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NIKOLAOS GONIS

A Hermopolite Account of Late Date*

Plate 15

P.Ryl. IV 714 was included among the ‘minor documents’ of the volume, published with a transcription in continuous lines and a very short description: ‘Along the fibres. Account in coin and money. Probably Hermopolite. On verso five lines of accounts, faded.’ The text has received some critical attention (BL VIII 298, IX 230, X 171); the most important question, which has remained open, concerns the reading of the account’s heading. Study of an image has not settled it but has shown that there is hardly any line of the published text that does not require correction, sometimes major, more often minor. A new edition is presented below.

The account lists persons and amounts of wheat and money. These would be payments, since δ(ι)ά precedes the entries in lines 3–8 and 13. The entries not introduced by δ(ι)ά (ll. 9–12, 16–18) probably also record payments, and I have taken the names to be in the genitive (cf. the genitive without δ(ι)ά in l. 18); the first edition treated them as datives, but a mix of payers and payees in an account would be unusual. Without the information that would have been supplied by the heading, the purpose of the account remains unclear, but the context seems to be private rather than public; perhaps it related to an estate. The first entry (l. 3) refers to a *hiereus*, the headman of a small settlement, usually an *epoikion*. Two payments in money concern rent (ll. 11–12), and one in kind is made by farmers for sowing (l. 7). Farmers are responsible for one other payment (l. 13), in money, for which no reason is given. Three persons are identified by their place of origin; one of them comes from Peentaleos, a village in the northern part of the region of Hermopolis (l. 9). The final entry refers to people from Thallou, another northern locality. Up to three other toponyms are new (ll. ?4, 8, ?13).

The hand, stylized though inelegant as a result of speed, belongs to a professional clerk. It is essentially of the same type as the hands familiar from Hermopolite tax accounts and receipts of the late sixth and early seventh centuries, commonly linked with the *demosion logisterion* (cf. P.Sorb. II, p. 13). This does not contradict the idea that the account originated in an estate or other private setting; numerous texts produced

* This article was written in the course of the AHRC/DFG research project ‘Documentary Snapshots from Seventh-Century Egypt’. The image is reproduced by permission of The John’s Rylands Library, University of Manchester. I am grateful to Danae Bafa for checking the original for me when my attention was first drawn to this papyrus (April 2017), and to Lajos Berkes, Jean Gascou, and Élodie Mazy for comments.

by the central bureau of the Apionic estate in Oxyrhynchus are prime examples of scribal stylization.

P.Ryl. 714

10.5 (w) × 28 (h) cm

Sixth/seventh century

Plate 15

The papyrus is complete except for the loss of a piece at top right, which affects the heading. A sheet-join runs vertically at short distance from the right-hand edge. The text is written along the fibres. On the back, written across the fibres, there are six short lines of an account in artabas, not fully deciphered.

- | | | |
|----|--|-------------------------------|
| 1 | † κωμ() πι() σεν . . [| |
| 2 | οὔ(τως)· | |
| 3 | δ(ιὰ) Γεωργί(ο)υ ἱερ(έως) | σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) μη δοκ(ικῶ) |
| 4 | δ(ιὰ) Φηγεμμ(όνος) ἀπὸ Τ[]οδ | σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ν δοκ(ικῶ) |
| 5 | δ(ιὰ) Ἀνδρ(έα) Περιω | σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) η |
| 6 | δ(ιὰ) Σιρίου πρεστ() | σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) β |
| 7 | δ(ιὰ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) (ὕπὲρ) σπερμοβο(λίας) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) νβ | |
| 8 | δ(ιὰ) Μακαρ(ίου) ἀπὸ Ταταβου | νο(μίσματα) γ κ(εράτια) η |
| 9 | Ἀπολλ(ῶτος) ἀπὸ Πιεντάλ(εως) | νό(μισμα) α κ(εράτια) ς |
| 10 | Μηνᾶ στολ(άρχου) | νο(μίσματα) δ κ(εράτια) ιβ |
| 11 | Ἄνουφ(ίου) παστιλ(λᾶ) (ὕπὲρ) ἐνοικ(ίου) | κ(εράτια) θ |
| 12 | Καλαποτί(ου?) (ὕπὲρ) ἐνοικ(ίου) | κ(εράτια) δλ |
| 13 | δ(ιὰ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) Ἀκελμου | κερ(άτια) κ δ |
| 14 | (γίνονται?) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) {σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι)} ρλελ (καὶ) κ(εράτια) ς | |
| 15 | (γίνονται?) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) πγλ | |
| 16 | Ἀπολλ(ῶτος) | νό(μισμα) α κ(εράτια) ς |
| 17 | Μηνᾶ στολ(άρχου) | νο(μίσματα) δ κ(εράτια) ιβ |
| 18 | τῶν ἀπὸ Θαλλ(ου) | κ(εράτια) ιελ |

