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DEPARTMENT OF PAPYROLOGY



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Keywords: Ptolemaic, first century BC, grain transport, samples, administration, archives, *naukleros*, *dioiketes*, *sitologos*, *strategos*, *basilikos grammateus*, *apostoloi*, *antapostoloi*, *phylakitai*, ship security guards, shipping, shipowners, corrections.

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Keywords: Greek, Arabic, bilingual documents, early Islamic Egypt, fiscal administration, tax receipt, Herakleopolis Magna, Iḥnās.

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Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, MMA 1152, exercises, education, piety.

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Keywords: P. Vindob. G 13753, P. Vindob. Boswinkel 5, *SB XXVI 16502*, marriage document, account, Aurelia Demetria *alias* Ammonia.

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Keywords: inscriptions, procuratorships, roman government, principate, provincial administration, appointment policy, Roman emperor, imperial freedmen, *equites*.

GRZEGORZ OCHAŁA

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Keywords: Christian Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian, onomastics, ghost names.

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Abstract: Recent years witnessed an increasing interest in Christian amulets with Biblical texts. Several catalogues and monographic contributions have been published, facilitating the research on historical and religious aspects of these artefacts. The paper offers a methodological framework, founded mainly on the concept of semiophore formulated by Krzysztof Pomian, as well as six case studies, which show how the analysis of material and textual aspects of a scriptural amulet might reveal theological ideas, more or less consciously shared by its producers and users.

Keywords: magic, Biblical amulets, scriptural amulets, texts of ritual power.

Angelina TROIANO

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Abstract: In the recent *secunda cura* of the *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Giuseppe Camodeca has completely rebuilt the dossier TH² 8911 about the acquisition of the Roman citizenship by the *Latinus Iunianus* Venidio Ennico. Thanks to this study, it is currently possible to make further considerations about the procedure described in the *Fragmentum Riccardi* and its relationship with the *lex Aelia Sentia*.

Keywords: *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Roman citizenship, *Lex Aelia Sentia*, *Fragmentum Riccardi*, *anniculi causae* probation.

Jakub URBANIK

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Keywords: *Constitutio Antoniana*, *consuetudo*, usage, *Reichsrecht*, *Volksrecht*, Menander Rhetor, Dionysia, provincial law, conflict of laws.

Marzena WOJTCZAK

'Legal representation' of monastic communities in late antique papyri 347

Abstract: While focusing on the issues such as spirituality, faith, prayer, and discipline, the late antique literary discourse pays little attention to the engagement of monks in the mundane realities of daily life. The symbolic significance of the total withdrawal from the earthly matters have paved its way into common imagination of the monastic existence. One must, however, remain cautious while attempting to translate monastic writings into the reality of day-to-day life of a monk in Egypt. As shown by numerous papyri, social and economic relations between monks and the surrounding world were not sporadic, but an inevitable element of the monastic movement. The picture of Egyptian monasticism depicts a web of contacts with the 'outside world' and an entanglement of religious landscape in the local economy. In this article, I discuss only one aspect of the much broader issue, that is the existence of 'legal capacity' of monastic communities in late antique Egypt. I address the problem of 'legal representation' of monasteries as outlined in the sources of legal practice. For a lawyer, these observations are all the more stimulating as there has been an ongoing debate whether 'legal persons' as such existed at all in Roman law, and whether we could talk about anything approaching our current understanding of 'legal personality'.

Keywords: monks, monasteries, legal capacity, Late Antiquity, papyri, legal representation, *dikaion*, *diakonia*, Roman law, legal practice, Justinian, Egypt.

Lajos Berkes
Naïm Vanthieghem

**MATĀR AND METRON IN PAPYRI:
THE GREEK ORIGIN OF AN ARABIC MEASURE***

INTRODUCTION

IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE PRECISE MEANING – or even the reading – of some Arabic words that occur in the papyrological material is often hard to grasp. This difficulty stems not only from the technical meaning of certain terms that medieval dictionaries and even less modern dictionaries do not or barely record,¹ but also from the foreign and especially the Greek and Latin origin of some of these words.² The word *matār* (pl. *amtār*), which is attested six times in Arabic documentary papyri between

* We are grateful to Dr Florence Calament, curator of the Coptic and Arabic papyri in the Département des antiquités égyptiennes in the Louvre Museum, for granting us the right to publish this papyrus.

¹ See recently the contributions of Y. RAGIB, 'Au sujet d'un mot prétendûment introuvable dans les dictionnaires', *Arabica* 63 (2016), pp. 681–687, and of P. M. SIJPESTEIJN, *Shaping a Muslim State. The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official*, Oxford 2013, pp. 137–138.

