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Gwen Jennes

OSIRIS-SMITHIS IN EGYPTIAN ANTHROPONYMS*

IN AN ARTICLE FROM 2000, Herman De Meulenaere studied anthroponyms containing the element *P³-mtr*, a reference to the sacred staff of Khnum specific to the First Upper Egyptian Nome.¹ Among the known personal names containing that element, such as *P³/t³-n-mtr* (Demotic *Pa/Ta-mtr*, Greek *Παμητις*, ‘The one of the staff’) and *Ns-p³-mtr* (Greek *Ἐσπιμητις*, ‘He/She who belongs to the staff’), he lists the composite name *P³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*. The last one was – according to the Meulenaere – originally transcribed into Greek as *Πετευσερζμηθις*,² but from the first century AD onwards more often as *Πετορζμηθις*.³ The writing *Πετευσερζμηθις*, however, is only attested four times, all four in the same text from the first century BC. In addition, the expected Greek transcription *Πετοσορσμητις* is only attested once, and this is also the oldest attestation of the name.⁴ It thus seems that the name was only written out in full in the earliest examples, after which it was shortened to *Πετορζμηθις*.

* I should like to thank Prof. Dr. Mark Depauw for his valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ H. DE MEULENAERE, ‘L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne’, *CdÉ* 75 (2000), pp. 235–241.

² De Meulenaere refers to *BGU* 1476, ll. 8, 11, 12, 16 (TM 7370; 99–91 BC).

³ DE MEULENAERE, ‘L’enseigne sacrée’ (cit. n. 1), p. 240.

⁴ *UPZ* II 180 a, col. 19, l. 8 (TM 3582; 113 BC). For the chronological spread of those names, cf. below.

The definite article *p*³, which is expected before *mtr*, is never written in the Greek rendering, while it is present in less than half of the Demotic cases.⁵

An obvious question is that of the nature of this Osiris-Smithis. A theophoric name normally refers to a single deity by name, although two god's names, a god's name followed by an epithet, or an animal name are equally possible. Osiris-Smithis, however, seems to be formed of a theonym (Osiris) followed by an anthroponym (Smithis). Alternatively, the entire construction Osiris-Smithis could refer to a single deity. If so, this Osiris-Smithis should be attested in the region of the First Upper Egyptian Nome.

A child called Smithis son of Petearensnuphis is in fact mentioned in Papyrus Dodgson from Elephantine, dating to the second half of the Ptolemaic period.⁶ In the text, the child calls itself Osiris Smithis and 'son of Khnum.' Cary Martin therefore sees (Osiris)-Smithis as a deified child.⁷ Papyrus Dodgson provides many interpretational problems, however, and is therefore not the most reliable source. Fortunately, a cult of a child Osiris-Smithis, son of Khnum, is furthermore attested on building blocks from an Elephantine sanctuary that was erected during the reigns of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan.⁸ Although Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal interprets the Osiris-Smithis mentioned on the building blocks

⁵ The article is written in following attestations: *P. Eleph. Dem.* 13, l. 2 (4 times) (TM 45679; 2 BC); *P. Berl. Eleph.* I 15518 r^o, l. 2, v^o, l. 1 (TM 46501; AD 11); *O. Wängstedt* 76, l. 3 (TM 50743; 30 BC – AD 199); *O. Wilcken* II 35 + E. REVILOUT & U. WILCKEN, 'Tessères bilingues', *RevEg* 6 (1891), p. 11, no. 14: demotic (TM 50748; AD 89).

⁶ = P. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1932-1159 (TM 43648; 150-30 BC).

⁷ C. MARTIN, 'The child born in Elephantine: Papyrus Dodgson revisited', *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 206.

⁸ C. UBERTINI, 'Restitution architecturale du «Temple Y», [in:] G. DREYER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 31./32. Grabungsbericht', *MDAIK* 61 (2005), p. 65. This architectural reconstruction is based on building blocks found during the 30th and 31st campaigns in a retaining wall at Elephantine. It is not entirely clear to me how this 'new' Temple Y relates to the Temple Y discussed by Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemäisch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine* [= *Elephantine* 15; *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 73], Mainz a/Rhein 1996, which she dates to the reign of Ptolemy VIII (p. 21). It seems, however, that they both belong to a larger complex of sanctuaries.

as a child form of Osiris, and not as a deified child, she admits that both were closely related and that the later Osiris-child was probably derived from the earlier deified child Smithis.⁹