1 κωμῆ 2 σ 3 γεωργίερ ιερ *ex corr.* 3–7, 14–15 γλ 3–4 δοκ; *l.* δοκικῶ 3–8, 13 λ 5 ανδρ
6 πρεστς 7 γεωρ, σπερμοβο νβ: *v ex corr.* 7, 11–12 γ 8 μακαρ 8–10, 16–17 ν 8–12, 14, 16–18 ς
9, 16 απολλ 9 πιεντάλ 10, 17 στολ 11 ανουφπατιλ 11–12 ενοικ 12 καλαποτι 13 γεωρ, κερ 15–
16 18 θαλλ

..., as follows:

Through Georgios, *hiereus*, 48 artabas of wheat by the receiver's measure.

Through Phegemmon from ..., 50 artabas of wheat by the receiver's measure.

Through Andreas Perish, 8 artabas of wheat.

Through Sirios, ..., 2 artabas of wheat.

Through the farmers for sowing, 52 artabas of wheat.

Through Makarios from Tatabou, 3 solidi 8 carats.

Apollo from Pientaleos, 1 solidus 6 carats.

Menas, stolarch, 4 solidi 12 carats.
 Anouphios, confectioner, for rent, 9 carats.
 Kalapoti, for rent, 4½ carats.
 Through the farmers of Akelmou, 20¼ carats.
 Total(?) 135½ artabas of wheat and 6 carats.
 Total(?) 83½ artabas of wheat.
 Apollos, 1 solidus 6 carats.
 Menas, stolarch, 4 solidi 12 carats.
 Those from Thallou, 15½ carats.

Textual departures from the first edition:

- 1 κωμ() πι() .ε. .[: κώμ(η) Πι() ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) [*ed. pr.*
- 2 not in *ed. pr.*
- 3 Γεωργί(ο)υ: Γεωργ(ίου) BL VIII 298: Γεωργ(οῦ) *ed. pr.*
- 3, 4 δοκ(ικῶ): δ' ἡ' *ed. pr.*
- 4 Φηγεμμ(όνος) ἀπὸ Τ[] οδ: Φλ(αίου) Ἡγεμμ(όνος) ἀπατόρ(ος) *ed. pr.*
- 5 Ἀνδρ(έα) Περιω: Ἀνδρ Περιδ() *ed. pr.*
- 6–7 presented as a single line (5) in *ed. pr.*
- 6 Σιρίου πρεστ() : Συρίου πρεσβ(υτέρου) *ed. pr.*
- 7 σπερμωβολ(ίας) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) νβ (E. Mazy): σπερμωβολ(ίας) νο(μίσματα) β *ed. pr.*
- 8 Ταταβου: Τέκο(υ) *ed. pr.*
- 9, 16 Ἀπολλ(ῶτος): Ἀπολλ(ῶτι) *ed. pr.*
- 9 Πιεντάλ(εως): Πι() εἰς γη() *ed. pr.*
- 10, 17 Μηνᾶ στολ(άρχου): Μηνᾶ στολ() BL VIII 298, στολ(άρχου?) BL X 171: Μὴν Ἀστολ() *ed. pr.*
- 11 Ἀνουφ(ίου): Ἀνούφ(ει) or Ἀνουφ(ίω) BL IX 230: Ἀνοῦφ(ι) *ed. pr.*
 παστιλ(λᾶ) (ὑπὲρ) ἐνοικ(ίου) κ(εράτια) θ: Παύλ(ου) λ() χ. . . . () σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) καθ *ed. pr.*
- 12 Καλαποτί(ου?) (L. Berkes): Κελάποτι *ed. pr.* δλ: β *ed. pr.*
- 13 κερ(άτια) (F. Mitthof) κ d: κ(εράτια) κδ *ed. pr.*
- 14 (γίν.) σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) {σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.)}: γί(ν.) σί(τ.) (ἀρτ.) *ed. pr.* (καὶ) κ(εράτια) ε om. *ed. pr.*
- 17 ιβ: βλ *ed. pr.*
- 18 ἀπό: ἐπί *ed. pr.*

