȝt-ḥȝt sȝ ḏd-mnṯ-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ sȝ ḥȝt-ḥȝt ỉ rȝ n sḥmt tȝy.f-ỉwỉw sȝt n pȝ-ṯȝw sȝ pȝ-dỉ-ḫnsw*	Before Hathat son of Djedmontiufankh son of Hathat regarding the statement of the woman Tayfiuiu daughter of Patjau son of Petekhonsu,
12	*ỉw ḏd.s šp[.ỉ] dbn 2 ḳt 2 ½ ḥḏ pr-ḥḏ ḥr-šf n pȝ ḥḏ n mnṯ-ỉỉr-dỉt-s pȝ ḳḏḏ n*	whereas she said: I have received 2 (deben and) 2 ½ kite of silver from the Treasury of Harsaphes as the silver for Montirdis, the Gazan from
13	*ꜥ-mḥtṯ n ḥsbt 10 ỉbt 4 šmw ꜥrḳy*	the northern region, in regnal year 10, month 4 of Shemu, last day.
14	*m-bȝḥ ỉrt-w-r-ṯȝ sȝ ꜥnḫ-ḫnsw sȝ pȝ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpy ỉ rȝ n sḥmt tȝy.f-ỉwỉw sȝt n pȝy-ṯȝw*	Before Iretuertja son of Ankhkhonsu son of Peteamunipy regarding the statement of the woman Tayfiuiu daughter of Paytjau,
15	*ỉw ḏd.s šp[.ỉ] dbn 2 ḳt 2 ½ ḥḏ pr-ḥḏ ḥr-šf n pȝ ḥḏ n mnṯ-ỉỉr-dỉt-s pȝ ḳḏw[ḏ] n ꜥ-mḥt[ṯ]*	whereas she said: I have received the 2 (deben and) 2 ½ kite of silver from the Treasury of Harsaphes as the silver for Montirdis, the Gaza<n> from the northern region
16	*ḥnꜥ nȝ sḫ[w] nb nty ỉr ḥry n ḥsbt 10 ỉbt 4 šmw ꜥrḳy n pr-ꜥȝ šȝbȝkȝ sȝ ỉst mr ỉmn*	and any writings that were made above in regnal year 10, month 4 of Shemu, last day of Pharaoh Shabaka, Son of Isis, Beloved of Amun.
17	*m-bȝḥ ꜥnḫ-smȝ-tȝ-w[y] sȝ ḥm-nṯr ỉmn-m-ỉpt-swt ỉmy-r pr-ḥḏ n pr-ꜥȝ wn-nfr sȝ ꜥnḫ[...*	Before Ankhsemataw<y> son of the prophet of Amunemipetsut (and)

		overseer of the Treasury of Pharaoh Wennefer son of Ankh[...
18	*i.r͗ n sḫmt t͗y.f-i̯wi̯w s͗t n p͗-t͗w i̯w ḏd.s šp[.i] p͗ dbn 2 ḳt 2 ½ ḥḏ*	regarding the statement of the woman Tayfiuiu daughter of Patjau, whereas she said: I have received the 2 deben (and) 2 ½ kite of silver
19	*n pr-ḥḏ n ḥr-šf ḥnˁ p͗ mḏ͗ [n] sḫ nty i̯r ḥry ḥsbt 10.t i̯bt 2 šmw ˁrḳy*	from the Treasury of Harsaphes and the document (in) writing that was made above in regnal year 10, month 2 (*sic*) of Shemu, last day.
20	*m-b͗ḥ p͗-di̯-i̯mn-<nsw>-t͗wy s͗ ḥr p͗ ḥry [...] i.r͗ n sḫmt t͗y.f-i̯wi̯w s͗t n p͗y-ṯ͗w i̯w*	Before Peteamun<nesu>tawy (?) son of Hor, the master of [...] regarding the statement of the woman Tayfiuiu daughter of Paytjau, whereas
21	*ḏd.s n w͗ḥ-mw p͗-di̯-b͗st s͗ p͗-di̯-i̯mn-i̯pt šp[.i] n.k p͗ dbn 2 ḳt 2 ½ ḥḏ n*	she said to the choachyte Petebaste son of Patiamenope: I have received from you the 2 deben (and) 2 ½ kite of silver from
22	*pr-ḥḏ n ḥr-šf n p͗ ḥḏ n mnṯ-i̯ir-di̯t-s p͗ ḳḏwḏ ˁ-mḥtṯ ḥnˁ*	the Treasury of Harsaphes as the silver for Montirdis, the Gazan from the northern region, and
23	*p͗ mḏ͗ n sḫ nty i̯r ḥry n ḥsbt 10.t i̯bt 4 šmw ˁrḳy*	the document in writing that was made above in regnal year 10, month 4 of shemu, last day.

Notes

This translation is based on the photograph in Donker van Heel (2021), 94, and the transliteration and translation in the pages following the photograph.

§1.2 Demotic Texts

§1.2.1 Louvre E706

TM: 48742
Date: 592 BC
Type : Self-sale

Bibliography

Malinine and Pirenne (1950), 73–74 ; Barbotin and Devauchelle (2005), p. 43–45; Menu (1985), 81–2; Bakir (1952), pl. XVII–XVIII; Revillout (1896), 85.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: ḏd-t3-wry-iw.s-ʿnḫ* daughter of *ꜣst-ḫb*
- **Addressee**: *imn-pꜣ-wiꜣ*
- **Scribe**: *ḫnsw-ms* son of *hry-s-n.f*
- **Subject(s)**: self (*ḏd-t3-wry-iw.s-ʿnḫ* daughter of *ꜣst-ḫb*)
- **Witnesses**: None

Content

A woman named Djedtaweryiusankh sells herself into slavery. Although this text is in Demotic, it contains an Abnormal Hieratic oath. The contract is written on both sides of the bowl.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1ro	*ḥsbt 4 ibt 2 šmw sw 20 n pr-ꜥꜣ ʿ.w.s*	Year 4, month 2 of Shemu, day 20, of the pharaoh l.p.h
2ro	*pssmṯk ʿ.w.s ḏd.t sḥmt ḏd-t3-wry-iw.s-ʿnḫ sꜣt ꜣst-ḫb n imn-pꜣ-wiꜣ*	Psammetichus l.p.h. The woman Djedtaweryiusankh daughter of Asetheb has said to Amenpawia:
3ro	*di.k mtr.k ḥꜣty[.i] n pꜣy[.i] ḥd n ir n.k bꜣkt ink tꜣy.k*	“you have satisfied my heart with the silver for which I become your *bꜣkt*. I am your
4ro	*bꜣkt iw rḫ rmt nb pꜣ tꜣ irt sḫy n-im[.i]*	*bꜣkt*. No man in the world will be able to exercise authority over me,
5ro	*pꜣy.k bnr bn-iw[.i] rḫ ir nmḥ iir-n.k ʿn sp sn*	except you. Never again will I be able to act as *nmḥ* unto you, twice over,

6ro	*šʿ ḥḏ nb prt nb nkt nb n*	unto any silver, any corn, any kind of property
7ro	*pȝ tȝ ḥnʿ nȝy[.i] ḫrdw nty-ỉw[.ỉ r] ms.w*	in the land, together with my children whom I will bear,
8ro	*ḥnʿ nty-nb nty ỉnk s ḥnʿ nȝ*	and everything that belongs to me, and those
9ro	*nty-ỉw[.i] r dỉt ḫpr.w ḥnʿ nȝ ḥbs[w] nty*	things which I will gain, and the clothing which
10ro	*ḥr-ȝtṯ[.i] n ṯȝy ḥsbt 4 ỉbd 2 šmw*	is on my back, from year 4 month 2 of Shemu
11ro	*r-ḥry r rnpt nb šʿ nḥḥ ḏt*	onwards to any year, for ever and eternity.
1v	*pȝ nty-ỉw.f [r] ỉy r-r.k r-ḏbȝṯ[.i] n-rn rmṯ nb n pȝ tȝ ḏd bn tȝy.k bȝk[t] ỉn tȝy ỉw.f [r] dỉt n.k*	He who will come to you on my account, including any man in the land, saying, "she is not your *bȝkt*" —he will give you
2v	*ḥḏ nb prt nb nty-ỉw.w [r] ʿḳ r ḥȝty.k ỉw[.i] mtw.k n bȝk[t] ʿn ḥnʿ nȝy[.i] ḫrdw ỉw.k m-sȝ[.i]*	any silver, any corn, that will please your heart, I still being your *bȝkt*, with my children: you are entitled to take me
3v	*m ʿwy nb nty-ỉw.k [r] gmṯ[.i] n-ỉm.w ʿnḫ ỉmn ʿnḫ pr-ʿȝ bn ỉw[.i] šm n.ỉ*	in any house which you will find me. As Amun lives! As pharaoh l.p.h. lives! I will not go
4v	*mtw.k ʿn sp-sn bn-ỉw[.i] ḏd ʿḏe r mdt nb nty nty-ḥry bn-ỉw[.i] sṯȝṯ mdt n-ỉm.w*	from you. I will not say "false" to any word that is above. I will not withdraw a word of them.
5v	*[bn-ỉw.i] rḫ ḏd ỉỉn mtr pȝ-bnr-n pȝ dmy nty-ỉw.k n-ỉm.f*	I will not be able to say "produce a subscribing witness" outside the town in which you are.
6v	*m-sḫ ḫnsw-ms sȝ hry-s-n.f*	Written by Khonsumes son of Herysenef.

Notes

This translation is based on the photograph available on the Louvre website, permalink: https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010008713 and aided by the transcription in Bakir (1952), XVII–XVIII.

§1.2.2 P. Rylands 3

TM: 45672
Date: 569 BC
Type: Self-sale

Bibliography

Griffith (1909), vol. 3, 52, vol. 2, pl. XVI; Revillout (1914), 71; Revillout (1911), no. 20; Menu (1985), 83; Menu (1998), 189–90; corrections in den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 328.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw* son of *hr-bꜣst* and *ḫꜣʿ.w-s-n-ꜣst*
- **Addressee**: *ḏd-bꜣst-iw.f-ʿnḫ* son of *ḥr*
- **Scribe**: *wsr-imn* son of *pꜣ-šr-bꜣst*
- **Subject(s)**: self (*pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *qʿw-s-n-ꜣst*)
- **Witnesses**: 15 (on verso, mostly illegible)

Content

Payftjawawykhonsu enters a contractual relationship with Djedbastiufankh to be his *bꜣk*, along with his children (though it is unclear if this is an actual obligation for children who exist or a future one for any children who will be born). He claims that he will never be able to act as *nmḥ*. No satisfaction clause.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[ḥsbt 2 ibt 2 … pr-ꜥ] ʿ.w.s iʿḥ[ms ʿ.w.]s. ḏd pꜣy.f[ṯꜣw-ḫn]sw sꜣ hr-bꜣst mwt.f ḫꜣʿ.w-s-n-ꜣst n swḏꜣ-ib it ḥm-nṯr tp*	[Year 2, month 2 of … of the pharaoh] l.p.h. A[masis, l.p.]h. Payf[tjawawykhon]su son of Heribast, his mother is Khausenaset, has said to the comforter of the Father's heart, the first prophet,
2	*[sḫ n mḏꜣt-nṯr ḏd-bꜣst-iw.f-ʿnḫ] sꜣ ḥr [ink pꜣy.k] bꜣk šʿ [ḏt] bn-iw[.i] rḫ ir nmḥ iir-n.k ʿn sp sn r-ʿ ḥḏ nb prt*	[scribe of the divine book, Djedbastiufankh] son of Hor: I am your *bꜣk* for[ever], never again twice over shall

		I be a *nmḥ* with regards to you, against any silver, any grain
3	*[nb nty-nb n pꜣ tꜣ ḥnʿ nꜣy.i ḫrṯ.w [nty ms] ḥnʿ [nꜣ nty]-iw.w [r] ms.w n.n ḥnʿ nty-nb nty mtw.n ḥnʿ nꜣ nty-iw.n [r]*	[any kind of property in the land, along with my] children [who were born and those] who will be born to us, and all that belongs to us and those things which we shall
4	*[dit ḫpr.w ḥnʿ nꜣ ḥbs.w nty] ḥr [ꜣṯ.n] bn-iw [rḫ rmṯ nb n] pꜣ tꜣ ir-sḫy n-im.n pꜣy.k bnr [n-]ṯꜣy ḥsbt 2 ibt 2*	[gain and the clothes which are] upon our [backs]. No [man] in the land shall [be able] to exercise authority over us except you, from year 2, month 2
5	*[....] šʿ [ḏt. sḫ] swḏꜣ-ib [n it] wsr-imn sꜣ pꜣ-šr-n-ꜣst*	[of ... to any year] for[ever. Written by] the comforter of the [Father's] heart, Useramun son of Pasherbast.

Notes

This translation is based on the facsimile in Griffith (1909), pl. XVI, aided by corrections in den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 328. I am preparing a re-edition of P. Rylands 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, expected 2024.

§1.2.3 P. Rylands 4

TM: 45673
Date: 569 BC
Type : Transfer of title

Bibliography

Griffith (1909), vol. 3, 52; vol. 2, pl. XVI; Revillout (1914), 71–2 ; Menu (1985), 84; corrections in den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 328.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *ḏd-bꜣst-iw.f-ʿnḫ* son of *ḥr*
- **Addressee**: *wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* son of *pꜣ-di-ꜣst*
- **Scribe**: *ḏd-bꜣst-iw.f-ʿnḫ* son of *ḥr* (for himself)

- **Subject(s)**: *pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *ḥꜣʿ.w-s-n-ꜣst*
- **Witnesses**: 15

Content

Djedbastiufankh transfers the ownership of Payftjawawykhonsu to a third party, Udjasematawy. A kind of quitclaim, in which Djedbastiufankh relinquishes his ownership and promises to pay a fee of 20 deben in the event that he tries contesting Udjasematawy's ownership in court. This is the only attestation of the term *ḏmʿ-bꜣk* (*bꜣk* document).

