

MONASTIC WINE DISTRIBUTIONS IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY: PAPYRI FROM THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

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This article contains the edition of Coptic and Greek documentary papyri of the Catholic University of America which seem to have been part of the archive of a monastery perhaps somewhere in middle or upper Egypt.¹ Many of them were described by L.S.B. MacCoull in an article published in 1985.² The papyri³ of the Catholic University of America are mainly Coptic, but there are some (unpublished) texts of the Roman period as well. The bulk of the collection seems to stem from a monastic context.⁴ Only the orders for delivery of wine (see below, **I**) are beyond doubt part of an archive. We cannot tell which monastery produced these documents, if indeed they form an archive. An account in the same collection mentions a monastery of Apa Samoul, but this is not necessarily the place where the text was written.⁵ One of the orders for delivery (**9**) mentions a person probably receiving wine on the occasion of the festival of St. Iustus the general. This could point to an institution named after this saint. Although this remains mere speculation, it is of some significance that we know of a Middle-Egyptian cult of St. Iustus. An account of wine-distributions (**15**) mentions the toponym Νέου Λάκκου, which is probably attested in the documentation of the Apa Apollon monastery at Bawit,⁶ but this place-name ('new cistern') is found elsewhere as well.⁷ **11.3** contains

¹ We wish to thank Dr Monica Blanchard, curator of the Semitics/ICOR Collection of the Catholic University of America, for providing us with images and the permission to publish these papyri. Thanks are also due to Anne Boud'hors and Alain Delattre who have critically read the paper and contributed readings and corrections. Nikolaos Gonis contributed the text of **15** and notes, and Lajos Berkes edited the other numbers, but we have both commented on each other's work.

² MacCoull, "Coptic Documentary Papyri". She remarked on p. 53: 'I present here only those fragments with enough legible text to justify publication.'

³ The unpublished ostraca of the collection are from 8th-century Jeme or belong to the Aphrodito-ἐλαιουργοί archive (TM Arch 76).

⁴ There are also some unpublished Coptic literary fragments in the collection.

⁵ MacCoull, "Coptic Documentary Papyri" no. 12, l. 1: μονα(στηρίου) Απα Σαμουλ.

⁶ SB 28.17214.6 (Herm., 7th c.) with Berkes, "[Review]" 431.

⁷ See e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67097.vA2 (Aphrodito, 571/572).

the form ΠΑϞΟΝ which was common at Bawit, but also in other monasteries.⁸ **11** and **15** contain certain names (e.g. Ano(u)phis, Kollouthos, Harouou, Koour) which are typical of the region of Hermopolis and/or Aphrodito. In sum, the available evidence suggests that the monastery of the papyri was located somewhere in Middle or Upper Egypt.

Published below are all the orders for delivery of wine from the collection, the texts on their back, a list of wine-distributions that may belong with the rest, and in an appendix some other documents of the collection which probably come from the same monastery as the wine-related texts. The general impression that these texts give as a group is very much in line with other contemporary monastic archives, such as that of the monastery of Apa Apollos in Bawit, as has already been observed by Alain Delattre.⁹

I. Orders for Delivery of Wine

There are eleven orders for delivery of wine in the CUA collection. Ten of them clearly form an archive. They all date from a 6th indiction; the earliest was issued on 5 Tybi (31 December/1 January), the latest some time between 11 and 29 Mecheir (5/6–23/24 February). The script and the presence of a (Greek-)Arabic protocol on the back of **8** suggest a date in the 8th century.¹⁰ Accordingly, this 6th indiction may correspond to 707/708, 722/723, etc.

All the orders were signed by a certain Victor who calls himself the ‘most humble’ (ἐλάχιστος) in two instances (**1**, **4**), which identifies him as a cleric. **8** contains an additional note to issue a jar of palm-leaves signed by a certain Phoibammon, who might have been the recipient of the order signed by Victor on the same papyrus. The beneficiaries are servants (ὄπουργοί) in **1**, **2**, and **4**, and psalm-chanters (ψάλται) in **10**. **6–7** are issued ‘on our account’, which presumably means that Victor and/or the administrative unit where he worked received the wine. There are deliveries to certain persons such ‘those of the stable’ (**3**), a certain Phoibammon (**8**, see above), and perhaps on the occasion of the festival of St. Iustus the general. Difficulties in reading have prevented the identification of several other recipients.

⁸ See the summary of A. Delattre, *P.Bru.x.Bawit*, p. 147–148.

⁹ *P.Bru.x.Bawit*, p. 124.

¹⁰ The preserved fragments of the protocols do not allow to recognise whether we are dealing with Arabic-Greek or only Arabic documents. Monolingual Arabic protocols would give the archive a *terminus post quem*, since they do not appear before 732; see A. Grohmann, *CPR* III, pp. C–CI.

Apart from the short additional note in **8** to deliver a jar of palm-leaves (presumably for weaving baskets), all orders concern wine measured in $\lambda\alpha\zeta\eta/\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\alpha$. The equivalency of these terms is common in papyri of this period. Their exact capacity cannot be established, but might have been in the range of 13–39 liters.¹¹ The amounts are relatively small; they vary between one and four $\lambda\alpha\zeta\eta/\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\alpha$, which suggests that they were meant for daily consumption.

Several orders were written on papyri cut out from other documents: the back of **3** contains a fragment of a letter (**12**) and the back of **5** an unidentifiable Coptic documentary text (**13**), perhaps also a letter. **6–9** were written on chits cut out of protocols: since they were issued over eight days, we may consider whether they stem from the same protocol. Similar documents from Bawit are routinely written on reused protocols or other texts.¹²

It is likely but not certain that **11** belongs to the same archive. This is suggested by the fact that this document contains a similar delivery: the archimandrite Anoup instructs ‘his brother’ Georgios to deliver two $\lambda\alpha\zeta\eta/\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\alpha$ of wine to the holder of the chit. There are slight differences in the formulary, but this order was written in a first indiction, i.e. some 5 or 10 years earlier or later than the other orders and probably also on a special occasion. If indeed these texts form an archive, they were probably kept in the administrative unit that distributed the wine.

Abbreviations used in the table and the editions:

Ind. = indiction Ty. = Tybi Me. = Mecheir Vic. = Victor. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\chi.$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$
 W = width L = length
 MC = MacCoull, “Coptic Documentary Papyri”.

No.	Ind.	Day	Recipient	Number of <i>lahe/knidia</i>	Signature	Back
1	6	5 Ty. = 31 Dec. (1. Jan.)	ὕπουργοί and?	4	Vic. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\chi.$	blank
2	6	19 Ty. = 14 (15) Jan.	ὕπουργοί	1	Vic.	blank
3/1 3/2	6	21 Ty. = 16 (17) Jan.	a ... man; ‘those of the stable’	1 1	Vic.	12 (letter)

¹¹ See the summary and references in Schenke, “A Potter’s Way” 350.

