

THE REAL NAME OF DIONYSIOS PETOSARAPIS

Willy CLARYSSE

Shortly after the end of the invasion of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 BC a revolt broke out in Alexandria, headed by a certain Dionysios also called Petosarapis. Though he was of Egyptian stock, he was an influential member of the royal court. At first he tried to profit from the rivalry between the two brothers Ptolemy VI and VIII, and when this failed he withdrew to the Alexandrian suburb Eleusis with a band of soldiers. He lost out, however, against the royal army and barely escaped from the battlefield. He then set up a revolt in the countryside with the help of the native Egyptians¹.

The story was told by Diodorus in his 31st book (15a) and is only preserved in a short extract from Constantine Porphyrogennetus' *De insidiis*, in a single manuscript of the 13th century², Escorial Ω I 11, fol. 180³, 16 recto. There the name of the rebel is written as Διονύσιος ὁ καλούμενος Πετοσάρατης, which was emended in 1848 by Müller into Πετοσάραπης: “Πετοσάραπης: *pro* Πετοσαράτης *scripsi ad similitudinem nominis* Πετόσιρις, *aliorum*” (MÜLLER 1848: IX sub VIII).

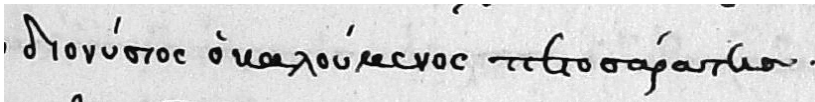


Fig. 1. Escorial Ω I 11, fol. 180, 17

The name Petosarapis, which has been generally accepted since⁴, is therefore the result of a textual emendation. Its formation is, moreover,

¹ For the revolt of Dionysios Petosarapis, see most recently VÉISSE 2004: 28-32, 99-112.

² J. Noret, who looked at the manuscript for me, proposes a date in the 13th century at the earliest.

³ With thanks to Jose Luis del Valle Merino, who provided me with a photograph of the page in the Escorial manuscript.

⁴ See, for instance, HUSS 2001: 563 n.210 (with bibliography).

unexpected, as it combines the Egyptian prefix Pete-, i.e. *P3-di-* “given by”, with the name of the Greek god Sarapis. Although the god is Egyptian in origin, the name Sarapis/Serapis was considered Greek. As was shown by U. WILCKEN (1927: 26) *Wsir-Hp*, Osiris-Apis, the name of the deceased and divinised Apis bull was rendered in Greek transcription as Osor-apis, with a less common variant Oser-apis. This divine component is then taken over in toponyms as in the curse of Artemisia (WILCKEN 1927: 1; 4th cent. BC), where the name of the god is Oserapis and that of his temple Poserapi, and in personal names such as Pet-osor-apis. Similar vocalisations are found for Osor-mneuis and in personal names such as Pet-osor-mneuis, Pet-osor-bouchis, Pet-osor-phibis etc.

THE NAME PETOSORAPIS

The name Petosorapis is found in the following papyrus texts⁵ (in chronological order)

Publication	Date	Provenance	Contents
P.Lond. VII 2055.6	BC 250-230 about	Arsinoites (Philadelphieia)	carpet weaver
P.Count 51.49 (= P. Tebt. III 880)	BC 181-156	Arsinoites (near Tebtynis)	list of tax-payers (Πετοσόραπις)
P. BUG inv. 204 (cf. AfP 17, 1962: 122 n.)	BC 117/116	Arsinoites?	fragment (Πετοσόρα[πις])
P.Count 49.200	BC II	Arsinoites (Oxyryncha)	List of tax-payers Harmiysis son of Πετοσόρα(πις)
P.Oxy. LV 3779.4	AD 20	Oxyrynchus	Petosiris son of Πε[το]σόρα[πις]
P.Wash. Univ. II 78	AD 1-50	Oxyrynchites (Takona)	Petosor(apis) and Hermippos, sons of Harthoönis, grandsons of Petosora(pis)
PSI VIII 871.14	AD 66	Oxyrynchites (Takona)	Herakleides son of Petosorapis, bronzesmith

⁵ For a complete list of abbreviations, see: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

