

**COPTIC DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE  
MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO  
AT BAWIT AND TITKOOH  
IN THE HERMOPOLITE NOME**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the interpretation of Coptic and Greek documents from the two Coptic monasteries founded by Apa Apollo at Bawit and Titkooh in the Hermopolite nome in Egypt. It uses Coptic and Greek sources to illustrate the workings of these monasteries in the VI-IXth Centuries C.E.

One hundred and six Coptic and two Greek documents are edited, twenty-one of which have been published previously. None of the documents is dated and all but a few are unprovenanced; they comprise legal texts, orders, tax demands, accounts, lists and letters which are currently in the possession of libraries, museums and private collections around the world.

Many of the documents mention a monastery of Apa Apollo which is, or may be, located in the Hermopolite nome; most of them are written by or addressed to monks from that institution. One of the main aims of the thesis is to ascertain which texts relate to the Bawit and which to the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo. The existence of other, unconnected Egyptian monasteries named after other Apollos complicates the process of identifying the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo. I include in the thesis texts which do not mention a monastery of Apa Apollo but which appear to be related to an Hermopolite one from external evidence, such as the circumstances of their acquisition, or from internal evidence, particularly linguistic, palaeographical, prosopographical, and toponomastic data.

One chapter examines documents concerned with the collection of *aparchê* chiefly by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo. Other chapters investigate documents which contain two epistolary formulae which I have identified as peculiar to documents relating to the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo: "I, brother (*pason*) NN am writing", and "Our father is the one who writes".

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### §1.0 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This thesis is concerned with VI-IXth C. Coptic and Greek documents from the two monasteries of Apa Apollo (Greek Abba Apollos) known to have been located in the Hermopolite nome. Both were situated to the south of el-Ashmunein (Coptic Shmoun), one at Bawit and the other at Titkooh (Greek Titkois) (see **Map 3** Titkooh, and to the north of this, Pmonasterion n-Apa-Apollo).

A number of unprovenanced texts mention a monastery of Apa Apollo without specifying its location. Since at least six monasteries with this name are known to have existed in Egypt (see §1.1), it is often difficult to ascertain which monastery is in question.<sup>1</sup> Even if a place of origin in the Hermopolite nome is suggested by internal data, the geographical proximity of the two Hermopolite monasteries makes them difficult to distinguish. Texts connected with the collection of *aparchê* analysed in this thesis show how an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo owned and controlled land in the Faiyum as well as in its own locality. This demonstrates the care that must be exercised when deciding upon which monastery is in question purely from analysis of geographical data.

Whereas the location of Titkooh is uncertain (see §3.4.1), vestiges of the monastery at Bawit have survived to the present day (see §3.3.1). The site was excavated at the turn of the century and it yielded securely provenanced epigraphic and papyrological material. This provides a much-needed benchmark against which the unprovenanced textual material can be measured. A number of ostraca and papyri known to have been discovered during excavations at Bawit have yet to be traced. One of the aims of this thesis is to further the reconstruction of the archive of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit.

In this thesis I have assembled a corpus of texts which can be assigned to the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo. Some of them explicitly mention the monastery's location; some contain place names or other internal evidence, including linguistic formulae, which suggests an Hermopolite context; and others can be included in the corpus because of the details of their acquisition. On the basis of this corpus, I suggest that certain features may be identified with either the Bawit or the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo.

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<sup>1</sup>See Gascou 1994 p. 179. This problem is illustrated by no. 49: its first editor, Wolfgang Brunsch, thought that it related to the Bala'izah monastery, but it was later assigned a provenance of Bawit by Martin Krause on the evidence of Hermopolite place names in the text. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that it cannot relate to the Titkooh monastery.

## §1.1 MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO IN EGYPT

There is at present evidence for six different monasteries named after Apa Apollo in the following places:<sup>1</sup> Aphrodito,<sup>2</sup> Bala'izah,<sup>3</sup> Bawit,<sup>4</sup> Titkooh,<sup>5</sup> Memphis,<sup>6</sup> and Jeme.<sup>7</sup> Whilst there is excavated textual material from the first three locations, there are no provenanced texts from the last three.

The Monastery of Apa Apollo at Memphis has not been included in any of the recent lists of monasteries of Apa Apollo and so a summary of the evidence for it is given here. It is recorded in the travel writings of a western traveller called Theodosius around 530 C.E. together with a Monastery of Jeremias which is presumably the one at Saqqara.<sup>8</sup> He describes the monastery of Apollo the hermit as being "religionis ... Romanorum" which presumably means that it was Melkite and therefore "orthodox", whereas the Jeremias monastery is "religionis Wandalorum (/Gandalorum)" which could mean that it was monophysite. One monastery is described as being for men and the other for women, but it is not stated which is which. In a VIIth C. Greek papyrus document for which a Memphite context has been determined (*CPR XIV 52*) a "holy Apa Apollo" is listed in l. 29 as a contributor of erica wood along with others, including a monastery of Serinos. The editor interprets it as a church, but it may perhaps refer to a monastery of Apa Apollo.

Scholars have assumed that a monastery of Apa Apollo was to be found at Oxyrhynchus because a monastery of this name was mentioned in one of the Greek Oxyrhynchus papyri (*P. Oxy. XVI 1913*).<sup>9</sup> This document, which may date to about 555 C.E., details the expenditure of an estate or estates belonging to the Apion family.<sup>10</sup> In line 8, a κοινὸβιον of Apa Apollo is recorded as receiving four hundred artabas of corn by the order of the estate-owner, who may be the consul Apion II. However nowhere in the text is a location at Oxyrhynchus specified for this monastery. In fact later in the same text (l. 58)

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<sup>1</sup>For the most recent discussion of this question and the relevant bibliography, see Gasco 1994 p. 179, and Krause 1988 pp. 113-120, 1990 pp. 205-207, and 1992 pp. 101-102. See *CKÄ* p. 1969 "Pma n-Apa- <A>pollo" for a monastery which cannot be assigned a specific location.

<sup>2</sup>See **Map 3** Ptoou n-Apa Apollos; *CKÄ* pp. 144 "Kôm Isqâw", 1331-1333, "Kloster des Apa Apollos", and 1658-1659 "Minyat Farut"; MacCoull 1993c for Coptic and Greek texts relating to this monastery. Evidence of contact between Aphrodito and Bawit is provided by an inscription from the Bawit monastery which mentions Psimanobet of  $\alpha\kappa\omega\omicron\gamma$  (= Aphrodito), see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 73 no. 128.

<sup>3</sup>See **Map 3** Pmonasterion n-Apa Apollo south of Ptoou n-Erebe; *CKÄ* pp. 686-691 "Dêr al-Balâ'iza".

<sup>4</sup>See **Map 3** Pmonasterion n-Apa Apollo north of Paploou; *CKÄ* pp. 643-653 "Dêr Anbâ Abullû".

<sup>5</sup>See **Map 3**; *CKÄ* pp. 2077-2080 "Ptoou n-Titkooh"; and MacCoull 1991 p. 209.

<sup>6</sup>See **Map 1**, Doresse 1952 pp. 392 n. 1 and 394 n. 4, and 1970 p. 26.

<sup>7</sup>See **Map 1** Thebes. This monastery is mentioned in two Coptic papyri belonging to the Coptic Museum, Cairo (letters nos. 3091 and 3431); see Robinson 1987a p. 50 and 1987b p. 68.

<sup>8</sup>These details are taken from Tobler and Molinier 1879 pp. 75-76 and 87 (I am indebted to David Jeffreys for this reference).

<sup>9</sup>See, exx. Hardy 1931 p. 159 index s.v. "Monasteries"; Wipszycka 1972 p. 81, Krause 1990 p. 205, and Thomas 1987 p. 99. This idea perhaps originated in Barison 1938 p. 77 no. VI.3, although she only states that "Il monastero si trova forse ad Oxyrhynchos". S. Timm does not mention the uncertainty of an Oxyrhynchite location in *CKÄ* p. 290 "al-Bahnasâ".

<sup>10</sup>For this family. see Gasco 1985 pp. 61-75; and Martindale 1992 pp. 96-99.

monks from Berku, a village in the Hermopolite nome, are allotted a donation of twenty artabas of corn. This suggests that the donations were not restricted to the Oxyrhynchite nome, and perhaps one of the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo should be considered as the *κοινόβιον* in l. 8.

It would not be unusual for a monastery with the reputation and importance of that of Apa Apollo at Bawit to be a recipient of gifts from patrons from outside its immediate area. Donations to the Metanoia monastery at Alexandria, for example, came from all over Egypt by imperial order.<sup>1</sup>

## §1.2 PREVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Following the preliminary remarks in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 reviews the sources of textual material which have been used for this thesis. Chapter 3 contains background information on the two known Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo and analyses various aspects of monastic life detailed in the texts presented mainly in Chapters 6 and 7. The geographical context of the texts is discussed in Chapter 4 and a directory of the monasteries and toponyms they contain is set out.

Editions of the texts are presented in Chapters 5-8. Chapter 5 analyses a number of unpublished texts which are concerned with the collection of *ἀπαρχή* and/or *pactum* for an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo and/or other monasteries. Chapter 6 contains a variety of other documents which relate to this monastery.

In the course of my examination of the collections which contained material mentioning an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, two epistolary formulae (analysed in Chapters 7 and 8) turned up with enough regularity to suggest that they might be related to such a monastery. Although such evidence can be easily overturned or reinforced by new finds of papyri, it is significant that neither of these formulae have been found in texts excavated at the two monasteries of Apa Apollo from which extensive documentation survives, Aphrodito and Bala'izah (see §1.1). The significance of documentary formulae is not fully understood, partly because the training of Coptic scribes has not received much scholarly attention but one might expect a certain amount of local variation.

A number of documents beginning with the formula  $\Delta\text{ΝΟΚ Π}\Delta\text{CΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙC}\Sigma\Delta\text{I}$  ("I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) NN, am writing") concern *ἀπαρχή* collection and are edited in Chapter 5; other documents with this formula are examined in Chapter 7. Most of them were written by monks of a monastery of Apollo, and some by monks from the Titkooh monastery.

Texts with the formula  $\text{ΠΕΝΕΙ}\Omega\text{T ΠΕΤC}\Sigma\Delta\text{I}$  ("Our father is the one who writes"), which are dealt with in Chapter 8, may be connected with the monastery of Apa Apollo at

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<sup>1</sup>See Hardy 1931 pp. 46-47; Johnson and West 1949 p. 69, and Gasco 1991a p. 1610.

Bawit. Because the link between texts with this formula and a monastery of Apa Apollo is not straightforward, they are analysed separately from the other texts in this thesis.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions arrived at in this thesis.

### §1.3 EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

Most of the documents edited in this thesis are unpublished,<sup>1</sup> but published Coptic texts of the VI-VIIIth C. which needed to be re-edited or reappraised alongside new related material have also been included. In these texts new readings are marked with a double underline.

The texts have been numbered sequentially from **1** to **108** (highlighted in **bold print**) for ease of reference within this thesis. Unless otherwise stated, the text referred to by the number in bold is the main text presented, e.g. P. Mich. 578 side (B) is **no. 62**, and if P. Mich. 578 (A) is intended this is explicitly stated as **no. 62** side (A).

Each text is given its publication reference (if applicable) followed by its current inventory number and any previous numbers, e.g. **no. 72** is *KSB I 291, P. Laur. III/905*, and was formerly P. Pintaudi Copt. inv. no. 1.

Dimensions given are the maximum, unless otherwise stated, and the height measurement precedes the width. Each text has been assigned an apparatus (apart from **no. 49** which has two) to demonstrate the standard Sahidic Coptic or Greek forms of words in the text, together with the complete form of abbreviated words. Linguistic forms of special interest are discussed in a separate section. See §1.4 for the dialect of the texts.

Greek and Latin words occurring in Coptic texts are given their dictionary reference form in the translation; when a Latin word has been hellenized before being borrowed into Coptic, its Greek form is given (e.g. *τρυμήσιον* is given for *TPIMHCION* rather than *tremissis*).

Certain personal names, such as Joseph, Jeremias and Victor, are rendered in their familiar English form rather than transliterated faithfully from their Coptic form (Ioseph, Ieremias, and Biktör respectively). The translation of Coptic place names has been given special attention, with long vowels represented by a circumflex and Coptic Ⲅ by ⲅ, and ⲱ by ⲡ (e.g. Tnočšnê). Exceptions include the standard forms of Shmoun and Antinoe which are used instead of Šmoun and Antinoou.

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<sup>1</sup>The present location of a few of these is unknown: one Coptic text, **no. 58**, is only known to me from a transcription of it included in a letter addressed to Professor James Drescher by Paul Kahle Jr; for other manuscripts which have only been available to me in transcription, see §§2.6 and 2.7. Note that Paul Kahle Jr is usually referred to by his surname alone in this thesis, and is not to be confused with his father of the same name.

## §1.4 THE DIALECT OF THE DOCUMENTS

Many of the documents exhibit dialectal variants from standard Sahidic which are found in other Coptic texts from the region of el-Ashmunein.<sup>1</sup> These include:

schwa represented by ε (exx. ΤΕΝ- for ΤḲ-, ΝΕΜΔϣ for ΝḲΜΔϣ);

ε added (often in second person plural prefixes. exx. ΠΕΤΝΕ- for ΠΕΤḲ- "your", and ḲΤΕΤΝΕ- for ḲΤΕΤḲ- Conjunctive verbal prefix);

ε omitted, especially before another ε (e.g. ϣΕ ΠΕΙΔΗ for ϣΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ);

Initial Ν omitted, especially in the Conjunctive and First Future and Negative Future verbal prefixes;

Ν not assimilated to Μ before a labial;

ε for η (exx. ΜΕΤ- for ΜḲΤ- and ΜΕΤΡΕ for ΜḲΤΡΕ);

λ for ρ;

ϑ for ϙ;

ΚΔΙ- for ΚΕ- "other";

ΡΩΜ- for ΡḲ- "man of";

ΤΝΟΥ- for ΤḲḲΟΥ- "send";

and in Greek words, the ending -Ḳ for -ΙΟΝ (e.g. ΠΕΤΤΔΓḲ for πιττάκιον).

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<sup>1</sup>Apart from brief comments in Vycichl 1959 pp. 137-138 and the entries for texts from this area given in *Bal.* ch. 8, a study of the dialect of these documents has yet to be produced.

## CHAPTER 2

# THE TEXTUAL MATERIAL

### §2.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL MATERIAL

The texts presented in this thesis come from numerous collections. The majority, however, are from eight main sources and these are reviewed below in order to demonstrate how *aparchê* collection documents and texts beginning with the  $\Delta\text{NOK}$   $\Pi\Delta\text{CON NN EICZ}\Delta\text{I}$  or  $\Pi\text{ENEI}\omega\text{T PETCZ}\Delta\text{I}$  formulae are linked with documents relating to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Some of these sources, such as §§2.1 and 2.5, undoubtedly contain other manuscripts which relate to the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo but which have not been discussed in this thesis.

### §2.1 BRITISH LIBRARY ORIENTAL INVENTORY NUMBER 6201 (ABBREVIATION BL OR. 6201)

In 1903 the British Museum (BM) acquired a large number of papyrus and parchment manuscripts mainly written in Coptic which are now designated as British Library Oriental (BL Or.) 6201-6236.<sup>1</sup> They were acquired by Sir E.A.W. Budge and their payment was negotiated by the Reverend Chauncey Murch (1856-1907).<sup>2</sup>

Although it is recorded that all of the manuscripts originated from el-Ashmunein,<sup>3</sup> two dozen of them proved to be Coptic papyri from Aphrodito (BL Or. 6205, 6207-6230, many of which were published in *P. Lond.* IV). A provenance in the Hermopolite nome is suggested for many papyri by internal evidence.<sup>4</sup> One of the manuscripts (BL Or. 6201 A55b) was thought by Crum to be part of *Ryl.* 159.<sup>5</sup>

In the monthly and annual progress reports which cover the period when these manuscripts were acquired, a section entitled "List of the more important Oriental

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Ewing Crum recorded that these manuscripts were acquired for the Museum in May 1903, see Crum notebook group 5 no. 5 in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. The British Library accession catalogue records the date of accession of these manuscripts as 1901, but an annotation mentions that they were purchased in 1903.

<sup>2</sup>See *WWEG*.<sup>3</sup> p. 302. According to an annotation in the BL accession catalogue for 1903, the following items are also accredited to the Reverend Murch: BL Or. 5987 ff. (probably to be interpreted as BL Or. 5987-6176, a collection of "miscellaneous Coptic and Arabic fragments", including BL Or. 6049, no. 40); and additional Coptic papyrus fragments (beginning at BL Or. "6230(7) etc."). An Arabic papyrus sale document involving Muhammed b. Hashim al-Sakami possibly dated to A.H. 274 (BL Or. 6848); and a Pahlavi papyrus fragment (BL Or. 6849) are also attributed to him and were accessioned in 1908.

<sup>3</sup>See also Crum 1919 p. 207.

<sup>4</sup>Krause (1958 p. 229) made the generalisation that all of the manuscripts come from Hermopolis, or at least the Hermopolite nome, but this view is discredited by the fact that at least one papyrus (BL Or. 6201B 271) appears to be from Aphrodito; and that two texts (BL Or. 6201B 46 and 58) are noted in *Bal.* pp. 69 §21 and 75 §34 as having dialectal features pertaining to the region from Assiut to Abydos, particularly Bala'izah, Wadi Sarga and Aphrodito.

<sup>5</sup>This is suggested on a note in Crum's handwriting appended to the manuscript.

manuscripts acquired during the year 1903" lists the following under the heading of Coptic manuscripts: "A large collection of (a) 43 Coptic rolls or portions of rolls, five of which are complete legal documents of unusual length and of considerable importance, each dated (VII<sup>th</sup>, VIII<sup>th</sup> and IX<sup>th</sup> centuries): (b) fragments equivalent to 5 more rolls; (c) 225 sheets containing smaller documents or fragments; (d) one Arabic roll; and (e) 16 sheets of Arabic fragments".

### **§2.1.1 BL OR. INV. NOS 6201, 6202, 6203, 6204 AND 6206**

The description of "five ... complete legal documents" from section (a) matches BL Or. inv. nos 6201, 6202, 6203, 6204 and 6206,<sup>1</sup> five Coptic legal documents dated to the mid-IX<sup>th</sup> C. which record property transfers involving monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo. They were edited by Martin Krause in the 1950s,<sup>2</sup> and he assumed that they came from Bawit because two of the texts describe the monastery as being situated to the south of Shmoun.<sup>3</sup> Although both Bawit and Titkooh fit this description, Bawit was located more immediately to the south of Shmoun and so appears to be the more likely of the two monasteries in question in these texts.

### **§2.1.2 BL OR. INV. NOS. 6201 A AND B**

The fragments described in section (c), and possibly also section (b), of the annual report may be identified as the Coptic papyri designated as BL Or. 6201 A and B. These number several hundred fragments, and are referred to for convenience in this thesis as the "BL Or. 6201 series".<sup>4</sup> They should be distinguished from the single manuscript BL Or. 6201 mentioned above.

Most of the manuscripts are documents, chiefly letters. Both Walter Ewing Crum,<sup>5</sup> and Paul Kahle Jr,<sup>6</sup> examined this series, but only three papyri from it were ever

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<sup>1</sup>Note that Krause 1985b nn. 18 and 82 should have 6204 for 6205.

<sup>2</sup>For the announcement of the forthcoming publication of his unpublished dissertation, Krause 1958, see Krause 1993 p. 82 + n. 31 (where he gives the inv. no. BM Or. rather than BL Or.); the transcriptions and translations of these texts recently published by MacCoull 1994a contain errors.

<sup>3</sup>See, *exx.*, Krause 1985a p. 126 and n. 59, 1990 p. 207, and 1993 p. 91 + n. 75; this assumption is followed in a number of places including Severin 1991 p. 364 and MacCoull 1987a p. 63 (note that only four manuscripts are mentioned here) and 1994a p. 141.

<sup>4</sup>The small number of manuscripts numbered BL Or. 6201C are mainly literary, and need not be grouped with this series. A Manichaean Syriac parchment fragment, BL Or. 6201 C1, was described in Crum 1919, and Herbert Thompson made notes on BL Or. 6201 B and C manuscripts (Oriental Studies Faculty Library, Cambridge University box O.3 no. 2/24 and box O.5 no. 1/25). Recently a box of uninventoried Coptic and Arabic papyrus fragments has been discovered at the BL; the Arabic manuscripts may be the items mentioned in the annual report section (e) quoted above at §2.1. I have looked through these fragments briefly but did not find any items which needed to be included in this thesis.

<sup>5</sup>Crum's interest in many of the texts from this series is demonstrated by the large number of references he makes to them in his dictionary. Only a small number of his transcriptions of these texts survive in notebook 81 in the Crum archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford. This contains transcriptions of BL Or. 6201 A2, 21, 38, 55, 57, 63, 72, 101, 168, and B28, as well as notes on personal and topographical names in other texts from this collection.

<sup>6</sup>Kahle mentioned his copies of these texts in *Bal.* p. 50 and, in a letter (now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) from him to A.S. Fulton (at that time the Keeper of the Department of Oriental printed books

published.<sup>1</sup> Kahle, and later Krause, considered some of the texts to be from Bawit. In *Bal.* p. 18 n. 4, Kahle mentioned that he was hoping to publish "a considerable number of documents in the British Museum" from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>2</sup> Whether he was acting on information not now available to me I do not know, but, of the eighteen documents from the BL Or. 6201 series edited in this thesis, only eight actually mention a monastery of Apa Apollo, and one of these specifies its location at Titkooh (**no. 1**).<sup>3</sup> Nowhere in this series is the place name Bawit associated with a monastery of Apa Apollo. It seems unlikely that it was the Lansing papyri in the BM (see §2.8) which Kahle was describing in *Bal.* p. 18 n. 4, because, although at least two of them may come from the Bawit monastery, this collection of twenty-six papyri hardly constitutes "a considerable number".

According to Crum, the ages of the manuscripts from the BL Or. 6201 series "vary greatly; some of the parchment uncials should belong to the 5th or 6th, others and some of the papyri to the 9th or 10th. The large majority of the latter are, however, of the 7th and 8th century".<sup>4</sup>

As already mentioned above, this series contains one text which mentions a monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh (**no. 1**);<sup>5</sup> and four or five texts which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo (**nos. 3, 16 text 2, 23, 26** and possibly **17**); six texts are concerned with *aparchê* collection (**nos. 1-3, 12, 16** and **17**); three bear the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙC 2ΔΙ formula (**nos. 2, 3** and **16 text 2**),<sup>6</sup> and ten the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤC2ΔΙ formula (**nos. 69, 70, 71, 80, 86, 88, 95, 101, 102** and **103**). There are also at least a dozen short documents which are signed by a certain Georgios who may be identified with the signatory of three of these ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤC2ΔΙ formula texts.

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and manuscripts at the British Museum) dated 11/3/1952, he mentions that he wishes to quote unpublished papyri from this series. In another letter dated 24/4/1954 (also in the Griffith Institute) he requests three boxes of papyri from this series from the clerk in charge of Oriental books and manuscripts at the British Museum. Six notebooks containing Kahle's transcriptions of papyri from this series are listed as item "27" in the accession list of the Kahle archive in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, but they appear not to have reached the Institute along with his other papers, and their whereabouts are now unknown. It has been suggested by Dilwyn Jones (personal communication 9/3/1992) that Kahle's notebooks were given to a German colleague. Professor Martin Krause, who corresponded with Kahle on the subject of these papyri and was given copies of Kahle's transcriptions of the CMAA Green Collection papyri (Krause 1958 AIII §3), see §2.6, has no knowledge of their whereabouts (personal communication 2/2/1992).

<sup>1</sup>Kahle published BL Or. 6201 A27, 29 and B191 in 1951, but died a few years later. The large number of references he made to papyri from this series in *Bal.*, particularly in the analysis of literary and non-literary dialectal usages in Chapter 8, bears witness to the interest he had in it.

<sup>2</sup>Steinwenter 1955 p. 5 n. 5 mentions Kahle's forthcoming work on Bawit texts.

<sup>3</sup>Krause (1985b p. 146 n. 18) states that this text (BL Or. 6201 B219), along with BL Or. 6201 B29 (**no. 16**), 216 (**no. 26**), 230 (**no. 23**) and 268 (**no. 3**) relate to the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo; previously (Krause 1958 AIII §3) he also attributed BL Or. 6201B 30 + 39 and 184 to this monastery, despite the fact that neither of them refer to it in any way.

<sup>4</sup>Crum 1919 p. 207.

<sup>5</sup>Another text (BL Or. 6201B 218) mentions the place name Titkooh.

<sup>6</sup>This formula may be restored in BL Or. 6201 B242, an unpublished fragmentary legal document which begins ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΙΝ.

This collection contains a number of other texts which undoubtedly relate to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>1</sup>

## §2.2 THE MICHAELIDES COLLECTION IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AND THE BRITISH LIBRARY

(ABBREVIATION CUL MICHAEL. AND BL OR. 13886.-)

In May and October 1977, Cambridge University Library acquired part of the manuscript collection of George Michaelides,<sup>2</sup> comprising texts written in Hieratic, demotic, Coptic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. In 1976 and 1979 the British Library acquired demotic, Coptic, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts from the same source.<sup>3</sup>

Two texts mention Titkooh (no. 54 and CUL Michael. 815/2), one of which also mentions a monastery of Apa Anoup and possibly Bawit (CUL Michael. 815/2). Three mention a monastery of Apa Apollo (nos. 5, 33 and 51),<sup>4</sup> and a tax demand specifies it as being to the south of Shmoun (no. 33).<sup>5</sup> One text may be a guarantee for *aparchê* collection (no. 5). Four papyri begin with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula (nos. 5, 51, 54 and 57),<sup>6</sup> and five with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula (nos. 73, 78, 82, 87 and 99). One related document begins with ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΒCΖΔΕΙ (no. 83). An unpublished CUL parchment fragment may mention the Apollo whose cult is celebrated at Bawit and Titkooh, see §3.2.1.

Two unpublished manuscripts from this collection mention a man, Mouses of Tbersê, who also occurs in no. 65 (see §2.6).

## §2.3 PAPYRI FROM THE BEINECKE LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

(ABBREVIATION P. CTYBR)

### §2.3.1 1964 ACQUISITION

In 1964, Edwin John Beinecke financed the acquisition of the following manuscripts by the Beinecke Library of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, from

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<sup>1</sup>E.g. BL Or. 6201 B133 which expresses the wish that ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΒΕΤΝΟΥ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝCΜΟΥ ΝΔΝ "may Apa Apollo send us a great blessing".

<sup>2</sup>See *WWWEg*<sup>3</sup> p. 286.

<sup>3</sup>See Clackson 1993a for a brief summary of some of the Coptic texts from this collection, and 1994 for further details of manuscripts in other languages.

<sup>4</sup>Neither of these can be identified with the XIth C. Michaelides Coptic manuscript described in Drescher 1960 and *CKÄ* p. 2736 "Topos des Apa Apollo".

<sup>5</sup>This is written by the same scribe as another tax demand issued to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun, no. 31. For the possibility that it comes from Bawit, see §2.8.

<sup>6</sup>CUL Michael. Q110/3 may also have begun with this formula (if ΕΙCΖΔΙ is to be restored).

Hans P. Kraus of New York: P. CtYBR inv. 1739-1878, 2248-2268 and 2896-2943.<sup>1</sup> From this lot, four Coptic papyri contain the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula (nos. 66 (this may be associated with no. 68, see below in this section), 74 and 104, and P. CtYBR inv. 1824). One mentions a monastery of Apa Apollo (no. 36). P. CtYBR inv. 1855 mentions the ΖΟΟΥ ΝΔΠΔ Δ[Π]ΟΧΧΩ "day of Apa Apollo".<sup>2</sup> P. CtYBR inv. 1756 is a Greek poll-tax receipt written by the same scribe and agreed to by the same assentors as a Greek papyrus, P. Louvre E27615, which was donated to the Louvre by Jean Clédat along with no. 68, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula text.<sup>3</sup> A provenance of Bawit is a possibility for both of them, and consequently also for P. CtYBR inv. 1756.<sup>4</sup>

Two papyri from this collection mention the title ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΔΥΗΤ "the father of the monastery", which could be interpreted as "the father of Bawit": P. CtYBR 1827 (which is unpublished and may be written in the same hand as P. CtYBR 1829 (= *P. Yale copt.* no. 13)), and 1845 qua (= Petersen [1964] no. 107).<sup>5</sup>

### §2.3.2 1965 ACQUISITION

In early 1965 Alan Edouard Samuel (funded by Edwin John Beinecke) purchased from a dealer in Cairo a lot containing P. CtYBR inv. 1879-2057, 2355-2584 and 2761-2886. No. 91 begins with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula, and another papyrus, P. CtYBR inv. 1942, mentions ΔΠΟ]ΧΧΩ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ which could be interpreted as "[the monastery of Apa Apo]llo on the mount ..." (see §3.4.3 for this description of the Titkooh monastery).

### §2.3.3 1966 ACQUISITION

In 1966, Hans P. Kraus donated the following manuscripts to the library: P. CtYBR inv. 2080-2124 and 2343-2353, of which no. 100 contains both a text which begins with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula, and a document issued by the *dikaion* (see §3.13) of a monastery of Apa Apollo. No. 35 was issued by a monk of Apa Apollo.

<sup>1</sup>I am most grateful to Stephen Emmel for providing me with a copy of his unpublished *Papyrus Collection Catalog Introduction* (draft July 20, 1989) which is the source of all of the information in §2.3.

<sup>2</sup>This was not read in the *ed. pr.*, see *P. Yale copt.* no. 19, and the plate accompanying the description of this text in Petersen [1964] no. 117.

<sup>3</sup>See Boud'hors 1995 pp. 29-32.

<sup>4</sup>This is edited with a plate in Packman 1975 pp. 16-18.

<sup>5</sup>P. CtYBR inv. 2334, which was purchased in New York from Hans P. Kraus in April 1965, also contains this title.

## §2.4 OSLO/LONDON: THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION (HERE ABBREVIATED TO P. SCHØYEN)

### §2.4.1 P. Schøyen 89/-

Papyri from the collection of Martin Schøyen in Oslo and London with an inventory number beginning 89/- were acquired, through Sam Fogg of London, from the dealer H.P. Kraus of New York in June 1989.<sup>1</sup> Before this they were in the possession of E.J. Brill of Leiden who bought them from an unnamed Austrian collector. This person may possibly be identified as Erik von Scherling (see §2.7), in whose collection there were two texts from a monastery of Apa Apollo. A provenance of Deir el-Bala'izah is recorded for these manuscripts in the Schøyen Western Manuscripts Collection short description catalogue.

Three of the Coptic papyri from this collection mention a monastery of Apa Apollo (nos. 10, 18 and 50); two are concerned with *aparchê* collection (nos. 9 and 10) and two begin with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON NN ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula (nos. 50 and 56).

Two texts which are not edited in this thesis are also relevant: P.Schøyen 89/06 mentions ΔΠΔ Δ]ΠΟΛΛΩ ΔΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΔΠΔ ΦΙΘ ΝΕΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΙΟΤΕ · ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ "Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib the holy fathers", see §3.2; and P. Schøyen 89/05, an unpublished Greek papyrus, mentions Titkois.

### §2.4.2 P. Schøyen 1579/1 texts 1-3

P. Schøyen 1579/1 has the appearance of one manuscript but in fact contains three separate, but related, manuscripts written in different hands (nos. 6-8).<sup>2</sup> They were bought in August 1992 by Martin Schøyen from Maggs Brothers of London, in whose possession they may have been since the 1930s. They originally belonged to Erik von Scherling (see §2.7) and bore the number "C20". One of the fragments may possibly be identified with the item no. "20" recorded in notebook 109 of the Crum archive in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, see §2.7. The place name ΤΙΤΚΟΖΕ was recorded in Crum's transcription of one of these texts but it is not now legible on any of the three manuscripts comprising P. Schøyen 1579/1. No. 7 mentions a monastery of Apa Apollo; and nos. 6-8 may all be concerned with *aparchê* collection.

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<sup>1</sup>I am most grateful to Dr Mark Smith, who examined some of the papyri from this collection, for informing me about this material.

<sup>2</sup>These three manuscripts are edited in this thesis despite the fact that their legibility would be greatly improved by being separated and conserved. I am grateful to Professor Martin Krause for giving me his copy of a photograph of these fragments, and to Dr Antony Alcock, the original owner of the photograph, for informing me about its existence.

## §2.5 COPTIC PAPYRI TO BE SOLD BY CHRISTIE'S (HERE ABBREVIATED TO CHRISTIE'S)

These papyri are all from one collection and were deposited for sale at the London auction house Christie's in the 1970s.<sup>1</sup> Most remain unsold.<sup>2</sup> The collection consists of several hundred papyrus and parchment fragments which are unmounted and consequently very fragile. No details are available at present which might give a clue to their provenance and it is not known whether they constitute an archive from one find spot or are the result of years of collecting from various sources. My impression of the fragments is that a large number of them may be interrelated in some way. All are unnumbered and have been assigned temporary numbers (enclosed in quotation marks) in this thesis for convenience of reference.

Six of these papyri mention a monastery of Apollo (nos. 22, 25 and 42-45); a couple mention Titkooh (no. 61 and Christie's "17"), and six mention *aparchê* collection or contain the **Agreement** clause discussed in §5.5 (nos. 11, 13-15 and 19 and Christie's "22"). Twelve texts begin with the formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ (nos. 75, 77, 84-85, 89, 93-94, 98 and 105-108) and four or five with ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ (nos. 15, 52, 55, 60 and 61(?)).<sup>3</sup> One fragment may mention a Monastery of Apa Anoup (ΜΔ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ), see §4.1.

## §2.6 GREEN COLLECTION, MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY (HERE ABBREVIATED TO CMAA GREEN)

Texts from this collection are only known to me through the transcriptions recorded in notebook 24 of the P.E. Kahle Jr papers in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Cambridge University was bequeathed about thirty Coptic papyri by Frank W. Green who died in 1949. No details of provenance were recorded and the whereabouts of these manuscripts is now unknown. They were transcribed by Paul Kahle Jr between 1949 and 1955 in the house of Prof. J.M. Plumley in Cambridge, and are referred to in Krause 1958 AIII §3. All of these texts are unnumbered and have been assigned temporary numbers (enclosed in inverted commas) for ease of reference in this thesis.

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<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful to the directors of Christie's for allowing me to examine this collection, and to Christine Insley Green, consultant in the Antiquities Department, for her co-operation and assistance. I am also indebted to Professor John Tait for suggesting that I examine these manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Fifteen folders containing unmounted fragments were sold in 1978 (see Christie's 1978 p. 37 nos. 253-255) to a buyer whose identity was not recorded. No record was kept of other manuscripts from this collection which may have been sold. Pernigotti 1985 p. 104 notes that Tito Orlandi saw a manuscript which mentioned Titkohe (sic) on sale in London in September 1979; Christine Insley Green informs me that no Christie's catalogue of antiquities from this time features this collection.

<sup>3</sup> Two small fragments, temporarily numbered Christie's "13" and "14", partially preserve this formula.

Three texts mention a monastery of Apa Apollo (**nos. 30, 41 and 53**), one of which begins with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔϞΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϞϞΔΙ formula (**no. 53**). Three texts begin with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϞϞΔΙ formula (**nos. 65, 67 and 90**). CMAA Green "24" ll. 12-15 could refer to the monasteries of Apa Jeremias and Apa Apollo; for links between these monasteries, see the entry for the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at §4.1.

**No. 65** mentions a certain ΜΩΥϞΗϞ ΠΔΤΘΕΡΩΗ "Moses of Tbersê" who also occurs in two unpublished Coptic papyri, CUL Michael. 1047/1 and 1233 (see §2.2).

## §2.7 PAPYRI FORMERLY BELONGING TO ERIK VON SCHERLING (HERE ABBREVIATED TO "EX-VON SCHERLING")

Some manuscripts acquired in the Faiyum by an Austrian collector, Erik von Scherling, were sent to Walter Ewing Crum by Maggs Brothers of London on December 23rd, 1937. He described and partially transcribed some of them and suggested a provenance for them of the region around Assiut, probably Wadi Sarga,<sup>1</sup> based on place names and other internal evidence. His comments and transcriptions are now to be found in notebook 109 of Crum's papers in the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

Maggs Brothers were unable to sell the manuscripts and they were returned to their owner. Later some von Scherling manuscripts were acquired by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden,<sup>2</sup> and others by the Beinecke Library of Yale University (see §2.3).

**No. 59** mentions the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooch and contains the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔϞΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϞϞΔΙ formula. **No. 24** is written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo, and **no. 4** mentions *aparchê* collection. The present whereabouts of these three manuscripts is not known. Two of the documents from this collection which mentioned a monastery of Apa Apollo were attributed to the Bala'izah monastery by P.E. Kahle Jr.<sup>3</sup> This assignment, however, is disproved by the specification of the Titkooch monastery in **no. 59**.

"Ex-von Scherling 70" mentions the place name ΠΜΔΝϞΔΝΔϞ "the place of Canah" which also occurs in a papyrus from another collection, **no. 77**, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϞϞΔΙ formula text (see §2.5).

**Nos. 6-8** (see §2.4) originally belonged to the von Scherling Collection. **No. 7** may possibly be identified with **no. 59**, in which case my readings differ substantially from those of Crum.

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<sup>1</sup>See *Bal.* p. 15 + n. 5 where Kahle mentions that Crum believed that the papyri came from the immediate neighbourhood of Bala'izah; in fact, Crum crossed out "Bala'izah" in notebook 109 and added "Wadi Sarga" instead.

<sup>2</sup>See *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV p. 5. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. H.D. Schneider, curator in the Egyptian Department of this museum for information regarding these papyri, and for checking to see whether **nos. 4, 24 or 59** had been acquired by the museum.

<sup>3</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 15 + n. 5, and 27.

## §2.8 BRITISH MUSEUM POPYRI FORMERLY BELONGING TO AMBROSE LANSING

On the recommendation of Le Page Renouf, the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum acquired a number of Coptic papyri (now BM EA 10128-10142 and 10453-10462) in 1887 from the Reverend Ambrose Lansing (1825-1892). According to the Department's records they were discovered in some tombs in the hills behind Assiut.<sup>1</sup> These are referred to collectively as "the Lansing Collection" in this thesis.

None of the papyri have been published although Paul Kahle Jr planned to publish some of them. Unfortunately his notes on them are not now to be found in the Kahle archive stored at the Griffith Institute, Oxford. In *Bal.* p. 538 he stated that five of the papyri were "issued apparently by the same person and written by the same scribe from Bawit (about A.D. 725)", although he did not give their inventory numbers. This provenance was no doubt based on the fact that two tax demands from this collection (**nos. 31 and 32**) mention a Monastery of Apollo, one specifying that it was "to the south of Shmoun". However, a Bawit provenance is supported by the fact that **no. 38** (written on the back of **no. 32**) may have been written in the same hand as a papyrus excavated at Bawit, now in the Louvre (see **no. 38** for details).

Bawit is a likely provenance for a tax demand from another collection, **no. 33**, which bears many similarities with **no. 31** from the Lansing Collection. There are four further unpublished tax demands in the Lansing collection: BM EA 10128(A), 10136(B), 10454(A), and 10462(A). Two of these begin with the NN πϥϫϩⲁⲓ formula (BM EA 10136(B) and 10462(A)); the other two are incomplete.

Two documents (**nos. 38 and 39**, written on the back of **nos. 32 and 31** respectively) belong to a series of twelve unpublished wine accounts and receipts from the Lansing Collection in the BM, ten (possibly eleven) of which have been issued by someone called Enoch (BM EA inv. 10128(B), 10130, 10132, 10140(B), 10453, 10456, 10457, 10459, and possibly 10454(B)). This series is discussed at §3.11.

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<sup>1</sup>In BM EA Department volume 4,14 nos. 87-5-14.1-26. For Coptic inhabitants of the necropolis at Assiut, see Edwards 1878 p. 105; Palanque 1903 esp. pp. 119 and 126; note the inscription on p. 127 in which the Bawit triad of Apollo, Anoup and Phib is invoked.

## CHAPTER 3

# HERMOPOLITE MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO

### §3.1 HISTORICAL FIGURES NAMED APA APOLLO

A number of Coptic historical figures have the name Apollo, at least three of whom founded monasteries.<sup>1</sup> There has been speculation as to whether the Apollo who founded a monastery at Bawit can be identified with the Apollo who founded an eponymous monastery at Titkooh.<sup>2</sup> Whether the monasteries of Apa Apollo at Bawit and Titkooh were founded by the same man or not, they both focus on the same Apollo. For the cult of Apa Apollo who forms a triad along with Anoup and Phib, see §3.2.2.

### §3.2 APA APOLLO OF BAWIT AND TITKOOH

#### §3.2.1 LITERARY SOURCES FOR HIS LIFE

Literary sources provide details of Apa Apollo of Titkooh (see below), and of an Apa Apollo who lived in the IVth C and founded a monastery in the Hermopolite nome.<sup>3</sup> The latter is generally identified as Apollo of Bawit but in none of the sources is this place specified.<sup>4</sup>

According to chapter eight of the *Historia Monachorum (HM)*, Apollo left for the desert at the age of fifteen and spent forty years there; at about the age of eighty, he began to arrange his disciples so that their hermitages were grouped to form a community.<sup>5</sup>

A contrasting account of the early life of Apa Apollo of Titkooh is given in an Arabic version and some fragments of a Coptic version of the *Life of Phib*.<sup>6</sup> These record that Apollo had a spiritual brother called Petra who left him to become monk; when Apollo grew up he went to become a monk with him, and dedicated himself to an anchoritic life. Phib came to Apollo to become a monk with him, and all three lived together for five (the Arabic version has "fifteen") years. Then Petra took Apollo and Phib to the monastery

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<sup>1</sup>See Torp 1965 pp. 154-156; Krause and Wessel 1966 coll. 572-573; and *Bal.* pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup>For a résumé of the discussion of this thesis, which is most fully expounded in Coquin 1977, see Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 300-301 "ΤΙΤΚΩΙΣ" Baulig 1984 pp. 144-146 argues that they are two different men in opposition to, most recently, Coquin and Martin 1991c p. 362 and Coquin [1993] p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>There is no evidence to support the statement that he died in 395 C.E. recorded in Clédat 1910 col. 207.

<sup>4</sup>See Coquin and Martin 1991c p. 362. Coquin 1977 analyses the literary sources in more detail and gives the most complete bibliography on this subject.

<sup>5</sup>*HM* text pp. 46-71, translation pp. 46-63.

<sup>6</sup>See Coquin 1977 pp. 435 and 437. The Coptic fragments are BL Or. 7561, see Layton 1987 no. 137. Transcriptions made by A. Des Rivières of a Coptic manuscript of this work in the Bayerische Hofbibliothek (now Staatsbibliothek), Ms. copt. 3, no. 128 (erroneously cited as 127 in Krause and Wessel 1966 col. 572), have been noted as missing since 1970 according to Dr H. Hauke, to whom I am grateful for this information.

called Titkooh, and returned himself to live in solitude.<sup>1</sup> Phib is depicted alongside Apollo and a monk called Anoup in paintings discovered at Bawit during the excavations (see §§3.2.2 and 3.3.1).<sup>2</sup>

In the main Coptic version of the *Life of Phib*,<sup>3</sup> in which Apollo, Phib and Papohe are described as wandering about the mountains like savage beasts,<sup>4</sup> Apollo is said to have founded another monastery apart from Titkooh, but its location is not specified. It is possible that this was the Bawit monastery. According to the *HM* and the *Life of Paul of Tammah* the Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo they describe was an Antonian-type laura.<sup>5</sup> The success of this monastery within Apollo's lifetime is attested in the *HL* which states that before his death, the monastery had five hundred monks.<sup>6</sup>

The *Historia Lausiaca* (*HL*) and *HM* mention that an Apollo lodged in a tomb on the mountain near to where the Holy Family took refuge in Egypt.<sup>7</sup> A monastery called Deir el-Muharraq (also known as Deir el-Hadra, and the Monastery of the Abyssinians) was later built on this site.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that this monastery is positioned just south of a "Monast(ery) of Abbott Apollo" on a map of Egypt produced in the mid-XVIIIth C.<sup>9</sup> This is itself slightly to the south of the area in which the Titkooh monastery is thought to have been (see §3.4.1).<sup>10</sup>

Apollo is given the epithets  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \text{N}\delta\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  "friend of (the) angels",  $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\Gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \text{N}\delta\text{P}\chi\delta\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  "the holy archangel", and  $\text{Z}\iota\epsilon\epsilon\ \text{N}\text{N}\epsilon\text{N}\delta\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  "equal to the angels".<sup>11</sup> An unpublished parchment fragment (CUL Michael. Q120, see §2.2) mentions [ $\text{P}\epsilon\text{N}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{N}\text{I}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \delta\text{P}\delta\ \delta\text{P}\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\ \text{P}\delta\text{I}\ \epsilon\varphi\omicron\ \text{N}\omicron\Upsilon\delta\ \text{N}\omicron\Upsilon\omega\tau\ \text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\ \text{P}\text{N}\omicron\Upsilon\Upsilon\text{I}\text{T}\epsilon\ \epsilon\varphi\omicron\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{Z}\Upsilon\text{C}\omicron\omicron$  (sic)  $\Upsilon\text{N}\text{I}[\text{N}\delta\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  "Our lord and father Apa Apollo, the one who is one with God and equal ( $\text{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ) to the angels".<sup>12</sup>

In the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* he is commemorated on the day of his death (5th Mecheir);<sup>13</sup> on the day of his friend Phib's death (25th Phaophi);<sup>14</sup> and on the feast day of

<sup>1</sup>Coquin 1977 p. 437 attributes the discrepancy between this account and the one in the *HM* to the effects of oral transmission.

<sup>2</sup>See Clédat 1910 cols. 206-208.

<sup>3</sup>The text is edited in Orlandi and Campagnano 1975 pp. 20-37.

<sup>4</sup>Coquin [1993] pp. 16-17 classifies them as "errant monks" during this episode.

<sup>5</sup>See Coquin and Martin 1991c p. 363.

<sup>6</sup> See Clédat 1910 col. 208.

<sup>7</sup>See Clédat 1910 col. 207, who pointed out that the only suitable place would have been five kilometres away in one of the tombs at Meir. A Coptic graffito in one of these tombs mentions Apollo, Anoup and Phib, see Clédat 1901 p. 87.

<sup>8</sup>See Coquin and Martin 1991b and *CKÄ* pp. 751-756 "Dêr al-Muharraq".

<sup>9</sup>D'Anville 1765.

<sup>10</sup>Doresse 1970 p. 28 associates the monastery of Apa Apollo marked on D'Anville's map with Bawit.

<sup>11</sup>See Coquin 1977 pp. 436-437; and Torp 1965 pp. 156-162, noting that *BM* no. 322 (BL Or. 3581 B(39)) which is cited on p. 159 n. 1 relates to another Apollo, Apollo of the Monastery of Isaac. This manuscript has been edited in Kuhn 1978 pp. 47-48 Appendix III.

<sup>12</sup>I am indebted to Professor Heinz Kuhn for his assistance with interpreting this text.

<sup>13</sup>See Coquin 1977 p. 444; and Torp 1965 pp. 158-159.

<sup>14</sup>See Gascou 1989a pp. 384-389, and 392 for a summary of the relevant bibliography; and Coquin 1977 pp. 435-446, noting with reference to p. 435 n. 3 that BL Or. 7561 n. 138-48 is now Layton 1987 no.

another friend, Ammon of Tuna el-Gebel (20th Pachon).<sup>1</sup> He and Phib are also remembered in the *Difnar*, as ΔΘΘΔ ΠΕΛΛΩ ΝΕΜ ΔΘΘΔ ΔΠΙΠ ΝΙΔΚΗΤΗC ΕΘΥ ΟΥΟZ ΜΠΝΔΤΟΦΟΡΟC "Abba Pello and Abba Apip the holy spirit-bearing hermits".<sup>2</sup>

### §3.2.2 THE CULT OF APA APOLLO OF BAWIT AND TITKOOH

The popularity of the cult of Apollo and his fellow monks Phib and Anoup is attested in evidence from Deir el-Bala'izah, Deir el-Gandla, Deir el-Gebrawi, Memphis and Wadi Sarga, and, beyond Middle Egypt, from Abydos and as far south as Esna.<sup>3</sup> References to Apollo and depictions of him may be found in material from Abydos and Esna.<sup>4</sup> An unpublished Coptic papyrus which is associated with some of the texts edited in this thesis, P.Schøyen 89/06 (see §2.4.1), mentions "Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib the holy fathers", and these names belong to a number of individuals in the documents edited in this thesis.<sup>5</sup>

The tomb of Apollo became a focal point for pilgrims. Apa Daniel of Scetis visited the μνήμη of Apa Apollo,<sup>6</sup> and a VI/VIIth C. Greek papyrus document, *SB X 10269*, mentions pilgrims attending the ἀγάπη of Apa Apollo.<sup>7</sup>

A church of ΔΠΔ ΔΠΛΩ "Apa Ap<ol>lo" is mentioned in a Coptic account, written on paper, *BM 1100* (BL Or. 6072), acquired by the British Museum from the Reverend Murch, possibly together with the "Bl Or. 6201 series" (see §2.1). This manuscript has a recorded provenance of el-Ashmunein and W. Vycichl assumed that the church was located in that city rather than in the surrounding area.<sup>8</sup>

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137. See Torp 1965 pp. 153-170 for details and discussion of the literary sources, noting that the text referred to on p. 159 n. 1 as Amélineau 1884-1895 p. 818, Paris 129<sup>13</sup>, 63, is edited in Kuhn 1978 pp. 40-42 Appendix I.

<sup>1</sup>Torp 1965 pp. 167-168; and Crum 1913 p. 162 no. 26.

<sup>2</sup>O'Leary 1926 pp. 44-45.

<sup>3</sup>Details of the evidence from all of these sites apart from Memphis are provided in Coquin 1977 p. 436; Wietheger 1992 pp. 221 "ΔΝΟΥΠ", 222 "ΔΠΟΛΛΩ" and 240 "ΦΙΘ" summarise the evidence for this cult at the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara.

<sup>4</sup>Coquin 1977 p. 436.

<sup>5</sup>Apollo in nos. 2, 4, 16 text 1, 29, 30, 32, 33, 40 (ter), 44, 49, 75, and 99; Anoup in nos. 16 text 1, 18, 20 (bis), 22, 27, 40, 65 and 97; and Phib in nos. 27, 35, 40 (bis), 63 (Φιφ), 68 side (A) and 93.

<sup>6</sup>*Bal.* p. 611.

<sup>7</sup>Gascou 1989a pp. 385-386.

<sup>8</sup>Vycichl 1959 pp. 139-140 gives details of this manuscript'

### §3.3 THE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT BAWIT

#### §3.3.1 THE SITE

The site of this monastery is a kôm on the edge of the desert at the foot of cliffs about two kilometres west of the village of Bawit,<sup>1</sup> and twenty-eight kilometres south-south-west of el-Ashmunein on the west bank of the Nile.

It was excavated for four seasons at the beginning of this century by a team from the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale led first by Jean Clédat and Émile Chassinat, and later by Jean Maspero.<sup>2</sup> The impressive architectural remains found at the site bear witness to the fact that the monastery was once one of the the most important sites in Middle Egypt,<sup>3</sup> and they have made Bawit one of the best known Coptic monasteries. Numerous artefacts excavated there, including paintings and stone and wood sculptures, are now in museums in Egypt, Europe and the United States.

Archaeological and textual evidence suggests that the monastery was founded in the IVth C.<sup>4</sup> and destroyed in the XIIth C. C.E.<sup>5</sup> The reason for its decline is not known,<sup>6</sup> but its importance and wealth no doubt attracted hostility from Egypt's muslim rulers.

#### §3.3.2 MANUSCRIPTS FROM BAWIT

Whereas much of the epigraphic material from Bawit was published long ago,<sup>7</sup> the ostraca and papyri discovered during excavations have remained unstudied.<sup>8</sup> Some of them have been identified within the last few years in the collections of the Louvre,<sup>9</sup> and the

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<sup>1</sup>Bawit is an Arabic form of Coptic π-ΔΥΗΤ "the monastery" (Crum *CD* p. 21 b ΔΥΗΤ), which may be mentioned in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CUL Michael. 815/2, see §2.2. This name suggests that Bawit was the monastery *par excellence* just as the great city of Thebes was known as *Niwt* "(the) city", see Erman and Grapow *Wb* II p. 211 section C II. Note that a different etymology of π-ΔΥΗΤ, *pr-wt* "house/temple of embalment", is given in Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 41 no. 81 and 44 no. 88, following Gauthier *Dictionnaire* 2 p. 73 and Brugsch 1879-1880 p. 174. See also the translation note to l. 4 of no. 3 for Clédat's misinterpretation of ΟΥΩΤ, the word meaning "single" etc., as "Bawit", which is followed in Torp 1965 pp. 153-154.

<sup>2</sup>Summaries of the history and bibliography of this site are given in *CKÄ* pp. 643-653 "Dêr Anbâ Abullû' (Kloster der Apa Apollo bei Bawit)"; Krause and Wessel 1966; and Clédat 1910. Torp 1981 gives a brief introduction to the archaeology of the site which is to be re-opened, see Grossmann 1992 p. 150.

<sup>3</sup>According to Doresse 1970 p. 8 it was *the* most important.

<sup>4</sup>Torp 1965 discusses the dates of the monastery's foundation and abandonment; on p. 170 he attempts to reconstruct a foundation date between 386 and 388, using information from the *HM* as a chronological basis.

<sup>5</sup>See Torp 1965; and Rassart-Debergh [1993] p. 79 n. 37. Doresse 1970 p. 27 argued that evidence from inscriptions and coins found *in situ* at Bawit, Wadi Sarga, Bala'izah and the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara suggests that they all suffered simultaneous extinction a little before mid-VIIIth C.

<sup>6</sup>It is interesting to note that Deir Abu Fana, a monastery near Bawit, was not destroyed at the same time and was still functioning in the XIVth C., see Buschhausen et al. 1991 p. 123.

<sup>7</sup>See Krause 1988 and 1991 p. 1292 for this material.

<sup>8</sup>See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 105 n. 1, and 1910 col. 204; and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. xiv- xvi, 4, 7, 9, 42, 44, and 46.

<sup>9</sup>See Bénazeth 1993.

Museum of Périgord, with the help of the notebooks of Jean Clédat.<sup>1</sup> Most of the material from the former collection is still unpublished,<sup>2</sup> but I have been given permission to use it in this thesis.<sup>3</sup> A "box of Coptic ostraca" was listed among the items from the Bawit excavations recorded in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo's inventory (nos. 15<sup>2</sup> + 21<sup>2</sup>).<sup>4</sup> The whereabouts of these ostraca is not now known.

In addition to the texts officially excavated at the site, a number of texts from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo are known to have been sold by dealers to various collections around the world but their provenance has never been securely identified.<sup>5</sup> Twenty-six letters and documents purportedly from this monastery and dating from the VII-IXth C. are now in the Ismailia Museum in Egypt.<sup>6</sup> No details of these papyri are available at present and so their provenance cannot be verified. However, it has been established that two Coptic papyri belonging to the Ismailia Museum (inv. 2240 and 2241) are from the archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito and therefore can be connected with the Aphrodito monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>7</sup>

### §3.3.2.1 OSTRACA BEGINNING WITH THE FORMULA $\omega\text{I}\text{N}\text{E}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\Delta-$

The majority of the ostraca found at Bawit which now belong to the Louvre are delivery chits which employ the introductory formula  $\omega\text{I}\text{N}\text{E}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\Delta-$ , "enquire after". This formula is also found in a number of unprovenanced ostraca,<sup>8</sup> twenty-four of which were acquired in 1993 by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.<sup>9</sup>

Ostraca with the  $\omega\text{I}\text{N}\text{E}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\Delta-$  formula mention a number of place names which also occur in documents examined in this thesis (see, e.g., place names in §4.6). In some cases there are no other attestations of these place names.

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<sup>1</sup>See Gaillard 1988.

<sup>2</sup>Three Coptic papyri in the collection of the Louvre have been published in Boud'hors 1995 and a number of ostraca from this collection are to be published in *MIFAO* forthcoming. I am grateful to Mme Anne Boud'hors for sending me details of these papyri and ostraca prior to their publication. Some ostraca from the Museum of Périgord were published in *L'Égypte en Périgord* nos. 114, 115 and possibly 118.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to the Louvre Museum for granting me permission to study this material and to Mme Dominique Bénazeth for supplying me with photographs of the papyri.

<sup>4</sup>This was noted by Dominique Bénazeth in Spring 1993 (according to the introduction to the ostraca in *MIFAO* forthcoming).

<sup>5</sup>See Krause 1990 p. 207; Clédat 1910 col. 204 mentions a papyrus found at Bawit which is still unpublished. See §3.3.2.1 for ostraca which are not in the collection of the Louvre but which may come from Bawit.

<sup>6</sup>They are to be published by Professor Martin Krause, see Krause 1993 p. 83.

<sup>7</sup>See MacCoull 1992.

<sup>8</sup>See Tait 1994 for a discussion of this formula and the most up-to-date published list of texts in which it is featured.

<sup>9</sup>See *CPR XX* p. 14 §VI.1).

### §3.3.2.2 DOCUMENTS BEGINNING WITH THE ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ FORMULA

A connection might similarly be made between the Bawit monastery and texts bearing the introductory formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ (examined in Chapter 8), see §8.1. It might have been the case that an institution as large and important as the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit had a well-developed internal bureaucracy which employed administrative techniques, such as ways of drafting documents, which were not used in other monasteries.<sup>1</sup> These may have been learned in the monastery's educational programme; **no. 100** text 2 may be an attempt at practising the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula made by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Bawit.

### §3.3.3 MONASTIC RULE AT BAWIT

The type of monastic rule in force at the Bawit monastery remains to be identified. It has been suggested that the rule of monasteries in Middle Egypt was more highly specialised from those elsewhere in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The titles recorded in inscriptions from the monastery have been analysed but their use is limited.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological evidence, especially the vestiges of a surrounding wall, suggests that the monastery was essentially a coenobium.<sup>4</sup> There appears to have been a series of cells, chapels, and streets as found in a coenobitic monastery.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that there were two monasteries on the site, one for men, and one for women. Evidence for the presence of women at Bawit includes a depiction of a female monk dressed in the same clothes as male monks,<sup>6</sup> and the title "Mother of the monastery" which occurs in inscriptions.<sup>7</sup>

If the Monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in the Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (see §1.1) is to be identified with the Bawit monastery, it might be possible to comment on whether it was anti- or pro-Chalcedonian. Apion II's grandfather, Apion I, is famous for abandoning his monophysite allegiance in favour of Chalcedonian orthodoxy,<sup>8</sup> and the fact that his family was on good terms with Gregory the Great, the Pope from 590-604 C.E., suggests that they never returned to the monophysite faith.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the almost exclusive use of the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΘΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula by monks of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, see Chapter 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Doresse 1970 for a survey of monasteries in Middle Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> See Krause and Wessel 1966 cols. 573-574 for claims that the absence of key Pachomian titles, such as "second" (ΠΜΕΖCΝΔΥ/δευτεράριος), and the presence of non-Pachomian titles in the inscriptions argue against a Pachomian rule for this monastery. For the title "second", which does in fact occur in these inscriptions, see Krause 1988 pp. 116-117.

<sup>4</sup> See Clédat 1910 col. 212, fig. 1257; Torp 1964 pp. 178-185; Krause and Wessel 1966 col. 574; and Baulig 1984 p.144.

<sup>5</sup> Drew-Bear 1979a p. 28 describes it as a "monastère village".

<sup>6</sup> See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pl. 49; and Rassart-Debergh 1993 p. 242 n. 95.

<sup>7</sup> See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 nos. 486, 504 and 509.

<sup>8</sup> See Gascou 1985 p. 71, and Hardy 1931 p. 27.

## §3.4 THE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT TITKOOH

### §3.4.1 THE LOCATION OF TITKOOH

The exact location for the site of this monastery is not known (see **Map 3** for an approximation), but it was further south than the Bawit monastery.<sup>1</sup> TitkooH (Greek form Titkois) is attested in over a dozen Greek and Coptic papyri dating from the II<sup>nd</sup> to the VIII<sup>th</sup> C. (see **Appendix 1** list 3).<sup>2</sup> These provide the information that it was situated in the Koussite kato toparchy, possibly between Sanabu and Meir, in the southern half of the Hermopolite nome. See §3.2.1 for modern evidence of a monastery of Apa Apollo located just south of this area, and north of Deir el-Muharraq.

### §3.4.2 PUBLISHED SOURCES CONCERNING THE MONASTERY AT TITKOOH

According to the *Life of Phib*, which describes the founding of the Monastery of Apa Apollo at TitkooH (see §3.2.1), a monastery was already in existence when Apollo, Phib and Papohe arrived at TitkooH, but nothing is known about its original founder.<sup>3</sup> No other monasteries have been recorded in connection with TitkooH in literary or documentary sources. Apart from the *Life of Phib*, only one other Coptic text which mentions the TitkooH monastery of Apa Apollo has been published: a legal document, **no. 20** (mentions a monk ... ΝΔ]Γ ΠΙΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ [2]Μ ΠΤΟΥΥ ΝΤΙΤΚΟΟΖΕ "of Apa Apollo on the mount of Titkoohe", see §3.9). References to this monastery are also made in a number of Greek papyri (see **Appendix 1** list 2), which have been assigned dates based on palaeographical criteria from the V<sup>th</sup> to VII<sup>th</sup> C.<sup>4</sup>

### §3.4.3 UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE MONASTERY AT TITKOOH

Two unpublished texts which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo at TitkooH are presented in this thesis. **No. 59** is issued by Menases, the head of the monastery,<sup>5</sup> which is described as the ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΓΖΙΜ [ΠΤΟΥΥ?] ΝΤΙΤΚΟΟΖΕ ΖΜ ΠΤΩ

<sup>1</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 2077-2080 "Ptoou n-TitkooH".

<sup>2</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 5 p. 5 "ΤΙΤΚΩΙΣ"; Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 300-301 "ΤΙΤΚΩΙΣ", and *CKÄ* p. 2700 "Titkôis", adding the references to this place made in P. Schøyen 89/5 (unpublished, see §2.4.1), *P. Sta. Xyla* nos. 5 ll. 8-9, 10 l. 8 and 19 l. 2; and in R<sup>0</sup> l. 13 of a Greek papyrus document belonging to a private collection edited in Husson 1991. For the name TitkooH which has yet to be satisfactorily explained, see Brunsch 1976 p. 144 and Gascou 1981 p. 220 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup>It is not unusual for a monastery to adopt a new name following an association with an influential character. Compare Deir Apa Samuel, the monastery on the mount of Benhadab which was perhaps founded by a certain Peter the Venerable and was renamed after a notable monk Samuel; see di Bitonto-Kasser 1989 pp. 165-168.

<sup>4</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 2700 "Titkois", and 2077-2080 "Ptoou n-TitkooH", correcting p. 2078 "Pap. Amhurst" references to "P. Amsterdam".

<sup>5</sup>See **Appendix 1** list 2 nos. 1 and 2 for an archimandrite of this monastery called Serenos, and no. 10 for Phoibammon who may also have held this position.

Ν.....ΙΩ (= ΩΜΟΥΝ?) ΜΠΝΟΜΟΣ "monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo on [the mount] of Titkohe in the region of Shmoun (?) of the nome (νομός)" and it begins with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΣΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΖΔΙ formula. No. 1 is an *aparché* collection guarantee written by a ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΦΔΓΙΟΣ [(ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ) ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟ]Γ'Α'ΑΩ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΙΤ[ΚΟΟΖ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ Ν]Γ'Ω'ΙΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙΣ Μ.[(restore ΠΝΟΜΟΣ) "monk (μοναχός) of the holy (ἅγιος) [(saint) Apa] Apollo on the mount of Tit[kooh in the region of] Shmoun the city (πόλις) of [the nome (νομός)?]". For the possible description of Apa Apollo in this text as ΦΔΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ see §3.5.

A couple of unpublished Coptic papyri may be reconstructed so as to read [the monastery of Apa] Apollo on the mount of [Titkooh]: CUL Michael. 823/4 text 1 (ΔΠΟ]ΑΑΩ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ Ν[ΤΙΤΚΟΟΖ]) (see §2.2), and P CtYBR 1942 (ΔΠΟ]ΑΑΩ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ) (see §2.3.2).

The term ΤΟΥ is also used in the description of the monastery of Apa Apollo in no. 7, which suggests that the Titkooh monastery may be intended.<sup>1</sup> No. 54 refers to a monastery on the mount (ΤΟΥ) of Titkooh whose name is now lost, and it is likely that this was the Monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>2</sup> ΤΟΥ is the Coptic equivalent of ὄρος,<sup>3</sup> and designates "the mountains and hills above the Nile valley and thus indicates also the desert generally".<sup>4</sup> This type of site was ideal for monasteries and so the term came to be used to refer to a single monastery. It is translated as "mount" or "monastery" in this thesis depending on context.

### §3.4.4 CONTACT BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES AT BAWIT AND TITKOOH

A monk from the monastery at Titkooh may be depicted in a scene accompanied by the inscription "the holy Apa Pamoun of Didkoohe (ΔΙΔΚΟΟΖΕ)" from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>5</sup> The substitution of Δ for Τ is a common phonological phenomenon in Coptic, although it is usually restricted to Greek words.<sup>6</sup>

A further connection between the monasteries may be made if another inscription from Bawit is to be interpreted to read "scribe of Titkois" rather than "scribe of Titilamis" (γραμ(ματεὺς) Τιτιλάμεως).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This text is closely associated with nos. 6 and 8, which may also, therefore, derive from the Titkooh monastery.

<sup>2</sup>This interpretation is supported by the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΣΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΖΔΙ formula which occurs in this text, see Chapter 7.

<sup>3</sup>See Cadell and Rémondon 1967.

<sup>4</sup>*Bal.* p. 27; see pp. 27-28 for the use of this term in a monastic sense.

<sup>5</sup>See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 154, pl. 92.1, where "DIAKOOHE" was transcribed, although the plate reveals that only the top part of the third letter is visible, and that it is more likely to be a Δ. This same word is transcribed as "Diakobe" in *L'Égypte en Périgord* p. 52.

<sup>6</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 130-131 §111. Clédat may also have read a χ for a Δ in 1904-1906 p. 121 no. 8, where he records χΔΝΔΜΟΥΕ, possibly for ΤΔΝΔΜΟΥΕ.

<sup>7</sup>Rea 1985 p. 70 suggests this emendation for Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 110 no. 334 l. 2.

### §3.4.5 MONKS FROM TITKOOH IN THEBES

Evidence that monks from the monastery at TitkooH travelled as far south as Thebes may be furnished by three graffiti, all of which feature ΠΠΔΠΔ ΙΩϚΔΝΝΗϚ ΠΡΜ+ΤΚΟΟϚΕ "the Papa Iohannes from Titkoohe".<sup>1</sup> Two of them may be the unpublished graffiti which Kahle described in *Bal.* I p. 19 n. 5. They occur with graffiti which mention other Middle Egyptian place names, such as the Hermopolite Tbakē (see §4.4).<sup>2</sup> Other graffiti mention monastic titles such as ΠΔΠΔ, ϚΟΝ, and ΠΔϚΟΝ and some relate that the people who wrote them were involved in forced labour.<sup>3</sup> One reads: ΔΙΡΟΥΔΛΩΤ ΕΤΘΕΙ[.] ΠΧΘΕΙϚ "I did forced labour for the lord/Lord".<sup>4</sup>

### §3.5 DESCRIPTION OF HERMOPOLITE MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO IN THE TEXTS

Two published Coptic manuscripts (BL Or. 6201 and 6203, §2.1.1) specify a Monastery of Apa Apollo ΝΠΡΗϚ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΛΙϚ "to the south of Shmoun the city", and it has been assumed that they relate to the Bawit monastery. This location is specified for the monastery in a further two texts edited in this thesis (nos. 31 and 33), and [ϚΜ ΠΤΟΩ] ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΛΙϚ "[in the region] of Shmoun the city (πόλις)" may be restored in a third text (no. 2).<sup>5</sup> The monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in a guarantee (no. 26) is situated in the same nome as Telke, i.e. the Hermopolite nome.

The monastery is referred to in a range of different ways. The term τόπος is the most frequent,<sup>6</sup> and it is used for the monastery at TitkooH, and the monasteries in the Hermopolite nome. The second most common term, μοναστήριον, is used in the four texts which specify a location for the monastery to the south of Shmoun mentioned above, and in a text written on the same papyrus as a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϚϚΔΙ formula text (no. 100 text 3). A combination of μοναστήριον and τόπος is found in one text: ΜΟΝΔϚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΤΟΠΟϚ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ "monastery of the *topos* of Apa Apollo" (no. 49).

The epithet ἅγιος "holy" is applied to Apa Apollo in the description of his τόπος in nos. 23, 51 and 58, and in P. Duk. Inv. C. 4→ l. 1 (ΤΟΠΟϚ ΜΠΔΚΙΟϚ ΔΠΔ

<sup>1</sup>Černý et al. 1969-1974 vol. IV,2 nos. 2891 and 2904, and vol. IV,5 no. 3682. The last-cited graffito was not interpreted by J. Černý as containing the place name TitkooH possibly because the + is drawn as an elaborate Coptic cross.

<sup>2</sup>Černý et al. 1969-1974 vol. IV,3 no. 2892.

<sup>3</sup>Černý et al. 1969-1974 vol. IV,2 nos. 2893, 2894, 2900, 2908, and 2922.

<sup>4</sup>Černý et al. 1969-1974 vol. IV,2 no. 2893. Crum *CD* p. 6b ΔΛΩΤ cites a graffito from the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes which contains a similar phrase.

<sup>5</sup>Clédat 1910 col. 204 cites a papyrus found at Bawit which mentions ΠΤΟΠΟϚ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ϚΜ ΠΤΟΩ ΝΩΜΙΟΥΝΩ.

<sup>6</sup>For this term referring to the monasteries and churches of a village, see *Bal.* no. 187 l. 5 and n. 6 on p. 601.

ΔΠΟΛΛΩ);<sup>1</sup> and it is combined pleonastically with ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ "which is holy" in one text (ΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΦΔΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ no. 3). This phrase also occurs in no. 2 and may possibly be restored in no. 1, which relates to the Titkooh monastery. The term ΜΔ (literally "place", see §4.6) is used to mean "monastery" in two texts (nos. 21 (⟨Μ⟩Δ) and 50) edited in this thesis, and also in *Ryl.* 284 v<sup>o</sup> l. 3.<sup>2</sup>

In two texts references are made to a "monk of Apa Apollo" (nos. 35 and 47).<sup>3</sup>

For the use of the term ΤΟΥΥ in texts in this thesis and in the description of the monastery of Apa Apollo in no. 7, see §3.4.3.

No. 39 mentions a building called the ΝΟΒ ΝΗΙ "big house" which may perhaps be identified as part of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

### §3.6 BACKGROUND TO THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF MONASTERIES IN EGYPT (VIIth-VIIIth C.)

The first half of the VIIth C. is dominated by the struggle between three empires for control of Egypt. Byzantine rule was temporarily interrupted by the Persians (619-629/630),<sup>4</sup> before being replaced once and for all by the Arabs.<sup>5</sup>

Following the Arab conquest, which began in 639 C.E. and was completed a few years later,<sup>6</sup> there was a "honeymoon" period before the effects of the Caliphate's policies were fully felt.<sup>7</sup> Large scale colonisation by Muslims did not take place until the Abbasid period (750 C.E. onwards), which is when Copts converted to Islam in greater numbers than before. Prior to these developments, Christian Egyptians greatly outnumbered the small Muslim élite which ruled them.<sup>8</sup>

Around the time of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (A.H. 65/685 C.E. - A.H. 86/705 C.E.), when 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan was governor of Egypt, there was a general reorganization of fiscal administration and the poll-tax was imposed on monks for the first time.<sup>9</sup> This move was partly a response to the numbers of people who had joined

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<sup>1</sup>See MacCoull 1983 p. 137-138. This epithet is also used of Apa Apollo when describing the μοναστήριον (rather than τόπος as in the texts in this thesis) at Bala'izah, see *Bal.* nos. 102 ll. 1-2 and 125 ll. 3-4, 152 l. 3.

<sup>2</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 153a ΜΔ.

<sup>3</sup>For a parallel, compare the designation of a monk as ΠΔΔΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ in no. 37 l. 18.

<sup>4</sup>See Altheim-Stiehl 1992.

<sup>5</sup>For a general overview and bibliography of pre-Arab Conquest and Early Islamic Egypt, see Christides 1993.

<sup>6</sup>See Morimoto 1981 p. 2 for a list of events and dates.

<sup>7</sup>Simonsen 1988 pp. 81-84 analyses the treatment of the Egyptian population by the Arabs during and after the conquest.

<sup>8</sup>See Kennedy 1993 p. 161b.

<sup>9</sup>See Simonsen 1988 pp. 98-99.

monasteries in order to escape the poll-tax. Previously the monasteries had only been liable for taxes on any land they owned, although some had been granted tax-free status.<sup>1</sup>

It was not long after this that Christians in high administrative positions were ousted by Muslims and Arabic replaced Greek and Coptic as the language of administration.<sup>2</sup> Copts were still employed in fiscal administration on a local level, however, until the early Abbasid period.<sup>3</sup>

Private means became necessary for monks in order to meet their new tax-responsibilities, since the traditional monastic crafts such as mat-weaving, and rope- and basket-making did not generate enough income. Wealthy monks were taken into monasteries,<sup>4</sup> and poor ones were forced to live beyond the monastery's precincts with their families.<sup>5</sup> Some monks tried to flee in order to escape taxation,<sup>6</sup> and in order to prevent this, passports were required for any one who wished to travel. The first Coptic revolt took place in A.H. 107/725-726 C.E. following the new tax measures of the director of finances, 'Ubayd Allah, and revolts continued to occur well into the 'Abbāsid period.

There is documentary evidence for the financial difficulties which monks faced in the VIIIth C. Kahle believed that the sum of over eighty-eight solidi to be paid in taxes in one year by the Bala'izah monastery of Apa Apollo (*Bal.* no. 290) was extraordinarily high for an institution reliant on sales of handiwork and financial contributions from its members in order to survive.<sup>7</sup> Financial burdens affected the behaviour of some monastic organisations: there are examples of cases in which monasteries sold monastic offices in order to raise capital.<sup>8</sup> Land and other property may also have been relinquished in order to pay taxes.<sup>9</sup>

### §3.7 MONKS AS TAX PAYERS

Monastic poll-tax documents beginning with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula are discussed at §8.7.1.

Four unpublished tax demands addressed to monks of the monastery of Apa Apollo ("to the south of Shmoun" specified in two of them) are presented in this thesis (**nos. 31-**

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<sup>1</sup>The *HP* states that the number of monasteries which were exempt from tax outnumbered those that were taxed, see Morimoto 1975 p. 121.

<sup>2</sup>See Christides 1993 p. 159b.

<sup>3</sup>Frantz-Murphy 1984 p. 133.

<sup>4</sup>Gascou 1991b p. 1639 notes that monasteries were in any case cautious of taking in people in financial difficulty.

<sup>5</sup>See Hengstenberg 1935 p. 359.

<sup>6</sup>See Hengstenberg 1934 p.93 n. 2.

<sup>7</sup>*Bal.* p. 42.

<sup>8</sup>C. Schmidt 1932 published an undertaking by a would-be superior to be responsible for paying the Monastery of Apa Mena's taxes, if necessary from his own pocket. For this practice possibly at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah, see *Bal.* pp. 41-42. On simony, see Meinardus 1991.

<sup>9</sup>Sales of property by the Monastery of Phoibammon at Thebes are referred to in *KRU* 13, 18, and 19; and in *KRU* 15 a house donated to the Monastery of Victor is sold.

33 are Coptic and no. 47 is Greek; see §6.2). Three of them (nos. 31-33) may have been issued to monks at the Bawit monastery (see §2.8).

The tax in question can be ascertained in nos. 33 and 47 as the *dêmosion* (δημόσιον).<sup>1</sup> This tax may be reconstructed in no. 32, in which only the final -ον is preserved at this point, although [ΔΙΔΓΡΔΦ]ΟΝ (διάγραφον) "poll-tax" is also possible. *Dêmosion* is the equivalent of the Arabic *ġizya* which describes public money-taxes (χρυσικὰ δημόσια).<sup>2</sup> Land-tax (δημόσια γῆς), poll-tax (διάγραφον/ἀνδρισμός), and maintenance (payments made to Arab officials) (δαπάνη) were all covered by the term *dêmosion*.

The payment of *dêmosion* is also mentioned in a renunciation (ἀποταγή) of property (no. 49) drawn up by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly in the first half of the VIIIth C. This document was issued to the *dikaion* of the monastery, through the agency of the archimandrite, see §3.13. Since the monk was unable to administer one of his two pieces of property, probably because of financial difficulties, the *dikaion* assigned one of them to another monk who became responsible for its *dêmosion*. The monk who renounced the property did not receive any payment; presumably being relieved of the burden of the *dêmosion* payment was reward enough, although, if he tried to sue the *dikaion* or the new owner in order to reclaim his property he would be liable to pay fifty solidi. It is impossible now to assess the value of the property although the fact that it featured a cistern indicates that it was a desirable plot. It is, however, often the case in property transfers as well as other financial transactions that the penalty for default was double the price originally paid.<sup>3</sup>

The corn tax (ἐμβολή) is mentioned in a document written to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo (no. 48);<sup>4</sup> this may be compared with a published Greek papyrus receipt for the *embolê*-payment made by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly in the Arab period.<sup>5</sup>

In an account of wine expenditure which may relate to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, no. 37, the *shaliou* of Ptêne,<sup>6</sup> is credited with three separate payments of boiled wine (ἐψήμα), two listed on the same day (ll. 4, 12 and 15). Since the title of *shaliou*

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<sup>1</sup>This tax is mentioned frequently in documents from the Bala'izah monastery of Apa Apollo, see references listed in the index on *Bal.* p. 850.

<sup>2</sup>See Morimoto 1981 pp. 60-61, and Simonsen 1988 chapter 9, especially pp. 85-90.

<sup>3</sup>This is the case in the five BL papyri relating to a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun, see §2.1.1. In BL Or. 6203 (which is dated to 833 C.E.), for example, a penalty of six solidi is to be paid when the property in question is worth three solidi (ll. 41-44 and ll. 65-66, see MacCoull 1994a pp. 142-144). In contrast, see Boulard 1913 p. 63 for a table showing the range of penalties recorded in Coptic sales contracts from Djeme, none of which is double the property price. One of the documents listed (*KRU* 4) contains a penalty of thirty-six solidi for property worth just one solidus.

<sup>4</sup>For this tax in Coptic documents, see, exx., *Bal.* index p. 851 s.v. ἐμβολή; *BKU* III no. 467; *BM* nos. 605 (εμπουχ ll. 6 and 8) and 1179; *Ryl.* nos. 127, 188, 226 n. 13, and 319; and *CPR* IV no. 2 which gives further references.

<sup>5</sup>See *SB* VI 9144, which was dated in the *ed. pr.* to 589 C.E.

<sup>6</sup>See *Bal.* p. 740 n. (9) for a list of occurrences of this title and analysis; see also Crum *CD* p. 561a ψΔΛΙΟΥ and *Herm.* pp. 58-59.

can apply to local officials involved in the collection of taxes and other levies,<sup>1</sup> and boiled wine was among the items requisitioned by the Arab administration as provisions for the *cursa*,<sup>2</sup> this text may provide further proof of the financial demands made on the monastery by their rulers.<sup>3</sup> In **no. 86**, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula document, a payment which includes greens is to be made by someone from Tešnê (see §4.11) to men who may belong to a *shaliou*.

A *shaliou* named Papa Anoup is mentioned in another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula document, this time addressed to the "brothers of the poll-tax", **no. 65**. The title Papa suggests that Anoup may have belonged to a monastery, possibly the one in which this text was written. *Shaliou*s are attested in inscriptions from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit,<sup>4</sup> which is a possible place of origin for **no. 65**. One of these inscriptions shows how the title ωΔΛΙΟΥ could be hereditary and held by someone with the title καθηγητής "teacher":<sup>5</sup> ΘΙΚΤΩΡ : ΚΟΥΪ ΠΩΔΛΛΙΟΥΪ ΠΩΕ ΝΪΠΪω[ΔΛ]ΛΙΟΥΪ [ΠΕ]ΚΔΪΤΪΖΥΚΗΤΗΘ ΜΠΔΥΗΤ "Victor the younger, the ωΔΛΙΟΥ, son of the ωΔΛΙΟΥ, the teacher of Bawit/the monastery".<sup>6</sup>

Kahle has equated the title *shaliou* with the Greek term *pistikos* (πιστικός),<sup>7</sup> for which he has identified a specific taxation-related usage in Coptic texts.<sup>8</sup> The "brothers of the *pistikos*" are addressed in P. CtYBR inv. 1824, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula text (summarised at §8.8), and monks with this title from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit issue two ωΙΝΕ Ν̄ΟΔ- formula ostraca (*MIFAO* forthcoming nos. 63 and 64, see §3.3.2.(1)). In some Coptic papyri from the Lansing Collection (see §2.8) a πιστικός called Enoch who may have been attached to the Bawit monastery is responsible for issuing wine (see §3.11).

<sup>1</sup>They may also work directly for the Arab governor (σύμβουλος), as evidenced in e.g., BM EA 10131, an unpublished Coptic papyrus (noted in *Bal.* p. 740 n. (9)), which mentions ΝΕΩΔΛΙΟΥΪ ΝΠΣΥΜΘΟΥΛΙΟΥ (see §2.8).

<sup>2</sup>See *P. Apoll. An.* no. 30, in which the pagarch is required to send boiled wine for this purpose; and *P. Lond.* IV index p. 622 for numerous occurrences of ἔψημα in documents from Aphrodito. In *Herm.* 16, an VIIIth C. papyrus, in which ςΔΛΕΙ is credited with 1005 *kollatha* of boiled wine (ἔψημα) in an account written by a *presbyteros* and *oikonomos*.

<sup>3</sup>It is not impossible that the monastery was in debt to the *shaliou* and that repayment was made in boiled wine. In *Bal.* no. 102 an Arab ωΔΛΙΟΥ, Amrou, has loaned the *dikaion* of the Bala'izah monastery of Apa Apollo eight gold solidi for its δημόσιον payment.

<sup>4</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 126 nos. 432 (ΚΙΡΕΘ ΠΩΔΛΛΙΟΥ), and 434 ll. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup>Wietheger 1992 p. 283 states that by the title καθηγητής "versteht man einen Lehrer im religiösen Bereich", and gives four examples from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara. This title is found in two other Bawit inscriptions: Clédat 1904-1906 p. 108 no. 8 (ΔΝΟΥΠ ΚΟΥΪ ΠΩΩ ΠΚΔΘΗΚΗΤΗΘ), and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 118 no. 390 l. 2 (ΔΝΟΥΠ ΠΩΩ ΠΚΔΘΗΚΗΪΔΪ[ΗΘ]).

<sup>6</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 126 no. 434 ll. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup>*Bal.* p. 740 n. 9.

<sup>8</sup>In *SPP* X no. 29 a πιστικός is a spokesman for the Arab administration on tax-collection. The title πιστικός can mean a confidential agent, and is found in Greek and Coptic papyri dating from the IIIrd - VIIIth C., see Preisigke *Wb.* II col. 308 and *Suppl.* I s.v.; and also *CPR* VIII no. 85 p. 236 n. to l. 2. It occurs in the following Coptic papyri: *CPR* IV nos. 22c l. 8, 66 l. 1, 67 l. 1; *P. Lond.* IV nos. 1496, 1514, 1542, 1544, 1584, 1588 and 1600 (in this last document it appears to be applied to a woman); and in an inscription and papyrus from Saqqara, see Wietheger 1992 p. 277.

Another tax-official, the *topoteretes*, is perhaps the person who issues **no. 41**, possibly to someone from a monastery of Apa Apollo. Greek papyrus documents from Apollonos Ano demonstrate the different roles played by the *topoteretes* in financial, judicial and police affairs, and also his general responsibility for the administration of the Dux in his absence.<sup>1</sup> In a text transcribed by Kahle from the Green collection, CMAA Green "30" (see §2.6), someone is described as an ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΔΥΩ ΠΤΔΠΟΤΡΗΤΗΣ. It seems likely that ἐπίσκοπος should be translated literally as "overseer" rather than as "bishop" in this document.

### §3.8 MONKS AS OWNERS OF PROPERTY

In a traditional view which is supported by some literary sources, monasteries are peopled by ascetics who have renounced all of their property in order to become the type of disciple defined by Jesus in *Luke* 14:33 "So therefore, whoever of you does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple".<sup>2</sup> Documentary evidence, however, demonstrates that this was not always the case and that monks could be richer in terms of property than many people living the ΒΙΟΣ ΝΗΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ "wordly life".<sup>3</sup>

This is shown by the documents in which individual monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo give loans to lay people, see §3.9. Even in coenobitic foundations which followed an apotactic rule, such as that established by Pachom, concessions were made.<sup>4</sup> In VC 6, an VIIIth C. document which is concerned with the entry of a monk into a monastery, the renunciation of property is not mentioned.

Documents show that monks may have given donations to their monastery and other charitable causes, but that they needed to retain a certain amount of income to live on.<sup>5</sup> In *CLT* 1 l. 66, a monk called Moses declares that his monastery has given back to him for his ΧΡΙΑ ΝΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ, "bodily needs", a third of the twenty solidi he originally donated to it. Evidence for the wealth of some monks is provided by the substantial wills they left, sometimes bequeathing to offspring produced during their earlier life in wordly society.<sup>6</sup> It was not uncommon for a man to leave his family in mid- to late life in order to join a religious order.<sup>7</sup> A Coptic marriage contract, *Bal.* no. 152, shows how a man in this

<sup>1</sup>Simonsen 1988 p. 116 n. 35 cites *P. Apoll. Ano* nos. 9, 11, 16, 23, 46, and 51; see also nos. 13, 18 and 28, and *P. Apoll. copt.* no. 99, which is described in MacCoull 1988 p. 144.

<sup>2</sup>The relevant sources on the position of monks on the ownership of property are dealt with in Krause 1958 pp. 43-62, and 1985a. See also Brunsch 1987 p. 116 + n. 18.

<sup>3</sup>See Bagnall 1993 p. 298 who mentions some IV-Vth C. examples from Greek papyri, and Gascou 1991b p. 1639. The term ΒΙΟΣ ΝΗΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ is used, e.g., in *CLT* 1 l. 16.

<sup>4</sup>See Krause 1985a pp. 122-123.

<sup>5</sup>See *CLT* 1 (noting especially l. 29) and 2.

<sup>6</sup>See *KRU* 67, in which a monk bequeaths property to his son (ll. 27 and 102 ff.).

<sup>7</sup>See *Bal.* p. 570. After a successful career, Dioscorus of Aphrodito's father, Apollos, founded a monastery and stayed there for the rest of his life; see Keenan 1984 for an outline of his life.

position might maintain contact with his family and even bring them into his monastery for an important occasion.

### §3.9 MONKS OF APA APOLLO INVOLVED IN FINANCIAL DEALINGS

Monks can be viewed as economically inviable and a burden to society: A.H.M. Jones referred to them as "idle mouths, living upon offerings".<sup>1</sup> However several published documents show how comparatively wealthy monks from the Titkooch monastery of Apa Apollo contributed to society by providing "banking" facilities for lay people.<sup>2</sup> Four Greek papyri feature monks from this monastery who give credit to people from villages in the Hermopolite nome (*P. Sta. Xyla* 5, 8, 10, and 18). Three Greek documents concern loans arranged with the archimandrite of this monastery which are to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) (*P. Amst.* I 47 and 48; and *SB XVI* 12401),<sup>3</sup> and one in wheat (*SB VI* 9051). In a Coptic guarantee (**no. 20**), a woman from Tahrouj in the Hermopolite nome, promises to repay her debt to a monk of this monastery.

In **no. 26** a villager promises to repay a debt to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo. The details of the commodity owed are not preserved but the debt is to be repaid in Mesore, at the end of the main wheat harvest. Debts to monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo are to be repaid in kind in **nos. 21** and **22**.

Evidence that alternative credit systems were employed by monks is provided by **no. 36**, in which a reference is made to some items which have been pledged with a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

In two documents, monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo arrange loans of money between themselves, for just under three solidi in **no. 25**, and five solidi in **no. 51**. The creditor is not known for **no. 24** in which a monk of this monastery has borrowed the small sum of fifteen *folles*. In **no. 53** a monk whose monastery may have been that of Apa Apollo borrows half a solidus from a monk from the Monastery of Apa Mena, for which see §4.1. There are no examples of the monastery, as an institution, borrowing money as the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah was forced to do in order to pay its taxes (*Bal.* nos. 102 and 103).

### §3.10 THE MONASTERY AS A LANDOWNER

Monasteries often acquired land and other property from generous benefactors; in some cases they grew sufficiently wealthy from their estates to generate the capital needed for further land acquisition. Unpublished texts excavated at the Bawit monastery are

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<sup>1</sup>A.H.M. Jones 1964 p. 933.

<sup>2</sup>Gascou 1991b p. 1641a.

<sup>3</sup>*SB XVI* 12267 (**Appendix 1** list 2 no. 11) is a similar document arranged between a monk of this monastery and a man from a nearby village, Sentryphis.

described as giving details of rents and taxes for land owned by the monastery in the VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Land was often given as a *donatio mortis causa* by people to churches and monasteries with the stipulation that their family was to be allowed to lease it back by means of an emphyteutic contract.<sup>2</sup> Such donations were a good way of making an endowment and securing the patronage of a religious institution. Emphyteutic leases,<sup>3</sup> which may be designated by the term *pactum*,<sup>4</sup> were commonly offered for land owned by monasteries and churches.<sup>5</sup>

The term *pactum* occurs in a number of documents edited in Chapter 5 which are concerned with *aparchê* collection (see §§5.3 and 5.4). In no. 40, which has the title "balance of *pacta*", an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo is listed together with other institutions and individuals, each of which is assigned an amount of corn representing their *pactum* payment. Unfortunately the name of the village to which this account relates is not extant, but it was most probably in the Hermopolite area to judge from the entries it contains. They include a monastery of Apa Anoup, a *topos* of Kames, "the holy church" (which may be identified as the Basilica at el-Ashmunein), and twenty-eight individuals, some clerical, with occupational titles ranging from baker to priest.

The term *pactum* also occurs in no. 28 in which monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo rent land in Senesla from their monastery which they will effectively own for the rest of their natural lives. The monastery is said to have "exchanged" (ἀλλάσσειν) this land with "the men of Senesla" which suggests that it may have been public land. A similar situation may be documented in no. 27, in which the council of Pôrahêu sells land from a meadow to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. Together these two transactions illustrate the threat posed by monasteries to rural society as possessors of large estates, absorbing the property of smaller landowners.<sup>6</sup>

The practice of a monastery renting out cells to monks is illustrated in the five BL papyri from a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun discussed at §2.1.1. In no. 49, which is discussed above at §3.7, a monastery of Apa Apollo has assigned land to monks who are then responsible for paying its *dêmosion*.

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<sup>1</sup>According to Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup>Wipszycka 1969 p. 189 n. 2 rejects the view expressed in Johnson and West 1949 p. 73 that landowners who could not afford to pay their land taxes gave their land to religious institutions and then leased it back. I am grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall for discussing this point with me.

<sup>3</sup>See the references given in Sijpesteijn and de Wit 1992 p. 57 n.3.

<sup>4</sup>See Steinwenter 1955 p. 38; Johnson and West 1949 p. 73; and Gasco 1985 pp. 7-8, 13 n. 58 and 14-15. For examples of texts in which monks and clerics are involved with *pactum*, see CPR IV nos. 120, and 146-152.

<sup>5</sup>See Wipszycka 1972 p. 36; Dilwyn Jones 1981 pp. 195-197 discusses monastic land leases.

<sup>6</sup>Compare the behaviour of monasteries in the later Byzantine Empire as documented in Charanis 1948, noting the measures taken by the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas in 964 C.E. discussed in pp. 54-60.

### §3.11 WINE EXPENDITURE IN THE MONASTERY

**No. 37**, an account of monastery expenditure of wine, provides an insight into the part played by wine in the day-to-day expenses incurred in a monastery. "Our (great) father" (possibly the head of the monastery),<sup>1</sup> a presbyter, the church, and a monk from the monastery of Apa Anoup are assigned wine along with a number of lay people, ranging from a local official entitled the *shaliou* (see §3.7) to *symmachoi* and smiths (although the latter may in fact be monks, see §3.14).

**Nos. 38 and 39** belong to a series of twelve unpublished wine accounts and receipts from the Lansing Collection in the BM (see §2.8), ten or eleven of which were issued by someone called Enoch. In **no. 39** l. 2, Enoch is called a *pistikos* (see §3.7 for this title). Four of them are written on the back of tax demands, two of which are complete enough to show that they were issued to monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo (**nos. 32/38 and 31/39**, and BM EA 10128(B) and 10136(A)). The documents are written in two different hands, one of which is smaller and more cursive than the other and six of them are dated to the month of Phaophi (BM EA 10140(B), 10453, 10454(B), 10456, 10459, and 10461). The amounts of wine are always given in *knidia* or *kollatha*.

One further example of a tax demand papyrus recycled by an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo for use as a wine-related document may be provided by the text written on the back of **no. 33**. The nature of this document is not certain but it records amounts in *knidia* of a commodity which is not now extant.

In **no. 35** a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo writes to a woman asking her to sell him some wine. A possible source for the wine consumed in, and dispensed by, a Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo is Tiloj, a place in the Faiyum which a couple of ostraca from Bawit mention as a source of wine.<sup>2</sup> This place is assigned for *aparché* collection on behalf of the monastery of Apa Apollo in **no. 15**; details of the payment to be exacted are not preserved but it may well have been made in wine.

See §8.15 for ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula documents which involve wine payments.

### §3.12 OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

**No. 29** illustrates how the monastery could capitalise on its resources by leasing out its utilities.<sup>3</sup> Three monks (including a presbyter, and a *notarius*) are involved in a lease agreement on behalf of the monastery for two hundred and fourteen beehives. A beekeeper from Tbate is given an assurance by the monks about his rights as the lessee. Another bee-

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<sup>1</sup>This could also refer to the founder of the monastery, in which case this entry might concern the wine to be provided for celebrations of his feast day.

<sup>2</sup>See *MIFAO* forthcoming nos. 35 l. 2 and 75 ll. 4 and 6.

<sup>3</sup>See the introductory comments to **no. 21** in which it is suggested that the monastery may have leased out an oil press.

keeper is mentioned, whose good conduct the monks vouchsafe possibly because he has been responsible for the beehives whilst they were still the property of the monastery. The suitability of the Hermopolite nome for beekeeping is attested by the fact that *Μελισσοουργῶν*, a place in the Patre kato toparchy, literally means "of beekeepers".<sup>1</sup>

In **no. 28** the monastery buys up land which needs to be artificially irrigated and which is sold off by villagers who presumably do not have the necessary hydraulic equipment to make it profitable themselves. This shows how a large institution with superior resources could profit from the financial insecurity of smaller landowners.

**No. 34** shows how the monastery was involved in sending two *μαφόρτια* annually to a village. The basis of this arrangement is obscure but it is probable that the monastery donated these textiles. In some cases monasteries may have had the best facilities for textile production in their locality and so were the main suppliers of linen and other woven goods.<sup>2</sup> See §8.15 for evidence of monastic textile production, including the manufacture and marketing of rugs, in documents with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula.

**No. 57** is a letter, dated to the feast day of Apa Victor,<sup>3</sup> from a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo to fellow monks of the same monastery in which "fresh grain" may be mentioned. An impression of the size of the monastery is conveyed by the fact that the main purpose of the letter is to summon the addressees to the writer.

### §3.13 ADMINISTRATION OF THE MONASTERY

A range of monastic and ecclesiastical titles occur in the texts. A head of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh, Menases (ΜΗΝΔΧΗC) is described as ΠΙΩΤ ΝΠΤΟΠΟC "father of the monastery (τόπος)" (**no. 59**).<sup>4</sup> The same title may be applied to Georgios and Daniel, the heads of an unspecified monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in **nos. 28** l. 3 and **49** ll. 2-3.<sup>5</sup> The title ἀρχιμανδρίτης is found in four texts edited in this thesis:<sup>6</sup> (**nos. 23** (Theodoros), **28** l. 3 (Georgios), **no. 100** text 3 (Zacharias), and **no. 49** (Daniel)). In the five BL legal papyri dated to the mid-IXth C. discussed at §2.1.1 the following archimandrites of the Monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun are mentioned: Apa Ammonios (BL Or. 6203 ll. 21-22), Apa Joseph (BL Or. 6203 ll. 15-16),

<sup>1</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1630-1631 "Melissourgôn"; see Chouliara-Raios 1989 pp. 94-95 for toponyms such as *Μελισσοουργῶν*, which may have denoted places where apiculture flourished.

<sup>2</sup>See Wipszycka 1991c for monastic textile production, and *Ep.* I pp. 67-75 for evidence of weaving at the Monastery of Epiphanius.

<sup>3</sup>Feast days of saints called Victor include the 5th Choiak, and the 4th and 27th Pharmouthi, see Wietheger 1992 p. 223.

<sup>4</sup>See Krause 1988 pp. 115-116 no. 1 for this title in inscriptions from Bawit.

<sup>5</sup>This title can also be applied to the head of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah (see *Bal.* index p. 832). The title ΙΩΤ ΠΠΤΟΟΥ is used in a papyrus relating to the Aphrodito monastery of Apa Apollo (see MacCoull 1993c pp. 37-38 no. 12 (transcription made by Crum) l. 1, noting that the first two lines of this text given there differ from those quoted by Kahle in *Bal.* p. 21 (Ϝ ΠΔΠΔ ΦΙΟΙΘΔΙΜΜΩΝ ΠΙΩΤ ΠΠΤΟΟΥ [Ν]ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ)).

<sup>6</sup>See Wietheger 1992 pp. 269-270.

Apa Peheu (BL Or. 6204 l. 66), and Apa Shenute (Senouthios) (BL Or. 6201 ll. 15-16 and 6202 ll. 15-16).

The head is given the title *προεστώς* in one document (no. 27 l. 3 (Athanas)),<sup>1</sup> and may be referred to as ΠΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΙΩΤ "our great father" as well as ΠΕΝΙΩΤ "our father" in a wine account (no. 37). These last two terms may also be used of the founder of the monastery, as ΠΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΙΩΤ does in no. 57.

The head of the monastery is the focal point of the *dikaion* of the monastery and all communication with this body is channelled through him (nos. 23, 28, 30 and 49).<sup>2</sup> The term *dikaion* refers to the *ius corporis* (juridical body) of the monastery,<sup>3</sup> and is to be distinguished from the terms *diakonia* (διακονία) and *dioikesis* (διοίκησης). Apart from the basic concept of "service", *diakonia* may mean the place in the monastery where food was prepared, the body responsible for the goods and finances of the monastery, or the community of the monastery as a whole.<sup>4</sup> In two of the *aparchê* collection documents edited in this thesis, "father(s) of the *diakonia*" play a financial role (see §5.7). In two of the five legal papyri from a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun discussed at §2.1.1, BL Or. 6201 ll. 41-42 and 6203 ll. 49-50, the *dioikesis* of the *diakonia* (ΔΙΥΓΗCIC ΝΤΔΙΔΚΟΝΙΔ) appears to be the department responsible for handling the monastery's business interests.<sup>5</sup>

Two different words for "priest" are used in the texts, the most common being *πρεσβύτερος* which is translated "presbyter".<sup>6</sup> This title is also held by the heads of the monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in the five BL Coptic legal papyri (see §2.1.1).<sup>7</sup> No. 27 features a *ἱερεύς* and a *πρεσβύτερος* (ll. 1 and 10) which indicates that a distinction was made between the two terms. The former is rarely found in Christian contexts, being associated chiefly with pagan and Judaic culture, and is used in the Old

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<sup>1</sup>See Krause 1988 p. 116 no. 2 for this title in inscriptions from Bawit. Kahle believed this term for the superior of a monastery to be rare in non-literary texts north of Assiut, at least before the IXth C., see *Bal.* pp. 32-33. It was the title usually given to the head of the monastery of Bala'izah (see *Bal.* p. 32), ἀρχιμανδρίτης and ΠΟΘ ΠΡΩΜΕ being less common. Known heads of this monastery are as follows: Abraham (*Bal.* nos. 109, 110, and 205); Ammone (see *Bal.* index p. 816); Damianos (*Bal.* no. 125); Apa Kyre (*Bal.* no. 102); Psa (*Bal.* nos. 103 and 104); and another may have been called Michael or Mena (*Bal.* no. 303A).

<sup>2</sup>Similarly see *Bal.* nos. 100, 102, 103, 106 and 109; *BM* 1049 and 1055; *CPR* IV 146-147, 151 and 195; and *Ryl.* 166, 181, 201 and 220. A couple of unpublished examples are BL Or. 6201 B273 and 277 (see §2.1).

<sup>3</sup>See Wipszycka 1991b.

<sup>4</sup>See Wipszycka 1991a and Wietheger 1992 pp. 272-273 for a discussion of the possible meanings of διακονία; in *Bal.* p. 39 Kahle mentions the use of this term in no. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Krause 1958 section 4: "Die Verfassung des Apa Apollon-Klosters zu Bawit" interprets the term διοίκησης as referring to the "bank" of a monastery into which monks deposit their property; he also discusses this term together with διακονία and δίκαιον.

<sup>6</sup>For this title in inscriptions from Bawit, see Clédât 1904-1906 pp. 44 and 46 and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 116 (no. 381) and possibly 149 (no. 533 (ΠΙΡΕCΘΥΤΕΡΟC)). The Egyptian word for "priest", οϫηηθ, also occurs, see Clédât 1904-1906 p. 109 no. 15 l. 3 and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 11.

<sup>7</sup>This is also the case with some heads of the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara, see Wietheger 1992 p. 276 ΠΡΕCΘΥΤΕΡΟC. Note that the title ἱερεύς is not found ... this monastery.

Testament; the latter appears in the New Testament, describing people engaged in the ministry of the Christian faith.

Below priests in the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum* are deacons (διάκων), several of whom are mentioned.<sup>1</sup> In **no. 10** a deacon may be involved in *aparchê* collection, see §5.7.

Amongst the routine monastic titles ΔΠΑ,<sup>2</sup> ΠΔΠΑ,<sup>3</sup> μοναχός, and CON, one term, ΠΔCON, stands out. This literally means "my brother" but it is to be interpreted as "brother" without personal meaning when it lacks concord.<sup>4</sup> This semantic shift is paralleled in many languages, compare "monsieur" in French,<sup>5</sup> and its usage is indicated in this thesis by translating it as "brother (ΠΔCON)". The title ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ "our father" is used in the same way in the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΔΙ formula texts, see Chapter 8.<sup>6</sup> The title ΠΔCON is most common in inscriptions from Bawit,<sup>7</sup> but it also occurs in texts from Bala'izah,<sup>8</sup> Saqqara,<sup>9</sup> and Wadi Sarga;<sup>10</sup> it is also found elsewhere in Egypt but is less common.<sup>11</sup> It features in texts beginning with the formula ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΔΙ, see Chapter 7. Kahle thought that ΠΔCON "merely signifies that the person is in monastic orders",<sup>12</sup> and this interpretation has been followed in this thesis. Krause (1958 p. 216), however, has attributed a special significance to the title, claiming that it is applied to "half-monks". These retained their money and profession on entering a monastery in order to be able to pay their taxes, whereas "full-monks" kept their property "on account" in the ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΙΣ (διοίκησις), and were labelled apotactic because they were rich enough not to have to work to pay their taxes.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A number of deacons are named in inscriptions from Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 index G p. 171. Note that incorrect references to this title in Clédat 1904-1906 are given in Dilwyn Jones 1981 p. 127.

<sup>2</sup>See Cannuyer 1993 pp. 68-70.

<sup>3</sup>See §3.7 for the possibility that someone with this title held the office of *shaliou*.

<sup>4</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 343a CON; Quibell 1909 p. 28 n.1; and Wietheger 1992 p. 278 "CON/ΩΩΝΕ/ΩΝΗΥ". A good example of this title used without concord may be found in the dedication to a deceased monk by ΠΔCON ΔΝΤΡΕΔΣ ΠΕΦCON "brother (ΠΔCON) Antreas, his brother" on a funerary stela which also mentions the triad of Apollo, Phib and Anoup, published by Bouriant 1884 p. 63 no. 3.

<sup>5</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 49 n. 3 notes this parallel.

<sup>6</sup>See Crum *CD* pp. 87a. Another parallel, ΠΔΩΔ ΠΩΔ ΔΔΜΙΔΝΕ "my scribe the scribe Damiane", may be found in an unpublished papyrus, BL Or. 6201 B 32 (see §2.1).

<sup>7</sup>See Krause 1988 p. 119 no. 10.

<sup>8</sup>In *Bal.* nos. 106, 160 and 303A.

<sup>9</sup>See Wietheger 1992 p. 278 "CON/ΩΩΝΕ/ΩΝΗΥ".

<sup>10</sup>It occurs in *WS* 166 (see **Appendix 2** text A) and a number of other published texts according to *WS* p. 17; it also appears in unpublished material in the BM: on two jar labels BM EA *WS* 69889 ϕ ιτ̄ ρ̄ ΠΔCON( ; and *WS* 70018 ΠΔC'O'IN); and on a bowl *WS* 70169 ΠΔCON ΔΠΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ.

<sup>11</sup>Dilwyn Jones' (1981 p. 108 n. 25) statement that ΠΔCON is used *passim* at the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara, as elsewhere in Egypt, should be modified. There are also examples of this title from the Monastery of Epiphanius, and in graffiti from the Theban region, see Černý et al. 1969-1974 vol. IV,2 no. 2893, vol. IV,4 nos. 3402 and 3420 c-d, although some of these may have been written by people from Middle Egypt, including Titkooh, see §3.4.5.

<sup>12</sup>*Bal.* pp. 579-580.

<sup>13</sup>On apotactic monasticism, see Krause 1985a.

Some monks have specific liturgical functions,<sup>1</sup> such as psalmodist (ψαλμωδός) (nos. 6 and possibly 10),<sup>2</sup> or lector (ρρωω no. 38).<sup>3</sup> The title ΟΥΔΖϞ, which has been interpreted as "liturgical functionary, acolyte (?)",<sup>4</sup> and which is only attested at Bawit, is found in two texts, nos. 7 and 10.<sup>5</sup> In the latter text this title may be held by a deacon (see commentary to this text for details). In one inscription from the Bawit Monastery of Apa Apollo,<sup>6</sup> two ψαλμωδοί have people with the title ΟΥΔΖϞ assigned to them; in another,<sup>7</sup> ϞΕΜΕΩΝ the ΟΥΔΖϞ is listed together with a ρρωω "lector".<sup>8</sup> See §5.7 for psalmodists and *ouahfs* involved in *aparchê* collection.

The title ϞΔΖ "scribe" is ascribed to the προεστώς of the monastery of Apa Apollo in no. 27, and to monks from the monastery in nos. 5 and 51. This title has been translated in this thesis as "scribe", which is its basic meaning. It may also be used to designate a teacher or master (including a master craftsman, see no. 48 for someone who may be a "master caulker"), or as a title of respect.<sup>9</sup>

The title "great brothers" is discussed in §5.7; and "brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός)" and "brothers of the *pistikos*" in §8.8. An otherwise unattested title, ϞΝΗΥ ΜΠϞΔΛΖΡΕ "brothers of the food-gatherer", occurs in no. 37 in which they are assigned a payment of wine.

In a property renunciation document, no. 49, a certain Apa Phoibamon (who presumably belonged to the monastery of Apa Apollo) is designated as "the one (in charge?) of the judgment (ἀπόκρισις)" (l. 20). One of his duties is to accompany one of the witnesses to the document, the headman of Senesla, to the property which is under judgment (ll. 19-20).

A monk is described in no. 29 as a *notarius* (νοτάριος) which may be translated as "notary" or "secretary",<sup>10</sup> and he is involved in arranging a lease of beehives. In a

<sup>1</sup>See Wipszycka 1993 for the "minor orders" to which psalmodists and lectors belong.

<sup>2</sup>See Wipszycka 1993 pp. 205-208 for psalmodists. This title is attested in inscriptions at Bawit, see Clédat 1904-1906 p.150, and 1916 p. 36 no. 53; and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 18, 72 and 112 (nos. 350-352).

<sup>3</sup>See Wipszycka 1993 pp. 194-205 for the role of lectors in the Egyptian church, and 212-215 for illiterate lectors. This title occurs in inscriptions from Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 index p. 171 s.vv. ρρωω and ἀναγνώστης, and Clédat 1916 p. 31 (no. XVII l. 5 ΔΝΔΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ).

<sup>4</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 508b; Westendorf, *KH* p. 285 interprets it as "ein liturgisches Amt (dem Psalmodisten beigegeben)". Note that ΟΥΔΖϞ is recorded as a form of ΟΥΔΖΒΕϞ Crum *CD* 509a "bark, growl" of dog, which is not appropriate here; it could perhaps be interpreted as a form of ΟΥΔΖΜΕϞ, see Crum *CD* p. 510b "answerer, interpreter". Drioton (in Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 115 n. 2) derived ΟΥΔΖϞ from ΟΥΩΖ "add".

<sup>5</sup>Clédat 1904-1906 pp.111 no. 31; 113 no. 48 (ΚΕΡΟΝΤΕϞ); 114 nos. 55 (ϞΙΜ[Ο]ΘΕ) and 56 (ΜΔΚΔΡΕ); 125 no. 5 (ΦΟΙΒΔΜΩΝΚΟΥΙ and ΠΔΥΧΕΚΟΥΙ); and 127 no. 10 ll. 9-10. In Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 115 no. 373 l. 2 the name of the ΟΥΔΖϞ may be reinterpreted as ϞΙ[Ι]ΜΟΘΕ, which is the name of a ΟΥΔΖϞ in Clédat 1904-1906 p. 114 no. 55.

<sup>6</sup>Clédat 1904-6 p. 127 no. 10 ll. 9-10.

<sup>7</sup>Clédat 1904-6 p.111 no. 31.

<sup>8</sup>In an unpublished Coptic papyrus from the BM Lansing Collection, BM EA 10453 (which Crum cites at *CD* p. 510b), ΝΕΟΥΩΖΜ are mentioned after ΝΕΡρωω "lectors".

<sup>9</sup>Wietheger 1992 p. 279 lists a number of meanings for this title.

<sup>10</sup>See *MPER* XVI p. 9 for this title and the relevant bibliography; note the meaning "notary" in *CPR* XIV no. 1 l. 22.

ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ formula text, **no. 72**, the "office (literally "place") of the *notarius*" is mentioned, and this may have belonged to the monastery issuing this order. **Nos. 72 and 93** both mention someone with the title *apou* (ΔΠΟΥ) which has still to be assigned a satisfactory meaning.

### §3.14 RELATIONS BETWEEN LAY PEOPLE AND THE MONASTERY

In **no. 49** the *protocometes* of Senesla acts as a witness to a renunciation document drawn up by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. Men from Senesla are also involved in **no. 28**, in exchanging land with the monastery. In §3.9 a number of lay people were seen to be involved in arranging loans from monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo and the Titkooth monastery.

**No. 37**, which was discussed above at §§3.7 and 3.11, lists a number of people as recipients of wine payments from the monastery. Some of these are undoubtedly lay people employed by the monastery, including three *symmachoi* who are paid varying amounts of wine, one of them on two consecutive days. It is not clear whether these *symmachoi* were attached to the monastery, possibly acting as armed guards as well as fulfilling their messenger duties, or worked for the public postal service and were paid by a number of different contributors, including the monastery.<sup>1</sup> Other lay people mentioned in this account who may be employed by the monastery are a ωΔΛΕΜΜΟΥ (someone whose job is concerned with water, **no. 37** ll. 7 and 21) and some smiths (ΖΔΜ'Κ'ΛΛΕ **no. 37** l. 23); the latter could have been monks belonging to the monastery or may have been local people employed on a casual basis.<sup>2</sup> One entry designates a wine payment to ΝΕ[.]ΔΚΚΔΤΗC (**no. 37** l. 13) and it may be that the undeciphered word preserves an occupational title. The role played by the "men of Piôh Pemom" and "men of Michôleos" in this text is uncertain: they are also assigned quantities of wine (**no. 37** ll. 3 and 8) but these could just as well represent charitable donations as payments for work.

In **no. 29**, three monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo act as surety for a bee-keeper who may have been employed by the monastery. His lay status is perhaps indicated by the fact that he is not assigned the title *Apa*, nor is he referred to as a brother.<sup>3</sup>

A watchman acts as a witness in **no. 23**, a debt acknowledgment drawn up by a monk of the monastery. His name and any other titles he might have held are not preserved and so it is impossible to say whether he was a monk or a layman employed by the monastery.

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<sup>1</sup>See Johnson and West 1949 p. 166 especially n. 23. For the continuation of the public post beyond the reign of Justinian and up to the Arab Conquest, see Gascou 1985 p. 53.

<sup>2</sup>Smiths are mentioned in an inscription from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 125 no. 428 l. 2); and Rousseau 1985 p. 82 mentions monks as smiths. Rathbone 1991 pp. 173-174 analyses the status of smiths employed by the Appianus estate in the IIIrd C.

<sup>3</sup>A honey-seller (CΔΝΕΘΙΩ) is commemorated in an inscription at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 98 no. 268 l. 2.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF THE DOCUMENTS

#### §4.1 MONASTERIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS

Most of the monasteries are named after a person, probably the founder or another person of equal importance to the institution. One or two monasteries are designated by their location, the monastery of Phoou and possibly the Monastery of Rakota(-).<sup>1</sup>

The monasteries of Apa Apollo at Bawit and Titkooh are discussed at §§3.3 and 3.4 respectively.

