More Hermopolite Localities, Requisitions, and Taxes

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Abstract: Editions of four papyri of the British Library with lists of villages and requisitioned workforce, foodstuff or taxes from the area of Hermopolis.

Keywords: Villages; Hermopolis; requisitions; taxes.

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The papyri published in this article contain registers arranged by locality, and date from the mid to the late seventh century or early eighth. Their purposes vary, but they would all have been compiled in local government offices. Texts **1** and **2** may have been acquired and even found together;[1] they are close to the milieu of the archive of Senouthios, *anystes*, if they do not belong to it, especially **2**. Texts **3** and **4** share a similar acquisition history[2] but have different archival origins and dates.

Preliminary Note: This article was written in the course of the AHRC/DFG research project 'Documentary Snapshots from Seventh-Century Egypt'. I am grateful to Lajos Berkes and Federico Morelli for corrections and comments. — The first three papyri came to my knowledge in September 2019 through conversations with the late Federica Micucci, who had taken an interest in them and was considering an edition. Fate decided differently. It is but a small consolation that her discoveries could be channelled into a publication.

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[1] These two papyri were among a group accessioned by the Library of the British Museum in 1910 but 'acquired with earlier collections'; see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCCVI–MDCCCCX* (1912) 314–15. They may stem from one of the purchases made through Chauncey Murch (1901, 1903, 1906; the information stems from Federica Micucci).

[2] They are part of a miscellaneous group accessioned by the British Museum in 1930 but acquired earlier; see F. Micucci, 'A Lease of a Vineyard from the Late Antique Hermopolite Nome (BL Papyrus 2871)', *BASP* 59 (2022) 186.

1. List of Requisitioned Workforce

BL Pap. 1866 9.2 (w) cm × 13.5 cm (h) Mid seventh century

The top of a list of numbers of persons (*onomata*) from various villages who were to be sent to an unknown locality for an unspecified reason but no doubt requisitioned for labour. This may have concerned the maintenance of the irrigation system; apart from parallels,[3] the time of the year, early May, would suit. The villages were situated in the northern part of the region of Hermopolis. They occur together in a number of registers of this date connected with the dossier of Senouthios.[4]

In most cases, a *hiereus* is listed with the *onomata*, unless their number is very small. Elsewhere we find an *agrophylax* in the same position (see 5 n.), but the involvement of *hiereis* in requisitions is well attested.[5] These officials were previously connected with *epoikia* rather than villages with the status of *kome*; our text offers a novelty, since all *hiereis* are associated with *komai*. An entry in **2** (r.8) shows that this was not an isolated case. One of these villages is Senilais, which included a number of *epoikia* in its administrative area, one of them being Palladiou (cf. r.11–12); might it be that these were *hiereis* who served in these satellite *epoikia*?[6]

It would be reasonable to assume that the number of *onomata* reflected the population of these villages, but this need not hold. The numbers assigned to Sebaempheos (63) and Pouampoimeneos (62) are far higher than those of Timontheos (15), Senilaeos (10), Sinkere (7), etc. The quantities of building materials contributed by these villages in the contemporary CPR XXX 1 are not aligned with the numbers here: Pouampoimeneos produces 39,100 bricks, Sebaempheos 17,700, Sinkere 17,000.[7] In the same text, the fiscal burden on Pouampoimeneos, Sebaempheos, Senilaeos, and Sinkere is in the range of 300–600 solidi, broad enough to hide inequalities, and under 300 on Timontheos. The picture is different in CPR VIII 85, too, a list of products supplied by villages of this area at that time.

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[3] Cf. F. Morelli, ''Nuovi' documenti per la storia dell'irrigazione nell'Egitto bizantino. SB XVI 12377, P. Bad. IV 93, SPP X 295-299, e altri', *ZPE* 126 (1999) 195–201.

[4] See the table in CPR XXX, p. 98; cf. CPR XXXVI 58 and P.Heid. XI 466.

[5] J. Gascou, P.Sorb. II, pp. 66–70; cf. L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (2017) 122–5. For 'corvées', P.Sorb. II, p. 69, refers to SB XVI 12377 = XXVI 16737 and P.Ryl. Copt. 278 and 355; add now P.Heid. XI 466 and the present text.

[6] This is a suggestion of Lajos Berkes.

[7] See the tables in CPR XXX, pp. 64 and 85f.

For some reason, this requisition of workforce affected Sebaempheos and Pouampoimeneos more than other villages.

