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## Greek Tax Receipts from Late-Byzantine Akoris

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] κερ(άτια) τέσσαρ(α) ἡμισυ, γί(νεται) (κερ.) δ (ἡμισυ). 'four and a half carat, total 4.5 car.'  
 In line 2 it is uncertain whether there is indeed an ink trace (a κεράτιο symbol?) between γί(νεται) and κζ.

Ostrakon # 13 (p. 365 + pl. 150) is transcribed and interpreted by J.J. as:

BKT μαρτύρων ε C	322 (of the martyrs = 606 of our era)	206
Γεωργιος γη ε C	George	43
Φιλοθεος θω ε C	Philotheos	809

and by way of commentary he adds that it remains hard to understand why the same number appears at the end of each line and that the meaning of the numbers which follow the names of George and Philotheos remains obscure. He operates here, as elsewhere in chapter V, on the notion that in Akoris, like in inscriptions from Syria and Palestine, in Greek numerals the single units precede the tens and/or the hundreds. While disregarding the error 'ε = 6' there is, of course, no reason to believe that the practice in Akoris ran counter to the usual practice found elsewhere in Egypt, i.e. that units are preceded by tens which are in turn preceded by hundreds, etc.<sup>6</sup>

A check of the plate convinces us that one can read the text as:

δ(ιὰ) Βίκτ(ορος) Μη(νᾶ) νο(μισματίου) (έκτον)	'Through Biktor son of Mena 1/6th sol.'
Ιαπίων Ένόχ νο(μισματίου) (έκτον)	'Japion son of Enoch 1/6th sol.'
Απο]λλῶς Κολ(λού)θ(ου) νο(μισματίου) (έκτον)	'Apollos son of Kollouthos 1/6th sol.'

For a reedition of the Akoris ostraka nos. 19 and 20 see the publication by F. Morelli and G. Schmelz in ZPE 139 (2002) 127-137.

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<sup>6</sup> For numerals given in an inverted order see the remarks by B. Kramer in *Archiv* 43 (1997) 332, note to A. 2; while there are a few cases of this practice in documents from Egypt, in general it is unusual in this country.

## GREEK TAX RECEIPTS FROM LATE-BYZANTINE AKORIS

Below we republish a small dossier of papyrus texts presented earlier by Jacques Jarry in *Akoris: Report of the excavations at Akoris in Middle-Egypt 1981-1992* (Kyoto 1995), Chapter V, pp. 330ff.; while we refrain from repeating the individual texts presented in the said chapter, we refer to them here as 'Akoris # ...'. Some other texts presented previously by Jarry have already been the subject of new editorial work, cf. N. Kruit - K.A. Worp in ZPE (forthcoming). To be sure, Akoris # 31 [ed.princ.: 'Coptic'; read, however, 'Σευῆρος στοιχ(εῖ)', cf. Kruit - Worp, loc.cit.] might belong to the same dossier as the following texts. All of them seem to date from the late VIIth or early VIIIth century A.D. and apparently contain tax receipts, as administrative officials such as a διαστολεύς (cf. below, Akoris # 32, note to lines 1,2) sign the receipts which refer to various taxes like ἀνδρισμός, δαπάνη and προσθήκη and concern payments of:

1/6th sol.: Akoris # 32.2,3, 42.4, 43<sup>v</sup>.2

1/3 sol.: Akoris ## 32.1, 37.1 (for δαπάνη?), 42.1,5, 43<sup>v</sup>.3, 43<sup>r</sup>.2,3, 44<sup>v</sup>.5 (for δαπάνη?), 44<sup>r</sup>.3 (for προσθήκη), 83a.2

2/3 sol.? : Akoris ## 50, 87

1 sol.: Akoris # 44<sup>r</sup>.6,8 (for ἀνδρισμός)

2 sol.: Akoris # 83d.

