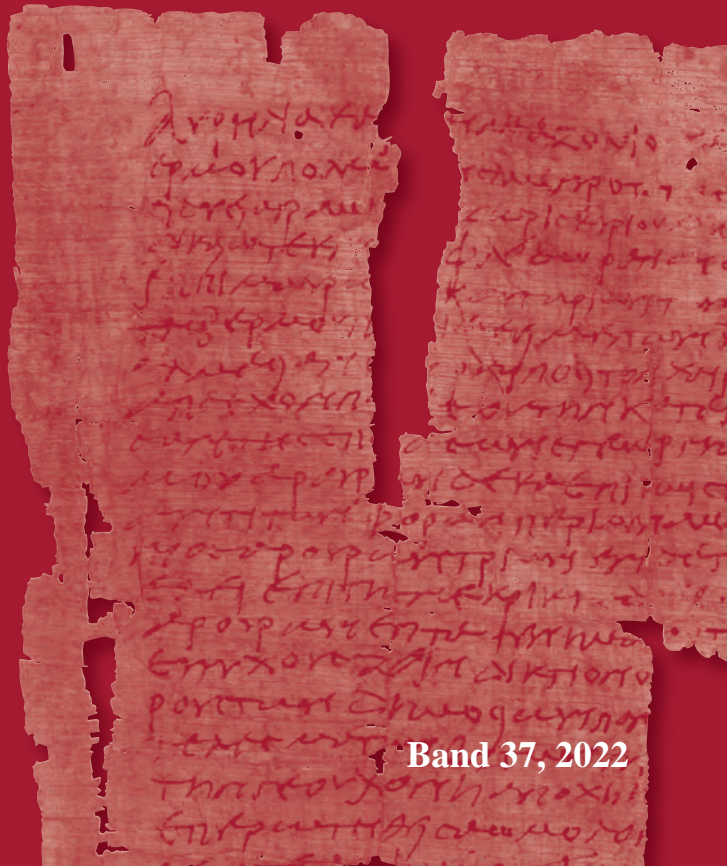


TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik



HOLZHAUSEN

Der Verlag

Band 37, 2022

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ÉLODIE MAZY

A List of Taxpayers from Hermopolis*

Plate 21

The text edited here is the recto of P.Ryl.Copt. 244. Briefly described by W. E. Crum, who transcribed a few names, it is also known as SB I 5950.

This is a list of names and amounts of money in *nomismata* and *keratia*. Although no heading is preserved, payments made through intermediaries (ll. 33, 60–62, 66, 79) and the ζ() sign (ll. 78–79, 81) suggest that this is a tax account. The wide range of sums (from one third of a *keration* to more than twenty-three *nomismata*) rules out the possibility that it concerns the poll tax. The entry in l. 82, which records a property (*ktesis*), could indicate that the tax is associated with land.

Most of the people are identified by a family connection, usually their father's name, sometimes that of their brother (ll. 22, 45, 64–65, 89), mother (ll. 23 and probably 44) or husband (ll. 37, 43). However, as in P.Sorb. II 69 (see J. Gascou's discussion pp. 54–56), some of the names that occur in second position are unusual or even unknown and could be nicknames: Ateqe (l. 60), Jujir (l. 72), Kad (l. 73), Kajina (l. 20), Kalah (l. 84), Kouinalou (l. 27), Koulla() (l. 76), Panerpou (l. 39), Patare() (l. 47), Prmeuite (l. 28). The provenance of the document can be inferred from names such as Apanokios (l. 47), Hyperechios (l. 86), Monios (l. 36), Pkylios (ll. 63, 70), and Taurinos (ll. 66, 78–79, 81), which were favoured in the Hermopolite nome.

People are also identified by their profession, sometimes in combination with their patronym, which can lead to confusion as to whether it is their occupation or their father's (only one case is unambiguous, in l. 46: the daughter of Damianos, who is a priest). There are seven clerics (deacon, l. 57; priest, ll. 26, 40, 46, 74–75, 80), seven construction workers (architect, l. 29; caulker, l. 31; plasterer, ll. 51–52; stone-cutter, ll. 50, 54; carpenter, l. 81), five administrative and/or security agents (nightwatchman, l. 32; *kathedrarios*, l. 34; scribe, l. 42; *symmachos*, l. 60; tax collector, l. 67), two bankers (ll. 69, 92), an estate administrator called *meizoteros* (l. 36), a physician (l. 49), a servant (l. 53), a fisherman (l. 62), a worker in linen (l. 66). Notably absent are any farmers or field workers, which is suggestive of an urban rather than rural milieu.

* This article was written during the AHRC/DFG research project "Documentary Snapshots from Seventh-Century Egypt". I sincerely thank Lajos Berkes, Nikolaos Gonis and Federico Morelli for their attentive reading and critical feedback, which helped improve the edition and commentary.

Bankers called *τραπεζίται* are known in Hermopolis, not in Antinoe, which could help refine the provenance further.

Most of the taxpayers are men who apparently pay for themselves. Four are women, two of whom are named and further identified as the wife of NN (ll. 37, 43), while the other two are not named and only identified as the daughter of NN (ll. 46, 59). In some cases, the tax burden is collectively shared between heirs (ll. 34–35) or sons (l. 58). Four people pay through an intermediary, which can be a person or an institution: a man named Menas pays through a hospital (l. 33), Petros Ateqe resorts to three individual intermediaries (l. 60 records that he pays through a *symmachos*, ll. 61–62 that two other people pay for him), one Taurinos, linen worker, pays for several people (l. 66) and another Taurinos pays through someone else (l. 79). As in P.Sorb. II 69, the connection between the intermediaries and the taxpayers remains unclear. J. Gascou suggests (pp. 23–28) that the intermediaries could act as such out of a professional or contractual obligation to the taxpayer. Noting that the intermediaries belong to the class of landowners, he suggests that either they are, for some reason, responsible for paying other people's taxes, or, which is the hypothesis he favours, they are the real owners of the land and the taxes are actually theirs, but the land is registered under someone else's name, which is used as an accounting designation.

P.Ryl.Copt. 244 recto
Hermopolis

19.4 cm (h.) × 36.5 (w.) cm

late 7th century
Plate 21

The list is written by a single hand, in an upright minuscule script, with many ligatures. Alpha is usually open and, if followed by rho, ligatured; similarly, epsilon and rho are drawn in an ace-of-space-ligature; lambda is written in a single stroke that occasionally forms a prominent loop; omicron is sometimes shaped by a loop joined to the preceding and following letters; pi is formed by two bows under a horizontal stroke; the lower part of the vertical stroke of iota, mu, rho, tau, phi and psi is curved to the right in a short, diagonally ascending stroke. It must be noted that the minuscule script is at times mixed with cursive letters, such as tau and nu (for instance in l. 32). These features taken together point to the late 7th century. The abbreviation ζ() (ll. 78–79, 81) could have been written by a second hand: this zeta has the majuscule form, whereas those in the body text and the amounts of money are minuscule. However, the reason for the difference may be that these are later additions or abbreviations.

The upper and lower margins are preserved, but the papyrus was cut off on the left and on the right to accommodate the Coptic text that was later written on the verso.