Does the element Osiris-Smithis then refer to both Osiris and the sacred staff of Khnum, or is it connected to the child of Papyrus Dodgson and the building blocks? In order to answer this question, the geographical and chronological spread of anthroponyms mentioning Osiris-Smithis will be examined, as well as that of personal names mentioning the sacred staff alone. For this purpose the Trismegistos databank will be used.¹⁰ In the remainder of this paper I will refer to TM numbers, Nam_id's and Pnr's, all unique numbers assigned to texts, names and persons respectively, leading to more information online.¹¹

THE ELEMENT OSIRIS-SMITHIS IN PERSONAL NAMES

Already in his article on the sacred emblem of Khnum, De Meulenaere proposed to correct the reading 'Petosiris, son of Smithis' to 'Petosorsmetis' in

⁹ Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, 'Osiris Nesmeti – Child from Elephantine', [in:] DREYER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine' (cit. n. 8), p. 81.

¹⁰ Trismegistos aims to collect all texts from Egypt between *ca.* 800 BC and AD 800, together with the personal names mentioned in those texts, both in Egyptian and Greek (for a preliminary version and a *status quaestionis*, see <<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref>>). Quantification of this material can take place on two levels, counting references or individuals. Some people, such as officials, are attested multiple times: on the basis of attestations, Zenon seems to be an extremely popular name in third century BC Egypt, while in fact the data are distorted by a single abundantly attested individual. It would therefore be best to quantify on the level of persons. However, this would require that all attestations of all persons throughout the database should be checked for possible identifications. So far this has only been done for people from the Ptolemaic period bearing titles, on the basis of W. PEREMANS & E. VAN'T DACK, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, 9 vols., Leuven, 1950–1981. Quantification on this level would thus likewise distort the image. Therefore the number of references will be used here.

¹¹ Information on TM numbers is accessible at <<http://www.trismegistos.org>>; information on Nam_id's via <<http://www.trismegistos.org/name/>>, followed by the Nam_id; and information on Pnr's via <<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/search.php>>.

one graffito and two ostraka: *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 41 (TM 53141; AD 13), ostrakon BM 12427 + 12492 (TM 51761; 30 BC – AD 199),¹² and *O. Louvre* 62 (TM 55599; 254 BC). Although I have no objections to correct the first two readings, the third is problematic. The provenance of the text is uncertain, while only *Ns-p³-...* is legible, which can likewise be supplemented to *Ns-p³-wt-t³.wy*,¹³ *Ns-p³-nb-^cnb*,¹⁴ or *Ns-p³-qy-šw.ty*.¹⁵ The text is moreover dated to 254 BC and this is far earlier than other attestations of names mentioning Osiris-Smithis (cf. below). Four other persons called *P³-di-Wsir* son of *Ns-p³-mtr* were found in Trismegistos. Only one of them¹⁶ can be corrected into Petosorsmetis, however. *O. Wilcken* II 35 + Revillout & Wilcken, ‘Tessères bilingues’ (cit. n. 5), p. 11, no. 14, is a Greek-Demotic ostrakon from Syene, naming the official *P³-di-Wsir* <son of> *Ns-p³-mtr*. The *s³*-stroke is nowhere to be found, and usually officials are not identified through their father’s name. This attestation was therefore corrected into *P³-di-Wsir-ns-p³-mtr*.

The just discussed corrections are included in the following statistics on the element Osiris-Smithis in personal names. Furthermore, names abbreviated as Πετορζ are also counted as attestations of Πετοσορζμηθις, since no other names – aside from Πετοσορζμητωσ – attested in Trismegistos begin with Πετορζ. The following table renders all personal

¹² Published in S. V. WÅNGSTEDT, ‘Demotische Ostraka: Varia I’, *Orientalia Suecana* 25–26 (1976–1977), pp. 22–23, no. 11.

¹³ Nam_id 1146; 281 attestations.

¹⁴ Nam_id 187; 69 attestations.

¹⁵ Nam_id 160; 41 attestations.

¹⁶ *P. Tor. Botti* 38 v^o, l. 10 (TM 45109; 145–116 BC), from Thebes is an entry in a witness list. All other persons are identified with the name of their father, and correcting *P³-di-Wsir* son of *Ns-p³-mtr* into *P³-di-Wsir-ns-p³-mtr* would leave this person fatherless. The fragmentary preservation of *P. Brooklyn Dem.* 178 from Elephantine (TM 89077; 699 BC – AD 350) makes it difficult to make any statement about a possible correction. The ostrakon contains a list of persons with their father. After *Ns-p³-mtr* more text follows, but the sherd is broken off. It is therefore possible that a patronymic follows, but this is just one possibility. The last reading – *P. Äg. Handschr.* 115 descr. from Elephantine (TM 45702; 332–30 BC) could not be checked, due to the lack of an illustration. A person followed by a father’s name is expected however, since the names are mentioned in a subscription. The last two readings were therefore not corrected.

names mentioning Osiris-Smithis.¹⁷ The (*) indicates that this name is not attested in that language, and that the entry was reconstructed.

