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A REATTRIBUTION OF *P. VAT. APHROD.* 13

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### A Reattribution of *P.Vat. Aphrod. 13*

In bringing together the complete dossier, in both Greek and Coptic, of the Apa Apollos monastery of the Holy Christ-Bearing Apostles of Pharou (Aphrodito), founded in A.D. 538 by Flavius Apollos father of the poet/lawyer Dioscorus of Aphrodito, one is obliged to make sure to sort out the various Apa Apollos monasteries known from late antique Egypt. In addition to the Aphrodito establishment, there are also (1) the famous monastery of St. Apollos of Bawit in the Hermopolite,<sup>1</sup> and (2) the Apa Apollos monastery of Titkois (Coptic ΤΚΟΟΣ, not to be confused with ΤΚΟΟΥ/ΤΚΩΟΥ, Antaeopolis), also in the southern Hermopolite.<sup>2</sup> Items in our papyrus documentation can be shifted round from one of these dossiers to another depending on careful readings of content, physical aspect, and even omissions.

R. Pintaudi in his 1980 edition of papyri in the Vatican Library assumed that all twenty-six items he published were from Aphrodito (*I papiri vaticani greci di Aphrodito* [Vatican City 1980], p. 5). However, this lot of papyri was purchased on the Cairo antiquities market by Jean Doresse and presented by him to the Vatican collection in 1961 (*ibid.*). Since dealers' stated provenances are known to be unreliable, it is not necessarily the case that, although some items in the lot are undisputably from Aphrodito and the Antaeopolite (explicitly named in nos. 1, 3, 8, 10, 18 and 25), all of them are. Bearing this in mind, it is worthwhile to re-scrutinize no. 13 (ed. p. 47), a document whose first line mentions a monastery of Apa Apollo.

First, its physical aspect and palaeography. Of tall, narrow format, the document is surely seventh century (or even later) rather than sixth (so ed.). The hand is close to that of the tax receipt no. 1 published in 1981 by J. Gascou (*loc. cit.* [n. 2] 222-225), described as "cursive verticale (comme il arrive fréquemment dans les documents fiscaux byzantins) manifestement très tardive" (*ibid.* p. 223). Gascou's document is from the Titkois Apa Apollos monastery. Although the Aphrodito Apa Apollos monastery still existed and is amply attested in numerous financial records of the early eighth century, when this sort of hand is known from Aphrodito, the Vatican papyrus fits much more easily into the context of its later counterpart from Titkois.

Second, the content. The Vatican papyrus is a list (*gnosis*) of *dianomai*, requisitioned contributions usually in kind, from the monastery of Apa Apollo. Indeed, the list is of craft and agricultural products characteristic of items in a monastery's economy (see Pintaudi's note to line 1): 44 goat's hair mats or cloths; 36 small sacks of goat's hair; 48 strainers made of

<sup>1</sup> S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit 2* (Wiesbaden 1984) 643-653; M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (Missoula 1979) 36-37; M. Krause, *Das Apa-Apollon-Kloster zu Bawit* (Diss. Leip[zig 1958, available only in typescript; one wishes for an updated publication). Here we are not concerned with the extensive art-historical bibliography on the site of Bawit.

<sup>2</sup> J. Gascou, *Anagennesis 1* (1981) 219-230; P. Sorb. inv. 2227 fol. 24<sup>↑</sup>, according to Gascou, *ibid.* p. 220; M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 68, 300-301; R-G. Coquin, *Orientalia* 46 (1977) 435-446, esp. 437-438.

goat's hair; 100 *litrai* of flax; 144 talents of boiled vegetables; 13 artabas of raisins; 2 thorn (bushes? bundles?) presumably for camel fodder; and 6 sacks of root vegetables.<sup>3</sup> Now the tax or exaction known as *διανομή* (-αι) is attested only very late: seventh and eighth centuries (in Preisigke's *WB* lemma, *SPP* III 180, mentioning a *πιτικός*, cannot be as early as the 6th c.); it is often levied on a monastery or its dependencies (so *P. Amh.* II 154, *SPP* VIII 665 and 685) and can also be converted into a money payment by *adaeratio/apargyrismos* (not the case here) (cf. *P. Lond.* IV 1413.7-8, 1414.5 etc.).<sup>4</sup> One notices that all of the editor's cited parallels in *P. Vat. Aphrod.* to the kinds of products being requisitioned are to the eighth-century documents in *P. Lond.* IV; cf. also the goatskins in *P. Lond.* IV 1416.41-50. Clearly we are in the post-conquest period, a time when the Aphrodito monastery is referred to in the fiscal records usually by its place-name of Pharoou (see *P. Lond.* IV, Index, p. 590) rather than "Apa Apollos". By physical form, hand, content and laconic style *P. Vat. Aphrod.* 13 should belong to the post-conquest portion of the Apa Apollos of Titkois dossier, not to the pre-conquest dossier of Apa Apollos of Aphrodito.

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<sup>3</sup> In line 9 I read *ε]άκκα πυθ(μένων)*. Cf. also Gascou 1981 (above n. 2) 220 n. 1. As a postscript to the Coptic dossier of the Aphrodito Apa Apollos monastery I should like to suggest that the Coptic contract *P. Herm. copt.* 3 (ed. Jernstedt 1959), between Enoch and N. of a monastery of the "holy Apa Apollo" and George the archimandrite of another monastery whose name is lost, may be, not from Bawit (so Jernstedt, p. 20) or Titkois (so Gascou 1981, p. 220 n. 1), but from Aphrodito. Though it deals with lands in the Hermopolite (ⲪⲈⲚⲈⲘⲗⲗ; Drew-Bear, *Hermopolite*, p. 236), such transactions are known on the part of Aphrodito residents; and an Enoch is known from *P. Cair. Masp.* II 67234.3, 6) from the monastery "called Apa Apollos". Only a photograph from the Hermitage (requested) will settle whether that document is eighth-century (Jernstedt) or sixth-century.

<sup>4</sup> For a distinction of this tax from other payments called *διανομή* see M. Kaimio's note on *CPR* 7.18,9.