

Antinoite and Hermopolite Villages and Requisitions

Nikolaos Gonis*

Abstract: Editions of two papyri of the British Library with lists of villages from the areas of Antinoopolis and Hermopolis.

Keywords: Villages, Antinoopolis, Hermopolis, requisitions, fodder, building works

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The two papyri published below contain lists of villages, many of them new, which were required to provide goods or men for the needs of the government. **1** probably and **2** certainly belong to the early Islamic period.

The papyri are kept in two different departments of the British Library, Western (**1**) and Oriental Manuscripts (**2**). **1** was formally accessioned in 1910 but had entered the British Museum some years earlier, presumably with papyri acquired from Ch. Murch.¹ **2**, whose other side was published as P.Lond. Copt. I 1073, also came through Murch.

1. Antinoite fodder

BL Pap. 1869

8.2 (w) × 16.6 cm (h)

Mid seventh century

The papyrus preserves the left-hand part of a list of requisitions of fodder (χόρτος) from various villages, no doubt to be used for the animals of the army or generally the administration. The text is broken off after the names of the villages, which may have been followed by the quantities of

* **Kontakt:** Nikolaos Gonis, Department of Greek and Latin, University College London, GB-London WC1E 6BT, <n.gonis@ucl.ac.uk>

¹ See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCXVI–MDCCCXX* (1912) 315 (cf. 314). Additional information was supplied by Federica Micucci, whom I thank. — The images are reproduced by permission of the British Library Board.

fodder that were due from each of them; cf. SPP X 83 (VIII), which refers to Arsinoite villages and bundles of hay. The hand suggests a date around the middle of the seventh century; it is likely but not certain that the text post-dates the Arab conquest. Requisitions of fodder (dry hay) are mentioned in *W.Chr.* 8.15, written on the eve of the conquest (639/40). For contemporary registers of requisitions headed by the term *διανομή*, see CPR XXX 32.1 and n.

About half of the sixteen toponyms that can be read in the papyrus make their first appearance here. The others are generally sparsely attested, but most of them were known to be located in the area of Antinopolis. This would have been a list drawn up at the level of the pagarchy.

The text is written along the fibres in ink now turned brown. Check marks (short obliques or dots) are placed opposite most entries. On the back, written across the fibres and upside down in relation to the text on the front, are the beginnings of several lines starting α[. The text at its greatest extent reads ἀπολ[, presumably ἀπὸ Λ[; it may have been another list of villages (cf. text 2 below).

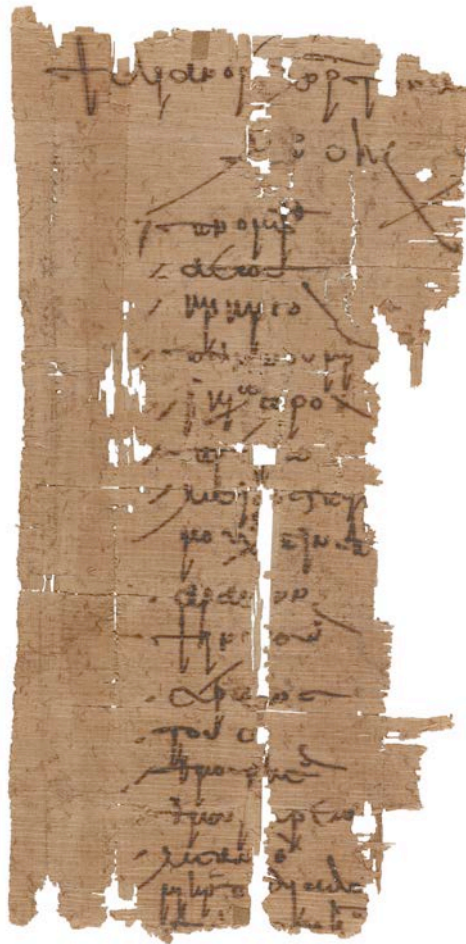
There is a sheet join c. 2 cm off the left-hand edge on the front.