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[ḥsbt 2? ỉbt … n pr-ʿꜣ ỉʿḥ-ms ʿ.w.s] ḏd swḏꜣ-ỉb n ỉt ḥm nṯr tpy sḫ-mḏꜣt-nṯr ḏd-bꜣst-ỉw.f ʿnḫ sꜣ ḥr n swḏꜣ-ỉb n [ỉt]*	[Year 2? month … of pharaoh Amasis, l.p.h.] the comforter of the Father's heart, the head prophet, scribe of the divine book Djedbastiufankh son of Hor has said to the comforter of the [Father's] heart
2	*[wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ꜣst dỉ.ỉ wy] r-ḥr.k n pꜣy ḏmʿ-bꜣk ỉ-ỉr n.ỉ pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw sꜣ hry-bꜣst*	[Udjasematawy son of Patiese: I am far] from you (regarding) this *bꜣk*-document which Payftjawawykhonsu son of Herybast made for me
3	*[n ḥsbt 2? ỉbt …] bn-ỉw[.ỉ] rḫ ỉr-sḫy n-ỉm.f bn-ỉw[.ỉ] rḫ ỉn ḏmʿ ỉs*	[in year 2? month ….] I will not be able to exercise authority over him. I will not be able to bring an old document or
4	*[n mꜣʿ? ….] ỉn n-rn pꜣ ḏmʿ-bꜣk r-dỉt[.ỉ] n.k pꜣ rmṯ nt ỉw.f ỉn*	[a new? ….] in the name of the *bꜣk*-document which I have given to you. The man who will bring
5	*[ḏmʿ ḏd bn pꜣy.k bꜣk ỉn pꜣy ỉw.f r] tỉ n.k ḫḏ dbn 20 [n] nꜣ tny ỉw[.ỉ] mtw.k pꜣy.k bꜣk šʿ ḏt sḫ*	[a document saying "he is not your *bꜣk*", he will] give to you 20 silver deben of the pieces (?) while I (*sic?*) am yours, your *bꜣk*, forever. Written by
6	*[swḏꜣ-ỉb n ỉt ḥm-nṯr tpy sḫ-mḏꜣt-nṯr ḏd-bꜣst-]ỉw.f-ʿnḫ sꜣ ḥr*	[the comforter of the Father's heart, the head prophet, scribe of the divine book Djedbast]iufankh son of Hor.

Notes

This translation is based on the facsimile in Griffith (1909), pl. XVI, aided by corrections in den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 328.

Line 5: The beginning of this line is restored on the basis of Louvre E706.

§1.2.4 P. Rylands 5

TM: 45674
Date: 569 BC
Type: Self-sale

Bibliography

Griffith (1909), vol.2 53–54, vol. 1, pl. XVI; den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 329.; Revillout (1914), 70–71; Revillout (1911), No. 19; Malinine and Pirenne (1950), 74f. 40 ; Menu (1985), 84.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: pꜣy.f-ṯ-ꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *ḥꜣʿ.w-s-n-ꜣst*
- **Addressee**: *wḏ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* son of *pꜣ-tỉ-ꜣst*
- **Scribe**: *ṯ-ꜣw-ḫnsw* son of *ỉrt-ḥr-r-.w*
- **Subject(s)**: self (*pꜣy.f-ṯ-ꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *ḥꜣʿ.w-s-n-ꜣst*)
- **Witnesses**: 21

Content

Although Djedbastiufankh has already transferred Payftjawawykhonsu's title to Udjasematawy (P. Rylands 4), a new document is drawn up by Payftjawawykhonsu himself, mirroring the self-sale in P. Rylands 3. The document is lacking a "heart satisfaction" clause, but it is unclear why; unusually, it also includes a reason for the transfer of ownership: Payftjawawykhonsu claims that Udjasematawy took care of him (lit. "gave rations, *dỉt ʿḳ*") when he was "about to die (*ỉw wn-nꜣw ỉw[.ỉ] mwt*)". The best preserved of the five Rylands contracts.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 2 ỉbd 2 šmw n pr-ꜥ; iꜣḥ-ms ꜥ.w.s ḏd ḥwṯ pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ꜥwy-ḫnsw sꜣ hry-bꜣst mwt.f ḫꜣꜥ-w-s-n-ꜣst n swḏꜣ-ỉb-ỉt wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣwy*	Year 2, month 2 of Shemu, under the pharaoh, l.p.h. Amasis, l.p.h., the farmer Peftjawykhonsu son of Herybastis and Khausenesi his mother, has said to the comforter of the heart of the Father, Udjasematawy
2	*sꜣ pꜣ-tỉ-ỉst ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk šꜥ ḏt r-ḏbꜣ pꜣy dỉt n.y ꜥḳ ỉỉr.k n ḥsbt 2 ỉw wn-nꜣw-ỉw[.ỉ] [r] mwt bn-ỉw[.ỉ] rḫ ỉr nmḥ*	son of Petiese: I am your *bꜣk*, for ever, on account of this giving of care which you did for me, in year 2, when I was about to die. I will not be able to act as *nmḥ*
3	*ỉỉr-n.k ꜥn sp sn šꜥ ḥḏ nb prt nb nty-nb n pꜣ tꜣ ḥnꜥ nꜣy[.ỉ] ḫrdw nty ms ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty-ỉw.w [r] ms.w n.ỉ ḥnꜥ*	with regards to you, again, twice over, until any silver, any grain, anything in the world, along with my children which have been born and those who shall be born to me, and
4	*nty nb nty mtw[.ỉ] ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty-ỉw[.ỉ] [r] dỉt ḫpr.w ḥnꜥ nꜣ ḥbsw nty ḥr-ꜣtṯ[.ỉ] n ṯꜣy ḥsbt 2 ỉbd 2 šmw r-ḥry r rnpt nb*	all that belongs to me and those things that I shall gain, and the clothes which are upon my back; from year 2, month 2 of Shemu, upward to any year,
5	*šꜥ ḏt pꜣ rmṯ nty-ỉw.f [r] ỉy r-ḥr.k r-ḏbꜣ.n r-ḏd bn pꜣy.k bꜣk ỉn pꜣy [n-]ṯꜣy rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ ỉw.f [r] dỉt n.k ḥḏ nb*	for ever. The man who shall come towards you on account of us, saying, "he is not your *bꜣk*", including any man in the land—he shall give you any silver,
6	*prt nb nty-ỉw.w [r] ꜥḳ r ḥꜣt.k ỉw[.ỉ] mtw.k n bꜣk ꜥn šꜥ ḏt sḫ swḏꜣ-ỉb-ỉt ṯꜣw-ḫnsw sꜣ ỉrt-ḥr-r-.w*	any grain, that shall please your heart, I being still yours, as *bꜣk*, for ever. Written by the comforter of the heart of the Father Tjaukhonsu, son of Inaros.

Notes

This translation is based on Griffith (1909), pl. XVI aided by corrections in den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 329.

Line 2: on the giving of rations (*dit ꜥḳ*) as a possible motivator for debt enslavement, see **Chapter 4, §4.1.1.4**.

§1.2.5 P. Rylands 6

TM: 45676
Date: 568 BC
Type: Self-sale

Bibliography

Griffith (1909), vol.2 54–55, vol. 1, pl. XVII; den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 329; Erichsen (1950), 14–16; Hughes (1952), 80, 12; Menu (1985), 85; Revillout (1914), 72; Sethe (1920) 165 A.1. 774

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ꜥwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *ḫꜣꜥ.w-s-n-ꜣst*
- **Addressee**: *wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* son of *pꜣ-tỉ-ꜣst*
- **Scribe**: *ỉꜥḥ-tꜣy.f-nḫt* son of *ỉrt-ḥr-r-r.w*
- **Subject(s)**: *pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ꜥwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *ḫꜣꜥ.w-s-n-ꜣst*
- **Witnesses**: 21 (5 witness copies; 19 in a list, of which 3 are witness copies)

Content

One year after P. Rylands 5, this self-sale contract is drawn up by Payftjawawykhonsu, seemingly filling the blank in P. Rylands 5 by including the heart satisfaction clause. The reasoning for the transfer of title is left out. Other than that, P. Rylands 5 and 6 are near-identical in content. Five witnesses copy out almost the entire contract in the following format:

> *m-bꜣḥ PN sꜣ PN ỉw.f mtr n ḥsbt 3 ỉbt 1 ꜣḫt ỉ-ḏd pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ꜥwy-ḫnsw sꜣ hry-Bꜣst mwt.f ḫꜣꜥ-s-n-ꜣst n swḏꜣ-ỉb-ỉt wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ-wy sꜣ pꜣy-dỉ-ꜣst mwt.f tꜣ-šr-n-tꜣ-ỉỉr-nꜥ tỉ.k mtr ḥꜣty[.i] [n] pꜣy ḥḏ ỉr n.k bꜣk ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk šꜥ ḏt bn-ỉw[.i] rḫ ỉr nmḥ ỉỉr-n.k ꜥn sp sn šꜥ ḥḏ [nb prt nb nty-nb nkt n pꜣ tꜣ ḥnꜥ nꜣy[.i] ḫrdw nty ms ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty-ỉw.w [r] ms.w n.n ḥnꜥ nꜣ ḥbsw nty ḥr-ꜣt.n ḥnꜥ nty-nb nty mtw.n ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty-ỉw.n r dit ḫpr.w n-ṯꜣy.n ḥsbt 3 ỉbt 1 ꜣḫt r-ḥry r rnpt nb šꜥ ḏt`
> In the presence of PN son of PN, he being a witness in Year 3, month 1 of Akhet, to the declaration made by Payftjawawykhonsu son of Heribastet, his mother is

Khausense, to the Comforter of the Father's Heart Udjasematawy son of Petiese, his mother is Tasherentana: you have satisfied my heart with my silver of being a *bꜣk* for you. I am your *bꜣk* for ever. I will not be able to be *nmḥ* with regards to you twice over, until any silver, any grain, any property in the land along with my children who are born and those which will be born to us, and the clothes on our back and that which I have and all that which I will acquire, from Year 3, month 1 of Akhet, onwards to any year, for ever.

This is followed by a list of 19 witnesses, three of which had also been witness copies.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 3 ỉbt 1 ꜣḫt n pr-ꜥꜣ ỉꜥḥ-ms ꜥ.w.s ḏd pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ꜥwy-ḫnsw sꜣ ḥry-Bꜣst mwt.f ḥꜣꜥ-s-n-ꜣst n swḏꜣ-ỉb-ỉt wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣwy sꜣ pꜣy-dỉ-ꜣst mwt.f tꜣ-šr-n-tꜣ-ỉỉr-nꜥ*	Year 3, month 1 of Akhet, of pharaoh Amasis l.p.h. Peftjawykhonsu, son of Heribastet, his mother is Khausense, has said to the Comforter of the Father's Heart Udjasematawy son of Petiese, his mother is Tasherentana:
2	*tỉ.k mtr ḥꜣty[.ỉ] [n] pꜣy ḥḏ ỉr n.k bꜣk ỉnk pꜣy.k bꜣk šꜥ ḏt bn-ỉw[.ỉ] rḫ ỉr nmḥ ỉỉr-n.k ꜥn sp sn šꜥ ḥḏ [nb prt nb nty-nb nkt n]*	You have satisfied my heart with this silver of being a *bꜣk* for you. I am your *bꜣk* for ever. I will not be able to be *nmḥ* with regards to you twice over, until [any] silver, [any grain, any property in]
3	*[pꜣ tꜣ] ḥnꜥ nꜣy[.ỉ] ḫrdw nty ms ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty-ỉw.w [r] ms.w n.n ḥnꜥ nꜣ ḥbsw nty ḥr-ꜣt.n ḥnꜥ nty-nb nty mtw.n ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty-ỉw.n [r dỉt ḫpr.w n-ṯꜣy.n ḥsbt 3]*	[the land] along with my children who are born and those which will be born to us, and the clothes on our back and that which I have and all that which [I will acquire, from year 3
4	*[ỉbt 1 ꜣḫt] r-ḥry r rnpt nb šꜥ ḏt*	month 1 of Akhet] onwards, until every year, for ever.
5	*sḫ swḏꜣ-ỉb-n-ỉt ỉꜥḥ-tꜣy.f-nḫt sꜣ ỉrt-ḥr-r-r.w*	Written by the Comforter of the Father's heart, Iahtayfnakht son of Inaros.

Notes

This translation is based on Griffith (1909), pl. XVII aided by corrections in den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 329.

§1.2.6 P. Rylands 7

TM: 45677
Date: 563 BC
Type: Labor contract

Bibliography

Cruz-Uribe (1982), 55; Griffith (1909), vol.2 53–54; vol. 1, pl. XVI; den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 329; Pestman (1961), 115; Revillout (1914), 73.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *ḥꜣʿ.w-s-n-ꜣst*
- **Addressee**: *wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* son of *pꜣ-tỉ-ꜣst*
- **Scribe**: *pꜣ-my* son of *ỉ-ḥr*
- **Subject(s)**: self (*pꜣy.f-ṯꜣw-ʿwy-ḫnsw* son of *hry-bꜣst* and *ḥꜣʿ.w-s-n-ꜣst*)
- **Witnesses**: 11

Content

Five years after the writing of P. Rylands 6, Payftjawawykhonsu (here titled as *bꜣk* for the first time) writes a contract with Udjasematawy apparently negotiating his rations of 120 measures of emmer and 150 measures of barley, enough to feed a family. The second half of the contract restates Payftjawawykhonsu's promise to not act as *nmḥ*, but the final line is unexpectedly "while I serve for ever (*ỉw[.ỉ] šms šʿ ḏt)*" rather than the "I being yours, as *bꜣk*, for ever (*ỉw[.ỉ] mtw.k n bꜣk)*" of earlier contracts; perhaps it is not needed since he is titled as a *bꜣk* in the opening line, or perhaps Payftjawawykhonsu has fulfilled his obligation.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation

1	*ḥsbt 8 ỉbt 4 ꜣḫt n pr-ꜥ ỉꜥḥ-ms ꜥ.w.s ḏd bꜣk pꜣy.f-tꜣw-ꜥwy-ḫnsw sꜣ hry-bꜣst mwt.f ḫꜣꜥ.w-s-n-ꜣst n swḏꜣ-ỉb-n-ỉt*	Regnal year 8, month 4 of Akhet, of pharaoh Amasis. Said the *bꜣk* Peftjawykhonsu, son of Heribastet, his mother is Khausense, has said to the Comforter of the Father's Heart
2	*wḏꜣ-smꜣ-tꜣ-wy sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ꜣst mwt.f tꜣ-šr[t-n]-tꜣ-nꜥ ḫpr[.ỉ] ỉrm.k ꜥn n ḥsbt 8 ỉbt 1 ꜣḫt sw 5 r ḥsbt 9 ỉbt 1 ꜣḫt sw 5 pꜣy[.ỉ] ꜥḳ-ḥbs bdt 120 n pꜣ bdt*	Udjasematawy son of Petiese, his mother is Tasherentana: I have been with you from year 8, month 1 of Akhet, day 5, to year 9, month 1 of Akhet, day 5. My subsistence (*ꜥḳ-ḥbs*) is 120 measures of emmer
3	*[n] tꜣy.w-ḏy ỉt mḥy 150 ỉw[.ỉ] šms šꜥ ḏt bn-ỉw[.ỉ rḫ ỉr nmḥ] ỉỉr-n.k ꜥn sp sn r-ꜥ ḥḏ nb prt nb nty-nb nkt*	of Teudjoi (El-Hibeh) and 150 (measures) of Lower Egyptian barley, while I serve for ever. I will not be able to act as *nmḥ* with regards to you, again, twice over, as far as any silver, any grain, or any property
4	*n pꜣ tꜣ ḥnꜥ [nꜣy].ỉ [ḫrd.w] nty ms ḥnꜥ nꜣ nty-ỉw.w [r] ms.w n.n ḥnꜥ nꜣ ḥbs.w nty ḥr-ꜣṯ.n [n] tꜣy ḥsbt 8 ỉbt 1 ꜣḫt*	in the land; together with my children who have been born, together with those who shall be born to us, and together with the clothes which are upon our backs, from Year 8, month 1 of Akhet,
5	*r-ḥry r rnpt nb ỉw[.ỉ] šms šꜥ ḏt sḫ swḏꜣ-ỉb n ỉt pꜣ-my sꜣ ỉ-ḥr*	up to any year, while I serve for ever. Written by the comforter of the father's heart, Pamy son of Iher.