#### Monastery of Apa Anoup

μοναστηρ/ αβ/ Ανουφ no. 40 l. 18

No exact location has been assigned to the monastery named after Apa Apollo's friend, Apa Anoup (see §3.2.2.), but Abû Şâlih "the Armenian" mentions a monastery of this name to the north of el-Ashmunein.<sup>2</sup> This is possibly the same as Deir Banub described by Ramzî in the district of el-Ashmunein.<sup>3</sup>

A location in the Hermopolite nome, possibly near a monastery of Apa Apollo is suggested for the monastery by various pieces of evidence.<sup>4</sup> The head of this monastery is mentioned in an inscription in the southern church at Bawit,<sup>5</sup> and the place/monastery of Apa Anoup (ΠΜΔ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ) is mentioned in *CPR* XX nos. 6 ll. 2-3, 12 l. 3 and 20 l. 4, three Coptic ostraca with the ωΙΝΕ ΝCΔ- formula which may have come from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo (see §3.3.2.1). *Aparché* is gathered for the monasteries of Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup and Apa Jeremias in no. 9. The monastery of Apa Anoup is mentioned in no. 40, a list which also mentions a monastery of Apa Apollo. In a wine account which probably pertains to wine expenditure in an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, no. 37, someone is described in l. 18 as "the one of Apa Anoup" (ΠΔ Δ ΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ).

Further connections can be made between the monasteries of Apa Anoup and Apa Apollo. An unpublished Coptic text formerly in the possession of George Michaelides is a

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<sup>1</sup>On the possible distinction of private from public monasteries, the former involving a personal name and the latter a place name, see Thomas 1987 p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>See Martin 1987 pp. 17-18, 20 n. 8, and 29 for a location between el-Ashmunein and el-Minya.

<sup>3</sup>See Coquin and Martin 1991a.

<sup>4</sup>See Drew-Bear 1979a p. 65 " `Ανουφ (ἄββᾶ)"; and *CKĀ* pp. 2736 "Topos des Apa Anoup" and 1968-1969 "Pma n-Apa-Anoup" (noting that no entry is supplied for the cross-reference to the "Kloster des Apa Anoup"; this would presumably have referred to no. 40).

<sup>5</sup>See Chassinat 1911 pl. 56 l. 2.

debt acknowledgment "from monks of the τόπος of Apa Anoub to monks of the τόπος of Apa Apollo".<sup>1</sup>

A monastery of Apa Anoup is also mentioned in the following documents: a Coptic papyrus belonging to the collection of a Russian museum;<sup>2</sup> an unpublished Coptic document which mentions Titkooh (ΤΙΤΚΟΘΔΖ) and possibly also Bawit (ΠΑΥΗΤ) (CUL Michael. 815/2, see §2.2); and perhaps also a papyrus deposited for sale at Christie's, see §2.5.

See **Panoube** at §4.5.

## Monastery of Apa Jeremias

**No. 42** is issued by a the fathers of the *diakonia* of the ΜΔ ΝΔΠΑ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΔC "place/monastery of Apa Jeremias" to monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo. This document may be connected with the collection of *aparché* as is **no. 9**, in which *aparché* is collected for (the monasteries of) Apa Jeremias, Apa Apollo and Apa Anoup.

A monastery of Jeremias with the epithet Papmanbête, "the one of Pmanbête" (see §4.6 **Pmanbête**), is specified in **no. 64**, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΣΔΙ formula poll-tax document.<sup>3</sup>

Several monasteries of Jeremias are attested in Egypt,<sup>4</sup> the most famous of which was situated at Saqqara. Links between this monastery and a monastery of Apa Apollo are discussed below. One monastery of Jeremias is described as being south of the city of Antinoe,<sup>5</sup> and this may be the one in question in **nos. 9** and **64**. It may also have been the monastery in question in three inscriptions from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit which mention men from a monastery of Apa Jeremias.<sup>6</sup>

A monastery of Jeremia for women is described as being near Hermopolis Magna.<sup>7</sup> Further south, another monastery of Jeremias may have been situated near to Bala'izah; this location is suggested by a letter (*Bal.* no. 214) which appears to have been written to the monks of the monasteries of Apa Apollo (at Bala'izah) and Apa Jeremias jointly.<sup>8</sup> Other

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<sup>1</sup>See Drescher 1960 p. 111 and *CKÄ* p. 1969 "Pma n-Apa <A>pollô". The location of this manuscript is not now known; it was not acquired by the BL or CUL along with other items from the Michaelides manuscript collection, see Clackson 1993a p. 127 n. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Edited in Jernstedt 1930 p. 24 no. 3.

<sup>3</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1413-1414 "Kloster des Jeremia (I.)".

<sup>4</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1342-1347 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia" (I-V), and pp. 1413-1414 "Kloster des (hl.) Jeremia (I.)", and "Kloster des Jeremia (I.)"; and *Bal.* pp. 22-24, and nos. 137 l. 8; 214 ll. 1, 9, and 18; and 312 l. 22.

<sup>5</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1342-1343 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (I)". This may be the same monastery as the one mentioned in the will of a man from Antinoe, see Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 132-133 "Ἱερημίου (ἄνα)".

<sup>6</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1344-1345 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (III.)".

<sup>7</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1345-1346 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (IV.)".

<sup>8</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1346-1347 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (V.)"; and *Bal.* pp. 22-24, noting that on p. 22 Kahle wrongly suggests that *Bal.* 214 was written by the monks of these two monasteries rather than to them.

monasteries of Jeremias were located in the Thinite pagarchy,<sup>1</sup> and possibly in the Antaeopolite nome.<sup>2</sup>

Inscriptions from the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara refer to a monastery of the same name in the south. A monastery of Apa Apollo appears to have had links with the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara. An inscription at the Saqqara monastery mentions Peschempemai ΠΡΩΜ ΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ "the man of the monastery <of> Apa Apollo".<sup>3</sup> The monasteries share certain artistic and architectural features in common,<sup>4</sup> and Apa Jeremias of Saqqara is mentioned in inscriptions and depicted in a wall-painting at Bawit.<sup>5</sup>

### Monastery of Jeremias of Pmanbête

Μ'ΟΝΙ ΪΕΡΕΜΙΔC ΠΔΠΜΔΝΒΗΤΕ no. 64 ll. 3-4

See **Monastery of Apa Jeremias** above in this section for possible locations of this monastery; and §4.6 for **Pmanbête** as a place name.

### Topos of Kames

ΤΟΠ/ ΚΑΜΗΤΟΣ no. 40 l. 3

The *topos* of Kames may be identified with ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΝΚΟΜΗΤ'ΟC' "the convent/monastery of Kometos" which occurs in *ST* 154 l. 1 because, like no. 40, this text also mentions the Hermopolite place name **Pa(I)las** (see **Palas** §4.4).<sup>6</sup> This place name suggests a location for the *topos* of Kames in the Hermopolite nome, possibly near el-Ashmunein; Marie Drew-Bear has suggested that it might have been situated near Bawit.<sup>7</sup> A *topos* of Kometos is also mentioned in a Greek papyrus from Aphrodito.<sup>8</sup>

See §4.2 for the hospital of the Monastery of Kames.

### Monastery of Apa Makare

This monastery is named in no. 3 as a beneficiary of *aparchê* collection along with a monastery of Apa Apollo. Apart from the famous monastery of Macarius in the Wadi Natrun,<sup>9</sup> there were other monasteries of this name, one opposite (P)Shanhûr , south of

<sup>1</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1413 "Kloster des (hl.) Jeremia (I.)" and "2683 "Tin".

<sup>2</sup>See *CKÄ* p. 1344 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (II.)".

<sup>3</sup>Wietheger 1992 cat. no. 346 p. 428.

<sup>4</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. vii, ix, and 12.

<sup>5</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 index I p. 156 s.v. "Jérémie (Monastère de Saint-)."

<sup>6</sup>*Topos* is left untranslated because it could be used of a monastery or church here; see Wipszycka 1972 p. 13, and *Bal.* no. 187 l. 5, p. 601 n. 6.

<sup>7</sup>Drew-Bear 1979a p. 137 "Κάμητος".

<sup>8</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 2794-2795 "Topos des Kamê(to)s".

<sup>9</sup>See al-Miskin 1991.

Qûs,<sup>1</sup> and another at Aphrodito.<sup>2</sup> **No. 3** may relate to an Hermopolite monastery which is no longer attested.

## Monastery of (Apa) Mena

ΠΕ<Τ>ΡΔ ΝΔ ΠΔ ΜΗΝΔ **no. 53**

There are at least two other monasteries of Apa Mena in Egypt apart from the famous one to the south of Alexandria: one occurs only in a text from Oxyrhynchus,<sup>3</sup> the other is perhaps located in the region of Kôm Isfaht to judge from the geographical context of the texts in which it is found.<sup>4</sup> It is mentioned in Coptic papyri from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah.<sup>5</sup>

The latter monastery is sometimes termed a πέτρα as it is in **no. 53**,<sup>6</sup> a guarantee for loan repayment issued to a monk of a monastery (πέτρα) of Apa Mena, possibly by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (the document begins with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔ ΣΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΘΔΙ formula, see Chapter 7).

Another text which may illustrate relationships between monks of these two monasteries is **no. 16**. It may have been written by a monk from a monastery of this name to a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo and, in l. 5, it mentions monks collecting ἀπαρχή on behalf of "our father, Apa Mena". This text suggests that the monastery may have been located to the south of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (see **Provenance** details for this text).

## Monastery of Phoou

ΤΟΟ[Ο]Υ ΝΦΟΟΥ **no. 66** l. 2

**Phoou** may be a variant of the Hermopolite nome place name ΦΟΥΕΥ / Φβϋ,<sup>7</sup> which was located in the Patre ano toparchy to the north of el-Ashmunein. The Coptic form of this place name is found in wine-delivery documents from Wadi Sarga.<sup>8</sup> which is attested in the Patre ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome.

A Greek papyrus dating to the VIth Century, *P. Giss.* no. 56 (ll. 2 and 10),<sup>9</sup> mentions a monastery, name now lost, in Φβϋ, which may be identified with ΦΟΥΥ.

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<sup>1</sup>The monastery of Apa/Papas Macarius son of Patoure, see Coquin 1991 p. 1658.

<sup>2</sup>See *CKĀ* p. 2752 "Topos des Apa Makarius".

<sup>3</sup>This text is described in *CKĀ* 1354 "Kloster (?) des Apa Mena (I)".

<sup>4</sup>Details of this monastery are given in *CKĀ* 1355-1356 "Kloster des Apa Mena (II)".

<sup>5</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 42, 49, 519, and 547.

<sup>6</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 27-29 for this term.

<sup>7</sup> See *CKĀ* p. 1932 "Phouey"; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 315-316 Φβϋ, and p. 320 Φ(υ)ς which occurs in a VIIth C. Greek text from the Hermopolite nome, *SPP* X no. 25 col. B l. 20. Note that this papyrus also mentions ΤΕΠΩΤ (col. A l. 27), a place name which occurs in **no. 68** side (A), see §4.4.

<sup>8</sup>*WS* nos. 233, 234, 259, 289, 290, 318, 319, and 371. Correct Drew-Bear 1979a p. 316 from *WS* "317" to "371".

<sup>9</sup> See *BL* I p. 462 and II pt 2 p. 66 for this dating.

## Monastery of Rakota(-) (?)

ΜΔ ΜΡΔΚΟΤ'Δ'Ι no. 7

See **Pmamrakota(-)** at §4.6.

## Monastery of Stephen

ΘΕΝΗΗΤΕ ΝCΤΕΦΝ' no. 103 l. 3

A monastery of Stephanus is to be found in a Vth C. Greek document, *P.Amst.* I 81, from which its geographical location cannot be ascertained.<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ see Coquin 1993 p. 663.

## §4.2 OTHER RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

A hospital belonging to the Monastery of Kames is mentioned in **no. 40** (ΞΕΝΕΩΝΙΟΥ l. 6). The same text lists the Holy Church (αγιας εκκλησι, l. 32), which may refer to the basilica at Hermopolis, as it does in a couple of related texts, *BM* 1075 and 1077.<sup>2</sup>

## §4.3 PLACE NAMES MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS

These are grouped in alphabetical order according to location when it is known.<sup>3</sup> A number of place names beginning ΠΜΔ Ν/Μ- "the place of" are discussed in §4.6 and names which may not be place names are analysed at §4.11.

## §4.4 HERMOPOLITE PLACE NAMES

If known, the toparchy to which a place was once assigned follows it in brackets.

**Esou** (Leukopyrgites ano)<sup>4</sup>

ΕCΟΥ no. 21 l. 1; Ισου no. 21 l. 8

This place is attested in several documents but its exact location within the Hermopolite nome is not certain.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 1424-1425 "Kloster des (hl.) Stephanus".

<sup>2</sup>See MacCoull 1987b p. 102. For this church, see Wipszycka 1969.

<sup>3</sup>There is always a certain amount of uncertainty connected with the identification of ancient toponyms with modern ones, see, e.g., *CKÄ* p. 2592 "Terôt" for the difficult nature of distinguishing which Arabic place name represents Coptic ΤΕΡΩΤ. In some cases it is even difficult to match up the Coptic and Greek equivalents of a place name. There has been speculation, for example, over the equation of ΤΔΖΡΟΥΧ with Dahrut, see *CKÄ* pp. 493-495 "Dahrût".

<sup>4</sup>For the location in this toparchy, see Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 p. 264. Van Minnen 1987 p. 121 locates this place in the Patemites ano toparchy.

<sup>5</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 917-918 "Esou"; this is surely to be equated with "Ισου", Drew-Bear 1979a p. 135, which is mentioned in a IVth C. papyrus *P. Cair. Preis.* along with other places in the Leukopyrgites ano toparchy.

## Isou see Esou

### Kôš (Koussites ano)

ΚΩC no. 27 l. 11

The village of Kôš is now known as el-Qusiya (see Koussai on **Map 3**).<sup>1</sup> It was located just south-east of Titkooh.

### Micholeos (Leukopyrgites ano)

ΜΙΧΟΛΕΟC no. 37 l. 8

A village located on the left bank of the Nile between Sanabu and Deirut.<sup>2</sup>

### Migdôl / Mijôl (Peri polin kato)

ΜΙΓΔΩΛ no. 22 l. 1; ΜΙΧΩΛ no. 56 l. 7

There are a number of places involving this West Semitic word for "tower" in Egypt,<sup>3</sup> one of which lies 8 kilometres north-north-west of el-Ashmunein (see Miktol **Map 3**).<sup>4</sup> An inscription from Bawit,<sup>5</sup> and two ωΙΝΕ ΝCΔ- ostraca (see §3.3) also mention this place name.<sup>6</sup> ΜΙΓΔΩΛ is also mentioned in BL Or. 6201 A126 (see §2.1).

In no. 22, ΜΙΓΔΩΛ is described as ΠΕΦΤΟΥ ΝΤΙΜΕ ΖΜ ΠΤΩ ΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΛΙC "the four villages in the region of Shmoun the city". A Coptic lease document, *Ryl.* 158, mentions ΠΕΚΤΗΜΔ ΝΠΔΟΥΔΝ ΝΙΩΤ ΖΝ ΝΕΜΔ ΝΡΟΕΙC ΝΜΙΓΔΩΛ ΝΠΕΒΤΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ ΖΝ ΠΤΩ ΝΤΙΠΟΛΙC ΤΔΙ ΩΜΟΥΝ (ll. 24-25) which is translated by Crum as "the property of 'Pawan eniôt' in the *migdôl* watch-towers of the Eighty, in the nome of this town of Shmoun".

### Mijôl (ΜΙΧΩΛ) see Migdôl / Mijôl

### Palas (Leukopyrgites ano)

gen. Παλαντος no. 40 l. 19

The exact location of this place is uncertain, but it is possibly near Hermetarion, **Michôleos** and a *Topos of Kames* (see above §§4.4 and 4.1 respectively).<sup>7</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 3 p. 149 "Κουσσαί", suppl. 1 p. 178; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 147-151.

<sup>2</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 3 p. 287 "Μιχῶλις", suppl. 1 p. 198; Drew-Bear 1979a p. 170 "Μιχῶλις" (for the IIIrd and IV th C. Greek papyri) and *CKĀ* p. 1643 "Micholeos". It is also listed in a Greek papyrus list of δημόσια payments belonging to a private collection edited in Husson 1991.

<sup>3</sup>Roquet 1973 p. 9 no. 70 lists many of the variant spellings found in Coptic.

<sup>4</sup>See *CKĀ* pp. 1671-1673 "Miqtl̄l".

<sup>5</sup>Clédat 1916 p. 44 (no. II), in which a deacon called Iouste is described as ΠΔΜΙΧΟΛ "the one of Mijol".

<sup>6</sup>See *CPR* XX 15 l. 3 and 18 l. 2.

<sup>7</sup>See *CKĀ* pp. 1819-1820 "Pala(nto)s"; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 189-190 "Πάλλαντος".

attested in Greek papyri dating from the IIIrd - VIIth C,<sup>1</sup> and, as ΠΔΛΛΔC , in a couple of Coptic documents (*ST* 154 l. 1 and 156 l. 2).

A IIIrd C. Greek papyrus, *BGU* XIII 2365 l. 2, records a Palas in the Heracleopolite nome.<sup>2</sup>

## Peloole

ΠΕΛΟΟΛΕ no. 85 l. 4

This literally means "the grape". A place called Πελόολε is assigned to the Hermopolite nome in a VI/VIIth C. Greek papyrus, *P. Vindob. G* 1530 l.5, and a hamlet of this name may also occur in an VIIIth C. Greek tax list from Aphrodito, *P. Lond.* IV 1479 l. 1276.<sup>3</sup>

The name ΠΕΛΟΟΛΕ may also be rendered as Παλαλι, a place in the Faiyum which is mentioned in *P. Brook.* 25 l. 26.<sup>4</sup> There are at least four other attested place names involving ΕΛΟΟΛΕ.<sup>5</sup>

## Perçiê

ΠΕΡΘΙΗ no. 42 l. 7

This place name or ΠΕΡΘΙΗCΕ (see **Perçiêse §4.7**) may be interpreted in this text. Perçiê may be identified with el-Burgâya (Pergjaiê **Map 3**) about 6.5 kilometres north of el-Minya (Tmone **Map 3**) in the Hermopolite nome. It is mentioned in a fragment of a church calendar and on a tombstone;<sup>6</sup> and possibly also in two inscriptions from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit: Ο ΔΓΙΟC ΔΠΔ ΕΥΔΔΙΜΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΘΔΙΗ (the final Η is perhaps to be interpreted as an Η) "Saint Eudaimon, martyr, of Perçaiê" (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 118 no 389) and ΠΔCΟΝ ΖΩΡ ΠΡΜΓ ΠΕΓ[Ρ]ΘΔΙ (originally read by Maspero as ΠΡΜΠΘ..ΘΔι) "brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Hor of Perçai" (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 120 no. 398). *CPR* IV 206 l. 6 records the place name ΠΕΛΘΗΕΙΕ which may be ΠΕΡΘΙΗ written with labdacism.

## Phoou

ΦΟΟΥ no. 66 l. 2

See above **§4.1 Monastery of Phoou**.

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<sup>1</sup>Details of these are given in Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 189-190 "Πάλλαντος". This place name also occurs in *P. Cair. inv.* 10511 and 10565 (= *P. Cair. Preis.* 30) which were re-edited in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 pp. 259-265.

<sup>2</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 26 "Πάλας".

<sup>3</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 91 "Πελόολε" and *CKÄ* p. 1887 "Peloole"; this place name is not recorded in Drew-Bear 1979a.

<sup>4</sup>See Μαγδῶλον Παλαάλι in Calderini *Diz.* 3 p. 221 and *CKÄ* pp. 1644-1646 "Miktaal".

<sup>5</sup>Crum *CD* p. 55a ΕΛΟΟΛΕ.

<sup>6</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 449-450 "al-Burgâya" for details of this place name and all of the... sources.

## Piôh Pemom

Πῖωϩ ΠΕΜΟΜ no. 37 l. 3

Literally "the field of Pemom",<sup>1</sup> and possibly a variant of the place name ΠΙΔϩ ΠΕΖΜΟΜ which occurs in an unpublished BL Coptic papyrus, BL Or. 13885.13 (see §2.2).<sup>2</sup> The same place name may also be reconstructed in *Ryl.* 285.<sup>3</sup>

*P. Stras.* V 477, a Greek papyrus from the dossier of the Church of the Resurrection at Hermopolis (beginning of the VIth C.), may involve the leasing of three arouras of land in a place of this name to the east of el-Ashmunein (l. 8).<sup>4</sup>

Piôh Pemom is to be differentiated from Πῖωϩ Επναμ and the τοπ(ος) Πῖωϩ Επνομ, which are mentioned in a Greek papyrus from Aphrodito dating from 716 C.E.<sup>5</sup>

## Plêtem

ΠΛΗΤΕΜ ΖΕΝ ΠΤΩϩ ΚΩϩ no. 27 l. 11

The exact location of this village in relation to **Kô**s (see above in this section) is uncertain.<sup>6</sup>

## Pnê

ΠΝΗ no. 16 l. 3

This may be interpreted literally as "doorpost, threshold, step" (Crum *CD* p. 266a ΠΝΗ). A Πνῆ of uncertain location is mentioned in an VIIIth C. Greek papyrus from Aphrodito, *P. Lond.* IV 1460 l. 151.<sup>7</sup> This may be equated with the place name Πέννη which is attested in Greek papyri from the Hermopolite nome and may have been located in the Môchites toparchy of that nome.<sup>8</sup> ΠΝΗ is also attested in published Coptic texts,<sup>9</sup> and in an inscription from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit which mentions ΜΗΝΔ ΠΡΕΜΠΝΗ along with men from **CMOY** and **MΔΡHC**.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>CKÄ pp. 1942-1943 "Piôh Pemom".

<sup>2</sup>Clackson 1993a p. 126 §7.1. *Bal.* pp. 139 §123 and 142 §123g) cites examples of the loss of ϩ within Coptic words.

<sup>3</sup>CKÄ pp. 1942-1943 "Piôh Pemom"; a number of Hermopolite place names are mentioned in papyri from Aphrodito.

<sup>4</sup>Drew-Bear 1979a p. 207 "Πῖαϩ π.[ ]"; no other place names beginning Πῖωϩ Π- are attested.

<sup>5</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 4 pp. 147-148 "Πῖωϩε πναμ".

<sup>6</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 159 "Πλήθμῖς"; CKÄ p. 1962 "Plêtm"; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 209-210 "Πλήθμῖς".

<sup>7</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 165 "Πνῆ".

<sup>8</sup>Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 201-202 "Πέννη".

<sup>9</sup>See CKÄ p. 1987 "Pnê", adding the following to the list of references for this place name given there: Coptic: *WS* no. 29 ll. 12-14; *O. Deir el Gizaz Journal des fouilles* n. 26 A l. 6 which is edited in di Bitonto-Kasser 1992 pp. 145-147; and an unpublished papyrus document, *CUL Michael.* 1036(A) l. 6; and Greek: *P. Lond.* IV no. 1542 l. 10.

<sup>10</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 no. 252.

Alternatively it may be identified with Πνή in the Antaeopolite nome, or Πέννη in the Theodosiopolite nome.<sup>1</sup> In this case the Theodosiopolite nome intended is probably the one created artificially between the Cynopolite and Hermopolite nomes, rather than the one further north in the Faiyum.<sup>2</sup>

### **Pôrahêu**

ΠΩΡΔΖΗΥ **no. 27** l. 1 (Πουραηυ l. 11)

This settlement (ἐποίκιον) is attested only in this text. Its location is uncertain, but it was possibly near **Kôs** (see above in this section).<sup>3</sup>

### **Pousire**

ΠΟΥΣΙΡΕ **no. 16** l. 5

Literally "house of Osiris". **No. 16** mentions monks collecting *aparchê* in the region of Pousire, and an unpublished ωΙΝΕ Ν̄CΔ- formula ostrakon (bearing the inventory no. 5298) in the possession of Charles Ede of London records this place as a source of wheat.<sup>4</sup>

There was more than one place called Pousire in Egypt. The one mentioned in this text is most probably to be identified with Pousire north-west of el-Ashmunein in the Hermopolite nome (see **Map 3**), probably in the toparchy of Peri polin kato.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Martyrdom of SS. Paese and Thecla*,<sup>6</sup> this place was sufficiently close to Shmoun and Antinoe for Paese to visit them frequently.

Another Pousire was located north of Memphis (present day Abûsir),<sup>7</sup> and another in the southern Faiyum, just west of the Bahr Yûsuf (see **Map 2**).

### **Senesla** (Leukopyrgites ano)

ΣΕΝΕCΛΔ **no. 28** ll. 6, 13; **no. 49** l. 19

The exact location of this place is uncertain.<sup>8</sup> It is listed along with Michôleos (see above in this section), Sanabu, and Tanemoou, and other Hermopolite place names in a Greek papyrus list of δημόσια payments belonging to a private collection.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For both of these see *CKÄ* p. 1890 "Pennê".

<sup>2</sup> Drew-Bear 1979b pp. 299-303 discusses this distinction.

<sup>3</sup> *CKÄ* p. 1999 "Pôrahêu", and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 219 "Πουραηυ".

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Professor John Tait for showing me his transcription of this text.

<sup>5</sup> This is well attested in Coptic documents, see Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 83-85 "Βουσίρις"; and *CKÄ* pp. 51-55 "Abûsir II".

<sup>6</sup> *CKÄ* p. 52 "Abûsir II".

<sup>7</sup> *CKÄ* pp. 50-51 "Abûsir I."

<sup>8</sup> *CKÄ* pp. 2336-2337 "Senesla".

<sup>9</sup> In *R<sup>o</sup>* ll. 3 and 12, edited in Husson 1991.

## Shmoun

ϠΜΟΥΝ nos. 1 l. 3; 2 l. 3 (ϠΜΟΥ); 8 l. [2], 14 l. [2]; 20 l. 1; 21 l. 1; 22 l. 2; 31 l. 2; and 33 l. 2

Shmoun (see **Map 3**), modern el-Ashmunein, the metropolis of the Hermopolite nome and one of the most important cities in Greco-Roman and Early Islamic Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

## Tahrouj (Leukopyrgites kato)

ΤΑΖΡΟΥΧ no. 20 l. 1

Tahrouj is specified as being "in the region of Shmoun" in this document,<sup>2</sup> a debt acknowledgment addressed to a monk from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh. It may be the equivalent of Greek Ταρροῦθις which was located in the Leukopyrgites kato toparchy in the IVth C.<sup>3</sup>

According to the *Life of Phib* (see §3.2.1),<sup>4</sup> Apa Apollo, Phib and Papohe spent two years on a mount near the village of Tahrouj. From here, they went south to Titkooh, stopping at the monastery of Apa Pamin,<sup>5</sup> whose location is not certain but which was possibly near el-Ashmunein.<sup>6</sup>

Tahrouj is mentioned in a number of Coptic manuscripts including economic documents from Wadi Sarga, some of which are concerned with wine deliveries.<sup>7</sup>

## Taparouou

ΤΑΠΑΡΟΥΟΥ no. 71 l. 3

The proximity of the village of Taparouou to Titkooh is illustrated in the *Life of Phib* (see §3.2) when Apa Apollo and Apa Papohe are related to have stopped at a monastery near Taparouou on their way from the Monastery of Apa Pamin (see **Tahrouj** above in this section) and **Titkooh** (see §3.4.1).<sup>8</sup>

This place name also occurs in Greek papyri,<sup>9</sup> in two ϠΙΝΕ ΝΚΔ- ostraca (see §3.3.2.1);<sup>10</sup> two unprovenanced, unpublished Coptic papyri (BL Or. 6201 B52 and

<sup>1</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 2 pp. 165-175 "Ἐρμού πόλις", suppl. 1 p. 113; *CKÄ* pp. 198-220 "al-Ašmûnên".

<sup>2</sup>This distinguishes it from the ΤΑΖΡΟΥΧ which is north-east of Oxyrhynchus.

<sup>3</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 364; and Drew-Bear 1979b p. 289.

<sup>4</sup>Orlando and Campagnano 1975 p. 26.

<sup>5</sup>Orlando and Campagnano 1975 p. 28.

<sup>6</sup>*CKÄ* pp. 1357-1358 "Kloster des Apa Pamin".

<sup>7</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 493-495 "Dahrût" for details of these manuscripts; the Greek and Arabic sources for this place are also discussed.

<sup>8</sup>Orlandi and Campagnano 1975 p. 32.

<sup>9</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 358 "Ταπαρώου".

<sup>10</sup>O. Mich. inv. 25292, edited in *Mich.* p. 244 no. 18 l. 2 (noting that Green 1983a equates ΠΑΡΟΥΟΥ in this text with the place name ΠΑΛΔΥ); and an ostrakon in an Austrian private collection, edited in Stewart 1984 pp. 105-106 ostrakon 2. Both of these references should be added to Drew-Bear 1979a p. 266 "ΤΑΠΑΡΟΥΟΥ" and *CKÄ* p. 2510 "Taparôou". Bowman 1983 p. 465 noted the possible reference to this place name in *PSI* 304 l. 11. See also *CKÄ* pp. 2076-2077 "Ptoou n-Taparouou", and 1845-1846 "Parouou" n. 1, noting that Shelton 1990 p. 114 interprets ΠΑΡΟΥΟΥ in *WS* nos. 355-357 as a personal name.

CUL Michael. 822/4 (see §§2.1 and 2.2 for the collections to which these belong)); and possibly in an inscription from Bawit.<sup>1</sup>

## **Tbake**

ΤΒΔΚΕ no. 29 l. 6.

This place name literally means "the town". It is attested in a number of Coptic and Greek texts but its location within the Hermopolite nome is uncertain.<sup>2</sup> It occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CUL Michael. 960(A) (see §2.2). See §3.4.5 for the inclusion of this place name in Theban graffiti.

**Telke** (Leukopyrgites kato) see **Pošntelke** (§4.5)

## **Tepôt**

ΤΕΠΩΤ no. 68 side (A) l. 3

A place of this name is attested in the Hermopolite nome in two Greek papyri of the IVth C. and VIIth C. respectively,<sup>3</sup> but its location is uncertain. A τόπος and a μηχανή with this name have also been assigned to the Aphrodito area and the Apollonopolite nome respectively.<sup>4</sup>

## **Terôt**

ΤΕΡΩΤ no. 6 l. x+31

This may be interpreted as Dairut which is just to the east of Bawit,<sup>5</sup> or as one of a number of place names in the Hermopolite nome which incorporate the term ΤΕΡΩΤ.<sup>6</sup> It occurs in an inscription from Bawit,<sup>7</sup> and in an unpublished papyrus, CUL Michael. 809/1 (see §2.2).

Calderini lists an area of land irrigated by a machine (μηχανή) in the Oxyrhynchite nome with a similar name.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 129 (no. 448 l. 2) ΔΠΑ ΤΔΥΡΙΝΕ ΝΤΔΠΡ.. which is interpreted as "Apa Taurus de Tapr..." in a list of saints.

<sup>2</sup>See Drew-Bear 1979a p. 270 "Τβακε"; CKĀ p. 2552 "Tbake"; and Calderini *Diz.* 2 p. 22 "Βακή", noting the occurrence of this place name in *CPR* XII 18 l. 4.

<sup>3</sup>CKĀ pp. 2587-2588 "Tepôt"; and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 280 "Τεπωτ".

<sup>4</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 4 pp. 393-394 "Τεπωτ".

<sup>5</sup>See Dairût on the map given in Drew-Bear 1979a for the position of this place which is not marked on **Map 3**.

<sup>6</sup>CKĀ pp. 2592-2593 "Terôt" discusses the possibilities; see also pp. 562-565 "Darût Sarab'am<(m)ûn>", 2593-2594 "Terôt Ašans", 2595 "Terôt Hale", 2595-2596 "Terôt n-Apake", and 2596-2598 "Terôt Šmoun".

<sup>7</sup>Clédat 1904-1906 p. 105.

<sup>8</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 401 "Τερώτ".

**Titkooh(e)** (Koussites kato)

ΤΙΤΚΟΟΖ(Ε) nos. 1 l. [2]; 20 l. 2; 54 l. 2; 59 l. 3 (ΤΙΤΚΟΖΕ)

For this place name see §3.4.1.

## §4.5 PLACES WHICH MAY BE LOCATED IN THE HERMOPOLITE NOME

**(H)ôro(-)**

ωρ<sup>ο</sup> no. 28 l. 14

χωρ ωρο(-): this may be interpreted as χωρ(ίου) "place/district" Ωρο(υ) "of (H)or(os)" in this text and it may be connected with Senesla (see §4.4) in the Hermopolite nome. Two places named "Ωρου" are mentioned in Greek papyri, one in the Arsinoite nome (IIIrd C.), the other in the Oxyrhynchite (VIth C.).<sup>1</sup>

Place names involving the god Horus involve ρωρ- in Coptic,<sup>2</sup> e.g., Sanhûr is ϸⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ.<sup>3</sup> A place located just north of el-Ashmunein which might have been a possible Coptic equivalent of ωρο(-) is ρⲟⲩⲱⲣ (**Map 3** Houor),<sup>4</sup> although the etymology of this name reveals that it does not involve the name of Horus.<sup>5</sup>

**Ôro(-)** see **(H)ôro(-)**

**Panoube**

ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲃⲈ no. 2 l. 6)

Literally "the one of Anoup". There are two places in the Hermopolite nome with which Panoube may be identified: modern Bânûb, which is just west of Deirut in the southern part of the nome,<sup>6</sup> or Deir Banub (see the **Monastery of Apa Anoup** at §4.1). An unpublished Coptic papyrus (CMAA Green "30", see §2.6) which may derive from this nome mentions ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲃⲈ and ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲃⲈ ϣⲏϸ "south Panoube". Places involving the name ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲩ are also situated either in the Faiyum or the Delta.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Calderini *Diz.* 5 p. 181 "Ωρου".

<sup>2</sup>See. exx., Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 17-19 nos. 12-19.

<sup>3</sup>Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 18-19 no. 16.

<sup>4</sup>CKÄ pp. 1115-1117 "Hûr".

<sup>5</sup>Černý *CED* p. 358 ρⲟⲩⲱⲣ.

<sup>6</sup>This is not included in **Map 3** but it is marked on the map in Drew-Bear 1979a (although there is no entry for this place elsewhere in this work). See Kurth and Rößler-Köhler 1987 p. 19, where \*ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲱⲃ is suggested as the Coptic antecedent of the modern Arabic "Abnub/Banub"; and Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 33 no. 57 and 41 no. 79, where \*ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲩ is posited.

<sup>7</sup>CKÄ pp. 1834 "Panoufi" and 1575-85 "Manûf al-ʿUlliyâ".

## Pe(-)etkême

ΠΕ.ΕΤΚΗΜΕ no. 16 text 1 ll. 5-6

This may be compared with the place name ΠΕΛΧΗΜΙ which is attested in the *Martyrdom of Thomas of Sindalât* and may be identified as modern Balkîm in the central part of the Delta.<sup>1</sup> The first component of this word, ΠΕΛ-, may be the same as Pel- in Pelhip (modern Balhîb), and may be identified as Π- ΕΛ- "the grape or vine" (ΕΛ- is a form of ΕΛΟΟΛΕ, see Crum *CD* p. 54b). If ΠΕΛΕΤΚΗΜΕ can be read, it may literally mean "the grape which is dark". Compare ΕΛΕΛΚΗΜΕ "bruise" (Crum *CD* p. 55a ΕΛΟΟΛΕ).

## Posntelke

ΠΟΥΝΤΕΛΚΕ no. 26 l. 1

This place name consists of two elements: ΠΟΥ and ΤΕΛΚΕ. Pos may be identified as a place name in a couple of texts edited in this thesis (see **Pos §4.11**) and Telke may be identified with modern Dalga which is about twenty kilometres south west of el-Ashmunein (see Telke **Map 3**), and was located just north of Bawit in the Leukopyrgites kato toparchy of the Hermopolite nome.<sup>2</sup>

This place name may be interpreted as a mis-writing of ΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΛΚΕ "the region of Telke" were it not for its designation as an ἐποίκιον. J.W.B. Barns suggested this emendation for this text (described as "P.B.M. Or. 6201B") in a note to a Coptic text excavated at Antinooupolis which mentions an ἐποίκιον of ἸΤΙ[...] ἸΝΙΤΑΚΕ. Barns proposed that this too should be interpreted as ΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΑΚΕ,<sup>3</sup> but it may have been a second attestation of Posntelke.

**Rakota(-) ?** (ΡΑΚΟΤΙΔΙ) see **Pmamrakota(-)** (ἸΠΙΜΑ ΜΡΑΚΟΤΙΔΙ) (§4.6)

## Rakote

ΡΑΚΟΤΕ no. 60

Literally this name means "(place in the) state of building".<sup>4</sup> This text was written by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo and a Hermopolite context would be suggested for ΡΑΚΟΤΕ if it were to be equated with ΡΑΚΟΤΙΔΙ, see **Pmamrakota(-) §4.6**.

<sup>1</sup>CKĀ pp. 305-306 "Balkîm".

<sup>2</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 385 "Τέλκε"; and CKĀ pp. 502-505 "Dalga", noting that BL Or. 6201 B216 is the BL papyrus described here, and correcting the reference to Rylands papyrus no. "346:2" to "356:2". This place name occurs as ΤΑΚΕ in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CUL Michael. 1176/1(B) (see §2.2)

<sup>3</sup>Barns 1959 p. 84.

<sup>4</sup>Crum *CD* p. 287b ΡΑ and Černý *CED* p. 351 ΡΑΚΟΤΕ. Lorton 1987 p. 68 records H. Goedicke's etymology of this place name as "(that which is) beside/near that which was built ..." and himself suggests an interpretation of it as "suburb". This etymology interprets ΡΑ- in ΡΑΚΟΤΕ as the Egyptian compound preposition *r-c* "beside/near" rather than the prefix *r3-c* "state of" which Crum and Černý favoured.

There may well have been other places called Rakote apart from the most famous one, Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> One may be identified in the place name ΡΔΓΟΤΔ, which is recorded in the Delta, possibly near to ΠΩΔΤΕΙ/Νικεύς/Ibsâdî.<sup>2</sup>

## **Tapoṣ** see **Taposi**

## **Taposi / Tapoṣ**

ΤΔΠΟCΙ / ΤΔΠΟΩ no. 49 l. 17

It has been conjectured that ΤΔΠΟCΙ is a variant writing of Busiris (ΠΟΥCΙΡΕ etc.) in the Hermopolite nome.<sup>3</sup> Taposi is not otherwise attested but it may perhaps be read in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CUL Michael. 1047/2 l. 5 (see §2.2).<sup>4</sup>

Alternatively, instead of Taposi, Tapoṣ may be read. An inscription from Bawit mentions a Keorke (George) ΤΔΠΟΩ;<sup>5</sup> and Apa Ser[...] Tapoṣ is named on a stela excavated at Bawit.<sup>6</sup> A possible variant of this place name, ΤΔΠΟΩΙ, is mentioned in an unpublished papyrus (BL Or. 6201 B210, see §2.1) along with the Hermopolite place names ΤΘΔΚΕ and ΨΙΝΘΔΚΕ, ΨΙΝΤΘΔΚΕ.

See the place name ΠΟΩ at §4.11.

## **Tberṣê**

ΤΘΕΡΩΗ no. 65 ll. 3 and 8

This may possibly be identified with el-Bersa, on the right bank of the Nile just south of Antinoe.<sup>7</sup>

## **Toi(-)asis ?**

\*Τοι.ασις ? (Τοι.ασεως gen.) no. 40 l. 13

This is not otherwise attested. Other place names and monasteries mentioned in this text can be located in the Hermopolite nome.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Quaegebeur 1974 pp. 66-67 n.1 for the re-reading of the Memphite place name *R<sup>c</sup>-kd* (alternatively read as *R3-kd* or *Rwt-kdyt*) as *Rwt-ist*. I am grateful to Dr Dorothy Thompson for this reference.

<sup>2</sup>See *CKÄ* p. 2195 "Raguda".

<sup>3</sup>*CKÄ* p. 2514 "Taposi".

<sup>4</sup>The interpretation of this line is uncertain: it may read NN ΤΔΠΟCΙ του φόρου or NN από σίτου φόρου.

<sup>5</sup>Clédat 1904-1906 p. 115 no. 75.

<sup>6</sup>Coquin and Rutschowskaya 1994 p. 113 no. 6.

<sup>7</sup>*CKÄ* pp. 692-696 "Dêr al-Barsa".

<sup>8</sup>See *CKÄ* p. 277<sup>x</sup> "Toi[.]asis (?)".

## §4.6 PLACES BEGINNING WITH PMA N/M-

ΜΔ generally means "place", but can have specific meanings such as "world", "dwelling-place", "chamber, (monk's) cell", "temple, shrine or monastery" (see §3.5), or "part, district".<sup>1</sup>

Most of the places which incorporate ΠΜΔ Ν/Μ- have yet to be located although a number of them may have been located in the Hermopolite nome (see individual entries). It may be that such names were common in Middle Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Eight place names of this sort are found in the ω|ΝΕ Ν̄CΔ- ostraca from Bawit in the Louvre (see §3.3.2.1), five of which are analysed in this section (**Pmanallou**, **Pmanbête**, **Pmanle**, **Pmanlouga** and **Pmanranê**).<sup>3</sup> A number of place names with the ΠΜΔΝ- prefix are recorded in ΕΤΜΟΥΛΟΝ ostraca.<sup>4</sup>

### **Pmamrakota(-)**

†ΠΙΜΔ ΜΡΔΚΟΤΙΔΙ no. 6 l. x+31

This place name is not otherwise attested. In the context in which this name appears, it should be located in the Hermopolite nome, near to Terôt (see §4.4). If ΜΔ is to be interpreted as "monastery" here, one of a number of institutions near Alexandria, including the Metanoia monastery and the monastery of Apa Menas, may be intended. It may, however, also be interpreted as "region".

See **Rakote** at §4.5.

### **Pmanallou**

ΠΜΔΝΔΛΛΟΥ no. 92 l. 6

"The place of Allou".<sup>5</sup> This place is mentioned as a source of wine in three ω|ΝΕ Ν̄CΔ- formula Louvre ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2.(1)).<sup>6</sup> It also occurs in an unpublished papyrus, BL Or. 6201 B200 (see §2.1), which is signed by Georgios, for whom see §8.9.

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<sup>1</sup>Crum *CD* p. 153a ΜΔ.

<sup>2</sup>Megally 1991 p. 2273 attempts to analyse place names beginning with ΜΔΝ-, although more than the three place names she lists are now attested; see *CKĀ* pp. 1963-1984 and add ΠΜΔΝΘΙΣ (*ST* 319, see Crum *CD* p. 48b ΘΙΣ) and the place names mentioned in two papyri from Aphrodito: Πμανβκρρε (probably to be interpreted as a form of ΠΜΔΝΘ̄ΡΡε "the place of Brre", see Crum *CD* p. 43a Θ̄ΡΡε) in *P. Lond.* IV 1419 l. 1286; and ΠΜΔΝCΔΘHC in *P. Lond.* IV 1619 ll. 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>3</sup>The other three are Pmankuriakos, Pmannôhe and Pmanpaêse.

<sup>4</sup>See Shelton 1990 pp. 112-113, and *Mich.* p. 256, noting that on p. 258 the el-Ashmunein area is suggested as a possible provenance for these ostraca.

<sup>5</sup>The personal name ΔΛΛΟΥ occurs as ἄλλους in Greek papyri dating from the 1st-Vth C., see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA*.

<sup>6</sup>*MIFAO* forthcoming nos. 18-20.

This place name may be identified with ΔΛΛΟΥ (*CPR* XII no. 30 l. 23), and a Θαλλοῦ in the Hermopolite nome.<sup>1</sup>

## **Pmanbête**

ΠΜΔΝΘΗΤΕ no. 64 l. 4 (**Monastery of Jeremias Papmanbête** see §4.1)

The word ΘΗΤΕ is listed in Crum *CD* p. 45b with the meaning "scale-like plate (of metal)", the equivalent of λεπίς in *Numbers* 16:38. This may indicate that Pmanbête was at one time a place of metal-production.<sup>2</sup>

Pmanbête is only otherwise mentioned in a ωΙΝΕ Ν̄CΔ- formula ostrakon excavated at Bawit (*MIFAO* forthcoming no. 75, see §3.3.2.(1)) and in P. Meyer inv. 14,<sup>3</sup> a wine account which mentions ΠΜΔ ΜΠΔΗCΕ, ΠΜΔ ΝΡΔΝΕ, and possibly ΠΜΔ ΝΩΖΕ,<sup>4</sup> all of which occur in the ωΙΝΕ Ν̄CΔ- formula ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2.(1)).

## **Pmančanah**

ΠΜΔΝΘΔΝΔΖ no. 77 l. 6

"The place of Čanah". ΘΔΝΔΖ means a "maimed, crooked person" (Crum *CD* p. 824a), and it occurs as a personal name in various forms (exx. ΘΔΝΔΖ, ΚΔΝΔΖ, and Κάναχ) in Coptic and Greek documents,<sup>5</sup> including the Greek text written on BL Or. 6050 l. 18 (Coptic text = *BM* 1079).<sup>6</sup> It takes the form Καναχ in a VIIth C. Greek document, P. Princ. III 140.<sup>7</sup>

**Pmančanah** is also attested in a transcription made by Crum ("Ex-von Scherling 70", see §2.7) in which he also listed ΠΔΠΩΗΙ and ΠΖΗΠΟΥΡΓ .

## **Pmanle**

ΠΜΔΝΛΕ no. 72 l. 2; ΠΜΔΝ̄ΛΕ no. 94 l. 2

The word ΛΕ (also ΛΔΥ) in this place name may be interpreted as the name of a type of textile (Crum *CD* p. 145a ΛΔΔΥ, Černý *CED* p. 346 ΜΔΝ-).<sup>8</sup> Another possible etymology involves ΛΔΔΥ "anyone, -thing, something" (Crum *CD* p. 146a) and, indeed, Champollion pointed out that the Arabic version of this place name, "Maoudhî el-Aschia",

<sup>1</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 2611-2613 "Thallou".

<sup>2</sup>*CKÄ* p. 1973 "Pma n-Bête" does not attempt to decipher the name; the reference to "Pap.Michigan, Inv. Nr. 578 (= W.E. Crum, Wadi Sarga, Nr. 174:3f.)" should be corrected to "P. Mich. inv. 1520", and the name "Psase" to "Prashe".

<sup>3</sup>Edited in Browne 1980 pp. 205-206.

<sup>4</sup>No plate was published with this text but this restoration appears to me to be possible for ΠΜΔ ΝΩ.Ι in l. 2.

<sup>5</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp. 21, 33 and 69; and Till 1962 p. 118; and *CPR* XII 32 l. 15 ΘΔΝΕΖ.

<sup>6</sup>Edited in MacCoull 1994b pp. 139-140 (on p. 141 the name ΘΔΝΔΖ is erroneously cited as being in l. 14).

<sup>7</sup>See note to the re-edition of this text in Worp 1990 p. 109.

<sup>8</sup>For etymologies of ΜΔΝΛΔΥ, see *CKÄ* pp. 1542-1543 "Mallawî" and Kessler 1981 p. 87.

translates as "lieu des choses". However, he considered that this resulted from a mistake on the part of the Arabs and favoured the etymology involving the textile.<sup>1</sup>

An inscription from Bawit mentions ΜΔΝΛΗΥ,<sup>2</sup> and ΠΜΔΝΛΕ is the place name most often mentioned in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2.(1)),<sup>3</sup> where it is named as a source of old wine (ΗΡΠ ΝΔΠΔC and variants).<sup>4</sup> It is possibly to be identified with Mallawi which is about five kilometres south-east of el-Ashmunein.<sup>5</sup>

Phoiele (ΦΟΙ ΕΛΕ) "the field of Le" (see §4.11) may be involve the same word ΛΕ as this place name.

### **Pmanlouga**

ΠΜΔΝΛΟΥΓΔ no. 92 l. 5

Literally "the place of Louga (= Luke)".<sup>6</sup> This place name is not otherwise attested.<sup>7</sup>

### **Pman[n]erir**

ΠΜΔΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΡ no. 67 l. 3

Literally "the place of the pigs". If this is a place name, it is not otherwise attested.

### **Pmanpaselei(-) (?)**

ΠΜΔ ΝΠΔCΕΓΛΕΙ no. 102 l. 3

This place name is not otherwise attested.

### **Pmanranê**

ΠΜΔΝΡΔΝΗ no. 92 l. 4

"The place of Ranê" is mentioned in three Louvre ostraca from Bawit as a source of old wine (see §3.3.2.(1)).<sup>8</sup> The name ΡΔΝΗ/ΡΔΝΕ is not listed in Heuser *PN*, but it can be connected with Middle Egypt.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Champollion 1814 vol 1 p. 283.

<sup>2</sup>Clédat 1904-1906 p. 47 no. 32; see *CKÁ* p. 2000 "Pôrf".

<sup>3</sup>*MIFAO* forthcoming no. 1 note to ll. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup>*MIFAO* forthcoming nos. 1-11.

<sup>5</sup>The entry for *CKÁ* pp. 1542-1543 "Mallawî" gives the spellings ΜΔΝΛΔΥ and ΜΔΛΛΕΥΕΙ. ΜΔΝΛΗΥ is found in a graffito from Bawit, see Clédat 1904-1906 p. 47 no. XXXII.

<sup>6</sup>A form of this name using Γ instead of Κ (eg. ΛΟΥΚΔC) is not recorded in Heuser *PN*, although on p. 119 he lists ΛΟΥΓ as a name of "unsicherer Herkunft".

<sup>7</sup>See *MIFAO* forthcoming no. 81 n. to l. 6.

<sup>8</sup>*MIFAO* forthcoming nos. 21-23.

<sup>9</sup>This was stated in a paper given by A. Boud'hors at the Journée d'études en l'honneur d'Étienne Drioton (Strasbourg, October 1990) entitled "Nouveaux documents coptes relatifs au transport du vin", and in a paper delivered by her to the Vème Journée d'études coptes (Périgueux, 16-17th May 1991) with R.-G. Coquin and M. Pezin, "Réflexions sur l'ensemble des publications relatives au site de Bawit (Moyenne-Egypte)". I am grateful to Mme Boud'hors for allowing me to cite this material here.

## **Pmansike**

ΠΜΔΝΙΚΕ no. 81 ll. 3-4

This may be interpreted literally as "the mill", or as a place name, Pmansike,<sup>1</sup> which Crum suggests may be an equivalent of  $\text{CIKEWC}$  in *Ryl.* no. 193 l. 1.<sup>2</sup>  $\text{CINHY NΠΜΔΝΙΚΕ}$  also occur in an unpublished Coptic receipt, BL Or. 6201 B202 (cited in Crum *CD* p. 328b; see §2.1), a text featuring the signatory Georgios, see §8.11.

## **Pmansôlk**

ΠΜΔΝΩΓΩΧΚΙ no. 52

This place name is not otherwise attested. Literally it means "the place of weaving/stitching" and may be compared with  $\text{ΠΜΔΝΕCΔΩΤ}$  "the place of the weavers", which is attested in a  $\omega\text{INE } \bar{\text{NC}}\Delta$ - formula ostrakon in Durham University's Oriental Museum (Tait 1994) (see §3.3.2(.1)), and in an inscription from Bawit (Clédat 1904-1906 p. 80 no. 3).

## **§4.7 PLACES LOCATED IN OTHER NOMES**

### **Antinoe**

$\Delta\text{NTINOΟΥ}$  no. 69 l. 6; no. 91 side (B) l. 2;  $\alpha\text{ΤΙΝΟΥ}$  no. 40 l. 9

Antinoe, the capital of the Antinooupolite nome just across the Nile from el-Ashmunein (see **Map 1** Antinooupolis, **Map 3** Antinoou).<sup>3</sup>

### **Dalâs see Tiloj**

### **Iom see Piom**

### **Nemhate**

$\text{NEMZΔTE}$  no. 56 l. 4

This means "the Northerners" (Černý *CED* p. 347  $\text{NMZΔTE}$ ). Its location is uncertain although the nome of Heracleopolis Magna has been suggested: it occurs five times in ostraca from Wadi Sarga, and in two  $\text{ETMOYXON}$  ostraca.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See *CKÄ* p. 1983 "Pma n-Sike" correcting "BM, London, Nr. 6201 B und C" to "BL Or. inv. no. 6201 B".

<sup>2</sup>See Drew-Bear 1979a p. 249 " $\text{CIKEWC}$ ", making the same correction as in the note above: "6201 B et C" should be "6201 B"; also  $\text{ΠΜΔΠCΙΚΕ}$  should read  $\text{ΠΜΔΝΙΚΕ}$ .

<sup>3</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 2 pp. 69-114 " $\text{ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΠΟΛΙΣ}$ ", suppl. 1 p. 39; *CKÄ* pp. 111-128 "Ansinâ"; the monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned on p. 116 is the one at Bawit.

<sup>4</sup>See *CKÄ* 1766-1767 "Nemhati", adding Husselman 1982 pp. 61-62 to the list of occurrences of this place name. Note that  $\text{NEMZOTE}$ , which occurs in *KSB* I no. 211 (one of the Michigan ostraca), is erroneously entered in the personal names index in *KSB* I.

## Perçiêse

ΠΕΡΘΙΗΣΕ no. 42 l. 7

This place name or ΠΕΡΘΙΗ (see **Perçiê §4.4**) may be interpreted in this text. Perçiêse is not otherwise attested in published Coptic documents, but it may perhaps be equated with a χωρίον in the Faiyum recorded in Greek as Περγήσις or Πελλκεήσις.<sup>1</sup>

## Piom

ΠΙΟΜ no. 5 l. 5

This literally means "the trench, conduit" or "the wine press" (ΙΟΜ). In **no. 5** this word may be interpreted as the place name "Faiyum" rather than the place name (Ε)ΙΟΜ which is mentioned in texts from Bawit and Wadi Sarga.<sup>2</sup> **Piom** is designated as a source of wheat in a ωΙΝΕ Ν̄CΔ- formula ostrakon (see §3.3.2(.1)).<sup>3</sup>

## Psakh(-)

ΠCΔKZ[ no. 5 l. 4

According to this text, a place beginning Psakh(-) may be located in the Faiyum (**Piom §4.7**). There are no place names attested in *CKÄ* beginning with these letters.

The estimated size of the manuscript suggests that approximately three letters are missing which would rule out a reconstruction of the place name **Psakhalôm** (see §4.11). Attested words or names beginning ΠCΔKZ- include the personal name ψΔKZOI;<sup>4</sup> ΠCΔKZO a variant spelling of the name ΠCΔXO literally meaning "the great scribe" (Crum, *CD* p. 384a); and CΔKZOYO.<sup>5</sup> The word CΔK may be interpreted as a form of COK "sack, sackcloth, bag", see Crum *CD* p. 325a.

## Ptêne

ΠΤΗΝΕ no. 37 ll. 4, 12, 15

Literally "the dyke", which is how it was interpreted in the *ed. pr.* of **no. 37**.<sup>6</sup> A number of Coptic and Greek papyri attest a place of this name in the Arsinoite nome.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Calderini *Diz.* IV p. 104 "Περκεήσις". The same place may also be designated as "Πελλκεήσις", Calderini *Diz.* IV p. 90.

<sup>2</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 904-905 "Eiom".

<sup>3</sup>Published in Stewart 1984 p. 105 ostrakon 1.

<sup>4</sup>See *P. Lond.* IV. no. 376.

<sup>5</sup>This word may be attested as ψΔKZOYO in *P. Med. copto inv.* 76.23 verso ll. 10-11, which is edited in Pernigotti 1988 pp. 177-180, pll. 1-2, although a reading of CΔKZOYO (a variant of CΔKCOYO for which see *Ryl.* 289) is also possible. It does not seem likely that ZOYO should be interpreted as Crum *CD* p. 735a "greater part, greatness".

<sup>6</sup>ΠΤΗΝΕ in *CPR* IV 117 ll. 15 and 17 may also be interpreted as this place rather than a particular dyke.

<sup>7</sup>*CKÄ* pp. 2059-2060 "Ptêne".

*SPP* XX no. 229 l. 19 lists a Πτηνη along with Πουητ (l. 25) and Τιν (l. 15 col. II), which are both Arsinoite place names.<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of this place name in *Bal.* no. 349 l. 2 may also be viewed in an Arsinoite context.<sup>2</sup>

## Senarô

ϣΕΝΔΡΩ no. 8 l. 7

There are two attested places with this name (both shown on **Map 2**), one of which is a village located approximately 28 kilometres north-east of el-Bahnasa,<sup>3</sup> and the other about 10 kilometres north of Medinet el-Faiyum.<sup>4</sup> See **Tse(-)** at §4.8.

## Tiløj

ΤΙΛΟΞ no. 15 l. 2

This is now known as Dalâs and is located in the east Faiyum (**Map 2** Tilodj/Neiloupolis). This place name is mentioned as a source of wine in a couple of ostraca excavated at Bawit by Clédat, and in other Coptic texts.<sup>5</sup>

## Tin

ΤΙΝ no. 29 l. 21

ΤΙΝ/Θίς is the eponymous metropolis of the Thinite nome, in between Achmim and Abydos. A place called Tin is attested in Greek papyri dating from the V/VI - VII/VIIIth C. as an ἐποίκιον and a χωρίον in the Theodosiupolite nome.<sup>6</sup> Tin may be the Coptic equivalent of Greek Τήνις which is the name of two villages attested in the Hermopolite nome.<sup>7</sup> **Map 2** (Tênis) shows the location of one of these. See **Ten** in §4.8.

## §4.8 PLACE NAMES WITHOUT A SECURE LOCATION

### Papčol

ΠΔΠ60Χ no. 4 l. x+2

Literally this means "the one of Pčol".<sup>8</sup> The ΚΟΤC "neighbourhood" of Papčol is one of the places designated as the **Assignment** of this *aparchê* collection guarantee and Papčol is also connected with *aparchê* collection in *Ryl.* no. 251, see §5.2. Papčol may

<sup>1</sup>Note that *SPP* XX no. 221 l. 61 is listed in the index on p. 144 as containing the place name Πτηνη but it in fact contains Πτηνης, the genitival form of a personal name.

<sup>2</sup>Crum *CD* 418b notes occurrences of this place name; the reference to "Wess 20 56" (= *SPP* XX no. 221) is erroneous, see last note.

<sup>3</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 4 pp. 282-283 "Σιναρύ"; and *CKĀ* pp. 2351-2353 "Šinarâ".

<sup>4</sup>*CKĀ* pp. 2354-2355 "Šinarû".

<sup>5</sup>See *CKĀ* pp. 498-502 "Dalâs" and *MIFAO* forthcoming nos. 35 l. 2 and 75 ll. 4 and 6.

<sup>6</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 415 "Τίν".

<sup>7</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 4 pp. 409 "Τήνις" and 409-410 "Τήνις ή και 'Ακώρεως"; *CKĀ* pp. 2565 "Têenis" and 2584-2586 "Tênis".

<sup>8</sup>Heuser *PN* records the personal name Π60Χ, see pp. 8, 36, 38, and 41. It occurs in a ϣΙΝΕ ΠCΔ- formula ostrakon from Bawit, *MIFAO* forthcoming no. 34 l. 2.

have been intended in an epithet in *BKU* III no. 471 l. 3 (read ΓΕΡΔΚΟC ΠΔ<ΠΔ>ΠΘΩ[...]), a list of names of people and their places of origin which may have come from el-Ashmunein.<sup>1</sup>

## Ten

ΤΕΝ no. 38

This text mentions ΝΕΡΩΜΤΕΝ "the men of Ten" (l. 1), although ΤΕΝ- may be interpreted as the beginning of another word or place name. See the commentary to this text for other possible interpretations. If it is a place name, it may be a form of **Tin**, see §4.7.

## Teusia

ΤΕΥCΙΑ no. 95 l. 3

Literally "the estate (οὐσία)". This is another place from which wine is requisitioned in two ωΙΝΕ ΝCΔ- formula ostraca which may be from Bawit, O. Mich. 25286 and 25312 (see §3.3.2.(1)).<sup>2</sup> It may be equated with one of two attested place names: Teusion is mentioned on a tomb stone from Antinoe,<sup>3</sup> and Tousia in Coptic texts from Bawit,<sup>4</sup> Wadi Sarga and elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

## §4.9 NEWLY ATTESTED PLACE NAMES WITHOUT A SECURE LOCATION

### Danaiêr

ΔΔ'Ν'Δ'Ι'HP no. 47 l. 2

### Ehbooue

ΕΘΘΟΥΕ no. 91 l. 3 (or (less likely) ΝΕΘΘΟΥΕ)

Ehbooue may be made up of a construct form of ΕΖΕ "ox & cow" (Crum *CD* p. 64a) and a variant of ΘΟΥ "heap, tumulus" (Westendorf *KH* pp. 29 and 496), which occurs in ΠΘΟΥ and other place names.

**Nehbooue** (ΝΕΘΘΟΥΕ) see **Ehbooue**

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<sup>1</sup>See *CKÄ* p. 1910 "Pgjô[...]".

<sup>2</sup>Edited in *Mich.* pp. 244 no. 17 and 245 no. 21.

<sup>3</sup>*CKÄ* p. 2609 "Teusiôn".

<sup>4</sup>*Clédat* 1904-1906 p. 47 no. XXXII.

<sup>5</sup>*CKÄ* p. 2839 "Tousia".

## **Pehno(-) (?)**

ΠΕΖΝ̄ΙΟΙ. **no. 18** l. 4

Seven attested place names begin, like Pehno(-), with the Coptic word ΠΕΖ which may mean "division" or "piece".<sup>1</sup>

## **Tanamnêuou**

†Τ'ΔΝΔΜΝΗΟΥ **no. 47** l. 4

Tanamnêuou is possibly a variant of Tanamêu which is attested in Greek papyri of the VIIth C. as a hamlet or village in the Hermopolite nome and was possibly located near el-Ashmunein.<sup>2</sup>

## **Tmou(-)**

ΤΜ'ΟΙΥ[...] **no. 3** l. 4

This may end with the letters -ΜΟΥ; or it may be one of a number of attested place names involving ΤΜΟΥ "the island",<sup>3</sup> or ΤΜΟΥΙ ΚΟΤΕΖ (see **Tmouikoteh** below in this section).

## **Tmouikoteh**

ΤΜΟΥΙ ΚΟΤΕΖ **no. 10** l. 7

This place name appears to involve ΤΜΟΥΕ "the island" which occurs in other place names, see references given for **Tmou(-)** above in this section. The word ΚΟΤΕΖ may be connected with ΚΔΤΔΖ (meaning unknown) (Crum *CD* p. 129b), ΚΩΤΖ "hole" etc. (ϜΩΤΖ Westendorf *KH* p. 469 and Crum *CD* p. 834a), or ΚΩΤΖ (ΚΩΤΕ Westendorf *KH* p. 512 (see p.71)).

## **Tseš(-)**

ΤΣΕΩ(-) **no. 8** l. 6

Tseš was presumably located near to **Senarô** ( see §4.7) because **no. 8** assigns ΤΚΟΤC ΝΤΣΕΩ(-) for *aparchê* collection along with ΤΚΟΤC ΝΩΕΝΔΡΩ.

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<sup>1</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 281a (ΠΩΖ); and *CKÄ* pp. 1872-1876.

<sup>2</sup>See Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 351 "Ταναμήυ", suppl. 1 p. 240.

<sup>3</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 160b ΜΟΥΕ. Attested place names are as follows: ΤΜΟΥΜΗΡ in the Hermopolite nome, possibly near Antioe (*CKÄ* pp. 2710-2711 "Tmou-Mêr" and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 114); ΤΜΟΥ ΝΔΖΙ which may have been in the Heracleopolite or Hermopolite nome (*CKÄ* pp. 2712-2713 "Tmou n-Ahi"); and ΤΜΟΥ ΜΠΑΖΩΜ which may have been in the nome of Cynopolis ano (*CKÄ* pp. 2711-2712 "Tmou m-Pahôm"). Other place names beginning ΤΜΟΥ- for which no location has been assigned include: ΤΜΟΥ ΝΔΚΩΝ (*CKÄ* p. 2713 "Tmou n-Akôn"), ΤΜΟΥ ΝΒΡΗΘΕ (*CKÄ* pp. 2714-2715 "Tmou n-Gjrêgje"), ΤΜΟΥΙ ΟΥΒΕCΤΙ (*CKÄ* p. 2710 "Tmoui-oubesti"), ΤΜΟΥ ΝCΙΝ (*CKÄ* pp. 2715-2716 "Tmou n-Sin"), and ΤΜΟΥΟΥ (*CKÄ* p. 2716 "Tmouou") ΤΜΟΥΕ (*CKÄ* pp. 2709-2710 "Tmoue") and ΤΜΟΥΩΟΝC (*CKÄ* pp. 2717-2720 "Tmousons") may be disregarded as they are situated a long way south of the Hermopolite nome.

## §4.10 INCOMPLETE PLACE NAMES

ΦΟΡΙΑ ΝΔ[ no. 104 l. 4

Literally "the field of A(-)".

(Ε)Τ[ : ΠΡΩΜΙΕΤ[ no. 62 side (A) l. 1.

(ΙΤΕΝ Ν̄?)ΚΕΜΙΛΛΓΕΙC in no. 9 l. 2

If this word is correctly read (Ν̄ΚΕΜΙΜΓΕΙC may also be possible), and part of it is a place name, it may be compared with ΠΜΙΛΕC/ΠΜΙΛΗC in the Coptite nome which may involve the Latin word *miles* "soldier".<sup>1</sup> Alternatively the Greek words for "rope", κάμιλος, or "camel", κάμηλος may form part of the name.<sup>2</sup>

ΜΓΔ¹(±3) no. 102 l. 2: possibly the same as **Pmanpaselei(-) (?)** (see §4.6).

ΙΜΟΥ no. 3 l. 5

Π.[±2]Ν.ΝΟΜΕ..Ε no. 17 l. 12.<sup>3</sup>

[??]ΩΤΕΒ no. 52 l. 5.

Place names may also be found in two imperfectly preserved documents which follow a recognisable format (see §5.5): nos. 10 ll. 7-8 and ll. 8-9, and 15 l. 3.

## §4.11 NAMES WHICH MAY BE TRANSLATED LITERALLY OR AS PLACE NAMES

Many of these are mentioned in conjunction with ΠΔ- "the one of".<sup>4</sup>

Jšnê see Tešnê

### Pejnah

ΠΕΧΝΔΖ no. 49 l. 23

Pejnah literally means "the fore-arm" or "(the) violence" (Crum *CD* p. 777a ΧΝΔΖ). It is not otherwise attested as a place name.

<sup>1</sup>See *CKĀ* pp. 1984-1985 "Pmilês".

<sup>2</sup>No such place names are recorded in *CKĀ*.

<sup>3</sup>This may be a form of the place name ΠΝΟΜ[Ι]ΕΤΓΕΙC, see *CKĀ* p. 1990 "Pnom[.]jets". Another possibility is Πνομφ.ε(ως), which may be attested in the VII-VIIIth C. as an Hermopolite χωρίον, see Calderini *Diz.* 4 p. 105 "Πνομφ.ε(ως)".

<sup>4</sup>See Shisha-Halévy 1985.

## Phoiele

ϕοι ελε no. 71 side (A) l. 3

Literally "the field of Le", see **Pmanle**.

**Phointaparou** (ϕοι νταπαροου) see **Taparou** (ταπαροου)

## Poș

ποω nos. 99 l. 4 and 103 l. 1

Poș may only be attested in one published text, *CPR* II no. 15, an VIIIth C. papyrus, which mentions ΝΕΛΕΜΠΩΩ Ν(Π)ΔΤΟΥΖΩ "the men of Poș in Patouho" (ll. 2 ff.).<sup>1</sup> This context suggests that a Poș was located in the Hermopolite nome, in the area of present day Taha. Alternatively, ποω may be a scribal error for πτω "the region" in this text.

A possible Arabic equivalent for Coptic ποω might be Bûs, which is the name of a place located east of the Faiyum.<sup>2</sup> The word ωω is not attested in Crum *CD* or Westendorf *KH*.

Poș also occurs in the name of a settlement (ἐπούκιον) ποω̄ν̄τ'ε'λε see **Poșntelke** in §4.5.

See **Taposi /Tapoș** §4.5.

## Psakhalôm

ψακζδλωμ no. 58

This may be translated literally as the occupational title "the cheese-seller" and may not be a place name at all in the context of this document. However there are examples of such titles occurring as place names,<sup>3</sup> compare πσαρτωζ "the chaff-dealer", an ἐπούκιον in the Hermopolite nome;<sup>4</sup> and πσαμμοου, "the water-seller", which may be identified as the place name Σαμοού.<sup>5</sup> See **Psakh-** at §4.7.

<sup>1</sup>*CPR* II no. 15 is cited in *CKÄ* p. 1798 "Oš" as though the initial π- should not be read as part of the place name; Pnianour ρηωω "the man from Ôs", who is recorded as a witness in BL. Or. 6204, see §2.1.1, is also cited here.

<sup>2</sup>*CKÄ* pp. 455-457 "Bûs".

<sup>3</sup>See Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 66-71 section V "Names connected with professions", which proposes Coptic precursors of various modern place names including σαριωτ "barley-seller" (no. 163), πσαντοουι "the sandal-seller" (no. 166) and σατωθι "brick-seller" (no. 168).

<sup>4</sup>Recorded in a VIIth C. Greek papyrus, *SPP* X 25A l. 3; see Drew-Bear 1979a p. 225 "πσαρτωζ".

<sup>5</sup>See *CKÄ* pp. 2020-2021 "[P]sammoou".

## Ptoou

ΠΤΟΥΥ no. 8 l. 8

An *aparchê* collection Assignment mentioning ΤΚΟΤC ΝΩΕΝΔΡΩ (see Šenarô §4.7), also specifies ΠΔΠΤΟΥΥ which may contain the unattested place name ΠΤΟΥΥ,<sup>1</sup> or simply be interpreted as "the one of the monastery/mount" (see §3.4.3 for the term ΤΟΥΥ).

## Tešnê

ΤΕΩΝΗ nos. 70 l. 2; 86 l. 3, and 105 l. 5. 'ΣΩ'ΝΗ no. 94 l. 3

Literally "the garden".<sup>2</sup> Shelton 1990 p. 113 interpreted ΤΕΩΝΗ in *WS* nos. 355-357 as a personal rather than a place name because it follows διά. ΠΔΤΕΩΝΗ is used to mean "gardener" in *John* 20:15.<sup>3</sup>

## Tnout

ΤΝΟΥΤ no. 49 l. 19

This may be a place name or may be interpreted literally as "the basin". It occurs at the beginning of five Louvre ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2) which are concerned with wine deliveries and may be interpreted as a place name in this context.<sup>4</sup>

## Tnočnšnê

ΤΝΟC ΝΩΝΗ no. 95 l. 2

In this text this may simply be translated "the big garden", seeing as George is expected to supply fodder which may well be supplied by a monastic garden. It may also, however, be a place name, see *Tešnê* above in this section. ΤΝΟC ΝΩΝΗ occurs as a source of milk (ΖΔ ΠΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΤΝΟC ΝΩΝΗ) in CMAA Green "5" (see §2.6), along with ΠΜΔ ΝΝΩΖΕ (which is mentioned in ΩΙΝΕ Ν̄CΔ- formula ostraca from Bawit, see Pmanbête §4.6), and ΠΜΔ ΝCΝΗΥ.

<sup>1</sup>Compare the place name ΤΟΥΥ, recorded in *CKĀ* pp. 2729-2730 "Toou (I-III)", and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 305-306 "Τούύ".

<sup>2</sup>See *CKĀ* pp. 2606-2607 "Tešnê" for other texts involving this place name, adding *Bal.* no. 115 l. 6 and Crum's speculation in *Ryl.* p. 89 n.6 that *BM* no. 1014 l. 4 ΤCINZIN| may also be a form of it. It should also be noted that *CPR* II no. 130 was re-edited as *CPR* IV no. 118 and so the passage cited in n. 1 should be expanded and corrected to ΦΘΙ ΕΩΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΖΕ ΤΕΩΝΗ Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΙ.

<sup>3</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 572a ΩΝΗ, where this text is also cited. Wietheger 1992 p. 287 interprets this title when ΠΔΤΕΩΝΗ occurs in inscriptions from the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara.

<sup>4</sup>*MIFAO* forthcoming nos. 42-44, and 46-47 and the introductory comments to ostraca nos. 42-48.

## Touašer

ΤΟΥΔΩΕΡ no. 76 ll. 6-7

Literally "the carpentry workshop",<sup>1</sup> but possibly a place name. This is also found on a wooden lintel, Cairo Egyptian Museum CE 35 017, which is believed to have come from Bawit,<sup>2</sup> and which mentions ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΤΟΥΔΩΕΡ ΜΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΟΥΔΩΕΡ "the fathers of Touašer and all the brothers of Touašer".

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<sup>1</sup>The interpretation of this word as "carpentry workshop" follows Westendorf *KH* p. 282 'Abteilung des Klosters: *Tischlerei* (?)' (Crum *CD* 503b does not supply a translation). Tait 1982 p. 221 cites this meaning of ΟΥΔΩΕΡ in supporting the derivation of demotic *wyhy* (a type of tool) from *whrj.t* "Tischlerwerkzeug" (Erman and Grapow *Wb.* I, 355, 13).

<sup>2</sup>Described and transcribed in Maspero 1907 pp. 45-47 col. D ll. 3-7, pl. 16 (correct the reference given by the original editor of no. 76 to this inscription to read "Ég." instead of "Ep."). On this and other wooden lintels from Bawit, see Krause 1988.

## CHAPTER 5

### *APARCHÊ* AND *PACTUM* COLLECTION DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH AN HERMOPOLITE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO

#### §5.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ABOUT THE DOCUMENTS

This chapter presents nineteen previously unpublished documents, most of which mention the collection of *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή) on behalf of a monastery. A number of them were issued by monks of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (nos. 2, 3, 5, 10, 11 and possibly 17), and one or two by a monk from the monastery of this name at Titkooh (nos. 1 and possibly 7). Where their identity can be determined, the addressees are also monks, often of a monastery of Apa Apollo. See **Tables 1-4**.

#### §5.2 THE COLLECTION OF *APARCHÊ* IN EGYPT

The term ἀπαρχή is left untranslated in this thesis because it can have several different meanings.<sup>1</sup> In a monastic context, it can refer to the first fruits dedicated as an offertory by lay-people for use in the liturgical service, with the residue used by the monastery and its dependants. It can also designate the taxes gathered by a monastery from its land-tenants, and can be translated by the term "tithe". The latter interpretation is more appropriate for the texts edited in this chapter because the *aparchê* is converted into *pactum* and *dêmosion* payments. It is unlikely, however that the monastery would have demanded a tithe from its land tenants in addition to their rent payment.<sup>2</sup>

The texts edited in this chapter are important not only because very few published Coptic and Greek documents mention the term ἀπαρχή but also because they provide details of the process of collecting *aparchê* (see §§5.3 and 5.5).<sup>3</sup> Documentary evidence for tithing in general in Egypt is very scarce,<sup>4</sup> and the literary sources do not go into the mundane details which are often essential to understanding the subject.

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<sup>1</sup>The meaning can depend on whether the singular or plural form of ἀπαρχή is used, see, e.g., Balcer 1989 p. 11 where ἀπαρχή is translated as "tithe" and ἀπαρχαί as "first-fruits".

<sup>2</sup>I am grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall for pointing this out to me.

<sup>3</sup>For an introduction to monastic tithing, see Constable 1964 (especially ch. 1) which concentrates on the Middle Ages and which only mentions tithing in Egypt once, in connection with the reference (p. 57) to the payment of tithes to hermits in Egypt in the IVth C. made in Cassian's *Conlationes*.

<sup>4</sup>See Wipszycka 1972 p. 71. With reference to churches in the Vth and VIth Centuries A.H.M. Jones 1960 p. 85 goes as far as to say that "Tithe seems to have been unknown save as a purely voluntary offering made by exceptionally pious Christians for the relief of the poor". Misunderstanding of the terminology used to describe tithing may account for the seeming lack of evidence: e.g., in a discussion of the range of payments made to religious foundations by landowners (Hardy 1931 pp. 139-145), a tithe payment is identified in only one instance, a papyrus where the term ἀπαρχή is employed (p. 141). Two Byzantine terms for tithe, δεκατεία and μορτή, which are discussed in Schmid 1957 are not listed in Preisigke *WB* as occurring in any published Greek documents.

A striking feature of the documents presented in this chapter is that they illustrate the degree of organization behind the monastery's *aparchê* collection. Income from tithe collection was not only used for charitable purposes, as may have been the case in **no. 11** which mentions ΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ "the sick ones", but it may have been vital to the running of the monastery. Some important questions are left unanswered: how it was decided from which areas the monastery could collect *aparchê* (bearing in mind that some of the places assigned for collection may be in the Faiyum, see §5.6); what happened to people who would not pay their *aparchê*; and what sort of *aparchê* was collected. Harvest-time is specified in some documents which is when the collection of praedial tithes would be expected to take place.

*Ryl* no. 251 is an essential document for the interpretation of the *aparchê* collection texts edited in this chapter. It contains the remains of accounts relating to a monastery whose identity is not preserved; one of the account headings ends with the phrase ΔΙΠΔΡΧΗ ΕΠΕΙΚΔΡΠΟΣ "*aparchê* for this harvest (καρπός)". Underneath are entries involving place names and men's names, including an entry ΖΔ ΠΔΠΘΟΧ ΖΙΤΝ ΖΔΧΔ[ΡΙΔC] "for Papčol from Zacharias". The neighbourhood (ΤΚΟΤC) of Papčol (see §4.8) is one of the places assigned for *aparchê* collection in **no. 4**.

The term ἀπαρχή occurs in two Coptic documents from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah: *Bal.* no. 160, a contract which refers in l. 4 to [a payment of x solidi?] ωΔ ΤΕΥΤΕΡΜ ΝΖΔ Τ ΔΠΔΡΧ "less a *tremissis* of silver (for) *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή)".<sup>1</sup> Later in this text (ll. 11-12) expenses (ἀνάλωμα) and possibly a payment of three solidi to the (Bala'izah) monastery of Apa Apollo are mentioned. The other text from this monastery, *Bal.* no. 253, is discussed at §5.3.<sup>2</sup> Two *Schenkungsurkunden* from Jeme refer to giving ἀπαρχή and ΡΕΜΕΤ/ΡΗΜΗΤ "tithe" to a monastery: *KRU* 89 (= *BM* 387) ll. 24, 28; and *KRU* 100 ll. 38, 43.<sup>3</sup> The term ἀπαρχή also occurs in a wine list, *CO* 464.<sup>4</sup>

In one of the few Greek documentary papyri which mention ἀπαρχή,<sup>5</sup> *BGU* II 693 (which is dated to the Byzantine period), Petros, who may be an ἀντιγεοῦχος "land-agent", orders Petros the οἴνοχειριστής "dispenser of wine" to provide twenty-seven *kouri*-measures of wine from the χωρίων Σκέλους ... for the ἀπαρχή of the holy church.

Evidence for *aparchê* collection by other monasteries may be provided by a letter of greeting (**no. 16** text 1) in which the writer mentions that he acquired news of his addressees from some brothers collecting *aparchê* in the region of ΠΟΥCΙΡΕ for (the monastery of) "our beloved father Apa Mena". This may suggest that the monks, and the

<sup>1</sup>This is my interpretation of these words because this line is left untranslated in the publication, *Bal.* p. 579.

<sup>2</sup>The fact that two documents from the Bala'izah monastery of Apa Apollo mention ἀπαρχή does not dissuade me from assigning a provenance of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo to the *aparchê* collection guarantees and orders edited in this chapter. They follow a completely different format to the documents from Bala'izah and are more closely associated with a Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo.

<sup>3</sup>See Till's translations of these texts in *KRT* pp. 167 and 184 respectively.

<sup>4</sup>This is translated on *CO* p. 43.

<sup>5</sup>This is the only one cited in Wipszycka 1972 p. 71, where she discusses tithing documents.

author of the text, belonged to a monastery of this name (see §5.8); the addressees in this text may have belonged to a monastery of Apa Apollo because the papyrus was subsequently used by a monk of this monastery to write a document which begins with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔϞΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϞϞΔΙ formula (no. 16 text 2).<sup>1</sup> For contact between monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Mena, see no. 53 and the Monastery of (Apa) Mena at §4.1.

### §5.3 ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS EDITED IN THIS CHAPTER

The format of *aparchê* collection orders and guarantees is analysed in §5.5.

The possibility that the monastery had to deal with unwilling contributors is demonstrated in no. 17, a letter from a representative of a monastery (possibly the archimandrite Theodoros who occurs in no. 23) to a villager which introduces the monk who has come to collect the village's *aparchê*. This is described as the "small *aparchê*" (ΚΟΥΙ ΝΔ ΠΔΡΧΗ), a term also found in a document from the Bala'izah monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>2</sup> The villager is told to assist the monk and not hinder him which might indicate that there was opposition to the collection of *aparchê*. There is no record of an anti-tithe movement in Egypt comparable to the one found in mediaeval Montailou in the Languedoc.<sup>3</sup>

One text (no. 3) mentions the collection of ἀπαρχή and γένημα for the monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Makare: these are things to be given freely to the house of God according to one literary source.<sup>4</sup> The monks themselves may have been coerced into making a contribution to the tithes; as well as the laity, "priests also must give tithes, from the bishop to the doorkeeper".<sup>5</sup> In one text (no. 9 ll. 16-17) it is stipulated that "every brother shall pay", referring to the ἀπαρχή. Certain people may also have been exempt from paying *aparchê*, such as the sick.

A fragmentary unpublished Coptic papyrus document, P. Schøyen 89/09, is written by and to monks of an unspecified monastery and contains the phrase ΔΔ ΝΔ ΠΔΡΧΟϞ "for the *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή)". This interpretation is more likely than "for the eparch (ἐπαρχος)" because this document is associated with other *aparchê* collection documents, see §2.4.1. These relate to a monastery of Apa Apollo, which may also be the monastery in question in P. Schøyen 89/09. Another unpublished Coptic papyrus, CUL Michael. 1036, mentions ΠΤΔΙΟ ΝΤΔ ΠΔΡΧΗϞ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΔ ΔΩΝ "the gift of the *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή) which our father (bestowed?) upon us". This text comes from a collection which also contains an

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<sup>1</sup>No. 16 text 4 on this papyrus reads † ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔϞΟΝ.

<sup>2</sup>Bal. no. 253 l. 3.

<sup>3</sup>See Le Roy Ladurie 1980 pp. 20-23, although, since many of the inhabitants of this place were Cathars, they might be expected not to wish to conform with the orders of the Catholic church to whom the tithes were to be paid. The tithe was seen as a sort of feudal tax imposed by the bishop, and supported by accomplices, including mendicant monks who denied non-payers entry to church (p. 22).

<sup>4</sup>See Wipszycka 1972 p. 71.

<sup>5</sup>Pseudo-Athanasius canon 83 (Arabic version), referred to in Wipszycka 1972 p. 72.

*aparchê* collection guarantee issued by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo (no. 5), see §2.2.

In these documents monks are assigned the *aparchê* collection for certain areas and are liable for specific payments to be made to the monastery. The process resembles tax-farming because the monastery calculated the amount required before the collection took place. Lists detailing the yield expected for each area, comparable to tax lists, have not yet been identified but they must have existed.<sup>1</sup> In most cases the payment, which can be made in money or in kind,<sup>2</sup> is designated as *pactum* but the term *dêmosion* is also found, see **Tables 1-3**. Both terms are left untranslated and can be used to mean "rent" or "tax",<sup>3</sup> although *dêmosion* can be used specifically for public domains.<sup>4</sup> If the monastery is collecting *aparchê* from its land tenants, the term "rent" would be more appropriate. The monastery would then pay the land taxes out of the rent collected. For a discussion of *dêmosion* as a term for tax levied by the state, and for occurrences of this term in other documents analysed in this thesis, see §3.7; for the use of the term *pactum* in other documents edited in this thesis, and for the monastery of Apa Apollo as a landowner, see §3.10.

#### §5.4 DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE PAYMENT OF *PACTUM*

Documents which are concerned with *pactum* payment (see **Table 4**) but which do not mention *aparchê* collection are also included in this chapter because they are drawn up in the same format as the *aparchê* collection guarantees and orders. One of these, a guarantee (no. 18), is issued by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo to a monk of the same monastery. This document is one of a few which preserve the amount of *pactum* to be paid: a solidus less 2,<sup>5</sup> by the measure of the *diakonia*. This **Measure** is also specified in a few of the *aparchê* collection documents, see §5.5. **No. 19** specifies the *pactum* as "three ... less six and a half ..." according to a measure which is not extant.

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<sup>1</sup>*Ryl.* 251, which was mentioned at §5.2, is the only document to record *aparchê* payments to one monastery from different areas.

<sup>2</sup>The payment is expressed as a quantity of wine (ΗΡΕΠ) in no. 12 and of salt (ΖΜΟΥ) in no. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Gasco 1985 p. 15.

<sup>4</sup>Gasco 1985 p. 29, and Wipszycka 1972 p. 70.

<sup>5</sup>See the note to l. 5 of this text for possible ways of interpreting this amount.

## §5.5 APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDERS AND GUARANTEES

These are generally drafted in the following format (see individual documents for variant spellings):<sup>1</sup>

<b>Opening formula</b>	ΔΝΟΚ (ΠΔCON) NN ΕΙCΖΔΙ NNN
<b>Introduction</b>	ΧΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ <sup>2</sup>
<b>Agreement</b>	Δ≠ΠΕΙΘΕ/ΣΥΜΠΕΙΘΕ/ΣΥΝΤΙΘΕ ΜḠ-/NḠΜΔ≠
<b>Assignment of place(s)</b>	Δ≠ΤΙ ΝΔ≠ place name(s) (ΜΝ/ΠΡΟC ΝΕΜΔ ΕΤΗΠ ΕΡΟ≠)
<b>Aparchê collection</b>	ΤΡ≠CΩΚ Τ≠ΔΠΑΡΧΗ
<b>Beneficiary/Beneficiaries</b>	ΖΔ NN (ΜΝ NN)
<b>Collection date</b>	ΖḠ ΠΚΔΡΠΟC ḠΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ/ΖΔ ΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ x ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝ
<b>Payment</b>	ΤΙ ΠΕ≠ΠΑΚΤΟΝ/ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ x solidi (παρά x <i>tremisses/carats</i> )
<b>Payment date</b>	x ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝ)
<b>Measure</b>	ΝΤΜΔωΕ Nx
<b>Recipient</b>	-ΤΔΔ≠ ωΔ NN
<b>Issuer's affirmation</b>	ΔΝΟΚ (ΠΔCON) NN †CΤΟΙΧΕΙ Ε- (this document) ΝΘΕ ΕϞCHΖ ḠΜΟC
<b>Witness(es)</b>	ΔΝΟΚ (ΠΔCON) NN ΤΙΟ ΜḠΤΡΕ
<b>Scribe</b>	ΔΝΟΚ NN ΔΙCΖΔΙ (ΖḠ ΤΔΓΙΧ)
<b>Document date</b>	ΝCΟΥ x ...
<b>Docket</b>	ἀσφάλεια NNN (ΖΔ place(s) assigned) <b>Payment</b>

Most of the texts which preserve their **Opening formula** begin with ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON NN ΕΙCΖΔΙ, which features in texts issued by monks of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, and is discussed in Chapter 7. **No. 7** has ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON NN ΕϞCΖΔΙ. For the **Parties** involved in these documents, see §5.7.

The **Agreement** clause uses two verbs which are otherwise rarely found in Coptic documents: συμπεύθειν (in four of the texts: **nos. 3, 5, 8, and 18** (in this last text it is

<sup>1</sup>Compare the homogeneous format of the various types of ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula document, see §8.7. For the usefulness of the textual format, as well as the physical shape and size, of a manuscript in identifying what type of document it contains, see Black and Tait 1995 p. 2199b in connection with cuneiform tablets.

<sup>2</sup>See Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 216 table 4 1f for the use of ΧΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ and variants. When ἐπειδή is used in texts in this thesis to introduce the preamble in a legal document it is translated "whereas", see *OED* vol 20 p. 213 col. c in which precisely this usage is ascribed to the word "whereas".

treated as a pseudo-verb using the auxiliary  $\bar{\rho}$ -),<sup>1</sup> and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  (only in **no. 10**).<sup>2</sup>  $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , which is far more commonly used in Coptic documents in general, is fully preserved in only one text (**no. 4**) but it may be reconstructed in others. All of these verbs are followed by  $M\bar{N}$ - or  $N\bar{E}M\Delta$  "with", where their Greek counterparts would govern the dative or employ  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  + accusative.<sup>3</sup>

The Copto-Greek form of these Greek verbs is worth examining. For all three verbs the middle form would be suitable in these texts, and yet their Copto-Greek forms are based on active stems. Although Coptic is capable of reproducing middle and passive forms of Greek verbs, e.g.  $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is represented by  $\omega\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  in *CPR* IV no. 33 l. 1,<sup>4</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , one of the most common Greek verbs found in Coptic texts, is generally represented as  $\Delta\sigma\pi\Delta\zeta\epsilon$ . The representation of  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  in **no. 10** as  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\theta\epsilon$  suggests that  $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$  was being treated as a thematic verb.<sup>5</sup>

This **Agreement** clause is also found in **no. 50**, which is edited in Chapter 7, and in several published texts which are not related to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. It also occurs in a guarantee for a sale of land, **no. 27**, involving the council of the settlement of Pôrahêu and the  $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, which has the same **Opening formula, Introduction, Agreement** as the *aparchê* collection documents, and also specifies the use of the monastery's **Measure**, see below.

In the **Agreement** clause of two of the documents there is an unusual second person plural First Perfect verbal prefix  $\Delta\tau$ - (rather than the standard  $\Delta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta$ -) (**nos. 1** l. 8 and **7** l. x+9).<sup>6</sup> The same form is found in the **Assignment of place(s)** clause of **no. 5** l. 4.

The verb used in the *Aparchê* collection section,  $\sigma\omega\kappa$ ,<sup>7</sup> uses a non-standard prenominal form  $\sigma\omega\kappa$ . This verb is accompanied by the preposition  $\zeta\Delta$ - in **no. 49** frag. 1 l. 6 ( $\sigma\omega\kappa\ \zeta\Delta\ \eta\epsilon\sigma\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\eta\eta$ ),<sup>8</sup> and is translated there as "submit to".

In all of the texts which preserve the **Beneficiary** section intact the *aparchê* is to be collected for a monastery of Apa Apollo alone or together with other monasteries (see §5.8 and **Tables 1-3**).

The *aparchê* **Collection date** is usually the current indiction-year and sometimes the harvest ( $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ )-time is specified. The two terms used in the **Payment** section, *pactum* and *dêmosion* have already been discussed at §5.3. A **Payment date** is preserved in one

<sup>1</sup>See Preisigke *WB* II col. 514, and suppl. 1 p. 258 for this verb. The latest document cited is a VIth C. Greek papyrus, *P. Michael*. no. 45 ( $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  in l. 75). This verb is also found in two unpublished fragmentary Coptic papyrus documents, *CUL Michael*. 837/4 ( $\sigma\epsilon\mu\pi\iota\theta\epsilon$ ) see §2.2, and Christie's "22" ( $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$ ) see §2.5.

<sup>2</sup>See Preisigke *WB* II col. 553 and suppl. 1 p. 261 for this verb.

<sup>3</sup>For the use of  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  with  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  + accusative, see the index to Mayser 1933-1934 p. 279.

<sup>4</sup>Note that the same verb occurs as  $\sigma\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$  in *CPR* IV no. 261 l. 43.

<sup>5</sup>Thematic forms ( $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\omega}$  etc.) are found in papyri of Byzantine date and earlier, see Mandilaras 1973 pp. 51-52 §30, and 85-86 §140.

<sup>6</sup>This form is also recorded in two texts from the Monastery of Apollo at Bala'izah, see *Bal.* p. 167 §143a).

<sup>7</sup>Crum *CD* p. 325a, not the  $\sigma\omega\kappa$  which is surveyed in Quecke 1978; on the distinction between  $\sigma\omega\kappa$  and  $\sigma\omega\kappa\iota$ , see Polotsky 1959 p. 460 n.4.

<sup>8</sup>See also *CPR* IV no. 111 l. 4  $\tau\Delta\sigma\omega\kappa\ \zeta\Delta\ \eta\epsilon\upsilon\Delta\eta[\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\eta\eta]$ , and *Ryl.* no. 128 l. 3  $\tau\eta\sigma\omega\kappa\ \zeta\Delta\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \eta\eta\mu$ .

text and is the same as the **Collection date** (no. 4). The **Measure** of the *diakonia* is specified in one text (no. 9) and it may occur in others.<sup>1</sup> A **Recipient** is only preserved in two texts: the "great brother" in one text, and the "father of the *diakonia*" possibly in another. See §5.7 for these titles.

An **Issuer's affirmation** occurs only in no. 2; **Witnesses** are preserved in nos. 1, 3, 4, 9, and possibly 7 and 14. The declaration of a **Scribe** is extant in nos. 3 and 7, and in the latter this is followed by the **Document date**. A **Docket** is preserved for three guarantees (ἀσφάλεια) (nos. 1, 3, and 7), and possibly one order (no. 12).

## §5.6 PLACES ASSIGNED FOR APARCHÊ COLLECTION

It has already been suggested that the monastery owned the land in the areas from which the *aparchê* collections were made (see §5.3). Identifiable places mentioned in assignments are located in at least two different areas: in the Hermopolite nome and in the Faiyum.

Only one previously attested Hermopolite place name, Terôt (ΤΕΡΩΤ), is mentioned in the texts and it may be one of the **Assignments** in no. 6 (see §4.4). An unattested place name or monastery, ἸΠΙΜΔ ΜΡΔΚΟΤῚΔΙ, is associated with **Terôt** in the same text and may be located in the Hermopolite nome (see **Pmamrakota(-)** §4.6).

Tiløj in the Faiyum is the **Assignment** in no. 15 and it is noteworthy as a place name mentioned in a couple of ωΙΝΕ ΝCΔ- formula ostraca from Bawit (see **Tiløj** §4.7). In a joint paper given in 1991,<sup>2</sup> Boud'hors, Coquin and Pezin pointed out how the proximity of the Bahr Youssef to Bawit would have facilitated relations between the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo and the Faiyum. They attributed the abundance of Faiyumisms in the inscriptions from the monastery to monks originating from the Faiyum.

A place name partially preserved as the **Assignment** in no. 5., ΠCΔΚΖ[-], may refer to a place in the Faiyum (ΠΙΟΜ) (see **Psakh(-)** §4.8). Šenarô, the **Assignment** in no. 8, may be identified with the place of this name in the Faiyum or one further to the south, just north el-Bahnasa (see §4.7).

Places of uncertain location include ΠΔΠ60X in no. 4, and two places which are not otherwise attested: ΤΜΟΥΪ ΚΟΤΕΖ (no. 10), and ἸΠΙΜΔ ΜΡΔΚΟΤῚΔΙ (no. 6), discussed above as possibly being located in the Hermopolite nome. An **Assignment** mentioning ΤΚΟΤC ΝΩΕΝΔΡΩ (no. 8), also specifies ΠΔΠΤ00Υ which may contain the unattested place name ΠΤ00Υ, see §4.11, or simply be interpreted as "the one of the monastery/mount".

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<sup>1</sup>The standard of a local landowner was commonly used for weights and measures by people from the surrounding area, see Hardy 1931 pp. 74-75. Dilwyn Jones 1981 pp. 189-190 discusses evidence in which monasteries were responsible for weights and measures. See also Drew-Brear 1979b p. 298, and *P. Sta. Xyla* no. 6 ll. 5-6 which refers to the measure of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh.

<sup>2</sup>Details given in the second note to the entry for **Pmanranê** at §4.6.

In many cases the *Assignment* section of the *aparchê* collection texts is not fully preserved (see **Tables 1-3**). Even if it is, some of the place names have yet to be identified. These include ΠΕΖΝ̄'ΟΙ. (**no. 18**) (see **Pehno(-) §4.9**); ΤΜ'Ο'Υ[...] (**no. 3** l. 4) (see **Tmou(-) §4.9**); and ΤCΕΩ(-) (**no. 8**) which may be located near to Šenarô (see **Tseš(-) §4.9**).

## §5.7 APARCHÊ ADMINISTRATION WITHIN THE MONASTERY

Generally, the people who issue the *aparchê* collection guarantees and orders describe themselves as monks (μοναχός). A number of them have the title ΠΔCΟΝ, for which see §3.13. Scribes are involved in **nos. 5** and **14**; in the former, the scribe is the person setting the assignment. In **no. 10** a psalmodist assigns places for *aparchê* collection possibly to a deacon who also bears the title ΟΥΔΖϞ (see §3.13). The people to whom the documents are sent are given the titles ΔΠΔ, ΠΔΠΔ and ΠΔCΟΝ (see **Tables 1-3**). In **no. 2** text 1, people from the region of Panoube are also involved in the contract.

The fathers of the *diakonia* occur in two texts:<sup>1</sup> in the first (**no. 1** l. 6), they belong to the Titkooh Monastery and assign the places for *aparchê* collection; in the second text (**no. 3** ll. 12-13) the father of the *diakonia* (ΙΩΤ ΝΤΙΔΚΩΝΙΔ) may be the recipient of the *dêmosion*. The *diakonia* plays a financial role in these texts (see §3.13).

The "great brother" is the one to whom the payments resulting from *aparchê* collection are made in **no. 2** l. 13. The title ΝΟΘ ΝCΝΗΥ "great brothers" designates the senior monks who were subordinate only to the head of the monastery,<sup>2</sup> and they act as intermediary for a monk who wishes to communicate with the head in an ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ-formula text (**no. 49**).

## §5.8 BENEFICIARIES OF APARCHÊ COLLECTION

Apa Apollo is named as a beneficiary in five or six texts (see **Tables 1-3**), one of which (**no. 1**) was issued by a monk of the Monastery of Apa Apollo on the mount of Titkooh. The location of this monastery may have been specified in this text as ΖΜ ΠΤΟΩ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙC ΜΠΝΟΜΟC "in the region of Shmoun the city (πόλις) of the nome (νομός)" (see §3.4.3), a phrase which may be read or restored in three other texts (**nos. 2** ll. 2-3, **7** ll. 2-x+3, and **8** ll. 1-3).<sup>3</sup> One of these (**no. 7**) was issued from a monastery of Apa Apollo, as were **nos. 3, 5, 10, and 11**. In two or three texts Apa Apollo is described as ΦΔΓΙΟC ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ (**nos. 2-3** and possibly **1**), see §3.5.

<sup>1</sup>This title also occurs in **no. 42** (which may be connected with *aparchê* collection) and an unpublished Coptic papyrus, Christie's "22" (see §2.5). See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 105 n. 1 for a reference to a papyrus found at Bawit which may record this title (it was interpreted erroneously as ΠΙΩΤΗ ΠΔΙΔΚΩΝ ΙΔ ΝΤΑΙ...); Wietheger 1992 pp. 272-273 "ΙΩΤ ΝΤ ΔΙΔΚΟΝΙΔ" gives further references to this title.

<sup>2</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 34-35 for this title.

<sup>3</sup>It may also occur in **no. 59** which relates to the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo.

Apart from **no. 14** which specifies the region of Shmoun (see §4.4) as the location for the monastery from which it is issued, the description of the place of origin of the other texts is not extant. However, the homogeneous format of most of the *aparchê* collection documents suggests that they may all have been issued from the same monastery, which is most probably the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo.

*Aparchê* is gathered for the monasteries of Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup and Apa Jeremias in **no. 9**. A monastery of Apa Anoup is associated with a monastery of Apa Apollo in other texts, see §4.1. Several monasteries of Jeremias are attested in Egypt, including some in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.1), and the one mentioned in **no. 9** may also occur in **no. 42**. This may be interpreted as an *aparchê* collection document, in which the fathers of the *diakonia* of a monastery of Jeremias assign places to monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo. If so, this is the only text edited in this chapter in which the Monastery of Apa Apollo is not seen to be in control.

The monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Makare are named as the beneficiaries in **no. 3**.<sup>1</sup> See §4.1 for attested monasteries of Apa Makare.

Monks gathering *aparchê* on behalf of Apa Mena are mentioned in **no. 16** text 1, a letter which may also have been written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Mena. This monastery may have been located to the south of a Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, see the provenance details and introductory remarks pertaining to this text.

## §5.9 TOPONYMS MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS

Places assigned for *aparchê* collection in the texts have been discussed at §5.6, and the place name Titkooh at §5.8.

The region of **Shmoun** (see §4.4) is specified for the monasteries inhabited by the monks issuing **nos. 1** and **3, 8**, and **14**. People from the region of Panoube are addressed in a guarantee for *aparchê* collection, **no. 2** l. 6, and this may be in the Hermopolite nome, the Faiyum or even the Delta, see §4.5. A monk from ΠNH is addressed in **no. 16** text 1, and this may be in the Hermopolite, Antaeopolite, or Theodosiupolite nome.

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<sup>1</sup>No. 7 may mention the monastery of Apa Apollo and other beneficiaries.

## LIST OF TEXTS EDITED IN CHAPTER 5

<b>Ms.</b>	<b>No.</b>
BL Or. 6201 B29	16
BL Or. 6201 B105	17
BL Or. 6201 B187	12
BL Or. 6201 B219	1
BL Or. 6201 B267(A)	2
BL Or. 6201 B268A	3
CUL Michael 856/5	5
Christie's "11"	11
Christie's "18"	15
Christie's "19"	13
Christie's "20"	14
Christie's "21"	19
P. Schøyen 89/02	18
P. Schøyen 89/11(A)	9
P. Schøyen 89/14	10
P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 1	6
P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2	7
P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 3	8
"Ex-von Scherling 27"	4

**TABLE 1**  
**APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEES**

No.	From	To	Assignment	Beneficiary	Amount	Payment	Measure
1	... monk of Apa Apollo at Titkooh	Papa Phybamon, ... monks, fathers of the <i>diakonia</i> of same	[...]	Apollo	[...]	<i>démision</i> ?	[...]
2	Apollo, monk of Apa Apollo(?)	... Apa Mou and Apa ... of Apa Apollo(?), ... region of Panoube	? (see text)	[...]	1/2 solidus ... ?	[...]	[...]
3	Petros, monk of Apa Apollo	Taniel monk of same	Tmo[... ... ]mou	Apollo and Makare	1 solidus ?	<i>démision</i> ?	----
4	Aplo <sup>1</sup>	Solomon	... and neighbour- hood of Paptol	[...]	sack of salt ...	<i>pactum</i>	----
5	Selbane, monk of Apa Apollo	scribe Makare and Geor[-], monks of same	Sakh(-) in Piom	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
6	Iohannes (?)	[...]	(?) Terôt and Pmamrakot(-)	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
7	Ioha[nnes] monk of Apa Apollo	[...]	[...]	Apollo [+ ...?]	[...]	[...]	[...]

<sup>1</sup>It may be that Aplo and his addressee, Solomon, are monks of the cell of Apatore, or that these monks are also addressees. See the commentary to this text.

**TABLE 2**  
**APARCHĚ COLLECTION ORDERS**

No.	From	To	Assignment	Beneficiary	Amount	Payment	Measure
8	[...]	Pša monk of ?	Neighbourhoods of Tses(-) and Šenarô ... of the monastery / Ptoou(?)	A[...]	18 solidi less six [each?]	<i>pactum</i>	[...]
9	[...]	[...]	[...]	Apollo, Anoup, and Jeremias	[...]	<i>pactum</i> : 16 solidi less 2 each	<i>Diakonia</i>
10	Geor[ge], psalmist and monk of Apa Apollo	[...] the deacon and acolyte of Apa Apollo	Tmoui Koteh	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
11	Pe[-], monk of Apa Apollo	[...] monk of same	[...]	[...]	.... carats(?)	<i>pactum</i>	[...]
12	monk?	monk?	[...]	A[pa ...]	2 ... of wine	<i>pactum</i>	[...]
13	Ammouin(...)Pamoun, monk (?)	.... monk	[...]	[...]	[...]	<i>pactum</i>	[...]

**TABLE 3**  
**OTHER DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH APARCHÉ COLLECTION**

No.	From	To	Assignment	Beneficiary	Amount	Payment	Measure
14	scribe ...	[...]	[...]	A[pa ...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
15	[...]	[...]	Tiloi	Apollo	[...]	[...]	[...]
16	Makare, monk (?) [of monastery of Apa Mena?]	Apollo (and Anoup from Pné), monks [of Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo?]	Pe(-)etkème in Pousire <sup>2</sup>	Mena	---	---	---
17	Theodoros, monk of Apa Apollo?	... of the village of ...	village of ...	Apollo?	---	---	---

**TABLE 4**  
**PACTUM DOCUMENTS**

No.	From	To	Assignment	Payment	Amount	Measure
18	NN + NN monks(?) of Apa Apollo	[-]ol/ monk of same	Pehno(-)	<i>pactum</i>	1 solidus less 2	<i>Diakonia</i>
19	—	... monastery ...		<i>pactum</i>	3 (solidi?) less 6 1/2	ⲟⲩⲓ Ⲛⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲓⲓ

<sup>2</sup>This collection may be made by monks of a monastery of Apa Mena, see no. 16.

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION DOCUMENTS

Content	Ms.	no.
<b>Collection guarantees</b>	BL Or. 6201 B219	1
	BL Or. 6201 B267(A)	2
	BL Or. 6201 B268A	3
	"Ex-von Scherling 27"	4
	CUL Michael. 856/5	5
	P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 1	6
	P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2	7
<b>Collection orders</b>	P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 3	8
	P. Schøyen 89/11(A)	9
	P. Schøyen 89/14	10
	Christie's "11"	11
	BL Or. 6201 B187	12
	Christie's "19"	13
<b>Fragmentary documents</b>	Christie's "20"	14
	Christie's "18"	15
<b>Letters</b>		
<b>mentioning <i>aparchê</i> collection</b>	BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 1	16
<b>introducing <i>aparchê</i> collector</b>	BL Or. 6201 B105	17

## OTHER DOCUMENTS

<b><i>Pactum</i>-collection order</b>	P. Schøyen 89/02	18
<b>Agreement concerning <i>pactum</i></b>	Christie's "21"	19

## 1

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE

BL Or. 6201 B219

135 (h) x 102 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plates 1-2

**Preservation:** (A) 13 lines and the upper margin; (B) the 1 line docket is incomplete.**Paleography:** a large majuscule hand, with some ligatures, similar to the one used for no. 2. Noteworthy letters:  $\lambda$  (exx. ll. 2 and 3) and  $\phi$  (l. 1) are formed in one continuous movement, without taking the pen from the papyrus;  $\gamma$  is formed with a loop at the bottom (see ll. 3 and 10);  $\nu$  (in ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ) l. 5 begins with a loop.  $\mu$  can be either three- ( $\zeta\mu$  l. 2) or four-stroke (ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ l. 5).**Linguistic note:** see §5.5 for the form  $\lambda\tau$ - (l. 8).**Provenance:** unknown. The sender and recipients of this document belonged to the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh.**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

A monk of the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo (see §3.4) guarantees to monks and fathers of the *diakonia* (see §5.7) of his monastery that he will collect the *aparchê* of the year's harvest from the places they have assigned to him. The payment of *dêmosion* may also be specified (see §5.3).

(A)

1↑ ] ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΦΔΓΙΟΣ [(ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ) ΔΠΑ  
 2 ΔΠΟ]Γ'Α'ΑΩ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΙΤ[ΚΟΟΖ ΖΜ  
 3 ΠΤΟΥ Ν]Γ'Ω'ΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙ'C Μ.[  
 4 ]ΠΑΠΑ Φ'Υ'ΒΔΜΩ'ΝΙ[ ΜΝ ΝΝ  
 5 ]Ε ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΝΠ[  
 6 Ν]ΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΤΙΔΚΩΝΙ'Δ'Ι[ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ (?) ΜΦΔΓ-  
 7 Ι]Γ'ΟΣ' ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ Γ'Χ'Ι[Ε ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΤΕΤΝ(ΣΕΜ)ΠΙ/ΣΕΝΤΙ-  
 8 Θ]Ε ΝΕΜΔΙ ΔΤΤΙ ΝΔΙ[  
 9 ]Π.ΜΕΛΔ'Μ'CH..[  
 10 ]ΟΟΥΔ ΤΡΔCΩΚ ΤΕ[ΥΔΠΑΡΧΗ ΖΔ ΔΠ-?  
 11 Δ ]Δ'ΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΜ ΠΚ[ΔΡΠΟΣ ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ?  
 12 ]ΤΕ'ΜΙ[ΟCΙΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ(?)  
 13 ]( ±4 )[

(B) Docket

14→ ρ ΤΔCΦΔΛΙΔ Ν-[

1, 5 ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ 6 ΤΔΙΔΚΩΝΙΑ 8 ΝΠΜΔΙ ΔΤΕΤΝ- 12 ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ (?) 14 ΔCΦΔΛΕΙΔ

<b>Parties</b>	(1) ... the monk (μοναχός) of the holy (ἅγιος) [(saint) Apa] (2) Apollo on the mount of Titkooh [in (3) the nome of] Shmoun the city (πόλις) ... (4) ... Papa Phybamon [and NN] (5) ... the monks (μ.) of the ... (6) the fathers of the <i>diakonia</i> (διακονία) [of the monastery (τόπος?) of the (7) holy (ἅ. ?)] Apa Apollo.
<b>Agreement</b>	[Whereas you agreed ((συμ)πειθεῖν/συντίθεσθαι)] (8) with me
<b>Assignment</b>	to give me ... (9) ... (10) ...
<b><i>Aparchê</i></b>	so that I collect [its/their <i>aparchê</i> (ἀπαρχή)
<b>Beneficiary</b>	for] (11) Apa Apollo
<b>Collection date</b>	in the [harvest (καρπός) of this year (12) ...]
<b>Payment</b>	<i>dêmosion</i> (δημόσιον?) [which is ? ... (13) ...] ...
<b>Docket</b>	(14) The guarantee (ἀσφάλεια) of ...

### Transcription notes

1 [(ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ)]: for the combination of this epithet with ἅγιος applied to Apa Apollo, see §3.5.

3 Μ.[: possibly restore ΜΠ[ΝΟΜΟC here, see §5.8.

6 ΤΟΠΟC: this is reconstructed following no. 3 l. 2.

9 ] . Π . Μ Ε Χ Δ Γ Μ Γ Η . [: the letter or letters following Π may involve a 2.

10 For the reconstruction of CΩΚ Δ Π Δ Ρ Χ Η, see the *Aparchê* collection section in §5.5.

## 2

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE

BL Or. 6201 B267(A)

140 (h) x 100 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 3

**Preservation:** (A) the first 17 lines but not the bottom and right margins; on (B) are three other texts, two Coptic and one Greek, written in different hands to that on side (A).<sup>1</sup>

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand with a few ligatures similar to the one used for no. 1. Minuscule Η.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh, see §5.8.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

A monk, who may belong to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh (see §3.4), guarantees to other members of his monastery and possibly people from the region of Panoube that he will collect the year's *aparchê* from the place they have assigned to him and pay it immediately to the great brother (ΝΟ6 ΝCON l. 13) (see §5.7).

- 1↓ ρ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON ΔΠΟΛΛ[Ω ΠΜΟΝ, ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ?  
 2 ΜΦΔΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ 'Δ'[ΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ (?) ΖΜ ΠΤΩ  
 3 ΝΩΜΟΥ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΜΠ'Ν'[ΟΜΟΣ  
 4 Ρ ΔΠΔ ΜΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΔΠΔ[ΝΝ ΝΕΜΟΝΔΧΟΣ ΜΠΙ-?  
 5 ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΔΥΩ .[  
 6 ΠΤΕΩ ΠΔΝΟΥΒΕ ΔΕ ΕΠ[ΕΙΔΗ ΔΝΠΕΙΘΕ/-CΕΜΠΙΘΕ/-CΕΝΤΙΘΕ  
 7 ΜΕΝΕΡΗΟΥ ΔΤΕΤΕΝ[ΤΙ ΝΔ| place name  
 8 ΝΕ ΤΡΔCΩΚ ΤΕΒΔ'Π'[ΔΡΧΗ ΖΔ ΝΝ ΖΜ ΠΚΔΡΠΟΣ (?)  
 9 ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ .[... ΙΝΔΙΚ-  
 10 ΤΙΔΝΟΣ ΖΔ Π[Δ]'Ω'ΤΕ[  
 11 ΟΥΩΤ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟ[ΤΤΙΝΟΣ  
 12 Ν ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΝΟΥΤΕ[ ... ΤΔ-  
 13 ΤΔΔΥ ΩΔ ΠΝΟ6 ΝCON[  
 14 ΝΔ ΤΔΔΔΥ ΝΔΜΦΗ'Θ'[ΟΧΙΔ ... ΔΝΟΚ  
 15 ΠΔCON ΔΠΟΛΛΩ +C[ΤΟΙΧΕΙ ... Ν- ?  
 16 ΘΗ ΕΦCΗΖ ΜΟΣ ΔΝΟ[Κ ΝΝ  
 17 ΜΕΤΡΕ ΔΝΟΚ Π'Δ'C[ΟΝ ΝΝ  
 18 .'Μ'[

3 ΩΜΟΥΝ 6 ΤΩΩ Π- 7 ΜḲ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ 8 Τεγ- 9-10 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ 12 ΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 14 ΔΜΦΙΘΟΧΙΔ 15-16 ΠΘΕ 16 ΠΜΟΣ 17 ΜḲΤΡΕ

<sup>1</sup>Text 2 has one complete line: 'Σ'.ΡΟΤΗΝ Ν<sup>0</sup> ιθ "... solidi 19"; texts 3 (at 180° to text 1: + ΠΔCON) and 4 (↑ at 90 to text 1°: + ιιχ.) are too fragmentary for comment.

<b>Parties</b>	(1) ρ I, brother (ΠΑCΟΝ) Apollo, [the monk of the monastery?] ... (2) of the holy saint (ἅγιος) Apa [Apollo in the region ?] (3) of Shmou(n) the city (πόλις) of the nome (νομός) (?) ... (4) ... Apa Mou and Apa ... [the monks of this?] (5) same monastery (τόπος) and ... (6) the region of Panoube.
<b>Agreement</b>	Whereas (ἐπειδή) [we agreed] (7) with each other
<b>Assignment</b>	you have [given me] ... (8) ...
<b>Aparché</b>	so that I collect its <i>aparchê</i> (ἀπαρχή)
<b>Beneficiary</b>	[for NN
<b>Collection date</b>	in the harvest (καρπός) ?] (9) of this year which is ... (10) indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων?)
<b>Payment</b>	for half ... (11) single ... solidus (ὀλοκόπτινος) ... (12) ...
<b>Recipient</b>	by the will of God [I ... that I shall?] (13) give them to the great brother ... (14) without any objection (ἀμφιβολία) ...
<b>Issuer's affirmation</b>	[I] (15) brother (ΠΑCΟΝ) Apollo agree (στοιχεῖν) [to ... in] (16) the way in which it was written.
<b>Witness 1</b>	I [NN bear] (17) witness.
<b>Witness 2</b>	I, brother (ΠΑCΟΝ) [NN] (18) ...