Col. 1

→ [	]	κ(ερ.) ιδ
[	]	κ(ερ.) η ζδ'
[	].	κ(ερ.) η δ'
[	]	κ(ερ.) ια
5 [	]	κ(ερ.) β
[[	]. δ()	κ(ερ.) κβ <]]

	[	] . ευτ()	vo(μ.) β	κ(ερ.) [.] .
	[	] υ	vo(μ.) δ	κ(ερ.) θ
	[	] .	vo(μ.) ς	κ(ερ.) ε
10	[	]	vo(μ.) .	
	[	]	vo(μ.) α	
	[	]	vo(μ.) γ	
	[	]		κ(ερ.) η δ'
	[	]	vo(μ.) [.]	κ(ερ.) [.] β
15	[[	]	vo(μ.) [.	κ(ερ.) .]]
	[	]	vo(μ.) ςς	κ(ερ.) . .
	[	] .	[[vo(μ.) //	κ(ερ.) κ[.] δ' β δ']
	[	] .		κ(ερ.) κ ζ
	[[	]	vo(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) α ζ δ']

passim ρ b v̇ 6] . δ 7] . ευτ

Col. 1

→	[	]		14 <i>ker.</i>
	[	]		8 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	[	]		8 ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	[	]		11 <i>ker.</i>
5	[	]		2 <i>ker.</i>
	[[	] d()		22 ½ <i>ker.</i>]
	[	] eut()	2 <i>nom.</i>	[] <i>ker.</i>
	[	] u	4 <i>nom.</i>	9 <i>ker.</i>
	[	]	6 <i>nom.</i>	4 <i>ker.</i>
10	[	]	[ ] <i>nom.</i>	
	[	]	1 <i>nom.</i>	
	[	]	3 <i>nom.</i>	
	[	]		8 ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	[	]	[ ] <i>nom.</i>	[] 2 <i>ker.</i>
15	[[	]	[ ] <i>nom.</i>	[] <i>ker.</i>]
	[	]	0 <i>nom.</i>	[] <i>ker.</i>
	[	]	[[0 <i>nom.</i>	2[] ¼ <i>ker.</i> 2 ¼]
	[	]		20 ½ <i>ker.</i>
	[[	]	1 <i>nom.</i>	1 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>]

Col. 2

20	Ἰωάννου Καχινα [[Θεοδώρου πε. . συρ Περσουδ() ἀδε(λφοῦ) Λεοντίου] Τσουρα Λεοντίου Κοσμᾶ	νο(μ.) α νο(μ.) vac	κ(ερ.) η κ(ερ.) τη ζδ' κ(ερ.) η κ(ερ.) κ ζ
25	ἁγία(ς) Δροσίδ(ος) Μαριανοῦ πρε(σβυτέρου) Μηνᾶ Κουιναλου [[Κύρου Πρμευιτε Φοιβά(μμωνος) ἀρχ(ι)τέκ(τονος)	νο(μ.) α νο(μ.) β	κ(ερ.) α ζ κ(ερ.) ε κ(ερ.) ιε κ(ερ.) ζ κ(ερ.) ιβ [] [κ(ερ.) .]
30	Ἀμμωνίου [[Ὀφίου καλα(φάτου) Ματοι νυκ(οστρατήγου) Μηνᾶ διὰ τ(οῦ) νοσοκ(ομείου) [[κλ(ηρονομ) Μάρκου καθεδρα(ρίου)	νο(μ.) vac.	κ(ερ.) ζ κ(ερ.) ε ζδ' κ(ερ.) ιδ δ' κ(ερ.) ιζ ζδ' κ(ερ.) ζ[]
35	κλ(ηρονομ) Μηνᾶ Σαλίου Μονίου μειζ(οτέρου) Μεγαλο ἐλ(ευ)θ(έρας) Συμε(ῶνος) Μηνᾶ Περητ	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) γ' κ(ερ.) α κ(ερ.) ζ ζδ'

22 περσοῦδ^δ αδ^ε, 25 αγι^δ δροσι^δ 26 πρ^ε 29 φοιβ^τ αρχ^{τε} 31 καλ^τ 32 ματοι νυκ^τ ιδ 33 δι^τ τ^τ νοσοκ^τ
34–35 κλ^τ 34 καθεδρ^τ 36 μειζ^τ 37 ελ^θ κυμ^ε

22 Περσουδ(): περσουα Crum

Col. 2

20	Ioannes Kajina [[Theodoros (...?) Persoud(), his brother Leontios Tsoura Leontios Kosmas	1 <i>nom.</i> <i>nom.</i>	8 <i>ker.</i> 18 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>] 8 <i>ker.</i> 20 ½ <i>ker.</i>
25	Saint Drosis Marianos, priest Menas Kouinalou [[Kyros Prmeuite Phoibammon, architect	1 <i>nom.</i> 2 <i>nom.</i>	1 ½ <i>ker.</i> 5 <i>ker.</i> 15 <i>ker.</i> 7 <i>ker.</i> 12 ½ <i>ker.</i>] [] <i>ker.</i>
30	Ammonios [[Ophios, caulker Matoi, nightwatchman Menas, through the hospital	<i>nom.</i>	6 <i>ker.</i> 6 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>] 14 ¼ <i>ker.</i> 17 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>

	[[heir(s) of Markos, <i>kathedrarios</i>		7 <i>ker.</i>]]
35	heir(s) of Menas Salias		⅓ <i>ker.</i>
	Monios, <i>meizoteros</i>		1 <i>ker.</i>
	Megalo, wife of Sumeon		7 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	Menas Peret	1 <i>nom.</i>	

Col. 3

	Μάρκου Πανηρηπου	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) θ ζ
40	Ἀνατολίου πρε(σβυτέρου)		κ(ερ.) ι
	Μηνασίου Κόμε(τος)	νο(μ.) κγ	κ(ερ.) ιθ ζ
	Μάρκου νοτ(αρίου)	νο(μ.) β	κ(ερ.) ια
	Μακρίνα(ς) ἔλ(ευ)θ(έρας) Τιβε(ρίου)	νο(μ.) ς	κ(ερ.) <i>vac.</i>
	Σενουθ(ίου) Θαυμα()	νο(μ.) η	κ(ερ.) ι γ'
45	Φοιβά(μμωνος) ἀδ(ελφοῦ)	νο(μ.) ζ	κ(ερ.) κβ δ'
	τῆ(ς) θυγ(ατρὸς) Δαμια(νοῦ) πρε(σβυτέρου)	νο(μ.) γ	κ(ερ.) κγ ζδ'
	Ἄπανοκίου Παταρε()	νο(μ.) β	κ(ερ.) θ ζ
	Κυριακ(οῦ) Ἀγαπη(τοῦ)	νο(μ.) γ	κ(ερ.) ιθ
	[[Μηνᾶ ἱατροῦ		κ(ερ.) ια δ']]
50	Σενουθ(ίου) λαοξό(ου)		κ(ερ.) β ζδ'
	Κοσμᾶ γονιάτου		κ(ερ.) ε ζδ'
	Ἰωά(ννου) γονι(άτου)		κ(ερ.) δ
	Παμουνίου παιδ()		κ(ερ.) ε ζδ'
	Βασιλείου Σενο(υ)θ(ίου) λαοξ(όου)		κ(ερ.) ζ δ'
55	Ἰούστου Ἀγαπη(τοῦ)	νο(μ.) δ	κ(ερ.) ιγ δ'
	Ὀλυμπίου	νο(μ.) κ	κ(ερ.) κς
	Πέτρου Ἰσακί(ου) δια(κόνου)	νο(μ.) β	κ(ερ.) ζ ζδ'

40 πρ^ε ἱ 41 κομ^ε 42 νο^τ 43 μακριν^α ελ^θ τιβ^ε 44 σενο^υ θαυμ⁻ 45 φοιβ⁻ ἀδ⁻ 46 τ^η θυγ⁻ δαμι⁻ πρ^ε
 47 παταρ^ε 48 κυριακ^α αγαπ^η ἱθ 49 ἱα 50 σενο^υ λαοξ^ο 52 ἱω^α γον^υ 53 πα^ι 54 σενο^υ λαοξ⁻
 55 ἱουστου αγαπ^η 56 ολυμπίου ἰ κ *corr. ex ἰ λ* 57 ισακ^ι δι⁻

