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

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

One chapter examines documents concerned with the collection of aparchê chiefly by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo. Other chapters investigate documents which contain two epistolary formulae which I have identified as peculiar to documents relating to the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo: "I, brother (pason) NN am writing", and "Our father is the one who writes".
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

§1.0 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

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

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

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

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

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1 See Gascou 1994 p. 179. This problem is illustrated by no. 49: its first editor, Wolfgang Brunsch, thought that it related to the Bala'izah monastery, but it was later assigned a provenance of Bawit by Martin Krause on the evidence of Hermopolite place names in the text. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that it cannot relate to the Titkooh monastery.
There is present evidence for six different monasteries named after Apa Apollo in the following places:  
1. Aphrodito,  
2. Bala'izah,  
3. Bawit,  
4. Titkooh,  
5. Memphis,  
Whilst there is excavated textual material from the first three locations, there are no provenanced texts from the last three.

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

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

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2. See Map 3 Ptoou n-Apa Apollos; CKA pp. 144 "Kôm Isqâw", 1331-1333, "Kloster des Apa Apollos", and 1658-1659 "Minyat Farut"; MacCoul 1993c for Coptic and Greek texts relating to this monastery. Evidence of contact between Aphrodito and Bawit is provided by an inscription from the Bawit monastery which mentions Psimanobot of ΧΧΧΥΟΥ (= Aphrodito), see Maspero and Driotton 1932-1943 p. 73 no. 128.
3. See Map 3 Pmonasterion n-Apa Apollo south of Ptoou n-Erebe; CKA pp. 686-691 "Dêr al-Balâïza".
4. See Map 3 Pmonasterion n-Apa Apollo north of Paplou; CKA pp. 643-653 "Dêr Anbâ Abullû".
7. See Map 1 Thebes. This monastery is mentioned in two Coptic papyri belonging to the Coptic Museum, Cairo (letters nos. 3091 and 3431); see Robinson 1987a p. 50 and 1987b p. 68.
8. These details are taken from Tobler and Molinier 1879 pp. 75-76 and 87 (I am indebted to David Jeffreys for this reference).
10. For this family, see Gascou 1985 pp. 61-75; and Martindale 1992 pp. 96-99.
monks from Berku, a village in the Hermopolite nome, are allotted a donation of twenty artabas of corn. This suggests that the donations were not restricted to the Oxyrhynchite nome, and perhaps one of the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo should be considered as the κοινότητα in 1. 8.

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

§1.2 PREVIEW OF CHAPTERS

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

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

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

A number of documents beginning with the formula ΔΗΟΚ ΠΔΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΛΙ (“I, brother (ΠΔΩΝ) NN, am writing”) concern áπαρχη collection and are edited in Chapter 5; other documents with this formula are examined in Chapter 7. Most of them were written by monks of a monastery of Apollo, and some by monks from the Titkooh monastery.

Texts with the formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΩΛΗ (“Our father is the one who writes”), which are dealt with in Chapter 8, may be connected with the monastery of Apa Apollo at

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

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions arrived at in this thesis.

§1.3 EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

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

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

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

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

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

Certain personal names, such as Joseph, Jeremias and Victor, are rendered in their familiar English form rather than transliterated faithfully from their Coptic form (Ioseph, Jeremia, and Biktor respectively). The translation of Coptic place names has been given special attention, with long vowels represented by a circumflex and Coptic ð by c, and ø by s (e.g. Tnoccnsne). Exceptions include the standard forms of Shmoun and Antinoe which are used instead of Smoun and Antinoou.

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

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

- schwa represented by ε (exx. ΤΕΝ- for ΤῊ- , ΝΕΜΔ for ΝῊΜΔ);
- ε added (often in second person plural prefixes. exx. ΠΕΤΝΕ- for ΠΕΤῊ- "your", and ΠΗΤΕΤΝΕ- for ΠΗΤΕΤῊ- Conjunctive verbal prefix);
- ε omitted, especially before another ε (e.g. ΞΕ ΠΕΙΔΗ for ΞΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ);
- Initial Ν omitted, especially in the Conjunctive and First Future and Negative Future verbal prefixes;
- Ν not assimilated to Μ before a labial;
- Ε for Ν (exx. ΜΕΤ- for ΜῊΤ- and ΜΕΤΡ for ΜῊΤΡ);
- Α for Ρ;
- Α for Ρ;
- ΚΔΙ- for ΚΕ- "other";
- ΡΜ- for ΡῊ- "man of";
- ΤΝΟΟΥ- for ΤΝῊΟΥ- "send";
- and in Greek words, the ending -eatures3 (e.g. πεττάγ for ΠΠΠΤΑ᾿ΓΩΝ).

1Apart from brief comments in Vycichl 1959 pp. 137-138 and the entries for texts from this area given in Bal. ch. 8, a study of the dialect of these documents has yet to be produced.
CHAPTER 2
THE TEXTUAL MATERIAL

§2.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL MATERIAL

The texts presented in this thesis come from numerous collections. The majority, however, are from eight main sources and these are reviewed below in order to demonstrate how aparchê collection documents and texts beginning with the ΝΟΚ ΝΕΝΩΝ εἰς τὸν πατὴρ ἡμῶν ΠΑΤΩΣ formulae are linked with documents relating to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

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

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

In 1903 the British Museum (BM) acquired a large number of papyrus and parchment manuscripts mainly written in Coptic which are now designated as British Library Oriental (BL Or.) 6201-6236.1 They were acquired by Sir E.A.W. Budge and their payment was negotiated by the Reverend Chauncey Murch (1856-1907).2

Although it is recorded that all of the manuscripts originated from el-Ashmunein,3 two dozen of them proved to be Coptic papyri from Aphrodito (BL Or. 6205, 6207-6230, many of which were published in *P. Lond. IV*). A provenance in the Hermopolite nome is suggested for many papyri by internal evidence.4 One of the manuscripts (BL Or. 6201 A55b) was thought by Crum to be part of Ryl. 159.5

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

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

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

3 See also Crum 1919 p. 207.

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

5 This is suggested on a note in Crum’s handwriting appended to the manuscript.
manuscripts acquired during the year 1903” lists the following under the heading of Coptic manuscripts: "A large collection of (a) 43 Coptic rolls or portions of rolls, five of which are complete legal documents of unusual length and of considerable importance, each dated (VIIth, VIIIth and IXth centuries): (b) fragments equivalent to 5 more rolls; (c) 225 sheets containing smaller documents or fragments; (d) one Arabic roll; and (e) 16 sheets of Arabic fragments”.

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

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

§2.1.2 BL OR. INV. NOS. 6201 A AND B

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

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

1Note that Krause 1985b nn. 18 and 82 should have 6204 for 6205.
2For the announcement of the forthcoming publication of his unpublished dissertation, Krause 1958, see Krause 1993 p. 82 + n. 31 (where he gives the inv. no. BM Or. rather than BL Or.); the transcriptions and translations of these texts recently published by MacCoull 1994a contain errors.
3See, exx., Krause 1985a p. 126 and n. 59, 1990 p. 207, and 1993 p. 91 + n. 75; this assumption is followed in a number of places including Severin 1991 p. 364 and MacCoull 1987a p. 63 (note that only four manuscripts are mentioned here) and 1994a p. 141.
4The small number of manuscripts numbered BL Or. 6201C are mainly literary, and need not be grouped with this series. A Manichaean Syriac parchment fragment, BL Or. 6201 C1, was described in Crum 1919, and Herbert Thompson made notes on BL Or. 6201 B and C manuscripts (Oriental Studies Faculty Library, Cambridge University box O.3 no. 22/24 and box O.5 no. 1/25). Recently a box of un inventoried Coptic and Arabic papyrus fragments has been discovered at the BL; the Arabic manuscripts may be the items mentioned in the annual report section (e) quoted above at §2.1. I have looked through these fragments briefly but did not find any items which needed to be included in this thesis.
5Crum’s interest in many of the texts from this series is demonstrated by the large number of references he makes to them in his dictionary. Only a small number of his transcriptions of these texts survive in notebook 81 in the Crum archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford. This contains transcriptions of BL Or. 6201 A2, 21, 38, 55, 57, 63, 72, 101, 168, and B28, as well as notes on personal and topographical names in other texts from this collection.
6Kahle mentioned his copies of these texts in Bal. p. 50 and, in a letter (now in the Griffith Institute, Oxford) from him to A.S. Fulton (at that time the Keeper of the Department of Oriental printed books
published.\(^1\) Kahle, and later Krause, considered some of the texts to be from Bawit. In *Bal.* p. 18 n. 4, Kahle mentioned that he was hoping to publish "a considerable number of documents in the British Museum" from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo.\(^2\) Whether he was acting on information not now available to me I do not know, but, of the eighteen documents from the BL Or. 6201 series edited in this thesis, only eight actually mention a monastery of Apa Apollo, and one of these specifies its location at Titkooh (no. 1).\(^3\) Nowhere in this series is the place name Bawit associated with a monastery of Apa Apollo. It seems unlikely that it was the Lansing papyri in the BM (see §2.8) which Kahle was describing in *Bal.* p. 18 n. 4, because, although at least two of them may come from the Bawit monastery, this collection of twenty-six papyri hardly constitutes "a considerable number".

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

As already mentioned above, this series contains one text which mentions a monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh (no. 1);\(^5\) and four or five texts which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo (nos. 3, 16 text 2, 23, 26 and possibly 17); six texts are concerned with *aparchê* collection (nos. 1-3, 12, 16 and 17); three bear the \(\Delta \text{NOK} \Pi \Delta \text{CON} \NN \epsilon \text{I} \text{C} \text{Z} \Delta \text{I}\) formula (nos. 2, 3 and 16 text 2),\(^6\) and ten the \(\Pi \text{E} \text{N} \text{E} \text{I} \omega \text{T} \Pi \text{E} \text{T} \text{C} \text{Z} \Delta \text{I}\) formula (nos. 69, 70, 71, 80, 86, 88, 95, 101, 102 and 103). There are also at least a dozen short documents which are signed by a certain Georgios who may be identified with the signatory of three of these \(\Pi \text{E} \text{N} \text{E} \text{I} \omega \text{T} \Pi \text{E} \text{T} \text{C} \text{Z} \Delta \text{I}\) formula texts.

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

\(^2\)Steinwenter 1955 p. 5 n. 5 mentions Kahle’s forthcoming work on Bawit texts.

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

\(^4\)Crum 1919 p. 207.

\(^5\)Another text (BL. Or. 6201B 218) mentions the place name Titkooh.

\(^6\)This formula may be restored in BL Or. 6201 B242, an unpublished fragmentary legal document which begins \(\Delta \text{NOK} \Pi \Delta \text{CON} \NN\).
This collection contains a number of other texts which undoubtedly relate to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.¹

§2.2 THE MICHAELIDES COLLECTION IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AND THE BRITISH LIBRARY (ABBREVIATION CUL MICHAEL. AND BL OR. 13886.-)

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

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

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

§2.3 PAPYRI FROM THE BEINECKE LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY (ABBREVIATION P. CTYBR)

§2.3.1 1964 ACQUISITION

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

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¹E.g. BL Or. 6201 B133 which expresses the wish that ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΥ ΕΔΕΥΝΟΥ ΟΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΜΑΝ "may Apa Apollo send us a great blessing".
²SeeWWWEg³ p. 286.
³See Clackson 1993a for a brief summary of some of the Coptic texts from this collection, and 1994 for further details of manuscripts in other languages.
⁴Neither of these can be identified with the XIth C. Michaelides Coptic manuscript described in Drescher 1960 and CKA p. 2736 "Topos des Apa Apollo".
⁵This is written by the same scribe as another tax demand issued to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun, no. 31. For the possibility that it comes from Bawit, see §2.8.
⁶CUL Michael. Q110/3 may also have begun with this formula (if ΕΙΣΩΔΙ is to be restored).
Hans P. Kraus of New York: P. CtYBR inv. 1739-1878, 2248-2268 and 2896-2943.1 From this lot, four Coptic papyri contain the \( \pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omega \tau \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma \) formula (nos. 66 (this may be associated with no. 68, see below in this section), 74 and 104, and P. CtYBR inv. 1824). One mentions a monastery of Apa Apollo (no. 36). P. CtYBR inv. 1855 mentions the \( \varphi\omicron\omicron\omicron \ \varpi\omicron\omicron \chi\omega [\pi\omicron\omicron\omicron] \chi \chi \omega \) "day of Apa Apollo".2 P. CtYBR inv. 1756 is a Greek poll-tax receipt written by the same scribe and agreed to by the same assentors as a Greek papyrus, P. Louvre E27615, which was donated to the Louvre by Jean Clédat along with no. 68, a \( \pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omega \tau \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma \) formula text.3 A provenance of Bawit is a possibility for both of them, and consequently also for P. CtYBR inv. 1756.4

Two papyri from this collection mention the title \( \pi\omicron\omega \tau \pi\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron \gamma \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \) "the father of the monastery", which could be interpreted as "the father of Bawit": P. CtYBR 1827 (which is unpublished and may be written in the same hand as P. CtYBR 1829 (= P. Yale copt. no. 13)), and 1845 qua (= Petersen [1964] no. 107).5

§2.3.2 1965 ACQUISITION

In early 1965 Alan Edouard Samuel (funded by Edwin John Beinecke) purchased from a dealer in Cairo a lot containing P. CtYBR inv. 1879-2057, 2355-2584 and 2761-2886. No. 91 begins with the \( \pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omega \tau \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma \) formula, and another papyrus, P. CtYBR inv. 1942, mentions \( \lambda\pi\omicron\iota\chi\chi \omega \ 2\omicron \pi\omicron\delta\omicron \gamma \) which could be interpreted as "[the monastery of Apa Apojilo on the mount ..." (see §3.4.3 for this description of the Titkooh monastery).

§2.3.3 1966 ACQUISITION

In 1966, Hans P. Kraus donated the following manuscripts to the library: P. CtYBR inv. 2080-2124 and 2343-2353, of which no. 100 contains both a text which begins with the \( \pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omega \tau \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma \) formula, and a document issued by the \( \delta\kappa\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\ion\) (see §3.13) of a monastery of Apa Apollo. No. 35 was issued by a monk of Apa Apollo.

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1I am most grateful to Stephen Emmel for providing me with a copy of his unpublished Papyrus Collection Catalog Introduction (draft July 20, 1989) which is the source of all of the information in §2.3.
2This was not read in the ed. pr., see P. Yale copt. no. 19, and the plate accompanying the description of this text in Petersen [1964] no. 117.
3See Boudhors 1995 pp. 29-32.
4This is edited with a plate in Packman 1975 pp. 16-18.
5P. CtYBR inv. 2334, which was purchased in New York from Hans P. Kraus in April 1965, also contains this title.
§2.4 Oslo/London: The Schøyen Collection
(Here abbreviated to P. Schøyen)

§2.4.1 P. Schøyen 89/-

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

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

Two texts which are not edited in this thesis are also relevant: P. Schøyen 89/06 mentions ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΧΩΛΩ ΔΠΑ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΔΠΑ ΔΙΘ ΝΕΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΕ "Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib the holy fathers", see §3.2; and P. Schøyen 89/05, an unpublished Greek papyrus, mentions Titkois.

§2.4.2 P. Schøyen 1579/1 texts 1-3

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

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

2 These three manuscripts are edited in this thesis despite the fact that their legibility would be greatly improved by being separated and conserved. I am grateful to Professor Martin Krause for giving me his copy of a photograph of these fragments, and to Dr Antony Alcock, the original owner of the photograph, for informing me about its existence.
§2.5 COPTIC PAPYRI TO BE SOLD BY CHRISTIE'S
(HERE ABBREVIATED TO CHRISTIE'S)

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

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

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

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

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

¹ I am most grateful to the directors of Christie's for allowing me to examine this collection, and to Christine Insley Green, consultant in the Antiquities Department, for her co-operation and assistance. I am also indebted to Professor John Tait for suggesting that I examine these manuscripts.
² Fifteen folders containing unmounted fragments were sold in 1978 (see Christie's 1978 p. 37 nos. 253-255) to a buyer whose identity was not recorded. No record was kept of other manuscripts from this collection which may have been sold. Pernigotti 1985 p. 104 notes that Tito Orlandi saw a manuscript which mentioned Titkohe (sic) on sale in London in September 1979; Christine Insley Green informs me that no Christie's catalogue of antiquities from this time features this collection.
³ Two small fragments, temporarily numbered Christie's "13" and "14", partially preserve this formula.
Three texts mention a monastery of Apa Apollo (nos. 30, 41 and 53), one of which begins with the $\Delta NOK \Pi\alpha\kappa\eta\nu\alpha\nu\varphi$ $NN \epsilon\iota\zeta\zeta\zeta\iota\lambda$ formula (no. 53). Three texts begin with the $\Pi\nu\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\omega\tau\Pi\nu\tau\kappa\zeta\zeta\iota\lambda$ formula (nos. 65, 67 and 90). CMAA Green "24" ll. 12-15 could refer to the monasteries of Apa Jeremias and Apa Apollo; for links between these monasteries, see the entry for the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at §4.1.

No. 65 mentions a certain $\Mu\omega\gamma\chi\nu \Pi\alpha\tau\theta\epsilon\rho\psi\omega$ "Mouses of Tbersê" who also occurs in two unpublished Coptic papyri, CUL Michael. 1047/1 and 1233 (see §2.2).

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

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

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

No. 59 mentions the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh and contains the $\Delta NOK \Pi\alpha\kappa\eta\nu\alpha\nu\varphi$ $NN \epsilon\iota\zeta\zeta\zeta\iota\lambda$ formula. No. 24 is written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo, and no. 4 mentions aparchê collection. The present whereabouts of these three manuscripts is not known. Two of the documents from this collection which mentioned a monastery of Apa Apollo were attributed to the Bala'izah monastery by P.E. Kahle Jr.3 This assignment, however, is disproved by the specification of the Titkooh monastery in no. 59.

"Ex-von Scherling 70" mentions the place name $\Pi\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\varphi$ $NN$ "the place of Canah" which also occurs in a papyrus from another collection, no. 77, a $\Pi\nu\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\omega\tau\Pi\nu\tau\kappa\zeta\zeta\iota\lambda$ formula text (see §2.5).

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

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

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

3See Ba!. pp. 15 + n. 5. and 27.
§2.8 BRITISH MUSEUM PAPYRI FORMERLY BELONGING TO
AMBROSE LANSING

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

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

Bawit is a likely provenance for a tax demand from another collection, no. 33,
which bears many similarities with no. 31 from the Lansing Collection. There are four
further unpublished tax demands in the Lansing collection: BM EA 10128(A), 10136(B),
10454(A), and 10462(A). Two of these begin with the NN 11q2 formula (BM EA
10136(B) and 10462(A)); the other two are incomplete.

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

1In BM EA Department volume 4,14 nos. 87-5-14.1-26. For Coptic inhabitants of the necropolis at
Assiout, see Edwards 1878 p. 105; Palanque 1903 esp. pp. 119 and 126; note the inscription on p. 127
in which the Bawit triad of Apollo, Anoup and Phib is invoked.
CHAPTER 3
HERMOPOLITE MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO

§3.1 HISTORICAL FIGURES NAMED APA APOLLO

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

§3.2 APA APOLLO OF BAWIT AND TITKOOH

§3.2.1 LITERARY SOURCES FOR HIS LIFE

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

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

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

¹See Torp 1965 pp. 154-156; Krause and Wessel 1966 coll. 572-573; and Bal. pp. 18-19.
²For a résumé of the discussion of this thesis, which is most fully expounded in Coquin 1977, see Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 300-301 "Titkooh". Baulig 1984 pp. 144-146 argues that they are two different men in opposition to, most recently, Coquin and Martin 1991c p. 362 and Coquin [1993] p. 16.
³There is no evidence to support the statement that he died in 395 C.E. recorded in Clédat 1910 col. 207.
⁴See Coquin and Martin 1991c p. 362. Coquin 1977 analyses the literary sources in more detail and gives the most complete bibliography on this subject.
⁵HM text pp. 46-71, translation pp. 46-63.
⁶See Coquin 1977 pp. 435 and 437. The Coptic fragments are BL Or. 7561, see Layton 1987 no. 137. Transcriptions made by A. Des Rivières of a Coptic manuscript of this work in the Bayerische Hofbibliothek (now Staatsbibliothek), Ms. copl. 3, no. 128 (erroneously cited as 127 in Krause and Wessel 1966 col. 572), have been noted as missing since 1970 according to Dr H. Hauke, to whom I am grateful for this information.

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

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

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

Apollo is given the epithets ἡγιασμένος ἀγίων "friend of (the) angels", πατερόρθωτος ἀγίου "the holy archangel", and εὐαγγελισμένος ἀγίου "equal to the angels".11 An unpublished parchment fragment (CUL Michael. Q120, see §2.2) mentions [ΠΟΣΧΟΙΣ ΧΕΙΜΟΝ ΑΠΑΝ ΠΑΝΟΛΕΟΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΚΤΟΝ ΝΟΥΑΚΝΥΝΤ ΜΗ ΠΝΟΙΤΕ ΕΠΟΡΝΩΤΟΝΤΟ ΝΟΥΝ (sic) ἘΝ ΠΟΣΧΟΙΣ ἀγίου] "Our lord and father Apa Apollo, the one who is one with God and equal (ἰσος) to the angels".12

In the Synaxarium Alexandrinum he is commemorated on the day of his death (5th Mecheir);13 on the day of his friend Phib’s death (25th Phaophi);14 and on the feast day of

1Coquin 1977 p. 437 attributes the discrepancy between this account and the one in the HM to the effects of oral transmission.
3The text is edited in Orlandi and Campagnano 1975 pp. 20-37.
4Coquin [1993] pp. 16-17 classifies them as "errant monks" during this episode.
6See Clédat 1910 col. 208.
7See Clédat 1910 col. 207, who pointed out that the only suitable place would have been five kilometres away in one of the tombs at Meir. A Coptic graffito in one of these tombs mentions Apollo, Anoup and Phib, see Clédat 1901 p. 87.
8See Coquin and Martin 1991b and CKA pp. 751-756 "Dêr al-Muharraq".
9D’Anville 1765.
10Doresse 1970 p. 28 associates the monastery of Apa Apollo marked on D’Anville’s map with Bawit.
11See Coquin 1977 pp. 436-437; and Torp 1965 pp. 156-162, noting that BM no. 322 (BL Or. 3581 B(39)) which is cited on p. 159 n. 1 relates to another Apollo, Apollo of the Monastery of Isaac. This manuscript has been edited in Kuhn 1978 pp. 47-48 Appendix III.
12I am indebted to Professor Heinz Kuhn for his assistance with interpreting this text.
14See Gascou 1989a pp. 384-389, and 392 for a summary of the relevant bibliography; and Coquin 1977 pp. 435-446, noting with reference to p. 435 n. 3 that BL Or. 7561 n. 138-48 is now Layton 1987 no.
another friend, Ammon of Tuna el-Gebel (20th Pachon). He and Phib are also remembered in the Dīfnar, as \( \text{Abba Phib \& Abba Apip the holy spirit-bearing hermits} \).\(^2\)

§3.2.2 THE CULT OF APA APOLLO OF BAWIT AND TITKOÓH

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

The tomb of Apollo became a focal point for pilgrims. Apa Daniel of Scetis visited the \( \text{Apa Apollo} \), and a VI/VIIth C. Greek papyrus document, \( SB X 10269 \), mentions pilgrims attending the \( \text{Apa Apollo} \).\(^7\) A church of \( \text{Apa Apollo} \) is mentioned in a Coptic account, written on paper, \( BM 1100 \) (BL Or. 6072), acquired by the British Museum from the Reverend Murch, possibly together with the "Bl Or. 6201 series" (see §2.1). This manuscript has a recorded provenance of el-Ashmunein and W. Vycichl assumed that the church was located in that city rather than in the surrounding area.\(^8\)

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\(^{137}\) See Torp 1965 pp. 153-170 for details and discussion of the literary sources, noting that the text referred to on p. 159 n. 1 as Amélinaeu 1884-1895 p. 818, Paris 12913, 63, is edited in Kuhn 1978 pp. 40-42 Appendix I.

\(^{1}\) Torp 1965 pp. 167-168; and Crum 1913 p. 162 no. 26.

\(^{2}\) O'Leary 1926 pp. 44-45.

\(^{3}\) Details of the evidence from all these sites apart from Memphis are provided in Coquin 1977 p. 436; Wiehheger 1992 pp. 221 "\( \text{Apa Apollo} \)”, 222 "\( \text{Apa Anoup} \)”, and 240 "\( \text{Apa Phib} \)” summarise the evidence for this cult at the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara.


\(^{5}\) Apollo in nos. 2, 4, 16 text 1, 29, 30, 32, 33, 40 (ter), 44, 49, 75, and 99; Anoup in nos. 16 text 1, 18, 20 (bis), 22, 27, 40, 65 and 97; and Phib in nos. 27, 35, 40 (bis), 63 (\( \Phi \& \phi \)), 68 side (A) and 93.

\(^{6}\) Bal. p. 611.

\(^{7}\) Gasco 1989a pp. 385-386.

\(^{8}\) Vycichl 1959 pp. 139-140 gives details of this manuscript.
§3.3 THE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT BAWIT

§3.3.1 THE SITE

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

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

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

§3.3.2 MANUSCRIPTS FROM BAWIT

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

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

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

3According to Doresse 1970 p. 8 it was the most important.

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

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

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

7See Krause 1988 and 1991 p. 1292 for this material.


9See Bénazeth 1993.
Museum of Périgord, with the help of the notebooks of Jean Clédat. Most of the material from the former collection is still unpublished, but I have been given permission to use it in this thesis. A "box of Coptic ostraca" was listed among the items from the Bawit excavations recorded in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo's inventory (nos. 152 + 212). The whereabouts of these ostraca is not now known.

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

§3.3.2.1 OSTRACA BEGINNING WITH THE FORMULA ωϊνε ἱκα-. The majority of the ostraca found at Bawit which now belong to the Louvre are delivery chits which employ the introductory formula ωϊνε ἱκα-, "enquire after". This formula is also found in a number of unprovenanced ostraca, twenty-four of which were acquired in 1993 by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Ostraca with the ωϊνε ἱκα- formula mention a number of place names which also occur in documents examined in this thesis (see, e.g., place names in §4.6). In some cases there are no other attestations of these place names.

