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Greek, Aramaic, and Coptic Gravestones from the Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur

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## GREEK, ARAMAIC, AND COPTIC GRAVESTONES FROM THE PYRAMID COMPLEX OF SENWOSRET III AT DAHSHUR<sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. The archaeological context

The inscriptions presented here come from the immediate vicinity of the pyramid of the Middle Kingdom pharaoh Senwosret III at Dahshur.<sup>2</sup> Most of the graves with which they were originally associated were cut into the gradually growing talus formed by mud-brick melt from the pyramid after the removal of its limestone casing, mixed with chips and blocks from the pyramid casing and adjoining temples, along with wind-blown sand. Some graves were also cut in the adjacent zone of mastabas to the north dating to the same period. This area was first excavated by Jacques de Morgan, then director of the Antiquities Service, in 1894-1895, and published rapidly in two volumes.<sup>3</sup> De Morgan's method of excavation consisted of digging holes around the area in search of structures and objects, rather than excavating continuous areas of the site. His publications do not give precise provenances for objects found, including the small number of Greek inscriptions of which he gives drawings in his publication. (Texts based on these drawings are included in the present publication.) Those objects cannot now be located; some may still be in storage elsewhere, but some were probably left in the excavation house at Dahshur, which was subsequently ruined and pillaged; its remains were eventually excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) as part of its work at the site. A couple of the inscriptions published here come from these excavations of the old house and thus have no original provenance. They were not, however, included in de Morgan's publications, which must have been selective.

Stratigraphic study of the cemetery by the MMA excavators, which will be published elsewhere, shows that there are in fact six levels of post-Middle Kingdom burials. From the bottom, these are (1) New Kingdom, (2) Late Period, (3) Ptolemaic (or slightly earlier), (4) Early Roman, and (5) and (6) Late Antique. One Aramaic gravestone (1) probably belongs to Phase 3, most likely coming from the fourth century BC. The remainder belong to Phases 4-6, with the largest number assignable to Level 4. In what follows, I have attributed 69 stones (2-70) to Phase 4, 34 (71-104) to Phases 5 and 6, and have left 4 (105-108) unattributed. (These numbers include those published by de Morgan in drawings and included here.) One of the gravestones from Late Antiquity is certainly in Coptic (100), another has one Coptic letter in a name (97) and several others give personal names in a form ending in epsilon, the vocative ending in Greek often taken as the normative form of a name in Coptic. It is not always obvious, with such short inscriptions, whether they are to be thought of as Coptic or Greek texts. I have printed texts consisting only of such names in the vocative in Coptic.

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<sup>1</sup> The publication of 1 is owed to Bruce E. Nielsen. The remarks on the drawings on the early Roman stones are based on the research of Irene Soto. My thanks to both for their contributions. I am very grateful to Dieter Arnold, the director of the excavations, for the opportunity to study and publish these gravestones, and to Adela Oppenheim for help at every stage of my work on them. They and the other members of the Dahshur mission also contributed to making my work on site in October, 2007 very productive. The excavations continue, and I hope that there may be a further installment of the inscriptions in due course. I have not included here three stones found in 2007 (07.245, 07.416, and 07.417) after my stay, because I have not had the opportunity to see the stones. These inscriptions are very shallowly incised and difficult to read from photographs; they are thus deferred to a later installment. I am also indebted to Olaf E. Kaper for reading the manuscript and discussing onomastic questions with me.

<sup>2</sup> *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*, by Dieter Arnold, with contributions and appendix by Adela Oppenheim and contributions by James P. Allen. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 26, New York 2002.

<sup>3</sup> J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894* (Vienna 1895); id., *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895* (Vienna 1903).

Even the inscriptions found in the MMA excavations, however, rarely have a clear archaeological context; that is, they are only occasionally associated with confidence with the original contents of a particular grave. For this reason, the dates I have assigned depend mainly on internal criteria rather than archaeological context. The reason for this unfortunate situation is partly the disturbance of the site caused by de Morgan's method of excavation. This resulted in numerous refilled holes and cleared shafts, in which some stones were found; whether they were placed there because of de Morgan's activity or because of that of later gravediggers is not always clear. Moreover, graves cut into one layer in many cases intruded into graves in a lower, now invisible, layer. Such cutting into earlier graves was particularly common where the layers were thin. For the periods that affect the present publication, the graves of the latest period represented, late antiquity, or Phases 5 and 6, often intruded into the layer occupied by the early Roman graves (the ultimate source of most of the gravestones published here) and dislodged these gravestones. Indeed, Phase 6 graves dug through the layer of wind-blown sand separating Phases 5 and 6 sometimes intrude into Phase 5 graves as well.

## 2. Dating

### 2.1 The early Roman gravestones (Phase 4)

That the cemetery's early Roman use actually antedates Roman rule is shown by a single item found and published as a drawing by de Morgan, here **2**, with a date to years 18 = 3. This can refer only to the new reckoning used during the last part of the joint rule of Cleopatra and Caesarion, in 34 BC. That is the sole regnal date likely to be Ptolemaic, although it is perhaps conceivable that a few of the items listed below with regnal years lower than 16 could belong to Cleopatra.

The early Roman gravestones in many cases have regnal years as well as dates by the Egyptian month and day.<sup>4</sup> Some of these have the name of the ruling emperor, and these confirm the impression made by the letter shapes that this group of gravestones belongs to the beginning of Roman rule. Four or five may be assigned on this basis to Augustus (ruled 30 BC-AD 14), and one to an early year of Tiberius (AD 14-37). Those without an emperor's name may in some cases be assigned securely to Augustus because the number is too high to belong to any other emperor of the period. The remainder, with lower regnal year numbers, could belong to the reign of either emperor; most are no doubt Augustan, but in the table below both possibilities are shown except where other internal arguments seem to me to secure an Augustan date. The texts are arranged below in what I believe to be the most probable chronological order.

#### 2.1.1 Gravestones mentioning a specific emperor

##### Augustus (Καῖσαρ)

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Year</u>
<b>5</b>	28 BC
<b>7</b>	26 BC
<b>20</b>	16/15 BC
<b>25</b>	11 BC
<b>35</b>	5 BC
<b>45</b>	no year number

<sup>4</sup> Egyptian dates have been converted into the reckoning of the "current" Julian calendar. The question of what this means for Augustan Egypt has generated a great deal of controversy since T. C. Skeat, *The Reign of Augustus in Egypt: Conversion Tables for the Egyptian and Julian Calendars, 30 B.C.-14 A.D* (Munich 1993), beginning with Dieter Hagedorn's rebuttal, "Zum ägyptischen Kalender unter Augustus," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 211-22. Dates are converted here according to Hagedorn's tables.

Tiberius (Τιβέριος Καίσαρ)

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Year</u>
47	AD 19/20

## 2.1.2 Gravestones with regnal years that must belong to Augustus

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Year</u>
34	5 BC
36	4 BC
37	4 BC
38	1 BC
39	1 BC (reading uncertain)
40	AD 1
41	AD 5
42	AD 6
43	AD 6
44	AD 10/11 (or later, but not after AD 14)

## 2.1.3 Gravestones with regnal years in principle attributable either to Augustus or to Tiberius

In this table, equivalents are shown for both emperors with some exceptions. Inscriptions showing use of the form of the letter rho with an extra horizontal stroke are shown as belonging to Augustus (see section 3.3 below for the argument in favor of this assignment).

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Regnal year</u>	<u>Augustus</u>	<u>Tiberius</u>
3	1	29 BC	AD 15
4	2	28 BC	AD 16
46	3	28 BC	AD 16
6	3	27 BC	AD 17
8	5	25 BC	AD 19
9	5	25 BC	AD 19
10	5	25 BC	AD 19
11	6	24 BC	AD 20
12	7	24/3 BC	AD 20/21
13	9	22 BC	AD 22
14	9	22 BC	AD 22
15	9	21 BC	AD 23
16	10	20 BC	AD 24
17	11	19 BC	AD 25
18	12	18 BC	AD 26
19	12	18 BC	AD 26
21	16	15 BC	AD 29
22	17	14 BC	
23	17	14 BC	AD 30
24	17	14 BC	AD 30
26	20	11 BC	AD 33
27	20	11 BC	AD 33
28	20	10 BC	AD 34
29	20	10 BC	

<b>30</b>	21	10 BC	
<b>31</b>	21	9 BC	
<b>32</b>	22	9 BC	AD 35
<b>33</b>	23	7 BC	AD 37

The outer limits clearly demonstrable with all of the above evidence, however, are 34 BC to AD 19/20.

Gravestones probably to be assigned to the Early Roman period on stylistic grounds but lacking a regnal year (mostly because none was originally written, but in a few cases because it is now lost) occupy the remainder of this section, **48-70**.

## 2.2 Gravestones from the Late Antique cemetery

Only one of the gravestones assignable to later Roman occupation has an absolute date, **71**, which has a regnal date to years 19-18-11 of Diocletian, Maximian and the Caesars, or AD 303. About **88**, one can say certainly that a deceased city councillor cannot have died before the granting of councils to Egypt's cities under Septimius Severus in AD 200. The absence of the Roman *gentilicium* Aurelius, granted to the Egyptian population as a whole by the Antonine Constitution of AD 212, before the name of the person commemorated in this stele is probably not significant, because this is not an official document. It may possibly point to a date after the novelty of Aurelius had worn off. The fact that the decedent was a former agoranomos, on the other hand, suggests that the date falls in the third century, or at least not very much after it. It is thus probably the earliest stele from the Late Antique part of the cemetery.

Other texts that I have assigned to Late Antiquity, without any more precise date, are **72-104**. The datings are based partly on criteria like the presence of a cross or the use of distinctively Christian names or titles, and partly on stylistic criteria. In general, most of the stelai with only a single name, usually written rather roughly across a poorly-prepared and irregularly-shaped stone, seem to belong to this period.

The remaining four stones (**105-108**) do not in my view offer enough information to allow dating.

## 3. Some characteristics of the gravestones

### 3.1 False stoichedon

Three inscriptions are written in a similar style, using widely-spaced block capitals, with almost an attempt to space them evenly as in stoichedon style; these all have fairly well-smoothed surfaces and seem to represent an effort to fill the surface of the stone in a uniform fashion. They date to years 3 (**6**), 5 (**8**), and 9 (**13**). In my judgment, no two of these share the same hand. It is noteworthy that **13** shares with another text dated to year 9 (**15**) the peculiarity of giving the day numeral before the month name.

### 3.2 Drawings

As well as texts, various designs apparently intended by the lapicide and cut at the same time as the text are found on some stelai. These are the following

<b>7</b>	year 4 of Augustus
<b>9</b>	year 5
<b>19</b>	year 12
<b>25</b>	year 19 of Augustus
<b>38</b>	year 29
<b>44</b>	year 40 (+)
<b>45</b>	Augustus
<b>67</b>	no date

It is obvious that three of these, two of them specifically identifying the date as belonging to “Caesar,” came from the same year and in fact from the same area, although we cannot give precise contexts for two of the three.

Greek gravestones from Roman Egypt do not offer good parallels to these designs. The best parallels come instead from graffiti, perhaps appropriately given the shallow and scratched appearance of the designs on the Dahshur gravestones. We begin with a tabular depiction of the motifs found. Presence is indicated with an ‘x’; if the motif occurs twice, ‘xx’ is given.

	Altar	Ship	Bird	Foot	Man	Key	Palm	Reptile	Temple	Jackal
<b>7</b>						x				
<b>9</b>		x	?							
<b>19</b>					x					
<b>25</b>	xx						x	x		
<b>38</b>		x	xx			x				
<b>44</b>									x	
<b>45</b>					x	x				x

**Altar:** The closest parallels to the form found in **25** is on graffiti from Gebel Silsileh, in all cases shown with attached palm leaf, just as a palm leaf stands to the right of the altar in the Dahshur stele.<sup>5</sup>

**Ship/Boat:** Ancient graffiti representing ships or boats are commonplace. The two examples on Dahshur stelae are both of simple boats with sails and steering oar, drawn crudely like stick figures. There are again examples from Silsileh of a very similar type.<sup>6</sup> They may symbolize a voyage, possibly a pilgrimage.

**Bird:** There are numerous Egyptian depictions of birds, including at Silsileh.<sup>7</sup> The elongated tails in **38** may suggest the phoenix, as perhaps at Silsileh.<sup>8</sup>

**Foot:** A relevant instance of a foot graffito appears in the Seti Temple at Abydos, combined with a palm leaf and a situla. Perdrizet and Lefebvre described these as forming “une sorte de proscynème muet” and go on to remark that the impression of a foot or of feet is a symbol of pilgrimage (some examples appear on their pp. 117-18).<sup>9</sup> The instance in **67** may well be interpreted in this fashion.

**Man:** The stick-figure humans on **19** and **45** (as rider) are considerably cruder than other depictions of people, and we cannot cite a good parallel.

**Key:** Usually in the shape of an L, this symbol represents a metal key. It appears commonly in Egyptian depictions of funerary processions in the Roman period and is normally held by Anubis. There is one good depiction in a graffito of Silsileh.<sup>10</sup>

**Palm:** The palm leaf is a common symbol in graffiti from all over the Mediterranean world. In Egypt, however, its meaning is not normally connected with athletic victory, as in the Greek world,<sup>11</sup> but rather with a temple ritual context; in **25**, it is associated with an altar, as noted already. Perdrizet and Lefebvre (63) remarked that the palm kept flies away from sacrificial victims.

<sup>5</sup> F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und Griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten)* (Strasbourg 1915), Taf. XIX no. 271; Taf. V, no. 84.

<sup>6</sup> M. Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen: Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung* (Palilia 11, Wiesbaden 2001), Taf. 123, nos. 1944-1946; Preisigke and Spiegelberg, Taf. XVIII no. 251.