39 Πανηρηπου: σανηρη Crum 51–52 *l. κονιάτου*

Col. 3

	Markos Panerrou	1 <i>nom.</i>	9 ½ <i>ker.</i>
40	Anatolios, priest		10 <i>ker.</i>
	Menasios Komes	23 <i>nom.</i>	19 ½ <i>ker.</i>
	Markos, scribe	2 <i>nom.</i>	11 <i>ker.</i>
	Makrina, wife of Tiberios	2 <i>nom.</i>	<i>ker.</i>
	Senouthios Thagma()	9 <i>nom.</i>	10 ⅓ <i>ker.</i>
45	Phoibammon, his brother	7 <i>nom.</i>	22 ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	the daughter of Damianos, priest	3 <i>nom.</i>	23 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>

	Apanokios Patare()	2 <i>nom.</i>	9 ½ <i>ker.</i>
	Kyriakos Agapetos	3 <i>nom.</i>	19 <i>ker.</i>
	[[Menas, physician		11 ¼ <i>ker.]]</i>
50	Senouthios, stone-cutter		2 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	Kosmas, plasterer		5 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	Ioannes, plasterer		4 <i>ker.</i>
	Pamounios, servant		5 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	Basileios Senouthios, stone-cutter		7 ¼ <i>ker.</i>
55	Ioustos Agapetos	4 <i>nom.</i>	13 ¼ <i>ker.</i>
	Olympios	20 <i>nom.</i>	20 <i>ker.</i>
	Petros Isakios, deacon	2 <i>nom.</i>	7 ½ ¼ <i>ker.</i>
Col. 4			
	υἰῶ(ν) Πασκαλί(ο)υ	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) η δ'
	τῆ(ς) θυγ(ατρὸς) Πέτρου αγ. . . αυρτ()		κ(ερ.) η ζδ'
60	Πέτρου Ατησε δ(ιὰ) Ἰωά(ννου) συμ(μά)χ(ου)		κ(ερ.) ζδ'
	Βασιλείου Ἀριστοφά(νους) (ὑπὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ)		κ(ερ.) α
	Πινουτι(ῶνος) ὀψα(ρίτου) (ὑπὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ)		κ(ερ.) α ζ
	Ἄνθεμίου Πκυλίου		κ(ερ.) ιε ζδ'
	Κυρίλλου ἀδ(ελφοῦ)		κ(ερ.) ιε ζδ'
65	Στεφά(νου) ἀδ(ελφοῦ)		κ(ερ.) ιε ζ
	Ταυρίνο(υ) στιπ(πουργοῦ) (ὑπὲρ) πλακ()		κ(ερ.) ε δ'ή'
	Κολλ(ού)θ(ου) Γε(ωργίου) ἐξπε(λλευτοῦ)		κ(ερ.) ε δ'ή'
	Πέτρου μαζαπο()	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) α
	Περητ τρα(πεζίτου)		κ(ερ.) β
70	Πκυλίου Ἡρακλ()	νο(μ.) ις	κ(ερ.) ιζ δ'
	Σενουθ(ίου) σιβε()	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) ε ζ
	Σενουθ(ίου) χουχιρ	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) θ δ'
	Σερήνου Καδ		κ(ερ.) α ζ
	Φοιβά(μμωνος) πρε(σβυτέρου) κατο	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) ζ ζ
75	Ζαχαρία πρε(σβυτέρου)	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) κβ ζ
	Σενο[υ]θ(ίου) Κουλλα()	νο(μ.) α	κ(ερ.) ζ

58 υἰῶ πασκαλιῶ 59 τῆ θυγ' αγ. . αυρτ' 60 δ' ιωῶ κυμαζ 61 αριστοφῶς αυτ' 62 πινουτ' οψῶς αυτ' 63 ιε
corr. ex ις γ' 64 αδ 65 στεφῶς αδ 66 ταυρινοτ' στιπ' αυ πλακῶς 67 κολλῶ γ' εξπῶς ε βη' *corr.* ex ε ζ βη'
68 μαζαποῦ 69 τρ' 70 ηρακλ' ις *corr.* ex ιζ 71 σενοῦθ' κββ' 72 σενοῦθ' 74 φοιβῶ πρῶς 75 πρῶς
76 κουλλῶς

Col. 4

	sons of Paskalios	1 <i>nom.</i>	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>ker.</i>
	the daughter of Petros (...?)		8 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>ker.</i>
60	Petros Ateqe, through Ioannes, <i>symmachos</i>		$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Basileios Aristophanes, for him		1 <i>ker.</i>
	Pinoution, fisherman, for him		1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Anthemios Pkylios		15 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Kyryllos, his brother		15 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>ker.</i>
65	Stephanos, his brother		15 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Taurinos, worker in linen, for (...?)		6 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Kollouthos Georgios, <i>expelleutes</i>		6 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Petros (...?)	1 <i>nom.</i>	1 <i>ker.</i>
	Peret, banker		2 <i>ker.</i>
70	Pkylios Herakl()	16 <i>nom.</i>	17 $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Senouthios (...?)	1 <i>nom.</i>	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Senouthios Joujir	1 <i>nom.</i>	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Serenos Kad		1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Phoibammon, priest (...?)	1 <i>nom.</i>	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ker.</i>
75	Zacharias, priest	1 <i>nom.</i>	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ker.</i>
	Senouthios Koulla()	1 <i>nom.</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ker.</i>

Col. 5

	π() ελ . () φο λ[.] . []
	ζ() Τα[υ]ρίνου Κουι λ . τ[]
	ζ() Ταυρίνου δια X . . . []
80	Θεοδωρακί(ο)υ πρε(σβυτέρου) []
	ζ() Ταυρί[ν]ου τέκτ(ονος) []
	κτ(ήσεως) Σαλουστί(ου) Ἡρακλ[]
	υ . εστι []
	Ἵπατίου Καλαα	[]
85	Ζαχαρία ψαχαμ()δ()	[]
	Φο[ι]β(άμμωνος) Ἵπερεχ[ί]ου]
	Φ[ο]ιβ(άμμωνος) Σαμουηλ[]
	Φιβίου Χουι λο[]
	Σενουθ(ίου) ἀδ(ελφοῦ)	[]
90	Φοιβ(άμμωνος) λευκ()	[]
	[[Νωε Γε(ωργίου)	[]]
	Χριστοφό(ρου) τρα(πεζίτου)	[]
	Ἰούστου . [.] . [.] . []
	Ἀθανα[σί]ου]

78–79, 81 ζ̄ 79 δῑ 80 θεοδωρακι^υ πρ^ε 81 τεκτ̄ 82 κτ̄ καλουστ̄ 85 ψαχαμ̄^δ 86–87 φοιβ̄ 89 σενο^ο
 αδ̄ 90 φοιβ̄^α λευκ̄ 91 γ^ε 92 χριστοφ̄^ο τρ̄

82 l. Σαλλουστίου

Col. 5

	(...?) []
	z() Taurinos Koui []
	z() Taurinos, through (...?) []
80	Theodorakios, priest []
	z() Taurinos, carpenter []
	property of Salloustios Herakl[]
	(...?) []
	Hypatios Kalah []
85	Zacharias (...?) []
	Phoibammon Hyperechios []
	Phoibammon Samouel []
	Phibios Koui []
	Senouthios, his brother []
90	Phoibammon []
	[[Noe Georgios []]
	Christophoros, banker []
	Ioustos []
	Athanasios []

passim δ̄. In this list, the fraction ¼ is usually written b. This sign is also found in BL Pap. 1094 (ed. J. Gascou, N. Gonis, *Three Documents from the Demosion Logisterion of Hermopolis*, APF 69 [2023] no 3, l. 6 n.), but in some places the scribe uses a proper delta followed by an oblique stroke: in ll. 32–33 this shape may have been influenced by the previous delta, but not in l. 60 where there is no other delta around.

13 η δ̄. Although eta is only partially preserved, it is similar to that in l. 59.