### Transcription notes

1 ΠΜΟΝ, ΜΠΤΟΠΟC: reconstructed from **no. 3** ll. 1-2.

3 ΜΠ'Ν'Ι[ΟΜΟC: see §5.8 for this reconstruction.

9 ΤΔΙ: the letter following this resembles a Τ.

14 ΝΔΤΧΔΔΥ ΝΔΜΦΗ'Θ'Ι[ΟΧΙΔ: for this formula, see n. to l. 4 of **no. 20**.

15 +C[ΤΟΙΧΕΙ ...: restore something like "this guarantee (ἀσφάλεια)", or "this document (γραμματεῖον)" following CΤΟΙΧΕΙ, see §5.5.

16 ΕΦCHZ: the second letter may be an open *beta* in which case read ΕΘCHZ, and compare the spelling of ΤΕΘ- for ΤΕΦ- in l. 8.

### Translation notes

2 ΦΔΓΙΟC ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ: for this combination of epithets applied to Apa Apollo see §3.5.

4 ΜΟΥ: this personal name is not recorded in Heuser *PN*, but it does occur in at least one Greek papyrus, (*P. Aberd.* 72A R.8 (VIIIth C.));<sup>2</sup> it is interpreted as an abbreviated form of Μουσηῆς in *P. Erlangen* 109 and *P. Michael.* 25 II.3.

<sup>2</sup>See K.F.W. Schmidt 1941 p. 87.

6 ΠΑΝΟΥΒΕ: see §4.5 for possible locations of this place. It is unlikely that the personal name Panoube is intended here.<sup>3</sup>

15-16 (Ν)ΘΗ ΕΨΧΖ ΜΟC: the clause in signatures was analysed by Kahle in *Bal.* pp. 188-189 §157. The clause ΝΘΕ ΕCCHΖ ΜΜΟC occurs in no. 51 l. 16 and the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (see §2.1.1): BL Or. 6201 l. 65, 6202 l. 73, 6203 ll. 87-88, 6204 l. 61, and 6206 l. 42.<sup>4</sup> No. 53 l. 12 has the variant Π<Ρ>ΟC ΘΕ ΕCCHΖ Ν[ΜΟC].

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<sup>3</sup>See Cairo Egyptian Museum S.R. 3733.36 l. 8, edited in MacCoull 1993c p.26; *BM* p. 449; and Khoury 1993 no. 78, a IX-Xth C. Arabic papyrus (Fenûfe).

<sup>4</sup>This section is discussed at Krause 1958 p. 53 §20.

### 3

#### APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE

BL Or. 6201 B268A

main fragment 200 (h) x 220 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 4

**Preservation:** (A) 18 lines and all but the lower part of this document are preserved; there are several lacunae and many damaged papyrus fibres. The manuscript is almost broken into two halves and the first three lines have been incorrectly aligned. From l. 9 onwards a large protocol written with a thick pen obscures the text,<sup>5</sup> which might suggest that it was written later. However, the fact that the whole of the legal document is written in the same hand, including the witnesses signatures, indicates that it was a copy of the original guarantee. If this was the case, the scribe might have considered that the legibility of the end of the document was not so necessary as to warrant an unscribed piece of papyrus. (B) the one line docket is incomplete.

**Palaeography:** a flowing semi-cursive hand with many ligatures. The superlinear dot is used in this text once to indicate syllabisation (ΠΔϰΤΡ(±3)Ν l. 8), as is the superlinear stroke (ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚΟΤῚ l. 8).

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin is an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh, see §5.8.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

Petros, a monk of the monastery (τόπος) of the holy saint Apa Apol<l>o, guarantees to another monk of his monastery, Daniel (Taniel), that he will collect the *aparchê* and produce from ΤΜΟΥ[....]ΜΟΥ and places belonging to it. The beneficiaries are the monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Makare (see §5.8). A *dêmosion* payment may be made to the father of the *diakonia* (see §5.7). Daniel may also act as the third witness to this document.

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<sup>5</sup>A similar protocol is preserved fragmentarily in no. 21, and both are written parallel to the papyrus fibres (contrary to *APEL* I p. 3); they resemble protocols found in early VIIIth C. Greek or Greek and Arabic texts, see e.g. *APEL* I no. 2, pl. 1. For protocols in general, see *P. Lond.* IV pp. 414-423, and Diethart, Feissel and Gascou 1994.

(A)

1→ +  
 2 ΔΝΟ]ΓΚ' ΠΔCΟΝ ΠΕΠΡΟC ΠΜΟΝ, ΜΤΟΠΟC ΝΦ[Δ]ΓΙΟC ΕΤΟΥΔ[ΔΘ  
 3 ΔΠΔ Δ]Γ'Π'ΟΧΩ ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΜΠΔCΟΝ ΓΤ'Δ]Γ'ΝΙΗΧ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΙ ΤΟΠΟC  
 4 ΝΟΥ]Γ'ΩΤ ΔΕ ΠΙΤΗ ΓΔΝΕΜΙ ΠΙ[ΘΕ] ΓΜΙΝ ΝΕΡΗΟΥ ΔΚΤΙ ΓΝΙΔΙ ΝΤΜΓ'ΟΙ[  
 5 ±2]ΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΜΕΜΔ ΕΤ[ΗΠ Ε]ΡΟC ΕΤΡΔCΩΚ ΤΕΓΥ'ΔΠΑΡΧ[Η  
 6 Μ]Γ'ΝΙ ΓΕΝΕΜΔ ΝΙΜ 2Δ ΔΠΟ[ΧΧ]Ω ΜΝ ΔΠΔ ΜΔΚΔΡΕ ΖΔ ΤΙ-  
 7 ΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ ΙΔ ΙΝΔ<sup>0</sup>, Ζ[Δ Π]Γ'ΕΥ'ΙΤΕΜΟCΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ CΝ-  
 8 ΔΥ ΩΔ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΔΩΤΡ(±3)Ν ΕΙC ΟΥΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΗ ΔΓΔΦΕΙ'  
 9 ΕΤΟΟΤ ΖΙΩΩΦ ΕΤ'ΕΙ[±2]ΩΠ ΟΥΠΔΩΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΤΡΕΜΗCΥ .[  
 10 ( ±6 )ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩ[Ω ΜΠ]Γ'ΝΟΥΤΙ[Ε ΤΙΩΟΟ]Γ'ΠΙ ΝΖΕΤΕΜΟC[  
 11 ΤΙ( ±4 )ΧΕ ΜΝ Π( ±4 )Γ'ΝΝΙ(±3)ΦΓΔ'ΩΦΙ ΠΕΘΟΤ  
 12 ΓΝΙΤΡΟΜΠΓ'Η ΠΔΙ' .. [ΔΝ]ΟΚ [±5 illegible](±2)ΟΘΕ ΠΙΩΤ  
 13 ΝΤΙΔΚΩΝΙΔ .Δ( ±7 )Τ[Ι]Ω ΜΜΕΤΡΕ [  
 14 ΔΝΟΚ ΙΕΡΗΜΓ'ΙΔC' ( ±4 ) [. Τ]Γ'ΙΟ Μ'ΜΕΤΡΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΙΩ[  
 15 ( ±8 )].[ ( ±4 ) ΔΝΓ'Ο'Κ ΠΔCΟΝ ΤΔΝΙΗΧ ΤΔΤΓ'ΙΙ[  
 16 +(±2)Γ'ΕΤΝΙ ΖΟΧΟ[Ι]ΚΟ[Τ Ν]ΟΥΘ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΠΔ ΚΙΡΕ ΔΙCΖΔ[Ι  
 17 Γ'Τ'ΙΩ ΜΜΓ'ΕΤΡΕΙ[ ±3 ]( ±3 )[±6 obscured]  
 18 ]]

(B)

19↑ ΤΔCΦΔΧΙΔ ΜΠ[Δ]Γ'CΟΝ' ΠΕΤΡΟC (±2) Ν<sup>0</sup>[

2 ΠΕΤΡΟC, ΜΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΦΔΓΙΟC 3, 15 ΔΔΝΙΗΧ 2, 3 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 3 ΔΠΟΧΧΩ 4 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΝCΥΜΠΕΙΘΕ  
 5 ΝΕΜΔ 7 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC, ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ 8 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC 9 ΤΡΙΜΗCΙΟΝ 10 ΖΕΤΟΙΜΟC  
 12 ΠΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ 13 ΠΤΔΙΔΚΟΝΙΔ 13, 17 ΜΗΤΡΕ 16 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC/-ΟΙ ΠΗΝΟΥΘ  
 19 ΔCΦΔΧΕΙΔ, ΝΟΜΙCΜΔ(ΤΙΟΝ)

**Parties** (1) + (2) I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Pepros (sic) the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τόπος) of the holy saint (ἅγιος) (3) Apa (?) Apollo, am writing to my brother Daniel, the monk (μ.) of this same monastery (τ.).

**Agreement** (4) Whereas (ἐπειδή) we agreed (συμπεῖθειν) with each other

**Assignment** you gave me Tmou[...] (5) [...] -mou and the places which belong to it

**Aparchê** so that I collect their *apararchê* (ἀπαρχή) (...) (6) and all the produce (γένημα)

<b>Beneficiaries</b>	for Apollo and Apa Makare
<b>Collection date</b>	for this very <sup>(7)</sup> year, the 11(th) indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων)
<b>Payment</b>	for their <i>dêmosion</i> (δημόσιον) which is two <sup>(8)</sup> up until now, half a <i>tremissis</i> . Here is a solidus (ὀλοκόττινος) which I have received <sup>(9)</sup> for it which is (?) ... a half and a <i>tremissis</i> ... <sup>(10)</sup> ...
<b>Promise</b>	by the will of God, [I] am ready (ἔτοιμος) ... <sup>(11)</sup> give ... Phaophi the month <sup>(12)</sup> of this year (?) ...
<b>Recipient?</b>	... (-)othe the father <sup>(13)</sup> of the <i>diakonia</i> (διακονία) ...
<b>Witness 1</b>	[I] am witness .... <sup>(14)</sup>
<b>Witness 2</b>	I, Jeremias ... bear witness and if I ... <sup>(15)</sup> + ... .
<b>Witness 3</b>	I, brother (πδσον) Daniel, ... <sup>(16)</sup> ... solidus/solidi (ό.) of gold.
<b>Scribe/Witness 4</b>	I, Apa Kire, I wrote ... <sup>(17)</sup> [and] I am witness ...
?	<sup>(18)</sup> ...
<b>Docket</b>	<sup>(19)</sup> The guarantee (ἀσφάλεια) ... of brother (πδσον) Petros ... solidus/solidi (νομισμα(τιον)) ...

### Transcription notes

- 2 ΠΕΠΡΟC is a miswriting for ΠΕΤΡΟC which occurs in l. 19.
- 3 Above the ω of ΔΠΟΛΩ is a mark rather like a superlinear stroke curving upwards slightly on the right.
- 8 Read ΠΔΩΤΡ[ΕΜΗC]Ν, by comparison with ΤΡΕΜΗCΥ in l. 9 below.
- 9 ΖΐΩΩϚ: the forms of Ϛ and Υ are very similar and this may be read ΖΐΩΩΥ.
- 10-11 ΤΙΩΟΟ]ΓΠΐ ΝΖΕΤΕΜΟC[-] ΤΙ: restore "I am ready to pay it/them to you"; see **no. 53** l. 7 for this phrase.
- 11 ΕΘΟΤ: this is written with an open beta which resembles a M.
- 12 ΓΝΐΤΡΟΜΠΐΗ ΠΔΐ: ḡΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΐ is expected, see **Collection date** at §5.5.

### Translation notes

- 2 φ[Δ]ΓΙΟC ΕΤΟΥ[ΔΔθ: for this combination of epithets applied to Apa Apollo see §3.5.
- 4 ΟΥ]ΓΩΐΤ: the word ΟΥΩΤ "single, alone, any, one and the same" (Crum *CD* 494a) was erroneously interpreted by Clédât as the place name Bawit without a masculine definite article prefix (see §3.3.1) in a papyrus fragment found at Bawit;<sup>6</sup> and in other texts.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Clédât 1910 col. 204 no. 1 + n. 19.

<sup>7</sup>Clédât 1910 coll. 204-205 no. 2 and n.1 (the place name in this text is later elucidated as CΤΔΧΧΟΥ (Drew-Bear 1979a p. 260)), 205 n. 5 (this papyrus was issued by a monk of the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara; it was re-edited by Till as *CPR* IV no. 17); note that the example cited in col. 205 + n.6 as ΟΥΩΤ actually reads ΟΥΘ..

ΤΜ'Ο'Υ[ : for the interpretation of this place name, see §4.9.

5 ]ΜΟΥ : the phrase following this suggests that this is the end of a place name, possibly even of ΤΜ'Ο'Υ[ in the line above.

16 ΔΠΔ ΚΙΡΕ : this may be interpreted as a personal name ΔΠΔΚΙΡΕ (see no. 71 l. 5 ΔΠΔΚΥΡΙ),<sup>8</sup> or a personal name ΚΙΡΕ preceded by the title ΔΠΔ.

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<sup>8</sup>Heuser *PN* p. 125 ΔΠΔΚΥΡΕ.

**APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE (?)**

"Ex-von Scherling 27"<sup>9</sup>                      Dimensions not recorded                      Whereabouts unknown

**Provenance:** unknown. This document was sent to monks of the cell of Apatore (location unknown). This document follows the same format (set out in §5.5) as several documents written by monks of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh, see §5.8.

This may be a guarantee for *aparchê* collection; it mentions the payment of *pactum* in salt. It is not made clear in Crum's notes, but it may be that Aplo, the person who issued this document, and Solomon, the addressee, are both monks of the cell of Apatore. Alternatively Solomon and monks of the cell of Apatore may be the addressees. It specifies the neighbourhood of Papčol, a place mentioned in an account which may register *aparchê* collections (*Ryl.* 251), see §5.2.

ΠΔCON ΔΠΛΩ writes to ΠΔCON COΛΟΜΩΝ, monks of ΤΡΙ ΝΔΠΔΤΩΡΕ:

x+ 1 (Transcription proper begins:) ΔΝΠΙΘΕ[ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΔΤΕΤΝΤΙ ΝΔΝ place name

x+ 2 ΜΝ ΤΚΟΤC ΜΠΔΠΘΟΧ ΕΤΡΕΝCΩΚ ΤΕ.ΔΠΔΡ[ΧΗ ΖΝ ΠΟΥ-?

x+ 3 ΩΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΚΤΩΕC ΙΝΔ, ΤΔΤΙ ΠΕΥΠΔΚΤΕ[ ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ? ...

x+ 4 ΝΝΟΥΘΟΥΝΕ ΝΖΜΟΥ ΝΔΡ'ΟΙΥΓ'Ι. [Ζ]Ν 'Π'ΟΥΩΩ Π'ΝΙ[ΟΥΤΕ ... ΝΟ-?

x+ 5 ΥΩΤ ΩΚΤΩΓ'ΗC' ΙΝΔ, ΕΡΕΖΩΓ'Γ Ν'..Ζ ΠΟΙΠΕ[

x+ 6 ΔΕ ΝΝΙΩΧΘΟC ΔΕ ΚΔΧΔΔ.ΔΥ ΕΘΟΧ[

witnesses

x+ 1 ΠΕΙΘΕ x+2-3, X+4 ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ x+ 3, x+ 5 ΟΓΔΟΗC ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

x+ 3 ΝΤΔΤΙ ΠΕΥΠΔΚΤΟΝ x+ 4 ΘΟΥΝΕ x+ 5 ΖΩΘ

(Crum's paraphrase:)

**Parties**                      Brother (ΠΔCON) Aplo writes to my brother Solomon, the monks of  
the cell of Apatore

(Beginning of Crum's transcription:)

**Agreement**                      (x+ 1) ... we agreed (πείθειν) [with each other

**Assignment**                      and you gave us ...] (x+ 2) and the neighbourhood of  
Papčol

**Aparchê**                      so that we gather its/their *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή) [by the will?]  
(x+ 3) of God,

**Collection date**                      (in the) eighth (ὄγδοος) indiction-year (ἰνδικτιῶν)

<sup>9</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription of Walter Ewing Crum; see §2.7.

<b>Payment</b>	and pay their <i>pactum</i> [which is ? ....] <sup>(x+ 4)</sup> ... a sack of salt ... by the will of God ... <sup>(x+ 5)</sup> single ...
<b>Payment date</b>	eighth (ϝ.) indiction-year (i.).
<b>Condition</b>	If something ... the <i>oipe</i> ... <sup>(x+ 6)</sup> because I will not be able to say that you ...
<b>Witnesses</b>	(these were not transcribed)

### Translation notes

ΔΠΑΤΩΡΕ: the names Tore and Apatore are not recorded in Heuser *PN*; and so this is interpreted as a form of the Greek name Ἀπάτωρ which means "fatherless".<sup>10</sup> The name ΔΠΑΤΩΡ occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus document, CUL Michael. 837/4, see §2.2, which, although fragmentary, exhibits a similar format to the *aparhê* collection documents in this chapter, with an **Agreement** clause employing the Greek verb  $\text{CEMΠΙΘΕ MN}^{\neq}$ .

x+ 1 This may have been preceded by the **Opening formula**, see §5.5.

x+ 2 ΚΟΤC: derived from ΚΩΤΕ; the meanings "Umgebung" and "Nachbarschaft" are assigned in Westendorf *KH* p. 71 (ΚΟΤ). ΚΟΤC(Ι) by itself can describe the bend in a river: in the narrative of the *Martyrdom of Paêse and Thecla*, the place where the martyrs are executed is described as being near ΟΥΚΟΤC Ϟ̅ ΠΕΙΔΡΟ ΝCΔΖΗΤ ΝΤΕΠΩΤ "a bend in the river to the north of Τεpôt";<sup>11</sup> the same place is described in the *Martyrdom of Anoub* as †ΚΟΤCΙ ΝΤΕΤΟΥΦΩΤ.<sup>12</sup>

ΠΑΠΘΟΧ: see §4.8 for this place name.

ΤΕ.ΔΠΑΡΧΗ: Crum read ΤΕΔΠΑΡΧΗ but ΤΕϞ-/ΤΕC- "its" or ΤΕΥ- "their" would be expected.

x+ 4 ΝΔΡ'Ο'Υ'Γ'.: this may be a word describing the quantity or quality of the salt or its place of origin. It may involve abbreviations of the Greek words ἀρ(ίθμιος) "reckoned" and οὐγγία "ounce", although it seems more likely that a larger measure than an ounce would be needed to describe a sack of salt. If it is to be interpreted as a Coptic word, the reading may be suspect.

<sup>10</sup>See Youtie 1975 for a survey of the implications of this term in Greco-Roman papyri.

<sup>11</sup>Reymond and Barns 1973 p. 77 (text 86 vi 21, translation p. 182).

<sup>12</sup>See Reymond and Barns 1973 p. 182 n. 109 for details of this text.

## 5

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE (?)

CUL Michael. 856/5

49 (h) x 163 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 5

**Preservation:** 5 lines and the top and right margins. Diagonal lines criss-crossing the text indicate that it has been cancelled.

**Palaeography:** a fairly regular, slightly right-sloping majuscule, with a few ligatures: ΔΙ (C2Δĭ l. 2), and ΔΝ (ΔΝΟΚ l. 1). Noteworthy features: letters extending beyond the upper and lower "baselines": Κ (ΔΝΟΚ l. 1, CΔΚ2[ l. 4), Θ (CΕΧΒΔΝΕ l. 1), Χ (ΜΟΝΟΧΟC ll. 1 and 3), Ξ (ΞΕ l. 3); the following extending beyond the lower "baseline": Ι (C2Δĭ l. 2), Ψ (ΨΔ2 l. 2), Ρ (ΜΔΚΔΡΕ l. 2). Three-stroke Μ. Ο can be a small blob (ΔΝΟΚ l. 1), round (ΔΠΟλλω l. 2), or tall and narrow (ΠΙΟΜ l. 5).

**Linguistic note:** this text exhibits two unorthodox spellings of the second person plural First Perfect verbal prefix: ΔΤ- (see §5.5), and ΔΤΝΕ-,<sup>13</sup> both in l. 4.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin is an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

This is the first part of a document concerning an agreement made between monks of the monastery of Apa Apollo concerning the collection of something, possibly *aparchê*, from certain places, one of which begins with the letters Psakh(-) (see §4.7) and was in the Faiyum (ΠΙΟΜ l. 5, see §4.7), see §5.6. The similarities between this document and others drawn up by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo which are edited in this chapter make it highly probable that it was also a guarantee for the collection of *aparchê* or at least of a payment owed to the monastery. The fulfilment of the agreement is indicated by the cancellation lines drawn through it, see no. 23.

1 → † ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΓC'ON CΕΧΒΔΝΕ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΤΟΠΟC  
 2 ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟλλω ΕΙC2Δĭ ΜΨΔ2 ΜΔΚΔΡΕ ΜΝ ΓΕΩΓΡ'ΙΓΕ?  
 3 ΠΕ4CΟ ΝΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΙΤΟΠΟC ΝΟΥΩΤ ΞΕ ΠΙΔΗ  
 4 ΔΤCΜΠΙΘΕ ΙΝ'ΙΜΜΓΔ'Ι ΔΤΝΕΤΙ ΝΔΙ ΜΠCΔΚ2[  
 5 ΜΠΙΟΜ ΠΡΟC ΓΝΕΜΔ ΕΤΗΠ ΕΡΟ4 ΤΡΔCΩΚ'Ι

1, 3 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 3 CΟΝ, ΞΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 4 ΔΤΕΤῆCΥΜΠΕΙΘΕ, ΔΤΕΤῆΤΙ

**Parties** (1) † I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Selbane the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τόπος) (2) of Apa Apollo, am writing to the scribe

<sup>13</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 163-165 §140a, where examples are given for regions C, D, and E.

Makare and Geor[gios/-ge ?] <sup>(3)</sup> his brother monk (μ.) of this same monastery (τ.).

**Agreement**                   Whereas (ἐπειδή) <sup>(4)</sup> you agreed (συμπείθειν) with me  
**Assignment**               you gave me Psakh[-] ... <sup>(5)</sup> in the Faiyum in addition to  
   (πρός) the places which belong to it  
**Aparché**                     so that I collect ...

### Transcription notes

1 †: the vertical stroke curves slightly upwards to the right at the bottom.

4 𐩱𐩺𐩱𐩱𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰: a diagonal line (see the Preservation details above) cuts across the lower part of the 𐩰.

5 𐩱𐩺𐩱𐩱𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰: see the **Assignment of place(s)** section at §5.5 for this reading.

### Translation notes

1 𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰: a Coptic form of Silvanus.

2 𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰: this common name also occurs in two texts which may begin with the 𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰 𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰 NN 𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰𐩰 formula (**no. 58**, and BL Or. 6201 B242 (see §2.1)).

## 6

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE (?)

P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 1

197 (h) x 61 (w) mm.

VIIthC.

Papyrus

Plate 6

**Preservation:** in two fragments. (A) some lines are illegible; x+30 lines and the left margin and perhaps the lower margin are intact; (B) 1 line and all but the right margin is preserved written at right angles to the text on (A).

**Palaeography:** a large, irregular, well-spaced majuscule hand. Noteworthy features:  $\chi$  like a Greek  $\Lambda$ ; the second stroke of the three-stroke  $\mathfrak{M}$  curves down almost to the "baseline";  $\Pi$  written with an overhanging horizontal stroke like a Greek  $\pi$ ; the tail of  $\Upsilon$  extends well below the lower "baseline". A parallel hand may be found in *CPR* XII no. 30 recto, pl. 26, which has been dated to the VIIth C. The superlinear stroke is used in this text to indicate syllabisation but there are also cases where its function is not clear: over one consonant: in  $\text{I}\omega\text{Z}\Delta\bar{\text{N}}(\text{gap})\text{NHC}$  (l. x+31); and  $\text{M}\bar{\text{X}}$  and  $\text{P}\bar{\text{X}}\text{KOT}'\Delta'$  (l. x+31).

**Linguistic note:** the use of  $\mathfrak{M}$  for  $\mathfrak{N}$  in  $\text{M}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{X}}\text{KOT}'\Delta'$  (l. x+31) is noteworthy.<sup>14</sup>

**Provenance:** unknown. This text's association with nos. 7 and 8 suggests that its place of origin may be an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh (see transcription note to l. 2 of no. 7).

**Acquisition:** see §2.4.2.

This text is so fragmentary that only a tentative translation can be made of some lines and no attempt has been made to divide the text up into its component sections as has been done for other *aparchê* collection guarantees and orders in this chapter. The docket summarises the document as the guarantee of Iohannes for Terôt and Pmamrakota[-] which may both be places in the Hermopolite nome (see §§4.4 Terôt and 4.6 Pmamrakota(-)). It may be conjectured that this text was concerned with the collection of *aparchê* from these places, since Iohannes may be the same man who guarantees that he will collect *aparchê* in no. 7, and both texts are associated with a third text, no. 8, which is an order for *aparchê* collection.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

<sup>14</sup>It is unusual in this case because it does not precede a labial, see *Bal.* p. 117 §85.

Side (A)

1	..[	
2	ΙΩ[ΖΔΝ̄ΗΝΗC?	Iohannes (?)
3	ΝΟΥ[	
4	ΜΔΙ[	
5	Π'Μ'Δ[Μ-	the place [of ? ...]
6	Π'Ε'ΡΟΥ[	
7	.Γ'ΔΡ'Τ[	
8	Γ'ΤΚΟΤ'Ι[C	the neighbourhood

Gap of approximately three lines, now illegible.

x +9	ἴΠΕ ..[	
x +10	Γ'Ω', ΕΠΟΥΔ[ ΠΟΥΔ?	... to each (?)
x +11	ΜΕΝ ΜΕΤC̄Ν[ΟΟΥCΕ?	and (?) twelve (?)
x +12	ΕΡΜΕΝΤΕΝ.[ ... ΤΕΡ/ΤΡΕ-	...
x +13	ΜΙCΕ CΕΝΤ'Ε'Ι[	two <i>tremisses</i>

Gap 1 line/blank

x +14	Ν'ΖΕΤ'Ι[ΟΙΜΟC?	ready (ἔτοιμος?)
x +15	(±4)[	

Lines 16 and 17 obscured by a fragment of papyrus.

x +18	ΝΩ..	
x +19	] (±2) ΜΕΝΕ[	
x +20	] (±6)[	

Break in papyrus

x+21	(±4) CΜΤΟ' Π'Ι[	
x+22	(±4) [±2] ..[	
x+23-4	Illegible	
x+25	ΔΛΜΩ.[	psalmodist (ψαλμωδός) (?)
x+26	ΤΔΥΡ..[	
x+27	ΩΡΝΤ[	
x+28	ΔΥΩ Τ.[	and ...
x+29	ΠΔC[ΟΝ](±2)[	my brother (?)
x+30	ΔΟΥ'Ν'(±2)[	

The rest of this fragment is blank or the text is completely illegible.

(B) Docket label (at right angles to texts on side A):

x+31 → + ΤΔCΦΔΧΙΔ ΝΙΩΖΔΝ̄- (6mm.) ΗΝΗC ΖΔ ΤΕΡΩΤ ΜΝ̄ Γ' Π'ΜΔ̄ ΜΡΔ̄ΚΟΤ'Δ'Ι[

x+ 11 ΜΝ̄ ΜΝ̄ΤCΝΟΟΥCΕ ? x+ 12-13 ΤΡΙΜΗCΙΟΝ x+13 CΝ̄ΤΕ x+31 ΔCΦΔΧΕΙΔ



## APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE

P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2

VIIth C.

Papyrus

15 (h.) x 71 (w) + 102 x 21 + 70 x 60 + 29 x 80 mm.

Plate 6

**Preservation:** in at least seven fragments; 14 lines and the upper margin and the right margin for ll. 7-11 are intact.

**Palaeography:** inexpert, slightly right-sloping majuscule; the formation of Δ, like a small c joined to a larger c, is noteworthy.

**Linguistic note:** for the form ΔΤ- see the comment on the **Agreement** clause in §5.5; the form of ΝΟΜΟΟC (νομός) in l. x+3 is unusual, with ΟΟ for Ο.<sup>15</sup>

**Provenance:** unknown. This text was issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh see §5.8.

**Acquisition:** see §2.4.2.

This guarantee is issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo; details of the addressee are not extant, nor are the sections containing the assignment of places for *Aparchê* collection or the **Payment** due. For the **Opening formula** Δ Ν Ο Κ Π Δ C O N N N Ε Φ C Ζ Δ ĩ used in this text, see §7.2.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

Fragments 1 and 5

1→ + Δ Ν ] Ο Κ Π Δ C O N Ι Ω Ζ Δ [ Ν Ν ] Γ Η Ξ Μ Τ Ο Π [ Ο C

2 Ν Δ ] Π Δ Δ Π Ο Χ Χ Ω Ζ Μ Τ Ο Γ Ο ΐ [ Υ ... Ζ Μ Π Τ Ο Ω Ν Ω Μ Ο Υ Ν - ?

Fragment 2 (does not join directly below the preceding fragments as in the plate)

3 Τ Π Ο Χ ] Γ Η Ξ Μ Ν Ο Μ Ο Ο C Ε Φ C Ζ Δ ĩ Ν

4 ] . Ω Ρ Ν Ε Χ Ε Π Ι Τ Η Γ Δ . [

Fragment 3 (at 180° to the last fragments)

x +5-6 Obscured by another fragment

x +7 ] Γ Ω ΐ Ω ( ± 5 )

x +8 ] ( ± 2 ) Π Ι Ω Τ Ν Τ Ρ Ι

x +9 ] Γ Χ ΐ Δ Τ † Ν Δ Ι Ν -

x +10 place name(s) Τ Ρ Δ C Ω Κ Τ Ε † Δ Π Δ Ρ ] Χ Η Ζ Δ Π Δ Δ Π Ο Χ Χ Ω

x +11 Ε ] Γ Τ ΐ Ε Π Δ Ι Π Ε

x +12 ] ( ± 4 ) [

Fragment 4 (at 180° to ll. 1-2)

x+13 ] . Μ Ν Π Ο Υ Γ Δ ΐ Ζ Φ Γ † ΐ [

<sup>15</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 82-83 §45, where Kahle states that "in non-literary texts this is common only at Thebes".

x+14 ΔΙCΖ]ΓΔΐ' ΖΝ ΤΔΒΐΧ ΝCΟΥΧ[ΟΥΤΕ?

2 ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ 3 ΜΠΝΟΜΟC 4 ΧΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ x+9 ΔΤΕΤΉΤΙ x+10 ΖΔ ΔΠΑ

Two further fragments whose position has not been determined are not been included in the translation or commentary:

Fragment 6 (may be positioned to the right of ll. 3-4; it overlays ll. 16-17 of **no. 6** as seen in plate 6 (before rearrangement)):

1 ]> ΠΔ..  
2 ΓΠΑCΟ'

Fragment 7 (at side of l. x+25 of **no. 6** (new arrangement))

1 ][  
2 ]..Ο..ΤΠΡΙ

<b>Parties</b>	( <sup>1</sup> ) I, brother (ΠΑCΟΝ) Iohannes of the monastery (τόπος) [of ] ( <sup>2</sup> ) Apa Apollo on the mount [... in the region of Shmoun ? ( <sup>3</sup> ) the] city (πόλις?) of the nome (νομός), he is writing to ( <sup>4</sup> ) ...
<b>Agreement</b>	Whereas (ἐπειδή) ... (x+5-7 untranslatable) (x+8) ... the father of the cell (x+9) ...
<b>Assignment</b>	you gave me ...
<b>Aparché</b>	(x+10) [so that I collect] its/their <i>aparchê</i> (ἀπαρχή)
<b>Beneficiary</b>	for Apa Apollo (x+11)
<b>Collection date/</b>	
<b>Payment/Other</b>	... which is (x+12) ...
<b>Witnesses?</b>	(x+13) ... and the acolyte +.
<b>Scribe</b>	(x+14) I wrote with my hand
<b>Document date</b>	on day twenty-...

### Transcription notes

- 1 ]ΓΗ'C ΜΤΟΠ[OC: this is inscribed on a small fragment of papyrus (currently at side of l. x+20 of **no. 6**) which is not visible in the plate.
- 2 Reconstruct ΤΟ'Ο'Ι[Υ ΝΤΙΤΚΟΟΖΕ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΝΤΠΟΧ]ΓΓ'C ΜΝΟΜΟC mainly following **no. 1** ll. 2-3, an *aparchê* collection document issued from the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo, see §5.8. See §3.4.3 for the use of ΤΟΥΥ in connection with this monastery.
- 4 ]ΩΡΝΕ: there are no personal names ending with these letters (or -ΟΡΝΕ/-ΩΡΝΟC/-ΟΡΝΟC) listed in Heuser *PN*.

ʿΔ.[ : reconstruct the **Agreement** clause here with a second person singular or plural subject, see §5.5.

### **Translation notes**

1 | ω2Δ[NN]ʿH¹C : the name Iohannes also occurs in **no. 6** l. x+31 and possibly l. 2.  
x+13 0YʿΔ¹2q : see §3.13 for this title.

## 8

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDER(?)

P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 3      138 (h) x 72 (w) + 10 (h) x 49 (w) mm.      VIIth C.  
Papyrus      Plate 6

**Preservation:** three fragments preserve 23 lines and only the right margin of text.

**Paleography:** right-sloping majuscule. Noteworthy features: some letters at the end of a line extend into the right margin, eg. C l. 4 ΤΟΠΟΣ, κ l. 8 ΕΤΡΕΚ, δ l. 9 δ-.

**Provenance:** unknown. This text is associated by its acquisition with nos. 6 and 7 whose place of origin may be an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooch (see transcription note to l. 2 of no. 7).

**Acquisition:** see §2.4.2.

Pşa is to collect *aparchê* for the neighbourhood of Tses(-) (see §4.9) and Šenarô (see §4.7) and possibly other places.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1      ](±2)ΓΖΜ¹  
2      ΠΤΟΩ ΝΩΜΟ]ΓΥ'ΙΝ ΤΠΟΧΙC ΜΠΝ'Ο¹-  
3      ΜΟC ΕΙC]ΖΔΙ ΜΠΔCΟΝ ΠΩΔ ΠΜ-  
4      ΟΝΔΧΟC ΜΠ]ΤΟΠΟC ΠΙΤΟΠΟC  
5 ΝΟΥΩΤ ΧΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ] ΓΔΙ'CΕ'ΜΠ'ΙΘΕ ΝΕΜΔΚ  
6      ΔΙΤΙ ΝΔΚ ... Μ]Ν ΤΚΟΤC ΝΤCΕΩ  
7      ΜΝ Τ]ΚΟΤC ΝΩΕΝΔΡΩ  
8      ]Π'Δ'ΠΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΚ-  
9      CΩΚ ΤΕΥ]ΔΠΔΡ'Χ'Η ΖΔ ΠΔ Δ-  
10      ]ΜΠΚΔΡΠΟC ΝΤΕΠ-  
11 1- .... Π]ΔΙ ΕΠΕ'Υ'ΙΠΔΚΤΩΝ  
12      ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ]ΠΕ ΜΕΤΧΜΗΝ Ν-  
13 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC ΝΝ]ΟΥϞ ΠΔ'Ρ'Δ CΟ'ΟΥ¹  
14 ΕΠΟΥΔ ΝΤΜΔΩΕ ? . ...].ΤΡΙ ΝΕ.  
15      ](±2)ΝΔ'Ι' Ε'C'ΙΝΔΟΥ  
16      Ω]ΜΟΥΝ ΝΕΡΤΟΘ  
17      ]ΝΩΔΚΤΔΔΟΥ  
18      ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩ]Ω ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ω'Δ'¹  
19      Τ]ΝΝΟΥΕC ΜΕ'CΟΡΗ¹

Papyrus breaks off.

x+20      ](±4)

x+21      ΤΕΙΡΟΜ]ΓΠ'Ε ΓΝ'ΙΟΥΩΤ ΠΡ'Ω'Ι[

Papyrus breaks off.

x+22 ]ΝΤΕ[  
x+23 ]ΦΕΡ'ΗC'Ι[

5 CΥΜΠΕΙΘΕ ΝῆΜΔΚ 9 ΔΔ ΔΠΑ 11 ΠΔΚΤΟΝ 12 ΜῆΤΩΜΗΝ  
13 ΝΟΥΘ 17 ΤΔΔΥ 19 ΤῆΝΟΥCῆΜΕCΟΡΗ

- Parties** (1) ... in (?) (2) [the region of] Shmoun the city (πόλις) in the [nome (νομός ?)] (3) [... I am] writing to my brother Psa, the monk (μοναχός) (4) of the monastery (τόπος), this [same (?)] monastery (τ.).
- Agreement** [Whereas (ἐπειδή)] (5) I agreed (συμπείθειν) with you
- Assignment** (6) [I gave you ... and?] the neighbourhood of Tseš(-...) (7) [... and the] neighbourhood of Šenarô (8) ... the one belonging to the monastery/mount/Ptoou (?)
- Aparchê** so that you (9) [collect their ?] *aparhê* (ἀπαρχή)
- Beneficiary** for Apa A- (10) ...
- Collection date** for the harvest (καρπός) of this very (11) [...]
- Payment** for their *pactum* (12) [which] is eighteen (13) [solidi (δλοκόττινος) of] gold less (παρά) six (14) [each ?
- Measure?** according to the measure ? ...] the cell of (?) ...  
(15) ... (16) ... eight artabas (17) ...
- Recipient** which you should give (18) [by the will ?] of God to (19) ... send it (in) Mesore

Further fragments:

(x+21) this same year (?)

(x+23) ... south (?)

### Transcription notes

2-3 ωΜΟ]ΓΥ'Ν ΤΠΟΧΙC ΜΠΗ'Ο'Ι[ΜΟC: for this reconstruction see §5.8.

5 ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ, 6 ΔΙΤΙ ΝΔΚ, 11 ΡΟΜΠΕ, 12 ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ, 13 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC, 18 ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩ]ω: see §5.5 for these reconstructions.

8 ΠΤΟΥ: see §4.11 for the possibility of interpreting Ptoou as a place name.

10-11 ΝΤΕΠ[Ι-... Π]ΔΙ: ΕΘΟΤ "month" (Crum *CD* p. 53b) might be suggested as a possible masculine noun to fill the lacuna here, but the feminine noun ΡΟΜΠΕ "year" (Crum *CD* p. 296b) as part of the phrase ΝΤΕΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ "of this very year" is what is expected, see §5.5 **Collection date**.

13  $\Sigma\text{O}\lambda\text{O}\text{K}\text{O}\text{T}\text{T}\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}\ \text{N}\text{N}\text{I}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{C}\ \text{P}\Delta\text{'P'}\Delta\ \text{C}\text{O}'\text{O}\text{Y}'$ : this may be interpreted as *solidi less tremisses*,<sup>16</sup> or *solidi less carats*,<sup>17</sup> see also **nos. 9** ll. 12-13 and **18** l. 5.

14  $\text{E}\text{P}\text{O}\text{Y}\Delta\ \text{N}\text{T}\text{M}\Delta\ \omega\text{E}$ : reconstructed following **no. 9** ll. 13-14.

17  $\text{N}\omega\Delta\text{K}-$ : this form of the second person singular Relative Aorist prefix also occurs in **no. 18** l. 5.

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<sup>16</sup>This usage is also attested in, e.g., the Coptic papyrus, *Herm.* 7 l. 7.

<sup>17</sup>See *CPR* VII pp. 155-160 and *Pap. Colon.* XXI, noting that neither publication mentions the usage of *solidi less tremisses*. Sijpesteijn and Worp 1992 p. 235 n. to l. 2 state that the word for carat is often lacking following *παρά*.

## APARCHĒ COLLECTION ORDER

P. Schøyen 89/11(A)

206 (h) x 82 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 7

**Preservation:** 20 lines and the left and right margins. See below for text on side (B).**Palaeography:** a large, slightly right-sloping majuscule hand, similar to the one used in no. 13.**Linguistic note:** the form ΜΠΔΡΔ in ll. 12-13 could be interpreted as a spelling of παρά,<sup>18</sup> with ΜΠ for Π,<sup>19</sup> or as a compound preposition made up of Coptic Ḣ- and Greek παρά. Compare ΝΠΔΡΔ in no. 19 l. 6.**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.**Acquisition:** see §2.4.1.

This is an order for *aparchê* collection on behalf of the monasteries of Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup and Apa Jeremias, the proceeds of which will be used as *pactum* payment of 16 solidi less 2 (carats or *tremisses*) according to the measure of the *diakonia*. In ll. 16-17 a reference is made to the fact that all brothers shall pay. This document may be linked with no. 18 which concerns the *pactum* payment to a monastery of Apa Apollo.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

1→ ἸΝΙΕΡΗ...[  
 2 ἸΤΕΙ ΝḢΚΕΜΙΧΧΕΙ-  
 3 Σ ΜḢ ΜΔ ΕΤΗΠ Ε-  
 4 ΡΟΦ ḢΚСОΚ ΤΕΥ  
 5 ΔΠΔΡΧΗ ΖΔ ΠΔ  
 6 ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΜΝ  
 7 ΔΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΜΝ  
 8 ΔΠΔ ἸΕΡΗΜΙΔС  
 9 ḢΚΤΙ ΠΕΥΠΔΚ-  
 10 ΤΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΔἸ..  
 11 ΠΕ ΜΝΤΔСΕ .  
 12 ΝΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΝ Μ-  
 13 ΠΔΡΔ СΝΔΥ ΕΠΟ-  
 14 ΥΔ ΝΤΜΔ ωε ḢΤ-  
 15 ΤἸΔΚΩΝἸΔ

<sup>18</sup>See *Bal.* p. 104 §79A)d, and Girgis 1967-1968 pp. 74-75.

<sup>19</sup>See *Bal.* p. 124 §94C).

16 ΕΡΕΝΕCΝΗΥ Τ-  
 17 ΗΡΟΥ ΝΔΤΙ ΜΟC  
 18 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ĨΕ-  
 19 ΡΗΜĨΔ[ C ΤΙΟ ΜΝΤ-  
 20 Ρ]Ε 'ΔΝ'Ι

4 ἸΓCΩΚ 5 ΔΔ ΔΠΔ 9-10 ΠΔΚΤΟΝ 12 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC  
 12-13 ΠΔΡΔ 15 ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ 17 ἸΜΟC

<b>Agreement</b>	(1) each other (?) ...
<b>Assignment</b>	(2) ... (3) ... and places which belong to it
<b>Aparchê</b>	(4) that you collect their (5) <i>aparçhê</i> (ἀπαρχή)
<b>Beneficiaries</b>	for Apa (6) Apollo and (7) Apa Anoup and (8) Apa Jeremias
<b>Payment</b>	(9) and you pay their <i>pactum</i> (10) which (11) is sixteen (12) <i>solidi</i> (13) less (παρά) two for each
<b>Measure</b>	(14) according to the measure of the (15) <i>diakonia</i> (διακονία)
<b>Stipulation</b>	(16) (and) every brother (17) shall pay it.
<b>Witness 1</b>	(18) I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Jeremias, (19) [am witness.]
<b>Witness 2(?)</b>	(20) I (?) ...

### Transcription notes

- 1 ἸΝ'ΙΕΡΗ...[: read ΝΕΡΗΥ, and reconstruct the **Agreement** clause followed by the **Assignment of place(s)** clause, see §5.5.
- 2-3 ΝἸΚΕΜĨΧΧ'Ε'ΙC: a reading of ΝἸΚΕΜĨΜ'Ε'ΙC may also be possible, as the two χs are joined. If this text follows the same format set out at §5.5, this line should contain a place name (see §4.10 for possible interpretations).
- 20 ἸΔΝ'Ι[: ΔΝΟΚ "I" may be reconstructed here, marking the beginning of the declaration of another **Witness**, see §5.5.

### Translation notes

- 4 ΗΚCΟΚ: this is the only text which uses the Conjunctive verbal prefix instead of the Causative (ΤΡΔ- etc.) in the *Aparçhê* collection section, see §5.5.
- 5-8 ΠΔ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΜΝ ΔΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΜΝ ΔΠΔ ĨΕΡΗΜĨΔC: for these monasteries, see §5.8.
- 12-13 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΗ ΜΠΔΡΔ CΝΔΥ ΕΠΟΥΔ: see the transcription note to no. 8 l. 13 for the interpretation of this sum.

## FRAGMENTARY LETTER MENTIONING EXPENSES

P. Schøyen 89/11(B)

VII/VIIIth C.

Plate 8

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all but the left margin are preserved; this text is written below a fragment of a protocol belonging to an earlier text.

**Palaeography:** a small, semi-cursive hand, with numerous ligatures and large 2.

1 →            ]Ν'Ρ'.ΩΜΔ'ΕΧ'Ε ΖΔΘΥ Μ̄Ν ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ Τ̄ΙΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΜΕΤ(            ±8            )  
2            ]ΗΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΡΩ ΝΔΤΤΙ ΠΕΚΖΟ ΝΔΪ ΕΒΟΧ 'Δ'ΙΣΤΕ ΜΝΤΕΤΕΤ'Ν'Ι(            ±8            )  
3            ]Η. ΤΔ ΖΜΟΟC ΖΗΤ̄ΙΜΕ Δ̄ΙΚΔ ΖΤΗ̄Ι ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ (            ±8            )'Ν'Ι(            ±8            )  
4            ]. ΕΖΡΔΪ ΝΕΜΔΚ ΤΔΕΝ ΠΔΝΖΔΛΜΔ ΕΖΡΔΪ (            ±8            )Π.(            ±6            )Ρ.  
5            ]ΠΕΚΟΥΩΨ + ΟΥΔΔΪ ΖΕΝ ΠΧΟΕΪC +

1 ΖΔΘΗ Μ̄Ν ΝΖΩΒ, ΕΤΕΚΜ̄ΝΤ- 2 Μ̄ΠΡΩ, ΕΙCΤΕ (?) 3 Μ̄ΤΔ-, ΖΕΤΟΙΜΟC (?)  
4 Μ̄ΤΔ-, ΔΝΖΔΛΩΜΔ (?) 5 ΖΜ̄

(1) ... Before all else, I greet your (2) ... and do not continue without showing your face to me. Behold (?) you do not have (3) ... and I sit ready (ἔτοιμος?), I have ... to God (4) ... with you that I bring up (?) the expenses (ἀνάλωμα?) (5) ... your wish. + Farewell in the Lord +.

### Transcription note

1 ]Ν'Ρ'.ΩΜΔ'ΕΧ'Ε: another possible reading is ]Ν'Ρ'.ΩΜΔ'CΧ'Ε but the meaning is still obscure.

### Translation note

2 ΠΡΩ ΝΔΤΤΙ : literally "do not carry on without giving"; compare **no. 16** l. 10  
Μ̄Π̄ΡΩ ΝΔΤΕΙ ΕΡΗC.

# 10

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDER(?)

P. Schøyen 89/14

80 (h) x 90 (w) mm.

VII-VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 9

**Preservation:** 9 lines and the upper and left margins.

**Palaeography:** right-sloping, competent majuscule hand with a number of ligatures: exx. ΚΠ (ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON l. 1), ΔC (ΠΔCON l. 1); and ΓΕ (ΓΕΩ- l. 1). Noteworthy features: Ι and Κ extend above the upper "baseline" (e.g. ΕΙ- l. 3, ΔΝΟΚ l. 1); Ι and Ρ extend below lower "baseline" in ΜΟΥΪ l. 7 and ΕΡΗΟΥ l. 6; three-stroke Μ; Υ and ϕ are similar e.g. in ΠΟΥΔΖϕ l. 4.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.4.1.

Only the first half of this document is preserved but its format suggests that it is an order to collect *aparchê*. Geo[rg-] the psalmodist and monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo has assigned certain places to a fellow-monk of his monastery who is a deacon and acolyte.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

1 + ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON ΓΕΩ[ΡΓΕ ΠΕΥΔΛ-?  
 2 ΜΩΤΟC ΔΥΩ ΠΜΟΝ[ΔΧΟC ΜΠΤΟΠΟC?  
 3 ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΙCΖ[ΔΙ ΝΝΝ?  
 4 ΠΤΙΔΚΟΝ ΠΟΥΔΖ'ϕ Δ'Ι[  
 5 ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟC ΝΟΥΩΤ .[  
 6 Δ'Ν'ΙCΝΤΙΘΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΟΥ 'Δ'Ι[ΙΤΙ(?]  
 7 ΝΔΚ ΝΤΜΟΥΪΚΟΤΕΖ ΜΝ 'Ρ'Ι[  
 8 Δ'Υ'Ω ΤΔΝΩΕΟ.. ΜΝ Π.[  
 9 ..]'Ε'Τ'ΧΩ'Ι.[

4 ΔΙΑΚΩΝ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΔΖϕ? 5 ΠΠΙ- 6 CΥΝΤΙΘΕ, ΕΡΗΥ

**Parties** (1) + Ι, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Geo[rg-] the psalmodist (ψαλμωδός) (?) (2) and monk (μοναχός) [of the monastery?] (3) of Apa Apollo, am writing [to NN] (4) the deacon (διάκων) (?) and acolyte (?) ... (5) of this same monastery (τόπος) ...

**Agreement** (6) We agreed (συντίθεναι) with each other

**Assignment** [I gave ?] (7) you Tmouikoteh and ... (8) and further we went with ... (9) ...

### Transcription notes

- 1 ΓΕΩ[ΡΓΕ: ΓΕΩΡΓ, ΓΕΩΡΓΙ, and ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ are other possible terminations for the name George attested in Coptic texts.
- 2 ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ: this term is used in l. 5 and so has been restored here. See §§3.5 and 5.8 for other terms used to describe the monastery.
- 8 Δ'Υ'Ω: the Υ resembles a Τ.

### Translation notes

- 1-2 ΨΔΧΙΜΩΤΟΣ: see §3.13 for this title.
- 4 ΠΤΙΔΚΟΝ: this may be interpreted as a title or as a personal name, compare Πδικος in no. 40 l. 17.<sup>20</sup>
- ΟΥΔΖ'Φ': see §3.13 for this title. If ΠΤΙΔΚΟΝ is to be interpreted as a title, it is interesting to note that it may be held concurrently with the title ΟΥΔΖΦ.
- 6 ΝΤΙΘΕ: see the analysis of the Agreement clause at §5.5 for the use of this verb.
- 7 ΤΜΟΥΪΚΟΤΕΖ: see §4.9 for this place name.
- 8 ΤΔΝ-: this may be interpreted as the first person plural Second Perfect verbal prefix (ΤΔΝ- for ΝΤΔΝ-).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>The name ΠΔΙΔΚΟΝΟΣ is only listed in Heuser *PN* as the possible antecedent of ΠΙΔΚΟΥ, see p. 117 n. 1.

<sup>21</sup>See *Bal.* p. 158 §131 in which examples of the Second Perfect lacking initial Ν from regions C, D, and E are cited.

# 11

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDER

Christie's "11"

75 (h) x 70 (w) mm.

VII/VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 9

**Preservation:** this manuscript has been joined with a number of others written in different hands. Three fragments of papyrus with numerous lacunae appear to belong to it; 8 lines and all but the right hand margin (and possibly bottom margin) are preserved. The verso is obscured by fragments belonging to the other papyri.

**Palaeography:** a competent, essentially majuscule hand with a few ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This fragmentary order may have been issued by a monk of Apa Apollo (see §3.5 for this designation) to a fellow monk from the same monastery. Few details concerning the collection of the *aparchê* are preserved, but the phrase ΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ (see §5.2) occurs after the **Payment** of *pactum*.

1↑ ρ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΣΟΝ ΠΕ[... ΠΜΟΝΔΧΟΣ ΜΠΤΟΠ-  
 2 ΟΣ Ν]ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛ[Ω  
 3 ]Ε ΓΜΙΠΔΣΟΝ[  
 4 ΤΟΠ]ΟΓΓΙ ΝΟΥΩΤ[  
 5 ]ΓΝΙΕΓΓΙ.Β...Ε[  
 6 ΕΤΙΕΡΕΙΚΩΚ ΤΕΦ[ΔΠΔΡΧΗ  
 7 ΖΩΩΚ ΝΓΓ+ Π[.]ΓΠΔΓ[ΚΤΟΝ  
 8 .ΓΜΙΝ.Τ.[±2]ΚΕΡΔΓΓΙ[ΙΟΝ?  
 9 ΝΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ Δ[

6 ΕΤΡΕΚ-

**Parties** (1) ρ I, brother (ΠΔΣΟΝ) Pe[... the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τόπος) (2) of] Apa Apollo ... (3) ... my brother ... (4) ... same monastery (τ.)

**Agreement** ... (5) ...

**Aparchê** (6) so that you collect its [*aparchê* (ἀπαρχή)] (7) yourself

**Payment** and pay ... *pactum* ... (8) ...with (?) ... carat(s) (κεράτιον?) ... (9) to the sick ones ...

### **Transcription note**

7 Restore ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ at the end of this line, see the **Payment** clause in §5.5.

# 12

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDER (?)

BL Or. 6201 B187

40 (h) x 45 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

No plate

**Preservation:** (A) 5 lines and no margins; (B) one line and all but the left margin.

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping majuscule with some ligatures, similar to the hand of **no.** 107 side (A); 3-stroke M with an elongated leading stroke; I descends below the "baseline" (NMMΔ̄̄ 1. 2); the left oblique stroke of Y is almost horizontal.

**Provenance:** unknown. The acquisition details for this text suggest that its place of origin may have been an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

In this text the *pactum* payment is to be made in wine (HPET 1. 5).

(A)

1↑ ]... MN ΠΔCON .I ... (ΔΤΕΤΝ-СЕНΤΙ- /  
 2 (СΥΜ)ΠΕΙ]ΘΕ ΝΜΜΔ̄̄ ΔΤΝ[ΤΙ ΝΔΙ place names  
 3 ΤΡΔСΕ]Κ' ΤΕΥΔΠΑΡ<sup>x</sup> 2Δ Δ[ΠΔ NN  
 4 ]ΠΔΚΤΩΝ ΕΤΕ Π' Δ' ] ΠΕ  
 5 ].C CNΔY NHPEΠ 'N'I  
 6 ]( ±8 )I

(B)

Hand 2 ink 2. Very faint.

7→ ΔΠ]Ολλ( ±6 )

2 ΔΤΕΤΝ-? 3 ΔΠΑΡΧΗ 4 ΠΔΚΤΟΝ 5 ΗΡΠ

- Parties** (1) ... and brother (ΠΔСON) ...
- Agreement** (2) ... agreed (συντίθειναι/συσμ)πείθειν) with me you [have given me ...
- Aparchê** (3) [so that I] collect their *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή) for [Apa NN ...]
- Payment** (4) ... *pactum* which is ... (5) ... two ... of wine ... (6) ...
- Docket?** (7) [... of Ap]ollo (?) ...

### Transcription notes

1 The first two letters visible in this line may be ΒΩ or ΒΔ.

3 Only the ends of the upper and lower diagonal arms of the Κ are visible.

5].C: the letter before this may be an I, but not a T which rules out a reconstruction of  
ϺΟΤϚ (Crum *CD* p. p. 727a) a measure or vessel which can be used for wine.<sup>22</sup>  
ϚΝΙ: a **Measure** may be specified here, see §5.5.

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<sup>22</sup>See also *Ep.* I p. 93 for this vessel.

# 13

## APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDER(?)

Christie's "19"

170 (h) x 115 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 10

**Preservation:** the first 7 lines and the left margin.

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand, with letters irregularly positioned on the papyrus; it resembles the hand of **no. 9**.

**Provenance:** unknown. The acquisition details for this text suggest that its place of origin may have been an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

Few details are preserved in this order which has been issued by Ammoui and Pamoun to a monk belonging to their monastery. The month Mesore is specified in what might be the **Payment date** section.

1↑ + ΔΝΟΚ ΔΜΜΟΥΙ ΓΜΝ ΠΔΜΊΟΥΝ[ ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ Ν ... ΕΝCΖΔΙ Ν-  
 2 ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΝΠΙΤΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΙΓΤΓΗΊ [ ΔΨΠΙΘΕ ΜΝ- / ΝΜΔΨ ΔΨΤΙ ΝΔΨ  
 ΤΡΕΚCΩΚ ΤΕΨΔΠΑΡ-  
 3 ΧΗ ΝΚΤΙ ΠΕΘΠΑΚΤΩΝ Ε[ ΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ...  
 4 ΜΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΟΥΔ ΕΝΔΝΟΥ Δ[  
 5 ΠΟΣ Ν..Ο ΤΕΚΔΤΕC ΝΓΚΊ[  
 6 ΩΔ CΟΥ[.] ΜΕCΩΡ( ±5 ).[  
 7 ΓΠΩΊΕ ΝΤΓΕΊ[.]( ±3)[ ±4 ]Δ[  
 8 ]ΕΕΡ.[ ±5 ]ΓΡΔΊ[

2 ΜΟΝΔΧΟΣ ΜΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 3 ΝΓΤΙ ΠΕΘΠΑΚΤΟΝ 5 ΔΕΚΔΤΗΣ ?

**Parties** (1) + I, Ammoui and Pamoun [the monks of the monastery of ..., we are writing to ?] (2) the monk (μοναχός) of this monastery (τόπος).

**Agreement** Whereas (ἐπειδή) [... agreed with ...

**Assignment** ... gave ...

**Aparchê** so that you collect its ] (3) *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή)

**Payment** and pay its *pactum* which [is ...] (4) ... and the good ones ... (5) ... tenth (δέκατος ?) ...

**Payment date?** (6) until day ... (of) Mesore ... (7) ... (8) ...

## Transcription notes

1 †: an apostrophe-shaped mark appears at the top of the vertical stroke.

ΔΜΜΘΥΙ: this personal name is not attested in Heuser *PN*.

2 See the **Agreement** and **Assignment** clauses at §5.5 for the restoration of the end of this line.

5 ΠΟC Ν..Ο ΤΕΚΔ ΤΕC Ἰ'Κ'[: the first three letters of this may be interpreted as the end of ΤΟΠΟC (τόπος) "monastery"; following this a reading ΙΝΔΟ "of indiction-year (ινδικτίων)" may be possible (although it usually follows the ordinal number in these documents, see, e.g., **no. 4** ll. x+3 and x+5). The last visible letter in this line has a superlinear stroke; possibly restore Ἰ'Κ'ΙΟΙΔΖΚ "Choiak".

6 CΘΥ[.]: [λ] or [Δ] are both possible.

.[: the final letter visible in this line resembles a Greek δ.

8 This line is not visible in the plate because the papyrus is folded over.

# 14

## DOCUMENT RELATING TO APARCHÊ COLLECTION

Christie's "20"

100 (h) x 55 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 10

**Preservation:** 9 lines and all but the right margin of this text are preserved. It has been used to replace the missing right edge of a larger, unconnected papyrus Coptic letter in order to give the appearance of one complete text. An unconnected fragment of papyrus has also been attached to the back, bearing two lines of text (1 ]...[...[...]'X¹[ / 2 ]ΔΠΝΔΤΝ[.]).

**Palaeography:** a competent, flowing semi-cursive hand with some serifs.

**Provenance:** unknown. The acquisition details for this text suggest that its place of origin may have been an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

A scribe (see §3.13 for this title) issues this now fragmentary document concerning *aparchê* collection.

1↑    ρ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΟΔΖ [

2       ΖΜ ΠΤΟϣ Νϣ' Μ' [ΟΥΝ

3       ΖΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ Δ[...ΤΡ≠CΩΚ Τ≠Δ-

4       ΠΔΡΧΗ ΖΔ 'Δ' [ΠΔ ΝΝ ... ΤΙ Π≠ΠΑΚΤΟΝ/ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ

5       ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ [

6       Ν]ΤΜΔϣΕ [ΝΤΔΙΔΚΟΝΙΔ?

7       ]ΔΙϣΩ[

8       ]ΝΔ ΤΖΔ[Π?

9       ]ΔΝΟΚ[

3 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ

<b>Parties</b>	(1) ρ I, the scribe ... (2) in the nome of Shmoun (?) ...
<b>Agreement</b>	(3) Whereas (ἐπεὶδή) ... have ... [collect ...]
<b>Aparchê</b>	(4) <i>aparchê</i> (ἀπαρχή)
<b>Beneficiary</b>	for Apa ...
<b>Payment</b>	... (5) which is ...
<b>Measure</b>	(6) ... the measure [of the <i>diakonia</i> (διακονία)? ...]
...	(7) ... (8) ... without law (?) ...
<b>Witness?</b>	(9) ... I ...

## Transcription notes

- 1 Ϙ: where the right end of the horizontal stroke of the staurogram should finish there is an s-shaped curve downwards;<sup>23</sup> see also **nos. 16** text 1 ll. 1 and 13, and **22** ll. 1 and 9. A similar embellishment to a + occurs in two texts (**nos. 54** ll. 1 and 5 and **82** l. 1).<sup>24</sup>
- 2 Ἰωϛ ΜΙ[ΟΥΝ: if this text could not be connected with the *aparchê* collection documents from one of the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo, other restorations, such as ωΜΙΝ, would be possible here.
- 3 The **Agreement** clause followed by the *Aparchê* collection verb ϘΩΚ should be reconstructed here, see §5.5.
- 4 ΤΙ ΠϘΠΔΚΤΟΝ/ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ: this restoration is suggested by ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ in l. 5, see §5.5.
6. ΤΜΔωΕ [ΝΤΔΙΔΚΟΝΙΔ: see the **Measure** section at §5.5 for this reconstruction.

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<sup>23</sup>See Naldini 1968 pp. 23-27 and *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV p. 100 n. to l. 1 for the staurogram.

<sup>24</sup>Also in unpublished BL Or. 6201 B35, see §2.1; and in *CO* no. 6 l. 1 and *SPP* VIII no. 1294, a VIIth. C. Greek parchment manuscript.

# 15

## DOCUMENT RELATING TO APARCHÊ COLLECTION

Christie's "18"

18 (h) x 77 (w) mm.

VII-VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 10

**Preservation:** 5 lines and no margins.

**Palaeography:** competent, right-sloping majuscule with few ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown. Place of origin may be an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This fragmentary document concerns the collection for a monastery of Apa Apollo of *aparchê* from Tiloj (see §5.6).

1↑	Ι.Ι.] ( ±4 )
2	ΝΜ]ΜΔΚ ΔΝ† ΝΔΚ ΝΤΙΧΟΧ
3	]Μ!..!Ε!( ±3 )!ΕΙΤΟΥΩ!Ζ
4	ΤΡΕΚΩΚ ΤΕ]Υ!ΔΠΔΡΧΗ ΖΔ ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΧ-
5	ΧΩ ...].( ±3 ).[

<b>Agreement</b>	(1) ... (2) [we agreed ?] with you
<b>Assignment</b>	(2) we have given you Tiloj (3) ...
<b>Aparchê</b>	(4) [so that you collect] their <i>aparchê</i> (ἀπαρχή)
<b>Beneficiary</b>	for Apa Apollo (5) ...

### Transcription notes

1 The last letter in this line may be a Χ.

2 ΝΜ]ΜΔΚ: reconstruct the **Agreement** clause before this, see §5.5.

# 16

## LETTER OF GREETING

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 1

145 (h) x 345 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plates 11-12

**Preservation:** 12 lines and all margins. The address on side (B) is written in the same hand as texts 2-4.

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand written with a thick pen. Wide M, N, Ω and narrow ε, O, C. The second stroke of three-stroke M sometimes curves down almost to the "baseline" (e.g. ΜΕΝ l. 1). Toid Ψ (ΨΥΧΗ l. 3).<sup>25</sup> This text uses a superlinear dot to mark syllabic function as well as the superlinear stroke, and certain clauses are punctuated with a raised point (ll. 3 (bis), 5, 6, 7, 8, 11).

**Provenance:** unknown. Text 1 on this papyrus may have been written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Mena to a monk living north of him, possibly in a monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome. Text 2 is a practice introductory letter formula involving a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo. The formula, ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ (see Chapter 7), is found in texts relating to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. Two of the place names mentioned in text 1, ΠΝΗ (l. 3; see §4.4) and ΠΟΥCΙΡΕ (l. 5; see §4.4) may be in the Hermopolite nome.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

This letter is written in practically standard Sahidic by a monk called Makare to fellow monks, Apollo and Anoup, who live to the north of him (ll. 10-11 "do not delay coming south so that I can see you"). He mentions that monks collecting *aparchê* for a monastery of Apa Mena in the region of Pousire met Anoup who sent news of his and Apollo's health. This text gives an insight into the monastic network through which messages were carried.

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<sup>25</sup>For this term, see Kasser 1991 p. 44 no. 16.



(1) First of all indeed (μέν) and before all else, my humbleness (ἐλάχιστος) greets (2) and salutes (ἀσπάζεσθαι) my beloved and honoured brother Apollo with my whole heart (3) and my whole soul (ψυχή), and I greet my brother Anoup of Pnê. For he has sent (4) his good news and yours by some brothers of mine when they were in (5) the district of Pousire, collecting *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή) for our beloved father Apa Mena in Pe(-)etkême. (6) When they had drunk with one another they brought your good news to me. I rejoiced greatly (7) especially (μάλιστα) when my brother Phoibamon brought your good news to me. I rejoiced (8) greatly all the more because I heard how you were. Now then (δέ) my beloved brother, (9) be so good (ἀγάπη) as to remember me in your prayers (προσευχή) and let God save us from temptation (πειρασμός) (10) whenever (καιρός) we meet (ἀπαντᾶν) it. And do not delay coming south so that I can (11) see you. Send (news of) your good health to me. + Farewell in the Lord +++ (12) my beloved brother.

**Address:** (13) ϣ Give it to my beloved brother Apollo, (14) from Makare the most humble (ἐ.).

#### Transcription notes

1, 13 ϣ: see n. to l. 1 of **no. 14** for the form of this staurogram; an s-shaped mark written with a thinner pen can be seen beneath the staurogram in l. 1.

5-6 ΠΕ.ΕΤΚΗΜΕ: possibly read ΠΕϛϛ'ΕΤΚΗΜΕ; see §4.5 for this place name.

#### Translation notes

5 ΕΥΣΕΚ ΔΠΔΡΧΗ ΖΔ ΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΠΔ ΜΗΝΔ: this is quoted in Crum *CD* p. 326a.

6, 7 For Ν- /Μ- ΠΟΥΩ: see Crum *CD* p. 474b.

8 ΠΕΚΟΥΧΔΙ: literally "your health".

10 ΜΠΡΩ ΝΔ ΤΕΙ: literally "do not carry on without coming"; compare **no. 9** l. 2 ΠΡΩ ΝΔ ΤΤΙ ΠΕΚΖΟ ΝΔΙ.

14 ΕΧ<sup>×</sup>: see *Ep.* I p. 12 for this common monastic epithet.

## PRACTICE INTRODUCTORY LETTER FORMULAE

BL Or. 6201 B29 Texts 2-4

VII/VIIIth C.?

Plate 12

**Preservation:** Text 2 : 2 complete lines. Text 3 (above and to the left of text 2): 2 largely illegible complete lines of text. Text 4 (below and to the left of text 2): 2 complete lines.

**Palaeography:** texts 2: an irregular majuscule hand which is different from that employed in text 1, with erratically positioned letters, and, in some cases, exhibiting different forms of the same letter. The hand does not belong to an unskilled writer, but the fact that it is not a flowing scribal hand suggests that this text may have been produced in an educational context. Texts 3 and 4 are both written in similar hands to text 2.

**Provenance:** unknown. The writer of text 2 may be a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

The epistolary formula ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ (see Chapter 7) is the object of the exercise in text 2, and possibly in texts 3-4. Text 2 may be the model formula and texts 3 and 4 the attempts made by two trainees at copying it.

Text 2 features Enoch,<sup>1</sup> a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo, and his addressee Victor.

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 2

1→ Ϝ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΤΟΠΟC Ν-

2 ΔΠΔ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΜΠΔCΟΝ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ

1 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 2 ΔΠΟΛΛΩ

(1) Ϝ I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Enoch, the monk (μοναχός) of the Monastery (τόπος) of (2) Apa Apollo, am writing to my brother Victor.+

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 3

1 Ϝ. rest of text illegible

2 ϜΝ!..

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 4

1 + ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ

<sup>1</sup>See MacCoull 1993c pp. 42-43 for monks with this name belonging to the Aphrodito monastery of Apa Apollo, noting that the name Enoch in *P.Cair. Masp.* II 67234 ll. 3 and 6 cited by MacCoull 1991 p. 210 refers possibly to a monastery ([μοναστήριον]) of the holy Abba Enoch, and not to an individual.



(2) + Firstly indeed (μέν) I greet and salute (ἀσπάζεσθαι) my ... (3) and I greet the well-being of all your village ... (4) Apa Apollo watch over you from the great ... your (?) (5) God-loving son. Behold my son, Makare ... (6) the small *aparchê* (ἀπαρχή) of the monastery (τόπος) ... (7) ... and sailors and [the ones ?] from (?) ... (8) and attend (προσέχειν) to him in ... (9) obstruct him because you receive him (?) ... (10) prophet (προφήτης). I am writing this ... (11) Farewell in [the Lord].

**Address** (12) The man of ... from Theodoros ... (13) the ... of Apollo +.

### Transcription notes

1 The † could also be interpreted as a superscript † at the end of ΔCΠΔΖΕ.

4 ΧΙΝΕ ΠΝΟΘ [: this may be followed by ωΔ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ "to a small", although the usual phrase is ΧΙΝΕ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ωΔ ΟΥΝΟΘ "from a small to a great" (*CPR* IV no. 177 l. 23).<sup>1</sup>

7 ΝΕΡΜΗΟΥΕ: alternatively this may be translated as "the men" or "the rich men", interpreting ΡΜΗΟΥΕ as an unattested plural of ΡΩΜΕ "man" or ΡΜΜΔΟ "rich man" (see Crum *CD* pp. 294a and 296a respectively).

ΜΝ [±2]Ε]ΘΟΧ Ζ[Ν: restore ΝΕΤ "the ones who" *vel sim.* here.

9 .ΕΤ: or read just ΕΤ.

ΕΡΟ'ΕΙ': possibly read ΕΡΘΕΙC "to watch".

10 ΝΜ[: the last letter has a long tail similar to that of an †; the most probable reading here would be ΝΔΙ ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΝΜΟΥΥ in which case a range of phrases could be reconstructed preceding ΟΥΧΔΙ Ζ[Μ ΠΧΘΕΙC.<sup>2</sup>

12 Ν.ΝΟΜΕ..Ε : the final Ε may be interpreted as a †. This may be interpreted as a place name, possibly ΠΝΟΜ[.]ΕΤ'C' in the Antinoopolite nome, which is the place of origin of two men who write to a monk of the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah (*Bal.* no. 114). If this place name is to be read here, Bala'izah would be a more likely provenance for this text.<sup>3</sup> Another possibility is the place name Πνομφε which is listed in *Ryl.* no. 338 after the Hermopolite place name ΤΜΟΥΜΗΡ/Θμουμηρης.

13 ΠΡ.Η: restore the titles προεστώς "superior" or πρεσβύτερος "presbyter" here, or perhaps ΡΩΜΕ "the man".

<sup>1</sup>Other examples of this phrase may be found in *BKU* III nos. 338 l. 17, 354 l. 2, 355 l. 6, and 411 l. 2; and *Ryl.* no. 349.

<sup>2</sup>See Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 70-73, 237-238 Table 8, types 3d and 5b-c, noting Brunsch 1988 p. 216 with reference to her comment on *Bal.* no. 188.

<sup>3</sup>See *CKÄ* p. 1990 "Pnom[.]ets".

### Translation notes

4 ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΒΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΕΡΩ.[.]Ν: compare ... ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΦΔΓΙΟΣ ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΒΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΕΡΩΤΗΝ ... "the God of the holy (ἅγιος) Apa Apollo will watch over you ..." in ll. 22-23 of P. Society for Coptic Archaeology, Cairo inv. 7.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that a phrase of this type does not appear in any of the published Coptic papyri from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah.

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<sup>1</sup>Edited in MacCoull 1984 pp. 784-785.



### Transcription notes

1 Restore the **Opening fomula** at the beginning of the line, see §5.5.

]. $\bar{\eta}$ : restore  $\Pi\omega\bar{\eta}$  "the son of".

2  $\rho\theta\Upsilon\bar{\eta}\epsilon\Upsilon\prime\text{C}[\text{Z}\Delta\text{I}]$ : this may be divided to read  $\bar{\eta}\epsilon\Upsilon\prime\text{C}[\text{Z}\Delta\text{I}]$  "they were writing".

3 ]. $\text{O}\lambda\prime$ : restore the personal name  $\Pi\theta\text{O}\lambda$  here, see §4.8 Papçol.

4  $\Pi\epsilon\text{Z}\bar{\eta}\prime\text{O}^{\prime}$ : the final letter may be a  $\lambda$ .

5 [ $\bar{\eta}$ ] $\prime\omega\Delta^{\prime}\text{K}-$ : this form of the second person singular Relative Aorist prefix also occurs in **no. 8** l. 17.

### Translation notes

5  $\Pi\prime\Delta^{\prime}\rho\Delta\text{C}\bar{\eta}\Delta\Upsilon$ : see the transcription note to **no. 8** l. 13 for the interpretation of this sum. **No. 9** ll. 12-13 also specifies a number of solidi less two.

# 19

## AGREEMENT CONCERNING *PACTUM*

Christie's "21"

50 (w) x 70 (h) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 13

**Preservation:** 11 lines and the left margin; the last 4 lines are practically illegible. On side (B) is one line of text written across the fibres in a different hand (the following can be read: ΔΜ[.]ΡΕΓ'Ε).  
 ΔΜ[.]ΡΕΓ'Ε).

**Palaeography:** (ll. 1-4) a large majuscule hand, with well-spaced upright letters; (ll. 5-7) smaller, right-sloping majuscule; the text in other lines is not sufficiently legible for analysis.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This fragment is included here because it records a *pactum* payment of "three ... less six and a half" (ll. 4-6).

(A)

1 → ]..N..[

2 ΠΤΟΠΟΣ Ν[

3 ΠΙΘΕ Ν..[

4 ΚΠCΤΩ[... ΠΔ-

5 ΚΤΟΝ ΨΟΜΕ[ΝΤ

6 ΝΠΔΡΔ <sup>ΟΥΘΙΟC</sup> CΟΓΟΓ[Υ

7 ΨΙ ΝΤΓΔΜΕΝ[

8 ]( ±5 )ΓΚ[...]

9 ]( ±3)[

10 ]( ±3)[

11 ]( ±3)[

3 ΠΙΘΕ 5 ΨΟΜΝΤ 6 ΠΔΡΔ

**Parties**

(1) ... (2) the monastery (τόπος)

**Agreement**

(3) agreed ((συμ)πείθειν) ... (?) (4) ...

**Payment**

(5) ... *pactum* three ... (6) less (παρά) six (and) a half ...

**Measure?**

(7) measure (?) of my (?) ...

...

(8) ... (9) ... (10) ... (11) ...

### Transcription notes

3 Ν.: following the Ν may be a ς or an Δ.

6 ΝΠΔΡΔ: see no. 9 ll. 12-13 for παρά as ΜΠΔΡΔ.

## CHAPTER 6

### OTHER DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH AN HERMOPOLITE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO

#### §6.1 Introduction to the texts in this chapter

This chapter presents twenty-nine texts (twenty-seven Coptic and two Greek) which mention, or can be related to, a monastery of Apa Apollo. One of them is written to a monk of the Titkoooh monastery (**no. 20**), and two are addressed to a monastery of Apa Apollo which is ΠΡΗΣ ΨΜΟΥΝ "south of Shmoun" (**nos. 31 and 33**) (see §3.5). A location for the monastery in the Hermopolite nome is suggested for most of the other papyri by place names mentioned in the texts or by the details of their acquisition. Three documents which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo which is not obviously Hermopolite have been placed last in this chapter, **nos. 46-48**.

All but one of the papyri (**no. 40**) presented in this chapter are written from or to a monastery of Apa Apollo. Published texts which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo which may be Hermopolite but which are not edited here include P. Duk. inv. C4 (see §3.5); *Ryl.* 284;<sup>1</sup> and a number of ΕΤΜΟΥΧΩΝ ostraca which mention a ΜΔ Ν ΔΠΟΧΧΩΝ.<sup>2</sup> ΜΔ may be interpreted here as "monastery" (see §4.6) and the large flour delivery specified for ΠΜΔ ΝΔΠΟΧΧΩΝ in some of the ostraca suggests that it had a population the size of a small settlement.<sup>3</sup> The ΜΔ ΝΔΠΟΧΩΝ is also mentioned in a couple of ostraca in the Papyrussammlung of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, P 14707 and 14716; these may also be ΕΤΜΟΥΧΩΝ ostraca.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the texts edited in this chapter are discussed in Chapter 3. A group of three tax demands is analysed below as well as in §3.7.

#### §6.2 Tax demands

Three unpublished Coptic tax demands addressed to monks of the monastery of Apa Apollo ("to the south of Shmoun" specified in two of them) are presented in this chapter (**nos. 31-33**). Three of them may have been issued to monks at the Bawit monastery,<sup>5</sup> and have a similar format to eight published Coptic papyri from el-

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<sup>1</sup>*Ryl.* 135 mentions ΟΥΡΓΩΜΠΕΓΠΙΜΟΝΔΣΤΗ ΠΕ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΖΗΛΙΔΣ which should be interpreted as "a man (of) this monastery is Apollo Helias" rather than "a man of this monastery of Apollo Helias".

<sup>2</sup>See Shelton 1990 pp. 112-114.

<sup>3</sup>See Shelton 1990 p. 114.

<sup>4</sup>These are described in Beltz 1980 pp. 144 and 161 respectively. This collection contains further unedited ΕΤΜΟΥΧΩΝ ostraca: P 14713, 14705, and 14711, see Beltz 1980 pp. 161 and 181.

<sup>5</sup>See §2.8 for this possibility.

Ashmunein,<sup>1</sup> and two copies of one document from Jeme.<sup>2</sup> No. 47 is a Greek demand for *dêmosion*, which follows a different format from the three Coptic tax demands.

Kahle (*Bal.* p. 538) dated no. 31 to around 725 C.E., based on a comparison with a document from Jeme, BL Or. 4664A (*Bal.* no. 130 Appendix), which is dated to 724 C.E. The same date seems likely for nos. 32 and 33.

The standard format of the Coptic tax demands may be summarised as follows:

<b>Opening formula</b>	(CYN ΘΕΩ) <sup>3</sup> NN Π4C2ΔΙ NNN <sup>4</sup> NN ΠΕΤC2ΔΙ NNN <sup>5</sup>
<b>Tax demand</b>	ΣΕ ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΔCΤΔ20Κ ΜΜ00Υ Ν(Γ)ΤΔΔΥ <sup>6</sup> tax and amount specified (see §3.7)
<b>Liability</b>	ΕΥΩΔΝΜΔ2Ε (ΜΜΟΚ) <sup>7</sup>
<b>Issuer</b>	ΠΔΡΔ ΝΔΙ ΝΝ <sup>8</sup>
<b>Date</b>	ΕΓΡ(ΔΦΗ) <sup>9</sup> Μ(ΗΝΙ) x (day) x ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC) x
<b>Résumé of payment</b>	ΓΙ(ΝΕΤΔΙ) ΝΟ(ΜΙCΜΔΤ(Ι)Δ) (ΔΡ(ΙΘΜΙΔ)) x <sup>10</sup>

Where the tax in question can still be ascertained in the published tax demands, three relate to the payment of poll-tax, and one to δημόσιον (*Ryl.* no. 118, where the payment represents the ὑποδοχή of a ὑποδέκτης). *CPR* IV nos. 3 and 5, and *Ryl.* no. 119 use the term ἀνδρισμός for "poll-tax" and *CPR* IV no. 6 uses διάγραφον (see §8.7.1 for these terms).

The same **Liability** clause, covering the possibility that the tax-payer may still be held liable even after making his payment, is encountered in one of the published tax demands, *Ryl.* 119, and following this a ΠΙΤΤΔΓΝ (πιττάκιον) "order for payment" is mentioned. In BL Or. 4664A the tax-payer is advised to acquire a receipt (ἀπόδειξις) as proof of payment in case further payments are demanded (ll. 5-7):<sup>11</sup> Δ Υ Ω

<sup>1</sup>*CPR* IV nos. 3-6 (nos. 3 and 4 of which belong to the archive of Flavius Atias, see *CPR* VIII nos. 72-84), and *Ryl.* nos. 117-119 and 378. See Kahle's comments on this type of document in *Bal.* pp. 537-539.

<sup>2</sup>BL Or. 4664A and B, which are edited in *Bal.* pp. 541-544.

<sup>3</sup>See, *exx.*, *CPR* IV nos. 2-6 and *Ryl.* nos. 117 and 118.

<sup>4</sup>"(With God) NN is he who writes to NN". This formula occurs in no. 31 (and may be restored in no. 33 which also omits the dative ἡ- before the name of the addressee); and the published tax demands listed above in this section. It is found in texts from Ashmunein to the Theban region dating from the VI/VIIth C. - Xth C, see Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 45, and 228 § IV.

<sup>5</sup>"NN is the one who writes to NN". This occurs in no. 32.

<sup>6</sup>"This is what has been assigned to you to pay"; this occurs in nos. 31-33. See also BM Or. 4664A (see *Bal.* pp. 541-544); *CPR* IV no. 5; and *Ryl.* nos. 117 and 118. *Ryl.* no. 119 records the variant ηωΔCΤΔ20Κ; and *CPR* IV nos. 3 and 6 record ΔCΤΔ20Κ "it has been assigned to you"

<sup>7</sup>"If you are held liable"; in nos. 32 and 33, and, *e.g.*, *Ryl.* 119 l. 5.

<sup>8</sup>"By me NN".

<sup>9</sup>"It was written" (no. 33).

<sup>10</sup>"Total reckoned solidi x"; in nos. 32 and 33; see also *CPR* IV nos. 3, 4 and 6.

<sup>11</sup>*Bal.* pp. 542-543.

ΠΕΤΕΚῆΔΤΔΔϞ ΤΗΡϞ ΧΙ ΔΠΟΔΕΙΞΙϞ ΕΡΟϞ .ΕΥ...[... ΧΕ] ΝΝΕΚΤΙΧΔΔΥ ΠΔΡΔ  
 ΤΕΚΠΙΤΤΔῚ, "And as regards everything which you shall pay, get a receipt (ἀπόδειξις)  
 for it as a [security for you (?)] so that] you shall not pay anything beyond (παρά) your  
 order of payment (πιττάκιον)".<sup>1</sup> Three ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϞϞΔΙ formula documents (see  
 §8.7.1) provide evidence that monks with the title "brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός)"  
 could hold people liable for tax payment (again the verb (Δ)ΜΔϞΕ is used).<sup>2</sup>

In at least six of the published tax demands, the **Issuer** bears an Arab name,<sup>3</sup> and in  
 three his father may have been called ΔΘΔΕΡΔΜΔΝ, as is the case in **no. 31**.<sup>4</sup> The issuer  
 of the Greek tax demand, **no. 47**, has a hellenized Egyptian name, Ouersenouphios,<sup>5</sup> and  
 his father a Greek name, Theodoros. He may have belonged to a monastery of Apa Apollo  
 himself because the demand is written on the back of a Coptic letter addressed to a monk of  
 a monastery of Apa Apollo.

The published tax demands are issued at different times of the year, so the fact that  
 two of the unpublished tax demands (**nos. 32** and **33**) are issued on Pharmouthi 22nd in  
 different years may have little significance.

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<sup>1</sup>See *Ryl.* nos. 120-123 and 125 for examples of tax receipts.

<sup>2</sup>In *Bal.* no. 281, a fragmentary letter, someone mentions that 'Δ'ΥΔΜΔϞΕ ΝΜΟΙ ΕΥϞΟΧΟῚ/ "I was arrested  
 for a solidus", presumably for not paying their taxes. See also *Ryl.* 127 l. 16 ΕΝΕΝΩΔΜΔϞΕ ΜΟΚ ΕΧΔΥ  
 ΝΔΥΜΟϞΙΟΝ ϞΔΡΟΟΥ "we shall not be able to make a claim on (?) thee for any tax (δημόσιον) on their  
 account".

<sup>3</sup>See *CPR VIII* p. 193 for tax demands issued by a pagarch or *dux*.

<sup>4</sup>The name of the issuer is not preserved in the two other Coptic tax demands.

<sup>5</sup>A form of ΟΥΕΡΩΕΝΟΥΘΕ, see *Crum CD* p. 491 ΟΥ(Ε)ΡΩΕ.

**OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO  
A MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO  
IN THE HERMOPOLITE NOME**

Content	Ms.	no.
<b>DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b>	P. Med. Copto inv. 76.21	<b>20</b>
	P. Mich. 6860	<b>21</b>
	Christie's "31" text 2	<b>22</b>
	BL Or. 6201 B230	<b>23</b>
	"Ex-von Scherling 44"	<b>24</b>
	Christie's "24"	<b>25</b>
	BL Or. 6201 B216	<b>26</b>
 <b>SALE OF LAND</b>	 <i>Herm. 7</i>	 <b>27</b>
 <b>LEASE AGREEMENTS</b>		
for land (emphyteutic)	<i>Herm. 3</i>	<b>28</b>
for bee(hive)s	P. Princeton AM 15960 G	<b>29</b>
 <b>FRAGMENTARY GUARANTEE</b>	 CMAA Green "13"	 <b>30</b>
 <b>TAX DEMANDS</b>	 BM EA 10460(A)	 <b>31</b>
	BM EA 10135(A)	<b>32</b>
	CUL Q102(B)	<b>33</b>
 <b>LETTERS</b>		
about μαφόρτια	<i>Herm. 39</i>	<b>34</b>
requesting a sale of wine	P. CtYBR inv. 2102	<b>35</b>
concerning pledged items	P. CtYBR inv. 1832	<b>36</b>
 <b>WINE ACCOUNTS</b>	 <i>Herm. 14</i>	 <b>37</b>
	BM EA 10135(B)	<b>38</b>
 <b>RECEIPT FOR WINE</b>	 BM EA 10460(B)	 <b>39</b>
 <b>LIST OF CORN PAYMENTS</b>	 <i>BM 1078</i>	 <b>40</b>

**FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT**  
**ISSUED BY A TOPOTERETES ?**      CMAA Green "1"      **41**

**FRAGMENTS**

	Christie's "30"	<b>42</b>
	Christie's "25"	<b>43</b>
	Christie's "26"	<b>44</b>
	Christie's "23"	<b>45</b>

**TEXTS RELATING TO A MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO  
WHICH IS NOT SPECIFICALLY HERMOPOLITE**

**DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT**      P. Duk. inv. 439(B)      **46**  
**DEMOSION DEMAND**      P. Duk. inv. 439(A)      **47**

**FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT**  
**CONCERNING EMBOLÊ**      P. Miss. inv. 2      **48**

**DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT  
ADDRESSED TO A MONK OF THE  
MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT TITKOOH**

P. Med. Copto inv. 76.21

202 (h) x 64 (w) mm.

VIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Papyrus

Plate 14

**Preservation:** (A) 7 lines and all but the left margin; (B) 1 line and all but the right margin.

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping majuscule with a few ligatures, reminiscent of *CPR* IV no. 23 (plate 1 opposite p. 160) which is dated to 610 C.E. Some letters descend below the "baseline", sometimes into the line below (P in ll. 3 and 6, X in l. 1, φ in l. 4, ω in l. 5, and 2 in ll. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6). Trema on I is prominent.

**Provenance:** unknown.<sup>2</sup> Written by a woman from Tahrouj (see §4.4) in the Hermopolite nome to a monk of the TitkooH monastery of Apa Apollo. Two of the legal formulae in this text are common to the Hermopolite nome: ΝΔΤΖΔΠ ΝΔΤΝΟΜΟC ΝΔΤΧΔΔΥ ΝΔΜΦΙΘΟΧΕΙΔ "without judgment or law and without any objection",<sup>3</sup> and καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως "plainly and without fail".<sup>4</sup>

**Bibliography:** published in Pernigotti 1985 pp. 101-105.

**Acquisition:** no details were given in the edition.

Pia from Tahrouj promises to repay her debt to Apa Ienoch, a monk of the Monastery of Apa Apollo at TitkooH. In *P. Sta. Xyla* 10, the son of a woman called Pia, Aurelius Phoibammon, from the village of Demetriou in the Hermopolite nome, acknowledges his debt to Apa Phibis, another monk belonging to this monastery. For other texts which feature monks of this monastery as moneylenders, see §3.9.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

<sup>1</sup>VII-VIIIth C. according to Pernigotti 1985 p. 101.

<sup>2</sup>Pernigotti 1985 p. 101 suggested Hermopolis.

<sup>3</sup>This occurs in one other text edited in this thesis (no. 53 ll. 8-9: ΝΔΤΖΔΠ ΝΔΤΝΟΜΟC ΝΔΧΔ ΝΕΦΕΘΟΧΙΔ) and may be restored in one other (no. 54 l. 4). According to Steinwenter (1957 p. 462) this formula is only found in Coptic documents from the Hermopolite nome. Kahle (introduction to *Bal.* no. 163) maintains that this formula is common north of Bala'izah but not in the Bala'izah region. Rabel 1917 pp. 83-84 and C. Schmidt 1932 p. 62 n. to l.13 also analyse the usage of this formula and give further references.

<sup>4</sup>It occurs in one other debt acknowledgment edited in this thesis (no. 24 ll. 2-3) and may be restored in two others (nos. 54 l. 4 and 55 l. 5). See Satzinger 1970 for this formula, and *CPR* IV index p. 198 s.v. καθαρῶς which lists a dozen texts featuring it.



<b>Parties</b>	(1) [I, Pia ?] daughter of Dioskre, daughter of Dora, of Tahrouj in the region of Shmoun, she is writing to Apa Ienoch, the monk (μοναχός) (2) ... of Apa Apollo on the mount of Titkooh.
<b>Acknowledgment</b>	I owe (χρεωστειν) your fatherhood clearly and without fail (καθαρώς καὶ ἀποκρότως) (3) ...
<b>Repayment</b>	I am ready (ἕτοιμος) to pay you them in full (πληροῦν)
<b>Date</b>	in the month of Mecheir of this year
<b>Promise</b>	(4) and to give them to you without judgment or law (νομός) and without any objection (ἀμφιβολία)
<b>Issuer's affirmation</b>	+ I am Pia, daughter of (5) [Dora] ... guarantee (ἀσφάλεια)
<b>Witnesses</b>	+ Anoup, son of Silbane, and Anoup, son of Ioannes, are witnesses
<b>Scribe</b>	(6) ... they asked me and I wrote on their behalf because they do not know (νοεῖν) how to write + (7) Farewell in the Lord (?) +
<b>Docket</b>	(Greek 8) ρ Guarantee of Pia, daughter ...

### Transcription notes

1 ΔΙΟΚΡΕ<sup>ε</sup>: a syncopated form of ΔΙΟΚΡΟΡΟC.<sup>1</sup>

ἸΕΝΩΧ: the prothetic I may be inserted following the final -Δ of ΔΠΔ.

2 ΝΔ]ΓΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ: preceding this and following ΜΟΝΟΧΟC at the end of l. 1, restore ΜΠΤΟΠΟC "of the monastery" (following **no. 59**) or ΜΦΔΓΙΟC "of the holy" (following **no. 1**), see §3.4.3.

ΤΙΤΚΟΟΖΕ: the editor read ΤΙΤΚΟΟΖ + , although an ε following the Ζ is clearly visible from the plate accompanying the edition, with its horizontal crossed by the tail of a ρ descending from the line above.

3 ]..Τῆ ἸΝ<sup>1</sup>..[: reconstruct ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤῆ ΝΝΟΥΘ "solidi of gold" or ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤῆ CΝΔΥ "two solidi" here; a sum of solidi greater than one is suggested by the use of the plural in the repayment clause: ΤΔΠΛΗΡΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΜΟΟΥ "I pay you them in full" (l. 3) and ΤΔΤΔΔΥ "I pay them" (l. 4).

4 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΔ: in the *ed. pr.* this reading is acknowledged to be possible but ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕΠΙΔ "I, Pepia", is favoured and πιας in the docket assumed to be a mis-spelling of the genitive form of this name. ΠΕΠΙΔ is chosen in the *ed. pr.* because it fits the lacuna in l. 1 better than ΠΙΔ.

<sup>1</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp. 10, 79, and 98.

8 γναμ<sup>5</sup>: this word is also abbreviated in **no. 21** l. 8 (γενομ'), **no. 27** l. 13 (γεναμ<sup>ε</sup>μ<sup>ε</sup>), and **no. 29** l. 23 (γενομ).<sup>1</sup>

θυγατ<sup>ρ</sup>: the names of Pia's parents and the sum she owes would have been written following this.

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<sup>1</sup>For other abbreviations of γενομένη following ἀσφάλεια, see *CPR* IV nos. 77 l. 12 (ΓΕΝΔΜ<sup>H</sup>), 125 l. 17 (ΓΕΝΔΜΜ...), 171 l. 20 (ΓΕ[ΝΔΜ]Μ).

## 21

### DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

P. Mich. 6860

85 (h) x 318 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

First half VIth C.?<sup>2</sup>

Papyrus

Plates 15-16

**Preservation:** (A) a complete text of 7 lines written over an erased text and around a vertical gap running from the top to the bottom of the papyrus; (B) a docket of one complete line is written on top of a large protocol (see **no. 3**).<sup>3</sup> This is missing its right and lower (and possibly upper) margins, indicating that the papyrus was cut down for re-use.

**Palaeography:** the hand of Paulos the scribe is an irregularly but competently written majuscule which does not vary from the Coptic to the Greek text. Noteworthy features: large  $\theta$  and  $\kappa$  (and  $\zeta$  l. 3); incomplete  $\epsilon$  in l. 2 (if the reading  $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$  is correct); minuscule and majuscule forms of  $\eta$ ; three-stroke  $\pi$ , and elongated initial stroke of  $\mu$ , second stroke of  $\lambda$ , and tail of  $\omega$ . For a parallel hand, see *P. Sta. Xyla* no. 5 v<sup>o</sup> (pl. 5), which is dated to 539 C.E.<sup>4</sup>

**Linguistic notes:**  $\kappa$  is used for  $\tau$  ( $\kappa\epsilon\omega\rho\kappa\epsilon$  l. 6); and a  $\mathfrak{N}$  is intrusive in  $\Gamma\rho\Delta\text{MM}\Delta\text{'N'}\text{TION}$  l. 6.

**Provenance:** Kahle (*Bal.* p. 664) thought that the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo was in question here and this seems very probable given that the issuer comes from Esou, a place just north of Bawit. See the provenance details for **no. 20** for the Hermopolite associations of the formula  $\mathfrak{N}\Delta\text{T}\lambda\Delta\Delta\text{Y}\bar{\mathfrak{N}}\Delta\text{M}\Phi\text{I}\theta\text{O}\lambda\text{I}\Delta$  in l. 4.

**Acquisition:** (according to *Mich.* p. 210) bought from Nahman in Cairo on April 15th 1936.

**Bibliography:** edited in *Mich.* pt. III pp. 210-212 no. 20, partially copied in pl. 7; translated and emended in Till 1958 pp. 203-204 no. 59.

Victor, son of Mathias from Esou, acknowledges his debt of thirty sextarii of oil to Apa Enoch,<sup>5</sup> a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo,<sup>6</sup> and promises to repay it at the

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<sup>1</sup>*Mich.* p. 210 gave (width by height) "32 x 10 cm." I am grateful to Dr Traianos Gagos for checking details of the dimensions and direction of writing in relation to the papyrus fibres.

<sup>2</sup>See the palaeography section of this text. The suggested date of IX-Xth C. in the *ed. pr.* (*Mich.* p. 210) was also based on palaeographical analysis of the text.

<sup>3</sup>This protocol is not illegible, contrary to the claim made in *Mich.* p. 210.

<sup>4</sup>According to *Mich.* p. 210: "Hand: similar to Stegemann [1936], Taf. 22, col. 3 of 952/3 A.D. and other columns, but also Taf. 16, col. 2 of 813 A.D.".

<sup>5</sup>The date assigned to this text suggests that this man is different from Apa Ienoch of the Titkooh monastery in **no. 20**.

<sup>6</sup>In *CKÄ* p. 2078 "Ptoou n-Titkooh", Timm conjectured that the Titkooh monastery might be in question in this text.

harvest of indiction-year twelve. The document is written on the 15th of Choiak in that year, which is when the olive harvest begins. Victor's debt may represent his payment for the use of an olive grove or oil-press or other property belonging to the monastery.<sup>1</sup> The oil is measured according to Apa Enoch's measure, which is presumably that of his monastery, see the **Measure** section at §5.5.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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<sup>1</sup>On the practice of the large estates in Egypt lending oil-presses, see Hardy 1931 pp. 130-131.



- Parties** (A 1) I, Victor, son of Mathias, of Esou in the region of Shmoun, am writing to Apa Enoch, (2) the monk (μοναχός) of the (monastery) of Apa Apollo.
- Acknowledgment** I owe (χρεωστειν) you thirty sextarii (ξέστης) of oil according to (3) your measure.
- Repayment** These then I am ready (έτοιμος) to [send/bring] to you  
**Date** at the harvest (καρπός) of the twelfth (δωδέκατος) indiction (ινδικτίων) (4) without any objection (άμφιβολία).
- Issuer's affirmation** I, Victor, son of Mathias, agree (στοιχειν) to this document (γραμματέιον).
- Surety** (5) I, Pieou, son of Papre, act as surety for him.
- Witnesses** I, Serene, son of Victor, and Pakob, (6) son of Keorke, bear witness to this document (γ.).
- Scribe** I, Paulos, son of Joseph, have written +.
- Date** (7 Greek) Written in the month of (?) Choiak (day) 15, indiction-year 12.
- Docket** (8 Greek) Document drawn up by Victor, son of Mathias, of the village of Isou 30 sextarii of oil outstanding +

### Transcription notes

- 1 Ε'Ι'Ι'CΖΔΙ: the *ed. pr.* gave Ε'Ι'Ι'CΖΔΙ and suggested ΕΤCΖΔΙ as an alternative reading.  
 ΕΝΩΧ: ΕΝΟΧ in the *ed. pr.*
- 2 ΝΠΔ for ΜΠΜΔ: this interpretation was not given in the *ed. pr.* Till 1958 p. 203 n.1 considered ΜΠΔ (sic) to be a scribal error for ΝΔΠΔ.  
 Χ'Ε'Ι'Ρ'Ε'Ι'ΩCΤΕ: the *ed. pr.* gave ΧΟΡΩCΤΕ but Ο cannot be read and the Ω is preceded by a letter.  
 ΖΗCΤΕ: this emendation was also made in Till 1958 p. 203 n. 2.
- 3 ΤΔ[Τ]ΓΔΔΥ': the *ed. pr.* did not consider this to be "justified by visible remains" (*Mich.* p. 211). Till's suggestions (1958 p. 203 n. 4) of ΤΔΧΟΟΥ and ΝΤΟΥ cannot be substantiated.  
 ΔΩΔΕΚΔΤ[HC]: there is perhaps only space for one character in the lacuna, but the genitive form is intended here.
- 7 .ΙΗ': in the *ed. pr.* this was read as ΙΜΗ', an abbreviated form of μηνύ "in the month of" which is what was most probably intended here. However, this cannot be read without difficulty since the first letter looks more like an Ι or an Η.
- ΙΕ . : in the *ed. pr.* a Μ was read following the ΙΕ , but this does not seem likely.
- 8 κωμ, Ισου: Kahle erroneously emended this to ΡΩΜΙCΟΥ in *Bal.* p. 664.

ξ.ι: the letter or combination of letters written after the ξ may be part of the abbreviation for ξέσταυ; in the *ed. pr.* this was read as ξ =, presumably interpreting = as the sign sometimes found before a numeral (see, e.g., no. 76 l. 5).<sup>1</sup>

ε[υ]χι: for the resolution of this abbreviation as ἐνεχθέντα "outstanding" see *CPR* XII 4 ll. 17, 31 and 40.

### Translation notes

2 ΖΗCΤΕ, 8 ξ(έσταυ): a measure which is found in Greek papyri from the II<sup>nd</sup> to VIII<sup>th</sup> C. and which may have had a capacity of a fifth or a seventh of an *angeion*.<sup>2</sup> ξ is a common abbreviation for this word.<sup>3</sup>

3 ΤΕ: see *Crum CD* p. 391a for this Coptic enclitic. An alternative interpretation of it as the Greek enclitic τε (*LSJ* p. 1763b), which is found, as here, in assurances (*LSJ* p. 1765a C.1.) is also possible. In the *ed. pr.* ΤΕ was considered to be a form of ΔΕ (δέ).

5 ΠΔΠΡΗ: this name, meaning "the one of the sun/Pre", is not attested in *Lüddeckens DemNB*, *Heuser PN*, *Preisigke NB* or *Foraboschi OA*.<sup>4</sup>

ΠΔΚΩΘ: this personal name occurs in another Hermopolite document, *BM* no. 1076.

6 ΓΡΔΜΜΔΝΤΙΟΝ, 8 γραμ: see *Youtie* 1973 p. 181 n. 43 for the term γραμματεῖον. In *ST* 201 l. 7 it is something distinct from a θλζε.

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<sup>1</sup>Till 1958 pp. 202-203 does not translate this line.

<sup>2</sup>See *CPR* XII p. 41 §20c and *Schilbach* 1970 p. 115 for this measure in the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods.

<sup>3</sup>See, *exx.*, *CPR* XII no. 27 ll. 1-2 and *Hommes et richesses* I p. 287.

<sup>4</sup>The closest parallel is the Egyptian *P3-R<sup>c</sup>*, see *Ranke PN* vols. 1 p. 114 no. 11 and 2 p. 354.

## DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Christie's "31" text 2

c. 80 (h) x 155 (w) mm.<sup>5</sup>

VII/VIIIth C.?

Papyrus

Plate 17

**Preservation:** (B) 8 lines and all but the bottom margin are preserved; (A) a 2 line docket is imperfectly preserved. The first text written on this sheet of papyrus is a fragment of the first part of an account or list involving men's names and consisting of approximately 18 lines written parallel to the fibres. The papyrus is crumpled and many fibres are partially detached, especially ll. 5-8 which cannot be fully read.

**Palaeography:** hand 1 is a competent, rounded majuscule hand with some ligatures. Noteworthy letters: Ϸ and λ go below the "baseline" (exx. C2ΔΙ l. 3, ΔΠΟλω l. 4); wide Μ and ω; Ο can be a small blob. Hand 2 is also majuscule with some ligatures; Δ is written with a loop.

**Provenance:** unknown. This document was issued by people from Migdôl in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4) to a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

Anoup and Kolthe, the headmen of Migdôl, guarantee repayment of their debt of one solidus to Kosma, a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo. The docket reveals that the loan repayment involves *lachanon*-oil and wheat (see §8.15 for both commodities).<sup>6</sup>

(A)

1→ ϐ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΜΝ ΚΟΛΘΕ ΝΔΠΘΟΥΕ ΝΜΙΓΔΩΛ  
 2 ΠΕΦΤΟΥ ΝΤΙΜΕ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΕΝ-  
 3 C2ΔΙ ΜΠΕΝCΟΝ ΚΩCΜΔ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΤΟΠΟC  
 4 ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΩ ΧΕ ΓΠΙΤΕΙ ΔΝΕΡΧΡΙΔ ΔΝΙ ΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤ.[  
 5 ΝΟΥΖΟΛΟΚΟΓ ΤΙΝ ΓΝΙ[ΝΟΥΘ?]( ±3 )Π( ±3 )  
 6 ΟΥΓΩΤ ΕΤΙΝΟΥ ΟΥ.[ ±4 ]( ±4 )  
 7 ]..[  
 8 ]ΔΙ[

Docket (B) Hand 2

9↑ ϐ ΔΦΔΛ[ ±6 ]ΔΝΟΥΦΕ(±2)ΚΟΛΘΕ ΛΔΧ, ΕΛ, ΓΟΙΓ]  
 10 ( ±4? )[ CΙΤ ΔΤΙ.]

3 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 4 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΝΡΧΡΕΙΔ 5 ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC 9 ΔCΦΔΛΕΙΔ ∫=καί, ΛΔΧΔΝΟΥ ΕΛΔΙΟΥ  
 ΓΟ=ΟΥΓΓΙΔΙ ∫=1/2 10 CΙΤΟΥ ΔΡΤΔΒΔΙ | =2/3

<sup>5</sup>These dimensions have been estimated because the papyrus is crumpled.

<sup>6</sup>For oil made from *lachanon*, see Sandy 1989 p. 6 + n. 23, and Bagnall 1993 p. 30.

**Parties** (1) ρ I, Anoup, and Kolthe the headmen of Migdôl (2) the four villages in the region of Shmoun the city (πόλις), we are (3) writing to our brother Kosma the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τόπος) (4) of Apa Apolo.

**Debt** Whereas (ἐπειδή) we were needy (χρεία), we received ... (5) a solidus (όλοκόττινος) of [gold ? ...] (6) ...

**Repayment?** Now ... (7) ... (8) ...

**Docket** (9) ρ Guarantee (ἀσφάλεια) ... Anouphe(-?) and (καί) Kolthe (for) 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ounces (*uncia*) of *lachanon*-oil (λάχανον, ἔλαιον) (10) ... artabas (ἀρτάβη) of wheat (σῖτος) ...

### Transcription notes

1, 9 ρ: for the form of this staurogram, see transcription n. to l. 1 of **no. 14**.

4 ΝΤΟΟΤ.: this cannot be read from the plate because of a fold in the papyrus.

6 ἰωτ: the papyrus is damaged following the τ. Possibly interpret this as "father" (Crum *CD* p. 86b) or "barley" (Crum *CD* p. 87a).

9 ΔΦΔ>[: restore an abbreviation for γεναμένη in the lacuna after this (see the transcription note to **no. 20** l. 8).

(±2): following ΔΝΟΥΦΕ the papyrus is damaged and so the personal name Ἀνούφειος (attested in *O. Mich.* I 71 (IIIrd C.)) may have been written.

]: this is used twice in this line, the first time expressing καί, the second <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>; see Youtie 1974 p. 50 for the range of meanings which this symbol can have.



(μοναστήριον) <sup>(2)</sup> (through my) God-loving(?) father Apa The[odo]ros  
(?) the archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) and father. <sup>(3)</sup> ...

**Debt?** ... your mercy reached me and you <...> two solidi  
(ὀλοκόττινος) on me for the work ... <sup>(4)</sup> ... for the eleventh (ἐνδέκατος)  
indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) i.e. (γίγνεσθαι) ... by the will <sup>(5)</sup> [God] ... <sup>(6)</sup>  
the monastery (τόπος) ... I composed the document (χάρτης) <sup>(7)</sup> with  
my (own) hand.

**Date** (Greek) Written in the month of Phaophi/Pauni (?) ...  
indiction-year (i.) ...

**Signatory?** + ... in the name of God (?) <sup>(8 Coptic?)</sup> ... +++ ...

**Witness** ... <sup>(9)</sup> ... the watchman I bear witness.

**Address/docket** <sup>(10)</sup> ρ ...

### Transcription notes

1 ΜΦ]ΔΓΙΟC: on the plate it looks as though the tail of a Ϻ might be visible before the Δ, suggesting a reading of ΜΠ]ϺΔΓΙΟC; this, however, cannot be read from the papyrus.

Reconstruct ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΤΟΠΟC ... *vel sim.* at the beginning of this line, see **no. 49** l. 1.

2 Restore ϺΙΤΝ at the beginning of this line, after **no. 49** l. 2 ϺἴΤΟΟΤ῀.

Δ'Π': the missing final Δ may have been written above the damaged Π.

ΘΕ[ΟΔΩ]ΡΟC: see Krause 1985b p. 151 + n. 92 for the reconstruction of this name as "Theodoros". Apart from Θέλουρος, all of the names which are eight letters long and begin with θε- and end -ρος recorded in Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA* are versions of Theodoros.

ΠΙΩ: it is unlikely, but not impossible, that the final Τ (ΠΙΩΤ) was written at the beginning of l. 3.

3 Ϻ'Δ'Κ: something appears to have been left out here and the context implies "you bestowed two solidi on me" *vel sim.*

4 ΕΝΔ'Ι'ΚΔΤΗC: the Ι could be an Ε.

ϺΜ ΠΟΥΩω [ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ]: this common phrase occurs in **nos. 2** l. 12, **3** l. 10, **4** l. x+4, [**8** l. 18], **25** l. 3, and **28** l. 8.

### Translation notes

1 ΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ: see §3.13 for this term.

ΦΔΓΙΟC: see §3.5 for this epithet describing a monastery of Apa Apollo.

2 ΘΕ[ΟΔΩ]ΡΟC: an archimandrite of this name occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus from the same collection as this document (BL Or. 6201 B50 (B), see §2.1). See **no. 17** for another Theodoros, who may be the head of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

3 ΔΠΕΤΝΔ ΤΔΖΟΙ: compare the phrases in nos. 34 ll. 6 and 7 ΠΕΤΝΔ ΤΔΖΟΝ, and 49 ll. 4-5 and 7; and *Ryl.* 331 ΤΕΠΕΚΝΔ ΤΔΖΟΝ ΕΠΤΙΟΥ ΝΖΟΧΟΚΤ, ("that your pity may attain us to (the extent of) five solidi").

7 Πα: Pauni and Phaophi are the months most commonly abbreviated in this way; ΠΔΡΜΟΥΤΕ, ΠΔΡΜΖΟΤΠ and ΠΔΩΟΝC would normally be expected to have longer abbreviated forms than this, although Oikonomides 1974 p. 92 records a 140 B.C.E. document with the abbreviation πα for Παχων.

8 +++: see the translation note to l. 10 of no. 27

## FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

"Ex-von Scherling no. 44"<sup>7</sup>      No dimensions recorded      Whereabouts unknown

**Preservation:** judging from the transcription, the first 4 lines and all but the lower margin of this text appear to have been preserved.

**Provenance:** see the provenance details of **no. 20** for the Hermopolite associations of the formula [Κ]ΔΘΔΡΟC ΚΕ ΔΠΟΚΡΟΤΟC recorded in ll. 2-3.

**Bibliography and Acquisition:** see §2.7.

Loukas, a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo acknowledges his debt of fifteen *folles*. His creditor's identity is not recorded.

1?      ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΧΟΥΚΔC ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠ[ΤΟ]ΠΟC ΝΔ-  
 2?      ΠΔ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΤΙΧΡΩCΤΕ ΝΔΚ [Κ]ΔΘΔΡΟC  
 3?      ΚΕ ΔΠΟΚΡΟΤΟC ΜΝΤΕ ΦΟΧΧ[ΙC Ν]ΝΟΥ-  
 4?      ς ΝΟϞΡΙCΟΝ ΕΥΟ ΝΝΟΥϞΙ ΝΧ(ορ Δ)[...]ϞΟ<sup>1</sup>

1 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 2 ΤΙΧΡΩCΤΕΙ 2-3 ΚΔΘΔΡΩC ΚΔΙ ΔΠΟΚΡΟΤΩC 3 ΜΝΤΗ  
 3-4 ΝΟΥΒ 4 ΟΘΡΥΖΟΝ

**Parties**      (1?) I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Loukas the monk of the  
 monastery (τόπος) of Apa (2?) Apollo,

**Acknowledgment**      owe (χρεωστείν) you plainly (3?) and without fail  
 (καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως) fifteen *folles* (*follis*) of pure (ὄβρυζος) gold,  
 (4?) being their weight ...

**Transcription notes**

3 ΦΟΧΧ[ΙC: Crum reconstructed ΦΟΧ[ΙCΟC.

**Translation notes**

3 ΦΟΧΧ[ΙC: the *follis* was used sporadically in the VIth C;<sup>8</sup> Preisigke *WB* 3 p. 354 records V-VIIIth C. usages.

4 ΟϞΡΙCΟΝ: for ὄβρυζον, see *Pap. Colon.* XXI p. 5 n. 19, and Hendy 1985 pp. 350-353; *P. Budge* l. 203 has ΟΘΡ[ΥΖΟC.

<sup>7</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription of Walter Ewing Crum; see §2.7. No superlinear marks were recorded in the transcription.

<sup>8</sup>See *Pap. Colon.* XXI pp. 44-45 for references and occurrences in Greek papyri. See also MacCoull 1994c pp. 485-486, especially n. 22.

εΥΘ ΝΝΟΥωι : this phrase occurs in *Bal.* no. 121 l. 2 applied to "[solidi] of good gold"; Kahle could not find any parallels for this Coptic equivalent of the Greek εὔσταθος.

## 25

### FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Christie's "24"

c. 40 (h) x 250 (w) mm.<sup>9</sup>

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 19

**Preservation:** 4 lines and part of the upper margin are preserved.

**Palaeography:** fairly competent, upright majuscule hand with few irregularities; Δ sometimes with a double loop; wide Μ and Ω; two- and three-stroke Π; three-stroke Μ.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin is a monastery of Apa Apollo for which the acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

Pesoou, a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo, acknowledges his debt of just under three solidi (the exact amount is not preserved) to another monk of his monastery.

(A)

1 ↑ Π]Γ'ΕΙ'CΩ'Ο'Υ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΙ'CΖΔΪ ΜΠΔCΟ[Ν  
 2 Μ]ΠΪΤΟΠΟC ΝΟΥΩΤ ΕΪΧ[Ρ]ΩCΤΕ ΝΔϚ ΝΨΟΜΤ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ ΠΔΡ'Δ'Ι[  
 3 ]..[ΖΜ] ΠΟΥΩΨ 'ΜΠ'ΝΟΥΤΕ  
 4 ]..[

1 ΜΟΝΑΧΟC 2 ΧΡΕΩCΤΕΙ, ΨΟΜΪΤ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC

**Parties** (1) ... Pesoou (?) the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo am writing to my brother ... (2) of this same monastery (τ.).

**Debt** I owe him three solidi (όλοκόττινος) less (παρά) ... (3) ... [by] the will of God .... (4) ....

#### Transcription notes

1 Π]Γ'ΕΙ'CΩ'Ο'Υ: Pesoou, literally "the sheep" (Crum *CD* p. 61a ΕCΘΟΥ), is the only personal name ending in -ΕCΩΟΥ or -ΕCΘΟΥ recorded in Heuser *PN*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>The dimensions of this fragment have been estimated because some of the papyrus fibres are twisted.

<sup>10</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp. 26, 37 and 73. It may occur in an inscription from Bawit, see Clédat 1904-1906 p. 25 no. I (ΠΕCΘΟΥ).

## FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

BL Or. 6201 B216

50 (h) x 107 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 19

**Preservation:** (A) 5 lines and all but the lower margin preserved; (B) the beginning of a one-line docket is written in between two thick lines which may have been part of the protocol of a larger, earlier text.

**Palaeography:** a fine small semi-cursive hand with distinctive  $\delta$  (sometimes large),  $\epsilon$  (large), and  $\kappa$  (large). The same hand is used in BL Or. 6201 B184 (see §2.1), an unpublished fragment of the end of a document which mentions  $\text{I}\epsilon\text{P}\text{H}\text{M}\text{I}\text{D}\text{C}\ \text{P}\omega\epsilon\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{X}\text{.}\text{I}\text{.}$ ,  $\text{P}\omega\bar{\text{M}}\omega\epsilon\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{I}\text{M}\text{I}\text{I}$  and  $\text{M}\delta\kappa\ \Upsilon\text{P}\epsilon$ .

**No. 26** employs three different superlinear marks: a mark resembling a grave accent is used without syllabic function ( $\bar{\text{N}}\delta\kappa$  and  $\bar{\text{M}}\epsilon\text{COP}\text{I}\text{H}\text{I}$  l. 4), and a superlinear stroke (positioned slightly to the right of the intended consonant) with syllabic function ( $\bar{\text{N}}$ - ll. 1, 2 (bis), 3, 4;  $\bar{\text{M}}$ - ll. 1, 2) and without syllabic function ( $\bar{\text{P}}\text{O}\bar{\omega}$  l. 1;  $\epsilon\bar{\text{M}}\text{P}\omega\delta$  l. 3;  $\text{Z}\epsilon\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\bar{\text{M}}\omega\text{C}$  l. 4), and marking the end of a word ( $\bar{\text{P}}\text{O}\bar{\omega}$  l. 1 and  $\text{X}\text{I}\delta\text{I}\bar{\kappa}$  l. 3); and there is a circumflex over the second  $\text{I}$  of  $\epsilon\text{P}\text{O}\text{I}\text{K}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$  in l. 1.

**Provenance:** unknown. This text was issued from Posntelke (see §4.5) which may be connected with Telke (modern Dalga) in the Hermopolite nome. The addressee belonged to a monastery of Apa Apollo in the same nome as Posntelke, which may be identified as the Bawit monastery a few miles south of Telke.<sup>11</sup>

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

The issuer of this guarantee, who is from an  $\epsilon\text{P}\text{o}\text{i}\text{k}\text{i}\text{o}\text{n}$  called Posntelke, addresses someone from the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo. A certain commodity (which is not extant but which can be used as fodder, see §8.15) is to be repaid in Mesore.

(A)

1↑                    ] $\epsilon\text{P}\epsilon\text{P}\text{O}\text{I}\text{K}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\text{O}\bar{\omega}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{I}\epsilon\text{I}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\ \text{Z}\bar{\text{M}}\ \text{P}\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\omega\text{I}$   
 2                    ... $\text{P}\text{T}\text{O}\text{P}] \text{O}\text{C}\ \bar{\text{N}}\phi\delta\text{G}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}\ \delta\text{P}\delta\ \delta\text{P}\text{O}\lambda\lambda\omega\ \text{Z}\bar{\text{M}}\ \text{P}\epsilon\text{I}\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\omega\text{I}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{I}[\text{O}\Upsilon\omega\text{T}$   
 3                    ]. $\Upsilon\ \epsilon\text{C}\delta\delta\bar{\kappa}\ \delta\Upsilon\omega\ \epsilon\text{C}\epsilon\bar{\text{M}}\text{P}\omega\delta\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{Z}\text{I}\text{P}\text{I}\epsilon\ \bar{\text{M}}\text{.}\text{I}$   
 4                    ].  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{Z}\epsilon\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\bar{\text{M}}\omega\text{C}\ \text{T}\delta\ \text{T}\delta\delta\Upsilon\ \text{N}\delta\kappa\ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\epsilon\text{COP}\text{I}\text{H}\text{I}$   
 5                    ](                    ±10                    ) $\text{I}\text{T}\ \text{N}\text{T}\text{I}\delta\text{C}\text{T}\delta\delta\bar{\Upsilon}$ ]

(B) Hand 2

6→     $\text{P}\ \alpha\sigma\phi / \Gamma\text{.}\text{I}$ 2  $\bar{\text{N}}\phi\delta\text{G}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}$  3  $\epsilon\text{C}\bar{\text{M}}\text{P}\omega\delta$  4  $\text{Z}\epsilon\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}$  6  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \text{T}\epsilon\text{N}\text{O}\text{M}\epsilon\text{N}\text{H}$  (?)

<sup>11</sup>Ryl. no. 356 n. 3 cites part of this papyrus and states that the monastery of Apollo mentioned here is the one at Bawit.

**Parties** (1) ... of the settlement (ἐποίκιλον) of Poštelke in the region ... (2) the monastery (τόπος) of the holy (ἅγιος) Apa Apollo in this [same (?)] region ...

**Debt repayment** (3) ... it is cut (?) and worthy of fodder ... (4) ... (I am) ready (ἔτοιμος) to give them to you

**Date** in Mesore ... (5) ... which she gave ... .

**Docket** (6 Greek) Guarantee ...

### Transcription notes

- 1 Ϻ̄ Π Τ Ο Ϟ ω<sup>1</sup>: restore [Ν ω Μ Ο Υ Ν after this if Poštelke is to be located in the Hermopolite nome.
- 2 Ϟ̄<sup>1</sup> [Ο Υ Ω Τ: the Ν is barely legible.
- 3 ].Υ: the first letter may be a Μ.  
 Δ Υ Ω: between the Υ and Ω is something which looks like a circumflex.
- 6 α σ φ / Γ.: possibly read Γ / or a similar abbreviation for γενομένη (see **no. 20** l. 8).

### Translation notes

3 ε ϸ Δ ϸ ϸ̄ Δ Υ Ω ε ϸ ε̄ Μ Π ω Δ Ϟ̄ Ϻ<sup>1</sup> Ρ Ε<sup>1</sup>: this seems a more probable interpretation than ε ϸ ε̄ Μ Π ω Δ Ϟ̄ Ϻ<sup>1</sup> Ρ Ε<sup>1</sup> Μ "it is worthy of artemesia" (see Crum *CD* p. p. 703a Ϻ Ρ Ι Μ). The use of superlinear strokes does not help in dividing up the words here because they may be employed without consonantal function over the last letter of a word, as in ϸ Δ ϸ̄.

Ϻ<sup>1</sup> Ρ Ε<sup>1</sup>: the form of the Ρ is doubtful because of a mark on the papyrus next to it. The reading of the next letter as ε is also uncertain because it is preceded by a loop which is not accounted for. A reading of Ϻ Μ Ε̄ Μ "burn" or Ϻ Μ Ε̄ Μ- "forty of ..." is unlikely because the Μ would be formed quite differently from other Μs in this text.

## GUARANTEE FOR A SALE OF LAND

*Herm.* 7

150 (h) x 300 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13495(B and A)

Plates 20 and 26

Papyrus

**Preservation:** (B) 12 lines and all margins may be preserved (the bottom two lines are obscured by the frame in which the papyrus is mounted). This text is written beneath the 2-line address belonging to the first text inscribed on this papyrus, **no. 34**. (A) a 2 line docket is written over part of **no. 34**.

**Palaeography:** hand 1 is a semi-cursive hand with a mixture of minuscule and majuscule forms. The ε+ρ ligature is almost "ace-of-spades" in form (ⲪⲈⲢⲈ l. 4; ⲪⲈⲢⲈⲚ- l. 9). Hands 2-5 are an inexpert majuscule.

**Linguistic notes:** the following forms are noteworthy: ⲪⲢⲢⲚ for ⲪⲢⲢ- (l. 8, compare *Ryl.* no. 178 ⲪⲢⲢⲚ); and Ⲕ for Ⲣ in Coptic (ⲈⲔⲈ l. 7) and Greek (ⲧⲢⲢⲈ l. 7) words.

See *Herm.* pp. 40-41 for an explanation of the form ⲔⲪⲢⲔⲔⲈⲓ.

**Provenance:** el-Ashmunein. This document is issued to the monastery of Apa Apollo by people from Pôrahêu (see §4.4) which suggests that an Hermopolite monastery is in question here.<sup>12</sup> The proximity of Pôrahêu to Titkooh may argue in favour of the monastery at this site rather than Bawit.

**Acquisition:** no details are given in the publication.

**Bibliography:** edited in *Herm.* pp. 35-42.

The council of the settlement of Pôrahêu provides a guarantee to the head of the monastery of Apa Apollo for the three arouras of fodder-land and twenty-five arouras of pasture it has sold the monastery for 1<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> solidi in indiction-year 11.

The council is represented by three men who are presumably leading members of the community. They bear the titles priest (ἱερεύς), deacon (διάκων) and presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) respectively (see §3.13), and their signatures reveal their lack of writing experience.

This document was not written on an empty sheet of papyrus which may suggest that it is a copy of the original legal document.<sup>13</sup> If this is the case, it is noteworthy that it bears the signatures of the signatories and witnesses.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

<sup>12</sup>Krause 1985b p. 146 n. 18 (and p. 148) considers that the Bawit monastery is in question in this text.

<sup>13</sup>Another example of a legal text written on previously used papyrus is *P. Oxy.* III 584 (dated to around 129 C.E.), which is cited in Turner 1954 p. 103 no. 2. In this case, the papyrus contains two legal documents both addressed to the same person.

27 II. 1-7

- 1 ἴψ δνον τκοινωτης ηπεποικ°, πωραδζηυ ζιτοοτ δνοκ ειςιτρε πζιερε πωενηε'ικτωρ
- 2 μη πετρε παιδακων μη δνουφ πρε μη φενουτε πωηπμακαριος φιβ μη γ'πι'σεπε ηπεποικ[οι],  
τ
- 3 ζι ουσοπ ενс2δι ηψδ2 δθαδνδσε προειςτος ηπμονδс/ ηδδπδ [δπ]ολλω σε επιδηντδνηπιθη ηεμδκ
- 4 δαντι ηδκ ηωομτε ησιτιωζε ζερε ενδνοοу ηη ζουτη ησιτιωζε μونه ζη τωωε  
 τ ου ε ου
- 5 ηπεν'ε'[ποι]κ°, τενμδ2κ ημοοу ηπθδ ηπ[μ]ιονδсτ' τοут естин χόρ αρ γ [καταμ αρ κε τENOY
- 6 τENOμOXOΓEι σε δησι δуω δηπληροу ητοοττηуτη ητεητιμη προς θη ητδηπωλδ  
 παρδ ουπδω τρηηсη /
- 7 ηεμ ηηεrhoу ημοс εδe 'πδ'ι π'ε'ι сηδ у ζοxοκ'ο/ γι/ χру ηο ας γ τENOу OYη τετηEO ηπxοeic ητετηετιητε

1 κοινотηс ηπεποικιοη η-, ζιερεус 2 ηπεсδyтepoc, ηсееπε ηπεποικιοη 3 ηπpоeстωс ηπμoηδстpиoη ηδπδ, eπeιδη ητδηпπeιθe  
 4 cтeιωζε ηεpe, cтeιωζε ημooηe 5 ηπεποικιοη ηη-, ημooу ηπθδ ηπμoηδстpиoη, χόpтoу, άpouαи, f = κατ, κατaηoμhс(?) б θe  
 7 ηη ηηεrhoу ημoc eтe, ζoXoKOTTиhoι, тpиμhсиoη. γiνeтaι χpυcoυ νομoμαтiα, f = 1/2, γ = 1/3, τετηEO ηπxοeic ητετηδiοkeи

27 II. 8-14

- 8 ΝΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΕΟΥΩΩ ΕΥΩΡΧ ΟΥΝ ΤΕΤΝΕΜΝΤΙΩΤ ΔΑΝΣΥΜΙΝ ΤΙΔΦΔΛΛΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΝΣΤΟΙΧ ΕΡΟΣ
- 9 ΕΝΩΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΠ'Δ ΓΝΙΤΟΚΡΑ ΤΩΡ ΜΝ ΠΕΥΣΔΙ ΝΕΤΔΡΧΕ ΕΣΩΝ ΤΕΡΕΝΡΟΕΙC ΝΗΤΝ ΠΡΟΣ Τ60Μ ΝΤΙΔΦΔΛΛΕΙ
- |   |               |           |             |
|---|---------------|-----------|-------------|
|   | CΥΜΙΟΝ        | CΥΜΙΟΝ    | CΥΜΙΟΝ      |
| 10 + εγρ μ' Τυ κα ιδ, ια + ΔΝΟΚ ΕΙCΙΔΡΕ Φ ΙΕΡΕΙΟCΙ ΤΙCΤΗΧΕ <u>+++</u> CΤΗΧΕ + +++ ΤΙCΤΗΧΕ +++ CΤΙΧΗ |               |           |             |
|   | ΠΕΤΡΕ ΔΙΔΑΚΟΝ | ΔΝΟΥΦ ΠΡΕ | ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΦΙΘ |
- 11 + ΔΝΟΚ ΓΕΝΝΔΓΤΙΕ ΠΩΕΝΔΝΟΠ ΠΡΟΜΠΛΗΤΕΜ ΣΕΝ ΠΤΩΥ ΚΩC ΤΙΟ ΜΜΕΤΡΕ ΠΙΧΔΡΤΗC ΝΤΔ.CΩΤΕΜ
- 12 ΣΙΤΕΝ ΠΕΤCΓΜΕΙΝΕ Μ'ΜΟΙ'q + εγω Μήνα γραμ γραψω j μαρτυρω

(A)

- 13→† ασφαλει γεναμεμε παρ<sup>α</sup> Ισιτρε αλλου τυ εποικ<sup>ο</sup> / Πουρατη  
 14 Χ τιμη χορ<sup>τ</sup> καταμε ι[δ], ια  
 8 ΜΜΟΥ, ΕΤΕΠΟΥΩΩ, ΝΤΕΠΜΗΤΕΙΩΤ ΔΑΝCΜΗ ΤΙΔΦΔΛΛΕΙΔ, ΤΙCΤΟΙΧΕΙ 9 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΔΝΤΟΚΡΑ ΤΩΡ ΜΗ ΠΟΥΣΔΙ ΝΗΕΤΔΡΧΕ, ΤΔΡΕΝ-, ΔCΦΔΛΛΕΙΔ 10 ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΜΗΛ ΤΩΒΙ ΚΑ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC, ΣΙΕΡΕΥC ΤΙCΤΟΙΧΕΙ CΗΜΙΟΝ ΤΙ CΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΠΔΙΔΚΩΝ CΗΜΙΟΝ ΤΙCΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΔΝΟΥΦ ΠΠΡΕCΘΥΤΕΡΟC CΗΜΙΟΝ ΤΙCΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΙΙ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΠΡΗΠΛΗΤΕΜ ΣΗ ΠΤΩΥ ΗΚΩC ΤΙΟ ΜΗΤΡΕ ΗΠΙΧΔΡΤΗC 12 ΣΙΤΗ ΠΕΤCΜΙΝΕ, ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC. j = κατ  
 13 ΑCΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΟΙΚΟΥ 14 Χ = ΥΠΕΡ ΤΙΜΗC ΧΟΡΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΜΗC (?) ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

- Parties** (1) + We, the council (κοινότης) of the settlement (ἐποικίον) of Pôrahêu, through the agency of Eisitre the priest (ἱερεύς), son of Victor (= Beiktor) (2) and Petre the deacon (διάκων) and Anouph the presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) and Shenoute, son of the late (μακάριος) Phib, and the rest of the settlement (ἐ.) (3) together we are writing to the scribe Athanase (the) head (προεστώς) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo.
- Sale agreement** Whereas (ἐπειδὴ) we agreed (πεῖθειν) with you (4) to sell you three good arouras of fodder and twenty-five arouras of pasturage in the meadow (5) of our settlement (ἐ.), we allot you them
- Measure** (according) to the measure of the monastery (μ.)
- Object** which is (τοῦτ'ἐστίν) (Greek) arouras of fodder 3, and arouras of pasturage (κατανομή?) 25.
- Declaration of satisfaction** (Coptic) Now (6) we state (ὁμολογεῖν) that we have received and have been satisfied (πληροῦν) by you our price as (πρός) we agreed (7) with one another
- Price** which is two solidi (ὀλοκόττινος) less (παρά) half a tremissis (τριμήσιον) (Greek) i.e. gold solidi  $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$ . (Coptic) Now then (οὖν) you are the owner and you may manage (διοικεῖν) (8) them in any way you wish.
- Assurance** As an assurance, therefore (οὖν), (for?) your fatherhood, we have set up this guarantee (ἀσφαλεία) for you, and we agree (στοιχεῖν) to it,
- Oath** (9) swearing by God the Almighty (παντοκράτωρ) and by the well-being of those who rule over us that we shall look after you according to (πρός) the power of this guarantee.
- Date** (10 Greek) Written in the month of Tybi, (day) 21, indiction-year 11.
- Signatory 1** (Coptic, Hand 2) + I Eisitre ϣ, priest (ἱ.), agree (στ.).
- Signatory 2** (Hand 3) sign (σημεῖον)  
+++ (I) agree (στ.) +  
Petre, deacon (δ.)
- Signatory 3** (Hand 4) ++ sign (ση.)  
++ (I) agree (στ.)  
Anouph, presbyter (π.)
- Signatory 4** (Hand 5) ++ sign (ση.)  
++ agree (στ.)  
Shenoute (son of) Phib.

**Witness 1**                    (11) I, Gennate son of Anop, of Plêtem in the district of Kô̄s, bear witness (to) this document (χάρτης) which I heard (12) through the one who created it.

**Scribe and witness 2** + (Greek) I, Mena, scribe, write and bear witness.

**Docket**                    (13 Greek) + Security document executed by Isitre and the others of the settlement of Pôrahêu (2) for the price of the fodder and pasturage, indiction-year 11.

### Transcription notes

5, 14 χορ<sup>τ</sup> and καταμε: in the *ed. pr.* it was suggested that these could be abbreviations of χόρτος or χόρτασμα, and κατανομή or κατανέμησις respectively (pp. 38-40). The shorter form seems the more likely in both cases.

11 ΝΤΔ.ϸΩΤΕΜ: this line is not visible on the plate, but ΝΤΔΙϸΩΤΕΜ "which I heard" would be expected.

12 γραψω: literally "I will write" possibly written instead of the expected form ἔγραψα "I wrote" because of the scribe's confusion between this Aorist indicative form and the Present indicative form of μαρτύρω which follows. This line is illegible in the plate and so it cannot be verified whether the scribe wrote a ϕ which looked more like a ψ. In the *ed. pr.* γραψω was interpreted as an attempt at writing ἔγραψα, and the form ΕΓΡΔΥΟ, which occurs in a Coptic document from Aphrodito, *P. Lond.* IV 1536 l. 23, was cited.

### Translation notes

1 ΚΟΙΝΩΤΗϸ: see Steinwenter 1920 pp. 52-53 and 1955 p. 18 for occurrences of this body in Coptic legal documents.

ϸΙΤΟΟΤ: see Papini 1990 p. 300 for the implications of ϸΙΤΝ- and ϸΙΤΟΟΤ= in Coptic legal documents.

4 ϸΙΤΙΩϸΕ ϸΕΡΕ: Crum *CD* pp. 90a ΕΙΩϸΕ and 701a ϸΡΕ cite BL Or. 6201 B19 (see §2.1) as containing the phrase ϸΕΤΙΔϸ ϸΡΕ.

5 ΤΕΝΜΔϸΚ: for ΤΕΝ- as a Conjunctive, see the *ed. pr.* p. 38; "allot" seems the most suitable translation of ΜΔϸ here, although ΜΔϸ ≠ ΜΜΟ= usually has the meaning "(re)pay someone something", as, e.g. in *Bal.* no. 102 ll. 15-16 ΤΔΡΝΜΔϸΚ ΜΜΟΟΥ, 21-22 ΤΔΜΔϸΚ ΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ, 23-24 ΤΔΡΜΔϸΚ ΜΜΟΟΥ, and l. 25 ΕΝΔΜΔϸΚ ΜΜΟΟΥ.

ϸΔ: literally a "date-palm branch", and more specifically a measure of length.<sup>1</sup> It is used, e.g., in the mathematical exercises recorded on *BM* no. 528, p. 258 where it occurs as ϸΕΕΙ. The term is borrowed into Greek as βάϊον, see *Herm.* p. 38 for references and details. On monastery measures, see the **Measure** section in §5.5.

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<sup>1</sup>*Ep.* I p. 95 has a diagram (fig. 51) of such a palm-stick measure from the Monastery of Cyriacus.

9 ΕΝΩΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ἸΠἸΔἸΝἸΤΟΚΡΔΤΩΡ ΜΝ ΠΕΥΧΔΙ ΝΕΤΔΡΧΕ ΕΧΩΝ: for this oath, see Seidl 1935 pp. 139 type II.1 and p. 141 type d, γ which lists several VIIIth C. examples. The same oath also occurs in the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo: BL Or. 6201 ll. 62-63, 6202 ll. 70-71, 6203 ll. 84-86, 6204 ll. 59-60, and 6206 l. 42 (see §2.1.1).<sup>1</sup>

ΤΕΡΕΝΡΘΕΙC ΝΗΤΝ: see Green 1983b for the use of ΤΔΡΕ- in non-literary texts, especially p. 139 for the subordinate use of ΤΔΡΕ- in legal documents.

10 Τᵛ κα: Tybi 21st = 16/17th January.

CΥΜΙΟΝ, +++: the word σημεῖον and (often written below it) the triple cross (+++) are sometimes written in documents for someone who is unable to affirm their satisfaction with the contract competently in writing.<sup>2</sup> The triple cross is also found in nos. 23 l. 8; 49 l. 19 (a large triple cross followed by one small cross); 54 l. 6; and 76 l. 8.<sup>3</sup> In Berlin P 11937 ll. 16-7 (Schmidt 1932 pp. 60-68) an illiterate man refers explicitly to his use of the triple cross.

11-12 ΝΤΔ.CΩΤΕΜ ΣΙΤΕΝ ΠΕΤCἸΜΕἸΝΕ ΜἸΜΟἸϣ: parallel phrase in *P. Lond.* IV no. 1494 ll. 38-39, p. 436 (dated 709 C.E.): ΠΡΟC ΘΕ ΝΤΔΙCΟΤΙΜ ΣΙΤΝ ΠΕΤCΜΙΝΕ ΜΜΟC.<sup>4</sup>

13 αλλου: the singular form is possibly written instead of ἄλλων here through analogy with its Coptic counterpart ΠCΕΠΕ in l. 2, or because it refers back to ΚΟΙΝΩΤΗC in l. 1.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This oath is discussed at Krause 1958 p. 54 §21a.

<sup>2</sup>See, *exx.*, *P. Laur.* V 196 l. 2; and *CPR* IV 48 ll. 24-27, and 79 ll.23-26. See Brunsch 1981 p. 103 p) for bibliography and C. Schmidt 1932 pp. 62-63 n. to l. 22.

<sup>3</sup>Kahle stated that the triple cross is very common in "the Ashmunein texts and further north" (*Bal.* p. 519 n. (4)). No. 56 also preserves a triple cross whose function is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup>COΤΙΜ is mis-spelt CΩΤΙΜ on p. xlvii of this publication.

<sup>5</sup>The reference to *P. Lond.* IV 1574 given in the *ed. pr.* commentary (p. 41) on ἄλλου is incorrect and should perhaps cite *P. Lond.* IV 1419 l. 696 αλλῃ.

## EMPHYTEUTIC LEASE AGREEMENT FOR LAND

*Herm.* 3

270 (h) x 328 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13490(A)

Plates 21 and 27

Papyrus

**Preservation:** (A) 10 lines and all but the lower margin are visible. Most of the right half of ll. 1-4 is missing and there are lacunae in ll. 8-10. (B) 4 lines of a docket; this side of the papyrus was later re-used for a wine account, no. 37.

**Palaeography:** a flowing cursive hand which slopes to the right, with generous spacing in between the lines as found in other VIIIth C. Coptic manuscripts.

**Provenance:** el-Ashmunein (according to *Herm.* p. 17). The place of origin was most probably an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, because Senesla, where the land is to be leased, is located in this nome. Further connections with this nome are provided in the wine account, no. 37, inscribed later on the other side of this papyrus.

**Acquisition:** formerly no. 14 in the collection of I.L. Lixačev.<sup>1</sup>

**Bibliography:** edited in *Herm.* pp. 17-22.

Two monks (Enoch and another whose name is not extant) of the monastery of Apa Apollo are leasing land in Senesla from the *dikaion* of their monastery through its archimandrite, Apa Georgios. A payment of 2 solidi less 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> carats is specified, which presumably represents an annual payment. The lease (μίσθωσις (M<sup>θ</sup> l. 11)) is emphyteutic (I. 9 ΕΒΗΠ ΕΡΟΝ ΔΥΩ ΧΙ[ΝΕ ±? ΝΝ]ΕΖΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΠΕΝΩΝΣ).

The land is described as ΔΤΜΟΟΥ "waterless", and access to water would have been an important factor in determining the amount of rent to be paid. ΔΤΜΟΟΥ is the Coptic equivalent of the Greek ἄνυδρος, a term used in V-VIIth C. documents to signify land which was not watered by the Nile.<sup>2</sup> Such land was taxed at a lower rate than land which was naturally irrigated because it required the expense of supplying hydraulic facilities. This may explain why "the men of Senesla", from whom this land was acquired, were willing to relinquish ownership of it, see §3.12. Other leases of ΔΤΜΟΟΥ land include *CPR* IV 117 and 122. The former is also arranged by a monk with the *dikaion* of his monastery: a deacon pays 5 carats of φόρος a year for one CΕΤΙΩΣΕ of ΔΤΜΟΟΥ land.<sup>3</sup>

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

<sup>1</sup>No other details are at present available for this papyrus. I am most grateful to Dr M. Dandamaeva of the Hermitage Museum for her assistance with tracing this papyrus.

<sup>2</sup>See Bonneau 1993 pp. 208 and 221 for this interpretation following *P. Cair. Masp.* .I 67113 l. 10, and Bonneau 1971 n. 418. *P. Lond.* V no. 1693 n. 15 gives a different explanation.

<sup>3</sup>*CPR* IV no. 148 ll. 5-6 describes land as "watered and unwatered".

- (A)
- 1↑ + ΔΝΟΝ ΠΔCΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΜΝ ΠΔCΟΝΘ [ ±10 ] ( ±6 ) [ ±4 ] ±6
- 2 ΝΦΔΓΙΟΣ Δ ΠΔ Δ ΠΟΧΧΩ ΕΝC2ΔΙ ΝΠ' ΔΙΚ' ΔΙΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝ [ ΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕ-
- 3 ΝΕΙΩΤ Δ ΠΔ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΠΔΡΜΔΝ Δ ΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΠΤΟ [ ΠΟC / - ΟΥ ?
- 4 ΝΤΕΤΝΕΜ<sup>Ι</sup> ΤΕΙΩΤ' Δ ΥΩ ΝΠΕΝΤΙ Χ Δ' Δ Υ Ν' [ ±3 ] CΘ' Ο' [ ] ( ±7 ) [
- 5 Δ ΤΝΕΤΙ ΝΔΝ ΝΩΜΟΥΝΕ ΝCΕΤΕΙΩ2Ε ΝΔ ΤΜΟΥΥ '2'Ν ΝΕΕΙΩ2Ε ΝΠΚΟΓ'Υ'Ι 2Ο'Ι
- 6 ΝΤΔ ΤΝΕΔ Χ Δ CΕ ΝΜΟ4 Μ'Ν ΝΕΡΩΜCΕΝΕC Δ Δ CΕΜΕΙ2] CΕΩΔΔ Τ ΤΔΡΕΝΔ ΜΔ2Ε
- 7 ΕΡΟΥ Τ ΝΔ ΥΤΟΥΡΓΕΙ ΕΡΟΥ 2ΔΡΔ Τ4 ΝΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΝ ΤΕΤΝΕΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ ΧΙΝΕ ΠΙΚΔΡΠΟC
- 2 ΜΦΔΓΙΟC, ΜΠΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ ΜΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΖΙΤ<sup>Ν</sup> 3 ΔΡΧΗΜΔΝΔΡΙΤΗC, ΜΠΤΟΠΟC/ΜΠΤΟΥΥ 4 ΗΤΕΤΝ-, ΜΠΕΝ-
- 5 Δ ΤΕΤ<sup>Ν</sup>-, ΩΜΟΥΝ ΗCΤΕΙΩ2Ε, ΗΕΙΩ2Ε ΜΠΚΟΥΙ 6 ΗΤΔ ΤΕΤ<sup>Ν</sup> Δ Χ Δ CΕ ΜΜΟ4, ΗΡΩΜ- 7 ΜΠΤΟΠΟC, ΤΕΤ<sup>Ν</sup>-, ΧΙΝ-

28 II. 8-14

8 ΕΤΝΗΟΓΥΙ [2]ΝΙ ΠΟΥΩΨ ἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΟΓΔΩΗΣ ΙΝΔ, ΔΥΩ ΝΤΟΦ ΕΑΗΠ ΕΡΟΝ Δ ΥΩ

9 ΓΧ'Ι[ΝΕ ±8 ἸἸ]Ε2'ΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΠΕΝΩΝΣ ΕΠΕΙ ΤΩ Δ ΝΟΝ ΠΔΣΟΝ

10 ΕΝΩΧ ΜΝ ΠΔΣΟΝ Θ+? ].. ΓΝΕ'ΙΝΤΔΥ ΨΕΡΠΤΣ2ΔΙ ΤΝΨΟΟΠ ΝΣΕΤΟΙΜΟΣ

16 (B)

11 → + ΤΜ <sup>θ</sup> ἸΠΔΣ[ΟΝ ΕΝ]ΩΧ ΓΜ[ΙΝ ΠΔΣΟΝ Θ.....

12 ΔΔ ΤΕΨΜΟΥΝΕ ΝΣΕΤΙ'Ω'2Ε ΝΔ ΤΜΟΟΓΥΙ

13 ΣἸ ΠΚΟΥΪ ΣΟΪ ἸΣΕΝΕΣΧΔ ΧΕ ν β : απ <sup>ο</sup> <sup>ο</sup> <sup>τ</sup> κβ] ἐκγ

14 Χωρ ωρ  
ο

8 ΕΤΝΗΥ 2Ἰ ΠΟΥΩΨ ἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΟΓΔΩΗΣ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ, ΕΦΗΠ 9 ΧΙΝ-, ἸΠΕΝΩΝΣ ΙΙ ΜΙΘΩΦΟΙΣ ἸΠΔΣΟΝ Ι2 ΨΜΟΥΝ ἸΣΤΕΙΩΣΕ  
 Ι3 2Ἰ, Χρυσού νομισματίδια β : από κερσάτων κβ 1/2 ἐκ του 14 Χωρίου ωρου

- Parties** (1) + We, brother (ΠΑΔCΘΝ) Enoch and brother (ΠΑΔCΘΝ) B-... ... (2) of the holy (ἅγιος) Apa Apollo, are writing to the *dikaion* (δίκαιον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) ... (3) father Apa Georgios the archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) and father of the monastery ... (4) of your fatherhood.
- Preamble** We did not give any ... (5) you gave us eight waterless arouras from the fields of the small meadow (6) which you have exchanged (ἀλλάσσειν) with the men of Senesla more or less so that we take possession of (7) them and farm them ourselves (αὐτουργεῖν) on behalf of the monastery (τόπος) and your fatherhood
- Date** starting from this coming harvest (καρπός), (8) by the will of God, the eighth (ὄγδοος) indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων).
- Term** It is ours (9) for all the days of our life. Whereupon (ἐπὶ τῷ) we, brother (ΠΑΔCΘΝ) (10) Enoch and [brother (ΠΑΔCΘΝ) B-...] the ones who have written above, are ready (ἕτοιμος) ...
- Docket** (11) + The lease (μίσθωσις) of brother (ΠΑΔCΘΝ) Enoch and [brother (ΠΑΔCΘΝ) B-...] (12) for the eight waterless arouras (13) in the small meadow of Senesla (Greek) gold solidi 2 less 24<sup>1/2</sup> carats from the (14) place of Hor (?).

### Transcription notes

- 1 θ[ ±10 ]( ±6 )[ ±4 ] ±6 : following the name of the second person addressed, a phrase along the lines of ΝΕΜΟΝΔΧΟC ΝΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ "the monks of the monastery" is a possible restoration for the damaged second half of this line.
- 2 ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕ- : restored at the end of this line after no. 49 l. 2 (ΖΙΤΟΟΤῪ).
- 4 λΔ'ΔΥ Ν' [±3] CΘ'Ο' [.] : the *ed. pr.* read λΔΔ'Υ [Ν]ΕΙCΘ'Ο' [λ] 'Η', which cannot be read from the plate, but did not give an interpretation of it or cite a parallel usage in a Coptic document. The principal meanings of εἰσβολή according to LSJ are "invasion", "entrance", and "beginning". Another possible Greek word which may be restored here is ΠΡΟCΘΟΛΗ (προσβολή "embrace, attack, approach").
- 9 ΣΙ[ΝΕ: restore ΠΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΟΥ "this day" (see Crum *CD* p. 731a 200Υ) *vel sim.* here. The *ed. pr.* suggested a restoration of ΣΙ[ΝΕ ΠΟΟΥ ΕΘΗ ΝΝ]Ε200Υ after *Ryl.* nos. 174 and 191; the latter text does not contain this phrase.
- 10 θ±?]. 'ΝΕ'ΝΤΔΥΩΕΡΠCΖΔΙ : the *ed. pr.* tentatively read ΝΤΔ'Ν'ΩΕΡΠCΖΔΙ in keeping with the first person of the following phrase.

### Translation notes

- 2 ΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ: see §3.13 for this term.

5 20ῖ: following εἰωθε this should perhaps be translated as something other than "field", Westendorf *KH* suggests "Wiese", which is followed here; Crum *CD* 650b 20ῖ also gives the meanings "canal, ditch" and "waterwheel".

6 δλλδσε: see Boulard 1913 p. 52 for this verb in Coptic sales contracts.

σεμε[2] σεωδδτ: Crum *CD* p. 208b ΜΟΥ2 cites the Greek equivalent of this phrase as πλέον ἕλαττον "more or less" which is found in Greek papyri of Byzantine date.<sup>1</sup> At least three published Coptic documents use this phrase following numerals (*Ryl.* 162; *BM* 1021 l. 4 and *CPR* II 190), the first two of which have been assigned the provenance of el-Ashmunein.

δμδσε: note the use of this verb followed by the preposition ε- and then the object; see Depuydt 1993 p. 286 for the absence of immediate connection of this verb with its object in the bi- and tripartite conjugations.

13 απ°: the *ed. pr.* (*Herm.* p. 2) notes the unusual usage of ἀπό rather than παρά (see no.

8 l. 13) here, and cites a parallel in another Hermopolite document, *Ryl.* no. 158 l. 29

χρ<sup>υ</sup>, Ν<sup>ο</sup> γγ<sup>γ</sup> απο κτ, κβJ "3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> gold solidi less 22<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> carats".

14 χωρ ωρ°: this may be interpreted as χωρ(του) "place/district" ωρο(υ) "of (H)or(os)", see (H)oro(-) §4.5.

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<sup>1</sup>See Drew-Bear 1979b p. 293 and commentary on p. 297 for this phrase in a VIth C. Greek papyrus from the Hermopolite nome, P. Sorbonne inv. 2291 l. 16 (πλέον ἕλαττον).

## GUARANTEE FOR A LEASE AGREEMENT CONCERNING BEEHIVES

P. Princeton AM 15960 G

215 (h) x 115 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plates 22-23

**Preservation:** (A) all 22 lines and margins are preserved; there are a few small lacunae.

(B) a one-line docket is preserved.

**Palaeography:** hand 1 is a competent, right-sloping majuscule hand with few ligatures.

The form of  $\theta$  is noteworthy, written almost like a  $\Delta$  tilted backwards on its bottom left corner in  $\epsilon\theta\iota\epsilon\iota\tau$  l. 6.  $\mu$  in  $\mu\bar{\eta}$  l. 2 involves two loops. The hand which wrote the docket may also be hand 1, modified slightly for writing Greek: the  $\epsilon\rho$  ligature tends towards the "ace-of-spades" form ( $\Gamma\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$  l. 23).<sup>1</sup>

**Provenance:** (according to Satzinger and Sijpesteijn 1988 p. 49) the Hermopolite nome.

This guarantee was issued by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo to an inhabitant of the Hermopolite village of Tbate. One of the witnesses is from Tin, possibly the place of this name belonging to the Theodosiopolite nome, see §4.7.

**Acquisition:** no details given in the publication.**Bibliography:** edited in Satzinger and Sijpesteijn 1988 pp. 49-51, pll. 22-23.

Three monks from the monastery of Apa Apollo have leased some beehives to Lazaros, a beekeeper from Tbate.<sup>2</sup> In the document presented here, they issue a guarantee to Lazaros in case the beekeeper Enoch, who has presumably been in charge of the beehives in question and who may be employed by the monastery, somehow deceives him. However, the monks disclaim any responsibility for the bees once Lazaros has transported them back to his village.<sup>3</sup>

This text exhibits a variant introduction to the standard  $\Delta\text{ΝΟΚ Π}\Delta\text{CON NN ΕΙC}\Sigma\text{I}$  formula found in texts mentioning a monastery of Apa Apollo (see §7.2). There is only one witness to the document and no scribe is named. This may indicate that one of the three monks, most probably the *notarius* (see §3.13) Germane, drew up the document.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

<sup>1</sup>See *P. Sta. Xyla* pp. 114-117 for this ligature.

<sup>2</sup>For apiculture in Egypt, see Chouliara-Raios 1989 (Byzantine period pp. 85-89).

<sup>3</sup>Chouliara-Raios 1989 pp. 101-106 mentions cases of damaged beehives recorded in the papyri, and discusses the meticulous and constant care they require from bee-keepers.

(A)

1→

†

2 ρ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΠΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΔΣΟΝ  
3 ΠΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ ΠΝΟΤΔΡ  
4 ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ  
5 ΕΝΣΖΔΙ ΝΛΔΖΔΡΟΣ ΠΩΝΔΠΟΛΛΩ  
6 ΠΕΘΙΕΙΤ ΠΡΩΜΤΘΔΚΕ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ  
7 ΔΚΣΜΕΝ ΟΥΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ ΝΔΝ  
8 'ΖΔ' ΩΗΤ ΜΕΤΔΘΤΕ ΝΝΔΘ  
9 ΝΝΕΘΙΩ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΕΝ-  
10 ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ ΝΔΚ ΖΔ ΕΝΩΧ  
11 ΠΕΘΙΕΙΤ ΕΤΕΜΤΡΕΨΠΑΡΔΓΕ  
12 ΜΜΟΚ ΖΔ ΠΕΥΖΩΨ ΕΘΨΔΝΠΑΡΔ-  
13 ΓΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΙΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΩΨ ΠΕ  
14 ΚΟ ΝΡΕΜΖΕ ΖΔΡΟΟΥ ΔΝΟΝ  
15 ΨΔΝΠΩΛΘ ΝΕΜΔΘ · ΔΝΟΝ  
16 ΠΠΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
17 ΜΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ ΤΝΣΤΟΙΧΕ  
18 ΕΤΙΑΣΦΔΛ ΝΘΕ ΕΣΧΗΖ ΜΜΟΣ  
19 ΔΥΩ ΕΡΨΔΝΖΩΨ ΤΔΖΟΚ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΤΙΜΕ  
20 ΖΔ ΦΩΨ ΝΝΕΝΔΘ ΤΝΔΠΟΣΟΒΕ ΜΜΟΚ  
21 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΥΛΕ ΠΩΗΝΜΗΝΔ ΝΤΙΝ ΤΙΟ ΜΜΕ  
22 εγγραφη Παυ ιη ινδ β

(B) at right angles to text on side (A)

ε

23→ † ασφαλ γενομ υ Ηλιας πρ Ι Παπνουτε σφληνικ Ι Γερμανος περι του

γ

23 continued μελισουρ †

3 ΝΟΤΔΡΙΟΣ 4 ΜΟΝΔΧΟΣ 6, 11 ΕΘΙΤ 7 ΣΜΝ 8 ΜΠΤΔΨΤΕ ΝΔΨ 9 ΝΕΘΙΩ 11 ΕΤΜ- 12 ΖΩΘ ΕΨ-  
14 ΡΜΖΕ 15 ΝΜΜΔΨ 17 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ 18 ΔΣΦΔΛΕΙΔ 19 ΖΩΘ 20 ΦΩΘ ΝΝΔΨ ΤΝΔΠΟΣΟΒΕΙ 21 ΨΝ-, ΜΠΤΡΕ  
22 Παύνι, ἰνδικτίονος 23 ἀσφάλεια γενομένη ὑπὸ Ἡλίας πρεσβυτέρου, Ι = καί, σπληνικοῦ,  
Γερμανοῦ, μελισσοῦργου

<b>Parties</b>	(1) + (2) ρ I, the Papa Elias and brother (ΠΔCΘN) (3) Papnoute and Germane the <i>notarius</i> (νοτάριος), (4) the monks (μοναχός) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo, (5) we are writing to Lazaros, son of Apollo, (6) the beekeeper, of Tbate.
<b>Object</b>	Whereas (ἐπειδή) (7) you have drawn up a lease (μίσθωσις) for us (8) for two hundred and fourteen bee(hive)s,
<b>Security clause</b>	(9) now then (δέ) we (10) are liable (κινδυνεύειν) to you for Enoch (11) the beekeeper lest he deceives (παράγειν) (12) you concerning them. If he deceives (π.) (13) you, or any man of his, (14) you are free to them. We (15) have an agreement with him.
<b>Issuer's affirmation</b>	We, (16) the Papa Elias and Papnoute (17) and Germane, agree (στοιχεῖν) (18) to this guarantee (ἀσφαλεία) as it is written
<b>Abnegation</b>	(19) and if circumstances befall you in your village (20) concerning the matter of our bee(hive)s, we will reject your claim (ἀποσοβεῖν).
<b>Witness</b>	(21) I, Paule, son of Mena, of Tin, bear witness.
<b>Date</b>	(22 Greek) Written Paone (day) 17, indiction-year 2.
<b>Docket</b>	(23 Hd 1? Greek) + Guarantee drawn up by Elias the priest and Papnoute the splenetic one (?), and Germanos, concerning the beekeeper +.

### Transcription notes

23 γενομ υ: the *ed. pr.* read γενο υ; another letter may be read instead of υ, possibly a second μ marking the abbreviation of γενομ(ένη) (see the transcription note to **no. 20** l. 8 for other abbreviations of this word). Note that Γερμανος is not given in the genitive form, see the linguistic note to **no. 40**.

### Translation notes

3 ΓΕΡΜΔΝΕ: a brother (ΠΔCΘN) ΓΕΡΜΔΝΕ occurs in an ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΘN ΝΝ ΕΙCΘΔΙ-formula text, *WS* 166, see **Appendix 2** text A.

8-9 ΔΘ ΝΝΕΘΙΩ: although this means "bees" it is translated "beehives" here and in l. 20 (ΔΘ), as suggested in the *ed. pr.*, because of the small number involved. One would hardly refer to two hundred and fourteen bees. The usual Coptic word for "beehive" is +ϨΜΕϠ (*Crum CD* p. 459a), which may mean "jar".<sup>1</sup>

10 ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ: see Schmidt 1932 p. 62 and *CPR* IV index p. 198 κινδυνεύειν for further occurrences of this verb in Coptic documents.

<sup>1</sup>See Vycichl 1975 p. 48, where he mentions the use of jars as beehives in Pharaonic and modern-day Egypt.

- 11, 12-13 ΠΔΡΔΓΕ: *P. Budge* 1. 77 also uses παράγειν with the meaning "act wrongly".  
The specialised meaning of παράγειν as "sue", as mentioned in the commentary to the *ed. pr.*, does not appear to apply here.
- 14 ΚΟ ΝΡΕΜΖΕ ΖΔΡΟΟΥ: compare the phrase ΚΟΙ ΝΡΜΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ which is cited as an equivalent of †ΔΠΟΤΔΣΣΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΔΚ "I renounce it to you" in Crum *CD* p. 297b ΡΜΖΕ.
- 20 ΔΠΟΣΟΘΕ: the same usage is found in *CPR IV* no. 148 l. 11.

## FRAGMENTARY GUARANTEE

CMAA Green “13”<sup>1</sup>

Dimensions not recorded

Whereabouts unknown

**Preservation:** Kahle recorded that the papyrus was broken beneath l. 4. (A) Only the right (and possibly the upper) margin and 4 lines appear to have been preserved. (B) The beginning of the first line of a docket is extant.

**Acquisition:** see §2.6.

Praše and a builder called Apollo address the *dikaion* of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through its head (whose name is not extant). Hatre and possibly Serne are mentioned.

Margin(?)

(A)

1↑ ΠΡΑΨΕ ... ΜΝ ΔΠ]ΟΛΛΩ ΠΕΚΩΤ ΠΨΝ ΠΜΔΚΔΡΙΟΣ ΙΩΖΔΝΗC

2 ]ΠΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝΔ ΝΦΔΓΙΟΣ ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΙΤΟΟΤϜ

3 ΕΝCΖΔΙ ΝΝΝ Π]ΕΙΩΤ ΝΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΤΔΖΔΤΡΕ

4 C]ΕΡΝΗ ΖΝ ΠΜΟΝΔ

(B)

5→ + ΤΕΓΓΥΤΗC ΝΠΔCΟΝ ΠΡΑΨΕ Π.[

2, 4 ΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ 2 ΜΦΔΓΙΟΣ 3 ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 4 ΖΜ 5 ΤΕΓΓΥΗΤΗC ΜΠΔCΟΝ

**Parties** (1) [Praše ... and] Apollo the builder, son of the late (μακάριος) Iohanes (2) [we are writing to ?] the *dikaion* (δίκαιον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of the holy (ἅγιος) Apa Apollo through (3) [NN ... the] father of the monastery (τόπος).

**Preamble** Whereas (ἐπειδή) Hatre.... (4) Serne in the monastery (μ.)  
...

**Docket** (5) + The guarantor (ἐγγυητής) of brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Praše  
the ...

### Translation notes

1 ΠΡΑΨΕ ... ΜΝ: this is restored following the description of this document in l. 5 as the ΕΓΓΥΤΗC of Praše. Names of other contractors may also be missing here and in l. 5.

3 ΕΙΩΤ: Kahle read ΕΡΩΤ.

<sup>1</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.

5 ΤΕΓΓΥΤΗΣ: the feminine noun ἐγγύη "security" was probably intended here, and it may explain why the Coptic feminine definite article (Τ-) was assigned to the masculine noun ἐγγυητής (see *Bal.* no. 122 l. 2). A similar feminine noun, ἐγγύτης "nearness" (Sophocles *Lexicon* p. 412b), may also have influenced the scribe.

The name of Apollo the builder is expected following Prase and his patronymic and/or title.



3 NTΔCTΔ2OK M]MOOY and KΔT'Δ'θ'0'[λH: see **no. 33** and **§6.2** for these restorations.



<b>Parties</b>	(1) ... is the one who writes (to) Phinouke (son of ?) Apollo ... (2) ... of the monastery (μοναστήριον) [of Apa] Apollo.
<b>Tax demand</b>	This is (3) [what has been assigned to you] to pay for the first instalment (καταβολή) in your ... (4) ... their half solidus (όλοκόττινος) ... (5) ... if you are held liable.
<b>Issuer</b>	By (παρά) me (6) ...
<b>Date</b>	(Greek) + In the month of (μήν) Pharmouthi (day) 22, indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 15 +.
<b>Résumé of payment</b>	(7) Total (?) solidi (?) ...

### Transcription notes

1 ΦΙΝΟΥΚ'Ε: alternatively the Κ may be read as an open beta, which would give a reading of ΦΙΝΟΥΒΕ, a form of Pinoube. The name ΦΙΝΟΥΚΕ is not recorded in Heuser *PN*, Preisigke *NB* or Foraboschi *OA*, but the name ΠΙΝΟΥΚ occurs in a guarantee involving monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo, **no. 50** l. 11.

2 Restore ΠΜΟΝΔ.ΣΤ(ΗΡΙΟΝ) ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ.

2-3 ΝΤΔ.ΣΤΔ.Ζ]Γ'Ο'Κ; 5 ΕΥ]ψΔΝΜΔ.ΖΕ; 7 γι̅ γ̅<sup>ο</sup>: see §6.2 for these readings and reconstructions.

6 ]ΓΔΙ': possibly reconstruct the personal name ΔΜΟΥΝΔΙ which occurs in **no. 33**.

φ αρ<sup>θ</sup>: this abbreviation of Pharmouthi also occurs in **no. 62** l. 8.

### Translation note

6 φ αρ<sup>θ</sup> κβ: Pharmouthi 22nd = 17th April. The same day (in a different indiction year) is recorded in **no. 33** l. 6.

## 33

### TAX DEMAND

CUL Michael. Q102(B)

93 (h) x 145 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Papyrus

Plate 25

**Preservation:** 7 lines and all but the left (and possibly lower) margin preserved. The back of this papyrus is used for a list or account described below.

**Palaeography:** written by the same scribe as no. 31 in a small, semi-cursive hand. The Coptic (ll. 1-6, 7) and Greek (l. 6) sections are in the same hand. Coptic N sometimes resembles a three-stroke M, exx.  $\omega\text{MOY}\text{N}$  l. 2, and  $\text{NE}$  l. 4.

**Provenance:** unknown but this document is very similar to nos. 31 and 32 which were both found near Assiut, and have been associated with Bawit. The destination of this document is a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

This demand for the first instalment of  $\delta\eta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  for indiction-year 5 is addressed to someone belonging to the monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun. It may have been issued by someone called Amounai, and is dated Pharmouthi 20th, indiction-year 5.

An account or list which may involve wine payments (it mentions some amounts in *knidia*) is inscribed on the back of this tax demand. Two columns of text written in a small cursive Greek hand are preserved, of 9 and 8 lines respectively, but not the top and bottom margins. The mens' names which can be read are: 2 Than(-) (son of) A(-)pame(-); 3 Phib (son of) Apame(-); 4 Daud (son of) Apollo; 5 Aur(elios) Kuriak(-); 6 Paul(-) (son of) E...; 7 Ptol(emaïos) (son of) Ioannes; and 8 Ammon (son of) Phib ...

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<sup>1</sup>See §6.2.

1↑ ΠΓϞ ΙϞϞΔΙ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΓΕΩΡ Γ

2 ΙΓΧΙΕ ΠΡΜΠΜΟΝ̄ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΡΗΣ ΨΜΟΥΝ

3 ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΔϞΤΔϞΟΚ ]ΝΜΟΟΥ ΝΓΓΙΤΔΔΥ ϞΝ ΤΨΟΡΠ Ε-

4 ΚΔΤΔΘΟΛΗ ϞΝ ΠΕ(±4)[±2]ΕΔΗΜΟϞΙΟΝ ΙΓΕΙ+ΓΕΤΕΙΓΝΙΔΙ ΝΕ

5 ]ΓΝΓΙΕΡ.ΔΤΓΝΙ[±2].. ΕΝΟΥϞ ΓΙ Ν ΔΡΠΙ .[±3]Ν ΤΟΥ ΔΕΓΚΔΙΤ Μ/

6 ΕΥΨΔΝΜ]ΓΔΙϞΕ ΝΜΟΓΚΙ ΠΔΡΔ ΝΔΙ ΔΜΟΥΝΔΙ ΕΥΡ ΜΕ ΦΑΡΜ ΚΒ ΙΓΕ+

Gap of about 10 mm.

7 Ιγί ν αρ.

1 ΠΕϞϞϞΔΙ ΝΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΓΕΩΡΓ(Ε/-Ι/-ΙΟϞ etc.) 2 ΜΟΝΔϞΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΠΠΡΗΣ ΝΨΜΟΥΝ 3 ΝΜΟΟΥ  
 3-4 ΝΚΔΤΔΘΟΛΗ 4 ϞΜ, ΝΔΗΜΟϞΙΟΝ ΝΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟϞ 5 ΚΕΡΔΤΙΟΝ (?) ΝΜΟΥΘ ΓΙΝΕΤΔΙ ΝΟΜΙϞΜΔΤ(Ι)Δ  
 ΔΡΙΘΜΙΔ, ΔΕΚΔΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΟϞ 6 ΝΜΟΚ, ΞΓΡΑΦΗ ΜΗΝΙ ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟϞ 7 ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΝΟΜΙϞΜΑΤ(Ι)Α  
 ΑΡΙΘΜΙΑ

**Parties** (1) ... is he who writes (to) Apollo (son of) Georg(-) (2)  
 ... of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo to the south of  
 Shmoun (3) ...

**Dêmosion demand** ... them and (?) give it on the first ... (4) ... *demosion*  
 (δημόσιον)

**Indiction** (for) indiction-year (ινδικτίων) 5

**Payment** which is (5) ... of gold, total (γίγνεσθαι) reckoned  
 (ἀριθμιοϞ) solidi (νομισμα(τιον)) ... (Greek) of the tenth month ... (6) if you  
 are held liable.

**Issuer** By (παρά) me, Amounai.

**Date** (Greek) Written in the month of Pharmouthi (day) 22,  
 indiction-year 5. +.

**Résumé of payment** (7) Total reckoned solidi ...

### Transcription notes

1 ΠΓϞΙϞϞΔΙ: this restoration follows **no. 31** l. 1 which was written by the same scribe;  
 see §6.2.

2 ΙΓΧΙΕ: this may be the end of Apollo's title or a description of his place of origin.

3 ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΔCTΔΖOK ]NM00Υ: or ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝωΔCTΔΖOK ΕΜ00Υ; for these possible restorations see §6.2.

4 ΖΝ ΠΕ(±4)[±2]ΕΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ: following ΠΕ there may be a Κ (ΠΕΚ- "your"). In another Coptic tax demand, BL Or. 4664 A (l. 3), there is the phrase ΖΜ ΠΔ'ΙΔCT'λ, ΝΝΔΗΜ<sup>0</sup> which Kahle tentatively interpreted as "in the assessment (?διασταλμός) of the poll-tax (δημόσιον)".<sup>1</sup> A more suitable interpretation of Δ'ΙΔCT'λ, may be as διαστολή "payment" which occurs in another Coptic tax demand, *Ryl.* no. 378 (l. 3).

ΙΔ'Ε': in *CPR* IV 4 and 5, and *Ryl.* 117, 118 and 119 the indiction date is also written before the ΕΤΕ ΝΔΙ ΝΕ -clause.

5 Γ'Γ'ΕΡ.ΔΤ'Ν': above the ρ is a sign resembling a minuscule Η which is unlikely to belong to the line above because of the amount of space left in between the lines of writing.

[±2]..: the first letter visible after ΓΕΡΔΤΝ has a circular lower half.

6 ΕΥωΔ.ΝΜ]Δ'ΙΖΕ ΝΜΟ'Κ': restored after **no. 32** l. 5 and *Ryl.* 119 l.5, see §6.2.

φαρμ<sup>θ</sup>: the same abbreviation occurs in **nos. 64** and **68**.

7 Ιγ! ν<sup>ο</sup> αρ.: see §6.2 for this reading.

### Translation notes

3 ΤωΟΡΠ: reconstruct ΤωΟΡΠ ΕΚΔΤΔΒΟλΗ after **no. 31** l. 3, see above; ΤωΟΡΠ ΕCΟΠ "the first time" which occurs in, e.g., *Bal.* no. 290, is also possible.

4 ΕΤΕ ΝΔΙ ΝΕ: in *Bal.* no. 138 l. 3 this follows ΖΔ ΠΕΚΤΕΜΟCḲ (singular).

6 ΔΜΟΥΝΔΙ: this name may also occur in another papyrus from the Lansing Collection, BM EA 10454 (see §2.8); it is not recorded in Heuser *PN*.<sup>2</sup> See transcription note to l. 6 of **no. 32**.

φαρμ<sup>θ</sup> κβ: Pharmouthi 22nd = 17th April. The same day (in a different indiction year) is recorded in **no. 32** l. 6.

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<sup>1</sup>See *Bal.* p. 541

<sup>2</sup>The closest parallel attested in Heuser *PN* is ΔΜΟΥΝΔ, pp. 44 and 59.

## LETTER REQUESTING TWO μαφόρτια

*Herm.* 39VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13495(A and B)

Plate 26

**Preservation:** (A) 9 lines and all margins are preserved although the central portion of the text is almost illegible, possibly as a result of deliberate erasure by the writer of the docket belonging to the text written later on this papyrus, **no. 27**. (B) a 2 line address is partially visible above the text of **no. 27**.

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping semi-cursive hand.

**Provenance, Acquisition and dimensions:** as for **no. 27**.

**Bibliography:** edited in *Herm.* pp. 108-111.

This letter may have been written by a village representative to someone at an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, the monastery in question in the legal text written later on the other side of this papyrus, **no. 27**. The *ed. pr.* suggested that the addressee of this letter is on the board of directors of the monastery of Apa Apollo.

The purpose of the letter is to complain that the two μαφόρτια sent annually by someone (whose name is illegible) from the monastery have not been delivered.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this arrangement is not given although the monastery may well have produced textiles for its locality.<sup>3</sup>

The exact interpretation of the term μαφόρτιον in this text also remains elusive. It can refer to a veil or head covering worn by women,<sup>4</sup> or to a short cloak worn by women or male monks.<sup>5</sup> If the former meaning is to be interpreted here, the μαφόρτια could have been destined for the poor women of the community.<sup>6</sup> If the latter, the monastery could have been a supplier of specialist monastic uniform.<sup>7</sup>

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

<sup>1</sup>All of the epistolary formulae used in this text are attested in papyri from the Faiyum to the Theban region dating from the VI-VIIIth C.: initial ΤΙΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ ΔΥΩ ΤΙΔΣΠΔΖΕ (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 246 no. 2); ΤΙΤΔΜΟ introducing the main body of the letter (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 227 no. 6); and final ΤΙΔΣΠΔΖΕ ΝΝ ΖΙΤΠ̄ ΝΕΙϷΖΔΙ (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 250 no. B1b).

<sup>2</sup>The *ed. pr.* cited *P. Ross. Georg.* III 15 as a similar text. This is a VIth C. letter complaining that a small rug or blanket (ταπήτιον) has not been delivered.

<sup>3</sup>See Gascou 1991b p. 1641a on the monastery of Epiphanius as a textile supplier for its neighbourhood.

<sup>4</sup>Rassart-Debergh 1993 p. 241 describes it as a head-covering worn by female monks.

<sup>5</sup>See Beaucamp 1993 pp. 187 n.14 and 192 n. 52 for bibliography; Bazzero 1917 for literary and non-literary references to the term μαφόρτιον (or μαφόριον as it was normally written in Byzantine Greek texts); and *P. Meyer* p. 95 n. to l. 6 which analyses the origins of the word.

<sup>6</sup>Compare the donations of wine made to widows by various Oxyrhynchite churches, see Pruneti Piovaneli 1994.

<sup>7</sup>Coquin 1992 pp. 8-9 for references to the μαφόριον worn by monks made by John Cassian and in the *Apophthegmata Pa: um*.

34 II. 1-6

- 1 + ΤΙΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ ΔΥΩ ΤΙΔΣΠΔΖΕ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΞΗ ΠΖΥΠΟΠΟΓ Δ'ΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΘΕΟΤΙΜ<sup>Τ</sup>
- 2 ΝΧΘΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤ, ΤΙΤ'Δ'ΙΜΟΙ<sup>Τ</sup> erased ΙΕΙ<sup>Τ</sup> ΙΕΙ<sup>Τ</sup> Ι.Ι
- 3 ΠΕΝΤΙΜΕ ΠΕ CΟΥΤΗΝΤΔΥΟΙ<sup>Τ</sup> erased
- 4 ΤΙΠΔΡΔΚΔΧΧΕΙ ΤΕΤΝΕΘΕΟΤΙΜ[ ΝΧΘΕΙ[C] ΙΝ'ΕΙΩΤ Γ'ΤΡΕΚΕΧΕΥΕ ΤΡΙΓΤΝΟΟΥ CΝΤΕ ΜΔΦΟΡΤΕ
- 5 ΝΔΝ ΠΡΟC Τ CΥΝΗΘΙΔ ΚΔ ΤΔ Γ'ΡΟΜΠΕΙ ΔΥΩ Π'Δ'Ι ΧΘΕΙC Γ'Π'ΕΤΝΕ[C]Γ'ΟΝΙ ( ±4 ) Γ'Π'ΓΡΤ'Ι ΔΓΔ ΠΕ ΝΕΜΔΝ
- 6 Γ'ΕΙΡ[Ο]ΜΠΕ ΔΥΩ ΤΙΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΠ'ΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΜΗΤΗ ΧΕΙ[...]ΤΕ ΠΕΤΝΔ ΤΔΖΟ'Ι[Ν] ΤΙΠΔΡΔΚΔΧΧΕΙ

1 ΠΝΕΟΥΡΗΤΕ 1, 4, 8 ΠΤΕΤΠΘΕΟΤΙΜΗΤΟC 2, 9, 10 ΕΤΤΔΙΝΥ 4 ΤΡΕC-, ΜΔΦΟΡΤΙΔ 5 CΥΝΗΘΕΙΔ, ΠΕΤΠCΟΝ ΠΠΠΡ-, ΝΠΜΔΝ  
6 ΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ (?), ΝΠΜΗΤΗ, ΠΤΕΠΕΤΠΝΔ

34 II. 7-10

7 ΜΜΩΤῆ ΤΕΠΕΤῆΝΔ ΤΔΖΟΝ ΤΔΡΕΠΣΜΟΥ ΝΕΠΕΤΤΟΥΔΔΘ ΕΙ ΕΣΡΔΙ ΕΧΩΤῆ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΕ-

8 ΣΩ[Υ]Ζ ΕΖΟΥ'Ν ΤΗΡῆ Ν'ΕΥΧΟΓΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΙΔΣΠΔΖΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΕ ΘΕΟΤΙΜ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ

9 ΕΤΤ, ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΙCΖΔΙ +

(B)

10 ++ ΘΕΟΤΜ 'ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤ, ' space ±6? ( ±30 ) ...ΕΥ  
( ±4 )

7 ἢ τεπετῆνα, ἢ νεπετουδδθ, πετῆ- 8 σωουζ 10 θεοτιμητος

- Greeting** (1) † I welcome (προσκυνεῖν) and I bow down (ἀσπάζεσθαι) to the footstool (ὑποπόδιον) of the feet of your God-honoured (θεοτίμητος) (2) lord and honoured father.
- Report** I tell ... (3) our village ... (4) I ask your God-honoured (θ.) lord and father to order (κελεύειν) him to send two *maphortia* (μαφόρτιον/μαφόρτης) (5) to us according to (πρός) the annual custom (συνήθεια). My (?) lord, your brother was not kind (ἀγαπη) to us (6) this year. I trust (πιστεύειν) God with you that he causes your mercy to reach us. I beg (παρακαλεῖν) (7) you, cause your mercy to reach us so that the blessing of the holy one might come down upon you and all of your blessed (εὐλογίμενος) (8) congregation.
- Final greeting** I salute (ἀ.) your God-honoured (θ.) lord and honoured father (9) through this letter.
- Address** (10) ++ (To my?) God-honoured (θ.) lord and honoured father ...

### Transcription notes

- 2 ΤΙΤ'Δ'ΙΜΟ [: following this a range of phrases are possible, see Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 36 and 223 no. 6.  
 ]'Ε'Ι[ ]Ε[ ][: only the second ε read in the *ed. pr.* is visible in the plate.
- 3 ΠΕ ΟΥΤΗ ΝΤΔΥΟ[: this may be divided in other ways, including ΠΕΟΟΥΤΗ or ΠΕΟΟΥΤΗΝ, but the meaning still remains unclear; the Υ of ΝΤΔΥΟ may be a Ϝ.
- 5 CΥΝΗΘΙΔ: the *ed. pr.* read CΥΝΗΘΕΙΔ.  
 Π'Δ'ΙΧΘΕΙC: an Δ, similar in form to the one in CΥΝΗΘΙΔ earlier in this line, may be written in a ligature with the top left of the Χ; the *ed. pr.* read ΠΧΘΕΙC which makes less good sense here.  
 'Π'ΕΤΝΕ[С]ΙΟΝ' ( ±4 ) 'ΠϜΡΤ'ΔΓΔΠΕ: in the *ed. pr.* this section was interpreted as ΠΕΤΝΕ[С]ΙΟΝ 'Π'ϜΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΔΓΔΠΕ which is grammatically incorrect (the Negative Perfect prefix follows the Tripartite pattern) and it is now barely legible in the plate. The word CON is very doubtful, and perhaps something like ωΗΡΕ "son" might have been written here. Following this a personal name would be expected, and there is space for five characters, the last of which is superscript.
- 6 'ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΜΗΤΝ ΧΕ [...]ΤΕ ΠΕΤΝΔ ΤΔΖΟ'Ι[Ν]: this is not legible from the photograph.  
 [...]ΤΕ: [ωΔϜ]ΤΕ reconstructed in the *ed. pr.*, but compare the use of ΤΕΠΕΤΝΔ in l. 7.
- 8 CΩ[Υ]Ζ: the *ed. pr.* read CΩ[Ο]ΥΖ, but no Υ is visible and there does not appear to be space for ΟΥ after the Ω.  
 ΕΖΟΥ'Ν ΤΗΡϜ Ν' -: this reading is not as certain as the *ed. pr.* might suggest.  
 ΘΕΟΤΙΜΤ: the *ed. pr.* read this as ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΤ and so this word is interpreted as an abbreviation of θεοτιμότης rather than the more common θεοτίμητος, in ll. 1, 4 and 10.

10 There appear to be faint marks above this line but they cannot be determined from the photograph; to the right of the centre of the papyrus are signs which may have constituted an ornamental space filler such as a line of crosses +++<sup>1</sup>; these are now covered by a small rectangle of paper or papyrus or similar material.

† ΝΧΘΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤ,†<sup>1</sup>: this reading cannot be made from the plate with the certainty it is given in the *ed. pr.* The text following this, which probably recorded the name of the addressee and the writer of this letter, was not transcribed in the *ed. pr.*

### Translation notes

8 ΕΥΧΟΓΙΜΕΝΟΝ: the same epithet is used of monastic institutions in other documents from el-Ashmunein (exx. *BM* 1103 ll. 2 and 30; and 1119 l. 3 (ΕΥΡΟΓΙΜΕΝΟΝ)), and Middle Egypt (exx. *BM* 666 and 1240 (the latter is Greek)).

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<sup>1</sup>See *Ep.* I p. 188.

## LETTER REQUESTING A SALE OF WINE

P. CtYBR inv. no. 2102

97 (h) x 180 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>VII-VIIIth C.<sup>2</sup>

Papyrus

No plate

**Preservation:** (A) 7 lines and all but right margin; (B) 2 lines and all but left margin.**Palaeography:** no details are recorded.**Provenance:** unknown.<sup>3</sup>**Acquisition:** see §2.3.3.**Bibliography:** edited in MacCoull 1989 p. 29; mentioned in MacCoull 1975 p. 219.

A monk writes to a woman (whose identity is not extant) about some wine. He asks her to bring him some wine if she has not already sold it, and tells her not to sell it to anyone else in the meantime. For evidence of economic activity of women in Greek papyri, and interaction between men and women, see Beaucamp 1993.

(A)

1↑ ρ ραθη μεν νηπ[ωδχε +ω]νε ε[ ]πουχδεϊ ντ'δ'μ[ντμδινουτε νωεερε?2 . δΥω +ω]νε ε[ \_\_\_\_\_ ]'ν' νοΥωηρε μ[ν? ...3 νακδπη δπδ φιβ <sup>π .</sup> σε ω νηρεπ 'ω'ενουτε τδου ε[βοχ(?) ... δρι τδκδ-?4 πη εωωπη μπετδου εβοχ εϊ δν'ου νδν εϊτδδΥ 'ε'[βοχ(?)5 μον μπρτδου νλδου ηρωμε ωδντεεν'το'Υ .[6 δΥω ρωβ νιμ εριρ εμ'ο'ου νμμδεϊ εριρ ε'μ'[οου μν- /νμμδ=?7 \_\_\_\_\_ ]ουχδεϊ ρ'ν' πχοεϊc [+2] δΥω ωδ.[

(B)

8→ ] ornamentation 2. πετρε μ'ον'οχοc ναπδ δπολλω ελδ...

9

1 μπωδχε, ουχδαι 3 δγδπη σε {π} ωι/ωε (?) ηηρη δωενουτε τδδΥ 3-4 δγδπη εωωπε  
 μπετδδΥ εβοχ ειε 5 μμον μπρτδδΥ, ηλδδΥ ωδντεε'το'Υ 6 ερειρε μμοου νμμδαι ερειρε μμοου  
 7 ουχδαι ρμ 8 μονδχοc

<sup>1</sup>MacCoull 1989 p. 29 records dimensions as 20.8 x 7.5 cm.. I am grateful to Stephen Emmel for providing me with details of this manuscript.

<sup>2</sup>MacCoull 1989 p. 29 assigns a VIIth C. date; T.C. Petersen previously gave a VI-VIIIth C. date (recorded in the computerised library catalogue).

<sup>3</sup>MacCoull 1975 p. 219 suggests that it originated from the monastic community at Bawit.

<b>Opening formula</b>	(1) ϣ First of all [I greet] the well-being of my [God-loving sister?] .. (2) ... and I greet ... and (?) your sons/children ... (3) love (ἀγάπη)
<b>Report</b>	Apa Phib sixty ... of wine. Shenoute sold (?) them ...
<b>Request</b>	[be so kind?] (4) if you have not sold them, then bring them to us and I will (?) give them ... (5) indeed, do not give them to any one until you have brought them ... (6) Anything you do with me, you do [with ? ... (7) ...]
<b>Closing formula</b>	Farewell in the Lord ... and ...
<b>Address</b>	(8) ... Petre (the) monk (μοναχός) of Apa Apollo ... (9) ...

### Transcription notes

2 At the beginning of this line and under the second λ of ΔΠΟλλω in l. 8, is a sign like a koppa written above a *sampi* on top of a c-shaped sign. Beneath the ε of ελλ... in l. 8 is a sign like an iota above a zeta. These may be what MacCoull 1989 p. 29 describes as a Greek fragment which has erroneously been mounted at the right of this document.

3 CE Πω: the purpose of the Π is not clear; the letter above the ω may be a Π or an Η; if the latter, ωΗ might be a spelling of ωλ "measure", which may also be used in connection with wine in **nos. 82** l. 2 and **83** l. 3. It might also be interpreted as ωε "she-coin", see Crum *CD* p. 547a.

6 ΕΡῖΡ ΕΜ' Ο'ΟΥ: this could also be read as ΕΡῖΡΕ Μ' Ο'ΟΥ; the same applies to this phrase later in this line.

8 Ζ.: there is not enough space to read ΖΙΤῆ- "from" written in full here, but an abbreviated form is possible.

ελλ...: this may be reconstructed as an abbreviated form of ἐλάχιστος "least", a common epithet of monks, see translation note to **no. 16** text 1 l. 14. If, as seems likely, the addressee's name was written at the beginning of this address and is now missing, an interpretation of ελλ... as "to La(-...)", with λλ as the first two letters of the addressee's name, would be untenable.

### Translation notes

4 εῖ: this is an attested form of εἰε, a particle which is used introduces apodosis, see Crum *CD* p. 74a.

6 ΕΡῖΡ: ΕΡ- is probably to be interpreted as the second person feminine singular of the Second Present prefix rather than the Circumstantial Present (ΕΡ(ε)-) or Third Future (usually ΕΡΕ-) prefix.

## LETTER CONCERNING PLEDGED ITEMS

P. CtYBR inv. 1832 (1) 87 (h) x 138 (w) mm. (2) 16 x 30 (3) 6 x 10 VI-VIIth C.<sup>1</sup>  
Papyrus No plate

**Preservation:** this text comprises three fragments mounted together with fragments from two other texts; two of the fragments are positioned upside down in relation to the others. Fragment (1) 12 lines and the upper and right margins are preserved; fragment (2) 3 lines, no margins; fragment (3) 1 line, no margins. None of these fragments join.

**Palaeography:** according to Petersen [1964] p. 64, this is written in a "cursive script ... probably written with some speed, it covers the papyrus rather closely with little or no space between the letters and the lines".

**Provenance:** unknown. Written to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.3.1.

**Bibliography:** described in Petersen [1964] p. 64 no. 94.

This papyrus provides further evidence of the comparative wealth of monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo, see §§3.8-9. The writer of the letter belongs to a monastery whose name is not fully extant. His addressee is Pau(-), a monk from a monastery of Apa Apollo. The text reveals that a certain man who pledged some things with Pau(-) has died, and it may be that the writer is complaining that he has not been allowed to reclaim them.

## Fragment (1)

1↑		ΙΕΡ]ΗΜΙΔΑC ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΝΠΤΟ-
2	ΠΟC Ν-	]Γ'Δ'ΙΜΜΩΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΝΠΔCΟΝ Γ'Π'ΔΥ-
3		Μ]ΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ
4	ΧΕ?	]ΔΧΚΕ Γ'Ν' ΠΔΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΙΡΟΜ-
5	ΠΕ ΤΔΙ	]Γ'Ε'ΕΙΔ'Θ'Ι ΖΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΚΕΥΕ
6	ΝΤΔ?]ΔΠΔ	[ΙΕΡΗ]ΜΙΔΑC [Ο]ΥΔΖΟΥ ΖΔΤΗΚ
7		]ΝΕ'Μ'...[±2] ΝΓΕΩΡ[Γ]Γ'Ι' ΝΤΔΦΕΡ ΜΔΚΔ-
8	ΡΙΟC Μ?	ΠΕΚΚΔΔΤ Ε'Θ'Ι ΝΖΗΤΟ'Υ' Δ...Δ <sup>κ</sup> (±5)[
9		]ΤΗΡC ΝΤΔΚ'Ρ'ΧΡΙΔ ΜΜ'Ο'Ι[
10		]ΔΚ ΝΕΥΩ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΔΝΤ'Ε'Ι[
11		]ΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΠ'Ε'Ι[
12		ΔΙΚ]Γ'ΔΙΟΝ Π'Ι[

1 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC ΠΠΤΟΠΟC 2 ΠΠΔCΟΝ 4 ΠΠΔΡΜΟΥΤΕ 5 ΕΙΝΔΦΙ (?) ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ CΚΕΥΗ  
7 ΝΤΔΦΕΡ- 8 ΕΦΙ 9 ΧΡΕΙΔ

<sup>1</sup>According to [Petersen] 1964 p. 64.

Fragments which have not been joined to fragment (1) and which are not included in the translation or commentary below:

Fragment (2)

1↑ ]ΝΔΚ.[

2 ]ΙΝΔΓΧΪ[

3 ](±4)[1

Fragment (3)

1↑ ΤΙΓΡΪΗΝΓΕΪ[

Fragment (1)

**Parties** (1) ... Jeremias (?) the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τόπος) of (2) ... -ammon, I am writing to my brother Pau[- ...] (3) ... of the monastery (τ.) of Apa Apollo ...

**Report** (4) ... the last day of Pharmouthi of this year... (5) ... I shall take a few utensils (σκεῦος) (?)... (6) ... Apa (...-)mias pledged them with you... (7) ... George, he died (μακάριος) (8) ... you did not (?) allow me to take (?) from them ... (9) ... all the ... you need (χρεία) ... (10) ... all the pledges until ... (11) ... you... (12) *dikaion* (δίκαιον) (?)...

### Transcription notes

Fragment (1)

1 ΙΕΡ]ΗΜΙΔC: Petersen [1964] p. 64 interpreted this as the name "Esaias".

6 ]ΜΙΔC: the lacuna which follows ΔΠΔ may be too large to restore [ΙΕΡΗ or ΙΕΡΕ] alone unless written larger than the rest of the text. However, ΙΕΜΙΔC, ΠΔΜΙΔC, and ΖΕΡΜΙΔC, the other attested names ending -ΜΙΔC, are all shorter than ΙΕΡΕΜΙΔC/ΙΕΡΗΜΙΔC and were far less common in Egypt.

7 ΓΕΩΡΓΓΪ: ΓΕΩΡΓΓΕΪ or ΓΕΩΡΓΓΗΪ less obviously.

10 ΔΚ: restore ΝΔΚ "to you"?

### Translation notes

Fragment (1)

1-2 ΠΤΟ[ΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ/ΜΦΔΓΙΟC ΔΠΔ ?]-ΔΜΜΩΝ: besides ΔΜΜΩΝ, other personal names which may be restored here include: ΔΧΧΔΜΩΝ, ΘΗCΔΜΜΩΝ, ΚΔΧΔΜΩΝ, ΧΙΧΔΜΜΩΝ, ΝΙΧΔΜΜΩΝ, ΠΔΧΔΜΩΝ, ΠΔΜΩΝ, ΠΟΤΔΜΩΝ, CΔΡΔΠΔΜΜΩΝ,

ΦΙΘΔΜΜΩΝ, ΩΔΜΜΩΝ, ΖΗΡΔΚΧΔΜΜΩΝ, ΧΕΝΔΜΜΩΝ, and ΧΕΝΩΕΝΔΜΜΩΝ. Monasteries with which this may be identified include monasteries of Phoibammon in the Hermopolite nome,<sup>1</sup> at Djeme near Armant,<sup>2</sup> and in western Thebes;<sup>3</sup> Other, less likely, possibilities are a *topos* of "Neilammon Isidor(ou)" which is attested in a IVth C. Greek papyrus along with other *topoi* located in el-Ashmunein;<sup>4</sup> and a monastery of Sarapammon in the Antaeopolite nome.<sup>5</sup>

4 ΔΧΚΕ 'N' ΠΔΡΜΟΥΤΕ: the last day of Pharmouthi is April 25th.

6 [Ο]ΥΔΖΟΥ ΖΔΤΗΚ: Crum *CD* p. 507a ΟΥΩΖ + ΖΔ/ΖΔ(Ζ)ΤΝ- cites examples of this meaning "lie (pledged) for money".

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<sup>1</sup>CKÄ pp. 2768-2769 "Topos des Apa Phoibammon (bei Tûna I-Gabal"; pp. 2816-2817 "Topos des Phoibammon"; and pp. 1378-1379 "Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (I-II)" in the Antinoe region. Note that there is no entry for a "Kloster des Phoibammon" despite the cross-reference given on CKÄ p. 1379.

<sup>2</sup>See CKÄ pp. 1379-1392 "Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (III)".

<sup>3</sup>See CKÄ pp. 1392-1394 "Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (IV)".

<sup>4</sup>See CKÄ p. 2807 "Topos des Neilammon Isidôr(ou)".

<sup>5</sup>See CKÄ p. 2826 "Topos Sarapammôn(os)".

## 37 WINE ACCOUNT

*Herm.* 14

VIIIth C.

Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13490(B)

Plate 27

**Preservation:** this text was written on the back of a legal document, **no. 28**. It preserves two columns of 25 and 3 lines respectively. A lacuna obscures the beginning of col. II so that text is now only visible from the level of col. I l. 13 downwards, although a few letters are discernible above this (e.g. an  $\alpha$  level with col. I l. 2-3). The scribe has followed the shape of the piece of papyrus so that the text is irregularly positioned.

**Palaeography:** a semi-cursive hand with a mixture of majuscule and minuscule forms, sometimes of the same letter. The text slopes downwards to the right, especially from ll. 18 onwards.  $\Upsilon$  resembles an  $\eta$  and is formed in one movement with a loop at the top of the vertical stroke. The  $\Delta$  in  $\rho\delta\zeta\iota\Delta$  l. 5 is an unusual, large minuscule form.

**Provenance:** unknown. The text written earlier on this papyrus, **no. 28**, involves the *dikaion* of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, and, as a legal text, it may have been kept in the monastery's archive for some time before being "recycled", probably within the same monastery, to contain this wine account.

**No. 37** mentions two places which are securely located in the Hermopolite nome, Michôleos and Piôh Pemom (see §4.4), and one in the Faiyum, Ptêne (see §4.7); in l. 18 a monastery of Apa Anoup is mentioned (see §4.1) which may be linked with an Hermopolite monastery of Apollo.

**Acquisition** and dimensions: as for **no. 28**.

**Bibliography:** edited in *Herm.* pp. 55-61.

This is an account of wine payments made by a monastery from the 17th to the 21st of Mesore. Recipients of wine include individuals with ecclesiastical, monastic or lay titles. "The church" is specified three times, receiving one and a half *angeia* on day 17 and two *knidia* twice on day 19. The *shaliou* of Ptêne is the only person to be assigned boiled wine ( $\epsilon\psi\eta\mu\alpha$ ),<sup>1</sup> and he is listed on three separate occasions, on one day he appears in two entries receiving one kollathon; see §§3.7 and 3.14 for further comment on these entries. If the head of the monastery is to be identified with  $\pi\epsilon\eta\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\iota\omega\tau$  "our great father" as well as  $\pi\epsilon\eta\eta\omega\tau$  "our father", he is also assigned wine on more than one day. Three *symmachoi* receive differing amounts of wine: Isaak 2 *angeia* on day 17, Theodore an illegible amount on day 18, and Peços and Theodore 2 *knidia* and 1 *knidion* respectively on day 19.

*Bal.* no. 312 is a comparable account of the expenditure of wine by the *diakonia* of the Bala'izah Monastery of Apa Apollo: the wine is reckoned in *knidia* and recipients

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<sup>1</sup>*Herm.* p. 59, and Schnebel 1925 p. 290 discuss boiled wine.

include the church, (the table of) the great father, and a smith (ϞΗCΝΗΤ = ΘΕCΝΗΤ). In some cases, the same people are mentioned more than once.

Three different wine-measures are used in this account, the largest of which is the *kollathon*; the relative capacity of the other two measures, the *angeion* and *knidion*, varies. A *kollathon* may contain 25 sextarii (*WS* p. 22); an *angeion* may be worth five or seven sextarii;<sup>1</sup> and a *knidion* may contain between four and eight *sextarii*, depending on whether it is small or large.<sup>2</sup> In *P. Apoll. Ano* no. 96 there are four *knidia* to a *kollathon* (n. to l. 7 p. 200), and the editor cites a case where the ratio of 5 *knidia* to one *kollathon* is recorded.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

	+	Col. I		
			/ ε	
1	Ρ Μ Μ Ι Ζ Ν Η Ρ Π Ν Τ Δ Ι Ζ Ρ Ο Κ Ο Υ Ι	[ Ν Μ Ο Ο Υ		
2	Τ Ε Κ Κ Χ Η C Ι Δ	Δ Ν Γ Η Ν	α J	
3	Ν Ε Ρ Μ Π Ι Ω Ζ Π Ε Μ Ο Μ		δ κ ν J	
4	Π Ω Δ Λ Ι Υ Ν Π Τ Η Ν Ε	Η Ψ Η	κ α	θ
5	Ρ Δ C Z Ι Δ	κ ν	α	δ
6	Π Ε Ν Ν Ο Β Γ Ν Ι Ι Ω Τ	κ ν	α	δ
7	Π Ω Δ Χ Ε Μ Μ Ο Ο Υ	κ ν	α	δ
8	Ν Ε Ρ Μ Μ Ι Χ Ο Χ Ε Γ Ο C I	κ ν	α	δ
9	X	Ι C Δ Δ Κ Π C Η Μ Δ Ν Γ Η [ Ν ]	β	θ
10	Π Δ Ν Ζ Δ Χ Ω Μ Δ	κ	δ	
11	ι η	-----		θ
12	Π Ω Δ Λ Ι Υ Ν Π Τ Η Ν Ε	Ε Γ Ψ Η I	κ α	δ
13	Ν Ε [ . ] Δ Κ Κ Δ Τ Η C	κ ν	γ	

<sup>1</sup>Casson 1939 p. 5, the larger amount may be attested in VIth C. documents from Aphrodito.

<sup>2</sup>Casson 1939 pp. 6-8.

		ⲉⲓ	ⲃ	
14	ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲓⲱⲉ]ⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲣ		ⲕⲛ	ⲁ
			ⲑ	
15	ⲡⲱⲁⲗⲓⲓⲱ ⲛⲡⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲏ		ⲕⲓ	ⲁ
		ⲕ		
16	[ⲑⲉⲟⲁ]ⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲙ		[..	.]
			ⲱ	
17	ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲱ ⲙⲡⲃⲁⲗⲉⲣⲉ		ⲁⲛⲒⲓ	<u>β</u>
			ⲱ	
18	ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲓⲱⲓⲥⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ		ⲁⲛⲒⲓ	ⲁ
		ⲕ		
19	ⲓⲑ ⲡⲉⲃⲱⲱ ⲡⲥⲏⲙ		ⲕⲛ	β
			ⲃ	
20	ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ		ⲕⲛ	β
			ⲃ	
21	ⲡⲓⲓⲱⲓⲁⲗⲉⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ		ⲕⲛ	ⲁ
		ⲕ	ⲃ	
22	ⲑⲓⲉⲟⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲏⲙ		ⲕⲛ	ⲁ
			ⲃ	
23	ⲛⲉⲉⲁⲙⲓⲕⲓⲗⲗⲉ		ⲕⲛ	ⲁ
			ⲃ	
24	<u>ⲕ</u> ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ		ⲕⲛ	β
			ⲃ	
25	ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ		ⲕⲛ	β

Col. II starts to the right of l. 13

26 β ⲡⲟⲟⲓⲱ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲓⲱⲣⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩ

27 ⲉⲛⲓⲒⲓⲏ ⲏⲣⲡ ⲓⲛⲧⲓⲉⲕ-

/ ⲉ

28 ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲓⲙⲓ ⲕⲁ

1, 28 ⲙⲏⲏ ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣⲏ 1 ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ 2, 9, 17, 18, 27 ⲁⲒⲒⲉⲓⲟⲛ/ⲁⲒⲒⲉⲓⲁ 2 ⲓ = 1/2

3, 5- 8, 13, 14, 19-25 ⲕⲓⲓⲃⲓⲟⲛ/ⲕⲓⲓⲃⲓⲁ 4, 12, 15 ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲁ 4, 10, 12, 15 ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲑⲟⲛ/ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲑⲁ

4, 12, 15 ⲱⲁⲗⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲓⲡⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲃⲉⲓⲱⲧ 9, 16, 19, 22 ⲥⲱⲙⲙⲁⲕⲟⲥ 14 ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ

Col. I †

1 ρ In the month (μῆν) of Mesore (day) 17: the wine which I paid in kind (ῥογεύειν):

2 the church (ἐκκλησία) 1 1/2 *angeia* (ἀγγεῖον)

3 the men of Piôh Pemom .... *knidia* (κνίδιον)

4 the *shaliou* of Ptêne boiled wine (ἔψημα) 1 *kollathon* (κόλλαθον)

5	Raszid	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
6	Our great father	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
7	the water-...	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
8	The men of Michôleos	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
9	Isaak the <i>symmachos</i> (σύμμαχος)	2 <i>angeia</i> (ἀ.)
10	expenses (ἀνάλωμα)	4 <i>kollatha</i> (κό.)
11	(day) 18	-----
12	the <i>shaliou</i> of Ptêne      boiled wine (ξ.)	1 <i>kollathon</i> (κό.)
13	The (-) <i>akkatês</i>	3 <i>knidia</i> (κν.)
14	Apa Iohannes the priest (πρεσβύτερος)	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
15	The <i>shaliou</i> of Ptêne      boiled wine (ξ.)	1 <i>kollathon</i> (κό.)
16	Theodre the <i>symmachos</i> (σ.)	...
17	the brothers of the food-gatherer	<u>2</u> <i>angeia</i> (ἀ.)
18	Apa Moses (?) of Apa Anoup	1 <i>angeion</i> (ἀ.)
19	(day) 19    Peços the <i>symmachos</i> (σ.)	2 <i>knidia</i> (κν.)
20	the church (ἐ.)	2 <i>knidia</i> (κν.)
21	[the] water-...	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
22	Theodre the <i>symmachos</i> (σ.)	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
23	the (bolt-)smiths	1 <i>knidion</i> (κν.)
24	(day) 20 the church (ἐ.)	2 <i>knidia</i> (κν.)
25	our father	2 <i>knidia</i> (κν.)

#### Col. II

- 1    ρ the day I paid in kind (ρ.)  
2    *angeia* (ἀ.) of wine (to the ?) church (ε.)  
3    in the month of (μήν) Mesore (day) 21

#### Transcription notes

3 κν<sup>δ</sup> [: the *ed. pr.* read κν [.....]..β, interpreting a sign following the lacuna as part of this line.

6 ϚΝΙΩΤ: the Ν is barely legible.

13 ΝΕ[.]ΔΚΚΔΤΗC: CΔΚΚΔΤΗC was restored in the *ed. pr.* and interpreted as CΔΚ-ΚΔΤΗC "(one who) draws pails", i.e. someone who operates a shaduf (for CΩΚ-ΚΔΔΟC (κάδος) citing ΚΔΤΕC in *BM* 1147 l. 7 as a similar spelling of κάδος); or as σακκατης, an otherwise unattested Greek word, citing a VI/VIIIth C. Greek papyrus (*SPP* XX 269 l. 21) which describes someone as a σακκα...ς.

18 Μ'Ω'ΗC: this could also be read ΜΟΥCΗC.

24 Κ: this was interpreted as an abbreviation of ὑπέρ "by" in the *ed. pr*

## Translation notes

- 1 ϺΡΟΚΟϚΥϚ: Latin *erogare*, see *Herm.* pp. 57-58 for this verb and its form in this text.
- 4 ωδλϚϚ: this man also occurs in ll. 12 and 15; for this title, see §3.7.
- 6 ΝΟΘ ΝϚωτ: this may refer to the head of the monastery, as Ϛωτ does in l. 25, or alternatively the founder of the monastery, see §3.13.
- 7 ωδλεμμοοϚ: the interpretation of the first element of this word ωδλε(μ)-, is not obvious, although the second appears to be ΜΟΟϚ "water". ωδλεμ- may be the participium conjunctivum of ωωλεμ "be concerned with" ("sich kümmern, (sich) beschäftigen" Westendorf *KH* p. 311), although this is only attested in Bohairic texts.<sup>1</sup> ωωλεμ "draw" ("ziehen" Westendorf *KH* p. 311) is not suitable here because it is used of swords which is quite a different semantic usage. Westendorf (*KH* p. 311 n. 3) follows Kasser 1964 p. 85 no. 561a in suggesting a connection between ωδλεμμοοϚ and ωδλοοϚ "waterwheel",<sup>2</sup> and does not rule out a connection with ωωλεμ "draw". Another possibility is that ωδλε- may be a form of ωωλε "flow" (Crum *CD* p. 558a).
- 9 Ϛδδκ πχμ<sup>×</sup>: for other *symmachoi* called Isaak, see Jördens 1986 p. 113. For the title *symmachos*, which is also applied to Theodore in ll. 16 and 22, and Pečoš in l. 19, see Jördens 1986 and 1992, and *Bal.* no. 154 n. to l. 11. For payments made to *symmachoi*, see Sijpesteijn 1994 pp. 259-261.
- 10 πδνδδλωμδ: this may be the total of the day's expenditure. In the *ed. pr.*, Jernstedt suggested the interpretation of this word as πδ -ν -δδλωμδ "the one of the ἀνάλωμα" (*Herm.* pp. 59-60), with δδλωμδ as an attested Coptic form of ἀνάλωμα.
- 16 θεοδϚρε, 22 θϚεοδρε: this is the only name ending -εοδρε listed in Heuser *PN*. For *symmachoi* called Theodoros, see Jördens 1986 p. 113 and 1992 p. 230; and a V/Vith C. Greek papyrus, P. Mich. inv. 4253, edited in Sijpesteijn 1994 pp. 259-261. An *archisymmachos* with this name from Pkalankeh in the Faiyum occurs in P. Vindob. 19, see Krall 1887 p. 60.
- 17 δδλερε: for compounds involving δωλε and Ϛρε, Crum *CD* pp. 806b-807a δωλε gives the following references: *BM* 678 μδ νδδλερη (mentioned along with μδνκωδθ, and μδνκωτ); and *Ryl.* no. 356 δδδωλερεοοϚ; the *ed. pr.* cited the form ϚδνϚρε in *CMSS* appendix verso l. 32.
- 23 δδμϚκϚλε: see §3.14 for smiths.

<sup>1</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 560b ωωλεμ for these texts.

<sup>2</sup>The word ωδλοοϚ is recorded in an inscription from Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 151 no. 544, where it is translated "Roue(?)".

# 38

## WINE ACCOUNT

BMEA 10135(B)

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 28

**Preservation:** 4 lines and all but the right margin preserved. This text is written on the back of no. 32.

**Palaeography:** a semi-cursive hand which employs the "ace-of-spades" ligature, and open beta (ll. 3 and 4). The scribe of this document may be identified with one who wrote an unpublished Coptic papyrus wine account excavated at Bawit by Jean Clédat, P. Louvre E 27592.<sup>1</sup>

**Provenance, Acquisition and dimensions:** as for no. 32.

An account of the wine, possibly distributed to the men of Ten, representing payments for cumin (ΤΔΠΕΝ), a feast or a person named Psa, an iron-seller, and lectors. It is drawn up by Enoch, for whom see §3.11, who may be a πιστικός in the monastery of Apa Apollo, the destination of the first text written on this piece of papyrus. The date at the end may read 25th Epeiph but the indiction-year is lost. The wine is measured in *kollatha* and *knidia*.

1↑	Γ	Ρ ΕΠΛΟ ΝΕΡΩΜΤΕΝ ΕΠΟΙ	±6	]ΓΔ' ΝΕ.Ι
	Θ	ΓΔ'		ΓΥ' [Θ
2		ΓΚ' / Δ ΖΔ ΤΔΠΕΝ ΚΝ Δ [.] .. [..]. ΖΔ ΠΩΔ ΟΙΝ Κ / [		
		ΓΔ'		Θ
3		ΠΣΔ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ ΚΝ Δ		ΝΕΡΦΩΩ Κ / Θ [
		Θ δ		η /
4		γ / οιν κ / θ ] κ β δ / ενωχ		μ / ..εφ κ ε [

1 ΛΟΓΟΣ 2 ΟΙΝΟΥ 2, 3 ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ 2 ΚΟΛΛΑΘΟΝ 3 ΡΕΦΩΩ  
 4 γίνεταί οίνου κόλλαθα, ] = καί κνίδια, μηνί Ἐπέιφ (?)

**Payees** (1) To the account (λόγος) of the men of Ten(-?) for the (?) ... (2) 1 *kollathon* (κόλλαθον); for cumin 1 *knidion* (κνίδιον) ... for the feast/Psa wine (οἶνος) *kollathon/kollatha* (κο.) ... (3) the iron-seller one *knidion* (κν.) ... the lectors 2 *kollatha* (κό.) ...

**Total** (4 Greek) Total 9 *kollatha*, 2 *knidia* ...

**Issuer** by Enoch

<sup>1</sup>This is written parallel to the fibres and the first two lines read + ΕΠΛΟ Γ ΝΠΜΗΡΟΣ / ΝΠΔΜΙΡΔ ΟΙΝ Υ followed by two lines containing details of the amount. See §3.3.2 for these papyri.

Date in the month of Epeiph (?) (day) 25 (?)....

### Transcription notes

- 1 ΝΕΡΩΜΤΕΝ: see the entry for Ten at §4.8 for its possible interpretation as a place name. Alternatively ΤΕΝ- may be the beginning of a longer place name, or the feminine possessive article "our" followed by a noun beginning ΠΟ-.  
ΝΕ.[ : the last visible letter may be a Ρ.
- 3 ϸΔ: the ϸ is large, extending well below the letters preceding and following it.  
ΡϸΩω: in between the ϸ and ω is a gap.
- 4 ϸγ: this is restored after no. 39 l. 2, and other documents from the Lansing Collection BM EA 10128 (B) l. 2, 10130 l. 3, 10132 l. 2, 10136 (B) l. 7, and 10140 (B) text 3 l. 2 (see §2.8).  
μγ<sup>η</sup> / ..εφ κελ: this is restored following a related wine account from the Lansing Collection, BM EA 10136(B) l. 7, which reads: ΜΗΝ γ. ΠΔΤΕΡΤ Δ Ε[ "in the month of Pharmouthi (day) 4 ..." (see §2.8).

### Translation notes

- 2 ΤΔΠΕΝ: cumin is indigenous to Egypt; it is mentioned in an account belonging to the Pesunthius archive, see Revillout 1900 p. 176 no. 46.  
See the introduction to no. 37 for the capacity of a *knidion* and a *kollathon*.  
ΠωΔ: this may also be a personal name; another wine account from the Lansing Collection (BM EA 10136(B), unpublished, see §2.8) has an entry for ΠωΔ ΜΠΕΣΤΔΥΡΟC which may be "the feast of the Saviour" or "Psha (son) of Pestauros".
- 3 ϸΔ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ: an interpretation of "the brother of Penipe" (ϸΟΝ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ) seems less likely.<sup>1</sup>  
ΡϸΩω: see §3.13 for this title.
- 4 : Epeiph 25 = 19th July.

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<sup>1</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp 27 and 64 for this name.

## 39

## WINE RECEIPT

BM EA 10460(B)

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 28

**Preservation:** 2 lines and all but the upper margin preserved. This was written on the back of **no. 31**.

**Palaeography:** a small, semi-cursive hand.

**Provenance:** this text was probably recycled for use in the monastery of Apa Apollo which was the destination of the text written on the other side of this papyrus, **no. 31**.

**Acquisition** and dimensions: see **no. 31**.

This is one of several wine receipts from the Lansing Collection issued by Enoch (see §3.11) who is described in this document as a *pistikos* (see §3.7). Markos the builder is to be given one *kollathon* of wine for building the "wall of the great house" which may be identified as part of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

1 → † ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΚΩΤ ΕΦΚΩΤ Ε† ΤΙΣΟ ΝΠΝΟΘ ΝΗΙ ΟΙΝΟΥ ΚΘ, Α ΕΝ

2 μ// ΦΩ, ΙΝΔ, Α Δ, ΕΝΩΧ ΠΙΣΤΙΚΟ, †

1 κόλλαθα 2 μόνον φαῶφι ἰνδικτίονος, διά, πιστικοῦ

**Payee** (1) † Markos the builder who is building the wall of the great house:

**Amount** (Greek) *kollathon* of wine 1 one (2) only.

**Date** Phaophi, indiction-year 1,

**Issuer** by Enoch (the) *pistikos*. †

**Transcription notes**

1 ΕΦΚΩΤ Ε† ΤΙΣΟ: Crum *CD* p. 122a ΚΩΤ cites this text (note that Crum read ΕΥΚΩΤ) as a rare example of ΚΩΤ followed by the preposition Ε- .

ΚΘ: for this abbreviation of *kollathon*, compare **no. 38**, *Herm.* 16 l. 1 and *P. Lond.* IV 1414,[25,27]. For the value of a *kollathon*, see the introduction to **no. 37**.

1-2 Α ΕΝ μ//: for the use of μόνος following a numeral, compare *P. Lond.* IV no. 1407 l. 4 (dated to 709 C.E.),<sup>1</sup> *CPR* VII no. 74 l. 6 (from the archive of Fl. Atias, dated to 698 C.E.), and two unpublished wine receipts from the Lansing Collection (BM EA 10136(A) and 10457, see §2.8).

<sup>1</sup>The expansion of this abbreviation is interpreted in the *ed. pr.*, see Becker 1907 p. 91.

**Translation note**

1 ΕΚΩΤ: for the employment of builders by large establishments in Egypt, see Hardy 1931 pp. 122-123.



refers to it as a list "d'impôts fonciers établies par les fonctionnaires locaux pour rendre compte aux supérieurs de l'état de la perception". Unlike *BM 1075*,<sup>1</sup> with which it shares some personal names in common, it cannot be identified as a corn assessment.

The entries include individuals and institutions, including the monasteries of Abba Apollos and Abba Anouph, a *topos* of Kames (represented three times by different individuals and once by a hospital) (see §4.1), and the Holy Church (see §4.2). Also listed are twenty-eight individuals who come from religious as well as lay spheres, from humble to elevated social positions: two are described as ἀββᾶ and πρεσβύτερος; one bears the title κύριος; two are bakers; and one a builder. Apart from Antinoe (ατινου l. 9), only one securely located place is mentioned, Palas, in the Leukopyrgites ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome, see §4.4.

Amounts of corn recorded range from one to three pounds, representing three to nine drachmas. A couple of entries record odd amounts in drachmas (ll. 24 and 34).

(A)

1→		].[	
	-----, , [ ]	[	
2	διαφρ <sup>οο</sup> πακτων	[	
	-----	[	
3	δ, τοπ, Καμητος δ, τ <sup>ου</sup> κυρ, Θεοδω.	[	
4	δ, ομοιος δ, αβ, Επιμαχου	[	
5	δ, ομοιος δ, αβ, Ζαχαριου	[	
6	δ, ομοιος δ, τ ξενεωνιου	[	
7	δ, Ταυρινος Ιωαννου —	[	
8	δ, Δαυειτ Ενωχιου —	[	
9	δ, τ <sup>ου</sup> κυρ, Ταυριδ̄ απ <sup>ο</sup> ατινου —	[	
10	δ, Ιωσηφ Χωλος	[	
11	δ, μοναστηρ, αβ, Απολλως	[	
12	δ, Απολλω Παμουνιου	[	
13	δ, Απολλω απο Τοι.ασεως	[	
14	δ, Κολλ <sup>θ</sup> Ορβας	[	
15	δ, Ιακυβιου Κουρευ	[	
16	δ, αβ, Σουρους πρεσβητερου	[	
17	δ, Ιωαννου Πδιακου	[	
18	δ, μοναστηρ, αβ, Ανουφ	[	
19	δ, Βικ <sup>τ</sup> , απο Παλαντος	..[	
20	δ, Ενδιως Πιερουδιος	.ε[...]. [σι] λ/ α[	

<sup>1</sup>This is a papyrus account book recording the corn assessment for Temseuskor(don) and the τόπος of Demeos (or Demeon), which may be in the region of Antinoe, see MacCoull 1987b and 1994c.

21	δ, αββ, Πίηθ̄ πρεσβυτερ,	α [.] [.] σ[ι] λ' β
22	δ, Αμου[ν] Φιβίου	≠ Ι ς [.] σ[ι]
23	δ, Κυριακ, Πεμζωλ	[≠] Ι θ [.] σ[ι] λ' γ
24	δ, Πτοι <sup>λ</sup> ομ[α]ηθ̄ Ψατης	≠ Ι ζ [.] σι λ' .
25	δ, Σερηνος οἰκοδομ <sup>ου</sup>	≠ Ι ς [ . σι] λ' β
26	δ, Θεοδωσι, Σερηνος	≠ Ι ς [σι λ'] β
27	δ, Ανουφ Μουσης	≠ Ι γ [σι] λ' α
28	δ, Κυριακ, Αβρ <sup>α</sup> ,	≠ Ι γ [σι λ'] α
29	δ, Πκυλις Παπνουθ,	[≠] Ι γ [ ] σ[ι] λ' α
30	δ, Ἰσακ αρτακοπ,	[≠] Ι γ [ ] σι [λ'] α
31	δ, Αβρ <sup>α</sup> , αρτακοπ,	≠ Ι γ[ ] σι λ' α
32	δ, της αγιας εκκλησι,	≠ Ι γ [.] σι λ' α
33	δ, Ονωφ, Ιακωβ	≠ Ι ς [ σι] λ' β
34	δ, Φιλοθ, Κωσταντι,	≠ Ι ε [.]
35	δ, Φιβ Πανηου	≠ Ι ς . σι λ' β
36	δ, Παμουν Απαλο	≠ Ι ς [σι] λ' β
37	δ, Βασιλιος Βικτωρος	≠ Ι η . ≠
38	θ, ν[±2] . Ι σι ...	

(B) In same direction as text on (A) three characters written on two lines are visible.

At 90° to text on (A)

39→ + κωμ, ..[

1 διάφορον 3-37 διά 3, 9 κυρίου 3 τόπου 4, 5, 11, 16, 18, 21 ἀββᾶ 6 τοῦ 9 Ἄντινου  
 11, 18 μοναστηρίου 14 Κολλούθου 16, 21 πρεσβυτέρου 19 Βικτωρος 20-33, 35-36, 38 σίτου  
 22-38 Ι = δραχμή 23, 28 Κυριακοῦ 26 Θεοδοσίου 28, 31 Ἄβρααμίου 29 Παπνουθίου  
 30, 31 ἀρτοκόπου 32 ἐκκλησίας 33 Ὀνοφρίου 34 Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντίου  
 38 θαλλία, Ι = 1/2 (?) 39 κωμῆς (?)

- 2 Balance of *pacta*:
- 3 From the *Topos* of Kames, from the Lord Theodo[ros]
- 4 From the same, from Abba Epimachos
- 5 From the same, from Abba Zacharios
- 6 From the same, from the hospital
- 7 From Taurinos (son) of Ioannes
- 8 From Daueit (son) of Enochios
- 9 From the Lord Tauri<n>os from A<n>tinoe
- 10 From Joseph (son of) Cholos
- 11 From the Monastery of Abba Apollos
- 12 From Apollo (son) of Pamounios
- 13 From Apollo from Toi(-)asis (?)
- 14 From Kollouthus (son of) (H)orbas
- 15 From Iakubios (son) of Koureus

16	From Abba Sourous the priest		
17	From Ioannes (son) of Pdiakos/the deacon		
18	From the Monastery of Abba Anouph		
19	From Victor(os) from Palas(?)	...	
20	From Endios (son of) Pieroudios	...	1 pound of corn
21	From Abba Pieou the priest	1 [... ≠ 6 drachmas]	2 pounds of corn
22	From Amoun (son) of Phibios	≠ 6 drachmas	[2] pounds of corn
23	From Kuriakos (son of) Pemjol	≠ 9 drachmas	3 pounds of corn
24	From Ptoilomaios (son of) Psates	≠ 7 drachmas	... pounds of corn
25	From Serenos the builder	≠ 6 drachmas	2 pounds of corn
26	From Theodosios (son of) Serenos	≠ 6 drachmas	2 pounds of corn
27	From Anouph (son of) Mouses	≠ 3 drachmas	1 pound of corn
28	From Kuriakos (son of) Abra(amios)	≠ 3 drachmas	1 pound of corn
29	From Pkulis (son of) Papnouth(ios)	≠ 3 drachmas	1 pound of corn
30	From Isak the baker	≠ 3 drachmas	1 pound of corn
31	From Abra(amios) the baker	≠ 3 drachmas	1 pound of corn
32	From the Holy Church	≠ 3 drachmas	1 pound of corn
33	From Onnophrios (son of) Iakob	≠ 6 drachmas	2 pounds of corn
34	From Philotheos (son of) Kostanti(nos)	≠ 5 drachmas	... pounds of corn
35	From Phib (son) of Paneos	≠ 6 drachmas	2 pounds of corn
36	From Pamoun (son of) Apalo	≠ 6 drachmas	2 pounds of corn
37	From Basilios (son of) Victoros	≠ 8 drachmas	... pounds of corn
38	sacks ... drachmas (?), of corn ...		

Docket:

39 The village (?) ...

### Transcription notes

4-6 ομοιος: the second ο looks like a small iota.

5, 11 αβ,; the open beta resembles a kappa.

9 ατινου: the α is damaged and there does not appear to be enough space for αντινου to have been written.

21 β: only a vertical stroke remains.

22-38 ς: this sign may indicate the beginning of a numerical entry or that no number or measure was specified;<sup>1</sup> Crum believed that it represented "ditto" and related to an abbreviation, now lost, of νομισματ[ι]α "solidi" at the top of the page. This is disproved if, as here, ς is interpreted as a symbol representing "drachma".<sup>2</sup> The use of the symbol ς representing κέρατιον (as, e.g., in *P. Lond.* IV 1442 ll. 32-36, 72) is not appropriate here.

24 One would expect an entry for 2 1/3 pounds of corn, corresponding to 7 drachmas here.

26 β: this resembles an α.

38 θ, ν[±2] . ς: the double stroke is written through the θ; the ν resembles an ω, but not one written in this text; the ς may represent 1/2 here.

### Translation notes

2 διαφρορο: διάφορον has other possible meanings apart from "balance": apart from "money" in general (Sophocles *Lexicon*) it can mean "interest" (LSJ; *Pap. Colon.* XXI pp 144-145).

πακτων: see §§3.10 and 5.3 for the implication of this term.

3 Καμητος: this appears to be the genitive form of Καμης,<sup>3</sup> a hellenization of the Coptic name ΚΔΜΕ "black".<sup>4</sup> The form Καμητος occurs in a Vth C. Greek papyrus, *CPR* VIII no. 53 (l. 5), where it is suggested that καμητις or κομήτης is intended.<sup>5</sup>

4 Επιμαχου: see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA* which list occurrences of this name in some Vth and VIIth. C. texts.

7, 9 See the provenance details above for the name Taurinos.

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<sup>1</sup>See *CPR* VIII 22 l. 2 note on p. 221. It also occurs in no. 76 ll. 5 and 7.

<sup>2</sup>See Youtie 1974 p. 50.

<sup>3</sup>For this name see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA.*; it also occurs in Sijpesteijn 1986 text ll. 11 and 29 (Καμητις); the form Πκαμέ is used in P.Berl. inv. no. 25006 ll. 56-57 edited in Pintaudi and Sijpesteijn 1991, see pp. 282 and 292.

<sup>4</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp. 21, 33, 43, and 69; and Crum *CD* p. 110a ΚΜΟΜ.

<sup>5</sup>The editors' statement that Καμητος is not attested should be discounted.

- 10 Χῶλος: literally "lame"; a Cholos also occurs in *BM* 1075; see references in Foraboschi *OA* and Preisigke *NB*, adding Warga 1991 p. 363; see also Till 1962 p. 70, and Crum *CD* p. 670a 2λλο.
- 13 Τοι.ασεως: if this has been read correctly, there are no previous attestations of this place name.<sup>1</sup> Τανκασεως,<sup>2</sup> a place located in the same toparchy as Παλαντος which is mentioned in l. 19, cannot be read.
- 14 'Ορβâς/'Ορβας: for this name, see P. Mich. 3709 l. 5 in Sijpesteijn 1985 pp. 82-84 no. 13.
- 15 Κουρευ: the entry for this name in Preisigke *NB* cites only this papyrus and *SB* I 1881.
- 17 Πδιακου: this could be a personal name or a title "deacon", prefixed by the Coptic masculine definite article Π-; see ΠΤΙΔΚΟΝ no. 10 l. 4. A *topos* of Πδιάκ(ονος) occurs in *P.Lond.* IV no. 1419 l. 749; see also Preisigke *NB* s.v. Πδικαῦ.
- 18 μοναστηρ, αβ, Ανουφ: for this monastery, see §4.1.
- 20 Ενδιως: the name Ἐνδιος is attested for the VIth C, see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA*.  
Πιερουδιος: Preisigke *NB* cites only this papyrus in his entry for this name.  
λγ: the amount which a λίτρα represents varies: in principal it is 0.3274 kg. but it can be 0.558 kg.<sup>3</sup>
- 23 ΠΕΜΧΩλ: literally, "the onion" ΜΧΩλ Crum *CD* p. 213b;<sup>4</sup> a ΙΕΡΗΜΙΔC ΠΜΧΩλ "Jeremias (son of) Pmjol" is mentioned in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CMAA Green "5" which also mentions Τνοčnsnê (see §§2.6 and §4.11).
- 24 Ψατης: a Ψατος occurs in *BM* 1075.
- 25, 26 The same Serenos may be intended in both lines.
- 29 Πκῶλις: this name also occurs in *BM* 1075 and the Greek text written on BL Or. 6050 col. 1 l. 26 (Coptic text = *BM* 1079);<sup>5</sup> see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA* s.vv. Πκοῦλις, Πκύλιος, Πκῦρις. It has been associated with the Hermopolite region by the editor of P. Vindob. G 1265;<sup>6</sup> see also a VIth C. Greek papyrus which may be from the Hermopolite nome, P. Iand. inv. no. 529 ll. 3 and 12.<sup>7</sup>
- 32 της αγιας εκλησιγ: see §4.2 for the identification of this church with the Basilica at Hermopolis.
- 35 Πανηου: for Πανῆος see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA* entries s.v. Πανηούς.
- 36 Απαλο: this spelling of Apollo also occurs in *BM* 1075.

<sup>1</sup>CKÄ p. 2728 "Toi[.]asis (?)".

<sup>2</sup>See, e.g., Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 p. 262 ll. 17, 33, 45 and 65.

<sup>3</sup>*Hommes et richesses* I p. 287.

<sup>4</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp. 24 and 72 for this personal name; Preisigke *NB* cites only this papyrus (no. 40).

<sup>5</sup>Edited in MacCoull 1994b pp. 139-140.

<sup>6</sup>It occurs in ll. 2, 4, 5, 9, and 13, see Papaconstantinou 1994 p. 93.

<sup>7</sup>See Metzger and Harrauer 1985 pp. 248-249.

FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT ISSUED BY A *TOPOTERETES* (?)CMAA Green "1"<sup>1</sup>

Dimensions not recorded

Whereabouts unknown

Papyrus

**Preservation:** (A?) 7 lines and the upper and left margins appear to be partially preserved;  
(B?) 2 lines of an address or docket and all but the left margin appear to be extant.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin may have been a monastery of Apa Apollo and a Hermopolite context is suggested by other manuscripts from this collection, see §2.6.

**Acquisition:** see §2.6.

The format of the address to this document (ll. 8-9) suggests that it was issued by a *topoteretes* to someone from a monastery of Apa Apollo. The content of the document remains obscure.

(A?)

1↑ + ἄνωρπ μεν τι'π[ροκυνει  
2 ἄτετνεο νατσοο[υν  
3 ετβε παι διωπ'πζ'ωφ εγτι'τι'κδιον ετ[  
4 ἄτετντι πεσκ[γ]λμοσ ἄτετνεει επ..[  
5 νππετογδδβ [....]τ ερον σε ψδνπροκυν[ει  
6 παρδ λδδγ ἄζ'ει[..?] ετβε πει ζωφ  
7 προτρεπε ἄμωτν ζδ τδευτελεει[δ

Gap left in transcription

(B?) Address/docket?

8? ]λ δγω πτοπ<sup>ο</sup>τ<sup>η</sup>, +  
9? ]μον<sup>τ</sup>, ναπα δπολλω +

3 ζωβ εγδικδιον (?) 4 ντετἄει 6 ζωβ 7 προτρεπει ἄμωτμ  
8? τοποτηρητης 9? μοναστηριον

**Greeting** (1) + Firstly indeed (μέν) I welcome (προσκυνεῖν) ...  
**Preamble?** ... (2) you were ignorant (?) ... (3) Because of this I have recounted the affair to a *dikaion* (δίκαιον) which (?) ...  
**Request?** (4) you make the effort (σκυλμός) and come to the... (5) of the holy .... to us because we welcome (π.)... (6) more than (παρά) any ... about this matter ... (7) authorize (προτρέπειν) you for my humbleness (εὐτέλεια).