¹² See e.g. A. Delattre, *P.Bru.x.Bawit*, p. 126.

No.	Ind.	Day	Recipient	Number of <i>lahe/knidia</i>	Signature	Back
4	6	27 Ty. = 22 (23) Jan.	ὑπουργοί	2	Vic. ἐλαχ.	blank
5	6	1 Me. = 26 (27) Jan.	?	1	Vic.	13 (Coptic text)
6	6	2 Me. = 28 (29) Jan.	'on our account'	4	Vic.	protocol
7	6	3 Me. = 29 (30) Jan.	'on our account'	2	Vic.	protocol
8/1 8/2	6	9 Me. = 3 (4) Feb.	Phoibammon for both deliveries (?)	1 + 1 jar of palm-leaves	Vic. Phoibammon	protocol
9	6	10 Me. = 4 (5) Feb.	Apa Iustus for the festival (?) of St. Apa Iustus the general	1	Vic.	protocol
10	6	11-29 Me. = 5 (6)- 23 (24) Feb.	ψάλται	1	Vic.	blank
11	1	24 th of ?	a man who ...	2	Anophis	14 (letter)

1.

75.01 = MC, no. 1

W: 10.3 × L: 5.6 cm

8th c.

Fig. 1

↓ † μ(ηνός) Τ(υ)β(ι) ε ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ς † ΕΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΝΕ-
ΖΗΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΜΝ ΠΧΩΕ[.][ca.4]
ϰΤΟ ΝΛΛΖΗ ΝΗΡΠ γί(νονται) οἴν[ου] κν[(ι)δ(ια) δ]
4 † Βίκτ(ωρ) ἐλ(ά)χ(ιστος) στοιχ(εῖ) †

1 † μ^vτειν^δς† ραρ., λόγος 2 ὑπουργός 3 γρ ραρ. 4 †βιϛ^εελ^ξστοι† ραρ.

‘† (Greek) On the 5th of the month Tybi of the 6th indiction. † (Coptic) On the account of the servants and ... 4 *lahe* of wine, (Greek) in total 4 *knidia* of wine. † The most humble Victor agrees. †’

2 ΜΝ ΠΧΩΕ[.][: Perhaps ΠΧΩ Ε[?] ΠΧΩΕΙC seems to be unlikely. Anne Boud'hors suggests reading ΠΧΩ ΕΒ[ΟΛ ΕΡΟΟΥ, ‘their expense’, which is attractive. One could indeed interpret the letter after ε as the bottom of β, but the other visible trace is too high and straight for λ or ε and is compatible rather with ι or η.

3 It is not likely that the line ended in μό(να), since we would expect to see traces of the descender of μ. Cf. also 10.3.

2.

75.17 = MC, no. 21

W: 6.7 × L: 4.9 cm

8th c.

Fig. 2

→ † μ(ηνός) Τ(υ)β(ι) ιθ ι(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ ΕΠΛΟΓ(ΟC)
 ΝΕΖΥΠΟΥΡΓΟC ΟΥΛΑΖΗ
 ΝΗΡΠ γί(νεται) οἴνου κν(ι)δ(ιον) ἔν μόν(νον)
 4 † Βίκτ(ωρ) στοιχ(εῖ) †

1 † μῦτιθι^υζ^δ † *rap.*, λόγος 2 ὑπουργός 3 γοῖνκνε^δνμ^ο *rap.* 4 † βικ^εστοῖ^ζ † *rap.*

‘† (Greek) On the 19th of the month Tybi of the 6th indiction. † (Coptic) On the account of the servants one *lahe* of wine, (Greek) in total one *knidion* of wine only. † Victor agrees. †’

3.

This text is written on the back of **12**, a fragment of a Coptic letter.

75.63 = MC, no. 29

W: 9.7 × L: 6 cm

8th c.

Fig. 3

→ † μ(ηνός) Τ(υ)β(ι) κα ι(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ ΕΠΛΟΓ(ΟC) ΝΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΩΩ ΟΥΛΑΖΗ ΝΗΡΠ
 ΕΠΛΟΓ(ΟC) ΝΑ ΠΕCΤΑΒΛΕ ΟΥΛΑΖΗ
 4 γί(νονται) οἴνου κν(ι)δ(ια) β μόν(να) † Βίκτ(ωρ) στοιχ(εῖ) †

1 † μῦκ^υα^δζ^δ *rap.* 1, 3 ΕΠΛΟΓ *rap.*, λόγος 2 ὑπουργός 3 στάβλον 4 γοῖνκ^δν^οβ^μ † βικ^εστοῖ^ζ † *rap.*

‘† (Greek) On the 21st of the month Tybi of the 6th indiction. (Coptic) On the account of the ... man one *lahe* of wine, on the account of those from the stable one *lahe*, (Greek) in total 2 *knidia* of wine only. † Victor agrees. †’

2 ΝΩΩ: The meaning of this word is unknown; cf. Crum, *Dictionary* 839a. Anne Boud’hors remarks that it could stand for σωβ ‘weak’, but the meaning here would be not obvious.

3 ΝΑ ΠΕCΤΑΒΛΕ: The form CΤΑΒΛΕ has not yet been attested for Greek στάβλον; cf. Förster, *Wörterbuch* s.v.

4.

75.23 = MC, no. 23

W: 6.1 × L: 5 cm

8th c.

Fig. 4

↓ † μ(ηνός) Τ(υ)β(ι) κζ ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ
 ΕΠΛΩΓΟΣ Ν[.]ΝΕ-
 ΖΥΠΟΡΓ(ΟΣ) ΣΝΤΕ ΝΛΑΖΗ
 4 γί(νονται) οἴνου κν(ί)δ(ια) β μό(να)
 † Βίκτ(ωρ) ἐλ(ά)χ(ιστος) στοιχ(εῖ) †

1 † μῖτκζ^δ ραρ. 2 λόγος 3 ὑπουργός, ΖΥΠΟΡΓ ραρ. 4 γμοινκνβμ^ο 5 † βικ^εελ-
 ζστοι^τ ραρ.

‘† (Greek) On the 27th of the month Tybi of the 6th indiction. (Coptic)
 On the account of the servants two *lahe* of wine, (Greek) in total 2 *knidia*
 of wine only. † The most humble Victor agrees. †’

5.

This text is written on the back of 13, a fragment of a Coptic text.

75.22 = MC, no. 22

W: 5.9 × L: 4.7 cm

8th c.

Fig. 5

↓ † μ(ηνός) Μ(ε)χ(ειρ) α ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ † ΕΠΛΟΓ(ΟΣ)
 ΝΕΣΥ ΖΑ Ν-
 ΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΤΑΓΓΠ . . !
 4 . . Υ ΟΥΛΑΖΗ [Ν]ΗΡΠ
 γί(νεται) οἴνου κ(νί)δ(ιον) ἐν μό(νον) † Βίκτ(ωρ) στοιχ(εῖ) †

1 † μῖμα^δζ†επλο^ρ ραρ., λόγος 5 γμοινκ^δενμ^ο† βικ^εστοι^τ ραρ.