² See A. GROHMANN, 'Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini im arabischen Ägypten', *Chronique d'Égypte* 7 (1932), pp. 275–284, and, more recently, M. KAMEYA, 'From *qustāl* to *jabbadb*: An aspect of transition on the Egyptian tax-collecting system', [in:] S. BOUDERBALA, S. DENOIX, & M. MALCZYCKI (eds.), *New Frontiers of Arabic Papyrology: Arabic and Multilingual Texts from Early Islam [= Islamic History and Civilization 144]*, Boston 2017, pp. 141–160.

the eighth and eleventh centuries,³ is one such word whose meaning has been misunderstood so far. It has generically been translated as ‘water skin’ (‘Schlauch’ in German,⁴ ‘outré’ in French,⁵ and, significantly, as ‘leather vessels’ in English⁶). This translation derives from the lexical entry given by Kazimirski’s dictionary, which explains that the feminine word *maṭara* – or less frequently the masculine *maṭar* – designates a water skin (‘outré’),⁷ as well as from Lane’s dictionary that refers to the word *maṭar* as designating a skin of leather.⁸ Based on hints given in Arabic documents, however, this meaning proves difficult and even nonsensical. *P. Marchands* II 19, ll. 8–9 (9th c.), for instance, is a letter sent to Abū Hurayra that reads *wa-‘ağğil fī l-qamḥ wa-lā tada‘-nā. Iṣṭaraynā min-bum maṭarayn | tultayn waybat qamḥ wa-niṣf*. The editor translates the text as ‘(s)end us the wheat quickly and do not abandon us. We bought from them two skins (containing) | two thirds of *wayba* and half of ... of wheat’, but it would be very unusual to find wheat stored in a water skin and not in baskets or jars. Another similar oddity appears in the translation that Werner Diem proposed for *P. Heid. Arab.* III 45, l. 5 (11th c.): *yā marwāya waṣala li-‘aḥū-ka* (sic) *‘arba‘at amṭār ṣīr wa-qalīl samm*, ‘the brother of his patron had received four water skins with small salted fishes and a small amount of clarified butter’. Salted fish was indeed not the kind of commodity that would be stored in a water skin. Like wheat, salted fish was generally stored in jars.

³ P. Louvre inv. E 6380 (8th c.), see the edition below; *P. Marchands* II 19 (9th c.), ll. 8–9; *P. Grobmann Wirtsch.* 5 (9th c.), ll. 5–6; *P. Prag. Arab.* 69 (9th c.), l. 10; *P. Cair. Arab.* VI 395 (10th–11th c.), ll. 2–3; *P. Heid. Arab.* III 45 (11th c.) r^o, l. 5.

⁴ See, e.g., *P. Grobmann Wirtsch.* 5, ll. 5–6; *P. Prag. Arab.* 69, l. 10, as well as *P. Heid. Arab.* III 45 r^o, l. 5. See also A. GROHMANN, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, I: *Einführung*, Prague 1954, p. 165, as well as the recent W. DIEM, *Glossar zur arabischen Epistolographie nach ägyptischen Originaldokumenten des 7.–16. Jahrhunderts* [= *MPER NS* 32], Berlin 2017, pp. 462–463, where the word *maṭar* is translated as ‘Schlauch’, without any further comment.

⁵ See, e.g., *P. Marchands* II 19, l. 8.

⁶ *P. Cair. Arab.* VI 395, l. 2.

⁷ A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1860, vol. II, p. 1122b.

⁸ E. W. LANE, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London – Edinburgh 1863, vol. VII, p. 2822a.

THE MEANING IN POPYRI

The meaning of the word *maṭar* given by Kazimirsiki and Lane was long ago discussed by Dozy,⁹ who, relying on Fleischer's thoughts and the bilingual scala Ms. BNF Copte 45,¹⁰ suggested to see in the word *maṭar* a measure of liquids that derives directly from the ancient Greek liquid measure *metretes*.¹¹ This specific use of the word *maṭar* as a measure makes perfect sense and explains why the word is used in popyri twice in combination with the well-known liquid measure *qisṭ*,¹² which derives from the Greek measure *xestes*.¹³ From the account *P. Cair. Arab.* VI 395 (9th–10th c.), ll. 2–3, we learn that $23 \frac{1}{2}$ *qisṭ* fit in 3 *amṭār*, that is 1 *maṭar* corresponds approximately to 8 *qisṭ*.¹⁴

