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**DOCUMENTARY
FRAGMENTS FROM UPPER EGYPT
IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM**

THE PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS published in this article are housed in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.¹ They were formerly in the collection of the Reverend Colin Campbell, which consisted of papyri, ostraca, and other Egyptian antiquities, and were donated to the Museum in 1925.²

¹ We are grateful to Dr Sally-Anne COUPAR for enabling our study of this material and for giving us permission to publish it. Images of these fragments are online (with other pieces) at <<http://www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk/>>, search the archaeology collection for museum numbers 'D.1925.49' (1–2 here) and 'D.1925.45' (3–4).

² W. C. CRUM published several items in his *Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri* (Oxford 1921), when they were still in Campbell's possession. The collection consists of fragments of the *Book of the Dead*, a fair number of small papyrus fragments, mostly in Coptic, and ostraca: twenty-seven Hieratic (Andrea G. MCDOWELL, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow*, Oxford 1993), eleven Demotic (apparently all unpublished), ten Greek (only one published, now SB VI 9623; the others are currently being edited), and twenty-three Coptic (sixteen published in *O. CrumST*; one is being edited).

1. PROTOCOL (?)

GLAHM D 1925.49.05b(a)

13.6 x 8.5 cm

late 5th c.

After a large amount of blank space we have the beginnings of three lines, the first two starting with the abbreviation for Flavius. This format is attested in papyrus protocols of the fifth century (the hand does not contradict this date); on this class of documents, of which not many examples have been published, see J. Diethart, D. Feissel, & J. Gascoü, 'Les *protokolla* des papyrus byzantins du V^e au VII^e siècle. Édition, prosopographie, diplomatique', *Tyche* 9 (1994), pp. 9–37. If this is a protocol, it is unusual that the reference to the second Flavius is written in the second line, whereas in all others that line carries the title of the first Flavius.

The writing is along the fibres. On the back there seems to be a design similar to the saltire patterns we find in dockets of papyrus letters, but there is no writing on either side of it.

Φλ(αουῖου) . [

 Φλ(αουῖου) [

 . [

1, 2. φλς

1. The trace on the edge is an upright, as e.g. of *kappa*. If this text is a protocol, there is no obvious name to restore.

3. A large oblique stroke rising from left to right, as of a large *lambda*, is visible before the break.

2. LEASE OF LAND

GLAHM D 1925.49.02b

7 x 22.5 cm

21 September 508

The papyrus is complete only at the top and consists mostly of a long narrow slip, supplemented by two additional small fragments in lines 1–4 and

14–21 respectively. A loose fragment is attached to lines 15–16 but does not belong there. The writing runs along the fibres. The back was reused for a writing exercise in Coptic, published as *P. CrumST* 405 and republished as *P. Rain. Unterricht Kopt.* 131. The exercise continued on the front, with random letters and formulas written in the top margin and between the lines.

What remains are line beginnings of the upper part of a lease of agricultural land. The lessor is the church of Hermonthis, represented by two persons, a church steward (or deacon?) and a monk who is perhaps also church steward (see 4 n.). The lessee is a farmer. The details of the lease are irrecoverable. On the agricultural property of Egyptian churches and its common exploitation through leases, see Ewa Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècle*, Brussels 1972, pp. 34–56, especially p. 54, and G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten*, Munich 2002, pp. 171–179.

Greek papyri from or mentioning late antique Hermonthis in Upper Egypt (modern Armant), a city *ca.* 20 km south of Thebes and capital of the Hermonthite nome, are relatively scarce. The present document provides the earliest attestation of a church of this city in the papyri (see 3 n.). It is curious that a monk appears among the church's representatives in the contract. At the turn of the seventh century, the (monophysite) bishop of Hermonthis was the well-known abbot Abraham, who exercised his function from the monastery of St Phoibammon at Jeme. Could the (monophysite) episcopal church already have been closely associated with a monastery in the early sixth century? On the parallel co-existence of pro-Chalcedonian and monophysite bishops and clergy in late antique Egypt, see Ewa Wipszycka, 'The institutional church', [in:] R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 343–346. Wipszycka, however, holds that such an institutional division only began towards the last quarter of the sixth century, so that perhaps another hypothesis is required to explain the presence of the monk in the document.

