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Ο ΤΟΥ: AN ALTERNATIVE
FOR THE GREEK PATRONYMIC IN EGYPT?*

Anyone working with the archive of Petaus with an eye for nomenclature will have noticed the peculiar expression ὁ τοῦ ('the-one-of'), for example Σωκρ(άτης) Πτολεμαίου ὁ τοῦ Νεσεῦς. It is added to a person's name or to his more elaborate identification cluster with patronymic and occasionally papponymic and metronymic. Sometimes it is connected to his identification by means of a formula, mainly ἐπι-καλούμενος; sometimes it is juxtaposed without.

The editors of the archive interpret the construction as an alternative way to express the patronymic.[1] In cases where the name following ὁ τοῦ differs from the 'regular' patronymic given, they conclude that these extra names comprise the fathers' bynames,[2] interpreting the above example as Sokrates, son of Ptolemaios alias Neseus. The following article will check this interpretation by confronting the examples in *P. Petaus* with those in a wider range of documents outside *P. Petaus*, generally from the Fayum but a handful from other regions of Egypt as well.

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[1] Ursula HAGEDORN *et alii* (eds.), *Das Archiv des Petaus (P. Petaus)* [= *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 6], Cologne – Opladen 1969, p. 56.

[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 57 and 59.

There are 144 attestations of ὁ τοῦ and ὁ τῆς and its female equivalent ἡ τοῦ,[3] referring to 129 different people.[4] The majority occurs in the nominative; eight examples make use of the accusative τὸν τοῦ; τοῦ τοῦ, τῶι τοῦ, and τὴν τοῦ are each attested once. With the exception of four ostraca and eight inscriptions, all examples occur in papyri. Only four cases are dated to the Ptolemaic period. The earliest Roman example of ὁ τοῦ is a funerary inscription dated to the very beginning of the Roman period on paleographic grounds,[5] but based on the use of the formula λεγόμενος to introduce the double name, the date should in all likelihood be narrowed down towards the first century AD.[6]

Ὁ τοῦ takes an enormous leap in the second century AD, only to dwindle away afterwards, with only a handful of attestations from the third until the fifth century. It surfaces one last time in the eighth century in a tax receipt from Titkois in Upper Egypt[7] (fig. 1).

The Fayum accounts for the majority of the attestations, some 120. Another twelve are from the Nile valley, mainly Oxyrhynchos and the Herakleopolites, and nine from Alexandria. A list of books comes from Oasis Magna[8] and of two private letters the provenance is unknown (fig. 2).

This outburst in the second century Fayum is due to the survival of the tax rolls from Karanis and the archive of Petaus. The tax rolls record the daily collection of all sorts of taxes (mainly poll tax, but also guard tax, land tax, taxes on animals, etc.) paid by the inhabitants of Karanis in the

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[3] Ἡ τῆς is not attested.

[4] Search performed on 21 April 2011 in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri through <http://www.papyri.info> and in the epigraphical database of Packard Humanities through <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>.

[5] *I. Louvre* 92, ll. 1-3 (TM 103918); date 'haute époque impériale': E. BERNAND, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1992, pp. 143-144.

[6] There are no definite pre-Roman or early examples of λεγόμενος. The earliest exactly dated example is from AD 37 (*P. Ryl.* II 141, l. 13, TM 12927); the majority is found in the second and third centuries AD. Cf. Yanne BROUX, *Double Names in Roman Egypt*, PhD thesis at K. U. Leuven, forthcoming.

[7] *SB* XIV 11332, l. 1 (TM 18118, AD 710).

