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## Fragmentary List of Fayyum

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## FRAGMENTARY LIST OF FAYYUM χωρία

*P.Got.* 34 (= inv. 16)  
Fayyum

7,1 × 8,5 cm

TAV. XXII  
AD VIII

This papyrus was described by Hjalmar Frisk in *P.Got.* as follows:

34. Liste. Inv. 16. 8 × 7. Prov. inconnue. VII<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Fragment de sept lignes, chacune contenant un nom propre au génitif, précédé de χ<sup>ω</sup> (= χωρίον) et suivi d'un chiffre α, γ, ou η.

The papyrus is after all a bit taller than described. There is a *kollesis* about cm 3,2 in from the left edge. Margins survive at the left, bottom, and right, but the papyrus is torn at the top where the ragged edge shows traces of a damaged first line not accounted for among the seven mentioned in the description. The writing is with the fibers. The *verso* is blank. The “noms propres” turn out to be Fayyum place-names, the piece itself reminiscent of lists published by Wessely in *SPP* X and XX. Most of those pieces are now housed in Vienna (Nationalbibliothek) and Paris (Louvre), products of the Fayyum Finds of the 1870s and 1880s. Wessely traditionally dated such lists to the VII, VII-VIII, or VIII centuries. My hunch is that the last option, VIII, is more likely correct for the present piece, but there's not much to offer in proof. If this and others belong instead to the seventh century, then it must be late in that century based on the post-Conquest sense of the word χωρίον both in Wessely's texts and in the text below: strictly speaking, a fiscal or administrative unit, more generically, a village or hamlet, depending upon the size, and perhaps relative independence, of the settlement in question; recent discussion: T.M. HICKEY, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt. The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus*, Ann Arbor 2012, chapter 2. That the strict and generic senses should overlap is not surprising, inasmuch as in rural environments the village tends to be both “the basic unit of social and economic reproduction” (K.N. CHAUDHURI, *Asia before Europe. Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 256-257) and the traditional unit of administration and taxation (K.M. CUNO, *The Pasha's Peasants. Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt 1740-1858*, [Cambridge Middle East Library 27], Cambridge 1992, p. 35)<sup>1</sup>.

The exact purpose of lists like this one is uncertain; they must in some sense have been fiscal. That below in lines 2-5 (at least) the place-names come in alphabetical order by first letter (*phi, chi, psi*) is a point of note, cf. e.g. *P.Brookl.* 25 col. i (three entries in *kappa*), *SB* XXVI 16474 (*sigma-tau*), *SPP* X 43.1-15 (*kappa* to *psi*), 53 (*iota-kappa*), 62 (three entries in *beta*), 67 (two in *kappa*), 70 (bilingual: most Greek entries in *psi* with equivalent Coptic entries beginning with the definite article νε-). The realization that lists with *chōria* in *alpha* present them in a set order resulted in the most important single advance in reading of these texts since Wessely's day: F. MORELLI, *I χωρία in α dell'Arsinoite: Le liste alfabetiche SPP* X

<sup>1</sup> Citations repeated with minor adaptation from J.G. KEENAN, *Fayyum Villages at the End of the Ayyubid Era. Nabulsi's Survey*, in A.K. BOWMAN, E. ROGAN (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times*, [Proceedings of the British Academy 96], Oxford 1999, pp. 287-299, at p. 289.

37, 40, 81, 134, 135 240 (= SPP XX 226), 265, 269, *P.Münch.inv.* 294, *P.Prag. I* 26, ZPE 149 (2004), pp. 125-142. The present piece, however, as parenthetically indicated above, records places in the latter part of the alphabet, for which see my *Fayyum Villages in Stud.Pal. XX* 229, in J. FRÖSÉN, T. PUROLA, E. SALMENKIVI (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1-7 August 2004*, I, [Comm.Hum.Litt. 122:1], Helsinki 2007, pp. 487-496. There the villages also come in alphabetical order, from *nu* through *omega*, a circumstance that helps focus some issues raised in the Göteborg papyrus (see *infra*, Commentary). Unfortunately, this papyrus does not reproduce the order of places in the SPP papyrus (e.g., note to line 3; the place-names in *sigma* in lines 7-8 are also, of course, out of position).

The hand of the Göteborg papyrus is so strikingly similar to that of SPP XX 229 (see Plate XXI in the Helsinki *Proceedings*) that it is tempting to suggest they are the same. Initial medial dots, in various shapes and sizes, at the beginnings of lines presumably indicate a double-checking of some kind. The same procedure is signified by oblique strokes in SPP XX 229.

I am grateful to Todd Hickey for bringing *P.Got.* 34 to my attention and encouraging its publication and to Anders Larsson of the Manuscripts Department of the Göteborg University Library for requisite permissions so promptly and generously accorded. It is a delight to be able to make this offering in celebration of my esteemed friend Rosario Pintaudi's 65<sup>th</sup> birthday. He is a scholar who appreciates the value of each and every papyrus, even seemingly (but perhaps deceptively) humble ones like this. The pioneering Wessely long ago sensed the value of such pedestrian texts for cataloguing the Fayyum's topography (C. WESSELY, *Topographie des Faijum (Arsinoites Nomos) in griechischer Zeit*, Vienna 1904; reprint Milan 1974). Today they may be taken to provide a tantalizing though abstract glimpse at the history of Fayyum settlement in Byzantine and early Islamic times (J.G. KEENAN, *Byzantine Egyptian Villages*, in R.S. BAGNALL (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World 300-700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 226-243, at pp. 228-230). The place-names they preserve have some interestingly direct links with the medieval Arabic toponymy of al-Nabulsi's thirteen-century *Ta'rikh al-Fayyum* more so than with the Greek place-names of the Ptolemaic- and Roman-period papyri, e.g., *infra*, lines 2, 3 and 5 with notes.