The text is written along the fibres. The back is mounted, so presumably blank. A sheet join runs *c*. 2.2 cm off the left-hand edge on the front.

1 † γ̣γ̣ω̃(σις) τῶ(ν) ὀφιλόντ(ων) πεμφθ(ῆναι) εἰ(ς) τ(ὴν) Λιθίνη(ν)
2 ὀ̣ν̣ο(μάτων) σ̣ χωρ(ὶς) ὀνο(μάτων) ξ̣ϛ μη(νὸς) Π(α)χ(ων) ϊγ
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε,
3 οὗ(τως)·
4 ἀπὸ Πουανω̣λ( ) ὀνό(ματα) ε
5 ἀπὸ Σεβαέμφθ(εως) ὀνό(ματα) ξγ (καὶ) ἱερε(ὺς) α
6 ἀπὸ Σιναπη ὄνο(μα) α
7 ἀπὸ τόπου Καλλινίκου ὄνο(μα) α
8 ἀπὸ Β̣ου ὀνό(ματα) ζ (καὶ) ἀκά̣(τιον?) α
9 ἀπὸ Πουαμπ(οιμήνεως) ὀνό(ματα) ξβ (καὶ) ἱερε(ὺς) α
10 ἀπὸ Τιμώνθ(εως) ὀνό(ματα) ϊε (καὶ) ἱερε(ὺς) α
11 ἀπὸ Σινιλάεως ὀνό(ματα) ϊ (καὶ) ἱερε(ὺς) α
12 ἀπὸ ἐ̣π̣[οι(κίου)] Π̣αλλαδίου β δ(ιὰ) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ)
13 ἀ̣πὸ Σινκ̣ερη ὀνό(ματα) ζ (καὶ) ἀκά̣(τιον?) α (καὶ) ἱερε(ὺς) α
14 ⟦[ἀ]π̣ὸ Σιν̣ιλά̣εως ὀνό(ματα) ϊ (καὶ) ἱερε(ὺς) α⟧
15]. . . .[

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1 γ̣γ̣̃ω̃οφιλονν̣̣πεμφθ̣ε̣ι̣̣λιθιν̣ *l.* ὀφειλόντων **2** (*bis*), **4–11**, **13–14** ον̣ **2** χωρ̣, μ̣χ̣, ιν̣ **3** σ̄ **4** πουανω̣λ̄ **5** σεβαεμφθ̣ **5**, **8–11**, **13–14** ϛ **5**, **9–11**, **13–14** ϊερ̣ε̣ **7** καλλινικ̣̣ **8**, **13** ακ̣ **9** πουαμ̣ **10** τιμων̣ **12** π̣αλλαδ̣ι̣, λ̣̣τ̣αυ

† List of the 200 *onomata* that ought to be sent to Lithine, separate from 66 *onomata*, on the 13th of the month of Pachon of the 5th indiction, as follows:

4 From Pouanol– 5 *onomata*
From Sebaempheos 63 *onomata* and 1 *hiereus*
From Sinape 1 *onoma*
From the *topos* of Kallinikos 1 *onoma*
8 From Boou(?) 7 *onomata* and 1 boat(?) and 1 *hiereus*
From Pouampoimeneos 62 *onomata* and 1 *hiereus*
From Timontheos 15 *onomata* and 1 *hiereus*
From Senilaeos 10 *onomata* and 1 *hiereus*
12 From the hamlet Palladiou, 2, through the same (person)
From Sinkere 7 *onomata* and 1 boat(?) and 1 *hiereus*

~~From Senilaeos 10 *onomata* and 1 *hiereus*~~

…

1–2 Cf. SB XXVI 16737.1–2 (Herm.; 6th/7th c.) γνῶ(σις) ἐργ(ατῶν) πεμφ(θέντων) εἰς χῶμα | Παχω(ν) γ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ; SPP X 4.1–2 (Heracl.; 7th c.) διασταλμὸ(ς) ἐργ(ατῶν) ὀφειλ(όντων) πεμφ(θῆναι) | εἰ(ς) παράχω-μ(α) τῆ(ς) Κομα.

1 Λιθίνη(ν). A new toponym if it refers to an embankment, as in the passages cited in the previous note, or to some other locality in the Hermopolite nome. Such a name could be given to a canal; cf. P.Mich. XVIII 776.3 (194[a]) τὴν Λιθίνην διώρυ[γ]α. A locality called Λιθίνης in the Oxyrhynchite nome (TM Geo 5488) is attested as late as the early eighth century, but we would expect a fuller description if Λιθίνη here was a place in a different pagarchy. The same applies to the port in P.Ross.Georg. II 18.27 (139/140), ὅρμον Λ̣[ι]θίνης τοῦ Σαείτου, located farther away.