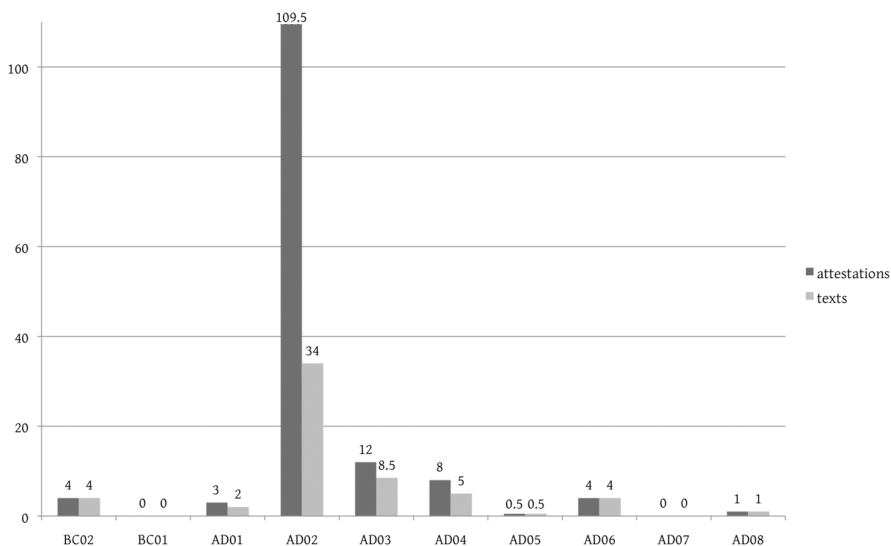[8] *O. Douch.* III 276, l. 2 (TM 34632, AD 300–425).
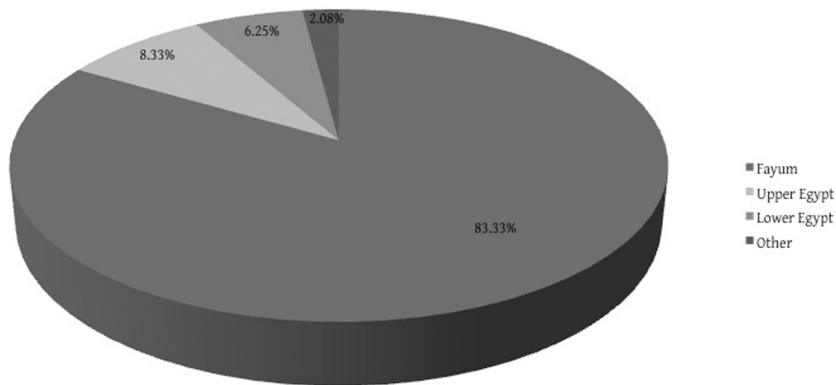
Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of ὁ τοῦ

Fig. 2. Geographical distribution of ὁ τοῦ

meris of Herakleides from AD 171 until 175.[9] They provide 33% (48 exx.) of all examples. Some 28% (40 exx.) occur in the archive of Petaus, who from AD 184–187 was the *komogrammateus* of the village Ptolemais Hormou and its neighbouring settlements, in the same *meris*. But even leaving these two groups aside, it seems to be a second-century Fayum peculiarity.[10] There is an interesting letter from a marine stationed in Campania in Italy who writes to his father in Philadelpheia, again the Fayum.[11] Along the edge of the letter he states that several of his comrades also greet his father and he uses ὁ τοῦ to express their patronymics. So even far off in Italy local naming practices are apparently retained by Fayum immigrants.

In 79% (114 exx.) of the cases, ὁ τοῦ is added directly to a person's identification cluster; for example Ὀρσεῦς Μύσθου ὁ τοῦ Τεμᾶτος.[12] In the other 21% the formula ἐπικαλούμενος (29 exx.) precedes, for instance Πτολεμαῖος Ζωίλου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐπικ(αλούμενος) ὁ τοῦ Ἀτιῶις.[13] Λεγόμενος is used only once, in the abovementioned first-century example Ἀπολλώνιος λεγόμενος ὁ τοῦ Ἐρωσψα.[14]

Only twenty-six women (18%) are identified with the expression, all in the Karanis rolls except for Εὐδοκείαν τὴν τοῦ Ὀκταίου in a private letter.[15] In the majority of the cases the article is feminized (ἡ τοῦ), but there are ten exceptions where ὁ τοῦ is used despite the gender of the person identified. Reversely, there are also four men whose names are followed

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[9] *P. Mich.* IV 223–225 (TM 11998, 11999, and 12000 respectively) and *P. Cairo Mich.* 359 (TM 10432).

[10] If we leave these two groups of texts out, only 23.5 examples (the 0.5 coming from a text dated to two whole centuries and therefore divided equally over both) dated to the second century would be left, but still accounting for 43% (n = 55) of all attestations. The Fayum still provides 56% of the examples.

[11] *BGU* II 423 (TM 28137, AD 100–199). I have grouped it with the Fayum examples since the sender was clearly of that origin.

[12] *SB* XII 11164, l. 9 (TM 16394, AD 189/190).

[13] *P. Petaus* 88, ll. 13-15 (TM 8789, AD 185).