<sup>7</sup> Examples in Langner, Taf. 105-110, nos. 1641, 1643, 1656, 1698, 1721-1723, 1729. The last of these, from Abydos, has an elongated tail.

<sup>8</sup> Preisigke and Spiegelberg, Taf. V no. 86.

<sup>9</sup> P. Perdrizet and G. Lefebvre, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos* (Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg 1919) 63 no. 325.

<sup>10</sup> Preisigke and Spiegelberg, Taf. IX no. 143.

<sup>11</sup> Although there are cases, as in Perdrizet and Lefebvre, 96 no. 526, an athlete holding the palm.

Reptile: The creature depicted in **25**, standing on two legs and with two hands, may be intended as a crocodile, probably the god Sobek who was so widely revered in the Fayyum. He appears there with a palm leaf and altars, strongly suggesting a temple milieu.

Temple (?): The gabled structure within which the inscription in **44** is written may be intended to suggest a temple. We have not found a good Egyptian parallel.

Jackal: The four-legged animal depicted in **45** with a rider may not at first glance look much like a jackal, but the pointed ears and elongated torso are characteristic. There are parallels again from Silsileh.<sup>12</sup> One particularly good parallel also has a rider.<sup>13</sup> The jackal is, of course, the form taken by the god Anubis.

Despite the rarity of these drawings on the gravestones and the sketchiness of some of the representations, it is clear that the motifs depicted on them are not chosen at random. They refer to the temple, pilgrimage, and above all to funerary ritual and the afterlife. Anubis is the gatekeeper, and the key is his to hold. The key in these inscriptions is likely to refer to the process through which the deceased enters the gates of the other world, situated at Abydos. It is possible to interpret the collocation of the key in **38** with the phoenix and a boat as referring to entry to the afterlife, the release or rebirth of the soul of the deceased, and possibly the solar bark. Sobek with the palm leaf and two altars in **25** may be an evocation of that god's cult. Whether pilgrimage may indicate a continued veneration of the local cult of Sesostri III (cf. below, section 4.2.1, on the personal names) is impossible to say on present evidence.

### 3.3 Rho with an extra stroke

Several of the inscriptions use a shape of the letter rho in which a short horizontal stroke extends to the right from the point at which the head of the letter reaches its bottom point—that is, from the point at which the other leg of a Roman R comes out, but going horizontally instead of diagonally to the ground. These are the following:

<b>46</b>	year 3
<b>22</b>	year 17
<b>29</b>	year 20
<b>30</b>	year 21
<b>31</b>	year 21
<b>42</b>	year 35
<b>43</b>	year 35

It will be immediately apparent that the only economical interpretation of this pattern is that this fashion was prevalent in years 17-35 of Augustus. It seems most likely, therefore, that year 3 in **46** is that of Tiberius, because we have abundant stones before year 17 and none of them have this trait, while there are only two stones dated after year 35, the later in year 6 of Tiberius, neither a very professional product.

This kind of rho has been found occasionally in papyri or ostraca (*O.Claud.* III 437), cf. H. Cuvigny, *P.Graux* II 9, introduction (p. 16). Cuvigny notes that in some such texts rho tends to look like a rare vestigial ligature, but in the Graux papyrus as in the ostracon it appears to be purely ornamental, as it is in some epigraphical texts, for which she cites bibliography. The closest parallel is W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1992) no. 11, from

<sup>12</sup> Langner, Taf. 99 nos. 1497, 1501-1502.

<sup>13</sup> Preisigke and Spiegelberg, Taf. XVII no. 243.

Mustafa Pasha in Alexandria. The editors consider it probably datable to the late Ptolemaic period or to AD 3-4, on the basis of a date to year 33.

### 3.4 A group with deep, heavy incision

A cluster of three texts (**62, 65, 67**) shows an entirely different type of carving of letters from all of the remainder; the letters are cut deeply and broadly—and in fact rather coarsely. Of these, **65** and **67**, which were found in proximity, are extremely similar, although I would stop short of identifying the hands.

### 3.5 A deep X below the inscription

There are two instances of a large X-shaped cut below the inscription, **15** and **31**, of years 9 and 21. It is oriented with one line roughly horizontal or tending down slightly from left to right, the other somewhat to the right of vertical. In both cases the X is cut much more deeply than the text of the inscription. I have no explanation to offer.

### 3.6 Red paint

Many of the inscriptions still have traces of red paint, ranging from faint to dark. These are noted in the description of each inscription. As far as I have observed, there is only one case in which a text is painted without also being incised, **53** (no date, but it has the rho described in 3.3). There are, however, some cases in which individual strokes of letters seem to have been painted without first being incised.

## 4 Observations on script and language

It is striking that in no case have I been able to identify two inscriptions produced by the same stonecutter, even though I was able to have all of the early Roman inscriptions (except **34**, which was reburied) out for inspection at the same time. It is impossible not to signal, in connection with this fact, the generally low quality of the stonecutting and writing. Only one inscription (**14**) deserves generally good marks for preparation of the stone, quality of the Greek, and quality of the cutting. A couple of others have fairly decent lettering but poor Greek (**4, 9**). Perhaps the most charming, with its multiple drawings, is **25**, which is not too bad in Greek until *μητηρ* intrudes, but which is written in a disjointed, although not entirely lacking in fluency, style of lettering. One would judge that few if any of these gravestones are the products of professionals accustomed to producing such monuments.

It is probably also a reasonable inference that few of the people responsible for these gravestones had more than the most elementary education in Greek letters. Certainly they had no familiarity with the conventional spellings of Greek versions of the months of the Egyptian calendar or of Greek renderings of Egyptian personal names. In both instances they give the strong impression of attempting to write in the Greek alphabet what they were saying in Egyptian. Relatively few inscriptions use genitive forms of personal names to express patronymics and metronymics. These are skills that would have been learned fairly soon once the writing of the alphabet was mastered—an accomplishment not under complete control in the majority of cases, either. Nonetheless, the most reasonable reading of the evidence is that it points to a community with extensive dissemination of a kind of minimum literacy.

### 4.1 Month names

It is interesting to look at the distribution of month names in the gravestones and at the forms used to represent them.

Θώθ (1): **48** (Θωύθ).

Φαῶφι (3): **13** (Πασπι), **21** (Παπει), **30** (Παῶπι).

Ἄθούρ (4): **22, 26, 27, 61** (Ἄθώρ).



Χοίακ (9): **14** (-αχ), **23**, **24**, **32** (-αχ), **37** (-αχ), **40** (-αχ), **41**, **46**, **51** (Κοίααχ).

Τῦβι (4): **16**, **17**, **28**, **33**.

Μεχείρ (3): **7**, **8** (-χιρ), **71** (-χιρ).

Φαμενώθ (4): **6** (Παμ-), **9** (Παμ-), **36**, **38**.

Φαρμουῦθι (3): **11**, **31** (Παρμουῦθι), **100** (ΠΑΡΜΩΤ).

Παχών (3): **18** (Φακών), **29**, **64**.

Παῦνι (6): **4** (Πανι), **10**, **19** (Παῶνι), **39**, **42**, **43** (Πανι).

Ἐπέιφ (2): **2** (Φηφ), **34** (Ἐπήφ).

Μεσορή (6): **2** (Μεσωρή), **5**, **15** (Μεσουρή), **25**, **35**, **49**.

The one striking cluster of deaths comes in Choiak (late November to late December).<sup>14</sup> On the phonological side, the prevalence of unaspirated pi over aspirated phi, by a margin of 7-3, in the three months beginning in phi is remarkable; but Pachon is spelled with an aspirate one time in three. This fluctuation does not affect theta/tau to any significant degree, but there is a strong preference for aspirating the last consonant of Choiak, and the palatals there have their aspiration reversed in one case.

## 4.2 Names

### 4.2.1 Names in the Early Roman gravestones

N.B.: Names of uncertain date are included in this list. Very fragmentary names, especially those lacking their beginning, are omitted. Obvious variants of known names are listed under standard spellings; in doubtful cases the preserved orthography is listed first. Demotic equivalents, with references to the *NBDEM.*, are given where I have been able to identify them. Names unattested elsewhere, even in variant spelling, are prefixed with an asterisk. Egyptian names without Greek terminations and new names for which the accent cannot reasonably be established by analogy are not accented.

\*Ἀθαγης (f.) **34** (= Ἀγάθη?) (Gk.)

\*Ἀμιούτης **46** (= Ἀρμιούθης?, q.v.)

Ἀμμώνιος **32**, **50** (Ἀμωνι), **51** (Ἀμμόνις) (Gk.)

\*Ἀπανις **38** (cf. gen. Ἀπανίου(ν) in *O.Edfou* III 382.1)

Ἀπύγχις **19** (Ἀπύχισ), **28** (-νχισ), cf. **45** (= Iw=f-<sup>h</sup>nh, *NBDEM.* 60)

Ἀρενδώτης **40** (-δῶδης) (= Hr-nḏ-itj-f, *NBDEM.* 825)

Ἀρμάχις **10**, **31** (= Hr-m-<sup>h</sup>h, *NBDEM.* 813)

\*Ἀρμιούθης **30** (metathesis for Ἀρμιούθης? = Hr-ij-m-<sup>h</sup>tp, *NBDEM.* 789); but cf. \*Ἀμιούτης

Ἄρτωιῦς **2** (perhaps genitive; nominative form unknown); Ἄρ- perhaps from Hr, Horus.

Ἄρτῆς **68** (or metathesis for Ἄτρῆς?)

\*Ἄρως **22** (cf. next name; or take as Ἄρειος?)

Ἄρῶτης **46** (= Ἄρῶθης, Hr-wḏ3, *NBDEM.* 796-98)

Ἄτρῆς **44** (Ἄθρῆς), **59** (?) (= Htr, *NBDEM.* 850)

Ἄύγχις **14**, **48** (Ἄύχισ) (= Hr-<sup>h</sup>nh, *NBDEM.* 793)

\*Βαλεις **35** (= Βελλῆς?, q.v.)

Βελλῆς **34**; cf. Βαλεις (= Br/Bl, *NBDEM.* 143)

Βερενίκη (f.) **57** (Βερνίκι) (Gk.)

Διδύμη (f.) **70** (Gk.)

Δωρίων **18** (Gk.)

\*Δώσιος **41**

<sup>14</sup> Cf. W. Scheidel, "The Death Declarations of Roman Egypt: A Re-appraisal," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 36 (1999) 53-70 and his *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (Leiden 2001).

- \*Εφελευτη 33  
 Ζήνων 2 (Gk.)  
 Θαῆσις 65; cf. Ταῆσις  
 Θαμοῦνις (f.) 25; cf. Ταμουν  
 Θασροση (f.) 5; cf. Τασρωσης  
 Θατρῆς (f.) 60 (= T3-ḥtr.t, *NBDem.* 1080)  
 \*Θεδιρι 19  
 Θερμοῦθις (f.) 67 (= T3-rnn.t, *NBDem.* 1074)  
 Θιναρτωτ (f.) 27 (= the daughter of Ἀρθώτης = Ḥr-ḥtj, *NBDem.* 841)  
 \*Θιρις 29, 44 (Θιρι)  
 \*Ἴβου 11  
 \*Καλαπατι 29  
 Κοπρία (f.) 39 (Gk.)  
 Κοπρίας 54 (Gk.)  
 Κ λινις 7  
 Λ . σιρης 44  
 \*Μεροις 56  
 \*Μιράθης 3, 11 (-άτου), 22 (-άτης), 24, 26, 43 (-άθους), 48, 49, 68 (-άτης)  
 Μιρηις 7, 25 (Μιρηους), 37, 42, 49, 52, 53 (?= M3j-rsj, *NBDem.* 576, see below)  
 \*Μιροπατης 34  
 Νεβτίχις (f.) 37 (= Nb.t-ḥj, *NBDem.* 639)  
 \*Νεμτι 53 (= the god Nemty)<sup>15</sup>  
 Νεχθενίβις 23 (= Nhtj-nb=f, *NBDem.* 652)  
 \*Νηρνειος 18  
 Νικαρέτη (f.) 50 (Νιαρ-) (Gk.)  
 Νικάριον (f.) 50 (Νιχάριν), 51 (Νικάριν) (Gk.)  
 Νικτηνβω 18 (see Νεχθενίβις)  
 \*Ογερις 33  
 Ὀννώφορις 9 (Ὀννοφ-) (= Wn-nfr, *NBDem.* 118)  
 \*Οξερις 28, 36  
 Πααπύνχις? 45 (with note)  
 \*Παλουβη- 20  
 \*Πασιπιμη 15  
 Πάσις 13, 14 (= Pa-sj, *NBDem.* 412)  
 \*Πασχι..[ 42  
 Πατῆς 48 (= Pa-tw, *NBDem.* 429)  
 \*Πατρης 6 (attested as a late antique place-name in the Arsinoite; Πατρη occurs in the names of two toparchies in the Hermopolite; or take as Φατρῆς?)  
 \*Πατροθος 8  
 \*Πετε [.]χεφθῆμις 40  
 \*Πιοραπ 9 (perhaps = P3j-ḥr-hpj)  
 Πνεφερωῶς 16 (Πνευπερο; = P3-nfr-ḥr, *NBDem.* 192)  
 \*Σαβαδις 53 (variant of Σαμβάθις?)  
 Σαμβᾶς 41

<sup>15</sup> See Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York 2003) 204-05. Nemty, the falcon god of the tenth Upper Egyptian nome, was identified with Antaios (hence the name of Antaiopolis), but also worshiped in the twelfth and eighteenth U. E. nomes, the latter occupying the East Bank not far south of Dahshur. As far as I know, although Nemty was used as a proper name in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, there are no attestations of it elsewhere as a personal name in the Graeco-Roman period (it is absent from *NBDem.*).