Table 1. Names mentioning Osiris-Smithis

<i>Nam_id</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Egyptian</i> ¹⁸	<i>Greek</i> ¹⁹	<i>Translation</i>	<i>N</i>
7919	Petosorsmetis	<i>P³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr</i>	Πετοσορζμηθις	He who was given by O.S.	317
23998	Petosorsmetos	* <i>P³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr-ꜥ³</i>	Πετοσορζμητωϝ	He who was given by the great O.S.	4
20781	Psenosorsmethis	<i>P³-šr-n-Wsir-ns-mtr</i>	* <i>Ψενοσορζμηθις</i>	Son of O.S.	2

The first and second name belong to the *P³-di*-type, which is a common theophoric type during the Late and Graeco-Roman periods.²⁰ The difference between the two names is the addition of the element ꜥ³, which can in Egyptian either be read as an epithet ‘Osiris-Smithis, (the) great’, or serve as a way to distinguish two people with the same name. The elder one would receive the apposition *p³ ꜥ³*, while the younger could be named *p³ h^m*. The four attestations of the name Petosorsmetos are, however, all rendered in Greek. If a contrast between two homonymous persons needed to be made, a Greek rendering of the personal name followed by a Greek designation for ‘older’ or ‘younger’ would be expected. This is

¹⁷ The name *Hr-s³-p³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr* / Ἀρσιπετορζμηθις, ‘Horos, son of «He who O.S. has given»’ (TM 16563; 1 attestation), also needs to be mentioned. The name is not incorporated in the table since the main element of the name is Horos and not Osiris-Smithis.

¹⁸ For all possible variants of these names, see <<http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=>, followed by the *Nam_id*>.

¹⁹ See previous note.

²⁰ For a discussion of this name type, see Gwen JENNES & M. DEPAUW, ‘Hellenization and onomastic change. The case of Egyptian *P³-di-IIIετε*-Names’, *CdÉ* 87 (2012), pp. 109–132.

corroborated by *O. Eleph. DAIK* 116 (TM 29846; 2nd c. AD), where a [Πετο]ρζμητωσ μιζ, ‘Petosorsmetos the elder’, is mentioned. The name Petosorsmetos can therefore be translated as ‘He whom was given by the great Osiris-Smithis.’ The third name consists of the element $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r$ followed by Osiris-Smithis. This common way to form a theophoric name is remarkably rare in combination with Osiris-Smithis. Both attestations come from one text, *P. Brooklyn Dem.* 70 (TM 69491; AD 60), which does in fact not exclude a reading as $P^3\text{-}di$.²¹ Osiris-Smithis was thus nearly exclusively mentioned in a single male personal name Petosorsmetis.

GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD

Table 2 provides the geographical spread of personal names with the element Osiris-Smithis, with the absolute number of name attestations and the relative number compared to the amount of all name attestations from each site.

Table 2. Geographical spread of Osiris-Smithis attestations

<i>Site</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Elephantine/Syene	308	3.87%
Philae	7	0.35%
Thebes	5	0.01%

Elephantine and Syene – modern day Aswan – were only separated by a narrow branch of river (ca. 100 m) in antiquity.²² Travelling between the two was relatively easy, even more so since before the building of the first dam

²¹ Both readings ($P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r$ and $P^3\text{-}di$) are acceptable, but given the predominance of the name $P^3\text{-}di\text{-}Wsr\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ and the complete lack of attestation of $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}Wsr\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ (aside from the two under discussion here) I am inclined to read $P^3\text{-}di\text{-}Wsr\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ instead of $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}Wsr\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ on *P. Brooklyn Dem.* 70.