1 κωμ() πι() σεγ. . [. A puzzle. κωμοικ() νοτίν(ου), tentatively conjectured in P.Sorb. II 69, p. 50 (cf. BL X 171), cannot be read, but it is still possible that the abbreviation is to be resolved as κωμ(οκατοίκων). Then, π_κ is a known abbreviation for πι(ττάκιον), but I cannot tell how it would fit the context. At the end of the line, Σεγύλ[άεως is a possibility.

2 Γεωργί(ο)υ or Γεωργ(ί)ο(υ): the stroke added after γ was meant to be read as iota or marked the abbreviation.

ἱερ(έως). On this village official, see J. Gascou, P.Sorb. II, pp. 66–70, and L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden*, Wiesbaden 2017, 122–125.

3 δοκ(ικῶ). Cf. 4. The same spelling occurs in a handful of other Hermopolite documents of this date. On the μέτρον δοχικόν, ‘the receiver’s measure’, see R.-L. Chang, P.Stras. IX, pp. 121–122.

4 Φηγεμμ(όνος). There is a short stroke after Φ, which led to Φλ(αίου) in the first edition, but it is not lambda. L. Berkes queries whether this stroke derives from a first try at writing phi. The name goes back to Coptic π_κηγεμμων, and parallels such personal

names as Πιδούξ or Πκόμυς; on such names, see J. Diethart, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 226, and ZPE 92 (1992) 240. But I cannot explain the double μ.

Τ[]ιοδ. Probably nothing was lost in the break. The first letter might also be γ. δ is slightly raised, as if to indicate an abbreviation, but there is no match with a known toponym.

5 Περίω. If this is a name, it is new.

6 Σιρίου. On the name, see F. Morelli, CPR XXXVI 23.17 n.

πρεστ(). There is an upright between ρ and ε, which probably belongs to the descender of ρ from the line above. I have considered πρ(ο)εστ(ῶτος), the superior of a monastery, but this would assume an error. I should rule out that πρεσβ(υτέρου) is to be read.

7 δ(ιὰ) τῶν γεωργ(ῶν) (ὑπὲρ) σπερμοβολ(ίας). The farmers appear to be payees, but we would expect the opposite; cf. e.g. P.Ant. III 190(b).36–38, payments in wheat to three different γεωργοί for σπερμοβολία. P.Ant. 190 also appears to refer to payments for seed, e.g. (a).13 δ(ιὰ) Πλωτος (ὑπὲρ) σπέρμ(ατος) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ιδ (sim. ll. 19–20); the editors mention σπερμ(οβολίας) as an alternative (13 n.), which should be preferred.

8 Ταταβου. Another new toponym.

9 Πιεντάλ(εως) = TM Geo 4085, modern Bihdāl. It belonged to the old toparchy of Patemites Kato, later to the 12th pagus, and then to the Theodosiopolite nome.