- \*Σαρωται **36** (cf. Σαρωτ)  
 \*Σεναρενδώτης (f.) **25** (Σεναρεντότης) (= the daughter or brother of Ἀρενδώτης, q.v.)  
 Σενοννώφρις (f.) **21** (Σεωννόφρις; = the daughter or brother of Ὀννώφρις, q.v.)  
 \*Σροῦς **45**  
 \*Σρωσης **3**  
 \*Τααρτβῶς (f.) **20** (= T3-ḥm-rmt-tb3, cf. Πααρτβῶς, *NBDem.* 172)  
 Ταῆσις (f.) **48, 56** (Ταῆσι); cf. Θαῆσις (= Ta-Is.t, *NBDem.* 1166)  
 Ταθῶτις (f.) **21** (= Ta-thwtj, *NBDem.* 1224)  
 \*Ταισῶς (f.) **41** (= Θαισοῦς?)  
 Ταλαη **16**  
 Ταλοοῦ (f.) **53**  
 \*Ταμιράτης (f.) **13, 15** (-άτη), **35** (Ταμειρατ), **47** (Ταμιράθη), **63** (Ταμιρατ)  
 Ταμουν (f.) **10**; cf. Θαμοῦνις (= Ta-imn, *NBDem.* 1162)  
 \*Τανισνη (f.) **69** (perhaps = Ta-n3-sn.w)  
 Ταοννώφρις (f.) **43** (Τοννώφρις) (= Ta-wn-nfr, *NBDem.* 1171)  
 Ταρήτις (f.) **14** (Eg.; cf. note ad loc.)  
 \*Τασροῦς (f.) **62**  
 \*Τασρωσης (f.) **2, 6, 31** (-οσης), **38**; cf. Θασροση  
 \*Τασχερτοῦς (f.) **32**  
 \*Τειρι (f.?) **12**  
 Τεῶς **24** (= Dd-ḥr, *NBDem.* 1368)  
 \*Τκαλς (f.) **23** (perhaps = T3-gl3, “the cripple”; cf. Gl3, *NBDem.* 1034)  
 \*Υρρωσης **4** (or Ὑρρωσης?). Ὑρ- probably Ḥr, Horus  
 Φωλῆμις **44** (Φολῆμις)  
 Ὠρος **8** (Ὀρος), **30, 52, 65**

As is common, a textual corpus from a location that had not previously produced texts yields a significant number of previously unattested names, even after one filters out the phonetic variations that occur in the personal names as abundantly as in the month names. I am not able to identify the Egyptian roots behind many of these names, particularly the family of names using the stem *μπατ-/μπαθ-*. It is possible that they are related to the *μρη-* stem of *Μιρηις*, which represents “the southern lion” according to *NBDem.*, which cites G. Vittmann, *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 135-36. (The identification goes back to Spiegelberg.) Vittmann points out, however, that the examples he can cite in Demotic are all from the Thebaid, and the Greek rendering *Μιρήσις* is found only in texts from that region (above all from Koptos and the Red Sea ports Myos Hormos and Berenike). That might lead us to wonder if we are here dealing with another stem.

The most distinctive group of names in this list is certainly those with an element in *σρωσ* or *σρο(ο)υ*: *Θασροση*, *Σροῦς*, *Σρωσης*, *Τασροοῦς*, *Τασρωσης*, *Ὑρρωσης*. I have found no parallel for these in Greek or Demotic texts from Egypt. I hazard the suggestion that this element is a contemporary vocalization of Senwosret’s name. If so, the prefixes *Ta-* and its aspirated form *Tha-* suggest that he was divinized, and *Hysroses* would indicate identification with Horos. We have no other evidence, as far as I am aware, of a cult of Senwosret III in Roman times, but there is nothing unlikely about such a cult, as, for example, the worship of his successor Amenemhat III as Premarres in the Fayyum shows.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Senwosret did enjoy a cult in Nubia in the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See W. J. R. RübSam, *Götter und Kulte in Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn 1974) 48, 84, 91, and 161.

<sup>17</sup> See R. D. Delia, “Senwosret III,” in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. D. B. Redford (New York 2001) 3: 268.

## 4.2.2 Names in the Late Antique gravestones

- Ἄβρααμ 76  
 Ἀγάπη (f.) 73 (Αγάγη)  
 Ἄθα[νασι- 103  
 Ἄμμωνία (f.) 87  
 Ἄμμώνιος 88  
 Ἀπόλλων 88 (Gk.)  
 Εἰρήνη (f.) 75 (Ἡρίνε)  
 Εὐα (f.) 76  
 Θέκλα (f.) 95  
 Ἰσιδώρα (f.) 82, 88  
 Ἰσιδώρος 94 (Ἰσιτορε)  
 \*Κενναρι[ 93 (perhaps = Χεννᾶρις, *O. Ont. Mus.* II 235.7)  
 Μακαρία (f.) 81?  
 Μακάριος 77  
 Μαρθε (f.) 97  
 Νεβτίχης (f.) 77 (-χι)  
 Παλασία (f.) 79  
 Παπνούτι 101  
 Πατερμούθης 71 (Πατερμούτει)  
 Πέτρος 78  
 Πύρις 86  
 Πλαντᾶς 83  
 Σερηνίς (f.) 91  
 Σερήνος 74 (Σερνε)  
 Ταιηού (f.) 104  
 Ταυρίνος 102 (Ταυρίνε)  
 Ταῦρις (f.) 90  
 Ὠρίων 92  
 Χιμοτε[ 100

## TEXTS FROM THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART EXCAVATIONS

For each text the inventory number is given, normally in the form of the last two digits of the year number (1990-2007), followed by a period and the inventory number within that year. The findspot and registration of the object are indicated with several abbreviations. “PT” means Pyramid Temple, but the term can in fact refer to the entire area east of the pyramid in which fragments from the temple were found (“Upper,” as in “R/27, upper,” refers to a location in the upper layers). “NM” means North Mastaba.<sup>18</sup> Locations inside parentheses are on the site grid, with squares denoted by a letter and a number (see the publication cited in n. 2, above). “QP” refers to the Queen’s pyramid. “B.” means burial. “C.” followed by a number indicates a stratigraphic context, although for the reasons described above these sometimes refer to modern phenomena like De Morgan’s spoil heaps or pit fills. “S.F.” refers to the Small Finds register number used for the post-New Kingdom cemetery. In the few cases where more detailed provenance information is available, such information is added.

Dimensions are given in the order width × height × depth (thickness), with the stone oriented so that the writing is horizontal. Given the irregularity of the stones, these measurements are approximate. The

<sup>18</sup> The tomb owners are the following: NM 2, Khnumhotep; NM 17, Sobekemhat; NM 18, Nebit; NM 31, Horkherty; NM 34, Senwosretankh (?).

height given for the letters refers to normal letters; omicron is often smaller, letters with descenders longer.

Where a regnal year is given, the date is indicated on the basis of that information. Otherwise, dates are given for stones either as “Early Roman”, indicating the last third of the first century BC and the first quarter of the first century AD, or “Late Antique”. The latter designation encompasses the period from the beginning of the fourth century to probably the sixth century or the early seventh century. No more precise dating criteria are available for most of these stones.

#### Gravestones published in drawing by de Morgan

Because the original stones are not available for control of the readings, I have put suggestions that go beyond interpretation of the drawing in notes rather than the texts. Provenance, dimensions, and height of writing are not available for these stones.

#### 1. Inscription from the Phase 3 Cemetery

**1. MMA Exc. Reg. No. 98.597** Late 5<sup>th</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC  
PT (R/27). This is probably the only gravestone of Phase 3, but it does not have a good archaeological context.

27.8 × 34.2 × 7.7 cm. Complete stele with rounded top. Incised with 2 lines of Aramaic in letters 5 cm high.

There are only five funerary stelae from Egypt with Aramaic inscriptions.<sup>19</sup> These stelae all have registers, as here, and either reliefs of Egyptian gods or funerary scenes and/or hieroglyphs, and drawings can be seen in *TAD* D20.2-6.<sup>20</sup> *TAD* D21.1-17 are gravestones similar to ours except none of them have framed registers.

For other texts from Dahshur which bear Aramaic, see A.H. Sayce, “Aramaic Inscriptions from Egypt,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 26 (1904) 207-08, who published three Aramaic names written “on fragments of columns found by M. de Morgan at Dahshûr, but probably originally from Memphis” (p. 208). We know there was some form of regular traffic and communication between Elephantine and the area of Memphis; Aramaean soldiers at Memphis wrote letters to their families in Ofi (Luxor) and Syene: E. Bresciani and M. Kamil, “Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morale, Memorie*, 8 ser. 12 (1966) 357-428. An Aramaean presence in the general area of Dahshur is thus assured.

The hand compares well to J. Naveh, *Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem 1970) 54 fig. 8 #3 (Cowley 34, 56; late fifth century BC), fig. 8 #4 (Cowley 7; 401 BC).

לאשמרם

“(Belonging to) Eshemram Şeḥa bar Piman”

צחא בר פימן |

2 read פמון “Pamun”

<sup>19</sup> Bibliographic abbreviations used:

Aimé-Giron = N. Aimé-Giron, *Textes araméens d'Égypte* (Cairo 1931).

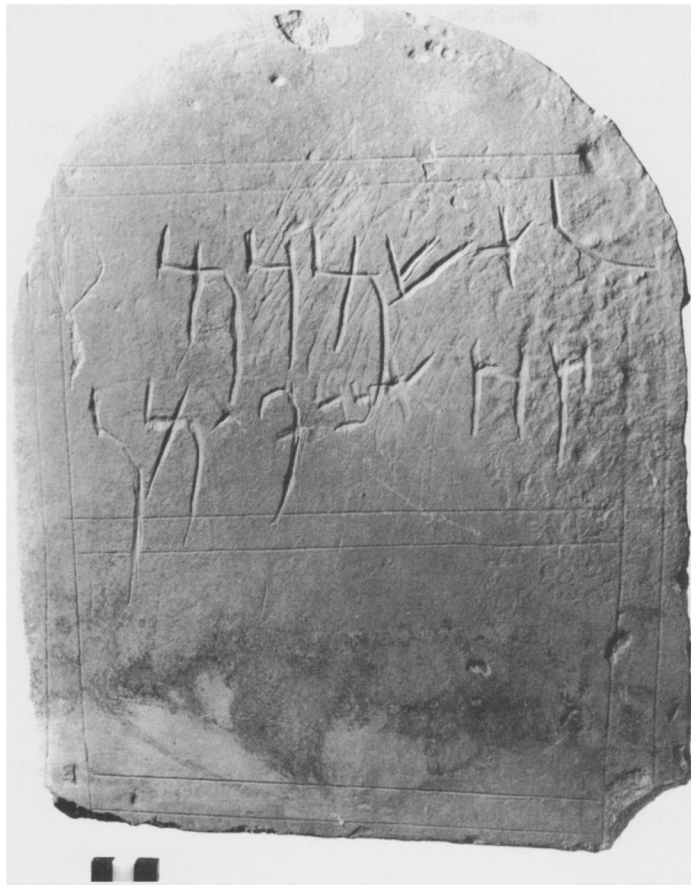
Bresciani = E. Bresciani, “Nuovi documenti aramaici dall’Egitto (con 3 tavole),” *ASAE* 55 (1958) 272-83.

Cowley = A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1923).

Kraeling = E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven 1953).

*TAD* = B. Porten, A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem 1986-1999).

<sup>20</sup> See comments in B. Porten and J. Gee, “Aramaic Funerary Practices in Egypt,” in *The World of the Aramaeans II*, edd. P. M. M. Daviau, J. W. Wevers and M. Weigl (Sheffield 2001) 270-307.



- 1 The name Eshemram is known from the Elephantine papyri: *TAD* C4.8 = Cowley 53.9 (end of fifth century BC), אשמרם בר נבונד “Eshemram bar Nabu-nad(in?)”; *TAD* B3.9 = Kraeling 8.11 (416 BC), אשמרם בר אשמשזיב “Eshemram bar Eshemshezib”; *TAD* B3.13.12 = Kraeling 11.12 (402 BC), שוהרם בר אשמרם בר אשמשזיב “Shewahram bar Eshemram bar Eshemshezib.” The name is also found in south Saqqara: *TAD* D18:7-8 = Aimé-Giron 110, אשמרם בר ביתאלזבד בר “Bethelzebad bar Eshemram;” *TAD* D19:2-3 = Aimé-Giron 111, אגרי בר ביתאלזבד בר, אשמרם (אשמרם) “Agri(ya) bar Bethelzebad bar Eshemram.” Eshem is likely a non-Jewish Aramaean theophoric element,<sup>21</sup> contrary to the arguments advanced by M. Silverman.<sup>22</sup> Many biblical scholars hold that Eshem is somehow connected with the biblical אשימא Ashima in II Kings 17:30 and perhaps Amos 8:14, referring to a deity worshipped by the people of Hamath who had been relocated to Samaria by the Assyrians after 722 BC in replacing, in turn, the Israelites (cf. also Isa. 11:11). Despite a longstanding and widespread identification, this Hamath does not refer to Hamath on the Orontes river in northern Syria,<sup>23</sup> but rather to Amate near the Uqnu river (Akkadian; Greek, Choaspes; modern, Kerkhah) in Elam east of Babylonia (modern western Iran).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> J. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Comparative Study* (Sheffield 1988) 216 s.v. *rwm*, 217 s.v. *kdr*; Kraeling 84-91; Porten, *Archives*, 149, 163-64; N.G. Cohen, “Historical Conclusions Gleaned from the Names of the Jews of Elephantine,” (Hebrew) *Leshonenu* 31 (1966/67) 97-106, 199-210 (abstract in English).

<sup>22</sup> M. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine* (Kevelaer 1985) 223-24. Silverman bases his claim largely on the fact that some of the patronymics contain Hebrew names.