† διανομ(ῆ) χόρτ(ου) τῶν α[
 λ() . () νο(μ.) ση λ (ὑπέρ?) [
 4 / Πινόμφθ(εως) [
 / Ἄεως [
 / Βαρβαρίου [
 / Παγγου Μαρ. () [
 / Ἰβιῶ(νος) Ὀρου [
 8 / Πτεμω [
 / Λυσιδος (καὶ) Παγ. [
 Μούχε(ως) Πινεπ. [
 Ἄράβων [
 12 · Ψινομόνε(ως) [
 · Σέρεως [
 · Τουω [
 / Θμουρήσε(ως) [
 16 / Θμουμήρεως [
 / Λυσαγ[ί]ου [
 Μικρᾶ(ς) Π[ε]διάδο[ς
 . τ. [. .] . κ() π() [
 - - - - -

1 διανομ^τ χορ^τ 2 λ^ν ψ 3 πνομφ^θ 7 ἰβ^τ 9 ς 10 μου^ξ 12 ψινομου^ξ
 15 θμουρη^ξ 18 μικ^ρ

Requisition of fodder of ... 78½ solidi, as follows:

Pnomphtheos ... Aeos ... Barbariou ... Pannou Mar— ... Ibionos
 Horou ... Ptemo ... Lysidos and Pag— ... Moucheos Pinep— ... Arabon
 ... Psinomouneos ... Sereos ... Touo ... Thmoureseos ... Thmoumereos
 ... Lysaniou ... Mikras Pediados ...



BL Pap. 1869

1 διανομ(ῆ) χόρτ(ου). On διανομαί in general, see F. Mitthof, SPP III².2, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

τῶν α[. Probably not τῶν ἀ[λόγων, since part of the lambda would have been visible (I owe the observation to F. Morelli).

2 λ(οι)π(ά) rather than λ(ό)γ(φ). The relation of this line to the previous is unclear, but it is likely that these 78½ solidi represent the cost of the requisitioned fodder; it is also possible that the requisitions were commuted into money.

3 Πνόμφθ(εως) = TM Geo ID 6792. See R. Ast, P.Jena II, p. 43.

4 Ἄεως = TM Geo ID 9318, from P.Leid. Inst. 72.3 (the suggestion to read Ἄ<κ>εως [BL X 116], should be abandoned). Another attestation is offered by SB XXVI 16491.i.3, originally read as Ἄ . . ς, but on an image it is possible to read Ἄεως.

5 Βαρβαρίου. New. There was a village of this name in the Fayum (TM Geo ID 399), and a monastery in Aphrodito (TM Geo ID 3760).

6 Παγγου Μαρ. (). If correctly read, Παγγου may go back to the personal name Παννοῦς (TM Nam ID 4848), which however is not attested in this area. The suprascript character after ρ is either ε or υ. Whatever the precise reading, this is a new toponym.

7 Ἴβιῶ(νος) Ὀρου. Another new locality, unless it was mentioned in the Antinoite SB XXVI 16491.ii.3 (Ἴβιῶνο[ς]). There are numerous villages in the area of Hermopolis called Ἴβιῶν + *name*; see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (1979) 122ff.

8 Πτεμῶ. Apparently new, but there is a Lycopolite locality called Πτεμῶ (TM Geo ID 3097).

9 Λυσίδος (καὶ) Παγ. [. Λυσίδος (or Λύσιδος?) (TM Geo ID 5526) was previously known from SB VI 9616v.23 (mid 6th c.). Παγ[appears to be new.

10 Μούχε(ως) Πινεπ. [. Apparently new, though cf. P.Jena II 8.3–4 κώμης Μούχιος τοῦ Ἀντινοίτου.

11 Ἀράβων = TM Geo ID 2580. This text and SB XXVI 16491.10 add to the evidence that this was an Antinoite village. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 68, knew it from two other documents.

12 Ψινομούνε(ως) = TM Geo ID 3021. See Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 328f.

13 Σέρεως. This toponym recurs in an unpublished Princeton papyrus (Bell II 156a), edited by M. Houle.

14 Τουω. The likely location of this settlement in the environs of Antinoopolis rules out identifying it with any of the known places in the wider area of Hermopolis which have Touo or Toou in their names; cf. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 305–308.

15 Θμουρήσε(ως) = TM Geo ID 9470. See Mitthof, CPR XXIII, pp. 214f. with n. 3.

16 Θμουμήρεως = TM Geo ID 4521. Its Antinoite connections had been recognized by Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 114. It is mentioned with Pnomphthis and Arabon also in P.Ryl. Copt. 338 = SB I 5953.

17 Λυσαν[ί]ου. The name of this locality is restored from the Princeton papyrus mentioned above, 13 n. A κώμη Λυσάνδρου (TM Geo ID 13892) is known from SEG LVIII 1791.3, a sixth-century inscription from Antinoopolis, but the lacuna seems too small to accommodate [δρ].

18 Μικρᾶ(ς) Π[ε]διάδο[ς]. New.

2. Hermopolite men

BL Or. 6056

24.8 (w) × 22.9 (h) cm

Seventh/eighth century

A piece cut from a fiscal register was reused for a legal document concerning an inheritance of land, published as P.Lond. Copt. I 1073 in 1905. There remain parts of three columns, broken off at the top and sides. Of the first column, only line ends with numbers are preserved; when verifiable, these are β (twice) and γ.