²² Strabo XVII 1, 48.

the water-level could be extremely low during winter.²³ Given their proximity, some convergence in naming practices is expected. Their theologies are also closely related, as Satet of Elephantine is often identified with Isis (who had her temple across the Nile in Syene) and Sothis,²⁴ while Isis of Syene can also be called Satet and Sothis.²⁵ Elephantine and Syene are therefore treated as a single site – called Aswan hereafter.²⁶ It is in this city only that Osiris-Smithis features prominently in personal names. All seven attestations in Philae are graffiti and given Philae's vicinity to Aswan, people carrying an Osiris-Smithis name may have had close ties with Aswan. The five attestations from Thebes are more difficult to explain. One – ostrakon BM 12427 + 12492 – is attributed a probable Theban origin in the publication. Judging from the names mentioned, however, an Elephantine origin is just as probable.²⁷ The other four might mention people that migrated to Thebes, but this is hard to prove. Four more examples are attested in texts with an unknown provenance, which may well originate from Aswan as well.²⁸ *P. Congr. XV 17* actually deals with a payment made by a corporation in Elephantine and the *Ombites* and *P. Brooklyn 85* does mention several other names that would not stand out in Aswan, including the rare name *Psenpakhnumis*²⁹ which refers to its main deity.

²³ J. L. BURCKHARD, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, p. 4, cited by C. VON PILGRIM *et alii*, 'The town of Syene: Preliminary report on the 1st and 2nd season in Aswan', *MDAIK* 60 (2004), p. 120.

²⁴ Dominique VALBELLE, *Satis et Anoukis*, Mainz a/Rhein 1981, p. 142; Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, 'L'Isis d'Assouan et son armée', *EtudTrav* 21 (2007), pp. 56–67.

²⁵ Satis: Edda BRESCIANI & S. PERNIGOTTI, *Assuan. Il tempio tolemaico di Isi. I blocchi decorati e iscritti* [= *Biblioteca di studi antichi* 16], Pisa 1978, E14: pp. 102–103; F16: pp. 116–117; F17: pp. 118–119; Sothis: *ibidem*, E15: pp. 104–105; Dem. 6: pp. 125–126.

²⁶ The majority of documentation from Aswan comes from the island of Elephantine.

²⁷ Several names refer to Khnum, the main deity of Elephantine.

²⁸ Two attestations from *P. Congr. XV 17* (TM 29467; 2nd c. AD). The editor's note that Petosormetis is 'especially found among *laographia* payers', does not add anything to our understanding of the name, as only Roman citizens and residents of the four Greek poleis were exempt from payment. The remark is therefore applicable to all Egyptian personal names; one from *P. Brooklyn 159* descr. (TM 27441; 2nd c. AD?) and one from *P. Brooklyn 85* (TM 27404; 2nd c. AD).

²⁹ Nam_id 10281; 7 attestations.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL EVOLUTION

Aswan

When quantifying chronological evolutions, it is inconvenient that a certain amount of texts are dated imprecisely, some over a couple of years, others over multiple centuries. Since the majority of documents written in Egyptian is imprecisely dated, excluding these would add linguistic bias.³⁰ Therefore an inclusive ‘weighed dates’ system was developed, considering all texts and their attestations, but still working with time-slots of one year.³¹ The basic principle is that each imprecisely dated attestation only counts for a certain percentage for each year it can be dated to. An attestation from a document dated to the year 140 BC counts as 1 for that year, while an attestation dated to the years 149–140 BC would count for 0.1 for each of the years. Unfortunately, this system can for the moment only be applied to attestations and not yet to persons.³²

Since names mentioning Osiris-Smithis are more or less restricted to Aswan, the graph below uses this system of ‘weighed dates’ to render the chronological evolution of these name attestations there, expressed in relative numbers. This evolution is represented by the black line, plotted to the primary axis on the left. The grey columns reflect the absolute numbers of Osiris-Smithis attestations, plotted to the secondary axis on the right.

Personal names referring to Osiris-Smithis played no role in Aswan prior to the (late) first century BC. In fact, the first dated attestations are from 2 BC.³³ The elevation in the first century BC itself is the result of four

³⁰ As results would then nearly exclusively be based on Greek sources.

³¹ B. VAN BEEK & M. DEPAUW, ‘Quantifying imprecisely dated sources: A new inclusive method for charting diachronic change in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, *AncSoc* 43 (2013), pp. 101–114.

³² Using persons would in this case require a thorough prosopographical study of the more than 7,000 attestations from Aswan, as the Osiris-Smithis attestations are set out against all Aswan-attestations in fig. 1. Even when this is accomplished, other methodological and technical problems occur, on which I will not elaborate here.

³³ Four attestations from *P. Dem. Eleph.* 13.

