

# Networks of the Theban Desert

## Social, Economic, and Religious Interactions in Late Byzantine and Early Islamic Thebes

Richard Leigh Burchfield  
BAncHist (Hons); PG Dipl. AncHist  
(Macquarie University)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of  
Philosophy  
Department of Ancient History, Faculty of Arts  
Macquarie University, Sydney

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**DECLARATION**

I, Richard Burchfield, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Date:





## ABSTRACT

### **Networks of the Theban Desert: social, economic, and religious interactions in Late Byzantine and Early Islamic Thebes**

This thesis examines the range of interactions which bound the Egyptian town of Jeme (Medinet Habu), and the nearby monasteries of the Theban necropolis, to each other and to other, more distant communities in the seventh and eighth centuries CE. In doing so, it also seeks to assess the importance of this west Theban community in the exchange networks that covered Egypt as a whole, and the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes in particular.

The communities of western Thebes, and especially the town of Jeme, are ideal for this study since large amounts of documentary evidence in Coptic survive from multiple sites within well-defined chronological limits. While Jeme is the main focus, this thesis also concentrates on three of the many contemporary monastic communities in the area: the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, the monastery of Epiphanius, and the solitary monk Frange. These three communities are ideal since they have the largest bodies of documentary evidence attesting them, which makes network studies more viable, and since they are of different sizes and natures (monastery, laura, hermitage), making them a representative sample of the range of communities present on the Theban mountain. Where relevant, material from other sites, in particular the monastery of Apa Paul, is also taken into consideration.

The relationship between Jeme and the larger monastic communities of western Thebes was close and interdependent, and it is argued that the presence of Jeme allowed the monasteries to flourish, and that their success in turn increased Jeme's own status. These close knit communities then formed a regional hub which, while not a site of the same importance as the nome capitals, was still of significant economic and religious importance to the communities of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes. An understanding of the nature of the west Theban communities and how they fitted in to broader exchange networks not only demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between monastic and secular communities, but provides the groundwork for future sociological studies of the region, whose discussions can now be framed in the light of the regional importance of western Thebes.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations of papyri and ostraca follow the conventions of J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, wherein full publication details for the cited volumes can be found. The checklist is published online at <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html> [last updated 1 June 2011]. In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>Coptica</i>          | HODAK, S., RICHTER, T. S. & STEINMANN, E. (2013), <i>Coptica. Koptische Ostraka und Papyri, koptische und griechische Grabstelen aus Ägypten und Nubien, spätantike Bauplastik, Textilien und Keramik. Katalogägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig</i> Band 3 (Berlin). Numbers following # refer to the text numbers assigned by the editors.                             |
| Crum, <i>Dict.</i>      | CRUM, W. E. (1939), <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford)   |
| <i>O.Deir er-Roumi</i>  | PEZIN, M. & LECUYOT, G. (2007), ‘Documents coptes découverts au Deir er-Roumi, dans la Vallée des Reines et le Ouadi du prince Ahmès’ in N. Bosson & A. Boud’hors (eds) <i>Actes du huitième congrès international d’études coptes: Paris, 28 juin – 3 juillet 2004</i> , vol. 2 (Leuven) 759-786. Following numbers refer to the text numbers assigned by the editors. |
| <i>O.TT29</i>           | BOUD’HORS, A. & HEURTEL, CH. (2010), <i>Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29: Autour du moine Frangé</i> (Bruxelles). Following numbers refer to the text numbers assigned by the editors.  |
| <i>P.Cair.Arab. III</i> | GROHMANN, A. (ed.) (1938), <i>Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library</i> (Cairo). Following numbers refer to the text numbers assigned by the editor.  |



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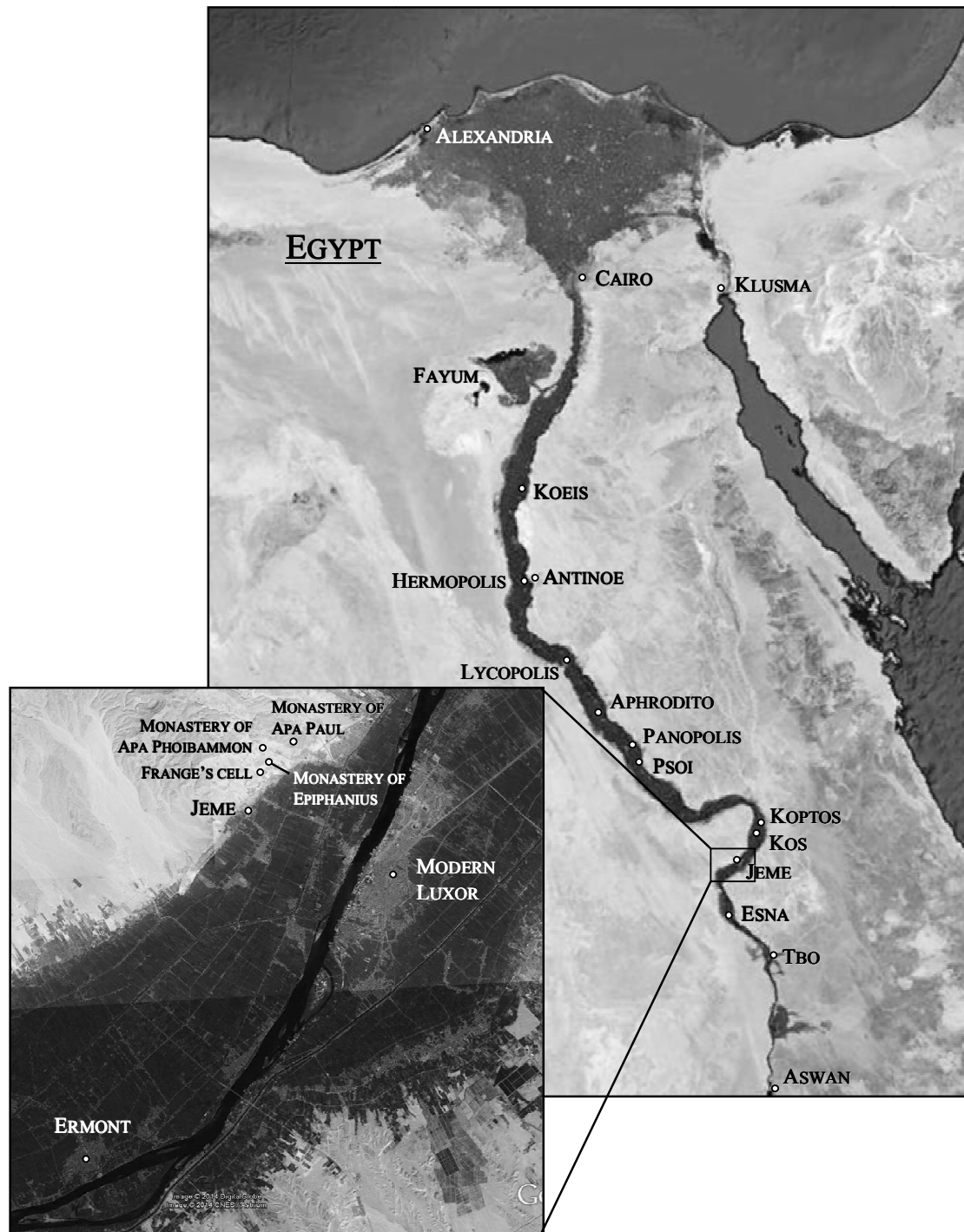


Fig. 0.1. Map of Egypt with inset of western Thebes and its surrounds<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Egypt, 27°55'24.14"N 32°07'24.49"E, eye alt. 1571.79km. (Imagery date: 10 April 2013) – viewed 11 May 2014. Boxout: western Thebes and surrounds, 25°40'53.00"N 32°34'51.97"E, eye alt. 24.3km. (Imagery date: 15 December 2013) – viewed 11 May 2014.

## INTRODUCTION – BACKGROUND AND GOALS

### THE CONNECTIONS OF WESTERN THEBES

The secular and monastic communities<sup>1</sup> that inhabited western Thebes in the seventh and eighth centuries CE are among the best-attested communities in the Coptic documentary record of this period. This wealth of evidence makes the region ideal for the study of a wide variety of subjects<sup>2</sup>. The primary goal of the present study is to assess the role that these communities, in particular the town of Jeme<sup>3</sup>, played in the social, economic, and religious life of the region. This is achieved through an examination and assessment of the links which bound Jeme both to the local monastic communities of the Theban mountain and to the other towns, villages, and cities of Egypt, in particular those of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes<sup>4</sup>. An examination of the network of Jeme indicates that the town was not only closely tied to the local monasteries, so much so that their respective successes can be described as interdependent, but that Jeme played a role in the local economy that was, in other regions, performed by more urban centres and nome capitals.

Looking at the network of Jeme in isolation, however, is only partially valuable. The nearby monastic communities functioned in a close partnership with Jeme and, as a result, their networks must also be examined as part of this study. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse the network of every monastic community on the Theban mountain, so particular focus will be placed on networks which are both well-documented and representative of the

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this thesis, I frequently use the word ‘community’ to refer to the various conceptually distinct groups that I discuss. My use of this word implies no indication of the size of the group in question. As such, the inhabitants of Jeme are a community, as are those of the various monastic institutions on the mount of Jeme, including the small grouping of a solitary monk and his disciple.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the documents from Jeme and the surrounding monasteries have already influenced numerous studies. Among them: bibliographic and prosopographic studies of the textual evidence – Wilfong (1989) and Till (1962) in particular; studies on daily life and gender – Wilfong’s (2002 & 2003) publications on the role of women in Jeme, as well as his work on its moneylenders (1990), and on daily life particularly Schiller (1953); studies on monasticism – Winlock & Crum (1926), Godlewski (1986), Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010), and Heurtel (2008:A & 2008:B); studies on various aspects of the practice of child donations to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon – Schaten (1996), Papaconstantinou (2001), and Richter (2005); studies on legal texts – for which Till’s (1964) translation volume of Theban legal texts is still valuable, as is Till’s (1939) study of the so-called protection documents, and MacCoull (2009); Cromwell’s work on the scribes of Jeme (2010:B and a forthcoming publication); Wickham’s broad work on the early middle ages (2005); as well as many other studies on monasticism and other aspects of Egyptian life in the sixth to eighth centuries CE.

<sup>3</sup> Pronounced something like JEAH-meh.

<sup>4</sup> The town of Jeme is discussed more fully below. A description of all the communities to which Jeme and the other west Theban sites discussed here were connected is given in Appendix A.

variety of monastic communities that existed in this area: specifically the networks of the monasteries of Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul, that of the so-called monastery of Epiphanius, and that of the solitary monk Frange. Where relevant, evidence from other monastic sites will also be considered. When their networks are viewed in the light of the interdependence of the monasteries and Jeme, it becomes clear that these communities formed a west Theban hub, and that together they were able to become more important to the region than any of them would have been able to individually.

This study is divided into four sections. In Section I, the means by which connections are identified, the limitations of these selection criteria, and other methodological concerns are laid out. The foundation for the identification of connections between the residents of Jeme and those of other communities is location designators: the clauses by which individuals are associated with particular toponyms. Given that such clauses are the basis for the data, their use requires detailed examination, and a considerable part of this section is devoted to identifying patterns in their usage. It is apparent that some of the constructions that make up these designators have different nuances in their meaning, and these differences are discussed in full. The use of location designators in witness and scribal statements can also be used to indicate where some of the Theban documents were written, and a study of this aspect of the texts yields unanticipated results. It seems, for instance, that some of the moneylenders of Jeme travelled to their clients, rather than their clients travelling to Jeme, as might be expected.

Sections II and III deal with the various relationships which bound the town of Jeme to other communities. In the second section, the local connections of Jeme, that is those that Jeme maintained with the monastic communities of western Thebes, are examined in detail. The strength of the various connections between these groups shows them to have been interconnected to such an extent that their relationship is better described in terms of interdependence rather than simple connectivity. Such interdependence necessitates a study of the monastic networks (Section IV), since it suggests that Jeme was not necessarily an important town in isolation, but, in combination with the monasteries, was part of a west Theban hub which was of considerable importance to the surrounding region.

While Section II deals with the local connections of the inhabitants of Jeme, Section III examines Jeme's place in the wider region. Most of the town's interactions took place within

the boundaries of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes, but a few demonstrate that Jeme was also connected to the larger networks that covered Egypt as a whole. One of the most common types of interaction attesting Jeme's regional position is moneylending; the moneylenders of Jeme had a thriving trade with the surrounding towns, and with farmers in particular. The dependence of farming communities on loans from lenders in urban centres is well documented in Egypt<sup>5</sup>, and the regular appearance of lenders from Jeme reinforces the concept that this town, while not the equivalent of a city in other respects, did indeed play the role of an urban hub for the surrounding villages.

In Section IV, the network of Jeme is compared with the networks of four of the monastic communities on its mountain. Such a comparison not only supports the idea of a west Theban hub argued for in Section II, but also shows which communities were connected to multiple west Theban networks. This can be used to indicate the relative importance of the communities connected to the west Theban hub, on the assumption that those toponyms connected to multiple west Theban communities were more integrated into the network. The evidence presented over these sections shows Jeme and the communities of western Thebes to have been of considerable regional importance. Together they formed a hub that fulfilled some of the roles of urban centres in other areas.

Before the discussion of these communities and their networks, it is necessary to provide some background to Egypt in the period covered by this thesis, and to the town of Jeme itself. Descriptions of the monastic groups discussed in this thesis are provided in Appendix A.

## EGYPT IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES CE

The earliest precisely dated Coptic text relating to the town of Jeme is a now much-cited ostrakon of March 601<sup>6</sup>, in which a scribe records a solar eclipse and dates it by reference to a magistrate of that town<sup>7</sup>. Although there are some documents from Jeme thought to be of an

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<sup>5</sup> Keenan (1981).

<sup>6</sup> All dates in this thesis are CE unless otherwise specified.

<sup>7</sup> Originally published by Stern (1878), no. 1, p. 12, and more recently as *SB Kopt.* II 1238. For the dating see Allen (1947) and Wilfong (2002) 1 and notes. The date of this text has been re-confirmed and discussed fully by Gilmore & Ray (2006).

earlier date, the solar eclipse text marks a general *terminus post quem* for the documentation examined in this study<sup>8</sup>. Its *terminus ante quem*, on the other hand, is set by the absence of documents from the town datable to the ninth century<sup>9</sup>. This two-century date range (600-800) has been liberally applied to any undated Coptic document from Thebes and consequently delimits the extent of this study. While such dates are of course rough, the work of Till on dating many of the Jeme documents has proven this date range accurate<sup>10</sup>. Although it is not an entirely satisfactory designation, for the sake of convenience I refer to the period bound by these two points as ‘Coptic’<sup>11</sup>.

During the period encompassed by the west Theban material – the seventh and eighth centuries – Egypt endured a number of governmental changes. Despite this, it maintained a surprising amount of administrative continuity. By the beginning of the seventh century, over 600 years of Roman rule of Egypt, which had itself seen Egypt through a considerable number of social and political changes, was drawing to a close<sup>12</sup>. For understanding the social context of the Coptic documentation of western Thebes, the fourth and fifth centuries are particularly important because of the rapid expansion of Christianity which occurred during this time. By the sixth century, this Christianisation of Egypt had become “thoroughly universal”<sup>13</sup>, and persisted even into the first centuries of Islamic rule as the favoured religion of the Egyptian population. The rapid growth of the Egyptian church and of the large monastic establishments that followed lent these institutions considerable degrees of wealth and social authority<sup>14</sup>. Indeed, the integration of Church and society in seventh and eighth century Egypt is palpable in the documentation of the period<sup>15</sup>.

While Christianity was flourishing in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Roman Empire was in a state of political disarray. The first half of the seventh century saw the uprising of Heraclius against the Emperor Phocas, and political manoeuvrings left Egypt vulnerable to the incursion of the Persians, who invaded and held the country for about ten years (617-

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<sup>8</sup> A late sixth century date for *P.KRU* 105, supposedly the foundation charter of a monastery of Phoibammon near Jeme (not necessarily that of Deir el-Bahri), is argued by MacCoull (2010). See the discussion of this text on pp. 74-79.

<sup>9</sup> Wilfong (1989) 94-95.

<sup>10</sup> Till (1962).

<sup>11</sup> On the problems with the use of Coptic in such a context, see Clackson (2004) 39-41.

<sup>12</sup> For a summary of the state of Egypt in the centuries of Roman rule see Ritner (1998).

<sup>13</sup> Keenan (2000) 619. See also Ritner (1998) 28-33.

<sup>14</sup> This is demonstrable in the Theban documentation, see particularly Section II.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Kaegi (1998) 35; Keenan (2000) 620; and Sijpesteijn (2007) 183.



629)<sup>16</sup>. Though the emperor Heraclius recaptured Egypt from the Persians in 629, he was not able to hold it for long. The Arab conquest of Egypt, under ‘Amr ibn al-‘As, occurred in 640-642, and while a small Byzantine force managed to retake Alexandria in 644/5, they could not hold it<sup>17</sup>. Egypt was to remain a permanent possession of the Islamic Caliphate.

Despite the significant political events of the seventh century, very little in the routine of daily life would have changed for most Egyptians. Agriculture was ever the pillar of the Egyptian economy and incoming rulers, Persian or Arab, would not want to significantly disrupt this source of revenue. It is doubtful that there was any substantial destruction of property or administrative deterioration following the Persian invasion and, likewise, the arrival of the Arabs probably had little impact on the population outside Alexandria and Lower Egypt<sup>18</sup>. Only at the highest levels of the administration and in matters concerning the treatment of Muslims and non-Muslims would there have been any change. The conquerors preferred, in the beginning, not to significantly alter the already functioning Byzantine administrative framework<sup>19</sup>. For the most part then, Egypt was “marked by significant day-to-day continuities in its administrative, economic, and social structures”<sup>20</sup>. Indeed the Arabic government seems, at first, to have gone out of its way to foster friendly relationships with the Church and the Coptic patriarchs, no doubt realising that their co-operation would facilitate a smoother takeover by the new rulers<sup>21</sup>. For the inhabitants of western Thebes in Upper Egypt, this continuity is attested by the complete lack of any reference to the change in the documentary evidence. In fact, in the first few decades after the Arab invasion, one could be forgiven for thinking that no governmental change had occurred at all<sup>22</sup>.

It is not until the eighth century that the Arab presence really becomes noticeable in the documentary record<sup>23</sup>. By this time, the slow process of the Islamisation of the administration was virtually complete. The Arabic rulers had been gradually phasing out Christian *duces* and

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<sup>16</sup> For a detailed summary of the political and strategic position of the Empire during the final century of Roman rule in Egypt see Kaegi (1998) 44-55. The exact date of the Persian invasion seems to be in some confusion. Ritner (1998) 33, puts it in the year 616; Kaegi (1998) 36, in 617; and Keenan (2000) 628, in 619.

<sup>17</sup> Kaegi (1998) 53-55; Ritner (1998) 33; Sijpesteijn (2007) 186.

<sup>18</sup> For the impact of the Persian invasion see Kaegi (1998) 42-43. For an excellent description of the changes and continuities of the first years of Arab rule, and the basis of what follows, see generally Sijpesteijn (2007). For a discussion on the internal politics of the Islamic rulers of Egypt during this period see Kennedy (1998).

<sup>19</sup> Abbot (1938) 99-101 and cf. Papaconstantinou (2010), who stresses the role of the new government rather than their lack of serious administrative changes.

<sup>20</sup> Sijpesteijn (2007) 184.

<sup>21</sup> Sijpesteijn (2007) 188-189.

<sup>22</sup> See also Wilfong (1990) 176.

<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, the references given in Sijpesteijn (2007) 187.

*pagarchs* and replacing them with Muslim counterparts, allowing greater control of Egypt's finances<sup>24</sup>. Thus, in eighth century legal documents from western Thebes, references to Muslim officials, such as the emir Flavius Saal son of Abdella (*P.KRU* 45.3-4), begin to emerge. The increasing appearance of Arabic protocols on such documents likewise attests to this new administration. At the village level, however, officials continued to be drawn from the local, Christian populace<sup>25</sup>.

The most noticeable disparity for the villagers of Egypt was surely financial. A religious poll tax applicable to all non-Muslims had been introduced soon after the Arab conquest, and this controversial tax likely led to the mass flight of many farmers from this new burden<sup>26</sup>. Indeed, a *pagarch* expresses this very fear when informing a village official of the new tax (*CPR* XXII 1, dated 644), and an extensive list of fugitives from Aphrodito (*P.Lond.* IV 1460, dated 709), many of whom were from the Theban region, testifies that such fears were not unfounded. Moreover, a number of Coptic revolts in the eighth century mark the discontent of parts of the populace. This led to a policy of disseminating increasing numbers of Arab immigrants throughout the countryside and, eventually, to greater rates of conversion<sup>27</sup>. Although it is tempting to link these revolts to the decline of documentary evidence in western Thebes shortly after, it is clear that Egyptian heritage remained strong. Even after the Umayyad viceroy 'Abd-Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik required Arabic to be used in all state affairs in 705, Coptic remained in common use for documentary texts until the mid-ninth century, and was still used in other contexts until the eleventh<sup>28</sup>.

## THE COPTIC TOWN OF JEME

This is the cultural and political context into which the documentary material relating to Jeme and the surrounding region falls. The Coptic town of Jeme (ⲭⲙⲉ), called in Greek the

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<sup>24</sup> Sijpesteijn (2007) 194-195.

<sup>25</sup> See for example *lashanes* of Jeme in *P.KRU* 7.3-4 (730-739); *P.KRU* 16.3-5 (735 or 750); *P.KRU* 69.5-6 (729 or 744); and many others. That they were Christian is established on onomastic and contextual grounds.

<sup>26</sup> See Sijpesteijn (2007) 192.

<sup>27</sup> Sijpesteijn (2007) 195. In the eighth century, the first forced conversions began on a small scale, likely only in regards to officials.

<sup>28</sup> Richter (2009:A) 420-421. See generally pp. 417-432 for a thorough discussion of the evidence relating to the decline of Coptic. Although Coptic documentary material is rare after the mid-ninth century, a literary tradition continued up until the fourteenth.

*Kastron Memnonion* (or τὰ Μεμνόνεια<sup>29</sup>), was located in and around the remains of the mortuary temple of Ramses III, modern Medinet Habu, which stands on the edge of the cultivated zone of the western bank of the Nile, opposite modern Luxor and a little over 3.5km from the river<sup>30</sup>. Jeme fell in the administrative zone, called a nome (ΝΟΜΟΣ), of Ermont, a city some 12.5km to the southwest. To the north lay the nome of Koptos, whose eponymous capital, 38km distant and on the opposite bank, was situated on an important trade route between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea. The 60-70km stretch of the Nile covering the nomes of Koptos and Ermont encompasses the majority of toponyms that occur alongside Jeme in the Theban documentation, however the exact location and size of many of them is unknown. Together, the towns and cities of this region formed various networks of which Jeme was a part. How important a part remains to be seen, but within its more immediate surroundings, Jeme was certainly integral<sup>31</sup>.

Rising behind Medinet Habu is the desert escarpment, which in ancient times was the final resting place for many Pharaohs, their consorts, and members of their courts – an area well known to tourists today as the site of the Valley of the Kings and other famous landmarks such as Deir el-Bahri. For the local Egyptians of the seventh and eighth centuries, however, the tombs directly facing the Nile Valley – the tombs of the nobles – and the nearby pharaonic mortuary temples were the most relevant to their lives as homes to many Christian monks. Some, like the monk Frange of TT29, lived alone or with a disciple. Others, such as those at the so-called monastery of Epiphanius around TT103, gathered together in small communities focused around one or more senior monks. Still others lived in large monastic complexes possessed of considerable resources and functioning administrative hierarchies, such as the monasteries of Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul. The area encompassed by the dwellings of these monks was known to the locals as the (holy) mount of Jeme (ΠΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΝΧΗΜΕ), a name which highlights the importance of that town within its immediate surrounds. That the monks and the town were largely interdependent is clear from the documentary sources. As Terry Wilfong put it: “the economic and social interaction between inhabitants of the

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<sup>29</sup> The origin of the Greek name Memnonia is discussed in detail in Bataille (1952) 1-21 and Westerfeld (2010) 103-110. Although it is clear that both Jeme and the Memnonia once referred to the whole area around Medinet Habu, in the majority of cases in the seventh and eighth centuries it is clear that the town itself is meant. The churches and monasteries of the surrounding region are more likely to be referred to as on ‘the mountain of Jeme’. *Kastron*, the Greek form of the latin *castrum* (‘fort’), tends to be used in Coptic texts to refer to walled settlements, particularly those built within the boundary walls of Pharaonic temples.

<sup>30</sup> It lies at 25°43'11.14"N 32°36'2.67"E.

<sup>31</sup> Information on the toponyms that occur in connection with Jeme and the Theban monasteries can be found in Appendix A.

monastic communities and those of the town of Jeme shows them to have been interconnected to such an extent as to form a general West Theban community”<sup>32</sup>.

By all accounts, a large part of the town of Jeme itself was still visible to the expedition of Napoleon in 1800 and to the later Prussian expedition under Richard Lepsius in 1845<sup>33</sup>. However, over the course of the following century the Coptic structures were progressively cleared or destroyed<sup>34</sup>. From 1859 to 1913, a series of teams from the *Service de Conservation des Monuments de l'Égypte* worked to clear the site down to the Ramessid remains, pursuing this goal to such an extent that even some mud-brick Ramessid structures were not recognised and removed<sup>35</sup>. Between these expeditions the site was abandoned to *sebakh* diggers, who further contributed to the destruction of Coptic and earlier period mud-brick structures<sup>36</sup>. By the time the Oriental Institute took interest in the site in 1924, the Coptic remains had suffered considerable damage and were mainly limited to the northwest corner of the area inside the boundary wall. While the original goal of the Oriental Institute in Medinet Habu was to record the scenes and inscriptions on the temple walls, it was decided early on that an architectural survey of the entire site would be appropriate. Uvo Hölscher carried out this work in six seasons between 1927 and 1933, thankfully giving importance to all periods of occupation. Although Hölscher cleared most of the Coptic houses from inside the boundary walls in the course of his excavation, he at least did so systematically, and it is from his work that the vast majority of our knowledge of the settlement history of Medinet Habu comes. Today, remains of Coptic houses can still be seen, but only on top of the north and west boundary walls.

The excavations carried out by Hölscher demonstrate a near continual pattern of settlement from the time the mortuary temple was finished in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (around 1167 BCE), to the apparent abandonment of the site in the ninth century of our era<sup>37</sup>. The first secular buildings in Medinet Habu were constructed early in its life, when it became the seat of administration for the Theban necropolis and likely also housed the military garrison which

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<sup>32</sup> Wilfong (2002) 7.

<sup>33</sup> Hölscher (1934) 1.

<sup>34</sup> For the history of work on the site, and references to publications from early work see Hölscher (1934) 1-3.

<sup>35</sup> The clearances were carried out over three separate expeditions: 1859-1863, 1888-1899, and 1912-1913.

<sup>36</sup> *Sebakh* is the modern Egyptian term used to describe a kind of natural fertiliser which is composed of decayed organic material, particularly the mud brick remains of ancient structures. As such it is frequently found in the remains of ancient inhabitations and its value as a fertiliser and fuel source frequently leads to the destruction of ancient remains by farmers seeking to utilise it.

<sup>37</sup> For what follows see generally Hölscher (1954) 1-57.

supervised it. From the very earliest stages of its development, then, Medinet Habu was a focal point in the west Theban necropolis. These first secular buildings were destroyed along with parts of the boundary wall in the overthrowing of the Ramessid Dynasty around 1090 BCE. Following this, from the 21<sup>st</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, settlement at Medinet Habu follows a pattern of development and destruction, mirroring the political climate of the region. In the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties (760-525 BCE), Medinet Habu seems to have enjoyed a particular revival, with well-constructed, multi-story buildings erected in the outer temple area alongside signs of industry, such as a potter's workshop<sup>38</sup>. During Persian and Ptolemaic control of Egypt (525-30 BCE), however, there is a lack of new buildings and a similar lack of objects from daily life. Combined with evidence of ancient *sebakh* digging inside the boundary walls in the strata of this period, which would only have occurred in uninhabited space, this led Hölscher to suggest that the site was largely abandoned at this point. Only the so-called Small Temple outside the eastern boundary wall shows evidence of occupation. The continued presence of a diminished population is also supported by continued attestations to the site in Ptolemaic documentary texts<sup>39</sup>. Rebuilding on a large scale began again in the Roman period, certainly by the end of the first century of our era: the enclosure wall was restored and strengthened, wells and kilns are found in number, and there is evidence of a bathhouse in the Small Temple outside the eastern fortified gate<sup>40</sup>.

The occupation and rebuilding of Jeme during the Roman era continued seamlessly into the Coptic period<sup>41</sup>. By the seventh and eighth centuries the town filled the entire area inside the enclosure wall, including the old inner sanctuary, and spilled beyond. The picture Hölscher paints of Coptic Jeme is of a crowded, organic town. The street level was about 2.5 – 4m above the original Ramessid floor, and rose to higher levels toward the northwest corner and the walls<sup>42</sup>. In some places the street level could climb quite steeply – one alley rising 3m over its 12m length, no doubt originally by means of stairs. The houses abutted one another

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<sup>38</sup> See Hölscher (1954) 14-16.

<sup>39</sup> Hölscher (1954) 34-35. For the texts see Westerfeld (2010) 98 fn. 66. Westerfeld comments here that the “documentary texts bear witness to ongoing settlement at Jeme in that period” and suggests that the lack of physical evidence indicates that the settlement was located in the area of the temple complex cleared before Hölscher's excavation. There is no reason, however, to think that the settlement in the Small Temple of Hölscher's argument could not be the settlement referred to in Ptolemaic texts.

<sup>40</sup> See Hölscher (1954) 36-44, 55.

<sup>41</sup> For the settlement during the Coptic period see Hölscher (1954) 45-57.

<sup>42</sup> See Hölscher (1954) 45. Pages 49-51 contain descriptions of houses where the entrances are described as ranging from +4m to over +12m. However, in light of his comments on page 45, it must be assumed that these numbers refer to height above sea level, and not to height above the original Ramessid ground level. Even so, these numbers give a distinct feel for the topography of the site.

and stood, in some places, at least four stories high. Even the walls, now in a state of disrepair, had houses built on them: a lack of openings facing the exterior of the town suggests that these houses doubled as a wall themselves, perhaps not as a defensive structure but certainly as a means to control entry. Combined with narrow streets (1.5-1.8m) and even narrower blind alleys (less than 1m), Hölscher's description is quite claustrophobic.

Scattered throughout the town were a number of other structures. Some, like "House" 76, were storerooms and workshops: places of business serving the town's needs. Presumably others were town civic structures, although none remain. Most notably from the documentary and archaeological record, however, a number of churches stood throughout the town. The biggest of these, known as the Holy Church of Jeme, stood in the second courtyard of the temple of Ramses III, but at least three others were known to Hölscher from his work: one outside the eastern fortified gate; another in the temple precinct of Ay and Horemheb outside the north boundary wall; and a third in the remains of the Ptolemaic temple just inside the eastern fortified gate<sup>43</sup>. Stefan Timm, working with the documentary material, identifies twenty-one churches or monasteries that may have been in Jeme, although it is impossible to know how many of these were actually in Jeme as opposed to on the nearby escarpment or in other towns<sup>44</sup>.

"[Jeme] must have had a large number of inhabitants, probably some tens of thousands, closely penned together, wretched, and dirty, as became the oppressed condition of the Copts"<sup>45</sup>. It is clear that Hölscher did not think highly of the living conditions of the inhabitants of Jeme in the Coptic period. It is equally clear, however, that in terms of number and economic status the population of Jeme was not so wretched as Hölscher believed. While no one is in a better position than Hölscher to comment on the cramped feel of the town, estimates of "tens of thousands" of inhabitants are surely overstated. Even Alexandre Badawy's later estimate of 18860 inhabitants should be considered too large<sup>46</sup>. From Hölscher's plans, the total area encompassed by the boundary wall can be calculated as 62698

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<sup>43</sup> See Hölscher (1954) 51-57 and Wilfong (2002) 12-13.

<sup>44</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1019-1023.

<sup>45</sup> Hölscher (1934) 1.

<sup>46</sup> Badawy (1978) 29.

square meters<sup>47</sup>, and the average house size as about 41 square meters<sup>48</sup>. Certainly not all buildings in Jeme would have been dwellings. In the mining town of Bir Umm Fawakhir, only 66 of 105 mapped buildings were houses. Transferring this ratio to Jeme would suggest that only 63% of the built space (about 39500 square meters) was inhabited. With an average house size of 41 square meters, an inhabited area of 39500 square meters suggests that 966 inhabited houses lay within and on the boundary wall<sup>49</sup>. Multiplying this number by 4.3, the average size of “principal resident families” in Egypt as given by Bagnall and Frier, suggests that Jeme was capable of housing 4153 residents<sup>50</sup>. Certainly such a figure is rough at best, we cannot know if all areas of Jeme were of a similar density to the parts excavated by Hölscher, but such variations can be offset by the fact that these calculations have not included any of the occupied space that lay beyond the boundary wall. A population of around 3000-4000, depending on whether or not the town was full to capacity, seems reasonable<sup>51</sup>. A population of this size, if accurate, would put Jeme on the larger end of Egyptian villages and make it something of a population centre for the region. Certainly it was the most populated town of the west Theban necropolis.

The administration of the town would have been primarily a local affair, as it does not seem to have been the seat for any Arabic officials during the Coptic period. The most commonly attested official of any kind in the Jeme documents is the *lashane* (ⲗⲁⲩⲁⲛⲉ), who, along with a colleague (*P.KRU* 38.7-9, among others, attests to two *lashanes* holding office at the same time), seems to have acted as village head. Although not a lot is known about the exact functions of these men, it is likely that they represented the community in communal actions and fulfilled such judicial roles as arbitrating local disputes. In *P.KRU* 105, the priests and the

<sup>47</sup> Based on Hölscher (1934) plate 1. Starting at the western-most corner and moving in a clockwise direction, the corners are given letters A-D. Using the scale on the plan, the sides were calculated as: AB = 195m; BC = 320m; CD = 202m; DA = 312m; diagonal AC = 370m. These figures were then used to calculate the area of 62698m<sup>2</sup> (using Heron’s formula to calculate the area of the two triangles so described).

<sup>48</sup> Using Hölscher (1934) plate 32 and the scale provided there, I calculated the area of those buildings on the plan that have complete boundaries. To make this easier, I assumed that the houses were regular rectangles. Those houses which are clearly L-shaped (such as 31, 34, and 35) were measured as two rectangles. I included larger buildings such as ‘house’ 70 (probably a warehouse) in my calculations to offset the possibility of larger houses in the parts of the town no longer surviving at the time of Hölscher’s plan. The 69 houses I measured were: 3, 4, 6-9, 10, 14-16, 19-21, 28-31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41-43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56-60, 62, 63, 65, 67-70, 76-78, 80, 82, 84, 87, 91-92, 98, 101-104, 106, 110-113, 115, 117, 119, 118, and 121-124. The total area of these houses was 2821.813m<sup>2</sup>, which gives an average house size of 40.8958 (to four decimal places). This figure, rather than the rounded 41, has been used in the calculations below.

<sup>49</sup> The specific calculation is 39499.74 / 40.8958 = 965.8630 (to four decimal places).

<sup>50</sup> Bagnall & Frier (1994) 67. See generally chapter 3 for discussion on the demography of Egyptian households.

<sup>51</sup> This is well below the estimates of Hölscher and Badawy, but would nevertheless put Jeme at the upper end of village populations – Bagnall (1993) 110-111. Cf. Wilfong (2002) 13, who estimates the population as 1000-2000, and gives the total area of Jeme, including what lay outside the boundary wall, as 110000m<sup>2</sup>.

*lashane* of Jeme assent to a charter on behalf of the entire community, suggesting that ecclesiastical officials were just as important as the secular in the life of the village. Beyond the *lashane*, the *dioiketes*, a local official probably representing the Arab administration, and the emir of Ermont, probably the Arab official in charge of the nome, are occasionally attested in the dating formula at the beginning of legal papyri (as in *P.KRU* 13.1-4), but have little visible role in the village beyond such references. Finally, a group of men existed in the village who were referred to as “the great men” (ἄνδρες ἄνδρες). These men were likely the village notables and had similar arbitrating functions as the *lashane*. In *P.KRU* 45, a settlement between two sisters regarding the division of a house, the first party narrates that certain great men and the builder from the kastron came to the house and divided it up between the two sisters, leading to the current settlement. Whether the *lashanes* were included in the group of great men is uncertain, as is their precise role.

The prosopography of the town’s inhabitants and the prevalence of churches and monasteries in the region suggest that the population was primarily made up of Egyptian Christians<sup>52</sup>. Contrary to Hölscher’s opinion, the documentary evidence shows that this population was not “wretched” or “oppressed”. The primary occupation of the town, situated as it was on the edge of the cultivated zone, was certainly agriculture. This is seen clearly in loan agreements, where loans of money and produce are most readily repaid in agricultural produce of various kinds: wheat, sesame, lentils, and flax are the usual repayments in the *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* ostraca, although payments in money and clothing (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 64) also occur. Furthermore, the loans are usually repaid in the month Paone, during harvest time<sup>53</sup>.

While there were certainly not as many occupations attested in Jeme as are listed in Sohair Ahmed’s exhaustive list of trades attested in Coptic texts, a preliminary search through the indices of Theban texts identifies thirty-five different occupations<sup>54</sup>. The best attested among them are camel herdsmen, craftsmen and builders, farmers, and scribes, however a diverse range of other professions also occur: from bakers and butchers, to honey, oil, and vegetable dealers, a smith, a shoemaker, and even a goldsmith. It is clear that the economy of the town

<sup>52</sup> See Wilfong (2002) 4, and Wilfong (1995) generally.

<sup>53</sup> A number of loans from Jeme are published in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 50-66. For a useful summary of the contents of loans from the archive of a moneylending family of Jeme, see Wilfong (1990), in particular pp. 173-174.

<sup>54</sup> Ahmed (2010 & 2011) presents a list of all attested occupations in Coptic texts. The identification of occupations in the area surrounding Jeme is based on a presentation and handout given by T. S. Richter at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Summer School of Coptic Papyrology (Heidelberg, 2012).



was thriving, and it is unsurprising then that some residents were able to make themselves quite wealthy. While the relative worth of money and produce is hard to gauge, the *P.KRU* texts show a number of wealthy individuals with large amounts of property. An Aaron son of Senouthios, for example, is engaged in buying property in at least nine separate documents<sup>55</sup>. In the will of Anna, the daughter of Johannes and Taham, an entire house and its contents, half of another house, and a quarter of a bakery were donated to the monastery of Apa Paul on the mountain of Jeme (*P.KRU* 106). Jeme should not be discounted as a wretched backwater, rather, this thriving and populous town was, alongside the monasteries of the area, a hub of the region, its businesses providing “an important source of money and grain not only for their own town, but also for a large area surrounding Jeme throughout the seventh and eighth centuries”,<sup>56</sup>.

This thriving town is the source of a great number of texts documenting the social, economic, and religious interactions of its inhabitants, and is the setting for what follows. Over the following pages the degree to which these interactions governed Jeme’s place in its environment, both local and regional, is examined in detail, from which it will become clear that Jeme and the west Theban monasteries played a central role in regional religious and economic networks.

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<sup>55</sup> *P.KRU* 1; 2; 4; 5; 6; 12; 13; 14; and 15.

<sup>56</sup> Wilfong (1990) 174. For a detailed introduction to the material remains, texts and culture of Jeme, see Wilfong (2002) 1-22.

## SECTION I – METHODS AND LOCATION DESIGNATORS

### IDENTIFYING TEXTS AND MAKING CONNECTIONS

#### *Limitations*

Any study of papyrological material, especially one constrained by the limits of a doctoral thesis, requires both chronological and geographical limits. This is doubly true for the examination of the interactions of a town, as the very nature of such interactions could easily change over any protracted period of time. Of course, the study of how a town's interactions with its environment changed over time is also an interesting question. However, the site at the centre of this thesis was inhabited for millennia, and an examination of the interactions throughout its entire chronological history is beyond its scope. Of all the documented periods of Medinet Habu's long history, the seventh and eighth centuries CE stand out for the wealth of documentation originating from the town of Jeme and because large amounts of contemporary evidence stem from the nearby monasteries in the Theban necropolis and from the region generally. Both these features make this period a suitable chronological bracket for the study of the interactions of Jeme.

Two centuries is still an uncomfortably long period of time about which to make overarching remarks on the interactions of a site without recourse to further chronological differentiation. Such a timespan would encompass multiple generations and, given that the interactions between towns were necessarily the interactions between the individuals of those towns, a degree of variation from generation to generation would be expected. However, the imprecise nature of the dating of the Coptic documentary material from Thebes, as well as the representative quality of documentary texts, make such generalisation necessary in order to produce useable results. Although there is a great deal of documentary material from Thebes, very little of it is precisely dated. The work of Walter Till on the dating of the *P.KRU* material remains a valuable exception to this rule<sup>1</sup>, and while this is an important body of evidence for connecting the inhabitants of Jeme with other places, in particular the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, it nevertheless encompasses only part of the available evidence. Other texts may be roughly dated by the presence in them of individuals known from dated material.

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<sup>1</sup> Till (1962).

However, a frustratingly large number of texts are dated with no more than the somewhat generic sixth to eighth or seventh to eighth centuries.

Even if all Theban texts from this period were precisely dated, it is likely that a universal assessment of the evidence would still be the most valuable. This is because papyrological material is only representative of some small portion of the total number of interactions at any given point in time. Therefore, the more the chronological boundaries are restricted, the more the resulting pattern of interactions is representative of only a few specific individuals. As will be seen below, individuals tend toward frequent interactions with only one or two other communities<sup>2</sup>. In order to guard against the possibility of mistaking changes in individual trends over succeeding generations for wider community ones, a broader chronological focus is not only necessitated by the evidence, but, in fact, desirable. A study with more restricted chronological limits would require more evidence from contemporarily dated individuals. Of course ignoring the chronological aspects of the material entirely would be a gross oversight. The suggested dates of every text from the following sections which identifies an interaction, and a discussion of the significance of these dates, are given in Appendix B. While the dating of many of the texts is somewhat general, there is a broad trend visible in the data that is worth mentioning here. Texts attesting interactions in the sixth century are virtually non-existent. Only two (*P.Lond.* V 1720 and *P.KRU* 105) can be confidently placed at the end of this century. Interactions from the seventh century are relatively more frequent, but there is a significant spike in texts mentioning interactions in the eighth century, before a total absence of material in the ninth, coinciding with the abandonment of the area. It will be argued that this spike is not a result of chance, but of the growth of the large west Theban monastic communities and their close connections with Jeme.

### *Selection Criteria*

Among the Coptic language texts, which form the vast majority of the data, the search for texts through which connections might be established was initially limited to texts of a Theban provenance, including those found at Jeme and the Theban monasteries. The decision to impose this geographical limit on the data was made on the hypothesis that the texts from Jeme and the surrounding area would accurately represent the external interactions of the

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<sup>2</sup> See the discussions on Frange (see below, pp. 219-226), who is the best attested individual in the Theban texts, and to a much lesser degree the discussion of the texts relating to Pekosh (pp. 151-153).

communities under consideration – if not in volume then certainly in character and geographical extent. Looking at the range of toponyms (by whose presence connections are most easily established) that occurred in these texts, it quickly became apparent that toponyms from the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes were by far the most common. While it may be that Jeme and the monasteries were only interacting with settlements in the nearby region, this geographical limitation could also have been an inherent bias resulting from the selection criteria. Another potential bias could result from a solely Theban viewpoint, namely that since the second party to a contract seems to have kept the documentation, documents in which residents of west Theban communities were the first party and those of non-west Theban communities the second will not appear in the data. To mitigate these biases, Coptic material from other, contemporary sites in Egypt was examined for references to the communities of western Thebes<sup>3</sup>. However, such searches did not yield results, suggesting that the communities of western Thebes were indeed focused primarily in the Koptite and Hermonthite nomes.

With the selection criteria set, volumes containing Coptic texts of Theban provenance were first identified using the Brussels Coptic Database<sup>4</sup>. In these volumes, texts mentioning Jeme or the west Theban monastic communities were isolated through the use of indices and through individual examination. For any Greek language material, the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDbDP) was the primary means of identification: searches were made for occurrences of both *μεμνωνίων* and *κάστρον μεμνωνίων* within the relevant time period, as well as for texts more generally from the Theban region<sup>5</sup>.

The corpus of texts relating to or mentioning west Theban communities was then refined to contain only those texts that attest connections between these communities and others. Using textual evidence, there are two main ways to identify such connections: direct statement and provenance. Direct statement is the safest and surest method. Any text in which an individual associated with a particular toponym through a location designator occurs together with another individual associated with a separate one establishes a potential connection between those two places. Potential connections were then examined on a case-by-case basis, as not all

<sup>3</sup> In particular *P.Bala'izah*, *P.Mon.Apollo*, *P.Bru.x.Bawit*, *P.BawitClackson*, *P.Clackson*, *O.Clackson*, *O.Bawit*, *O.BawitIFAQ*, *SB Kopt.* I-IV, *CPR* II, IV, XX, XXXI, *P.Lond.* VI, *P.HermitageCopt.*, and *P.Ryl.Copt.*

<sup>4</sup> <http://dev.ulb.ac.be/philobad/copte/> – accessed 16 February 2011.

<sup>5</sup> [www.papyri.info](http://www.papyri.info) – accessed 23 October 2012. Morphological variations were taken into consideration. Any potential bias resulting from imposed geographical limits would not affect the Greek material, as the DDbDP searches for forms of *κάστρον μεμνωνίων* were not limited by provenance.

cases are conclusive. If, for example, someone from Ermont wrote an account of payments in which both a man from Jeme and a man from Koptos occurred, then Jeme and Ermont can be reasonably linked, as can Koptos and Ermont. Koptos and Jeme, however, cannot, as the individuals from Koptos and Jeme had an interaction with the person from Ermont, and not demonstrably with each other.

This selection method favours the presence of particular types of texts. The corpus of documentary material which forms the dataset for this study is comprised of a number of different types of documents: loan contracts and documents relating to securities, donations, sales, purchases, accounts, settlements, and letters in which items or services are requested. While this represents a broad range of interactions, very few personal letters, that is letters in which greetings and personal news are exchanged, can be used to establish connections as hardly any indicate both the sender's and recipient's location<sup>6</sup>. Presumably, this is because in such documents the sender and recipient are well known to one another and the document itself would never have any legal application requiring the exact identification of its participants. While personal letters do survive amongst the Theban material, they are mostly between different groups of monks, or between monks and laity. Virtually no personal letters between secular individuals survive and certainly none which indicate explicitly that the sender and recipient lived in different towns. However, it is doubtful that this absence significantly biases the results. It is quite likely that social and business connections would form along the same lines. Regardless of which were established first, other types of interactions can develop where there is already an open channel of communication. It is therefore reasonable to think that the network of places with which the residents of Jeme interacted in economic, religious, and administrative capacities would have been substantially similar to their network of social interactions.

Apart from by direct statement, connections can also be established through provenance. Essentially, it can be argued that in cases where a text found at Jeme mentions an individual from a toponym outside of Jeme, a connection is possible. Likewise, a connection is possible if the reverse is true, that is, if a text originating from a location outside of Jeme mentions someone from Jeme. The biggest obstacle to identifying connections in this way, however, is

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<sup>6</sup> In fact, location designators occur surprisingly frequently in personal letters (see below, Fig. 1.5, p.34), however usually only one individual in the text (often someone other than the correspondents) is identified, so connections on the basis of personal letters are comparatively rare.

that the provenance of most of the Theban documentary material is not secure. In many of the publications used here to identify connections, the published texts were not acquired through controlled excavations but from antiquities traders, primarily in Luxor, at various points in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, the most common provenance of texts in these volumes is the general designation: ‘Theban’. Fortunately, this is not always the case. Some controlled excavations have resulted in publications of texts with a known provenance. *P.Mon.Epiph.* and *O.Medin.HabuCopt.*, the texts of which were excavated at the monastery of Epiphanius and Jeme respectively, are early examples of this. More recently, papyri and ostraca excavated in the monastic dwellings of the Theban necropolis have been published in various articles and monographs such as *O.Deir er-Roumi* and *O.TT29*.

There is also some debate surrounding whether some of the *P.KRU* papyri might have come from Jeme. This collection of legal papyri contains many texts relating to Jeme, and others relating to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri. The two sides of the debate propose either that all the *P.KRU* material was found at Deir el-Bahri and that this material, including the texts relating to Jeme, was stored in the monastery archives and was subsequently found there; or, that the texts were found in different locations, including the remains of Medinet Habu, and that we should consider those texts relating to Jeme alone to have been found there, and those texts relating to the monastery to have been found in the monastery<sup>7</sup>. Regardless of which side is correct, the fact remains that the exact provenance of the *P.KRU* texts is doubtful and, as such, connections based on provenance will not be made from the *P.KRU* material.

Potential connections based on provenance have not been automatically assumed in this study. In all cases, connections have been assessed according to their context on a text-by-text basis and kept or discarded accordingly. Fragmentary texts which reference a toponym but which have no context for the reference, for example, have not been included. All problems aside, establishing connections through provenance has been especially useful for monastic establishments such as the monastery of Epiphanius. This small community seems not to have been given a name in the documentary evidence, so it is never possible to make a direct name-

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<sup>7</sup> Godlewski (1986) 51-59, and Cromwell (2007) have both given comprehensive summaries of the debate, both stating their own opinion that the documents were likely found and archived in the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. Cromwell (*pers. com.*), however, has recently revised her opinion to accord with Schiller’s (1971) view that *P.KRU* contains a mixture of texts from the monastery and Jeme.

to-name connection. Through provenance, however, we can link Jeme and many other toponyms to this monastery.

### *Social Network Theory*

The connections of the residents of the west Theban communities established by these means depict a small part of the much larger network of interactions which tied the settlements of the region together. As such, Social Network Theory and Social Network Analysis, tools used in other sociological disciplines to study the various networks in which actors (the unit of measurement, usually people) participate, initially seemed to be a promising means to understand this data. Whereas some consider these two tools to be inseparable, I use both terms here to distinguish the theoretical side of studying networks – the technical terms and theory describing how networks form and function – from the computational side, which uses specially designed software to translate vast amounts of data into manageable networks upon which the theory can be applied. Social Network Analysis also provides a number of very useful tools to highlight particular attributes of the network and test its various characteristics.

The great potential of such tools for studying the networks glimpsed in documentary texts from Egypt has already been well demonstrated by Giovanni Ruffini, who applied these tools to Byzantine texts from both the Apion archive and Aphrodito<sup>8</sup>. While Ruffini primarily focused on the networks of individuals in his monograph, he also applied Network Analysis to the toponyms of the Oxyrhynchite nome in order to test the density of connections between Apionic holdings, thereby being able to comment on the way the Apionic estate grew<sup>9</sup>. This followed from Ruffini's earlier application of Network Analysis on the toponyms of the Oxyrhynchite nome, which focused on the interactions between the toponyms of the nome as a whole, and interestingly examined the role played by both the size of the settlements and their positions within the smaller administrative structures which divided the nome<sup>10</sup>.

A different approach to the use of Social Network Theory on toponyms was taken by Katja Mueller, who, in a series of articles, applied a number of network concepts and analytical

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<sup>8</sup> Ruffini (2008). Some ongoing studies are currently applying Network Analysis to other areas: Elizabeth O'Connell & Giovanni Ruffini are working on the prosopographical material from western Thebes (the same period as the present study), and Silke Vanbeselaere & Yanne Broux (Leuven) are applying Network Analysis to the Zenon archive.

<sup>9</sup> Ruffini (2008) 119-146.

<sup>10</sup> Ruffini (2007).

tools to toponyms from various districts of the Fayum<sup>11</sup>. Her goal was to roughly locate previously unlocated toponyms in these districts by studying their relationships to located Fayumic toponyms. Mueller worked on the assumption that toponyms which appeared together in the same text were connected, and that this social connection correlated to physical distance. By feeding all the pairs of connected toponyms into her analytical tools, she could produce network graphs in which the more closely connected toponyms were physically closer on the graph. This graph was then anchored to a map using the previously located toponyms in the study to give a rough idea of the real-world locations of the unlocated ones. Unfortunately, her approach, although novel, was harshly criticised by two scholars from the discipline of informatics, in which these computational tools are more widely used<sup>12</sup>. These two were not sceptical of the benefits of using such technology in papyrology, but rather criticise the methodology and transparency of Mueller's results, emphasising the need to be careful with the data and to avoid arbitrary design choices<sup>13</sup>.

The approaches of Mueller and Ruffini represent the only real attempts to apply network analytical tools to toponyms in Egyptian papyri<sup>14</sup>, and, of the two, Ruffini's (2007 and 2008) approach seemed best suited to a study of Jeme's position within the network of communities in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes. Unfortunately, two aspects of the present study mean that the proper application of Social Network Analysis to its dataset is undesirable. The first is brought about by the nature of the evidence for Coptic Thebes. The texts by which connections between Jeme and other places are established originate almost entirely from Jeme itself and the nearby monasteries. Consequently they are exclusively related to the activities of the members of these communities. While this is fine for illuminating the connections of Jeme and the monasteries, the texts do not permit us to see what links existed between Jeme's connections. In Social Network Theory, the study of the connections of a particular actor (such as Jeme) is called an ego-centric network. Such studies can be useful for illustrating the role of a particular actor within a network, however, the proper application of Network Analysis to such a network requires two stages of analysis. First, the connections of the ego (the actor which is the focal point of the study) to others (called alters) are established. Then it must be determined which of the alters identified in the first stage are connected to one another. Without this second stage, it is impossible to form a meaningful square matrix of

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<sup>11</sup> Mueller (2003:A), (2003:B), and (2004).

<sup>12</sup> Hoffman & Kiln (2006).

<sup>13</sup> Hoffman & Kiln (2006) 90.

<sup>14</sup> See Ruffini (2008) 19-20.



a network: the basic form of the data used for computational analysis<sup>15</sup>. Any image of a network formed without the connections between alters would look like the spokes of a wheel, with the ego at the centre of a large number of otherwise unconnected actors. This would render the many analytical tools for which the computer programs are useful, such as identifying key clusters and the most central nodes (a node is any point in a graph or network), ineffective, since the ego would be the only node with more than one link, and would thus be disproportionately important.

In the present study, this second stage is possible, but only to a limited extent, since the connections of the west Theban monastic communities examined here can also be identified, but those of the many other toponyms in the networks of Jeme and these communities cannot. Consequently, computational tools were only used in Section IV to visualise the west Theban network using the program *NetDraw*. Due to the limited size of the data in this study, the use of analytical tools such as UCINET does not produce results that differ significantly from what can be achieved through other means, however, the visualisation of the network through *NetDraw* does permit certain trends to be more easily identified. The method by which the data from this study was entered into *NetDraw* is discussed in Section IV (p. 231).

The second aspect of this study which prevents the application of proper Network Analysis is a design choice, and is tied closely to the point above. Both Ruffini and Mueller make connections between toponyms based on their co-presence in a document (excluding distorting documents such as lists of towns and tax registers), and use modern registers of toponyms to more easily create the large datasets required. Working on co-presence alone, it is possible that connections between the alters of Jeme could be produced, however I do not believe that co-presence is sufficient to justify a connection. Ruffini himself acknowledges the weakness of his approach (that not every researcher will think his connections secure enough), but reasonably argues that the benefits from a larger dataset make this choice desirable<sup>16</sup>. Nevertheless, the dataset for this study is significantly smaller than his, and, as outlined above, I have chosen to connect two toponyms only when I can justify a connection

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<sup>15</sup> For my understanding of Social Network Theory and the use of its analytical programs such as UCINET, I am particularly reliant on the introductory work of Hanneman & Riddle (2005). For the discussion on ego-centric networks, see Chapter 1. As this work was published by the University of California only as a web document, it lacks page numbers. I refer to it by the number of the chapter and the name of the subsection from which the information comes (for example, the information on ego-centric networks would be referenced as: Hanneman & Riddle (2005) 1: 'Relations', which refers to the 'Relations' sub-section of chapter 1).

<sup>16</sup> Ruffini (2008) 21.

based on the internal information from the document or from the provenance of the papyrus. Above all, I am interested in the types of interactions that existed between Jeme and other communities, not just the raw number of interactions. Under these criteria, connections between the alters of Jeme (barring the monasteries) are virtually non-existent. Thus, because of the nature of the documentation used in this study, and because my own design choice limits how many connections can be formed, the applications of network analytical tools are severely limited. As such, they will not be applied here beyond the visualisation tools offered by *NetDraw*.

While proper Social Network Analysis may not be suited to my data and methodology, some of the concepts of Social Network Theory are. In particular, the characteristics which are shown to be typical of networks everywhere and the terminology used to describe them were an extremely useful lens through which to view the data from Jeme, and were influential in the formation of my ideas. A fuller explanation of the concepts and vocabulary of Social Network Theory can be found in Hanneman and Riddle or in Ruffini's introduction, however some key concepts referred to in this study should be introduced here<sup>17</sup>. The first is that of cliques and clusters. A clique is a group of actors in a network that all have a link to every other actor in that group as, for example, in a family group. A cluster, on the other hand, is a group of actors who are connected to most of the other actors in that group. In a social scenario, a cluster is the group of people with whom you interact most of the time, thus, actors in a cluster have more and closer connections with each other than with actors outside the cluster<sup>18</sup>. Such clusterings are common in networks and usually indicate a group of actors who share access to most of the same information and resources. The evidence from western Thebes suggests that Jeme and the neighbouring monastic communities formed such a cluster, or even a clique, and it will be argued that the close connectivity between these sites led, to some extent, to their interdependence and success.

Another important concept proposed by A-L Barabási, a physicist who has worked extensively on Network Theory, is that networks of all kinds, from links on the internet to metabolic networks, follow a scale-free topology. What this means is that the number of connections that the nodes in a network have do not follow a bell curve, but rather a power

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<sup>17</sup> Hanneman & Riddle (2005); Ruffini (2008) 8-40.

<sup>18</sup> On cliques see Hanneman & Riddle (2005) 11: 'Introduction' & 'Cliques'; Ruffini (2008) 36-37. On clusters see Hanneman & Riddle (2005) 8: 'Clustering'; Ruffini (2008) 37-38.

law, in which most nodes will have only a small number of connections, but a small few will have significantly more<sup>19</sup>. To use an analogy from Barabási, the height of adult humans follows a bell curve in that most of the population falls around five or six feet, and only a small amount of individuals are three, four, seven or eight feet. If height followed a power law distribution, then most of the population would be, say, 6 feet, but it would not be unusual to see a few individuals a thousand feet tall; thus, “numerous tiny events coexist with a few very large ones”<sup>20</sup>.

In a network, those nodes with many connections are called hubs<sup>21</sup>. Hubs play a very important part in a network because they dramatically reduce the network distance between any two nodes. Network distance is the number of links in the shortest path between two nodes, so that two nodes that are directly connected have a distance of one, whereas a friend of a friend has a distance of two. By reducing this distance, hubs tie together a network’s disparate parts and facilitate the flow of information or goods throughout it. Ruffini has already demonstrated the existence of such hubs in the network of Oxyrhynchite toponyms, where he noted that the smaller settlements were less well connected and the larger ones were disproportionately more important, acting as hubs to connect the rest of the network<sup>22</sup>. Of course, hubs can be of different sizes: nome capitals such as Oxyrhynchos would surely have had more connections than the large villages which make up the regional centres, however, their roles are still equivalent. Over the course of this thesis, it will be argued that the towns and villages of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes form a similar network and, moreover, that western Thebes acted as a regional hub.

While it may be that an approach that attempts to utilise the theoretical side of network studies “without employing the necessary heavy industry” of the computational programs is limited, as Ruffini argues<sup>23</sup>, the nature and size of my data, as well as the means by which I identify connections, negate the usefulness of most of such methods. In what follows, the use of *NetDraw* in Section IV is the only real network analytical tool applied. Nonetheless, it is certain that this study, and others of a similar nature, can benefit from the awareness of concepts found in Social Network Theory. As such, I will keep the theoretical concepts of

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<sup>19</sup> Barabási (2002) 65-78.

<sup>20</sup> Barabási (2002) 67-68.

<sup>21</sup> On hubs see Barabási (2002) 55-64; Ruffini (2008) 12-13.

<sup>22</sup> Ruffini (2007) 973. Ruffini does not believe that the network of Oxyrhynchite toponyms follows a true power law distribution, but it is close.

<sup>23</sup> Ruffini (2008) 15-16.

Network Theory – such as hubs, clusters, and concepts of how networks are formed – as a backdrop for the rather more traditional methods of analysis which are otherwise employed here.

## THE USE OF LOCATION DESIGNATORS IN THEBAN DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI

As mentioned above, the majority of the data used in this study was identified by direct statement connections, in which an individual with a stated location is linked to another, similarly located. The establishment of direct statement connections is dependent on location designators – the statement by which an individual is ascribed to a particular location. It is therefore crucial for this study that the nature of these designators and the way in which they are used is understood. Why they were used is also relevant. By their very nature such constructions are expressions of identity through which an individual can be more easily recognised. Further, the kinds of texts in which individuals express such identity markers lends its own bias to a study of interactions based on them. Although such a bias can be mitigated to some extent through the use of prosopographical analysis, identifying other texts in which located individuals have occurred, it is to a large extent unavoidable. It is more critical for this study to understand how location designators were used and what they meant.

In order to facilitate the study of the use of location designators in the Theban region, a database was created of occurrences of the designators in Theban documentary texts<sup>24</sup>. These were drawn from the publications used to create the primary dataset of this thesis and, of all possible location designators, only complete instances with some surviving context were recorded – location designators without context do not contribute to our understanding of the ways in which the various forms of the designators were used. Likewise, texts from the examined publications not of a Theban provenance or of unknown provenance were discarded<sup>25</sup>.

In the database, every instance of a location designator is entered separately (such that a single text may appear multiple times), along with the various metadata of the relevant text. In particular, the function of the individual carrying the designator, as well as the hand of the

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<sup>24</sup> This database was created using FileMaker Pro 11.

<sup>25</sup> Due to time constraints, the database does not take into account texts published after 2012.

entry was recorded<sup>26</sup>. In addition, each designator was placed within a typology of the forms observed. The typology assigns each entry with one or more letters according to the construction used. The typology is as follows:

- A** All instances using  $\pi\rho\bar{\mu}$ -/ $\tau\rho\bar{\mu}$ -/ $\nu\rho\bar{\mu}$ - ( $\pm \text{N}$ ) following the personal name.
- B** All instances using only the genitival  $\bar{\nu}$ - following the personal name.
- C** All instances using  $\bar{\nu}\text{N}$ - following the personal name.
- D** All instances in which a personal title is joined to the personal name with a preposition, usually  $\bar{\nu}$ - but occasionally others – for example  $\bar{\nu}\text{N}$ -,  $\epsilon$ - or  $\epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}$ -<sup>27</sup>.
- E** All instances using  $\eta\eta$  ( $\omega\eta$ ) + preposition (usually  $\epsilon$ -) following the personal name.
- F** All instances using  $\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}$  ( $\omicron\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}$ ) + preposition (usually  $\bar{\nu}$ - or  $\bar{\nu}\text{N}$ -) following the personal name.
- G** All instances using  $\bar{\nu}$ - following the personal name.
- H** All instances involving a clause in which  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \tau\gamma\chi\eta\eta$  occurs to indicate circumstantial presence at a location.
- X** Unusual constructions, which do not roughly conform to one of the above patterns.
- U** All instances in which the designator used cannot be reconstructed, but were included because contextual information was deemed useful.

These nine basic types (excluding **U**) are in rare instances followed by an extension, which allows the location designator to express both an original location and current place of residence. Such constructions almost always employ another of the above types, mostly the qualitative  $\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}$  (**F**), and occasionally include the adverb  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  (now) to clarify this relationship. In the database, these are represented with dual types: for instance **A F**<sup>28</sup> indicates a base  $\pi\rho\bar{\mu}$ - construction expanded with a clause using  $\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}$ . Throughout the following pages, such constructions will usually be referred to simply as ‘extensions’ or ‘**A** extensions’, where **A** indicates the base type carrying the extension. Individual variations within the extensions of each type will be dealt with in greater detail below<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Individuals were placed in one of eight generalised functions: first party/sender; second party/recipient; other party; scribe; scribe/witness; witness; dating clause; or unknown (see p. 27).

<sup>27</sup> Occasionally a title will occur in a designator outside the pattern: personal name + title + toponym. These instances are included under the type of the primary construction.

<sup>28</sup> A space is maintained between the letters in the database so that searches for type **F** will also find uses of  $\omicron\gamma\eta\bar{\nu}$  in other constructions.

<sup>29</sup> pp. 42-56.

In total, the database comprises 710 entries from Coptic texts of Theban provenance. Of these, 45 are dating clauses and scribal signatures written in Greek. The Greek designators show minimal variation in Theban texts – essentially using the genitive of a toponym with or without the preposition ἀπό following a personal name with or without a title. As such it is unlikely that their use indicates anything beyond simple attribution and will be considered separately to the Coptic designators<sup>30</sup>. This leaves 665 Coptic language location designators, drawn from 343 separate texts. The designators occur with toponyms of all types – cities, villages, monasteries, churches, and regions – in a wide range of legal, business, and personal documents, and with all parties in the text – from the primary parties to witnesses and scribes.

In what follows, the data will be examined in order to assess what factors might influence a scribe's choice in location designator construction. The results of this examination will then be applied to the question of where witnesses were when they signed a legal document and to what extent we can link the location of a witness with the location of one or both of the main parties.

### *The Relationship Between Type and Function*

The majority of designators in the database fall into one of three types: **A**, **C**, and **D**. Including extensions of these types, these three account for 88.27% (587/665) of all entries and are found in 90.09% (309/343) of all texts in the database. Of these, **A** types are the best attested, accounting for 34.44% (229/665) of all entries (excluding extensions) and found in 48.69% (167/343) of all texts. The remaining seven other types account for only 11.73% (78/665) of entries and occur in 19.83% (68/343) of texts. The graph below (Fig. 1.1) shows the distribution of entries and texts across all types – ‘ext’ refers to the extension of a primary type by another clause indicating current place of residence or temporary location. It should be noted that the numbers indicating the amount of texts in which a particular type occurs do not add up to the total of 343 mentioned above. This is because many texts contain more than one type of designator.

The comparative frequency of types **A**, **C**, and **D** is immediately apparent from this graph. In most cases, these types occur more than 10 times as frequently as the others. However, the

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix C.

graph also shows that they have a more disparate entry to text ratio – that is, the number of entries for each type greatly exceeds the number of texts from which they come. This indicates that types **A**, **C**, and **D** are more likely to occur more than once in a single text and more likely to occur in texts with multiple location designators. This almost certainly implies that such types are more common in longer legal documents where more parties, particularly witnesses, are liable to be identified with designators.

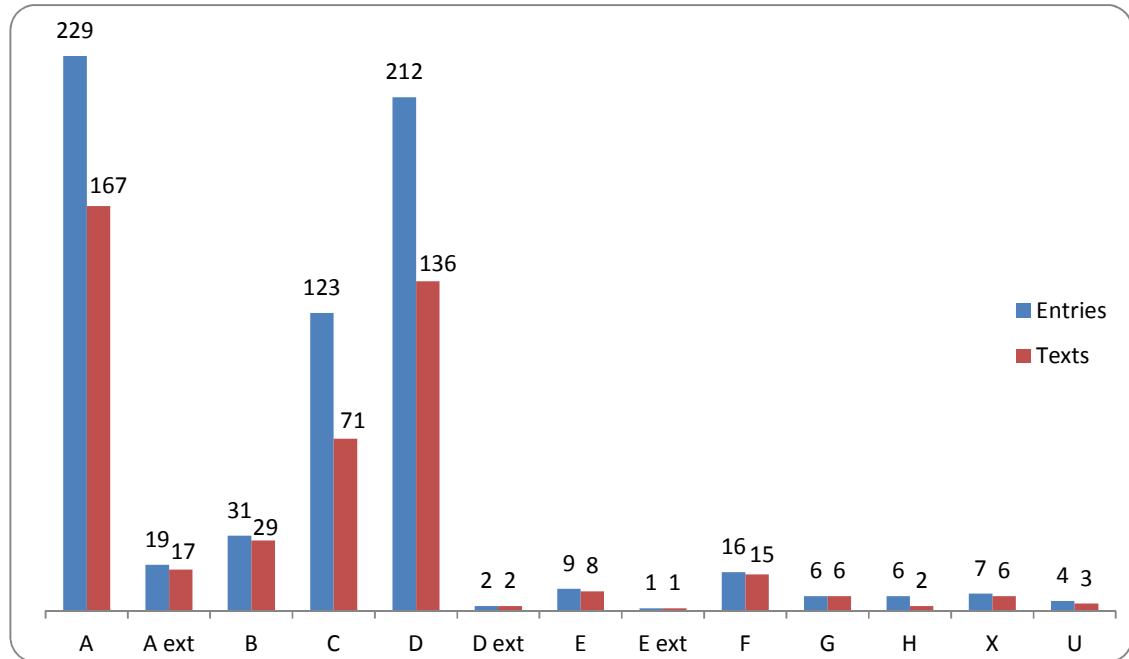


Fig. 1.1. Distribution of types

Fig. 1.1 shows which constructions were primarily used in designators, but the database can also show where in a text designators primarily occur. Each entry in the database was also assigned a ‘function’ (indicating the role of the individual concerned) from among the following categories: first party/sender; second party/recipient; other party; scribe; scribe/witness; witness; dating clause; and unknown. ‘First party/sender’, ‘second party/recipient’, ‘witness’, and ‘unknown’ are fairly straightforward; the others perhaps require some clarification. ‘Other party’ refers to any individual who occurs in the document, but not in one of the other described capacities. These individuals can be incidental or integral to the main purpose of the document. ‘Scribe/witness’ refers to those individuals who write for witnesses unable to write for themselves, or who write the assent clause for the first party, whereas ‘scribe’ refers to the scribe of the main body of the text. Finally, ‘dating clause’

refers to individuals mentioned in eponymous dating clauses. The distribution of database entries among these functions is shown in Fig. 1.2.

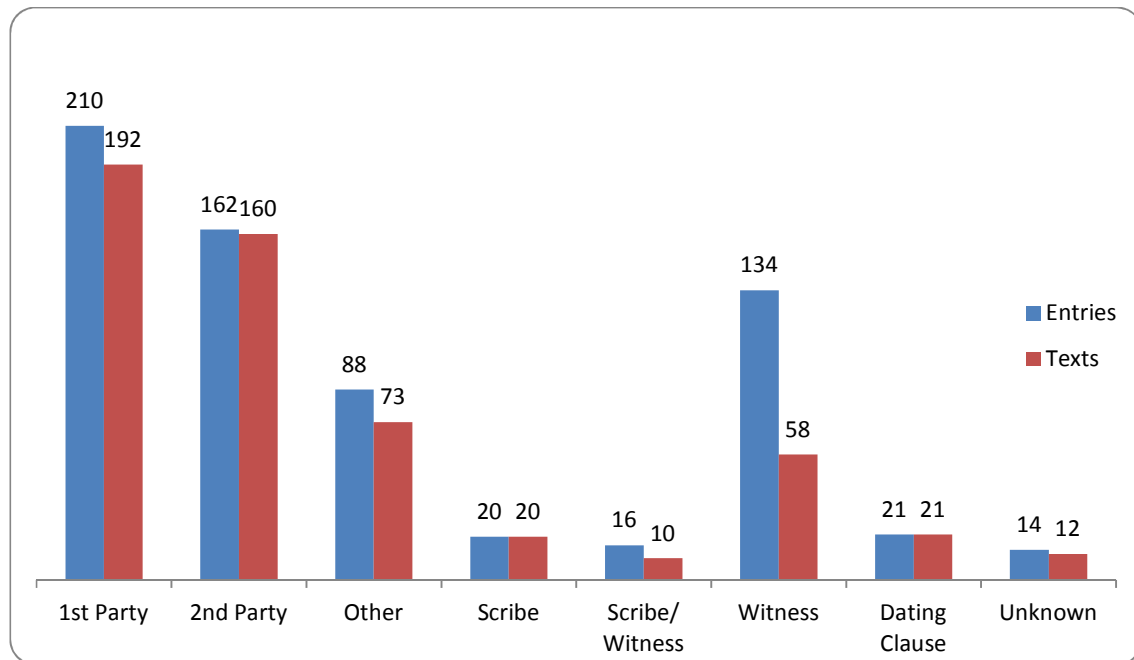


Fig. 1.2. Distribution of function

It is clear that location designators are most common in first party, second party and witness statements. However, a striking feature of the data is that the large numbers of witness statements are spread over a comparatively small number of texts. On average, this works out to a ratio of 2.3:1, that is, 2.3 witnesses using a location designator for every one text in which a witness with a location designator occurs<sup>31</sup>. In practice, the numbers range from one witness in a document using a designator to seven. In comparison, ‘other party’ usages, although lower in number, occur in more texts, indicating that these are more widespread than is apparent from entry numbers alone<sup>32</sup>.

These graphs show which types of designators are most commonly used and where they are most likely to occur. Another question to ask is whether any correlation exists between these

<sup>31</sup> Note that this number is not representative of the average number of witnesses in any given legal document.

<sup>32</sup> The use of designators for scribes and dating clauses is artificially low here as many scribes of Coptic legal documents, where such functions are most likely to occur, wrote both the dating clauses and their own scribal statement in Greek. If the Greek entries are included, there are 36 designators for scribes in 36 texts and 38 for dating clauses in 35 texts. However, the addition of the Greek entries does not drastically increase the numbers of either category. This is partially because scribal statements and dating clauses do not occur in all document types, and partially because the use of designators in scribal statements is not as universal as for the primary parties.



two datasets. The following graphs (Figs 1.3 & 1.4) display the distribution of the types in each function: in Fig. 1.3 as a raw number and in Fig. 1.4 as a percentage of the total entries for that function. The “unknown” functions and type **U** constructions have been excluded from the graphs as they do not help to determine any link between function and type.

Fig. 1.3, which presents the raw numbers of entries, reflects the characteristics of the distribution of type and function observed above. It also demonstrates that the distribution of each type across the functions is not uniform. The division of types across first, second, and ‘other’ party functions falls into a visibly similar pattern. **A** is obviously dominant, followed by a more restrained but still frequent usage of types **C** and **D**. The only exception to this pattern occurs in ‘other’ party usages, in which type **C**, usually one of the three dominant types, is barely represented (8% compared to 17% for first party and 20% for second party – see Fig. 1.4<sup>33</sup>). The other types occur to a much lesser degree and with more variation between these three functions. In ‘other’ party functions, for instance, type **B** is used more than in other types (11% of all its entries compared to 7% for second party and 4% for first party), and in second party functions extension types are barely used at all.

In the remaining functions – leaving aside dating clauses, in which only type **D** occurs – the distribution of the types is noticeably different to the distribution across first, second, and ‘other’ party functions. In witness statements, for instance, **A**, **C**, and **D** are still the dominant types, but **A** is diminished (19% of witness entries compared to 40% or more for the first, second, and ‘other’ parties) whereas **C** and **D** are better represented (31% and 44% respectively), with **D** as the dominant type. There is also not quite so diverse a range of types. This pattern is also observable in scribe and scribe/witness functions, which likewise show a greater use of **D** compared to **A** and **C**, and a reduced spread of types. In these cases, however, it is possible that the reduced diversity of type is a result of lower numbers in the data.

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<sup>33</sup> Barring the types **Eext**, **G**, and **H** in the first party functions, percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number for ease of display on the graph.

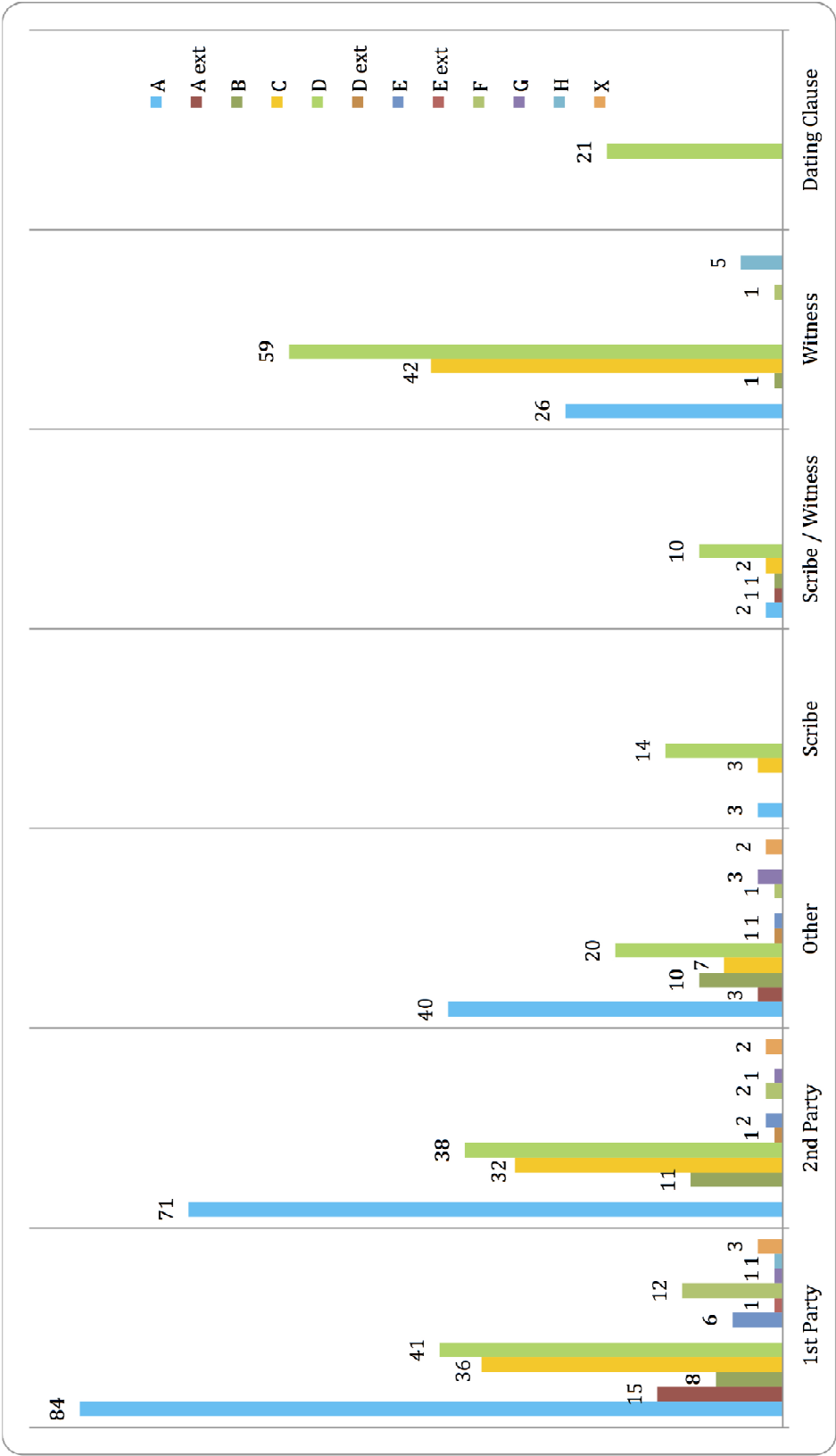


Fig. 1.3. Distribution of type with respect to function

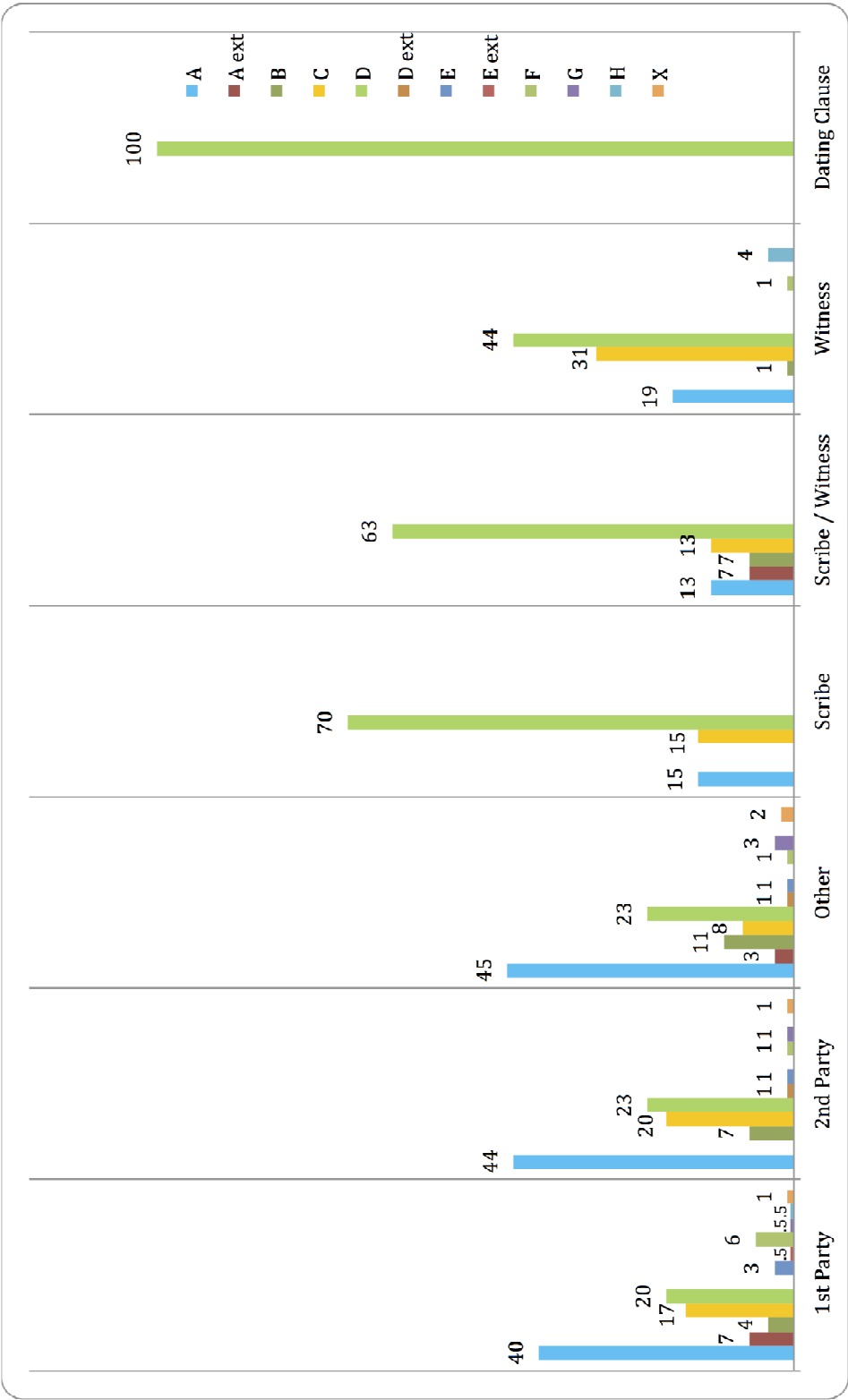


Fig. 1.4. Distribution of type as a percentage of function

A remarkable aspect of the data visible in both Figs 1.3 and 1.4 is the strong presence of type **D** across all functions<sup>34</sup>. Indeed, **D** is the only type represented in all functions (if dating clauses are excluded, types **A**, **C**, and **D** are present in all functions). Moreover, where many types have up to three entries in a number of functions, **D** has more than nine in all of them. The reason for this is most likely related to the nature of the type itself. Type **D** is the use of a personal title and toponym, for example in the pattern: “Nohe, son of Jeremias, the priest and *hegumenos* of the Holy Church of Jeme” (*P.KRU* 12.59-61)<sup>35</sup>. It seems that Coptic scribes, or in the case of some witnesses the individuals themselves, preferred to give a title to an individual, if one existed, as well as or instead of the place of origin or current place of residence. Its pervasion across all of the well attested hands suggests that this was a standard practice, not especially considered by individual scribes<sup>36</sup>. As such, whereas the use of the other types may be influenced by factors such as function or meaning, type **D** can be substituted for any other type and in any context.

Is there a clear link between the use of type and function that can be seen from this data? The above figures show that, in a general sense, there is. If we exclude dating clauses, which only ever use one type, the graph shows the functions divide into two similar patterns. On one side, first, second, and ‘other’ party functions are generally of the main types **A**, **C** or **D**, with the greatest emphasis on **A**. However, a variety of other types also occur in these functions. On the other side, scribe, scribe/witness, and witness functions clearly prefer type **D**. Furthermore, these functions generally show less diversity in the types they are willing to use. The higher levels of **D** among this second group are no doubt due to the strong presence of ecclesiastical figures, who are almost always identified by type **D**, in witness and scribe/witness statements.

Any connection between type and function may also be a result of the types of documents in which location designators most commonly occur, or the preference of particular writers. Consequently, these aspects of the data will also be explored.

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<sup>34</sup> The fact that the dating clause designations are 100% type **D** is not surprising. By their very nature, any dating clause containing a location designator is an eponymous one. Consequently, in such clauses the designator will always be type **D**, that is title + toponym.

<sup>35</sup> ΝΩΣΕ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒ(ΥΤΕΡΟΣ) ΔΥΩ ΠΕΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΧΗΜΕ. All translations provided in this thesis are my own unless otherwise specified.

<sup>36</sup> See Fig. 1.7 on p. 39 below.

### *The Use of Designator Type in Relation to Document Type*

Location designators occur often in documents with legal function. This is because legal documents are those in which the parties need to be most clearly identified and, in an environment where some personal names are very common, a combination of patronymics and toponyms is the most effective. If we can expand legal documents to include such documents as accounts and receipts, then a total of 573 entries from 259 texts in the database come from legal and business related documents – that is to say, 86.17% of entries in the database and 75.51% of documents. On the other hand, only 91 entries (13.68%) from 83 texts (24.19%) could be considered ‘social’ in nature<sup>37</sup>. It is, however, incorrect to think that location designators do not occur in social documents at all.

Broad categorical distinctions such as ‘social’, ‘legal’ or ‘business’ encompass too broad a range of documents to permit an easy assessment of the distribution of location designators in specific document types. Likewise, listing every type of document found within the database is undesirable as there are many types with only a handful of attestations, and such low numbers do not permit quantifiable analysis. The focus will instead be placed on those document types that have more than 50 entries associated with them: acknowledgements of debt (including loan agreements and so-called advance sales), donations, personal letters, sales, settlements, and wills. Between them they account for 70.68% of all entries and 67.06% of all texts in the database. The remaining texts and entries fall into document types that are either poorly attested or unclear<sup>38</sup>. The exact distribution of entries and texts across these six document types is shown in Fig. 1.5.

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<sup>37</sup> A further single entry comes from a text which is too damaged to be reasonably assigned to either category.

<sup>38</sup> The other document types and their numbers (entries/texts) are: accounts 21/13; agreements 8/4; unknown contracts 6/3; work contracts 24/15; statements and declarations 31/11; division of a building 1/1; guarantees 1/1; leases 4/2; mortgages 2/1; petitions 1/1; protection letters 12/9; receipts 14/9; documents relating to securities 25/13; requests for ordination 6/3; transfers of land(?) 1/1; epitaphs 2/2; graffiti 2/2; unknown legal documents 29/18; and miscellaneous unknown 5/5. Writing exercises were excluded since all location designators in exercises came from the hand of Frange and this was not considered informative of broader scribal trends.

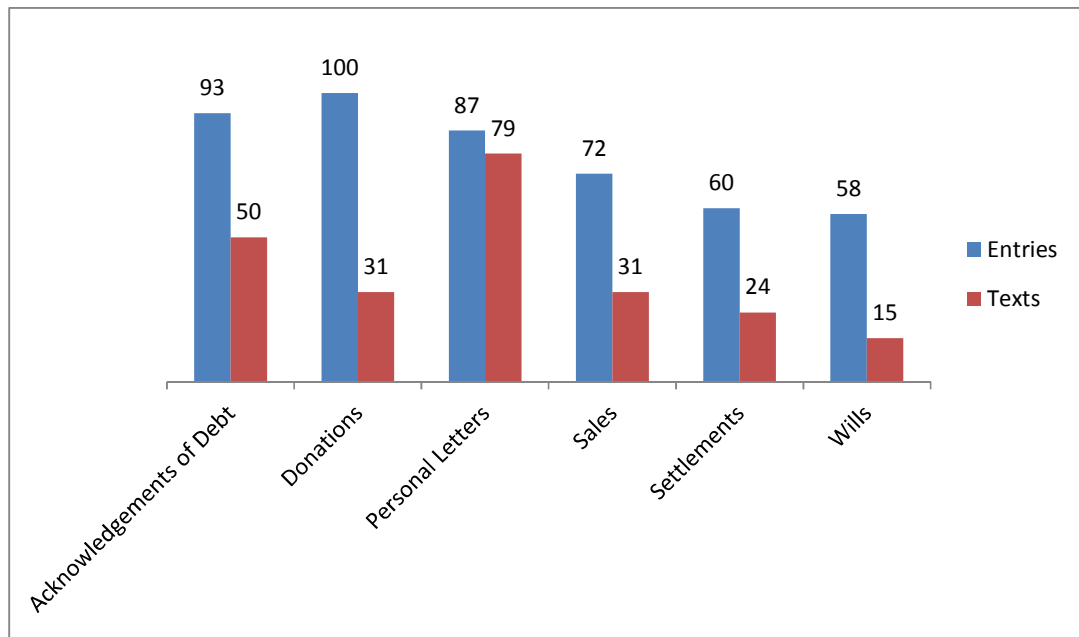


Fig. 1.5. Main document types

While it was stated above that legal and business documents outnumber their social counterparts in terms of location designator usage, as an individual document type personal letters nevertheless hold the third largest number of database entries. Furthermore, they are the best represented group in terms of the number of separate texts, accounting for 23.03% of the texts in the database – 29 more texts than the next largest group (acknowledgements of debt account for 14.58% of the texts). The reason for the textual dominance of personal letters is apparent from the entry to text ratio for the document types. Whereas the ratio for personal letters is close to 1:1, the ratios for the other document types range from just under 2:1 (acknowledgements of debt) to almost 4:1 (wills). Where in other document types location designators can be found in all functions, personal letters are only likely to have either first party, second party or ‘other’ party functions. Essentially the chance that personal letters will have more than one location designator is significantly less. Of course this does not explain why personal letters should carry location designators in the first place; they are mostly used for the first or third parties and so cannot be that useful as a delivery mechanism<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Llewelyn (1994) 1-57 discusses the delivery of letters in antiquity. Private letters are dealt with on pp. 26-47. Although Llewelyn is dealing with Greek material from an earlier period, there is no suggestion that a location for the recipient that was given in the letter itself be used to direct the deliverer. Instructions, when given, were more usually written on the back of the document, with the address. Based on the absence of information about where the deliverer was to go, it is likely that letter deliverers in seventh and eighth century Thebes were given verbal instruction.

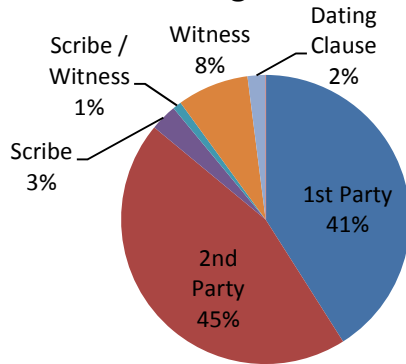
An examination of the distribution of function and type across each of these document types will provide further insight. It is clear from the graphs in Fig. 1.6 that the use of different location designators and functions is not the same across all document types. Each shows slightly different distributions and some aspects deserve comment. It was mentioned above that witness statements had the highest number of entries per text of all the functions. This trend is reflected in the following graphs. Donations and wills, which have the highest numbers of witness location designators, also have the highest entry to text ratio (see above, Fig. 1.5). Conversely, personal letters and acknowledgements of debt have both few or no witness designators and a much lower entry to text ratio.

Looking at the information in this light can explain the low entry to text ratio in personal letters, where the distribution of designators across the functions shows strong first and ‘other’ party usages (37% and 46% respectively). The ‘other’ party usages are dominant in personal letters and are the primary contributors to their strong presence in the database. They are used in instances in which a third party is mentioned, either in connection with the purpose of the letter or incidentally. This third party is often identified by place, presumably so that they are more easily recognisable. The first party usages, however, are more curious. In personal letters it is perhaps expected that the recipient and sender are known to each other well enough not to need a location designator for identification. This may well be the case, as the majority of first party designators used in letters (56.25%) come from the writings of the monk Frange, who seems to have included his location as a matter of stylistic preference in his communications<sup>40</sup>. A large portion of the rest are from *lashanes* or clerical officials who may have had official purpose or felt the need to express their office in some way – thus leading to higher numbers of type **D** in personal letters.

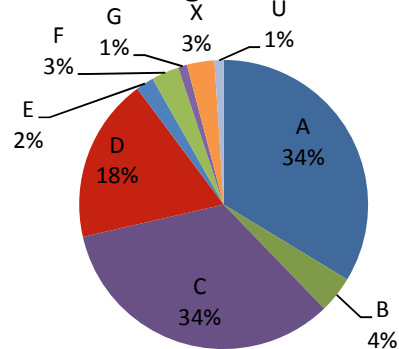
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<sup>40</sup> For Frange’s use of location designators see below, pp. 39-42.

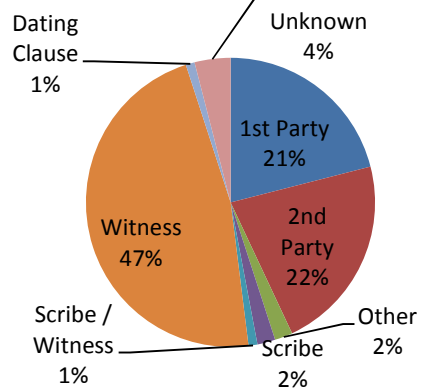
**Distribution of Function in Acknowledgements of Debt**



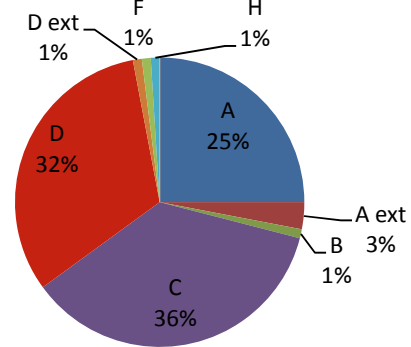
**Distribution of Type in Acknowledgements of Debt**



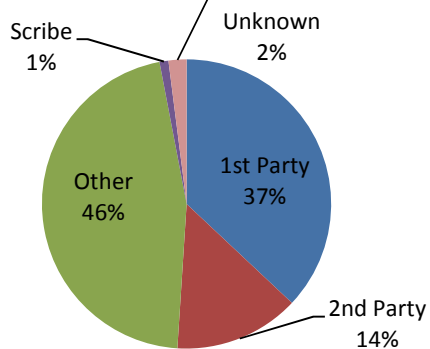
**Distribution of Function in Donations**



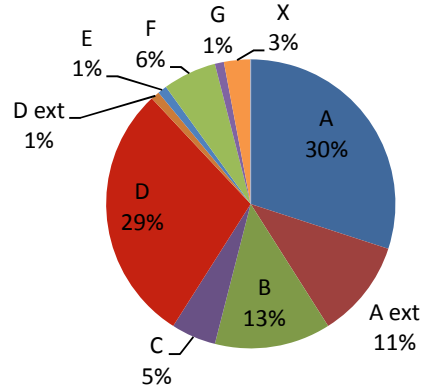
**Distribution of Type in Donations**



**Distribution of Function in Personal Letters**



**Distribution of Type in Personal Letters**





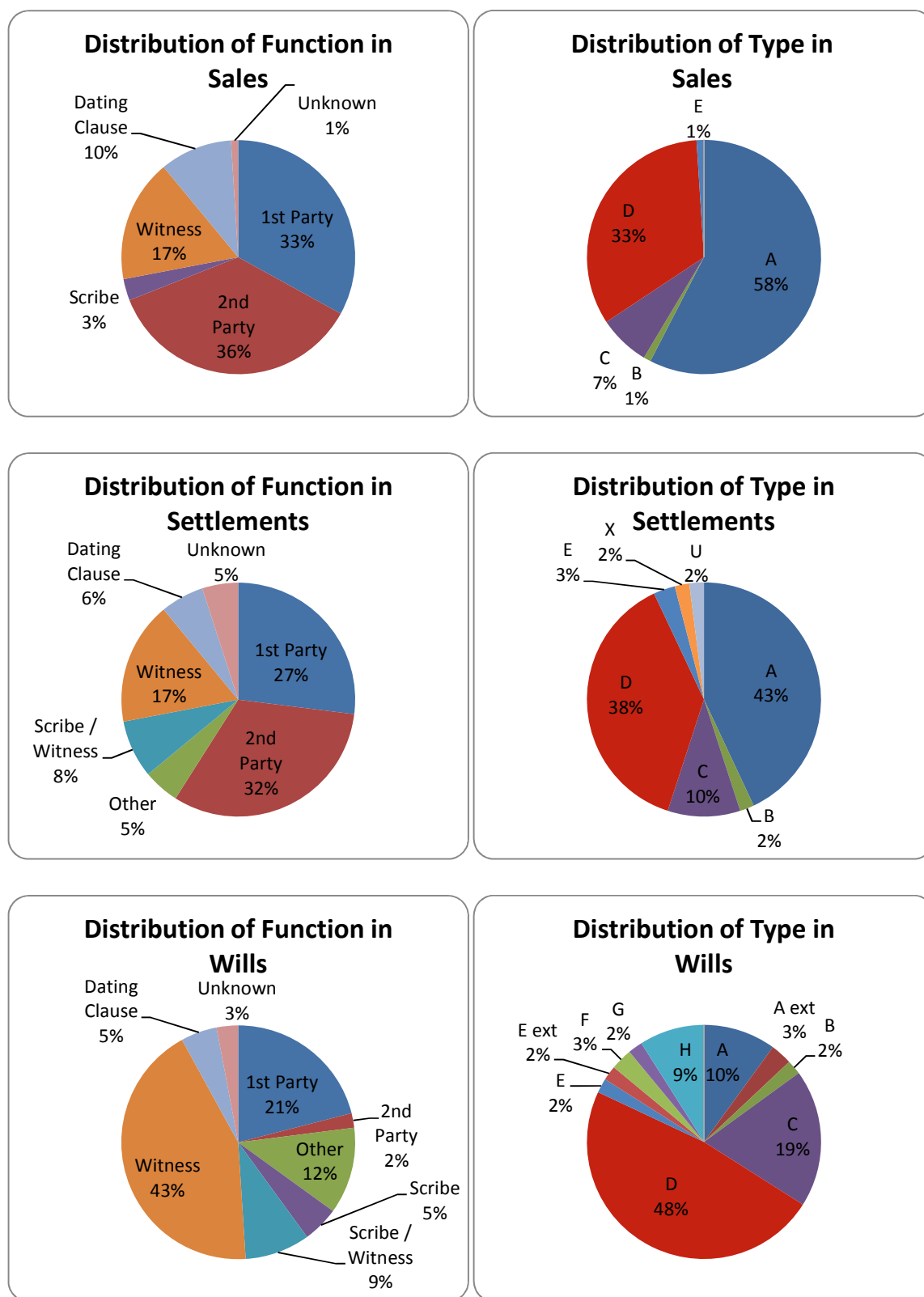


Fig. 1.6. Distribution of function and type in main document types

While the distribution of function across these document types matches the trends observed above, it is harder to assess the significance of the distribution of type. It was argued above that certain types were to some extent associated with certain functions. For instance, type **D** was preferred in witness, scribe, scribe/witness, and dating clause attestations, but still quite common across the board. Type **A** was preferred in first, second and ‘other’ party interactions, and **C** showed a proportionally even spread, but with high numbers in first and second party, and witness attestations. Likewise, it was observed that first, second, and ‘other’ party functions showed a greater variety of types employed than the other functions. In individual document types, however, the correlations between these trends only hold in a general sense. For instance, those document types with greater numbers of witnesses, in particular donations and wills, show large numbers of type **D** designators. Likewise, type **A** is common in most types, but more so in those with a higher proportion of first and second party attestations.