A copy of a transcript made by B. P. Grenfell in May 1917 is kept with Crum's papers in the Griffith Institute, Oxford; this must have been the basis of the report of the consular date in *CSBE*² (see 1–2 n.).

Fragment 1

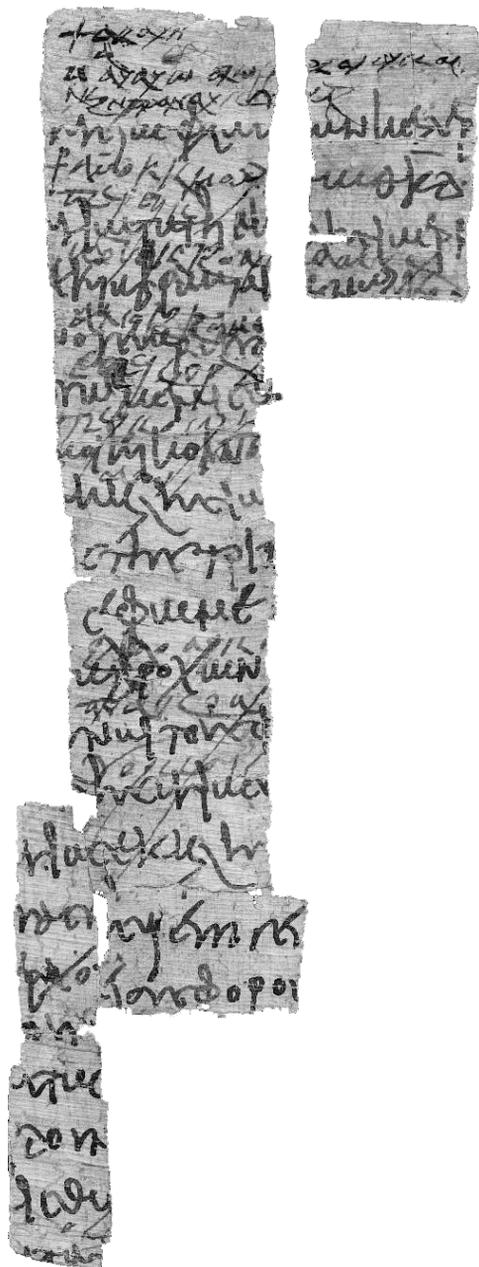
	[ύ]πατείας Φλαυ[ί]ων Κέλερ[ος καὶ Βηναντίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), (vac.) Θωθ κδ, [ἰνδ(ικτίονος) β.]
	[τῆ] ἀγιοτάτη ἐκ[κ]λησία Ἐρμ[ώνθεως διὰ]
4	[οἰ]κ(ονόμου)(?) καὶ Ἀβρααμί[ου] μονάζ(οντος) καὶ . []
	[..]νου γεωργ(οῦ) ἀπὸ [ὄμο-
	[λ]ογῶ μεμισθ[ώσθαι]
	[..]μοι καὶ κοινο. []
8	[..] ἐκκλησία []
	[..] c τῆς τρίτ[ης ἰνδικτίονος]
	[..] ἐφ' ᾧ με. []
	[..]. ἀβρόχων []
12	[δο]ῦναι τοὺς φ[όρους	τῆς
	[α]ῦτῆς ἀγίας ξ[κκλησίας]
	ἀγίας ἐκκλησί[ας]
	ταστ. []
16	αρχο. []
	[δ]οῦν[αι]
	[] αυτας []
	[] ι δοῦν[αι]
20	μισθω[ς]
	[..]. τα τ []

Fragment 2 (wrongly attached to ll. 15–16):

]. []
]. και ἐπιγε. []
]είους φόρου []

4.]β, μοναζ 5. γεωργ'

(Fr. 1.1–14) *In the consulship of Flavii Celer and Venantius, viri clarissimi, Thoth 24, indiction 2.*



Lease of land (GLAHM D 1925.49.02b)

To the most holy church of Hermonthis through ... steward(?) and Abraamius, monk and ..., from ..., farmer, from ... I acknowledge to have leased ... church ... until (?) the third indiction ..., on condition that I ... unwatered ... pay the rents ... of the same holy church ... of the holy church ...