2 χωρ(ὶς) ὀνο(μάτων) ξϛ. It is unclear why these *onomata* are kept apart. The *onomata* in the extant part of the list total 173, plus 6 *hiereis*.

Π(α)χ(ων) ϊγ ἰνδ(ικτ.) ε. The date converts to 8 May 631, 646, 661, etc.

4 Πουανω̣λ( ). Not known otherwise. The abbreviation stroke suggests ε: Πουαν̣ώ̣λε̣(ως)?

5 Σεβαέμφθ(εως) = TM Geo 2944. Usually spelled without θ; cf. **2**v.8. In the Roman period, it was part of the toparchy of Patre Ano. See M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (1979) 248; CPR XXX 1.32 n.

(καὶ) ἱερε(ὺς) α. Cf. 9–11, 13–14. We find (καὶ) ἀγροφ(ύλαξ) α in the same place in SB XXVI 16737.4ff., but σὺν ˙ ἀγροφ(ύλαξι) καὶ ἱερέων in the summary (l. 19).

6 Σιναπη = TM Geo 2938. In Patre Kato (Drew-Bear, 253), and then of variable pagus allegiance (9, 11, 10; see P.Col. IX, p. 155).

7 τόπου Καλλινίκου. New.

8 Β˙ου. This must be Βωου (TM Geo 3906), a village in Peri Polin Kato with a port on the Nile; see CPR XXX, pp. 63, 65, 106. There is a tiny trace between B and o, where ω is expected (υ has the form of a high stroke gently descending from left to right).

ἀκά̣(τιον?) α. (Suggested by L. Berkes.) Cf. 13, also after ὀνό(ματα) ζ. A boat would be compatible with the location of Boou, but this would be the only text of this kind to refer to a boat.

9 Πουαμπ(οιμήνεως) = TM Geo 2949. In Patre Ano (Drew-Bear, 214–15) and the 9th pagus (P.Col. IX, p. 152). See further CPR XXX 1 introd. (p. 105) and 21 n.

10 Τιμώνθ(εως) = TM Geo 2922. In Patemites Ano (Drew-Bear, 298) and the 9th pagus (P.Col. IX, p. 159). See CPR XXX 1 introd. (p. 103) and 89 n.

11 Σινιλάεως = TM Geo 2945. The entry was repeated three lines below and cancelled there. This spelling occurs only here and in **2**v.12, but cf. Coptic ⲧϫⲓⲛⲉⲗⲁ and ⲧⲱⲓⲛⲓⲗⲁ. The village was earlier in Patre Kato (G. Messeri, *AnPap* 31 [2019] 31–3), and then switched between the 9th pagus and the 11th (P.Col. IX, p. 154). See further CPR XXX 1.84 n.

12 ἐ̣π̣[οι(κίου)] Π̣αλλαδίου = TM Geo 6227 (cf. 6230). In 'Hermopolite Localities and Splinter Nomes', *ZPE* 142 (2003) 181, I noted that Palladiou would have been part of the administrative area of Senilaeos; cf. CPR IX 52.38 and SB XXVIII 17213.8.

β δ(ιὰ) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ). β must be the number of *onomata*. The referent of αὐτ(οῦ) may be the *hiereus* who would accompany the *onomata* from Senilaeos, recorded in the previous line.

13 Σινκ̣ερη = TM Geo 2934. Cf. **2**v.11. In Patre Ano (Drew-Bear, 254–5), *c*. 10 km north of Hermopolis; see CPR XXX 1 introd. (p. 105) and 22 n. If it provides a boat, like Boou (see 8 and n.), it could have been a riverside location; the Patre Ano toparchy abutted the Nile.

2. Provisions of Victuallers to Village Officials

BL Pap. 1863 21 (w) cm × 19.2 cm (h) Mid seventh century

The papyrus is broken on all sides but almost the full width is preserved in its upper part, and little must be missing from the top. Written along the fibres is a list of birds (chickens, quails, pigeons) and pieces of wood supplied to *protokometai*, *hiereis*, and others connected with villages in the environs of Hermopolis or north of it. We have the heading and the first

nine entries, some of them complete but for a small loss at the right. The poor state of preservation makes it unclear whether anything was written above the heading; if not, the top margin would be unusually large (9 cm). On the back, written across the fibres, is a similar list, but in a poorer state and lacking a heading. There are again *protokometai* and villages from the area north of Hermopolis; they all receive one pig, in once case combined with a goose and in another with sheep.