Beside this specific meaning, *maṭar* seems to have had another meaning in the popyri. In the aforementioned *P. Marchands* II 19, the word obviously does not refer to a liquid measure since 2 *amṭār* are said to contain $\frac{2}{3}$ *wayba* and $\frac{1}{2}$... of wheat. We think that 2 *amṭār* mentioned in this papyrus must actually designate a kind of jar.¹⁵ Such *maṭar*-jars are also mentioned in *P. Grobmann Wirtsch.* 5 and 6, two orders of delivery of honey. *P. Grobmann Wirtsch.* 5, ll. 4–6, reading *mi'atay qisṭ 'asal 'abālīg | wa-*

⁹ R. DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leiden 1881, vol. II, p. 600a.

¹⁰ H. L. FLEISCHER, *De glossis Habichtianis in quatuor priores tomos MI noctium dissertatio critica*, Leipzig 1836, pp. 44–45. The equivalence given by Ms. BNF Copte 45 between the Arabic *maṭar* and the Greek *μετρητής* derives from John 2:6 where the Greek words *χωροῦσαι ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς* are rendered as *yasa' kull wāḥid maṭarayn aw talāta*.

¹¹ On this measure, see P. MAYERSON, 'Measures (μετρηταί) and donkeyloads of oil in *P. Wisc.* II 80', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 127 (1999), pp. 189–192.

¹² See *P. Cair. Arab.* VI 395 as well as the papyrus edited in this article.

¹³ See, e.g., *P. Grobmann Wirtsch.* 5, ll. 4–6.

¹⁴ *alladī dabala fī talātat amṭār | talāta wa- 'isrūn qisṭ wa-tuṭt*, 'what has entered three *maṭar*: twenty-three *qisṭ* and a half'.

¹⁵ This specific meaning has long been noticed by Arabists. See A. S. DE SACY, *Relation de l'Égypte, par Abd-Allatif, médecin de Bagdad, suivie d'extraits de divers écrivains orientaux et d'un état des provinces et des villages de l'Égypte dans le XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1810, p. 284, as well as M. QUATREMÈRE, 'Notice d'un manuscrit arabe contenant la Description de l'Afrique [Man. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, n^o 580]', [in:] *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques* 12, Paris 1831, pp. 437–664, esp. 475–476, with n. 1.

mi’ at *qist* ‘*asal rufi*’ a \ *min al-amṭār wa-mi*’ a *min al-ḥawḍ*,¹⁶ is especially interesting in that it contrasts two kinds of honey. The first one, called ‘*asal*’ *’abālīg*, which is stored in barrels,¹⁷ refers to sugar cane syrup, while the other denotes honey collected directly from beehives.¹⁸

The case of *P. Heid. Arab.* III 45, already mentioned above, is more ambiguous. In the sentence *yā marwāya waṣala li-’aḥū-ka* (sic) ‘*arba’at amṭār šār wa-qalīl samm*, ‘o my patron, the brother of his patron had received four water skins with small salted fishes and a small amount of clarified butter’, 4 *amṭār* of salted fish and clarified butter could at the first sight also refer to a liquid measure as well as to jars.¹⁹ However, a passage in ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s (1162–1231) travel to Egypt on the manufacture of salted fish reports that in the first step of this process fish was salted and put in several *amṭār*, which obviously can not refer here to a measure but rather to a physical object, namely a jar²⁰ – unless the meaning of the word had changed over time.

¹⁶ The editor read *mi’ atay qist* ‘*asal*’ *’abālīm* \ *wa-mi*’ at *qist* ‘*asal rufi*’ \ *min al-amṭār wa-mi*’ a *min al-ḥawḍ* (with Diem’s corrections in ‘Philologisches zu arabischen Dokumenten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 101 [2011], pp. 75–140, esp. 81), which he translated ‘zweihundert Xestes Amrahonig und zweihundert Xestes feinsten Honig, hundert aus Schläuchen, hundert aus dem Behältnis’.

¹⁷ The word *ablūga* (pl. *’abālīg*) is a specific unit used for counting amounts of cane sugar; see H. SAUVAIRE, ‘Matériaux pour servir à l’histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes. III: Mesures de capacité’, *Journal asiatique* 8 (1886), pp. 124–177, esp. 133–134.

