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BM 1079, CPR IX 44, and the Chrysargyron

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BM 1079, CPR IX 44, and the Chrysargyron

As no. 1079 of his Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum (1905) Crum published a description of British Library Ms. Or. 6050 together with the two Coptic texts written on the side parallel to the fibres. The one page of Greek text written across the fibres of this Hermopolite document (present dimensions 22 x 27.5 cm) can now be read as below (Plate VI). The abbreviations ἀπαργυρ χρυσόφερ ξην stand for ἀπαργυρ(ικού) (or ἀπαργυρ(ικού)) χρυσάρ(γόρου) κερατία, ν for νο(μιμάτα), δαν for γί(νονται) ἄνδρες, and π for ὀ(μού) or γ(ίνεται) ὀ(μού). The entries νο(μίματα) γα have been added by a different hand (see below).

↑ (at least five lines lost)

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<td>Παῦλ(ος) μεθ(οτῆς)</td>
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<td>Μηνὸ χαλκ(ενε)</td>
<td>ἀπαργυρ χρυσόφερ ξην ] ζη</td>
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<td>Σιρε καθ(αρουργός)</td>
<td>ἀπαργυρ χρυσόφερ ξην ] ζη</td>
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<td>'Απάτηρ σανας</td>
<td>ἀπαργυρ χρυσόφερ ξην ] ζη</td>
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I am grateful to the British Library Photographic Service for excellent photographs, and to the Division of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books (in its old location in Store Street) for autoptic inspection of the papyrus.

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The numbers of keratia attached to each person varies; the amounts are the following: line 6, k. 2 1/2+; line 7, k. x 1/8; line 8, k. 3; line 9, k. 2 1/8; line 10, Taurinus k. 2 7/8; line 11, k. 2 3/4; line 12, Ieremias k. 2 1/2; line 13, Moses k. 3 1/8; line 14, Peseth k. 2 1/2; line 15, Paulus k. 3; line 16, Mena k. 2 1/2; line 17, Sire k. 3 1/3; line 18, Apater k. 2 1/2. The totals of line 19 are 16 persons and 5 1/3 solidi; the total of column II in line 36 is incorrectly given as nomismatia 4 5/6; the correct figure is 4 2/3.

19 Crum read = ἀνδρέας. His note on the phi-shaped abbreviation sign, interpreting it as ἰπόρ (BM p. 454a, n. 1), is incorrect: it is ἰμος or perhaps ἰμός.

20: Perhaps ὁπόταν, though it is hard to see the remains of a lambda.

The proper names attested here are not repeated in CPR IX 44 (see below), nor are they found in the papyri published by J. Gascou, "Comptabilités fiscales hermopolites du début du 7e siècle", Tyche 1 (1986) 97-117. When Gascou's publication of P. Sorb. inv. 2227 appears, it will be possible to verify whether these individuals also appear in that account from the same period and nome.

Oddly enough, Crum commented that ἀπαργη χρυσοφ was "obscure" (BM p. 453b, n. 1). Additional evidence comes from a comparison with CPR IX 44, a tax list for the village of Senilais, dated by the editor to the first half of the seventh century on palaeographical grounds: (1) Both Coptic texts on the horizontal fibres side of BM 1079 were written by people from the Hermopolite village of τηνελαία, the Greek Σελίλας or Σενιλάς (M. Drew-Bear, Nome Hermopolite, 236f.), the village of CPR IX 44.2 (2) Inspection of Plate 20 of the Vienna publication immediately shows that both BM 1079 (↑) and CPR IX 44 are by the same scribe or rather by the same two scribes, since Diethart points out what Crum had already noticed in the London case, namely that the amounts in solidi at the ends of dotted lines have

Cereouβίκτωρ: 35 Φοιμεκαρ

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2 Line 12 of BM 1079 (↑) reads κομὶ(πς) Σενιλάκνος, see below. CPR IX 44 was published five years after Drew-Bear’s study and hence not included in her documentation.
been added by a different scribe.\(^3\) The Vienna papyrus sheet is 23.6 cm wide and 32.5 cm high. The London papyrus presently measures 22 x 27.5. But probably five lines\(^4\) and the top margin are broken off. Five lines would add another 5 cm. and leave just space for a small top margin (as in the Vienna papyrus). In short, I conclude that BM 1079 is a leaf from the same documentary codex as CPR IX 44 and also originally measured 23.6 x 32.5 cm.

