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EPISTOLARY FORMULAE IN THEBAN COPTIC DOCUMENTS

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT
EPISTOLARY FORMULAE
IN THEBAN COPTIC DOCUMENTS.

by Susan Turner

Coptic documents of a non-legal nature have remained unclassified up to the present time. It has long been recognized that Coptic private letters are formulaic in structure. However, the interest shown by scholars over the last century has been directed to those texts of a legal nature, to the detriment of private letters. This thesis is an attempt to isolate and classify those formulae appearing in Coptic letters from Thebes.

The study centres on those numerous letters appearing in the Monastery of Epiphanius and those from the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum. The latter are being published here for the first time. Both represent Theban epistolary style of the late sixth and early seventh century. Every letter has been analyzed with a view to isolating introductory formulae, address formulae, and other letter formulae of an optional nature. In those instances when the evidences remained inconclusive, letters from other Theban collections

were drawn into this study. Wherever possible the characters occurring in the letters were identified, so that some perspective on the social interactions of Theban writers could be achieved. This also gave insight into the Theban system of rank and title. An attempt has also been made to compare these letters with others from different periods and locations in Egypt and to suggest the origins of Coptic epistolary formulae.

The letters reveal that there were five major types of introductory formulae and three basic forms of address. To varying degrees, each made allowance for complimentary formulae, those epithets which the writer attached to the name of his addressee. The writer could also include such optional elements as terminal formula, preface or invocation. These generally adhered to a standard form. A desire for homogeneity also characterized the writing of individual scribes. Each seemed to adhere to a favourite style of letter, one in keeping with the rank of his recipient and the purpose of his correspondence.

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EPISTOLARY FORMULAE
IN THEBAN COPTIC DOCUMENTS

by

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Department of Near Eastern Studies

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Toronto

PLATES

- I. ROM 906.21.160
- II. ROM 906.21.325
- III. ROM 906.21.152
- IV. ROM 906.21.322
- V. ROM 906.21.294
- VI. ROM 906.21.324
- VII. ROM 906.21.218 (RECTO)
- VIII. ROM 906.21.218 (VERSO)
- IX. ROM 906.21.268
- X. ROM 906.21.372
- XI. ROM 906.21.289
- XII. ROM 906.21.270 (RECTO)
- XIII. ROM 906.21.270 (VERSO)

PREFACE

The following thesis is the result of research which began in 1969. My original intention had been to edit and translate the Coptic ostraca which have been in storage in the Royal Ontario Museum for the past sixty years. In my first attempts to read these fragmentary documents, I turned for help to the collections of ostraca which had already been published, amongst which was that of the Monastery of Epiphanius. The striking feature in all Theban letters is the similarity in wording. They all seemed to begin in predictable ways even though they were the products of different writers. Since I was familiar with the formulaic patterns of letter writing in hieroglyphic writing and in Demotic, I found it rather reassuring to find that the Egyptian love of established ways of doing things had continued on into Coptic times, in fact, into the Middle Ages. When I discovered that there was a relationship between characters published in EPI and other texts, I then realized that I had the opportunity of analyzing the formulae in letters in a set historical context. This then became the major theme of my thesis. The ROM ostraca became a part of this study.

I wish to thank Miss W. Needler, Curator Emeritus, and Dr. W. Millet, the present curator of the Egyptian Department in the Royal Ontario Museum for enabling me to examine their collection of ostraca first hand. I am particularly grateful to Prof. R. J. Williams for the years of careful supervision of my work and to Prof. J. Wevers who offered me great encouragement.

Toronto, 1975

Susan Turner

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- BALA-** P.E. Kahle, Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt. 2 volumes. London, 1954.
- BM** W.E. Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the British Museum. London, 1905.
- BUDGE** E.A.W. Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt. London, 1913.
- CO** W.E. Crum, Coptic Ostraca. Special Extra Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund. London, 1902.
- CRUM** W.E. Crum, A Coptic Dictionary. Oxford, 1939.
- EPI** H.E. Winlock and W.E. Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. 2 Parts. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1926.
- HALL** H.R. Hall, Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraka, Stelae etc. in the British Museum. London, 1905.
- KRU** Walter E. Crum, Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djeme (Theben). Leipzig, 1912.
- MH** E. Stefanski, Coptic ostraca from Medinet Habu. Chicago, 1952.
- PhO** Charles Bachatly, Le Monastère de Phoebammon dans le Thébaïde. Tome II. Cairo, 1965.
- RE** E. Revillout, "Textes coptes extraits de la correspondance de St. Pesentius évêque de Coptos et de plusieurs documents analogues," Revue égyptologique, 9 (1900) pp. 133-177; 10 (1902) pp. 34-47; 14 (1914) pp. 22-32.
- ROM** Coptic Ostraca in the Royal Ontario Museum.
- RYL** W.E. Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Manchester, 1909.

- ST W.E. Crum, Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri. Oxford, 1921.
- TILL Walter C. Till, Datierung und Prosopographie der Koptischen Urkunden aus Theben. Vienna, 1962.
- VC W.E. Crum, Varia Coptica. Aberdeen, 1939.
- WS W.E. Crum and H.I. Bell, Wadi Sarga; Coptic and Greek texts from the excavations undertaken by the Byzantine research account. Hauniae, 1922.

Oblique brackets < > enclose scribal omissions.

Square brackets [] enclose restorations and lacunae.

Parentheses () enclose explanatory additions in the English translations.

Four dots within [...] indicate a lacuna of indeterminate length.

Three dots before the text indicate that other words precede the text.

Three dots after the text indicate that the sentence continues.

CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF PLATES.....	ii
PREFACE.....	iii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
INTRODUCTION.....	1

Chapter

I.	SCRIBAL PROLEGOMENA.....	21
	The Chrysmon.....	22
	The Invocation.....	23
	The Preface.....	26
II.	INTRODUCTORY FORMULAE.....	31
	σοφτ μεν.....	32
	σαθη μεν.....	54
	κατα θε.....	67
	προς θε.....	71
	προ παντων.....	74
	Abbreviated Formulae.....	80
	A. †προσκυνηι.....	81
	B. †ωινε.....	85
	Formulaic Non-formulae.....	88
	A. αρι ταγαπη.....	90
	B. αρι πνα.....	98
	C. επειδη.....	103
	D. εις.....	105
III.	OPTIONAL ADDENDA.....	108
	Terminal Formulae.....	109
	Postscripts.....	114

Chapter		Page
IV.	FORMULAE OF ADDRESS.....	120
	Taac N.....	123
	Unintroduced!.....	142
	Sender First.....	151
	Titles and Epithets in Addresses.....	167
V.	THREE SCRIBES AND THEIR LETTERS.....	189
	Mark.....	190
	Frangé.....	209
	Joseph.....	218
	Character Identification.....	228
VI.	THE BACKGROUND OF COPTIC THEBAN LETTERS	237
	The Greek Background.....	238
	The Coptic Background.....	249
	APPENDIX.....	275
	PLATES.....	289
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	303

INTRODUCTION

Egypt was the birth place of monasticism. This was Egypt's most enduring gift to the Christian world. Pilgrims came in the hundreds to see the land where Antony and Pachom retreated into the desert. They returned to Europe with spiritual and artistic models for the ascetic life.¹ The population of Egypt had embraced the monastic ideal wholeheartedly. Their religious fervour prompted the following description of Egypt in the fourth century:

"no earthly king hath ever been able to gather together so great a number of men into his service; for there is neither village nor city in Egypt or in the Thebaid which is not surrounded by monasteries as by walls, and many multitudes of people rest upon their (priests') prayers as they do upon God."²

Although the political situation had deteriorated in the intervening two centuries, the above description could have applied to the monophysite community of Jeme in the sixth and seventh centuries. Reference is made regularly to the *Tooy* of Jeme, literally the 'mountain' of Jeme. This refers to the wider geographic area surrounding

1

For a brief discussion of Egyptian influences on Europe, and on Celtic art and religion in particular see A. Atiya, A history of eastern Christianity (London: Methuen, 1968), p. 53 ff.

2

The editor of this Syriac version of the Historia Monachorum falsely ascribed the authorship to St. Jerome instead of to Rufinus. E.A.W. Budge, Stories of the Holy Fathers (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 420.

the town of Jeme, including the numerous ¹τόποι, 'churches' or 'monasteries.' One of these was the site identified as the monastery of Epiphanius.

In the season 1911-1912, the Metropolitan Museum of Art turned its attention from excavation of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs to a systematic excavation of the Coptic remains around the tomb of Daga. Among the ruins of what turned out to be the monastery were found hundreds of texts which had belonged to inhabitants of the site. Because many of them were found between walls and under floors, the excavators were confident that the texts' contents would cast some light on the date of the monastery. On this basis, the monastery of Epiphanius was dated ca. A.D. 600.

Most of the personal letters from the Epiphanius site were written on broken pottery (βλάτε). This sometimes included letters on limestone. Papyrus, however, was the most acceptable epistolographic medium. It was also the most difficult to acquire.² Coptus, the northernmost town with which there is evidence of continuous contact, is likely to have been the source of Jeme's papyrus supply. Furthermore,

¹
EPI, Vol. 1, p. 4. BALA, p. 27.

²
For a discussion of writing materials see EPI, Vol. 1, ch. VII.

4

it was the episcopal centre of its region. Papyrus would have been necessary for the bishop's correspondence with church authorities in the north. As we will see, most of the letters from RE which are addressed to Pesenthus, the monophysite bishop of Coptus, are written on papyrus.

While civil authorities appear to have had ready access to papyrus for letters to residents of the Monastery¹ of Epiphanius, for the ordinary people of Jeme, including priests and monks, access was more limited. The frequency of apologies for not having written on papyrus is an indication that scarcities were widespread at this time.² In this regard it is interesting to note that most of the papyri from the monastic site not dealing with civic matters concern Pesenthus, Epiphanius, and their immediate associates.³ Such letters date to the time of Pesenthus flight from the Persian invasions, ca. A.D. 616-630,⁴ when he took refuge at Thebes. It may be that when Pesenthus moved south his episcopal headquarters moved south with him. This then gave Epiphanius access to material advantages not usually associat-

¹ EPI 142, 163, 183, 250(?), 409(?). Cf. EPI 151.

² EPI 103, 141, 172, 278, 298; ST 197, 305; VC 64, 70, 82. See also CO, p. x.

³ EPI 104, 106, 108, 111, 129, 131, 136, 144, 152, 153, 162, 164, 177, 184, 198, 253, 254, 263, 327, 427, 429, 430, 431, 433, 440, 460, 463, 466, 473, 482, 483, 494, 510.

⁴ TILL, p. 168 f.

ed with anchoritic existence, such as the use of papyrus for correspondence. None of his predecessors in office made such extensive use of papyrus even though they were held in equally high esteem, judging by the similarity of titles and epithets attached to their names.

The task undertaken in this present study is a classification of the formulaic expressions occurring in Theban letters. The need for such a study was acknowledged¹ by Crum at the time when EPI was first published. Before this time no one had been able to provide a sufficiently large body of texts of known provenance on which one could base valid conclusions. All texts from EPI are from the one site and date within a century of each other.

A further positive feature was the discovery, through the Epiphanius letters, of the relationship which existed between Epiphanius the anchorite of Jeme and Pesenthus the bishop of Coptus, the latter being known elsewhere from the² letters published in RE and from his biography. A comparison of the correspondence of EPI and RE provided a basis for examining the associations of characters and events mentioned in them. Since many of the letters refer to Epiphanius and

¹ EPI, Vol. 1, p. 253 f.

² BUDGE, p. 75 ff.

Pesenthius, and thus to the time of the second Persian presence in Egypt, it was possible to examine the rest of the letters from the monastery in relation to them. This was an opportunity to examine letters of Theban style which were written in the early part of the seventh century.

The following is a representative letter of the Epiphanius collection. It does not contain all the possible formulaic elements, but does include the two most important: introductory formula and address.

EPI 241

INTRODUCTORY FORMULA

ρ
 ΝΨΟΡΠ
 MEN ^{sic} ΝΠΨΑΧΕ †
 ΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ' ΝΕΙΩ
 ΣΑΚΑΥ / †ΑΣΠΑΖΕ
 ΜΠΕΚΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΧΑΒ
 ΜΑΡΕΤΕΚΗΝΤΕΙΩΤ
 ΟΥΩΨΕ Ν6ΧΟΟΥ ΠΕΚΟΥ
 ΧΑΙ' ΝΑΙ' ΕΨΧΠΕ ΘΕ' ΤΕ Ν
 ΤΑΕΙ' ΕΝΖΗΤ ^{sic} ΝΟΥΩΨΕ ΓΑΡ
 ΕΕΙ ΕΝΖ[ΗΤ] ΝΑΚ ΤΕΝΟΥ Μ
 ΠΙ6Ν [Τ]ΥΠ[Ο]C ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ
 ΕΑΣΤΑΖΟΙ' /

ADDRESS

ϣⲧⲁⲁϥ
^{sic}
 Ⲛⲡⲁⲛⲉⲣⲓⲧⲓ Ⲛ
 ⲉⲓⲱⲧⲓ ⲓϥⲁⲁⲕ
 ϣⲓⲧⲛⲓⲱ
 ϥⲛⲫ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲁ
 ϫⲓϥⲧⲟϥ +

ϣ At the beginning of the message I greet my beloved father Isaac. I kiss your holy angel. May your fatherhood be pleased to send me (word of) your health. If only there were a way¹ for me to come north! For I (?) desired¹ to come north to you now. I found no means because of something which has happened to me. ϣ Give it to my beloved father Isaac from the most humble Joseph. +

Each letter in the EPI collection and in the ROM collection (which forms an appendix to this study) has been examined with a view to isolating the formulae which begin, end, or otherwise decorate it. In instances where evidence remained inconclusive, letters from other collections were drawn into the analysis. Finally, Coptic letters of the Epiphanius collection have been compared with other Theban letters and with Coptic letters from other regions of Egypt. An attempt has been made to trace the fundamental relationship between Theban Coptic epistolographic formulae and those found in Greek-Egyptian letters.

¹ One would expect the imperfect ⲛⲉⲓⲟϥⲱⲱ .

The Coptic letter formulae will be seen to resemble prefabricated building blocks which are arranged at the discretion of the writer. Since most letters were essentially requests, writers usually endeavoured to be as polite as possible in the opening lines. This often resulted in a letter in which the request was obscured by elaborate epithets referring to the recipient. These complimentary formulae could be included either in the introduction or in the address. Frequently they occur in both.

Most letters begin with a formal introduction,¹ a kind of preamble in which the sender declares that his best wishes for the recipient take precedence over anything else. Such formulae commence with *ⲱⲡⲓⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ*, *ⲓⲁⲑⲙ ⲙⲉⲛ*, or *ⲡⲣⲟ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛ*. If he begins his letter with *ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ*, *ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲑⲉ*, or *ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲛ* he is describing the circumstances which led up to the present comment or request. Sometimes the writer abbreviates his introductory formula by omitting the opening conjunction completely.

A letter's address can appear at the beginning or end. It can consist of a simple indication of sender and recipient; or it can contain complimentary epithets referring

1

The following letters begin without formulae:
EPI 111, 114, 131, 145, 162, 163, 176, 178, 181,
205, 238, 266, 277, 283, 288, 298.

to the addressee. The latter is especially observable in those letters which begin with an address. There is some indication that when the address occurs in this position, it usurps the function of introductory formula.

Introductory formulae and addresses are the two most important elements in Coptic letters. In addition, at the close of the letter, one could include a terminal formula which sent a final wish for the recipient's continued well-being. The usual form is ΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΗΧΑΟΕΚ , 'Fare well in the Lord.' The letter could also be decorated by small crosses (chryisma) or invocations to Christ, Michael, or Gabriel.¹ Material not essential to the content of the letter could be attached in the form of preface or postscript. Finally, in those cases where the scribe is writing in the name of someone else, he sometimes adds his own comments or requests. Usually he includes his name so that it is clear² that it is the scribe and not the sender who is speaking.

¹ Michael was the most honoured archangel who helped monks in times of temptation. Gabriel was the bearer of good news from God. Cf. Pierpoint Morgan Ms 575, Folio 9v-12r, in M. Cramer, Koptische Hymnologie in deutscher Übersetzung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969).

² EPI 431:9.

In spite of the fact that prefaces, chrysmas, invocations and terminal formulae are elements included only at the wish of the writer and that this choice allowed him an element of independence, if he did use one of these elements, it nearly always conformed to one of the standard patterns. New forms were slow to evolve.

From these letters it is possible to gain impressions of events in Jeme. Allusions are made to sickness, personal problems, civil strife, and there are general references to the political situation. It is difficult to fit these random comments into an historical framework. What makes the problem even more complex is that characters can be identified positively only in the context of the letters in which they appear. Monks and priests used only one name and seldom identified themselves by title. Fortunately Crum managed to isolate certain characters on the basis of their handwriting. The conclusions of Crum were subsequently supported by Till in his Prosopographie. Using their studies as a starting point, I analyzed the work of individual scribes whose letters appear both in EPI and other Theban collections. This expanded the horizon somewhat since it was now possible to augment the list of recognizable characters appearing in these letters. It was soon apparent that certain names occurred in association with others on a regular basis. Groups

of letters could then be seen to stem from varying periods of the early seventh century. This analysis led to a reinterpretation of some of Crum's conclusions about the history of the site.

There seems to be little justification for assuming that the inhabitants of Jeme regarded Epiphanius more highly than the anchorites who followed or preceded him in office. He stands out historically because his name has survived on the will of the monastery (KRU 75) as being the builder of the two towers, the major architectural features of the site. He has also received prominence through his association with the famous Pesenthius, bishop of Coptus. In spite of all this we find, in reading those letters destined to him, that the epithets appended to his name are no nobler, nor more excessive than those used to refer to other anchorites, such as John or Enoch. It would seem that political events gave Epiphanius prominence. His rise to power within the monastery coincided with the Persian invasion and with the sojourn of Pesenthius at Jeme. The turbulence of the times prompted him to construct defenses for the monastery's protection. However, there is no indication from the letters that his spiritual qualities were any greater than those of his predecessors. As Crum points

out, all attempts to find Epiphanius' name in the lists of local saints have remained unsuccessful.¹

Examination of the letters of EPI and other Theban collections has prompted me to revise some conclusions of Crum and Winlock. I dissociate the Elijah who is the anchoritic partner of Isaac from the Elijah who assumes leadership after the demise of Jacob, the second successor of Epiphanius.² As I describe in chapter V, the evidence points to the fact that the anchorites Isaac and Elijah, John and Enoch actually antedate Epiphanius in the monastic succession. If this is so, some reinterpretation of the archaeological evidence at the site will be necessary.

Although Winlock and Crum both state that no reliance can be placed on the ostraca to provide evidence for dating various parts of the site, they identified the so-called monastery of Cyriacus, one of the oldest sections, on the basis of the texts that were discovered inside it.³ Yet they were unwilling to admit ostraca as evidence for the date of the two towers or keeps. It seems to me particularly significant that under the floors and in the walls

¹
EPI, Vol. I, p. 215.

²
EPI, Vol. I, p. xxvi.

³
EPI, Vol. I, p. 16.

of the rooms whose reconstruction was necessitated by the building of the keeps, there are found ostraca specifically addressed to John and Enoch (EPI 476) and one other by the same scribe (EPI 275). Crum acknowledges that these letters¹ were earlier than the date of the towers.

Also subject to question is the dating of the eastern buildings of the monastery. Their construction has been interpreted as an expansion of the original monastery and towers when conditions became crowded.² Two considerations make this interpretation unlikely. Monks³ generally began their communities around caves or tombs. It was easier for them just to take over a ready-made cell than to construct one. At our site, which consists basically of a series of Eleventh Dynasty tombs, expansion took the form of construction around the outside of one of the tomb entrances. This was how Daga's tomb grew into the original monastery. It is probable that the eastern buildings developed this way also because they too were built around an old tomb entrance. Winlock states that many

¹ EPI, Vol. I, p. 26.

² EPI, Vol. I, p. 37.

³ EPI, Vol. I, p. 44.

of the texts which relate to the anchorites Isaac and
 1
 Elijah were found here. Since I date the career of these
 two to about A.D. 600-610, the construction of these eastern
 buildings would then antedate that of the keeps which, as
 KRU 75 tells us, were erected during the time of Epiphanius'
 holding office. The keeps were probably intended as a de-
 fense against the Persians who invaded and occupied Egypt
 from A.D. 616 to 629. The need for protection was not to
 diminish even after Heraclius gained back power in A.D. 629;
 for then effective government control of the south ceased,
 at Antinoe. Local governments and monasteries had to fend
 for themselves against their enemies, whether Chalcedonian
 2
 or Monophysite. Given such conditions, it is unlikely
 that the unprotected eastern buildings would have come into
 3
 existence at a time of steadily increasing danger.

There are few allusions to the Persians in the
 Epiphanius letters; and all can, with the exception of EPI
 300 which is anonymous, be found in letters to Epiphanius.

1

EPI, Vol. I, p. 38.

2

This had been the case even before the Persian
 invasions. Edward R. Hardy, Christian Egypt.
 Church and people (New York: Oxford University
 Press, 1952), p. 163 ff; John of Nikiou, ch. 97.

3

Cf. C.C. Walters, Monastic Archaeology in Egypt
 (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1974), p. 10.

EPI 198, 200 and 433 give the impression that everyone regarded the invasion as inevitable. Pesenthius himself fled Coptus before it had actually fallen.¹ Although the monophysite Christians, the bulk of the native population, were not persecuted by the Persians,² there was considerable civil strife.³ The Theban area was no exception. In EPI 163 Epiphanius is asked to intercede personally to negotiate an exchange of prisoners between Jeme and the villages of Taut and Tabennese. Apparently the life of our Theban hermits was not one of uninterrupted meditation; nor had it been so earlier. Although there continues to be a large number of letters which concern themselves with daily monastic affairs, this does not dispel the impression that the earlier anchorites Isaac and Elijah had involved themselves in local affairs. In EPI 160 the pair agrees to demands of certain chiefs of Jeme. In EPI 167 Isaac writes requesting mercy for prisoners. Legal problems abound. Sons are disinherited (EPI 162); they are imprisoned for debts (EPI 176). They turn to the monks for help. Because the Egyptian peasants recognized the mono-

¹ BUDGE, p. 288 (Fol. 46a)..

² The Persian invasion was interpreted as divine punishment for the sins of the Chalcedonians against the Monophysites. John of Nikiou ch. 101,5.

³ Ibid., ch. 97. A magnate of Akhmim terrorized his area with his private army.

physite church, here represented by the Monastery of Epiphanius, to be free of corruption, they turned to it instead of to the State. They thereby endowed the monophysite church with political importance in opposition to the State and the Chalcedonian church.

Most Thebans died young. The number of wills and legal documents which bind both testator and his descendants would indicate that a rapid turnover in population often led to bitter legal disputes.¹ This applied to the monastic community as well; for, as KRU 75 testifies, monasteries too were bequeathed. A high death rate among clerics would mean a rapid turnover in monastic succession. This may help to explain the fact that the anchorites seen in the EPI letters always occur in pairs.. A younger monk became associated with the leader of the community in order that there would be a smooth transition of power when the senior monk died. Secondly, of the identifiable characters of the site, we have isolated three pairs of anchorites who inhabited the monastery over a period of just thirty years, beginning with Isaac and Elijah about A.D. 600 and ending with Epiphanius and Psan about A.D. 630.² This would allow Isaac and Elijah,

1

KRU 37 and 38.

2

p. 229 ff.

John and Enoch, and Epiphanius and Psan only ten years each in power. Added to this is the evidence of the mummies which were excavated at the site.¹ Of the five found, the oldest was of a man who probably died at the age of fifty. Another was of a man who was about thirty years of age. Pesenthius himself, who lived to the extraordinary age of about sixty, was about thirty-five when he became bishop. This would have been the prime of his life. Yet by present standards this was a comparatively young age for such a responsible position.

Because of the dearth of historical material, historians of this century have been able to do only little to dispel the impression that seventh century Thebes was a dusty and decaying wasteland, somehow untouched by the world around it. It is true that Thebes was never to relive the opulence and grandeur it had seen under the New Kingdom pharaohs; but insofar as Egypt's strength had always lain in its isolation and independence, Thebes continued to be strategically important during the latter days of Byzantine power. The Theban desert became a refuge. Pesenthius sought refuge here before Coptus fell to the Persians. Benjamin, the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, fled to

¹

EPI, Vol. I, p. 46.

Thebes to avoid confrontation with the emperor Heraclius.¹

With the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 Egypt lost whatever political and spiritual dominance it had held over the Eastern church. After this date religious differences between Constantinople and Alexandria provided the basis for continuous political hostility and persecution.² The setting up of a Melkite, Chalcedonian patriarchate in Alexandria was a direct affront to Egyptian national pride. The Chalcedonian church had been able to attract to itself members of the Egyptian merchant class who realized that there were economic advantages to be gained through association with the official state religion. The Chalcedonian patriarchate, for example, had its own fleet for trade in Europe and Britain.³ Nevertheless, these defectors were in the minority. In A.D. 611, when the Chalcedonian John was patriarch in Alexandria, all of Egypt was monophysite and all

1

Severus, Bishop of Ashmunein, 'History of the patriarchs of the Coptic church of Alexandria,' Patrologia orientalis, I (1907), p. 489 ff.

2

Ibid., p. 491. Severus attributed the early conversion of many Copts to Islam to Chalcedonian persecution. Even on the eve of the fall of the last Byzantine stronghold, Babylon, Chalcedonians were torturing monophysites in the belief that they were traitors. John of Nikiou ch. 117.

3

Sophronius, 'Life of John the almsgiver.' Three Byzantine saints (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1948). ch. 3 and 10.

churches in Alexandria except for seven were also monophysite.¹

Even before the Persian invasions the emperor Heraclius had found it increasingly difficult to administer the south; but after his ouster of the Persians in A.D. 629 monophysites still held control in many of the reconquered provinces. Heraclius at first sought to regain strength through reconciliation with the monophysite patriarch Benjamin. Benjamin responded by fleeing to the Thebaid and by urging his followers to do like-

wise.² Then followed systematic attempts to eradicate all monophysite priests and monks throughout Egypt. Cyrus, whose appointment in A.D. 631 as both prefect and patriarch underlines how dangerous Heraclius felt the Egyptian situation to be, was responsible for the project. He even re-established a Chalcedonian Theban episcopate.³

There is no evidence that Byzantine troops ever engaged Arab forces anywhere in Upper Egypt. Nor is there any evidence that the Egyptian population made any serious effort to resist the invaders. The south, including the Thebaid fell quietly to the new masters. Yet the Egyptians did win one important battle, over the Chalcedonians. The Arabs

1

Ibid., Ch. 5. During his career John is said to have raised the number of Chalcedonian churches in Alexandria to seventy.

2

Severus, op. cit., p. 492 ff.

3

Ibid., p. 491.

recognized the monophysite church and reinstated Benjamin as¹ sole patriarch of Alexandria. The Arabs thus became the instrument of restoring integrity to the Copts. In fact, Theophilus, an Alexandrian writer of the early years of the Arab conquest, welcomed the Arabs as a 'powerful nation who would have care for the welfare of the churches of Christ.'²

The sort of Christianity practised by the Egyptians was exemplified by the stern, simple and independent existence of our Theban monks. Their ability to cope with the harshness of their surroundings distinguished Egyptians and monks alike from their Byzantine masters. The ostraca and papyri from the Monastery of Epiphanius testify to this. They reveal the daily concerns of simple people in a period of political and economic instability. However fragmentary, they are the sole chronicles.

1

Ibid., V (1910), p. 123. Benjamin took over the Chalcedonian churches and monasteries. Gradually pockets of Chalcedonian congregations in the Delta and Fayyum were absorbed.

2

H. Fleisch (ed.), 'Une homélie de Théophile d'Alexandrie,' Revue de l'orient chrétien, 30 (1935-6), pp. 374-5.

CHAPTER I
SCRIBAL PROLEGOMENA

I The Chrysmon

Most Coptic scribes considered it important that the word which they were about to set down be endowed with an aura of piety. This must be the explanation for the presence of the cruciform chrysmon¹ at the beginning, end, and sometimes separating elements within many Coptic letters. It can appear in a variety of forms (P + +++ R) and its usage is not restricted to letters² of Theban origin. It was of sufficient enough spiritual significance that during the first century of Arab rule the P was changed to // ³ or, on one occasion E, ⁴ so as not to offend the puritanical religious beliefs of the new order. Nevertheless it was a convention sufficiently well established in letter style that it was not to be dispensed with, just altered. The presence of the chrysmon may have been seen to imbue the letter with the Spirit of God.

¹
EPI 238, p. 215, fn. 1. Cf. M. Naldini, Il Cristianismo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II/IV (Florence: Le Monnier, 1968), p. 23 ff. Chrysmon is technically the term applied only to P, which occurs frequently in Greek letters. Naldini refers to P as 'croce monogrammatica' and attributes its origin to the hieroglyph P.

²
ST 185, 333, 336: VC 114, 115.

³
BALA 185; ST 187

⁴
BALA 130. This may be an abbreviation for the opening word of the Greek invocation EV OVOYΜΑΤΙ... Cf. KRU 4:1 ff., 45:1 f.

A. References to the Deity

[illegible]

2. XMFGOL
P3 (VC 46)
Christ, Michael, Gabriel. Amen.

3. XMF P (HALL P1. LIII, 6)
Christ, Michael, Gabriel. P

¹For an explanation of 90 see Ph0 23, fn. 1.
See also ST 18.

2 Naldini, op. cit., p. 28 f., offers an alternate reading: Χριστος Μαρια Γεννα.

4. IC XC
 ϥ (EPI 145)
 Jesus Christ.
 ϥ
5. IC ϥ + C (ROM 8)
 Jesus. ϥ + Saviour (?).
6. IY XY NIKA
 [ϥ] (EPI 294)
 The victory of Jesus Christ.
 [ϥ]
7. ϥ IC ΠΕΧ ΝΑ ΝΑΝ (VC 81)
 ϥ Jesus Christ, have mercy on us.

B. ϥΠΡΑΝ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ

A less frequent form of invocation likewise associated with the chrysmon is the phrase ϥΠΡΑΝ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ, 'in the name of God,' or one of its variants. It is rare for this expression to be found in letters of a private nature. Generally it is a legal document¹ or a letter of a quasi-legal nature² which begins in this manner.

¹KRU 7:1, 16:1, 20:1 f., 21: 1 f. In Greek: KRU 1:1 ff., 2:1 ff., etc. Cf. p. 267.

²EPI 92: 1 ff.; CO 292:1 f., 393:1 ff.; COAd 15:1 f.

In the Epiphanius collection only one letter begins in this way. It is equally rare in other collections.

B. 1.

1. $\text{† } \zeta\text{ΗΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΙ[ΩΤ] ΜΝΠΥΗΡΕ ΜΝΠΝΑ}^1 \text{ ΕΤ-}$
 $\text{ΟΥΑ[Α]Β ΑΝΟΚ ΚΑΜΟΥΛ ΔΙCΖΑΙ}^1 \text{ ΝΤΑΒΗC... (EPI 205)}$

† In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, I Kamoul have written to Tabes...

2. $\text{+} \zeta\text{ΗΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ } \text{ΒΑΛΙΔΥ ΕΙCΖΑΙ}$
 $\text{ΝΒΑΡΑΒ... (ST 171)}$

+ In the name of God I Elijah write to Bārag...

3. $\text{[+} \zeta\text{ΗΠΡΑΝ] ΑΠΙΩΤ ΜΝΠΥΗΡΕ ΜΝ[ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤ-}$
 $\text{ΟΥΑΒ Δ]ΝΟΚ ΘΩΜΑC ΠΕΕΛΑΧΕ[CΤΟC}^{\text{sic}} \text{ Ν....}$
 $\text{ΕΙCΖΑΙ} \text{ ΝΝΝΟΒ } \text{ρωμε}^{\text{sic}} \text{ (ST 225)}$

[+ In the name] of the Father, Son and [Holy Spirit], I the most humble [....] Thomas [write] to the great men.

In each of the above examples the invocation is followed directly by an address in which the sender introduces himself first and then names his addressee. The same invocation can also be found in letters where an introductory formula² follows directly.³

¹ The verb form is clearly First Perfect. One would expect ΕΙCΖΑΙ.

² Introductory Formulae will be discussed in Chapter II.

³ Probably ST 295 also. The same construction is found in VC 114 and 115 which are not Theban.

B. 2.

1. + ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΥΟΡΤΙ ΤΙΩΙΝΕ
ΕΡΟΚ ΚΑΛΟC (ST 266)

+ In the name of God. First I greet you sincerely.

2. † ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ[ΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΘ]
ΝΙΜ ΔΝΟΚ ΘΩΝΑC ΕΙC[ΖΑΙ ΜΠΑ-
ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩ]Τ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΜΝΠΑC[ΟΝ...
(ST 311)

† In the name of God. First of all I Thomas write [to my beloved fath]er Zachary and my br[other...¹

The invocation ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΜΗΝΟΥΤΕ is generally found in conjunction with the chrysmon at the outset of the letter. It seems to amplify the effect of the chrysmon thereby setting a pious tone for the letter to follow.

III The Preface

Some letters are set off by extra phrases chosen by the sender and/or scribe to appear outside the content of the letter. So long as the material of the letter remained undisturbed these phrases could take the form of a preface or a postscript.²

¹

It is most unusual to find an address within an introductory formula. See too EPI 218, 306.

²

Postscripts are discussed in Chapter III, Part II.

However postscripts occur much more frequently than do prefaces. A preface does not displace a chrysmon and can be found either preceding or following it.

Certainly the commonest preface found in Theban letters is the scribe's (or sender's) apology for not having written his letter on papyrus. This would seem to indicate that the rank of the addressee was one which would normally deserve a more exalted form of communication than a stone or a broken piece of pottery.

A. ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ

1. ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΨΠΙΓΝ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ
ΕΠΤΑΙΟ ΝΤΕΚΗΝΤΟΥΔΔΒ (ST 197)
¹
Forgive me, for at the moment I have not found papyrus (suitable) to the honour of your holiness.

2. † ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΨΠΕΙΓΝ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ (EPI 172).
²
† Forgive me, for I have not found papyrus.

¹
The preface does not displace the chrysmon. The scribe does not employ chryisma in any part of this letter.

²
Also VC 82 and CO 212.

EPI 278 presents us with a variant of the above phraseology. The sender does not ask for forgiveness:

ἡ ΠΝΟΒῆ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ Π[....] ΕCΘΑΙ' ΝΗΚ

We have not found papyrus [.....] to write to you.¹

Although the text of EPI 298 is broken, enough remains to reveal that the writer begins his letter with an apology for lack of papyrus. He has turned the ΚΩΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ element into a substantive object to which he appends a subordinate clause of the usual type:

† ΔΑΙΤΕΙ ΝΟΥC[ΥΝΓΝΩ]ΜΕ[.] ΜΝΟΥΚΩ

ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΜΠΙΘῆ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ὅΗΝ ΕΡΟΙ'

ΧΕΕΙΖΕ [ΝΠ]ΔΗΔ ΔΝ'

† I ask for [indulgence] and forgiveness because I have not found papyrus accessible to me due to the fact that I am not [in] my (own) place.

As remarked at the outset of this section, material extraneous to the message of the letter could appear in the form of a postscript rather than a pre-

¹

EPI 278, p. 226. Crum notes that lines 1 and 2 were added later.

face. We will see below that postscripts too tend to say the same thing and thereby fall into formulaic groups; so it is unusual to find an expression such as $\kappa\omega \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ as a postscript rather than as a preface. Yet this is what we find in VC 70: 15 f. This is the solitary example.

There are only two letters of the Epiphanius collection in which a preface takes a form other than $\kappa\omega \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$.¹ Both appear to be comments which the scribe wishes to direct to the addressee.

1. $\alpha\nu\omicron\kappa \ \delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\mu\omega\check{\gamma}\chi[\varsigma] \ \psi\psi\lambda\eta\lambda \ \epsilon\lambda\omega\iota'$ (EPI 287)

I am Dios son of Moses. Pray for me.

2. $\mu\eta\nu\alpha$ [... (EPI 329)

Mena [....

In both of the above letters it is likely that the comments made in the preface are actually those of the respective scribes. In the first letter, Paul introduces himself in the opening words of the letter. In EPI 329 if it were the sender who

¹

I have omitted EPI 170 from this study. It is probable that lines 1 and 2 are another text entirely and have nothing to do with the rest of the letter.

made the opening remark, he could have included his name in the introductory phrase of the letter, as is the usual method. Instead Mena has named himself in the preface before the introductory formula. Any decision based on the evidence of such a small fragment can be no more than speculative.

7

CHAPTER II
INTRODUCTORY FORMULAE

Having written the chrysmon and whatever other apparatuses he might choose, the scribe is next confronted with a decision. Should he begin his letter with an address or with an introductory formula? In the event he chooses the latter, the scribe has at his disposal an assortment of introductory formulae from which he can select the one appropriate to his taste and needs. In a polite manner this introductory phrase sets the stage for the message part of the letter which almost always is a request. It also provides the framework within which the writer is allowed to construct formulae complimentary to the addressee. These formulae the writer determines, keeping in mind the rank of the intended recipient and the object of his writing.

In this chapter I shall attempt to analyze those few phrases of introduction with which the majority of Coptic scribes from Thebes began their letters.

I ϣοπι MEN

¹ The word ϣοπι is a substantive meaning 'first.' In the Epiphanius collection there are thirty certain examples of letters whose introductory formulae begin with this word. In the collection

¹

A Coptic translation of the Greek πρὸ μὲν πάντων. Cf. p. 242 f.

from the Royal Ontario Museum there are four. Without exception $\Psi\omicron\rho\pi$ is followed directly by the Greek particle μέν.

In the majority of instances $\Psi\omicron\rho\pi$ MEN is completed by the Coptic particle \bar{N} plus another substantive. Often this second substantive is $\Psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$, 'word' or 'speech.'

A. $\Psi\omicron\rho\pi$ MEN $\bar{N}\pi()$ $\Psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$

1. $\text{† } \Psi\omicron\rho\pi \text{ MEN } \bar{N}\pi\text{Ψ}\alpha\chi\epsilon \text{ ΝΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΑΧ, } \text{†}\alpha\varsigma\text{-}$
 $\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon \text{ ἩΠΕΡΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ ἮΝΕΚΟΥΡΗΤΕ (EPI 127)}$
 † At the beginning of the message of my
 humility I kiss the footstool of your
 feet.
2. $\text{† } \Psi\omicron\rho\pi \text{ MEN } \bar{N}\pi\alpha\text{Ψ}\alpha\chi\epsilon \text{ ἮΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC } \text{†}\psi\iota\eta\epsilon\text{-}$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\text{CON } \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\eta\gamma \text{ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ}$
 $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\gamma \alpha\gamma\omega \text{ ON } \text{†}\psi\iota\eta\epsilon \text{ ΕΝΕΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΚ}$
 $\tau\eta\rho\omicron\gamma \text{ ΔΙΝΤΚΟΥΙ } \text{ΨΑΠΝΟC}^2 \text{ (EPI 174)}$

¹

An abbreviated writing of $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

²

This letter is joined internally by the conjunction $\bar{M}\bar{N}\bar{N}\bar{C}\omega\bar{C}$, 'afterwards.' Introductory formulae can also be joined to the message part of the letter by the conjunction $\chi\epsilon$. Both constructions are rare.

† At the beginning of my most humble message
I greet your brotherhood who is honoured
in every good respect. I also greet all
those who belong to you, from small to great.

3. † ^{sic} ὡρ^{sic} ΜΕΝ ἈΠΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ, ΤΝΔΚΤΑΕ
ΝΤΕΚΗΝΙΩΤ. ἘΤΤΑΙΗΗΥ ^{sic} ΖΝΗΠΧΩΚ ΤΗΡΩ
ΝΤΝΨΙΧΗ ΠΡΩΗΕ ΕΪΤΦΩΡΙ ΜΠΕΧΣ ΖΝ-
ΟΥΜΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΓΕΡ ΟΥΝΑ ΝΜΑΔΚ ΖΝΠΕΙ-
ΜΑ ΜΝΠΚΗΜΑ (EPI 180)

† At the beginning of our most humble message
we kiss your honoured fathership in the
complete fullness of our spirit, you who
truly embody Christ¹. May God be merciful
to you in this place (i.e. world) and the
other.

4. † ΝΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ἈΠΨΑΧΕ ΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΤΝ-
ΜΝΤΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ² (EPI 188)

† At the beginning of the message I greet
your (pl.)³ holy piety.

1

An epithet referring exclusively to bishops
or anchorites. See EPI 180, p. 202, fn. 1.

2

The conjunction ΜΝΩΚΩΕ joins the intro-
ductory formula to the narrative part of the
letter.

3

This is not just an honorific use of the
plural possessive article. It actually re-
fers to the compound addressees, the ancho-
rites Isaac and Elijah. In cases such as
EPI 282, where plurals occur without further
specification, it is probable that more than
one individual is being addressed, usually
an anchorite and his followers. Cf. EPI
198 and 327.

5. Ϙ Ϙορπ̄ μεν ἡπενψαχε νελαχ, τncζδ̄ι
 τ̄νω̄ινε δ̄γω τ̄ναcπ̄αcε ἡπεζλοб ntek-
^{sic} ἡ̄ναχο̄ικ newτ ετογ̄αβ̄ (EPI 210)

ρ At the beginning of our most humble message
 we write, we greet and we kiss the sweet-
 ness of your holy and fatherly lordship.

6. Ϙ Ϙορπ̄ μεν ἡπενψαχε νελαχ, τ̄νω̄ινε
 ε̄τετ̄η̄μη̄τ̄con ε̄τ̄η̄δ̄νο̄yc ἀπ̄α βικτωρ̄oc
 ἡ̄νατ̄α ἱερ̄η̄μ̄ιδ̄c¹ (EPI 218)

ρ At the beginning of our most humble message
 we greet your (pl.)² good brothership, Apa
 Victor and Apa Jeremiah.

7. Ϙ Ϙορπ̄ μεν ἡπ̄ψαχε τεπρ̄ock̄yne δ̄γω
 τεδ̄cπ̄αζε π̄ω̄οεῑω̄ ἡ̄νο̄υρ̄η̄τε ἡ̄π̄α-
 χο̄ειc ^{sic} ε̄ιω̄τ ετογ̄αβ̄ ἀπ̄α κυριακοc
 παναχω̄ρῑthc ἡ̄π̄το̄oy ἡ̄τ̄χη̄η̄e (EPI 236)

ρ At the beginning of the message I worship
 and kiss the dust of the feet of my holy
 and fatherly lord, Apa Cyriacus, the ancho-
 rite of the monastery of Jeme.

¹ See p. 34, fn. 2.

² See p. 34, fn. 3.

8. ϣ ϩⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲡⲱⲁⲭⲉ ϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ?
 ⲛⲉⲓⲱ ⲥⲁⲕⲁⲱ ϣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲡⲉⲕⲁⲓⲉⲗⲟⲥ
 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ (EPI 241)

ρ At the beginning of the message I greet
 my beloved father Isaac.¹ I kiss your
 holy angel.

9. ϣ ϩⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲁ[ϣⲁⲁ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲭ ⲉⲓⲥⲗⲁⲓ
 ⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ ⲁ[ϣⲱ ⲉⲓⲁ]ⲥⲡⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲗⲁⲟⲃ
 ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲓⲁⲣⲡ[ⲟⲥ] ⲉⲓⲁⲩⲥⲧⲏⲛⲟⲩⲱⲩⲉ
 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ... ϣⲁⲓⲣⲉⲧⲉ (EPI 247)

ρ At the beginning of my most humble message
 I write, greeting and kissing the sweet-
 ness of your (pl.) fruits which exude
 fragrance. ... Hail.²

10. ϣ ϩⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲡⲱⲁⲭⲉ ϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕ-
 ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉⲩⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲛⲩⲱ ⲗⲙⲡⲁ-
 ⲗⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲩ (EPI 285)

ρ At the beginning of the message I greet
 your honoured devotion with my whole heart.

1

For the name see EPI 241, p. 216, fn. 1.

2

In this letter the introductory formula
 continues for 13 lines and concludes with
 the expression ⲗⲙⲡⲁⲟⲉⲓⲥ ϣⲁⲓⲣⲉⲧⲉ, 'Hail,' or
 'Rejoice in the Lord.' This combination
 Coptic-Greek phrase occurs also in EPI 113,
 133, 173, 282; ST 172, 173, 184, 257, 267,
 320; CO 268; COAd 28 and elsewhere with
 variants of the Divine name. Although it
 is an independent vocative phrase in its own
 right, in Theban letters it is found only
 as an element within an introductory formula
 or address. In Greek letters this element
 is only associated with an initial address.
 See p. 243 f.

11. † ΠΥΟΡΠ [ΜΕΝ] ΜΠΥΔΧΕ ΝΤΕ[ΝΗΝΤ]ΕΛΔΧ/
ΤΝΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕ[ΚΗΝΤ]ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΪΗΥ
ΖΗΠΔΩ[Κ ΤΗΡΩ Ν]ΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ
(EPI 296)

† At the beginning of the message of [our] humility we greet your honoured father[ship] in the [complete] fullness of our soul.

12. † ΝΥΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΥΔΧΕ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΗΝΤΚΟΝ
ΜΗΝΕΤΕΝΕΜΔΚ ΤΗΡΩ ΚΑΤΑ [Ν]ΕΥΡΑΝ (EPI 304)

† At the beginning of the message I greet your brotherhood together with all those with you by their names.

13. [ΥΟ]ΡΠ ΜΕ^{sic} ΜΠΥΔΧΕ †ΨΙΝΕ [ΕΤΕΚ]^{sic} ΜΗΝΝΟΒ
ΤΔΕΥ^{sic} (EPI 334)

At the beginning of the message I greet [your] honoured grandeur.

14. † ΥΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΥΔΧΕ ΝΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΔΧ, †ΨΙΝΕ
ΕΤΕΚΗΝΤΚΟΝ ΕΜΔΤΕ (EPI 348)

† At the beginning of the message of my humility I greet your brotherhood sincerely.

15. † ΥΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΥΔΧΕ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ
ΤΗΡΤΝ (EPI 451)

† At the beginning of the message I greet you(pl.) all.

Although the substantive $\Psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ is most commonly preceded by the definite article, the scribes of numbers 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9 of the above substituted a first person possessive article, either singular or plural as the case demanded.

B. $\Psi\overline{\text{OPI}}$ MEN $\bar{\text{N}}\text{ZWB}$ NIM

Less frequently the particle after the substantive $\Psi\overline{\text{OPI}}$ is completed by the substantive ZWB ,¹ 'matter' or 'thing.' The latter substantive never stands alone but is itself completed by the adjective NIM, meaning 'all' or 'every.'

1. $\text{+ N}\Psi\overline{\text{OPI}}$ MEN $\bar{\text{N}}\text{ZWB}$ NIM' $\text{†}\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\gamma\text{NEI}$
 $\Delta\gamma\omega$ $\text{†}\alpha\sigma\pi[\alpha\text{ZE } \bar{\text{N}}\text{TEK}]\text{MNT}[\text{M}\bar{\alpha}\text{I}'\text{NOYTE}]$
 $\bar{\text{N}}\Delta\text{OEIC } \bar{\text{N}}\text{EIWT}'$ $\text{ETOY}\Delta\Delta\text{B } \Delta\gamma\omega$ $\text{†}\alpha\text{I-}$
 $[\text{T}]\text{EI } \bar{\text{N}}\text{MOC}'$ $\text{ETPE}[\text{K } \bar{\text{P}} \text{PAMEEYE } \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{-}$
 $\text{NEK}]\Psi\lambda\text{H}\lambda'$ $\text{ETOY}\Delta\Delta\text{B } \chi\text{EK}\Delta\Delta\text{C}'$ $\text{EP}\epsilon\text{-}$
 $\text{PE}\chi\bar{\text{C}} \text{P}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\alpha}\text{I}'\rho\omega\text{ME } [\dots] \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}\phi\omega\text{B}$
 $\text{†}\bar{\text{N}}\text{ZHTQ}'$ $\text{META K}\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma$ ²

(EPI 142)

¹ Without a definite article. See W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966), §231.

² See p. 34, fn. 2.

+ First of all I worship and kiss [your] holy lordly and fatherly [piety] and¹ I ask that [you remember me in your] holy prayers so that Christ who loves humanity might [....] well with me in the endeavour in which I am (involved).

2. [†] ὡρπ̄ MEN ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ †ΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΖΥΠΟ-
ΠΟΔ/ ΝΝΕΚΟΥΡΗΤΕ (EPI 199)

[†] First of all I kiss your footstool.

3. + ΝΩΟΡΠ̄ MEN ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ †ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ
ΝΤΕΚΗΝ^{sic}ΧΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ (EPI 201)

+ First of all I worship your holy lordship.

4. † ὡορπ̄ MEN ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ [†ΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΖΥ-
ΠΟ]ΠΟΔΙΟΝ ΝΝΕΚΟΥΡΗΤΕ (EPI 475)

† First of all [I kiss your] footstool.

C. ὡορπ̄ as sentence modifier

In all other instances the substantive ὡορπ̄ actually serves as a sentence modifier and as such is followed again by the Greek particle μέν. Afterwards there follows an infinitive in the first person of the First Present tense.

1

The conjunction αὐω introduces a second clause within the formula. It is a request. Requests are unusual within introductory formulae. This may be explained by the fact that Epiphanius is the recipient of few letters from laymen (here a lawyer). There may have been a difference in style between letters of lay and clerical origin. Cf. EPI 142, p. 189.

1. Ϙωορπ̄ .MEN TANHTEΛAΧ' ΠPOCKYNEI
 ἩΠECTHNOYCE ἩTETHMHTEΙΩT ET-
 OYΔΔB (EPI 146)

ρ First my humility worships the fragrance
 of your (pl.) holy fathership.

2. Ϙ[O]P[Π] H]EN TWIN[E] ETEKMHNTΕΙΩT
 ET TΔEIHY YANTEPXOEIC ΔAT
 NMΠYΔ ἩΠETHΔCTACMOC (EPI 168)

ρ First I greet your honoured fathership
 until the Lord make me worthy of your (pl.)
 salutation.

3. Ϙωορπ̄ ME[N] TNYINE EPOTN (EPI 169)
 Ϙ First we greet you (pl.).

4. ωορπ̄ [MEN] TOWYT EPZH[ΠOTO-]
 ΔION ἩNEKOYPHTE[E] AYW TΠPOCYNH
 ἩΠEKAΓΓEΛOC ETOWΔΔB ἩNTEKMHNT-
 M[AI]CON [ET]NANOYC [E]ZOYN EON
 NIM (EPI 203)

First I worship the footstool of your feet
 and I do obeisance to your holy angel and
 to your good brotherly love, including
 everyone (who is with you).¹

5. Ϙωορπ̄ MEN T[ΠPO]CKYNEI NTEKMHNTΕΙΩT (EPI 219)
 Ϙ First I worship your fathership.

1

It is in just this position in the letter
 that the writer includes greetings to asso-
 ciates of the addressee in EPI 174, 304, 337.

6. ϥ ϣορπ̄ μ[ΕΝ†....] αγω τασπα[ZE....
 TE]ΤΝΗΝΤCΟΝ [....] ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ ΑΠ[ΕΧC
 ΖΝΟΥΜΕ¹ (EPI 329)

ρ First [I'....] and I kiss [....] your (pl.)
 [....] brotherhood who embody Chr[ist truly].

7. ϥ ϣορπ̄ ΜΕΝ τ[αCπ[αZE Ν]ΤΕΤΝΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ
 Ν[ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤ]ΤΔΕΙΗΥ ΜΗΝΕΤΝΨ[ΗΡΕ ΤΗ-
 ΡΟΥ (EPI 337)

ρ First I [kiss] your (pl.) honoured [father-
 ly] piety and all-your (pl.) children.

8. ϥ ΝΨΟΡΠ̄ ΜΕΝ τ[προCκΥΝΕ Δ]γω τ[αC-
 παZE ΝΠΕC†ΝΟ[ΥCΕ ΝΤΕΚ]ΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ
 ΕΤΟΥΔΒ ΝΡΕCΨΜΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΟΥΜΕ¹
 (EPI 354)

ρ First I wor[ship a]nd I kiss the fragra[nce
 of your] fathership which is truly devout
 and holy.

9. [ρ ΝΨΟ]ρπ̄ ΜΕΝ' τΨΙΝΕ [ΕΠΑΗ]ΕΡΙΤ
 ΝCΟΝ πα[ΤΕΡΜΟΥ]ΘΙΟC (EPI 374 A)

[ϥ Fir]st I greet [my] beloved brother
 Patermouthius.

10. ϥ ΝΨΟΡΠ̄ ΜΕΝ[ΤΗ]ΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΜΝΤCΟΝ (EPI 399)

ρ First [I gr]eet your brotherhood.

¹ See p. 34, fn. 2.

11. . ὡρπ̄ MEN TA[Μ̄ΝΤΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC] ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ
 ΝΤΕ[....] ΔΥΩ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΑC[ΟΝ
] (EPI 508)

First my [humility] worships you[r]
 and I greet my [brother]

12. [†Ψ]Ρ̄Π MEN †ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ' ΔΥΩ
 †ΑCΠΑ[ΖΕ Μ̄ΠΖΥ]ΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ ΝΝΕΤ̄Ν-
 ΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΖΗΠΧΩΚ [ΤΗ]Ρ̄ ΝΤΑ-
 ΨΥΧΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ' ΕΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΖΙΖΟΥΝ
 (ROM 2)

[† Fir]st I worship and I kis[s the foot-
 stool of your (pl.) feet in the complete
 fullness of my spirit, including the man
 who is inside.

13. [†ΨΟΡΠ Μ]ΕΝ †ΨΙΝΕ Ε[ΕΚΜ]ΝΤCΟΝ(ROM 7)
 [† First] I greet you[r] brotherhood.

14. IC†+C ὡρπ̄^{sic} MEN †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΑ-
 ΜΙ'Ρ̄ΙΤ̄ ΝCΟΝ^{sic} (ROM 8)
 IC†+C First I greet my beloved brother.

15. [†ΨΟΡΠ] ΜΕΝ. ΤΝΨΙΝΕ Ε[ΡΟΚ] ¹
 (ROM 11)

[† First] we greet [you].

There are a few features which emerge from a closer examination of the above letters. Occasionally the substantive $\psi\omicron\rho\tau$ is itself modified by the prefacing to it of the particle $\bar{\nu}$ or π . In section A. this occurs in numbers 4, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 12. In section B. it occurs in numbers 1 and 3; and in section C. such examples are found in numbers 1, 3, 8 and 10. The meaning of the introduction does not seem to be altered in any way by the addition of this particle.

It is apparent that there are relatively few verbs which occur within the introductory formula. The verb $\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$, 'to greet', is the most common, occurring as it does seventeen times. Although $\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$ is quite neutral, such verbs as $\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$, 'to kiss,' and $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\iota$, 'to worship,' offer a much more graphic way for the sender to express his emotions. As a further intensification the writer may compound his verbal form:

† $\nu\psi\omicron\rho\tau$ $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi$ $\tau\eta\varsigma\zeta\alpha\iota$
 $\tau\eta\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\tau\eta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\zeta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\nu\tau\epsilon\kappa\bar{\nu}$
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\bar{\beta}$

(EPI 210=A5)

† At the beginning of our most humble message we write, we greet and we kiss the sweetness of your holy and fatherly lordship.

¹ Likewise EPI 142 (B1), EPI 236 (A7), EPI 241 (A8), EPI 247 (A9), EPI 329 (C6), EPI 203 (C4), EPI 354 (C8).

Sometimes the writer included long additional clauses within his introductory formula. Particularly noteworthy is EPI 247 (A9) in which the writer extols the virtues of his recipients for thirteen lines. The actual message of the letter comprises only six!¹

† ΜΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΑ[ΥΔΑ]Ε ΝΕΛΑΧ ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΕΙ-
 ΨΙΝΕ Δ[ΥΩ ΕΙΔ]CΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΖΛΟΒ ΝΝΕΤΝΓΑΡΠ[ΟC]
 ΕΤΑΥΗ CΤΗΝΟΥΓΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΝΝCWC ΟΝ †-
 ΠΩΖΤ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΠΚΑΖ, †ΟΥΩΥΤ
 ΜΠΙΧΝΟC ΝΝΕΤΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΝΡΩ-
 ΜΕ ΝΖΑΓΙΟC ΝΑΜΕ ΝΘΕ ΜΚΔΕΙΩΤ ΔΝ-
 ΤΩΝΙΟC ΠΕCΤΥΛΟC ΝΟΥΔΕΙΝ ΜΝΑΠΔ ΜΔ-
 ΚΑΡΙΟC ΝΨΙΗΤ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΖΩΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ
 ΔΤΕΤΝΠΩΖ ΕΠΕΥΨΙ ΖΝΑΡΕΤΗ ΝΙΗ ΕΝΔ-
 ΝΟΥC †ΨΙΝΕ ΟΝ ΕΝΕΤΝΨΗΡΕ ΜΜΔΙ-
 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΥΡΔΝ ΖΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΧΑΙ-
 ΡΕΤΕ.

† At the beginning of my most humble message I write, greeting and kissing the sweetness of your (pl.) fruits which exude fragrance. Afterwards I also prostrate myself down on the ground. I worship the prints of your (pl.) holy feet, you men who are holy as truly as my father Anthony, the pillar of light, and Apa Macarius of Scetis. You (pl.) have indeed matched them in every good virtue. I greet too your (pl.) pious sons by name. In the Lord, Hail.

1

From the content of this letter we learn that the writer has been excluded from the community which the addressees administer. Perhaps he hoped that these excessive epithets would persuade them to reconsider.

Similar, though not so exaggerated, are the following examples:

... αὐτὸς τῷ αἰ[τ]εῖ ἡμῶς ἑστρε[κρ] πα-
 μεεγε ῥῆνεκ] ὡληλ' ετοῦααβ χεκααδ
 ερε πεχc πηαῖρωμε [...] ῥῆφωβ
 τῷ ῥητq' μετὰ καλοῦ¹ (EPI 142=B1)

... and I ask that [you remember me in your] holy prayers so that Christ who loves humanity might [.....] well with me in the endeavour in which I am (involved).

† ὡ[ο]ρ[π] ἡ]εν τῷ ἰν[ε] ἑτεκμῆντεῖωτ
 ετταειηγ ὡαντεπχοεῖς αἰτ. νηπῶα
 ἡπετναcπaсmoc (EPI 168=C2)

† First I greet your honoured fathership until the Lord make me worthy of your (pl.) salutation.

... πνοῦτε εger οὐνὰ νῆαακ ῥν-
 πεῖμα ἡνπκημα (EPI 180=A3)

... May God be merciful to you in this place and the other.

... αὐτὸς τῷ προσβινε ἡπεκαγγελος
 ετοῦααβ ἡντεκμῆντῆ[αἰ]con [ετ]
 νανογc [ε]ῶγῶν^{3/c} εον νῆ (EPI 203=C4)

... and I do obeisance to your holy angel and to your good brotherly love, including everyone (who is with you).

¹
 See p. 34, fn. 2.

As was remarked above, the writer of EPI 142 (B1) added an extra clause in order to make a request of his recipient. It is unusual to find any requests in the introductory formula. Usually extra clauses are used to make reference to the good qualities of the addressee and to express wishes for his well being. Such is the case in EPI 180 (A3).

Introductory formulae beginning with $\omega\sigma\pi\tau$ allow the sender and/or writer of a letter to ease his way into the request he will make in the lines to follow. Within this introduction the writer could include compliments either lavish or simple, as the circumstances dictated. In either case he generally attempted to refer to the importance and prestige of his addressee. One way of doing this was for the writer to denigrate himself, to refer to himself in lowly enough terms to underline his dependence on the recipient's continuing favour. Such is the effect of a letter like EPI 146 (C1). Here the usual first person pronoun gives way to the substantive $\tau\omicron\mu\eta\tau\text{-}\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi$, 'my humility,' and is balanced against the recipients' $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$, 'holy fatherhood.' More commonly the $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ element is attached as a modifier of the substantive $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon$, 'message,' as we have in EPI 127 (A1) and EPI 174 (A2). In such

The Theban scribe often referred to his addressee in lavish terms. One means of doing this was the evocative usage of metaphors:

ΖΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ, 'footstool'

ⲡ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲡⲱⲁⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁϣⲱ ⲧⲁⲥ-
ⲡⲁⲫⲉ ⲛⲡⲫⲱⲡⲟⲗⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ (EPI 127=AI)

At the beginning of the message of my humility I kiss the footstool of your feet.

Similar examples are to be found in EPI 199 (B2), EPI 203 (C4), and EPI 475 (B4). In all of these formulae the sender refers to footstools, presumably an article of furniture associated with a high-ranking civil or clerical office.

ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ , 'dust'

ⲡ ϣⲟⲣⲧ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲏⲡϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕⲩⲛⲉ δⲩⲱ
ⲧⲉδⲥⲡⲁⲫⲉ ⲡⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲏⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲏⲡⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓϥ
^{sk} ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲧⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ
ⲏⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲏⲧⲁⲭⲏⲙⲉ (EPI 236=A7)

1

From BALA 242:2 it can be ascertained that this metaphor was used into the Arab period.

- ⲡ At the beginning of the message I worship and kiss the dust of the feet of my holy and fatherly lord, Apa Cyriacus, the anchorite of the monastery of Jeme.

ζλο6, 'sweetness'

- ⲡ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΠΙΤΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ ΤΝCΖΔΙ
ΤΝΨΙΝΕ ΔΥΩ ΤΝΔCΠΔCΕ ΗΠΕCΖΛΟ6 Ν-
ΤΕΚΜΗΝΔΟΙC ΝΕΨΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ (EPI 210 = A5)

- ⲡ At the beginning of our most humble message we write, we greet, and we kiss the sweetness of your holy and fatherly lordship.

- ⲡ ΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΗΠΕ[ΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ ΕΙCΖΔΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ
Δ[ΥΩ ΕΙΔ]CΠΔCΕ ΗΠΕCΖΛΟ6 ΝΝΕΤΝΓΑΡΠ[ΟC]
ΕΤΑΥΗ CΤΗΝΟΥCΕ ΕΒΟΛ (EPI 247 = A9)

- ⲡ At the beginning of my most humble message I write, greeting and kissing the sweetness of your (pl.) fruits which exude fragrance.

C†NOYCE, 'fragrance'

- ⲡ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΤΑΜΗΝΤΕΛΑΧ' ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ ΗΠΕC†NOYCE
ΝΤΕΤΗΝΗΝΤΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΟΥΑΒ (EPI 146 = C1)

- ⲡ First my humility worships the fragrance of your (pl.) holy fathership.

- ⲡ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ †ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ ΔΥΩ †ΔCΠΔCΕ
ΗΠΕC†NO[ΥCΕ ΝΤΕΚ]ΗΝΤΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ
ΝΠΡΕCΨΗΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΟΥΜΕ (EPI 354 = C8)

- ⲡ First I wor[ship a]nd I kiss the fragra[nce of your] fathership which is truly devout and holy.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, 'angel'

αγω †προςβινε ἡπεκαγγελος ετογδδβ
 ΜΝΤΕΚΗΝΤΜ[αΙ]CON [ΕΤ]ΝΑΝΟΥC...(EPI 203=C4)

and I do obeisance to your holy angel and
 your good brotherly love...

†αcπaζε ἡπεκαγγελος ετογδδβ (EPI 241=A8)
 1
 I kiss your holy angel.

The most common epithets used by the scribes of the Epiphanius letters were direct references to rank and title. The substantives CON, 'brother,' and its variant ΜΝΤCON, 'brotherhood,' and ΕΙΩΤ, 'father,' and its variant ΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ, 'fathership,' can cover most of the situations found in Theban letters. Although they can be an expression of the actual rank of the recipient they are more often used to indicate the rank of the recipient relative to that of the sender. This is sometimes an assumed relationship between the two and when used in this manner does not express a reality. When a writer used ΕΙΩΤ, 'father,' he would be addressing someone superior to himself. If he wrote CON, 'brother,' it would be to an equal.

1

For an explanation of this metaphor see EPI 113, p. 182, fn. 1. For the reading of the text see EPI 241, p. 216, fn. 1.

As an illustration, Epiphanius is addressed as C[ON] by Pesenthius in EPI 111. Pesenthius' rank as bishop would allow him to address any priest or monk short of the archbishop himself either as an equal or as an inferior. Yet on a more formal occasion Pesenthius addresses Epiphanius as EKW¹T. In other words, someone of high rank had the option of addressing another party as 'brother' or 'father' as he felt the circumstances dictated. An inferior writing to someone of the stature of Epiphanius would never address him as 'brother.'² The complimentary elements which are attached to these substantives amplify the effect the writer wished to achieve. With specific reference to introductory formulae of the $\omega\pi\tau$ type, in EPI 296 (All) the anchorite Isaac is addressed as 'honoured fathership.' Although the identity of the sender is unknown, the use of this substantive indicates that he was someone of lower rank than Isaac. In contrast, the writer of EPI 329 (C6), likewise unidentified, must have been a high-ranking cleric to address a group which included Epiphanius as 'brotherhood.'

¹ EPI 198:1, 208:5.

² EPI 142:2. The Greek dating system of this letter may indicate that the sender is a layman, perhaps a civic official.

The following is a list of those substantives which are used as titles in introductory formulae beginning with $\mu\omicron\pi$:

(HNT)CON, 'brother(hood)'

- A2 $\dagger\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$ ETEKHN̄TCON ETTAEIHY (EPI 174)
I greet your honoured brotherhood.
- A6 $\overline{\tau\eta\mu\iota\eta\epsilon}$ ETET̄NMNTCON ETNA-
NOYC (EPI 218)
We greet your (pl.) good brotherhood.
- A12 $\dagger\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$ ETEKHN̄TCON (EPI 304)
I greet your brotherhood.
- A14 $\dagger\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$ ETEKHN̄TCON EMATE (EPI 348)
I greet your brotherhood sincerely.
- C6 $\dagger\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$ [ZE TE]TNMNTCON [...] (EPI 329)
ETΦOPEI HN̄Π[EX̄C ZNOYME]
I kiss [....] your (pl.) [....] brother-
hood who embody Chr[ist truly].
- C9 $\dagger\mu\iota\eta\epsilon$ [EΠAM]EPIT N̄CON (EPI 374A)
I greet [my] beloved brother.
- C10 $[\dagger\mu\iota]$ NE ETEKMN̄TCON (EPI 399)
[I gr]eet your brotherhood.

C11 +WINE ETAC[ON] (EPI 508)

I greet my [brother].

C13 +WINE ET[EKM]NTCON (ROM 7)

I greet you[r] brotherhood.

C14 +WINE ETAM^{sic}PIT NCON (ROM 8)

I greet my beloved brother.

(MNT)EIWT, 'father(ship)'

A3 TNACTACE NTEKHN^{sic}IWT ETTDHHY (EPI 180)

We kiss your honoured fathership

A8 +WINE ETAM^TPIT NEIW (EPI 241)

I greet my beloved father.

A11 TNWINE ETE[KHNT]EIWT ETTD'HY (EPI 296)

We greet your honoured father[ship].

B1 TACT[AZE NTEK]MNT[MAINOTE] NXOEIC
NEIWT' ETOYAB (EPI 142)

I kiss [your] holy lordly and fatherly
[piety].

C5 T[πPO]CKYNEI NTEKMNT^TEIWT (EPI 219)

I worship your fathership.

Infrequently the name of the recipient of the letter is included amongst the epithets of the introductory formula. Examples of this are to be found in EPI 218 (A6), EPI 236 (A7), and EPI 241 (A8). In the latter two examples it is clear that this was in no way meant to serve as an address, for the recipient's name occurs again in the formal address at the end of the letter. Other members of the addressee's circle can also be cited in the introductory formula. In neither of the two letters in which this occurs are names mentioned.¹

II ὑΠΕΡ ΜΕΝ

The introductory formula which begins ὑΠΕΡ is comprised of the preposition ὑΠΕΡ, 'under,' and the determined feminine substantive ΜΕΝ, 'forepart.'² In writing, the definite article and the first consonant of the substantive fall together and are always found as Η. The ὑΠΕΡΗ is generally followed by the Greek particle ΜΕΝ. In all instances ὑΠΕΡΗ(ΜΕΝ) is found joined by the particle ἤ to a following substantive. This substantive is either ΛΟΓΟΣ, 'word,' or ὑΠΕΡ, 'thing.'

¹ EPI 337 (C7) and EPI 304 (A12).

² This is another rendering of the Greek πρὸ μὲν πάντων. See p. 242 f.

A. ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΜΠ()ΨΑΧΕ

Those scribes who employ ΨΑΧΕ use it in a form which is prefaced by the definite article Π, or the possessive article ΠΑ or ΠΕΝ. Occasionally the Greek particle μέν is omitted before the substantive ΨΑΧΕ.

1. Ϙ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΑΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ, ΕΙCΖΑΙ
ΕΙΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΠΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ' ΑΥΩ
ΕΙ'ΑCΠΑΖΕ ΗΠΕΖΛΟΒ' ΝΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΡΕΓ-
ΨΗΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΜΝΤΕΤΝΖΑΓΙΟCΥΝΗ
ΜΝΠΕΤΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΝCΩC ΟΝ ΤΟΥΩ-
ΨΤ ΗΠΕΙΧΝΟC ΝΝΕΤΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕΤ-
ΤΔΕΙΗΥ ΑΥΩ· ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΖΗΠΧΟΕΙC
ΧΑΙΡΕΤΗ¹ (EPI 113)

Ϙ At the beginning of my most humble message I write worshipping my holy fathers. And I kiss the sweetness of your (pl.) devotion, your (pl.) saintliness, and your (pl.) angel. Moreover I worship the prints of your (pl.) honoured and holy feet. In the Lord, hail.

2. [Ϙ] ΖΑΘΗ ΗΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΕΛΑΧ,
ΤΝΑCΠΑΖ[Ε ΝΤΕΤΝΑΓΑ]ΠΗ ΨΑΝΤΕΠΧΟΕΙC
ΔΑΝ ΝΗΠΨΑ ΗΠΕΤΝΔCΠ[ΔCΗΟC] (EPI 184)

¹ See p. 34, fn. 2.

[P] At the beginning of the message of our humility we kiss [your (pl.) benevolence until the Lord make us worthy of your (pl.) salu[tation].

3. P ΖΑΘΗ' ΑΠΨΑΧΕ ΤΑCΠΑΖΕ ΑΠΕΤΝ -
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΒ ΜΝΝCΩC ΤΠΡΟC-
ΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΖΑΓΙΩCΥΝΗ ΝΤΕΤΝ ΜΝΤΡΕC-
ΥΜΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΤΑΪΗΥ (EPI 239)

P At the beginning of the message I kiss your (pl.) holy angel. Then I worship the saintliness of your (pl.) honoured devotion.

4. P ΖΑΘΕ¹ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΨΑΧΕ ΤΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚ-
ΜΝΤCΟΝ. ΖΗΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡC (EPI 245)

P At the beginning of my message I greet your brotherhood with my whole heart.

5. P ΖΑΘΗ ΑΠΨΑΧΕ ΤΠΡΟCΚ/ [ΑΥΩ] ΤΑCΠΑΖΕ
ΝΝΑΧΙCΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΤΑΪΗΥ (EPI 251)

P At the beginning of the message I worship [and] I kiss my honoured lords.

6. P ΖΑΘΕ¹ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧΙCΧ
ΤΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ (EPI 252)

P At the beginning of my most humble message I greet my fatherly lords.

7. + ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΧΑΧΙCΤΟΝ ΤΝ-
ΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΗΝΤCΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC . . . (EPI 258)

¹ ΖΕ is a variant writing of ΖΗ.

+ At the beginning of our most humble message we greet your good brotherhood...

8. Ϙ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΗΠΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ, ΤΝ-
ΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΡΕΓΨΜΨΕ ΝΤΕ
ΕΤΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΧΙΝΠΚΟΥΙ ΨΑΠΝΟΒ ΖΗ-
ΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΑΪΡΕΤΕ:¹ (EPI 282)

Ϙ At the beginning of our most humble message we greet your (pl.) honoured devotion from small to great. In the Lord, hail.

9. + ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΗΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΑΗΝΤΕΛΑΧ,
†ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ ΕΤ-
ΟΥΑΒ. (EPI 301)

+ At the beginning of the message of my humility I worship your (pl.) holy fathership.

10. Ϙ ΖΑΘΕ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΨΑΧΕ^{sic} ΝΝΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC ΔΝΟΚ
ΔΑΥΕΙΑ ΠΡΕΒ, ΕΤCΖΑΙ ΕΤΨΙΝΕ ΔΠΕC-
ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙCΑΚ ΗΝΝΕΤΝ-
ΝΕΗΔG ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ' Η-
ΠΕΧΡC ΖΝΟΜΕ (EPI 306)

Ϙ At the beginning of my most humble message I, David the priest, it is who writes and who greets his beloved father Apa Isaac and all those with him, the one who truly embodies Christ.

¹ See p. 34, fn. 2.

² Similarly MH 138, 139. Rarely do we find addresses within introductory formulae in Theban letters.

11. P ZΔΘΕ ΜΕΝ ΠΥΑΧΕ ΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΗΝΤ-
ΔΟΕΚ ΕΤΤΔΕΙΗΥ. (EPI 340A)
P At the beginning of the message I greet
your honoured lordship.
12. P ZΔΘΗ Μ[ΕΝ ΠΥΑΧΕ....] ΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΕ[Κ-
ΗΝΤ]ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΔΙ'ΗΥ[.... (EPI 341)
P At the beginning [of the message....]¹ I
greet your honoured father[ship....
13. P ZΔΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΠΥΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ, ΕΙ'CΔΙ'
ΕΙ'ΩΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝCΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ
(EPI 351)
P At the beginning of my most humble message
I write greeting my beloved brother Enoch.
14. P ZΔΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΠΥΑΧΕ ΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚ-
ΗΝΤCΟΝ ΖΗΠΔΖΗΤ ΤΗΡC (EPI 383)
P At the beginning of my message I greet
your brotherhood with my whole heart.
15. P ZΔΘΗ ΠΥΑΧ[Ε ΝΕΛΑ]ΧΙCΤΟΝ ΤΩΙΝΕ
ΕΤΕΤΝΗΜΝΤΗΔΙ'ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΟΝ ΕΤΩΝΥ
ΖΗΠΧΩΚ ΝΤΔΨΥΧΗ (EPI 398)
P At the beginning of my most humble message I
greet your (pl.) true brotherly piety with
my whole spirit.

1

This lacuna could equally well contain ΠΑΧΕ
or ΖΩΒ. See Part B.

16. ⲡ ⲗⲁⲑⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ. ⲙⲡⲱⲁⲕⲉ [ⲛⲧⲁ] ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲗⲁⲭ-
[ⲓⲕⲧⲟⲕ].... (EPI 463 A,B)

ⲡ At the beginning of the message of [my]
humil[ity]....

B. ⲗⲁⲑⲙ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲗⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ

Letters introduced by ⲗⲁⲑⲙ plus ⲗⲱⲃ, 'matter' or 'business,' are much fewer than those completed by ⲱⲁⲕⲉ. However in the Epiphanius collection they display a greater degree of consistency. The Greek particle *μέν* is always found following ⲗⲁⲑⲙ. The substantive ⲗⲱⲃ is never preceded by a definite or possessive article.¹ The Coptic adjective ⲛⲓⲙ, 'whole,' always follows the substantive ⲗⲱⲃ as a modifier.

1. ⲡ ⲗⲁⲑⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲗⲱⲃ ⲛ[ⲓⲙ].... (EPI 108)
ⲡ Before eve[ry]thing
2. ⲡ ⲗⲁⲑⲙ ⲙⲉⲛ [ⲛⲗⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ] ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲕⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓ
ⲁⲱⲱ ⲧⲁⲕⲡⲗⲁⲗⲉ].... (EPI 144)
ⲡ Before [everything] I worship and ki[ss]....
3. + ⲗⲁⲑⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲗⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲱ[ⲓ]ⲛⲉ ⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲃ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲉⲓⲛⲱ ⲡⲕⲟⲉⲓⲕ

¹
W. C. Till, op. cit., §231.

ΕΓΕΖΑΡΕΖ [Ε]ΡΩΤῆΝ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΝΕΖῆΤΗΥΤῆΝ Ε-
ΕΠΗΡΙΑ ΝΙΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟC (EPI 186)

+ Before everything I greet your (pl.) honoured greatness. May the Lord guard and protect you (pl.) from every insolence of the adversary.

4. [ΖΑΘ]Ε ΜΕΝ' ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΗ.... (EPI 206)

[Before] everything

5. Ϻ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΗ ΤΝΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ
ΝΤΕΚΜῆΝΤΜΑΙ'ΝΟΥΤΕ (EPI 213)

ρ Before everything we worship your piety.

6. + ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩ[Β ΝΙΗ].... (EPI 270)

+ Before [every]thing

7. Ϻ ΖΑΘΕ ΜΕΝ ^{sic} ΖΩΒ ΝΙΗ ΤΕΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚ-
ΜῆΝΤCΟΝ ¹ (EPI 291)

ρ Before everything I greet your brotherhood.

8. [ρ] ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΗ [Τ]ΝΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚ-
ΜῆΝΤΜΑΙ[Ν]ΟΥΤΕ Ν[ΕΙ]ΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΪΗΥ (EPI 381)

[ρ] Before everything we greet your pious honoured fathership.

9. Ϻ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΗ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚ-
ΜῆΝΤCΟΝ ΕΜΑΤΕ (EPI 382)

¹

See p. 34, fn. 2.

+ Before everything I greet your brotherhood sincerely.

10. + ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΒ [ΝΙΜ + ΔΑΠΑΖ]Ε ΜΠΙΧΝΟC
 ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΤΕΚ[ΗΝΤΕΙΩΤ] (EPI 457)

+ Before [every]thing [I kiss] the print of your [father's] feet.

Upon examination it will be found that there are only four verbs occurring in these formulae. Usually they appear in the Present tense, either first person singular or plural. The infinitive *μῖνε*, 'to greet,' is the most common.¹ This verb and the others which can stand in its place, *προσκύνη*, 'to worship,' and *ἀπαζε*, 'to kiss,' allow the writer to express his good wishes for the addressee. From EPI 251 (A5) and EPI 144 (B2) it is possible to see that these verbs can also appear together as compounds.

Sometimes the verb *γρα*, 'to write,' takes its place alongside verbs of greeting.² It appears as a relative or circumstantial of the First Present tense.

1

A4 (EPI 245), A6 (EPI 252), A7 (EPI 258), A8 (EPI 282), A11 (EPI 340A), A12 (EPI 341), A14 (EPI 383), A15 (EPI 398), B3 (EPI 186), B7 (EPI 291), B8 (EPI 381), B9 (EPI 382).

2

A1 (EPI 113), A10 (EPI 306), A13 (EPI 351).

It then imposes its tense on the verb which follows.

In A13 (EPI 351) a complete address is found within the introductory formula. This is in addition to the address occurring at the end of the letter. Yet in A10 (EPI 306) the only address of this letter appears in the introductory formula. This would imply that the introductory formula could combine within itself the function of both introduction and address.¹

As is the case in letters introduced by $\omega\rho\pi$, letters introduced by $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ give scope to the writer to preface his request with compliments referring to the addressee. The writer often enhances the importance of the addressee by minimizing his own:

A9 + $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\eta$ $\mu\iota\tau\omega\chi\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi$... (EPI 301)

+ At the beginning of the message of my humility...

It should be noted that such opportunities are afforded only when the word $\omega\chi\epsilon$ occurs in the introduction.

In the instances where $\zeta\omega\beta$ is used instead there is never any modifying element other than the adjective

$\eta\iota\mu$

Complimentary expressions referring to the addressee are found as objects of the first person verb-

¹

For a fuller discussion see Chapter IV.

al form. Metaphors are a favourite means of compliments and in these letters are quite often attached to the verb $\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon$:

A1 $\alpha\gamma\omega \epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\zeta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\eta\tau\bar{\iota}$
 $\rho\epsilon\gamma\omega\bar{\mu}\eta\epsilon \nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\zeta\alpha\bar{\epsilon}\iota\bar{\omicron}$
 $\varsigma\eta\eta\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\alpha\bar{\gamma}\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\kappa\omega\varsigma \omicron\bar{\nu} \tau\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\tau$
 $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\chi\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma \bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ (EPI 113)

And I kiss the sweetness of your (pl.) devotion, your (pl.) saintliness, and your (pl.) angel. Moreover I worship the prints of your (pl.) feet.

A3 $\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\alpha\bar{\gamma}\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ (EPI 239)
 I kiss your (pl.) holy angel.

B10 $[\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta]\epsilon \mu\pi\iota\chi\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma \bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$
 $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\kappa[\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\iota\omega\tau]$ (EPI 457)

[I kiss] the print of your [father's] feet.

Forms of the substantives $\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}$, 'brother,' and $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$, 'father,' are the commonest ways of referring to the recipient. These terms reflect, in a polite way, the rank and position of the addressee relative to that of the sender. It was by means of epithets attached to these substantives that a variety of compliments could be expressed.

(MNT)CON , 'brother(hood)'

A4 T̄WINE ETEKMNTCON¹ (EPI 245)
I greet your brotherhood.

A7 T̄WINE ETEKMNTCON ETNANOYC (EPI 258)
We greet your good brotherhood.

A13 E'WINE ETMEPIT NCON ENWY (EPI 351)
greeting my beloved brother Enoch.

(MNT)EIWT , 'father(ship)'

A1 EITPOCKYNEI N̄NDEIOTE ETOYAB' (EPI 113)
worshipping my holy fathers.

A9 T̄ITPOCKYNEI N̄TETNM̄TEIWT ET-
OYAB (EPI 301)
I worship your (pl.) holy fathership.

A10 E'WINE dTEQMEPIT N̄EIWT ATD 'ICAK
(EPI 306)
who greets his beloved father Apa Isaac.

¹ Likewise A14 (EPI 383), B7 (EPI 291),
B9 (EPI 382).

The substantive $\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$, 'lord,' is found regularly. It is always directed to someone whom the sender regards as superior to himself. It is an epithet of honour, not a precise expression of rank.

(MNT) $\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$, 'lord(ship)'

A5 $\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \eta\eta\alpha\chi\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\iota\eta\gamma$ (EPI 251)
I kiss my honoured lords.

A6 $\tau\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\ \eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ (EPI 252)
I greet my fatherly lords.

A11 $\tau\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\eta\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\ \epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\gamma$ (EPI 340A)
I greet your honoured lordship.

As is the case in letters introduced by the formula $\omega\pi\tau$, some epithets which refer to the addressee are really attributives which have been converted into substantives. From the letters of this section, the one most frequently found is $\eta\eta\tau\mu\alpha\iota\text{---}$ ¹
 $\eta\omega\gamma\tau\epsilon$, 'God-loving,' or 'pious.' The others that occur are $\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\mu\eta\epsilon\ \eta\omega\gamma\tau\epsilon$, 'God-serving,' or 'de-

¹
A15 (EPI 398), B5 (EPI 213), B8 (EPI 381).

vout,¹ and ζαγιωσϥνη, 'holiness.'² In one instance the word νοβ, 'great,' is turned into the substantive μντνοβ,³ 'greatness.'

ζαθη appears to be a less frequent variant of the introductory formula beginning with ωοπη. Their meanings are synonymous and their usages run parallel. Both have an affinity for the substantives ωαχε and ζωβ. Both make ample allowance for complimentary formulae. However, in the case of ζαθη, there are no examples of its being used on its own as a sentence modifier as is the case with ωοπη.⁴ Instead ζαθη is always found followed by ν plus ωαχε or ζωβ. Finally, although there would be no objection to it in theory, in the ζαθη form of introductory formula there are no examples of the subject of the verb appearing as a substantive either in the Epiphanius collection or in other Theban letters examined.

¹ A1 (EPI 113), A8 (EPI 282).

² A1 (EPI 113), A3 (EPI 239).

³ B3 (EPI 186).

⁴ p. 39 ff.

III KATA ΘΕ and the Relative Particle

In the Epiphanius collection those letters which begin with the formula KATA ΘΕ number only four. The expression consists of the Greek preposition KATA, 'according to,' plus the definite article, Τ, plus the feminine substantive ΖΕ, 'way.' The Τ and Ζ combination is always written Θ. The substantive is then followed by the relative particle and the First Perfect tense of the verb.

1. KATA ΘΕ ¹ ΑΤΤΕΝΕΙΤ ^{sic} ΙΣΑΚ ΩΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ
ΧΕΝΑΥΗΡΕ ΗΝΝΕΥΕΡΕΥ ΜΑ ΝΚΑΠΕΤΟC
ΟΥΥΙΤΕ ΤΕΡΩΗΕ ΚΩΥΤ ΠΕΤΝ -
ΖΩΒ ...

(EPI 107)

As our father Isaac declared: 'My children, all together, put Kapetus to shame and let mankind see your affair.'² ...

2. KATA ΘΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΚΗΝΤΙΩΤ CΖΑΙ ΝΑΙ
ΖΑΠΥΗΡΕ ΗΤΡΕCΒΥΤΥΡΟC [ΙΩΒ]
ΗΝΤΕΓCΖΗΕ ... (EPI 256)

- As your fathership wrote to me concerning the son of the priest [Job] and his wife ...

¹

A First Perfect form with the relative particle omitted.

²

Crum expressed some uncertainty about where this quotation ended. ΕΙC would have to be the first word of the content if KATA ΘΕ has a resumptive.

3. Ϙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΤΚ (EPI 353)

Ϙ As to my leaving you ...

4. Ϙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΔΙ' (EPI 438)

As you (pl.) commanded me ...

The following is a list of letters having this same introductory formula but coming from other collections of Theban material. It has been included here to provide a broader base for conclusions about this formula.

5. † ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΚΗΝΤΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ
[CΖΔΙΚ ΝΔΙ] : ... (RE 23)

† As your fatherly lordship [wrote to me] ...

6. Ϙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΧΟΟC ΕΡΟΚ ΧΕ ΧΟΟC
ΝCΤΕΦΑΝΟC ΖΑΤΗ ΤΑΤΗ ΚΛΙ-
ΒΡΗC ... ΝΑΜΕ ... (HALL LXI, 2)

Ϙ As I told you: "Tell Stephen about your (pl.) klibres. ... truly." ...

7. Ϙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΩΤC Ν-
ΤΕΤΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΡΟΥΖΕ ... (CÖ 128)

Ϙ As to my leaving your (pl.) benevolence last evening ...

8. Ϙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΚΤΝΝΟΟΥΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔ-

ΠΕΣΥΝΘΙΟΥ ΕΤΒΕΜΑΝΤΖΟΙΤΕ... (CO 174)

¶ As to your sending me to Pesenthus concerning (the matter of) the clothes ...

9. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙΒΩΚ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΖΑΠΖΩΒ
ΝΝΛΩΤΙΣ ΝΤΡΗΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ...

(VC 94)

As to my leaving you with the business of the blankets of the woman of Medamud ...

10. [+ΚΑ]ΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙ[ΕΙ] ΕΒ[ΟΛ ΖΙΤ]ΝΤΕΚ-
ΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ ΕΔΙΧΟΟC ΜΠΕΝCΟΝ ΑΠΔ
ΔΙΟC ΕΤΡΕCΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΔC ΕΤΒΕ-
ΠΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΜΟΥ... (ST 255)

[+] As to my [leaving] your fathership, having said to our brother Apa Dios that he should send Zachary for the little salt, ...

11. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΗΜΝΤ-
CΟΝ ΜΗΔΙΝΟΥΤC ΕΤΒΕΠΚΟΥΙ ΝCΙΡ
ΧΕΕΤΕΤΝΑΡ ΠΝΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΝΤΝ-
ΟΥΩΥΗ ΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΝΟΕΙΤ... (ST 282)

As to my asking your (pl.) pious brotherhood for the little butter, that you (pl.) might be so kind as to make it and we might grind a little meal, ...

In letters of this type, ΚΑΤΑ acts as an indicator that the writer is making reference to a

command or event in the past that is common to him and his addressee. The body of such a letter contains the present writer's response. Sometimes the writer quotes the original statement within the introductory formula. This would clearly indicate the reason for the present letter;

1. ΧΕ ΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΗΝΕΥΕΡΕΥ ΜΑ ΝΚΑΠΕΤΟΣ ΟΥ-
ΨΗΠΕ ΤΕΡΩΜΕ ΚΩΨΤ ΠΕΤΝΖΩΒ (EPI 107)

... 'My children, all together, put Kapetus to shame and let mankind see your affair.'

6. ΧΕ ΧΟΟΣ ΝΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΖΑΤΗ ΤΑΤΗ ΚΛΙ-
ΒΡΗC· ΑΓΝΤΙ ΕΖΟΥ[Ν Ε]ΡΟΟΥ· ΕΜΑΝ-
ΚΕΛΔΑ[Υ ΖΩ]ΩC· ΝΑΝΕ (HALL LXI, 2)

'Tell Stephen about your (pl.) klibres.
... He will certainly apply (?) to someone else about it.'

10. ΕΔΙΧΟΟΣ ΗΤΕΝCΟΝ ΑΠΑΔΙΟC ΕΤΡΕCΤΗ-
ΝΟΟΥ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΗΟΥ (ST 255)

... having said to our brother Apa Dius that he should send Zachary for the little salt,

11. ΧΕΕΤΕΤΝΑΡ ΠΝΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΑΜΙΟC ΝΤΝΟΥ-
ΨΗ ΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΝΟΕΙΤ (ST 282)

... that you (pl.) might be so kind as to make it and we might grind a little meal,

Letters which begin with $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon$ make a simple and forceful statement that the sender has completed a task or they reiterate a request that a task be performed. Most of the letters so introduced concern themselves with the affairs of daily life and do not linger on complimentary formulae. However, as we see in number 5 (RE 23), the superior rank of the addressee made some demonstration of this fact obligatory. The recipient is presumably the bishop Pesenthus and Revillout feels the sender is either a farmer or steward of an estate. He refers to Pesenthus as 'your fatherly lordship.'