Notes

This translation is based on Cruz-Uribe (1982), 55 with corrections in den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming (2005), 329.

Line 3: On food supply for enslaved persons, see **Chapter 4, §5.1** and **§5.4.6.**

§1.2.7 P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7)

TM: 46185

Date: 517 BC
Type: Sale

Bibliography

Pestman (1994), 60–62; Bakir (1952) 93–4 and pl. XIX-XX; Donker van Heel (2014), 111–123; Griffith (1909), 58, n. 46 and 28, no. 46; Malinine and Pirenne (1950), No. 37; Revillout (1895), 24–25.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *iʿḥ-ms* son of *pꜣ-s-n-mtk* and *irt.w-r.r.w*
- **Addressee**: *ṯꜣw-ḥsr* son of *ns-ḫnsw* and *ns-ḫnsw*
- **Scribe**: *pꜣ-dỉ-wsỉr-wn-nfr* son of *irt-ḥr-r.r.w*
- **Subject(s)**: *pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-ḳd* son of *ḏḥwṯ-ms* and *ḫdb-irt-bỉn*
- **Witnesses**: 8

Content

A sale of a *bꜣk* named Pasherenpaqed. Price is not explicitly mentioned, as is standard in Demotic documents, but the penalty of five deben (455 g of silver) is hefty and in line with pricing for an enslaved person. The same *bꜣk* is re-sold shortly thereafter in P. Bibl. Nat. 223 (P. Tsenhor 8), in which document he makes a statement.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 5 ỉbt-4 šmw n pr-ʿꜣ ʿ.w.s drwỉs ʿ.w.s ḏd iʿḥ-ms sꜣ pꜣ-s-n-mṯk mwt.f irt.w-r.r.w n wn-pr n pr ỉmn ṯꜣw-ḥsr sꜣ ns-ḫnsw mwt.f ns-ḫnsw*	Regnal year 5, month 4 of Shemu under Pharaoh l.p.h. Darius l.p.h. Said Amasis son of Psamtik, whose mother is Ituru, to the pastophoros of the temple of Amun Tjauheser son of Neskhonsu, whose mother is Neskhonsu:
2	*dỉ.k mtr ḥꜣt[.i] n pꜣ ḥḏ n ḫr ḥwṯ pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-ḳd sꜣ ḏḥwṯ-ms mwt.f ḫ[d]b-irt-bỉn pꜣy[.i] bꜣk ỉ.dỉ[.i] n.k r-bnr mtw.k s*	You have satisfied my heart with the silver for the male child Pasherenpaqed son of Djehutymose, whose mother is

		Khedebirbin, my *bꜣk* whom I have given to you, he belongs to you,
3	*pꜣy.k bꜣk pꜣy pꜣ nty ỉw.f ỉy r.r.k r-ḏbꜣ.f n rn[.ỉ] rn rmt nb n pꜣ tꜣ n sn snt ỉt mwt ḥry ḥryt ỉnk ḥꜣ[.ỉ] mỉtt ḏd bn pꜣy.k*	he is your *bꜣk*. As to the one who will come to you on account of him in my name or in the name of any other person on earth, namely brother or sister, father or mother, master or mistress—including me—saying: that is not your
4	*bꜣk ỉn pꜣy ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt wy.f r.r.k ỉw[.ỉ] tm dỉt wy.f r.r.k ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt n.k ḥḏ [5] n pr-ḥḏ ptḥ n wḏḥ ỉ ḥḏ 4 ḳdt 9 2/3 1/6 1/10 /1/30 1/60 1/60*	*bꜣk*, I will cause him to be far from you. If I do not cause him to be far from you, I will give you five (deben) of silver from the Treasury of Ptah, being four deben and 9 2/3 1/6 1/10 /1/30 1/60 1/60 kite,
5	*ḥḏ 5 n pr-ḥḏ ptḥ ʿn ỉw mtw.k pꜣy.k bꜣk ʿn ḥnʿ nꜣy.f ḫrdw šʿ ḏt m-sḫ pꜣ-dỉ-wsỉr-wn-nfr sꜣ ỉrt-ḥr.r.w*	again making five (deben) of silver from the Treasury of Ptah, whereas your *bꜣk* and his children will still belong to you, forever. Written by Petosiriswennefer son of Inaros.

Notes

Line 2: The translation of *ḫr ḥwṯ* as "Syrian"[6] is unsupported due to the determinative 𓃾.[7] The translation of "male child" is not necessarily an indicator of age in any real sense. It is not entirely impossible that Pasherenpaqed was indeed a young child; as noted by Pestman,[8] *ḫr ḥwṯ* could be used to refer to a nursing infant (as in P. BM. 10.624).[9] The fact that Pasherenpaqed stands up to speak in court in P. Bibl. Nat. 223 (P. Tsenhor 8) does not preclude his youth, as children were capable of taking part in contracts even when they were infants,[10] and neither does any reference to his children, as it may be referring to future children.

[6] Bakir (1952), 93.

[7] As Pestman (1994), 61 and Malinine (1950), 68.

[8] (1994), 61–62.

[9] Thissen (1984), 235, 240.

[10] As the newborn Ruru, of P. Bibl. Nat. 217 (P. Tsenhor 6).

Line 4: On the 'Treasury of Ptah' , see Muhs (2016), 160.

§1.2.8 P. Bibl. Nat. 223 (P. Tsenhor 8)

TM: 46167
Date: 517 BC
Type: Sale

Bibliography

Pestman (1994), 63–66; Malinine and Pirenne (1950), No. 38; Revillout (1895), 25.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *ṯꜣw-ḥsr* son of *ns-ḫ̂nsw* and *ns-ḫ̱nsw*
- **Addressee**: *tꜣ-snt-n-ḥr* daughter of *ns-mỉn* and *rwr*
- **Scribe**: *ỉp* son of *[...]-ḏd-ḥr.*
- **Subject(s)**: *pꜣ-šr-n-pꜣ-ḳd* son of *ḏ̱ḥwṯ̂-ms* and *ḫ̱db-ỉrt-bỉn*
- **Witnesses**: 6-8 (uncertain. Revillout says 8, Malinine says 6, but the verso is inaccessible)

Content

Re-sale of the slave from P. Turin 2122 (P. Tsenhor 7). There is no penalty stated. Differs from the previous sale in that Pasherenpaqed himself stands up and makes a proclamation regarding his new owner's proprietary rights, including rights to Pasherenpaqed's children.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 6 ỉbt-1 ꜣḫ̱t n pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s triws ꜥ.w.s ḏ̱d wn-pr n pr ỉmn ṯꜣw-ḥsr sꜣ ns-ḫ̂nsw mwt.f ns-ḫ̱nsw n sḥm[t] tꜣ-snt-n-ḥr sꜣt n wꜣḥ-mw tꜣ ỉn ns-mỉn mwt.s rwr dỉ.t mtr ḥꜣt[.i] n*	Regnal year 6, first month of Akhet under Pharaoh l.p.h. Darius l.p.h. The *pastophoros* of the temple of Amun Tjauheser son of Neskhonsu, whose mother is Neskhonsu, has said to the choachyte Tsenhor daughter of the

		choachyte of the valley Nesmin, whose mother is Ruru: You have satisfied
2	*pȝ ḥḏ n ỉr n.t bȝk n ḫr ḥwṯ pȝ-šr-n-pȝ-ḳdỉ sȝ ḏḥwṯ-ms mwt.f ḫdb-ỉrt-bỉn pȝy[.ỉ] bȝk ỉ.ỉn[.ỉ] r-ḏbȝ-ḥḏ m drt n ỉʿḥ-ms sȝ pȝ-s-n-mṯk mwt.f ỉrt.w-r.w ỉw.f sḫ n.ỉ r.r.f n sḫ [n ḥȝt-sp]5 ỉbd-4 šmw n pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s trỉws ʿ.w.s*	my heart with the silver for which the male child Psenpaqed son of Djehutymose, whose mother is Khedebirbin, will act as a slave for you, my slave that I have acquired for silver from Amasis son of Psamtik, whose mother is Ituru, for which he has made me a contract in regnal year 5, fourth month of Shemu under Pharaoh l.p.h. Darius l.p.h.
3	*dỉ[.ỉ] n.t <pȝy> bȝk mtw.t s pȝy.t bȝk pȝy ḥnʿ nȝy.f ḫrḏṯw ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw.w ḥnʿ nȝ nty ỉw.w r dỉt ḫpr.w bn ỉw.w rḫ ỉr nmḥw ỉ.ỉr-n.t ʿn mn mtw[.ỉ] md nb pȝ tȝ r ʿwy.w bn-ỉw rḫ rmt nb pȝ tȝ ỉnk mỉtt ỉr sḫy*	I have given to you this slave. He belongs to you together with his children and everything that they own and will acquire. They cannot act as free men toward you. I have no issue whatsoever regarding them on this earth. No man on earth can exercise authority over them—including me—
4	*n.ỉm.w bnr-n.t ṯȝy n pȝ hrw r ḥry šʿ ḏt pȝ nty ỉw.f ỉy r.r.t r-ḏbȝṯ.w n rn[.ỉ] rn rmt nb pȝ tȝ ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt wyʿb.f n.k ỉ ḳnbt nb md nb pȝ tȝ ỉw ḫr ḥwṯ pȝ-šr-n-pȝ-ḳdỉ sȝ ḏḥwṯ-ms mwt.f ḫ[d]b-ỉrt-bỉn*	except you, from today onward forever and ever. As to the one who will come to you on account of them, in my name or in the name of any other person on earth, I will cause him to be far (from you). I will ensure that he will be clear of any title or claim on earth. And the male child Psenpaqed son of Djehutymose, whose mother is Khedebirbin
5	*nty ḥry ʿḥʿ ỉw.f ḏd sḫ ỉ.ỉr md nb nty ḥry ḥȝt[.ỉ] mtrw n-ỉm.w ỉnk pȝy.t bȝk ḥnʿ nȝy[.ỉ] ḫrḏṯw ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw.n ḥnʿ nȝ nty ỉw.n r dỉt ḫpr.w bn ỉw.w rḫ ỉr nmḥw ỉ.ỉr-n.t ʿn sp-2 šʿ ḏt [m] sḫ ỉp sȝ ỉt-ntr [n]*	aforementioned, stood up and said: “Record and do all that has been said above (about the sale). My heart is satisfied with it. I am your *bȝk*, together with my children and all that belongs to us and what we will still acquire. They will never be free before you forever and

		ever." In the writing of Ip son of the god's father of
6	*mnṯ-nb-wꜣs ꜥꜣ-n-wꜥb ḥr sꜣ 4.nw ... -ḏd-ḥr*	Montu Lord of Thebes and chief of priests in the fourth phyle [...] -djedher.

§1.2.9 P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276+1277

TM: 45905
Date: c. 360 BC
Type: Sale

Bibliography

De Cenival (1972), 31–39.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn* son of *pꜣ-dỉ-ỉtm* and *tꜣ-dỉ-ḥr-m-ḥb*
- **Addressee**: *pꜣ-mnḥ* son of *pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt* and [not preserved]
- **Scribe**: Not preserved
- **Subject(s)**: *gm.w-ḥp* (*bꜣkt*) and her son *krḏ* (*bꜣk*)
- **Witnesses**: None

Content

Two documents, seemingly identical copies of one another, recording a sale of two bꜣkw, a woman and her son. Both documents are fragmentary; restoration in the lacunae is based on context and comparison of the texts with one another.

Transliteration and Translation

P. Inv. Sorb. 1276

Line	Transliteration	Translation

1	*[ḥsbt … ỉbt …] ꜣḫt n pr-ꜥꜣ ꜣrty-[ḫr-sꜣ-s ꜥ.w.s ḏd.w] pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ỉtm mw.tf tꜣ-dỉ-ḥr-m-ḥb n pꜣ-mnḥ [sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt, mwt.f …..]*	[Year … month …] of Akhet of the king Artax[erxes, has said] Padiamun son of Padiatum, his mother is Tadihoremheb, to Pameneh [son of Padyamenope, his mother is…]
2	*[dỉ.k mtr] ḥꜣt[.ỉ] n pꜣ ḥḏ n ỉrt n.k bꜣkt n bꜣkt s[…. sꜣt …..] gm.w-ḥp ḥnꜥ bꜣk kꜣ-rwḏ pꜣy.s šr nꜣy.ỉ bꜣkw […..*	[You have satisfied] my heart with the silver for which becomes your *bꜣkt, bꜣkt* S[…? daughter of ?] Gemuhep, and the *bꜣk* Keredj, her son, my *bꜣkw* [….. ….
3	*[bn ỉw r]ḫ rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ ỉr.w sḫy n.ỉm.w r-bnr.k [n pꜣ hrw pꜣ nty ỉw.f ỉy r-r.k r-ḏbꜣṯ.w ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt wy.f r-r.k mtw[.ỉ] dỉt wꜥb.w n.k šꜥt ḳnbt nbt […]*	No person in the world can] consider them their property except for you, starting [from today. Whoever comes to oppose you about them, I will remove him from you; and I will] free them for you from any judicial document [and any dispute in the world. has written ….]

P. Inv. Sorb. 1277

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[ḥsbt … ỉbt … ꜣḫt n pr-ꜥꜣ ꜣrty-ḫr-sꜣ-s ꜥ.w.s ḏd.w pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn sꜣ pꜣ]-dỉ-ỉtm mw.tf tꜣ-dỉ-ḥr-m-ḥb n pꜣ-mnḥ sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-ỉpt, mwt.f ….]rd pꜣ bꜣk […]*	[Year … month … of Akhet of the king Artaxerxes, has said Padiamun son of Pa]diatum, his mother is Tadihoremheb, to Pameneh [son of Pady]amenope, his mother is […]rd: the *bꜣk* [….]
2	*…..] gm.w-ḥp ḥnꜥ bꜣk kꜣ-rwḏ pꜣy.s šr [nꜣy.ỉ bꜣkw] dỉ[.ỉ] st n.k mtw.k st mtw.k pꜣy.k bꜣkw ḥnꜥ nꜣy.w šrỉw ḥnꜥ nty [nbt nty mtw….]*	……..] Gemuhep and the *bꜣk* Keredj, her son, [my *bꜣkw*], I have given them to you, they are yours, they are your *[bꜣ]kw* with their children and all [that which they will……
3	*…..] ỉw[.ỉ] dỉt wy.f r-r.k mtw[.ỉ] [dỉt wꜥb.w n.k] šꜥt ḳnbt nbt ḏdt nbt n pꜣ tꜣ mtw.k pꜣ nty […] nty ḥry ḥnꜥ*	……] I will remove him from you; and I will [free them for you from] any judicial document and any dispute in the world. […] which is above, along with [… has written ….]