16 vo(μ.) ς̄. These sinusoids do not occur elsewhere in the list. Although we cannot dismiss the possibility that they are cyphers carelessly written (making up a beta or a stigma, possibly), they rather seem drawn on purpose: they might have the same function as the double strokes in l. 17, meaning that no payment is owed (hence the translation “zero” adopted here). But the scribe does not use these signs (either the sinusoids or the strokes) systematically: elsewhere (ll. 21, 32, 43), if he has already written ς̄ or κ̄ but then realises that no payment is due, he simply leaves the space blank.

20 Καχινα. *Hapax* (already recorded in TM Nam 41876).

21 πε . . σϣρ. No suitable name or profession matches the traces. It would be tempting to recognise the name Petosiris (TM Nam 893), which is still attested a few times in Byzantine papyri, but the letter preceding σϣρ does not look like an omicron.

22 Περσουδ(). Based on this entry, the name Περσουα is recorded as TM Nam 30263, but the last character, in superscript, is delta, similar to that of Δροσίδ(ος) in l. 25 and παιδ() in l. 53.

23 Τσουρα. Although a genitive would be expected here, this is the female name Tsoura (TM Nam 12671), mainly attested in the Hermopolite nome and in Aphrodite (a hypothetical masculine name in -ας, with a genitive in -α, is not possible here, because the corresponding male name Ψυρος is well attested). This is the only certain use of the matronym in the list.

25 ἀγία(ς) Δροσίδ(ος). Saint Drosis is known from P.Vindob. inv. G 14043 (ed. A. Papaconstantinou, *Un calendrier de saints hermopolite. P. Vindob. G 14043*, Tyche 8 [1993] 101–104, late 7th/8th century), according to which her feast is celebrated on Choiak 18 (A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport de la documentation papyrologique et épigraphique grecque et copte*, Paris 2001, 89). This is the first occurrence of an institution bearing this saint's name.

26 Μαριανοῦ. At the time, this name (TM Nam 7120) is mostly attested in the Hermopolite and Antinoopolite area (thirteen in twenty-two occurrences).

27 Κουινாலου. This name, which is a *hapax*, is made up of the Coptic terms ΚΟΥΓΙ “little, young” and ΔΛΟΥΓ “servant, youth”, connected by the attributive preposition Ν-. This nickname is thus borrowed from Coptic as a syntagm, hence the spelling Κουινாலου.

28 Πρμευιτε. *Hapax*. The name is formed with ΠΡΜ- “the man of”, which should introduce an *origo*; however, no such place name is known. Alternatively, the sequence read as -ευι- might be a shai: the name would thus be Πρμωιτε. In the Hermopolite nome, a place called ωπρεε is attested in CPR IV 93.2, CPR IV 118.4 and, possibly, P.Sorb. II 69.114C8.

29 ἀρχ(ι)τέκ(τονος). According to the 4th-century mathematician Pappos of Alexandria, *Synagoge* VIII 1 (ed. F. Hultsch, *Pappi Alexandrini collectionis quae supersunt*, Berlin 1878, 1022–1024; translation based on G. Downey, *Byzantine Architects. Their Training and Methods*, Byzantion 18 [1946–1948] 107), the science of mechanics (ἡ μηχανικὴ θεωρία) has a theoretical (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, physics) and a manual component (metalwork, construction, carpentering, painting), and τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις ἐπιστήμαις ἐκ παιδὸς γενόμενον κὰν ταῖς προειρημέναις τέχναις ἔξιν εἰληφότα πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φύσιν εὐκίνητον ἔχοντα κράτιστον ἔσεσθαι μηχανικῶν ἔργων εὐρετὴν καὶ ἀρχιτέκονά φασιν “the one who has been in those aforesaid sciences from childhood and who has been trained in those aforesaid arts, and who has an inclinable disposition towards them, will be, they say, the best inventor of mechanical devices and architect”. This implies, first, that the profession of the architect was considered only a part of the mechanical sciences (and that in turn those called μηχανικοί were more accomplished than architects) and, second, that architects were primarily versed in the theoretical aspect of the science of mechanics. In the lexical treatise *Λέξεις ῥητορικαί*, which is preserved in an 11th-century manuscript known as the *Lexica Segueriana* (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca. I. Lexica Segueriana*, Berlin 1814, 450), the architect is defined as τὸν τῶν

οἰκοδομημάτων εἶναι ἐπιστάτην καὶ κυρίως τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν τεκτόνων ὃς καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος ἐπινοεῖ “the one who is the supervisor of the construction works and, with full authority, the head of builders, the one who also devises the disposition of buildings”. Therefore, architects are designers and supervisors rather than constructors: on these sources, see N. Schibille, *The Profession of the Architect in Late Antique Byzantium*, Byzantium 79 (2009) 360–379. Only a handful of papyri mention this profession in Roman Egypt. If we leave aside the dossier of the architects at Mons Claudianus — who, besides designing and executing engineering works, were also involved in the exploitation of the quarries (see J. Bingen’s introduction to O.Claud. I 15–47) —, architects in Roman and Byzantine papyri appear in two contexts. Most often, they draw up and/or approve estimates for repairing buildings: P.Oxy. XII 1450 (249/250) is a quotation for repairing a public building, addressed to the city council of Oxyrhynchus possibly by an architect; SPP X 259 (Arsinoite, 6th century) is a list of expenses for repairing an underground room or foundations, estimated by a priest and an architect; P.Köln IV 197 (Cynopolis, 5th/6th century) is a document, possibly a list of expenses, related to work in a public bath in which an architect and a chief builder are involved. In a similar capacity, an architect is mentioned in CPR XXIII 32 (Heracleopolis, 450), which is a report about the refurbishment of public buildings. A major part of the architects’ job is to plan construction works and estimate their cost. Architects are also summoned in court as experts in building-related matters: the report of a trial in P.Tebt. II 286 (Tebtunis, 2nd century) shows that a declaration by an architect is presented as evidence for someone’s ownership of a house; and in the proceedings P.Abinn. 63 (Arsinoite, mid-4th century), an architect, upon inspection, must determine the appropriate rent for a cottage. The role of the architects as the authority deciding the rent of a building is also illustrated by *Novel 7.3.2* (dated 535, ed. R. Schoell, W. Kroll, *Corpus iuris civilis. Volumen tertium*, Berlin 1949, 56), which shows that architects determine the rent to be paid to churches leasing property under emphyteusis. Architects are also mentioned in the topographical census P.Berl.Bork. 51 and 153 (Panopolis, early 4th century), the letter P.Prag. II 195.10–11 (unknown provenance, 5th century), and the lease P.HermitageCopt. 1.1 (Hermopolis, 8th century), but these documents do not give any hint about their role. It remains unclear whether architects are usually, exclusively even, commissioned by public authorities. As pointed out by C. Saliou, *Le traité d’urbanisme de Julien d’Ascalon. Droit et architecture en Palestine au VI^e siècle*, Paris 1996, 86–87, local magistrates and officials can benefit from an architect’s technical assistance and the *Code of Justinian* XII 19.12.1 (constitution by Anastasius dated 517) suggests that some cities might have had architects with jurisdictional power. According to C. Freu, *La construction édititaire civile dans les capitales et les cités de l’Égypte tardive (IV^e–VII^e siècles) : acteurs et financements*, in: B. Girotti, C. R. Raschle (ed.), *Città e capitali nella tarda antichità*, Milan 2020, 236–237, this can be confirmed by CPR XXIII 32.6, which presumably mentions the “architect of this city” (ἀρχιτέκτονα τῆς αὐτῆς πό[λεως]). Finally, it should be noted that, in P.HermitageCopt. 1, part of a house is leased to ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΥΘΕ ΝΗΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΦΟΙ]ΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΑΡΧ(Ι)ΤΕΚΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΜ ΕΦΜΟΥΝ “Zacharias the son of the blessed Phoibammon, the architect, the man from Shmoun”.