<sup>1</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.

**Address/Docket** (8?) ... and the *topoteretes* (τοποτηρητής) +. (9?) ...  
monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo +.

### Translation notes

3 ΕΥΤΙ ΤΙ ΚΔΙΟΝ ΕΤ[: alternatively interpret as "they giving justice (?)".

4 CK[Υ]ΧΜΟC: this term also occurs in *P. Budge* l. 215, *BKU* II.1 no. 303 (context obscure), an unpublished ostrakon P. Berlin 14814,<sup>1</sup> and an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CMAA Green "1" l. 4 (see §2.6).

6 ΠΔΡΔ ΧΔΔΥ ΝΖ'Ε': no parallel is given for this in Crum CD pp. 638b-640a, or Gregorius 1976-1978 pp. 217-219.

7 ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΕ: see *Ryl.* no. 289.

ΕΥΤΕΧΕΙ[Δ]: this is translated as "humbleness" in *P. Budge* l. 218.

8 ΤΟΠ<sup>Ο</sup>ΤΗ<sub>Ϛ</sub>: see §3.7 for this title.

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<sup>1</sup>Described in Beltz 1980 p. 144 no. IV 474.

## 42 FRAGMENT

Christie's "30"

c. 72 (h) x 100 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 29

**Preservation:** (B) 7 lines and the right margin (and possibly top margin?) are partially preserved. The papyrus is crumpled.

**Palaeography:** a large, irregular but fairly competently-written majuscule, with few ligatures. Wide Μ, Ν and Ω, and sometimes also Η, Κ, Π and Χ. Δ written with a double loop. v-shaped Υ.

**Linguistic notes:** the spellings of ΜΕ (for ΜΝ l. 4) and ΜΔΝΔΧΟC (for ΜΟΝΔΧΟC l. 5) are noteworthy.

**Provenance:** unknown. The document was issued by the monastery of Apa Jeremias to the monastery of Apa Apollo. The acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context. The place name mentioned in l. 7 may be Perciê in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4) or Perciêse (see §4.7) in the Faiyum.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This document is very fragmentary, but it may be related to *aparchê* collection documents from the same collection, see §2.5 and Chapter 5. Fathers of the *diakonia* (see §5.7) of the monastery of Apa Jeremias (see §4.1) address two monks belonging to a monastery of Apa Apollo, to whom they may have assigned a place called Perciê or Perciêse (l. 7).

1→	].K.[	I...
2	ΜΕ ΠΔ]CΟΝ ΖΗΧΙΔ[C] ΓΝΕΙΟΓΤΕ ΝΤΓΙΔ-	
3	ΚΟΓΓΝΙ Δ ΜΠΜΔ ΝΔΠΔ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΔC	
4	ΕΝC]ΖΔΙ ΜΠΔΓCΟΓΝ ΚΧΟΥΧ ΜΕ ΠΔ-	
5	CΟΝ Ο]ΥΕΝΟΒΕΡ ΝΕΜΔΝΔΧΟC	
6	ΜΠΤΟ]ΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΧΕ ΠΙ-	
7	ΔΗ ΔΝ]ΤΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΜΠΕΡΒΙΗ ΓCΙΕ(-)	

2-3 ΠΤΔΙΔΚΟΝΙΔ 4 ΜΓ 5 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 6-7 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ

**Parties** (1) I (?) .... (2) [and my] brother Helias, the fathers of the *diakonia* (διακονία) (3) of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, (4) we are writing to brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Klouj and brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) (5) Ouenober, the monks (μοναχός) (6) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo.

<sup>1</sup>These dimensions have been estimated because the papyrus is crumpled.

**Preamble**

Whereas (ἐπειδὴ) <sup>(7)</sup> [we] gave you Perčiê(se) ...

**Transcription notes**

7 ΠΕΡΘΙΗ Γ'Ε: the place name ΠΕΡΘΙΗΣ is just as plausible as ΠΕΡΘΙΗ here because the scribe of this text appears not to have had any qualms about beginning a new word at the end of one line and completing it in the next (exx. ΠΑΘΩΝ ll. 4-5 and ΠΙΔΗ ll. 6-7).

# 43

## FRAGMENT

Christie's "25"(1)(A)

c. 90 (h) x 125 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 29

**Preservation:** (A) 5 lines and part of the upper margin are preserved. Christie's "25" consists of five fragments from four different texts which have been joined in order to produce the appearance of one fairly rectangular document; two of these texts (fragments 2-4, and fragment 5) are written in the same or a similar hand to (1)(A), parallel to the fibres. Side (B) of Christie's "25" resembles a patchwork whose individual components are difficult to distinguish. Fragment (1) appears to contain parts of two texts, both written in different hands to the text on (A), parallel to the fibres: text 2 preserves only one line which reads ]'N'NTΔ'Υ'PINE ..[; and text 3 preserves only ]TPΕ[.

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand written with a thick pen.

**Provenance:** unknown. Written by an incumbent of a monastery of Apa Apollo possibly to someone of the same monastery; the acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

(A)

1↑	ΤΟΠΟ]C ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΙCΘ'Δ'Ι	monastery (τόπος?) of Apa Apollo am writing
2	]ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟC Ν[ΟΥΩΤ	of this same monastery (τ.)
3	]Τ'ΗC ΝΔ[.]ΚΙΔ[	....
4	]ΥϜ ΝΤΕΚΟΝ[	...
5	]Ν...Ε...[	...

2 ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟC

### Transcription notes

1 ΤΟΠΟ]C: ΜΟΝΔΧΟ]C is another possible restoration.

4 ]ΥϜ : restore ΝΟ]ΥϜ (for ΝΟΥΒ) "gold"?

ΝΤΕΚΟΝ[ : restore ΝΤΕΚΟΝ[ΜΕΤΡΕ?

<sup>1</sup>The dimensions of this fragment can only be estimated.

## 44

### FRAGMENT

Christie's "26"

41 (h) x 55 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 29

**Preservation:** 4 lines and parts of the upper and right margins are preserved. The text is partially faded.

**Palaeography:** a fairly competent majuscule hand.

**Provenance:** unknown. Written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo for which the acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

1↑	ΔΠΟΧ]ΧΩ ΠΜΟΝΟΧ[ΟC	... Apollo the monk (μοναχός) ...
2	ΝΔ]ΓΠΔ' ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΕΙCΘΔ[Ι	... of Apa Apollo am writing
3	].C ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC .[	... the monk (μ.)
4	]ΓΔΥ'Ω ΠΙΩ[Τ	... and the father...

1, 3 ΜΟΝΑΧΟC 4 ΕΙΩΤ

## 45

### FRAGMENT

Christie's "23"

c. 30 (h) x 45 (w) mm.

VI-VIIth C.?

Papyrus

Plate 29

**Preservation:** 3 lines and part of the upper margin are preserved.

**Palaeography:** an upright majuscule hand. χ is written back-to-front. A superlinear stroke may be used without syllabic function over Μ in ΨΔΧΜΩΤ[ΟC (l. 1).

**Provenance:** unknown. This fragment may have been written by a psalmodist (see §3.13) from a monastery of Apa Apollo; an Hermopolite context is suggested by the acquisition details.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

1→	]ΨΔΧΜΩΤ[ΟC
2	]ΓΔ'ΠΟΧΧΩ ΕΙCΘ[ΔΙ ...
3	].[

1 ΨΔΧΜΩΔΟC

(1) [I, NN ... the] psalmodist (ψαλμωδός) ... [of the monastery of Apa?] (2)  
 Apollo am writing (3) ...

## DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

P. Duk. inv. 439(B)

88 (h) x 194 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.?<sup>1</sup>Formerly University of Mississippi Collection I C 20.<sup>2</sup>

Plate 30

Papyrus

**Preservation:** (A) 7 lines and all margins are preserved, the upper one only partially. The text is faded in places and there are a few small lacunae. (B) 4 lines and all but the right margin are preserved. This is written on the back of **no. 47**.

**Palaeography:** a clumsy and inexperienced majuscule hand which is very difficult to date; sometimes the letters are too unorthodox to be decipherable.

**Linguistic note:** this text features elements of different dialects (e.g. the Bohairic forms of the definite article ΠΙ and ΝΙ ll. 2 and 3; and ΟΥΛΟΚΟΧΙ (όλοκότινος) l. 5). Other unusual forms include: ΩΠ for ΖΩΘ l. 1, CΔΕΙ for CΖΔ l. 2, ΤΔΟΕΙ for ΤΔΟΥΟΙ l. 4 and ΤΔΟϞ for ΤΔΟΥΟϞ l. 6; ΠΔΩΤΕ for ΠΔΩΕ l. 5; and the unusual First Perfect verbal prefix ΙΔΕΙ- for ΔΙ- twice in l. 6 (but note the standard Sahidic form in l. 4 Δ - (ΝΙΡΟΜ)). The spelling of ΠΕΛΛΩ for Apollo in l. 3 also occurs in the Difnar, see § 3.2.1.

**Provenance:** unknown. The two place names mentioned in this text are unattested unless Τ<sup>1</sup>ΔΝΔΜΝΗΥΟΥ in l. 4 is to be interpreted as a form of Tanamoou in the Hermopolite nome. There are some linguistic similarities with **no. 100** text 1 (omission of the Ζ in CΖΔ l.; spelling of όλοκότινος; see summary) which might suggest a place of origin in Middle Egypt if not the Hermopolite nome.

**Acquisition:** in 1988 Duke University bought the papyrus from the University of Mississippi which, in turn, had acquired it from a dealer in Cairo in 1955.

**Bibliography:** mentioned in MacCoull 1990 pp. 225-226.

Eisak (son of) Lia from Danaier (?) reports to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo called Iaanes that the men of Tanamneou have sent him half a solidus. A monk called Apa Kyri is also mentioned. It is probably sheer coincidence that the *dêmosion* demand written on the back of this letter is also addressed to a monk of Apa Apollo called Ἰωάννης.

Some of the forms contained in this letter are so unusual that they are impossible to interpret. This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

<sup>1</sup>This date is based on the Greek hand of the text written on the other side of this papyrus, **no. 47**.

<sup>2</sup>I am grateful to Peter van Minnen for this information.



5 ΟΥΛΟΚΟΞΙ: a similar spelling of ὀλοκότινος, ΛΟΥΚΟΞΙ, occurs in **no. 100** text 1 (see summary) and is listed as a Bohairic form in Crum *CD* p. 140b ΛΟΥΚΟΞΙ.

ΞΩΚΕΓ'C'ΒΘ: or ΞΩΚΕΓ'C'ΒΘ although the meaning of this would be even less clear.

6 ΞΔΤΦ: this may involve ΞΩΤΕ (Crum *CD* p. 791b "pierce" etc.) in which case the meaning "drängen" assigned in Westendorf *KH* p. 436 n. 4 may be the most appropriate: "I urged him"?

7 ΤΕΚΤΙC: the prenominal form † is attested for † "give" in Crum *CD* p. 392a. At least four different interpretations can be put upon ΤΕΚ: ΤΡΕΚ- (Causative Infinitive, which is followed in the translation), ΝΤΔΚ- (Second Perfect or Relative First Perfect), or ΝΓ- (Conjunctive). The Relative First Present (ΕΤΚ- ) is discounted because it cannot be used with a prenominal infinitive.

ΝΔΤΔΝΤΔΠΔΛΙ†: this may involve the attested personal names ΔΠΔΛΙ†,<sup>1</sup> or ΔΠΔΛΙ (see Heuser *PN* p. 118) followed by a †.

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<sup>1</sup>See Clackson 1993a p. 129 §11 (ΔΠΔΛΙΤΙ), and a VI/VIIth C. Greek manuscript from the Faiyum, *SPP* III no. 100 l. 2 Απαλλιτι.



DOCUMENT CONCERNING *EMBOLE*

P. Miss. inv. 2

40 (h) x 202(w) mm.

VII-VIIIth C.?

Formerly University of Mississippi Collection I C 24.

Plate 32

Papyrus

**Preservation:** 4 lines and only the upper and left margins are preserved.**Palaeography:** clumsy and inexperienced majuscule, with letters irregularly written and aligned. Δ is written with a double loop. The uncertainty of the scribe is also suggested by the three errors which are corrected, see transcription notes to ll. 2 and 3 below.

Noteworthy are the three-stroke Π and Μ.

**Provenance:** unknown. Written to someone belonging to a monastery of Apa Apollo.**Bibliography:** mentioned in MacCoull 1990 p. 226.

A caulker (καλαφάτης) writes to an incumbent of a monastery of Apa Apollo on the matter of the corn-tax (έμβολή) (see §3.7) for the third indiction-year. It is not clear who is paying the tax although it seems more probable that the monastery is collecting the tax from the caulker on behalf of the ruling administration.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1↑ + ΔΝΟΚ ΠΣΔΖ ΨΔΤΕ ΠΚΔΛΔΦΔΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΜ[ ... ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΝΝΝ (?) ...  
 2 ΜΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΣΕ ΕΠΙ[ΔΗ  
 3 ΓΟΪ.ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΝΘΟΛΗ ΤΡΙΤΗΣ ΙΝΔΙΚΤ[ΙΟΝΟC  
 4 ΓΝΪΤΟΟΤΓ ΝΤΕΚΜΕΤΙΩΤ ΔΝΟΚ[

2 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 3 ΕΜΒΟΛΗ 4 ΜΨΤΕΙΩΤ

**Parties** (1) + I, the master Psate the caulker (καλαφάτης), of ...  
 [am writing (?) to NN the monk (?)] (2) of the monastery (τόπος) of  
 Apa Apollo.

**Preamble** Whereas (έπειδη) ... (3) ... *embolê* (έμβολή) (for the) third  
 (τρίτος) indiction-year (ινδικτίων) ... (4) from your fatherhood. I ...

**Transcription notes**

1 At the upper edge of the papyrus above the Π of ΠΚΔΛΔΦΔΤΗΣ is a small mark which may have belonged to the last line an earlier text written on this sheet.

MacCoull 1990 p. 226 assumes that the text in ll. 1-2 is continuous and that Psate is from the monastery of Apa Apollo.

2 ΔΠΔ: the Π is written over an Ε.

3 ΓΟ<sup>1</sup>.ΠΜΟΟΥ: the lower half of the first two letters in this line is barely visible; the second letter may have been a ϩ, but now appears as a thick blob of ink. Possibly interpret ΜΟΟΥ as ḲΜΟΟΥ "them".

ΕΝΘΟΛΗ: the Η is written over another letter.

ΤΡΙΤΗC: the ϩ is written over a C or ε.

### Translation notes

1 ΠCΔΖ: a parallel usage of CΔΖ following the format CΔΖ NN occupation (rather than NN CΔΖ occupation "master ... ") may be found in an inscription from Bawit which mentions ΨΔΖ ΠΔΗCΕ ΠCΔΝΕΘΙΩ (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 98 no. 268 l. 2); and in *BM* nos. 1037 and 1064 which both mention ΨΔΖ ΙΩΔΝΝΗC ΦΔΜΩΕ. Crum appears to have interpreted the latter as "John the master carpenter", to judge from his citation of *BM* 1037 in *CD* p. 383b under the section headed "*master* of a craft". It seems unlikely that "the scribe Psate" is in question here given that the man is a caulker, skilled occupation though it is. For the honorific use of the title CΔΖ, see §3.13. Alternatively ΠCΔΖ could be a personal name "Psah (son of Psate)".<sup>1</sup>

ΚΔΛΔΦΔΤΗC: for caulkers, see the index to *P. Lond.* IV p. 624 s.v. καλαφάτης; *SPP* VIII nos. 901, 902, 903, and 920 (in which they receive payments of oil in accounts from the church at Arsinoe); *Bal.* no. 312 l. 17, *BKU* III no. 468, and *WS* 377. This occupation also occurs in the unpublished Coptic papyrus CUL Michael. no. 1036 (see §2.2), and possibly in *P. Yale copt.* 1 fol. 9 l.2.

3 ΤΡΙΤΗC ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙ: MacCoull 1990 p. 266 suggests that this date may correspond to 718 C.E. but does not give a reason.

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<sup>1</sup>The name ΠCΔΖ is not recorded in Heuser *PN*, Preisigke *NB* or Foraboschi *OA*, although a compound including it, ΨΔΧΟ, is listed in Heuser *PN* pp. 11 and 53.

## CHAPTER 7 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS

### §7.1 DOCUMENTS WITH THE ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ FORMULA

This chapter deals with documents beginning with the formula ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ "I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) ΝΝ, am writing". Twenty-one documents are analysed, all but two of which are unpublished. Eleven documents contain the formula in its entirety, and it may be reconstructed in another ten (see lists below). Only one of the documents has a secure provenance, a Coptic papyrus excavated at Wadi Sarga. *WS* 166 (see **Appendix 2** text A) is an undertaking to repay a debt of one solidus in cheese. Since this is the only Coptic text from this site to preserve this formula (see §8.1 for a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula text from this place),<sup>1</sup> its significance cannot outweigh that of the much larger number of texts which relate either to a monastery of Apa Apollo or Titkooh. The other published text with this formula concerns an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (**no. 49**).

Most of the documents which (may be reconstructed so as to) begin with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula, and preserve the identity of their writer(s) were written by monks of a monastery of Apollo (**nos. 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 16** text 2, **24, 49-52, 58** and **60**). **No. 55** was written to (and possibly from) a monk of this monastery. Three of the texts may originate from the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo, **nos. 54, 59** and **61**; **no. 59** was written by a head of this monastery.<sup>2</sup>

One of the texts specifies that the monastery of Apa Apollo is in the region of Shmoun (**no. 2**) and three texts (**nos. 10, 16** text 2, and **49**) mention places in the Hermopolite nome as well as a monastery of Apa Apollo. The monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in seven texts can be assigned an Hermopolite context based on other internal data or the acquisition details of the manuscripts (**nos. 3, 5, 11, 24, 50, 51** and **55**).

Apart from *WS* 166 already mentioned above, three texts do not mention a monastery of Apa Apollo or Titkooh (**nos. 53, 56** and **57**). One of these (**no. 53**) mentions a monastery of Apa Mena (see §4.1).

A number of documents issued by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo no longer preserve their introductory formula, but may also have begun with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ

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<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Dr Morris Bierbrier of the British Museum and the staff of the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections for facilitating my study of the unpublished Coptic texts from Wadi Sarga in the British Museum (ostraca) and British Library (papyrus and vellum: BL Or. 9035 (1-164)).

<sup>2</sup>An unpublished fragment of papyrus from a collection offered for sale by Christie's of London, Christie's "16", see §2.5, which mentions a ΤΟΠΟΣ at ΤΙΤΚΟΟΖΕ may also bear the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula.

ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula.<sup>1</sup> Unpublished papyri from the three collections discussed at §2.1, 2.2 and 2.5 may also have begun with this formula.<sup>2</sup>

Five of the documents beginning with this formula are concerned with the collection of *aparchê* and/or *pactum* and they are presented in Chapter 5. Some of the documents edited in this chapter (Chapter 7) may also be connected with *aparchê* collection or *pactum* payment. No. 50 contains the Agreement clause analysed at §5.5; and nos. 52 and 58 contain a few elements which are also found in *aparchê* collection documents.

No. 57 is written in an unusually coarse hand compared with the other documents beginning with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula. It is the only letter to preserve this formula, and was sent by a monk called Serne to some fellow monks. No. 16 texts 2-4 may be interpreted as practice attempts at reproducing the formula on the back of letter (see §3.3.2.2).

## §7.2 THE ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ FORMULA

The ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula generally occurs at the beginning of the documents. Their business-like nature is illustrated by the fact that only in no. 51 is the formula preceded by an additional phrase,<sup>3</sup> in this case ΖΝ Π]ΡΔΝ Ν' ΠΙ[Ν]ΟΥΤΕ "in the name of God".<sup>4</sup>

The ΔΝΟΚ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula is found at the beginning of documents dating to the VI/VII - VIIIth C. and deriving from el-Ashmunein to the Theban region.<sup>5</sup> Similar formulae, such as ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΨCΖΔΙ "I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) ΝΝ, he is writing", and ΔΝΟΝ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΜΝ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΝCΖΔΙ "We, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) ΝΝ and brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) ΝΝ, are writing", also occur, but usually in texts with some connection to a monastery of Apa Apollo. Three related formulae occur at the beginning of nos. 7, 28 and 29, see below.

Similar formulae appear quite commonly towards the end of documents, e.g. in the declarations of witnesses: ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΔΙCΖΔΙ "I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) ΝΝ, I wrote" (see, exx. nos. 50 ll. 10-12, possibly 51 l. 18).<sup>6</sup>

Two inscriptions from Bawit preserve the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula,<sup>7</sup> and one from the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.<sup>8</sup> In a number of other epigraphic texts individuals record their names following the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ formula. These come

<sup>1</sup>Exx. nos. 23, 25, and 43-45.

<sup>2</sup>See also two papyri mentioned in Beltz 1978 pp. 73 (P 11935 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ CΟΧΟΜ'Ω'Ι[Ν]); from el-Ashmunein, 1906 accession) and 89 (P 15947 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ...).

<sup>3</sup>See WS p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>Examples of the most common additional phrases are given in Brunsch 1979 p. 35 A) 1b).

<sup>5</sup>See Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 47 and 229-230 Tabelle V, 7) Typ VII. Green 1983a p. 111 §5.3; and Brunsch 1981 p. 98 commentary n. c) also discuss the use of this introductory formula in documents.

<sup>6</sup>RAC 100 (= Louvre no. 2), which is not from Saqqara according to Wietheger 1992 p. 84.

<sup>7</sup>Clédat 1904-1906 pp. 25 (with ΕCΖΔΙ for ΕΙCΖΔΙ) and 42.

<sup>8</sup>Ep. II no. 287 ll. 2-3.

from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit,<sup>1</sup> and the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara (see §4.2 Monastery of Apa Jeremias for contact between these two monasteries).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Palanque 1906 p. 18; Clédat 1904-1906 pp. 25 (no. III), 42 (no. VII), 43 (no. XIV), 44 (nos. XV l. 3 and XVI l. 2), 83 (no. II), and 138 (no. IV l. 3); Clédat 1916 pp. 46 (no. 14), and 47 (no. 19); Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 60 (no. 49 l. 1), 86 (no. 198 l. 6), 87 (no. 203 ll. 2-3), 88 (no. 209 l. 1), 89 (no. 215 ll. 2-3 ΔΝΔΚ ΠΔCΔΝ NN), 94 (no. 244 l. 2), 99 (no. 271 ll. 1-2), 133 (no. 453 l. 1), and 134 (no. 459 l. 4).

<sup>2</sup>Wietheger 1992 p. 278 lists the inscriptions beginning with ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΗ NN from this monastery.

**Papyrus documents beginning with the  
 $\Delta\text{NOK } \Pi\Delta\text{CON NN } \epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$  formula**

1) BL Or. 6201 B 29 text 2	no. 16 text 2
2) BL Or. 6201 B 268A	no. 3
3) BL Or. 13886.35	no. 51
4) CUL Michael. 856/5	no. 5
5) CUL Michael. 968	no. 57
6) <i>KSB</i> I 049 (= P. Würzburg 43)	no. 49
7) P. Schøyen Ms. 089/08	no. 50
8) P. Schøyen Ms. 089/14	no. 10
9) Christie's "10"	no. 52
10) CMAA Green "22"	no. 53
11) "Drescher" text	no. 58

**Papyrus documents in which the  
 $\Delta\text{NOK } \Pi\Delta\text{CON NN } \epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$  formula may be reconstructed**

1) BL Or. 6201 B 267(A) ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	no. 2
2) CUL Michael. 1201 ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	no. 54
3) P. Schøyen Ms. 089/07 ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	no. 56
4) <i>WS</i> 166 ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	Appendix 2 text A
5) Christie's "11" ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	no. 11
6) Christie's "12" ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	no. 60
7) Christie's "15" ( $\Pi\Delta\text{CON}$ reconstructed)	no. 55
8) Christie's "16" ( $\Delta\text{NOK}$ reconstructed)	no. 61
9) Ex-von Scherling Collection no. 20 ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	no. 59
10) Ex-von Scherling Collection no. 44 ( $\epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ reconstructed)	no. 24

**Documents with related formulae**

$\Delta\text{NOK } \Pi\Delta\text{CON NN } \epsilon\mathcal{Q}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$  formula

1) P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2	no. 7
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$\Delta\text{NON } \Pi\Delta\text{CON NN } \text{M}\bar{\text{N}} (\Pi\Delta\text{CON}) \text{NN } \epsilon\text{NC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$

1) <i>Herm.</i> 3	no. 28
2) BL Or. 6201 A300 ( $\epsilon\text{NC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$ restored; unpublished)	see §2.1

$\Delta\text{NOK } \Pi\Pi\Delta\Pi\Delta \text{NN } \text{M}\bar{\text{N}} \Pi\Delta\text{CON NN } \text{M}\bar{\text{N}} \text{NN } \epsilon\text{NC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$  formula

1) Princeton Univ. Inv. Nr. AM 15960 G	no. 29
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## ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCON NN ΕΙCΖΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS

Content	Ms.	no.
<b>LEGAL DOCUMENTS</b>		
Renunciation of property	<i>KSB</i> I 049	<b>49</b>
Guarantee	P. Schøyen 89/08	<b>50</b>
Debt acknowledgment	BL Or. 13886.35	<b>51</b>
	Christie's "10"	<b>52</b>
	CMAA Green "22"	<b>53</b>
	CUL Michael. 1201	<b>54</b>
	Christie's "15"	<b>55</b>
Undertaking concerning a deal (?)	P. Schøyen 89/07	<b>56</b>
<b>OTHER DOCUMENTS</b>		
Order	CUL Michael. 968	<b>57</b>
Letter	"Drescher text"	<b>58</b>
Fragments	"Ex-von-Scherling 20"	<b>59</b>
	Christie's "12"	<b>60</b>
	Christie's "16"	<b>61</b>

## RENUNCIATION OF PROPERTY

KSB I 049

350 (h) x 200 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>VIIIth C.<sup>2</sup>

Inv. no. P.Würzburg 43

Plates 33-34

Papyrus

**Preservation:** good quality papyrus with fine fibres; complete apart from a few holes.

Writing faded in places. (A) 18 lines and all margins except perhaps for the bottom one are preserved. On (B) are 4 lines continued from (A) and, at 180° to these, there is a 2 line docket.<sup>3</sup>

**Palaeography:** this text is written in four different hands. The main hand (hand 1) is a flowing, right-sloping majuscule with many ligatures,<sup>4</sup> and the characters are fairly regularly sized.  $\theta$  and  $\kappa$  are usually large;  $\theta$  has a narrow upper and triangular lower half (exx. in  $\epsilon\chi\omega\theta$  and  $\phi\omega\theta$  l. 8). The vertical strokes of  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ , and  $\phi$  can end in a hook curving up to the right. The  $\mu$  in  $\lambda\mu\mu\epsilon$  (ll. 5 and 6) resembles a  $\lambda$  and the right vertical of the  $\mu$  is part of the following  $\epsilon$ .<sup>5</sup> Parallels (cited in Brunsch 1981 p. 93): Stegemann 1936 pls. 11-13, and *Bal.* pl. 4.6 (no. 152, to which Kahle assigned a VII-VIIIth C. date).

Two of the signatories (hands 2-3) write in a clumsy majuscule; and a third (hand 4) has a more cursive and quite competent hand with many ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown. The contract probably comes from the archive of a monastery of Apa Apollo; an Hermopolite context is suggested by the introductory epistolary formula and the involvement of the headman of Senesla.<sup>6</sup>

**Acquisition:** Ulrich Wilcken bought this text in Egypt for Würzburg University Library at the beginning of this century.<sup>7</sup>

**Bibliography:** edited in Brunsch 1981; re-edited in Krause 1985b; and Brunsch 1987 adds further comments. Their readings are presented in a second apparatus (Apparatus B) which accompanies my transcription of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph. See §§3.7 and 3.10 for a discussion of its contents.

<sup>1</sup>According to Brunsch 1981 p. 93 this hand can be dated to the first half of this century.

<sup>2</sup>See Brunsch 1981 p.93.

<sup>3</sup>Bunsch 1981 p. 96 pp) speculated that there might be a third line in this docket.

<sup>4</sup>See Brunsch 1981 pp. 95-96 for details of these ligatures.

<sup>5</sup>Bunsch 1981 p. 95 g) shows a diagram of this ligature.

<sup>6</sup>Bunsch 1981 pp. 93 and 98 b) assigns a provenance of Bala'izah which he withdraws in 1987 p. 115 in favour of Bawit following Krause 1985b p. 146.

<sup>7</sup>Bunsch 1981 p. 93.

No. 49 II. 1-6

(A) Hand 1

+

- 1 ↑ + ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΙΣΑΚ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΙΣΣΔΙ ΜΠΑΙΚΑΔΙΟΝ ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙ-  
2 ΟΝ ΜΠΤ'ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΣΤΟΥΤΩ ΜΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥ'Υ'ΔΔΘ ΔΠΑ ΔΔΝΙΗΧ ΠΑΡΧΗΜΔΝ<sup>Δ</sup>  
3 ΔΥΩ ΠΙ[ΩΤ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ] ΔΕ ΠΙΪΤΗ ΕΡΕΜΔ Γ'ΣΙΝΔ Υ ΣΙΧΩΪ ΔΤΑΠΟΡΙΔ ΤΔΣΟΪ ΜΠΪΩΤΗΚΕ ΜΟΥ ΜΠΕΣΝΔ Υ ΔΪΠΑΡΔ-  
4 ΚΔΧΕΪ ΝΣΕΝΣΗΟΥ<sup>ΚΕΝΟ6 INI</sup> ΝΔΣΙΟΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΤΕΓΠΜΙΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΔΥΠΑΡΔΚ[ΔΧ]ΕΪ ΝΤΕΚΜΤΙΩΤ ΣΔΡΟΪ ΔΠΕΚΝΔ  
5 ΤΔΣΟΪ ΔΚΘΪ ΠΟΥΔ ΣΪΩΟΥ ΣΪΧΩΪ ΕΤΕΤΠΑΨΕ ΝΪΤ'ΙΧΙΜΝΕ ΤΕ ΔΚΩΠ Π'Δ'ΙΣΟΝ Γ'ΙΕΡΗΜΙΔΣ ΔΚΝΟΒ̄Σ ΕΧΩΪ  
6 ΕΤ'ΡΕΪΘΣΩΚ ΣΔ ΝΕΣΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ ΤΙΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΙΔΝΠΟΤΔCCE ΜΠΔΜΕΡΟΣ ΣΝ ΤΧΙΜΝΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΝΤΔΪΚΩΡΨ

225

Apparatus A (Divergences from standard forms)

- 1 ΜΟΝΔΧΟΣ 2 ΕΙΩΤ, ΔΡΧΗΜΔΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ 3 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ, ΔΙΔΙΚΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ 4 ΝΣΝΗΥ 4, 7, 8 ΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ  
5 ΘΙ, ΝΟΧ̄/ΝΔΧ̄ 5, 6 ΧΙΜΝΗ 6 ΕΤΡΕΦ-. ΤΕΝΟΥ, ΔΠΟΤΔCCE

Apparatus B (Readings of past editors)

- 3 ΓΝΙ[±14]ΤΗ Brunsch 1981 p. 94; ΠΙ[ΩΤ ΝΠΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΠΪΤΗ or ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΠΪ]ΤΗ Krause 1985b p. 147  
ΜΠΪΩΤΗΚΕ Brunsch 1981 p. 94; ΜΠΪΩΤΗΚΕ Krause 1985b p. 147  
4 (in ΚΕΝΟ6 N) N omitted in Brunsch 1981 p. 94  
ΔΪΠΑΡΔΚ[ΔΧ]ΕΪ Brunsch 1981 p. 94

No. 49 pl. 7-13

- 7 ΝΕΝΟΒ ΝCНΠΘΥ ΔΥΠΔΡΔΚ'Δ'Ι[Χ]Γ'ΕΙ'Ι ΝΤΕΚΜΤΪΩΤ Δ ΠΕΚΝΔ ΤΔ ΖΟΪ ΤΙΝΟΥ [Δ]ΙΕ ΠΩΝΕΝΕΓΕ ΜΠΤΟΠΟC Μ'Ν'Ι[ΤΕΚ]-  
8 ΜΤΙΩΤ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΚΔΪΙΕΡΕΜΪΔC ΠΗΝΤΔ ΥΝΟΥΧ ΠΜΔ ΕΧΩΘ ΖΔ Φ'Ω'Θ' ΙΝΤΠ'ΔΨΕ ΝΤ'Γ'Χ' ΙΙΜΝΕ' ΙΝΕΪΖΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
9 'Μ'ΙΠΔΩΠΞΨ ω'Δ'Ι [Ε]ΝΕΖ ΕΟΥΟΕΪΨ ΕΪΩΡΚ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΔΝΤΩΚΡΔ ΤΟΡ ΜΪ ΤΚΔΘΟΧΙΚΗ ΝΕΚΧΗCΙΑ  
10 ΜΪ ΠΕ'Υ'Ι ΔΔ'Ι ΜΠΕΘΡΟΝ[ΟC] ΜΠΕΝ'Ε'ΙΩ'Τ'Ι ΜΔΡΚΟC ΠΕΥΔΝΚΕΧΙCΤΗC ΧΝΝΙ'ΕΪ' ΕΘΟΧ ΕΠΙΖΩΘ ΨΔ ΕΝΕΖ  
11 ΕΟΥΟΕΪΨ ΕΪΩΔΝΟΥΨΩ ΔΕ ΕΕΙ ΕΘΟΧ ΕΤΠΔ-[lacuna c. 10 mm.]ΨΕ ΜΠΙΜΔ ΝΙΕΡΗΜ'Ι'Ι[ΔC] 'ΙΠΡΙΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ'ΕΪΕΥΦΕΧΕΙ  
12 ΝΧΔΔΥ ΔΛΛΔ 'ΕΪΕ'Ι'ΘΩ ΖΔ Π'Ε'Ι'ΦΟΡΙCΜΟC ΜΠΑΝΔΨ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΧΛΗΜΔ ΉΤΜΪΤρεψωΡΚ ΝΟΥΧ  
13 ΔΕΟΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΔ ΤΙ ΖΔ ΠΕΠΡΟCΤΙΜΟΝ ΝΤΠΑΡΑΘΔCΙC ΉΤΑΙΟΥ ΝΖΟΧΟΚ, ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΠΙΧΔΡΤΗ'ΘΩ ΕΘCΜΟΟ

226

Apparatus A

- 7 CННУ, ТΕΝΟΥ, ΠΗΔΨΕΝΔΓΕΙ 8 ΠΚΕΪΕΡΗΜΪΔC ΠΕΝΤΔΥ-, ΕΧΩΨ, ΉΖΟΟΥ 9 ΠΠΔΝΤΟΚΡΔ ΤΩΡ, ΕΚΚΧΗCΙΑ  
10 ΠΟΥΧΔΪ, ΠΕΥΔΝΚΕΧΙCΤΗC ΧΕ ΠΗΔΕΙ 11 ΠΗΔΨΕΧΕΙ 12 ΔΦΟΡΙCΜΟC ΜΠΑΝΔΨ, ΕΓΚΧΗΜΔ  
13 ΔΕΟΥΤΕΡΟΝ, ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC, ΧΔΡΤΙΟΝ, ΕΦCΜΟΝΤ

Apparatus B

- 7 ΝΩΝΕΤ ΖΕΜ Brunsch 1981 p. 94; ΕΠΩΝΕΝΕΓΕ Krause 1985b p. 149 M.I.44 ΤΕΚ) Brunsch 1981 p. 94  
9 ΠΔΝΤΩΚΡΔ ΤΩΡ Brunsch 1981 p. 94  
10 ΠΪ Brunsch 1981 p. 94 ΜΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC ΜΠΕΝ'Ε'ΙΩ'Τ'Ι Krause 1985b p. 149, refuted by Brunsch 1987 p. 116 ΠΕΪΤ'ΙΡΟC] 'ΜΝ ΜΔΡ'ΙΚΟC Brunsch 1981 p. 94  
11 ΜΝΕΙΟΥΦΕΧΕΙ Brunsch 1981 p. 94; ΕΥΦΕΧΕΙ Krause 1985b p. 149  
13 ΧΔΡΤΗ Brunsch 1981 p. 94

No. 49 II. 14-18

14 ΖΝΜΔ ΝΓΙΜ ΕΓΥΝΙΔ(±4)ΦΔΝΙCΘΕ ΜΟΘ ΝΖΗΤῶ ΕΙΔΕ ΔΡΧΗ ΕΙΤΕ ΕΞΟΥCΙΑΔ (Hd2) + ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝΙCΔΚ  
15 ΠΝΤΔΘΨΗΡΠCΖΔΙ ΤΙCΤΗΧΙ ΕΤΙΔΠΟΤΔΚΗ ΠΡΟC ΘΕ ΕCCHΖ ΜΟC ΔΥΩ ΔΙΚΩΡῶ ΖΝΚΕCΝΗΟΥ ΔΥΕΡΜΤ'ΡΕ' ΕΡΟCΤ

15 continued (Hd1) x  
(±3) ΠΔ Δ'  
ΙΝΔ/ΙC +

16 (Hd3)  
+ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΨΕΔΘΡΔΖΔΜ (Hd1) ΔΓΥ'Ω Π'ΔΠ'Ε Ν.ΕΚ ΤΙ'Ο ΝΜΕΤΡΕ' +  
17 (Hd4)  
+ ΔΓ'ΝΟΚ' ΓΔ' ΠΨΕΠΜΔΚΔΡΙΟC ΤΔΥΡΙΝΕ ΠΡΩΜΤΔΠΟΓCΙ' ΤΙΟ ΝΜΝΤΡΕ ΤΙ'Δ'ΠΟΔΔΚ'Η' ΤΔ' ΙΝΤΙΕΜΕΡΟC Θ +

( ±9 ) ΝΜΟC +

18 (±4) ΕΘΟΧ

Apparatus A

14 ΖΜ, ΕΜΦΔΝΙΖΕCΘΕ Μ'ΜΟΔ, ΕΙΤΕ 15 ΠΕΝΤΔΨ(Ε)ΡΠCΖΔΙ ΤΙCΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΕΤΙΔΠΟΤΔΓΙΟΝ, Μ'ΜΟC, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC 16 ΠΨ(Ε)Ν- 17 ΤΙΟ ΜΝΤΡΕ ΕΤΙΔΠΟΤΔΓΙΟΝ

Apparatus B

14 ΕΥΝΔΕΜΦΔΝΙCΘΕ Krause 1985 p. 150, disputed in Brunsch 1987 p. 116 ΝΙΙΜ [±14] [Ε]+ΔΝΙCΘΕ Brunsch 1981 p. 94 ΠΔCΟΝ omitted in Brunsch 1981 p. 94, noted in Krause 1985b p. 150  
15 "Spuren von ±4 Buchstaben" Brunsch 1981 p. 96 y)  
16 Π.Π.Ε.Ν(?)Κ / Brunsch 1981 p. 96 n. aa) Γ'ΜΝΤΡΕ' Brunsch 1981 p. 94  
17 ... Brunsch 1981 p. 94 (Γ'Δ'... p. 96 dd) ΤΔΠΙΟC Brunsch 1981 p. 94 ΤΔΠΟCΙ Brunsch 1981 p. 94 Cω...ΡΟC ΘΙ...(±9)ΜΟC + suggested in Brunsch 1981 p. 96 n. ff).  
18 gap (±3) Ψ'Δ' ΕΘΟΧ Brunsch 1981 p. 94

No. 49 II. 19-24

(B) (Hd 1)

19↑ СΗΜΙΟΝ ΛΑΔΑΡΟΣ СЕНΕΙΣ'ΑΔ

†-†-†-† + ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΠΕ ΛΑΔΑΡΟΣ ΠΡΩΜСЕНЕС ΛΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΟΥΚΕΡΙΑ ἸΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΔΩ ΠΩΗ ἸΤΝΟΥ'ΙΤ'  
ΠΡΩΤΩΚΩΜΗΤΟ'ΙΣ'

20 2Δ ΤΕΠΙΔΙΡΗΣΙ'Ι ΝΔΠΔ ΦΟ'ΙΘ'ΙΔΜ'Ω'ΙΝ Γ'Π'Δ ΤΔΠΟΚΡ'Η'ΙC'ΙC Δ'Ε'Ι'ΙCΔΚ ΚΟΡ'Ω'ΙΤ ΔΙΕΡΜΤΡΕ ΕΤΙΔΠΟΤΔΚΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ  
ΕCCH2 ΜOC

21 ΔΥΩ ΔΥΩψC ΕΡΟΝ ΤΗΡC ΔΝΟΚ ΓΕΩ'Ρ'Ι'Γ'ΙΔ ΠΩΠΠΜΔΚΔΡΙOC Μ'ΙΝΕ ΔΘΚΟΡΨΤ Γ'Δ'Ι'ΙC2ΔΙ 2ΔΡ'Ο'ΙΘ ΝΤΔ6ΙΧ ΔΕ ΜΕΑΝΟ'Ι

22 NC2ΔΙ Γ'Κ'Ι'Δ'Α'Χ'ΩC

228

At 180°

23↑ + ΤΔΠΟΔΔΚΗ ΝΙ'CΔ'ΙΚ (±4) Γ'Π'Δ ΠΕΧΝΔ2 2ΔΤ-

24 [ΠΔψΕ] Γ'ΝΤΧΙΜΝΗ'

Apparatus A

- 19 ΛΑΔΑΡΟΣ, ΠΡΩΤΟΚΩΜΗΤΗΣ, ΟΥΕΥΚΔΙΡΙΔ, ΕΧἸ-
- 20 ΕΠΙΤΗΡΗΣΙC, ΦΟΙΘΔΜΩΝ, ΤΔΙΔΠΟΚΡ'ΙC'ΙC, ΔΙΡΜἸΤΡΕ ΕΤΙΔΠΟΤΔΓΙΟΝ
- 21 Πψ(Ε)Μ-, ΔΨΚΟΡΨΤ, 2ΔΡΟψ, ΜΕΦΝΟCΙ
- 23 ΔΠΟΤΔΓΗ

Apparatus B

- 19 ΠΡΩΤΩΚΩΜΗΤΟ'Ι'Υ'Ι Brunsch 1981 p. 94 ΤΔΠΕ Brunsch 1981 p. 94
- 20 ΤΕΠΙ...ΡΗ... [Ν]ΔΠΔ ΦΟ'ΙΘ'ΙΔΜΟΝ ΤΔΙΔΠΟΚΡ'Η'ΙC'ΙC Brunsch 1981 p. 95
- 21 Δ...ψ ΠΡΩ'ΙΜ'Ε'Ι... Brunsch 1981 p. 95 .εωο... Brunsch 1981 p. 95
- 23 ... ΔΠΕ .ΝΔC2ΔΙ Brunsch 1981 p. 95
- 24 .....ΙΜ'ἸΝἸ Brunsch 1981 p. 95

- Parties** (1 Hd. 1) I, brother (ΠΑΧΩΝ) Isak, the monk (μόναχος) of the *topos* (τόπος) of Apa Apollo, am writing to the *dikaion* (δίκαιον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) (2) of the *topos* (τ.) of Apa Apollo through the God-loving, holy father Apa Daniel, the archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) (3) and father [of the monastery (τ.).]
- Preamble** Whereas (ἐπειδή) I have two places, I was perplexed (ἀπορία) (because) I could not see to (διοικεῖν) both of them. I asked (παρακαλεῖν) (4) some trustworthy (ἀξιόπιστος) great men of the monastery (μ.), and they asked (π.) your fatherhood on my behalf. You were merciful (5) with me and you took one of the ones I had, which was the cistern (λίμνη) -half. You took my brother Jeremias and you assigned it to him (6) so that he submitted to its *demosion* (δημόσιον).
- Renunciation** Now indeed (δέ) I renounce (ἀποτάσσειν) my share (μέρος) in the cistern (λ.) as (πρός) I requested (7) of the great brothers, they asked (π.) your fatherhood and you were merciful to me.
- Waiver of suit** Now indeed (δέ) I will not be able to proceed against (ἐνάγειν) the *topos* (τ.), nor your (8) fatherhood, nor (οὐδέ) even Jeremias, he who was assigned the place for the work of the cistern (λ.) -half for all the days (9) of my life, forever and ever.
- Oath** I swear by Almighty God and the universal (καθολικός) church (ἐκκλησία) and (10) the safety of the throne (θρόνος) of our father Markos the evangelist (εὐαγγελιστής), that I will never proceed against this affair. (11) Indeed (δέ) if I wish to sue for half of Jeremias' place, firstly (πρῶτον) indeed (μέν) I will not make any profit (ὠφελεῖν) (12) but will stand by the excommunication (ἀφορισμός) of my oath and the charge (ἔγκλημα) of not swearing falsely.
- Penalty** (13) Secondly (δεύτερον) indeed (δέ) I will pay as the penalty (πρόστιμον) for transgression (παράβασις) fifty solidi (ὀλοκόττινος),
- Security** and the document (χαρτίον) will remain settled (14) every where it is opened (ἐμφανίσθαι?), either (εἴτε) by a ruler (ἀρχή) or (εἴ.) by a power (ἐξουσία).
- Contractor's signature** (Hand 2) I, brother Isak, (15 Hand 1) he who wrote above, agree (στοιχεῖν) to this renunciation (ἀποταγή) according (πρός) to the way it was written and I asked some other brothers to witness it
- Date** + ... Pachon (?) 1 (?) indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 15 +

**Witness 1** (16 Hand 3) I, Apollo, son of Abraham, (Hand 1) and ... bear witness.

**Witness 2** (17 Hand 4) I, ..., son of the late (μακάριος) Taurine, of Taposi (?), bear witness to this renunciation (ἀ.) ... share (μ.) 2 + ... it (18) ...

**Signatory** (19 Hand 1) sign (σημείον) Lasaros of Senesla

+—+—+—+

*protocometes* (πρωτοκωμήτης)

I, the chief *protocometes* (π.) Lasaros, of Senesla. At (κατά) a good time (εὐκαιρία) I came to the pit of the basin/Tnout (20) under the supervision (ἐπιτήρησις) of Apa Phoibamon, the man (in charge?) of this judgment (ἀπόκρισις).

**Witness 3** Isak asked me and I bore witness to this renunciation (ἀ.) according to (π.) the way it was written. (21) It was all read out to us.

**Scribe** I Georgia, son of the late (μ.) Mine, he asked me and I wrote on his behalf with my own hand because he cannot (νοεῖν) (22) write well (καλῶς).

**Docket** (23) The renunciation (ἀ.) of Isak (...) the one of the forearm/Pejnah (?) for the (24) [half] of the cistern (λ.).

### Transcription notes

3 ΠΙ[ΩΤ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ]: alternatively, as suggested by Krause 1985b p. 147, ΠΙ[ΩΤ ΜΠΤΟΟΥ] "the father of the monastery" should be restored here, see no. 28 l. 3. Both of these are more probable than Krause's (1985b p. 147) second suggested reconstruction of ΠΙ[ΠΡΕΘΥΤΕΡΟΣ "the priest" based on BL Or. 6203 l. 15 (see §2.1.1).

6 ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ: the Η is written over the top of what was originally an ε.

11 ϚΠΡΩΤΟΝ: the Ο resembles a C.

ΝΝΕΙΕΥΦΕΛΕΙ: the first Ν is written smaller and flatter than the second.

14·εϚΥΝΔ(±4)ΦΔΝΙΘΕ: ΕΥΝΔΕΜΦΔΝΙΘΕ should be interpreted here. Following εϚΥΝΔ an ῑ may be visible but neither ε nor Μ is legible before -ΦΔΝΙΘΕ.

15 (±3) ϚΠΔ<sup>x</sup> Δ<sup>1</sup>: this reading is very uncertain. Before the month one would expect to read something like ΕΓΡ(ΔΦΗ) Μ(ΗΝΙ) "Written in the month of".

16 Π' ΔΠ' Ε Ν( ) ΕΚ: a reading of Π' ω' ΕΝ .ΕΚ is not out of the question.<sup>1</sup> There is space for more than one narrow letter between the Ν and Ε of Ν.ΕΚ. Brunsch (1981 p. 96 n. aa)) suggests that Π.ΠΕ.Ν(?)ΙΚ, be read; the Κ, however, does not bear an abbreviatory

<sup>1</sup>None of the names ending -ΕΚ recorded in Heuser *PN* appear to be suitable (the shortest ones are ΒΕΚ, ΚΟΜΠΕΚ, CΔΘΕΚ and ΤΔΘΕΚ).

diagonal stroke but is written, as in, eg. ω̄ϛ̄ in l. 12 above, with an hook extending upwards to the right at the bottom of the descending vertical.

ΤΙ'Ο ΝΜΕΤΡΕΙ †: no further letters appear to have been written after this.

17 † Δ'ΝΟΚ' Δ': a reading of ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΝ with the name omitted before the patronymic cannot be ruled out here.

23 (±4) 'Π'ΔΠΕΧΝΔΖ: no letters are discernible before 'Π'ΔΠΕΧΝΔΖ and this space may have been left blank because it was to be covered by something which bound the papyrus when rolled or folded up.

23-24 ΖΔΤ-[ΠΔΩΕ] 'ΝΤΛΙΜΝΗ': the reconstruction of ΠΔΩΕ rather than μέρος is supported by the feminine definite article (Τ-) preceding it.

### Translation notes

1-2 ΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ: noteworthy here is the description "monastery of the *topos* of Apa Apollo", see §3.5. The meaning of τόπος is discussed at §4.1.

3 On the interpretation of ΖΪΧΩ here, see Brunsch 1981 p. 99 f), Krause 1985b p. 147, and Brunsch 1987 p. 115.

ΤΗΚΕ <Μ>ΜΟΟΥ: this is interpreted following Krause 1985b pp. 147-148 rather than Brunsch 1981 p. 97 (and reaffirmed with several examples in Brunsch 1987 pp. 115-116), who reads ΤΙ ΠΚΕΜΟΟΥ "(ich konnte den beiden kein) weiteres Wasser (mehr) geben".

4-5, and 7 ΔΥΠΑΡΔΚΔΛΕΙ ... ΔΠΕΚΝΔ ΤΔΖΟΪ: see the translation note to no. 23 l. 3 for similar phrases, and *Bal.* nos. 102 ll. 10-11 (ΔΝΠΑΡΔΚΔΛΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΔΠΕΚΝΔ ΤΔΖΟΝ) and 228 ll. 10-11 (ΔΝΠΑΡΔΚΔΛΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΔΠΕΦΝΔ ΤΔΖΟΪ).

5 ΛΙΜΝΗ: I translate this as "cistern" because λίμνη can refer to an artificial basin or a naturally formed wetland;<sup>1</sup> Krause (1985b p. 152) translates "Feuchtland",<sup>2</sup> and Brunsch (1981 p. 97 ll. 5, 6, and 8) "Zisterne". See translation note to 19 below.

6 CΩΚ ΖΔ ΝΕCΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ: this was translated by "aufkomme für ihre Bodensteuer". See the *Aparché* collection clause in §5.5 for the use of the verb CΩΚ in texts concerning the collection of ἀπαρχή by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

ΝΕC-: one would expect ΝΕΥ- here if, as Krause maintains (1985b p. 148), Jeremias was to pay the taxes for both properties in question here.

ΔΗΜΟCΙΟΝ: as this is plural, it may be interpreted as "money taxes" (see §3.7) rather than "rent" (see §3.7).

ΔΝΠΟΤΔCCE: although the middle form is the more appropriate usage here, the Copto-Greek form is active. For this phenomenon compare the forms of the verb found in the

<sup>1</sup>LSJ 1050b; according to the *OED*, the English word "cistern" conveys both of these nuances. A cistern (λίκκος) is mentioned in one of the unpublished deeds of sale drawn up by a monk of one of the Hermopolite nome monasteries of Apa Apollo, BL Or. 6201 l. 66 (see §2.1.1).

<sup>2</sup>None of the other meanings included in LSJ are mentioned.

**Agreement clause** discussed in §5.5. See Krause 1985b p. 147 and Brunsch p. 115 for uses of ἀποτάσσειν and ἀποτάσσεσθαι in Coptic documents.

9-10 ΕΪΩΡΚ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΟΡ Μῆ ΤΚΔΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΝΕΚΛΗΣΙΑ Μῆ ΠΕΪΥΪΧΔΪ ΜΠΕΘΡΟΝ[ΟC] ΜΠΕΝ΄ΕΪΩ΄ΤΪ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕΥΔΝΚΕΧΙCΤΗC: for this oath, see Brunsch 1981 p. 102 j), and *Bal.* p. 47, which lists two more occurrences of the use of the καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία in the oath formula of Coptic documents: *Ep.* I p. 116 and *RAC* 100 (= Louvre no. 2).<sup>1</sup>

11 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΧ Ε-: the Coptic equivalent of the Greek ἐνάγειν, a term found in ἀποταγή documents.<sup>2</sup>

12 ΕΦΟΡΙCΜΟC: for the excommunication clause in legal documents, see Krause 1985b pp. 149-50.

13 For the penalty clause, see Brunsch 1981 p. 102 k).

ΧΔΡΤῆ: the same form of χαρτίον occurs in no. 52 l. 15.

14 For the security clause, see Brunsch 1981 pp. 102-103 l); compare ΤΙΠΡΔCΙC ΘΩ ΕCСMONT ΕCΙCΧΕΙ ΖΙΘΗ ΝΔΡΧ ΝΙМ ΖΙ ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΝΙМ ΖΙ ΜΔΝΙМ ΕΥΝΔΕΜΦΔΝΙCΘΔΙ ΜΜΟC ΝΖΗΤϩ in BL Or. 6204 ll. 56-8 (see §2.1.1).<sup>3</sup>

17 For the place name Taposi see §4.5.

19 CHMION, +++: see the translation note to l. 10 of no. 27 for this usage.

ΠΑΠΕ: for the masculine gender of ΔΠΕ when used, as here, as a title, see Crum *CD* 13b (ΔΠΕ).

ΚΔΤΔ ΕΟΥΚΕΡΙΔ: this phrase also occurs in two VIIIth C. Coptic papyri from Aphrodito, *P. Lond.* IV 1628 ll. 1 and 3 (ΚΔΤΔ ΕΥΚΔΙΡΙΔ), and 1641 l. 1 (ΚΔΤΔ ΕΥΚΙΕΡΙΔ).

ΤΝΟΥ΄ΤΪ: the place name Tnout occurs in five ostraca from Bawit bearing the ωΙΝΕ ἸCΔ-formula (*MIFAO* forthcoming nos 42, 43, 44, 46 and 47, see §3.3.2.1); since ΝΟΥΤ is equivalent to Greek λίμνη (see, eg. Crum *CD* p. 229b), it may refer to the ΛΙΜΝΗ mentioned earlier in ll. 5, 6, and 8.

21 ΔΥΟΩC ΕΡΟΝ ΤΗΡῪ: for this phrase, see, e.g., a house sale document from Djeme, *CPR* IV 26 l. 55 (dated c. 760 C.E.).

ΓΕΩ΄Ρ΄ΓΙΔ: this is only recorded as a feminine name in Heuser *PN* p. 79.

23 ΄ΠΪΔΠΕΧΝΔΖ: this may be translated literally as "the one of the fore-arm"/"the one of violence" (see Crum *CD* p. 777a ΧΝΔΖ) or as "the one of Pejnah", in which case Pejnah is an unattested place name.

<sup>1</sup>On the meaning of καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, see Steinwenter 1930 p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Krause 1985b p. 149; Brunsch 1987 p. 114.

<sup>3</sup>Krause 1985b p. 150.

# 50

## GUARANTEE

P. Schøyen 89/08

110 (h) x 90 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 35

**Preservation:** (A) 14 lines and all margins are preserved; there are two lacunae; the text is inscribed on an essentially rectangular piece of papyrus although the left margin is indented from ll. 7-14; (B) the beginning of a one-line docket written at 90° to the text on (A) is preserved along with two lines written in a different hand and belonging to another text.

**Palaeography:** a majuscule hand with many ligatures. A superlinear stroke is employed over a diphthongal i (ΔΙCΖΔΙ l. 12).

**Provenance:** unknown. This document was issued by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo for which the epistolary formula ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ suggests an Hermopolite context.

**Acquisition:** See §2.4.1.

The subject of this guarantee is not now obvious but its format suggests that it may have concerned the collection of *aparchê*, see §5.5.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

(A)

1→ + ΔΝΟΚ [ΠΔ]CΟΝ ΙΩCΗΦ  
 2 ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΜΠΜΔ ΝΔ-  
 3 ΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΙCΖΔΙ  
 4 ΜΠΔC'ΟΝ Δ'ΙΩΩΡ ΠΜΟ-  
 5 ΝΟΧΟC Μ[Π]'Ι'ΙΤΟΠΟC ΔΕ  
 6 ΕΠΙΤΕ [±4]ΠΙΘΕ ΝΕ-  
 7 ΜΔ ≠ ]Δ. ΝΔ.[.] (±2)...  
 8 Δ]ΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΙΩCΗΠ  
 9 ΜΝ ΠΔCΟΝ ΙCΔΚ  
 10 ΤΝΟ ΜΜΕΤΡ ΔΝΟΚ  
 11 ΠΔCΟΝ ΠΙΝΟΥΚ  
 12 ΔΙCΖΔΙ ΔΥΩ +Ο  
 13 ΜΜΕΤΡ ΕΓΡΔΦ ΦΔ-  
 14 Ρ ΙΒ ΙΝΔ // 'ΙΒ +Θ'

(B) Docket

15→ ' + ' ΤΔCΦΔ' λ' [ΕΙΔ ΝΙΩCΗΦ?

2,4-5 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 6 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ, ΠΕΙΘΕ 8 ΙΩCΗΦ 10, 13 ΜΗΤΡΕ  
 13 ΕΓΡΔΦΗ 13-14 ΦΔΡΜΟΥΘΙ 14 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

**Parties** (1) + I, brother (ΠΔCΘN) Joseph, (2) the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery of (3) Apa Apollo, am writing (4) to (my) brother Jôôr, the monk (μ.) (5) of this monastery (τοπός).

**Agreement** (6) Whereas (ἐπειδή) ... agreed ((-)πείθειν) with (7) ...

**Witnesses 1 & 2** (8) I, brother Josep (9) and brother Isak, (10) we bear witness.

**Witness 3, Scribe** I, (11) brother Pinouk, (12) wrote and bear (13) witness.

**Date** Written (γράφειν) Pharmouthi (14) 12, indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 12 (?) + θ (?)

**Docket** (15) + The guarantee (ἀσφάλεια) [of Joseph (?)].

### Transcription notes

4 Ϟ' Ϟ' ω ω ρ: this reading is more likely than Ϟ ω ω ρ.

6-7 [±4] ΠΙΘΕ ΝΕ[ΜΔ ...]. Δ. ΝΔ.[.](±2)...: following ΕΠΙΤΕ there is space for approximately four letters which would allow a reading of ΔΙCΜ̄ΠΙΘΕ "I agreed (συμπείθειν)"; following this either ΝΕΜΔϥ or ΝΕΜΔΥ "with him/them" is possible (see §5.5).

14 Ϟ' Ϟ' + θ': the beta is open, unlike the one which occurs earlier in this line. If Ϟ' cannot be read, the last two letters in this line may be interpreted as Ϟ' Ϟ' "99", the numerical equivalent of "Amen". In this event, a single letter would represent the year, possibly an Η.

### Translation notes

4 Ϟ' Ϟ' ω ω ρ: a Ϟ ω ω ρ of ΠΜΔ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΝΟΥΠ "the monastery of Apa Anoup" occurs in *CPR XX 20 l. 4*, an ostrakon which bears the ω|ΝΕ ΝCΔ-formula and so possibly relates to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit (see §3.3.2.1). The name Jôôr is rarely attested in Coptic and Greek manuscripts;<sup>1</sup> there was a martyr with this name, a shepherd from Pjinjef near Achmim.<sup>2</sup>

8 Ϟ' ω Ϟ' Η Π: this is presumably the same man who writes this letter (Ϟ' ω Ϟ' Η Ϟ' l. 1), and **no. 56**. Preisigke *NB* records one example of the name 'Ιωσῆπ for the VIth C.

11 ΠΙΝΟΥΚ: this personal name is not recorded in Heuser *PN*, Preisigke *NB* or Foraboschi *OA*. A monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun may have been named Ϟ' ΙΝΟΥΚΕ, see **no. 32 l. 1**.

13-14 Ϟ' Δ Ϟ' Ϟ': Pharmouthi 12th = 7th April.

<sup>1</sup>See Heuser *PN* p. 43 (contrary to the comment made about this name in *CPR XX 20 l. 4*), *Bal.* no. 339 l.1, and *Ryl.* p. 213. For the Greek equivalent of this name, see Preisigke *NB* s.v. Τζωωρ.

<sup>2</sup>See Coquin 1975 p. 210 l. 54 and pp. 230-231; Orlandi 1991 p. 1370; and *BM* no. 337.

# 51

## DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

BL Or. 13886.35

160 (h) x 95 (w) mm.

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 36

**Preservation:** 17 lines and only the top margin are preserved. The one line docket (l. 18) is extremely faint.

**Paleography:** a majuscule hand with a few ligatures; although irregularly spaced and sized it is not incompetent. Minuscule η.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** See §2.2.

Enoch, a monk from a monastery of Apa Apollo, has borrowed five solidi from another monk from his monastery, the scribe Hor, and he promises to repay them.

(A)

1↑

+

2    ΖΝ Π]ΡΔΝ Ν' Π' [Ν]ΟΥΤΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔ CON[  
 3    ΕΝΩ?]Χ ΠΜΟΝΟ' Χ' ΟC ΝΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΦΔ[ΓΙΟC ΔΠΔ  
 4    ΔΠΟΧ]ΧΩ ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΝΠΨΔΖ ΖΩΡ ΠΜΟ' Ν' [ΟΧΟC  
 5    ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟ]C ΝΟΥΩΤ ΔΕ ' Π' ΔΗ ΔΙΠΔΡΔ[ΚΔΧ-  
 6    Ε]Ι ΝΔΙ ΝΤ' Ψ' ΝΖΟΧΟΚΤ' / ΝΟΥ' Γ' [ ]  
 7    Μ]ΗΤCΝΟΟC ΝΤΩΒΕ ΠΕΘ' Ο' [ ]  
 8    Τ]ΕΤΔΡΤΗC ΙΝΔ / ΤΔΡΕΕΡΖ[ ]  
 9    ]Ο ΤΔΡΕΕ' Τ' Ι ΝΠ' Τ' Ψ' Γ' Ν' [ ]  
 10    ]ΕΡΕΠ[Ν]ΟΥΤΕ ΝΔΤΟΨΓΕ [ ]  
 11    Ν]ΤΟΚ Π' Ε' ΨΔΖ ΖΩΡ ΤΠΔΨ [ ]  
 12    ]ΤΔΝΚ' Δ' ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΠΕ [ ]  
 13    ]Ω ΖΝ ΤΕΝΜΗΤΕ ΔΕ ΟΥΚ [ ]  
 14    ]'C' Τ (±2) ΕΙΩΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΥΤ [Ε ΜΝ  
 15    Π]ΕΥΔΔ' ΝΔ ΤΔΡΧΕCΘ [ΔΙ ΕΔΩΝ?  
 16    ]'Ο' ΝΠ [Ι]ΧΔ' Ρ' Τ' Η' ΝΘΗ [ ΕCCHΖ ΜΜΟC  
 17    ]...Τ [ ]... [ ]... [ ]...

(B)

18→ Δ] Γ' Ν' ΟΚ ΠΔ [5 mm.] CON Γ' ΕΝΩ' ... [ ]

2 ΖΝ, ΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ 3 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC ΠΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΦΔΓΙΟC 4 ΜΨΔΖ, ΜΟΝΔΧΟC  
 5 ΜΠΙΤΟΠΟC, ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 6 ΤΙΟΥ ΝΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΙ ΝΝΟΥΘ 7 ΜΝΗΤCΝΟΟΥC  
 8 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC ΤΔΡΙΡΖΙ (?) 9 ΤΔΡΙΤΙ ΠΠΙΤΙΟΥ 13 ΤΗ- 14 ΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 15 ΠΟΥΔΔΙ ΝΝΕΤΔΡΧΕCΘΕ 16 ΠΠΙΧΔΡΤΗC ΝΘΕ

<b>Invocation</b>	(1) + (2) In the name of God.
<b>Parties</b>	I, brother (ΠΑΔΟΝ) (3) [Eno]ch, the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τ.) of the holy (ἅγιος) [Apa? (4) Apol]lo, am writing to the scribe Hor, the monk (μ.) (5) of this same monastery (τόπος).
<b>Debt</b>	Whereas (ἐπειδή) I asked (παρακαλεῖν) for (6) myself five gold solidi (ὀλοκότινος) ... (7) twelfth of Tybi ... (8) fourth (τέταρτος) indiction (ἰνδικτίων) then I shall (?) ... (9) ... then I shall give these five ... (10) ... God will ordain it ... (11) you are the scribe Hor, the half ... (12) ... put (?) God and the (?) ... (13) ... in our midst ... (14) ...
<b>Oath</b>	I swear by God and (15) the well-being of those who rule (ἄρχεσθαι) [over us ? ...] (16) ... this document (χάρτης) as [it was written] (17) ...
<b>Docket</b>	(18) I, brother (ΠΑΔΟΝ) Enoch ...

### Transcription notes

7 ΠΕΘ'ΘΙ[: this may be reconstructed as ΠΕΘΘΛ.

8 ΤΔΡΕ(Ε)-: this is possibly to be interpreted as a variant of the form ΤΔΡΕΕῖ- in l. 9; see translation note to l. 9.

15 ΔΡΧΕΘ[ΔΙ: this form is restored following *Bal.* no. 52 l. 36 which records ΔΡΧΕΙΘΔΙ. **No. 27** l. 9 has the more orthodox active form ΔΡΧΕ.

16 ΝΘΗ| ΕCCHZ ΜΜΟC: ΕΦCHZ is also possible; see the translation note to ll. **15-16** of **no. 2** for the reconstruction of this clause.

### Translation notes

7 Μ|ΗΤCΝΟΟC ΝΤΩΘΕ: Tybi 12th = 7/8th January.

9 ΤΔΡΕΕῖ-: see the translation note to l. 9 of **no. 27** for the use of ΤΔΡΕ-. A similar form of the first person singular ΤΔΡΕ- prefix may also have been written in **no. 53** l. 11 (ΤΔΡ|Ε|Ι-). The first person singular of this prefix is often expressed by the Conjunctive form ΤΔ-.<sup>1</sup> In *Bal.* p. 190 §158, Kahle noted that the form ΤΔΡΕΙ- occurs frequently in documents; and he provided a number of examples of this form in his analysis of the clause which follows the oath in legal documents (*Bal.* pp. 190-192 §159). In this list of examples, ΤΔΡ(Ε)Ι- (*Bal.* p. 191 a-c, e) occurs far more frequently than ΤΔ- (*Bal.* p. 192 r)).

14-15 ΕΙΩΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΜΝ Π|ΕΥΧΔῖ ΝΔ ΤΔΡΧΕΘ[ΔΙ ΕΧΩΝ: for the oath sworn by God and “those who rule over us”, see Seidl 1935 p. 142 ζ which cites other VIIth and VIIIth C. examples (n. 5).

<sup>1</sup>See Green 1983b p. 133.

## DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT (?)

Christie's "10"

c. 170 (h) x c. 95 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 37

**Preservation:** (A) 17 lines and upper margin only; (B) 3 lines, the surface of the papyrus is partially obscured by a mud-like substance.

**Palaeography:** competent, right-sloping majuscule with a few ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown. The introductory epistolary formula suggests that this document was issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. This context is supported by the acquisition details. Pmansôlk in l.17 may be interpreted as a place name (see §4.6).

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This document may be connected with *aparchê* collection, in which case it could be interpreted as an undertaking to collect the money, wheat and barley specified. It mentions the phrase ΝΕΜΔ ΕΤΗΠ Ε- "the places which belong to", and the word ΚΟΤC "neighbourhood", both of which feature in *aparchê* collection documents, see §5.5.

In l. 17 ΠΜΔΝΩΓ'ΩΧΚ<sup>1</sup> may be interpreted as a place name, see §4.6, or literally as "the place of weaving/stitching".

(A)

1↑

+

2 Π ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΖΔΤΡΕ ΠΜΟ'ΝΙ[ΟΧΟC ... ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟ-

3 ΧΧΩ ΕΙCΖΔΙ'ΙΜΙΠΔCΟΝ ΨΔΖ ΓΕΩΡ[ΓΕ ?

4 ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΔΙΠΔΡΔΚΔΧ'Ι ΝΜΙ[ΟΚ

5 ΩΤΕΘ ΜΝΝΕ'ΙΜΔ'Ι ΕΤΗΠ ΓΕ'Ι[

6 ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΧΧ'ΙΩ'Ι[

7 .ΗC ΓΙΝΙΔ<sup>0</sup>/ΤΔΤΙ ΝΔΚ ΖΔ ΠΕ..[

8 (±2)..Μ..ΓΝΙ(±3)C ΝCΟΓΥ'Ι..[

9 γλ, χρ ν<sup>0</sup> ι Ι σλ, αρ<sup>τ</sup> β = Ι κρ<sup>θ</sup> αρ<sup>τ</sup> β. ΓΝΙ[

10 ( ±9 ) [

11 ΝΤΙΓΡ'Ι..[ ±4 ]..ΩΤ.[

12 ΖΟΧΩ( ±5 )ΕΡΩΜΕ.[

13 ( ±8 )ΝΔΚ ΖΔ[

14 ΡΔΓΤ'ΙΩΡΧ ΕΝΕΙΕΩΓ'ΠΙ[ΔΡΔΘΔ ±? ΠΙ-

15 ΓΧ'ΙΔΡΤΝ ΝΘΕ ΕΦΧΖ[ ΜΜΟC (±?) Ν-

16 ΤΔΦΩΓ'Ε'ΙΡΕΠCΖ[ΔΙ]..[

<sup>1</sup>The papyrus is badly crumpled and so its size can only be estimated.

17 ΠΔΠΜΔΝΩΨΓΩΧΚΙ[  
 (B)  
 18→  
 19 ΖΔΤΡΕ ΖΔ ΤΚΟΤ( ±7 )  
 20 Δ.. CΙΤ ΔΡΤ Γ'Θ' ΚΡ/ ( ±6 )

2 ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ 4 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΠΔΡΔΚΔΔΛΕΙ 5 ΝΜΔ 7 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ 9 γίνεται χρυσού νομισμα(τι)α,  
 Γ = και, σίτου ἀρτάβαι, = = 1/2 (?), κριθῆς 15 ΧΔΡΤΙΟΝ 16 ΨΡΠ-

**Parties** (1) + (2) I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Hatre the monk (μόναχος) [...  
 of Apa] (3) Apollo, am writing to my brother the scribe Geor[ge ? ...  
**Background** (4) Whereas (ἐπειδή) I asked (παρακάλειν) you (?) ...  
**Assignment?** ... (5) ... and the places which belong to ...  
**Beneficiary?** ... (6) Apa Apollo ...  
**Collection date?** (7) ...-th indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων)  
**Payment** and I give you for ... (8) ... of day (?) ...  
**Total** (9 Greek) Total gold solidi 10 and artabas of wheat 2<sup>1/2</sup> (?)  
 and artabas of barley 2 ... (10) ... (11) of this (?)...  
 ... (12) ... man ... (13) .... (to) you for (?) ...  
**Oath?** ... (14) be invalid. I will not be able to [transgress ?... this  
 ?] (15) document (χαρτίον) as it is written ...  
**Issuer's affirmation?** .... (16) he who wrote above ... (17) the one  
 belonging to Pmanšôlk/the place of weaving ...  
**Docket** (18) ... (19) Hatre for the neighbourhood ... (20) ... (Greek)  
 artabas of wheat (σίτος) 12 (?), barley (κριθή) ...

### Transcription notes

- 1 ΠΜΟΓΝΙ[ΟΧΟΣ: restore ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ/ΜΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ/ΜΠΜΔ "of the monastery" or  
 ΜΦΔΓΙΟΣ (ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ) "of the holy (saint)" before ΔΠΔ ΔΠΟ- at the end of this line,  
 see §3.5.
- 4 ΓΝΜΙ[ΟΚ: restored after no. 56 l. 3; this is a more likely reading than ΝΔΙ "for myself"  
 which occurs in no. 51 l. 6.
- 5 ΩΤΕΘ: this is presumably the end of a place name.  
 ΕΤΗΠ ΓΕΙ.: restore ΕΡΟ≠ as found in the Assignment of place(s) section of some of the  
*aparchê* collection documents, see §5.5.
- 7 .HC: the first letter in this line is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.  
 ΠΕ.: if this were an *aparchê* collection document, one would expect to read  
 ΠΕ≠ΠΔΚΤΟΝ here, see the Payment section in §5.5.
- 8 CΟ'Υ!..: this may alternatively be interpreted as part of CΟΥΟ "wheat" to correspond to  
 σι, in l. 9.

11 ΝΤΙΡ'Ρ'..[: restore ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ "of this very year"?

..ΩΤ.[: the second letter may be a ϥ.

12 ΖΟΧΩ: read ΖΟΧΩϢ (ὅλως) "generally", or (in a negative sense) "at all".

13 Most of this line is obscured by a fold.

14 'Π'Ι[ΔΡΔΘΔ: for examples of the use of the verb παραβαίνειν in Coptic legal documents, see *CPR IV* index p. 200.

17 ΜΔΝΩ'ΩΧΚ': the last part of this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.

18 .: this may be a Χ or a Ψ.

### **Translation note**

15 'Χ'ΙΔΡΤΝ: the same form of χαρτίον occurs in **no. 49** l. 13.

## DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

CMAA Green "22"<sup>1</sup>                      Dimensions not recorded                      Whereabouts unknown  
Papyrus

**Preservation:** it is assumed that the first 17 lines of this text are preserved, because Kahle noted at the bottom of his transcription that the papyrus breaks off.

**Provenance:** unknown. This document was drawn up for a monk of the monastery of Apa Mena (see §4.1) and the introductory epistolary formula suggests that it may have been issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Linguistic note:** the following Coptic forms in this text deserve attention: ⲁⲗⲁ for ⲁⲧⲗⲁⲁⲩ I. 9;<sup>2</sup> ⲈⲖⲖⲚ I. 12;<sup>3</sup> ⲱⲐⲓ I. 7;<sup>4</sup> ⲖⲈⲢ I. 15,<sup>5</sup> and ⲖⲈⲢⲈ I. 16;<sup>6</sup> ⲈⲬⲒ I. 12 (C for CC); Ⲭⲁⲓ I. 2;<sup>7</sup> ⲧⲈⲖⲖⲚ for ⲧⲈⲖⲖⲩ II. 5-6 ; ⲧⲁⲬ for ⲖⲧⲁⲧⲁⲬⲬ in II. 7 and 13; the omission of genitival Ⲗ before ⲖⲖⲱⲧⲈ II. 6 and 10,<sup>8</sup> and of the preposition Ⲗ in ⲈⲓⲱⲢⲚ ⲢⲈⲢⲁⲖ I. 10;<sup>9</sup> the omission of the definite article Ⲣ- in ⲱⲈ I. 1, ⲢⲈⲢⲁ I. 3 and Ⲑⲩⲱⲱ ⲖⲖⲱⲧⲈ I. 6.<sup>10</sup> Unusual forms of Greek words include: ⲢⲐⲬ for ⲡⲣⲟⲥ (I. 12); ⲢⲈⲢⲁ for ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ (I. 3);<sup>11</sup> ⲈⲢⲈ- for ⲁⲖⲡⲏ- in ⲈⲢⲈⲖⲖⲟⲗⲓⲁ I. 9; and ⲖⲈⲢⲁⲚⲖⲐⲬ for ⲚⲩⲢⲓⲁⲚⲖⲐⲬ or ⲒⲓⲈⲢⲁⲚⲖⲐⲬ (II. 14-15).

**Acquisition:** see §2.6.

Paule, who styles himself ⲢⲁⲬⲐⲖ but does not mention whether he belongs to a monastery, undertakes to repay the half solidus he borrowed from Ⲛⲟⲓ of the monastery of Apa Mena. A monastic milieu for the drawing up of this guarantee is provided by the two men with the title Apa who witness the document (II. 14-16). Some of the forms in this text are problematic.

<sup>1</sup>This text survives in a transcription made by P.E. Kahle Jr, see §2.6.

<sup>2</sup>Compare ⲖⲁⲒⲁⲢ ⲖⲁⲖⲖⲟⲖⲐ mentioned in *Bal.* p.130 §110d, noting that these very words occur in standard Sahidic form in I. 8 of this text. For ⲁ for ⲁⲩ, see *Bal.* p. 63 §17.

<sup>3</sup>See *Bal.* p. 115 §82j for ⲈⲖⲖ- for ⲖⲖⲐ-.

<sup>4</sup>Ⲑ for ⲐⲐ, see *Bal.* pp. 83-84 §48.

<sup>5</sup>See *Bal.* p. 66 §20c for the omission of Ⲉ at the end of a word.

<sup>6</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 113 §82c for Ⲉ for Ⲗ, and 129 §110a for the omission of ⲧ.

<sup>7</sup>See *Bal.* p. 128 §108 for C for ⲬⲒ.

<sup>8</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 107-108 §80c.

<sup>9</sup>See *Bal.* pp. 109-110 §80h.

<sup>10</sup>See *Bal.* p. 122 §94a.

<sup>11</sup>See *Bal.* p. 130 §110e.

1 Δ]ΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΠΔΥΛΕ ΨΕ  
 2 ΜΔΚΔΡ̄ΙΟC ΔΠΔ ΙΔΝΕ ΕΙCΔΙ  
 3 ΕΠΔCΟΝ ΨΟΙ ΠΔΠΕΡΔ ΝΔΠΔ  
 4 ΜΗΝΔ ΧΕ ΠΙΤΗ ΔΚΤΙ ΝΔΙ  
 5 ΝΟΥΠΔΨΕ ΖΟΧΟΚΤΝ ΤΕ-  
 6 ΝΟΗ ΟΝ ΖΕΝ ΟΥΨΨ ΝΟΥ[ΤΕ]  
 7 ΤΪΨΟΠ ΖΕΤΕΜΟC ΤΔC ΝΔ-  
 8 Κ ΝΔΤΖΔΠ ΝΔΤΝΟΜΟC  
 9 ΝΔΧΔ ΝΕΦΕΒΟΧΙΔ {ΨΔ }  
 10 ΕΪΩΡΚ ΠΕΡΔΝ Π̄ΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΠΠΔΝ-]  
 11 ΤΩΚΡΔΤ[ΩΡ ΤΔΡ]Ε[Ι-  
 12 ΕΜΟΚ ΠΟC ΘΕ ΕCΗΖ Ν[ΜΟC]  
 13 ΔΥΩ ΤΔC ΝΔΚ ΨΔ CΟΜΕΝ[Τ]  
 14 ΟC ΜΕCΟΡΗ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΠΔ ΓΕΡΔ-  
 15 ΚΟC ΤΙΟ ΜΕΡ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΠΔ  
 16 ΧΩΚΔC ΤΙΟ ΜΕΡΕ  
 17 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΥΛΕ ΤΙΤ-

1 πψ̄- 2 c221 3 παππετρα 4 επειδη 5 η̄ζοχοκοττινοc 5-6 tenoy  
 6 ζ̄π̄ πογψ̄ η̄π̄νουτε 7 ψοοπ η̄ζετοιμοc τδτδc  
 9 η̄δτχδδγ η̄δμφιβοχιδ 10 η̄π̄ραν η̄π̄νουτε 11 τδρι-  
 12 η̄μοκ προς, εcσηζ η̄μοc 13 τδτδc  
 14 η̄μεcορη 14-15 κυριδκοc/ιερακοc 15, 16 η̄η̄ρε

- Parties** (1) I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Paule, son of (2) (the) late (μακάριος) Apa Iane, am writing (3) to my brother Σοι of the monastery (πέτρα?) of Apa (4) Mena.
- Debt** Whereas (ἐπειδή) you gave me (5) half a solidus (όλοκόττινος)
- Repayment** (6) now by the will of God (7) I am ready (έτοιμος) to give it (?) to (8) you without law or judgment (9) or any objection (ἀμφιβολία) ...
- Oath** (10) I swear in the name of God the Almighty (11) that I will ... (12) for you as it is written
- Repayment date** (13) and that I will give you on (?) the third (?) (14) of Mesore.
- Witness 1** I, Apa Gerakos, (15) am witness.
- Witness 2** I, Apa (16) Lokas, am witness.
- Witness 3?** (17) I, Paule, ...

## Notes on Kahle's transcription

9 {ωδ}: possibly written in error by the scribe; compare the ωδ in l. 13.

11 ΤΔΡ]Ε[-: probably reconstruct ΡΘΕΙC, "look after", as suggested by Kahle, but ΦΥΧΔCCE and ΖΔΡΕΖ are also possible here. The clause following the oath was analysed by Kahle in *Bal.* pp. 190-192 §159.<sup>1</sup> The clause ΤΔΡΕΝΡΘΕΙC ΤΝΖΔΡΕΖ ΝΗΤΝ occurs in the four of the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (see §2.1.1),<sup>2</sup> and [ΤΔΡΕΙΡΟ]ΓΕΙC Τ[ΔΖ]ΔΡΕΖ ΝΗΤΝ in the fifth.<sup>3</sup>

13-14 CΟΜΕΝ[Τ]ΟC: this may also be interpreted as CΟΥ ΜΝΤΔCΕ "day sixteen".

17 ΤΙΤ-: reconstruct Τῖ-ΤΔΡΚΟ "I swear", ΤΙΤΔΜΟ "I tell", or ΤΙΤΔΥΟ "I proclaim" followed by ΜΜΟΚ/ΜΜΩΤΝ "you" *vel sim.* here; ΤΙΟ ΜΕΡ(Ε) "I am witness", as in ll. 15 and 16, seems unlikely.

## Translation notes

3-4 ΠΕΡΔ ΝΔΠΔ ΜΗΝΔ: for monasteries of Apa Mena, see §4.1.

7 ΤῖωΟΠ ΖΕΤΕΜΟC: see no. 3 l. 10.

8-9 ΝΔΤΖΔΠ ΝΔΤΝΟΜΟC ΝΔΧΔ ΝΕΦΕΘΟΧΙΔ: see the translation note to l. 4 of no. 20 for this formula.

10-11 ΕῖωΡΚ ΠΕΡΔΝ ΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΠΠΔΝ]ΤΩΚΡΔΤ[ωΡ: for this oath, see Seidl 1935 p. 144 IV.1 a who cites examples in texts dating from the VII/VIII-IXth C. (n. 4).

12 ΠΟC ΘΕ ΕCΗΖ Ν[ΜΟC]: see translation note to ll. 15-16 of no. 2 for this clause.

14-15 ΓΕΡΔΚΟC: either a form of ΚΥΡΙΔΚΟC (Heuser *PN* p. 87),<sup>4</sup> or 'Ιέραξ because Ι and Γ were often interchangeable.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See also Green 1983b p. 139; C. Schmidt 1932 p. 62 n. to l. 21; and Krause 1958 p. 55 §21b.

<sup>2</sup>BL Or. 6201 l. 64, 6202 l. 72, 6203 ll. 86-87, and 6204 ll. 60-61; see §2.1.1.

<sup>3</sup>BL Or. 6206 l. 42; see §2.1.1.

<sup>4</sup>Compare the name of the monastery of Kerakos at Antinoe which is recorded in *SB* I 1596 l. 2, see *CKÁ* p. 2749 "Topos des Apa Kerakos".

<sup>5</sup>I am grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall for this suggestion.

## FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT (?)

CUL Michael. 1201

54 (h) x 142 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 38

**Preservation:** (A) part of the first 4 lines and the left margin are preserved; (B) the end of a 2-line docket or address is preserved.

**Palaeography:** large, well-formed majuscule, right-sloping; the letters are generously spaced. Noteworthy features: the horizontal bar of ε extends into the following letter, and ι reaches down well below the lower "baseline" (both features may be seen in ΚΩCΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ l. 3); the vertical of κ can extend well above the upper (ΔΝΟΚ l. 1) or below the lower "baseline" (ΚΩCΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ l. 3); ρ in ΔΠΟΚΡΟΤΗC l. 4 is open at the top. In ligatures involving κ (exx. ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ l. 1, and ΤΙΤΚΟΟΖΕ l. 2) the lower diagonal bar is almost horizontal.

**Provenance:** unknown. This document was issued by a monk belonging to a monastery at Titkoohe, most probably of Apa Apollo, see §3.4.2. The introductory epistolary formula strongly suggests that a monastery of Apa Apollo is in question here.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

This fragment records barely more than the name of Paule, a monk of a monastery on the mount of Titkoohe (sic), and his addressee Kostantine who was also a monk (possibly of the same monastery).

(A)

1↓ + ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΠΔΥΛΕ ΠΜΟΝ[ΟΧΟC of the monastery of Apa Apollo?

2 ΖΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΙΤΚΟΟΖΕ Ζ'ΜΙ[ ΠΤΟϣ ΝϣΜΟΥΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΜΠΔCΟΝ

3 ΚΩCΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ ΠΜΟΝΟ'ΧΙ[ΟC ΜΠΙΤΟΠΟC ΝΟΥΩΤ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ...

4 ]ΔΠ'ΟΙΚ'Ρ'ΙΟΤ'Η'ΙC Ν'ΔΤ'.

(B)

5→ Π]ΔΥ'ΛΕ + ΕΒCΖΔΙ ΜΠΔCΟΝ ΚΩ'C'Ι-

6 ΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ +++

1, 3 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 3, 5-6 ΚΟΝCΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ *vel sim.* 4 ΔΠΟΚΡΟΤΩC 5 ΕΨCΖΔΙ

**Parties** (1) + I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Paul, the monk (μοναχός) [of the monastery of Apa Apollo ?] (2) on the mount of Titkoohe in (the region of Shmoun, am writing to ?) (3) Kostantine the monk (μ.)...

**Repayment?** (4) ... without fail (ἀποκρότως) ...

**Docket/address** (5) Paule + he is writing to brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Kostantine

(6) +++

### Transcription notes

1, 5 †: see the transcription note to l. 1 of **no. 14** for the shape of this sign.

1 Restore something along the lines of ΜΠ-ΤΟΠΟΣ/ΜΟΝΔΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ/ΜΔ ΝΔΠΔ  
ΔΠΟΛΛΩ at the end of this line, see §3.4.3.

2 Ζ'ΜΙ[ ΠΤΩΩ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ: reconstruction based on **no. 59** l. 3?.

4 ]ΔΠ'ΟΙΚ'Ρ'ΙΟΤ'Η'ΙΣ: restore the formula καθαρώς καὶ ἀποκρότως here, see the  
provenance section of **no. 20** for this formula.

Ν'ΔΤ'.[: restore ΝΔΤΧΔΔΥ "without any", possibly followed by ΝΔΜΦΙΘΟΧΙΔ  
"objection"; see the provenance section of **no. 20** for this formula.

5 Above the l of ΕΒΣΖΔΙ is a squiggle rather than a dot or trema.

### Translation notes

3 ΚΩΣΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ: see *Bal. index* (A) p. 821 for parallel spellings of this name.

6 †††: see the translation note to l. 10 of **no. 27**.

## 55

## FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT (?)

Christie's "15"

c. 150 (h) x 60 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 37

**Preservation:** 14 lines and the top and left margins are partially preserved. Lacunae obscure parts of ll. 2-3 and 11-12.

**Palaeography:** cursively written majuscule hand with many ligatures. Minuscule H.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

The interpretation of this document as a debt acknowledgment rests upon the conjecture of reading the formula καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως in l. 5; this reading also prompts the restoration of ΤΙΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ ΝΔΚ in l. 4.

1↑ +ΔΝΟΚ[ ΠΔ.СОН ?  
 2 ...ΓΝΗΪ ΠΕΦ'Ζ'Ι[  
 3 ΓΕΪΙCΖΔΙ ΜΠΔ.СΟ[Ν ΝΝ (ΠΜΟΝΔΧΟC) ΜΠΤΟ-  
 4 ΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟ[ΧΧΩ ±? ΤΙΧΡΕΩCΤΕΙ ΝΔΚ  
 5 ΚΔΘΔΡΟC.[.].[  
 6 ΝΗΡΠ̄ Ν..[  
 7 ΩΨ ΝΠ.[  
 8 ΚΔΤΗC ΙΝ,Λ̄[  
 9 ]ΝΙΠΧΟΝΔ[  
 10 ΤΔΤΙ ΖΟΧ'ΟΚ'Ι[  
 11 ]Δ...[  
 12 ]Ε..[  
 13 ](±3)[  
 14 ]( ±5 )[  
 5 ΚΔΘΔΡΩC 8 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

**Parties** (1) + I ... (2) ... (3) am writing to my brother ... (4)  
 monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo ...

**Debt acknowledgment** [I owe you ?] (5) plainly (καθαρῶς) ... (6) of wine ...  
 (7) ...

(8) ...-nth indiction-year (ινδικτίων) ... (9) ... (10) that I give ... solidi ...  
... (11-14) ...

### **Transcription notes**

5 ΚΔΘΔΡΟC: possibly restore the formula καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως, see the provenance section of **no. 20**; **no. 24** l. 2? also spells καθαρῶς as ΚΔΘΔΡΟC.



**Parties** (1) + I, brother (ΠΑΔCΟΝ) Josep [... am writing (...)] (2) to  
the Papa Diane the ...

**Preamble** ... [I] (3) asked (παρακαλεῖν) you and you ... (4) in Nemhate  
... (5) we split it between us and the (?) ... (6) another three carats  
(κεράτιον) ... (7) it in Mijôl. If I ...

**Date** (8) Written (γράφειν) Thoth 9, indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων)  
10 (?).

**Witnesses** I, Jo[sep ... and NN ...] (9) we bear witness to this  
document (γραμματεῖον) + ...

**Signatory** (10) NN I] agree (στοιχεῖν) +++

### Transcription notes

- 2 ΠΜ.[ : possibly restore ΠΜΟΝΔΧΟC "the monk" here.
- 7 Between the ε and ι of εῖωΔΝ.[ there may be a character.
- 8 Ϛ : this is thicker than the other ls in this text, and is bisected by the abbreviation marker from the preceding word, ΙΝΔ Ϛ; alternatively it may be a Γ "3".

### Translation notes

- 1 ἰΩCΗΠ possibly the same man who writes **no. 50**; see translation note to l. 8 of that text for this spelling of the name.
- 2 ΔῖΔΝΕ: ΔΙΔΝΗ is recorded only as a feminine name in Heuser *PN* p. 102, although Preisigke *NB* records Byzantine and Islamic period occurrences of a masculine name Διανέ and Διανή, as well as Διαννή and Διανός.
- 10 +++: see translation note to l. 10 of **no. 27**.

## 57 ORDER

CUL Michael. 968

65 (h) x 300 (w) mm.

VI-VIIth C.?

Papyrus

Plate 40

**Preservation:** the papyrus has a number of lacunae, mostly small. (A) 6 lines and all margins are preserved; the second half of l. 2 appears to have been corrected by the scribe in a thicker pen. (B) 2 lines and all but the right margin have been preserved, and the ink has faded almost to illegibility.

**Palaeography:** inexpert, irregularly formed majuscule. Letters vary in height and width and also positioning with regard to the "baseline". Noteworthy features: v-shaped  $\Upsilon$  (eg.  $\Delta\Upsilon\omega$  l. 5); double v-shaped  $\omega$  in  $\Delta\Upsilon\omega$  l. 2;  $\Lambda$ -shaped  $\lambda$ ; some letters tilt upwards to the right, eg.  $\text{M}$  ( $\text{MON}$  l. 4). The punctuation used is noteworthy: a colon with no obvious function in ll. 1, 4 (bis), 5 (bis), and 6; and a raised point occurs before  $\text{ME}$  "with" in ll. 1 and 4.

**Provenance:** unknown. The epistolary formula  $\Delta\text{NOK } \Pi\Delta\text{CON NN } \epsilon\text{IC}\mathcal{Z}\Delta\text{I}$  suggests that the place of origin is an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

This text is written in very informal way, almost as though Serne was talking to Phoibamon and his other addressee(s) in person. It is dated to the feast day of Victor (see §3.12). The interpretation of parts of this text remains obscure.

## No. 57

Side (A)

- 1 → ρ δ ι νο κ π ι δ α ρ ι ο ν ρ ε ρ ν ε ι : ε ι ς ρ δ ι ε ι π ι δ α ρ ι ο ν ρ ο ι θ δ ι μο υ ρ με π δ α ρ ι ο ν ι ( ± 5 )
- 2 ρ χ ι ε τ ι ψ ι ν ε ρ ω τ η ν δ α γ ω ν τ ε γ ν ο γ ι ε ρ ε τ ρ δ ι ( ± 4 ) ρ ι τ ο ρ α ι η [ ± 2 ] ρ ι δ ι π ω ρ ε ρ ω τ η ν ι . η
- 3 χ ι ρ ι μ ι π δ ι θ τ ο ο υ ε κ δ π η δ α κ ρ η ν η η τ η ν τ ε π ι τ ο υ ρ ε ρ : δ α γ ω τ ι τ ρ α ρ κ ο μ ω τ η ν μ π η ο υ ι
- 4 τ ε ρ με π η ν ο ς : η ι ω τ : χ ε δ α μ η ε ι η ρ ι δ ι ε ρ ο χ ρ ε ι π ο ο υ ρ ο ι ο ν π ω δ η ε μ μ α ρ ι τ η ρ ι ο ς
- 5 ρ δ ι ρ δ θ ι κ τ ω ρ : μ ο η μ π η ρ ε θ ε η ρ δ ι ε ρ ι ω τ ι η ι : δ α γ ω τ ι μ ο ε μ ω τ η ν χ ε μ π ε ρ η κ ι ( ± 5 )
- 6 ( ± 2 ) ρ ο κ ι ( ± 2 ) ρ ι η ψ ρ ι π ι ρ η τ τ η γ τ η ν :

Side (B)

- 7 ↑ ρ ι τ δ α ρ ι μ π δ α ρ ι ο ν ρ ο ι θ δ ι μ ω η ν ( ± 4 ) ρ δ ι
- 8 ( ± 4 )

1, 7 ρ ο ι θ δ α μ μ ω η ν 1, 4 μ η 3 ρ τ ο ο υ η κ α π 3, 5 μ η ω τ η ν 4 ε ι ω τ, μ π ο ο υ, μ π η ρ τ υ ρ ο ς ? 4, 5 μ η ο η 5 η ε ι ε ρ δ ι (?), τ ι τ δ α μ ο (?), μ η ω τ η ν

- Parties** (1) ρ I, brother (ΠΔCON) Serne : am writing to my brother Phoibamou and my brother ...
- Greeting** (2) I greet you.
- Instruction** When my letter (ἐπιστολή?) reaches you, (3) take these four ... for yourselves ... and I entreat you by God: (4) and by our great father: come to me today (which is) indeed the feast day of the martyr (μάρτυρος) (5) Apa Victor : indeed I have not found (?) a way (?) to come (?) to you. I tell (?) you that we have not (?) ... (6) ... we pity you.
- Address** (7) † Give it to my brother Phoibamon (8) ...

### Transcription notes

1 CERN'Ε': CERN'Ω' is also possible.

† ΠΔCO'N .[: there is an unidentifiable mark over the Δ of ΠΔCON. The final letter visible in this line begins with a small, rounded loop like an Δ. See l. 7 for possible reconstructions of the name of the second person addressed in ll. 1 and 7.

2 ΕΡΕΤ'Δ' (±4)†C'ITOT'Λ'Η [[±2]] Ν'Δ'ΠΩΞ ΕΡ'ΩΤΝ' : this is written over existing letters with a thicker pen than the rest of this text.

3 ΚΔΠ ΝΛΔΚ ΖΝ ΝΗΤΝ: this may involve ΚΔΠ "receptacle or measure" for corn, honey and other commodities (Crum *CD* p. 113b, see *BM* 1135),<sup>1</sup> and ΛΔΚ (an unattested form of ΛΩΚ) "fresh grain" (Crum *CD* p. 138b). Other possible interpretations involve ΛΔΚΖ as a variant form of ΡΟΚΖ (Crum *CD* p. 293b) "fuel" or ΡΟΚΖΕ "fuel, baked cake" (Crum *CD* p. 294a). ΛΔΚΖ "corner, extremity" (Crum *CD* p. 140b) is not appropriate. Alternatively ΚΔΠ may be "string" (Crum *CD* p. 113a; compare ΚΔΠ ΝΖΩΖ "string" in *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV no. 79), or "a cutting tool" (Crum *CD* p. 113b), or "(sole of) foot" (variant of ΘΟΠ, Crum *CD* p. 824b and Westendorf *KH* p. 462).

ΝΤΕΠ'ΙΤΟΥ'Ε'Ρ: the interpretation of this is problematic. There is no attested place name resembling Π'ΙΤΟΥ'Ε'Ρ,<sup>2</sup> although personal name ΠΙΤΟΥ/Πιτουῦς is recorded.<sup>3</sup> Alternatively ΕΠΙΤΟΥΕΡ may be the Greek ἐπίτυρον "confection of olives" LSJ 669b. ΜΩΤΝ: the Ω may have been changed from an Ο, or the tail of the preceding Μ may bisect the left half of the Ω to create this impression.

4 ΝΕΜΔ[Ρ]ΤΗ'Ρ'ΙΟC: ΝΕ may be interpreted as a copula or as the long form of the plural definite article preceding ΜΜΔΡΤΗΡΟC. The second Ρ of ΜΔ[Ρ]ΤΗ'Ρ'ΙΟC and the Ο following it may have been changed from earlier writings.

5 †ΔΠ'Δ: the first Δ is totally reconstructed.

<sup>1</sup>See *Bal.* no. 249 l. 9 and note that Crum translates ΚΔΠ as "basket" in *BM* 1135 l. 6.

<sup>2</sup>The closest parallel is Πιτ' which is recorded in a Greek papyrus from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, see *CKA* p. 1945 "Pita(...)".

<sup>3</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp. 16, 47, and 49; and Preisigke *NB* s.v. (where all of the examples cited are from an earlier period).

ΤΙΜΟ.: the uncertain final letter is long and thin like an Ι or a short Ρ but it does not resemble any such letters in this text. If this is taken to be a mark on the papyrus one might read ΤΙΜΟ for ΤΙΤΔΜΟ "I tell", which would fit in well before ⲄⲈ introducing a fact.

6 'Τ'ΝΩ'Π': the Ν looks more like an Η.

7 (±4).ΡΔ': the first two illegible letters may have been ΜΕ (for standard Sahidic ΜΝ) "with" as in l. 1, followed by a personal name ending in -ΡΔ which is approximately five-letters long. The first letter of this name may be preserved in l. 1 and may be reconstructed as an Δ. The only suitable personal name ending in -ΡΔ and beginning with Δ- recorded in Heuser *PN* is ΔΘΡΔ, an abbreviated form of ΔΘΡΔⲒΔΜ.<sup>1</sup> Other four and five-letter personal names recorded there include ΓΙΡΔ, ΕCΔΡΔ, ΠΕΤΡΔ, ΠΙΤΡΔ, CΟΥΡΔ and ⲒΩΡΔ.<sup>2</sup>

### Translation notes

1 CΕΡΝΕ: a Coptic form of the Roman name Serenus, see, e.g., *CPR* IV no. 79 l. 22.

2 ΤΕΥΝΟ'Υ' ΕΡΕΤ'Δ'(±4)'C'ΤΟ'Χ'Η [[±2]] Ν'Δ'ΠΩⲒ ΕΡ'ΩΤΝ': this formula is a variant of "as soon as you receive this letter", for which see, exx. *VC* 52 l. 1 (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΔΧΙ +ΕΠΙCΤΟΧΗ) and *BKU* III no. 401 ll. 3-4 (ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΝΔΧΙ ΤΕΠΙCΤΟΧ).

4 ΠΕΝΝΟⲖ : Ν'ΩΤ: this may refer to the founder of the monastery to which Serne belongs, see §3.13.

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<sup>1</sup>Heuser *PN* p. 110.

<sup>2</sup>See Heuser *PN* pp. 125, 106, 90, 93, 112 and 44 respectively for these names.

**58**  
**LETTER**

"Drescher text"

Dimensions not recorded

Whereabouts unknown

This text is only known to me from a copy made by Professor James Drescher which was cited in full by Paul Kahle Jr in a letter to John Barns dated 16/7/1950.<sup>1</sup>

**Provenance:** unknown. Written by and to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo which the introductory epistolary formula suggests was in the Hermopolite nome.

**Bibliography:** part of the text was cited in *Bal.* p. 657 n. 1 ref. 4.

This is a letter from Pamoun of the monastery of Apa Apollo to Makare a monk from the same monastery. Psakhalôm, which may be a place name (see §4.11) is mentioned. If this can be identified with a place in the Faiyum which was assigned for *aparçhê* collection in **no. 5** (Psakh(-)), it may be connected with this and other documents edited in Chapter 5.

No line division or numbers are recorded.

+ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔ.ΣΟΝ ΠΔ'Μ'ΙΟΥΝ ΝΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΦΔΓΙΟΣ ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΙΣΖΔΙ ΝΠΔ.ΣΟΝ  
ΜΔΚΔΡΕ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΝΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΔΠΔ Δ[ΠΟΛ]ΛΩ ΔΕ 'Π'ΙΤΗ ΔΙΧΟΟΥΚ ΕΖΗΤ  
ΕΠΥΔΚΖΔΛΩΜ ΝΤΟΚ ΜΝ ΠΥΔΖ ΜΔΚΔΡΕ + ΟΥΔΔΙ ΖΝ ΠΧΘΕΙΣ + ΥΥ

ΝΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΦΔΓΙΟΣ ΔΠΔ, ΝΠΔ.ΣΟΝ, ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΝΠΤΟΠΟΣ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ, ΕΥΔΚΖΔΛΩΜ?, ΠΣΔΖ/ΥΔΖ, ΖΝ

**Parties** I, brother (ΠΔ.ΣΟΝ) Pamoun of the monastery (τόπος) of the holy (ἅγιος) Apa Apollo, am writing to my brother Makare, the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τ.) of Apa Apollo.

**Instruction?** Whereas (ἐπειδὴ) I have sent you north to Psakhalôm/the cheese-man, you and the scribe Makare. + Farewell in the Lord + ΥΥ

**Translation notes**

ΜΔΚΔΡΕ: this common name also belongs to the addressee in **no. 5**, and possibly occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus document, BL Or. 6201 B242 (see §2.1), which may also contain the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔ.ΣΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΖΔΙ formula.

ΠΥΔΚΖΔΛΩΜ: in his letter, Kahle compared the ΨΔΚ- part of this word with ΣΟΚ-

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<sup>1</sup>This letter is now catalogued as belonging to item 17 (correspondence 1949-1955) of the Kahle archive in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

/CΔ.K- in COKΘHT/CΔ.KΘHT (see *Bal.* nos. 229 and 259), with the conclusion that it refers to a person rather than a thing; see also *Bal.* p. 657 + n.1.

ΝΤΟΚ ΜΝ ΠΨΔΖ ΜΔΚΔΡΕ: this could also be interpreted as "you, indeed (μέν), are the scribe Makare". Makare is, however, such a common name that it is not unlikely for there to be at least two men with this name in a monastery.

ΥΥ: the significance of these characters, if correctly copied, is obscure.

## FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

"Ex-von Scherling no. 20"<sup>1</sup>      Dimensions not recorded      Whereabouts unknown

This manuscript may possibly be identified with **no. 7** which was numbered "C20" in the collection of Erik von Scherling, see §2.8. If this is the case, my readings differ substantially from Crum's.

**Provenance:** unknown. Written by a father, i.e. head, of the Titkoooh monastery of Apa Apollo.

1?    ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΜΗΝΔCΗC ΠΙΩΤ  
 2?    ΝΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΧΓΧΩ ΣΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ?  
 3?    ΓΝΓΤΙΤΚΟΖΕ ΣΜ ΠΤΟΩ Ν....  
 4?    ΙΩ ΜΠΝΟΜΟC  
 1 ειωτ 2 ΠΠΤΟΠΟC

**Parties**      (1?) I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Menases, the father (2?) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo on ... (3?) Titkohe in the region of ... (4?) ... of the nome (νομός)

**Transcription notes**

2? ΣΜ: Crum read ΓΠΜΓ.

3?-4? Reconstruct ΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙC ΠΠΝΟΜΟC "Shmoun the city of the nome" here, see §5.8.

**Translation notes**

1 ΜΗΝΔCΗC: a form of this name, Μηνάσιος, is recorded for the VIIIth C. and the Coptic Period in Preisigke *PN* and Foraboschi *OA*.

ΠΙΩΤ: see §3.13 for this title of the head of the monastery.

<sup>1</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription of Walter Ewing Crum; see §2.7.

## FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "12"

c. 45 (h) x 80 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 41

**Preservation:** (A) 4 lines and upper and left margins.**Palaeography:** a competent, slightly right-sloping majuscule.**Provenance:** unknown. This text was written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo. The place name ΡΑΚΟΤΕ may be mentioned in l. 3 (see §4.5).**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

1 ↑ Ρ Δ]ΝΟΚ ΠΔ'C'[O]'N' (±4)[  
 2 'NΠΤΟΠ'OC ΝΔΠΔ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ 'Π'Ι[  
 3 Ν'ΠΤ'ΕΩ ΡΔΚΟΤΕ ΕΦ.[... ΜΟ-  
 4 ΝΟΧΟC 'NΠ'Ι[Τ]'Ο'ΙΠΟC ΟΥ'Ω'Ι[Τ ?  
 5 ]Ε.[ ±8 ]...'Δ'Ι[

2 ΝΠΤΟΠΟC 3 ΝΠΤΩ ΝΡΔΚΟΤΕ? 3-4 ΜΟΝΔΧΟC ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟC ΝΟΥΩΤ ?

**Parties** (1) Ρ I brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) ... (2) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo ... (3) of the region (?) of Rakote (?) ... (4) monk(s) (μοναχός) of this same (?) monastery (τ.) ... (5) ...

**Transcription notes**

1 (±4)[ : the first or second letter may be a Ρ; the last letter may be a θ.

2 'Π'Ι[ : restore ΠΡΗC ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙC "(to) the south of Shmoun the city", see §3.5.

3 'ΠΤ'ΕΩ : the Π resembles a Κ and may have been written over an earlier letter; the Τ could be an Υ or a Ϝ.

**Translation notes**

3 'ΠΤ'ΕΩ ΡΔΚΟΤΕ : if this has been correctly read, see §4.5 for Rakote; **no. 6**, a text which may have been found in the same place as an ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula text, mentions 'Π'ΙΜΔ ΜΡΔΚΟΤ'Δ'Ι[ (l. x+31).

<sup>1</sup>The height of this papyrus is estimated because the papyrus fibres are twisted.

## 61

## FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "16"

51 (h) x 21 (w) mm.

VII/VIIIth C.

Plate 41

Papyrus

**Preservation:** the first 5 lines and only part of the upper margin are preserved. The right edge of the papyrus is folded over.

**Palaeography:** what survives of this hand shows that it combined majuscule and minuscule forms, with some ligatures. The Π in ΤΟΠΟΣ in l. 2 has a documentary minuscule form, see the palaeography note to no. 40.

**Provenance:** unknown. This text was written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This small fragment is included here because it may provide another example of the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ formula used by a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh.

1→ ΔΝΟΚ Π]ΔCΟΝ[ ΝΝ ΠΜΟΝΔΧΟC  
 2 ΜΠΤ]ΟΠΟC[ ΝΔ ΠΔ ΣΠΟΧΧΩ ΖΜ  
 3 ΠΤΟΥ ΝΤΙ]ΤΚΟΟΖΕ[ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΥ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ  
 4 ΤΠΟΧΙC ΕΙ]C'ΖΔΙ Ν[ ΝΝ ΜΝ ΝΝ  
 5 ]ΝΕΜΟ[ΝΟΧΟC

**Parties** (1) [I] brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) [ΝΝ the monk ... (2) ...of the] monastery (τόπος) [of Apa Apollo on (3) the mount of ?] Titkooh [in the region of Shmoun ? (4) the city] I am writing to ... (5) ... the monks (μοναχός) ...

## CHAPTER 8

### DOCUMENTS WITH THE ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ FORMULA

#### §8.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ABOUT THE TEXTS

Forty-six monastic documents beginning with the formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ "Our father is the one who writes", and two texts with variants of this formula (**nos. 73** (ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ CΖΔΙ) and **83** (ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΘCΖΔΕΙ)), are presented in this chapter.<sup>1</sup> Thirteen of these texts have been published previously.

All of the texts are short, usually under ten lines long although they range from three (**no. 79**) to at least nineteen (**no. 93**) lines long. All are written on papyrus, except for **no. 92** which was written on an ostrakon.<sup>2</sup> Apart from four or five of the texts, the documents take up just one side of the writing material (exceptions: **nos. 65, 74, 90, 99,** and **102** (?)). The texts are written across or parallel to the papyrus fibres in fairly equal proportion, and in many instances the papyrus has already been used at least once, see §8.12. Some of the texts can be grouped together because they involve the same addressees, scribes or signatories.

#### §8.1 PROVENANCE

Only two of the texts have a secure provenance. One of them, an order for payment in wine addressed to "the one of the διακονία" (*WS* 175), is not included in this chapter because it was excavated at Wadi Sarga although it is reproduced in **Appendix 2** (text B). It is worth remarking that, of the many texts discovered during the excavations there, only this one exhibits the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula.<sup>3</sup>

The other text with a secure provenance is the only ostrakon discovered so far with this formula (**no. 92**). It was excavated by Jean Clédat at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, and a papyrus (**no. 68**) with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula may also have been found there by him.<sup>4</sup>

The provenance of this papyrus has implications for other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula documents (see §3.3.2.2). It is addressed to "the brothers of the poll-tax", as are six other texts (see §8.7.1 and **Table 5**), and is signed by Keri (the Coptic form of Cyrus) as are five of them and also **no. 69** (see §8.11 and **Table 8**). A signatory called

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<sup>1</sup>There may well be further unpublished texts with this formula in manuscript collections around the world. I have not had time to include in this chapter P. Vindob. K 11.375 (1) which is addressed to Apa Petros the steward (οἰκονόμος), and signed by Theodoros. I am grateful to Dr Monika Hasitzka for information about this text.

<sup>2</sup>The text survives only in a transcription made by Jean Clédat.

<sup>3</sup>I am grateful to Dr Morris Bierbrier of the British Museum and the staff of the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections for facilitating my study of the unpublished Coptic texts from Wadi Sarga in the British Museum (ostraca) and British Library (papyrus and vellum mss.: BL Or. 9035 (1-164)).

<sup>4</sup>See Boud'hors 1995 pp. 29-30.

Daniel, who occurs in another document addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax, is also found in two other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula texts, nos. 81 and 99 (see §8.11 and Table 8). His signature differs from that of Daniel who occurs as a signatory in the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ text from Wadi Sarga, WS 175, which was mentioned above.

A link with the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit may also be found in no. 100. The third text written on this papyrus was issued by the archimandrite of a monastery of Apa Apollo on behalf of its δίκαιον to a certain George. This text is written in the same hand as text 2 which bears the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula and may have been intended for the same addressee. A connection with Bawit may be made because the first text written on no. 100 (text 1) may be written in the same hand as P. CtYBR inv. 2334 (unpublished) which mentions ΠΔΥΗΤ, possibly to be interpreted as the place name Bawit rather than "the monastery" (Π-ΔΥΗΤ).

The place names and monasteries mentioned in the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula texts suggest a place of origin in the Hermopolite nome (see §§8.12 and 8.13). It should be noted that some of the place names, such as Pmanallou, Pmanlougā and Pmanranê (see §8.13.2), are only otherwise attested in the ostraca excavated at Bawit which now belong to the Louvre (see §3.3.2.1). No. 76 mentions ΤΟΥΔΩΕΡ (see §4.11) which may be a place name and is only otherwise attested in an inscription on a wooden lintel believed to have come from Bawit.

Ten of the documents edited in this chapter belong to the BL Or. 6201 series of manuscripts, many of which Martin Krause believes may derive from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit (see §2.1).

## §8.2 DATE

None of the texts bear a year date. Editors of ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula texts have assigned dates ranging from the VIth - VIIIth C. C.E. Palaeographical analysis of the texts suggests that they date to the VII-VIIIth C., more usually the VIIIth C.

## §8.3 PALAEOGRAPHY

The documents are written in a variety of hands, including documentary majuscule, semi-cursive and cursive hands. The fact that all are experienced suggests that this type of document was drawn up by professional scribes working in the monastery's administration. In some texts the scribes are named (see Table 6). No. 74 is written in an unusually elaborate majuscule hand and it may be that the scribe's training was more literary than documentary. Nos. 76 and 79 are also written in elegant majuscule hands.

## §8.4 PREVIOUS OPINIONS ON THIS FORMULA

Walter Ewing Crum assumed "from internal evidence" that a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula text, no. 62, was from Wadi Sarga,<sup>1</sup> and so it was published along with Greek and Coptic texts excavated there as WS 174. As this text contains no place or personal names which might suggest this provenance, it may be concluded that it was the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula, which also occurs in WS 175 (Appendix 2 text B, see §8.1), which caused Crum to form this assumption. Crum suggested that the signatory in WS 175, Daniel, may be the archimandrite who occurs in WS nos. 87 and 161.<sup>2</sup>

Paul Kahle Jr noted that this formula occurs "several times" in texts from Wadi Sarga, although, as has just been demonstrated above, it only occurs in one British Library text excavated there.<sup>3</sup> He did not however assume that three Michigan texts, nos. 62-64, have this provenance. He remarked that the formula was quite common in unpublished financial documents from Ashmunein in the British Museum, specifying BM (now BL) Or. 6201B 146 (which does not bear this formula), 179 (read A 179), and 211.<sup>4</sup>

Beatrice Klakowicz has remarked that this formula occurs in texts from the region extending from Assiut to Abydos, drawing on Kahle's analysis.<sup>5</sup> Anne Biedenkopf-Ziehner analysed the NN ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ ἦ/ε NN type of introductory epistolary formula and found that it occurs in IVth - VII/VIIIth C. texts from Ashmunein to the Theban region. In the list of texts she consulted for her study,<sup>6</sup> none bear the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula.