Notes

This translation is based upon the plates and hieroglyphic transcription provided in de Cenival (1972), 33; plates 3-4.

§1.2.10 P. Louvre E7832

TM: 46129
Date: 539 BC
Type: Adoption

Bibliography

Revillout (1896), 366–367; Griffith (1909), 22, 57; Malinine and Pirenne (1950), 76–77; Menu (1985), 86–87; Donker van Heel (1995), 177–182.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *ḥr* son of *pꜣ-dỉ-ỉst* and *tꜣy.w-ʿw*
- **Addressee**: *ỉrt.w-rṯ* son of *ḏd-ḫy* and *ỉrt.w-r.w*
- **Scribe**: *nḥm-s-ḫnsw* son of *ỉrt-ḥr-r.w*
- **Subject(s)**: *ḥr* son of *pꜣ-dỉ-ỉst* and *tꜣy.w-ʿw*
- **Witnesses**: 11

Content

Hor son of Petiese and Taywaw declares that Iturudj son of Djekhy has paid him a sum of money, in return for which Hor will now act as a son for Iturudj, and his children will become Iturudj's grandchildren. The document is modelled like a self-sale, mirroring many of the clauses, replacing *bꜣk* with *šr*.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*ḥsbt 32.t ỉbt-3 ꜣḫt n pr-ʿꜣ ʿ.w.s ỉʿḥ-ms ʿ.w.s ḏd ḥr sꜣ [pꜣ]-dỉ-ỉst mwt.f tꜣy.w-ʿw n wꜣḥ-mw nt ỉnt ỉrt.w-rṯ sꜣ ḏd-ḫy mwt.f ỉrt.w-r.w dỉ.k mtr ḥꜣt[.ỉ]*	Year 32, month 3 of Akhet, under pharaoh l.p.h. Amasis l.p.h. Has said Hor son of Petiese, his mother is Taywaw, to

		the choachyte of the valley Iturudj son of Djekhy, his mother is Itourou: You have satisfied [my] heart
2	*n pꜣy[.i] ḥḏ n ỉr n.k šr ỉnk pꜣy.k šr ḥnʿ nꜣy[.i] ḫrdw nty ỉw.w ỉ-msṯ.w n.ỉ ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw[.i] ḥnʿ nꜣ nty ỉ[w.i] ỉ-dỉt ḫpr.w bn ỉw rḫ rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ ỉr sḫy n-ỉm[.i]*	with [my] silver for being a son to you. I am your son, together with my children who will be born to me, together with all that I possess and that which I will acquire. No man on earth will be able to exercise authority over me
3	*bnr.k n-ṯꜣy ỉt mwt sn snt šr šrt ḥry ḥryt šṯwṯ nb gwy ỉnk ḥʿ[.i] mỉtt nꜣy[.i] ḫrd[w] nꜣ ḫrd[w] nꜣy.k ḫrdw nꜣw šʿ ḏt pꜣ nty ỉw.f ỉ-ỉy ỉỉr.k r-ḏbꜣṯ[.i]*	except you, from father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, master, mistress, each legal claimant, (and) I myself, likewise. My children are the children of your children, for ever. The one who will come towards you because of me,
4	*ỉ-ṯꜣyṯ[.i] mtw.k ỉ-ḏd bn pꜣy.k šr ỉn pꜣy n rmṯ nb n pꜣ tꜣ n-ṯꜣy ỉt mwt sn snt šr šrt ḥry ḥryt šṯwṯ nb gwy ỉnk ḥʿ[.i] ỉw.f dỉt n.k ḥḏnb prt nb*	to take me from you, saying, 'he is not your son', namely each man on earth, from father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, master, mistress, each legal claimant, (and) I myself; if he gives you any silver or grain
5	*nty ỉw.w ỉ-ʿḳ r-ḥꜣt.k ỉw ỉnk pꜣy.k šr ʿn ḥnʿ nꜣy[.i] ḫrdw šʿ ḏt m-sḫ nḥm-s-ḫnsw sꜣ ỉrt-ḥr-r.w*	that will enter your heart [i.e. please you], I am still your son, together with my children, for ever. Written by Nehemkhonsu son of Inaros.
1v	*ns-pꜣ-ỉḥy sꜣ pꜣ-ḫr-ḫnsw*	Nespaihy son of Pakherkhonsu
2v	*pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-nswt-tꜣwy sꜣ ḏḥwṯ-ỉỉr-dỉt-s*	Petemestou son of Djehutyirdites
3v	*ỉrt.w-rṯ sꜣ ḏd-ḫy*	Ituruoudj son of Djekhy
4v	*nḥm-s-ḫnsw sꜣ pꜣ-ḫr*	Nehemeskhonsu son of Pakher
5v	*ỉw.f-ʿw sꜣ ḥr-sꜣ-ỉst sꜣ ỉw.f-ʿw*	Iufaw son of Harsiese son of Iufaw
6v	*pꜣ-dỉ-ỉst sꜣ ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw.f-ʿnḫ sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ỉst*	Petiese son of Djedamuniufankh son of Petiese
7v	*dỉ.s-[...]-ḫnsw sꜣ pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn-nswt-tꜣwy*	Dis[...]khonsu son of Petemestou
8v	*ḏd-mnṯ-ỉw.f-ʿnḫ sꜣ pꜣ-s-n-mṯk*	Djedmenetiufankh son of Psamtik
9v	*ḏd-ḫnsw-ỉw.f-ʿnḫ sꜣ ḥr sꜣ ḏd-ḫnsw-ỉw.f-ʿnḫ*	Djedkhonsuiufankh son of Hor son of Djedkhonsuiufankh

10v	*ns-[...] sꜣ ḏd-ḥr pꜣ mr-ḫꜣst*	Nes[...] son of Djedhor, the overseer of the necropolis
11v	*ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ sꜣ [...]*	Djedamuniufankh son of [...]
12v	*ḥr-ḫb sꜣ ḏd-ỉmn-ỉw.f-ꜥnḫ sꜣ ḥr-ḫb*	Horkheb son of Djedamuniufankh son of Horkheb

Notes

Line 3: Donker van Heel[11] translates *šṯwṯ nb gwy* as 'accuser of loss'. I translated 'claimant' on the basis of the CDD,[12] Pestman,[13] and the parallel use in Abnormal Hieratic P. Louvre E3228d.[14]

Line 1v: Nespaihy son of Pakherkhonsu has written his name to the left of the actual witness list,[15] leading Donker van Heel[16] to conclude that he is somehow involved in the transaction, but not acting as witness. This happens in lease documents, in which the lessor writes his name in the same location. It's possible that he is protecting Hor's interests, but we don't know how the two individuals are connected.

Line 3v: The addressed party of a contract never signs their own name, certainly not as a witness, so this must be another person with the same name.[17]

§1.3 Aramaic Texts

Concordance of Aramaic Texts

Text	CAL no.	Other Sigla	Type
Segal 50	23311.50		Sale/account
Segal 97	23311.97		Testimony (?)
TADA6.3	24550.3	Driver 3	Letter

[11] (1995), 182.
[12] *CDD*/Š, 242.
[13] (1994), 62.
[14] Above, **§1.1.4,** as *šttw.*
[15] Photograph in Pestman (1994), 28.
[16] Donker van Heel (1995), 182.
[17] Ibid., 183.

TADA6.7	24550.7	Driver 5	Letter
TADB2.11	23302.11	Sayce-Cowley K28	Inheritance division
TADB3.3	23303.3	Kraeling 2	Marriage contract
TADB3.6	23303.6	Kraeling 5	Manumission
TADB3.9	23303.9	Kraeling 8	Adoption
TADB5.6	23305.6	Segal 8	Sale
TADB8.1	23308.1	Segal 29	Complaint (?)
TADB8.2	23308.2	Segal 10+44 (join)	Court record
TADB8.3	23308.3	Segal 5	Court record
TADB8.4	23308.4	Segal 28, 30, 61	Court record
TADB8.6	23308.6	Segal 9	Court record
TADB8.7	23308.7	Segal 4	Court record
TADC4.3	23352.3	Segal 53	Witness list
TADD7.9	22555.9	Lindenberger 18	Letter

§1.3.1 Segal 50

CAL: 23311.50
Date: undated
Type: Sale or account

Bibliography

Segal (1983), 69–70.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: not preserved
- **Addressee**: not preserved
- **Scribe**: unnamed
- **Subject(s)**: *knpy*
- **Witnesses**: not preserved

Content

Fragmentary transaction, seemingly of *ʿbdn* along with other goods. At least one is a woman, whose children are included in the transaction. Possibly a sale price of 2 karsh 11 hallurin, which only comes out to roughly 200 g of silver; split among 2-3 people, this would be among some of the lowest prices we've seen.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[...z]y qnyt w-zy ʾqnh [...*	[...t]hat I acquired and that which I shall acquire [...
2	*[...] w-ʾḫyn w-gbrn [...*	[...] and brothers and men [...
3	*[...yldn zy] tld mnh sprdy w-mtrtrnm bny [...*	[...the children whom] she will bear by him, and the Sardian and Mithra, sons of [...
4	*[...] zy [ʾ]nt nnyšzb b[r] šst šmt [...] lm[...*	[...] that you, Nanayshezib son of Shesat, have placed [...
5	*[...]11 ḥlrn 2 zy ḥ[r...*	[...] 11, hallurin 2, of H[or...
6	*[...k]ršn 2 ḥlrn zy ḥr [...*	[...k]arsh 2, hallurin 2, of Hor [...
7	*[...]l [...] 2 w-ml[ʾ] 2 hḥlpt 7 [...*	[...] 2 and [?] 2; you have exchanged 7 [...
8	*[...] zn[...] mḥzyh 1 mḥ[s]h 1 tmst 1 kl*	[...] this [...] Mahseiah, 1, Mah[.]eh, 1, Thurmose, 1: Altogether
9	*[...] byt ʾsrn 2 krš zy nn[...]ṭ 2 rp[...*	[...] prison, 2 karsh of Nen[...
10	*[...] krš kl dmy lbšʾ w-nksyʾ [...*	[...] karsh, all the cost of the clothing and the goods [...
11	*[...] 1 znh [...]t ʿnnʾ [...*	[...] 1, this [...] Ananiah,
12	*[...] kl ʿbdn 3 knp[y] ʿbdʾ*	[...] all the *ʿbdn*, Kanufi the *ʿbd*.

§1.3.2 Segal 97

CAL: 23311.97
Date: undated
Type: Testimony (?)

Bibliography

Segal (1983), 106.

Parties Involved

- None preserved

Content

Extremely fragmentary. Notable only for the "mark (i.e., brand *šnyt*), and the next line in which someone is titled as the "son of [an] *ʿbd* (*br ʿbd*)", the only time we see such a designation.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[...] ʾḥzh šnyt [...*	[...] he seized him, the mark [...
2	*[...] br ʿbdh ʾnh zy [...*	[...] son of his *ʿbd*; I who [...
3	*[.....] ʾq [.....*	[...]
4	*[....]*	[...]
5	*[...]šp[....*	[...]
6	*[...] ʾlp 100 nwpr w-knwth b[...*	[...] thousand, 100; Nefer and his associates in [...
7	*[...] ʾ[.]qt zy l[...*	[...]
8	*wrn[....*	[...]

Notes

On slave marking and branding, see **Chapter 5, §3.4.2** and Karev (forthcoming).

§1.3.3 TADA6.3

CAL: 24550.3
Date: undated, c. 425 BC
Type: Letter

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1986), 102; Tuplin (2020), 61–87; Driver (1965), No. 3; Grelot (1972), No. 64; Lindenberger (2003), 77–78.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor**: *ʾršm*
- **Addressee**: *ʾrtwnt*
- **Scribe**: not preserved
- **Subject(s)**: 8 Egyptian *ʿbdn*
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Arsames writes to his subordinate Artavanta giving instructions for the punishment of eight *ʿbdn* who belong to another official, Ankhhapi. Arsames is acting on the complaint of his *ʿlym*, Psamshek, Ankhhapi's son, who said that when he was on his way to Arsames, his father's *ʿbdn* took his property and fled. Psamshek says he will bring the guilty *ʿbdn* to Artvanta and requests that Arsames orders Artavanta to carry out the punishment. All of the *ʿbdn* bear Egyptian names and patronyms.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*mn ʾršm ʿl ʾrtwnt šlm w-šrrt šgyʾ hwšrt lk w-[kʿt ps]mšk šmh br ʿḥḥp[y] ʿlymʾ zyly kbl*	From Arsames to Artavanta, I send you (wishes for) much peace and strength. And [now: Psam]shek by name, son of Ankhhap[i], my *ʿlym*, has complained
2	*b-znh kn ʾmr kzy ʾnh hwyt ʾth [ʿ]l mrʾ[y .... ʿb]dn zy ʿḥppy ʾby zy ʾnh m[....*	in this (matter), he says thus: when I was coming [t]o [my] lord [....the *ʿb]dn* of Ankhhapi, my father, whom I was [...
3	*ʾḥry ʿl mrʾy psmškḥsy šmh [br .... 1 br ...]ṭwy 1 ʿḥppy br p[šnp]brḥp 1 ʾḥr[ṭys]*	after me, to my lord, (they were): Psamshekhesi [son of PN, 1; PN son of ...]tuwy, 1; Ankhhapi son of P[asherenpa]berekhef, 1; Aher[tais]
4	*br psmšk 1 pšwbsty br ḥwr [1; ... br š]ḥpmw 1 psmšk br wḥpʾʿmḥy 1 [...]y br wḥ[prʿ 1]*	son of Psamshek, 1; Peshubast son of Hor [1; PN son of Sha]hapiemou, 1; Psamshek

		son of Wahpremakhi, 1; [PN] son of Wah[pre, 1].
5	*kl gbrn 2-3-3 nky lkḥw w-qrqw mny kʿn hn ʿl mrʾy ṭb yštlḥ ʿl ʾrtwnt [kzy ʿbdʾ] ʾlky*	In all, 8 men. They took my goods and fled from me. Now, if it (is) good to my lord, let (word) be sent to Artavanta (that) [when] those [*ʿbdn*]
6	*ʾhqrb qdmwhy srwšytʾ zy ʾnh ʾšym lhm ṭʿm ytʿbd lhm kʿt ʾršm [kn] ʾmr [p]smš[kḥsy]*	I will present before him, the punishment which I will order for them, it will be done to them. Now, Arsames says [thus]: That [P]samshekhesi
7	*zky w-kwth ʿbdy ʿḥppy zy p[s]mšk yhqrb qdmyk t[mh] ʾnt šm ṭʿm srwš[yt] zy psmšk y[šym]*	and his companions, the *ʿbdn* of Ankhhapi, whom P[s]amshek shall present before you th[ere], you are to order the punishment which Psamshek will [issue]
8	*lhm ṭʿm lmʿbd zky ytʿbd lhm*	for them (as) an order to carry out; that (punishment) will be done to them.