In the second and third columns, toponyms are followed by personal names. Occupations are given twice: there is one carpenter and one builder (i 5, 6). A number is added after the name of each village, indicating the number of persons connected with it. These would be men that each village had to provide for building projects of the state; the exact purpose

would have been indicated in the heading, now lost.² The persons for whom no occupation is given would have been unskilled labourers.

Check marks were added opposite each toponym. Eleven localities are mentioned, of which three or four are new. Those whose location is known were all situated in the southern part of the Hermopolite nome. It is conceivable that this list was drawn up in the administrative office of the southern district (νότινον σκέλος) of Hermopolis.³

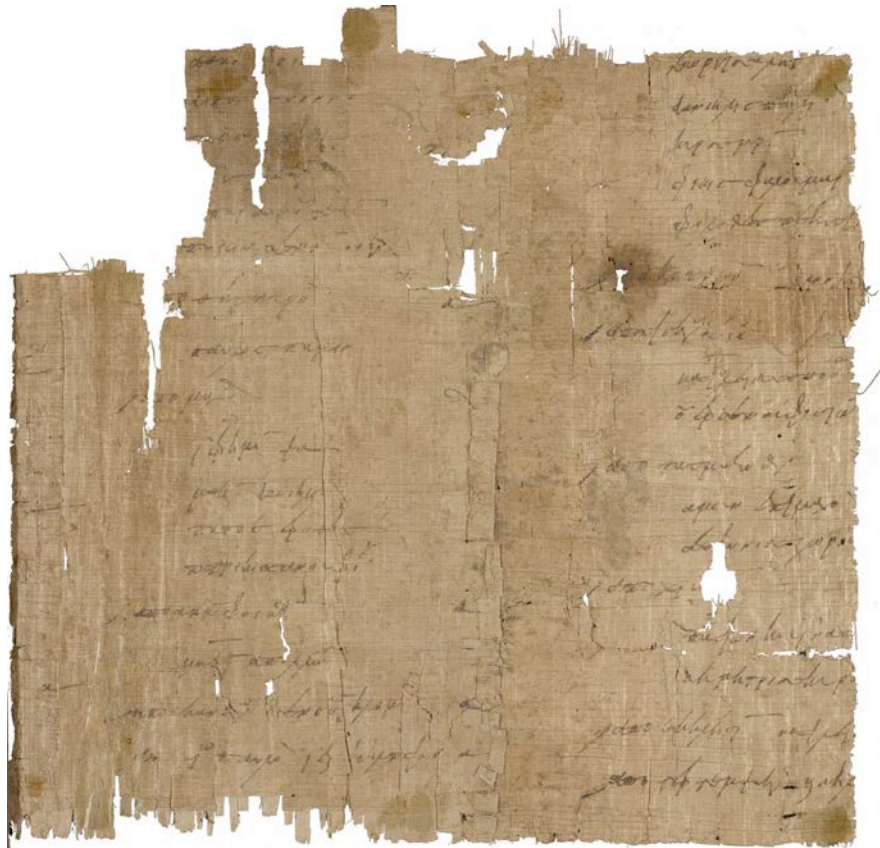
Col. ii

	] Ἀθαν[ά(στος)] Φοιβ[ά(μμωνος)]	
	] αυσα[.]ς Νόννου	
	] . . . ο[.] . . κ,	
4	] , υς Ἰακκω(β)	
	] απα Ἰβάνου τέκτ(ων)	
	] Παμιν Σενουθ(ίου) οἰκ(ο)δ(όμος)	
	✓ [ἀ]πὸ Θεσαυροῦ	α
8	οὔ(τως)	
	Παῦλος Παμιν	
	✓ ἀπὸ Μαγδ(άλων)	δ
	οὔ(τως)	
12	Ἱερημία(ς) Ψα	
	Μακά(ριος) Δανηλίου	
	Πατοε Ἐρύθης	
	Πατρίκιος Ἄνουφίου	
16	✓ ἀπὸ Αββα Φοιβά(μμωνος)	α
	οὔ(τως)	
	Μακά(ριος) Ἀπολλῶτ(ος)	
	✓ ἀπὸ Ἀκανθῶ(νος) Σενουθ(ίος) Κλόμξ(ως?)	α
20	✓ ἀπὸ υἱῶ(ν) Παύλου Ἰεζεκιήλ Πισιαγ	α

² A comparable text published very recently is P.CtYBR inv. 461, ed. L. Berkes & B. Haug, 'Villages, Requisitions, and Tax Districts: Two Greek Lists from the Eighth-Century Fayyūm', *BASP* 53 (2016) 206–22. See also my 'P.Vindob. G 14965 (= CPR IX 67) + 18880: Requisitioned Workers in Eighth-Century Egypt', *ZPE* 145 (2003) 209–11, with references.