[14] *I. Louvre* 92, ll. 1-3 (TM 103918, 30 BC – AD 50).

[15] *P. Ross. Georg.* III 1, l. 24 (TM 17951, AD 270).

by the female ἡ τοῦ.[16] Another five examples consist of men whose identification is enriched by ὁ τῆς, which introduces a female name. Finally, there is one exceptional composition: in Κάστωρ Ἀπ[ι]τατ[ο]ς (οἱ τοῦ Ἀπιτατο(ς) Κωθω(ν)), found in *P. Mich.* IV 223, l. 2122, the οἱ probably is a scribal error for ὁ.

Most of the people identified by the addition have a common Greek or Egyptian given name such as Πόταμων or Παανς. The names following ὁ τοῦ on the other hand, vary greatly. They can be common Greek names such as Διόσκορος and Θεώδωρος, Egyptian names like Κολλουθος, or even occasionally a Latin name such as Πετρώνιος. Many, however, are rare names, for example Καμματαις, Κανκιεπ, Μαμακις, and Ναεινaει: not fewer than 45% (n = 132)[17] are attested only five times or less. More than half of these even are hapaxes of unclear origin, resembling the double names in the archive of Petaus, such as Ἀμοννης ἐπικαλούμενος Κιαπετ[18] or Παθυνις Σαλπας.[19] A closer look, however, reveals some of these second names to be Egyptian: Κουτις or Κουιτις are renderings of Coptic ⲕⲟⲩⲓ, meaning 'the little one',[20] while Κιαθιφις equals ϫⲁⲧϥⲉ, 'worm, reptile'.[21] Παανς ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) Ἀληλ probably has a nickname meaning 'the shrew'.[22] Some of the names following ὁ τοῦ in fact may also be very personal pet names and nicknames.

In 8% (n = 144) ὁ τοῦ follows the Roman *tria nomina*, indicating Roman citizenship. These all occur in the tax rolls from Karanis, which is no sur-

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[16] Πεθευς Σαραπίωνος (ἡ τοῦ Σύρου γερδίου) (*P. Mich.* IV 224, l. 1609; TM 11999, AD 173); Χαιρήμων Σαραπίωνος (ἡ τοῦ Ταελ(ηκεως) Πε[θε]ωs) (l. 2935); Γάιον Ἰούλιον Σατορνίλου (ἡ τοῦ Τεκσουις) (l. 4134).

[17] The damaged names (twelve in total) have not been included since they cannot contribute to the onomastic analysis.

[18] *P. Petaus* 78, l. 14 (TM 12689, AD 184).

[19] *P. Petaus* 102, l. 44 (TM 12613, AD 182–187).

[20] CRUM, *Dict.*, *s.v.* ⲕⲟⲩⲓ; *P. Petaus* 59, ll. 51 and 69 (TM 8760, AD 185), 101, l. 53 (TM 12612, AD 182–187), and 103, col. 2, l. 41 (TM 8840, AD 182–187).

[21] CRUM, *Dict.*, *s.v.* ϫⲁⲧϥⲉ; *P. Petaus* 90, l. 14 (TM 8751, AD 183/4) and 106, l. 3 (TM 12616, AD 182–187).

[22] CRUM, *Dict.*, *s.v.* ⲁⲗⲓⲗ; *P. Petaus* 64, l. 19 (TM 8784, AD 185).

prise since many veterans settled in that area. Titles further arouse the suspicion that the people using ὁ τοῦ are mainly local middle class. Some 16% of the people thus identified are recited in lists of names, either eligible for a certain liturgy or as ex-magistrates, or their current office is given (e.g. *epimeletes*). 21% is derived from lists of inhabitants of a certain village, and the remaining 29% consists of various types of documents, such as private and official letters or graffiti.

The examples of ὁ τοῦ in the tax rolls of Karanis stand apart from the rest, since they do not really belong to the person's identification cluster but are added separately at the end of the line between brackets, for example:

Τασουχάριον Ἀπολλωνίου (ἡ τοῦ Ἀρπακύσεως)[23]

These additional bracketed names are only added for people paying another tax than the poll tax, but systematically so for most of these tax entries. The ὁ τοῦ construction is used forty-eight times in the tax rolls, of which more than two thirds (69%) are entries concerning women and Roman citizens, neither of whom were subject to the poll tax.[24] In contrast to entries concerning the poll tax, their official identification is reproduced in a basic form, giving only their personal name and patronymic, or when it came to Roman citizens, simply their *tria nomina*, while as a rule people paying the poll tax are specified with a combination of their patronymic, papponymic, and metronymic.

