



TYCHÉ

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 2, 1987

1987





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Verlag Adolf Holzhausens Nfg., Wien

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Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an:

Redaktion TYCHE, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr.-Karl-Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien. Beiträge in deutscher, englischer, französischer, italienischer und lateinischer Sprache werden angenommen. Eingesandte Manuskripte können nicht zurückgesendet werden. Bei der Redaktion einlangende wissenschaftliche Werke werden besprochen.

Auslieferung:

Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg., Kandlgassè 19-21, A-1070 Wien

Gedruckt auf holz- und säurefreiem Papier.

Umschlag: IG II² 2127 (Ausschnitt) mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Epigraphischen Museums in Athen, Inv.-Nr. 8490 und P. Vindob. Barbara 8.

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Eigentümer und Verleger: Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg., Kandlgasse 19-21, A-1070 Wien. Herausgeber: Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr.-Karl-Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien. Hersteller: Druckerei A. Holzhausens Nfg., Kandlgasse 19-21, A-1070 Wien. Verlagsort: Wien. — Herstellungsort: Wien. — Printed in Austria.

ISBN 3-900518-03-3

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LESLIE S. B. MACCOULL

Money and People in the Late Antique Hermopolite BM 1075 and related texts

In his paper 'Les codices documentaires égyptiens', delivered to a Sorbonne colloquium on the origins of the codex in July 1985, Jean Gascoü¹ assigned the date and the subject-matter of the Hermopolite Graeco-Coptic account book BM 1075 to the first half of the sixth century, on the basis of its reckoning by talents and myriads of talents² (thus identifying the abbreviation-signs, correcting Crum's — based on Kenyon — reading of them as meaning myriads of artabas of grain). In his *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum* (1905) Crum did not print the complete text of BM 1075: of the content, contained in twenty-seven leaves, he provided a six-page description (pp. 445—450), including lists of page-headings, some (not all) of the proper names, place names, and occupational titles.

However, the complete text of this extensive papyrus codex deserves to be known, as it furnishes abundant new information about taxation, finance, and personal nomenclature in various localities of the sixth-century Hermopolite nome. I am grateful to Dr Emanuel Silver and the staff of the Oriental Reading Room of the British Library for the opportunity to make a complete transcription of BM 1075 in 1985 and 1986. As a preliminary step to publishing the transcription of the whole codex, leaf by leaf, together with the mathematics of the financial reckoning, I shall present in this brief paper some of the new facts that can be gathered from this codex about the prosopography and finance of the sixth-century Hermopolite³.

First, a note about the possible date and the place of origin of the codex. The heading of f. 20† indicates that all the sums in the month-by-month reckonings on the previous leaves are for the $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ or tax assessment of a tenth indiction. This probably corresponds to A. D. 516, 531, or possibly 546 if the Justinianic reform had not yet affected

¹ Typescript, 1a. I am grateful to Dr Gascoü for sending me a copy of his unpublished paper.

² Citing J.-M. Carrié, 'Monnaie d'or et monnaie de bronze dans l'Égypte protobyzantine', in: *Les devaluations à Rome 2*, Rome 1980, 253—269. On reckoning by talents and myriads of talents in the sixth century see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and inflation in fourth-century Egypt*, Atlanta 1985, 12, 16—17 (BASP Suppl. 5). BGU XII 2204 (25. vi. 574, Hermopolite) reckons in talents and myriads.

³ BM 1075 and its related documents (BM 1076 and 1077, which I have also transcribed in full) are utilised in M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, Missoula 1979. Dr Gascoü, in his paper cited above (n. 1), has identified BM 1076 as being from the hand of the second scribe of 1075; and 1077 as being from the same scribe as the writer of P.Sorb. inv. 2227 (being edited by Dr Gascoü, typescript, 1a—2a, cf. 13a): to the latter are many prosopographical parallels in CPR IX 44—53. He also cites SB XII 11076 (cited by Drew-Bear, *Nome*, 278—279) as a related text, from its metrological qualities (typescript, 14a). BM 1079 is post-conquest.