Publication	Date	Provenance	Contents
P.Ryl. II 95.2	AD 71	Oxyrynchites	[—]esis son of Petosiris and Πετ[ο]σόραπις son of Tho[nis]
P.Oxy. II 242.25	AD 77	Oxyrynchus	Dionysios son of Thoōnis and Teseyris; grandson of Petosorapis ⁶
P.Oxy. X 1282.5, 8, 11	AD 83	Oxyrynchus	Thnas daughter of Petosorapis and Heraklas
SB XVI 12391. 3, 7	AD 83	Oxyrynchus	<i>theagos</i>
P.Oxy. I 73.18	AD 94	Oxyrynchus	Tausarapis daughter of Petosorapis ⁷
P.Oxy. II 266.6, 10 and [20]	AD 96	Oxyrynchus	Petosarapis son of Thompekysis, grandson of Sarapion and of Sinthoonis, daughter of Petosarapis
P.Köln X 414.6	AD I	Oxyrynchus	Petosorap(is) son of Thoō(nis), <i>nekrotaphos</i>
P.Oxy. VII 1029.18	AD 107	Oxyrynchus	Ptolemaios son of Petosorapis, grandson of Petosorapis; hieroglyphic carver, living in the Thoreris district
P.Oxy. III 649	AD 100-125 about	Oxyrynchus	Sarapas and Petsorapis sons of Herakles son of Sarapas

⁶ Wrongly indexed as Petosarapis and hence entered under that form in PREISIGKE 1922.

⁷ Wrongly indexed as Petosarapis and hence entered under that form in PREISIGKE 1922.

Publication	Date	Provenance	Contents
P.Oslo II 40.29	AD 150	Oxyrynchus	Apion alias Petos[orap]is son of Petosorapis and grandson of Petosorapis, ex-kosmetes
P.Oxy. III 495.2	AD 181-189	Oxyrynchus	Petosorapis son of Petosorapis and Sarapias; grandson of Epinikos
P.Rein. II 94.7	AD 193	Oxyrynchus	Soter son of Πετροσόραπις
P.Oxy. XIV 1648.39	AD 175-200	Oxyrynchus	Zoilos son of Sarapion grandson Petosorapis
P.Lugd.-Bat. 25 43.8 and 9 (= P.Leid. Inst.)	AD II	Oxyrhynchite nome	letter to Petosorapis; Petosorapis father of Sinthoōnis
P.Ross.-Georg II 42	AD II	Memphites	Petosorap(is) son of Hatres, landowner.
P.Harris I 141	AD II	unknown	Πετ[οσό]ραπις ⁸
P.Tebt. II 313.5-6	AD 210	Arsinoites (Tebtynis)	Petosorapis son of Pe[to]so[ra]pis, former <i>lesones</i> of the temple
P.Col. X 276.4	AD 218-225	Oxyrynchite nome (Nemera)	Sarapous daughter of Didymos granddaughter of Petosorapis ⁹
P.Oxy. 43 3104.16 (= C.Pap. Gr. 2 3.1 App.3)	AD 228	Oxyrynchus	Aurelius Epinikos alias Petosorapis <i>misthotes</i> of the tax of 1/40 on wool died in prison.

⁸ The editor supplemented Pet[osa]rapis, but Πετ[οσό]ραπις, the usual form in the Roman period, is far more likely. In any case this instance cannot be used as a testimony for the unusual form Petosarapis. Since in the Roman period the name Petosorapis is typical of the Oxyrynchite nome, this is probably also the provenance of P.Harris I 141.

⁹ Wrongly indexed as Petosarapis; this form is also taken over in de *Heidelberger Wörterliste on line*.

Publication	Date	Provenance	Contents
P.Oxy. 42 3035.4	AD 256	Oxyrynchus	Petosorapis son of Horos, a christian, is arrested
PSI VIII 945.9	AD III	Oxyrhynchite nome (Tholthis)	Petosorapis son of Petosor[apis]

Notes:

P. B.U.G. inv. 204 l.3

This fragmentary papyrus is only described by F. UEBEL (1962: 131). Uebel reads Petosara^a, but the picture on the website of the Giessen papyri (<http://digibib.ub.uni-giessen.de/cgi-bin/populo/pap.pl>) clearly shows that Πετοσόρα[πις] is the correct reading.