A closer examination, however, identifies a number of variations where the distributions of type and function in the documents do not match the theory as closely as one would like. In sales, for example, the percentage of type **C** designators is relatively low, even though sales have a relatively large percentage of first party, second party, and witness designators, in which functions type **C** was the best attested. Likewise, wills show great variation in the types of designators employed, yet only contain limited amounts of first, second, and ‘other’ party designators, which demonstrated the most variation in the graphs above (Figs 1.3 & 1.4). This suggests that while choice of type may be influenced by function, it is not dependent upon it.

It would seem, then, that there is a connection between the use of different types of location designator and their context, but only in a very broad sense. Of the main types, **A** occurs most often in first, second, and ‘other’ party functions, whereas **D** is more frequent in scribe, scribe/witness, and witness statements, but common in all functions. Type **C** is also common across all functions (except dating clauses), but slightly more so in witness statements. The other, less well-attested types seem to occur most often in first, second, and ‘other’ party usages. The choice of construction in certain document types generally follows these patterns, but variations suggest that any link between choice of type and function in specific document types is one of coincidence, due to the observed general trends outlined above.

### *Individual Choice in Designator Usage*

While scribes do not seem particularly influenced in designator choice by function or document type, it remains to be seen whether or not individual scribes preferred specific types over others for stylistic or lexical reasons.

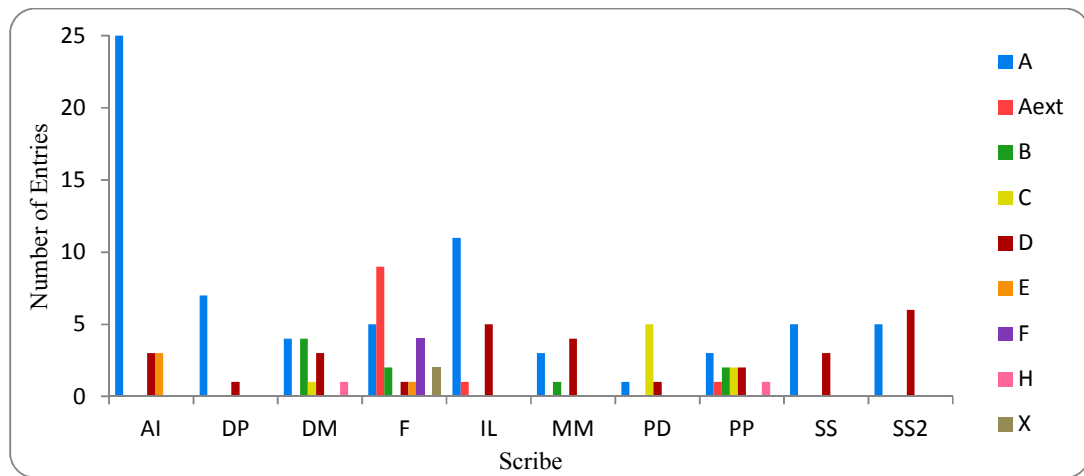


Fig. 1.7. Designator choice for specific scribes<sup>41</sup>

Without access to images of all these documents, the hands in which location designators were written were identified based on the notes of the editors and contextual information from the document itself. While many of the individual entries remain unknown, just over 140 hands have been identified as the writers of designators: both in the main body of the texts and in witness statements<sup>42</sup>. However, very few of the hands have more than a handful of entries associated with them, which renders identifying trends in scribal usage difficult. To this end, the use of designator type will be examined in the ten hands which are the best

<sup>41</sup> The exact data for this figure is as follows: Aristophanes son of Iohannes (AI) uses 31 designators over 19 texts (31/19), which consist of 25 **A**, 3 **D**, and 3 **E** type designators; David son of Psate (DP) (8/6) uses 7 **A** and 1 **D**; David the monk (DM) (13/8) uses 4 **A**, 4 **B**, 1 **C**, 3 **D**, and 1 **H**; Frange (F) (24/23) uses 5 **A**, 9 **Aext**, 2 **B**, 1 **D**, 1 **E**, 4 **F**, and 2 unusual constructions (not appearing in the graph); Iohannes son of Lazaros (IL) (17/6) uses 11 **A**, 1 **Aext**, and 5 **D**; Mark the priest of the *topos* of Saint Mark (MM) (8/5) uses 3 **A**, 1 **B**, and 4 **D**; Psate son of David (PD) (7/1) uses 1 **A**, 5 **C**, and 1 **D**; Psate son of Pisrael (PP) (11/5) uses 3 **A**, 1 **Aext**, 2 **B**, 2 **C**, 2 **D**, and 1 **H**; Shenoute son of Shmentsneu (SS) (8/3) uses 5 **A** and 3 **D**; and Shmentsneu son of Shenoute (SS2) (11/4) uses 5 **A** and 6 **D**.

<sup>42</sup> It is likely that this number is overstated. Individuals with the same name and patronymic are considered to be the same person, however, when an individual has no patronymic, or particularly when various titles occur with the same name it is impossible to determine whether we are dealing with single or multiple individuals without studying the images of the documents. For instance, should 'Moses the son of Shenoute, the deacon' be considered the same person as 'Moses the son of Shenoute, the archdeacon', 'Moses the deacon', or 'Moses the reader'? Without a study of the hand itself, all such cases are considered to be separate individuals. See Till (1962) 144-146 for all instances of a Moses in Theban texts.

represented among those using Coptic location designators. These are (from left to right in Fig. 1.7): Aristophanes son of Iohannes, David son of Psate, David the monk, Frange, Iohannes son of Lazaros, Mark the priest of the *topos* of Saint Mark, Psate son of David, Psate son of Pisrael, Shenoute son of Shmentsneu, and Shmentsneu son of Shenoute. Even among these, four have less than ten entries in the database each (which is less than 1.5% of all entries), and the best represented has only 31 entries (4.66%).

Fig. 1.7 shows the distribution of type across these ten hands. All of the hands use types **A** and **D** – some exclusively or with only one other type, and others amidst greater variation. That scribes should show some preference for these two types is not unexpected given their predominance in the database, however seven of these ten scribes use only these two types or these and one other. This suggests that types **A** and **D** were the standard designators for most scribes. If this is the case, perhaps specific circumstances dictated a scribe's choice to deviate from these constructions. Of the ten scribes above, four use only types **A** and **D**<sup>43</sup>, three use these and one other, and three use five or more different types. An examination of when scribes use constructions other than **A** or **D** may indicate whether or not these deviations follow a universal or even an individual system.

Of those scribes who use type **B**, David the monk, Mark the priest of the *topos* of Saint Mark, and Psate son of Pisrael all employ it to indicate either the brethren of a monastery –  $\overline{\text{NAC}}\overline{\text{NHOY}} \overline{\text{MPTOPOC}} \overline{\text{NAPA}} \overline{\text{FOIBAMMON}}$  (*SB Kopt.* II 922.4-5) – or the community of a place –  $\overline{\text{TKOINW}}\overline{\text{T}}/(\overline{\text{HC}}) \overline{\text{MKACTPON}} \overline{\text{THP}}\overline{\text{C}}$  (*O.Crum VC* 8.20). In one instance, David the monk also uses a **B** type to indicate the location of the priest Apa Victor (a usage which resembles a **D** type<sup>44</sup>), and Frange uses it twice to describe himself as being  $\overline{\text{MPTOY}} \overline{\text{NXHME}}$  – “of the mountain of Jeme” (*O.TT29* 36.14).

Three scribes use type **C** constructions. In five instances from the same text, Psate son of David uses **C** types for witnesses – all from Ermont. It is consequently not easy to determine whether his usage is due to scribal preference or some other factor, for instance the influence of the witnesses themselves. Of the other scribes to use type **C**, Psate son of Pisrael uses this construction for the same individuals in two separate documents (Elizabeth the daughter of

<sup>43</sup> I am including Iohannes son of Lazaros among these as his only deviation from these two main types is an extension of type **A**, and thus still a primary use of  $\overline{\text{PM}}$ .

<sup>44</sup> *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 12.Vs3-4. As the title of Apa Victor occurs before his name and is not directly connected to the location, this designator was classified as a type **B** rather than a **D**.

Epiphanius, and her husband Abraham, both of Jeme), and David the monk uses it in the construction  $\overline{\text{ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤ}\overline{\text{ΣΜΠΤΟΠΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ}}$  – “the brethren who are in the holy *topos*” (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 12).

Type **E** designators are used by only two scribes. Aristophanes son of Iohannes uses this type on three occasions: all designators for multiple individuals who collectively describe themselves as  $\overline{\text{ΔΝΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ ΕΝΗΠ ΕΠΚΑCΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ}}$  – “all of us who are ascribed to the kastron Jeme”<sup>45</sup>. This is not the only construction Aristophanes uses for multiple individuals, however: on five occasions he uses the type **A** plural  $\overline{\text{ΝΡΜ-}}$ . Each instance of type **E**, however, occurs for the first party of the text, whereas four out of five uses of  $\overline{\text{ΝΡΜ-}}$  are for the second party. On such limited evidence it is difficult to say whether this is significant or not, however it is not impossible that Aristophanes had specific circumstances in mind when using type **E** constructions<sup>46</sup>. The monk Frange uses an **E** type construction on only one occasion – to refer to a sick monk for whom he is requesting some oil.

The evidence from these ten scribes does not suggest a standard application of specific types, but rather that scribes had individual preferences in designator use. This conclusion is supported by two examples of location designators in different hands referring to the same individual, Moses son of Plouj, in the same document, *P.CLT* 1. The first instance of a location designator for Moses is given in the opening address (ll. 4-6) and is written in the hand of Psate son of Pisrael. It describes Moses as “the man of Pshinsion in the district of Koptos, but now a monk on the holy mountain of the kastron of Jeme” ( $\overline{\text{ΠΡΜΠΩΝCΙΩΝ ΣΜΠΤΩ ΝΚΒΤ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΟΥΟ ΜΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΣΠΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΜΠΚΑCΤΡΟΝ' ΝΧΗΜΕ}}$ , ll. 5-6). The second designator, written by Iohannes son of Lazaros, describes Moses as “the man of the village Pshinsion in the nome of the city Koptos, but now in the kastron Jeme” ( $\overline{\text{ΠΡΜΠΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΠCΥΝCΙΟΝ ΣΠΠΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΠΟΛΙC ΚΒΤ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΣΜΠΚΑCΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ}}$ , l. 109), referring to him as a monk only outside the designator itself. While the two designators are broadly similar, there are clear stylistic differences. It is probable that Moses described his

<sup>45</sup> *P.KRU* 10.4-6; *P.KRU* 39.1-3; *P.KRU* 40.1-5.

<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, these three texts involve one or more of the children of Germanos as the first party (in the case of *P.KRU* 40 as both parties). Two other texts involve the children of Germanos with designators. In *P.KRU* 21 (in the hand of Iohannes son of Lazaros) they occur as the second party of a text in which both parties (the first party is an individual) carry **A** type designators; and in *P.KRU* 20 (hand unknown) one of the children of Germanos sells part of a house to another individual (his nephew) – both use **A** types. While neither of these texts have multiple individuals for the first party, it is unlikely that the children of Germanos were influencing Aristophanes’ choice of designator.

place of origin and current residential status in general terms, and that the scribes transcribed this according to their own stylistic preferences.

Most scribes, then, seem to have had preferred types from which they deviated in specific circumstances: such as referring to a community or large groups of individuals. In fact, only Frange shows no strong signs of a systematic use of designators. Of the 24 designators he uses in his personal letters, 2 type **A**, 9 **A** extensions, 2 **B**, 4 **F**, and 1 **X** are all first party usages describing himself. The remaining 3 **A**, 1 **D**, 1 **E**, and an **X** are all used for ‘other’ party functions. It seems that Frange’s choice depended on stylistic preference rather than contextual preference. It is likely, then, that while some scribes had specific circumstances in mind for various constructions, others varied without contextual reason.

### *Lexical Variation?*

It was argued above that there are broad correlations between designator use, function, and document type, but that the designator use of individual scribes shows an individual rather than universal system. The question remains, however, whether or not there was an accepted lexical meaning for each type which all scribes were aware of. Is there a conscious decision on the part of the scribe to use  $\rho\bar{\mu}$ -,  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ ,  $\eta\eta$ , or any of the other types that is not based on his own preference? The dictionary meaning and actual usage of each type is examined below, however the most crucial designators are those with extensions, that is, those with an additional phrase qualifying the meaning of certain designators. The extensions of each type are discussed under the heading for the base type.

#### Type A: $\rho\bar{\mu}$ -[toponym]

$\rho\bar{\mu}$ - is the construct form of  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  (‘man’, ‘human being’) which, when used with a place name, denotes a man ‘of’ or ‘from’ that place<sup>47</sup>. This is by far the most common type of location designator in the Theban material, occurring a total of 229 times in 167 texts in the database and a further 19 times with extensions.  $\rho\bar{\mu}$ - occurs with all the definite articles: denoting men ( $\rho\bar{\mu}\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$  *P.KRU* 34.12), women ( $\tau\rho\bar{\mu}\chi\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 73.4) and groups ( $\eta\rho\bar{\mu}\eta\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omega\eta\eta\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$  *P.KRU* 106.11); and once with the indefinite singular

<sup>47</sup> Crum, *Dict.* 294b-296a. For  $\rho\bar{\mu}$ - see p. 295a-295b, with place names see section c, p. 295b. Variants occur as  $\rho\omega\mu$ - *S*,  $\rho\omega\mu$ - *O*, and rarely  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  (except with  $\omega\mu\omega\eta\eta$ ).

(ϵΥΡΜΧΗΜΕ *O.Crum* VC 53.2). While this construction is most commonly used without any connecting element, it infrequently occurs with genitival  $\bar{n}$ - between  $\bar{p}\bar{m}$ - and the toponym (πΡΜΝΧΕΜΕ *P.Pisentius* 68.5-6).

Little discussion exists regarding any specific nuance of  $\bar{p}\bar{m}$ -, however Terry Wilfong once remarked that its usage “denotes an inhabitant of the place, particularly a person born in the place”<sup>48</sup>. His position, that  $\bar{p}\bar{m}$ - can indicate place of origin as well as current residence, is supported by a number of extension phrases which make this relationship explicit. The most common extension of type **A** designators employs ΟΥΗ2, the qualitative of ΟΥΩ2 – ‘to put, be’ here with the sense ‘to dwell’. Most often ΟΥΗ2 occurs with a substantivised relative or a demonstrative pronoun plus relative, as in: ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ [ΤΩ]ΗΡΕ ΠΜΑΚ(ΑΡΙΟΣ) ΠΕΩΔΤΕ ΤΡΜΠΕΠΕΓΕ ΜΜΑΤΟΙ 2ΜΠΤΩ ΜΨΟΙ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥ2 2ΝΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΣ 2ΝΠΚΑΣΤΡΥ ΔΠ\Η/ – “Stauroy, the daughter of the blessed Pesate, the woman of the village of Matoi in the district of Psoi, this one who lives in the monastery of Apa Sergios in the kastron Ape” (*P.KRU* 81.2-4). It is occasionally also attested with a circumstantial construction, as in: ΘΕΩΦΙΛΟΣ ΠΩΝΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΝΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΗΛΙΑΣ ΝΡΜΠΤΩ ΜΠΟΥΔΔΒ ΜΠΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΥΟΥΗ2 2ΝΤΒΗΒΕ 2ΜΤΩ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ – “Theophilos the son of Elias, and Severos the son of Elias, men of the district Pouaab, but today living in Tbebe, in the district of Ermont” (*P.KRU* 118.3-5). Constructions involving ΟΥΗ2 account for 17 of the 21 extensions of type **A** designators in the database. Of these, 11 (64.71%) are in the hand of the monk Frange, who often describes himself as πΡΜΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ ΠΕΤΟΥΗ2 2ΜΠΤΟΥ  $\bar{n}$ ΧΗΜΕ – “the man of Petemout who lives on the mountain of Jeme” (*O.TT29* 39.2-4).

Four other extension phrases occur in specific situations. Two of these relate to Moses, a monk of the monastery of Saint Paul on the mountain of Jeme. The first of these employs a circumstantial and a form of ειρε to indicate both his current profession and location: ΜΩΥΧΗΣ ΠΕΙΕΛ(Δ)\Χ/(ΙΣΤΟΣ) ΜΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡ(Ι)\Ο/(Σ) ΠΛΟΥ $\bar{x}$  ΤΑΜΔΔΥ† ΤΑΣΙΑ ΠΡΜΠΩΝΣΙΩΝ 2ΜΠΤΩ ΝΚΒΤ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΟΥΟ ΜΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ 2ΠΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΜΠΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ  $\bar{n}$ ΧΗΜΕ – “Moses this most humble monk, the son of the blessed Plouj, my mother being Tasia, the man of Pshinsion in the district of Koptos, but now a monk on the holy mountain of the kastron Jeme” (*P.CLT* 1.4-6). The second, from later in the same document, is very

<sup>48</sup> Wilfong (2002) 29. A summarised version of the present discussion was presented at the 10<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Coptic Studies in Rome (17-22 September 2012) and is forthcoming in the proceedings of this congress.

similar but uses a circumstantial converter with a non-verbal sentence and ascribes his current location to “the kastron Jeme” rather than its mountain: ΠΡ̄ΜΠΧΩΡῙΟΝ ΠΣῩΝ̄CΙΟΝ Ξ̄Ν̄Π̄ΝΟΜΟΣ Ν̄ΤΠΟΛΙC Κ̄Β̄Τ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΪ̄Ξ̄Μ̄Π̄ΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ – “the man of the village Pshinsion, in the nome of the city Koptos, but now in the kastron Jeme” (*P.CLT* 1.108-109)<sup>49</sup>.

At one point in another document, a certain Athanasios reports to the recipient that he “met a man from Jeme on the isle” – ᾹῙΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕῩΡ̄Μ̄ΧΗΜΕ Ξ̄ῙΤ̄ΜΟῩΕ (*O.Crum VC* 53.2-3)<sup>50</sup>. This is not a typical location designator in that it does not qualify a named individual, however in indicating the individual’s place of residence and current location it functions in the same way. Finally, the second husband of Elizabeth the daughter of Epiphanius, a woman of Jeme, was originally from Aswan but relocated to Jeme when he married her. This situation is recorded in a number of documents relating to the couple, and through his location designator as it appears in her will: ΠᾹΣΔΙ ΑΒ̄ΡΑΞΔΑΜ ΠΩΗ[ΡΕ] ΝΘ̄ΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΡ̄Μ̄ΤΠΟΛΙC CΟΥΗΝ Χ̄ΕΝΤΑΧ̄ΙΤ ΝΑΧ ΝCΙΜΕ Ξ̄Ν̄Χ̄Η[ΜΕ] – “my husband Abraham, the son of Theodoros, the man of the city Aswan, since he took me to him as (a) wife in Jeme” (*P.KRU* 68.11-12).

The use of extensions with constructions involving Π̄Μ- shows that in some cases it is used to differentiate place of origin from current place of residence. Why this distinction should be made, particularly if the place of residence has changed permanently, is less clear. Of the 21 extensions of type **A** that occur in the database, 15 (71.43%) are from monks or nuns: although it must be remembered that 11 of these relate to the monk Frange. Given that these individuals are now living in an institution away from their original home, perhaps their continued identification with their place of birth is connected with administrative necessity. More likely, such extensions are a more accurate means of identification. Monks, for instance,

<sup>49</sup> The designator on lines 4-6 is from the opening formula at the beginning of the document, whereas that on lines 108-109 is from his assent clause. The two designators are written by different scribes, as the assent clause was written by a different individual from the main scribe of the text.

<sup>50</sup> Crum translates Ξ̄ῙΤ̄ΜΟῩΕ with “at Tmoue” rather than “on the isle”, taking it as a place name. However, he qualifies in note 3 of this edition that “the isle” is more likely. A similar place name occurs in *O.Crum VC* 48.3: Ἰ̄Ν̄ΗΥ Ε̄Τ̄ΜΟῩ. If one or both of these references can be understood as “the isle” it is possible that they refer to Pisinai, near Kos, which is elsewhere called an isle. See Appendix A, p. 274.



theoretically gave up their actual family for a spiritual one, and so a more detailed location designator was likely preferable to one involving a patronymic<sup>51</sup>.

Whatever the case, that ϣ̄- implies a relationship with a place beyond simple residence is supported by the fact that none of the 230 uses of ϣ̄- in the database occur directly affixed to a church or monastery, only cities, villages, and occasionally districts: for example ϣ̄ϣ̄ϣ̄ϣ̄ϣ̄ϣ̄ ⲛⲕⲉⲃⲧ – “the man of the district of Koptos” (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 323.1-2). Given that Abraham the husband of Elizabeth moved to Jeme when he married her, it seems unlikely that ϣ̄- could represent an administrative link. One would think that, for all intents and purposes, Abraham was now a resident of Jeme and would have paid his taxes as a resident of that town<sup>52</sup>.

If administrative purposes are unlikely, it remains possible that the use of both original and current locations either serves as a further means of identifying specific individuals, or is a stylistic preference of the individual themselves, as is almost certainly the case with the monk Frange. It is impossible to say whether some of those only identified by ϣ̄- originated elsewhere – that is, it is impossible to say whether ϣ̄- was used by different scribes to identify either the place of birth or the current place of residence. Conversely, there are some cases in which only ϣ̄-, indicating origin and not current residence, is used when the current place of residence has already been signalled. In *Coptica* #43, Psan son of Paham is twice identified as a “man of Terkot” (ϣ̄ϣ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲕⲱⲧ, ll. 2 & 12), and is in contact with a man of Jeme, thus providing a potential link between the two places. However, in the opening address of this text, which is damaged, Psan is “the man of Terkot, who liv[es in ...] in the nome of Ermont” (ϣ̄ϣ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲱϣ̄[ⲏⲉ ⲉ̄ⲛ-...] ⲉ̄ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ϣ̄ⲙⲟⲛⲧ/, ll. 2-3), which suggests that he now resides somewhere else (perhaps in a monastery). If the beginning of this text had been more damaged and had not partially preserved the construction ⲉⲧⲱϣ̄[ⲏⲉ

<sup>51</sup> While accepting that Christian monasticism called for the renunciation of biological ties, R. Krawiec (2003) has argued that this situation is in fact more complex. She has looked at familial discourse in Augustine, Gregory of Nyssa, and Shenoute, and concluded that “in many cases monasticism had a “profamilial” attitude alongside its standard “antifamilial tendency”” (p. 305). This goes a long way to explaining why many of those styling themselves as ⲙⲟⲛⲁϣ̄ⲟⲥ in Coptic papyri refrain from using patronymics, yet many others seem to maintain relationships with their biological family.

<sup>52</sup> Indeed either he or a man with the same name and patronymic served as a *lashane* of Jeme in the early eighth century (*P.CLT* 5.48-51). Tax receipts with location designators for the tax payer are infrequent, yet some few do use them. *O.Vind.Copt.* 92 is the receipt for the poll tax payment of Georgios “the man of Pshenhor” (ϣ̄ϣ̄[ⲙⲛⲱⲛ]ⲉⲱⲣ, ll. 3-4) to the *lashane* of the same town; Daniel son of Pachom “the man of the kastron Jeme” (ϣ̄ϣ̄ⲙⲛⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣ[ⲟ]ⲛ ⲉ̄ⲏⲙⲉ, *P.Bal.* Appendix A, l.2) is issued a tax assessment; and a receipt is given to “the men of Jeme” (ϣ̄ϣ̄ⲙⲉ, ll. 1-2) for taxes paid in *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 82/4. It is unclear why these individuals are located and, as such, impossible to extrapolate anything of significance from these documents.

ⲛ̅-, a link might have been made on the basis of this text when one is not entirely justified, as it is likely that Psan no longer lived in Terkot. This example cautions against relying on a location given in an assent clause when the beginning of the text is lost, however it would be crippling to doubt every such use of ⲛ̅-.

Problems aside, ⲛ̅- is used in Theban texts to indicate place of origin. In some circumstances this is contrasted with an individual's current place of residence, but in many, where no modifying phrase is used, it likely refers to both (i.e. when origin and current place of residence are the same). Furthermore, ⲛ̅- is not used to attribute an individual to a church or monastery.

### Type B: Genitival ⲛ-

The genitival particle ⲛ- (ⲙⲙⲟ̅) can be used in a locational sense to refer to an individual 'from' a place<sup>53</sup>. The affixation of a toponym directly to a personal name by means of only the genitival particle is used infrequently compared to types **A**, **C**, and **D**, with only 31 entries from 29 texts in the database. Its use can be divided into three rough variations. Firstly, 19 of the entries are simple "NN of X" constructions, as in ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲛⲡⲙⲁⲕ(ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ) ⲡⲣⲱⲧⲟⲓⲛⲉⲛⲥ ⲛⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ – "Petros, the son of the blessed Protogenes, of Ermont" (*P.KRU* 93.55) or ⲉⲡⲉⲫⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲭⲉⲙⲉ – "Epiphanius of the mountain of Jeme" (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 108.8-9)<sup>54</sup>. Another nine entries refer to communities, usually of monks but also of Jeme, as in ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲛⲩϥ ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ – "the brethren of the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon" (*SB Kopt.* II 922.4-5) or ⲧⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲧ/(ⲛⲥ) ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲣⲉ – "the community of the whole kastron" (*O.Crum VC* 8.20). The final three entries employ a title, similar to the construction of type **D**, however the title is placed before the personal name and not between it and the place name, as in ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ(ϥⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲙⲡⲧⲛ[ⲟⲥ] ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ – "(the) priest Apa Victor of the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon" (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 12.Vs 3-4).

Of the 31 entries for type **B**, 19 give the location of the individual as a church or monastery (including the uses of ⲧⲟⲟϥ 'mountain'), which highlights an important aspect of **B**

<sup>53</sup> Crum, *Dict.* 215a-216a. See in particular section b, p. 216a.

<sup>54</sup> It may be possible to add a twentieth example of this usage, increasing the total number of type **B** designators to 32. In *O.Vind.Copt.* 31.1-2, David of Papjioor(?) (ⲁⲗⲁⲓⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁ ⲛⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣ) writes a loan agreement to Daniel of Jeme. Due to the problematic reading of ⲙⲡⲁ ⲛⲭⲓⲟⲟⲣ, it is not entirely clear if this is a location designator, so I have not included it in the count.

compared to **A** and certain other types. Whereas type **A** had, in many circumstances, the specific nuance of referring to place of origin, type **B** refers more generally to the place where an individual resided. While this place could be a monastery, church or town, the use of genitival **ν-** does not seem to imply any administrative relationship between the individual and the place they are associated with.

#### Type C: $\bar{\nu}$ -[toponym]

According to Crum's dictionary the simple preposition  $\bar{\nu}$ -, when used in reference to place, has the sense 'in', 'at' or 'on'<sup>55</sup>. This preposition appears commonly in designators of place, accounting for 123 of the database entries (18.22%) and occurring in 71 separate texts (20.23%). It occurs in a broad range of document types and functions – although primarily in first party, second party, and witness statements (the three best attested functions) – and is used to indicate location within towns and cities:  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\mu\alpha\kappa(\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma)\ \bar{\iota}\omega\varsigma\eta\phi\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\alpha\varsigma\tau\rho\omicron\nu\ \bar{\nu}\chi\eta\mu\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\nu\tau$ <sup>56</sup> – “Philotheos, the son of the blessed Joseph, in the kastron of Jeme in the district Ermont” (*O.CrumVC* 30.6-8). While **C** types also occur with monasteries and churches: for instance  $\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\alpha\ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \mu\pi\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\varsigma\alpha\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\theta\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha\ \mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$  – “Kosma, the son of the blessed Isaac, in the (church of) Saint Mary” (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 61.4-5), they do so less frequently<sup>57</sup>. In fact, of the 123 primary instances of type **C**, only four (3.25%) are used with a church or monastery<sup>58</sup>. In *P.KRU* 82.51, moreover, a certain Sergios is designated  $\bar{\nu}\lambda\alpha\pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\backslash\chi/(\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma)\ \bar{\nu}\lambda\iota\alpha\kappa(\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma)\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{\nu}$  – “in Ape, the humble deacon of the holy Church”. This text, combined with the low numbers of attestations of  $\bar{\nu}$ - with a religious institution, suggest that it is preferably used to indicate affiliation with a town or city rather than with a church or monastery. There is nothing to suggest, though, that it carries a more specific nuance, as does  $\bar{\rho}\mu$ -.

In its most basic sense,  $\bar{\nu}$ - refers to the physical location of an object or person. However, when used with a place name in location designators,  $\bar{\nu}$ - seems to refer to the individual's primary place of residence: in this sense it would be better translated as 'from'. A small

<sup>55</sup> Crum, *Dict.* 683a-685a. For uses with place see section a, p. 683a-b.

<sup>56</sup>  $\bar{\nu}$ - is also used frequently to link a place with the district or nome in which it lay.

<sup>57</sup> A church of Saint Mary is known to have existed in Jeme, and it is likely that this church is meant here. Words for churches, usually  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ , are commonly omitted from location designators unless they form part of the actual name of the church, as in  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$  – “the Holy Church of Jeme”. On the other hand, monasteries almost always occur with either  $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  “monastery” or  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\bar{\nu}$  “holy place”.

<sup>58</sup> Besides the example given already, religious institutions occur with  $\bar{\nu}$ - in *O.CrumVC* 30.5-6; *O.Crum* 191.7-8; and *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 12.Vs.4-5.

number of examples will serve to illustrate this point. Firstly, in a witness statement in *P.KRU* 65.86-87 a certain Samuel son of Joseph describes himself as  $\text{Ⲛⲛⲭⲉⲙⲉ}$  – “from Jeme” – then adds  $\text{ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧϣⲭⲏⲛ ⲁⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲓⲉ ⲁⲓⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲗⲃ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ}$  – “by chance I visited the holy *topos* of Apa Phoibammon”, where Apa Jacob, the first party, asked him to witness his will. This example draws a distinction between  $\text{Ⲛⲛⲭⲉⲙⲉ}$ , Samuel’s residential location, and his physical location at the time of writing. Note, however, that  $\text{Ⲛⲛ-}$  is used for both statements: in the first instance as part of the location designator, and in the second in its dictionary meaning.

That  $\text{Ⲛⲛ-}$  is used to indicate residential location is evident from a number of documents in which the primary parties use  $\text{Ⲛⲛ-}$  with different toponyms in their designators. For instance, in *O.Crum* 60 Severos son of Solomon,  $\text{ⲁⲓⲛⲧⲟϥⲣⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ}$  – “from Tourese (in) the nome of Ermont” (ll. 2-3), enters into a loan agreement with Shenetom son of Teus,  $\text{ⲁⲓⲛⲭⲏⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲧ}$  – “from Jeme (in) this same nome” (ll. 4-5). It is unlikely that both men were in separate locations when the contract involving them was drawn up. More probable is that both were present at its execution and that the use of  $\text{Ⲛⲛ-}$  refers to their residential locations. In *P.KRU* 89, a document in which a man donates a child to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, two witnesses are  $\text{ⲁⲓⲛⲱⲗⲙⲏⲣ}$  “from Psamer” (ll. 50, 51), and two are  $\text{ⲁⲓⲛⲧⲁⲃⲛⲏⲥⲉ}$  “from Tabennese” (ll. 52, 53). Although we do not know the location of the first party, it is improbable that the document was taken to two separate towns just to find witnesses. In these instances  $\text{Ⲛⲛ-}$  certainly refers to residential rather than physical location.

Based on the evidence from Theban texts,  $\text{Ⲛⲛ-}$ , when used as the primary indicator of place, generally indicates place of residence and does not necessarily imply an administrative or legal connection between an individual and a place. In this sense it essentially functions as a synonym of the genitival  $\text{ⲛ-}$  (type **B**). Although it is possible that  $\text{Ⲛⲛ-}$  does refer to physical location in some instances, this is either made explicit by means of an expansion (as in *P.KRU* 65.86-87) or is simply coincidental.

#### Type D: [title] ⲛ-[toponym]

Type **D** designators employ a title and place name construction, usually connected by genitival  $\text{ⲛ-}$ , of the pattern:  $\text{ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲗⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲉ}$  – “Andreas the *lashane* of Jeme” (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 29.1-2). This construction is very common in Theban documentary texts,

occurring 214 times in 138 texts in the database. It occurs in a broad range of document types and functions, and with both religious and administrative titles. Type D designators show two degrees of specificity. Most name the specific institution (for religious officials) or town (for secular officials) in which the individual holds his post, for instance  $\text{CENOV}\backslash\Theta/(\text{IOC}) \text{PWHP}\epsilon \text{NPM}\Delta\text{K}(\Delta\text{PIOC}) \text{FIL}\Theta/(\text{EOS}) \text{POIKONOMC} \text{NPZAGIOC} \Delta\text{PA} \Psi\Delta\text{TE} \text{MPTOOU} \text{NXHME}$  – “Shenoute, the son of the blessed Philotheos, the *oikonomos* of the Holy Apa Psate on the mountain of Jeme” (*P.KRU* 54.3-4), or  $\Delta\text{BRAZAM} \bar{\text{N}}\Delta\Delta\text{NIHA} \text{PLAWANE} \text{NXHME}$  – “Abraham, (the son) of Daniel, the *lashane* of Jeme” (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 73.24-25). In these instances there is no reason not to believe that the individuals held their positions at the institution or town mentioned.

A number of instances, however, only refer to a more or less general area in which the individual was located, as in  $\text{MOWCHC} \text{PDI}\Delta\text{K}(\text{ONOC}) \text{MPTOW} \bar{\text{N}}\text{KYBH}\tau$  – “Moses the deacon of the district of Koptos” (*O.Vind.Copt.* 34.10);  $\text{PHP}\epsilon\text{CBYTEROC} \bar{\text{N}}\text{TERKOT}$  – “the priest of Terkot” (*O.Vind.Copt.* 55.4-5); or  $\text{KYPIAK}(\text{OC}) \text{PEHP}\backslash\epsilon/(\text{CBYTEROC}) \Delta\text{Y}\omega \text{PZEGYME}\text{NOC} \text{MPTOOU} \bar{\text{N}}\text{XHME}$  – “Kuriakos, the priest and *hegumenos*<sup>59</sup> of the mountain of Jeme” (*P.Schutzbriefe* 31.1). In such cases, the title of the individual and the place are only generally related. Moses, for instance, was undoubtedly not a deacon over the whole district of Koptos, but rather a deacon of a church within the district. In these cases the joining preposition probably conveys the residential sense ‘from’, in much the same manner as  $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}$  or  $\text{N-}$ .

A number of prepositions other than  $\text{N}$  are also used to connect title and place name, however the sense of the construction is essentially the same. The other prepositions used are the Greek  $\Delta\text{PO}$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ ) (*P.KRU* 84.2); and the Coptic  $\epsilon\text{-}$  (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 7.11-13; *O.Crum* 310.1-2; *P.KRU* 80.6-7; 88.3; 97.73-75,75-77);  $\epsilon\text{XN-}$  (*P.KRU* 42.8; 97.77-78);  $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}$  (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 10.vs3-4; *O.Crum* 36.4-5; 165.9-11; *Ad.*16.1-3; *O.CrumST* 62.10; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 59.3-4; *P.KRU* 82.49; *P.Schutzbriefe* 85.1); and  $\text{ZI-}$  (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 73/1.5).

Based on the examples from other types, a construction that can be applied to towns, regions and religious institutions is unlikely to indicate place of origin, or place of residence for

<sup>59</sup> The title *hegumenos* (from Greek ἡγούμενος, ‘leader’) was given to both priests and monks and was used to denote the highest ranking priest or monk in a group. In a church environment, a *hegumenos* is equivalent to an archpriest. In a monastic environment, the term refers to the superior of the monastery, and this is the most likely meaning of the term as it occurs in the Theban texts. For the use of this term see Wipszycka (1991:C).

administrative purposes. This is further suggested in *O.Vind.Copt.* 103.6,8<sup>60</sup> where a “Gergorios, priest of Saint Pesamou, man of the kastron” occurs – ΓΕΡΓΩΡΙΟΣ ΠΡ\Ε/(ΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) ΜΠΣΑΓΙ(ΟΣ) ΠΕΣΑΜΟΥ ΠΡΗΜΠΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ. That the scribe seems to be deliberately trying to convey a difference between where Gergorios served as a priest and what town he was a “man” of reinforces the meaning provided above for type **A** constructions.

The wide distribution of type **D** designators across a range of document types and functions suggests that scribes preferred to use an individual’s title wherever possible, or, in the case of witness statements, that individuals preferred to use their own title. In the 96 documents from the database in which more than one type of designator occurs, 76 (79.17%) use type **D** designators as one of the types and 61 (63.54%) use only type **D** and one other type. This suggests that even if a scribe had a preference for a specific construction, type **D** designators were still employed as the norm when a title was available.

#### Type E: (η)ΕΤΗΗ Ε-[toponym]

A small number of designators employ ηη, the qualitative of the verb ωη – ‘to count’ or ‘reckon’, in a transitive sense with the preposition ε- to give the sense ‘belonging to’ or ‘ascribed to’<sup>61</sup>. These constructions are uniformly preceded by a relative or circumstantial converter, for instance: ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ ΤΩΕΝΙΩΣΗΦ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΗΗ ΕΧΗΜΕ – “(A)lexandria, the daughter of Joseph, this one who is ascribed to Jeme” (*O.Crum VC* 17.3-4); or ΩΕΝ[ΟΥΤΕ] ΙΩΣΑΝ[ΝΑ]ΡΙ.Η. ΝΩ[Η]ΡΕ Μ[ΠΜΑΚ(ΔΡΙΟΣ)] ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΜΝ... etc ... ΔΝΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ ΕΝΗΗ ΕΠΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΝΧΗ[ΜΕ] ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΡΜΟΝΤ – “Shenoute (and) Iohannari, the sons of the blessed Germanos and ... etc. ... all of us who are ascribed to the kastron of Jeme, (in) the nome of the city Ermont” (*P.KRU* 40.1-5). Instances in which a circumstantial converter is used, as in the second of the two examples above, occur in three separate texts all written by the same scribe, Aristophanes son of Iohannes, which perhaps suggests that the use of the circumstantial in these constructions was not standard<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Line 7 is a later superlinear addition, above what is numbered as line 8.

<sup>61</sup> Crum, *Dict.* 526a-528a. For the uses with ε- see p. 526a-526b.

<sup>62</sup> Apart from the example given above, the circumstantial converter is also used in *P.KRU* 10.5-6 and *P.KRU* 39.2-3. In *P.KRU* 39 the personal names are followed by a construction involving εΝ-: ΔΝΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ ΕΝΗΗ εΝΗΗ[ΕΝ]ΟC ΕΠΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΝΧΗΜΕ (*P.KRU* 39.2-3), which gives the sense ‘in, among’ (see Crum, *Dict.* 527a) – “All we who are ascribed among the people of the kastron of Jeme”.

Constructions employing  $\eta\eta$  occur 9 times in the database, and once more with an extension, and although they are infrequent it is possible that they have a very specific meaning. On the basis of information from the Frange dossier, Liliane Aït-Kaci, Anne Boud'hors, and Chantal Heurtel argue that even from its basic meaning,  $\eta\eta$  must have administrative connotations<sup>63</sup>. They point out that in two texts Frange appears reluctant or unable to procure oil from Jeme, and seeks an intermediary to acquire some for him<sup>64</sup>. They suggest that Frange needed to do this because he himself was not ascribed to Jeme but to the town on which Petemout, his hometown, was dependent, and that these texts are perhaps an indication of “une limitation de la circulation des personnes liée au renforcement de la surveillance fiscal au début de VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”<sup>65</sup>. It is not clear why Aït-Kaci, Boud'hors, & Heurtel believe that Frange could not be ascribed to Petemout itself, nor why Frange should not be able to have fiscal dealings with Jeme, however these issues shall be revisited at a later point<sup>66</sup>. What they have said about the meaning of  $\eta\eta$  when used to identify location deserves closer attention.

In support of their arguments, only four towns – Apé, Ermont, Jeme, and Terkot – are used with  $\eta\eta$  in Theban location designators. This suggests that  $\eta\eta$  cannot be applied to any inhabited area (a monastery for instance), but had a more restricted use. Furthermore, the two extensions of this type are both for monks living on the mountain of Jeme but ascribed to Jeme in one instance and Ermont in the other:  $\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \eta\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \mu\eta\mu\omicron\eta\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\eta\eta\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \mu\eta\mu\alpha\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\lambda\ \eta\delta\iota\ \epsilon\tau\eta\eta\ \epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\varsigma\tau\rho\omicron\eta\ \chi\eta\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\iota\eta\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\beta$  – “Jacob the son of David, the monk, and Elias the pious believer, the son of Samuel, these who are ascribed to the kastron Jeme but living on its holy mountain” (*P.KRU* 75.131-133); and  $\lambda\eta\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\iota\phi\alpha\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\eta\mu\omicron\eta\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\eta\delta\rho\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\delta\iota\ \epsilon\tau\eta\eta\ \epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\eta\tau\ \epsilon\chi\omicron\ \mu\eta\mu\omicron\eta\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\iota\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$  – “Apa Epiphanius the most pious monk, the son of Andreas, this one who is ascribed to the city Ermont, being a monk on the mountain of Jeme” (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87.6-8)<sup>67</sup>.

It is clear from the examples above that  $\eta\eta$  did not necessarily indicate where one lived, but rather where one was registered in the administrative records. In most cases this would be the

<sup>63</sup> Aït-Kaci, Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 6.

<sup>64</sup> See *O.TT* 299 and 86.

<sup>65</sup> They suggest Apé. See Aït-Kaci, Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 6-8 and Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 24.

<sup>66</sup> See p. 122.

<sup>67</sup> It is interesting to note that both of these examples come from the monastery of Epiphanius on the Sheikh abd el-Qurna. *P.KRU* 75 is the will of Jacob and Elias, who owned the property and presumably led the monks there, and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 87, also a will, was found there and may be in favour of Apa Epiphanius.

Type F: ετοϋη2 2N̄-[toponym]

<sup>68</sup> See the discussion on the taxation of the monastery of Apa Paul, pp. 205-206.

<sup>69</sup> Crum, *Dict.* 505b-508b. For its uses with the prepositions ʒl- (Sahidic only), ʒn̄-, and n- (Sahidic only), see pp. 507b-508a.



substantivised relative –  $\varphi\rho\alpha\nu\gamma\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\lambda\lambda\chi(\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma)\ \pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma\ \varsigma\mu\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$  – “the humblest Frange, the one who lives on the mountain of Jeme” (*O.TT29* 38.14-15). Type **F** designators also occur twice with the relative converter alone (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 92.3-5 and *O.Crum* Ad.17.1-5), and once with a circumstantial converter (*P.KRU* 67.13-14).

Type **F** is not common, occurring only 16 times (2.41%) in 15 texts (4.37%). However, the use of  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  in location designators is not limited to these primary instances. Type **F** designators, showing the same variations in construction, are also used in extensions of **A**, **D**, and **E** type designators, increasing the use of this construction to 33 entries (4.96%) over 29 texts (8.45%). The use of  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  in the extensions indicates current residential location rather than original location. Given that the construction of the clause containing  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  in the extensions is essentially the same as in the primary usage, it is almost certain that the meaning conveyed by type **F** designators in a primary usage is also the same. That is to say,  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  is used literally to convey residence and does not have any administrative implications.

Every instance of type **F** preceded by the substantivised relative is from the hand of Frange, and is used to describe his own situation. Only two of Frange’s uses of  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  employ a relative which is not substantivised, and both of these follow from lacunae or damaged letters<sup>70</sup>. In fact, 13 of the uses of  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  (39.39%) are from Frange’s hand, and a further 11 likely relate to monks or a monastic environment. This means that 72.73% of all uses of  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  come from a monastic context. Such a high percentage suggests that  $\omicron\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  was particularly (but not exclusively) used to indicate residence in religious communities, such as the smaller monasteries or hermitages, where legal residence could not be ascribed.

#### Type G: $\varsigma\iota$ -[toponym]

Constructions employing the preposition  $\varsigma\iota$ - (‘on’, ‘at’, ‘in’, ‘from’, ‘out of’) as the primary connector of personal name and place are relatively rare in Theban documentary texts, occurring only 6 times in as many texts<sup>71</sup>. This construction usually occurs straight after the personal name, as in  $\pi\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda\ \varsigma\iota\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau$  – “Pisrael, in Taut” (*O.Crum* 439.4<sup>72</sup>). In one instance,

<sup>70</sup> *O.Ashm.Copt.* 19.2-5 and *O.TT29* 98.2-3.

<sup>71</sup> *Crum, Dict.* 643b-645b. For the meaning ‘from’, ‘out of’ see p. 644b.

<sup>72</sup> A few other instances involving  $\varsigma\iota$ - likely occur in this account, however they are too damaged to be certain.

however, it occurs with a relative converter: βασιλεος ἐτῆπειλαε – “Basileos, who is in the valley” (*O.Crum VC* 51.8).

This second example raises an interesting question: does 21- indicate physical location more than other types? 21- occurs in a secondary role 14 times in other types of location designators (**A**, **D**, **E**, and **F**), and in 12 of these it occurs before τοοῦ (‘mountain’). Many of these refer to the location of a monastery, for instance ἰακωβ μονοχοῦ ἀγῶ προεστῶς νητοποῦ ἐτοῦ ἀβ ἀπα φοιβαμμῶν 21τοοῦ νῆμμε – “Jacob, the monk and superior of the holy *topos* (of) Apa Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme” (*P.KRU* 65.81-82). In these instances 21- certainly indicates the physical presence of the monastery on the mountain, however in other examples this meaning is less apparent. In *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 73/1, a man from Ermont borrows money from “Apa Shenoute, the monk on the mountain” (ἀπα ψενοῦθίου μονοχοῦ 21τοοῦ, l. 5). This construction, a type **D** using 21- with a title instead of ν-, seems to indicate where Apa Shenoute was a monk, rather than where he was at the time the document was written.

This is also the circumstance suggested by the primary usage of 21- in type **G** designators. That is, when Pisrael was described as 21ταγτ, or when a son of Hello is described as 21πκαστρῶ(ν) νῆμμε (*P.KRU* 73.48), context suggests that place of residence is meant. While other contexts, such as the secondary use of 21- in location designators to describe the location of monasteries, certainly suggest a physical location, the use of 21- as the primary means to connect a personal name and place likely indicates place of residence. In this respect, the use of 21- is essentially synonymous with 21̄- and ν-.

#### Type H: constructions using κατὰ τύχην and ἀπαραγε

Type **H** designators are unusual because they specify physical location rather than place of residence, or place of origin. They occur only 6 times in the database and 5 of these instances are witness statements from the same document: the will of Apa Jacob, a superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. Of these, the first was mentioned above, but the full citation is: ἀνοκ σαμοῦηλ νῶσῃς 2νῆμμε κατὰ τύχην ἀπαραγε 2μητοποῦ ἐτοῦ ἀβ ἀπα φοιβαμμῶν ἀ\ἀ\παιωτ<sup>sic</sup> ἀπα ἰακωβ αἰτεῖ μοι ἀρμαρτύρος ἐ†διαθήκη κατὰ τεχαίτης – “I Samuel (son) of Joseph from Jeme, by chance I visited the holy *topos* of Apa



It is difficult to accept that the  $\rho\mu$  transcribed before Pampane is the contraction of  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  meaning ‘man of’: the same individual being a ‘man of’ two different toponyms is completely unparalleled.

### Type X: Other Constructions

The seven type **X** entries consist of constructions which did not occur with enough frequency to warrant the creation of separate types. Three documents employ the construction: relative converter  $\epsilon\tau$ - +  $\omega\theta\theta\theta$  (the qualitative of  $\omega\theta\theta\epsilon$ ) + the preposition  $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ -, which together have the meaning “who is in”<sup>77</sup>. This construction occurs twice with a demonstrative pronoun in the same text:  $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha[\sigma\eta] \mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega\omega \mu\alpha\bar{\iota} \epsilon\tau\omega\theta\theta\theta \bar{\alpha}\nu\chi\eta\mu\epsilon \mu\tau\omega \mu\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\theta\mu\tau \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \mu\epsilon\theta\mu\theta\mu\theta \mu\theta\gamma\omega\tau$  – “Manasseh, (son) of Pekosh, this one who is in Jeme, the district of Ermont, in the same nome” (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 54.3-6; see also lines 1-3); and elsewhere with a substantivised relative:  $\varphi\rho\alpha\eta\gamma\epsilon \mu\epsilon\tau\omega\theta\theta\theta \bar{\alpha}\nu\mu\mu\tau\theta\theta\gamma \bar{\alpha}\nu\chi\eta\mu\epsilon$  – “Frange, the one who is in the mountain of Jeme” (*O.TT29* 206.1-3). Due to the use of this construction with “the mountain of Jeme” by Frange, it is likely that it has a residential meaning, much like  $\sigma\gamma\eta\bar{\alpha}$ .

Two other type **X** designators use no connecting lexeme at all (*P.KRU* 45.14-16 and *O.TT29* 75.14). One uses the absolute relative pronoun  $\mu\alpha$ - affixed to the toponym (*O.CrumVC* 76.3-4); and another reads  $\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\kappa \mu\omega\eta\bar{\rho} \bar{\mu}\mu\omega\gamma\sigma\eta\varsigma \mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu} \bar{\alpha}\nu\mu\mu\theta\mu\theta\mu\theta \bar{\alpha}\nu\mu\mu\theta\mu\theta\iota\varsigma \mu\mu\theta\mu\tau$  – “Isaac, the son of Moses, *pamen* in the nome of the city Ermont” (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 73/1.3-4). In this last example the meaning of  $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$  is not clear. From context it could be a toponym, either with no joining lexeme or with the pronoun  $\mu\alpha$ -, or it could be a title – “the *amen* of the nome of the city Ermont”. However, neither the purported toponym nor such a title are elsewhere attested. From such a small sample size, it is difficult to establish meanings for these examples.

### *The Use of Location Designators in Theban Texts*

There is not a close relationship between a scribe’s choice of designator type and the function of the designator or the document type. While certain designator types are more closely associated with certain functions, and different document types show different distributions of

<sup>77</sup> For  $\omega\theta\theta\epsilon$  see Crum, *Dict.* 577b-581a. For its use with  $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ -see p. 579b.

both designator type and function, these correlations indicate only a general, circumstantial relationship between these variables. It cannot be said that scribes noticeably choose designator type based on function or document.

Likewise, the use of designators by individual scribes does not suggest a universal system in applying type, but rather that each scribe followed his own preference. For some scribes this preference included only two or three types, whereas others employed a greater variety. A number of those employing greater variation in type seem to show internal patterns in their choice of designators, while others seem to more haphazardly choose designator type.

Type	Construction	Suggested Meaning in Location Designator Constructions
<b>A</b>	PM(N)-	Place of origin OR place of residence when the two are the same
<b>B</b>	N-	Place of residence
<b>C</b>	2N-	Place of residence (mainly towns or cities)
<b>D</b>	Title + N- (or other preposition)	Institutional affiliation OR place of residence
<b>E</b>	ETHN E-	Administrative affiliation
<b>F</b>	ETOYH2 2N- (or other preposition)	Place of residence
<b>G</b>	2I-	Place of residence
<b>H</b>	KATA TYXHN	Physical location at the time of writing
<b>X</b>	Miscellaneous constructions	Most likely place of residence

Most designator types seem to be synonyms, indicating place of residence, whether that be a town, region, church or monastery. Only types **A**, **D**, and **E** show differences in meaning. Type **D**, moreover, exhibits different degrees of specificity, with the more specific designators indicating the church, town or monastery where the individual held their title. While this may also have been their place of residence, the connection is not certain. The general examples only indicate a rough region or town (rather than a specific church or monastery) and therefore more likely indicate place of residence rather than where the individual specifically served. A number of examples indicate that type **A** designators can specifically indicate place of origin rather than place of residence – although this cannot be ascertained for all examples

and undoubtedly some indicate both. Similarly, type **E** designators do not seem to indicate place of residence but rather where one was ascribed to: where one was located in the eyes of the administration. Only in the case of type **H**, not a designator in the strictest sense, does a construction indicate current physical location rather than place of origin or residence.

## LOCATION DESIGNATORS IN WITNESS STATEMENTS

The use of location designators in witness and scribal statements is very common, accounting for a quarter of all entries in the database. It is unclear, however, how useful these designators can be for establishing connections between places. For the purposes of examining the breadth of the inter-settlement interactions of the west Theban communities, it is essential to know if the locations of the witnesses and the contracting parties can be linked: essentially, to know where witnesses were when they signed a document. This question is particularly pertinent when looking at documents in which the contracting parties are from different locations, or when one or more witnesses are from a location other than that of the main parties.

In the location designator database, there are 39 texts with located witnesses or scribes in which the contracting parties are from different locations, or in which the witnesses or scribes are from locations other than those of the primary parties (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2). These form the basis for the following analysis, which is separated into two parts: secular documents and documents in which one of the main parties is a monastery. Such a division is desirable because the evidence suggests that the processes by which documents were drawn up differed between these two categories.

### *Secular Documents*

Of the 39 documents examined below, only 11 do not involve a monastic party (see Table 1.1). These 11 texts are almost entirely connected to loan agreements in which, in most cases, the lender is from Jeme. Immediately noticeable from Table 1.1 is that in nine of the 11 examples, the locations of the witnesses and scribe, when given, are the same as that of the first party. In *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 60, for example, Michaias son of Enoch, from Terkot,

borrow money from Pekosh son of Manasseh from Jeme. The document is drawn up by Apa Dios, a priest of the church of Terkot, and witnessed by Johannes son of Pisente who, although not given a location designator in this text, is known to be a resident of Terkot from *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55. The consistency of this situation across nine of the 11 documents suggests that it was usually the case that documents were drawn up at the first party's location.

P.Sigla	1 <sup>st</sup> Party Location	2 <sup>nd</sup> Party Location	Witness Locations	Scribe Location	Document Type
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I 78/2	Petemout	Jeme		Petemout	Release of Security
<i>O.CrumST</i> 88	Papjioor	Jeme	Apa Psate	Apa Psate	Acknowl. <sup>78</sup> of Debt
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 58	Terkot	Jeme* <sup>79</sup>		Terkot	Acknowl. of Debt
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 59	Terkot	Jeme	Terkot*		Acknowl. of Debt
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 60	Terkot	Jeme	Terkot*	Terkot	Acknowl. of Debt
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 101	Terkot	Jeme	Terkot		Unknown
<i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 28	Patoubasten	Jeme		Patoubasten	Acknowl. of Debt
<i>P.KRU</i> 57	Pmilis	Romoou	Pmilis (3) <sup>80</sup>	Pmilis	Settlement of a Loan
<i>P.KRU</i> 59	Tse	Jeme	Tse (2)	Tse	Contract for sowing a field
<i>P.KRU</i> 62	Pakale	Jeme		Pakale <sup>81</sup>	Acknowl. of Debt
<i>P.KRU</i> 72	Jeme*		Jeme (3)	Ermont	Testament

Table 1.1. Locations of signing parties in secular documents from Thebes

<sup>78</sup> Acknowledgement has been shortened to 'Acknowl.' in this and the following tables.

<sup>79</sup> An asterisk (\*) is used to indicate individuals who are located on the basis of information from other documents.

<sup>80</sup> The number in parentheses denotes how many people from that location act as witness in the document.

<sup>81</sup> Crum notes that the entire document is written in the same hand. Based on this, the scribe is almost certainly the first party and hence from Pakale, as in lines 11-12 a certain Paulos (same name as the first party) asserts that he wrote the document in his own hand.

Only in two, *O.CrumST* 88<sup>82</sup> and *P.KRU* 72 is there some discrepancy. The first of these, in which “David of Papjioor, the farmer of Pshe(?)” (ΔΑΥΕΙΔ Ἰηρᾶχιουρ πογοε Ἰηρᾶ ll.1-3) declares that he owes Daniel, the man of Jeme, 15 *diplo* of wine, is witnessed and written by a priest and deacon of a certain *topos* of Apa Psate. There are two problems with calling this text an example of discrepancy between first party and witness/scribe locations. Firstly, the (Church of) Apa Psate is itself not located and may well have been found in the same village as David. Secondly, while Crum and Till (1964) both tentatively read Papjioor as a toponym, it is both damaged and otherwise unattested, and could therefore be a misreading or a patronymic. As a result, it is difficult to make a compelling argument on the basis of *O.CrumST* 88 alone<sup>83</sup>.

The other text, *P.KRU* 72, is the will of Aaron son of Shenoute who, although not located in the surviving parts of this text, is known from elsewhere to have been from Jeme<sup>84</sup>. In this text all named witnesses are from the town of Jeme, but the scribe is from Ermont. Given that this is a will and had only one primary party, it is puzzling that a man from Ermont acted as scribe. There is no reason to think that the document was drawn up in Ermont, particularly as the primary party and all three witnesses were from Jeme. Rather, in this case, it is more likely that the scribe was in Jeme at the time the document was written. Ultimately, as most of this document is lost, no firm conclusions can be drawn from the evidence that it does preserve.

A third text, not mentioned in Table 1.1 because it contains no located witnesses or scribe, may also show discrepancy and is worth mentioning here. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55 is a loan agreement between a man from Terkot and Pekosh, a man of Jeme. A certain Iohannes son of Matthusala (ll. 10-11), whose location is not given, writes the document and there are no witnesses. Following the pattern established above, we would expect Iohannes to be from Terkot. However, a loan agreement published by Hall between two women of Jeme is also written by a Iohannes son of Matthusala (ll. 14-15, again without witnesses)<sup>85</sup>. If they are the same person, as is reasonable to assume, this second text suggests that Iohannes is in fact a

<sup>82</sup> Re-edited as *O.Vind.Copt.* 31.

<sup>83</sup> It is also unusual for a toponym to be placed before a title, if indeed πογοε should be read as such, occurring otherwise only in *P.KRU* 82.47,51.

<sup>84</sup> See for instance *P.KRU* 5.12-13 where he is called a “man of Jeme” – ΖΑΡΩΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΗΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΘΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΡΗΠΕΙΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΧΗΜΕ.

<sup>85</sup> Hall (1911) no. II, pp. 256-258.



resident of Jeme and that *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55 was therefore not written by a resident of Terkot (although he need not have been in Jeme when the document was written).

Nevertheless, in the nine secure cases, mostly loan agreements, it is reasonable to argue that documents were drawn up at the first party's location. Furthermore, the patterns of witness and scribal locations in these texts suggest that, in drawing up loan agreements, the lenders travelled to their customers rather than having their customers come to them. This information permits a directional description of the interactions and, in the case of Jeme, indicates that lenders from Jeme were travelling to other towns in the course of their business.

### *Monastic Documents*

The remaining 28 texts, which all involve a monastery as one of the main parties, are often remarkable for the range of locations from which witnesses in a single text can come. In many cases, witnesses come from locations entirely different from the location of either of the main parties (see Table 1.2, below). In order to best understand the sometimes bewildering mix of toponyms that can occur in these texts, it is necessary to look at three testaments of monks: *P.KRU* 65, 67, and 75.

The most important of these for understanding witness locations in monastic texts is *P.KRU* 65. This testament of Apa Jacob, the superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, has two witnesses located in Jeme (Theodoros the archpriest l. 84, and Samuel son of Joseph l. 86), and was written by a scribe from Jeme (Theodoros l. 98). On this basis it may appear that the document was written in Jeme, however, a peculiar clause in a number of the witness statements shows that this was not the case. The full statement of Samuel son of Joseph, for instance, reads: ἀΝΟΚ ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ ΝΙΩΧΗΣ ΖΗΧΕΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΥΧΗΝ ΔΙΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΖΗΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΑΠΑΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΙ ΔΙΡΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΪΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΧΑΙΤΗΣΙC – “I Samuel (son) of Joseph from Jeme, by chance I visited the holy *topos* of Apa Phoibammon. My father Apa Jacob asked me and I witnessed this testament according to his request” (ll. 86-88). Besides Samuel, witness statements of this nature occur another four times in the document, including for one Phoibammon son of Victor (ll. 93-94), who is known from elsewhere to be a resident of Jeme<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 14.Vs.1-2.

These statements show that although the located witnesses and scribes were all from Jeme, they were physically at the monastery of Apa Phoibammon when the testament was drawn up. They further demonstrate that documents drawn up at the monastery may well use scribes from other locations. While these statements are rare, they establish a precedent for visitors to the monastery being asked to sign documents that were drawn up there.

In the remaining two testaments, unlike in *P.KRU 65*, witnesses came from a variety of locations different to that of the testator. In *P.KRU 67*, the will of a monk from a monastery in Psenantonios who seems to have written the document himself, three witnesses are from Pisinai and one is from Kos. Likewise, in the will of Isaac and Jacob, the monastic fathers of the monastery of Apa Epiphanius on the mountain of Jeme (*P.KRU 75*), the witnesses are from: another monastery on the mountain of Jeme, a monastery on the mount of Pashme, Jeme, and Ermont. The wide variety of witness locations in these testaments suggests that the witnesses were all in one location when they signed the document, as it is inconceivable that the document was taken to the location of each witness. Based on analogy with *P.KRU 65*, then, it is likely that these testaments were drawn up at the location of their testators and that the witnesses were present at the time and asked to sign.

Other types of texts in this corpus also indicate that they were drawn up at a monastery. One is the loan agreement *SB Kopt. II 922*. In this text Patape son of Pous, from Patoubasten, borrows money from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon on behalf of his brothers. The only witness is a certain Elias from Jeme, and the scribe, David the monk, does not give his location. Crum, however, has identified this David as the secretary of Apa Victor, the superior of the monastery, and calls his script Hand D<sup>87</sup>. Based on this identification, it is reasonable to say that this document was drawn up at the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and that Elias was present at the monastery at the time and was asked to witness.

The hand of David is also identified in seven other loan agreements and work contracts involving the monastery of Apa Phoibammon in which neither of the main parties carry a

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<sup>87</sup> See *O.Crum* p. xv.

location designator and hence were not included in the dataset<sup>88</sup>. These texts further indicate that many contracts involving a monastery were drawn up there, and also demonstrate that the practice of the lender going to the borrower observed in the secular agreements is not a peculiarity of all loans, but is dependent on the parties involved.

It is unlikely, however, that every text in which a monastery was involved was written at the monastery in question. One such case is *P.KRU* 13<sup>89</sup>. In this text, Kuriakos son of Demetrios, the superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, is selling part of a house in Jeme to a man from there on behalf of the monastery. Three witnesses and the scribe are known to have been residents of Jeme and, given that the house being sold was located there, it is possible that the sale necessitated Kuriakos' presence. In many cases, documents involving the monastery of Apa Phoibammon seem to have been written there, but the possibility must remain that in some circumstances documents involving the monastery were drawn up elsewhere.

A group of documents from the monastery of Apa Paul on the mountain of Jeme (*P.CLT* 1, 2, and 4) suggests that the pattern visible in the documents from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon was not an isolated occurrence. In *P.CLT* 1, the first and second parties both come from the monastery, witnesses come from six different locations, and the scribe is a well-known scribe of Jeme. The fact the document relates to an internal matter at the monastery suggests that it was likely written there, and the variety of witness locations supports this. If the document had been written in Jeme, such variety in witness locations would be unusual as witnesses from Jeme would be significantly easier to come by. In fact, no document in which both contracting parties are known to be from Jeme (and therefore likely written there) is witnessed by someone from another location. The most likely scenario is that suggested by *P.KRU* 65, that the witnesses were visiting the monastery of Apa Paul and were asked to sign the text while there. The contracting parties in *P.CLT* 2 were also both from the monastery, however in this case all located witnesses were from Jeme. While it is possible that this text was written in Jeme, it concerns the same matter as *P.CLT* 1, and analogy with that text would suggest that it was written at the monastery. Finally, *P.CLT* 4 is the receipt for a millstone sold to the monastery by a man from Pshinsion. The only located

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<sup>88</sup> These are, loans: *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 12. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 14, *O.Crum* 158, and *SB Kopt.* II 913; work contracts: *O.Crum.* 220, *O.Crum* Ad.44, and *SB Kopt.* II 951. Interestingly in *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 14, David seems to be the only monastic party involved. This may suggest that two parties unrelated to the monastery could have a document drawn up by a monastic scribe, although it is possible that the relationship between the monastery and one of the parties in this text is not recorded.

<sup>89</sup> This text is discussed further on pp. 84-85.

witness is from “the Epoike”, presumably equivalent to Greek ἐποίκιον (‘village’), although which village is meant is unknown. The scribe is from a church of unknown location. Again, as this document in no way concerns Jeme and was found in Thebes, it was probably drawn up at the monastery.

The fact that many documents involving monasteries were written up there is particularly evident in donations to the monasteries – mostly of children but also of moveable or immovable property – which make up the majority of this corpus. The 19 donations in Table 1.2 show varying degrees of conformity between the locations of the first party and the witnesses. In six of the donations, all to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, the location of the first party is either lost or not given. All six of these texts have witnesses from more than one location, and in four the location of the scribe is given. In *P.KRU* 89, the scribe is from the monastery of Apa Pisenthios, also on the mountain of Jeme, but the witnesses are from Psamer and Tabennese. In *P.KRU* 90, the scribe and eight of the witnesses are from Jeme, with one more being from Kalba. In *P.KRU* 96, two witnesses are from the village And(...<sup>90</sup>) and one is from Ermont, from where the scribe also comes. Finally, *P.KRU* 107 is written by a scribe from Jeme, but has five witnesses from Ermont and only one from Jeme. The fact that all six of these documents carry witness statements from a variety of locations suggests that the witnesses were in one location when they signed, even in cases where the scribe is from somewhere other than the monastery. The other possibility, that the document was signed in multiple locations, is not feasible. In light of the texts already examined, it is further likely that these texts were witnessed at the monastery itself.

In the remaining 13 donations the location of both parties is known. Of these, six show no conformity between first party and witness/scribe locations, five show total conformity, and two show partial conformity<sup>91</sup>. The six that show no conformity – that is, in which none of the witnesses give a location that is the same as the first party’s – can reasonably be compared to the cases presented above; it is likely that these texts were drawn up at the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and that the witnesses were visitors there and were asked to sign.

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<sup>90</sup> The resolution of this abbreviation is not certain. See Appendix A, p. 249.

<sup>91</sup> No conformity: *P.KRU* 78, 79, 91, 93, 95, 100; total conformity: *P.KRU* 80, 86, 94, 106, 110; partial conformity: *P.KRU* 81, 82.

Of the five texts in which all the witnesses are from the same location as the first party, only two have a located scribe. In *P.KRU* 106, a donation by Anna of Jeme to the monastery of Apa Paul<sup>92</sup>, three witnesses are either stated or known to be from Jeme and the scribe is Shmentsneu son of Shenoute, a priest and *hegumenos* of the holy church of Jeme. We know from the narrative of the text as well as the statement of a witness, who writes “I bear witness according to the manner which I heard from those sitting by Anna at the time which she went to rest” (ll. 236-237)<sup>93</sup>, that it was almost certainly drawn up in Jeme, presumably at Anna’s bedside. The other donation with a located scribe is *P.KRU* 110, in which a man from the village of Pankame in the nome of Ermont donates some palm trees. His brother acts as the scribe and only witness. In this case it is just as possible that the document was drawn up in Pankame or the monastery. However, this text was written on the back of an earlier donation to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (see below) and was therefore likely drawn up there.

*P.KRU* 106, 110 and the three other documents in which all located witnesses are from the same location as the donor (*P.KRU* 80, 86, and 94) may well have been written up at the location of the first party. Certainly the fact that all five witnesses in *P.KRU* 80 can be linked to Ermont is suggestive of this. On the other hand, we know from *P.KRU* 65 that scribes and groups of witnesses from the same location could potentially be at the monastery when a document was drawn up. In these cases it is equally possible that the document was written up at the location of the first party, or at the monastery in question. At any rate, the likelihood that in some cases donation texts were drawn up at the first party’s location and then carried to the monastery, where we know they were kept, should not be dismissed<sup>94</sup>.

The final two donations (*P.KRU* 81 and 82), in which witnesses come both from the first party’s location (or institutions therein) and other places, could also be placed into this uncertain situation. Based on the trends seen in the other document types above, however, it is more likely that these two were also drawn up at the monastery.

That donation texts in particular were drawn up at the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is supported by the reuse of a small group of *P.KRU* papyri. In this corpus, three pairs of

<sup>92</sup> The only donation in this set in which the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is not the recipient.

<sup>93</sup> †Ο ΜΜΝΤΡΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙΩΤΜ ΖΙΤΝΝΕΤΣΜΟΟC ΣΑΖΤΝΑΝΝΑ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΑCΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟC (*P.KRU* 106.236-237).

<sup>94</sup> That donation texts were kept in the monastery is suggested by passages in *P.KRU* 89.36, 96.67, and 100.51, as well as the reported find spot of the *P.KRU* texts, for which see above (p. 18).

documents (98 and 110, 107 and 109, 80 and 81<sup>95</sup>) were first used to write one donation text to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, and then reused for another donation text to the same monastery. Moreover, in *P.KRU* 110, written on the back of an earlier donation, the scribe and witness (the same individual) is from the same location as the first party, indicating that both men travelled together to the monastery and drew the contract up while there. *P.KRU* 81, also written on the back of an earlier donation, shows some conformity, with three witnesses coming from a monastery in Apé and the donor from a separate monastery in Apé. These documents show clearly that some donation texts, even those in which all located parties (barring the monastery) were from the same location, were certainly drawn up at the monastery.

On the basis of this evidence, it is reasonable to say that contracts which involve a monastic party were more often drawn up at the monastery in question than not. That monasteries of the size and fame of Apa Phoibammon could attract visitors from a variety of locations, some of which were far afield, is demonstrable by the variety of locations from which individuals came to the monastery to donate their children and property<sup>96</sup>. It is now likely that the witnesses to these donations were also visitors to the monastery who, in the vein of *P.KRU* 65, were asked to witness while present. Other documents involving a monastic party contain numerous witnesses from the same location as the first party and scribe. The possibility that some of these were drawn up in locations other than the monastery should not be discounted. The evidence presented above shows general patterns, and in each instance the context of a document should be the final determiner in deciding where a document was drawn up and, by extension, what connections can be made through linking witness and primary party locations.

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<sup>95</sup> In all cases the document written on the vertical fibres is given first.

<sup>96</sup> The most distant visitors to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon were from a woman from Psoi, but now living in Apé (*P.KRU* 81), and a man from a village in the vicinity of Akhmim (*P.KRU* 99).

<b>P.Sigla</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Party Location</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Party Location</b>	<b>Witness Locations</b>	<b>Scribe Location</b>	<b>Document Type</b>
<i>P.CLT1</i>	Monastery (Mon.) of Apa Paul	Mon. of Apa Paul	Jeme (4 <sup>a</sup> ), Paue, Holy Kuriakos, Pakothis, Pshenheaei, Pshension (2)	Jeme <sup>a</sup>	Release from liability
<i>P.CLT2</i>	Mon. of Apa Paul	Mon. of Apa Paul	Jeme (2 <sup>b</sup> )		Receipt
<i>P.CLT4</i>	Pshension	Mon. of Apa Paul	The Epoike <sup>c</sup>	(Church of) Ama Kosma & Apa Theodoros	Receipt
<i>P.KRU13</i>	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Jeme	Jeme (3 <sup>d</sup> )	Jeme	Sale
<i>P.KRU65</i>	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon		Jeme (2 <sup>e</sup> )	Jeme	Testament
<i>P.KRU67</i>	St Kollouthos (Psenantonios)		Kos, Pisinai (3)	St Kollouthos (Psenantonios)	Testament
<i>P.KRU75</i>	Mon. of Epiphanius <sup>f</sup>		<i>Topos</i> of Apa Mena <sup>f</sup> , Jeme (2), <i>Topos</i> of Apa Shenoute (Pashme), Ermont		Testament
<i>P.KRU78</i>	Jeme	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Tse <sup>g</sup>		Donation
<i>P.KRU79</i>	Neihbabe	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Esna, Ermont		Donation
<i>P.KRU80</i>	Ermont	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Ermont (5 <sup>h</sup> )		Donation
<i>P.KRU81</i>	Mon. of Apa Sergios (Apé)	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Tbo, (Mon. of) St Apa Papnouthios (Apé) (3)		Donation
<i>P.KRU82</i>	Jeme	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Apé (3), Jeme <sup>i</sup> (2)		Donation
<i>P.KRU86</i>	Apé	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Apé (3)		Donation
<i>P.KRU88</i>	Unknown	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Romoou, Timeshor		Donation
<i>P.KRU89</i>	Lost	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Psamer (2), Tabennese (2)	Mon. of Apa Pisenthios (mount of Jeme)	Donation

P.Sigla	1 <sup>st</sup> Party Location	2 <sup>nd</sup> Party Location	Witness Locations	Scribe Location	Document Type
<i>P.KRU</i> 90	Unknown	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Jeme (8 <sup>j</sup> ), Kalba	Jeme	Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 91	Jeme	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Pisinai, Pakebt / Pisinai (2)		Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 93	Village Apotei (Hermonthite)	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Ermont (5)		Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 94	Jeme	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Jeme <sup>k</sup>		Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 95	Taut	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Jeme (4 <sup>l</sup> )	Jeme <sup>l</sup>	Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 96	Unknown	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Village And(-) (2), Ermont	Ermont	Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 97	Unknown	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Papar, Pisinai (2)		Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 100 <sup>m</sup>	Timamen	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Jeme		Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 106	Jeme	Mon. of Apa Paul	Jeme (3 <sup>n</sup> )	Jeme	Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 107	Lost	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Ermont (5), Jeme	Jeme	Donation
<i>P.KRU</i> 110	Village Pankame (Hermonthite)	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon		Village Pankame <sup>o</sup>	Donation
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 84	(Mon. or church of) Apa Iohannes in the Desert	Unknown		<i>Topos</i> of St Mark	Work Contract
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 922	Patoubasten	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon	Jeme	Mon. of Apa Phoibammon <sup>p</sup>	Acknowl. of Debt

Table 1.2. Locations of signing parties in monastic documents from Thebes

*Notes to Table 1.2.*

- a. While only three of the signatories to this document state that they come from Jeme, at least one other, Andreas son of Pher, gives his location as Jeme in other texts (*P.CLT* 2.4). Further, many of the 15 additional unlocated witnesses and writers likely come from Jeme, as they appear in other Theban texts as ex-*lashanes*, taxpayers or witnesses. In particular: Petros son of Komes (l. 114, see Till (1962) 171-172 – other references to Till in the notes to this table are also to his 1962 publication); Jeremias son of Basileos (l. 115, Till p. 105); Severos son of Moses (ll. 115-115, Till



- p. 198, probably a *lashane* at some point); David son of Severos (ll. 116 and 131, Till p. 74); Kostantinos son of Severos and his brother Iohannes, both ex-*lashanes* (l. 126, Till pp. 124 and 109 respectively); Athanasios son of Papnuthios (l. 129, Till p. 65, and ex-*lashane* in *O.CrumVC* 8); Kuriakos son of Joseph (l. 129, Till p. 127-128); Victor son of Ezekiel (l. 130, Till p. 226); and Matthias son of Ezekiel (l. 130, Till p. 140). The scribe of this document, Psate son of Pisrael, is a very well attested scribe of Jeme (Till pp. 185-187).
- b. Theodoros the monk (l. 26) wrote for both witnesses from Jeme, circumstantially suggesting that the document was written at the monastery. Moreover, Dioscoros son of David (l. 29) is also a witness in *P.CLT* 1.121.
  - c. A further witness, Philotheos son of Pisenthios (l. 26), is a taxpayer in a tax receipt from Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 268.4).
  - d. Aside from the two witnesses located in Jeme, a third, Samuel son of Enoch (l. 78), is elsewhere a *dioketes* of Jeme (*P.KRU* 71.3-5, see also Till pp. 193-194).
  - e. One of the unlocated witnesses, David son of Hello (l. 91), is not located elsewhere but there is a street in Jeme of this name (*P. CLT* 10.20). Two others, Phoibammon son of Victor (l. 93) and Pisrael son of Psate (l. 97), appear in other texts from Thebes (Till pp. 179 and 180 respectively).
  - f. The monastery of Epiphanius is not named in this testament, but is unquestionably related to it (see *P.Mon.Epiph.* Appendix III). The *topos* of Apa Mena is located on the mountain of Jeme (ll. 136-137).
  - g. The witness from Tse is the only located witness in this text, however, another witness, Mena son of Iohannes (l. 82), is located in Ermont in *P.KRU* 109.2. Till is not sure if these are the same person (Till p. 141).
  - h. Of the five witnesses to this text, three are located in Ermont. The other two, Adrane son of Markos (l. 57) and Mena son of Iohannes (l. 60), are located in Ermont in other texts (*P.KRU* 107.41 and *P.KRU* 109.2 respectively). Note that Mena son of Iohannes also witnesses *P.KRU* 78 (see previous note).
  - i. No witnesses to this text are expressly located in Jeme. However, Komes son of Chael (l. 53) is a well attested *dioiketes* of Jeme (Till p. 122), and Psate son of David (l. 54) is a known scribe of Jeme (Till p. 185). Two others, Enoch son of Hello (l. 55) and Psmo son of Komes (l. 56), appear as witnesses in other Jeme texts (Till, pp. 83 and 188 respectively). A final witness, Hello son of Panea (l. 52), who writes his statement in Greek, may be from Romoou (ελλω γ(ι)ο(ς) τ(ο)γ μακ(αριου) πανεα ρωμαιο\γ/).
  - j. This text has an astounding 33 witnesses, and a further four writers (including the main scribe). Of the witnesses, five state that they are from Jeme, with four of these signing in the one statement (ll. 30-32). Three unlocated witnesses, however, can also be assigned to Jeme: Papnouthios son of Stephanos (l. 24, Till p. 156) buys property in Jeme in *P.KRU* 22; Georgios son of Kosma (l. 25, Till p. 90) is said to be from Jeme in *O.Vind.Copt.* 107.8; and Severos son of Petros (l. 44, Till p.

198) donates his son to the monastery of Phoibammon in *P.KRU* 102, in which he is said to be from Jeme. Another possible resident of Jeme is Kosma son of Pisenthios (l. 48, Till p. 125) who is a priest of the church of Saint Mary, a well-known church in Jeme (although churches of this name were doubtless in other towns too). Ten other witnesses also appear in one or two other Theban texts and it is likely, but not certain, that most of the unlocated witnesses were from Jeme.

- k. Apart from the located witness, Philippos son of Praine (l. 50) is also a witness in *P.KRU* 90.35 and so may be from Jeme. More likely is Markos son of Makare (ll. 44-45) who appears in four other Theban texts: as a witness in *P.KRU* 112.11, and, curiously, in three lists of names (*P.KRU* 119.26, *O.Crum* 446.10, and *O.CrumST* 444).
- l. Three witnesses sign this document, of which two are stated as coming from Jeme. The third, Thomas son of Victor (l. 40), writes for other witnesses in several texts (*P.CLT* 6.68-70; *P.KRU* 45.68; *P.KRU* 46.47), signs several tax receipts from Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 249; 251; and 266), and is named in a list of the great men of Jeme (*P.KRU* 42.11-12, see also Till p. 221). In this last instance, another of the named great men is Nohe the *hegumenos*, who writes the assent clause for the first party in *P.KRU* 95. This Nohe, called here a priest as well, appears frequently in the witness statements of papyri from Jeme, among which he is known to be a priest and *hegumenos* of the Holy Church of Jeme (see *P.KRU* 12.59-61, and Till p. 147). Only the name Aristophanes (l. 46) survives from the scribal statement of this text, however Crum notes that it is in the same hand as *P.KRU* 10, which was written by Aristophanes son of Iohannes, a well-known scribe of Jeme (see Till pp. 61-62, and the forthcoming monograph of J. Cromwell).
- m. An Abba Apater the monk (l. 76) is the main scribe of this text, further suggesting that it was likely written in the monastery of Apa Phoibammon.
- n. Two of the five witnesses to this text are said to be from Jeme (the writer of the assent clause, also the main scribe, has not been included in this number). Beside these, Samuel son of Enoch (l. 232, Till pp. 193-194) appears in several other Jeme papyri and is a *dioiketes* of Jeme in *P.KRU* 71.3. A fourth man, Phoibammon son of Georgios (l. 229, Till p. 178) also appears in other *P.KRU* texts, and is likely from Jeme.
- o. The brother of the first party is the scribe and only witness of this text. He is not located, but it is likely he was from the same town as his brother.
- p. The scribe is David the monk (ll. 14-15), a well-known monastic scribe from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (see Till pp. 75-76 and *O.Crum* p. xv).

### *Making Connections from Witness Locations*

Knowing the whereabouts of witnesses when they signed a document permits more secure connections to be made between their locations and the locations of one or other of the contracting parties. In the case of contracts between two secular parties, a link can be made between the locations of the first party and the witnesses or scribe. In most cases, however, these two locations are the same. The location of the second party is connected to the location of the first through the act of drawing up the document, however, in cases in which witnesses come from more than one location, the locations of witnesses or scribes and that of the second party should not be linked. By itself, the evidence from witness statements does not support a hypothesis of travel between witness and second party locations.

In the case of documents in which one of the contracting parties is acting on behalf of a monastery, the situation appears to be different. In such cases, the witness and scribe locations can usually be linked to the location of the monastery, whether the monastic party was the first or second party. For example, in *P.KRU* 82, a donation text by a man from Jeme to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, witnesses are from Apé and Jeme and the scribe is unlocated. In this example Jeme and Apa Phoibammon can be linked (first party to monastery), as can Apé and Apa Phoibammon (witness to monastery). However, no connection should be made on the basis of this document between Apé and Jeme. Although witnesses from both Apé and Jeme occur alongside each other in this document (those from Jeme identified through prosopography), the locations of witnesses in any document should not be linked out of hand, as their co-presence only suggests the potential for an interaction. Of course, places in which new connections are able to be made are an important part of a network and it is certainly possible that there were links between some witnesses, however such links need to be consolidated by other evidence. The donations can demonstrate a definite link only between the monastery and the location of the witnesses.

The relationships between parties in documents that are suggested here should be considered guidelines. Exceptions are always possible and the individual circumstances of each document should and will be considered before connections between places are established.

## IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS FROM LOCATION DESIGNATORS

Identifying connections between places based on the use of location designators is a useful device. Each designator, either primarily or through the use of qualifying phrases, principally indicates the residential location of the individual in question. While some, particularly *nn*, may have a more nuanced application, their exact force is not yet fully understood and, as such, their use for illuminating the relationships between places is limited. However, without such identifiers the links between different locations would not be visible at all and so their importance to any study of inter-settlement interactions is paramount.

In essence, location designators are the foundations of this study. They flag those texts which testify to relationships between individuals from different locations, permit us to see what relationships existed between the main parties and the scribe and witnesses, and can be used to establish the direction of traffic. However, they do not in themselves strongly illuminate the character of the relationship. They are only one aspect of the document, albeit a crucial aspect. In order to understand the nature of these inter-settlement interactions as much as possible, it is necessary to take all information pertaining to the texts into consideration, and to view this information through the lens of current Network Theory. In this way, the breadth and nature of the interactions between individuals from different communities can be more fully examined, as can the extent to which these interactions might have benefited both the communities in question and the region more broadly.

## SECTION II – MONASTERIES, CHURCHES AND JEME: A WEST THEBAN COMMUNITY

*“the many monasteries in the western Theban area had a major impact on the regional economy. The economic and social interaction between inhabitants of the monastic communities and those of the town of Jeme shows them to have been interconnected to such an extent as to form a general West Theban community.”* – Wilfong (2002) 7

The desert escarpment behind Jeme was home to a great number of monks and monastic establishments. H. E. Winlock’s 1912/1914 survey of the Christian remains of the area, for example, identified thirty-two different sites and suggested that there may have been more but for the removal of Coptic remains by seekers of dynastic antiquities<sup>1</sup>. Yet despite this wealth of Christian archaeological material, and although many toponyms are identifiable in documentation from the area, only five identifiable monastic dwellings on the Theban mountains can be securely connected with Jeme: the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, the monastery of Apa Paul, the so-called monastery of Epiphanius, the *topos* of Apa Psate, and the cell of the monk Frange (TT29).

To be sure, this list of five seems meagre compared to the evidence of Winlock’s survey, yet the many monastic sites identified by Winlock need not have been contemporary with one another, and only those inhabited in the sixth to eighth centuries, and producing written communications, would be visible in the Coptic Theban documents. However, even if these criteria are met, the lack of a clear contemporary name for many of the smaller lauras and hermitages (as is the case for the monastery of Epiphanius), and the superfluity of using toponyms in everyday correspondence, makes it virtually impossible to identify the interactions between the less attested communities and Jeme<sup>2</sup>.

Nevertheless, enough evidence exists from these five monasteries to create a useful and detailed picture of the ways in which they interacted with the town of Jeme, and to assess Wilfong’s claim of “a general West Theban community”. Of course, the different monastic

<sup>1</sup> See chapter I of Winlock & Crum (1926), and a map of the sites on plate I of that volume.

<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that the future publication of material from recent excavations at monastic sites in this area will reveal interactions between Jeme and other sites than those under discussion here. See, for instance, reports on the hermitage discovered in tomb 1152 – Górecki (2004) & (2005) – ostraca from which show connections to the monk Frange – Antoniak (2005).

communities had different patterns of interaction with Jeme; it is to be expected, for example, that a solitary monk such as Frange could not interact with the economy of the region on the same scale as the monastery of Phoibammon. Moreover, the nature of the documents attesting to these interactions differs between the communities. The larger monasteries' interactions are characterised by longer, legal documentation in which the institution itself, represented by its superior, is a party to the text. The interactions of the smaller communities, on the other hand, are typically between individuals who are not necessarily acting on behalf of their entire community. As such, the documents dealing with the institutions will be treated separately to those dealing with the smaller communities.

An examination of the interactions between the residents of Jeme and both the institutions and the individual monks of the mountain of Jeme will demonstrate the extent to which the lives of the members of all these groups were interwoven. Together they formed a socially and economically tight cluster, even, perhaps, what is called a clique in Social Network Theory – a group of actors with connections to every other member of that group<sup>3</sup>. This clustering facilitated the easy flow of resources and information, and may have even led to the development of further ties since visitors to the monasteries would have had easy recourse to the markets of Jeme. The degree of connectivity between these communities suggests that the larger parties, at least, were to a large extent interdependent.

## INTERACTIONS WITH INSTITUTIONS: THE MONASTERIES OF APA PHOIBAMMON AND APA PAUL, AND THE *TOPOS* OF APA PSATE

### *P.KRU 105: The Beginning of a Relationship*

Documents attesting interactions between the religious communities of the Theban necropolis and the people of Jeme date largely to the seventh and eighth centuries<sup>4</sup>. However one text, *P.KRU 105*, dates as far back as the late sixth century (see below) and may attest to the beginning of the relationship between the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and the town of Jeme. The two fragments of this document that survive come from the end of a legal

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<sup>3</sup> It is likely that Jeme and all the west Theban monastic groups, including those not discussed in this thesis, did indeed form a clique, however the surviving evidence is not sufficient to prove this.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B for the dating of the material discussed in this thesis.

agreement between “the entire village, through the most pious priests and Papnoute the most honourable *lashane*” (ll. 24-25) and “the lord of all the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon” (ll. 3-4), whose name is unfortunately lost. In the surviving parts, the representatives of the village stress the monastic party’s rights in ownership over the *topos* and lay out the typical penalty clause against counter claims to the property, both common features in documents in which ownership is being transferred from one party to another<sup>5</sup>. For this reason *P.KRU* 105 is generally considered to be the deed by which the town of Jeme cedes to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, the land on which it was built<sup>6</sup>.

Unfortunately, damage to the text means that a number of key aspects contributing to its interpretation are not clear. For instance, the name of the town that the signatories represent is not actually given. Jeme is accepted as the most likely candidate (and the only candidate so far to be seriously considered) due to the Theban provenance of the papyrus<sup>7</sup>, and the fact that two of the witnesses are priests of well-known churches of Jeme: that of Apa Victor (l. 30), and the well-attested church of Saint Mary (l. 32)<sup>8</sup>. Regrettably, none of the signatories are definitely attested in other Jeme material, so identifying the location of the first party through prosopographical means is not possible<sup>9</sup>.

Scholarly discussion of this text has primarily focused on its date and whether or not the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon mentioned in the document is that on the mountain of Jeme at Deir el-Bahri. Crum did not suggest a date in his edition of the text (*P.KRU* 105), but early speculation by Till and Steinwenter placed it in the late seventh century<sup>10</sup>. Krause, however, refuted Steinwenter’s arguments for a late date and argued for the late sixth century as a more reasonable time for the execution of this contract<sup>11</sup>. In this he was followed by MacCoull,

<sup>5</sup> For the common forms of rights of ownership and penalty clauses in Theban sales texts see Boulard (1912) 50-53 and 57-59 respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Krause (2010) 71-73; MacCoull (2009) 8-10; Wipszycka (2009:B) 237. MacCoull (2009) and Till (1964) 188-190 also provide translations of the text.

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion on the provenance of the *P.KRU* material above (p. 18) and the references there.

<sup>8</sup> Krause (2010) 72. Wilfong (2002) 12-13 gives a list of churches located in Jeme. For a comprehensive list of churches mentioned in the Jeme papyri, see Timm (1984-2007) 1019-1023.

<sup>9</sup> A Papnoute, the same name as the *lashane* of this text (l. 25), is attested as a *lashane* in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 56.6, but the two are not necessarily the same. Cf. Wipszycka (2009:B) 237 who remarks that prosopographical analysis does indicate that Jeme was the *kastron* in question, but does not provide any evidence in support of this.

<sup>10</sup> Steinwenter (1935) 381; Till (1962) 39. In fact, Crum does speculate as to the date of this papyrus in *O.Crum* p. xvii fn. 14. Although he is often reported as giving a sixth century date here (Godlewski (1986) 63; MacCoull (2010) 450), he remarks only that the hand may belong to a period between the early seventh and late eighth centuries. The earlier date was only suggested by Crum in a letter to Steinwenter: see Krause (2010) 72.

<sup>11</sup> Krause (1985) 36-37. Godlewski (1986) 63-64, reiterates Krause’s position.

who argues that the reference to “the fine that our Christ-loving, kingly lords have determined” (ΤΚΑΤΑΔΙΚΗ ΝΤΑΝΕΝΧΙCΑΥΕ ΝΝΡΩΟΥ ΜΜΑΙΝΕΧC ΣΟΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟC, ll. 12-13) necessitates a pre-conquest date<sup>12</sup>. MacCoull further argues that since Abraham, the bishop of Ermont and founder of the monastery at Deir el-Bahri, is not mentioned in *P.KRU* 105, the document must have been written before 600 – the height of Abraham’s fame. On these premises, she looks for a period before 600 in which two Byzantine emperors were ruling and settles on 576-578, during the rule of Justin II and Tiberius II<sup>13</sup>.

MacCoull then takes her argument beyond the dating of the text. Excavations have shown that there were two monasteries of Apa Phoibammon in the vicinity of Jeme and Ermont: the large cenobitic monastery at Deir el-Bahri, and a *laura* some 10km further west which predated it<sup>14</sup>. This earlier *laura* is thought to have been the residence of Abraham before he became bishop, after which he was asked to relocate by the patriarch Damian and subsequently chose the site of Deir el-Bahri<sup>15</sup>. Based on her new date for *P.KRU* 105 of 576-578, that Abraham was not ordained bishop until sometime between 590 and 600, and that he is not mentioned in this text, MacCoull suggests that *P.KRU* 105 in fact refers to the *laura* of Phoibammon and not Deir el-Bahri<sup>16</sup>.

MacCoull’s arguments for a date before 600 are convincing. Certainly the reference to the “Christ-loving, kingly lords” indicates Christian, thus Byzantine, rulers. Although without a specific date on the papyrus, her dating of *P.KRU* 105 to the years 576-578 must remain speculative. With this in mind, a less specific date nearer the end of the sixth century would be more acceptable. On the other hand, her arguments that the document refers to the *laura* of Apa Phoibammon are less convincing. To begin with, the *laura* of Apa Phoibammon is

<sup>12</sup> Since the “Christ-loving, kingly lords” must be a reference to Byzantine emperors rather than the Arabic rulers.

<sup>13</sup> MacCoull (2010) 450-452.

<sup>14</sup> Krause (1981). For the excavation reports of this site, see Bachatly (1981).

<sup>15</sup> This theory is argued in Krause (1985), and followed by a number of scholars, including Godlewski (1986) 62-63. Krause argues this theory on the interpretation of *P.KRU* 105, *O.Crum* Ad.59, and the testaments of two superiors at Deir el-Bahri: Abraham himself and Jacob. From the testaments, Krause shows that Abraham was both a monk and the founder of the monastery at Deir el-Bahri. *O.Crum* Ad.59 is an anonymous letter from Deir el-Bahri in which the writer tells the recipient that Apa Damianus, the patriarch, wrote to him and requested that he should depart from his place because of the difficulty “they” had in reaching him. Both Crum and Krause believe the writer to be bishop Abraham based on the formula and provenance (see fn. 1 to the translation of this text – *O.Crum* p. 18, and Krause (1985) 33). This text is then understood as referring to a request by the patriarch for the now bishop Abraham to move his monastery from the *laura* in a remote part of the desert to somewhere more accessible. He chose Deir el-Bahri, and the clergy and officials of Jeme recognised his right to the monastery in *P.KRU* 105. Both Krause (1985) 39 and Godlewski (1986) 62-63 also point to inscriptions in the *laura* of Phoibammon which repeatedly mention an Abraham, in one as *oikonomos*.

<sup>16</sup> MacCoull (2010) 452.



located at a much greater distance from Jeme; whereas Deir el-Bahri is just under 2km from the town, the site of the laura is more than 10km further west<sup>17</sup>. This places it roughly equidistant from Jeme and Ermont, in which case it is questionable whether Jeme, rather than Ermont, would have jurisdiction over a site so far distant. Moreover, the written evidence from the laura suggests that it was probably founded relatively early, in the fourth or fifth centuries<sup>18</sup>; a late sixth century foundation charter for it would then be somewhat puzzling. It is also unlikely that any town or village would lay claim to such an insignificant site so far into the desert.

Further, while MacCoull is correct in saying that Abraham is not mentioned in the document, the possibility that he was involved should not be entirely excluded. Krause sees evidence for the bishop in *P.KRU* 105 in the clause requiring the leaders of the *topos* to provide charity for the poor (ΝΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΖΩΨ ΕΠΖΩΨ[Β] ΝΤΑΓΑΠΕ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ, ll. 8-9), a cause which Abraham similarly requires his successors to pursue in his will<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, even if the 576 date for *P.KRU* 105 is correct (that is, before Abraham became bishop), he need not be excluded from being the recipient of this document, as MacCoull proposes. It is by no means certain that Abraham was already a bishop when he founded the monastery at Deir el-Bahri<sup>20</sup>. Given all the above arguments, the most likely scenario is that *P.KRU* 105 was, in fact, the acknowledgement of the rights to Deir el-Bahri, given by the townsfolk of Jeme to the leaders of the *topos*, thereby establishing the first interaction in what would become a close relationship between the two entities.

*P.KRU* 105 not only introduces an important relationship between the monastery of Phoibammon and Jeme, but also establishes a particular interaction which is a recurring theme in texts from this monastery and others in the region – care for the poor. Besides granting the recipient of the contract the rights to the *topos* and the right to appoint successors, the document states that the superior and his successors are “to minister the work of the charity of the poor himself” (ΝΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΖΩΨ ΕΠΖΩΨ[Β] ΝΤΑΓΑΠΕ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ, ll. 8-9). Krause writes of this relationship that while the officials in Jeme recognised Abraham’s right to found the

<sup>17</sup> Bachatly (1981) 4, puts it at 18km west of Luxor, approximately 13 or so kilometers west of Jeme.

<sup>18</sup> The early date is suggested by what physical remains were excavated, and by written texts from the site; namely the existence of Greek texts, Greco-Coptic vocabularies, and in particular inscriptions referring to refugees from the persecutions. Bachatly (1981) 2-3 argues for a foundation date in the fourth century. Krause (1985) 37-38 finds a fifth century foundation more likely. See also Godlewski (1986) 62.

<sup>19</sup> Krause (2010) 73.

<sup>20</sup> See Godlewski (1986) 64.

monastery and name his successor, this right was linked to “the obligation to provide alms for all passers-by in future and thus to free Jeme from this onerous obligation<sup>21</sup>.”

This theme is seen frequently in other texts from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. In *P.KRU* 65, the will of Jacob, one of the succeeding superiors of the monastery, Jacob charges his successor with concerning himself with “the alms for the poor who will pass by” (ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΡΟ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΝΑΠΑΡΑΓΕ, l. 65). As we will see in other texts referring to the charity of the monastery, this phrase should not be taken literally as referring only to the poor who passed by, but rather the obligation to the poor is a reference, primarily, to the poor of Jeme itself. What exactly the alms amounted to is unclear, but a situation in which the poor could go to the monastery for food handouts is not far-fetched. This situation is suggested by *P.KRU* 13.36-37, in which a superior of the monastery claims to put money toward “the table of the poor” (ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΙΣΔ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ), which, although certainly rhetorical, likely refers in part to the nature of the charity. It is also suggested in *P.KRU* 65.65, in which Victor, the superior of the monastery, states that his successor will administer the holy *topos* as he has done, including providing “blessings (i.e. alms) for the mouths of the poor who happen by” (ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΡΟ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΝΑΠΑΡΑΓΕ).

While *P.KRU* 105 is unique in the corpus of interactions between Jeme and the nearby monasteries, the type of interaction it represents was not necessarily so. *O.CrumVC* 8 (dated between 698-728<sup>22</sup>) provides a noteworthy parallel. This text, which Crum assigns to Jeme, is a promise of protection issued to “the holy brethren of the monastery” (ΝΟΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΝΘΕΝ[ΕΕ]ΤΕ, ll. 3-4) by the *lashanes* Severus and Iohannes, and assented to by “the whole community of the kastron” (ΤΚΟΙΝΩΤ(ΗΣ) ΜΗΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΤΗΡϣ, l. 20). The issuers promise the brethren of the monastery that they may live in their holy place without any new imposition. The names of the kastron and the monastery are not given, however, given the provenance and that Jeme was the only kastron on the west bank, it is plausible that this document was

<sup>21</sup> Krause (2010) 73.

<sup>22</sup> The dates cited in this thesis are usually those provided by Till (1962 & 1964). For *O.CrumVC* 8 see Till (1962) 47-48. The dates of all the texts giving connections cited in this thesis are provided in Appendix B.

drawn up by the community of Jeme to acknowledge the rights of one of the many other monastic communities on its mountain<sup>23</sup>.

*P.KRU* 105 testifies to the close relationship that existed between the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and Jeme from the monastery's foundation, and *O.CrumVC* 8 suggests that similar relationships may have existed between Jeme and other monasteries on its mountain. Moreover, that the respective communities of Jeme and Phoibammon felt it necessary to have *P.KRU* 105 drawn up shows that, nominally at least, Jeme had some claim over the Theban mountain, or at least over the pre-existing structures built on it<sup>24</sup>. These documents are testimony to the beginning of a close relationship between the local monasteries and Jeme which, as we shall see, was a critical part of the religious and economic life of the neighbourhood.