³ The Coptic text on the other side refers to 'the field of Basile' (6, πζοι εβςαιε), not to be confused with settlements of this name in the area of Hermopolis.

4 ἰακκ^ο 5 ἴβανου τεκ^τ 6 ρενοῦοικ^οδ 8, 11, 17 σ̄ 10 μαγ^δ 12 ἱερη
 μι^τ 13, 18 μακ^τ 15 ανουφι^ο 16 αββ^τ φοιβ^τ 18 απολλῶ 19 ακανθ^ο
 ρενοῦκλωμ^ε 20 υι^ο, ἱεζεκηλ



BL Or. 6056

Col. iii

4

Γεώργιος Άλητ [
 Δανήλις Πκυλίου [
 Κῦρος Μαρια(νοῦ?) [
 Φῖβις Φαλουμαι [
 Φιλῶθεος Πεκυσί[υ

	ἀπὸ Κοπρέου Ἰωάννης [	α
8	ἀπὸ Σιγκυ() Δεσποί( ) [	β
	οὔ(τως)	
	Βασίλειος Σενουθ(ίου) [
	Οὐερσένουφισ Ἰωά(ννου)	
12	ἀπὸ Τασμένθ(ων) [	β
	Ἄμουν Ἐπιμάχου [
	Σεσίννιος (ὑπὲρ) Ὄρρ[]	
16	ἀπὸ Χρυσ[] [] [] []	β
	Πασίων Κουίναπ[
	Δημήτριος Κύρρ[υ	
	ἀπὸ Ἐκκλησία(ς) Βασιλείδ[ης	α
	ἀπὸ Τερτεμψακη Αζαήλ [	α

4 μαρι⁻ 7 ἰωαννης 8 σιγκυ^υδεπο^ι 9 σ⁻ 10 σενο^υ 11 ἰω⁻ 12 τασμενθ/ 14 ψ⁻
16 κουῖν 18 εκκλησι⁻ 19 τερτεμψακ^γ

(col. ii)	...	
	Athanasios son of Phoibammon	
	—ausa— son of Nonnos	
	...	
	—us son of Iakob(ios?)	
	... (son of?) (?)Apa Ibanos, carpenter	
	Pamin son of Senouthios, builder	
	From Thesauros	1
	as follows:	
	Paulos son of Pamin	
	From Magdola	4
	as follows:	
	Ieremias son of Psa	
	Makarios son of Danielios	
	Patoe son of Erythes	
	Patrikios son of Anouphios	
	From Abba Phoibammon	1
	as follows:	
	Makarios son of Apollos	
	From Akanthonos Senouthios son of Klome	1
	From the sons of Paulos Iezekiel son of Psian	1

(col. iii)	...	
	Georgios son of Halet	
	Danielis son of Pkylios	
	Kyros son of Marianos(?)	
	Phibis son of Phaloumai	
	Philotheos son of Pekysios	
	From Kopreou	Ioannes (son of ...)
		1
	From Sinky() Despoi()	
		2
	as follows:	
	Basileios son of Senouthios	
	Ouersenouphis son of Ioannes	
	From Tasmenthon	
		2
	Amoun son of Epimachos	
	Sesinnios on behalf of Horo-	
	From Chrys-	
		2
	Pasion son of Kouin from(?)	
	Demetrios son of Kyros	
	From Ekklesias	Basileides (son of ...)
		1
	From Tertempsake	Azael (son of ...)
		1

Col. ii

3] . κ . Apparently not οἰκ(ο)δ(ό)μος). (The writing further to the left which is visible on the image is on a loose fragment moved there. It is less likely that it represents a number.)

4 Ἰακκῶ(β) or Ἰακκῶ(βίου).

5]απα Ιβάνου. Cf. Εἰβάνος (gen.) in P.Cair. Masp. III 67328.pg1.3 (521). This may be the name of the carpenter and not of his father: there is not much room in the break.

7 Θησαυροῦ. This toponym appears to be new.