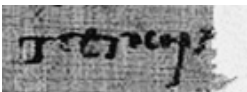


Fig. 2. P.B.U.G. inv. 204

The editors read Πετ[ο]σσεραπις, but Πετ[ο]σόραπις (with a tiny *omikron*) is clear from the plate.

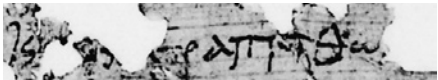


Fig. 3. P.Ryl. II 95.2

P.Oxy. II 266.6, 10 and [20]

The exact reading on the microfilm (Brit. Libr. 1187) is clearly Πετοσόραπις, not Πετοσάραπις as read by the editors.

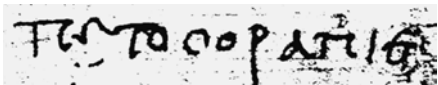


Fig. 4. P.Oxy. II 266

P.Oxy. III 649

plate from Pennsylvania E 2794 (http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/pages/index.cfm?so_id=4224).



Fig. 5. P.Oxy. III 649

P.Rein. II 94.7

The editor read Petosarapis, but the scan below clearly shows the second *omikron* of Πετοσόραπιος.

P.Ross.-Georg II 42

The Duke Databank reads (πρότερον) Πετοσοραπ(ιδος), but the parallels in the above list suggest the supplement Πετοσοράπ(ιος).



Fig. 6. P.Rein. II 94.7

P.Oxy. 42 3035.4

The editors rightly read Πετοσόραπιν but in the Duke Databank this has been inadvertently changed into Πετοσάραπιν.

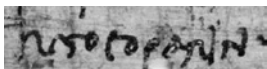


Fig. 7. P.Oxy. II 42 3035.4

THE VARIANT PETEUSORAPIS

A variant form preserves the second *epsilon* of Pete- and then adds -osorapis. The orthography Pete-osorapis then becomes simplified into Peteusorapis. This type of diphthongisation is well attested in the Ptolemaic period both for Greek and Egyptian words (MAYSER & SCHMOLL 1970: 14-15), and continues into the Roman period in the toponym Kerkeosiris, usually written Kerkeusiris (GIGNAC 1976: 301).

Publication	Date	Provenance	Contents
UPZ I 1927: 65.5	BC 154	Memphis	
P.Tebt. I 85. 21, 29, 85, 98, 141	BC 113	Arsinoites (Tebtynis)	Peteusorapis son of Horos

Publication	Date	Provenance	Contents
P.Tebt. III 830.11 and 33	BC II	Arsinoites (Oxyryncha?)	11 Peteusorapis son of Harendotes 33 Peteusorapis son of Horos
P.Yale I 53.3	BC II	Arsinoites (Euhemeria)	Peteusorapis son of [—]sis royal farmer
P.IFAO III 45	BC I	unknown	
P.Lugd.-Bat. 19 8.1 (= P.Batav. 8)	AD 1-50	provenance unknown	Peteusorapis owns sheep and goats
P.Giss. Univ. I 14.7	AD 132	Arsinoites (Theoxenis)	Saras son of Tases daughter of Peteusorapis

P.IFAO III 45

The editor reads Πετυσαραπιος but on the plate in the volume the reading Πετυσοράπιος is clear, as was already noted by P.J. SIMPSTEIJN in *BL* VII:72. In 1.2 one should supplement: [—].ς κωμογραμμα[τεὺς + village name καὶ τῶ]ν συνκυρουσῶ[ν κωμῶν]. This is an interesting early example of several villages directed by a single village scribe¹⁰.

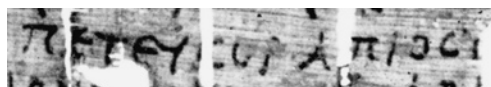


Fig. 8. P.IFAO III 45

P.Giss. Univ. I 14.7

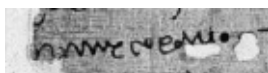


Fig. 9. P.Giss. Univ. I 14.7

THE EXCEPTIONAL FORM PETOSARAPIS

P.Lond. III 1170 r 263 and 351 (p. 97-98)

AD 144 Arsinoites

Here the reading Πετοσαράπεως is certain. The same scribe writes, however, Πετεσόραπις in 1.377. He is apparently uncertain about the spelling of the name.