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1 See Gaillard 1988.
2 Three Coptic papyri in the collection of the Louvre have been published in Boud'hors 1995 and a number of ostraca from this collection are to be published in MIFAO forthcoming. I am grateful to Mme Anne Boud'hors for sending me details of these papyri and ostraca prior to their publication. Some ostraca from the Museum of Périgord were published in L'Égypte en Périgord nos. 114, 115 and possibly 118.
3 I am grateful to the Louvre Museum for granting me permission to study this material and to Mme Dominique Bénazeth for supplying me with photographs of the papyri.
4 This was noted by Dominique Bénazeth in Spring 1993 (according to the introduction to the ostraca in MIFAO forthcoming).
5 See Krause 1990 p. 207; Clédat 1910 col. 204 mentions a papyrus found at Bawit which is still unpublished. See §3.3.2.1 for ostraca which are not in the collection of the Louvre but which may come from Bawit.
6 They are to be published by Professor Martin Krause, see Krause 1993 p. 83.
8 See Tait 1994 for a discussion of this formula and the most up-to-date published list of texts in which it is featured.
9 See CPR XX p. 14 §VI.1).
§3.3.2.2 DOCUMENTS BEGINNING WITH THE ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ FORMULA

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

§3.3.3 MONASTIC RULE AT BAWIT

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

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

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1 Compare the almost exclusive use of the ΒΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΝΝ ΝΙΩΣΩΑΙ formula by monks of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, see Chapter 7.
2 See Dorese 1970 for a survey of monasteries in Middle Egypt.
3 See Krause and Wessel 1966 cols. 573-574 for claims that the absence of key Pachomian titles, such as "second" (ΠΑΣΝΝ ΝΙΩΣΩΑΙ), and the presence of non-Pachomian titles in the inscriptions argue against a Pachomian rule for this monastery. For the title "second", which does in fact occur in these inscriptions, see Krause 1988 pp. 116-117.
4 See Clédat 1910 col. 212, fig. 1257; Torp 1964 pp. 178-185; Krause and Wessel 1966 col. 574; and Baulig 1984 p.144.
5 Drew-Bear 1979a p. 28 describes it as a "monastère village".
6 See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pl. 49; and Rassart-Debergh 1993 p. 242 n. 95.
7 See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 nos. 486, 504 and 509.
8 See Gascou 1985 p. 71, and Hardy 1931 p. 27.
§3.4 THE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT TITKOOH

§3.4.1 THE LOCATION OF TITKOOH

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

§3.4.2 PUBLISHED SOURCES CONCERNING THE MONASTERY AT TITKOOH

According to the Life of Phib, which describes the founding of the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh (see §3.2.1), a monastery was already in existence when Apollo, Phib and Papohe arrived at Titkooh, but nothing is known about its original founder.³ No other monasteries have been recorded in connection with Titkooh in literary or documentary sources. Apart from the Life of Phib, only one other Coptic text which mentions the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo has been published: a legal document, no. 20 (mentions a monk ... Νά.ΠΔ.Λ.ΠΟ.Α.Ω [2]ΠΔ.ΠΟ.Υ.Ρ.Ι.ΤΙ.ΚΟ.Ο.ΥΕ. "of Apa Apollo on the mount of Titkooh", see §3.9). References to this monastery are also made in a number of Greek papyri (see Appendix 1 list 2), which have been assigned dates based on palaeographical criteria from the Vth to VIIth C.⁴

§3.4.3 UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE MONASTERY AT TITKOOH

Two unpublished texts which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh are presented in this thesis. No. 59 is issued by Menases, the head of the monastery,⁵ which is described as the ΤΩΝΟΡ ΝΔ.ΠΔ.Λ.ΠΟ.Α.Ω ιΠΟΥΣ [ΠΟΟΥΡ] ΝΤΙΤΚΟ.ΟΥΕ 2Μ ΠΤΟΩ.

¹See CKA pp. 2077-2080 "Ptoou n-Titkooh".
²See Calderini Diz. 5 p. 5 "ΤΙΤΚΟΙΣ"; Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 300-301 "ΤΙΤΚΟΙΣ", and CKA p. 2700 "Τιτκοί", adding the references to this place made in P. Schøyen 89/5 (unpublished, see §2.4.1), P. Sta. Xyla nos. 5.11.8-9, 10.1.8 and 19.1.2; and in R°l. 1.13 of a Greek papyrus document belonging to a private collection edited in Husson 1991. For the name Titkooh which has yet to be satisfactorily explained, see Brunsch 1976 p. 144 and Gasou 1981 p. 220 n. 2.
³It is not unusual for a monastery to adopt a new name following an association with an influential character. Compare Deir Apa Samuel, the monastery on the mount of Benhadab which was perhaps founded by a certain Peter the Venerable and was renamed after a notable monk Samuel; see di Bitonto-Kaser 1989 pp. 165-168.
⁴See CKA pp. 2700 "Titkois", and 2077-2080 "Ptoou n-Titkooh", correcting p. 2078 "Pap. Amhurst" references to "P. Amsterdam".
⁵See Appendix 1 list 2 nos. 1 and 2 for an archimandrite of this monastery called Serenos, and no. 10 for Phoibammon who may also have held this position.
N.1W (= ωΜΟΥΝ?) ΜΠΝΟΜΟC: "monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo on [the mount] of Titkohe in the region of Shmoun (?) and it begins with the ΔΝΟΚ πν.ον.ν NN εις.ει.α formula. No. 1 is an aparchê collection guarantee written by a ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΦΑΤΙΟΣ [(ΕΤΟΥΔΑΘ) ΆΝΑ ΆΠΟ] λα.ω 2Μ ΠΝΟΟΥ Ν[ΤΙΤΚΟΟΣ 2Μ ΠΝΟΟΥ Ν] ωΜΟΥΝ ΤΝΟΧΙΕ Μ. [(restore ΠΝΟΜΟC) "monk (μοναχός) of the holy (αγιός) [(saint) Apa] Apollo on the mount of Tit[kooh in the region of] Shmoun the city (πόλις) of [the nome (νομὸς)?]". For the possible description of Apa Apollo in this text as ΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΘ see §3.5.

A couple of unpublished Coptic papyri may be reconstructed so as to read [the monastery of Apa] Apollo on the mount of [Titkooh]: CUL Michael. 823/4 text 1 (ΔΝΟ) λα.ω 2Μ ΠΝΟΟΥ Ν[ΤΙΤΚΟΟΣ] (see §2.2), and P CÎYBR 1942 (ΔΝΟ) λα.ω 2Μ ΠΝΟΟΥ (see §2.3.2).

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

§3.4.4 CONTACT BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES AT BAWIT AND TITKOOH

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

A further connection between the monasteries may be made if another inscription from Bawit is to be interpreted to read "scribe of Titkois" rather than "scribe of Titilamis" (γραμματεύς ΤΙΤΙΛΑΜΕΩΣ).

1 This text is closely associated with nos. 6 and 8, which may also, therefore, derive from the Titkooh monastery.
2 This interpretation is supported by the ΔΝΟΚ πν.ον.ν NN εις.ει.α formula which occurs in this text, see Chapter 7.
3 See Cadell and Rémondond 1967.
4 Bal. p. 27; see pp. 27-28 for the use of this term in a monastic sense.
5 See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 154, pl. 92.1, where "DIAKOΟΕ" was transcribed, although the plate reveals that only the top part of the third letter is visible, and that it is more likely to be a Δ. This same word is transcribed as "Diakobe" in L'Égpte en Périgord p. 52.
6 Rea 1985 p. 70 suggests this emendation for Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 110 no. 334 l. 2.
§3.4.5 MONKS FROM TITKOOH IN THEBES

Evidence that monks from the monastery at Titkooh travelled as far south as Thebes may be furnished by three graffiti, all of which feature ΠΠΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΡΜ+ΤΙΤΚΟΟΣ "the Papa Johannes from Titkooh". Two of them may be the unpublished graffiti which Kahle described in Bal. I p. 19 n. 5. They occur with graffiti which mention other Middle Egyptian place names, such as the Hermopolite Thake (see §4.4). Other graffiti mention monastic titles such as ΠΑΠΑ, ΚΟΜ, and ΠΑΚΟΜ and some relate that the people who wrote them were involved in forced labour. One reads: αιρούς ωτε θει[ ] ποσεις "I did forced labour for the lord/Lord".

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

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

The monastery is referred to in a range of different ways. The term τόπος is the most frequent, and it is used for the monastery at Titkooh, and the monasteries in the Hermopolite nome. The second most common term, μοναστήριον, is used in the four texts which specify a location for the monastery to the south of Shmoun mentioned above, and in a text written on the same papyrus as a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΕΩι formula text (no. 100 text 3). A combination of μοναστήριον and τόπος is found in one text: ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΤΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΟ "monastery of the topos of Apa Apollo" (no. 49).

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

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1 Černý et al. 1969-1974 vol. IV,2 nos. 2891 and 2904, and vol. IV,5 no. 3682. The last-cited graffito was not interpreted by J. Černý as containing the place name Titkooh possibly because the + is drawn as an elaborate Coptic cross.
5 Clédat 1910 col. 204 cites a papyrus found at Bawit which mentions ΠΤΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΟ ΡΥΜΟΥΡΙΟΥ.
6 For this term referring to the monasteries and churches of a village, see Bal. no. 1871. 5 and n. 6 on p. 601.
and it is combined pleonastically with εΤΟΥΒΑΒ "which is holy" in one text (ΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΒΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΧΩ no. 3). This phrase also occurs in no. 2 and may possibly be restored in no. 1, which relates to the Titkoh monastery. The term ΜΑ (literally "place", see §4.6) is used to mean "monastery" in two texts (nos. 21 (τΜΑ) and 50) edited in this thesis, and also in Ryl. 284 νο. 1. 3.2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1See MacCoull 1983 p. 137-138. This epithet is also used of Apa Apollo when describing the μοναστήρια (rather than τόπος as in the texts in this thesis) at Bala'izah, see Bals. nos. 102 ll. 1-2 and 125 ll. 3-4, 152 l. 3.
2See Crum CD p. 153a ΜΑ.
3For a parallel, compare the designation of a monk as ΠΑΝΤΑ ΑΝΟΥΝ in no. 37 l. 18.
4See Aitheim-Stiehl 1992.
5For a general overview and bibliography of pre-Arab Conquest and Early Islamic Egypt, see Christides 1993.
6See Morimoto 1981 p. 2 for a list of events and dates.
7Simonsen 1988 pp. 81-84 analyses the treatment of the Egyptian population by the Arabs during and after the conquest.
8See Kennedy 1993 p. 161b.
monasteries in order to escape the poll-tax. Previously the monasteries had only been liable for taxes on any land they owned, although some had been granted tax-free status.\(^1\)

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

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

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

§3.7 MONKS AS TAX PAYERS

Monastic poll-tax documents beginning with the πενειωτ πετζ2αι formula are discussed at §8.7.1.

Four unpublished tax demands addressed to monks of the monastery of Apa Apollo ("to the south of Shmoun" specified in two of them) are presented in this thesis (nos. 31-...
33 are Coptic and no. 47 is Greek; see §6.2). Three of them (nos. 31-33) may have been issued to monks at the Bawit monastery (see §2.8).

The tax in question can be ascertained in nos. 33 and 47 as the dēmosion (ἡμοστοιον).¹ This tax may be reconstructed in no. 32, in which only the final -ον is preserved at this point, although [Διάγραφον] (διάγραφον) "poll-tax" is also possible. Dêmasion is the equivalent of the Arabic jizya which describes public money-taxes (χρυσικα δημοσία).² Land-tax (δημόστα γῆς), poll-tax (διάγραφον/ἀνθρωπόμος), and maintenance (payments made to Arab officials) (δανάννη) were all covered by the term dêmasion.

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

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

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

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¹This tax is mentioned frequently in documents from the Bala'izah monastery of Apa Apollo, see references listed in the index on Bal. p. 850.
³This is the case in the five BL papyri relating to a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun, see §2.1.1. In BL Or. 6203 (which is dated to 833 C.E.), for example, a penalty of six solidi is to be paid when the property in question is worth three solidi (II. 41-44 and II. 65-66, see MacCoull 1994a pp. 142-144). In contrast, see Boulard 1913 p. 63 for a table showing the range of penalties recorded in Coptic sales contracts from Djeme, none of which is double the property price. One of the documents listed (KR14) contains a penalty of thirty-six solidi for property worth just one solidus.
⁴For this tax in Coptic documents, see, exx., Bal. index p. 851 s.v. εμβολή; BKU III no. 467; BM nos. 605 (ἐμπούα, ll. 6 and 8) and 1179; Ryl. nos. 127, 188, 226 n. 13, and 319; and CPR IV no. 2 which gives further references.
⁵See SB VI 9144, which was dated in the ed. pr. to 589 C.E.
⁶See Bal. p. 740 n. (9) for a list of occurrences of this title and analysis; see also Crum CD p. 561a ζαλιον and Herm. pp. 58-59.
can apply to local officials involved in the collection of taxes and other levies, and boiled wine was among the items requisitioned by the Arab administration as provisions for the cursa, this text may provide further proof of the financial demands made on the monastery by their rulers. In no. 86, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΞΔΙ formula document, a payment which includes greens is to be made by someone from Tiesnê (see §4.11) to men who may belong to a shaliou.

A shaliou named Papa Anoup is mentioned in another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΞΔΙ formula document, this time addressed to the "brothers of the poll-tax", no. 65. The title Papa suggests that Anoup may have belonged to a monastery, possibly the one in which this text was written. Shalious are attested in inscriptions from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, which is a possible place of origin for no. 65. One of these inscriptions shows how the title ωκύλωτες could be hereditary and held by someone with the title καθηγητής "teacher": "Victor the younger, the ωκύλωτες, son of the ωκύλωτες, the teacher of Bawit/the monastery".

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

1 They may also work directly for the Arab governor (σύμβουλος), as evidenced in e.g., BM EA 10131, an unpublished Coptic papyrus (noted in Bal. p. 740 n. (9)), which mentions ΠΕΝΕΙΩΣ ΠΕΤΣΞΔΙ (ΠΠΩΛΟΥ) (see §2.8).

2 See P. Apoll. Ano no. 30, in which the pagarch is required to send boiled wine for this purpose; and P. Lond. IV index p. 622 for numerous occurrences of ξημα in documents from Aphrodisio. In Herm. 16, an VIIth C. papyrus, in which ωκύλωτες is credited with 1005 κολλαθα of boiled wine (ξημα) in an account written by a πρεσβυτερος and οικονομος.

3 It is not impossible that the monastery was in debt to the shaliou and that repayment was made in boiled wine. In Bal. no. 102 an Arab ωκύλωτες, Amrou, has loaned the dikaios of the Balaizah monastery of Apa Apollo eight gold solidi for its δικαίωμα payment.

4 Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 126 nos. 432 (κρεας ωκύλωτες), and 434 II. 1-2.

5 Wietheger 1992 p. 283 states that by the title καθηγητής "versteht man einen Lehrer im religiosen Bereich", and gives four examples from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara. This title is found in two other Bawit inscriptions: Clédat 1904-1906 p. 108 no. 8 (καθηγητής ωκύλωτες), and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 118 no. 390 I. 2 (καθηγητής ωκύλωτες).


7 Bal. p. 740 n. 9.

8 In SPX no. 29 a πιστικός is a spokesman for the Arab administration on tax-collection. The title πιστικός can mean a confidential agent, and is found in Greek and Coptic papyri dating from the IIIrd - VIIth C., see Preisigke Wb. II col. 308 and Suppl. I s.v.; and also CPR VIII no. 85 p. 236 n. to l. 2. It occurs in the following Coptic papyri: CPR IV nos. 22c i. 8, 66 i. 1, 67 i. 1; P. Lond. IV nos. 1496, 1514, 1542, 1544, 1584, 1588 and 1600 (in this last document it appears to be applied to a woman); and in an inscription and papyrus from Saqqara, see Wietheger 1992 p. 277.
Another tax-official, the *topoteretes*, is perhaps the person who issues no. 41, possibly to someone from a monastery of Apa Apollo. Greek papyrus documents from Apollonos Ano demonstrate the different roles played by the *topoteretes* in financial, judicial and police affairs, and also his general responsibility for the administration of the Dux in his absence.¹ In a text transcribed by Kahle from the Green collection, CMAA Green "30" (see §2.6), someone is described as an ἐπίσκοπος ἄγωνος τοπορθής. It seems likely that ἐπίσκοπος should be translated literally as "overseer" rather than as "bishop" in this document.

§3.8 MONKS AS OWNERS OF PROPERTY

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

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

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

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¹Simonsen 1988 p. 116 n. 35 cites P. Apoll. Ano nos. 9, 11, 16, 23, 46, and 51; see also nos. 13, 18 and 28, and P. Apoll. copt. no. 99, which is described in MacCoull 1988 p. 144.
²The relevant sources on the position of monks on the ownership of property are dealt with in Krause 1958 pp. 43-62, and 1985a. See also Brunsch 1987 p. 116 + n. 18.
³See Bagnall 1993 p. 298 who mentions some IV-Vth C. examples from Greek papyri, and Gasou 1991b p. 1639. The term δικαιομίκον is used, e.g., in CLT 1 l. 16.
⁴See Krause 1985a pp. 122-123.
⁵See CLT 1 (noting especially l. 29) and 2.
⁶See KRU 67, in which a monk bequeaths property to his son (l. 27 and 102 ff.).
⁷See Bal. p. 570. After a successful career, Dioscorus of Aphrodito's father, Apollos, founded a monastery and stayed there for the rest of his life; see Keenan 1984 for an outline of his life.
position might maintain contact with his family and even bring them into his monastery for an important occasion.

§3.9 MONKS OF APA APOLLO INVOLVED IN FINANCIAL DEALINGS

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

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

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

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

§3.10 THE MONASTERY AS A LANDOWNER

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

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1 A.H.M. Jones 1964 p. 933.
3 SB XVI 12267 (Appendix 1 list 2 no. 11) is a similar document arranged between a monk of this monastery and a man from a nearby village, Sentyphis.

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described as giving details of rents and taxes for land owned by the monastery in the VIIth C.¹

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

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

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

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

¹According to Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. xvi.
²Wipszycka 1969 p. 189 n. 2 rejects the view expressed in Johnson and West 1949 p. 73 that landowners who could not afford to pay their land taxes gave their land to religious institutions and then leased it back. I am grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall for discussing this point with me.
³See the references given in Sijpesteijn and de Wit 1992 p. 57 n.3.
⁴See Steinwenter 1955 p. 38; Johnson and West 1949 p. 73; and Gascou 1985 pp. 7-8, 13 n. 58 and 14-15. For examples of texts in which monks and clerics are involved with pactum, see CPR IV nos. 120, and 146-152.
⁶Compare the behaviour of monasteries in the later Byzantine Empire as documented in Charanis 1948, noting the measures taken by the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas in 964 C.E. discussed in pp. 54-60.
§3.11 WINE EXPENDITURE IN THE MONASTERY

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

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

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

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

See §8.15 for πενειώτες πετρεία formula documents which involve wine payments.

§3.12 OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

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

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1This could also refer to the founder of the monastery, in which case this entry might concern the wine to be provided for celebrations of his feast day.
2See MIFAO forthcoming nos. 35 l. 2 and 75 ll. 4 and 6.
3See the introductory comments to no. 21 in which it is suggested that the monastery may have leased out an oil press.
keeper is mentioned, whose good conduct the monks vouchsafe possibly because he has been responsible for the beehives whilst they were still the property of the monastery. The suitability of the Hermopolite nome for beekeeping is attested by the fact that Ἔμηποσονφρυγὼν, a place in the Patre kato toparchy, literally means "of beekeepers".

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

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

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

§3.13 ADMINISTRATION OF THE MONASTERY

A range of monastic and ecclesiastical titles occur in the texts. A head of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh, Menases (ΜΗΝΑΣ.ΧΗΣ) is described as ΠΙΩΤ ΝΠΙΤΩΠΟΣ "father of the monastery (τόπος)" (no. 59). The same title may be applied to Georgios and Daniel, the heads of an unspecified monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in nos. 28 l. 3 and 49 ll. 2-3. The title ἀρχιμανδρίτης is found in four texts edited in this thesis: (nos. 23 (Theodoros), 28 l. 3 (Georgios), no. 100 text 3 (Zacharias), and no. 49 (Daniel)). In the five BL legal papyri dated to the mid-IXth C. discussed at §2.1.1 the following archimandrites of the Monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun are mentioned: Apa Ammonios (BL Or. 6203 ll. 21-22), Apa Joseph (BL Or. 6203 ll. 15-16), Apa Eustathios (BL Or. 6203 ll. 25-26), Apa Theodoros (BL Or. 6203 ll. 27-28), and Apa Zacharias (BL Or. 6203 ll. 29-30).

1See CKA pp. 1630-1631 "Melissourgôn"; see Chouliara-Raio 1989 pp. 94-95 for toponyms such as Μελισσουργύων, which may have denoted places where apiculture flourished.


3Feast days of saints called Victor include the 5th Choiak, and the 4th and 27th Pharmouthi, see Wietheger 1992 pp. 223.

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

5This title can also be applied to the head of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah (see Bal. index p. 832). The title ΠΙΩΤ ΠΙΟΤΩΥ is used in a papyrus relating to the Aphrodito monastery of Apa Apollo (see MacCoul 1993c pp. 37-38 no. 12 (transcription made by Crum) l. 1, noting that the first two lines of this text given there differ from those quoted by Kahe in Bal. p. 21 (ὡ ΠΙΟΤΟΠΟΣ ΑΜΝΙΟΥΝΠΙΟΤΟΥ ΠΙΟΤΩΥ)).

6See Wietheger 1992 pp. 269-270.
Apa Peheu (BL Or. 6204 l. 66), and Apa Shenute (Senouthios) (BL Or. 6201 ll. 15-16 and 6202 ll. 15-16).

The head is given the title προεστός in one document (no. 27 l. 3 (Athanase)),\(^1\) and may be referred to as πέννος ἱερός "our great father" as well as πενήντω "our father" in a wine account (no. 37). These last two terms may also be used of the founder of the monastery, as πέννος ἱερό does in no. 57.

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

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

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

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

\(^3\)See Wipszycka 1991b.


\(^5\)Krause 1958 section 4: "Die Verfassung des Apa Apollon-Klosters zu Bawit" interprets the term διοικησις as referring to the "bank" of a monastery into which monks deposit their property; he also discusses this term together with διάκονια and διικοινωνία.

\(^6\)For this title in inscriptions from Bawit, see Clédat 1904-1906 pp. 44 and 46 and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 116 (no. 381) and possibly 149 (no. 533 (πρεσβύτερος)). The Egyptian word for "priest", ὑιόνη, also occurs, see Clédat 1904-1906 p. 109 no. 15 l. 3 and Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 11.

\(^7\)This is also the case with some heads of the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara, see Wietheger 1992 p. 276 πρεσβύτερος. Note that the title ἴερευς is not found ... this monastery.
Testament; the latter appears in the New Testament, describing people engaged in the ministry of the Christian faith.

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

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

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1A number of deacons are named in inscriptions from Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 index G p. 171. Note that incorrect references to this title in Clédat 1904-1906 are given in Dilwyn Jones 1981 p. 127.
2See Cannuyer 1993 pp. 68-70.
3See §3.7 for the possibility that someone with this title held the office of *shaliou*.
4See Crum *CD* p. 343a ΚΩΝ; Quibell 1909 p. 28 n.1; and Wietheger 1992 p. 278 "CON/CWHE/CMIIY". A good example of this title used without concord may be found in the dedication to a deceased monk by ΠΔΚΩΝ ΔΑΤΡΕΠΣ ΠΕΚΟΝ "brother (ΠΔΚΩΝ) Antreas, his brother" on a funerary stela which also mentions the triad of Apollo, Phib and Anoup, published by Bouriant 1884 p. 63 no. 3.
5Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 49 n. 3 notes this parallel.
6See Crum *CD* pp. 87a. Another parallel, ΔΠΔΠΔ ΔΑΜΙΗΝE "my scribe the scribe Damiane", may be found in an unpublished papyrus, BL Or. 6201 B 32 (see §2.1).
7See Krause 1988 p. 119 no. 10.
8In *Bal.* nos. 106, 160 and 303A.
9See Wietheger 1992 p. 278 "CON/CWHE/CMIIY".
10It occurs in WS 166 (see Appendix 2 text A) and a number of other published texts according to WS p. 17; it also appears in unpublished material in the BM: on two jar labels BM EA WS 69889 Φ ΚΩΝ ΠΔΚΩΝ; and WS 70018 ΠΔΚΟΝ ΠΔΚΚΟΚ; and on a bowl WS 70169 ΠΔΚΩΝ ΠΔΚΚΟΚ.
11Dilwyn Jones' (1981 p. 108 n. 25) statement that ΠΔΚΩΝ is used *passim* at the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara, as elsewhere in Egypt, should be modified. There are also examples of this title from the Monastery of Epiphanius, and in graffiti from the Theban region, see Černý et al. 1969-1974 vol. IV,2 no. 2893, vol. IV,4 nos. 3402 and 3420 c-d, although some of these may have been written by people from Middle Egypt, including Titkooh, see §3.4.5.
13On apotactic "monasticism, see Krause 1985a.
Some monks have specific liturgical functions,¹ such as psalmodist (ψαλμοδιστής) (nos. 6 and possibly 10),² or lector (Ῥωμός ὁ λεγόντας ἀναγινώσκειν, no. 38).³ The title ὁ ἐκκυψάτως, which has been interpreted as "liturgical functionary, acolyte (?)",⁴ and which is only attested at Bawit, is found in two texts, nos. 7 and 10.⁵ In the latter text this title may be held by a deacon (see commentary to this text for details). In one inscription from the Bawit Monastery of Apa Apollo,⁶ two ψαλμοδιστήι have people with the title ὁ ἐκκυψάτως assigned to them; in another,⁷ ἐκκυψάτως ὁ ἐκκυψάτως is listed together with a Ῥωμός ὁ λεγόντας "lector".⁸ See §5.7 for psalmodists and ouahfs involved in aparchê collection.

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

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

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

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

¹See Wipszycka 1993 for the "minor orders" to which psalmodists and lectors belong.
²See Wipszycka 1993 pp. 205-208 for psalmodists. This title is attested in inscriptions at Bawit, see Clédat 1904-1906 p.150, and 1916 p. 36 no. 53; and Maspero and Driotton 1932-1943 pp. 18, 72 and 112 (nos. 350-352).
³See Wipszycka 1993 pp. 194-205 for the role of lectors in the Egyptian church, and 212-215 for illiterate lectors. This title occurs in inscriptions from Bawit, see Maspero and Driotton 1932-1943 index p. 171 s.vv. Ῥωμός and ἀναγινώσκω, and Clédat 1916 p. 31 (no. XVII 1. 5 ἀκριπών ἀκόαν τις).
⁴See Crum CD p. 508b; Westendorf, KH p. 285 interprets it as "ein liturgisches Amt (dem Psalmodisten beigegeben)"). Note that ὁ ἐκκυψάτως is recorded as a form of ὁ ἐκκυψάτως Crum CD 509a "bark, growl" of dog, which is not appropriate here; it could perhaps be interpreted as a form of ὁ ἐκκυψάτως, see Crum CD p. 510b "answerer, interpreter", Driotton (in Maspero and Driotton 1932-1943 p. 115 n. 2) derived ὁ ἐκκυψάτως from ὁ ἐκκυψάτως "add".
⁵Clédat 1904-1906 pp.111 no. 31; 113 no. 48 (ΚΕΡΩΝΤΗΣ); 114 nos. 55 (ΣΙΜΟΣΙΕΘ) and 56 (ΜΟΥΚΡΙΟΣ); 125 no. 5 (ΘΡΕΠΑΝ ΚΟΥΛΙΟΥΝ ΚΟΥΛΙΟΥΝ) and 127 no. 10 ll. 9-10. In Maspero and Driotton 1932-1943 p. 115 no. 373 l. 2 the name of the ὁ ἐκκυψάτως may be reinterpreted as κυψάτως, which is the name of a ὁ ἐκκυψάτως in Clédat 1904-1906 p. 114 no. 55.
⁶Clédat 1904-6 p. 127 no. 10 ll. 9-10.
⁷Clédat 1904-6 p.111 no. 31.
⁸In an unpublished Coptic papyrus from the BM Lansing Collection, BM EA 10453 (which Crum cites at CD p. 510b), ΠΕΡΩΜΩΣ are mentioned after ΡΩΜΟΣ "lectors".
⁹Wietheger 1992 p. 279 lists a number of meanings for this title.
¹⁰See MPER XVI p. 9 for this title and the relevant bibliography; note the meaning "notary" in CPR XIV no. 11 l. 22.


§3.14 RELATIONS BETWEEN LAY PEOPLE AND THE MONASTERY

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

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

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

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

1See Johnson and West 1949 p. 166 especially n. 23. For the continuation of the public post beyond the reign of Justinian and up to the Arab Conquest, see Gascou 1985 p. 53.
2Smiths are mentioned in an inscription from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 125 no. 428 l. 2); and Rousseau 1985 p. 82 mentions monks as smiths. Rathbone 1991 pp. 173-174 analyses the status of smiths employed by the Appianus estate in the 3rd C.
3A honey-seller (*καυναστης*) is commemorated in an inscription at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 98 no. 268 l. 2.
CHAPTER 4
THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF THE DOCUMENTS

§4.1 MONASTERIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS

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

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

Monastery of Apa Anoup

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

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

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

¹ On the possible distinction of private from public monasteries, the former involving a personal name and the latter a place name, see Thomas 1987 p. 74.
² See Martin 1987 pp. 17-18, 20 n. 8, and 29 for a location between el-Ashmunein and el-Minya.
⁴ See Drew-Bear 1979a p. 65 "Ἀνουφ (ᾱββαῖ)"; and CKA pp. 2736 "Topos des Apa Anoup" and 1968-1969 "Piena-n-Apa-Anoup" (noting that no entry is supplied for the cross-reference to the "Kloster des Apa Anoup"; this would presumably have referred to no. 40).
⁵ See Chassinat 1911 pl. 56 l. 2.
debt acknowledgment "from monks of the τόπος of Apa Anoub to monks of the τόπος of Apa Apollo".\(^1\)

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

See Panoube at §4.5.