## §8.5 ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

The ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula texts can be interpreted as the type document employed by the head of the monastery's office when addressing short orders to internal monastery staff. The head of the monastery is designated as ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ "our father" (see §3.13). His personal authorisation is sometimes attested by his signature but this is lacking in many documents (see §8.11). This indicates that, although documents beginning with this formula were associated with his authority, they did not necessarily require the head's presence in order to be issued by his staff. The documents can be divided into three groups: orders for payment or invoices involving a range of commodities; documents relating to poll-tax administration; and a variety of orders and

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<sup>1</sup> See WS p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> WS p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> See Bal. p. 22 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Bal. p. 185 §155.

<sup>5</sup> See Klakowicz 1981 p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> See Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 44, and 226 (Tab. V Nr. A 2). Reference should also be made to some noteworthy "Melitian" NN ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ documents from the IVth C., *P. Lond.* VI nos. 1920, 1921, and 1922; and another document of similar date which may also be Melitian, *P. Neph.* I no. 15.

other documents, some of which are now too fragmentary for their purpose to be ascertained.

**No. 96** uses the  $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\delta$ - "enquire after" formula which is found at the beginning of numerous ostraca belonging to the Louvre which were excavated at Bawit, see §3.3.2.1. This formula may also have occurred in **no. 90** in which a scribe is ordered to "enquire after" half a solidus of wine from an unspecified source and not to entrust it to a certain Phoibammon who is described as a wretch ( $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\pi\omega\rho\varsigma$ ). It may be that on receipt of **nos. 90** and **96** the scribe would fill out an ostrakon (using the  $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\delta$ - formula) with the request for the commodity, and hand it to a person who would be responsible for the delivery. In **no. 90**, Phoibammon may have earned himself a bad reputation as a delivery man, hence the warning not to use him.

A further connection with the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo may be provided by **no. 100**, which also throws light on the context in which  $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\delta\iota$  formula documents were produced. Firstly a fragment of papyrus, one side of which had previously been used for a letter (text 1), was inscribed with the  $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\delta\iota$  formula and the beginning of the name of the person addressed ( $\Gamma\epsilon$ -) (text 2). Then the scribe abandoned this text in favour of a new one (text 3), written around text 2 on the same side of the papyrus. But this time, instead of writing "our father" ( $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ ), he writes  $\pi\delta\iota\kappa\delta\iota\omicron\eta\eta\ \eta\pi\mu\omicron\eta\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta\eta$  (sic)  $\eta\phi\delta\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\pi\delta\ \delta\pi\prime\omicron\chi\prime\lambda\omega\ \zeta\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\prime\varphi\prime[\eta]\delta\pi\delta\ \zeta\delta\chi\delta\rho\iota\delta\varsigma\ \pi\delta\rho\chi\eta\mu\delta\eta\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\gamma\omega\ \pi\prime[\omega\tau\ \mu\pi\mu\omicron\eta\delta\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta\eta]$  "the *dikaion* of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through Apa Zacharias the archimandrite and [father of the monastery]". The addressee is called  $\Gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\Gamma\epsilon$  and so can be identified as the intended addressee of text 2. Very little of the rest of this document is preserved and so its purpose remains obscure. Judging from the format, it may have been a scribal exercise, possibly executed by someone connected with the office of the head of the monastery. Nevertheless, it is clear that text 3 is an official document and therefore intended for quite a different purpose from the short and informal  $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\delta\iota$  formula text. Possibly the scribe was more familiar with composing these short documents and automatically wrote the opening formula without thinking of the context.

The fact that only one of the  $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\delta\iota$  formula documents (**no. 74**) has something resembling an address written on the back supports the idea that they were not intended for use outside the monastery. Only two of the documents, **nos. 96** and **97**, may be interpreted in such a way as to suggest otherwise. Both are invoices, one for oil, the other for oil and lead. "Our father" notifies his addressees that he has sent the item(s) to them which may indicate that he is in a distant place from them. However, it is probably the case that the head of the monastery is the only person authorised to organise the requisition of supplies from external sources. He is responsible for sending someone out for the supplies and is notified when they arrive. Then an invoice for the goods is issued from his office to the person destined to take charge of them. In **no. 97** he includes the message that he is about to send someone out "about the pitch" which suggests that his addressee

has notified him that fresh supplies are needed. In **no. 96** a consignment of lead and oil has been delivered by "the sailors of Enoch" from whom they must be fetched. The sailors may have been attached to the monastery or may have been local people who worked for the monastery (see note to **no. 96** l. 7).

It is striking that, apart from one ostrakon, the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula texts are written on papyrus whereas the ωΙΝΕ ΝCΔ- formula texts from Bawit are all ostraca. This might suggest that the former were to be preserved for a longer period than the latter, because papyri need less storage space than ostraca and are more durable. Papyrus is also a much more "user-friendly" writing material than pot-herd, and its use might also indicate the higher status of the office from which the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula documents were issued in relation to offices which used ostraca. Another factor to be considered is the possibly confidential nature of some of the texts inscribed on the papyri which were to be reused for ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ documents (see §8.12). Presumably they would have belonged to the monastery's archive and so might contain important financial or other details. Unauthorised people could not be allowed to have access to legal documents for example, fragmentary though they might be.

## §8.6 SIMILARITIES WITH OTHER TYPES OF COPTIC DOCUMENT

The ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula tax receipts can be compared with NN ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula tax receipts which are issued and signed by people in positions of authority such as the superior of a monastery, a βοηθός, or a priest. Published examples include *Bal.* nos. 132-134, 136, 145-147, *CPR* IV no. 10; and *P. Mich. inv.* 4556;<sup>1</sup> and an unpublished *dêmosion* document issued and signed by Peter the προεστώς, CMAA Green "21" (see §2.6).

There are also similarities of format between some of the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula texts and documents beginning with the NN ΠΕCΖΔΙ formula (exx. *WS* nos. 87, 89, 182 and 184); and with the NN ΕCΖΔΙ formula (exx. *WS* nos. 185 and 187).

## §8.7 FORMAT OF ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS

All of the documents contain the **Opening formula** or a variant of it. Orders for payment, invoices and receipts generally follow the format given below (compare the homogeneous format of the *aparchê* collection documents discussed at §5.5). For conciseness, only standard Sahidic forms are used below and the texts should be referred to individually for variants.

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<sup>1</sup>Edited in Heisler 1984 p.125.

<b>Opening formula</b>	ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ ΜΠΦΩΗΡΕ (/ΝΝΦΩΗΡΕ <sup>1</sup> /other <sup>2</sup> ) NN
<b>Introduction</b>	ΞΕ (ΔΡΙ ΤΔΓΔΠΗ) <sup>3</sup>
<b>A) Order for payment</b>	ΤΙ <sup>4</sup> commodity (Total/Résumé of commodity and value) <sup>5</sup>
<b>B) Invoice</b>	ΕΙC ... ΔΙΤΝΟΟΥ <sup>6</sup>
<b>C) Receipt</b>	ΕΙC ... ΔΦ-/ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ(Τ) <sup>7</sup>
<b>Date (and scribe)</b>	A) (month) x (day) x indiction x <sup>8</sup> (+ NN ἔγραψα) <sup>9</sup> B) μηνί x (day) x indiction x <sup>10</sup> (+ NN ἔγραψα) <sup>11</sup> C) μηνί x (day) x indiction x NN <sup>12</sup> D) ἐγράφη (month) x (day) x indiction x <sup>13</sup> NN <sup>14</sup> E) ἔγραψα NN (month) x (day) x indiction x <sup>15</sup>
<b>Signatory</b>	NN (ΤΙ)CΤΟΙΧΕΙ <sup>16</sup> /CΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ <sup>17</sup>

Three texts are inscribed on the back with docket (nos. 65, 90 and 99), and a fourth may have had an address or a docket (no. 74).

<sup>1</sup>Nos. 62-63 and 65-68.

<sup>2</sup>No. 64 is simply addressed to the CНΥ ΝΠΑΝΔΡΙCΜΟC "brothers of the poll-tax", and no. 74 is addressed rather elaborately to [Π]ΕΦΜΕΡΙΤ ΝCΟΝ ΝΡΕΦΩΠΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΔΓΔΘΟC "his beloved brother, the God-serving, good" Apa Phoibammon the πρεσβύτερος. The elegant hand in which this text is written suggests that the scribe was used to composing less mundane works than a simple order for payment.

<sup>3</sup>"Be so good (ἀγάπη)" in nos. 74, 76 and 92.

<sup>4</sup>"Give"; no. 74 has the optative form ΜΔΡΟΥΤΙ "let them give". In a couple of instances, ΤΙ may be preceded by ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΔΔΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΔΚΙΟΝ "As soon as you receive this note" (no. 83 (ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕCΣΖΔΕΙ formula), and possibly no. 77).

<sup>5</sup>This is always written in Greek, see nos. 78, 81, 82, 83 and 84.

<sup>6</sup>"Here is (the commodity) I have sent ..." in nos. 96 and 97.

<sup>7</sup>"Here is/are x, I have received it/them (literally "it has/they have come into my hands")" in nos. 62 ll. 2 and 4, 63 ll. 3-4, 69 l. 5 and 99 l. 2. For this formula, see CPR IV indices p. 187 (ΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ=).

<sup>8</sup>Nos. 72, 73, 75, 79 and 85.

<sup>9</sup>"NN I have written" in nos. 67 (which frames the date with a pair of crosses), 68, 70, 81, and 99. In no. 69 εγρ<sup>α</sup> may be interpreted as ἐγράφη "it was written", because the scribe's name is in the genitive case as though διὰ "through" precedes it, compare Bal. no. 148 l. 4. See also the transcription note to no. 68 l. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Nos. 89 and 91.

<sup>11</sup>"NN I have written" in nos. 65 and 90; and in nos. 66 and 80, both of which frame the date with a pair of crosses.

<sup>12</sup>"In the month of x (day) x indiction x NN" in nos. 62 and 63.

<sup>13</sup>"It was written (month) x (day) x indiction x " in no. 78.

<sup>14</sup>"It was written (month) x (day) x indiction x NN" in no. 64.

<sup>15</sup>"I wrote NN (month) x (day) x indiction x " in no. 82.

<sup>16</sup>"I agree (στοιχεῖν)", CΤΟΙΧΕ and CΤΟΙΧΙ are the most common spellings; no. 89 l. 8 has CΤΥΙΧΙ<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>17</sup>Nos. 71 l. 8 and 80 l. 5 and possibly also 86 l. 6; all three were signed by Georgios, see §8.11. Gignac 1981 does not record any examples of the interchange between -έω and -εύω which is exhibited in the form CΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ (for CΤΟΙΧΕΙ).

### §8.7.1 POLL-TAX (ἀνδρισμός) DOCUMENTS

The term for poll-tax used in these texts is ἀνδρισμός instead of the more usual διάγραφον.<sup>1</sup> "The brothers of the poll-tax" are addressed in seven documents and appear to be responsible for poll-tax administration within the monastery (nos. 62-68).<sup>2</sup> Their job includes receiving payments, assessing them, issuing receipts, and determining liability. Only one document, no. 69, is addressed to a private individual, a rug-seller or rug-maker, who has paid his tax with two rugs.

The poll-tax payments recorded in these texts are half a solidus (no. 62 represented by four sacks) and one solidus (nos. 63 and 65).<sup>3</sup> In all but one of these documents (no. 65), the tax is paid in kind, with sacks, rugs or wine. In no. 64 an unspecified number of people have made a payment of one solidus of wine, possibly for poll-tax.

Three documents are issued by "our father" Keri in order to prevent people, who are presumably monks belonging to his monastery, from being held liable for tax payment by the brothers of the poll-tax (nos. 66 l. 3, 67 l. 2 and 68 l. 2). The word used for "hold liable" is (Δ)ΜΔΖΕ "seize, arrest" which is also found in other tax documents edited in this thesis, see §6.2. In no. 68 the head waives the tax liability of Iohannes whom he refers to as "his man". As head of the monastery, he had the power to exempt someone from a tax payment because he was ultimately responsible for his monastery's taxes (see §3.6).

In no. 67, Phoibamon ΠΔΠΜΔΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΡ "of the piggery/swineherd" is not given the title "brother" or "monk" and so could be one of the lay people connected with the monastery (see §3.14). In only one document, no. 66, is the person whose liability is waived specified as a monk, and he is described as being from the monastery (ΤΟΥΥ) of Phoou. It may be that this monk is now residing in the monastery from which this document is issued but that he is given an epithet involving his former institution for the purpose of identification. However, it is also possible that the monastery issuing this document is responsible for collecting the taxes of monks from the monastery of Phoou. A similar role is played by an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo when it administers the collection of *aparchê* for other monasteries as well as itself, see §5.6.

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<sup>1</sup> See Husselman 1951 p. 336. Bell declares that there is no difference between the two terms in *P. Lond.* IV p. 168, although the two terms are found together in at least three Coptic documents, *Bal.* nos. 293 (see n. 12 p. 724) and 303B, and 130 Appendix (= BL Or. 4664 A and B) (pp. 541-544), see p. 741 n. 15.

<sup>2</sup> For poll-tax in the Arab period, see Simonsen 1988 pp. 10-12, and chapter 9, esp. 98-99 and 101; *Bal.* p. 43, and Husselman 1951 pp. 332-338.

<sup>3</sup> A payment of one solidus is recorded in seventy-nine of the one hundred and three Coptic poll-tax ostraca from Medinet Habu analysed in Simonsen 1988 pp. 101-102, although payments could range from a third of a tremissis to two solidi depending on an individual's assessment.

## §8.8 ADDRESSEES

Many of the addressees (see **Table 5**) have the monastic title ΠΔΠΔ (**nos. 70, 71, 80, 87, 88, 90** and possibly **104**) or ΔΠΔ (**nos. 74, 81** and **83**).<sup>1</sup> One man is titled πρεσβύτερος (**no. 74**). Other titles or occupations assigned to addressees are that of oil-maker (see below), rug-seller (**no. 69**), woollen-garments-seller (ΨΔΝΘΕΛΘΩΤ **no. 85**), and scribe (CΔ2, see **nos. 90** and **93**). **No. 99** is addressed to a scribe and a builder.

Apart from seven of the poll-tax documents described at §8.7.1, only two documents are addressed to bodies of people:<sup>2</sup> one to "Apa Victor and the brothers" (**no. 81**), and one to the "brothers of the *pistikos*" (P. CtYBR inv. 1824(A)). The latter document is an order for payment in wheat which is not edited in this chapter and so is summarised here. The brothers of the πιστικός (ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΝΠΙCΤΙΚΟC, see §3.7 for this title) are ordered to issue three artabas of wheat (ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΕΡ' Τ' [ΘΒ] Γ' Ν' CΟΥΟ) to someone called Peurot,<sup>3</sup> who may have had a title, such as ΠΔΠΔ or ΠΡΕCΘΥΤΕΡΟC, beginning with the letter Π- (ΠΠ.[]). This text is written on the back of a fragment of papyrus containing the end of a letter (P. Ct YBR inv. 1824(B)), whose addressees may have included a woman (the final greeting mentions ΝΕCΨΗΡΕ "her children").

Three orders for payment in aracus, barley and wheat are addressed to an oil-maker named Papa Shenoute.<sup>4</sup> That this is the same man in all three texts is confirmed by the fact that two of them are signed by a man named Georgios. It would be difficult to identify this Shenoute with Shenoute the builder, the addressee in **no. 99**.

Two orders for payment in wine, **nos. 82** and **83**, are addressed to Simothe/Simothi, who is given the title Apa in the latter document.

Two documents are addressed to a person from Pmanle (**nos. 72** and **94**).

## §8.9 SCRIBES

A number of different scribes feature in the texts (see **Table 6**), and there may be a few instances of the same scribe writing more than one document. Victor appears to have written **nos. 81** and **99** (see **plates 58** and **66**), and Georgios **nos. 62** and **68** (see **plates 42** and **47**). The last two texts have the same addressees, scribe and signatory as **no. 67** (which may also have had the same date as **no. 62**), but it is impossible at present to say what sort of hand this was written in because the whereabouts of the manuscript is

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<sup>1</sup>Not including Apa Noc in **no. 92**.

<sup>2</sup>**No. 86** may also have been addressed to more than one person.

<sup>3</sup>A ψάλτης called Peurot is recorded in an inscription at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 115 no. 37; and Πευροτ occurs as a personal name in *BM* no. 1075.

<sup>4</sup>**Nos. 70, 71, and 80**. It may be that **no. 88**, an order for payment in a commodity measured in artabas, was also addressed to Papa Shenoute.

not currently known (see §2.6). This is the case for **no. 65**, whose scribe Anoup may also have written **no. 80**.<sup>1</sup>

**Nos. 64** and **70** were written by two different scribes with the name Elias.

## §8.10 DATES

The dates recorded in the poll-tax documents are as follows (see **Table 7**): three from the month of Pharmouthi (**nos. 62, 67** and **68**), two from Phamenoth (**nos. 63** and **64**), and one each from Choiak (**no. 65**), Mecheir (**no. 66**), and Pauni (**no. 69**). Year 11 may occur in two or three texts which have the same addressees and signatories (**nos. 62** and **63**, and possibly **67**). Years 1 (**no. 65**), 8 (**no. 64**), 10 (**no. 66**), and 12 (**no. 68**) occur singly.<sup>2</sup>

No general pattern can be established on analysing the dates in the other texts: the month Phaophi may occur in four texts (**nos. 79, 86, 90** and **91**), and the months Choiak (**nos. 73** and **80**) and Pauni (**nos. 69** and **85**) in two documents each. The other months (Hathyr, Tybi, Mecheir, Pachon and Mesore) only occur singly. Three texts record an indiction-year 9 (**nos. 73, 81** and **99**, the last two of which are written by Victor and signed by Daniel); and two have indiction-years 1 (**nos. 79** and **90**), 2 (**nos. 89** and **91(?)**) and 6 (**nos. 75** and **80**); indiction-years 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13 occur in one document each.

## §8.11 SIGNATORIES

Five different signatories appear in the texts (see **Table 8**). Germanos (**no. 89**) and Phib (**no. 94**) occur once each, and **no. 76** may have been signed with the triple cross (+++) of an illiterate signatory.

Thirteen documents bear the signature of Georgios, Keri, or Daniel.<sup>3</sup> The signatures of Keri and Daniel (see §8.1 for their significance in assigning a provenance to the texts) are written in a large, inexpert majuscule which appears crude in contrast with the scribal hands.<sup>4</sup> The signature of Georgios is written in a flamboyant hand and appears in three orders for payment (**nos. 71, 80** and **86**). His signature is made all the more distinctive by the unusual form of  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  he employs,  $\Sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\Upsilon\epsilon$ , see the **Format** section at §8.7. It may be that this Georgios also signs at least a dozen unpublished documents from the BL

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<sup>1</sup>Both documents were written in Choiak albeit in different years; they employ different abbreviations for Choiak but this need not necessarily disprove that they were written by the same scribe.

<sup>2</sup>The indiction-year recorded in **no. 69** is at least year 10.

<sup>3</sup>The ends of nine documents are not preserved: **Nos. 82, 87, 92, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106** and **108**.

<sup>4</sup>Compare the signature of Enoch in *WS* nos. 167(?), 169, 170, 171, 173, 176 and 182.

Or. 6201 series, see §2.1, and possibly CMAA Green “14” (see §2.6).<sup>1</sup> In these texts, however, he uses the forms  $\text{CTOIXEI}$ ,  $\text{CTOIXI}$  and  $\text{CTHXE}$  but never  $\text{CTOIXEYE}$ .

A striking sequence emerges on analysing the dates of the documents in which these three signatories appear (see **Table 8**). Georgios is attested for indiction-years 6 and 7;<sup>2</sup> Daniel is attested for indiction-years 8 and 9; and Keri is attested for indiction years 10-12.<sup>3</sup> If these dates can be relied upon, and the identification of these signatories as heads of a monastery of Apa Apollo is correct, the  $\text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ}$  formula documents may preserve the names of three successive heads of a monastery, possibly of Apa Apollo at Bawit (see §8.1 for this possible provenance).<sup>4</sup> It may be a coincidence of the preservation of the dated documents, but the sequence is noteworthy. Another "coincidence" which should be considered is that Georgios and Daniel are named as archimandrites of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo in **nos. 28** and **49** respectively.

## §8.12 DOCUMENTS WRITTEN ON "RECYCLED" POPYRI

Many  $\text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ}$  formula texts are written on papyrus which has already been inscribed. Earlier texts include letters (**nos. 63, 71, 86, 89, 91, 93, 100**, and P. CtYBR inv. 1824(A) (see §8.8)), legal documents (**no. 68**) one of which concerns the *dikaion* of a monastery (**no. 62**), and a receipt or account (**no. 70**) which may be another  $\text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ}$  formula text. Fragments of protocols may be found in **nos. 73, 80, 108**, and possibly **104**. Some of the papyri may originally have been much larger and bear only a fraction of their original text.<sup>5</sup> Two of the papyri were originally inscribed with a Greek text (**nos. 79** and **87**). The following contain text which is too damaged or fragmentary for its content to be determined: **nos. 69, 77, 78, 84, 86, 98, 101, 102**, and **107**.

A  $\text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ}$  formula text (**no. 100**) is inscribed on a fragment of papyrus which has already been used once before and which is used again when the second text proves unsuitable; see §8.5 for an analysis of this text.

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<sup>1</sup>In his transcription of this text, Paul Kahle Jr noted that the hand of Georgios was the same as the one found in "BL Or. 6201 AB" which suggests that he believed that the same Georgios signed the BL Or. 6201 series texts.

<sup>2</sup>No date is recorded in **no. 71**.

<sup>3</sup>The date Pachon 15, indiction-year (10+) is recorded in **no. 69** (scribe  $\text{ΠΡΔ. C(-)}$ ). Note also that Phib is attested as a signatory for year 11 in **no. 94**, but this document may date to another indiction cycle.

<sup>4</sup>Although Daniel appears to have been the head for only a period of two years, the same cannot definitely be claimed for Georgios and Keri, although both are also only attested for two years each. See §3.13 for heads of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

<sup>5</sup>See note on the preservation of **no. 72**.

## §8.13 PLACE NAMES IN THE TEXTS

### §8.13.1 PLACES IN THE HERMOPOLITE REGION

Of the names which can be read with certainty,<sup>1</sup> three can be securely located within the Hermopolite nome: Pmanle (nos. 72 l. 2 and 94 l. 2, see §4.6); Taparou (no. 71 l. 3, see §4.4) which is very near to Titkooh; and Tepôt (no. 68 text on side (A), see §4.4).

If Tbersê (no. 65 ll. 3 and 8) is correctly identified as el-Bersa, this was situated just south of Antinoe (see Map 3 Antinoou), which is itself mentioned in two texts (nos. 69 l. 6 and 91 l. 2).

### §8.13.2 PLACES WITH UNCERTAIN LOCATION

These include ΕΖΘΘΟΥΕ (no. 91 l. 3) and ΤΕΥCΙΔ (no. 95), which is found in two ωΙΝΕ ΝCΔ- formula ostraca which may be from Bawit, see §4.8. ΦΟΙ ΕΧΕ "the field of Le" (no. 71 l. 3) may be associated with Pmanle (see §8.13.1).

A number of place names beginning with ΠΜΔ Ν/Μ- "the place of ..." (see §4.6) have yet to be assigned a location and some of them also occur in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2.1): Pmanbête (no. 64 l. 4); Pmanranê, Pmanlouga and Pmanallou (no. 92 ll. 4, 5 and 6 respectively); Pmanpaselei(-) (no. 102); Pmansike (no. 81 ll. 3-4); and Pmančanah (no. 77).

In some instances it is not possible to determine whether something which looks like a place name should in fact be translated literally; these names are analysed at §4.11. A good example of this is Tešnê (nos. 70 side (A) l. 2 and 86 l. 3), which literally means "the garden"; there is also Tnočšnê (no. 95 l. 2), literally "the big garden"; and Touašer (no. 76 ll. 6-7), which can be interpreted as "the carpentry workshop". There is also uncertainty as to whether some epithets constitute a person's place of origin or their job title, e.g. ΠΔΠΕΧΟΟΧΕ (no. 85 l. 4) which literally means "the one of the grape".

For the interpretation of Poš (nos. 100 l. 4 and 103 l. 1), see §4.11.

## §8.14 MONASTERIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS

Men of the monastery (MON) of Jeremias Papmanbête are mentioned in no. 64 ll. 3-4 as paying one solidus of wine for their poll-tax payment. See §4.1 for possible locations, including the Hermopolite nome, for this monastery.

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<sup>1</sup>I.e. not ΦΟ'Ι' ΝΔ[ (no. 104 l. 4).

A monk of the monastery (ΤΟΟΥ) of Phoou is at the mercy of the "brothers of the poll-tax" in **no. 66**. This place was located in the Patre ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4).

The monastery (ΘΕΝΗΗΤΕ) of Stephen, which is mentioned in **no. 103** l. 3, has no secure location (see §4.1).

See §8.1 for the Monastery of the holy Apa Apollo mentioned in the text written after **no. 100**.

## §8.15 COMMODITIES

### Comestibles

Aracus ΔΡΔΚΕ, ἄρακος

This is a type of flat bean.<sup>1</sup> In **no. 70** it is measured by the ΒΟΥΝΕ "sack", and in **no. 71** by the artaba.

Barley ΕΙΩΤ, κριθή

In **no. 71** this is measured by the artaba; and in **no. 72** it is destined for the office of the *notarius*.

Bdellium ΛΕΛΩΖΕ

The word ΛΕΛΩΖΕ may be translated as "bdellium", the gum of the Commiphora tree (see Crum *CD* p. 142a ΛΙΛΟΟΖΕ). It is mentioned in **no. 93** (see commentary for further information) and in three unpublished texts from the BL Or. 6201 series, BL Or. 6201 A9 and 149, and B15 (see §2.1).

Bread ΟΕΙΚ

In **no. 73** ΩΟΜΕΤ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΝΟΕΙΙΚ "three days (worth) of bread" are specified and in **no. 74** "handfuls" (ΤΩΡΕ) of bread.

Carp ΛΔΘΗC

This is a type of carp (*Cyprinus niloticus*) commonly found in the Nile,<sup>2</sup> whose gall is used in recipes.<sup>3</sup> This fish is the object of five ΩΙΝΕ ΝCΔ- formula ostraca in Vienna (*CPR* XX 16, 18, 20, 25 and 28) and may be mentioned in **no. 93**.

Fish ΤΕΘΤ

In **no. 76** one *lakon*-measure of fish is valued at twenty-one solidi, an improbably large sum of money for such a small amount. For dried fish and salted fish found during

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<sup>1</sup>See Schnebel 1925 pp. 185-189; *WS* 202, *BM* 1132; *CPR* II 227; and *CMSS* p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>See Brewer and Friedman 1989 pp. 57-58.

<sup>3</sup>Crum *CD* p. 148b ΛΕΙϞΙ gives details.

the excavations at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. xii and 44 respectively. Krause 1988 p. 119 and n. 115 notes the occurrence of monks in the VIIIth and IXth C. documents from Bawit bearing the title "fisherman".

#### Garum ⲬIP

Eight *lakon*-measures of this are specified in **no. 78**.<sup>1</sup> Garum was found in jars during the excavations at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. xv.

#### Greens OYOOTĒ

**No. 79** specifies that just "a few greens" (OYKOYI OYOOTĒ) are to be paid, compare *CO* no. 371 l. 5, *Ep.* II no. 249v<sup>o</sup> (EIC ΠΚΟΥΪ ΝΟΥΔ'Τ'Ι[Ε]) and *ST* no. 299 (EIC ΠΙΚΟΥΪ ΝΟΥΟΤΕ). Men who may be from Tešnê are ordered to give greens and other items to men who may belong to a *shaliou* in **no. 86** (O'YOTĒ l. 3).

#### Lachanon λΔΧ

In **no. 79**, λΔΧ may be interpreted as λάχανον "garden herbs, vegetables" or λαχανόσπερμον "vegetable seed".<sup>2</sup> The former can be used for the dried as well as the fresh form of this commodity, and Bagnall 1993 pp. 27-28 states that it may be applied to the seed as well as the plant; he also suggests its interpretation as a variety of lettuce cultivated for its seeds from which an oil can be derived. If the quantity specified were large, an interpretation of seed or vegetable in dried form would seem more likely, but the small amount involved here could easily have been supplied fresh or dried. OYOOTĒ and λάχανον are cited as equivalents in Crum *CD* p. 493b OYOOTĒ (under OYOT), but in this text they designate two distinct commodities.

In **no. 22** (Chapter 6) a debt of one solidus is to be repaid in *lachanon*-oil and wheat.

#### Oil ΝΕΖ

In **no. 74** this is measured by the sextarius (ϺΕCTHC); in two other texts the *lakon*-measure is used: **no. 96** (a full *lakon*-measure) and **no. 97**.

#### Wheat COYO

Four artabas of wheat are to be paid in **no. 80**. In **no. 22** (Chapter 6) a debt of one solidus is to be repaid in wheat and *lachanon*-oil.

#### Wine ΗΡΠ̄, οἶνος

Various different measures are used for wine in the texts: the κάδος "jug" in **no. 81** (ϳΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ ΝΚΔΔΟΥC ΗΡΠ̄ (ου, καθ, π)); the ωει in **no. 82** (ωΜΟΥΝ Νωει

<sup>1</sup>For the production of garum in the western Roman Empire, see Haley 1990, esp. p. 72 n. 1. Garum is also measured in λΔΚ(ΟΝ) measures in an unpublished Coptic document, CUL Michael. 960 ll. 3, 4, 6, and 8 (see §2.2).

<sup>2</sup>This is suggested in the *ed. pr.* of **no. 79** following *CPR* IV no. 86 l. 4 (bis), and *WS* no. 370 where λΔΧΔΝΟCΠΕΡΜΔ in l. 4 is abbreviated to λΔΧ/ in l. 7.

ΝΗΡΠ) and possibly **no. 83** (ω'ε'Ι ΝΗΡΠ) where it may be the equivalent of CHK, (σήκωμα). In **no. 84** four *lahê* s are to be paid (θΤΟ ΝλΔΖΗ ΝΗΡ'Π') and this measure is equated with the Greek κνίδιον.<sup>1</sup> In two documents the amount of wine is determined by its value: **no. 64** specifies a solidus of wine and **no. 90** a half-solidus.

**No. 74** mentions purified wine (or "strained wine", see Crum *CD* p. 366b CΩΤϚ) measured by the *lakon*-measure.

## Fodder

Clover εΔΡΙΜ

In **no. 75** this is measured in artabas (εΡΤΟϚ). Clover features in a monastic account from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah (*Bal.* 291 l. 10 εΤΡΙΜ); see also a IXth C. Coptic wine list, *P. Vindob.* K 4825 + 2820 + 4448 l. 52, edited in Hasitzka 1995; *KRU* 196; and Crum *CD* 430b ΤΡΙΜ (where an unpublished Michigan ostrakon, *O. Mich.* 9683, is cited).

Fodder ϚΡε

In **no. 95** "a little fodder" (ΟΥΚΟΥϊ ΝϚΡε) is to be given to an ass; a plural form of ϚΡε, Ϛ'Ρ'ε'ε'Υ, may be interpreted in **no. 77**. Fodder is also mentioned in **nos. 26** and **27** (Chapter 6). In **no. 26** a debt may be repaid in fodder, and in **no. 27** an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo acquired fodder-land in Pôrahêu (see §4.4).

## Construction materials

Lead τΔϚΤ

**No. 96** is an invoice for twenty-five pounds (λίτρα) of lead. For consignments of lead see the late VIth C. receipts for lead issued to a lead worker for plumbing *P. Turner* 50-53 (re-editions of *P. Oxy.* VI nos. 1000-1003), and *P. Oxy.* VI no. 915.

Pitch λΔΜϚΔΤΠ

**No. 97** mentions that someone is to be sent out for some pitch. See Hardy 1931 p. 126 for references to pitch issued to potters in *P. Oxy.* XVI nos. 1911-1913.

Stone ωΝε

**No. 99** addresses a scribe and a builder in connection with "some stones which are assigned to them (?)" (ϚΝ ΝΩΝε εΥCHϚ ΝCΩΤḡ).

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<sup>1</sup>See *WS* pp. 23-24 for λΔΖΗ as the equivalent of a κνίδιον.

## Textiles

### Plaited work $\omega\text{ONTE}$

In **no. 89**  $\omega\text{ONTE } \bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$  may be interpreted as "two (pieces of) plaited work" or "two (pieces of) acacia". They are to be sold but the price mentioned is not preserved.

### Rugs $\tau\Delta\text{ΠHC}$ , $\tau\Delta\text{ΠIC}$

In **no. 63** a poll-tax payment is made with a rug worth one solidus; in **no. 69** a rug-maker or -seller may be ordered to take two rugs to Antinoe in order to sell them.

### Sacks $\delta\text{OOYNE}$

In **no. 62** four sacks are reckoned to be worth half a solidus, and are accepted as poll-tax payment from a sack-weaver ( $\psi\Delta\text{Z}\delta\text{OOYNE}$ ).

### Woollen garments $\delta\text{O}\lambda\text{ΘE}$

In **no. 85** a woollen-garment-seller ( $\psi\Delta\text{N}\delta\text{E}\lambda\text{Θ}\omega\text{T}$ ) is asked to supply twelve woollen garments.

**LIST OF UNPUBLISHED ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ FORMULA TEXTS**

1. BL Or. 6201 A179(B)	no. 71
2. BL Or. 6201 A227(B)	no. 101
3. BL Or. 6201 A231	no. 102
4. BL Or. 6201 A244(B)	no. 88
5. BL Or. 6201 B48(B)	no. 80
6. BL Or. 6201 B94	no. 103
7. BL Or. 6201 B143(A)	no. 69
8. BL Or. 6201 B204(B)	no. 70
9. BL Or. 6201 B211	no. 95
10. BL Or. 6201 B241(B)	no. 86
11. BL Or. 13886.37(B)	no. 78
12. CUL Michael. 818/3	no. 82
13. CUL Michael. 830(B)	no. 87
14. CUL Michael. 1120	no. 99
15. P. CtYBR inv. 1820	no. 104
16. P. CtYBR inv. 1824(A)	see §8.8
17. P. CtYBR inv. 2103 qua text 2	no. 100
18. CMAA Green "2"	no. 67
19. CMAA Green "16"	no. 65
20. CMAA Green "23"	no. 90
21. Christie's "1"	no. 107
22. Christie's "2"(B)	no. 108
23. Christie's "3"(B)	no. 77
24. Christie's "4"(B)	no. 98
25. Christie's "5"	no. 85
26. Christie's "6"(B)	no. 93
27. Christie's "7"	no. 106
28. Christie's "8"	no. 94
29. Christie's "9"(B)	no. 84
30. Christie's "27"	no. 75
31. Christie's "28"	no. 105
32. Christie's "29"	no. 89
33. P. Louvre E 27616	no. 68
34. <i>MIFA</i> O forthcoming no. 81	no. 92
35. P. Vindob. K 11.375 (1)	see §8.0 n. 1

## LIST OF PUBLISHED ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ FORMULA TEXTS

1. <i>BKU</i> III 367	no. 81
2. P. CtYBR inv.1853	no. 74
3. P. CtYBR inv. 1861	no. 66
4. P. CtYBR inv. 2037(A)	no. 91
5. P. Byrd 36.2	no. 96
6. P. Meyer inv. 13(B)	no. 79
7. P. Mich. 578(B)	no. 62
8. P. Mich. 1300(B)	no. 63
9. P. Mich. 1520	no. 64
10. <i>P. Mil.Vogl.</i> 4. Testi copti no. 3	no. 76
11. <i>KSB</i> I 288	no. 97
12. <i>KSB</i> I 291	no. 72
13. <i>WS</i> 175	Appendix 2

## UNPUBLISHED TEXTS WITH RELATED FORMULAE

### ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ CΖΔΙ FORMULA

1. CUL Michael. 1232	no. 73
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### ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ4CΖΔΙ FORMULA

1. CUL Michael. 1159 (ΠΕ8CΖΔΕΙ)	no. 83
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**TABLE 5**  
**ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY ADDRESSEE**

Addressee(s)	Text	Date	Scribe	Signatory	Content
Brothers of the poll-tax	62	Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	Georgi(os)	Keri	Poll-tax receipt
Brothers of the poll-tax	63	Phamenoith 17, ind. 11	Phiph	Keri	Poll-tax receipt
Brothers of the poll-tax	64	Phamenoith 11, ind. 8	Elias	Daniel	Poll-tax receipt
Brothers of the poll-tax	65	Choiak 21, ind. 1	Anoup	-	Poll-tax receipt (?)
Brothers of the poll-tax	66	Mecheir 21, ind.10	Konstantino(s)	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Brothers of the poll-tax	67	Pharmouthi 18, ind. [11?]	Georg(-)	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Brothers of the poll-tax	68	Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	Georgios	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Andreas	84	-	[...]	-	Wine payment
Anoup and Asoi	97	-	-	-	Oil invoice
Apollo	75	Hathyr 9, ind. 6	-	-	Clover payment
Apollo (scribe) and Shenoute (builder)	99	Pachon 17, ind. 9	Vict(-)	Daniel	Stone receipt
Čapat	73	Choiak 7, ind. 9 (?)	-	-	Bread payment
Papa Damian (?) (scribe)	90	Phaophi 12, ind. 1	Pamoun	-	Wine order

**TABLE 5** continued

George of the big garden/Tnoensnê	<b>95</b>	-	-	-	-	Order to give ass fodder (?)
Gerontse (woollen-garment-seller)	<b>85</b>	Pauni 14, ind. 11	-	-	-	Woollen garments payment
Ge(-)	<b>100</b>	-	-	-	-	Beginning of a document
Papa Jacob	<b>87</b>	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	Unidentifiable payment
Jerem[ias]	<b>89</b>	Thoth 1, ind. 2	-	-	Germanos	Sale of plaited work (?)
Klouj	<b>107</b>	-	-	-	-	Fragment
Koueie (son of) Papas/Papas the younger	<b>96</b>	-	-	-	-	Lead and oil invoice
Laiore (?)	<b>91</b>	Phaophi 24 (?), ind. 2 (?)	-	-	-	Unidentifiable order
Mena of Pmanle	<b>94</b>	?, ind. 11	[?]	[?]	Phib	Unidentifiable order
Apa Noc/Apanoc	<b>92</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	[?]	Unidentifiable order
Patermoute	<b>78</b>	? 17 (?), ind. ?	[?]	[?]	-	Garum payment
Paule	<b>79</b>	Phaophi 8, ind. 1	-	-	-	Greens+lachanon payment
Phib (scribe) and Is[-]	<b>93</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	[?]	Unidentifiable order
Apa Phoibammon ( <i>presbyteros</i> )	<b>74</b>	-	-	-	-	Bread, oil and wine payment
Proou	<b>76</b>	-	-	-	+++ (?)	Fish payment

**TABLE 5** continued

Severus of Pos	<b>103</b>	[?]	-	-	Fragment
Papa Shenoute	<b>70</b>	Tybi 27, ind. 5	Elias	-	Aracus payment
Papa Shenoute (oil-seller)	<b>71</b>	-	-	Georgios	Aracus and barley payment
Papa Shenoute	<b>80</b>	Choiak 16, ind. 6	Anoup	Georgios	Wheat payment
Simothe	<b>82</b>	? 18, ind. ?	Vict(-)	[?]	Wine payment
Apa Simothi	<b>83</b>	-	-	-	Wine payment
Taurine of Pmanle	<b>72</b>	Hathyr 11, ind. 13	-	-	Barley payment
Apa Victor and the brothers	<b>81</b>	Mesore 20, ind. 9	Vict(-)	Daniel	Wine payment
? of the garden/Tesnê	<b>86</b>	Phaophi 16 (?), ind. 7 (?)	[?]	G[Georgios]	Greens etc. payment
... of the place/Pma-	<b>102</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Fragment
Pa[pa (?) ...]	<b>88</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Unidentifiable payment
... Papa Al(-)	<b>104</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Fragment
... of Apa B(-)	<b>105</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Fragment
... rug-seller/maker	<b>69</b>	Pauni 15, ind. (10+)	Praseios (?)	Keri	Order re poll-tax payment
[?]	<b>77</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Fodder payment (?)
[?]	<b>98</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Unidentifiable invoice
[?]	<b>101</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Fragment
[?]	<b>106</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Fragment
[?]	<b>108</b>	[?]	[?]	[?]	Fragment

**TABLE 6**  
**ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤC2ΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY SCRIBE**

Scribe	Text	Addressee(s)	Date	Signatory	Content
Anoup	65	Brothers of the poll-tax	Choiak 21, ind. 1	-	Poll-tax receipt (?)
Anoup	80	Papa Shenoute	Choiak 16, ind. 6	Georgios	Wheat payment
Elias	70	Papa Shenoute	Tybi 27, ind. 5	-	Aracus payment
Elias	64	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phamenoth 11, ind. 8	Daniel	Poll-tax receipt
Georgi(os)	62	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	Keri	Poll-tax receipt
Georgios	68	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Georg(-)	67	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 18, ind. [11?]	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Konstantino(s)	66	Brothers of the poll-tax	Mecheir 21, ind. 10	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Pamoun	90	Papa Damian (?) (scribe)	Phaophi 12, ind. 1	-	Wine order
Phiph	63	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phamenoth 17, ind. 11	Keri	Poll-tax receipt
Praseios (?)	69	... rug-seller/maker	Pauni 15, ind. (10+)	Keri	Order re poll-tax payment
Vict(-)	81	Apa Victor and the brothers	Mesore 20, ind. 9	Daniel	Wine payment
Vict(-)	99	Apollo (scribe) and Shenoute (builder)	Pachon 17, ind. 9	Daniel	Stone receipt
Vict(-)	82	Simothe	? 18, ind. ?	[?]	Wine payment

**TABLE 7**  
**ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤC22ΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY DATE**

Date	No.	Addressee(s)	Scribe	Signatory
Choiak 21, ind. 1	65	Brothers of the poll-tax	Anoup	-
Phaophi 8, ind. 1	79	Paule	-	-
Phaophi 12, ind. 1	90	Papa Damian (scribe)	Pamoun	-
Thoth 1, ind. 2	89	Jerem[ias]	-	Germanos
Phaophi 24, ind. 2 (?)	91	Laiore (?)	-	-
Tybi 27, ind. 5	70	Papa Shenoute	Elias	-
Hathyr 9, ind. 6	75	Apollo	-	-
Choiak 16, ind. 6	80	Papa Shenoute	Anoup	Georgios
Phaophi 16, ind. 7	86	? of the garden/Tesné	[?]	G[eorgios]
Phamenoth 11, ind. 8	64	Brothers of the poll-tax	Elias	Daniel
Choiak 7, ind. 9 (?)	73	Çapat	-	-
Pachon 17, ind. 9	99	Apollo (scribe), and Shenoute (builder)	Vict(-)	Daniel
Mesore 20, ind. 9	81	Apa Victor and the brothers	Vict(-)	Daniel
Mecheir 21, ind. 10	66	Brothers of the poll-tax	Konstantino(s)	Keri

**TABLE 7 continued**

Phamenothe 17, ind. 11	63	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phiph		Keri
Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	62	Brothers of the poll-tax	Georgi(os)		Keri
Pharmouthi 18, ind. [11?]	67	Brothers of the poll-tax	Georg(-)		Keri
Pauni 14, ind. 11	85	Gerontise the woollen-garment-seller	-		-
[-], ind. 11	94	Mena of Pmanle	[?]		Phib
Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	68	Brothers of the poll-tax	Georgios		Keri
Hathyr 11, ind. 13	72	Taurine of Pmanle	-		-
Pauni 15, ind. (10+)	69	... rug-seller/-maker	Praseios (?)		Keri
? 17 (?), ind. ?	78	Patermoute	[?]		-
? 18, ind. ?	82	Simothe	Vict(-)		[?]
[...]	87	Papa Jacob	[...]		[...]
[?]	92	Apa Noc/Apanoc	[?]		[?]

**TABLE 8**  
**ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY SIGNATORY**

Signatory	Text	Addressee(s)	Date	Scribe	Content
Daniel	64	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phamenoth 11, ind. 8	Elias	Poll-tax receipt
Daniel	99	Apollo (scribe) and Shenoute (builder)	Pachon 17, ind. 9	Vict(-)	Stone receipt
Daniel	81	Apa Victor and the brothers	Mesore 20, ind. 9	Vict(-)	Wine payment
Georgios	80	Papa Shenoute	Choiak 16, ind. 6	Anoup	Wheat payment
Georgios	71	Papa Shenoute (oil-seller)	-	-	Aracus and barley payment
G[georgios]	86	? of the garden/Tesné	Phaophi 16 (?), ind. 7 (?)	[?]	Greens etc. payment
Germanos	89	Jerem[ias]	Thoth 1, ind. 2	-	Sale of plaited work (?)
Keri	66	Brothers of the poll-tax	Mechair 21, ind.10	Konstantino(s)	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Keri	63	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phamenoth 17, ind. 11	Phiph	Poll-tax receipt
Keri	62	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	Georgi(os)	Poll-tax receipt
Keri	67	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 18, ind. [11?]	Georg(-)	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Keri	68	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	Georgios	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Keri	69	... rug-seller/maker	Pauni 15, ind. (10+)	Praseios (?)	Order re poll-tax payment
Phib	94	Mena of Pmanle	?, ind. 11	[?]	Unidentifiable order
††† (?)	76	Proou	-	-	Fish payment

## ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΕΖΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENTS

Content	Ms.	no.
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### POLL TAX DOCUMENTS

<b>Receipts</b>	P. Mich. inv. 578(B)	<b>62</b>
	P. Mich. inv. 1300(B)	<b>63</b>
	P. Mich. inv. 1520	<b>64</b>
	CMAA Green "16"	<b>65</b>
<b>Orders</b>		
to waive liability	P. CtYBR inv. 1861	<b>66</b>
	CMAA Green "2"	<b>67</b>
	P. Louvre E 27616 (B)	<b>68</b>
to sell rugs as payment	BL Or. 6201 B143(A)	<b>69</b>

### ORDERS FOR PAYMENT IN VARIOUS COMMODITIES

<b>Aracus</b>	BL Or. 6201 B204(B)	<b>70</b>
<b>Aracus and Barley</b>	BL Or. 6201 A179(B)	<b>71</b>
<b>Barley</b>	<i>KSB</i> I 291	<b>72</b>
<b>Bread</b>	CUL Michael. 1232(A)	<b>73</b>
<b>Bread, Oil and Wine</b>	P. CtYBR inv. 1853	<b>74</b>
<b>Clover</b>	Christie's "27"	<b>75</b>
<b>Fish</b>	<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> IV copt. 3	<b>76</b>
<b>Fodder?</b>	Christie's "3"(B)	<b>77</b>
<b>Garum</b>	BL Or. 13886.37	<b>78</b>
<b>Greens &amp; Lachanon</b>	P. Meyer inv. 13(B)	<b>79</b>
<b>Wheat</b>	BL Or. 6201 B48(B)	<b>80</b>
<b>Wine</b>	<i>BKU</i> III 367	<b>81</b>
	CUL Michael. 818/3	<b>82</b>
	CUL Michael. 1159	<b>83</b>
	Christie's "9"(B)	<b>84</b>
<b>Woollen garments</b>	Christie's "5"	<b>85</b>
<b>Greens and other items</b>	BL Or. 6201 B241(B)	<b>86</b>
<b>Unidentifiable</b>	CUL Michael. 830(B)	<b>87</b>
	BL Or. 6201 A244(B)	<b>88</b>

## ORDERS

<b>To sell plaited work</b>	Christie's "29"(B)	<b>89</b>
<b>To supply wine</b>	CMAA Green "23"	<b>90</b>
<b>Unidentifiable</b>	P. CtYBR 2037(A)	<b>91</b>
	<i>MIFAO</i> forthcoming no. 81	<b>92</b>
	Christie's "6"(B)	<b>93</b>
	Christie's "8"	<b>94</b>
<b>To give ass fodder (?)</b>	BL Or. 6201 B211	<b>95</b>

## INVOICES FOR VARIOUS COMMODITIES

<b>Lead and Oil</b>	P. Byrd 36.2	<b>96</b>
<b>Oil</b>	<i>KSB</i> I 288	<b>97</b>
<b>Unidentifiable</b>	Christie's "4"(B)	<b>98</b>

## VARIA

Content	Ms.	no.
<b>Receipt for Stone</b>	CUL Michael. 1120	<b>99</b>
<b>Beginning of a document</b>	P. CtYBR 2103 qua (B) text 2	<b>100</b>
<b>FRAGMENTS</b>	BL Or. 6201 A227(B)	<b>101</b>
	BL Or. 6201 A231	<b>102</b>
	BL Or. 6201 B94	<b>103</b>
	P. CtYBR inv. 1820	<b>104</b>
	Christie's "28"	<b>105</b>
	Christie's "7"	<b>106</b>
	Christie's "1"(B)	<b>107</b>
	Christie's "2"(B)	<b>108</b>

## 62

### POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P. Mich. 578(B)

101 (h) x 88 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIIth C.

WS 174

Plate 42

Papyrus

**Preservation:** all margins of the 9 lines of this text are preserved. This text is written on the back of another document, see below, and the papyrus was cut down in size. The text on side (B) is perpendicular to that on side (A) so that both are written across the papyrus fibres.

**Palaeography:** hand 1: the scribe Georgi(os) (see §8.9) writes in a semi-cursive hand with very few majuscule characters, which becomes more cursive for the Greek date in l. 8. For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see §8.11. Apart from using superlinear strokes without syllabic function (ϣ̄ΤΟ l. 2 and Ϙ̄ΝΤΟΥ l. 6) this text also employs a mark which resembles a grave accent with syllabic function in ΕΝΤΔΓ̄Ν l. 5.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri, see §8.1.

**Acquisition:** (WS p. 142 no. 174:) Dr F.W. Kelsey bought this papyrus for the University of Michigan in 1920; it was included in the WS volume because of its similarity to WS no. 175, although it was not excavated at Wadi Sarga.

**Bibliography:** side (B) of this papyrus was edited first in WS pp. 142-143, and then in Husselman 1951 pp. 332-333; it is also mentioned in *Mich.* p. 21.

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered to issue a receipt to Mena the sack-weaver for his payment of four sacks which are estimated to be worth half a solidus. Compare the amounts specified in P.Mich. inv. 522, a Coptic poll-tax account possibly dated to the VIIIth C.,<sup>2</sup> in which sack-weavers (ϘΔΖΤ ϞΟΟΥΝΕ) make payments of either 1, 2,<sup>3</sup> or 3 sacks (ΘΔλλ(ΙϘ) (θαλλ(ον)).

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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<sup>1</sup>Husselman 1951 p. 332 records the dimensions as "10.3 x 8.1 cm."

<sup>2</sup>Edited in Heisler 1984 pp. 126-128, pl. 12a).

<sup>3</sup>Judging from the plate published with the edition of P. Mich. inv. 522, an open beta is to be read as the amount in line 10 rather than the alpha ("1") given in the transcription.

1† ± ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ ΝϞΩΗΡΕ  
 2 ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΝΠΔ<sup>Α</sup>Ν ΧΕ ΕΙC ϞΤΟ Ν60-  
 3 ΟΥΝΕ 'ΝΤ'Ε 'Μ'[ΗΝΔ] Ψ'Δ'Ζ' 600ΥΝΕ  
 4 ΔΥΕΙ ΤΟΟΤ ΖΔ ΠΕΘΔ<sup>[Δ]</sup>Ν ΛΟΙΠΟΝ  
 5 ΤΙ ΠΕΘΕΝΤΔΓ<sup>Ν</sup>ΝΔϞ ΔΥΩ 6Ω  
 6 ΖΪ ΧΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΟΥCΜ<sup>Ν</sup>ΤΟΥ  
 7 ΠΡΟC ϞΤΟ Ν'600ΥΝΕ ΖΔ Τ'ΠΔωΕ  
 8 ΝΖΟΛΟΚ, μ' φαρ' ιη ιϛ' ια Ϙ γεωργι  
 9 (Hd 2) ± ΚΗΡΙ

1 ΠΝΕϞΩΗΡΕ 2 ΠΠΔΝΔΡCΙΜΟC 2, 7 ϞΤΟΥ 4 ΕΤΟΟΤ, ΠΕϞΔΝΔΡCΙΜΟC  
 5 ΠΕϞΕΝΤΔΓΙΟΝ 8 ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC μηνι Φαρμουθι, ινδικτιονοC

**Opening formula** (1) ± Our father is the one who writes to his sons, (2) the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

**Order** Here are four sacks (3) belonging to Mena the sack-weaver. (4) I have received them as his poll-tax (ἀ.). Consequently (λοιπόν), (5) give him his receipt (ἐντάγιον) and see (6) that all of them are reckoned (7) (to be) equal in value to (πρός) four sacks to the half (8) solidus (δλοκόττινος).

**Date** (Greek) In the month of Pharmouthi (day) 18, indiction-year 11.

**Scribe** † Georgi(os).

**Signatory** (9 Hd 2) ± Keri.

### Transcription notes

1, 9 †: the *ed. pr.* gave Ϙ.

1 ΝϞ-: this is also found in **no. 63** l. 1.

2 ΝΠΔΝ<sup>Α</sup>: Kahle wrongly assumed that the Ν was written instead of an Ε here and in **nos. 63** and **64**.<sup>1</sup>

3 'Μ'[ΗΝΔ]: the *ed. pr.* gave 'ΜΗΝΔ<sup>1</sup>.

4 ΤΟΟΤ: the *ed. pr.* gave ΤΟΤ.

<sup>1</sup>See *Bal.* p. 73 §27 b).

## Translation notes

- 3 Ψ'Δ'Ζ' ΒΟΟΥΝΕ: "sack-weavers" occur in inscriptions from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>1</sup>
- 4 ΛΟΙΠΟΝ: this may also be interpreted as "remainder", referring to the remainder of poll-tax which Mena had still to pay; see **no. 47** l. 4 for this term.
- 5 ΕΝΤΑΓΜ̄: Steinwenter 1955 p. 28 discusses the use of ἐντάγιον in Byzantine documents from the VI-VIIIth C.
- 6 ΝΟΟΥΣΜ̄ΝΤΟΥ: literally "let them be established".
- 7 ΠΡΟΣ: for other occurrences of πρὸς with this meaning (LSJ p. 1498b section C III 4) in Coptic documents, see Gregorius 1976-1978 pp. 220-221 §145.
- 8 φαρ<sup>θ</sup>/ιη: Pharmouthi 18th = April 13th.  
γρωργι: for this scribe, see §8.9.

## FRAGMENT OF A DOCUMENT

P. Mich. 578(A) (Unpublished)

VIIIth C.

Plate 43

**Preservation:** only the upper and lower margins of the 4 lines of this text are preserved.

Lacunae obscure some letters in ll. 2-3 and the ink has faded in several places.

**Palaeography:** written in a different hand to the text on side (B), a right-sloping majuscule with quite an elaborate way of forming a Δ (l. 2).

Someone, possibly the son of Iohanes, writes to the *dikaion* of a monastery whose name is not preserved. If the reconstruction of ]'Δ'λ'ει as ΔCΦΔλ'ει (ἀσφάλεια) in l. 4 is correct, this would be another example of a legal document addressed to the *dikaion* of a monastery being recycled for internal use, see §8.12.

1↑        ]'Π'ψ'ΕΝ'ΙΩΖΔΝ'ΗC' ΠΡ'ΩΜ'ΙΕΤ[  
2        ]( ±2 )'Ε'ΠΔ[Ι]ΚΔ'Ι'ΟΝ Μ'Π'ΜΟΝΔ'Ι[CΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
3        ΜΔ]Ι'ΝΟΥ[Τ]Ε Ν'Ε'ΙΟΤ ΕΤΟΥΔ'Δ'Ι[Β  
4        ]'Δ'λ'ει  
3 ΕΙΩΤ

(1) ... the son of Iohanes of T-... (2) ... to the *dikaion* (δικαίον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) ... (3) ...God-loving, holy father ... (4) ...

<sup>1</sup>See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 87 (no. 205 l. 2 (Ψ'Δ'ΒΟΟΥΝΕΙ ΦΟΙΒΔΜΜΩΝ)), and 99 (no. 268 l. 5 (ΕΝΩΧ)). For the presence of sack-weavers in monasteries, see Dilwyn Jones 1981 p. 182.

# 63

## POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Mich. inv. 1300(B)

100 (h) x 165 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 44

**Preservation:** all margins of the 5 lines of text are preserved, and there is just one small lacuna. See below for the first text written on this papyrus.

**Palaeography:** hand 1 is small and cursive; †, l, M, P, T and ϕ may have a long, hooked tail. The εl ligature is distinctive with a hook at the bottom of the l (e.g. l. 4). For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see §8.11. This text employs a raised dot to mark syllabic function in εΤΟΟΤ·Τ l. 4.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri, see §8.1.<sup>2</sup>

**Acquisition:** (Husselman 1951 p. 332:) purchased by the University of Michigan in 1923, along with a group of miscellaneous Greek and Coptic documents.

**Bibliography:** side (B) of this papyrus was edited in Husselman 1951 pp. 333-334, and mentioned in *Mich.* p. 21.

The brothers of the poll-tax are notified of the receipt of a rug worth one solidus as Čamoul's poll-tax payment.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

	<u>†</u>	Δ
1 →	<u>†</u> ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔἰ ΝΦΩΗΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ἸΝΠΔΝἰ	
2	ΧΕ ΕΖΡΔἰ ΖΝ ΦἰΩΦἰ ΝΦΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΗΝ ΝΔΝἰ	Δ
3	ΕΝΠΩΔ ΝΤΔΔΦ ΖΔ ΤΕΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔἰ	ΕΝΔΕΚἰ ἸΔἰ
4	ΝΤΔΠΙC ΔΦΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ·Τ ΕΖΡΔἰ ΕΡΟΦ	μἰ Φαμἰ ἰζ ἰδἰ ἰα Φἰφ
5 Hd 2	<u>†</u> ΚΗΡΙ	

1 ΠΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ, ΠΠΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC 2 ΖΜ ΦΩΘ ΜΠΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC ΠΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC 3 ΜΠΩΔ,  
ΕΝΔΕΚΔΤΗC ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC 4 ΤΔΠΗC, ΕΤΟΟΤ, μηνὶ Φαμενῶθ ἰνδικτίονοC

**Opening formula** (1) † Our father is the one who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

**Receipt** (2) About the matter of the solidus (ὀλοκότινος) of poll-tax (ἀ.) which Čamoul (3) must pay for this year, the eleventh

<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Dr Traianos Gagos for providing information on this papyrus.

<sup>2</sup>A provenance of Hermopolis was suggested in Husselman 1951 p. 332.

(ἐνδέκατος) indiction (ἰνδικτίων), here is a solidus (ὀλοκόττινος)-worth  
(4) of rug (τάπης) which I have received for it.

**Date** (Greek) In the month of Phamenoth (day) 17, indiction-  
year 11.

**Scribe** Phiph.

**Signatory** (5 Coptic: Hd 2) ϣ Keri.

### Transcription notes

1, 5 †: the *ed. pr.* gave ϣ.

1 ΝϞ-: this spelling also occurs in **no. 62** l. 1, although written by a different scribe.

2 ΦΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΝΔΝΔ: the *ed. pr.* gave ΦΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΝΠΔΝΔ.

3 ΕΝΔΕΚΤ, ϞΔ, Ϟ: in the *ed. pr.* this was given as ΕΝΔΕΚ, Δ, Ϟ. Although the text is faded, there appears to be enough space for ϞΔ, Ϟ rather than Δ, Ϟ.

4 Ϟδ, Ϟ: in the *ed. pr.* the δ was superscript.

### Translation notes

4 φαμ<sup>θ</sup>, Ϟζ: Phamenoth 17th = March 13th.

ϞιϞ: the name ΦιϞ (a form of Phib) is attested in Preisigke *NB* for the VI-VIIIth C.

### LETTER

P. Mich. inv. 1300(A) (Unpublished)

VIIIth C.

Plate 45

**Preservation:** the last 7 lines and all but the upper and left margins are preserved. The right half of ll. 4-6 of text is faded.

**Palaeography:** a fluent, semi-cursive hand with the following ligatures: in l. 2 επ, χε (written without taking the pen off the papyrus, see also l. 4), and "ace of spades" ερ; in l. 3 ι, εμ, Ϟτ and Ϟζ; and ετ in l. 7.

The purpose of this letter is not clear. It mentions a certain Pphilemmon to whom the writer has written.



## 64

### POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Mich. inv. 1520

190 (h) x 97 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 46

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins are preserved; the scribe wrote around a lacuna in the centre of the papyrus.

**Paleography:** hand 1 is an irregularly-written, documentary majuscule with a number of ligatures, mainly combinations with ε or δ. The date and scribe's name are written in a Greek-type cursive. For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see §8.11. This text employs a mark resembling an "acute accent" to mark syllabic function in ΝΤΟΟΤΨ l. 3, and on the first of two Τs in ΖΟΧΟΚΟΨΤΗ l. 2. It also uses a superlinear dot in place of the trema (CΖΔΪ l. 1 and ΙΕΡΕΜΪΔC l. 4).

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax, see §8.1.

**Acquisition:** (according to Husselman 1951 p. 332:) Michigan University Library acquired this text in 1924.

**Bibliography:** edited in Husselman 1951 pp. 334-335 (where it is erroneously numbered as "P. Mich. 1524"); and mentioned in *Mich.* p. 21 (where it is correctly numbered).

The brothers of the poll-tax are told to take wine worth a solidus from the sons of Praše, of the monastery of Apa Jeremias of Pmanbête (see §4.1).

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1↑ ± ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΪ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΝΠΔΝ-

2 ΔΡΙCΜΟC ΧΕ ΧΙ ΓΟΨΖΟΧΟΚΟΨΤΗ ΝΗΡΠ

3 ΝΤΟΟΤΨ ΝΕΩΕΝ ΠΡΔΩΕ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΠΜΟΨΝ!

4 ΙΕΡΕΜΪΔC ΠΔΠΜΔΝΘΗΤΕ ± εγρ, φαμ, ια ινδ, η ηλιας

5 (Hd 2) ± ΔΔΝΗΧ ΓCΤΟΙΧΙ Ψ!

1 ΠΝΕCΝΗΥ Π- 2 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΗΝΟC 3 ΠΝΩΕΝ-, ΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ?  
4 έγρᾶφη Φαμενῶθ, ινδικτίουοC 5 CΤΟΙΧΕΙ

**Opening formula** (1) ± Our father is the one who writes to the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

<sup>1</sup>Husselman 1951 p. 334 records the dimensions as "14.5 cm. long and varying from 7 cm. in height on the left side to 5 cm. on the right".

**Order** (2) Take a solidus (ὀλοκότινος) of wine (3) from the sons of Praše, the men of the monastery (μοναστήριον ?) (4) of Jeremias of Pmanbête.  
**Date** (Greek) + Written (in) Phamenoth (day) 11, indiction-year 8,  
**Scribe** Elias.  
**Signatory** (5 Hd 2) ₪ Daniel agrees (στοιχεῖν).

### Transcription notes

1 and 4 †: the *ed. pr.* gave ₪.

3 ΝΤΟΟΤϜ : the second O has been changed from another character.

ΠΡΔΩΕ: this has been written around two small marks like a \ on the papyrus.

Μ'ΟΝ': the *ed. pr.* had 'ΜΟ'ΝΔ', but no final Δ is visible. The Μ and Ο are written in a single ligature; the Ο is strangely formed, and may be read less convincingly as an Δ, to give ΜΔ Ν- "place of".

5 ₪, 'CΤΟΙΧΙ †': these were omitted in the *ed. pr.* Apart from the initial C, CΤΟΙΧΙ † has been almost completely erased, and is reconstructed after **no. 81** l. 5; see also §8.7.

### Translation notes

2 The amount of one solidus appears to represent the poll-tax payment of more than one person here; compare the half solidus paid by one man in **no. 62**, and see §8.7.1.

4 ηλιας: see §8.9.

φαιμω, ια: Phamenoth 11th = March 7th.

## 65 POLL-TAX RECEIPT (?)

CMAA Green "16"<sup>1</sup>                      70 (h?) x 115 (w?) mm.<sup>2</sup>                      Whereabouts unknown  
Papyrus

**Preservation:** (A): 6 lines and all margins may have been preserved; written at 180° to this on side (B) were 2 lines with possibly all margins intact.

**Provenance:** unknown. For the possibility that the place of origin was the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, see §8.1. ΤΘΕΡΩΗ (ll. 3 and 8) may be identified with the Hermopolite place name el-Bersha (see Tbersê §4.5).

**Acquisition:** see §2.6.

"Our father" addresses the brothers of the poll-tax, presenting a solidus for Joseph the brother of Mouses of Tbersê. This may be Joseph's poll-tax payment, and he may have given it to Papa Anoup the *shaliou* (see §3.7) in return for something which is not now intelligible. The purpose of this document is obscure because some of the words are incomplete and may not have been correctly transcribed.

(A)  
1 → + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔἱ ΝΝϞΩΗΡΕ  
2 ΝΕCΝΗΥ Ν' Π' Δ<sup>Α</sup>Ν̄ ΧΕ ΕΙC ΟΥΖΟΧΟΚ, Ε-  
3 ΙΩCΗΦ ΠCΟΝ ΝΥΔΖ [ΜΩ]Γ' Υ' CΗC ΠΔ ΤΘΕΡΩΓ' Η'  
4 Ν̄ ΤΔ... ΔΡ ΜΠΠΔ Π[Δ ΔΝ]Γ' Ο' Υ Π ΠΩΔΧΙΟΥ  
5 ΖΔ ΝΩΟΜΤΕ Ν̄ Β. Δ' Υ' . Ν + μ' <sup>κ</sup> <sup>δ</sup> χ κα λ α  
6 ανουπ εγρ'

(B) Docket  
7 ↑ ΙΩCΗΦ (space) ΥΟΝ Ν̄ ΜΩΥCΗC  
8 ΠΔ Τ (space) ΘΕΡΩΗ Ν̄ Δ

1 Ν̄ ΝΕϞ- 2 Ν̄ ΠΔ ΝΔΡΙCΜΟC. ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC 5 Ν̄ Β. Δ' Υ' . Ν, μηνὶ Χοῖακ ἰνδικτίονοC  
6 ἔγραψα 8 ΝΟΜΙCΜΔ ΤΙΟΝ

**Opening formula**                      (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his sons, (2) the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

**Order**                                      Here is a solidus (ὀλοκόττινος) for (3) Joseph the brother of the scribe Mouses of Tbersê (4) ... the Papa Anoup, the *shaliou*, (5) for the three ...

<sup>1</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.

<sup>2</sup>According to Kahle's notes.

**Date** (Greek) + In the month of Choiak (day) 21, indiction-year 1.  
**Scribe** (6) Anoup, I wrote.  
**Docket** (7 Coptic) Joseph the brother of Mouses (8) of Tberšê, one solidus (νομισμα(τιον)).

### Transcription notes

- 2 εΙC ΟΥΖΟΧΟΚ/; Kahle initially wrote τω ?? .ΟΥΖΟΧΟΚ/ then suggested εΙC [ϣΤΟΟ]Υ. Reconstruct εΙC "here is", as in **nos. 62** l. 2 and **63** l. 3, but note that the phrase ΔϣΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ "I have received it", which usually goes with εΙC ... (see §8.7), is not included in this text. The docket records Ν<sup>0</sup> Δ, which would suggest a reading of ΟΥΖΟΧΟΚ/ rather than ϣΤΟΟΥ ΖΟΧΟΚ/ here. One solidus is the most common amount paid in poll-tax documents, see §8.7.1.
- 4 Ν̄ΤΔ...ΔΡ: no simple resolution of this is possible and the reading may not be accurate. It may be that Papa Anoup the *shaliou* has been, or is to be given, the solidus as payment for the three things mentioned in l. 5.
- 5 Ν̄Θ.Δ'Υ'Ν: this is probably to be interpreted as genitival Ν̄- plus a noun beginning with the letter Θ (which may be representing a ϣ). That the noun in question is feminine is indicated by the use of ωΟΜΤΕ rather than ωΟΜΝΤ, the masculine form of the word for "three". There is no suitable Coptic word beginning with a Θ and ending in a Ν listed in Strasbach and Barc *DIC*, and no Greek word in LSJ. It is possible that Kahle mis-read one or more of these letters.
- 7 Kahle wrote +ΟΝ instead of ψΟΝ, which suggests that the scribe wrote a tioid psi (see note to the palaeography section of **no. 16** text 1 for this term).

### Translation notes

- 3 and 7-8 ΜΩΥΧΗC ΠΔΤΘΕΡΩΗ: this man also occurs in two unpublished Coptic papyri, CUL Michael. 1047/1,<sup>1</sup> and CUL Michael. 1233 (see §2.2). In the latter, he is listed along with men of ΠΜΔ ΝΔΔΥΡΙΝΕ "the place of Daurine (Taurinus)", which may be equated with the monastery of this name in the Hermopolite nome rather than at Aphrodito.<sup>2</sup>
- 5 χ<sup>κ</sup> κα: Choiak 21st = 17/18th December.
- 7-8 This docket has a similar format to one in another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ document, **no. 90**.

<sup>1</sup>This papyrus mentions ΚΥΡΙΔΚΟC ΦΔΜΩΕ, son of ΙCΔΚ, and ΠΘΕΧΕ, son of ΘΕΟΔΟCΕ, who both occur in Pierpont Morgan inv. M 662 B 6a (A) text 1, which is edited in MacCoull 1979-1982 p. 4

<sup>2</sup>See *CKÄ* p. 1446 "Kôm Īsqâw" no. 19 for the Aphrodito monastery, and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 128 "Ταυρίνου" for the Hermopolite.

## ORDER TO WAIVE POLL-TAX LIABILITY

*P. Yale copt.* no. 2156 (h) x 161 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIIth C.

P.CtYBR inv. 1861

Plate 46

Papyrus

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins preserved.**Palaeography:** a cursive hand with some ligatures. I and P have hooked tails. ϕ is written in one continuous movement without taking the pen off the papyrus (ϕοοϣ l. 2).**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri, see §8.1. The place ϕοοϣ (l. 2) may be located in the Hermopolite nome (see the Monastery of Phoou §4.1).**Acquisition:** see §2.3.1.**Bibliography:** edited in *P. Yale copt.* p. 48; and described in Petersen [1964] no.123 (plate).

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold liable, presumably for poll-tax, a monk (possibly from the otherwise unattested monastery of Phoou) until brother Petros arrives.

1↑ ρ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΓΤΙ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ ΝΦΩΗΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΠΔΝ<sup>Δ</sup>  
 2 ΧΕ ΔΝΔΥ ΕΠΕΙΚΟΥΪ ΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΝΤΕΠ ΤΟΟΟΥ ΝΦΟΟΥ  
 3 ΠΠΡΔΜΔΖΕ ΝΜΟΦ ΩΔΝΤΕΠΔCΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΕΙ  
 4 + μ μ κα υ / ι + ΚωνCταντινο ευρ  
 5 + ΚΗΡΙ

1 ΠΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ, ΠΠΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC 2 ΜΟΝΑΧΟC, ΤΟΟ[Ο]Υ 3 ΠΠΡΔΜΔΖΕ ΝΜΟΦ 4 μηνὶ Μεχέρ, ἰνδικτίονοC ΚωνCταντίνοC ἔγραψα

**Opening formula** (1) ρ Our father is the one who writes to his sons the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

**Order** (2) See this young monk (μοναχός) of the monastery of Phoou: (3) do not hold him liable until brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) Petros comes.

**Date** (4 Greek) In the month of Mecheir, (day) 21, indiction-year 10.

<sup>1</sup>These dimensions were supplied by Stephen Emmel; the *ed. pr.* gave (w. x h.) "15.7 x 5.3 cm".

**Scribe** + Konstantino, I wrote.  
**Signatory** (5 Hand 2) + Keri.

### **Transcription notes**

2 ΤΟΟ[Ο]Υ: the third Ο is a blob of ink.

### **Translation notes**

2 ΝΦΟΟΥ: this may also be interpreted as a form of ΜΠΟΟΥ "today" (Crum *CD* p. 731a 200Υ), leaving the "young monk of the monastery" as rather a vague description of the person in question.

4 μΧ κα: Mecheir 21st = 15/16th February.

## ORDER TO WAIVE POLL-TAX LIABILITY

CMAA Green "2"<sup>1</sup>82 (h) x 120 (w) mm.<sup>2</sup>

Whereabouts unknown

Papyrus

**Preservation:** 6 lines and all margins may have been preserved.**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri, see §8.1.**Acquisition:** see §2.6.

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold Phoibamon of the piggery/Pman[n]erir liable for poll-tax until the person issuing this order has had a word with them.

1↑ + [ΠΕ]ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ<sup>Ϟ</sup>ϞΔΙ Ν<sup>Ϟ</sup>ΨΗΡΕ  
 2 [ΝΕ]CΝΗΟΥ Ν<sup>Ϟ</sup>ΠΔΝ<sup>Ϟ</sup> ΔΕ ΝΠΕΡΜΔΖΕ  
 3 ΝΦΟΙΘΔΜΩΝ ΠΔΠΜΔΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΡ ΝΔΝ<sup>Ϟ</sup>  
 4 ΨΔΝΤΙΨΔ ΔΕ ΝΕΜΗΤΝ + ΦΔΡΜ<sup>Ϟ</sup>ΙΗ ΙΝ<sup>Ϟ</sup>,  
 5 ΓΕΩΡ<sup>Γ</sup>, ΕΓΡΔΨΔ +  
 6 Hd2 + ΚΗΡΙ

1 ΝΝΕΨΗΡΕ 2 CΝΗΥ ΝΠΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC, ΝΠΡΔΜΔΖΕ 3 ΝΦΟΙΘΔΜΜΩΝ, ΝΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC  
 4 ΝΜΗΤΝ, ΦΔΡΜΟΥΘΙ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC 5 ΓΕΩΡΓΕΙΟC *vel sim.*

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his sons, (2) the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

**Order** Do not hold (3) Phoibamon of the piggery/Pman[n]erir liable for poll-tax (ἀ.) (4) until I speak with you.

**Date** + Pharmouthi (day) 18, indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) (...)

**Scribe** (5) Georg(-), I wrote (ἔγραψα) +.

**Signatory** (6 Hand 2) + Keri.

**Transcription notes**

3 Kahle read ΠΔΠΜΔΝ[Τ]ΕΡΙΡ and ΝΔΝΔ.

4-5 + ΦΔΡΜ<sup>Ϟ</sup>ΙΗ ΙΝ<sup>Ϟ</sup>, ΓΕΩΡ<sup>Γ</sup>, ΕΓΡΔΨΔ +: this may have been written in a more cursive Greek hand.

<sup>1</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.

<sup>2</sup>According to Kahle's notes.

ΦΔΡΜΘ ΙΗ ΙΝΔ,/: Kahle did not indicate that any text was missing here, although no indiction-year appears to have been entered. As the same month and day is specified for indiction-year 11 in **no. 62** l. 8, which has the same addressees, scribe and signatory as this document, a restoration of indiction-year 11 here is highly probable. An alternative reading of ΦΔΡΜΘ ΙΗ ΙΝΔ,/ as "Pharmouthi 10, indiction-year 8" is also possible although this type of date ((month) x (day) x (year) x indiction-year) does not occur in any other of the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΟΖΔΙ formula documents, see §8.7.

### Translation notes

- 2 ΜΔΖΕ: see §8.7.1 for this variant of ΔΜΔΖΤΕ (Crum *CD* p. 10a) with this meaning.
- 3 ΜΔΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΡ: this could also be interpreted as "swineherd", involving the prefix ΜΔΝ- "man of" (Crum *CD* p. 173b), rather than ΜΔΝ- "place of" (Crum *CD* p.153b).
- 4 ΦΔΡΜΘ ΙΗ: Pharmouthi 18th = April 13th.

## ORDER TO WAIVE POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P. Louvre E 27616 (B)

40 (h) x 169 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>VIIIth C.<sup>2</sup>

Papyrus

Plate 47<sup>3</sup>

**Preservation:** 4 lines and all margins are preserved. See below for the text written earlier on this papyrus.

**Palaeography:** hand 1: a flowing majuscule hand with some ligatures, including an "ace-of-spades" ε+ρ l. 2. For the hand of Georgios (hand 2), see §8.11.

**Provenance:** uncertain. There is a possibility that it was excavated at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit by Jean Clédât, although, unlike other papyri from this source, it was not specifically labelled by him with this provenance.<sup>4</sup>

**Acquisition:** donated to the Louvre by Jean Clédât's daughter, Mme Jean Mallet.<sup>5</sup>

**Bibliography:** this papyrus was described with a plate in *L'Égypte en Périgord* no. 122 papyrus no. 2, pl. p. 99 (no. 2); after I had been given permission to edit it in this thesis and had sent a copy of my edition to Mme. Anne Boud'hors,<sup>6</sup> it was published in Boud'hors 1995 pp. 32-34.

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold Iohannes liable for poll-tax for the year. Iohannes may be referred to by "our father" as "his man" which might explain why the payment was waived for him.

1 → + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΟΣΖΑΪ ΝΝΨΩΗΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΝΠΔΓΝ<sup>Δ</sup>  
 2 ΞΕ ΝΠΕΡΔΜΔΖΕ ΝΪΩΖΔΝΝΗC ΠΕΓΓΙΡΩΜ ΝΓΔΝ<sup>Δ</sup>  
 3 ΠΓΡΙΟC ΤΡΟΜΠΕ + φρμ α υν, υβ<sup>α θ δ</sup>  
 4 (Written at the side of ll. 3 and 5, Hd 2) + ΚΗΡΙ  
 5 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟ<sup>Γ</sup> ΕΓΡ<sup>Δ</sup>, +

1 ΝΝΕΨ-, ΝΠΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC 2 ΝΠΓ-, ΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC 3 Φαρμούθι ἰνδικτίονοC 5 ΕΓΡΔΨΔ

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

**Order** (2) Do not hold Iohannes, his man, liable for poll-tax (ἀ.)  
 (3) for (πρός) the year.

<sup>1</sup>Dimensions given in *L'Égypte en Périgord* p. 99.

<sup>2</sup>Boud'hors 1995 p. 32 proposes a date in the first half of the VIIIth C.

<sup>3</sup>Photograph © Christian Larrieu 1994 La Licorne.

<sup>4</sup>See Boud'hors 1995 pp. 29-30.

<sup>5</sup>See Boud'hors 1995 p. 29.

<sup>6</sup>I am grateful for Anne Boud'hors for providing me with a photograph of this papyrus.

**Date** (Greek) + Pharmouthi (day) 1, indiction-year 12.  
**Signatory** (4 Hand 2) Keri.  
**Scribe** (5) Georgios I wrote (γράφειν) +.

### Transcription notes

- 1 Δ' Ν Δ' and 2 ' Δ Ν Δ': the final letters in both lines are almost illegible.  
 2 Π Ε ' ρ': possibly, but less likely, Π Ε ' Υ' (as read in Boud'hors 1995 p. 33) because the ρ and Υ are very similar in this text, compare Ν ρ- and C Ν Η Υ l. 1.  
 3 φ α ρ μ θ: the α looks more like an υ on top of the ρ following it.  
 υ β: if correctly interpreted, the β is open; Boud'hors 1995 p. 33 reads it as an α, possibly influenced by the fact that **no. 62**, which has the same signatory as this text, is dated to indiction-year eleven. However, although the scribe of both texts is named Georgios, they are not written by the same person. Following the β there is a low oblique stroke similar to the one in υ δ / earlier in the line, but this may simply be a mark on the papyrus.  
 5 Γ Ε Ω Ρ Γ Ι Ο C: the C resembles an υ which is how it is read in Boud'hors 1995 p. 33.<sup>1</sup>

### Translation notes

- 2 Π Ε ' ρ' - : "his", i.e. the head's man; but if Π Ε Υ - "their" is to be read, a man attached to the brothers of the poll-tax may be in question.  
 3 φ α ρ μ θ α: <sup>Pharmouthi</sup> Pharmouthi 1st corresponds with the <sup>27th March</sup> 25/26th February.

## END OF A LEGAL DOCUMENT

P. Louvre E 27616 (A)

Plate 47<sup>2</sup>

**Preservation:** 4 lines and only the left margin are preserved. A few lines of faint writing are visible beneath this text.

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping majuscule hand with few ligatures.

Only the names of the scribe and signatories to this document are preserved. One of them begins his declarations with Δ Ν Ο Κ Π Δ C Ο Ν [NN], and another is from Tepôt in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4).

<sup>1</sup>For the scribe's name in the genitive form, see §8.7.

<sup>2</sup>Photograph © Christian Larrieu 1994 La Licorne.

1↑ .[ ±3 ]...[ ] [ ] [ ]  
 2 ΜΩC ΔΥΩ ΔΙCΖΔΙ ΝΤΔΒΙΧ † ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔC[ΟΝ  
 3 ΜΝ ΠΔCΟΝ ΦΙΒ ΝΤΕΠΩΤ ΔΥΩ ΜΝ[  
 4 † † ΔΝΟΚ † ΠΔΠΔ ΠΤΟΧΕΜΔΙ ΔΥΚΟΡΩΤ Δ[ΙCΖΔΙ ΖΔΡΩΟΥ ?

**Witness/Signatory X + 1** (2) ... and I wrote with my hand  
**Witnesses/Signatories X + 2-3** + I, brother (ΠΔCΟΝ) ... (3) and my brother  
 Phib of Tepôt and ...  
**Scribe** (4) † I, Papa Ptolemai, they asked me (and) I  
 [wrote on their behalf (?) ...

### Transcription notes

3 MN: the first MN in this line resembles the ΜΩ of ΜΩC in the line above.  
 ΦΙΒ: this has an open beta.  
 ΔΥΩ ΜΝ[: the use of ΔΥΩ and ΜΝ is tautologous; it may be that ΜΝ is the beginning of another word.  
 4 † † ΔΝΟΚ † ΠΔΠΔ ΠΤΟΧΕΜΔΙ: Boud'hors 1995 p. 34 reads [ ±5 ] ΔΠΔ ΠΤΟΧΕΜΔΙ.

### Translation notes

4 ΠΤΟΧΕΜΔΙ: a Coptic form of Πτολεμαῖος; this name occurs as ΠΤΕΧΕΜΕ in three inscriptions from Bawit.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 90 (no. 225), 91 (no. 231), and 111 (no. 343).

## ORDER TO SELL RUGS AS POLL-TAX PAYMENT

BL OR. 6201 B143(A)

93 (h) x 70 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 48

**Preservation:** 8 lines and all but the left margin are preserved. (B) contains at least four lines of faint text written in brown ink, in a flowing cursive hand different from that of side A.

**Palaeography:** Hand 1: a flowing semi-cursive hand. Hand 2: for the signature of Keri, see §8.11. Noteworthy in this text are the superlinear marks resembling a grave accent which are used with syllabic function in Π̄ 1. 1 and Ζ̄ 1. 3.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri and deals with poll-tax, see §8.1. The place name Antinoe (ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ) is mentioned in l. 6 (see §4.7).

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

This text is not complete and may be interpreted in different ways. "Our father" writes to a rug-seller about his poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός), and mentions that he has received two rugs from Terei. The rug-seller is ordered to take them to Antinoe, presumably to sell them there. Another interpretation is that the rugs are the rug-seller's payment and Terei has taken them to Antinoe.

1↑ ΠΕΙΓΝΙΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ ΝΠ̄ΩΗΡΕ  
 2 ]ΠΓ'Δ ΝΤΔΠΙC  
 3 ]λ ΧΕ ΖΡΔΙ ΖΝ̄ ΦΩΦ ΝΠΚ-  
 4 ΔΝΔ]ΡΙCΜΟC ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ  
 5 ]ΓΕΙ'C ΤΔΠΙC CΝΔΥ ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ  
 6 ]ΓΘ' ΕΤΗΡΕΙ ΒΙΤΟΥ ΕΔΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ  
 7 ]ΓΕ' + ΠΙΕΙΝΑ<sup>Υ</sup> ΠΙ. ΠΡΔCΕΙ<sup>Υ</sup> εγρ<sup>α</sup> +  
 8 Hd 2 ]ΚΗΡΙ

1 ΠΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ 3 ΕΖΡΔΙ ΖΜ̄ ΦΩΦ ΠΠΕΚ- 5 ΤΔΠΗC 6 ΦΙΤΟΥ  
 7 ΠΔΥΝΙ, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC, ΠΡΔCΕΙΟΥ έγρῶη (?)

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) ... the rug (τάπηC)- seller (3) ... .

**Report** About your (4) poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός) for this year: (5) here are two rugs (τ.) which I have received (6) [from ?] Terei.

<b>Order</b>	Take them to Antinoe <sup>(7)</sup> ...
<b>Date</b>	+ Pauni (day) 15, indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) ...
<b>Scribe</b>	(By ?) Praseios (?) <sup>(Greek)</sup> it was written.
<b>Signatory</b>	(8 Hd 2) [...?] Keri +.

### Transcription notes

2 ]Π' C' Δ NT Δ Π IC: preceding this one would expect the name of the addressee. In between and above the I and C of T Δ Π IC, there is a sign similar to an Δ.

5 T Δ Π IC: the I has been changed from an O.

6 ]' θ': restore ΖΙΤΟΟΤ]θ (for ΖΙΤΟΟΤ῀) "from him" here.<sup>1</sup> Less likely, but also possible, is a restoration of (ΕΖΡΔΙ) ΕΡΟ]θ' following **no. 63** l. 4 (ΔΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΤ ΕΖΡΔῖ ΕΡΟϠ "(which) I have received for it"). In this case Terei might be the person taking the rugs to Antinoou.

ΤΗΡΕΙ: this personal name is not attested in Heuser *PN*, but Τηρ<ε>ῖ occurs in two Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus, *P. Oxy.* IX 1215 and *PSI* VII 808, both of which date to the II<sup>nd</sup> or III<sup>rd</sup> C.

7 'I': possibly read ΙΕ "15". In any case, the indiction-year was at least 10.

ΠΡΔ C E I Y: this may be a hellenized form of the Coptic name ΠΡΔ C E "joy" (Crum *CD* p. 309a ΡΔ ω Ε; Heuser *PN* pp. 43 and 64); see Preisigke *NB*, and Foraboschi *OA* for other names which begin with Πρασι-. A Prasi occurs in *CUL* Michael. Q109/2(B) l. 3 (unpublished, see §2.2). For the scribe's name in the genitive form followed by εγγρ in other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ C Δ I formula documents, see §8.7.

### Translation notes

2 ' C' Δ NT Δ Π IC: this is translated "rug-seller" rather than "rug-maker" although either is possible,<sup>2</sup> and the same man probably performed both tasks. Evidence that textiles were produced at the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit is provided in an inscription which mentions a C E ω T (C Δ ω T) "weaver".<sup>3</sup> For sack-weavers, see **no. 62**.

5 Δ Υ Ε Ι Ε Τ Ο Ο Τ: see §8.7.

6 Δ Ν Τ Ι Ν Ο Ο Υ: Antinoe was most probably a centre for the textile trade, and, indeed, many Coptic textiles were excavated in the cemeteries of Antinoe.<sup>4</sup>

7 Π Y Ι Ε: Pauni 15 = June 9th.

<sup>1</sup>For εΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ≠ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ ≠ see, exx. *CPR* IV 26 l. 12 and 189b l. 1.

<sup>2</sup>C Δ may mean a "maker of" or "dealer in" (Crum *CD* p. 316a).

<sup>3</sup>See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 80, where this title is mistranslated "portier"; it also occurs in the place name ΠΜΔ Ν Ε C Δ ω T which is to be found in a ω Ι Ν Ε Ν C Δ -formula ostrakon, published in Tait 1994. This ostrakon may be connected with the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo because the ω Ι Ν Ε Ν C Δ - formula is found in a number of ostraca excavated by Jean Clédat there (see §3.3.2.1), and because it mentions Π ω Δ Π Μ Δ Ν Θ Δ Μ Ο Υ Χ who is also recorded in a Bawit inscription (see Clédat 1904-1906 p. 83 no. 2).

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN ARACUS

BL OR. 6201 B204(B)

65 (h) x 115 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 49

**Preservation:** 4 lines and all margins. This is the second text to be written on this papyrus; see below for the text on (A).

**Palaeography:** an experienced right-sloping semi-cursive hand.

**Provenance:** unknown. Side (A) is an account or receipt which may mention the place name Těšnê (ΤΕΩΝΗ), see §4.11.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

Papa Shenoute is ordered to pay Horion a sack of aracus (see §8.15).

1→ ρ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ[ ΜΠΕCΩΗΡΕ  
 2 ΠΠΔΠΔ ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ρ Ξ'Ε Τ[Ι] ΟΥCΟΥΝΕ  
 3 ΝΔΡΔΚΕ ΝΖΩ'Ρ'ΙΟΝ ΤΥ'Β' Κ' Ζ' ΙΝΑ, Ε  
 4 ΗΛΙΔC ΕΓΡΔΥΔ †

2 CΟΥΝΕ 3 ΤΥΒΙ, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

**Opening formula** (1) ρ Our father is the one who writes to [his son] (2) the Papa Shenoute.

**Order** Give a sack (3) of aracus (ἄρακος) to Horion.

**Date** Tybi (day) 27 (?), indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 5.

**Scribe** (4) Elias, I wrote (γράφειν) †.

**Transcription notes**

3 Κ' Ζ': ΚΓ is also possible.

4 †: there may be a further sign following this.

**Translation notes**

2 CΟΥΝΕ: according to *WS* pp. 20-21 no. 3, this non-standardised measure and its Greek equivalent θαλλίον commonly contained two artabas. Shelton 1990 p. 110 refers to the ratio of three artabas per sack found in some of the ΕΤΜΟΥΛΟΝ ostraca.<sup>1</sup> The spelling CΟΥΝΕ also occurs in *WS* no. 189.

<sup>4</sup>Despite this, Wipszycka 1991c p. 2221 "Centers of textiles production" states that "written sources do not confirm that Antinoopolis played a more significant role than other cities in the production of textiles".

<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Professor John Tait for this reference.

3 ΖΩΡΡΙΟΝ: see Heuser *PN* p. 84 for this name, which is well attested in Greek texts from many periods, see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA*.

ΤΥΡΒΙΚΖΙ: Tybi 27 = 22nd/23rd January.

## FRAGMENT OF AN ACCOUNT or RECEIPT

BL Or. 6201 B204 (A)

VIIIth C.

Plate 49

**Preservation:** 3 lines and the top and bottom margins are preserved.

**Palaeography:** a fairly large, right-sloping majuscule.

1↑      C]ʹΖΔΙ[ (±4)].Ε ΙΩΖΔΝΝΗC ΠʹΡ[  
2           ]ΝΤΕΩΝΗ ΝΕΡΔΖΤ ΖΔ ΠΚΔΡΠʹΟ[ C  
3           ΜΝ]ΤCΝΟΟΥCΕ Ν̄ΚΕΡΔΤΝ ΠΙ, Κ, ἴΘ ΖΗ[ CΤΗC (?)

3 γίνεται κεράτιον

(1) ... Iohannes ... (2) ... of Tešnê, the fullers for the harvest (καρπός) (3) twelve carats (κεράτιον), total (γίγνεσθαι) (...) carats (κ.) 12, *sextarii* (ξέστης) (?) ...

### Transcription notes

1 [(±4)].Ε: if a restoration of ΜΠΦΩΗΡΕ were possible here, it might be that this is another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula text.

Following ΙΩΖΔΝΝΗC restore a title such as ΠΡΕCΘΥΤΕΡΟC, or a name beginning with ΠΡ-.

2 ]ΝΤΕΩΝΗ: or restore Μ]Ν ΤΕΩΝΗ and interpret as a personal name, see translation note below.

### Translation notes

2 ΤΕΩΝΗ ΝΕΡΔΖΤ: Crum *CD* p. 311a ΡΩΖΕ interprets ΤΩΝΗ (sic) ΝΕΡΔΖΤ in this text as a place name. See Shelton 1990 p. 113 for the interpretation of ΤΕΩΝΗ as a personal name.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN ARACUS AND BARLEY

BL OR. 6201 A179(B)<sup>1</sup>

143 (h) x 175 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 50

**Preservation:** 8 lines and all margins.**Palaeography:** hand 1: an experienced semi-cursive hand, similar to the one used for no. 102. For the signature of ΓΕΩΡΓΙ (hand 2), see §8.11.**Linguistic note:** the spelling of ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ as ΣΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ in l. 8 is noteworthy, see §8.7.**Provenance:** unknown. See §8.11 for the signatory Georgios. The Hermopolite place ΤΑΠΑΡΟΥ (l. 3) was situated very near Titkooh, see §4.4.**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

Papa Shenoute the oil-maker is ordered to pay four cultivators of the field of Taparou in aracus and barley (see §8.15). Each cultivator receives the same payment. It is possible that these cultivators were monks belonging to the monastery, see Chitty 1966 pp. 34 n. 158 and 145 n. 24 for literary references to monks in the Delta working in the fields at harvest time.

1→ Ϙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ ΝΠΓΩΗΡΕ ΠΠΑΠΔ ΩΕ-  
 2 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΣΔΡΝΗΖ ΣΕ ΤΙ ΝΙΔΡΔΚΕ  
 3 ΝΕΙΟΥΟΙΕ ΝΦΟΙ ΝΤΑΠΑΡΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΓΝ/ <sup>ω</sup>  
 4 ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΟΥΟΙΕ <sup>τ θ τ</sup> αρακ, αρ β 1/2 κρι αρ β  
 5 ΔΠΑΚΥΡΙ <sup>τ θ τ</sup> αρακ, αρ β 1/2 κρι αρ β  
 6 ΠΙΗΥ <sup>τ θ τ</sup> αρακ, αρ β 1/2 κρι αρ β  
 7 ΖΗΛΙΔΣ <sup>τ θ τ</sup> αρακ, αρ β 1/2 κρι αρ β  
 8 (Hand 2) + ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ

2 ΣΔΡΝΕΖ 3 ΝΝΕΙΟΥΟΙΕ Ν-, ΓΝΩΣΙΣ 4 ΟΥΟΙΕ  
 4-7 ἀράκου ἀρτάβαι, κριθῆς ἀρτάβαι 8 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ

**Opening formula** (1) Ϙ Our father is the one who writes to his son, the Papa Shenoute, (2) the oil-maker.

**Order** Give the aracus (ἄρακος) (3) to these cultivators of the field of Taparou according to (πρός) this list (γνώσις):

**1st entry** (4) George the cultivator: 2 1/2 artabas (ἀρτάβη) of aracus (ἄ.), 2 artabas (ἄ.) of barley (κριθῆ);

<sup>1</sup>Note that this text has recently been erroneously labelled "BL Or. 6201 A180".

- 2nd entry** (5) Apakyri: 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> artabas (ἄ.) of aracus (ἄ.), 2 artabas (ἄ.) of barley (κ.);
- 3rd entry** (6) Pieu: 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> artabas (ἄ.) of aracus (ἄ.), 2 artabas (ἄ.) of barley (κ.);
- 4th entry** (7) Helias: 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> an artabas (ἄ.) of aracus (ἄ.), 2 artabas (ἄ.) of barley (κ.).
- Signatory** (8 Hand 2) + Georgios agrees (στοιχεῖν).

### Translation notes

- 1-2 ΠΔΠΔ ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ: see §8.8 for this man in other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula documents.
- 2 ΣΔΡΝΗΖ: an oil-maker also occurs in a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΘΟΖΔΕΙ formula text, **no. 83**, and in inscriptions from Bawit.<sup>1</sup> For this occupation, see Crum *CD* p. 241a (which refers to this text), *CPR* XII p. 38, and Gasco and Worp 1990.
- 5 ΔΠΔΚΥΡΙ: this is interpreted here as a name because none of the other names in this text have the title ΔΠΔ; it occurs in an inscription from Bawit,<sup>2</sup> and in a number of Coptic and Greek papyri.<sup>3</sup> An [ΔΠΔ] ΚΥΡΕ also occurs in BL Or. 6201A 29, a marriage document published by Kahle (see §2.1),<sup>4</sup> and an ΔΠΔ ΚΙΡΕ in **no. 3** l. 16.

### FRAGMENT OF A MONASTIC LETTER

BL Or. 6201 A179(A)

VIIIth C.

Plate 51

**Preservation:** the last 10 lines and all but the upper and right margins of this text are preserved.

**Palaeography:** written in an experienced hand which uses semi-cursive and majuscule forms.

**Linguistic note:** in addition to ε for η (e.g. ΦΟΙ ΕΧΕ l. 3), this text occasionally has Η for ε (exx. ΤΗΩΔ.[ l. 5, Χ<sup>ϛ</sup>Η<sup>ϛ</sup> and ΠΗΤΕ l. 6, and ΜΗ<sup>ϛ</sup>ΟΥΕ<sup>ϛ</sup> l. 10),<sup>5</sup> see linguistic note to **no. 75**.

Although a fair amount of text is extant, the purpose of this letter is obscure. The field of Le and a person called Acor are mentioned.

<sup>1</sup>See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 160, and 1916 pp. 31 (no. 16) and 33 (no. 29); Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 109 (no. 326); and Krause 1988 p. 119 (Apa Mena).

<sup>2</sup>See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 160 \*Απακῦρις.

<sup>3</sup>See exx.: Coptic: *Bal.* index p. 816, *Herm.* nos. 9 v l. 2, 26 l. 3, and 32 l. 7; and Greek: *P. Apoll. Ano* no. 74 ll. A15 and B8 (709-10 A.D.), and *P. Ross. Georg.* IV nos. 23 l. A13 and 24 l. A9.

<sup>4</sup>See Kahle 1951 pp. 335-339.

<sup>5</sup>Note that Kahle cites six texts from the BL Or. 6201 series (but not the one edited here) in his analysis of this sound change in *Bal.* p. 70 §22.

1↑

.]P.[

2 ΔΥΩ ΜΝCΔ ΤΡΕΝΕΙ ΕΝΝΗΟΥ ΕΖΗΤ Δ ΤΕΚΜΕΤΜΔΙΝΟΥΤ'ΕΙ[  
 3 ΨΤΙΔΜΦΟΙ ΕΛΕ ΝΗΤΝ ΖΝ ΧΔΔΥ ΝΖΩΦ ΔΝΕCΝΗΟΥ ΝΤΔΥΕ'Ι[  
 4 ΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ CΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΔΙΕΙ ΧΕ ΝΔΚ[].[  
 5 ΠΔΜΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΚΕΧΕΥΕ ΝΜΟC ΤΗΨΔ.[  
 6 ΖΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΝ Χ'Η' ΔΝ' ΧΚ'Ο ΠΗΤΕ ΝΤΔΝ ΕΒΟΧ ΨΔΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡ.[  
 7 ΝΔΝ ΠΡΟC ΠΔΟΞΕ ΝΤΔΨΩΠ ΖΝ 'Τ'ΕΚ ΜΗΤΕ 'ΕΙΜΠΟΥΤΙ ΔΒ'Ω'Ρ ΝΔ.[  
 8 ..'Ε'ΘΝ ΤΕCΧΡΙΔ ΤΕΝΕΡ ΖΩΦ 'Δ'ΥΩ 'Ε'ΔΝΤΙ ΕΟΥΜΝΤΕ ΔΥΚΔ[  
 9 ΕΤ'Θ'Ε ΤΕΧΡΙΔ ΝΤΔΚΗ ΜΠΟΥΤΔΔ'C' ΝΔΝ ΝΔΙ ΕΝCΖΔΙ ΝΜΟΥ[  
 10 ΔΥΩ ΔΡΙ ΠΕΝΜΗ'ΟΥΕ ΖΝ Ν'ΕΚΨΧΗΧ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΠΕΝΧΟ[ΕΙC

2 ΜΝΠCΔ, ΕΝΝΗΥ, ΔΤΕΚΜΠΤ- 3 ΦΟΙ ΠΧΕ, ΖΩΒ, ΝΕCΝΗΥ 4 ΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΧΕ ΔΙΕΙ {ΧΕ} 5 ΠΜΟC ΤΕΨΔ [ 6 ΕΖΟΥΝ, ΧΕ, ΠΕΤΕ 7 ΔΟΖΔ(?), ΠΠΟΥ- 8 ΤΠΡ ΖΩΒ 8, 9 ΧΡΕΙΔ 9 ΠΜΟΟΥ 10 ΜΕΕΥΕ

(1) ... (2) and after we came north, your God-lovingness ... (3) ... Phoieles/the field of Le (?) to you in any way. The brothers of ... (4) among everyone. God knows that I came to you (?) ... (5) my God-loving lord and father ordered (κελεύειν) it that I ... (6) in on us because we have sold what was ours so that we could come ... (7) to us according to (πρός) the opinion (δόξα?) which he received from you. They did not give Ačor ... (8) needed it. We are working (?), having given ... they (?) ... (9) because of the lack of *akê*, they did not give it to us. These things we write them ... (10) and remember us in your holy prayers, our lord (?) ...

### Transcription notes

3 ΦΟΙ ΕΛΕ: "the field of Le", perhaps involving the same component, λε, as the place name ΠΜΔΝΧΕ (see §4.6). ΦΟΙΕΛΕ as a form of Π-ΖΟΕΙΡΕ "dung" seems unlikely.

ΝΤΔΥΕ'Ι[ : possible restore ΤΔΥΕ'Ι[Τ to give "the brothers of Taveit (David)".

6 ΨΔΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡ.[ : possibly restore ΨΔΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡΗC "until we come south" or ΨΔΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡΩΤῆ "until we come to you", *vel sim*.

8 ΔΥΚΔ[ : or ΔΨΚΔ[.

9 ΕΤ'Θ'Ε: the θ may be a η.

### Translation notes

6 ΨΔΝΤΕΝΕΙ: for the use of the ΨΔΝΤΕ- verbal prefix to mean "so that" rather than the more usual "until", see Till 1961 pp. 158-159 §312.

- 7 ΠΡΟΣ ΠΔΟΞΕ: compare ΠΡΟΣ ΠΤΟΞΟΝ in *KRU* no. 7 l. 28. The form ΔΟΞΟΝ/ΤΟΞΟΝ is more common than ΔΟΞΕ<sup>1</sup>
- ΔΘ'Ω'Ρ: literally "Hagrite", see Lüdeckens *DemNB* p. 766 (*hgr*), and Heuser *PN* pp. 34, 42 and 45 for this name.
- 8 ΘΝ ΤΕΧΡΙΔ: literally "found its need", possibly referring to the ΔΚΗ in l. 9 or another object with feminine gender.
- 9 ΔΚΗ: a utensil or product, see Westendorf *KH* p. 484, who suggests a link with *ikyt* (ΟΚΕ) "sesame" rather than *ikyt*, an instrument, which is the etymology favoured in Černý *CED* p. 3. Crum *CD* p. xv note to p. 3b ΔΚΗ refers to two occurrences of this word in the unpublished document BL Or. 6201 B66 (see §2.1): ΔΚΘΩΠ ΤΔΚΗ ΝΝΙΤΔΔΔΙΠΩΡΟC and ΙΔΔΚΟΟΤΕ ΝΗΡΠ ΖΙ ΤΕΥΔΚΗ, as well as in two Turin ostraca and a Bodleian Library papyrus (pl. ΔΚΟΟΥΕ). See also ΖΔΜΔΚΗ in *WS* p. 140 and 141 n.; Φαμακεῖ in Preisigke *NB*; and ΖΔΜΔΓΗ in *Herm.* p. 54.

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<sup>1</sup>See Steinwenter 1955 p. 54 note on δόξον

## ORDER TO SUPPLY BARLEY

KSB I 291

104 (h) x 98 (w) mm.

VII/VIIIth C.?

*P. Laur.* III/905 (formerly *P. Pintaudi Copt. inv. no. 1*)

Plate 52

Light brown papyrus.

**Preservation:** 9 lines and all margins of this text are preserved; the papyrus has been "neatly cut with a pair of scissors from a larger sheet".<sup>1</sup> Kollesis at 8mm from the left edge.

**Provenance:** unknown. The text is addressed to Taurine who is from Pmanle (see §4.6) in the Hermopolite nome.

**Palaeography:** a large, expert majuscule hand. The lines of writing slope down to the right. This text employs a trema in the form of a small wavy line over diphthongal ι once (ΠΕΤCΖΔϊ l. 1) as well as the more usual trema consisting of two dots (e.g. ἴΩΤ l. 3).

**Acquisition:** donated to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1984 by Professor Rosario Pintaudi who acquired it in Cairo in 1981.<sup>2</sup>

**Bibliography:** edited in Sijpesteijn 1984 pp. 371-372;<sup>3</sup> and a transcription and brief commentary was included in *KSB* I no. 291.

Taurine is ordered to instruct his ΔΠΟΥ to go and fetch any barley the office of the *notarius* (see §3.13) might require and to make a record of the amount given.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1→	ϐ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔϊ ΜΠῆϣΗΡ <sup>ε</sup>
2	ΤΔΥΡΙΝΕ ΠΔΠΜΔΝΧΕ
3	ΧΕ ΧΔΔΥῆΩΤ ΕϣΔΡΕΠΜΔ
4	ΜΠΝΟΤΔΡΙC ΧΡῆΜΟΘ
5	ΜΔΡΕΠΕΚΔΠΟΥ ΒΩΚ
6	ϥCΔΤῆΝΔΥ ΕΠΚΔΖ
7	ΔΥΩ ΜΔΡΕῆΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ϣΔΘ-
8	Τῆ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΔΥ
9	αθυρ ια <u>ινδ</u> ιγ

3 ΠΕΙΩΤ 4 ΝΟΤΔΡΙΟC ΧΡΕΙΔ ΜΜΟϥ 6 ΠϥCΔΤῆ 7 ϣΔϥ- 9 ἰνδικτίονος

<sup>1</sup>According to Sijpesteijn 1984 p. 371.

<sup>2</sup>I am grateful to Professor Rosario Pintaudi for providing me with information on this papyrus and a photograph.

<sup>3</sup>In the published transcription, the letter z is used for ζ.

**Opening formula** (1) ϣ Our father is the one who writes to his son (2)  
 Taurine of Pmanle.  
**Order** (3) Any barley which the office (4) of the *notarius*  
 (νοτάριος) needs (χρεία) (5) let your *apou* go (6) and throw it onto the  
 ground for them (7) and let him reckon how much he (8) gives them.  
**Date** (9 Greek) Hathyr (day) 11, indiction-year 13.

### Transcription notes

1 ϣ: the vertical stroke of this sign extends down to l. 3 and has a hook at the bottom.  
 CϢΔĪ: the trema is shaped like a tilde.  
 2 ΠΜΔΝΛΕ: in the *ed. pr.* the λ was considered doubtful.  
 8 TĪ: the *ed. pr.* read †Ī.

### Translation notes

2 ΤΔΥΡΙΝΕ: see the provenance details to **no. 40** for this name.  
 3 ΜΔ: literally "place".  
 5 ΠΕΚΔΠΟΥ: "your *apou*". ΔΠΟΥ/ΔΠΟΥΖ is a title or epithet,<sup>1</sup> which also occurs in **no. 93** and BL Or. 6201 B197, 201, 239(B) and 279 (all of which are unpublished, see §2.1). In BL Or. 6201 B279, the *apous* of Pousire write to an Apa Theodore through three people, including a *boêthos*. As a personal name, ΔΠΟΥ is attested in Coptic,<sup>2</sup> and Greek papyri.<sup>3</sup> In a note to *P. Lond.* IV no. 1435 l. 80, Crum derives Απου from the title ΔΠΔ which was influenced "in later times" by the Arabic *Abu*. An interpretation of ΠΕΚΔΠΟΥ as a personal name involving the possessive prefix ΠΕΚ- and the word ΔΠΟΥ,<sup>4</sup> may also be possible here.  
 6 ϣCΔΤ̄̄ ΝΔΥ ΕΠΚΔΖ: the interpretation "and let him sow it for them in the ground" is also possible, as CITE (Crum *CD* p. 360a) can have either meaning, and Crum notes that "sow" is the more common.  
 9 αθυρ ια: Hathyr 11th = 7/8th November.

<sup>1</sup>Sijpesteijn 1984 p. 372 interprets it as meaning "something like 'servant, assistant'". See Crum *CD* p. xv note to p. 14a; and Kasser and Vycichl 1967 pp. 41 (ΔΠΟΥ) and 47 (ΔΠΟΥΖ); note that this word is not included in Westendorf *KH*.

<sup>2</sup>It is not listed in Heuser *PN* but see *CPR* XII no. 5 ll. 26, 30, 35 and 37; and *VC* no. 48 l. 7 (ΔφΟΥ).

<sup>3</sup>Preisigke *NB* records two examples of Απου in Greek papyri dating to the VII-VIIIth C.

<sup>4</sup>Compare the personal name ΠΕΚΡΔΝ, for which see Crum *CD* p. 298b ϣΔΝ (although Crum expressed doubts about it being a name).

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD

CUL Michael. 1232(A)

109(h) x 103(w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 53

**Preservation:** 7 lines and all margins are preserved. There are several holes in the papyrus. On side (B) is a thin dark brown line, possibly part of a protocol (see note to the preservation section of **no. 3**) belonging to an earlier text written on this papyrus.

**Palaeography:** a competent majuscule hand with a number of ligatures and some cursive forms.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

Čapat is authorised to give Kostantine some bread if he needs it in the absence of the person who issued this document. This text may preserve the introductory formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ CΖΔΙ "Our father writes", a variant on the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula.

1→	+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΤΙ (±2) ΓΔΙ
2	ΜΠΦΩΗΡΕ ΘΔΠΔΤ
3	ΧΕ ΕΡΕΩΔΝΚΩCΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ
4	ΕΡΧΡΕΙΔ ΝΩΟΜΕΤ
5	ΝΖΟΟΥ ΝΟΕ[Ι]Κ ΤΔΔΥ
6	ΝΔΘ ΩΔΝΤΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΧ
7	ΧΟΙΔΚ ΖΙΝΔ, ΓΘ

3 ΕΡΩΔΝΚΩCΤΔΝΤΙΝΕ 4 Π-ΧΡΕΙΔ ΝΩΟΜΕΤ 6 ΝΔΦ 7 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father writes (2) to his son Čapat.

**Order** (3) If Kostantine (4) needs (χρεία) three (5) days (worth) of bread, give them (6) to him before I come.

**Date** (7) Choiak (day) 7, indiction-year (ινδικτιων) 9 (?).

**Transcription notes**

1 (±2) ΓΔΙ: most probably reconstruct CΖΔΙ here. For the NN CΖΔΙ NNN epistolary formula, see §8.4.

5 ΖΟΟΥ: this may alternatively be interpreted as an otherwise unattested plural of ΖΟ, a grain and fodder measure (Crum *CD* p. 650a).<sup>1</sup>

6 ΩΔΝΤΙ-: this seems to have the sense "before" here rather than its usual meaning "until".

<sup>1</sup>Such a form would be possible by analogy with ΖΟ "way" which has a plural ΖΟΟΥ, see Westendorf *KH* p. 352.

7 'Θ': or possibly a malformed Δ.

### Translation notes

2 Ⲅⲁⲡⲁⲧ: this is not attested as a personal name. It may be interpreted as the word for "palm fibre (?)" (Crum *CD* p. 827b Ⲅⲁⲡⲉⲧ),<sup>1</sup> which is part of the name of a τόπος mentioned in an VIIIth C. document, *P. Lond.* IV no. 1419 ll. 84, 218 and 817. Alternatively it may be Ⲅⲁⲡⲁⲧ "collarbone" (Crum *CD* p. 827b);<sup>2</sup> or a variant of "Japhet", the name of one of the sons of Noah. The name Ⲅⲁⲡⲁⲧ may also be interpreted in the place name Manqabad although the only attested Coptic form of this place name is Ⲡⲁⲛⲕⲁⲡⲱⲧ.<sup>3</sup>

7 ×Ⲑⲓⲁⲕⲗ : Choiak 7th = 3rd/4th December.

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<sup>1</sup>Compare the personal name ⲕⲁⲡⲱⲗⲉ which relates to a part of a date-palm (Crum *CD* p. 130a ⲕⲁⲡⲱⲗⲓ).

<sup>2</sup>Compare the personal name ⲕⲁⲥⲠⲟ "Jawbone" which occurs in CUL Michael. 1047/1 (unpublished, see § 2.2).

<sup>3</sup>See Černý *CED* p. 346 for two other etymologies of this place name.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD, OIL &amp; WINE

*P. Yale copt.* no. 17

206 (h) x 97 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

P. CtYBR inv. 1853

Plate 54

Papyrus

**Preservation:** (A): 14 lines and all margins; (B): 1 line and all margins (?).**Palaeography:** a very ornate, slightly right-sloping majuscule with some ligatures and a number of flourishes which cause the writing to become disjointed at times (e.g. CON l. 2 is interrupted by the  $\bar{\iota}$  of  $\text{C}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\iota}$  descending from the line above). Abnormally large letters:  $\theta$  (ll. 5, 6), three-stroke  $\times$  (l. 7), and  $\kappa$  (l. 9).**Acquisition:** see §2.3.1.**Bibliography:** edited in *P. Yale copt.* p. 46; described in Petersen [1964] no. 115 (plate p. 71) and Friedman 1989 p. 242 no. 155 (plate).

Apa Phoibammon the presbyter is ordered to give the deacon Mech oil, bread and purified wine (see §8.15). The elegance of the hand in which this text is written is matched by the embellishments added to the standard formula of this type of text, see §8.7.

Side (A)

1→ † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔ̄ι  
 2 Μ[Π]ΕΦΜΕΡΙΤ Ν̄CΟΝ  
 3 Ν̄ΡΕΦω̄Μω̄ΕΝΟΥΤΕ  
 4 ΔΥΩ ΝΔΓΔΘΟC  
 5 ΔΠΔ ΦΟΙΒΔΜΜΩΝ  
 6 ΠΕΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC  
 7 ΧΕ ΔΡΙ ΤΔΓΔΠΗ  
 8 ΜΔΡΟΥ† ΜΕΝΤΗ  
 9 Ν̄ΤΩΡΕ ΝΟΕΙΚ  
 10 Μ̄ΠΤΙΔΚΩΝ ΜΕΧ  
 11 Μ̄Ν̄ ΖΕCΤΗC CΝΔΥ  
 12 Ν̄ΝΕΖ ΔΥΩ  
 13 ΜΕΖ λΔ'Κ'ΟΝ CΝΔΥ  
 14 Ν̄ΗΡΠ ΝCΩΤΦ ΝΔΦ

Side (B) Docket/address

15↑ Ρ ΙC ΧC (Ornamental design) (±4 faded)

8 Μ̄Ν̄ΤΗ 15 ΙΗCΟΥC ΧΡΙCΤΟC

<sup>1</sup>Petersen [1964] no. 115 suggested a VIIth C. date.