Akoris # 32 (p. 335, pl. 131; the two fragments should be re-positioned in order to present a continuous text in l. 2):

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1   [ελ( ) νομ(ισματίου) τρίτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ' μ(όνον). Κολ(λοῦ)θ(ος) δι(αστολεύς)  
στοιχ(εῖ). δ]μ(οίως) τ[ο(ῦ)]  
2   [αύτ(οῦ) ν]ομ(ισματίου) ἕκτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) σ' μ(όνον). Κολ(λοῦ)θ(ος) δι(αστολεύς) στοιχ(εῖ).  
ομ(οίως) το(ῦ) αύτ(οῦ)  
3   [ νομ(ισματίου) ἔκ]τον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) σ' μ(όνον).  
4   [ ] vacat

1 ελ( ): Presumably this is the same abbreviation as in Akoris # 43<sup>v</sup>.2, 44<sup>r</sup>.2,6,8, and 83.a.2, but we fail to understand what is meant precisely. ελ( ') may stand for some form of ἔλ(αβον) [cf. P.Prag. II 140.6,7], but one would not expect to see this preceded by a single letter/numeral, cf. below at Akoris # 44<sup>r</sup>, ll. 2 (θ ελ( )), 6 (α ελ( )), and 8 (ε ελ( )).

1.2 The same Κολλοθός διαστολεύς also occurs in Akoris # 43<sup>v</sup>.2,3, 44<sup>r</sup>.6, and 44<sup>r</sup>.3; for chronological reasons this man can not be identified with his namesake in the same office, occurring in BGU XII 2143.10 (V<sup>r</sup>). For the office of a διαστολεύς (also in Akoris # 42.1-5 ['Αγενη] and # 44<sup>r</sup>.7 ['Επίμαχος]), see J. Gascou in P.Sorb. II p. 61 n. 40.  
το(ῦ) αύτ(οῦ): probably one should understand this as 'ὑπὲρ τοῦ αύτοῦ', cf. the use of ὑπὲρ in Akoris # 43<sup>v</sup>.1 and 44<sup>r</sup>.1; the preposition is also omitted in Akoris # 43<sup>v</sup>.2, 44<sup>r</sup>.2, 44<sup>r</sup>.5,7 and 83a.1 (cf. also Akoris # 43<sup>v</sup>.3n.). What is meant by this remains unclear: does it refer to the tax payer, or to the tax? Compare Akoris # 44<sup>r</sup>.4-7, a receipt for a payment for ἀνδρισμόν by Elias son of Lionte, with Akoris 44<sup>r</sup>.7-9, a receipt for τοῦ αύτοῦ'. One may link 'τοῦ αύτοῦ' with 'ἀνδρισμόν' in line 5 (by implication this entails that no tax payer is referred to other than the one already mentioned earlier in this text in ll. 1 and 4), or with the tax payer mentioned in line 4, 'Ηλί{λι}ας Λιοντέ (implying that the unspecified tax he pays for is again ἀνδρισμός).

Akoris # 37 (p. 339, pl. 134; ed.princ.: 'Coptic', reading 'ONOMΑ ONOMΑ ON' = 'the beginning of a chant'). After turning the plate around so that the bottom line becomes the top line one may read:

1 δα]π(άνης) νομ(ισματίου) τρίτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ' μ(όνον). [ N.N. στοιχ(εῖ).

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- 1 For the restoration of δο[π](άνης), cf. below at # 44<sup>v</sup>.3; for the tax see T.M. Hickey - K.A. Worp in BASP 34 (1997) 79-109, esp. 101-102; N. Gonis in Tyche 14 (1999) 332, Korr.Tych. # 339 (on the Greek Louvre ostrakon E 6262 which was published in CRIPEL 18 [1996] 172).