**Monastery of Apa Jeremias**

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

A monastery of Jeremias with the epithet Papmanbête, "the one of Pmanbête" (see §4.6 Pmanbête), is specified in no. 64, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΔΙ formula poll-tax document.\(^3\)

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

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

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

2Edited in Jemstedt 1930 p. 24 no. 3.

3See CKA pp. 1413-1414 "Kloster des Jeremia (I.)".

4See CKA pp. 1342-1347 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia" (I-V), and pp. 1413-1414 "Kloster des (hl.) Jeremia (I.)", and "Kloster des Jeremia (I.)"; and Bal. pp. 22-24, and nos. 137 l. 8; 214 II. 1, 9, and 18; and 312 l. 22.

5See CKA pp. 1342-1343 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (I.)". This may be the same monastery as the one mentioned in the will of a man from Antinoe, see Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 132-133 "ιερημιου ἀναί.

6See CKA pp. 1344-1345 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (III.)".

7See CKA pp. 1345-1346 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (IV.)".

8See CKA pp. 1346-1347 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (V.)"; and Bal. pp. 22-24, noting that on p. 22 Kahle wrongly suggests that Bal. 214 was written by the monks of these two monasteries rather than to them.
monasteries of Jeremias were located in the Thinite pagarchy,¹ and possibly in the Antaeopolite nome.²

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

**Monastery of Jeremias of Pmanbête**

ΜΙΟΝтинΤΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΠΜΑΝΒΗΤΕ no. 64 ll. 3-4

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

**Topos of Kames**

τοπ/Κάμητος no. 40 l. 3

The *topos* of Kames may be identified with ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΝΚΟΜΗΣΙΟΓ "the convent/monastery of Kometos" which occurs in ST 154 l. 1 because, like no. 40, this text also mentions the Hermopolite place name Pal(elas) (see Palas §4.4).⁶ This place name suggests a location for the *topos* of Kames in the Hermopolite nome, possibly near el-Ashmunein; Marie Drew-Bear has suggested that it might have been situated near Bawit.⁷ A *topos* of Kometos is also mentioned in a Greek papyrus from Aphrodito.⁸ See §4.2 for the hospital of the Monastery of Kames.

**Monastery of Apa Makare**

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

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¹See CKA pp. 1413 "Kloster des (hi.) Jeremia (I.)" and "2683 "Tin".
²See CKA p. 1344 "Kloster des Apa Jeremia (II.)".
³Wietheger 1992 cat. no. 346 p. 428.
⁴Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. vii, ix, and 12.
⁵Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 index I p. 156 s.v. "Jéremie (Monastère de Saint-)."
⁶Topos is left untranslated because it could be used of a monastery or church here; see Wipszycka 1972 p. 13, and Bal. no. 187 l. 5, p. 601 n. 6.
⁷Drew-Bear 1979a p. 137 "Καμητος".
⁸See CKA pp. 2794-2795 "Topos des Kamê(to)s".
Qūs,¹ and another at Aphrodito.² No. 3 may relate to an Hermopolite monastery which is no longer attested.

**Monastery of (Apa) Mena**

πετρα μα ΜΗΝΑ no. 53

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

The latter monastery is sometimes termed a πετρα as it is in no. 53,⁶ a guarantee for loan repayment issued to a monk of a monastery (πετρα) of Apa Mena, possibly by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (the document begins with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΣ ΝΝ ΔΗΣΠΑΣ formula, see Chapter 7).

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

**Monastery of Phouou**

ΤΟΟΟΟΥ ΝΦΟΟΥ no. 66 l. 2

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

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

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¹The monastery of Apa/Papas Macarius son of Patoure, see Coquin 1991 p. 1658.
²See *CKA* p. 2752 “Topos des Apa Makarius”.
³This text is described in *CKA* 1354 “Kloster (?) des Apa Mena (I)”.
⁴Details of this monastery are given in *CKA* 1355-1356 “Kloster des Apa Mena (II)”.
⁵See *Bal.* pp. 25, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 42, 49, 519, and 547.
⁶See *Bal.* pp. 27-29 for this term.
⁷See *CKA* p. 1932 “Phouey”; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 315-316 Φόο, and p. 320 Φούκ which occurs in a VIth C. Greek text from the Hermopolite nome, *SPP* X no. 25 col. B l. 20. Note that this papyrus also mentions ΤΕΝΟΤ (col. A l. 27), a place name which occurs in *no. 68* side (A), see §4.4.
⁹See *BL* I p. 462 and II pt 2 p. 66 for this dating.
Monastery of Rakota(-) (?)

See Pmamrakota(-) at §4.6.

Monastery of Stephen

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

§4.2 OTHER RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

A hospital belonging to the Monastery of Kames is mentioned in no. 40 (Ἑνεφωμαι I. 6). The same text lists the Holy Church (αγιας εκκησια I. 32), which may refer to the basilica at Hermopolis, as it does in a couple of related texts, BM 1075 and 1077.²

§4.3 PLACE NAMES MENTIONED IN THE TEXTS

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

§4.4 HERMOPOLITE PLACE NAMES

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

Esou (Leukopyrgites ano)⁴

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

¹See CKA pp. 1424-1425 "Kloster des (hl.) Stephanus".
²See MacCoull 1987b p. 102. For this church see Wipszycka 1969.
³There is always a certain amount of uncertainty connected with the identification of ancient toponyms with modern ones, see, e.g., CKA p. 2592 "Terôt" for the difficult nature of distinguishing which Arabic place name represents Coptic τερωτ. In some cases it is even difficult to match up the Coptic and Greek equivalents of a place name. There has been speculation, for example, over the equation of ΤΕΡΩΤ with Dahruit, see CKA pp. 493-495 "Dahruit".
⁴For the location in this toparchy, see Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 p. 264. Van Minnen 1987 p. 121 locates this place in the Patemites ano toparchy.
⁵See CKA pp. 917-918 "Esou"; this is surely to be equated with "το!”, Drew-Bear 1979a p. 135, which is mentioned in a IVth C. papyrus P. Cairo. Preis. along with other places in the Leukopyrgites ano toparchy.
Isou see Esou

Kòs (Koussites ano)
κωκ no. 27 l. 11

The village of Kòs is now known as el-Qusiya (see Koussai on Map 3).\(^1\) It was located just south-east of Titkooh.

Micholeos (Leukopyrgites ano)
Μίξωξος no. 37 l. 8

A village located on the left bank of the Nile between Sanabu and Deirut.\(^2\)

Migdól / Mijöl (Peri polin kato)
Μιγδῶξ Μιγδολ no. 22 l. 1; Μιξώξ Μιξολ no. 56 l. 7

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

In no. 22, Μιγδῶξ is described as ΠΕΚΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΙΜΕ ΝΠΟΤΩΓ ΝΚΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙϹ "the four villages in the region of Shmoun the city". A Coptic lease document, Ryl. 158, mentions ΠΕΚΤΟΟΥ ΝΠΟΤΩΓ ΝΙΩΤ 2Ν ΝΕΜΑ ΝΡΟΕΙϹ ΝΜΙΓΔΩΧ ΝΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ 2Ν ΠΤΟΤΩΓ ΝΤΙΠΟΧΙϹ ΤΩΙ υΜΟΥΝ (ll. 24-25) which is translated by Crum as "the property of Pawan eniōt' in the migdół watch-towers of the Eighty, in the nome of this town of Shmoun".

Mijöl (Μιξῶξ) see Migdól / Mijöl

Palas (Leukopyrgites ano)
gen. Παλαντος no. 40 l. 19

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

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\(1\)See Calderini Diz. 3 p. 149 "Κούσσατ", suppl. 1 p. 178; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 147-151.
\(2\)See Calderini Diz. 3 p. 287 "Μιξωτα", suppl. 1 p. 198; Drew-Bear 1979a p. 170 "Μιξωτα" (for the 11th and 14th C. Greek papyri) and CKA p. 1643 "Michleos". It is also listed in a Greek papyrus list of δημοσία payments belonging to a private collection edited in Husson 1991.
\(3\)Roquet 1973 p. 9 no. 70 lists many of the variant spellings found in Coptic.
\(4\)See CKA pp. 1671-1673 "Miqtul".
\(5\)Clédat 1916 p. 44 (no. II), in which a deacon called louste is described as ΠΝΜΙΧΟΧ "the one of Mijol".
\(6\)See CPR XX 15 l. 3 and 18 l. 2.
\(7\)See CKA pp. 1819-1820 "Pala(n)tos"; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 189-190 "Πιλλαντος".
attested in Greek papyri dating from the IIIrd - VIIth C., and, as Πελοολε, in a couple of Coptic documents (ST 154 l. 1 and 156 l. 2).

A IIIrd C. Greek papyrus, BGU XIII 2365 l. 2, records a Palas in the Heracleopolite nome.2

Pelool
Πελοολε no. 85 l. 4

This literally means “the grape”. A place called Πελοολε is assigned to the Hermopolite nome in a VI/VIIth C. Greek papyrus, P. Vindob. G 1530 l. 5, and a hamlet of this name may also occur in an VIIIth C. Greek tax list from Aphrodito, P. Lond. IV 1479 l. 1276.3

The name Πελοολε may also be rendered as Παλαιλι, a place in the Faiyum which is mentioned in P. Brook. 25 l. 26.4 There are at least four other attested place names involving ελεολε.5

Percië
Περćiê no. 42 l. 7

This place name or Περćiêσε (see Perciëse §4.7) may be interpreted in this text. Percië may be identified with el-Burgâya (Pergjaiê Map 3) about 6.5 kilometres north of el-Minya (Tmone Map 3) in the Hermopolite nome. It is mentioned in a fragment of a church calendar and on a tombstone;6 and possibly also in two inscriptions from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit: 0 ΔΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΕΥΔΗΜΗΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΕΡ Чи (the final η is perhaps to be interpreted as an η) “Saint Eudaimon, martyr, of Percië” (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 118 no 389) and Περćiêσον 2ΩΡ ΠΡΜΠΕΡξ (originally read by Maspero as ΠΡΜΠΕΡξ) “brother (Περćiêσον) Hor of Percië” (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 120 no. 398). CPR IV 206 l. 6 records the place name Πέρ científico which may be Περćiêσον written with labdacism.

Phoou
ΦΟΟΥ no. 66 l. 2

See above §4.1 Monastery of Phoou.

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1Details of these are given in Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 189-190 "Παλαιντος". This place name also occurs in P. Cair. inv. 10511 and 10565 (= P. Cair. Preis. 30) which were re-edited in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 pp. 259-265.
2See Calderini Diz. 4 p. 26 "Πάλολ".
3See Calderini Diz. 4 p. 91 “Πελοολε” and CKA p. 1887 “Pelool”; this place name is not recorded in Drew-Bear 1979a.
4See Mayδαλον Παλαιλι in Calderini Diz. 3 p. 221 and CKA pp. 1644-1646 “Miktaal”.
5Crum CD p. 55a ελολε.5
6See CKA pp. 449-450 “al-Burgâya” for details of this place name and all of the.. sources.
Piôh Pemom

\(\pi \omega \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varphi \omicron \omicron \omicron \) no. 37 l. 3

Literally "the field of Pemom",¹ and possibly a variant of the place name \(\pi \omega \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varphi \omicron \omicron \omicron \) which occurs in an unpublished BL Coptic papyrus, BL Or. 13885.13 (see §2.2).² The same place name may also be reconstructed in Ryl. 285.³

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

Piôh Pemom is to be differentiated from \(\pi \omega \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varphi \omicron \omicron \omicron \) and the \(\tau \omicron \omicron \sigma(\zeta) \pi \omega \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varphi \omicron \omicron \omicron \), which are mentioned in a Greek papyrus from Aphroditus dating from 716 C.E.⁵

Plêtem

\(\pi \lambda \nu \iota \theta \epsilon \mu \varepsilon \varphi \kappa \omega \omicron \nu \) no. 27 l. 11

The exact location of this village in relation to Kôs (see above in this section) is uncertain.⁶

Pnê

\(\pi \nu \eta \) no. 16 l. 3

This may be interpreted literally as "doorpost, threshold, step" (Crum \textit{CD} p. 266a \(\pi \nu \eta \)). A \(\pi \nu \eta \) of uncertain location is mentioned in an VIIIth C. Greek papyrus from Aphroditus, \textit{P. Lond. IV} 1460 l. 151.⁷ This may be equated with the place name \(\pi \varepsilon \nu \nu \eta \) which is attested in Greek papyrus from the Hermopolite nome and may have been located in the Môchites toparchy of that nome.⁸ \(\pi \nu \eta \) is also attested in published Coptic texts,⁹ and in an inscription from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit which mentions \(\pi \rho \varepsilon \mu \pi \nu \nu \eta \) along with men from \(\chi \mu \omicron \omicron \omicron \) and \(\pi \delta \rho \phi \).¹⁰

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¹\textit{CKA} pp. 1942-1943 "Piôh Pemom".
²Clackson 1993a p. 126 §7.1. \textit{Bal.} pp. 139 §123 and 142 §123g) cites examples of the loss of \(\varepsilon \) within Coptic words.
³\textit{CKA} pp. 1942-1943 "Piôh Pemom"; a number of Hermopolite place names are mentioned in papyri from Aphroditus.
⁴Drew-Bear 1979a p. 207 "\(\pi \nu \eta \) n. 1"); no other place names beginning \(\pi \omega \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varphi \omicron \omicron \omicron \) are attested.
⁵Calderini \textit{Diz.} 4 pp. 147-148 "\(\pi \omega \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varphi \omicron \omicron \omicron \) μαυρίου".
⁶Calderini \textit{Diz.} 4 p. 159 "\(\pi \lambda \theta \lambda \mu \nu \pi \varepsilon \omicron \ka\)"; \textit{CKA} p. 1962 "Plêtem"; and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 209-210 "\(\pi \lambda \theta \mu \nu \pi \varepsilon \omicron \ka\)".
⁷Calderini \textit{Diz.} 4 p. 165 "\(\pi \nu \eta \)".
⁸Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 201-202 "\(\pi \varepsilon \nu \nu \eta \)".
⁹See \textit{CKA} p. 1987 "Pnê"; adding the following to the list of references for this place name given there: Coptic: \textit{WS} no. 29 ll. 12-14; O. Deir el Giza Journal des fouilles n. 26 A l. 6 which is edited in di Bitonto-Kasser 1992 pp. 145-147; and an unpublished papyrus document, CUL Michael. 1036(A) l. 6; and Greek: \textit{P. Lond. IV} no. 1542 l. 10.
¹⁰Maspero and Driotton 1932-1943 no. 252.
Alternatively it may be identified with Πνη in the Antaeopolite nome, or Πνη in the Theodosiopolite nome. In this case the Theodosiopolite nome intended is probably the one created artificially between the Cynopolite and Hermopolite nomes, rather than the one further north in the Faiyum.

**Pôrahêu**

Πωραχê η Ανταεοπολίτης Νομός Νο 27 l. 1 (Πουραχην l. 11)

This settlement (έποδοιν) is attested only in this text. Its location is uncertain, but it was possibly near Kòs (see above in this section).

**Pousire**

Πούσηρη Νο 16 l. 5

Literally “house of Osiris”. No. 16 mentions monks collecting aparchê in the region of Pousire, and an unpublished ωτίδε Αίγυπτος formula ostracon (bearing the inventory no. 5298) in the possession of Charles Ede of London records this place as a source of wheat.

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

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

**Senesla** (Leukopyrgites ano)

Σενέσλα Νο 28 ll. 6, 13; Νο 49 l. 19

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

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1. For both of these see CKA p. 1890 "Pennê".
2. Drew-Bear 1979b pp. 299-303 discusses this distinction.
3. CKA p. 1999 "Pôrahêy", and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 219 "Πουραχην".
4. I am grateful to Professor John Tait for showing me his transcription of this text.
5. This is well attested in Coptic documents, see Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 83-85 "Bousiris"; and CKA pp. 51-55 "Abûsir II".
6. CKA p. 52 "Abûsir II".
7. CKA pp. 50-51 "Abûsir I".
8. CKA pp. 2336-2337 "Senesla".
Shmoun
ψΜΟΥΝ nos. 1 l. 3; 2 l. 3 (ψΜΟΥ); 8 l. [2]; 14 l. [2]; 20 l. 1; 21 l. 1; 22 l. 2; 31 l. 2;
and 33 l. 2
Shmoun (see Map 3), modern el-Ashmunein, the metropolis of the Hermopolite
nome and one of the most important cities in Greco-Roman and Early Islamic Egypt.1

Tahrouj (Leukopyrgites kato)
ΤΑΘΡΟΥΣ no. 20 l. 1
Tahrouj is specified as being "in the region of Shmoun" in this document,2 a debt
acknowledgment addressed to a monk from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh. It
may be the equivalent of Greek Ταρροοος which was located in the Leukopyrgites kato
toparchy in the IVth C.3

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

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

Taparoou
ΤΑΠΑΡΟΥ no. 71 l. 3
The proximity of the village of Taparoou to Titkooh is illustrated in the Life of Phib
(see §3.2) when Apa Apollo and Apa Papohe are related to have stopped at a monastery
near Taparoou on their way from the Monastery of Apa Pamin (see Tahrouj above in this
section) and Titkooh (see §3.4.1).8

This place name also occurs in Greek papyri;9 in two ωΜΟΕ ΜΗΩΑ- ostraca (see
§3.3.2.1);10 two unprovenanced, unpublished Coptic papyri (BL Or. 6201 B52 and

1Calderini Diz. 2 pp. 165-175 "Ερυνών πόλεις", suppl. 1 p. 113; CKA pp. 198-220 "αλ-Αςμούνην".
2This distinguishes it from the ΤΑΘΡΟΥΣ which is north-east of Oxyrhynchus.
3Calderini Diz. 4 p. 364; and Drew-Bear 1979b p. 289.
5Orlando and Campagnano 1975 p. 28.
6CKA pp. 1357-1358 "Κλοστερ των Απα Παμίν".
7See CKA pp. 493-495 "Δαρήν" for details of these manuscripts; the Greek and Arabic sources for this
place are also discussed.
8Orlandi and Campagnano 1975 p. 32.
9Calderini Diz. 4 p. 358 "Ταπαρούτα".
10O. Mich. inv. 25292, edited in Mich. p. 244 no. 18 l. 2 (noting that Green 1983a equates ΠΑΡΟΥ in
this text with the place name ΠΑΡΟΥ); and an ostracon in an Austrian private collection, edited in
Stewart 1984 pp. 105-106 ostracon 2. Both of these references should be added to Drew-Bear 1979a p.
266 "ΤΑΠΑΡΟΥΣ" and CKA p. 2510 "Ταπαρού". Bowman 1983 p. 465 noted the possible reference
to this place name in PSI 304 l. 11. See also CKA pp. 2076-2077 "Παρούν-Σταφαρουακε", and 1845-
1846 "Παρου" n. 1. noting that Shelton 1990 p. 114 interprets ΠΑΡΟΥ in WS nos. 355-357 as a
personal name.
CUL Michael. 822/4 (see §§2.1 and 2.2 for the collections to which these belong); and possibly in an inscription from Bawit.¹

**Tbake**

**TBAKE no. 29 l. 6.**

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

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

**Tepôt**

**TEΠΩΤ no. 68 side (A) l. 3**

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

**Terôt**

**TEΠΩΤ no. 6 l. x+31**

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

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

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¹Maspero and Driot 1932-1943 p. 129 (no. 448 l. 2) Απα Ταιρίνου Πετρ... which is interpreted as "Apa Taurinus de Tapr..." in a list of saints.
²See Drew-Bear 1979a p. 270 "Τβάκη"; ΚΑ p. 2552 "Tbake"; and Calderini Diz. 2 p. 22 "Baκή", noting the occurrence of this place name in CPR XII 18 l. 4.
³ΚΑ p. 2587-2588 "Τεπότ"; and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 280 "Τεπότατ".
⁴Calderini Diz. 4 pp. 393-394 "Τεπωτάτ".
⁵See Dairūt on the map given in Drew-Bear 1979a for the position of this place which is not marked on Map 3.
⁶ΚΑ pp. 2592-2593 "Terôt" discusses the possibilities; see also pp. 562-565 "Darūt Sarāb'ām<(<m>)ān>"., 2593-2594 "Terôt Aṣans", 2595 "Terôt Hale", 2595-2596 "Terôt n-Apake", and 2596-2598 "Terôt Smoun".
⁷Clédat 1904-1906 p. 105.
⁸Calderini Diz. 4 p. 401 "Τεπωτάτ".
For this place name see §3.4.1.

§4.5 Places which may be located in the Hermopolite nome

(H)ôro(-)

\( \omega \rho ^{o} \) no. 28 l. 14

\( \chi \omega \rho \) \( \omega \rho \alpha (\cdot) \): this may be interpreted as \( \chi \omega \rho \ell (\omega \eta) \) "place/district" \( \Omega \rho o(v) \) "of (H)or(os)" in this text and it may be connected with Senesla (see §4.4) in the Hermopolite nome. Two places named "\( \Omega \rho o(v) \) are mentioned in Greek papyri, one in the Arsinoite nome (IIIrd C.), the other in the Oxyrhynchite (Vth C.).

Place names involving the god Horus involve \( \omega \rho - \) in Coptic, e.g., Sanhûr is \( \chi \omega \rho \omega (\cdot) \). A place located just north of el-Ashmunein which might have been a possible Coptic equivalent of \( \omega \rho o(\cdot) \) is \( \chi \omega \rho \omega (\cdot) \) (Map 3 Houor), although the etymology of this name reveals that it does not involve the name of Horus.

Ôro(-) see (H)ôro(-)

Panoube

\[ \phi \lambda \nu \lambda \nu \eta \phi \] no. 2 l. 6)

Literally "the one of Anoup". There are two places in the Hermopolite nome with which Panoube may be identified: modern Bânûb, which is just west of Deirut in the southern part of the nome, or Deir Banub (see the Monastery of Apa Anoup at §4.1). An unpublished Coptic papyrus (CMAA Green "30", see §2.6) which may derive from this nome mentions \( \phi \lambda \nu \lambda \nu \eta \phi \) and \( \phi \lambda \nu \lambda \nu \eta \phi \ \phi \chi \) "south Panoube". Places involving the name \( \phi \lambda \nu \lambda \nu \eta \phi \) are also situated either in the Faiyum or the Delta.

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1Calderini Dict. 5 p. 181 "\( \Omega \rho o(v) \)."
3Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 18-19 no. 16.
4CKA pp. 1115-1117 "Hûr".
5Černý CED p. 358 \( \chi \omega \rho \omega (\cdot) \).
6This is not included in Map 3 but it is marked on the map in Drew-Bear 1979a (although there is no entry for this place elsewhere in this work). See Kurth and Rößler-Köhler 1987 p. 19, where \( \phi \lambda \nu \lambda \nu \eta \phi \) is suggested as the Coptic antecedent of the modern Arabic "Abnub/Banub"; and Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 33 no. 57 and 41 no. 79, where \( \phi \lambda \nu \lambda \nu \phi \) is posited.
7CKA pp. 1834 "Panoufi" and 1575-85 "Manûf al-\( \phi \lambda \nu \lambda \nu \eta \phi \)".
Pe(-)etkême

This may be compared with the place name ΠΕΧΧΗΜΙ which is attested in the Martyrdom of Thomas of Sindalât and may be identified as modern Balkim in the central part of the Delta. The first component of this word, PE-, may be the same as Pel- in Pelhip (modern Balhib), and may be identified as PE- ΕΧ- "the grape or vine" (ΕΧ- is a form of ΕΧΟΟΕ, see Crum CD p. 54b). If ΠΕΧΧΗΜΙ can be read, it may literally mean "the grape which is dark". Compare ΕΧΕΧΗΜΙ "bruise" (Crum CD p. 55a ΕΧΟΟΕ).

Posntelke

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

This place name may be interpreted as a mis-writing of ΠΤΟΩ ΝΤΕΧΚΕ "the region of Telke" were it not for its designation as an εΠΟΧΙΟΝ. J.W.B. Barns suggested this emendation for this text (described as "P.B.M. Or. 6201B") in a note to a Coptic text excavated at Antinoöpolis which mentions an εΠΟΧΙΟΝ of 'ΤΙ[..] ΡΙΤΕΧΚΕ. Barns proposed that this too should be interpreted as ΠΤΟΩ ΝΤΕΧΚΕ,3 but it may have been a second attestation of Posntelke.

Rakota(-) ? (ΡΑΚΟΤΙΔ) see Pmamrakota(-) (ΓΑΜΣ ΜΡΑΚΟΤΙΔ) (§4.6)

Rakote

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

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1 CKA pp. 305-306 "Balkim".
2 See Calderini Diz. 4 p. 385 "ΤΕΧΗΚΕ"; and CKA pp. 502-505 "Dalga", noting that BL Or. 6201 B216 is the BL papyrus described here, and correcting the reference to Rylands papyrus no. "346:2" to "356:2". This place name occurs as ΤΕΧΗΚΕ in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CUL Michael. 1176/I(B) (see §2.2).
3 Barns 1959 p. 84.
4 Crum CD p. 287b ΡΑΚ and Černý CED p. 351 ΡΑΚΩΤΕ. Lorton 1987 p. 68 records H. Goedicke’s etymology of this place name as "(that which is) beside/near that which was built ... " and himself suggests an interpretation of it as "suburb". This etymology interprets ΡΑΚ- in ΡΑΚΩΤΕ as the Egyptian compound preposition r- "beside/near" rather than the prefix r- "state of" which Crum and Černý favoured.
There may well have been other places called Rakote apart from the most famous one, Alexandria.¹ One may be identified in the place name ṕω洑, which is recorded in the Delta, possibly near to ṭεI/ナκυܘ/Ιβܣמדע.²

Tapos see Taposi

**Taposi / Tapos**

ΤΑΠΟΣΙ / ΤΑΠΟΣ no. 49 l. 17

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

Alternatively, instead of Taposi, Tapos may be read. An inscription from Bawit mentions a Keorke (George) ΤΑΠΟΨ and Apa Ser[...] Tapos is named on a stela excavated at Bawit.⁵ A possible variant of this place name, ΤΑΠΟΜI, is mentioned in an unpublished papyrus (BL Or. 6201 B210, see §2.1) along with the Hermopolite place names ΤΒΑΧΕ and ΨΙΜΤΑΧΕ, ΨΙΜΤΑΧΕ.

See the place name ΠΟΨ at §4.11.

**Tbersê**

ΤΒΕΡΨΗ no. 65 ll. 3 and 8

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

**Toi(-)asis ?**

*ΤΟΙΑΣΙΣ ? (ΤΟΙΑΣΙΩΣ gen.) no. 40 l. 13

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

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¹See Quaegebeur 1974 pp. 66-67 n.1 for the re-reading of the Memphite place name ṚFrançois (alternatively read as ṚFrançois or ṚFrançois) as ṚFrançois. I am grateful to Dr Dorothy Thompson for this reference.
²See CKA p. 2195 "Raguda".
³CKA p. 2514 "Taposi".
⁴The interpretation of this line is uncertain: it may read NN ΤΑΠΟΣΙ ΤΟΙΙ φόρου or NN ἀπὸ σίτου φόρου.
⁵Clédat 1904-1906 p. 115 no. 75.
⁶Coquin and Rutschowscaya 1994 p. 113 no. 6.
⁷CKA pp. 692-696 "Dër al-Barsa".
⁸See CKA p. 277x "Toi[.]asis (?)".
§4.6 PLACES BEGINNING WITH PMA N/M-

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

Most of the places which incorporate ΠΜΜ- have yet to be located although a number of them may have been located in the Hermopolite nome (see individual entries). It may be that such names were common in Middle Egypt.² Eight place names of this sort are found in the winε ΝC formulas from Bawit in the Louvre (see §3.3.2.1), five of which are analysed in this section (Pmanallou, Pmanbête, Pmanle, Pmanlouga and Pmanranê).³ A number of place names with the ΠΜM- prefix are recorded in ETMOYXON ostraca.⁴

Pmamrakota(-)

ΠΜΜ MpSkOTo no. 6 l. x+31

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

See Rakote at §4.5.