According to the *Code of Justinian* X 66.1 (Constantine, 337), architects trained their sons in the profession and *Novel* 7.3.2 specifies that there was not necessarily more than one architect in a city. Therefore, it is not inconceivable that Phoibammon in this list and Zacharias in the Hermitage text are related, but of course Phoibammon is a common name and caution is advised.

31 Ὀφίου. The variant Ὀφιος (of the name Ὀφισ, TM Nam 23817) is attested only once, in the Hermopolite contract P.Flor. I 13.21 and 32 (6th/7th century).

31 καλα(φάτου). The first letter is either a beta or a kappa but the most likely occupation that would fit is καλα(φάτου). On the different caulking methods, see L. Basch, *Note sur le calfatage : la chose et le mot*, *Archaeonautica* 6 (1986) 187–198; on the words used in referring to caulking, including καλαφάτης, see L. Basch, *Le calfatage. L'origine du mot et son aire d'extension*, in: P. Pomey (ed.), *La batellerie égyptienne. Archéologie, histoire, ethnographie*, Alexandria 2015, 227–234. The Greek papyri that mention caulkers are listed in K. Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entwicklung und zu ihren Bedingungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf der Grundlage griechischer Inschriften und Papyri*, Rahden 2008, 561–563. To those can be added P.Oxy. LV 3804.258 (566) τοῖς τέκτοσι καλαφατίζουσιν τὸ φιλοκαλούμε(νον) κατῶτιν “to the carpenters caulking the tender which is being renovated” and ll. 261–262 τῶν τεκτόν(ων) | καλαφατιζομέ(νων) “the carpenters caulking”. Caulkers are also found in Coptic papyri, namely P.Bal. 312.17, P.Mon.Apollo 32.1 (according to S. J. Clackson, the unpublished P.Camb. UL Michaelides 1036 also mentions caulkers), P.Sarga 377.3, and P.Yale Copt. 1.9.2.

32 Ματοί. This name (TM Nam 10551), which means “soldier”, is well attested in the Hermopolite nome, in Aphrodite and in the Theban area.

32 νυκ(οστράτηγος). This is the most likely resolution of the abbreviation, for νυκτοφύλαξ is no longer attested in late antique papyri: only CPR XXIII 33.12 (Hermopolis, 550) refers to νυκτοφυλακία but the nightwatchman himself is called νυκτοστράτηγος in l. 3. From the 4th century onwards, nightwatchmen operate in cities, under the authority of the *riparios*; their job was not limited to the night-watch but extend to police duties such as the search and arrest of wanted people and the pursuit of thieves and those who committed acts of violence. On nightwatchmen in late antique Egypt, see J. Gascou in P.Sorb. II 69 pp. 61–62, who lists Hermopolite nightwatchmen; D. Hennig, *Nyktophylakes, Nyktostrategen und die παραφυλακή τῆς πόλεως*, *Chiron* 32 (2002) 281–296; P. Sängler, *Das Sicherheitswesen im römischen Ägypten nach den Papyri*, in: M. Reuter, R. Schiavone (eds), *Gefährliches Pflaster. Kriminalität im römischen Reich*, Mainz am Rhein 2011, 241–253; M. Appl, *Anazetesis und parastasis anhand der Dokumentation zu den Nyktostrategen*, in: *PapCongr.* XXVI 49–54.

33 διὰ τ(οῦ) νοσοκ(ομείου). In the Hermopolite area, there are several known hospitals, though it is not possible to identify the one mentioned in this line (see the list provided by J. Gascou in P.Sorb. II 69 pp. 78–79). Based on these attestations, and supposing a population of 40,000 in Hermopolis, P. van Minnen, *Medical Care in Late Antiquity*, in: P. J. van der Eijk, H. F. J. Horstmanshoff, P. H. Schrijvers (eds), *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context. Papers Read at the Congress Held at Leiden*

University, 13–15 April 1992, Amsterdam 1995, 153–169, estimated that there would have been at least one hospital for every 5,000 inhabitants; he also emphasised the fact that hospitals in late antique Egypt, and especially those in Hermopolis, were apparently independent of ecclesiastical institutions. On late antique Egyptian hospitals, also see A. Marcone, I. Andorlini, *Salute, malattia e «prassi ospedaliera» nell’Egitto tardoantico*, in: R. Marino, C. Molè, A. Pinzone (eds), con la collaborazione di M. Cassia, *Poveri ammalati e ammalati poveri. Dinamiche socio-economiche, trasformazioni culturali e misure assistenziali nell’Occidente romano in età tardoantica. Atti del Convegno di Studi Palermo, 13–15 ottobre 2005*, Catania 2006, 15–31.

34 Μάρκου. Although the last letter resembles sigma, a genitive is expected here: the curved horizontal stroke is thus not part of a sigma but an upsilon shaped in a similar fashion as in ll. 30 and 39 for instance.

34 καθεδρα(ρίου). No such profession or title is attested in Egyptian papyri. However, *LBG s.v. καθεδράριος* records that this word is used in John Moschus, *Spiritual Meadow. Supplementary Tales* 8 (ed. T. Nissen, *Unbekannte Erzählungen aus dem Pratum spirituale*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 38 [1938] 362), in reference to a “Vorsitzender, Richter”. This text mentions τὸν καθεδράριον τοῦ χωρίου τὸν καὶ ἀμυρᾶν λεγόμενον “the *kathedrarios* of the district, who is also called *amir*”. Even though this account relates to 6th- or early 7th-century Palestine, it seems likely that the *kathedrarios* in the Rylands list is likewise a title referring to a local official.

35 Σαλίου. Although what is read as iota could be the latter part of lambda, the sequence -λι- is undeniably written in an identical manner in Pkylios (l. 70), which leaves no doubt as to the identification of the name Salias (TM Nam 11907), although it is so far attested in the Arsinoite, Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes.

36 Μόνιου. There are only three late attestations of this name (TM Nam 10645), all Hermopolite.

36 μειζ(στέρου). The abbreviation should be expanded as μειζ(στέρου) rather than μειζ(ονος) because the term μειζων, which refers to a village official, is not attested in the Hermopolite nome from the 5th century onwards. The *meizoteroi* operate at the highest level of the estate administration, under the supervision of landlords or institutions; they belong to the local elite and mostly reside in nome capitals, though they are, among other things, responsible for the supervision of agricultural districts: see L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden*, Wiesbaden 2017, 67 and 88–101.

37 Μεγαλο. Μεγαλώ is a female name (TM Nam 44867) attested only in P.Oxy. LXXXII 5341.3 (575).

37 ἐλ(ευ)θ(έρας). After a female name, this is the only plausible resolution (the participle ἐλευθερούμενος is not attested after the 4th century). Although the term primarily refers to a freed woman, it is also commonly used as a designation for a married woman, for instance in P.Sorb. II 69 (see J. Gascoû’s remarks p. 52) or in the marriage contract P.Lond. V 1711.66–68 (Antinoopolis, 566–573).

37 Συμε(ῶνος). There are two names that could fit here, Συμεῶν and Συμεόνιος, although both are recorded in TM Nam 39497 as variants of the former. Given that

Συμεώνιος is always written in full, or at least with the iota, the abbreviation here can be confidently expanded Συμε(ῶνος).

39 Πανηπου. W. E. Crum read σανεπ instead, which would mean “dealer in wine” (the name Σανεπ in thus recorded as TM Nam 31167). However, the image shows that the first letter, which is formed of two bows, is a pi (similar to -παν- in l. 47): the name thus means “the one relating to wine”. Furthermore, there is a small dot above the second pi, standing for omicron, and a curved descending stroke characteristic of an epsilon ending a word (see ll. 30 and 34 for instance).

41 Μηνασίου. This is the first Hermopolite occurrence of the name (TM Nam 22498), otherwise attested three times in Edfu.