Akoris # 42, main fragment (p. 340, pl. 135; *ed.princ.*: 'Coptic'!):

- 1 τ]ρίτον μ(όνον). Ἀγενη δι(αστολεὺς) στο[ιχ(εῖ) †.  
 2 ]μ(όνον) Ἀγενη δι(αστολεὺς) στοι[χεῖ) †.  
 3 (M. 2) 'Αγενη δι(αστολεὺς) στου(χεῖ) †.  
 4 [ ] ἔκτον μ(όνον) Ἀγενη δι(αστολεὺς) στου(χεῖ) †.  
 5 [ ] τρίτον μ(όνον). Ἀγενη δι(αστολεὺς) στοι[χεῖ) †.]  
 3,4 στοιχ(εῖ)

Akoris # 42, small fragment in upper left (to be turned around first!):

- 1 Ἀγενη] δι(αστολεὺς) στο(ιχεῖ) †.

- 1 For the personal name 'Αγενη found on two Greek ostraka from Akoris, see SB XX 14694-14695 and the commentary to I. 1 in the *ed.princ.* of SB XX 14694.

Akoris # 43<sup>v</sup> (p. 340, pl. 136; *ed.princ.*: 'Recto'):

- 1 †'Ηλί[ίας Λεοντε  
 2 ]ελ( ) νομ(ισμα)τ(ίου) ἔκτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) σ' μ(όνον). Κολ(λοῦ)θ(ος) δι(αστολεὺς)  
 στοιχ(εῖ).  
 3 νομ(ισμα)τ(ίου) τρί]τον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ' μ(όνον). Κολ(λοῦ)θ(ος) δι(αστολεὺς) στοιχ(εῖ).

- 1 Or restore Λιοντε? The same man occurs in Akoris ## 43<sup>v</sup>.1 (Λιοντε), 44<sup>v</sup>.2 (Λιοντε) and 44<sup>v</sup>.1 (Λεόντε) and 4 (Λιοντε); cf. also below at Akoris # 83c. Of course, one is dealing with Copticised forms of the Greek personal name Λεόντιος.  
 2 For ελ( ), cf. above at Akoris # 32.1n.  
 3 Restore at the start of this line: όμοι(ως) το(ῦ) αύ(τοῦ) [cf. # 43<sup>v</sup>.2] ? Line 1, however, creates the impression that nothing preceded the text preserved here, cf. # 43<sup>v</sup>.1. See also on Akoris # 32.1n.

Akoris # 43<sup>r</sup> (p. 340, pl. 136; *ed.princ.*: 'Verso, Coptic'):

- 1 †'Ηλίας Λιοντε δ(ιὰ) . . . . ίον (ὑπὲρ) [ . . .  
 2 νομ(ισμα)τ(ίου) τρίτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ' μ(όνον). Ἐπίμ[αχος στοιχ(εῖ). όμοι(ως) το(ῦ) αύτ(οῦ)  
 νομ(ισμα)τ(ίου)]  
 3 τρίτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ' μ(όνον). Ἐπίμ[αχος στοιχ(εῖ)].

1 Cf. at Akoris # 43<sup>v</sup>.1n.

2,3 Probably the same Epimachos occurs in 44<sup>v</sup>, lines 7 (διαστολεὺς) and 9 (πρεσβύτερος); we cannot tell which office is to be restored here.

Akoris # 44<sup>v</sup> (p. 340, pl. 136; *ed.princ.*: 'Recto, Coptic'):

- 1 Μ(ε)χ(εὶρ) κγ  
 2 †'Ηλί(ας) Λιοντε μέρο(νς)  
 3 δοπ(άνης) ἐβδόμης ινδ(ικτίωνος)

(3 or 4 lines washed out)

- 4 Λε[οντε] ] θελ( )  
 5 νομ(ισμα)τ(ίου) τρίτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ' μ(όνον).  
 6 Κ[ολ(λού)]θ(ος) [δι(αστολεὺς) στοιχεῖ.]
- 

Akoris # 44<sup>r</sup> (p. 340, pl. 136; *ed.princ.*: 'Verso, Coptic')