Notes

I agree with Tuplin's integration of Bodleian Fragment 7.1 (2020), 60–62, *contra* Porten and Yardeni.

Line 1: On and examination of *šmh* "his name" as a mark of subordination and enslavement, see **Chapter 5, §2.4**.

Line 1: On the term *ʿlym*, see **Chapter 2, §3.3.1.**

§1.3.4 TADA6.7

CAL: 24550.7
Date: undated, c. 425 BC
Type: Letter

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1986), 110; Tuplin (2020), 111–130; Driver (1965), No. 5; Grelot (1972), No. 66; Lindenberger (2003), No. 40.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: ʾršm*
- **Addressee**: *ʾrtḥnt*
- **Scribe**: not stated
- **Subject(s)**: 13 Cilician *ʿbdn*
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Arsames writes to his subordinate Artahanta to release a number of his *ʿbdn* from Inaros so that they can get back to work; they were not able to get into the fortress after an Egyptian rebellion, following which the fortress was garrisoned.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*mn ʾršm ʿl ʾrthnt šlm w-šrrt šgyʾ hwšrt l[k] w-kʿt bznh qdmy šlm*	From Arsames to Artahant. I send yo[u] abundant greetings of welfare and strength. And now, here it is well with me;
2	*ʾp tmh qdm[y]k šlm yhwy w-kʿt ʾyty gbrn ḥyl[kyn] ʿbdn zyly b-mṣryn*	also there may it be well with y[o]u. And now, there are Cili[cian] persons, my *ʿbdn* in Egypt:
3	*prymʾ šmh 1 ʾmwn šmh 1 srk šmh 1 tʿndy [š]mh [1...]my šmh 1 sdsbnz šmh*	1 named Pariyama, 1 named Ammuwana, 1 named Saraka, 1 named *tʿnr[d]y*, 1 named [...]miya, 1 named Sadasbinazi,
4	*[1] ʾ[nd]m šmh 1 srmnz šmh 1 kʾ šmh 1 bgrprn šmh 1 pytrʿnz šmh 1 ʾsmrwp*	[1] named A[nda]m, 1 named Sarmanazi, 1 named Ka, 1 named Bagapharna, 1 named Piyatarunazi, 1 named Asmaraupa,
5	*šmh 1 mwsrm šmh 1 kl gbrn 3-10 ʾbšwkn mmnyn hww byn bgyʾ zyly zy*	1 named Muwasarma. Total: 13 persons, pressers who had been appointed in my domains which are

6	*bʿlytʾ w-tḥtytʾ ʾḥr kzy mṣryn mrdt w-ḥylʾ hndyz hww ʾdyn*	in Upper and Lower (Egypt). Afterwards, when Egypt rebelled and the troop was garrisoned, then
7	*prymʾ zk w-knwth lʾ šnṣyw l-mnʿl b-byrtʾ ʾḥr [y]n[ḥ]rw lḥyʾ ʾḥd hmw*	that Pariyama and his colleagues did not succeed in getting into the fortress. Afterwards, the wicked [I]na[r]ou seized them (and)
8	*ʿmh hww kʿn hn ʿlyk kwt ṭb mnk ytšm ṭʿm kzy ʾyš mndʿm b-ʾyš lʾ*	they have been with him. Now, if it so please you, let an order be issued by you that one not do
9	*yʿbd lpyrmʾ zk w-knwth yštbqw ʿbydtʾ zyly yʿbdw kzy qdmn*	anything bad to that Pariyama and his colleagues. Let them be released. Let them do my work as formerly.
1v	*mn ʾršm br bytʾ ʿl ʾrthnt zy b[-mṣry]n*	From Arsames the son of the house to Artahant who is in [Egyp]t.
2v	*ʿl ḥylkyʾ*	Concerning the Cilicians [.....

Notes

Line 2: On Cilicians (enslaved and otherwise), see **Chapter 5, §2.2.3.3** and **Chapter 4, §5.2.**

Line 5: On the term "pressers (*ʾbšwkn*), see Tuplin (2020), 117–118 and **Chapter 4, §5.2.**

Line 6: For the restoration of "Egypt" with reference to the "Upper and Lower (*ʿlytʾ w-tḥtytʾ*)", including a discussion of the possibility that this designation represents cardinal directions, Tuplin (2020), 97.

Line 7: On the nature of this rebellion (*mrd*), Tuplin (2020), 120–125. On the possibility that this Inaros is the Libyan insurgent of the same name, Tuplin (2020), 127.

Line 9: The term for "release (*šbq*)"[18] here is the same one used for the manumission of Tamet and Jehoishma (TADB3.6).[19] Here, context suggests that the meaning is not to manumit the *ʿbdn*

[18] For *šbq* as "leave" or "permit", cf. TADA1.1; TADA2.2; TADA2.4.

[19] Below, **§1.3.7**.

(because they are to do "work as formerly" once they have been released), but rather to release them from their capture by Inarou (l. 7).

§1.3.5 TADB2.11

CAL: 23302.11
Date: 410 BC
Type: Inheritance division

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 48–51; Cowley (1923), 103–106 (no. 28).

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: mḥsyh* son of *ntn* and his brother *ydnyh* son of *ntn*
- **Addressee**: N/A
- **Scribe**: *nbwtklty* son of *nbwzrʾbn*
- **Subject(s)**: *pṭwsyry , lylw, blʾ* sons of the *ʾmh* named *tbʾ*
- **Witnesses**: 4

Content

Two brothers, Mahseiah and Jedeniah, are splitting up the slaves owned by their mother (Mibtahiah): Taba (f.) and her three sons Bela, Petosiri, and Lilu. Petosiri is given to Jedeniah whereas Bela is given to Mahseiah. Taba and Lilu are not yet divided though it is understood that this will happen at a later date, perhaps because Lilu is not yet of age (or weaned); "Lilu" may not be a name, but rather a transcription into Aramaic of Demotic *lylw* ('youth, child').

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*b-24 lšbṭ šnt 13 hw ywm 9 l-ḥtḥwr šnt 14 drywhwš mlkʾ b-yb byrtʾ*	On the 24th day of Shebat, year 13, that is Day 9 of Athyr, year 14 of King Darius, in Elephantine the fortress.
2	*ʾmr mḥsyʾ br ntn 1 ydnyh br ntn 1 kl 2 ʾrmyn zy swn l-dgl vr[yz]t l-ʾmr ʾnḥnʾ ʾštwyn*	Mahseiah son of Nathan, 1, Jedeniah son of Nathan, 1, all (told) 2, Aramaeans of

		Syene of the detachment of Var[yaza]ta, said, saying: we are equal
3	*k-ḥdh w-plgn ʿlyn ʿbdy' zy mbṭḥyh 'mn w-h' znh ḥlq' zy mṭ'k b-ḥlk 'nt ydny'*	as one and divide (between) us the *ʿbdn* of Mibtahiah our mother. And behold, this is the portion which came to you as portion, you, Jedeniah:
4	*pṭwsyry šmh 'mh tb' ʿbd ywd 1 šnyt ʿl ydh bymn ʿnytt mqr' 'rmyt k-znh*	Petosiri by name, whose mother is Taba, *ʿbd*, *ywd*, branded on his right hand (with) a brand reading (in) Aramaic thus:
5	*l-mbṭḥyh w-h' znh ḥlq' zy mṭ'ny b-ḥlq 'nh mḥsyh bl' šmh 'mh tb' ʿbd ywd 1*	"(Belonging) to Mibtahiah". And behold, this is the portion which came to me as a portion, I, Mahseiah: Bela by name, whose mother is Taba, *ʿbd*, *ywd*, 1,
6	*šnyt ʿl ydh bymn šnytt mqr' 'rmyt k-znh l-mbṭḥyh 'nt ydnyh šlyṭ b-pṭwsyry*	branded on his right hand (with) a brand reading (in) Aramaic thus: "Belonging to Mibtahiah". You, Jedeniah, have right to Petosiri,
7	*ʿbd' zk zy mṭ'k b-ḥlq mn ywm' znh w-ʿd ʿlm w-bnyk 'ḥryk w-l-mn zy ṣbyt tntn l' 'khl*	that *ʿbd* who came to you as portion, from this day and forever and (so do) your children after you and you may give (him) to whomever you desire. I shall not be able--
8	*'nh mḥsyh br w-brh ly 'ḥ w-'ḥh ly w-'nš zyly dynn l-mršh ʿlyk w-ʿl bnyk ʿldbr pṭwsyry*	I, Mahseiah, son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or an individual who is mine—to bring suits against you or against your children on account of Petosiri
9	*šmh ʿbd' zy mṭ'k b-ḥlq hnršynn dyn' ʿl' 'nḥnh mḥsyh w-bny 'w nršh l-br*	by name, that *ʿbd* who came to you as portion. If we bring suit against you about it—we, Mahseiah, or my children—or bring (suit) against son
10	*w-brh lk w-l-'nš zylk ʿldbr pṭwsyry ʿbd' zk zy mṭ'k b-ḥlq 'ḥr nntn lk 'bygrn' ksp*	or daughter of yours or against an individual who is yours on account of Petosiri, that slave who came to you as portion, then we shall give you the penalty (of) pure silver,

11	*ṣryp kršn ʿšrh b-mtqlt mlkʾ w-rḥyqn ʾnḥnh mnk w-mn bnyk mn dyn ʿldbr pṭwsyry zk*	ten karsh by the weight of the king, and we are withdrawn from you and your children from (any) suit on account of that Petosiri
12	*zy mṭʾk b-ḥlq lk yhwh w-zy bnyk ʾḥryk w-l-mn zy ṣbyt tntn w-lʾ dyn ʾp ʾyty tbʾ*	who came to you as a portion. He shall be yours and your children's after you and you may give him to whomever you desire, without suit. Moreover, there is Taba
13	*šmh ʾmhm zy ʿlymyʾ ʾlh w-lylw brh zy lʾ ʿd nplg ʿlyn kzy ʿdn yhwhw nplg hmw*	by name, the mother of these *ʿlmyn*, and Lilu her son whom we shall not yet divide (between) us. When it will be time, we shall divide them
14	*ʿlyn w-gbr ḥlqh nhḥsn w-spr plgnn nktb bynyn w-lʾ dyn ktb nbwtklty br nbwzrʾbn*	(between) us and we shall take hereditary possession, (each) person (of) his portion, and a document of our division we shall write between us, without suit. Nabutukulti son of Nabuzeribni wrote
15	*sprʾ znh b-yb byrtʾ kpm mḥsyh w-ydnyh ʾḥwhy šhdyʾ bgw mnḥm br gdwl*	this document in Elephantine the fortress at the instruction of Mahseiah and Jedeniah his brother. The witnesses herein: Menahem son of Gaddul;
16	*šhd ḥnn br ḥgy šhd ntn br yhwʾwr šhd šlm br ntn*	witness Hanan son of Haggai; witness Nathan son of Jehour; witness Shillem son of Nathan.

Notes:

Line 3: On slaves in property division, **Chapter 2, §3.1.2.2** and **Chapter 3, §5.2.**

Line 4: *ywd* is otherwise unattested. Probably refers to a pictographic brand in the shape of the letter *ywd* which accompanies the brand of the owner's name.[20]

[20] For further discussion, Paz (2021), 177–197.

Line 13: It's possible that Lilu was left with his mother Taba due to a young age, hence the division will happen "when it is time (*kzy ʿdn yhwhw*)."

Line 13: The four enslaved people (one female and her three male sons) are referred to as ʿlmyn and ʿbdn interchangeably; **Chapter 2, §3.3.1**.

§1.3.6 TADB3.3

CAL: 23303.3
Date: 449 BC
Type: Marriage contract of an *ʾmh*

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 60–63; Kraeling (1953), No. 2; Porten and Szubin (1995), 43–64.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: mšlm* son of *zkwr*
- **Addressee**: *ʿnnyh* son of *ʿzryh*
- **Scribe**: *ntn* son of *ʿnnyh*
- **Subject(s)**: *tmt (ʾmh)*
- **Witnesses**: 3

Content

Document of wifehood of the *ʾmh* Tamet to a free man, Ananiah son of Azariah. The contract is between her owner Meshullam and her new husband, with Meshullam playing the role of father (including paying her dowry, meagre though it is). This marriage does not guarantee her freedom, which is only afforded upon Meshullam's death in 427 BC (TADB3.6). In this document, Meshullam also gives up his claim to Pilti, his son by Tamet. Jehoishma, the other child he fathered with Tamet, is not mentioned until the manumission.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation

1	*[b]-18 l[ʾ]b [hw ywm 30] l-yrḥ prmwty šnt 16 ʾrtḫš mlkʾ ʾmr*	[On] the 18th of [A]b, [that is day 30] of the month of Pharmouthi, year 16 of Artaxer(xes) the king, said
2	*ʿnnyh br ʿzryh lḥn zy yhh ʾlhʾ zy b-yb byrtʾ l-mšlm br zkwr ʾrmy zy swn*	Ananiah son of Azariah, a servitor of YHH the god who is in Elephantine the fortress, to Meshullam son of Zaccur, an Aramaean of Syene
3	*l-dgl wryzt l-ʾmr ʾnh ʾtyt ʿlyk l-mntn ly l-tmt šmh zy ʾmtk l-ʾntw hy ʾntty*	of the detachment of Varyazata, saying, I came to you (and asked you) to give me Tamet by name, who is your *ʾmh*, for wifehood. She is my wife,
4	*w-ʾnh bʿlh mn ywmʾ znh w-ʿd ʿlm hnʿlt ly tmt bydh lbš 1 zy ʿmr šwh ksp*	and I am her husband from this day and forever. Tamet brought to me in her hand: 1 garment of wool, worth (in) silver
5	*šqln 7 mḥzy 1 šwyh ksp ḥlrn 7 plg šnn mšʾn 1 mšḥ bšm ḥpn 1*	7 shekels; 1 mirror, worth (in) silver 7 (and) one-half hallurs; 1 pair of sandals, one-half handful of balsam oil;
6	*plg ḥpnʾ tqm ḥpnn 6 pyq 1 kl kspʾ w-dmy nksyʾ ksp ksp šqln 7*	6 handfuls of castor oil; 1 tray; all the silver and the value of the goods: 7 silver shekels, 7 and one half
7	*ḥlrn 7 plg mḥr ʾw ywm ʾḥrn yqwm ʿnny bʿdh w-yʾmr šnʾt l-tmt ʾntty*	hallurs. Tomorrow or another day, (if) Anani will rise and (if) he will say 'I hated Tamet my wife',
8	*ksp šnʾ b-rʾšh yntn l-tmt ksp tqln 7 w-kl zy hnʿlt b-ydh thnpq mn ḥm*	hate silver is on his head. He will give to Tamet silver, 7 shekels and all which she brought in her hand, she shall take out, from straw
9	*ʿd ḥwṭ mḥr ʾw ywm ʾḥrn tqm tmt w-tʾmr šnʾt l-bʿly ʿnny ksp šnʾ b-rʾšh*	until string. Or tomorrow or another day Tamet will rise and say 'I hated my husband Anani' hate silver is on her head.
10	*tntn l-ʿnny ksp šqln 7 w-kl zy hnʿlt b-ydh thnpq mn ḥm ʿd ḥwṭ mḥr ʾw ywm*	She will give to Anani silver, 7 shekels and all that she brought in her hand she shall take out, from straw until string. Tomorrow or another day