Fragment 1

1–2. This is the earliest Egyptian reference to the consulship of Flavius Celer and Basilius Venantius; see *CSBE*², p. 203, where this papyrus is cited as *P. CrumST* 405. *P. Oxy.* xvi 1890, however, refers to the post-consulate of 507 and dates from more than two months later, viz. 27 November 508. Given the distance between Hermonthis and Oxyrhynchos, this overlap is difficult to explain; cf. *CSBE*², p. 92. On the consuls of 508, see further R. S. Bagnall *et alii*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta 1987, pp. 550–551.

2. It is possible that a geographical indication followed the date, e.g., ἐν Ἐρμώνθει (suggested by Grenfell but unparalleled in this period).

3. τῆ] ἀγιωτάτη ἐκ[κ]λησία Ἐρμ[ώνθ]εωσ. Most probably not Ἐρμ[οῦ] πόλεωσ, in view of the provenance of the rest of the collection (when ascertainable) and the way the church is described: this lapidary appellation of the church has no parallel among the numerous attestations of the cathedral church of Hermopolis in papyri of this date. On Hermonthis as a Christian centre, see S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* I, Wiesbaden 1984, pp. 152–182. Its principal church, which must have been the seat of the bishop, has been attested in two or three Greek documents. *BGU* II 669 (ca. 539–570; see *BL* x, p. 15, and *P. Gen.* iv 167 introd.) is a petition against a παῖς τῆς ἀγί(α)ς ἐκκλησί(α)ς τῆς αὐτῆς Ἐρμώνθ(εωσ) (ll. 7–8); this lay ‘servant’ of the church seems to be an agricultural worker, since he is accused of building a water-lifting device (ὄργανον) in a cistern (λάκκος) belonging to the petitioner’s land, but he may also be an administrator of the church; cf. Wipszycka, *Les resources*, p. 54, n. 2. *O. Bodl.* II 2487, l. 2 (ca. 619–629; see *P. Oxy.* lv 3797, l. 9 n.) from Hermonthis mentions τῆς [ἀγί]ας ἐκκλησί[α]ς in an uncertain context. *IGChrEg* 481 names a priest τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ἀ[λ]θηθινῆς, but its Hermonthite origin is doubtful. The church mentioned in these documents is probably identical to a once imposing basilica south of the temple of Montu, ‘several sections of which were still standing at the time of the Napoleonic expedition’, but little of which survives today; see P. Grossmann, in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* I, s.v. ‘Armant (Buildings)’. For a drawing of the building, cf. E. F. Jomard (ed.), *Description de l’Égypte*, Paris 1821, vol. I, pl. 97.

The will of bishop Abraham, *P. Lond.* I 77 (p. 231) = *M. Chr.* 319 (ca. 610; on the date, see M. Krause, ‘Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben’, *MDAIK* 25 [1969], p. 59), names a ‘church of Hermonthis’ a number of times: 46, ἐν ἀγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία; 80, πρεσβύτεροσ ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας Ἐρμώνθ(εωσ);

82, ἀρχιπρε(σβύτερος) (l. ἀρχι-) ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας Ἐρμώνθ(εως); a deacon also appears in line 85. This was apparently an alternative, monophysite episcopal church based in the monastery of St Phoibammon in Jeme; see above, introduction.

The καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία Παρθένος in an inscription from Hermonthis, *IGChrEg* 413, need not be the same as the episcopal church, despite the epithet καθολικῆς; cf. Ewa Wipszycka, 'Καθολικὴ et les autres épithètes qualifiant le nom ἐκκλησία', *JJurP* 24 (1994), pp. 191–212 = *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, Rome 1996, pp. 157–175. It is perhaps identifiable with the ἀγίας ἐκκλ(ησίας) θεοτόκης τ(ῆς) (?) Φ(ε)ρμων'θ' attested in a graffito from the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, *SB* IV 7490, l. 3 = *SEG* VIII 735 (was *epsilon* mistaken for *phi*?). For Coptic documents mentioning this church, see Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* I, pp. 168–169.