These would have been live animals. Even if these villages did not lie too far apart, it would be uneconomical to organize the despatch of small numbers of birds and heavier animals to multiple destinations across the land. The provision of 'cuts' of wood, no doubt to be used as firewood, implies that cooking was anticipated. These could be provisions for village officials gathered for some reason at the administrative centre of their district. The officials might have been summoned to Hermopolis by the pagarch and were to spend some days there; the pagarch's staff had to provide for the travellers' subsistence. Alternatively, we may think that the animals were given as gratuities, to be taken by the officials to their villages. These were all situated in the northern *skelos*, where Senouthios the *anystes* was active at that time. This text may be part of his 'archive'.[8]

The numbers of the birds supplied vary. The entries in lines 3–4 suggest that a rate per person was 12 quails. The 24 quails for the *protokometai* of Opheos imply that there were two of them, but their colleagues from Thyneos receive 14. The *protokometai* of Tlethmeos receive 6 pigeons and some wood, and the *hiereis* 6 quails, which may be due to their lower status. 1 pigeon may have corresponded to 2 or more quails, but there was no fixed rule: others receive 10 quails and 4 pigeons.

Pieces of wood, a pig, and pigeons occur in CPR X 59 (Herm.; 6th c.), a short list headed γνῶσις ἀπὸ Μαγδ(ώλων) Βουκ(όλων), which may relate to a similar exercise to that in our text. The same may hold for the pig, eggs, pigeons, and wood in CPR X 60 (Heracl.; 6th/7th c.). Quails, chickens, pigeons, geese, sheep, and goats are listed among other requisitioned goods in P.Köln VII 318.9 (Heracl.; 7th/8th c.). More interesting is CPR XII 30, of the same date and probably milieu as **2**: various people from

[8] A text that relates to the mobility of village officials at the behest of higher authorities in this period is SB XXVI 16358 = CPR XXXVI 3, a letter about the *protokometai* and *gnosteres* of the Theodosiopolite and Lycopolite nomes who were supposed to reach Antinoe, the seat of the *dux* and of the *amir* in charge of the area. But in **2** we are dealing with a lower administrative level and neighbouring villages.

villages north of Hermopolis brought gifts for the people of the pagarchy, and the items mentioned in **2**, as well as others, occur there too.

Short horizontal dashes are added in the blank spaces between the two columns of each entry. The same practice is found in CPR IX 44–48 and 50–51, leaves of a fiscal codex of the same origin and date as our list.

The text is written along the fibres. There is a sheet join *c*. 7.8 cm off the left-hand edge on the front.

1 ┼ γνω̑(σις) τω̑(ν) ὀρ(νι)θ(ίων) (καὶ) ὀρτυγί(ων) (καὶ) περιστερ(ίων)
(καὶ) ξύλο̣(ν) κομμ(ά)τ(ων) [ ]̣ [
2 – – – – –
3 Φαμ(ενω)θ κθ Φο̣[ι]β(άμμωνι) (καὶ) Παμουν ἀπὸ Θύνε(ως)
ὀρτ(ύγια) κδ (καὶ) ξύλο(υ) κόμ̣[μ(α)τ(α)
4 τῇ αὐτῇ Βανου ἀπὸ Θύνε(ως) – – – ὀρτ(ύγια) ϊβ //
5 τῇ αὐτῇ τοῖς πρ̣ωτ(ο)κωμ(ή)τ(αις) Ὄφεως – – ὀρτ(ύγια) κδ //
6 [τ]ῇ̣ [α]ὐ̣τῇ τοῖς πρωτ(ο)κωμ(ή)τ(αις) Θύνε(ως) - - - ὀρτ(ύγια) ϊδ
7 [τῇ αὐτ]ῇ̣ [τοῖς] πρωτ(ο)κωμ(ή)τ(αις) Τλήθμεως – – – περιστέ-
ρ(ια) ⸗ (καὶ) ξ[ύλο(υ) κόμμ(α)τ(α)]
8 [τῇ αὐτῇ τοῖς ἱ]ερεῖς Τλήθμε(ως) – – ὀρτ(ύγια) ⸗ - - - [
9 [ὀ]ρτ(ύγια) ϊ
(καὶ) περιστέρ(ια) δ (καὶ) [ξύλο(υ) κόμμ(α)τ(α)]
10 ὀρτ(ύγια)] .
– – – (καὶ) ξύλ[ο(υ) κόμμ(α)τ(α)]
- -