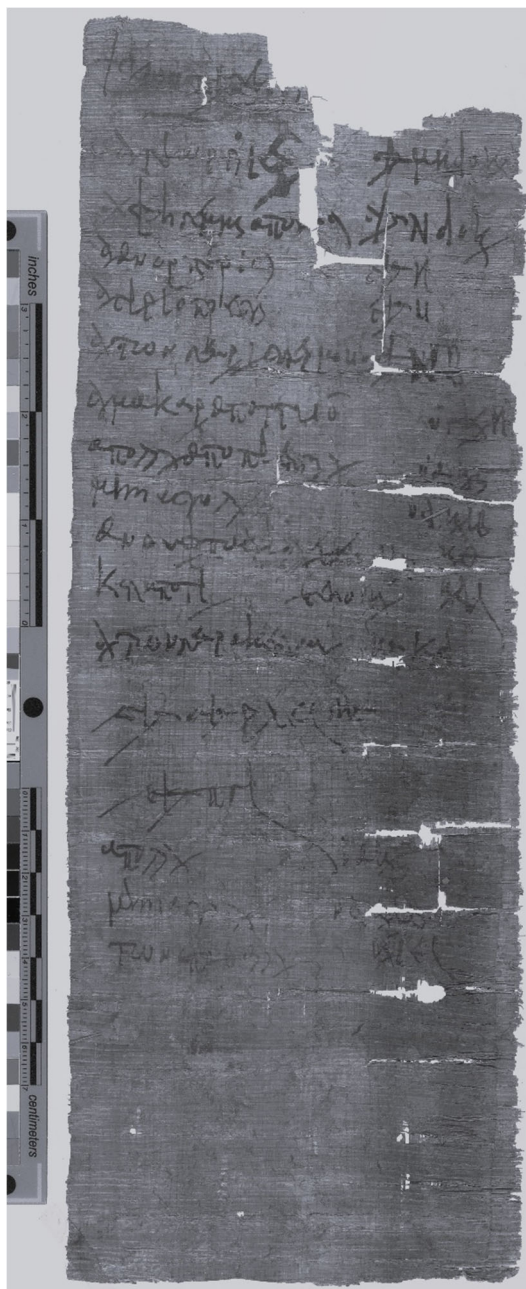
10 Μηνᾶ στολ(άρχου). The same person and sum also at 17: a duplicated entry? In APF 61 (2015) 340, I argue that a στολάρχης was probably a ‘captain of a fleet’ (cf. στόλος). If this holds, this account would refer to a riverside village.

12 Καλαποτί(ου?). Cf. P.Wash.Univ. I 17.8–9 (Oxy.; 514) ἐπὶ κλην Καλλα|πότηι, after J. Gascou, *Remarques textuelles et méthodologiques sur les surnoms et sobriquets dans les papyrus tardifs (autour des P.Apoll.)*, in: L. Berkes (ed.), *Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt* (ASP 56), Cincinnati 2022, 151–160, at 158 n. 40, who notes: ‘Cette forme est corrompue, mais est peut-être à rapprocher de καλλίπους, à moins qu’il ne faille l’interpréter comme une déformation de καλαπόδιον, terme de cordonnerie, Schusterleisten (LBG 4.744).’ Καλόπους (TM Nam 44145) and δι(ὰ) Καλοποδίας in SB XVI 12576.13 (Oxy.; 308) may be related.

13 Ἀκελμου was taken as a place name by M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, Missoula 1979, 54 (hence TM Geo 8798); it could also be a personal name. It is not known otherwise.

14–15 (γίνονται?). The sums recorded up to this point yield different figures when added together, compared to the amounts stated in these two lines: 160 artabas and 10 solidi 11½¼ carats, against 135½ artabas and 6 carats (l. 14) and 83½ artabas (l. 15). I have considered whether the dash at the beginning of each of the two lines might be a mere checkmark. It is not the usual way of indicating totals at this time, but examples of such use in Byzantine Hermopolis are not lacking, e.g. SB XII 11076.13 and 21.

18 Θαλλ(ου) = TM Geo 4386. Another village in Patemites Kato; it was later part of the 12th pagus.



P.Ryl. 714

zu N. Gonis, S. 114