41 Κόμε(τος). This name (TM Nam 9947) is seldom attested in the Hermopolite nome (namely in P.Bal. 299.5, P.Heid. XI 469.27, P.Ryl.Copt. 177.3, 325.2, and P.Sorb. II 69.21.59) and is more commonly found further south (Theban area, Edfu, Aswan).

42 νοτ(αρίου). A *notarios* is a hired secretary or stenographer: see P.Sorb. II 69.37C3 n. and the references cited there.

44 Θαυμα(α). In second position, a parent’s name is expected. The possible male names are Thaumastus (TM Nam 13978), which is not attested after the 3rd century, and Thumasios (TM Nam 21859), whose sole attestation in a Byzantine document is dubious: in P.Laur. inv. III/499.6 (ed. R. Pintaudi, *Materiali per una riflessione zu indirizzi, prescritti e protocolli. Note di lettura e nuove edizioni*, *Analecta papyrologica* 23–24 [2011–2012] 165–168, Oxyrhynchus, early 6th century), if read correctly, the word .αυμασίου could refer to a title instead of a name. From the 5th century onwards, the most frequently attested names starting in Thuma-, including in the Hermopolite nome, are female. Thaumaste (TM Nam 5427) is found in BGU XVII 2728.18 (Hermopolite nome, 5th/6th century), P.Cair.Masp. III 67340.12, 28, 42, 63, 75 (Antinoe, before 566–573), P.Lond. IV 1419.692, 704, 902 (Aphrodite, 716/717), P.Michael. 52.F2, G12 (Aphrodite, 631/632), and P.Sorb. II 69.20.48, 100A23, 88A20 (Hermopolis, mid-6th century); Thaumasia (TM Nam 23979) in P.Cair.Masp. I 67114.3 (Aphrodite, 511–527), P.Cair.Masp. II 67143.20 (Aphrodite, 538–547), P.Cair.Masp. III 67288.5 (Aphrodite, 6th century), and P.Lond. V 1898.5 (Hermopolis, 594/595). It is therefore likely that we are dealing with a female name, either Thaumaste or Thaumasia (J. Gascou does not expand the abbreviation Θαυμ() in P.Sorb. II 69.66B34, and his index identifies this person as a son or daughter of Menas son of Taurinos: though it cannot be determined which name is intended, it is probably female too). Although referring to one’s mother is not the most common means of identification in this list, there is one certain case in l. 23.

47 Ἄπανοκίου. This name occurs in P.Sorb. II 69.32A15, 102D6 and 102D10 and is introduced as Ἄπα Νόκιος in the index; it is also found in BL inv. Or. 6048 (= P.Lond.Copt. I 1077 descr.). The variants Ἄπα Νοκίς and Ἄπα Νοχίς, both referring to the same individual, are found in P.Lond.Herm. 2vo18, 8ro21, 15ro9, 17vo2, 19vo23 (Hermopolis, 546/547) and the name is recorded as Νόκις in the onomastic section (P.Lond.Herm. p. 60). The same variant ἄπα Νόκις is also found in CPR XIX 10.6 (Hermopolite nome, 522). Finally, the Greek verso of P.Ryl.Copt. 131 (Hermopolite

10ro16, 13vo5, 14vo30, 17ro19 (Hermopolite nome, mid-6th century); λαοζόος in SB X 10258.12 (unknown provenance, 4th century), P.Oxy. LIX 4003.18 (4th/5th century), PSI VIII 955.17 (Oxyrhynchus, 6th century), P.Oxy. XVI 2041.1 (6th/7th century), and presumably P.Oxy. XLVI 3308.5 (373). However, this does not imply that the contracted forms disappear at that time: λαζός is attested in P.Oxy. LXIV 4441.3.24–25, 3.27 (315/316), P.Ant. I 46.41 (Antinoite nome, 337–348), P.Lond.Herm. 11vo19; λαοζός is found in P.Mil. II 56.7 (Oxyrhynchus, 5th century), P.Rain.Cent. 136.2 (unknown provenance, 6th century); and λαυζός occurs in three documents written by the same person, namely P.Prag. III 232.3, 235.2, and SB XXII 15742.3 (Arsinoite nome, 6th century). Therefore, the resolution with the open form τοῖς λαοζ(όις) in SB XII 10926.19 (unknown provenance, 6th century) is dubious, for the contracted form is still attested in the 6th century. In the Rylands list, however, if the genitive λαοζο(ῦ) was intended, the scribe would have written both the omicron and the upsilon in superscript (as in l. 39) or, which is more frequent, a regular omicron and the upsilon only in superscript (as e.g. in l. 49): the fact that in this line the omicron, without upsilon, is written in superscript, suggests that λαοζό(ου) was meant. Coptic borrowed the contracted form of the term: see Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter* (cited above, l. 49 n.), s.v. λαοζόος. For a list of attestations of the term in Greek papyri and inscriptions, see Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung* (cited above, l. 31 n.) 619–622; in Coptic documents, see Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter* (cited above, l. 49 n.), s.v. λαοζόος. Stone-cutters were trained craftsmen who fitted and shaped stones, with a focus on columns, capitals and architraves: see Freu, *La construction édilitaire* (cited above, l. 29 n.) 234. Besides the obvious practical aspect of their job, stone-cutters also provided quotes for future construction work, as evidenced in P.Oxy. XVI 2041.1, γνῶσις λίθ(ων) μετρηθ(έντων) ἐν τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Φιλοξένου δι(ὰ) Φιλέου λαοζόου “list of the stones measured in the construction of Saint Philoxenos by Phileas the stone-cutter”. Finally, P.Oxy. LXIV 4441.3.3–4 shows that the professional association τῶν ἐξῆς ταχθ[έντων] λαξολατόμων τε καὶ λαζῶν καὶ τεκτόνων καὶ ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἐκασ[της τέ]χνης πρεσβυτέρων “of the following listed *laxolatomoi* and stone-cutters and carpenters and others and the elders of each craft” are instructed by the *logistes* to inspect all the city buildings, to report back to him and to draw up a list of the places that require restoration (a similar declaration is found in col. 12).

51 γονιάτου, l. κονιάτου. A list of plasterers in inscriptions and papyri is found in Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung* (cited above, l. 31 n.) 600–601. Most plasterers appear in lists of payments, which provide little information about their occupation. P.Oxy. XX 2272.25 (dated 169), which is an account of repairs to a temple, records payments made to the [κονι]άτη ἐψοῦντι [γύψ]ον καὶ κόπτοντι καὶ σήθ[ο]ντι “plasterer refining chalk and pounding and sifting” and, in l. 34, to the [κ]ονιάταις ὑπ(ἐρ) κονιατικῶν πλ[α]σμάτ(ων) “plasterers for the plastered pieces”: these entries suggest that plasterers not only spread plaster on a surface but also prepared it. Similarly, the account P.Mich. XI 620.137 (Arsinoite nome, 240) mentions ἄλλοι ἐργ(άται) δ κόπτοντες κονίαν σὺν τῷ κονιάτῃ “4 other workers pounding chalk with the plasterer”.

53 παιδ(.). Given that both παῖς and παιδάριον are attested in late antique documents, including in the Hermopolite nome, the abbreviation is not expanded.

58 Πασκαλ[ί]ο(υ). This is the third occurrence of the name (TM Nam 11276), the second one in the Hermopolite nome.

59 αὔ . . . αὐρητ(.). No suitable name or profession matching the traces could be found.

60 Ατησε. This name, which is a *hapax*, has no obvious meaning.

60 συμ(μά)χ(ου). A *symmachos* is an entrusted official or estate representative, whose tasks range from transport, including letter carrier, to security and surveillance: see A. Jördens, *Die ägyptischen Symmachoi*, ZPE 66 (1986) 105–118; K. Maurer, S. Tost, *Polizeiliche Erzwingungs- und Verwaltungsstäbe im spätantiken Ägypten*, in: *PapCongr.* XXVII 1838–1840.