‘† (Greek) On the 1st of the month Mecheir of the 6th indiction. † (Coptic)
 On the account of the ... for the brothers who ... one *lahe* of wine,
 (Greek) in total one *knidion* of wine only. † Victor agrees. †’

2 ΝΕΣΥ : The start suggests a Greek word beginning with συν-, perhaps
 ΝΕΣΥΜ(ΜΑ)Χ(ΟΣ) with a large Μ and a superscript χ; cf. 15.4n.

3 ΝΤΑΓΓΠ . . !: This seems to be a Greek verb beginning ὑπ- (even though
 we would expect ΖΥΠ-), but we have not succeeded in reading it.

6.

The back contains remnants of a protocol.

75.46 = MC, no. 28

W: 11.2 × L: 3.9 cm

8th c.

Fig. 6

↓ † μ(ηνὸς) Μ(ε)χ(ειρ) β ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ ΕΠΕΝΛΟΓΟΣ ΦΤΟ ΝΛΛΖΗ
 ΝΗΡΠ γί(νονται) οἴνου κν(ί)δ(ια) δ μό(να) † Βίκτ(ωρ) στοιχ(εῖ) †

1 † μ^ξβ^δζ ραρ., λόγος 2 γοῖνκν^δμ^δ†βι^ξστοι^ξ† ραρ.

‘† (Greek) On the 2nd of the month Mecheir of the 6th indiction. (Coptic) On our account four *lahe* of wine, (Greek) in total 4 *knidia* of wine only. † Victor agrees. †’

7.

The back contains remnants of a protocol (fig. 7).

75.65 = MC, no. 30

W: 6.8 × L: 4.6 cm

8th c.

Fig. 8

↓ [†] μ(ηνὸς) Μ(ε)χ(ειρ) γ ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ ΕΠΝΛΟΓ(ΟΣ) ΣΝΤΕ
 ΝΛΛΖΗ ΝΗΡΠ γί(νονται) οἴνου κν(ί)δ(ια) β μό(να)
 † Βίκτ(ωρ) στοι[χ(εῖ)] †

1]μ^ξγ^δζΕΠΝΛΟΓ ραρ., λόγος 2 γοῖνκν^δβ^δμ^δ 3 †βι^ξστοι[.]† ραρ.

‘† (Greek) On the 3rd of the month Mecheir of the 6th indiction. (Coptic) On our account two *lahe* of wine, (Greek) in total 2 *knidia* of wine only. † Victor agrees. †’

8.

The back contains remnants of a protocol (fig. 9). The chit contains the usual order by Victor to deliver wine, which is followed by an additional instruction in another hand by a certain Phoibammon to deliver a jar of palm-leaves, presumably for weaving baskets. Are the two Phoibammons mentioned identical? We may imagine scenarios in which this would be possible, but there is no way of telling at present.

75.43 = MC, no. 27

W: 8.6 × L: 6.9 cm

8th c.

Fig. 10

→ [†] μ(ηνὸς) Μ(ε)χ(ειρ) θ ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ ΕΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΦΟΙΒ-
 [Α]ΜΜΩΝ ΠΩΝ ΟΥΛΑΖΗ ΝΗΡΠ
 [γί(νεται)] οἴνου κν(ί)δ(ιον) ἐν μό(νον) † Βίκτ(ωρ) στοιχ(εῖ) †
 4 ΑΥΩ ΤΙ ΟΥΚΕΛΩΛ ΝΒΕΤΟΤΕ
 (m.2) [†] Φοιβάμμων †

1]μ̄μ̄θ̄ζ̄ pap., λόγος 3] γοῖνκ̄νενμ̄^ο†βικ̄^ςστοῖ†^ζ pap.

‘† (Greek) On the 9th of the month Mecheir of the 9th indiction. (Coptic) On the account of our Phoibammon one *lahe* of wine, (Greek) in total one *knidion* of wine only. † Victor agrees. † (Coptic) And give a jar of palm-leaves. (Greek) Phoibammon.

4 ΝΒΕΤΟΤΕ: One may alternatively read ΝΒΕΤΩΤΕ, but a connected ο seems more likely, as e.g. in στοιχ(εῖ) in l. 3. MacCoull read ΝΒΕΙΩΤΕ and translated ‘palm-leaves’, apparently as a plural of ΒΗΤ. The slightly modified reading fits this interpretation as well. However, neither plural form is recorded in Crum, *Dictionary*, s.v. ΒΗΤ.

9.

The text is written on the back of the the lower left corner of a protocol, rotated at 180 degrees (fig. 11).

75.34 = MC, no. 26

W: 6.2 × L: 3 cm

8th c.

Fig. 12

↓ [†] μ(ηνὸς) Μ(ε)]χ(ειρ) ι ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ζ ΕΠΛΟΓ(Ο)Σ ΝΑΡΑ ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ
 [ca. 3]Α ΝΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΣΤΡΑΤ(Η)Λ(ΑΤΗΣ)
 [ΟΥΛ]ΑΖΗ ΝΗΡΠ, γί(νεται) οἴνου κν(ί)δ(ιον) ἐν μό(νον) † Βίκτ(ωρ) στοιχ(εῖ) †

1]μ̄^δζ̄^εεπλο^ρ pap., λόγος 2 ἄγιος, στρατηλάτης, πεστρατ^λ pap. 3 γοῖνκ̄νενμ̄^ο†βικ̄^ςστοῖ†^ζ pap.

‘† (Greek) On the 10th of the month Mecheir of the 6th indiction. (Coptic) On the account of Apa Iustus for the festival of (?) of St. Iustus the general, one *lahe* of wine, (Greek) in total one *knidion* of wine only. † Victor agrees. †’

2 [ca. 3]Α ΝΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΣΤΡΑΤ(Η)Λ(ΑΤΗΣ): St. Iustus the *stratelates* is well attested. His memorial day was 10 Mecheir (4 February) and

75.32
Fig. 14

W: 6.2 × L: 9.6 cm

8th c.

→ † ΑΝΟΥΠ ΖΗ ΠΝΑ Ν-
{N} ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔ(ΡΙΤΗΣ)
Π̄ϚϚΑΪ ΝΠΑΣΟΝ ΓΕΩΡ-
4 ΓΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΣΝΤΕ ΝΛΑ-
ΖΗ ΝΗΡΠ̄ ΝΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ
ΝΤΑϚϚΩΠ̄ ΝΕ ΝΕ .
γί(νονται) [ο]ϊνου κν(ι)δ(ια) β̄ μ(ηνός) . . . κδ̄ ι(ν)δ̄(ικτίωνος) α †
8 γί(νονται) κν(ι)δ(ια) β̄. Άνοφίς στοιχ(εῖ)

2 ΠΑΡΧΙΜΑΝ^Δ ραρ., ἀρχιμανδρίτης 7 γ[ο]ινκν ραρ., ἰ ραρ., Ϛ ραρ. 8 γικυλχ ραρ.,
στοί ραρ.