IV $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon$ and the Relative Particle

In letters beginning with the Greek preposition $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$, 'in reference to,' the preposition is followed by the feminine substantive $\theta\epsilon$, 'way,' which is itself preceded by the definite article. As is the case in letters of the $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon$ type, the substantive is completed by a Relative First Perfect.¹

¹ There are instances in which letters are introduced by $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in a prepositional phrase: RYL 297, CO 188, ST 176. Such a usage for $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ remains unattested.

1. † πρὸς θεὸν ἐντακταί· ναὶ ἐτβε-
 νρ... οὐκ ἔλεε'... (EPI 156)

† As you wrote to me about the men (?) [of

2. [+ πρὸς θεῷ]¹ ἡ τὰς ἀδούζῃς ζιζῆ ἡ τὴν
 μακαρ² [ἡ χόει]ς ἡ νειωτ' ἐτοῦ αὐθ' ἔ-
 υἱα τὴν [τνοοῦ] ἐρμοντ' ἡ τὴν π-
 νομικός [ἐτρεῖ]ς ἡ τὴν προσφορά ἡ-
 π μακαρίος [ἀθαν]ᾶς (EPI 254)

[+ As] it has seemed good to your (pl.)
 blessed holy [lord] fathership to [send]
 to Ermont and to bring the lawyer [so that
 he might] organize the commemorative offer-
 ing of the blessed [Athan]asius ...

3. † π[ρὸς θεῷ] ἡ ταί' α[ὐτός] ἡ τεκ[μήν] τει[ω]τ
 ἔερε[ν] π[ρὸς] ἡ πρῶμ ἐι τ[ὴν] α[ὐτός]
 νοοῦ νὰκ... (EPI 482)

† As I sa[id to your] fathership, namely:
 'If the elder comes I will send word to
 you.' ...

4. + πρὸς θεῷ ἡ τὰ τεκμήν τειω^{sic} αὐτός ἡ τὰ
 ἡ τειελαχ, ἔερεν ζῆνοῦ ῥα ἐτβε-
 πρῶμ νταῖβι τῷ ἡ τειελαχ ἐζοῦν
 ἐτκαζῶς ἡ πτηνῆ... (ST 175)

¹ The Relative First Perfect construction
 must have an antecedent, viz. κατὰ θεόν
 or πρὸς θεόν.

² An abbreviated writing of μακαρίος.

- + As your fathership sent to my humility:
 'Be sure to ask about the man who raised
 the poor woman's measure to the (?)
 of the dam.' ...

5. † ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΤΕΝΗΝΤΕΛΑΧ, C2d1
 ΕΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΗΜΝΤΚΟΝ ΕΤΘΕ
 Π[.... (VC 73)

- † As our humility wrote beseeching your (pl.)
 brotherhood for the [....

In all but the first of the above letters
 the writers explain the details of the $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\epsilon$ clause
 by the addition of an explanatory clause. Numbers 2
 through 4 achieve this by the use of the subordinate
 conjunction $\chi\epsilon$ plus quotation. Number 5 instead
 makes use of a circumstantialized First Perfect clause.

Compliments are rare in these letters; but
 they could be inserted if the writer was addressing
 someone superior to himself. This is certainly true
 in number 2 (EPI 254) which was destined for the
 bishop Pesenthus. The writer refers to him as
 'blessed holy [lord] fathership.' This may be more
 than just coincidence because this is one of those
 rare letters in which the writer is making a new
 request. He is not making reference to any previous
 commitment between himself and Pesenthus.

It seems that $\pi\pi\phi\phi$ $\theta\epsilon$ is a less frequent synonym for $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon$. In construction the two forms are identical. There is no great distinction in usage. Both allow the writer to refer to something which has happened in the past and then to update the information. Both are concise and generally unencumbered by complimentary formulae. They are reports rather than requests.

V $\pi\pi\phi\phi$ $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omega\eta$ ($\pi\pi\phi\phi\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$)

In origin $\pi\pi\phi\phi$ $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omega\eta$ is the Greek prepositional phrase meaning 'before everything.'¹ In this construction it acts as an adverb modifying the clause in which $\pi\pi\phi\phi\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$, 'I worship,' is the verbal element. As we would expect, the $\pi\pi\phi\phi\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ always has a first person subject and is invariably in the First Present tense. Quite frequently the verb $\pi\pi\phi\phi\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ is found in a compound relationship with the verb $\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon$.

1. $\pi\pi\phi\phi$ $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omega\eta$ $\pi\pi\phi\phi\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ ² $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\kappa-$
 $\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ (EPI 172)

¹. This expression is very common in Greek letters of the first to the fourth century A.D. after which it falls out of use. See p. 242 f.

² An abbreviated writing of $\pi\pi\phi\phi\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$.

5. ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ Τῆ ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΔΥΩ Τῆ ΔΑΠΑΖΕ
 ΜΠΙΧΝΟC ΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΑΓΙΟCΥΝΗ
 ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ
 ΜΠΕΧC ΖΝΟΥΜΕ (RE 3)

Before all things we worship and kiss the foot-
 prints of your (pl.) lordly and fatherly holiness
 who truly embodies Christ.

6. ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ † ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΗΑΚΑΡΙ-
 ΩΤΗC ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ (RE 20)

Before all things I worship your (pl.) holy
 beatitude who is lordly and fatherly.

7. † ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ † Τῆ ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΔΥΩ Τῆ ΔΑΠΑΖΕ
 ΜΠΖΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC
 ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ (RE 28)

† Before all things we worship and kiss the foot-
 stool of our fatherly lord who is honoured in
 every respect.

8. ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΔΧ, ΠΡΟΚΥ[ΝΕΙ]
 ΔΥΩ ^{sz} ΔΑΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΙΧΝΟC ΜΠΖΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ
 ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΤΕΚΑΓΙΩCΥΝΗ ΝΕΙΩ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ
 ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ... (CO 90)

Before all things my humility worships and kisses
 the prints of the footstool of your fatherly holi-
 ness who is honoured in every respect...

9. † ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ † ΠΡΟΚΥ ΜΠΖΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ
 ΝΝΟΥΡΕΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΗΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩ
 ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ

(CO 93)

† Before all things I worship the footstool of your
 '(pl.) fatherly lordship who is honoured in every
 respect.

10. ϙ πρὸ πάντων † προσγῆνει ἡ τεκμήν-
ειώτ ετοῦδαβ δὲ ἡ † προσ[γ]ῆνει ἡ πύγ-
ποτοδίων ννεκοῦερχτε ετοῦδαβ (CO 94)
- ϙ Before all things I worship your holy father-
ship and your holy footstool.
11. ϙ πρὸ πάντων † προσκῦνει δὲ ἡ † αὐτῶν ἐν πύγῃ
ννοῦερχτε ἡ τεκῶεοσεβεστατόν νειώτ
ετταῖν κατὰ ἐμὸν νῖν (CO 178)
- ϙ Before all things I worship and kiss the foot-
prints of your fatherly reverence who is
honoured in every way.
12. + πρὸ πάντων τῆ αὐτῶν ἐν τετναγίω γνῆ
νειώτ ετοῦδαβ (VC 53)
- + Before all things I kiss your (pl.) pure father-
ly holiness.

In EPI 106 we find a sole example of a letter
beginning with ¹πρὸ ζοιμῶν. Since it is equivalent in
meaning to πρὸ πάντων and since it is completed by the
same verbal form it has been included in this section.

πρὸ ζοιμῶν is employed as a masculine singular substan-
tive, preceded by the definite article. Like ²ὡς π it
is used adverbially.

- ϙ πρὸ ζοιμῶν † προσκῦνει δὲ ἡ † αὐτῶν ἐν πύγῃ
ννοῦερχτε ἡ τεκμήν τῆ δ' ἰνὸς νειώτ [ετοῦδαβ]
- ϙ As a preface I worship and kiss the footprints
of your [holy] piety.

Just as is the case with the introductory formulae
beginning with ὡς π or ζαὸν, letters introduced by πρὸ
πάντων allow the writer or sender to greet the addressee
in a complimentary fashion.

¹

See EPI 106, p. 180, fn. 2.

²

See p. 39ff.

This was certainly the intent of the writer of number 3 (EPI 431) who wrote a double introduction. The first which begins $\pi\pi\phi\phi\pi\alpha\tau\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega$ is lavish in epithets referring to the addressee, Psan, the anchoritic partner of Epiphanius. The second introductory formula which in fact introduces the content of the letter is of the type $\pi\pi\phi\phi\phi$. As has been discussed above, business was the main intent of letters so introduced. The sender is either asking that something previously requested be completed or he is reporting that the task assigned him is fulfilled. In this instance George asks for a report on a matter already familiar to Psan. Since the structure of such a letter did not make allowance for any but the most cursory compliments, the writer was obliged to utilize an additional formula to express those epithets which the rank of his recipient required. Thus he built up his letter by prefacing a $\pi\pi\phi\phi\pi\alpha\tau\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega$ formula to it.

It may be of note that compliments constructed around the substantive $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$, 'brother,' are totally absent. Variants of $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\epsilon$, 'father,' are common and are always qualified in some way: sometimes by the adjectival expression $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$, 'holy,'¹ but more often

¹ Numbers 1 (EPI 172) and 2 (EPI 217)

in a more elaborate fashion. The extensive use of ΔΟΕΙC, 'lord,' in various combinations suggests that many of these letters were directed to people of rank. Certainly this is the case in numbers 5, 6, and 7, all of which are addressed to Bishop Pesenthus.

5. ... ΔΥΩ ΤΝΔCΠΑΖΕ ΗΠΙΧΝΟC ΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ
 ΝΤΕΤΝΑΓΙΟCΥΝΗ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ
 ΔΥΩ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ ΗΠΕΧC
 ΖΝΟΥΜΕ (RE 3)

... and we kiss the footprints of your (pl.)
 holy lordly and fatherly holiness who
 truly embodies Christ.

6. ... ΤΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΤΗC
 ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ (RE 20)

... I worship your (pl.) holy beatitude who
 is lordly and fatherly.

7. ... ΔΥΩ ΤΝΔCΠΑΖΕ ΗΠΖΥΠΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΕΡ-
 ΗΤΕ ΗΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΗΥ...(RE 28)

... and we kiss the footstool of our fatherly
 lord who is honoured ...

The paucity of letters beginning with ΤΠΟ ΠΑΝ-
 ΤΩΝ ΤΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ may be related to the fact that ~~it~~ was
 used mostly in situations which would require papyrus
 to be the medium of writing. This would explain the
 writer's apology for not having found papyrus which
 begins number 1 (EPI 172). Perhaps writers felt that

ππο παντων or ππροζοιμων were more elegant expressions simply because they were Greek. Traditionally too, papyrus was the medium of Greek letters. It may then be significant that the Medinet Habu ostraca which deal primarily with the concerns of the lay people of the town of Jeme are totally lacking in letters beginning with this formula. In contrast, in the Pesentian correspondence which consists almost entirely of papyrus, this formula and its abbreviation $\dagger\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$ ¹ are the introductory formulae most often found.

VI Abbreviated Formulae

Even a quick perusal of the sections just discussed will reveal that two verbs which were particular favourites of Theban scribes were $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon$, 'to greet,' and $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$, 'to worship.' Although we have come to think of them as elements of an introductory formula such as $\omega\sigma\pi\tau$, $\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$, or $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$, we shall now see that they sometimes stand

1

The following read either $\dagger\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$ or can be restored to $(\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota) \dagger\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$:
RE 2, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 32, 50, 54.

alone as introductions in their own right. It would seem that they are simply abbreviated writings of the fuller formulae.

As in the above introductory formulae these two verbs occur only in the First Present tense and, with two exceptions,¹ show a pronominal form of subject. Often the verb is compounded to another by the coordinating conjunction $\alpha\gamma\omega$.

A. †ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ

This verb is particularly descriptive of the sender's feelings of humility towards his addressee. The frequent references to the recipients in epithets built around the substantive $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, 'lord,' would seem to indicate that most recipients were of a rank superior to that of the writer. This was certainly so in those letters introduced by $\tau\iota\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\omega\upsilon\tau\omega\iota$ $\dagger\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota$.

1. $\dagger\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\upsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\gamma\iota\omega\varsigma\gamma\eta\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \epsilon\tau\text{-}$
 $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\gamma\ \pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \Gamma\alpha\rho\ \mu[\bar{\eta}\text{-}]$
 $\tau\alpha\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\beta\omicron\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\varsigma\delta\tau\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon[\epsilon]\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\text{-}$
 $\mu\alpha\kappa$ (EPI 271)

¹ HALL XLI, 1 and HALL LXV, 1. In both cases the subject is 'my humility.'

I worship your honoured fatherly holiness,
my lordly father, for I have no helper beside
God and you.

2. †ΠΡΟΚΥ ΝΤΕΚΗΝΤΑΧΟΕΙC ΤΟΝ ΖΗΝ-
ΟΥΝΟC ΝΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ (EPI 298)

I earnestly worship your lordship in great
longing.

3. †ΠΡΟ¹ΚΥΝΕΙ Μ[ΠΖΥΠ]ΟΠΟΔΙΟΝ ΝΝΕΤΝ-
ΟΥΡΕ²ΤΗ³ (EPI 310)
[I] worship the footstool of your (pl.)
feet.

4. †ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΔΥΩ ΤΑCΠΑΖΕ ΝΠΕΖΛΟC
ΝΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΗΔΙ'ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΤ³ (EPI 320)
I worship and kiss the sweetness of your
(pl.) honoured piety.

5. † ΠΡΟΚΥ ΔΥΩ ΤΑCΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΚΗΝΤΗΔΙ-
ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΤΔΙ'ΗΥ [ΚΑ]ΤΑ
CΜΟΤ ΝΙΗ (EPI 328)

† I worship and kiss your fatherly piety
who is honoured in every respect.

¹ This may not be the beginning of the letter.

² Or 'we.'

³ An abbreviation for ΕΤΤΔΕΙΗΥ.

6. † ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕ[.....] ΚΑΤΑ ΣΗΟΤ ΝΙΜ (ΕΠΙ 433)
 † I worship [.....] in every respect.

7. † ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΜΠΙΧΝ[ΟC] ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΤΕΚ-
 ΜΝΤ[.....] ΝΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΑΕΙΩΤ (RE 2)

I worship the print of the feet of your
 fatherly and lordly [.....]ship.

8. † ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΜΠΖΥΠΟ[ΠΟΔΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ
 Ε]ΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤΑΧΟΕΙΚ ΜΠΡΟ[C]ΤΑΤΗC
 ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΔΕΟΟΥ (RE 19)

I worship the foot[stool of the] holy
 [feet] of your ruling and glorious father-
 ly lordship.

9. † ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤΑΧΟΕΙΚ ΖΑΘΗ
 [ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ]... (RE 32)
 I worship your lordship first [of all]...

10. ΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΑΧ ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ [...] ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤCΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΖΝΠΧΩΚ
 [ΤΗ]ΡΓ ΝΤΑΨΥΧΗ. (HALL XLI, 1)

My humility worships [.....] your good
 brotherhood in the complete fullness of
 my spirit.

11. † ΠΡΟΚΥ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ
 ΚΑΤΑ ΣΗΟΤ ΝΙΜ [ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΠΧΡΚ]
 ΤΩΦΟΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ (HALL LII, 6)

+ I greet my fatherly lord who is honoured
in every [good] respect, the holy one
[who] embodies [Christ].

12. ΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΑΧ, ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΑΚ. (HALL LXV, 1)
My humility worships you.

13. ρ † ΠΡΟΚΥΝ, ΑΥΩ † ΑΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΤΝ-
ΜΝΤΗΜΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCON ΕΤΤΔΕΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΔ
CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ (CO 243)

† I worship and kiss your (pl.) brotherly
piety who is honoured in every respect.

14. ΤΝΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΝΑΠΤΑΖΕ ΕΧΗΠΙΧΝΟC
ΝΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΙΜΙΩ. ΝΧΟΕΙC
ΝC[ON] (VC 50)

+ We worship and kiss the print of the feet
of your (pl.) lordly and brotherly honour.

15. † ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΚΗΝΤΗΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCON
ΕΤΤΔΙΗΥ ΑΥΩ † ΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝCON
ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΠΠΡ, ΜΝΑΠΔ CΩΦΩΝΙΔ ΜΝ-
ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΔ ΝΕΥΡΑΝ

(VC 66)

I greet your honoured brotherly piety
and I greet my beloved brother John the
priest and Apa Sophonia and all your
children by name.

16. P. †ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΑΓΑΤΗ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ
ΝΚΟΝ ΕΓΜΕ ΑΜΟΟΥ. (VC 78)

P I worship your (pl.) benevolence, my dear brothers whom I love.

17. P. †ΤΗΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ
ΑΠΑ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΔΙΟΝ ΖΙΤΝΑΝΑΤ[Ω]ΛΙΟΝ (ST 206)

P We worship our holy fathers. Apa Zachary from Anatolius.

B. †ΥΙΝΕ

The verb ΥΙΝΕ is of a much more flexible nature. It can be employed in many situations where the writer chooses to leave his compliments at a moderate level.

1. [†]ΥΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ †ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ ΜΠΕΙΧΝΟΝ
ΝΝΕΚ[... (EPI 164)

[I] greet and worship the print of your [...

2. P. [†]ΥΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ †Π[ΡΟC]ΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΚ-
Α[Ν]ΤΕΙΩΤ. (EPI 330)

P [I] greet and worship your fathership.

1

A most unusual combining of introductory formula and address.

3. ¹ TWINE EPOK ZWÇ CON ^{sic 2} ΠΕΛΛΑΧΕΤΟC
^{sic} ΜΗΔΑΝΟΥΤΕ (EPI 386)

I greet you as the most humble pious brother.

4. P. TWINE EPOK ΔΥΩ[...] (HALL LXIV, 5)

P We greet you and [...]

5. P TWINE ENAMEPATE NCNHY TWZANNHC
 MNENWY MNKE CNHY ETZAZTHOY (HALL LXV, 4)

P I greet my beloved brothers John and Enoch and the other brothers who are with them.

6. P TWINE ETEKHNTMΔINOYTE NEIWT
 ETOYΔAB EMATE MNNECNHY THPY
 ETNMMAK
 (HALL LXVIII, 3)

P I greet sincerely your holy fatherly piety together with all the brothers who are with you.

7. TWINE ETEKHNTETIWT ETTA[LIHY...] (ROM 5)

I gre[et your] honou[red] father[ship]...

8. [TWINE ^{sic} TEKHNTETIWT ETCHAMΔAT'] (ROM 6)

[I] greet your blessed fathership.

1 Or read ZWON, 'I too.'

2 Since the sender is a woman ΠΕΛΛΑΧΕΤΟC must refer to the addressee. ΜΗΔΑΝΟΥΤΕ certainly would refer to him. Usually such epithets as ΕΛΛΑΧΙCΤΟC are used by the sender only in reference to himself. See EPI 386, p. 255, fn. 3. It would be unprecedented in Coptic letters for the sender to refer to himself in such a complimentary fashion as ΜΗΔΑΝΟΥΤΕ.

9. ϣ ΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΝΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΝΝΕCΝΑΟΥ
ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΟΥΩ ΔΕ ΠΑΡ ΜΩΥCΗC
(ST 243)

ρ I greet my beloved father and all the brothers,
especially the priest Moses.

10. ϣ ΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΑΝΤCΟΝ ΑΜΑΙ'ΝΟΥΤΕ
ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC ΕΓΕ-
CΗΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΝΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ (VC 62)

ρ We greet your pious/honoured brotherhood.
May our Lord Jesus Christ bless you and
your children!

11. ϣ ΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΤΑΙΗΝΤΑΙ'ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ
ΕΤΤΑΙ'ΕΥ' (VC 69)

ρ We greet your (pl.) honoured fatherly
piety.

12. ϣ[Ι]ΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ Μ[Ν]
ΤΕΚCΙΝΕ ΜΝΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ

(VC 81)

I greet you most sincerely together with
your wife and children.

Just why the writers of these letters chose
not to write a complete introductory formula cannot
be ascertained. In numbers B1, B3, and B12 one might
find an explanation in the fact that in all three :

the address is found directly preceding the $\tau\upsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ and may have usurped the function of a full introductory formula of the type introduced by $\omega\rho\pi$ or $\tau\alpha\epsilon\eta$.¹ However, in the other instances we can only assume that the writer found the prospect of a full introductory formula excessive for his needs.

VII Formulaic Non-formulae

Many letters both of the Epiphanius and of other Theban collections begin in identical ways, yet in ways that are not formulaic in the sense of the formulae we have so far discussed. These letters commence with short phrases which would not be out of place in any part of a Theban letter. They are simply elements of everyday Theban language with which the writer chose, uncereemoniously, to begin his letter. A few key words were used so often in this same initial position that they became, from sheer repetition, formulaic.

1

This is especially true in B1 (EPI 164) where the second and fuller address appears at the end of the letter. Addresses are discussed in Chapter IV.

which introduces

in contrast to

¶ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΟΥΩΜ Ε[ΕΙ Ν]ΤΑΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ

which introduces

in contrast to

φ αρι ταγαπη ηγχι ουκοι' ηςιρ

In EPI 127 and EPI 210, with their full introductory formulae, the expressions ΕΠΕΙΔΗ (in the former) and ^{sic} ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΤΗ (in the latter) form the opening words of the text of the letter. IN EPI 166 and EPI 335 these same words serve to introduce the letter as a whole. In the latter two the respective writers decided to put aside elaborate introductory formulae in favour of getting on with the message.

Letters having no true introductory formulae begin with one of the phrases which become formulaic through repetition. The following describe the most common expressions:

A. ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΤΗ

The first word, ΔΡΙ, is the imperative of the verb ΕΙΠΕ, 'to do' or 'to make.' Following it is the Greek substantive ἀγάπη, 'charity.' The force of the imperative is softened by the addition of the substantive. The whole expression is best translated 'please.' ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΤΗ can be completed in a variety of ways:

1. ἀρι ταγαπη plus second person of the Conjun-
tive.

1. + ἀρι τακ[απη] ἡτέτνηπτε[... (EPI 149)
+ Please will you (pl.) [....

2. ϙ ἀρι τ[αγαπ]η ἡτέ[.... (EPI 171)
ϙ Please will you (pl.) [....

3. ἀρι ^{sic}γαπη ἡβουζαῖ εβουζα-
πρωμαιος (EPI 182)
Please write to Promaius.¹

4. ϙ ἀρι τακαπη ἡβουζαῖ παραν
ζωτ ον (EPI 197)
ϙ Please write my own name also.

5. ἀρι τακαπη ουν* ἡγυληλ ε-
χων (EPI 198)
So please pray for us...

6. ϙ ἀρι ταγαπη τετνωληλ εχων (EPI 207)
ϙ Please pray (pl.) for us.

¹
According to TILL (p. 183) this hapax is
a proper name.

7. [XE¹ ἀπὶ τῆς] ΓΑΠΗ. ΝΤΕΧΟΟ[Υ... (EPI 259)
Please send [....]
8. XE¹ ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕΖΑΙ
ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΑΓΑΤΕΡ... (EPI 287)
Please write to Gater...
9. XE¹ ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕ[ΤΝ †]
ΧΩΟΥΤ ΝΥΕ... (EPI 294)
Please [give (pl.)] twenty she ...
10. XE¹ ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ ΝΤ† ΝΖΟΜΝΤ... (EPI 316)
Please give the money...
11. † ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΧΙ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ
ΝΣΙΡ... (EPI 335)
† Please take a little butter ...
12. ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΜΟΥΩΤ ΠΗΔ... (EPI 368)
Please search the place...
13. † ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΒΩΚ ΕΠΗΔ... (EPI 380)
† Please go to the place...
14. ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕΔΙΣ ΖΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ... (EPI 407)
Please do it for the sake of God...

1

The conjunction XE joins the preceding address to ἀπὶ τῆς ΓΑΠΗ. This is similar to the function of ΗΝΝΕΩΣ which sometimes joins introductory formulae to other parts of the letter. See p. 34, fn. 2.

15. ¹ ΔΕ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΓΒΩ[Κ]... (CO 196)
Please go ...
16. ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ Ν[....] (CO 208)
Please [....]
17. + ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΠΠΑΡΑ-
ΔΕΙΚΟC ΝΨΙ[Ζ]ΗΤ... (CO 250)
+ Please send (pl.) us the Paradise of Scetis...
18. + ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΒΧΟΟΥ ΝΚΑΜΟΥ... (ST 215)
+ Please send the camels ...
19. ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΓΧΟΟΥ ΤΑΚΟΛΤΕ...
(ST 236)
Please send my kolte ...
20. ϐ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΓΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΝ
ΝΝΕΙΒΝΖΟΟΥΤ... (VC 61)
ϐ Please grant us the male palms ...
21. + ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΓΧΙ ΖΝΑΔΥ ΝΙΗ... (VC 65)
+ Please take everything ...
22. ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΠΕΙΑΗ... ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑ-
ΠΗ ΟΥΝ ΝΓΧΟΟC <Ν>ΤΕΚΩΝΕ
ΝCΤΑΔC ΝΑΙ... (VC 70)
Please, seeing that, please then
tell your sister to give it to me ...

¹ ΔΕ introduces the whole letter as if it were a quotation.

ii. αρι ταγαπη. plus the Imperative

1. ΧΕΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΑΡΕΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΙ
... (EPI 170)

Please let your compassion reach me ...

2. αρι ταγαπη [ΤΑ]ΒΕ ΕΙΑΤ
ΕΒΟΛ... (EPI 194)

Please instruct me ...

3. [αρι τα]γαπη ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧ[ΩΙ]... (EPI 209)
Please pray for [me]

4. ♀ αρι ταγαπη ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ
ΝΑΓΑΠΗ... (EPI 220)

♀ Please pray for me charitably.

5. ♀ αρι ταγαπη ΖΥΠΟΜΕΙΝΕ (EPI 221)
♀ Please be patient ...

6. ♀ αρι ταγαπη ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ (EPI 261)
♀ Please pray for me charitably.

7. ♀ αρι ταγαπη ΕΡΨΑΝ'ΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΨΗΜ'
ΕΙ' ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΑΚ, ΖΩΝ, ΕΤΟΟΤΩ
ΚΑΛΩC ... (EPI 297)

♀ If little Ezekiel comes in to you please warn him well ...

8. + ἀρι ταγάπη †νεσνοῦ νρταβ
 ἡσργω... (EPI 317)

+ Please give the two artabas of wheat ...

9. ἀρι ταγάπη εἰς νεσνήγ αἰτῆνοοῦ-
 σοῦ ἡτετῆναγάπη ἀκγλας ἡν-
 πετρωνῆ † νενειδαῦ νάγ (EPI 350)

See, I have send the brothers Aquila and
 Petronius to your (pl.) benevolence. Please
 give them our linen (?).

10. † ἀρι ταγάπη ἡπρkwλεγε ἡππετοῦααβ
 ἀπα ἐπιφάνειος... (EPI 360)

† Please do not prevent the holy Apā Epiph-
 anius ...

11. † ἀρι ταγάπη βωκ ἐπῆα νάπῃ
 στεφάνος... (EPI 370)

† Please go to the cell of Apā Stephen ...

12. χεἀρι ταγάπη ὡληλ ἐχῶι (EPI 373)

Please pray for me.

13. ἀρι ταγάπη ἐῷωπε οὔνητῆν ἡ-
 χάρτης ἐνάνογοῦ... δοογχοῦ
 νάν (EPI 385)

If you (pl.) have any good papyrus ...
 please send it to us ...

14. ἀπὶ τακαπῆ· εἰς νενῆνυ ἀγαπο
 νζ[.]βος· χροῦ· . . . (EPI 367)

See, the brothers have produced the clothes.
 Please send . . .

15. ✠ ἀπὶ τακαπῆ· ψαλλ· ἐχωί (CO 190)
 ✠ Please pray for me.

There is little distinction in usage between the conjunctive and the imperative after ἀπὶ τακαπῆ. The number of examples of each type is about equal. Although rare, ii. 10 (EPI 360) indicates that the vetitive was possible in this construction. In theory a negative conjunctive would also be possible.

One feature does, however, seem to distinguish the imperative from the conjunctive in this type of construction. It shows up in those letters in which a subordinate element intrudes between the ἀπὶ τακαπῆ and the verbal form which resumes it.¹ In each of these letters the resumptive takes the form of an imperative. Yet in i. 22 (VC 70) it is the conjunctive which resumes ἀπὶ τακαπῆ. In fact

¹
 ii. 7 (EPI 297), ii. 9 (EPI 350), ii. 13 (EPI 385), ii. 14 (EPI 367).

the ἀπὶ ταράτῃ is repeated just before the conjunctive. This does not happen when ἀπὶ ταράτῃ is resumed by an imperative. Because the conjunctive has no tense of its own and takes its tense from its antecedent, the writer probably felt it was necessary to repeat the ἀπὶ ταράτῃ in order to bring the reader back to the main point of the letter. The length and grammatical complexity of the subordinate clauses which are interjected in this construction may have given rise to some confusion on the part of the reader.

Although EPI 196 also begins with the phrase ἀπὶ ταράτῃ, it differs from the remainder of these letters in that it lacks a resumptive of any kind. It is really a very reluctant sort of request. The writer substitutes a type of conditional for the resumptive:

ἀπὶ ταράτῃ ἀρὴν καὶ πτωλκ¹

ἐκεῖναι ἡντιπίζηκε

Please. Perhaps you will be able to settle between Ezekiel and this poor man.

In some of the letters of this section we find that an address precedes the ἀπὶ ταράτῃ.²

¹ This is probably to be understood as a First Future ΚΝΑ. Cf. BALA Vol. 1, p. 151, 128. It occurs in non-literary texts, although none can be identified as Theban.

² i. 3 (EPI 182), i. 5 (EPI 198), i. 7 (EPI 259), etc.

In ii. 9 (EPI 350) there is even a complete complementary formula included in the address. In this particular case the address seems to have assumed the function of an introductory formula. Consequently $\Delta\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$ cannot be considered as an introductory formula in a functional way.

Nevertheless the expression $\Delta\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$ certainly had become a formula in its own right. Although it is syntactically an imperative plus substantive, by the seventh century it had come to be considered as one word. In i. 5 (EPI 198) the post-positive Greek particle $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ should have stood between $\Delta\pi\iota$ and $\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$. Instead it follows both as if the two words were a unit.¹

B. $\Delta\pi\iota\ \pi\eta\alpha$

This formulaic expression is a synonym of $\Delta\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$ and also means 'please.' The masculine substantive $\eta\alpha$ is the Coptic equivalent of the Greek $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$. As is the case with $\Delta\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$, letters beginning with $\Delta\pi\iota\ \pi\eta\alpha$ are resumed by the imperative or conjunctive.

¹ cf. W.C. Till, op. cit., § 378: $\cdot\vdash\ \epsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\eta\alpha$
 $\pi\pi\pi\pi\ \bar{\eta}\pi\pi\pi\pi$.

i. ἀπὶ πῆλ plus the Imperative

1. $\text{ἀπὶ πῆλ ἐκ[ῆλ]εῖ}:$
 $\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\eta$ (EPI 231)

ἀ [If] you come, please come in ...

2. $\text{ἀπὶ πῆλ κκοῦν... ἀπὶ πῆλ}$
 † ἡζομῆτ (EPI 289)

ἀ Please! You know ... Please pay the money ...

3. $\text{ἀπὶ πῆλ τῆνοῦ οὔκον}$ (EPI 315)
 Please send a brother ...

4. $\text{ἀπὶ πῆλ ἁπαλῆιωτ'... ἁοο}$
 $\text{ἡλ'... ἀπὶ πῆλ ἡῆλῆλ}$ (EPI 377)
 ἀ Since my father told me ... please be kind to us.

5. $\text{ἀπὶ πῆλ}^1 \text{ ἁεῖς ἡαθῆαιος ῥαθῆ'...}$
 ἁοῦ οὔᾶποκρῖς ἡα (EPI 379)
 ἀ See, Matthew is with me Please send him an answer ...

1

The superlinear stroke perhaps was written by mistake on the analogy of $\text{πῆλ} = \text{πῆλῆλ}$.

6. ^{sic} $\bar{\rho}$ $\pi\alpha\alpha'$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\iota\chi\omega\omega\eta\iota[\epsilon]$ ^{sic} $\bar{\rho}$
 $\pi\alpha\alpha'$ $\mu\alpha\psi\tau\bar{\varsigma}$ $\nu\alpha\iota'$ (EPI 392)

Please! Here is this book. Please examine it for me.

7. ϕ $\alpha\pi\iota$ $\pi\alpha\alpha'$ $\epsilon\mu\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$... $\alpha\pi\iota$ $\tau\mu\omicron\beta$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\eta$
^{sic} $\epsilon\mu\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\eta\tau\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\alpha\iota$...
 $\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma$... (EPI 401)

ϕ Since we write ... please ... since we beg your brotherhood ... do the great kindness and give it ...

8. \dagger $\alpha\pi\iota$ $\pi\alpha\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\pi\mu\omicron\beta$...
 $\tau\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$... (CO 214)

\dagger Whether small or big ... please send one ...

9. ^{sic} ϕ $\bar{\rho}$ $\pi\alpha\alpha$ $\epsilon\kappa\psi\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\rho}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$
 $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ (VC 88)

ϕ If you come, please do not think that I am inside.

ii. $\alpha\pi\iota$ $\pi\alpha\alpha$ plus the Conjunctive

1. $\alpha\pi\iota$ $\pi\alpha\alpha$ $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\tau\epsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$
 $\kappa\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\kappa\omicron\alpha\bar{\nu}$ (EPI 233)

So if possible please allow our brother ...

2. ϕ $\bar{\rho}$ $\pi\alpha\alpha$ $\dagger\zeta\iota\kappa\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}$
 $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ (EPI 234)

† Trouble your (pl.) benevolence. Please
come in ...

3. † ΧΕΑΡΙ ΠΝΑ ΝΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ... (EPI 455)

† Please come out.

4. † ^{sic} Π ΠΝΑ ΝΓ ΤΑCCE ΝΠΛΟΓΟC ΤΗΡC... (ROM 1)

† Please compile the complete list ...

5. † ΑΡΙ ΠΝΑ ΝΓ ΜΟΥC ΠΒΙΡ ΝΟΕΙΚ... (CO 199)

† Please fill the bread basket ...

6. † ^{sic} Π ΠΝΑ' ΝΤΕΤΝ ΕΧΩΙ... (VC 63)

† Please pray (pl.) for me ...

7. ΑΡΙ ΠΝΑ ΝΓ ΤΡΕΠΕΚΩΔΕ...
ΤΑΖΟΙ'... (VC 92)

Please cause your word ... to reach me ...

8. ^{sic} Ε Π ΠΝΑ ΧΕΤΧΡΙΑΤΕ... ^{sic} ΝΤΕΤΜ-
ΤΙ ΠΤΕΡΜΗCΙΟΝ ΝΙΩΒ...

(ST 202)

Since there is need ... please give the
tremis to Job ...

9. ΑΡΙ ΠΝΑ ΝΓ CΚΥΛΕ' ΗΜΟC
ΝΓΕΙ'...

(ST 216)

Please trouble yourself to come ...

There appears to be little distinction between the usages of ἀπὶ κεῖνα and ἀπὶ ταῦτα. Both can be resumed by imperative or conjunctive and both can be preceded by an address. As is the case with letters which begin with ἀπὶ ταῦτα, sometimes there are long and syntactically complex subordinate clauses separating ἀπὶ κεῖνα from its resumptive. We see that in i. 7 (EPI 401) two subordinate clauses interrupt the request. Between them ἀπὶ τὸν Νάγατον stands as a bridge linking the initial ἀπὶ κεῖνα to its resumptive ταῦτα. In EPI 434 the subordinate elements become so unwieldy that the original drift of the ἀπὶ κεῖνα was lost, never to be resumed.

Another common way of beginning letters was the use of the subordinate conjunction ἐπειδὴ or the particle εἰς. On the analogy of ἀπὶ ταῦτα and ἀπὶ κεῖνα we know that within the letter structure they are not formulaic in the sense that they serve as an appendage to the letter. They are of intrinsic importance to the content from a grammatical viewpoint. Formulae of introduction such as those beginning with ὡςπρὶν or ὡςθὺν could be omitted without physical detriment to the whole letter. This is not the case with ἀπὶ κεῖνα or εἰς which are syntactically involved with the letter to follow. The frequency of their occurrence justifies their classification as formulae.

C. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ¹ plus the First Perfect

1. Ϙ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΟΥΩΥ Ε[ΕΙ]... (EPI 166)

Ϙ When I wanted to [come] ...

2. ΜΝΝCWC² ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΚΕΙ' . (EPI 167)

When you came ...

3. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝCΔΓ... (EPI 191)

When I came in yesterday ...

4. ΕΠΕΙ'ΤΗ ΔΙ'ΔΟΟC ΝΤΕΤΝΗΝ[Τ-]
ΕΙΩΤ ΔΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΝΖΗΤ... (EPI 243)

When I told your (pl.) fathership that I was coming north ...

5. Ϙ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙCΖΑΙ ΖΙΑ[ΙΔΘΗ]ΚΗ... (EPI 264)

Ϙ When I wrote in testament ...

6. ΔΕ² ΕΠΕΤΗ ΔΚΔΔΥ ΤΕΚΑΡΑΤCΕ
ΝΖΟΗΝΤ... (EPI 280)

When you sent the bronze carat ...

1

Examples from other collections: HALL XLIII, 5; HALL LXIII, 1; HALL LXVIII, 1; CO 248; VC 41, 55, 83, 93; ST 194, 195, 235, 237. Cf. W.C. Till, 'Beiträge zu W.E. Crum's Coptic Dictionary,' Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte 17 (1964), 223-4.

2

This conjunction joins the letter's text to the preceding address. Cf. p. 34, fn. 2.

7. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΙ' ΧΕΪΩΖΑΝ-
 ΝΗC ΟΥΩΥ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ ΝCΟΥΟ... (EPI 303)
 When you (pl.) told me that John wanted
 a solidus' (worth) of wheat...
8. ^{Si} ρ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΚΕΙ' ΑΠCΔC'... (EPI 336)
 ρ When you came yesterday ...
9. + ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΗΡΟΥΕ ΖΙ'ΤΟΟΤΚ... (ROM 10)
 + When I left you ...

The subordinate clause which ΕΠΕΙΔΗ introduces sets the background for the present correspondence. In all but two of the above letters the verb of the main clause following takes the First Perfect tense. In contrast, number 4 (EPI 243) and number 7 (EPI 303) are both resumed by the adverb ΤΕΝΟΥ,¹ 'now.' Since the writer is not reporting anything but is setting the stage, the ΕΠΕΙΔΗ may be better expressed in English by 'with regard to,' which would then be resumed by the ΤΕΝΟΥ, 'now.' Thereafter follows a verbal form, sometimes imperative,² sometimes First Perfect.³ In number 7 (EPI 303) the resumptive is non-verbal.

¹ Likewise VC 83 and 93; ST 195 and 235.

² C4 (EPI 243: 6 f.) and VC 93:3.

³ ST 195: 5 f. and ST 235: 3 ff.

D. EIC

There are five letters in the Epiphanius collection, which simply begin with the Coptic particle ¹ EIC followed by a substantive. This substantive becomes the centre-point of the letter and, in the sentence immediately following, the sender indicates what action he has taken in regard to it.

1. P EIC ΠΑ[ΝΤΙ]ΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΑΠΕΝ-
 Χ[ΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ] ΠΕΠΙΚΥ (EPI 134)

P Here is the copy of the letter of our
 [fatherly lord] the Bishop.

2. P EIC ΝΟΕΙC (EPI 253)

P Here are the loaves.

3. P EIC ΠΙΚΟΥΙ ΝCΟΥΩ (EPI 322)

P Here is the small (quantity) of wheat.

4. ΧΕΕΙC CΝΤΕ ΑΜΑΧΕ Ν-
 CΟΥO (EPI 325)

Here are two maaje of wheat.

5. EIC ΑΝΑΡΕC (EPI 365)

Here is Andrew.

¹

Also CO 212.

The above letters were probably brought in company with the objects they are describing. As such they serve as a kind of receipt. Even in the case of number 5 (EPI 365) it is quite likely that Andrew was charged with bringing the letter that referred to him.¹ In wording these letters are similar to the seventh and eighth century taxation receipts found in such great numbers in the Theban area,² as well as to the $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\pi}\overline{\nu}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ notes.³ But there the similarity ends. Unlike the tax receipts and $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\pi}\overline{\nu}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ notes, which are of a legal nature, our texts lack any system of dating and are addressed as a normal letter would be.

We have seen in Section VII of the present chapter that there were a number of expressions which introduced letters which did not include any flowery or complimentary references to the addressee. Are these expressions actually introductory formulae or do they just occur so frequently in Coptic letters that they seem

¹ Similarly COAd. 8 which begins $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\omega\gamma\chi\eta\varsigma$.

² ST 71-83; MH passim.

³ ST 102-107. See A. Schiller, 'Coptic $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\overline{\mu}\overline{\pi}\overline{\nu}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}$ Documents,' in Studi in memoria di A. Albertoni, I (Padua: CEDAM, 1933), pp. 303-345.

to be formulaic?

In the case of each of the phrases which have been examined in this section, it is readily ascertainable that each of them can be found in other¹ positions within the letter, not just at the outset. This is not true of $\psi\omicron\pi\text{ MEN } \pi\tau\upsilon\alpha\chi\epsilon$ or $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\text{ MEN } \pi\tau\upsilon\alpha\chi\epsilon$ which appear in no other position. The latter are introductory formulae in the strict sense. They provide the writer with a pleasing means of starting off his writing; but their presence holds no syntactical relationship to the letter they introduce. They can be omitted without damage to the letter as a whole. The situation for $\alpha\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\eta$ or $\alpha\pi\iota\ \pi\alpha\delta\alpha$ or $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is just the reverse. They are grammatically essential to the letter. Although they can be the opening words of letters, they are not bona fide introductory formulae.

¹ $\alpha\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\eta$: EPI 169, 201, 203, 210, 306, 329, 334, 383, and 475 which may be $\pi\alpha\delta\alpha$.

$\alpha\pi\iota\ \pi\alpha\delta\alpha$: EPI 186, 199, 219, 285, 296, 374A.

$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta$: EPI 113A, 127, 168, 184, 239.

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$: EPI 107, 245, 304, 351, 381, 451.

CHAPTER III

OPTIONAL ADDENDA

I Terminal Formulae

The terminal formula is that part of a letter in which the sender gives his final salutation to the addressee. It appears at the end of a letter after the text has been completed and takes the form of a wish for the recipient's continued well-being. The imperative singular of the verb οὔχαι, 'to be well,'¹ is the basic element in the terminal formula. To this can be added the name of the Divinity, the agent of the addressee's good fortune.

A. οὔχαι, 'Fare well'

EPI 110, 188, 221, 253, 267, 281, 285,
312, 323, 328, 329, 341, 346, 359,
366, 378, 382, 399, 418, 438, 449,
457, 476, 498; ROM 11.

B. οὔχαι ἐν κυρίῳ, 'Fare well in the Lord'

EPI 105, 107, 109B, 113(?), 145, 151, 167
173, 189, 192, 199, 202(?), 203, 214
218, 220, 225, 240, 242, 245, 246,
247, 258, 275, 277, 280, 288, 299,
303, 304, 305, 308, 315, 320, 327,
332, 338, 342, 350, 354, 361, 367,

¹

It parallels the Greek expression ἐπρωσο
ἐν κυρίῳ. See p. 247.

EPI 368, 374A, 374B, 376, 377, 383, 387,
403, 419, 433, 434, 436B, 445, 460,
471, 482; ROM 2(?).

C. ΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗΤΧΘΕΙC Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑC,
'Fare well in the Lord. The Holy Trinity!'

EPI 244, 279, 306.

D. Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑC, 'The Holy Trinity'¹

EPI 166, 239, 246,² 431.

E. ΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ,³

'Fare well in the Holy Trinity'

EPI 198.

F. ΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗΤΒΟΜ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ,

'Fare well in the power of the Holy Trinity'

EPI 238

G. ΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗΤΙC, 'Fare well in Jesus'

EPI 175; ROM 4.

¹ Perhaps ΟΥΧΑΙ should be understood before Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑC.

² This is the second terminal formula of this letter. See section B.

³ The Coptic equivalent of Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑC.

H. ΟΥΧΔΙ Χ̄C, 'Fare well, Christ'

EPI 379.