¹⁸ The word *maṭār* in the context of beekeeping probably refers to earthenware hives that consist of jars put horizontally, such as those that were still in use in Egyptian traditional beekeeping; see E.-Th. HAMY, ‘Sur les ruches en poterie de la haute Égypte’, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 45 (1901), pp. 79–82. As for the term *ḥawḍ*, it may refer to the so-called traditional reed hives that had the shape of a water trough; see G. KUÉNY, ‘Scènes apicoles dans l’ancienne Égypte’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 9 (1950), pp. 84–93.

¹⁹ It is worth mentioning that honey is measured in *metra* and *xestai* (see *BL XII 71*) already in the 6th–7th-century Coptic-Greek account from the Hermopolite nome, *SPP X 33*, as the term $\text{N}\epsilon\text{B}\text{I}\omega$, ‘honey’, in the fragmentary heading (l. 2) suggests: $\text{I}\beta\epsilon\lambda\omega\text{I} \text{I}\zeta\epsilon\text{N}\text{N}\epsilon\text{B}\text{I}\omega \text{M}\bar{\text{N}}$. [The same measures are applied to honey in two 8th-century administrative accounts from Aphrodito, *P. Lond.* IV 1413 (723), ll. 10, 26, and *passim*, and IV 1414 (8th c.), ll. 18, 73, and 295.

²⁰ See DE SACY, *Relation de l’Égypte* (cit. n. 15), p. 284. In his translation, de Sacy renders the word *amṭār* as ‘jars’.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE ARABIC WORD MAṬAR

Fleischer's suggestion to connect *maṭar*²¹ with the Greek *metretes* is attractive, but it is hard to explain how the suffix *-tes* was dropped when borrowed into Arabic. Furthermore, it is also problematic that this liquid measure was not in use anymore by the seventh century. The account that we publish below, P. Louvre inv. E 6380, is of particular interest for this question, since it gives a definite clue to the etymology of the term. The document is divided into two columns registering a liquid in *maṭar* and *qist*. Its layout resembles more or less the recently published Greek account P. CtYBR inv. 379.²² This eighth-century papyrus registers requisitions in oil from different villages in the south-western Fayum over several indiction years. Its format is remarkably similar to that of P. Louvre inv. E 6380, as it contains several columns, each of them divided in two sub-columns registering *metra* and *xestai*. The two accounts reflect the same accounting practice in Greek and Arabic texts from around the middle to late eighth century and thus shed light on the work of an administrative center operating in three languages, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic.

The similarity in the layouts and the measures being used strongly suggests, in our opinion, that the terms *metron* and *maṭar* are identical, the latter being the Arabicized version of the former. This etymology also fits phonetically much better than a derivation from the measure *metretes*, and is also confirmed by the 1:8 ratio between *maṭar* and *qist* that appears in the aforementioned *P. Cair. Arab.* VI 395, ll. 2–3, which corresponds almost exactly to the ratio between *metron* and *xestes* that can be observed in *P. Lond.* IV 1415 (8th c.).²³

²¹ That the term comes from Greek was already suggested by DE SACY, *Relation de l'Égypte* (cit. n. 15), p. 284: 'C'est sans doute un mot Grec qui a passé dans l'arabe'.

²² L. BERKES & B. HAUG, 'Villages, requisitions, and tax districts: Two Greek lists from the eighth-century Fayyūm', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 53 (2016), pp. 189–222.

²³ *P. Lond.* IV, p. 154. The normal capacity of a *metron* is 10 *xestai*; see F. MORELLI, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo*, Florence 1996, p. 7.

EDITION OF P. LOUVRE INV. E 6380

P. Louvre inv. E 6380

14.5 × 21.5 cm

2nd half of 8th c., Fayum

The document is an account related to the collection of a liquid commodity, probably wine or oil, which seems to have been requisitioned. In the first column, the name and patronymic of the taxpayers, their place of residence and the name and the patronymic of the person who made the actual delivery are listed. In lines 5 and 9–11, the taxpayer himself made the delivery, while in lines 3, 4, 6–8, this was done by another person, whose relation to the taxpayer is unclear, except in line 3, where he is the taxpayer's freedman (*marwlā*). The taxpayers seem all to have been Muslims, whereas the intermediaries are, apart from the mentioned *marwlā*, Christians. Are we dealing with converts or Arab settlers paying through village headmen, who are known to have remained overwhelmingly Christian for a long time after the Arab conquest? Be that as it may, the text certainly offers an intriguing snapshot of the Islamization of the Egyptian countryside. Three taxpayers in lines 6–7 come from the same village and bear the same patronymic: it is tempting to assume that they were brothers. All the taxpayers come from south-eastern Fayumic villages: Dumūšiyya (l. 3), Balġahasīf (? l. 4), Qumbaša (l. 5), Banhamat (ll. 6–8), Bandiq Niqīūh (ll. 9–10), and Fisinawr (l. 11). One of the taxpayers, ʿUṭmān b. Sulaymān, is probably known from a Greek account; see notes on line 10.

