# Notes on personal names and abbreviations
in late Arsinoite and Heracleopolite documents

The papyri discussed in this article date from the seventh and especially eighth centuries, and all but two or three are Arsinoite. The bulk consists of fiscal documents, where the use of abbreviation is the norm, a feature that occasionally obscures reading and interpretation. The collection of notes below addresses textual difficulties caused by abbreviations. ([1])

1. *P.Rain. Unterricht* 55

Φιλοδ(ήμου) occurs in l. 3 of this writing exercise, but it is surprising to find this name in a text of late date from the Fayum. The *scholasticus* Φιλόδημος in *SB* XVIII 13949.4 (Oxy.; 541) is an isolated figure in our evidence from late antique Egypt. The dotted δ indicates reservations; the reading is conceivable, but not inescapable:
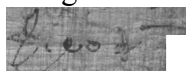
I suspect the name intended was Φιλόθεος. What is written after φιλο may be an inept rendering of the *compendium* representing θε; it may also be relevant that the top of the letter is not tilted backwards as in other deltas in this hand, and resembles the form of θ in combination with ε in texts of this period. Alternatively, it could be a phonetic spelling, with δ written instead of θ; I have not found any other instance of *Φιλόδεος, but there are several examples of names beginning Θεο- written as Δεο- (cf. below, nos. 21 and 23).

2. *P.Ross.Georg.* V 73

The juxtaposition of Arabic and Greek toponyms in this document of the late eighth century has made it a minor celebrity. An image appeared recently on line, and allows for some textual progress to be made in spite of its very low resolution.

The name of the person in l. 3 was read as Σ]ισινίου Σαμᾷ. Σαμᾷ would be the genitive of a name not attested elsewhere, but it seems to me possible to read Σαμβ(ᾶ) (or Σαμβᾷ). Perhaps this person recurs in *SPP* X 42.2 Σι]σινίου Σαμβᾶ.

The curious πτροβε( ) comes up in l. 10; the papyrus has προβ, topped by the sign that usually indicates abbreviation after ε, so that the editor's ε( ) is the expected rendering. However, ε leads nowhere; with προβ preceding, we expect α. This would suggest προβ(ατοθύτου), as in *SPP* X 229.7 (abbreviated, but the expansion seems certain), rather than Προβ(ατίου), a rare name in Egypt and not attested in this period.

(1) The new readings proposed in this article are based on images accessible through <www.papyri.info> and <https://search.onb.ac.at/primo-explore/search?vid=ONB&sortby=rank&lang=de_DE>. The image clippings are © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung.

Note on transcriptions. I have sometimes used a superscript stroke to represent abbreviations, but this is only an indicative approximation. In several cases it is clear that α or ε were intended, but in a few others the form of the abbreviation stroke would allow either; for this reason, I have systematically placed α or ε inside the parentheses. Another issue is the rendering of superscript ου, often in the form of raised 'v'; I consider this a simplification of the monogram and have given it as unabbreviated ου.

The use of the same abbreviation stroke for α and ε occurs in a number of documents of the late eighth century; cf. e.g. the way Μακ(άριος) and Τεπτύν(εως) are abbreviated in *SPP* X 80.6; cf. also below, nos. 6 (*SPP* XX 249v.iii.2) and 13. (²)
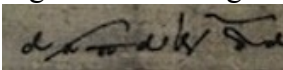
3. *P.Wisc.* II 45

The papyrus preserves a list of payments assignable to the eighth century. Certain names strongly point to the Fayum or environs as the document's origin. The text has been improved substantially since its publication, (³) but some uncertain readings remain, one of them in l. 2, Φ ̣λτα( ):

I propose to read Φιλο̣θ̣(έου), with οθ squeezed together.

4. *SB* XVI 12253

In this land register of the seventh century, we find Τερμτ( ) (καὶ) Νεφερᾶ in l. 11. The editor wrote: "wenn es sich nicht um interne Abkürzung handelt, ist der Name noch nicht bekannt" (*Aegyptus* 61 [1981] 91). This is indeed an abbreviation (⁴) (τερμᵗ *pap.*) of a name in a spelling attested in documents from this area: read Τερμ(ου)τ(ίου); cf. *P.Sakaon* 69.6 Τερμουτίου, *P.Prag.* II 136.28 Τερμουτί(ου) (Τερμουτι *pap.*), *SB* XX 14582.7 Τερμούτ(ιος). The name Θ-/Τερμουτις is usually feminine, but in a very few cases the bearer is or could be male.

5. *SB* XX 14582

The first name in l. 5 of this list of names of the seventh/eighth century was read as ἄπ(α) Πακύ(σιος). It would be unusual to find ἀπα abbreviated; the published photograph (Pap.Flor. XIX.2, Tav. XLII) shows that the top of π has the form of an oblique rising from the left to the right and reaching above the line:

This might be a convention of writing double pi; we find something similar with double theta and double tau in a text of 612. (⁵) N. Vanthieghem also points to a similar form of pi in P. Vindob. K 44. I propose to read Ἀππακῦ(ρος); the spelling of the name with double π is fairly common.

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(2) Even though ε( ) would appear to be the more natural reading, the problem of Μελε( ) in P.CtYBR inv. 461.8 (see *BASP* 53 [2016] 208, 218) would disappear if we read α instead of ε: Μέλα( ), that is, Μέλα(ς) or Μέλα(νος).

(3) Various corrections are recorded in *BL* VII 281 and XII 290. The latter goes back to my note in *ZPE* 136 (2001) 121 n. 12, but *BL* does not record the starting point of the discussion, that the dots in the transcription are abbreviated νομίσματα. The same correction was proposed by J.-L. FOURNET, *BASP* 50 (2013) 300, with reference to the text given by H. HARRAUER, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie. Textband* (Stuttgart 2010) 501, no. 296. The latter version incorporates corrections from *BL* VII 281, adds one other (Μέλα(νος) for Μέλα(τος) in l. 1), but retains *ed. pr.*'s assumption that the entries were intended to be in the nominative (genitives in *BL* VII 281).

(4) J. DIETHART, *Prosopographia Arsinoitica I* (Wien 1980) 367, n. 601, proposed 'Z.B. als unbelegtes Τερμ(ᾶ)τ(ος) aufzulösen?!'.