11	*ʾḥrn ymwt ʿnnyh ~~mšlm br zkwr~~ tmt hy šlyṭh ~~bplg~~ bkl nksn zy yhwwn byn ʿnny w-tmt*	(if) Anani will die, it is ~~Meshullam son of Zaccur~~ Tamet who is ruler of ~~half~~ all goods which will be between Anani and Tamet.
12	*mḥr ʾw ywm ʾḥrn tmwt tmt ʿnny hw šlyṭ ~~bplg~~ bkl nksn zy yhwwn byn*	Tomorrow or another day, (if) Tamet will die, it is Anani (who) has right to ~~half~~ all goods which will be between
13	*tmt w-byn ʿnny w-ʾnh mšlm mḥr ʾw ywm ʾḥrn lʾ ʾkl ʾnṣl l-plṭy mn tḥt*	Tamet and Anani. And I, Meshullam, tomorrow or another day I will not be able to save Pilti from under
14	*lbbk br mn zy ʾnt ttrk l-ʾmh tmt w-hn hnṣlth mnk ʾntn l-ʿnny ksp kršn 5 ktb ntn br ʿnnyh sprʾ znh w-šhdyʾ*	your heart, unless you evict his mother Tamet, and if I do reclaim him from you, I shall give Anani silver 5 karsh. Nathan son of Ananiah wrote this document, and the witnesses
15	*bgw šhd ntn br gdwl mnḥm br zkwr gmryʾ br mḥsyh*	herein: witness Nathan son of Gaddul; Menahem son of Zaccur; Gemariah son of Mahseiah.

Notes:

Strikethroughs represent edits and/or erasures in the text.

Line 2: *lḥn* could conceivably represent any kind of temple official or steward; cf. Kaufman (1974), 66; the translation of "servitor" is Porten and Yardeni's (1989), 62.

Lines 4–6: This is the lowest dowry of the three preserved marriage contracts in the Elephantine corpus; see also **Chapter 4, §4.5.1.**

Line 9: On 'silver of hatred', **Chapter 4, §4.7.1.**

§1.3.7 TADB3.6

CAL: 23303.6
Date: 427 BC
Type: Manumission

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 72–73; Kraeling (1953), No. 5.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: mšlm* son of *zkwr*
- **Addressee**: *t(p)mt*
- **Scribe**: *ḥgy*
- **Subject(s)**: *t(p)mt (ʾmh)*
- **Witnesses**: 4

Content

Upon his death, Meshullam manumits his *ʾmh* Tamet and her daughter Jehoishma. Both women are now 'adopted' in that they have responsibilities "as a son or daughter" to Meshullam, and, after he dies, to his son Zaccur.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*b-20 sywn hw ywm 7 l-pmnḥtp šnt 38 ʾrtḫšsš mlkʾ ʾdn*	On the 20th of Sivan, that is the 7th day of Phamenoth, year 38 of King Artaxerxes, then
2	*ʾmr mšlm br zkwr yhwdy zy yb brtʾ l-dgl ʾdnnbw l-nšn tpmt šmh*	Meshullam son of Zaccur, a Jew of Elephantine the fortress of the detachment of Iddinnabu, said to lady Tapamet by name,
3	*ʾmth zy šnyth ʿl ydh b-ymn k-dnh l-mšlm l-ʾmr ʾnh ʿštt lky*	his *ʾmh*, who is branded on her right hand thus: "(belonging) to Meshullam", saying: I thought of you
4	*b-ḥyy ʾzt šbqtky b-mwty w-šbqt l-yhyšmʿ šmh brtky zy*	in my lifetime. I released you as a released (person) at my death and I released Jeh(o)ishma by name your daughter, whom

5	*ylty ly b rly w-brh w-ʾḥ ly w-ʾḥh qryb w-rḥyq hngyt w-hnbg*	you bore me. Son or daughter of mine or brother of mine or sister, near or far, partner-in-chattel or partner-in-land,
6	*lʾ šlyṭ bky w-byhyšmʿ brtky zy lydty ly lʾ šlyṭ bk*	does not have right to you or to Jeh(o)ishma your daughter, whom you bore me; does not have right to you,
7	*l-mšntky w-l-mzlky mndt ksp zy yqwm ʿlyky w-ʿl yhyšmʿ brtk*	to brand you or traffic with you (for) payment of silver. Whoever shall stand up against you or against Jeh(o)ishma your daughter
8	*zy ylty ly yntn lk ʾbgrn ksp kršn 50 b-ʾbny mlkʾ w-ʾnty*	whom you bore me, shall give you a penalty of silver, 50 karsh by the stones of the king. And you
9	*šbyqh mn ṭlʾ l-smšʾ w-yhyšmʿ brtky w-gbr ʾḥrn lʾ šlyṭ*	are released from the shade to the sun and (so is) Jeh(o)ishma your daughter and another person does not have rights over
10	*ʿlyky w-ʿl yhyšmʿ brtky w-ʾnty šbyqh l-ʾlhʾ*	you and to Jeh(o)ishma your daughter but you are released to God.
11	*w-ʾmrt tpmt w-yhyšmʿ brth ʾnḥn yplḥnk zy ysbl br w-brh l-ʾbwhy*	And Tapamet and Jeh(o)ishma her daughter said: We shall serve you (a)s a son or daughter supports his father
12	*b-ḥyyk w-ʿd mwtk nsbl l-zkwr brk 1 kbr zy ysbl l-ʾbwh k-zy hwyn ʿbdn*	in your lifetime. And at your death we shall support Zaccur your 1 son (ERASURE: who) like a son who supports his father, as well shall have been doing
13	*lk b-ḥyyk ʾnḥn hn qmn l-ʾmr lʾ nsblnk k-zy ysbl br*	for you in your lifetime. If we stand up, saying: “We shall not support you as a son supports
14	*l-ʾbwhy w-l-zkwr brk ʾḥry mwtk ʾnḥn nḥwb lk w-l-zkwr brk ʾbgrn*	his father, nor Zaccur your son after your death”, we shall be liable to you and to Zaccur your son (for) a penalty of
15	*ksp kršn 50 b-ʾbny mlkʾ ksp šryp w-lʾ dyn w-lʾ dbb ktb ḥgy*	silver, 50 karsh by the stones of the king, pure silver, without suit or without process. Haggai wrote

16	*spr' znh b-yb k-pm mšlm br zkwr w-šhdy' b-gw 'trprn br nysy*	this document in Elephantine at the instructions of Meshullam son of Zaccur. The witnesses are herein: Atpharna son of Nisaya,
17	*mdy šhd mykyh br 'ḥyw šhd brkyh br mpṭḥ dlh br gdwl*	a Mede; witnesse Micaiah son of Ahio; witness Berechiah son of Miptah; Dalah son of Gaddul.

Notes

Line 2: "Lady (*nšn*)" has been interpreted as a title given only to a free woman,[21] but it is equally likely that it refers to her marital status, since it appears in reference to Tamet also in TADB3.5 (434 BC), before her manumission took place.

Line 9: Porten claims that "and you are released from the shade to the sun (*w-'nty šbyqh mn ṭl' l-šmš'*)" is paralleled in the Passover Haggadah,[22] but it is not. A parallel phrase appears only in the 16th century Midrash, defining the book of Exodus as the time in which the Israelites went from "darkness to light (*m-'plh l-'wrh*)"[23] —but in reference to the "light" of God and religion,[24] not to the release from Egyptian enslavement. This release from the "shade to the sun" is perhaps not necessarily a good thing, and may reflect a release from protection to an unprotected state.[25]

Line 10: "and you are released to God (*w-'nty šbyqh l-'lh'*)" is stated in apposition with someone having a claim on/rights over (*šlyṭ*)[26] Jehoishma and Tamet. As in the previous note, being unclaimed may come alongside being unprotected; in other words, Tamet and Jehoishma are in God's hands now. Both of these releases into potentially unprotected states are followed by

[21] Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995), 120–121 also offer 'spinster'.

[22] Porten (1996), 221 n. 21.

[23] Midrash Rabbah, 3:9.

[24] The same phrase is used of God's appearance to Abraham (Midrash Rabbah 42:4; 2:3) and Joseph's time in Egypt worshipping Egyptian gods (Midrash Rabbah 89:1).

[25] On "shade" as protection, cf. the Late Period statue of Harwa in which he boasts of having offered "shade to the infant, help for the widow", Gunn (1934), 139. For the same concept in Assyrian, see "ṣillu"(*CAD*/ṣ) and Richardson (1999), 160–161.

[26] On this term, see Botta (2009), 81–95.

Tamet and Jehoishma's guarantee that they will re-enter the protective fold of the family by serving Meshullam as his children.

§1.3.8 TADB3.9

CAL: 23303.9
Date: 416 BC
Type: Adoption

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 78–79; Kraeling (1953), No. 8.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***: ʾwryh* son of *mḥsyh*
- **Addressee**: *zkwr* son of *mšlm*
- **Scribe**: *rwḥšn* son of *nrglšzb*
- **Subject(s)**: *ydnyh* son of *tḥwʾ (ʿlym)*
- **Witnesses**: 8

Content

Uriah son of Mahseiah adopts a "boy (*ʿlym*)" whom he had previously purchased from Zaccur son of Meshullam. This document is styled as a statement from Uriah to Zaccur before the official Vidranga, in which Uriah first states that he will not be able to press Jedeniah into slavery (*ykbšnhy ʿbd*), and then that Jedeniah shall now be his son (*bry yhwh*). These two statements are repeated twice over, with Uriah claiming that no man on earth (including Uriah nor any of his relatives) will be able to press Jedeniah into slavery or brand him (*mšnth*). The document ends with a statement that whoever shall brand Jedeniah or attempt to enslave him will pay Vidranga a hefty penalty of thirty silver karsh, and the document is attested by eight witnesses.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation

1	*b-6 l-tšry hw ywm 22 l-pʾwny šnt 8 drywhwš mlkʾ ʾdyn b-swn byrtʾ ʾmr*	On the 6th day of Tishrei, day 22 of Payni, year 8 of Darius the king, then in Syene the fortress, said
2	*ʾwryh br mḥsyh ʾrmy zy swn qdm wydrng hptḥptʾ rb ḥylʾ zy swn l-zkwr br mšlm*	Uriah son of Mahseiah, an Aramaean of Syene, before Vidranga, the Guardian of the Seventh, the Troop Commander of Syene, to Zaccur son of Meshullam
3	*ʾrmy zy swn qdm wydrng hptḥptʾ rb ḥylʾ zy swn l-ʾmr ydnyh šmh br tḥwʾ ʿlym[ʾ zyl]k*	an Aramaean of Syene, before Vidranga, the Guardian of the Seventh, the Troop Commander of Syene, saying: Jedeniah by name, son of Takhoi, your *ʿlym*
4	*zy yhbt ly w-spr ktbt ly ʿlʾ lʾ ʾkhl ʾnh ʾwryh w-br w-brh ly ʾḥ w-ʾḥh ly w-ʾyš*	whom you gave me and a document you wrote for me about him—I shall not be able, I Uriah, or son of daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or man
5	*ly ykbšnhy ʿbd bry yhwh ʾnh w-br w-brh ly w-ʾyš ly w-ʾnš ʾḥrn lʾ šlyṭn*	of mine, he (shall not be able) to press him (into) slavery. My son he shall be. I or son or daughter of mine, or man of mine, or another individual, do not have right
6	*l-mšnth lʾ ʾkhl ʾnh w-br w-brh ly ʾḥ w-ʾḥh ly w-ʾyš ly nqwm lmʿbdh ʿ[bd]*	to brand him. I shall not be able—I, or son of daughter of mine, or brother or sister of mine, or man of mine—we (shall not be able) to stand up to make him an *ʿbd*
7	*w-l-mšnth zy yqwm ʿl ydnyh zk l-mšnth w-l-mʿbdh ʿbd yntn lk ʾbygrn ksp*	or brand him. Whoever shall stand up against that Jedeniah to brand him or make him an *ʿbd* shall give you a penalty of silver,
8	*kršn tltyn b-mtqlt mlkʾ ksp zwz l-ʿšrtʾ w-ydnyh zk bry yhwh ʾpm w-ʾnš lʾ*	thirty karsh, by the weight of the king, silver zuz to the ten, and that Jedeniah my son shall he be likewise. And an individual does not
9	*šlyṭ l-mšnth l-mʿbdh ʿbd lhn bry yhwh ktb rwḥšn br nrglšzb kpm ʾwryh*	have right to brand him or make him an *ʿbd*, but my son he shall be. Wrote Raukhshana son of Nergal(u)shezib at the instruction of Uriah.

10	*šhdyʾ b-gw ʿtrmlky br qlqln snkšr br šbty šhrʿqb br kpʾ*	The witnesses herein: Attarmalki son of Kilkilan; Sinkishir son of Shabbethai; Saharakab son of Cepha;
11	*nbwšlm br bytʾlrʿy ʾšmrm br ʾšmšzb wryzt br bytʾlzbd*	Nebushillen son of Bethelrai; Eshemram son of Eshemshezib; Varyazata son of Bethelzabad;
12	*ḥrmntn br pḥʾ ʾšmzbd br šwyn*	Heremnathan son of Paho; Eshemzabad son of Shawyan.

Notes

For further discussion on this document, see **Chapter 2, §3.1.1**; **Chapter 3, §3.7.2.3**; **Chapter 5, §4.2.1**.