**Opening formula** (1) † Our father is the one who writes (2) to his beloved brother, (3) the God-serving, (4) good (ἀγαθός) (5) Apa Phoibammon, (6) the presbyter (πρεσβύτερος).

**Order** (7) Be so kind (ἀγάπη) as to (8) let fifteen (9) handfuls of bread (10) be given to the deacon (διάκων) Mech (11) and two *sextarii* (ξέστης) (12) of oil and (13) fill two *lakon*-measures (λάκων) (14) of purified wine for him.

**Docket/address** (15) ϩ Jesus Christ ...

### Transcription notes

1 ††: the papyrus is faded at this point, but the ϩ transcribed in the *ed. pr.* cannot be read.

2 CON: beneath the O is a mark which does not appear to belong to it or the letters above, below or following it.

15 This line was omitted in the *ed. pr.*

IC: these letters possibly bear superlinear strokes.

### Translation notes

9 For the use of ΤΩΡΕ as measure, Crum *CD* p. 425a cites Turin ostraca St Symeon 651 and 699;<sup>1</sup> and *CO* 330.

10 ΜΕΧ: this is interpreted as an abbreviated form of personal name in *P.Princ.* I no. 13, a Greek account dated to 35 C. C.E., where it occurs several times. Names beginning ΜΕΧ recorded in Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA* include: Μεχάϊας, Μεχάυτης, Μεχοίρης, Μεχπρῆς and Μεχφρῆς.

13 ΜΕΖ ΛΔ'Κ'ΟΝ: in the *ed. pr.* this was interpreted as "full *lakon*", but compare no. 96 ll. 5-6 ΟΥΛΔΓΟΝ ἸΝΕΖ ΕΘΜΕΖ for a way of expressing a "full" *lakon*-measure. See note to *CPR XX* no. 1 l. 1 for the λάκων measure.

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<sup>1</sup> Crum's copies of these ostraca are no longer to be found among his papers in the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN CLOVER

Christie's "27"

83 (h) x 112 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 55

**Preservation:** 5 almost complete lines and all margins are preserved; the papyrus is crumpled.

**Palaeography:** a well-spaced majuscule with some ligatures (e.g. ΚΤ l. 4). Minuscule Η.

**Linguistic note:** Η for Ε (ΠΗΤΕΚ- l. 4), as in **no. 71** side (A).

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

Apollo is ordered to give Victor six artabas of clover (see §8.15).

1 ↑ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΪΝΠΦΩΗΡΕ

2 ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΟΟΟΥ ΝΕΡΤΟΦ

3 ΓΝΙΕΓΔΡΙΜΪ ΝΠΔΩΗΡΕ

4 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΖΝ ΠΗΤΕΚΧΟ

5 [[ΓΖΙΩΝΪ]] Β ΔΘΥΡ Θ ΙΝΔ / ς

1 ΝΠΕΦ- 2 ΡΤΟΒ 3 ΝΤΡΙΜ ΝΠΔ- 4 ΖΝ ΠΕΤΕΚΧΟ

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) Apollo.  
**Order** Give six artabas (3) of clover to my son (4) Victor from  
 that which you are sowing [[on ... ?]]  
**Date** (5) Hathyr 9, indiction-year (ινδικτίων) 6.

### Transcription notes

5 [[ΓΖΙΩΝΪ]]: these letters are very faint and may have been erased by the writer; they may not relate to this text.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FISH

P.Mil.Vogl. 4. Testi copti no. 3

95 (h) x 90 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Papyrus

Plate 55

**Preservation:** 8 lines and all margins are preserved.**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand; ω (l. 1) and ω (l. 7) are very wide; ι (l. 1) is tall; and Ϸ (l. 5) is large. Numerals are enclosed within // // in l. 5, and followed by // in l. 7 (see transcription note to no. 40 ll. 22-38).**Provenance:** unknown. Taurine of ΤΟΥΔΩΕΡ is mentioned (see §4.11 for the possibility of this as a place name).**Acquisition:** no details were given in the publication.**Bibliography:** edited in *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV p. 143, pl. 10.

Proou is ordered to give the scribe Taurine one *lakon*-measure of fish which is worth 21 solidi (see §8.15).

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1	+ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ-
2	ΣΖΔΙ ΜΠΕΒΩΗ-
3	ΡΕ ΠΡΟΥ ΔΕ Δ-
4	ΡΙ ΤΔΓΔΠΗ + ΧΔΓΟΝ
5	//Δ//ΝΤΕΘΤ ΜΨΔϷ
6	ΤΔΥΡΙΝΕ ΠΔΤΟΥ-
7	ΔΩΕΡ <sup>ο</sup> Ϸ κα //
8	<u>+++</u>

1 ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ 2 ΜΠΕϷ- 4 ΧΔΚΟΝ 5 ΤΘΤ 7 νομισμα(τι)α

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son (3) Proou.

**Order for payment** (4) Be so kind (ἀγάπη) as to give (5) // 1 // *lakon*-measure (λάκον) of fish to the scribe (6) Taurine of the carpentry workshop/Touašer

**Value** (7) 21 solidi (νομισμα(τιον)) //

**Signature?** (8) +++.

<sup>1</sup>VI-VIIIth C. according to *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV p. 143.

## Transcription notes

8 +++: these are joined together and the last + ends in a downwards flourish.

## Translation notes

3 ΠΡΟΟΥ: a saint called Apa Proou is mentioned along with Apa Patermoute and the Bawit triad of Apollo, Phib and Anoup in inscriptions from Abydos,<sup>1</sup> Saqqara,<sup>2</sup> and possibly Bawit.<sup>3</sup> See also Foraboschi *OA* and Preisigke *NB* s.v. Προους (and variants listed there) for this name in Greek papyri.

6 For the name Taurine, see the provenance details to **no. 40**.

8 +++: these crosses may be interpreted as the "signature" of an illiterate signatory, see translation note to l. 10 of **no. 27**.

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<sup>1</sup>See Peet 1913 p. 39 no. 1 l. 13, pl. 13 fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup>See Quibell 1912 p. 61 n.6 and nos. 203 l. 17 and 240 l. 4 (correcting the reference given there to "203 n. 6" rather than "203 n. 8").

<sup>3</sup>See Hall *Texts* pp. 143-144 no. 16 ll. 7-9.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FODDER (?)

Christie's "3"(B)

82 (h) x 67 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 41

**Preservation:** 7 lines and all but the left margin are preserved. On side (A) are traces of about 4 lines of text, now illegible, written against the fibres in brown ink.

**Palaeography:** a semi-cursive hand; if it has been correctly interpreted, ρ looks more like an l, and both can have a hooked tail.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This may be an order to issue fodder (see §8.15), possibly to a carpenter. It mentions the place name Pmančanah (see §4.6).

(B)

1→	+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ Π[ΕΤCΖΔΙ ΜΠῶϣΗΡΕ
2	ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ Ε'Κ'[ΔΧΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΔΚΙΟΝ ? ...
3	ΝΕΖ'Ρ'Ε'Ε'Υ ΤΗΙ[ΤΟΥ ...
4	ΠΖΔΜϣΕ Δ'Ρ'Ι[
5	ΕΦΖΔΤΗΚ ΔΥΩ[
6	ΠΜΔΝΘΔΝΔΖ[
7	ΕΡΔΤΦ ΕΡΜ.ϣΔ[

**Opening formula** (1) † Our father ...

**Order** (2) As soon as you [receive this note (πιττάκιον) (?) ...] (3) the fodder (?) give [it ? ...] (4) the carpenter ... (5) who is with you and ... (6) Pmančanah/the place of Čanah ... (7) to him ...

**Transcription notes**

2 Ε'Κ'[ΔΧΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΔΚΙΟΝ: this is restored following no. 83 l. 2 (ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΔΧΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΔΚΙΝ); ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΔΧΙ N- also occurs in an unpublished papyrus excavated at Bawit by Clédat (P. Louvre E27647).

3 ΝΕΖ'Ρ'Ε'Ε'Υ: the ρ looks more like an l and the second ε is written without a horizontal bar so that it resembles a C.

Ζ'Ρ'Ε'Ε'Υ: this plural form of ΖΡΕ "food, fodder" is not attested in Crum *CD* p. 701a; it may possibly be a plural of Crum *CD* p. 701b ΖΡΙ "endive".

4 Δ'Ρ'Ι: the ρ looks like an l; above it is a superscript sign.

7 ΕΡΔΤϙ: this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.

ΕΡΜ.ϙΔ: the uncertain letter looks like Ϻ, and is not obviously a Π to give ΕΡΜΠϙΔ  
"be worth".

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GARUM

BL Or. 13886.37(A)

Main fragment: 90 (h) x 145 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VII/VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 56

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins are preserved. Side B (↑) contains 2 lines which are written in a different hand and ink to the text on side (A).

**Palaeography:** right-sloping majuscule with many ligatures.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

Patermoute is ordered to pay two men who bear the title κύριος, Sarapion and Iouliane, eight *lakon*-measures of garum (see §8.15).

1 → ρ+ ΠΕΝΕΙΨΩΤΙ [ΠΕΤ]CZΔΙ ΜΠ̄ΩΗΡΕ Π'ΔΤ'ΕΡ-

2 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΞΕΤΙ ΨΜΟΥΝ ΝΛΔΓΟΝ ΝΞΙΡ

3 Μ? ΠΚΥΡΙC CΔΡΔΠΙΩΝ {ΠΕ} Μ̄ ΠΚΥΡΙC ΪΟΥΛΙ-

4 ΔΝΕ γι, γαρ' λη η οκ[τω ±4 ]. εγγραφη μ ..

5 ιζ ιν ...

2 ΛΔΚΟΝ 4 γίνεται γάρου λάκα (?), μηνί 5 ἰνδικτίονος

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son Patermoute.

**Order** (2) Give eight *lakon*-measures (λάκον) of garum [to] (3) the lord (κύριος) Sarapion and the lord (κ.) Iouliane.

**Total /Résumé?** (4 Greek) Total of garum *lakon*-measures 8 eight ...

**Scribe?** ... written

**Date** in the month of ... (5) (day) 17 (?), indiction-year ...

### Transcription notes

1 There is space for the cross, but it is not legible here.

4 . ΕΡΡ'Δ'Φ'Η': before this a X or Ξ is visible.

...: the second letter may be a φ or a ρ, but it does not resemble others written in this text.

5 ιν: reconstruct ινδ(ικτίονος) followed by a numeral.

<sup>1</sup>Four unrelated fragments of papyrus are also assigned the inv. no. BL Or. 13886.37.

### Translation notes

3 ΠΚΥΡΙC: attested as a man's name in Greek (ΠκῦριC) and Coptic (ΠΚΥΡΙC, ΠΚΥΧΙC) documents, but it is interpreted as the title "lord" (κύριoc) here as it occurs before two different names.

ΠΕ: this may be the enclitic -ΠΕ which is usually found after verbs and place names (Crum *CD* p. 260a ΠΕ<sup>2</sup>).

3-4 ἰΟΥΧΙΔΝΕ: the Coptic form of Julianus.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Heuser *PN* p. 102 ἰΟΥΧΙΔΝΟC.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GREENS &amp; LACHANON

P.Meyer inv. 13(B)

208(h) x 51(w) mm.

VII/VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Papyrus

Plate 57

**Preservation:** 3 lines and all margins are preserved. On side (A) is a badly damaged Greek document.

**Palaeography:** a large, rounded, right-sloping majuscule hand. The superlinear stroke (M̄ l. 1), and dot (M̄ Ñ l. 2 and Ñ l. 3.) are used to denote the syllabic function of a consonant.

**Linguistic note:** the omission of genitival N- (ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΟΥΟΟΤΕ l. 3, ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΞΔΧ ll. 3-4) is noteworthy in this text.

**Acquisition:** Mr Richard T. Meyer acquired this and other papyri in Cairo "several decades ago" according to Browne 1980 p. 10. It was donated by him to the Lakeview Center for the Arts and Sciences in Peoria, Illinois.

**Bibliography:** edited in Browne 1980 p. 102 with plate on page facing.

Paule is ordered to give greens and *lachanon* (see §8.15) to Apa Iohanes.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1        + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΘΔΪ Μ̄ΠϞΩΗΡΕ  
 2        ΠΔΥΛΕ ΞΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΟΥΟΟΤΕ Μ̄ Ñ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ  
 3        ΞΔΧ ÑΔΠΔ ΙΩΘΔΝΗC ΦΔΩΦΙ Η ΙΝΔ, Δ

1 ΠΕϞ- 2 ΠΟΥΟΟΤΕ 3 ΠΞΔΧΔΝΟΝ. ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

**Opening formula**        (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) Paule.  
**Order**                    Give a few greens and a little (3) *lachanon* (λάχανον) to  
                                   Apa Iohanes.  
**Date**                      Phaophi (day) 8, indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 1.

**Translation notes**

3 ΞΔΧ: may be interpreted as λάχανον "garden herbs, vegetables" or λαχανόσπερμον "vegetable seed", see §8.15.

ΦΔΩΦΙ Η: Phaophi 8th = 5/6th October, when the land was inundated and fresh vegetables would presumably be available in quantity.

<sup>1</sup>According to Browne 1980 p. 102.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WHEAT

BL OR. 6201 B48(B)

90 (h) x 122 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 58

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins are preserved. The text on side (A) is a fragment of a protocol from an earlier text written on this papyrus.

**Palaeography:** Hand 1 is an experienced semi-cursive hand. For the signature of Georgios (hand 2), see §8.11. In addition to the superlinear stroke which has syllabic function in  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}\bar{\gamma}$  and  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$  in l. 4, this text also uses a mark resembling an acute accent in  $\acute{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$  and  $\acute{\eta}$ - in l. 2.

**Linguistic note:** the spelling of  $\sigma\tau\omega\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$  as  $\sigma\tau\omega\iota\chi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  in l. 5 is noteworthy, see §8.7.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

Papa Shenoute is told to give four artabas of wheat to Kollouthe who is to send them to Tesse (?).

1 → ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ ΝΠQΩΗΡΕ ΠΠΔ ΠΔ  
 2 ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ  $\acute{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$  ΝΕΡΤQΩ ΝCΟΥQ  
 3 ΝΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΕ ΒΔΝΟΝ ΝQΧΟΥ ΤΗCCE  
 4  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$  + μ χ <sup>η</sup> ις <sup>δ</sup> ιν, <sup>υ</sup>ς + ανοπ εγρ<sup>ρ</sup>  
 5 (Hd 2) + ΓΕΩΡΓΙQC CΤΩΙΧΕΥΕ  
 1 Ππεq- 2 Ρτωβ 4 Πμοου, μηνι Χοιακ ινδικτιονος εγραψα 5 CΤΩΙΧΕΙ

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son the Papa (2) Shenoute.

**Order** Give four artabas of wheat (3) to Kollouthe (son of ?) Banon (?) and let him send Tesse (?) (4) them for it (?).

**Date** (Greek) In the month of Choiak, (day) 16 indiction-year (ινδικτιων) 6.

**Scribe** + Anoup, I wrote.

**Signatory** (5 Hand 2 Coptic) + Georgios agrees (CΤΩΙΧΕΙΝ).

**Translation notes**

3 ΒΔΝΟΝ: if this is a personal name, it is not recorded in Heuser *PN*, Preisigke *NB* or Foraboschi *OA*. The name ΒΔΝΟC is listed in Heuser *PN* p. 45, and a Βανος occurs in

*BGU* XII no. 2159 ll. 3, 16 and V<sup>o</sup>,<sup>1</sup> and in *BM* no. 1077 foll. 2→1. 5; 3→1. 5 (bis); 4→1. 18; 5↑ ll. 3, 10, 19; and 6 l. 13, in the genitive form Βανου.

THCCE: no such name is listed in Heuser *PN* but a Τησσοσ is recorded in Preisigke *NB* in a IInd C. C.E. text.

4 χ<sup>η</sup> ις: Choiak 16th = 12/13th December.

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<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Professor Herwig Maehler for this reference.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

BKU III 367

90 (h) x 140 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

P. Berlin inv. no. 22 123

Plate 58<sup>1</sup>

Papyrus

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins are preserved.

**Palaeography:** hand 1 belongs to the scribe Victor, see §8.9, and is a mixture of right-sloping cursive and majuscule forms. The following may have hooked tails: Ι, Κ, Ρ, Τ, Υ, and ϩ. Most of l. 4 is written in a Greek-type cursive hand. For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see §8.11. Together with the superlinear stroke which is used inconsistently to mark syllabic function (̄̅ ll. 1 and 3 (bis)), a mark resembling an acute accent may also be used without syllabic function once (ΠΈΤ- l. 1).

**Provenance:** unknown; the place of origin may possibly be the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is signed by Daniel, see §8.1. See §4.6 for Pmansike.

**Bibliography:** edited in *BKU III* pp. 80-81.

Apa Victor and the brothers are ordered to give four *kados*-measures to Iohanes of Pmansike. Daniel is the signatory.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

+

1 ↑ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΈΤCΖΔΙ' ̄̅ ΠϩΩΗΡΕ ΔΠΔ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ  
 2 ΜΝ ΝΕCΝΗΟΥ ϫ' Ε' ΤΙ ϩΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ  
 3 ̄̅ΚΔΔΟΥC ̄̅ΗΡΠ ΝΙΩΖΔΝΗC ΠΔΠΜΔΝ-  
 4 CΙΚΕ γι, οι, καθ, π μεσ κ ινδ θ + βικ  
 5 εγρ + (Hd 2) ϩ ΔΔΝΗΧ CΤΟΙΧΙ +

1 ̄̅ΠΠΕϩ- 2 CΝΗΥ 4 γίνεται οἴνου κάδοι, Μεσορή ινδικτίονος Βικτωρ  
 5 ἔγραψα, CΤΟΙΧΕΙ

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son, Apa Victor, (2) and the brothers.

**Order** Give eighty (3) jars (κάδος) of wine to Iohanes of the mill/Pmansike.

**Résumé** (4 Greek) Total: jars of wine 80.

**Date** Mesore (day) 20, indiction-year 9.

**Scribe** + Victor, (5) I wrote.

<sup>1</sup>Photographed by Margarete Büsing.

**Signatory**

(Coptic: Hd 2) Daniel agrees (στοιχεῖν) †.

**Transcription notes**

4 θ: the *ed. pr.* read considered this doubtful.

βικ<sup>τ</sup>: the beta is open and was queried in the *ed. pr.*

5 εγρ: the *ed. pr.* considered the gamma uncertain.

**Translation notes**

2 ϩΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ: literally "four twenties"; this expression, using the vigesimal system rather than ΖΜΕΝΕ "eighty", is found in literary and documentary texts, see Crum *CD* p. 794b.

4 μεσ<sup>ο</sup> κ: Mesore 20th = 13th August.

## 82

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

CUL Michael. 818/3

56 (h) x 138 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 59

**Preservation:** 4 lines and all but the lower margin preserved; there are many small lacunae and the upper surface of the papyrus is damaged, especially ll. 3-4.

**Palaeography:** a semi-cursive hand, with many ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

Simothe is ordered to give eight measures of wine to Petra the carpenter.

1 ↑ + † ΠΙΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΡΟΙΣ ΔΙ ΠΠΩΗΡΕΙ

2 ΣΙΜΟΘΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΩΜΟΥΝ ΝΩΕΙ

3 † ΝΗΡΠΠ ΝΠΕΤΡΑ ΦΙΔΜΩΗ +

4 οὐ .. η οκτω εγρ βικτ .η. ιη ιν .

2 ωι? 3 ΠΠΕΤΡΑ ΦΔΜΩΕ 4 οἴνου, ἔγραψα Βικτωρ, ἰνδικτίονος

<b>Opening formula</b>	(1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) Simothe.
<b>Order</b>	Give eight measures (3) of wine to Petra the carpenter.
<b>Résumé</b>	+ (4 Greek) of wine ... 8 eight.
<b>Scribe</b>	I wrote Victor
<b>Date</b>	... 18, indiction-year (?) ...

### Transcription notes

1 +: see the transcription note to l. 1 of **no. 14** for the shape of this sign.

ΠΩ- : the stroke extends halfway over the following ω.

ΩΗΡΕΙ: following this there is another mark on the papyrus. The title Apa, which is given to Simothi in a related text, **no. 83**, does not appear to be written here.

3 † ΝΗΡΠΠ: because the papyrus is damaged here and the Ν looks more like a λ, with only two strokes visible, the second of which slopes backwards.

ΗΡΠΠ: the stroke is barely visible but appears to extend over the Π.

4 οὐ ..: a restoration of γι<sup>ν</sup>(ετα) "i.e., total" is also possible, but the phrase ΠΙ / ΟΙΝΟΥ "i.e. wine" found in other orders for payment in wine included in this chapter (**nos. 81**

l. 4 and **83** ll. 4 and 5; see also *WS* 175 l. 4 (see **Appendix 2** text B)) does not appear to be suitable here.

..ϵ: an abbreviation of a measure is expected here, such as μέτρον,<sup>1</sup> the Greek equivalent of Coptic ωει (see Crum *CD* p. 548a ωι) which may occur in l. 2 (see translation note to l. 2 of this text). An abbreviation of σήκωμα does not seem likely here, although it is used as an equivalent of ωει "measure" in **no. 83** ll. 4 and 5.

.η.ϑ: the first letter resembles a ψ, or a damaged φ, but may be a Μ with a vertical line through the middle of it (possibly an abbreviation for μηνί "in the month of"); the superscript letter appears to belong to this group of letters despite being written over the following ι.

### Translation notes

2 CΙΜΘΘϵ: **no. 83** is also addressed to this man, see §**8.8**. The name Simothe also occurs in an inscription from Bawit (Cairo CG 8781);<sup>2</sup> in *WS* no. 64 l. 5; and in an unpublished Coptic papyrus document, CUL Michael. 832/1 (bis) (see §**2.2**). A saint of this name is mentioned on a stela from Abydos.<sup>3</sup>

ωει: this is interpreted here as a variant of ωι "measure" (Crum *CD* pp. 547b), as in **no. 83** l. 3; ωϵ "she-coin" (Crum *CD* p. 547a) is a less likely interpretation.

3 ΠΕ'Τ'ΡΔ: this is attested as a man's name in Coptic, see the examples listed in *BM* p. 550a and *Ryl.* p. 249b (personal names index), and in Greek, see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA* .

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<sup>1</sup>See Casson 1939 p. 8 for this measure

<sup>2</sup>See Strzygowski 1904 p. 125.

<sup>3</sup>See Peet 1913 p. 39 no. 2 l. 13, pl. 13 fig. 3.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

CUL Michael. 1159

67 (h) x 145 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 59

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all but the right-hand margin preserved.**Palaeography:** a well-spaced majuscule hand with many ligatures.**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

Although this text exhibits the formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΘΟΖΔΕΙ, its addressee and content link it to the last text, **no. 82**. Apa Simothi is ordered to issue wine to a watchman, bread-maker and oil-maker whose names are not specified. This may mean that there was only one man engaged in each of these professions in the monastery, or that the context made the identities of the recipients known to the addressee.

1 ↑ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΘΟΖΔΕΙ ΝΑΠΑ ΣΙΜΟΘΙ ΠΑΙ  
 2 ΖΟΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΔΧΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ ΤΙ Ψ[ΜΟΥΝ  
 3 ΕΨΓΕΪ ΝΗΡΠ ΜΠΡΕΒΡΟΕΙΣ ΔΥΩ ΤΙ ΣΔΥ ΝΨ[ΕΙ ΝΗΡΠ Μ-  
 4 ΠΣΟΡΟΕΙΚ γι, οιν<sup>ου</sup> σηκ, ιδ + ΔΥΩ ΤΙ ΣΩΟΥ (?)  
 5 ΜΠΣΟΡΝΔΖ γι, οιν<sup>ου</sup> [κ] σηκ, ρ +

1 ΠΕΘΟΖΔΕΙ 2 ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ 3 ΨΙ, ΡΕΦΡΟΕΙΣ 3, 4 ΣΩΟΥ (?) 4 ΣΔΡΟΕΙΚ  
 4, 5 γίνεται οίνου σηκώματα 5 ΣΔΡΝΕΖ

<b>Opening formula</b>	(1) + Our father is the one who writes to Apa Simothi of (2) ...
<b>Order</b>	As soon as you receive this note (πιττάκιον), give [eight] (3) measures of wine to the watchman and give six measures (?) [of wine to] (4) the bread-maker:
<b>Subtotal</b>	(Greek) total of wine 14 <i>sekoma</i> -measures.
<b>Order</b>	(Coptic) + And give six (?) ... (5) to the oil-maker:
<b>Total</b>	(Greek) total of wine 20 <i>sekoma</i> -measures +.

**Transcription notes**

2 ΖΟΤΕ: this may be part of an epithet of the addressee,<sup>1</sup> or of the name of another addressee, although no personal names ending -ΖΟΤΕ are recorded in Heuser *PN*. Alternatively, it may be a variant form of the end of the place name ΝΖΩΤΕ (Crum *CD* p.

<sup>1</sup>Possibly part of a title such as ΡΕΦ+ΖΟΤΕ "giver of tribute", which is an equivalent of φορολόγητος (Crum *CD* p. 722: ΖΩΤΕ).

722b  $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$ ). The only appropriate words ending - $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$  recorded in Strasbach and Barc *DIC* are  $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$  "presence" (Crum *CD* p. 718b  $\zeta\omega\tau$ ),  $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$  "fear" (Crum *CD* p. 720b), and  $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$  "hour" etc. (Crum *CD* p. 721b).

$\omega\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta$ : this is restored here because it is the amount required to make the total in l. 4 up to 14 *sekoma* - measures.

3  $\omega\epsilon\iota$ : this variant of  $\omega\iota$  "measure" is also used in **no. 82** l. 2; it is translated in the two Greek summaries in ll. 4 and 5 by  $\sigma\eta\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$ , a wine measure which contained a varying number of sextarii over the centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Restore  $\omega\epsilon\iota$  at the end of l. 3 although  $\omega\delta\omega$  (Crum *CD* p. 604b) "a vessel or liquid measure", might also be possible.

3  $\zeta\delta\gamma$ , 4  $\zeta\omega\omicron\upsilon$ : both of these appear to be variants of  $\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$  "six", although the latter is not included in Crum *CD* or Westendorf *KH*. That it is to be interpreted as "six" is reinforced by the running total which goes up from "14" to "20" after  $\zeta\omega\omicron\upsilon$  has been added.

5  $\llbracket\kappa\rrbracket$ : an attempt appears to have been made by the writer to erase this superfluous sign as it is now fainter than the rest of the text.

### Translation notes

2  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\delta$  -: literally "The hour you will".

$\pi\iota\tau\tau\delta\kappa\iota\eta$ : **no. 94**, an unidentifiable order, also refers to itself as a  $\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\delta\gamma\eta$  ( $\pi\iota\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ ) "note". See also **no. 99**, a receipt for stone, which may describe itself in a docket as a  $\pi\epsilon\tau\delta\kappa$  ( $\pi\iota\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ ) to be translated as "receipt". The phrase  $\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\delta\chi\iota\tau\iota\pi\iota\tau\tau\delta\kappa\iota\eta$  may be restored for **no. 77** l. 2, see note there.

If  $\omega\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta$  is correctly restored here, it is the same amount of wine as Apa Simothe is required to issue in **no. 82**.

4  $\zeta\omicron\omicron\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa$ : although  $\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa$  may also be interpreted as "reed" (Crum *CD* p. 254b),  $\zeta\delta + \theta\epsilon\iota\kappa$  is only attested for bread-makers.

5  $\zeta\omicron\theta\eta\delta\zeta$ : an oil-maker also occurs in a  $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\delta\iota$  formula document, **no. 71** l. 2 ( $\zeta\delta\theta\eta\eta\zeta$ ).

---

<sup>1</sup>Casson 1939 p. 8 records that it could contain between  $4\frac{1}{2}$  - 8 sextarii.

# 84

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

Christie's "9"(B)

80 (w) x 92 (h) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 60

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins are preserved; the first line is partially obscured by a fold in the papyrus. For the first text written on this papyrus see side (A) below.

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping hand which combines majuscule and minuscule forms.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

Andreas is ordered to make a payment of four *lahē*-measures of wine.

1→	[+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ]ΤCΖΔĪ
2	ΜΠ̄ϞΩΗΡΕ ΔΝΔΡΕΔC
3	ΣΕ ΤΙΘΤΟ Ν̄λΔΖΗ ΝΗΡ' Π'
4	ΜΠΩ'ΕΝ Ε'ΠΣΗ'Θ'Ε
5	γλ, ολ, κνδ, δ .. εγρα, '†'

3 4ΤΟΥ 5 γίνεται οἴνου κνίδια, ἔγραψα

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son Andreas.

**Order** (3) Give four *lahê*-measures of wine (4) to the son of the purple(-man)/Pjêče,

**Résumé** (Greek) i.e. of wine *knidia* 4.

**Scribe** ..., I wrote (?).

### Transcription notes

1 [+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ]: this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.

4 ΠΣΗ'Θ'Ε: the θ is barely visible. See Crum *CD* p. 801b ΣΗΘΕ for this title and personal name.

5 ..: possibly read επ.

### Translation notes

3 λΔΖΗ: the **Résumé** section shows that this measure is equated with the *knidion* in this text.

## FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "9"(A)

VIIIth C.  
Plate 60

**Preservation:** 7 lines and only the left margin are preserved.

**Palaeography:** a fine right-sloping majuscule hand with a few ligatures; the left diagonal of  $\Upsilon$  is almost horizontal;  $\Sigma$  begins at the top with a small, tight curl and develops into a looser, longer curve at the bottom.  $\text{M}$  can be wide and large.

This text, which may have been part of a letter, is too fragmentary for its context to be determined.

1↑ ΠΔΪ ΕΤΩΟΟ'Π' ΜΝ ΤΕΚΜΝ[Τ-...  
2 ΕΤΦΕΖΝ̄ΔΙΔΚΟΝΕΙΔ Ε[  
3 ΡΩΜΕ ΖΔ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΜ̄Ν̄ΤΕ[  
4 Ν̄ΕΙΩΤ CΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ Μ̄Ν Δ[  
5 ΕΤΡΔCΖΔΪ ΕΙΠΔΡΔΚΔΔΕ[  
6 ΕΥCΜ̄Ν ΖΔΙΡΕCΙC Ζ̄Ν Τ'Μ'Ι[  
7 Μ̄Ν̄ΤΕΙΩΤ ΝΔΔΝΕΧΕ .[

2 ΔΙΔΚΟΝΙΑ

(1) this which is with your ... (2) ... *diakonia* (διακονία) ... (3) man for your ...  
(4) father knows that there is no (?) ... (5) so that I write, asking (παρακαλεῖν)  
... (6) they are/were making a choice (αἵρεσις) in the ... (7) fatherhood will  
allow (ἀνέχειν) ...

### Transcription notes

1 ΩΟΟ'Π': possibly ΩΟΟ'Ν'.

### Translation notes

6 CΜ̄Ν ΖΔΙΡΕCΙC: because the context is uncertain, αἵρεσις could also mean "plan",  
"proposal" or even "heresy" here.

7 ΔΝΕΧΕ: this verb also occurs in *P. Budge* ll. 15, 43 and 63.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF WOOLLEN GARMENTS

Christie's "5"

80 (h) x c. 90 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 60

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all but the top and right margins are preserved. No text appears to have been inscribed on the other side of this papyrus which is stuck to a larger sheet of papyrus.

**Palaeography:** a majuscule hand with some ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

Gerontse, the woollen-garment-seller, is told to supply Joseph of Peloole ( see §4.4) with twelve woollen garments. The format of this text suggests that ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ should be reconstructed before l. 1.

1↑	ΜΠῶΩΗΡΕ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΣ[Ε
2	ΥΔΝΘΕΧΘΩΤ ΧΕ ΤΙ Μ'Ν'Ι[Τ-
3	ΣΝΘΟΥΣΕ ΝΘΟΧΘΕ Ν-
4	ΪΩΧΗΦ ΠΔΠΕΧΘΟΧΕ
5	παυυι ΙΔ ινδ,ΪΔ
	3 ΣΝΘΟΥΣ 5 ινδικτίονος

**Opening formula** (1) to his son Gerontse (?) (2) the woollen-garment-seller.  
**Order** Give (3) twelve woollen garments to (4) Joseph of Peloole.  
**Date** (5) Pauni 14, indiction-year 11.

**Transcription note**

5 παυυι: the υ could also be an ε.



**Date** in the month of (μῆν) Phaophi (day) 16 (?) indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 7 (?) ...  
**Signatory** <sup>(6)</sup> G[eorgios] agrees (στοιχεῖν).

### Transcription notes

2 + : before the cross is a sign possibly belonging to an earlier text written on this papyrus. Below the + the upper part of an M or N is visible.

†NE†.: restore ΝΕΡΩΜ- "the men", *vel sim.* here.

4 ΝΕΡΩΜ[±4 ΙΩ]ΖΔΝΗC: this may be restored as ΝΕΡΩΜ[ΠΜΔ ΝΙΩ]ΖΔΝΗC "the men of the place of Iohanes", ΝΕΡΩΜ[ΝΔ ΠΔ ΙΩ]ΖΔΝΗC "the men of Apa Iohanes", *vel sim.*

6 Γ[ΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ CΤΟΙ]ΧΕ..[: this is restored after **nos. 71** l. 8 and **80** l. 5, and the form CΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ may have been written here as it was in them. See §8.11 for this signatory who may be identified with Georgios who signs a number of BL Or. 6201 series documents, using the forms CΤΟΙΧΕΙ, CΤΟΙΧΙ and CΤΗΧΕ.

### Translation notes

5 φ<sup>ω</sup> ρις†: Phaophi 16th = 13/14th October.

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT

CUL Michael. 830(B)

236 (h) x 138 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 62

**Preservation:** 4 lines and all margins are preserved; the last two lines are largely illegible.

The papyrus has several lacunae and some of the fibres are twisted. This is the third text to be written on this sheet of papyrus, and the only one written on side (B). Although this is the largest papyrus to bear a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula text, the text itself takes up less than a quarter of the writing surface. On side (A) are two VIIIth C. Greek texts (one a palimpsest) in two different hands and inks; text 2, the later and therefore more prominent text comprises 13 lines, of which all margins except the left are preserved. Approximately 11 lines of text 1 are visible.

**Palaeography:** the first two lines are written in a mixture of majuscule and semi-cursive forms, with ligatures involving ε and ι.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

Papa Jacob is ordered to issue a commodity which may be measured in a jug (μάρις).

1 → +ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ ΝΠΓΩΗΡΕΙ

2 ΠΠΔΠΔ ΙΔΚΩΘ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΜΔΥΡΓC

3 N (the rest of this line is illegible)

4 + ( ±6 )..... μ . κ ...

I ΠΠΕΓ- 2 ΜΔΡΙC II. 3-4 too fragmentary for interpretation

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) the Papa Jacob.

**Order** Give a jug (μάρις?) (3) of (?) ...

**Résumé/Date/Scribe?** (4 Greek) + ...

**Transcription notes**

4 See the **Résumé**, **Date** and **Scribe** sections at §8.7 for the components which may be restored in this line.

## Translation notes

2 ΜΔΥΡ'ΙC¹: Černý *CED* p. 89 has derived ΜΔΥΡΕC from the Greek μάρις; see also Westendorf *KH* p. 100 ΜΔΡΙC. A reading of ΜΔΨΡΤ (Crum *CD* p. 206a "cable of palm fibre") is less likely.





### Translation notes

3  $\omega\text{ONT}\epsilon$ : an interpretation of this as "acacia" (Crum *CD* p. 573a  $\omega\text{ONT}\epsilon$ ) seems less likely;<sup>1</sup> the now illegible amount of solidi specified in ll. 4-5 may have helped to distinguish which of the two different meanings of this word is in question here.

6  $\text{TIMH}$ : another interpretation of this is as a form of the Coptic word  $\text{+ME}$  "village".

7  $\Delta\text{TN}\Delta\text{X}\bar{\eta}$ : literally "I have thrown it".

---

<sup>1</sup>Acanthus is mentioned, however, in a Greek papyrus, *P. Vat. Aphrod.* 13, which lists various  $\delta\text{i}\alpha\text{νο}\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}$  of a monastery of Apa Apollo ( $\text{ἀκανθαίαι}$  l. 8), see MacCoull 1991 for the possible provenance of this papyrus.

## FRAGMENTARY LETTER

Christie's "29"(A)

VIIIth C.

Plate 63

**Preservation:** the last 10 lines and the left and lower margins are preserved.

**Palaeography:** an experienced, right-sloping, flowing majuscule with many cursive forms and ligatures (exx. ΤΙ and ΔΙ l. 6).

All that can be said with certainty of this text is that oil is mentioned and that the writer says that he is coming down, presumably to see the person he is addressing.

1↑            ]...[  
2        ( ±5 )Δ'ΥCΝ'.[±3].'ΝΤ'(±3)'Ζ'( ±5 )[  
3        Τ..CΕ...'ΟΥ'CHC ΟΥΝ ΔΘΙ'Ω' ΝΖΡΔΙ'ΕΙ'ΤΔΙ[  
4        Ν'ΝΟΟΥ' ΕΤΘ'Ε ΟΥ'ΩΗΜ ΕΝΕΖ ΩΔΝΤΕΘCΡΘ'Τ'[  
5        ΝΜΟΥΝ.. 'ΝΙΗΤΝ' Ε'ΠΕCΗΤ' ΔΥΩ Ζ'Μ' ΠΟΥΩ[Ω  
6        ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΙΝ'Η'Υ ΖΩΩΤ ΕΠΕCΗΤ 'Τ'ΔΠΡ'ΟC'[  
7        ΝΤΕΤΝΕΜΝΤΧΘΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ Π...[  
8        ΝΜΔ'Ι'ΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΔΧΙ ΠΕΤΝΕCΜΟΥ ...[  
9        Ν'ΕΜΗ'ΤΝ + ΕΝΔΟΥΧΔ'Ι ΤΗΡΝ ΖΙΤΝ [ΝΕΤΝΕ-  
10        ΩΧΗΧ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ ΠΝΧΘΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ +

3 ΝΤΔΙ 4 ΝΝΕΖ ΩΔΝΤΕCΡΟCΤ 6 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 7 ΝΤΕΤΝ- 8 ΝΜΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΔΧΙ ΠΕΤΝ-  
9 ΝΜΗΤΝ, ΝΕΤΝ-

(1) ... (2) ... (3) ... in this (?) ... (4) ... about a small (amount) of oil until he is unoccupied ... (5) ... down to you. By the will (6) of God, I am coming down myself and I (will) ... (προσ(-?)) (7) your lordship and father and your God-loving ... (8) that I receive your blessing ... (9) with you. + We shall all fare well through [your] (10) holy prayers, our lord and father +.

## ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

CMAA Green "23"<sup>1</sup>                      Dimensions not recorded                      Whereabouts unknown

Papyrus

**Preservation:** (judging from Kahle's transcription:) (A): 4 lines and (B): 2 lines; both sides appear to preserve all margins.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.6.

Papa Damia(n) is ordered to request half a solidus of wine but not to consign it to the "wretched" Phoibammon. See §8.5 for an interpretation of this text.

Side (A)

1↑ +] ΠΙΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΙ[Ε]ΤΙ[Σ]ΖΔΙ ΝΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΨΔΖ Π[ΔΠΔ ΔΔ-

2 Μ[ΙΔΝ ΩΙΝ]Ε ΝΣΔ ΟΥΠΔΩΕ ΝΖΟΧΟΚΟ,

3 ΝΗΡΠ Ν'ΠΙ[Ε]ΡΤΙ ΝΦΟΙΒΔΜΩΝ ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ

4 ΟΥΤΔΧΔΙΠΩΡΟC ΠΕ μ φ<sup>ω</sup> ιβ<sup>δ</sup> ιν<sup>α</sup> Παμουν εγρ<sup>ι</sup>

Side (B) Docket:

5→ φ οι, ΨΔΖ<sup>1</sup>

6 ΔΔΜΙΔ Ν<sup>0</sup>.

1 Ππεφ- 2 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC 3 ΠΠΡΤΔΔγ (?) 4 μηνι φαωφι, ινδικτιονοc, εγγραφα  
5 φορα οίνου 6 ΔΔΜΙΔΝ ΝΟΜΙCΜΔ(ΤΙΟΝ)

**Opening formula**                      (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son the scribe Papa Damian (?).

**Order**                                      (2) [Request ?] half a solidus (όλοκόττινοc) (3) of wine. Do not give it to Phoibamon, in as much as (όσον) (4) he is a wretch (ταλαίπωροc).

**Date**                                      (Greek) In the month of Phaophi, (day) 12, indiction-year 1.

**Scribe**                                      Pamoun, I wrote.

**Docket**                                      (5) Delivery of wine (Coptic) (for) the scribe (6) Damian (?) [1/2] solidus (νομισμα(τιον)).

<sup>1</sup>This text is only known to me through the transcription Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.

## Transcription notes

- 2 [ϣ|N]Ε NCΔ is restored after **no. 96** ll. 6-7. Kahle conjectured Π[ΔΠΔ ΔΔ-]M[|ΔNE ΔΕ M]Ε NCΔ.
- 5 φ: this abbreviation of φορά occurs in a number of texts including ϣ|NE NCΔ- formula ostraca (see §3.3.2.1).<sup>1</sup>
- 6 Kahle read ΔΔM|ΔN<sup>0</sup>χ. One would expect the symbol for 1/2 following N<sup>0</sup> corresponding to the ΠΔϣΕ NΖΟ>ΟΚΟ, mentioned in l. 2.

## Translation notes

- 1 [ΔΔ]M[|ΔN], 6 ΔΔM|Δ<N>: Heuser *PN* records only the forms ΔΔM|ΔN and ΔΔM|ΔNOC; a Damian occurs in an unpublished Coptic document BL Or. 6201 A6 (see §2.1).
- 3 ΕΝΖΟCON: for a parallel usage, see *Bal.* no. 32 l. 2; compare the spellings of παρά as ΜΠΔΡΔ and ΝΠΔΡΔ in **nos. 9** ll. 12-13 and **19** l. 6.
- 4 ΤΔ>Δ|ΠΩΡΟC: this occurs in inscriptions from Bawit,<sup>2</sup> and in Coptic documents, exx. *Bal.* nos. 202 l. 18 and 274 l. 4, and *CPR* IV no. 19 l. 17.
- φ<sup>ω</sup>/ ιβ: Phaophi 12th = 9/10th October; for the abbreviation of the month Phaophi to these two letters, see, e.g., *Bal.* index p. 860, *CPR* IV index p. 195, and an VIIIth C. Greek fragment of an account register, *P. Apoll. Ano* no. 81 l. 2.
- 5-6 **No. 65** ll. 7-8, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔ| poll-tax receipt, has a similar docket.

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<sup>1</sup>See Stewart 1984 p. 105 for this abbreviation, along with *CPR* XX no. 11 l. 5, and *MIFAO* forthcoming no. 42 l. 2. *WS* pp. 25-26 discusses the term φορά.

<sup>2</sup>See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 122 (no. 404) and possibly 124 (no. 416).

# 91

## ORDER

*P. Yale copt.* no. 28  
P.CtYBR inv. 2037(A)

69(h) x 160(w) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VII-VIIIth C.  
No plate

Papyrus

**Preservation:** 4 lines and all margins; this is the second text to be written on this papyrus (despite being labelled side (A)). See below for the text written on side (B).

**Palaeography:** no details are recorded. The superlinear stroke is used with and without syllabic function in this text, and a mark resembling an acute accent is used once with syllabic function (Π<sup>´</sup>Ι. 1).

**Provenance:** unknown. Antinoe (ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ), which also occurs in **no. 69** (see §4.7), is mentioned in the letter written earlier on this papyrus.

**Acquisition:** see §2.3.2.

**Bibliography:** edited in *P. Yale copt.* p. 50.

The purpose of this text is obscure and there are two quite different ways of interpreting it. Someone is ordered to **ἄσων** (or "my brothers") just as he did to Ouenober of Ehbooue (see §4.9 for the interpretation of this as a place name). **ἄσων** can mean either "prepare, provide" (Crum *CD* p. 831a) or "waylay, hunt" (Crum *CD* p. 830a).<sup>2</sup> With the former interpretation, the text may relate to other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula texts in which the addressee is someone in charge of issuing various commodities.

1→ † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ ΜΠ<sup>´</sup>ΨΗΡΕ ΙΧΙΔΙΩΠΡΕΙ  
 2 ΧΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΙΕΙ ΕΚἄσων ΝΟΥΕΝΟΒΕΡ  
 3 ΠΡΩΜ ΝΕΖΘΟΥΕ ἄσων ΝΑCO'NI  
 4 Μ<sup>ω</sup>ϕ<sup>Δ</sup>Κ'Δ'ΙΝ'ΙΘ'†  
 4 ΜΗΝΙ ΦΑΩΦΙ, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

**Opening formula** (1) † Our father is the one who writes to his son  
 Laiore(-) ...  
**Order** (2) Just as (πρός) you ... Ouenober (3) of Ehbooue (?), ...  
Ason (?).  
**Date** (4) In the month (μήν) of Phaophi (day) 24(?), indiction-  
year (ινδικτίων) 2(?) †

<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Stephen Emmel for providing these dimensions; the *ed pr.* gave (w. x h.) "16.2 x 6.2 cm".

<sup>2</sup>Crum *CD* p. 831b ἄσων "inhabit" is not appropriate here.

## Transcription notes

1  $\bar{\text{M}}$ -: the superlinear stroke curves upwards forming a small c on its right end.

$\text{'}\lambda\text{'}\Delta\text{'}\text{I}\omega\text{'}\text{P}'\epsilon\text{'}$ :  $\text{T}\Delta\text{K}\text{P}\epsilon$  may also be possible, but neither of these are recorded as personal names in Heuser *PN*, Preisigke *NB*, or Foraboschi *OA*. No names beginning with  $\lambda\Delta\text{I}$ - are recorded in Heuser *PN*; and none of the ones listed in Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *OA* ( $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$  and  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) are suitable.

2  $\theta'\epsilon\text{'}$ :  $\theta\text{H}$  is also possible.

3  $\Delta\text{C}\text{O}'\text{N}'$ : if this is a personal name, it is not attested in Heuser *PN* although the name  $\Delta\text{C}\text{O}\text{Y}$  is (pp. 11, 20, 63, and 75).<sup>1</sup> It may also be that  $\text{N}\langle\text{Π}\rangle\Delta\text{C}\text{ON}$  or  $\text{N}\langle\text{N}\rangle\Delta\text{C}\text{ON}$  "my/the brother(s)" was intended here, although one would expect  $\text{C}\text{N}\text{H}\text{Y}$ , the usual plural form of  $\text{C}\text{ON}$ , to be used.

4  $\text{K}'\Delta\text{'}\text{I}\text{N}'\Delta\text{'}\text{'}\theta\text{'}\text{+}$ : the  $\Delta$  of  $\text{K}'\Delta\text{'}$  may be an  $\Delta$ ; the  $\Delta$  of  $\text{I}\text{N}'\Delta\text{'}$  is written hurriedly over the  $\text{N}$  and barely resembles a  $\Delta$  at all; the  $\theta$  is open and written in a ligature with the cross marking the end of the document.

## Translation notes

4  $\phi^{\omega\text{'}}$  /  $\text{K}\Delta$ : Phaophi 24th = 21st/22nd October. This line was not translated in the *ed. pr.*

## RELATED TEXT

### FRAGMENT CONTAINING THE END OF A LETTER

P. CtYBR 2037 (B)

No plate

**Preservation:** 2 lines and only the bottom and left margins are preserved.

**Palaeography:** details not recorded, although the hand is different from the one used on side (A).

The only noteworthy point in this fragment is that the city of Antinoe is mentioned in l. 2.

1↑        (±4)(±8).T'ω'[±2]OYM'ON'ZO(±2)Z[  
2        NΔϑ ωΔ ΔNTINOΟΥ NΔ| EICZ'Δi' MMOΟΥ TIDCT[ΔZE .

(1) ... (2) (to) him to Antinoe. I write these things, I greet ( $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\text{π}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ) ...

## Transcription notes

1 This line was not transcribed in the *ed. pr.*

<sup>1</sup>For this name in Greek papyri of an earlier date, see Foraboschi *OA* s.v.  $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  and Preisigke *NB* s.v.  $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; see these same sources for  $\text{'}\text{I}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega\text{v}$ , of which  $\Delta\text{C}\text{ON}$  may be a variant.

ΓΟΝΙΖΟ: between Ν and ΖΟ there may be a gap.

### **Translation notes**

2 ΝΔΙ ΕΙCΖ'ΔΪ' ΜΜΟΟΥ ΤΙΔCΠ[ΔΖΕ: see Tabelle VIII in Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 236 §1) b) and p. 237 §5) a) and b) for closing formulae which may be restored here; they are attested in texts dating to the VII/VIIIth C. from Bala'izah and the Theban region.

## 92

### ORDER

*MIFAO* forthcoming no. 81<sup>1</sup>      Dimensions not recorded      Whereabouts unknown  
Ostracon (material not recorded)

**Preservation:** 7 lines and all but the bottom margin are preserved.

**Provenance:** excavated by Jean Clédat at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit.

**Bibliography:** to appear in *MIFAO* forthcoming as text no. 81.

The purpose of this order is not clear because of the fragmentary nature of the text. Apa Noč is ordered to do something in connection with things which have been assigned to Pmanallou and Pmanranê, both of which are places from which wine is requisitioned in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit, and Pmanlouga (see §4.6 for all of these place names).

1	ⲡ ⲡⲎⲎⲈⲠⲮ ⲡⲈⲦⲘⲒⲁⲓ
2	ⲘⲡⲈϣⲱⲞⲢⲈ ⲁⲡⲁ
3	ⲢⲞⲖ ϫⲈ ⲁⲢⲒ ⲦⲁⲒⲁⲡⲞⲞⲒ...
4	ⲈϮⲘⲒⲒ ⲢⲘⲁ ⲡⲘⲁⲢⲢⲁⲢⲞⲞ
5	ⲘⲢ̅ ⲡⲘⲁⲢⲢⲁⲒⲟϮⲒⲁ
6	ⲘⲢ̅ ⲡⲘⲁⲢⲢⲁⲒⲁⲒⲟϮ ⲦⲁⲁⲒⲒⲠ
7	ⲒⲘⲞⲕⲁⲓ...Ⲓⲟⲓ?

**Opening formula**      (1) ⲡ Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son Apa  
(3) Noč.

**Order**      Be so good as to ... (4) which are ascribed to Pmanranê  
(5) and Pmanlouga (6) and Pmanallou, give them (?) (7) ...

#### Transcription notes

6 ⲦⲁⲁⲒⲒⲠ: Boud'hors (*MIFAO* forthcoming no. 81 n. to l. 6) suggests that ⲦⲁⲁⲒⲒⲠ or ⲦⲁⲁⲒⲒⲢ are also possible.

#### Translation notes

2-3 ⲁⲡⲁ ⲢⲞⲖ: this can be construed as a personal name "Apa Noč", or as the title ⲁⲡⲁ followed by the personal name ⲢⲞⲖ. The former occurs in a number of texts,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup>The text of this ostracon survives in a transcription recorded in one of Jean Clédat's excavation notebooks. Anne Boud'hors, to whom I am grateful for a copy of this transcription, has suggested that it is now in Egypt (private communication 17/3/94).

<sup>2</sup>Coptic exx.: *BM* nos. 1075 (p. 449), and 1077; *CPR* IV no. 167; and BL Or. 6201 A23 and 109c (both unpublished, see §2.1). Greek exx.: *P. Lond.* III no. 1032 (ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲁⲕⲓⲟⲥ) (VI-VIIth C.) and *SB* I 5944.

MacCoull 1987b p. 103 has pointed out that it is attested in texts from the Hermopolite nome.

4 ΕΥΧΗΖ ΝCΔ: ΕΥΧΗΖ ΝCΩ= occurs in a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔI formula receipt, **no. 99** l. 3.

## 93

### ORDER

Christie's "6"(B)  
Papyrus

272 (w) x 80 (h) mm.

VII/VIIIth C.  
Plate 64

**Preservation:** approximately the left third of the first 19 lines of this text are preserved, with all but the right and bottom margins intact. The surviving text is badly damaged and was written at 90° to the text on side (A), the first text written on this papyrus. This is a letter which is now very fragmentary; it mentions Apa Apollo, although it is not possible to say whether the saint was intended.

**Palaeography:** the hand is a mixture of majuscule and cursive forms, written in an irregular but proficient way.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This is the longest ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula document in this chapter. The addressees include a scribe called Phib, and a number of commodities may be mentioned. Although this text is too fragmentary to be fully evaluated, it is edited here because it mentions λΕλΩΖΕ which may be interpreted as bdellium, an unusual commodity (see §8.15). It also mentions "the *apou*", for whom see note to l. 5 of no. 72.

(B) 1↑	+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ' C' [ΖΔΙ ΝΝ̄ϗΗΡΕ?
2	ΥΔΖ ΦΙΒ Μ̄Ν IC[-
3	ΧΕ ΔΙΧΙ Τ.Δ' Β' Η.[
4	Μ̄Ν Τ' λΕλΩΖΕ' ..[
5	'ΕΙΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ Μ[
6	[.]ΕΙΩΤ ΧΟΟΥ Ο'Υ' [
7	[.]CΜΟΥ ΝΔΝ Δ[
8	[.]ΤλΕλΩΖΕ ΝΚ'Ω' [
9	[.]ΤΝΟΥ' C Ν'Η' Τ' [Ν ?
10	.Δ' 'Ν'Ε' ΠΔ' [
11	.ϗΔΚΤΔΔ[
12	.ΔΤΕΡ.Δ[
13	.ΟΙ, 'Χ' [..]CΙ.[
14	.ΕΡ̄ϗ ΧΩΩ[

15     .ΓΟΙ.Μ...[  
 16     ..ΜΥΕ[  
 17     'ΕΙΡΨΤΙΕ.[ ... Ν- ?  
 18     ΔΠΟΥ ΕΥΡ'ΟΙ[ΕΙC?  
 19     ]..ΒΧΟ[

4, 8 ΧΙΧΟΟΖΕ 13 ΟΙΝΟC/ΟΙΝΟΥ ?

**Opening formula**     (1) † Our father is the one who writes [to his sons ...?] (2)  
 the scribe Phib and Is[- ...]

**Report**             (3) I have received the ... (4) and the bdellium ... (5) if God  
 ... (6) father sent a ... (7) bless us ... (8) the bdellium ... (9) send it to you  
 (?) ... (10) ... (11) you (shall ?) give ... (12) ... (13) wine (οἶνος?) ... (14) ...  
 (15) ... (16) ... (17) ... [the] (18) *apou* who watch (?) ... (19) ...

### Transcription notes

3 .Δ'Θ'Η.[ : the first letter of this feminine noun may have been a χ ; possibly read the  
 masculine noun χΔΘΗC "carp" see §8.15.

6 Ο'Υ' : less likely ΟϜ.

10 Γ'Ν'Ε'ΠΔ' : or Γ'Π'Ε'ΠΔ'.

13 ΟΙ / : there may be a damaged character following this and preceding Γ'Χ'.

17-19 The first letter of these lines is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.

18, 19 The second fragment of papyrus may join at the end of these two lines.

### Translation notes

4 Γ'ΧΕΧΩΖΕ' : this is also found in *BM* 1114 (BL Or. 6085), which may have been  
 acquired by the British Museum at the same time as the BL Or. 6201 series, see §2.1.  
 This papyrus also mentions ΠΧΔΘΕC CNΔΥ and χΔΘΗ- may possible be read in l. 3 of  
 this text; this word is preceded by the masculine definite article in *BM* 1114 although the  
 Greek word which Crum cites as a possible antecedent, λαβίς "handle" (see *BM* p. 469  
 n. 9), is in fact feminine as is the word in l. 3 of **no. 93**. A place name involving the  
 word χΙΧΟΟΖΕ (see Crum *CD* p. 142a χΙΧΟΟΖΕ) does not appear to be in question  
 here.

6 ΕΙΩΤ : a different interpretation of this line involving "barley" (Crum *CD* p. 87a ΕΙΩΤ)  
 is also possible: "barley. Send a ...".

# 94

## ORDER

Christie's "8"

89 (w) x 165 (h) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 61

**Preservation:** all 7 lines and margins of this text are preserved.

**Palaeography:** a semi-cursive hand.

**Linguistic note:** the word ΠΔΧΩΝΗ (l. 3) may involve ΧΩ for ΤΩ.<sup>1</sup>

**Provenance:** unknown. An Hermopolite context is suggested by the mention of Pmanle (see §4.6).

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

Mena of Pmanle is ordered to do something as soon as George of Tešnê (see §4.11) has given him this note. Phib is the signatory.

1↑	+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCZΔΙ 'Ν'ΠQΩΗΡΕ ΜΗΝΔ
2	ΠΔΠΜΔΝ̄ΛΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΕΓΕΩΡΓΕ
3	ΠΔ'ΧΩ'ΝΗ ΜΔ Τ'Ι'Ν̄Π'ΕΙΠΕΤΤΔΓ̄Ν̄ΔΚ
4	...[±2]Ε..( ±6 )[..]Ε( ±6 )Ε(±2)
5	..Z ΘΕΜΤΕΜ .ΗΜΕ ΔΙΘΙΤΟΥ...[...]
6	..ΩΩ..Ε Ν'Γ'Θ .Ι[Ν] / Δ
7 Hand 2	ΦΙΘ

1 ΠΠΕQ- 2 Ν̄ΤΕΥΝΟΥ 3 ΠΔΤΕΩΝΗ, Π(Ε)ΙΠΙΤΤΔΚΙΟΝ  
5 ΔΙΘΙΤΟΥ 6 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝ

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son Mena (2) of Pmanle.

**Order** As soon as George (3) of Tšnê/the garden gives this note (πιττάκιον) to you (4) ... (5) ... took/take them ... (6) ... indiction-year (ινδικτίων) 11.

**Signatory** (7 Hand 2) Phib.

### Transcription notes

1 ΜΗΝΔ: following this there is a lacuna which may contain a C.

2 ΓΕΩΡΓΕ: this does not appear to begin with the same ΓΕ ligature with which it ends.

3 'Ν̄Π'ΕΙ-: the Π looks more like a Τ.

<sup>1</sup>This dialectal variant is not recorded in *Bal.* chapter VIII, but see p. 132 §116 for Χ for ΤΩ.

### Translation notes

2-3 ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΔ'ΧΩ'ΝΗ : in **no. 95** a George of the great garden/ΤΝΟΘ ΝΩΝΗ is mentioned.

3 ΠΕΤΤΔΓῆ: see **no. 83** l. 2 for the term πιττάκιον in other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ formula texts.

## ORDER TO GIVE ASS FODDER (?)

BL Or. 6201 B211

60 (h) x 120 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 65

**Preservation:** 3 lines and all margins are preserved.**Palaeography:** an experienced semi-cursive hand.**Provenance:** unknown. The place names Tnočnsnê and Teusia may be mentioned.**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

George of Tnočnsnê/the great garden (see §4.11) may be ordered to give some fodder to an ass belonging to a place called Teusia (see §4.8). The meaning of the final line remains obscure.

1 → + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ ΓΝΙΠΓΩΨΗΡΕ ΓΕΓΩΡΓΕ  
 2 ΠΔ ΤΝΟΘ ΝΩΝΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΝΖΡΕ ΓΝΙΠΓΩ  
 3 ΓΝΙΠΔ ΤΕΓΥΪΟΙΔ ΝΕΜΕΡΟΥ ΓΝΙΠΙΔΦ +

1 ΠΠΕΦ- 2 ΤΙ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ 3 ΠΠΔ- (?)

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son George  
 (2) of Tnočnsnê/the big garden.

**Order** <Give (?)> a little fodder to the ass (3) of Teusia ...

**Transcription notes**

3 ΜΕΡΟΥ: this may be an unattested plural form of a word deriving from ΜΟΥΡ "bind" (Crum *CD* p. 180a), or ΔΜΡΕ "baker" (Crum *CD* p. 8b).

ΠΙΔΦ: this is most probably to be read as ΠΙΝΔΦ, but its meaning is obscure.

**Translation notes**

1 ΓΕΓΩΡΓΕ: a man of this name may also be addressed in **no. 100**, another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula text. See **no. 94** ll. 2-3 for a George of Tesnê/the garden.

## INVOICE FOR LEAD AND OIL

P. Byrd 36.2

85 (h) x 90 (w) mm.<sup>1</sup>VII-VIIIth C.<sup>2</sup>

Medium brown papyrus

Plate 65

**Preservation:** 8 lines and all margins are preserved. A small fragment of four lines of text has been added upside down above l. 1 and is written in the same hand as the complete text edited here.<sup>3</sup>

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping majuscule hand.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** acquired for the private collection of Jonathan Byrd.

**Bibliography:** edited in Warga 1992; amendments and further comments in Clackson 1993b.

This invoice notifies Koueie son of Papas/Little Papas that twenty-five pounds of lead (see §8.15) and a full *lakon*-measure of oil have been delivered and can be collected from the sailors of Enoch. See §8.5 for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1	+ ΠΕΝΕΪΩΤΪ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ
2	ΜΠCΨΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΕΙΕ
3	ΠΔΠΔC ΧΕ ΕΙC ΧΟΥΤΗ
4	ΝΧΙΤΡΔ ΝΤΔΖΤ· ΔΪΤΝΟ-
5	ΟΥCΟΥ ΝΔΚ ΜΝΝ ΟΥΧΔΓΟΝ
6	ΝΝΕΖ ΕΘΜΕΖ· ΨΙΝΕ
7	ΝCΩΟΥ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΝΕΕΒ
8	ΝΕΝΩΧ +

5 ΜΝ ΟΥΧΔΚΟΝ 6 ΕCΜΗΖ 7 ΝΝΕΕC

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son Koueie (3) (son of) Papas/Papas the younger.

**Invoice** Here are the twenty-five (4) pounds (λίτρα) of lead I have sent (5) to you along with a full *lakon*-measure (λάκον) (6) of oil. Ask for them (7) from the sailors (8) of Enoch +

<sup>1</sup>Excluding additional fragment, see below.

<sup>2</sup>VIIth C. according to Warga 1992 p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>They mention 'ΧΔΓΟΝ CΝΔΥ; Warga 1992 p. 79 estimated that this fragment contained just "two and a half lines".

## Translation notes

- 2 ΚΟΥΕΙΕ: for this as the personal name Koueie (which is not recorded in Heuser *PN*), see Pernigotti 1985 p. 101 n. to l. 13, and *CPR VIII 77* l. 2 Κούει (VII/VIIIth C.).
- 4 ΛΙΤΡΑ: this measure is used for many commodities; the *ed. pr.* translated it as "liters". See **no. 40** l. 20 for the amount represented by a λίτρα.
- 6-7 ΩΙΝΕ ΝΩΟΥ: see §8.5 for the formula ΩΙΝΕ ΝΩΟΥ- in ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ formula texts.
- 7 ΝΕΕΘ: sailors from the village of ΤΕΜΞΙΡ are mentioned in two inscriptions at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 77 (no. 149 l. 3) and 88 (no. 210).

## INVOICE FOR OIL

KSB I 288

119(h) x 57(w) mm.

VII-VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

P. Palau Ribes inv. 41

Plate 65

Medium brown papyrus with fine fibre texture and smooth surface.<sup>2</sup>

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins are preserved (despite the claim in the *ed. pr.* that it "preserves the beginning of a private letter"); (Klakowicz 1981 pp. 46-47:) "some dark spots and a vertical breaking which damaged some letters in the last two lines extant".

**Palaeography:** right-sloping majuscule, with some ligatures.<sup>3</sup> Several dots on this papyrus do not appear to be marks made by the scribe, exx. above the ω in ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ l. 1, and the δ in δ̄ωω̄ῑ in l. 2.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Bibliography:** edited in Klakowicz 1981 pp. 46-47; reproduced in *KSB* I no. 288 with additional comments.

This invoice notifies Anoup and Asoi of an oil delivery and mentions that a man will be sent about some pitch. See §8.5 for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1↑	+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCZΔΙ ΜΠ̄ω̄ΗΡΕ
2	ΔΝΟΥΠ Μ̄̄ δ̄ωω̄ῑ ΖΕ ΕΙC
3	<u>ΠΛΑΓΟΝ ΝΕΖ</u> Δ̄̄ ΤΝΟΥΥ
4	ΝΗΤ̄̄ ΔΥΩ ω̄ΔΖΤΟΥΥ ΤΔ ΤΝΟΥΥ
5	ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΧ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΔΔΜΧΔ ΤΠ

3 ΛΔΚΟΝ̄ ΝΕΖ 4 ω̄ΔΖΤΟΥΥΕ

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son (2)  
Anoup and Asoi.

**Invoice** Here is (3) the *lakon*-vessel (λάκον) of oil (which) I have sent (4) to you. At dawn I will send (5) out the man about the pitch.

**Transcription notes**

1 ΠΕΤCZΔΙ: above the Ι there may be a trema.

2 δ̄ωω̄ῑ: the *ed. pr.* gave δ̄ωω̄ῑ.

<sup>1</sup>VIIIth C. according to Klakowicz 1981 p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Klakowicz 1981 p. 46.

<sup>3</sup>Klakowicz 1981 p. 47: "a regular and unligated (sic) cursive ... a well-trained hand which resembles the eighth century items Crum, *Ryl.* nos. 142 and 180 (cf. p. 241f.)".

3  $\lambda\delta\Gamma\text{ON N}\epsilon\zeta$ : this was interpreted as  $\lambda\delta\Gamma\text{O N}\text{N}\epsilon\zeta$  in the *ed. pr.* and *KSB* I no. 288 erroneously corrects this reading to  $\lambda\delta\text{KON}$ .

### Translation notes

The *ed. pr.* failed to appreciate the monastic context of this text and so interpreted the terms "father" and "son" as denoting a physical rather than spiritual relationship.

1  $\Pi\bar{\varphi}\omega\text{H}\rho\epsilon$ : note the use of the singular  $\Pi\bar{\varphi}$ - here when two people are being addressed.

2  $\delta\omega\omega\text{r}\bar{\iota}$ <sup>1</sup>: this name is recorded in three inscriptions from Bawit;<sup>1</sup> it is not attested in Heuser *PN*, Preisigke *NB*, or Foraboschi *OA*.

4  $\omega\delta\zeta\text{T}\text{O}\text{O}\Upsilon$ : the sense here suggests that "at dawn" be read rather than "till morning" as in the *ed. pr.*

5  $\text{N}\lambda\delta\text{M}\chi\delta\text{T}\Pi$ : note that the plural is used here, see parallels listed in Crum *CD* p. 143b  $\lambda\delta\text{M}\chi\delta\text{T}\Pi$ .

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<sup>1</sup>See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 70 (no. 104  $\delta\omega\delta\iota$ ), 72 (no. 115 a deacon), and 85 (no. 195 father of  $\Pi\delta\text{Π}\text{N}\text{O}\Upsilon\text{T}\epsilon$ ).

# 98

## FRAGMENTARY INVOICE

Christie's "4"(B)

28 (w) x at least 150 (h) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VII/VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 41

**Preservation:** the first 2 lines and the upper and right margins are partially preserved. On side (A) is part of one line written in black ink, and about 3 lines in brown ink, both in different hands from that of the text presented below (no plate).

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand with many ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

(B)

1→ ]ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΪ ΜΠϚΩΗΡΕ

2 ]ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΘΤΟΥ

2 ϚΤΟΥ

**Opening formula** (1) ... Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) ...

**Invoice** ... here are the four

---

<sup>1</sup>The width of this fragment has been estimated because the papyrus fibres are twisted.

## RECEIPT FOR STONE

CUL Michael. 1120

63 (h) x 173 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 66

**Preservation:** (A) 5 lines, and (B) 3 lines; all margins are preserved on both sides.**Palaeography:** hand 1 belongs to the scribe Victor (see §8.9) who writes in a small, right-sloping hand semi-cursive hand, with some majuscule forms. Tioid ψ (ψΔ 2 l. 1; see note to the palaeography section of no. 16 text 1 for this term). For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see §8.11. The docket is written in a faltering semi-cursive hand (hand 3).**Provenance:** unknown; possibly the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is signed by Daniel, see §8.1.**Acquisition:** see §2.2.

The scribe Apollo and the builder Shenoute are advised that a stone from a number assigned to them has been given to Papnoute, a builder from Poš.

(A)

1↑ ρ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΪ ΝΠϞΩΗΡΕ ΨΔΖ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ

2 ΜΝ ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΚΩΤ ΖΕ ΕΙC ΟΥΩΝΕ ΔΒΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΤ

3 ⚡ ΖΝ ΝΩΝΕ ΕΥCΗΖ ΝCΩΤῆ ΝΤΔΙΤΔΔΘ ΕΠΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ

4 ΠΕΚΩΤ ΝΠΟΩ + παχ<sup>ω</sup>ιζ<sup>ο</sup> ινδ<sup>τ</sup>θ + βικ<sup>τ</sup>εγραψα +

5 (Hd 2) ρΔΔΝΙΗΛ CΤΗΧΕ

(B) Docket in hand 3.

6→ ρ ΓΠΙΕΤΔΚ ΝΩΝΕ

Erased, at 180° to l. 6.

7 ΓΠΙ ΠΕΤΔΚ ΝΩΝΙΕ

8 illegible traces of c. 10 letters

1 ἸΠΕϞ- 2 ΔϞ- 3 ἸΤΔΙΤΔΔϞ 4 Παχών, ἰνδικτίονος. Βίκτωρ  
5 CΤΟΙΧΕΙ 6, 7 ΠΙΤΤΔΚΙΟΝ (?)

**Opening formula** (1) ρ Our father is the one who writes to his son the scribe Apollo (2) and Shenoute the builder.

**Report** A stone has come into my hands (3) from the stones ascribed to you, and I have given it to Papnoute (4) the builder of Poš.

**Date** + (Greek) Pachon (day) 17, indiction-year 9.

**Scribe** + Victor, I wrote +.

**Signatory** (5 Hd 2 Coptic) ρ Daniel agrees (στοιχεῖν).  
**Docket** (6) Receipt (πιττάκιον?) for stone.

### Transcription notes

3 Ϛ Ϛ Ϛ : the Ϛ resembles a π.

6 Ϛ Ϛ : the upper part of this sign is damaged and may be a †.

### Translation notes

2, 4 ΕΚΩΤ: builders and others involved in building are mentioned in inscriptions from Bawit.<sup>1</sup> An interpretation of ΠΕΚΩΤ as a personal name is highly unlikely in this text.

3 ΕΥΧΗΖ ΝCΩΤḲ̄: a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula text from Bawit, **no. 92** l. 4, contains the phrase ΕΥΧΗΖ ΝCΔ-.

"I have given it": the verb here is really a Relative Perfect.

4 ΠOω: see §4.11 for this word which may be a place name.

παχ<sup>ω</sup> ιζ: Pachon 17th = 12th May.

6 Ϛ Ϛ ΕΤΔΚ: see **no. 83** l. 2 for πιττάκιον; of the many meanings πιττάκιον may have, "receipt" seems the most appropriate here; an interpretation of it as "association",<sup>2</sup> referring in this text to a consortium of stoneworkers, is not very likely.

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<sup>1</sup>See Krause 1991 pp. 1292-1293, which cites Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 70 (no. 100 ΙΩΖΔΝΝΗC), 112 (no. 348 l. 2 ΦΙΘ), and 151 (ΗΚΩΤ no. 548 l. 2 ΜΗΝΔ).

<sup>2</sup>See LSJ 1409a πιττάκιον meaning II.

## BEGINNING OF A DOCUMENT

P. CtYBR 2103 qua (B) text 2

78 (h) x 240 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Papyrus

Plate 69

**Preservation:** 2 lines and all margins are preserved, written at 180° to Text 1 which was written earlier on side (A). Text 1 may be summarised as follows: it involves 6 lines of a letter written in a very inexperienced hand.<sup>2</sup> It involves many difficult linguistic forms, some of which may be Bohairic (e.g. ϕ+ for ΠΝΟΥΤΕ), and some of which are similar to ones found in **no. 46** (exx. λΟΥΚΟΞΙ for ὀλοκότινος, ϸΔΙ for ϸΖΔΙ). The purpose of the letter is obscure but it mentions a solidus, some wine, a monk and a church, among other things.

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping majuscule hand with some cursive forms and a few ligatures. The following have elongated, hooked tails: ι, ϩ and ϕ. Minuscule η. Text 3, is written on side (B) in the same hand.

**Provenance:** unknown. Text 3 was issued by the head of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.<sup>3</sup>

**Acquisition:** see §2.3.3.

**Bibliography:** mentioned in MacCoull 1975 p. 219.

This text appears to have been discontinued in line 2 in favour of a new text (text 3) which was written around it. See §8.5 for an interpretation of the use of this manuscript and texts 2-3.

1 → + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϸΖΔΙ

2 ΝΠϩωΗΡΕ ΓΕ

2 ϩΠεϩ-

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son Ge-

**Transcription notes**

2 ΓΕ: this may be interpreted as ΓΕΩΡΓΕ (or ΓΕΩΡΓ, ΓΕΩΡΓΙ, or ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ) and identified with the addressee in text 3. Other, less common, men's names beginning with ΓΕ- recorded in Heuser *PN* are: ΓΕΔΙΩΝ, ΓΕΛΟΥΖ, ΓΕΝΝΔΔΙΟΣ, ΓΕΡΜΔΝ(ΟΣ), ΓΕΡΟΝ+ΙΟΣ, ΓΕΡΩΝΤϸΙ, and ΓΕΤΩΝ.

<sup>1</sup>VI-VIIIth C. assigned by T.C. Petersen in the Beinecke Library's computerised catalogue.

<sup>2</sup>This is the same as, or similar to, the hand which wrote an unpublished letter which mentions ΠΔΥΗΤ, P. CtYBR inv. 2334

<sup>3</sup>MacCoull 1975 p. 219 suggests that this manuscript originated from the monastic community at Bawit.

## FRAGMENTARY LEGAL DOCUMENT

P CtYBR 2103 qua (B) text 3

Plate 69

**Preservation:** 4 lines and all but the lower and right margins are preserved. Line 4 is very faded.

This is the beginning of a legal document issued by the *dikaion* of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through its archimandrite, Apa Zacharias. The addressee is named George, who may be the addressee in text 2.

1→ + ΠΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝΑ ΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΦΔΓΙΟC ΔΠΔ ΔΠ'ΟΧ'ΑΧΩ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ'ΑΙ[ Ν-  
2 ΔΠΔ ΖΔΧΔΡΙΔC ΠΔΡΧΗΜΔΝΑ ΔΥΩ Π[ΙΩΤ ΜΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΦCΖΔΙ ΜΠΦ-  
3 ΩΗΡΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΧΕ ΠΙΤΗ'ΔΚ'ΠΔ'Ρ'[ΔΚΔΧΕΙ  
4 ΓΩ'Ω(±3)'ΟΙ[

1 ΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΦΔΓΙΟC 2 ΔΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗC 3 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ

**Opening formula** <sup>(1)</sup> + The *dikaion* (δικαίον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of the holy (ἅγιος) Apa Apollo through <sup>(2)</sup> Apa Zacharias, the archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) and [father of the monastery (?)] writes to his (?) <sup>(3)</sup> son George.

**Preamble** Whereas (ἐπειδή) you asked (παρακαλεῖν) (?) ... <sup>(4)</sup>  
...

### Transcription notes

1 ΖΙΤΟΟΤ'ΑΙ: ΖΙΤΟΟΤ'ΟΥ' is less likely but also possible.

2 Π[ΙΩΤ: restored following **no. 28** l. 3.

ΜΠΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΦCΖΔΙ ΜΠΦ- : other possible reconstructions include another word for "monastery", such as τόπος or ΜΔ, and ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΜΠΔ- "I write to my".

### Translation notes

1 ΔΙΚΔΙΟΝ: for the *dikaion* of a monastery, see §3.13.

2 ΔΠΔ ΖΔΧΔΡΙΔC: no archimandrites named Zacharias are recorded in published texts from the monasteries of Apa Apollo. As this text is connected with a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula text, and several texts with this formula may have come from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo (see §8.1), he may be assigned to the Bawit monastery.

# 101

## FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201 A227(B)

45 (h) x 105 (w) mm.

VII-VIIIth C.

Papyrus

No plate

**Preservation:** all 3 lines of this text are preserved, although the ink is faded, especially in ll. 1 and 2. On side (A) are the remains of two final lines of an earlier text, with only the lower margin preserved, written against the fibres in a different hand, ending with the words [ΟΥΧΔΙ] ΖΜ ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΔΜΕΡΙΤ Ν[. "farewell in the Lord, my beloved ...".

**Palaeography:** a fairly large, right-sloping majuscule hand. The only ligature involves ε and ι.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

1→ + ΠΕΝΕΙ'ΩΤ' [ΠΕΤC]ΖΔΙ  
2 ΔΝ ( ±3 )( ±6 ).  
3 ΝΔλΠΔΖ..ΝΔΠ..

**Opening formula** (1) + Our Father [is the one who] writes ...  
... (2) ... (3) ...

### Transcription notes

1 [ΠΕΤC]ΖΔΙ: there is no lacuna, the ink has faded completely.

3 ΔλΠΔΖ..: possibly read the personal name ΔλΠΔΖΔ (Heuser *PN* p. 112) here; see no. 104 l. 2.

# 102

## FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201 A231

33 (h) x 60 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

No plate

**Preservation:** 2 lines and all but the bottom and right margins are preserved; on side (A) are 2 lines of a text in a small cursive hand, with all but the right margin extant.

**Paleography:** written in a small, semi-cursive hand similar to **no. 71**.

**Provenance:** unknown. Pmanpaselei(-) (see §4.6) is mentioned in l. 3.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

(A)

1↑ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΟΨΙ[ΔΙ ΜΠΦΩΗΡΕ ΝΝ

2 ΠΔΠΜ΄Δ΄( ±3 )[

(B) Address?

3→ ]΄ΠΜ΄Δ̄ ΝΠΔΟΕ΄Χ΄ΕΙ.

4 ].. ΨΙΤ̄ ΠΕΝΕΙ΄Ω΄[Τ]

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes [to his son NN] (2) of the place ...

**Address?** (3) ... of Pmanpaselei(-) (?) (4) ... from our father.

### Transcription notes

2 ΠΜ΄Δ΄( ±3 )[: reconstruct ΄ΠΜ΄Δ̄ ΝΠΔΟΕ΄Χ΄ΕΙ. if side (B) does contain the address.

# 103

## FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201 B94

90 (h) x 122 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 67

**Preservation:** 3 lines and all but the left margin are preserved. In ll. 1 (ΠΔΠΟΩ) and 2 (ΩΔ[ ]ΝΤΕΦΧΟ) the scribe has written around lacunae in the papyrus.

**Palaeography:** the hand is a mixture of cursive and majuscule forms. This text uses a superlinear mark resembling an acute accent with syllabic function in ΠΨ in l. 1; and a superlinear dot in CΤΕΦΝ in l. 3.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

Seuerus of Poš (see §4.11) is ordered to do something to Apa Kollouthe the watchman until he ceases to do something, perhaps in connection with the monastery of Stephen (see §4.1).

1 ↑ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΨ]ΕΤCΖΔΪ ΝΠΨΩΗΡΕ CΕΥΗΡΟC ΠΔΠΟΩ ΧΕ΄ΩΔ΄.[  
 2 ]ΝΔΠΔ ΚΟΧΧΟΥΘ'Ε' ΠΡΦΡΟΕΙC ΩΔΝΤΕΦΧΟ  
 3 ]ΘΕΝΗΗΤΕ ΝCΤΕΦΝ ΔΥΩ Ν[±3]ΩΜΕΝΕ

1 ΠΠΕΦ- 2 ΡΕΦΡΟΕΙC

**Opening formula** (1) [+ Our father is the] one who writes to his son Severus of Poš .

**Order** ... (2) to (?) Apa Kollouthe the watchman until he ceases (?) ... (3) the monastery of Stephen and ...

### Transcription notes

1 ΠΔΠΟΩ, 2 ΩΔ[ ]ΝΤΕΦΧΟ: both words are written around a lacuna in the papyrus.

2 ΚΟΧΧΟΥΘ'Ε': the writing of the ε is remarkable in that its horizontal bar is extended with a flourish. A reading of ΚΟΧΧΟΥΘΟC does not seem likely.

3 ΩΜΕΝΕ: following this the papyrus is damaged so that any further text is obscured.

### Translation notes

3 CΤΕΦΝ: for a parallel spelling of the name Stephen (Heuser *PN* p. 91), compare *Bal.* no. 239 l. 3 CΤΕΦΝ̄.

# 104

## FRAGMENT

P. CtYBR inv. 1820

43 (h) x 54 (w) mm.

VI-VIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Formerly P. Yale inv. 1819b

No plate

Papyrus

**Preservation:** 5 lines and the top and right margins are preserved. A dark brown line, which may have been part of a protocol from an earlier text, runs vertically through the second letter of each line.

**Palaeography:** no details recorded.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.3.1.

**Bibliography:** described in Petersen [1964] p. 57 no. 81.

1 ↑	ΠΕΝΕΙ]Γ'Ω'ΙΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ[ ΜΠΕϞΩΗΡΕ
2	]Γ'ΠΠ'ΔΠΔ ΔΧ'Γ'Γ'[
3	]Γ'Τ'Γ'Τ'λΕ[
4	]ΔΦΟ'Ι'ΝΔ[
5	]Γ'Θ'ΟΧΤ.[

**Opening formula** (1) Our father is the one who writes ... (2) ... Papa ΑΙ-...  
... (3) ... (4) ... the field of ... (5) ... vessel (?)...

### Transcription notes

2 ΔΧ'Γ'Γ'[ : there are no personal names beginning with ΔΧΓ- recorded in Heuser *PN*, Preisigke *NB* or Foraboschi *OA*. If the Γ were a Π, the name ΔΧΠΔΖΔ might be in question here, see **no. 101** l. 3.

3 Following the second Τ is a small, narrow letter, possibly an Ι.

5 Γ'Θ'ΟΧΤ : of the Θ only the upper curve is visible; Κ is also possible.

### Translation notes

5 Γ'Θ'ΟΧΤ : possibly a form of ΘΟΡΤΕ "knife" (Crum *CD* p. 829b), compare the form in *P. Lond.* IV 1631 col. 4 l. 10 (ΘΟΧΤΕ); alternatively this word could be restored as ΔΘΟΧΤΕ "wagon, cart" (Crum *CD* p. 26a).

<sup>1</sup>According to T.C. Petersen's entry for this text in the Beinecke Library's computerised catalogue.

# 105

## FRAGMENT

Christie's "28"

c. 85 (h) x c. 80 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 68

**Preservation:** 7 incomplete lines and part of the top and left margins are preserved.

**Palaeography:** a right-sloping majuscule hand with cursive tendencies and some ligatures (e.g. ερ l. 5).

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This text is too fragmentary for comment beyond the fact that the garden/Tesnê is mentioned.

1 ↑      ρ ΠΕΝΕΙΪ[ΩΤ ΠΕΤCZΔΙ ΜΠϞϞΗΡΕ ΝΝ ...  
 2      ΝΔ' Π' Δ Β.[  
 3      ΧΕ ΠΛΟΓΟC Ν...[  
 4      ΕΖΟ'Υ'Ν ΕΤΕϞΗΗ ..[  
 5      ΕΡΖ'Ω'Ϟ'ΕΤΘΕ'Ι[  
 6      ΖΔΜ.Κ(±3)Ν' Π' Δ ΠΔ .[  
 7      (±3)[

5 ρΖωθ

**Opening formula**      (1) Our father [is the one who writes to his son NN ...] (2)  
of Apa B(-) ...

**Report?**      (3) The account (λόγος) of ... (4) in the garden/Tesnê ... (5)  
... (6) ... Papa (?) ... (7) ...

### Transcription notes

1 ρ: this extends well above l. 1 and almost down to the level of l. 3.

6 .[: all that is visible here is a vertical stroke.

# 106

## FRAGMENT

Christie's "7"

72 (w) x at least 95 (h) mm.<sup>1</sup>

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 68

**Preservation:** the first 7 lines and the upper and right margins are partially preserved.

The lower part of this papyrus is covered with a muddy substance which obscures ll. 6-7.

**Palaeography:** a competent majuscule hand with some ligatures. Minuscule H.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This fragmentary text mentions an Apa Iohannes.

1→		+
2	+	ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ]CΖΔΙ ΜΠϞϠΗΡΕ
3		].Δ....NNEMNT
4		]ϞΔ'ΠΔ ἸΩΖΔNNHC
5		] (±5) ΤΕΙ
6		] (±3)
7		] (±3)

**Opening formula**      (1) + Our father is the one who] writes to his son (2) ...  
 ...                              ... (3) ... (4) ... Apa Iohannes ... (5-7) ...

### Transcription notes

3 ].Δ....NNEMNT: the first letter may be a Π or Η; following the Δ may be ΝΔΡ or ΝΔΙ. The word ΔΝΔΡΙCΜΟC cannot be read.

NNEMNT: this may involve the word for "west" (Crum *CD* p. 56a ΕΜΝΤ) or the abstract prefix ΜΝΤ- (Crum *CD* p. 176a).

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<sup>1</sup>The height of the papyrus is uncertain because it is folded over.

# 107

## FRAGMENT

Christie's "1"(B)

28 (h) x 106 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 41

**Preservation:** 2 lines and possibly all margins are preserved. See below for the earlier text written on this papyrus.

**Palaeography:** a large, right-sloping majuscule hand with some ligatures. Minuscule Η.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

(B)

1→ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΟΖΔΙ ΜΠΦ-

2 ΩΗΡΕ ΚΛΟΥΧ

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his (2) son Klouj

## FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "1"(A)

Plate 41

**Preservation:** 4 lines and only the right margin preserved.

**Palaeography:** a large, right-sloping majuscule hand with some ligatures which is similar to the one found in no. 12.

1↑ Τ...[

2 ΜΜΟΘ Χ Σ Ι'Ν'Δ, ΠΕΧΕΝ'Χ'[

3 ..Ε ΕΙC Ζ'ΗΗΤ'Ε ΟΥΝΤΕΤ'Ν'[

4 ]..Ν'Π'[

2 ΜΜΟθ Χ = ὑπέρ, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC

(1) ... (2) it/him for (ὑπέρ) indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 6 ... (3) ... Behold, you have ... (4) ...

### Transcription notes

2 ΠΕΧΕΝ'Χ': possibly interpret as ΠΕΧΕ Ν'Χ'[Ε or ΠΕΧΕΝ'Χ'[Ε "we said that ...".

# 108

## FRAGMENT

Christie's "2"(B)

38 (h) x 148 (w) mm.

VIIIth C.

Papyrus

Plate 68

**Preservation:** 2 lines and the upper and left margins are preserved. On side (A) there is a fragment of a protocol in faded brown ink.

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand with ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This text simply preserves the beginning of the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula.

(B)

1↑

+

2

+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ ΜΠ῀-

+ Our father is the one who writes  
to his

3

].[

...

### Transcription notes

2 †: the right end of the horizontal curves down to the right.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, an attempt has been made to ascertain not only whether certain unprovenanced documents relate to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo but also whether the Bawit or Titkooh monastery was their likely place of origin. I have been able to associate a number of documents, some of which are previously published, with one or other of the monasteries. However, the provenance of some texts will remain uncertain until new evidence comes to light. Such evidence may be provided by the unpublished material excavated at Bawit which is currently being researched by scholars in France and Germany.

Analysis of the documents edited in this thesis, the majority of which are unpublished, has shown that texts written by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome cannot automatically be assigned to the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo rather than the Titkooh monastery of this name (§3.5). It may be the case that there were other monasteries of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome besides the ones at Bawit and Titkooh, because the cult of Apa Apollo had a large following in this area (§3.2.2).

The monastery of Apa Apollo designated as "to the south of Shmoun" in a few texts may be the Bawit monastery because it was more immediately south of Shmoun than Titkooh was. It is interesting to note that, while several texts specify the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo, none actually name Bawit as their location. The Bawit monastery may have been the "unmarked" monastery of Apa Apollo, i.e. the one which was intended when no specific location was specified.

Unpublished papyri relating to the Titkooh monastery are edited in this thesis and they supplement the evidence for this monastery already provided by a small number of Coptic and Greek papyri. Monks from this monastery, and from an unspecified Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, are shown to have been involved in collecting *aparchê* for their monastery and other monasteries. The monastery's contact with, and possibly land-ownership in, the Faiyum is attested in some of the documents.

Monks of the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo also appear to be connected with documents which begin with the epistolary formula ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ. Most of these texts were written by monks of a monastery of Apollo; one is issued by the head of the Titkooh monastery and another by a monk of an unspecified monastery at Titkooh, which is very likely to be that of Apa Apollo.

The place of origin of the documents with the introductory formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ analysed in Chapter 8 is less easy to establish. Most of them follow a similar format and some even feature the same addressees, scribes and signatories but it is by no means certain that they are all the product of one monastery. A number of them, however, can be directly related to Bawit - one or two of them were excavated there by Jean Clédat - or a monastery of Apa Apollo. The ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formula documents demonstrate the range of different economic and taxation-related activities in which the administration of a monastery was involved.

Manuscript collections which may yield further related material are discussed in Chapter 2. The BL Or. 6201 series (§2.1), and the Michaelides collection which now belongs to the BL and CUL (§2.2), may contain texts from both Hermopolite monasteries since documents beginning with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔCΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙCΖΔΙ and ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΖΔΙ formulae, as well as texts specifying a monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh, are associated with them.

It has been demonstrated how the two Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo were in contact with one another in antiquity (see §3.4.4), but their exact relationship has yet to be determined. They administered the same cult of Apa Apollo and it may well be that they collaborated in a number of ways. By analysing the documentary formulae and data contained in the texts, I have advanced understanding of the organization and the economic activities of these monasteries. The corpus of texts collected here forms a basis for further research.

## APPENDIX 1

### GREEK TEXTS RELATING TO HERMOPOLITE MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO

#### 1.

#### UNPROVENANCED GREEK DOCUMENTS MENTIONING MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO

1. No. 40.

2. *P. Vat. Aphrod.* 13:<sup>1</sup> a list of requisitioned contributions (διανομαί) including boiled wine, pitch, and acacia/thorn-bushes, pertaining to a monastery of Apa Apollo (μοναστήριον ἸΑπα Απολλω) (VIth or VIIIth C.?).
3. *SB VI 9144* (P. Fouad inv. 247):<sup>2</sup> a receipt for the *embolê* payment of monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo, issued by the pagarch Flavius Ioannes. The quay of Helen (ὄρμος Ἑλένης), which may have belonged to the monastery, is mentioned. Dated to Mecheir 10th, indiction-year 7 (VIth C.?).

#### 2.

#### GREEK DOCUMENTS MENTIONING THE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT TITKOIS

1. *P. Amst.* I 47: a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) to the archimandrite Serenos of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (537 C.E.).
2. *P. Amst.* I 48: a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) to the archimandrite Serenos of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (VIth C.). See *P. Amst.* I 47.
3. *P. Sorb. inv.* 2227, fol. 24 ↓: an unpublished fiscal codex from Hermopolis (second half VIth C.).<sup>3</sup>
4. *P. Sta. Xyla* 5: a debt acknowledgment issued by a man from Moirai to Apa Anouphios, a monk of the Titkois monastery of Apa Apollos (7th September, 539 C.E.).
5. *P. Sta. Xyla* 6: a fragmentary loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) which mentions the measure of a monastery of Apa Apollos, most probably the one at Titkois (VIth C.).

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<sup>1</sup>Attributed to the Aphrodito monastery in the *ed. pr.*; re-assigned to the Titkooh monastery in MacCoull 1991 in the light of P. Gascou 2, and re-dated to the period after the Arab Conquest following VIIIth C. parallels.

<sup>2</sup>Edited in Remondon 1952 who assigned a date of 589 C.E. and attributed it to the Aphrodito monastery. *P. Sta. Xyla* p. 46 cites this document as mentioning a monastery of Abba Apollos at Titkois.

<sup>3</sup>Referred to in Gascou 1981 pp. 219-220.

6. *P. Sta. Xyla* 8:<sup>1</sup> a debt acknowledgment issued by a man from Magdolon Mega in the Hermopolite nome,<sup>2</sup> to Aurelius NN, son of Papnouthios, the camel-driver, who is presumably a monk of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (19th March, 535 C.E.).
7. *P. Sta. Xyla* 10: a debt acknowledgment issued by a man from Demetriou to Apa Phibis, a monk of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (19th November, 543 C.E.). See the introduction to **no. 20** for this manuscript.
8. *P. Sta. Xyla* 18: a debt acknowledgment issued to someone from the Titkois monastery of Apa Apollos (487/488 C.E.).
9. *P. Sta. Xyla* 19: a fragment of a contract involving a monk of the Titkois monastery of Apa Apollos (VIth C.).
10. *SB VI* 9051 (P. Brux. inv. E. 7640): a loan to be repaid in wheat (with deferred delivery) to Abba Phoibammon who is probably the archimandrite of the monastery of Abba Apollos at Titkois (VIth C.).
11. *SB XVI* 12266 (P. Gascou 1): a VIIth C. receipt for the village of Hermetarion (κώμ(ης) Ἑρμηταρίου) for the fourteenth indiction-year (in the name of the) monastery of Abba Apollos (μοναστηρίου) Ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλῶτος) for the boat of Sar(-). Written by Pekysios the *gnoster* (γνωστήρ). Dated to Pharmouthi 3rd, indiction-year 14. The monastery in question here is most probably the one at Titkois because it is associated with *SB XVI* 12267 (see below). The monastery may have had taxable holdings in Hermetarion, which is near Titkooh/Titkois.<sup>3</sup>
12. *SB XVI* 12267 (P. Gascou 2): a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery). The *protocometes* of Sentryphis owes Aurelius Apollo son of Horus, a monk [of the monastery of Apa Apollo on the mount] of Titkois, some wine (13th July, 540 C.E.). This manuscript was acquired by J. Gascou in 1977 from an antiquities dealer in Cairo together with *SB XVI* 12266 (see above) from a lot of manuscripts in which a monastery of Apa Apollo was "fréquentment mentionné" (Gascou 1981 p. 219).
13. *SB XVI* 12401 (P. Vindob. Barbara 266):<sup>4</sup> a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) to the Monastery of Abba Apollos at Titkois by two men from Tanemois (590 C.E.). This manuscript may have been written in the same hand as P. Vindob. Barbara 267 which mentions ] ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλῶτ[ο]ς [.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gascou 1994 p. 181 suggests that *P. Sta. Xyla* 13 may belong to this manuscript.

<sup>2</sup>See Gascou 1994 p. 180 for the translation of this place name.

<sup>3</sup>Gascou 1981 p. 224.

<sup>4</sup>This document is to be analysed by N. Kruit in an article to be published in a forthcoming volume of *Tyche*.

<sup>5</sup>Harrauer and Sijpesteijn 1982 p. 299 no. 7.

### 3.

#### GREEK DOCUMENTS MENTIONING TITKOIS

1. *BGU* II 556 I.4, [5] and 10: an account involving villages in the Hermopolite nome (IIIrd C.).
2. *P. Cair. inv.* 10585.10:<sup>1</sup> a list of Hermopolite and Arsinoite place names (IIIrd C.).
3. *P. Cair. Preis.* 30 (*P. Cair. inv.* 10565) ΤΙΤΚΩΕΩΣ ll. 20, 37, 47, 60, 80, 98, 100, 116, and 139; ΤΕΙΤΚΩΕΩΣ ll. 90:<sup>2</sup> a list of payments made by villages in the southern Hermopolite nome (IVth C.).
4. *P. Lond.* V 1899 (July 18th, 600 C.E.):<sup>3</sup> a document of uncertain character which is issued by someone from Tanemois and mentions a *proestos* called Isaac.<sup>4</sup>
5. *P. Ryl.* II 206.30: a corn account which mentions ΤΕΤΚΩΕ[ΩΣ] (end IIIrd C.).
6. *P. Ryl.* II 406 verso: an account of payments mentioning ΤΙΤΚΩΙΣ (187/189 C.E.)
7. *P. Schøyen* 89/5 (unpublished, see §2.4.1).
8. *SPP* V 119 recto II.3,5: a document concerning a lease (266 C.E.).
9. *SPP* XX 257: a list of Hermopolite place names mentioning [ΤΙΤ]ΚΟΕΩΣ (l. 10) (VI-VIIth C.).<sup>5</sup>
10. Papyrus list of δημόσια payments belonging to a private collection, edited in Husson 1991 (see §3.4.1).

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<sup>1</sup>Edited in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1977; the reading of ΤΙΤΚΩ(ΕΩΣ) was later made by them in 1978 p. 274.

<sup>2</sup>Re-edited in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 pp. 262-265.

<sup>3</sup>See the introduction to *P. Mich.* XIII 664.

<sup>4</sup>Harrauer and Sijpesteijn 1982 p. 299 and *P. Sta. Xyla* p. 46 include this papyrus in a list of texts which mention the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkois.

<sup>5</sup>See the corrigenda listed in *BL* VIII p. 475.



1→ †ΔΝΟΚ Γ' ΠΙΔ' ΟΙΝ Γ' ΕΡΜΙΔΝΕ  
 2 ΦΔ' ΜΨ' Ε Ν' Τ ΠΕΤΡΑ' ΕΤΟΥ-  
 3 ΔΔΘ ( ±10 ) ΤΠΟ-  
 4 ΧΙC ( ±10 ) Γ' Ν ΠΔ' ΟΙΝ  
 5 ΠΔΙΔΚ, ..... Γ' ΠΙ ΜΟΝΟΧΟC  
 6 ΜΠ' ΠΙ ΜΟΝ[ΔC Τ,] Γ' ΝΟΥ' ΩΤ ΖΜ ΠΙ ΤΟΥ  
 7 Γ' ΝΟΥ' ΩΤ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙ Δ' Η ΔΙ ΠΔΡΑΚΔ-  
 8 ΧΕΙ Γ' ΜΜΟ' Κ Γ' Δ' Κ' ΔΙ' Τ' Ε' Ι ΝΟΥ' ΖΟΧΟΚ Τ,  
 9 Ε' Π. ΕΙ' ΧΡΙΑ ΜΝ ΤΔΔΝΔΓΚΗ  
 10 ΔΕ Γ' ΔΙΝ' ΠΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΟΥ  
 11 ΜΝ ΤΨ ΜΗΝ ΠΕ Ν ΤΩ ΒΕ ΝΤΙ-  
 12 ΡΟΜ ΠΕ ΤΔΙ ΤΕΚΔ ΤΗC ΙΝΔ<sup>0</sup>,  
 13 ΨΔ ΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΨ ΜΗΝ ΜΠΔΡ-  
 14 ΜΟΥ ΤΕ ΝΤΙ ΡΟΜ ΠΕ ΝΟΥ' ΩΤ ΤΗC  
 15 ΔΥ ΤΗC ΙΝΔ<sup>0</sup>, ΕΤΡΑ ΤΙ Γ' ΝΔ' Κ Γ' ΖΔ'<sup>1</sup>  
 16 ΤΕ ΦΜΟΤΝΕC ΝΟΥ' ΖΟΤC Ν' ΖΔ-  
 17 ΧΩ Μ ΝΔΙ ΟΥΝ ΖΜ ΠΟΥ Ψ Ν-

4 Ν ΠΔ' ΟΙΝ 5 ΔΙΔΚΩΝ, ΜΟΝΔΧΟC 6 ΜΟΝΔCΤΗΡΙΟΝ 8 ΖΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC  
 9 ΕΤΔΧΡΕΙΑ (?) 12, 15 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC 12 ΔΕΚΔ ΤΗC

**Parties** (1) + I brother (ΠΔ' ΟΙΝ) Germane, (2) the carpenter of the holy rock (πέτρα) (3) ... the city (πόλις) ... (4) [I am writing] to my brother (5) the deacon (διάκων) ..., the monk (μοναχός) (6) of this same monastery (μοναστήριον), in this same region.

**Debt** (7) Whereas (ἐπειδή) I asked (παρακαλεῖν) (8) you, you requested (αἰτεῖν) a solidus (ὀλοκόττινος) (9) ... need (χρεία) and my necessity (ἀνάγκη),

**Date**

**from** (10) namely from today, which is day (11) eighteen of Tybi of this (12) very year, the tenth (δέκατος) indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων),  
**until** (13) until day eighteen of Pharmouthi (14) of this same year (Greek) of the same indiction,

**Repayment** (Coptic) that I give you for (16) its satisfaction a *hots*-jar of cheese. (17) These things then (οὖν), by the will of [God] ...

**Transcription notes**

17 Restore ΠΝΟΥΤΕ following this line.

## Translation notes

1 ΓΕΡΜΔΝΕ: this name occurs several times at Wadi Sarga,<sup>1</sup> in one instance referring to the προστώς of the Monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga (*WS* no. 344); a saint of this name is also mentioned in inscriptions and on ostraca (see index *WS* p. 221). A ΓΕΡΜΔΝΕ also occurs in **no. 29**.

2 ΦΔ'ΜΩ'Ε : for carpenters in inscriptions from Bawit, see Krause 1991 p. 1293.

ΠΕΤΡΔ' ΕΤΟΥΔΔΘ : the monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga is usually described in this way, see *WS* pp. 6-7.

16 ΜΟΤΝΕC: for occurrences of this term for the satisfaction of a debt, see Crum *CD* p. 195b (where this papyrus is incorrectly cited as *WS* 136, and Bodl (P) e 70 is now *Bal.* no. 127), although its Greek equivalent ἀνάπαυσις is more usual.<sup>2</sup>

ΖΟΤC : this measure, which is chiefly a wine measure, is also used for cheese in *WS* no. 198.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See *WS* index p. 221 and *Ryl.* no. 289.

<sup>2</sup>This is noted by Crum in the *ed. pr.*, *WS* p. 137 n. 3.

<sup>3</sup>See Crum *CD* p. 727a, and *WS* p. 26.

**TEXT B**  
**ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ FORMULA DOCUMENT**

**ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE**

WS 175

59 (h) x 63 (w) mm.

VII-VIIIth C.<sup>1</sup>

Inv. no. BL Or. 9035 (64)

No plate

Papyrus

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins preserved.

**Palaeography:** despite what Crum recorded in the *ed. pr.*, the whole of this text is written in the same hand. The signature of Daniel at the end of this document is different from the signatures of Daniel recorded in three other papyri with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ-formula, see §8.11.

**Provenance and Acquisition:** as for Appendix 2 text A.

**Bibliography:** edited in *WS* p. 143.

Someone who may be from the *diakonia* (see §3.13) of the monastery is ordered to make a payment of wine. Daniel is the signatory.

1 → + ΠΕΝΕΙΩ[Τ

2 ΠΔΤΔΙΔ[ΚΟΝΙΔ

3 ΝΗΡΠ̄ Νω[

4 γι, ουν κδ, α μ.[

5 + ΔΔΝΙΗΧ ΣΤΟΙΧ,Ι

4 γίνεται οίνου κάδος/κνίδιον μηνί (??) 5 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ

**Parties** (1) + Our father [is the one who writes to his son (?) ...]  
(2) the one of the *diakonia* (διακονία) (?) ...  
**Order** ... (3) wine (οἶνος) to ... (4 Greek) Total: 1 *kados/knidion*  
-vessel of wine,  
**Date** in the month of (?) ...  
**Signatory** (5 Coptic) † Daniel agrees (στοιχεῖν).

**Transcription notes**

1 Restore ΠΕΤΤΟΖΔΙ ΜΠϞωΗΡϞ.

2 ΔΙΔ[ΚΟΝΙΔ: a restoration of ΔΙΔ[ΚΟΝ "of the deacon (διάκων)" is also possible.

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<sup>1</sup>See note to the date of Appendix 2 text A..

Restore  $\Sigma\epsilon\ \tau\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\ \kappa\eta\iota\delta\iota\omicron\eta/\kappa\delta\delta\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\kappa\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\eta$  or  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ) (see note to l. 4) in the lacuna before l. 3, if the reading in l. 4 of  $\kappa\delta/\alpha$  is correct. Alternatively a Coptic equivalent of  $\kappa\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\eta/\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  may have been written here.<sup>1</sup>

3  $\mathfrak{N}\omega\lbracket$  : one would expect the name of the recipient here, comparing the format of other  $\mathfrak{P}\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \mathfrak{P}\epsilon\tau\tau\zeta\delta\iota$ -formula orders for payment in wine, nos. **81** and **82**.

4  $\kappa\delta$  : either  $\kappa\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\eta$  or  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is possible here. In another  $\mathfrak{P}\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \mathfrak{P}\epsilon\tau\tau\zeta\delta\iota$  formula order for payment in wine signed by another Daniel, no. **81**,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is the measure used. The letter following  $\kappa\delta$  is not necessarily an  $\alpha$  as Crum transcribed.

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<sup>1</sup>See no. **83**, a  $\mathfrak{P}\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \mathfrak{P}\epsilon\mathfrak{B}\tau\zeta\delta\epsilon\iota$ -formula text, where  $\sigma\eta\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$  and its Coptic equivalent are used.

## NEWLY EDITED TEXTS

<b>Inv. no.</b>	<b>Text no.</b>		
		CUL Michael. 818/3	<b>no. 82</b>
BL Or. 6049	<b>no. 40</b>	CUL Michael. 830(B)	<b>no. 87</b>
BL Or. 6201 A179	<b>no. 71</b>	CUL Michael. 856/5	<b>no. 5</b>
BL Or. 6201 A227	<b>no. 101</b>	CUL Michael. 968	<b>no. 57</b>
BL Or. 6201 A231	<b>no. 102</b>	CUL Michael. 1120	<b>no. 99</b>
BL Or. 6201 A244	<b>no. 88</b>	CUL Michael. 1159	<b>no. 83</b>
BL Or. 6201 B29	<b>no. 16</b>	CUL Michael. 1201	<b>no. 54</b>
BL Or. 6201 B48	<b>no. 80</b>	CUL Michael. 1232	<b>no. 73</b>
BL Or. 6201 B94	<b>no. 103</b>	CUL Michael. Q102(B)	<b>no. 33</b>
BL Or. 6201 B105	<b>no. 17</b>	P. CtYBR inv. 1820	<b>no. 104</b>
BL Or. 6201 B143	<b>no. 69</b>	P. CtYBR inv. 1832	<b>no. 36</b>
BL Or. 6201 B187	<b>no. 12</b>	P. CtYBR inv. 2103	<b>no. 100</b>
BL Or. 6201 B204	<b>no. 70</b>	P. Duk. inv. 439(A)	<b>no. 47</b>
BL Or. 6201 B211	<b>no. 95</b>	P. Duk. inv. 439(B)	<b>no. 46</b>
BL Or. 6201 B216	<b>no. 26</b>	P. Louvre E 27616	<b>no. 68</b>
BL Or. 6201 B219	<b>no. 1</b>	P. Mich. 578(A)	<b>no. 62</b>
BL Or. 6201 B230	<b>no. 23</b>	P. Mich. inv. 1300(A)	<b>no. 63</b>
BL Or. 6201 B241	<b>no. 86</b>	P. Miss. inv. 2	<b>no. 48</b>
BL. Or. 6201 B 267	<b>no. 2</b>	P. Schøyen 89/02	<b>no. 18</b>
BL Or. 6201 B268	<b>no. 3</b>	P. Schøyen 89/07	<b>no. 56</b>
BL Or. 13886.35	<b>no. 51</b>	P. Schøyen 89/08	<b>no. 50</b>
BL Or. 13886.37	<b>no. 78</b>	P. Schøyen 89/11	<b>no. 9</b>
<i>BM</i> 1078	<b>no. 40</b>	P. Schøyen 89/14	<b>no. 10</b>
BMEA 10135(A)	<b>no. 32</b>	P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 1	<b>no. 6</b>
BMEA 10135(B)	<b>no. 38</b>	P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2	<b>no. 7</b>
BMEA 10460(A)	<b>no. 31</b>	P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 3	<b>no. 8</b>
BMEA 10460(B)	<b>no. 39</b>		

**NEWLY EDITED TEXTS WITH TEMPORARY NUMBERS OR NAMES**

<b>Temp. ref.</b>	<b>Text no.</b>	Christie's "25"	<b>no. 43</b>
CMAA Green "1"	<b>no. 41</b>	Christie's "26"	<b>no. 44</b>
CMAA Green "2"	<b>no. 67</b>	Christie's "27"	<b>no. 75</b>
CMAA Green "13"	<b>no. 30</b>	Christie's "28"	<b>no. 105</b>
CMAA Green "16	<b>no. 65</b>	Christie's "29"	<b>no. 89</b>
CMAA Green "22"	<b>no. 53</b>	Christie's "30"	<b>no. 42</b>
CMAA Green "23"	<b>no. 90</b>	Christie's "31"	<b>no. 22</b>
Christie's "1"	<b>no. 107</b>	Ex-Von Scherling "20"	<b>no. 59</b>
Christie's "2(B)"	<b>no. 108</b>	Ex-Von Scherling "27"	<b>no. 4</b>
Christie's "3(B)"	<b>no. 77</b>	Ex-Von Scherling "44"	<b>no. 24</b>
Christie's "4(B)"	<b>no. 98</b>	"Drescher" text	<b>no. 58</b>
Christie's "5"	<b>no. 85</b>	<i>MIFAO</i> forthcoming no. 81	<b>no. 92</b>
Christie's "6(B)"	<b>no. 93</b>		
Christie's "7"	<b>no. 106</b>		
Christie's "8"	<b>no. 94</b>		
Christie's "9(B)"	<b>no. 84</b>		
Christie's "10"	<b>no. 52</b>		
Christie's "11"	<b>no. 11</b>		
Christie's "12"	<b>no. 60</b>		
Christie's "15"	<b>no. 55</b>		
Christie's "16"	<b>no. 61</b>		
Christie's "18"	<b>no. 15</b>		
Christie's "19"	<b>no. 13</b>		
Christie's "20"	<b>no. 14</b>		
Christie's "21"	<b>no. 19</b>		
Christie's "23"	<b>no. 45</b>		
Christie's "24"	<b>no. 25</b>		

## RE-EDITED TEXTS

<b>Publ. ref./Inv. no.</b>	<b>Text no.</b>
<i>BKU</i> III 367	no. 81
<i>Herm.</i> 3	no. 28
<i>Herm.</i> 7	no. 27
<i>Herm.</i> 14	no. 37
<i>Herm.</i> 39	no. 34
<i>KSB</i> I 049	no. 49
<i>KSB</i> I 288	no. 97
<i>KSB</i> I 291	no. 72
P. Berlin 22 123	see <i>BKU</i> III 367
P. Byrd 36.2	no. 96
P. CtYBR inv. 1853	no. 74
P. CtYBR inv. 1861	no. 66
P. CtYBR inv. 2037(A)	no. 91
P. CtYBR inv. 2102	no. 35
P. Laur. III/905	see <i>KSB</i> I 291
P. Med. copto inv. 76.21	no. 20
P. Meyer inv. 13	no. 79
P. Mich. inv. 578(B)	no. 62
P. Mich. inv. 1300(B)	no. 63
P. Mich. inv. 1520	no. 64
P. Mich. inv. 6860	no. 21
<i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i> 4 copt. 3	no. 76
P. Palau Ribes inv. 41	see <i>KSB</i> I 288
P. Pintaudi copt. 1	see <i>KSB</i> I 291
P. Princeton AM 15960 G	no. 29
P. Würzburg inv. 43	see <i>KSB</i> I 049
WS 166	Appendix 2 Text A
WS 175	Appendix 2 Text B

## ABBREVIATIONS

(\* denotes a non-standard abbreviation, used only in this thesis)

BL = British Library, London

BL Or. = Manuscript from the British Library Oriental Collections

BM = British Museum, London

BM EA = Item from the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum

\*Christie's = Christie, Manson and Woods Ltd., St. James's, London

\*CMAA Green = Papyrus from the Green Collection, Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

CUL = Cambridge University Library

CUL Michael. = Papyrus from the collection of George Michaelides now owned by Cambridge University Library

*ed. pr.* = *editio princeps*

EEF = Egypt Exploration Fund

EES = Egypt Exploration Society

\*"Ex-von Scherling" = Papyrus formerly in the collection of Erik von Scherling

fasc. = fascicule

inv. no. = inventory number

IFAO = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

l. = line

ms. = manuscript

n. = note

NN = *nomen vel nomina*

no. = number

p. = page

P. Byrd = Papyrus from the private collection of Jonathan Byrd

P. CtYBR = Papyrus from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

P. Duk. = Papyrus from the Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

P. Laur. = Papyrus from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence

P. Louvre = Papyrus from the Département des antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre, Paris

P. Med. copto = Coptic papyrus from the Università Cattolica di Milano

P. Meyer = Papyrus donated to the Lakeview Center for the Arts and Sciences, Peoria, Illinois by Richard T. Meyer (N.B. to be distinguished from the publication *P. Meyer* in the Abbreviations section of the Bibliography)

P. Mich. = Papyrus from the Special Collections Library, University Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

P. Miss. = Papyrus from the John Davis Williams Library, The University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi

P. Palau-Ribes = Papyrus from the Palau-Ribes Collection, Barcelona

P. Princeton = Papyrus from the Princeton University Collections, Princeton, New Jersey

\*P. Schøyen = Papyrus from the Schøyen Collection, Oslo/London

pl. = plate

pt = part

SAE = Service des antiquités de l'Égypte

suppl. = supplement

vol. = volume

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3. A.A. Schiller, "A checklist of Coptic documents and letters", *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 13 (1976), 99-123

*AB* = *Analecta Bollandiana* (Paris/Brussels, 1882-)

*Aegyptus* = *Aegyptus, Rivista italiana di egittologia e papirologia* (Milan, 1920-)

*Am.Stud.Pap.* = *American Studies in Papyrology* (New Haven etc., 1966-)

*Anagennesis* = *Anagennesis, a papyrological journal* (Athens, 1981-1986, vols. 1-4)

*Annales islamologiques* = *Annales islamologiques* (Cairo, 1963-)

*APEL* I = A. Grohmann ed., *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library* vol. I *Protocols and legal texts* (Cairo, 1934)

*APF* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* (Leipzig, 1901-)

*Bal.* = P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (2 vols, London, 1954)

*BASP* = *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* (1963-)

*BASP Suppl.* = *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplements* (1973-)

*BGU* = *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin)

II = (1898)

XIII = H. Maehler ed., *Papyri aus Hermopolis* (1974)

*Bibliologia* = *Bibliologia, Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia* (Turnhout, 1983-)

*BICS Suppl.* = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London: Supplements* (London)

*BIFAO* = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo, 1901-)

*BKU* = *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Koptische Urkunden* (Berlin)

II.1 = (1904)

III = H. Satzinger ed. (1967-1968)

*BL* = *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (1922-)

- BM* = W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905)
- BO* = *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden, 1943-)
- BSAC* = *Bulletin de Société d'Archéologie Copte* (Cairo, 1935-)
- BSFE* = *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* (Paris, 1949-)
- BullCPS* = *Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies* (Cairo, 1985-)
- Byzantion* = *Byzantion, Revue internationale des études byzantines* (Paris/Brussels etc., 1924-)
- ByzZ* = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig, 1892-)
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- CKÄ* = S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters (Der Abu Mina), der Sketis (Wadi n-Natron) und der Sinai-Region* (6 vols.; Wiesbaden, 1984-1992)
- CLT* = A.S. Schiller, *Ten Coptic legal texts* (New York, 1932)
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- CO* = W.E. Crum, *Coptic ostraca from the collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and others* (London, 1902)
- CoptEnc* = A.S. Atiya ed., *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (7 vols.; New York, 1991)
- CPR* = *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* (Vienna)
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*DELIC* = *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leeuven, 1983)

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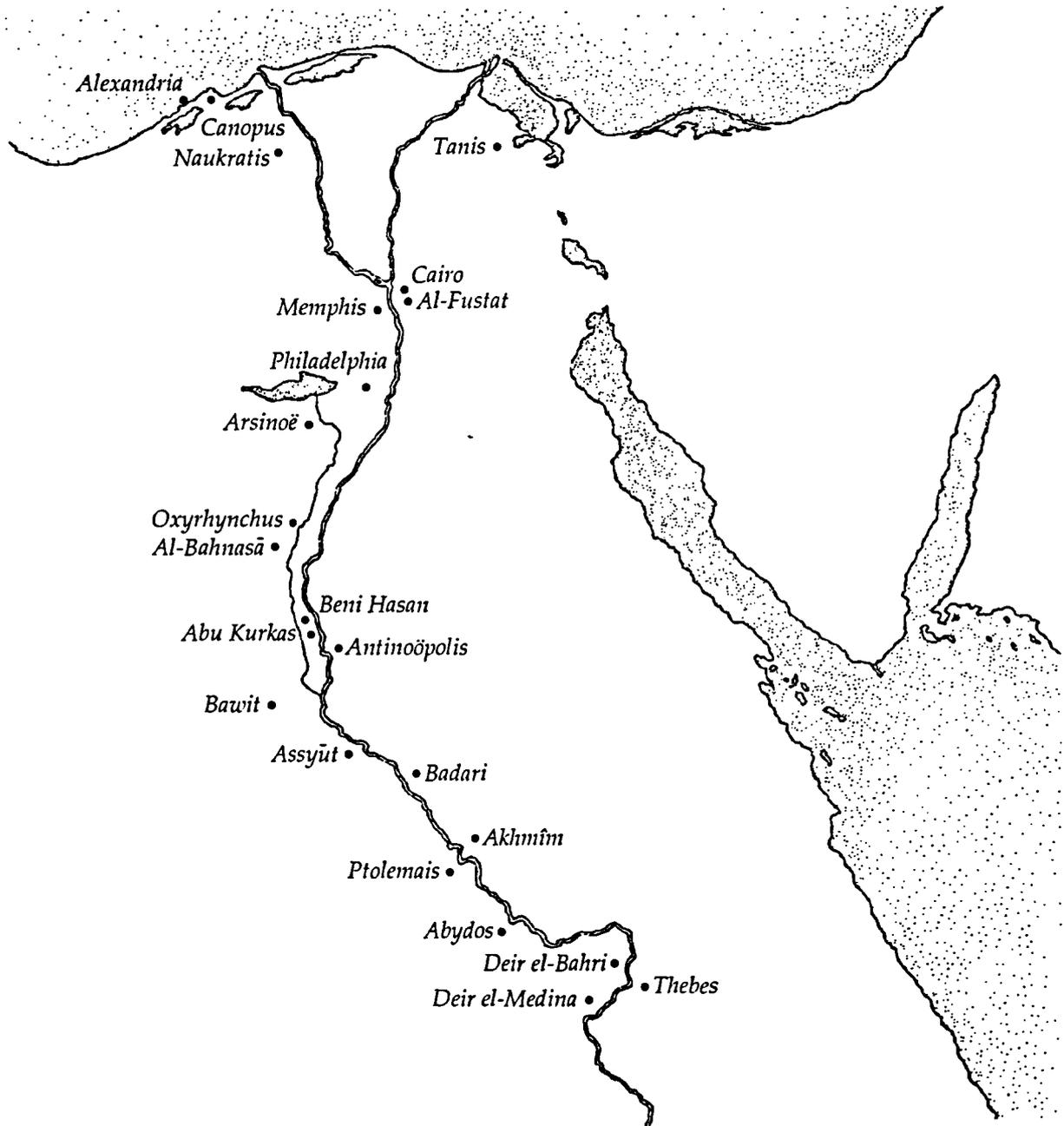
Worp, K.A.