(5) See *P.Gascou* 32 introd., p. 175.

6. *SB* **XXII 15244, etc.**

The text is another list of names; it was assigned to the seventh century, but probably belongs to the early eighth. The first extant entry refers to Ἀμωνίου ἀστοῦ βοηθ(οῦ) (i.1). The presence of an ἀστός in a text of this date is implausible. The online image reveals that the papyrus has Ἀβων(ᾶ) Ἰούστου:

The name Ἀβωνᾶς has occurred in a few other Arsinoite texts of this period, but this was not always recognized in their first edition. Thus Ἀκων( ) was read in *P.Rain. Unterr.* 80.i.3, but the reproduction shows that the papyrus has Ἀβων(ᾶ). There is a similar problem in *SPP* X 172.2: *ed. pr.*'s Ἀκωνε( ) was corrected to Ἀβῶν (*BL* VIII 458), but there too we should read Ἀβων(ᾶ), to account for the superscript stroke. The more straightforward instances include *SPP* XX 175.1, and 242.8, 32, 70.

Another personal name may lurk in disguise: at i.3 ἄπα Κ(ύρο)υ πε(δίου) Ἀφουᾶ, and ii.3, Γεωρ(γίου) πε(δίου) Ἀφουᾶ; it would be easier to reckon with a name rather than (a phonetic version of) παιδίου. The abbreviation is drastic, which suggests a common name. In his index to *SPP* III and VIII, Wessely wrote: "π̅ l. Πεττήριος (oder Πέτρος?)" (p. 235). The passages cited come from the signature of the notary Πεττήριος, but attest an exception rather than the rule; when not abbreviated, Πέτρος is much better represented in our evidence. Faced with a similar abbreviation, the editor of *CPR* XXII 45.11 did not hesitate: δ(ιὰ) Πέ(τρου) δι(ακόνου); but *P.Horak* 64.12 Θεόδ(ωρος) Πέ(τρου) indicates reservations. In a similar vein, in *SPP* XX 249v.iii.2 δ(ιὰ) Πα( ) δι(ακόνου), we should probably read Πέ(τρου); the shape of the stroke over Π is not different from that over πρ at ii.1 of the same text, where we clearly have ε, i.e., πρε(σβύτερος). (⁶) We may thus read Πέ(τρου) at *SB* 15244.i.3 and ii.3. The fact that the name is not abbreviated at ii.7 (the papyrus has πετρ ᵛ or πετρ ᵒ) need not be a problem; cf. γεωρ ᵞ and γ ᵋ at ii.3 and 6 (sim. *P.Ross.Georg.* V 71.5, 8, 10).

A more difficult abbreviation occurs at iii.3, transcribed as Πετι.( ):

This is not Πέτρος. We may think of Πετη(ρίου) (l. Πεττ-), but the superscript character is not unequivocally η (contrast *SPP* XX 263r.i.3 and ii.18), and the short vertical stroke next to the foot of τ is confusing.

7. *SB* **XXIV 16141**

The name of the person recorded in l. 3 of this short list of payments of the seventh century was given as Γε(λάσιος) (γ ᵋ *pap.*), but the commentary acknowledges that "bei γε wohl noch andere Möglichkeiten in Frage kommen könnten. Da die Abkürzung zumeist Γεω lautet, scheint der viel üblichere Name Georgios nicht relevant zu sein". (⁷) This would not be decisive even if γεω were a common abbreviation of this name

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(6) Another example may be detected in *SPP* X 40.18, for which Wessely produced a drawing, correctly interpreted in *DDbDP* as]οσπα( ), as the image shows; perhaps read]ος Πέ(τρου).

(7) H. HARRAUER & P.J. SIJPESTEIJN (†), *Papyri* 2 (1997) 19.

(which is not); as mentioned in the previous note, monosyllabic abbreviations suggest a very common name, such as Γεώργιος, or even Γερόντιος, ([8]) but certainly not Γελάσιος. Γε(ώργιος) is the likeliest resolution of the abbreviation. ([9])

The numerical preponderance of this name over all others beginning Γε- is probably behind the inclusion of Γε( ) under Γεώργιος in the indexes to *SPP* III and VIII (pp. 225, 235, 289) and X (p. 172), although Wessely was not entirely certain: he read Γε(ωργίου?) (e.g. *SPP* X 106.8), Γε(ώργιος) (*SPP* X 109.6), but more often he did not resolve the abbreviation. ([10]) There are also instances where the resolution is guaranteed by other factors. Thus in *SPP* VIII 879.2 τ(ο)ῦ Ἁγί(ου) Γε(ωργίου), the name of the patron saint of the church, and here the associated district of Arsinoe, is not in doubt, since it is written out in full elsewhere. Then, the person called Π[απνου]θίο(υ) Γεωργ(ίου) in *SPP* XX 235r.5, recurs as Παπν(ου)θ(ίου) Γε(ωργίου) in 235v.i.31. ([11])

8. *SB* XXIV 16142

The text written on the other side of the previous item is an account headed λόγο(ς) Θέκλη(ς). But this Thecla did not live in late Fayum. The image shows that the papyrus has λ̄ αγͱ, i.e., λ(αύρας) ἁγί(ας) Θέκλη(ς). This is a well-attested district of the Arsinoe, named after the church of St Thecla; cf. e.g. *SPP* X 6.6.

9. *SPP* VIII 709

The name of the payer's father in this receipt for *diagraphon* is now read as Σερβί(ου), after *BL* VIII 446; the reading is palaeographically acceptable (but there is no abbreviation: after the putative iota, a mere dot, the papyrus breaks off), but one cannot rule out γ, i.e., Σεργί[ου].

The concluding part of l. 3 was edited as ἀρ(ί)θ(μια) (*sic*) νο(μ.) ⟍ νομ(ιτευόμενον) † δ(ι' ἐ)μοῦ Σερ⟋. As we can see from the image, the subscription and name are not there; we have νομ(ίσματος), and then the sum written out in full, ὕμισυ (l. ἥ-) μ(όνον) (the top of μ is minimal, but the two obliques marking the abbreviation are characteristic). There is something in between that looks like ε; as N. Vanthieghem suggests, could it be that the scribe wrote εἵμισυ?.