‘† Anoup, in God’s mercy archimandrite is the one who writes to the brother Georgios: give two *lahe* of wine to this man who took the(se?) ... (Greek) in total 2 *knidia* of wine. On the 24th of the month ... of the 1st indiction. † 2 *knidia* in total. Anophis agrees.’

2 ΠΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔ(ΡΙΤΗΣ): On this title for monastic superiors see Wipszycka, *Moines* 329–331. The term occurs among the CUA papyri also in 16.5 and MC, no. 9.7.

6 ΝΕ ΝΕ : The letter after the first ε is compatible with a ligatured ι, τ or Ϛ. The last letter in the line may be interpreted as ι or τ, depending whether the extension of the crossbar of the ε is a space-filler or the upper horizontal of τ.

8 Άνοφίς: There is a horizontal line intersecting the alpha and extending over the ν the function of which we cannot explain. The name, usually spelled as Άνοῦ-φίς, is typical of the Hermopolite region and Aphrodito.

II. Documents on the Back of the Orders

12. Fragment of a Letter

75.63
Fig. 15

W: 9.7 × L: 6 cm

8th c.

This text is the back of 3. The middle part of a letter to ‘a lord father’, a monastic superior is preserved which seems to have dealt with tax collection.

↓]Τ̄Ν̄ΧΟΕΙΣ Ν̄ΕΙΩΤ ΤΝΟΟΥ ΧΟΥΩΤ []
]ΖΩΒ ΕΠΩΗ[.]ῑ λγω χε ακς[
].[.] .̄ ΕΙ ΝΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΤΑΥΩ[

‘... who/which they knew ... you write these things/me ... and that you come north ... farewell in the lord †’

1 ιοιοϵ : This seems to be the end of a word in plural.

III. Account of Wine Distribution

15. Wine Account

75.20 = MC, no. 3

W: 8.7 × L: 15.5 cm

7th/8th c.

Fig. 18

This account is apparently completely preserved, but lacks a heading. It offers a wide range of occupations and designations, such as a carpenter, priest, two sailors, an administrator (*dioiketes*), three messengers (*symmachoi*), smiths, peasants, and a gravedigger. The mention of an apparent Christian Arab (a ‘Saracen’) named Kollouthos in l. 14 is of particular interest. The recipients did not all necessarily belong to a monastery. Even though the list seems to stem from the same environment as the orders of deliveries edited above, there is no person listed in this account who can be identified with certainty with the recipients of the orders. For the possible implications of the toponym Neou Lakkou in l. 16, see the introduction.

Each line begins with a dot, which probably acts as a marker for the start of an entry. Lines 7–9 and 11–14 contain additional oblique strokes after the names/designations of the first column: they must have been some kind of check marks. A *kollesis* runs through the middle of the papyrus beginning after the second λ of Ἀπόλλωνος in l. 1.

→	· Ἀπόλλωνος	οἴνου κν(ι)δ(τα) γ
	· τέκτ(ονος)	οἴνου κν(ι)δ(τα) ε
	· Μάρκ(ου) πρε(σβυτέρου) (καὶ) Βίκτ(ωρος) ναυτικο(ῶ)	κν(ι)δ(τα) β
4	· συμμ(ά)χ(ου)	κν(ι)δ(τα) [δ]
	· ναύτ(ου?)	κν(ι)δ(ιων) α
	· Δαμ(ιανού) σιδ(ηρο)χ(αλκέως) ὀμήρ(ου) (καὶ) ἄλλου	κν(ι)δ(τα) γ
	· Ὀνόφρι διοικ(η)τ(οῦ) /	κν(ι)δ(τα) ζ
8	· ὄμο(ίως) Παλεον /	κν(ι)δ(τα) β
	· Φοιβά(μμωνος) Πλωλ /	κν(ι)δ(ιων) α
	· Βίκτ(ωρος) Κ(ολλού)θ(ου)	κν(ι)δ(ιων) α
	· Παροβ Κοουρ /	κν(ι)δ(τα) ζ
12	· Ἀθανασί(ο)υ συμμ(ά)χ(ου) /	κν(ι)δ(τα) β

	· Ἄροου συμμ(ά)χ(ου) /	κν(ί)δ(ιον) α
	· Κολλούθ(ου) Σαρακ(ηνοῦ) /	κν(ί)δ(ια) β
	· τῶ(ν?) χαλκέ(ων?)	κν(ί)δ(ιον) α
16	· τῶ(ν) γε(ωργῶν) Νέου Λάκ(κ)ου	κν(ί)δ(ιον) α
	· Ὀνοφρί(ο)υ ἐξαπολίτ(ου)	κν(ί)δ(ια) δ
	γί(νονται) οἴνου κν(ί)δ(ια) με	

1–18 κν ραρ. 1–2, 18 οἶν ραρ. 2 τερχ^ε ραρ. 3 μαρχ^ε πρ^εβ^εναυτιχ^ε ραρ. 4, 12–13 συμμ^ι ραρ. 5 ναυ ραρ. 6 δαμ^ισιδ^ιωμηρ^ι χαλλ^ι ραρ., l. ὁμήρου 7 διοιχ^ε ραρ. 8 ομ^ι ραρ. 9 φοιβ^ι ραρ. 10 βιχ^ε ραρ. 12 αθανασι^υ ραρ. 14 κολλουσαραχ^ε ραρ. 15 τοχαλ^ε ραρ. 16 τγγνεουλαχ^ε ραρ. 17 ονοφριεξαπολι ραρ., l. ἐξωπυλίτου 18 γρ ραρ.

· ... (for the city of?) Apollon	3 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to a carpenter	5 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to Mark, priest and Victor, sailor	2 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to a messenger (<i>symmachos</i>)	4 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to a sailor	1 <i>knidion</i> of wine
· to Damianos, ironsmith, hostage and another	3 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to Onophri, the administrator (<i>dioiketes</i>) /	6 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· similarly, to Paleon /	2 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to Phoibammon son of Plol /	1 <i>knidion</i> of wine
· to Victor son of Kollouthos	1 <i>knidion</i> of wine
· to Parob son of Koour /	6 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to Athanasius, the messenger (<i>symmachos</i>) /	2 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to Harou, the messenger (<i>symmachos</i>) /	1 <i>knidion</i> of wine
· to Kollouthos, Saracen	2 <i>knidia</i> of wine
· to the smith(s?)	1 <i>knidion</i> of wine
· to the peasants of Neou Lakkou	1 <i>knidion</i> of wine
· to Onnophrios, gravedigger	4 <i>knidia</i> of wine
In total 45 <i>knidia</i> of wine'	

1 The line begins with an upright intersected by an oblique, which does not suit a staurogram (so *ed. pr.*), but we have not been able to interpret the sign either.