### *Donations of Land and Property*

Owing to a strong presence in the published documents from Western Thebes and the volume of scholarship that has been focused on it, the monastery of Apa Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri is one of the most studied monasteries in the region. While this position is being challenged by the discoveries of large bodies of textual material in the ongoing excavations at other monastic sites, in particular Deir el-Bakhit, much of this material has yet to be published and, textually, the monastery of Phoibammon is still dominant. Unfortunately, this dominance can lend itself toward underestimating the importance of the other large, less well-documented monasteries of the area. While documents from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon form the basis for what follows, an examination of documents attesting to the others shows similarities which indicate that, although the scope of the documentation is not the same, the activities of the monasteries are similar. It is therefore reasonable to think that

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<sup>23</sup> *O.CrumVC* 9 may be associated with this text. It is a protection document (λογος μνηνο[γτε], l. 2) in which the same *lashanes* as in *O.CrumVC* 8 write to the "brethren" (σνηγ, l. 2) that they may come and dwell in their place. It is written by the same scribe as *O.CrumVC* 8 and on the same day. Damage to the text, and the usual ambiguous nature of such protection documents makes it unclear what, exactly, the function of this document was.

<sup>24</sup> Krause (2010) 72-73 believes that in fact the desert belonged to no-one and so no transfer of rights to the land was necessary; at best only recognition of their presence was required. Godlewski (1986) 47-49, on the other hand, says that *P.KRU* 105 proves that the site was the legal property of Jeme and further argues that a cemetery at Deir el-Bahri with mummies dating to the fourth and fifth centuries CE, on top of which the monastery was partially built, probably contained residents of Jeme or the other nearby settlements. The presence of a monastery at the site was then of double benefit, as it would have commemorated the graves of the ancestors of the people of Jeme.

the monasteries and *topoi* discussed below influenced Jeme in similar ways, if on slightly different scales.

The textual ubiquity of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is particularly prominent in acts of donation. Institutions such as this one did not just own the land on which they were built; their economic influence spread into the fields of the area and even into the town of Jeme itself. One way monasteries acquired property outside their walls was through pious donations, in which lay-people, local or otherwise, donated children, houses, land, money, livestock, produce or other property to these institutions. Excluding the donation of children, such acts were not the sole province of the Phoibammon monastery. Similar documents connect the people of Jeme to the monastery of Apa Paul and the *topos* of Apa Psate, and while there were surely differences in the scale of total donations to each community, what those differences were cannot be deduced from the volumes of surviving documentation. An examination of donations of land and property to the monasteries shows that, through acts of donation and other economic acts, the economies of the monasteries and *topoi* of the Theban mountain became integrated to a considerable extent with that of Jeme; the benefits to both sides encouraged the relationships between them to bloom, and no doubt grew alongside the development of other relationships, both economic and socio-religious in nature.

Donation texts from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon are its most common indicator of external interactions of any kind, with thirty-five such deeds in the *P.KRU* material, all dating to the eighth century<sup>25</sup>. In most cases, donations are made to the monasteries through the *oikonomos*, the steward in charge of the financial affairs of a monastery or church, but who was not necessarily the same person as the superior (πρῶτος) or *hegumenos* (ἡγούμενος), who was the head of an institution. In the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, and likely in that of Apa Paul as well, these titles are held concurrently by a single individual and indicate that the superior was head of both the monastery's economic and spiritual life<sup>26</sup>. The donors in such texts, when occurring with location designators, come from a range of locations throughout the Theban region and donate a variety of property<sup>27</sup>. While only a handful of the property donations come from specified residents of Jeme, this number can be supplemented with deeds of sale and other texts which indirectly refer to such donations.

<sup>25</sup> Donations are grouped in *P.KRU* 78 to 114, i.e. thirty-seven texts, of which one is a donation to the monastery of Apa Paul, and another is *P.KRU* 105 dealt with above. The dates used here are based on Till (1962).

<sup>26</sup> Godlewski (1986) 79-80.

<sup>27</sup> For donations of children, see below pp. 89-96.

*P.KRU* 108 is an undated, damaged donation of land to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon by the entire community of Jeme. It is unusual in the corpus of texts attesting to the interactions of Jeme because, alongside *P.KRU* 105 and a small number of other texts, it represents a communal action by the entire town of Jeme, not just one or two villagers. A full translation of the surviving text is provided below. The opening address clauses as well as the final assent and signatures are lost, but the remaining text preserves the narrative section of the original donation<sup>28</sup>:

“... sin, we having donated the little piece of land to the *topos* of the holy Apa Phoibammon for the sake of our needs and the need of the poor of our *kastron*, this which is called Kale of Peko<sup>29</sup>, (5) to the north of the flat(?<sup>30</sup>) of Romoou. These, then, are the boundaries of that land as they currently exist: to the east of it, the field of Sakau; to the west it goes down to King Street; to the north of it are the fields of Romoou; to the south (10) it goes south to the land down to King Street. These are the boundaries of that land according to tradition. Now we agree, we the whole community, the men of the *kastron* of Jeme, those who will subscribe and those who will subscribe (15) for them below, to this donation text not to transgress anything in all that is written, neither us, nor our children, nor those who succeed us. The one who transgresses anything in all that is written in this donation, in the generations coming after us, (20) that man will pay twelve *holokottinoi*. Afterwards, he will come to the dais and we will exact judgment on him about what he has done, and the holy Apa Phoibammon will exact judgment on him, and every soul who will eat (25) of the *diakonia*<sup>31</sup> of the holy Apa Phoibammon will exact judgment on him. Moreover, we adjure every ruler and every authority into whose hands this document comes, either *lashane* or *dioiketes*, or authority into whose hands this donation (30) comes, to not transgress anything in all that is written in it, either in part or in whole. Afterwards, he will come to the dais and we will take ...”

<sup>28</sup> Förster (2000) 112 has read traces above Crum’s first line. However, as they do not add any additional meaning to the text, I have not reproduced them here.

<sup>29</sup> Based on the places index of *P.KRU*, Crum believed that the *καλ* on line 4 referred to *καστρον*; hence the *kastron* was called Kale of Peko. I have followed Timm (1984-2007) 1217-1218 in identifying this as the name of the piece of land. This toponym also occurs in *O.Crum* 462, a list found at the monastery which records corn sent “to Kale of Peko” (εκαλη μπεκο, l. 2). Perhaps this text dates to a point after the monastery had already received the land.

<sup>30</sup> The exact meaning of *παχς* is unknown, see Crum *Dict.* 285b.

<sup>31</sup> *διακονία* – Crum (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 178 fn. 3) describes the *diakonia* as the body of officials in the monastery responsible for its provisioning, “here in their charitable capacities”. It also came to be synonymous with ‘alms’ and the place where food was kept in the monastery – see Wipszycka (1991:A).

In terms of structure, the text is not unusual. It explains the reason for the donation – “for the sake of our needs and the need of the poor of our kastron” (ll. 2-3), sets out the boundaries of the donated land (ll. 4-12), contains the agreement of the community, and begins the penalty clause, all common features of donation texts. Its importance lies in the content: the community of Jeme gifting land to the monastery. That it is the entire community of Jeme donating the field is beyond question, the agreement clause “we agree, we the whole community, the men of the kastron of Jeme” (ΤΗΣΟΜΟΛΟΓΕ ΔΑΝΟΝ ΤΚΙΝΩΤΗΣ (ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΣ) ΤΗΣ ΝΡΜΠΚΑΣΤΡΩΝ ΝΧΗΜΕ, ll. 12-13) cannot be grammatically understood in any other way<sup>32</sup>. What land did the community hold in common? Why was it not owned and worked by an individual?

Although its state – fallow or cultivated – is not described, in its immediate vicinity were agricultural fields (ΕΙΩΞΕ, l. 9<sup>33</sup>), as well as another kind of field called ΖΟΙ (l. 7), which could be agricultural or pastoral<sup>34</sup>. The land should therefore be located in the agricultural zone near Romoou – itself near Jeme<sup>35</sup>. This text is therefore unlike the situation in *P.KRU* 105 in which the land granted to the monastery was desert and probably, as Krause suggested, unclaimed<sup>36</sup>. It is difficult to say much beyond this. It is unusual to see a field held in common by the entire community<sup>37</sup>; if arable, the land would be subject to taxation and the community would then need to ensure that it was tilled in order to meet its tax liability<sup>38</sup>. It is possible that this land was public land, assigned to the village community, who were then held responsible for its taxes, by the administration. It could even be that its original owner

<sup>32</sup> Goodwin (1858/1859) 247 believed this to be an agreement by the entire town in his original translation. It may be that a communal agreement was made by a small group of individuals and not the entire town, as was the case in *P.CLT* 6 (compare Schiller’s stance in his introduction to *P.CLT* 6 that it was an agreement by the entire community with the comments of Worrell & Youtie (1932) 379, that this text was an agreement between only 17 men). *P.CLT* 6, however, does not employ κοινότης (community) to refer to the group of individuals forming the first party, as *P.KRU* 108 does. Based on the examples cited in Förster (2002) 425 (which all date to the seventh and eighth centuries and primarily come from the Theban region, Bala’izah and Bawit), this word is usually applied to the entire community of a village or monastery.

<sup>33</sup> The examples in Crum *Dict.* 89b-90b show that this term usually denotes agricultural land.

<sup>34</sup> Crum *Dict.* 650a.

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix A, pp. 281-282.

<sup>36</sup> See fn. 24 of this section.

<sup>37</sup> I have not been able to find any other examples of this in the Theban documentation. There is evidence for communal property ownership in two fifth century Byzantine documents from the village of Alabastrine in the Antinoite nome. It is thought that this communal property ownership might be some kind of agricultural cooperative. See Gagos & van Minnen (1992) 188-189 and the comments of Keenan (2007) 230-231.

<sup>38</sup> Under Islamic rule, it was the land that was taxed, regardless of who owned it. It is likely that different rates applied to fields of differing agricultural output. For land taxes see generally Bell’s introduction to *P.Lond.* IV 1419, and pp. 170-171 in particular.

died intestate or fled to evade taxes, leaving the land unworked<sup>39</sup>. In any case, the community of Jeme seem to have had communal ownership of this land and decided to gift it to the monastery.

Another donation of land to the monastery of Phoibammon, from the first half of the seventh century, is attested in *O.Crum* Ad.3<sup>40</sup>. Unfortunately, it is written on a badly damaged ostrakon, so that only a few bare facts can be taken from it. Of the first party, only the mother's name (Saneth, ll. 2-3) and that they were from Jeme (ΣΗΠΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΝΧΗΜΕ, ll. 3-4) survives. Then follows a description of what is being donated, namely "my share of the land [which came?] to me from my mother" ([Π]ΔΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΚΑ2 ΝΤ....Λ ΕΧΩΙ ΣΑΤΑΜΑΥ, ll. 4-6), and the purpose of the document; "I donate my share to the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon" (ΕΙΤΩΡΙΖΕ ΜΠΑΜ[ΕΡΟΣ] ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟ[C ΝΑΠ]Δ Φ[ΟΙΒ]ΑΜ[ΩΝ], ll. 8-9). The remaining fragments suggest that a description of the land followed and then the assent clause and witness statements. What survives is sufficient to show that in this document, a man from Jeme donates land he inherited from his mother to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon.

Turning to another monastery, *P.KRU* 106 (dated securely to 734) shows Anna daughter of Iohannes, a resident of Jeme, donating a significant amount of real property to the monastery of Apa Paul on her death bed. In lines 102-131 she describes the property she will donate: her house in Jeme and all its accompanying parts; a share of her mother's house, presumably also in Jeme; a share in the lands (ΝΚΑ2, l. 129) she owns with Abraham son of Athanasios; and a quarter share of a bakery. The exact nature of the lands she owned with Abraham is not stated, however it is likely that they were agricultural or pastoral lands in the surrounding countryside. The amount of property donated by Anna far exceeds any other single donation to a monastery of the region and is suggestive, not only of Anna's personal wealth, but of the potential wealth of this monastery. *P.KRU* 106 suggests that the monastery of Paul's holdings and wealth could have rivalled that of the monastery of Phoibammon.

How the monastery of Apa Paul utilised Anna's expansive donation, or any other for that matter, is not known. It is possible that the houses and workshops might have been sold or repurposed, and the land worked or rented out to contribute to the upkeep of the monastery.

<sup>39</sup> This may be the case in *P.KRU* 109.5-8, in which the men of Ermont are said to have donated a field, which originally belonged to a man of Ermont who had died, to the holy *topos* of the Twelve Apostles.

<sup>40</sup> Godlewski (1986) 81 discusses the date of this text. The date is based on the hand, which Crum identifies as the same as that in *O.Crum* 138, possibly contemporary with Victor, superior after Abraham.

While the text itself indicates that the recipient may use the property as they wish in the general terms of the prevailing notarial formula, it also contains some more unique variations: “you are lord over them (the properties) in every just lordship, to keep them, to sell them and take their price for the expenses of the holy monastery and the charity for the poor, to donate them, to give them away, to exchange them, to make them workshops, to tear them down, to build on them, to deposit them as securities” (ll. 148-153), generally, to do whatever the new administrators wished<sup>41</sup>.

Two phrases stand out amongst the others in this list: “to sell them and take their price for the expenses of the holy monastery and the charity for the poor” (ΕΤΑΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΤΕΥΤΙΜΗ ΕΠΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΗΜΟΝΑΣΤ(ΗΡΙΟΝ) ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΖΗΚΕ(sic), ll. 149-151) and “to make them workshops” (ΕΑΔΥ ΕΡΓΑΣΤ(ΗΡΙΟΝ), l. 152). The former fits well with our expectations that the monasteries used donated land for their upkeep and for charity, as has already been attested. The mention of workshops, on the other hand, suggests that some of the donated property in the town of Jeme may have been re-purposed as workplaces for the monks, which, if correct, would be significant as it would imply a monastic presence within the town itself rather than one confined only within monastery walls<sup>42</sup>.

Donations of houses and property in Jeme are also visible indirectly through sale documents, which indicate one of the ways the monasteries and *topoi* utilised such donations. In *P.KRU* 13 (733), Kuriakos son of Demetrios, the superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, sells a fourth part of two houses in Jeme (ΕΤΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΝΠΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΗ, ll. 23) for one gold *holokottinos* (the standard gold coin of the period) to Aaron son of Shenoute, a resident of Jeme<sup>43</sup>. Although it was possible for monks to maintain ownership of their land after joining a monastery<sup>44</sup>, it is clear that in this case Kuriakos was acting in his role as superior, and thus owner of all the monastery’s property, since the property is described as that which “the sons of the blessed Peshate (son) of Pestinos gave to the holy Apa Phoibammon of the mountain of

<sup>41</sup> For the common expressions of rights of ownership when property is transferred, see Boulard (1912) 50-53.

<sup>42</sup> This is also the opinion of Th. Beckh – see Beckh, Eichner & Hodak (2011) 19. Beckh points to *P.KRU* 106, the archaeological presence in Jeme of incense vessels likely manufactured at the monastery of Apa Paul, and the presence of a ‘Cup Street’ in Jeme (‘the Cup’ seems to have been the nickname of the monastery of Apa Paul, see Appendix A, pp. 297-298), and on this evidence suggests that there may have been a branch of the monastery located in Jeme.

<sup>43</sup> In fact, the fourth share of these two properties was owned equally by Kuriakos son of Demetrios (representing the monastery) and Patermoute son of Kostantinos (*P.KRU* 13.22), who sells his half of the share to Aaron in *P.KRU* 12.

<sup>44</sup> Godlewski (1986) 82.



Jeme in offering for his wretched soul”<sup>45</sup>. Kuriakos further stresses that he acted on behalf of the monastery by claiming that he had the document drawn up “so I not be condemned at [the judgment-seat] of Christ, and so that the holy martyr not find fault with me for having spent, for good or ill, his offerings, namely indulgences for the soul”<sup>46</sup>.

*P.KRU* 18 (early eighth century) presents a similar case. In this text Iohannes, the steward (ΠΕΡΕΝΩΜΟΣ – i.e. οἰκονόμος – l. 63) of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, sells to Apa Victor son of Athanasios, a man of Jeme, property which Georgios son of Joanna “gave to the holy Apa Phoibammon for the salvation of their (sic) mother and his own<sup>47</sup>” at the price of four gold *holokottinoi*. While it is unclear where the property was located (in or around Jeme seems likely), the description of it given by Iohannes indicates that the bequest consisted of multiple estates: “I will reveal the places which he donated as a gift to the *topos*, namely: his share in the house (ΠΗ) on the street of Panias of Phabo (then follows a description of its boundaries; the list resumes on line 26) ... and their share in the field (ΠΖΑΙ), and their share in the church (ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ), and his share in the *skenon* (ΠΚΚΕΝΩΝ<sup>48</sup>), and his share in the village (ΠΔΙΜΕ)” (ll. 20-29)<sup>49</sup>.

Both *P.KRU* 13 and 18 show superiors of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon selling property to residents of Jeme that was previously donated by individuals as indulgences for the souls of their deceased parents. Presumably the money from the sale of the property was of more use to the monastery at the time than the property itself. The situation in a third text relating to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, *P.KRU* 19 (747), is more confused. This text is a deed by which Hello son of David, a man of Jeme, gives a house he received from his late wife to his children. Problems arise in understanding what happened to the property before this text was written. Hello states that he initially sold the house to Kosma son of Joseph for five *holokottinoi* (ll. 15-19), but then goes on to say that the house went “to the Saint Phoibammon

<sup>45</sup> ΝΤΑΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΗΜΑΚ(ΑΡΙΟΣ) ΠΕΙΩΔΑΤΕ ΝΠΕΣΤΙΝΕ ΤΑΔΥ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΝΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΗ\+/- ΝΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΖΑΤΕΤΑΛΛΑΠΟΡΟΣ ΝΨΥΧΗ (*P.KRU* 13.27-29).

<sup>46</sup> ΧΕΝΕΥΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ ΝΜΟΙ ΖΙ[. . . . ΠΒΗΜΑ Μ]ΠΕΧΣ ΧΕΝΕΠΜΑΤΥΡΟΣ<sup>sic</sup> ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ [ΘΝ]ΑΡΙΚΕ ΑΡΟΙ ΧΕ[ . . . ]ΝΑ ΝΕΠΡΟΣΦΑΡΑ ΧΕΖΕΝΩΤΕ ΝΨΥΧΗ (*P.KRU* 13.29-32). My reading of this section is based on Till (1964) 109. *Contra* Wipszycka (2009:A) 548 who believes that Kuriakos is acting in a private capacity.

<sup>47</sup> ΤΑΔΥ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΕΒΑΜΩΝ ΖΑΠΕΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΥΜΑΥ ΜΝΤΟΦ (ll. 15-16).

<sup>48</sup> The meaning of the Greek word (presumably one related to σκῆνος) in this context is not clear. It may refer to part of a building – see Förster (2002) 737-738. MacCoull (2009) 175 translates “tent (?)” and further suggests “awning” in fn. 6 of this page.

<sup>49</sup> It seems best to understand ΜΠΠΕΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΖΙΠΖΑΙ (ll. 26-27) as a direct continuation of the list beginning ΕΤΕΝΑΙΝΕ ΠΕΦΜΕΡΟΣ ΖΙΠΗ (l. 22), with what falls between being a description of the house. However, there is some confusion regarding the reading of this section. Compare the translations of MacCoull (2009) 174-176 and Till (1964) 116-118.

in exchange for that which I sold to Kosma” (ΝΖΟΥΝ ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΝΩΒΒΙΩ ΝΠΕΝΤΑΙΤΑΛΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΚΟΣΜΑ, ll. 30-32)<sup>50</sup>.

MacCoull proposes that there were in fact two houses: the first went to Kosma, the second to the monastery. These two were then swapped between Kosma and the monastery, with the monastery eventually giving back the house it now possessed to Hello, who in turn gave it to his children<sup>51</sup>. Whether or not this complex scenario accurately represents the situation, the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is clearly involved and it is possible, as was the case in *P.KRU* 13 and 18, that property from Hello’s wife was at some point donated to the monastery. How exactly the property ended up back in Hello’s possession is unclear, however a similar situation in *P.KRU* 50 in which a *topos* sells donated property back to the donor’s relatives (see below), suggests one likely path.

Donations of land and property are primarily attested in relation to the larger monasteries, such as Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul, yet the practice certainly extended to some of the smaller *topoi* and even churches. Donations of money and other items are known to have been made to churches within Jeme<sup>52</sup>, and a text relating to the *topos* of Apa Psate (most likely a church on the mountain of Jeme<sup>53</sup>) indicates that this practice also extended to churches – and conceivably small monasteries – outside the town’s boundaries.

*P.KRU* 50 (739<sup>54</sup>) is the settlement of a dispute between Anatolios son of Samuel, and Tsherkah and Arsenios, the children of Georgios<sup>55</sup>. The siblings sued Anatolios regarding a space (χωρημα, ll. 16, 40) which he redeemed from the holy *topos* of Apa Psate “because we (Anatolios) donated it to that holy *topos* through the blessed Epiphanius, his brother<sup>56</sup>, while he was yet alive”<sup>57</sup>. Tsherkah and Arsenios wanted to dissolve the “sale” (πρασις, l. 21) Anatolios received from the steward (οικονομος, l. 22) of the *topos*, and the conflict

<sup>50</sup> Lines 28-30 are difficult to interpret. It may be that I have not properly understood the sense of this clause.

<sup>51</sup> MacCoull (2009) 180.

<sup>52</sup> See Wilfong (2002) 95-98, for evidence of women donating to churches within Jeme.

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix A, pp. 300-301.

<sup>54</sup> On the date of this text see Cromwell (2010:A) 14.

<sup>55</sup> These two are part of the well-documented family of Abigaia. See Wilfong (2002) 66-68.

<sup>56</sup> περσον (his brother) is likely an error for παρσον (my brother) introduced by the scribe slipping from first to third person. It is otherwise inexplicable, particularly given “we” donated the property, whose brother Epiphanius might be.

<sup>57</sup> ΕΤΒΕΧΕΝΤΑΝΔΩΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΛ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΙ ΜΗΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΟΣ ΠΕΡΣΟΝ ΕΤΙ ΕΦΟΝΣ (*P.KRU* 50.18-20).

escalated to the extent that it was brought before the *dioiketes*, who decided that Anatolios would maintain possession of three shares of the space, and the siblings would get one share.

As is often the case in such documents, the dispute is only seen in one moment of its evolution, and it is consequently difficult to fully understand the situation of all parties: what claim did Tsherkah and Arsenios have over the property, and what was the nature of the *χωρημα* under dispute? Nonetheless, it is apparent that at some point before Epiphanius (probably Arsenios' brother) died, he donated property to the *topos* of Apa Psate. Sometime later, Anatolios bought the land back from the *topos* and the dispute ensued. Whatever the legal situation, *P.KRU* 50 attests to the patronisation of smaller institutions on the mountain of Jeme by residents of that town, and further to the reselling of donated property, as seen in *P.KRU* 13 and 18.

These donation texts, sales and settlements show that a significant amount of real estate was donated to some of the communities on the mountain of Jeme in the sixth to eighth centuries. Donations, however, were not the only way in which these communities acquired property. Land, houses and other goods could also be left in testaments, or even purchased outright. Evidence for testaments (*ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*) made by residents of Jeme in favour of monasteries and *topoi* is limited; some documents in which a dying individual leaves property to a monastery are instead called donations (*ΔΩΡΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ*), as is the case in *P.KRU* 106<sup>58</sup>.

*O.Crum* ST 60 (date unknown) is one such testament (*ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*, l. 5) made by Georgios son of Pisrael, from the kastron of Jeme, in favour of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. Although little of this document survives beyond the opening lines, it is enough to understand its purpose. Being of a sound mind, Joseph wanted to draw up his testament and told his fathers (*ΝΑΙΑΤΕ*, l. 6, perhaps a reference to the elders of the monastery?) to take all that he owned. They were reluctant to take all his property, but nevertheless he sent “it” to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. “It” here is most likely a reference to land from his inheritance, as is suggested by the surviving parts of line 9 – “the lands which came to me from ...” (*ΝΗΚΑ2 ΕΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΧΩΙ 2Δ[...]*)<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> It is possible the donations referred to in the sale documents *P.KRU* 13, 18 and 19 were made in testaments, however the exact situation is not explicit. Without further information it is just as likely that the donations were made when the donor was alive.

<sup>59</sup> J. Cromwell (*pers. comm.*) suggests that *ΕΤΑΥΕΙ* should perhaps be read *ΕΤΑΨΕΙ*, an unusual form of the relative perfect *ΝΤΑΨΕΙ*.

Another testament is attested by *P.KRU* 54 (748<sup>60</sup>), a receipt issued by the *topos* of Apa Psate for money left to it in the will (ΔΙΔΘΗΚΕ, l. 9) of Tsuros daughter of Takoum. In this text, Senouthios son of Philotheos, the steward of the holy *topos*, writes to Komos son of Damianos, presumably the executor of Tsuros' will, that he has received the *tremis* (a smaller demonination of coin than the *holokottinos*) which Tsuros left to the *topos* and has no grounds to sue Komos regarding it<sup>61</sup>. Texts attesting to the donation of money (posthumously or otherwise) to monasteries and *topoi* on the mountain of Jeme are less frequent than donations of land. However, *P.KRU* 54 should not be considered an unusual case. Monetary donations would likely have been accessible to more than one resident; *P.CLT* 5 may attest to another such donation<sup>62</sup>.

Evidence for monastic purchases of land and buildings is limited. Only one text definitely records a monastery purchasing property in Jeme. In *SB Kopt.* II 945 (late eighth century) a man, whose name is unknown, sells one and a half courtyards of the inheritance from his father to Sourous, the deacon and (as we know from elsewhere) superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, for one gold *holokottinos*<sup>63</sup>. The village in which the courtyards lay is not named; the boundaries of the property include the Public Street (ΠΙΡΙ ΔΗΜΩΣΙ(ΟΝ), l. 7) and the front door (ΠΡΩ ΝΑΥΘΕΝΤΗΣ, l. 7). Both these terms are common in many towns, including Jeme, but given the Theban provenance of the text it is reasonable to think that the property was in Jeme itself<sup>64</sup>. It is unclear what benefit the monastery would gain by owning these courtyards, as little is known about their use; they were open spaces, privately owned, and could presumably be used as work spaces, as indicated by the sale of a loom located in a courtyard in *P.KRU* 27. Whatever the case, *SB Kopt.* II 945 shows that the monastery actively purchased property as well as received it through gifts.

<sup>60</sup> On the date of this text see Cromwell (2010:A) 14.

<sup>61</sup> *P.KRU* 54 and *P.KRU* 50 are the only texts used in this study to establish a link between Apa Psate and Jeme. However, one other text might be used for such. *O.CrumST* 88 is a loan agreement made out to one of the lenders of Jeme, and written by "Iohannes, the deacon of Apa Psate" (ΙΩΩΔΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΔΙΑΚ// ΝΗΔΑΔΑ ΨΔΤΕ, ll. 13-14). Though, in this text it is not clear what the exact connection between the *topos* and Jeme was.

<sup>62</sup> See p. 105. Wickham (2005) 424 suggests that Aaron son of Shenoute, a wealthy land owner of Jeme known from many sale documents (*P.KRU* 1; 2; 4-6; 12-15) also donated property to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon in his will. However, as Wickham points out (fn. 103), the testament (*P.KRU* 72) is damaged (only the final clause and witness statements survive) and the monastery is not actually named.

<sup>63</sup> For Sourous, see Till (1962) 204-205.

<sup>64</sup> See Timm (1984-2007) 1018-1019 for a comprehensive list of the attestations of both terms in texts from Jeme.

While many of the details in the situations portrayed by these documents remain unclear, they show that communities on the mountain of Jeme – certainly the monasteries of Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul, and the *topos* of Apa Psate – owned agricultural land and houses in and around the village of Jeme, which they acquired through donations, testaments, or outright purchases. By receiving this property, these communities became an important part of the regional economy. To be sure, the few attestations discussed here should not be considered the only land such institutions owned by the eighth century. While these are the only texts in which a party from Jeme definitely donates property to a monastery or *topos*, they are not the only property donations. Among the *P.KRU* material alone, six other texts are donations of property to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. Land is donated in *P.KRU* 107, in which an unknown party (the papyrus is damaged) donates the field of the holy Apa Psate on the mountain of Pmilis, a village in the Koptite nome; and in *P.KRU* 109, in which a man from Ermont donates property he owns near Romoou, near Jeme. Palm trees, or perhaps the produce from palm trees, are donated in *P.KRU* 110 and 111, in the former by a man living near Ermont, and livestock and various moveable objects are donated in *P.KRU* 112 and 113 respectively<sup>65</sup>.

Donations of land, property and money begin to illustrate the nature of the economic relationship between the religious communities of the mountain of Jeme and the citizens of Jeme itself. Such donations, though, are not the extent of the relationship, nor even the only type of donations attested.

### *Child Donations to the Monastery of Apa Phoibammon*

Amongst the documentary corpus relating to the monastery of Phoibammon are a number of donations with quite a different subject matter to those presented above: the donations of children. Not only are the child donations unique in character, they appear to be a practice unique to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon of all the monasteries on the mountain of Jeme<sup>66</sup>. Such donations are even more common in the monastery of Apa Phoibammon corpus than donations of land and other property; donations of children account for twenty-six of the

<sup>65</sup> We might also consider the *aparché* payment, paid by communities to some monasteries, as donations. See Wipszycka (2009:A) 556-564. Some texts suggest that the monastery of Apa Phoibammon might have received such payments (see pp. 560-561).

<sup>66</sup> Schenke (2007) argues that the fragmentary *P.Vat.Copt.Doresse* 7 (which she re-edits in this publication) could be read as a child donation to a monastery of Apa Thomas, perhaps that in Wadi Saga. The evidence is not conclusive however.

thirty-five donations of any kind to the monastery in the *P.KRU* material. In only six of these, however, were the donors certainly from Jeme. These are:

*P.KRU* 78 (early eighth century): Iohannes son of Victor, man of the kastron Jeme (l. 75), donates his son to the monastery through its *dikaion*<sup>67</sup> (l. 30) and through Victor, its steward (οΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, l. 32). The donation is made as payment for the Saint's part in healing a sickness his son contracted at age three (ll. 15-23). Unusually, the monastery does not seem to have physically taken charge of the boy; rather the contract states that the boy will be obliged to pay a *holokottinos* to the monastery every year for the rest of his life (ll. 23-25, 35-37).

*P.KRU* 82 (soon after 771): Senouthios son of Basileos (possibly in conjunction with his wife<sup>68</sup>), of the kastron Jeme, donates his child to the monastery through its superior (πρωεστος, l. 8), Apa Sourous. The child is not donated in exchange for healing, rather the parents state "we promised him to God from the day we begot him" (ἀνεπητ μμοϥ νπνοϥτε χιννποϥ ντανχποϥ ll. 11-12) for the good of their souls (l. 14). The boy will be a servant in the monastery forever, "as though he is a servant purchased with money" (ζωϥ χεοϥδαϥον νϥωπ ζαζομντνε, ll. 15-16).

*P.KRU* 84 (c. 770): Senouthios son of NN and his wife Martha, both of the kastron Jeme, donate their son to the monastery through its superior (πρωεστος, l. 10), Apa Sourous. The donation was made as payment for the intervention of the Saint in healing a sickness of the boy (ll. 18-23). Their son will become a servant (σμζαλ, l. 23) of the *topos* and the lamp in it forever (ll. 23-24).

*P.KRU* 91 (781): Pisenthios son of Panias and his wife Tasia daughter of Theutote, both of the kastron Jeme, donate their son to the monastery through Sourous, the steward (οΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, l. 20) and superior (πρωεστος, l. 20). Again, the donation is made in response to the healing of the child; the process is described over a number of lines and involved placing cups of water on the boy and a stay of a number of days in the monastery, during

<sup>67</sup> What exactly the *dikaion* refers to is unclear. It occurs in many documents from the sixth century onward relating to monasteries and, more rarely, churches and other institutions. It appears to be connected with the economic activity of the institution, but does not seem to be a reference to either an individual or a council, but rather "the right of a certain institution to possess a legal subjectivity and hence the right to all sorts of activity, particularly of an economic nature." (Wipszycka (1991:B) 901).

<sup>68</sup> Senouthios introduces himself in the opening formula with "we" (ἀνομ, l. 2). This line is broken and it is possible that his wife's name stood between his and their location, which is given on line 3.

which time the superior tended to him (ll. 5-22). The boy's responsibilities are only described as assisting (ὕπουργέω, l. 24) and giving his labour († πᾶσις, l. 25) to the *topos*.

*P.KRU* 94 (748-759): Chael son of Mena, man of the kastron Jeme, donates his son to the monastery through its superior (προεστος, l. 21), Kuriakos. Chael gives no reason for the donation beyond that the laws of the king state that he can do what he likes with what is his<sup>69</sup>. His son shall become a servant to the *topos* and serve in whatever manner commanded of him<sup>70</sup>.

*P.KRU* 102 (762): Little of this document beyond the opening formulae survives. What remains indicates that Severos son of Petros, a man of the kastron Jeme, donates his child to the monastery through its archpriest and steward (παρχηπρεσβύτερος ἀγῶ ποικονομος, ll. 5-6), whose name is not given at this point. The reference to a great sickness (οὔνοσ νόωνε, l. 8) indicates that the donation was made in payment for the healing of the child. The duties of the child as an oblate to the monastery are not mentioned.

To these six donations, two others can probably be added: *P.KRU* 85 and 96. In *P.KRU* 85 (767/768), Severos and his wife Leia (l. 13) donate their child to the monastery through three named stewards: Apa Kuriakos, Matthaios, and Sourous (ll. 21-22)<sup>71</sup>. The beginning of this text, containing the first mention of the name and location of Severos and his wife, is unfortunately lost, yet it is clear from the formula “we provide afterwards a subscriber...” (ἐντὶ μννκος ἐνογῶ υπογραφεύς, l. 2) that only the dating clause and the name of the first party are lost<sup>72</sup>. The first, fragmentary line of this text preserves the words “the kastron of Jeme” (καστρων νχημε); in this position, immediately before the provision of a subscriber, this could only be the location of the first party. The donation is made, as is often the case, in response to a sickness which God put upon the child “on account of the

<sup>69</sup> Clauses along these lines (referring to the laws of God or of secular authorities) occur relatively frequently in donation texts (*P.KRU* 79.8-11; 80.8-12; 81.12-15; 87.3-5; 92.24-26; 93.6-9; 96.14-17; 100.9-13), but are usually combined with another reason, such as sickness, for the donation. In this way they justify the legality of the donation, but do not necessarily indicate its reason.

<sup>70</sup> ἐφο νῆμῶν ἐπὶ σπῆτος τοπος μηδαγιος ἀπὰ φοιβᾶμων πρὸς θεῷ ἐτέτνηκελεγε μμος νᾶν (*P.KRU* 94.25-28).

<sup>71</sup> The reference to more than one steward (οικονομος) for the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is unusual. While it more usually has only one named steward, its contemporary, the monastery of Apa Paul, is known to have had more than one at various times (see the introduction to *P.CLT* 1). In this case it is possible that the presence of multiple superiors is related to a change in the leaders of the monastery – see the discussion of *P.KRU* 86 below, pp. 105-106.

<sup>72</sup> Compare, for instance, the complete example in *P.KRU* 81; the relevant clause begins on line 5 after the dating clause and the name and location of the first party.

deservedness of our sins” (προς πεμπωδ νηεννοβε, ll. 11-12). The parents promise him to the *topos*, that he give his labour to it forever (l. 18), if God and his martyr Apa Phoibammon will heal him. Further specification of the child’s service to the monastery indicates only that he will tend its lamp (ll. 19-20).

The donor of *P.KRU* 96 (775) is Phoibammon son of Athanasius. While his location is not given, this name appears in two witness statements in documents in which the contracting parties are from Jeme. In *P.KRU* 71.66 (765) he writes a witness statement for his father, and in *P.KRU* 58.30 (765) he himself is witness<sup>73</sup>. This evidence, although circumstantial, suggests that Phoibammon was, in fact, a citizen of Jeme. The narrative of Phoibammon’s donation is quite detailed. While he initially decided to donate his child to the monastery for the salvation of his soul before its birth (ll. 21-22), he decided to transgress this promise when the child was born. The child then became sick and on consultation with his wife (l. 32) the couple decided to take the child to the monastery for healing. When he was healed, they renewed the donation through Sourous, the monastery’s steward. The boy’s role in the monastery is described simply as that of a servant (δαϋον, ll. 59-60).

Other donation texts, for example *P.KRU* 90, contain witnesses and scribes who were from Jeme. However, as was argued in Section I, the locations of witnesses in texts drawn up at a monastery do not bear a reliable correlation to the location of the first party. It is impossible to say with certainty that the primary parties of such texts were from Jeme<sup>74</sup>.

A number of narrative features of these documents indicate that child donations were a mutually beneficial agreement between the citizens of Jeme and the monastery. Of course, it is legitimate to ask to what extent the testimony of these documents should be taken as truth. T. S. Richter has argued that the narrative of donation texts should be considered part reality and part fiction<sup>75</sup>. He does not mean that the authors create deliberate falsehoods, but rather that these “non-fictional autobiographical narratives” are entirely subjective and shaped by

<sup>73</sup> Phoibammon’s father is described as “blessed” (a euphemism for dead) in *P.KRU* 58.30, but not in *P.KRU* 96, dated some ten years later. This does not preclude these two Phoibammons from being equated, as the term “blessed” is not always included for deceased parents.

<sup>74</sup> See above, pp 61-66. The presence of witnesses from Jeme, on the other hand, indicates that those individuals were at the monastery when the document was drawn up, and thus connect Jeme to the monastery in a different way. This aspect of donation texts is discussed further on pp. 107-110.

<sup>75</sup> Richter (2005) 253-254.



expectations of the genre<sup>76</sup>. Nevertheless, he feels that it is impossible to gather reliable information from the plot of the narrative. While the exact conditions which led to the parents' decision to donate their child may be obscured, the reasons expressed in the narrative of these texts should not be discounted as false. The reasons given reflect true feelings of the individuals involved, but this is not to say that there were not unwritten reasons as well.

The donors in the eight texts above express two main benefits received through promising their children to the monastery: spiritual salvation and physical healing<sup>77</sup>. That the donors from Jeme received a perceived spiritual benefit as a result of the donation is explicitly expressed in *P.KRU* 82 and 96. In both cases, the parents of the donated child promise their son to the monastery from birth, reportedly for the health of their souls. This is best expressed in *P.KRU* 96.17-22: "when the compassionate God ordered that my child be born to me, I remembered my sins and I decided that if he lived, I would give him to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon for the salvation of my soul"<sup>78</sup>. The understanding is that by donating a child to the monastery, some part of the donors' past sins was forgiven. The religious benefit that came to the donors in these texts should not be underestimated as one of the driving factors behind a number of the donations.

The second stated benefit of the donors, and by far the most often cited, is the healing of the donated child. Of the eight documents described above, six cite the healing of the child as the main cause for the donation<sup>79</sup>. The narrative sections of these documents all follow the same basic plot. At some point in his life, the boy became sick. Fearing for his death, the parents (usually both parents act together in this, as seen in the documents above) make a resolution to take him to the monastery for healing and to donate him to it if he recovers. Nominally, the healing occurs by beseeching Saint Phoibammon to intercede with God on the child's behalf. *P.KRU* 91, however, shows that the process could also involve a stay of a number of days in the monastery, where the child would be tended by the superior, and could include the ritual placement of cups of water on the boy's body. In some cases, as in *P.KRU* 96, an original promise of donation is 'forgotten', whereupon the child becomes sick, leading the parents to renew their vow. Sofia Schaten stresses the religious motivations behind donations in these

<sup>76</sup> Richter (2005) 258-259.

<sup>77</sup> A comprehensive list of the reasons given by donors in all donation texts is given by Biedenkopf-Ziehner (2001) 84-87.

<sup>78</sup> ΖΗΜΠΤΡΕΠΝΑΗΤ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΣΕΧΠΟ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΔΙΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΑΝΟΒΕ ΔΙΣΟΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕΕΓΩΔΑΝΩΝΣ ΦΑΙΤΑΔΥ ΕΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΣΑΤΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ ΝΤΑΨΥΧΗ (*P.KRU* 96.17-22).

<sup>79</sup> *P.KRU* 78.21-23; 84.18-24; 85.15-17; 91.8-15; 96.38-44; and 102.8-9.

cases; the non-fulfilment of the vow has led to the anger of God and the sickness of the child<sup>80</sup>. The act of renewing the donation vow then leads to the healing of the child by appeasing the anger of God, who in turn removes the sickness.

While the donation texts themselves only mention healing and spiritual benefits, several scholars have argued that there were also unspoken benefits for the parents of donated children, specifically economic benefits. Anneliese Biedenkopf-Ziehner emphasised the heavy tax burden of Christians in Egypt under Arabic rule and argued that the donation of a child to the monastery represents financial relief for the parents; once the child entered the monastery he would be cared for, clothed and fed out of monastic funds<sup>81</sup>. Richter takes this argument further and suggests that the children who are donated to the monastery are those with unique problems: those born prematurely, those with some long-term disease such as epilepsy, or even children of single parents – essentially, children of parents who could not cope with the burdens, financial or otherwise, of raising them<sup>82</sup>. Since there is no conclusive evidence regarding this, such arguments must remain in the realm of speculation, yet it is certainly possible that some children were donated for primarily economic reasons. Perhaps such motivations could be attributed to Chael in *P.KRU* 94, who donates his son for no other stated reason than because he has the right to do what he likes with what is his. It would be unjust, though, to discount the strength of faith of the donors, and to sideline religious motivations in all cases in favour of economic ones.

In taking oblates from Jeme and elsewhere, the monastery itself benefited from a source of cheap labour and income. In the texts discussed above, two forms of service are visible. For the most part, the responsibilities of the child are discussed in terms of servitude; *P.KRU* 82, 84, 85, 91, 94, and 96 all talk about the child being a servant and giving his labour to the monastery forever. The specifics of such servitude are not mentioned in great detail: *P.KRU* 94 talks of serving in whatever manner is commanded, and *P.KRU* 84 and 85 indicate that tending the lamp of the altar of the *topos* was one part of the oblates' duties. In *P.KRU* 78, however, servitude is not mentioned. In this text, the boy will simply "contribute to it for all

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<sup>80</sup> Schaten (1996) 135.

<sup>81</sup> Biedenkopf-Ziehner (2001) 129-135. Papaconstantinou (2002) 85 agrees with her viewpoint but argues that this is not the whole picture. See also Schaten (1996) 135. The tax burden was great enough to cause several periods of unrest in the eighth century, see Frantz-Murphy (1999) 244-245.

<sup>82</sup> Richter (2005) 259-261.

his life, a *holokottinos* every year for ever”<sup>83</sup>. It is doubtful that in this case the child would have even lived in the monastery.

A more comprehensive image of the role of these children is gained from looking at the obligations specified in the other child donations (those not from residents of Jeme). Taken together, the donation texts present a differing range of conditions under which the child would serve. Some talk about servitude within the monastery and tending the lamps, as do the texts above, while others refer to service outside the monastery<sup>84</sup>. From this incongruity, A. Papaconstantinou has argued that the terms of servitude of donated individuals differed from case to case, and that the terms would be agreed upon by the donating party and the monastery at the time the donation was made<sup>85</sup>. Some would live within the monastery and perform menial labour, maintaining the perpetually-lit liturgical lamps of the monastery and generally performing whatever task was required of them. Others could live outside the monastery and send back the results of their labour in the form of a yearly payment, which would be used toward the upkeep of the monastery and the maintenance of the lamps, which required a steady supply of oil<sup>86</sup>. Thus, donated individuals who left the monastery, or only ever had part of their income donated, still continued to serve it. It is not impossible that these individuals could have even worked monastic lands<sup>87</sup>. In some cases, donation contracts even have clauses stipulating that children born of the donated individual would likewise be obligated to serve the monastery<sup>88</sup>. Essentially, an oblate became a slave of the monastery – in the words of *P.KRU* 82.15-16 “as though he is a servant purchased with money”<sup>89</sup>.

The donation of children to the monastery by citizens of Jeme, and indeed elsewhere, provided economic and religious benefits to both sides of the agreement. The donors received spiritual recognition of their piety, the physical healing of their child, and, in some cases, the economic benefits associated with having one less mouth to feed. In turn, the monastery received a source of labour to tend monastic grounds and the liturgical lamps – an important

<sup>83</sup> ΕΦΥΓΝΤΕΛΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΗΕΦΩΝΣ ΤΗΡΑ ΕΝΟΥΣΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ΩΔΕΝΕΣ (*P.KRU* 78.23-25).

<sup>84</sup> A list of all obligations specified in child donations is given by Biedenkopf-Ziehner (2001) 88-94.

<sup>85</sup> Papaconstantinou (2002) 92-102, especially 92 and 99.

<sup>86</sup> Papaconstantinou (2002) 96-98.

<sup>87</sup> As also suggested by Godlewski (1986) 84.

<sup>88</sup> See *P.KRU* 95.22-25.

<sup>89</sup> Many scholars prefer to talk in terms of servitude rather than slavery (e.g. Richter (2005) 244-245), however Papaconstantinou (2002) 92-93 convincingly argues that this masks their true status. It is generally agreed that they would not necessarily become monks or receive an education.

physical representation of the spiritual world<sup>90</sup>. Further, if the oblate lived outside the monastery, perhaps even helping to work monastic lands, the monastery received a yearly payment. In this way, the donated children of Jeme and elsewhere contributed to the maintenance and economic success of the monastery, thereby enabling it to continue to provide religious, social, and economic benefits to the inhabitants of the region<sup>91</sup>.

### *The Spoils of Piety*

The texts discussed so far give an idea of the economic strength of some of the monasteries and *topoi* of the Theban mountain in the seventh and eighth centuries. To be sure, this picture does not depict the entirety of a community's resources. Such a picture is, however, necessary to fully assess how they integrated into the economy of the region. In his analysis of the workings of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, Włodzimierz Godlewski provides a summary of the resources of this monastery, in so far as he could reconstruct them. He divided Phoibammon's income into five categories: arable land, fields and palms; domestic animals; houses and other land; handiwork; and money<sup>92</sup>. While the documentation relating to the interactions between the monastery and individuals from Jeme does not account for all of these categories, other documents do. It is useful to briefly describe the extent of the monastery's resources, so as to have an example of what such a community had access to, and to better appreciate the extent to which the economy of the monastery and that of Jeme could interact with one another<sup>93</sup>.

Godlewski first suggests that an indication of the property of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon might be garnered from descriptions in the testaments of its superiors<sup>94</sup>. Of these, only those of Bishop Abraham (*P.Lond.* I 77) and Apa Jacob (*P.KRU* 65) contain useable descriptions. The description in Abraham's will is very general; it speaks of moveable, immovable and animate property, gold, silver, copper, books, land, and buildings. Given the general nature of the description, it is likely to be, in part, simple Byzantine notarial

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<sup>90</sup> MacCoull (1979) 414 discusses the importance of maintaining the lamps.

<sup>91</sup> It seems that not all children involved were entirely happy with this arrangement. In *P.KRU* 93.15-19, Shenoute, a child donated from a village near Ermont, in the manner of children of all eras, defied his parents' wishes and secretly fled the monastery after he recovered from the sickness for which he had been taken there. He managed to make his way to Babylon (Cairo), where he apparently remained for a number of years before being returned and donated a second time.

<sup>92</sup> Godlewski (1986) 81. His examination of the monastery's resources (pp. 79-88) is the basis for what follows.

<sup>93</sup> For a useful discussion on how monastic economies functioned, see Wipszycka (2009:A) 545-565.

<sup>94</sup> Godlewski (1986) 79-81.

formula and not a particularly detailed depiction of the monastery's property at the time of Abraham's will<sup>95</sup>. The will of Jacob, dating to the late seventh century, is more promising. It describes the property of the monastery as:

“everything belonging in it, either gold or silver or garments, bronze, written texts, books, caves, excavated spaces, towers or fortifications, within and outside the four boundaries of the holy *topos* ... either camels or donkeys; sheep; goats; houses that were donated to the holy *topos*, either in the city Ermont, in the kastron or village or hamlet; date-palm trees; wells; fields or meadows with their yields” (ll. 54-59).

The donations and other texts that were discussed above showed fields, houses, and other property being donated to the monastery, in locations both within and near Jeme, as well as further afield. These would have provided income for the monastery in the forms of both produce and money, as evidenced by lists associated with the monastery detailing payments in corn, as well as purchases in money and kind<sup>96</sup>. Already, the description of the monastery's property in the testaments of Apa Jacob and Bishop Abraham show agreement with these documents. Further, the “caves, excavated spaces, towers or fortifications” in Jacob's will are certainly the buildings and nearby cells of the monastery proper, which we know had at least one tower and could easily have had a wall around the property, as did the nearby monastery of Epiphanius<sup>97</sup>.

Less is known about the livestock and whether or not the monastery used sheep and goats for wool and dairy products. A number of documents mention camels and the contracting of camel herds. In one, *O.Crum* 218 (before 720), Abraham son of David, a man of Jeme (ⲡⲣⲙⲭⲏⲙⲉ, l. 2), agrees to tend the camel of Apa Jacob, who Godlewski presumes to be the Apa Jacob of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon<sup>98</sup>. He will work for one year and provide all the necessary equipment for the camel, such as ropes, collars, and baskets. Here, then, is evidence that the workmen of Jeme were providing their services to the monastery at various

<sup>95</sup> Godlewski (1986) 80-81, nevertheless uses it as a general guideline for the monastery's holdings in its earliest phases.

<sup>96</sup> *O.Crum* 460 (written in Crum's hand D, associated with the monastery) and *O.Crum* 462 (provenanced to Deir el-Bahri) both list amounts of corn; in the case of 462, corn sent out. *O.Crum* Ad.30 (hand D) lists supplies purchased in money and kind from the *topos* of St John and Jacob and includes wine, clothing, sesame, corn, and a camel.

<sup>97</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 36, 38. The tower in the monastery of Phoibammon is visible in pre-excavation photos of the site: see Godlewski (1986) figures 9-13 (pp. 28-32).

<sup>98</sup> Godlewski (1986) 85.

times. It is likely that camels were being used to transport goods and water to and from the monastery and between the monastery and its outlying properties<sup>99</sup>.

Of gold, silver, garments and books, virtually no evidence survives. It is a natural assumption that the monastery kept books, as we know it had a library<sup>100</sup>. Money likewise would have come into the monastery through donations (as seen in *P.KRU* 54), revenue from its properties, as well as through selling property or whatever items the monks produced in their daily labours – rope, basketry, and textiles made on looms are common in monasteries of this region. Of course, the gold, silver and bronze of Jacob's will may also refer to the religious icons and paraphernalia of the monastery itself<sup>101</sup>.

This is the extent of the monastery of Phoibammon's economy as we can reconstruct it from the documentary record. It is likely that, to some extent, the economy of the monastery of Apa Paul mirrored that of Apa Phoibammon. While the documentation relating to it is not yet published to a similar degree, the donation texts relating to the monastery of Apa Paul show that it received similar kinds of real estate through donation<sup>102</sup>. The large size of the two monasteries (a large monastery cannot support its population and maintenance costs with no income or property) and their equal proximity to the town of Jeme also make it likely that the nature and extent of their resources were similar.

The smaller the size of the community, however, the less the expected resources compare to the monasteries of Paul and Phoibammon. The *topos* of Apa Psate, probably a church on the mount of Jeme rather than a monastic community, also received donations of property and money from the people of Jeme, but it is difficult, from only two texts (*P.KRU* 50 and 54), to

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<sup>99</sup> For a discussion of the documents attesting to the keeping of camels, see Godlewski (1986) 85-86. Alongside *O.Crum* 218, he also lists *O.Crum* 219-221 and *O.Crum* 229 as evidence for this.

<sup>100</sup> Many lists of book names are found in monasteries in the area, but none conclusively linked to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. However there are some lists of books in the *O.Crum* texts, which were mostly found at the Deir el-Bahri excavations (specifically *O.Crum* 547-459). Winlock & Crum (1926) 196-208 contains a useful discussion of the literature available to the monks of the nearby monastery of Epiphanius. This material would no doubt have been equivalent, if not smaller, than what was available to the much larger and better-funded monastery of Phoibammon.

<sup>101</sup> Lists of monastic property abound in the Theban documentary texts, but none that are certainly related to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. Some examples are: *O.Crum* 192, a list of vessels and other equipment; *O.Crum* 438 and 450, accounts of moneys; *O.Crum* 459, a long list of books, textiles, vessels, and other items; and *O.Crum* 461, a list of ploughs. See generally *O.Crum* pp. 40-46 for lists and accounts of property, many of which likely come from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon.

<sup>102</sup> The excavations of the monastery of Apa Paul have uncovered over 2000 ostraca, from which 250 texts have already been assembled through joining the fragments, with more expected. While these texts are currently being published in an online format, the work is not yet complete – see Beckh, Eichner & Hodak (2011) 20-21.

speculate on the full extent of its resources. It is likely, in the case of Apa Psate, that the nature of its resources was similar to what is outlined above, but on a smaller scale<sup>103</sup>.

Still smaller communities, such as the so-called monastery of Epiphanius or even solitary monks and their disciples, are more collections of individuals than a cohesive community and consequently have quite different economic paradigms. These cases will be dealt with later.

### *Mutual Benefits*

The benefits of a strong economy for a monastery are self-evident. Coupled with the free labour which the monks and, in the case of Apa Phoibammon, the child oblates provided, a wealth of resources permits the maintenance of both a population of dependent monks and of the monastic grounds themselves. For a growing monastery, as Apa Phoibammon or Apa Paul would have been in the early seventh century, donations such as those already seen would have strengthened whatever resources it owned at its foundation and permitted both physical expansion and the increased external recognition which comes from being a large, established monastic community<sup>104</sup>.

The benefits for Jeme and its inhabitants in donating property are less evident. As seen in the child donation texts, the donors themselves frequently give reasons for their donation, and these are a good starting point. A common reason for donations is the spiritual benefit the donors received. This is seen in the frequent references to donations being made “for the health of my soul”<sup>105</sup>. In this way, the donations act as remissions for sin and provide a better chance at gaining entrance to heaven. This is expressed strongly in *P.KRU* 106, Anna’s donation of her property to the monastery of Apa Paul. Anna’s concern for her sins is the focus of most of the first hundred lines of the document. That this is a driving force behind the donation is most succinctly expressed in her expectations of the received benefit for it,

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<sup>103</sup> Certainly churches could receive donations, and control estates of considerable size. In the testament of Susanne, a resident of Jeme (the document survives in duplicate as *P.KRU* 66 and 76), she bequeathed her fifth share of a church and its property, which includes arable land and storehouses (see *P.KRU* 66.29-30 and 76.26-27). Cromwell (2013:B) 225-228, provides a useful discussion of these texts and of church holdings in general. Such documents demonstrate that churches in and around Jeme also owned arable land and other property, similar to monastic holdings.

<sup>104</sup> For a useful comparison, see the description of the economy of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit in Delattre (2007:A) 74-104. The description of this monastery’s property shows many similarities to what we know of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon’s resources.

<sup>105</sup> *P.KRU* 79.18,34; 80.10; 81.13,30; 82.14,19-20; 83.21-22; 89.3-4; 96.21-22; 97.21; 100.13; 106.114-115,156-158; 110.9-10.

namely: “that his (the saint’s) entreaties and holy intercessions receive favour for me before the true judge”<sup>106</sup>. Through her donation to Paul’s *topos*, Anna expects that she will gain favour in the eyes of the saint and consequently his help in her favourable reception in heaven.

Donations, then, are not only an economic but also a religious transaction linking the donors, in these cases the inhabitants of Jeme, to the monasteries through the health of their souls. But donations of property would have also had more immediate benefits for the economic life of the area. Through maintaining its property, the monastery would not only provide for its own needs, but also create both jobs and a surplus that could be fed back into the economy of the town and the surrounding area through such means as charity, loans of money, and the sale and purchase of goods.

Charity is specified as an expected expenditure of the monasteries in a number of texts. In the opening lines of the surviving part of *P.KRU* 108, the community of Jeme specifies that land was donated to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon “for the sake of our needs and the need of the poor of our kastron” (ΕΤΒ[Ε] ΤΗΧΡΙΑ ΜΝΤΧΡΙΑ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΝΠΕΝΚΑΣΤΡ[ΟΝ], ll. 2-3). It is unclear what “our needs” might refer to, although given the use of the word “sin” in the immediate context (ΝΟΒΕ, l. 1), spiritual needs are a real possibility. In *P.KRU* 13, the superior of the same monastery sells its share of two houses for one gold *holokottinos* and states: “I have spent it (the *holokottinos*) for the table of the poor and the need of the holy *topos*” (ΔΙΝΟΧΣ ΕΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΙΖΑ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ Ν[. Τ]ΧΡΙΑ ΝΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ, ll. 36-37). “The poor”, here, almost certainly refers to the poor of the region whom the monastery supported, and hence particularly the poor of Jeme. The same emphasis on charity is present in donations to the monastery of Apa Paul. In *P.KRU* 106, Anna states that she expects her donations to be used “for the benefit of the great charity which now exists for the poor who come to the holy monastery, and for the sake of the things which the brothers give out to the poor and the needy”<sup>107</sup>.

In these cases, the reference to the needs of the poor is reminiscent of the emphasis on charity in *P.KRU* 105 discussed above. In that text, Krause argued that the right to found a monastery

<sup>106</sup> ΧΕΩΔΡΕΝΕΓСОПСН ΔΥΩ ΝΕΠΡΕСВЕΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΧΙ ΖΜΟΤ ΕΧΩΙ ΝΝΔΖΡМ ΝΕΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΜΜΕΕ (*P.KRU* 106.70-72).

<sup>107</sup> ΕΤΒΕΤΝΟΕ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΗΜΟΝΑΣΤ(ΗΡΙΟΝ) ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΒΕΝΕΤΕΡΕΝСННΥ ΧΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΖΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΩΔΔΤ (*P.KRU* 106.73-76).



and the obligation to provide for poor passers-by went hand-in-hand<sup>108</sup>. So too in the texts under discussion here, the community and citizens of Jeme expect that the land they are donating to the monastery will be used to help provide for the needs of the poor of the kastron, that is, it will be used for charitable means. Such charity not only bolsters ties between the monastery and the town, but also relieves the community of the financial burden of providing for the poor themselves.

Some documents indicate that the maintenance and cultivation of monastic lands created jobs in the region. Although none specifically involve citizens of Jeme, eight texts from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon authorise people to cultivate monastic lands<sup>109</sup>. In most of these texts, Victor, Bishop Abraham's secretary, is acting on behalf of the monastery. As such, they should be dated to the beginning of the seventh century. Given that the monastery continued to increase its landholdings over the seventh and eighth centuries, it is reasonable to assume that it continued to authorise people to cultivate its lands on its behalf<sup>110</sup>.

Similarly, those monasteries owning livestock would sometimes engage others to tend them. *O.Crum* 218, in which a man from Jeme is contracted to tend the camel of a monk possibly from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, has already been mentioned, but other texts attest similar interactions<sup>111</sup>. In *O.Crum* 220 (around 600), Elias son of Solomon writes to the brethren of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, undertaking to tend and work their camels. Another individual is engaged by the same monastery to work a camel in *O.Crum* 219 (seventh century). In the latter case, it is specified that the monastery will receive three fifths of the camel's earnings, and the worker two fifths. Such agreements likely extended to other livestock too. *O.Crum* 222 (around 600) is an undertaking by a man to tend the cattle of his employer. The name of the employer is lost, however the hand is one associated with the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, which makes the monastery a possible choice<sup>112</sup>. Though none of the individuals contracted to tend livestock or fields are located, it would be surprising if Jeme, as the major population centre near the monastery, was not the main source of those hired. It is likely, therefore, that in owning land in western Thebes, in and

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<sup>108</sup> Krause (2010) 73.

<sup>109</sup> The texts cited by Godlewski (1986) 82-83 are: *O.Crum* 138, 140, 185, 303, 306, 307, 482 and *BKU* 148. See also Richter (2009:B) for a discussion of monastic land leases.

<sup>110</sup> Wilfong (1999) 219 is of the opinion that secular farmers did most of the work: "in general the pattern seems to have been for outside farmers to cultivate the monastic land".

<sup>111</sup> See above, p. 97.

<sup>112</sup> For other possible examples of such relationships see Godlewski (1986) 85-86.

around the town of Jeme, the monastery further bolstered the local economy by providing jobs tending livestock, cultivating the fields, and possibly providing fields or other property for lease.

Other texts which demonstrate how the monastic economy strengthened the regional, and specifically the Jemean, economy are scant. On a general scale, the larger monasteries would surely have had a surplus, beyond what was needed for the upkeep of the monks and monastic lands, which could be fed back into the economy of the region for the benefit of everyone, including the residents of Jeme. It is difficult to know how exactly such a surplus was used: some undoubtedly went to charity for the poor, but it is reasonable to think that further surplus could have been used to buy whatever supplies the monasteries did not produce, or sold in Jeme or at markets elsewhere. *O.Crum* Ad.30, which is written in Crum's hand D (the hand of a known monk from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon), is an account of supplies bought from the *topos* of Saint Iohannes and Jacob. The purchases were made with money and kind and include wine, clothing, sesame, corn, and a camel and its feed. Other texts show that monks from the area, including from Apa Paul, sold their handiwork as far afield as the Fayum<sup>113</sup>. It is likely that monastic handiwork was also sold in Jeme. The excavations of the monastery of Apa Paul uncovered eleven, two-chambered incense cups, and vessels of the same type have also been uncovered in Jeme. It is the opinion of Th. Beckh that these cups were manufactured in the monastery and then sold to Jeme, thus demonstrating a direct trade connection between the two<sup>114</sup>.

A further way in which any potential surplus could re-enter the economy is through money lending. Loans from monks or monastic organisations to the citizens of Jeme are not well attested, but the practice as a whole is documented. One possible example relating to Jeme is *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 14 (dated to 645), which is written in hand D. Unfortunately, the text is badly damaged and difficult to interpret. In this text Phoibammon son of Victor, a man of Jeme, writes to Iohannes son of Patlol and Paktolis son of Posidonios. The text is heavily reconstructed by the editor, however among the readable sections are: "I owe..." (†ⲱⲭⲣⲉⲱⲥ[, l. 7); "a *tremis*" (ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲓⲙⲏⲥ, l. 8); and "wheat" (ⲙⲟⲩⲟ, l. 9). Alongside the disclaimer against suing, the document is strongly reminiscent of a loan agreement. Of

<sup>113</sup> In *P.CLT* 3 monks from the monastery of Apa Paul seek permission to travel to the Fayum to sell ropework. Texts from the Frange archive suggest that he earned money selling his handiwork to local residents – see the section on Frange and TT29 below (pp. 121-126).

<sup>114</sup> Beckh, Eichner & Hodak (2011) 17-19.

particular interest are lines 3-5 on the back of the sherd, which read: “It is as a security for you that I wrote before (?) the brethren of Apa Phoibammon” (ⲛⲧⲁⲓϥⲥⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲱⲣⲭ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲥⲓⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ).

If, as seems likely, this document is a loan agreement, it is unclear what relationship existed between either of the main parties and the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Phoibammon son of Victor was a monk of this monastery, as he is described as a “man of Jeme” (ⲡⲣⲙⲭⲏⲙⲉ, l. 2)<sup>115</sup>. It is possible, then, that Iohannes and Paktolis are residents in the monastery involved with moneylending. The use of ⲥⲓⲃⲟⲗ is particularly puzzling. The phrase “I wrote before (ⲥⲓⲃⲟⲗ) the brethren of Apa Phoibammon” is reminiscent of loan agreements from Jeme which are said to have been written “under” (ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲣⲛ) the *lashanes* of Jeme (for example *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 60.11). It is conceivable that the only relationship that existed between the contracting parties and the monastery in this text was that they used a monastic scribe and drew the document up at the monastery. In this situation, the monastery itself would not be involved with the loan.

That said, loans of money by monks of the Theban mountain and elsewhere are attested, if not specifically with residents of Jeme<sup>116</sup>. Individual monks from the area are seen lending or even borrowing money in a number of texts. In *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 73/1 (seventh to eighth centuries), Apa Senouthios, a monk of the mountain, lends Isaac son of Moses, from Timamen, one gold *tremis*. Likewise, *O.Vind.Copt.* 23 (seventh to eighth centuries) attests to a loan of two *holokottinoi* to Mark the *lashane* by Harau the monk of Apa Iohannes, and *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 76/1 may be the relinquishment of a security (a camel in this case) to Apa Philotheos the monk for a loan of one and a half *solidi*. Going in the other direction, with a monk as the borrower, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 92 (late seventh to early eighth) shows two traders lending the staggering sum of seven gold *solidi* to Hello, a monk of the monastery of Epiphanius.

<sup>115</sup> Moses, a monk of the monastery of Apa Paul who was originally from Pshinsion, is described as both a resident of the mountain of Jeme and of Jeme itself in *P.CLT* 1.

<sup>116</sup> Notably from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, for which see *P.Mon.Apollo* 33-35 and 38-44. For a discussion of these loans see Delattre (2007:A) chapter 4. Markiewicz (2009) provides a useful overview of loans made to and from clergy and monks in the Byzantine and Islamic periods. There is some speculation that loans from monks and clergy would have been interest free, as Canon Law disapproves of usury, however I follow Markiewicz (2009) 191 in thinking that loans from monks and other clergy probably still included interest. It is difficult to imagine how a moneylending family in Jeme, such as that of Koloje daughter of Epiphanius – see Wilfong (1990) – would have thrived as they did if there was a ready supply of interest free credit in close proximity to Jeme.

In these instances, and contrary to the other interactions so far examined, the monks are lending and borrowing money in their capacity as individuals. This is the more common case, but in rare cases the institution itself lends the money<sup>117</sup>. On the mount of Jeme, this is only seen with the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. In *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 12 (622/637), Sourous of “the middle field” (Π2ΟΙ ΜΜΗΤΕ, l. 2) writes that Apa Victor of the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon “and the brothers who are in the holy *topos*” (ΜΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤ2Μ ΠΤΟΠΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ll. 4-5) lent him a gold *holokottinos* and that he is prepared to sow a field for them in exchange. Similarly, *BKU* I 78 (late sixth to early seventh) is a loan in which one gold *holokottinos* was lent to Patape son of Pous, a man of Patoubasten, by the brothers of the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon<sup>118</sup>. Whether individuals from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon also loaned money, as was the case with other monks in the examples given above, is not evident from the sources. The documents do show, however, that monks from the mountain of Jeme were involved with moneylending and that this could happen on an individual or institutional level.

Given this, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 14 could well be evidence that lending took place between monks of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and the residents of Jeme. Whatever the case, lending involving monks did occur and such behaviour was an important part of the local economy, particularly for the farmers. Many loans were made for agricultural purposes; they permitted the borrower to fund his living and work costs during the year’s growing season, and would be repaid in cash or kind (or a combination of the two) after the harvest<sup>119</sup>.

It is clear from the texts that the monasteries and other institutions of the Theban mountain interacted with Jeme in a variety of ways that were economically beneficial for both parties and the region as a whole. Whether it be through donations, charity, the hiring of labour, the buying and selling of goods, or through loans extended to the populace, it is clear that these communities became an integral part of the regional economy, and particularly that of Jeme.

<sup>117</sup> Papaconstantinou (2011) 634.

<sup>118</sup> *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 10 may be another example. It is a damaged text between Victor the priest and Job son of Petros, a man of Jeme. If Victor is to be identified as Victor the secretary and eventual successor of Bishop Abraham at the monastery (to which this text is provenanced) this text could be considered a possible loan between it and Jeme. If this were the case, however, it would be Victor who borrowed money from Job, an unusual situation, as we would normally expect the monastery to be the lender in such loans. While there are texts from Bawit in which monks are borrowers (*P.Mon.Apollo* 38-44), in all cases in which the lender is known the lender is another monk. Due to this hesitation, I have not established a connection on the basis of this text.

<sup>119</sup> See the comments of Bagnall (1977) 86-87, 95 on the benefits of small loans for both sides of the agreement. Loan agreements are discussed in greater detail in Section III (pp. 146-163).

*From Riches to Prayers: Further Interactions*

The texts and interactions so far discussed have primarily been of an economic nature, illustrating transactions and contracts between the inhabitants of Jeme and those of the monastic communities. Of course, ties of social or religious natures between these groups would have also existed. Since there is less need for the individuals involved in such interactions to be identified by location designators, however, they are less visible in the documentary sources. Nonetheless, what survives shows that, in addition to economic connections, a variety of judicial, cultic, and social links existed between Jeme and the nearby monasteries.

To begin with, there is some evidence for a judicial relationship between the communities on the mountain of Jeme and Jeme itself. *P.CLT* 5 (711/712) is the settlement of a dispute between the monasteries of Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul, which arose when the superior of Apa Phoibammon contested that a gift (probably of money) claimed by the monastery of Apa Paul was in fact supposed to have gone to his monastery. Although the beginning of the document is damaged, it seems that three *lashanes* and several great men of “the kastron” were called in to resolve the dispute between the superiors (note ll. 47-51). While Jeme is never mentioned by name, it is certainly the kastron mentioned in line 53: Jeme is the only kastron in the Theban necropolis, and the only one close enough to the monasteries for its *lashanes* (very much a local level official) to offer their judicial guidance. Further, the three *lashanes* who feature in the text, Zacharias son of Samuel, Abraham son of Theodoros, and Severos son of Moses, are mentioned as *lashanes* in other documents provenanced to the region<sup>120</sup>. This document indicates that the local monasteries had recourse to the judicial processes of the town of Jeme.

Another text, *P.KRU* 86 (766), suggests that at one point the *dioiketes* of Jeme was also the legal representative of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. This text, the donation of a child by two sisters from Apé, is addressed to “the holy monastery (of) Apa Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme, this which is under the subordination of the most honoured lord (and?)

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<sup>120</sup> Zacharias son of Samuel (Till (1962) 230): *O.Crum* 131.7-8; Abraham and Severos (for Severos son of Moses see Till (1962) 198) are *lashanes* in *O.CrumST* 104.1-4. Abraham son of Theodoros (Till (1962) 51) is the name of a man originally from Aswan who moved to Jeme when he married a woman from there (see below, pp. 168-169). It is possible that the two should be equated.

magistrate, the lord Psmo, the *dioiketes* of the holy monastery and the entire kastron”<sup>121</sup>. Godlewski, discussing this text, notes that we do not know why Psmo should be the sole representative of the monastery at this time, however he suggests that it may have something to do with the age or health of Apa Kuriakos, the named superior of the monastery in texts dated before and after this one<sup>122</sup>. Moreover, in texts mentioning Apa Kuriakos dated after *P.KRU* 86, specifically *P.KRU* 85.21-22 and *P.KRU* 107.29-30, Apa Kuriakos is named as superior alongside two other monks, Matthaïos and Sourous, who eventually succeeded him. This, combined with Psmo’s mysterious appearance, suggests that perhaps a decline in Kuriakos’ health necessitated that a magistrate of Jeme step in and act as the temporary legal representative of the monastery until other arrangements were made.

Judicial oversight, and help in the arbitration of disputes, went in both directions. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 29 is an eighth century ostrakon reportedly found at the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. In this text, Andreas the *lashane* of Jeme (ll. 1-2) and all the great men (ll. 2-3) write reverently to an unnamed “esteemed fatherly lordship, who is honourable in all the fulfilment of our souls” (ll. 5-6) and to all those with him. The nature of the message is not clear. The senders are amazed that the recipient heeded certain “fiendish and wicked men” (ΖΑΝΧΑΧΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΡΗΡΟΣ (sic, *l. πονηρός*), ll. 10-11) and seek protection in “the good man” (ll. 14-15). The text is clearly addressed to a revered personage who, if the provenance can be believed, is most likely the superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. It is probable that Andreas and the great men of Jeme are seeking the recipient’s intercession in a matter relating to some men who are “causing trouble” (ΝΑΙ ΕΤΠΟΝΗΡΕΥΕ, l. 11) in the town. The text is not conclusive, yet this interpretation would fit within the well-attested local practice of monastic fathers being asked for aid in secular matters<sup>123</sup>.

Finally, in some situations, the local monks also required the help of local officials in dealing with the regional administration. *P.CLT* 3 (728/729) is a letter from two officials of Jeme to an unnamed Arabic official referred to as “the most illustrious *amir*” (l. 2). They write on behalf of “these monks from the cup of Apa Paul on the mountain of Jeme” (ΝΕΙΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ

<sup>121</sup> ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΒΑΜΟΝ ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΖΑΤΖΥΠΟΤΑΓΗ ΜΠΕΝΔΟΖΑΤΑΤΟΣ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΕΙΩ ΝΑΡ\Χ/Ω ΠΚΕΙΡΙΣ ΨΜΩ ΑΥΩ ΠΔΙΕΙΚΕΤΗΣ ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΠΠΚΑΣΤΡΟ\Ν/ ΤΗΡΑ (*P.KRU* 86.9-12). The *dioiketes* Psmo also occurs in *P.KRU* 84.2; 97.77; and 105.57.

<sup>122</sup> Godlewski (1986) 74-75.

<sup>123</sup> This practice is well attested in the monastery of Epiphanius material, for which see Winlock & Crum (1926) 175-177, and the discussion below, pp. 114-116.

ΜΠΚΟΥΛΩΛ ΝΑΠΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ, ll. 2-3), who are delivering the letter to the *amir* and who require permission to travel to the Fayum to sell some ropework. Although this text is interesting in showing monks from Thebes travelling as far as the Fayum to sell their wares, its relevance here revolves around why the monks needed to act through officials from Jeme. The lack of involvement of any monastic official in this request suggests that the leaders of the monastery did not have the same influence with the *amir*'s office, necessitating that the monks go through local, secular channels. The need for the *amir*'s permission likely arose from the distance the monks wanted to travel; shorter journeys probably required only the more common ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ documents, which we know monastic leaders could write themselves<sup>124</sup>.

There were also undoubtedly religious connections between the communities of the mountain of Jeme and Jeme itself. In the child donation texts from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon discussed above, the most common reason given for a donation was as a repayment for the healing of the child by the saint. On the evidence of these texts, Arietta Papaconstantinou has argued that a healing cult, dedicated to Saint Phoibammon, existed at the monastery<sup>125</sup>. The donations show that the sick could be brought to the monastery for healing, where they would remain for a period of time ranging from several days (as in *P.KRU* 91) to as much as a month (*P.KRU* 96). Some sicknesses required the use of ritual, as seen in *P.KRU* 91 when cups of water were placed on the body of a sick child, and the water could even be sent for if the individual was incapable of moving (*P.KRU* 104). A recipe for remedies against sicknesses in the head has also been found in the monastery<sup>126</sup>. The presence of the healing cult in the monastery, to which the citizens of Jeme would have had recourse, is another tie between the monastery and town, further strengthening their relationship.

The existence of this cult in the monastery of Apa Phoibammon raises the subject of pious visitors: to what extent did residents of Jeme, or anywhere else for that matter, visit this monastery and others in the area? This question can be answered in part by witness statements in the donation texts and other legal documents relating to the monasteries. It was argued

<sup>124</sup> My interpretation of this text follows the arguments of J. Cromwell (forthcoming), in which she argues that Aristophanes son of Iohannes, the scribe of this text, was affiliated with the office of the local *amir*, Sahl ibn Abd Allah. For the ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ documents see the useful summary in Delattre (2007:B) 173-174, and the discussion of those that relate to Jeme below (pp. 138-139 and 141-142).

<sup>125</sup> For what follows see Papaconstantinou (2002) 86-88. For a comprehensive catalogue of the evidence for a cult of the martyr Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri see Papaconstantinou (2001) 206-210. For a general discussion on how such cults developed and their role in society see Papaconstantinou (2007).

<sup>126</sup> *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 37, probably dated to 620-640 CE. See Papaconstantinou (2002) 87.

above that donation texts involving the monastery of Apa Phoibammon were most likely written at the monastery, and that the witnesses to these documents were likewise at the monastery when they were drawn up<sup>127</sup>. While most of these witnesses do not give their place of origin, some do. From these it is clear that visitors came from towns and cities across the entire Theban region, including Apé, Ermont, Esna, Kos, Romoou, and, of course, Jeme<sup>128</sup>.

While donations of children are unique to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, evidence for secular and ecclesiastic visitors to monasteries is not. A similar situation is observable in a few texts relating to the monastery of Apa Paul, but in none more so than *P.CLT* 1 (698). In this text, Moses son of Pluj, a man originally from Pshinsion in the Koptite nome, who moved to become a monk at Apa Paul during a time of plague, tells the story of his arrival with his son at the monastery, at which point he gave its superiors twenty *holokottinoi*. A portion of this considerable sum was used for their own needs at the monastery, but Moses intended that the most part go toward the monastery's costs. In order to release the superiors of the monastery from any accountability for the remainder of the sum, which he requests they give as charity for his soul (l. 44), Moses had *P.CLT* 1 drawn up to waive his right to the money.

*P.CLT* 1 contains an interesting account of one man's decision to become a monk, but what is truly striking is the number of witnesses involved. Including the scribe of the document and the scribe of the assent clause, 26 individuals are involved with witnessing this text, significantly more than any other published Theban legal text. Of these, possibly as many as 13 are from Jeme: including the main scribe, the scribe of the assent clause, two *ex-lashanes*, and three priests<sup>129</sup>. Among the others are a priest from Pakothis (ll. 132-133), a *lashane* of Paue (ll. 139-140), a *lashane* of Pshinsion (l. 137), another man from Pshinsion (l. 138), a

<sup>127</sup> See pp. 64-66.

<sup>128</sup> The connections of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon are discussed in further detail in Section IV, pp. 192-203. Witnesses or those who write for them state that they come from Jeme in *P.KRU* 90.23,30-32; 92.60-61; 95.41-42,44-45; 100.72; and 107.42-43.

<sup>129</sup> Only Iohannes son of Lazaros (ll. 111-112), Pshere and Shenoute, both priests of the Holy Church of Jeme (ll. 113 and 125 respectively), are designated residents of Jeme in this text. However others can be attributed to Jeme based on other evidence. Kostantinos and Iohannes, *ex-lashanes* and sons of Solomon (ll. 126-127; Till (1962) 124 and 109 respectively), both occur in other texts provenanced to Jeme. In one, Kostantinos is a signatory to a community agreement in Jeme (*O.Crum VC* 8.19-20 – see also pp. 78-79, above). Zacharias, priest of the Holy Kuriakos (l. 128; Till (1962) 231), is said to be from Jeme in *P.KRU* 68.103. Matthaios son of Ezekiel (l. 130; Till (1962) 140) and Victor son of Ezekiel (l. 130; Till (1962) 220) are both taxpayers in documents from Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 359 and 218 respectively). Athanasios son of Papnuthios (l. 129; Till (1962) 65) is, like Kostantinos, also a signatory on the communal agreement *O.Crum VC* 8.18, where he is called an *ex-lashane*. Psate son of Pisrael (l. 141; Till (1962) 185-187) is the main scribe and is well-attested in Jeme documents. Finally, Till suggests that Jeremias son of Basileos (l. 115; Till (1962) 105), Petros son of Komes (l. 114; Till (1962) 171-172), and Severos son of Moses (ll. 115-116; Till (1962) 198), may all be from Jeme – the latter two were later *lashanes* of Jeme.



man from Psenheaei (l. 135), and eight other individuals who do not give a location designator<sup>130</sup>. It seems incredible to imagine that all these individuals were summoned to the monastery specifically to witness this document. Some of the individuals were probably brought in specially: the scribe, for instance, was presumably contracted by Moses or the monastery to write this document, attesting to yet another interaction between Jeme and the monasteries. However, for the majority of those involved, it is more likely that in this instance they were simply those who were present at the monastery when the document was written; it is unsurprising, for instance, to see a number of priests among them<sup>131</sup>.

While it cannot be determined exactly why visitors were at the monasteries of Apa Paul and Apa Phoibammon at any given point, beyond that some would have had religious motivations to visit the holy place and its residents, the witness statements in this and other texts indicate that visitors from Jeme and other towns of the Theban region were regularly at the monasteries (witnesses from more than one location occur often in individual texts). These witness statements not only indicate traffic between Jeme and some of the monasteries of the Theban mountain<sup>132</sup>, but also suggest another important role that the monasteries could have played. With so many visitors from different towns along this hook of the Nile Valley, the monasteries would have been important social hubs; places which residents of Jeme could not

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<sup>130</sup> None of these toponyms are located, although we know Pshinsion was in the Koptite nome (see Appendix A. pp. 277-278 & 279 for Psenheaei and Pshinsion). For Pakothis see Timm (1984-2007) 1818-1819. The unlocated individuals are: David son of Severos (ll. 116-117, 131); Bartholomaios son of Iohannes (l. 118); Leontios son of Kuriakos (l. 119); Job and Dikoros, sons of David (121); Andreas son of Pher (121-122); Apa Victor son of Papnuthios (ll. 122-124); Kuriakos son of Joseph (l. 129). Most of these are only attested in this text.

<sup>131</sup> The presence of the *lashane* of Pshinsion is a curious facet of this text. While there is nothing preventing the *lashanes* or ex-*lashanes* of towns other than Jeme from visiting the Theban monasteries, as the presence of a number of *lashanes* in this text demonstrates, it seems more than coincidence that one of those visiting at this time was the *lashane* of Moses' home town. Although the sum of money being given to the monastery is considerable, this in itself would not require that the *lashane* of Pshinsion be brought in as a special witness, and it would be interesting to know whether or not his presence at the monastery of Apa Paul was related instead to Moses' relocation. In the seventh and eighth centuries, flight from tax was still a real problem for the Arab administration, and many fugitives sought refuge in monasteries, resulting, at times, in harsh restrictions on the monks (see the discussion on tax evasion below, pp. 137-139, and particularly fn. 19). It is also apparent that monasteries were themselves taxable units; the monks in them were required to pay the poll tax as inhabitants of the monastery (see below, pp. 205-206). Therefore, when an individual relocated from a town to a monastery, it was in the interest of the town officials to ensure that the administration was aware that the relocation was legitimate (i.e. not tax evasion), and that the town was no longer responsible for the individual's tax burden. While it is not clear how this happened, it may be the case that the presence of the *lashane* of Pshinsion at the monastery of Apa Paul at this time was not coincidence, but related to the administrative requirements of relocating Moses from Pshinsion to the monastery of Apa Paul.

<sup>132</sup> A list of located witnesses in monastic texts is given above (Table 1.2). Texts in which people from Jeme act as witnesses are: *P.CLT* 1 and 2; *P.KRU* 13; 65; 75; 82; 90; 94; 95; 100; 106; 107; and *SB Kopt.* II 922. The dates range from around 600 (*SB Kopt.* II 922) to 779 CE (*P.KRU* 100), but fall mostly within the eighth century.

only visit for their own reasons, but also meet others from disparate locations, make contacts, and receive information on current events in the region.

Another reason the laity of Jeme might have visited the *topoi* of the Theban mountain is to store or retrieve private documents. The possibility that the residents of Jeme used the library at the monastery of Phoibammon to store legal documents is raised by the question of the provenance of the *P.KRU* material<sup>133</sup>. One argument is that these texts were all stored and found at Deir el-Bahri. Given that many of these texts bear no relation to this monastery, if this were the case then some of the people of Jeme must have been storing their private documents there. The possibility that monastic libraries were used to store private documents is also raised by two texts excavated at Deir er-Roumi, *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 and 28<sup>134</sup>. Both of these texts are loan agreements in which individuals from Patoubasten borrow coin from Andreas son of Tkoukle (*O.Deir er-Roumi* 27.3-5) and Andreas son of Petros (*O.Deir er-Roumi* 28.3-4), both of Jeme<sup>135</sup>. It is notable, among the moneylenders of Jeme, that individuals frequently conduct business with one specific town<sup>136</sup>. Based on this, and the similar nature and provenance of the texts, it is reasonable to think that both Andreases are the same person, whose mother was Tkoukle, whose father was Petros, and who had business interests in the town of Patoubasten. Even if this were not the case, neither of these documents have any obvious connection to the monastery at Deir er-Roumi in which they were found. It is possible, therefore, that they were stored there by Andreas.

Visitors aside, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 7 (600-620) is illustrative of another kind of relationship between the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and the town of Jeme which would only have existed when Bishop Abraham was the monastery's superior. In this text, Victor son of Isaac, a priest of the church of Apa Michael in Jeme, writes to Abraham requesting that he be made a deacon. There are a number of requests to Abraham by people wishing to take up an ecclesiastical office, however this is the only one certainly from a resident of Jeme<sup>137</sup>. This

<sup>133</sup> See the comments and references in Section I above, p. 18.

<sup>134</sup> Now republished as *SB Kopt.* IV 1790 and 1791 respectively.

<sup>135</sup> Two other documents found at Deir er-Roumi (*O.Deir er-Roumi* 29 & 30, now republished as *SB Kopt.* IV 1798 & 1799) are authorisations for Andreas son of Petros to sow a field. This further suggests that Andreas son of Petros, the man of Jeme, was either keeping documents in this *topos* or living there.

<sup>136</sup> See below, pp. 151-154.

<sup>137</sup> Some of the other requests to Bishop Abraham to be ordained to ecclesiastical office are *O.Crum* 29-37 and Ad.7. The extent to which people communicated with Abraham is apparent by the amount of texts related to his dossier, as a brief glance through *O.Crum* pp. 9-19 (not all relating to Bishop Abraham) will reveal. For ordination requests made to Bishop Abraham, see Schmelz (2002) 48-49 and 48 fns 51-53.

request attests to the extra communications that must have existed between the town and the monastery during Abraham's time as bishop; all requests to take an ecclesiastical position in his episcopate would have gone through him and there were many more priests, deacons, and readers in Jeme than just Victor, so it is likely that interactions of this nature were more frequent than the surviving documentation suggests.

There were certainly other relationships that are no longer visible, not only more of the types observed above, but relationships that left no documentary trail. Familial ties between monks and their family, for instance, would likely have been maintained in many instances, yet evidence for this is not recognisable<sup>138</sup>. Moreover, it is likely that there were many services or goods which the monasteries and *topoi* required, that needed to be purchased from the residents of Jeme. The frequently mentioned oil for the lamps of the altar in the child donation texts, for instance, would need to be constantly replenished, presumably from local sellers<sup>139</sup>.

Other equipment required for the running of the monasteries, their lands and workshops was sourced externally. In *P.CLT* 4 (702), a man from Pshinsion sells his "stone door" (ΤΑΠΥΛΗ ΝΩΝΕ, l. 7) to the monastery of Apa Paul, seemingly to be used as a millstone in making bread at the monastery (ll. 12-13)<sup>140</sup>. This is only one item which the monastery of Apa Paul required, but many other items would have been needed in an estate as large as this monastery or that of Apa Phoibammon. It is hard to imagine, however, that none of these items were sourced from people in Jeme. While we cannot see them, many other transactions undoubtedly occurred between these institutions and the citizens of Jeme. Overall, it is clear that there existed between the large monasteries of the Theban mountain and the town of Jeme, a complex set of interactions of many natures which would have promoted a high degree of interdependence between the two.

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<sup>138</sup> For monks maintaining familial ties, see the arguments of Krawiec (2003). The monk Frange, who lived on the Theban mountain in the eighth century, maintained relationships with people in his home town of Petemout – Aït-Kaci, Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 3-6.

<sup>139</sup> The monk Frange seeks to procure oil from sellers in Jeme on more than one occasion (*O.TT* 299 and 86).

<sup>140</sup> It is not clear what is meant by ΠΥΛΗ ΝΩΝΕ. In his edition, Schiller describes it as a millstone, however Till (1964) 28 does not translate the term and further remarks that it is not clear to him what should be understood by this term.

### *Monastic Institutions and Jeme*

Documents from the monasteries of Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul, and the *topos* of Apa Psate provide evidence for the complex economic, social, and religious ties which linked them with the nearby town of Jeme. Through piety and need, the residents of Jeme donated land, houses, wealth, and even their sons to these institutions in exchange for spiritual recognition and healing. For their part, the institutions used their wealth to help support the poor of Jeme, to buy and sell further property in and around the town itself, to hire people to work the lands they owned, and, presumably, to support monks and maintain monastic property – an act which itself would benefit the regional economy through the purchasing of the goods and services the monks of the monastery could not provide or carry out themselves. These texts demonstrate how closely the economies of the monasteries and Jeme were intertwined.

These interactions, although most prominent in the documentary record, were only a small part of the total number of interactions linking the institutions of the Theban mountain to Jeme. Some of the other interactions were visible in the texts above: the people of Jeme's access to the healing cult at Apa Phoibammon, the presence of local and non-local visitors at the monasteries (including the local clergy), and the recourse of these institutions to the secular legal system and to Jemean officials. However, still others are no longer attested in the surviving record but must have existed: familial ties were likely maintained in some circumstances and purchases of goods from people in Jeme surely occurred. The administrative structure surrounding the payment of taxes, which is attested at other monasteries and hinted at in *SB* III 7240, is also not evident here<sup>141</sup>.

### INTERACTIONS WITH INDIVIDUALS: FRANGE AND THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

The documents examined above show interactions between people from Jeme and *institutions* on the mountain of Jeme (the monasteries of Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul, and the *topos* of Apa Psate). That is to say, individuals from Jeme were interacting with these communities

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<sup>141</sup> For a discussion of the interaction of the Apa Apollo monasteries at Bawit and Bala'izah with the administration see Sijpesteijn (2010) 112-114; with reference to the taxes paid by the monastery at Bawit see Delattre (2007:A) 70; Clackson (2000) 23-26. *SB* III 7240 is discussed on pp. 205-206, below.

as single entities, usually represented by their superiors. However, many of the monks who occupied cells in the Theban necropolis were not part of organised, hierarchical institutions of the nature of those discussed above. These monks existed in smaller, informal communities or solitary groups of one or two, perhaps sharing loose associations with other, similar groups in their immediate environment. In these cases, the interactions with the town of Jeme are not between institution and individual, but largely between individual and individual. Accordingly, particularly since such individuals do not have the same resources to draw upon as the larger monasteries, the recorded interactions are of a different nature.

Archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that many small monastic communities and hermitages existed on the mountain of Jeme. However, only two such communities have the amounts of published material required to permit a thorough investigation of their connections with Jeme<sup>142</sup>. These are the so-called monastery of Epiphanius, and Frange, a solitary monk occupying a tomb not far from the monastery of Epiphanius on the Sheikh abd el-Qurna. While these cases are only two among many, it is reasonable to think that the interactions with Jeme visible in their documentation are, for the most part, representative of the interactions that occurred with the other similarly sized communities on the mountain.

### *The Monastery of Epiphanius*

At its height in the seventh and eighth centuries, the monastery of Epiphanius existed in a state somewhere between a small informal community of hermits and a monastery in the vein of the monasteries of Apa Phoibammon or Apa Paul. On the one hand, the monks inhabiting this monastery clearly conceived of it as a single entity. This is evident from the wall which surrounded the entire complex and from the mid-seventh century testament of Jacob and Elias (*P.KRU* 75), two monks who led the *topos*. The testament indicates that they were the legal owners of the property, the boundaries of which are clearly specified, and were able to hand it down to another monk upon their deaths. It is likely that the two were also the spiritual leaders of the community at this time. On the other hand, virtually no documents relating to this site indicate any formal hierarchy; common terms for the superior of the monasteries of Phoibammon and Paul such as *πρωεστως* or *οικονομος* are not evident here<sup>143</sup>. Further,

<sup>142</sup> This may change when the material from the *topoi* of St Mark (IFAO) and Cyriacus (Budapest) is published.

<sup>143</sup> The only document which may indicate a formal governing body of the monastery is *P.Mon.Epiph.* 178, a letter addressed to the *diakonia* (l. 8) of the monastery – see below, p. 216 and fn. 79.

there are no documents which are certainly examples of the entire community acting in common, as was the case with the monasteries discussed above.

Of the few documents that can be considered definite connections between monks of the Epiphanius community and the villagers of Jeme, only one could be construed as a community action by the monks. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 543 (seventh century) concerns “the account of the things to be sent to Jeme” (ΕΤΒΕ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΝΣΚΕΥ ΝΧΟΟÇ<sup>144</sup> ΕΧΗΜΕ, ll. 2-4)<sup>145</sup>. The text has a number of issues with its interpretation – many of the items mentioned cannot be identified, and the end of the document is lost – yet it is clearly an extensive list of items. Although most of the items have not been understood, among the 14 lots of goods are two jars (ΝΚΗΝ, ll. 4-5), four vessels (ΚΕΤΩΝ (perhaps from κύτος or κώθων), l. 7), three plates (ΠΙΝΞΕ (πίναξ), l. 10), three cups (ΧΑΠ, l. 11), 12 dishes of ‘something’ (ΧΕC Ν., l. 12), as well as six measures of lupins (ΤΑΡΜΟΣ (θέρμος), ll. 9-10) and, if Crum’s interpretation is accepted, two camel loads of ‘something’ (ΟΥΚΑΜΗΛ, ll. 11; ΟΥΚΑΜΗΛ ΝΚΟΥ, l. 13)<sup>146</sup>. The seemingly large volume of goods involved in this account is perhaps indicative of communal property. Of course, such an argument is highly interpretive and it may be that this account was connected with an independently wealthy monk. Either way, this is both evidence for the transport of goods between the monastery and Jeme, and evidence for the type of economic interactions that may have existed between individuals belonging to these two communities.

The most common type of interaction between individuals of the Epiphanius community and Jeme is of a judicial nature. The clearest example is *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 (seventh century), a joint request in which the community of Jeme petitions Apa Epiphanius “for the sake of the redemption of the souls of our brethren” (ΕΤΒΕΠCΩΤΕ ΝΤΥΓΧΗ ΝΝΝCΝΗΥ, l. 5) who are “confined in Taut and Tabennese and those confined in this place” (ΕΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΤΗΛ ΕΖΟΥΝΝΕ ΣΝΤΑΥΤ’ ΜΝΤΑΒΕΝΝΗCΗ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤΝΗΛ<sup>147</sup> ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΠΕΙΜΑ, l. 6). Presumably the residents of Jeme seek the release of their brethren. This redemption will be achieved through Apa

<sup>144</sup> Perhaps to be read as Ν + infinitive ΧΟΟΥ and the pronominal object suffix c? Or ΧΩC, ‘to load, pack’. I follow Crum’s translation here.

<sup>145</sup> All texts with the *P.Mon.Epiph.* sigla were excavated at the monastery of Epiphanius by H. Winlock.

<sup>146</sup> In the second and third centuries, the Greek ὄνος (donkey) was frequently used to describe the load a donkey could carry (and hence a unit of measure) in transport receipts. A common load for camels in this period and presumably later (as only technology could drastically increase a camel’s load, and this did not change drastically between the Roman and Islamic periods) was about 6 artabas. See Adams (2007) pp. 78-79. The unidentified items are two ΚΝΝΕ (l. 5), two ΒΗΒ (l. 6), three ΣΗΜ (ll. 6-7), five ΔΡΟΥ (l. 8), a ΣΩΤΔΕ (l. 8), and three ΚΑΛΛΙΑ (l. 14).

<sup>147</sup> ΝΕΤΝΗΛ ? for ΝΕΤΗΛ (Crum).

Epiphanius writing to Victor, the *lashane* in Taut (l. 7), and pleading their case. The request is addressed by “the whole community of the kastron through those who will subscribe below” (ΠΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΗΡΑ ΝΗΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΣΙΤΝΝΕΤΝΑΣΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ ΝΠΕΙΤΝ, l. 3), an extensive list of 12 individuals headed by Shenoute, the *lashane* of Jeme (l. 13, 21-22)<sup>148</sup>. That they write their assent (using †στοιχει, “I agree/consent”) to this document at all, a practice usually reserved for legal documents, is, by their own admission, an indication of the sincerity of their request (as stated in ll. 11-12: “in order that your fathership will not be in doubt, we subscribed to this request the worth of a letter” – ΧΕΕΝΕΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ ΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΕ ΑΝΣΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ ΣΑΠΕΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΤΑΞΕΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ).

*P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 highlights the high regard in which monks of the fame of Apa Epiphanius were held by the community at large. The existence of this text and the subservient language in which it addresses Epiphanius shows that even the top local officials recognised his influence and moral authority. Further, that the *lashane* of Jeme thought his cause would be better aided through Epiphanius, rather than himself, writing to the *lashane* of Taut indicates that Epiphanius’ authority was recognised beyond the immediate vicinity of western Thebes.

To be sure, not all monks reached the degree of individual fame that Epiphanius did; nor did heading a monastic community guarantee it (although some of the heads would have, notably Bishop Abraham). Yet the laity held the spiritual achievements of monks in high regard, giving the most famous amongst them an authority which was so respected that they could be asked to intercede in secular matters. This was certainly the case in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163, and may also be the case in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 159 and 160. Both these texts are badly damaged and Crum gives no transcription or translation of them in his edition, only some brief comments. Fortunately, the image of *P.Mon.Epiph.* 160 is available on the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s website<sup>149</sup>. Only four lines of this text survive, and a preliminary transcription based on this image is: † ΙΣΑΑΚ ΜΝ ΣΗΛΙΑΣ [c.?] | ΝΙΕΛΑΧ[ι]ΤΟΣ ΑΪΕΤ[c.?] | ΩΙΝΕ ΕΠΛΑΩΑΝΕ ΝΧ[c.?] | ΝΑΠΕΥ... ΧΕΜΕ .[ c.?]. “Isaac and Elias ... these most humble ? ... greet the *lashane* of J[eme] ... headmen(?) [of] Jeme ...”. Crum interprets this text as Isaac and Elias writing to the *lashane* and the headmen of Jeme, and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 159 as a letter in which a *lashane* of

<sup>148</sup> It is possible that this choice of phrasing is rhetorical and that, like *P.CLT* 106, the request represents the interests of a smaller group of Jeme’s citizens.

<sup>149</sup> Its inventory number is 14.1.120; see <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/170015962?img=0>.

Jeme writes to a certain Ananias<sup>150</sup>. If Crum is correct, both attest contact between the *lashane* of Jeme and a monk from the monastery of Epiphanius. It is difficult to know for sure that these documents attest monastic aid in secular matters, however the little information we have suggests that they might fit within this pattern.

Another text between a monk from Epiphanius and a *lashane* of Jeme seems to concern more spiritual matters. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 216, Shenoute the *lashane* of Jeme writes to “the God-loving father” (ΠΜΑΪΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ, ll. 18-19). Although the recipient’s name is not given, the presence of Shenoute the *lashane* in both this document and in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163, in which Epiphanius is addressed, suggests that Epiphanius may be the recipient of this document as well. The exact nature of the text, as is often the case, is partially obscure. It seems that the recipient had entered Jeme at an earlier point and delivered a sermon on the temptations of the devil: “our whole village fills with perfume since you lordship spoke wholly on the temptation which the hater of man performed”<sup>151</sup>. Shenoute now asks his correspondent to permit the clergy to come and visit him (ll. 10-12), and to himself come again to visit, and presumably preach in, the church: “second that you oblige us your holy trouble and come in to the church”<sup>152</sup>. In this text, Shenoute the *lashane* appears to be interacting with Epiphanius for the benefit of the local clergy and the congregation of Jeme, but not regarding any judicial matter. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 216, therefore, is another way in which pious individual monks could impact the life of the people of Jeme<sup>153</sup>.

Finally, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 169 relates to the charitable works of the monks. In this text a certain Jacob writes to Apa Isaac and Apa Elias, asking them to “give time to the heart of this poor man and write to Jeme for him, to the house of the man we spoke of yesterday” (ll. 4-8), hoping that their prayers will aid him. What exactly ails the subject of this letter, the man in Jeme, is not clear, but the references to prayers (ΝΕΤΝΩΛΗΛ, ll. 9-10) and mercy (ΟΥΝΑ, l. 10)

<sup>150</sup> Unfortunately, no record of *P.Mon.Epiph.* 150 (MMA. 14.1.154) can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s online collections database (accessed 9 May 2013).

<sup>151</sup> ΠΝΤΜΕ ΤΗΡΗ ΜΟΥΣ ΝΤΣΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΧΟΕΙΣ ΩΑΧΕ ΖΟΛΩΣ ΖΑΝΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ ΤΑΠΜΟΣΤ ΡΩΜΕ ΔΔΥ (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 216.5-9).

<sup>152</sup> ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΤΕΤΝΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΠΕΤΝΚΥΛΜΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 216.13-15). There were many churches in Jeme (see above, p. 10). It is unknown which is meant here.