10. *SPP* VIII 756

The subscription to this receipt for *diagraphon* was read as Μη(νᾶς) | δημωσίων[(?)] διάκο(νος) (καὶ) Καλομη(νᾶς) (ll. 5–6). The question mark shows uneasiness over the unexpected word. Here is a clipping of the image of the relevant passage:

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(8) Cf. M. WEISSL, *AnPap* 5 (1993) 58; P. SARISCHOULI, *Tyche* 12 (1997) 185; sim. L. BERKES & B. HAUG, *BASP* 53 (2016) 207, who do not resolve Γε( ) in several passages of P.CtYBR inv. 461 on the grounds that the name Γεώργιος is written more fully elsewhere in the text, but such inconsistencies are common.

(9) In l. 8, Παῦ(λος) is a slip for Παῦλ(ος).

(10) In a later publication, *SPP* XX 281.9, Wessely read Γε( ) and did not index the name.

(11) See *ZPE* 186 (2013) 271.
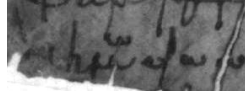
The superscript ω indicates an abbreviation, and what follows should belong to a different word. There is also writing before η which cannot be part of δ but would be compatible with ι. I propose to read δι' ἡμῶ(ν) Σίων (l. Σίωνος) διακό(νου) (καὶ) Καλομη(νᾶ); Menas was represented by two other persons.

11. *SPP* VIII 887

This is a short fiscal register of the eighth century written on parchment, now in poor condition. The beginnings of ll. 3–4 were presented as follows:
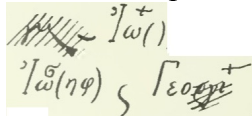
The unread name in l. 3 is Ἠλί(α), and Γεοργι( ) in l. 4 conceals two names; the scribe wrote μῆ ϛ ιὠ, i.e., Μη(νᾶ) (καὶ) Ἰω .( ). The second name also occurs in l. 3. What is written over omega does not seem compatible with alpha but can hardly be sigma, in view of Ἰωσ(ήφ) in l. 4; Wessely's crosses are fair reproductions of what is visible. (¹²) It would be difficult to propose Ἰω(άννου).

12. *SPP* VIII 1309

This Heracleopolite document (cf. *BL* XI 262) contains a list of witnesses' subscriptions and refers to 358 κ(όλλα)θ(α) ($κ^{θ}$; not resolved in *ed. pr.*), certainly of wine (as N. Vanthieghem points out, the Coptic subscription mentions a ⲡϭⲉⲙⲏ, a vine-dresser). It has been claimed, "haben wir bei dem Zeugen in Z. 2 (vgl. Z. 1, 3 und 4) sicherlich auch Name und Beruf und nicht Name und Vatersname anzunehmen", (¹³) with Γεωργ(ίου) turned to γεωργ(ός) as a result. The change is unnecessary; a father's name is mentioned in l. 3, and γεωργός is not the kind of occupation stated in subscriptions. (¹⁴)

The concluding line (7) ends Ἀθανασι γι $κ^{θ}$ in the edition; this should be read as Ἀθανασίου Βίκτ(ωρος).

13. *SPP* X 41, etc.

The papyrus consists of two contiguous fragments, but this was not recognized in *ed. pr.*, where they were published in reverse order relative to the original. (¹⁵) A new text with notes is given below.

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(12) F. Morelli (to whom the reading Ἠλί(α) in l. 3 is due) describes it as something 'che sta tra un θ aperto in alto a destra e uno ε chiuso in basso a destra'.

(13) J. Diethart, *Tyche* 10 (1995) 237 = *BL* X 267. The correction to a reading in l. 3 proposed in the same place had been anticipated by the same author fifteen years earlier; see *BL* VIII 453.

(14) In *SPP* VIII 879.1 Ἀπα Φιβ Γεωργ(ίου) pays rent for a property of the church of St Georgios, known to be located in the city of Arsinoe. Contrary to the suggestion in *BL* VIII 448, it is not likely that we have to resolve γεωργ(οῦ).

(15) This was first pointed out by F. Morelli, *CPR* XXII 40.4 n. (= *BL* XII 271).

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	×	ὁ υἱὸ(ς) Γε(ωργίου) Ἀπαιουλί(ου) Ψα . . . .[	
	×	Μηνᾶ Σενουθ(ίου) ταυρηλ(άτου)	νο̣(μ.) ε
		χ(ωρίον) Νέστου	
4	×	ὁ υἱὸ(ς) Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) Κο(σμᾶ) σιτουια	νο̣(μ.) γ
		χ(ωρίον) Ζίνεως	
	×	Ἀπαιούλι(ος) Γε(ωργίου) Πα⟦σ̣τ̣⟧ζου	νο̣(μ.) ζ
	×	Ἀγ̣ένιο(ς) Ἀπαιουλί(ου) Γε(ωργίου) Πα⟦σ̣τ̣⟧ζου	νο̣(μ.) ε
8	×	[ὁ̣ υἱ]ὸ̣(ς) Γε(ωργίου) Πέτρο(υ) Παταβίο(υ)	νο(μ.) γ

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1 × : χ(„) = χ(ωρίον) *ed. pr.* The same applies to ll. 2, 4, 6–8. This is a checkmark, not an abbreviation; for a similar problem in *SPP* X 187.4, see *Tyche* 25 (2010) 208. The entries in the topographic repertories that have resulted from this misunderstanding should be deleted.

ὁ υἱό(ς). Cf. 4, 8. It is generally held that such 'sons' are under age; see *CPR* XXII 40.4 n. Contrast the person listed in l. 7, who is probably the son of the one recorded in l. 6; this would also explain the sequence of four names instead of three in l. 7.

Γε(ωργίου): γ(αμετή) *ed. pr.* Cf. also 6–8. See the discussion below.

Ψα . . . .[: Ταμ//// *ed. pr.* The reading of Ψ was suggested by F. Morelli. A. Delattre compares *P.Horak* 64.12 Ἀπαιούλ(ιος) Ψαμε . . .( ).

4 Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) Κο(σμᾶ) σιτουια: Ἀλεξ κο( ) σιτου . α *ed. pr.* The reading of σιτουια is secure, but I do not know what it means. On Κο(σμᾶ) see further below.

6 Πα⟦σ̣τ̣⟧ζου: Παρου *ed. pr.* Cf. 7. σ̣τ̣ is overwritten by ζ. Presumably a name.