1 γν̿ τ̿ ορ̿ρ̿, ορτυγ, περιστερ΄ρ΄, ξυλ̿λ̿ (*l*. ξύλων) κομ̿μ̿ **1**, **3**, **7**, **9**–**10** ⸗ **3** φαμ̿, φο̣[ι]β, ξυλ̿ **3**, **4**, **6** θυν̿ **3**–**4**, **8**–**9** ορ **4**–**6** ταυτ **3**, **4** απ̿ **5**–**7** πρωκωμ **8** *l*. ἱερεῦσι τληθμ̿ **9** περιστερ

† List of the chickens and quails and pigeons and wood pieces …
Phamenoth 29, to Phoibammon and Pamoun from Thyneos, 24 quails and … wood pieces …
On the same day, to Banos from Thyneos, 12 quails, 0
On the same day, to the *protokometai* of Opheos, 24 quails, 0
On the same day, to the *protokometai* of Thyneos, 14 quails
On the same day, to the *protokometai* of Tlethmeos, 6 pigeons and … wood pieces …
On the same day, to the *hiereis* of Tlethmeos, 6 quails
…, 10 quails and 4 pigeons and …
…, … quails and … wood pieces …

1 ὀρ(νι)θ(ίων). The same abbreviation is used in SB I 5301.1 *et passim* (Ars.; 7th c.).[9] It is less likely that ὀρ(νί)θ(ων) was meant: the diminutive is much more common in this period. Chickens are mentioned only in the heading, whereas the other items are regularly listed below.

ὀρτυγί(ων). Apart from P.Köln VII 318.9 and CPR XII 30 (see above, introd.), cf. P.Ant. III 202A.11 (6th/7th c.), ὑ(πὲρ) τιμῆς ὀρτυγίων εἰς χρεί-αν τῆς δι̣[οικήσεως, and P.Ross.Georg. V 67 (Herm.; 7th c.), an account of disbursements of quails to various people, including *protokometai*.

περιστερ(ίων). The diminutive is the usual form in this period. περιστε-ρ(αὶ) ϛ in CPR X 59.5 (Herm.; 6th c.) relies on a resolution. πε̣ρεστερα ϛ in CPR 60.5 (Heracl.; 6th/7th c.), with BL X 50, may stand for περιστέ̣ρια.

ξύλο̣(ν) (*l*. ξύλων) κομμ(ά)τ(ων). The papyrus has ξυλ̊λ̊; the superscript character seems to be omicron rather than an abbreviation marker. The spelling is due to the duplication of the last element of ξυλ̊ (cf. l. 3) to indicate the plural. We find both the singular and plural in the two other Greek papyri that attest this phrase: CPR X 59.3 ξύλου κόμμα(τα); P.Iand. III 39.2 (6th c.) ξύλων κόμμ(ατα). κόμμα was a technical term for a piece of wood, as we can tell from CPR XII 30.6, 22, 25, 34, 48 ϩ̀κομμⲁ ϩ̀ⲯϵ (ed. translates 'Bündel Holz', but the etymology of the word rules out that these were bundles).

2 Instead of the usual abbreviation for οὕτως, the writer used a number of short horizontal dashes, such as those placed in the vacant spaces in the list. Often enough, the abbreviated οὕτως little differs from such a dash; its origin may have been forgotten, and it was taken as a mere separator between the heading and the entries. The compiler of the list apparently thought that one such dash did not suffice.

3 Φαμ(ενω)θ κθ = March 25.

Θύνεως = TM Geo 2923, modern Tuna el Gebel. Cf. 4, 6, **3**.6. It was part of Peri Polin Ano (Drew-Bear, 118–21) and the 6th pagus (P.Col. IX, p. 158), and lay close to Hermopolis. See CPR XXXVI 2.3–4 n.

[9] The text does not start κζ but ἡ(μερ) ζ. In l. 10, read εἰς τὰς γυνεκα(ς), *l*. γυναῖκας, in place of εἰς τὰς τοῦ πεκ( ). In l. 13, σαρακνον conceals Σαρακ̣νον, i.e. Σαρακηνῶν, which shows that the text postdates the Arab conquest.

4–5 The two small dashes towards the end of these two lines show that the quantity of the commodity to be listed in the column was nil: no wood was supplied.