¹⁰ The phenomenon is well attested in the Roman Arsinoites, see DERDA 2006: 152-159.

PSI 12 1252.1

AD III Oxyrynchus

Aur. Eutychides alias Petosarapis son of Diogenes

In this case the reading is certainly right. It was checked on the original in Florence by R. Pintaudi and visible on the xerox he kindly sent me.

P.Count 31.40

BC III

The editors read the strange genitive (a nominative is expected, or a name with patronymic) [Πε]τοσαράπιτος. Given the uncertainties indicated by the dots, the reading is probably incorrect.

THE FAYUM FORM PETSORAPIS

This form is found only in the Roman Arsinoites. Although it looks likely that this is a peculiar variant of Petosorapis, its phonetic relationship to the other renderings of Egyptian Pete-Osor-Apis is unclear: the absence of the initial omikron and the change of the alpha into ai are both strange. This name is fairly common in Theadelphia and Karanis, see e.g. BGU IX 1891 passim; P.Col. II 1a; 2; 3 passim; [all AD 134]; 1893.450 [AD 149]; V verso 3.42, 76; 6.55 (AD 155-160)) [all preceding items are from Theadelphia]; BGU I 112.20 (BL X:11) [AD 59]; BGU I 200.2 (cf. BL X:13) [AD 183]; P.Mich. IV 223-225 passim [AD 172-173]; VI 427.4 [AD 134] [the second group is from Karanis]; P.Lond. II 258 (p.28) l.163 (BL X:98) [AD 94].

THE EXCEPTIONAL FORMS PETESARAPIS AND PETESORAPIS

P.Lond. III 1170.377: a variant reading used side by side with Petosarapis in the same text (see above).

P.Lond. III 911.7 (p.126)

AD 149 Arsinoites (Dionysias, BL I)

Petosorapis son of Penaus grandson of Petesorapis.

The reading is certain.

UNCERTAIN PASSAGES

P.Ross. Georg. 5 53.24 en 25

AD II

Apynchis son of Petosarap(is)

24 Πετσοραπ(ις)

25 Πετοσαραπ(ις)

No photo available. If the reading in l.25 is exact (there is no note by the editor), then the scribe hesitated between the form with *omikron* (Petsorapis) and that with *alpha* (Petosarapis). But this text cannot really be used until the original has been checked.

Petôusorapis

P.Oxy. XIV 1648.59 (Oxyrynchus; late AD II): Πετωυσόραπις father of Sarap(ion) is a variant reading of Petosorapis in l.39 of the same text (same person).

CONCLUSION

The name Petosorapis is attested under several variants in Greek papyri from the early Ptolemaic period to the third century AD. In the Ptolemaic period it is mainly found in Middle Egypt (Arsinoites, Oxyrynchites and Memphis). This spread is confirmed by the demotic and hieroglyphic attestations of the name *P3-di-Wsir-ḥp*, collected in the *Demotisches Namenbuch* (LÜDDECKENS 1980-2000: 302) (mainly from Ptolemaic Memphis) and by VÉISSE (2004: 100). In the Ptolemaic period the variants Petosorapis and Peteusarapis are found side by side, but in the Roman period the latter form disappears. Moreover, with a few exceptions Roman period examples all come from Oxyrynchus. In the Arsinoites the name has become rare, except for the unexplained form Petso-raipis in Karanis and Theadelphia, and no doubt for that reason scribes hesitate as to its orthography.

The form Peto-sarapis is very rare. The only certain examples are in P.Lond. III 1170, a Roman text from the Fayum, where the scribe clearly hesitates about the spelling, and PSI XII 1252. No doubt these scribes were influenced by the divine name Sarapis, as were modern editors who mistakenly transcribed or indexed the name as Peto-Sarapis. This hybrid form also turns up in PGM II: 141 XIXa: Osarapi Sarapi, where its link with Greek Sarapis is clear¹¹. Perhaps a similar confusion was at the basis of the sole manuscript preserving this passage of Diodoros. The real name of the famous rebel was no doubt Petosorapis and not

¹¹ Cf. also Osarapollon (Osiris/Sarapis-Apollon) in P.Bru. I 18.2 16 as a variant of the better known Sarapollon (Sarapis-Apollon).

Petosarapis. But it is unlikely that scholarly tradition will change as a result of this note...

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