7 Ἀγ̣ένιο(ς): Γενιο( ) *ed. pr.* On this name, see below.

Πα⟦τ̣⟧ζου: Πατου *ed. pr.*; Παρου *BL* VIII 454.

8 [ὁ υἱ]ὸ̣(ς):]ο( ) *ed. pr.*

Three of the revised readings call for additional comment. The context rules out that γ(αμετή) occurs anywhere in the text; a name is needed, which must be Γε(ωργίου) (see above, no. 7). ([16]) The type of the abbreviation stroke used is not conclusive, being compatible with either α or ε (see above, no. 2). Wessely may have been influenced by *SPP* X 30, now *P.Horak* 64, where a similar abbreviation stands for γ(αμετή) (ll. 8, 15–17). ([17]) The same word is abbreviated somewhat differently in *P.Horak* 65.11, 13, 15, and 66.2–7; *P.Horak* 66.6 γα(μετὴ) Γε(ωργίου) offers a clear illustration of the two shortenings.

The abbreviation ϗ° for Κο(σμᾶς) (l. 4) is known from other fiscal registers of this period, but this gave difficulty in the early years of papyrology. Thus in *SPP* X 80.11, [Σ]ενούθ(ιος) Κ( ), there is an unnoticed Κο(σμᾶ): o is the loop at the top of the abbreviation stroke. Another passage where the abbreviation was not understood is *SPP* X 106.5, where we have Κο̣(σμᾶ); cf. also below, nos. 15 and 23. The o is sometimes

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(16) I alluded to this problem in *ZPE* 136 (2001) 120 n. 5. My point of departure was the text now referenced as *SB* XXIV 16210, where I proposed γε(ωργὸς) Πίω (ii 5) as an alternative to Γε(ώργιος) Πίω and to *ed. pr.*'s Γε(ροντίου) Πίω, which would remove the problematic juxtaposition of four names. The proposal did not carry as much certainty as the text printed in *SB* implies, and I am sceptical about this choice. A name now appears to me more likely than γε(ωργός).

(17) There is no context in the writing exercise *CPR* XIX 29.1, 15, 18, 19, 54–64, where γα(μετ) is the suggested resolution, but we could also think of Γε(ώργιος), even if this name is written as Γεωργι in l. 26. Another passage where γα(μετή) was later read as Γε(ώργιος) is *SPP* XX 277.7 (see *BL* VIII 478; but this is a conjecture, not a correction made 'am Original'). Cf. also below, no. 20.

hardly visible; one such case is *SPP* XX 206.6, where after ϗ the scribe added ϲμ̅, perhaps for clarity; the same scribe wrote ϗ° for Κο(σμᾶϲ) in l. 10 (K( ) *ed. pr.*), but Κοσμ(ᾶ) in l. 3. This is a standard shortening of this name; ([18]) for the equivalence, cf. the person called Κ̣[ο]ϲμ̣ᾶ Ϲαεια and Κο(σμᾶ) Ϲαεια in *SPP* XX 235r.7 and v.ii.17 respectively; ([19]) cf. also *CPR* IV 110.1 and 19, ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲁ (read by A. Delattre; ⲕⲉⲥⲙⲁ *ed. pr.*) and Κο(σμᾶ). The other common name that began Κο-, viz. Κολλοῦθος, is longer and contains more consonants, so that in its abbreviated forms at least one of the other consonants was written after Κ or Κο.

The new reading Ἀγένιο(ϲ) in l. 4 removes one of the few putative examples of the name Γένιος. Κοσμᾶς Γενίο(υ) was read in *P.Ross.Georg.* V 70.2 and 10, but the published photograph (*Aegyptus* 13 [1933] 86) shows that this has to be corrected to Κοσμᾶ Ἀγενίο(υ); the loop hanging from the left side of γ, at some distance from Κοσμᾶ, is the missed α (for the writing, cf. *CPR* XXII 18.21). There remains Γενί(ου) in *CPR* XXII 49.5, but the surface before γ is damaged and no reading can be confirmed.

14. *SPP* X 60

There are a several curious names and other peculiar readings in this text. Some of them will be discussed here.

Wessely transcribed δ(ιὰ) Αὐρ̅( ) Φιβ at ii.3; the abbreviated name was resolved as Αὐρ̅(ήλιος) in the index, and 'Αὐρ(ήλιος) S. d. Φῖβ' is listed in *Pros. Ars.* no. 937, with the note, 'Φῖβ ist hier offensichtlich Patronymikon' (p. 352 n. 164). It would be odd to find someone whose first name was Αὐρήλιος in a text of this date, but at first sight the reading of αυρ looks good; only the abbreviation stroke, a superscript horizontal, does not suit a shortening at η. I believe the scribe intended to write Ἀβρ(ααμίου); he wrote the three letters without lifting his pen, and the u-shaped beta suffered as a result of the speed. Ἀβρα(αμίου) at i.13, written more slowly, looks different.

ii.3   ii.10
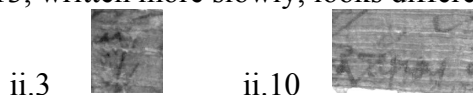
Another onomastic oddity turns up at ii.10, δ(ιὰ) Πμαι^υ; the name was indexed as Πμαι°, and is listed as Πμαῖος in *Pros. Ars.* no. 4571. There is no other instance of this name; Pmai (TM Nam 27433) is known exclusively from the Memnonia and environs. Here the reading was obscured by an abbreviation, but not of one of the name itself. What was read as Π does not have a fully formed second loop, while the expected crossbar covers only the first loop, and without touching it. This short horizontal is part of an abbreviation: the scribe usually abbreviates διά by adding an oblique stroke after δ, but occasionally also adds a short horizontal level with the top of δ, as if he intended to write δ(ιὰ) τ( ) (here ruled out by the context). Wessely duly recorded it at i.9, 13, and ii.6–7, but failed to record it here and at i.8. Once the horizontal is separated from what lies underneath, we remain with α: the papyrus has Ἀμαίου.

A name that occurs twice in the text but not in the transcription is Νααρ(αυ): at i.10 Wessely only drew a facsimile of what he could make out, while at ii.5 he read Ϲαμβ(ᾶ). In both cases the scribe wrote νααρ̅ (at i.10, the second α is vestigial).