Hermopolite reckoning. (The tenth indiction is also attested on ff. 21→; 21↑; 23→, the *kataselis* or adding up of partial sums from each leaf; and 24↑). The heading of f. 21→ indicates that the assessment is that for the village of Temseu Skordon⁴, known since the first half of the fourth century. Also summarised on ff. 22↑ and 25↑ to 27↑ are the accounts for the τόπος Demeou⁵, an apparently smaller locality in the nome. The principal accountant identifies himself on f. 21↑ (and lists himself on f. 10↑) as John the *pragmateutes* (not the same man as the John the *pragmateutes* in SPP III 847, who was from, or operating in, Kerkeosiris in the Fayum). On f. 3→ (dated Phaophi 24) the account of the *apodoseis* is stated to be reckoned as 12 (or 18; the second numeral is unclear) *nomismata* of the standard (ζυγῶν) of Antinoopolis⁶. Ff. 4↑ and 4→ (Hathyr 9) reckon by ΖΥΓΩΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΩΜΗΣ; while f. 21↑, the *apodosis* of the tenth indiction (headed Thoth) by John the *pragmateutes* reckons, on behalf of the κοινότης of the village, in *nomismata* ΟΒ(ΡΙΖΟΥ) ΛΛΕΞ(ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ).

Numerous taxpayers, both individual and institutional, appear repeatedly from page to page, as the record-keeping progresses from Thoth to Pachons (and for the *topos* Demeou, from Choiak to Mesore) of the tenth indiction year⁷. These often-listed taxpayers can be assumed to be the wealthiest people and institutions responsible for the village's tax quota. The following table will set out their names, the numbers of times they are listed and over what span of time, together with particular annotations on their possible social and economic roles in the village.

Anouph from Tbakē ^a	Thoth — Phamenoth	6 times
Hatres son of Hyperechios	Phaophi — Pachon	11 times
Viktor son of Sameei ^b	Thoth — Pharmouthi	12 times
Helena ^γ	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	12 times
Enoch the <i>oikonomos</i>	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	10 times
Eus son of Johannes ^δ	Thoth — Pachon	11 times
Elias the priest	Phaophi — Mecheir	11 times
Jeremias son of Pane ^e	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	13 times
Joseph son of Horos	Phaophi — Phamenoth	15 times
Klel Kah ^ς	Choiak — Pharmouthi	8 times
'the lord' Kollouthos	Thoth — Phamenoth	10 times
Koui Tik ^η	Thoth — Pharmouthi	13 times
Kor Jij ^θ	Thoth — Pharmouthi	12 times
Lythios the <i>ergates</i> ^ι	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	10 times
Parakote ^κ	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	8 times
Sarapion the <i>sitometres</i>	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	9 times
Tatianos son of Elias ^λ	Phaophi — Pachon	14 times
Phibis Toose ^μ	Thoth — Pharmouthi	15 times

⁴ Drew-Bear, *Nome*, 278—279, with references to attestations. A possible etymology for the first part of the name (cf. *ibid.* 277) might be from ΤΩΜΣ (+ suffix), to signify 'a place where something is buried; an ancient site'. I. e., 'Garlic Ruins'.

⁵ Drew-Bear, *Nome*, 90: see SPP X 25 B. 10 (7th century).

⁶ On 'local gold standards' see Carrié (above n. 2), 266—269.

⁷ See Crum's summary of the page headings, *Catalogue*, 446—448. Leaf 21↑ is also headed 'Thoth'. If it is not out of order, this may indicate that the reckoning ran for a full year and was added up in the next Thoth.

Phoibammon son of Matrona ^v	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	10 times
Phoibammon son of Pinoution ^ξ	Thoth — Pachon	13 times
Psatos <i>komes</i>	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	10 times
Hampoio ^ο	Phaophi — Phamenoth	9 times
Joor son of Anouphios ^π	Phaophi — Pharmouthi	8 times ⁸
'the Holy Church'	Phaophi — Pachon	14 times

α. On Tbakē/ **ΤΒΑΚΕ** as a Hermopolite place-name see Drew-Bear, *Nome*, 270 with attestations mostly from late Coptic papyri. **ΒΑΚΙ** (*sic*) is usually thought of as being a Bohairic word; it corresponds to 'large city, polis', so it seems odd to have it used as a village name. The R. Kasser, W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1983, 26 derives it from the Ancient Egyptian word for 'territory of a temple'. The first half of the sixth century is early to find a 'Bohairic' form in Middle Egypt.