- 1 † Ἡλί(ας) Λεοντε (ὑπὲρ) προσθ(ήκης)  
 2 ἐβδόμης ινδ(ικτίωνος) θ ελ( ) νομ(ισμα)τ(ίου)  
 3 τρίτον, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ' μ(όνον). Κολ(λού)θ(ος) δι(αστολεὺς) στοιχ(εῖ).  
 4 † ἔχω Ἡλί {λι} ας Λιοντε  
 5 ἀννδ(ρισμοῦ) ἐβτόμης ινδ(ικτίωνος)  
 6 α ελ( ) νομ(ισμά)τ(ίου) ἔν, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) α μ(όνον).  
 7 Ἐπίμ(α)χ(ος) δι(αστολεὺς) στοιχ(εῖ). ὄμ(οίως) το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ)  
 8 ε ελ( ) νομ(ισμά)τ(ίου) ἔν, γί(ν.) νο(μ.) α μ(όνον).  
 9 Ἐπίμ(α)χ(ος) πρε(σβύτερος) στοιχ(εῖ).

5 ἀνδ(ρισμοῦ) ἐβδόμης

- 1 For the man's patronymic, cf. above, on Akoris # 43<sup>r</sup>.1n. For other Greek receipts for προσθήκη cf. O.Petr. 464, 465 and O.Ashm. 103 (+ BL VIII 534-535); see also the Coptic receipts O.Crum 425, O.Medin.Habu 326 + BIFAO 79 (1979) 84-85, O.Petr. 467 + BIFAO 79 (1979) 86.  
 2, 6, 8 For 'θ/α/ε ελ( )', cf. above Akoris # 32.1n.  
 4 For ἔχω, cf. below on Akoris # 50. As in ll. 1-3 the receipt is signed by the diastoleus Kollouthos (cf. above on Akoris # 32, note to lines 1, 2) while Elias son of Leontios is the tax payer, one must assume that in l. 4 ἔχω has been written for ἔδωκε. This usage is not easily paralleled; the use of ἔχω τῷ δεῖν = χρεωστῶ τῷ δεῖν in SPP III 119, 121-237 is not identical, of course, because the meaning of the verb χρεωστέω (= 'to owe') is not identical to that of δίδωμι (= 'to give').  
 5 For a list of receipts for ἀνδρισμός = 'poll-tax', see N. Gonis in ZPE 131 (2000) 150-153.  
 7,9 We tend to believe that in fact we are dealing in these lines with one and the same Ἐπίμαχος (cf. also Akoris # 43<sup>r</sup>.2,3), but we fail to understand why he uses two different titles (line 7: διαστολεὺς; line 9: πρεσβύτερος).

Perhaps also related to the dossier are the following much more fragmentary texts:

Akoris # 50 (p. 344, pl. 138; *ed.princ.*: 'undecipherable because too short', but the plate needs to be turned around):

- 
- 1 δίμ[οιρο?] (cf. below on Akoris # 87)

Akoris # 52 (p. 344, pl. 138; *ed.princ.*: 'Coptic'):

- 1 † ἔχω Ὄννοφρ[ (cf. above on Akoris 44<sup>r</sup>.4n.)  
 2 το(ῦ) α(ὐ)τ(οῦ) .[
- 

Akoris # 83a (p. 357, pl. 145; *ed.princ.*: 'undecipherable because too short')

- 
- 1 στο]ιχ(εῖ) · ὄμ(οίως) το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ) ....[  
 2 ]ελ( ) νομ(ισμα)τ(ίου) τρί[τον
-

## Akoris # 83c

1 † Ἡλία[ς] (cf. above on Akoris # 43v.1)

## Akoris # 83d

1 ] δόο, γί(ν.) νό(μ.) β [

Akoris # 87 (p. 358, pl. 146; *ed.pr.*: 'Coptic', reading 'ΤΕΜΕΡΙΤ Δ (?)')