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(18) Wessely recognized this later, and printed Κο(σμᾶ) in *SPP* XX 235.16, 17, 19, 264.10, 11, 13, 281.25.
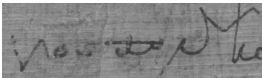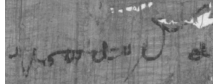
(19) See *ZPE* 186 (2013) 271.

15. *SPP* X 74

Σαμβαθ(ίου) (or Σαμβαθ(ίωνος); cf. *BL* VIII 454) makes an unexpected appearance at r.ii.7 of this text in view of its late date. Inspection of the image results in something banal: Σαμβᾶ δι(ακόνου).

Two lines above (r.ii.5), Wessely transcribed Ἐ[   ]κ̄ᵒ. I propose to read ε ̣ ̣υ ̣ίο(υ) Κο(σμᾶ) Σαεια; what remains of the first name would admit ενο̣υθίο(υ), but there is no trace of sigma to turn this into Σε̣νο̣υθίο(υ). ([20])

I close this note ([21]) with another point of paleographic interest that has onomastic implications; I juxtapose Wessely's readings and image clippings:

r.ii.2 δ(ιὰ) Παύλᵒᵘ   v.ii.3 δ(ιὰ) Ἀπα Ὀλ̄
The name is the same in both passages: παυλ^V, i.e., Παύλου.

16. *SPP* X 79, etc.

According to *Pros. Ars.*, this late tax register appears to attest three persons called Φλάουϊος (nos. 5413–15). Φλάουϊος is not found as a personal name after the early Principate, and its use as a *gentilicium* in this period is extremely limited. The first and third of them occur at i 2 and 4, after *BL* VIII 455: Ἰω[άννης] Φλα[ουίου] and Ἀμαῖο(ς) Φλα( ). In the first passage, we have Ἰω(άννης) (ιω̄ *pap.*), and then traces of four to five letters before the lambda; there is no phi. In the second passage, there is no abbreviation, and the text continues ποιμ(ήν); it would be preferable to read Φλα, and relate it with Φλας, a name attested in *P.Prag.* II 136.9 (Ars.; VII). Another instance hides under Φλα( ) in *SPP* X 146.2 (*Pros. Ars.* no. 5409); here too read Φλα, since there is no abbreviation. ([22])

The second of the three putative Flavii in *SPP* X 79 was thought to occur in l. 3 of the text on the back, which was omitted from the published transcription. The papyrus seems to have Φ̣ιλόθ̣(εος) (Φ̣ιλο̣^θ *pap.*); the name is written in the same way as in lines '7' and '9' of the same column. Another alleged Φλάουϊος (*Pros. Ars.* no. 5412) who is probably a Φιλόθεος occurs in *SPP* X 64A.1, where in place of Φλα(ουίου) [I propose to read Φ̣ι̣λο̣[θέ(ου): ([23])

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(20) Much has gone astray in the edition of the second column of the 'recto' of this text. The parts of ll. 2–3 that follow the toponyms correspond to ll. 1–2 (the entries follow the scheme: χωρ(ίον) *name* + δ(ιὰ) *personal name* + *amounts of money*). What is given as l. 3 does not exist, so that the lines have to be renumbered; l. 3 is the current l. 4, starting χ[ωρ(ίον)] (χωρ(ίον) *ed. pr.*) Στράτωνος. In l. 12, after πόλεως the text omits δ(ιὰ) Φιλ(οθέου?) πρεσβ(υτέρου) and continues with the names that belong to l. 13; this affects the remaining part of the column, which has to be adjusted accordingly; but the numbers at the end of the lines are correctly positioned.
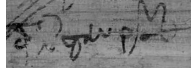
(21) Numerous other points in the rest of the text require discussion; a study by L. Berkes is in preparation.

(22) Checked on the original by F. Morelli, whom I thank. I have not been able to see a reproduction of *SPP* X 278.8 (*Pros. Ars.* nos. 5411), where Φλα( ) appears to be a personal name.

(23) The name of the person in *Pros. Ars.* no. 5410 has been re-read as Φι ̣( ) in *SPP* III².5 506.2; the papyrus has φι^λ, i.e., Φιλ(οθέου).

The third letter is λ, not α; the letter before it, raised, does not immediately suggest ι, but there is no other option. When writing φιλ, scribes generally made the iota small. This iota could have a curved form (cf. e.g. *CPR* II 203.4 or *SPP* XX 264v.10), and here this curve is very pronounced and written high in the line.

Similar problems come up in *SPP* X 179; I reproduce two passages as these appear in the edition, accompanied by the relevant clippings:


l. 5 φιϋ   l. 7 φλ(άουιος) Σταυρ(άκιος) ☩

In both passages we have φι with λ superscript, though the shape of λ in l. 7 is rather peculiar, ([24]) and it is clear why υ was read in l. 5; still, it can hardly be φύλ(αξ), given that Φοιβ(άμμων) διά(κονος) is written before. Φιλ( ) is a common abbreviation, and has often remained unresolved; of the texts discussed in this article, cf. *SPP* XX 281.5, 10, 23, 25 (no. 23). Φιλ- could be the beginning of more than one name, with Φιλ(οθέου) being the likeliest option; Φιλ(οξένου) may also be considered, but the name is less frequent than Philotheos in Arsinoite texts of this period.

In l. 5, what follows φιλ did not find its way into the edition: Γε(ωργίου) Ἀπαωλ. As for l. 7, the name is certainly Σταυράκιος, but I am not sure whether the superscript letter is υ, indicating the genitive, or, less likely, κ. This is followed by a cross.

To return to *SPP* X 79, a few other textual problems could be addressed here. After *BL* VIII 455, the name of the village at i.8 is followed by *traces* ˌρι Σιων ˌ[; what is visible before the edge of the break is ιω̄, which suggests reading -ρις Ἰω(άννου); final ν does not have this form in mid line. Onomastic curiosities occur at ii.8, Νεφε(ρᾶς) Ṇαβι( ) Ῥούπ(ου) (with *BL* VIII 455); the last two names are found only in this text, but on closer inspection Ṇαβι( ) turns out to be a 'ghost': read Νααρ(αυ) (νααρ̄ *pap.*), frequent in this area. On the other hand, the reading of the name at the end of ii.9 conceals a much less common name: instead of Ἀιου[λ(ίου) read Ἀγούγ̣θ(ου) (αγουγ̣θ *pap.*).