<sup>153</sup> Two other texts are possible interactions between monks and a *lashane* of Jeme. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 223 a *lashane* asks Apa Isaac to send for him when the physician visiting him today arrives. Crum proposed that the *lashane*, not otherwise located, might be that of Jeme. In the fragmentary *P.Mon.Epiph.* 404, Shenoute writes to Apa Psan and informs him that if he makes opposition, Shenoute will fine him 300 jars. Crum thinks that the tone of the letter makes it likely that Shenoute is the *lashane* of Jeme mentioned in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 and 216, however Till (1962) 210 does not identify him as such. Unfortunately the individual is not located in either case, so these cannot be definite interactions with Jeme.



suggest that some form of help is required. It is possible that this letter is evidence of the charity which monks habitually provided to local residents. This was certainly the opinion of Crum in his analysis of the documents from the monastery excavation<sup>154</sup>. He lists this text alongside eight other requests from the monastery made by or on behalf of “poor men”, which he attributes to charitable purposes<sup>155</sup>. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 169 is the only one to mention Jeme specifically, yet it is difficult to imagine that charity on the part of the monks of Epiphanius towards residents of Jeme was rare and not the norm.

Many other texts in the *P.Mon.Epiph.* corpus mention Jeme, but the contexts are usually too damaged to make a reasonable case for a specific interaction. At best, they suggest that many other interactions with Jeme may have occurred. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 436, for example, consists of two fragments of a letter of which the right hand side is missing, making interpretation difficult. Lines 4-6 read: “except your fatherhood think fit to [...] the men of Jeme. But I beg [...] your charity that you will continue to [...]”. Similarly, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 134 seems to ask the anonymous recipient to “learn the intention of the men of Jeme” (ΙΕΙΜΕ [ΕΠ]ΕΚΟΠΟC ΝΝΡΜΧΗΜΕ, l. 4). In these cases, while people from Jeme are clearly mentioned, it is impossible to say in what manner they were involved with the monks of Epiphanius.

The community at Epiphanius must have interacted with the people of Jeme in more ways than are portrayed in the texts above. To begin with, agricultural equipment including evidence for a threshing machine and sieving baskets for cleaning flour and meal were found at the monastery<sup>156</sup>. Also on the premises were two bakery ovens, several storage bins for grain, and eight loom-pits<sup>157</sup>. Such items assume the presence of unprocessed grain for threshing and cleaning, processed grains for use in cooking and baking, and textiles for use on the looms. In the case of weaving, it is also possible that, beyond what the monks themselves used, their handiwork was sold in Jeme or elsewhere to provide funding for their other needs. The textual evidence sheds some light on what processes were involved here.

*P.Mon.Epiph.* 85 provides a possible explanation of the need for agricultural equipment on the site, which would be strange if the monastery was not producing at least some of its own grain. In this text, Aaron and Gideon, the sons of Paul from Pchatape in the Hermonthite

<sup>154</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926), 173-175.

<sup>155</sup> The texts are listed on p. 174 fn. 4. They are *P.Mon.Epiph.* 165; 166; 168; 169; 173; 185; 187; 191; and 196.

<sup>156</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 61-67.

<sup>157</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 52-53 (ovens and storage bins) and 68 (looms).

nome, write to Apa Petronios, a monk of the hill of Jeme who, because of the provenance of this text, presumably lived in the community at Epiphanius. The text is a contract (ἀσφάλεια, ll. 9, 11) in which the two brothers agree to sow two fields of flax for Petronios, to tend them and water them, for which they were paid two *solidi*. It is likely that the field which the brothers sowed belonged to Petronios. If the field belonged to the brothers, Petronios would effectively be buying two fields worth of their flax produce, meaning that the language stipulating the obligations of Aaron and Gideon in tending the field, as well as its description as a contract (ἀσφάλεια) rather than a sale (πρᾶσις), would be superfluous. If the field belonged to the community at Epiphanius, some reference to this might be expected from this text. Furthermore, there is no reference to any fields in the description of the property owned by the monastic heads in *P.KRU* 75. Petronios the monk, therefore, is hiring men to work land which he owned in his capacity as an individual, and not on behalf of the entire community<sup>158</sup>.

In many situations, monks maintained legal ownership of the property which they brought with them when they entered monastic life<sup>159</sup>. If this were the case for the monks of the Epiphanius community, it would explain why the will of two leaders of the community (*P.KRU* 75) only recorded their ownership of the buildings of the monastery itself, while the archaeological and documentary remains suggest that the monks had access to fields as well. Whereas at the monastery of Phoibammon the institution owned the property given to it (although individual monks might have maintained possession of their own land), at Epiphanius it seems as though most of the property from which it benefited remained in the possession of individual monks, who likely used some or all of the income and produce from their land for the benefit of the small community. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 85 shows that some of the agricultural property required more manpower than the monks could provide themselves (if they provided any<sup>160</sup>) and it would make sense if in some cases, particularly when the land was nearby, this manpower came from Jeme.

It is also possible that grain came to the monks in other ways. The first five lines of *P.Mon.Epiph.* 361, for instance, indicate that linen clothes were given to Tgale daughter of

<sup>158</sup> Contrary to this view, Wilfong (1999) 219-220 argues on the basis of this text and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 86 and 89 that the monastery of Epiphanius did indeed own its own lands.

<sup>159</sup> The incongruity between this reality and the contrary picture in the literary texts is the subject of Goehring (2007), particularly pp. 396-398. See also Wipszycka (2009:A) 546.

<sup>160</sup> Wilfong (1999) 220 suggests that monks may have been prohibited from farming their own land because of “traditional religious restraints”.

Lebane by the monks in exchange for grain to be delivered in the harvest month. Who Tgale was and where she came from is not clear, however the linen she is given in exchange for the grain probably came from the looms of the monastery. This text is evidence that monks from the Epiphanius community were exchanging their handiwork with outside parties for other goods, and it is not beyond reason to suggest that some of these interactions involved people from Jeme.

The flax for producing linen bandages and garments came from fields of monks like Petronios and through purchases from individuals outside the community. A number of texts in the Epiphanius corpus concern sending and requesting both flax and linen<sup>161</sup>. The language of many of these suggests that the requests and exchanges occurred between different monastic groups on the mountain of Jeme. This is certainly the case in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 351, in which the solitary monk Frange asks Enoch and Daniel, from the monastery of Epiphanius, to send him some linen so he can finish the bandages he has mounted on his loom. Yet the exchange with Tgale suggests that at least some of these transactions occurred with laity and, it can be inferred, with Jeme.

Other ways in which the community at Epiphanius might have interacted with the people of Jeme are more tenuous, and are based on archaeological evidence. Winlock stated that some parts of the monastery, particularly the towers and canopy tomb, showed evidence of the work of a professional stonemason, while others showed evidence of worked wooden items<sup>162</sup>. Where these professional craftsmen originated – either Jeme or within the monastic community itself – cannot be determined. The archaeological record is silent on this matter.

The observable interactions between Jeme and the monastic community at Epiphanius are scant in comparison to those from the larger monasteries and *topoi* already examined, and quite different in nature. The interactions of the institutions with Jeme were largely contracts for donations of property and children, sales, and purchases – all made by and to the monastery or *topos* in question as an institution, usually represented by its head. On the other hand, the observable connections between monks from the monastery of Epiphanius and the people of Jeme are typically between individual monks and individuals or small groups in the

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<sup>161</sup> Flax occurs in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 277; 337; 353; 362; and linen in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 279; 289; 350; 351; 355; 357; 359; 361; 363; 367; 372.

<sup>162</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 51, 54-57.

village. They are also different in nature. Villagers seek out the leaders of this monastic community to help resolve legal matters, help in spiritual matters, or help individuals through charity. Other evidence from the monastery, both archaeological and textual, suggests that other kinds of interactions may have occurred between the two groups, beyond what is still visible. The monks may well have called on the people of Jeme to provide skilled labour or help in farming, to sell them needed supplies such as grains and flax, and to buy the monks' handiwork. Yet these interactions, however probable, remain largely in the realm of speculation.

It was suggested above that the great amount of traffic flowing from the Koptite and Hermonthite nomes through the larger monasteries of the mount of Jeme made them important social hubs. Although the monastery of Epiphanius was considerably smaller than those of Apa Phoibammon or Apa Paul it nevertheless seems to have had connections with a number of towns in these nomes. Among the many toponyms present in the Epiphanius corpus, several can be linked to it with a degree of certainty<sup>163</sup>. However, these documents do not suggest that people from these towns were visiting the monastery of Epiphanius, rather that monks from within its community had contact with people from these towns in a range of economic and social capacities. It is unlikely that the monastery of Epiphanius could be considered a social hub for the residents of Jeme in the same way as the larger monasteries. Yet its external interactions do suggest that even this community was well connected, through its individual members, to the larger community of the region.

It is clear, however, that the monastery of Epiphanius, with its smaller pool of resources and different administrative organisation, functioned in a way quite different to the larger communities of the mountain. Its interactions were between individuals, and the most visible were primarily characterised by social or legal matters. While there were surely some similarities, these were primarily concerned with day-to-day life in a rural area and of the type common to all communities. If anything, the monastery of Epiphanius probably needed to seek more transactions of this nature because it did not have the variety and extent of resources that would permit the same degree of economic self-sufficiency.

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<sup>163</sup> The interactions of the monastery of Epiphanius will be covered in detail in Section IV below, pp. 207-219.

## *Frange*

The dossier of the monk Frange, who occupied a tomb (TT29) not far from the monastery of Epiphanius at the beginning of the eighth century, is the most extensive corpus relating to any individual monk on the mountain of Jeme. Texts found in TT29 relate to Frange as well as earlier residents of the tomb. Fortunately, the majority of the material is written by Frange himself, and texts written to an unnamed occupant of the cell make up only a small percentage of this collection, meaning that very little of this material has questionable attribution<sup>164</sup>. This bounty of material relating to a single monk permits a detailed examination of how individual monks of the mountain interacted with Jeme in particular, and the wider region more generally. In turn, this sheds light on how a monastic community of the type of the monastery of Apa Epiphanius was built on the individual connections of its members.

While there is some speculation that Frange lived within an informal community on the Sheikh abd el-Qurna<sup>165</sup>, and although he had extensive contact with the many people who comprised his support network, for the most part he lived the life of a solitary monk, infrequently leaving the cell he occupied. Frange interacted with the world around him through an extensive array of intermediaries who carried his requests to his secular contacts and returned with whatever response or item was necessary<sup>166</sup>. For example, in *O.TT29* 92 two requests are made (one on each face of a single limestone flake) to two separate individuals to give food to the letter carrier, a certain Kuriakos, whose name appears in such contexts frequently, so that he may take it to Frange.

Frange interacted in this way with a number of people, both local and from towns outside the region. Of the many toponyms which occur in this dossier, he had personal connections with several, particularly his hometown of Petemout (*O.TT29* 339)<sup>167</sup>. Yet despite his proximity to Jeme, very few texts link Frange to it in any way. Among the *O.TT29* material, the connections that do appear are somewhat indirect. In *O.TT29* 9, Frange writes to Hello and

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<sup>164</sup> See the discussion on the attribution of texts to Frange by Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 9.

<sup>165</sup> See the comments on *nezo* in Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 18.

<sup>166</sup> Heurtel (2008:A) provides an extremely interesting examination of the extensive range of people with whom Frange interacted.

<sup>167</sup> Among others. See Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 10; Ait-Kaci, Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 3-4; and particularly the discussion in Section IV (pp. 219-226) for a fuller list of Frange's connections with communities other than Jeme.

Petros to request that if a man from Jeme comes to them, they ask him whether there is an oil seller in Jeme “that I send (to him) and buy a little” (ΝΤΑΧΟΟΥ ΝΤΑΩΕΠΟΥΚΟΥΕΪ, ll. 11-12). Provided that Hello and Petros did indeed find a man from Jeme to ask, and that there were oil sellers in Jeme, it is reasonable to say that Frange was purchasing goods from there. However, this document only shows his intent to buy oil from Jeme and not the actual transaction. In another text relating to sourcing oil from Jeme (*O.TT29* 86), Frange sends some hair to “my father Isaac and his children” (ll. 12-14) and asks them to send it to Jeme in order to exchange it for a little oil, which he needs (ll. 7-9). This text proves the presence of oil sellers in Jeme, making it more likely that after writing *O.TT29* 9, Frange was in contact with Jeme. In this text, though, while Frange is seeking a source for his oil in Jeme, he is not directly in contact with the seller, but acts through one of his (presumably monastic<sup>168</sup>) colleagues.

This indirectness of Frange’s requests for goods from Jeme led the editors of these texts to speculate that Frange’s reluctance to interact directly with its residents might be due to his origins. That is to say, because Frange was originally from Petemout he would be administratively ascribed to (as in ΦΡΑΝΓΕ ΕΤΗΝ Ε-Ν, for which construction see pp. 50-52) a town other than Jeme (they suggest Apé), and that this would consequently prevent him from undertaking certain interactions with its residents<sup>169</sup>. If this were the case, however, it is odd that in *O.TT29* 9 Frange seeks to contact an oil seller in Jeme. It is clear, in this case, that although Frange asked Hello and Petros to find out whether there was an oil seller in Jeme, Frange himself intends to send in and buy some from him. Further, if such sanctions indeed existed, then they do not appear to have hindered other people from Apé, Petemout or communities further afield from interacting with the people of Jeme<sup>170</sup>. It is difficult to believe that Frange would somehow have been prevented from doing business in Jeme because of his origins. Rather, it is possible that, as he was not from western Thebes and perhaps fairly new to the region when these texts were written, he required the use of a mediator who was more familiar with the Jemean sellers.

<sup>168</sup> Based on the addressees being “my father Isaac and his children”, which bring to mind a monastic elder and those that live with him.

<sup>169</sup> The suggestions that Frange may have been ascribed to Apé are discussed by Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010) 10 & 226 fn. 7; and the argument that this limited his interactions with Jeme is fleshed out more fully in Ait-Kaci, Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010) 6.

<sup>170</sup> The extent of the interactions of other towns with Jeme will be dealt with in the following section.

Beyond economic transactions, some texts suggest that Frange maintained other relationships with the citizens of Jeme. *O.TT29* 158 and 159 are two, seemingly related texts addressed to one Pahatre which primarily concern a failure on the part of Pahatre, and perhaps one Phoibammon, to deliver a blanket<sup>171</sup>. In 159, Frange, perhaps in an attempt to shame Pahatre into acting as Frange wishes, says: “You know yourself, Pahatre, that this shameless one (Phoibammon, see l. 4) became disturbed with his wife because of you. I have done everything and I have brought you to peace”<sup>172</sup>. The text suggests that, besides being in contact with Pahatre regarding the matter of Phoibammon and the blanket, Frange had also helped mediate a dispute between Pahatre and Phoibammon which arose because of Pahatre’s actions with Phoibammon’s wife. Yet nowhere in either of these documents is there a clear indication where these men lived.

The fragmentary end of *O.TT29* 158 provides a possible answer: “[I swear] to you by the schema which binds me that if you [ ... ] and that the peace of Jeme and [ ... ]”<sup>173</sup>. Given what we know of the dispute between Pahatre and Phoibammon from 159, and given the general tone of admonishment which is prevalent throughout both letters, it is reasonable to interpret this reference to the peace of Jeme as a reference to Frange’s involvement in Pahatre and Phoibammon’s dispute, and hence a reference to where they lived. Jeme is also a likely candidate given that it was the largest secular town near Frange. These arguments are speculative at best, yet the possibility remains that Frange’s involvement with the town of Jeme, as was the case with Epiphanius, extended to social and legal input<sup>174</sup>.

While other texts from the *O.TT29* corpus mention Jeme, most are too damaged for the relationship with Frange to be understood (e.g. *O.TT29* 169; 301; 327; 505; 579; 592; 301). Others mention the town of Jeme only indirectly – as with *O.TT29* 167.14 in which Frange talks about lentils which did not come from “the field of Jeme”. Yet a few other texts amongst

<sup>171</sup> That both are addressed to Pahatre is suggested by the combination of second person pronouns and this name in both texts: see *O.TT29* 158.9 (“Pahatre, if you know that...” – παδατρη εωωπε κσοουν γε[...]) and 159.7 (“You know yourself, Pahatre – κσοουν ζωκ παδατρη).

<sup>172</sup> κσοουν ζωκ παδατρη γε απιατωινε τωδ μντεψσιμε· ετβητκ αιρητινος νιμ αιρητυτν νειρηνη (*O.TT29* 159.7-10).

<sup>173</sup> [†ωρκ ν]ακ μπεςχημα ετμηρ μοοι γε εκ[ ... ]ωκ ντε†ρηνη νχημε μνη[... (*O.TT29* 158.16-18)

<sup>174</sup> Frange’s aid and council is sought a number of times, however these acts cannot be definitely associated with Jeme. Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010) 18 list *O.TT29* 161, 320, 321, 343, and *O.Crum* 394 as examples of this behaviour. It is unlikely, however, that Frange’s local fame ever rivalled that of Epiphanius, who was not only approached by the local officials (which is not, as far as we know, the case with Frange), but had pilgrims come and leave inscriptions on the walls of his cell after his death. It is more likely that Frange had sway over a small group of individuals in Jeme who were well known to him.

this material may link Frange to Jeme through prosopographical means. In *O.TT29* 320, a certain Tsia writes to Frange requesting his help in fighting a charge of theft brought against her by Mesiane, the wife of David. While this Tsia could be Tsie, the “sister” of Frange from Petemout who frequently writes to him<sup>175</sup>, the tone of this letter is very reverent, which differs from her usual communications. The editors therefore suggest that a Tsia known from a few texts as a keeper of deposited securities might be a good candidate here, given the subject matter<sup>176</sup>. The texts relating to Tsia the security keeper are provenanced to Jeme, and in one (*SB Kopt.* III 1306) Tsia seems to be connected with the activities of Katharon, who has been identified as the grandmother of the well-known Jemean moneylender, Koloje<sup>177</sup>. Frange, however, seems to have been a contemporary of Koloje and her son Pekosh, in which case the Tsia of *O.TT29* 320 would now be quite old<sup>178</sup>.

The names Koloje and Pekosh occur in two other texts from Frange’s cell. Koloje’s name occurs as the sender of a letter, *O.TT29* 370, which is badly broken – so much so that only the first three lines survive, and even these are incomplete. *O.TT29* 194, on the other hand, is a complete letter in which Frange asks Pekosh to give “this stone” (i.e. an ostrakon) to Ammone the blacksmith. Both letters are unfortunately short and lack the context necessary to identify these individuals with Koloje the moneylender of Jeme or her son Pekosh, as neither name is unique in Theban prosopography<sup>179</sup>.

There is strong evidence elsewhere, however, that Frange was in contact with Koloje and her family. In *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 139, a limestone ostrakon excavated in Jeme, Frange writes to his “brother” Apa Theodoros and also greets “my pious sister Koloje, and Pekosh, and my little brother Moses” (ΤΑΩΝΕ ΜΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΩΛΩΧΕ ΜΝΠΕΩΩ ΜΝΠΑΧΟΝ ΩΗΜ ΜΩΥΧΗΣ, ll. 10-13). The purpose of this letter seems to have been to send greetings, well-wishes for Moses, who is sick, and to thank Theodoros for a letter he sent Frange. Although the names of Koloje and Pekosh are not unique, their presence in a text found in Jeme, and more particularly their presence in the same text, make it virtually certain that these two are the

<sup>175</sup> For Tsie see Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010) 10-11, and the discussion below, pp. 219-222.

<sup>176</sup> Specifically *SB Kopt.* III 1306 and *O.Crum* 472.

<sup>177</sup> For which see Bacot (1999). Bacot does not, though, focus specifically on the activities of Tsia.

<sup>178</sup> Tsia would be a contemporary of Pekosh’s great-grandmother. See Wilfong (1990) 173 for a family tree of Koloje’s family.

<sup>179</sup> Although Koloje is not particularly common – see Till (1962) 126, who identifies only three Kolojes (considering the daughter of Hello and the daughter of Phello to be the same person). Till (1962) 163-164 indicates that Pekosh occurs more frequently, with perhaps as many as ten individuals identified.



Jemean moneylenders; the names do not otherwise occur together outside this family<sup>180</sup>. While it is not certain that these two are the same Koloje and Pekosh who are in contact with Frange in *O.TT29* 194 and 370, such an interpretation is highly plausible.

Frange writes to Theodoros in two other texts from Jeme, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 138 and 140. Both of these texts are damaged, yet enough remains to ascertain that Frange wrote to Theodoros and that in both cases he asked Theodoros to send a third man, Pher, to him for unspecified reasons. Only one other text from amongst the Jeme ostraca mentions Frange. In *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 137, a certain Teras writes to Apa Frange requesting that he pray for him. The provenance of these texts suggests that Theodoros and Teras were, like Koloje and Pekosh, residents of Jeme. This collection of ostraca from the Jeme excavations suggest that Frange maintained a personal relationship with some of its inhabitants and knew others well enough to send greetings.

In isolation, the texts described above are not certain indications of Frange's interactions with Jeme. They are mainly based on provenance, prosopography, and indirect references. Yet taken together, they present a strong case for Frange's interactions with Jeme which cannot be dismissed as coincidence alone. Given that Frange was in contact with Jeme, it is curious that his texts do not mention the town more frequently. It is possible that, living so close to Jeme and never really partaking in legal proceedings (which would produce texts more likely to locate the parties involved) with its inhabitants, he simply did not need to add a location designator to the names of the people he contacted there. Many of Frange's letters are requests for food, or items for his work at the loom and on copying and binding books<sup>181</sup>. While some of these were certainly requests to fellow monks (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 351) or to his contacts in Petemout, most are made to and through unlocated individuals. Frange certainly looked to Jeme for some goods, for example the oil he desired in *O.TT299* and 86, and given this it is difficult to imagine that none of the many unlocated requests were to residents of Jeme, not only the largest population centre in the region, but only a short walk from his cell<sup>182</sup>.

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<sup>180</sup> Wilfong (1990) 175-176.

<sup>181</sup> See Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 19-21 for a description of Frange's work and the items he sent and received.

<sup>182</sup> Following the modern paved road running in front of the hills (not necessarily the most direct route) the walking distance is just under 1.8 kilometers, which takes about 20 minutes to walk at a comfortable speed (5 km/h).

The Frange dossier allows an unparalleled opportunity to assess the networks which an individual living on the mountain of Jeme maintained. Frange maintained close connections with certain people from his home in Petemout, but also had connections with many monks from the mountain, individuals further afield and local residents. Among these were a group of men who carried letters and goods to and from Frange's correspondents and permitted him to stay active in the community while remaining isolated in his cell. To what degree Frange had already established relationships (particularly those with the monastic community) before leaving Petemout and coming across the river to live near Jeme is unknown. Regardless of this, the examination of this network permits us to see some of the ways in which individual monks interacted with the world. Frange can then be used as an example of how the networks of small communities, like that of the monastery of Epiphanius, were built up out of the maintained connections of their individual members.

#### A REGIONAL COMMUNITY: LOCALISED INTERDEPENDENCE

The documents examined above describe a closely connected local community consisting of the inhabitants of Jeme and those of the monasteries and other ascetic communities on its mountain. The rough area in which these interactions took place is illustrated in Fig. 2.1, in which the proximity of these sites is readily apparent. Although not all are visible, social, religious, legal, and economic interactions bound these separate communities to one another, but especially to Jeme, the largest secular population centre in the neighbourhood.

Even from the foundation of the monastic communities, ties existed between them and Jeme. *P.KRU*105 shows that when the monastery of Apa Phoibammon was founded, the priests and local officials in Jeme recognised the right of its founder, Abraham, to the land on which the monastery was built, his right to appoint successors, and stipulated that Abraham and his successors were to provide charity for the local poor. The theme of monasteries providing charity for the poor is common in later documents attributed to this and other monasteries, and shows that this was a major part of their role in the local area. Even though similar foundation documents do not survive for the other communities examined here, it is probable that they did exist at some point.

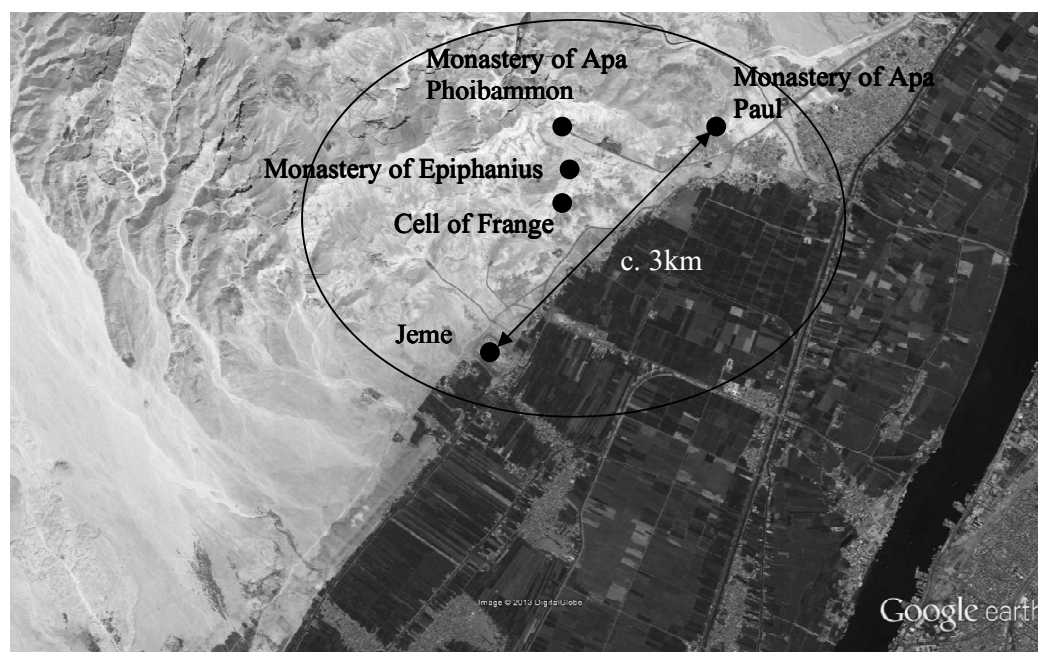


Fig. 2.1. A west Theban community<sup>183</sup>

Naturally, the monastic communities provided religious benefits to the people of Jeme. Monks of particular renown, such as Epiphanius and no-doubt Bishop Abraham, had huge influence within the local secular community. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 shows that Epiphanius was asked on at least one occasion to allow the local clergy to visit him and to himself come into the town to give a sermon. It is probable that this kind of request was not limited to Epiphanius alone in the long history of Theban asceticism. The influence of these monks on Jeme could also extend into the legal world, and it is apparent that monks such as Epiphanius could be asked to mediate local disputes or even to intervene in matters beyond the immediate neighbourhood. Even monks of less renown, such as Frange, likely mediated in disputes between those townsfolk known to them, although it is likely that Frange's influence was limited to a small group of local residents. In turn, the headmen of Jeme could be called upon by the monastic superiors to mediate disputes between them, as *P.CLT* 5 shows, or even to step in as the legal representative of a monastery in unusual circumstances.

The larger monastic communities, particularly that of Apa Phoibammon, had cults of saints associated with them, which provided further benefit to the area. The cult of Saint Phoibammon was associated with healing, and the child donations show that a number of

<sup>183</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Western Thebes, 25°43'20.68"N 32°36'22.88"E, eye alt. 8.29km. (Imagery date: 21 March 2013) – viewed 21 July 2013.

children were brought to the monastery for healing and then later donated to it as recompense for the Saint's benevolence. Donations to the monasteries from the residents of Jeme and from individuals beyond the immediate area were not limited to children. Donations of land, money, livestock, and other property were also made to the monasteries and *topoi* of the mountain, making the larger monasteries some of the largest land-holders in the area and economic powerhouses in their own right.

The maintenance of all this property was of benefit to the local residents, who could be contracted (and paid) to cultivate monastic lands or tend livestock. Moreover the produce of the monks was then sold locally and further afield. The documents from the monastery of Epiphanius and from the cell of the monk Frange show that individual monks were interacting with the locals to buy necessities and to sell their own handiwork, which frequently took the form of woven goods such as linen bandages and clothing, as well as ropework of various types. Further, a number of documents attest to houses in Jeme donated to the monastery being resold to local residents, and a small few attest to monasteries making purchases of property. All these activities not only closely linked the monasteries with Jeme, but also kept resources circulating and further brought in resources from outside the area, which was no doubt of great benefit to the local economy.

It was noted above that the visible interactions between the large monasteries and Jeme were of a different character to those of the smaller monastery of Epiphanius and to those of the solitary monk Frange. The larger monasteries and *topoi* received large donations of property and made transactions *as an institution*, usually through the agency of the superior, and the documentation relating to them tends to be of a more economic nature. The interactions between the small communities and Jeme, on the other hand, were comprised of the interactions of *individuals* within the community and tended to be socio-religious interactions with the local residents and officials, and economic transactions of a much smaller scale. While this may, in part, represent legitimate differences in the nature of the different communities and how they interacted with Jeme, it is possible that some of the differences are amplified by the way the source material has come down to us; through a combination of excavation and purchases on the antiquities market. It is likely, for instance, that individuals of the larger communities also interacted with Jeme on their own merit, however evidence for this has either not survived or is obscured by a lack of personal information in the surviving documentation.

This section was prefaced with Wilfong's comment that the interactions between the inhabitants of the monastic communities and the residents of Jeme "shows them to have been interconnected to such an extent as to form a general West Theban community"<sup>184</sup>. The documents examined above show him to be entirely justified in this remark. If anything, Wilfong does not fully highlight the diverse range of interactions upon which this interconnectedness is based. The documentary evidence shows that the monastic communities and that of Jeme formed a closely integrated cluster whose social, religious, legal, and particularly economic ties effectively made them one mutually interdependent unit; it is no coincidence that the documentary and archaeological evidence for the town of Jeme stops at the same time as that for the Theban monasteries.

It has been amply demonstrated above that each of the monastic communities had a connection to Jeme, but what connections did they have to each other? Given the proximity of these communities it is probable that all of them had at least some contact with members of the others, but, perhaps due to a lack of location designators in the many letters which seem to be between monastic parties, surprisingly few connections are visible between those under discussion here.

A connection between the monasteries of Phoibammon and Paul is attested in *P.CLT* 5, the settlement of a dispute between them. Less confrontational ties are not yet in evidence. In fact, the monastery of Paul is only visibly connected to the monastery of Phoibammon, thanks, no doubt, to the scarcity of published material relating to it. The monastery of Phoibammon is not specifically mentioned as a correspondent in communications from the monastery of Epiphanius, but a number of letters are to or from Bishop Abraham, the first

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<sup>184</sup> Wilfong (2002) 7. It is possible to suggest that other towns, particularly Apé, which is also connected to Frange and the communities of Phoibammon, Epiphanius, and Jeme should form part of this cluster, however the geographical proximity of the communities of western Thebes, I think, lends them a cohesion to which Apé and other towns were not party. The other towns with which Jeme and the west Theban monastic communities are connected to are examined in Section IV.

superior of the monastery, indicating that connections did exist between them<sup>185</sup>. Links between these two communities might also be suspected from their particular proximity: they were only a little over 400m apart and in direct line of sight<sup>186</sup>. The monk Frange wrote to members of the monastery of Epiphanius on a number of occasions, including *P.Mon.Epiph.* 247, in which he writes to Apa Isaac and Apa Elias, complaining that, although he has come north to them many times, they have not opened their door to him or spoken to him as a brother<sup>187</sup>. There is also some evidence that links Frange to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. One ostrakon provenanced to this monastery (*O.Crum* 396) is a letter from Frange (written ΦΡΑΝΓΑΣ, l. 14) to a certain Apa Petros, enquiring after his health and also greeting several others by name as well as “all the brethren” (ΝΕΚΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ, vo. l. 9). The name Apa Petros occurs a number of times in Frange’s correspondence, with whom it seems Frange was affiliated in his youth<sup>188</sup>. The problem with identifying this Petros with that in *O.Crum* 396, is that Frange also addresses an Apa Petros in a letter found at the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 119)<sup>189</sup>. As Frange is frequently seen in contact with the monastery of Epiphanius, the Apa Petros who appears in his correspondence could either be a monk of that community, the man addressed in *O.Crum* 396, who is associated with the monastery of Phoibammon, or the *O.TT29* references could refer to two different individuals

<sup>185</sup> The damaged *P.Mon.Epiph.* 483 may mention the monastery, but if so, it is only called “the Saint Phoibammon” (π2α[γ]ιος φοιβαμ[μω]ν, l. 6). However Crum (fn. 1) notes that the monastery is called this in other texts (e.g. *P.KRU* 75.17, the will of two leaders of the Epiphanius community). Similarly, in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 330 a certain Mark writes to Apa Pisente requesting that some herbs be sent to him for brethren of “the monastery of Abraham” (οθενεετє ν̄αβρα2αμ, ll. 9-10), which Crum (fn. 2) thinks is likely a reference to the monastery of Phoibammon. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 154 Bishop Abraham writes to a priest, Shenetom. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 268, Victor writes to an Apa Abraham, possibly the Bishop (Crum, fn. 1). *P.Mon.Epiph.* 399 is a letter to Ezekiel from Abraham, who is not called a bishop. However Crum (fn. 2) thinks this is in the same hand as *O.Crum* Ad.8, which is from Bishop Abraham. A priest named Apa Victor (Apa Victor the priest was the superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon after Abraham) is also mentioned in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 257, which refers to his will (perhaps *P.KRU* 65), and in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 532, an account which lists, among other things, payments made to and by Apa Victor the priest in exchange for bandages, grave clothes and food.

<sup>186</sup> Indeed the path to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is used to describe one of the boundaries of the land owned by the monastery of Epiphanius in *P.KRU* 75.17. Winlock & Crum (1926) 128-129 suggest that the monks of the Epiphanius community may have journeyed to a neighbouring monastery, like that of Phoibammon, for the divine service on Sundays.

<sup>187</sup> Other letters from Frange found at the monastery are *P.Mon.Epiph.* 119; 376; and 412. Frange further writes to Apa Isaac and Apa Elias in *O.TT29* 10; 11; and 12; and requests prayers from them in a letter addressed to another individual in *O.TT29* 6.

<sup>188</sup> In *O.TT29* 1, Kalapesios writes to “my beloved son Petros and the little Frange” (πα[μ]ε]ριτ νωηρε πετροс м̄ηπακογ̄ι єтє φραγγє, ll. 2-4). Frange also writes letters to an Apa Petros, or “my father Petros” (*O.TT29* 4; 5; and 8).

<sup>189</sup> Crum provides no transcription of this text. The limestone is part of the Cairo collection.

entirely<sup>190</sup>. Either way, *O.Crum* 396 alone suggests a connection between Frange and the monastery of Apa Phoibammon<sup>191</sup>.

On this evidence, links can be established between the monastery of Phoibammon and the communities of Paul and Epiphanius, as well as the monk Frange. Links are also attested between the monastery of Epiphanius and Frange, but not between the monastery of Paul and either the monastery of Epiphanius or Frange. The *topos* of Apa Psate is not linked to any of the other communities. Of course, these links are based on visible connections, and it is likely that there were many connections between these communities which are not apparent in the available evidence. Moreover, the identification of these links is based on provenance and the presence of well-known individuals associated with a particular community. A more thorough prosopographical study, also taking into account identified hands associated with particular communities, may reveal more connections than are apparent here<sup>192</sup>.

Ultimately, whether or not these communities were connected to all their neighbours or just a few of them, they were demonstrably closely connected. This leaves open the possibility that the connections of one could be easily accessed by the others, a possibility which will be more fully discussed in Section IV. Of course, we should not view this local community as isolated. It has already been noted that each of the monastic communities described above had connections with places beyond western Thebes as well as with Jeme and, as is described in the next section, the residents of Jeme were themselves strongly integrated within the economy of the wider region.

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<sup>190</sup> I have followed, here, the discussion of Apa Petros in Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 11-12. They are undecided on the issue.

<sup>191</sup> An Apa Petros was twice the superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. The second one was superior in the 730s and died around 747/748 – Godlewski (1986) 73-74.

<sup>192</sup> E. Garel recently touched on this, with reference to connections between monastic communities on the mountain of Jeme not discussed in this thesis (such as the *topos* of Saint Mark on Gournet Mourrai and the community at TT 1152), in her paper 'The Ostraca of Victor the Priest found in the Hermitage TT 1152', presented at the 27<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrology in Warsaw (29 July 2013 – 3 August 2013).

### SECTION III – BEYOND WESTERN THEBES: INTERACTIONS BETWEEN JEME AND COMMUNITIES BEYOND THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

The previous section demonstrated the close degree of connectivity between Jeme and the monastic communities on its eponymous mountain. In the language of social network theory, these communities formed, if not a clique, then certainly a cohesive cluster. Cliques and clusters, however, are networks in microcosm and are integrated into larger networks on the strength of the connections of individual nodes to other cliques and clusters. By examining the documentation relating to Jeme, it is possible to demonstrate how the residents of Jeme connected it, and thus the west Theban cluster, with the wider network of the region and, ultimately, of Egypt itself.

In comparison with the evidence connecting Jeme to the monastery of Phoibammon or the monastery of Epiphanius, the evidence which connects Jeme to any community beyond western Thebes is sparse. Whereas evidence for interactions between the monastic communities and Jeme survives from both sides of the connection, that is from Jeme and from the monasteries, for the connections to towns and other communities discussed in this section we can only rely on evidence from Jeme. This has a number of significant implications. Most importantly, to what extent does it produce a biased impression of Jeme's importance? Since we only have the interactions between Jeme and these other settlements, and not those between these settlements and others, we may have an overly Jeme-centric view of this network. Another problem is that the most well-attested toponyms might only have four or five attestations, and it is consequently difficult to know how strong the links between the inhabitants of Jeme and these other communities were<sup>1</sup>.

The limited number of attestations for each toponym also makes it difficult to establish what percentage of Jeme's inhabitants were associated with the links to particular toponyms, and, consequently, how important that toponym was to Jeme's network. The various individuals who make up the connections of this network would likely interact with only a small number of the total number of toponyms in it. To give one example, Pekosh son of Mannaseh, a moneylender from Jeme, is responsible for four loan agreements with people from Terkot,

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<sup>1</sup> To some extent, the more strongly connected towns can be identified by analysing which toponyms appear connected, not only with Jeme, but also with one or more of the monastic communities of western Thebes. This will be examined in greater detail in Section IV.



making it one of the better attested sites in Jeme's network. However, is Terkot's apparent importance entirely an accident of survival? Pekosh's contracts were excavated from their (probably) original context as part of a dossier of moneylending contracts belonging to other members of his family. Terkot's importance may consequently be a result of the fact that Pekosh recorded his connections at all, and that they happened to survive. In this instance, Terkot is connected to Jeme by two other texts, so it is possible that there was, in fact, a strong connection between Jeme and Terkot<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, this example shows how easily the evidence could be distorted.

Ultimately, the limitations of papyrological evidence must be acknowledged, but they should not be considered insurmountable. Even if the view depicted below is Jeme-centric, there can be no doubt that the interactions presented here represent real interactions. Therefore, through detailed examination it is possible to demonstrate that Jeme did indeed have an influential role, particularly in the economy of the region. It is possible to state with confidence, despite the bias, that Jeme was an important and well connected town within the network encompassing the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes.

#### TAXES, PROTECTION LETTERS AND INTERACTIONS WITH THE ARAB ADMINISTRATION

The timeframe of the Coptic documentation relating to Thebes has been established as roughly 600-800 CE<sup>3</sup>. During the earlier part of this period, specifically the first half of the seventh century, the rulers of Egypt changed a number of times: from Byzantine to Persian, back to Byzantine, and finally to Arab. Despite this political turmoil, or perhaps because of it, none of the documentation datable to this period, mainly related to the activities of Abraham the Bishop of Ermont (c. 600-620) and his contemporaries, gives any evidence of the relationship that existed between the people of Jeme and the central administration of the Byzantine or Persian rulers. It is not until Egypt was under Arabic rule that evidence for interactions between the inhabitants of Jeme and the administration becomes visible, and even

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<sup>2</sup> While Terkot may well have been an important connection of Jeme, it does not seem to have been particularly important to western Thebes, as it is not connected to any of the monastic communities examined in Section IV. See Table 4.1, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 3-4 and the discussion on the dating of these texts in Appendix B.

this evidence is sparse compared to that from other regions<sup>4</sup>. What follows is a discussion of the direct and indirect evidence for Jeme's interactions with the Arab administration.

The payment of taxes are our clearest indicator of the presence of a central administration. However, the way taxes were apportioned meant there was little interaction between individuals and the state. Instead, taxes were apportioned by and paid to local officials<sup>5</sup>. Until the final quarter of the eighth century, tax liability was communal rather than individual; communities created and maintained registers of the taxpayers, particularly including the amount and type of land owned by them, at a local level. These registers were regularly sent to the state treasury in Fustat, where they were used to set the tax quota for each *pagarchy*<sup>6</sup>. The Arab governor then wrote to the *pagarchs*, stating the amount required by each *pagarchy* and enclosing separate orders of payment for the towns and monasteries within them. It was the responsibility of the local magistrates and the heads of the monastic communities to divide the lump sum into tax categories (the most common being the poll tax – ἀνδρισμός / διάγραφον, and the land tax – δημοσία γῆς), to further apportion it to individuals and households based on their individual ability to pay, and finally to collect the taxes and pay them to the state<sup>7</sup>.

In Jeme, the payment of taxes is well attested in the numerous tax receipts from the area. The tax receipts are short and simple affairs: they state the amount paid, the tax payer, and the tax being paid (poll tax, land tax, expenses tax, etc.). The local official who received the payment, frequently the headman (ἀνὴρ or στρατηγός), then signs, as does the scribe who wrote the receipt<sup>8</sup>. Such texts demonstrate the involvement of the local officials in tax collection, but rarely indicate an interaction between individuals from Jeme and the central administration, as the villagers' taxes were paid to the local officials responsible for collecting it. One that does

<sup>4</sup> Such as Aphrodito. For a brief summary of the Byzantine administration and tax system in Egypt see Abbot (1938) 70-77. See also pp. 3-6, above, and the references there.

<sup>5</sup> Frantz-Murphy (1999) 244.

<sup>6</sup> Bell (1910) xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>7</sup> See in particular the discussions in Bell (1910) xxv-xxviii; Abbot (1938) 94-96; Husselman (1951) 336-337; Frantz-Murphy (1999) 242-244; and Wickham (2005) 139-140. While the monastic communities at Bala'izah and Bawit were assessed as taxable entities separate from the nearby towns, and while the larger monasteries of Apa Phoibammon and Apa Paul near Jeme were likely assessed in the same manner (cf. the discussion of *SB* III 7240 below, pp. 205-206), it is less clear how the taxes of the smaller *lauras* and solitary monks on the mountain of Jeme were assessed or collected.

<sup>8</sup> Many complete examples of such receipts have been published. Some of those excavated in Jeme itself are published as *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 218-400. Some scribes, particularly Psate son of Pisrael (Till (1962) 185-187), and Aristophanes son of Iohannes (Till (1962) 61-62), wrote many more tax receipts than any other scribe. It may be that some scribes were more closely associated with the town's administrative functioning, particularly in regards to taxation, than others. It may also be a case of chance survival.

is *P.Bal.* 130 Appendix A (724), a tax assessment written in the hand of the well-known scribe from Jeme, Aristophanes son of Iohannes. This assessment, issued in the name of Sahl ibn ‘Abd Allah and addressed to Daniel son of Pachom of Jeme<sup>9</sup>, sets out the amounts of the poll tax (διάγραφον, l. 4) and expenses tax (δαπάνη, l. 4) payable by Daniel for the years 105 and 106 AH (l. 3, i.e. about 723-724 CE)<sup>10</sup>. The *pagarch* Sahl ibn ‘Abd Allah was probably not directly involved with this assessment as it is unlikely that he had a list of the individual taxpayers for every community under his jurisdiction and, as already mentioned, tax assessments were still communally assessed at this time. It is more likely, given that the document was written by Aristophanes son of Iohannes, who lived in Jeme, that this assessment was made by the headmen of the town but issued in the *pagarch*’s name. This is supported by the statement that Daniel shall receive a receipt (ἀπόδειξις, l. 6) as a security that “you will not pay anything beyond your order of payment, according to the authority of the administration of your village<sup>11</sup>”, which seems to imply that the village officials were in charge of tax collection and orders of payment. While the *pagarch* may not have been personally involved with the tax assessment of individuals at this point, the fact that the order of payment was issued in his name would surely not have been lost on the villagers. As far as they were concerned, their taxes went to a higher level of the administration than their village heads<sup>12</sup>.

Another text which attests to taxation in Jeme, and specifically to how taxpayers coped with special tax demands, is *P.CLT* 6 (724). This text is an agreement between its seventeen signatories, all residents of Jeme, to collectively bear special taxes and duties, particularly conscription, levied by the state: “we are going to become and be in common with one another in all matters received in the compulsory public service of the public tax register”<sup>13</sup>. Public service could entail providing physical labour for public and military works, and this agreement seems particularly concerned with protecting the signatories from forced naval duty in the “*cursus*” (κοῦρσον, ll. 11, 27): a regular naval expedition undertaken by the Arab

<sup>9</sup> ΣΑΛΛ ΥΪΟ/ ΑΒΔΕΛΛΑ ΠΕΡΟΣ ΔΙ ΝΔΔΝΗΛ ΠΩΝΠΑΣΩΜ ΠΡΜΠΚΑΞΤΡ[Ο]Ν ΧΗΜΕ (*P.Bal.* 130 Appendix A, ll.1-2).

<sup>10</sup> It may be that Aristophanes was instrumental in the interactions between the office of the *amir* Sahl ibn ‘Abd Allah and Jeme, particularly in regards to taxation, as is strongly argued by Cromwell (forthcoming).

<sup>11</sup> ΝΝΕΚΤΙΛΑΔΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΕΚΠΙΤΤΑΚ(ΙΟΝ) ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΟΜ ΝΔΙΟΙΚ(ΗΣΙΣ) ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΤΙΜΕ (*P.Bal.* 130 Appendix A, ll. 6-7).

<sup>12</sup> For other examples of tax demands issued to individuals in the name of a *pagarch*, see Cromwell (2013:A). Here she re-edits and discusses three demands from the late seventh century archive of Flavius Atias, which were issued to individuals from Hermopolis (*P.Vindob.K.* 4905; 4931; and 1341 = CPR IV 3, 4, and 6).

<sup>13</sup> ΤΑΡΝΩΩΠΕ ΕΝΟ ΝΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΣ ΜΝΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΣΝΣΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΡΧΙ ΕΣΟΥΝ ΕΤΑΓΤΑΡΙΑ ΜΠΑΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ (*P.CLT* 6.25-26). Translation: MacCoull (2009) 93-96. See Bell (1910) xxvi for a description of the types of one-off taxes that could be levied.

government for which special taxes were levied and sailors conscripted from towns all over Egypt<sup>14</sup>. That this was their primary concern is reinforced by the statement that they will not allow one to bear more than any other, “either by being conscripted as a sailor or by any other thing” (ΕΙΤΕ ΖΑΥΩΠΙΣ ΝΗΕΕΙ ΕΙΤΕ ΖΑΘΕΛΛΑΥ, l. 30). Like the other tax-related documents from Jeme, *P.CLT* 6 does not attest to a direct interaction between the Arab administration and the people of Jeme. It does, however, demonstrate one of the ways in which the local populace responded to the demands of their Arab masters, and that the people of Jeme could be (and no doubt were) conscripted into naval service.

The system of communal tax assessment used in the first centuries of Arabic rule was less than ideal for the central administration as the dependence on local registers made “communal tax evasion” a real possibility<sup>15</sup>. Toward the end of the eighth century, and under a new Caliphate (the Abbasids took over in 750), the Arab government was taking steps to centralise its control of tax assessment. By 776-778, agricultural contracts, which included tax-liability, were issued by the administration to individual landholders, and, by 779, the administration kept its own registers. This shows a shift in tax liability away from the community and toward the individual<sup>16</sup>. The changing situation was not well received by the Egyptian farmers. Revolts in Upper Egypt against tax officials, which had already taken place before these measures were established, occurred in 784-786 (against the doubling of the tax rate) and again in 794 (against the shortening of the assessor’s rod)<sup>17</sup>. The discontent continued with a number of large, Egypt-wide revolts over the first twenty years of the ninth century. Chris Wickham describes the years 812-832 as a period “of nearly continuous war”, which was only quelled by the intervention of the Caliph, who led the imperial army to restore order<sup>18</sup>. For this later period, however, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence for Jeme.

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<sup>14</sup> The *cursus* was a regularly undertaken naval expedition by the Caliphate against Byzantium. Each province of Egypt furnished and supplied its own fleet through means of taxes and the sailors were raised through conscription (although they received wages and an allowance of food). See the discussion in Bell (1910) xxxiii-xxxv. For the role of Christians in such naval expeditions see Trombley (2001) 150-152, and generally Trombley (2004). Although there are no surviving documents from Jeme attesting the requisition of sailors, *P.Lond.* IV 1494 (709 CE) is one example of the magistrates of a village near Aphrodito guaranteeing the supply of three men from that village to serve as sailors for the *cursus*. MacCoull (1997) provides further commentary on this text.

<sup>15</sup> Frantz-Murphy (1999) 244.

<sup>16</sup> Frantz-Murphy (1999) 245-247.

<sup>17</sup> For revolts against taxes see Frantz-Murphy (1999) 245-250; and Wickham (2005) 140-141.

<sup>18</sup> Wickham (2005) 141.

While the tax burden on the local populace could lead to revolts, it is particularly expressed in Byzantine and Arabic times by the problem of tax fugitives. For some Egyptians, farmers in particular, the burden of meeting the various tax demands of the administration was too onerous. The solution for these individuals was to abandon their lands and villages and flee to another location, thereby avoiding having to pay taxes<sup>19</sup>. This was a huge concern for the Arab government; if farmers were not working their land, that land ceased to become productive and its tax revenue was lost. Accordingly, great effort was put into finding these fugitives and returning them to their lands or, if that were no longer possible, to find them new lands to work<sup>20</sup>.

The problem of fugitives was pervasive in Egypt, and a number of documents indicate that it affected the Theban area as a whole, as well as Jeme specifically. One such text is *P.Lond.* IV 1460 (c. 709). The surviving fragments of this Greek papyrus contain lists of personal names followed by ἀπό ('from') and a toponym referring to the place from which they originated. The names are further divided into groups arranged under the names of χωρία ('towns') of Aphrodito. Although no heading indicating the purpose of this text survives, the editor believed it to be "a list of fugitives from other *pagarchies* now in the various χωρία of Aphrodito"<sup>21</sup>. This extensive account consists of 198 surviving lines, most of which contain the name of a fugitive. A few of these originate from the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes<sup>22</sup>, but two individuals on the list come from Jeme – here called by its Greek name, the kastron Memnonion. Line 131 records a Papnute son of Markos from this kastron (Παπνυτε Μάρκος<sup>23</sup> ἀπὸ Κάστρου Μενωνίου\υ/), and line 138 records another individual, whose name is lost, from the same place ([ -ca.-? ] ἀπ[ὸ] Κάστρ[ου] Μεμενωνίου\υ/). If the editor's

<sup>19</sup> For Frantz-Murphy (1999) 241-242, the prevalence of this problem in the first centuries of Arabic rule was due to an abundance of land and a shortage of labour to work it, resulting in heavier burdens on farmers. Many individuals chose to flee to monasteries, resulting, in the first quarter of the eighth century, in government imposed limits on the number of monks who could join a monastery, and severe methods for identifying and punishing fugitives who were not monks. Monks were first forced to wear iron bracelets identifying them, without which they could have a hand or foot cut off or their eyes taken out, and later were branded with a hot iron, again facing harsh punishment if found without a brand. Such harsh measures were likely abolished after 742 – see Abbot (1938) 98; and particularly Rāḡib (1997) 143-144. The accounts of the punishments of monks are primarily based on the *History of the Patriarchs* – Evetts (1910) 68.

<sup>20</sup> See the discussion in Abbot (1938) 68-69 and 97-99 for the measures for getting fugitives back and for the punishments some of them faced.

<sup>21</sup> Bell (1910) 401.

<sup>22</sup> Apart from the references to Jeme, line 24 refers to a man from Pashme in the Koptite nome (ἀπ[ὸ] Παχμε Κοπτώ, for which see Appendix A, pp. 268-269); and line 9 records a Senouthios son of Georgios from the Three Kastrā (ἀπὸ γ Κάστρων), a place known to be in the Hermonthite nome from elsewhere, and which Crum believes to be a reference to Luxor (whose name is derived from the Arabic meaning "two forts", namely the temples of Karnak and Luxor) – Winlock & Crum (1926) 106 fn. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Papnute son of Markos is not attested in the Jeme documents.

interpretation of *P.Lond.* IV 1460 is correct, it not only shows that people from Jeme were fleeing as far as Aphrodito (about 260km following the present course of the Nile), but also that the Arab administration was aware of the fugitives' origins and current locations.

As was discussed above, taxes were assessed at a communal level in the first centuries of Arabic rule, and were levied on land regardless of who worked it. Consequently, fugitives were not only a problem for the central administration, but for the local community, who might then have had to bear an extra tax burden. As such, the local magistrates also made efforts, in the form of the so-called 'protection documents', to bring tax fugitives home<sup>24</sup>. The central feature of these documents is their self-description as  $\pi\lambda\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\pi\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$  "the promise by God". They are, in essence, an oath before God on the part of the issuer that the recipient can be assured of whatever promise is laid out within them<sup>25</sup>. While protection documents were issued for a range of reasons, of particular interest are those that the magistrates of a town issued in an attempt to return fugitives by assuring them that they may return home and be free from persecution or oppression<sup>26</sup>. A number of these are issued by the magistrates of Jeme. For example, in *SB Kopt.* II 917<sup>27</sup> (seventh to eighth centuries), Merkurios and Theodoros, the *lashanes* of Jeme, give a promise to Thomas that he may return home without being prosecuted about his tax (?) payment ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ , l. 7)<sup>28</sup>. Not all such texts were as condition free as this one: in *P.Schutzbriefe* 28 (728/9 or 743/4), Georgios and Aaron, magistrates of Jeme, promise Psate son of Elias, a designated man of Jeme, that he may come home without prosecution on the condition he pays a half *tremis*<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> For a recent discussion of the scholarship surrounding these documents see Delattre (2007:B). See also H. Liebesny's discussion in Till (1939) 127-140.

<sup>25</sup> On the meaning of  $\lambda\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\pi\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ , literally the 'word of God', see Till (1939) 74-75. Delattre (2007:B) 173-174 categorises four basic types of these documents, each with a different function.

<sup>26</sup> Till (1939) 74-75.

<sup>27</sup> Also published as *O.Vind.Copt.* 57 and *P.Schutzbriefe* 24.

<sup>28</sup> Literally any money payment, Till translates it as "Steuerrate" in *P.Schutzbriefe* 24.

<sup>29</sup> Other protection letters from Jeme are *P.Schutzbriefe* 5; 6; 10; 22; 23; 27; 43; and 44. Among these, *P.Schutzbriefe* 27 is particularly interesting as it relates to an individual from Jeme, Jeremias son of Basileos, who is named as a taxpayer in several tax receipts (*O.Vind.Copt.* 90; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 231; and an unpublished receipt in the British Museum *O.BM* EA 31805, which is being prepared for publication by J. Cromwell). *P.Schutzbriefe* 27 states that Jeremias and his son may return home without fear of prosecution on the condition that he pay a half *holokottinos*, and is dated to the sixth of Phaophi of the tenth indiction year. Of the tax receipts, only *O.Vind.Copt.* 90 is dated close to this text (the other two are dated in later indication years), and it records a half *holokottinos* paid for the taxes of the tenth indiction year. Unfortunately, the date this text was written is problematic. Till has transcribed the date as the 20<sup>th</sup> of Pachons of the tenth indiction year, but signalled that the numeral 10 (i) is uncertain. If his reading is correct, this was dated before the *Schutzbriefe* text, in which case it is odd that he received the protection document for taxes which he paid. However, the 20<sup>th</sup> of Pachons is very early in the year (it is the first month, see Gonis (2004) 157) to be paying taxes for that year, so it is possible that the text was in fact written in the eleventh indiction for the taxes of the tenth.

The most interesting of these texts for studying the interactions of the people of Jeme with outside towns is *P.Schutzbrieife* 85 (undated). In this text, Zacharias from Pshinsion writes to Elias, the *ara* of Jeme with the following request:

“Seek Dionysios the deacon and give the promise to him in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, that he come north to his house, that nothing bad shall befall him, except his tax<sup>30</sup>.”

ΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΔΙΩΝΗΣΙΟΣ ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΝΓ† ΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΑϢ ΕΠΡΑΝ ΝΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ  
ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΨΕΙ ΕΝΣΗΤ ΕΠΕΨΗ ΧΕ ΝΕΛΔΥΕ ΝΠΕΤΖΟΟΥ ΤΔΖΟϢ ΕΜΗΤΤ  
ΕΠΕΨΔΙΜΟCΙΩΝ (ll. 2-4)

Apparently, Dionysios had fled from Pshinsion to Jeme, causing Zacharias to write to one of Jeme’s magistrates requesting that he find Dionysios and pass on the promise that he may return to Pshinsion without fear of punishment, so long as he pays his tax. Interestingly, Zacharias then adds that “if the matter is impossible for me” (ΕΡΩΔΑΝΠΖΩΒ Ρ ΔΧΟΜ ΕΡΟΙ, l. 4), he will establish (καθίστημι, l. 4) him, i.e. Dionysios, in some other place (ll. 4-5). Presumably, Zacharias means that if he is unable to re-establish him on his original land, he will find other land for him to work<sup>31</sup>. *P.Schutzbrieife* 85 not only demonstrates the efforts of local magistrates in dealing with tax fugitives, but shows that the magistrates of different towns, in this case Pshinsion and Jeme, worked together to return fugitives to their lands.

Efforts to limit flight went beyond simple reactionary measures. From 714/715, the Arab administration introduced a passport system that required travellers to carry documents indicating that they had official approval to travel. This meant that residents of towns such as Jeme wishing to travel beyond their immediate environment needed to interact with Arab officials in order to acquire the necessary documentation<sup>32</sup>. According to the *History of the Patriarchs* these safe-conduct documents (called σιγῶλλιον in Greek) were difficult to secure, costing five *dinars* to replace, and travellers were required to carry them at all times lest they

<sup>30</sup> δημόσιον l. 4, for which see Bell (1910) xxv.

<sup>31</sup> See Till’s translation and commentary to *P.Schutzbrieife* 85.

<sup>32</sup> Rāḡib (1997) 145-146, argues that these documents are more rightly called safe-conducts as they only permit travel to a specific place for a specified time. A separate document permitted travel over borders. I follow him in this description.

be found on a road or at a port without one<sup>33</sup>. If a traveller was found without one he could suffer fines, confiscation of goods, imprisonment, and even physical punishment. Through this system of documents and checkpoints, the administration regulated travel to a large extent and had a system in place to distinguish fugitives from those travelling for legitimate reasons<sup>34</sup>.

No examples of safe-conducts issued to residents of Jeme survive, however an example of the request for one by three monks from the monastery of Apa Paul does (*P.CLT3*)<sup>35</sup>. In this text, Chael and Iohannes, “men of your subservient kastron Jeme” (ΝΡΜΠΕΤΝΔΟΥΛΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ, l. 1), write to an *amir* on behalf of the monks from the monastery of Apa Paul who wish to travel to the Fayum to sell their ropework, which they are unable to do “without the permit from your lordship” (ΧΩΡΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΓΕΛΛΙΝ ΝΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC, ll. 5-6). Iohannes and Chael further state that the permit should be for a period of three months (l. 7) and assure the *amir* that the monks have paid their taxes for the twelfth indiction (l. 10). The Coptic request is followed by a short Greek description of what was requested, along with the names and brief physical descriptions of the three monks (ll. 11-14). The physical description of the bearers, the length of time the document was valid, and the location they were travelling to would then be included in the safe-conduct document itself, as examples from other areas show<sup>36</sup>.

Aside from illustrating a relationship between Jeme and the monastery of Apa Paul, this document demonstrates the mechanism by which traders, or anyone else from Jeme, would be able to travel throughout the country: by requesting a safe-conduct document from the Arab officials. While it is clear from this text and the Arabic exemplars that the safe-conduct system was in place by the eighth century, it is not clear over what distances it was enforced, nor whether the claims of its cost and the resulting effects on the movement of the populace are accurate. Based on the testimony of the *History of the Patriarchs*, Abbott states that the documents cost five *dinars*<sup>37</sup>. However, as Trombley points out, this text says only that the

<sup>33</sup> *History of the Patriarchs* in Evetts (1910) 69-70. This work has traditionally been attributed to Severus, the bishop of Ashmunein, however most scholars consider him to be a later redactor, and that the work was compiled by several authors over an extended period of time – see Den Heijer (1991).

<sup>34</sup> On the safe-conduct system, see Abbot (1938) 99; Morimoto (1981) 124-126; Rāḡib (1997) 144-146; Trombley (2004) 204-206; Wickham (2005) 142-143; as well as *History of the Patriarchs*, (Evetts (1910) 69-70).

<sup>35</sup> This text has been discussed above (pp. 106-107) in relation to what it says about the relationship between Jeme and the nearby monasteries.

<sup>36</sup> *P.Cair.Arab.* III 174 and 175. 175 is discussed in Trombley (2004) 206. Rāḡib (1997) 147-149 describes the common features of safe-conducts. He also publishes eight examples (pp. 148-162).

<sup>37</sup> Abbot (1938) 99.



safe-conducts cost money to replace and “fails to indicate whether the initial award of a passport required a fee”<sup>38</sup>. Given that neither the Arabic exemplars nor any of the many documents from Jeme attesting to the travel of its residents to other nomes mention this fee, it seems unlikely that an initial fee was charged. Such a charge would seriously hamper low-level trade, such as the monks from Apa Paul travelling to the Fayum to sell ropework, and would surely have damaged Egypt’s economy. Many of the interactions detailed in the current section would seem economically unsound if the presence of this fee were a reality. It is more likely that this (high) fee only applied when people were found with damaged or lost documentation, but that the initial award of a safe-conduct required only the local-level costs of having the request drawn up. It seems that the primary concern with the passes in the *History of the Patriarchs* was the time they took to be issued; it reports fruits wasting on the vine because their owners had to wait two months to receive the travel documentation<sup>39</sup>.

The distance one needed to travel before requiring a safe-conduct document is unclear. It seems likely that localised travel, perhaps within the nome, would not require one. It is clear from the dossier of the monk Frange that there was frequent travel across the Nile in Thebes, and if all such movements required a safe-conduct document issued by a state official it would have been an administrative nightmare, not only in terms of issuing the documents, but also in policing their use. The *History of the Patriarchs* reports that people embarking or disembarking on boats without a pass would be seized, indicating that ports were checkpoints for travel documents. The *History of the Patriarchs* also recounts the story of a woman whose son was carrying their travel documentation when he was eaten by a crocodile. She returned to Alexandria to explain the situation, but was fined ten *dinars* because she entered the city without a pass. This suggests that the gates of cities were also checkpoints for travel documents<sup>40</sup>. Furthermore, an Arabic safe-conduct, *P.Cair.Arab.* III 175 (731), gives permission for a man to travel from Upper Ashmunein to Lower Ashmunein for two months, which seems to indicate that even travel within a nome required travel documentation – although this nome was divided into two administrative sections<sup>41</sup>. However, the degree to which this was universally applied is questionable, as no such documents exist for Jeme

<sup>38</sup> Trombley (2004) 205 fn. 29. Morimoto (1981) 125 simply states that a new document could only be acquired by payment of a fee. The relevant section of the *History of the Patriarchs* (in Evetts (1910) 69-70), indeed refers only to a fee in the case of a lost or damaged document.

<sup>39</sup> *History of the Patriarchs* in Evetts (1910) 69.

<sup>40</sup> *History of the Patriarchs* in Evetts (1910) 69-70. Whether or not the gates of towns such as Jeme were checked is unknown. It seems unlikely, however, since providing officials for every village in Egypt of a similar size to or larger than Jeme would be untenable.

<sup>41</sup> On the division of the Hermopolite nome into two sections (*skele*), see Sijpesteijn (2013) 72 and fn. 170.

despite the apparent frequency of travel in the area. In order to ease the burden on the administration, it seems more likely that localised travel, perhaps within the confines of a nome, would not require such a document unless the traveller was to pass through a known checkpoint. If this were the case, however, anyone stopped randomly by officials while travelling within their nome would then have no way of easily verifying their residency, so some form of documentation may indeed have been required. Alain Delattre has suggested that protection documents in which the issuer says he will not proceed against the recipient, and which do not include the statement that the recipient can return to their home, may be travel passes similar to the Arab safe-conducts<sup>42</sup>. If this is the case, it is unlikely that they would permit travel to distant nomes. In the eighth century, the Arab government was trying to centralise the administration of Egypt and control flight; allowing locals to issue travel documentation would seem counterintuitive to this policy<sup>43</sup>. Yet, if Delattre is correct and these are safe-conduct documents, or at least function as such, perhaps they permitted movement on a local scale, within the nome in which they were issued.

At any rate, the safe-conduct system necessitated that anyone wishing to travel interact with state officials. One document excavated at Jeme, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 (seventh to eighth centuries), may attest to such an interaction between a trader from Jeme and those officials who manned checkpoints along the Nile. In this document, Pisente son of Sia, a sailor from the Koptite nome, agrees to take Enoch son of Pleien, a man from Jeme, to Antinoe along with his equipment (CKHYE, l. 5). Pisente's statement: "I run the risk on account of the *stolarches* of Kos and Koptos" (†KINΔYNEYE ZANCTOYΛAPXHC NKΩC MN KBT, ll. 6-7), is of particular note. What kind of official the *stolarches* were in this context is not entirely clear, however their presence at the two major trading ports of the Koptite nome, as well as their association with this text, together suggest that they were lower officials in charge of river traffic or river trade<sup>44</sup>. Pisente's statement may refer to tariffs or some other fee that might be demanded, rather than to a document check<sup>45</sup>. However, it is possible that it was to exactly this kind of official that Enoch, as a traveller from Jeme to Antinoe, and presumably Pisente as well, would need to present their safe-conduct documentation. Whatever the case, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 and *P.CLT* 3 show that individuals from Jeme and its environs were

<sup>42</sup> Delattre (2007:B) 174. If this is the case, it is unclear if such documents were a state-approved means of travel or a local exploitation of the more easily acquired protection documents.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 136.

<sup>44</sup> See the editors' comments in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 fn. 2; and Till (1955) 151-152. Koptos and Kos were two ends of desert roads connecting the Nile Valley to the Red Sea. See Appendix A, pp. 260-261 and 261-262.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Till (1955) 151 and Till's (1964) 209-210 translation.

travelling long distances upriver, and that this travel would have necessarily involved contact with the government officials responsible for issuing travel documentation and regulating trade and the movement of the populace.

For the most part, documents that illustrate a relationship between the residents of Jeme and the Arab administration concern taxes and the restrictions placed on movement due to the problem of tax evasion. However one text, *P.KRU* 10<sup>46</sup> (722), attests another way in which Jeme's inhabitants interacted with Arabic officials. In this text the children of Psate sell to the children of Germanos their half share in a plot of land in Jeme, land which had a complex history. The children of Psate had originally sold the whole plot to Germanos himself for seven and one-third *holokottinoi* (ll. 12-15). Then, after some time, they travelled north to Antinoe to petition the duke about reclaiming the land, and he ordered that they pay Germanos the seven and one-third *holokottinoi* to reclaim it (ll. 17-19). After returning to Jeme, they took Germanos before the local magistrates, who found that half the land now belonged to a certain Pisenthios son of Paulos, to whom Germanos seems to have sold the entire plot, and who himself then sold half of it to the children of Germanos (ll. 19-25). Accordingly, the children of Psate had to pay half the total sum to both parties to reclaim their land. They paid Pisenthios three *holokottinoi* and two *tremisses* for his half share, but were unable to raise the funds to purchase the other half and so they decided to sell their recently purchased share to the children of Germanos (who now own the whole plot) for the same price (ll. 23-27)<sup>47</sup>.

The papyrus does not mention what situation led to this outcome, although it is likely that some legal dispute arose between the children of Psate and Germanos on which grounds they thought to reclaim the property. What is significant for understanding the relationship between the administration and Jeme is the following section:

“we went to Antinoe and approached our lord the most glorious duke about all that land, and he ordered, our lord the duke, that we pay these 7 1/3 *nomisma* to Germanos, your<sup>48</sup> blessed father, and we reclaim our land. After coming south we brought to court your blessed father Germanos and after undertaking sufficient

<sup>46</sup> Republished as *SB Kopt.* II 946.

<sup>47</sup> See Stern (1884) 152-153 for the original publication and commentary. For a more recent commentary see Cromwell (2013:B) 214, who also discusses the holdings of Germanos' family more broadly.

<sup>48</sup> The text says “our” but this is clearly an error.

processes with your father about all that land, the authority of the kastron found that half of that land belonged to Pisenthios the son of Paulos”

ΑΝΘΩΚ ΕΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ ΑΝΠΡΟΞΕΛΘΕ ΝΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC [ΠΕΥ]ΚΛΕΕCΤΑΤΟC ΝΔΟΥΞ ΖΑΠΚΑΖ  
ΤΗΡΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΔΗΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΗ Π[ΕΝ]ΧΟΕΙ[C ΠΔΟΥ]Ξ ΤΑΡΝΤΙ ΠΕΙΝ<sup>ο</sup> ΖΙ' ΝΓΕΡΜΑΝΟC  
ΠΕΝΜΑΚ(ΔΡΙΟC) ΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΝCΩΤ ΠΕΝΚΑΖ ΜΝΝCΑ ΤΡΕΝΕΙ ΕΡΗC ΝΤΝΕΝΔΓΕ  
ΝΠΕΤ[Ν]ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟC · ΜΝΝCΑΠΡΩΨΕ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΑΝΕΔΑΥ  
ΜΝΠΕΤΝΕΙΩΤ ΖΑΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΔΤΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΜΠΚΑCΤΡΟΝ ΖΕ ΕΡΟC  
ΕΠΑΠΕCΥΝΘΙΟC ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΑΥΛΟCΠΕ ΠΤΟΗΜΙCΥΜΕΡΟCΠΕ<sup>49</sup> ΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ (ll. 17-22.)

The residents of Jeme clearly had recourse to officials as high up as the duke, who was an Arab official at this time, if they wanted to escalate a legal complaint<sup>50</sup>. To what extent the duke's decision was binding as far as the local magistrates were concerned is less clear. Upon returning to Jeme, the children of Psate still took Germanos before a court consisting of the local authorities. However, whether or not the authorities of Jeme were simply required to formalise the command of the duke while taking into account current ownership, and what led the children of Psate to go beyond the local level of administration in the first place, is not clear. Whatever the case, *P.KRU* 10 demonstrates that high-level Arab officials were not entirely removed from the local populace and that petitioning them was a legitimate avenue in some legal scenarios.

Compared to the many documents attesting the interactions of the inhabitants of Jeme, relatively few attest those carried out with the central administration, and all of these date to the Islamic period<sup>51</sup>. While most of the documents described above only indirectly demonstrate the ways in which the Arab administration impacted the lives of the inhabitants of Jeme, they nevertheless represent real ties between them. The interactions seen in these documents can be roughly divided into three areas: taxation, travel, and judicial oversight.

<sup>49</sup> Read τὸ ἥμισυς μέρος – “the half share”. The Greek article τό must have become part of a fixed expression as the Coptic definite article has also been used.

<sup>50</sup> The duke was already an Arab official by the end of the seventh century. For the role of the duke see Bell (1924) 269-271; or the discussion of Flavius Atius in Sijpesteijn & Worp (1983) 189-197. On the role of Arab officials in central Egypt during this period, see the unpublished doctoral thesis: M. Legendre, ‘La Moyenne-Egypte du VIIe au IXe siècle. Apport de l'archéologie et de la papyrologie à l'étude d'une société en transition’ (Leiden and Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV).

<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, it is doubtful that there would have been any great difference in the functioning of the administration between the late sixth and late eighth centuries, as the new Arab rulers seem to have relied on the Byzantine structures to a large extent. Mukhtār (1973) and Sijpesteijn (2007) provide good overviews of the changes and similarities of the administration during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. For the social life of the Christian communities, such as Jeme, under Arab rule, see Wilfong (1998).

*P.KRU* 10 is the only document from Jeme that attests to located Arabic officials, such as the duke, exercising influence over local legal proceedings in Jeme, and to the townspeople being able to bring their legal concerns before such distant officials<sup>52</sup>. However, this practice fits well within the judicial tradition of Egypt and should not be considered exceptional, even if it did not occur with great regularity among the townsfolk of Jeme. On the other hand, while tax receipts are commonplace in the Jeme documentation, few demonstrate any relationship with officials of a higher level than the town heads. Based on the documentation of the same period from other nomes, however, we have a good idea of how the taxation system worked. Before the end of the eighth century, the town heads were likely the only ones to receive correspondence from higher, Arabic officials such as the *pagarch*. Nevertheless, *P.Bal.* 130 Appendix A demonstrates that the individual tax demands sent out by the town officials were issued in the *pagarch's* name; for the people of Jeme the presence of the central administration was very real. By the end of the eighth century, the Arab government was moving to centralise the assessment of taxes, relying less on local registers. During this time, it is possible that the people of Jeme received individualised tax demands from higher-level administrative officials, however none survive and the documentary and archaeological evidence suggest that Jeme was no longer inhabited in the ninth century. Curiously, no evidence survives of an administrative relationship between Jeme and Ermont, the nome capital, although it is not clear how much significance should be attached to this statement<sup>53</sup>.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the relationship between the residents of Jeme and the administration for the study of the townspeople's interactions with other communities is the restrictions placed on travel to control the flight of individuals from their tax obligations. *P.Schutzbrieft* 85 shows that efforts to bring such fugitives back resulted in communication between the headmen of Jeme and those of other towns, however, in order to prevent flight the Arab government required that anyone wishing to travel beyond their registered nome

<sup>52</sup> Other west Theban texts do attest to Arabic officials involved with the judiciary processes of Jeme, but these officials are not located. *P.KRU* 25, for instance, is the settlement from Jeme of a dispute over a house in which one party sued the other "before our most glorious lord, Hamer, the representative of our lord, the most renowned amir" (ΝΝΑΔΡΝΠΕΝΔΟΞΟΤ(ΔΤΟC) ΝΧΟΕΙC ΔΑΜΕΡ ΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΥΚΛΕ(ΕCΤΑΤΟC) ΝΑΜΙΡΑ, ll. 15-16). The involvement of the amir in property disputes from Jeme is also seen in *P.KRU* 8.3-5; *P.KRU* 42.8-10; and *P.KRU* 52.5-7. In *P.KRU* 13.60, the fine for transgressing the contents of a document is to be paid to the hand of the amir. In none of these cases can we be sure what position the amir actually held, as the term seems to be used as a catchall for any Arabic official.

<sup>53</sup> A damaged letter, likely from the Theban region (*O.Crum* Ad.58), refers to a coin which a town official rejected because "they have struck a new die in Ermont" (ΟΥΤΩΒΕ ΝΒΡΡΕΝΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΒΕC ΔΝΡΜΑΝΤ, ll. 7-8). Crum (n. 3) is sceptical that Ermont would have been striking coins, and thinks that the reference is instead to the standard weight. As the provenance of this text is unknown, no connection can be made on the basis of it.

carry the appropriate documentation, probably issued by the office of the *pagarch*, at all times. This would not only entail a request to the relevant office, as seen in *P.CLT* 3, but also interaction with the officials responsible for checking these documents (perhaps the *stolarches*) at various stages on the journey. It may have been the case that travel within one's nome also required travel passes, however such documents were likely issued by town heads and would probably not have required any real degree of interaction with government officials or those of other towns. As will be demonstrated below, the people of Jeme carried out a range of interactions with people from the neighbouring Koptite nome and beyond. In each of these cases, one of the parties involved (frequently those from Jeme) would have needed to obtain travel documentation to conduct their business. The extent of these interactions indicates that the requirement to carry a safe-conduct pass was not inhibitive to any great degree on the movement of the populace or trade goods between nomes, as the *History of the Patriarchs* suggests<sup>54</sup>.

Although the documents attesting Jeme's interactions with the Arab administration are not frequent, this relationship was a fundamental one. This was not only because taxation was such an important part of life for the inhabitants of Egypt, but because the requirement for travel documentation, for the most part invisible in the Jeme texts, indicates the conditions under which such interactions took place.

## MONEYLENDERS AND PAWNBROKERS

Of all the documents attesting interactions between the residents of Jeme and those of towns beyond the west Theban area, approximately half are loan agreements or documents related to moneylending. These 30 documents depict the transactions between 21 named lenders from Jeme and individuals in a variety of towns in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes<sup>55</sup>. This group fits into a larger corpus of documents relating to moneylending in Jeme that has already received some attention, particularly in relation to the participation of women<sup>56</sup>. The small

<sup>54</sup> *History of the Patriarchs* in Evetts (1910) 69.

<sup>55</sup> Assuming the Andreases of *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 & 28 are the same individual, and not including *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 131, in which the name of the lender is lost. The 30 documents are listed below in fn. 62.

<sup>56</sup> See Wilfong (1990) and Wilfong (2002) chapter 5. More recently, Papaconstantinou (2011) created an initial prosopography of moneylenders in early Islamic Egypt and South Palestine. A list of 63 moneylenders from the Theban area can be found on pages 640-646.

group of documents under discussion here, however, focuses on moneylending between the lenders of Jeme and residents of other towns. These texts exhibit a number of features which speak both of the role of Jeme within the economy of the wider region, and of its own wealth. Moreover, these documents indicate the existence of actively maintained social links between groups, through which lending to individuals from disparate localities was enabled.

Two types of documents evidence loan agreements: the loan-contract itself, and documents in which a security on a loan is returned to, or relinquished by, the borrower. Of the 30 texts under examination here, only eight are related to securities and these rarely provide any information about the loan itself: the borrower simply writes to the sender to state either that they no longer have any claim to the security deposited with the lender, or that they received their security back and cannot sue the lender regarding it. Loan agreements, which form the majority of the texts under discussion and are the principal contract in which the terms of the loan are laid out, naturally have more detail about what is owed by the borrower. A typical example of a loan agreement is *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 60:

I, Michaias the son of Enoch who is ascribed to Terkot in the nome of Ermont, write to Pekosh the son of Manasseh in Jeme, a kastron of Ermont. By the will of God I owe you a gold *holokottinos*, complete on your scales, and I am ready to give this to you in Paone of the sixth (year) with its interest, which is an *artaba* of sesame, without any dispute. I, Michaias the son of Enoch, assent to this document and everything written in it. I, Apa Dios the son of Paulos, the humblest priest of the church of Terkot, he asked me and I wrote this document. I wrote for him, since he does not know how (to write), on the twentieth of Mechir, under Dios the *lashane* of Jeme, and I witness. I, Iohannes (son) of Pisente, witness. I, Patape the son of Plein, witness.

Compared to the child donation contracts from the monastery of Phoibammon, these loans are relatively short. They contain minimal detail and are usually written on ostraca and witnessed by only one or two witnesses. The document is written with the borrower as first party, who sets out how much he owes the lender (usually using the Greek verb *χρεωστῶ*, in this case one gold *holokottinos*) and the interest to be paid on it (here one *artaba* of sesame). The repayment of interest on the loan in produce is not unusual. This, and the fact that repayment was

regularly in the month of Paone, at the end of the harvest<sup>57</sup>, both suggest that farmers were the primary borrowers in most loan agreements<sup>58</sup>.

### *Geographical Distribution and Direction of Movement*

Fig. 3.1 displays all the towns connected to Jeme through loan agreements and the locations of these towns, as far as they are known. Those toponyms placed in the Nile Valley with a corresponding marker point have a specific location; except where the toponym is followed by (?), as in the case of Terkot, in which case the location is speculative. Toponyms which are associated with a particular nome in the documentary texts, but whose exact location is unknown, are listed under the nome labels<sup>59</sup>. Those followed by (?), such as Papar and Kalba, are not associated with these nomes in the documentation, but are so by modern scholars. The toponyms under the heading ‘Unlocated’ are not associated with any particular nome. The numbers next to some of the toponyms indicate the number of attested loans, when greater than one, between Jeme and that place<sup>60</sup>.

It can be clearly seen that the majority of the loans between Jeme and other places took place within the Hermonthite nome (20-21<sup>61</sup>), whereas only a few connect Jeme to toponyms within the Koptite nome (5-6)<sup>62</sup>. The villages involved extend from approximately 20km downriver from Jeme (Terkot) to 27km upriver (Tse), forming a rough 27km radius around Jeme for

<sup>57</sup> Nineteen of the documents under examination contain a surviving repayment date. Of these, only *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 65, and *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 62 are to be repaid in a time other than the harvest (which covers mid-February to the end of May); the first two specify Thoth, the last “the sowing” (ⲁⲙⲛⲁⲱ, l. 6), which occurs between October and mid-February, in which range Thoth does not fall.

<sup>58</sup> See the comments of Bagnall (1977) 86-87. Bagnall uses documents from the fourth century, but argues that there was little change in these patterns throughout the centuries (p. 85).

<sup>59</sup> The thick line across the map under Tse roughly represents where the nome boundary must have been, as based on the known locations of Tse (Koptite nome) and Timamen (Hermonthite nome; not shown here, see Appendix A, pp. 290-291). The further boundaries of the Koptite and Hermonthite nomes are beyond the borders of this map, although the northern boundary of the Koptite nome would not have been much further north. See Fig. 3.2.

<sup>60</sup> Unless otherwise specified, the conventions listed here will be followed for all following maps of this nature.

<sup>61</sup> 21 if Kalba is indeed a Hermonthite village, 20 if this is not the case.

<sup>62</sup> The texts associated with each toponym are as follows: Apé (*O.Mich.Copt.* 13); Kalba (*SB Kopt.* II 908); Ne (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 131); Pajment (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 62); Pakale (*P.KRU* 62); Papar (*O.CrumST* 429); Pashme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 64); Patoubasten (*O.Deir er-Roumi* 27; 28; *O.Vind.Copt.* 28); Petemout (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 70; 72; *P.Lond.* V 1720; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/2); Pisinai (*SB Kopt.* III 1382); Pmilis (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 74); Psamer (*Coptica* #44); Psenantonios (*O.Crum* Ad.17); Psenheaei (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 96); Tche (*O.Crum* Ad.16); Terkot (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55; 58; 59; 60; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 76/4); Thone (*O.CrumST* 424; *O.CrumVC* 25); Tmoh Pajeme (*P.KRU* 63v); Tourese (*O.Crum* 160); Tse (*P.KRU* 59).



these interactions<sup>63</sup>. The observed bias towards locations in the same nome as Jeme itself is not surprising. These villages are not only physically closer to Jeme, and therefore present less of a time investment in travelling, but there were likely administrative hurdles for interactions outside this region. Travel to the neighbouring nome no doubt required the acquisition of travel documentation from the administration, which may have decreased the willingness of individuals to participate in interactions spanning nome boundaries<sup>64</sup>. Despite this, it is significant that a number of such interactions still took place. Clearly the difficulty posed by crossing into other nomes was not insurmountable.

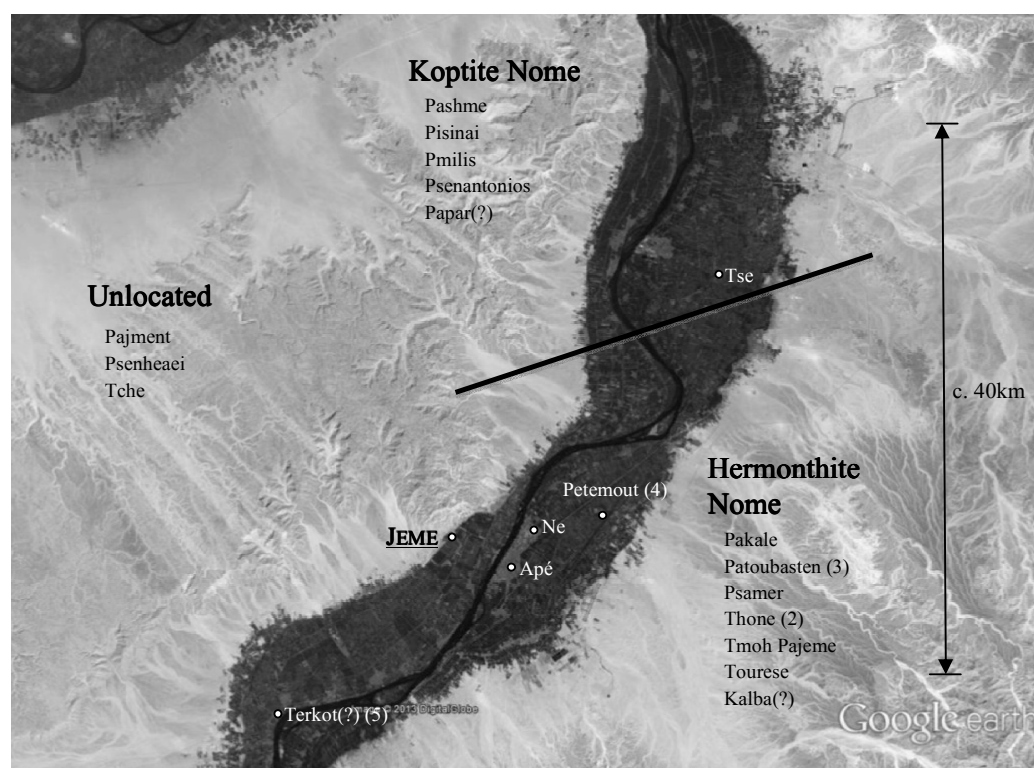


Fig. 3.1. Distribution of borrowers in loan agreements from Jeme<sup>65</sup>

It is notable that neither of the nome capitals, Ermont or Koptos, nor other major centres such as Kos, are represented in the loan documents from Jeme. Presumably, these large and important population centres had their own moneylenders. Given this likely circumstance, it is curious that individuals who lived in villages which were closer to these hubs than to Jeme

<sup>63</sup> These distances are the approximate, straight-line distances between Jeme and the furthest located towns in the dataset (Terkot and Tse), as measured on Google Earth. The many unlocated toponyms could well fall outside this area.

<sup>64</sup> See the discussion on safe-conducts above, pp. 139-143.

<sup>65</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Western Thebes and surrounds, 25°42'31.79"N 32°40'23.86"E, eye alt. 120.09km. (Imagery date: 10 April 2013) – viewed 21 July 2013.

nevertheless used lenders from Jeme. We must therefore assume that for some borrowers it was more advantageous to use the lenders in Jeme rather than those in the nearer towns and cities. What this advantage was is not clear. It is unlikely that the lenders of Jeme provided better interest rates, as the rates in loans from this period seem fairly uniform<sup>66</sup>. A more likely reason, as is suggested by the evidence of Pekosh's interactions with individuals in Terkot (see below pp. 151-153), is that these loans were enabled through already established connections, social or otherwise, between the lenders and either the borrowers themselves or their acquaintances.

From a documentary viewpoint, the direction of these loans is toward Jeme. That is, the borrowers address the documents to the lenders in Jeme, where they were also kept. The net balance of the resources moved in these loans was also toward Jeme; the lenders sent money out, and this was eventually returned to Jeme along with interest (usually produce). Because of this, it is also assumed that the movement of people was likewise toward Jeme. That is, the borrowers came to the lenders<sup>67</sup>. However, the locations of the scribes and witnesses in these documents indicate that, in fact, the reverse is true. It was shown in Section I that in virtually all secular documents in which the scribes and witnesses are located (primarily loan agreements), the locations of these individuals match that of the first party<sup>68</sup>. It is therefore likely that these loan agreements, all with lenders from Jeme and borrowers from elsewhere, were drawn up outside of Jeme at the borrower's location<sup>69</sup>. Given the unlikelihood that the loan contract was drawn up without the lender's input, it follows that some, if not all, of the lenders of Jeme were travelling to their clients' locations to conduct business. This was no doubt preferable to the borrowers, who would presumably not wish to spend too much time

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<sup>66</sup> See below, p. 155.

<sup>67</sup> Wilfong (2002) 128 remarks that it is significant that borrowers from distant locations turned to Jeme for money considering the effort it would require to travel there. Keenan (1981) 479 refers to villagers travelling to cities for brief sojourns in order to secure a loan, then returning, cash in hand.

<sup>68</sup> pp. 58-61. This can also be seen on a smaller scale with the documents of Pekosh listed below in Table 3.1.

<sup>69</sup> A contrary example might be seen in an eighth century loan agreement recently published as *Coptica* #43. This text, in which Psan from Terkot (ΠΡΜΤΕΡΚΩΤ, ll. 2, 12) borrows money from NN son of Zacharias "from Jeme" (ΝΝΧΗΜΕ, l. 4), was written by "Athanasios the scribe of Jeme" (ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΠΡΑΜΜΑ(ΤΕΥΣ) ΝΧΗΜΕ, l. 14 – the same Athanasios also appears in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163.15,18), i.e. the scribe's location matches that of the lender. However, Psan's full designator is lost, the surviving part reads "the man of Terkot who lives [in ...] in the nome of Ermont" (ΠΡΜΤΕΡΚΩΤ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥ[ΗΣ ΝΝ- ...] ΣΑΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΝ\Τ/, ll. 2-3). As was described in Section I (p. 43), this construction is regularly used to indicate someone who now lives somewhere other than their place of origin, and usually in a monastic community. It is therefore likely that Psan was not in Terkot at the time this agreement was made, but rather living somewhere else, perhaps even on the mountain of Jeme, which would explain the presence of Athanasios. The obscurity of Psan's current location excludes the use of this text to indicate another connection between Jeme and Terkot.

away from their businesses, whereas a professional lender such as Pekosh or Koloje would have the time and inclination to travel for business<sup>70</sup>.

That it was the lenders who travelled from Jeme implies that the lenders bore the cost of travel, indicating that this cost was lower than the return on the loan. It was suggested above that acquiring a pass to travel to other nomes was free of an administrative fee. Therefore, as most places with which the lenders of Jeme were in contact are not more than a day's travel away, the travel costs were likely affordable<sup>71</sup>. There were, however, other costs associated with lending. It was noted above that in most of the loans under examination here, the interest was paid in produce. This would need to have been transported back to Jeme or to whatever markets the lender wished to sell it. *O.Crum* 160 (date unknown) provides some indication of who would bear the cost of this transport. In this text, Severos son of Solomon from Tourese, writes to Shenetom son of Teus from Jeme, from whom he has borrowed a gold *tremis*. Severos states that he will repay the loan in wine in the coming harvest and further adds: "you will bring your pots for them (the wine), and I will pay the cost of carriage to send them to your house" (ΝΓΕΝΝΕΚΩΔΩΟΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΤΑ†ΤΟΥΖΥΜΕ ΝΤΑΛΛΟΥ ΕΠΕΚΗ, ll. 9-10). The situation here is as follows: after the harvest Shenetom or his agent must take pots to the estate of Severos to collect the wine, for which Severos will pay the transport cost, likely the hiring of a team of donkeys, to send it back to Jeme<sup>72</sup>. Whether or not it is Shenetom who bears the cost of transporting the pots to Severos' estate in the first place is not explicit. This is the only example amongst the Jeme loan agreements which mentions who bore the cost of transport, so it is unknown whether this was the normal arrangement.

Most of the lenders of Jeme who interacted with people from other towns in these documents are attested in such a role only once<sup>73</sup>. However one lender, Pekosh son of Manasseh and Koloje, lent money to people outside of Jeme on at least five occasions. Of the five

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<sup>70</sup> It may also have been the case that the lenders were instrumental in selecting what was put up as a security against the loan. That is, by being at the borrower's location they could assess the risk and the likelihood of repayment by seeing the borrower's property.

<sup>71</sup> The acquisition of a safe-conduct document would only be necessary for those loans dated after 714/715, when this system was introduced. There would still have been other costs associated with travel, however. Notably the hiring of pack animals, if necessary, and the purchasing of provisions.

<sup>72</sup> On the use of donkeys for land transport in Egypt see Adams (2007) 56-58. See also p. 85 for the expenses involved with keeping them.

<sup>73</sup> However some, such as Koloje daughter of Hello, are lenders in other agreements in which the borrower is either from Jeme or unlocated. For a complete list of the documents relating to Koloje and her family see Wilfong (1990) 179. Wilfong (2002) 120-124 discusses the specific documents which relate to Koloje's moneylending activities.

individuals he lent to, moreover, four were residents of Terkot<sup>74</sup>. These documents suggest a potential mechanism by which the inhabitants of other towns might have contacted lenders from Jeme, and therefore require particular consideration. Some of the individuals from Terkot mentioned in these documents as borrowers or witnesses also appear in other loans by Pekosh to residents of Terkot. The individuals involved in each of the four documents are set out in Table 3.1<sup>75</sup>.

P.Sigla	Borrower	Witnesses	Scribe
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 55	Iohannes son of Pisente (Terkot)	None	Iohannes son of Matthusala
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 58	Michaias son of Enoch (Terkot)	None	Moses, deacon of the Church of Terkot
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 59	Andreas son of Matthaias (Terkot)	Iohannes son of Pisente	Moses the lector
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 60	Michaias son of Enoch (Terkot)	Iohannes son of Pisente & Patape son of Plein	Apa Dios son of Paulos, priest of the Church of Terkot

Table 3.1. Individuals involved in the loans of Pekosh son of Manasseh and Koloje

A number of aspects of this table are worth consideration:

- Iohannes son of Pisente is the borrower in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55 and also acts as a witness in both *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 59 and 60.
- Michaias son of Enoch is the borrower in both *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 58 and 60.
- The scribes of *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 58, 59, and 60 are all church officials, two of which are associated with the Church of Terkot. The other, Moses the lector, may also be associated with this church and may even be equated with Moses the deacon, although Moses is too common a name to make this certain.

As three out of the four scribes were church officials, the loan agreements were possibly drawn up at the church in Terkot, and it may be that the witnesses were present in the church when this occurred. Beyond this, the fact that Pekosh lends twice to Michaias son of Enoch suggests that a relationship between them (business or otherwise) was maintained beyond the

<sup>74</sup> The fifth, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 70, was a woman from Petemout.

<sup>75</sup> Establishing a relative date for these four texts is impossible, as none are dated by indiction years. Based on Pekosh's mother's association with the monk Frange, who is thought to have been active in the early eighth century (Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 10), these documents should be roughly dated to the first half of the same century.

end of the first loan. The presence of Iohannes son of Pisente in three of the loans as a borrower and witness, including one of the loans to Michaias, suggests that Iohannes was either socially close to the people Pekosh was lending to, or frequented the place in which these documents were drawn up.

Pekosh and his family, all professional moneylenders, lent on securities and did not necessarily need to ensure repayment through other means, such as only lending along social ties in order to increase the likelihood of repayment<sup>76</sup>. That said, market transactions, such as loans, tend to flow along already established lines of communication<sup>77</sup>. It is plausible, therefore, that Pekosh maintained ties to a group of mutually known individuals from Terkot, and that he lent to a number of the individuals within this group based on the strength of his ties to them. Whether or not Pekosh initially lent to just one of these individuals, say Iohannes or Michaias, and through their recommendations increased his client base in the town of Terkot is not evident in the texts but is certainly a possibility. A more interesting question would be how this link was established in the first place, but this is impossible to answer on the strength of the current evidence. It is worth noting, however, that no one else in Pekosh's family (including his mother and son) lent to people from Terkot<sup>78</sup>. While it is unlikely, in this case, that Pekosh's connections were passed through the family, both Pekosh and his mother lent to women from Petemout, so the possibility that some connections were passed down through the family still remains<sup>79</sup>.

Only two other lenders from Jeme have more than one document associated with them in this dataset. One, Daniel son of Pachom, lends half a *holokottinos* to individuals from Pakale (*P.KRU* 62), and Tmoh Pajeme (*P.KRU* 63v). The other is problematic. *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 and 28, both excavated from the monastic site at Deir er-Roumi, are two loan agreements in which the lender is from Jeme and the borrower is an individual from the town of Patoubasten, in the nome of Ermont: in 27 the lender is Andreas son of Tkoukle (ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲕⲱⲩⲕⲗⲉ, ll. 4-5), and in 28 the lender is Andreas son of Petros (ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ, l. 4)<sup>80</sup>. Given that both loan agreements were found at the same site, and that the lender in both is Andreas, it is likely that these two men are the same individual, that is, Andreas the son of

<sup>76</sup> See the discussion on securities below pp. 159-161.

<sup>77</sup> Gibbs (2012) 46-49.

<sup>78</sup> One other lender from Jeme, Sabinos, lends to someone from Terkot (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 76/4), but none of the individuals mentioned in this text bear any relation to those from Pekosh's loans.

<sup>79</sup> *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 70 (Pekosh) and 72 (Koloje).

<sup>80</sup> *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 & 28 have been re-edited as *SB Kopt.* IV 1790 & 1791 respectively.

Tkoukle and Petros<sup>81</sup>. If this is the case, this is another instance in which a lender from Jeme loans to more than one individual from a particular town. Unfortunately the witness statements in *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 are lost, so it is impossible to establish whether any connection existed between Andreas' contacts in Patoubasten.

One final aspect of the geographical spread of these loans is worthy of note, if only for its curious aspect. Four of the documents forming this dataset relate to loans to individuals from Petemout. All four of these documents are from different lenders and different time periods, yet all relate to securities left by women of this town. In *P.Lond.* V 1720 (549), Nonna daughter of Tsabinos from the kastron Kerameos<sup>82</sup> sells a gold earring to Maria daughter of Paulos (from Jeme), which she had left with Maria as a security, for the difference between the debt and the earring's worth<sup>83</sup>. In *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 72 (seventh to eighth centuries), Mariham daughter of Pebo (from Petemout) relinquishes her claim to a chain she left with Koloje daughter of Hello as a security for a debt of two *holokottinoi*. Another woman from this town, Pia daughter of Pelatos, has her securities returned to her by Koloje's son, Pekosh, in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 70 (eighth century). Finally, Ankerontse renounces her claim to a silver bracelet she left as a security against a loan with Netom in *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/2 (seventh to eighth centuries). The frequent presence of women from Petemout in the documentation from western Thebes (particularly in the documentation of Frange) has been noted by others, and has led to the suggestion that there may have been a female ascetic community based there<sup>84</sup>. Whether or not this is true cannot be determined on the available evidence, however the pattern visible in these documents does suggest that there was a community of women at Petemout who were particularly engaged with the inhabitants of Jeme and western Thebes; a monastic community would fit this profile.

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<sup>81</sup> An individual giving a patronymic in one text and a matronymic in another is not unusual. In *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55.4-5, Pekosh is called "the son of Manasseh" (ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲥⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲁⲥⲉⲥ), whereas in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 58.4-5, Pekosh is "the son of Koloje" (ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲥⲁ ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲓⲉ). Note also that an Andreas from Jeme also occurs as a lender in *Coptica* #44, where he is the son of Ph... (ⲡⲉⲗⲁ..., l. 3), and in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 62 (patronymic not given). In the first instance the interest rate charged (1½ *artabas* of wheat per *holokottinos*) is the same as that in *O. Deir er-Roumi* 27. However, interest rates are likely to be fairly standardised and without a patronymic it is impossible to know if either of these should be equated with Andreas son of Tkoukle and Petros. Curiously, *O.Deir er-Roumi* 31 (*SB Kopt.* IV 1792) is another loan agreement from Deir er-Roumi in which the lender is an Andreas, this time the son of Pso (ll. 3-4). Neither his location nor that of the borrower is given.

<sup>82</sup> This is the name given to Petemout in Greek documents. See Appendix A, p. 258.

<sup>83</sup> On the back of this Greek text is the Coptic *O.CrumST* 439, which may relate to securities held at Petemout – see MacCoull (1993).

<sup>84</sup> Heurtel (2008:B) 100-102; Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 19. Wilfong (2002) 133 notes this pattern and suggests that it may be because of particular associations of the moneylenders, however the diversity in date and the individuals involved in each case lend themselves more toward the arguments of Boud'hors and Heurtel.