<sup>23</sup> For location in Syria, see M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (Garden City, N.Y. 1988) 211. For summary of the resettlements and the period, see K. Hoglund, *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah* (Atlanta 1992) 9-12, who gives bibliography for the Annals of Sargon II (king of Assyria, 722-705 BC) and for a prism of Sargon II.

<sup>24</sup> M.W. Chavalas and K. L. Younger, eds., *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations* (London 2002) 305-07; B. Becking, *The Fall of Samaria: A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Leiden 1992) 99 n. 24; N. Na’aman, R. Zadok, “Sargon II’s Deportations to Israel and Philistia (716-708 B.C.),” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40 (1988) 36-46; R. Zadok, “Geographical and Onomastic Notes,” *JANES* 8 (1976) 113-24; G.R. Driver, “Geographical Problems,” *Eretz Israel* 5 (1958) 18\*-20\*. This solves the problem raised by S. Dalley, “Yahweh in Hamath in the 8th century B.C.: Cuneiform Material and Historical Deductions,” *VT* 40 (1990) 21-32 at 29: If Samaria and Hamath were allies in the revolt against Assyria, why would Assyria deport the people of Hamath to Samaria?

Silverman, again, rejects this identification because it seems he prefers to look only for a west-Semitic setting.<sup>25</sup> Most scholars find it more difficult to connect it with Eshmun, a Phoenician god of healing (see <sup>d</sup>*Ia-su-mu-nu*, “Eshmun,” in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre *ANET*<sup>3</sup> 534a)<sup>26</sup> or to a deity rendered in Greek as *Seimios/Simia/Semea*.<sup>27</sup> Finally, there are some who see Eshem as nothing more than a form of שם “name” with a prothetic aleph, and thus having nothing at all to do with Ashima or any other deity, be it Aramaean, Hebrew or Akkadian.<sup>28</sup> In any event, the name was brought to Egypt by Hamathians from Samaria.

The -ram element is a Samaritan Aramaic verbal element, “is exalted.”<sup>29</sup>

The occurrence of a person with two names of different ethnicities is common in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt. Examples of mixed Aramaean and Egyptian names include the following Egyptian/Aramaean: *TAD* D22:18.2 = Aimé-Giron 104 (s. Saqqara), חור בר אשמרם “Ḥor bar Eshemram;” *TAD* D24.9 = Bresciani pp. 276-81, פחי בר אשמרם “Paḥi bar Eshemram,” supposedly found near Memphis, though this wooden tablet has long been suspected of being a forgery.<sup>30</sup> Mixed names include the following Aramaean/Egyptian: *TAD* D18:6 = Aimé-Giron 97 (s. Saqqara), חרמנתן בר פטסי “Ḥeremnatān bar Peṭese;” *TAD* B3:9.12 = Kraeling 8 (416 BC), חרמנתן בר פחא “Ḥeremnatān bar Paḥa;” *TAD* B6:4.9 = Cowley 18 (last third of fifth century BC), חרמנתן בר צחא “Ḥeremnatān bar Bethelnatan bar Ṣeḥa.” In addition to names of mixed ethnicities, there are also examples of Hebrew/Egyptian names without filiation: *TAD* D8.9.11 (Edfu, third century BC), שבתאי חורי “Shabbetai (son of) Ḥori;” *TAD* C3.28.100 (Elephantine, third century BC) = Cowley 81, חגי תתו שבתאי “Shabbetai (son of) Ḥaggai (son of) Tutu,” for the Egyptian name Tutu, see O. E. Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu* (Leuven 2003); *TAD* D8.4.19 (Elephantine, third century BC), שבתית תוא “Shabbetī (daughter of) Tawe,” for the Demotic name Tawe, see *NBDem.* 1169 (fem.?; cf. *TAD* B.3.12.20 (402 BC) = Kraeling 12); and several other examples of Hebrew/Hebrew, Aramaic/Aramaic, Hebrew/Aramaic and Egyptian/Egyptian.

In all these cases, the editors consistently assume a missing term of filiation, and in no case suggest a missing mark of an alias. Individuals who used aliases, commonly referred to as persons with double names, have been the subject of several studies of the phenomenon in Ptolemaic Egypt<sup>31</sup> and for Hellenistic Babylonia,<sup>32</sup> but none of these studies bring any cases in which the mark of an alias is lacking.

- 2 The word בר *bar* “son” is lacking at the beginning of the line. The same mistake is seen at the beginning of the line in *TAD* D21.16.3, a Hebrew stone marker from Hagir Esna, south of Luxor (late third or early second century BC). Ṣeḥa (Dd-ḥr, Djehō) is a common Aramaic transliteration of an Egyptian name attested at Elephantine, and in fact, see *TAD* C3.12.9 (420 or 411 BC) = Cowley 72.4 פמון בר צחא Ṣeḥa bar Pamun; the editor notes, “*CIS* [II/1 146, pl. xvii]

<sup>25</sup> “Onomastic Notes to ‘Aramaica Dubiosa’,” *JNES* 28 (1969) 192-96 at 193. Silverman rejects any connection of Eshem to a known deity on the grounds that since “šm does not appear alone as a divine name in west-Semitic texts known to me, it cannot be an independent deity. For this reason, the comparisons to Akkadian ’Išūm or Aramaic ’Ašīma seem out of place.”

<sup>26</sup> E.g., Chavalas and Younger, op. cit., 306 n. 57; S. Ribichini, “Eshmun Esmounos,” in K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P. W. van der Horst (eds), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden 1995) 583-87; R. Zadok, “Geographical and Onomastic Notes,” *JANES* 8 (1976) 113-24 at 118-19. On Eshmun, identified by the Greeks with Asklepios, see W. A. Jayne, *Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (Whitefish, Mont. 2003 [repr. of New Haven 1925 ed.]) 137-42, and J. P. Brown, *Israel and Hellas* (Berlin 1995) I 120-21.

<sup>27</sup> For the difficulties with this identification, see U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt* (Freiburg and Göttingen 1983) 501 n. 114; and B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of An Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley 1968) 172 and n. 101 there.

<sup>28</sup> J.A. Soggin, *Il Profeta Amos. Traduzione e commento* (Brescia 1982; Eng. tr. *The Prophet Amos* [London 1987]) 140 n. 8; H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (KAI) (Wiesbaden 1966-1969) No. 214, 16 and 21, 222.C.24, 223.B.7.

<sup>29</sup> M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan 1990) 525.

<sup>30</sup> J. Naveh, “Aramaica Dubiosa,” *JNES* 27 (1968) 317-25; M. Silverman, “Onomastic Notes to ‘Aramaica Dubiosa’,” *JNES* 28 (1969) 192-96.

<sup>31</sup> J. Quaegebeur, “Greco-Roman Double Names as a Feature of a Bi-Cultural Society: the Case of Ψοσνευς ὁ καὶ Τριάδελφος,” in J. H. Johnson, ed., *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society*, SAOC 51 (Chicago 1992) 265-72; W. Clarysse, “Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration,” *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 57-66; W. Peremans, “Ethnies et classes dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l’antiquité classique. Colloques nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Caen 25-26 avril 1969* (Paris 1970) 213-23 at 218 (survey of the rare double names in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*).

<sup>32</sup> T. Boiy, “Akkadian-Greek Double Names in Hellenistic Babylonia,” in W. H. van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen and D. Katz eds., *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002* (Leiden 2005) 47-60. Boiy collects the 39 cases of double names from Hellenistic Babylonia and double names with an Akkadian component, all employing one phrase or another equivalent to *X šu šumšu šanū Y*, “X whose other name is Y.” In a few cases, one of the following Greek phrases was used instead: ὦν ἄλλο ὄνομα, ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος, X ὄς καὶ Y καλεῖται.

does not say where the papyrus was found.<sup>33</sup> It may not have come from Elephantine.” Cf. *O.Varia = Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XXVI 25 (Elephantine, 244 BC) Pa-Imn sz Dd-hr “Pamun son of Teho.” The name is also attested at Memphis, e.g., Aimé-Giron 5.8 (fifth century BC?), 34.3 (fifth century BC?).

The word בר *bar* “son” is significantly smaller than the characters both preceding and following it. While the form, with the resh ligatured to the bottom horizontal of the beth is typical the very noticeable difference in size is not. Here the word “bar” was a later addition, squeezed between the two names which the scribe had previously cut into the stone. When his error was pointed out he attempted to “fix it” the only way he thought possible: make the two characters much smaller than the surrounding ones.

A similar error in writing Pamun is seen in *TAD D7.13.8 = CIS II/1 138* (first quarter of fifth century BC) פטחרפחרט בר פומן “Peṭḥarphkhrat bar Puman.”

## 2.-69. Inscriptions from the Early Roman (Phase 4) Cemetery

### 2. *Dahchour 1894-1895*, p. 110, fig. 157

34 BC

In well-made, regular capitals, neatly laid out in regular lines. The surface of the stone appears in the drawing to be damaged in places.

<p>Ἔτους ιη τοῦ καὶ τρί- του Ζήνων Ἀρωσιῶς μητρ[ὸ]ς Τ[α]ρωσοῦ 4 [Με]σωρή κζ</p>	<p>“Year 18 which is also third. Zenon son of Hartoious and Tasroses. Mesore 27.”</p>
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1-2 Although the drawing shows some damage in the character at the end read here as iota, it is impossible to read a compound ordinal numeral like thirteenth, twenty-third, or similar. The year must therefore be one in which two simultaneous counts were in use. In fact one such pairing is known with a difference of 15, namely the reign of Cleopatra VII with Caesarion, in which year 18 = 3 was 35/4. See M. Chauveau, “Ères nouvelles et corégences en Égypte ptolémaïque,” *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, APF Beiheft 3, Leipzig, I, 163-71 at 165, accepting Porphyry’s explanation that the reckoning of the second count refers not to Caesarion’s co-regency (attested as early as 42 BC) but to Cleopatra’s acquisition of territories in Syria.

2 Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, records Ἀρωσιῶς as a possibly feminine name from *P.Vindob.Bosw.* 15.ii.4 (provenance unknown, third-fourth century). It is evident that here it is masculine. What its declension was, is not evident, given the general failure of these gravestones to inflect names. The Ap- beginning seems to me most likely to come from Horus, hence the rough breathing in the text.

4 The date is 23 August 34 BC.

### 3. *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 92

29 BC or AD 15

Line 1 is written in upright capitals, lines 2 and 3 in a more flowing, slanting hand.

<p>Λα Φηφ Μιράθου 3 Σρωσης</p>	<p>“Year 1, Epeiph -. Mirathes son of Sroses.”</p>
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1 The spelling Φηφ is probably to be taken as a version of Ἐπεῖφ in which the initial vowel has been omitted. Year 1 of Augustus was 30/29 BC; year 1 of Tiberius was AD 14/15.

### 4. MMA Exc. Reg. No. 03.8

PT (T/30a), C. 1174, S.F. 264. In grave fill probably of Phase IV.

28 BC or AD 16

18.4 × 13.1 × 5.0 cm. Complete. Incised and painted red with letters 1 cm high. The surface is undulating. The text has been written twice; the second try is better and more deeply cut and painted, but there is no trace of a day number.

<sup>33</sup> For a survey of Egyptian names in Aramaic papyri, see B. Porten, “Egyptian Names in Aramaic Texts,” in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies* (Copenhagen 2002) 283-327.



L β Πανῑ  
 Ὑρσρωσης  
 L β Πανι  
 4 Ὑρσρωσης

“Year 2, Pauni 10. Hyrsroses.”

- 1, 3 Year 2 of Augustus was 29/28 BC; year 2 of Tiberius was AD 15/16. Pauni 10 = 5 June 28 BC or 4 June AD 16, more likely the former. The year sign is in ecthesis in line 1.
- 2, 4 In line 2, there is a space after the second rho, perhaps left blank because of roughness of the surface. I take it that the Ὑρ- element is a form of Horus. In the second part of the name, the first sigma could also be read as epsilon; it is difficult to tell on the stone if there is actually a middle stroke. I have printed sigma because of the consistent appearance of the σρωσ- stem in other names.

**5.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.844** NM 17 (T/48), S.F. 338. 28 BC  
 22.5 × 22.0 × 5.5 cm. Incised in letters 1.5-2 cm; there are traces of paint, probably black.

L β Καίσαρ[ος] Μεσορή  
 κβ̄ Θα-  
 3 σροση

“Year 2 of Caesar, Mesore 22. Thasrose.”

- 1 Year 2 of Augustus was 29/28 BC. Mesore 22 was 16 August 28 BC.

**6.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.572/1** PT (R/27 upper) 27 BC (?)  
 16.5 × 13.5 × 7.6 cm. Irregularly incised and painted red in letters 1 cm high.

L γ Παμεν-  
 ὠ(θ) λ̄ Τασ-  
 ρωσης  
 4 Πατρης

“Year 3, Phamenoth 30. Tasroses daughter of Patres.”

- 1 Year 3 of Augustus = 28/7 BC. Year 3 of Tiberius = 16/7. Phamenoth 30 = 27 March 27 BC or 26 March AD 17. I regard the first as more likely.
- 3 The paint does not survive on the rho, and the loop of its head is not closed. The eta is painted with no left descender, which also was not incised.

**7.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.825** NM 17 (T/48) 26 BC  
 29.0 × 26.5 × 5.5 cm. Complete. Very faintly incised in letters 1.5 cm high. Beneath the inscription is a drawing of the symbol representing the key of Anubis.

L δ Καίσαρος  
 Μεχέιρ η̄  
 3 Μιρηις Κ λινις

“Year 4 of Caesar, Mecheir 8. Mireis son of K.linis.”

- 1 Year 4 of Augustus = 27/6 BC.  
 2 Mecheir 8 = 3 February 26.