The information provided between the brackets varies widely. Not only are there our forty-eight examples of ὁ and ἡ τοῦ, but also in other cases it provides family relations,[25] a streetname,[26] a profession,[27] an eth-

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[23] *P. Mich.* IV 224, l. 3018 (TM 11999, AD 173).

[24] The remaining fourteen examples all seem to concern ordinary Egyptians (in the Roman legal sense of the word) who did not pay poll tax but were subjected to other kinds of taxes, perhaps because they had reached the age of exemption (62)?

[25] The name of a husband (γυνὴ PN; *P. Mich.* IV 223, l. 3988; TM 11998, AD 172), a father (υἱὸς PN; *P. Mich.* IV 223, l. 3893, or θυγάτηρ PN; *P. Mich.* IV 223, l. 2432; TM 11999, AD 173) or a brother (ἀδελφὴ PN; *P. Mich.* IV 224, l. 5830; TM 11999, AD 173).

[26] Ἡρακλείδης Μάρωνο(ς) δι(ὰ) Ἰσιδώρας (ἐν ῥύμ(ῃ) Χ(αιρήμονος) Οὐᾶσι); *P. Mich.* IV 223, l. 1131 (TM 11998, AD 172).

[27] Πνεφερως Πνεφερωτο(ς) (λαχα(νοπώλης)); *P. Mich.* IV 223, l. 1597 (TM 11998, AD 172).

nicon,[28] or simply another name[29] (probably a nickname, given the fact that these are generally rather unusual names).

Hanna Geremek has already examined these bracketed entries to some extent.[30] Some of the above-mentioned categories speak for themselves, but when a different set of names is given than those of the person who owed the tax, it can become confusing. She concluded that sometimes the names given between brackets refer to people who paid the tax on behalf of the debtor:[31] so Πεθευς Πετεησεως (Θανουανσι) in *P. Mich.* IV 224, l. 4090, can be understood as Πεθευς Πετεησεως (δι(ὰ) Πεθευς Θανουανσι) in l. 3802. Geremek suspects that the notation of these entries depended on the scribe and that is why some of them are more clearly introduced than other.[32]

Geremek does not discuss the implications for ὁ τοῦ specifically, but some suggestions can be made. When a payment was made by a woman, I would opt that the man introduced by ἡ τοῦ was her *kyrios*. According to Greek and Roman law, women needed a guardian to conduct certain business transactions, such as buying and selling or drafting a will. For underage and unmarried girls this would ideally be her father, or, when deceased, another male relative. Husbands took on the guardianship of married women, and widows could be assisted by a son or again some other male relative.

In other cases ὁ τοῦ might introduce local agents paying taxes on behalf of their employers, large landowners who lived in Alexandria or one of the bigger *metropoleis* of the country. If the owner had obligations to fulfill in his place of residency, such as liturgies or magistracies, he would not have the time to undertake the management of his land himself. In such cases a φροντιστής was appointed to take over the task. Moreover, it has often been noted that property, instead of consisting of

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[28] Γάιος Ἰούλιος Μάξιμος (Σαμαρίτης); *P. Mich.* IV 224, l. 3342 (TM 11999, AD 173).

[29] Ἡραὶς Διδᾶ (Τιτινμουϊ); *P. Mich.* IV 224, l. 3760 (TM 11999, AD 173).

[30] Hanna GEREMEK, *Karanis. Communauté rurale de l'Égypte romaine au IIᵉ–IIIᵉ siècle de notre ère*, Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow 1969, pp. 107–111.

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 108.

[32] *Ibidem*, p. 109.

one or a few joint parcels of land in one specific area, was often drawn up of several smaller plots spread over different administrative areas.[33] The management of some of the more remote domains was then also assigned to an agent. The information following ὁ τοῦ between brackets would then have the same function as other entries in the tax lists where the preposition διά, following the name of the person who owes the tax, introduces the person who actually pays the amount on his or her behalf.