4 Βανου: genitive for dative.

5 Ὄφεως = TM Geo 2952. Earlier in Peri Polin Kato (Drew-Bear, 187) and the 7th pagus (P.Col. IX, p. 151).

7 Τλήθμεως = TM Geo 3211, modern Itlidim. Formerly in Patre Ano (Drew-Bear, 302–3) and the 9th pagus (P.Col. IX, p. 159). See further CPR XXX 1 introd. (pp. 103–5, 112), 51 n., 88 n. Cf. 7 and v.10.

8 [τῇ αὐτῇ τοῖς ἱ]ερεῖς (*l.* ἱερεῦσι). The restoration seems inevitable, even if it produces faulty grammar.

Back

- -

1		χοιρ]ά̣δα̣ α̣
2		χοι]ρ̣άδα̣ α
3	. . . . . .[. .]. .	
4	. Διοσκόρ(ῳ) πρωτ(ο)[κωμ(ή)τ( )]. . .	χοιράδα̣ α
5	Πατουω βοηθῷ̣ . . . . . – – – – –	χοιράδα α
6	[τοῖς πρ]ω̣τ(ο)κωμ(ή)τ(αις) . . .[.]μι – – – – –	χοιράδα α
7	[ ]. . . – – – – –	χοιράδα α
8	[*c.* 7 Σε]β̣αέμφε̣(ως) – – – – –	χοι[ρ]άδα α
9	[*c.* 7] τ̣οῦ α̣ὐ̣τ̣οῦ – – – – – –	χοιρ̣ά̣δα α
10	[*c.* 7] Τλήθμεως – – –	χηνάρ̣ιν̣ α (καὶ) χο̣ι̣ρ̣άδα α
11	[*c.* 7 Σ]ιγκερ[η] – – – – –	χο̣[ιράδα α
12	[τοῖς πρωτ(ο)κ]ωμ(ή)τ(αις) Σινιλάεως πρόβατα [.] χ[οιράδα α	
13	[*c.* 6 πρ]ωτ(ο)κωμ(ή)τ( ) Σιναρχήβ̣ε(ως) [	
14	[*c.* 8] Λ̣ηνα̣ί̣ου – – [	
15	[τοῖς π]ρ̣ωτ(ο)κωμ(ή)τ(αις) . .σι[	
16	]. . .[	

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1–2, **4–11** χοιρα$\overset{\alpha}{\chi}$ **4** διοσκορ **4**, **6**, **12**, **13**, **15** πρω$\overset{\tau}{\kappa}$κωμ$\overset{\tau}{}$ **8**]β̣αεμ$\overset{\varepsilon}{\varphi}$ **10** ς **13** cιναρχηβ̣

4 To Dioskoros, *protokometes* 1 pig
To Patouo, *boethos* … 1 pig

	To the *protokometai* …	1 pig
	…	1 pig
8	… Sebaempheos	1 pig
	… of the same	1 pig
	… Tlethmeos	1 goose and 1 pig
	… Sinkere	1 pig
12	To the *protokometai* of Senilaeos	… sheep … 1 pig
	… *protokomet–* of Sinarchebis	…
	… Lenaiou …	
	To the *protokometai* of …	

1 χοιρ]ά̣δα̣. Cf. 2, 4–11. A female pig ('sow'); see P.Bas. II 54.8 n. Cf. CPR X 60.3 (Heracl.; 6th/7th c.) χοιρὰς α̣, in a similar context. χοιράτ(ιον) in CPR X 59.4 (Herm.; 6th c.) assumes that the word is in the nominative, but the diminutive is not attested in the papyri. Pigs are often supplied as extras in leases; see K.A. Worp, 'Deliveries for CYNHΘEIA in Byzantine Papyri' in P.Thomas, p. 61.

4 . Διοσκόρ(ῳ). What is written before the name does not have the shape of a checkmark or a known abbreviation.

5 βοηθῷ. This must be a βοηθὸς κώμης; see Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft* 157–67. He ranked above the *protokometai*, and only occasionally is he mentioned with them in the same text (Berkes, 159 n. 242). As far as I can see, there is no mention of a βοηθός in the archive of Senouthios.

6 . . .[.]μι. On the face of it, the end of a toponym, but which?

8–11 There is not enough space in the parts lost at the beginnings of these lines for references to *protokometai*. The payments may have been made τοῖς ἀπὸ *village*, to named persons (*name* ἀπὸ *village*), a βοηθός, or ἱερεῖς.