Line 3: On the term *ʿlym*, see **Chapter 2, §3.3.1.**

§1.3.9 TADB5.6

CAL: 23305.6
Date: undated
Type: Sale

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 128–129; Segal (1983), 22–25.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee**: *ʾrnpʾ* son of *ptnq*
- **Scribe**: unknown
- **Subject(s)**: 3 or 5 *ʿbdn*
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

This text, though fragmentary, undoubtedly records a sale of at least one enslaved person (an Iranian *ʾmh*). There are possibly four other *ʿbdn* involved in the transaction, but more likely only two more are actually sold: in line 5, Party A notes that there is a total of "5, 3 which are yours". This text is also interesting because it hints at enslavement as a result of incarceration (lines 10–11), but that portion is tantalisingly fragmentary.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[ʾmr ... br ...] ʾmh tṭwsyry ʾḥzn ʾm[rw] l-ʾrnpʾ br ptnq*	[Has said PN son of PN:] we seized the *ʾmh* Tetosiri. They said to Arnapes, son of Patenerka
2	*[...] br ṣḥh brkm w-ṣmḥw l-ʾmr hwṭbt*	[...PN] son of Tzaha, your son, and Tzamhu, saying: you have satisfied
3	*[lbbn b-ksp l-]ḥyrnm ʾmt[ʾ] zyly zy sṭyrh ʿl šmy*	[our heart with the silver for] Hiranama, my *ʾmh* who is inscribed with my name
4	*[....]h b-šʾh ʿm ʿbdʾ ʾrmy yld bzn br*	[...] Basha with the Aramaean *ʿbd*, a child, Baujana son of [...]
5	*[...]rnp brh kl 5 [...] 3 zy lk hmw ʿm*	[...A]rnapes, his son. Total: 5 [...] 3 which are yours, with
6	*[...mn ywmʾ zn]h ʿd ʿlm zy yʾth ʿlyk ʿldbrhm*	[... from this day] until forever. Whoever shall come towards you with regards to them
7	*[...] zy ʿbyd lk ʿlyhm [zy]lk hmw ʿm kl*	[...] which was done for you about them; they are [yo]urs, with all
8	*[...zy]lk hmw ʿm dynhm hʾ ʾnh ṣdyq b-hm*	[...] they are [yo]urs with their judgement (i.e. title); behold, I am pleased with them,
9	*[...b]-šmhm ʾnh ... w-ʾnth sʿnḥ*	[...in] their name, I [...] an endowed woman,
10	*[....]th qymh w-ʾḥwhy ktb ʾ-ʿbd kl ʾsryʾ*	[...] valid. And his brother recorded and enslaved all the prisoners
11	*[...] ʿlʾ kt[yb] lʾ ʾyty ly ʿmk*	[...] written above. I do not have with you
12	*[...] b-šmhm [...l-]mqnh mnk w-ʾnh*	[...] in their name [...for] purchase from you. And I
13	*[...] hn [....] dynhm w-ʾnh*	[...] If [...] their judgement (i.e. title), and I

14	*[...] nwpy*	[...]-nefer
15	*[...] ʾmr pšntsw*	[...] Has said Pasherentasep [...]

Notes

Line 1: Translated in Segal as "whose mother is Tetosiri, brothers..." on the basis of his reading of *ʾḥzn* as *ʾḥyn* and his interpretation of ʾmh as 'his mother' "from the context". Looking at the plate, I think *ʾḥzn* is more likely; it also allows the formation of a complete sentence and the possible reconstruction of a filiation to open the text.

Line 3: I have restored the full satisfaction clause suggested by *hwṭbt*. Also followed Porten and Yardeni in reconstructing *zyly.*

Line 4: Following Porten and Yardeni *ʿbdʾ ʾrmy* rather than Segal's *brʾ ʾrmy.*

Line 6: Following Porten and Yardeni. Segal suggested "*[...]h ʿl šlm h[...]h,* about the welfare of [...]" but the sale formulae of the Line 2-3 and the end of Line 6 ("...with regards to them") supports a restoration of the proprietary rights of a sale.

Line 9: This could be, as Segal suggested, a representation of *sḥmt n sʿnḫ*. It could also be a personal name ("the lady Sankh").

§1.3.10 TADB8.1

CAL: 23308.1
Date: undated
Type: Complaint (?)

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 150–151; Segal (1983), 48–49.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee**: not preserved
- **Scribe**: not preserved

- **Subject(s)**: self (not preserved)
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Possibly references an *ʿbd* who is being transferred as part of a fulfilment of guarantee. Although very fragmentary, the text appears to be from the viewpoint of one of the *ʿbdn*, who was previously owned/employed by the lender ("I was employed in the house of Meseshyk" *b-byt mssyk ʿbydt hwyt*) and then then transferred (*yblwni*) "with the remainder (*ʿm šʾryt*)" to the guarantor (*ʾḥry*). The purpose of the written document is unclear, but the inclusion of a start date ("from year 19" *mn šnt 19*) does seem to indicate some reference to a contractual agreement. It is possible that this document was meant as an addendum to a document which would verify that the lender Meseshyk had indeed paid his dues through transfer of his *ʿbdn*.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[...] bbyt mssyk ʿbydt hwyt*	[...] in the house of Messhek I was enslaved
2	*ʾmr [...] ʾnh ʾzlt ʿm šʾryt [...]*	he said [...] I went with the remainder [...]
3	*hyty [...] ʾḥry wrz šmh ʿl [...]*	he brought [...] the guarantor Waraza by name, to [...]
4	*ʾḥr [...] šptm hy yrḥʾ lʾ[...]*	after [...] that is, Sheptem. The month [...]
5	*[...ʿ]bdwhy [...] tzl l-mnšʾ mʾkl l[...]*	[his *ʿ]bdn* [...] he went to carry food to [...]
6	*[...]ʾyt l-wšḥ [...] šmh ʿrbyʾ w-ʾḥr[n...]*	[...] gone to Vashi [...] by name, sureties and others [...]
7	*[...] mny šlyḥ [...] b-nbyh mtʾ mhḥs[...]*	[...] is sent from me [...] in the region (of) Nabiya, occup[ying...]
8	*[...] ʾntth zy [...] yblwny bmt nbyh[...]*	[...] his wife who [...] they led me away in the region (of) Nabiya
9	*[...] ʾryn w-šrḥ [...] mn šnt 19 [...]*	[...] Aryana and Sherakh [...] from year 19 [...]
10	*[...] zk [...] ʾyt bʿh[...]*	[...] this [...] there is seeking [...]

Notes

Line 1: Alternatively translated as "I was employed" Segal (1983), 48 and "I was engaged" Porten and Yardeni (1989), 151; all options are possible.

Line 3: On *ʾḥry* as ‘guarantor’, see Milik (1957), 259 and Rabinowitz (1954), 15; contra Porten and Yardeni (1989), 151 who translate “after (me?)”.

§1.3.11 TADB8.2

CAL: 23308.2
Date: undated
Type: Court record

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 152–153; Segal (1983), 27–29, 62–64.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee:** not preserved
- **Scribe:** not preserved
- **Subject(s)**: self (not preserved)
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

In two columns, highly fragmentary. At least two *ʿbdn* and one *ʾmh* are involved in some kind of dispute, perhaps about stolen property. The *ʾmh* has been resold at least once before; there is reference to her being branded above an existing brand (like the woman in TADD5.6). One *ʿbd* is named explicitly with an Egyptian name (Kanufi, *kꜣ-nfr*).

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[...] mḥsn*	[...] holding [as heir?...	*ktn ʾmn [...*	garment, cubits [...]
2	*[..ʾ]mth zy*	[..ʾ]*mh* of	*100 yh[yb l...*	100 was gi[ven to ...
3	*[...] w-sṭr*	[...] and he marked	*ymḥwt šm[h...*	Imoutis by name [...
4	*[...] ʿlwy šnytʾ*	[...] above the brand	*qbl kn ʾmr [...*	he complained. Thus he said [...

5	*[...] mrʾy*	[...] my lord	*šmhm ly [...*	their name to me [...
6	*[...] ʾyr šnt 25 [...] yhbt [...] l-ʾyr w-pssn*	[...] of Iyar, year 25 [...] he was brought [...] of Iuar, and Paseshen	*gnbw l-[....*	they stole [...]
7	*[...] hwh*	[...] he was	*ʾḥr yhyb l-[...*	then it was given to [...
8	*[...] b-29*	[...] on the 29th	*knwpy ʿbdh [zy ...*	Kanufi, *ʿbd* [of ...
9	*[...] 2*	[...] 2	*ʿm wḥprʿ [...*	with Wahpre [...
10	*[...] mlkʾ b-mnpy*	[...] the king in Memphis	*ḥnbnš gn[b...*	Khvanbanush st[ole...
11	*[...] ḥdwsby*	[...] Heduseby	*byt-škn 1 [...*	house of dwelling, 1 [...
12	*[...] mstʾ*	[...] as much as	*zy b-ql[...*	which is [...
13	*[...]m bgdt 1*	[...] Bagadata, 1	*b-mnpy [...*	in Memphis [...
14	*[...] kl 2 ʿbdyʾ*	[...] all (told), 2, the *ʿbdn*	*b-ʾgr [...*	for salary [...
15	*[...] bytʾ hnṣlwny*	[...] the house they reclaimed from me	*bnh ʿl [...*	built upon [...
16	*[...] lbsy zy qmr*	[...] my garment of wool	*znh [...*	this [...
17	*[...]twgn 20 b-mnʾy*	[...] 20 [...		
18	*[...]*	[...]		

Notes:

Col. a, Line 11: my translation, based on the reading in Porten and Yardeni, who saw it as a PN.

Col. b, Line 11: My translation, based on the reading in Porten and Yardeni, who left it untranslated.

§1.3.12 TADB8.3

CAL: 23308.3
Date: undated
Type: Complaint (?)

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 154–155; Segal (1983), 19–20.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee:** not preserved
- **Scribe**: not preserved
- **Subject(s)**: 2 Cretan *ʿbdn*, one of whom is the daughter of another.
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Two *ʿbdn* were stolen, perhaps from the complainant. Possibly one of them was manumitted against his owners' wishes (*ʾntr try*), though this is not entirely clear. At least one of the *ʿbdn*, Thibrachos, is branded.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*[...tb]rḥš šmh ʿbd krtk zyly ʾ[...*	[...Thib]rachos by name, a Cretan *ʿbd* of mine, [...
2	*[...] ʿm tḥmpt brth gnyb mn[...*	[...] with Taxmapita, his daughter, was stolen fr[om...
3	*[...]why sḥh wrkny 1 bʿyt w[...*	[...] Sekah, a Hyrcanian, 1, I sought and [...
4	*[...] mʾ ḥzyr ʿbdʾ zk mhlk tn[h...*	[...] I saw that *ʿbd* walking her[e....
5	*[...]hḥwh ʾtr zy lʾ pty[...*	[...] he showed, a place that is not [...
6	*[...tbr]ḥš zk ʾntr try gb[...*	[...] that [Thibra]chos, he released [...
7	*[...]h hn tbrḥš ʿbdʾ [...*	[...] if Thibrachos the *ʿbd* [...
8	*[...] sṭyr bšnytʾ ʾḥ[...*	[...] marked with the brand [...

Notes

Line 1: Tavernier (2007), 426 takes *krtk* to be **kāratāka-* = 'traveller', not a Cretan, and suggests an Iranian origin for *[...]rḥš*; but it is unlikely that the *[...]rḥš* of Line 1 is not the same who appears in Line 7, and *tbrḥš* does not suit Iranian onomastics.[27]

Line 2: Tavernier[28] and Segal[29] prefer an Egyptian interpretation for the daughter *tḥpmt*, but the Iranian **Taxmapitā-* is better attested and more likely.[30]

Line 8: On branding, see above, Appendix 3, **§1.3.3** (TADA6.3).

§1.3.13 TADB8.4

CAL: 23308.4
Date: 431 BC
Type: Court record

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 156–157; Segal (1983), 45–48, 49–51, 83–84.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee**: the judges of the court: at least 5 are named
- **Scribe**: not preserved
- **Subject(s)**: Self (unnamed)
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

A man complains that his punishment of being seized, enslaved, and beaten was unwarranted. He names the judges and the people who seized him.

[27] Tuplin (2020), 115.
[28] Tavernier (2007), 533–534.
[29] Segal (1983), 20 suggests an unattested Egyptian name (*tȝ-ḥmt-n-pȝ-tȝ*).
[30] Zadok (1986), 43.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*b-28 l-ḥtḥwr šnt 34 b-mnpy nbwšzb pysn nbwšrh wrz bgpn ḥ[....]št*	On the 28th day of Athyr, in year 34, in Memphis, Nabushezib, Pisina, Nabusharah, Varaza, Bagapana [...
2	*[....]t w-knwth dnyʾ dwšwnn hww*	[PN] and his colleagues the judges were ill-willed.
3	*[...byt]ʾlšgb ʿm brykʾl 1 bytʾlšrh 1 yʿlw 1 [....]y 1 [...]ḥ 1 rʿyʾl 1 ʿdry 1*	[.... Beth]elshegab with Berichel, 1; Betherlsharah, 1; Iaalu, 1; PN, 1; PN, 1; Reiel, 1; Idri, 1;
4	*[....]l zy kḥsn ʾtw ʿl bytʾ zyly zy b-psḥmy w-dpny ʿbdwny w-lqḥw mny*	[....] who by force came to my house which is in Persekhmet and beat me. They enslaved me, and they took from me
5	*[...]ny ʾsrn 2 nḥsn mnyn 10 w-ktšwny b-kpyd 10 b-kprgl 6 w-šqpwny rgln 2*	[....] 2 bonds (and) bronze chains, 10 (in) number, and struck me on the palm of the hand 10 (times and) on the sole of the foot 6 (times) and beat me (on the) legs 2 (times)
6	*[....] ytb krmʾ ʿm ḥpymn pṭmyḥws kl 2 [....*	[....] sitting (in) the vineyard with Hapimen (and) Petemaihos, all (told) 2 ...
7	*[....] ʿbd nbw ʾlhʾ yhb lhm ʿldbr ttwsyry ʾm[h zy ...*	[.... PN] the *ʿbd* of Nabu, the god gave to them on account of Tetosiri the *ʾmh* [of PN...
8	*[...ʾḥr] yhyb lh*	[... Then] it was given to him.
9	*[...] ʿl [....*	[...] about [...
10	*[....] bgwḥs [...] pṭwbsty br psmšk*	[....] Bagabukhsha [....] Petebast son of Psamshek
11	*[....]h w-mn pṭʾsy tmh [....*	[....] and from Petiese there [...

Notes

Note that this appendix reproduces only the recto (Segal 28b); the verso is not relevant to this discussion.

Line 4: *w-dpny* – I prefer Porten and Yardeni (1989), 156 interpretation, who translate "and they did me harm" *contra* Segal (1983), 47 who interprets it a Semitic PN. Also prefer Porten and

Yardeni's interpretation of *psḥmy* as a place-name, likely referencing Per-Sakhmet (*pr-sḫmt*), the name of a number of locations.[31]

Line 7: I prefer Segal's "*ʾmh* of [...]" to Porten and Yardeni's reading of "[...] mother [...]".