Of the remaining attestations of ὁ τοῦ, almost 42% (n = 96, 40 exx.) are from the archive of Petaus. As mentioned above, the editors had also noticed this construction and interpreted it as simply an alternative way to express the patronymic.[34] With the exception of the tax rolls from Karanis, this explanation has been generally accepted in editions of other texts in which the construction occurs, which is mirrored in the transla-tion of ὁ τοῦ as 'son of X'. In a remark to the expressions Δίδυμον τὸν τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέο[υς] and Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τοῦ Ἡρώδου in a letter by a son to his father, John Rea states that this construction is 'contrary to classical usage' of the patronymic, stating that it might have been an artificial con-struction that was thought to be 'classical'.[35]

Edwin Mayser, in his work on the grammar in Greek Ptolemaic papyri, also assumes that ὁ τοῦ introduces the patronymic, giving the example of Ἀκουσίλαος ὁ τοῦ Πάωτος.[36] Perhaps arguing back from a similar usage of the article in modern languages, he concludes that it conveys a 'unge-zwungenen, gemütlichen Ton'.[37] But the fact that this Akousilaos, together

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[33] E.g. the holdings of the veteran L. Bellenius Gemellus, managed by his slave Epa-gathos (cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/134.pdf>) or the estates of Au-relius Appianus who owned several estates in the Fayum that were under the direction of a certain Alypios. This man supervised several estate managers such as Heroninos, the man in charge of the Theadelphian estate who left behind an enormous archive (<http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?tm=103&i=1>).

[34] HAGEDORN *et alii* (eds.), *Das Archiv des Petaus* (cit. n. 1), p. 56.

[35] J. REA, 'A student's letter to his father: *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2190 revised', *ZPE* 99 (1993), p. 80, n. 8. The letter is *SB* XXII 15708, ll. 8 and 22–23 (TM 25933, AD 100).

[36] *P. Tebt.* I 58, ll. 8–10 (TM 3694, III BC).

[37] E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit: mit Einschluss der gle-ichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften* II.2, Berlin 1970, pp. 6–7, §54 1b.

with the other three Ptolemaic examples, are all found in official documents seems to contradict this proposition.

Only in six cases is ὁ τοῦ interpreted otherwise. Εὐδοκείαν τὴν τοῦ Ὀκταίου is translated as 'Eudokeia, wife of Octavius'.[38] Nikolaos Gonis remarks that Πλουτίων ὁ τῆς Σύρας[39] was probably a dependant of Syra, either a slave or an employee, rather than her son.[40] This could certainly be true for this specific case, but other examples include an *epimeletes* and a metropolite from Lykopolis for example, so it was definitely not the standard expression to designate slaves. Moreover, the Greek names these people bore, such as Sarapion, Chairemon, and Kastor rather point to more privileged members of society. Finally there are four examples found on funerary stelea from around Alexandria, erected for monks, for example ἀββα Μηνᾶς ὁ τοῦ ἀββα Θέων.[41] Since these are situated in a monastic setting, patronymics are out of the question. Perhaps here ὁ τοῦ expresses a relation based on apprenticeship; the aforementioned epitaph states that Theon was a baker, and in another Ioannes is 'the-one-of' Serenus the doctor.[42]

The suggestion that ὁ τοῦ introduces the patronymic is certainly valid in some cases, particularly in the 54% (n = 96; 52 exx.) of the examples that consist merely of the person's given name followed directly by ὁ τοῦ, for example Κάστωρ ὁ τοῦ Οὐεναφρις.[43] Where the patronymic is known from other documents, it often confirms that ὁ τοῦ introduces the father's name. A certain Dioskoros, for example, is referred to as Διόσκορος ὁ τοῦ Χαιρήμω(νος) in a list of dekania from Karanis; he is also known from another ostraca simply as Αὐ(ρήλιος) Διόσκορος Χαιρ(ήμονος).[44]

[38] *P. Ross. Georg.* III 1, l. 24 (TM 17951, AD 270). L. 25 reads Οὐαλέρι[ο]ν τὸν τοῦ Πασικᾶτος; this in turn is accepted as referring to the father.

[39] *SB* XXVI 16431, l. 4 (TM 97186, AD 100–299).

[40] N. GONIS, 'Eight fragmentary Harris papyri', *AnalPap* 10–11 (1998/9), p. 69, n. 4.

[41] G. LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* [= *Inscriptiones Christianae Aegypti* 5], Chicago 1978, no. 3, also nos. 4–5 and 8.

[42] *Ibidem*, no. 4.

[43] *SB* XIV 11523, l. 8 (TM 32932, AD 300–325).