β. The second name apparently means 'man of truth'. Hatres son of Sameci, presumably Victor's brother, is listed six times as a taxpayer.

γ. Helena appears to be far and away the richest woman in Temseu Skordon. Other women taxpayers listed are Ama Tasou the nun (*monazousa*), the wife of Anouph son of Iakybios (3 times), the wife of Penob (P-wenofer; 5 times), the daughter of Phanoub, Kasia daughter of Pinoution (sister of Phoibammon?, 3 times), Kyra daughter of Taurinos (3 times), Kyra daughter of Petros, Kyra daughter of Anouphios, Maria Shee..., Nonna daughter of Stephanos, Teshneene ('the daughter who has been brought'), Trasia daughter of Paul (twice), and Tjeer ('threshing-floor', twice).

δ. For the name Eus cf. Πεδῦς in CPR IX 51. 2, 4.

An Ama Eus appears in BM 451. Eus son of Horos from the *topos* Demeou is listed on ff. 25↑ and 25→.

ε. For the name Pane cf. P.Lond. IV 1419. 537 (8th century).

ζ. 'A chain of earth', like the later place-name 'Silsileh'.

η. 'Little spark' (G. Heuser, *Personennamen der Kopten*, Leipzig 1929, 21, 59). Crum noticed the group of 'Koui' names that appear in this document: Koui Nou, '[a] little time'; Koui Son, 'little brother'; Koui Snob (for Snof), 'little blood'; Koui Sha, 'little feast'. Koui Son is from the *topos* Demeou; the others are from Temseu Skordon.

θ. '(A) blow of the hand'.

ι. For the name Lythios cf. P.Lond. III 1001. 3, 27 (6th century).

κ. 'The man from Alexandria': not in Preisigke *NB*. Could this be the resolution of Foraboschi's Παράκο() in P.Princ. 13? A Hatres son of Parakote is listed three times as a taxpayer in the present document.

λ. Seven other men named Tatianos appear in this document: Tatianos Herm(oupolites Crum) appears as the accountant on ff. 9→ and 12↑; the others are Tatianos son of Matoi, T. son of Parbas, T. son of Pessos, T. the embroiderer (*rhaptēs*), T. the bronzesmith, and T. **ΘΕΘ** (a frequent second name or epithet that Crum leaves

⁸ None of these people is known from the sixth-century archive of the Church of the Resurrection (ἡ ἀγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀρχαία τοῦ θεοῦ (?) ἐκκλησία τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν καλουμένη Ἀναστασίας) of Hermopolis (P.Strasb. 470—480). This church is most probably not to be identified with the basilica (see n. 9): since it was the 'old' *katholike ekklesia*, it was probably its predecessor, of a different dedication, still standing in the sixth century.

unexplained. Since Kasser/Vycichl, 347, give 'a kind of bronze', could it be another kind of occupation-derived name?).

μ. On ff. 3→ and 9→ appears as Phibis son of Phoibammon Toose; on f. 5↑ there can be read Phibis *dioiketes* Toose. If this reading is correct, it is the only time the title *dioiketes* appears in this document.

v. The Roman name 'Matrona' is attested in the sixth-century Hermopolite in P.Cair.Masp. III 67313. 66 (see Drew-Bear, *Nome*, 266, 68 citing Ryl. 338), where it is the name of a female slave.

ξ. To be identified with the tanner in BGU XII 2182 (2. vi. 510, Hermopolite)?

ο. 'Bench-craftsman'.

π. 'Sharp'.