*Loan Mechanics: Interest and Securities*

It is demonstrable that the lenders of Jeme were actively involved in loans with individuals from communities beyond their immediate neighbourhood. An examination of the conditions of the loans provides an idea of the resources that were circulating in the region and permits an assessment of the role that the lenders played in this economy. Half of the twenty-two loan agreements that connect Jeme with other towns specify the amount of interest to be paid on the loan. The details of these eleven loans are laid out in Table 3.2. In most cases, the loans were repaid in a combination of cash and kind. Usually the amount borrowed was repaid in coin and the interest was repaid in kind, however *O.CrumVC* 25 shows that the reverse could also occur. Three individuals repaid both the amount borrowed and the interest in produce. In these cases, it is likely that the loan was still in coin. The language in these texts states only what is owed (using a variant of  $\epsilon\iota\chi\rho\omega\sigma\tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\kappa$  “I owe you”, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55.5-6), and texts such as *O.Crum* 160, in which a man borrows a gold *tremis* and will repay entirely in wine, clearly indicate that this scenario is possible. Coin is also much easier to transport to the borrower’s location and would not require additional transport costs. The amounts of coin are measured in either the *holokottinos*, the standard gold coin of the period, or the *tremis*, which was worth one third of the *holokottinos*<sup>85</sup>.

It is difficult to know exactly how much profit the lenders of Jeme were making on these loans, as the price of a particular produce at any given time is difficult to calculate. It is thought, however, that the interest rate was in the vicinity of  $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ <sup>86</sup>. However, not all loans mention interest and some specify that the loan does not carry it. Three documents among the present corpus specifically state that the amount to be repaid is without interest. The clearest of these is *O.Crum* Ad.17, in which two sons of Plou from Psenantonios write to Andreas of Jeme that they owe him ( $\tau\bar{\nu}\chi\rho\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\ \nu\alpha\kappa$ , l. 7) two gold *tremisses* and two *diplai* of wine (one *tremis* and one *dipla* each). They will repay the coin in the current year “without interest”

<sup>85</sup> Wilfong (2002) xxvi. The terms *solidus* and *nomisma* are synonymous with *holokottinos*. As a point of comparison, an entire house in Jeme could be bought for around four (*P.KRU* 15.46-48) to six (*P.KRU* 14.47-48) *holokottinoi*, although houses are more usually sold in shares.

<sup>86</sup> Wilfong (1990) 174; Papaconstantinou (2011) 633. This rate can be seen in *O.CrumVC* 25. There Mariham is paying 1 *holokottinos* in produce and a half *tremis* in interest. Given that a *tremis* is worth 1/3 of a *holokottinos*, the interest is worth 1/6 (or  $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ ) of the loan. Looking at fourth century documents, Bagnall (1977) 91 claims that by repaying in kind the borrowers could end up paying as much as 50% in interest. Although he also argues that there was little change outside this period (p. 85), extending his remark to include four centuries outside the period he discusses is perhaps taking liberties with his argument. Such rates are notably higher than the maximum rate of 12% on loans in kind established by Justinian in the sixth century; see Gofas (2002) 1097.

(ΑΤΜΗCΕ, l. 14), and the wine in the following year<sup>87</sup>. In *O.CrumST* 429, Moses son of Stephanos, from Papar, writes to Jacob son of Petros, from Jeme, that he owes him (†ΧΡΕΩCΤΕΙ ΝΑΚ, l. 14) a gold *tremis*, to be paid in the coming harvest. Moses then writes “if the appointed time passes by, I will pay interest to you on it” (ΕΡΩΔΑΝΤΕΠΡΟΘΕCΜΙΑ ΟΥΓΕΙΝΕ ΕΙΝΑ† ΜΗCΕ ΝΑΚ ΖΑΡΟϢ, ll. 6-7). Finally, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 131 is a damaged document from a deacon of Ne, of which the content is mostly lost. Nevertheless, the phrases “concerning a *ho* of wheat” (ΖΑ ΝΟΥΖΟ ΝCΟΥϢ, l. 4) and particularly “without interest in Paone” (ΑΤΩΩΜ ΩΔΠΑΩ[ΝΕ], l. 5) indicate that this document is a loan agreement.

P.Sigla	Lender (from Jeme)	Location of Borrower	Amount owed <sup>88</sup>	Interest
<i>Coptica</i> #44	Andreas son of NN	Psamer	1 gold <i>hol.</i>	1½ <i>artabas</i> of wheat
<i>O. Deir er-Roumi</i> 28	Andreas son of Petros	Patoubasten	½ <i>hol.</i>	8 <i>artabas</i> of [ ? ]
<i>O. Deir er-Roumi</i> 27	Andreas son of Tkoukle	Patoubasten	3 gold <i>hol.</i>	1½ <i>artabas</i> of wheat per <i>hol.</i>
<i>O.CrumVC</i> 25	Mariham daughter of Basileos	Thone	½ <i>hol.</i> worth of wheat & ½ <i>hol.</i> worth of <i>orax</i>	½ <i>tremis</i>
<i>O.CrumST</i> 424	Paham son of Sebetos	Thone	½ gold <i>tremis</i>	6 <i>maje</i> of wheat
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 58	Pekosh son of Koloje	Terkot	1 gold <i>tremis</i>	1 <i>mosne</i> of sesame
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 55	Pekosh son of Manasseh	Terkot	1 <i>artaba</i> of wheat	1 <i>ment</i> of wheat
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 59	Pekosh son of Manasseh	Terkot	2 gold <i>tremisses</i>	8 <i>maje</i> of lentils per <i>tremis</i>
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 60	Pekosh son of Manasseh	Terkot	1 gold <i>hol.</i>	1 <i>artaba</i> of sesame
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 64	Pisrael	Pashme	8½ <i>artabas</i> of seed-grain wheat	2 <i>maje</i> of wheat per <i>artaba</i>
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I 76/4	Sabinos	Terkot	3½ <i>artabas</i> of lentils	1 <i>ment</i> of lentils per <i>artaba</i>

Table 3.2. List of loans with interest amounts specified<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *O.Crum* Ad.17 has recently been re-edited as *Coptica* #41. Where applicable I have taken the corrections into account.

<sup>88</sup> This amount excludes interest. Note that *holokottinos* is abbreviated as ‘*hol.*’ in this table.

<sup>89</sup> Arranged alphabetically by lender.



While it may be that some loans were legitimately without interest, as is perhaps the case in *O.CrumST* 429 where interest is only to be paid if the loan is repaid late, it is arguable that many documents said to be ‘without interest’ already include the interest in the amount owed. In this case, ‘without interest’ simply means that no additional interest will be paid on the amount stated<sup>90</sup>. Thus, in a loan without interest such as *O.Crum* Ad.17, it may be that the debtors were loaned a *tremis* each, which they were to repay with interest of one *dipla* of wine per *tremis*<sup>91</sup>. This scenario would fit well with the pattern of repaying the amount borrowed in coin and the interest in kind visible in Table 3.2.

In a further seven loan agreements between the lenders of Jeme and borrowers from elsewhere, interest is not mentioned at all. While some of these use the formula “I owe you”, which suggests that they were conceived as loans, others do not. It is therefore questionable whether or not some of these documents should be considered loans at all. The clauses detailing what will be repaid in these documents are laid out in Table 3.3.

The wording of some of these, such as *P.KRU* 62, in which the borrower says he will account for the money, is ambiguous, yet it is no stretch of the imagination to think that accounting for the amount borrowed might include paying interest. More difficult to interpret are the cases in which the borrower says he will sow a field (*P.KRU* 59 and *O.Vind.Copt.* 28) or give produce for the money after the harvest (*O.Crum* 160 and *SB Kopt.* III 1382). Such documents could be interpreted as either contracts to sow a field or sales of produce in advance of their production<sup>92</sup>. Against this possibility in fourth century loans, Roger Bagnall has argued that the similarity in the language between these documents and loan agreements suggests that they too are loans. The lack of any mention of interest does not indicate that there was no interest, rather that the interest was already included in the amount to be repaid<sup>93</sup>. Although Bagnall is arguing on the basis of earlier evidence, the Coptic loans from Jeme show a similar pattern.

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<sup>90</sup> This is the view of Pestman (1971), who compared Greek and Demotic loan agreements primarily from the Ptolemaic period. He notes that Demotic loans frequently indicate only what is owed, not the principal loan (pp. 7-8) and that Demotists translate a demotic phrase ‘including interest’ which is thought to be the equivalent of the Greek ἄτοκος, ‘without interest’ (p. 15). Pestman concludes that while some loans may legitimately have been interest free, or have had the interest paid through favours, the majority which are said to be ἄτοκος have the interest included in the amount stated as owed (pp. 26-27). He was followed in this view by Bagnall (1977) 95, who worked mainly with Greek texts from the Roman period and added that this practice was likely a mechanism to avoid stating the interest rate charged, and by Markiewicz (2009) 188.

<sup>91</sup> Indeed the editors of the re-edition of this text (*Coptica* #41) translate ἀτμήσε (“without interest”, l. 14) with “inklusive Zinsen”.

<sup>92</sup> See the comments of Boak and Youtie in the introduction to *P.Cair.Isid.* 90.

<sup>93</sup> Bagnall (1977) 86 and 92-94.

The characteristic “I owe you” formula seen in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 62 and *SB Kopt.* III 1382, for instance, is also used in ten of the eleven documents mentioning interest listed above<sup>94</sup>. The “you gave me” formula (sometimes “I asked and you gave”) seen in the five other documents in Table 3.3 is less common in loan agreements that mention interest, but does still occur, for instance in *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27.7. Moreover, this formula does not occur in sowing contracts such as *O.CrumST* 38 or those from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon<sup>95</sup>. If these documents were sales in advance, we might also expect the Greek designation *πρᾶσις* (‘sale’), common in Coptic deeds of sale, to be used<sup>96</sup>. It is therefore likely that these documents are loan agreements and that the interest to be paid is included in the amount owed<sup>97</sup>.

P.Sigla	Lender / Location of Borrower	Payment Clause
<i>O.Crum</i> 160	Shenetom son of Teus / Tourese	“I asked you and you ... and gave a gold <i>tremis</i> to me in my need. Now I am ready to repay you five baskets of wine in the coming harvest” ΔΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΔΚΡΣΕΤΑΣΕ <sup>98</sup> ΔΚΧΙΟΥΤΕΡΜΗCΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΟΥΒ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑΧΡΙΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΤΟ ΝΣΥΤΕΜΟC ΝΤΑΔΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΝΟΥ ΝΧΝΟΥ ΝΗΡΠ ΣΜΠΧΩΔ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΣΟΥΝ, ll. 5-9
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 62	Andreas / Pajment	“I owe you two <i>koeis</i> of wine, and I will give them to you in the sowing, one in lentils and one in wheat” †ΧΡΗΩCΤΙ ΝΑΚ ΝCΝΑΥ ΝΚΟΕΙC ΝΗΡΠ ΝΤΑΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ ΣΜΠΧΩ ΠΟΥΔ ΝΑΡΩΙΝ ΠΟΥΔ ΝCΟΥΟ, ll. 4-7
<i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 28 <sup>99</sup>	Patermouthios son of NN / Patoubasten	“you came before me and you gave half a gold <i>holokottinos</i> to me in my need [for my] tax. Now, by the will of God, I am ready to sow a <i>terme</i> of land for you on its account” ΑΚΜΟΟΥΕ ΣΔ Τ[ΑΣΗ ΔΚ†]ΟΥΠΕΩΕ ΝΣΟΛΟΚΟΤ, ΝΝΟΥΒ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑΧΡΙΑ . [ . . ΠΔ]ΤΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΣΝ ΠΟΥΩΕ ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟ Ν[ΣΕΤΕ]ΜΟC ΝΤΑΧΟ ΟΥΡΕΡΜΗ ΝΚΑΣ ΝΑΚ ΣΑΡΟC, ll. 4-7

<sup>94</sup> *Coptica* #44.6; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 76/4.4; *O.CrumST* 424.6-7; *O.CrumVC* 25.7; *O.Deir er-Roumi* 28.6-7; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55.5-6; 58.6; 59.4; 60.4; and 64.4.

<sup>95</sup> See above, p. 101, and the references there.

<sup>96</sup> See the attestations in Förster (2002) 669-670.

<sup>97</sup> Bagnall (1977) 94 believes that the avoidance of mentioning the amount of interest charged on a loan stems from the fact that the rate was illegal.

<sup>98</sup> In the edition of this text, Crum (note 3) remarks: “Obscure if correct. ? Cf. *ahē* ‘to need’.”

<sup>99</sup> Originally published as *O.CrumST* 41.

<i>P.KRU 59</i>	Phane son of Petros / Tse	“I asked you and you gave a <i>holokottinos</i> and a half to me in my need, that I sow a <i>stohe</i> and a half of flax for you for it, in my field” ΔΙΠΑΡΑΚ[ΔΛΕΙ Μ]ΜΟΚ ΔΚΤ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ/ ΟΥΘΑΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑΧΡΕΙΑ ΕΤΡΑΧΟ ΟΥΣΤΙΩΣ ΟΥΘΑΣ ΜΜΑΖΕ ΝΑΚ ΖΑΡΟϢ ΖΝΠΑΖΟΙ, ll. 3-4
<i>P.KRU 62</i>	Daniel son of Pachom / Pakale	“you gave half a gold <i>holokottinos</i> to me in my need, now, by the will of God I will account for it to you in Paone” ΔΚΤΕ ΟΥΠΕΩΕ ΝΖΟΥΛΟΚΟΤΣΕ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΝΕΙ ΕΤΑΧΡΙ[Δ Τ]ΕΝΟΥ ΖΜΠΥΩΩ ΕΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΔ[Π]ΟΥΛΟΓΙΣΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΕΚ ΩΑΠΑΩΝΕ, ll. 5-8
<i>P.KRU 63v</i>	Daniel son of Pachom / Tmoh Pajeme	“I asked you and you gave half a <i>holokottinos</i> to me for dates. I am ready to give it to you in accordance with what is coming out <sup>100</sup> ,” ΔΙΠΑΡΑΚΑ[ΛΕ] ΜΜΟΚ ΔΚΤΙ ΟΥΠΗΩΕ ΝΖΟΛΟΚ[ ] ΝΗΙ ΔΧΝΒΝΝΕ ΤΩ ΖΗΤΙΟΣ ΝΤΑΤΙΣ ΝΗΚ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΒ[ΟΛ], ll. 5-9
<i>SB Kopt. III 1382</i>	NN / Pisinai	“I owe you a gold dove and I will give them (sic) to you in wine in the harvest without any dispute, and further, I will give four garments to you, so that I will not neglect you in anything, and further I will give three and a half <i>jise</i> of land to you every year” ΤΕ[ΧΡΕΩΣΤ]ΕΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΟΥΘΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΟΥΒ ΝΤΑΤ[ΔΔ]Υ ΝΑΚ ΝΗΡΠ ΖΝ ΠΧΩΩΛΕ ΝΑΤΑΔΔΥ ΝΑΜΦΙΒΟΛΙΑ ΔΥΩ ΟΝΣΕΝΤΗΝ <sup>101</sup> ΟΥΝ ΨΤΟΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΤΑΤΑΔΔΥ [ΝΑ]Κ ΧΕ ΝΕΙΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΝΑΔΔΥ Ν[Ζ]ΟΒ ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΤΑΤΩΟΜΤΕ ΟΥΘΣ ΝΧΗΣΕ ΝΚΑΖ ΝΑΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ, ll. 4-10

Table 3.3. Payment clauses in loans not mentioning interest

The use of established social connections to facilitate an agreement between lenders and borrowers, particularly those from other locations, was discussed above in the case of Pekosh son of Manasseh. There it was argued that Pekosh utilised one of his borrowers’ network of contacts to gain further clients in the village of Terkot. Beyond this, it has been suggested by others that social contacts were important in order to gain a measure of security on the loan; social knowledge of the borrower was necessary to assess risk and to have some measure of assurance that a loan would be repaid<sup>102</sup>. However, the evidence from the Jeme loan

<sup>100</sup> Presumably a reference to the success of the date harvest – cf. the translation of Till (1964) 142.

<sup>101</sup> Read σινδόνιον: ‘a garment; anything made of linen’: Förster (2002) 729.

<sup>102</sup> Bang (2006) 58; Lerouxel (2008) 175; and Papaconstantinou (2011) 632-633.

agreements shows that this was not necessarily the case. In the first place, the lenders could assess their borrowers' abilities to pay by going to them to have the initial contract drawn up. Second, the recording of the loan is itself a form of security; drawing the agreement up with penalty clauses and witnesses was only worthwhile if there was recourse to a judicial process in the eventuality of a dispute<sup>103</sup>. Finally, a number of documents show that at least some of the lenders of Jeme lent on physical securities and were therefore more akin to pawnbrokers.

P.Sigla	Lender	Location of Borrower	Security Deposited	Amount Borrowed
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I 78/2	Netom	Petemout (woman)	Silver bracelet	
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 70	Pekosh son of Koloje & Manasseh	Petemout (woman)	22 miscellaneous and 15 bronze items	
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 72	Koloje daughter of Hello	Petemout (woman)	Chain	2 <i>holokottinoi</i>
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 74	Zacharias son of NN	Pmilis (woman)	Unknown items	5 <i>tremisses</i>
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 96	Manasseh son of Pekosh	Pesenheaei	Gold necklace	
<i>O.Mich.Copt.</i> 13	Germanos	Apé	Vessel	
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1720	Maria daughter of Paulos	Petemout <sup>104</sup> (woman)	Greek style gold earring	
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 908	Benjamin	Kalba	Iron hammer	

Table 3.4. Securities left on loans

Eight documents from Jeme mention securities deposited against loans by residents of other villages (Table 3.4). In all cases except *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 70, in which the security is returned, the securities are relinquished by their owners, who are unable to meet their debt. The items deposited against the loans range from metal tools to vessels, and gold and silver jewellery, and, as seen in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 70, multiple items might be left against a single loan. The amount borrowed and the worth of the security are rarely mentioned, however it is reasonable to assume that the security was worth at least as much as, if not more than, the loan. This was certainly the case in *P.Lond.* V 1720, in which the borrower sells to the lender a pair of gold earrings left as a “security for a certain debt” (ὑποθηκην ὑπὲρ φανερ[οῦ] χ[ρ]έους,

<sup>103</sup> Temin (2001) 174.

<sup>104</sup> Called the kastron Kerameos in this Greek document.

ll. 10-11) for their full price of eight gold *nomisma*. Harold Bell assumed that the earrings were sold for the difference between the worth of the debt and the earrings, however it is unclear whether this rather large amount was inclusive of the original debt or not<sup>105</sup>. While it might be tempting, based on the evidence of this text, to think that securities were left only on loans of large sums, the two security documents in this group that indicate the worth of the loan show this not to be the case. In both *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 72 and 74, the amounts borrowed against securities fall within the range visible in the loans above.

It is difficult to say whether securities were also deposited in the loan agreements discussed above (which do not mention them). None of the borrowers who redeem or relinquish their securities are attested in any other document from Thebes, so this question cannot be answered through prosopographical means. A curious feature of the security texts mentioned here is the prevalence of women in them. It has already been mentioned that many of the recipients of the loans were likely farmers, however, it is relatively unlikely that these women were. Nothing is known about the occupations of the men who borrow on securities (there is no mention of the harvest or repayment in produce to suggest they were farmers), however the aforementioned prevalence of women in these texts might suggest that the use of securities was particularly common when the borrower was not a farmer, and would therefore not have had a regularly timed income the lender could depend upon. While it cannot be said with any degree of confidence that all loans from Jeme were made on securities, it is likely that some were. In Table 3.4, three of the lenders who loan on securities are: Koloje daughter of Hello, her son Pekosh, and his own son Manasseh. That three generations of this family lend on securities strongly suggests that this was standard practice in their family and, further, that some of the other loan agreements issued by them may also have been made on the back of securities. These documents do not suggest that all of the lenders of Jeme acted as pawnbrokers, however, lending on securities would have been an effective way of minimising risk on loans to individuals who did not have a dependable income or who lived in the other villages of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes and with whom the lenders may not necessarily have had regular communication.

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<sup>105</sup> Compare the comments of Bell in the introduction to *P.Lond.* V 1720 and those of Porten et al. (2011) 459, who express this doubt.

*The Importance of the Moneylenders of Jeme*

The loans discussed above were for a range of amounts, from a half *tremis*<sup>106</sup>, but were usually between one and two gold *holokottinoi*. As was mentioned, the fact that the loans were almost universally repaid in produce at the harvest time suggests that the majority of borrowers were farmers<sup>107</sup>. The reasons for which borrowers needed a loan are rarely expressed, however farmers relied on loans in order to both finance the year's crops and meet their tax quotas<sup>108</sup>. This latter purpose is perhaps expressed in *O.Vind.Copt.* 28, in which Isaac of Patoubasten borrows half a *holokottinos* "in my need [for my] tax" (εταχρια . [ . . . πα]τημοσιον, ll. 5-6). The former purpose may also be mentioned in *P.KRU* 63v, in which Iohannes of Tmoh Pajeme writes that Daniel son of Pachom gave "half a *holokottinos* to me for dates" (ακτι ουπηωε ντολοκ[ ] νηι αχνηννε<sup>109</sup>, ll. 6-7). However, the use of the preposition εχνη- in this context has the ambiguous meaning 'for the purpose of', and may mean either that Iohannes was to use the money to fund his date crop, or that Daniel was making the loan in return for dates<sup>110</sup>.

Whether the loans were to pay taxes or fund crops, loans played a critical role in the agricultural economy, and hence the economy more generally, of the Koptite and Hermonthite nomes<sup>111</sup>. The benefit ran both ways. For the borrower there was relatively easy access to cash (indeed the lender seems to have travelled to the borrower in many instances), and for the lender there was the security of the crop or of the pledged items, and payment in a combination of both cash and produce, which was a non-depreciating commodity with a constant market<sup>112</sup>. A tally of the coin and produce in the surviving loans would show a considerable amount of resources flowing both in and out of Jeme. Moreover, such loans would have been sought on a yearly basis and occurred with enough frequency to support at least three generations of one moneylending family (the family of Koloje) as well as many other lenders from the town. The broad geographical distribution of borrowers that went to

<sup>106</sup> *O.CrumST* 424 and *SB Kopt.* III 1382 respectively. Although the exact value of a gold dove (ουεροννε νουε) is still unknown, it was clearly worth more than a *holokottinos*. *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27, a loan of three *holokottinoi*, would be the most loaned otherwise. On the value of the gold dove, see Grossman & Cromwell (2010) 158, and fn. 35.

<sup>107</sup> See above, pp. 147-148.

<sup>108</sup> Bagnall (1977) 86-87; Wilfong (2002) 134; Papaconstantinou (2011) 632.

<sup>109</sup> Read εχνηννε.

<sup>110</sup> Crum, *Dict.* 757a-b lists this text under the examples of εχνη- meaning 'for, on account of' (b). He translates its use in this text as "in return for...".

<sup>111</sup> Bagnall (1977) 95-96; Papaconstantinou (2011) 632.

<sup>112</sup> Bagnall (1977) 95.

Jeme for loans, despite some being close to nome capitals or other large population centres, demonstrates Jeme's importance in the regional economy and further suggests that Jeme had a greater supply of coin than many of the villages with which it was in contact.

It must be remembered, however, that the centrality of Jeme in the documentation may be a result of the provenance of these texts. That is, since virtually all the documentation was found in western Thebes, and given that the lenders, rather than the borrowers, appear to have kept the loan contracts, it is perhaps unsurprising that all the lenders in these documents come from Jeme. It is, however, unlikely that Jeme's position in the economy of the region is greatly exaggerated by this facet of the evidence. James Keenan has noted that in Byzantine loan agreements the pattern is almost always such that the borrower is from a village and the lender from a *polis*, which he sees as an indicator of village to *polis* dependency<sup>113</sup>. If this pattern is applicable to seventh and eighth century western Thebes, which Keenan thinks it should be<sup>114</sup>, then Jeme is fulfilling the role of a city for the villages in the networks of its lenders.

Even if Jeme's role is partially magnified by the provenance of the texts, its moneylenders were nevertheless an integral part of the way the regional economy worked. Jeme was not a *polis* in any sense of the word, but the loan agreements show that it was more urban than a simple farming village. Cities are important because they are hubs in the socio-economic networks that link communities together; they have resources which the smaller communities in the networks find valuable (be it money, access to officials or whatever characteristic is desirable). Jeme was not a city, but the variety of places it is connected to by loan agreements suggest that it was a hub, and thus important to the communities in its network.

#### LETTERS AND CONTRACTS: OTHER EVIDENCE FOR JEME'S INTERACTIONS

The rest of the evidence attesting to the interaction of Jeme's residents with those of other towns does not fall easily into well-defined thematic categories, but consists of a range of letters, accounts, and legal documents of varying nature and in differing degrees of preservation. Consequently, when the documents indicate that a resident of Jeme was in

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<sup>113</sup> Keenan (1981) 482.

<sup>114</sup> Keenan (1981) 485 argues that this pattern is not geographically or temporally bound.

contact with someone from another town, or had actually visited it, the purpose of the interaction might be completely unknown, well understood or somewhere in between. Nevertheless, all texts demonstrate that some kind of interaction occurred and can therefore contribute to an understanding of Jeme's position within the network of interactions which covered Egypt and facilitated its social and economic cohesion.

An ideal beginning for the following discussion is to revisit *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82, the contract in which Pisente son of Sia “the sailor, the man of Elemou in the nome of Koptos” (ΠΗΗΓ ΠΡΜΕΛΕΜΟΥ ΣΜΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΚΒΤ, l. 2) agrees to take Enoch son of Pleyen, a man of Jeme (ΠΡΜΧΕΜΔ, l. 3) aboard his ship and transport him and his “equipment” (σκευή, l. 5) to Antinoe. This text was discussed above in relation to the use of safe-conduct passes for travelling abroad<sup>115</sup>. It is worthy of further examination because of what it also says of the costs of river travel and of the many interactions in which someone travelling away from home would partake. In return for the transport of him and his goods to Antinoe, Enoch was to pay Pisente 18 gold *carats* (ll. 11-12, equivalent to three quarters of a *holokottinos*<sup>116</sup>) – a considerable sum, but perhaps not so for a journey of over 400km in one direction and taking several days<sup>117</sup>. In addition to this, Pisente states that he will carry the risk of the *stolarches* of Kos and Koptos (perhaps a reference to a tariff on river travel, as discussed above), and “from the outset, everything (i.e. cost) which occurs will be paid jointly, and every passenger who boards us, (their fee will be paid) half to me and half to you” (ΧΙΝΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΒ ΕΓΝΑΥΩΠΕ ΕΝΔΑΜΟΖΓ ΣΜΠΚΙΝΟΝ ΔΥΩ ΖΟΥΗΤ<sup>118</sup> ΝΙΜ ΕΓΝΑΤΑΛΟ ΝΑΝ ΤΠΗΥΕ ΕΡΟΪ ΤΠΗΥΕ ΕΡΟΚ, ll. 7-10). From this it seems likely that Enoch chartered Pisente's boat, rather than simply booking passage on a boat already travelling downriver. This scenario would explain why Enoch was liable for half the boat's running costs and also entitled to half the profits which were made from taking on extra passengers, a deal surely not offered to every passenger who boarded, but rather to someone who was a financial partner in the journey.

Combined with what is known about travel procedures in early Islamic Egypt, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 provides a unique glimpse into the variety of people with whom

<sup>115</sup> See above p. 142.

<sup>116</sup> The denominations were as follows: 1 *holokottinos* = 3 *tremisses* = 24 *carats* – Wilfong (2002) xxvi. Hence 18 *carats* =  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a *holokottinos*.

<sup>117</sup> As a point of comparison, a common yearly poll tax payment was 1 *holokottinos*. The length of the journey is based on the distance from Luxor to Antinoe along the Nile's current path, as measured using Google Earth.

<sup>118</sup> This is the reading of P. E. Kahle, for which see Till (1955) 151. The principal edition of Stefanski and Lichtheim has ΖΩΦΤ (l. 9). This amounts to approximately 22km per *carat*.



Enoch would have come into contact on his way from Jeme to Antinoe. If this text was written after 714/715<sup>119</sup>, when safe-conduct documents were introduced, Enoch would have had to apply to the *pagarch's* office his travel documentation before beginning his journey, which would state his intended destination and the duration of his trip. At the same time, he had to find a boat to take him downriver and decide the terms of his passage. It is likely that Enoch would not have had to go to Elemou to do this, as many boats and their captains would surely pass through the ports of Apé (Luxor) and Ne (Karnak)<sup>120</sup>. Once underway, Enoch would then have had contact with the officials who monitored river traffic (perhaps the *stolarches*) in Kos and Koptos, and perhaps also with those of the other major ports between Koptos and Antinoe<sup>121</sup>. It is also clear that Pisente and Enoch expected to take on passengers for all or part of the journey as they had decided to split the profits from the fares. The degree of contact Enoch may have had with any of these passengers, or with others in the ports the boat put in to, is completely unknown and would depend on Enoch's own motives. That said, such stops may have been an opportunity for a travelling trader (if Enoch was one) to develop contacts or even make opportunistic sales. At the end of the journey, Enoch must have interacted with people in Antinoe in order to carry out whatever business he had there. Whether or not Pisente was also to carry Enoch on the return journey is not stated. Assuming that Enoch was to return to Jeme, he would necessarily have returned through several ports between Antinoe and Thebes, either with Pisente or having arranged a new carrier.

This text demonstrates the range of interactions that lie behind the basic indications in other texts that someone had moved from point A to point B. To be sure, not every traveller from Jeme attested in the following documents would have used river transport, and indeed very few travelled quite as far as Enoch (notably the children of Psate, who also travelled to Antinoe to petition the duke, as seen in *P.KRU* 10<sup>122</sup>). Nonetheless, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 is a useful lens through which the other documents can be viewed. It demonstrates the many interactions necessary for any long distance travel which are otherwise invisible in the documentation discussed below: in arranging transport, acquiring travel permissions, dealing with officials, and even in making stops along the way. Of course, longer distance travel

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<sup>119</sup> The date of this text is no more specific than the seventh to eighth centuried.

<sup>120</sup> Pisente would still have had to travel, directly or indirectly, from Elemou to whichever port serviced the traders of Jeme.

<sup>121</sup> The *History of the Patriarchs* (Evetts (1910) 69) reports that people embarking or disembarking on boats without a pass would be seized, which suggests that the ports were checkpoints for travel documents. Gates of major cities were probably also checkpoints, see above p. 141.

<sup>122</sup> See above pp. 143-145.

would require more interactions and the majority of the connections between Jeme and other communities were with towns within one or two day's travel<sup>123</sup>. While these short-range communications may not have necessitated interactions with officials or with other villages lying on the route to the final destination, some certainly required the use of pack animals, or a ferry to cross the Nile<sup>124</sup>. These unseen connections should be remembered in the examination of other documents.

### *To and from Jeme: Direct Evidence for Population Movement*

Any document in which an individual from Jeme is in contact with someone from another community is evidence for population movement, even if not on the part of either of the main parties (someone else may have delivered the document after all). However, a small number of documents attest to people living in Jeme who originated from elsewhere, and to individuals from Jeme who were currently in other towns in the region. In such instances, it is observable, rather than assumed – as is the case with the contracts and accounts to be examined later – that a movement has taken place between Jeme and another location.

The evidence for residents of Jeme who originally came from other towns is limited to two individuals: a man originally from Ermont, and Abraham son of Theodoros, a man originally from Aswan (called Souan in Coptic and Syene in Greek). Such individuals are only identifiable through their use of location designators, by which these two men continued to identify themselves as being *from* another place even though they lived in Jeme. In the case of the man from Ermont, very little can be said of him. He is attested as a witness in *P.KRU*75, the mid-seventh century testament of the monks Jacob and Elias, the owners of the monastery of Epiphanius. His name is unfortunately lost, however, we do know that he was “a man of Ermont, who now lives in Jeme” (ⲡⲣⲙⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲭⲏⲙⲉ, l. 150). Based on this statement, it seems quite unequivocal that this individual had originally lived in Ermont and had, at some point, relocated to Jeme.

<sup>123</sup> The vast majority of located towns with which people from Jeme interacted were between Koptos and Ermont. The former is just over 40km from Luxor following the river, and the latter about 13km.

<sup>124</sup> A ferry is referred to in *O.TT*29 202, in which Frange asks a certain Isaac to take some young people to the ferry of Timamen.

Unfortunately, a statement from Moses, a monk of the monastery of Apa Paul, in a different document complicates the issue. In *P.CLT* 1 (discussed above<sup>125</sup>), Moses gives his name and location in the opening address of the document and again in his assent clause. In the first instance, he describes himself as “the man of Pshinsion in the district of Koptos, but now a monk on the holy mountain of the kastron Jeme” (πρ̄μ̄π̄ψ̄ν̄σῑων̄ ζ̄μπ̄το̄ῡ ν̄κ̄β̄τ̄ τ̄ε̄νο̄ῡ Δ̄ε̄ ε̄ιο̄ῡο̄ μ̄μ̄ον̄ο̄χο̄ς̄ ζ̄ῑπ̄το̄ο̄ῡ ε̄το̄ῡΔ̄ᾱβ̄ μ̄π̄κᾱστ̄ρον̄ ν̄χ̄η̄μ̄ε̄, ll. 5-6). In the assent clause, on the other hand, he describes himself as “the man of the *chorion* Pshinsion in the nome of the city Koptos, but now in the kastron Jeme” (πρ̄μ̄π̄χω̄ρῑον̄ π̄ς̄γ̄ν̄σῑον̄ ζ̄ν̄π̄νο̄μο̄ς̄ ν̄τ̄πο̄λῑς̄ κ̄β̄τ̄ τ̄ε̄νο̄ῡ Δ̄ε̄ ε̄ῖ̄ζ̄μ̄π̄κᾱστ̄ρον̄ χ̄η̄μ̄ε̄, l. 109). From the information in *P.CLT* 1, it is demonstrable that Moses was a monk in the monastery of Apa Paul and, given this was a coenobitic monastery, it is also likely that he lived in it. It is therefore puzzling that the second statement does not say that Moses was on the mountain of Jeme, as does the first, but that he was “in the kastron Jeme”. It is now questionable whether or not the man from Ermont in *P.KRU* 75 actually lived in Jeme or on its mountain.

Analysis of the language can help resolve this uncertainty. In *P.KRU* 75, the man from Ermont claims to “live” (ο̄ῡη̄ζ̄) in Jeme, whereas Moses is said simply to be “in” (ζ̄ν̄) that town. Whereas ο̄ῡη̄ζ̄ has the definite sense of residing in a place, the understanding of ζ̄ν̄ is more contextual. It was argued earlier that while ζ̄ν̄ used in apposition with a personal name and toponym has the sense “from”, indicating place of residence, it is also present in constructions in which it indicates physical location<sup>126</sup>. It may be that the use of ζ̄ν̄ in *P.CLT* 1.109 has this function, which would mean that the document was written in Jeme. However, this does not fit the above argument that *P.CLT* 1 was drawn up at the monastery of Apa Paul<sup>127</sup>. It would also be odd that the scribe has chosen to contrast where Moses was at the time of writing with where he was originally from (but no longer lived) in a construction closely parallel to that used in the opening address, which itself indicates past and current residence. The question of scribal choice is not insignificant, as the designators were written by different scribes: the first by Psate son of Pisrael, the scribe of the document itself, and the second by Iohannes son of Lazaros, who only writes the assent clause. The fact that two different scribes identify Moses in two different ways in the same document suggests that the scribes were influencing how the location designator was written. It may even be that

<sup>125</sup> pp. 41-42 and 108-109.

<sup>126</sup> Specifically Type **H** constructions, see pp. 54-56.

<sup>127</sup> p. 63.

Iohannes identified the mountain of Jeme as under Jeme's influence and therefore part of Jeme itself. Of course such an interpretation is entirely speculative, and ultimately it remains unclear why exactly Moses is described in this way. Nevertheless, the use of ΟΥΗΖ in *P.KRU* 75 is crucial and most probably indicates that the man of Ermont was now a resident of Jeme itself and not one of its monasteries.

Fortunately, the status of Abraham son of Theodoros is not in question. In the two documents in which he is given a location designator, Abraham is described as “the man of the city Aswan” (ΠΡΜΤΠΟΙΛΙΣ ΣΟΥΔΑΝ, *P.KRU* 38.14; ΠΡΜΤΠΟΙΛΙΣ ΣΟΥΗΝ, *P.KRU* 68.12). In *P.KRU* 38, a settlement of legal proceedings in which his stepson, Georgios, disputed the settlement of his mother's (Elizabeth, Abraham's wife) testament, no more is said of his place of residence. However, in *P.KRU* 68 (723) more of his story is given. This document is the testament of Elizabeth (therefore predating *P.KRU* 38) in which Abraham is the primary benefactor and is described by Elizabeth as “my husband Abraham, the son of Theodoros, the man of the city Aswan who took me to him as (a) wife in Jeme”<sup>128</sup>. The narrative of the testament further indicates that Abraham relocated to Jeme. At one point, Elizabeth writes that Abraham “went south to Aswan, your city” (ΑΚΒΩΚ ΕΡΗΣ ΕΙΣΟΥΔΑΝ ΤΕΚΠΟΙΛΙΣ, ll. 27-28), where he sold a house which he received from his parents and brought the proceeds of the sale, as well as all the moveable property, back to Elizabeth (ll. 27-30)<sup>129</sup>. He later gave a portion of this sum to his father for his offering (προσφορά, ll. 33-34), which may have necessitated another return to Aswan.

Apart from the connections with Aswan, two other locations can be connected with Jeme on the evidence of *P.KRU* 68. The first is the town of Ne, likely situated just across the river from Jeme in the temple complex at Karnak. After Abraham went to Aswan to sell the property he inherited from his parents, he brought some of the moveables back with him to Jeme (ll. 29-30). He then sold a portion of these to “Iohannes son of Pkalearios from Ne” (ΙΩΔ(ΝΝΗΣ) ΜΠΚΑΛΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΞΝΝΗ, l. 31) for five *tremisses*. The second is Klusma, the Coptic

<sup>128</sup> ΠΑΖΔΙ ΔΒΡΑΖΔΜ ΠΩΗ[ΡΕ] ΝΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΡΜΤΠΟΙΛΙΣ ΣΟΥΗΝ ΧΕΝΤΑΦΧΙΤ ΝΑΦ ΝΣΙΜΕ ΞΝΧΗ[ΜΕ] (ll. 11-12).

<sup>129</sup> The “house” (ΗΙ, l. 28) was sold for 57 gold *holokottinoi*, a staggering sum far in excess of anything in Jeme. It is possible that “house” in this instance should be understood as “estate”, otherwise the value of real estate in Aswan was considerably more than that in Jeme. An entire house in Jeme could be bought for around four (*P.KRU* 15.46-48) to six (*P.KRU* 14.47-48) *holokottinoi*. Although, these houses could be on the low end of the market; *P.KRU* 25 refers to the purchase of a house, a courtyard, and a workshop for 12 *holokottinoi*, with half the house and half the courtyard later being repurchased for six *holokottinoi* and two and a half *tremisses*. At any rate, none of these transactions come close to the price of Abraham's property in Aswan.

name for modern Suez, far from Jeme on the northern tip of the Gulf of Suez<sup>130</sup>. When describing how she used the money from the sale of Abraham's parents' property, Elizabeth states that she paid the taxes of Georgios, her son from her first marriage, and "hired a smith on his behalf at Klusma" (ΔΙΘΝΩ ΟΥΒΗCΝΗΤ ΖΑΡΑC ΕΠΕΚΛΟΥCΜΕ, ll. 40-41). What exactly is meant by this statement is unclear, however Wilfong believes that Elizabeth may have tried to get Georgios an apprenticeship there "in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to establish him in a profession"<sup>131</sup>. Whether or not this was indeed the case, this reference still indicates a connection of some kind between these disparate toponyms<sup>132</sup>. Interestingly, *P.KRU* 68 demonstrates not only that Abraham had relocated from Aswan to Jeme when he married Elizabeth, but that he still had interests and family in Aswan and travelled there on at least one occasion. It also demonstrates that Jeme not only had access to the towns across the Nile (which is hardly surprising), but with towns at the other end of the country.

Abraham son of Theodoros and the man from *P.KRU* 75 demonstrate that some individuals in Jeme had relocated from other towns. Such movers may have provided residents of Jeme access to social networks which encompassed a broader geographical region, thereby increasing the likelihood of interactions between Jeme and their hometown. It is also possible that residents of Jeme moved to other towns. Evidence for this is difficult to find since the documents from Thebes (which form the basis of this study) primarily concern Jeme and the monasteries, and consequently people who had left Jeme would no longer appear in them. That said, some late-sixth century Greek documents found in Aswan may attest such a move. *P.Lond.* V 1719-1720 are two, seemingly related documents dating to the end of the sixth century which may form part of the archive of a moneylender originally from Jeme. *P.Lond.* V 1720 (discussed above<sup>133</sup>) is the sale of some earrings which had been left as a security on a loan made between a woman of Petemout (the borrower) and a woman of Jeme (the lender). Based on the Coptic loan agreements, it is expected that the lender would keep the document, so the fact that this document ended up in Aswan is already suggestive of movement. *P.Lond.* V 1719 (dated to 556, seven years after 1720) is a loan agreement between two men "from the same kastron" (ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ) Κάστρο(υ), l. 4), on the one hand, and a man described as

<sup>130</sup> See Appendix A, pp. 258-259.

<sup>131</sup> Wilfong (2002) 59.

<sup>132</sup> It may not have been as difficult as it seems for someone from Jeme to get to Klusma. Koptos, a short distance downriver from Jeme, was the site of a major trade route across the Eastern Desert to the Red Sea (see Appendix A, pp. 260-261) from where it would have been a relatively simple matter to arrange transport on a ship heading to Klusma, itself an important port.

<sup>133</sup> pp. 160-161.

“of Aswan, from the [kastron Memnon]ion, in the Hermonthite nome” (Ζηηνιτης ἀπὸ [κάστρου(?) Μεμνον]ίων το(ῦ) Ἑρμωνθ[ίτ]ο(ῦ) νομοῦ, ll. 5-6) on the other. Which kastron the borrowers were from is not clear since the text is damaged, although the editor thinks Jeme a likely candidate<sup>134</sup>. It is assumed, then, that the location designator of the lender indicates that he was living in Aswan but was originally from Jeme<sup>135</sup>. Based on the evidence of these two documents, and despite the fact that the lender was a woman in one and a man in the other, it is thought that they represent the documents of a lender (or lending family) who had come from Thebes to reside in Aswan, where they were found<sup>136</sup>.

While evidence for residents of Jeme relocating to other towns is scarce, some texts refer to residents of Jeme in other locations. Two have already been noted: *P.KRU* 10 records that the children of Psate were in Antinoe to petition the duke; and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 attests to residents of Jeme imprisoned in Tabennese and Taut, about whom the community of Jeme write to the monk Epiphanius, seeking his help in releasing them<sup>137</sup>. From these two texts we know that people from Jeme were, at times, in Antinoe, Taut, and Tabennese. To this list can be added one more text, *O.CrumVC* 53. In this letter, a certain Athanasius writes to Apa Mark, the priest, about an unspecified matter which was known to both of them. Of particular interest, however, is the statement by Athanasius that “I met a man of Jeme on the isle and I sent him to you, (saying) ‘seek Kurille, and bring him concerning the answer’”<sup>138</sup>. ‘The isle’ (τμοϋε, l. 2) could also be translated as a toponym, Tmoue, however Crum prefers the former interpretation<sup>139</sup>. Where Athanasius lived is not known, yet it seems plausible that he met the man of Jeme on the isle and, wanting to send the letter to Apa Mark (who must have lived near Jeme, as the document was found in western Thebes), asked the man to deliver it.

The question is, then, where is this isle? The only toponym in the Theban corpus associated with an isle is Pisinai, which is in one document called “the isle of Pisinai in the nome of Kos” (τμοϋε ἡπιδεναῑ ζαπνομος̄ ἡκως, *O.CrumVC* 29.2-3). Against this identification is the fact that Athanasius asks Apa Mark to meet him “either today or tomorrow” (καν ποϋϋ

<sup>134</sup> See the comments of Kenyon in the introduction of the edition of *P.Lond.* V 1719.

<sup>135</sup> Porten et al. (2011) 464 fn. 7. A third document, *P.Lond.* V 1721, does not contain any personal names or toponyms, but is thought to relate to the other two because of their general similarity; see Porten et al. (2011) 466 fn. 1.

<sup>136</sup> MacCoull (1993) 230.

<sup>137</sup> See pp. 114-115 (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 163) and pp. 143-145 (*P.KRU* 10).

<sup>138</sup> ἀἰπαντᾱ εϋρμημε̄ ζιτμοϋε̄ ἀἰχοϋϣ̄ νητην̄ ξεϋνη̄ νσακϋριᾱε̄ ντετνν̄τ̄ ετβε̄ ταποκρῑς̄ (*O.CrumVC* 53.2-3).

<sup>139</sup> *O.CrumVC* 53, fn. 3: “Rekurs in no. 48. If *hi-* is right, ‘the isle’ is more likely than a place name.”

ΚΑΝ ΡΑΣΤΕ, l. 8), and Pisinai, near Kos, is too far away for the letter to have reached Mark and for Mark to then get there in a single day. It could be argued that Athanasius may have been away from his usual place of residence when he met the man of Jeme, and thus Mark may not have had to travel far at all, but it is equally possible that ‘the isle’ refers to an, as yet, unrecognised location closer to Jeme. Either way, this document is significant because it both attests to a man of Jeme who was away from home, and, at the same time, demonstrates how letters could be circulated. It seems likely, since he is referred to impersonally, that the man of Jeme was not known to Athanasius before their meeting. Nevertheless, having met him, Athanasius was able to get him to take a letter to Mark on his return to Thebes.

The documents above are those which specifically indicate that a resident of Jeme had temporarily or permanently moved to or from another place. These documents show that population movement in and out of Jeme definitely occurred, and it is through such movements that Jeme would be able to maintain ties to other communities, thereby keeping itself integrated with the entire region. Other documents indirectly indicate that such movements took place, as was argued above regarding the loan agreements, but it is often difficult to establish this with certainty. These other documents are more frequent and directly indicate a connection but only implicitly indicate movement.

### *Letters, Legal Documents, and Accounts*

The documents that directly indicated population movement did so in passing; the fact that someone had gone to or from Jeme was almost incidental to the main purpose of the text. In the following legal documents and letters, on the other hand, it is almost always the case that the document was addressed to a resident of Jeme by a resident of another town. This situation is quite similar to that observed in loan agreements and, as with those documents, it is likely that the recipients of these texts (rather than the senders) are almost always from Jeme simply because that is where the documents were found. Nonetheless, these documents can still be used to illustrate the kinds of interactions taking place between Jeme and other towns, and to provide a minimum benchmark for the level of such external interactions.

Aside from those addressed to monks, only three letters (i.e. documents without legal force) connect Jeme with places outside western Thebes. The first of these, *P.Schutzbriefe* 85, is a request from Zacharias of Pshinsion to Elias, the *ara* of Jeme, that the latter find Dionysios the

deacon and give him a protection letter. This text has been discussed above and it is sufficient simply to restate that this text demonstrates a degree of communication between officials of different towns, or at least between Jeme and Pshinsion if this text is considered unusual<sup>140</sup>. The second letter, *SB Kopt.* III 1332, is a less secure connection since neither of the correspondents are identified by place; the link is instead established through a combination of provenance and narrative content. This damaged papyrus (the end is lost) was originally in the private collection of A. H. Sayce, and is identified by Crum as originating from Medinet Habu<sup>141</sup>. Addressed to “my holy father Kalakos” (ΠΑΪΩΤ ΚΑΛΑΚΩΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ, ll. 4-5), presumably a monk or clergy member, by Pisente son of Jbiou, this letter concerns the trouble in which Pisente and his family find themselves. While Pisente is not given a location designator, his location may be identifiable by his statement to Kalakos at the beginning of the narrative section of the letter: “I went from you and you said to me, ‘Remain in Pmilis until the ... of Thoth.’ Now look, I received your instruction and I remained”<sup>142</sup>. In remaining, however, Pisente nonetheless found himself in trouble. He was unable to find bread for his children (l. 9), nor work for himself, and so writes: “I wanted to take the little ones and my wife and go north [to?] Egypt”<sup>143</sup>. The text breaks off soon after.

The content of the letter suggests that Pisente was, at some point at least, a resident of Pmilis in the Koptite nome, and its provenance suggests that Kalakos, perhaps a priest or monk, was a resident of Jeme or its mountain. Moreover, Pisente’s account suggests that he had visited Kalakos at some point in the past, at which point he received the advice to remain in Pmilis. Whether or not Pisente was still in Pmilis at the time this letter was written is unclear, as is its exact purpose, although it is likely that Pisente was either requesting advice or updating Kalakos on the matter discussed at their last meeting. While it would be interesting to speculate why and under what circumstances the relationship between Pisente and Kalakos developed (for instance, was Pisente originally a resident of Jeme?), such speculation is ultimately fruitless. It is, however, reasonable to use this text as evidence of a link between Jeme and Pmilis, based on both the existence of the correspondence itself and in that Pisente very likely visited Kalakos in Jeme while a resident of Pmilis.

<sup>140</sup> See p. 139 for a fuller discussion.

<sup>141</sup> *O.Crum* 385, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: *Copt.inscr.* 98.

<sup>142</sup> ΔΙΒΩΚ ΖΗΤΟΟ[ΤΚ] ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΖΜΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΖΜΠΜΙΛΙΣ ΩΑΠ. ΝΘΑΥΤ ΝΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΤΕ ΔΙΧΙ ΤΕΚΣΒΩ ΔΙΖΜΟΟΣ (*SB Kopt.* III 1332.5-8).

<sup>143</sup> ΔΙΟΥΩΩ ΕΒΙ ΝΩΗΜ ΜΝΤΑΧΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΗ[Τ ...] ΚΗΜΕ (*SB Kopt.* III 1332.10-12).



Finally, in *SB Kopt.* II 907, Patermouthios son of Jeremias “from the estate of Timamen in the nome of the city Ermont” (ⲉⲙ ⲡⲭⲱⲣⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲓⲙⲁⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗ(ⲓ)ⲥ/ ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ/, l. 3) writes to Jacob son of Petros “from the kastron of Jeme” (ⲉⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣ̅(ⲟⲛ) ⲛⲭⲉⲙⲉ, ll. 4-5). Little of the text survives beyond the greeting, however the correspondence was to discuss the matter of a *tremis* which Georgios, a priest of Saint Pesamou and man of the kastron, was involved with in some way and which had not yet been received by Patermouthios, the sender (ll. 5-9). As in many documentary texts, the exact nature of the matter discussed is obscure. However, it is clear that a relationship existed between Patermouthios in Timamen and Jacob in Jeme and, given that their relationship involved money, it is possible that the matter discussed had to do with previous business dealings.

Among the legal documents linking residents of Jeme with those of other towns are two sowing contracts, *O.CrumVC* 30 and *O.CrumST* 38, perhaps of somewhat different natures. *O.CrumVC* 30 is the least complete of the two, which may obscure its true character. In this text, Claudius son of Peshou “from the monastery of Apa Pahom in the district of Koptos” (ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲱⲧ/ ⲉⲙⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲃⲧ, ll. 5-6) writes to Philotheos son of Joseph “from the kastron Jeme” (ⲉⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲉ, ll. 7-8). Philotheos had given Claudius the price of a *stiohe* and a half of land so that Claudius could sow and water it for him<sup>144</sup>. Crum, thinking that one of the Pachomian monasteries must be meant, remarks that “the monastery at Pboou (Fâu) was in the nome of Diospolis; that at Tabennêse must therefore be intended”<sup>145</sup>. However, the Pachomian Tabennese itself is unlikely to have been in the Koptite nome, so an entirely different monastery must be meant here<sup>146</sup>. The text is badly damaged after line 12 and lost after line 15, so it is difficult to establish the exact relationship between the two men, in particular with regards to the ownership of the field. Two possibilities exist: Philotheos owns the field (which is perhaps in the Koptite nome near the monastery) and is contracting Claudius to work it for him; or Claudius owns the field and Philotheos is paying him to grow a particular crop on his behalf. Both scenarios have interesting implications. If the first is the case, this text attests to a man of Jeme owning land in the Koptite nome, as it is unlikely that a monk from this disparate location would be hired to work land near Jeme, where there were already plenty of monks available to work land. If the second scenario is the case, then Philotheos must have had some knowledge of the monastery of Pahom by which he

<sup>144</sup> The crop to be sown is named but not understood: ⲛⲕⲕⲁ ⲛⲃⲟⲗ. See Crum’s note to this line in this edition.

<sup>145</sup> *O.CrumVC* 30 fn. 1. Note that this is not the same Tabennese mentioned in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163.6, which Crum thinks was a toponym in the Hermonthite nome (see Appendix A, pp. 283-285).

<sup>146</sup> It seems to have been in the Tentyrite nome – Goehring (1999:A) 107. See also Appendix A, p. 297.

was able to arrange this contract<sup>147</sup>. Either way, *O.CrumVC* 30 demonstrates an agricultural relationship between Jeme and this monastery in the Koptite nome.

The situation in *O.CrumST* 38 is much clearer. In this text, two men “from the Church of Jeme” (ⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲭⲏⲙⲉ, ll. 2-3) authorise (ἐπιτρέπω, l. 4) Georgios son of Onophrios to sow their share of a field. All the expenses, including the seed to be sown (Georgios seems free to choose which kind<sup>148</sup>), the camel fare, and the wages, will be paid in common. Likewise, the profits will be shared equally between the two parties (ll. 6-9). The equal sharing of the expenses and profits associated with the cultivation of this land suggests that the document is, in fact, a land lease of the so-called *epitropê* (based on the use of ἐπιτρέπω) variety<sup>149</sup>. *O.CrumST* 38 does not, by itself, link Jeme to any other location as neither Georgios nor the leased field are located in this text. For this we need *O.Vind.Copt.* 42 (originally published as *O.CrumST* 37), another land lease of the *epitropê* variety (see ll. 4-5, 15), addressed to the same Georgios son of Onophrios, and written on the same day as *O.CrumST* 38 (the 29<sup>th</sup> of Phaophi in the 15th indiction: *O.Vind.Copt.* 42.16; *O.CrumST* 38.10). In this text, Georgios is authorised by Eustathios the deacon to sow two shares of fields “which belong to the Holy Philotheos” (ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲛⲧⲏⲉⲓ<sup>150</sup> ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲫⲓⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥ), ll. 7-8). Again, it seems that the cost of providing the domestic animals, workmen, seed, and transport will be shared equally, as will the profits<sup>151</sup>. Moreover, Georgios is described in this text as “the man of the neighbourhood of the city Ermont” (ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲕⲓⲥ) ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ, l. 4), which presumably means either that he lived on the outskirts of the city or in a small village or hamlet nearby. The evidence of *O.Vind.Copt.* 42 and *O.CrumST* 38, in both of which Georgios leases land from a church, permits a connection to be made between Jeme and Ermont. Moreover, given that the two texts were written on the same day and depending on where they were written, it may be that the deacon in *O.Vind.Copt.* 42 was also from Jeme, which could explain the text’s Theban provenance despite Georgios being from Ermont.

<sup>147</sup> If Claudius did own the land, then perhaps this document should be considered a loan agreement in which the loan was repaid through the sowing of a field (see above, pp. 157-158). If this were the case, however, we would expect vocabulary characteristic of these texts, which is not present.

<sup>148</sup> See l. 7 and Till’s (1964) 218 translation.

<sup>149</sup> Richter (2009:B) 206 fn. 11 lists this document as a lease of this kind.

<sup>150</sup> Read ἀνῆκω.

<sup>151</sup> The text literally states: “you (will) sow the fields, half with your domestic animals, and your workmen, and your seed” (ⲛⲧⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲥⲉ ⲛⲡⲁⲱⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲧⲉⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲣⲉⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲃⲣⲓ ⲥⲱⲱⲉ, *O.Vind.Copt.* 42.9-11).

Three other legal documents link Jeme to other towns. The first, *P.KRU* 3 (728) is quite problematic. This text is the sale of two courtyards for three and one third gold *holokottinoi* by Daniel son of Saul, Koloje daughter of Paham, and Tachael daughter of Martha to “the most admirable Solomon son of Moses (from) Tse, south of this same village” (ΠΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΣΩΛΩΜΩΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΜΑΚ(ΔΡΙΟΣ) ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΤΣΗ ΠΡΗΣ ΜΠΙΤΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ, ll. 7-9). Although the sellers are not located in this document (their identification in the opening formula is lost), Koloje daughter of Paham in particular is known to have been a resident of Jeme and it is therefore likely that all three were<sup>152</sup>. It is also likely that the two courtyards, which are not next to each other but one of which borders property already owned by Solomon son of Moses (l. 34), were also located in Jeme<sup>153</sup>. At first glance, this text seems to link Jeme to Tse, a located toponym in the Koptite nome just east of Kos, and specifically to Solomon, who already owned land in Jeme<sup>154</sup>. However, the problem with this identification of Tse is that *P.KRU* 3 describes it as “south of this same village”. Assuming that “this same village” is a reference to Jeme, where we know at least one of the sellers lived, it is odd that Tse should be described as “south”, given that Timm’s identification of this toponym, and the evidence of other texts, places Tse to the north, in the Koptite nome<sup>155</sup>. A number of ways to interpret this text are available: first, the unnamed village referred to in *P.KRU* 3 is not Jeme but a village north of Tse in the Koptite nome; second, that there was more than one village called Tse – one in the Koptite nome and one in the Hermonthite nome; and third, that the reading ΤΣΗ ΠΡΗΣ is incorrect and that another word (perhaps a title) stood here. Given the close association of Solomon with Jeme and that his daughters describe themselves as originating from Jeme (ΝΡΜΝΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ, *P.KRU* 2.6) only six years after *P.KRU* 3, it seems likely that Solomon himself was also from Jeme. In this case, the letters ΤΣΗΠΡΗΣ need to be interpreted in another way, although how is not apparent<sup>156</sup>. While *P.KRU* 3 may demonstrate an individual from another town buying property in Jeme, this link is highly problematic, and therefore no connection has been based on it.

The connection attested in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 101 is more secure. This text is a damaged document in which Iohannes and Philotheos, the sons of Theodosios and men of Terkot

<sup>152</sup> Wilfong (2002) 116-133.

<sup>153</sup> MacCoull (2009) 135. The scribe was Moses the deacon, son of Shenoute the archpriest, of the kastron Jeme, which suggests that the document was drawn up in Jeme. This may in turn indicate that the property was there. The same piece of land is sold by the daughters of Solomon in *P.KRU* 2.

<sup>154</sup> MacCoull (2009) 135 fn. 28.

<sup>155</sup> See Appendix A, pp. 293-295.

<sup>156</sup> The reading of these lines is discussed more fully in Appendix A, pp. 294-295.

(ΡΜΝΤΕΡΚΩΤ, l. 3), enter into an agreement of some kind with NN son of Paulos “from the kastron Jeme” (ΣΜΠΚ[ΑΣΤΡ]ΟΝ ΝΧΗΜΕ, ll. 5-6). The nature of the contract is lost in the lacunae (a field might be involved: ΣΠΛΑΞΟΙ, l. 7), however the text is certainly a contract, as witness statements survive on the verso, in particular that of Pisenthios son of Mena “from Terkot” (ΣΝΤΕΡΚΩΤ, verso l. 3). The occurrence of Terkot, a Hermonthite toponym which occurs frequently as the location of borrowers in loan agreements with moneylenders from Jeme, might suggest that this text is also a loan agreement. However, none of the names associated with the Terkot loan agreements nor any vocabulary typical of loan agreements survive in this text, so it is impossible to be sure. At best, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 101 reinforces the idea that the people of Jeme had a number of connections within the town of Terkot.

Finally, Jeme may be connected to Koptos (called Justinianopolis in Greek) in *P.CLT* 5 (711/712). Among the witnesses to this settlement of a monastic dispute by the secular officials of Jeme is Jacob son of Isaac, “the trader of Justinianopolis of the lower country”<sup>157</sup>. Although this text concerns the monasteries of Phoibammon and Paul, it was most likely drawn up in Jeme: the main scribe, Psate son of Pisrael, is well known amongst the documents from Jeme, and several of the other witnesses appear in other legal texts relating to this town<sup>158</sup>. Moreover, given that the officials of Jeme were arbitrating a dispute between the two monasteries it would make sense that the document was drawn up on the neutral ground of the town. The main problem with this link lies in the identification of Justinianopolis with Koptos. While this was certainly the Greek name for Koptos, Crum is puzzled by its description as “of the lower country”, which he takes to mean of Lower Egypt, when Koptos was in Upper Egypt. He notes that there may have been another Justinianopolis near Alexandria<sup>159</sup>. However, Schiller’s index to the *P.CLT* material indicates that he understood this word as the Greek κατά which, with a following accusative, has the directional sense ‘down’<sup>160</sup>. It is possible, though not entirely satisfactory, that Jacob was trying to indicate that Justinianopolis was downriver from Jeme. However, understanding Justinianopolis as Koptos, a major trade centre in this period and with demonstrable connections to western Thebes, is preferable to attempting to link Jeme with a town in the Nile delta. A link with Koptos, although speculative, has accordingly been based on this text.

<sup>157</sup> ἰακὼβ υἱὸς ἰσακ πραγματευτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰουστινιάνης πόλεως τῆς κάτω χώρας (*P.CLT* 5.159). On the use of *pragmateutes* to mean trader in Coptic texts see Förster (2002) 667. *P.CLT* 5 has already been discussed above, see p. 105.

<sup>158</sup> See Schiller’s notes to his translation of the witness statements in the *P.CLT* 5 edition.

<sup>159</sup> Crum (1932) 196.

<sup>160</sup> Liddell, Scott & Jones (1996) 882b-884a.

Unlike the documents above, accounts do not have a located sender and recipient by which inter-settlement interactions can be easily identified. They are essentially private use documents used for recording such things as income, expenses, and debts owed. Due to the private nature of accounts, which lends itself to a minimalist level of detail provided, and the fragmentary nature of documentary texts in general, it is rare to be able to associate an account with a particular individual or purpose. Based on provenance, however, three accounts from Jeme may attest to interactions with other towns, although with varying degrees of security.

The most secure of these is *O.CrumST* 437, which is described in its edition as being from Medinet Habu. This ostrakon preserves two accounts in the same hand, one on each side of the sherd. The text on the convex side (Crum's recto) is simply called "the account of the things" (τρωσις<sup>161</sup> ἡνεκκηγε, l. 1), and is a list of animals and produce sold to various individuals who, in a number of instances, are identified by location rather than name. The account keeper sold three animals: an ox (or cow, τεζε, l. 2) to "the man of Kos" (ἡρῃκωσ, l. 2) for three *holokottinai* less a *tremis*, an old ox (or cow, τεζε ἄλλου, l. 4) to "the man of the mountain of Ermont" (ἡρῃπτοου ἡρῃμοντ, l. 4) for five *tremisses*, and a cow (? τβοειτ, l. 9<sup>162</sup>) to "the man of Pshatbampe" (ἡρῃπωδτβαμπε, l. 9) for two *tremisses*. Besides selling these animals, he also received a *holokottinos* from "the man of Pisinai" (ἡρῃπισιναῖ, ll. 5-6) for clover (αττῃμ, l. 6<sup>163</sup>), a *tremis* from Ptal for clover (ll. 6-7), a *holokottinos* from Taurine for the weaving of flax (τρωζε μαζε, l. 8), and one and a half *tremisses* "for the flax which I sowed for Shenoute" (σαπμαζε ἡταῖχοι ναωγενουτε, ll. 10-11). The concave side contains a shorter account, seemingly of expenses for things such as workers (χαῖβεκε, ll. 14, 16), *orax* (οριξ, l. 15 – a type of grain), and iron (βανιπε, l. 17).

The keeper of this account was probably a farmer, profiting from both agriculture and animal husbandry, and, if the provenance attributed by Crum is accurate, this individual likely lived in or near Jeme. In this case, *O.CrumST* 437 provides evidence that the farmers of Jeme sold their produce on the regional market. Interestingly, this account records goods sold both north and south of Jeme: Kos and Pisinai were in the Koptite nome, whereas the mountain of

<sup>161</sup> Read γνωσις.

<sup>162</sup> In the commentary for this line, Crum suggests that βοειτ stands for the Greek βοῦς – 'ox, bull/cow, cattle'. If the identification is correct, the use of both βοειτ and εζε could differentiate different types of cattle. As the feminine definite article is used for all three instances, the animals sold were likely also female.

<sup>163</sup> For ετῃμ, a Sahidic variant of τῃμ, 'clover'. See Crum, *Dict.* 430b.

Ermont refers to the desert escarpment behind Ermont in which there were a number of monastic dwellings. Pshatbampe is unlocated, yet Timm suggests that it may be located in the Hermonthite nome based on its appearance beside other towns from that nome in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519<sup>164</sup>.

A second account found in Jeme, *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 26, was uncovered in the cellar of house 34, the house of Koloje the moneylender, during the excavations by the University of Chicago<sup>165</sup>. This extremely short text contains four names, one of which has the sum of one *nomisma* beside it:

Papnoute of Toresh	ⲡ ⲡⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲱ
Kanih of Pashme, 1 <i>no(misma)</i>	ⲕⲁⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲡⲁⲩⲙⲉ ⲛⲟ ⲁ
Tekoshe, the woman of Ermont	ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲩⲉ ⲧⲣⲙⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ
Paulos deposited it(?)	ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲥ

The archaeological context of this text suggests that it is part of the archive of Koloje's family and consequently, though its exact purpose is not stated, it is likely that it relates to their moneylending activities. Either way, it can be said with a reasonable degree of certainty that *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 26 attests interactions between Jeme and the places from which the named individuals came. However, distinguishing patronyms from toponyms in this text is not easy. Certainly Ermont is beyond doubt, but the constructions used to connect Pashme and Toresh to Kanih and Papnoute respectively could be used to indicate either location or parentage. Of the two, Pashme is the most likely to be a toponym as it is elsewhere described as being in the Koptite nome<sup>166</sup>. On the other hand, there is no definite evidence that Toresh is a toponym and the word is rare in Theban texts<sup>167</sup>. Nonetheless, this account certainly links Jeme to Ermont in the south, and probably to Pashme in the north as well.

In *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/1, also found at Jeme, it is similarly difficult to distinguish personal and place names. This text seems to be an account of people who received various sums of

<sup>164</sup> See Appendix A, p. 278.

<sup>165</sup> Wilfong (1990) 173.

<sup>166</sup> See Appendix A, pp. 268-269. Although Hasitzka (2007) 73 lists Pashme as a personal name, its use in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 64 indicates that this is not always the case.

<sup>167</sup> Hasitzka (2007) 103 records three instances of this 'name', and Timm (1984-2007) does not record it as a toponym at all. For this reason I have not considered Toresh a toponym.

money on loan from one Tsaerbenis Eriou<sup>168</sup>. The three surviving names are: Jeremias of Taut (ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΝΤΑΟΥΤ, l. 2); Moui of Pakate (ΜΟΥΪ ΝΠΑΚΑΤΕ, l. 6); and Paam Selchou (ΠΑΑΜ ΣΕΛΧΟΥ, l. 10). Again, the confusion stems from the use of genitival  $\bar{n}$ - to link the names or, in the case of Paam, no joining lexeme whatsoever. Moreover, the second name of each pair is uncommon, making it difficult to ascertain whether the name is a toponym or patronymic on the basis of other texts<sup>169</sup>. Only Taut is elsewhere attested as a toponym, but the lack of distinction between toponym and personal name in this text makes the issue confused<sup>170</sup>. Following Till, I understand Taut as a toponym and the others as personal names<sup>171</sup>. Considering the provenance of this account, a link between Jeme and Taut based on it is possible, but not certain.

Finally, two other documents are worthy of comment. The first is *P.KRU* 108, the text discussed earlier in which the community of Jeme donate land to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon<sup>172</sup>. The land donated by the community of Jeme was located south of “the fields of Romoou” (ΝΕΙΩΞΕ ΡΩΜΟΟΥ, l. 9), an unlocated toponym thought to be near Jeme<sup>173</sup>. This text indicates that the people of Jeme owned land near Romoou and could potentially be used to link Jeme to Romoou as well as to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. The second text is the highly fragmentary *O.TT29* 579, an obscure document which preserves the sentence: “ten boats came to Jeme from Petemout” (ΜΗΤΕ ΝΞΑΛΜΕΞΕ ΑΥΓΕΙ ΕΧΗΜΕ ΖΜΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤΕ, ll. 6-8). Unless the context shows this to be misleading, it seems legitimate to think that the ten boats are the subject of the verb. Such a scenario is puzzling, though, since neither Petemout nor Jeme were on the Nile. Either way, this text indicates that something or someone came to Jeme from Petemout and thus establishes another link between these two towns.

### *Geographical Distribution of Interactions*

The letters, legal documents, and accounts described above, from those which indicate relocated residents to those which exhibit simple connections, demonstrate the range, and to

<sup>168</sup> See the arguments of Wilfong (2003) 215.

<sup>169</sup> Hasitzka (2007) cites examples for the names ΤΑΟΥΤ, ΠΑΚΑΤΕ, and ΣΕΛΧΟΥ on pages 98, 68, and 90 respectively.

<sup>170</sup> For Taut, see Appendix A, p. 285.

<sup>171</sup> Till (1964) 83.

<sup>172</sup> pp. 81-83.

<sup>173</sup> *P.KRU* 109 is another donation in which a representative of the Holy Topos of the Twelve Apostles in Ermont gives a field south of Romoou, which had been donated to the *topos* by the men of Ermont, to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. Depending on where Romoou was located, it may be that the land was also near to Jeme.

some extent the nature, of the interactions Jeme's residents had with other towns throughout the region. The places with which Jeme was connected in these texts are depicted in Fig. 3.2. It should be noted that this map is set out in the same format as Fig. 3.1, however depicting a larger area of the Nile. As such, extra nome boundaries have been added based on the stated nomes of located toponyms, or, when located toponyms are not associated with a nome in the Theban papyri, with their associated nomes as given by *Trismegistos*<sup>174</sup>.

The distribution of connections visible in this figure is similar to that observed for the loan agreements above, with some distant outliers which were not present in the loans distribution, and a better representation of Koptite toponyms. While many of these texts no longer indicate the nature of the connection they attest, enough is known to conclude that this network was made up of a combination of personal, business, and incidental connections (for instance those made on Enoch son of Pleyen's journey to Antinoe), as well as connections made through population movement. The real value of these texts, however, is that they help illustrate the size (in terms of number of toponyms) and geographical distribution of Jeme's network of regional contacts.

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<sup>174</sup> Accessed 9 September 2013. The border between the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes must have lain somewhere between Tse, which is stated as being in the Koptite nome, and Timamen, which was in the Hermonthite nome. Moving north, the border of the Koptite and Tentyrite nomes would have been between modern Qena (ancient Kune), which lay in the Tentyrite nome, and Koptos. This is a fairly large area, I have placed it so as the borders of the Koptite nome are roughly equidistant from Koptos itself. The border between the Diospolite and Tentyrite nomes is also quite rough. It must have lain east of the Pachomian monastery at Pbow (modern Faw Qibli: 26° 6'38.49"N 32°24'13.23"E), which was in the Diospolite nome, and Tentyra itself, which is not far from where the Koptite-Tentyrite border has been placed. On this map, the Tentyrite-Diospolite border is placed a small distance to the east of Faw Qibli. Moving south, the southern border of the Hermonthite nome must have been north of Shebbon (modern Asfun), which was in the Latopolite nome, but south of Tabennese (if its identification is correct) which was in the Hermonthite nome. At the very least the border would have been south of Gebelein, which was only a short distance north (about 10km, near modern Al Gharirah) from the proposed location of Tabennese. The locations of all these places, barring Faw Qibli and Gebelein, are discussed in Appendix A. Finally, it is worth noting that the nome data as given on *Trismegistos* is largely based on Ptolemaic texts; that is texts from several hundred years before the period covered by this study. While it is possible that some boundaries had changed, it is likely that they were roughly similar to what is depicted here.



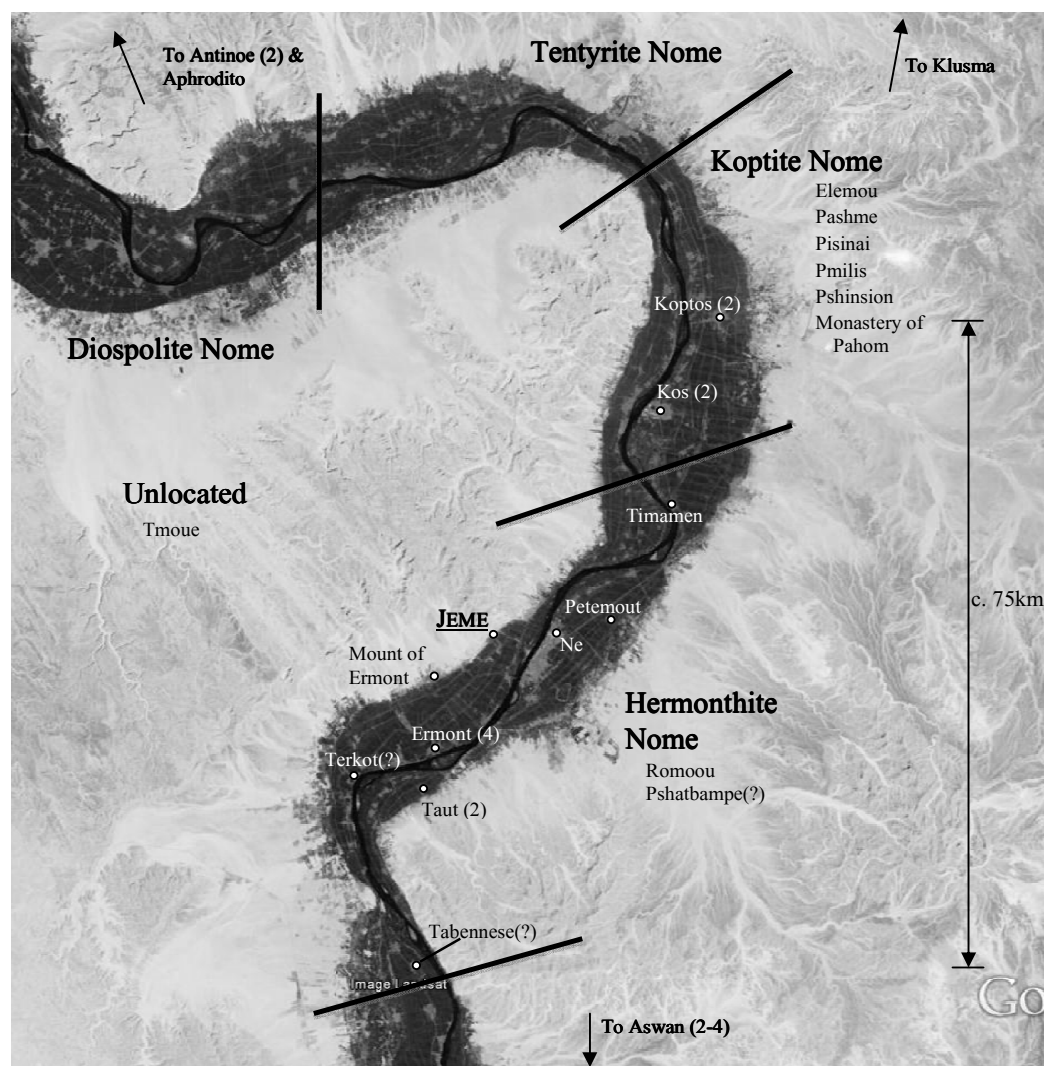


Fig. 3.2. The connections of Jeme (excluding loan agreements)<sup>175</sup>

### JEME OUTSIDE WESTERN THEBES

The texts examined above demonstrate that Jeme was a part of a number of networks focused primarily in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes, with a small number of more distant ties to important hubs in other networks further up and down the Nile. In the first place, Jeme necessarily participated in the larger administrative network of the Arabic state. The exact mechanics of these interactions are not always entirely clear in the Jeme documentation, but what does exist demonstrates Jeme's participation in the taxation system. Tied closely to this

<sup>175</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Western Thebes and surrounds, 24°45'45.33"N 32°45'24.30"E, eye alt. 138.37km. (Imagery date: 10 April 2013) – viewed 21 July 2013.

matter is the evidence for tax-fugitives from Jeme as far away as Aphrodito, as well as the use of safe-conduct and protection documents, which required their bearers to have some interaction with the local or regional administration. The citizens of Jeme also had access to the rulings of high-ranking officials located as far away as Antinoe, as *P.KRU* 10 demonstrates. The safe-conduct texts, however, are a particularly important issue since any travel undertaken by the residents of Jeme theoretically needed approval by the regional administration. The practical application of this system is difficult to see; the documents discussed above show that the inhabitants of Jeme interacted with a great many communities in their area, but it is unclear to what extent travel documents were required or used in this localised movement. At the very least it is likely that all travel outside one's own nome required a passport, in which case approximately 33% of the documented interactions would have required someone to secure travel documentation from the administration, resulting in further interactions which are now invisible<sup>176</sup>.

The largest portion of the documented interactions of Jeme (not including those within western Thebes), some 48%, come from loan agreements<sup>177</sup>. The loans, in all of which the lender is a resident of Jeme, are made to people from communities in both the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes, some of which are much closer to major hubs such as Koptos, Kos or Ermont than they are to Jeme. While the importance of Jemean lenders might be enhanced by the provenance of the evidence, it cannot be entirely false. Unless Jeme was a significant player in the loan economy of these regions, why would people from settlements near to major hubs, where there were surely also moneylenders, make contracts with lenders from Jeme? The reason the lenders of Jeme had this position must surely be tied to the wealth of the town and its significant position in the networks which tied the various settlements together. However, it may also be tied to the fact that lenders from Jeme seem to have actively travelled to the outlying villages in order to generate business. If lenders in the other regional hubs did not do this (we cannot be sure, as evidence from these does not survive), then such behaviour would be a significant advantage. The primary borrowers in these contracts were farmers, who needed the money to pay taxes or fund the year's crop. Since

<sup>176</sup> See above, pp. 141-142, where it was suggested that a safe-conduct would be required for travel to a neighbouring nome. For the number of interactions that the inhabitants of Jeme had with places outside the Hermonthite nome, see Table 3.5 below. The calculation includes those attestations from the Koptite and Long Distance columns, but excludes two connections to Aswan (*P.Lond.* V 1719 & 1720) and one to Aphrodito (*P.Lond.* IV 1460), which are dated before the introduction of the safe-conduct system (c. 715). The amended count is 21/63 = 33.33%.

<sup>177</sup> 30 out of the 63 interactions listed in Table 3.5 come from loan contracts or documents related to securities on a loan (= 47.61%). These 30 are listed in fn. 62 of the current section. See also Fig. 3.1.

such activity requires the near constant presence of the farmer, having lenders travel to the farming settlements would have been beneficial for the farmer. Even if this was not the reason for the position of Jeme's lenders, their importance to the agricultural economy of the region must be well noted. It is the lenders, more than anything, who mark Jeme as an important hub.

The interactions between Jeme and settlements outside western Thebes, not related to lending, constitute just over 52% of the documented connections<sup>178</sup>. Among these links are: evidence of population movement, whether it be individuals relocating to or from Jeme or just residents of Jeme said to be elsewhere; letters between inhabitants of Jeme and those of other places; and accounts, particularly *O.CrumST* 437, which records animals and produce sold to residents of other towns by a merchant of Jeme, as well as the sums spent on hiring workers and buying supplies. Among these documents are also a number of legal agreements. While the exact nature of some is obscure, a few reinforce the idea presented by the loan agreements that Jeme's economy was strongly connected to the regional economy. In *O.CrumVC* 30, a man of Jeme authorises a monk from the Koptite nome to sow land for him, and *O.CrumST* 38 and *O.Vind.Copt.* 42 are two documents in which churches in Jeme lease fields to the same man from Ermont, with costs and profits being split evenly between each party.

Such interactions indicate how Jeme interacted with the settlements around it, but what can we say about the network itself? Table 3.5 (below, see also the corresponding Fig. 3.3) lists all the places with which Jeme is connected in the documents examined in this section by their location (Hermonthite nome, Koptite nome, outside these two nomes, and toponyms of unknown location) and by the number of texts that connect them to Jeme. The total number of interactions for each column is given in the final row. From the data in the table, it is immediately apparent that Hermonthite toponyms are better represented amongst Jeme's interactions, accounting for 55.56% of the total connections, whereas 25.40% are interactions with toponyms in the Koptite nome, 12.70% are with toponyms much further afield, and 6.35% are with unknown toponyms<sup>179</sup>.

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<sup>178</sup> 33 out of the 63 interactions in Table 3.5 (i.e. 52.38%).

<sup>179</sup> All percentages have been rounded to two decimal places.

Hermonthite Interactions	#	Koptite Interactions	#	Long Distance Interactions	#	Unknown Interactions	#
Terkot	6	Koptos	2	Aswan	4 <sup>180</sup>	Psenheaci	1
Petemout	5 <sup>181</sup>	Kos	2	Antinoe	2	Pajment	1
Ermont - Mount of Ermont	4 1	Pashme	2	Aphrodito	1	Tche	1
Patoubasten	3	Pisinaï	2	Klusma	1	The isle (Tmoue)	1
Ne	2	Pmilis	2				
Taut	2 <sup>182</sup>	Elemou	1				
Thone	2	Pshinsion	1				
Apé	1	Papar <sup>183</sup>	1				
Kalba <sup>184</sup>	1	Psenantonios	1				
Pakale	1	Monastery of Apa Pahom	1				
Psamer	1	Tse	1 <sup>185</sup>				
Pshatbampe <sup>186</sup>	1						
Romoou	1						
Tabennese	1						
Timamen	1						
Tmoh Pajeme	1						
Tourese	1						
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>

Table 3.5. The interactions of Jeme arranged by location and number of interactions

Table 3.5 also indicates which toponyms had more connections with Jeme. While a number have only one connection, others have quite a few, with Terkot, Petemout, and Ermont (including its mountain) comprising the three best attested sites. Curiously, while Ermont (the nome capital) is well attested, other population centres such as Koptos and Kos are not, even though the residents of Jeme had ties with the Koptite nome. Similarly, while Petemout (lying not far from Jeme on the east bank) is well attested, the closer towns of Apé and Ne (occupying the temples of Luxor and Karnak respectively) are not. Why this should be the

<sup>180</sup> Two (*P.Lond.* V 1719-1720) are uncertain.

<sup>181</sup> One (*O.TT29579*) is uncertain.

<sup>182</sup> One (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/1) is uncertain.

<sup>183</sup> Uncertainly ascribed to the Koptite nome; see Appendix A, pp. 267-268.

<sup>184</sup> Uncertainly ascribed to the Hermonthite nome; see Appendix A, p. 257-258.

<sup>185</sup> *P.KRU3* may also link Jeme to Tse, but this text is highly problematic. See above, p. 175.

<sup>186</sup> Uncertainly ascribed to the Hermonthite nome; see Appendix A, p. 278.

case is not readily apparent, although in the case of Apé, at least, its frequent presence in connection with the Theban monastic communities indicates this might be by chance<sup>187</sup>.

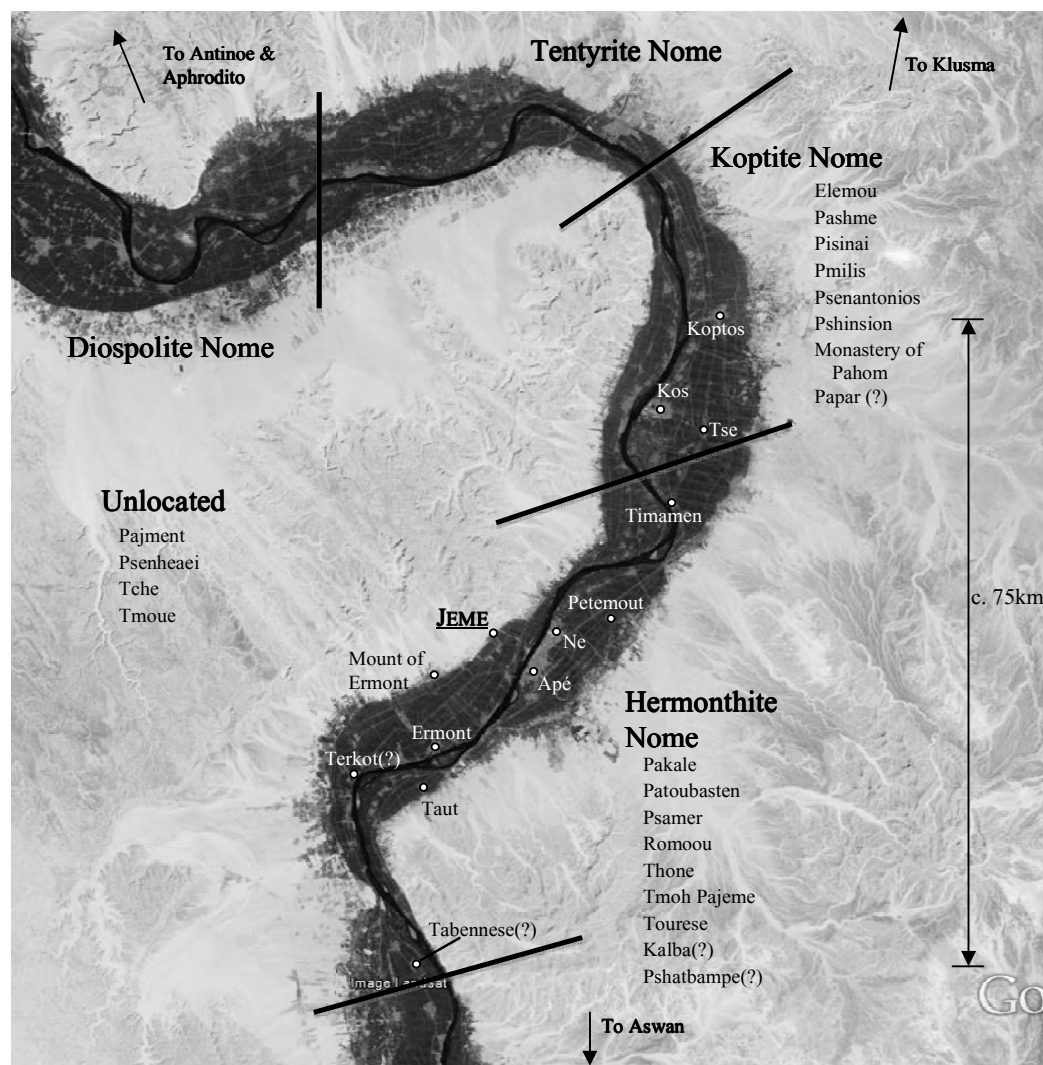


Fig. 3.3. The connections of Jeme<sup>188</sup>

While it might be tempting to conclude that those toponyms which appear more often were better connected with Jeme, such conclusions can be misleading. The temptation to link the number of attestations with the strength of the connection is partially based on the hope that the number of attestations which survive in the documentary material roughly represents the ratio of interactions that actually took place. However, dossiers associated with particular individuals should also be considered. For example, four of the six interactions with Terkot

<sup>187</sup> See Section IV (particularly p. 235) for the connections of Apé to the Theban monasteries.

<sup>188</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Western Thebes and surrounds, 24°45'45.33"N 32°45'24.30"E, eye alt. 138.37km. (Imagery date: 10 April 2013) – viewed 21 July 2013.

were made by the same individual from Jeme, Pekosh son of Manasseh. Likewise, two of the interactions with Ermont were made with the same individual (Georgios son of Onophrios) and on the same day. Further, two of the connections with Aswan rely on two references to one man who moved to Jeme from Aswan (Abraham son of Theodoros; although he did return there on at least one occasion). The other two connections with Aswan are based on two loan agreements seemingly held by a lender from Jeme which were found near Aswan, the assumption being that the lender and his family moved there from Jeme with his records.

This is not to say that the numbers are meaningless: the strong connections with these places by specific individuals could certainly have evolved along existing links. Abraham son of Theodoros, who moved to Jeme from Aswan, for instance, must have had some kind of regular contact with that town before the documents attesting him in order to meet his now wife, who lived there, or at least have had a good reason to move to Jeme if he did so before marrying her. Moreover, the interactions with Petemout involve different people, although most are loan agreements with women, suggesting that Jeme had a particular relationship with that community<sup>189</sup>. Overall, what is possible to say about Jeme's network is that it was primarily centred in the Hermonthite nome, with a number of strong connections to settlements within this nome, including the capital. Yet its interactions were not restricted to this region and its network also encompassed a number of communities in the southern half of the Koptite nome. While many of the toponyms mentioned here are not precisely located, the majority of those that are lie between Terkot (about 20km upriver by boat) and Koptos (about 37km downriver), so within an approximate 40km radius of Jeme. This indicates that physical proximity played an important role in which settlements Jeme chose to connect with, or which chose to connect with Jeme.

Aside from this relatively close cluster of links in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes, Jeme had a small number of connections to hubs further afield, namely Antinoe, Aphrodito, Aswan and Klusma. The strength of these connections varied, depending on the place, since Klusma and Aphrodito are only attested once each: the former in connection with hiring a smith, and the latter in connection with tax fugitives. The connections with Aswan and Antinoe may have been stronger. Antinoe was the destination of a merchant from Jeme in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82, and a group of people seeking legal help in *P.KRU* 10. Neither of

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<sup>189</sup> See also the discussion of the monk Frange's connections to this town in Section IV, pp. 219-222.

these actions are particularly unusual and it is likely that these do not represent the only instances in which such events occurred. Aswan is primarily connected with Jeme on the basis of Abraham, who moved to Jeme from there. As was mentioned above, Abraham must have had good reason to give up his home and move to Jeme, and so it is possible that he had business interests there, which might indicate regular travel between Aswan and Jeme. The distant connections in Jeme's network are particularly important. In a network, it is not the most frequent interactions of an actor that are most important, as the people the actor is in regular contact with are likely to be similar to him in their access to resources and information. Rather, it is the distant connection which "brings news from the outside world" and which "serves as a crucial bridge" between one part of the network and others<sup>190</sup>. In this respect, the distant connections of the town were not only important for Jeme, in that they connected it to the other networks of Egypt, but also for the smaller and less well-connected settlements with which Jeme was linked. Through their connection to Jeme and other hubs, these small communities had access to resources and information coming from elsewhere in Egypt.

In some respects, the pattern of Jeme's interactions compares well with the findings of Ruffini's 2007 study of Oxyrhynchite toponyms. Ruffini was looking at the connections that existed between toponyms within a nome, and he paid attention to internal administrative divisions. Here, he noted that in nine out of the ten Oxyrhynchite *pagi* (the smallest division), more ties were attested within the *pagus*, with only about 20% between settlements of a different *pagus*. Ruffini noted a similar situation when looking at *toparchies*. However, he also noted that the connections between administrative divisions did not show any preference for those bordering one another. He concludes that while administrative structures do correspond to settlement connectivity, they do not inhibit connectivity to distant sites to any serious degree<sup>191</sup>. The preference for interactions within one's administrative division observed by Ruffini finds parallel here, with Hermonthite interactions being more than double the number of interactions with any other nome (smaller divisions within the nome are not recorded in Theban texts of this period). This observation even excludes the interactions between Jeme and the nearby monastic communities, which would greatly increase the number of internal interactions.

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<sup>190</sup> Ruffini (2008) 10-11.

<sup>191</sup> Ruffini (2007) 971.

Nevertheless, about 38% of interactions still take place with toponyms outside the Hermonthite nome, which shows that the administrative barriers for travelling between nomes, such as the need to acquire travel documentation, were not insurmountable, and did not severely discourage connectivity to distant sites<sup>192</sup>. Ruffini's observations that smaller settlements are less likely to have ties to similarly sized settlements than to larger ones, and that the larger settlements then act as hubs connecting the smaller ones with each other and with the rest of the network are similarly fitting<sup>193</sup>. While this study cannot demonstrate the degree of connectivity of the smaller settlements, nor even accurately identify what the smaller settlements are, the observations presented in this section make it likely that Jeme acted as a hub in a very similar manner, connecting the smaller towns of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes with other towns in those nomes, thereby providing access to large population centres in more distant nomes.

This section began with a discussion of the potential biases involved in working with this dataset. While this discussion may have seemed somewhat pessimistic, it is unlikely that the depiction of Jeme presented in this section, as of a town with close and varied connections to many of the communities near to it and a small number of connections with toponyms much further afield, is too far from reality. While Jeme may seem more central in this documentation, that does not mean that the lenders of Jeme were any less important to the farmers of the region, nor that the connections that Jeme had with distant population hubs were less real and consequently less important for Jeme and its own connections. The documents discussed here provide a minimum figure for the number and range of interactions taking place between Jeme and other places. The degree of connectivity between Jeme and any other community at any point in the seventh and eighth centuries was no doubt much higher.

It was argued in the previous section that Jeme and the monastic communities on the nearby desert escarpment formed a cohesive and interdependent structure. It is therefore legitimate to ask to what extent the connections of these establishments influenced the connections of Jeme and vice versa, and to what extent the success of one impacted on the success of the other. The following section will focus on the connections of these monastic communities, in order

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<sup>192</sup> Not including those toponyms which are entirely unlocated, there are 24 interactions with non Hermonthite toponyms, i.e. 38.10%.

<sup>193</sup> Ruffini (2007) 973.



to address this question, and in order to better assess Jeme's place within the regional network.

## SECTION IV – A WEST THEBAN HUB: MONASTIC NETWORKS

The monastic communities on the Theban mountain, particularly the large monasteries of Saints Phoibammon and Paul, were an important part of the west Theban community. The close economic and social relationships between the people of Jeme and these communities placed each of them in a position to significantly influence the others. Together they formed what was in essence a single west Theban hub, a broad community with a great number of connections to the smaller towns of the region. The connections that Jeme maintained beyond western Thebes were examined in the last section. However, given the closeness of the west Theban communities, it is important both to ask to what extent the network of Jeme was similar to the networks of the neighbouring monastic settlements, and to form an idea of the size of the network of this west Theban hub. By comparing the networks of the Theban monastic groups with that of Jeme, it will be possible to gain some idea of what towns Jeme may have had access to beyond the attested connections already examined. The towns shown connected with Jeme in the previous section were, for the most part, attested only once or twice, and it is therefore difficult to know which were the most important in Jeme's network. However, those towns which maintained connections with Jeme and with one or more of the Theban monastic groups may well have been better connected to Jeme, or more important in Jeme's network, than we would originally have cause to suspect.

The goal of the present section is to establish the networks of the monastic communities introduced in Section II and to compare these networks with that of Jeme. The networks examined are those of the monasteries of Phoibammon and Paul, the monastery of Epiphanius, and the monk Frange, that is, those communities with the largest bodies of textual evidence from which interactions can be drawn. The *topos* of Apa Psate will not be considered here as there is little evidence for the interactions of this site with toponyms other than Jeme. The inclusion of the monastery of Apa Paul and the solitary monk Frange in this discussion warrant some justification as the size of their textual corpora differs significantly from those of the other communities discussed. While the texts relating to the monastery of Apa Paul are few in number, they are some of the longest and most informative legal texts amongst the Theban material, containing numerous witness statements and toponyms. Given that the archaeological evidence suggests that the monastery of Apa Paul was a monastery of similar size and importance to that of Apa Phoibammon, its omission from this discussion

would be a significant oversight. The texts relating to the monk Frange, by comparison, are much more numerous. While this could bias any statistical results, the conclusions drawn below focus on which toponyms appear in which networks rather than the number of connections between them for this very reason. The value of including the connections of Frange to illustrate the potential influence of the numerous solitary monks of western Thebes, and to demonstrate the full scope of interactions of a single individual, far outweighs the problems raised by differences in data size. There were many more monastic communities on the Theban mountain than those discussed below, and it is certain that all of them were part of the Theban hub and interacted with each other in various ways. Those discussed below are those with enough evidence to make them valuable in elucidating the size and nature of the west Theban monastic networks.

As the principal focus of this thesis is Jeme, the interactions of the monastic sites will not be studied as closely as those of the village itself. Rather, the goal is to provide only a representative view of the networks that will encompass the variety of toponyms attested in the documentary evidence. To this extent, only connections to definite toponyms will be considered below. Cases in which an otherwise unattested name is linked to an individual through the use of the attributive  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ - alone, for example “Enoch of Lapouje” ( $\epsilon\kappa\omega\chi$   $\bar{\nu}\lambda\lambda\alpha\pi\omicron\upsilon\chi\epsilon$ , *O.TT29* 114.11-12), which could be either a patronymic or toponym, will not be included. While some of these instances may in fact be toponyms, the uncertainty which surrounds them would not permit a great deal of confidence in a network in which they were included, nor add any value to a comparison of this network with that of Jeme. Similarly, since the goal of this section is to identify links between these communities and others outside western Thebes, visible links to monasteries, churches, and other *topoi* which are located on the Theban mountain, or are not located at all, will not be included. While this may detract from the impression that many of these religious communities had connections with one another, omitting dubious *topoi* improves the reliability of the networks, which will be, at the very least, an accurate (if minimal) depiction of the non-west Theban interactions of these communities.

## THE MONASTERY OF APA PHOIBAMMON

The network of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is an important point of comparison for the network of Jeme since, in terms of number of links, the two are virtually equal. This is a result of both the regional fame of the monastery, which is well attested by the range of locations from which parents came to have their children healed by the Saint, and its extensive economic interests, which were largely the result of donations of property and money. Beyond these factors, the monastery was also the episcopal seat for the Hermonthite diocese under Bishop Abraham in the early seventh century. All these factors made this monastery a well-known focal point of the region and a hub of similar status to Jeme, if for different reasons.

The following connections are based on texts which were found at the monastery, written in hands associated with the monastery, or related to the monastery based on their content. The identification of these texts is primarily based on Godlewski's list of such documents, but also utilises texts from material published after his study, particularly *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II and *O.Ashm.Copt.*<sup>1</sup>.

### *Donations to the Monastery*

The many pious donations to the monastery of Phoibammon are one of the most valuable sources of information for the connections of the monastery since they not only indicate a link, but show that various individuals from beyond western Thebes, both donors and witnesses, were physically present in the region when the document was drawn up. As such, donations are a good indication of how widespread the fame of the monastery was, since children were brought there on the strength of the healing powers of the saint and land or other property was given in the hope of spiritual salvation. Donations also indicate where some of the people who were circulating through western Thebes, those attested in the witness statements, had travelled from.

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<sup>1</sup> The list can be found in Godlewski (1986) 153-163. Where necessary, I have taken into account the corrections made in more recent publications of those texts in Godlewski's list, as well as the corrections to *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II and *O.Ashm.Copt.* published in Delattre (2002).

There are ten donations in which the donor is said to be from outside western Thebes, of which five contain toponyms also seen in connection with Jeme. In both *P.KRU* 80 and *P.KRU* 109, the first a donation of a child and the second of land, the donors are from Ermont (ΖΝΤΠΟΛ(ΙC) ΕΡΜΟΝΤΕΙ, *P.KRU* 80.2; ΖΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ, *P.KRU* 109.2). A further two child donations are made by women from Apé, one of whom lived in a monastery there<sup>2</sup> (ΖΝΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ CΕΡΓΙΟΣ ΖΝΠΚΑΣΤΡ(ΟΝ) ΔΠΗ, *P.KRU* 81.4; ΖΝΔΠΗ, *P.KRU* 86.3), and finally, in *P.KRU* 95, a child is donated by a woman of Taut (ΖΝΤΟΟΥΤ, l. 35). A further child donation, *P.KRU* 87, may be from a man of Romoou<sup>3</sup>. Although the beginning of this donation is lost, the assent clause (ll. 47-48) shows it to be from Georgios son of Marinnos, whose place of residence is not given. However, in the narrative of the text Georgios remarks that if the donated boy is brought out of the *topos*, the men of Romoou will be his lord, since “I collected him from that village to make him my son”<sup>4</sup>. Thus, whether or not Georgios was himself from Romoou, he seems to have adopted a boy from that town and donated him to the monastery. A connection between Romoou and the monastery is warranted on the basis of this text.