Ἀπόλλωνος: The personal name Ἀπόλλων, -νος is not attested anymore in this period. One would rather expect the city, Apollonopolis. If so, Kom Isfaht (TM Geo 268) is more likely than Edfu (TM Geo 269), because of the (assumed) geographical proximity. Accordingly, the recipient of wine is someone/something described with reference to the city.

4 συμμ(ά)χ(ου): Cf. also lines 12–13 and perhaps 5.2. On σύμμαχοι, armed messengers, see Jördens “Die ägyptischen Symmachoi”.

κϣ(ι)δ(ια) [δ]: The number is restored on the basis of the total at the foot of the text.

5 ναύτ(ου?): or ναυτ(ικοῦ), as in l. 3.

6 σιδ(ηρο)χ(αλκέως): For the abbreviation cf. e.g. *SPP* 8.1139 (Fayum,¹³ 2nd part of 7th c.): σιδηρ(ο)χ(αλκεῖ) and *P.Lond.* 4.1435 (Aphrodito, 716), fol. 2.4: σιδ(η)ρ(ο)χ(αλκεύς).

ὄμηρ(ου), l. ὀμήρου: The term denotes a hostage who is detained (probably in prison) for another person who had failed to fulfil an obligation such as tax payments or corvée work; see F. Morelli, *P.Horak* 66.2n.

7 διοικ(η)τ(οῦ): This title can refer to administrators working for ecclesiastical institutions, large estates, but even the state administration; see Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung* 129-135. It is impossible to decide which function is meant in this document.

8 Παλεον: A new name rather than παλεῶν, l. -αιῶν. There is a little dot above the ν which, if intentional, may be interpreted as a tiny ο indicating an abbreviation. If so, we would read Παλεονο().

9 Πλωλ: This is the third instance of the name Πλωλ, previously attested in *P.Herm.Landl.* 1.24.386 and *P.Herm.Landl.* 2. 28.607 (Herm., after 346/347).

11 Παροβ Κοουρ: This has been attested as a place name in Aphrodito, Bala'izah and perhaps in Edfu: Παροβ Κω() and Παροβ Κ() in *P.Bal.* 288.3-6 (Bala'izah, 6th -8th c.); τόπος Παροβ near Aphrodito in *SB* 20.14669.8.252 (early 524 [?]) and *P.Lond.* 4.1419.171 (716/717); (ἐποίκιον) Παροβ Κελωλ, also in the neighbourhood of Aphrodito, in *P.Lond.* 4.1449.42, 49 and 55 (711) and 1460.169 (ca. 709); Παροβ Καυχ() in *P.Mich.* 15.749.4 (Edfu [?], 7th c.). Κοουρ could be a new name, but cf. *P.Lond.* 4.1552.2.5 (Aphrod., 8th c.) Πκοουρ. One may also consider whether we are also dealing with a toponym here: shall we read Παροβ Κοουρ? The only parallel for a place name and not a person in our account would be l. 1 and perhaps 16.

13 Ἄροου: On this name see Fournet, “Quittances de loyer” 50–52. Most instances of the name come from the regions of Hermopolis and Aphrodito.

14 Κολλούθ(ου) Σαρακ(ηνοῦ): Apparently a Christian Arab; see P.Gascou 32.60 n.

15 τῶ(ν?) χαλκέ(ων?): Even though τῶ χαλκεῖ(τ) would be a more intuitive reading, all other entries are in the genitive, which strongly favours a resolution in the genitive plural. It is curious, however, that the ω of the article is not raised and that χαλκέ(ων?) is not abbreviated by the doubling of the last two letters (τωχαλκ^ε pap.) as in γε(ωργῶν) in l. 16 (γγ pap.).

16 Νέρου Λάκ(κ)ου: See the introduction to this article.

17 ἐξ απολίτ(ου), l. ἐξ ὀπωλίτου: For the abbreviation cf. *SB* 20.14282.10 (Edfu, 7th c.) ἐξ ὀπολιτ() and *P.Lond.* 4.1419.1219 (Aphrodito, 716/717) δ(ιὰ) τ(ῶν) ἐξ ὀπωλιτ(ῶν). On gravediggers see Youtie, “Notes”; Derda, “Necropolis Workers” 34–35; F. Reiter, *P.Köln* 10.414.1 n.

¹³ See Berkes, “A Christian Amulet” 92.

IV. Miscellaneous documents

16. Fragment of a Letter

75.105 W: 8.9 cm × L: 6.2 cm 6th/7th c.
Fig. 19-20

The fragment preserves the left part of a short letter written by the archimandrite Apa Amoun. The addressee might have been another monk as suggested by the expression ὑμῶν λαοῦ in line 4 (see commentary).

↓ Ϝ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν [
 τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτ[ου
 τὰ ἴχνη τῆς ὑμετ[έρας
 4 ὑμῶν λαοῦ πα[

V →

] ἀπα Ἀμοῦν ἀρχιμαν[δρίτης

‘Ϝ [Having found?] a good opportunity ... of the Heracleopolite ...
I salute the footsteps of your ... your people ...’

Back: ‘... Apa Amoun archimandrite’

1 τὴν εὐκαιρίαν [: probably followed by εὐρών. If so, this would be another instance of a standard phrase in late antique epistolography, referring to the opportunity that the sender seized to write the letter. See A. Papatomas, *CPR* 25.11.3n.

3 τὰ ἴχνη τῆς ὑμετ[έρας: τὰ ἴχνη was probably preceded by προσκυνῶ or ἀσπάζομαι or both; cf. e.g. *SB* 6.9398.6 (Ars., 6th/7th c.) ἐγ]ῶ δὲ Θωμᾶς προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τὰ τίμια ἴχνη.

4 λαοῦ: The phrase probably refers to a monastic community; cf. *P.Bawit Clackson* 82.2 (Bawit, 7th c.) with Sarah Clackson’s note *ad locum*.

5 ἀρχιμαν[δρίτης: The word must have been abbreviated, since there is not much space left till the edge. Cf. **11.2n**.