Pmanallou

ΠΜMΝεεεεε no. 92 l. 6

"The place of Allou".⁵ This place is mentioned as a source of wine in three winε ΝC formulas Louvre ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2.1)⁶ It also occurs in an unpublished papyrus, BL Or. 6201 B200 (see §2.1), which is signed by Georgios, for whom see §8.9.

¹Crum CD p. 153a ΜΜ.
²Megally 1991 p. 2273 attempts to analyse place names beginning with ΜΜ-, although more than the three place names she lists are now attested; see CKA pp. 1963-1984 and add ΠΜΜ (ST 319, see Crum CD p. 48b B1X) and the place names mentioned in two papyri from Aphrodito: ΠΜΨΙΒΕΕΕ (probably to be interpreted as a form of ΠΜΜΨΕΕΕ "the place of Brre", see Crum CD p. 43a BPEE) in P. Lond. IV 1419 l. 1286; and ΠΜΜΝΓΕΕΕ in P. Lond. IV 1619 ll. 6, 7, and 8.
³The other three are Pmankuriakos, Pmannonē and Pmanpaëse.
⁴See Shelton 1990 pp. 112-113, and Mich. p. 256, noting that on p. 258 the el-Ashmunein area is suggested as a possible provenance for these ostraca.
⁵The personal name εεεεε occurs as 'Αλλος in Greek papyri dating from the Ist-Vth C., see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA.
⁶MIFAO forthcoming nos. 18-20.
This place name may be identified with ΟΥΛΟΥ (CPR XII no. 30 l. 23), and a Ἐλλαδῶν in the Hermopolite nome.¹

**Pmanbête**

ΠΜΑΝΒΕΤΕ no. 64 l. 4 (Monastery of Jeremias Papmanbêté see §4.1)

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

Pmanbête is only otherwise mentioned in a ωΙΝΕ ἱκά - formula ostraca excavated at Bawit (MIFAO forthcoming no. 75, see §3.3.2(1)) and in P. Meyer inv. 14,³ a wine account which mentions ΠΜΑΝΒΗΤΕ, ΠΜΑΝΒΗΤΕ, and possibly ΠΜΑΝΒΗΤΕ, all of which occur in the ωΙΝΕ ἱκά - formula ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2(1)).

**Pmančanah**

ΠΜΑΝΚΑΝΑ no. 77 l. 6

"The place of Κανάν". ὁνα is a "maimed, crooked person" (Crum CD p. 824a), and it occurs as a personal name in various forms (e.g. ὁνα, ὁνα, and Κάναχ) in Coptic and Greek documents,⁴ including the Greek text written on BL Or. 6050 l. 18 (Coptic text = BM 1079).⁵ It takes the form Καναχ in a VIIth C. Greek document, P. Princ. III 140.⁶

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

**Pmánle**

ΠΜΑΝΛΕ no. 72 l. 2; ΠΜΑΝΛΕ no. 94 l. 2

The word ΛΕ (also ΛΑΥ) in this place name may be interpreted as the name of a type of textile (Crum CD p. 145α ΛΛΑΥ, Κερνί CED p. 346 ΛΛΛ).⁸ Another possible etymology involves ΛΛΑΥ "anyone, -thing, something" (Crum CD p. 146a) and, indeed, Champollion pointed out that the Arabic version of this place name, "Maoudhî el-Aschia",

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¹See CKA pp. 2611-2613 "Thallou".
²CKA p. 1973 "Pma n-Bête" does not attempt to decipher the name; the reference to "Pap.Michigan, Inv. Nr. 578 (= W.E. Crum, Wadi Sarga, Nr. 174:3f.)" should be corrected to "P. Mich. inv. 1520", and the name "Psae" to "Prashe".
⁴No plate was published with this text but this restoration appears to me to be possible for ΠΜΑΝΒΗΤΕ in 1. 2.
⁵See Heuser PN pp. 21, 33 and 69; and Till 1962 p. 118; and CPR XII 32 l. 15 ονα.
⁶Edited in MacCoull 1994b pp. 139-140 (on p. 141 the name ονα is erroneously cited as being in l. 14).
⁷See note to the re-edition of this text in Worp 1990 p. 109.
⁸For etymologies of ΛΛΛΑΥ, see CKA pp. 1542-1543 "Mallawāt" and Kessler 1981 p. 87.
translates as "lieu des choses". However, he considered that this resulted from a mistake on the part of the Arabs and favoured the etymology involving the textile.¹

An inscription from Bawit mentions $\text{M} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash H} \text{\textbackslash Y}$, ² and $\text{N} \text{\textbackslash M} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash E}$ is the place name most often mentioned in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2(1)),³ where it is named as a source of old wine ($\text{H} \text{\textbackslash P} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash C}$ and variants).⁴ It is possibly to be identified with Mallawi which is about five kilometres south-east of el-Ashmunein.⁵

Phoiele ($\phi \text{D}$ $\text{E} \text{\textbackslash E}$) "the field of Le" (see §4.11) may be involve the same word $\text{\textbackslash E}$ as this place name.

**Pmanlouga**

$\text{P} \text{\textbackslash M} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash O} \text{\textbackslash Y} \text{\textbackslash G} \text{\textbackslash A}$ no. 92 l. 5

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

**Pman[n]erir**

$\text{P} \text{\textbackslash M} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash E} \text{\textbackslash P} \text{\textbackslash I} \text{\textbackslash P}$ no. 67 l. 3

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

**Pmanpaselei(-) (?)**

$\text{P} \text{\textbackslash M} \text{\textbackslash E} \text{\textbackslash P} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash C} \text{\textbackslash E} \text{\textbackslash I} \text{\textbackslash E} \text{\textbackslash I}$. no. 102 l. 3

This place name is not otherwise attested.

**Pmanranê**

$\text{P} \text{\textbackslash M} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash P} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash H}$ no. 92 l. 4

"The place of Ranê" is mentioned in three Louvre ostraca from Bawit as a source of old wine (see §3.3.2(1)).⁸ The name $\text{P} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash H} / \text{P} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash E}$ is not listed in Heuser $\text{P} \text{\textbackslash N}$, but it can be connected with Middle Egypt.⁹

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¹Champollion 1814 vol 1 p. 283.
²Clédat 1904-1906 p. 47 no. 32; see CKA p. 2000 "Pôrf".
³MIFAO forthcoming no. 1 note to II. 3-4.
⁴MIFAO forthcoming nos. 1-11.
⁵The entry for CKA pp. 1542-1543 "Mallawi" gives the spellings $\text{M} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash Y}$ and $\text{M} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash E} \text{\textbackslash I}$. $\text{M} \text{\textbackslash A} \text{\textbackslash N} \text{\textbackslash H}$ is found in a graffito from Bawit, see Clédat 1904-1906 p. 47 no. XXXII.
⁶A form of this name using $\text{r}$ instead of $\text{k}$ (eg. $\text{x} \text{O} \text{Y} \text{K} \text{C}$) is not recorded in Heuser $\text{P} \text{\textbackslash N}$, although on p. 119 he lists $\text{x} \text{O} \text{Y} \text{K}$ as a name of "unsicherer Herkunft".
⁷See MIFAO forthcoming no. 81 n. to I. 6.
⁸MIFAO forthcoming nos. 21-23.
⁹This was stated in a paper given by A. Boud'hors at the Journée d'études en l'honneur d'Étienne Drioton (Strasbourg, October 1990) entitled "Nouveaux documents copie relativ au transport du vin", and in a paper delivered by her to the Vème Journée d'études copie (Périgueux, 16-17th May 1991) with R.-G. Coquin and M. Pezin, "Réflexions sur l'ensemble des publications relatifs au site de Bawit (Moyenne-Egypte)". I am grateful to Mme Boud'hors for allowing me to cite this material here.
Pmansike

This may be interpreted literally as "the mill", or as a place name, Pmansike, which Crum suggests may be an equivalent of CIKEWCT in Ryl. no. 193 l. 1.\(^2\) CYNHY NMANCEKE also occur in an unpublished Coptic receipt, BL Or. 6201 B202 (cited in Crum CD p. 328b; see §2.1), a text featuring the signatory Georgios, see §8.11.

Pmansölk

This place name is not otherwise attested. Literally it means "the place of weaving/stitching" and may be compared with NMNECQYCT "the place of the weavers", which is attested in a QYNE NCT formula ostraca in Durham University's Oriental Museum (Tait 1994) (see §3.3.2(.1)), and in an inscription from Bawit (Clédat 1904-1906 p. 80 no. 3).

§4.7 PLACES LOCATED IN OTHER NOMES

Antinoe

ANTINOØY no. 69 l. 6; no. 91 side (B) l. 2; ALTVO no. 40 l. 9

Antinoe, the capital of the Antinooupolite nome just across the Nile from el-Ashmunein (see Map 1 Antinooūpolis, Map 3 Antinoou).\(^3\)

Dalâs see Tiloj

Iom see Piom

Nemhate

NEMZATE no. 56 l. 4

This means "the Northerners" (Černý CED p. 347 NMZATE). Its location is uncertain although the nome of Heracleopolis Magna has been suggested: it occurs five times in ostraca from Wadi Sarga, and in two ETMØYXON ostraca.\(^4\)

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\(^1\)See CKÄ p. 1983 "Pma n-Sike' correcting "BM, London, Nr. 6201 B und C" to "BL Or. inv. no. 6201 B".

\(^2\)See Drew-Bear 1979a p. 249 "CIKEWCT", making the same correction as in the note above: "6201 B et C" should be "6201 B"; also NMANCEKE should read NMANCIKE.

\(^3\)See Calderini Diz. 2 pp. 69-114 "ANTINOΩPOLIS", suppl. 1 p. 39; CKÄ pp. 111-128 "Ansinâ"; the monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned on p. 116 is the one at Bawit.

\(^4\)See CKÄ 1766-1767 "Nemhâti", adding Husselman 1982 pp. 61-62 to the list of occurrences of this place name. Note that NEMZOTE, which occurs in KSBI no. 211 (one of the Michigan ostraca), is erroneously entered in the personal names index in KSB I.
Perćiêse

ΠΕΡΣΗΞΕ ΝΟ. 42 I. 7

This place name or ΠΕΡΣΗΞΗ (see Perćiê §4.4) may be interpreted in this text. Perćiêse is not otherwise attested in published Coptic documents, but it may perhaps be equated with a χαρίσιον in the Faiyum recorded in Greek as ΠΕΡΓΗΣΙΟΣ or ΠΕΛΚΕΗΣΙΟΣ.1

Piom

ΠΙΟΜ ΝΟ. 5 I. 5

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

Psakh(-)

ΠΣΑΧΚΞΙ ΝΟ. 5 I. 4

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

The estimated size of the manuscript suggests that approximately three letters are missing which would rule out a reconstruction of the place name Psakhalôm (see §4.11). Attested words or names beginning ΠΣΑΧΚΞΙ- include the personal name ΦΑΣΚΗΩΙ;4 ΠΣΑΧΚΞΟ a variant spelling of the name ΠΣΑΧΧΟ literally meaning "the great scribe" (Crum, CD p. 384a); and ΠΣΑΧΚΞΟΥΟ.5 The word ΕΑΚ may be interpreted as a form of ΔΟΚ "sack, sackcloth, bag", see Crum CD p. 325a.

Ptênê

ΠΤΗΝΗ ΝΟ. 37 II. 4, 12, 15

Literally "the dyke", which is how it was interpreted in the ed. pr. of no. 37.6 A number of Coptic and Greek papyri attest a place of this name in the Arsinoite nome.7

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1Calderini Diz. IV p. 104 "ΠΕΡΣΗΞΕ ΝΟ. 42 I. 7 = ΠΕΡΣΗΞΗ". The same place may also be designated as "ΠΕΛΚΕΗΣΙΟΣ", Calderini Diz. IV p. 90.
2See CΚΑ pp. 904-905 "ΕΙΟΜ".
3Published in Stewart 1984 p. 105 ostracon 1.
4See P. LOND. IV. No. 376.
5This word may be attested as ΦΑΣΚΗΩΙ in P. Med. copto inv. 76.23 verso II. 10-11, which is edited in Pernigotti 1988 pp. 177-180, pl. 1-2, although a reading of ΦΑΣΚΗΩΙ (a variant of ΦΑΣΚΗΩΙ) for which see RVL. 289) is also possible. It does not seem likely that ΦΑΣΚΗΩΙ should be interpreted as Crum CD p. 735a "greater part, greatness".
6ΠΤΗΝΗ in CPR IV 117 II. 15 and 17 may also be interpreted as this place rather than a particular dyke.
7CΚΑ pp. 2059-2060 "Πτήνη".
SPP XX no. 229 l. 19 lists a Πτηνή along with Πουντ (l. 25) and Τίν (l. 15 col. II), which are both Arsinoite place names. The occurrence of this place name in Bal. no. 349 l. 2 may also be viewed in an Arsinoite context.

Senarô
ωμνὲρῳ no. 8 l. 7
There are two attested places with this name (both shown on Map 2), one of which is a village located approximately 28 kilometres north-east of el-Bahnasa, and the other about 10 kilometres north of Medinet el-Faiyum. See Tseς(-) at §4.8.

Tiloj
τίλωξ no. 15 l. 2
This is now known as Dalâs and is located in the east Faiyum (Map 2 Tilodj/Neiloupolis). This place name is mentioned as a source of wine in a couple of ostraca excavated at Bawit by Clédat, and in other Coptic texts.

Tin
τίν no. 29 l. 21
Τίν/Θίς is the eponymous metropolis of the Thinite nome, in between Achmim and Abydos. A place called Tin is attested in Greek papyri dating from the V/VI - VII/VIIIth C. as an ἐποίκιον and a χωρίον in the Theodosioupolite nome. Tin may be the Coptic equivalent of Greek Τηνίς which is the name of two villages attested in the Hermopolite nome. Map 2 (Tênis) shows the location of one of these. See Ten in §4.8.

§4.8 PLACE NAMES WITHOUT A SECURE LOCATION

Papcol
παπκολ no. 4 l. x+2
Literally this means "the one of Pêol". The ΚΟΤΣ "neighbourhood" of Papcol is one of the places designated as the Assignment of this aparchê collection guarantee and Papcol is also connected with aparchê collection in Ryl. no. 251, see §5.2. Papcol may

1Note that SPP XX no. 221 l. 61 is listed in the index on p. 144 as containing the place name Πτηνή but it in fact contains Πτηνής, the genitival form of a personal name.
2Crum CD 418b notes occurrences of this place name; the reference to "Wess 20 56" (= SPP XX no. 221) is erroneous, see last note.
3See Calderini Diz. 4 pp. 282-283 "Σιναρά"; and CKΑ pp. 2351-2353 "Σιναρά".
4CKΑ pp. 2354-2355 "Σιναρά".
5See CKΑ pp. 498-502 "Dalâs" and MIFAO forthcoming nos. 35 l. 2 and 75 II. 4 and 6.
6See Calderini Diz. 4 p. 415 "Τίν".
7See Calderini Diz. 4 pp. 409 "Τηνίς" and 409-410 "Τηνίς ή και άλλως"; CKΑ pp. 2565 "Τένις" and 2584-2586 "Τένις".
8Heuser PN records the personal name πωκα, see pp. 8, 36, 38, and 41. It occurs in a wine ἰτεμ- formula ostraca from Bawit, MIFAO forthcoming no. 34 l. 2.
have been intended in an epithet in *BKU* III no. 471 l. 3 (read ἘΡΔΚΟϹ ΠΔΠΠΙΔΙΔΩ[...]), a list of names of people and their places of origin which may have come from el-Ashmunein.¹

**Ten**

ΤΕΝ no. 38

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

**Teusia**

ΤΕΥΣΙΑ no. 95 l. 3

Literally “the estate (οὐσια)”. This is another place from which wine is requisitioned in two ὕλη ΝΔ formula ostraca which may be from Bawit, O. Mich. 25286 and 25312 (see §3.3.2.1).² It may be equated with one of two attested place names: Teusion is mentioned on a tomb stone from Antinoe,³ and Tousia in Coptic texts from Bawit,⁴ Wadi Sarga and elsewhere.⁵

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

**Danaiêr**

ΔΑΙΗΣ[...ΗΠ no. 47 l. 2

**Ehbooue**

ἘΒΟΟΥΕ no. 91 l. 3 (or (less likely) ἘΕΒΟΟΥΕ)

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

**Nehbooue** (<stdlib>ΕΕΒΟΟΥΕ) see Ehbooue

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¹ See *CKA* p. 1910 "Pgiο[...]".
² Edited in *Mich*, pp. 244 no. 17 and 245 no. 21.
³ *CKA* p. 2609 “Teusión”.
⁴ Clédat 1904-1906 p. 47 no. XXXII.
⁵ *CKA* p. 2839 “Tousia”.

67
Pehno(-) (?) 
ΠΕ2ΡΩ (?) no. 18 l. 4

Seven attested place names begin, like Pehno(-), with the Coptic word ΠΕ2 which may mean "division" or "piece". ¹

Tanamnēou
ΤΙΔΑΝΜΗΝΗΟΥ no. 47 l. 4

Tanamnēou is possibly a variant of Tanamēu which is attested in Greek papyri of the VIIth C. as a hamlet or village in the Hermopolite nome and was possibly located near el-Ashmunein. ²

Tmou(-)
ΤΜΟΥΩ[...] no. 3 l. 4

This may end with the letters -ΜΟΥ; or it may be one of a number of attested place names involving ΤΜΟΥ "the island", ³ or ΤΜΟΥΩ ΚΩΤΕΩ (see Tmouikoteh below in this section).

Tmouikoteh
ΤΜΟΥΩ ΚΩΤΕΩ no. 10 l. 7

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

Tseς(-)
ΤΣΕΩ(-) no. 8 l. 6

Tses was presumably located near to Senarō (see §4.7) because no. 8 assigns ΤΚΩΤΩ ΝΤΣΕΩ(-) for aparchē collection along with ΤΚΩΤΩ ΝΤΕΩΝΩΡΩ.

¹See Crum CD p. 281a (ΠΩ2); and CKA pp. 1872-1876.
²See Calderini Diz. 4 p. 351 "Ταναμνήου", suppl. 1 p. 240.
³See Crum CD p. 160b ΜΟΥ. Attested place names are as follows: ΤΜΟΥΜΗΠ in the Hermopolite nome, possibly near Antinœ (CKΑ pp. 2710-2711 "Tmou-Mêr" and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 114); ΤΜΟΥ ΝΑΩΣΩ which may have been in the Heracleopolite or Hermopolite nome (CKΑ pp. 2712-2713 "Tmou n-Ahi"); and ΤΜΟΥ ΜΠΛΕΩΣΩΜ which may have been in the nome of Cynopolis ano (CKΑ pp. 2711-2712 "Tmou m-Pahôm"). Other place names beginning ΤΜΟΥ- for which no location has been assigned include: ΤΜΟΥ ΝΑΚΩΝ (CKΑ p. 2713 "Tmou n-Akôn"), ΤΜΟΥ ΝΟΡΜΕ (CKΑ pp. 2714-2715 "Tmou n-Gjêegie"), ΤΜΟΥΙΟΥΣΕΠΤΙ (CKΑ p. 2710 "Tmou-oubespiti"), ΤΜΟΥΟ ΝΟΙΝ (CKΑ pp. 2715-2716 "Tmou n-Sin"), and ΤΜΟΥΟΥΔΕ (CKΑ p. 2716 "Tmouou") ΤΜΟΥΩ (CKΑ pp. 2709-2710 "Tmoué") and ΤΜΟΥΟΥΜΕ (CKΑ pp. 2717-2720 "Tmousons") may be disregarded as they are situated a long way south of the Hermopolite nome.

68
§4.10 INCOMPLETE PLACE NAMES

Φοίνικανο. 104 l. 4

Literally "the field of A(-)".

(ε)τι: πρωμετι: no. 62 side (A) l. 1.

(τεν)κεμμετείς in no. 9 l. 2

If this word is correctly read (κεκεμετείς may also be possible), and part of it is a place name, it may be compared with πμετείς/πμετής in the Coptite nome which may involve the Latin word miles "soldier". Alternatively the Greek words for "rope", κάμπλος, or "camel", κάμηλος may form part of the name.

Μουρασ (±3) no. 102 l. 2: possibly the same as Πμανπασελι(-) (?) (see §4.6).

Ιμού no. 3 l. 5

Πτεροψιμετείς no. 17 l. 12.

[??]ωτεβ no. 52 l. 5.

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

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

Many of these are mentioned in conjunction with πνε- "the one of".

Jsnē see Tesnē

Pejnah

Πεξναξι: no. 49 l. 23

Pejnah literally means "the fore-arm" or "(the) violence" (Crum CD p. 777a ΧΝΑ.2). It is not otherwise attested as a place name.

1 See CKA pp. 1984-1985 "Pmilēs".

2 No such place names are recorded in CKA.

3 This may be a form of the place name Πνομί:ι, see CKA p. 1990 "Pnom[-jets]". Another possibility is Πνομφεως (ωσ), which may be attested in the VII-VIIIth C. as an Hermopolite χορτον, see Calderini Diz. 4 p. 105 "Πνομφεως (ωσ)".

Phoiele

Φοίλε εκεί no. 71 side (A) l. 3

Literally "the field of Le", see Pmanle.

Phointaparou (Φοίλε ΝΝΑΠΟΟΥ) see Tapanoou (ΤΑΝΑΡΟΟΥ)

Poś

Πόσ nos. 99 l. 4 and 103 l. 1

Poś may only be attested in one published text, CPR II no. 15, an VIIIth C. papyrus, which mentions ΝΝΑΧΜΠΩΨΩ Ν(Π)ΑΡΟΥΨΩ "the men of Poś in Patouho" (ll. 2 ff.). This context suggests that a Poś was located in the Hermopolite nome, in the area of present day Taha. Alternatively, ΠΟΣΩ may be a scribal error for ΠΤΟΩ "the region" in this text.

A possible Arabic equivalent for Coptic ΠΟΣΩ might be Būs, which is the name of a place located east of the Faiyum.2 The word ΟΣΩ is not attested in Crum CD or Westendorf KH.

Poś also occurs in the name of a settlement (ἐποίκιον) ΠΟΣΩΠΕΙΕΧΚΕ see Posntelke in §4.5.

See Taposi /Tapos §4.5.

Psakhalôm

ΨΑΧΛΩΜ no. 58

This may be translated literally as the occupational title "the cheese-seller" and may not be a place name at all in the context of this document. However there are examples of such titles occurring as place names,3 compare ΠΣΑΡΤΩΣ "the chaff-dealer", an ἐποίκιον in the Hermopolite nome;4 and ΠΣΑΜΜΟΟΥ, "the water-seller", which may be identified as the place name Σαμοου. See Psakh- at §4.7.

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1 CPR II no. 15 is cited in CKA p. 1798 "Oš" as though the initial Π - should not be read as part of the place name; Pianoum ΠΟΣΩ "the man from Oś", who is recorded as a witness in BL. Or. 6204, see §2.1.1, is also cited here.

2 CKA pp. 455-457 "Būs".

3 See Czapkiewicz 1971 pp. 66-71 section V "Names connected with professions", which proposes Coptic precursors of various modern place names including ΚΑΙΡ "barley-seller" (no. 163), ΠΚΑΝΤΟΥΙ "the sandal-seller" (no. 166) and ΠΚΑΡΤΩ "brick-seller" (no. 168).

4 Recorded in a VIIth C. Greek papyrus, SPP X 25A l. 3; see Drew-Bear 1979a p. 225 "ΠΣΑΡΤΩΣ".

5 See CKA pp. 2020-2021 "[P]amouoou".
An aparchê collection Assignment mentioning ΤΚΟΤC ΝΘΕΜΑΡΨ (see Šenarô §4.7), also specifies ΠΝΠΤΟΟΥ which may contain the unattested place name ΠΠΟΟΥ.1 or simply be interpreted as "the one of the monastery/mount" (see §3.4.3 for the term ΠΠΟΟΥ).

**Tešnê**

ΤΕΩΝΗ nos. 70 l. 2; 86 l. 3, and 105 l. 5, ΤΧΩΝΗ no. 94 l. 3

Literally "the garden".2 Shelton 1990 p. 113 interpreted ΤΕΩΝΗ in WS' nos. 355-357 as a personal rather than a place name because it follows διά. ΠΝΤΕΩΝΗ is used to mean "gardener" in John 20:15.3

**Tnout**

ΤΝΟΥΤ no. 49 l. 19

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

**Tnouchnê**

ΤΝΟΘΝΗ no. 95 l. 2

In this text this may simply be translated "the big garden", seeing as George is expected to supply fodder which may well be supplied by a monastic garden. It may also, however, be a place name, see Tešnê above in this section. ΤΝΟΘΝΗ occurs as a source of milk (ΠΝΠΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΤΝΟΘΝΗ) in CMAA Green "5" (see §2.6), along with ΠΜΑ ΝΝΩΣΕ (which is mentioned in ΥΙΝΕ ΡΞΑ - formula ostraca from Bawit, see Pmanhête §4.6), and ΠΜΑ ΝΝΗΥ.

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1 Compare the place name ΤΟΟΥ, recorded in CKÁ pp. 2729-2730 "Toou (I-III)", and Drew-Bear 1979a pp. 305-306 "Toou".

2 See CKÁ pp. 2606-2607 "Tešnê" for other texts involving this place name, adding Bal. no. 115 l. 6 and Crum's speculation in Ryl. p. 89 n.6 that BM no. 1014 l. 4 ΤΧΩΝΗ may also be a form of it. It should also be noted that CPR II no. 130 was re-edited as CPR IV no. 118 and so the passage cited in n. 1 should be expanded and corrected to ΦΟ ΚΑΤΕΤΕΤΕΡΩ ΣΕ ΤΕΩΝΗ 2Π ΝΗ1.

3 See Crum CD p. 572a ΥΝΗ, where this text is also cited. Wietheger 1992 p. 287 interprets this title when ΠΝΤΕΩΝΗ occurs in inscriptions from the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara.

Touaser

ΤΟΥΑΣΕΡ no. 76 ll. 6-7

Literally "the carpentry workshop", but possibly a place name. This is also found on a wooden lintel, Cairo Egyptian Museum CE 35 017, which is believed to have come from Bawit, and which mentions ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΤΟΥΑΣΕΡ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΟΥΑΣΕΡ "the fathers of Touaser and all the brothers of Touaser".

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

2 Described and transcribed in Maspero 1907 pp. 45-47 col. D ll. 3-7, pl. 16 (correct the reference given by the original editor of no. 76 to this inscription to read "Eg." instead of "Ep."). On this and other wooden lintels from Bawit, see Krause 1988.
CHAPTER 5

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

§5.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ABOUT THE DOCUMENTS

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

§5.2 THE COLLECTION OF APARCHÊ IN EGYPT

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

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

¹The meaning can depend on whether the singular or plural form of ἀπαρχή is used, see, e.g., Balcer 1989 p. 11 where ἀπαρχή is translated as "tithe" and ἀπαρχηταί as "first-fruits".
²I am grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall for pointing this out to me.
³For an introduction to monastic tithing, see Constable 1964 (especially ch. 1) which concentrates on the Middle Ages and which only mentions tithing in Egypt once, in connection with the reference (p. 57) to the payment of tithes to hermits in Egypt in the IVth C. made in Cassian's Contationes.
⁴See Wipszycka 1972 p. 71. With reference to churches in the Vth and VIth Centuries A.H.M. Jones 1960 p. 85 goes as far as to say that "Tithe seems to have been unknown save as a purely voluntary offering made by exceptionally pious Christians for the relief of the poor". Misunderstanding of the terminology used to describe tithing may account for the seeming lack of evidence: e.g., in a discussion of the range of payments made to religious foundations by landowners (Hardy 1931 pp. 139-145), a tithe payment is identified in only one instance, a papyrus where the term ἀπαρχή is employed (p. 141). Two Byzantine terms for tithe, δεσποτία and μορφή, which are discussed in Schmid 1957 are not listed in Preisigke WB as occurring in any published Greek documents.
A striking feature of the documents presented in this chapter is that they illustrate the degree of organization behind the monastery’s aparchê collection. Income from tithe collection was not only used for charitable purposes, as may have been the case in no. 11 which mentions ἄντρωμα “the sick ones”, but it may have been vital to the running of the monastery. Some important questions are left unanswered: how it was decided from which areas the monastery could collect aparchê (bearing in mind that some of the places assigned for collection may be in the Fayyum, see §5.6); what happened to people who would not pay their aparchê; and what sort of aparchê was collected. Harvest-time is specified in some documents which is when the collection of praedial tithes would be expected to take place.