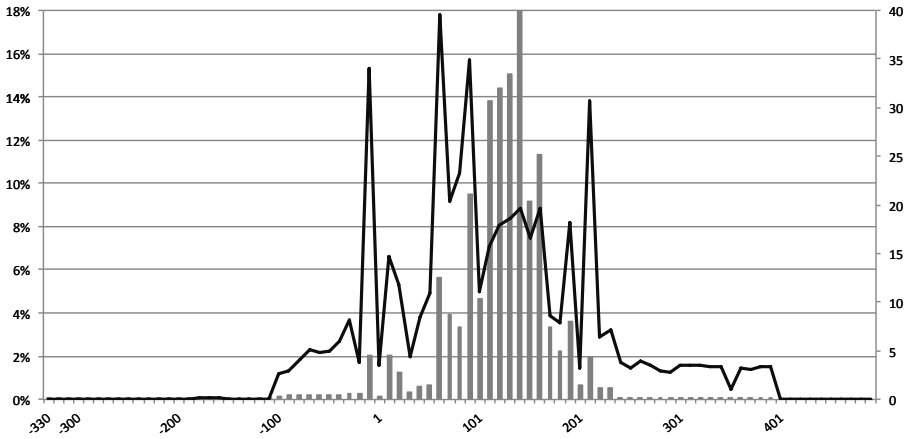


Fig. 1. Chronological evolution of names containing Osiris-Smithis set out against all name attestations from Aswan

attestations dated to that century in general. In AD 232 the latest exactly dated attestation occurred.³⁴ Some extreme peaks between 10 BC and AD 220 are the result of people mentioned several times: the first one, visible between 10 BC and 1 BC, and the third one, situated in the decades AD 80–99. The former is the result of *P. Dem. Eleph.* 13, where a person with the name *P³-di-*W*sir-ns-p³-mtr* is the father of three people acting as second party in a sale contract.³⁵ The latter is created by two persons, a father and his son. The father is mentioned twice, the son seven times.³⁶ The other peaks genuinely result from a higher than average number of attestations mentioning Osiris-Smithis.

Only people with a certain age are mentioned in texts. Here, I operate with an average of 20 years. Furthermore, when fathers are mentioned

³⁴ The latest exactly dated text dates to this year: *Chrest. Wilck.* 41 (TM 23481). However, the name is reconstructed by the editor as [Αὐρήλιος Πέτορ]ζμηθ[ι]ς. The latest completely written attestation (Πέτορζμηθις) can be found in *O. Wilcken* II 1610 (TM 77903; AD 221).

³⁵ The name of the father of the fourth person is lost, but since they are siblings, the name Petosorsmetis should probably also be restored there.

³⁶ Pnr's 361618 and 361650. Both as identifiers of Patsebtis (pnr 361619).

in an identification string they received their name an additional generation earlier, resulting in a gap of 40 years between the act of naming and the moment that person appears in our documentation. The first exactly dated attestation of a name mentioning Osiris-Smithis, dating to 2 BC, mentions both a person and a father named *P³-di-*W*sir-ns-p³-mtr*, meaning that the first person to receive such a name in our documentation was born around 40 BC. The latest exactly dated text – from AD 232 – only mentions a person with an Osiris-Smithis name, meaning that the last person attested with that name was born in the early third century, probably around AD 210.

Philae and Thebes

The texts from Thebes and Philae, as well as those with an unknown provenance, are not incorporated in the above graph. Four of the five attestations from Thebes are dated to the Roman period and therefore correlate to the dates from Aswan. The fifth document – UPZ II 180 a, col. 19, l. 8 (TM 3582) – dates to 113 BC, and is the earliest attestation of a personal name referring to Osiris-Smithis. The reading *Ζμηθις Πετοσορσμητιος*, ‘Smithis, son of Petosorsmetis’, is certain and since it concerns a patronymic, the person will have been born approximately around 150 BC. The seven attestations referring to Osiris-Smithis from Philae are all graffiti; these are generally difficult to date. One is dated to the year AD 13,³⁷ while five are not dated in Francis Llewelyn Griffith’s publication. These can range between 380 BC and AD 499.³⁸ The last attestation,³⁹ however, was assigned to the Ptolemaic period by Griffith, apparently on the basis of the entry *Πετοσορσμητις* in Friedrich Preisigke’s *Namenbuch*.⁴⁰ Preisigke, however, only lists one attestation of the name and this

³⁷ *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 41 (TM 53141).

³⁸ *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 348 (TM 53466); 352 (TM 53470); 367 (TM 53488); 381 (TM 53500); 446 (TM 53562).

³⁹ *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 341 (TM 53457).