The 'Holy Church', i. e. the basilica of Hermopolis⁹, is the largest institutional taxpayer. Its assessments run as follows (in this case the numbers are clear):

Phaophi 15	5 solidi	Mecheir 4	1 solidus? (uncertain)
Phaophi 24	5 solidi	Mecheir 22	7 solidi
Hathyr 27	8 solidi	Phamenoith 1	6 solidi
Choiak 10	8 solidi	Phamenoith 17	2 solidi
Choiak (?)	4 solidi	Pharmouthi 2	11 solidi
Tybi 5	6 solidi	Pharmouthi 24	11 solidi
		Pachon 20	(unclear)

This would give a total assessment of 73 or 74 solidi: over one pound of gold for one indiction year, for the lands owned by the great church of Hermopolis in this one village alone.

The other institutional taxpayer listed in BM 1075 is the Church 'of the Holy Martyr(s)', attested in P.Lond. V 1762. 16 (Timm [n. 8] 205; Antonini [ibid.] 187). Its assessments:

⁹ See S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten I*, Wiesbaden 1984, 204—205, giving attestations; updating L. Antonini in *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 184—186. Cf. SPP III 271 A—B (7th century). For this principal church of Hermopolis see E. Wipszycka, 'Les factions du cirque et les biens ecclésiastiques dans un papyrus égyptien', *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 180—198 (P.Berol. inv. 11814), esp. 182—183, and 187—190, 'Les biens fonciers de l'église de Hermoupolis'; and *eadem*, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Egypte*, Brussels 1972, 43—47. On p. 47 of the latter work she cites the churches mentioned in BM 1077 (7th c., but not "époque arabe"), saying 'Les sommes payées ne sont pas indiquées par Crum'. They are:

ind. 15	The Holy Church of Hermopolis	Phaophi 9	..3 1/24 ker.
		Mecheir 16	2 sol. 11 ker.
		Mecheir 29	5 1/2 ker.
	The <i>diakonia</i> of Hermopolis	Phamenoith 1	8 ker.
ind. 14	S. Colluthus	Payni 12	1/2 ker.
ind. 14	S. Mary	Payni 30	5 ker.
ind. 15		Thoth 30	9 ker.
	The North Church	Phaophi 8	1/8 ker.?
	Church of Phi...	Phamenoith 16	cannot be read

A. J. B. Wace et al., *Hermopolis Magna ... the Basilica*, Alexandria 1959, (published unfinished in the aftermath of Suez) is not helpful. See still G. Roeder, *Hermopolis*, Hildesheim 1959, 135—152, 'Hermopolis in christlicher Zeit'. The basilica was probably built ca. A. D. 400.

Phaophi 5	2 solidi
Phamenoth 1	2 solidi
Pharmouthi 2	2 solidi
Pharmouthi 11	2 solidi?,

making perhaps eight solidi for the indiction year.

Further individuals listed comparatively often as taxpayers are: Apa Nokis (or Nokhis), a name that has some continuity over time in the Hermopolite, as Apa Nokios the priest appears four times in BM 1077 as *proestos* of the leper hospital (ΚΕΛΥΦΟΚΟΜΙΟΝ, apparently a hapax): 7 times (cf. SB I 5944, Apa Nokis son of Menas); Apollos the *elaiourgos*, 9 times; Apollos son of Johannes, 10 times; Viktor the *katharourgos*, 9 times; Georgios son of Taurinos, 9 times; Ionios son of Josephios, 9 times; Menas son of Enoch, 10 times; Petros son of Pachymios, 9 times, and his brother Konstantinos son of Pachymios, 9 times; and Sarapion son of Bakhe, 9 times. Names from both the lists so far given of individuals will recur in other contexts.

As each page of the codex BM 1075 is laid out, there are three columns: the left-hand column is naturally that of names. To the immediate right of it is a column of figures usually in *keratia* (κ/), sometimes in *nomismata* (Ν^ο). In most cases these figures can be read clearly. The righthand-most column is also of figures, preceded by the double sign 7 73, interpreted by Gascou as ‘myriads of talents’. Gascou states¹⁰: ‘On en tire les rapports solidus/T. 1/25000 et 1/22800 (f^o 1b, 2b et 21a)...’ For a number of taxpayers there are recorded single entries of one solidus or more. They are (correspondences with previous lists are starred):