Ryl no. 251 is an essential document for the interpretation of the aparchê collection texts edited in this chapter. It contains the remains of accounts relating to a monastery whose identity is not preserved; one of the account headings ends with the phrase ἄπαρχη ἐπιείκαρπος “aparchê for this harvest (καρπίδια)”. Underneath are entries involving place names and men’s names, including an entry 2Α ΠΑΝΟΛΑ 2ΤΗΝ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ “for Zacharias”. The neighbourhood (ΤΚΟΣ) of Papçol from Zacharias”. The neighbourhood (ΤΚΟΣ) of Papçol (see §4.8) is one of the places assigned for aparchê collection in no. 4.

The term ἀπαρχή occurs in two Coptic documents from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala’izah: Bal. no. 160, a contract which refers in l. 4 to [a payment of x solidi?] ὑπάρχη ἐπιείκαρπος ἄπαρχη “less a tremissis of silver (for) aparchê (ἀπαρχή)”. Later in this text (II. 11-12) expenses (ἄναλωμα) and possibly a payment of three solidi to the (Bala’izah) monastery of Apa Apollo are mentioned. The other text from this monastery, Bal. no. 253, is discussed at §5.3. Two Schenkungsurkunden from Jeme refer to giving ἀπαρχή and ΡΕΜΕΤ/ΡΗΜΗΤ “tithe” to a monastery: KRU 89 (= BM 387) II. 24, 28; and KRU 100 II. 38, 43. The term ἀπαρχή also occurs in a wine list, CO 464.

In one of the few Greek documentary papyri which mention ἀπαρχή, BGU II 693 (which is dated to the Byzantine period), Petros, who may be an ἄντρωμα “land-agent”, orders Petros the ὑπαρχὴς “dispenser of wine” to provide twenty-seven kouri-measures of wine from the Χώριον Σκέλους ... for the ἀπαρχή of the holy church.

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

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1This is my interpretation of these words because this line is left untranslated in the publication, Bal. p. 579.
2The fact that two documents from the Bala’izah monastery of Apa Apollo mention ἀπαρχή does not dissuade me from assigning a provenance of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo to the aparchê collection guarantees and orders edited in this chapter. They follow a completely different format to the documents from Bala’izah and are more closely associated with a Tûkho monastery of Apa Apollo.
3See Till’s translations of these texts in KRT pp. 167 and 184 respectively.
4This is translated on CO p. 43.
5This is the only one cited in Wipszycka 1972 p. 71, where she discusses tithing documents.
author of the text, belonged to a monastery of this name (see §5.8); the addressees in this text may have belonged to a monastery of Apa Apollo because the papyrus was subsequently used by a monk of this monastery to write a document which begins with the Δ.ΝΟΚ ΠΔ.ΚΟΜ.Ν ΝΝ ΕΙ.Δ.Α.Ι. formula (no. 16 text 2).\(^1\) For contact between monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Mena, see no. 53 and the Monastery of (Apa) Mena at §4.1.

§5.3 ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS EDITED IN THIS CHAPTER

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

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

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

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

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\(^{1}\)No. 16 text 4 on this papyrus reads + Δ.ΝΟΚ ΠΔ.ΚΟΜ.

\(^{2}\)Bal. no. 253 l. 3.

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

\(^{4}\)See Wipszycka 1972 p. 71.

\(^{5}\)Pseudo-Athanasius canon 83 (Arabic version), referred to in: Wipszycka 1972 p. 72.
aparchê collection guarantee issued by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo (no. 5), see §2.2.

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

§5.4 DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE PAYMENT OF PACTUM

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

1Ryl. 251, which was mentioned at §5.2, is the only document to record aparchê payments to one monastery from different areas.
2The payment is expressed as a quantity of wine (Hpcn) in no. 12 and of salt (2Moy) in no. 4.
3Gascou 1985 p. 15.
5See the note to 1. 5 of this text for possible ways of interpreting this amount.
§5.5 APARCHÈ COLLECTION ORDERS AND GUARANTEES

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

| Opening formula | ΔΝΟΚ (ΠΑΚΟΝ) ΝΝ ΕΙϹ2ΔΙ ΝΝΝ |
| Introduction    | ΞΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ² |
| Agreement       | Δ-ΠΕΙΘΕ/ΚΥΜΠΕΙΘΕ/ΚΥΝΤΙΘΕ ΜΑ-ΙΗΜΑ- |
| Assignment of place(s) | Δ-ΤΙ ΝΔ- place name(s) (ΜΝ/ΠΡΟC ΗΜΑΔ ΕΤΗΠ ΕΡΟ-) |
| Aparchè collection | ΤΡϹΨΚ ΤΑΠΑΡΧ |
| Beneficiary/Beneficiaries | ΝΑ ΝΝ (ΜΝ ΝΝ) |
| Collection date | 2Γ ΠΚΑΡΤΟΟΙ ΑΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ/2Α ΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ Χ |
| Payment         | ΤΙ ΠΕ-ΠΑΚΤΟΝ/ΑΗΜΟCIΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ Χ solidi (παρά Χ tremisses/carats) |
| Payment date    | Χ ΙΝΔΙ(ΙΚΓΙΩΝ) |
| Measure         | ΝΤΜΑΕΕ ΝΧ |
| Recipient       | -ΤΑΑ- ωΔ ΝΝ |
| Issuer's affirmation | ΔΝΟΚ (ΠΑΚΟΝ) ΝΝ +ΧΤΟΙΧΕΙ Ε- (this document) ΗΟΕ |
| Witness(es)     | ΕΤΧΚΔ ΡΗΜΟC |
| Scribe          | ΔΝΟΚ ΝΝ ΔΙϹ2ΔΙ (2Γ ΤΑΔΙΧ) |
| Document date   | ΝΚΟΥ X ... |
| Docket          | ΔΟΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΝΝΝ (2Α place(s) assigned) Payment |

Most of the texts which preserve their Opening formula begin with ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϹ2ΔΙ, which features in texts issued by monks of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, and is discussed in Chapter 7. No. 7 has ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϹ2ΔΙ. For the Parties involved in these documents, see §5.7.

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

¹Compare the homogeneous format of the various types of ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϹ2ΔΙ formula document, see §8.7. For the usefulness of the textual format, as well as the physical shape and size, of a manuscript in identifying what type of document it contains, see Black and Tait 1995 p. 2199b in connection with cuneiform tablets.

²See Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 216 table 4 1f for the use of ΞΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ and variants. When επείδη is used in texts in this thesis to introduce the preamble in a legal document it is translated "whereas", see OED vol 20 p. 213 col. c in which precisely this usage is ascribed to the word "whereas".
treated as a pseudo-verb using the auxiliary \( \pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu \)),\(^1\) and \( \sigma\nu\nu\tau\theta\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\) (only in \( \textit{no. 10} \)).\(^2\)

\( \pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu \), which is far more commonly used in Coptic documents in general, is fully preserved in only one text (\( \textit{no. 4} \)) but it may be reconstructed in others. All of these verbs are followed by \( \textit{ΜΜ-} \) or \( \textit{ΝΜ-} \) "with", where their Greek counterparts would govern the dative or employ \( \pi\rho\zeta\) + accusative.}\(^3\)

The Copto-Greek form of these Greek verbs is worth examining. For all three verbs the middle form would be suitable in these texts, and yet their Copto-Greek forms are based on active stems. Although Coptic is capable of reproducing middle and passive forms of Greek verbs, e.g. \( \dot{\omega}\dot{\phi}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha \) is represented by \( \dot{\omega}\dot{\phi}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha \) in \( \textit{CPR IV no. 33 l. 1,4} \ \alpha\sigma\delta\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha \), one of the most common Greek verbs found in Coptic texts, is generally represented as \( \Delta\Sigma\Pi\alpha\Sigma \). The representation of \( \sigma\nu\nu\tau\theta\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha \) in \( \textit{no. 10} \) as \( \textit{ΣΣΣΣ} \) suggests that \( \tau\omicron\nu\eta \) was being treated as a thematic verb.\(^5\)

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

In the Agreement clause of two of the documents there is an unusual second person plural First Perfect verbal prefix \( \Delta\Sigma\zeta \) (rather than the standard \( \Delta\Sigma\Pi\zeta\zeta \)) (\( \textit{nos. 1 l. 8 and 7 l. x+9} \)).\(^6\) The same form is found in the Assignment of place(s) clause of \( \textit{no. 5 l. 4} \).

The verb used in the Aparchê collection section, \( \textit{C\omega\kappa} \),\(^7\) uses a non-standard prenominal form \( \textit{C\omega\kappa} \). This verb is accompanied by the preposition \( \epsilon\omega\zeta \) in \( \textit{no. 49 frag. 1 l. 6} \) (\( \textit{C\omega\kappa \epsilon\omega\zeta \Pi\epsilon\zeta\omega\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\zeta\iota\iota} \)),\(^8\) and is translated there as "submit to".

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

The aparchê Collection date is usually the current indiction-year and sometimes the harvest (\( \kappa\alpha\pi\nu\sigma\zeta\))-time is specified. The two terms used in the Payment section, \( \textit{pactum} \) and \( \textit{dê,mosion} \) have already been discussed at §5.3. A Payment date is preserved in one

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1See Preisigke \( \textit{WB II col. 514, and suppl. 1 p. 258} \) for this verb. The latest document cited is a VIth C. Greek papyrus, \( \textit{P. Michael. no. 45 (\sigma\nu\nu\tau\theta\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha \textit{in l. 75}} \). This verb is also found in two unpublished fragmentary Coptic papyrus documents, \( \textit{CUL Michael. 837/4 (\textit{C\epsilon\pi\nu\tau\iota\iota\iota}) \textit{see \S2.2, and Christie's "22"}} \) (\( \textit{\textit{C\nu\nu\tau\theta\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha \textit{see \S2.5}} \).

2See Preisigke \( \textit{WB II col. 553 and suppl. 1 p. 261} \) for this verb.

3For the use of \( \sigma\nu\nu\tau\theta\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha \) with \( \pi\rho\zeta\) + accusative, see the index to Mayser 1933-1934 p. 279.

4Note that the same verb occurs as \( \dot{\omega}\dot{\phi}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha \) in \( \textit{CPR IV no. 261 l. 43} \).

5Thematic forms (\( \tau\omicron\nu\eta\) etc.) are found in papyri of Byzantine date and earlier, see Mandilaras 1973 pp. 51-52 \( \textit{\textit{\S30, and 85-86 \textit{\S140}} \).

6This form is also recorded in two texts from the Monastery of Apollo at Bala'izah, see \( \textit{Bal. p. 167 \textit{\S143a}} \).

7\( \textit{Crum CD p. 325a, not the \textit{C\omega\kappa} which is surveyed in Quecke 1978; on the distinction between \textit{C\omega\kappa} and \textit{C\omega\kappa}} \), see Polotsky 1959 p. 460 n.4.

8See also \( \textit{CPR IV no. 111 l. 4 \tau\alpha\textit{C\omega\kappa \epsilon\omega\zeta\omega\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\zeta\iota\iota, and Ryl. no. 128 l. 3 \textit{T\nu\textit{C\omega\kappa \epsilon\omega\zeta\omega\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\zeta\iota\iota \textit{\eta\nu\mu\nu \textit{\nu\nu}}}} \).

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

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

§5.6 PLACES ASSIGNED FOR APARCHÊ COLLECTION

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

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

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

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

Places of uncertain location include ΠΝΠΝΟΧ in no. 4, and two places which are not otherwise attested: ΤΜΟΥΙ ΚΟΤΕΣ (no. 10), and ἱΠΙΜΑ ΜΡΩΚΩΤΟΠΗ (no. 6), discussed above as possibly being located in the Hermopolite nome. An Assignment mentioning ΤΚΟΤΕ ΜΝΗΜΠΑΡΩ (no. 8), also specifies ΠΝΠΤΟΟΥ which may contain the unattested place name ΠΤΟΟΥ, see §4.11, or simply be interpreted as "the one of the monastery/mount".

---

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

2 Details given in the second note to the entry for Pmannarê at §4.6.
In many cases the Assignment section of the aparchê collection texts is not fully preserved (see Tables 1-3). Even if it is, some of the place names have yet to be identified. These include Περούμα (no. 18) (see Pehno(-) §4.9); Τμούμα (no. 3 l. 4) (see Tmou(-) §4.9); and Τσε (no. 8) which may be located near to Σεναρό (see Tse(-) §4.9).

§5.7 APARCHÊ ADMINISTRATION WITHIN THE MONASTERY

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

The fathers of the διακονία occur in two texts: 1 in the first (no. 1 l. 6), they belong to the Titkooh Monastery and assign the places for aparchê collection; in the second text (no. 3 ll. 12-13) the father of the διακονία (ιωτίκος κυρήφως) may be the recipient of the δήμος. The διακονία plays a financial role in these texts (see §3.13).

The "great brother" is the one to whom the payments resulting from aparchê collection are made in no. 2 l. 13. The title ΝΟΧ ΦΡΟΤΗ "great brothers" designates the senior monks who were subordinate only to the head of the monastery, 2 and they act as intermediary for a monk who wishes to communicate with the head in an ΑΝΟΧ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ NN ΕΙΣΩΔΙ-formula text (no. 49).

§5.8 BENEFICIARIES OF APARCHÊ COLLECTION

Apa Apollo is named as a beneficiary in five or six texts (see Tables 1-3), one of which (no. 1) was issued by a monk of the Monastery of Apa Apollo on the mount of Titkooh. The location of this monastery may have been specified in this text as ΜΠ Π ΤΟΥΝ ΝΑΥΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙΟΤ ΜΗΝΟΜΟΟΣ "in the region of Shmoun the city (πόλις) of the nome (νομός)" (see §3.4.3), a phrase which may be read or restored in three other texts (nos. 2 ll. 2-3, 7 ll. 2-x+3, and 8 ll. 1-3). 3 One of these (no. 7) was issued from a monastery of Apa Apollo, as were nos. 3, 5, 10, and 11. In two or three texts Apa Apollo is described as Φ ΠΟΧ ΕΙΤΟΥΛΗ (nos. 2-3 and possibly 1), see §3.5.

1 This title also occurs in no. 42 (which may be connected with aparchê collection) and an unpublished Coptic papyrus, Christie's "22" (see §2.5). See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 105 n. 1 for a reference to a papyrus found at Bawit which may record this title (it was interpreted erroneously as ΠΙΧΝ ΠΙΧΚΟΛΟΝ ΙΧ ΡΤΙΧ...); Wietheger 1992 pp. 272-273 "ιωτίκος" gives further references to this title.

2 See Bal. pp. 34-35 for this title.

3 It may also occur in no. 59 which relates to the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo.
Apart from no. 14 which specifies the region of Shmoun (see §4.4) as the location for the monastery from which it is issued, the description of the place of origin of the other texts is not extant. However, the homogeneous format of most of the aparchê collection documents suggests that they may all have been issued from the same monastery, which is most probably the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo.

Aparchê is gathered for the monasteries of Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup and Apa Jeremias in no. 9. A monastery of Apa Anoup is associated with a monastery of Apa Apollo in other texts, see §4.1. Several monasteries of Jeremias are attested in Egypt, including some in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.1), and the one mentioned in no. 9 may also occur in no. 42. This may be interpreted as an aparchê collection document, in which the fathers of the diakonia of a monastery of Jeremias assign places to monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo. If so, this is the only text edited in this chapter in which the Monastery of Apa Apollo is not seen to be in control.

The monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Makare are named as the beneficiaries in no. 3. See §4.1 for attested monasteries of Apa Makare.

Monks gathering aparchê on behalf of Apa Mena are mentioned in no. 16 text 1, a letter which may also have been written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Mena. This monastery may have been located to the south of a Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, see the provenance details and introductory remarks pertaining to this text.

§5.9 Toponyms Mentioned in the Texts

Places assigned for aparchê collection in the texts have been discussed at §5.6, and the place name Titkooh at §5.8.

The region of Shmoun (see §4.4) is specified for the monasteries inhabited by the monks issuing nos. 1 and 3, 8, and 14. People from the region of Panoube are addressed in a guarantee for aparchê collection, no. 21, 6, and this may be in the Hermopolite nome, the Faiyum or even the Delta, see §4.5. A monk from ΠΝΗ is addressed in no. 16 text 1, and this may be in the Hermopolite, Antaeopolite, or Theodosioupolite nome.

---

1No. 7 may mention the monastery of Apa Apollo and other beneficiaries.
**List of texts edited in Chapter 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms.</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B29</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B105</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B187</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B219</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B267(A)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B268A</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUL Michael 856/5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie's &quot;11&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie's &quot;18&quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie's &quot;19&quot;</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie's &quot;20&quot;</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie's &quot;21&quot;</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Schøyen 89/02</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Schøyen 89/11(A)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Schøyen 89/14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ex-von Scherling 27&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 1

**Aparche Collection Guarantees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Beneficiary</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Payment</th>
<th>Measure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>... monk of Apa Apollo at Titkooh</td>
<td>Papa Phybamon, ... monks, fathers of the <em>diakonia</em> of same</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>Apollo</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td><em>demosion</em>?</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Apollo, monk of Apa Apollo(?)</td>
<td>... Apa Mou and Apa ... of Apa Apollo(?) ... region of Panoube</td>
<td>? (see text)</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>1/2 solidus?</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Petros, monk of Apa Apollo</td>
<td>Taniel monk of same</td>
<td>Tmo [...] mou</td>
<td>Apollo and Makare</td>
<td>1 solidus?</td>
<td><em>demosion</em>?</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aplo(^1)</td>
<td>Solomon</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>sack of salt</td>
<td><em>pactum</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Selbane, monk of Apa Apollo</td>
<td>scribe Makare and Geor[-], monks of same</td>
<td>Sakh(-) in Piom</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Johannes (?)</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>(?) Terôt and Pmamrakot(-)</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Iohannes[nes] monk of Apa Apollo</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>Apollo [+ ...?]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)It may be that Aplo and his addressee, Solomon, are monks of the cell of Apatore, or that these monks are also addressees. See the commentary to this text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Beneficiary</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Payment</th>
<th>Measure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>Ps a monk of ?</td>
<td>Neighbourhoods of Tses(-) and Šenarô ... of the monastery / Ptoou(?)</td>
<td>A[...]</td>
<td>18 solidi less six [each?]</td>
<td>pactum</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>Apollo, Anoup, and Jeremias</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>pactum: 16 solidi less 2 each</td>
<td>Diakonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Geo[rg]e. psalmist and monk of Apa Apollo</td>
<td>[...] the deacon and acolyte of Apa Apollo</td>
<td>Tmou Koteh</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pe[-]. monk of Apa Apollo</td>
<td>[...] monk of same</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>... carats(?)</td>
<td>pactum</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>monk?</td>
<td>monk?</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>A[pa ...]</td>
<td>2 ... of wine</td>
<td>pactum</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ammouin(...)Pamoun, monk (?)</td>
<td>... monk</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>pactum</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3
**OTHER DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH APARCHE COLLECTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Beneficiary</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Payment</th>
<th>Measure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>scribe ...</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>Ap[a ...]</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>[..]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>Tiloj</td>
<td>Apollo</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>[..]</td>
<td>[..]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Makare, monk (?) [of monastery of Apa Mena?]</td>
<td>Apollo (and Anoup from Pnê), monks [of Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo?]</td>
<td>Pe(-)jetkême in Pousire²</td>
<td>Mena</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Theodoros, monk of Apa Apollo?</td>
<td>... of the village of ...</td>
<td>village of ...</td>
<td>Apo[l ...]</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4
**PACTUM DOCUMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Payment</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Measure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>NN + NN monks(?) of Apa Apollo</td>
<td>[-]Jol monk of same</td>
<td>Pehno(-)</td>
<td>pactum</td>
<td>1 solidus less 2</td>
<td>Diakonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>... monastery ...</td>
<td>pactum</td>
<td>3 (solidi?) less 6 1/2</td>
<td>ωλ. ΡΤ. ΜΕ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2This collection may be made by monks of a monastery of Apa Mena, see no. 16.
# Aparchê Collection Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Ms.</th>
<th>no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collection guarantees</strong></td>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B219</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B267(A)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B268A</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Ex-von Scherling 27&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CUL Michael. 856/5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collection orders</strong></td>
<td>P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. Schøyen 89/11(A)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P. Schøyen 89/14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christie's &quot;11&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B187</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christie's &quot;19&quot;</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fragmentary documents</strong></td>
<td>Christie's &quot;20&quot;</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christie's &quot;18&quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Letters</strong></td>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mentioning aparchê collection</strong></td>
<td>BL Or. 6201 B105</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>introducing aparchê collector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Other Documents

- **Pactum-collection order**
  - P. Schøyen 89/02
  - Christie's "21"

86
1

APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE

BL Or. 6201 B219 135 (h) x 102 (w) mm. VIIth C.
Papyrus Plates 1-2

Preservation: (A) 13 lines and the upper margin; (B) the 1 line docket is incomplete.
Paleography: a large majuscule hand, with some ligatures, similar to the one used for no. 2. Noteworthy letters: Χ (exx. ll. 2 and 3) and Φ (l. 1) are formed in one continuous movement, without taking the pen from the papyrus; Υ is formed with a loop at the bottom (see ll. 3 and 10); Ν (in ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ) l. 5 begins with a loop. Μ can be either three- (2Μ l. 2) or four-stroke (ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ l. 5).

Linguistic note: see §5.5 for the form ΔΤ- (l. 8).

Provenance: unknown. The sender and recipients of this document belonged to the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

A monk of the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo (see §3.4) guarantees to monks and fathers of the diakonia (see §5.7) of his monastery that he will collect the aparchê of the year's harvest from the places they have assigned to him. The payment of dêmosion may also be specified (see §5.3).

(A)

1↑ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ [(ΈΤΟΥΔΑΒ) ΑΠΑ
2 ΔΠΟΙΑΧΕΒ 2Μ ΠΣΟΟΥ ΝΤΙΤΚΟΟΣ 2Μ
3 ΠΣΟΟΥ ΝΠΙΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙΣ Μ[.
4 ]ΠΑΝΑ ΦΥΒΑΜΨΙΝ [ΜΝ ΝΝ
5 Ε ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΝΠΙ[.
6 ΝΠΙΟΤΕ ΝΤΙΣΚΨΝΗΠ [ΜΠΟΠΟΣ (?) ΜΦΑΓ-
7 ΙΙΟΕΙΑΔ ΑΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΛΩ ΗΧΙ [Ε ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΤΕΤΝ (ΣΕΜ) ΝΠΙ/ΣΕΝΤΙ-
8 Ε Ε ΝΕΜΑΙ ΔΤΙ ΝΔΙ[.
9 ]ΠΝΕΙΧΜΙ[.
10 ΠΟΥΑ ΤΡΑΣΟΚ ΤΕ[ΥΑΝΧΡΧ 2Α ΔΠ-?
11 Α ]ΙΑΠΟΛΛΠΕΛ 2Μ ΠΚ[ΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ?
12 Ι.ΤΕΙΜΙΟΝΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΝΔΙ ΠΕ(?)
13 [(±4) ]

(B) Docket

14→ Ρ ΤΑΣΦΑΛΙΑ Ν[-

1, 5 ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ 6 ΤΑΙΣΚΨΝΗ 8 ΝΜΑΙ ΔΤΕΤ- 12 ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ (?) 14 ΑΦΑΛΙΑ
Parties

(1) ... the monk (μοναχός) of the holy (αγίος) [(saint) Apa]
(2) Apollo on the mount of Titkooh [in (3) the nome of] Shmoun the city
(πόλις) ... (4) ... Papa Phybamon [and NN] (5) ... the monks (μ.υ.) of the ...
(6) the fathers of the diakonia (διακονία) [of the monastery (τόπος?) of the
(7) holy (ἀ. ?)] Apa Apollo.

Agreement

[Whereas you agreed (συμπεριέλαμβάνει) (8) with me
to give me ... (9) ... (10) ...
Assignment
so that I collect [its/their aparchê (ἀπαρχή)]
Beneficiary
for] (11) Apa Apollo
Collection date
in the [harvest (καρπός) of this year (12) ...]
Payment
dêmosion (δημοσίων?) [which is ? ... (13) ...] ...
Docket
(14) The guarantee (ἀσφάλεια) of ...

Transcription notes

1 [(εΤΩΥΔΑΒ): for the combination of this epithet with ᾠγίος applied to Apa Apollo, see § 3.5.]
3 M.: possibly restore ΜΠ[ΝΟΜΟΣ here, see §5.8.
6 ΤΟΠΟΣ: this is reconstructed following no. 3 1 2.
9 ]Π.ΜΕΧΑΠΙΜ].: the letter or letters following Π may involve a 2.
10 For the reconstruction of ΩΚΔΑΡΧΗ, see the Aparchê section in §5.5.
**2**

**APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE**

BL Or. 6201 B267(A) 140 (h) x 100 (w) mm. VIIth C.  
Papyrus Plate 3

**Preservation:** (A) the first 17 lines but not the bottom and right margins; on (B) are three other texts, two Coptic and one Greek, written in different hands to that on side (A).¹

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand with a few ligatures similar to the one used for no. 1. Minuscule H.

**Provenance:** unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh, see §5.8.

**Acquisition:** see §2.1.

A monk, who may belong to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh (see §3.4), guarantees to other members of his monastery and possibly people from the region of Panoube that he will collect the year's aparchê from the place they have assigned to him and pay it immediately to the great brother (NO6 NCON I. 13) (see §5.7).

1↓  ΡἈΝΟΚ ΠΑΣϹΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΠΜΟΝ, ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ?
2  ΜΦΑΙΟϹ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ 1,1[ΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (?) 2Μ ΠΠΟΩ]
3  ΝΜΟΥΑ ΤΠΟΝΙΚ ΜΠΙΝΟΜΟϹ
4  ΡἈΝΟΚ ΜΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΑ,[ΝΝ ΝΕΜΟΝΑΧΟϹ ΜΠΙ-?
5  ΤΟΠΟϹ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ.[
6  ΠΤΕΩ ΝΑΝΟΥΒΕ ΧΕ ΕΠΙ[ΕΙΔΗ ΑΝΠΕΙΘΕ/ΚΕΜΠΙΘΕ/ΚΕΜΠΙΘΕ
7  ΜΕΝΕΡΗΠΟΤ ΤΕΤΕΜ[ΤΙ ΝΑΙ place name
8  ΝΕ ΤΡΑΣϹΚ ΤΕΒΑΙΠ[ΑΡΧΗ 2Α ΝΝ 2Μ ΠΚΑΡΠΙΟϹ (?)
9  ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΗ ΤΑΙ,[... ΙΝΔΙΚ-
10  ΤΙΑ ΝΟϹ 2Α Π[Α]ΙΩΤΕ[1
11  ΟΥΨΤ ΝΟΟΛΟΚΟ[ΤΤΙΝΟϹ
12  Ν 2Μ ΠΟΥΨΩΜ ΜΝΟΥΤΕ[ ... ΤΑ-
13  ΤΑΤΥ ΩΑ ΠΝΟ6 ΝΝΟϹ[1
14  ΝΑΤΑΔΑΥ ΝΑΜΜΦΗΒ[ΟΧΙΑ ... ΑΝΟΚ
15  ΠΑϹΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΤΟΙΧΕΙ ... Η—?
16  ΩΘ ΕΡΕΗ2 ΜΟϹ ΑΝΟ[Κ ΝΝ
17  ΜΕΤΡΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΑϹ[ΟΝ ΝΝ
18  ΙΜΙ[1

3 ΝΜΟΥΝ 6 ΤΟΜ ΡΗ- 7 ΜΝΕΝΕΡΗΠ ΠΕΓ- 9-10 ΙΝΔΙΚΑΤΙΟΝΟϹ 12 ΡΝΟΥΤΕ
14 ΑΜΝΙΟΠΟΙΑ 15-16 ΡΗ- 16 ΡΜΟϹ 17 ΜΗΤΡΕ

¹Text 2 has one complete line: ‘Ἀντίφων ὑπὸ... solidi 19’; texts 3 (at 180° to text 1: + ΠΑϹΟΝ) and 4 (⊑ at 90 to text 1°: +ΠΙΑϹ[ΟΝ) are too fragmentary for comment.
Parties

(1) ι, brother (π. α. κοιν.) Apollo, [the monk of the monastery?] ... (2) of the holy saint (ἀγίος) Apa [Apollo in the region?] (3) of Shmou(n) the city (πόλις) of the nome (νομός) (?) ... (4) ... Apa Mou and Apa ... [the monks of this?] (5) same monastery (τόπος) and ... (6) the region of Panoube.