There are ninety-two letters in the Epiphanius collection in which the writer makes use of one of the above terminal formulae. In ninety-nine others there is no final greeting. In the rest of the letters the endings are broken so we do not know if there was a terminal formula originally or not.

Since the letters are about equally divided between these which show terminal formulae and those which do not, it is apparent that the terminal formula was not a mandatory element of a letter. The letter as a whole did not suffer for its absence.

In spite of the fact that half of the complete Epiphanius letters do utilize a terminal formula, the rationale for this usage is difficult to discern. To begin with, a given terminal formula does not seem to have been used in conjunction with a particular introductory formula. If we examine those letters introduced by ΜΟΡΤΙ ΜΕΝ, we come up with a situation illustrative of the over all scheme in the Epiphanius letters. The letters having this introductory formula are about equally divided between those which have and

those which do not have a terminal formula.¹ In those cases where a terminal formula is employed the writers show a preference for the fuller form ΟΥΧΑΙ ² ΖΗΤΑΧΘΕΙΣ .

Individual scribes too were often inconsistent in their usage of terminal formulae. EPI 231, 233, 289, 379 and 401 were all the product of the same scribe.³ Generally this scribe chose to omit terminal formulae; but in EPI 379 (Section H above) he made use of the expression ΟΥΧΑΙ Χ . Even though he consistently adhered to ΟΡΙ ΠΝΔ as his formula of introduction, this writer felt no such compulsion in regard to terminal formulae. The same type of inconsistency is shown by the sender of EPI 241 who was also the scribe. Here he omits the terminal formula while in EPI 304 he writes ΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗΤΑΧΘΕΙΣ . Both letters are introduced by ΥΟΡΙΤ .

¹ Those which do: EPI 188, 199, 203, 218, 247, 285, 304, 329, 354, 374A; those which do not: EPI 142, 168, 174, 201, 210, 241, 296, 334, 337, 348.

² EPI 199, 203, 218, 247, 304, 354.

³ EPI 231, p. 214.

In the structure of a letter the terminal formula generally appears between the content and the following address.¹ Sometimes the address precedes the introductory formula, in which case the letter ends with the terminal formula.² As a result, the existence of the terminal formula must be seen as strictly independent from that of the address. Just as the choice of terminal formula appears to have been free of considerations of the introductory formula, so it was free of influence from the address.

Limitations of space, whether the writing material was papyrus, stone or pottery did not determine the presence of a terminal formula. The terminal formula was omitted in EPI 241 although the letter could easily have been extended on the verso. The letter ends with the address. This is the reverse of the situation in EPI 220 where a closing address is sacrificed to the terminal formula [ΟΥΧΑΙ] ΝΤΧΟΕΙC.

1

EPI 105, 113C, 175, 188, 192, 198, 199, 202, 218, 245, 246, 267, 277, 279, 285, 304, 312, 320, 323, 327, 328, 332, 338, 341, 342, 354, 374A, 377, 383, 399, 431, 433, 445, 471, 482, 449.

2

EPI 107, 110, 145, 151, 167, 173, 189, 203, 225, 280, 303, 306, 308, 315, 350, 367, 368, 376, 378, 387, 403, 436, 457, 460.

In EPI 370 the letter ends without terminal formula or address. Inclusion of all or any of these elements was dictated by the wishes of the scribe or sender.

Terminal formulae provided the writer with a final opportunity to greet the recipient of his letter. The formula which the sender chose was selected without apparent consideration of the type of introductory formula or address which would appear in the same letter. It was a component of a letter which could be included or omitted without visible detriment to the letter as a whole.

II Postscripts

Occasionally a few extra lines are added to a letter after the actual message has been completed. This postscript can precede or follow a terminal formula or address and is always clearly distinguishable from them. In fact in EPI 162, 169 and 390 the postscript replaces the terminal formula.

Postscripts too can take on a formulaic character. This is the situation in those 16 letters from the Epiphanius collection which base their postscripts of the one identical word, $\omega\lambda\eta\lambda$, 'to pray.'

The writer asks the addressee to pray on his behalf. In the list of postscripts which will follow, it will be seen that those in EPI 198, 306, 330 and 376 are more elaborate than the rest. In EPI 336 and EPI 366 there is appended an imperative form which really has no connection with the writer's request for prayer. It seems more like an after-thought, something that the writer intended to place in the content of his letter but forgot.

EPI 162 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ
Pray for me.

EPI 169 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΕΙ
Pray for me.

EPI 198 ΕΤΕΤΝΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ ΖΗΤΕΓΗΗΝΤΠΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ:
May you (pl.) pray for us in your (pl.) holiness.

EPI 268 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ
Pray for us.

EPI 306 ^{sic} ῑ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΨΛΗΛ ΔΧΩΙ ἤΜΟΝ ΔΙΡ ΝΟ ΖΗΠΝΟΒΕ
Please pray for me for I have grown old (?) in sin.¹

1

EPI 306, p. 235, fn. 2.

EPI 328 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ

Pray for us.

EPI 330 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΨΑΝΤΑΝΤΑΘΝΤΚ

Pray for me till I meet you.

EPI 336 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΔΑΥ

ΟΥΦΡΑΓΙΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΑΝΑΨΗΡΕ

Please pray for me. Send me a seal for my children.

EPI 350 [Ψ]ΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ

Pray for me.

EPI 351 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ

Pray for me.

EPI 366 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ ΒΩΚ

Pray for us. Go.

EPI 376 ΠΑΗΕΡΙΤ ΝΟΝ ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ

My dear brother, pray for me.

EPI 378 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ

Pray for me

EPI 390 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ

Pray for me.

EPI 476 [ΨΛ]ΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ

Pray for me.

EPI 498 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ

Pray for us.

As is the case with prefaces, postscripts can be just another sentence which the writer chose or forgot to include in the text of his letter. Their function is not different from the postscripts discussed above but their vocabulary is much more varied.

EPI 175 ΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΧ ΕΠΕΙΡΑΜΟΓ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΤΝ-
ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΝ

May you (pl.) be safe from all affliction
May you (pl.) pray for us.

EPI 199 ΑΡΙ ΠΝΔ ΟΥΝ ΝΓΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ
So please help me.

EPI 213 + ΚΗΡ ΔΕ ΑΜΑΤΗΝ ΔΔΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ

+ You are adjured not to bring anything in belonging (?) to you.

EPI 247 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΕ [... ΝΤΕ] ΤΝΨΛΗΛ ΕΤ-
ΟΥΔΔΒ ΗΜΟΝ [ΝΔ] ΝΟΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΗΑΤΕ

Please [... your (pl.) holy prayers, for
[my] sins are very many.

EPI 253 Ρ ΖΔΖ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΖΔΖ ΝΥΔ

+ Many years. Many anniversaries.

EPI 382 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΓΩΙΝΕ ΕΝΕΕΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΗΠΑΡΑ
Please greet all the brothers in my name.

Another function of a postscript was to allow the scribe, as distinct from the sender, to add his own greetings without intruding in the body of the letter. Or it enabled a third party to add his comments too. Quite often it is difficult to ascertain which are scribal interjections unless the scribe specifically identifies himself. In EPI 336, which we have discussed above, it is the scribe John who adds the postscript to the letter. He clearly identifies himself and we know that the real sender of the letter is the mother of Epiphanius.¹ In EPI 482, a letter clearly addressed to the two anchorites Epiphanius and Psan, the scribe Mark adds his own greetings to the pair, after the text of the letter is complete but before the terminal formula and address.²

Both terminal formulae and postscripts share the characteristic that they are not essential to a letter. The terminal formula is a polite expression of the sender's good wishes which would enhance a formal letter, particularly one destined to a superior. Likewise the postscript could be omitted without a letter's suffering for the loss. In fact some postscripts seem to have the effect of confusing the orderly flow

¹ Likewise EPI 431, where George too greets Psan.

² EPI 482: 10 f.

of the letter. They did, however, allow parties other than the sender and recipient to receive notice unofficially. On those rare occasions when the scribe does come out and identify himself, the modern reader is allowed a glimpse of these important figures in Theban society who usually remain behind the scenes in the shadow of a Pesenthius or Epiphanius.

CHAPTER IV

FORMULAE OF ADDRESS

Many of the Coptic letters which have survived the centuries have done so in a damaged condition. The edges of the papyri have frayed, and portions of stone and pottery documents have been chipped away. Since the address in Coptic letters stood either at the beginning or the end of a document, it was just this element in Coptic letters which suffered the greatest damage. The letters from Epiphanius are no exception. Consequently many letters in this collection could not be examined at all.¹ Almost one quarter as many again showed recognizable addresses, but in a condition too mutilated to offer a basis for analysis.² For this reason, the conclusions

1

EPI 103, 104, 109, 127, 135, 141, 143, 148, 156, 157, 166, 171, 180, 202, 207, 212, 214, 215, 219, 226, 227, 229, 236, 238, 249, 250, 251, 252, 257, 258, 260, 262, 264, 267, 269, 270, 275, 284, 286, 288, 295, 300, 301, 307, 309, 310, 314, 324, 329, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 358, 359, 347B, 378, 381, 384, 389, 393, 394, 398, 410, 419, 423, 424, 427, 429, 435, 436, 442, 447, 451, 453, 454, 455, 456, 458, 461, 465, 466, 474, 475, 480, 485B, 496, 507, 508, 510, 513, 517, 518; ROM 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10.

2

EPI 108, 110, 134, 142, 146, 178, 184, 225, 231, 248, 266, 294, 298, 387, 392, 433, 463, 473, 476, 483; ROM 6.

reached in this chapter are based on an examination of about one half of the Epiphanius letters. They are still numerous enough to provide sufficient material for study and, with the exception of a few examples from the ROM ostraca, no other Theban texts have been drawn into this study.

Although one would imagine a letter's address to be a simple matter of someone's writing 'from A. to B.,' even a preliminary glance at these letters reveals that an address was meant to serve more than just this function. It also provided the writer with an outlet for complimenting his recipient and publicly acknowledging his stature in society while at the same time ensuring that the letter reached the intended recipient. There was a wealth of epithets from which the sender could choose the one he felt best applied to his addressee.

For the most part, addressees in Coptic letters take one of two forms. Most begin with the name, title and epithets of the addressee. The writer's name and epithet follow. Such a style of address can stand at the beginning or end of a letter.

Less frequently the address precedes the letter in a form in which the sender introduces himself first and then names his addressee. The corresponding epithets

are attached to the names of both parties. This form of address never appears at the end of a letter.

I TaAc N̄

In most of the Epiphanius letters the address takes the form of TaAc N̄ followed by the name and epithets of the addressee which in turn is followed by ⲉⲓⲧⲏ plus the name and epithets of the sender. TaAc is the infinitive of the verb ⲧ, 'to give,' in the construct form to which is attached the third person pronominal suffix as indefinite object: 'give it.' This is followed by the particle N̄, 'to.' The idea of agency is expressed by the particle ⲉⲓⲧⲏ, 'from.'

A. Address Following the Letter

1. ⲡⲧⲁ[ⲁ]ⲥ ^{sic} ⲙⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄[ⲉⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲁⲅⲱ[ⲛ̄ⲭ]ⲟⲉⲓⲥ
 ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲓⲅⲉⲛⲱⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲱⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ
 ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲥⲁⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲏⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ [ⲡ]ⲉⲕ
 ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲛ̄[ⲉⲓ]ⲉⲗⲁⲭ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲓⲅⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲉ. (EPI 105)

ⲡ Give it to my beloved and devout father
 and lord who is worthy of every honour,
 Apa Isaac the anchorite, from Joseph your
 son and most humble sinful servant.

2. ...] ΤΑΔΑC [,...] CΝΗΥ [...]. (EPI 113C)

...] Give it [...]. brothers [...].

3. Ϙ ΤΑΔΑC ΗΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ' ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΛΑΒ ΔΥΩ ΗΜΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ
ΝΑΜΕ. ΕΤΗΤΥΔ ΝΤΑΕΙΟ ΝΙΜ ΑΤΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΟC ΠΑ-
[ΝΑ]ΧΩΡΗΤΗC. ΖΙΤΝΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙΚΟC (EPI 131)

Ϙ Give it to my beloved and truly devout holy
father who is worthy of every honour, Apa
Epiphanius the anchorite, from this most
humble Constantine. Ϙ

4. [+ΤΑΔΑC] ΗΠΘΕΟΦΙ [ΛΕCΤΑΤΟC ...] Μ-
ΜΕΡΙΤ ΔΥΩ ΗΠΝΙΚΟC ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ
ΗΠΕΧC ΖΝΟΥΜΕ' ΑΤΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC
[ΠΑΝΑΧΩ]ΡΗΤ,¹ +ΖΙΤΝΪΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΗΝ
ΠΕCΥΝΘΙΟC ΝΕΙΕΛΑΧ, (EPI 133)

[+ Give it] to the beloved and spiritual
and most pious [...]. who truly embodies
Christ, Apa Epiphanius the [anchor]ite,
from these most humble John and Pesenthius.

5. ΤΑΔΑC ΝΝΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΜΝΑΠ^{5k} ΪΩΖΑ-
ΝΗC ΖΙΤΝCΑΜΟΥΗΛ

(EPI 149)

Give it to Apa Enoch and Apa John from Samuel.

6. ΤΑΔΑC: Ν[ΠΠ]ΡΕCΒ²: CΕΝΕ[ΤΩΗ] ΖΙΤΝΑΒΡΑΖΗ ΠΕΠΚ³ (EPI 154)

Give it to [the] priest Sene[tom] from
Bishop Abraham.

¹ An abbreviation for ἀναχωρητής .

² An abbreviation for πρεσβύτερος .

³ An abbreviation for ἐπίσκοπος .

7. [T]AAC ΠΑΤΕΡΙΤ Ν[ΕΙΩΤ ΙΩΖΑ]ΝΝΗC ΖΙΤΗ[....(EPI 168)

Give it to my beloved [father Joh]n from [....

8. ΤΑΔC ΝΝΑΠΔ ΙΣΑΚ ΜΝΑΠΔ ΗΛΙΑC
ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΚΩ ΝΤΕΥΨΗΧΗ ΖΑ-
ΠΡΙΝ ΝΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC
ΖΙΤΝΙΑΚΩΒ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧC^{sk}OC (EPI 169)

Give it to Apa Isaac and Apa Elijah these
who have given their souls for the name of
our Lord Jesus the Christ from this most
humble Jacob.

9. Ϙ ΤΑΔC ΝΝΕΧΙCΟΟΥC ΑΠΑΕΙΩΤ
ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΜΝΑΠΔ ΕΝΩΧ
Ϙ (EPI 175)

Ϙ Give it to the lords, my father John and
Apa Enoch.

10. ΤΑΔC ΜΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΤΝ[.... (EPI 176)

Give it to Papnoute from [....

11. ΤΑΔC ΝΠΕCΥΝΤΕ ΜΝΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΤΝ-
[....]ΥΕ ΜΝΘΕΚΛΑ (EPI 177)

Give it to Pesenthus and Papnoute from
[....]she and Thekla.

12. ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΔ ΗΛΙΑC ΖΙΤΝΠΛΗΕΙΝ[Η] (EPI 182)

Give it to Apa Elijah from Pleine.

13. / [+ T]δδς ἡπταῖνοϋτε πκυρ¹
 [Γεω]ργιος ζιτῆεπ[ιφά]νος
 πειελ[....] π[....] (EPI 186)

[+]Give it to the pious master [Geo]rge
 from this most humble Ep[iphā]nius (?) [....]

14. τδδς ἡῆμερατε ετοϋααβ ἀπδ
 ἰσαακ μῆαπδ ζηλῖδς ζιτῆ-
 παγλος π[....] (EPI 188)

Give it to the holy beloved ones, Apa Isaac
 and Apa Elijah, from Paul the [....]

15. τδδς ἡπ[Δ]ιακω² ζιτῆανδρεδς π[ιελ]χ, (EPI 192)

Give it to the deacon from this most humble
 Andrew.

16. + τδδς ἡπενπετοϋααβ ἡειωτ' ἀπδ επι-
 φανιος ζιτῆπεςϋντε ἡῆπετρος
 ἡιελαχι/ (EPI 198)

+Give it to our holy father Apa Epiphanius
 from the most humble Pesenthius and Peter.

17. τδδς ἡπαχοις ἡειω ετοϋααβ ζηλῖδς (EPI 201)
 Give it to my fatherly and holy lord Elijah.

¹ An abbreviation for κύρις.

² Crum feels this is an abbreviation for the title
 and not a proper name. See EPI 192, p. 215, fn. 1.

18. ΤΑΔC ΝΠΑΕΙΩΤ [Ε] ΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC ΖΙΤΝ-
ΠΕΙΕ ΛΑΧ/ ΠΑΤΕΡ [ΜΟΥΤΕ] (EPI 206B)

Give it to my father Epiphanius this most
humble Pater[moute].

19. ΤΑΔC ΝΝΕC [ΝΗΥ... ΕΤΟΥΑ] ΑΒ ΝΑΪΟΤΕ
ΕΤΤΑΪ [ΗΥ ΑΠΑ ΜΩ] ΥΧC ΜΝΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦ-
[ΑΝΙΟC] ΖΙΤΝ ΠΙΡΕCΡ ΝΟΒ[Ε] ΠΕCΥΝΘΙΟC (EPI 208)
Give it to the ho[ly] brothers] my honoured
fathers [Apa Mo]ses and Apa Epiph[anius]
from this sinner Pesenthius.

20. + ΤΑΔC [ΜΠΑΜΕΡ] Τ ΝΕΙΩ ΕΤΟΥ [ΑΒ ΑΠ] Δ
ΠΕΤΡΟC ΖΙΤΗ ΠΙΛΑΤΟC (EPI 217)
+Give it [to my beloved holy father [Apa]
Peter from Pilate.

21. ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΜΝ^{sic} ΝΑΠΑ
ΙΕΡΗΜΑΙΔC ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕC ΝΗΥ
(EPI 218)

Give it to Apa Victor and Apa Jeremiah
from the brothers.

22. ΤΑΔC ΝΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥ ΑΑΒ ΖΙΤΝ-
ΠΕΥCΟΝ ΝΝΕΙ^{sic} ΛΑΧ/

(EPI 240)

Give it to my holy fathers from their most
humble brother.

23. ϣ ΤΑΔC ΝΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ' ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΙCΔΑΚ
ΖΙΤΝΙΩCΗΦ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC +

(EPI 241)

ϣ Give it to my beloved father Isaac from the
most humble Joseph. +

24. + ΤΑΔC ΜΠΑCΟΝ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΠΜΔΘΗΤΗC ΝΑΠΑ
ΙCΔΑΚ ΖΙΤΝΙΩCΗΦ ΠΕΚCΟΝ ΝΕΛΑΧΙC, + (EPI 245)

+ Give it to my brother John, the disciple of
Apa Isaac, from your most humble brother
Joseph. +

25. + ΤΑΔC ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ' ΝCΟΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΖΙΤΝ-
ΨΒΗΥ¹ ΠΡΕCΒ, ϣ (EPI 246)

+ Give it to my beloved brother John from (the)
priest Shebeu. ϣ

26. ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΑ ΙCΔΑΚ ΜΝΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΔC
ΖΙΤΝΦΡΑΝΓΑC ΠΕΙΔΤ[ΨΔΥ]²

(EPI 247)

Give it to Apa Isaac and Apa Elijah from
Frang² this [worth]less one.

27. ϣ ΤΑΔC ΜΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ [ΝΕΙΩΤ] ΕΤΤ^Δ/ ΑΜΑΙ'ΝΟΥΤΕ
ΑΠΑ ΕΛΙCΑΙΟC ΠΑΝΑΧ, ΖΙΤΝ[ΙΩΑΝΝ]ΗC ΠΕΙ[... (EPI 253)

ϣ Give it to our beloved [father] who is honoured
and pious, Apa Elisha the anchorite, from [John]
this [...

¹ This may be better understood if we could change
the reading to ΨΒΗΡ. Cf. CRUM 553, b.

² Cf. EPI 342: 23.

28. ϣ ΤΑΔC ΝΝΑΧΙCΟΟΥΕ. ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΔC
 ΜΝΑΠΑ ΙCΑΚ ΖΙΤΝΑΠΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ϣ (EPI 255)
 ϣ Give it to my holy lords Apa Elijah and
 Apa Isaac from Apa John. ϣ
29. + ΤΑΔC ΝΤΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΗΜΔΔΥ ΖΙΤΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, (EPI 259)
 +Give it to my beloved mother from the
 most humble Epiphanius.
30. ΤΑΔC ΝΝΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΦΟΡΙ Η-
 ΠΕΧC ΑΠΑ ΙCΑΚ ΜΝΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΔC ΖΙΤΝΙΩCΗΦ
 ΠΙΡΕCΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC + (EPI 261)
 Give it to my fatherly lords, the men who
 embody Christ, Apa Isaac and Apa Elijah, from
 Joseph the most humble sinner. +
31. + ΤΑΔC ΗΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΟΝ ΕΤ[.;] ΑΠΑ
 ΙΩCΗΦ ΠΠΡ^Ε ΖΙΤΝΖΛΟ ΗΠΝΖΩΤΠ
 ΠΙΕΛΑΧ⁺ (EPI 272)
 +Give it to the pious brother [.;], Apa Joseph the
 priest, from the most humble Hello of Penhotep.¹
32. [ΤΑΔC] ΝΠΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΕΙΩ[ΤΑΠ]Α ΠCΟΝ ΠΑ-
 [ΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗC] ΖΙΤΝΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕΙΕΛ[....] (EPI 277)
 [Give it] to the holy father [Ap]a Psan the
 [anchorite] from Mark this [....]

¹. A place name. See EPI 269, p. 223 f, fn. 2.

33. ΤΑΔC ΜΠΛΑΨΑΝΕ ΖΙΤῆΑΤΑ 'ΙΩΑΝΝΗC (EPI 278)

Give it to the lashane from Apa John.

34. ΤΑΔC ἸΝΔΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥ[ΔΑΒ ἸΠΡΕΓΥΜ-]
 ΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΔC ἸΜῆΑΤΑ
 'ΙCΑΚ ΖΙΤῆΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΙΕΛ/ ἸΔΙΔΚ/ ϙ

(EPI 279)

Give it to my ho[ly and devout] fathers, Apa Elijah and Apa Isaac, from Peter the most humble deacon. ϙ

35. ΤΑΔC ἸΝΕΤΙΡΕC^{sic}CΟΥΤΕΡΟC ΖΙΤῆΑΝΑΝΙΑC ΕΛΑΧ (EPI 282)

Give it to the priests from most humble Ananias.

36. ΤΑΔC ΜΠΜΑ[...] ΑΠΑ 'ΙCΑΑΚ ΠΑ[ΝΑ-]
 ΧΟ...[....] (EPI 285)

Give it to the [...] Apa Isaac the ancho[rite....]

37. ΤΑΔC ΜΠΕΝ[CON ΙΩΖΑ]ΝΗC ΖΙΤ[Ν....]
 ΝΕC[ΝΗΥ] (EPI 289)

Give it to our [brother John] from [....] the [brothers].

38. ΤΑΔC ΗΛΙΔC ΖΙΤΗΝΚ^{sic}WC (EPI 290)

Give it <to> Elijah from Kos.

39. ΤΑΔC ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ἸΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ 'ΙCΑΚ
 ΖΙΤῆΠΙΕΛΑΧ/... (EPI 296)

Give it to the holy father Apa Isaac
from the most humble....

40. ⲡ ⲧⲁⲁϭ [ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲉ]ⲣⲓⲧ ⲛϭⲟⲛ[....ϩⲓ]ⲧⲛⲓⲱ[ϭⲏⲫ...] (EPI 304)

ⲡ Give it [to my beloved brother [.... fr]om
Jo [seph.....]

41. ⲡ ⲧⲁⲁϭ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏϭ ϩⲓⲧⲛⲡⲉϭⲛⲧⲉ (EPI 308)

ⲡ Give it (to) John from Pesenthus.

42. ⲧⲁⲁϭ [ⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ] ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲛ[.... (EPI 312)

Give it [to Apa] Psan from [....

43. ⲧⲁⲁϭ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲁϭⲱⲣⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛⲓϭⲁⲁϭ ⲡⲓ-
ⲉⲗⲁϭⲓϭⲟϭ (EPI 317)

Give it to Panachore from the most humble Isaac.

44. ⲧⲁⲁϭ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲉ(?)ϭⲛⲧ]ⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛⲙⲁⲣϭⲟϭ
ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲗ[ⲁ]ϭ[ⲓ] (EPI 330)

Give it to Apa Pe[senthus] from this
most humble Mark.

45. ⲧⲁ[ⲁ]ϭ ⲙⲡⲁϭⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲱⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲛϭⲁⲏⲏ ⲡⲉⲓⲗⲁϭ (EPI 332)

Give it to my brother Aaron from the most
humble Kame.

46. ⲧⲁⲁϭ ⲛⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛⲓⲉⲛⲛⲁⲗⲓⲟϭ ++ (EPI 333)

Give it to Peter from Gennadius. ++

47. ^{sic} ΤΑΔC ἸCΟΝ ΒΑCΙΛΙΟC ΖΙΤΝ ΤΟΡΩΘΙΩC
^{sic} ΠΙΕΧΑΧΤΟΟC... (EPI 334)

Give it to brother Basil from the most humble Dorotheus....

48. ΤΑΔC ΝΔΑΥΕΙΑ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΑΖΑΗ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙC/(EPI 335)

Give it to David from the most humble Paham.

49. ΤΑΔC ἸΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC ΖΙΤΝ-
 ΚΟΛΕΤΧΕΥ' ΤΕΓΜΑΥ'

(EPI 336)

Give it to my beloved son Epiphanius from his mother Koletjew.

50. ΤΑΔC ἸΠΕΤΡΟC ΖΙΤΝ Δ[Ο]ΥΙ' (EPI 338)

Give it to Peter from Joui.

51. [ΤΑΔC] ἸΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΔΟΕΙC [ΑΠΑ] ΦΙΛΕΠΠΟC
 ΖΙΤΝ ΕΠΙΦΑ[ΝΙΟC] ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC (EPI 340B)

[Give it] to my beloved lord [Apa] Philip from this most humble Epiphanius.

52. + ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΑ ΜΩΥCΗC ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕCΨΗΡΕ ΜΩΥCΗC + (EPI 341)

+Give it to Apa Moses from his son Moses.+

53. ΤΑΔC ἸΠΑΧΟΕΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΡΕCΨΗC ΝΟΥ-
 ΤΕ' ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC' ΜΠΕCΑΤ.Υ ΖΙΤΝ-
 ΠΕΛΩCΜΕ ΠΕCΖΗΖΑΛ ΝΑΤΨΑΥ+

(EPI 342)

Give it to my fatherly devout lord, Apa
Epiphanius from his worthless servant-
Pelosme.+

54. ΤΑΔΕ ΝΠΑΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΚΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΖΙΤΝΓΡΑΝΓΕ (EPI 351)

Give it to my pious brother Enoch from Frange.

55. + ΤΑΔΕ ΗΠΑΧΘΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ (EPI 354)

+Give it to my fatherly lord Ananias.

56. ΤΑΔΕ ΗΠΚΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΖΙΤΗΜΩΨΗΣ
Θ
ΚΝ ΠΔΙΟΙΚ/ +

(EPI 360)

Give it to the brother Cyriacus from Moses,
through God's will the overseer.+¹

57. ΤΑΔΕ ΠΑΜΕ[ΡΙΤ' ΝΚΟΝ]^{sic} ΕΔΚΩΒ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟ[Σ]

....

(EPI 363)

Give it (to) my belo[ved brother] Jacob
(from) Epiphanius....

58. ΤΑΔΕ ΝΝΡΕΓΨΕΗΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΤΗΠΙΕΛΑΧ+(EPI 373)

Give it to the devout ones from the most
humble one.+

59. ΤΑΔΕ ΗΠΑΤΕΡΗΟΥΘΙΟΣ ΖΙΤΗΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ
ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ/ ρ

(EPI 374A)

¹For an explanation see EPI 360, p. 249, fn. 4, 5.

Give it to Patermouthius from this most-humble Epiphanius. ϥ

60. ϥ ΤΑΔC ΝΝΡΕCΥΜΗCΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ
 ΊCΑΔΚ ΗΝΗΛΕΙΔC ΖΙΤΝΜΗΝΔ ΠΕΙ-
 ΡΕCΡ NOBE (EPI 375)

ρ Give it to the devout ones Apa Isaac and Elijah from this sinner Mena.

61. + ΤΑΔC ΗΠΕΤΡΟC + ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕCΥΝΘΙΟC
 ΠΕΊΕΛΑΧ, + (EPI 380)

+Give it to Peter + from this most humble Pesenthius.+

62. ϥ ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΑΝΑΧΟΡΙΤΗC ΖΙΤΝ-
 ΊΩCΗΦ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙC, + (EPI 383)

ρ Give it to Apa Enoch the anchorite from the most humble Joseph.+

63. ΤΑΔC ΝΤΑΜΑΔΥ ΖΙΤΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC (EPI 397)
 Give it to my mother from Epiphanius.

64. ϥ ΤΑΔC ΗΠΡΕCΒΥ ΊΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΖΙΤΝΑΒΡΑΔΗ
 ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, (EPI 399)

ρ Give it to (the) priest Ezekiel from the most humble Abraham.

65. ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΖΙΤ̄ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ Ν-
 ΙCΔΑΚ Μ̄Ν ΖΗΛΙΑ ΝΙCΕ^{sic} ΛΑΧΙCΤΟC.

(EPI 401)

Give it to Apa Jacob from the most humble
 brothers of Isaac and Elijah.

66. ΤΑΔC ΗΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ̄ ΑΠΑ ΠΨΑΝ ΠΑΝΔΧ/
 ΖΙΤ̄ΝΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ

(EPI 404)

Give it to our father Apa Psan the anchorite
 from Shenoute.

67. + ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC Μ̄ΝΑΠΑ ΨΑΝ
 ΖΙΤ̄ΝΠΕCΥΝΘΙΟ[C]

(EPI 417)

+Give it to Apa Epiphanius and Apa Psan from
 Pesenthius.

68. ΤΑΔC ΜΠ[....Ε]^{sic} ΠΕΦΑΝΙΟC ΖΙΤΝ[....]ΤΝ
 ΚΥΡΙΚΟC †

(EPI 418)

Give it to the [...] Epiphanius from [...]
 Cyriacus. †

69. ΤΑΔ[....]ΤΟΥC + ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC [Π..Ε] ΛΑΧ/
 ΗΠΤΟΟΥ [Ν]ΧΗΜΕ

(EPI 420)

Give [it to] jous + (from) Epiphanius
 [the most humble] of the community [of] Jeme.

70. ΤΑΔΑ ΝῆΚΝΗΥ ΕΤΤΑΪΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΜΟΤ
 ΝΙΜ + ΖΙΤῆΝ ΣΟΥΝΙΚΑ ΠΕΙΡΕΓΡ ΝΟΒΕ
 ΡΡΡ (EPI 439)

Give it to the brothers¹ who are honoured in every respect + from this sinner Sounika. ΡΡΡ

71. Ϝ ΤΑΔΑ ἩΠΚΥΡ ΓΕΩ[ΡΓΙΟΣ] (EPI 441)
 Ϝ Give it to the master Geo[rge].

72. ...] ΗC ΜῆΑΠ[Α] ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ ΖΙΤΝΕΥ-
 ΠΡΕ ΜῆΠΕΩΩ ΝΕΤῆΖῆΖΑΛ Ἡ-
 ΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC Ϝ (EPI 444)

...] and Apa Epiphanius from² Euprepious and Pegosh your (pl.) most humble servants.

73. ΤΑΔΑ [...Μ]ΕΡΑΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ [...ΕΠΙ-]
 ΦΑΝΙΟC (EPI 445)
 Give it [.....] beloved fathers (?) [...
 Epilphanius.

74. + ΤΑΔΑ ἩΠΛΟ[(EPI 449)
 +Give it to the [....

75. ΤΑΔΑ ἩΖΕΒΕΔΑΙΟC ΖΙΤῆΝ'ΙCΑΔΚ ΠΙ-
 ΡΕΓΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ + (EPI 459)

Give it to Zebedee from the most humble sinner Isaac.+

¹Just who the brothers are is revealed in line 1 as a vocative calling on Enoch, Epiphanius and Victor. The vocative amplifies the address. Similarly EPI 248, 266. Cf. EPI 434 where a vocative identifies the recipients who remain anonymous in the address.

²The presence of ΖΙΤῆΝ implies that a ΤΑC precedes it.

76. † ΤΑΔΕ ΝΝΕΤΕΦΑΝΙΟΣ [ΖΙΤ]Ν ΤΕΓΗΔΥ (EPI 485A)
 † Give it to Epiphanius from his mother.

77. [ΤΑ]ΔΕ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑ[Β]...(EPI 493)
 [Give] it to my fatherly and holy lord

78. ΤΑΔΕ ΜΠΑΨΝΧΑΡΙC ΖΙΤΝ-
 ΙΑΚΩΒ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ/ (ROM 7)
 Give it to Pashencharis from the most humble Jacob.

79. ΤΑΔΕ ΜΠΕΝCΟΝ ΑΠΑ ΜΙΧΑΪΔΕC
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC ΠΙΕΛΑΧ (ROM 11)
 Give it to our brother Apa Micaiah (from) this most humble Anthony.

Adherence to the general pattern of ΤΑΔΕ addresses was almost universal, even in the case of 58 (EPI 373) where the address could not function as such. Nowhere in the address does the writer identify his recipients. This is left to a vocative in the first line! While compound senders and recipients are common, the sender of 55 (EPI 354) fails to identify himself. In both 57 (EPI 363) and 79 (ROM 11) the writers have omitted the preposition ΖΙΤΝ.

The sender generally refers to himself as 'the most humble...'. Occasionally he embellishes it with

¹
 4 (EPI 133), 11 (EPI 177), 26 (EPI 247),
 30 (EPI 261), 34 (EPI 279).

expressions such as $\Pi\iota\pi\epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}$ NOBE, "the sinner."¹ It is rare for the sender to refer to himself in any but humble terms, particularly if he is a priest or monk. For this reason it is somewhat surprising that the writer of 28 (EPI 255) and 33 (EPI 278), in both instances a John, places his title 'Apa' before his name. In addition the writer sometimes draws on the relationship between himself and his recipient by the use of the possessive article, for example $\Pi\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu$,² referring to the recipient either in the second or third person. The reason for this variation in person is unclear. However, it would seem that the role of the scribe as third party in the action would have some bearing on the situation. It is difficult to ascertain always if the scribe is talking as if he were the sender or whether he is reporting speech indirectly. It may have been no more than a matter of scribal preference.

B. Address Preceding the Letter

Less frequently an address which is formed with $T\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ is found to precede the body of the letter rather than to follow it.

¹ 30 (EPI 261).

² No. 22 (EPI 240); in 72 (EPI 444) $\text{NET}\bar{\eta}\gamma\mu\gamma\alpha\lambda$; in 1 (EPI 105) ΠΕΚΩΗΡΕ .

1. Ϙ ΤΑΔC ἡΠΑΔΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ
 ΝΙΜ ΠΑΙΤ¹ ΖΛΛΟ ΖΙΤΝΠΚΩΛ ΠΕΚ-
 ΨΗΡΕ (EPI 114)

Ϙ Give it to my father, holy in every respect,
 Hello from your son Pekol.

2. Ϙ ΤΑΔC ἡΠΖΑΓΙΩ² ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΝΙΚΟC' ΑΒΒΑ
 ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟC ΠΑΝΑΔΧΩΡΙΤ/ ἡΠΤΟΟΥ
 ΝΧΗΜΕ ΖΙΤΝCΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΟC ΠΛΑΨ/ Ν-
 ΝΗ ΠΕΤΨΗΡΕ (EPI 151)

Ϙ Give it to the fatherly spiritual saintliness,
 Abba Cyriacus the anchorite of the community
 of Jeme, from Strategius the lashane of Luxor,
 your (pl.) son.

3. ΤΑΔC ἡΠΗΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΑΠΑ
 ΨΑΝ ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΤ, + ΖΙΤΝΛΟΥΚΑC ΠΕΙΕΛΛ (EPI 172)
 Give it to the pious holy father Apa Psan
 the anchorite + from this most humble
 Luke.

4. Ϙ ΤΑΔC ἡΠΑCΟΝ ΜΩΥCΗC ΖΙΤΝΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC (EPI 191)

Ϙ Give it to my brother Moses from John.

5. ΤΑΔC ΝΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC (EPI 222)
 Give it to John.

¹ CRUM 86b.

² An abbreviation for ἁγιώτατος.

6. ρ ΤΑΔC ΜΠΘΕΟΦΙΛ^Ε, ΝCΟΝ ΖΛΛΩ ΖΙΤΝ-
ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, (EPI 283)

ρ Give it to the brotherly piety Hello from
the most humble Daniel.

7. ρ ΤΑΔC ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΤ-
ΦΟΡΤ ΜΠΕΧ^Ε ΖΝΟΥΜΕ ΑΠΔ ΙΩΑΝΝΗC
ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΙΕΛ, (EPI 315)

ρ Give it to my fatherly and holy lord who
truly embodies Christ, Apa John, from the
most humble Peter.

8. ρ ΤΑΔC ΜΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ
ΖΗΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΠΔ ΙCΑΚ ΜΝΑΠΔ ΑΝΑΝΙΑC
ΖΙΤΝ ΒΗCΑΜΩΝ ΠΕΙΡΕC^Ρ ΝΟΒΕ (EPI 356)

ρ Give it to my beloved fathers honoured in
the Lord, Apa Isaac and Apa Ananias, from this
sinner Besamon.

9. ρ ΤΑΔC ΜΠΑΔΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΔ CΤΕΦΑΝΟC ΖΙΤΝ-
[Θ]ΟΜΑC. (EPI 365)

ρ Give it to my father Apa Stephen from [Th]
omas.

10. ΤΑΔC ΝΝΗΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, (EPI 438)

Give it to the beloved ones from the most
humble one.

11. [Ϟ] ΤΑΔC ΝΠΗΔΑΪΝΟΥΤ[Ε Ν]ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ
 ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ ΗΠΕΧC ΖΝΟΥΜΕ ΚΥΡ[ΙΔ]ΚΟC
 ΖΙΤΝΗΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΠΑΠΝ[ΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ] ΕΠΙ-
 ΦΑΝΙΟC + (EPI 457)

[Ϟ] Give it to the pious holy father who truly embodies Christ, Cyriacus, from your sons Papnoute and Epiphanius. +

It is readily observable that the letters in which the ΤΑΔC form of address precedes the text do not otherwise differ from those letters in which it follows. Such an address can precede an introductory formula. However, it usually leads right into the content of the letter.

The titles and epithets of both addressee and sender can be extended to include the name of the locale in which each is to be found. This is the case in IB 2 (EPI 151) where the addition of the locale to the epithets served to fix the administrative jurisdiction of both parties, one civil and the other ecclesiastical. In contrast to such precision, the delivery of IB 2 was left

1

IB1 (EPI 114), IB2 (EPI 151), IB5 (EPI 222), IB6 (EPI 283), IB9 (EPI 365). Also VC 107; ST 205, 212, 241, 273, 280, 293, 316, 348.

2

Similarly IA69 (EPI 420) where Epiphanius appends 'of the community of Jeme' to his name. Here it served only to pinpoint his geographic area.

to someone who personally knew both parties, for no names are mentioned in the address, just the epithets *HEPATE*, 'beloved,' and the usual 'the most humble.' Although technically correct, this address could only have served as a means of complimenting the addressees.

II Unintroduced Addresses

The following letters adhere to the pattern of the *Td̄c* addresses in that the recipient's name, title and epithets precede those of the sender. They differ by the omission of the infinitive *Td̄c* and its accompanying particle *N̄*. Quite frequently the preposition *ζ̄ιτ̄ν* is also omitted.

A. Address Following the Letter

1.]ΠΑΧΘΕΙΚ ΝC[ON ΕΤΟΥΑΔ]Β ΔΥΩ ΠΠΝΙΚΟC
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜΕ' ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΟC Η[ΠΤΟΟΥ
 ΝΧΗ]ΜΕ ΠΕCΥΝΤΕ ΠΕCΥΜΖΑΝ[....(EPI 111)

] My lordly and truly spiritual [holy brother]
 Apa Epiphanius of [the community of Je]me.
 Pesenthus his servant[....

2. + ΠΑΝΕΡΙΤ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΠΚΥΡ, ΧΟΥΚΙΑΝΟC
 + ΠΕC[ΥΝΘΙΟC (EPI 136)

+My beloved son the master Luke. + Pes[enthus....

3. + ΠΑΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΦΩ[ΡΕΙ ΗΠΕΧΕ ΖΝΟΥΜΕ]ΑΥΩ ΝΗΔΙ-
ΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΩΒ[Α] ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕ[ΟΣ...] ΜΗΝΑΣ Π[....] (EPI 144)

+My holy, pious father who [truly] embod[ies
Christ,] Abba Ehiphianius [....] Menas the[....

4. ΠΡΕΣΒ/ ΠΕΚΖΗΖΑΛ ΝΕΛΑΧ (EPI 147)

Presbuterus. Your most humble servant.

5. + ΠΑΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΕΤΟ ΝΡΠΕ' ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΔΒΘΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΑΥΩ.
ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ + ΖΙΤΝΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΙΕΛ^{sic}Χ
ΝΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚ¹/ (EPI 162)

+My lordly holy father who is God's temple,
Abba Epiphanius, the prophet and anchorite, +
from Joseph the most humble archdeacon.

6. + ΠΗΑΙ'ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΝΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟ-
ΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΓΚΛΗCΤΩC ΠΕΨΑΛΜΩΔΟΣ
ΝΒΡΡΕ ΑΠΔ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΟΣ + ΞΕΝΟΥΤΕ
ΠΛΑΨ/ ΝΑΗΜΕ ΜΗΝΕΤ' ΖΥΠΟΓΡ^Δ/ ²ΖΙΖΟΥΝ
ΝΕΤΝΠΡΟCΚ/ + (EPI 163)

+The pious, inspired, and withdrawn holy father,
the new psalmist³ Apa Epiphanius. +Shenute the
lashane of Jeme and those who have subscribed,
your worshippers.+

¹ An abbreviation for ἀρχιδιάκονος .

² An abbreviation for ζυπογραφε. See BALA 100:2.

³ See EPI 163, p. 196, fn. 23.

7. Ϙ παχοεικ νειωτ ετογααβ απα ψαν απα
ιωαννης περ βαγαν

(EPI 165)

ρ My fatherly holy lord Apa Psan. Apa John his
servant.

8. πανεριτ νειωτ ετογαβ αγω ετταϊηγ
απα πcon παναχωρητης ανοκ τρεγρ
νοβε ευδοξια tentacneconoβε αψαϊ
εματε

(EPI 199)

My beloved and honoured holy father Apa Psan the
anchorite. I, the sinner Eudoxia whose sins are
very many.

9. ογ]ααβ¹ νπνευματοφ, απα επιφανιος+
ζι[τναν]αcταcιος+

(EPI 200)

The inspired holy [....] Apa Epiphanius + fr[om]
An[ast]asius.

10. πeneιωτ ετογααβ ζιτνεγcνηογ νελαχ, +(EPI 213)
Our holy father from his most humble brothers.+

11. + πιδινογτε νειωτ ψenoγτε πλαψ/
νχημε πειελαχ,

(EPI 216)

¹ The space at the beginning of the line must
a substantive which [ογ]ααβ modifies. This
would leave no room for ταc ν.

- + The pious father. Shenoute this most humble
lashane of Jeme.

12. + ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΗΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΤΗΣ Ν[....] ΑΠΑ ΠΕCΥΝ-
ΘΙΟC ΠΕΤΙΚΚΥ ΖΗΤΝ.... (EPI 254)

- + My blessed [....] lord Apa Pesenthus the
bishop, from [....]

13. ΠΑΝΕΡΙΤ ΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΔΑΝΙ'ΗΛ
ΒΙΤΩΒ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC [Η]ΠΡ, (EPI 256)
My beloved holy father Apa Daniel. Victor
the most humble priest.

14.]ΠΜΑΪΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ
ΑΒΡΑΖ[ΑΗ] ΒΙΚΤΩΡ[....] (EPI 268)
] The pious holy father Apa Abrah[am]
Victor [....]

15. ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΗΠΥΔ ΝΤΑΕΙΟ' ΝΙΗ
ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟ[Ε] ΛΑΖΑΡΟC ΠΕΚΖΗΖΑ (EPI 271)
My fatherly lord who is worthy of every
honour, Apa Epiphanius. Lazarus your servant.

16. + ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩΕΤΗΕΖ Ν[....] (EPI 273)
+ My fatherly holy lord who is filled with [....]

17. ΑΒΒΑ ΨΟΝ·ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡ, ΚΘΧΟΛΩ¹ ΠΕΤΝ-
ΖΗΖΑΛ ΝΕΛΑΧ/ (EPI 281)

¹

An unscrambling of the cryptogram produces:
παγλος.