The donors of the remaining five texts come from places which do not otherwise occur in connection with either Jeme or any of the monastic communities examined below. Four of these are child donations, whose donors are: a woman of Neihbabe in the district of Primide (ΤΡΜΝΕΙΖΒΑΒΕ ΖΜΠΤΟΥ ΠΡΙΜΙΔΕ, *P.KRU* 79.1-2: neither of which are precisely located); a man of the estate of Apotei in the nome of Ermont (ΠΡΜΠΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΟΤΕΙ ΖΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ, *P.KRU* 93.1-2); a priest from Dekadritou, a village in the vicinity of Shmin (Akhmim) (ΠΡΜΔΕΚΑΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΖΝΤΚΑΣ ΩΜΙΝ, *P.KRU* 99.4); and a man of Timamen who now lives in Pampane, probably in the Tentyrite nome (ΠΡΜΤΜΑΜΗΝ ... ΜΠΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΔΕ ΛΓΟ ΡΜΠΑΜΠΑΝΕ, *P.KRU* 100.3-4). The final text, *P.KRU* 110, is a donation of palm trees to the monastery by a man from the Hermonthite village of Pankame (ΖΜΠΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΑΝΚΑΜΗ Μ[ΠΝ]ΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙC ΕΡΜΟΝΤ, ll. 2-3). The ten donors of these texts are primarily from towns and villages within the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes, suggesting that this was the area in which the monastery of Phoibammon was most influential. However, at least one of

<sup>2</sup> This woman is described as “the woman of the village of Matoi in the district of Psoi, who lives in the monastery of Apa Sergios in the Kastron Apé” (ΤΡΜΠΕΠΕΓΕ (l. ΤΡΜΠΕΠΟΙΚΙΟΝ) ΜΜΑΤΟΙ ΖΜΠΤΟΥ ΜΨΟΙ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΝΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΠΑ CΕΡΓΙΟΣ ΖΝΠΚΑΣΤΡ(ΟΝ) ΔΠΗ, *P.KRU* 81.3-4), indicating that she had moved to the region of Thebes from somewhere near Psoi, a considerable distance away.

<sup>3</sup> As the location of this man is uncertain, *P.KRU* 87 is not considered to be one of the ten donations with donors from outside western Thebes.

<sup>4</sup> ΕΡΩΔΑΝΔΔΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΟΥΩΩ ΕΕΝΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΜΜΔΥ ΕCΕΩΩΠΕ ΖΑΠCΑΖΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΝΡΜΡΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΡΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΕΠΟΥΠΕ ΝΤΑΙΚΟΛΑ ΖΜΠΤΙΜΕ ΕΤΜΜΔΥ ΕΔΔΑ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΙ (*P.KRU* 87.27-31).

the donations was from as far as Akhmim, which indicates that the monastery had some renown outside this region.

Many more witnesses and scribes occur in the donations than do donors, accordingly, a great many more toponyms occur in relation to witness and scribal statements. It has already been established that donations to the monastery were written there in many cases. Therefore, it is likely that many, if not all, of the 45 located witnesses and scribes not from Jeme who appear in donation texts were actually at the monastery when they witnessed or signed the documents<sup>5</sup>. These 45 witnesses came from 15 different toponyms, of which ten are also connected with Jeme (66.67%). The discussion below is organised by toponym rather than text, such that those texts with witnesses from several locations are mentioned multiple times. A list of the locations of parties in documents related to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, including those discussed here, is given in Section I (Table 1.2, pp. 67-68). Interestingly, while 67% of the toponyms are also connections of Jeme, about 84% of the located witnesses came from these ten toponyms<sup>6</sup>.

The best represented of the connections shared with Jeme is Ermont, from where 16 witnesses came. Curiously, the witnesses of Ermont tend to appear in groups: three in *P.KRU* 80 (ll. 55, 57, and 59); five in *P.KRU* 93 (ll. 52, 54, 55, 56, and 57); and a further five in *P.KRU* 107 (ll. 35, 37, 39, 40 and 41). The remaining three individuals from Ermont are spread over two texts: a witness in *P.KRU* 79 (ll. 72-73), and a witness and scribe in *P.KRU* 96 (ll. 97 and 99<sup>7</sup>). Of all these texts, however, only in *P.KRU* 80 is the donor also from Ermont<sup>8</sup>. While it is certainly possible that the large groups of witness came from Ermont together, they need not have been associated with the donor – that is, they may have been there for purposes

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<sup>5</sup> In a small number of cases (*P.KRU* 80, 86, and 96) it is possible that the donations were written and witnessed at the location of the donor and brought to the monastery later. These cases are flagged in the footnotes below, but, given that it is impossible to be certain one way or the other, I have taken them to be written at the monastery, following the general pattern established in Section I (see the discussion on pp. 61-66).

<sup>6</sup>  $38/45 = 84.44\%$ .

<sup>7</sup> The numbering of Crum's lines is unclear here. He seems to have assigned a blank space as line 98.

<sup>8</sup> The location of the donors of *P.KRU* 96 and 107 is not known. The donors from *P.KRU* 79 and 93 are from other towns in the Hermonthite nome.

unrelated to the donation<sup>9</sup>. Witnesses from Apé also appear in groups. In *P.KRU* 82, a child donation by a man of Jeme, two priests (ll. 47, 49) and a deacon (l. 51) from Apé act as witnesses. In *P.KRU* 86, a child donation by a woman of Apé, three men from there sign in one statement (ll. 60-61) and were, therefore, probably known to one another. In *P.KRU* 86, the donor and the only located witnesses were all from Apé, so it is possible that the witnesses came to the monastery with the mother donating her child. This might also be the case in *P.KRU* 81, in which a woman from a monastery in Apé donates her child, while three men from another monastery on the mountain of Apé act as witnesses (ll. 59-61)<sup>10</sup>. According to the Pachomian rules, monks had to be accompanied by a brother of “proven faith and discipline” when travelling, so it is quite possible that these three were both monks and the chaperones of the woman<sup>11</sup>. Undoubtedly, however, the clergy and monks who witness together in both *P.KRU* 81 and 82 may well have wanted to visit the martyrion of Saint Phoibammon for religious reasons as well.

Besides Apé and Ermont, witnesses came from eight other locations linked to Jeme, but these toponyms do not occur as frequently. The next best represented is Pisinai, from where two witnesses came in *P.KRU* 91 (ll. 35, 38), and two more in *P.KRU* 97 (ll. 93, 94-95). Two witnesses also came from Romoou (*P.KRU* 82.57 and *P.KRU* 88.20) and Psamer (*P.KRU* 89.50-51), and one each from Tse (*P.KRU* 78.83), Tabennese (*P.KRU* 89.53), Papar (*P.KRU* 97.91-92), and Kalba (*P.KRU* 90.47 – this man was a priest). Finally, Iohannes son of Hello “from Timamen” (ΣΝΤΕΜΑΜΗΝ?, l. 52) acts as a witness in *P.KRU* 89, although this

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<sup>9</sup> Of course, it is possible that in some cases the donations were not written up at the monastery, but at the location of the donor. This is most likely to be the case in those documents in which all located parties (barring the monastery itself) are from the same location. However, of the cases involving Ermont, only *P.KRU* 80 has no located witnesses from other locations. In fact, the two unlocated witnesses to this document are associated with Ermont in other texts: Adrane son of Markos (l. 58) is said to be from Ermont in *P.KRU* 107.41, and Mena son of Iohannes (l. 60) in *P.KRU* 109.2, in which he donates land to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. *P.KRU* 96, in which the scribe and one witness are from Ermont (but two other witnesses are from the village And(...)), may have also been written in Ermont, but this is less likely. If it can be established that one or more of these texts were written in Ermont, their witnesses should not be considered connections of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon.

<sup>10</sup> Given that the donor and the witnesses in *P.KRU* 86 are all from Apé, it is possible that this text was written in Apé, and consequently that its witnesses are not connected with the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. The donor and the majority of the witnesses in *P.KRU* 81 are also from Apé or monasteries nearby (only a priest from Tbo who writes the assent clause in *P.KRU* 81.57 is from elsewhere), however this text was written on the back of an unrelated child donation to the monastery (where the document was kept) and so was almost certainly drawn up there.

<sup>11</sup> See precepts 54 and 56 in *The Rules of Saint Pachomius* (Veilleux (1981)).

identification is problematic<sup>12</sup>. In none of these cases is the witness from the same location as the donor, again indicating that these individuals were at the monastery for reasons separate to the donation.

The other witnesses came, for the most part, from places which are unlocated and not linked with Jeme, but likely within the nomes of Koptos or Ermont: two men came from Pakebt (*P.KRU* 91.36-37), two from the village And(...) (*P.KRU* 96.94,96), and one from Timeshor (*P.KRU* 88.20). In addition to these regional locations, two witnesses came from further afield. In *P.KRU* 79 a man from Esna (ⲡⲣⲙⲥⲛⲏ, l. 71) witnesses a donation by a woman of Neihbabe, and in *P.KRU* 81 a priest from the city Tbo, modern Edfu (ⲡⲣⲙⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲃⲱ, l. 57), writes the assent clause for the donor, the woman from the monastery in Apé, and witnesses. In all cases, as above, the locations of the witnesses are different from that of the donor.

The donations to the monastery of Phoibammon represent the extent of the monastery's fame and show, through the witness statements, a portion of the traffic which must have passed through western Thebes. Moreover, the frequency with which two or more people from the same town witness the same document suggests that it was not unusual for people to travel in small groups. Whether or not the primary purpose of these witnesses in western Thebes was to visit the monastery – as may have been the case for the ecclesiastic and monastic witnesses – or whether these witnesses had come to Jeme for business, or were even just passing through the area and decided to visit the famous monastery, cannot be determined. It is, however, possible to be more certain about the extent to which these individuals were from places also connected with Jeme. Of the 55 donors and witnesses from locations other than Jeme who were involved in these donations, 43 were from places also associated with Jeme (78.18%), which suggests that the networks of these two communities were quite similar.

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<sup>12</sup> The *P.KRU* edition of this text reads ⲁⲛⲧⲉⲙⲉⲙⲏⲥⲉ “from Tememese”, but was later corrected to Temamen (i.e. Timamen) – see Winlock & Crum (1926) 121, fn.3 and the entry ‘Timamen’ in Appendix A, pp. 290-291. The Coptic of this revision was not provided by Crum. Based on the presence of a witness from Tabennese in the following line, and the pattern observed here of witnesses from the same location appearing in groups, I had originally thought that Tememese might be an alternate or misspelling of Tabennese. Unfortunately, I have not been able to view an image of this text (the manuscript is divided between London and Cairo, the fragment in question being in Cairo) and so have followed the correction accepted by Crum.



### *Other Connections*

The remaining documents that show a connection with the monastery are, for the most part, much shorter than the donation texts examined above and none contain witnesses; they are primarily accounts, letters, and, less commonly, legal agreements. Rather than demonstrating the fame of the monastery, they better indicate the geographical spread of its economic and religious interests. As with the donations, the range of toponyms found in these documents includes those also connected with Jeme and those which are not. Most are attested only once or twice.

Among the toponyms with which Jeme is also connected is one that is not within the Hermonthite or Koptite nomes: Antinoe. Antinoe is attested in *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39, an account of expenses found at the monastery, the first three lines of which read “I paid a *tremis* for the papyrus book from Antinoe” (ΔΙΤ ΟΥΤΗΡΜΙCΙΟΝ ΖΑΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΝΧΩΜΕ ΝΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ, Vs. ll. 1-3)<sup>13</sup>. Even if this papyrus book was not bought in Antinoe by a representative of the monastery, the fact that it is identified as such is significant<sup>14</sup>. Another expense recorded in this text is for clothes “from Taut” (ΖΝΤΑΥΤ, Rs. l. 2), a toponym also linked to Jeme. A certain Pisrael from Taut occurs in a separate account from the monastery, this one damaged and obscure (ΠΙCΡΑΗΛ ΖΙΤΑΥΤ, *O.Crum* 439.4), alongside a man from Patoubasten (ΖΙΠΑΤΟΥΒΙ[CΤΕΝ], *O.Crum* 439.1). What this account recorded is not clear, however it is reasonable to think that those who appear in it had some connection to the monastery in which it was found.

Patoubasten is linked to the monastery in three other texts. The clearest of these is *SB Kopt.* II 922<sup>15</sup>, in which a “man of Patoubasten” ([Π]ΡΜΠΑΤΟΥΒΑΣΤΗ, l. 2), on behalf of his brothers, draws up a loan agreement with “my brothers of the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon” (ΝΑCΝΗΟΥ ΜΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ, ll. 4-5) for the sum of one *holokottinos*. This text was written in the hand of David, a well-known monk and secretary of the monastery of Phoibammon (ll. 14-16), and witnessed by a man of Jeme (l. 20), suggesting that the brother from Patoubasten was at the monastery of Phoibammon when the document was written. Less clear is

<sup>13</sup> ΖΑΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΝΧΩΜΕ could equally refer to a papyrus roll or codex. For the use of ΧΩΜΕ see Crum, *Dict.* 770b-771b.

<sup>14</sup> Hasitzka (2007) 12 records two instances of ΝΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ as a personal name (*SB Kopt.* I 36.151 and *BKU I* 1.A). I am inclined to think that this instance is not a personal name since the only other name used in this text is a toponym (Taut, Rs. l. 2) and is used in the same context (the provenance of an item) as ΝΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ.

<sup>15</sup> Previously published as *BKU I* 78 and *P.Pisentius* 64.

*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 22, a short letter from the monastery in which the recipient is told to go north and “perform the feast for Patoubasten” (ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲗ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥⲧⲛ, ll. 2-3) with Abraham the deacon. How this text relates to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is not clear, although it is possible that either a resident of the monastery was the recipient ordered to go to Patoubasten, or that Bishop Abraham was the author, since Patoubasten was in his diocese. The final reference to this village comes from *O.Crum* 301, an obscure agreement which was written by a priest “of Apa Petros in Patoubasten” (ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ) ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲡⲁⲩⲁⲩⲃⲁⲥⲧⲉⲛ, ll. 12-13). While the exact nature of this document is unclear, that a priest from Patoubasten wrote it either indicates that the document came to the monastery from Patoubasten or that the priest did.

The village of Romoou is also well attested in documents relating to the monastery and, interestingly, the following four attestations of it are connected with agriculture. In *P.KRU* 109, a man from Ermont donates a field to the monastery “which is to the south of Romoou” (ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲣⲏⲥ ⲛⲣⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ, l. 6), indicating that at some point the monastery had agricultural interests near this town. This is reminiscent of *P.KRU* 108 (see above, pp. 81-83), in which the community of Jeme donates land to the monastery that was on the southern borders of the fields of Romoou<sup>16</sup>. The monastery’s agricultural interests in and near Romoou are also supported by *O.Crum* 138 and *SB Kopt.* II 951<sup>17</sup>, two sowing contracts with the monastery. In the first, Victor, the superior of the monastery, authorises two men to “sow the field of Romoou” (ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲛⲉⲱⲥⲣⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩ, *O.Crum.* 138.6), with the profits to be split evenly between the men and the monastery. In the second, a man of Romoou (ⲛⲣⲙⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ, *SB Kopt.* II 951.2-3) has entered into an agreement with Jacob son of Daniel “the monk” (ⲛⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ, ll. 4-5) to sow a field, and now states he is ready to do the work. This text was written in the hand of the monk David (ll. 25-27), indicating that the land was almost certainly the property of the monastery. Taken together, these four texts show that the monastery of Phoibammon had agricultural interests in the village of Romoou, and, on occasion, hired farmers from there.

Ermont and Apé, both strongly represented in the donation texts related to the monastery, are not well attested in these documents, and the connection to both is quite weak. Apé occurs in

<sup>16</sup> The land donated by the community of Jeme in *P.KRU* 108 is called “Kale of Peko” (ⲕⲁⲗⲏ ⲛⲡⲉⲕⲱ, l.4). A Kale of Peko is also the recipient of grain sent by the monastery of Apa Phoibammon in *O.Crum* 462. It is quite possible that the two should be equated.

<sup>17</sup> Originally published as *BKUI* 48 and *P.Pisentius* 67.

*O.Crum* 491, a copy on an ostrakon of an epitaph for a man from “the holy *topos* of Apa Stephanos of the city Apé” (ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΝΑΠΑ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΠΕ, ll. 3-5). Why this text was in the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is not clear, and a connection between the two sites has not been based on it<sup>18</sup>. Ermont, on the other hand, is mentioned in a letter, likely to the bishop, from some men who claim that Eustathius from the mountain of Ermont (ΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΕΡΜΩΝΤ, *O.Crum* 209.6-7) had an official imprison them without cause. The end of this letter is missing, but depending on where the men were imprisoned and whether or not they expected the recipient to have influence over Eustathius (if the recipient was Abraham for instance), a connection with Ermont may be possible.

The final four toponyms that occur in these documents and are also connected with Jeme are: Tabennese, Koptos, Tche, and Kos. Tabennese is weakly linked to the monastery. It occurs in *O.Crum* 359, a damaged letter in a hand associated with the monastery (Crum’s hand A<sup>19</sup>), of which the entire surviving fragment reads “here are Ananias and Paulos, about the ... of Tabennese” (ΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΝΙΑ ΜΝΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΣΑΜΑ ΝΠΖΗΣ... ΝΤΑΒΕΝΝΗΣΕ, ll. 1-3). While a connection is possible, its nature is not clear. Koptos occurs in a similarly damaged document which appears to be from a group of people from the district of Koptos ([... ΣΜΠΤΟ]Ω ΝΚΒΤ, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 11.1-2<sup>20</sup>) and is addressed to the brothers of the *topos* of Apa Phoibammon (ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΜΠΤ[ΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ] ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ, ll. 4-5). The exact nature of the document is unclear, although it may be a loan agreement. In *O.Crum* 31 (also in hand A), Abraham the “reader of the church of Tche” (ΑΝΑΔΓ(ΝΩCΤΗΣ) ΝΤΕΚΚ(ΛΗΣΙΑ) ΝΘΕ, ll.1-2) applies to Bishop Abraham to be ordained deacon of the church of Tche (ΤΕΚΚ(ΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΤΖΕ, l. 9)<sup>21</sup>. Finally, Kos occurs alongside two toponyms not connected with Jeme, Kune and Shneset (both in the Tentyra bend, not far downriver from Koptos), in an account recording items, perhaps related to charity (*O.Crum* 476). Wine, salt, and a *maaje* of food were sent to Kune (...Η]ΡΠ ΣΝΚΥΝΗ [...]ΣΜΟΥ ΣΝΚΥΝΗ [...]ΜΑΧΕ ΣΑΚΟΥΧ ΣΝΚΥΝΗ, ll. 1-3), while a *maaje* of an

<sup>18</sup> Apé is also attested in *O.Crum* 305.2 (ΣΑΠΕ), an ostrakon from the monastery. However this document is damaged and the context of this reference is lost.

<sup>19</sup> Crum describes a number of more or less distinct hands in the *O.Crum* ostraca on pp. xiii-xvi of this volume. Hand A is one associated with Bishop Abraham, the founder of the monastery, although Crum thinks that it is unlikely to be an autograph, and rather suggests that it might be the hand of the priest Victor, Abraham’s disciple and eventual successor as superior of the monastery.

<sup>20</sup> If the restoration of ΤΩΩ ‘district’ is correct, this need not refer to a particular toponym in the district of Koptos. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 323.1-2, a man is described as “the man of the district of Koptos” (ΝΕΡΜΠ[Τ]ΩΩ ΝΚΕΒΤ); and in *O.Vind.Copt.* 34, a “Moses the deacon of the district of Koptos” occurs (ΜΩΥCΗΣ ΠΔΙΑΚ/ ΜΠΤΩΩ ΝΚΥΒΗΤ, l. 10).

<sup>21</sup> Although this toponym is spelled The, rather than Tche, Crum (n.1 to the edition of *O.Crum* 31) remarks that they are likely the same, and I follow his conclusion here.

unspecified foodstuff was sent “for charity” to Kos and Shneset (...)]ΟΥΜΑΔΑΧΕ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΣΙΚΩΣ [...)]ΟΥΜΑΧΕ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΩΝΕCΗΤ, ll. 5-6).

Besides Kune and Shneset, a further six toponyms are linked to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon that are not connected with Jeme, although some are connected with other west Theban monasteries<sup>22</sup>. The best attested of these is Piohe, which is linked twice to the monastery of Phoibammon. The village Piohe is attested in *O.Crum* 36, in which three men “of the village Piohe” (ΝΤΚΩΜΗ ΜΠΙΩΞΕ, l. 2) write to a bishop (presumably Abraham) requesting that he ordain a fourth man a priest of the church in their village. In addition, the mountain of Piohe is mentioned in a damaged letter to a superior (again likely Abraham<sup>23</sup>) informing him of an attack on the inheritance of a man “of the mountain of Piohe” (ΜΠΤΟΟΥ : ΜΠΙΩΞΕ, *O.Crum* 184.5). The village of Pankalela is also attested twice in texts related to the monastery, but in one of these (*O.Crum* 127, Vo. ll. 1,8) the context is lost and it is not reasonable to make a connection on the basis of this text. A secure link to Pankalela is found in *O.Crum* 333, a payment order in a hand associated with the monastery which simply reads: “Give (at?) Pankalela 2 *tremisses* and another again to that place” (ΜΑ ΠΑΝΚΑΛΛΗΛΕ CΝΑΥ ΝΤΗΡΜΗΖΕΟΝ ΔΥΩ ΚΟΥΔΟΝ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ, ll. 1-3). The purpose of the payment is unclear, however the text indicates that the monastery had economic connections with Pankalela.

The toponyms Esna, Pajment, Tbebe, and the mountain of Tsenti are attested once each in connection with the monastery. Esna occurs in *O.Crum* 126, a letter to or from a bishop (likely Abraham) requesting that the recipient write a letter to “the deacon of Esna” (ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC : ΝCΝΕ, ll. 7-8)<sup>24</sup>. Pajment is attested in *O.Crum* 303, an agreement by two men addressed to the priest Victor (a later superior of the monastery) about their contract to work the field of Pajment (ΠΙΩΞΕ ΜΠΑΧΜΝΤ, l. 3). In *P.KRU* 118, the beginning of a legal document of uncertain nature, the *dikaion*<sup>25</sup> of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (ll. 8-10) is addressed by men who say they are “today living in Tbebe in the district of Ermont” (ΜΠΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΥΟΥΗΞ ΣΝΤΒΗΒΕ ΣΜΠΤΩ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ, 4-5). Finally, in *O.Crum* 248, an unknown

<sup>22</sup> A further three toponyms(?) might also be added here, although they lack the contextual evidence that would certainly link them to the monastery: Tpout (*O.Crum* 354.11-12); Tamouhite (*O.Crum* 194.3); and Tbele (*O.Crum* 179.3).

<sup>23</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1941, following the dissertation of M. Krause.

<sup>24</sup> Crum’s translation and notes for this text (*ed. princ.*) indicate that he thought the letter was from a bishop, however the term (]ΠΕΠΙΚ[, vo. l. 1) is in a damaged part of the text following the beginning of the address (ΤΑΔC, r. l. 11), and could reasonably be attributed to either the sender or the recipient depending on the extent of what is missing.

<sup>25</sup> On the *dikaion* see above, p. 90 (Section II) fn. 67.

individual writes to the priest Victor to inform him that he wants to sell the Psalter that he left with Victor to Petronios, a priest from the mountain of Tsenti (ΠΕΤΡΩΝΕ ΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΣΕΝΤΕΙ, ll. 4-5), and asks Victor to give it to the letter carrier, who is there on behalf of Petronios.

As with the donation texts addressed to the monastery, this mix of accounts and letters shows that the monastery was connected with a number of places, both those which were also connected with Jeme, and those which (as far as we know) were not.

### *The Network of Phoibammon*

The preceding discussion can be divided into three broad categories: connections through donors; connections through witness statements; and connections through letters and accounts. It was further suggested that the first of these might best indicate the fame of the monastery, the second the geographical spread of the people who passed through western Thebes, and the third the extent of the business and religious connections of the monastery. If this is a reasonable division, it is worth examining what degree of overlap existed between places in each category, and to what extent the places in each category were also connected with Jeme.

Of the seven attested donor locations and the 15 attested witness locations, only two toponyms are common to both: Ermont and Apé, both of which are also linked to Jeme<sup>26</sup>. In some of the donation texts, witnesses and donors from the same location occur together and in these cases, as was discussed above, it is possible that the witnesses were there with the donor and not on separate business (they may also have had additional reasons to travel with the donor). However, not all the witnesses from Apé or Ermont occur in donations by people from the same place, so some of the traffic between these sites must have been unrelated to donations. In comparison with the other documents, five of the toponyms from the witness statements also occur in the letters and accounts associated with the monastery (in which 18 toponyms occur). These are: Apé and Ermont again, Esna, Romoou, and Tabennese, of which only Esna is not also linked to Jeme.

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<sup>26</sup> Romoou may also be added to this list if Georgios son of Marininos, the donor of *P.KRU*87, is considered to have originated from there. The matter is not clear, however.

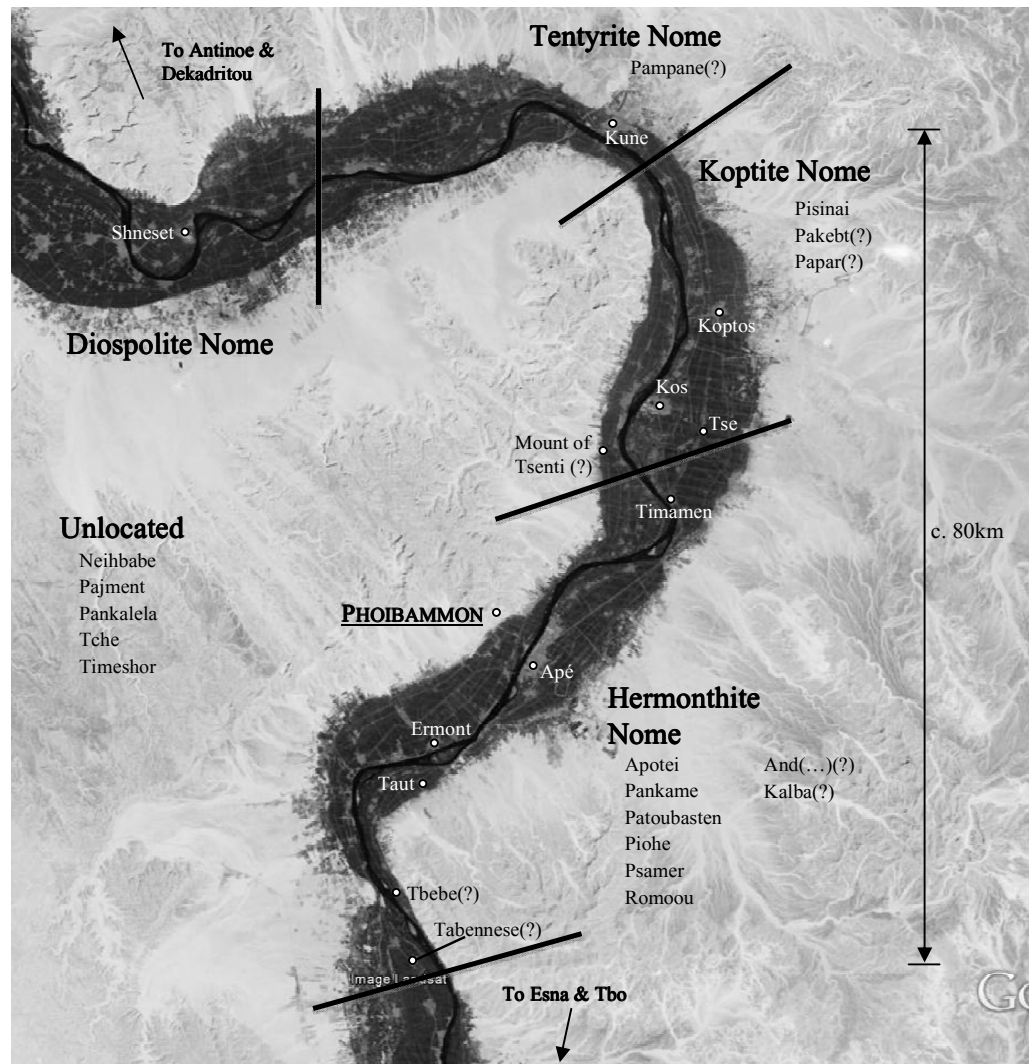


Fig. 4.1. The connections of the monastery of Phoibammon<sup>27</sup>

In total, 33 toponyms can be linked to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and, of these, 16 are also connected with Jeme<sup>28</sup>. Looking at the 15 toponyms in witness statements alone, five are also attested in other monastic texts (either as donors or in the letters and accounts), and nine are also connections of Jeme<sup>29</sup>. While it is impossible to be certain, this might suggest that some of the visitors passing through the monastery were there on business (those toponyms also attested in the accounts and letters), while others were in the area for business with Jeme, and consequently that the connections of Jeme enhanced the network of the

<sup>27</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Western Thebes and surrounds, 24°45'45.33"N 32°45'24.30"E, eye alt. 138.37km. (Imagery date: 10 April 2013) – viewed 21 July 2013. The layout of the maps in this section follows that described above, p. 148 and p. 180 fn. 174.

<sup>28</sup> For a complete comparison of the non-west Theban toponyms that occur with the west Theban communities discussed in this section, see Table 4.1 below (pp. 229-230).

<sup>29</sup> Apé, Ermont, Kalba, Papar, Pisinai, Psamer, Romoou, Tabennese, and Tse.

monastery of Phoibammon. Ultimately, however, none of the individual witnesses to the donation texts are elsewhere attested in connection with Jeme, and so it cannot be known, on the basis of this comparison alone, which community was more influential on the other.

While the question of which community was the most influential cannot be answered on the basis of this documentation, Fig. 4.1 shows that the network of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon was equal in size and scope to that of Jeme: 33 toponyms are connected with the monastery and 36 are connected with Jeme (16 are common to both), with the vast majority of toponyms in both networks being located in the Hermonthite or Koptite nomes<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, the fact that witnesses from Jeme are attested in the donation texts alongside witnesses from other locations suggests that people from Jeme were at the monastery at the same time as people from other towns. It is certainly possible that new connections could be formed in such circumstances. At any rate, it is clear that individuals from throughout the region could easily access both sites and that, together, these two communities were something of a regional centre.

## THE MONASTERY OF APA PAUL

In comparison with the monastery of Phoibammon, the monastery of Paul is significantly less well-represented in the corpus of published texts from western Thebes. Fewer connections can therefore be made, and, in fact, the connections discussed here come entirely from only four documents: *P.CLT* 1, 3, 4, and *SB* III 7240. While the inclusion of monastic networks in this section was based to a large degree on the abundance of material relating to the community, a criterion which the monastery of Apa Paul does not yet meet<sup>31</sup>, it is worth including because it was a monastery of similar size and structure to that of Phoibammon, and was consequently in a similar position to influence the network and the success of Jeme. Further, *SB* III 7240 provides information on the taxation of monasteries under the Arab administration, which is not represented in the evidence for the other institutions in the region.

<sup>30</sup> Compare to Fig. 3.3, p. 185. The 36 toponyms connected to Jeme count Ermont and its mountain as one.

<sup>31</sup> The excavations of the monastery have uncovered more than 2000 ostraca fragments, from which at least 250 texts have already been pieced together. Publication of this material is ongoing, but a variety of textual genres (accounts, letters, lists, legal documents) have been identified. Unfortunately for the purposes of making connections, remarkably few toponyms have so far been found in the texts – see Beckh, Eichner & Hodak (2011) 20-21.

*P.CLT* 1, 3, and 4 are legal texts that directly link the monastery of Apa Paul to other communities. The first of these, *P.CLT* 1, contains the most connections. In this text, Moses the son of Plouj, from the Koptite town of Pshinsion (ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲱⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ ⲁⲙⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲃⲧ, l. 5), signs over to the monastery of Apa Paul the money he brought with him when he and his son left Pshinsion to become monks there. Aside from witnesses from Jeme, there are also witnesses to this text (including two *lashanes*) from Pakothis (ⲁⲙⲧⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁⲕⲱⲑⲉⲟⲥ, l. 133), Psenheaei (ⲁⲙⲡⲱⲛⲁⲓ, l. 135), Pshinsion (ⲡⲁⲗⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲡⲱⲓⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ, l. 137; ⲁⲛⲫⲓⲥⲓⲱⲛ, l. 138), and Paue (ⲡⲁⲗⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲏ, l. 139). *P.CLT* 1 primarily establishes a connection between the monastery and Pshinsion, the original home of the (now) monk Moses. Additionally, the witness statements further connect the monastery to individuals from Jeme, Pshinsion, Pakothis, Psenheaei, and Paue, who were at the monastery when the document was drawn up<sup>32</sup>.

By contrast, *P.CLT* 3 connects the monastery with only the Fayum. In this text, which has already been mentioned in previous sections, two men from Jeme write to a local *amir* on behalf of three monks from “the cup of Apa Paul on the mountain of Jeme” (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲗⲱⲗ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲏⲙⲉ, l. 3). They request that the monks be given passes to travel “to the district of the Fayum” (ⲉⲡⲧⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲟⲙ, l. 4) for three months in order to sell ropework. This is one of the farthest connections attested for any west Theban site, and an unusually long way to go to sell rope. Unless the market for ropework was particularly good in the Fayum, which seems unlikely given the easy availability of the materials, it may be that the monks also intended to visit other monastic sites in that area<sup>33</sup>.

Finally, *P.CLT* 4 is a receipt given to the monastery by a certain Merkurios “from Pshinsion” (ⲁⲙⲡⲱⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ, l. 2) for payment for a millstone which he sold to them<sup>34</sup>. Merkurios states that he set up the stone in the monastery (ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲧⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕⲁⲩⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲁⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ, l. 7), which indicates that he must have travelled there to transport, sell, and install the stone. He also states that he brought in another person, Isaac, to assess the stone’s worth, on whose recommendation the monastery paid two *tremisses* of gold (ll. 7-10). Whether or not Isaac

<sup>32</sup> *P.CLT* 2 relates to the same Moses and his son, however the two were now established in the area and no new connections based on this text are warranted.

<sup>33</sup> Rope was chiefly made from a mixture of *halfa* grass and date-palm fibres, both of which are readily abundant throughout Egypt, and which were both found in the excavations of the monastery of Epiphanius – see Winlock & Crum (1926) 72.

<sup>34</sup> Merkurios sells what is called in the text ⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ (l. 7), literally a “stone door”. However, Schiller is probably correct in translating this as “millstone” given that lines 12-13 indicate that it was set up in the workshop (ⲉⲃⲁⲥⲧⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ, l. 12) of the monastery for “the bread of the brethren” (ⲛⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩⲩ, ll. 12-13).



also came from Pshinsion is not stated, yet this text demonstrates at least one more connection between Pshinsion and the monastery of Paul.

*The Monastery of Paul and the Arab Administration: SB III 7240*

*SB III 7240* does not link the monastery to a specific toponym, rather it deals with a tax demand from the Arab administration. Monasteries paid land taxes on the fields they owned and, eventually, monks also paid the poll tax<sup>35</sup>. Indeed, large monasteries were considered as taxable subdivisions on the same level as towns, meaning (for the seventh and eighth centuries at least) that tax assessments made by the central administration would be sent to the monasteries, who, in turn, would be responsible for allocating and collecting the taxes from its dependents<sup>36</sup>. Considering the central role taxes played in the life of all Egyptians, it is surprising that virtually no evidence relating to them has yet been published for any of the Theban monasteries, with most of the evidence for monasteries paying tax coming from Bawit<sup>37</sup>.

In fact, the evidence for interaction between the Theban monasteries and the Arab administration is restricted to one document, *SB III 7240*<sup>38</sup>. In this Greek text, dating to 697<sup>39</sup>, the well-known pagarch and likely duke of the Thebaid, Flavius Atias<sup>40</sup>, writes “to the inhabitants of Kaukoi in the mountain of Memnonia (i.e. Jeme)” (τοῖς κατοικοῦσι Καύκοις εἰς τὸ ὄρος Μემνονίων, l. 9) that he will let them remain in their residence without molestation

<sup>35</sup> The poll tax on monks was not introduced until the end of the seventh century. See the discussions in Dennet (1950) 75, 94; Rāḡib (1997) 143. For some of the ways in which monks managed this tax payment, see Clackson (2000) 23-26.

<sup>36</sup> That monasteries were separate subdivisions is seen in the Aphrodito tax registers: Bell (1924) 272. For a discussion on how taxes were assessed generally, see Frantz-Murphy (1999) 242-244.

<sup>37</sup> Particularly from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, for which see Delattre (2007:A) 70 and Clackson (2000) 23-26.

<sup>38</sup> First edited by Bell (1924) 266-275.

<sup>39</sup> The dating of this text is the subject of some discussion. Based on the indiction year it can either be dated to 17 October 697 or 712. In his original publication of this text, Bell (1924) 272-273 preferred 712, despite the fact that Atias' dates fit better with 697, because of a reference to the poll tax on the monks, which *The History of the Patriarchs* states was not introduced before 705. However, Dennet (1950) 74-75 argues that this claim is incorrect and that the poll tax was probably introduced on monks just before the insurrection of monks occurring in 693/4 (Abbot (1938) 98 states that the tax on monks was introduced under the governor Abd al-Aziz ibn Marwan between 685-705, during the caliphate of Abd al-Malik). Dennet therefore preferred the 697 date. Evidence regarding Flavius Atias that became available after Bell's publication also supports a 697 date, for which see Gascou & Worp (1982) 85-86; Sijpesteijn & Worp (1983) 194-196; and, more recently, Cromwell (2013:A) 283-284, who notes that recent evidence could support a later date (712), although she prefers the earlier dating in lack of further evidence.

<sup>40</sup> For information about the archive of Flavius Atias see Sijpesteijn & Worp (1983) 189-197. Its dating has been recently discussed by Cromwell (2013:A) 283-284, who also notes that Flavius Atias was likely already duke when *SB III 7240* was written.

on the condition that they live peacefully and continue to pay their poll tax, which they had defaulted on “during a period of insurrection” (ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἀνταρσίας, ll. 13, 20). That ‘Kaukoi’ in this text refers to a monastery on the mountain of Jeme is evidenced by the reference to “the other monasteries” (τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστήρια, l. 12). In a note to Bell, Crum suggested that this was a reference to the monastery of Apa Paul, which is elsewhere called “the cup of the mountain of Jeme” (ἡκοχολ μπητοῦ νχημέ, *P.KRU* 1106.18-19), as καῦκος is a well-attested Byzantine term for ‘cup’<sup>41</sup>. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that the same Greek term is used in descriptions of monks from the monastery of Apa Paul in *P.CLT* 3.12-14, and that *SB* III 7240 was acquired with a number of Coptic papyri, including the *P.CLT* material, relating to the same monastery<sup>42</sup>.

*SB* III 7240 is testimony to the fact that the Arab administration monitored the tax payments of the Theban monasteries and was in direct contact with them when necessary. It also suggests a period of insurrection that is otherwise unattested. The Arabic sources say that the first Coptic revolt in upper Egypt took place in 739, which is too late to be the one referred to in this papyrus<sup>43</sup>. It is possible that this was not a major conflict, but a small scale resistance against paying the poll tax by monks of the Theban monasteries. We know, for instance, that when the poll tax was first applied to monks, they refused to pay it and that it had to be reintroduced at a later point<sup>44</sup>. It is then a question of whether or not this ‘insurrection’ impacted on the residents of Jeme in any way. Unfortunately the sources are silent on this point, yet it is hard to imagine that tax evasion on the very doorstep of Jeme would not have brought the town to the attention of the administration.

### *The Network of the Monastery of Apa Paul*

Of the toponyms attested with the monastery of Paul, Pshinsion and Psenheaei also have links with Jeme, whereas Pakothis, Paue and the Fayum do not. Only Pshinsion and the Fayum, however, have a known location (general in the case of the former, specific in the latter). As such, a map displaying the connections of this monastery (present for all other sites discussed

<sup>41</sup> Bell (1924) 266-267. See also the description of this monastery in Appendix A, pp. 297-298.

<sup>42</sup> Bell (1924) 266; see also Cromwell (2007) 60 for the 1924 acquisitions of Mr Lythgoe.

<sup>43</sup> Wickham (2005) 140. Both Wickham (2005) and Bell (1924) 271 note an earlier revolt in 726, however this was among the inhabitants of the delta. In any case, *SB* III 7240 cannot be dated after 712 (Cromwell (2013:A) 283-284), so this cannot be a reference to any later insurrection.

<sup>44</sup> Dennet (1950) 94. Dennet also refers to an insurrection of monks occurring in 693/4 (p. 75), which could be related to this text.

in Section IV) has been omitted. In regard to the eight connections of this monastery attested in the documents discussed here, it should be noted that four are with Pshinsion, whereas each of the other four toponyms has only one. Whether or not Pshinsion had an especial connection to the monastery is not clear, and it is probably a stretch to try to argue this on the basis of so few published documents. What these texts, and in particular *P.CLT* 1, do suggest is that, like the monastery of Phoibammon, the monastery of Paul was known in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes; well enough to attract a convert from Pshinsion in the Koptite nome, and to have individuals from there and other places present when a document required witnesses. Given that three other witnesses of *P.CLT* 1 were from Jeme (ll. 112, 113, 125), it is possible that the monastery of Paul was also a place where contacts between the inhabitants of Jeme and those of other communities in the region could be made.

#### THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

As discussed in Section II, the monastery of Epiphanius was of a different nature to the larger monasteries of Phoibammon and Paul. This was a small community of monks based around a number of elders. There is very little indication of a formal administrative structure of the kind seen in the larger monasteries<sup>45</sup>. As such, the visible connections of the monastery of Epiphanius are also of a different nature. Whereas many of the interactions between the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and Jeme were directed to the monastery itself (through its superior), the connections between the monastery of Epiphanius and Jeme involve individual members of that community. When looking at the interactions between the monks of Epiphanius and communities outside western Thebes, this pattern is no different. A large number of connections with such communities are attested in the documentation relating to and excavated from this monastery, and these are examined in the following discussion<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> The only indication that an administrative structure might have existed inside the monastery of Epiphanius comes from a reference to its *diakonia* in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 178, for which see below, p. 216 and especially fn. 79.

<sup>46</sup> The connections between the monastery and Jeme, the best represented town in these documents, have already been laid out in Section II. Beyond this, there are also potential connections to other communities on the mountain of Jeme, such as to the monastery of Cyriacus (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 281 and 457), the *topos* of Saint Mark (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 84), and to the monk Frange (who writes a number of letters to the monks of Epiphanius: *P.Mon.Epiph.* 119, 247, 351, 376, and 412). As stated in the beginning of Section IV, such connections will not be examined here, as the focus is on those outside this area.

Identifying the connections of the monastery of Epiphanius is not an easy matter. In the first place, this community seems not to have had a commonly-used toponym by which it was referred. Moreover, the state of preservation of many of the documents means that in several cases the recipient, whom we might expect to be a monk of this community, is unknown. Damaged texts also mean that when a toponym is present the context is sometimes too obscure to make a connection. The following connections are based primarily on the material excavated at the monastery by the Winlock expedition, and presented in the *P.Mon.Epiph.* volume. In this way, the provenance of the texts helps to form many of the connections<sup>47</sup>. Very few of the individuals mentioned as recipients of the following texts are ever identified as monks; only those who appear regularly can we be truly certain of. However, unless there is a reasonable cause to doubt that the recipient in question was a monk or other resident of the monastery of Epiphanius, they are assumed to be. Be that as it may, not all connections are secure and those which are less so are flagged as such below.

### *Connections Shared with Jeme*

More than half the toponyms linked to the monastery of Epiphanius are also linked to Jeme, and these toponyms make up most of the visible interactions, many being attested multiple times. Of these, Ermont is the best attested with four secure connections and four which are more tentative. Most of these eight connections are letters. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 176, a man in prison writes to Papnoute complaining about a series of problems including that he has no family in Ermont to answer for him (ll. 1-3), that he is ill-treated, and that Papnoute has neglected him. He then requests that food be sent to him in prison. The fact that the prisoner complains of a lack of family in Ermont suggests that this is where he was imprisoned, and from where he wrote the letter to Papnoute (in the monastery of Epiphanius) requesting aid. Another letter, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 254, is addressed to Pisenthios the bishop of Koptos, who resided at the monastery of Epiphanius for a time<sup>48</sup>. The sender requests that Pisenthios send to Ermont (l. 3) for a lawyer, in order to resolve a matter concerning a commemorative offer. The bishop Pisenthios is also involved in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 172, in which a certain Lucas writes to Apa Psan the anchorite, asking him to ask Bishop Pisenthios to write to Apa Elias, “and to write to Ermont, to the men of Ermont” (ΝΓΥCΔΑΙ ΕΞΡΔΙ ΕΡΜΟΝΤ ΝΝΡΜΕΡΜΟΝΤ, ll. 15-17)

<sup>47</sup> Note that some of the material published in *P.Mon.Epiph.* is provenanced to another nearby monastery, which is called the monastery of Kyriakos by Winlock and Crum. Such texts are clearly identified in the publication and have been excluded from consideration in the following discussion.

<sup>48</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 223-231.

about a matter which is lost in the lacuna. This connection is not entirely secure, since it is unclear whether Lucas wants Pisenthios to write to both Elias and Ermont, in which case there is a direct connection, or if he wants Pisenthios to ask Elias to write to Ermont, in which case the connection is between Elias' location and Ermont<sup>49</sup>. However, the former scenario seems the most likely. A more secure connection is found in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 310, in which a man writes to a superior he refers to as "my father" (παειωτ, l. 10) that some corn was brought to Ermont and is being sold there (ll. 3-4). He asks that a man be sent out to settle the matter.

Two less secure connections are found in the letters *P.Mon.Epiph.* 438 and 272. The former is unaddressed and informs the recipient that the sender succeeded in making Pisente of Ermont agree to something which is not explicit and further refers to sent and requested items, including goat hair, a sack, and some rope. As it is unclear what relationship existed between the recipient, presumably at the monastery, and Pisente in Ermont, this is only a potential connection. Similarly, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 272 is a badly damaged letter to Apa Joseph the priest, from Hello of Penhotp (l. 17). In this letter, Ermont (l. 7) and the man of Ermont (l. 12) are mentioned, but the context is not clear. This text is also the only one to show a connection to Penhotp, which is not attested in connection with Jeme<sup>50</sup>. Beyond these letters, one other text is proof of the movement of people from Ermont to the monastery. In a Greek graffito on the walls of the monastery, Phoibammon, a reader of a church in Ermont, requests prayers from passing visitors (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 678). Graffiti left by visitors are a common feature of many Theban monasteries and cells, and are found in all the tombs associated with the monastery of Epiphanius<sup>51</sup>.

A final potential connection to Ermont is attested in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 87, the testament of Kalashire the monk. Only the opening address of this text survives, however it is directed to Apa Epiphanius the monk, "who is ascribed to the city of Ermont, being a monk on the mountain of Jeme, the same mountain on which I live"<sup>52</sup>. It is likely that this Epiphanius was

<sup>49</sup> The third person, masculine, singular conjunctive ἡγεζαῖ is used in both instances (ll. 13 and 15).

<sup>50</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 269, however, mentions it in a context that suggests a monastery or church may have existed there ("... the holy [monastery?] of Penhotep" ...ⲭ[ⲙ]ⲁ ⲛⲭⲟ[ⲟ]ϣ ... ⲉⲩⲟϣ]ⲁⲗⲁⲃ ⲡⲛⲫⲱⲧⲡⲓ ll. 3-4). This text is too damaged to be used for even a possible connection. An Apa Joseph, who lives on the mountain of Jeme and who is both a priest and anchorite, is mentioned as the spiritual father of Kalashire the monk in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 87, for which see the following paragraph.

<sup>51</sup> The graffiti from the monastery of Epiphanius are mostly published as *P.Mon.Epiph.* 635-702. This graffito was found in the original monastery, i.e. the structures surrounding TT103, considered the first tomb associated with this community and the tomb in which the famous Epiphanius resided.

<sup>52</sup> ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲛⲡ ⲉⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲟϣ ⲛⲭⲏⲙⲉ ⲡⲧⲟⲟϣ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲟϣⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲱ (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87.8-9).

a monk at the monastery of Epiphanius, and was perhaps even the famous Epiphanius himself. Regardless, this text shows a monk who moved to this monastery from Ermont. This text may also connect the monastery to the community at Pashme, although this connection is not certain. Kalashire rather confusingly describes himself as “the priest of Saint Apa Georgios, the son of Apa Dios, the man of the estate of Pashme in the nome of Koptos, the monk, the son also according to God, of the most pious, blessed priest Apa Joseph the anchorite, who lives on the mountain of Jeme”<sup>53</sup>. This list of names, titles and locations suggests that Kalashire first resided in Pashme with Apa Dios (his real or spiritual father), and later moved to the mountain of Jeme to become a monk under Apa Joseph<sup>54</sup>. Whether or not Kalashire lived at the monastery of Epiphanius is not clear; his statement that he lived on the same mountain as Epiphanius (ll. 8-9) is not indicative that he lived in the monastery of Epiphanius specifically, since all the monastic communities of the Theban necropolis were on the mountain of Jeme. Joseph is certainly a common enough name in these texts, and occurs a number of times with the titular ‘Apa’<sup>55</sup>. If Kalashire was a monk at the monastery of Epiphanius, then a connection to Pashme may also be established.

Other texts may also link the monastery to Pashme. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 270v is a statement by which Shenetom the fisherman of Pashme (l. 15) divorces one wife and takes another. How this text came to be in the monastery of Epiphanius is unclear, but the fact that it did suggests some movement between these two places<sup>56</sup>. More securely, in *P.KRU* 75, Isaac the monk and priest of “the holy *topos* of Apa Shenoute of the mountain of Pashme” (ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΑΧΜΕ, ll. 146-147) writes a witness statement on the testament of two owners of the monastery of Apa Epiphanius, Jacob and Elias. To do this he must have travelled to the monastery, where the document was probably written.

The capital of the neighbouring nome, Koptos, is well represented in the Epiphanius texts, unlike in the Jeme network. This connection is clearest in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 323 and 660(b). The first is a short letter in which the sender introduces Zacharias “the man of the district of

<sup>53</sup> ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΠΑ ΔΙΟΣ ΠΡΜΤΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΑΨΜΕ ΣΜΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΚΕΤ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΜΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΪΩΣΗΦ ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΗΣ ΣΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87.1-4).

<sup>54</sup> Either that or Apa Dios was the disciple of Apa Joseph the anchorite. In which case Kalashire could be the disciple of Apa Dios, presumably now on the mountain of Jeme himself.

<sup>55</sup> See the index to *P.Mon.Epiph.*, p. 351.

<sup>56</sup> This text was written on the back of an earlier, torn letter (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 270r) discussing the actions of a man and a woman, the latter of whom had gone to Jeme, and which also mentions a monastery. While the reused papyrus was found in the monastery, the original provenance and exact purpose of this first text remains unclear.

Koptos” (ⲛⲉⲣⲙⲛ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲉⲃⲧ, ll. 1-2), presumably the carrier of the letter, and asks that he be given a measure of *orax* (probably a type of grain). The second is a graffito requesting prayers left by Matthew “the man of Koptos” (ⲛⲣⲙⲕⲟⲃⲧ). Additionally, the remains of a letter addressed to the Bishop Pisenthios, and which is addressed “from [... of K]optos” (ⲉⲓⲧⲛⲓ [ ... ⲕ]ⲟⲃⲧ, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 152, verso l. 2<sup>57</sup>), suggests a possible connection. A final, indirect connection is presented in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 327. In this text, a certain Elisaïos writes to an unnamed person (but also greets Apa Markos and Psan, thus suggesting the recipient was a monk) about a *solidus* worth of sesame that was entrusted to him by the recipient. Elisaïos has heard that the price of sesame in Koptos is high and requests that the recipient lets him know quickly if he wants the sesame sold there, before the price drops. While the recipient of this text does not have a direct connection to Koptos, his sesame may well end up there, so an indirect connection is warranted.

A community well-connected with both the monastery and Jeme is that of Tabennese. While it bears the same name as the location of one of the original Pachomian monasteries (located to the north of the Koptite nome), it is unlikely to be the same site as it is frequently associated with toponyms south of Ermont<sup>58</sup>. Two of these attestations come from letters. The first, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 138, is only a fragment, but mentions a certain Mark, the man of Tabennese (ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲙⲧⲁⲃⲛⲏⲥⲉ, l. 2<sup>59</sup>) who seems to have done something requiring investigation. It is not stated whether a member of the Epiphanius community was requested to investigate the matter, and so this connection is not secure. The second letter is *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163, a request by Shenoute the *lashane* of Jeme for Epiphanius to write to the *lashane* of Taut about prisoners held there and in Tabennese. This text has already been discussed in the sections dealing with Jeme’s connections with Epiphanius and with other towns, and will not be examined in any further detail here<sup>60</sup>. Taut is not otherwise mentioned in connection with the monastery of Epiphanius.

The two other texts mentioning Tabennese are *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519 and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 526, both of which also mention the toponyms Thone and Timamen. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519 is a damaged account of expenses containing names, sums of money, and items, including camels, corn,

<sup>57</sup> Crum does not provide a transcription of this text. The transcription provided here is my own, based on the image available on the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collections database (MMA 12.180.326).

<sup>58</sup> See the description of this toponym in Appendix A, pp. 283-285.

<sup>59</sup> Crum does not provide a transcription. My reading of this line is based on the image available on the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collections database (MMA 14.1.519).

<sup>60</sup> See pp. 114-115 and 170.

and lentils. Among the expenses listed are: a *solidus* paid to a “man of Tabennese” ([P]̄ΜΤΑΒΕΝΗCΕ, l. 4); a *solidus* paid to “Iohannes the man of Thone” (ΟῩΖΑΝΗC Ρ̄ΜΘΩΝΕ, l. 6); and something, perhaps grain, for “Azarias the man of Timamen” (ΑΖΑΡΙΑC Ρ̄ΜΤΕΜΑΜΗΝ, l. 14). Two other toponyms also occur in this account: line 12 refers to a “Theodoros the man of Pho” (ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC Ρ̄ΜΠ̄ΖΟ), a toponym not attested with Jeme, and line 9 to “Ananias of Pshatbante” (ΑΝΑΝΙΑC ΜΠΩΔΤΒΑΝΤΕ), which is. Crum was hesitant concerning this last toponym since, although it bears close similarity to Pshatbampe, which is connected to Jeme in *O.CrumST* 437, it is not preceded by Ρ̄Μ- as are the others in this text. The similarities, however, make it possible that this is the toponym Pshatbampe. As mentioned above, the three toponyms Tabennese, Timamen and Thone, also occur together in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 526, probably a damaged account since it contains a number of names, the last followed by a sum of money (ΟῩΖΟΛ[verso l. 5). Unfortunately, Crum does not provide a transcription of this text, but the toponyms Timamen and Thone can be read on the catalogue image (ΝΤΕΜΑΜΗΝ, recto l. 3; ΝΘΩΝΕ, recto l. 4)<sup>61</sup>. The attestation of Tabennese is not as clear, although it presumably lies at the end of line 4 on the verso. That both these texts contain the same three toponyms is curious, but it is difficult to say anything more definitive about this fact. It is possible that the two texts related to the affairs of the same monk.

Many other toponyms, besides those already mentioned, are shared connections between the monastery of Epiphanius and Jeme, however these occur less frequently. The towns of Apé and Ne, located across the Nile from Jeme, also occur in the Epiphanius material. Ne is the least securely connected of these, with only two indirect connections. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 200, a man writes to Apa Epiphanius expressing concern about men who have come into the district, and the danger they will be in should they seize Ne (ll. 4-7). This text does not demonstrate a real connection, as we do not know where the writer was, but it at least shows an awareness of current events at the town. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 369, on the other hand, is a letter from one Sabinos to “Paham the man of Ne” (ΠΑΧΑΜ Π̄Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄[Η], l. 4<sup>62</sup>), asking that he send cloth. As this letter was addressed to a man of Ne, its presence at the monastery of Epiphanius is puzzling. It may be that Sabinos was a monk there and never sent the letter, or that Paham sent the letter back with the cloth. Although some connection seems to have existed, this is not a secure link.

<sup>61</sup> The image can be accessed on the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collections database (MMA 12.180.123).

<sup>62</sup> Crum does not provide a transcription. The image can be accessed on the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collections online database (MMA 14.1.175).



A possible connection between Apé and the monastery occurs in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 460recto, a letter in which the sender (unnamed) writes that he received the recipient's (also unnamed) letter and is carrying out his requests. The sender further mentions that he sent a letter to the *vicarious* at Apé, asking for the wagon to be sent (ll. 8-9). This is not a secure connection as it depends upon the understanding that the wagon was being sent from Apé to the monastery, which is by no means sure. Apé also occurs in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 522, a damaged account containing names and sums of money, among which is a "man of Apé" (πρμνἀπη, l. 2). Also occurring in this text are a man from Kalba (σικαλβα, l. 4), and a certain Apa Iohannes "of Pshoueb" (ᾠπῳηβ, l. 1), the latter of which is not attested in connection with Jeme. Kalba is also attested in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 302, but this link is not secure. In this damaged letter, an Andreas writes to his "brother" (verso l. 1<sup>63</sup>) through Shenetom, "the man of Kalba" (πρωμκαλβα, recto l. 2) about a matter involving the delivery of grain. Apas Isaac and Elias, a well-attested pair from the monastery<sup>64</sup>, are also involved, making it certain that a resident of this monastery was the recipient. However, as the exact nature of the involvement of Shenetom of Kalba is unclear, the nature of this link is also unclear.

Three more toponyms, all also attested with Jeme, occur twice each in connection with the monastery: Patoubasten, Pisinai, and Romoou. Patoubasten is mentioned in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 147 and 500. The first of these is a letter from a certain Presbuteros (seemingly a name, not the title, as there is no lacuna in which another name might have stood) regarding prayers for a sick camel. He asks that a reply be sent to Patoubasten (ll. 21-22). The second, less-secure reference is a damaged account in which Patoubasten is mentioned in an unknown context (πατοῦ[βαστν], l. 9)<sup>65</sup>. Pisinai is linked with the monastery in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 544 and 668. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 544 is a record of some transactions, one of which mentions that a certain Moses came with "a man of Pisinai" (οὐρμπεῳεναι, l. 16) to take some unknown item. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 668, on the other hand, is a graffito requesting prayers for Papnoute the deacon and "[man of] Pisinai" ([πρμ]πεῳιναι<sup>66</sup>). Finally, Romoou is attested in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 95 and 293, however both are less than secure references. In the former, a certain Paul writes to Iohannes son of Pebo "of Romoou" (ᾠρμμοῦ, l. 3) regarding pledges that were left with him. The latter is a letter from a woman who was related to "Ananias of Romoou" (ἀνανιας

<sup>63</sup> Crum does not provide a transcription. The image can be accessed on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collections database (MMA. 12.180.328).

<sup>64</sup> See Crum's note 4 to the edition of this text.

<sup>65</sup> Crum does not provide a transcription. The image can be accessed on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collections database (MMA. 12.180.127).

<sup>66</sup> On the variation in spelling of this toponym see Appendix A, p. 274.

ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲁ, l. 1<sup>67</sup>) and who makes a request and refers to the payment of some money. In neither case is it clear exactly how the document relates to the monastery of Epiphanius. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 293 may have been addressed to a monk there and, assuming the writer was also from Romoou, a link could therefore be made, but this is hypothetical. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 95, on the other hand, was addressed to a man of Romoou so its presence at the monastery is puzzling (as with *P.Mon.Epiph.* 369, discussed above). That said, a Iohannes son of Pebo is a witness in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163.16-17, a letter from the community of Jeme to Epiphanius, so Iohannes may have either been a resident of the monastery or lived nearby.

Only two other toponyms connected to both Jeme and the monastery of Epiphanius require discussion, and both are attested only once. The town of Papar, possibly located in the Koptite nome, is mentioned in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 533, an account of payments made in money and grain. Here, a *tremis* which was received in payment for a garment was then paid to a craftsman of Papar (ll. 4-7<sup>68</sup>). Finally, Apa Severos, a man from the distant town of Antinoe (ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲉⲩⲏⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲣⲙⲁⲛⲧ[ⲉ]ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲩ, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 652(a)<sup>69</sup>) left a graffito requesting prayers to record his visit to the monastery.

### *Connections Not Shared with Jeme*

While the connections that the monastery of Epiphanius shared with Jeme are almost all attested at least twice, its connections not shared with Jeme are all, except one, attested only once. Some of these singular attestations have already been mentioned: Pho and Penhotp, for instance, occurred in texts that also contained shared connections (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519 and 272 respectively). Another is Pshoueb (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 522), and this town is the only unshared connection to be attested twice. Pshoueb also occurs in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 296, in which an unnamed individual writes to Apa Isaac, asking him to write to Apa Iohannes of Pshoueb (l. 9, quite possibly the same Apa Iohannes mentioned in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 522), that he may in turn write to Koptos (l. 11) to find a baker skilled in making bread and butter who can be sent to make bread for the original sender. It is clear that the sender of this text expects a connection

<sup>67</sup> I follow Crum's assumption that Roma is a variant of Romoou (see note 2 to the edition). Crum does not provide a transcription. The image can be accessed on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collections database (MMA. 12.180.219).

<sup>68</sup> The nature of the craftsman was not clear to Crum (see note 4 of his edition) and I am unable to offer any further understanding.

<sup>69</sup> Crum, note 7 in his edition of this text, is unsure of his translation of this toponym.



Patoubasten, but which also appears to mention going to Tentyra ([Β]ΩΚ ΔΝΙΤΝΤΩΡΕ, l. 6<sup>75</sup>). The fragmentary and obscure nature of this text means that the relationship between this reference and Epiphanius is not clear. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 93, on the other hand, is an acknowledgement of debt between Isaac son of Papnoute “who lives in the village of Apa Papnoute” (ΠΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΗΞ ΖΝΤΚΩΜΗ ΝΑΠΑ ΠΑΠΟΥΤΕ, ll. 2-4), and Moses son of Seth (the lender), for an unknown sum of money to be repaid in the harvest. It is probable that Moses was a member of the Epiphanius community, thus this text should be considered a likely connection<sup>76</sup>. A similar relationship, connecting Epiphanius to Pchatape, is expressed in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 85. Here, Aaron and Gideon, the sons of Paul “from Pchatape in the nome of Ermont” (ΜΠΧΑΤΑΠΗ ΣΑΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ, l. 2), acknowledge that Apa Petronios “the monk of the mountain of Jeme” (ΠΜΟΝΟΧ(ΟΣ) ΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ, ll. 3-4) has given them two *holokottinoi*, in return for which they will sow two fields of flax for him<sup>77</sup>. These latter two documents are important not only for illustrating the connections of the monks of Epiphanius, but because they demonstrate that the monks, like certain lenders of Jeme, lent money to people from other towns in the region.

Finally, two texts may show long distance connections that this monastery does not share with Jeme. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 473, a fragmentary letter of unclear purpose, “Kuriak[os the man of] Koeis” (ΚΥΡΙΑΚ[ΟΣ ΠΡΜ]ΚΟΕΙΣ, A. verso ll. 2-3) writes to Apa Epiphanius the anchorite. Unless this man was a jar dealer<sup>78</sup>, then this letter came from distant Kynopolis in Middle Egypt. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 178, on the other hand, is a letter from the monk Pshere (l. 4) to the *diakonia* (l. 8, presumably of the monastery of Epiphanius<sup>79</sup>), requesting charity. The first three lines of this text were perhaps erased, but seem to read “... because I do not leave Psoi” (ΧΕΜΑΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΨΑΪ, ll. 2-3). The relationship of these lines to the main body of the letter is

<sup>75</sup> Crum does not provide a transcription. The image can be accessed on the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collections database (MMA. 12.180.127).

<sup>76</sup> This is, however, by no means certain. *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 and 28 (discussed above, p. 110), for instance, seem to be two loan agreements kept at a monastery but which in fact belonged to a resident of nearby Jeme. A Moses son of Seth son of Apa Papnoute the martyr writes a graffito in the monastery (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 698). R. Dekker (forthcoming), associates Moses son of Seth with Moses the copyist of Cell A (one of the outlying cells within the monastery’s boundary walls), and she accordingly dates this text between 607 and 612.

<sup>77</sup> A monk is also the scribe of this text (ll. 14-16).

<sup>78</sup> Crum (note 4 to his edition of this text) notes that ΚΟΕΙΣ, ‘wine jar’, would require [ΠΚΩΤ ΝΚΑΤ] to precede it in the lacuna, for which there is no space. [ΠΣΑΠ]ΚΟΕΙΣ, ‘jar dealer’ is possible, but not found elsewhere.

<sup>79</sup> Interestingly, this is the only reference in the monastery of Epiphanius material which suggests that it might have had any kind of official administrative structure. If the sender of this letter did indeed come from Psoi/Ptolemais, it may be that he was unaware of the exact administrative structure of the monastery, and attempted to be as formal as possible. The *diakonia* of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is mentioned in the donation *P.KRU* 108, and is the body of the monastery responsible for its provisioning (see fn. 31 in Section II).

not clear, however they may indicate that the monk Pshere resided in Ptolemais Hermeiou, called Psoi in Coptic, the city with which Crum equates this toponym<sup>80</sup>.

### *The Network of the Monastery of Epiphanius*

In terms of size and distribution, the network of the monastery of Epiphanius (see Fig. 4.2) is surprisingly similar to that of the much larger community of Jeme. There are 27 toponyms connected with this monastery versus 36 with Jeme, and 15 of these are common to both networks. Moreover, the majority of links are distributed throughout the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes, with only a few being to more distant sites, as with Jeme's network. However, the character of the interactions that make up the network of the monastery of Epiphanius (at least those links with communities outside western Thebes) is more varied. Whereas Jeme's network was characterised by legal agreements, particularly loans but also sales and agricultural contracts, the network of Epiphanius is primarily attested in a wide variety of letters: from those requesting charity, to those sending information about the movement or sale of goods, to one concerned with prayers for a sick camel. Of course, letters provide evidence for part of the Jeme network too (although less so requests for charity and prayers, etc.), just as loan agreements are found in the monastery, but on a much smaller scale.

The similarity of the two networks suggests that the two communities had access to the same exchange network, however the difference in the way connections are attested suggests that they maintained these connections in different ways. This difference is likely a result of the different nature of the two communities. Whereas Jeme was a thriving town whose secular inhabitants were able to travel as freely as their pockets allowed, the monks of the monastery of Epiphanius were, by custom, more sedentary. As such, any business the monks needed to conduct would require the monk to send letters to their recipients through intermediaries, rather than going to the location of their business themselves, as the lenders of Jeme did<sup>81</sup>. Ultimately, the interactions of the monks, and those of the inhabitants of Jeme, shared many similarities, however the means by which these interactions took place varied.

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<sup>80</sup> See Crum's note 6 to his edition of this text.

<sup>81</sup> Those who borrowed money from the monks of the Epiphanius community likely came to the monastery for the loan, as seems to have been the case with the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (see above, pp. 62-63).

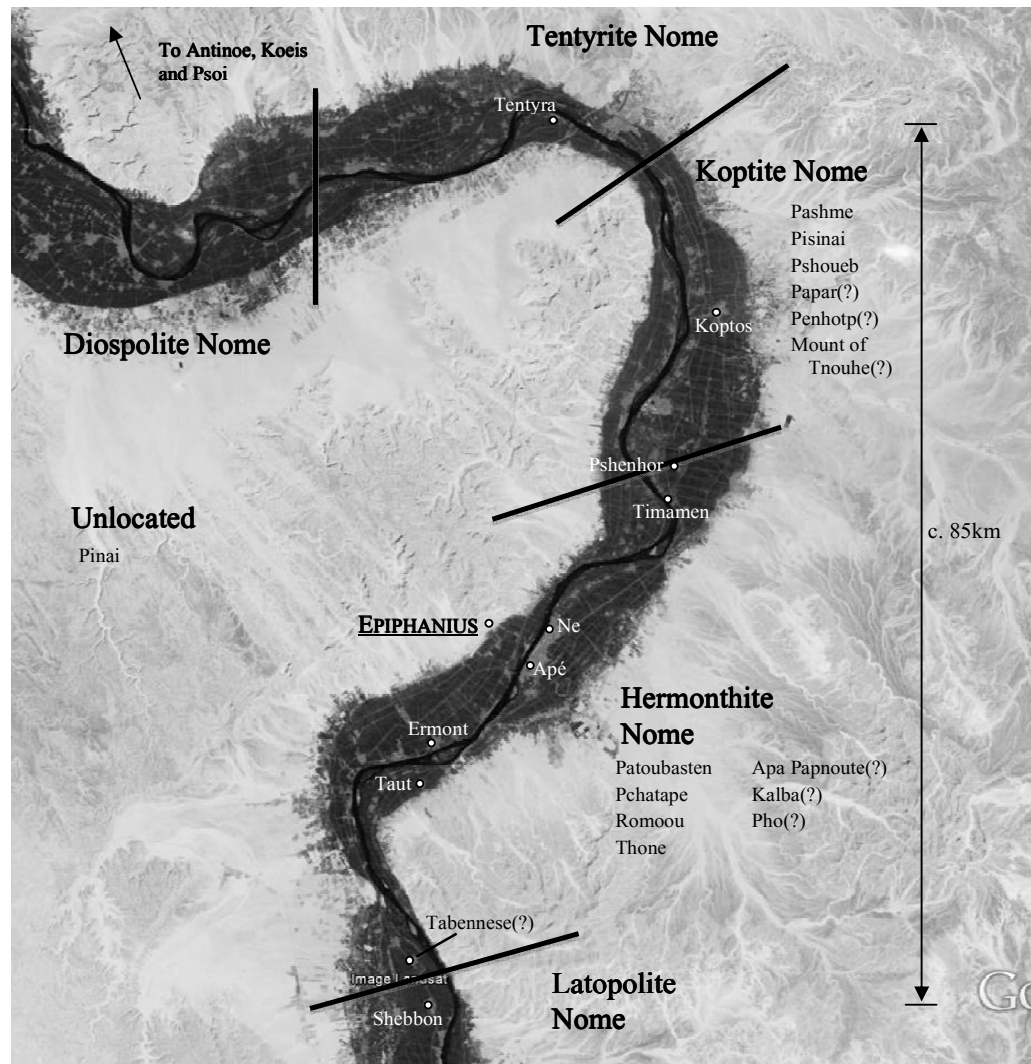


Fig. 4.2. The connections of the monastery of Epiphanius<sup>82</sup>

If the connections of the monastery of Epiphanius were primarily made through intermediaries, to what extent could this network interact with that of Jeme and vice versa? While this monastery seems to have lacked the regional fame enjoyed by that of Phoibammon, that individual monks such as Epiphanius could still draw visitors is suggested by the graffiti left on the walls of his cell after his death<sup>83</sup>. As with the larger monastery, some of these visitors may well have passed through Jeme, potentially allowing more permanent links to form. Likewise, while the letters between the monks of Epiphanius and the inhabitants of distant towns may not have been delivered personally, in the absence of a postal system they still relied on regional traffic to get to their location. This suggests that traffic

<sup>82</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Western Thebes and surrounds, 24°45'45.33"N 32°45'24.30"E, eye alt. 138.37km. (Imagery date: 10 April 2013) – viewed 21 July 2013.

<sup>83</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 31.

existed between western Thebes and those towns for which there is no evidence of a connection with Jeme.

## FRANGE (TT29)

Compared to the monasteries described above, the extent to which Frange and his network may have been able to influence that of Jeme is quite minimal. Nonetheless, Frange's network is worthy of consideration here since there are more texts relating to him than to any other monk of the mountain of Jeme. The texts relating to the other sites, particularly the monastery of Epiphanius and Jeme itself, present us with small samples of the interactions that specific individuals maintained during their lifetime, but cannot indicate the extent to which interactions were maintained beyond the text in which they are attested. The texts relating to Frange, by comparison, provide the opportunity to view the network of an individual in greater detail. To be sure, Frange's pattern of interactions may not be typical of the residents of Jeme or even other monks on the mountain of Jeme, but lacking evidence to the contrary, it is a good place to start<sup>84</sup>.

### *Frange and Petemout*

The Frange dossier shows a great deal of movement to and from Frange's cell, but only a small portion of this movement has a known point of origin or destination<sup>85</sup>. Of these, the town of Petemout, already known from the Jeme connections, is by far the best represented. The strong connections between Frange and Petemout had already been discussed extensively by Chantal Heurtel before the publication of the *TT29* material<sup>86</sup>. The present discussion is based on both this study and the subsequently published texts, and, while it is not yet possible to significantly advance Heurtel's discussion, it is a necessary inclusion for the purposes of comparison to the Jeme network.

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<sup>84</sup> For a much more comprehensive look at the entirety of Frange's interactions, not just those which were with people in distant toponyms, see the valuable description in Heurtel (2008:A). In the discussion below, I exclude toponyms which occur in texts identified as exercises, as these do not certainly represent a connection.

<sup>85</sup> Some texts which speak of or request an individual to come to Frange's cell, or which speak of Frange himself visiting another, but which do not contain associated toponyms are: *O.TT29* 61; 88; 120; 127; 134; 146; 150; 153; 331. Beyond this, every one of Frange's hundreds of surviving letters naturally represents movement through their delivery.

<sup>86</sup> Heurtel (2008:B).

Frangé's close association with Petemout stems primarily from the fact that he lived there before becoming a monk. In fact, despite his new location on the mountain of Jeme, he frequently identifies himself as "Frangé the man of Petemout, who lives on the mountain of Jeme" (φρανγε πρ̄μπετεμοϋτ πετοϋνη2 ζ̄μπτοοϋ ν̄χημε, *O.TT29* 39.3-4), which demonstrates that he still identified closely with his first home<sup>87</sup>. Such references, however, should not be considered individual connections in their own right, rather, they all refer to the same link: Frangé originated from Petemout and later lived in his cell on the mountain of Jeme. While these references to Petemout represent only one link, many more indicate that Frangé was in regular contact with people from that village.

The best evidence for this is in the correspondence between Frangé and Tsie, a woman from Petemout<sup>88</sup>. Many letters survive from Tsie to Frangé and, while many are fragmentary and identified only on palaeographic grounds, several are complete enough to illustrate the character of their relationship. Nearly all request prayers<sup>89</sup>, but many also note the sending of food (bread, wheat, cheese, fish) and linen to Frangé<sup>90</sup>. Others request that Frangé visit<sup>91</sup>, and still others discuss matters such as the difficulty in sending items<sup>92</sup> or Frangé's health<sup>93</sup>. Besides her own letters, Tsie also writes to Frangé for other members of the community, specifically Taham, Tareke, and David and Tanaste, who all request prayers<sup>94</sup>. Nor is the surviving correspondence in entirely one direction. Frangé writes to Tsie in a number of texts, sending greetings<sup>95</sup>, requesting certain supplies (usually food and linen for bandages)<sup>96</sup>, sending items such as money and bandages<sup>97</sup>, or even reprimanding her for not accompanying a messenger to a boat<sup>98</sup>. Among these texts, Frangé also corresponds with others in Petemout, specifically Saneth<sup>99</sup>, and David and Tanaste<sup>100</sup>. The frequent presence of various women in

<sup>87</sup> Frangé calls himself a man of Petemout in the letters: *O.Ashm.Copt.* 19.3-5; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 62/1.obv.1-3; *O.CrumST* 267.14-15; *O.TT29* 39.2-4; 47.2-4; 59.2-3; 98.2-3; 120.3-5; 142.2-3; 145.1-2; 201.1-3; and *SB Kopt.* III 1346.2-3; and in the exercises *O.TT29* 371; 306; and 399.

<sup>88</sup> While Tsie is not often located, in *O.TT29* 339, Frangé writes to Tsie and Saneth, and finishes this letter with: "I greet you and the land of Petemout" (†ϣϣνε ερο μ̄ν̄πκα2 μ̄ν̄πετεμοϋτ, ll. 10-13). For Tsie, see Heurtel (2008:B) 91-100.

<sup>89</sup> Some only do this: *O.TT29* 247; 249.

<sup>90</sup> *O.TT29* 248; 250; 257; 262; 263; 267; 270.

<sup>91</sup> *O.TT29* 252; 256; 260; 271.

<sup>92</sup> *O.TT29* 258; 259.

<sup>93</sup> *O.TT29* 254.

<sup>94</sup> *O.TT29* 265 (Taham); 266 (Tareke); 267 (David and Tanaste). David and Tanaste also write to Frangé in *O.TT29* 340; and 341.

<sup>95</sup> *O.TT29* 323.

<sup>96</sup> *O.TT29* 324-327; 330.

<sup>97</sup> *O.TT29* 328; 332; 333.

<sup>98</sup> *O.TT29* 331.

<sup>99</sup> *O.TT29* 328; 338; 339.



these letters led Heurtel to conclude that there was a community of women (perhaps monastic) at Petemout, with Tsie at their head. The frequency of female borrowers from this town in loan agreements with Jeme may well confirm this<sup>101</sup>. The body of correspondence relating to Tsie is published as *O.TT29* 247-345 ('Correspondance de Frangé et Tsié'), and only six of these texts (*O.TT29* 264, 319-322, and 343) are not certainly sent to or by people from Petemout. These documents show that at least six links (the number of named correspondents) existed between Frange and the inhabitants of Petemout, but these six provide a staggering 92 separate instances of correspondence between them.

Outside this group, other texts attest further connections between Frange and Petemout. In *O.TT29* 114, Frange writes to an Apa Ananias about a matter which they must discuss "today" (ll. 6-8), and further asks that Ananias send Enoch to him so that Frange might give him items for him to "carry them to Petemout" (Νῆπιτοῦ ἐπετεμοῦτ, ll. 13-14). In another letter (*O.TT29* 160), Frange reprimands Azarias for not coming (or coming late) to meet him. In this reprimand, Frange writes that if the fear of God was with Pahatre when he saw Frange angry, then he would have come to Petemout and told Azarias to find Frange quickly, since Azarias was late for their meeting (ll. 7-15). This suggests that Azarias was in Petemout, and Frange sent Pahatre to him there. Frange is similarly upset in two letters to Mahenknout (*O.TT29* 176 and 177). In the first of these (176), it is revealed that Mahenknout had visited Frange and, on Frange's guarantee, had received some tools from "the great men" on loan<sup>102</sup>. Mahenknout then appears to have travelled to Petemout (ἀκβωκ ἐπετεμοῦτ, ll. 11-12) without returning them, and Frange kindly asks that he does so. By the time the second letter was written (*O.TT29* 177), Mahenknout had still not returned the items and Frange's language is more accusatory, complaining that he has taken tools from the brothers and "gone to Petemout" (ἀκβωκ ἐπετεμοῦτ, ll. 8-9). In these texts, it is likely that Frange is writing to Mahenknout at Petemout to get the tools returned. A priest of the church of Petemout, Moses, is mentioned in a letter from Frange to three 'brothers' (*O.TT29* 208.11-12). The exact nature of the matter is not clear, but Frange suggests that the recipients might send Isaac the priest to

<sup>100</sup> *O.TT29* 342; 344; 345. In *O.TT29* 342, Frange even complains that the pair have not written to him recently.

<sup>101</sup> Heurtel (2008:B) 100-102. For the women of Petemout in loan agreements see above, p. 154.

<sup>102</sup> Although "the great men" (ννοσ νρωμε, *O.TT29* 176.4-5) frequently refers to the secular leaders of a town in the Theban texts, this reference is likely to elders of the monastic community on Sheikh abd el-Gurnah. This is suggested by *O.TT29* 177, in which Frange states that Mahenknout received the tools from "the brothers" (νσνηγ, l. 8), almost certainly a reference to monks. The great men from whom Mahenknout received the tools in *O.TT29* 176 must therefore have also been monks. The term is also used for monks in monastic funerary and commemorative inscriptions (for instance in *SB Kopt.* I 416, 792, and 793), but such references are usually to the long-dead founders of the communities.

Moses (presumably in Petemout) with some items. Finally, Petemout is also mentioned briefly in both *O.TT29* 178, a fragmentary letter in Frange's hand in which the recipient is asked to "go to Petemout and return to me quickly" (ΕΚΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ ΕΞΕΙ ΝΑΪ [...]ΟΝ ΤΑΧΥ, ll. 4-5), and *O.TT29* 201, in which the recipient is asked to show the letter carrier to the house of a man of Petemout (ΠΡΜΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ, ll. 9-10)<sup>103</sup>.

Combined with the correspondence related to Tsie, there are at least 13 links between Frange and Petemout, including Frange's initial movement. However these links are attested through 100 separate interactions, all of which required somebody to travel between Frange's cell and Petemout. This astounding number of documents demonstrates the high degree to which Frange maintained connections with Petemout throughout his time as a monk in western Thebes, and, importantly, suggests that the journey from western Thebes across the Nile to Petemout was undertaken with relative frequency and ease.

### *Beyond Petemout*

Compared with Petemout, Frange's links to other toponyms are relatively minor. The best represented of these are the mountain of Tsenti, which is not a shared connection of Jeme, and the town Apé, which is. In a number of texts, Frange seems to be in contact with a group of monks living on the mountain of Tsenti under the leadership of Apa Paul, whom Frange may have been associated with before he came to the mountain of Jeme<sup>104</sup>. Paul is associated with Tsenti in *O.TT29* 15, in which Frange reports that he "went to the mountain of Tsenti" (ΔΙΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΣΕΝ†, ll. 6-7) to meet with Sabinos, called the son of "my father Paul" (l. 9), who wanted to be consoled about Paul's death (ll. 11-15). This Apa Paul was still alive in *O.TT29* 17, in which Frange greets him, Apa Sabinos and "Apa Paham of Pisinai" (ΑΠΑ ΠΑ2ΑΜ ΜΠΕΩΕΝΑΪ, l. 7<sup>105</sup>). Apa Paul is likely also addressed in *O.TT29* 85, in which Frange requests that Paul take the bandages Frange sent and exchange them for some oil. Finally, Frange

<sup>103</sup> Petemout is also mentioned in an unsure context in two fragmentary texts attributed to Frange: *O.TT29* 118.9 and 577.1. Besides these, *O.TT29* 167, 169, and 170 are a group of letters in Frange's hand addressed to an anonymous woman and concerning a dispute between them. Phrases such as "you know I live on the mountain of Jeme because of your son" (ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΕΙΟΥΝ2 2ΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ ΕΤΒΕΠΕΩΗΡΕ, *O.TT29* 170.5-7), and the fact that these letters are to women led the editors to suggest that the recipient of these texts was a woman of Petemout (*O.TT29* p. 142). As these texts do not provide secure connections, I have not included them in the total count.

<sup>104</sup> Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 11.

<sup>105</sup> Pisinai cannot be linked to Frange, as Paham seems to have been a resident of the mountain of Tsenti, along with Paul and Sabinos. The link is then from Pisinia to Tsenti and from Tsenti to Frange, but not from Pisinai to Frange.

sends a short letter requesting prayers to “the holy fathers of the mountain of Tsenti” (ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΣΕΝΤΙ, ll. 3-4) in *O.TT29* 19.

Apé is referred to in three texts, of which two, *O.TT29* 63 and 164, concern the transport of wheat. *O.TT29* 63 is a letter to a certain David, who is asked to collect some wheat from Phoibammon and take three *artabas* to Apé (ΝῒΝΤΟΥ ΕΔΠΕ, ll. 15-16), to a great man who will in turn bring them to Frange (ll. 17-19). In *O.TT29* 164, Frange reprimands Peloustre for not having brought him some wheat. He then asks Peloustre to “bring it to Apé” (ΝῒΝΤῒ ΕΔΠΕ, ll. 14-15) and leave it at the house of Kahkihet. What happens next is obscured by damage to the text, but it seems likely that it was to be brought to Frange from there (“... come to me...”, ...ΕΙ ΝΑΪ..., l. 18). In the final text mentioning Apé (*O.TT29* 204), Frange asks Abraham to speak with Pson “the man of Apé” (ΠΡΜΝΔΠΕ, ll. 9-10), and to take a belt from him and bring it to Frange. While it is not certain that this Pson was actually in Apé when the text was written, it is a possibility, and a connection on the basis of this text is reasonable.

Besides Apé, three other toponyms linked to Frange are also shared connections with Jeme: Timamen, Koptos, and Terkot. Unfortunately, none of these are secure. Timamen is mentioned in *O.TT29* 202, in which Frange asks Isaac to send Papnoute to take some young people “to the ferry of Timamen, since they do not know the way to go to P[shenh]or” (ΕΠΧΙΕΪΟΡ ΝΤΑΜΑΜΕΝ ΜΜΟ[Ν ΣΕ]ΣΟΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΜΔΕΙΤ ΔΝ ΝΣΕΒΩΚ ΕΠ[...].ΩΡ, ll. 9-13). Whether or not it is legitimate to link Frange to Timamen on the basis of this reference is less certain. Likewise with the reference to Pshenhor (not linked to Jeme), if the reading of this toponym is correct. A reference to Koptos is found in a fragment of a letter (*O.TT29* 635), which contains the phrase “in to Koptos” (ΕΞΟΥΝ ΝΚΗΒΤ, l. 5), but without context. Finally, Terkot is attested in a letter (*O.TT29* 641) in which the sender mentions a book he sent the recipient, which was for the church of Terkot (ΕΤΕΚΚ(ΛΗΣΙΑ) ΝΤΡΚΩΤ, ll.11-14). This text, however, is of uncertain date and attribution, and may not be related to Frange at all<sup>106</sup>.

Beyond these references, Frange is also connected with Pkee and Psho, neither of which are attested with other west Theban toponyms. Frange asks David to buy some hair from “the man of Pkee” (ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΚΕΕΕ, l. 4) in *O.TT29* 60, and in *O.TT29* 264, the anonymous sender (perhaps Tsie based on the hand) hopes to visit Frange the following day or, if they do

<sup>106</sup> See the editors’ comments, Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010) 342, and the introduction to *O.TT29* 641.

not make it, asks Frange to “come to Psho” (νηει επωω, ll. 7-8). Alexandria and Jerusalem are also mentioned in the Frange dossier, but the nature of these connections is not clear. In *O.TT29* 21, Frange writes to Apa David, saying “pray, because ... to Alexandria” (ωληλ μμον [ ].ι ερακοτε, ll. 5-6), after which the text breaks off. What this referred to is unfortunately lost. *O.TT29* 20 is in a hand similar to that of Frange and tells the recipient, who had asked the sender to inform him if he was going to Jerusalem (θιερωγσαλημ, l. 10), that the great men had advised him not to go this year (ll. 11-14). In *O.TT29* 51, on the other hand, Frange writes to David to bring him an item that “I brought from Jerusalem” (νταϊντϙ νθιερωγσαλημ, ll. 6-7), suggesting that Frange had previously travelled there. In this case, while a link to Alexandria remains speculative, a connection to Jerusalem seems reasonable. It is quite surprising to think that Frange may have travelled to distant Jerusalem, perhaps on pilgrimage, but no alternate way of interpreting this text suggests itself.

### *The Network of Frange*

The network of the monk Frange (displayed in Fig. 4.3) is of a significantly different character to the other networks so far examined. Whereas the evidence for the other communities results in networks which contain small numbers of connections to many toponyms, the material relating to Frange presents a picture of the network of an individual in which only a few toponyms are represented, but in which one has considerably more connections than the others. Based on the evidence of the *O.TT29* material, Frange can be reasonably linked with (other than Jeme) Petemout, Tsenti, Apé, Pkee, Psho, and Jerusalem. The contexts of the attestations of Koptos, Timamen, Terkot, and Pshenhor, although all attested in connection with other Theban sites, are too insecure to confidently establish a link.

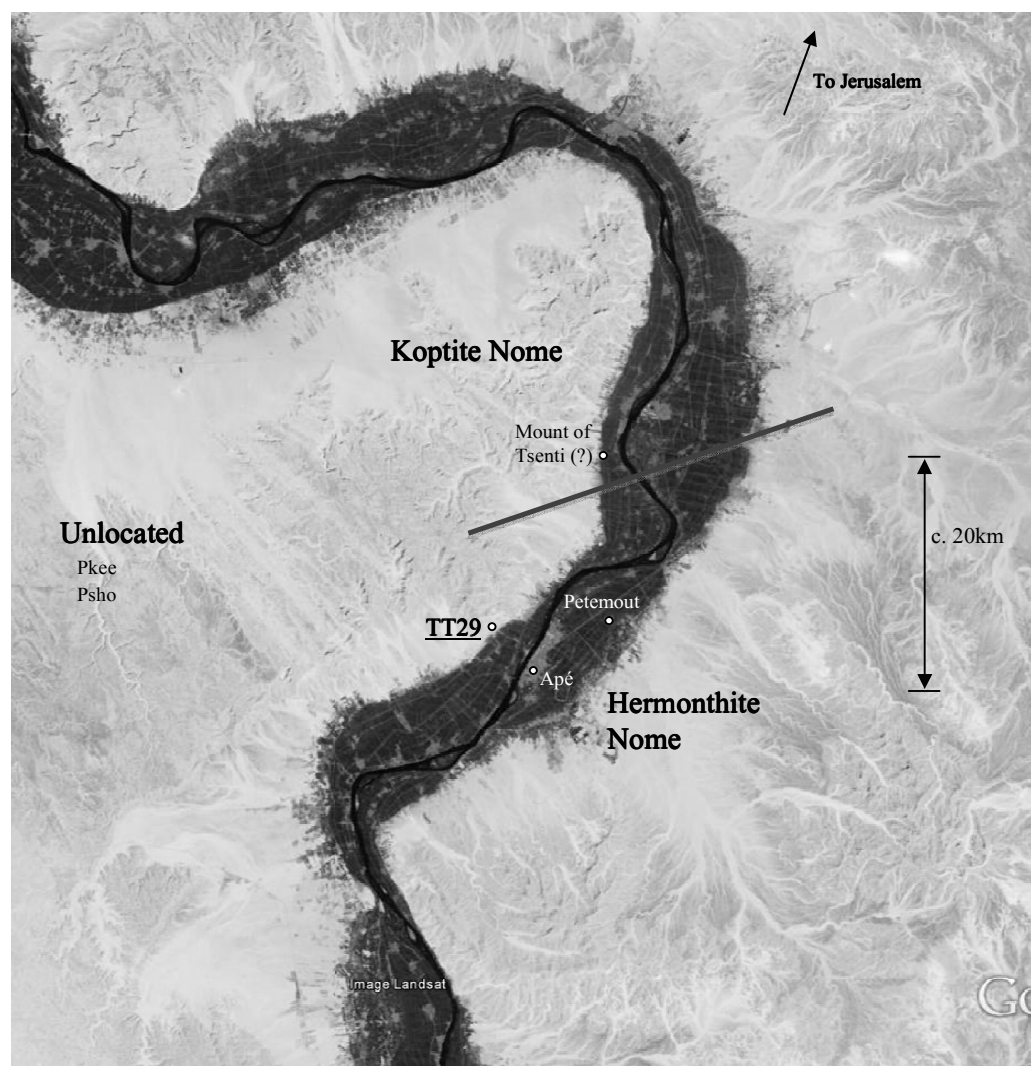


Fig. 4.3. The connections of the monk Frange<sup>107</sup>

To what extent Frange's network would have been similar to the networks of other individuals of the area is more difficult to answer. His situation on the mountain of Jeme was different to the situation of many inhabitants of Jeme for two reasons: he was a monk, and he was originally from somewhere else. Frange was originally from Petemout and clearly maintained strong ties with that place. However, as a monk, he was more restricted in his movements, which results in a large number of written communications which would have been carried between him and his contacts there. Those residents of Jeme who had not moved there from elsewhere are unlikely to have such vested interest in one particular town, and so their patterns of interactions might instead appear as only a few connections to one or two

<sup>107</sup> Image © Google Earth ver. 7.1.2.2041. Western Thebes and surrounds, 24°45'45.33"N 32°45'24.30"E, eye alt. 138.37km. (Imagery date: 10 April 2013) – viewed 21 July 2013.

towns, and would lack such a strong connection to one community as Frange had with Petemout. On the other hand, residents of Jeme who had moved there from elsewhere, such as Abraham the husband of Elizabeth, would have had the freedom of movement, so long as their finances permitted it, to visit their contacts and would not have generated the same amount of documentation. Indeed, if not for the testament of Elizabeth (*P.KRU* 68), we would not know that Abraham returned to Aswan in person on at least one occasion. Other monks of the mountain of Jeme who originated from places other than Jeme may well have had similar networks to Frange, depending on how much they desired to keep in contact with their place of origin<sup>108</sup>.

In some respects, Frange's network would have been similar to that of most individuals as seen through documentary sources. Based on the evidence of people for whom more documentation exists, such as Pekosh, it seems likely that some of the residents of Jeme had connections to one or a small number of other towns, which would appear in the documentary record in small numbers. A similar number of links as those connecting Frange to Petemout is, however, probably more unusual. From a geographic perspective, the spread of Frange's network can be considered as representative of individuals in western Thebes. A common feature of all the networks of this study is that most of the interactions occur within a 20-40km radius of Jeme, with a few more distant links. This is the geographical character of Jeme's network, and of Frange's. It stands to reason, then, that the majority of individuals of Jeme and its mountain would have primarily interacted with toponyms in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes, with occasional links to toponyms further afield when, for instance, individuals visit another monastery, sell goods in a distant market, or petition an official. Therefore, while Frange's network is typical of the network of any individual in terms of the number of toponyms involved and their geographic distribution, the networks of different individuals would vary in the specific toponyms they had links to, the strength of those links, and in the nature of the interactions taking place.

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<sup>108</sup> Moses, the monk of the monastery of Apa Paul, moved there from Pshinsion following a plague (*P.CLT* 1.17-18). However, we have no comparable dossier for him that would indicate whether he maintained contact with anybody from his hometown, or, indeed, what became of his friends and family there following the plague.

## A WEST THEBAN HUB

Throughout this section, the networks of the best attested west Theban monastic communities were compared individually with that of Jeme. The networks of the monasteries of Epiphanius and Phoibammon showed particular similarity to that of the town: in the number of attested links, in their geographical extent, and in the specific toponyms that appear in the networks. The nature of the connections which characterise each of these locations are, however, quite different. Whereas the interactions of the monastery of Epiphanius are primarily attested through letters and accounts, most of the interactions of the monastery of Phoibammon are seen through legal texts. This is in agreement with the observed character of the documentation relating to each community discussed in Section II. The network of the monastery of Apa Paul was smaller (due to the size of its published corpus), containing only five connections of which two are shared with Jeme, and the network of the monk Frange, being that of an individual, has only six definite connections of which two are also connected with Jeme. In total, 24 of the 36 non-west Theban toponyms in Jeme's network are also connected to one or more of the nearby monastic communities. This demonstrates that the networks of the various west Theban communities shared a high degree of similarity, as might be expected from their geographical proximity, and that the connections of one community could become those of another. It now remains to examine the similarities across all the networks and, in doing so, to see which toponyms are most central to the network of western Thebes.

The number of interactions for each community discussed here, including Jeme, are laid out in Table 4.1. In this table, the number of interactions attested between each community is not the same as the number of texts mentioning that interaction<sup>109</sup>. For example, if five witnesses from one donation came from Ermont, this would count as five interactions, even though they are all attested in the same text, as five different individuals travelled to the monastery of Phoibammon from Ermont. Those toponyms which occur in connection with three or more of the west Theban sites are marked with \*. The total attested interactions for each site are given at the end of the table. It can be seen that the numbers for Jeme, and the monasteries of Phoibammon and Epiphanius are similar; the higher number of connections for the monastery of Phoibammon is due to the regular occurrence of multiple located witnesses in individual

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<sup>109</sup> The individual texts from which the interactions are identified are listed in Appendix A, under the 'Connections' sub-heading of the toponym in question.

texts. The similarity between the numbers, despite the significant difference in the sizes of these communities, can be attributed to the number of texts surviving for each. It is to be expected, for instance, that the total number of external interactions made by the entire population of Jeme would be significantly higher than the equivalent for the handful of individuals which made up the Epiphanius community.

This is particularly clear when looking at the network of the monk Frange, which has the highest number of interactions, as a result of his extensive correspondence with Petemout, but a relatively small number of attested toponyms. The fact that a single individual, whose dossier covers a single generation, has more attested interactions than any of four entire communities, whose documentation covers the better part of two centuries, is a stark reminder of the paucity of the visible connections to these communities which survive in the documentary record. Of course the number of interactions between Frange and Petemout may be unusual, however Jeme's total of 63 interactions with non-west Theban communities, spread over two centuries and a few thousand inhabitants, is a very poor result in comparison. The real amount of external connections for the total population must have been considerably higher. What is significant, however, is that despite the many hundreds of texts relating to the interactions of Frange – a dossier comparable in quantity to those of the communities of Jeme, Epiphanius, and Phoibammon – Frange still only has six secure toponyms in his network. Therefore, while an increase in the amount of published material relating to a site would increase the total number of attested interactions, it is unlikely that it would drastically increase the total number of attested toponyms. The networks for Jeme and the monasteries of Phoibammon and Epiphanius are therefore likely to be a good representation of the total number of towns with which they interacted. Only in the case of the monastery of Paul would a great difference be expected, due to the number of texts yet to be published.



	Jeme	The monastery of Phoibammon	The monastery of Paul	The monastery of Epiphanius	The monk Frange
And(...)		2			
Antinoe*	2	1		1	
Apé (+ mount)*	1	11		2	3
Aphrodito	1				
Apotei		1			
Aswan	4				
Dekadritou		1			
Elemou	1				
Ermont (+ mount)*	5	19		8	
Esna		2			
Fayum			1		
Jerusalem					1
Kalba*	1	1		2	
Klusma	1				
Koeis				1	
Koptos*	2	1		4	
Kos	2	1			
Kune		1			
Ne	2			1	
Neihbabe		1			
Mon. of Apa Pahom	1				
Pajment	1	1			
Pakale	1				
Pakebt		2			
Pakothis			1		
Pampane		1			
Pankalela		1			
Pankame		1			
Papar*	1	1		1	
Vil. of Apa Papnoute				1	
Pashme	2			3	
Patoubasten*	3	4		2	
Paue			1		
Pchatape				1	
Penhotp				1	
Petemout	5				100
Pho				1	

	Jeme	The monastery of Phoibammon	The monastery of Paul	The monastery of Epiphanius	The monk Frangé
Pinai				1	
Piohe (+ mount)		2			
Pisinai*	2	4		2	
Pkee					1
Pmilis	2				
Psamer	1	2			
Psenantonios	1				
Psenheaei	1		1		
Pshatbampe	1			1	
Pshenhor				1	
Pshinsion	1		4		
Psho					1
Pshoueb				2	
Psoi				1	
Romoou*	1	7		2	
Shebbon				1	
Shneset		1			
Tabennese*	1	2		4	
Taut*	2	3		1	
Tbebe		1			
Tbo		1			
Tche	1	1			
Tentyra				1	
Terkot	6				
Thone	2			2	
Timamen*	1	1		2	
Timeshor		1			
Tmoh Pajeme	1				
Tmoue	1				
Mount of Tnouhe				1	
Tourese	1				
Tse	1	1			
Mount of Tsenti		1			4
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>110</b>

Table 4.1. Tabulation of the connections of Jeme and the west Theban monastic communities

With a table of the size of Table 4.1, it is difficult to see exactly how these five networks relate to each other. However, of all of the datasets in this study, this is the most suited to use with the various computational programs associated with Social Network Analysis. In order to portray this data in a more accessible manner, I have turned to one of the visualisation tools of this discipline, *NetDraw*, which represents data from a square matrix as a web of nodes and links, as seen, for example, in Fig. 4.4 below<sup>110</sup>. *NetDraw* can display the network in a variety of manners; for Figs 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6 (below), those nodes which share the same connections are grouped together towards the centre of the graph, while those which are connected with only one other node are pushed to the outside. *NetDraw* also allows the addition of attribute data, by which it is possible to specify certain characteristics of the nodes, which can then be represented by different shapes. In the figures below, the nodes have been given one of four nome attributes: Hermonthite (blue circles); Koptite (yellow squares); toponyms from outside the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes (green triangles); and unlocated toponyms (pink diamonds)<sup>111</sup>. This permits a greater amount of detail in the graph than is available in Table 4.1<sup>112</sup>. The four west Theban monastic groups discussed in this section, as well as Jeme, have also been coloured red for ease of identification.