Agreement

Whereas (ἐπειδῆ) [we agreed] (7) with each other

Assignment

you have [given me] ... (8) ...

Aparchê

so that I collect its aparchê (ἀπαρχὴ)

Beneficiary

[for NN]

Collection date

in the harvest (καρπός) (?) (9) of this year which is ... (10) indication-year (ἰνδικτήμων?)

Payment

for half ... (11) single ... solidus (δολοκότημος) ... (12) ...

Recipient

by the will of God [I ... that I shall?] (13) give them to the great brother ... (14) without any objection (ἀμφιβολία) ...

Issuer's affirmation

[I] (15) brother (π. κοιν.) Apollo agree (στοιχεῖν) [to ... in] (16) the way in which it was written.

Witness 1

I [NN bear] (17) witness.

Witness 2

I, brother (π. κοιν.) [NN] (18) ...

Transcription notes

1 ΠΜΟΝ/ ΜΠΤΟΤΩΣ: reconstructed from no. 3 ll. 1-2.
3 ΜΠΙΝ/ΟΜΟΣ: see §5.8 for this reconstruction.
9 ΤΞΙ: the letter following this resembles a Τ.
14 ΠΔΤΑΔΑΤΤΛΗΜΠΙΘΟΙΚΑΧΙΑ: for this formula, see n. to l. 4 of no. 20.
15 +ΟΙΧΕΙ ...: restore something like "this guarantee (ἀνεξάντιον)", or "this document (γραμματεῖον)" following οιχεῖ, see §§5.
16 ΕΨΧΗΘ: the second letter may be an open beta in which case read ΕΒΧΗΘ, and compare the spelling of ΕΘ- for ΕΘ- in l. 8.

Translation notes

2 ΦΙΟΝΣΙΟΣ ΕΣΤΟΥΑΔΑΒ: for this combination of epithets applied to Apa Apollo see §3.5.
4 ΜΟΥ: this personal name is not recorded in Heuser PN, but it does occur in at least one Greek papyrus, (P. Aberd. 72A R.8 (VIIIth C.));2 it is interpreted as an abbreviated form of Μουσῆς in P. Erlangen 109 and P. Michael. 25 II.3.

2See K.F.W. Schmidt 1941 p. 87.
15-16 (N)ΘH ΕΚΗΖΩ ΜΘC: the clause in signatures was analysed by Kahle in Bal. pp. 188-189 §157. The clause ΝΘΕ ΕΚΗΖΩ ΜΜΘC occurs in no. 51 l. 16 and the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (see §2.1.1): BL Or. 6201 l. 65, 6202 l. 73, 6203 ll. 87-88, 6204 l. 61, and 6206 l. 42.4 No. 53 l. 12 has the variant Π<ΦΟC ΘΕ ΕΚΗΖΩ ΝΜΘC].

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3See Cairo Egyptian Museum S.R. 3733.36 l. 8, edited in MacCoull 1993c p.26; BM p. 449; and Khoury 1993 no. 78, a IX-Xth C. Arabic papyrus (Fenûfe).

4This section is discussed at Krause 1958 p. 53 §20.
3

APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE

BL Or. 6201 B268A main fragment 200 (h) x 220 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 4

Preservation: (A) 18 lines and all but the lower part of this document are preserved; there are several lacunae and many damaged papyrus fibres. The manuscript is almost broken into two halves and the first three lines have been incorrectly aligned. From l. 9 onwards a large protocol written with a thick pen obscures the text, which might suggest that it was written later. However, the fact that the whole of the legal document is written in the same hand, including the witnesses signatures, indicates that it was a copy of the original guarantee. If this was the case, the scribe might have considered that the legibility of the end of the document was not so necessary as to warrant an uninscribed piece of papyrus. (B) the one line docket is incomplete.

Palaeography: a flowing semi-cursive hand with many ligatures. The superlinear dot is used in this text once to indicate syllabisation (πύθρα I. 8), as is the superlinear stroke (οὐζοκοκότθ I. 8).

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin is an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh, see §5.8.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

Petros, a monk of the monastery (τόπος) of the holy saint Apa Apollo, guarantees to another monk of his monastery, Daniel (Taniel), that he will collect the aparchê and produce from ΤΜΟΥ[...]ΜΟΥ and places belonging to it. The beneficiaries are the monasteries of Apa Apollo and Apa Makare (see §5.8). A démosion payment may be made to the father of the diakonia (see §5.7). Daniel may also act as the third witness to this document.

5 A similar protocol is preserved fragmentarily in no. 21, and both are written parallel to the papyrus fibres (contrary to APEL I p. 3); they resemble protocols found in early VIIIth C. Greek or Greek and Arabic texts, see e.g. APEL I no. 2, pl. 1. For protocols in general, see P. Lond. IV pp. 414-423, and Diethart, Feissel and Gascou 1994.
(A)

1. +

2. ΔΝΟΙΚ ΠΑΚΩΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΜΟΝ/ ΜΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΦ[Δ]ΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔ[Α]

3. ΔΠΑΔΙΠΑΧΩ ΕΙC2ΑΙ ΜΠΑΚΩΝ ΤΙ[Ω]ΝΗΧ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ

4. νΟΥ[Ω]Τ ETA ΠΙΝΗΟΓ ΑΝΕΜΠΩΤΗ [ΘΕ] ΜΙΝ ΝΕΡΟΥ ΑΚΤΙ ΝΗΑ ΝΤΜΟ[Ω]

5. ±2]ΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΜΕΜΑ ΕΤ[ΗΠ Ε]ΡΟΣ ΕΤΡΑΣΚΕ ΤΕΝ ΤΠΑΡΧ[Ω]

6. ΜΙΝ ΓΕΝΕΜΑ ΝΙΜ 2Α ΔΝΟΙΚ Ω ΜΝ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ 2Α ΤΙ-

7. ΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΝΕΝΑ ΝΕΝΑ ΝΕΝΑ ΕΓΩ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΤΟ-

8. ΔΥ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΑΨΤΡ(±3)Ν ΕΙC ΟΥΔΟΚΟΤΝ ΑΙΤΙΕΙ


10. (±6) ΞΙΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨΨPsi...
for Apollo and Apa Makare

for this very (7) year, the 11(th) indiction-year

for their démosion (δημόσιον) which is two (8) up until
now, half a tremissis. Here is a solidus (δολοκόττινος) which I have
received (9) for it which is (?) ... a half and a tremissis ... (10) ...

by the will of God, [I] am ready (ετοιμος) ... (11) give ...

Phaophi the month (12) of this year (?) ...

... (-)other the father (13) of the diakonia (διακονία) ...

[I] am witness ... (14)

I, Jeremias ... bear witness and if I ... (15) + ... .

I, brother (παςος) Daniel, ... (16) ... solidus/solidi (δ.) of
gold.

I, Apa Kire, I wrote ... (17) [and] I am witness ...

I, brother (παςος) Daniel, ... (16) ... solidus/solidi (νομισματικα) ...

The guarantee (σφαλεΐα) ... of brother (παςος)

Petros ... solidus/solidi (νομισματικα) ...

Transcription notes

2 ΠΕΠΡΟΣ is a miswriting for ΠΕΠΡΟΣ which occurs in l. 19.
3 Above the ω of ΠΟΧω is a mark rather like a superlinear stroke curving upwards
slightly on the right.
8 Read ΠΟΧωτρημηκάν, by comparison with τρημηκάν in l. 9 below.
9 ΣΙΩΨΩΗ: the forms of Ψ and Υ are very similar and this may be read ΣΙΨΩΥ.
10-11 ΤΙΜΟΟΙΠ τοί: ΝΕΤΕΜΟΝ[-1 ΤΙ: restore "I am ready to pay it/them to you"; see no.
53 l. 7 for this phrase.
11 ΕΒΟΤ: this is written with an open beta which resembles a Μ.
12 ΣΤΡΟΜΠΗ: ΝΙΠ: ΝΙΠΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ is expected, see Collection date at §5.5.

Translation notes

2 Φ[Σ]ΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥ[Σ]: for this combination of epithets applied to Apa Apollo see §3.5.
4 ΟΥ'Υ: the word ΟΥ"Υ" single, alone, any, one and the same" (Crum CD 494a) was
erroneously interpreted by Clédat as the place name Bawit without a masculine definite
article prefix (see §3.3.1) in a papyrus fragment found at Bawit;6 and in other texts.7

6Clédat 1910 col. 204 no. 1 + n. 19.
7Clédat 1910 col. 204-205 no. 2 and n.1 (the place name in this text is later elucidated as CTςΑΟΟΥght
(Drew-Bear 1979a p. 260)), 205 n. 5 (this papyrus was issued by a monk of the Monastery of Jeremias at
Saqqara; it was re-edited by Till as CPR IV no. 17); note that the example cited in col. 205 + n.6 as
ΟΥΤ actually reads ΟΥΕ.
For the interpretation of this place name, see §4.9.

The phrase following this suggests that this is the end of a place name, possibly even of TM'OY in the line above.

This may be interpreted as a personal name ΠΑ.κιρέ (see no. 71 l. 5 ΠΑ.κυρί), or a personal name κιρέ preceded by the title ΠΑ.

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Footnote:

8 Heuser PN p. 125 ΠΑ.κυρί.
4

APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE (?)

"Ex-von Scherling 27"9 Dimensions not recorded Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: unknown. This document was sent to monks of the cell of Apatore (location unknown). This document follows the same format (set out in §5.5) as several documents written by monks of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh, see §5.8.

This may be a guarantee for aparchê collection; it mentions the payment of pactum in salt. It is not made clear in Crum's notes, but it may be that Aplo, the person who issued this document, and Solomon, the addressee, are both monks of the cell of Apatore. Alternatively Solomon and monks of the cell of Apatore may be the addressees. It specifies the neighbourhood of Papëol, a place mentioned in an account which may register aparchê collections (Ryl. 251), see §5.2.

πας κοὶ ΠΧΩ writes to πας κοὶ ΩΜΆΜΗΝ, monks of τΠΙ ΜΧΠ ΤΧΡΕ:

x+ 1 (Transcription proper begins:) ἀνοίξει μνημεία ἀπετεντῷ μάν place name
x+ 2 μν τκότε κπα.ποο. ετρέπουκ τε κπα.πχκ ἡν πού - ?
x+ 3 ως πνούτε οκτώνει ἵνα, τατί πεύκακτε [κα] πολλον pe ?
x+ 4 πνούδουμε νοήμοι μπρούυιφ. [2] κπι.πχυθ. πινίσι[ούτε ... ΝΟ] - ?
x+ 5 γωτ ωκτύχικι ἵνα, επεζωὴνικ. 2 ποϊπε[κ]
x+ 6 κε νμιωκόοκ κε κάκκαλακ εβολ[ε] witnesses

(Crum's paraphrase:)

Parties
Brother (πας κοὶ) Aplo writes to my brother Solomon, the monks of the cell of Apatore

(Beginning of Crum's transcription:)

Agreement
(x+ 1) ... we agreed (πε[θε]εν) [with each other
Assignment
and you gave us ...] (x+ 2) and the neighbourhood of Papëol
Aparchê
so that we gather its/their aparchê (ἀναρχη) [by the will?]
Collection date
(in the) eighth (διήδους) indication-year (ινδίκτιως)

9 This text is only known to me through the transcription of Walter Ewing Crum; see §2.7.
Payment and pay their pactum [which is?] \(^{(x+4)}\) ... a sack of salt ... by the will of God ... \(^{(x+5)}\) single ...

Payment date eighth (\(^{6}\)) indiction-year (\(^{1}\)).

Condition If something ... the oipe ... \(^{(x+6)}\) because I will not be able to say that you ...

Witnesses (these were not transcribed)

Translation notes

\(\Delta \Pi \Delta T \omega C\): the names Tore and Apatore are not recorded in Heuser \(PN\); and so this is interpreted as a form of the Greek name '\(\Lambda \pi \alpha \tau \omega \rho\) which means "fatherless".\(^{10}\) The name \(\Delta \Pi \Delta T \omega P\) occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus document, CUL Michael. 837/4, see §2.2, which, although fragmentary, exhibits a similar format to the aparchê collection documents in this chapter, with an Agreement clause employing the Greek verb \(\varepsilon \varepsilon \mu \iota \pi \iota \psi \varepsilon \ \mu \nu \varepsilon \).

\(x+1\) This may have been preceded by the Opening formula, see §5.5.

\(x+2\) \(K O T C\): derived from \(K \omega T E\); the meanings "Umgebung" and "Nachbarschaft" are assigned in Westendorf \(KH\) p. 71 (\(K O T\)). \(K O T C(1)\) by itself can describe the bend in a river: in the narrative of the Martyrdom of Paêse and Thecla, the place where the martyrs are executed is described as being near \(\text{\textgamma} K O T C \ 2 \Pi \varepsilon i \varepsilon \rho o \ \nu c \varepsilon \varepsilon \theta t \ \varepsilon \varepsilon \pi o w t\) "a bend in the river to the north of Tepôt";\(^{11}\) the same place is described in the Martyrdom of Anoub as \(+K O T C I \ \nu t e o y \# o w t .\(^{12}\)

\(\Pi \Delta \Pi \sigma \alpha \lambda\): see §4.8 for this place name.

\(T E \Delta \Pi \Delta R \chi H\): Crum read \(T E \Delta \Pi \Delta R \chi H\) but \(T E \Theta \Theta / T E C\) - "its" or \(T E Y\) - "their" would be expected.

\(x+4\) \(\text{\textgamma} \text{\textgamma} \text{\textgamma} \text{\textgamma} P \text{\textgamma} \text{\textgamma} \text{\textgamma} \text{\textgamma} T\): this may be a word describing the quantity or quality of the salt or its place of origin. It may involve abbreviations of the Greek words \(\delta \rho l(\theta m \iota \circ s)\) "reckoned" and \(o u \gamma y \alpha \) "ounce", although it seems more likely that a larger measure than an ounce would be needed to describe a sack of salt. If it is to be interpreted as a Coptic word, the reading may be suspect.

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\(^{10}\)See Youtie 1975 for a survey of the implications of this term in Greco-Roman papyri.

\(^{11}\)Reymond and Barns 1973 p. 77 (text 86 vi 21, translation p. 182).

\(^{12}\)See Reymond and Barns 1973 p. 182 n. 109 for details of this text.
This is the first part of a document concerning an agreement made between monks of the monastery of Apa Apollo concerning the collection of something, possibly *aparché*, from certain places, one of which begins with the letters Psakh(-) (see §4.7) and was in the Faiyum (ΠΙΟΜ I. 5, see §4.7), see §5.6. The similarities between this document and others drawn up by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo which are edited in this chapter make it highly probable that it was also a guarantee for the collection of *aparché* or at least of a payment owed to the monastery. The fulfilment of the agreement is indicated by the cancellation lines drawn through it, see no. 23.

1) I, brother (παΣον) Selbane the monk (μοναχὸς) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo, am writing to the scribe

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13See *Bal.* pp. 163-165 §140a, where examples are given for regions C, D, and E.
Makare and Geor[ios/-ge ?] (3) his brother monk (μ.) of this same monastery (τ.).

Agreement

Whereas (ἐνελθε) (4) you agreed (συμφημεῖ) with me

Assignment

you gave me Psakh[-] ... (5) in the Faiyum in addition to (πρὸς) the places which belong to it

Aparche

so that I collect ...

Translation notes

1 †: the vertical stroke curves slightly upwards to the right at the bottom.
2 A diagonal line (see the Preservation details above) cuts across the lower part of the •.
3 [NEPATES]: see the Assignment of place(s) section at §5.5 for this reading.

Translation notes

1 CEABANE: a Coptic form of Silvanus.
2 MKAPE: this common name also occurs in two texts which may begin with the ἈΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΟΝ NN ΕΙΣΩ formula (no. 58, and BL Or. 6201 B242 (see §2.1)).
6

APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE (?)

P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 1 197 (h) x 61 (w) mm. VIIthC.
Papyrus Plate 6

Preservation: in two fragments. (A) some lines are illegible; x+30 lines and the left margin and perhaps the lower margin are intact; (B) 1 line and all but the right margin is preserved written at right angles to the text on (A).

Palaeography: a large, irregular, well-spaced majuscule hand. Noteworthy features: \( \chi \) like a Greek \( \Lambda \); the second stroke of the three-stroke \( \Pi \) curves down almost to the "baseline"; \( \Pi \) written with an overhanging horizontal stroke like a Greek \( \pi \); the tail of \( \Upsilon \) extends well below the lower "baseline". A parallel hand may be found in CPR XII no. 30 recto, pl. 26, which has been dated to the VIIth C. The superlinear stroke is used in this text to indicate syllabisation but there are also cases where its function is not clear: over one consonant: in \( \omega \lambda \tilde{\gamma} \tilde{\nu} (\text{gap}) \eta \chi \eta \) (l. x+31); and \( \varepsilon \chi \) and \( \chi \varsigma \chi \kappa \sigma \tau \theta \lambda \) (l. x+31).

Linguistic note: the use of \( \varepsilon \) for \( \eta \) in \( \varepsilon \chi \varsigma \kappa \sigma \tau \theta \lambda \chi \) (l. x+31) is noteworthy.\(^{14}\)

Provenance: unknown. This text's association with nos. 7 and 8 suggests that its place of origin may be an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkooh (see transcription note to l. 2 of no. 7).

Acquisition: see §2.4.2.

This text is so fragmentary that only a tentative translation can be made of some lines and no attempt has been made to divide the text up into its component sections as has been done for other aparchê collection guarantees and orders in this chapter. The docket summarises the document as the guarantee of Ioannes for Terôt and Pnmarakota[-] which may both be places in the Hermopolite nome (see §§4.4 Terôt and 4.6 Pnmarakota(-)). It may be conjectured that this text was concerned with the collection of aparchê from these places, since Ioannes may be the same man who guarantees that he will collect aparchê in no. 7, and both texts are associated with a third text, no. 8, which is an order for aparchê collection.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

\(^{14}\)It is unusual in this case because it does not precede a labial, see Bal. p. 117 §85.
Side (A)
1. ...
2. ἰω[ţ,uη,ή]NC? Ἰονᾶ (...)
3. ΜΟΥ[...
4. ΜΔ[...
5. ΠΙΜΔ[...
6. ΠΔΠΟΥ[...
7. ΠΔΠΙ[...
8. ΤΚΩΤ[...]

Gap of approximately three lines, now illegible.
9. τ[...
10. ἰω[ţ,uου,ου]NC? Ἰονᾶ[...]
11. ΜΕΝ ΜΕΤΕΝΩΓΟΥΣ[...
12. ΕΡΜΕΝ[... ΤΕΡ/ΤΡΕ-...
13. ΜΙΣΕ ΚΕΝΤ[...]

Lines 16 and 17 obscured by a fragment of papyrus.
14. Μ[...]
15. Π[...]
16. Μ[...]
17. Μ[...]

Break in papyrus
18. Μ[...]
19. Π[...]
20. Π[...]
21. (±4)[...]
22. (±4)[...]
23. (±4)[...]
24. (±4)[...]
25. (±4)[...]
26. (±4)[...]
27. (±4)[...]
28. (±4)[...]
29. (±4)[...]
30. (±4)[...]

Psalmist (ψαλμωδιον) (?)
My brother (?)

The rest of this fragment is blank or the text is completely illegible.

(B) Docket label (at right angles to texts on side A):
31. ΔΣΔΦΑΧΙΑ ΝΗΩΣ[... (6mm.) ΝΗΣ 2 ΔΕΡΩΤ ΜΗ[... ΜΩ[... ΜΩ[... ΝΗΣ[...]
32. ΜΗ ΜΗ[...]
33. ΤΡΗΝ[...]
34. Τ[...]
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255. Τ[...]
256. Τ[...]
257. Τ[...]
258. Τ[...]
The guarantee (ἀσφαλεία) of Iohannes for Terôt and the monastery/region of Rakota ...

Transcription notes

2 άω[έξείδ]: this is reconstructed from the docket.
5 Π'Μ'Δ: this could be reconstructed as Π'Μ'Δ[ΔΡΔΚΟΤΔ which occurs in the docket.
8 ΤΚΟΤ[Δ: this word occurs in nos. 4 l. x+2 and 8 l. 7.
12 ΕΡΜΕΝΤ: it seems unlikely that this is a form of the place name Armant in this context.
25 ΑΧΜΩ: this has been translated as though it is part of the word ψαλμωδος, see §3.13 for this title.
26 ΤΑΥΡ: this may be reconstructed as the personal name ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ which was popular in the Hermopolite nome, see provenance details to no. 40.
APARCHÊ COLLECTION GUARANTEE

P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2
Papayrus 15 (h.) x 71 (w) + 102 x 21 + 70 x 60 + 29 x 80 mm.

Preservation: in at least seven fragments; 14 lines and the upper margin and the right margin for ll. 7-11 are intact.

Palaeography: inexpert, slightly right-sloping majuscule; the formation of α, like a small c joined to a larger c, is noteworthy.

Linguistic note: for the form kτ - see the comment on the Agreement clause in §5.5; the form of NOMOOC (νομος) in l. x+3 is unusual, with 00 for O,15

Provenance: unknown. This text was issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkoo see §5.8.

Acquisition: see §2.4.2.

This guarantee is issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo; details of the addressee are not extant, nor are the sections containing the assignment of places for Aparchê collection or the Payment due. For the Opening formula N 0 K PÌ.AÇÔNJ NN ῖΩC2asions used in this text, see §7.2.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

Fragments 1 and 5

1  N(N)OK PÌ.AÇÔNJ 02[N][N]HIC MÒTT[OC
2  N(A)PÀ XΠÖCωωω2M TÒO[YY ...2M ÏTOψ NωΜΟΥΝ-

Fragment 2 (does not join directly below the preceding fragments as in the plate)

3  τποξ[λ][λ]IC MΝΟΜΟΟC ΕΠΟC2AT N
4  I]ΩΡΝΕ XΩ PΗΠΗliquidwe

Fragment 3 (at 180° to the last fragments)

x +5-6 Obscured by another fragment

x +7  I]ΩΨIΩ( ±5 )

x +8  I( ±2) ΠΩΤ ΝΤΠΙ

x +9  1]ΧΙΙ N+ ΝΔΙ N-

x +10 place name(s) Tvrier Cωκ Tε[νΠαΠ]XΗ 2A. ΠΑ. ΧΠΟΧXω

x +11  Ε[Η]ΟΠ IΠΕ

x +12  I( ±4 )I

Fragment 4 (at 180° to ll. 1-2)

x+13  1..ΜΝ ΠΟΥ 124 I+1

15See Bal. pp. 82-83 §45, where Kahle states that “in non-literary texts this is common only at Thebes".
Two further fragments whose position has not been determined are not been included in the translation or commentary:

Fragment 6 (may be positioned to the right of ll. 3-4; it overlays ll. 16-17 of no. 6 as seen in plate 6 (before rearrangement)):
1 Ἰονᾶ...  
2 Πωλείου

Fragment 7 (at side of l. x+25 of no. 6 (new arrangement))
1 \[...
2 \[...

Parties
(1) I, brother (Πωλείου) Johannes of the monastery (Τὸν Ὀρέου)
(2) Apa Apollo on the mount [... in the region of Shmoun?
(3) the] city (Πῶλος?) of the nome (Νεαμονίου), he is writing to (4) ...

Agreement
Whereas (ἐπείδη) ... (x+5-7 untranslatable) (x+8) ... the father of the cell (x+9) ...

Assignment
you gave me ...

Aparchê
(x+10) [so that I collect] its/their aparchê (ἀπαρχῆ)

Beneficiary
for Apa Apollo (x+11)

Collection date/

Payment/Other
... which is (x+12) ...

Witnesses?
(x+13) ... and the acolyte +.

Scribe
(x+14) I wrote with my hand

Document date
on day twenty-...

Transcription notes
1 Ἰονᾶ ΜΤΟΠ[ΟΣ]: this is inscribed on a small fragment of papyrus (currently at side of l. x+20 of no. 6) which is not visible in the plate.
2 Reconstruct TO'O[Υ ΝΤΙΤΚΟΟΣΕ 2Μ ΠΤΟΕΥ ΝΨΜΟΥΝ ΝΤΠΟΞ]'ΙϹ ΜΝΟΜΟΟϹ
mainly following no. 1 ll. 2-3, an aparchê collection document issued from the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo, see §5.8. See §3.4.3 for the use of ΤΟΟΥ in connection with this monastery.
3 Ἰονᾶς: there are no personal names ending with these letters (ο-ΟΡΗ-/ΨΜΟϹ/ΟΡΗ) listed in Heuser PN.
reconstruct the Agreement clause here with a second person singular or plural subject, see §5.5.

Translation notes

105
APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDER (?)

P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 3  
138 (h) x 72 (w) + 10 (h) x 49 (w) mm.  
VIIth C.

Papyrus Plate 6

Preservation: three fragments preserve 23 lines and only the right margin of text.

Paleography: right-sloping majuscule. Noteworthy features: some letters at the end of a line extend into the right margin, eg. C l. 4 ΤΟΠΟΣ, κ l. 8 ΕΤΡΕΚ, & l. 9 &.-.

Provenance: unknown. This text is associated by its acquisition with nos. 6 and 7 whose place of origin may be an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, possibly the one at Titkoo (see transcription note to l. 2 of no. 7).

Acquisition: see §2.4.2.

Ps Ï is to collect aparchê for the neighbourhood of Tse5(-) (see §4.9) and Šenaro (see §4.7) and possibly other places.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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19  

Papyrus breaks off.

x+20  

x+21  

Papyrus breaks off.

106
Parties...

Agreement...

Assignment...

Aparchê...

Beneficiary...

Collection date...

Payment...

Measure...

Recipient...

Further fragments:

Transcription notes:

2-3 ὑμοί'γενεὶς ἔπειδὴς Μποκούλικζ': for this reconstruction see §5.8.

5 κε 

8 Πτοού: see §4.11 for the possibility of interpreting Ptoou as a place name.

10-11 δελτάτοιο γενομένο εὐθος "month" (Crum CD p. 53b) might be suggested as a possible masculine noun to fill the lacuna here, but the feminine noun ἐπομένος "year" (Crum CD p. 296b) as part of the phrase δελτάτοιο γενομένος τοῦ "of this very year" is what is expected, see §5.5 Collection date.
13 ΞΩΧΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ ΝΝΙΟΥΨ ΠΑΠΙΔΑ ΤΟΙΩΥ: this may be interpreted as solidi less tremisses, or solidi less carats; see also nos. 9 ll. 12-13 and 18 l. 5.

14 ΕΠΟΥΔΑ ΝΤΜΑΔΕ: reconstructed following no. 9 ll. 13-14.

17 ΝΥΔΑΚ: this form of the second person singular Relative Aorist prefix also occurs in no. 18 l. 5.

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16 This usage is also attested in, e.g., the Coptic papyrus. Herm. 7 l. 7.