**8.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.1055** PT (T/33a), C. 136, S.F. 76. 25 BC (?)  
 10.7 × 14.6 × 4.5 cm. Incised and painted red (traces) in letters 1 cm high. Considerable blank space is left in lines 4-6 at the right, but there are no signs that any letters were written there, even in line 4, where the surface is chipped.

L ε Με-  
 χιρ κζ̄

“Year 5, Mecheir 27. Horos son of Patrothos.”

4 Ὅρος  
Πα-  
τρο-  
θος

- 1 Year 5 of Augustus was 26/25 BC; year 5 of Tiberius was AD 18/19. Probably Mecheir 27 = 22 February 25 BC.  
3 Read Ὅρος.  
4-6 Πατροθος: No name like this is known to me, although Greek has a number of names formed on Πατρο-. It is not Πάτροκλος.

**9.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.827**

NM 18 (U/49): “south of entrance shaft of NM 18.”  
25 BC or AD 19

26.4 × 21.5 × 7.7 cm. Incised and painted in letters 1.5-2 cm high. Below, a drawing of a boat with a sail and steering oar.

L ε Παμενῶθ ᾠ  
Ὀννόφ(ρις) ποιμέ(ν)  
3 Πιοραπ

“Year 5, Phamenoth 1. Onnoph(ri)s shepherd (?) of Piorap.”

- 1 Year 5 of Augustus was 26/25 BC; year 5 of Tiberius was 18/19. Probably the date is 26 February 25 BC.  
2 Neither word is given any mark of abbreviation. Read Ὀννώφ(ρις), ποιμή(ν).

**10.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **03.466**

PT (S/33c), B. 518, C. 1402, S.F. 299. In the fill of grave  
C. 1402, dated to Phase IV. 25 BC or AD 19

21.3 × 26.4 × 8.0 cm. Complete. Incised and painted red in letters 1.5-2 cm high. The red paint is much faded.

L ε Παῦνι ἱε  
Ταμουν  
3 Ἀρμάχις

“Year 5, Pauni 15. Tamoun daughter of Harmachis.”

- 1 Year 5 of Augustus was 26/5 BC; year 5 of Tiberius was AD 18/19. Pauni 15 is probably 9 June 25 BC.  
3 The second alpha appears not to have been incised; only faint paint remains of it. At the start of the line, a horizontal upper stroke, as of pi, seems to precede alpha; but this is shallower than the letters and probably not intended as a letter stroke.

**11.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 86

25/4 BC or AD 19/20

Written in capitals across an apparent grid, perhaps of earlier origin.

ΛϚ Ἰβου Μι-  
ράτου Φαρ(μουῦθι) [

“Year 6, Ibous son of Mirates. Pharmouthi [.]”

- 1 Year 6 of Augustus was 25/4 BC; year 6 of Tiberius was AD 19/20. Pharmouthi was 27 March-25 April in 24 BC.  
2 The drawing shows no cross-bar on what I take as alpha in the month name, and the top of rho is partly lost. The day number would be lost at right. Alternatively, this could be a third name, although it is not obvious what this name would be.

**12.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **06.163**

NM 34 – shaft area.

24/3 BC?

37 × 9 × 7 cm. A stone with several designs cut on a vertical orientation, then rotated horizontally for the short text. Incised faintly in letters 1 cm high.

L ζ Τειρι

- 1 Year 7 of Augustus = 24/3 BC. No parallel for the name is known to me.

**13.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.678** PT (S/33d), C. 202, S.F. 38 22 BC  
 17.5 × 25 × 9 cm. Damaged at lower right, but it is uncertain whether any letters are lost. The surface is flaking. Incised and painted in red in letters 1 cm high, spaced almost as if to imitate stoichedon.

L θ ῆ  
 Παοπι  
 Ταμρ-  
 4 άτης  
 Πάσι-  
 ος

“Year 9, Phaophi 8. Tamirates daughter of Pasis.”

- 1 Year 9 of Augustus was 22/21 BC; Phaophi 8 = 6 October 22 BC. The theta has no incised or (still visible) painted cross-bar.  
 5-6 There could have been a tau lost in the area at right where the surface has been chipped away, giving the form Πάσιτος. It is also possible that more letters were incised in line 6, where the remainder of the surface is also lost.

**14.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.131** PT (S/32b) 22 BC  
 24.8 × 17.3 × 10.0 cm. Complete. Incised in letters 1 cm high; there is no trace of paint.

L θ Χοίαχ κά  
 Άδγχις Πάσιτος  
 3 μητρὸς Ταρήτις

“Year 9, Choiach 21. Haynchis daughter of Pasis and Taretis.”

- 1 Year 9 of Augustus was 22/21 BC; Choiak 21 = 18 December 22 BC.  
 3 A masculine name Ταρήτις is attested in *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59292.394 (the *Guide to the Zenon Archive*, 425, marks it as “Eg.”). The same name appears in *P.Amh.* II 98.7 and *SB XVI* 12639.8 as a feminine name. In *P.Laur.* III 98.6-7, *SB XIV* 12054.97, *XVI* 12381.23 and 12382.80 (all from the Heroninos archive) the gender is not self-evident but probably masculine. Whether we have a related name or a heteroclitite genitive here is not obvious.

**15.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.73** PT (S/33d) 21 BC  
 14.5 × 18 × 6.5 cm. Complete except for minor chipping. Incised and painted red in letters 1.5-2 cm high. Below and to the left side is a large X seemingly unrelated to the remainder of the text (cf. **31** for an analogous case).

Ταμράτη  
 Πασιπιμη  
 L θ ῆ Μεσου-  
 4 ρής

“Tamirate daughter of Pasipime. Year 9, 18 Mesore.”

- 3 The L sign is inverted, so that the horizontal stroke extends over the theta. In finishing the month name, into which a superfluous upsilon has been added, the lapicide also appended a superfluous concluding sigma. Year 9 of Augustus was 22/21 BC; Mesore 18 = 11 August 21 BC.

**16.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.843** NM 17 (T/48), S.F. 337. 20 BC  
 21.6 × 27.3 × 5.0 cm. Incised in letters 1 cm high.

Πνευπερο  
 Ταλαη Τύβι ι  
 3 ἔτους L ι

“Pnepheros son of Talae. Tybi 10, year 10.”

- 1 Πνεφερώς is the normal spelling of this name. The spelling used here is not elsewhere attested.  
 2 Ταλαης, of unknown gender, appears as a name in *P.Fuad I Univ.* 5.4 (Herakleopolite, first century BC).  
 3 Year 10 of Augustus was 21/20 BC. Tybi 10 = 5 January 20 BC.

**17.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **97.2** QP4 (R/38) 19 BC  
 15.3 × 17.8 × 2.0 cm. Probably broken at top, where part of the surface is lost even where the stone remains. Incised and painted (only slight traces remain) with letters 1.5 cm high.

- - - - -

“Year 11, Tybi 12.”

L ια

2 Τῶβι ιβ

1 Year 11 of Augustus was 20/19 BC. Tybi 12 = 7 January 19 BC.

**18.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **99.28/2** PT (Q/27), B. 29 18 BC  
 23.5 × 19.6 × 6.5 cm. Complete. Incised and painted (faint traces) with letters 1.5-2 cm high. Below (inscribed later?) is an elaborate drawing that at first sight resembles a chi-rho monogram but has no head to turn the vertical stroke into a rho and continues downward for an additional branching. It looks also as if the present line 1 is an addition to the original text, which began with the date in line 2. Exactly how we are to interpret it, I do not know.

Νικτηβω . . . .

“Year 12, month of Pachon 7. Dorion Nerneios.

L ιβ μη(νός) Φακῶν ζ̄

[appended] Nektanebo . . .”

3 Δωρίων Νηρνεῖος

1 The spelling of the name here is, apparently uniquely in the papyri, close to that given in the sources for the kings of Dyn. 30; it is the same name as Νεχθενῖβις, the more typical spelling in the papyri.

2 Year 12 of Augustus = 19/18 BC. Read Παχῶν. Pachon 7 was 2 May 18 BC.

3 I cannot say if Dorion has a patronymic or some kind of demotic. Νερόνειος is hardly possible at this date, and a month name is not needed here.

**19.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.331** PT(U/31b), C. 926, S.F. 223. 18 BC  
 21 × 24 × 9 cm. Complete. Incised and painted red (paint preserved except for a few letters) with letters 1-1.5 cm high. Below the inscription there is a depiction of a man holding a horizontal linear object in front of him and a vertical object behind him. A larger, horizontal linear object with a short vertical toothed line at the right end is depicted beneath him. The incisions of the drawings are somewhat faint.

Ἀπύχις

“Apychis son of Thediri. Year 12, Pauni 27.”

2 Θεδιρι L ιβ Παῶνι κζ̄

1 This is perhaps a miswriting of the familiar name Apynchis.

2 Year 12 of Augustus was 19/18 BC; Pauni 27 = 21 June 18 BC. Note that the month and day are written above the line. The patronymic is otherwise unknown.

**20.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **96.193** PT (T/30ab) 15/14 BC  
 16 × 12.3 × 5.0 cm. Complete, but surface badly eroded in patches, flaking and pitted. Incised and painted red with letters 1.5 cm high. In the last three lines, the damage to the surface is so extensive that often only traces of red paint suggest the original reading.

Παλουβη[.] . . .

“Paloube— son of Taartbos, about 42 years old . . .

Τααρτβῶς ὄς

Tybi [. . .] Year 15 of Caesar.”

ἐ[τ]ῶ[v] μβ̄ . . .

4 [. . . . .] Τῶβ[ι]

[. . .] ιε Καῖ[σαρος]

- 1 The shape of the lost letter after eta was lunate, almost certainly sigma or theta. Following that is a letter with a long descender, iota or rho. The traces after that are compatible with μι, and a squeezed-in sigma at the end is possible. The most plausible reconstructions are thus Παλουβηθιμις and Παλουβησιμις, neither known.
- 5 The year numeral is certain, but all except the beginning of the emperor's name is lost. Year 15 of Augustus was 16/15 BC. As in 39, which has a similar order of elements, there is a lacuna between the age and the month; I do not know what to anticipate in this place.

**21.** *Dahchour 1894-1895*, p. 110, fig. 155

15 BC

Written in large block capitals in lines 4-5, but a more rounded hand before. It is possible that lines 2-3 represent an insertion (see note).

	Σενωνόφρις	“Senonnophris son/daughter of Tathotis his/her
	Ταθῶτις	mother. Phaophi 1, year 16.”
	μητρὸς	
4	Παπει ᾠ	
	L ῑ	

- 1 The usual spelling is Σενοννώφρις. The Σεν- formative element may come from t3-šr.t-n (“the daughter of”) or from sn- (“brother of”). The first is overwhelmingly more common, but the use instead of Θιγ- in 27 to represent this element may introduce an element of doubt. The last two letters (τις) are written above the line. At line level there is what appears to be a large block epsilon or theta. It is not clear what was originally written.
- 3 This appears to be an afterthought and no doubt should normally have been written before line 2. But lines 2-3 are in a smaller hand than 1 and 4-5, and they may as a whole have been an insertion.
- 4 Evidently an unusual misspelling of Φαῶφι.
- 5 Year 16 of Augustus was 15/14 BC. Phaophi 1 = 28 September 15 BC.

**22.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. 98.572/2

PT (R/27 upper)

14 BC

13.7 × 13.8 × 5.3 cm. Complete. Incised in majuscule letters 1 cm high.

	L ιζ Ἄθῦρ ᾠ	“Year 17, Hathyr 16. Haryos (?) son of Mirates.”
	Αρυος Μιρά-	
3	της	

- 1 Year 17 of Augustus = 14/13 BC. Hathyr 16 = 13 November 14 BC.
- 2 It is possible that instead of the unknown Haryos we should take the name as a misspelling of Ἄρειος, but the Egyptian dominance of the onomastics of these inscriptions might make one hesitate before this interpretation.

**23.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. 98.573/2

PT (R/27, upper)

14/13 BC

21 × 22 × 6.4 cm. Incised and painted (faint remains) in letters 1.5 cm high, of an almost cursive character. The surface is prone to flaking.

	Τκαλυσ	“Tkaly's daughter of Nechthenibis, about 25 years old.
	Νεχθενίβιος	Year 17, Choiak 6.”
	ὥς L κε	
4	L ιζ Χοίακ ς	

- 3 Year 17 of Augustus was 14/13 BC. Choiak 6 = 3 December 14 BC.

**24.** *Dahchour 1894-1895*, p. 110, fig. 156

14 BC

In careful, competent capitals.

Μιράθης

“Mirathes son of Teos. Year 17, Choiak 30.”

Τεῶτος

Λ ιζ

4 Χοίακ

λ

3 Year 17 of Augustus was 14/13 BC. Choiak 30 = 27 December 14 BC.

**25.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.816**

NM 17 (T/48), C. 1612, S.F. 334.

11 BC

18.8 × 24.2 × 6.0 cm. Complete except for chip at upper left. Incised in letters 1.5-2 cm high. Several drawings appear at the bottom. Two of them appear to be altars; there is also a palm leaf and what appears to be a reptile.



[L] ιθ Κάϊσα-

ρος Μεσορή

ιζ Σεναρεντό-

4 της τοῦ Μιρηους

μέτηρ Θαμοῦ-

νις

“Year 19 of Caesar, Mesore 17. Senarendotes son/  
daughter of Mires and Thamounis.”

1 Year 19 of Augustus was 12/11 BC; Mesore 17 = 10 August 11 BC.

3-4 The normal spelling is Σεναρενδώτης. See 21.1n. on the interpretation of the name.