8 Σε]βαέμφε̣(ως). Cf. **1**.5 and n.

9] τ̣οῦ αὐ̣τ̣οῦ. The implied noun may be χωρίου, in which case this entry would refer to other officials of the same village. Cf. lines 6–7 on the other side, which refer to the *protokometai* and the *hiereis* of Tlethmeos.

10 χηνάρ̣ιν̣. The word is otherwise attested only in P.Köln VII 318.9 and SB I 5301.3, neither of which is distant in date from the present text.

11 Σ]ιγκερ[η]. Cf. **1**.13 and n.

12 Σινιλάεως. Cf. **1**.11 and n.

13 [*c*. 6 πρ]ωτ(ο)κωμ(ή)τ( ). τοῖς will not fill the lacuna. Perhaps a name stood there, as in l. 4.

Σιναρχήβε(ως) = TM Geo 2937. In Patre Ano, and later in the 9th and 10th pagi (Drew-Bear, 252–3; P.Col. IX, p. 156).

14 Λ̣ηγ̣αί̣ου = TM Geo 3430. The village makes a frequent appearance in the archive of Senouthios; cf. CPR XXX p. 98 n. 101, and 27 introd.

15 . .σ̣ι[. The traces are exiguous, but we may consider Β̣ο̣υ̣σ̣ί̣[ρεως (TM Geo 470), a village in the vicinity of Lenaiou (cf. CPR XXXVI 59.4, 9; P.Heid. XI 466.2–3), as F. Morelli points out to me.

3. List of Villages

BL Pap. 2892c 9.1 cm (w) × 13.7 cm (h) Mid seventh century

The top left part of a list of ‘various …’; only the names of villages remain, all of them known when fully extant. If they were followed by any figures, these are lost to the right. The villages come from various parts of the Hermopolite nome, in a north-to-south arrangement. The document may derive from a government office but not one associated with either of the administrative divisions of the pagarchy in the seventh century; cf. **4**, though of later date. Hakeos, Skar, and Thyneos (4–6) belonged to the northern *skelos*; those listed after them (7–14) were located further south.

The text is written along the fibres. There is a sheet join *c*. 4.3 cm off the left-hand edge on the front.

1 [† γν]ω̣σ(ις) δια̣φόρω(ν) .[
2 [ ]οσ. . .[. . .]. .[
3 [. .ε]ως [
4 Ἄ̣κ̣εως [
5 Σκαρ [
6 Θύνεως [
7 Ταρούθεως [
8 Τώλκεως [
9 Σεμβίχεως [

10 Εκους [
11 Τανεμώεως [
12 Ἀχιλλέως [
- - - - - - - - -

1]ως διαφορρ̣ **8** θυνεως: υ *ex corr.*

† List of the various … [4] Hakeos [5] Skar [6] Thyneos [7] Taroutheos [8] Tolkeos [9] Sembicheos [10] Ekous [11] Tanemoeos [12] Achilleos …

3 [..ε]ως. If the listing of the villages moves from north to south, those in lines 3–4 would have been located north of Hermopolis. Their names have about the same length and the same ending. The candidates are Ἄκεως, Ἄρεως, and Ὄφεως. The first of them may have been written in l. 4; the traces do not suit the others. If one of the other two stood in l. 3, Σκαρ (5) would have been preceded by a village situated further south, but neither Ἄρεως not Ὄφεως were located south of Θύνεως (6).

4 Ἄ̣κ̣εως = TM Geo 5957, modern Tahnasha. It lay in the area of Patemites Ano (Drew-Bear, 55) and the 10th pagus (P.Col. IX p. 148). See further CPR XXX, pp. 106–110.

5 Σκαρ = TM Geo 2933. In Patemites Ano (Drew-Bear, 257), and in the 9th pagus (P.Col. IX, p. 156).

6 Θύνεως. See **2**.3 n. In Peri Polin Ano.

7 Ταρούθεως = TM Geo 2929. In Leukopyrgites Kato (Drew-Bear, 267; cf. 270).

8 Τώλκεως = TM Geo 772. In Leukopyrgites Kato (Drew-Bear, 311).

9 Σεμβίχεως = TM Geo 7104. In Leukopyrgites Ano (Drew-Bear, 238).

10 Εκους = TM Geo 2649. Probably in Leukopyrgites Ano (Drew-Bear, 96).

11 Τανεμώεως = TM Geo 7412. Probably in Leukopyrgites Ano (Drew-Bear, 265).