17 See CPR VII pp. 155-160 and Pap. Colon. XXI, noting that neither publication mentions the usage of solidi less tremisses. Sijpesteijn and Worp 1992 p. 235 n. to l. 2 state that the word for carat is often lacking following napo.
9

APARCHÈ COLLECTION ORDER

P. Schøyen 89/11(A) 206 (h) x 82 (w) mm. VIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 7

Preservation: 20 lines and the left and right margins. See below for text on side (B).

Palaeography: a large, slightly right-sloping majuscule hand, similar to the one used in no. 13.

Linguistic note: the form ΜΠΑΡΩ in ll. 12-13 could be interpreted as a spelling of paraí,18 with ΜΠ for Π,19 or as a compound preposition made up of Coptic Φ- and Greek paraí. Compare ΜΠΑΡΩ in no. 19 l. 6.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.4.1.

This is an order for aparchê collection on behalf of the monasteries of Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup and Apa Jeremias, the proceeds of which will be used as pactum payment of 16 solidi less 2 (carats or tremisses) according to the measure of the diakonia. In ll. 16-17 a reference is made to the fact that all brothers shall pay. This document may be linked with no. 18 which concerns the pactum payment to a monastery of Apa Apollo.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

1→ ιΝΙΕΡΗ..[1
2 ΤΕΙ ΝΙΚΕΜΙ\x&\'Ε-
3 ΣΜΝΜΑ ΕΤΗΠΕ-
4 ΡΟΨ ΝΙΚΟΚ ΤΕΥ
5 ΑΠΑΡΧΗ 2 ΠΑ
6 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΝ
7 ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΜΝ
8 ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ
9 ΝΚΤΙ ΠΕΥΝΑΚ-
10 ΤΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ-
11 ΠΕ ΜΝΤΑΣΕ
12 ΝΟΛΟΚΟΤΝΜ-
13 ΠΑΡΑ ΣΜΑΥ ΕΠΟ-
14 ΥΑ ΝΤΜΑΣΕ ΡΤ-
15 ΤΙΔΑΚΩΝΙΑ

19See Bal. p. 124 §94C).
16 ἐρεμεμεμηνή Τ-
17 ἡποὺ ματὶ μος
18 ΣΝΟΚ ΠΝΣΟΝΙΕ-
19 ΡΝΜΙΔ[Σ ΤΙΟ ΜΝΗ-
20 ΡΙΕ ΣΝΙ]

4 ἈΠΚΣΚ 5 ΣΑ ΣΠΑ 9-10 ΣΛΚΣΟΜ 12 ΔΟΣΚΩΤΙΜΟΣ
12-13 ΣΑΡΑ 15 ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ 17 ΡΗΜΟΣ

Agreement
(1) each other (?) ...
Assignment
(2) ... (3) ... and places which belong to it
Aparchê
(4) that you collect their (5) aparchê (ἀπαρχή)
Beneficiaries
for Apa (6) Apollo and (7) Apa Anoup and (8) Apa Jeremias
Payment
(9) and you pay their pactum (10) which (11) is sixteen (12)
solidi (13) less (παράδ) two for each
Measure
(14) according to the measure of the (15) diakonia (διακονία)
Stipulation
(16) (and) every brother (17) shall pay it.
Witness 1
(18) I, brother (παρόν) Jeremias, (19) [am witness.]
Witness 2(?)
(20) I (?) ...

Transcription notes
1 ἴ ΝΙΕΡΗ...[; read ΝΕΡΥ, and reconstruct the Agreement clause followed by the
Assignment of place(s) clause, see §5.5.
2-3 ΝΙΚΕΜΙΛΛΕΙΗ: a reading of ΝΙΚΕΜΙΜΕΙΗ may also be possible, as the two ιs are
joined. If this text follows the same format set out at §5.5, this line should contain a
place name (see §4.10 for possible interpretations).
20 ΣΝΙ[: ΣΝΟΚ "I" may be reconstructed here, marking the beginning of the declaration of
another Witness, see §5.5.

Translation notes
4 ΝΙΚΟΚ: this is the only text which uses the Conjunctive verbal prefix instead of the
Causative (ΤΡΑ- etc.) in the Aparchê collection section, see §5.5.
5-8 ΠΑ ΔΙΟΧΛΩ ΜΝ ΔΠΑ ΔΝΟΥΠ ΜΝ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ: for these monasteries, see
§5.8.
12-13 ΔΟΣΚΟΤΝ ΜΠΑΡΑ ΣΜΑΥ ΕΠΟΥΑ: see the transcription note to no. 8 l. 13 for
the interpretation of this sum.
FRAGMENTARY LETTER MENTIONING EXPENSES

P. Schøyen 89/11(B) VII/VIIIth C.
Plate 8

Preservation: 5 lines and all but the left margin are preserved; this text is written below a fragment of a protocol belonging to an earlier text.

Palaeography: a small, semi-cursive hand, with numerous ligatures and large 2.

1. INP1.ΩMΑ.ΕΧΙΕ 2ΔΘΥ ΜΗ 2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΤΙΩΩΝΕ ΕΤΕΚΜΕΤ (±8)
2. ΙΗΕ ΔΥΘ ΠΡΩΒ ΝΑΤΤΙ ΠΕΚ20 ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΙΑΙΤΕ ΜΗΤΕΤΕΤΗΝ (±8)
3. ΙΗ. ΤΑ.ΜΟΟC ΣΗΤΗΘΙ ΔΙΚΑ 2ΘΗ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ (±8) Ν1 (±8)
4. ΙΕ2ΡΔΙ ΝΕΜΑΚ ΤΑΕΝ ΠΑΝ2ΔΑΜΑ Ε2ΡΔΙ (±8) Π. (±6) Ρ.
5. ΠΕΚΟΥΨΩΥ + ΟΥΧΑΙ ΞΕΝ ΠΧΟΙΙΣ +

1.2ΒΗΝ ΜΗ ΡΩΒ, ΕΤΕΚΜΑΤ- 2 ΑΠΡΩΒ, ΕΙΣΤΕ (?) 3 ΡΑΣ- 2ΣΕΟΙΟΟΣ (?)
4 ΡΑΣ- ΑΛΝ2ΔΑΜΑ (?) 5 ΡΑH

(1) ... Before all else, I greet your (2) ... and do not continue without showing your face to me. Behold (?) you do not have (3) ... and I sit ready (2ΣΕΟΙΟΟΣ?), I have ... to God (4) ... with you that I bring up (?) the expenses (ανάλωμα?) (5) ... your wish. + Farewell in the Lord +.

Transcription note

1 INP1.ΩMΑ.ΕΧΙΕ: another possible reading is INP1.ΩMΑ.ΕΧΙΕ but the meaning is still obscure.

Translation note

2 ΠΡΩΒ ΝΑΤΤΙ: literally "do not carry on without giving"; compare no. 16 l. 10 ΜΠΡΩΒ ΝΑΤΕΙ ΕΡΗC.
APARCHÉ COLLECTION ORDER(?)

P. Schøyen 89/14

Preservation: 9 lines and the upper and left margins.

Palaeography: right-sloping, competent majuscule hand with a number of ligatures: exx. ΚΠ (ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΚΟΝ 1. 1), ΑΣ (ΠΔΚΟΝ 1. 1); and ΓΕ (ΓΕΩ 1. 1). Noteworthy features: ι and κ extend above the upper "baseline" (e.g. ΕΙ 1. 3, ΔΝΟΚ 1. 1); ι and Ρ extend below lower "baseline" in ΜΟΥΗ 1. 7 and ΕΡΗΘΙΩ 1. 26; three-stroke Μ; Ψ and Κ are similar e.g. in ΠΟΥΑ29 1. 4.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.4.1.

Only the first half of this document is preserved but its format suggests that it is an order to collect aparchê. Geo[rg-] the psalmodist and monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo has assigned certain places to a fellow-monk of his monastery who is a deacon and acolyte.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

Parties (1) + 1, brother (ΠΔΚΟΝ) Geo[rg-] the psalmodist (ωαλμωδος) (2) and monk (μοναχος) [of the monastery?] (3) of Apa Apollo, am writing [to NN] (4) the deacon (διακον) (?) and acolyte (?) ... (5) of this same monastery (τοπος) ...

Agreement (6) We agreed (αναγωγικα) with each other

Assignment (7) I gave you Tmouikoth and ... (8) and further we went with ... (9) ...
Transcription notes

1 *REW[RGE* *REW[R, *REW[R, and *REW[RIOC* are other possible terminations for the name George attested in Coptic texts.

2 *MPTOC*: this term is used in l. 5 and so has been restored here. See §§3.5 and 5.8 for other terms used to describe the monastery.

3 *AT]: the Υ resembles a Τ.

Translation notes

1-2 *MOTHOC*: see §3.13 for this title.

4 *ΠΙΧΟΝ*: this may be interpreted as a title or as a personal name, compare ΠΙΧΟΣ in no. 40 l. 17.

5 *ΟΥΑΩ*: see §3.13 for this title. If *ΠΙΧΟΝ* is to be interpreted as a title, it is interesting to note that it may be held concurrently with the title *ΟΥΑΩ*.

6 *ΝΙΟΘΕ*: see the analysis of the Agreement clause at §5.5 for the use of this verb.

7 *ΜΟΙΚΟΤΕ*: see §4.9 for this place name.

8 *ΝΑ-*: this may be interpreted as the first person plural Second Perfect verbal prefix (*ΝΑ-* for *ΝΑ-*).

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20 The name *ΠΙΧΟΝ* is only listed in Heuser *PN* as the possible antecedent of *ΠΙΧΟΥ*, see p. 117 n. 1.

21 See Bal. p. 158 §131 in which examples of the Second Perfect lacking initial *I* from regions C, D, and E are cited.
Christie's "11" 75 (h) x 70 (w) mm. VII/VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 9

Preservation: this manuscript has been joined with a number of others written in different hands. Three fragments of papyrus with numerous lacunae appear to belong to it; 8 lines and all but the right hand margin (and possibly bottom margin) are preserved. The verso is obscured by fragments belonging to the other papyri.

Palaeography: a competent, essentially majuscule hand with a few ligatures.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

This fragmentary order may have been issued by a monk of Apa Apollo (see §3.5 for this designation) to a fellow monk from the same monastery. Few details concerning the collection of the *aparchê* are preserved, but the phrase *ΜΕΤΩΨΩΜΕ* (see §5.2) occurs after the *Payment* of *pactum*.

1

1 ἰ Π ΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΕ[... ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΜΠΟΠΠ-]
2 OC Ν]ΑΠΑ ΠΟΧΛ[ω]
3 ]Ε 'ΜΗΠΑΣΟΝ[]
4 ΤΟΠΙΟΣΙΝ ΗΟΨΩΤ[
5 ]ΗΝΕΙΤΙΔ...Ε[]
6 ΕΤΕΙΕΠΙΚΣΩΚ ΤΕΙ[ΛΑΠΑΡΧΗ]
7 ΠΩΚ ΠΗΠ Π[.].ΠΑΣΙΚΤΟΝ
8 . 'ΜΗΡ Τ[±2]ΚΕΡΑΣΤΙΓΙΟΝ?
9 ΜΕΤΩΨΩΜΕ Α[]

6 ΕΤΕΙΕΠ-

Parties (1) ἰ, brother (ΠΑΣΟΝ) Pe[... the monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) of the monastery (ΤΟΠΟΣ) (2) of] Apa Apollo ... (3) ... my brother ... (4) ... same monastery (τ.)

Agreement ... (5) ...

Aparçhê (6) so that you collect its [aparçhê (ἈΠΑΡΧΗ)] (7) yourself

Payment and pay ... *pactum* ... (8) ... with (?) ... carat(s) (ΚΕΡΑΣΤΙΟΝ?) ... (9) to the sick ones ...
Transcription note

7 Restore €T€ π€! π€ at the end of this line, see the Payment clause in §5.5.
12

APARCHÊ COLLECTION ORDER (?)

BL Or. 6201 B187

40 (h) x 45 (w) mm. VIIth C.
Papyrus

Preservation: (A) 5 lines and no margins; (B) one line and all but the left margin.

Palaeography: a right-sloping majuscule with some ligatures, similar to the hand of no. 107 side (A); 3-stroke Μ with an elongated leading stroke; I descends below the "baseline" (ΜΜΜΔΙ 1. 2); the left oblique stroke of Υ is almost horizontal.

Provenance: unknown. The acquisition details for this text suggest that its place of origin may have been an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

In this text the pactum payment is to be made in wine (ΗΡΕΠΠ 1. 5).

(A)

1 ↑ MN ΠΑΓΟΝ. I ... (ΔΤΕΤΗ-ΚΕΝΤΙ-Η /
2 (ΣΥΜ)ΠΕΙ]ΌΕ ΜΜΜΔΙ ΑΤΝ[ΤΙ ΝΔΙ place names
3 ΤΡΑΚΕΙΚΙ ΤΕΥΑΠΑΡΧ 2Α ΝΑ ΝΝ
4 ΠΑΚΤΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΝΤΑΙ ΠΕ
5 Ι. Κ ΝΔΥ ΝΗΡΕΠΠ Ν[Ν[
6 [(±8)]

(B)

Hand 2 ink 2. Very faint.

7 → ΔΠΟΑΛ(±6)

2 ΔΤΕΤΗ? 3 ΠΑΡΧΗ 4 ΠΑΚΤΩΝ 5 ΗΡΟΠ

Parties

(1) ... and brother (ΠΑΓΟΝ) ...

Agreement

(2) ... agreed (ουντ(θεναι)/ουμι(θεν) with me you [have given me ...

Aparchê

(3) [so that I] collect their aparchê (απαρχη) for [Apa NN ...

Payment

(4) ... pactum which is ... (5) ... two ... of wine ... (6) ...

Docket?

(7) [...] of Ap]ollo (?) ...

Transcription notes

1 The first two letters visible in this line may be ΒΩ or ΒΔ.
3 Only the ends of the upper and lower diagonal arms of the Κ are visible.
51.c: the letter before this may be an ı, but not a T which rules out a reconstruction of 20TE (Crum CD p. p. 727a) a measure or vessel which can be used for wine.22 

1N]: a Measure may be specified here, see §5.5.

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22See also Ep. 1 p. 93 for this vessel.
13

APARCHÈ COLLECTION ORDER(?)

Christie's "19"  170 (h) x 115 (w) mm.  VIIth C.  Papyrus  Plate 10

Preservation: the first 7 lines and the left margin.

Palaeography: a large majuscule hand, with letters irregularly positioned on the papyrus; it resembles the hand of no. 9.

Provenance: unknown. The acquisition details for this text suggest that its place of origin may have been an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

Few details are preserved in this order which has been issued by Ammoui and Pamoun to a monk belonging to their monastery. The month Mesore is specified in what might be the Payment date section.

1†  + ΔΝΟΚ ΔΜΜΟΥΙ ΜΝ ΠΑΜ'ΟΥΝ[ ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ Ν ... ΕΝΕΩΛ[ Ν-
2  ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΙΤ'Η[ [ ΕΠΙΟΣΕ ΜΝ.-ΝΠΙΜΑ, ΝΑ ΝΑ]

ΤΡΕΚΣΘΚ ΤΕΠΑΠΑΡ-

3  ΧΗ ΝΚΤΙ ΝΕΠΝΑΚΤΩΝ Ε[ΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ...
4  ΜΕ ΔΥΨ ΝΕΟΥΑ ΕΝΑΝΟΥ Δ[
5  ΠΟΣ Ν.Ν ΤΕΚΑΤΕΣ ΝΚΙ[
6  ΩΑ ΣΟΥΝ[ ΜΕΣΟΡ( ±5 ).][
7  'ΠΩΤΕ ΝΤ'Ε[.][ (±3)[ ±4 ] Δ[...
8  ]ΕΕΡ. [ ±5 ] [ΡΑ][

2 ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΡΝΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΙΑΗ 3 ΡΗΤΙ ΝΕΠΝΑΚΤΩΝ 5 ΔΕΚΑΘΜΗ?

Parties  (1) + I, Ammoui and Pamoun [the monks of the monastery of ..., we are writing to ?] (2) the monk (μοναχός) of this monastery (τόπος).

Agreement  Whereas (ἐπείδη) [... agreed with ...  Assignment  ... gave ...

Aparchê  so that you collect its ] (3) aparchê (ἀπαρχή)

Payment  and pay its pactum which [is ...] (4) ... and the good ones ...

Payment date?  (6) until day ... (of) Mesore ... (7) ... (8) ...
Transcription notes

1 +: an apostrophe-shaped mark appears at the top of the vertical stroke.

\textcircled{\textbullet}: this personal name is not attested in Heuser \textit{PN}.

2 See the Agreement and Assignment clauses at §5.5 for the restoration of the end of this line.

5 \textit{πος Ν.Ο ΤΕΚΔΕ ΡΙΚΙ}: the first three letters of this may be interpreted as the end of \textit{ΤΟΠΟΣ} (\textit{τόπος}) "monastery"; following this a reading \textit{ΙΝΔΟ} "of indiction-year (\textit{ινδικτιων})" may be possible (although it usually follows the ordinal number in these documents, see, e.g., \textbf{no. 4} ll. x+3 and x+5). The last visible letter in this line has a superlinear stroke; possibly restore \textit{ΡΙΔΟΧΕΙ} "Choiak".

6 \textit{ΚΟΥ}: [\textbullet] or [\textdiamond] are both possible.

.: the final letter visible in this line resembles a Greek \textbullet.

8 This line is not visible in the plate because the papyrus is folded over.
14

DOCUMENT RELATING TO APARCHÊ COLLECTION

Christie's "20" 100 (h) x 55 (w) mm. VIIIth C.

Papyrus Plate 10

Preservation: 9 lines and all but the right margin of this text are preserved. It has been used to replace the missing right edge of a larger, unconnected papyrus Coptic letter in order to give the appearance of one complete text. An unconnected fragment of papyrus has also been attached to the back, bearing two lines of text (1 ...[.]...[.]'X[ / 2 ] ΠΝΑΝ ΤΝ.].

Palaeography: a competent, flowing semi-cursive hand with some serifs.

Provenance: unknown. The acquisition details for this text suggest that its place of origin may have been an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

A scribe (see §3.13 for this title) issues this now fragmentary document concerning aparchê collection.

1 ↑ Ῥ Ρ ῿ΩΚ ΠΝΑΞ [1
2 2Μ ΠΤΩΥ ΝΩΥ Μ[ΟΥΝ
3 ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ Δ[...ΤΡΗΣΚ ΤΑ...-
4 ΠΑΡΧΗ 2Α 'Δ[ΠΑ ΝΝ ... ΤΙ ΠΝΑΚΤΟΝ/ΔΗΜΟΚΙΟΝ
5 ΕΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ [1
6 Ν]ΤΜΑ ΨΕ [ΝΤΑΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ;
7 ]ΚΙΩ[1
8 ]ΝΑΝ ΤΣΑ [Π?
9 ]ΑΝΟΚ[

3 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ

Parties Agreement
(1) I, the scribe ... (2) in the name of Shmoun (?) ... (3) Whereas (ἐπειδὴ) ... have ... [collect ...]

Aparchê Beneficiary
(4) aparchê (ἀπαρχῆ)

Payment Measure
... (5) which is ...

(6) ... the measure [of the diakonia (διακονία)] ...

Witness?
... (7) ... (8) ... without law (?) ...

(9) ... I ...
Transcription notes

1 Ἐ: where the right end of the horizontal stroke of the staurogram should finish there is an s-shaped curve downwards;\(^{23}\) see also nos. 16 text 1 ll. 1 and 13, and 22 ll. 1 and 9. A similar embellishment to a + occurs in two texts (nos. 54 ll. 1 and 5 and 82 l. 1).\(^{24}\)

2 Ἅρμιον: if this text could not be connected with the aparché collection documents from one of the Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo, other restorations, such as ωμιν, would be possible here.

3 The Agreement clause followed by the Aparché collection verb Ξωκ should be reconstructed here, see §5.5.

4 Τί Πινακόν/Ἀμοιών: this restoration is suggested by ἑτε πῶς πε in l. 5, see §5.5.

6. Τίρμις οἱ Νταμίκουν: see the Measure section at §5.5 for this reconstruction.

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\(^{23}\)See Naldini 1968 pp. 23-27 and P. Lugd. Bat. XXV p. 100 n. 1 for the staurogram.

\(^{24}\)Also in unpublished BL Or. 6201 B35, see §2.1; and in CO no. 6 l. 1 and SPP VIII no. 1294, a VIIth. C. Greek parchment manuscript.
15

DOCUMENT RELATING TO APARCHÊ COLLECTION

Christie's "18" 18 (h) x 77 (w) mm. VII-VIIIth C.

Papyrus Plate 10

Preservation: 5 lines and no margins.

Palaeography: competent, right-sloping majuscule with few ligatures.

Provenance: unknown. Place of origin may be an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

This fragmentary document concerns the collection for a monastery of Apa Apollo of aparchê from Tiloj (see §5.6).

1. \[I \ldots I \ldots J \ldots (\pm 4)\]

2. \[\text{Νφι}\text{μακ} \ldots \text{μακ} \text{μτίαναξ}\]

3. \[\text{ιύισεν}\text{ειείαςείς} \text{είτογυρ} \text{αξ}\]

4. \[\text{τρεκσκεωκ} \text{τετ'γ'αι ρξη} \text{σαι} \text{αι ξαιραι}\]

5. \[\chiω \ldots I \ldots (\pm 3)\]

Agreement (1) ... (2) [we agreed?] with you
Assignment (2) we have given you Tiloj (3) ...
Aparchê (4) [so that you collect] their aparchê (\(\alphaπαρχη\))
Beneficiary for Apa Apollo (5) ...

Transcription notes

1 The last letter in this line may be a \(\chi\).
2 \(\text{Νφι}\text{μακ}\): reconstruct the Agreement clause before this, see §5.5.
LETTER OF GREETING

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 1 145 (h) x 345 (w) mm. VIIth C.
Papyrus Plates 11-12

Preservation: 12 lines and all margins. The address on side (B) is written in the same hand as texts 2-4.

Palaeography: a large majuscule hand written with a thick pen. Wide M, N, W and narrow ε, θ, ω. The second stroke of three-stroke Μ sometimes curves down almost to the "baseline" (e.g. ΜΕΝ l. 1). Tioid Ψ (ΨΨΨ l. 3). This text uses a superlinear dot to mark syllabic function as well as the superlinear stroke, and certain clauses are punctuated with a raised point (l. 3 (bis), 5, 6, 7, 8, 11).

Provenance: unknown. Text 1 on this papyrus may have been written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Mena to a monk living north of him, possibly in a monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome. Text 2 is a practice introductory letter formula involving a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo. The formula, ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΚΩΝ (see Chapter 7), is found in texts relating to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. Two of the place names mentioned in text 1, ΠΝΗ (l. 3; see §4.4) and ΠΟΥΚΙΡΞ (l. 5; see §4.4) may be in the Hermopolite nome.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

This letter is written in practically standard Sahidic by a monk called Makare to fellow monks, Apollo and Anoup, who live to the north of him (ll. 10-11 "do not delay coming south so that I can see you"). He mentions that monks collecting aparchê for a monastery of Apa Mena in the region of Pousire met Anoup who sent news of his and Apollo's health. This text gives an insight into the monastic network through which messages were carried.

25 For this term, see Kasser 1991 p. 44 no. 16.
No. 16 Text 1

Side (A)

1↓ ἡ ὑ[0]ρν ΜΕΝ ἩΠΑΣ ΧΕ ἌΥΨ 2ΑΘΗ ἩΣΩΘ ΝΗΜ ΤΑΜΝ ΤΕΧΛΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΧΙΝΕ
2 ἌΥΨ [+]ΔΤΗΔΑΖΕ ἘΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ὩΝΟΝ ἘΤΤΕΙῤΗΥ ἌΠΟΛΑΛἈ 2Μ ΠΑΣΗΤ ΤΗΡΨ
3 ΠΝ Τ[Δ]ΥΨΧΗ ΤΗΡΨ ᾽ΑΥΨ ὉΨΙΝ ἘΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ἈΝΟΥΠ ΠΡΩΜΠΗΝ ᾽ΗΜΟΝ ΔΨ[0]-
4 ΟΥ ΠΕΙΨΠΟΥΨ ΕΤΗΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΝΑΙ ΠΝ ΠΨΧ ΑΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΑΓΕΝΝΗΜΥ ΕΝΟΙΝ ΝΕ ΕΥΨ[Μ]
5 ΠΤ[ΩΙ]Ψ ΠΙΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΕΥΣΚΕΚ ΔΑΠΑΡΧΗ 2Α ΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ ΚΕΙΨΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ · 2Μ ΠΕ.-
6 ΕΤΚΗΜΕ ΕΔ.ΥΨΨ ΠΝ ΝΕΥΡΨΥ · ΑΥΨ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΨ ΕΤΗΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΝΑΙ ΑΙΡΑΨΕ ΤΟ-
7 ΝΟΥ · ΜΑΧΙΣΤΑ ΑΤΕΡΕΠΑΣΚΟ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΨΝ ᾽Η ΠΕΚΟΨΨ ΕΤΗΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΝΑΙ ΔΙ-
8 ΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΠΕΣΟΨΟΨ ΧΕ ΔΙΣΨΨ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΕΚΟΨΖΑΙ · ΤΙΝΟΥ ἈΕ ΠΕΜΕΡΙΤ ὩΝΟΝ
9 ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΨΝ ΠΝΨ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΒΝ ΝΕΚΠΡΟΕΥΨΧΗ ΝΤΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΣΜΕΝ ΕΠΙ-
10 ΡΑΣΙΜΟΨΙΨ 2Μ ΠΙΚΑΙΡΙΟΣ ΡΑΤΑΝΨΨΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ ᾽ΑΥΨ ΜΨΨΘΝΘ ΝΑΤΕΙ ΕΡΨΗ ΡΑ-
11 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ · ΑΥΨ ΧΟΟΥΨ ΠΕΚΟΨΖΑΙ ΕΤΗΝΑΝΟΨ ΝΑΙ + ΟΥΨΖΑΙ ΒΝ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ +++
12 ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ὩΝΟΝ +

Side (B) Address

13→ Ἱ ΤΑΣ ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ὩΝΟΝ ΔΠΟΛΑΛἈ
14 2ΙΤΝ ΜΠΑΙΚΙΑΙΡΕ ΠΙΕΛΧ[Χ]

4 ΕΤΗΝΟΥΙ 5ΠΙΟΥΣΙΡΕ 8ΤΕΝΟΥ 9ΝΨΜΑ 9-10 ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ 11ΝΑΝΟΥΨ 14 ΚΛΧΙΣΤΟΣ
First of all indeed (μέν) and before all else, my humbleness (ἐλάχιστος) greets (2) and salutes (ἀσπασμεθαί) my beloved and honoured brother Apollo with my whole heart (3) and my whole soul (ψυχή), and I greet my brother Anoup of Pnê. For he has sent (4) his good news and yours by some brothers of mine when they were in (5) the district of Pousire, collecting aparchê (ἀπαρχή) for our beloved father Apa Mena in Pe(-)etkême. (6) When they had drunk with one another they brought your good news to me. I rejoiced greatly (7) especially (μᾶλλον) when my brother Phoibamon brought your good news to me. I rejoiced (8) greatly all the more because I heard how you were. Now then (δέ) my beloved brother, (9) be so good (ἀγαπήσει) as to remember me in your prayers (προσευχή) and let God save us from temptation (περιπατεῖτο) whenever (καὶ προς) we meet (ἀπαντῶ) it. And do not delay coming south so that I can (11) see you. Send (news of) your good health to me. + Farewell in the Lord +++ (12) my beloved brother.

Address: (13) ☉ Give it to my beloved brother Apollo, (14) from Makare the most humble (ε.).

Transcription notes

1, 13 ☉: see n. to 1. 1 of no. 14 for the form of this staurogram; an s-shaped mark written with a thinner pen can be seen beneath the staurogram in 1. 1.

5-6 ΠΕΤΚΗΜΕ: possibly read ΠΕΤΑΚΗΜΕ; see §4.5 for this place name.

Translation notes

5 ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΑΠΑΡΧΗ 2Α ΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ ΡΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ: this is quoted in Crum CD p. 326a.