Fig. 4.4 depicts the ego network of Jeme, that is, all the toponyms to which Jeme is directly linked and the connections known to have existed between them. Jeme is linked to every other toponym in this network, however the central places given to the text-rich monasteries of Epiphanius and Phoibammon, which both share a number of Jeme's links, are readily apparent. The least well-connected sites, those linked only to Jeme, are displayed on the outside of the graph, at the top. Moving in toward the central triangle formed by Jeme, Epiphanius and Phoibammon, those toponyms connected with two of the five main nodes are easily identifiable between the two nodes to which they are connected. Ne, Thone, Pashme and Pshatbampe are connections of both Epiphanius and Jeme, whereas Petemout is a connection of both Frange and Jeme, Psenheaei and Pshinsion are connections of Paul and Jeme and so on. In the centre of the graph are those toponyms connected to three other

<sup>110</sup> The data in Table 4.1 can easily be turned into a square matrix by creating a spreadsheet in the networking software UCINET with all the toponyms in the network (including Jeme and the monasteries) listed at the head of a row and corresponding column. Across each row, a one or a zero is placed in each column depending on whether or not a connection exists between the two toponyms intersecting in that cell, creating a symmetrical table of ones and zeros.

<sup>111</sup> Those toponyms tentatively attributed to a particular nome are considered a part of it in this data.

<sup>112</sup> The relative number of connections between each toponym is not represented in the figures below. Although it is possible to represent this aspect of the data by entering values other than one in the square matrix, I did not consider this to be a necessary aspect of this visualisation.

toponyms (in all cases the three are Jeme, Epiphanius, and Phoibammon), and Apé, which is the only toponym connected to four. It is apparent from this graph that many of Jeme's connections are shared with other west Theban communities. In fact, of the 40 nodes other than Jeme in Fig. 4.4 (including the monasteries), 28 of them (including the monasteries) are shared with another west Theban community (70%). This is compelling evidence for the strong relationship between the networks of Jeme and the neighbouring monasteries.

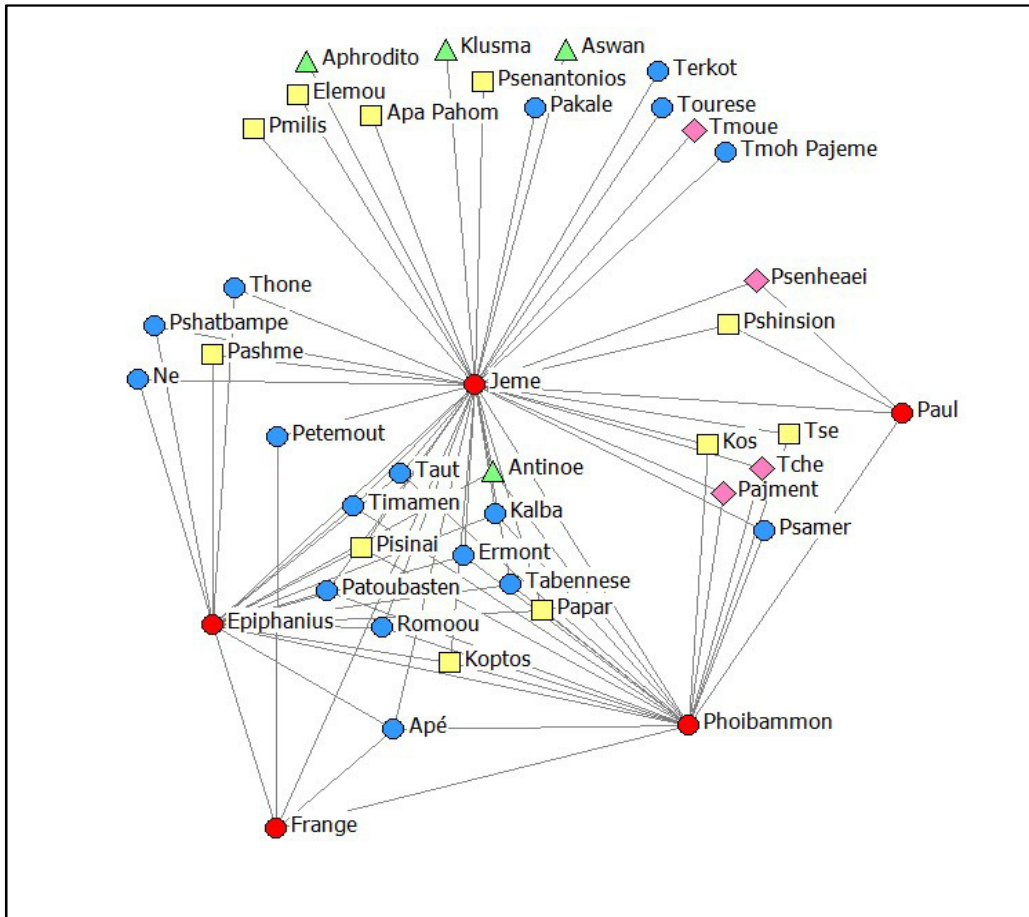


Fig. 4.4. The network of Jeme

The central cluster of toponyms is particularly worthy of attention, as these are the toponyms that are connected with the most west Theban communities. It is likely that these towns and villages were some of those that most frequently interacted with the area and, consequently, some of the most important, not only to Jeme's network, but to western Thebes as a whole. It is worth noting that among this central cluster, Tabennese, Taut, and Timamen have the weakest presence. In the case of Tabennese and Taut, their presence here is the result of a single text, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163, which links both Jeme and the monastery of Epiphanius to

Taut and Tabennese. As this text provides Jeme's only link to Tabennese and Epiphanius' only link to Taut (see Table 4.1), its removal would place both toponyms outside this central cluster. Timamen's presence in this cluster is also weak since its one connection to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon is based on a re-reading of a text<sup>113</sup>. If this reading were inaccurate, Timamen too would appear outside this cluster. Leaving these three toponyms aside, we are left with a core cluster of closely connected toponyms comprising Antinoe, Apé, Ermont, Kalba, Koptos, Papar, Patoubasten, Pisinai, and Romoou. Comparing this list with Table 4.1, it is noticeable that these toponyms are also, for the most part, those with the highest number of attestations across all five sites combined, supporting the conclusion that these sites were an important part of the west Theban network.

A number of other features about this group of toponyms should be noted. Firstly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the majority of these toponyms come from the nome of Ermont (Apé, Ermont, Kalba, Patoubasten, Romoou), with most of the rest from the Koptite nome (Koptos, Papar, Pisinai), and just one from further afield (Antinoe). This confirms the proposal that Jeme's presence was strongest in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes. The presence in this group of three nome capitals (Ermont, Koptos, and Antinoe), the latter two of which were also important trade centres<sup>114</sup>, further indicates that Jeme was well connected not only with the local nome capitals, but also with other important centres of Egypt. It is perhaps unsurprising that the only toponym not from the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes in this cluster was itself a much bigger hub than Jeme. Antinoe is not frequently connected to any of the west Theban centres, however it is linked to Jeme and Phoibammon in a trade context (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 83 & *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39 respectively), once as the destination for a group from Jeme who went to petition the duke (*P.KRU* 10), and once in a graffito from the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 652(a)). It should be noted that two of these connections (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39 and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 652(a)) are far from solid and the removal of these two texts from consideration would leave Antinoe only connected with Jeme and thus well outside the inner cluster. However, the evidence from *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 83 and *P.KRU* 10 suggests that Antinoe was an important contact of western Thebes, even if

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<sup>113</sup> *P.KRU* 89.52 reads Tememese, which was re-read as Timamen: see the discussion in Appendix A, pp. 290-291. Note that a man from Timamen who moved to Pampane donates a child to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 100.3-4), but this text counts as a link between Phoibammon and Pampane, not Phoibammon and Timamen.

<sup>114</sup> See the descriptions of Koptos and Antinoe in Appendix A, pp. 260-261 and 249-250 respectively.

contact with it was infrequent, and on this basis its inclusion in the inner grouping is warranted.

Koptos is mentioned sporadically, but is important for similar reasons. Travel downriver from Jeme required interaction with an official in charge of river traffic there (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 83), and a reference to the high price of sesame in the market at Koptos (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 327) suggests that it was a key potential market for produce from western Thebes, a suggestion which may be supported by the presence of a trader from Koptos in Jeme (*P.CLT* 5.159). A similar letter from the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 310) refers to grain being sold in Ermont, suggesting that it was another potential market for farmers around Jeme, however most of the interactions with Ermont come from witnesses statements and letters, generally indicating regular (but unspecified) movement between the two areas. Curiously, connections between Ermont and the inhabitants of Jeme are virtually non-existent, but connections between Ermont and the monasteries of Epiphanius and Phoibammon are more frequent. This may suggest that the monastic communities on the mountain of Jeme were more important to Ermont than Jeme itself.

The reasons why the other toponyms were closely connected to Jeme and western Thebes are less apparent, but their appearance in a range of situations, including accounts, letters, and witness statements, suggests that their interactions with western Thebes were not one-dimensional. For example, a number of loan agreements and accounts connect Patoubasten with western Thebes, suggesting strong economic connections, but other letters, such as one requesting prayers for a sick camel (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 147), indicate that there were also socio-religious connections with the monastic communities there<sup>115</sup>. All three of the communities of Kalba, Papar, and Pisinai are connected to the monastery of Phoibammon in witness statements; with the monastery of Epiphanius in accounts or letters; and with Jeme in loan agreements<sup>116</sup>. This primarily suggests economic connections between western Thebes and

<sup>115</sup> Borrowers from Patoubasten occur in *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 & 28; *O.Vind.Copt.* 28; and *SB Kopt.* II 922 (in which the lender is the monastery of Phoibammon). Patoubasten also occurs in the accounts *O.Crum* 439 and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 500. Aside from the letter about the camel, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 22 requests the recipient to travel to Patoubasten to perform the feast.

<sup>116</sup> The witnesses appear in *P.KRU* 90 (Kalba); 91 (Pisinai); and 97 (Papar, and Pisinai). Money is paid to a craftsman of Papar in the account *P.Mon.Epiph.* 533, and to a man of Kalba in an unknown context in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 522. Pisinai is connected to this monastery through a graffito (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 668) and a letter which indicates a man of Pisinai came to the monastery (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 544). Lenders from Jeme draw up contracts with people from these towns in *SB Kopt.* II 908 (Kalba), *O.CrumST* 429 (Papar), and *SB Kopt.* III 1382 (Pisinai). Pisinai is further mentioned in an account from Jeme (*O.CrumST* 437) as the location of a man to whom clover is sold.

these sites, but the witness statements suggest that there was also religious interest in the area. The frequent appearance of Romoou in an agricultural context suggests that it may have been the location of farmland not far from Jeme, and in which residents of Jeme and the monastery of Apa Phoibammon were invested<sup>117</sup>.

Finally, Apé deserves further comment as the only toponym linked to four of the west Theban toponyms examined here. Although it lay just over the river from Jeme, in modern Luxor, Apé is poorly attested in connection with Jeme. In fact, looking at Jeme's network alone, it would be easy to dismiss Apé as unimportant. Its frequent appearance in witness statements from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, however, shows that there was regular traffic across the river<sup>118</sup>. Moreover, in two letters from the Frange dossier (*O.TT29* 63 & 164), Apé is mentioned as a location via which wheat making its way to Frange should be sent. In combination with Apé's commanding position on the river, it is quite likely Apé was the main quay used to cross the river in Thebes, and was likely also a place where the residents of Jeme could gain access to river traffic and trade. If this is the case, its important place in the networks of western Thebes is hardly surprising.

The ego network of Jeme demonstrates three tiers of toponyms based on their importance. In the centre are those toponyms which have the most contact with western Thebes, with connections to three or more of its communities. Many of these (except Antinoe, Koptos, and Patoubasten), are also the locations of witnesses in donation texts to the monastery of Phoibammon, further indicating the frequent circulation of individuals from these places throughout the area. Further out are places connected to Jeme and only one other community. This group of toponyms is no doubt still fairly well connected with Jeme, but less so with its monastic communities. However, it is possible that some of these would move to the inner circle following further publication of documents from the area. Finally, on the outside are those toponyms only connected with Jeme, some of which likely represent only sporadic interaction.

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<sup>117</sup> Land near Romoou is donated by the community of Jeme to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon in *P.KRU* 108; and by another man in *P.KRU* 109. In *O.Crum* 138, the monastery of Phoibammon authorises a man to sow a field in Romoou, and authorises a man of Romoou to sow a field in *SB Kopt.* II 951. Romoou is also the location of witnesses (*P.KRU* 82 & 88) and likely also of people who write to the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 95 & 293 – these are less secure than the other connections).

<sup>118</sup> *P.KRU* 81, 82, & 86.

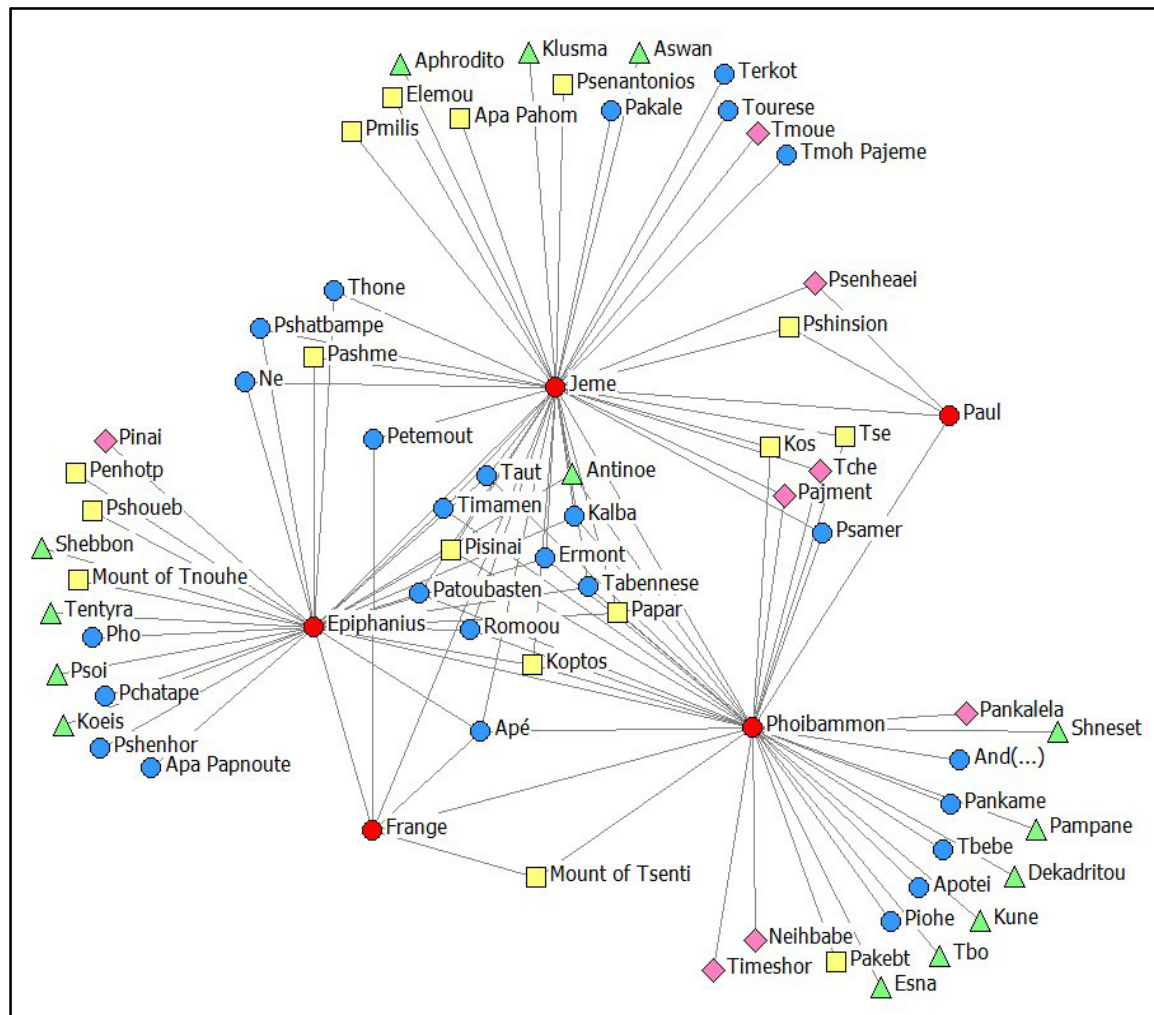


Fig. 4.5. The networks of Jeme, Phoibammon, and Epiphanius

Where Fig. 4.4 shows only the ego network of Jeme, Fig. 4.5 adds the ego networks of the monasteries of Epiphanius and Phoibammon. As many of the connections of these communities were also connections of Jeme, this figure adds those toponyms connected with only one of these monastic communities, and the mount of Tsenti, a shared connection of Phoibammon and Frange. It is apparent that the addition of these two networks does not drastically change the shape of the graph, primarily adding a number of toponyms on the outer edge of the network, which are only connected to one other community. However, as the networks of Jeme and the monastic communities of Epiphanius and Phoibammon were closely related, this graph best indicates the extended network of Jeme, that is, the number of toponyms that Jeme had access to through its connections with Epiphanius and Phoibammon. Independently, Jeme had access to 40 toponyms, but through its connections with the



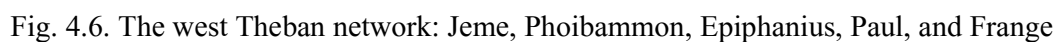
monasteries of Phoibammon and Epiphanius this number drastically increases such that Jeme had access to 68 toponyms at a distance of two or less, an increase of nearly 75%<sup>119</sup>.

Noticeably, the number of toponyms not from the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes (represented by triangles) also increases significantly with the addition of these networks. While some of these are in nomes bordering those of Ermont and Koptos, others are from much further afield. Either way, these connections are important because, whereas communities in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes likely had access to the same basic resources and information as did Jeme and the monasteries themselves, the long distance contacts link western Thebes to networks with access to other ideas (new information about political or religious movements, or even information about the pricing of goods) and resources (in particular access to different trade networks). In this way, the presence of the monasteries of Phoibammon and Epiphanius contribute vitally to Jeme's own network.

Despite the fact that evidence has been taken from documents found at the monasteries, many of which do not concern Jeme, and whereas there are many toponyms which are connected with Jeme and only one other west Theban community, there is only one toponym in the entire network that is connected to two or more west Theban communities but not to Jeme: the monastic community on the mountain of Tsenti, which is linked to Frange and the monastery of Phoibammon. Of course, each of the west Theban communities has connections which are linked to it alone, but 96% (24/25) of the shared connections in the Theban network (those connected to more than one other toponym) are connected to Jeme, a fact not readily apparent from Table 4.1. It is difficult to know how much importance to accord this, given that this network likely represents only a fraction of the total connections that existed in the given timeframe. It does, however, suggest that Jeme held a very central place in the west Theban network. Whether this means that many of the individuals coming to Jeme also took the opportunity to visit the monasteries, or vice versa is not immediately clear. Two points are worth consideration in this respect. Firstly, the town of Jeme had existed in the area for many centuries before the existence of the monasteries, so it is likely that it already had a place in the regional network when the monasteries were built. On the other hand, the monastery of Apa Phoibammon was founded and run by a bishop of Ermont, whose presence undoubtedly fostered the quick expansion of the monastery's network. Moreover, the period covered by the

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<sup>119</sup> Distance here refers to network distance, for which see p. 23.



A comparison of the networks of the best-attested west Theban sites shows that they were as closely interconnected as the analysis of the documentation in Section II suggested. Through such a comparison, moreover, it is possible to identify those toponyms which were most important in the network of Jeme and western Thebes as a whole. The network depicted in Fig. 4.6 visually presents what I refer to as the west Theban hub. While Jeme itself has many

connections to communities both in its environment and further afield, the monasteries of Epiphanius and Phoibammon (and perhaps the monastery of Paul) had networks of a similar size, which, taken together, nearly doubles the number of connections available to any one of the communities individually. This depiction, moreover, is only a partial one. The monasteries of Epiphanius, Phoibammon, and Paul were only some of the many monastic communities on the Theban mountain, just as Frange was only one of many solitary monks. These other groups are also to be considered part of the west Theban hub and contributors to its network, however they currently lack the levels of documentation required to make them a useful addition to the picture of this network. Although it is ultimately difficult to conclude whether or not one of these communities contributed more to the success of the others, their combined presence was an important feature in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes. The west Theban area was one in which members of many communities throughout these nomes and elsewhere circulated and was, in this way, a hub that connected the smaller communities in its network with other hubs and other networks throughout this region and Egypt as a whole.

## CONCLUSION – JEME AND THE NETWORKS OF WESTERN THEBES

The primary goal of this thesis was to examine how the town of Jeme participated in the various networks existing between the communities of Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries and, in doing so, to assess its importance within them. The connections its inhabitants had with residents of numerous secular and monastic communities were primarily identified through the use of location designators, by which individuals indicate their place of origin or current residence. Only in exceptional circumstances was a location designator used to indicate current physical location. Location designators can therefore not only help in identifying the links which existed between communities, but they can indicate where some documents were written, and thus the direction of movement between groups.

By comparing the locations of the main parties to an agreement (when different), with the locations of witnesses and scribes (if given), two primary patterns of movement can be observed in the documentation from Thebes. In documents in which a monastery, such as that of Apa Phoibammon, was one of the contracting parties, witness and scribal locations often differed from those of either of the main parties and even other witnesses. This, combined with contextual evidence such as the reuse of some of the donation texts kept in the monastery to write others, indicates that such documents were drawn up at the monastery. In most cases, therefore, the other party travelled to the monasteries to have the document drawn up<sup>1</sup>. The witnesses to these documents, moreover, seem to have been at the monasteries on their own business when asked to sign. As such, their statements are an indicator of the presence of individuals from outside the area in western Thebes.

In contrast, the loan agreements of the lenders and pawnbrokers of Jeme, which are the documents not related to a monastery that most often contain located witnesses, seem to have been written at the borrower's location. With few exceptions, located witnesses and scribes in loan agreements were from the same place as the borrower<sup>2</sup>. Given the unlikelihood that the borrowers would have taken witnesses and scribes with them to Jeme when such would be readily available in that town, it seems more likely that it was the lenders who travelled to the borrowers. By travelling to the borrower, a professional moneylender would not only be able

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 64-66. It remains possible that in some cases, documents were drawn up at the location of the donor and then taken to the monastery for signatures and other additions.

<sup>2</sup> See Table 1.1 and the discussion there (pp. 58-61).

to assess the borrower's ability to repay, but would undoubtedly have been able to make new connections along which new business could flow. It is clear, then, that the residents of Jeme were active participants and travellers in the economic networks of the region.

Using such indicators to examine the network of Jeme, it becomes apparent that the west Theban monastic communities played a particularly important part in Jeme's development. While they were ostensibly founded under the auspices of Jeme, the larger monasteries quickly developed into important communities in their own right. This was no doubt partially due to the presence of several famous bishops in the early seventh century, such as Abraham of Ermont and Pisenthios of Koptos, who would have immediately increased the importance of western Thebes in the religious network of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes. Links to this region that were developed in the lifetimes of these bishops would then have been maintained and expanded through new developments, such as the renowned healing cult of Saint Phoibammon indicated by the child donations of the eighth century. Economic links to the monasteries soon developed along those ties established for religious reasons. These came particularly in the form of pious donations of land and other property, and, as they benefited from their economic and religious successes, so too did Jeme. It is demonstrable that the monasteries had a mandate to support the poor of Jeme, but beyond this the monasteries needed supplies (such as oil) they could not produce themselves, their lands required farmers, their animals required husbandmen, and such were readily available in Jeme. Contracts through which the monasteries hired others to work their lands or tend their animals do exist and, though only a few name Jeme as the place from which such workers came, the inhabitants of that town are a logical choice. It would be surprising if many more connections of this type than are visible had not existed. Moreover, secular visitors to the monasteries may well have visited or stayed in Jeme, and travellers to Jeme may have wanted to visit the monasteries, enabling the connections of one community to become those of another. Thus, the monastic communities of the mount of Jeme and the town itself developed a kind of symbiosis, through which both achieved greater prominence in the wider region.

The Theban documentary sources support the relationship between towns and monasteries that James Goehring has proposed on the basis of literary sources. Based on the evidence for the rise of the Pachomian *koinonía*, Goehring argues that its communities, at least in the cases of Tabennese and Pbow, were not isolated desert monasteries, but an integrated part of village life. This position gave them ready access to necessities and was the prime reason for their

rapid growth<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, he proposes that the village of Tabennese was not fully deserted (as the literary tradition suggests) when Pachomius first arrived, but probably depleted through economic misfortune or disease. The village did not stay deserted for long; it apparently grew so rapidly that the monks had to build a church in the village before building one in their own monastery<sup>4</sup>. For Goehring, the significance and success of monasticism “lay not only in its religious import to the surrounding communities, but also in its social and economic interdependence with them. It enlivened dying villages, increased agricultural production and trade, and produced various necessities, e.g., baskets and ropes, for the peasants<sup>5</sup>.” Although the monasteries of western Thebes were in a different position to the scenario Goehring describes, in that they were on the edges of the desert and not within the limits of the village itself, the similarity of the relationship between monastery and village seen in Goehring’s study and in this one is striking.

While Jeme does not seem to have been abandoned before the establishment of the large monastic communities on the mount of Jeme, it is noticeable that comparatively little documentary evidence survives for the town before the end of the sixth century. In fact, *P.KRU* 105, the apparent title deed which established the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, may be the earliest Coptic document from this period<sup>6</sup>. As monasticism gained a stronger foothold in the Theban necropolis, however, the documentary evidence for Jeme increases. While there are plenty of documents relating to Jeme and the monasteries which are dated to the seventh century, relatively few of these attest interactions between Jeme and other communities (except those on its mount). Yet in the first half of the eighth century there is a significant spike in such interaction, both in the network of Jeme and in the network of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon<sup>7</sup>. Although this eighth century spike could be the result of a number of factors, including the survival of evidence, it seems unwise to put it down to chance alone, particularly in light of Goehring’s arguments. Rather, this spike is better accounted for by the interdependency of Jeme and the monastic communities, which allowed each to contribute to the success of the other. It is likely that the presence of the village, which provided easy access to necessary resources, facilitated the growth of monasticism nearby,

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<sup>3</sup> See particularly Goehring (1999:A) 94-96.

<sup>4</sup> Goehring (1999:A) 97-100.

<sup>5</sup> Goehring (1999:B) 51-52.

<sup>6</sup> This text is suspected to date to the final decades of the sixth century (see above pp. 75-76). The earliest securely dated text, however, is *SB Kopt.* II 1238 (March 601), an ostrakon which records a solar eclipse.

<sup>7</sup> This dates of the Theban material cited in this study, as well as the problems they pose, are discussed more fully in Appendix B.

and, in turn, the presence of the monastic communities quickly boosted the area's – and thus Jeme's – regional importance.

Under the influence of the large monasteries of the Theban necropolis, Jeme expanded into a more important locality than it had been for some centuries (as far as can be gathered from the surviving evidence). Although the extent to which Jeme was important in the networks of the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes before the establishment of these monasteries is difficult to establish, the comparative lack of evidence from the sixth century compared to the seventh and eighth suggests that it was relatively inconsequential<sup>8</sup>. Its subsequent growth into a hub for these regional networks, however, is easy to explain. Networks are not static entities: links are created and lost all the time, and when a node, or in this case an individual, looks to make a new connection, it is not done at random. Rather, connections are made for specific purposes. This is called *preferential selection* and it means that new links will be made with those nodes that are richer in whatever quality is desirable in the network, be it religious authority, economic strength, access to trade routes, or something else entirely<sup>9</sup>. One way this could have happened in western Thebes is as follows: when important figures such as the Bishops Abraham and Pisenthios took up residence in the Theban monastic communities, individuals from other communities had cause to make connections with western Thebes where they had none previously. Along these new links, economic and social ties could be formed with the monasteries and with Jeme itself. As these links developed, the region became wealthier, which in turn made western Thebes a desirable connection for other reasons as well. With many new links forming, Jeme and the monasteries became a regional hub, with many more connections than the surrounding villages.

This scenario, although it may represent what did take place, cannot be conclusively proven. Setting aside the timing of Jeme's rise, what can be said with certainty is that Jeme and some of the monasteries did have links to a large number of toponyms in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes and further afield. Through these, they held an important place in the region in the seventh and eighth centuries. The regional importance of monasteries such as that of Apa Phoibammon was primarily religious in nature. In the time of Bishop Abraham (early seventh century), all clergy wishing to be ordained required his approval, making the monastery of

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<sup>8</sup> The fact that the rise of documentation in Jeme seems to correspond to the rise of the large monasteries of the Theban necropolis, is a subject that warrants further examination but is not the focus of this thesis.

<sup>9</sup> On this concept see Barabási (2002) 84-86, and more generally pp. 79-93.

Apa Phoibammon, as his residence, an important centre. After Abraham's death, the donation texts, and particularly the child donations, show that the monastery remained a renowned religious centre and the location of a healing cult. Of course, the larger monasteries had economic importance as well; they owned property and arable land in and around Jeme and elsewhere, the working of which would have directly and indirectly benefited the inhabitants of Jeme through the creation of jobs and surplus goods for the regional market.

The regional importance of Jeme, however, was economically based. Although there are accounts and other documents which demonstrate that people from Jeme circulated and had economic dealings throughout the neighbouring nomes and beyond, Jeme's true importance is best attested through documents relating to loans and securities. The inhabitants of Egypt required money for any number of reasons, but the most frequent borrowers were usually farmers, who needed the cash to fund their crops and meet tax demands and who would then repay the loans in the harvest period, as indeed is the case with the loan agreements from Jeme. In this way, moneylenders were a necessary part of the agricultural economy of Egypt<sup>10</sup>. What is remarkable about the loan agreements from Jeme is that all the lenders came from the village itself. While this may be a result of the provenance of the documentation, as it seems the lender kept the agreement, it also indicates Jeme's importance. In 1981, James Keenan examined the dependency of villages on *poleis* in Byzantine Egypt<sup>11</sup>. This dependency was already demonstrable in the Oxyrhynchite nome from the receipts for agricultural machinery, however, Keenan wished to examine whether or not this pattern was regionally specific or widespread. The evidence for it elsewhere, he argued, was to be found in loan agreements (particularly those of the 'sale on delivery type'<sup>12</sup>) and agricultural leases<sup>13</sup>. Keenan noted that in virtually all loan agreements, the lender was from a *polis* and the borrower from a village, which demonstrates the economic dependency of the villagers on the residents of the cities, for whom coin was in more ready supply<sup>14</sup>. He further argued that this pattern of village to city dependency was widespread, rather than local, and not restricted to a specific point in time<sup>15</sup>. This concept of village-city dependency was echoed by Bagnall over a decade later: "above all the village was not a closed community. Metropolitans owned

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<sup>10</sup> Bagnall (1977) 87, 95-96; Keenan (1981) 484-485.

<sup>11</sup> Keenan (1981). Keenan (2007) 227 reinforces this idea.

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion on these kinds of loans above, pp. 157-159.

<sup>13</sup> Keenan (1981) 481-485.

<sup>14</sup> Keenan (1981) 482.

<sup>15</sup> Keenan (1981) 485.



land and were both lessors and lessees to villagers. The villages were inextricably tied to the metropolitan economy and population”<sup>16</sup>.

*Poleis* (or cities), in Keenan’s study, refers to nome capitals and other large centres<sup>17</sup>, and it is apparent that Jeme was not a community of this size or importance. However, the strong presence of moneylenders from Jeme, who were lending to farmers and inhabitants of other villages, suggests that, in some ways, Jeme filled a role which was elsewhere filled by cities. This supports the concept that Jeme was both larger and more urban (it could support individuals whose primary business was to loan money) than many of the villages in its network, and that it acted as a regional hub. Moreover, Jeme itself lacks any indication of its own dependency on the nearby nome capitals of Ermont and Koptos, which would be expected if it were a farming village of the type of those in Keenan’s study. Consequently, both Wilfong and Wickham characterise Jeme as isolated and inward-looking; participating in the “complex network of fiscal movement of goods that characterised the whole Nile Valley”, but not involved in any patronage network<sup>18</sup>. Wickham’s work examines the big picture of the Mediterranean in the early middle ages, so from such a perspective Jeme was indeed insignificant and insular. Even from an Egypt-wide perspective, Wilfong is not wrong in thinking that Jeme was not a significant community. But such statements belie the significance that Jeme held within its own region, and this is how Jeme’s role should be characterised. Jeme was neither a small village nor a large city, but, with the larger monasteries on its mountain, a regional hub which supported the small villages of its region and connected them with other hubs in a similar way to the hubs of the Oxyrhynchite nome described by Ruffini<sup>19</sup>.

The position of Jeme and the west Theban monasteries as a hub for the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes was ultimately short lived. The latest dated document from this study is *P.KRU* 91 (781), a child donation by a couple from Jeme, with witnesses from Pisinai and

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<sup>16</sup> Bagnall (1993) 121.

<sup>17</sup> Keenan (1981) 479-480.

<sup>18</sup> Wickham (2005) 421-426. Wickham argues that it was the political structure of Jeme, which he describes as dominated by medium-sized landowners, that blocked the local small holders from communicating with outside patrons. Wickham (p. 426) notes, however, that the local monasteries actively filled the role. See also Wilfong (2002) 148-149, who cites the lack of any reference to Jeme in documents from outside western Thebes and the fact that Jeme was not the end of any major trade routes as evidence for its inward-focused nature.

<sup>19</sup> Ruffini (2007) found that the Oxyrhynchite nome contained a number of hubs with numerous connections to the smaller villages of the nome, which had only a small number of connections each. Disparate villages are then connected to each other and to larger centres, particularly Oxyrhynchos, through such hubs.

Pakebt. No document from Thebes has been dated to the ninth century. What happened to these communities is not known. The excavators of Medinet Habu noted no remains pointing to a date more recent than the ninth century, nor any evidence of destruction; the site was abandoned and its inhabitants took with them whatever they thought would be useful (including shutters, doors, and support beams)<sup>20</sup>. The monastery of Apa Phoibammon likewise seems to have been abandoned in the ninth century, however, Christian graffiti left by bishops of Ermont, as well as inhabitants of Kos and Koptos in the tenth and eleventh centuries indicate that the site was still prominent in local memory<sup>21</sup>. Whatever the reason for this abandonment – whether disease or, as seems more likely, the increasing pressures of taxes which, combined with the ‘Abbasid overthrow of the Umayyads, led to frequent and ever-larger tax revolts in the second half of the eighth and early ninth centuries – the fact that all the west Theban communities seem to have been abandoned together is a further indication of their interdependency<sup>22</sup>.

The Coptic texts from western Thebes document how the interdependent relationship between the town of Jeme and the nearby monastic communities led to the area becoming a regional hub of economic and religious importance to many villages in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes. While the monasteries flourished, so too did Jeme, the connections from one contributing to the connections of others in this cluster. While Jeme should not be considered a hugely important town in a larger perspective, both it and the monastic communities of the Theban necropolis were very important regionally for a period of about two centuries. Moreover, these communities are historically important since they enable us to briefly see how monastic and village communities interacted with one another, and how such clusters could become important regional centres in the ever-present exchange network which blanketed all parts of Egypt.

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<sup>20</sup> Hölscher (1934) 1.

<sup>21</sup> Godlewski (1986) 77-78. The last datable graffito was written in 1222/3.

<sup>22</sup> On the tax revolts at the end of the eighth century, see Wickham (2005) 140-141.

## APPENDIX A: TOPONYMS CONNECTED WITH WESTERN THEBES

Toponyms occur frequently and in great variety throughout the Theban documentary material and some knowledge of the sites and their locations is essential to any study of interaction patterns in this area. While some can be identified with Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, Roman or even modern sites, a great many cannot. Such unidentifiable places were, for the most part, undoubtedly small villages or farming communities such as the many still spread throughout the region. However some seem to have been larger sites whose exact spatial relationship to each other and the surrounding countryside can only be approximately established.

The problem with locating many toponyms is twofold. In the first instance, it was simply unnecessary for correspondents to describe in any detail where the town or city mentioned was located. At best, a toponym will be given in conjunction with the nome or region in which it lay. For example, a town might be described as “in the nome of Ermont” (*O.CrumST* 424.4-5  $\chi\eta\mu\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\tau$ ), and a monastery more specifically as “Saint Apa Phoibammon on the mountain of Jeme, in the nome of the city Ermont” (*P.KRU* 13.8-9  $\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\alpha\ \phi\omicron\iota\beta\alpha\mu\omega\omicron\kappa\omicron\kappa\iota\varsigma\ \nu\eta\mu\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\chi\eta\mu\eta\ \nu\eta\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\eta\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \rho\mu\omega\tau$ ). As a result of this, a given toponym often needs to be identified through a combination of archaeological context, attestation in Coptic and Arabic literary sources, and etymological identification with modern villages. The latter two methods are by far the most commonly employed. Scholars such as Crum and Timm have used such means to identify or suggest the locations of many toponyms in the Theban region<sup>1</sup>. The second problem is that when literary sources and etymology are unable to provide an answer, we must rely on archaeology. However, the excavation of many sites is often impossible due to the continuous inhabitation of villages. Fortunately, the problems of identification are somewhat lessened by the aforementioned practice of giving the nome or region of a toponym. This at least permits a location relative to Jeme, which can still be useful for assessing the spatial distribution of Jeme’s interactions.

Below is a brief description of all toponyms found in connection with Jeme and the monastic communities of Apa Phoibammon, Apa Paul, Epiphanius and the monk Frange. It is worth noting here that of the 70 non-west Theban toponyms listed below, 31 are definitely from the

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<sup>1</sup> Timm (1984-2007) and Winlock & Crum (1926). I am heavily indebted to Timm and Crum in particular for suggesting modern equivalents of many of the toponyms in my dataset.

nomes of Ermont (19 or 20) or Koptos (11 or 12<sup>2</sup>), with a further 11 likely from one of these two nomes (Hermonthite: 6; Koptite: 5). Of the remainder, 12 (17.14%) are entirely unlocated (although it is likely that many of these are likewise from the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes), and 16 (22.86%) are from other nomes: some bordering the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes and others from much further afield. That is to say, at least 60% (42/70) of all toponyms connected to a west Theban toponym fall within a 40km radius of Jeme, but a surprising 23% are from further afield.

For the toponyms below, those that are located are given their geographical co-ordinates<sup>3</sup>. If the location is speculative, a question mark – (?) – follows the co-ordinates of the suggested town. If the location is unknown, it is described as such. Similarly, the nome in which the toponym lay, if known, is provided – again a question mark indicates a speculative identification<sup>4</sup>. The connections of each toponym, as based on the information presented in this study, are also provided (in most cases the connection will be with Jeme or one of the Theban monasteries), along with the texts from which the connection was made, or at least hypothesised. Following this, the Coptic name of the toponym is given in the variants that appear in the texts from the present dataset. In many cases, orthographic variation is much greater than what is given. A fuller list of variants can be found under the appropriate entry in Timm’s catalogue, the reference for which is given under ‘Timm’. A short description of each toponym then follows, in which I have endeavoured to provide: its location relative to Jeme; its modern equivalent or, if that is not known, a summary of the evidence relating to its location; and a brief description of the site’s relevance to western Thebes.

The following toponyms are arranged alphabetically according to their English transcription (in most cases following the Coptic spelling), and have been divided into two sections: ‘Towns and Cities’ and ‘Monasteries and Hermitages’. The monasteries are arranged

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<sup>2</sup> The number of toponyms attributed to Ermont and Koptos is variable because of Pshinsion, which certainly lay in one of these nomes, but we are not sure which.

<sup>3</sup> Where co-ordinates are provided, they can be entered directly into the Google Earth search field. Replacing the degrees sign (°) with a space will also bring up the correct location.

<sup>4</sup> Note that those toponyms identified as in the Hermonthite or Koptite nomes are named as such in the Theban documentary material, or at least suspected to be within these regions. For toponyms outside these areas, I have followed the attribution of *Trismegistos*. Note, however, that the *Trismegistos* data is based on Ptolemaic evidence, which is, by the early Islamic period, about a millennium out of date. That said, the nome capitals of the Ptolemaic period remained important centres in the Roman and Arabic periods (many even remain important today), and the administrative divisions in the Islamic period were likely not drastically different.

alphabetically according to the name of their eponymous saint, so the monastery of Apa Phoibammon comes after the monastery of Epiphanius<sup>5</sup>.

## TOWNS AND CITIES

### And(...)

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite(?)

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 96)

Coptic: ⲁⲛ\ⲁ/

Timm: And(...), 108-109

The village And(...) (ⲁⲛⲉⲡⲟⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ\ⲁ/, *P.KRU* 96.94,96) is the location of two witnesses to a child donation to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon dated to 775. This village is otherwise unattested in the Coptic material from western Thebes, and its full name is not known. Timm speculates that it may be related to the Greek toponym Ἀνδρονίκου, which occasionally occurs in Egyptian documents, or to a toponym of this name which occurs in fourth century documents and was located in the nome of Ermont<sup>6</sup>. Given the abundance of toponyms attested in only one or two texts, however, an identification cannot be certain and leaving the abbreviation unresolved seems preferable.

### Antinoe

Location: 27°48'45.00"N 30°53'03.00"E

Nome: Hermopolite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82; *P.KRU* 10); Phoibammon (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 652(a))

Coptic: ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟϥ; ⲁⲛⲧ[ⲉⲓ]ⲛⲟⲁϥ

Timm: Anṣinā, 111-128

<sup>5</sup> While the monastic communities on the mounts of Tsenti and Tnouhe are connected with west Theban toponyms, the equivalent secular villages (if such existed) are not. As such, they are listed under 'Monasteries and Hermitages', where otherwise the mounts of Apé and Ermont are mentioned under the entry for these towns.

<sup>6</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 108-109.

Antinoe (Greek Ἀντινόου Πόλις) is located near modern El-Sheikh Ibada, almost 290km northeast of Jeme (straight line, about 418km by river). The city was founded in 130 by the Emperor Hadrian and subsequently retained a strong Hellenistic heritage, being one of the four original so-called Greek cities of Egypt<sup>7</sup>. From its foundation Antinoe was also important as the start of the Via Hadriana, a trade road constructed by Hadrian that ran across the eastern desert to the Red Sea, then followed the coast down to Berenike<sup>8</sup>. Trade, no doubt, was one reason why it appears in the west Theban network: a man from Jeme wished to get his goods there in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82, and it was the point of origin of some papyrus purchased by the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39). In the Byzantine period it became administratively important, first as the capital of the Antinoite nome and later as the seat of the *dux* of the Thebaid, being the capital of that province from the sixth century onwards<sup>9</sup>. It must have retained some administrative importance in the eighth century, under Arabic rule, as *P.KRU* 10.17-18 shows that it was still the seat of a *dux* at this time.

The remains of the city were at one point quite extensive and have been known since the abandonment of the site sometime before the twelfth century. Today the ruins are much degraded due to the use of building material from the site in the construction of a sugar refinery at the turn of the twentieth century. Excavations have been ongoing in Antinoe since the early twentieth century, in particular by Italian teams from the Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli” of Florence, currently under R. Pintaudi<sup>10</sup>.

## Apé

Location: 25°41'59.53"N 32°38'24.32"E (?)

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Mich.Copt.* 13); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 81; 82; 86); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 460r; 522); Frange (*O.TT29* 63; 164; 204)

Coptic: ⲁⲡⲉ; ⲁⲡⲏ

Timm: Ape, 133-136

<sup>7</sup> After 200/201 all nome capitals were accorded these privileges by the Emperor Septimius Severus. See Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 17.

<sup>8</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 280-281. See also Ritner (1998) 15-16.

<sup>9</sup> For a history of the site see Bell (1940). He discusses the administrative position of the city on pp. 144-145.

<sup>10</sup> For the most recent state of excavations see Pintaudi (2008).

The exact location of Apé is the subject of much discussion. It is described in the Theban texts as both a *kastron* (*P.KRU* 81.4 refers to “the monastery of Apa Sergios in the *Kastron* Apé” – ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΑΠΑ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΗΠΚΑΣΤΡ(Ο)Ν ΑΠΗ) and a *polis* (*O.Crum* 491.5 refers to a *topos* of Apa Stephanos “of the *polis* Apé” – ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΠΕ). We know it stood in the nome of Ermont (*P.KRU* 86.3-4 “in Apé, the nome of the city Hermonthis” – ΣΝΑΠΗ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΡΜΩΝ\Θ/) and had a ‘mount’ associated with it (*P.KRU* 81.60-61 refers to “the Saint Apa Parnouthios of the mount of Apé” – ΠΣΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΘΙΟΣ ΝΗΤΟΥΥ ΝΑΠΗ). Further, we know that Apé was, at one point at least, the seat of a bishop (*P.Pisentius* 11.15-16 refers to an “Apa Antonios the bishop of Apé” – ΑΠΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΝΙΟΣ ΝΕΠΙΣΚ(ΟΠΟΣ) ΝΑΠΕ). These details suggest that Apé was quite a significant settlement and have contributed to much of the discussion surrounding its location.

The general opinion of modern scholarship is that Apé should be equated with Thebes/Luxor. Timm and Crum both argue that Apé specifically refers to a part of Thebes lying on the west bank – at least partially because the use of ΤΟΥΥ, ‘mountain’ (as in *P.KRU* 81.61) suggests the kind of geological feature not present on the eastern bank. Crum further argues that where ΑΠΕ refers to the settlement on the west bank of the Nile, the toponym ΠΑΠΕ, which sometimes occurs in Theban texts, represents the Luxor temple complex and the part of the city lying on the east bank<sup>11</sup>. More recently, Aït-Kaci, Boud’hors and Heurtel have argued that the name Apé was applied to parts of Thebes on both sides of the river: Karnak and Luxor on the east bank, and the mount of Apé on the west. In their argument, ΠΑΠΕ and ΑΠΕ are synonymous – the difference resulting from confusion with the masculine noun ‘head’, which led to the addition of the definite article<sup>12</sup>. While the equation of ΑΠΕ / ΠΑΠΕ is reasonable, these treatments lack a discussion of Ne, a toponym also associated with the temples of Thebes<sup>13</sup>.

All the above discussions agree that the toponym ‘the Three Kastrá’ (Greek τρία κάστρα – *P.Ness.* III 36.18; *P.KRU* 27.3 – and Coptic ΠΩΟΜΤ ΝΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ<sup>14</sup>) also refers to Thebes, a name partially surviving in the modern Arabic *El-Oukşour* – meaning ‘the two forts’. Which

<sup>11</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 105-106; Timm (1984-2007) 133-136.

<sup>12</sup> Aït-Kaci, Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010) 6-8. See here also for a summation of the key points of the discussion to date.

<sup>13</sup> How the toponym Ne, which is often described as part of Thebes, relates to Apé if the latter describes the entirety is not clear. See Ne below.

<sup>14</sup> Crum mentions this Coptic variant in Winlock & Crum (1926) 106 fn. 13. As yet I have not been able to identify the unpublished text he cites (P.Michigan, 1924).

three forts are encompassed by this term is not clear, however, it is likely that Apé and Ne are two of them. Crum speculates that Petemout might be the third<sup>15</sup>. On the basis of this evidence it is probable that Apé refers to the settlement around the Luxor temple (perhaps including the part on the west bank), and that Ne refers to that around Karnak.

### **Aphrodito**

Location: 26°50'37.44"N 31°25'17.89"E

Nome: Antaiopolite

Connections: Jeme (*P.Lond.* IV 1460)

Coptic: (not named in this text, connection based on provenance)

Timm: Kōm Išqāw, 1438-1461

The well-known Upper Egyptian town of Aphrodito (modern Kom Ishqaw) lay in the middle of the cultivated zone on the west bank, some 171km north-east from Jeme (straight line, about 260km following the present course of the Nile). The town is significant as the find-spot of many hundred papyri (*Trismegistos* lists 1300<sup>16</sup>), particularly from the late Byzantine and early Arabic periods, and of the well discussed Dioskoros archive<sup>17</sup>. Its relationship with western Thebes, however, is limited to a sole list of fugitives (*P.Lond.* IV 1460) from 709, in which two individuals from Jeme are recorded (ll. 131-138).

### **Apotei**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 93)

Coptic: ἀποτει

Timm: -

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<sup>15</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 106-107. See also the discussion of Vandorpe (1995) 218-221, who outlines the possible candidates for the three forts on pp. 219-220. The suggestion that Medinet Habu could be one of the forts is unlikely. Note for instance *P.KRU* 27.3-4 and *P.KRU* 70.3-4, in which the Three Kastras is mentioned alongside the Kastron Memnonion as a separate locality. Interestingly, Wilkinson (1843) 133 remarks that Petemout is known by some as “the eastern Karnak” – a surprising comment given that Karnak is also on the east bank. Perhaps this supports the position that it was one of the Three Kastras? See also Ne below.

<sup>16</sup> As of 3 September 2013.

<sup>17</sup> For a useful treatment of Aphrodito, see Wickham (2005) 411-419.



In *P.KRU*93 (dated around 770), Iohannes son of Zacharias, “the man of the estate of Apotei in the district of Ermont” (ἡρμηχωριον ἀποτει εἰς ἐρμοντ, ll. 1-2) donates his child to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. This toponym is otherwise unattested, so its exact location within the nome of Ermont is unknown. It is worth noting, however, that the man who wrote Iohannes’ assent clause was from Ermont (ll. 52-53), as were all four witnesses (ll. 54-57). That all the witnesses to a child donation were located, and all to the same place, is quite unusual. It may be that Apotei was very close to this city.

### Aswan

Location: 24°04'58.57"N 32°54'15.33"E

Nome: Elephantine

Connections: Jeme (*P.KRU* 38, 68; *P.Lond.* V 1719(?); 1720(?))

Coptic: Ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲛ

Timm: Aswān, 222-235

The city of Aswan (*P.KRU* 38.14 τοπολις Ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲛ – “the *polis* Aswan”; Greek Συήνη – “Syene”) lies about 180km south of Jeme (about 215km by river) on the east bank of the Nile, just north of the First Cataract. It was already an important city in Pharaonic times as it sat on the conceptual and, sometimes, political southern-most border of Egypt. This position allowed it to control traffic north and south, and hence it was an important city for trade and frequently the site of a garrison<sup>18</sup>. By the middle of the fourth century, it was already the seat of a bishop<sup>19</sup>.

Lying a few days travel upriver from Jeme, it is unsurprising that this toponym does not feature often in the Theban documentation – most of the references to it being in connection with the same man, who moved from there to Jeme. Due to the dense nature of settlement at the site, archaeological excavations continue to focus on temples and other areas no longer inhabited, although some work in the settled areas was carried out in the nineteenth century<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Dijkstra (2005) 9.

<sup>19</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 222.

<sup>20</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 229. See also Wallis Budge (1886-1887).

**Dekadritou**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Panopolite

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 99)

Coptic: ΔΕΚΑΔΡΙΤΟΥ, ΔΙΚΤΑΤΡΙΠΟΥ

Timm: Diktatripou, 864-865

Dekadritou is attested solely in *P.KRU* 99, a child donation to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. The donor is Thomas son of Basileos, a priest and “man of Dekadritou in the district of Akhmim” (ΠΡΜΔΕΚΑΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΖΗΤΚΑΖ ΩΜΙΝ, l. 4). In the assent clause of this same text, the toponym is spelled Diktatripou (ΔΙΚΤΑΤΡΙΠΟΥ, l. 48), which Timm thinks may be a more accurate spelling of this name<sup>21</sup>. Its exact location, beyond being in the vicinity of Akhmim (26°33'39.50"N 31°44'41.21"E), is unknown.

**Elemou**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82)

Coptic: ΕΛΕΜΟΥ

Timm: Elemou, 907

*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 contains the only reference to Elemou. There is no doubt that the name is a toponym, as it occurs in the construction ΠΕCΗΤΕ ΠΩΝCΙΑ ΠΗΗΗ ΠΡΜΕΛΕΜΟΥ ΖΜΠΝΟΜΟC ΝΚΒΤ (“Pisente the son of Sia, the sailor, the man of Elemou in the nome of Koptos” ll. 1-2). Its use with ΠΡΜ- and its further location within a nome leave its status beyond doubt. Timm has reasonably suggested that it may be located on the bank of the Nile, as Pisente is a sailor. Apart from being in the Koptite nome, however, its exact location is unknown.

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<sup>21</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 864-865.

## Ermont (Hermonthis)

Location: 25°37'20.76"N 32°32'39.08"E

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumST* 38; 437; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 26; *O.Vind.Copt.* 42; *P.KRU* 75); Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 209; *P.KRU* 79; 80; 93; 96; 107; 109); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87; 172; 176; 254; 272; 310; 438; 678)

Nome: Hermonthite

Coptic: ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲧ, ⲡ̅ⲙⲟⲛⲧ, ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ, ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ̅, ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ̅, ⲉⲣ̅ⲙⲟⲛⲧ̅, ⲉⲣⲙⲁⲛⲧ̅; ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧⲉⲓ; ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛ\ⲙ/  
Timm: Armant, 152-181

Ermont (modern Armant; Greek Ἑρμῶνθις) is an ubiquitous toponym in the Theban papyri and regularly occurs alongside Jeme as the capital of the nome in which Jeme lay (Jeme is regularly described, as in *P.KRU* 10.6, as the “kastron of Jeme, (in) the nome of the city Ermont” – καστρὸν νῆχμῃ πνομός ντπολῖς ἐρμὼνθις). Despite this, and although Ermont has strong ties to the nearby monasteries of Phoibammon and Epiphanius, very few explicit connections with Jeme are visible in the texts. The connections with the monastic communities, however, suggest that there was regular movement between western Thebes and Ermont.

Continuously occupied from the predynastic era, Ermont lies some 12.5km southwest of Jeme and, besides being the nome capital, was also the seat of both the regional governor and a bishop in the late Roman and early Islamic period<sup>22</sup>. The bishops of Ermont had a particularly close association with the monasteries around Jeme: in particular Bishop Abraham, who founded the monastery of Apa Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri in the early seventh century<sup>23</sup>. Excavation of Ermont has been restricted due to continuous habitation; focus has been on what remains of the temples outside the boundaries of the modern town<sup>24</sup>.

A “mount of Ermont” is attested in an account from Jeme (πτοοῦ ν̅ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲧ, *O.CrumST* 437.4). The mount of Ermont is that part of the desert escarpment which lies north of Ermont and west of the mount of Jeme. Like its more famous neighbour, the mount of Ermont was home to a number of monastic settlements and hermitages. The location of many of them is

<sup>22</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 207.

<sup>23</sup> For the various bishops of Ermont see Timm (1984-2007) 159-165.

<sup>24</sup> For which see Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 207-208.

now lost, but it is likely that any individual described as being of this mount was living in a monastic environment.

### Esna

Location: 25°17'22.97"N 32°33'7.27"E

Nome: Latopolite

Connections: Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 126; *P.KRU*79)

Coptic: ⲕⲛⲉ, ⲕⲛⲏ

Timm: Isnā, 1181-1193

Esna was, and still is, a port city, located on the west bank of the Nile about 48km south of Jeme (straight line, about 55km by river). Called Latopolis in Greek (Λάτων Πόλις), it was a nome capital in the Greco-Roman period, and the seat of a bishop<sup>25</sup>. That Esna had ties to western Thebes is best indicated by the presence of a man from Esna (ⲡⲣⲙⲕⲛⲏⲏ, *P.KRU*79.71) in a witness statement from a donation text to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon.

### Fayum

Location: 29°18'30.58"N 30°50'33.98"E

Nome: Arsinoite

Connections: Paul (*P.CLT*3)

Coptic: ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲟⲙ

Timm: Madīnat al-Fayyūm, 1506-1525

Madīnat al-Fayyūm refers to the capital of the Fayum district, Arsinoe (for which see Timm's entry), which lies approximately 433km northwest of Jeme (straight line, closer to 600km following the river). However, the connection between western Thebes and the Fayum is not with Arsinoe itself, but with "the district of the Fayum" (ⲡⲧⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲟⲙ, *P.CLT*4.4), which is to say the Fayum as a whole. The Fayum needs no particular introduction here; it is a cultivated area west of the Nile in Lower Egypt, fed by the Bahr Yusuf and supported by the Lake of Moiris (Birket Qarun), which has had a long history of cultivation and settlement<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 219; Timm (1984-2007) 1181.

<sup>26</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 127-131.

Its connection with the monastery of Apa Paul comes in the form of an application that three monks from this monastery be allowed to travel there to sell ropework. Which settlement was their ultimate destination is not known, but the area contained numerous churches and monasteries and the monks' ultimate goal may have been near to one of these<sup>27</sup>.

### Jerusalem

Location: 31°46'06.09"N 35°12'49.22"E

Nome: – (not in Egypt)

Connections: Frange (*O.TT29* 20; 51)

Coptic: ΘΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ

Timm: -

Jerusalem, a holy site to many religions and of particular interest to the Christian monks of Egypt as the site of much of the life and execution of Christ, needs no particular discussion here. It occurs in the Theban texts related to the monk Frange, who seems to have travelled there on at least one occasion (*O.TT29* 51). Given the site's significance to Christians, that a monk might wish to travel there is not too surprising.

### Kalba

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite(?)

Connections: Jeme (*SB Kopt.* II 908); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 90); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 302; 522)

Coptic: ΚΑΛΒΑ

Timm: Kalba, 1216

Kalba is not well attested in the corpus of documentary texts. Timm remarks that it undoubtedly stood in the environs of Jeme and was therefore in the nome of Ermont<sup>28</sup>. A (church of?) “the archangel Michael of Kalba” is attested (*P.KRU* 90.47 παρχαγγελος ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΝΚΑΛΒΑ), but little else is known. Timm identifies attestations of Kalba in *P.KRU* 90;

<sup>27</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 128.

<sup>28</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1216.

*SB Kopt. II* 908; *O.CrumVC* 121; and *O.Cair.Monuments* 8051. To this list can be added *P.Mon.Epiph.* 302 and 522. Its exact location remains unknown.

### **Kerameia**

Location: 25°44'03.44"N 32°42'35.74"E

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*P.Lond.* V 1720); see also Petemout

Greek: τὰ κεραμεῖα

Timm: -

In the sixth century document *P.Lond.V* 1720.5-6, the “kastron Kerameia of the Theban nome” (Κάστρο(ν) Κεραμέως το(ῦ) Θηβαίου(ν) νομο(ῦ)) is attested. While this kastron is not attested elsewhere, I follow Bataille and Timm in identifying it with τὰ κεραμεῖα, the Greek equivalent of the Coptic toponym Petemout<sup>29</sup>. This identification is strengthened by the fact that a Coptic account of things left in deposit at Petemout (*O.CrumST* 439) is written on the reverse of this papyrus<sup>30</sup>.

For Petemout, see below.

### **Klusma**

Location: 29°58'08.62"N 32°31'48.84"E

Nome: None. In the Eastern Desert

Connections: Jeme (*P.KRU* 68)

Coptic: κλοῦσμε

Timm: al-Qulzum, 2164-2171

Klusma (modern Suez) was a port situated at the head of the Gulf of Suez and is one of the most remote toponyms in the Jeme material with demonstrable connections to that town (some 470km due north). Whether or not it was the site of an earlier fort, Klusma does not

<sup>29</sup> Bataille (1946) in particular p. 242; Timm (1984-2007) 1505, fn. 1.

<sup>30</sup> A discussion of the relationship of these two documents, and a newer reading of the Coptic text can be found in MacCoull (1993).

appear to have been significant until the Emperor Trajan rebuilt it, likely to foster trade to Red Sea ports and India<sup>31</sup>. Although in a good position for trade – traders could rest here before attempting any desert crossings and it had access to trade coming through from the Red Sea – it was quite barren and did not have a readily accessible water supply: making it no competition for larger Red Sea ports like Myos Hormos or Berenike.

It was not until the sixth century that Klusma seems to have had any economic boom. Under Arabic rule, this boom seems to have increased as Klusma became an important port for shipping Egyptian grain to Mecca and Medina<sup>32</sup>. References to Klusma from the administrative records of the *pagarchy* of Aphrodito in *P.Lond.* IV are frequent and show a bustling economy with a number of specialised craftsmen<sup>33</sup>. Klusma was also a site of religious importance, as it was considered the point where Moses parted the Red Sea to allow the passage of the Israelites<sup>34</sup>.

It is unlikely that the connection between Jeme and Klusma was very strong. It only occurs in the testament of Elizabeth, a resident of Jeme, who either tried to apprentice her son to a smith from there, or hired the smith for another, unknown purpose.

## Koeis

Location: Near modern al-Qeis (28°28'42.16"N 30°47'7.90"E)

Nome: Kynopolite

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 473)

Coptic: ⲕⲟⲉⲓⲥ

Timm: al-Qēs, 2132-2140

Koeis, called Kynopolis in Greek (Κυνὼν Πόλις), was a town in Middle Egypt probably located near modern al-Qeis in the cultivated zone on the west bank of the Nile, about 354km northwest of Jeme (straight line, some 500km by river)<sup>35</sup>. In the Roman period it was a nome

<sup>31</sup> Mayerson (1996) 120-121.

<sup>32</sup> Mayerson (1996) 124-126.

<sup>33</sup> Klusma occurs in the following texts from *P.Lond.* IV: 1336, 1346, 1386, 1388, 1397, 1414, 1416, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1438 + 1484, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1449, 1465, and 1515.

<sup>34</sup> Mayerson (1996) 121-122, 124. Timm (1984-2007) 2164 claims that it was already the seat of a bishop by the middle of the fourth century.

<sup>35</sup> For the likely location of Koeis see Timm (1984-2007) 2135-2136; Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 158.

capital and, later, the seat of a bishop<sup>36</sup>. Its connection to western Thebes comes through a fragmentary letter to the anchorite Apa Epiphanius from Kuriakos, the man of Koeis (ΚΥΡΙΑΚ[ΟC ΠΡΗ]ΚΟΕΙC, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 473.A. verso ll. 2-3).

## Koptos

Location: 25°59'46.24"N 32°48'58.82"E

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82; *P.CLT* 5); Phoibammon (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 11); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 152; 323; 327; 660 (b))

Coptic: ΚΒΤ; ΚΒΤ; ΚΕΒΤ; ΚΟΒΤ. Greek: ἰουστινιάνης πόλεως

Timm: Qift, 2140-2154

Koptos (modern Qift, Greek Justinianopolis) lies on the east bank of the Nile, some 38km northeast of Jeme and just under 3km inland from the river. Due to its important position as one of the closest towns in the Nile Valley to the Red Sea, Koptos was inhabited from the early, or even pre-dynastic period<sup>37</sup>. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods it became a major transshipment point for trade between the two<sup>38</sup>. In the late Roman and early Arabic periods, the city (*P.CLT* 4.2 τπολις ΚΒΤ) is particularly conspicuous in Theban documentary texts as the capital of the nome in which several other towns lay<sup>39</sup>. It also seems to have hosted a *stolarches*, an official of unknown function who was likely in charge of river traffic (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82.7 refers to “the *stolarches* of Kos and Koptos” – ΠCΤΟΛΑΡΧΗC ΚΩC ΜΗΚΒΤ). Koptos was also the seat of several important bishops – notably Bishop Pisentius, who spent some time at the monastery of Epiphanius near Jeme<sup>40</sup>. The city itself has only a small number of connections with Jeme and the nearby monastic communities, mostly of an economic nature.

<sup>36</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2133-2134; Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 158.

<sup>37</sup> Petrie (1896) 3 reports finding flint instruments there similar to third and fourth Dynasty flints found elsewhere. See also Herbert & Berlin (2003) 9.

<sup>38</sup> For the trade routes leading from Koptos see Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 280-282.

<sup>39</sup> For example *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82.2 ΕΛΕΜΟΥ ΞΜΠΝΟΜΟC ΝΚΒΤ – ‘Elemou in the nome of Koptos’; and *P.CLT* 1.5 ΠΩΝCΙΩΝ ΞΜΠΤΩ ΝΚΒΤ – ‘Pshinsion in the nome of Koptos’. Other toponyms from this nome connected to western Thebes are Pashme, Pmilis, Psenantonios, and Tse. Also likely to be located in this nome are Kos, Pakebt, Papar, and Pisinai.

<sup>40</sup> See Winlock & Crum (1926) 223-228.



Archaeological work at the site has occurred sporadically since initial work by Maspero in 1882. Major excavations were carried out by Petrie and Quibell in 1893-1894, and by Reinach and Weill in 1910 and 1911<sup>41</sup>. The most recent excavations were carried out by a joint team from the University of Michigan and the University of Assiut between 1987 and 1992<sup>42</sup>.

## Kos

Location: 25°54'42.94"N 32°45'47.75"E

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumST* 437; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82); Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 476)

Coptic: ⲕⲱϥ

Timm: Qūš, 2173-2180

Kos (modern Qus, Greek Ἀπόλλωνος Πόλις Μικρά and later Διοκλητιανούπολις) lies directly on the east bank of the Nile, about 10km south of Koptos and 25km northeast of Jeme. It occurs regularly in the Jeme material, where it is called a city (*P.KRU* 67.130 ΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΩϥ), was the seat of a bishop (*P.Pisentius* 11.16 ἀπὸ πικραῖα πεπίσκ(ονος) ἡῶς), and, alongside Koptos, was under the jurisdiction of a *stolarches* (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82.7 πστολάρχης κωϥ μνηκβτ)<sup>43</sup>. If we are to believe the information in *O.CrumVC* 29.3, Kos was also a nome capital (πνομος ἡκωϥ). However, given no nome of Kos has been demonstrated for this period, and given its proximity to Koptos, which was itself a nome capital, it is questionable whether νομος in this context refers to an administrative district, or is simply used synonymously with τοῦ (district) to indicate an area without implying an administrative connotation<sup>44</sup>.

Kos was inhabited since early dynastic times, when it was known as Gesa. In that period it was surely more important than Koptos for connecting the Nile Valley with the Red Sea and

<sup>41</sup> A summary of all work on the site before 1987 can be found in Traunecker (1992) 21-30.

<sup>42</sup> Herbert & Berlin (2003).

<sup>43</sup> According to Timm (1984-2007) 2173, Kos was surely a bishopric by the mid-sixth century. Following Stefanski and Lichtheim (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 82 fn. 2), the *stolarches* is probably an official in charge of river traffic. This fits the context of the text – a contract to ship a man and his goods from Jeme to Antinoe – in which the boat owner assures the recipient that he will be answerable to the *stolarches* of Kos and Koptos.

<sup>44</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 121.

the quarry Wadi Hammamat<sup>45</sup>. In the early Arabic period, however, Koptos was more dominant. Excavation at the site of the town is limited, with work mainly focused on its cemetery across the river<sup>46</sup>.

## Kune

Location: 26°9'18.42"N 32°42'57.82"E

Nome: Tentyrite

Connections: Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 476)

Coptic: ⲕϢⲛⲏ

Timm: Qinā, 2157-2159

Kune (modern Qena) was a city in the nome of Tentyra, on the east bank of the Nile about 50km north of Jeme (straight line, about 63km by river). Little is known of its history, however Timm reports that there were at least two monasteries there in the Arabic period<sup>47</sup>. The connection between this town and the monastery of Apa Phoibammon comes from *O.Crum* 476, a damaged account in which it is mentioned alongside Kos and Shneset, both relatively close by. Although Crum expresses some doubt about his identification of this toponym, its occurrence alongside these other toponyms makes it likely<sup>48</sup>.

## Ne

Location: 25°43'03.91"N 32°39'27.50"E (?)

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 131; *P.KRU* 68); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 369)

Coptic: ⲛⲏ

Timm: Nē, 1762-1763

The location of Ne, much like Apé, is not certainly known; it appears sporadically in connection with west Theban communities. In regard to its location, Timm says only that it

<sup>45</sup> Fischer (1984) 71-72. It became so again after the thirteenth century for the same reasons, when it was regarded as second only to Cairo in importance and size (*ibid.* 72).

<sup>46</sup> Fischer (1984) 72.

<sup>47</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2158.

<sup>48</sup> See *O.Crum* 476 fn. 1. Timm (1984-2007) 2158 also finds this association likely.

occurs among the Coptic toponyms from the environs of Jeme<sup>49</sup>. Other scholars, however, have associated it with Thebes. Crum, calling it a *kastron*, locates Ne generally in the ruins of ancient Thebes, on the basis that Coptic **ⲛⲏ** is a preservation of an older Egyptian name for Thebes: *N(i)w.t* ‘the city’<sup>50</sup>. Vandorpe takes this idea further, identifying Ne with the settlement in the Karnak temple complex specifically<sup>51</sup>.

This identification cannot fit with the position of some scholars that Apé encompasses all habitation around Karnak and Luxor (as discussed above<sup>52</sup>) unless it is considered that **ⲁⲡⲏ** and **ⲛⲏ** are interchangeable names, both indicating Thebes. This possibility is not yet supported by the evidence. Following Vandorpe, I have equated Ne with Karnak and Apé with Luxor<sup>53</sup>. If this position is accepted, both would then fall under the designation ‘the Three Kastrá’, which seems to be an encompassing term for the part of Thebes lying on the east bank – probably encompassing Apé, Ne, and perhaps Petemout<sup>54</sup>.

### Neihbabe

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU*79)

Coptic: **ⲛⲉⲓⲃⲁⲃⲉ**

Timm: -

In *P.KRU*79, Kalisthene “the woman of Neihbabe in the district of Primide” (**ⲧⲣⲓⲙⲛⲉⲓⲃⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲱ ⲡⲣⲓⲙⲓⲃⲉ**, ll. 1-2) donates her child to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. Unfortunately, neither Neihbabe nor Primide are otherwise attested, and Timm does not include entries for either. Crum remarks that Primide recalls other toponyms, but does not suggest that this reference should be equated to any of these<sup>55</sup>. Primide need not refer to somewhere outside the Hermonthite or Koptite nomes. Just as the district around Kos itself in the Koptite nome, is once referred to as “the nome of Kos” (**ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲕⲱⲥ**, *O.Crum*VC

<sup>49</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1762.

<sup>50</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 106.

<sup>51</sup> Vandorpe (1995) 211.

<sup>52</sup> See under Apé, pp. 249-252.

<sup>53</sup> Vandorpe (1995) 211, 218.

<sup>54</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 106-107.

<sup>55</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 105.

29.3), so too could “the district of Primide” (ΠΤΟΥ ΠΡΙΜΙΔΕ) refer to the immediate surrounds of a toponym in another nome.

### **Pajment**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 62); Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 303)

Coptic: ΠΑΧΜΕΝΤ; ΠΑΧΜΝΤ

Timm: Padjment, 1808

Besides *O.Crum* 303 and *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 62, the toponym Pajment only occurs in one other text (*BKU* I 42.1). Although the name could be read as a toponym or patronymic in both *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 62 and *BKU* I 42, in *O.Crum* 303 “the field of Pajment” is referred to (ΠΩΣΕ ΜΠΑΧΜΝΤ), making it more likely that it is a toponym, which it is taken to be in this study. Its location is unknown, although it likely lay in the Hermonthite or Koptite nomes.

### **Pakale**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*P.KRU* 62)

Coptic ΠΑΚΑΛΕ

Timm: Pakale, 1812-1813

*P.KRU* 62.3 is the only attestation to this toponym known so far. In the text, a Paulos son of Johannes, “from Pakale, the nome of city of Ermont” (ΣΜΠΑΚΑΛΕ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΟΣ(sic) ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ) borrows money from a man of Jeme. Given that Pakale lies in the nome of Ermont, and that someone from there is borrowing money from Jeme, it is possible that Pakale was in the vicinity of Jeme. Its exact location is unknown.

## Pakebt

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite(?)

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU*91)

Coptic: πακεβτ

Timm: Pakebt, 1815-1816

Apart from *P.KRU*91.36,37, Pakebt is otherwise unattested. In this text – a child donation by a couple from Jeme to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon – two witnesses give Pakebt as their location. Despite its similarity with κβτ (Koptos), Timm argues that the two should not be equated<sup>56</sup>. However, Timm does not mention that whereas the first witness writes “from Pakebt, I bear witness”, the second reference reads in full: “I Chael, the son of Iohannes, from Pakebt of Pisinai, I bear witness” (*P.KRU* 90.37-38 + ἀνοκ χαηλ πωηρε ν[ιω]αννης εἰςπακεβτ +(sic) μπισιναι †ω μα[ρ]τυρος<sup>57</sup>). These two lines are confusing, as line 38 begins with the sign (+), which usually precedes a new witness. However line 37 does not finish with the usual “I bear witness”, which occurs at the end of line 38. It is likely that the two toponyms, Pakebt and Pisinai, are part of the same expression here. Whether we should then locate Pakebt in or near Pisinai, itself near Kos, is not clear. The exact location of Pakebt remains unknown<sup>58</sup>.

## Pakothis

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Paul (*P.CLT*1)

Coptic: πακωθεος

Timm: Pakōthis, 1818-1819

*P.CLT* 1 contains the only known reference to Pakothis. In this text, Eiot, a priest from a church located there (εἰς τὸν εὐρυά μπακωθεος, 133), acts as a witness. The toponyms

<sup>56</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1815.

<sup>57</sup> Or “in the *akebt* of Pisinai” – although ἀκεβτ resembles no known Coptic word.

<sup>58</sup> See Pisinai below. Note also *P.KRU*97.93, where a witness is εἰςπακηκ πισιναι.

Pshinsion, Psenheaei, and Paue are also attested in this text. All of these, however, are unlocated, with only Pshinsion located in a nome (Koptite). Pakothis likely lay in either the Koptite or Hermonthite nomes.

### **Pampane**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Tentyrite(?)

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 100)

Coptic: ΠΑΜΠΑΝΕ

Timm: Pampane, 1822-1824

A place called Pampanis in Greek (Παμπανίς) is attested as being in the vicinity of Tentyra<sup>59</sup>. The occurrences of Pampane in documentation from western Thebes do not indicate the nome in which it lay, so it is reasonable to think that the Coptic Pampane is the same place as the Greek Pampanis. In *P.KRU* 100, a certain Palote donates a child to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon and refers to himself as “the man of Timamen in the district of Ermont, but now, by chance, a man of Pampane” (ΠΡΜΤΜΑΜΗΝ ΣΜΠΤΟΩ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΔΕ ΑΓΟ ΡΜΠΑΜΠΑΝΕ, ll. 3-4). The toponym may also occur in a document from the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 269.21), however the context of this reference is lost. The exact location of Pampane remains unknown.

### **Pankalela**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 333)

Coptic: ΠΑΝΚΑΛΛΗΛΕ

Timm: Pankalēle, 1831-1832

A toponym of this name occurs a handful of times in Theban documentary texts, however it is not located in any. Crum (*O.Crum* 127 fn. 1) compares the name to that of El-Kaleila, an

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<sup>59</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1822-1823.

Egyptian village near Danfīq (south of Kos: 25°51'56.25"N 32°43'29.00"E), but thinks this name has an Arabic etymology rather than an Egyptian one. Timm thinks it likely that Pankalela was located near Jeme<sup>60</sup>.

### **Pankame**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 110)

Coptic: ΠΑΝΚΑΜΗ

Timm: Pa n-Kamē

In *P.KRU* 110 (dated c. 770), Philotheos son of Psmo “from the village of Pankame in the nome of the city Ermont” (ΣΜΠΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΑΝΚΑΜΗ Μ[ΠΝ]ΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΡΜΟΝΤ, ll. 2-3) donates some palm trees to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. This is, so far, the only known reference to this place and its exact location within the nome of Ermont is unknown.

### **Papar**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite(?)

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumST* 429); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 97); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 533)

Coptic: ΠΑΠΑΡ

Timm: Papar, 1838-1839

Papar is poorly attested in the Theban documentary material. Besides the reference in *O.CrumST* 429, a witness from Papar occurs in *P.KRU* 97.90-91 alongside two other witnesses from Pisinai, and a man from Papar occurs in an account from the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 533.7). Crum speculates that it may be in the neighbourhood of Koptos or Kos, due to its presence beside Pisinai in *P.KRU* 97<sup>61</sup>. Crum also suggests it as a potential reading of *O.CrumST* 51.9-13, where it occurs in the statement of a scribe: “I wrote

<sup>60</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1831-1832.

<sup>61</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 533 fn. 5.

this sherd in Papar(?), under ...” (Δΐϸϸαῖ †βλⲭϥ ϩⲙⲡαⲡⲱ ⲛαⲁⲣⲙ̅ ⲁϥ[...]). However, based on similar statements on Coptic ostraca, for example *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 75.9-11, we would expect a date here rather than a toponym, and the name of an official, usually the *lashane*, to follow ⲛαⲁⲣⲙ̅<sup>62</sup>. As such, this reading is unlikely. Perhaps the Coptic month Phophi (Coptic ⲡαⲟⲡⲉ or ⲡαⲁⲡⲉ) would be better understood here. The location of Papar remains unknown.

### Village of Apa Papnoute

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite(?)

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 93)

Coptic: ⲧⲕⲱⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲟϥⲧⲉ

Timm: Topos des Apa Papnouthios, 2760-2761

In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 93, a man who lives in the village of Apa Papnoute (ⲡⲁῖ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲏⲩ ϩⲛⲧⲕⲱⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, ll. 3-4) enters into a loan agreement with a certain Moses (the lender). While this village does not occur elsewhere, three men “from the (*topos*) of the Saint Apa Papnoute on the mountain of Apé” (ϩⲛⲡⲉⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲟϥϩⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲡⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲡⲏ, *P.KRU* 81.60-61) are witnesses to a child donation. It is unclear whether or not any relation existed between the two, however Timm argues that near the place where the *topos* was, a village later developed which was also called after Apa Papnoute<sup>63</sup>. It cannot be said with certainty that this was the case, but it is interesting to note that the use of the construction ⲡⲁῖ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲏⲩ ϩⲛ- is used most frequently in reference to people living in monastic communities<sup>64</sup>. Where exactly in the vicinity of Apé the *topos*, and perhaps the village, lay is not known.

### Pashme

Location: 25°50'54.29"N 32°42'12.83"E (?)

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 26; 64); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87)

Coptic: ⲡⲁϩⲙⲉ

<sup>62</sup> *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 75.9-11 reads “this (sherd) which I wrote on the fifth day of Thout, under Mena the *lashane*” – ⲧⲁῖ ⲉⲛⲧⲁῖϸϸαῖⲧϥ ϩⲛϫⲟϥⲧⲓⲟϥ ⲛⲉϩⲱ ⲛαⲁⲣⲙ̅ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲡⲁⲁϩⲁⲛⲉ.

<sup>63</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2760.

<sup>64</sup> See above pp. 52-53.



Timm: Pašme, 1849-1852

The village of Pashme has not been securely located, but a few texts provide an approximate location. A seventh century testament describes the village as an estate in the nome of Koptos (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87.2 τοῦςια ᾠπαῶμε ἡμνονομος ἡκβτ)<sup>65</sup>. In another seventh century will – that of Jacob and Elias, successors to the monastery of Epiphanius – a monk from the holy *topos* of Apa Shenoute on the mount of Pashme acts as scribe (*P.KRU* 75.146-147 πτοπος ετοῦααβ ναπα ᾠενοῦτε μптооу μπαχμε). This reference has led Crum to suggest that the *topos* should be placed on the west bank, next to the monastery of the Cross (Deir as-Salib), about 9km southwest of Kos (17km northeast of Jeme), on the edge of the desert<sup>66</sup>. Timm, on the other hand, suggests that the presence of a fisherman from Pashme in a divorce statement (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 270.12-15) should place it on the edge of the Nile<sup>67</sup>.

Of course, it need not be supposed that the mount of Pashme, and thus the *topos* of Apa Shenoute, was immediately next to the town: one could lie in the desert and the other on the river. The lack of any related Arabic names in the area renders an exact location impossible.

### Patoubasten

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Vind.Copt.* 28; *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27; 28); Phoibammon (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 22; *O.Crum* 301; 439; *SB Kopt.* II 922); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 147; 500)

Coptic: πατοῦβαστν; πατοῦβαστν̄; πατοῦβαστν̄̄; πατοῦβαστε; παταῦβας/

Timm: Patoubastn, 1856-1858

Timm remarks that the village Patoubasten (*O.Vind.Copt.* 28.1-2 [χω]ριον πατοῦβαστν) is very well attested in the documents from Jeme but, despite this, its exact location remains unknown<sup>68</sup>. In both *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 and 28, however, a man from Patoubasten writes to a

<sup>65</sup> A position which is perhaps supported by an eighth century Greek document from Aphrodito, in which a party is ἀπ[ὸ] Παχμε Κοπτῶ (*P.Lond.* IV 1460.24).

<sup>66</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 112 fn. 12.

<sup>67</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1851.

<sup>68</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1856-1857.

man of Jeme, “in the same nome, Ermont” – giving us at least a general idea as to its location<sup>69</sup>. From this information, Timm believes it to be in the environs of Jeme, on the west bank, toward the north of the nome of Ermont<sup>70</sup>.

### Paue

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Paul (*P.CLT* 1)

Coptic: παυη

Timm: Pauē, 1861

The only sure attestation of this town comes from the witness statement of Shenetom, the *lashane* of Paue (παλαυανη παυη, *P.CLT* 1.139). Its location is not known; Timm suggests that somewhere near Jeme might be a possibility<sup>71</sup>. The toponyms Pshinsion, Psenheaei, and Pakothis are also attested in this text, however, of these, only Pshinsion is located within a nome (Koptite).

### Pchatape

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 85)

Coptic: πχαταπη

Timm: Pchatapē, 1864

In a contract found at the monastery of Epiphanius, two men who are “from Pchatape in the nome of Ermont” (Ἰπχαταπη ἡπνονομος ἡερμοντ, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 85.2) agree to sow two fields for a monk of the mountain of Jeme. This toponym is not reliably attested elsewhere: πχα[ occurs in *BKU* 33; and a Greek mummy label (*T.Mom.Louvre* 1006) dated to the third to fourth centuries and of unknown provenance records the name “Hatres Nikaphoros Besios,

<sup>69</sup> *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27.5-6 ἡπνονομος νογῶτ ῤμοντ; *O.Deir er-Roumi* 28.5 ἡπνονομος ν[ογ]ῶτ ῤμοντ.

<sup>70</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1857.

<sup>71</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1861.

(son) of Pachomios (of?) Pchatape” (Ἀτρῆς Νικαφόρος Βήσιος τοῦ Παχούμιος Πχάταπε, ll. 1-2). Crum believed that it was probably modern Al-Khataba, near Luxor<sup>72</sup>. Timm finds this equation to be highly questionable, as there is no evidence that Al-Khataba existed in the seventh and eighth centuries<sup>73</sup>. As such, the exact location of Pchatape remains unknown.

### Penhotp

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite(?)

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 272)

Coptic: ΠΝΣΩΤΠ

Timm: Gabal Banhadab, 975-978

Timm’s entry ‘Gabal Banhadab’ refers to a monastic settlement in the Koptite nome. He remarks that the name Penhotp, which occurs in the Theban documentation, is most likely not a reference to this monastery, but to a village which lay nearby<sup>74</sup>. At any rate, the exact location of the monastery or the nearby village is not known.

### Petemout

Location: 25°44'03.44"N 32°42'35.74"E

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/2; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 70; 72; *O.TT29* 579(?); *P.Lond.* V 1720); Frange (*O.TT29*<sup>75</sup> 114; 160; 176; 177; 178; 201; 208; 339)

Coptic: ΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ

Timm: al-Madamūd, 1503-1505

Petemout (modern Al Madamum) was a small village on the east bank of the Nile, about 6km northeast from the temple complex at Luxor, and 11km from Jeme. Petemout has a particularly strong presence in the Theban documentation in the late Byzantine and early

<sup>72</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 85, fn. 2. I am unsure which modern village Crum is referring to.

<sup>73</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1864.

<sup>74</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 976-977.

<sup>75</sup> The texts from *O.TT29* listed here are those which specifically mention Petemout. Many more texts link the monk Frange to this town, for which see above, pp. 219-222.

Islamic periods – although it is not mentioned in the literary material of this period. The presence of a number of clergy in this documentation suggests that there was a strong Christian presence there from at least the sixth century. In the early eighth century, Petemout is conspicuous as the place of origin of the monk Frange, whose abundant correspondence with a number of women from that location perhaps indicates the presence of a convent there<sup>76</sup>.

In the Middle Kingdom, Petemout was the site of a temple of Montu, which underwent restorations and extensions in the Ptolemaic period (323 BCE – 30 BCE)<sup>77</sup>. We do not know exactly when the site became a secular inhabitation. The only excavation at Petemout was carried out on the temple by Bisson de la Roque in the 1920s<sup>78</sup>. Following Bataille's article, Petemout has been equated to the Greek τὰ κεραμεῖα<sup>79</sup>. In *P.Lond.* V 1720, this Greek locality is also called a *kastron*. This designation is most probably due to the presence of the temple of Montu.

## Pho

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite(?)

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519)

Coptic: ⲡⲉⲟ

Timm: -

The only reference to Pho comes in an account of expenses from the monastery of Epiphanius, in which occurs “Theodoros the man of Pho” (ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ⲡⲉⲟ, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519.12). The use of ⲡⲉ- certainly indicates that Pho should be read as a toponym, however Crum is hesitant of his reading and suggests that ⲡⲉⲟ might be read instead<sup>80</sup>. The location of Pho is unknown, however the toponyms Tabennese, Thone, Timamen, and Pshatbampe also occur in this text, of which Thone and Timamen were

<sup>76</sup> Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 19.

<sup>77</sup> Vandonpe (1995) 221-222.

<sup>78</sup> For the excavation reports see Bisson de la Roque (1926-1933).

<sup>79</sup> Bataille (1946).

<sup>80</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519, fn. 12.

certainly in the Hermonthite nome, and Tabennese likely so. On the strength of this evidence it is possible that Pho was also located in the Hermonthite nome.

### **Pinai**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Epiphanius (*SB IV* 7480<sup>81</sup>)

Greek: Πινᾱϊ

Timm: -

Pinai occurs in connection with the monastery of Epiphanius in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 627. This Greek document is a fragment of a letter from Georgios “from the village Pinai” (ἀπὸ κώ[μ]ης Πινᾱϊ, l. 3) to a magistrate of the same village (l. 6). It is unclear how this letter, and hence Pinai, related to the residents of the monastery. Pinai is not otherwise attested in Coptic or Greek documentation, so its exact location is unknown. It was probably located in the nomes of Ermont or Koptos.

### **Piohe**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 36; 184)

Coptic: πιωζε

Timm: Piōhe, 1941-1942

The toponym Piohe (literally, ‘the field’) is attested twice in connection with the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. In *O.Crum* 36, three men “from the village of Piohe” (ΝΤΚΩΜΗ ΜΠΙΩΖΕ, l. 2) ask the bishop (Abraham) to ordain another a priest of the church of this town. *O.Crum* 184, on the other hand, is a damaged letter referring to a man “of the mountain of Piohe” (ΜΠΤΟΥ : ΜΠΙΩΖΕ, l. 5), which suggests that the village had an associated monastic community. In addition to these references, Timm also cites *O.Crum* 470 (ΠΙΩΕ ΒΡΡΕ..., l. 3),

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<sup>81</sup> Republished from *P.Mon.Epiph.* 627.

which is by no means a certain reference to a town, and *O.CrumST* 44, in which “the man of Pioe” (ⲡⲣⲙⲛⲓⲱⲉ, l. 3) occurs without a secure context. Given that Abraham, the Bishop of Ermont, is requested to ordain a priest of the village, Piohe must have been located in his diocese, that is, in the nome of Ermont<sup>82</sup>.

### Pisinai

Location: Unknown

Nome: District of Kos – Koptite nome

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumST* 437; *SB Kopt.* III 1382); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 91; 97); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 544; 668)

Coptic: ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁⲓ; ⲡⲉⲱⲉⲛⲁⲓ; ⲡⲉⲱⲓⲛⲁⲓ; ⲡⲉⲱⲓⲛⲁⲉⲓ; ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓ

Timm: Bišināy (II), 410-413

Pisinai appears often in the Theban documentary record, however its orthography is quite varied. Besides the variants given above, Timm also gives ⲡⲉⲱⲉⲛⲁⲓ, ⲡⲉⲱⲓⲛⲁⲉ, ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲁⲓ, and ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲛⲁⲓ<sup>83</sup>. Although its exact location remains unknown, two texts in particular are suggestive of its location. Firstly, a witness in *P.KRU* 97.94-95 signs as “the man of the Isle of Pisinai” (ⲡⲣⲙⲧⲙⲱⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓ). Then, in *O.CrumVC* 29.2-3, two men are said to live “on the Isle of Pisinai, in the nome of Kos” (ⲉⲓⲧⲙⲱⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲕⲱⲥ). Based on this, Pisinai was likely situated on one of the islands of the Nile around Kos. Timm suggests somewhere between Kos and modern Qena (north of Koptos)<sup>84</sup>. Crum, more specifically, thinks that due to the presence of Pisinai in the dossier of Pisenthius the Bishop of Koptos, it should be located near to that city<sup>85</sup>. Another suggestion, offered by Boud’hors and Heurtel, is that Pisinai lay in the area of the mountain of Tsenti and Timamen, both south of Kos<sup>86</sup>. However, no modern Arabic equivalent appears in any of these areas and hence its location remains unknown.

See also Tmoue, Psenheaei and Pakebt.

<sup>82</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1941.

<sup>83</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 410. See also Psenheaei below.

<sup>84</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 412.

<sup>85</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 433 fn. 12.

<sup>86</sup> Boud’hors & Heurtel (2010) 24.

## Pkee

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Frange (*O.TT2960*)

Coptic: πκεεε

Timm: -

Pkee occurs in only one ostraca. In it the monk Frange asks another to buy some hair from “the man of Pkee” (πρωμε μπκεεε, l. 4). The use of the construction πρωμε n- makes it certain that Pkee is a toponym, however, its location cannot be guessed on such meagre evidence.

## Pmilis

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*SB Kopt. III 1332*<sup>87</sup>; *O.Medin.HabuCopt. 74*)

Coptic: πμιλις

Timm: Pmilēs, 1984-1985.

*P.KRU 57*, a contract between individuals from Pmilis and Romoou, clearly places this village in the district of Koptos (*P.KRU 57.3-4* πμιλις [εμπ]τοϋ κβετ). However, only a handful of other attestations to it survive<sup>88</sup>. One, *P.KRU 107.14-15*, refers to a field of the holy Apa Hatre of the mount of Pmilis (πειωζε μπζαγιος απα ζατηρ μπτοου μπιμιλε), which may suggest that a monastery existed there<sup>89</sup>. From this we can only speculate that it was north of Jeme, perhaps at the edge of the cultivated land from whence it might give its name to a mount.

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<sup>87</sup> Republished from *O.Crum* 385.

<sup>88</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1985 cites *O.CrumST* 157; *O.CrumVC* 43; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 186; *P.KRU* 107; and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 161. However, Pmilis is not attested in *O.CrumVC* 43, only the *topos* of Ape Hatre, which was located there.

<sup>89</sup> A Bishop Johannes visits this *topos* in *O.CrumVC* 43, although Pmilis is not named. Timm (1984-2007) 1985 hazards that the Bishop Johannes may have been from Koptos.

**Psamer**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*Coptic* #44); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 89)

Coptic: ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉⲣ

Timm: Pšamēr, 2021-2022

Psamer appears in a number of Coptic texts from western Thebes (see Timm's entry), but only in two is it securely connected with one of the west Theban communities. In *P.KRU* 89, a child donation, two witnesses describe themselves as "from Psamer" (ⲁⲛⲏⲡⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉⲣ, l. 50; ⲁⲛⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉⲣ, l. 51). Other witnesses from this text are from Tememese (l. 52) and Tabennese (l. 53), the former of which Crum later noted was reread as Temamen: i.e. Timamen in the north of the nome of Ermont<sup>90</sup>. On this evidence, both Timm and Crum suggest that Psamer, as it occurs in the same text, should also be located in the north of the Hermonthite nome, although the exact location is unknown<sup>91</sup>.

Their suggestion has been confirmed in the recently published *Coptic* #44. A loan agreement between Andreas son of Aisaou, "the man of Psamer" (ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲥⲁⲙⲉⲣ, l. 2), and Andreas son of NN, "the man of Jeme in this same nome of Ermont" (ⲡⲣⲙⲭⲉⲙⲁ ⲁⲙⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ, ll. 4-5.). Although Psamer itself is not specified as being in Ermont, that Jeme is described as being in the same nome indicates that this was the case.

**Psenantonios**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Crum* Ad.17)

Coptic: ⲡⲥⲛⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲉ

Timm: Psenantōnios, 2027-2028

<sup>90</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 121, fn. 3.

<sup>91</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 121; Timm (1984-2007) 2021. Crum also thinks that Psamer was the birth place of Pisenthios, the Bishop of Koptos, but Timm remains skeptical.



In *O.Crum* Ad.17, a husbandman from Psenantonios in the nome of Koptos (*O.Crum* Ad.17.5  $\Psi\Upsilon\Nu\Delta\Nu\tau\omega\Nu\epsilon\ \Nu\pi\Nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \Nu\kappa\epsilon\tau$ ) draws up a loan agreement with a man from Jeme. This is one of only three attestations of this locality. Another is the will of the monk Paham, son of Epiphanius “the priest of Saint Kollouthos of Psenantonios” (*P.KRU* 67.137-138  $\Nu\pi\epsilon\varsigma\beta(\Upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma)\ \mu\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\Upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \Nu\psi\epsilon\Nu\Delta\Nu\tau\omega\Nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>92</sup>) – presumably a church or monastery in the town. In a final fragment (*O.CrumST* 157.2) it occurs above the toponym Pmilis, also of the nome of Koptos.

Timm remarks that in the medieval period a monastery of Kollouthos was restored in the area of Qena, north of Koptos, but we cannot say if this monastery was related to Psenantonios<sup>93</sup>. Lacking an Arabic equivalent, its exact location cannot be placed.

### **Psenheaei**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Jeme (*O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 96); Paul (*P.CLT* 1)

Coptic:  $\nu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\iota$

Timm: -

A toponym  $\nu\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\iota$  occurs only in *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 96.3, and possibly *P.CLT* 1.135 ( $\nu\omega\bar{\nu}\tau\iota\alpha\iota$ ). Crum argues that the similarity of the latter to  $\nu\iota\varsigma\iota\Nu\alpha\iota$  /  $\nu\epsilon\omega\iota\Nu\alpha\iota$  and its variants indicates that they should be equated<sup>94</sup>. In contrast, Timm has said that the current evidence does not permit any such identification<sup>95</sup>.

The content of the documents tells us little. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 96 is the renunciation of a security by a man from Psenheaei to a man from Jeme, and in *P.CLT* 1 the toponym occurs in a witness statement for a legal document from the monastery of Saint Paul, alongside two others from Pshinsion (*P.CLT* 1.37  $\nu\omega\bar{\iota}\nu\varsigma\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$ ; 38  $\psi\bar{\iota}\varsigma\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$ ), itself in the nome of Koptos. It is worth noting that the first party of this document was also from Pshinsion, and that a priest

<sup>92</sup> This toponym also occurs in a fragmentary state on line 4 of this text. A number of witnesses are from Pisinai, in the nome of Koptos.

<sup>93</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2027-2028.

<sup>94</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 121.

<sup>95</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 412. Timm’s comments on this toponym can be found under Bišināy (II), 410-413.

wrote this attestation on behalf of the witness<sup>96</sup>. Whether or not the toponym in *P.CLT* 1 should be equated with Psenheaei, or perhaps with Pshinsion, remains debatable. As such, we can say nothing of its location.

### **Pshatbampe**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite(?)

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumST* 437); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519)

Coptic: ⲡⲱⲗⲧⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ; ⲡⲱⲗⲧⲃⲁⲛⲧⲉ

Timm: Pšatḥampe, 2025-2026

Pshatbampe occurs in only two documents from the Theban region, however it is unquestionably a place name as it is used to designate the place of origin of a man (*O.CrumST* 437.9 ⲡⲣ̅ⲙⲡⲱⲗⲧⲃⲁⲙⲡⲉ – “the man of Pshatbampe”). The two texts in which it occurs, *O.CrumST* 437.9 and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519.9 (ⲡⲱⲗⲧⲃⲁⲛⲧⲉ), are both accounts. Other toponyms occurring in these texts are: in the former, Kos, the mount of Ermont, and Pisinai; and in the latter, Tabennese, Thone, and Temamen (all likely in the nome of Ermont)<sup>97</sup>. The prevalence of toponyms from the Hermonthite nome in these texts led Timm to suggest that Pshatbampe was also in this nome<sup>98</sup>.

### **Pshenhor**

Location: 25°51'37.64"N 32°46'40.13"E

Nome: Unknown (Koptite or Hermonthite)

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 129)

Coptic: ⲡⲱⲛⲁⲱⲣ

Timm: Šanhūr, 2292-2294

The town of Pshenhor is to be identified with modern Shanhur, a town on the east bank of the Nile, about 23km northeast of Jeme and 5km south of Kos. It was inhabited from at least the

<sup>96</sup> Given that witnesses from the same locality often occur together, it is not impossible that ⲡⲱⲛⲁⲱⲣ is a scribal variation of Pshinsion. See also Pshinsion, below.

<sup>97</sup> Tabennese is not to be identified here with the Pachomian monastery. See Tabennese, below.

<sup>98</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2025-2026.

Roman period, and appears in a number of Coptic texts relating to Bishop Pisenthios of Koptos<sup>99</sup>. One of its connections with the west Theban communities is attested in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 129, which preserves correspondence between Abraham “the *lashane* of Pshenhor” ([ⲡ]ⲗⲁⲱ(ⲗⲛⲉ) ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲁⲱⲣ, verso l. 1) and an ecclesiastic superior, who may have been the Bishop Pisenthios<sup>100</sup>. This toponym may also occur in the dossier of the monk Frange, when he asks another man to show some young people the way to get there (*O.TT29* 202.9-13).

It is not clear which nome Pshenhor lay in. The connection of Pshenhor with Bishop Pisenthios suggests that it may have been within his diocese, and so within the nome of Koptos, however *Trismegistos* lists Shanhur as being in the Upper Egyptian nome 4b, namely the nome of Ermont<sup>101</sup>. The presence of a tax receipt made by a *lashane* of Pshenhor to a resident of the same town (*O.CrumST* 68) in the documentation from Thebes may also suggest that it lay in the Hermonthite nome. In any case, it must have been close to the border of the two nomes, since it is only 4km southwest from Tse (in the Koptite nome) and about 3km north of Timamen (in the Hermonthite nome).

### Pshinsion

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*P.Schutzbrieŕe* 85); Paul (*P.CLT* 1; 4)

Coptic: ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ; ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ; ⲡⲱⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ; ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ; ⲱⲓⲥⲓⲱⲛ

Timm: Pšinsion, 2044-2045

The village Pshinsion stood in the nome of Koptos (*P.CLT* 1.109 ⲡⲱⲱⲣⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲥⲱⲛⲥⲓⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲕⲅⲧ), but is not well attested in the Theban documentary record. Besides *P.Schutzbrieŕe* 85, it occurs in *P.CLT* 1.5-6,137,139 – in which a man of Pshinsion now lives as a monk at the monastery of Saint Paul, and *P.CLT* 4.2 – in which a man of Pshinsion sells a millstone to the same monastery. In *P.CLT* 1.137, a *lashane* of this village occurs. Its exact location remains unknown.

<sup>99</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2293. On the Roman period temple located here see Bagnall & Rathbone (2004).

<sup>100</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2293.

<sup>101</sup> Accessed 5 September 2013.