⁴⁰ *NB*, p. 320.

is the previously mentioned *UPZ II 180 a*, dated to 113 BC: the only one out of 317 attestations that is certainly Ptolemaic. All four attestations with an unknown provenance can be dated in the second to third century AD and therefore fit with the dates from Aswan.⁴¹

Osiris-Smithis as dating criterion

The following table provides an overview of texts containing Osiris-Smithis names of which the chronological range can be confined on the basis of the above graph and comments. Given the dates of the first and last exactly dated references in 2 BC and AD 232 respectively,⁴² and allowing for a buffer I propose a lower limit in the middle of the first century BC and an upper one at the end of the third century AD. This is of course not a certainty in view of the single attestation of 113 BC. This text, however, is not only an outlier when it comes to its date, but also when it comes to its provenance (Thebes).

Table 3. Texts of which the date-range can be restricted

<i>TM</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Publication date</i>	<i>TM date</i>	<i>New date</i>
53457	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae 341</i> ⁴³	Philae	Ptolemaic	332–30 BC	50 BC – AD 299
7370	<i>BGU VI 1476</i>	Elephantine	late Ptolemaic	99–1 BC	50–1 BC
53466	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae 348</i>	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299

⁴¹ Two attestations in *P. Congr. XV 17*, one in *P. Brooklyn 159* descr., and one in *P. Brooklyn 85*.

⁴² For an extra argument on this dating, see also ‘Conclusion’ and the date of the building blocks.

⁴³ This attestation was seemingly assigned to the Ptolemaic period on the basis of the entry *Πετοσορμητης* in *Namenbuch* (see n. 40). As previously said, Preisigke lists the only Ptolemaic attestation. I therefore propose to redate this graffito in the same range as the others.

Table 3 continued

<i>TM</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Publication date</i>	<i>TM date</i>	<i>New date</i>
5347 ^o	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae 352</i>	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
5348 ⁸	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae 367</i>	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
5350 ^o	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae 381</i>	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
5356 ²	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae 446</i>	Philae	—	181 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
8909 ¹	<i>P. Brooklyn Dem. 188</i>	Elephantine (?)	—	699 BC – AD 350	50 BC – AD 299
2539 ⁶	<i>SB XVIII 13213</i>	Syene	Roman	AD 1–399	AD 1–299
7686 ⁴	<i>O. Wilcken II 301</i>	Syene	—	AD 1–399	AD 1–299
2630 ⁸	<i>O. Eleph. DAIK 168 descr.</i>	Elephantine	Roman	AD 1–399	AD 1–299

THE NAME

T³-ŠR.T-P³-DĪ-WSĪR-NS-P³-MTR / ΣΕΝΠΕΤΟΡΖΜΗΘΙΣ

Fifteen women were named Senpetorsmetis⁴⁴ or ‘Daughter of Petosorsmetis’, yielding 17 attestations. These were not taken into consideration in the above discussion since the reference to Osiris-Smithis is only secondary. All attestations date to the second century AD. Senpetorsmetis is a compound name, constructed of *T³-šr.t* followed by a personal name. Compound names of this type are foremost popular in Athribis, near ancient Panopolis, but are also attested in Thebes, the Fayum and the First Upper Egyptian nome. They were probably used to name girls after

⁴⁴ Nam_id 18168.

male kin.⁴⁵ Since all women carrying this name act as identifiers (they are mentioned as mothers of the acting person), nothing is known of their fathers. At least three named their son Petosorsmetis⁴⁶ and one Petosorsmetos.⁴⁷

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL:
KHNUM'S SACRED STAFF IN PERSONAL NAMES

Given the geographical restriction of Osiris-Smithis names to Aswan, this comparative section will also focus on that city. In Thebes, the name *Ns-p²-mtr* refers to the sacred staff of Amun⁴⁸ and therefore these references are excluded here. De Meulenaere pointed to the great diversity of anthroponyms containing the element *P²-mtr*, but only the name *Ns-p²-mtr* is common in Aswan. The following table presents all *P²-mtr*-names that are attested more than five times in Aswan.

Table 4. Names mentioning Khnum's sacred staff

<i>Nam_id</i>	<i>Egyptian</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>N</i>
194	<i>Ns-p²-mtr</i>	<i>Zμηθις</i>	142
9409	* <i>Ns-mtr-p²-š</i>	<i>Zμεντπως</i> ⁴⁹	33
193	<i>Ns-p²-mtr-šps</i>	—	14
715	<i>Pa-mtr</i>	<i>Παμητις</i>	6

⁴⁵ S. P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* [= *Studia demotica* 9], Leuven 2011, pp. 922–932; Gwen JENNES, 'P²-šr-personal name. An expression of genealogical relations?', *ZAS* 140 (2013), pp. 132–141.