[44] With ὁ τοῦ: *SB* XIV 11523, l. 3 (TM 32932, AD 300–325); without: *O. Mich.* 1 181, l. 1 (TM

But some examples probably do not refer to a person's father. The awkward example of Σωκρ(άτης) Πτολεμαίου ὁ τοῦ Νεσευς,[45] who in three other texts is defined as Σωκράτης Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Νεσευς,[46] has been dismissed by explaining ὁ τοῦ as a slip of the pen that should be interpreted as simply τοῦ, as in the other attestations of this person.[47] But it is perfectly plausible that this Sokrates was also known as 'the-one-of-Neseus', namely his grandfather.

Moreover, 29% (n = 96, 28 exx.) of the examples are constructed with an actual patronymic preceding ὁ τοῦ. Since the actual patronymic and the name following ὁ τοῦ always differ, the editors concluded that these second names comprise the fathers' bynames.[48] This is certainly true for some, such as Ἀγα[θὸς] Δαίμων Δείου ὁ τοῦ Σασεεῖ,[49] whose father is mentioned in other texts as Δεῖος ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) Σασεει.[50] But for others that are otherwise unattested, there is no conclusive evidence that the second name refers to their father. It might well be their grandfather or another relative. In the case of Ἰοῦστος Πααῦτος ὁ τοῦ Θεμεῖτις for example, the name Themeitis, starting with Θ and ending in -ις, makes one rather think of a female name. Therefore, it is more likely that 'the-one-of-Themeitis' refers to Ioustos' mother or another female relative rather than his father.

As said, the construction with ὁ τοῦ could simply be juxtaposed to the rest of the identification cluster, or it was introduced by the formula ἐπικαλούμενος. These two forms could even alternate within the same text, as is the case in *P. Petaus* 101 for example, where exactly half of the examples are constructed with ἐπικαλούμενος, and half without. But the

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41940, AD 301). Another example is Πτολλᾶς Πε[τ]ρ[ω]νίου in *P. Petaus* 104, l. 34 (TM 8791, AD 182–187), who is identified as Πτολλᾶς ὁ τοῦ Πετρωνίου in *P. Petaus* 101, l. 36 (TM 12612, AD 182–187).

[45] *P. Petaus* 101, l. 26 (TM 12612, AD 182–187).

[46] *P. Petaus* 64, l. 24 (TM 8784, AD 185), 65, l. 40, and 90, l. 15 (TM 8778, AD 186).

[47] HAGEDORN *et alii* (eds.), *Das Archiv des Petaus* (cit. n. 1), p. 57.

[48] *Ibidem*, pp. 57 and 59.

[49] *P. Petaus* 101, l. 12 (TM 12612, AD 182–187).

[50] *P. Petaus* 59, l. 70 (TM 8760, AD 185).

use of this formula may well be significant. It indicates that these were actually call-names, for example Οὐητιπας ἐπικαλού(μενος) ὁ τοῦ Καν-νετος, 'Ouetipas, also called «the-one-of Kannes»'.[51] These people were in fact addressed and referred to by means of this alternative 'patronymic' name. A similar construction using υἱός can be found in *P. Petaus* 59: Παθ(ῦνις) (ὁμοίως) μη(τρὸς) Σοήρεω(ς) ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) υἱὸς Πλῆνις and Ἀπύγ(χις) Παθ(ύνεως) ἐπικ(αλούμενος) υἱὸς Μούιτ(ος).[52] These two people have a byname that literally means 'son of X'.

The question remains where the use of ὁ τοῦ comes from. The majority of examples from the archive of Petaus identify people from Syron Kome, a village originally settled under Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Ptolemy III Euergetes by Syrians taken captive in the Syrian wars.[53] Semitic influence thus comes to mind, seeing ὁ τοῦ as a possible rendering for *Ben* or *Bar* ('son of' in Hebrew and Aramaic respectively). There is, however, little evidence for Syrian influence half a millennium later. There is equally no evidence suggesting that Syrians, who made up 12% of the legionaries stationed in Egypt,[54] had a preference for this or other Fayum villages when they retired and settled as veterans. There are also too many examples from outside the Arsinoite to explain it as foreign influence.