17. Receipt for Rent of a Winepress

75.107 W: 11 cm × L: 10.5 cm 7th/8th c.
Fig. 21-22

The right part of a receipt for rent payments for a wine press is preserved. Based on the probable supplements of l. 2, we may estimate that about half of the document is missing on the left side. An unknown person acknowledges that a certain Apa Daniel has paid 30 solidi for πάκτων, ‘rent’. It is surprising to find such an informal document issued for this

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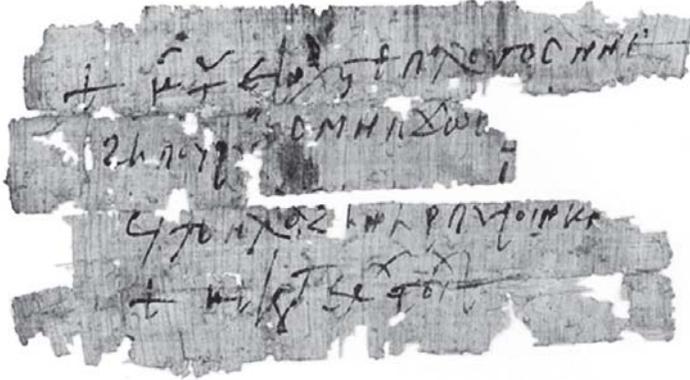