The second and third columns are divided into two sub-sections listing amounts in *qisṭ* and *maṭar*, but the interpretation of their heading is ambiguous (see commentary on l. 1). The amounts are mostly not preserved, and the remaining two lines do not show a clear connection between the two columns either. One could, nevertheless, hypothesize that the second column contains a sum, since the amounts of the third column are generally smaller. The third column may have contained, accordingly, the payment of the full sum owed or the remaining arrears. The amounts are rather small, and the standard size of a *qisṭ*/*xestes* was around 0.546 litre.²⁴ No total is pre-

²⁴ For the *xestes*, see the recent summary of T. M. HICKEY, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt. The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus*, Ann Arbor 2012, pp. 192 and 194.

served, but the account may have been a draft only, as is suggested by the crossing out of lines 7–8, and the fact that only lines 3–4 and 6–8 are preceded by a check mark.

Light-brown sheet of papyrus with all margins preserved. The bottom left part of the document is lost, so the amounts paid by the last six taxpayers are missing. The document was written along the fibers with a thin pen and black ink, and can be dated by the handwriting to the second half of the eighth century (cf., e.g., *P. Diem Frühe Urkunden* 5). No diacritical dots are used. The papyrus was apparently folded several times vertically and rolled up from the bottom up. The lower left part is probably broken off along the central vertical fold. A *kollesis* is visible next to the right margin. The back of the papyrus is blank.

قسط	خاص	
مطر قسط	مطر قسط	
γ'	γs'	/ حازم من دمشق على يدي عبدالله مولاه
s'	γ'	/ يوسف القروني من بلجھسيف على يدي ابوله هلية
.	[.]	عيسى بن الحجاج من قمبشا على يدي عيسى
[/ عثمان بن سليمان من بنهت على يدي مينا لينط-[يوس (?)
[// داود بن سليمان من بنهت على يدي بطره [قرمان]
[// اسحق بن سليمان من بنهت على يدي بطره قرمان]]
[خلد بن عبدالله من بندق نقيوه على يدي خلد]
[سليمن بن عبيد منها على يدي سليمان]
[عثمن من فسنور على يدي عثمان]

	Total (?)	In qist
	qist maṭar	qist maṭar
\ Hāzim from Dumūšiyya through 'Abd Allāh, his freedman	1/3 1/6 0	1/3 0
\ Yūsuf al-Qārūnī from Balḡabasif through Ababawla son of Haliyya	1/2 1/3 0	1/6 0
'Īsā b. Al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ from Qumbaša through 'Īsā	0 0	[0] 0
\ 'Uṭmān b. Sulaymān from Banhamat through Mīnā son of Liyunṭiyus (?) [---]		
\ Dāwud b. Sulaymān from Banhamat through the hands of Bitra [son of Quzmān ---]		

↘ *Ishāq b. Sulaymān from Banbamat through the hands of Bitra son of Quzmān* [---]

Hālid b. ‘Abd Allāh from Bandiq Niqiūb through the hands of Hālid [---]

Sulaymān b. ‘Ubayd from the same village through the hands of Sulaymān [---]

‘Utmān from Fisinawer through the hands of ‘Utmān [---]

1. *hālīṣ qīṣṭan*. It is not clear what exactly the word *hālīṣ* refers to. The participle is used in accounts with the meaning of ‘net’ (see, e.g., *P. Grohmann Steuerpapyrus*, l. 2, and *P. Berl. Arab.* II 40 r^o, l. 5), but that meaning does not seem to make sense here. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (cit. n. 9), vol. I, p. 392b, also gives the translation ‘discharged of’, which would mean the column right under the word *hālīṣ* gives the amount paid up to that moment by the taxpayer, whereas the column with the heading *qīṣṭan* would indicate the specific amount paid by each taxpayer the day the account was drafted.

3. *Dumūṣī*<yy>*a*. This Arabic form transcribes the south-Fayumic toponym *Μοῦχῆς* in its Coptic form *ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ*; see S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1984–1992, pp. 889–890, and C. Peust, *Die Toponyme vorarabischen Ursprungs im modernen Ägypten. Ein Katalog*, Göttingen 2010, pp. 36–37, as well as G. Salmon, ‘Répertoire géographique de la province du Fayyūm d’après le *Kitāb Tārīkh al-Fayyūm* d’An-Nāboulṣī’, *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 1 (1901), pp. 29–77, esp. 71.