A clue may perhaps be found in the tax rolls of Karanis. *P. Mich.* IV 225, l. 1978 reads: Σαραπιὰς Σαραπίωνος (ἡ τοῦ Τααρπακύσεως). The payment of the female Sarapias, daughter of Sarapion, is complemented by ἡ τοῦ, but what follows then is grammatically inconsistent. One would expect a male name after τοῦ; instead, the female Τααρπακυσις is added. This could of course be a simple mistake, but alternatively the combination might result from a double rendering of an Egyptian phrase. In fact Τααρπακυσις is an Egyptian name formation consisting of the feminine possessive pronoun

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[51] *Stud. Pal.* XXII 52, l. 3 (TM 30962, AD 200–299).

[52] Lines 40 and 46.

[53] M. ROSTOVTZEFF, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* III, Oxford 1941, p. 1366, n. 28. The Fayum Project online also offers a concise overview of what is known about the village Syron Kome: <http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2216.php?geo_id=2216>.

[54] R. ALSTON, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*, London – New York 1995, p. 43 (table 3.2).

'the-one-of' (*ta-*) followed by the male name Ἁρπακυσις. The scribe may have translated the Egyptian prefix as ἡ τοῦ in Greek, afterwards mistakingly adding the already translated *ta*, resulting in an extra 'the-one-of'. As said, the ὁ τοῦ constructions between brackets probably introduced the people who made a payment on behalf of the debtor. Since we are dealing with a woman here, the name probably refers to her *kyrios*, a man, which would result in *ta Ḥr-pꜣ-ꜣks̆* ('the-one-of Harpakysis') in Demotic.

A parallel can be drawn with the 'genealogical' Ψεν- and Σεν- names that become common in the Roman period. They can be seen as an extreme application of the patronymic or metronymic, replacing the given name itself. Ψεν- stands for the Egyptian *Pꜣ-s̆r-n-* ('the son of') and Σεν- is the female equivalent *Tꜣ-s̆r.t-n-* ('the daughter of'). In this case a person's given name is, if not literally, the same as their patronymic. So a person with the name Ψενποστουμος is actually called 'The son of Postumus', and Σενηρακλεια 'The daughter of Herakleia'. Sometimes the principle was taken even further, with names like Ψενσεναχιλλας ('The son of Senachillas' = 'The son of the daughter of Achillas') or Σενψεναρυωτης ('The daughter of Psenaryotes' = 'The daughter of the son of Haryotes'). In bilingual mummy labels, these Egyptian names were sometimes even literally translated into Greek, such as *Tꜣ-s̆r.t-n-pꜣ-s̆r-n-Wsꜣr*, who is called θυγάτηρ Ψενοσιρις on the Greek reverse.[55] It should be noted though, that here again the added patronymic sometimes makes clear that these Psen- and Sen- names do not always introduce the name of the father, for example Ψενκολλῶτις νεώτερος Ψεναρυώτου μητρὸς Σενψανσνῶ⟨το⟩ς[56] and Σενπετεμεινις Πεκυσιος τοῦ καὶ Τχαλιμα Πιηυς.[57]

A further parallel is the naming system in Iceland. A law from 1925 stipulates that the use of a fixed family name is forbidden. Instead, children are bestowed with a patronymic as a surname, consisting of their

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[55] S. P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Related Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications (Short Texts* II 278–1200*)* [= *Studia Demotica* 8], Leuven, forthcoming, no. 626, A l. 2, B l. 1 (TM 26253, AD 100–299).

[56] F. BARATTE & B. BOYAVAL, 'Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre (C.E.M.L.) – textes grecs', *CRIPEL* 2 (1974), p. 199, no. CEML 101 (TM 54583, AD 100–299).

[57] *SB* III 7089, ll. 1–4 (TM 40671, AD 100–299).

father's given name followed by *son* for a boy and *dóttir* for a girl. Metronymics do occur but only rarely. People who already carried a family name before 1925 were allowed to retain it and pass it on to their descendants, but since then new family names have been prohibited. The use of two surnames is allowed, so a person could carry both a family name and a patronymic.

Although a fair number of ὁ τοῦ constructions do introduce a patronymic, it has been demonstrated that this theory cannot be extrapolated to the whole set of examples. First of all, in the tax rolls the expression is used to introduce the person who actually paid the tax on behalf of the person who was indebted. In other cases it could refer to other family members or maybe even unrelated acquaintances. The equation of ὁ τοῦ and ἡ τοῦ with *pa* and *ta* does not only make sense for the entries in the tax rolls, but is also applicable to all other examples of ὁ τοῦ found in the papyri, whether used as a patronymic or metronymic or any other possible relation.

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