**Psho**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Frange (*O.TT29* 264)

Coptic: ⲡⲱⲱ

Timm: Pšō, 2047

The toponym Psho is rarely attested, and in Theban documentary texts occurs only in *O.TT29* 264, in which the monk Frange is asked to go there to meet someone. Beyond this, Timm records that a man from Psho (ⲡⲉⲣⲙⲡⲱⲱ) is attested in a graffito from an anchoritic community near modern Esna (a town in the Hermonthite nome). Whether or not these two references refer to the same town, and where Psho might be located is not clear, although somewhere in the Hermonthite nome would be a safe bet.

**Pshoueb**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 296; 522)

Coptic: ⲡⲱⲛⲃ, ⲡⲱⲟⲩⲛⲃ

Timm: Gabal Bišwāw, 986-990

The mountain of Pshoueb was the location of a monastery dedicated to Apa Elias, a saint who spent time as a monk near Jeme, and the toponyms Pshoueb and the mountain of Pshoueb occur a number of times in connection with the monastery of Epiphanius. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 522, a damaged account, an Apa Iohannes of Pshoueb (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲃ, l. 1) is the recipient or payer of some money. This same man might occur in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 296, in which Apa Isaac is asked to write to Apa Iohannes “of Pshoueb” (ⲙⲡⲱⲟⲩⲛⲃ, l. 9), that he (Apa Iohannes) find a skilled baker in Koptos. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 132, moreover, refers to the dogmatic views held by monks of the mountain of Pshoueb, and a fragment of the *Life of Apa Elias*, the Saint of the monastery of Pshoueb, was found in the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 78). The monastic character of these attestations makes it highly likely that Pshoueb here does not refer to a town, if such existed, but to the monastic community on its mountain. The exact

location of this community is not known, however Timm argues that the mountain of Pshoueb was part of, or near, Gabal as-Asās (the mountain of Tsenti), which is in the Koptite nome, on the west bank, not far from Kos.

### **Psoi**

Location: 26°28'27.11"N 31°48'5.10"E

Nome: Thinite

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 178)

Coptic: ⲡⲥⲁⲓ

Timm: Ibṣāy, 1140-1147

Psoi is the Coptic name for Ptolemais Hermiou, the city founded by Ptolemy I in Upper Egypt, and identified as modern al Minshah through literary references and archaeological finds<sup>102</sup>. Psoi is a port city, located on the west bank of the Nile about 115km northwest of Jeme in a straight line, or about 195km following the river from Luxor. Psoi occurs twice in the Theban texts, appearing in connection with the monastery of Epiphanius in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 178, a letter from a monk probably located there. It also appears in *P.KRU* 81, a child donation to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon by a woman from a monastery in Apé, who had moved there from a village “in the district of Psoi” (ⲉⲙⲡⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲓ, l. 3).

### **Romoou**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite nome

Connections: Jeme (*P.KRU* 108); Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 138; *P.KRU* 82; 87; 88; 108; 109; *SB Kopt.* II 951); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 95; 293).

Coptic: ⲣⲟⲙⲟⲟⲩ; ⲣⲱⲙⲟⲟⲩ; ⲣⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ; ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ; ⲣⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩ; ⲣⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩ; ⲣⲱⲙⲁ

Timm: Ramau, 2195-2196

Romoou occurs frequently in documents from western Thebes, and particularly in connection with agriculture. In both *P.KRU* 108 and 109, fields near Romoou are donated to the

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<sup>102</sup> On the identity of Psoi see Timm (1984-2007) 1142-1143. On its founding by Ptolemy I see Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 14.

monastery of Apa Phoibammon: by men from Jeme in the first instance, and a man from Ermont, in the second. Moreover, the land donated in *P.KRU* 108 is called “Kale of Peko” (καλη πεκω, l. 4), which is also mentioned as the recipient of corn sent by the monastery of Apa Phoibammon in the account *O.Crum* 462. Besides these texts, *O.Crum* 138 and *SB Kopt.* II 951 both relate to agricultural contracts: the first for sowing a field in Romoou, and the second a contract to sow a field between a man of Romoou and a monk. In other texts Romoou occurs as the location of witnesses (*P.KRU* 82.57; 88.20; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 76/1.18), in letters found at the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 95.3 and 293.1), and in other miscellaneous circumstances (*P.KRU* 57.3; 87.30)<sup>103</sup>. The frequent appearance of Romoou in documents from Thebes, and in particular the agricultural connections, has led Crum to think that Romoou was located near to Jeme, in the Hermonthite nome<sup>104</sup>. Its exact location is unknown, however Crum’s assumption seems likely.

### Shebbon

Location: 25°23'29.45"N 32°32'23.33"E

Nome: Latopolite

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 304)

Coptic: Ⲫⲉⲃⲃⲟⲛ

Timm: Dēr al-Fāhūrī, 703-708

Shebbon is the Coptic name for the town called Asfun in Greek (Ἀσφῶνις, modern Asfun). It is located in the cultivated zone of the west bank, about 36km south of Jeme (40km upriver), in the nome of Latopolis (Esna), and contains archaeological material from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods<sup>105</sup>. The name appears only rarely in documentary evidence, and is mainly known from its ‘mount’, which was the home of the sainted monk Matthew the Little<sup>106</sup>. Its connection to the monastery of Apa Epiphanius comes from *P.Mon.Epiph.* 304, a letter in which the recipient is asked to tell “Iohannes the man of Shebbon” (Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ Ⲫⲉⲃⲃⲟⲛ), l. 16) to meet the sender.

<sup>103</sup> Timm provides a full list of the occurrences and possible occurrences of Romoou. Note, however, that he does not include *P.KRU* 82 or *P.Mon.Epiph.* 293.

<sup>104</sup> *O.Crum* 138, fn. 3. Wilfong (2002) 9, fn. 33 thinks that there was a quarter in Jeme known as Roma (possibly Romoou). If this is true, it must be a different place to Romoou, as the latter seems to be a town in its own right.

<sup>105</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 703.

<sup>106</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 304, fn. 5.

## Shneset

Location: 26° 3'24.25"N 32°18'20.72"E

Nome: Diospolite

Connections: Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 476)

Coptic: ⲱⲛⲉⲥⲏⲧ

Timm: al-Qaṣr wa-aṣ-Sayyad, 2113-2118

Shneset is the Coptic name for the Greek Chenoboskion (Χηνοβόσκιον), a town in the Diospolite nome well known from classic literature as the place in which Pachomius started his monastic journey under the ascetic Palamon, and later as the site of one of the Pachomian monasteries<sup>107</sup>. It is known today as al Qaṣr wa as Sayyad, is located on the east bank some 47km northeast from Jeme (straight line, about 110km following the Nile), and is close to the find-spot of the Nag Hammadi codices<sup>108</sup>. Its appearance in Theban documentary texts is limited to *O.Crum* 476, an account from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon which appears to record where charity has been sent. Line 6 reads “a *maaje* (of food?) for charity (in) Shneset” ([...]ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲛⲏ ⲱⲛⲉⲥⲏⲧ).

## Tabennese

Location: 25°25'47.69"N 32°31'33.48"E (?)

Nome: Hermonthite(?)

Connections: Jeme (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 163); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 89; *O.Crum* 359); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 138; 163; 519; 526)

Coptic: ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲛⲏⲥⲏ; ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲏⲥⲉ

Timm: Ṭabānāsīn, 2443-2444

Although Timm deals with both under the same entry, he states that this toponym should not be considered the same as the Tabennese that was the site of one of Pachomius' monasteries. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163.6, Tabennese appears alongside the toponym Taut (modern Tud, south of Ermont) as a place in which men from Jeme are imprisoned. Given that in this text the *lashane* of Taut seems to have influence over the fate of the men imprisoned in both locations,

<sup>107</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2113.

<sup>108</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2115. Goehring (1999:A) 93-94, 101.

it is likely that they should be located near to each other. Similarly, in each of two accounts from the monastery of Epiphanius, *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519.4 and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 526.vo.4, a man of Tabennese appears. In both accounts, moreover, men from both Thone and Timamen, two Hermonthite toponyms, also occur<sup>109</sup>. While appearance in the same text is not a secure basis on which to locate a toponym, the appearance of these three toponyms in two texts suggest that the nome of Ermont is a reasonable guess for the location of Tabennese. Tabennese also occurs in a witness statement in a child donation to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 89.53), and in a letter likewise from this monastery (*O.Crum* 359.3), but neither example gives any clue as to its location.

On these attestations and etymological grounds, both Crum and Timm have suggested that Tabennese should be equated with modern Tafnis al-Matanah, some 33km southeast of Jeme on the west bank and about 17km further south than Taut<sup>110</sup>. Given the distance of Tafnis from Taut, however, it seems unlikely that one *lashane* would have authority over both, although we do not, of course, know the exact circumstances which produced the document in question. Against this identification, it is worth noting that Tafnis is at the opposite end of the Hermonthite nome to Timamen (they are about 50km apart), with which Tabennese is also associated, and that Tafnis is so far south as almost to be in the Latopolite nome<sup>111</sup>. In addition to this, Crum, talking about the Pachomian Tabennese, suggests that it might have been located, on etymological grounds, at the modern village of Tiweirât (26°6'32.74"N 32°44'6.71"E), just south of Qena, on the west bank (45km from Jeme and likely in the Tentyrite nome)<sup>112</sup>. This town is certainly closer to Timamen (but not Taut) than Tafnis is. Others, however, have argued that the Pachomian Tabennese has been lost to the river and was in fact located southwest of Pbow (26°6'38.18"N 32°24'14.91"E)<sup>113</sup>.

The co-ordinates provided at the beginning of this entry are for Tafnis. However, while Tafnis is a possibility, the evidence is by no means conclusive and it should not be considered a certain equivalent of Tabennese. Shared attestation in a text is by no means a certain indicator of place, and it may be that the attestations of Tabennese occurring in the Theban papyri refer

<sup>109</sup> The toponym also occurs in *P.KRU* 89.52.53.

<sup>110</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 fn. 8; Timm (1984-2007) 2443-2444.

<sup>111</sup> According to the data on *Trismegistos* (as of 5 September 2013), the closest located towns to Tafnis are Gebelein, which was in the Hermonthite nome (about 7km north from Tafnis), and Asfun in the Latopolite (about 4km south).

<sup>112</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 121.

<sup>113</sup> Coquin (1991) provides a brief summary of attempts to locate the Pachomian Tabennese. Note, however, that he does not mention Crum's association of it with Tiweirât.



to two different places, one the Pachomian monastery and one a village in the Hermonthite nome, or to just one of these. There is no suggestion (use of Apa or terms such as “fatherhood”) in the Theban papyri that Tabennese might have been a monastic community, and on the basis of the evidence I lean towards these references being to a Hermonthite toponym. Ultimately, Tabennese should be regarded as an unlocated toponym.

## Taut

Location: 25°34'58.76"N 32°32'00.71"E

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/1; *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163); Phoibammon (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39; *O.Crum* 439; *P.KRU* 95); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 163)

Coptic: ⲧⲁϣⲧ; ⲧⲁⲟϣⲧ; ⲧⲟⲟϣⲧ

Timm: ⲧ̄ud, 2862-2865

The settlement of Taut, called a *kastron* in *O.Crum VC* 33.3 (ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲟϣⲟⲧ), appears in a number of documentary and literary sources<sup>114</sup>. A monastery in that area is known from the literary sources, and Timm remarks that it is not certain how many of the Coptic references to Taut actually refer to this monastery<sup>115</sup>. Certainly not all can, as *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163.7 refers to “the *lashane* Victor in Taut” (ⲡⲗⲁⲱ(ⲁⲛⲉ) ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲛ̅ⲛⲧⲁϣⲧ), and this is a secular official.

Both Crum and Timm equate Taut to modern Tud, about 17km southeast of Jeme on the east bank and 4km south of Ermont, in whose nome it surely lay<sup>116</sup>. This settlement was the site of a temple dedicated to the Theban god Montu dating back to the fifth Dynasty, and archaeological work there has revealed a small number of churches, with one mud-brick basilica dating to the eighth century<sup>117</sup>. It was presumably the remains of the temple of Montu that permitted this village to be called a *kastron*.

<sup>114</sup> See Timm (1984-2007) 2862.

<sup>115</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2862-2863.

<sup>116</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2862-2863; *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 fn. 7.

<sup>117</sup> Grossmann (1991). See here also for information on excavation reports.

**Tbebe**

Location: 25°29'38.37"N 32°30'50.15"E (?)

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU*118)

Coptic: ΤΒΗΒΕ

Timm: Tbēbe, 2554-2555

*P.KRU*118, the beginning of a legal document addressed to the *dikaion* of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon by men who say they are “today living in Tbebe in the district of Ermont” (ΜΠΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΥΟΥΗΖ ΖΝΤΒΗΒΕ ΖΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ, ll. 4-5), is the only Coptic reference to this town. Based on etymological grounds, Crum has placed it at the site of modern Dababiyah, a village on the east bank of the Nile opposite Gebelein (Pathyris), some 26km south of Jeme<sup>118</sup>. Timm questions this identification on the basis that he was unsure if the nome of Ermont would stretch this far south, however the data recorded in *Trismegistos* indicates that Gebelein was part of this nome, and therefore it is unlikely that a site opposite it would not be<sup>119</sup>.

**Tbo**

Location: 24°58'41.23"N 32°52'21.01"E

Nome: Apollonopolite

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU*81)

Coptic: ΤΒΩ

Timm: Idfū', 1148-1157

The city of Tbo, Greek Apollonopolis Magna (Ἀπόλλωνος Πόλις Μεγάλη) and modern Edfu, is a port city on the east bank of the Nile, about 86km south of Jeme in a straight line, or 107km following the river. Private tombs and a pyramid dating to the Old Kingdom demonstrate that the site has been inhabited continuously since at least then<sup>120</sup>. Tbo often played an important administrative and economic role in its neighbourhood as it was a nome

<sup>118</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 122. Here (fn. 2) Crum also notes that a Greek equivalent may occur in a papyrus from the Michigan collection.

<sup>119</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2554. *Trismegistos* accessed on 5 September 2013.

<sup>120</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 228.

capital, because it sits in a wide area of cultivation, and because it was one end of a trade route built by Ptolemy II linking it to the Red Sea port of Berenike<sup>121</sup>. Links between Tbo and western Thebes are limited to *P.KRU* 81, a donation of a child to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, in which a priest and “man of the city Tbo” (πρῆμτοχὸς τῶ, l. 57) writes the assent clause for the donor and witnesses, indicating that this man was at the monastery of Phoibammon when the text was drawn up. Timm notes the presence of a number of churches and monasteries in the area of Tbo during the late-Byzantine and early-Islamic periods, however which this priest came from is not clear<sup>122</sup>.

## Tche

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Jeme (*O.Crum* Ad.16); Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 31)

Coptic: τχε; Θε

Timm: Tche, 2560-2561

Tche is not a commonly occurring toponym in the Theban documentation. As such, we know little about it. A husbandman from there (πρῆμοῦχας ζῆντχε) is in debt to a man of Jeme in *O.Crum* Ad.16.2-3, and the headmen and great men of Tche ask help from a lord Phoibammon in passing judgment on a man in *O.Crum* Ad.25. Most of the discussion concerning Tche comes from a reference to the τοπὸς ἐτοῦχας νᾶπα πᾶς γυναιὸς νῆτχε in *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 66/2.6-8. Crum has suggested that Tche might be equated with the toponym Patche (πατχη), itself in the vicinity of Kos, however Timm is hesitant about this identification<sup>123</sup>. The reference to the *topos* of Apa Pisenthios is not helpful, as there seem to have been a number of *topoi* called by this name, including: the one in Tche, one near Kos, and one on the mountain of Jeme<sup>124</sup>.

Locating a town based on such scant evidence is essentially futile. If we can equate the spelling Θε to τχε, as Crum believes, *O.Crum* 31.2 shows that Tche had at least one church

<sup>121</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 227-230 provide a good overview of the history of the site up until Byzantine times.

<sup>122</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 1151-1153.

<sup>123</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2560-2561. See also Winlock & Crum (1926) 231 and fn. 8.

<sup>124</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2561.

(ΤΕΚΚ(ΛΗCΙΑ) ΝΘΕ), for which Bishop Abraham was asked to ordain a priest<sup>125</sup>. A toponym with this spelling also occurs in the fragmentary *O.CrumST* 426.1 – πρ̄ΜΘΗ.

**Tememese** (see Timamen)

## **Tentyra**

Location: 26°10'5.05"N 32°39'25.84"E

Nome: Tentyrite

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 500)

Coptic: ΝΙΤΝΤΩΡΕ

Timm: Dandarā, 543-548

Tentyra (modern Dandarah) is a port town to be found on the west bank of the Nile some 50km from Jeme (just under 70km downriver). It has been occupied for some time; the necropolis there dates back to the early dynastic period and a temple has stood there since the Old Kingdom<sup>126</sup>. It was the capital of the Tentyrite nome and benefited from trade coming through the eastern desert, although it was not as important in this respect as Koptos. Tentyra also has a strong Christian tradition and is mentioned frequently in Coptic and Arabic martyr literature as the site of the martyrdom of 400 Christians<sup>127</sup>. In the west Theban texts, it is found in *P.Mon.Epiph.* 500, a damaged account from the monastery of Epiphanius which mentions going to Tentyra ([ⲉ]ΩΚ ΔΝΙΤΝΤΩΡΕ, l. 6<sup>128</sup>).

## **Terkot**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 76/4; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 55; 58; 59; 60; 101)

Coptic: ΤΕΡΚΩΤ; ΤΡΩΤ

Timm: Terkōt, 2590-2591

<sup>125</sup> *O.Crum* 31, fn. 1. Timm has 'The' under a different entry ('The', Timm (1984-2007) 2623-2624) and thus presumably thinks they were different places.

<sup>126</sup> Bagnall & Rathbone (2004) 209.

<sup>127</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 543.

<sup>128</sup> Crum does not provide a transcription. The image can be accessed on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collections database (MMA. 12.180.127).

Terkot is well attested in the documentary material from the environs of Jeme, from which we know that it lay in the nome of Ermont (e.g. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 59.2-3 ΤΕΡΚΩΤ ΞΗΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΗΡΜΟΝΤ). On the basis of such evidence it had strong ties with Jeme, as well as a flourishing clergy<sup>129</sup>. Its exact location, however, is not known.

Crum and Timm both attest to Greek and Demotic equivalents (Ταρκουθις / Τερκυθε and *T'rgt* respectively), suggesting at least a few centuries of habitation by the eighth century<sup>130</sup>. On orthographic grounds, Crum has proposed that Terkot should be placed at the site of modern ar-Rizayqat, about 8km west of Ermont on the same bank (25°35'41.03"N 32°27'51.82"E). Timm, however, has dismissed this town as being of much later origin<sup>131</sup>. As such, even an approximate location for Terkot remains unattainable.

## Thone

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumST*424; *O.CrumVC*25); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519; 526)

Coptic: ΘΩΝΕ

Timm: Thōne (II), 2645-2646

The Theban toponym Thone occurs in only a handful of documents. In *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519 and 526, both accounts, men from Thone occur alongside men from other toponyms from the nome of Ermont. That Thone should also be located in that nome is evident from *O.CrumVC* 25.1-6, in which a man from Thone (ΞΝΘΩΝΕ, l. 3) writes to a woman of Jeme, “from this same nome of Ermont” (ΞΝΧΗΜΕ ΞΗΠΕΝΟΜΟΣ ΟΥΩΤ ΝΕΡΜΟΥΤ(sic), ll. 5-6).

A Greek toponym, Θῶνις, from the Theban area occurs in a number of texts and mummy labels from the second to the fourth centuries, and both Crum and Timm think that this locality should be equated with the Coptic Thone<sup>132</sup>. Unfortunately, no Arabic equivalent of

<sup>129</sup> *O.Vind.Copt.* 55.4-5; *O.Crum* 206.7; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 58.17-19; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 60.8-9 all mention clergy of various types. The last three of these also mention a (holy) church of Terkot.

<sup>130</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 122; Timm (1984-2007) 2590.

<sup>131</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 122; Timm (1984-2007) 2591.

<sup>132</sup> See for example *P.Lips.* I 92.1 and 97.XV.5; *P.Lond.* I 125.42; and *T.Mom.Louvre* 202-204. See also *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519 fn. 7 and Timm (1984-2007) 2645.

this name has yet been identified in the Theban area, so the exact location of Thone remains unknown.

### Timamen

Location: 25°49'49.79"N 32°46'27.53"E

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*SB Kopt.* II 907); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 89); Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519; 526)

Coptic: ΤΙΜΑΜΗΝ; ΤΕΜΑΜΗΝ; ΤΑΜΑΜΗΝ

Timm: Tamāmin, 2478-2479

The village of Timamen lay in the nome of Ermont (*SB Kopt.* II 907.3 ΠΧΩΡΙΩΝ ΝΤΙΜΑΜΗΝ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛ\C/ ΕΡΜΟΝ\Τ/), and has been identified by both Crum and Timm as modern al-Mufarrajiyyah<sup>133</sup>. It lies on the west bank of the Nile, some 21km northeast of Jeme and about 9km south of Kos.

Timamen seems to have been notable in the seventh and eighth centuries as the site of a ferry. In *O.TT29* 202.6-13, a letter from the monk Frange to Isaac, Frange writes “be so good as to send my brother Papnoute to bring the little children to the ferry of Timamen (ΠΧΙΕΙΟΡ ΝΤΑΜΑΜΕΝ, ll. 9-10), as they do not know the way and they are traveling to P[shenh]or”<sup>134</sup>. A ferry of Timamen is also mentioned in the life of Pisentius, Bishop of Koptos. A sinner comes to the bishop at Tsenti on a boat that is afterwards referred to as being in “the place of the ferry of Timamen” (ΠΜΑ ΜΧΙΟΡ ΝΤΜΑΜΕΝ)<sup>135</sup>.

In *P.KRU* 89.53, a certain Iohannes son of Hello “from Tememese” (ΞΝΤΕΜΕΜΗΣΕ) witnesses a child donation. This toponym is not otherwise attested, however Crum later noted that M. Munier had corrected the reading to Temamên (presumably ΤΕΜΑΜΗΝ, Crum does not give the Coptic)<sup>136</sup>. This reading is followed by both Timm and Till<sup>137</sup>. It is worth noting, however,

<sup>133</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 519 fn. 13; Timm (1984-2007) 2479.

<sup>134</sup> Pshenhor is modern Shanhur, about 3km north of Timamen (25°51'37.67"N 32°46'40.97"E). One would assume that the children in question would be boarding the ferry closer to Jeme, and that its final destination was Timamen.

<sup>135</sup> Wallis Budge (1913) 121.

<sup>136</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 121, fn. 3.

<sup>137</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 2479, fn. 2; Till (1964) 168.

that Timm follows Till's translation, and Till does not provide any note that his translation 'Temamên' differs from the Coptic in the *P.KRU* 89 edition. It is therefore likely that Till's translation is based on Crum's note in the Monastery of Epiphanius volume, and that Munier's correction has not been checked. It is also worth noting here that this line and the following are written in the same hand, and that the witness of the following line is from Tabennese (ⲥⲛⲧⲁⲃⲛⲏⲥⲉ, l. 53). The similarity between Tabennese and Tememese is notable and, given that witnesses from the same location often appear together (as in *P.KRU* 80.55-59; 81.60-61; 82.47-51; 86.50; 89.50-51; 91.35-38; 93.54-57; 96.94-96; 97.93-95; 107.35-41), it seems possible that Tememese was an alternate or misspelling of Tabennese<sup>138</sup>. Unfortunately, this part of the papyrus is in the Cairo Museum (# 8733) and has not been sighted by me, and so I follow the reading of Munier that has been accepted by Crum, Till, and Timm.

### Timeshor

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 88)

Coptic: ⲧⲙⲉⲃⲟⲣ

Timm: Timešor, 2681

In *P.KRU* 88, Souai son of Georgios "the man of Timeshor" (ⲡⲣⲙⲧⲙⲉⲃⲟⲣ, l. 20) witnesses a child donation. This toponym is not otherwise attested in Coptic documentary texts, although its presence in the Theban material suggests that it might have been in the Hermonthite or Koptite nomes. A witness from Romoou occurs in the same line and in the same hand, however this is no guarantee that the two were located near one another.

<sup>138</sup> Writing ⲙ for ⲃ in Sahidic Coptic is not common, Kahle (1954) 93 cites only one example: ⲫⲟⲓⲙⲁⲙⲟⲛ for ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲟⲛ. ⲙ for ⲃ is attested more frequently (p. 117).

## Tmoh Pajeme

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*P.KRU* 63v)

Coptic: **ΤΜΟΞ ΠΑΧΕΜΕ**

Timm: Tmoh pa-Djēme, 2708

Tmoh Pajeme occurs only once in documentary texts, in a loan agreement as the location of the borrower: Iohannes s. Patermouthios “from Tmoh Pajeme (in) the nome of Ermont” (ΞΥΤΟΜΞ ΠΑΧΗΜΕ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΡΜΟΤ, ll. 2-3). The lender in this text is Daniel son of Pachom, from Jeme, who elsewhere lends to a man from Pakale (*P.KRU* 62). It is not clear where this toponym should be located, nor what its relation to Jeme was. The fact that it is said to be in the nome of Ermont, and not in Jeme, suggests that it was not an internal part of that town. It may have been a satellite town or entirely unrelated, deriving its name from similar roots. Note that a Theodotos “the teacher of Tmnc Pajeme” (ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΠΣΑΧΟ ΝΤΜΝΞ ΠΑΧΗΜΕ, *O.CrumST* 273.2-3) addresses a letter from Thebes. Whether or not the two toponyms are the same (as seems plausible) is not known. This text does not give any clue as to the toponym’s location.

## Tmoue

Location: Unknown

Nome: Unknown

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumVC* 53)

Coptic: **ΤΜΟΥΞ**

Timm: Tmoue, 2709-2710

The feminine noun **ΜΟΥΞ** in Coptic refers to an island, usually in the Nile<sup>139</sup>. Beyond *O.CrumVC* 53, this toponym also occurs in *O.Crum* 116 and the unpublished Berlin Papyrus, Nr. 4967. Although the authors of these texts clearly mean a specific island, it is impossible to

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<sup>139</sup> Crum, *Dict.* 160b.



know whether they all refer to the same place, for example the isle of Pisinai (for which see above), or merely one of the many that scatter the Nile<sup>140</sup>.

### Tourese

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Crum* 160)

Coptic: **ΤΟΥΡΗΣ**

Timm: Toures, 2837

*O.Crum* 160 is the only attestation of this toponym so far known. Even so, that it is a toponym and not a personal name is clear from its location in the nome of Ermont (**ΣΝΤΟΥΡΗΣ ΕΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ**, ll. 2-3)<sup>141</sup>. While Tourese may bear some etymological relationship with **ΡΗΣ** (south), it is unlikely here to mean “the south of the nome of Ermont”, as such a reading would suppose the scribe mistakenly used both the indefinite and definite articles on the same word. Its exact location remains unknown.

### Tse

Location: 25°53'30.31"N 32°48'09.68"E

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*P.KRU* 3(?); 59); Phoibammon (*P.KRU* 78)

Coptic: **ΤΣΗ**; **ΤΣΗΙ**

Timm: Iṭsa, 1205-1206

Tse occurs in only a handful of documentary texts, notably in *P.KRU* 59, a loan confirmation in which the first party, scribe, and a number of witnesses are from that place. One of these witnesses, an Aristophanes son of Papnoute, gives his place of origin as “Tse in the nome of

<sup>140</sup> See also Winlock & Crum (1926) 122.

<sup>141</sup> In fact, Crum’s transcription reads **ΣΝΤΟΥΡΗΣ ΕΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ**, however in fn. 1 of this text he remarks that it could be read as **ΤΟΥΡΗΣ**. This latter reading is more likely for two reasons. Firstly, the other location designator in this document reads **ΣΝΧΗΜΕ ΠΕΙΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ** (4-5) – that is without the joining preposition **Ε-**. Secondly, in location designators from the Theban region, the use of **Ε-** to join a toponym with the name of its nome is almost entirely unheard of. The only other example being *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 74/1.4 (**ΕΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΕΡΜΟΝΤ**) – however the context of this usage is not secure.

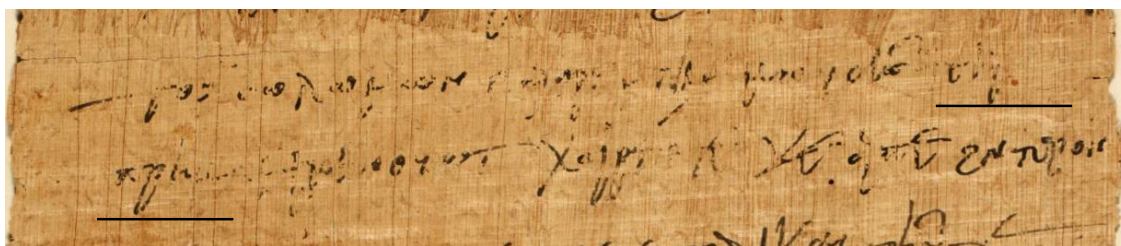
the city Koptos” (ΠΡΗΤΣΗΟ\Υ/(sic) ΣΑΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΕΒΤ, ll. 15-16). Of the other attestations, the only one that gives us any information about this place is *O.Crum* 492.2, an epitaph for Chairemon “the monk of Tse” (ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΝΤΣΗ).

Regarding its location, Timm has argued that its Arabic equivalent should be Iṭṣā – a name not found among modern toponyms in the area. However, he then points to Arabic sources which give this name to the modern al-Masid<sup>142</sup>. Following Timm, then, Tse was located in the middle of the cultivated zone on the east bank of the Nile, some 28km northeast of Jeme and about 4km southwest of Kos.

A curious contrast to this identification occurs in *P.KRU* 3.8-9. In this text, Crum hesitantly identifies ΤΣΗΙ as a toponym. It occurs following the name of the recipient – ΣΩΛΩΜΩΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΜΑΚ(ΔΡΙΟΣ) ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΤΣΗΙ ΠΡΗΣ ΜΠΙΤΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ – which may be translated “Solomon the son of Moses (from) Tse, south of this same village (Jeme)”. Any Tse found south of Jeme, however, could not be that of the Koptite nome. Further, the attribution of place without any connecting lexeme is exceedingly rare in Theban documentation<sup>143</sup>. Given that Solomon and his family are closely associated with Jeme – in *P.KRU* 2.28-29, Solomon son of Moses owns a house in Jeme, and in *P.KRU* 2.4-6, Solomon’s daughters describe themselves as originating from Jeme (ΝΡΜΝΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ, l. 6) – it is very likely that Solomon himself was a resident of Jeme. Therefore, both ΤΣΗΙ and ΠΡΗΣ should remain speculative readings, and it is likely that these letters should be interpreted in another way. Unfortunately, consultation of an image of this papyrus (Fig. A.1) shows that these words (ΤΣΗΙ on the end of line 8 and ΠΡΗΣ at the beginning of line 9) are very damaged, and no alternate reading suggests itself.

<sup>142</sup> Rimm (1984-2007) 1206.

<sup>143</sup> Of the 710 entries in my location designators database (for which see above, pp. 24-26), only 4 (0.56%) possibly use no joining lexeme: *P.Mich.Copt.* 20.v1 – ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΜΑΘΙΑΣ ΚΩΜΙΣΟΥ (perhaps to be understood as ΚΩΜΗ ΙΣΟΥ, “the village Isou”); *P.Mich.Copt.* 19.1-2 – ΔΑΜΙΑΝΕ ΠΩΜ ΝΚΟΣΜΑ ΠΑΠΑΔΙ ΝΠΙΑΜ (perhaps to be read as ΝΕΠΟΙΚΙΟΝ ΝΕΙΟΟΜ, i.e. “the village of the Fayum”); *O.CrumVC* 111.4 – ΑΒΡΑΔΑΜ ΤΒΑΚ (Crum thinks ΤΒΑΚΕ was intended, so “Abraham (of) Tbake”); and *O.TT29* 75.14 – ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΒΑΔΛΗΛΕ (“Andreas (of) Bahlele”). In no instance, however, is the identification of the toponym secure.

Fig. A.1. *P.KRU* 3 lines 8-9<sup>144</sup>

While there may have been two toponyms called Tse, one in the Hermonthite nome south of Jeme, and the other in the Koptite nome, such a hypothesis should not be based on *P.KRU* 3 alone. On the basis of the current evidence, it is likely that τση in *P.KRU* 3.8 is not a toponym.

## MONASTERIES AND HERMITAGES

### The ‘monastery’ of Epiphanius

Location: 25°44'03.02"N 32°36'29.55"E

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*P.KRU* 75; *P.Mon.Epiph.* 159; 160; 163; 169; 216; 543); Antinoe (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 652(a)); Apé (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 460r; 522) Ermont (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87; 172; 176; 254; 272; 310; 438; 678); Kalba (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 302; 522); Koeis (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 473); Koptos (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 152; 323; 327; 660(b)); Ne (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 369); Papar (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 533); village of Apa Papnoute (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 93); Pchatape (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 85); Pashme (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 87); Patoubasten (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 147; 500) Penhotp (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 272); Pho (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519); Pinai (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 627); Pisinai (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 544; 668); Pshatbampe (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519); Pshenhor (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 129); Pshoueb (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 296; 522); Psoi (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 178); Romoou (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 95; 293); Shebbon (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 304); Tabennese (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 138; 163; 519; 526); Taut (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 163); Tentyra (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 500); Thone (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519; 526); Timamen (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 519; 526); mount of Tnouhe (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 520)

<sup>144</sup> BL Or. 4875 © The British Library Board. My thanks to Jennifer Cromwell for allowing me to view her copy of this image. Emphasis added.

Coptic: Unknown

Timm: Kloster des Apa Epiphanius, 1336-1338

The so-called monastery of Epiphanius was initially built in the tomb of the eleventh Dynasty vizier Daga (TT103) on the Sheikh abd el-Qurna toward the end of the sixth century, and soon spread to encompass a number of smaller tombs in the vicinity. This site was not strictly speaking a monastery in the traditional sense of the word. It was rather a loose conglomeration of hermits, which gradually increased in number over the course of the occupation of the site. It does not appear to have had any official administrative structure. At its height the monastery encompassed at least six tombs and incorporated a number of buildings, including two towers and a boundary wall<sup>145</sup>. Based on the physical remains, the monastery may have housed 10 to 15 monks – assuming a hermit and his disciple for each tomb, as well as a few more living in the buildings surrounding the main tomb (TT103). The site was excavated by Herbert Winlock in 1912 and 1914. The excavation report by Winlock and Crum, in which the many ostraca and papyri found there (c. 700) are also published, is still the most relevant publication<sup>146</sup>.

It is worth noting that the site was never called ‘the monastery of Epiphanius’ by its contemporaries. This is a name given to it today due to the importance of the famous monk Epiphanius in the documentary material. In the texts from the site it is referred to only as a *topos* (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 142.8 and *P.KRU* 75.27), and in one text a certain Hello calls it a ‘dwelling place’ (πμα νωωπε ...ηαπα επεφανιος *P.Mon.Epiph.* 92.4-5). The lack of a clearly identifiable name presents something of a problem for this study, as its connections cannot be established through the concurrent occurrence of two toponyms in a single text. It has therefore been the practice to make connections through those texts that both mention another toponym and were either found in the TT103 complex, or include known parties from that site.

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<sup>145</sup> The exact boundaries of the monastery as they stood in the eighth century are laid out in *P.KRU* 75 – the testament of the monks Jacob and Elias, who were joint heads of the Epiphanius community.

<sup>146</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926).

### The monastery of Apa Pahom

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumVC* 30)

Coptic: ΘΕΝΗΤΕ ΝΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜΩ\Τ/

Timm: -

*O.CrumVC* 30.5-6, a contract for sowing land, contains the only reference to this monastery in the Theban material. From the information given, we know only that it lay in the district of Koptos (ΘΕΝΗΤΕ ΝΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜΩ\Τ/ ΣΗΠΤΩ ΝΚΒΤ). Based on its appropriation of the name of that famous monk, Crum believes that this monastery must be one of Pachomius' monasteries – either that at Pbow or Tabennese. Of the two, he thinks Tabennese must be meant as Pbow was in the nome of Diospolis<sup>147</sup>. Elsewhere, he refers to other monasteries of Pachomius northwest of Esna and outside Luxor, but these are in the wrong nome to be candidates for that mentioned in *O.CrumVC* 30<sup>148</sup>. That said, it is fairly unlikely that the Pachomian monastery at Tabennese was in the Koptite nome; Crum's own guess places it just south of Qena (see under Tabennese), thus likely in the Tentyrite nome, and other scholars prefer to locate it even further downriver<sup>149</sup>. Given the popularity of Pachomius, particularly in the Theban region, the possibility that this monastery was another related (or not) to the Pachomian *koinonia* remains likely<sup>150</sup>.

### The monastery of Apa Paul (on the cup of the mount of Jeme)

Location: 25°44'16.68"N 32°37'19.74"E

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*P.CLT* 1; 2; 3; 5; *P.KRU* 106); Fayum (*P.CLT* 3); Pshinsion (*P.CLT* 1; 4); Pakothis, Paue, Psenheaei (*P.CLT* 1)

Coptic: ΖΗΝΕΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ; ΠΚΟΥΛΩ ΝΑΠΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ

Timm: Kloster des Apa Paulus (II), 1373-1378

<sup>147</sup> *O.CrumVC* 30 fn. 1. Pbow was located at modern Faw Qibli (26°06'36.78"N 32°24'11.78"E), and Tabennese is thought to have been a short distance east from there.

<sup>148</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 114.

<sup>149</sup> For a summary of the attempts to locate Tabennese see Coquin (1991). Coquin does not mention Crum's guess, which can be found in Winlock & Crum (1926) 121.

<sup>150</sup> Timm's (1984-2007) entries for Pbow and Tabennese are: Faw 947-957 and Ṭābanasīn 2438-2451.

The “holy, holy monastery of Saint Paul of the Cup, on the mount of Jeme” (*P.KRU* 106.17-19 ΤΣΑΓΙΑ ΣΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΜΠΚΟΧΟΛ ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ) had, until recently, not been located. However, recent archaeological work by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Cairo has uncovered a series of ostraca which identify it as the monastic remains at Deir el-Bakhit (K93.11 and K93.12) atop Dra’ Abu el-Naga, about 3km northeast of Jeme<sup>151</sup>. The common reference to “the cup” in relation to this monastery was originally thought to be a reference to the slight depression in which the monastery sits, however, based on the excavation of numerous inscribed, two-chambered incense cups at the monastery, Beckh believes that this nickname is instead a reference to a type of vessel commonly produced there<sup>152</sup>.

Despite being for a long time mostly unknown in published texts, the monastery of Apa Paul was clearly a large and important monastery of the coenobitic type – the still clearly visible remains show an extensive walled compound with several buildings and outlying structures<sup>153</sup>. Archaeological work has shown that the monastery survived at least until the eighth century and that at its height, in the sixth and seventh centuries, it had the capacity to house 66-72 monks<sup>154</sup>.

Its importance is also demonstrated in those papyri that name it. Not only was it large enough to warrant more than one superior (*P.CLT* 1.13-14 and *P.KRU* 106.14-17 for instance each name three), it was also well known enough to draw monks from afar (for instance the village Pshinsion in the Koptite nome *P.CLT* 1.5), and important enough to draw considerable donations from pious laity (in *P.KRU* 106, for instance a woman, Anna, donates her house, half of another, a quarter of a bakery, and their contents)<sup>155</sup>. Its monks are seen travelling as far as the Fayum to sell goods<sup>156</sup>.

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<sup>151</sup> The identification of the monastery at Deir el-Bakhit is the particular focus of Beckh, Eichner & Hodak (2011).

<sup>152</sup> Beckh, Eichner & Hodak (2011) 17-19.

<sup>153</sup> The monastery received more attention with the publication of *P.CLT* in 1932. The remains are clearly visible on Google Earth. For a general overview of the excavation findings see Burkard & Eichner (2007).

<sup>154</sup> For the period of peak inhabitation see Polz & Eichner (2006) 303. For estimates on the capacity of the monastery see Burkard & Eichner (2007) 271.

<sup>155</sup> Indeed *P.CLT* 5 seems to record the results of a legal dispute between the monasteries of Saint Paul and Apa Phoibammon regarding a sum of money donated to the monastery of Saint Paul, which the superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon contested was theirs.

<sup>156</sup> *P.CLT* 3.

## The monastery of Apa Phoibammon

Location: 25°44'17.82"N 32°36'23.42"E

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 7; 14; 29; *O.Crum* 218; Ad.3; *O.CrumST* 60; *P.CLT* 5; *P.KRU* 13; 18; 19; 65; 78; 82; 84; 85; 86; 90; 91; 92; 94; 95; 96; 100; 102; 105; 107; 108; *SB Kopt.* II 922; 945); And(...) (*P.KRU* 96); Antinoe (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39); Apé (*P.KRU* 81; 82; 86); mount of Apé (*P.KRU* 81); Apotei (*P.KRU* 93); Dekadritou (*P.KRU* 99); Ermont (*O.Crum* 209; *P.KRU* 79; 80; 93; 96; 107; 109); Esna (*O.Crum* 126; *P.KRU* 79); Kalba (*P.KRU* 90); Koptos (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 11); Kos (*O.Crum* 476); Kune (*O.Crum* 476); Neihbabe (*P.KRU* 79); Pajment (*O.Crum* 303); Pakebt (*P.KRU* 91); Pampane (*P.KRU* 100); Pankalela (*O.Crum* 333); Pankame (*P.KRU* 110); Papar (*P.KRU* 97); Patoubasten (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 22; *O.Crum* 301; 439; *SB Kopt.* II 922); Piohe (*O.Crum* 36); mount of Piohe (*O.Crum* 184); Pisinai (*P.KRU* 91; 97); Psamer (*P.KRU* 89); Romoou (*O.Crum* 138; *P.KRU* 82; 87; 88; 108; 109; *SB Kopt.* II 951); Shneset (*O.Crum* 476); Tabennese (*O.Crum* 359; *P.KRU* 89); Taut (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 39; *O.Crum* 439; *P.KRU* 95); Tbebe (*P.KRU* 118); Tbo (*P.KRU* 81); Tche (*O.Crum* 31); Timamen (*P.KRU* 89); Timeshor (*P.KRU* 88); Tse (*P.KRU* 78); mount of Tsenti (*O.Crum* 248)

Coptic: ΠΤΟΠΟΣ / ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΟΝ

Timm: Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (III), 1379-1392

The monastery of Apa Phoibammon on the mount of Jeme (ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΖΝΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ *P.KRU* 65.81-82) was situated at Deir el-Bahri atop the remains of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, only some 2km north of Jeme. Generally held to have been founded by Bishop Abraham of Ermont towards the end of the sixth century, the monastery is by far the most conspicuous monastic settlement in the Theban documentary evidence<sup>157</sup>. This is largely due to the discovery there of large amounts of ostraca and papyri relating to its economy, administration, and Bishop Abraham himself, many of which show a strong relationship with Jeme<sup>158</sup>.

<sup>157</sup> Godlewski (1986) 60.

<sup>158</sup> See for example: *O.Crum*, *O.CrumST*, and *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I and II. See also *P.KRU*, although just how many of the *P.KRU* texts should be attributed to the archives of the monastery remains open to discussion. See the discussion and references above, p. 18.

The exact size and structure of the monastery is hard to describe. Following a sporadic but continuous history of exploration throughout the nineteenth century, the Christian remains were destroyed before the turn of the twentieth. No extensive publication of the site was ever made, and we are left with only descriptions, a few basic plans by Robert Hay, and a number of photographs<sup>159</sup>. From the surviving documentation, however, it is clear that the monastery was of the coenobitic type, with an organised hierarchy for which we can trace the lineage of superiors over a number of generations. It is also apparent that the monastery was quite prestigious. The donation of children and property to it by the people of Jeme and other towns in the Theban region and beyond is well attested by the accompanying deeds<sup>160</sup>. From such documentation, Godlewski has described the main monastery resources as fivefold: arable land, meadows and palm trees; domestic animals; houses and other land; handiwork; and money<sup>161</sup>. In seventh and eighth-century Thebes, the monastery of Apa Phoibammon was likely rivaled in wealth and influence only by that of Saint Paul on nearby Deir el-Bakhit.

It is thought that the monastery declined at the beginning of the ninth century, presumably around the same time as the town of Jeme, but that it lived on in local memory is evident from the tenth and eleventh century graffiti of Christian pilgrims – among them bishops of Ermont and inhabitants of Koptos and Kos<sup>162</sup>.

### **The (*topos* of the) Holy Apa Psate**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Hermonthite

Connections: Jeme (*O.CrumST* 88; *P.KRU* 50; 54)

Coptic: ⲡⲁⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲁⲧⲉ

Timm: *Topos des Apa Psate*, 2770-2771

The *topos* of the Holy Apa Psate occurs in only three documents from the Theban region – those named above. Two of these (*P.KRU* 50.16-20 and *P.KRU* 54), refer to donations to the

<sup>159</sup> For a history of work on the site see Godlewski (1986) 13-20.

<sup>160</sup> See generally *P.KRU* 78-114, the majority of which are eighth century donations to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon.

<sup>161</sup> Godlewski (1986) 81.

<sup>162</sup> Godlewski (1986) 77-78. The last datable graffiti is from 1222-1223. Godlewski states that the graffiti could not have been inscribed before the abandonment of the site as they were inscribed directly onto the bricks and stones of the wall after the plaster covering had come away (78).



*topos* by people from Jeme – in the first instance of land, and in the second of money. From these we know that it lay on “the mount of Jeme” (*P.KRU* 54.4 ΜΠΤΟΥ ΝΧΗΜΕ<sup>163</sup>), and that it had at least a basic administrative structure: *P.KRU* 54.3-4 refers to “the steward of the Holy Apa Psate” (ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΨΑΤΕ). In *O.CrumST* 88.9-10, a priest of the Holy Apa Psate acts as the scribe of a loan agreement.

Although located outside the walls of Jeme, it is quite possible that the *topos* of Apa Psate was a church rather than a monastery. The only clues to its nature are references to an *oikonomos* (steward) and a priest. While the title *oikonomos* is used in both ecclesiastic and monastic hierarchy<sup>164</sup>, a priest requires the presence of a church. While the larger monastic communities could have churches, and consequently priests, within their walls, there are no unidentified monasteries of that scale left on the Theban mountain. A church outside the boundaries of Jeme could easily have found patrons among the nearby monks who did not have access to one of the churches in the larger monasteries and did not want to travel into the town of Jeme for the Eucharist or the services of a priest.

### **The mount of Tnouhe**

Location: Unknown

Nome: Koptite(?)

Connections: Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 520)

Coptic: ΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΝΟΥΞΕ

Timm: Dēr Nūhī, 772-773 or Tnouhe

The mount of Tnouhe literally means “the mount of the Sycamore”, and there seem to have been a number of communities in Egypt named after the sycamore<sup>165</sup>. The one connected with western Thebes appears in a damaged account of money paid/owed from the monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.* 520.3) next to the sum of two *tremisses*. In his comments on this text, Crum believes that the mountain of Tnouhe refers to a monastic settlement, perhaps the

<sup>163</sup> See also *P.KRU* 50.18 – ΜΠΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ.

<sup>164</sup> Wipszycka (2009:A) discusses the title on pp. 331-335; see particularly p. 332. Further, in *P.KRU* 75.142-143, a certain Moses son of Matthaïos witnesses, who is “the priest and *oikonomos* of the christ-bearing, holy Mary the Virgin”, a known church in Jeme.

<sup>165</sup> In addition to the reference to Timm provided above, see also ‘Tnouhe’ – Timm (1984-2007) 2721-2722 and Winlock & Crum (1926) 122.

“Dêr Nûhy” which may have been in the vicinity of Kos<sup>166</sup>. Timm, providing other attestations, has some doubts as to whether all the occurrences refer to the same toponym, but overall agrees that this monastery was likely near Kos.

### **The mount of Tsenti**

Location: Near Danfiq (25°52'00.48"N 32°43'29.87"E)?

Nome: Koptite(?)

Connections: Phoibammon (*O.Crum* 248); Frange (*O.TT29* 15; 17; 19)

Coptic: ⲧⲥⲉⲛⲧⲓ, ⲧⲥⲉⲛⲧⲓ

Timm: Gabal al-Asās, 970-974

The mount of Tsenti, attested in texts relating to both the monastery of Phoibammon and the monk Frange, was the location of a thriving monastic community which fell under the diocese of Koptos, and hence presumably in that nome as well (its nome is not given in documentary texts)<sup>167</sup>. The mount of Tsenti is particularly well known through the *Life of Pisenthios*, a bishop of Koptos in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, since he spent some time there in his youth and may have later had his episcopal seat there<sup>168</sup>. On prosopographical grounds, Timm locates Tsenti in the vicinity of modern Danfiq, some 20km northeast of Jeme on the west bank of the Nile, however he also notes that the late Byzantine village has never been found<sup>169</sup>. At any rate, the mountain of Tsenti was presumably further west than Danfiq, which is on the Nile and not near the desert escarpment, and was certainly the location of one or more monastic communities, which explains its connection with the monk Frange and the monastery of Phoibammon.

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<sup>166</sup> *P.Mon.Epiph.* 520, fn. 5.

<sup>167</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 971.

<sup>168</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 970-971; Winlock & Crum (1926) 225-228; Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 24.

<sup>169</sup> Timm (1984-2007) 971-972.

## TT29 (the cell of the monk Frange)

Location: 25°43'52.23"N 32°36'26.94"E

Connections: Jeme (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 62/2; *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 137; 138; 139; 140; *O.TT29* 9; 158 & 159; 194; 320; 370); Apé (*O.TT29* 63; 164; 204); Jerusalem (*O.TT29* 51); Petemout<sup>170</sup> (*O.TT29* 114; 160; 176; 177; 178; 201; 208; 339); Pkee (*O.TT29* 60); Psho (*O.TT29* 264); mount of Tsenti (*O.TT29* 15; 17; 19; 85)

Coptic: -

Timm: -

In the seventh and eighth centuries, the tomb of Amenemipet Pairy, an eighteenth Dynasty vizier of Thebes, was occupied by a succession of monks, the most prominent of whom was known as Frange. Located on the south side of Sheikh abd el-Qurna, just over 1km northwards from Jeme, the tomb was excavated from 1999-2004 by a team from the Mission Archéologique dans la Nécropole Thébaine<sup>171</sup>. More than 800 ostraca were found in situ relating to the inhabitants of that tomb, and most of them relate to Frange. His correspondence demonstrates an impressive support network extending over a large part of the surrounding area, including with Jeme<sup>172</sup>.

Frange's cell is not usually accorded a specific name in the texts. A few texts indicate that he may have referred to his home as Tehrebe<sup>173</sup>, however when Frange requests the presence of someone at his cell, he usually requests either that they come to him (*O.TT29* 138.9-10  $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{f}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{i}} \epsilon\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{n}} \overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{i}}$  – “come to me”), or that they “come to the mount of Jeme” (*O.TT29* 150.6  $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{f}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{i}} \epsilon\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{y}} \overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{h}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{e}}$ ). A small number of texts, however, appear to reference a kind of mixed ascetic community, of which Frange was a part<sup>174</sup>. This would presumably include single cells and small monastic communities from a part, or all, of Sheikh abd el-Qurna. Frange's connections with other groups mostly revolve around sending and receiving goods, prayers, and greetings, although he may have also occasionally mediated disputes that occurred within his circle of contacts.

<sup>170</sup> The texts from *O.TT29* listed here are those which specifically mention Petemout. Many more texts link the monk Frange to this town, for which see above, pp. 219-222.

<sup>171</sup> Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 7-8.

<sup>172</sup> This material has been published and discussed extensively in Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010).

<sup>173</sup> See particularly *O.TT29* 5 and 123, and Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 23-24.

<sup>174</sup> See the use of  $\epsilon\overline{\text{z}}\overline{\text{o}}$  in *O.TT29* 80, 120, 183, and maybe 607. See generally Boud'hors & Heurtel (2010) 18.

## APPENDIX B: CATALOGUE OF CONNECTIONS ESTABLISHED IN SECTIONS II, III AND IV, AND A DISCUSSION OF THEIR DATES

Throughout this thesis there has been minimal reference to the dates of the various papyri through which connections have been established. This is due to the difficulty of dating the majority of Theban documentary texts. The resulting ambiguity does not lend itself toward meaningful commentary on the date range of various interactions. Despite this, it is essential to include some discussion on the chronology of the material. This appendix aims to establish the chronological context of the connections established in Sections II, III and IV, and briefly examine them in this light.

### THE DATING OF THE MONASTERY OF EPIPHANIUS

Before examining the chronology of the established connections, it is necessary to briefly discuss the dating of texts originating from the monastery of Epiphanius. Following Crum, the documents from the monastery of Epiphanius have, for a long time, been entirely relegated to the seventh century as a result of: the presence in them of a number of historical figures from this period; apparent references to the Persian invasion which took place in 619; and a notable absence of early eighth century hands<sup>1</sup>. However, in light of the recent bounty of texts relating to the monk Frange, who was active in the early eighth century and who was also in contact with monks from the monastery of Epiphanius, it is evident that the monastery remained in use at least until the first half of the eighth century.

The chronology of the monastery of Epiphanius has been the particular focus of Renate Dekker, who combined old and new evidence to establish a relative chronology for the leaders of the Epiphanius community<sup>2</sup>. Dekker observed that there are two primary datable periods relating to this material: the first relates to the monk Epiphanius and his immediate successors and predecessors, and is datable to the first half of the seventh century; the second relates

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<sup>1</sup> Winlock & Crum (1926) 98-103.

<sup>2</sup> Dekker (forthcoming).

particularly to the pair Isaac and Elias, who are frequently addressed by Frange, and who are therefore to be dated to the early eighth century<sup>3</sup>.

Following the evidence presented by Dekker, many of the texts relating to the connections of the monastery of Epiphanius can be confidently dated to either the first half of the seventh century, or the early eighth century, depending on which individuals are mentioned. Moreover, two of the texts cited below have been attributed a more exact date range: *P.Mon.Epiph.* 163 to the year 620; and *P.Mon.Epiph.* 93 to 607-612. Unfortunately, however, those texts that do not mention known and relatively datable members of the community, as is particularly the case with accounts, must now be dated not just to the seventh century, but to the seventh and eighth centuries.

#### CATALOGUE OF ESTABLISHED CONNECTIONS

The following tables present, in chronological order, the texts from which connections were based in Sections II, III and IV. Each table lists the *P.Sigla* (a following question mark indicates a speculative link), the toponyms which the text links, the proposed date of the text, and an indication of the nature of the text. In many cases, the recorded dates are those established by Till (1962 and 1964), or, for more recently published material, the dates proposed in the primary editions. In a few cases, texts have been redated based on new evidence: particularly the texts relating to the monastery of Epiphanius and *P.KRU* 105 (for the dating of which see above, pp. 75-76)<sup>4</sup>. A discussion of the date range of each section follows the tables.

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<sup>3</sup> A brief overview of this process, along with a table indicating the relative order of the leaders of the community has been published in Dekker (2013).

<sup>4</sup> The dates of *P.KRU* 50 and 54 are those argued by Cromwell (2010:A) 14.

*Section II*

<b>P.Sigla</b>	<b>Connects</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Document type</b>
<i>P.KRU</i> 105	Jeme	Phoibammon	Late 6 <sup>th</sup>	Title deed
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 922	Jeme	Phoibammon	c. 600	Loan agreement
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> II 7	Jeme	Phoibammon	600-620	Ordination request
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 163	Jeme	Epiphanius	620	Letter
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> II 14 (?)	Jeme	Phoibammon	645	Loan agreement
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad.3	Jeme	Phoibammon	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Donation (land)
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 216	Jeme	Epiphanius	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.KRU</i> 75	Jeme	Epiphanius	Mid 7 <sup>th</sup>	Testament
<i>P.KRU</i> 65	Jeme	Phoibammon	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Testament
<i>P.CLT</i> 1	Jeme	Paul	698	Release
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 159	Jeme	Epiphanius	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 160	Jeme	Epiphanius	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 169	Jeme	Epiphanius	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT</i> 299	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT</i> 2986	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT</i> 29158	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT</i> 29159	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT</i> 29194	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT</i> 29370	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 137	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 138	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 139	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 140	Jeme	Frangé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.KRU</i> 18	Jeme	Phoibammon	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Sale (land, property)
<i>P.CLT</i> 2	Jeme	Paul	703	Release
<i>P.CLT</i> 5	Jeme	Phoibammon, Paul	711/712	Settlement
<i>O.Crum</i> 218	Jeme	Phoibammon	Before 720	Work contract
<i>P.CLT</i> 3	Jeme	Paul	728/729	Safe-conduct request
<i>P.KRU</i> 13	Jeme	Phoibammon	733	Sale (property)

<i>P.KRU</i> 106	Jeme	Paul	734	Donation (land, property)
<i>P.KRU</i> 50	Jeme	Apa Psate	739	Settlement
<i>P.KRU</i> 19	Jeme	Phoibammon	747	Bequest
<i>P.KRU</i> 95	Jeme	Phoibammon	747/748	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 54	Jeme	Apa Psate	748	Receipt
<i>P.KRU</i> 94	Jeme	Phoibammon	c. 748-759	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 78	Jeme	Phoibammon	Mid 8 <sup>th</sup>	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 90	Jeme	Phoibammon	Mid 8 <sup>th</sup>	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 102	Jeme	Phoibammon	762	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 86	Jeme	Phoibammon	766	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 85	Jeme	Phoibammon	767/768	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 107	Jeme	Phoibammon	767/768	Donation (land)
<i>P.KRU</i> 84	Jeme	Phoibammon	c. 770	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 82	Jeme	Phoibammon	c. 771	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 92	Jeme	Phoibammon	c. 770-780	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 96	Jeme	Phoibammon	775	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 100	Jeme	Phoibammon	779	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 91	Jeme	Phoibammon	781	Donation (child)
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> II 29	Jeme	Phoibammon	8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 945	Jeme	Phoibammon	Late 8 <sup>th</sup>	Sale (property)
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 543	Jeme	Epiphanius	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>O.CrumST</i> 60	Jeme	Phoibammon	Unknown	Testament
<i>P.KRU</i> 108	Jeme	Phoibammon	Unknown	Donation (land)

Table B.1. Texts establishing connections as cited in Section II

The majority of precisely dated Coptic material from Thebes relates to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon. As such, Jeme's connections with the monasteries of western Thebes have more specific date ranges than its connections with non-west Theban communities. Fig. B.1, which depicts the chronological data from Table B.1, shows a clear spike in texts datable to the eighth century. In fact, of the 52 texts attesting connections between these monastic communities and Jeme, 75% are dated to the eighth century, and over half of these precisely. In comparison, only 1.9% date to the sixth century, and 17.3% to the seventh. The dearth of material from the sixth century is not surprising since the monastery of Apa Phoibammon was not founded until its final years; indeed its foundation charter is the only document dated to this century. The particular dominance of the eighth century in this data is to a large extent due to the number of donation texts from this period relating to the monastery of Apa

Phoibammon, and to the dating to the early part of this century of the dossier of the monk Frange.

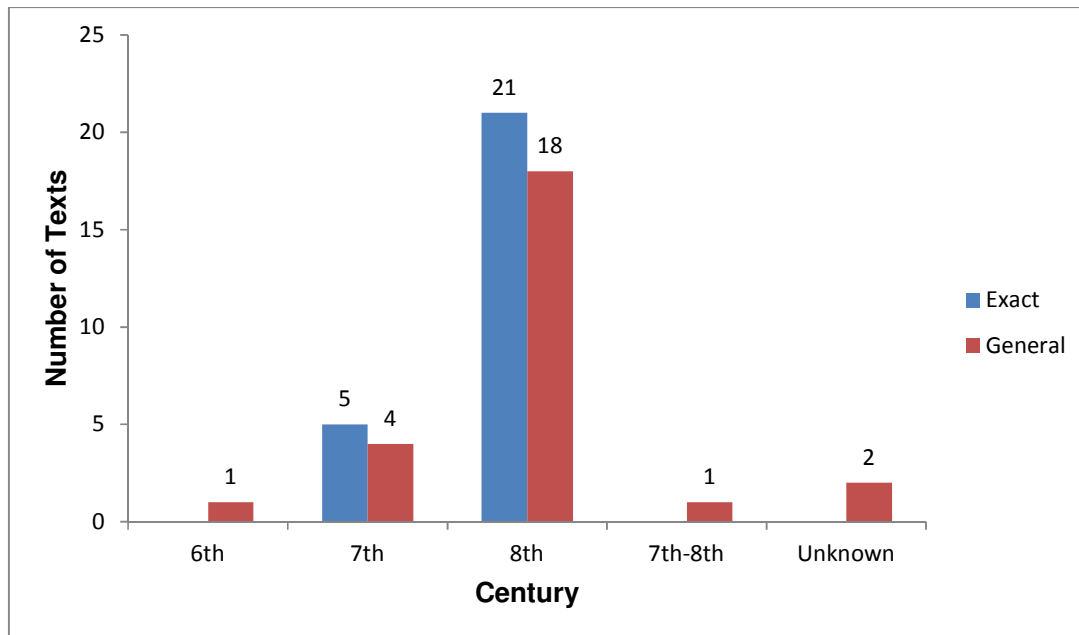


Fig. B.1. Dating of texts linking Jeme to west Theban monastic communities<sup>5</sup>

Initially, it appears that the links between the residents of Jeme and the nearby monastic communities flourished in the eighth century. The dossier of Frange does skew the results, since his presence in the data is not balanced by material from any other solitary monk in the area. Yet, identifying the eighth century as a high point does seem to be valid, since sales and purchases of land in or near Jeme by the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, as well as donations of children and property to it, are almost entirely restricted to this century. However, links to the monastery of Epiphanius and the monastery of Phoibammon span both the seventh and eighth centuries, and the seventh should not be dismissed too easily. Of particular import among the interactions of the seventh century are those with Abraham, Bishop of Ermont, and those with the monk Epiphanius. Moreover, many other documents from the monastery of Apa Phoibammon date to the seventh century, in particular sowing contracts and contracts to tend camels, but these do not mention Jeme or anyone associated with it<sup>6</sup>. It is clear that the monastery of Phoibammon, at least, was already well established and interacting with the local economy early in the seventh century.

<sup>5</sup> Based on the information in Table B.1.

<sup>6</sup> For instance the sowing contracts cited by Godlewski (1986) 82-83: *O.Crum* 138, 140, 185, 303, 306, 307, 482 and *BKU* 148; or the contracts to tend livestock: *O.Crum* 220 and 222 (see also Godlewski (1986) 85-86).



While it cannot be denied that interactions between the monastic communities of western Thebes and the inhabitants of Jeme were particularly strong in the eighth century, it is likely that the interactions of the seventh century are underrepresented in the dataset. This is primarily due to a lack of location designators in material from this century, but may also be attributable to accident of survival and to what has so far been published. It should not be thought that the presence of so revered personages as Abraham and Epiphanius (not to mention Pisenthios, the Bishop of Koptos, who resided in the monastery of Epiphanius during this period) did not result in any significant interactions between these groups.

### *Section III*

<b>P.Sigla</b>	<b>Connects</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Document type</b>
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1720	Jeme	Petemout	549 or 564	Relinquishment of security
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1719	Jeme	Petemout	556	Loan agreement
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I 78/1 (?)	Jeme	Taut	6 <sup>th</sup> ?	Account
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 163	Jeme	Taut, Tabennese	620	Letter
<i>P.KRU</i> 75	Jeme	Ermont	Mid 7 <sup>th</sup>	Testament
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 26	Jeme	Pashme, Ermont	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 55	Jeme	Terkot	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 58	Jeme	Terkot	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 59	Jeme	Terkot	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 60	Jeme	Terkot	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 70	Jeme	Petemout	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Return of security
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 72	Jeme	Petemout	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Relinquishment of security
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 96	Jeme	Psenheaci	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Relinquishment of security
<i>O.TT29</i> 579 (?)	Jeme	Petemout	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>SB Kopt.</i> III 1382	Jeme	Pisinai	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1460	Jeme	Aphrodito	709	List of fugitives
<i>O.CrumST</i> 429	Jeme	Papar	After 710	Loan agreement

<b>P.Sigla</b>	<b>Connects</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Document type</b>
<i>P.CLT</i> 5	Jeme	Koptos	711/712	Settlement
<i>P.KRU</i> 10	Jeme	Antinoe	722	Settlement
<i>P.KRU</i> 68	Jeme	Aswan, Ne, Klusma	723	Testament
<i>P.KRU</i> 3	Jeme	Tse	728/729 or 743/744	Sale (property)
<i>P.KRU</i> 38	Jeme	Aswan	1 <sup>st</sup> half 8 <sup>th</sup>	Settlement
<i>P.KRU</i> 59	Jeme	Tse	Mid 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>P.KRU</i> 62	Jeme	Pakale	Mid 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>P.KRU</i> 63v	Jeme	Tmoh Pajeme	Mid 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 908	Jeme	Kalba	8 <sup>th</sup> ?	Relinquishment of security
<i>O.Mich.Copt.</i> 13	Jeme	Apé	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup>	Relinquishment of security
<i>O.Deir er-Roumi</i> 27	Jeme	Patoubasten	6 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Deir er-Roumi</i> 28	Jeme	Patoubasten	6 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>Coptica</i> #44	Jeme	Psamer	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I 76/4	Jeme	Terkot	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I 78/2	Jeme	Petemout	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Relinquishment of security
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad.17	Jeme	Psenantonios	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 62	Jeme	Pajment	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 64	Jeme	Pashme	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 74	Jeme	Pmilis	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Relinquishment of security
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 82	Jeme	Elemou, Koptos, Kos, Antinoe	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Contract
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 101	Jeme	Terkot	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Document
<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 131	Jeme	Ne	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 28	Jeme	Patoubasten	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Loan agreement
<i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 42	Jeme	Ermont	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Sowing contract
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 907	Jeme	Timamen	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.Crum</i> 160	Jeme	Tourese	Unknown	Loan agreement
<i>O.Crum</i> Ad.16	Jeme	Tche	Unknown	Loan agreement
<i>O.Crum</i> VC 25	Jeme	Thone	Unknown	Loan agreement

<i>O.Crum VC 30</i>	Jeme	Monastery of Apa Pahom	Unknown	Sowing contract
<i>O.Crum VC 53</i>	Jeme	Tmoue	Unknown	Letter
<i>O.Crum ST 38</i>	Jeme	Ermont	Unknown	Sowing contract
<i>O.Crum ST 424</i>	Jeme	Thone	Unknown	Loan agreement
<i>O.Crum ST 437</i>	Jeme	Kos, mount of Ermont, Pshatbampe, Pisinai	Unknown	Account
<i>P.KRU 108</i>	Jeme	Romoou	Unknown	Donation (land)
<i>P.Schutzbriefe 85</i>	Jeme	Pshinsion	Unknown	Protection letter
<i>SB Kopt. III 1332</i>	Jeme	Pmilis	Unknown	Letter

Table B.2. Texts establishing connections as cited in Section III

The majority of the texts from Section III, which indicate the non-west Theban connections of Jeme, were written on ostraca. Since such texts, if dated at all, are usually only dated by the month, the indication year, and the *lashane* of Jeme, it is often difficult to tie them to a particular date range, let alone a specific date. Where such texts lack individuals datable on the basis of prosopographic evidence, editors have tended to date them to either the sixth to eighth or seventh to eighth centuries, or to provide no date at all. Many of the texts that identify Jeme's connections therefore lack a reliable date, without which it is not possible to ascertain if and how Jeme's links changed over time. Despite this, a few texts have been assigned a more precise date in the table above. Elizabeth Stefanski and Miriam Lichtheim, the editors of *O.Medin.HabuCopt.*, which comprises ostraca excavated from Jeme, dated most of the texts to the seventh to eighth centuries. Among these are the various loan agreements relating to the money lending activities of Koloje and her son Pekosh. Since these two were likely contemporaries of the monk Frange, these texts can now be attributed with some confidence to the early eighth century, and have been in Table B.2<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> For the association of Frange with Koloje and Pekosh, see pp. 124-125. Eight texts associated with this family have been dated to the early eighth century on this evidence. They are: *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 26, 55, 58, 59, 60, 70, 72, and 96.

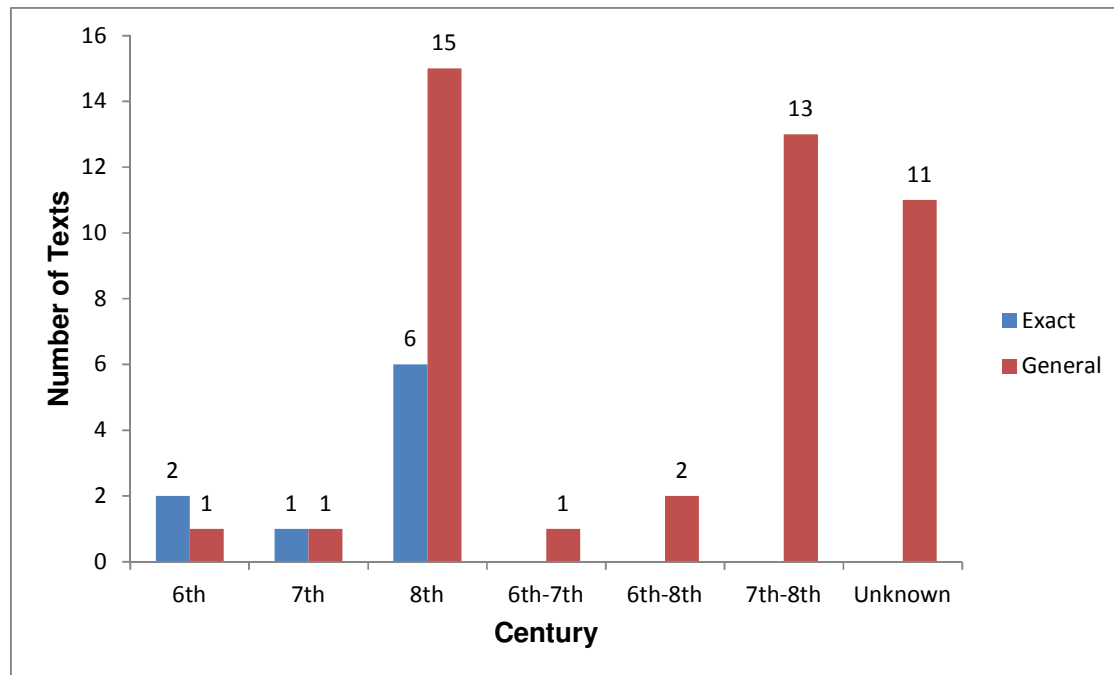


Fig. B.2. Dating of texts linking Jeme to non-west Theban communities<sup>8</sup>

Even with these emendations, Fig. B.2 shows that just over half of the texts (50.94%) are either undated or dated generally within a two to three century range. However, based on the fact that the majority of exactly or roughly dated texts attesting the connections of Jeme or the west Theban monastic communities are dated to the seventh or eighth centuries (see Figs B.1, B.2, and B.3), those texts without a date, or even those dated to a range which includes the sixth century, could be reasonably situated within the range of the seventh to eighth centuries only. The earliest absolutely dated Coptic ostraca from Thebes (*SB Kopt.* II 1238) is dated to March 601<sup>9</sup>. Few other documents discussed in this thesis may predate this. They are: *P.KRU* 105, which probably dates to the end of the sixth century<sup>10</sup>; *P.Lond.* V 1719 (dated 556); and *P.Lond.* V 1720 (dated either 549 or 564<sup>11</sup>) – both Greek documents found in Elephantine rather than Thebes. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/1 was hesitantly assigned to the sixth century by Hall in the principal edition on the basis of the very Egyptian (i.e. un-Christian) names appearing in the text, which Hall wrote “give this document a rather archaic appearance”<sup>12</sup>. This date should not be considered certain. Given that only three texts can be assigned to the sixth century with any degree of certainty (and two were not found in Thebes), it is more

<sup>8</sup> Based on the data in Table B.2.

<sup>9</sup> On the dating of the 601 ostrakon see Gilmore & Ray (2006).

<sup>10</sup> The date of *P.KRU* 105 is discussed above, pp. 75-76.

<sup>11</sup> For the date of *P.Lond.* V 1720, which is dated by the consulate of Flavius Basilius, see Reiter (2003) 238.

<sup>12</sup> See Hall’s comments about this text in the *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 78/1 edition.

reasonable to assign Theban texts without a datable context to the seventh to eighth centuries, rather than to the sixth to eighth centuries as is the case with *O.Deir er-Roumi* 27 and 28. It is likewise reasonable to place the 11 undated texts within this range.

The inexactitude of the dates for the texts discussed in Section III does not permit confidence in any attempt to describe the interactions of Jeme in timeframes smaller than a century. However, Fig. B.2 does show a similar pattern to the chronology of the interactions of Jeme with the west Theban monastic communities (Fig. B.1). Both attest the following pattern of interactions: Jeme was active in the regional community from the seventh century; there is a significant spike in attestations during the first half of the eighth century; then texts – and thus any interactions – vanish entirely before the ninth. No text attesting the non-west Theban interactions of Jeme can be dated after 750. This is in contrast to the interactions between Jeme and the monastic communities (Table B.1), which show that the village was still interacting with the monastery of Phoibammon until at least the 780s.

#### *Section IV*

Note that the texts in Table B.3 are arranged first by the west Theban community they relate to and then by date, such that all the texts which establish connections to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, for example, are grouped together. The communities are listed in the order in which they are discussed in Section IV: the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, then the monastery of Apa Paul, the monastery of Epiphanius, and finally the monk Frange.

<b>P.Sigla</b>	<b>Connects</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Document type</b>
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 951	Phoibammon	Romoou	6 <sup>th</sup> – 7 <sup>th</sup>	Agricultural contract
<i>O.Crum</i> 31	Phoibammon	Tche	c. 600	Ordination request
<i>O.Crum</i> 36	Phoibammon	Piohe	c. 600	Ordination request
<i>O.Crum</i> 303	Phoibammon	Pajment	c. 600	Agreement
<i>O.Crum</i> 333	Phoibammon	Pankalela	c. 600	Payment order
<i>O.Crum</i> 359	Phoibammon	Tabennese	c. 600	Letter
<i>SB Kopt.</i> II 922	Phoibammon	Patoubasten	c. 600	Loan agreement
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> II 22	Phoibammon	Patoubasten	Early 7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> II 39	Phoibammon	Antinoe, Taut	Early 7 <sup>th</sup> ?	Account
<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> II 11	Phoibammon	Koptos	7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.KRU</i> 78	Phoibammon	Tse	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 87	Phoibammon	Romoou	730-739	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 88	Phoibammon	Romoou, Timeshor	734	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 95	Phoibammon	Taut	747/748	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 90	Phoibammon	Kalba	Mid 8 <sup>th</sup>	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 86	Phoibammon	Apé	766	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 107	Phoibammon	Ermont	767/768	Donation (land)
<i>P.KRU</i> 118	Phoibammon	Tbebe	767 or 782	Legal document
<i>P.KRU</i> 79	Phoibammon	Neihbabe, Ermont, Esna	c. 767-785	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 97	Phoibammon	Pisinai, Papar	c. 770	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 110	Phoibammon	Pankame	c. 770	Donation (palm trees)
<i>P.KRU</i> 89	Phoibammon	Tabennese, Timamen, Psamer	c. 770-780	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 93	Phoibammon	Apotei, Ermont	c. 770-780	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 109	Phoibammon	Ermont, Romoou	771	Donation (land)
<i>P.KRU</i> 81	Phoibammon	Apé, mount of Apé, Tbo	771	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 82	Phoibammon	Apé, Romoou	c. 771	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 96	Phoibammon	Ermont, And(...)	775	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 80	Phoibammon	Ermont	776	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 100	Phoibammon	Pampane	779	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 99	Phoibammon	Dekadritou	780	Donation (child)
<i>P.KRU</i> 91	Phoibammon	Pisinai, Pakebt	781	Donation (child)
<i>O.Crum</i> 126	Phoibammon	Esna	Unknown	Letter

<i>O.Crum</i> 138	Phoibammon	Romoou	Unknown	Agricultural contract
<i>O.Crum</i> 184	Phoibammon	Mount of Piohe	Unknown	Letter
<i>O.Crum</i> 209	Phoibammon	Ermont	Unknown	Letter
<i>O.Crum</i> 248	Phoibammon	Mount of Tsenti	Unknown	Letter
<i>O.Crum</i> 301	Phoibammon	Patoubasten	Unknown	Agreement
<i>O.Crum</i> 439	Phoibammon	Taut, Patoubasten	Unknown	Account
<i>O.Crum</i> 476	Phoibammon	Kos, Kune, Shneset	Unknown	Account
<i>P.KRU</i> 108	Phoibammon	Romoou	Unknown	Donation (land)
<i>P.CLT</i> 1	Paul	Pshinsion, Pakothis, Psenheaei, Paue	698	Release
<i>P.CLT</i> 4	Paul	Pshinsion	702	Receipt
<i>P.CLT</i> 3	Paul	Fayum	728/729 or 743/744	Safe-conduct request
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 93	Epiphanius	Apa Papnoute	607-612	Loan agreement
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 163	Epiphanius	Tabennese, Taut	620	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 87	Epiphanius	Ermont, Pashme	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Testament
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 95	Epiphanius	Romoou	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup> ?	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 152	Epiphanius	Koptos	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 172	Epiphanius	Ermont	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 254	Epiphanius	Ermont	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 272	Epiphanius	Ermont, Penhotp	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 473	Epiphanius	Koeis	1 <sup>st</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 85	Epiphanius	Pchatape	Early 8 <sup>th</sup> ?	Loan agreement (?)
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 296	Epiphanius	Pshoueb	Early 8 <sup>th</sup> ?	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 302	Epiphanius	Kalba	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 129	Epiphanius	Pshenhor	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 138	Epiphanius	Tabennese	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 147	Epiphanius	Patoubasten	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 176	Epiphanius	Ermont	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 178	Epiphanius	Psoi	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 293	Epiphanius	Romoou	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 304	Epiphanius	Shebbon	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 310	Epiphanius	Ermont	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 323	Epiphanius	Koptos	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 327	Epiphanius	Koptos	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 369	Epiphanius	Ne	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter

<b>P.Sigla</b>	<b>Connects</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Document type</b>
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 438	Epiphanius	Ermont	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 460r	Epiphanius	Apé	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 500	Epiphanius	Patoubasten, Tentyra	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 519	Epiphanius	Tabennese, Thone, Timamen, Pho, Pshatbampe	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 520	Epiphanius	Mount of Tnouhe	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 522	Epiphanius	Apé, Kalba, Pshoueb	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 526	Epiphanius	Tabennese, Thone, Timamen	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 533	Epiphanius	Papar	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Account
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 544	Epiphanius	Pisinaï	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Record
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 627	Epiphanius	Pinai	7 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 652(a)	Epiphanius	Antinoe	Unknown	Graffito
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 660(b)	Epiphanius	Koptos	Unknown	Graffito
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 668	Epiphanius	Pisinaï	Unknown	Graffito
<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 678	Epiphanius	Ermont	Unknown	Graffito
<i>O.TT29</i> 15	Frange	Mount of Tsenti	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 17	Frange	Mount of Tsenti	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 19	Frange	Mount of Tsenti	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 51	Frange	Jerusalem	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 60	Frange	Pkee	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 85	Frange	Mount of Tsenti	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 63	Frange	Apé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 164	Frange	Apé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 204	Frange	Apé	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 264	Frange	Psho	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter
<i>O.TT29</i> 247-345 et al. <sup>13</sup>	Frange	Petemout	Early 8 <sup>th</sup>	Letter

Table B.3. Texts establishing connections as cited in Section IV

<sup>13</sup> It is unnecessary to list these texts here. See Section IV, pp. 219-222, for a complete discussion of the connections with Petemout.



As a result of the abundance of dateable material relating to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, and because the dossier of the monk Frange can be assigned to the early part of the eighth century, the number of texts from Section IV which can be assigned to a specific century is relatively high (61.1% – see Fig. B.3). Nonetheless, large numbers of texts still remain undated beyond a two century range, particularly those relating to the monastery of Epiphanius. Accordingly, the texts relating to the monastery of Apa Phoibammon represent the best opportunity to examine whether or not there is any change in the toponyms occurring in its network between the seventh and eighth centuries. In the seventh century, the monastery is connected to Patoubasten, Piohe, Romoou, and Taut (in the Hermonthite nome); Koptos (in the Koptite nome); Pajment, Pankalela, Tabennese, and Tche (of unknown location); and Antinoe. In the eighth century, interactions with Koptos, Pajment, Pankalela, Tche, and Antinoe are not represented, but its overall number of connections expands to include 23 other toponyms, of which seven are in the Hermonthite nome (including Ermont), three are in the Koptite nome, eight are unlocated, and five are from more distant nomes.

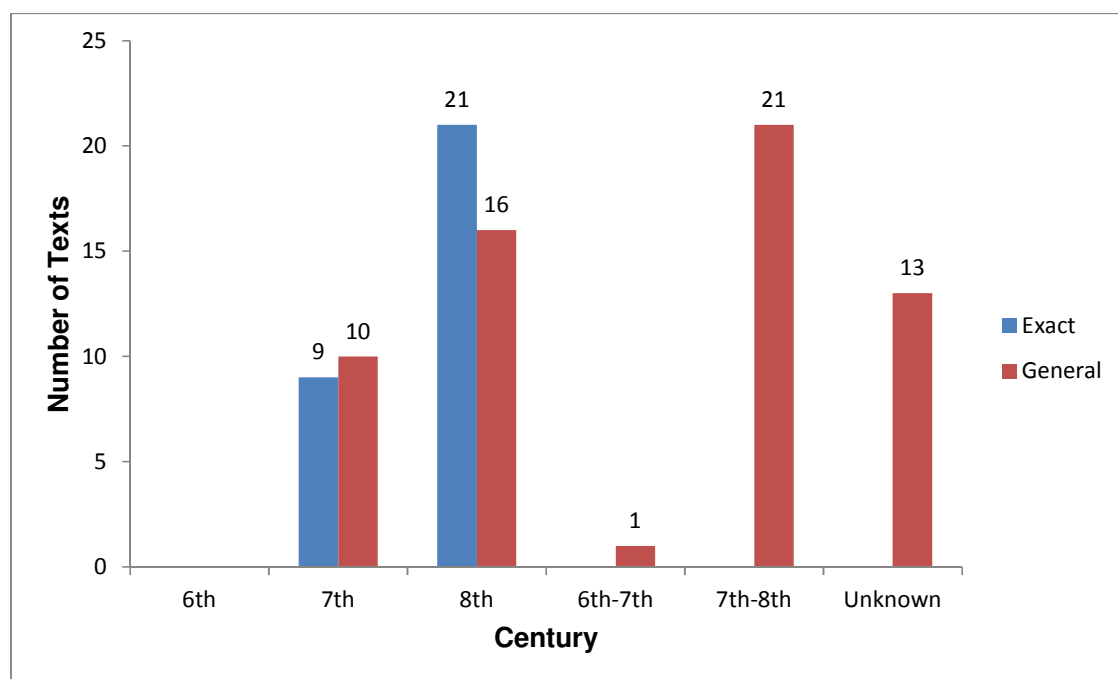


Fig. B.3. Dating of texts linking west Theban monastic communities to non-west Theban communities<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Based on the data in Table B.3. All the texts linking Frange to Petemout have been counted together as one text. Including all of them would otherwise increase the number of texts generally dated to the eighth century to 115.

While the number of toponyms with which Phoibammon is connected expands in the eighth century, the ratio of toponyms from Hermonthite, Koptite, and other nomes remains relatively stable. This suggests that the monastery's attentions were not focused in one particular area in the seventh century and another in the eighth, but spread out in a consistent manner. Moreover, it is unwise to place too much importance on the toponyms that appear in each century, since it is likely that many are missing from the seventh. Ermont, for instance, is not connected to the monastery of Phoibammon in the seventh century, despite the fact that a bishop of Ermont, Abraham, founded the monastery and resided there. Thus, while the specific toponyms that appear in each century should not be regarded as significant, the number of toponyms should.

The most significant feature of Fig. B.3 is that, like Figs B.1 and B.2, it shows a spike in interactions in the eighth century. However, unlike the other datasets, the seventh century is also well represented. This indicates that some of the monastic communities of western Thebes were already well established in the seventh century and interacting with communities in the Hermonthite and Koptite nomes. This undoubtedly contributed to the success of Jeme during this period.

## CHRONOLOGY AND THE NETWORKS OF WESTERN THEBES

The chronology of the texts that attest the networks of western Thebes shows a relatively tight timeframe (two centuries), but the lack of large numbers of exactly datable material prevents a discussion on the changes that these networks may have undergone during this period. At best, we can note the trend across all the networks for the numbers of interactions to spike in the eighth century. How much significance should be attached to this fact is difficult to determine. On one hand, the texts dated to the seventh century show similar kinds of interactions to what is seen in the eighth, and interactions that must have taken place are not attested. While the monasteries were relatively new foundations at this time, the town of Jeme had existed as an inhabited space for over a thousand years and must have had an established place in the various networks of the area by the time the Coptic documentation appears. Further, the presence of the monk Frange, as the only solitary monk taken into consideration, artificially boosts the amount of eighth century material. On the other hand, the removal of the

Frangé material does not significantly alter the pattern, and the strong presence of eighth century material should not be attributed to chance survival alone.

That the increase in the number of texts documenting the town corresponds to the establishment of large monastic communities nearby is, I think, no coincidence, nor is the eighth century spike. As is discussed in the Conclusion, the presence of a large monastic community near to a town, such as the Pachomian monastery at Tabennese, could significantly increase a dwindling town's size and economic position. While the existence of Jeme may have made the Theban necropolis an attractive area for monasticism, it is likely that the strength of such monasticism by the seventh century boosted the town's prominence in the region. This led to the development of western Thebes as a hub in the seventh and eighth centuries, before the abandonment of the site at the end of the eighth. While the dates of the texts which establish the networks of these communities are not useful for identifying small scale change, they do support the conclusion that the relationship between Jeme and the monastic communities was the driving force behind the success of western Thebes in the seventh and eighth centuries.

## APPENDIX C: GREEK LOCATION DESIGNATORS IN COPTIC DOCUMENTARY TEXTS FROM THEBES

Although the discussion of location designators in Section I focused only on Coptic constructions, 45 of the location designators in the Coptic documentary material from Thebes were written in Greek. These instances are listed here (Table C.1). Some of these constructions are written in a Coptic font rather than a Greek one. This is not a comment on the scribal practices involved in these texts, rather I have simply followed the principal editors' use of font. *SB* editions are cited in instances in which the Greek sections of text (including the designator) have been republished there.

Greek location designators in Coptic documentary texts are found almost entirely in scribal statements and dating clauses, and fall into two broad types. In Type 1 (1.1-1.21), a personal name (sometimes accompanied by a title, cf. 1.12-1.21) is attached to the genitive of a toponym by use of the preposition ἀπό. In Type 2 (2.1-2.24), the genitive of the toponym is affixed directly to the personal name without a preposition. In both types, the ability of the scribe to correctly use Greek case endings varies considerably. The degree of skill ranges from 1.18, in which the Greek preposition ἀπό is used in a construction otherwise lacking distinctive Greek (or Coptic) features, to numerous examples which consistently employ correct case endings (e.g. 1.1 or 1.15).

The limited amount of data here does not permit a thorough examination of the use of Greek designators in Coptic texts. While some Greek constructions, such as the dating clause and the scribal notation, are formulaic components and preserve Greek syntax<sup>1</sup>, why some witnesses or other signing parties chose to sign in Greek and not Coptic is not apparent. It is also unclear whether there were particular lexical meanings attached to these constructions (as was the case with ⲙⲛ and ⲡⲙ- in the Coptic designators, for example). I am inclined to think, however, that their use leans toward general attribution rather than a specific idiom (such as where the individual was legally registered or where he originated from). This is suggested by the fact that some of the Type 1 clauses (e.g. 1.14) use ἀπό to indicate that the official was responsible for more than one town, and such a usage cannot then indicate residence or origin. Similarly, some of the Type 2 clauses attach individuals to religious institutions rather than

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<sup>1</sup> See Cromwell (2010:B) 221-222.

towns (as in 2.14 and 2.19), so at best this construction could indicate residence rather than origin.

	Reference	Text	Function
<b>Type 1: ἀπὸ + genitive of toponym</b>			
1.1	<i>P.KRU</i> 24.153-154 ( <i>SBI</i> 5567)	δαυεῖδ υἱοῦ/ τοῦ/ μακ(αρίου) ψάτη ἀπὸ κάστρο\υ/ μεμνονίων\ο/(υ)	Scribe
1.2	<i>P.KRU</i> 27.68 ( <i>SBI</i> 5570)	ἀριστοφάνου υἱο/(ῶ) ἰωάννου ἀπὸ κάστρ(ου) μεμνωνίου	Scribe
1.3	<i>P.KRU</i> 28.57 ( <i>SBI</i> 5571)	κυριακ(οῦ) πέτρ\ου/ ἀπὸ κάστρου μεμνονί\ο\υ/	Scribe
1.4	<i>P.KRU</i> 46.52 ( <i>SBI</i> 5579)	ἰωάννα [υἱ]ο\ῦ/ ἰωάννο\υ/ ἀπὸ κάστρο\υ/ μεμν\ω/(νίου)	Scribe
1.5	<i>P.KRU</i> 50.79 ( <i>SBI</i> 5582)	κυριακ(οῦ) πέτρ\ου/ ἀπὸ κάστρο\υ/ μεμνονίου	Scribe
1.6	<i>P.KRU</i> 50.81 ( <i>SBI</i> 5582)	π . . τερκα (καὶ) ἀρσένιος ὁμω( ) ἀδελφ\ὸς/ ἀπὸ κ(άσ)\τ/(ρου) μεμν\ο/(νίου)	Second party <sup>2</sup>
1.7	<i>P.KRU</i> 59.18 ( <i>SBI</i> 5587)	κόμες υ(ἱ)\ο/(ῶ) τοῦ/ μακ(αρίου) ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ τσῆ	Scribe
1.8	<i>P.KRU</i> 83.25	ψμω\τ/ γιο το\γ/ μακ(αριογ) κωμετος απο καστρων μεμνω(νιο)\γ/	Witness
1.9	<i>P.KRU</i> 90.51 ( <i>SBI</i> 5601)	δαυεῖδ υἱὸς τοῦ μακ(αρίου) ψάτη ἀπὸ κάστρο\υ/ μεμνονίωνος	Scribe
1.10	<i>P.KRU</i> 107.44 ( <i>SBI</i> 5610)	ψάτη υἱο/(ῶ) τοῦ/ μακ(αρίου) δαυὶδ ἀπὸ κάστρ\ου/ μεμν\ω/(νίου)	Scribe
1.11	<i>P.CLT</i> 9.37	θεοδώρ(ο)\υ/ υἱ(ο)\ῶ/ ? ἀπὸ κάστρ(ο)\υ/ μεμνον(ῖ)\ω/	Scribe
1.12	<i>P.KRU</i> 2.60-61 ( <i>SBI</i> 5556)	σενογ\θ/(ης) τογ γι\ο/(γ) μακ(αριογ) χμντςνηγ ελαχ(ιστογ) πρ\ε/(σβγτερογ) απο καστρ\ο\γ/ μεμνονιογ	Scribe
1.13	<i>P.KRU</i> 4.94-95 ( <i>SBI</i> 5557)	σενογ\θ/(ης) τογ γι\ο/(γ) μακ(αριογ) χμτςνηγ ελα\χ/(ιστογ) πρ\ε/(σβγτερογ) απο καστρ\ογ μεμνονιογ	Scribe
1.14	<i>P.KRU</i> 27.3-4 ( <i>SBI</i> 5570)	φλ(αίου) κύρ\ου/ κολλούθ(ου) αρ\σ/ ἀπὸ τρειῶν κ[άσ]τρ[ων] καὶ μεμνονίου	Dating clause
1.15	<i>P.KRU</i> 45.3-4 ( <i>SBI</i> 5578)	φλ(αίω) σαὰλ υἱῶ ἀβδέλλα τῶ ἐν\δ/(οξωτάτω) ἀμίρα † ἀπὸ παγαρ\χ/(ῶν) διοσπ(ό)\λ/(εως) ἕως λάτω(ν πόλεως)	Dating clause
1.16	<i>P.KRU</i> 83.35	πετρ(ος) γ(ι)\ο/(γ) αντωνι\ογ/ υποδεκ\Δ/(ης) απο μεμν\ο/(νιογ)	Witness
1.17	<i>P.KRU</i> 96.99 ( <i>SBI</i> 5605)	ἡλισταίος ἐλαχ(ίστου) πρ\ε/(σβυτέρου) ἀπὸ ἐρμώνθ(εως)	Scribe

<sup>2</sup> Part of a Greek address on the verso.

	Reference	Text	Function
1.18	<i>P.KRU</i> 100.72	απλω ελ(α)\χ/(ictoc) πρ(εcβγτερος) απογ καστρ(ον) χημε	Witness
1.19	<i>P.KRU</i> 106.6-7 ( <i>SBI</i> 5609)	χαηλ γιος ψμο λαμπροτατου διοκ(η)\τ/(ογ) απο καστρον μεμνωσιω(ν)	Dating clause
1.20	<i>P.KRU</i> 112.18 ( <i>SBI</i> 5611)	πέτρ\ου/ υ(ι)\ο/(υ) αντωνίου/ λογογράφου/ από μεμνωσίω\ν/	Scribe
1.21	<i>P.CLT</i> 5.159	ιακωβ γιος ισακ πραγματοεγτης απο της ιογστινιαδνης πολεως της κατο χωρας	Witness
<b>Type 2: Genitive of toponym</b>			
2.1	<i>P.KRU</i> 6.3-4 ( <i>SBI</i> 5559)	φλαγιο\γ/ κωμες γι\ο/(γ) μακ(αριογ) χαηλ διοικ(ητογ) καστρ\ο/(γ) μεμν\ω/(νιογ)	Dating clause
2.2	<i>P.KRU</i> 10.3 ( <i>SBI</i> 5123)	άθανασίου δαυειδ (καί) μηνᾶ υἱοῦ τ(ο)\υ/ μακαριω\τ/(άτου) παᾶμ μειζ\ω/(τέρους) κάστρ\ου/ μεμνωσίω	Dating clause
2.3	<i>P.KRU</i> 11.3 ( <i>SBI</i> 5560)	φλ(αίου) κομέτου υἱοῦ χαήλ διοικ(ητοῦ) κάστρου μεμνω(νίου)	Dating clause
2.4	<i>P.KRU</i> 12.3	αργαμα γιογ ερ(ο)α εγκλη(εστατω) αμिरα πολισ ρμω[NT]	Dating clause
2.5	<i>P.KRU</i> 12.4	χαηλ διηκαιτ(ης) καστρον μιμνονιοιν	Dating clause
2.6	<i>P.KRU</i> 13.3-4	αργαμα γιογ ηρηδ εγκλ(εεστατογ) αμειρα ερμον\θ/(εως) πολισ καστρον μεμνομιον <sup>sic</sup> χημη	Dating clause
2.7	<i>P.KRU</i> 14.4-5 ( <i>SBI</i> 5563)	φλ(αίου) κωμέτου υἱοῦ χαήλ διοικητοῦ κάστρου μεμνωσίω\ου/	Dating clause
2.8	<i>P.KRU</i> 15.4 ( <i>SBI</i> 5564)	φλ(αίου) κομέτου υἱοῦ χαήλ διοικ\/(ητοῦ) κάστρ\ου/ μεμν\ω/(νίου)	Dating clause
2.9	<i>P.KRU</i> 41.4-5	φλ(αγιογ) κομετογ γιογ χαηλ διοικ(ητογ) καστρογ μεμν(ωνιογ)	Dating clause
2.10	<i>P.KRU</i> 50.3 ( <i>SBI</i> 5582)	φλαυίω σαάλ τῷ εὐκλ\ε/(εστάτω) ἀμίρ\α/ ἀπὸ διοσπτό\λ/(εως) ἔω(ς) λάτ\ω/(ν πόλεως) παγάρχη	Dating clause
2.11	<i>P.KRU</i> 65.98 ( <i>SBI</i> 5276A)	θεοδωρος cγν θεω γραμμ(α)\τ/(εγς) καστρογ μεμνονιων	Scribe
2.12	<i>P.KRU</i> 70.3-4	φλαγ(ιογ) ιωσηφ γ(ι)\ο/γ αβιε\α εγκ(λεεστατογ) αμिरα παγαρχιας ερμονθεως και τριων καστρο\γ/ και κοναδρολατων και καστρο\γ/ μεμνιων	Dating clause
2.13	<i>P.KRU</i> 70.4-5	κομες χαηλ διοικ(η)τ(ογ) καστρο\γ/ μεμνωσιων	Dating clause
2.14	<i>P.KRU</i> 89.58 ( <i>SBI</i> 5600)	ζαχαρίω\υ/ ἐλαχ(ίστου) μονόζον(ος) το\υ/ άγίο\υ/ μοναστηρί(ου) ἄββα πεσν\θ/(ίου) ὀρμ(ωμέ)ν(ου) κάστρ\ω/(ν) μεμνωσίω\ω/(ν)	Scribe
2.15	<i>P.KRU</i> 94.0 ( <i>SBI</i> 5604)	[κώμετος] υ[ί]οῦ χαήλ διοικ(ητοῦ) κάστρου μεμνώνου(sic)	Dating clause

2.16	<i>P.KRU</i> 106.5-6 ( <i>SBI</i> 5609)	ΜΑΜΕΤ ΔΜΙΡΑ ΕΥΚΛ(ΕΕΣΤΑΤΩ) ΔΜΙΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΓΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΕΡΜΟΝΘΕΟΣ	Dating clause
2.17	<i>P.Schutzbriefe</i> 28.1	ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ (ΚΑΙ) ΔΑΡΟΝ ΜΕΙΖ(ΩΤΕΡΟΙ) Κ(ΔΣΤΡΟΥ) Μ[ΕΜΝΩΝΙΟΥ??]	First party
2.18	<i>P.Schutzbriefe</i> 43.1	ΣΟΥΔΙ (ΚΑΙ) ΖΕΒΕΔΑΙ\Υ/ ΔΙΟΙΚ(ΗΤΑΙ) ΚΑΣΤΡ\Υ/ ΜΕΜΝΟΝ	First party
2.19	<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I Add. 26.3-5 ( <i>SBI</i> 3972)	ἄπα ζηκηλίω πρεσβ(υτέρω) (καὶ) προεστῶτ(ι) τοῦ ἱερ(οῦ) τόπου ἄπα ἡλία	Other
2.20	<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 678.1-3	ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ [ΕΛ]ΔΧ(ΙΣΤΟΝ) ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤ(ΗΝ) ΑΓΙΑΣ ΕΚΚΛ(ΗΣΙΑΣ) ΘΕΟΤΟΚΗΣ Τ(ΗΣ?) Φ(Ε)ΡΜΩΝΘ(ΕΩΣ)	First party
2.21	<i>P.CLT</i> 3.12	ἰωσήφ πατζουνου... (καὶ) καυκοῦ <sup>3</sup>	Other
2.22	<i>P.CLT</i> 3.13	θεοδώρ(ο)\υ/ ἄθαν(ασίου) ογ καυκοῦ	Other
2.23	<i>P.CLT</i> 3.14	μάρκου ταυρίν(ο)\υ/ ογ καυκοῦ	Other
2.24	<i>P.CLT</i> 4.28-29	ΚΑΛΑΠΗΣΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΙΝΟΥ\Θ/(ΙΟΣ) ΕΛ(Δ)\Χ/(ΙΣΤΟΥ) ΠΡΕΣΒ(ΥΤΕΡΟΥ) ΑΜΜΑ ΚΟΣΜΑ (ΚΑΙ) ΑΒΒΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ	Scribe

Table C.1. List of Greek location designators in Theban documentary texts

<sup>3</sup> καυκοῦ = ‘of the cup’, i.e. of the monastery of Apa Paul on the mountain of Jeme. Between this and the name is a short personal description. The same construction is used twice more on lines 13 and 14, but in these instances it differs, because the toponym comes before the description.

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