Inspection of line 5 of CPR IX 44 on the plate reveals a further correspondence. As the third element of this line, after the number of arouras, the Vienna editor reads (καὶ) Ἄπαργροχρυσαρ( ) plus an amount in keratia. He admits in the note that this proper name ("der Partner des Erstgenannten?") is anomalous here, since the corresponding items standing in that position throughout the list have to do with taxation (διασταλέως, πάκτου). A close look shows the same reading as that in BM 1079\(^\dagger\), namely Ἀπαργροχρυσαρ. Further in the same note Diethart reasons that the second abbreviation cannot be resolved as χρυσαρ(γόρου) since it is known that the chrysargyron, the tax on trades and crafts, was abolished by the emperor Anastasius in A.D. 498,\(^5\) much earlier than the hand of this papyrus. The literature on the chrysargyron is collected in the introductions to P. Rainer Cent. 122 (Bagnall, 1983) and P. Lugd.-Bat. XXV 65 (van Minnen, 1991). However, BM 1079\(^\dagger\) appears to offer more new evidence on this matter.

There is a difficulty. Since Ἀπαργροπρομοκλασαρίω means commutation into money of a tax ordinarily paid in kind, it might seem illogical to construe this word with the name of a tax that in the fourth and fifth centuries was regularly paid in money. In the present instance we have amounts in keratia that vary from person to person. Further, some, but not all, of the personal names listed in BM 1079\(^\dagger\) with this pair of terms are those of craftsmen (χαλκεύς, κυβηριώργος), from whose guilds the chrysargyron as we know it was collected; but Ἀσια( line 13), "hunchback", is a physical epithet, not a trade. In any case the people in the second list are explicitly labelled farmers, not craftsmen.

For the moment let us proceed to the other side of the London papyrus (Plate VII). Since Crum correctly transcribed the two Coptic texts on the side parallel to the fibres, there is no need to reproduce them here (see BM, p. 454b). They may be translated as follows:

(a) "I, Philotheos the ape (village headman, protokometes), son of the late Houri, the man from Tjinela, swear by God Almighty and the well-being of Amr not to have left out any man in our whole village from fourteen years (up) but to have accounted for him to your lordship. — I, Ioustos, the komogrammateus (σα∑ ntime, village scribe), swear by God Almighty and the well-being of Amr not to have left out any man in our whole village but to have accounted for him to your lordship."

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\(^3\) He also states (CPR IX, p. 58) that the same second scribe wrote P. Lond. III 1076 descr. (p. lvi). I hope to check this with the help of a photograph courtesy of Thomas Pattie. The same hand has also added the solidi amounts in CPR IX 45-51.

\(^4\) 13 names (or traces thereof) of the total of 16 men counted in line 19 are extant; the total of 5 1/3 solidi corresponds also to 16 men paying 1/3 solidus each. Three names require three lines; they should be preceded by a heading of two lines (see lines 20 and 21 and in the Vienna papyrus lines 1-2).

(b) "I, Philotheos, together with Esaias, the apes, and together with Apater the priest, the men from the village of Tjinela, we write, swearing by the name of God and the well-being of Amr not to have left out any man in our village from fourteen years on; if you produce any we have left behind we will put them in our house. — Sign of Philotheos the protokometes, he agrees. — Sign of Esaias, he agrees. — Apater, the humble priest, I agree."

Added above the first text one reads (line 4) "Sign of Philotheos the protokometes, son of Horus, he agrees."

Clearly these texts, written by people from the same village whence the Greek texts originated, were written after the Arab conquest, as can be seen from their oath clauses. Above them, in the damaged upper part of the papyrus sheet, are three widely spaced lines (about 3 cm. apart), as follows:

1 κυντέλλα[ ]
   τέκνι(α) τῶν γεωργ(ῶν)
   [ ]
2 ο(μοῦ) ετο( ) πα( ) ἄνδρ(ης) ζΒ

1 κυντέλλα[]: or perhaps κυντέλλα, written as κυντελλ. The double lambda would indicate a plural form of κυντέλλα or of a participle of κυντέλλειν. Cf. τὸ κατὰ συντέλλειν κόμης οικιστῆς in CPR IX 44.1; also see line 12 below.

2 τέκνι(α) τῶν γεωργ(ῶν): abbreviated as τέκνην γεωργ. The first word was read by Crum as τε-γνωσις (BM, p. 454a, n. 2). This is not the same item as that on the vertical-fibred side, line 18 (there possibly οἰκισμόν). Numerals could have followed in the broken-off portion of lines 1-2 to the right of the extant text.