5 Read μήτηρ for the correct μητρός.

**26.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **96.155** NM18 – (T/49, surface of gate area) 11 BC  
 24.5 × 15 × 7.0 cm. Complete but encrusted at the left, so that perhaps 1-2 characters cannot be read.  
 Incised shallowly with letters 1.5 cm high.

L κ Ἀθὺρ δ̄ “Year 20, Hathyr 20. Mirathes son of Pat—athes.  
 [Μι]ράθη Πατ-  
 3 [ . . ] . άθου

- 1 Year 20 of Augustus was 11/10 BC; Hathyr 4 = 31 October 11 BC.
- 2 The trace before alpha is a vertical; it can easily be a rho, but there is no sign of the head.

**27.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 91bis 11 BC  
 Written in capitals, with broken-bar alpha, squared theta, and high omega.

Θιναρτῶτ “Good Thinartot, farewell. Year 20, Hathyr 20.”  
 χρητῆ χ-  
 αῖρε. Lκ  
 4 Ἀθὺρ κ̄

- 1 “The daughter of Harthotes.”
- 2 Read χρηστή.
- 3 Year 20 of Augustus = 11/10 BC. Hathyr 20 = 16 November 11 BC.

**28.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **95.1** L/24-25 (QP 8), surface find 10 BC  
 13.6 × 20.8 × 5.5 cm. Complete. Incised in letters 1 cm high. There are two parallel vertical lines to the left of the text, two parallel horizontal lines above it. Below the inscription is a drawing of a four-legged male animal, probably a bull, standing on a platform decorated with an uneven checkerboard pattern.

L κ Τῦβι κε “Year 20, Tybi 25. One king! Oxeis son of Apynchis  
 ἐν βασιλεύς has died.”  
 Ὀξερις Ἀπύνχις  
 4 τέθνηκε

- 1 Year 20 of Augustus was 11/10 BC; Tybi 25 = 20 January 10 BC.
- 2-3 One is reminded of the funerary stela in the form of a rectangular pillar, *I.Métrique* 114 (Cairo 9267, Milne, *Greek Inscriptions (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* [1905], p. 48), from Alexandria and taken by the editor to belong to the first century AD, with on one side (following an invocation of Zeus), εἷς Καῖσαρ, μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω · εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτης . The expression taken as I have requires us to take ἐν, the neuter form, as being written for the masculine εἷς. But supposing that we are dealing with a name (H)enbasileus seems far less likely. Οξερις is not attested elsewhere as a name. It might be tempting to read Οσερις for Οσιρις, but after study of the original I am persuaded this is not possible. Moreover, its genitive, Οξεριος, appears in **36**. Cf. also the unique Ογερις, perhaps the same name, in **33**.

**29.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.573/3** PT (R/27, upper) 10 BC  
 23 × 28.3 × 6.7 cm. Incised and painted with letters 1 cm high.

L κ Παχὸν κ̄ “Year 20, Pachon 20. Thisis son/daughter of  
 Θιρις Καλα-  
 3 πατι Kalapati.”

- 1 Year 20 of Augustus was 11/10 BC; Pachon 20 = 15 May 10 BC.
- 2 Neither name is elsewhere attested.

**30.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.573/1** PT (R/27, upper) 10 BC  
20.3 × 23.0 × 6.7 cm. Incised and painted in letters 1 cm high.

L κα Παῶπι ἱθ̄ “Year 21, Phaophi 19. Horos son of Harmiouthes.”  
2 Ὠρος Ἄρμιούθης

1 Year 21 of Augustus was 10/9 BC; Phaophi 19 = 17 October 10 BC.

**31.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.1140** Center of south side of pyramid (M/25) 9 BC  
16.2 × 13.5 × 6.0 cm. Complete. Incised with letters 1 cm high. Below the text is a large and deeply cut X-shaped sign (cf. 15).

L κ'ά Παρμουθ- “Year 21, Pharmouthi 15. Tasroses daughter of  
θι ἱε̄ *vacat* Harmachis.”  
Τασροσης  
4 Ἄρμάχης

1 Year 21 of Augustus was 10/9 BC; Pharmouthi 15 = 10 April 9 BC.

3 The middle stroke of epsilon is not visible, but cf. 37 for the name (and another compound on the same stem in 4).

**32.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **99.28/1** PT (Q/27), B. 29 9 BC  
16.2 × 16.2 × 5.6 cm. Possible minor loss at lower right. A border on left and top. Incised with letters 1 cm high.

L κβ “Year 22, Choiak 12. Ammonios son of Taschertous.”  
Χοίαχ ἱβ̄  
Ἄμμώνιο[ς]  
4 Τασχερτοῦς

1 Year 22 of Augustus was 9/8 BC; Choiak 12 = 8 December 9 BC.

4 The name may be feminine, but it is not elsewhere attested.

**33.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 88 7 BC

Lγκ Τῶβ[ι] “Year 23, Tybi 19. Epheleute daughter of Ogeris.”  
θἱ  
Εφελε-  
4 υτη Ὀγε-  
ρις

1-2 This is one of only two instances in the corpus of numerals with the tens' digit following the unit (here both in the year number and in the day number). See 37, with year 27 written in this fashion. This habit is found in other contexts, both epigraphical and papyrological (e.g., *O.Krok., passim*). Year 23 of Augustus was 8/7 BC. Tybi 19 = 14 January 7 BC.

3-5 For Ογερίς cf. Οξερίς in 28 with note there to lines 2-3. Εφελευτη is no less unattested and puzzling. It is tempting to interpret it, with much correction, as ἐτελεύτα or ἐτελεύτη(σεν). But this is perhaps too drastic given the number of unknown names in these texts.

**34.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **90.106** From upper section of Pyramid causeway. Reburied. 5 BC

21 × 15.5 cm (thickness not known). Broken at left (see note to line 1). Painted in red on an architectural element, below the raised top section.



[ ]το( ) Βελλῆς τοῦ Μιροπάτης “NN son of Belles, grandson of Miropates, his mother  
 [μητρὸς] Ἀθαγῆς Athage. Year 25, Epeiph 1.”  
 3 L κε Ἐπήφ ᾠ

- 1 The traces in line 1 point to a name before Βελλῆς, of which only the abbreviated ending (with raised omicron) is present. The presence of τοῦ also suggests that Belles is the name of the father, not of the decedent, although 25 shows that the writers of these texts did not follow correct usage consistently.
- 2 There may be traces at the start, but they cannot be seen clearly on the photograph. Probably correct the name to Ἀγάθης.
- 3 Year 25 of Augustus was 6/5 BC; Epeiph 1 = 25 June 5 BC.

**35.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.804** NM 17, debris mound. 5 BC  
 24.5 × 33 × 17 cm. Complete except for chipping in the upper part. Incised with letters 2-3 cm high.  
 There is no trace of paint remaining.

Μεσορή “Year 25 of Caesar, Mesore 7. Tameirat daughter of  
 L κε Κάσ- Baleis.”  
 αρος ζ  
 4 Ταμειρ-  
 ατ Βαλε-  
 ις

- 1 Written as an afterthought; apparently the lapicide omitted the month name before the numeral in line 3.
- 2-3 Read Καίσαρος. Year 25 of Augustus was 6/5 BC. Mesore 7 = 31 July 5 BC.
- 4 More normally Ταμυράτης in these texts.
- 5-6 Perhaps an attempt at what is usually spelled Βελλῆς.

**36.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 89 4 BC  
 Written in flowing, stylish letters. Several designs, including a swastika and bird, stand below the inscription.

Φαμεν(ὠθ) κᾶ “Phamenoth 21. Sarotei son of Oxeis. Year 26.”  
 Σαρωτεῖ  
 Ὀξεριος  
 4 L κς

- 2 The name is not elsewhere attested.
- 3 For this name see 28.2-3n.
- 4 Year 26 of Augustus = 5/4 BC. Phamenoth 21 = 17 March 4 BC.

**37.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.572/4** PT (R/27, upper) 4 BC  
 14.0 × 22.0 cm. Complete, but with a badly preserved surface missing the original surface level in many places. Roughly incised and painted with letters 1.5 cm high. It is not always clear what is paint and what is random surface discoloration.

Νεβτίχης ἡ κα- “Nebtichis also called Sabadis daughter of Mireis,  
 ἰ Σαβαδῖς Μι- about 30 years old, Choiach 20. . . 27<sup>th</sup> year.”  
 ρηῖς ὠς  
 4 L λ Χοίαχ  
 κ [ . . . ] . .  
 ζκ L

- 1 On Nebtichis see 77.1-2n.
- 2 This may be a variant on a Sabb-/Samb- name (Σαμβάθις?).
- 3 The order here is like that of 20, with an age, then the month and day, and finally the regnal year.
- 5 I do not know what would have stood in the lacuna.
- 6 Year 27 of Augustus = 4/3 BC. Choiak 20 = 16 December 4 BC. It is of course possible that another digit of the date appeared in what is now lost.

**38.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **95.34** North of QP7 1 BC  
 16.2 × 22.6 × 5.0 cm. Complete. Incised and painted in red with letters 1-2 cm high. A ship and a small bird appear at the bottom of the inscription. Below the ship, the key symbol appears, oriented differently than on 7.

L κ̄θ Φαμεν(ὠθ) ᾿ιδ̄  
 Τασρωσης “Year 29, Phamenoth 14. Tasroses daughter of  
 Απανις Apanis.”

- 3 ᾿Απανις
- 1 Year 29 of Augustus was 2/1 BC; Phamenoth 14 = 10 March 1 BC.
- 2 For Tasroses see also 2, 6, and 31.

**39.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.224** PT (U/31b), C. 792, S.F. 204. 1 BC  
 26 × 20 × 14 cm. Complete. Incised with letters 2 cm high (line 1) and 1.5 cm high (lines 2-3).

Κοπρί- “Kopria. Year 29, Pauni 17.”

- 3 α L κ̄θ Παῦ-  
 νι ιζ̄
- 2 Of the year numeral, only the vertical of kappa is completely clear, but it is highly probable that the top of the second digit was rounded, and the traces seem much more like theta than sti. The space supports kappa rather than iota as the first numeral. Year 29 of Augustus was 2/1 BC. Pauni 17 = 11 June 1 BC.

**40.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.745** PT (S/28) AD 1  
 28.2 × 20.0 × 6.5 cm. Complete but damaged in the lower central part of the text. Incised and painted red (a few traces survive) in letters 2 cm high. At the top of the stone, some additional letters but only 1 cm high appear in several places: above the year sign, eta; above the iota of the day numeral, rho kappa; above the final eta, perhaps ιθα. These may not belong to this text at all but to a previous use. There are signs of chiselling suggesting erasure here and elsewhere on the surface. This piece has part of the head of a deity and a hieroglyphic inscription above. It probably originates from the square antechamber of Senwosret III's Pyramid Temple.

L λα Χοίαχ ι ᾿Αρε- “Year 31, Choiach 10. Harendotes son of Pete. . -  
 νδώδης chephthemis, farewell.”

- 4 Πετε [ ]χεφθ-  
 ἡμικ χέροις.
- 1 Year 31 of Augustus was AD 1/2; Choiak 10 = 6 December AD 1.
- 3-4 I have not found any name with this full ending. A Νεφθῆμικ appears in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 26.2 (from Memphis).
- 4 Read χαίροις.

**41.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **99.116** PT (T/29ad) AD 5  
 Ca. 16.5 × 22 × 8.5 cm. Complete. Incised with letters 1-1.5 cm high.

L λε Χοίακ ις  
Δώσιος Σαμ-  
βᾶ Ταισως ἐτ-

“Year 35, Choiak 16. Dosios son of Sambas, grandson  
(?) of Taisos, 25 years old.”

4 ὦν κε

1 Year 35 of Augustus was AD 5/6; Choiak 16 = 12 December AD 5.

2 I have not found Δώσιος elsewhere, but Δωσᾶς is well attested, as a hypocoristic of the familiar Δωσίθεος, and perhaps the name here is another such derivative.

3 The name is not attested; given its beginning, it is perhaps a feminine name, in which case one might think that μητρός has been omitted. The name may be an Isis derivative like Ταισᾶς/Θαισᾶς.

**42.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **96.219**

PT (T/30ab)

AD 6

19 × 23.7 × 5.5 cm. Damaged at lower right. Incised and painted in red with letters 1 cm high.

L λε Παῦνι ε̄

“Year 35, Pauni 5. Mireis son of Paschi- -.”

2 Μιρηις Πασχι . . [

1 Year 35 of Augustus was AD 5/6; Pauni 5 = 30 May AD 6.

2 Μιρηῆς is found (but spelled without the iota) above all in the Hermopolite and Eastern Desert (with Koptos). The unread part of the patronymic is probably lambda iota or nu. These do not lead to a known name.

**43.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **99.72**

PT (T/29a-28b)

AD 6

17.2 × 22.0 × 5.8 cm. Complete. Incised in letters 1 cm high.

L λε Πανι ιθ̄

“Year 35, Pauni 19. Taonnophris daughter of Mirathes.”

Τοννώπρις

3 Μιράθους

1 Year 35 of Augustus was AD 5/6; Pauni 19 = 13 June AD 6.

2 The usual spelling is Ταωννώφρις.

**44.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.6**

NM 18 – east side.

AD 11/12

28.8 × 25.8 × 3.8 cm. Incised in a frame created with incised lines of a gabled structure, as of a temple, in letters 1.25-1.5 cm high. There are no traces of red paint. Line 1 and traces of a second line stand inside the pedimental area, lines 3-5 below the pediment. Three deep, vertical incisions appear beneath the inscription.

L μ *traces*

“Year 40 . . . Thiri and L. .sires and Hathres, all  
children of Pholemis.”