Abba Psan the anchorite. Paul your (pl.)
most humble servant.

18. Ϙ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΙΕΩΤ ΕΤ[ΟΥΔΑΒ (EPI 311)

ρ My fatherly [holy] lord [....]

19. ΑΠΑ ΠΣΑΝ ΦΙΛ/ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ/ + (EPI 320)

Apa Psan. This most humble Philotheus. +

20. [Π]ΔΗΕΡΙΤ ΝΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤ, ΗΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΔΟΤΗΣ¹ ΕΤΑΙΩΟΥ
ΧΕΨΑΝ ΝΤΑΓΠΙΘΕ ΗΜΟΚ ΕΚΟΖΑ! ΤΕΙ ΚΕ ΝΕΠΙ-
ΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΑΝ ΟΥΔΑΙ ΖΗΤΑΧΟΕΙΚ² ΕΝΔΑΥΟ ΠΕΥ (EPI 327)

My beloved fatherly and holy lord Apa Mark
(the) priest and the headstrong traitor
Psan who persuaded you to write this other
letter to us. Fare well in the Lord. The
most humble Elisha.

21. + ΠΔΗΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΠΕ[...]ΛΑΧ/ + (EPI 328)

+ My beloved holy father Pe[.... the] most
humble. +

22. ΠΗΔΙΝΟΥΤ[Ε] ΝΕΙΩΤ Α[ΠΑ ΠΑ]ΖΑΗ ΠΕΤ[Ρ]Ω-
ΝΙΟC ΠΕΤΝΖΜΖΑΛ (EPI 337)

1

It is unprecedented to find derogatory
references to the addressee in these formu-
lae. See EPI 327, p. 240, fn. 10.

2

Nowhere else in these letters does a terminal
formula intrude inside the address.

The pious father A[pa Pal]ham. Petronius
your (pl.) servant.

23. ΝΑΔΙϞΟΟΥΕ ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΖΙΤΗΠΕΥΖΗΖΑΛ+P+ (EPI 377)

Our fatherly lords from their servant.+P+

24. ΕΠΙΦ/ ΠΕCΥΝΤ (EPI 382)

Epiphanius. Pesenthius.

25. [ΕΠΙ]ΦΑΝΙΟC ΠΜΟΝΑ^ΟΧ + ΑΝΔΑCΤΑCΙΟ[C] (EPI 415)

[Epil]phanius the monk.+ Anastasiu[s].

26. P ΠΟCΙΩ¹ Ν[...] ΑΠΑ Ε[ΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC [... ΕΤ-
ΦΟΡΕΙ Μ] ΠΕΧC ΖΝΟ[ΥΜΕ ...] ΠΕC-
ΖΗΖΑ[Λ]

(EPI 428A,B)

P The most holy [...] Apa E[piphanius who
truly embodies] Christ. [...] his servant.

27. P ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ^{sic} ΑΠ ΨΑΝ
ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡ, ΖΙΤΝΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΕΤΝ-
ΣΗΡΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ,

(EPI 431)

P My fatherly holy lord Apa Psan the anchorite,
from Apa Victor your (pl.) most humble son.

¹An abbreviation for ὁσιώτατος.

28. + ΠΘΕΟΣΕ[ΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ....ΑΠΑ] ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ
[....] ΠΕ[ΚΖ]Η[ΖΑΛ]

(EPI 432 A,C)

+The [most] devout [....Apla Epiphanius
yo[ur s]er[vant.]

29. ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ
ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΣ ΜΝΖΑΗΛ ΜΝΠΑΥΛΟΣ

(EPI 437)

My fatherly holy lord Apa Epiphanius.
Philoxenus, Zael, and Paul.

30. + ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ Ν[ΕΙΩΤ] ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦ[ΑΝΙΟΣ].... (EPI 443)

+My [fatherly] lord Apa Epiph[anius]....

31. ...ΠΑ[ΝΕΡ[Ι]Τ ΝΕΙΩ[Τ] ΠΑ[Ι ΕΤ]Φ[Ο]ΡΕ
ΜΠ[Ε]ΧΖ ΖΝ[ΟΥΜΕ] ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙ[Φ]Α[ΝΙΟΣ]
ΖΙΤΝΙΩΣ[ΗΦ]

(EPI 463)

....my] beloved father, this one [who truly]
embodies Christ, Apa Epipha[nius], from
Jo[seph].

32. ΠΑΧΟ[ΕΚ ΝΕ]ΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ [ΙΩΑΝΝ]ΗΣ
ΠΠΡ, + ΦΟΙ[ΒΑΜΜΩ]Ν

(EPI 471)

My [lord]ly holy father Apa [Joh]n the priest. + Phoeb[ammon].

33. [+] ΠΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΔ ΕΠΙΦΑΝ-
ΕΙΟC ΜΝΑΤΤΑ ΨΑΝ ΑΝ...[.]

ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ/

(EPI 482)

[+] The pious father Apa Epiphanius and Apa Psan. This most humble An[....]

In most respects there seems to be little difference between those letters whose addresses are introduced by ΤΑΔC and those which remain unintro-
duced. Here too epithets can range from the most elaborate (as in IIA 5 or 6) to the very simple (IIA 29 and 33). Both parties can remain anonymous (IIA 10). Geographical identifications are found in this type of address also. In IIA 11 Epiphanius is described as residing in Jeme.

In effect there is no difference between the unintroduced and the ΤΑΔC type of address. The absence of ΤΑΔC (sometimes of ΖΙΤΩ) must be a manifestation of a more informal approach to address-writing on the part of some senders; or, which may be more likely, it is a style patterned on nearly contemporary Greek letters.

¹ ΤΩ ΔΕΙΥΙ Ο ΔΕΙΥΑ. J. O'Callaghan, 'Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del V secolo,' Aegyptus, 41 (1961), p. 36.

Through experience it was known that the recipient's name preceded that of the sender unless specifically stated.¹ It may have been the more conservative scribes, who adhered to the habit of writing TdAc. In those few instances where 2ITN was written but no TdAc,² we may have a half-way measure which would at least indicate beyond doubt who was the sender and who the recipient. Finally, there is no indication that the letters which have the full form of address are chronologically the prototypes of the unintroduced letters, at least in the case of the Epiphanius letters, for the anchorite Epiphanius is himself the recipient of both types.³

B. Address Preceding the Letter

As was the case in the TdAc letters, it was possible for the unintroduced address to precede its letter. This construction is very rare. None of the ROM ostraca shows it and there are only two examples from the Epiphanius collection:

¹ See Section III. When the sender's name precedes, the verb 'to write,' is always included and avoids any ambiguity.

² II A5 (EPI 162), II A10 (EPI 213), II A12 (EPI 254), II A27 (EPI 431).

³ I A3 (EPI 131) and II A6 (EPI 163). Both were written when Epiphanius was at the height of his career.

1. [+Π]ΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΕΤΗΠΩΑ Ν[....
 ΔΥ]Ω ΝΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΦΟΡ[ΟC Ε]ΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC
 ΠΥΖΜΖΑΧ

(EPI 106)

[+]My holy and fatherly lord who is worthy of
 [.....and] (who is) inspired. Epiphanius
 his servant.

2. ρ ΝΑΧΙCΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΝΡΕCΩΜΩΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΠΕΧC ΖΝΟΥ[Μ]Ε ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙ-
 ΦΑΝΙΟC ΜΝΑΠΑ [ΨΑ]Ν ΠΕΤΡΟC ΠΙΕΛΑΧ,

(EPI 123)

- ρ My holy devout lords who [trully embody
 Christ, Apa Epiphanius and Apa [Psa]n.
 The most humble Peter.

III Sender First

The letters which fall into this next category are a real departure from those of the previous sections. The writer reverses the order of the address by introducing himself first and his addressee second. In place of the infinitive ~~ΤΑC~~ as an imperative, the writer or sender assumes an active role in the proceedings through usage of the verb *εζαί*, 'to write.' Other verbs can figure too, notably *ψινε*, 'to greet.'

¹ Cf. BALA Ch. VIII, 155 (p. 183 ff.).

Since there is a verbal element involved in this construction, we find a much greater diversity of forms which accompany it. There can be nominal subjects, a variety of accompanying compound verbal forms, and consequently a variety of verb tenses. Fortunately there are discernible patterns to most of these addresses.

A. Independent Personal Pronoun Plus Proper Name
Plus Circumstantial First Present

1. +ΔΝΟΚ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΕΓΓΥΑΙ^{sic} ΊΩΖΑΝΗC
ΜΗΝΕΝΩΧ ΜΗΝΔΑΡΕΔC ΝΕΝΔΕΙΔΕ^{sic}ΤΕ
ΖΗΤΧΟΕΙC

(EPI 107)

+I the most humble Victor write <to> John and Enoch and Andrew, our fathers in the Lord.

2. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΕΙCΥΑΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ
ΝCΟΝ ΨΗC ΜΗΝΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΜΗΝΖΗΚΗΛ ΜΗ-
ΚΥΡΑΚΟC

(EPI 181)

Ϙ I Peter write, greeting my beloved brothers Pses, Victor, Ezekiel and Cyriacus.

3. [+ΔΝΟΚ Π]ΛΗΕΙΝΗ [ΕΓΓΥ]ΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ ΑΠΕC-
ΕΙΨΤ' ΖΗΛΙΔC

(EPI 182)

[+ I P]leine write, greeting his father Elijah.

4. +ΔΝΟΚ [ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ ΠΙΕ] ΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΓ[ΕΖΑΙ
ΕΓΨΙΝΕ] ΕΤΕΓΜΕΡΙΤ [ΜΗΔΑΥ]...

(EPI 259)

+I the most humble [Epiphanius write, greeting]
his beloved [mother]....

5. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΑΝΝ[ΗΚ Ε]ΓΕΖΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ.... (EPI 278)

Ϙ I Apa John write, [greeting]....

6. + ΔΝΟΚ ΔΑΥΕΙΑ ΕΓΕΖΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΓΜΕΡΙΤ
ΝΕΙΩΤ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΚ

(EPI 280)

+I David write, greeting his beloved father John.

7. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΨΑΝ ΕΙΕΖΑΙ ΜΠΕΓΜΕΡΙΤ Ν^{SK}ΑΝ (EPI 287)

Ϙ I Psan write to his beloved brother.¹

8. [Ϙ Δ]ΝΟΚ ΕΝΩΧ ΕΓΕΖΑΙ ΝΑΠΕΓΕΙΩΤ [Α]Ν-
ΤΕΓΜΔΑΥ

(EPI 294)

[Ϙ] I Enoch write to his father and mother.

9. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕCΝΤΕ ΕΙΕΖΑΙ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΚ (EPI 308)

Ϙ I Pesenthus write <to> John.

¹

The addressee is not named anywhere in the letter.

10. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΕΠ ΜΑΪΝΟΥΤΕ. Ν-
CON ΔΝΑΝΙΑC (EPI 325)
ρ I Paul write to the pious brother Ananias.
11. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ, ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΝΝΔΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥCΑC (EPI 368)
ρ I this most humble one write to my holy fathers.¹
12. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΓΡΑΝΓΕ ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΓ-
ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΧΟΕΙΚ ΝCON ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΑΥΩ Μ-
ΜΑΪΝΟΥΤΕ. ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ
(EPI 376)
ρ I Frange write, greeting his beloved brotherly
lord who is good and pious, Apa Enoch.
13. Ϙ ΔΝΟΝ ΝΕΙΕΛΧ, ΕΝCΖΑΙ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ (EPI 403)
ρ We² these most³ humble ones write to our
fatherly lord.

B. Proper Name Plus Circumstantial First Present

1. Ϙ ΙCΔΑΚ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΕΓ-
ΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΝCON ΕΤΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ C ΜΟΤ
ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΜΝΠΕΡΗΤ'
ΜΝΤΕΥΜΑΔΥ (EPI 167)

¹This letter is totally anonymous.

²The only example of the first plural pronoun.

³Apart from one of the senders who names himself,
the letter is anonymous.

† The most humble Isaac writes, greeting his beloved brothers who are honoured in every fine respect, Abraham and Peret and their mother.

2. † ΔΝΑΝΙΔΑC ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, ΕΥCΖΑΙ' ΕΥΨΙΝΕ
ΕΝΕCΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΝCΝΗΥ ΕΤΤΔΕΙΗΥ ΔΙΝ-
ΠΚΟΥΙ' ΨΑΠΝΟΒ.

(EPI 173)

† The most humble Ananias writes greeting his beloved brothers who are honoured, from the least to the greatest.

3. † ΠΑΙ'ΕΛΑΧ/ ΔΝΑΡΕΑC ΕΥΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΕC-
ΜΕΡΕΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΔΙΑΚΩ

(EPI 192)

This most humble Andrew greets his beloved father the deacon.

4. † ΠΕCΗΝΤΕ ΜΝΠΕΤΡΕ' ΕΥCΖΑΙ' ΔΥΩ ΕΥ-
ΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ' ΜΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤ-
ΤΑΙ'ΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ' ΝΙΗ ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC

(EPI 198)

† Pesenthius and Peter write and worship our fatherly lord who is honoured in every respect, Apa Epiphanius.

5. † ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, ^{sic} ΤΩΝΔ ΕΥCΖΑΙ' ΠΡΕCΨΗΨΕ
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑCΚΗΤΗC ΑΠΑ ΖΗ[ΛΙΑC]
ΠΠΡΕCΒ,

(EPI 203)

ⲡ The most humble Jonah writes <to> the ascetic devout one, Apa E[lijah] the priest.

6. ⲡ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ[....] ΜΩΥΣΗC ΕΓΓΥΑΙ ΕΓ-
 ΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΕΓΓΕΙΟΤΕ....] ΝΡΕΓΨΗΨΕ
 ΝΟΥ[ΤΕ. ΑΠΑ] ΕΝΩΧ, ΜΝΑΠΤΑ[....]
 ΜΝΑΠΤΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝ[ΙΟC] (EPI 209)

ⲡ This most humble [....] Moses [writes], greeting his devout [fathers Apa] Enoch, Apa [....] and Apa Epiphan[ius].

7. +.ΠΛΑΨΑΝΕ ΕΓΓΥΑΙ' ΕΓΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΓΜΕΡΙΤ
 ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΙΣΑΑΚ (EPI 223)

+The lashane¹ writes, greeting his beloved holy father Apa Isaac.

8. [ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ, Ε]ΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC' ΕΓΓΥΑΙ' ΕΓ-
 ΨΙΝΕ [ΕΠΕΓΜΕΡΙΤ] ΝCΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΝΟC (EPI 363)

[This most humble E]piphanius writes, greeting [his beloved] good brother.²

¹This title stands in place of the more usual proper name.

²In line 6, the brother is identified as Jacob.

9. ρ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ, ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΕΓCΖΑΙ^{Sic} ἸΩΖΑΝΗΣ (EPI 367)

ρ This most humble Victor writes <to> John.

10. ρ ἸCΔΩΡΟC ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ
ΕΝΕΓΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΑΠΔ ἸCΔΑΚ
ΜΝΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΔC (EPI 385)

ρ The most humble Isidore writes, greeting
his honoured fathers, Apa Isaac and Apa
Elijah.

11.]. ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΕΙCΤΟC ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΜΠ-
ΡΕCΨΜ[Υ]Ε ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠCΟΝ ΚΥΡΙΚΟC
(EPI 406)

This most humble [....] writes to the devout
brother Cyriacus.

12. ρ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC ἸCΔΑΚ ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ
ΕΤΖΛΛΩ ΜΠΑCΟΝ ἸCΔΑΚ

(EPI 407)

ρ The most humble Isaac writes, greeting
Thello (the wife ?) of my brother Isaac.

13. + ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΜΠΕC-
ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝCΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΕC

(EPI 408)

+This most humble Epiphanius writes to his
beloved brother Andrew.

14. ΠΙΕ]ΛΑΧ, ἸCΔΑΚ ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΝCΟ]Ν
ΑΠΔ ΖΕΒΕΔΑΙΟC

(EPI 459)

The] most humble Isaac [writes ...brother]
Apa Zebedee.

C. Independent Personal Pronoun Plus

Proper Name Plus Relative First Present.

1. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΑΥΕ[Ι]Δ ΠΕΕΛΑΧΙΚΤΟC ΕΤΤΟΛΜΑ¹
ΕΤCΖΑΙ' ΝΑΠΕCΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙCΑΚ'
ΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΦΩΡΕΙ
ΗΠΕΧΡC ΖΝΟΥΜΕ (EPI 145)

Ϙ It is I the most humble David who dares
to write to his beloved father Apa Isaac,
the holy one of God, the man who truly
embodies Christ.

2. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΤCΖΑΙ ΝΑΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΑ (EPI 170)

Ϙ It is I Maria who writes to Panachora.

3. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΤΑΧΗΛ ΤΕΧ[ΗΡΑ] ΤΕΚΜΑΥ ΕΤCΖΑΙ
ΕΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΕΝΩΧ
(EPI 179)

Ϙ It is I the widow Tachel, your mother,
who writes and who greets her beloved son
Enoch.

4. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΕCΘΗΡ ΤΕΚΖΗΖΑΛ ΕΤCΖΑΙ ΕΤ-
ΠΡΟCΚ, ΗΠΑ[ΜΕΡΙΤ. Ν]ΕΙΩΤ
(EPI 194)

Ϙ It is I your servant Esther who writes
and who worships my [beloved?] father.²

¹

The same verb is found in RYL 281 and 296 both of
which may be contemporary with EPI 145.

²

Nowhere in this letter is the addressee named.

5. + ΔΝΟΚ̄ ΚΩC ΕΤCΖΑΙ ΕΤΩΙΝΕ ΕΙΤΑΜΕΡΙΤ̄ ΕCΟΝ
 ΗΛΙΔC ΜΝCΟΥCΑΝΝΑ ΜΝΠΩΝΟC ΜΝΤΑCΟΝ
 ΥΡΥΜΕΙΔC ΜΝΤΑCΟΝ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΜΝΤΑΜΟΥ ΤΖΥΡΗ
 ΜΝΤΖΥΡΥ ΤΖΙΜΕ^{sic} ΝΥΡΥΜΕΙΔC (EPI 290)

+It is I Kos who writes and who greets my
 beloved brother Elijah, Susanna, Peshnos,
 my brother Jeremiah, my brother Paul, and
 my mother Thyre, and Thyre, Jeremiah's wife.

6. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΟC ΕΤCΖΑΙ ΕΤΩΙΝΕ Ε-
 ΠΕΤΡΕ (EPI 333)

Ϙ It is I Gennadius who writes and who greets
 Peter.

7. Ϙ ΔΝΟΚ ΤΑΤΡΕ ΜΝΚΑΘΑΡΩΝ ΕΤCΖΑΙ Μ-
 ΜΩΥCΗC (EPI 386)

Ϙ It is I (sic) Tatre and Catherine who
 write to Moses.

D. Proper Name Plus Relative First Present

1. Ϙ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΕΤCΖΑΙ ΕΓΩΙΝΕ ΕΉΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΝCΝΗΥ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΜΝΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ (EPI 303)

Ϙ It is Paul who writes, greeting the devout
 brothers Paul and Abraham.

2. Ϙ ΙCΑΑΚ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ/ ΕΤCΖΑΙ ΜΠΕCΟΝ
 ΖΗΛΙΔC (EPI 316)

† It is the most humble Isaac who writes to his brother Elijah.

3.

† ΕΥΠΡΕΠΙΟΣ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, ΕΤΕΖΑΙ¹ ΕΤΨΙΝΕ Ε-
 ΝΕΓΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΠΑΚΟΝ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΗΝΤΑ-
 ΚΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΔΥΩ ΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΕΝΟΝΗΥ
 ΕΤΕΖΑΤΕΤΝ (EPI 350)

† It is the most humble Euprepus who writes and who greets his beloved ones, my brother John and my brother Enoch. And I greet our brothers who are beneath you.

4.

† ΠΑΪΡΕΓΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΚΟCΗC ΘΗΡΩ ΕΤ-
 ΕΖΑΙ ΕΡΗΤΟΥ ΉΝΕΓΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΔΥΩ
 ΝΡΕΓΨΕΜΩΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ (EPI 373)

† It is this greatest sinner in the whole world who writes to his beloved lords and devout ones.¹

There are three letters which have been omitted from the above lists. In EPI 205: 3 the writer has substituted the form ΔΙΕΖΑΙ, "I have written," in an address which in other respects corresponds to those dealt with under Section III A. Perhaps the writer intended to write ΕΙΕΖΑΙ. Also corresponding to Section III A is ROM 3 where Isaac addresses the companions of Apa Isaac. Here Isaac refers to himself as Τα[λαίτ]ορος.

¹ A totally anonymous letter.

a Greek substitute for the usual $\pi\iota\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi$ /. He also adds a third verbal form: $[\epsilon]\eta\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$, 'begging.' In EPI 164, the tense of the verbal element remains unclear. It appears to be First³ Present which would make this letter unique. There is a lacuna immediately preceding $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota$ in the text. It may be that $\epsilon\eta$ or $\epsilon\tau$ should be restored before it. Finally, in EPI 243, the letter begins with the opening words of a conventional letter. However, after identifying himself he stops. He makes no reference at all to an addressee.

As far as content is concerned, these letters display much the same characteristics as those examined in Sections I and II. There can be compound senders (III B4) and compound addressees (III C5). In III D both parties remain anonymous.

What makes this type of address different from the $\tau\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ type is the opportunity it presents to the writer to take an active part through the verb $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota$. To this he could add complimentary epithets too. In III D3 the compliment is extended to include the brothers under the addressee's authority.

In those addresses which are formed with the circumstantial of the verb $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota$, it is interesting to note that the majority of senders are referred to in the

third person. This can be the case even when scribe and sender are known to be identical. Frange writes on his own behalf in III A12 (EPI 376). Usually though, it is a scribe who writes for someone else and this might justify the use of the third person pronoun. Yet in a number of the letters of Section III A, we have the peculiar situation of a first person pronoun subject being converted into a third person pronoun subject by the time it is united with its verbal form, viz.

ANOK ... E9C2AI ... in III A10 (EPI 325).

If we examine the letter following this kind of address, we discover something particularly interesting. The opening words of the letter are almost without exception non-formulaic. An introductory formula does not generally link a preceding address to the body of the letter. In all the Epiphanius letters which begin with the type of address at present under discussion, only four show full introductory formulae.¹ The remainder begin in a variety² of ways, the semi-formulaic $\alpha\pi\iota\ \tau\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\eta$ being the most common.

¹EPI 107, 189, 203. Perhaps EPI 164. They are more common with addresses of type $\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ or unIntroduced preceding: EPI 106, 172, 438, 457. Cf. p. 259 f.

²EPI 170, 182, 192, 194, 198, 209, 259, 287, 290, 294, 316, 350, 367, 368, 373, 385, 406, 407, 408.

This is illustrative of the situation in the Theban texts¹ of VC and ST also, except to state that in the latter two collections ἀπὶ ταράτῃ is not as frequent as true non-formulae. In other words, it seems that we are not dealing with an address followed by an introductory formula, but with a situation in which an initial address also combines in itself the function of introductory formulae. In a few instances the conjunction ἄε² or ἡννκωκ separate the address from the text of the letter. As we have seen above, ἡννκωκ in particular frequently served to join introductory formulae to the text.

Just how close to an introductory formula this type of address is, might be better appreciated if we examine those twelve letters from Epiphanius which have two addresses, one at the beginning and another at the end.

EPI 164 φανὸς παύλος περὶ ἐλάδ^{oc}, ἡμοναχ^{oc} / ΝΘ[ΕΝΕΕΤΕ]
 ζαί' ἐρατῇ ἡπθροσεβεστατος ἡχοεικ ἡειω[Τ]
 ἀγῶ πρῶμε' NAME' ΕΤ[....] ἀγῶ ΕΤΖΔΕ[ΟΟΥ] ΕΒΟΛ
 ἡννκωκ τῆρογ ἡπεχ^{oc} ...
 and

¹ Having full introductory formulae : ST 224, 257, 336; VC 47, 94.

² ἡννκωκ : EPI 167, 173, 223. ἄε : EPI 170, 259, 280, 287, 294, 308, 316, 367, 373, 403.

[ΕΤ]ΟΥΑΒ ΑΠΔ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΖΙΤΗ-
ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΠΕΚΩΗΡΕ' ^{sic} ΝΕΙΛΑΧ/

EPI 182

[+ΑΝΟΚ Π]ΛΗΕΙΝΗ [ΕΥC]ΖΑΙ' ΕΥΨΙΝΗ ΑΠΕCΓΕΙΩΤ'
ΖΗΛΙΑC

and

ΤΑΔC ΝΑΠΔ ΗΛΙΑC ΖΙΤΗΠΛΗΕΙΝ[Η]

EPI 192

ΠΑΪΕΛΑΧ/ ΑΝΑΡΕΑC ΕΥΨΙΝΗ ΕΠΕCΓΗΡΕΤ Ν-
ΕΙΩΤ' ΠΑΙΔΑΚΩ

and

ΤΑΔC ΗΠ[Δ]ΙΑΚΩ ΖΙΤΗΑΝΑΡΕΑC Π[ΙΕΛΔ]Χ/

EPI 198

†ΠΕCΗΝΤΕ ΜΗΠΕΤΡΕ' ΕΥCΖΑΙ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΠΡΟC-
ΚΥΝΕΙ' ΗΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΤΑΪΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ
CΜΟΤ' ΝΙΜ ΑΠΔ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC.

and

+ΤΑΔC ΗΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΑΠΔ ΕΠΙΦΑ-
ΝΙΟC ΖΙΤΗΠΕCΥΝΤΕ ΜΗΠΕΤΡΟC ΝΙΕΛΑΧΙ/

EPI 259

+ΑΝΟΚ [ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC ΠΙΕ]ΛΑΧΙCΤΟC ΕΥCΖΑΙ
ΕΥΨΙΝΗ] ΕΠΕCΓΗΡΕΤ [ΗΜΑΔΥ]...

and

+ τὰς ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ζιτνεπιφανίος πιέλαχ,

EPI 278

φανοκ ἀπὸ ἰωάννη[ς] ἐξέρχεται ἐξ ὧν

and

τὰς ἡμετέρας ζιτνεπὶ ἰωάννη

EPI 290

+ φανοκ κως ἐξέρχεται ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ^{sic} ἐκ

ἡλίας ἡμετέρας ἡμετέρας ἡμετέρας

ὑμετέρας ἡμετέρας παύλος ἡμετέρας

τὴν ἡμετέραν τὴν ^{sic} ὑμετέρας

and

τὰς ἡλίας ^{sic} ζιτνεκως

EPI 308

φανοκ περὶ ἐξέρχεται ἰωάννη ^{sic}

and

+ τὰς ^{sic} ἰωάννη ζιτνεπερὶ

EPI 333

φανοκ γενναίος ἐξέρχεται ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ

and

τὰς ἡμετέρας ζιτνεγενναίος ++

EPI 363

[πιέλαχ, ἐπιφανίος] ^{sic} ἐξέρχεται ἐξ ὧν

[ἐπὶ ἡμέρας] ἡμετέρας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας

and

τὰς ^{sic} ἡμετέρας [ἡμετέρας] ἐκὼς ἐπιφανίος

EPI 373 ΠΑΙΡΕΣΡ̄ ΝΟΒΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΕ ΕΤΟΖΑΙ
ΕΡΗΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΓΗΕΡΑΤΕ ΝΧΟΕΚ ΔΥΩ ΝΡΕΓ-
ΨΕΜΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ

and

ΤΑΔC ΝΝΡΕΓΨΕΜΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΤΝΠΙΕΛΑΧ +
EPI 459 ΠΙΕ]ΛΑΧ, ΙCΑΔΚ ΕΓ[...ΝCΟ]Ν ΑΠΔ ΖΕΒΕΔΑΙΟC

and

ΤΑΔC ΝΖΕΒΕΔΑΙΟC ΖΙΤΝΙCΑΔΚ ΠΙΡΕCΡ̄
ΝΟΒΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ +

If we examine EPI.164 and EPI 363, it becomes readily apparent that only the second address in each letter could fulfill the function of ensuring that the letter reached its destination. For in neither letter does the name of the recipient figure in the first address. It appears only in the second.

In EPI 290, the address at the end of the letter is directed to one person only - Elijah. However in the opening address, the sender declares that he is writing and greeting Elijah plus a whole series of people who are presumably family of the recipient. In this initial address, the sender is actually laying more stress on the element of greeting (Ψ/NE) than of simply naming his addressees.¹

¹ This is consistent with Demotic letters. See p.246.

The official address seems to be the one occurring at the end of the letter. Elijah was the major addressee.

In none of the pairs of letters enumerated above, does the first address contain fewer epithets referring to the addressee than does the second. In fact, the first address is usually profuse in compliments and greetings in comparison to the second. EPI 164 and EPI 373 both adequately demonstrate this point. The latter example is particularly interesting because the letter is totally anonymous. In this instance neither address could have ensured delivery.

In summary, it would appear that both addresses could have served to identify and compliment the addressee. However the more complex structure of the address in which the sender identifies himself first, allowed the writer to attach whatever subordinate clauses or phrases he wished to the basic ANOK...C2A1 clause. The address appearing at the end of the letter always tends to be more concise.

IV Titles and Epithets in Addresses.

To the basic title of the recipient were added such epithets as the sender felt were applicable to the

¹

For further references see EPI Ch. VI.

rank of the addressee and were suitable to the occasion prompting the letter ; for obviously a note promising that a book be sent (EPI 382), even when addressed to Epiphanius, did not require the same formality of epithet as did a letter summoning him to a synod (EPI 133). The following is a list of the basic titles to be found in addresses from EPI and ROM. Some function as epithets.

ΑΒΒΑ :

In our letters this title is found only four times: twice in reference to Epiphanius (EPI 144:17 and 162:28), once to Cyriacus (EPI 151:2), and once to Psan (EPI 281:19). All of these characters were anchorites; so presumably this term carries with it more respect than its more frequent synonym ΑΠΔ.

ΑΠΔ :

This is the most common title in these letters. It can refer to persons of various ranks within the clerical world, including anchorites (EPI 105:24) and bishops (EPI 172:10) and priests or monks of a lower order (EPI 218:13f). As we have seen above, it is extremely rare for a sender to attach this title to himself. Perhaps there was a degree of honour attached to it which was unsuitable to a sender attempting to stress his own unworthiness. Only one character in these letters attaches the title to his own name.

In EPI 278 John is writing to a civil official, the lashane of Jeme. Perhaps the official nature of the letter prompted more formality. Certainly in Thebes it was not common for priests or monks to have correspondence with government (if we may judge by the Epiphanius collection), except under extreme circumstances.

ANAXWPHTHC :

This title is used of persons such as Epiphanius and Psan who are known to have been leaders of the Epiphanius community.¹ Others named are Joseph (EPI 87:4),² Isaac (EPI 105:25 and 211:6), Cyriacus (EPI 151:2 f.), Enoch (EPI 383: 11 f), and the otherwise unknown Elisha (EPI 253:15). That it was an ascetic goal beyond the average is revealed in EPI 162 where the archdeacon Joseph declares that he had once before approached Epiphanius with an eye to joining him in the desert, but was dissuaded by Epiphanius because of the rigours involved.³ Although Pesenthius spent a few years living as an ascete at Jeme, the title anchorite is never attached to his name.

¹ EPI APPENDIX III (Pl. XVI) p. 344, lines 10 ff.

² Probably identical with the sender of EPI 105, etc.

³ EPI 162:11.

ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΑΡΙΤΗΣ:

In our texts, it occurs in 133 only, in reference to someone whose name has dropped out from the text. All that can be said is that the person was of a high enough rank to join Epiphanius in being called to a synod.

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ:

The title is referred to in EPI 131 and 140 without any further specification.

ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ:

This title does not figure frequently in these letters. Only in EPI 192 is a deacon addressed. Here he is addressed respectfully as ΕΙΩΤ, 'father,' by someone seeking admission to the community over which the deacon seems to have some control. He could engage in business activities,¹ and in EPI 279 Peter, who formally rejects himself as deacon, requests a shipment of linen from the anchorites Isaac and Elijah. There was too the title of ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ. In EPI 162 Joseph writes to Epiphanius in this capacity but really seems to be discussing his private rather than his public life. He declares that he is under the authority of a bishop (probably of Ermont) and that he was a married man and previously possessed a considerable fortune.

¹ Likewise EPI 285 and 299.

ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΗΣ :

The steward's role seems to have been administrative. In EPI 360 he gives official permission for Epiphanius to cut flax. He signs his name with his title, perhaps thereby making the letter legal.

ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ :

As well as Pesenthus, a number of other bishops are referred to.¹ From RE 10 we know of the existence of two bishops who are contemporaries of Pesenthus and Epiphanius: Pisrael and Constantine. In these texts there is only one letter in which a bishop actually is an active party. In EPI 154:13 Abraham signs 'bishop' after his name when writing to the priest Senetom.

ΕΙΩΤ :

With the exception of EPI 294:2, where Enoch addresses his real father, this substantive is used more as a respectful epithet than an expression of true rank. It is used to refer to anchorites (EPI 105:22 and 162:28), bishops (EPI 153), and to lesser ranks too (EPI 168:2 and 192:3), depending on the degree of formality the writer wished to maintain. More significance was attached to the use of ΕΙΩΤ than one might have thought. This is reflected in EPI 105:8 ff. where Joseph seems to be decrying the fact that Isaac, whom he regards as his superior,

1

EPI 133:6 (John) and EPI 165:5 f. (My lord bishops)▲

has written to him in too respectful a tone:

ΔΚΟΖΑΙ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΕΙΩΤ [...] ΔΝ ΔΠΑΖΗΤ ΖΙΣΕ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΥΩ[ΝΟΖΑΙ] ΝΔΙ ΧΕΠΑΥΗΡΕ Η
 ΠΑΖΗΖΑΛ ΨΑ[ΡΕΤΑ]ΖΗΤ ΗΤΟΝ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΩΚ ΓΑΡ

You wrote to me saying 'father,' not [...];
 and my mind was suffering. But if you [write]
 to me as 'my son' or 'my servant,' then [my]
 mind will be at ease. For I belong to you.

Then Joseph addresses Isaac as ΜΕΡΙΤ Ν[ΕΙ]ΩΤ
 in line 21. We know that it was Joseph's intent to
 be as complimentary as possible in this instance.

ΚΥΡΙΟ:

This Greek term (ΚΥΡΙΟΣ) is always used to
 refer to someone of importance in administrative affairs.
 Whether it applies more to a lay or to a clerical
 officer is a debatable point; for in Theban letters it
 is apparently employed as a title for both. It is pro-
 bably more correct to refer to this term as an epithet
 since, in some examples outside the Epiphanius letters,
 it is employed in addition to a specific title. In
 KRU 44:11 ff., a legal text of the early eighth century,
 Justinus the pagarch of Ermont is referred to as π[ρ]οκ[υρ].
 From this same period are documents in which three
dioiketes are also addressed as ¹κ[υρ]. In contrast

¹ KRU 4:3, 88:3; 104:57. Cf. CO 169 which
 makes reference to π[ρ]οκ[υρ] ἀγογ[ο]σταλ[η].

to this, the recipient of CO 289 is addressed both as ΠΚΥΡ and ΜΝΤΙΩΤ. Obviously this epithet could honour church officials as well; for in this letter, in which the addressee is given specific instructions about a task he is to fulfill for the sender, it would seem that the importance of his administrative function entitled the sender to be addressed in like fashion to a pagarch or other civil official. References from the Epiphanius collection are more general; and the rank of the individual addressees would have to be assumed.¹

ΛΑΨΑΝΕ:²

This title certainly refers to that civil office which we know continued on into Arab times. The lashane was primarily concerned with local municipal affairs. He could act as a representative of the townsfolk³ and of the clergy.⁴ Before him legal doc-

¹
EPI 136, 441 etc.

²
The origin of the word is uncertain. See W. Erichsen, Demotisches glossar (Kopenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), 512. In RYL p. 92, fn. 3 ΛΑΨΑΝΕ = πριζότερος. Cf. EPI Vol I, p. 176.

³
RE 37.

⁴
RE 15; CO 49.

uments could be sworn.¹ With specific reference to the Epiphanius correspondence, all is between the lashane and the monastic community. In EPI 163 the lashane of Jeme, Shenoute, requests that Epiphanius intercede with the officials of two warring villages in the hope of arranging an exchange of prisoners.² In EPI 151 the lashane of Luxor responds to legal questions raised by the anchorite Cyriacus. Theban letters show the lashane to be a low-ranking local magistrate who attempted to keep ahead of local problems in times of extensive civil unrest.

Maay :

This can refer both to the physical and spiritual mother. Epiphanius has an exchange of letters with his mother (EPI 259, 336, 374, 397) as does Enoch with his parents (EPI 179, 294).

MaOTHHC :

As a title it occurs only in EPI 245 in reference to John the disciple of the anchorite Isaac.

MONAXOC :

It occurs rarely in these letters. Technically it was a term applicable to all members of the Epiphanius community without reference to rank. Consequently it could refer to Epiphanius himself (EPI 87) as well as to monks of

¹
CO 49, 107; EPI 184.

²
EPI 216 may be a follow-up letter in which he is asked to celebrate the peace. Similarly RE 37.

indeterminate status (EPI 85:3 f; 164:1; 178:4). Nor did the writers of EPI 164 and 178 ~~hesitate~~ in referring to themselves in this way.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟC:

With this term, we refer to someone's being part of a church rather than a monastic organization. Many of the characters we meet who refer to themselves or others simply as πρεσβυτερος may actually have been priests staying at this community, just as Pesenthius the bishop took refuge from the Persian invasions. The priest Mark referred to in EPI 198 was obviously someone of importance in the community. He is worthy to be greeted by Pesenthius in a letter actually addressed to Epiphanius.

CON:

This title does triple duty in Theban documents. It can refer to the actual physical brother (EPI 290:3), to the monastic office, (EPI 401:12), and can indicate friendly respect between priests or monks of a similar rank. This is the way Pesenthius refers to Epiphanius in EPI 382. On a more solemn occasion protocol would probably have been more closely observed.¹

We have seen continually that most of our Theban letter-writers endeavoured to refer to the recipient of

¹

EPI 131:11 which is addressed to Epiphanius probably from the bishop Constantine. ΕΙΩΤ replaces CON.

their correspondence in as flattering a way as possible. The introductory formula provided a suitable framework within which complimentary phrases often figured. Addresses provided the writer with a similar outlet.

The pool of epithets from which the writer could draw was reasonably extensive. The following is a list of those epithets which occur specifically in addresses of the Epiphanius letters. However, since such a large number of letters are included in this, the conclusions here reached could apply equally to all Theban letters.

The epithets discussed in this first section are more frequently found, as attributives following the substantive they modify.

A.

1. ETOYΔAB 'holy.' This is the most popular epithet in any of the addresses, probably because it could be applicable to clergy of various ranks.¹ It is a neutral term of respect used most often in conjunction with the substantive EIWT, 'father.'

EIWT :

EPI 114:1 f., 131:1, 201:18,
217:2 f., 223:3, 315:3,
328:18, 457:2, 471:28,
493:7.

EIOTE :

EPI 368:2 f.

¹ Cf. p. 47 ff.

An uncommon variant of this form is $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$.
Here the substantive $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ follows, joined by the
particle \bar{N} :

$\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ $\bar{N}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$: EPI 198:12; 296:21 f.

On one occasion (EPI 145:4) $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ is
used alone as a substantive.

2. $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\iota\eta\gamma$, 'honoured.' Even though it occurs
only in the attributive position it does appear with
more than one substantive.

$\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$: EPI 198:1, 253:14.¹

$\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$: EPI 208:5, 356:1 f., 385:2 f.

$\kappa\eta\eta\gamma$: EPI 173:3, 439:21.

('brothers')

3. $\rho\epsilon\gamma\omega\mu\eta\epsilon$ $\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$, 'God-worshipping,' 'devout.'

This more unusual epithet is one particularly befit-
ting the rank of anchorite. In EPI 105:22 f. it is
found in association with the substantive $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$,

'lord,' to which it is bound by the particle \bar{N} . In

EPI 342:18 f. it appears with $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$.² In EPI 373:45 ff.

it is used as an independent substantive.

¹ $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ is restored from line 11.

² Similarly EPI 203:2 ff. and 406:2 ff.

The following epithets which comprise section B generally precede the substantive which they modify.

1. MEPIT, 'beloved.' This epithet is used extensively in Epiphanius both as a modifier and as a substantive. Although it is used to modify a wide variety of ranks, it establishes a bond of affection between sender and recipient. In no instance does it diminish the expression of respect which the writer may still have wished to convey.

MEPIT NEIWT:

EPI 105:21 f., 131:1, 145:3,
168:18 f., 192:2 f.,
223:2 f., 253:14, 280:2.

MEPATE NEIOTE:

EPI 445:9.

MEPIT NXOEIC:

EPI 340B:3, 376:2.

MEPIT NCON:

EPI 287:4, 290:3, 304:18,
408:2.

MEPATE NCNHY:

EPI 173:2 f., 181:2 f.

MEPIT NWHP:

EPI 179:2, 336:21.

('beloved son')

MEPIT NMAAY:

EPI 259:15.

('beloved mother')

In all but EPI 133 MEPIT is the first element, linked to its following substantive by the particle N.

However in this case the substantive which MEPIT modifies precedes it.

In three instances in these letters MEPIT is used as an independent substantive: EPI 188:19; 350:2 and 438:1 f.

2. MAINOYTE, 'God-loving,' 'pious.' In most respects the usage of this word parallels that of PEPYNTE NOYTE.

MAINOYTE NEWT: EPI 172:2, 457:1 f.

MAINOYTE NCON: EPI 272:16, 325:1 f., 351:19 f.

MAINOYTE NCNHV: EPI 303:2 f.

In EPI 131:11, 253:15 and 376:3 f. MAINOYTE follows the substantive which it modifies. In EPI 186:5 it appears to stand as a substantive in apposition to the title KYPIC.

3. XOEIC. 'lordly.' In fact this is the substantive 'lord.' It is used much less frequently than MEPIT or MAINOYTE because it could only be directed to addressees of a rank equal or superior to that of the sender.

XOEIC NEIWT: EPI 198:1, 201:17 f, 315:2 f.,
342:17, 354:9, 403:2 f.,
493:7.

XOEIC NEIWT (pl.): EPI 261:9 f.

Only in EPI 175:13 does XOEIC appear as a substantive on its own.

4. ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΤΑΤΟΣ, 'most God-loving.' It is a Greek superlative adjective used in both EPI 133:10 and 283:1 as a substantive bound by the particle N to another substantive following it.

5. ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ, 'spiritual.' In both addresses in which it is used this epithet refers to anchorites. Both times it follows the substantive it modifies: in EPI 133:11 bound by the particle N, and in EPI 151:2 as a straight attributive adjective.

6. ΖΑΓΙΩCYNH, 'holiness.' This is used in only one address in these letters. In EPI 151:1 this substantive is found in relationship with the following EIWT. It is the Greek for the Coptic equivalent ETOWAS. In fact the letter originated from Strategius the lashane of Luxor whose main language would probably have been Greek.

7. ΘΕΟΦΕΒΕΚΤΑΤΟC, 'most God-fearing.' Only in EPI 164:2 does this epithet occur. It is used to describe Epiphanius and comes from the monk Paul. It is unusual to find a letter containing as many Greek words as this in the Epiphanius collection.

There are two adjectival clauses which are also found as epithets complimentary to the addressee. One, ΕΤΗΜΩΑΝΤΑΙΩΝΙΜ, 'worthy of every honour,' is found only once in an address. In EPI 105:23 f, it is used by Joseph to describe the anchorite Isaac. A more common epithet, but one only used in reference to anchorites or bishops,¹ is ΕΤΦΟΡΕΙ ΠΡΕΣΧ, 'who embodies Christ.' Epiphanius is once so addressed in EPI 133:11, as is Cyriacus (EPI 457:3), Isaac (EPI 261:11 and 145:5) and an otherwise unknown John in EPI 315:4.

It is seldom that a unique phrase appears in these letters, but such is the case in the following few:

EPI 162:28 + ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΤΟ ΝΡΠΤΕ' ΗΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΑΒΒΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟC ΠΕΤΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΑΥΩ ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗC

+ My lordly holy father who is God's temple,
Abba Epiphanius, the prophet and anchorite.

EPI 163:20 + ΠΙΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΟΥΔΒ ΝΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ

ΑΥΩ ΝΕΓΚΛΗCΤΩC ΠΕΨΑΛΜΩΔΟC ΝΒΡΡΕ

ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΟC

+ The pious, inspired and withdrawn holy father,
the new psalmist, Apa Epiphanius.

EPI 169:11 ΑΠΑ ΙCΑΚ ΜΝΑΠΑ ΗΛΙΟC ΝΑΙ' ΝΤΑΥΚΩ

ΝΤΕΥΨΗΧΗ ΖΑΠΡΙ'Ν ΝΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC

Apa Isaac and Apa Elijah, these who have given
their souls for the name of our Lord Jesus
the Christ.