§1.3.14 TADB8.6

CAL: 23308.6
Date: undated
Type: Court decision regarding *ʿbdn* and valuables

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 160–161; Segal (1983), 25–26.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee**: not preserved
- **Scribe**: not preserved
- **Subject(s)**:
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

This is the record of three separate court decisions: the resolution of the first, which involved a branded *ʿbd* belonging to a Saite, in which the valuables (or perhaps the *ʿbd* himself) are returned to the original owner. The second includes the introduction and the resolution (again, a simple return of property) and is notable because two *ʿbdn* give testimony in court regarding the stolen valuables. The third also involves stolen property resolved through return, but also incurs corporal punishment.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation

[31] Gauthier (1925), 130.

1	*[...] 1, w-zy lyd ʾwstn sykn*	[...] 1, and who is under the hand of Ostanes, a Saite
2	*[...w-sṭyr]n b-šnytʾ zylh ʾḥr yhb*	[...and mark]ed with his brand. Then it was given
3	*[l-.... w-knwth...]*	[to PN and his colleagues...]
4	*[b-.... šm]h ʿbdh zy wrpš mll ʿl pnʾ šmh*	[On x (day), PN] by n[ame], the *ʿbd* of Virafsha, spoke against Pana by name,
5	*[ʿbdy zy ....]m sykn kn ʾmr hnṣlny ksp kršn 20*	[the *ʿbd* of PN], a Saite. He said thus: he reclaimed from me silver, 20 karsh
6	*[...]n zy nḥš 5 ksn 10 mʾnn 5 ʾḥr*	[...]; 5 bronze [...]; 10 cups; 5 vessels. Then,
7	*[yhyb l-..... w-]knwth*	[it was given to PN and] his colleagues.
8	*[b-.....] br hwbrʾ ʾrmy l-dgl bytlšgb mll ʿl*	[On x (day), PN] son of Hubara, an Aramaean of the detachment of Bethelshegab, spoke against
9	*[.....]sy tsry ʾmh kl 2 ʾ[r]myn l-dgl ʾl[....*	[PN and ....]sy, his mother is Tasiri, all (told) 2 Aramaeans of the detachment of PN
10	*[... ktš]wny b-kpyd 100 b-kprgl 15 w-ḥybwny mn 4*	[...they stru]ck me on the palm of the hand 100 (times), on the sole of the foot 15 (times), and obligated me 4 [....
11	*[...] b-3 tmwz ʾḥr yhyb l-kt[.....]t w-knwth*	[...] on the 3rd of Tammuz. Then, it was given to PN and his colleagues.

Notes

Line 1: I find Segal's readings of ʾḥn ("brothers") after the lacuna unconvincing, as well as his reading of *ḥrkn* (i.e. Egyptian PN *ḥr-ḳn*) at the end of the line on the basis of palaeography.

Line 5: Segal reads *hnḥl* "inheritance money" for *hnṣlny*, which is unlikely in this context.

§1.3.15 TADB8.7

CAL: 23308.7
Date: undated
Type: Court record; dispute over *ʿbdn*

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1989), 164–165; Segal (1983), 17–19.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee**: not preserved
- **Scribe**: not preserved
- **Subject(s)**: *ʿbdn*, more than one, worth 25 karsh.
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

A court record of a dispute between two men, Mannuki and Ptahnufi. Mannuki has apparently taken *ʿbdn* from Ptahnufi, and perhaps even kept them for a period of 12 days. Ptahnufi values his *ʿbdn* for the court, and this text records the back-and-forth testimonies.

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*dmy ʿbdy ʾlk ksp kršn 25*	Value of my *ʿbdn* in silver: 25 karsh
2	*šʾyl ptḥnwpy l-qbl mly mnky [...]*	Ptahnufi was interrogated in response to the words of Mannuki [son of PN?...]
3	*ptḥnwpy kn ʾmr mndb mnky b-ʾlh mlyh tḥh[...*	Ptahnufi said thus: Mannuki deceives by these words, Teho[...
4	*w-bnyh ʿbdyʾ zylh lʾ hn[...]t*	and her sons, his *ʿbdn,* I did not [...]
5	*mhṣdn \ʾnh/ lhn ʾyty ʿbdn zy ly hmw*	I am manumitting (?), but there are *ʿbdn* who are mine [...
6	*ʾlh zy mnky znhršh w-sy[...*	these (over) whom Mannuki has authority over, and [...
7	*nšn [.....] ʾlk mhḥ[sn...*	women [....] these, tak[ing possession of....
8	*ṣr ywmn 12 b-mʾr*	keep for 12 days at Meroe
9	*šʾyl mnky l-q[bl mly ptḥnwpy...*	Mannuki was interrogated in r[esponse to the words of Ptahnufi....
10	*mnky kn [ʾmr ....*	Mannuki [said] thus [...
11	*ʿbds[...*	Abeds[in ...
12	*ʿl [....*	about [...

Notes

Line 3: I prefer Porten and Yardeni's 'deceive' to Segal's 'donates'.

Line 5: I am not as convinced as Segal that the root *ṣdn* refers to manumission, despite its use in Punic dedicatory texts. I would instead expect *šbq*, as evidenced in TADB3.6 and TADA6.7 (the latter referring just to "release). Presumably manumission would require its own text unaffiliated with valuation, so contextually I also don't think this makes sense.

Line 5: Preferring Porten and Yardeni's "*zy ly hmw*, who are mine", to "*zy lʾ hntt*, whom I have not released".

§1.3.16 TADC4.3

CAL: 23352.3
Date: undated
Type: Witness list

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1993), 274–275; Segal (1983), 76–77.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* N/A
- **Addressee**: N/A
- **Scribe**: N/A
- **Subject(s)**: three "sons of the house"
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1	*tḥwtm[ʿw br ....]yh*	Thutm[aw son of ...]yah
2	*psmšk br ṣḥʾ[...*	Psamshek son of Tzakha[...
3	*tḥwtmʿw br bytʾ*	Thutmaw son of the house
4	*pkmy br wḥpr[ʿ*	Pakemy son of Wahpr[e

5	*pmwn br pṭʾ[...*	Pamun son of Pati[...
6	*pʾḥ br ḥrwṣ*	Pakh son of Harwodj
7	*ʿqb br bytʾ*	Aqab son of the house
8	*pḥwr br bytʾ*	Pahor son of the house
9	*ʾrdy br ṣḥh[...*	Ardi son of Tzakha[...
10	*mnky br ṣḥ[h...*	Mannuki son of Tzakh[..
11	*bytʾlnwry br [...*	Beitelnuri son of [...

Notes

Note: only the last eleven lines are reproduced here; the first nine lines only have traces of text. The title "son of the house (*br bytʾ*) was read as *br bytʿ[l]* by Porten and Yardeni (1993), 274–375 restoring a Semitic PN, but there is no trace of this in the photograph, cf. Segal (1983), pl. 13. For discussion of this title, see **Chapter 5, §2.3.3.**

§1.3.17 TADD7.9

CAL: 22555.9
Date: undated
Type: Letter

Bibliography

Porten and Yardeni (1999), 161–162; Lindenberger (1994), 47–48.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* not preserved
- **Addressee**: not preserved
- **Scribe**: not preserved
- **Subject(s)**: *tṭwsry*, an *ʿlymt*
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Possibly a leasing arrangement. An enslaved woman (*ʿlymt*) is taken for weaving, and the wages she receives for weaving (or perhaps the piecework payment) is to be given to her owner. The

second part of the text is more difficult to understand and hinges on the understand of a *hapax legomenon*; might refer to the transfer of enslaved persons.

Transliteration and Translations

Line	Transliteration	Translation
1r	*kʿnt ḥzw ḥntʾ zy yhb ly ʾwryh l-nskʾ*	Now, regard the *ḥntʾ* which Uriah gave me for the weaving.
2r	*hbyh l-gmryh br ʾḥyw w-yʿrkh mn*	Bring her to Gemaryah son of Ahio and let him determine
3r	*škrʾ w-blwh l-ʾwryʾ ʾp ḥzy tṭwsry*	the salary, and bring to Uriah. Moreover, regard Tetosiri
4r	*zyln yktbwh ʿl drʿh ʿlʾ mn ktbtʾ*	of ours. Let them mark her on her arm above the mark
5r	*zl ʿl drʿh hlw kn šlḥ l-ʾmr zy*	which is (already) on her arm. Lo, thus, he [Uriah] sent, saying that
6r	*lʾ yškḥn ʿlymth*	they would not find his *ʿlymt*
7r	*m[t]ktbh ʿl*	marked with
8r	*šmh*	his name.
1v	*kʿnt [....] w-ʾp hzdhry*	Now [...] and take heed
2v	*l-[...]h w-ly l-mktbh ʾp kzy*	[...] to mark. Moreover, when you
3v	*tšmʿyn l-ʾmr ʾšryʾ yhbn prs*	will hear, saying, 'we have begun giving the allotment
4v	*b-swn šlḥy ʿly ḥzy nḥt qpyrʾ*	at Syene,' send (word) to me. Regarding the *qpyr*
5v	*zy hytt by[d]y hwšrwhy ly w-qprʾ zy*	which I have in my hand. Dispatch him to me. And the *qpyr* which
6v	*hwšrt lkm mn [..] nhrʾ*	I dispatched to you from [...] the river,
7v	*ʾ-qpyrʾ rbʾ zy yhb*	and the big *qpyr* which Malkiyah
8v	*[ly] mlkyh hwšry*	gave to [me?], dispatch
9v	*hmw ly*	them to me.

Notes

For a discussion on the possibilities of leasing in this text, see **Chapter 3, §4.2.3.**

Recto, Line 1: Lindenberger takes *ḥntˀ* to be a female slave based on Line 6 (*ʿlymt*), which is conjectural—but no more conjectural than Porten and Yardeni's translation of "gift".

Verso, Line 4: Lindenberger takes *qpyr* to be some (previously-unknown) term for a male slave, while Porten and Yardeni take it to be a pot or a stand for a pot, identifying the word with Akkadian *qapīru,* a container or measure of capacity.

§1.4 Hieroglyphic Texts

Text	TM	Other Sigla	Type
Abydos Stela of Sheshonq	N/A	Cairo JdE 66285	Oracular pronouncement
Apanage Stela of Iuwelot	113520	Cairo JdE 31882	Oracular pronouncement

§1.4.1 Abydos Stela of Sheshonq

TM: N/A
Date: c. 950 BC
Type: Oracular pronouncement

Bibliography

Kitchen (1986), 285–286; Ritner (2009), 166–172.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* N/A
- **Addressee**: N/A
- **Scribe**: N/A
- **Subject(s)**: 4 *ḥmw* and 1 cultivator, endowed together for 4 deben, 1 kite.
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Judicial transcript of an oracle of Amun, conducted by Pseusennes on behalf of Sheshonq I. This is followed by a contractual account of Namlot's funerary endowment. Only lines 11–14

are replicated here, which reference the enslaved persons being endowed. For the remainder of the text, see Ritner (2009).

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
11	*wp-st nty r-ḏbꜣ tꜣy sꜣ-tꜣ n 50 nty m ww ḳꜣ rsy ꜣbḏw ḏd.tw n.f wꜣḥ-*	Its itemization: corresponding value of these 50 arouras of field that are in the high district south of Abydos, known as "Enduring
12	*nswt ḥḏ dbn n 6 nty m ỉmnt m sdf n pꜣ ḫn nty m ꜣbḏw ꜣḥ sꜣt n 50 ỉr n ḥḏ dbn [n] 4 dmḏ ꜣḥ.w nmḥw n tꜣy st 2 m ww ḳꜣ rsy ꜣbḏw ḥnʿ ww ḳꜣ*	of Kingship": 6 deben of silver. Those in the west, being fed by the well that is in Abydos: 50 arouras of field, amounting to 4 *deben* of silver. Total of *nmḥ* fields of these two places in the high district south of Abydos and the high district
13	*mḥty ꜣBḏw ꜣḥstꜣ n 100 ỉr n ḥḏ dbn [n] 10 ꜣḥwty pꜣ-wr sꜣ [...] ḥm.f ỉỉr-bꜣk ḥm.f b[w]-pw-ỉmn-ḫꜣ ḥm.f nꜣ-šn.w-bnr.w ḥm.f dnỉt-n-ḥr dmḏ*	north of Abydos: 100 arouras of field, amounting to 10 deben of silver. The cultivator Pawer son of [empty], his *ḥm* Iirbak, his *ḥm* Bupamonkhai, his *ḥm* Nashubeniu, his *ḥm* Denitenhor. Total:
14	*s n 5 ỉr n ḥḏdbn [n] 4 ḳdt 1 ỉḥ n 10 ỉr n ḥḏ dbn [n] 2*	5 men, amounting to 4 deben, 1 kite of silver. Ten oxen, amounting to 2 deben of silver.

Notes

For discussion on the pricing as evidenced in this stela, see **Chapter 4, §4.3** (land) and **§5.4.2** (enslaved persons). Bernadette Menu has argued that the people in this stela were selling their position (e.g. 'cultivator') rather than themselves. See Menu (1997), 245–65 and **Chapter 6, §2.5**.

§1.4.2 Apanage Stela of Iuwelot

TM: 113520
Date: 872 BC
Type: Oracular pronouncement

Bibliography

Ritner (2009), 271–278; Pirenne and van de Walle (1937), 43–65; Griffith (1909), 13–14; Baer (1962), 24–25; Janssen (1975), 530–531; Kitchen (1986), 110–11.

Parties Involved

- **Addressor***:* N/A
- **Addressee**: N/A
- **Scribe**: N/A
- **Subject(s)**: 32 *ḥmw* and 3 *ḥmw n ꜥ-mḥ*, endowed at the price of 15 deben and ⅓ kite
- **Witnesses**: N/A

Content

Like the oracular pronouncement of Sheshonq, this is an oracular pronouncement ratifying the endowment of land and people. Here, it is specified that the endowment is intended as appanage, or financial support for a member of the royal family. Only lines 21–23 are replicated here, which reference *ḥmw* and *ḥmw n-ꜥmḥty*. For the remainder of the text, see Ritner (2009).

Transliteration and Translation

Line	Transliteration	Translation
21	*nꜣ ḥmw ꜥnd ḥmwt i-in.f r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ m-dỉ nꜣ nmḥw n pꜣ tꜣ n*	The *ḥmw* and *ḥmwt* whom he purchased from the *nmḥ* owners of the country
22	*mỉtt s st 32 ỉr n ḥḏ dbn 15 ḳdt ⅓ ḥnꜥ pꜣy 3 ḥmw n ꜥ-mḥt ỉ-dỉ.f ḥr.s dmd ꜣḥt šbn sṯ3t 556 s st 35 nꜣy.w šdwt nꜣy.w šn.w*	in like manner: 32 men and women, amounting to 15 deben and ⅓ kite of silver; together with these three *ḥmw n ꜥ-mḥty* whom he added to it; total: 556 arouras of various categories of fields; 35 men and women, their cisterns, their trees
23	*nꜣy.w ỉꜣwt mnmnt*	their flocks, their herds.

Notes

For discussion on the pricing as evidenced in this stela, see **Chapter 4, §4.3** (land) and **§5.4.2** (enslaved persons).

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