Fig. 1. CUA p75.01. © CUA



Fig. 2. CUA p75.17. © CUA

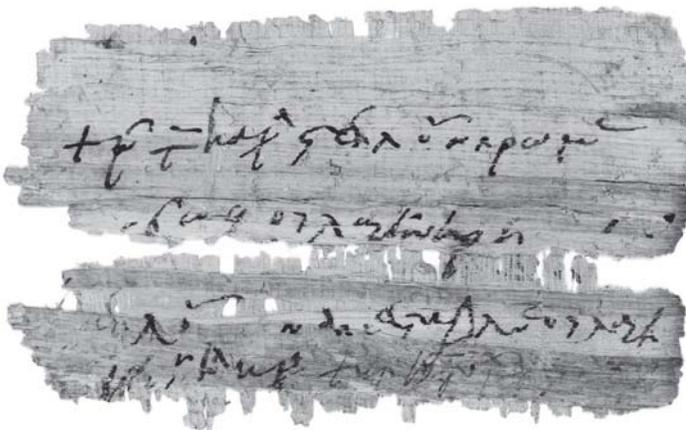


Fig. 3. CUA p75.63a. © CUA

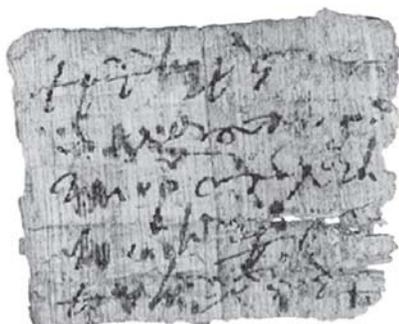


Fig. 4. CUA p75.23. © CUA

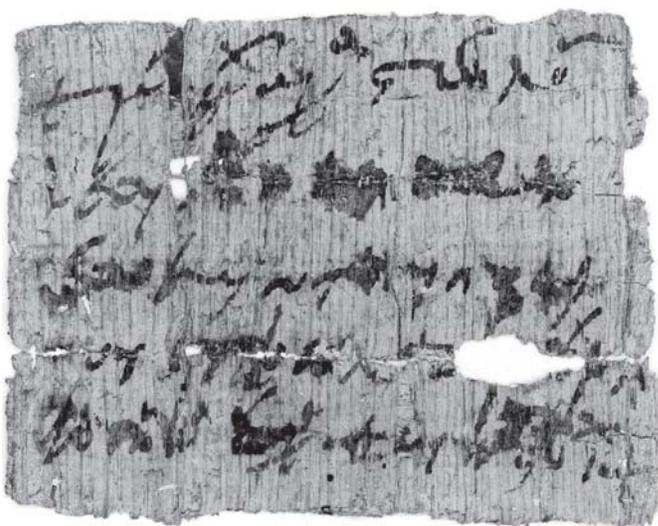


Fig. 5. CUA p75.22a. © CUA



Fig. 6. CUA p75.46. © CUA

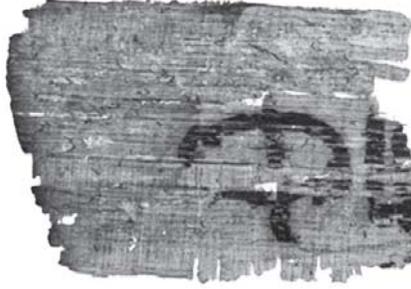


Fig. 7. CUA p75.65b. © CUA

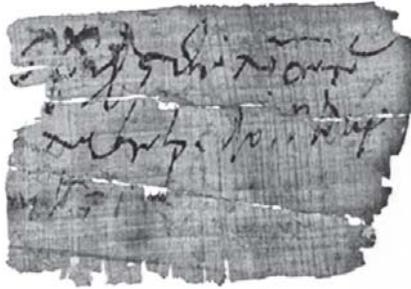


Fig. 8. CUA p75.65. © CUA



Fig. 9. CUA p75.43b. © CUA

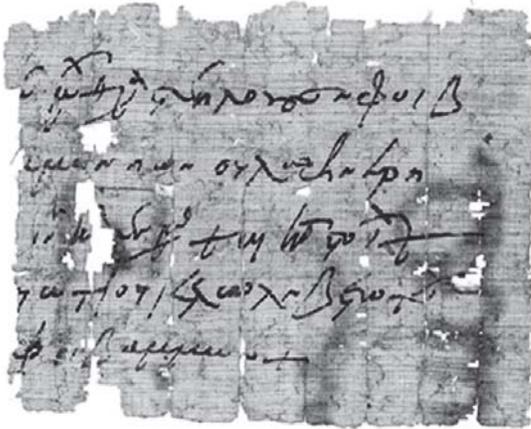


Fig. 10. CUA p75.43. © CUA



Fig. 11. CUA p75.34b. © CUA

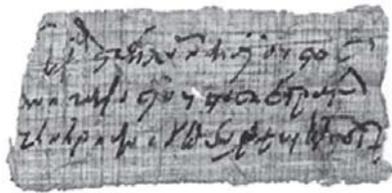