As we can see, these epithets were reserved
for exalted clerical figures, all of them anchorites.

In addition there are the occasional phrases
which, although not as formal as the ones just discus-
sed, were adaptable to varying circumstances. Two such
are ΚΑΤΑ ΧΟΤ ΝΗΝ (EPI 198:1 f.), 'in every respect,'
and ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ (EPI 376:3), 'good.'

Just as epithets referring to the addressee
served to compliment him, so the epithets which the
sender attached to himself also complimented the recipi-
ent. The sender minimizes his own importance, thus
indirectly enhancing that of the addressee.¹

¹ This may not be the case in letters where
the sender signs his name in an administrative
capacity. See EPI 360:8 f.

The most common epithet which the sender used in reference to himself was the Greek superlative form ¹ ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ, 'most humble.' It could appear either before or after the name of the sender. Usually it was written in an abbreviated form. More than likely, it was ² priests or monks, not laymen, who used it.

Name plus ΕΛΑΧ: EPI 105:27, 107:1, 133:12, 145:2 f., 167:1, 172:4, 173:1, 198:13, 245:15 f., 259:17, 272:18, 282:18, 283:2, 315:6, 316:1 f., 317:8, 330:15, 340:14, 350:1, 383:13 f., 385:2, 401:13 f., 403:2, 406:1, 420:7, ROM 7:15 f., 11:20.

ΕΛΑΧ plus Name: EPI 192:1, 203:1, 206:15, 296:24 f., 367:1, 407:1, 408:1, 459:1.

In EPI 373:48 f. the sender remains anonymous, referring to himself simply as ΠΙΕΛΑΧ, 'the most humble ³ one.' On a few occasions ΕΛΑΧ is used to modify a word which is in itself an epithet of the sender, viz.

ΠΕΓΡ ΝΟΒΕ, 'sinner,' in EPI 261:13 and 459:26 f.

¹ ROM 3:1 f. has the Greek equivalent:

² EPI, Vol. 1, p. 129.

³ Similarly EPI 368:1.

The substantive which the sender uses to refer to himself often serves as a type of epithet because it reflects the rank the sender wishes to assume in relation to the addressee. In most cases this is not an accurate indication of his status in society.

1. WHPE, 'son.' With this term one would automatically think of a natural son or of a junior priest or monk. Yet in the case of EPI 105:26 this seems doubtful. Here Joseph, the sender, can be identified as a prominent Theban figure. He referred to himself in this lowly manner because he held his recipient, Isaac, in particular esteem. Certainly the lashane of Luxor who in EPI 151:4 f. attaches this epithet to himself could not have been a 'son' to the anchorite Cyriacus either in the natural or ecclesiastical sense. He used this term as a mark of reverence.

2. PEQP NOBE, 'sinner.' This substantive occurs in EPI 208:7 in reference to a certain Pesenthus, probably the bishop of Coptus. It seems to have been a favourite expression of the above-mentioned Joseph who employed it in EPI 261:13 and EPI 373:1. It is also used in EPI 356:4, 375:21 and 459:26, always casting the

¹
For an analysis of Joseph's letters see Chapter V, III.

sender in a rank morally inferior to that of the recipient.

3. ~~δμωδλ~~ 'servant.' In meaning and usage it is similar to the previous substantive. It serves to denigrate the sender, even when he is Bishop Pesenthus (EPI 111:23). In EPI 105:28 it is used in an attributive position joined by the particle $\bar{\alpha}$ to its antecedent. In EPI 342:23 ~~δμωδλ~~ is further qualified by the adjective $\delta\tau\omega\delta\gamma$, 'worthless,' which adds even greater emphasis to the humble qualities of the sender.

If the writer was addressing someone lower in rank to himself it was not common for him to attach the epithet $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (or any other which would indicate humility) to his name. In EPI 154 where Bishop Abraham is giving instructions to the priest Senetom, there are no epithets at all in the address, just titles reflecting the actual rank of both parties.

It may be no more than coincidental, but in those letters in which the sender introduces himself first the writer is less likely to attach epithets to his own name. Of the 41 letters with such addresses, almost half lack epithets referring to the sender.

In conclusion, we find that addresses from the Epiphanius and ROM collections fall into two main groups. The most popular style is that of Parts I and II in which the recipient's name and rank (if applicable), along with suitable epithets, precede that of the sender. Less frequently the sender, as we have seen in Part III, identifies himself first and declares that he is writing to the addressee.

The function of the address in Coptic letters included more than just that of ensuring delivery. The 33 letters which have no address of any kind testify¹ to this; and such letters indicate that the letter-bearer fulfilled the function of identifying both sender and recipient. Nor do full addresses, complete with formal epithets, make any sense in a letter such as EPI 373 which is totally anonymous.

Just as problematic are those letters which have two addresses, one at the beginning of the letter and the other at the end. This situation would not be so strange if one address appeared on the recto of the

1

EPI 140, 174, 196, 210, 220, 221, 230, 233, 234, 235, 239, 242, 244, 297, 299, 305, 313, 322, 323, 346, 353, 361, 364, 366, 370, 371, 379, 390, 395, 396, 498, 512, 514.

letter and the other on the verso. Such a situation could be explained as a reflection of the sender's desire that the letter reach its destination without difficulty. But in EPI 200, 216, 311, 337, 415, 432, 443 and 471 both addresses occur on the same side of the letter. The inclusion of two addresses seems to represent a tradition connected with papyrus letters, both Greek and earlier Egyptian, in which parties were identified at the beginning of the letter and also on the outside of the roll.¹ While the first often included greetings to the addressee, the latter address was for delivery purposes. Clearly two addresses would not be necessary on ostraca. For this reason, the first address developed primarily as a vehicle by which the sender could compliment his recipient.

In this regard, the results of a comparison of the addresses within each of the twelve letters which have double addresses indicate that the information given in the one address never contradicts the information given in the other. However, quite often the information given in the first address amplifies that given in the second. For example, in EPI 290 one

person is named in the final address. In the first he is named as well; but, in addition, all the members of his family are enumerated and greeted individually. Although never contradictory, the epithets in the first address are often more numerous and descriptive than those in the second. The first address in these letters may have served as an additional means of compliment and not as an official address.

Apart from the mentioning of proper names, there is little to distinguish the addresses of Part III from the introductory formulae of the type $\Upsilon\Omega\overline{\rho}\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}$ or $\Upsilon\Delta\overline{\theta}\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}$. In the case of EPI 306 we see a combining¹ of the introductory formula and address:

† $\Upsilon\Delta\overline{\theta}\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}$ ^{sic} $\overline{\pi}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\chi}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\nu}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\chi}\overline{\iota}\overline{\sigma}\overline{\tau}\overline{\circ}\overline{\varsigma}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\nu}\overline{\omicron}\overline{\kappa}$ $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\gamma}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\alpha}$
 $\overline{\pi}\overline{\rho}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\beta}$, $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\varsigma}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\tau}\overline{\omega}\overline{\iota}\overline{\nu}\overline{\epsilon}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\pi}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\varsigma}\overline{\eta}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}\overline{\iota}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\eta}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\iota}\overline{\omega}\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\alpha}\overline{\pi}\overline{\Delta}$ $\overline{\iota}\overline{\varsigma}\overline{\alpha}\overline{\kappa}$...

† At the beginning of my most humble message I, David the priest, it is who writes and who greets his beloved father Apa Isaac...

Admittedly the scribe of this letter uses some peculiar spellings. Nevertheless it was not objectionable to him to include his address within the introductory formula.

The function of the address in Coptic letters was two-fold. The mention of proper names would have ensured delivery while the epithets which the sender attached to the name of his addressee conveyed the sender's compliments.

¹

Similarly EPI 218, 236, 241, 351. See p. 268 ff.



CHAPTER V

THREE SCRIBES AND THEIR LETTERS

We are now in a position to see that a Coptic letter consists of a number of formulaic elements drawn together to form a whole. Now we must consider just how individual scribes handled these elements in their own letters. Was there a tendency for one scribe to adhere to a particular format? Did he alter the framework of the letter in accordance with the circumstances which made the letter necessary? In an attempt to answer these questions the letters of three different scribes will be examined. Each of them is responsible for a number of letters of the Epiphanius collection.

I Mark

From EPI 84 which Mark writes with his own hand, we learn that Mark was the priest of the church of St. Mark in Jeme. He was writing this document, a will, on behalf of the priest, Severus. In this text and in all his others he writes with an elegant and relaxed script, unligatured with a noticeable tilt to the right.¹

In two instances Mark wrote on behalf of someone else: EPI 482 and RE 10. The question arises here: do

¹EPI Vol. II, Plates XI:328, XII:84, XV.

these letters reflect the style of Mark himself or are they the dictated words of the sender? This we will attempt to determine by comparing these two letters with those which Mark wrote on his own behalf.

EPI 482 is addressed to Epiphanius and his successor Psan and written on behalf of someone whose name cannot be read accurately. All we have is ΔN -...[...]ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧ, 'This most humble ΔN [....]' The letter begins with an introductory formula which we meet often enough in these letters, viz. $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon$. In the introduction the writer refers to a previous statement which he had made to Epiphanius as a means of refreshing his memory; and then he informs the recipients that someone of importance is on the way to see them. The sender concludes with salutations to both Epiphanius and Psan. He calls them $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\eta\mu(\alpha\iota\prime\text{νο}\upsilon\tau)\epsilon$, 'your (pl.) piety.' This is on line 9. On the following line Mark includes his own greetings to the pair.

$\mu\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \pi(\epsilon\iota\epsilon)\lambda\alpha\chi,\ \tau\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\upsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\ \tilde{\alpha}\tau(\epsilon\tau)\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$

Th[is] most humble Mark worships your (pl.) fathership.

Mark chose to include a terminal formula in the letter just preceding the address with which the letter ends.

$\pi\eta\alpha\iota\prime\text{νο}\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \tilde{\eta}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \alpha\pi\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\iota\phi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \tilde{\mu}\tilde{\nu}-$
 $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \psi\alpha\tilde{\nu}.\ \Delta\text{N}...\text{[...]}\ \pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi,$

The pious father Apa Epiphanius and Apa Psan.
This most humble....¹

In RE 10 Mark writes on behalf of a Shenoute who cannot be more closely identified. What is significant about this letter is the number of references to higher ranking clergy, either bishops or the archbishop himself in one instance. Whoever Shenoute may have been, he was accustomed to moving in influential circles of a wide geographic area. As his scribe, Mark also would have been exposed to such contact. Although the name of the recipient of this letter is omitted, Till has identified him as Elisha, the abbot of a monastery which fell under the jurisdiction of Pesenthus, bishop of Coptus.²

In general outline, this letter is the same as EPI 482. The address occurs at the end. There is a terminal formula. The choice of introductory formula in this case is *WOPH MEN*. And, for whatever reason, the scribe does not add any remarks of his own to the greetings of Shenoute.³ In the address Shenoute is quite

¹Perhaps read *ANANAC*. He was a known contemporary of Enoch, and therefore of Epiphanius. See EPI 185, 356, 357.

²TILL, p. 82 f.

³From the content of the letter, it seems that Elisha was having difficulties with the archbishop. Antagonism is reflected towards Psan in particular in EPI 327 which is from Elisha. It may all be part of the same dispute.

familiar with his addressee, as he is throughout the letter. In line 1, he refers to Elisha as TEKHNITCON MHAINOTE, 'your pious brotherhood,' and the address reads:

ΠΑΡΕΔΙΤ ΝΟΝ ΜΗΑΙΝΟΤΕ ΑΠΑ[...] ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC

My beloved pious brother Apa [Elisha] the monk.

It is more than likely that the rank of Shenoute far outstripped that of Mark. This may account for Mark's reluctance to add any of his own remarks to the letter. Furthermore, if he were writing on his own behalf, it would be unlikely that he would have addressed Elisha in such familiar terms.

Judging by the content of RE 10, it would seem quite plausible that the wording of the letter would have been dictated by the sender, because in the course of the letter the sender makes certain assumptions about the rank and dignity of his recipient which the scribe probably would not, such as in RE 10, where Shenoute refers to the bishop Pisrael as ΠΕΝΟΝ ΝΟΓΙΩΤΑΤ, 'our most worthy brother,' in line 6. However, since in both EPI 482 and RE 10, the framework within which both letters are written remains the same, it is more than likely that the scribe was responsible for setting up the letter. Both letters have full formal introductory formulae and both have terminal formulae. In each case the address follows the letter.

When we examine those letters which Mark wrote on his own behalf, we see that here too the general scheme of things does not alter substantially.¹ His addresses always appear at the end of the letters. They can sometimes be preceded by the $\tau\alpha\alpha\kappa\bar{\nu}$ which we have seen in the most common type of address. This he writes in EPI 330; and probably in 277 we can safely restore the $\tau\alpha\alpha\kappa$ in line 21. In his other two letters (EPI 328 and RE 29) he omits $\tau\alpha\alpha\kappa\bar{\nu}$. Although terminal formulae were never an essential element in letters, Mark seems to favour them. They appear in every letter except for EPI 330.

When we turn to examine Mark's use of introductory formulae, we find that the pattern seems to differ. When he wrote the other two letters for someone other than himself, both letters had full introductory formulae. Here there are none, even though his wording of the letters is quite conventional. To this there is only the exception of EPI 277 which begins in a unique way. He starts with an apology. Usually the apology is for not having found the papyrus to write on, but here the apology is of a different sort:

¹ There are four letters written by Mark:
EPI 277, 328, 330; RE 29.

+ $\text{CΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ ΝΑΙ Δ[Ε] ΕΡΕΤΑΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ}$
 $\text{ΥΩΝΕ ΗΠΙΟΝ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΕΙ.}$

+Pardon me, because with my foot bothering
 me, I was not able to find a way to come.

Then in line 3, he writes a phrase which Mark seems
 to favour and which appeared more commonly as an
 introductory formula:

ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ.
 $\text{ΤΑΚΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΝ[Τ]ΕΙΩΤ ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ}$
 $\text{ΝΙΜ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΠΡΟΚΥΝΕ! ΗΠΑ-}$
 $\text{ΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΧΑΒ ΤΕΠΙΚΟΠΟC (EPI 277:2)}$

First of all I greet your fathership. Especially
 I worship my lordly holy father the bishop....

The expression ΖΑΘΗ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ is the same as the
 introductory formula ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ but for the
 exclusion of the particle μέν . In this sentence, its
 function is that of an adverb modifying and emphasizing
 the verbal form ΤΑΚΠΑΖΕ which precedes it. At the same
 time it links its clause to the following one by
 coordination with ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ .²

Mark does not hesitate to include reported speech
 in letters he composed. In EPI 277, the reported speech
 contains a form displaying a peculiar spelling.

¹ Mark used it again in RE 29 and 52. Elisha uses the
 same phrase in EPI 327 which he sends to Mark.

² EPI 327, line 13, has ΝΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ instead of
 ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ .

ΕΧΕΜΑΚΤΑΔΕ ΝΑΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΩΡΩ

ΠΜΑΖΕ ΝΑΙ

(EPI 277: 14-16)

If you do not give it to me now, return
the corn to me.

It would seem that the form ΕΧΕ is equivalent to the
more usual ΕΥΧΕ, the conditional particle. We know
that C can stand for Ε, especially before Χ, and
that the combination CΧ can be written simply as Χ:
ΕΥΧΕ > ΕCΧΕ > ΕΧΕ.¹

Although the writer seems to have adhered to
a style of writing in which the general elements of the
letter form remain constant, Mark certainly varied the
expression he used inside his letters, even when the
content was basically the same and the letters were
meant for the same recipient. As a demonstration of
this point, I have placed EPI 328 and 330 in parallel
columns. Both letters are from the pen and the imagination
of Mark. Although there is some doubt in the first
letter, Pesenthius is presumed to be the recipient
of both.

¹ BALA, Vol. II, p. 134, 118b and
p. 146, 124a.

328

ⲡ ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲕⲩ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲧⲁⲥ-
ⲡⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲙⲁⲓ-
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲅⲱ
ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲩ [ⲕⲁ] ⲧⲁ
ⲕⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ

ⲡ I worship and I
kiss your fatherly
piety who is honoured
in every way

TEXT

ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕ-
ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲥ.
ⲉⲕ ⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲡⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲙⲁⲓ
ⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲩ ⲱⲛⲙ ⲛ-
ⲗⲁⲱⲁⲛⲉ

I beg your fathership
that you do me the
kindness (and send
me)¹ a small quantity
of vegetables.

REASON
FOR
REQUEST

ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ
ⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ

330

ⲡ [ⲧ]ⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲧ-
ⲡ[ⲣⲟⲥ] ⲕⲩⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕ-
ⲙ[ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ

ⲡ I greet and
worship your
fathership.

ⲁⲣⲓ ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲡⲓⲛⲩ ⲛⲧ-
ⲟⲩⲉⲗ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉⲭⲛⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧ-
ⲧⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲩ ⲛ-
ⲗⲁⲙⲱⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ

Please add this
kindness also to
the others and
send me a few
vegetables,

ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲉⲛⲕⲛⲩⲩⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ
ⲟⲉⲛⲉⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲗⲁⲙ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ-

¹Ellipsis in Coptic.

αβραζαμ ν λακγ-
[.] νζητοϋ

Truly I have
longed for them
because I am
sick

because, with
Abraham bringing
[....], some
brothers of the
monastery of
Abraham have
visited me.

COMPLIMENT †COOYN ΓΑΡ ΔΕ
ΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟ Ν-
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΔΝΟΚ
ΝΖΟΥΟ

For I know your
kindness reaches
everyone, includ-
ing me.

TERMINAL
FORMULA

ΟΥΔΑΙ ΨΛΗΛ' ΕΧΩΝ

Fare well. Pray
for us.

ADDRESS

+ ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤ-
ΟΥΑΔΒ ΠΕ[.....Ε]ΛΑΧΥ+

+ ΤΑΔΕ ΝΑΤΑ ΠΟ[.]Ε
ΖΙΤΗΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΥΕΛ[Α]Χ[.]

+My beloved holy
father Pe[....
from the] most
humble [.... (?)]¹

+Give it to Apa Pes
Pes[enth]ius from
this most humble
Mark.

¹It is unlikely that the sender's name
could appear in such a small space.

POSTSCRIPT

ⲙⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲗⲱⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲁ-
ⲛⲧⲁⲃⲛⲧⲕ +

Pray for me
until I visit you. +

In both letters Mark hopes to make a request in as polite a way as possible. Expressions within the letter can vary, but the writer is always careful to balance his requests in each case with suitable references to Pesenthius' previous generosity. In EPI 330 Mark manages this within one sentence, including it with the request. Terminal formulae are seen to be interchangeable with postscripts. In EPI 328, he prefers a terminal formula; in EPI 330 he uses a postscript. Each of these gives the writer scope to make additional requests, thereby complementing the addressee. In each case the writer acknowledges the spiritual excellence of Pesenthius by requesting prayers from him. Both letters have their addresses at the end of the letter as is typical of all his letters. It must have been a personal preference. The fact that one address is preceded by ⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛ and the other is not seems to have made no difference. They are similar to the two letters Mark wrote for other parties (EPI 482 and RE 10). This would tend to indicate that the framework of all Mark's letters was his own in construction.

Once again, in RE 29, Mark writes to Bishop Pesenthius. The external form of the letter resembles

that of EPI 328 and EPI 330 with the address standing at the end of the letter. Even the expression $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\omega\beta$ NIM (line 22) is included in the closing words of the text. However, the epithets which Mark uses to refer to himself and to his recipient are noticeably more formal. The more serious content of the letter probably dictated this. The letter commences:

TAMNTEΛAX, EI EP[ATANTA ETEK-
ΘEO]ΦΙΛΕΙΑ ΝΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ

My humility came to [meet your] lordly and fatherly [piety].

In the last three letters, we find a difference between the kind of epithet which Mark uses in EPI 328, 330 and those of RE 29. In the first two letters, Mark was requesting a favour of a personal nature and this no doubt influenced the language and epithets he used. Similarly the formal nature of the correspondence in RE 29 probably determined that Mark address Pesenthius more respectfully. The absolute rank of Pesenthius, the fact that he was bishop of Coptus, required that anyone, not a bishop or anchorite himself, address Pesenthius in terms of respect.¹

Just how embellished these terms of respect might be, was probably determined by the context of the letter. Consequently, it might be useful to list

¹ For context similar to RE 29 see RE 2, 20 and 32 where Pesenthius is addressed by priests and a κypic.

and compare all the titles that Mark employed in those letters he wrote for himself.

REFERRING TO PESENTHIUS

TO MARK

RE 29

1 f. [TEKΘEO]ΦΙΛΕΙΔ.Ν-
ΧΘΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ

1

ΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΑΧ/

my humility.

[your] lordly fatherly
[piety] [....]

28 f.

ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕΚΖΜΖΛ
ΝΕΛΑΧ/6,
18

ΤΕΤΝΖΑΓΙΩCΥΝΗ

Mark your most
humble servant.

yōur (pl.) holiness.

21 ΤΕΤΝΜΑΚΑ[ΡΙΩΤΗC
ΝΕΙΩΤ]

your (pl.) fatherly
blessedness.

26 f. [ΠΑ]ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΔΥΩ
ΕΤΧΗΚ [NCMOT] NIM

[my] holy father who is
perfect [in] every [respect]

EPI 328

2 ff. ΤΕΚΜΝΤΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ
ΔΥΩ ΕΤΤΑΪΗΥ [ΚΑ]ΤΑ
CMOT NIM

your fatherly piety who
is honoured in every
respect.

19] ΛΑΧ/

[this mo]st
humble [....]

REFERRING TO PESENTHIUS

TO MARK

5 f. ΤΕΚΗΝΤΕΙΩΤ

your fathership

18 ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ

my beloved holy father

EPI 330

2 f. ΤΕΚΗ[Ν]ΤΕΙΩΤ

your fathership

15 ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΙΕΛ[Α]Χ[Λ]

this most humble
Mark.

14 ΑΠΑ ΠΕ[...]Ε

Apa Pes[enth]ius

EPI 277 is addressed to the anchorite Psan.

Other characters are also named and it is interesting to see how Mark views their relative importance by examining the epithets he applies to each.

REFERRING TO PSAN

TO MARK

2 f. ΤΕΚΗΝ[Τ]ΕΙΩΤ
17

your fathership

22 ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΙΕΛ[...]

this most hum[ble]
Mark.

REFERRING TO PSAN

TO MARK

5 f. TEKHNTHAI'NOYTE NEIWT

your fatherly piety

21 f. ΠΕΤΟΥΔΒ ΝΕΙΩ[Τ ΑΠ]Δ

ΠCON ΠΔ[ΝΔΧΩΡΙΤΗ]C

the holy fath[er Apla
Psan the a[nchorit]e

REFERRING TO THE BISHOP

4. ΠΔΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΒ
ΠΕΠICKOTOCmy fatherly holy
lord the bishop9 f. Π]ΕΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΟΥΔΒ
ΠΕΠICK[Ο]ΠOCour holy father the
bishop

23 ΠΕΝΕΙΩ ΠΕΠΙ[CΚΟΠOC]....

our father the
bi[shop]....

REFERRING TO DANIEL

4 f. ΠΑCON ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ

my devout brother

Of the three characters here named, it is only Daniel who Mark feels holds a rank similar to his own. Hence he names him CON, 'brother.' The actual identity of Daniel remains unknown.

We might gain a fuller appreciation of the value of the epithets Mark assigns others if we could get a better idea of the real rank of Mark. We know that he was a priest. There are a number of letters which are of this immediate period and milieu which name a priest, Mark, probably one and the same as our scribe. Let us examine how these addressed Mark in relation to other people.

EPI 165 TO PSAN FROM JOHN

REFERENCE TO PSAN

TO MARK

15 f. ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ

14

ΠΡΕCΒ/

My fatherly
holy lord.

<the> priest

REFERENCE TO EPIPHANIUS (?)

2 f. ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ

my fatherly lord

REFERENCE TO JOHN

18 ΠΕΓΓΑΥΑΝ

his servant

EPI 198 TO EPIPHANIUS FROM
PRESENTHIUS AND PETER

REFERRING TO EPHIPHANIUS

1 f. ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤ-
ΤΑΙ' ΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ'
ΝΙΜ

our fatherly lord
who is honoured in
every respect

5,
11 ΤΕΤΝ ΜΝΤ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΒ

your (pl.) holiness

6 f. ΝΨΗΡΕ ΗΠΕΤΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ
ΖΝΟΥΜΕ.

(named with another)
true sons of the
prophet.¹

TO MARK

9 f. ΠΕΝΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ'
ΕΤΤΑΙ' ΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ'
ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΕ-
ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC

our devout father
who is honoured in
every respect,
Apa Mark the priest

¹ The ΝΨΗΡΕ in the plural shows that its antecedent ΤΕΤΝ ΜΝΤ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΒ is to be understood as a real plural, and not just honorific.

12 ΠΕΝΤΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ'

our holy father

REFERRING TO PESENTHIUS AND
PETER

13 ΝΙΕΛΑΧΙ/

these most humble

It is somewhat surprising to see Mark addressed with such respect by the bishop of Coptus. He is almost as honoured as Epiphanius himself. Whereas Epiphanius is called 'our fatherly lord,' Mark is entitled 'our pious father.'

EPI 327 TO MARK AND PSAN FROM ELISHA¹

REFERRING TO MARK AND
PSAN

TO MARK

1 ΤΕΤΝΜΝΤ ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ' 14 f. [Π]ΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΧΟΕΙC Ν-

your (pl.) devout
fathership

ΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΑΠΑ
ΜΑΡΚΟC ΠΡΕCΒΥΤ/

13 ΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ

your (pl.) fathership

my beloved lordly
and holy father Apa
Mark the priest

¹The sender of RE 10.

REFERRING TO PSAN

16 ΠΕΠΡΟΔΟΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΚΩΟΥ

the rash traitor

REFERRING TO ELISHA

19 ΠΙΕΛ/

the most humble

Reference has been made above to the relation ship of Pesenthius to this abbot Elisha.¹ In this letter Elisha is apparently angered by some financial dealing which Psan had prompted Mark into pursuing. The title given Psan in this instance can hardly be construed as anything other than an emotional outpouring. In contrast Mark is addressed very respectfully.

In VC 53 someone called Athanasius addresses Mark in terms perhaps expressive of his actual rank.


1 ΤΕΤΝΑΓΙΩCΥΝΗ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ
Your (pl.) pure fatherly holiness

9 ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΠΡ^Ε
My beloved father Mark the priest

¹ See above, p. 192. He occurs in RE 10.

When we draw together all the letters in which Mark is addressed or mentioned, we can see that he did perform an important administrative function in the community. He was not simply a scribe. The details of his activity are, of course, obscure. Nevertheless, there are some impressions to be gained from these texts. The abbot Elisha is answerable to Mark for some financial dealing in Coptus (EPI 327); and there is an indication that Mark would be sent out by Psan and Epiphanius (the two characters with whom he seems most closely associated) to solve problems in surrounding communities. In VC 53, he is asked to come 'for the sake of the monastery.' Furthermore, in EPI 165, it seems that Psan is to persuade Epiphanius to send Mark to settle some dispute over the ownership of cattle.

Of the characters Mark addresses, he saves the terms of greatest respect for the bishop Pesenthius in RE 29. As has been stated above, it seems probable that the most elaborate epithets were employed when the rank of the recipient in combination with the importance of the letter, justified it. In conjunction with this, Mark reinforced his relative lowliness by here referring to himself as 'your most humble servant' (lines 28 f.) rather than by the more usual 'the most humble N.'



In closing, it should be remarked that in view of the high social circles in which Mark was active, it is not particularly surprising that he had papyrus at his disposal as writing material. This he used for RE 10, 29, and EPI 482. Only persons of authority would have had access to papyrus at a time of such social and political instability.

II Frangé

Frangé (or Frangas as he calls himself in EPI 247) tells us in VC 81:3 and ST 267:14 that he is a native of ΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ residing in Jene.¹ This town has been identified as modern-day Medamud, a short distance north-east of Karnak. In all the letters to be examined, Frangé is named as sender. That he is scribe too is ascertained from ST 267:17 where he says he wrote the letter 'with his own hand.'² The remainder of the letters have been identified as being the product of the same scribe. From the photograph of EPI 247 which is published on Plate XIII of the second volume of EPI, we see that Frangé writes in a clear unligatured

¹ VC 81:4 f. See EPI Vol. 1, p. 107.

² Similarly ST 18:10.

hand, somewhat uneven and disordered with a fondness for a large and heavy T. The letters lean slightly to the right. There are no samples of his work on papyrus.

In four instances, Frange adopts the style of letter in which the address appears at the outset of the letter with the sender introducing himself first.

EPI 119¹ I Frange it is who writes and greets his beloved Apa Peter.

EPI 376 ϩΑΝΟΚ ΓΡΑΝΓΕ ΕΓΓΥΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΓ-
ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΑΟΕΙΚ ΝΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΓ ΔΥΩ
ΝΜΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ

ϩ I Frange write, greeting his beloved brotherly lord who is good and pious, Apa Enoch.

VC 81 ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟC ΓΡΑΝΓΕ ΠΡΗΠΕΤΕΜΟΥΤ [Ε]Γ-
ΟΥΗΖ ΖΗΠΤΟΥ ΝΑΗΜΕ ΕΓΓΥΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ Ε-
ΠΕΓΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΑΟΕΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΝΑΧ

The most humble Frange, the native of Medamud who is residing in Jeme, writes greeting his beloved fatherly lord, Apa David son of Lazarus (?).

¹ Crum does not publish the Coptic text of this letter.

ST 320 ϘΑΝΟΚ ΓΡΑΝΓΕ ΕΓΓΥΑΙ ΕΓΨΙΝΕ ΕΝΕΓΜΕ-
 ΡΑΤΕ ΝΕΝΗΥ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΔΥΩ Μ-
 ΜΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΜΝΑΠΑ ΠΔΥ-
 ΛΟC: ΠΗΕΡΑΤΕ ΠΠΛΟΓΟC ΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ...

Ϙ I Frange write, greeting his beloved brothers
 who are good and pious, Apa Enoch and Apa
 Paul, the beloved ones of the Word of God...

Not only is the format of these addresses
 identical, but the vocabulary also does not vary
 amongst these letters. Frange seems to like the
 combination 'writes greeting' and is fond of describing
 his recipient as 'beloved.' In EPI 376 and ST 320 he
 repeats the epithet 'good and devout.' He seems to
 prefer introducing himself as ΔΝΟΚ, 'I.'

Then, in another four letters, he changes
 his style by beginning with one of the standard
 introductory formulae.

EPI 247 ϘΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΠΠΑ[ΨΔΧ]Ε ΝΕΛΔΧ ΕΙCΥΔΙ
 ΕΊΨΙΝΕ Δ[ΥΩ ΕΙΔ]CΠΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΖΛΟC Ν-
 ΝΕΤΝΓΑΡΠ[ΟC] ΕΤΑΥΗ CΤΗΝΟΥΓΕ ΕΒΟΛ...

Ϙ At the beginning of my most humble [message]
 I write, greeting and kissing the sweetness
 of your (pl.) fruits which exude fragrance ...

EPI 351 † ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΑΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ ΕΪCΖΑΙ
ΕΪΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝCΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ

† At the beginning of my most humble message I write, greeting my beloved brother Enoch.

CO 396 † ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΑΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΛΑΧ, †CΖΑΙ
ΕΙΠΡΟCΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤΡΕCΨΗΨΕ
ΝΟΥΤΕ: ΕΤΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ
ΝΙΜ ΕΝΑΝΟΥC

† At the beginning of my most humble message I write, worshipping your devotion honoured in every good respect.

ST 267 † ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΑΨΑΧΕ
ΝΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC ΕΪCΖΑΙ ΕΙΠΡΟC-
ΚΥΝΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΕΪΑCΤΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤCΟΝ
ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΚΑΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΑΝΟΥC

† First of all, at the beginning of the message of my humility, I write, worshipping and kissing your brotherhood who is good in every good respect.

In all these letters, the address is of the ΤΑC type and follows the letter. Yet with the exception of CO 396, all the above letters diverge from the regular in one way or another. I did not quote the introduction to EPI 247 in its entirety because the writer rambles on for thirteen lines extolling the virtues of Isaac and Elijah.

He compares them to Macarius of Scetis and Anthony, the 'pillar of light.' Then, he greets the other monks who are under the authority of these two. As a result, the request that Frange is making is relegated to 6 lines before the ostrakon comes to an end with the address. However, it may be noteworthy that here the writer never actually names his recipients in the introductory formula. This is not the case in EPI 351. Although the recipient's name occurs in the formal address at the end of the letter, Frange has also included it in the introductory formula. As we have seen previously, it is rare for the recipient's name to occur in both parts of the letter.

The introductory formula of ST 267 is noteworthy for its redundancy. Instead of just the $\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$ MEN which he used in EPI 351 or CO 396, Frange, in this case, prefaces it with $\pi\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\tau\omega\kappa$ which is no more than a Greek rendering of the $\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$ MEN which follows it directly and which can serve as an introductory formula in its own right, a point ignored by Frange.

It may be that Frange felt more at ease with letters in which the address preceded the letter. This may explain the excessive length of the introduction in EPI 247 and justify his inclusion of the name of his addressee in the introductory formula of EPI 351.

It seems that through Frange, we might catch a glimpse of a more idiomatic Coptic, based more closely on colloquial usages¹ rather than on literary ones.

There are a few expressions which seem to have been favourites of Frange. Attention has been drawn above to the frequency with which he employs the adjective ETNANOY, 'good.' In addition to its use in addresses, it appears as an epithet both in introductory formulae and once in the text of the latter letter.

ST 320:4 MEPA TE NCNHY ETNANOYQ

dear good brothers

ST 267:5 ff. TEKMNITCON ETNANOYC KATA CHOTNIM ENANOYC

your brotherhood good in every good respect

ST 267:13f. TATA TPWHE ETNANOYC

Papa the good man

Another word which Frange likes to use as an epithet which is rare at the hand of other Theban scribes is the Greek ἅγιος, 'holy.' On both occasions, Frange is addressing parties superior to himself:

¹ This may be the prototype of that introductory formula which becomes common in the Arab period in which the address occurs within the introduction. See p. 268 ff.

CO 396: 11 f. ΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΕΙΩΤ. ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΓ ΔΤΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒ,

the good holy father Apa Peter <the> priest.

EPI 247:7 f. ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΑΜΕ ΝΘΕ ΜΤΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ

the men as truly holy as my father Anthony

Frangé is one of the few scribes who occasionally adds invocations to his letters. As is the case with his prayer in ST 18, Frangé begins the following letters with an invocation to Jesus Christ:

VC 81 ΙΙC ΠΕΧC

ST 267 ΙC ΠΕΧC

ST 320 ΙC ΠΕΧC

Finally Frangé seems to have been particularly fond of the Greek expression *Χαίρε* or *Χαίρετε* with the Coptic *ΖΗΠΑΧΟΕΙC* standing before it. In all examples from Frangé's letters, this expression stands at the end of the first element¹ of the letter, be it introductory formula or address.

EPI 247:13 ΖΗΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ

In the Lord hail.

¹
P. 243 f.

ST 267:8 f. $\zeta\eta\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$

In the Lord hail.

ST 320:7 $\zeta\eta\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$: $\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$

In the Lord hail my brother Paul.

It is probably no more than coincidental that Frange made correct usage of the singular imperative $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ in ST 320. He certainly was not meticulous in ST 267 with a singular recipient.

Frange seems to have had some problems in determining just where he wanted his letter to end. Most writers ended their letters with the address, or with the terminal formula. Yet in some of his letters, Frange adds extensive footnotes. In contrast to EPI 351, where the footnote consists of the simple request for prayer, $\psi\lambda\eta\lambda$ $\epsilon\chi\omega\iota$, the footnote of EPI 247 appears to carry on to the end of the ostrakon. However, the content of the footnote is obscure because of breakage of the pottery. In ST 267, Frange adds an additional request for the writer to come, and indicates that he himself is responsible for having written the letter with his own hand. The entire verso of CO 396 is taken up with additional requests that Peter, the recipient

of the letter, should greet a number of associates of his, and they should all pray on his behalf.

In relation to the other two writers under study in this chapter, Frange reveals himself to be undisciplined in his ordering of the elements of a usual Theban letter. Sometimes, he merges the function of address and introductory formula (EPI 351) and, sometimes, he makes footnotes of material which in itself could comprise a full letter (CO 396). He can be excessively verbose in introductory formulae (EPI 247) and extremely repetitive in his use of epithets (ST 267). Yet, in spite of all this, he demonstrates in his letters a spontaneity of style not found generally. One might assume that as a native of another town he would not be familiar with the normal Theban style of letter-writing, but this does not appear to be likely. The Pesentian correspondence, some of which originated in Coptus, fits easily into the Theban pattern. The most satisfactory explanation is to view Frange's letters as a mixture of influences. He takes accepted formulae and patterns and adapts them to his own preferences.

III Joseph

As is the case with most writers of Coptic letters, Joseph reveals little of himself in his correspondence. A simple IΩCHΦ , ΩHPΕ or ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC is as much as we can learn of Joseph's actual position in the Jeme community. There is a reference to an anchorite Joseph in ST 276:3, and in EPI 87, this figure occurs again as an older contemporary of Epiphanius. Thus, it may not be amiss to identify the scribe Joseph with the anchorite of the same name, for he was a figure sufficiently prominent to address the anchorite Enoch as TEKMNTΩN , 'your brotherhood,' in EPI 383:3.

With the exception of EPI 463, all Joseph's letters are written on pottery. His hand is of a crude, but regular type without ligatures.¹ This regularity and consistency carries over into Joseph's style of writing. For with the exception of ST 387, which begins with the type of address in which the sender names himself first, all Joseph's letters have addresses following.²

¹ EPI Vol. 2, Plate XII, 261 and 373.

² EPI 322 is not really a letter. It is a delivery note accompanying a shipment of grain. An address would not be necessary.

EPI 105 ϣ ΤΑ[Α]C ^{sic} ΝΗΜΕΡΙΤ Ν[ΕΙ]ΩΤ ΔΥΩ
 [ΝΧ]ΘΕΙC ΝΡΕΓΥΕΗΨΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤ-
 ΗΨΔ ΝΤΔΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΙCΔΑΚ ΠΑΝΑ-
 ΧΩΡΗΤΗΣ ΖΙΤΝΙΩCΗΦ [Π]ΕΚΨΗΡΕ
 ΔΥΩ Ν[ΖΗ]ΖΑΛ ΝΕΛΑΧ, ΝΡΕΓΡ
 ΝΟΒΕ

ϣ Give it to my beloved, lordly and
 devout father who is worthy of every
 honour, Apa Isaac the anchorite, from
 Joseph your son and most humble
 sinful servant.

EPI 124 Crum does not publish this letter, but
 indicated that the address which appears at
 the end of the letter is all that remains.
 John, Enoch, and Epiphanius are named as
 recipients.

EPI 185 Give it to my beloved Apa John and
 Apa Enoch, the anchorites of the
 monastery of Jeme, from Joseph.¹

EPI 241 ϣ ΤΑΔC ΝΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ' ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΙCΔΑΚ
 ΖΙΤΝΙΩCΗΦ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC +

ϣ Give it to my beloved father Isaac
 from the most humble Joseph. +

EPI 245 + ΤΑΔC ΜΠΑCΟΝ Ι'ΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΜΔΘΗΤΗΣ
 ΝΑΤΤΑ ΙCΔΑΚ ΖΙΤΝΙΩCΗΦ ΠΕΚCΟΝ
 ΝΕΛΑΧΙC, +

¹ Crum did not publish the Coptic text of this
 letter.

+Give it to my brother John, the
disciple of Apa Isaac, from your
most humble brother Joseph. +

EPI 261 ΤΑΔΕ ΝΑΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΦΟΡΙ
ΗΠΕΧΕ ΑΠΑ ΙΣΑΚ ΜΝΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΖΙΤΝ-
ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΙΡΕΓΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ +

Give it to my fatherly lords, the
men who embody Christ, Apa Isaac
and Apa Elijah, from Joseph the
most humble sinner. +

EPI 304 ϣ ΤΑΔΕ [ΗΠΑΜΕ]ΡΙΤ ΝΟΝ[....ΖΙ]ΤΝΙΩ[ΣΗΦ...]

ϣ Give it [to my beloved brother [....
fr]om Jo[seph]

EPI 373 ΤΑΔΕ ΝΡΕΓΥΕΜΥΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ -ΖΙΤΝ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ +

Give it to the devout ones from the
most humble one. +

EPI 383 ϣ ΤΑΔΕ ΝΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΑΝΑΧΟΡΙΤΗΣ ΖΙΤΝ-
ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙΣ +

ϣ Give it to Apa Enoch the anchorite
from the most humble Joseph. +

EPI 463 ...ΠΑ[ΗΕΡ[Ι]Τ ΝΕΙΩ[Τ] ΠΑ[Ι ΕΤ]Φ[Ο]ΡΕ Η-
Π[Ε]ΧΕ ΖΗ[ΟΥΜΕ] ΑΠΑ ΕΠΙ[Φ]ΑΝΙΟΣ
ΖΙΤΝ ΙΩΣ[ΗΦ]

...my] beloved father, this one
[who truly embodies Christ, Apa
Epipha[nius,] from Jos[eph.]

Joseph displays a similar consistency in his
use of introductory formulae. He shows a preference
for the following two:

ΥΟΡΤΙ ΜΕΝ

EPI 241 Ϙ̅ΥΟΡΤΙ ΜΕΝ Ν̅Π̅ΨΑΞΕ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΑ-
ΜΕΡΙΤ' Ν̅ΕΙΩ^{Sic} ΣΑΚΑΥ †ΑΞΤΑΖΕ Ν̅-
ΠΕΚΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ

† At the beginning of the message I
greet my beloved father Isaac.¹
I kiss your holy angel.

EPI 304 Ϙ̅ΥΟΡΤΙ ΜΕΝ Ν̅Π̅ΨΑΞΕ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΜΗΝΤ-
CON Μ̅ΝΝΕΤΕΝΕΜΑΚ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ Ν̅ΕΥΡΑΝ

† At the beginning of the message I
greet your brotherhood together with
all those with you by their names.

ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ

EPI 245 Ϙ̅ΖΑΘΕ ΜΕΝ Ν̅Π̅ΨΑΞΕ †ΨΙΝΕ Ε-

¹ For the name see EPI 241, p. 216, fn. 1.

TEKMNTCON ἡΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΩ

At the beginning of my message I
greet your brotherhood with my
whole heart.

EPI 383 Ϙ ἡΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ἡΠΑΩΔΕ ΤΩΙΝΕ
ΕΤΕΚΜΝΤCON ἡΠΑΖΗΤ
ΤΗΡΩ

ρ At the beginning of my message I
greet your brotherhood with my
whole heart.

EPI 463 Ϙ ἡΑΘΕ ΜΕΝ ἡΠΑΩΔΕ [ἡΤΑ] ΜΝΤΕΛ-
ΔΧ[ΙCΤOC]...

ρ At the beginning of the message
[of my] humili[ty]...

There is a considerable degree of consistency
in the above letters. In the case of the ὡρπ
letters EPI 241 is obviously directed to someone
of a higher rank than is EPI 304. The addressee
Isaac is complimented by the inclusion of an extra
clause: 'I kiss your holy angel.' The wording of
the introductory formulae in EPI 245 and 383 is
identical.

The remaining three letters of Joseph are similar to each other. Each begins with the identical introduction.

EPI 105 ρ παμεγε ντωλ[ηλ εχωι ζηπγι
εζρ]αῑ ννεκβιχ ετογδ[αβ]

Remember me and pray [for me in the raising] of your holy hands (in prayer).

EPI 261 † αρι ταγαπη ωληλ εχωι ναγαπη

† Please pray for me in kindness.

EPI 373 δε αρι ταγαπη ωληλ εχωι

Please pray for me.

All of these are consistent in their sentiment. In each case Joseph is asking the anchorite Isaac to pray on his behalf.

As has been stated above, the inclusion of a terminal formula in no way detracted from, or affected the overall style of a letter. In this regard Joseph reveals his consistency in that whenever there is a

terminal formula used, it is always the same, viz.

ΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗΤΗΧΟΕΙC.¹

One of Joseph's letters is truly exceptional, not only in relation to the other letters he wrote, but in relation to other Theban letters. This is EPI 373. This letter is totally anonymous even though it has two addresses, one at the beginning of the letter in place of an introductory formula and the other at the end in the standard ΤΑC form. The identity of the scribe is assured on the basis of the handwriting. Here and in EPI 105, Joseph refers to himself as the 'sinner.' The recipients are likely to be the anchorites Isaac and Elijah whom Joseph addresses in a similar manner in EPI 261.

In summation, we would have to say that Joseph was an orderly writer with a careful, deliberate style. His forms of address remain constant. His introductory formulae do vary in type, but have an inner regularity when compared with one another. As we have seen, EPI 373 does not conform to this. There is one other letter which does not seem to reflect the typical style of Joseph.