⁴⁶ Pnr's 332253; 332213; 124031.

⁴⁷ Pnr 332249.

⁴⁸ DE MEULENAERE, 'L'enseigne sacrée' (cit. n. 1), p. 235.

⁴⁹ The root *mt* can become *mnt*: W. TILL, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1966, p. 47.

In contrast to the names with Osiris-Smithis, the article P^3 is there in most attestations of the name $Ns-p^3-mtr$. The majority of references of this name are in an Egyptian script, however, while those of Osiris-Smithis are mostly in Greek. The Greek transcription of $Ns-p^3-mtr$ becomes $Z\mu\eta\theta\iota\varsigma$, thus dropping the article. In the name $Ns-p^3-mtr-\check{s}ps$ (only attested in Egyptian) the article is invariably written, but it is again dropped in the names $Ns-mtr-p^3-\check{s}$ and $Pa-mtr$. Only Greek attestations of the name $Ns-mtr-p^3-\check{s}$ are handed down, and it seems from the previously discussed examples ($Ns-p^3-mtr$ and the names with Osiris-Smithis) that the Greek transcriptions tend to drop the article. The omission of the article in $Pa-mtr$ has a different reason, as all attestations are written in Egyptian. Here it is probably the homonymy between Pa and P^3 that prevents the writing of P^3 .

The first attestation of a personal name containing the element P^3-mtr dates to 537 BC.⁵⁰ The earlier elevations, and likewise those between 490 and 410 BC, in graph 2 below (rendered in a dotted line) are the result of several texts dated over multiple centuries in combination with the low number of attestations from Aswan for those periods. During the Ptolemaic period, percentages remained more or less stable. From approximately 50 BC, however, the popularity of P^3-mtr names declines until the end of the first century AD when they only represent 0.32% of all attestations from Aswan anymore. There are, however, still P^3-mtr names attested in the second century AD. The ‘revival’ of these names in the form of two peaks in the second century is odd at least. Out of the 43 attestations of that century, 28 belong to the name $Zmentpos$, a name only attested in Aswan. Four of the remaining five attestations of $Zmentpos$ are dated in the first century, while the fifth is dated to the second and third centuries. The name reminds of the previously discussed $Petosorsmetos$ where the epithet \check{s} was added to the divine name Osiris-Smithis. This also seems to be the case here. Furthermore, the date range is comparable to the names formed with Osiris-Smithis. When the attestations of

⁵⁰ P. Ebeverträge 5 + W. C. ERICHSEN, ‘Zwei frühdemotische Urkunden aus Elephantine’, [in:] *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* [= *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute* 2], Boston 1950, p. 277 (TM 45692).

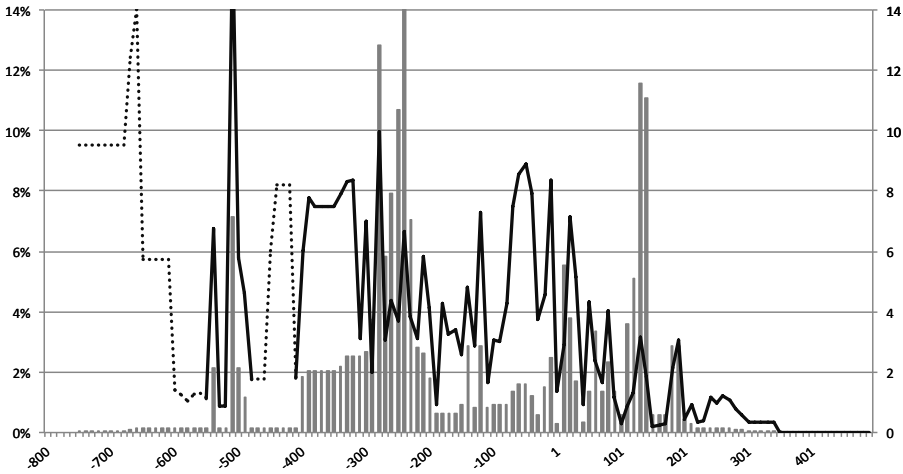


Fig. 2. Chronological evolution of P^3 -*mtr* names in Aswan

the name Zmentpos are taken out of the equation, the first peak of the second century AD flattens completely, while the second diminishes substantially.⁵¹ One can therefore wonder whether the name Zmentpos does not refer to Osiris-Smithis. In fact, multiple people named Zmentpos have fathers or grandfathers called Petosorsmetis.⁵²