Abraam Sou...	3 solidi
Ama Tasou	2 solidi π/1 keration
*Viktor/Sameei	1 solidus (Pharmouthi 24)
Georgios the butcher	1 ¹ / ₂ solidi
*Helena	1 solidus (Pharmouthi 24)
Johannes the <i>mechanarios</i>	1 ¹ / ₃ solidi
*Ionios and Phibis sons of Josephios	2 solidi
Josephios/Abraam	1 solidus
Kollouthos/Theophilus	1 solidus
*Konstantinos/Pachymios	2 solidi (Mecheir 4, 1; Pharmouthi 24, 1)
Monios and Johannes sons of Paulos	3 solidi
Ploution	2 solidi
*Sarapion the <i>sitometres</i>	2 solidi π/1 keration (Pharmouthi 8)
Sarapion/Jakobios	1 solidus
Senikios (and heirs)	4 solidi
*Phoibammon/Matrona	1 solidus (Choiak 10)

The highest-paying taxpayer in the village of Temseu Skordon appears to be our previously mentioned Phibis Toose, whose total assessment comes to 16¹/₂ solidi, from Thoth 29 through Pharmouthi 2. Close behind him comes Enoch the *oikonomos*, assessed at

¹⁰ Typescript, ‘Les codices documentaires égyptiens’, 1a.

just under 13⁵/₆ solidi over time from Phaophi 24 through Pharmouthi 8. Unlisted previously is Phibis son of Tarouou, at 6 solidi assessed six times at one solidus a time. Also representing a concentration of valued wealth are the four sons of Elias: Jeremias, at just under 4 solidi; Johannes, at 1 solidus; Petros, at 1 solidus; and Tatianos, at 1 solidus. This leads us to the 'house (*oikos*) of Elias' for which an account appears on f. 10→.

The third heading (after 'Tybi 5' and 'Tybi 9') on f. 10→ reads 'Account (*logos*) of Viktor the *gnoster*¹¹ for tow/flax (**CIH**) of the estate (*oikos*) of Elias, Tybi 9, 4 solidi, 205³/₄ keratia (?).' A triple column of names and sums follows, but no summing-up is visible at the bottom of the leaf, as usually is found. (No one in the present document is designated *stippourgos* by way of occupation)¹². The estate of Elias would appear to have specialized in flax culture; it may have been located at or near the *topos* Demeou, since an Elias son of Ionios is listed four times as a taxpayer for that *topos* in the latter part of BM 1075 (ff. 25†, 26→, and twice on 27→) (at 6, 4¹/₂, 4 and x keratia).

Crum¹³ does give a list of occupational titles found in this codex. The following table indicates how many of each trade or rank are attested for tenth-indiction Temseu Skordon.

ΑΜΠΕΛΟΥΡΓΟΣ	5	ΜΑΓΥΡΟΣ	2
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ	2	ΜΗΧΑΝΑΡΙΟΣ	1
ΑΡΤΟΚΟΠΟΣ	2	ΜΟΝΑΖΟΥΣΑΣ	1
ΒΟΗΘΟΣ ^α	1	ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΕΥΣ	3
ΓΝΑΦΕΥΣ	1	ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ^η	1
ΓΝΩΣΤΗΡ ^β	1	ΠΙΣΣΟΥΡΓΟΣ	1
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ^γ	1	ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΤΗΣ ^θ	1
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ	3	ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ^ι	3
ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΗΣ ^δ	1	ΠΡΩΤΟΚΩΜΗΤΗΣ ^κ	4
ΕΛΛΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ	2	ΡΑΠΤΗΣ	3
ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ	2	ΣΙΤΟΜΕΤΡΗΣ ^λ	1
ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ^ε	1	ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ^μ	1
ΚΛΕΑΡΟΥΡΓΟΣ	1	ΤΕΚΤΩΝ	6
ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ	1	ΧΑΛΚΕΥΣ	6 ¹³
ΚΟΜΗΣ	4		

α. Not named; the second heading of f. 21→ (see below) lists as its second provision (ΥΠΕΡ) ΤΑΠΑΝ/(ΗΣ) ΤΟΥ ΒΟΗΘ/(ΟΥ), 'for maintenance of the *boethos*', T. myr. 18 (Crum read 12).