61 Ἀριστοφά(νους). At this time, the name Aristophanes (TM Nam 2267) is almost exclusively attested in the Theban area (there are numerous occurrences, most of them referring to the well-known scribe Aristophanes son of Ioannes), but it is also found in three Hermopolite documents, namely BGU XIX 2838.1, P.Kramer 15.19, and SB Kopt. III 1403.15.

61 (ὕπερ) αὐτ(οῦ). In l. 60, the contribution of Petros Ateqe is paid through an intermediary. This line and the next apparently record that two other men also paid for him.

62 ὄψα(ρίτου). The superscript alpha indicates an abbreviation: identification with the name οψα (TM Nam 31013) found in O.Medin.HabuCopt. 14.1 must be disregarded. As suggested by J. Diethart, *Bemerkungen zu Papyri IV. 45. Drei Berufsbezeichnungen für „Fischer“*, Tyche 6 (1991) 234, ὄψαριδᾶς in P.Oxy. XVI 2058.143 (6th century) and ὄψαρίτης in SB XXII 15298.3, 5, 7 and 8 (unknown provenance, 7th century) refer to a “fisherman”. Based on the names Pkylios and Banos, SB XXII 15298 probably comes from the Hermopolite nome, which is an argument for expanding the abbreviation in the Rylands list with ὄψα(ρίτου).

66 (ὕπερ) πλακ(.). As in ll. 61–62, the preposition ὑπέρ probably indicates that this taxpayer pays for someone else. The abbreviation πλακ^ς stands for a noun in the plural, which rules out a personal name such as Plakidios. It could refer to πλακουντᾶς or πλακουτνάριος “pastry cook” (on this trade, see Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung* [cited above, l. 31 n.] 717–718). Alternatively, in Byzantine papyri, two occupation names deriving from πλάξ “stone plates” are also attested. First, P.Mert. II 97.2 and 19 (Arsinoite nome, 6th century?) mentions a πλακοπρίστης, which the editor translates by “sawyer-mason” (hence Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung* [cited above, l. 31 n.] 717: “Säger-Steinmetz”). Second, P.Sorb. II 69.89D5 records a πλακιστής, which J. Gascou (p. 244) describes as “un paveur et incrustateur de pierres décoratives (marbre)” (hence the translations in LBG “Pflasterer?” and by Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung* 717 “Inkrustateur”). Whichever trade is intended here, a similar entry is found in P.Ant. III 206.16 (7th century), an account that records payments made through a handful of intermediaries on behalf of various people, including one (ὕπερ) πλακ() Ἐρμοῦ πόλ(εως) “for the *plak*() of Hermopolis”.

67 ἔξπε(λλεντοῦ). As pointed out by B. Kramer and D. Hagedorn in P.Hamb. III 230.5 n. (see also J. Gascou, *Comptabilités fiscales hermopolites du début du 7^e siècle*, Tyche 1 [1986] 106; C. Zuckerman in P.Aphrod.Reg. pp. 136–138), this does not refer

to the high office of ἐξπελλευτής (*expulsor* or *compulsor*), who was a “specialist debt-collecting agent of the Praetorian Prefecture who was sent out to investigate non-collection on the part of *canonicarii* and others charged with the gathering of taxes at a local level” (D. J. D. Miller, P. Sarris, *The Novels of Justinian. A Complete Annotated English Translation*, Cambridge 2018, 848), an office abolished by Justinian according to *Novel* 128.6 (dated 546). They are local tax-collecting agents working for the city: *expelleutai* of Antaiopolis are known in P.Cair.Masp. I 67105.5–6, 27, P.Flor. III 291.6, P.Hamb. III 230.5, and an *expelleutes* of Hermopolis is found in P.Lond. III 1038.1, 4, 6, 9.

68 μαζαπο(.). The first letter could also be a rho, but no such name is attested; a reading ιωζ(.) is unlikely, given that elsewhere Ioannes is written in plain Greek, without hori. This could be a nickname, unless μαζ- (prenominal form of μοϋζ, the meaning of which can be “pay”) is intended, possibly followed by ἀπό (in which case the two consecutive horis would remain puzzling) or by the preposition ζα.

69 τρα(πεζίτου). In the Byzantine Hermopolite nome, both public and private banks are attested: see R. Bogaert, *La banque en Égypte byzantine*, ZPE 116 (1997) 108.

70 Ἡρακλ(.). Several names starting with Herakl- are attested in 7th and 8th-century Hermopolite nome, namely Heraklammon (TM Nam 9432), Herakleides (TM Nam 4550), and Herakleios (TM Nam 4568).

71 σιβε(.). Although the second letter is almost completely lost, traces of a vertical stroke stretching below the baseline can be made out and a diaeresis is distinctly visible (the diaeresis is similarly shaped in l. 55), thus making the reading σιβε(.) likely. This could be an unattested abbreviation of the name Sibella (TM Nam 5753) or an unattested profession related to σεβένιον “palm-fibre”, which is sometimes spelled with iota. But both hypotheses are problematic.

72 χουχιρ. *Hapax* (this occurrence is already recorded in TM Nam 30880).

73 Καδ. *Hapax*. Could this be an alternative rendering of the name Καχ (TM Nam 35518), found in CPR IX 51.11 (Hermopolis, mid-7th century)?

74 κατο. This could be a nickname or a toponym, possibly connected to either κατο “boat” or κάτω, but this would make little sense. An alternative reading καγο seems even less meaningful.

76 Κουλλα(.). Admittedly, the last letter could be upsilon, but a man named ἄπα Ἰουλί(ο) Κουλλα is mentioned in SPP X 74 vo2.10 (Arsinoite nome, 7th/8th century), based on which the name Koullas has been recorded as TM Nam 41877.

77 π(.). This faded pi in *ekthesis* may not belong to our text. If it does, it is likely to be a checking mark, similar to ζ(.) in ll. 78–79 and 81.

77 ελ.(.). The superscript character could be a theta, which would stand for ἐλ(ε)υθ(έρας) as in ll. 37 and 43. But in first position, we would expect a personal name, although none is obvious.

77 φο.λ[.]. The character read as lambda could be chi, but either way no personal name or occupation fitting the traces could be found.

78–79, 81 ζ(.) This is a checking mark, usually expanded as ζ(ήτει) or ζ(ητητέον). For lack of a decisive parallel, the abbreviation is left unresolved.

78 Κουι λ.τ[.]. This could be another nickname made up of κογι “small”. One Κουλιτρα is mentioned in P.Sorb. II 69.102D6 and 102D10, but the letter following

lambda is not iota. Alternatively, the latter part could refer to a profession, possibly λα(ο)τόμος “stone-cutter”, which is attested in 6th- and 7th-century documents: see Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung* (cited above, l. 31 n.) 623–626.

79 διὰ Χ . . . [. After the preposition διὰ, which indicates a payment made through an intermediary, a personal name is expected. However, the following letters seem to be χηπ, which do not match any attested name.

82 κτ(ήσεως). In P.Sorb. II 69, this word refers to (originally large) estates owned by and transmitted to members of the upper class: see J. Gascou’s discussion, pp. 38–39.

82 Σαλουστί(ου), l. Σαλλουστίου. After the 4th century, the name Salloustios (TM Nam 11911) is only attested in P.Lond. IV 1426.6 (Aphrodito, early 8th century) and P.Sorb. II 69.105D1, 117D1, 121A7.