4. οἴ]κ(ονόμου) (?). The space and the abbreviation would also suit δια]κ(όνου), but this would imply that the church representative was described either as a deacon only or as a functionary such as an οἰκονόμος; yet there are no examples for either possibility. It is more likely that this person was referred to as 'ecclesiastical title' (presbyter or deacon) + οἰκονόμος.

καὶ [. The conjunction probably introduces a second clerical or functional title of Abraamius, e.g. οἴ]κονόμου; cf. *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67096, l. 7, 67111, ll. 6, 11, *P. Wash. Univ.* I 46.2–3, and on monastic οἰκονόμοι, see Ewa Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e–VIII^e siècles)* [= *JJurP Supplement Series* 11], Warsaw 2008, pp. 331–335. It is less likely that the conjunction introduces a third person, which would result in an unusually high number of intermediaries, especially as there does not seem to be sufficient space in the lacuna for both a third name and a title.

5. ..]νου γεωργ(οῦ). If *upsilon* is correctly read, ..]νου should be the end of a name, but the reading is obscured by the writing practice in the interlinear space. Grenfell read λι]γογεωργ(οῦ), a word not attested otherwise. If we do have a genitive, restore παρὰ the previous line.

9. Grenfell's tentative reading was '?εω]c', but the construction is not easy to parallel.

12. δο]ῦναι τοὺς φ[όρους. Perhaps ἀπο]||[δο]ῦναι, but the resulting collocation has not been attested in this period.

21. ..]γτα, α]ῦτά, οτ κ]ατά.

Fragment 2

3.]είους φόρου[c. E.g. ἐπετ]είους, 'yearly'; cf. *SB* x 10464, ll. 1–3 (?; 8th c.); further instances from the earlier Roman period. τελ]είους, 'complete', would be unparalleled with φόρος.

3. LEASE (?)

GLAHM D 1925.45.1c(g)

4.8 x 4 cm

6th c.

Parts of seven lines of a document incomplete on all sides, probably a lease of agricultural land (cf. 2). The writing is along the fibres and the back is blank.

] τοὺς περὶ Φμοιντ.[
]υ ἀρούρης τέταρτον [
].ακιν μέρουσ ἡμίσου[
 4]ου βοοστακίου ομ.[
 ἀ]πηλιώτου τῶν λην[
] ἑτέρου βοο[στακίου
]. ἄχρι τῆς [

... the ... around Phmoint[---] ... one-quarter of an arura ... half part ... ox-enclosure ... (? in the) east ... other ox-enclosure ... until ...

1. Φμοιντ.[. Apparently a place name, which seems to be new.
2. E.g. ἀμπέλο]υ.
4. βοοστακίου. Cf. 6. For the term, see G. Husson, *OIKIA: le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris 1983, pp. 60–61. It is only attested in documents from Upper Egypt, predominantly land leases.
5. λην[ῶν?

4. ACCOUNT OF MONEY

GLAHM D 1925.45.1c(d)

5 x 5.8 cm

6th c.

The beginnings of five lines from an account of money, incomplete at the top, right, and bottom. Written along the fibres. Back blank.

 ὑπὲρ α[
 καθ' ἐνὸς νομ[ισμα(-)
 ὁμοῦ κεράτι(α) [
 (vac.)
 4 παλαιοχαρακ(τ) .[
 παρ(ὰ) κερ[άτι(α)

3. κερατϋ 4. παλαιοχαρακ' 5. παρ

4. παλαιοχαρακ(τ). This term refers to coinage of old currency; see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton 1944, p. 137. It is relatively uncommon, mostly found in documents from Upper Egypt: *P. Münch.* 1 15, l. 1 (Syene; 493), 16, l. 25 (Syene; late 5th c.; see *BL VIII*, p. 227), *SB XVI* 12786, l. 8 (Thebes; 502), *P. Lond.* v 1722, l. 31 (Syene; 530; see *BL VIII*, p. 192). *P. Ross. Georg.* III 9, l. 18 (= M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto: Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV*, Florence 1968, no. 77) is of unknown provenance and has been assigned to the late fourth century, but this seems rather early.

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