17. *SPP* X 85

Wessely read Σαμ^{β(α)} Κολ(λούθου?) in l. 4 of this fragmentary tax register of the eighth century. The second of the two names does not need a question mark (there are no viable alternatives at this time), but Σαμβ(ᾶ) is wrong; the papyrus has cαμ^V:
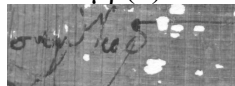
I propose to read Σαμου(ήλ). The same person, with both names abbreviated as in l. 4, occurs two lines below (not reported in *ed. pr.*). Further examples come from *SPP* XX 242.63 and 64, where the name was transcribed and indexed as Σαμ^{ου}. It is given as of Σάμος in *Pros. Ars.* nos. 4799–4800, but ου is raised: cαμ^x. Σαμουήλ has not occurred in very many documents of this period, but there is no other suitable candidate.

18. *SPP* X 117*v*

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(24) I would also be inclined to read Φιλ( ) rather than Φυλ( ) in P.CtYBR inv. 461.43 (see *BASP* 53 [2016] 214, 222). Φυλ( ) in *SPP* VIII 870.3 is suspicious, but I have not seen an image of the papyrus.

More is visible on the papyrus in lines 1–4 than what was reported in the edition, perhaps the result of conservation in recent years. A new text may be presented as follows:

Χαὴλ ̣ ̣[ ] ̣ ̣ ̣[
Ἰωάννο(υ) Ἄπα Ἰουλ(ίου) [̣]πλ[
Ἱερεμί(ας) Μακα(ρίου) Μηνᾶ ἀ[π]ὸ Λ[
4   Ἰωάννο(υ) Ἄπα Ἰουλίο(υ) Μέλα[ ]   νο(μ.) α
Σίμων Ἰσίωνος   νο(μ.)   νο(μ.)
Μηνᾶ Χερήμ(ωνος) Μηνᾶ   νο(μ.) ϛ γ´η´   νο(μ.) α γ´κδ´μη´

1 Χαηλ[*ed. pr.*   2 πλ not in *ed. pr.*; [ἀ]πὸ Λ[just possible? (NV)   3 Μηνᾶ ἀ[π]ὸ Λ[: μ[*ed. pr.* 4 Μέλα[ ]: μ[*ed. pr.*; perhaps Μέλα was intended as a genitive (cf. e.g. *SPP* VIII 748.2)   6 l. Χαιρήμωνος (cf. *BL* VIII 456)

Some of the abbreviations are interesting. Apart from ιωα̊ν̊ν̄ in lines 2 and 4, typical of Arsinoite fiscal registers of the later eighth century, there are two false reduplications of the last consonant before the abbreviation: ιερεμμ̄ῑ in l. 3, and χερημμ̄ῡ in l. 6.

χερημμ̄ῡ is curious: the superscript character normally represents υ; its use may be indicative of confusion, not uncommon in this period, unless the scribe intended to write ου instead of ω. As for ιερεμμ̄ῑ, the abbreviation stroke suggests α, hence the nominative. The use of cases in these lists is generally erratic, with nominatives (here also at 5) found alongside genitives (3, 4, 6), but genitives generally predominate.

19. *SPP* X 216

This is a fiscal register from Heracleopolis of the eighth century. The text has received some critical attention, but a few problems remain. Progress is possible in l. 6, Βαρθολ(ομαῖος) διά(κονος) Σταυρ(ακίου): the image shows that the last name should be read as Νααρ(αυ). We are on less firm ground with Τα̣γ̣ν( ) in l. 7; the first letter is a misread iota, which gives Ιαυν( ): Ἰά̣γ̣ν(ου)? This would be a spelling of Ἰωάννου. [25] In l. 14, in place of Ἀνοῦπ read Αιουπ (Ayyūb). [26]

In l. 8, Wessely transcribed Στέφ(ανος) δι( ) Πέτρο(υ) δι(ακόνου); it is unclear why he did not expand διά(κονος), as elsewhere in the text (not indexed). [27]

20. *SPP* XX 206

(25) See H.C. YOUTIE, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 268 (n. l. 3). YOUTIE refers to Ἰάνου in *O.Petr.* 461.1 as an example of this shortened version of Ἰωάννης. This became Ἰανοῦ in *O.Petr.Mus.* 563, from Ἰανός; the same form occurs in *SB* XXIV 16208.8. (To judge from the image at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00008156>, Ἰάνν(ο)υ in the Arsinoite *CPR* II 203.5 is wrong; F. Morelli tentatively suggests αμω̅ᵘ. Before it, for Δαυδ read Δαυιδ.)

(26) See M. Legendre, 'Répertoire des anthroponymes arabes attestés dans les documents coptes', in *Coptica Argentoratensia* (2014) 408; another example in *SB Kopt.* II 929.3.

(27) The version that appeared in *DDbDP* in the 1990s interpreted it as δι(ά), but the abbreviation is the one used for δι(άκονος).

The text was assigned to the seventh century, but probably belongs to the eighth. It lists men from the Heracleopolite (×2) and Oxyrhynchite (×6) pagarchies, and others described as of the 'upper place' (Ἀνομερίτου; ×8), presumably a reference to their origin from Upper Egypt (see *P.Gascou* 32.22 n.); of two others the description is unclear. Perhaps they were all resident or even fugitives in Arsinoe, and this register served some fiscal purpose. Every entry ends with the number '1' (ed.'s β in l. 3 could also be an odd-looking α). Dots are visible before the numbers in ll. 2–4, which will be the abbreviation for νόμισμα, if intentional. In l. 1, the number is preceded by μ̣, an obscure abbreviation. It recurs in *SPP* XX 249, written over the third column on the back; 'l. μεγάλα', wrote Wessely, but this cannot be right. In that text too entries end in α or β (see below, n. 28), with a dot = νό(μισμα) written before them.