¹¹ The *gnoster* or village accountant can be seen in similar activities at about the same period in P.Hamb. 56: see R. Rémondon, *P.Hamb. 56 et P.Lond. 1419 (notes sur les finances d'Aphrodito du vi^e siècle au viii^e)*, Cde 40 (1965) 401–430.

¹² Four appear in BM 1077.

¹³ Occupations and titles attested only in the seventh-century BM 1077 are: ΔΙΑΣΤΟΛΕΥΣ, 1; ΖΥΓΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ and ΑΠΟΖΥΓΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ, 8; ΚΤΗΤΩΡ, 1; ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΥΡΓΟΣ, 1; ΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΣ, 5; ΟΙΝΟΥΡΓΟΣ, 1; ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ, 2; ΠΛΙΝΘΟΥΡΓΟΣ, 1; ΠΟΙΜΗΝ, 1; ΠΡΟΕΣΤΩΣ, 7; ΣΚΥΤΕΥΣ, 1; ΣΤΙΠΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ, 4; ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ, 2; ΤΑΒΕΛΛΙΩΝ, 1; ΤΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΗΣ, 2; ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, 1; ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΟΣ, 3. (The *tabellio* is also a priest.) And there are, of course, overlaps: vinedressers, bread-sellers, *grammatikoi* (2 in BM 1077), deacons, oil-workers, doctors (2 in BM 1077), women religious, *oikonomoi*, priests (one of the doctors in 1077 is also a priest), *protokometai*, lawyers (5 *scholastikoi* in BM 1077), and carpenters. Crum's list: *Catalogue* 450.

β. Viktor; see above.

γ. Josephios; pays a total of $12\frac{1}{4}$ ker.

δ. A possible title of Phibis Toose; see above.

ε. Konstantinos; pays 18 ker.

ζ. Ama Tasou; see above.

η. Enoch; see above.

θ. Johannes; see above.

ι. Including the wealthy Elias, assessed eleven times from Phaophi 15 through Mecheir 22 for a total of $61\frac{1}{2}$ ker. = just over $2\frac{1}{2}$ solidi. Could he be identified as the owner of the flax-growing estate of Elias?

κ. They are: Aunis (?), paying 1 solidus (f. 12→); Jeremias, who three times acts as agent for payments, and himself pays 2 ker. (f. 17↑); Johannes, who acts as agent for payments on behalf of 'the heirs of the deacon' (f. 12→); and Sarapion, who as agent pays 1 sol. for Enoch the *oikonomos* (f. 10→).

λ. Sarapion; see above.

μ. Menas, from the *topos* Demeou; pays $1\frac{1}{2}$ ker. +.

There is some evidence for geographical mobility. On f. 5→, Choiak 10, 41 ker. are paid by the heirs of the late Moses from Antioe; and assessed four times in BM 1075 is Phibis from Hermonthis (Armont), who pays a total of 15 ker. between Phaophi 24 and Phamenoth 17.

The summary leaf, f. 21→, is headed 'Account of the village of Temseu Skordon, tenth indiction; for the *pakton*, 354 *nomismata* of full standard (ϢΥϢ/(ΤΑΘΜΑ))'. The final sum appears to read 786, 000 myr. T. plus a fraction, which figure tallies with the last sum on f. 23→, the *kataselis* for the village. This represents the global quota for one indiction year.

A full text of BM 1075 will depend on the legibility of the figures in the right-hand column of each leaf, the sums in talents and myriads. Meanwhile our knowledge of Hermopolite finances increases. The codices in CPR IX afford many parallels; P.Sorb. inv. 2227 will, when published by Dr Gascou, add a wealth of material; and Professor Roger Bagnall informs me that Columbia University possesses a Hermopolite codex of military payments. It is through this sort of documentation that we can know in detail the administrative workings and the social structure of this Late Antique Egyptian city and its territories, an area in which the Coptic language and Coptic Christianity were to persist strongly long after the Arab conquest had Arabized and Islamicized other areas of Egypt¹⁴.

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¹⁴ I should also like to thank Georgina Robinson, Stephen Morse, Monica Blanchard, and, as always, the reason why I write, Mirrit Boutros Ghali (Ecclesiastes 9:10).