*traces*

Θιρι καὶ Λ . . σιρης

4 καὶ Ἄθρης ἀμότ[ε]ρο[ι]

Φωλήμις

1 Year 40 of Augustus = AD 10/11.

4 A variant of Ἄτρῆς (“twin”).

5 The name is not elsewhere attested in this spelling; with omicron instead of omega, however, it is common in the Fayyum. Πολῆμις is less common, but also characteristic of the Fayyum and neighboring nomes.

**45.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **07.419** NM 17 – east of enclosure wall (U/46-48) 30 BC-AD 14  
18.2 × 23.5 × 7.5 cm. Complete. Incised and painted. Below the inscription is a drawing of a four-legged creature, perhaps a jackal, with a human figure on its back. Towards the left of the gravestone appears a rake-like design which is probably another form of the key of Anubis.<sup>34</sup>

	Κέσαρος	“<Year – of> Caesar, Pachon 16. Srous son of
	Παχών ις	-apychis died of the bite of an asp. 16 <years old>.”
	Σροϋς . . . απυχις	
4	ἀπέθανε	
	ὀπὼ ἀσπίδις ις	

- 1 Read Καίσαρος. As far as I can see, the year sign and number have been omitted, but the condition of the stone in the upper part is not good and it is possible that damage has removed something once written.
- 3 The letters not read are awkwardly made; perhaps Πα-, but the first letter could also be a poorly made mu.
- 5 Read (apparently) ὑπὸ ἀσπίδος, F. T. Gignac, *The Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I: Phonology* (Milan 1976) 293 records an instance of ὀπόμενημα (for ὑπο-) in a papyrus of AD 34. One wonders if ἀσπίδις is influenced by the Latin genitive *aspidis*.

**46.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **99.571** PT(V/30): de Morgan’s spoil heap. AD 16 (?)  
19.0 × 13.0 × 4.5 cm. Complete. Incised and painted red (traces visible) in letters 1 cm high.

	Λ γ Χοία(κ) ιβ̄	“Year 3, Choiak 12. Haryotes son of Amioutes.”
	Ἄρυώτης	
3	Ἄμιουτης	

- 1 Year 3 of Augustus was 28/27 BC; year 3 of Tiberius was AD 16/17. Choiak 12 = probably 8 December AD 16, given the form of rho. There is no trace, incised or painted of the kappa in the month name, even though space for it is present.
- 3 A form Θαμιουτος appears in *P.Petr.* III 94C.4. One might also speculate about a deformation of Ἄρμιούτης.

**47.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.845** NM 17 (T/48), S.F. 340. AD 19/20  
20.1 × 23.4 × 6.0 cm. Complete but in poor condition. Incised with letters 1 cm high.

	Ταμινάθη Λ ζ Τιβε-	“Tamirathe. Year 6 of Tiberius Caesar . . .”
	ρίου Καίσαρος	
3	π . α [ . ] ω [ . ]	

- 1 Year 6 of Tiberius was AD 19/20.
- 3 This should give a month and day. The most plausible readings would be Παχών, Παώνι, and Παμενώθ, but the last will not fit the distribution of space and the former two do not need the apparent letter found after pi here. Nor does Παώνι (in whatever spelling we may suppose) fit any better. The best solution may be to suppose that the apparent letter after pi is a false start on alpha. One may then take the trace after alpha as the lower left part of chi, and the final letter as a nu with diagonal stroke written in the wrong direction, altogether yielding Π[α]αχών.

**48.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **95.47** From the area east of the southeast corner of the pyramid  
Early Roman  
17.5 × 16.5 × 7.0 cm. Complete. Incised and painted with letters 2 cm high. The surface is blistering and losing its upper layer in line 4.

	Ἄυχις μηδρὸς	“Haychis whose mother is Taesis, and Pates son of
	Τήσι καὶ Πα-	Mirathes. Year -, Thoth 2.”

<sup>34</sup> See C. Riggs and M. Depauw, “Soternalia,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 53 (2002) 75-89 for a parallel on a shroud fragment from Deir el-Bahri.

τῆς Μιράθη  
4 L . Θωὺθ β̄

1 Read Ἀύγχις μητρὸς.

**49.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.771** PT (S/28) Early Roman  
31.5 × 11.0 × 5.0 cm. Surface lost at upper left and generally prone to flaking. Incised with letters 1 cm high.

L [ . . ] Μ̄εσορῆ εχ[ . ]μεγ . “Year - -, Mesore, . . . Mireis son of Mirathes.”  
ε̄

3 Μιρηις Μιράθου

1 What follows Mesore is difficult to discern. It is not ἐπαγομένων or some form of it; the second letter cannot be pi, and there is not room for that long a word. ἐχομένεν as a mistake for ἐπαγομένων might be considered.

**50.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.956/1** PT (S/28) Early Roman (ca. 15 BC-AD 16)  
13.5 × 29.8 × 7.0 cm. Probably complete. Incised and painted red with letters 1 cm (line 1) and 1.5-2 cm (lines 2-4) high.

Νι<κ>αρέτην “Nikarete. Nikarion daughter of Amonios.”

Νιχά-

ρην

4 Ἄμωνι

1 The omission of kappa cannot be attributed to pronunciation and is presumably just a careless error of the lapicide.

2-3 Read Νικάριον.

4 Probably read Ἄμωνίου, “Nikarion daughter of Amonios”, by comparison with **51**. It is clear that lines 2-4 were written as a unit separately from line 1.

**51.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.956/2** PT (S/28) Early Roman (ca. 15 BC-AD 16)  
22.5 × 15.4 × 5.0 cm. Complete. Incised in letters 1 cm high (line 1) and 1.5 cm high (line 2).

Νικάριν Ἄμμόνις “Nikarion daughter of Ammonios.”

2 Κοίαχ κ̄ς

1 Read Νικάριον Ἄμμωνίου. Cf. **50** for the same individual.

**52.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **96.672** PT (S/32d) Early Roman  
8.5 × 19.7 × 6.0 cm. Complete. Incised in two lines across the short dimension with letters 0.7 cm high.

Μιρηις “Mireis son of Horos.”

2 Ὡρος

**53.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.572/3** PT (R/27, upper) Early Roman (ca. 15 BC-AD 16)  
21.2 × 12.8 × 8.2 cm. Complete. Painted without incision in letters 1-1.5 cm high.

Νεμτι “Nemti son of Mireis and mother Talou.”

Μιρηις

3 μητρὸς Ταλοῦ

1 The name is not elsewhere attested; cf. above, n. 15.

3 The name is presumably a variant of attested names like Ταλοῦ and Ταλοῦς.

**54.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.112/1** PT (S/32c) Early Roman (?)  
 19 × 20 × 8 cm. Probably complete; in principle it could be broken at top, but there is no indication that more than the name was ever inscribed. Incised shallowly in letters 4 cm in height. There are no traces of paint.

Κοπρίας

“Koprias.”

**55.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.112/2** PT (S/32c) Early Roman  
 38 × 30 × 15.5 cm. Probably the stone is complete, but most of the left half of the surface is destroyed, with only in line 1 the ghosts of letters. Incised.

εὐψύχι

[ . . . . ]θεος

[ . . . . ]οδ.

4 [ . . . . ] . .

**56.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.1001** PT (T/32b): fill of B.201 (fill 237), S.F. 69. Early Roman (?)

38.2 × 12.4 × 10.5 cm. Incised on a rough, undulating surface in letters 3 cm high.

Ταῆσι

“Taesis daughter of Merois.”

2 Μεροτς

2 The name is definitely not Mersis. It is not elsewhere attested.

**57.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **01.209** PT (T/32d), S.F.115 Early Roman?  
 17.0 × 21.0 × 8.0 cm. Apparently complete. Very crudely incised in letters 3.5 cm high.

ΒΕΡΝΙΚΙ

“Berenike.”

2 ΒΕΡΝΙΚΙ

1 Epsilon is rotated forward 90 degrees. It appears that the lapicide recarved the line, getting the epsilon (if not the spelling) correct on the second try.

**58.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.475/1** PT (U/27+28, V/27+28); de Morgan’s spoil heap. Early Roman

10.9 × 8.8 × 3.0 cm. Fragment broken at left and right, perhaps also on other sides. Incised in letters 1.5-2 cm high.

]ενο[

2 ]πις

**59.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.485** PT (S/27a), C. 970, S.F. 240. Early Roman  
 25 × 25 × 10 cm. Breakage unclear. The surface is extremely friable, abraded, and chipped. Incised with letters 2 cm high.

. . ου .

ατρης

[ . ]θεν

4 .ν . . .

αν

1 What I read as omicron could be theta, but it is not possible to read the month name Hathyr.

**60.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.523** PT (U/27+28, V/27+28); de Morgan's spoil heap. Early Roman

32 × 17 × 11 cm. Complete. A pyramid casing block, with socket for squarish patchstone, reused. Incised on a roughly finished surface with letters 3-4 cm high, Early Roman in character.

Θατρῆς

“Thatres.”

**61.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **03.331** PT (S/33c), C. 1269, S.F. 280. Early Roman  
27.7 × 29.0 × 9.8 cm. Probably broken at left, perhaps also at right. The head of the rho at the end of the line seems broken off. Written in crude capital letters 3 cm high.

]λεξ̄ ἰβ̄ Ἀθώρ

1 There is no sign of abbreviation after λεξ̄, which seems inescapably to demand restoration as Ἀ]λεξ̄( ). But what this can signify I do not know. A restoration κατ' Ἀλεξ̄(ανδρέας) with reference to the Alexandrian reformed calendar is difficult to imagine; no example appears in D. Hagedorn and K. A. Worp, “Das Wandeljahr im römischen Ägypten,” *ZPE* 104 (1994) 243–55.

**62.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.826** NM 17 (T/48) Early Roman  
25.0 × 21.0 × 6.0 cm. Probably complete. Deeply cut letters 4-5 cm high.

Τασρο-  
οῦς

“Tasroous, 6 (years old?).”

3 . ς

1 See 37.2n. for the name.

3 Probably the L year sign at the start, indicating age rather than date of the inscription.

**63.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **05.96** NM 17 (T/48) Early Roman  
27 × 16.5 × 4.5 cm. Apparently complete. Incised with letters 2.5 cm high, Early Roman in character.

Ταμιρατ

1 The first alpha has no incised crossbar.

**64.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **05.97** NM 17 (T/48) Early Roman  
19 × 30 × 6 cm. Broken at left. Incised with letters 2 cm high. Below is a drawing.

] . νν

2 ] Π̄αχ̄(ών) κ̄

1 A short vertical stroke precedes the first nu; it could be part of an omicron and thus yield the name Onnophris, but other readings are certainly possible.

2 Chi is written above the line and a bit to the left of a position over alpha.

**65.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **06.162** NM 34 – shaft area Early Roman  
26.5 × 20.5 × 5 cm. Probably broken below. Deeply incised with letters 4-6 cm in a fluid style. Below the second line are some strokes which may belong to a third line (see note) or may be decoration.

Θαῆσις

“Thaesis daughter of Horos.”

2 Ὢρου

2 The omega is written as an ellipse with a vertical line in the middle.

- 3 The tail of the rho in line 2 curves back toward the left margin, then up that margin vertically. To the right of where this curve joins the rho proper, there is a horizontal stroke and below it a curving stroke which disappears downward into the break in the stone. It would be possible see the long curve as a fancy year sign and the other remains as a sti, yielding (ἐτῶν) σ, “6 years old.” But the entire design is so unusual that I do not feel confident that this interpretation is right.

**66.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **06.164** NM 34 – shaft area. Early Roman (?)  
27 × 33 × 8 cm. Perhaps broken at left and right. Incised in letters 3 cm high. The surface is badly effaced and flaking.

υορ[  
εϛ . .[  
3 υπ .[

**67.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **06.166** NM 34 – shaft area. Early Roman  
28 × 20 × 4.5 cm. Broken at top and right. Deeply cut letters, 4 -6 cm high. Beneath the inscription appears a drawing of what seems to be a foot.

Θερ[μ-] “Thermouthis.”  
2 οῦθι[ς]

- 2 Given the likelihood that the lacuna is only one letter, this restoration is preferable to any of the other names derived from the same stem.

**68.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 87 Early Roman  
Written in competent capitals. Below the line of text the drawing shows a + sign, perhaps a variant of the X written in two other stones; cf. introduction, section 3.5.

Ἄρτηι Μιράτης “Hartes son of Mirates.”

- 1 The initial alpha is missing a cross-bar in the drawing. For the rare Ἄρτης see both Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but they omit several instances easily findable in the DDbDP.

**69.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 90 Early Roman  
Written in careful, rectangular capitals, with broken-bar alpha.

Τανισνηου “Tanisneou.”

- 1 The name means “the one of the brothers.” The name stands in a band between a row of stars above and baskets (the *nb* sign) below; the piece is probably a reused piece of temple relief, to which these stars and baskets belong.

**70.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 91 Early Roman

εὐψύχι “Be of good courage, Didyme.”  
2 Διδύμη

- 1 Read εὐψύχει.





Ἄμα “Ama Eve and Apa Abraham.”

Εὐα

καὶ

4 Ἄπα

Ἄβρααμ

5 The traces of the name are extremely faint, but the first two letters and the length virtually guarantee the reading, and all of the remains are consistent with it.

**77.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **99.406/2**

PT (T/29ad), C. 14

Late Antique

24 × 51 × 35 cm. Incised in competent capitals, with broken-bar alpha, 2.5 cm high.

This and **76** come from Tomb C. 14, a robbed-out brick tomb assignable to Phase 5 and cut into by a tomb from Phase 6.

Νεβτί-

χι γυνή

Μακα-

4 ρίου

1-2 Νεβτίχης is not treated by either Preisigke or Foraboschi as feminine, but *P.Bour.* 20 = *C.Pap.Gr.* II 79 offers us an Aurelia Nebtichis daughter of Sarapion, a Memphite woman. (This is mistakenly listed by Foraboschi under Αὐρήλιος.) According to *NBDem.* 639, the meaning is “Herrin der Trunkenheit,” appropriately for a feminine name; it cites two instances from stelai at the Memphite Serapeum. Cf. also **37** for the early Roman period, clearly referring to a woman.