We move on to some names. The various renderings of Κοσμᾶς are described above, under no. 13. The first drastically abbreviated name occurs in l. 4, where the edition has γ(αμετὴ) Κουπρηα. The shape of the abbreviation stroke over γ is inconclusive (cf. no. 13), but the context requires a name, i.e., Γε(ωργίου); it would have been more difficult to decide if another name came after Κουπρηα.

Another monosyllabic shortening occurs in l. 10, Πκω( ). This probably goes back to the name Πκώμης, attested for this area in *SPP* VIII 1291*v*.3 and X 281.9; read Πκώ(μετος). The person in question is an Ἀνωμερίτης; the name (Πκομις) is found as far south as Aphrodito.

A much more common name but in less common spelling occurs in ll. 5 and 13, Παωμ( ). We should read Παωμ(ᾶ); cf. *SPP* III 343.7 (after *BL* IX 334) Παωμᾶς, or *P.Rain.Unterr*. 80.27 Παωμα. The same abbreviation, resolved as Παωμᾶ(ς), occurs in the Heracleopolite *CPR* XXII 41.3.

The name of the father of the person in l. 12 was read as Σερ(ήνου) μ̄( ), but what was taken as an abbreviation stroke attached to ρ is part of the letter. We have Σερμ( ); it would be surprising if the name were Σερμῆς, found only in two third-century Arsinoite documents (*P.Giss.Univ*. VI 49v.iii.1; *P.Mich*. XI 620.50). The origin of this person is also unclear: ἀπὸ γιγ( ) Πσμλ. γιγ( ) should probably be read as ἁγίου (N. Vanthieghem), but what follows is more difficult.

The names should be resolved in the genitive (cf. ll. 1, 6, 9–11, etc.); hence read Ἀμαίο(υ) (l. 1), Ἀνθίμο(υ) (l. 2), Κ(ο)σμ(ᾶ) (l. 6), etc. In l. 6, the papyrus has ἐλαιουπράτου, not ἐλαιοπράτου; the same applies to l. 11, where read ἐλαιουπρ(άτου).

21. *SPP* XX 242

This is another tax register of the eighth century, but from the Fayum. The text occupies both sides of the papyrus, with the 'verso' being very crowded. The edition shows two columns of writing arranged unevenly against each other; the image offers more detail. Many lines in the right-hand column are written by a formal cursive hand, similar to that responsible for the text on the 'recto'. Other lines, including what look like interlinear additions and the entire left-hand column are in a more informal script, not necessarily the work of a different scribe. The format and high number of repetitions suggest that much if not everything written on the 'verso' is writing practice.

Numerous readings of the first edition have already been revised, but there is more to comment on. Thus in l. 43 on the 'verso', in a part written by the more formal hand, Wessely transcribed Μελνο̄τ̀. This was later changed to Μελν( ) Οτ( ) (*BL* VIII 473), which however is not an improvement. The scribe wrote an abbreviation sign high in the line to the right of λ, then penned νοτ immediately after λ, and finally added another abbreviation sign of the same shape as the fist. There is something similar in l. 10, where Wessely read Μελ( ):

(l. 43)   (l. 10)
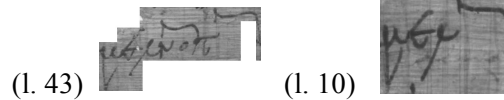
We should read Μέλ(ανος) νοτ(αρίου). This type of abbreviation is generally not common for syllables ending -α, but this scribe uses it for Θωμᾶ in l. 46, for example.

In l. 69, the edition has Ἠλία Εν. δ(ιὰ) Βίκτ(ορος). What was taken as δ(ιά) is a clear χ, preceded by what is surely an omega whose first stroke began high: read Ἐνώχ.

Some names are spelled phonetically. One of them is Διμόθ(εος), for Τιμόθεος, which occurs twice in l. 65 (cf. *BL* VIII 474). Another is Δεοφίλ(ου), previously read as Θεοφίλ(ου) in ll. 28 (with *BL* VIII 473; δεδιε( ) *ed. pr.*), 40, 41, 51, 52, 59, 60, 71, and 72; cf. Θεοδ- > Δεοδ-, discussed below, no. 23.

Of the problems that remain, one is an abbreviation in l. 7 on the 'recto': δι( ). We should resolve δι(ακόνου); -ι(α)- is not abbreviated differently in δι(ακόνου) in l. 3.

22. *SPP* XX 249

This is a late eighth-century register ('VII/VIII' *ed. pr.*) written in a minute hand. A number of new readings have been proposed by J. Diethart, *Tyche* 4 (1992) 236 (= *BL* IX 350). Certain points call for further comment.

According to Diethart, in l. 1 of the text on the front, "Das Patronymikon des Φιλόθ(εος) heißt Διοκλ( ), = Διοκλ(ῆς) [Διοκλ(έους) *BL* IX 350]. Vorkommen dieses bis in römische Zeit häufig belegten Namens überrascht in diesem späten Text". Perhaps there is no such surprise. The papyrus has διοκ followed by a letter high in the line, I prefer to read as δ. We may compare πδιοικ$^{\delta}$ in in l. 3 of the text on the back; this was another new reading proposed by Diethart, who noted: "Vielleicht haben wir es mit einem διοικητής zu tun, vor dem der koptische maskuline Artikel steht; weiters muß man einen Schreibfehler δ statt τ annehmen." I wonder whether Philotheos is a διοικητής, with his function written as διοκ(η)δ(ής); his name and the word after it form a heading, with the following entries set in. The interchange τ > δ is frequent; as for διοκ- written instead of διοικ-, there is a parallel to the omission of iota in the text on the other side. Every entry (after l. 1) in the list on the front and most entries in the first column on the back begin οικ^{V}, i.e., οἴκου (Wessely's transcription is slightly variable), but we find οκ^{V} at v.i.4 (ὁ κύ(ριος) *BL* IX 350; κυ(ρίου) *ed. pr.*), with ι omitted.