12 Ἀχιλλέως = TM Geo 3415. Drew-Bear, 78, locates it in one of the Leukopyrgites toparchies.

4. List of Villages and Money

BL Pap. 2890(2)a 9.7 (w) cm × 21.9 cm (h) Seventh/eighth century

The sheet is complete at the right and at the foot. The blank space above the first line may be the upper margin, while the blank space to the left of lines 5–9 appears to be the original, but one or more columns may have preceded it: no heading survives. There is a mixture of familiar and new toponyms and monasteries. With a single exception, those known lay in the southern part of the Hermopolite nome. The combination of monasteries with rural settlements indicates that these are fiscal units. Every entry is followed by a small *nomisma*-abbreviation, but there are no figures; the list may have been compiled to record tax payments, but the details were never added.

The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank.

1	] Τεκερκ̣(ε)θώ(θεως)	νο(μ.)
2	] Παμουνίου	νο(μ.)
3	] . . ρου	νο(μ.)
4	] Κουρσ( ) Κλεο̣( )	νο(μ.)
5	] μον(αστηρίου) Ἀβ(α) Παχυ̣(μίου)	νο(μ.)
6	] Σ̣ενομβ̣ω	νο(μ.)
7	] Παπλοο̣υ	νο(μ.)
8	] μον(αστηρίου) Ἀββ(α) Ἀπολ(λῶτος)	νο(μ.)
9	] ῾Ρήτ(ορος?) Μαγδ(ώλων)	νο(μ.)

1 τεκερκθ$^{\omega}$ **4** κουρ$^{\text{ϲ}}$κλεο̣ **5** μον$^{\overline{\ }}$ α$\overline{\beta}$ παχ$^{\upsilon}$ **8** μον$^{\overline{\ }}$ αβ$\overline{\beta}$ απ$^{\text{ᾶ}}$ **9** ρη$^{\tau}$μαγ$^{\delta}$

Tekerkethotheos, solid(i) [2] Pamouniou, solid(i) [3] –rou, solid(i) [4] Kours–Kleo–, solid(i) [5] Monastery of Abba Pachymios(?), solid(i) [6] Senombo, solid(i) [7] Paploou, solidi [8] Monastery of Abba Apollo, solid(i) [9] Rhetoros(?) Magdolon, solid(i)

1 Τεκερκ̣(ε)θώ(θεως) = TM Geo ID 7504. In Leukopyrgites Kato, i.e. south of Hermopolis (Drew-Bear, 271).

2 Παμουνίου. Apparently new, though cf. κτή(ματος) Παμου( ) (= TM Geo ID 6240) in SPP XX 241.6 (Herm.; 7$^{\text{th}}$ c.).

3] . . ρου. Perhaps ψι̣ρου, but this does not match any known toponym.

4 Κουρσ( ) Κλεο̣( ). It is not obvious how the two words combine into a toponym. For the first (there is no need to think of the κοῦρσα, the recurring naval raids of the Caliphate against the Byzantines), cf. P.Sorb. II 69.121A.8 (Herm.; 618/619?) τόπ(ου) Κουρσῳ̣. Κλεο̣( ) may refer to the village Kleopatra in Peri Polin Kato (TM Geo ID 1116), or to Kleopatris, the port of Hermopolis (TM Geo ID 2537; CPR XXX 10.4 n.).

5 μον(αστηρίου) Αβ(α) Παχυ̣(μίου). This monastery does not seem to be known otherwise. Abba Pachymios would be the founder rather than the famous monk and saint, since his cult is not attested in late antiquity.

6 Ϣενομβ̣ω = TM Geo ID 2943. Drew-Bear, 244, argues that it was located north of Hermopolis.

7 Παπλο̣ου = TM Geo ID 2951, modern Biblaw. In the same area as villages in Leukopyrgites Ano (Drew-Bear, 193).

8 μον(αστηρίου) Αββ(α) Ἀπολ(λῶτος) = TM Geo ID 10454, the well-known monastery at Bawit.

9 Ῥήτ(ορος?) Μαγδ(ώλων). Another new toponym, though cf. SPP X 25A.22 (Herm.; mid 7th c.) Ῥήτορος (καὶ) Ψα (= TM Geo ID 7008). Μαγδωλα / Μαγδώλων is usually followed by another name, though cf. P.Lond. V 1763.8, 23, etc. (Herm.; 7th/8th c.) Π(ε$^{?}$)δ(ιάδος$^{?}$) Μαγδ(ώλων).