10 Μαγδ(ῶ)λων). Μαγδῶλων is usually followed by another name, and Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 157, points out that it is uncertain whether a village called simply Magdola existed in the Hermopolite nome, concluding that 'il est toujours possible de supposer que le complément distinctif est perdu ou sous-entendu'. No Magdola + *name* is attested in the south of the nome, but Μαγδῶλων without further qualification is listed with villages of Leukopyrgites Kato in BGU II 552, 555, and XI

2136, all three of the late third century; this is the toparchy to which other localities mentioned in our text used to belong. It is probably relevant that BGU XI 2136 also refers to Τασμένων (l. 17), presumably the same place as Τασμένθ(ων) at iii 12 here.

14 Πατοε. A variant of Πατόις.

Ἐρύθης. A rare name, previously attested only in P.Oxy. XXXVI 2778.16 (II/III) Ἐρύθεως.

16 Αββα Φοιβά(μμωνος) = TM Geo ID 7945. Cf. CPR IV 170.18 ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀβᾶ Φοιβάμμω(νος). It is unclear whether all place names and religious institutions associated with St Phoibammon and located in the hinterland of Hermopolis refer to the same place; see Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 318.

19 Ἀκανθῶ(νος). There may have been more than one settlement of this name in the wider Hermopolite region (a single entry in Trismegistos, Geo ID 9398). An ἐποίκιον Ἀκανθῶνος was located in the area to the north of Hermopolis, not far from Tlethmis (see F. Morelli, CPR XXX 1.37 n., with the map on p. 116). This may tell against identifying the ἐποίκιον with Ἀκανθῶνος in SB XXVI 16491.i.14, which surely lay in the area of Antinoopolis. An Antinoite Akanthonos might be a better fit for the one here, which would have been situated in the south; but the identification would imply that the borders of the pagarchies were fluid, since the other localities in our text cannot have been Antinoite.

Κλόμε(ως?). The name Κλωμις is attested in Hermopolite documents.

20 υἰῶν Παύλου. Another new toponym.

Πσιαν. The name is not known, even if the reading is doubtful.

Col. iii

1 Ἄλητ corresponds to ζαλητ, attested in documents from Upper Egypt (TM Nam ID 27362).

4 Μαρια(νοῦ?). One cannot exclude Μαρία(ς) (cf. P.Lond. IV 1600 introd.) or even Μαριά(μου) (cf. J.-L. Fournet, *ZPE* 142 (2003) 195).

5 Φαλουμαι [. Not a known name.

7 Κοπρέου. A new locality. There may have been a place called Κοπρέους in the Oxyrhynchite nome (TM Geo ID 9188). Καπρευ in CPR XXX 1.54 was located in the north of the Hermopolite nome.

The numbers restored at the end of this line and below, in 8, 12, 15, 18, and 19, follow the pattern in columns i and ii.

8 Σιγκυ() Δεσποι(). Perhaps Σιγκύ(ρκεως), a village located in Leukopyrgites Kato, in the south of the nome, and identified with modern Senguerg (TM Geo ID 7128; Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 242, s.v. Σενκύρκεως). A potential difficulty is that the spelling with -κυ- is not attested after the third century. Δεσποι() probably stands for Δεσποι(νικ), indicating the property of an empress in earlier years (cf. B. Palme, P.Harrauer, p. 234 n. 4).

12 Τασμένθ(ων) = TM Geo ID 7460. A κώμη in Leukopyrgites Kato; see Mitthof, P.Paramone 18.13 n.

14 Σεσίννιος. The name is commonly spelled Σισίννιος.

(ὕπερ) Ὀροϛ[.]. The letter on the edge hardly admits υ (otherwise, the name would probably be Ὀροϛ[ωγχίου). Sesinnios would perform service on behalf of Horo—.

15 Χρυσ[] .[] . The traces are not an easy match with an abbreviated writing of Χρυσαργύρου, a hamlet possibly in Leukopyrgites Ano (TM Geo ID 8073; Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 322); the suprascript letter suggests α rather than υ.

16 Κουιναπ[: Κουιν ἀπ[ό? The name appears to be new.

18 Ἐκκλησία(ς). This settlement was not previously attested, but recurs in P.Misc. inv. II 152a.1f. (707/8) ἐπ(οικίου) [Ἐ]κκλησία(ς) νοτ(ίνου) σκέ(λους) Ἑρμοπόλε(ως) (the text is being prepared for publication in P.Herm. II). It is unclear whether it related to οὐσίας ἐκκλησίας in the fourth-century P.Herm. Landl. 1.534.

19 Τερτεμψακη = TM Geo ID 7556. Another southern locality, also once in Leukopyrgites Kato; see Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 287f., s.v. Τερτονψακή.

Ἄζαήλ. The name is otherwise known only from Coptic documents (TM Nam ID 27293).⁴

⁴ I am grateful to Federico Morelli for comments on a draft of this paper.