Apart from the last passage, οἴκου was also not read in lines 5–6 and 8–9 of column i of the text on the back. In l. 5, shown as entirely lost in the edition, read ο[ι]κ$^{[V]}$. In l. 6, the papyrus has οικ$^{[V]}$, not γα(μετή). The edition indicates a lacuna at the beginning

of ll. 8–9, before δ(ιά), but this is false; there is also a line after l. 9 that was not transcribed.[28] We have: ([29])

    οἴκου Κοσμ(ᾶ) δ(ιὰ) Ἰω(άννου) φύλ(ακος)

9   οἴκου τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) δ(ιὰ) Ἰω(άννου) φύλ(ακος)

    οἴκου Ἰακ(ωβ?) δ(ιὰ) Α ̣ ̣( )

There are also some onomastic notabilia. The entry in l. 5 of the text on the front was read as οἴκου κυρ̅ Νυμφιν λοετρ̅. The last word might be λουτρ(ο)ῦ, but the sense is unclear. What precedes it should be κυρ(ας) Νυμφιν (unaccented); on this type of women's names, see J.-L. FOURNET & J. GASCOU, *ZPE* 135 (2001) 146–9. ([30]) The next entry (l. 6), later deleted, runs οἴκου Αμ( ) Γρηγορίου. The papyrus has Αμ(α) Γρηγορία, l. -ίας, unless a horizontal trace further to the right belongs to the expected sigma; but cf. οἴκου Μαρία in l. 3. Αμ(α) Γρηγορία was apparently a nun. The name Γρηγορία does not seem to be otherwise attested in Egypt, and is generally rare.

23. *SPP* XX 281

Like most previous items, this is an Arsinoite tax register of the eighth century. Here too several corrections have been proposed, but there are still several difficulties.

In l. 6, Ἀβια( ) became Ἀβι( ) in *BL* VIII 478; I propose to read Ἀβρ(ααμίου), even if the putative rho has no circlet. The name of this person's father, Θεοδ( ), should probably read as Θεοδ(ώρου). ([31]) It is also possible that the first letter is delta, a common writing of this name; cf. e.g. *CPR* IV 126.1, 7 or XIX 29.1, 5, etc. ([32]) The same holds for Θεοδ(ώρου) in ll. 12 and 15.

l. 6   l. 8   l. 11

In l. 8, we find Ἄπ(α) Ἠλία(ς). The abbreviated Ἄπ(α) gives difficulty; cf. above, no. 5, and see already *BL* VIII 478, though the alternative mentioned there, viz. Ἀπᾶ(ς), is not viable). Furthermore, if that was the scribe's intention, the form of the abbreviation would be odd. Could it be that we have Ἀπολ(λῶ)?

In l. 11, read Παύλου, not Παυλάκι; the right arm of υ plunges down from the top, as often in this period.

In l. 17, Ἀνθ( ) corresponds either to Ἀνθ(ίμου) or Ἀνθ(εμίου).

In l. 24, the agnostic Κ( ) Ἰω( ) should cede its place to Κο(σμᾶ) Ἰω(άννου); for the writing of Κο(σμᾶ), cf. l. 25, with *BL* VIII 478, and above, no. 13. Κ( ) in l. 7 is more difficult; if we read Κο(σμᾶ), the high upright trace above the break, which does

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(28) Another line that was not reported is the very last of col. iii on the back; see *BL* IX 350. All that can be read with certainty is the number at the end: β.

(29) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) in l. 9 was read by F. Morelli.

(30) The observation on the name in *SB* 13762 was first made by S. Slattery in his Oxford D.Phil. thesis of 2013.

(31) The name is followed by a sum of money, transcribed as δγ̅ · γϛκ̅δ in *ed. pr.* (δ´ γ´ ∕ γ´ ϛ´ κδ´ in *DDbDP*); read νο(μίσματα) ⟦δγ´⟧ γ ϛ´κδ´ (the first two figures are crossed out). The sigle for νο(μίσματα) is a mere dot.

(32) Cf. also *SPP* X 40.15 δ(ιὰ) Δ[̣]δωρ[, where the papyrus seems to have δεδωρ[; read Δε<ο>δώρ[ου?

not belong to the previous line, will be left unexplained. But it cannot be Ἠλία, the name written immediately before.

l. 7   l. 20
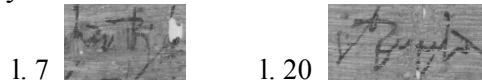
More uncertain is the entry in l. 20, for which *BL* VIII 478 produced Γ(οὖν)θ(ος) Μαμηδ. Someone called 'Gounthos son of Muḥammad' raises eyebrows, [33] but this hangs on an abbreviation; and Γοῦνθος is not such a common name that it could be shortened in such a drastic way. Wessely had read γ( ) with ∠ over it; the superscript letter is indeed θ, but to my eyes what is written on the line looks like an elliptical δ: δ/, to be resolved as δ(ο)θ( ). But this would be unique in this text.

There are a few other enigmatic names, two of which may be read differently. [34]

l. 16   l. 18
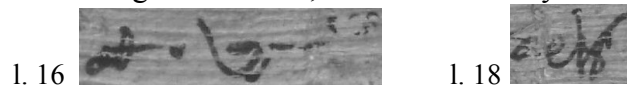
In l. 16, Wessely read Σ^θ( ) ου^ω; the latter word was changed to Ουτω( ) (*BL* VIII 478). c^θ = Σ(ενού)θ(ιος) occurs in ll. 12 and 17 of this text, but here the first latter is most probably α. I do not know what to make of Αθουτω( ). It seems less likely that we have to read Ἀγ̣θ( ) Ουτω( ); Ἀνθ( ) is written differently in l. 17.

In l. 18, Wessely's Ἀρκ´ has become Ἀρκότ(ου) (*BL* VIII 478), but it would be preferable to read Ἀρητ( ), perhaps to be resolved as Ἀρήτ(ιος) or Ἀρῆτ(ος).

A note on the heading of the text is also in place. According to the edition, it began ο ^{λ}‾ 'l. λόγος οὕτως', with line 2 starting with a small cross, followed by a name. What the scribe wrote is a second, taller cross with some ornamentation, somewhat reminiscent of the cross at the beginning of *CPR* IV 126.1:

SPP XX 281.1   *CPR* IV 126.1
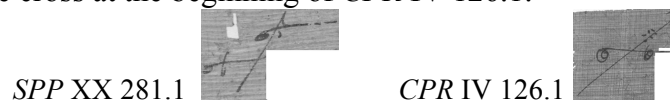
The current l. 2 should become l. 1, etc.

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(33) There is Σίμ(ων) Σεηδ in l. 22, but the first name is not abbreviated and may be something else.
(34) Both pointed out to me by F. Morelli.