⁵¹ The second peak diminishes to 2%. Two texts both yielding one attestation are responsible for this elevation: *O. Wilcken* II 1460 (TM 77791; AD 186) mentions a woman named Ταμητ and *O. Eleph. DAIK* 299 (TM 24275; AD 185) yields a person named σμητος. In both cases the connection to the emblem is questionable. Ταμητ (Nam_id 13861) is supposed to be the Greek equivalent of T^3 -*mtr* according to DE MEULENAERE, 'L'enseigne sacrée' (cit. n. 1), p. 236. Four Egyptian attestations exist, but they all predate 150 BC and are therefore separated from the Greek rendering by over 300 years. With the second attestation (σμητος) it is uncertain if this is the full name of the person, or that it is the ending of a patronymic. In the last case the name could just as well be a variant reading of Petosorsmetis.

⁵² Zmentpos (pnr 124025), son of Petosorsmetis alias Dax, grandson of Petosorsmetis; Zmentpos (pnr 150187), son of Petosorsmetis and Tisatis; Zmentpos (pnr's 269886, 299305, and 299034), son of Petosorsmetis; Zmentpos (pnr 269681), son of Chemis and Senzmentpos, grandson of Petosorsmetis. Of the thirteen persons of whom at least the father is known, six have a family member named Petosorsmetis. Strangely, of the nine persons of whom children are known, not a single one is called Petosorsmetis.

CONCLUSION

The chronological spread of names referring to the sacred emblem of Khnum not mentioning Osiris is different from the evolution of those referring to Osiris-Smithis. Personal names mentioning the staff are first attested in the sixth century BC, while Osiris-Smithis names are only first attested in Aswan in 2 BC, a substantial 500 years later. When the popularity of Osiris-Smithis names was at its peak – around AD 100 – names mentioning the staff were nearly extinct. This discrepancy suggests that the staff on the one hand, and Osiris-Smithis on the other are two unrelated phenomena. Furthermore, the chronological spread of Osiris-Smithis names is remarkably coherent with the dating of the building blocks mentioned in the introduction. The first emperor mentioned is Nero (AD 54–68). His reign starts roughly a hundred years after the first person was bestowed with an Osiris-Smithis name, but, as said in the introduction, Osiris-Smithis was probably related to the child Smithis mentioned in Papyrus Dodgson dated to the second half of the Ptolemaic period (see the introduction above). Veneration in all likelihood started long before a stone sanctuary was built under Nero. Khnum, for instance, was first worshipped alongside Satet in her temple⁵³ before he received his own temple in the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁴ The last embellishment of the Osiris-Smithis sanctuary was under Trajan's reign, at the beginning of the second century AD, exactly when the anthroponyms related to the cult were most popular. The sanctuary certainly functioned for many years after that, but making statements on its decay is near impossible. With the transition to Christianity the temple will most certainly have stopped functioning (if it was still in use at all by that time), and the majority of its blocks ended up in a retaining wall in the sixth century AD.⁵⁵ The last attestation of an Osiris-Smithis name dates to AD 232 and was therefore

⁵³ W. KAISER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 19./20. Grabungsbericht', *MDAIK* 49 (1993), p. 146.

⁵⁴ W. KAISER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 25./26./27. Grabungsbericht', *MDAIK* 55 (1999), p. 110.

⁵⁵ UBERTINI, 'Restitution architecturale' (cit. n. 8), p. 64.

probably given to that person in the early third century. This might mean that the cult of Osiris-Smithis lost popularity, or that the cult even ceased to exist. Two other possibilities should be considered, however. First, there is a substantial drop in name attestations from Aswan after AD 230. Documents containing Osiris-Smithis names may therefore simply not have been handed down, but this does not explain the gradual decline of the type during the preceding century. Second, since *P³-di-*W*sir-ns-p³-mtr* was the only well attested name related to Osiris-Smithis, the decay of the name-type may also have played a role. Where *P³-di* names still represented approximately 6% of all attestations in Egypt at the time when Osiris-Smithis names started gaining popularity (2 BC), by AD 230 they represented a mere 2%.⁵⁶

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⁵⁶ Gwen JENNES & M. DEPAUW, 'Hellenization and onomastic change' (cit. n. 20), p. 122, fig. 1.