*recto* →

	— — — — —	
	[. χω(ρίον) . . ] [. . ]	α
	. χω(ρίον) Φάνου	α
	. χω(ρίον) Φεντεμίν	α
	. χω(ρίον) Χαλόθε(ωσ)	α
5	. χω(ρίον) Ψενύρε(ωσ)	γ
	. χω(ρίον) [ . . . ]	η
	. χω(ρίον) Cιντωού	γ
	. χω(ρίον) Cεβεννύ(του)	α

1.  $\chi\omega(\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu)$ : see Introduction for the meaning. *Omega* is written directly above *chi* in all preserved instances, lines 2-8, so presumably here as well. Cf., e.g., SPP X 3, 13, 15 and 30. Alphabetical sequencing in lines 2-5 suggests a name here beginning in *phi*, but there is no visible descender from *phi*, which should have been evident near the line's beginning. I know of no Fayyum place-names in *upsilon*, so perhaps this is a place-name beginning in *tau*. After the opening lacuna, a significant descending trace with rightward hook is no doubt the lower portion of *phi* or *rho*; the final trace of the place-name may be *upsilon*. There is no obvious solution to the identity of the place in question. There is a dot of ink below the doubtfully read *alpha* in the numbers column. Below, other dots in or near this column of simple numbers, especially the one above *gamma* in line 5, seem not to be ink.

2.  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$ : WESSELY, *op. cit.* (Introd.), p. 152. This is the medieval-modern Fanu: KEENAN, *art. cit.* (Introd.), p. 495. The concluding *upsilon* perhaps tails off into a reverse *sigma*.

3.  $\Phi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ : WESSELY, *op. cit.* (Introd.), p. 153. This is the medieval-modern Fidamin: KEENAN, *art. cit.* (nt. 1), p. 495. In SPP XX 229, unlike here, Phentemin (iii.1) appears before Phanou (iii.3). The writing of this place-name appears to have been subject to corrections at *epsilon-nu* and at *mu* (*mu* overwritten rather than, strictly speaking, a correction to some letter with a doubled-up descender – *rho* or *phi*).

4.  $\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon(\omega\omicron)$ : WESSELY, *op. cit.* (Introd.), p. 160. The decipherment follows Wessely's at SPP XX 229.iii.8, though without full confidence in the last, elaborate traces leading up to the abbreviation. *Omicron* is less common than *omega* in the spelling of this place-name. Here the scribe's intentions are difficult to discern: if *omega*, it is uncharacteristically small, to judge by  $\text{C}\iota\nu\tau\omega\acute{\omicron}\nu$  in l. 7; if *omicron*, it also is tiny and doesn't fully account for all the traces. Perhaps this is a scribal correction in one direction or the other. The SPP writing of this place-name is on the whole very close to the writing here, perhaps indicative that the hands are identical (see Introduction).

5.  $\Psi\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon(\omega\omicron)$ : WESSELY, *op. cit.* (Introd.), pp. 163-165, rightly distinguished between Psenuris and Psineuris, cf. SPP XX 229.iii.10 (Psenuris) vs. iii.16 (Psineuris). The former has been identified with the medieval-modern Sinnuris, the latter with medieval-modern Sanhur: cf. KEENAN, *art. cit.* (Introd.), p. 495. The Leuven Database <<http://www.fayum.arts.kuleuven.be>>, s.vv. Psenhyris and Psineuris (consulted September 13, 2010), treats both identifications as uncertain, presumably because of doubt as to which of the two ancient place-names lies behind the modern Sinnuris.

6. There are traces of a long horizontal stroke, on a slightly oblique path, above the lacuna (and the line). Conceivably below this was another place-name in *psi* – but there is no visible ascending or descending stroke to clinch this. Perhaps therefore this is a short place-name beginning in *sigma*, initiating a *sigma* series that continues in lines 7-8. Or this is the short (and abbreviated) place-name  $\Omega\kappa(\acute{\epsilon}\omega\omicron)$ , known from SPP XX 229.iii.17 (the only *omega* place-name after the series in *psi*), cf. WESSELY, *op. cit.* (Introd.), p. 169.

7.  $\text{C}\iota\nu\tau\omega\acute{\omicron}\nu$ : WESSELY, *op. cit.* (Introd.), p. 139.

8.  $\text{C}\epsilon\beta\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\omicron}(\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ : WESSELY, *op. cit.* (Introd.), pp. 136-137; full bibliography in the Leuven Database s.v. Sebennytos. In SPP XX 229, as here, Sintoou (ii.1) appears before Sebennytos (ii.3). Above *upsilon* is a horizontal stroke written twice, with a dot surely below it and apparently above as well. Perhaps meant to be *tau*?