¹EPI 185, 245, 304, 383.

This letter is ST 387. It is an unusual letter written by Joseph; the one side is for his own purposes and the other for a certain Catherine. Both were addressed to the anchorite Cynaeus. The letter is unpolished and perhaps dates back to his earlier career, for there are no other examples of his having written for someone else at the time of the anchorite Isaac, when Joseph seems to have been most active. His career apparently lasted into the period of Epiphanius' ascendancy. By that time, as exemplified by EPI 463, his style was comparable to that of other contemporary writers who addressed themselves to Epiphanius.¹

If we again examine the letters of Joseph and Frange, we will discover that they were contemporaries inasmuch as they both wrote to the same parties. Both address Isaac and Elijah as well as Enoch. Thus, they were both bound by the same conventions of literary style which existed at their time of activity.

Joseph makes it quite clear in EPI 105 that he considers Isaac to be his spiritual superior. In fact Joseph decries the fact that Isaac has not addressed him in humble enough terms. This is the topic of main concern to our writer. To underline the message made in the text of the letter, he refers to Isaac as 'my

¹EPI 111, 131 and 133 are comparable letters.

beloved lordly and devout father' in the address. He refers to himself as 'your son' and 'your servant,' just those terms that in Joseph's eyes, expressed the lowliest rank.

If we turn to a letter written by Frange, we find that a similar situation exists. In EPI 247, Frange complains bitterly that for all his efforts, the anchorites Isaac and Elijah have excluded him from their company. In the closing words of his letter, Frange states that his desire is to be a humble confessor to them. In contrast to the saints with whom he compares the anchorites, he sees himself in a negative light, viz. $\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\tau$ [..... It would seem that the very serious content of these two letters justified the rather hyperbolic epithets of our two scribes, for in two other letters which Joseph writes to Isaac (EPI 241 and 261), the epithets are diminished considerably. Furthermore, Joseph does not make any request of a spiritual nature in either of these.

In the case of their letters to the anchorite Enoch, we see that Joseph and Frange are not nearly as formal in their modes of address. It may be that the three were closer contemporaries to each other than they were to Isaac. In EPI 245, Joseph addresses John, the disciple of Isaac, as a 'brother.' The

anchoritic partner of Enoch was also John, and in EPI 185, Joseph addressed them both. It is with just this term, 'brother,' that both Joseph and Frange¹ address Enoch consistently. In the informal context of EPI 383, where Joseph is attempting to borrow a book, there is apparently no contradiction in referring to Enoch as 'brother' and 'anchorite' in the same letter. Enoch's rank in this case probably required the inclusion of a title. However, on a personal level, the rank of Joseph and Enoch was equal.

It would appear that the approach of both our scribes is basically the same towards their addressees. As a simple matter of rank, Isaac and Elijah are superior to both in all cases (EPI 105, 241, 247, 261).² To the anchorite Enoch, their addresses are those directed to someone they feel they are on good terms with (EPI 351, 376, 383). Extra complimentary expressions which were attached to these titles varied according to the context of the letter.

¹EPI 376, VC 81, ST 320.

² Compare the two letters of the priest David who may be identical with the David whom Frange calls 'my brother' in EPI 351. In EPI 145 and 306 he addressed the anchorite Isaac as *NEQNEPIT NEIWT*, i.e., someone superior. This is also consistent with Mark's respectful address to Pesenthus in RE 29.

IV Character Identification

A major problem presented by Theban letters is the positive identification of the characters named therein. How frustrating it is to see the same names occurring again and again without ever being able to ascertain that we are dealing with one and the same individual. For unlike the situation in letters of laymen in which the characters identify themselves as N., son of N., clerics go by one name alone. Presumably, the content of the letter or the tongue of the letter-carrier would satisfy the addressee as to the identity of the sender. For the reader of the twentieth century, reliance must be placed on the evidence of association. How often does a certain name occur in conjunction with another recognizable name? If one scribe can be shown to have written a number of letters, can all the characters be considered as contemporaries? If we wish in addition to establish the rank of the recipient and/or sender of a letter, we must first realize that the titles and epithets employed by the sender can vary according to the rank of the recipient and according to the circumstances which prompted the letter. Unless we can establish the identity of the scribe or sender of the letter, we have no way of knowing the desired impact of the letter or how the writer wished to appear to the recipient.

Owing to the exhaustive work of Crum on his identification of scribes and characters in the Epiphanius letters and to the further studies of Till, we are able to identify a good number of those Theban letters which are the product of the same scribe. These studies allow us to draw together characters whose interaction could otherwise be only surmised. We are also in a position to analyze the works of individual letter-writers.

There is little problem in placing our scribe Mark in a relative chronology. From the letters he writes to Pesenthius, the bishop of Coptus, we know that he was active at the time of the Persian invasion of Egypt, some time between A.D. 619 and 629. This was the time when Pesenthius sought refuge at Thebes. In addition we may be able to identify him as the priest of the same name referred to in EPI 327 in conjunction with Psan, and again in VC 53.

Although Frange and Joseph never correspond with each other, they are contemporaries. This is ascertained by the identity of common recipients. Moreover, both address the anchorites Isaac and Elijah (EPI 261 and 247). Both address the anchorite Enoch (EPI 351, 376, 383). Isaac is addressed in terms of respect by both Joseph and Frange. Enoch is consistently cast as a CON,

'brother,' or equal.¹ Furthermore Isaac and Elijah, who do not write themselves, in EPI 160 and 401 employ the same scribe as did Ananias in HALL LXII, 2, when he was writing to Frange. Thus, it would seem that Frange and Joseph are contemporary writers of comparable social status.

Attempts to establish a suitable date for our anchorites have been less than successful. The historical personalities Isaac/Elijah and John/Enoch remain obscure. The problem is exemplified by EPI 376 in which Frange addresses Enoch. Here he requests Enoch to fetch a book for him from Jacob, who is mentioned in such a way as to suggest that he is someone in authority. Now although Till identifies Frange as being active at the beginning of the seventh century and concurs with Crum in his identification of Frange as being the common scribe of the letters discussed in Part II of this chapter,² both he and Crum wish to identify the Jacob of EPI 376 as the successor of Psan who inherits the monastery of Epiphanius and as such, is associated with the oft-named Elijah.³ This Elijah is also identified with our anchorite Isaac. What we are attempting to say is that Till and Crum both wish to identify Isaac/Elijah as dating two generations after

¹ In EPI 145 and 306 David addresses Isaac similarly.

² TILL, p. 88.

³ EPI, Vol. 1, p. xxvi, 3.

Epiphanius. If Till's conclusions are correct, Frange would have had a career spanning the beginning of the seventh century, through the Persian invasions of A.D. 619-629, and well into the period of the anchorites Jacob and Elijah, second successors of Epiphanius according to the will of Jeme (KRU 75), without ever having written to, or about Epiphanius, Psan or the bishop Pesenthius, who was certainly one of the most illustrious figures of the period.

The situation with our scribe Joseph is somewhat different. Epiphanius does figure in EPI 463 as someone in authority, an anchorite. In EPI 124 and 185, Epiphanius is again named by Joseph. However this time, he is mentioned in a list after the characters, John and Enoch.¹ In EPI 351, 376 and 383, this Enoch is addressed both as an equal (CON) and as an anchorite by the two scribes, Frange and Joseph. Thus, it is plausible that, if the Enoch addressed in EPI 124, 185, and 209, is both a person of reasonably equal rank to Joseph's and Frange's and is also the anchorite, the scribe Joseph is then

¹ Compare EPI 209 where Moses addresses an Apa Enoch and an Apa Epiphanius.

an older contemporary of Epiphanius.¹ Such a conclusion might, in fact, be borne out by EPI 87. Here Kalashire writes a will in favour of Epiphanius whom Crum identifies more than just tentatively with the anchorite of that name.² This Kalashire identifies himself as 'son, according to God, of the blessed priest, Apa Joseph the anchorite, he who lives in the monastery of Jeme.'³ This may well be our scribe Joseph.

As we have seen in the letters of Frange and Joseph, both writers are consistent in their respectful terms of address towards the figures Isaac and/or Elijah.⁴

¹ There is additional evidence to be gleaned from the figure Cyriacus whose monastic establishment is discussed in EPI. Vol. I, p. 15 ff. In EPI 457 Epiphanius, in the company of Pappoute, writes to the anchorite Cyriacus as 'your sons.' Joseph too addresses an anchorite Cyriacus in ST 387. In this case too there is no doubt that Cyriacus is the senior figure; for he addresses Cyriacus as 'my holy father,' both on his own behalf and on behalf of Catherine for whom he was acting as a scribe. Cyriacus the anchorite was a character whom both Epiphanius and Joseph addressed as a superior.

² EPI 87, p. 174, fn. 6.

³ Cf. ST 267 and 356.

⁴ EPI 105, 241, 247, 261 and 373.

They are also both consistent in their less formal approach to the anchorite John and/or Enoch.¹ In no instance is Epiphanius, the most famous Theban anchorite, addressed with as much respect as are Isaac and Elijah; nor is he ever addressed by Frange.

The most suitable explanation for this would appear to be that the ascendancy of Isaac and Elijah antedated that of John and Enoch. From EPI 124 and 185, we may infer that the latter were higher ranking contemporaries of Epiphanius who were more or less equal in rank to Joseph, whom we also tentatively identified as an anchorite, and to Frange, a known contemporary of the latter. Joseph himself lends credence to this scheme when in EPI 245, he addresses John, the disciple and presumed anchorite, successor of Isaac, as 'brother.'

In conclusion, it would appear that there is little justification for dating Isaac/Elijah and John/Enoch later than the time of Epiphanius. None of the letters of our two scribes, Joseph or Frange, in whose correspondence these figures occur so prominently appears to date after the early ascendancy of Epiphanius.

A final remark should be made concerning the scribe whose hand is the most common of any in the letters found at the Epiphanius site. His letters,

¹EPI 351, 376, 383; EPI 124, 185, 245.

which Crum presumes to be all by the same hand, are characterized by a smooth, even, unligatured hand with a slight tilt to the right.¹ The letters are remarkable for their lack of addresses.² What little can be learned of individuals in his letters, must be gathered from the actual content. Elijah (EPI 434, 477), Jacob (EPI 456), Apollo (EPI 348, 544), and Catherine (EPI 544) are the only names found. We have seen that there is a Catherine associated with Joseph in ST 387. The Elijah addressed as 'my brother' in EPI 434 is mentioned along with an Apa Abraham and Apa Jacob, both of whom are called 'father.' There is a Jacob noted as a superior by Frange in EPI 376 who is also respectfully addressed by the anchorites Isaac and Elijah in EPI 401.³ Perhaps the Elijah of EPI 434 is the anchorite partner of Isaac. If such a theory could be accepted, the scribe of most of the documents of the Epiphanius collection would then have been active prior to the ascendancy of the anchorite Epiphanius, early in the seventh century, or perhaps late in the sixth. This conclusion appears to be valid if we examine the content of EPI 53 and 77, written by the scribe just discussed. In both these letters

¹ EPI, Vol. II, Pl. XI; 59, 63, 77, 81, 348, 455.

² EPI 166, 260, 284, 434. Many of the remaining letters are broken.

³ From the hand of the scribe employed in HALL LXII, 2 to write to Frange.

the writer speaks of the archbishop Apa Damianus in a manner suggesting that he was alive. EPI 53 starts off, 'From a Festal Letter of our Holy Father, Apa Damianus the Archbishop of Alexandria.' Concerning EPI 77, an announcement of the dates of coming fasts, Crum declares that he would ascribe the letter to the time of Damianus himself and so to a period between A.D. 578-605. One can only assume that this copy was made at a time when the dates of the fast would still be of some practical purpose, i.e., in the year when these fasts were to take place.

With all the questions posed by the above analysis, it is apparent that the question of monastic succession heretofore established has been over-simplified. Crum suggests that Epiphanius emerged from the same milieu as that of John and Enoch.¹ If it can be established that these are the anchorites of the same name, it may be that Epiphanius took his succession from them in such a way as the Will of KRU 75 suggests. There would have been a gradual handing over of power and authority with a period of overlap. This is what may be indicated by such letters as EPI 124 and 185 in which Epiphanius is addressed along with, but in an inferior position to John and Enoch. Certainly this system of dual authority

¹
EPI, Vol. I, p. xxvi.

appears to have been operative in those letters which address Epiphanius jointly with Psan, the known successor of Epiphanius.¹

If we return to EPI 245, we discover that Joseph addressed John, the disciple of Isaac. The familiarity with which Joseph addresses John here, Enoch in EPI 383, and both of them in EPI 124 and 185, may suggest that the John in each of these letters is the same. If this is so, then John would be seen to trace his authority from the anchorite Isaac. At some point, Isaac had become associated in power with Elijah. How the person of Cyriacus fits into all this is unclear, except that we have tentatively dated him early. He is the recipient of a formal, respectful letter from the lashane of Luxor in EPI 151. It may be that he is one of the earliest figures to be mentioned in these letters, antedating Isaac and Elijah. Whatever the dates for Cyriacus might be, it seems clear that at the Epiphanius site, the letters reveal a growing system of allegiance from early in the seventh century: Isaac, Isaac and Elijah, John, John and Enoch, Epiphanius, Epiphanius and Psan and then into the succession described in the Will of the monastery (KRU 75).

¹ EPI 123, 144, 165, 327, 417, 482.

CHAPTER VI
THE BACKGROUND OF COPTIC
THEBAN LETTERS

The object of this thesis has been to reveal that Coptic letters from Thebes are an amalgum of structural elements bound together by formulaic phrases. What remains to be established is whether the elements displayed in these letters are common to Coptic documents from other areas of Egypt and to what extent the origin of Coptic formulae lies in Greek epistolography. We will deal with the latter problem first.

I The Greek Background

Much of the vocabulary of Coptic letters from Thebes is either Greek or a translation from it. This was a natural outcome of six hundred years of Greek political and social domination. The language of government and letters had been Greek since the time of the Ptolemies. It is, therefore, essential to relate Coptic letters to the vast number of Greek letters which were also a product of Egypt. However, since Demetrius' definition of a Greek letter as 'a document beginning with a greeting'¹ could have applied equally well to Demotic, Coptic, or Aramaic letters, we must be careful to distinguish general epistolo-

¹ Demetrius, On Style, IV, 228.

graphic principles which transcend language from genuine signs of one language's influence over another. We should not be surprised to find parallels in Greek and Demotic letters of the Hellenistic period. We should expect to find parallels between contemporary Greek and Coptic letters. What is more, there are definite indications that particular elements of Greek letters influenced Coptic letters, with some reciprocal influence of a minor nature.

Greek letters of the third and fourth century, whether pagan or Christian, often show formulae identical to those found in Theban letters of the seventh century, formulae which had gradually disappeared from Greek letters in the intervening centuries. A late third century letter from Coptus is representative of this:

- 1 Πανίσκο[ς] τῇ σοιμβ[ί]φ μου
 Πλουτογενία μητρὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς
 μου πλίστα χαίρειν.
 πρὸ μὲν εὐχομέ σοι τὴν ὀλοκληρία[ν]
 5 καθ' ἐκύστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς
 θεοῖς πᾶ[τρ]. γινώσκειν σε οὖν
 θέλω, ἀδελφί, ὅτι ἐν Κόπτῳ
 αἱ[ε]μίναμεν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς
 [μου] σου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς
 10 ὅπως μὴ λυπηθῇς ἐρχομένη
 ἐν τῇ Κόπτῳ. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐνθάδε
 οἱ ἀδελφοί σου, ὅπερ καὶ σὺ
 πάντως βούλῃ αὐτὴν ἀσπά-
 σαστε αὐτὴν πολλά. τοῖς θεοῖς
 15 εὐχετ[ε] καθ' ἡμέραν βουλομένη
 σε ἀσπάζε[σ]θαι μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς
 σου. δ[ε]ξαμ[έ]νη οὖν μου τὰ γράμ[μα] —

1

This letter was first published by J.G. Winter in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 13 (1927), p.61 ff.

τα ταῦτα ποιήσῃ σου τὰ χέρα
 ὅπως εἴην πέμψω ἐπὶ σὲν
 20 ταχέως ἔλθῃς· καὶ ἐνεῖ'κον
 ἐρχομένη ποκάρια ἐριδίων
 δέκα, ἐλεῶν κερήμια ἕξ,
 στά[[υ]]γματος κερήμια τέσσαρα,
 καὶ τὸ ὄπλον μου τὸ κενὸν μόνον,
 25 τὸ κασιδίον μου. φέρε τὰ λόγχιά
 μου. φέρε καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παπυλίου-
 νος σκεύη. εἰς εὐρητε εὐκερί-
 αν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων καλῶν
 δεῦτε ἐρχέστω μεθ' ἡμῶν
 30 Νόννος. ἐνεῖ'κον ἡμῶν πᾶν-
 τα τὰ ἡμάτια ἐρχομένη. ἐνεῖ'κον
 ἐρχομένη σου τὰ χρυσία ἀλλὰ
 (continued in one line in the left margin)
 μὴ αὐτὰ φορέσῃς ἐν τῷ πλο[ί]ῳ.

Verso:

- 1 ἀσπάζομε τὴν κυρίαν μου θυγατέραν Ἡλιοδώραν. ἀσπάζετε ὑμᾶς
- 2 Ἑρμίας.
- 3 ἀπόδ(ος) τῇ σοιμβίῳ μου καὶ χτῇ θυγατρὶ μου π(αρά) Πανίσκου πατρ[ός].

Paniscus to my wife Plutogenia, mother of my
 daughter, very many greetings. Before all I
 pray for your prosperity daily before all the
 gods. I would have you know, sister, that we
 have been staying in Coptus near your sister and
 her children, so do not be grieved about coming
 to Coptus; for your kinsfolk are here. And
 just as you desire above all to greet her with
 many greetings, so she prays daily to the gods
 desiring to greet you along with your mother.
 So on receiving this letter of mine make your
 preparations in order that you might come at
 once if I send for you. And when you come,
 bring ten fleeces of wool, six jars of olives,
 four jars of liquid honey, and my shield, the
 new one only, and my helmet. Bring also my lances.
 Bring also the fittings of the tent. If you find
 an opportunity, come in good company. Let Nonnus
 come with you. Bring all our clothes when you
 come. Bring with you your gold ornaments, but
 do not wear them on the boat. Salutations to
 my lady and daughter Heliodora. Hermias salutes
 you. Deliver to my wife and my daughter, from
 Paniscus her father.

The Coptic EPI 431 of the mid seventh century is comparable:

+ προ παντων προσκυνει αγω + ασπαζε
 ἡψοειψ ἡνογερητε

ἡτεκηντειωτ ετογδαβ ψαντεπνουτε

παγαθος αατ' ἡμπυα' ἡναυ .

επεκαγγελο προσωπον παι' εἰεπιθυμει

ἡναυ νιν εναυ ερος προς θε εν-
 τακμοουε ζιτοοτκ ἡηπλελογυηη' εἴτ
 πζωβ ενταῖζων ετοο[τκ]

5 ΕΤΒΕἸΡΩΗΕ ΔΕΨΑΔΕ ἡἡμαυ ΕΤΒΕΤΑΠΟ-
 κρισις αρι ταγαπη ευωπε

ακψαδε ἡἡμαυ' τῆνοου ταποκρισις

ναῖ' ευωπε ουν' θε' ευωπε

ον κογωυ χοου παρωμε ἡγταγο

ταποκρισις ερος ἡρωκ σζαῖ' ναῖ' και

γαρ εἰθαρρει επνουτε εἰθαρρει επνω

ἡρωμε ἡητεκηντειωτ, ετ

ογδαβ' πιελαχ γεωργιος προσκυνει

ἡτεκηντειωτ' η αγια τριας +

Verso

ρ παχοεις ἡειωτ' ετογδαβ απ ψαν πανα-

χωρ, ζιτῆναπα βικτωρ πετῆωηρε ἡελαχ,

+ Before all things I worship and I kiss the dust of the feet of your holy fathership until the good God make me worthy to see your angel face to face, which at all times I long to see. Seeing that you left us(?) with the boy, I gave ~~thought to~~ the matter that I requested of you concerning the men, saying, "Speak with them about the answer." Be so good, if you have spoken with them, send me the answer, if it be possible. And if you wish it, send my man and tell him the answer by word of mouth. Write to me; for I rely upon God, I rely upon the great man and your fathership. This most humble George does obeisance to your fathership. The Holy Trinity. +

Verso

† My fatherly holy lord Apa Psan the anchorite, from
Apa Victor your (pl.) most humble son.

The expression $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ appears in Greek letters from the first century A.D. as the beginning of the formula valetudinis.¹ The sender usually chooses this position to express his hope that the recipient is well. In the above letter Paniscus prays before all the gods for his wife's continuing prosperity. The introductory formula of EPI 431 takes this same form. The letter begins with $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$, followed by prayers to God for the welfare of the recipient Psan, the anchorite. Such letters, which actually employ the Greek words are few in Coptic.

1

H. Koskenniemi, 'Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.,' Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksien, Series B, Vol. 102, 2 (1956), 131.

Usually the formula is translated into $\omega\sigma\pi\bar{\iota}$ MEN¹ or $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ MEN.² Also, since papyrus was in short supply in seventh century Thebes, it is somewhat unusual that an otherwise unknown priest or monk named Victor would have had access to it. We do know that Psan as the successor of Epiphanius was an important figure in the area. There is some indication that $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ was more extensively employed by those in official circles, whether church or state, and that papyrus was considered the acceptable medium for such correspondence.³

As is also typical of third century Greek letters, the letter of Paniscus begins with the prescript $\acute{o}\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\ \tau\bar{\omega}\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\iota\ \chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$.⁴ Although not employed in EPI 431, the element $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ is still regularly employed by Theban Coptic scribes long after it had fallen out of use

1
P. 32 ff.

2
P. 54 ff.

3
This is the most common of the introductory formulae in RE, the papyri of Pesentius, bishop of Coptus.

4
This Greek prescript seems to correspond to such contemporary Demotic introductions as that of Pap. Heidelberg 746: NN sm NN m-b3h Divinity, 'NN blesses NN in the presence of the Divinity,' or that of the later Carlsberg Pap. 21 which has NN sm r NN, 'NN blesses NN,' with wishes for the recipient following in the next sentence.

in Greek letters;¹ and even though Copts continued to use it they had forgotten its original function. When *Χαίρειν* occurs in Theban Coptic letters it is always at the end of the first element of the letter, whether introductory formula, as in EPI 247 and EPI 282, or address, as in EPI 173. Only an initial address followed by *Χαίρειν* could correspond to the older Greek prescript. Finally we should note that in Theban letters *Χαίρειν* is often prefixed by the common Christian expression *ΖΗΤΑΘΕΙΣ*, 'in the Lord.'²

In both the Greek and Coptic letters cited above the address proper appears on the verso of the papyrus. The Coptic address corresponds in format to that generally found on papyrus letters; and this seems to be modelled on the Greek style.³ Although in EPI 431 there is no equivalent to the initial Greek *ἀπόδος*,⁴ *ΖΗΤΩ* corresponds exactly to the *παρά* of the Greek. In Coptic, addresses which omit an initial imperative are found most in papyrus letters and are, consequently, less common than the type of address found on ostraca. Most letters from the Epiphanius site have an

¹ J. O'Callaghan, *op.cit.*, p. 26. From the fifth century there is only one example: Pap. Med. 36,1.

² P. 36, fn. 2.

³ P. 142 ff.

⁴ Cf. the Meletian Pap. 1920.

address which takes the form $T\alpha\alpha C \bar{N}NN \text{ } \zeta IT\bar{N}NN$, 'give it to NN from NN.'¹ In spite of the fact that $T\alpha\alpha C$ and $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ share the same meaning, the origin of the address formula lies in the folk tradition of Demotic. The $T\alpha\alpha C$ represents the infinitive of the verb 'to give' plus a pronominal object, probably standing for \bar{s}^2 . Although the sender of a Demotic letter does not identify himself in the formal address, he does employ this same expression to identify his addressee: $\bar{d}i \bar{s} \bar{n} \bar{N}N$, 'give it to NN,' or $\bar{d}i \bar{s} \bar{n}-\bar{dr}.t \bar{N}N$, 'give it into the hand of NN. It was in the introduction that the sender of a Demotic letter generally identified himself. This also influenced Coptic letters. It gave rise to a type of address which stood within the body of the letter, as part of the introductory formula.⁴ Greetings

¹
P. 123 ff.

²
E. Lüddeckens, 'Demotische und koptische Urkundenformeln,' Enchoria II (1972), p. 26. Cf. the Coptic BM 1155 in which the object of the verb is spelled out: $Ti \text{ } \tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$. Had $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$ stood for the usual suffix of the $T\alpha\alpha C$ form, there would have been no need to state it so specifically.

³
Pap. Heidelberg 746, 781, 742a; Pap. Carlsberg 21 and 22. K. Sethe, 'Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit,' Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 32 (1920), 435. He traces the origin of $\zeta IT\bar{N}$ to $\bar{n}-\bar{dr}.t \bar{N}N$.

⁴
P. 151 ff.

are still included as a secondary element; but in many instances this is the only part of the letter in which sender and recipient are identified. The Demotic verb sm can be replaced by czai, 'to write.' To it are added complimentary formulae. NN sm (r) NN or its variant NN nty if sm NN is still reflected in the phrases ΠΑΙ'ΕΛΑΧ, ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΕΓ-
 ΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΓΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΔΙΑΚΩ, 'This most humble Andrew
 greets his beloved father the deacon;' or ¹ΙΣΑΑΚ ΠΙΕΛΑΧ,
 ΕΤΟΖΑΙ ΜΠΕΓΩΝ ΖΗΛΑΧ, 'It is the most humble Isaac who
 writes to his brother Elijah.' ²There is no need to look
 to Greek letters for the origin of the Coptic system of
 address.

Another notable feature in EPI 431 and most Coptic letters is the ease with which Greek vocabulary is integrated into the text. The very frequent ΠΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΔΥΩ ΤΑΚΑΖΕ,
 both words with strong Christian liturgical overtones, had
 by now become so common in Coptic letters that translations
 of them were unnecessary. ³Such was the case also with ex-
 pressions like ΊΧΝΟΣ, 'footprint,' or ὑποπόδιον, 'foot-
 stool.' Likewise technical terms designating specific rank

¹
 EPI 192.

²
 EPI 316.

³
 The Coptic equivalent would have to be the more
 neutral term ΨΙΝΕ, 'to greet.'

were retained in the Greek original: ἐπίσκοπος, ἀρχιμανδρίτης, or στρατηγός. For this reason it is not surprising to observe the extent to which Greek words are employed in EPI 431. However, it must be kept in mind that EPI 431 differs considerably from most Theban letters which are more mundane in their concerns. For familiar, local concerns Theban writers drew on their own language for words such as ἀδελφός (= CON), υἱός (= ΨΗΡΕ), πατήρ (= ΕΙΩΤ), and μειζότερος (= ΛΑΨΑΝΕ).¹ As in Greek, CON, ΨΗΡΕ, and ΕΙΩΤ had the dual capacity to represent familiar and clerical relationships.

Neither of the above letters demonstrate the terminal formulae typical of their genre. In Greek we might expect Paniscus' letter to end with ἔρρωδο or ἔρρωσθαί σε.² The ἡ ἀγία τριας which completes EPI 431 is an infrequent variant of the common οὐχ αἰ ᾤπι αὐοεικ.³ In any case, terminal formulae were optional elements in Greek and Coptic letters, as they had been in Demotic.⁴

¹

P. 173.

²

Koskenniemi, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 and 168. By the Byzantine period terminal formulae are commonplace in Greek letters.

³

P. 109.

⁴

Pap. Heidelberg, *op. cit.*, 746:9.

A final remark should also be made concerning the chrysmon which begins EPI 431. Since the Greek letter quoted above is pagan, we would not expect to find a chrysmon. It was only in the Christian period that it became a common accompaniment to Greek letters.¹ It could stand at the beginning and end of letters and as a decorative means of separating the various letter components. It took a variety of forms, from the simple + with which EPI 431 begins, to the more elaborate ϙ which stands before the address on the verso of the papyrus. The ϙ evolved from the hieroglyph Ⲕ.² In hieroglyphs this sign could stand completely alone as a greeting. Because it later developed into a Christian symbol it was easily integrated into Greek letters.

Many Theban writers of the seventh century still felt the need to employ the introduction $\pi\rho\omicron\ \pi\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ or its translated forms $\mu\omicron\pi$ and $\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$ two centuries³ after it had lost its popularity in Greek circles. While vocabulary in Theban letters reflects contemporary Byzantine usages, the employment of full introductory formulae of the

¹ Naldini, op. cit., p. 23 ff.

² See BALA, p. 255, fn. 2, where the hieroglyph stands in place of a chrysmon.

³ The Meletian Pap. 1921 begins $\mu\omicron\pi\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\iota\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\iota\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\iota\alpha$ [N]H, indicating that $\pi\rho\omicron\ \pi\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ was being translated in some Coptic circles as early as the fourth century.

πρὸ πάντων, type reveals that these conservative writers were loathe to dispense with the complimentary formulae which such introductions enabled them to utilize.¹ This may explain why these introductory formulae continued to exist as late as the eleventh century.² The disappearance of πρὸ πάντων from Greek letters represents a natural stylistic evolution. Its retention by Theban writers reveals a conservative attachment to fossilized forms.

II The Coptic Background

We have no examples of Coptic letters dating earlier than the fourth century. The Meletian Archive which contains both Greek and Coptic letters stemming from the area north of Ashmunein can verify this date. The Greek letters³ can be dated with assurance and share common characters with the Coptic letters. By paleographic comparison, the latter verify Crum's dating of the other early letters from Ashmunein. In total, letters from Ashmunein offer a sample

¹
P. 77 ff.

²
RYL 368.

³
H.I. Bell, Jews and Christians in Egypt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924). The Greek Pap. 1915 and 1916 share the same addressee as the Coptic Pap. 1921 and 1922.

of Coptic epistolography from the fourth into the twelfth century.¹ Letters from the Theban area are limited to a time span of no more than two hundred years, from the late fifth century to the mid seventh. The dating of these letters is, in part, historically verifiable through known figures such as Pesenthus, Abraham, and Epiphanius who occur in them. There are no examples of Theban letters which date beyond this period. For the later centuries we have examples from Ashmunein, the Fayyum,² and perhaps from Edfu.³ These three collections which represent the various parts of Egypt allow us to see that by the tenth century an epistolographic style common to all had been developed. This suggests that whatever regionalism had existed prior to the tenth century had by now disappeared. The Arab conquest may have acted as a catalyst. Now a unified style emerged, a survivor of the confused Arabic and Greek influences of the seventh and eighth centuries. There is some indication that these late Coptic letters owe a stylistic debt to Thebes.

Before comparing Theban letters with contemporary letters from Ashmunein or Wadi Sarga it is important to see just what variety of style there was within the Theban area

¹ These are published in RYL. Most are eighth and ninth century.

² BM 530, 544, 580-668; VC 114-116.

³ ST. 190.

¹ itself. In the first half of this thesis we have been able to isolate formulae and to indicate that proportionally some formulae were more heavily utilized than others. Since most of the Theban letters in RE and EPI were written to or by clerics, to what extent do they reflect a purely ecclesiastical style? Do their formulae differ from the formulae commonly employed in lay letters? Is there any evidence that the epistolographic style of one group influenced the style of the other?

As well as being mainly clerical in origin, the letters of EPI and PE are both of known provenance. The bishop Abraham who wrote EPI 154 is the author of a number of letters in CO which are thought to have originated in the monastery of Phoebammon.² The scribe Frange has letters common to EPI, MH and CO.³ We can probably assume that some of the lay letters in CO and MH are likewise contemporary with EPI, with no more than a century difference between the earliest and the latest.⁴ It is felt that the Medinet Habu site was abandoned by the ninth century.⁵

¹ I have followed Kahle's geographic divisions of Egypt as outlined in BALA, p. 51.

² TILL, p. 52.

³ P. 209 ff.

⁴ Characters occurring in MH 143 are identical with characters in KRU 17:7 and 66:76, both dating ca. A.D. 750.

⁵ MH, p. 1.

There is not one formulaic element found in other Theban letters which is foreign to EPI. That schematic division of letter elements which has been the major part of this thesis holds up as valid for other collections such as CO, MH, PhO, and ROM. We must keep in mind that the single most distinguishing feature of Coptic letters is their opening formula. We have seen that in EPI and RE the most common introductory formula is $\Pi\theta\omicron\ \Pi\alpha\tau\omega\eta$ or its derivative $\Psi\theta\rho\tau\ \text{HEN} / \lambda\alpha\theta\eta\ \text{HEN}$. We remarked above that this indicates the survival of a Greek epistolographic tradition of the third century. To be reckoned with also is the enduring Demotic tradition of introductory address. Can either type of introduction be linked to specifically lay or clerical preferences? Or does the formality of subject matter combined with considerations of rank of sender and addressee dictate the choice of formula?

Statistically it can be shown that writers of the community of Epiphanius favoured full introductory formulae, especially $\Psi\theta\rho\tau\ \text{HEN}$. That the use of such formulae was restricted to EPI is refuted by CO 53. That such formulae were the exclusive domain of churchmen is refuted by CO 181. CO 53 was written by bishop Abraham about A.D. 600. CO 181 is the only letter of its collection, beginning with $\lambda\alpha\theta\eta$,

which was also written by a layman:

CO 53 ϣ ϣΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ϣΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚ-
 ΜΝΤΨΗΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΕΓ-
 ΕCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΡΙΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΓ-
 ϣΙCΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΓΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝΕ-
 ΤΗΝΚΕ ΝΓΡΨΑ ΕΚΤΗΒΩΚ
 ΚΖΙΒΟΛ ΜΠΨΑ ΤΔΑC Ν
 ΔΝΘΑΝΑCΙΟC ΠΠΡ

Verso

ΖΙΤΝ ΔΙΒΡΑΖΑΗ
 ΠΕΠΙΚΟΠΟC

ρ First I greet your sonship. May the Lord bless you. Please trouble yourself to go to Tmenke and perform the liturgy. If you do not go, you are excluded from the feast. Give it to the priest Athanasius from Bishop Abraham.

CO 181 ϣ ΖΑΘΕ ΜΕΝ ΜΠΨΑΧΕ
 ΤΕΙΨΕΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΝΝΕΤΕΝΕ-
 ΜΗΚ ΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΡΑΝ
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΚΠΑΖΕ ΖΙΤΟΤ ΑΚΧΟΓ
 ΝΗΙ ΧΕΤCΩΠΑΖΕΤΕΝ ΑΙΧΟΓ Ν-
 ΗΚ ΧΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΤΕ ΔΤΝΝΔΥC.

1

In CO there are 16 letters beginning with ΖΑΘΗ. There are no letters which begin with πρo πάντων either to or from laymen.

ΝΗΚ ΔΑΥ ΦΑΛΑΚΟΤΣΕ ΝΗΙ
 ΝΤΟΤΣ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΝΑ-
 ΗΝ ΤΕΙΒΗΛΔΕ ΝΗΚ ΔΑΥ ΦΟΛ-
 ΚΟΤΣΕ ΝΗΙ ΝΤΟΤΣ ΤΕΙΝΙΤ
 ΝΗΚ ΜΝΤΕΓΜΗΣΕ +
 ΤΔΑΣ ΝΖΕΛΕΣΕΟΣ ΖΙΤ-
 Ν ΕΣΔΡΑ ΠΟΥΔΕ +
 ΟΥΔΑΙ ΖΗΠΔΟΙC

CO 181. ϐ At the beginning of the message I greet you
 and all those with you by name. When you
 separated from me you said to me that (???).
 I said to you that you should send the so-
 lidus to me through the man who will bring
 this letter to you. I will return (=repay?)?
 it to you with interest. + Give it to
 Elesaius from Esdra the farmer, + Farewell
 in the Lord.

CO 53 contains the complimentary formula 'may
 the Lord bless you' which is a distinctive and distinguish-
 ing feature of Abraham's letters. ¹ Apart from this and
 Esdra's unusual spelling and grammar in CO 181 there is
 no stylistic difference between the two letters. If any-
 thing, the farmer Esdra writes a more elaborate letter by
 including three chryisma and a terminal formula. From the
 many extant letters of Abraham we know that $\psi\omicron\pi\tau$ MEN

1

This same expression is used by Abraham in MH 145; .
 HALL XLVI,4; CO 484; EPI 154. It is used by others
 in CO 75, 105, 126, 184, 259, 277, 279 etc., per-
 haps under his influence.

was his favourite formula of introduction and one which he employed to clergy and laymen alike.¹ Since this is Esdra's only extant letter, it is to be wondered whether such style was natural to him or was prompted by specific circumstances. What is sure is that, however infrequently, introductory formulae of the $\pi\pi\delta\delta$ $\pi\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ type were employed by figures other than clergy.²

Similarly, when we turn to examine the occurrences of introductory addresses in Theban letters we find that usage is universal. Such addresses are often used by lay people: CO 119, 179, 394; MH 143, 151, 152, 158 et al. Yet we know that clergy used them too. Frange was fond of introductory addresses.³ In EPI 351 he combined address and introductory formula. Although in a distinct minority, there are thirty-eight letters in EPI which are introduced by addresses.⁴ Let us compare MH 143, of lay origin, with EPI 192.

MH 143 $\pi\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\omega\nu$
 $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\omega\nu\epsilon$

¹
CO 161 is addressed to a lashane.

²
CO 117 and MH 149 are both by laymen, the first by a lashane and the second presumably by a commoner.

³
P. 210.

⁴
P. 151 ff.

ΕΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΠΗΩΥΧΗΣ
 ΔΕΕΠΙΔΗ ΔΠΙΣΡΑΗΛ ΕΙ Ν-
 5 ΣΝΟΥΣ ΑΓΒΙ ΝΕΚΤΒΝΟΥΕ ΑΥΠΑΡΑ-
 ΚΑΛΙ ΠΗΟΥ ΔΓΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ ΝΚΟΥΣΟΠ
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΩΡΖ ΠΛΙΨΕ ΠΗΟΖΕ
 ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΜΗ.
 ΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΣΡΑΗΛ ΕΙ
 10 ΝΚΒΙΤΟΥ ΝΚΟΥΣΟΠ
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΙΣΖΗΤΕ
 ΔΙΣΖΑΙ ΔΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΖΕ
 ΜΗΟΚ ΤΝΝΟΥ
 ΤΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙC
 ΝΑΙ' ΦΟΥΔΑ[Ι]

P I, Nonna, write greeting Paul, son of Moses, say-
 ing: Seeing that Pisrael came last year and took
 your cattle, they entreated him and he returned
 them. Now, remit the piece (?) of flax to us for
 them lest Pisrael come and take them again. Now
 see I have written and testified to you. Send the
 answer to me. P Farewell.

EPI 192

ΠΑΙΕΛΑΧΥ ΑΝΔ-
 ΡΕΑΣ ΕΩΨΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΣ-
 ΜΕΡΕΤ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΔΙΑΚΩ
 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΗΑΙ' ΔΕΚΓ[C
 5 Ο]ΟΥΝ ΧΕΔΙ'Ω ΖΤΑΙ' ΕΤΕΚΗΝΤ-

ΕΙΩΤ ΔΙΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΝΑ
 ΠΕΓΚΝΑΔΩ ΝΗΔΙ' [ΔΕ]ΓΚΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ--
 ΝΤΑΙΕΙ' ΕΠΤΟΥ ΝΒΡΡΕ ΔΟΟC
 ΜΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΔΕΕΚΕΤΑΔΩ ΝΑΙ' ΝΑΓΔ
 10 ΠΗ ΤΑΠΛΠ ΜΗΟΚ ΜΠΕΡΩB
 ΥΚ ΕΡΟΔΙ' ΔΕΓΚΟΟΝ ΔΕΑΓ ΟΥΜΜΟ
 ΟΥΔΑΙ ΖΝΠΧΟΙC
 ΤΑΔC ΜΠ[Δ]ΙΔΚΩ ΖΙΤΝ
 ΔΝΑΡΕΑC Π[ΙΕΛΑ]Χ/

This most humble Andrew greets his beloved father the deacon. Do me the kindness, for you know that I have set my heart on your fathership next after God. It will be a favour that you do for me if you know that I have just recently come to the monastery. Tell yourself that you will do it for me in kindness. I beg you. Do not forget me; for you know I am a stranger. Farewell in the Lord. Give it to the deacon from this most humble Andrew.

Both of the above letters reflect the concerns of individuals in their daily life. EPI 192 is slightly more elaborate in its epithets, probably because it is addressed to a superior on whom the sender is immediately dependent.

In MH 143 no epithets attach themselves to the name Paul, son of Moses because it seems that the sender is his social equal. In both letters the senders name themselves first. The

ΠΑΙΕΛΑΧ/ in line one of EPI 192 specifies that the sender is a cleric. It replaces the more common ΔΝΟΚ ΝΝ,

'I NN.' There seems to have been some reluctance to beginning a letter directly with the name of the sender.¹ Both letters contain terminal formulae which express the writers' wishes for the well-being of their addressees. It would seem that letters which begin with an address were not just the domain of laymen; and letters beginning with an introductory formula were not the exclusive domain of the clergy.

Once we have accepted the fact that not all priests and monks began their letters with introductory formulae and that not all laymen chose the traditional native form of letter introduction, we must attempt to discern the rationale behind the use of varying epistolographic styles. Significant is the fact that after A.D. 641 the Arabs chose Greek to be the official language of Egypt. This implies that prior to the Conquest the Greek precedent in legal and administrative affairs was strongly established as being semi-canonical in such contexts. In the Theban area this is reflected by the large number of eighth and ninth century legal texts, such as KRU, the protocols of which are Greek and the texts of which, though Coptic, are heavily laden with Greek vocabulary. It can be presumed that before the Muslim invasions, when the

1

Of the thirty-eight letters in EPI only three omit some epithet of the sender: EPI 198, 223, 303. See p. 151 ff.

government itself was Byzantine, the influence of the Greek language in legal and administrative affairs was that much more immediate. It would have been employed by local officials. It follows that, when natives gradually began to take over offices formerly held by Greek-speaking Christians, they too would have employed Greek forms or would have done their best to translate key Greek phrases into Coptic. Such phrases would come to be used by local citizens under formal circumstances. One would have to conclude that a greater degree of formality attached itself to those Coptic letters in which either Greek words or Greek epistolographic formulae figured.

Although considerably earlier in date, a direct link between Greek and Coptic ecclesiastical letters is provided by the fourth century Meletian archive.¹ The Coptic letters in this collection reveal a dependence on contemporary Greek style as well as on native tradition. The Meletian Pap. 1921 is a case in point. It begins with an address based on the Demotic system: 'NN it is who writes to NN.' This is immediately followed by an introductory formula ΝΥΑΡΕΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΩΩΒ [Ν]ΙΜ which is equivalent

¹

Op. cit., p. 249, fn. 3.

to the $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}[v]\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ which introduces the Greek Meletian Pap. 1918. The Greek letter begins with an address which takes the common prescript form: $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \delta\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\ \acute{o}\ \delta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\ \chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$. . . As we would expect, the Coptic introductory address reverses the order. The sender introduces himself first. Although the word order is different in the Coptic letter, the writer has still managed to produce a letter with prescript and formula valetudinis which correspond to those found in contemporary Greek letters.¹ Furthermore, the writer of Pap. 1921 ends his letter with a terminal formula in the Greek language together with a Greek address on the exterior of the papyrus. It shows that as early as the fourth century Coptic scribes had attempted an accommodation of Greek and Coptic (< Egyptian) epistolographic elements within one letter.

If we consider that introductory formulae such as $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau$ were replacing Greek vocabulary as early as the fourth century, it is that much more surprising to find $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ itself still popular in Theban letters of the seventh century. By this time effective Byzantine control of the South stopped at Antinoe, and with it the same need for the Greek language in everyday life.² This

¹
P. 162. See RYL 268-272.

²
P. 14 ff.

all points out the extreme conservatism of writers from the circles of Pesenthius and Epiphanius who utilize $\pi\pi\sigma\ \pi\pi\omega\tau\omega\iota$ ¹ as an introductory formula more often than any other. The tradition of Greek-based introductions continued to be very strong in the Theban community. Bishop Abraham of Ermont made almost exclusive use of the $\psi\sigma\pi\tau\ \text{MEN}$ ² introductory formula. Thebans also showed fondness for full addresses of the $\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma$ type, thus combining Greek and Egyptian traditions within one letter. These writers apparently found no difficulty in the arrangement. By the seventh century it is doubtful that many writers would have thought of $\psi\sigma\pi\tau\ \text{MEN}$ as being anything but Coptic, especially when $\tau\pi\delta\ \mu\epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota$ was not to be found in contemporary Greek letters.