3 ο(μοῦ) ετο( ) πα( ) ἄνδρ(ης) ζΒ; abbreviated as Ω//ἐτοπα and followed by the number 92. Again Crum read the fourth abbreviated form as οὐδέ μή, i.e. όνδρης (or όνδροσμός). As to the second and third abbreviated forms, Crum read ετο( ) π, which at first I continued to understand as ἐτο(υκ) π, year 80, sc. of the Hijra, which would be equivalent to A.D. 699/700 (a year that is not listed by K.A. Worp, "Hegira Years in Greek, Greek-Coptic and Greek-Arabic Papyri", Aegyptus 65 [1985] 107-115). Such a date would point not to Amr b. el-As the conquerer of Egypt (in oath clauses) as Crum thought, but rather to Amr b. Said, military commander of ca. 700 (S. Lane-Poole, History of Egypt in the Middle Ages [London 1936] 46). This would imply that the papyrus leaf from a tax list of the first half of the seventh century was detached and re-used by the Coptic writers some sixty to seventy years later. This is not impossible (cf. E.G. Turner, "Recto and Verso", JEA 40 [1954] 102-106). However, the line above the phi has a peak like a gable roof and extends far to the right. Thus it looks rather like an alpha. παρά, however, makes little sense. The line gives the total of tax-payers, not of the amount paid by these men. Moreover ἐτο(υκ) is unusual in such totals, and the missing number renders the phrase unintelligible.

4 ετο may be part of an abbreviated phrase and, as L. Koenen suggests, stand for ἐτο(υκ) τὸ ..., as in the phrase ὀμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ στώ ... which introduces a grand-total (e.g. CPR V Vindob. G. 39847.27.613, Vindob. 39847.41.815, 821, 829, 836, 841; P. Herm. Landl. Anh. II SPP V 120.130). Traianos Gagos takes the fol-

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6 Cf. E. Seidl, Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht, 2. Teil (MB 24; Munich 1935), p. 139. Another Coptic document from this same village, CPR IV 103 (= II 113), has an oath clause by God Almighty and the well-being of "those who rule over us for the time being" (κατὰ κυριοκρίτους) (lines 7-8). The other attested use of this phraseology, KRU 82, is dated to A.D. 771/72. Cf. also CPR II 116, which appears to contain an Arabic name and so be post-conquest. Could "Rashid son of Kosma" (in line 1) be a convert to Islam? Otherwise one might wonder if the rulers in CPR IV 103 were not Arabs but Persians.
lowing part of the abbreviation as πάν(ν). Unfortunately, the PHI ROM disk of the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Payri (#6) did not produce any attestation for ομοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ πάν. However, γίνεται ἐπὶ τὸ πάν is attested (PSI VI 688v.2.121), and so is ομοῦ τὸ πάν (particularly in papyri of the sixth or seventh century: P. Hamb. I 56.i.28, vi 24; P. Lond. VIII 155.17; P. Lond. V 1673.fol. 2.56; P. Oxy. XVI 1998r.7; P. Sorb. I 61.15; SB XVI 12254.22; cf. particularly SB VIII 9755r.10 γ(ντεταί Ωλωγια) Γ, ομοῦ τὸ παν(ν) Ωλωγια ζΘ. We may suspect that these formulas for the grand-total were combined to give ομοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ πάν(ν) άνθ(αυτών) ζΒ.

In between the two Coptic texts translated above, still on the side parallel to the fibres, are two more lines written in a hand very similar to that of the first three lines. They belong still to the Senilais fiscal document that was re-used in the post-conquest period.

12 + ἀνακεφαλαίωσις τῶν εὐντελεχείων κόμης Σενιλάεως ἐξ ἀποθεμάτων λΒ γράμματα

"Anakephalaiosis of contributory taxes of the village of Senilais, collection, 32 1/3 solidi."

12: again the papyrus uses abbreviations, ἀνακεφαλαίωσις ἐξ ἀποθεμάτων λΒ γράμματα. The attestations of the term anakephalaiosis in P. Cairo Masp. III 67359 and O. Lond. IV are from after the Arab conquest.

13 ἐξ ἀποθεμάτων λΒ γράμματα: the damage to the surface of the papyrus makes it impossible to see how the abbreviation was made. ἐξ ἀποθεμάτων λΒ γράμματα or ἐξ ἀποθεμάτων λΒ. At the standard rate of 1/3 sol, apiece attested in the Greek texts 32 1/3 solidi would be paid by 97 taxpayers.

To return to the Greek text on the other, vertical-fibred side of BM 1079: if this document belongs like its twin CPR IX 44 in the first half of the seventh century, what we appear to have is new evidence that a tax called the chrysargyron was revived, perhaps by Heraclius, after its earlier abolition at the end of the fifth century. The purpose of this tax had been to raise money for donatives to the army (Gregory, loc. cit. [n. 5]). One may hypothesize that Heraclius' many campaigns against the Persians required increased revenue and that he thus re-instituted an old tax that had not been needed for Justinian's wars. The seventh-century tax may have been at least partly levied in kind and hence commutable into a money payment. Its periodicity (cf. Bagnall, in intro. to P. Rainer Cent. 122) cannot be deduced from the lists in these two papyri.7

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7 See now R.S. Bagnall, "The Periodicity and Collection of the Chrysargyron", Tyche 7 (1992) 15-17. I would like to thank Monica Blanchard, Victoria Ehrhart, and especially Frank Gignac for their helpful discussion.
BM 1079 → (VIIp): Steuereinnahmen