4. *Yūsuf al-Qārūnī min Balḡahasīf*. The *nisba* refers to the lake Qārūn (*birkat Qārūn*) or to the eponymic village Qaṣr Qārūn; on this village, see C. Peust, *Die Toponyme vorarabischen Ursprungs* (cit. above), pp. 71–72. Al-Qārūnī is written defectively without the *alif* as a *mater lectionis*. The place of residence of the taxpayer, Balḡahasīf, is so far only attested in the unpublished account P. Louvre inv. 7011 with two Fayumic toponyms Baraḡtawt and Bilāla. The beginning of toponym Balḡ- points to a toponomastic formation deriving from the ancient Egyptian *p₃-grg*, ‘the place of’; on this formation, see J. Yoyotte, ‘Études géographiques II. Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et le «Pehou d’Hérakléopolis»’, *Revue d’égyptologie* 14 (1962), pp. 79–89. The most well-known Fayumic toponym beginning with the element *b-l-ḡ-* is the village of Bulḡusūq (TM Geo 1654), but it could hardly be explained how a *qāf* would have been changed in *fā*. We wonder if Balḡahasīf is not the Arabic adaptation of the south-eastern Fayumic toponym *Κερκέσηφῆς* (TM Geo 1063), which derives from the Egyptian *P₃-grg-n-Hry-sf*; on this village, see S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* (cit. above), p. 1289. This identification is confirmed by the mention of *Κερκέσηφῆς* in a list of south-Fayumic toponyms, among which *Φαναμετ*/Banhamat (SPP X 43, l. 3) also figures.

‘alā yadayy Ababawla b. Haliyya. The name Ababawla renders the Graeco-Coptic name *απα παγλα*, while the patronym Haliyya transcribes the anthroponym *ηλιας*.

Handwritten text in Arabic script on a fragment of papyrus. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is heavily damaged, with numerous holes and tears, particularly in the center and right-hand side. The ink is dark and the papyrus is light-colored with a visible grid pattern.

P. Louvre inv. E 6380 (© Musée du Louvre)

5. *Qumbašā*. The village of Qumbaša lies in the southern Fayum, not far from Bulḡusūq, Tuṭūn, and Talīt. On this village, see G. Salmon, ‘Répertoire géographique’ (cit. above), pp. 29–77, esp. 71.

6. ‘*Uṭmān b. Sulaymān min Banbamat*. A man of that name and living in the same village appears in the account *SPP* X 123, l. 1: *Oθ*]μὰν νιδ(ς) Σουλ(ειμάν). Banhamat renders the name of the village of Φαναμετ.

‘*alā yadayy Mīnā Liyunṭiyus*. The name Mīnā transcribes the Egyptian name ΜΗΝΑΣ and the patronym Liyunṭiyus the anthroponym ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ.

7. [‘*alā yadayy Bitra* [*Quzmān*]]. We reconstruct the patronym based on line 8. Bitra renders the Graeco-Coptic name πετρε, while Quzmān is the Arabicized version of the name κοσμας.

9. *Bandiq Niqiūb*. This Arabic sequence seems to render the Egyptian toponym Παντικοῦ Νικίου, which is attested in the eighth-century account *SPP* X 170, l. 1. James Keenan has already proposed to recognize in the Arabic toponym Bandiq a transcription of the Greek Παντικοῦ; see J. G. Keenan, ‘Fayyum villages in *SPP* XX 229’, [in:] *PapCongr.* XXIV, pp. 487–496, esp. 494.

11. ‘*Uṭmān min Fisinawr*. The spelling Fisinawr probably transcribes the toponym Ψίνευρις (TM Geo 10570), which apparently was in the vicinity of Φαναμετ (see, among others, *SPP* X 245, l. 9; X 254, l. 4; and X 268, l. 5). The *pi* and *beta* sounds are sometimes rendered as a *fā*’ in Arabic: see, for instance, *P. Ross. Georg.* V 73, l. 14, where the toponym Sebenytis is written in Arabic Safanūda, as well as *P. Kbalili* I 1, l. 13, which renders the Oxyrhynchite village Spania as Šafaniya. This early transcription of Psineuris is unique since the village changes its name in later times to Sandhur; see J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity. Gold, Labour and Aristocratic Dominance*, Oxford et al. 2001, p. 247.

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