As we have noted above, it was probably on more formal occasions that Theban writers drew on formulae of the $\pi\pi\sigma\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota$ type, whether they were priests or laymen. After the Arab conquest of Egypt there was an even greater tendency to draw Greek, and Arabic too, into Coptic letters. The Coptic letter became so modified that by the tenth century introductory formulae and introductory addresses

1

It occurs ten times in RE as opposed to four times each for $\psi\sigma\pi\tau$ and $\gamma\alpha\sigma\mu$.

2

CO, passim.

could be blended into one. The roots of this development can be found in Theban Coptic letters of the seventh century. In this regard the Epiphanius collection can be considered totally representative of the style current in Thebes during the sixth and seventh centuries.

There are only two other regions of Egypt whose literary production can compare chronologically with that of the monastery of Epiphanius. One is Wadi Sarga. On the basis of both archaeological and paleographic evidence, Crum dated this more northerly site as sixth and seventh century, as at Thebes, coinciding with a period of rapidly disintegrating Greek linguistic influence.¹ Leanings towards the old Demotic Egyptian forms are manifest by most writers from Wadi Sarga in their use of introductory addresses. The form NN $\pi\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha\iota$, 'NN it is who writes,' is the most popular introduction.² The pronoun ΔNOK , 'I,' which precedes the proper name in most Theban addresses is not to be found in WS.³ Since introductory addresses tend to mean a reduction in the use of introductory formulae, there is only one letter from

¹ WS, p. 17. This corresponds to Kahle's region D.

² WS 87, 89, 96, 97, 100, 107.

³ P. 152 ff. See also BALA, p. 183 ff.

Wadi Sarga which begins with $\psi\omicron\pi$ ¹ and two which begin with $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ ². The monks from Wadi Sarga adhered more strongly to native epistolographic styles than did their Theban counterparts. In fact their letters correspond more closely to those of Theban laymen. Writers from Wadi Sarga also drew on the same body of optional elements (prefaces, terminal formulae, etc.) as did Theban writers, and with about the same degree of regularity.

RYL 268-271 and the Meletian Papyri 1920-1922

represent fourth and fifth century examples of the letter style of the Ashmunein area. As is the case with the later WS letters, the most frequent type of address is that based on the old Demotic models in which the sender and recipient are introduced at the outset. However, this time a relative form takes precedence: $\text{NN } \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\alpha\iota$, 'It is NN who writes.' In RYL 269 and the Meletian Papyri 1920 and 1921 the address is completed by the now familiar Christian expression $\zeta\eta-\pi\alpha\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma \chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$. In spite of their having introductory addresses, three of these letters also include full introductory formulae, RYL 268 and 269 having $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$, and the Meletian Pap. 1921 having $\psi\omicron\pi$. The latter corresponds

1

RYL 289

2

WS 106 and 112.

exactly to the Greek Meletian Pap. 1917 and 1918 which display the normal prescript and formula valetudinis.

Introductory formulae occur seldom in sixth and seventh century letters from Ashmunein. RYL 386 and 342 both begin with $\psi\sigma\pi$. RYL 339, which may actually be of the eighth century, begins with $\lambda\sigma\eta$. There are no letters at all which begin with $\pi\sigma\pi\alpha\tau\omega\eta$. Letters beginning $\text{NN } \pi\epsilon\tau\sigma\alpha\iota$ or $\text{NN } \pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ are the most numerous. Also at the time, a new form appears in the address. In RYL 281, 296, 305 and 355 the Copticized Greek form $\epsilon\gamma\tau\sigma\lambda\eta\delta$ ($\tau\sigma\lambda\mu\omega$, 'to dare') is written between the proper name and the verb $\sigma\alpha\iota$. There is one Theban example of this form, EPI 145 written by a certain David. Both here and in his other letter (EPI 306) we find him to have a style which stands apart from normal Theban. It is likely that, since this expression never became common at Thebes, its origin and development lay outside the Theban area. Nor does it occur in later letters from Ashmunein. As was the case in the WS letters, the pronoun ΔNOK is not found in any letters from Ashmunein which are earlier than the ninth century. Addresses of the type $\tau\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ are found only in those letters which begin with a true introductory

1

In EPI 306 David includes an address within a full introductory formula, also a non-Theban trait at this time.

2

RYL 397. It may have stood in the lacuna of RYL 408 which Crum attributes to the eighth century.

formula. But, as has been noted before, the scribes of Ashmunein preferred to adhere to the old Demotic system of introductory addresses. What stands out as the major difference between letters of Ashmunein and Thebes is the absence in the former of the pronoun *ANOK* in the introductory address and the infrequency of letters which begin with an introductory formula of the type so beloved by the scribes of the Epiphanius community. As was the case with letters from Wadi Sarga, nothing which occurs in letters from Ashmunein from the fourth to the seventh century is totally foreign to letters from the Epiphanius collection. The major distinction is one of varying preferences.

The Arab conquest had a disruptive effect on the development of Coptic letter style. This is doubtless to be attributed to the Arabs' initial acceptance of Greek as the language of administration. As we find in the letters of Kurrah ibn-Shariq,¹ Greek language and style are transmitted into Coptic letters of the first two centuries of Muslim rule. The Byzantine form of letter comes to the fore. RYL and BM are the main sources for Coptic letters of the Arab period; and all these letters come from Lower Egypt, i.e. the north. This does not mean that letters in the old

¹ BALA 180-183. Cf. N. Abbot, The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938), passim.

Coptic style do not continue. There are still examples of letters showing the full introductory formula,¹ that is, all except *TIPO TANTON* which is no longer to be found outside Theban letters of the seventh century. We still find letters in which the address introduces the body of the letter or follows it. Occasionally, however, there are letters in which Greek and Coptic elements are accommodated in new ways. Some letters are biligual. In RYL 323 and 325 a Coptic letter is completed by a Greek address. Both letters are thought to have been written in Ashmunein in the eighth century. From the same period and locale is RYL 278 which begins with an address, the first half of which is Greek and the second half Coptic. In this the Greek pagarch Flavius Mercurius introduces himself to some village chieftains. The form *ΠΕΓΟΖΑΙ*² joins the two parts of the address. There are also letters such as RYL 324 which, as well as having a Greek form of address, contains a date.³ In earlier times it was usually only those Coptic texts of a legal or business nature which had

1

BM 586, 589, 601; RYL 280, 289, 339, 353, 357, 375, 393.

2

Likewise RYL 319.

3

Likewise RYL 346.

been dated. Dates had, however, always been an optional element in Greek letters.

In smaller ways too Coptic letters of the Arab period change. New expressions are found to replace those optional elements which had always added a particular Christian character to Coptic letters. It is often difficult to discern whether the Arabic or Greek language is the origin of some of these new elements. The chrysmon, because of its overt Christian connotations is often replaced by ¹ // so as not to offend Muslim sensibilities. While the chrysmon alone usually stood before the opening words of an earlier Coptic letter, now it is usual to find a reference to the Deity accompanying it. Quite common is the expression ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ , 'in the name of God.' This is probably no more than a translation of the older introduction to Greek texts which, in the Theban context, had been used in legal ² documents. Yet this was a suitable neutral expression which would have offended neither Christian, Muslim, nor Jew. Another variation of this is the Greek phrase ⲉⲃⲱ ⲉⲃⲱ , 'with God,' which appears in a variety of forms

1

RYL 324, 388, 390 etc.; BM 580 etc. See p. 22.

2

P. 24 ff. Cf. EPI 205 and MH 175. Earlier prefaces of this type often made more specific references to the Trinity.

beginning with the eighth century.¹ Also at this time we begin to find the phrase TEIPHNH NAK , 'peace be with you,' probably originating in the Arabic salutation.² All of these elements were optional and were used in a fashion identical to that of optional elements in earlier Coptic letters, i.e., as adornment for the various components of a letter. The one exception is the phrase ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ which is only found at the beginning of letters. Although they were not expressions native to the Coptic language, they were accommodated into the Coptic epistolographic form.

By the tenth century³ a uniform new style of Coptic letter had emerged. It did not supplant the more traditional letter styles. In fact it was modelled on them. It combined and address within an introductory formula.

From the Fayyum:

BM 580 $\text{ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΝΥΑΡΕΤ ΑΝΑΚΤΕ}$
 $\text{ΑΛΙ ΕΙΚΖΕΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΙ ΠΑΜΕΛΙ ΨΗΛΙ ΔΖΗΗΤ...}$

¹ CYN (BM 545), CN (BM 586), CY (BM 587), CYΘW (BM 592) etc. It also occurs at the beginning of Biblical manuscripts.

² RYL 348, 390; BM 546, 602, 606, 635, 643; VC 114.

³ Crum dates RYL 349 to the tenth century. This formula was certainly used earlier, as we will discuss below. Of uncertain date, but having a similar formula is ST 190 from Edfu: ΖΩΒ ΝΙΗ .
 $\text{ΑΝΟΚ ΤΒΕΛΑΚΕ ΕΤΕΖΑΙ ΕΤ[...]}$

BM 584

ΖΗΤΛΕΝ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΝΨΑΡΕΠ ΑΝΑΚΤΕ
 ΜΟΥΖΗΝΑ ΕΙCΖΕΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΙ ΕΠΟΥΧΕΙ ΠΑ-
 ΜΕΛΙΤ ΕΝCΑΝ ΑΠΟΥ ΙΘΖΙΕ ΚΑΛΟ[Ε]

BM 630

ΡΖΗΠΛΕΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΝΨΑΡΕΠ ΑΝΑΚΤΕ ΛΕ-
 CΩΖΕΝ ΕΙΨΙΝΙ ΕΠΑΜΕΛΙΤ ΕCΑΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΚΑΛΩC

BM 658

ΖΗΠΛΕΝ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΝΨΑΡΠ ΑΝΑΚ ΝΠΑΠΕ
 ΕΙCΙΤΡΟΥ ΕΙCΖΕΙ ΕΙΨ[Ι]Ν ΠΟΥΧΕΙ ΠΑΜΕΛΙ^T
 CΑΝ ΜΑΥΕΙ ΚΑΛΟ

VC 114

[Ζ]ΗΠΛΕΝ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΨΑΡΠ ΑΝΑΚΤΕ Β[Ε.ΛΙ
 Α]ΜΙΝ Ε[Ι]CΖΕΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΙ ΑΥΩ ΕΙΠΡΩCΚΩΝΗΝΙ^{sic}
 ΝΕΟΥΕΡΙ[ΤΙ] ΗΠ[ΑΧ]ΑΙC ΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑ[Ι]ΗΤ
 ΚΑΤΑ CΜΑΤ ΝΙΒΙ ΝΤΕ Π[ΝΟΥ]ΓΙ

xxxvi¹

[ΡΖΕΠΛΕΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΝΨΑΡΕΠ ΑΝΑΚ ΤΕ
 ΠΙΛΩΤΙ Υ CΙCΙΝΝ[Α]...

xxxvii¹

[ΡΖΕΠΛΕΝ Ε]ΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΝΨΑΡΕΠ ΝΖΩΒ[ΝΙΗΑΝ]ΑΚ
 ΠΕ ΤΑΝΙΕΧ ΤΑΙCΖΕΙ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΤΑΙΤΩΤ ΜΕ....

1.

These manuscripts are published in W.E. Crum,
Coptic manuscripts brought from the Fayyum (London:
 David Nutt, 1893).

From Ashmunein:

RYL 349 + ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΟΡΤ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ[...
ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ ΠΑΜ[ΕΡΙΤ] ΝΙΩΤ ΜΗΝΑ

RYL 368 ^{ΘΩ} CYN ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΟΡΕΠ ΕΖΩC ΝΙΜ
ΑΝΟΚ ΕΙCΗΦ ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ ΡΟΚ ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ
ΝCΟΝ ΕΓΤΑΙΗΥ ΦΙΒΑΜΕ

RYL 397 ¹]ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΙΙΩ ΜΝΤΕCΜΑΥ...

RYL 408 ¹ Ρ ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΟ[ΡΤ...] ΡΑΜΑ
ΕCΖΑΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ

BM 1103 + ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΝΨΟ]ΡΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΕ
ΕΙCΖΑΙ. [ΕΙΨ]ΙΝΕ ΕΠΑΜΕΡ[ΙΤ Ν... ΜΝΠ]ΕC-
ΗΙ ΤΗ[ΡC ΝΕΥΛΟΓΙΜΕ]ΝΟΝ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ [ΚΑ]
ΤΑΝΕΥΡΑΝ

BM 1117 + ΝΨΟΡΤ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΕ ΜΝ-
ΤCΟΥΡΗC ΤΕΚΨΩΜΕ ΤΙΨΙΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΜΕΤΗΡΙΤ ΝΨΗΡΕ

BM 1118 // ΖΗΤΡΑΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΨΟΡΤ ΕΝΖΩC ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ
ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΨ[ΙΝΕ] ΕΗΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΕΝCΩΝ ΠΑΥΛΕ
ΜΝΤΕCΜΑΥ ΜΝΝΕCΟΝΗΥ Τ[ΗΡΟΥ].

1

Crum dated RYL 408 and RYL 397 to the eighth and ninth century respectively.

BM 1119 † ΝΥΟΡΤ ΜΕΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΔΝΟΚ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΜΕ-
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΕ ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ Π[ΕΝ]ΜΕΡΙΤ ΕCΟΝ
 ΜΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΤΕΒΗ ΤΗΡΗΒ ΝΕΥΡΟΓΙΜΕΝΟΝ

The most noteworthy feature of these formulae is that in each case the address is enclosed within an introductory formula beginning with $\Upsilon\omicron\rho\tau$ and that this address begins with the personal pronoun ΔΝΟΚ. The introductory formulae of the $\Upsilon\omicron\rho\tau$ type which had been so popular in earlier Theban letters have maintained their existence, having displaced both $\tau\tau\omicron\tau\tau\alpha\tau\omega\tau$ ¹ and $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$. Whether the Theban style of letter was an influential force in the development of this new formula cannot be verified on the basis of $\Upsilon\omicron\rho\tau$ alone. However, it seems more than coincidental that the pronoun ΔΝΟΚ, which before the Arab conquest and during its early years was never attested outside the Theban area, should appear so universally in formulae of three hundred years later and in diverse areas which, to our knowledge, never had employed the pronoun ΔΝΟΚ² in their formulae of address before this time.

¹ $\zeta\alpha\theta\eta$ formulae of the tenth century are exemplified by only BM 601 and RYL 353. Their use declined steadily from the seventh century.

² Cf. BALA 183 in which a similar formula may have appeared in the lacuna. This letter would be seventh or eighth century.

It may be possible to see the forerunner of this new letter style in Theban letters of the seventh century. In every example now cited it will be observed that the style stands apart from that of the vast majority of Theban letters. One of the famous scribes active in the early part of the seventh century was Frange of Petemout.¹ His letters contain many idiosyncracies. In EPI 247 and 351 he begins with a conventional introductory formula; but instead of continuing with the usual First Present tense of the verb he writes the form $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota$, apparently the circumstantialized First Present. He does the same thing in ST 267. Here it seems clear that he has little conception of the literal meaning of the introductory formula he has employed. Instead of writing just $\pi\rho\omicron\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$, he completes it with the Coptic translation $\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$. That he did actually conceive of these introductions as addresses as well is implied by a similar letter which he writes, MH 138:

....] $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\chi[\alpha\chi]$ $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon$
 $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\bar{\rho}\eta\eta\beta\epsilon\ \epsilon\varsigma\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\varsigma\psi\eta\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$
 $\bar{\eta}\kappa\eta\eta\ \epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \theta\epsilon\omega\alpha\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\eta\psi\epsilon\rho$

¹

Pp. 209 ff.

From this early period there is only one other example of this formula. This too comes from Thebes. In EPI 306 the priest David includes his address in an introductory formula introduced by ⲉⲁⲓⲙ . It is not until a century later that comparable examples are found elsewhere. Among the Balaizah letters only BALA 189 offers this same formula. The pronoun ⲁⲛⲟⲕ , which previously had not been a usual element in formulae from this site, figures prominently. It may therefore be that the origin of this formula does actually lie in Thebes. The only difference seems to be that by the tenth century the writers were consistent in supplying a first person verb to go with the first person pronoun. In the Theban prototypes of EPI and MH there is inconsistency, with the writer sometimes construing himself in the third person.

If we wish to examine the development of Coptic letter style we are severely limited in comparative material. Only the letters from Ashmunein offer an array of material dating from the fourth to the twelfth century. The Ashmunein letters do however show that by the tenth century elements had come to be included which did not occur in letters from the same site from earlier centuries. These new elements also occur in other parts of Egypt, such as the Fayyum and Edfu. Whether the same form was

universal can only be an assumption since there are no late letters extant from any other part of Egypt. Such, however, is the implication of BALA 189 which has the identical elements and which likewise stands apart from the rest of the contemporary BALA letters. Of all the letters extant it is only the Theban ones, especially those of MH and EPI which contain all elements which, in one form or another, occur in letters from the rest of Egypt, whether of an earlier, contemporary or later date. The significance of Theban letters is that they were produced at a time of increasing native autonomy in the face of the growing Byzantine power vacuum of the earlier seventh century. These forms survived the Arab-Greek influences of the first two centuries of the conquest and re-emerged in a unified form in the tenth and eleventh centuries. They speak for the strength of the enduring native traditions.

APPENDIX

COPTIC OSTRACA

IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

It was in 1906 that the Royal Ontario Museum first acquired its collection of Coptic ostraca. These have gone by the name of the 'Currelly-Milne Collection' and most were published by Herbert Thompson in Theban Ostraca.¹ It was as late as 1969 that I began to investigate some additional unidentified ostraca which had come to light from the museum's storage area. While most of these subsequently turned out to be Greek, there was a small number of Coptic letters. The provenance of these letters remains a mystery. But the physical appearance, language and content of these is not inconsistent with the letters published in Theban Ostraca and make it likely that their origin too is Theban. They may have been overlooked in Thompson's original survey because of their fragmentary nature. In the belief that they are of importance and in the hope that I have not been entirely unsuccessful in deciphering them, I hereby offer my own reading and translation of the more substantial pieces.

1

Half of the Coptic texts which appear in Theban Ostraca now belong to the Ashmolean Museum.

ROM 906.21.325

Pottery

- 1 [+ ʷoɾp̄ MEN t̄p̄rocyneī aɣw t̄acta
 2 [ZE m̄p̄zɣ]ποποδιον̄ n̄net̄noȳrhtē m̄p̄xw̄k
 3 [t̄h̄]p̄s̄ n̄taɣɣx̄h̄ eɣraī eɣwmē eɣzīz̄oyn̄
 4 āncw̄t̄h̄ ēx̄n̄t̄ent̄petoɣāāb̄ n̄eīw̄ āpa
 5 īcāk̄ ānon̄ π...peī ēmātē kaī f̄āp̄ āīōɣw̄ɣ
 6 n̄zāz̄ n̄cōp̄ ēeī ēbōl̄ h̄peī'6̄n̄ t̄w̄ɣ
 7 ēt̄bēf̄w̄ā m̄an̄p̄raīpōcē¹ āk̄x̄ōōɣ̄ x̄ē
 8 t̄nāxī p̄lōɣōc̄ nāī ēīc̄ z̄htē t̄p̄
 9 ōɣw̄ɣ m̄pēk̄x̄ōōɣ̄ nāī t̄nōɣ̄ ōɣw̄ɣ
 10 n̄ɣ̄x̄ōōɣ̄ n̄pāeīw̄ z̄w̄rēmōɣ̄ x̄ē
 11 ēīc̄ p̄r̄w̄mē ācēī ēn̄z̄ht̄² āllā
 12 ōɣw̄ɣ n̄ɣ̄t̄n̄nāc̄³ x̄ēkāc̄
 13 n̄tātālō n̄cōɣō ēz̄[rāī]
 14 ōɣx̄āī z̄m̄[p̄x̄ōēīc̄....

[+ Fir]st I worship and I kis[/ s the foot-
 stool of your (pl:) feet in the complete fullness /
 of my soul, including the man who is inside. / We
 heard about (?) our holy father Apa / Isaac. We were
 very [....] for I wanted / many times to come out.
 I was unable to find an occasion / on account of the
 government (?) business. You sent word that / I should

take the list for myself. See, I am / waiting for
 you to send word to me. Now please / send word to my
 father Horemoun that / the man has come north. But /
 please send him so that / I might load the grain. /
 Fare well in [the Lord

¹
 Cf. CRUM 154a. $\pi\rho\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\epsilon$ may be the Latin
 term praepositus. It was a title used at an
 earlier time in Egypt. See P. Oxy. 2114 (316)
 and other references in A. Bowman, Town Coun-
cils of Roman Egypt (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert
 Ltd., 1971).

²
 A common spelling. See EPI 243:5; EPI.
 Vol. II, p. 363 a.

³
 Perhaps the verb is $\tau\eta\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon$.

ROM 906.21.152

Pottery

This and the following ostrakon are from
 the same hand. The formation of the letters β , κ ,
 λ , and π are identical in all cases. The scribe
 tends to substitute a system of dots for the more
 usual superlinear strokes.

¹ [ΑΝΘ]Κ ΕΙΣΑΚ ΠΙΤΑ
² [ΛΑΠ]ΟΡΟC ΕΓCΖΑΙ ΕΓ
³ [ΨΙΝΕ]ΓΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΕΓ

4 [ΜΕΡΑΤ]Ε ΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΕΨΒΗΗ
 5 [ΡΕ Ν]ΤΕ ΑΠΑ ΕΙΣΑΚ ΜΝ
 6 [ΝCΝΗΥΤ]ΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΥΡΑΝ
 7 [...ΖΗ]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙCΟΠC Μ
 8 [......]ΗΜΑ² ΕΤΤΑΕΙΗΥ
 9 [......]ΠΕΤΝ ΨΛΗΛ ΕΤ
 10 [......]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΗΤΡΕ
 11 [ΤΕΤΝ Ω]ΒΨ ΝΤΑΗΝΤ
 12 [ΕΛΑΧΥ Ν]ΤΕΤΝΡ ΠΝΑ Ν
 13 [ΤΕΤΝ Ψ]ΛΗΛ ΕΧΝΤΑΗΝ[Τ....

I Isaac the / mi[ser]able one writes, /
 [greeting] and begging his / [beloved] fathers, the
 comrades / of Apa Isaac and / all [the brothers] by
 name / [in] the Lord, beseeching / [....] honoured
 place / [....] your (pl.) prayers [....] / that God
 will not cause / [you-(pl.)] to forget my [humility] /
 and that you (pl.) be so kind / as to pray for my
 [....

1 Greek ταλαίπωρος. Cf. EPI 637 and 647.

2 Read perhaps ...Β]ΗΜΑ ... , '[your (pl.)]
 revered footprints.' Cf. CRUM 466b.

ROM 906.21.322

Pottery

1 [....] ἀρῆς πῖνοντες
 2 [N]αρωτῆ ἐροῖ ἡ τὸ π
 3 κοπ ἡ τε τὶ βαρὺν
 4 λο ζῆτα βαλ ἡ τὰ
 5 ναυ ἐβόλ ἡ κοῦ
 6 κοπ ¹ ἡ τε τὸ κοῦ
 7 ἐβόλ ἐχωῖ τὶ
 8 ζελεπὶς ἐξεγα ²
 9 ρωτῆ ἐρωτῆ
 10 ἡ γὰρ ³ ναῖ
 11 + οὐχ αἰ
 12 ζῆτις

....] perhaps God / will hear me in the prayer /
 that this affliction / leave my eye and I / see again /
 and that you (pl.) send / out on my behalf the / hope
 that He might / hear you (pl.) / and pity me. / + Fare
 well / in Jesus.

1
 For ἡ κοῦ κοπ.

2
 An unparalleled form. Cf. BALA Vol. I,
 p. 156. XE + Ega = Third Future in Theban
 Sahidic: Sahidic Elijah 12:28; PGol 47;
 MH 97:3; CO 48:2 f. See also BALA Vol. I,
 p. 179. On the analogy of Ahmimic, the E
 of XE can be omitted when it is followed
 directly by a verbal prefix which begins
 with a vowel, and especially in the case of
 Second or Third Future. EX stands for X.

3
This substantive can occur without the
verb *Eipe*; CRUM 216b.

ROM 906.21.294

Pottery

This is by the hand of the same scribe as
No. 6. He writes a very large K and a large and
angular E.

1 +W[NE ETEKMNTETI]
2 WT ET TA[EIHY....]
3 / TEK MNTW[MHE NOYTE....]
4 AKXOY NAI X[E....]
5 NTOOTG MTEGY[NΘIOC...]
6 [E2]OYN ANMTE[....]
7 [...].OY N[....]
8 ?

6

ROM 906.21.324

Pottery

From the same hand as the preceding letter.

1 +W^{sk}INE TEK
2 MNTEWT ET

3 CHAMAA'T' PIXO
 4 EIC PINOYTE EGEC
 5 MOY' EPOK ETBE
 6 PINA' NT[AK]
 7 TAA[C....

[I] greet your / blessed / fathership.

May the / Lord God bless / you for / the kindness
 which [you] / have done [...]

7

ROM 906.21.218

Limestone

Recto

1 [T WOPIT M]EN TWINE ET
 2 [EKM]NTCON ETEIDH [...
 3 [......]NA TEKMNNT[CON....
 4 [......]TRIMHCION....
 5 [......]NAG N[....
 6 [......]PAI' TNOY[....
 7 [......]EWWTE

Verso

8 [.Δ]E KBNTG NZOMNT'
 9 API PINA' NT TAAQ' NT
 10 ANNKAME EWWTE
 11 ON MEKBNTG NZOMNT
 12 API PINA ON NT+PTHP

13 ΜΗCION ΝΑC ΤΑC Μ
 14 ΠΑΨΝΧΑΡΙC ΖΙΤΝ
 15 ΙΑΚΩΒ ΠΙΕΛΑ
 16 Χ/

The text of the recto is very badly obscured through fading.

Beginning with line 7:

... If you find it (in the form of ?) money /
 please give it to / Panankame. If / , moreover, you
 do not find it (in the form of) money / please show
 the additional kindness and give / him the tremis.
 Give it to / Pashencharis from / the most humble Jacob.

¹
 or pay it for the black ...(?). Perhaps
 KAME = KMOM.

8

ROM 906.21.268

Limestone

This ostrakon contains no more than the
 introduction to a letter. It is as complete as the
 writer intended it. The hand is very uncertain. This
 text was probably intended as a writing exercise.
 There are traces of random letters on the surface of
 the ostrakon.

1-ICP+C: WOPIT^{sic} MEN TWINE E
 2 ΠΑΜΙΠΙΤ^{sic} NCON

ICP+C First I greet / my beloved brother.

9

ROM 906.21.372

Limestone

1 Τ3 ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ
 2 ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ
 3 ΝΤΕΤΝ ΜΝΤΠΕ
 4 ΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΔΥΩ ΕΤ
 5 ΦΟΡΕΙ ΝΠΕΧ¹ Ζ[Ν]
 6 ΟΥΜΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥ¹
 7 'CEBECTATON [...]

Τ3 Before all things / we worship / your (pl.) /
 holiness who / truly embody Christ / and who are most
 revered / [...]

¹
 The ΕΥ is run through by the lower stroke of
 the Ζ in the line above. The scribe's hand
 is very ornate and he enlarges a number of
 his other letters: κ, β, φ, ι.

ROM 906.21.289

Stone

1 +
 2 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙ
 3 ΜΟΥΕ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ
 4 ΔΙΨΑΧΕ ΜΝΚΟΥ
 5 ΛΟΥΧ ΖΑΡΟΚ Π[Ε]
 6 ΧΑΡ ΧΕΜΑΡΕ
 7 ΟΥΝΟΧ?
 8 ΟΥ?
 9 ΦΙΖΕΙ'?
 10?
 11 ΕΡΟΚ?
 12 ΕΛΕ?
 13?

+ When I / left you¹ / I spoke with Kou- / louj¹
 on your behalf. He / said: 'Let / a [....

¹ Similarly PhO 7.

Limestone

ROM 906.21.270

At some time subsequent to the publication
 of Theban Ostraca, Thompson improved his reading of

letter No. 27. Because the new reading is substantially different from that originally published, I have included the new reading in this present study. Some of the restorations are my own and are indicated as such.

Recto

- 1 [† 30P] MEN TNWINE E
 2 [pOK] MNCWC¹ O² M
 3 MOK XEE³ 3ANXI TEIBX
 4 XE EKNABWK EMA NΠACAC⁴T
 5 NΠPESB, ANAPEAC NΓΠΑΡΑΚ/
 6 MMOOY NΓXI OYEIW NΓNTQ
 7 EZOYN NTOOTK MΠEINAY MN
 8 PEIW MΠTCMOY XEENNABW[K]
 9 NTN6N ΠWINE MΠENEIWT
 10 APΔ ΠECYNOIOC ΠETICK[/]
 11 [. . .] XEΠΔIK[ΔION]

Verso

- 12 MΠPAMELEI OYN N[OY]
 13 EW NEI MΠEINAY XE TN
 14 OYWY EMOOYE NPACTE ΠW[O]
 15 PT NZOY NOYWY WINE ON N
 16 CACNTE NCAKID EYACEIWOY
 17 NΓNTOY EZOYN NTOOTK
 18 TOYXAI TAC MΠENCON
 19 APΔ MUXAIAC
 20 ANTWNIOC ΠEIEΛAX

- 1 I read MN̄NCWC.
- 2 I read T̄NTAMO.
- 3 I restore ΕΠΕΙ ΕΚ..., 'when you receive this ostrakon you will go' Cf. CO 115:9.
- 4 Cf. EPI 488, p. 278, fn. 3 and 4.
- 5 The rest of the letter is as previously published.

Recto

[+ First] we greet, / [you.] Then we [inform] / you that when you receive this ostrakon / you will go to ¹ the monastery / of ² (the) priest Andrew and ask / them and get an ass and bring it / back with you at the same time as / the ass which was a present ³ so that we might go / and visit our father / Apa Pesenthus the bishop / [....] for the truth is

Verso

So do not be negligent / this time in coming now because we / want to go tomorrow, the / first holiday. ⁵ Ask too / for two empty ⁶ sacks / and bring them with you. / + Fare well. Give it to our brother / Apa Michaias. / This most humble Antony.

-
- 1 For the preposition ΕΜΑΝ̄ see CRUM 154a.
 - 2 Thompson's translation.
 - 3 Literally 'the ass of blessing.' Cf. CRUM 336a.
 - 4 'Do not delay!' (?)
 - 5 CRUM 501b; EPI 284; p. 229, fn. 2.
 - 6 CRUM 17b.

PLATES

— 100 —

PLATE I

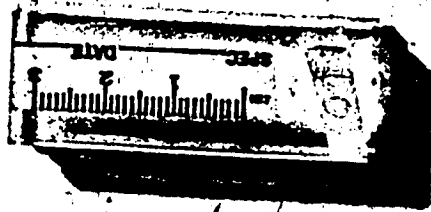
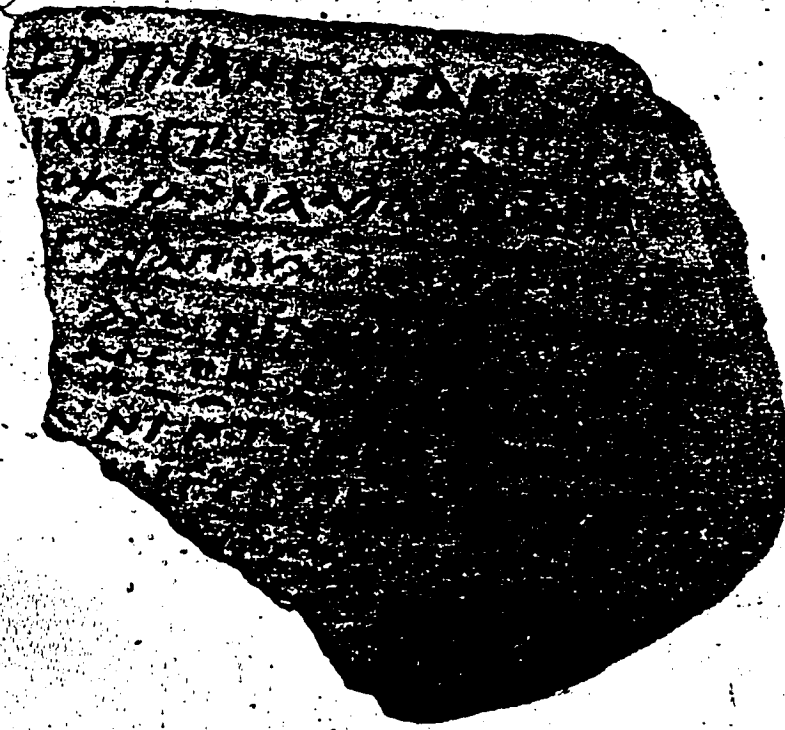


PLATE XI

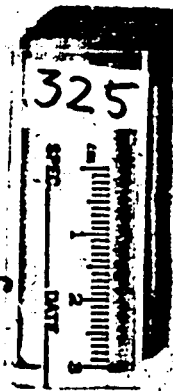


PLATE III

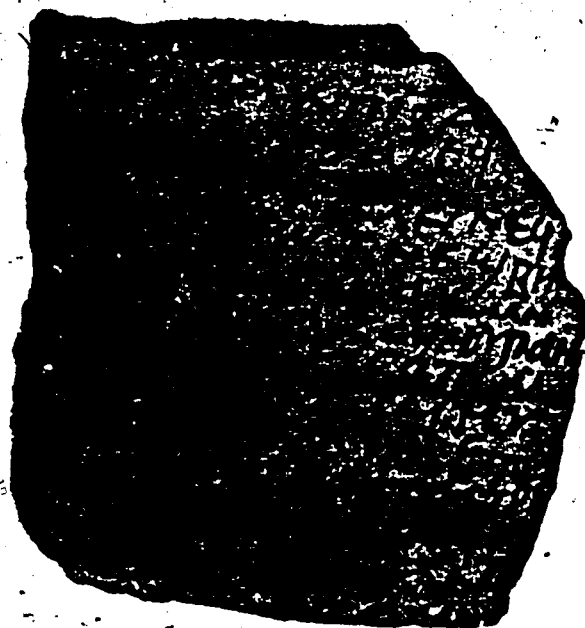
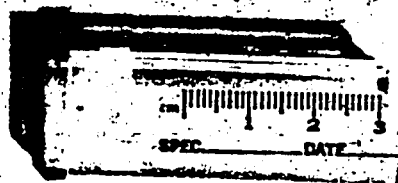
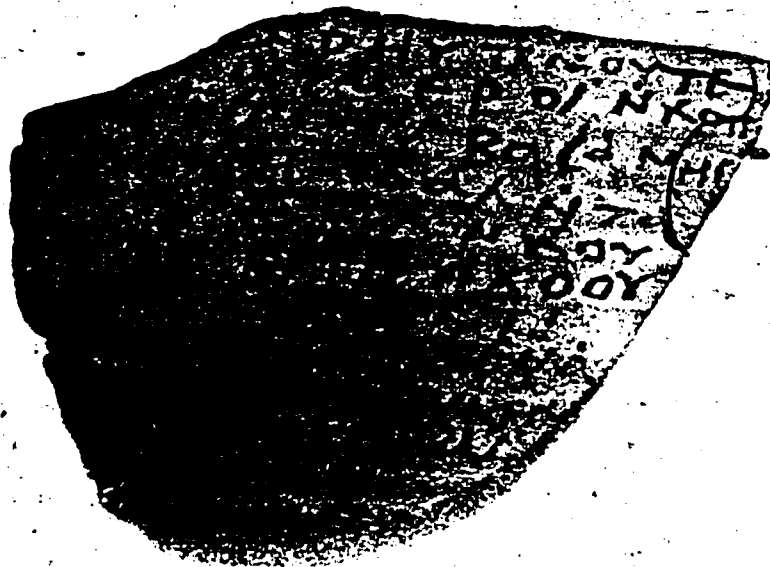
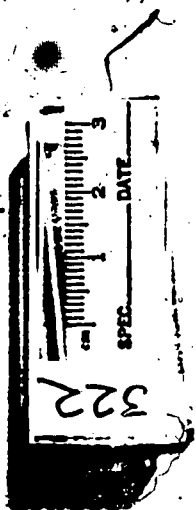


PLATE IV



294

PLATE V

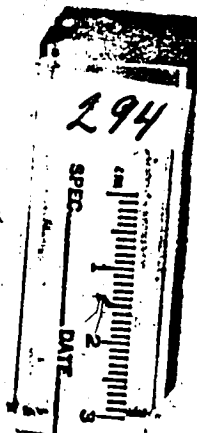


PLATE VI

295



PLATE VII

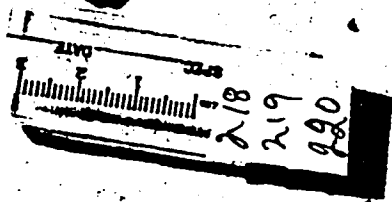


PLATE VIII

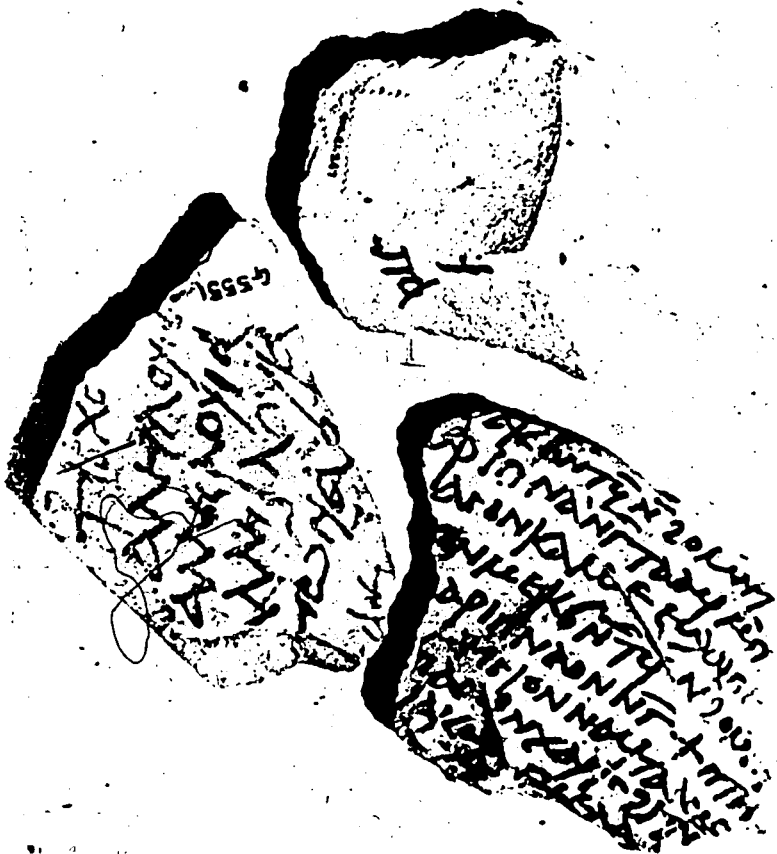
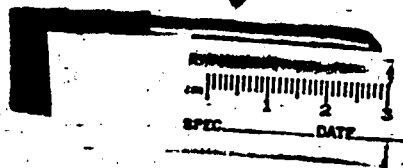


PLATE IX

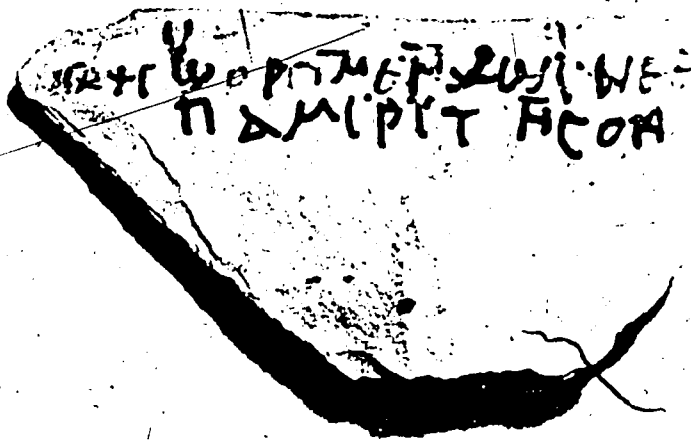
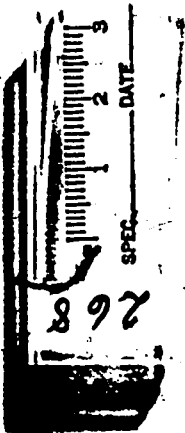
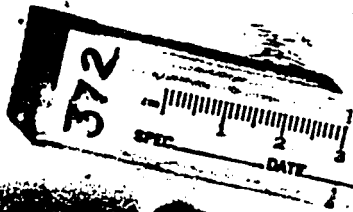


PLATE X



ΤΕ ΠΡΟΠΑ ΤΩΝ
 ΤΗ ΠΡΟΕΚΥΝΕ
 ΕΤΗ ΜΗΤ ΠΕ
 ΤΟΥ ΔΑΥΩΕΤ
 ΦΟΡΕ Ν ΓΕ ΤΕ
 ΟΥ ΜΕ ΔΥΩΝ
 ΕΤΕ ΤΑΤΗ

PLATE XI

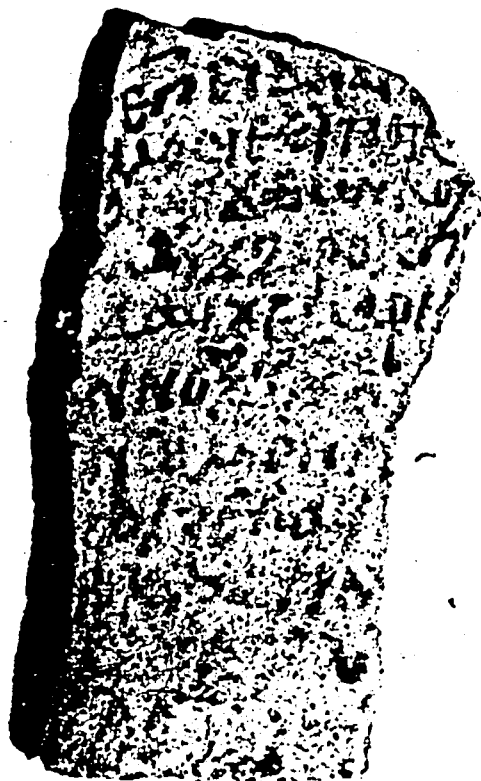
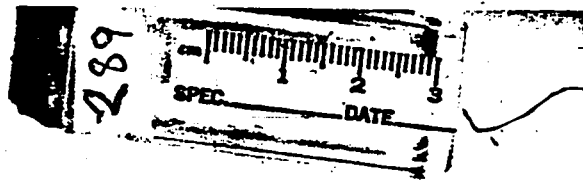
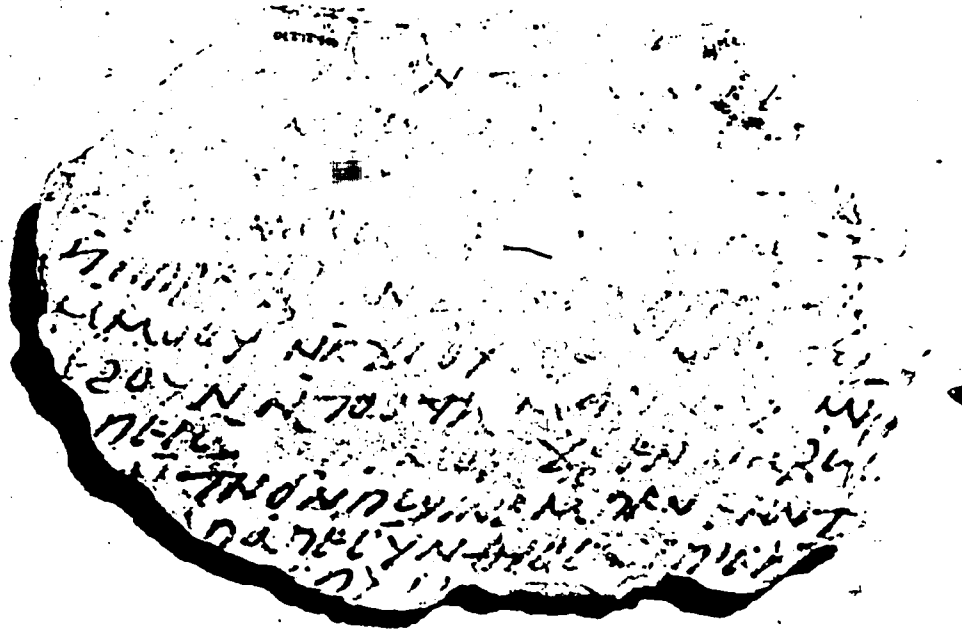
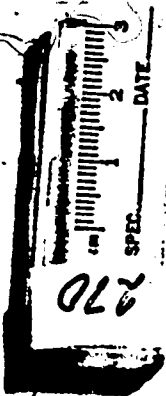


PLATE XII



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