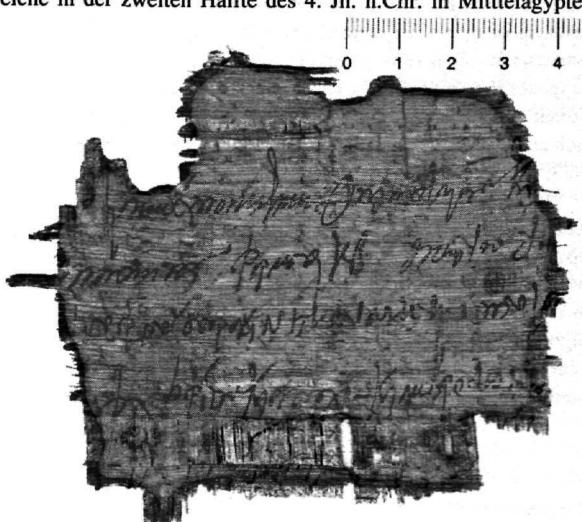
1 τεμερον (= δίμοιρον?) γί(ν.) νό(μ.) .... (cf. above, Akoris # 50)

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### EIN REEDER AUS OSTRAKINE

In dem oben S. 143-144 von B. E. Nielsen und K. A. Worp edierten P.NYU Inv. # 461 R° werden mehrere 'Οστρακινίται erwähnt, welche in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jh. n.Chr. in Mittelägypten offenbar mit dem Getreidetransport befaßt waren. Dies veranlaßt mich, hier ein Fragment der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung zu publizieren, welches aus ähnlicher Zeit stammt, anscheinend in einen verwandten Kontext gehört und zudem ebenfalls einen Einwohner von Ostrakine nennt. Die genaue Eigenart des Texts läßt sich nicht mehr erkennen, doch könnte es sich um eine Quit-tung handeln, in welcher der νούκληρος aus Ostrakine den in Z. 4 genannten Adressaten der Urkunde die Übernahme einer Schiffsladung bestätigt. Da alle Adressaten das Gentiliz Flavius haben, gehörten sie möglicherweise dem Militär an; vgl. J. G. Keenan, The Names of Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt, ZPE 11 (1973) 33-63, bes. 61-63.



P.Heid. inv. G 748

11 × 8,5 cm

17. April 370 n.Chr.

Herkunft unbekannt (nach Ausweis des Katalogs im Jahre 1914 von F. Bilabel in el-Hibeh ausgegraben).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | [νπ]α[τε]ία τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Ο[νάλεντος τῶν αἰωνίων] |
| 2 | Αὐγούστων τὸ γ' Φαρμοῦθι κβ. Αὐρήλιος Διο[...] [                         |
| 3 | [...] φίλου Όστρακινίτης ναύκληρος πλοίου [                              |
| 4 | Φλ(αυνίοις) Ἡφεστᾶ καὶ Εύστοχίῳ καὶ Ἀμβροσίῳ ... [                       |
| 5 | Spuren   |

---

4 lies 'Ηφαιστᾶ

- 1-2 Zu den Konsuln des Jahres 370 n.Chr. vgl. CLRE, S. 370 (bisherige Papyrusbelege: P.Oxy. XVII 2110 und P.Flor. I 43); P.Matr. 4, der wohl mit Hilfe des Postkonsulats von 369 datiert ist (BL X 118), sollte also – wie sich hier zeigt – vor dem 17. April 370 entstanden sein.
- 2 Am Ende vielleicht Διό[σ]κ[ορος] bzw. Διο[σ]κ[ουρίδης] oder Διο[γ]έ[νης]. Wenn die Reste am Beginn von Z. 3 zum Vatersnamen des Mannes gehören, was recht wahrscheinlich ist, dürfte er noch einen mit ο καὶ eingeführten Zweitnamen gehabt haben.
- 3 Die Spuren sprechen am ehesten für [Φ]ιλοφίλου, was als Name bisher nur inschriftlich bezeugt ist (z.B. IG XII 3 Suppl. 1030,1). Nach πλοίου vielleicht ιδίου bzw. ιδιωτικοῦ (vgl. P.Flor. I 75,8 [Herm.; 380 n.Chr.]; P.Vind. Sipp. 1,2 [Herm.; 338 n.Chr.]; SB XIV 11548,7 [Herm.; 343 n.Chr.]) oder δημοσίου (vgl. SB XVI 12340,4 [Herm.; 312 n.Chr.]; 12636,3 [4. Jh. n.Chr.]).

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