Fig. 12. CUA p75.34. © CUA



Fig. 13. CUA p75.18. © CUA

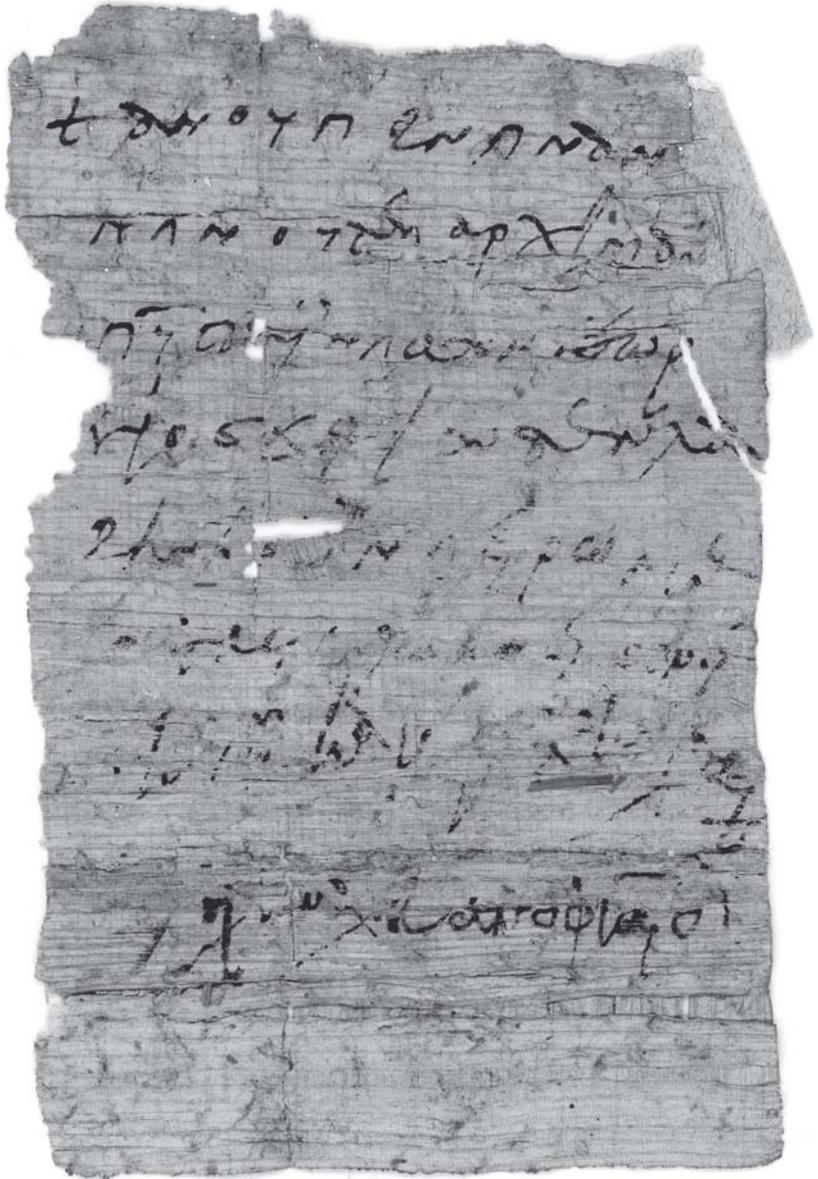


Fig. 14. CUA p75.32a. © CUA

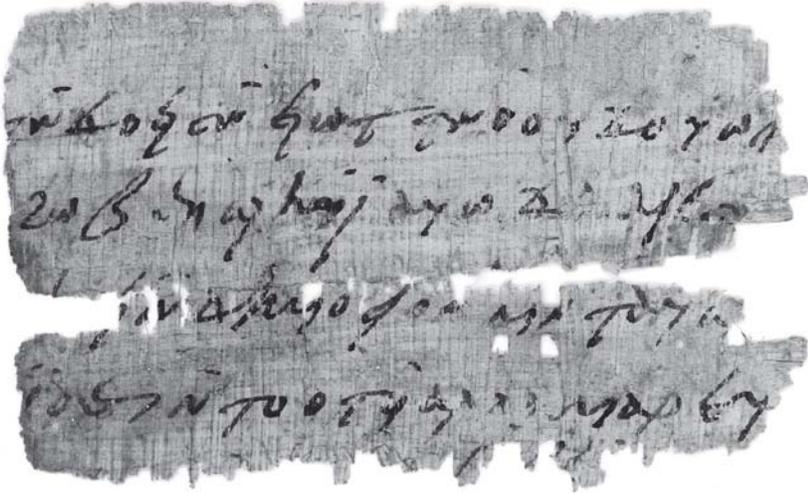


Fig. 15. CUA p75.63b. © CUA



Fig. 16. CUA p75.22b. © CUA

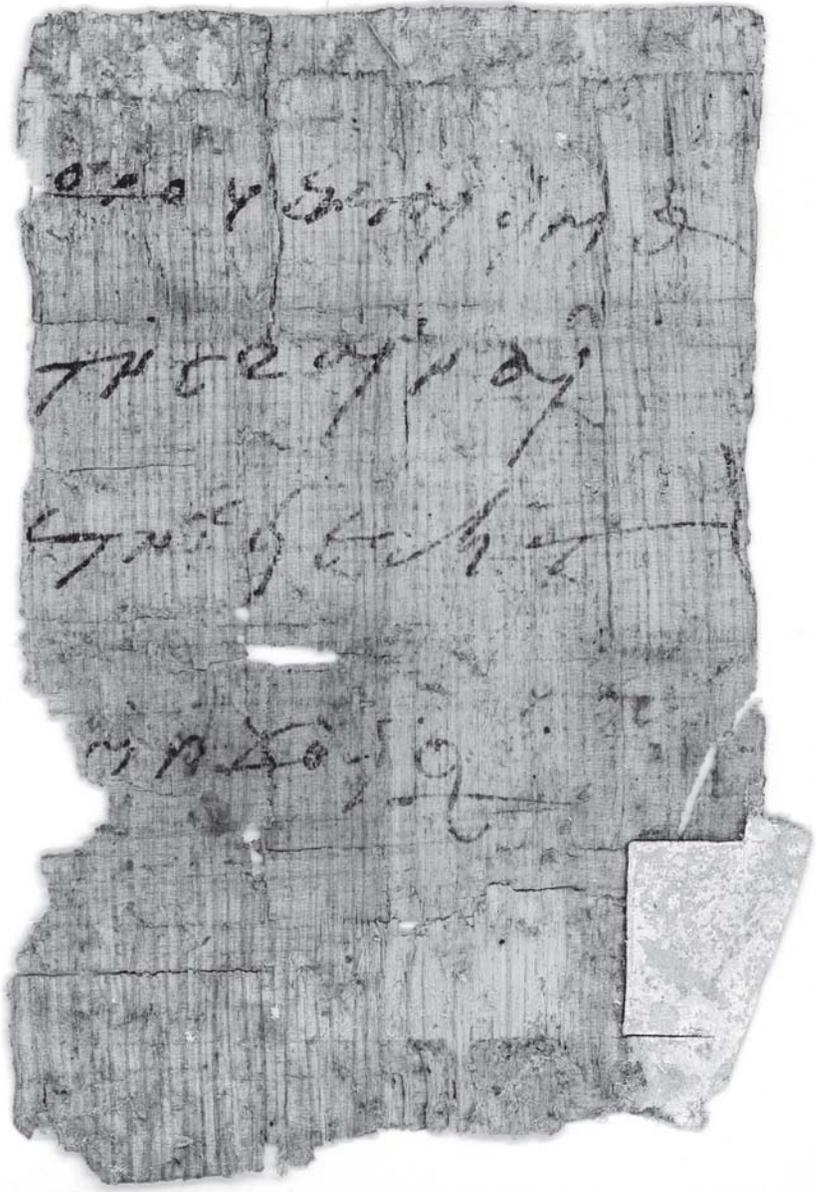


Fig. 17. CUA p75.32b. © CUA

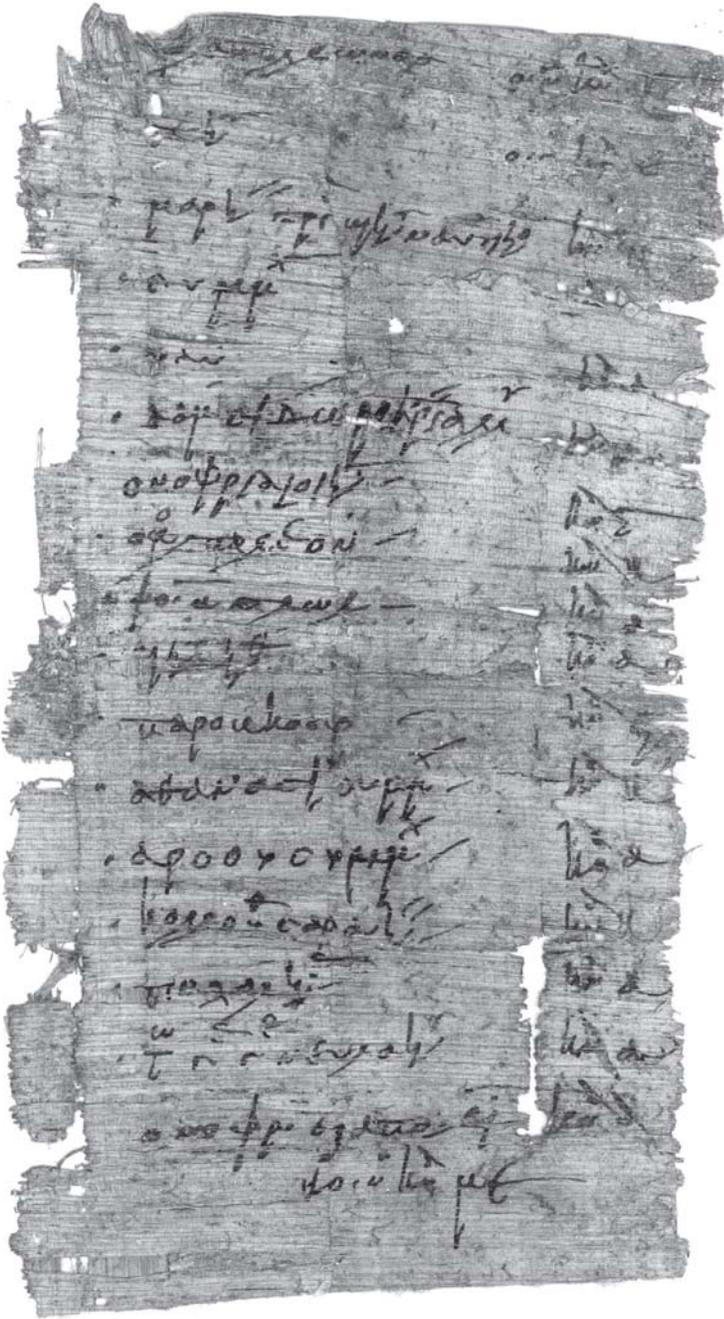


Fig. 18. CUA p75.20. © CUA

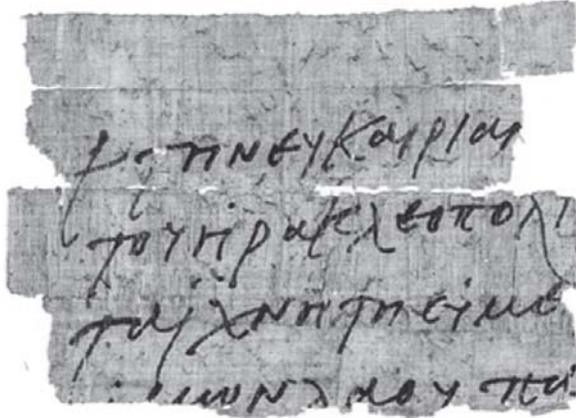


Fig. 19. CUA p75.105. © CUA



Fig. 20. CUA p75.105b. © CUA

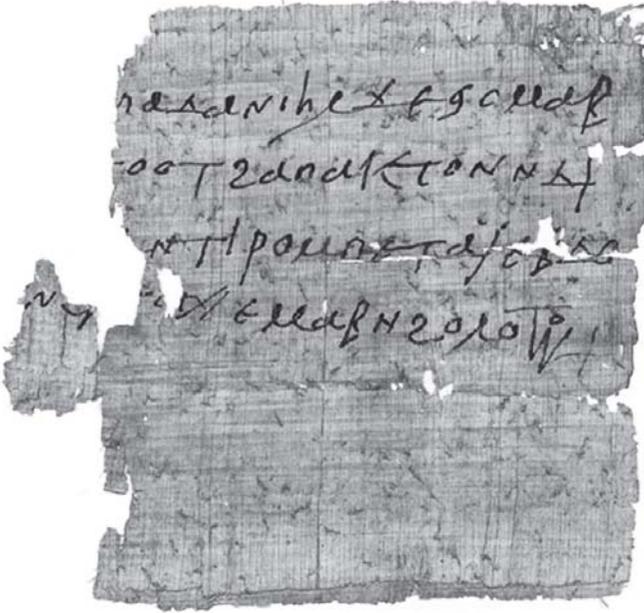


Fig. 21. CUA p75.107. © CUA

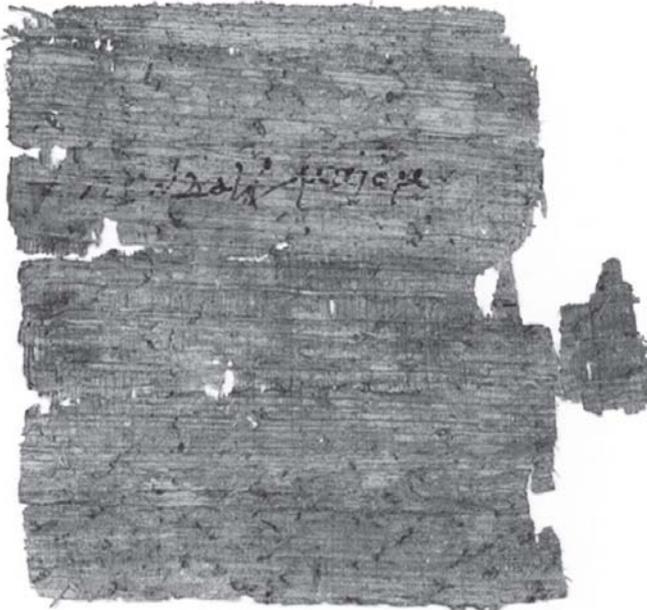


Fig. 22. CUA p75.107b. © CUA