83 υ . εστι . . . [. The character after upsilon is made of a descender and a short oblique stroke crossing that stem, which could be interpreted as an abbreviation stroke for υί(οῦ) or υί(ῶν) as in l. 58. The following name would thus start with εστι, but none of the like is attested after the 4th century. Tau or psi are, from a palaeographical perspective, less satisfactory, even though it would be tempting to recognise the name Ὑψιστος (TM Nam 12708), which is found in the Hermopolite nome exclusively, namely in P.Gascou 21.3 (which has Ὑψιστίου), BGU XVII 2685.6, P.Sorb. II 69.41B5, 47A3, 51.2, 53C16, and 94B15, P.Berol. inv. 16048, 16050 and 16055 (ed. G. Poethke, S. Prignitz, V. Vaelske, *Neuedition der vier Bodenpachtverträge aus Hermupolis Magna. SB VI 9085*, APF 50 [2004] 172–182), and BL inv. Or. 6048 (= P.Lond.Copt. I 1077 descr.).

84 Καλαα. This name is attested in P.Sorb. II 69.46B4 only.

85 ψαχαμ()δ(.). The letter after chi could be omega instead of alpha. No profession starting in ψαχ- is known in papyri (unless the Coptic ψα “the dealer” should be identified, but it is unlikely), and the name Ψαχος (TM Nam 12980) is extremely rare in the Hermopolite nome, whereas Ψας (TM Nam 7500) is predominantly attested in that area. The last letter, in superscript, although it could resemble alpha or epsilon, is actually delta, similar to those in ll. 23, 25 and 53. Because the string mu-delta is not part of any Greek word, it is not only the end of the word that is abbreviated, just as αρ^χτεχ stands for ἀρχ(ι)τέκ(τονος) in l. 29 and κυμ^χ for συμ(μά)χ(ου) in l. 60. The sequence could thus be interpreted Ψα χαμ(α)δ(ιδασκάλου) “Psa, elementary schoolmaster”, a profession also attested in P.Sorb. II 69.58.37, 84E12, 93D3 and, according to J. Gascou, in BL inv. Or. 6048 (= P.Lond.Copt. I 1077 descr.) fol. 1.31, 3.13 and 30 (see J. Gascou’s discussion p. 63). But the possibility that it is yet another unattested name cannot be excluded.

86 Ὑπερχί(ου). This name (TM Nam 13331) is almost exclusively attested in the Hermopolite.

88 Κουι λο[. As in l. 78, this is probably a nickname starting in Koui-, though not the same name as in l. 78, where lambda is not followed by omicron.

90 λευκ(.). This is either a name or a profession. At the time, Leukadios (TM Nam 10135) would be the only plausible name, although it is almost exclusively attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome. It is thus more likely that the profession λευκαντής is intended here, a worker in textile specialised in bleaching. Up till now, this occupation is attested

in the 4th and 5th centuries only, in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, namely in O.Bodl. I 16.3 (Arsinoite nome, 342), P.Genova I 24.5 (unknown provenance, 4th century), P.Mert. II 95.1 (Arsinoite nome, 5th century), P.Oxy. LIV 3743.7–8 (318), P.Oxy. LIV 3452.6 (319), P.Oxy. LIX 3987.6 (502?), P.Oxy. LXVIII 4689.6–7 (442), P.Wash.Univ. I 37.4 (Oxyrhynchus, 5th century), and SB XIV 11588.16–17 (unknown provenance, late 4th century); on this trade, see H. C. Youtie, *P.Mich. Inv. 337: λευκαντής*, ZPE 22 (1976) 63–68.

91 Νωε. This is the first Hermopolite attestation of the name Noe (TM Nam 10807).

91 Γε(ωργίου). Although here the abbreviation γε() could also stand for γε(ωργού), the personal name Γε(ωργίου) is thus abbreviated in l. 67.

Appendix: notes on P.Ryl.Copt. 244 verso

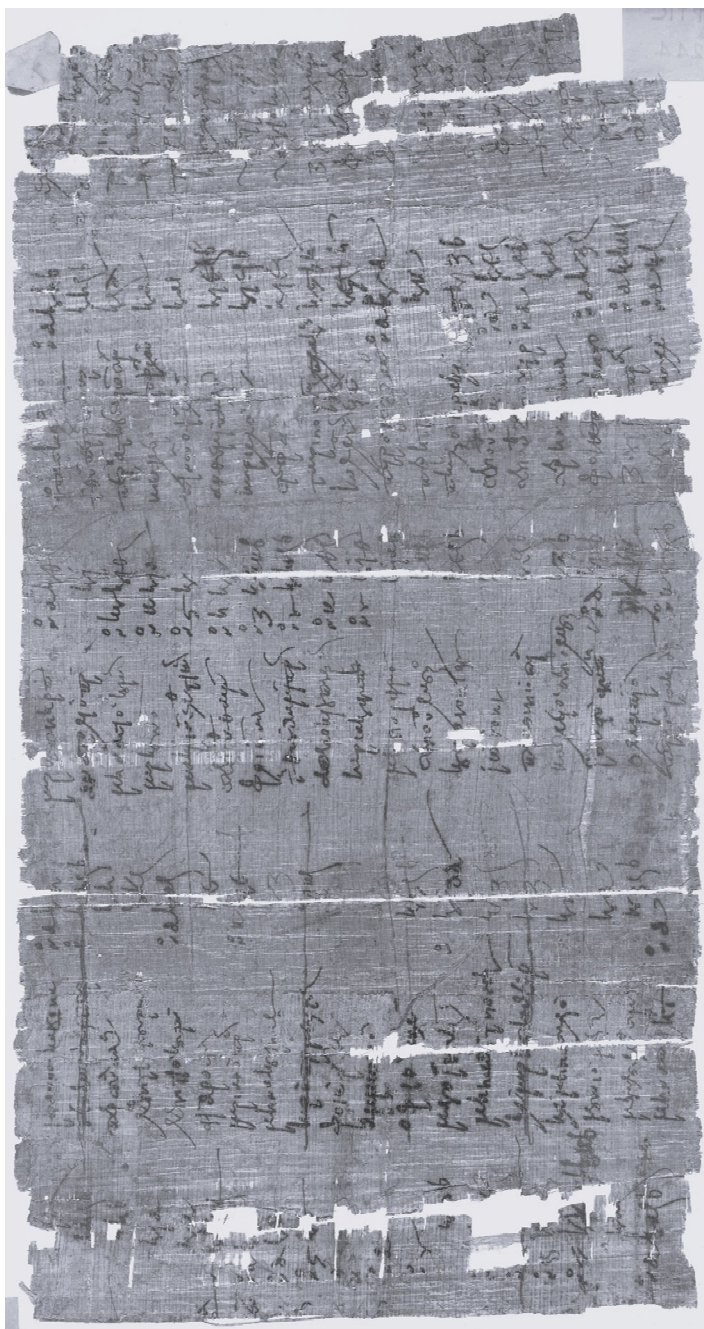
The Coptic text on the verso (which also runs parallel to the fibres because the papyrus was turned at 90°), P.Ryl.Copt. 244, is a list of cloths that has apparently nothing to do with the Greek list. As already mentioned by W. E. Crum, the entries of ll. 1–28 are followed, in the second column, by ει̅δ̅ α, which stands for ει̅δ̅(ος) α. However, the last lines record more than one item.

29 Based on the entry ω̅ο̅μ̅τ̅[̅], the amount in the second column can be reconstructed [ε̅ι̅δ̅(η) γ].

30 The amount is preserved and matches the entry κ̅ν̅α̅γ̅: ε̅ι̅δ̅(η) β.

31 The amount is preserved and matches the entry ω̅ο̅μ̅τ̅ε̅: ε̅ι̅δ̅(η) γ.

32 From the entry μ̅τ̅ς̅ν̅ο̅ο̅υ̅ς̅ε̅, though it is only partially visible on the image (because of a sticker on the frame), the amount can be edited: ε̅ι̅δ̅(η) ι̅β̅.



P.Ryl.Copt. 244, recto (© The University of Manchester)