**78.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.341**

PT (T/32b)

Late Antique

22.5 × 17.6 × 5.0 cm. Complete. Deeply incised in letters 4 cm high.

Πέτ-

“Petros.”

2 ρος

**79.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.427**

PT (T/32d); surface find.

Late Antique

33.5 × 24 × 12.8 cm. Incised on a very rough surface that shows no signs of preparation in letters 3.5-4 cm high.

Παλασία

“Palasia.”

1 The name Palasia appears in *P.Lond.* III 1170 (p. 97), as does the masculine counterpart Palasios.

**80.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.428**

PT (T/33b); from de Morgan’s dump.

Late Antique

29 × 11.5 × 16 cm. Broken at left. Incised in letters ca. 6 cm high.

]ταια

1 The uncertain letter could be a rho lacking its top, but iota seems more likely because the loop would have to be very high in the line.

**81.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.708**

PT (S/33d), C. 184, S.F. 41

Late Antique

30.4 × 38.9 × 9.1 cm. Letters 3-4 cm high very roughly scratched on a rough surface.

. α

2 ρια

The critical question is the first letter in line 1, of which no more than a vertical is clearly visible. It is possible that the lower diagonal stroke of kappa is present, in which case it would follow that another syllable stood in line 1 but is now completely effaced, yielding [Μα]κα|ρία. But reading the letter in question as kappa is anything but certain.

**82.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.833** PT. Found in 1999. Late Antique  
44.8 × 45.1 × 14.0 cm. Complete. Incised with rough block capitals 4-5 cm high.

Ἰσιδώ- "Isidora."  
2 ρα

**83.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.1056** PT (T/33a), Fill 297, S.F. 77. Late Antique  
18.0 × 25.2 × 5.5 cm. Complete. Incised in letters 2 cm high on a very rough surface.

Πλαντᾶ "Plantas."

**84.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.1061** PT (T/33a), found 60 cm east of B. 209, S.F. 83. Late Antique?  
9.4 × 28.6 × 22.0 cm. Broken at left and right. Incised very shallowly in letters 3 cm high on a rough surface given virtually no preparation.

]α.[  
]ιτη[  
3 ]..[  
1 λ or μ.

**85.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **00.1152** PT (T/32c-33d) Late Antique  
35.3 × 22.3 × 4.5 cm. Broken at left. Incised with two letters 5 cm high.

]ρε

1 The descender of the supposed rho is cut off by the loss of surface. There is a ghost of a diagonal stroke before rho, but it is not certain that this is an intended letter. The ending in epsilon may point to a Coptic form of a Greek or Latin name (e.g., Πέτ]ρε).

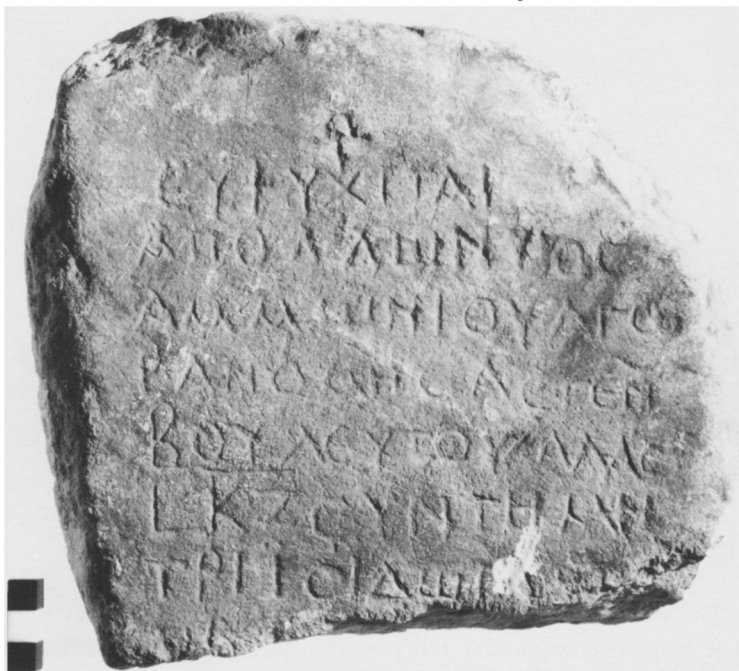
**86.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **01.15** Found in excavation of de Morgan's ruined excavation house. Late Antique?  
39.5 × 35.5 × 8.5 cm. Incised fragment with awkward capital letters 11 cm high. There is some loss at the top, but there may not be any text lost.

Πιῶρις "Piyris."  
*ankh sign*

**87.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **01.208** PT (T/32d), C. 404, S.F. 114. Late Antique  
This is possibly a Phase 5 burial, heavily truncated.  
23 × 16.5 × 6 cm. Incised with letters 4 cm high; omicron, however, is very small and now hard to see.

Ἄμμον[ία "Ammonia."  
[Ἄμμ]ονία

- 88.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **DMH 01.104** Found in excavation of de Morgan's ruined excavation house. Third century  
 24 × 21.5 × 6 cm. Broken at bottom. Incised with letters 1 cm high.



Ω  
 εὐψυχίται  
 Ἀπόλλων υἱὸς  
 Ἀμμωνίου ἀγο-  
 4 ρανομήσας γεν(όμενος)  
 βουλευτοῦ αλασ .  
 L κζ̄ σὺν τῇ μη-  
 8 τρὶ Ἰσιδώρα . .  
 . . [

“Apollon son of Ammonios, former agoranomos, deceased bouleutes of a---, farewell. 27 years old. With his mother Isidora . . .”

1 Read εὐψυχεῖτε.

5 Read βουλευτής. The mention of a city councillor dates this inscription after the Severan reforms at the start of the third century. The position of agoranomos (lines 3-4) is compatible with a third-century date, and there is no secure evidence from any later period. At the end there is a slightly curved vertical stroke with from its top the start of a stroke going to the right, perhaps slightly downward. I have no idea to what this word can refer.

- 89.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.374** PT (S/26bc and S/27), C. 840. Late Antique  
 15.5 × 32.5 × 7.5 cm. Broken at left and probably just a fragment of the original inscription.

An incised cross, 9 cm wide and 10.5 cm high, but damaged. All preserved ends of strokes are provided with branches.

- 90.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.541** NM 31; west side of east enclosure wall, east of north-east corner of mastaba. Late Antique  
 38 × 24 × 10 cm. Complete. Incised in letters ca. 8 cm high, somewhat cursive.

Ταῦρις

“Tauris.”

**91.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.595/1** NM 17; southeast corner Late Antique  
26 × 36 × 16 cm. Complete. Incised with block letters 5 cm high.

Σε-  
ρηνίς “Serenis.”

**92.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **02.595/2** NM 17; southeast corner Late Antique  
35 × 27 × 8.5 cm. Complete. Incised with irregular capital letters 4 cm high.

Ὠρίων “Horion.”

**93.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **03.634** PT (T/27) – but probably from a mastaba. Late Antique  
17.3 × 9.6 × 6.5 cm. Perhaps broken at right. Incised with letters 2–3 cm high. The inscription is secondary on a fragment of a large inscription in sunk relief, with a partial h-sign (sundisk), r-sign (mouth), and a third sign.

Κενναρι[ “Kennari[.”

1 Perhaps a variant on Χεννᾶρις.

**94.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **04.330** Unknown provenance; found before 1998. Late Antique  
24.5 × 33 × 17 cm. The stone is complete; at left much of the surface is gone, but only part of one letter is lost. Incised with rude capitals 2.5–4 cm high.

Ισιτορε “Isidoros.”

1 Read Ἰσίδωρος. This is a Coptic form derived from the Greek vocative.

**95.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **05.18** NM 17 (Q/45) Late Antique  
24 × 78.5 × 18.5 cm. Incised across the short dimension in letters 1.5–2 cm high.

Θέκλα “Thekla.”

1 On Thekla names in the papyri, see S. J. Davis, *BASP* 36 (1999) 71–81. This inscription widens slightly the geographical range known to him, which did not extend north of the Fayyum.

**96.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **05.19** NM 17 (Q/45) Late Antique  
49.3 × 69.5 × 9.6 cm. Complete, joined from four fragments. Incised with letters 2.5 cm high.

+ παρεδοξο . IM

1 The epsilon is made by correcting an original alpha. If this was intended to be a form of παράδοξος, the “correction” is erroneous. The letter after the second omicron looks like a sort of sinusoidal curve in a reverse S. It could represent upsilon.

**97.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **05.160** Late Antique  
North Chapel (N/37a), C. 1872, S.F. 358. C. 1872 is the fill of tomb C. 1837, of Phase V.  
22 × 40 × 36 cm. Unclear if complete. Written across the shorter dimension of the stone in letters 2–3 cm high.

Μαρθε “Martha.”

1 Mu is higher than the rest and fainter, but pi is not a possible reading at this point (what would be its horizontal bar is part of a longer cut on the stone). Despite the epsilon at the end, this is presumably the female name Martha.

**98.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **06.165** NM 34 – shaft area. Late Antique (?)  
20 × 24.5 × 7.5 cm. Incised with letters 3 cm high on a confused surface.

την στο .  
2 της

1 It is possible that instead of nu one should read πι, thus πιστότης? But it is not at all sure that the lapicide was in command of his tools.

**99.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **06.167** NM 34 – shaft area. Late Antique  
24 × 20 × 7 cm. Incised with letters 1.5 cm high.

καιατια . [

**100.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **07.20** North Chapel (N/38d), S.F. 417, de Morgan's debris mound. Late Antique  
28.0 × 36.0 × 12.5 cm. Incised with letters 3 cm high.

ΧΙΜΟΤΕ[  
ΔΗΜΟΥΤ Κ̄  
3 ΠΑΡΜΩΤ

“Timotheos died on the 20<sup>th</sup> of Pharmouthi.”

2 The mu may have been corrected from nu.

**101.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 85 Late Antique  
Written in rough, block capitals.

Παπν- “Parnouthis.”  
2 οὔτι

The name is Christian (usually spelled Παπνοῦτις or Παπνοῦθις), and the stone no doubt belongs to the late antique level.

**102.** *Dahchour 1894*, p. 44, fig. 90bis Late Antique  
Written in slightly sloping letters.

] Ταρῖνε  
] . ιως  
] . ελλ .  
4 ] . . τ .

1 The vocative (i.e., Coptic) form suggests a late antique date. But the middle stroke of epsilon is faint in the drawing, and an omicron (thus yielding a nominative) is not impossible. The letter style, however, agrees with a Late Antique dating.

**103.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **07.370** NM 17 – debris mound (S/43) Late Antique  
41.5 × 23.0 × 9.4 cm. Part of a large raised inscription facing left with the end of a cartouche and an ankh sign behind it. Farther behind are a small part of a cobra to the top right and a t sign at the bottom. A masonry edge is at the bottom. This piece must come from a royal monument. The relief was reused as a gravestone; as such it is broken at right. The surface is badly eroded.

Ἄθα[νασι- “Athanasius” or “Athanasia”.

**104.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **07.371** NM 17 – debris mound (S/43) Late Antique  
6.3 × 20.8 × 4.0 cm. Long, narrow patchstone reused as a small, complete gravestone. Three lines of Greek.

	Τα-	“Ταieou.”
	η-	
3	οὐ	

105-108. Inscriptions of Uncertain Date

**105.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **96.312** PT (T/31c) Early Roman or Late Antique?  
15.4 × 16.5 × 6.5 cm. Incised with letters and strokes of varying sizes, with many stray cuts.

Despite the appearance of letters, no text can be read. This appears to have been either a practice exercise, with strokes and letters at various orientations, or something intended to look like a gravestone but not actually giving a text.

**106.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **98.956/4** PT (S/28) Early Roman or Late Antique  
11.1 × 7.5 × 4.4 cm. Evidently broken at right and perhaps below. Incised with a letter 1.5 cm high.

Z[

**107.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **01.591** PT (U-V/29), de Morgan's debris mound  
Early Roman or Late Antique  
18.5 × 21.2 × 5.7 cm. Not obviously broken, but it could be broken at left (there are no traces of fragmentary characters). Incised in letters 0.8 cm high.

νοπορητης

1 The reading seems certain, but I cannot see what the meaning is unless it is an unknown name. Could this be rho for lambda, intending [οι]νοπωλητής? But the known form is οinoπώλης.

**108.** MMA Exc. Reg. No. **03.332** PT (S/33c), C. 1301, S.F. 282  
Early Roman or Late Antique  
16.1 × 18.5 × 8.9 cm. Complete? Incised.

The strokes appear to be an attempt at a monogram, 4 cm high, perhaps involving tau, alpha, and another letter, but their meaning is obscure to me.

## CONCORDANCE WITH PREVIOUS PUBLICATION NUMBERS

<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 85	101	<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 91	70
<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 86	11	<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 91bis	27
<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 87	68	<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 92	3
<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 88	33	<i>Dahchour 1894-1895</i> , p. 110, fig. 155	21
<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 89	36	<i>Dahchour 1894-1895</i> , p. 110, fig. 156	24
<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 90	69	<i>Dahchour 1894-1895</i> , p. 110, fig. 157	2
<i>Dahchour 1894</i> , p. 44, fig. 90bis	102		

## CONCORDANCE BETWEEN INVENTORY AND PUBLICATION NUMBERS

MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>90.106</b>	34	MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>99.571</b>	46
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MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>98.572/2</b>	22	MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>00.1056</b>	83
MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>98.572/3</b>	53	MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>00.1061</b>	84
MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>98.572/4</b>	37	MMA Exc. Reg. No. <b>00.1152</b>	85
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