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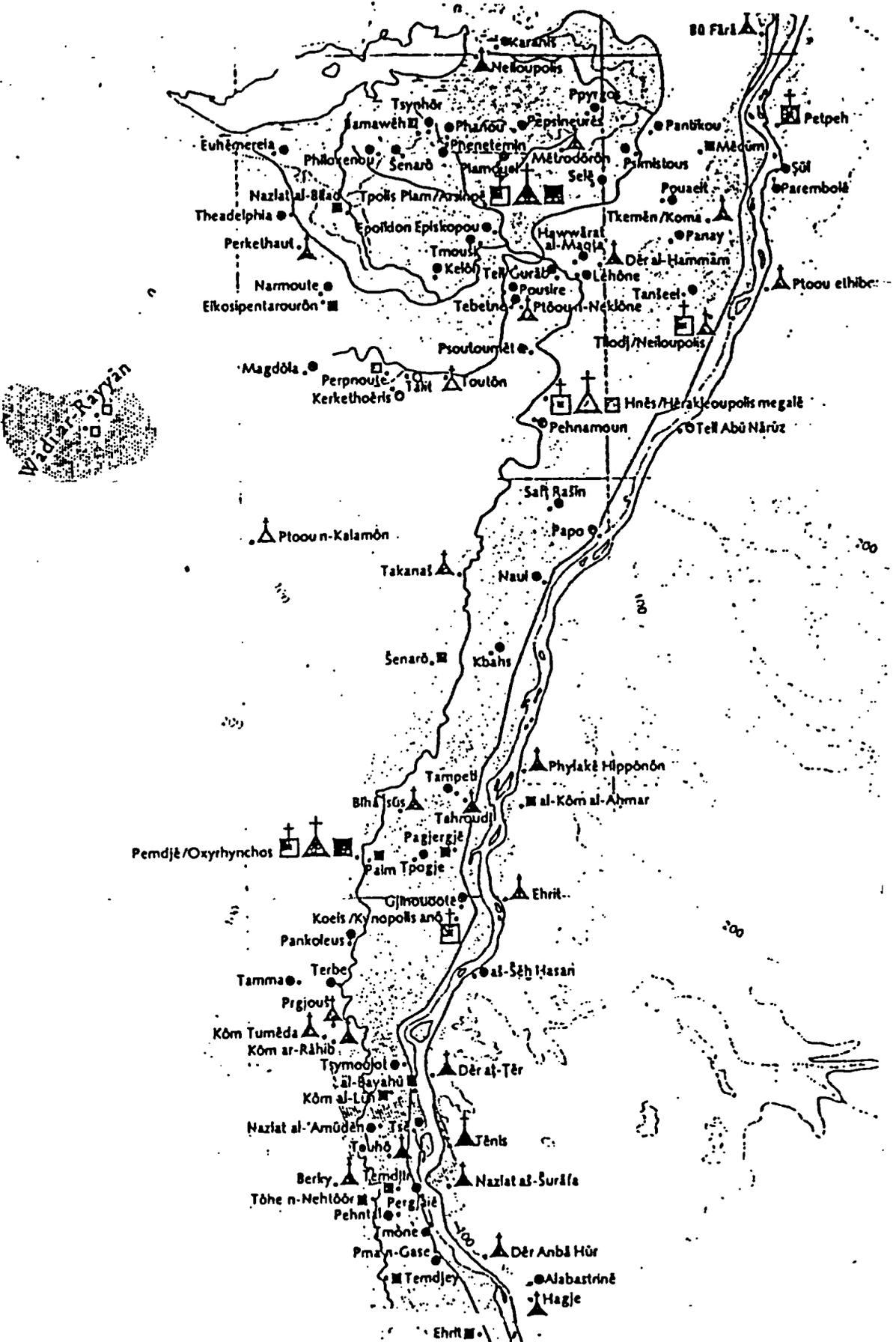
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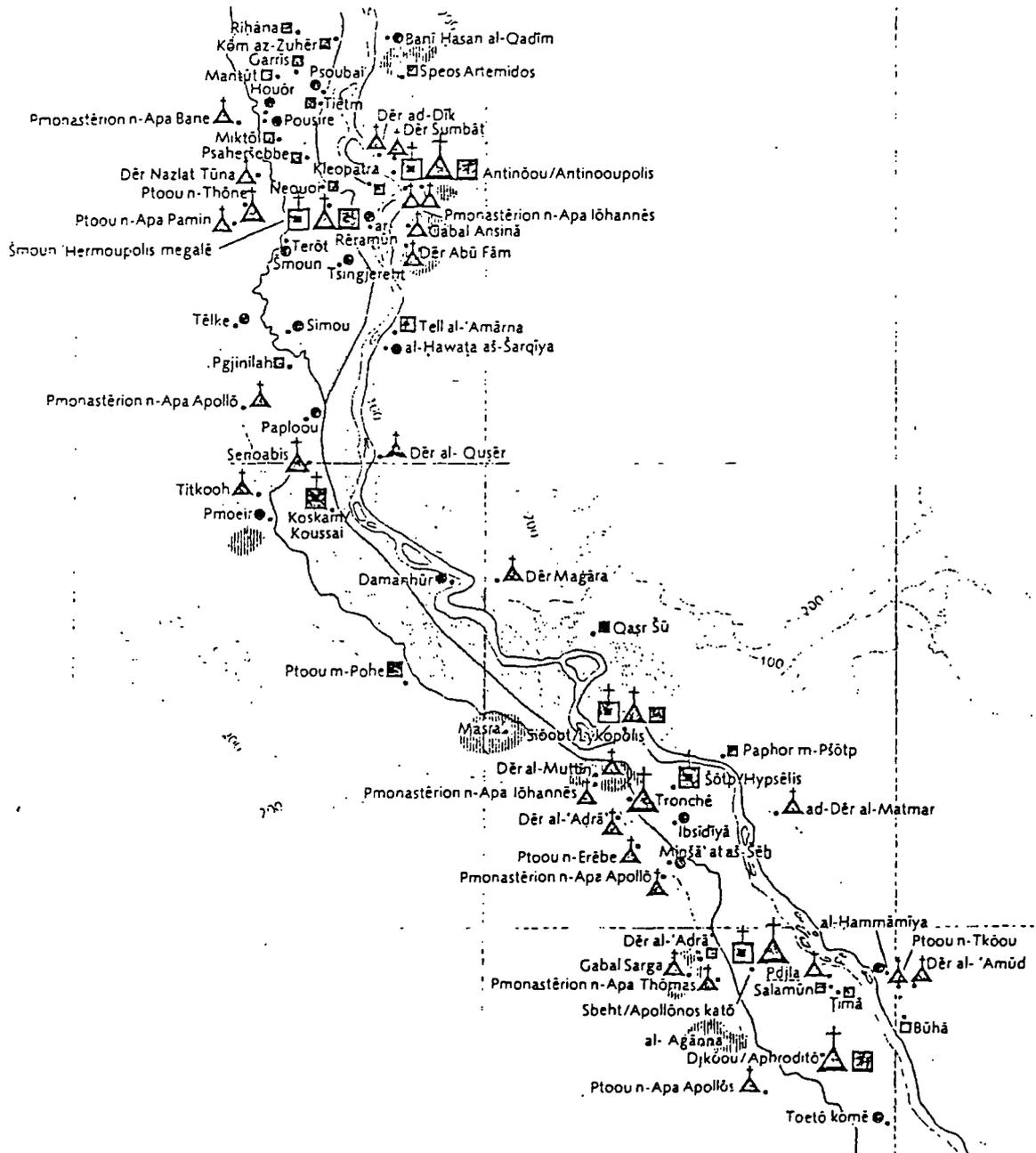
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EGYPT

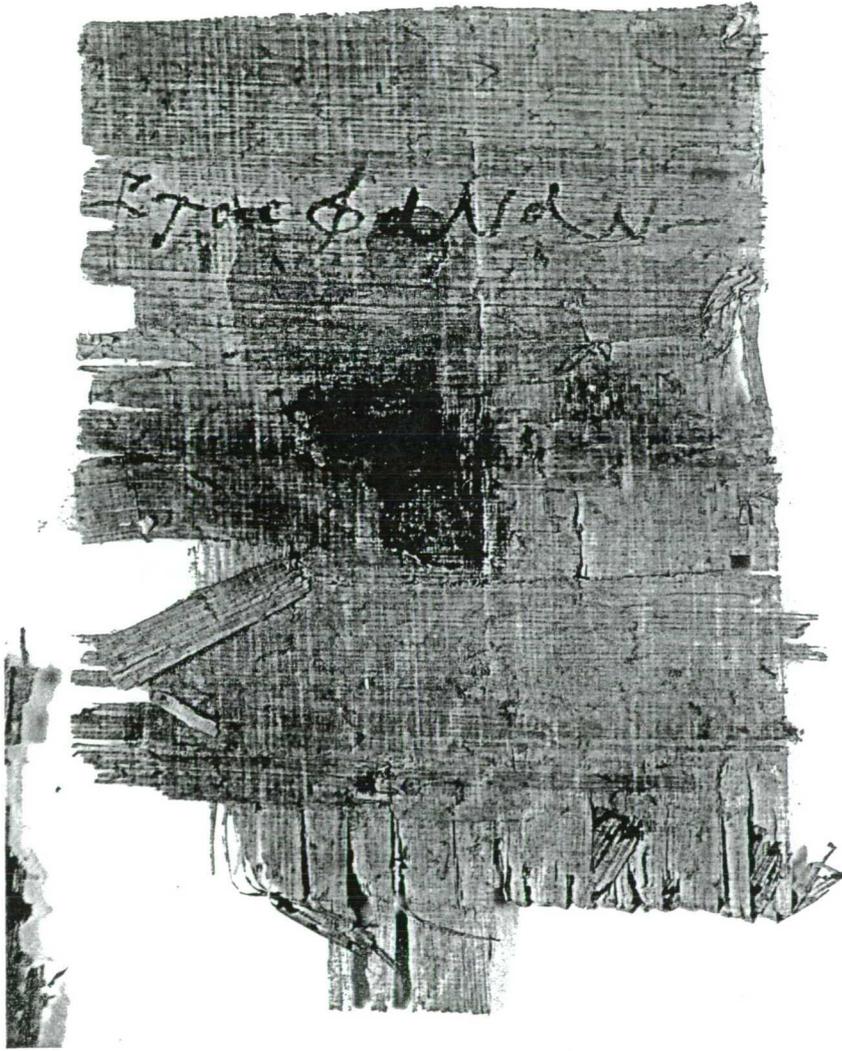


EGYPT FROM THE FAIYUM TO EHRI



EGYPT FROM BENI HASAN TO APHRODITO





NO. 1 SIDE (B)





NO. 3 SIDE (A)

Εὐχὴ καὶ ἰσχυρὸν ἔστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ἡ ἀσπίς  
καὶ ἡ ἰσχυρὸς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς  
καὶ ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς  
καὶ ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς  
καὶ ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς

No. 6



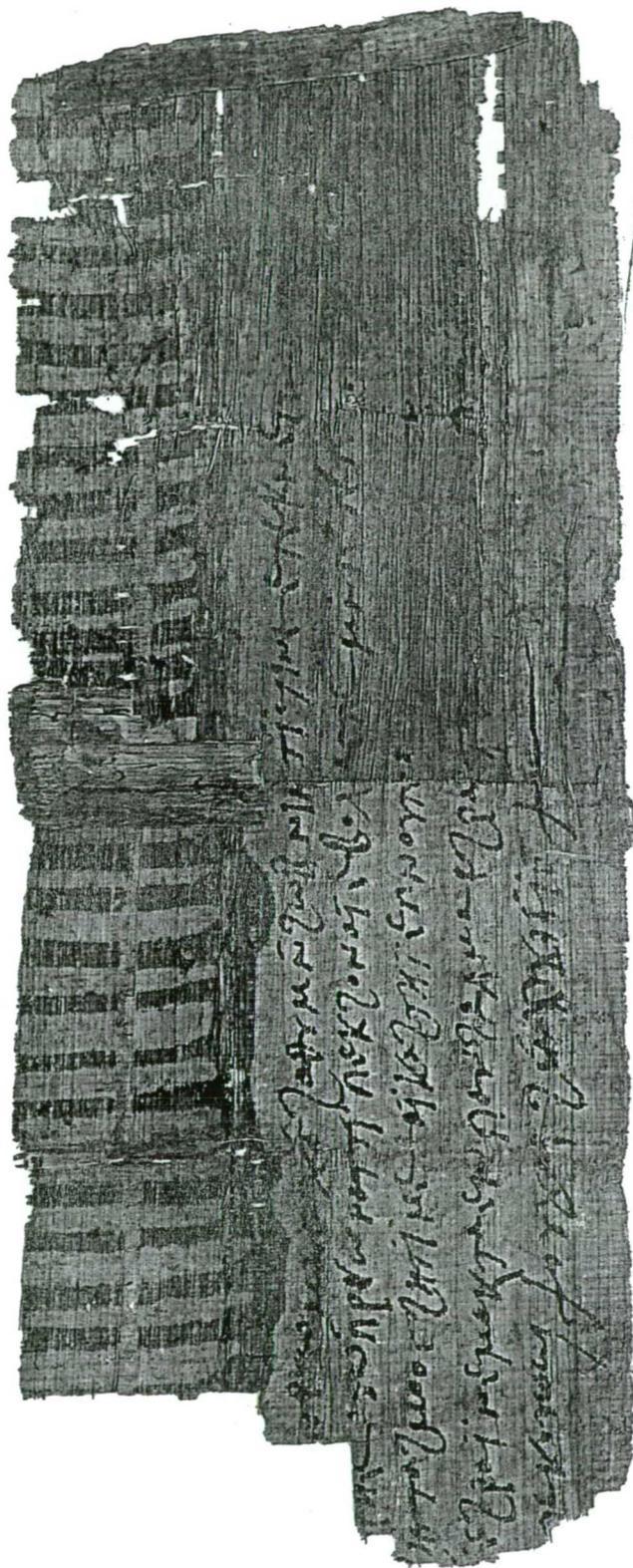
No. 8

No. 7

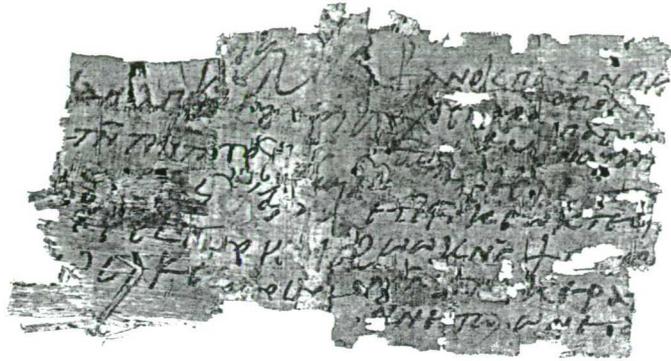
NOS. 6-8

ΤΕΝΝ ΚΕΝΙΑ  
ΕΝ ΤΕΤΗ  
ΡΟΥΚΟΚΤΕΥ  
ΑΡΧΗ ΖΑΠΟ  
ΑΠΟΧ ΑΣΟΝ  
ΑΠΑΝΟΥΡΙΑ  
ΑΠΑΙΕΡΗΜΙΑ  
ΝΚΤΙ ΠΕΥΠΟΝ  
ΤΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ  
ΠΕΛΗ ΤΟΣ  
ΜΟΛΟ ΚΟΤΥΝ  
ΠΑΡΑΓΝΑΥΕΡΟ  
ΥΑΝΤΙΑ ΕΝΤ  
ΤΙΔΙ ΕΝΤΙΑ  
ΕΤΕΝΕΤΥΝΟΤ  
ΗΡΟΥΝΟ ΤΙΜΟΣ  
ΑΝΟΠΑΣΑΝΙΣ  
ΡΗΑΝ

NO. 9 SIDE (A)



NO. 9 SIDE (B)



NO. 11



NO. 10

Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a signature or a short note, located at the top center of the page.

NO. 15

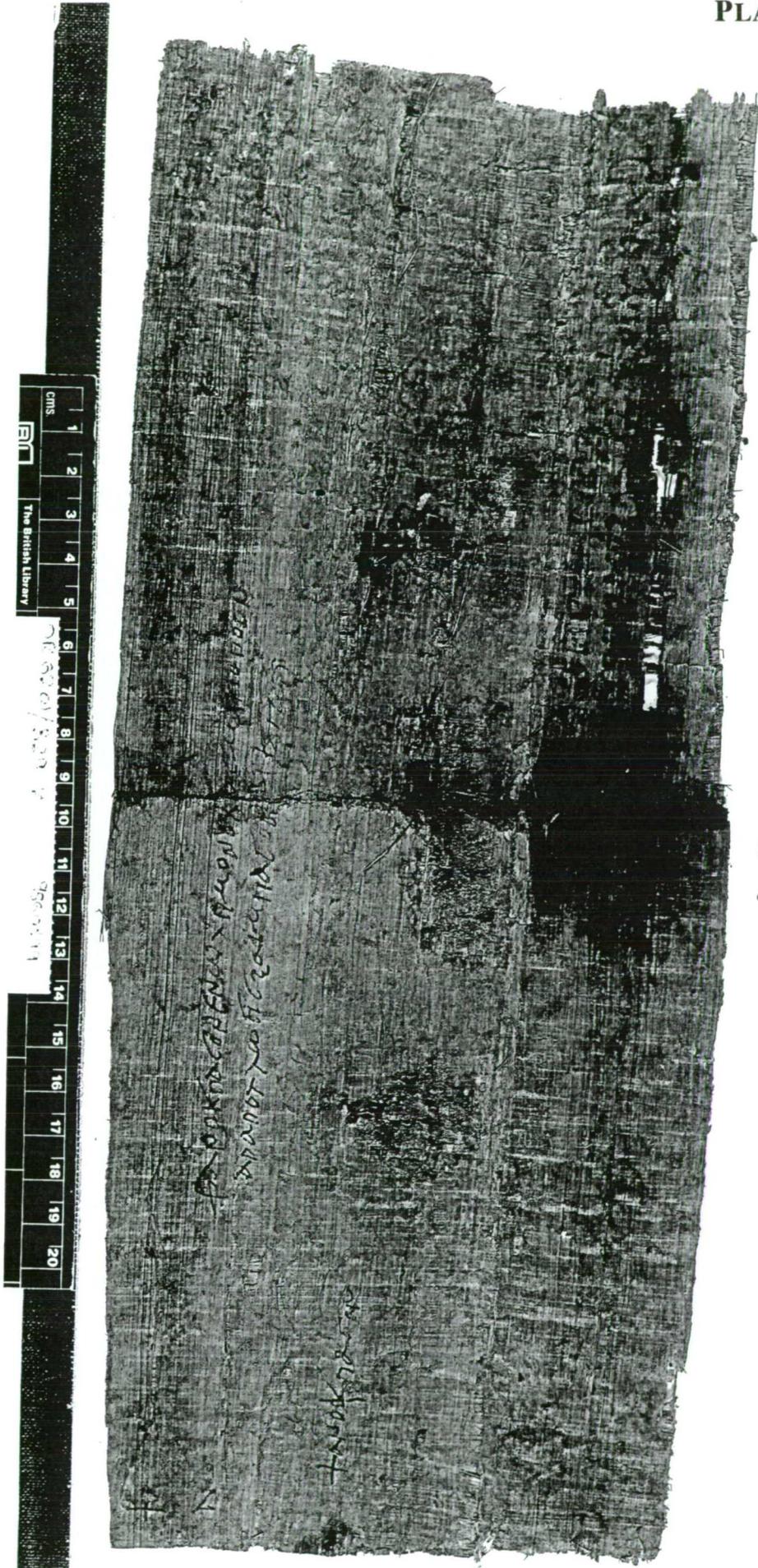
A fragment of a document with several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script, appearing to be a list or a set of instructions.

NO. 13

A large, rectangular fragment of a document containing multiple lines of handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a list or a set of instructions.

NO. 14





NO. 16 text 1 docket, texts 2-4





Tav. XV - P.Med. Copto inv. 76.21

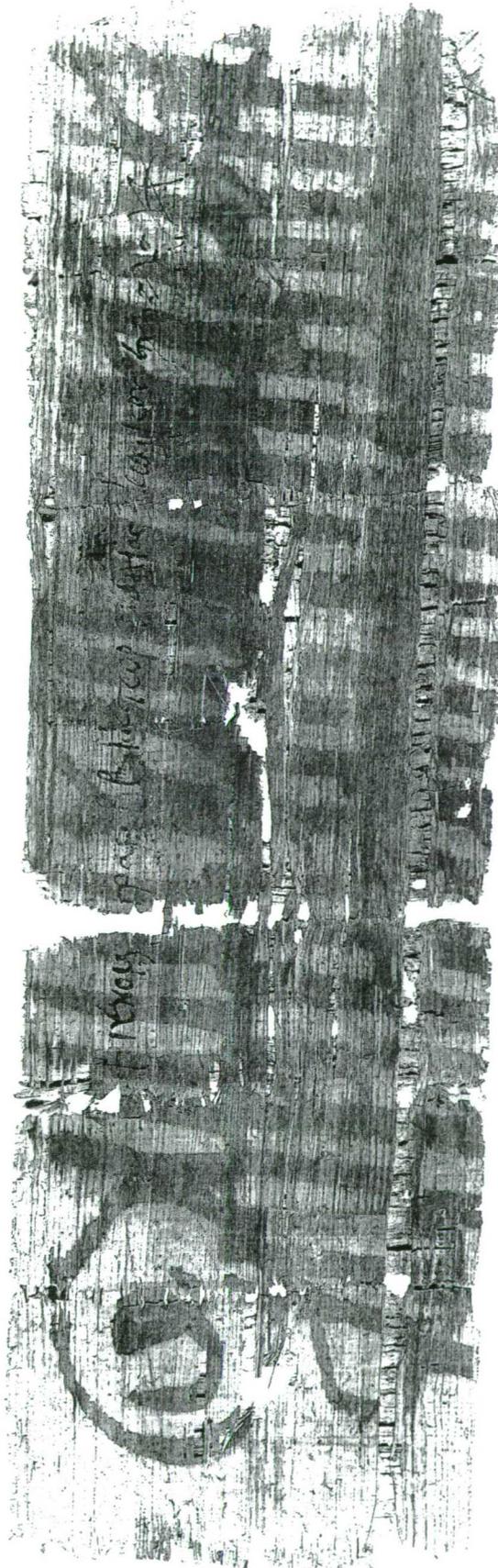
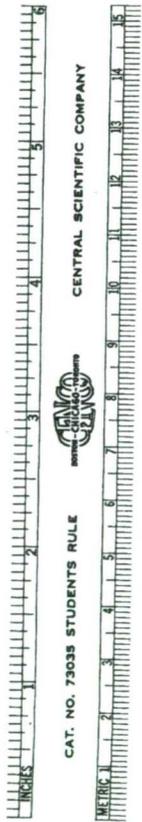
NO. 20 SIDE (A)



1. *Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of Greek or Latin, covering the entire surface of the fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the middle and right sections, leaving large white gaps. The remaining text is dark and somewhat faded.*

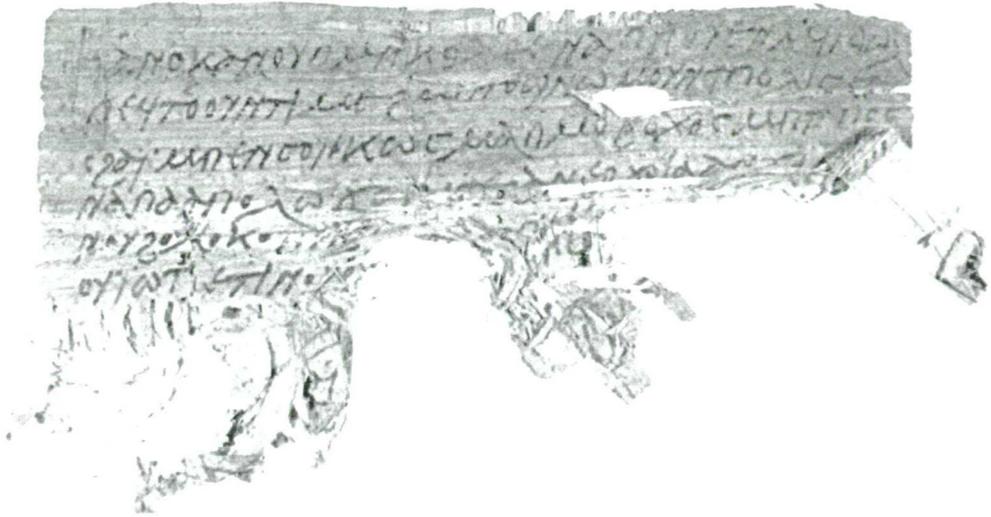
6860  
12150

NO. 21 side (A)



6860  
fec to

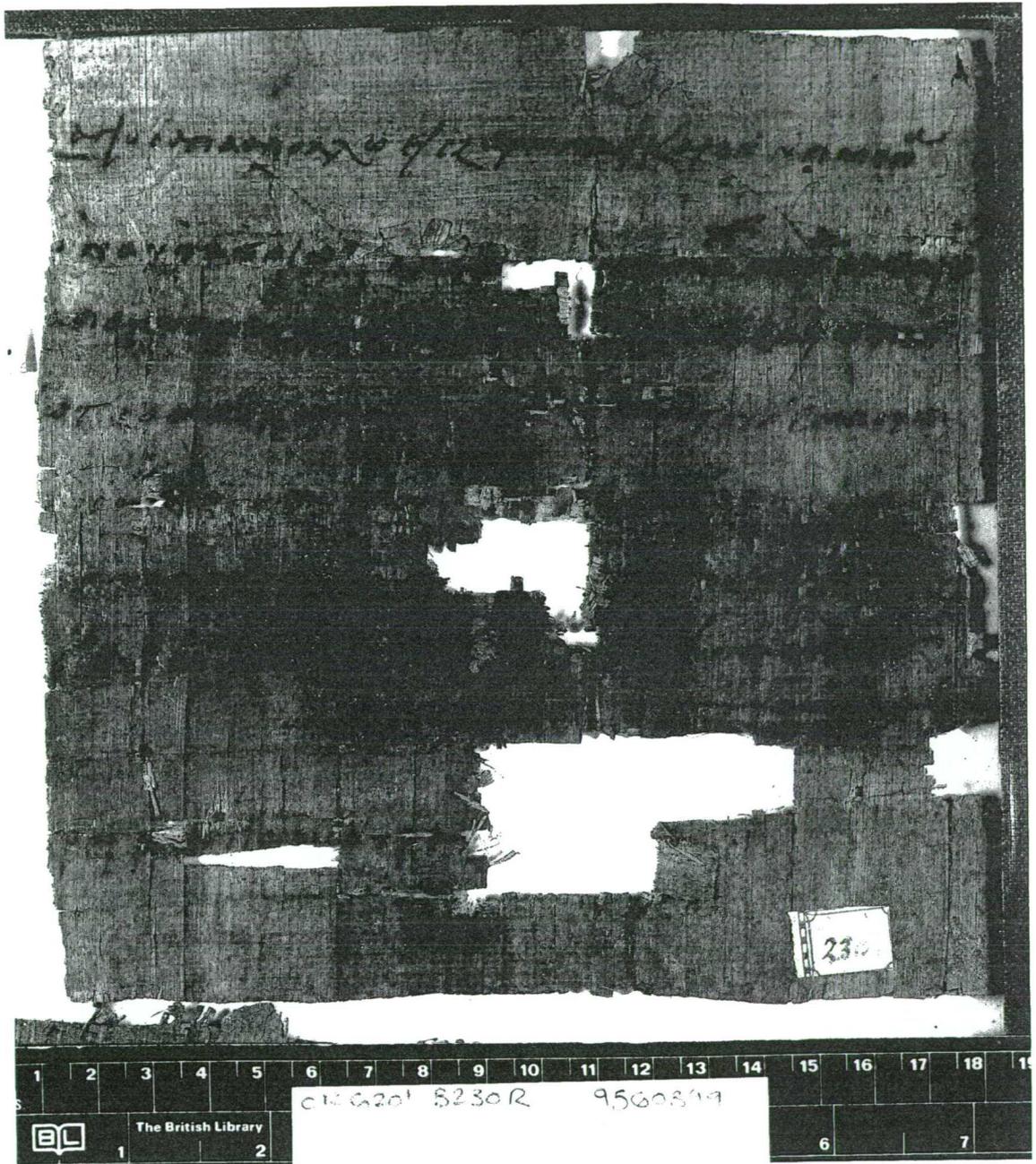
NO. 21 side (B)

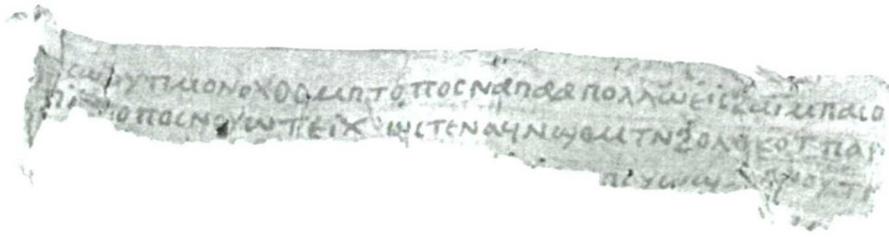


NO. 22 side (A)

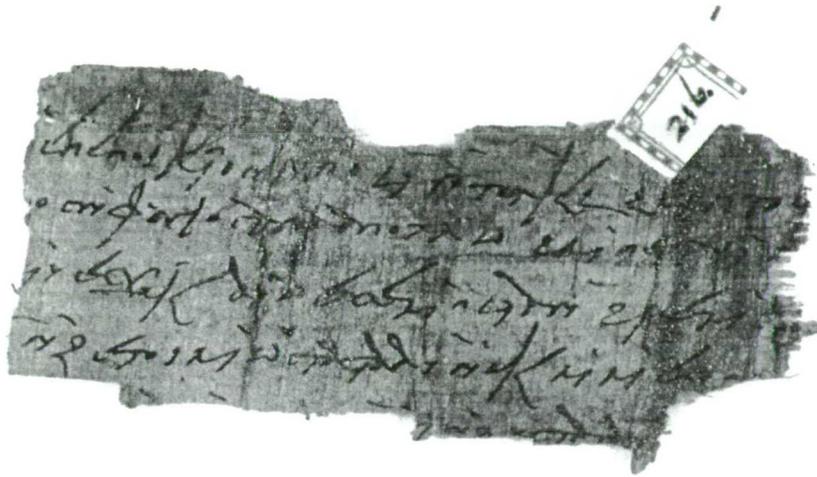


NO. 22 side (B)





NO. 25

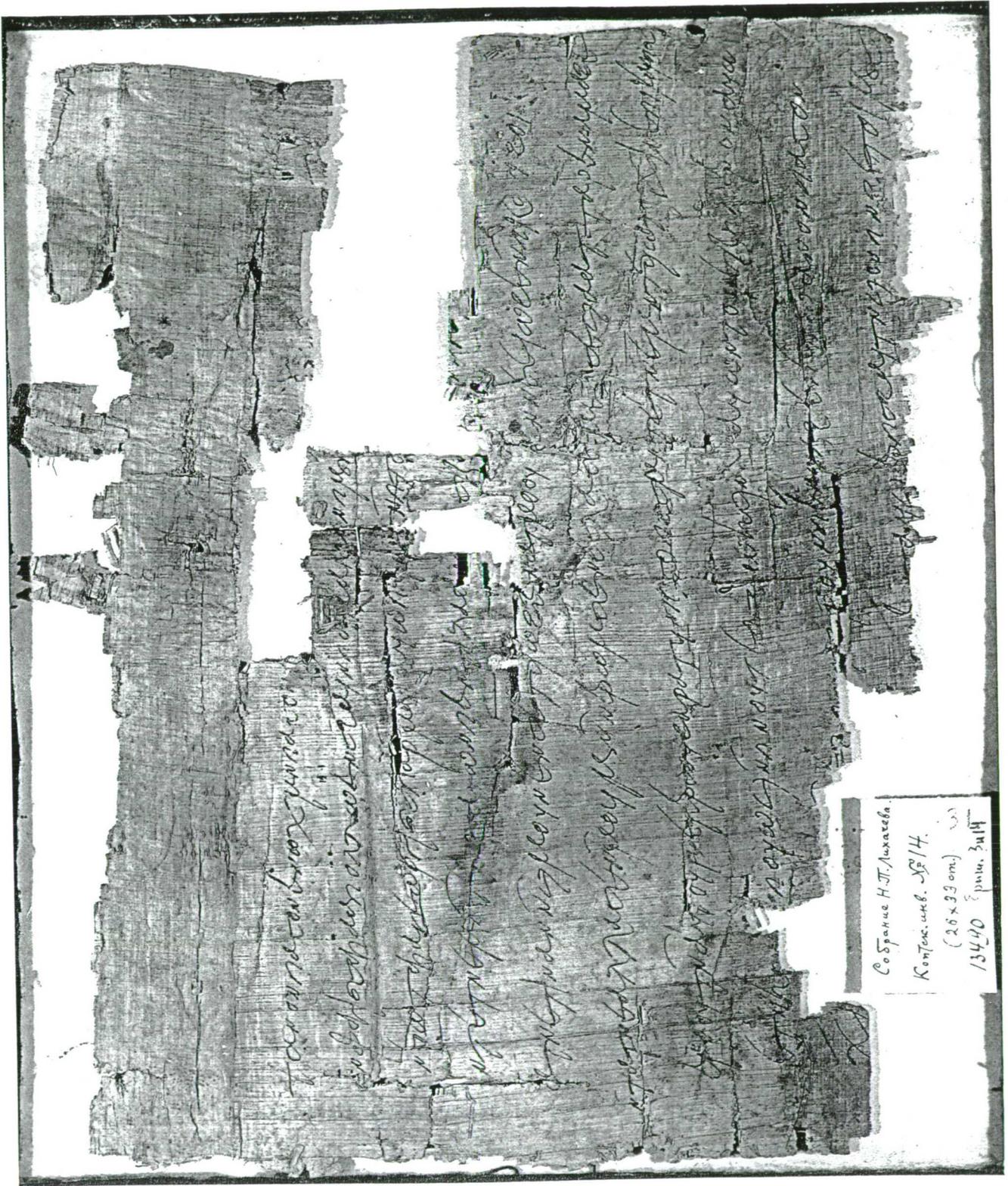


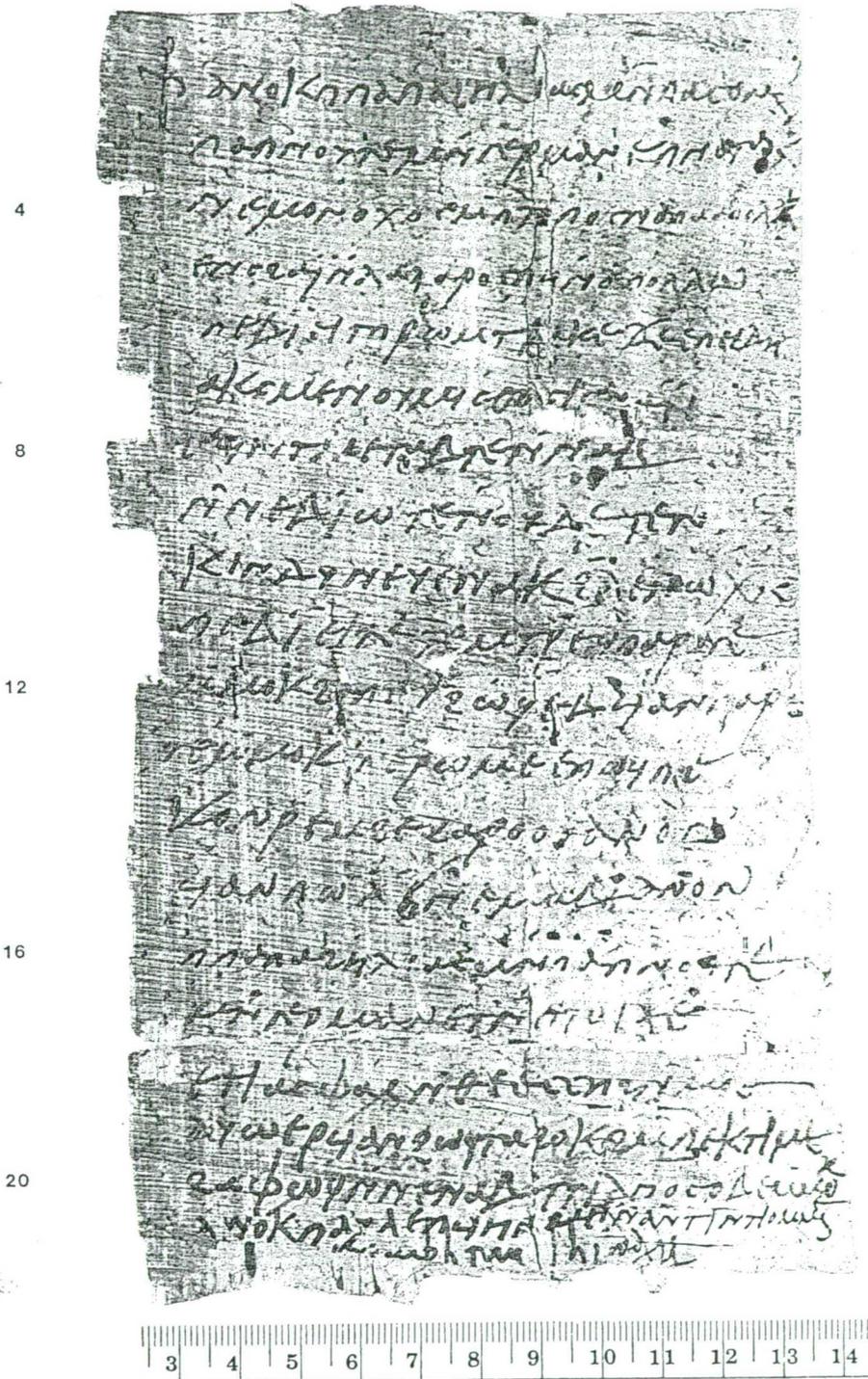
NO. 26 side (A)



NO. 26 side (B)

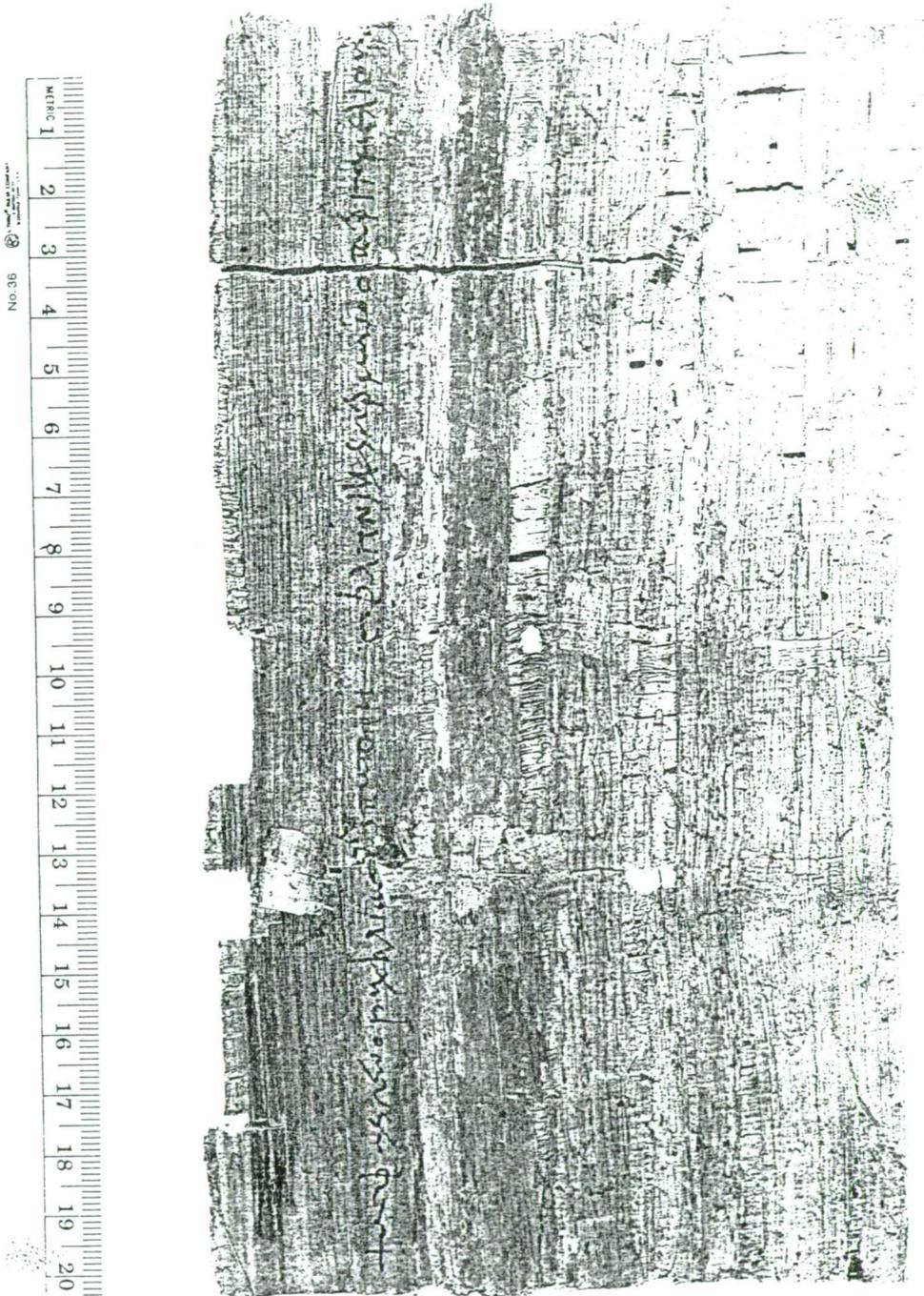
The text on this fragment is written in a cursive script, likely a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The characters are densely packed and often run together, making individual identification difficult. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular, torn edges, particularly on the left and bottom sides. The ink is dark and appears to be applied with a quill or a similar writing instrument. The background of the fragment is a light, textured material, possibly parchment or a similar ancient writing surface. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but somewhat damaged piece of historical writing.





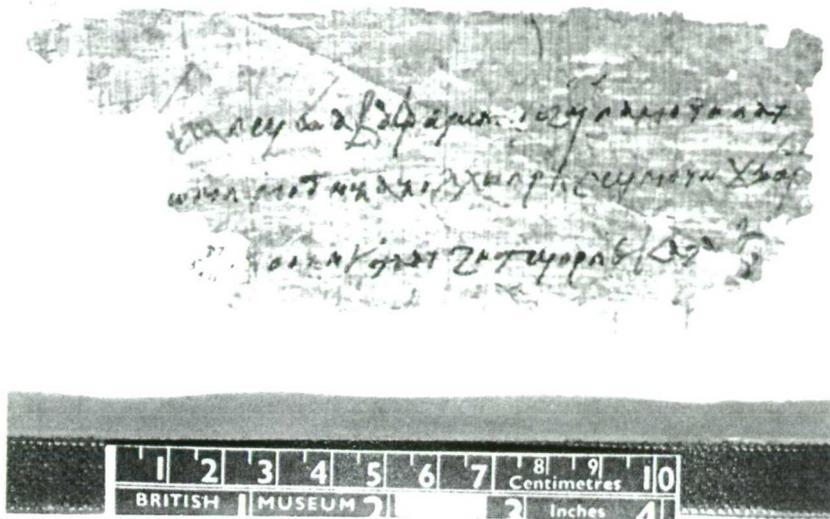
P. Princeton Inv.Nr. AM 15960 G

NO. 29 side (A)



P. Princeton Inv.Nr. AM 15960 G Verso

NO. 29 side (B)



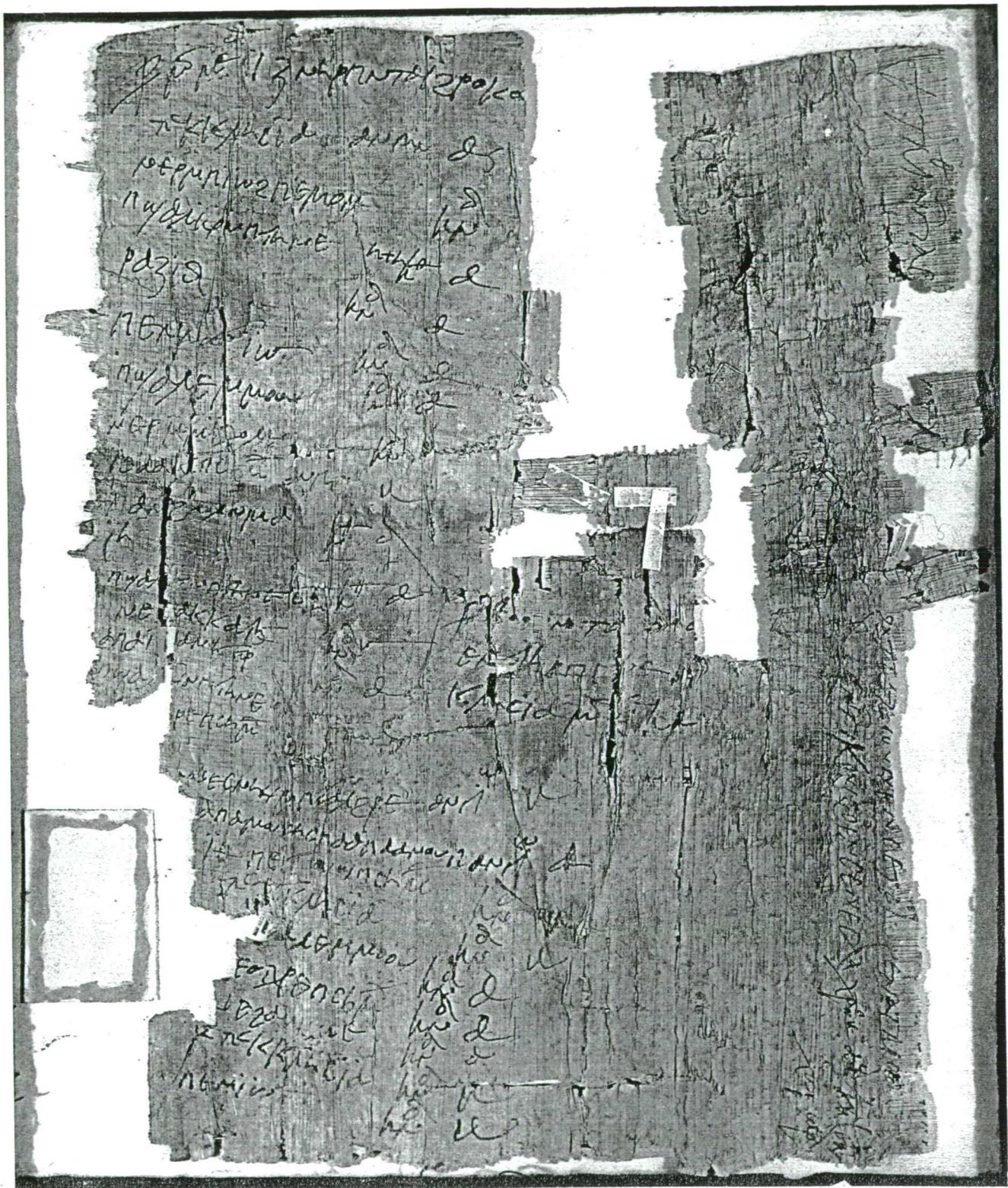
NO. 31

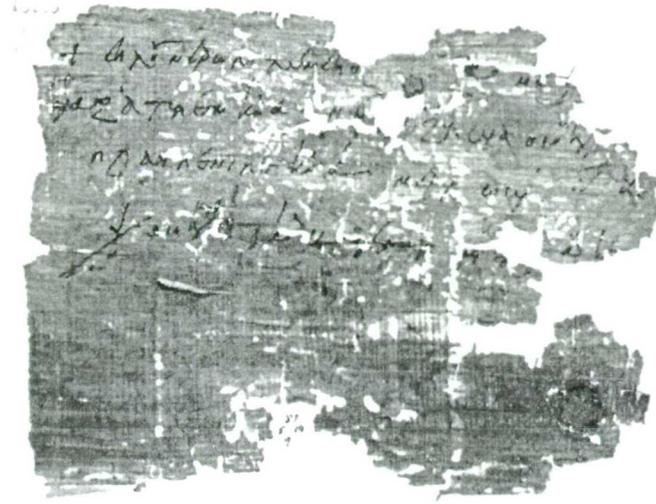


NO. 32

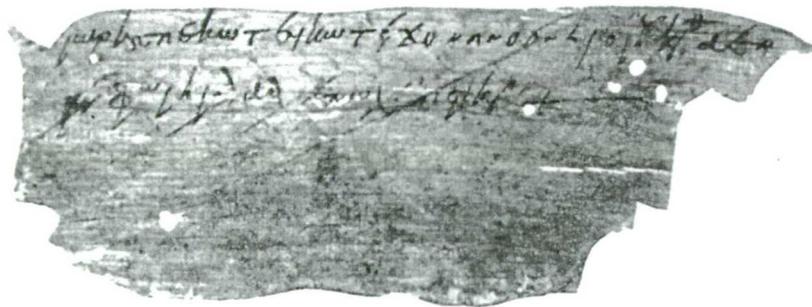
Handwritten text on a fragment of ancient papyrus, oriented vertically. The text is written in a cursive script, likely Demotic or Hieroglyphic, and is partially obscured by several large, irregular holes. The fragment is dark and appears to be a piece of a larger document.







NO. 38



NO. 39

ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΝ  
 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ  
 ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
 ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ  
 ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΘΑΓΙΝΗΝ  
 ΣΥΝΟΔΟΝ

NO. 42

ΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΝ  
 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ  
 ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
 ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ  
 ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΘΑΓΙΝΗΝ  
 ΣΥΝΟΔΟΝ

NO. 43

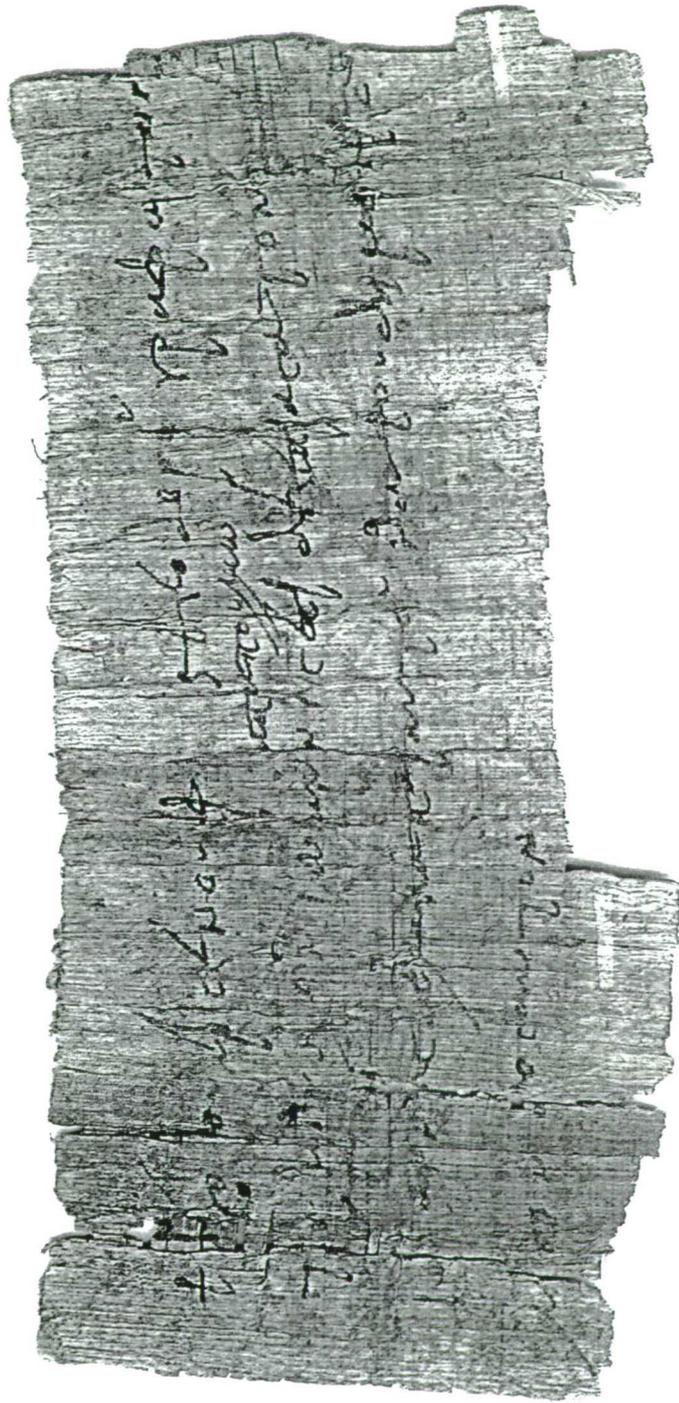
ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝ  
 ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ  
 ΤΗΣ ΚΑΡΘΑΓΙΝΗΣ

NO. 44

ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝ  
 ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ  
 ΤΗΣ ΚΑΡΘΑΓΙΝΗΣ

NO. 45



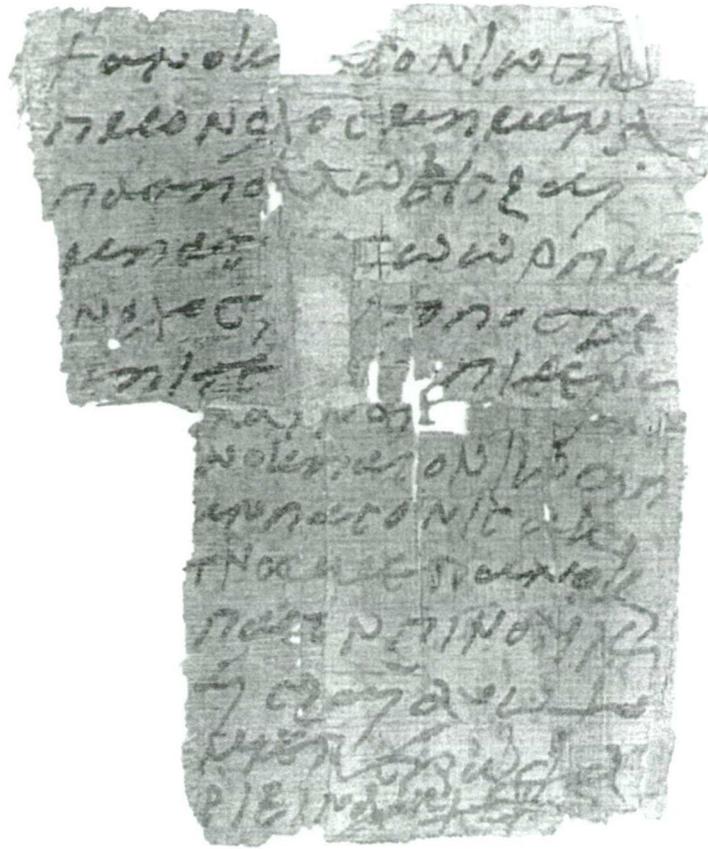






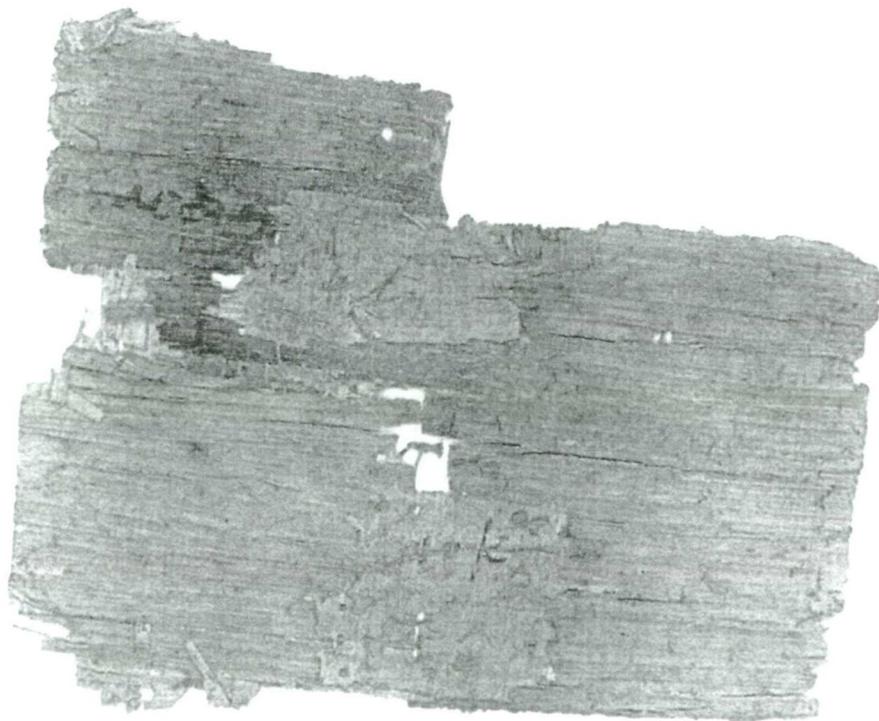
Handwritten text on a palm leaf manuscript strip, oriented vertically. The script is an ancient form, likely Tamil or Grantha. The text is densely packed and runs down the length of the strip. There are some dark spots and irregularities on the leaf, possibly due to age or damage.

Handwritten text on a palm leaf manuscript strip, oriented vertically. This strip appears to be a continuation or a separate section of text, also in an ancient script. It shows significant wear, with a large, irregular white mark or tear in the center, obscuring some of the characters.



Fragment of ancient papyrus with handwritten text in two columns. The text is written in a cursive script, likely Demotic or Hieroglyphic, and is arranged in approximately 15 lines. The fragment is irregularly shaped with some missing sections.

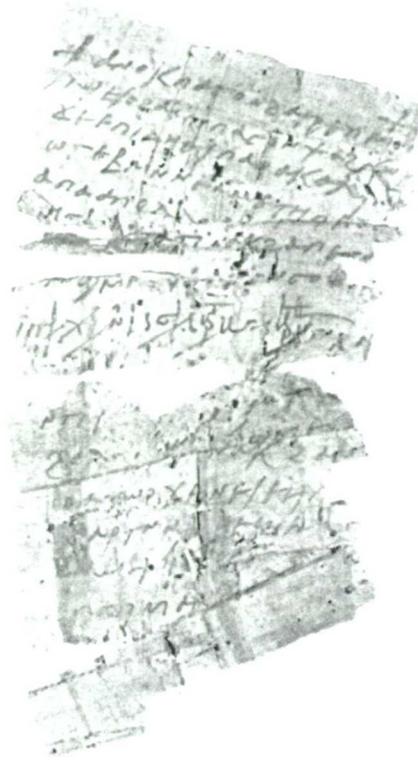
NO. 50 side (A)



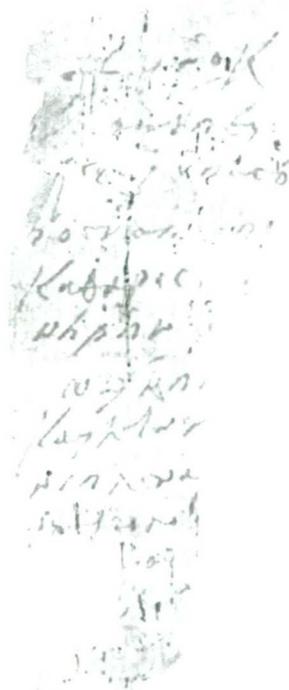
Fragment of ancient papyrus with faint handwritten text. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines and is significantly less legible than the fragment above. The fragment is irregularly shaped and appears to be a continuation of the text on the other side.

NO. 50 side (B)



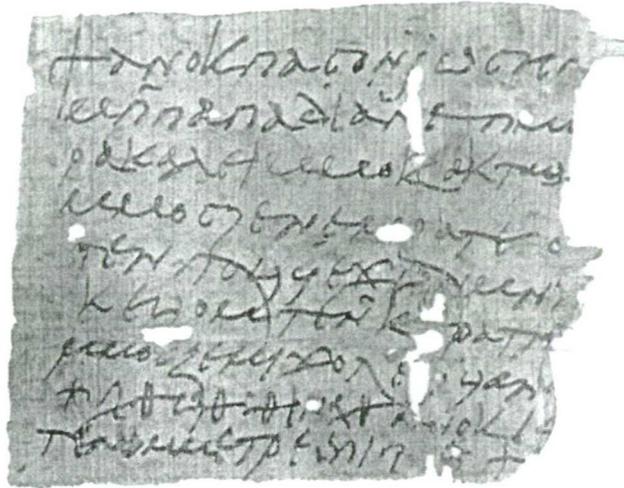


NO. 52 side (A)

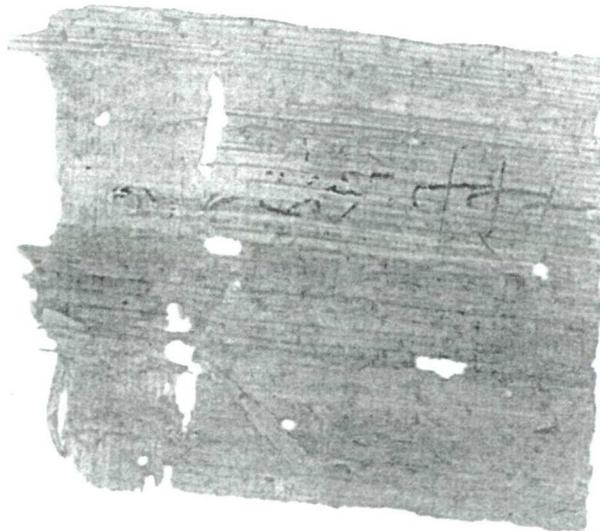


NO. 55





NO. 56 side (A)

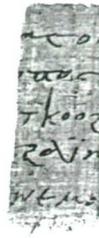


NO. 56 side (B)

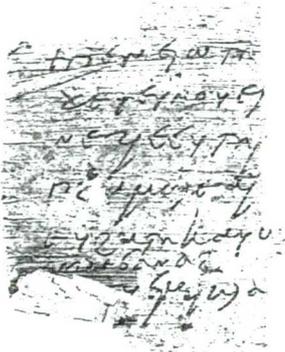




NO. 60



NO. 61



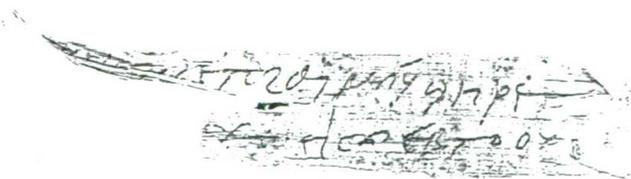
NO. 77



NO. 107 side (B)

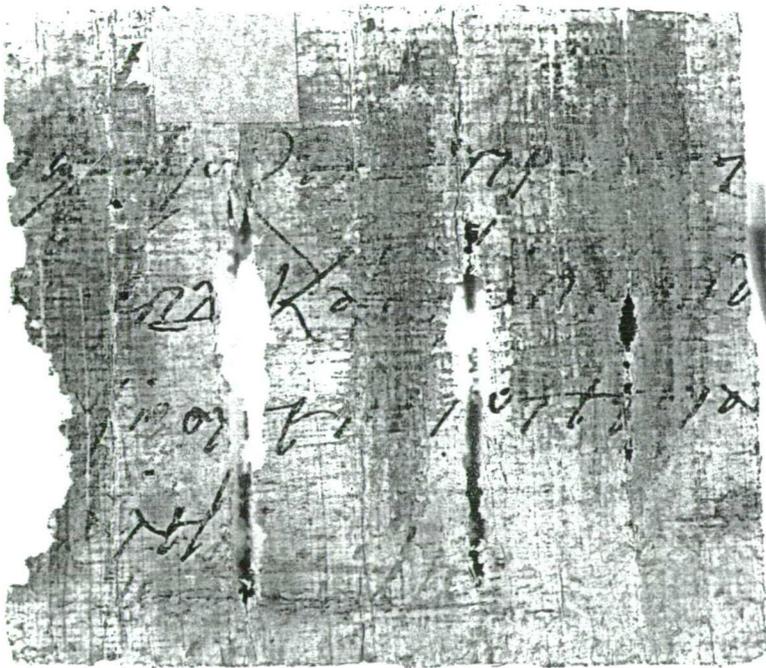


NO. 107 side (A)



NO. 98





578 (back)

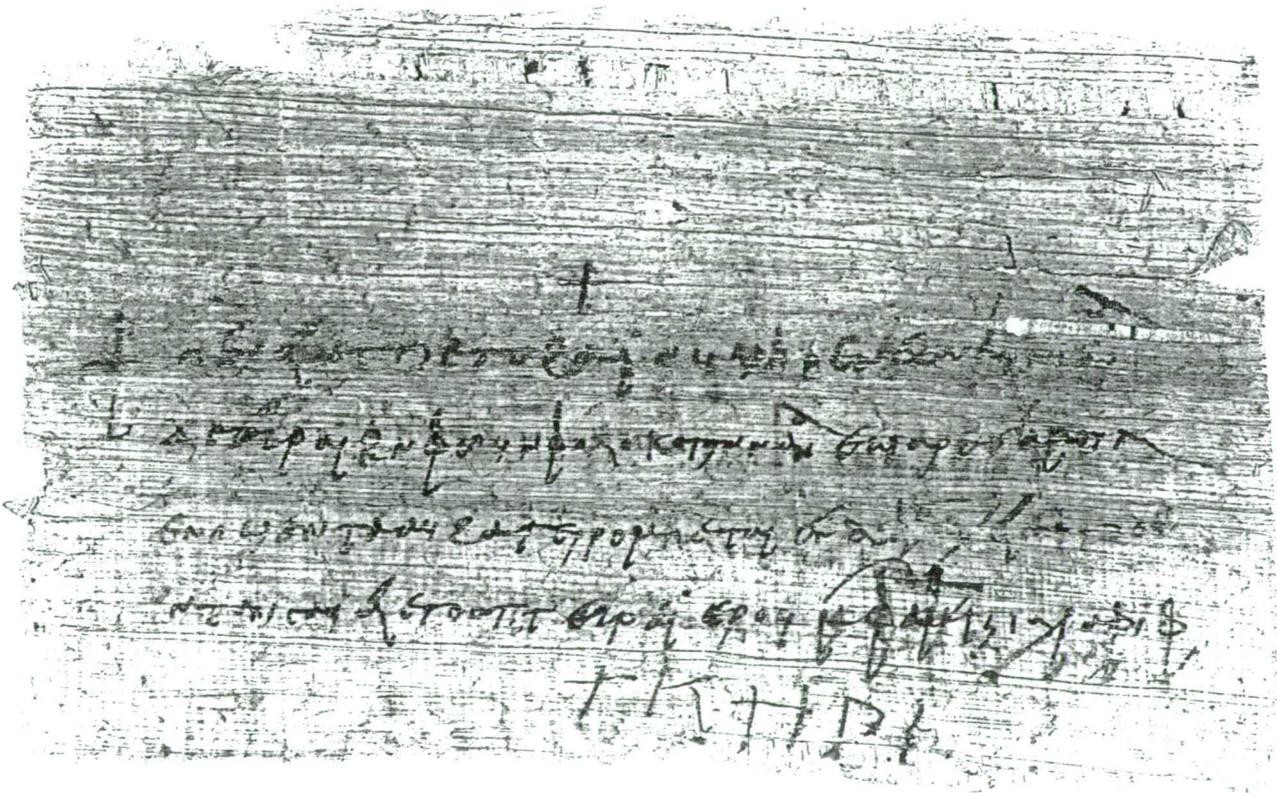




CAT. NO. 73035 STUDENTS RULE

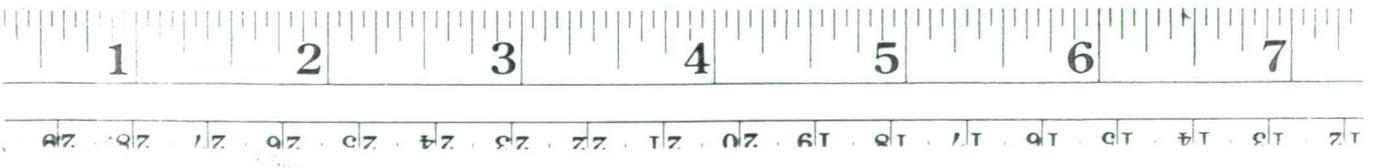


CENTRAL SCIENTIFIC COMPANY



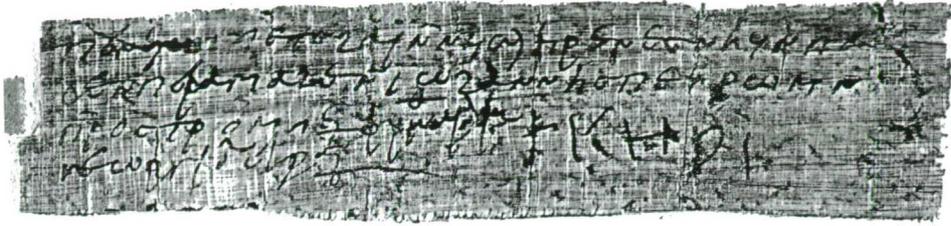
NO. 63 side (B)

...  
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 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...

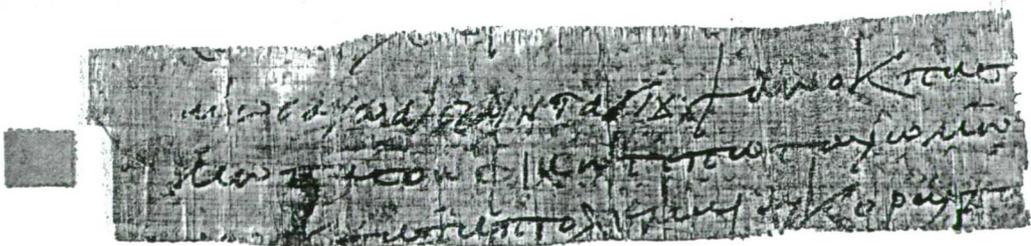


NO. 63 side (A)

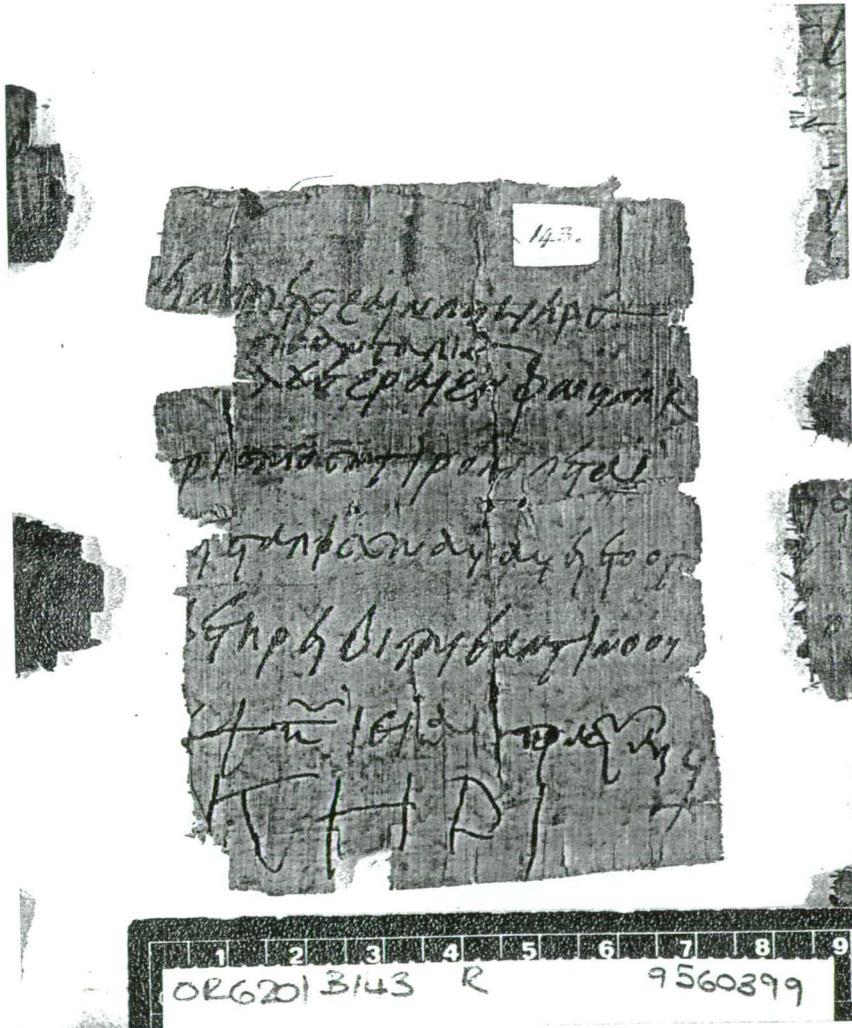


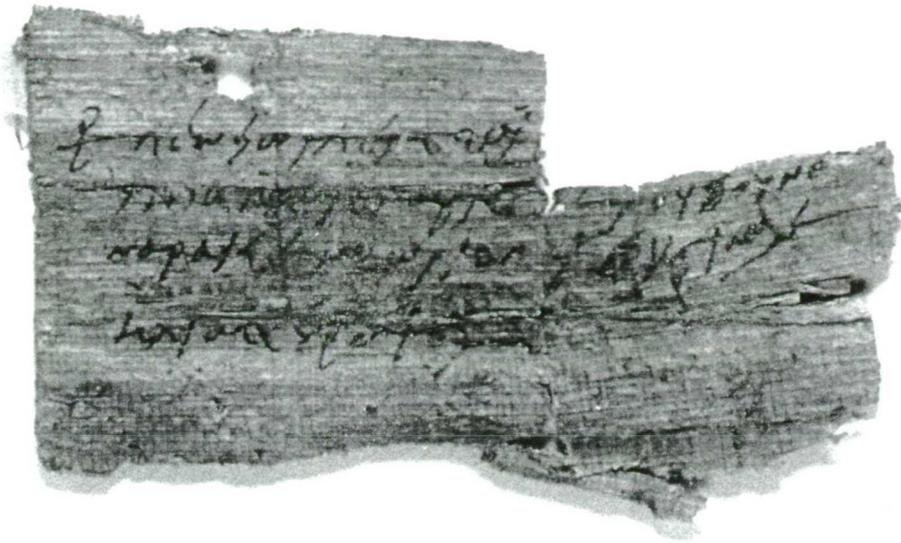


NO. 68 side (B)

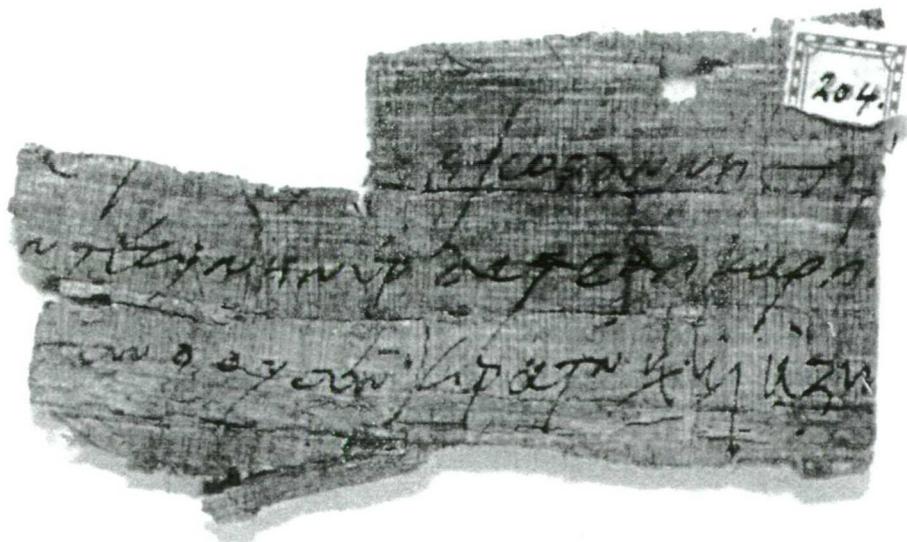


NO. 68 side (A)





NO. 70 side (B)



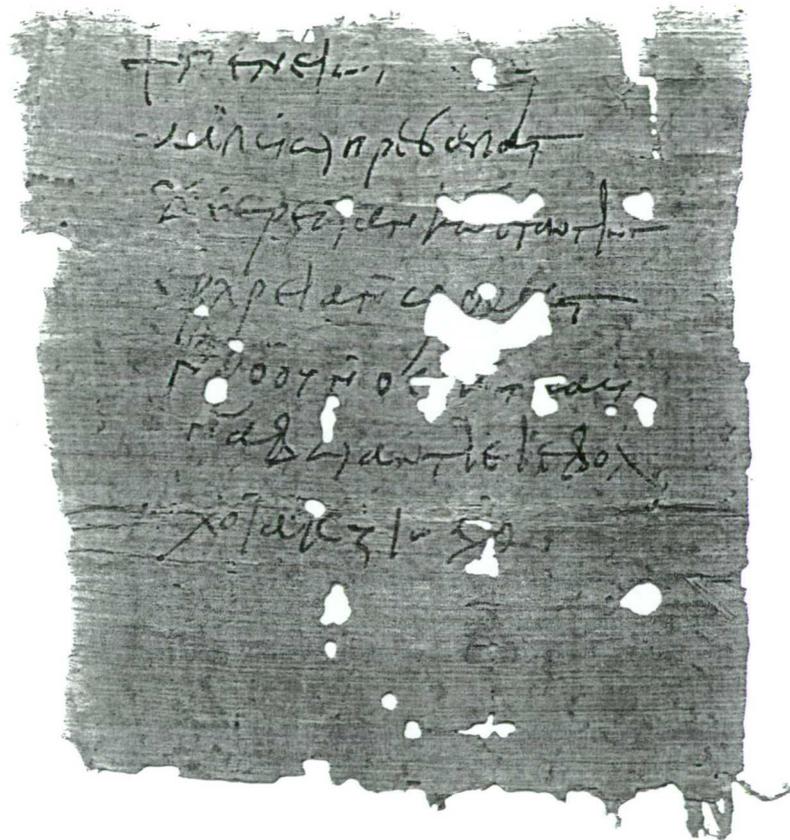
NO. 70 side (A)

φημι δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἢ γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ παρὰ αὐτὸ  
 ποῦ τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὴν φωνὴν  
 ἢ φωνὴν εἶναι φωνὴν τὴν φωνὴν  
 φωνὴν ποῦ εἶναι φωνὴν τὴν φωνὴν  
 ἀνακρί  
 ΠΙ ΠΥ  
 ΕΠΙ ΠΥ  
 φωνὴν ποῦ εἶναι φωνὴν τὴν φωνὴν

Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines across the fragment. The ink is dark, and the papyrus fibers are clearly visible. The fragment is irregularly shaped with frayed edges.

NO. 71 side (A)





Michaelides (papyrus)

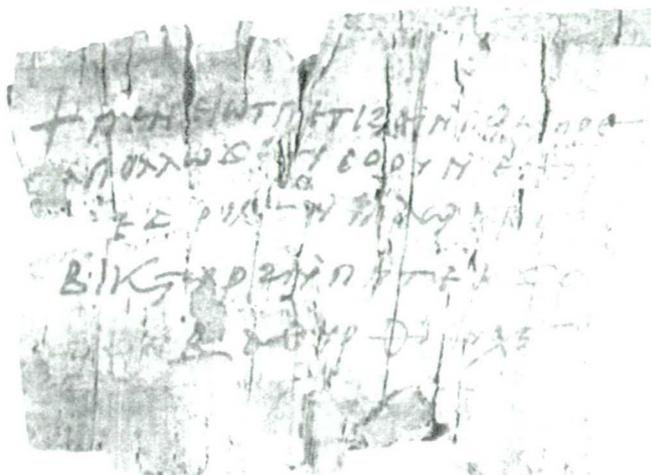
.....1232 Side A.....



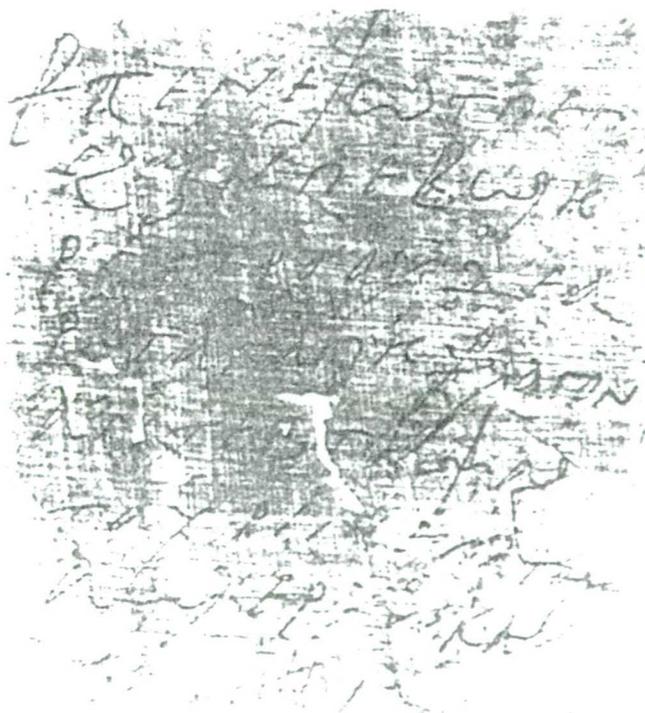
Handwritten text in a cursive script on a fragment of papyrus. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The script is dark and somewhat faded, with some characters appearing to be in a different hand or dialect. The fragment is irregularly shaped with frayed edges.

No. 115. (Original size.)

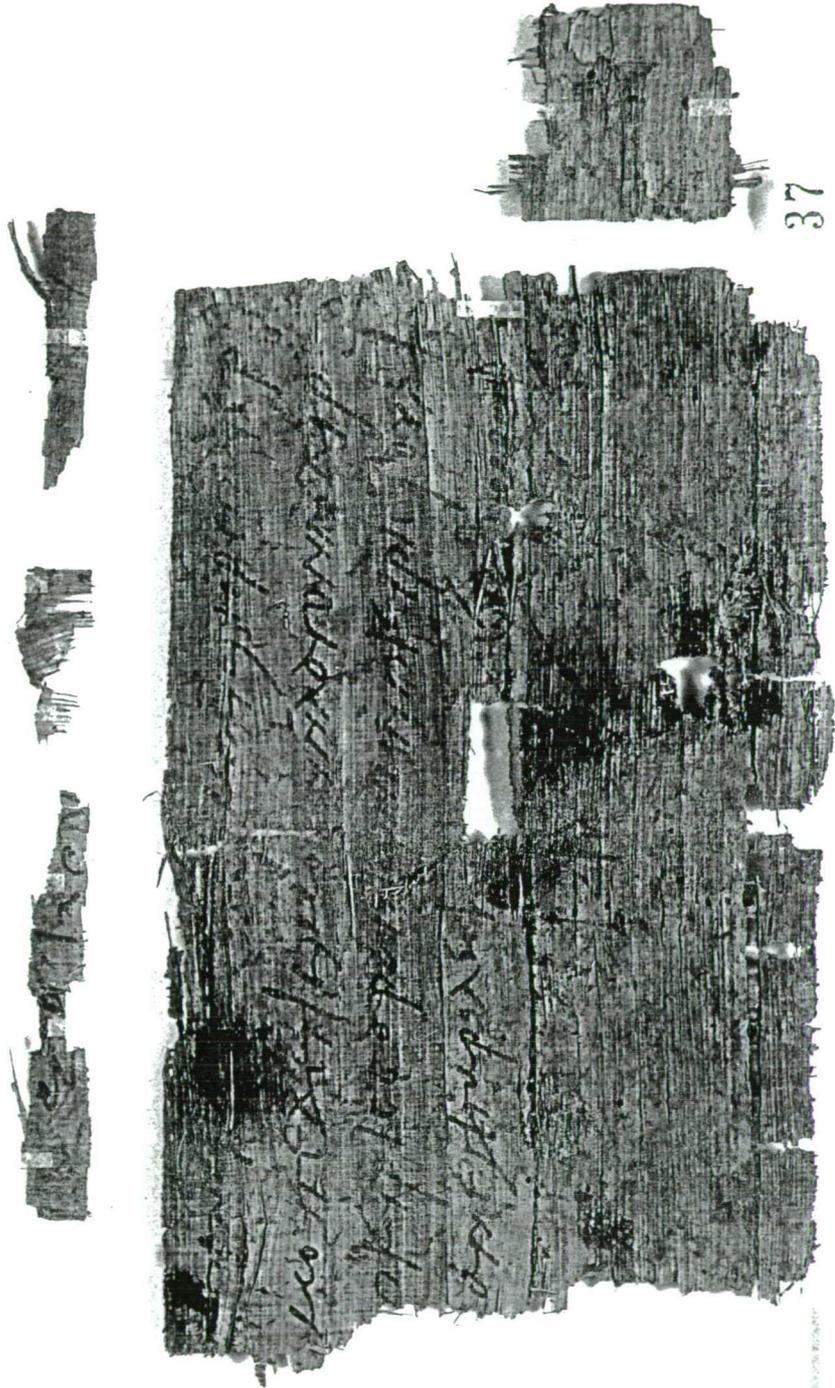
NO. 74



NO. 75



NO. 76



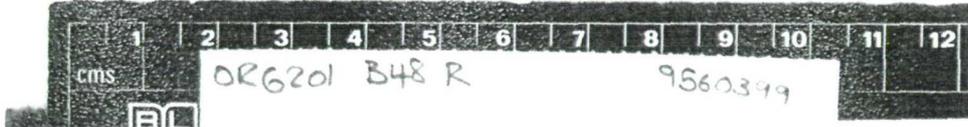
37

OR 13866



P. Meyer inv. 13

...  
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 ...  
 ...  
 ...



NO. 80

...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...



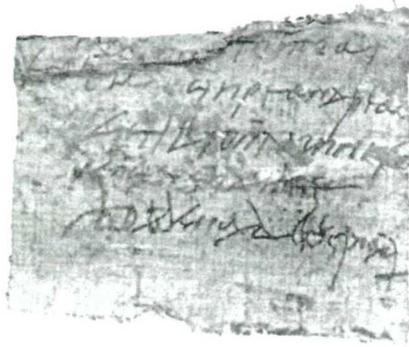
NO. 81

1. ...  
 2. ...  
 3. ...  
 4. ...

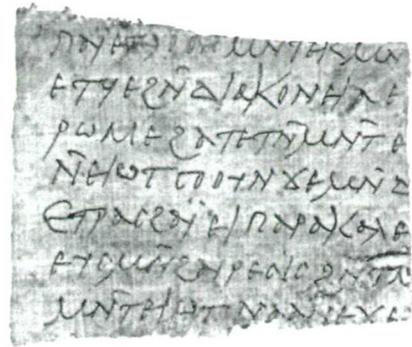
NO. 82

1. ...  
 2. ...  
 3. ...  
 4. ...

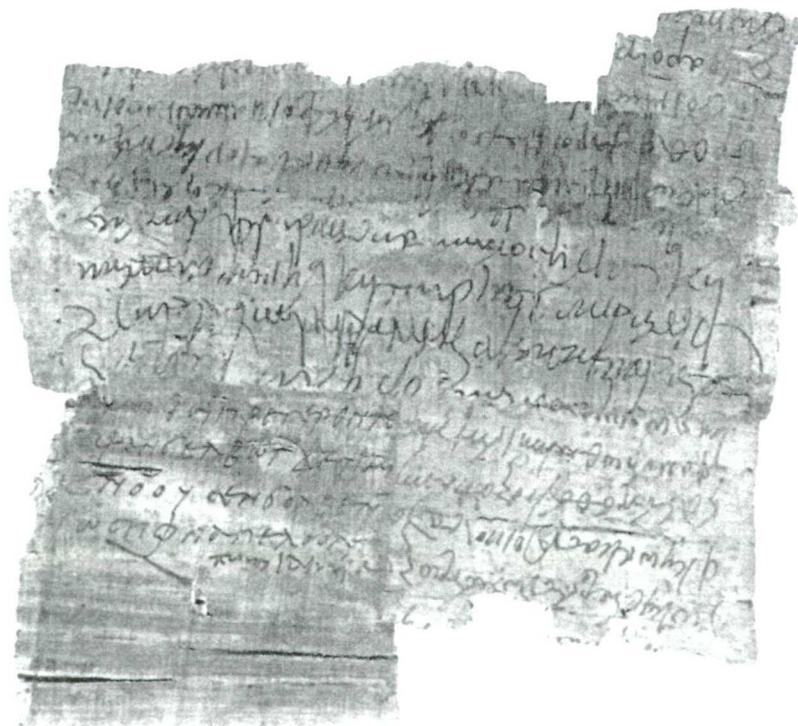
NO. 83



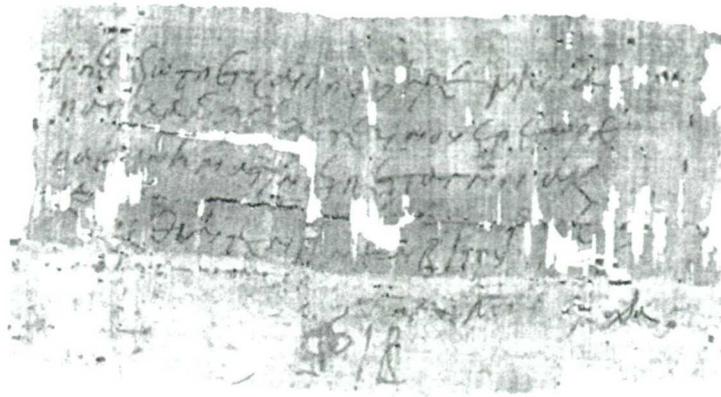
NO. 84 side (B)



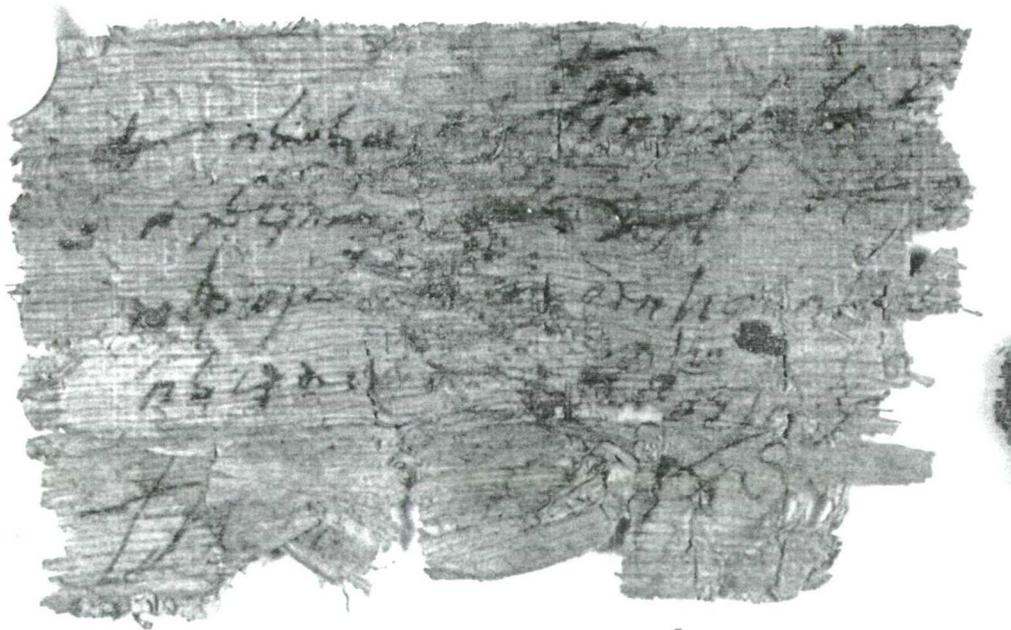
NO. 84 side (A)



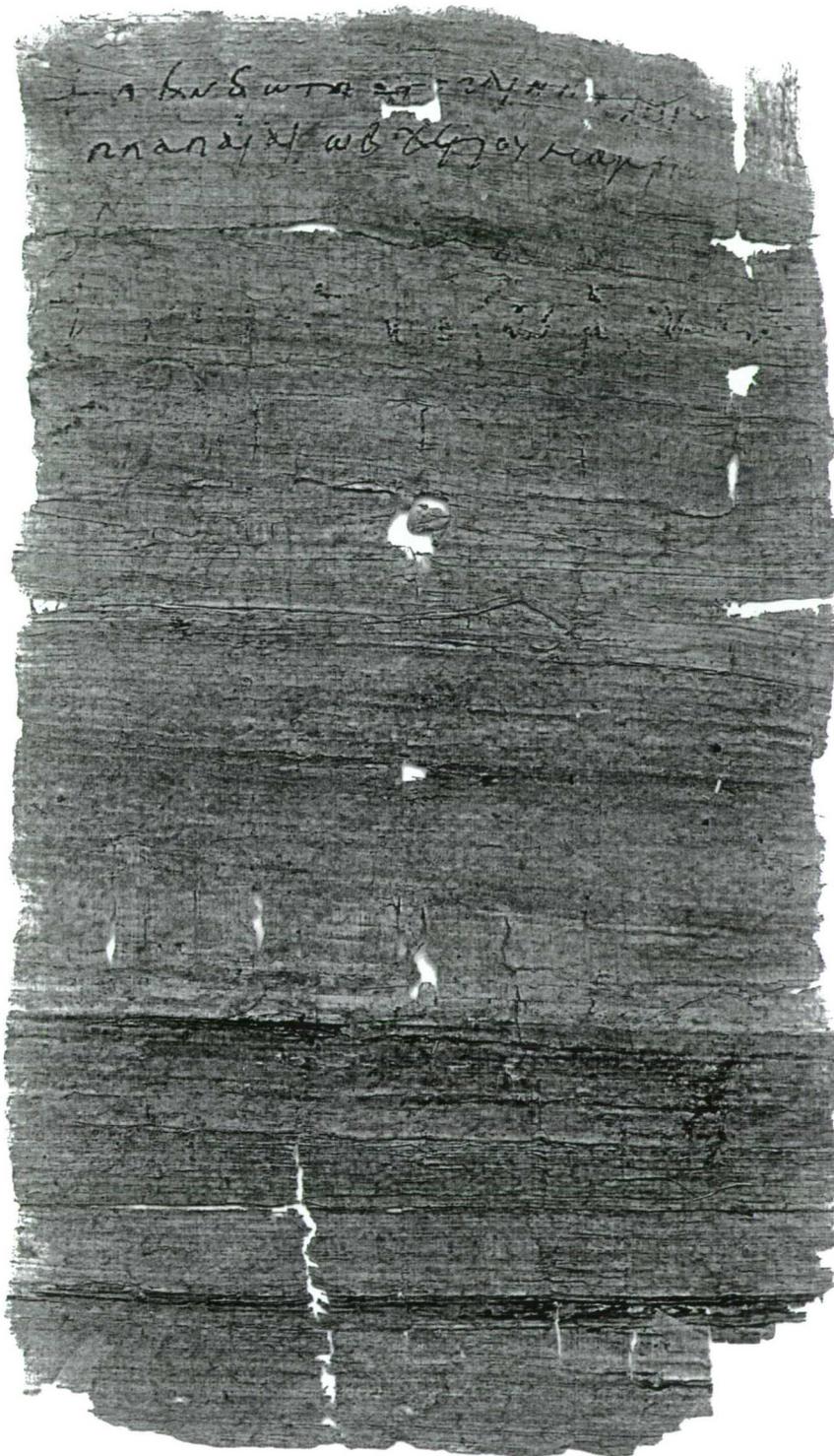
NO. 85



NO. 94



NO. 86



Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text, side B. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by a diagonal crease or fold. The visible text includes:

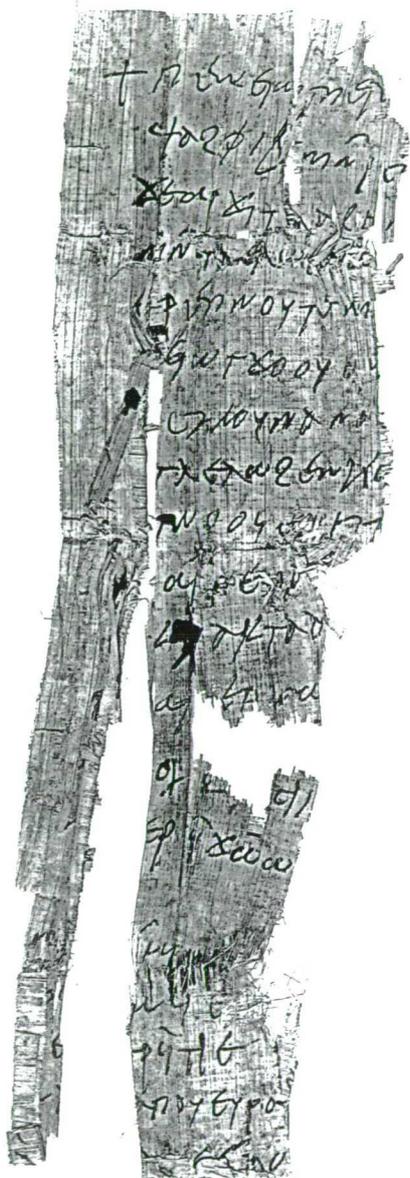
Δεσφύουτε ἐν τῷ ἡμίονοι  
ποσφύουτε δὲ ἐν ἡμίονοι  
ἔροσφύουτε ἐν ἡμίονοι  
τῆσφύουτε ἐν ἡμίονοι  
δὲ ἡμίονοι + ἡμίονοι  
ἐν τῷ ἡμίονοι

NO. 89 side (B)

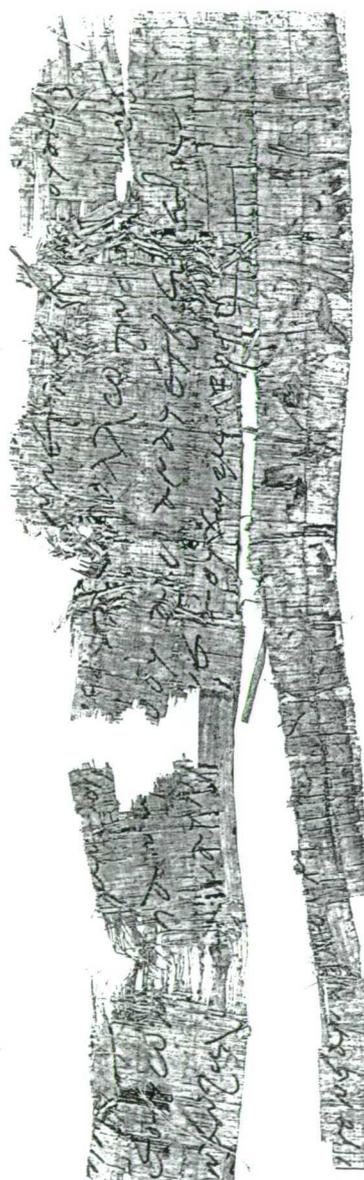
Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text, side A. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by a diagonal crease or fold. The visible text includes:

ἡμίονοι + ἡμίονοι  
ἡμίονοι + ἡμίονοι

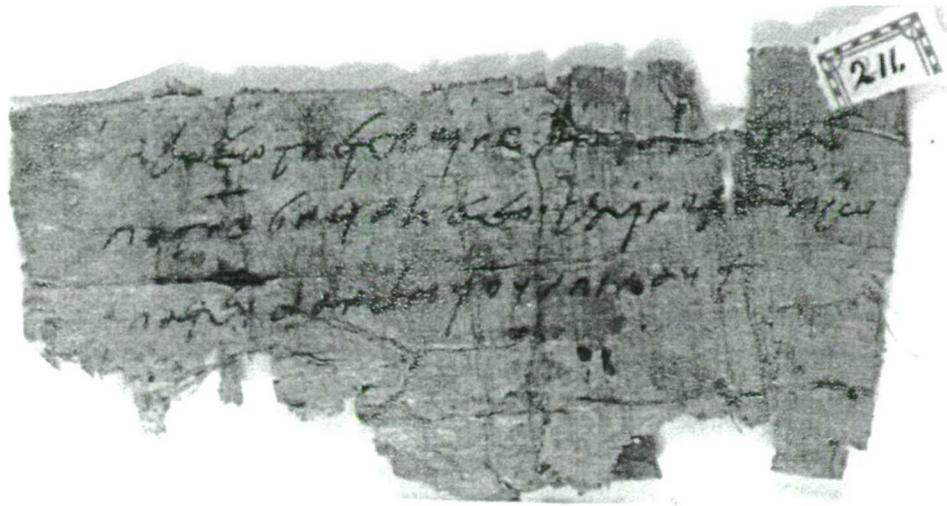
NO. 89 side (A)



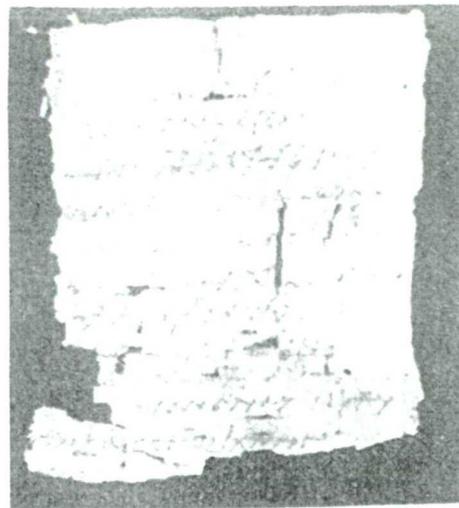
NO. 93 side (B)



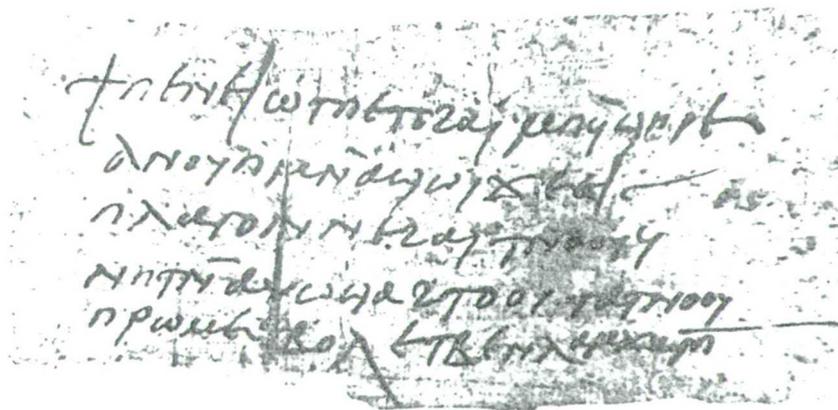
NO. 93 side (A)



NO. 95



NO. 96



P Palau Rib. inv. 41

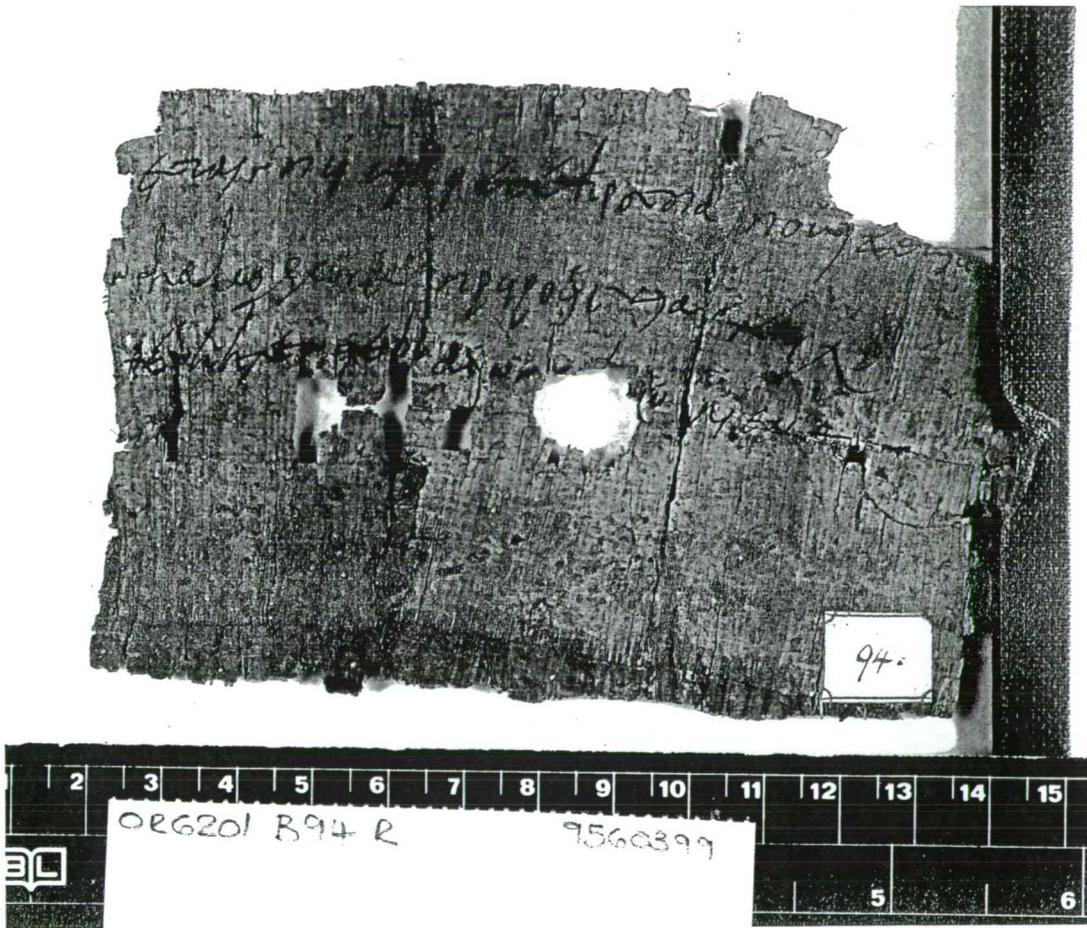
NO. 97

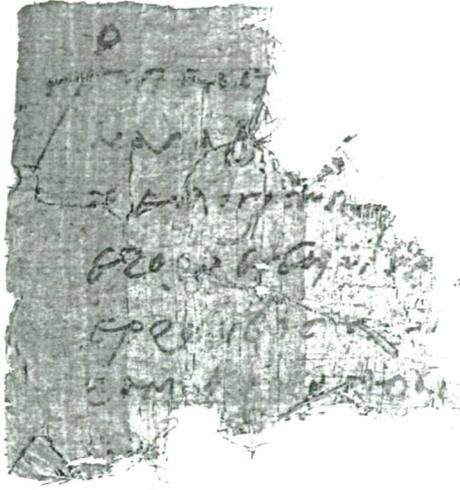
side (A)

ἡ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀσπίδων  
ἀκρότης ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀκρότης  
ἐκείνη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς  
ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς  
ΠΑΝΙΝΑΣΤΗΧΕ

ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς  
ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ ἀσπίς

side (B)





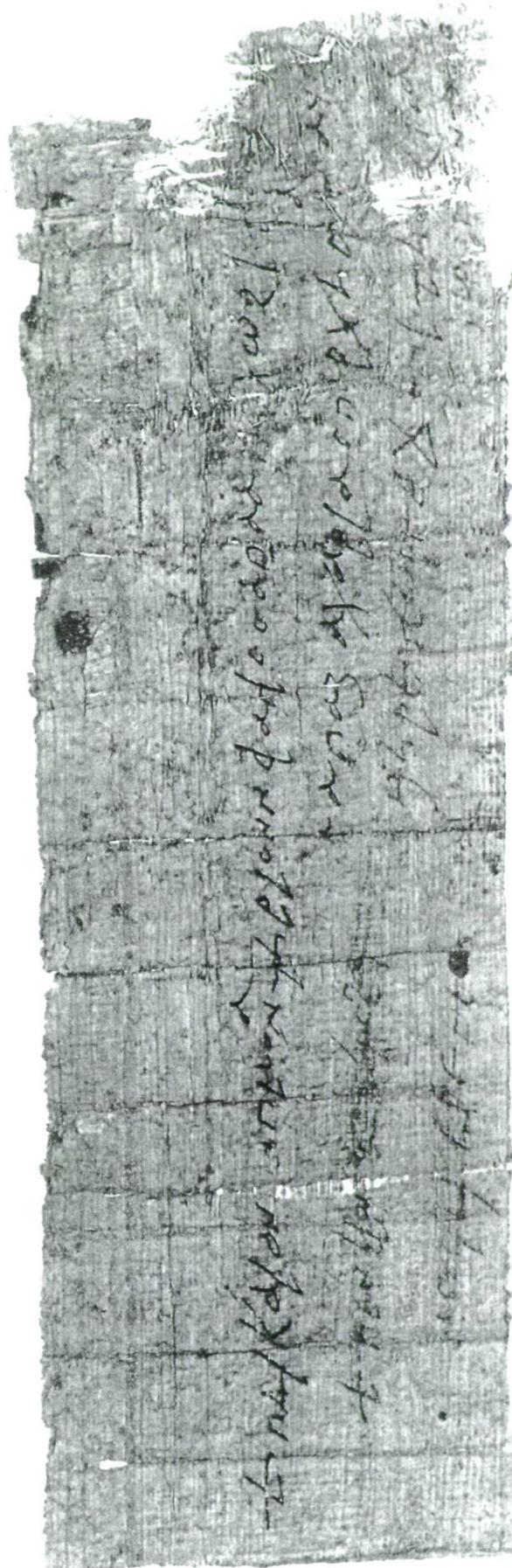
NO. 105



NO. 106



NO. 108



NO. 100 texts 2-3