6, 7 For Ν- /Μ- ΠΟΥΛΩ: see Crum CD p. 474b.

8 ΠΕΚΟΥΣΙ: literally "your health".

10 ΜΠΡΕΝΤΙ ΠΕΤΕΙ: literally "do not carry on without coming"; compare no. 9 l. 2 ΠΡΕΝ ΝΑΤΤΙ ΠΕΚΖΟ ΝΑΙ.

14 ΕΛΧ: see Ep. I p. 12 for this common monastic epithet.
PRACTICE INTRODUCTORY LETTER FORMULAE

BL Or. 6201 B29 Texts 2-4 VII/VIIIth C.?
Plate 12

Preservation: Text 2: 2 complete lines. Text 3 (above and to the left of text 2): 2 largely illegible complete lines of text. Text 4 (below and to the left of text 2): 2 complete lines.

Palaeography: texts 2: an irregular majuscule hand which is different from that employed in text 1, with erratically positioned letters, and, in some cases, exhibiting different forms of the same letter. The hand does not belong to an unskilled writer, but the fact that it is not a flowing scribal hand suggests that this text may have been produced in an educational context. Texts 3 and 4 are both written in similar hands to text 2.

Provenance: unknown. The writer of text 2 may be a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

The epistolary formula ΔΜΟΚ ΠΔΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΙΩΔΔΙ (see Chapter 7) is the object of the exercise in text 2, and possibly in texts 3-4. Text 2 may be the model formula and texts 3 and 4 the attempts made by two trainees at copying it.

Text 2 features Enoch,1 a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo, and his addressee Victor.

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 2

1→  Ρ ΔΜΟΚ ΠΔΚΩΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΙΜΟΝΟΧΟΧ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΝΟΚ Ν-
2  ΔΠΑ ΠΟΧΧΩ ΕΙΣΙΩΔΙ ΜΠΔΚΩΝ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ
1 ΜΟΜΟΧΟΧ 2 ΠΟΧΧΟ

(1) Ρ Ι, brother (ΠΔΚΩΝ) Enoch, the monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) of the Monastery (ΤΟΠΟΣ) of (2) Apa Apollo, am writing to my brother Victor.+

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 3

1  Ρ. rest of text illegible
2  ΜΝ.1.

BL Or. 6201 B29 Text 4

1  + ΔΜΟΚ ΠΔΚΩΝ

1See MacCoull 1993c pp. 42-43 for monks with this name belonging to the Aphrodito monastery of Apa Apollo, noting that the name Enoch in P.Cair. Masp. II 67234 II. 3 and 6 cited by MacCoull 1991 p. 210 refers possibly to a monastery (ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ) of the holy Abba Enoch, and not to an individual.

126
17
LETTER INTRODUCING THE APARCHÊ COLLECTOR

BL Or. 6201 B105  152 (h)x 170 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  No plate

Preservation: (A) 10 lines and all but the right margin; (B) 2 lines with lacunae and all margins.

Palaeography: a proficient, right-sloping semi-cursive hand with many ligatures. $M$ has an elongated leading stroke; $\epsilon$ is large; $l$ and $\phi$ have hooked tails; $Y$ and $q$ are similar. $T$ in $\epsilon p\omega\tau\iota\iota$ l. 4 has a hook at the left of the horizontal stroke.

Provenance: unknown. If this text was written by someone belonging to a monastery of Apa Apollo, the details of its acquisition link it above all to an Hermopolite monastery although internal evidence may suggest that it is from the Bala'izah monastery.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

This is a letter of introduction written by Theodoros who may be identified with the archimandrite of an Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in no. 23. He addresses a villager, possibly a headman, and introduces a monk called Makare who has come to collect the small aparchê for the monastery ($K\omicron\omicron\upsilon\iota\omicron\pi\alpha\upsilon\alpha\rho\pi\chi\omicron\nu \pi\tau\omicron\omicron$, l. 6). See §5.3 for an interpretation of this text.

(A)

1↑

1  ΤΝΩΠΤΝ ΜΗ ΤΙΩΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΙΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΝΠΑ[.
2  ΑΥΩ ΤΙΩΝΕ ΕΠΕΥΞΑΙ ΝΠ[Ε]ΤΗΣ ΤΗΡΧΕΙ[Ψ]
3  ΑΠΑ ΔΠΟΛΑΛΕ ΕΙ ΡΟΕΙΕ ΕΡΨΩΤΙΝ ΧΙΝΕ ΠΝΟΓ[... ΝΤΕ ΤΕ ΔΜΝ ΝΑΔΙ (?=)
4  ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΔΗΡΗ ΣΕ ΕΙ ΡΠΑ[Ω[ΗΡ]Ε ΚΑΠΑΡΕ[.
5  ΚΟΥΙ ΝΑ ΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΠΤΟ, ΕΙ]() ΧΕ[[
6  ΝΕΡΜΝΟΥΕ ΤΑ ΑΥΩ ΟΝΝΕΙΨΙ ΜΗ[Ω16]ΕΙ ΒΩ 2ΗΝ ?
7  ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΤΕ ΡΟΕΙΕ ΕΡΟΨ 2ΗΝ ΝΟΥΑ[.
8  ΝΤΙΧΡΟΝ ΝΑΩ ΑΕ ΤΙΕ ΤΙΝΟΨΙ ΕΡΟΨ[.
9  ΡΟΥΘΗΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΙ ΡΙΩΤΗΝ ΝΠΑ[.
10  ΡΟΥΘΗΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΙ ΡΙΩΤΗΝ ΝΠΑ[.
11  + ΟΥΧΑΙ 2ΗΝ ΠΩΩΕΙ]

(B) Address.

13  ΠΡ[±2] (±10 illegible) $\Delta\piολαλε ωτοιε Θ Φ Θ$ +1

1This is suggested by the epithet of Theodor(...) given in the address in l. 13 ("$\Delta\piολαλε ωτοιε "... of Apollo") and the blessing involving Apa Apollo in l. 4.
Firstly indeed (μέν) I greet and salute (ἀσπαζόμεθα) my ... (3) and I greet the well-being of all your village ... (4) Apa Apollo watch over you from the great ... your (?) (5) God-loving son. Behold my son, Makare ... (6) the small aparchē (ἀπαρχή) of the monastery (τόπος) ... (7) ... and sailors and [the ones ?] from (?) ... (8) and attend (προσέχεις) to him in ... (9) obstruct him because you receive him (?) ... (10) prophet (προφήτης). I am writing this ... (11) Farewell in [the Lord].

Address (12) The man of ... from Theodoros ... (13) the ... of Apollo +.

Transcription notes

1 The + could also be interpreted as a superscript I at the end of ΔΣΠΑΖΕ.

4 ΞΗΝΕ ΠΝΟΘ [i: this may be followed by ωΔ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ "to a small", although the usual phrase is ΞΗΝΕ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ωΔ ΟΥΝΟΘ "from a small to a great" (CPR IV no. 177 l. 23).]

7 ΝΕΡΜΗΟΥΕ: alternatively this may be translated as "the men" or "the rich men", interpreting ΡΗΜΗΟΥΕ as an unattested plural of ΡΩΜΗE "man" or ΡΜΜΗΔΟ "rich man" (see Crum CD pp. 294a and 296a respectively).


9.ΕΤ: or read just ΕΤ.

ΕΡΟΣΕΙ: possibly read ΕΡΟΣΙΟ "to watch".

10 ΝΜ. [i: the last letter has a long tail similar to that of an l; the most probable reading here would be ΝΔΙ ΕΙΕΣΩ ΝΜΟΟΥ in which case a range of phrases could be reconstructed preceding ΟΥΧΔΙ 2[Μ ΠΧΟΕΙΩ.]

12 ΝΝΟΜΕΛΕ: the final Ε may be interpreted as a +. This may be interpreted as a place name, possibly ΠΝΟΜ[.]ΕΤΙΣ Ι in the Antinoopolite nome, which is the place of origin of two men who write to a monk of the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala‘izah (Bal. no. 114). If this place name is to be read here, Bala‘izah would be a more likely provenance for this text.3 Another possibility is the place name ΠΝΟΜΦΕ which is listed in Ryl. no. 338 after the Hermopolite place name ΤΜΟΥΜΡΕ/ΘΜΟΜΗΡΕ.2

13 ΠΡΗ: restore the titles προεστάτως "superior" or πρεσβύτερος "presbyter" here, or perhaps ΠΡΩΜΕ "the man".

1 Other examples of this phrase may be found in Bku III nos. 338 l. 17, 354 l. 2, 355 l. 6, and 411 l. 2; and Ryl. no. 349.

2 See Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 70-73, 237-238 Table 8, types 3d and 5b-c, noting Brunsch 1988 p. 216 with reference to her comment on Bal. no. 188.

3 See ΚΚΑ p. 1990 "Pnom[.]Jets".
Translation notes

4 ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΕΘΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΩ[...]: compare ... ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΦΑΓΙΟ ΑΠΑ ΔΠΟΧΧΩ ΕΘΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΩΤΝ ... "the God of the holy (ἀγίος) Apa Apollo will watch over you ..." in ll. 22-23 of P. Society for Coptic Archaeology, Cairo inv. 7. It is interesting to note that a phrase of this type does not appear in any of the published Coptic papyri from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah.

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1 Edited in MacCoull 1984 pp. 784-785.
This text concerns the pactum payment of Pehno(-) (see §5.6) which is one solidus less two carats or tremisses according to the diakonia’s measure. Monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo who may be connected with the diakonia write to another monk from their monastery about his agreement with them to be responsible for this payment.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{..........} \, \text{\(\alpha\\gamma\nu\alpha\nu\gamma\nu\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\pm\)} \, \text{\(\mu\alpha\nu\)} \, \text{\(\mu\nu\alpha\nu\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \\
2 & \ \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\delta\alpha\kappa\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\mu\)} \, \text{\(\pm\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\alpha\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\varepsilon\gamma\iota\)} \, \text{\(\gamma\)} \, \text{\(\zeta\)} \, \text{\(\alpha\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \\
3 & \ \text{\(\alpha\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\mu\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\theta\)} \, \text{\(\alpha\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\varepsilon\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\theta\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\alpha\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \\
4 & \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\alpha\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\mu\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\pi\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \\
5 & \text{\(\mu\nu\nu\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\nu\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \\
6 & \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \, \text{\(\tau\)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Parties

(1) ... Anoup ... of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo
(2) diakonia (διακονία) ... they are writing to my brother (3) ... of this same monastery (τα). 

Pactum agreement

Whereas (επελεύς) we agreed (συμπέθεεθε) [with one another/you]

Assignment

(4) [we] have given you Pehno(-)

Payment

for its pactum which is one [solidus] (δλοκόττινος) (5) less

Measure

according to the measure of the diakonia (6)

Recipient

which you should give (6) ...

130
Transcription notes

1. Restore the Opening formula at the beginning of the line, see §5.5.
   1.Ν: restore Πων "the son of".
2. ΠΟΥΝ ΕΤΟΣ [2Α]: this may be divided to read ΝΕΤΟΣ [2Α] "they were writing".
3. ΚΟΙ: restore the personal name ΚΟΙ here, see §4.8 Papcol.
4. ΚΟΙ: the final letter may be a Ι.
5. [Ν]ΟΑΙ: this form of the second person singular Relative Aorist prefix also occurs in no. 8 l. 17.

Translation notes

5. ΠΟΥΡΝ ΚΟΙ: see the transcription note to no. 8 l. 13 for the interpretation of this sum. No. 9 ll. 12-13 also specifies a number of solidi less two.
19  

AGREEMENT CONCERNING PACTUM

Christie's "21"  
50 (w) x 70 (h) mm.  
VIIth C.  

Papyrus  
Plate 13

Preservation: 11 lines and the left margin; the last 4 lines are practically illegible. On side (B) is one line of text written across the fibres in a different hand (the following can be read: ΔΜ.[.ΡΕΙ'CΕ]).

Palaeography: (ll. 1-4) a large majuscule hand, with well-spaced upright letters; (ll. 5-7) smaller, right-sloping majuscule; the text in other lines is not sufficiently legible for analysis.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

This fragment is included here because it records a pactum payment of "three ... less six and a half" (ll. 4-6).

(A)
1→ [.N.[
2 ΠΣΟΝΟΣ Ν[  
3 ΠΙΘΕ Ν[  
4 ΚΠΣΤΩ[... ΠΑ-  
5 ΚΤΟΝ ωΟΜΕΙΝΤ  
6 ΝΠΑΡΑ ΚΟΤΙΤΥ  
7 ωΙ ΝΤΩΑΜΕΝ[  
8 [±5 ]ΚΙ[  
9 [±3 ][  
10 [±3 ][  
11 [±3 ][  

3 ΠΕΙΕΕ 5 ΨΩΜΙΤ 6 ΝΠΑΡΑ.

Parties  
Agreement  
Payment  
Measure?  
...  

(1) ... (2) the monastery (τόνος)  
(3) agreed (τομιν)[θείν] ... (?) (4) ...  
(5) ... pactum three ... (6) less (παρά) six (and) a half ...  
(7) measure (?) of my (?) ...  
(8) ... (9) ... (10) ... (11) ...
Transcription notes

3 Ι: following the Ι may be a 4 or an Ι.
6 πππ: see no. 9 ll. 12-13 for πππ as ΠΠΠ.
Other Documents Connected with an Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo

§6.1 Introduction to the texts in this chapter

This chapter presents twenty-nine texts (twenty-seven Coptic and two Greek) which mention or can be related to a monastery of Apa Apollo. One of them is written to a monk of the Titkooh monastery (no. 20), and two are addressed to a monastery of Apa Apollo which is ΠΡΗΣ οΜΟΥΝ "south of Shmoun" (nos. 31 and 33) (see §3.5). A location for the monastery in the Hermopolite nome is suggested for most of the other papyri by place names mentioned in the texts or by the details of their acquisition. Three documents which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo which is not obviously Hermopolite have been placed last in this chapter, nos. 46-48.

All but one of the papyri (no. 40) presented in this chapter are written from or to a monastery of Apa Apollo. Published texts which mention a monastery of Apa Apollo which may be Hermopolite but which are not edited here include P. Duk. inv. C4 (see §3.5); Ryl. 284; and a number of ΕΤΜΟΥΧΘ ostraca which mention a ΜΑΗΝ ΑΠΟΧΘ. ΜΑΗ may be interpreted here as "monastery" (see §4.6) and the large flour delivery specified for ΠΜΑΗΝ ΠΟΧΘ in some of the ostraca suggests that it had a population the size of a small settlement. The ΜΑΗΝ ΠΟΧΘ is also mentioned in a couple of ostraca in the Papyrusammlung of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, P 14707 and 14716; these may also be ΕΤΜΟΥΧΘ ostraca.

Many of the texts edited in this chapter are discussed in Chapter 3. A group of three tax demands is analysed below as well as in §3.7.

§6.2 Tax demands

Three unpublished Coptic tax demands addressed to monks of the monastery of Apa Apollo ("to the south of Shmoun" specified in two of them) are presented in this chapter (nos. 31-33). Three of them may have been issued to monks at the Bawit monastery, and have a similar format to eight published Coptic papyri from el-

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1 Ryl. 135 mentions ΟΥΡΩΘΜΗΤΕ ΠΜΟΝΑΚΤΗ ΜΕ ΠΟΧΘ which should be interpreted as "a man (of) this monastery is Apollo Helias" rather than "a man of this monastery of Apollo Helias".
2 See Shelton 1990 pp. 112-114.
4 These are described in Beltz 1980 pp. 144 and 161 respectively. This collection contains further unedited ΕΤΜΟΥΧΘ ostraca: P 14713, 14705, and 14711, see Beltz 1980 pp. 161 and 181.
5 See §2.8 for this possibility.
Ashmunein,\(^1\) and two copies of one document from Jeme.\(^2\) No. 47 is a Greek demand for *dêmosion*, which follows a different format from the three Coptic tax demands.

Kahle (Bal. p. 538) dated no. 31 to around 725 C.E., based on a comparison with a document from Jeme, BL Or. 4664A (Bal. no. 130 Appendix), which is dated to 724 C.E. The same date seems likely for nos. 32 and 33.

The standard format of the Coptic tax demands may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening formula</th>
<th>(CYN THEΩ)(^3) NN ΠπC2Ω1 ΝΝΝ(^4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tax demand</td>
<td>ΞΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ NTACTA2OK ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΤ ΤΑΔΥ(^6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liability</td>
<td>ΕΥΨΑΛΝΜΑ2Ε (ΜΜΟΚ)(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issuer</td>
<td>ΠΡΡΑ ΝΑΙ NN(^8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>ΕΓΡ(Α,ΦΗ)(^9) Μ(ΗΜΙ) x (day) x ΙΝΔΑ(ΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC) x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Résumé of payment</td>
<td>ΠΙ(ΝΕΤΑΩ) ΜΟ(ΜΙΤΜΑΤΙΩΔ) (ΑΠΙΘΗ ΜΙΑΩ) x(^10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the tax in question can still be ascertained in the published tax demands, three relate to the payment of poll-tax, and one to δημόσια (Ryl. no. 118, where the payment represents the ύποδοξιά of άυποδέκτης). *CPR* IV nos. 3 and 5, and Ryl. no. 119 use the term ἀνδριαςμός for "poll-tax" and *CPR* IV no. 6 uses διάγραφον (see §8.7.1 for these terms).

The same Liability clause, covering the possibility that the tax-payer may still be held liable even after making his payment, is encountered in one of the published tax demands, Ryl. 119, and following this a ΠΙΤΤΑΓΗ (ΠΙΤΤΑΚΟΝ) "order for payment" is mentioned. In BL Or. 4664A the tax-payer is advised to acquire a receipt (άποδειξις) as proof of payment in case further payments are demanded (ll. 5-7):\(^{11}\) ΑΥΩ

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1 *CPR* IV nos. 3-6 (nos. 3 and 4 of which belong to the archive of Flavius Atias, see *CPR* VIII nos. 72-84), and Ryl. nos. 117-119 and 378. See Kahle’s comments on this type of document in Bal. pp. 537-539.
2 BL Or. 4664A and B, which are edited in Bal. pp. 541-544.
3 See, exx., *CPR* IV nos. 2-6 and Ryl. nos. 117 and 118.
4 "(With God) NN is he who writes to NN". This formula occurs in no. 31 (and may be restored in no. 33 which also omits the dative δ- before the name of the addressee); and the published tax demands listed above in this section. It is found in texts from Ashmunein to the Theban region dating from the VI/VIIth C. - Xth C., see Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 45, and 228 § IV.
5 "NN is the one who writes to NN". This occurs in no. 32.
6 "This is what has been assigned to you to pay"; this occurs in nos. 31-33. See also BM Or. 4664A (see Bal. pp. 541-544); *CPR* IV no. 5; and Ryl. nos. 117 and 118. Ryl. no. 119 records the variant ΝΠΑΤΑ2ΟΚ; and *CPR* IV nos. 3 and 6 record ΑΣΓΙΑ2ΟΚ "it has been assigned to you"
7 "If you are held liable"; in nos. 32 and 33, and, e.g., Ryl. 119 l. 5.
8 "By me NN".
9 "It was written" (no. 33).
10 "Total reckoned solidi x"; in nos. 32 and 33; see also *CPR* IV nos. 3, 4 and 6.
11 *Bal*. pp. 542-543.
And as regards everything which you shall pay, get a receipt (ἀπόδειξις) for it as a [security for you (?) so that] you shall not pay anything beyond (παρά) your order of payment (πληρωμή).¹ Three ἔκτισμα προμηθείας formula documents (see §8.7.1) provide evidence that monks with the title "brothers of the poll-tax (ἄνδρασμος)" could hold people liable for tax payment (again the verb ἔκτισμα is used).²

In at least six of the published tax demands, the Issuer bears an Arab name,³ and in three his father may have been called Δ.Δ.ΕΡ.Μ.Ν, as is the case in no. 31.⁴ The issuer of the Greek tax demand, no. 47, has a hellenized Egyptian name, Ouersenouphios,⁵ and his father a Greek name, Theodoros. He may have belonged to a monastery of Apa Apollo himself because the demand is written on the back of a Coptic letter addressed to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

The published tax demands are issued at different times of the year, so the fact that two of the unpublished tax demands (nos. 32 and 33) are issued on Pharmouthi 22nd in different years may have little significance.

¹See Ryl. nos. 120-123 and 125 for examples of tax receipts.
²In Bal. no. 281, a fragmentary letter, someone mentions that ἔνεκτισμα Μ.Ο.Ι. ἐγγωσκόρ. "I was arrested for a solidus", presumably for not paying their taxes. See also Ryl. 1271. 16 ἔνεκτισμα Μ.Ο.Ι. Μ.Ο.Ι. ἐγγωσκόρ. ἄνωμοι ἔνοικος "we shall not be able to make a claim on (?) thee for any tax (δημόσια) on their account".
³See CPR VIII p. 193 for tax demands issued by a pagarch or dux.
⁴The name of the issuer is not preserved in the two other Coptic tax demands.
⁵A form of ΟΥΕΡΕΝΟΥΦΙΟΣ, see Crum CD p. 491 ΟΥΕΡΕΝΟΥΦΙΟΣ.
## OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO A MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO IN THE HERMOPOLITE Nome

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**TEXTS RELATING TO A MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO WHICH IS NOT SPECIFCALLY HERMOPOLITE**

| Debt Acknowledgment | P. Duk. inv. 439(B) | 46 |
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| Fragmentary Document |                         | P. Miss. inv. 2 | 48 |
DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT
ADDRESSED TO A MONK OF THE
MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT TITKOOH

P. Med. Copto inv. 76.21  202 (h) x 64 (w) mm.  VIIth C.¹
Papyrus  Plate 14

Preservation: (A) 7 lines and all but the left margin; (B) 1 line and all but the right margin.

Palaeography: a right-sloping majuscule with a few ligatures, reminiscent of CPR IV no. 23 (plate 1 opposite p. 160) which is dated to 610 C.E. Some letters descend below the "baseline", sometimes into the line below (P in ll. 3 and 6, X in l. 1, φ in l. 4, ω in l. 5, and 2 in ll. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6). Trema on i is prominent.

Provenance: unknown.² Written by a woman from Tahrouj (see §4.4) in the Hermopolite nome to a monk of the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo. Two of the legal formulae in this text are common to the Hermopolite nome: ΝΔΤΩΠ ΝΔΤΗΜΟΟΟΡ ΝΔΤΩΟΟΑΤΩΑ. "without judgment or law and without any objection",³ and καθαράς καλ άποκρότως "plainly and without fail".⁴

Acquisition: no details were given in the edition.

Pia from Tahrouj promises to repay her debt to Apa Ienoch, a monk of the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh. In P. Sta. Xyla 10, the son of a woman called Pia, Aurelius Phoibammon, from the village of Demetriou in the Hermopolite nome, acknowledges his debt to Apa Phibis, another monk belonging to this monastery. For other texts which feature monks of this monastery as moneylenders, see §3.9.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

³This occurs in one other text edited in this thesis (no. 53 ll. 8-9: ΝΔΤΩΠ ΝΔΤΗΜΟΟΟΡ ΝΔΤΩΟΟΑΤΩΑ) and may be restored in one other (no. 54 l. 4). According to Steinwenter (1957 p. 462) this formula is only found in Coptic documents from the Hermopolite nome. Kahle (introduction to Bal. no. 163) maintains that this usage is common north of Bala’izah but not in the Bala’izah region. Rabel 1917 pp. 83-84 and C. Schmidt 1932 p. 62 n. to l.13 also analyse the usage of this formula and give further references.
⁴It occurs in one other debt acknowledgment edited in this thesis (no. 24 ll. 2-3) and may be restored in two others (nos. 54 l. 4 and 55 l. 5). See Satzinger 1970 for this formula, and CPR IV index p. 198 s.v. καθαράς which lists a dozen texts featuring it.
(A)  
\[ \pi\alpha\tau\iota\iota\nu\iota\delta\iota\sigma\kappa\rho\iota \quad + \]
\[ \nu\iota\nu\nu\iota\delta\iota\sigma\kappa\rho\iota\tau\iota\mu\tau\alpha\rho\iota\iota\quad \nu\iota\mu\nu\iota\nu\iota\delta\iota\sigma\kappa\rho\iota\tau\iota\mu\tau\alpha\rho\iota\iota\quad \nu\nu\iota\nu\iota\delta\iota\sigma\kappa\rho\iota\tau\iota\mu\tau\alpha\rho\iota\iota \]

(B)  
\[ \sigma \quad \rho \]
\[ \varphi \ \alpha\sigma\alpha\lambda, \ \gamma\nu\alpha\mu \pi\iota\varsigma \ \theta\nu\gamma\alpha\tau\iota \]

1 Διοσκόρη, ενωθ πολυχος 2 Χρηστεί Ηπεκμπετωστ Καθαρως και Αποκρωτως 6 Μοι 8 ασφαλεια γεναμενης θυγατρος
Parties

(1) [I, Pia ?] daughter of Dioskre, daughter of Dora, of Tahrouj in the region of Shmoun, she is writing to Apa Ienoch, the monk (μοναχὸς) ... of Apa Apollo on the mount of Titkooh.

Acknowledgment

I owe (χρεωστέειν) your fatherhood clearly and without fail (καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως) ... .

Repayment

I am ready (ἐτοιμός) to pay you them in full (πληρώνων) in the month of Mecheir of this year.

Date

(4) and to give them to you without judgment or law (νομῶς) and without any objection (ἀμφιβολία)

Promise

+ I am Pia, daughter of [Dora] ... guarantee (άσφαλεία)

Issuer’s affirmation

Witnesses

+ Anoup, son of Silbane, and Anoup, son of Ioannes, are witnesses

Scribe

(6) ... they asked me and I wrote on their behalf because they do not know (νοεῖν) how to write + (7) Farewell in the Lord (?) +

Docket

(Greek 8) ... Guarantee of Pia, daughter ...

Transcription notes

1 ΔΙΟΚΡΕ: a syncopated form of ΔΙΟΚΟΡΟΣ.1

2 ΝΔΙΠΙΑ: preceding this and following ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ at the end of l. 1, restore ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ "of the monastery" (following no. 59) or ΜΦΑΓΙΟΣ "of the holy" (following no. 1), see §3.4.3.

3 ΤΙΤΚΟΟΣΕ: the editor read ΤΙΤΚΟΟΣ ≡, although an ε following the 2 is clearly visible from the plate accompanying the edition, with its horizontal crossed by the tail of a π descending from the line above.

4 ΠΕ ΠΙΑ: in the ed. pr. this reading is acknowledged to be possible but ΠΕΚ ΠΕΠΙΑ "I, Pepia", is favoured and πας in the docket assumed to be a mis-spelling of the genitive form of this name. ΠΕΠΙΑ is chosen in the ed. pr. because it fits the lacuna in l. 1 better than ΠΙΑ.

5 See Heuser PN pp. 10, 79, and 98.
8 γνωμ: this word is also abbreviated in no. 21 l. 8 (γενωμ/), no. 27 l. 13 (γενωμεμε), and no. 29 l. 23 (γενωμ).\textsuperscript{1}

\textit{ουατρη}: the names of Pia's parents and the sum she owes would have been written following this.

\textsuperscript{1}For other abbreviations of γενωμενη following ἀφαλεία, see CPR IV nos. 77 l. 12 (τεκθημΩ), 125 l. 17 (τεκθημ..), 171 l. 20 (τεκθημΙΑ).
DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

P. Mich. 6860 85 (h) x 318 (w) mm. First half VIth C.2
Papyrus

Preservation: (A) a complete text of 7 lines written over an erased text and around a vertical gap running from the top to the bottom of the papyrus; (B) a docket of one complete line is written on top of a large protocol (see no. 3).3 This is missing its right and lower (and possibly upper) margins, indicating that the papyrus was cut down for re-use.

Palaeography: the hand of Paulos the scribe is an irregularly but competently written majuscule which does not vary from the Coptic to the Greek text. Noteworthy features: large φ and κ (and 2 l. 3); incomplete ε in l. 2 (if the reading φερεωκτε is correct); minuscule and majuscule forms of η; three-stroke Π, and elongated initial stroke of Μ, second stroke of Χ, and tail of ιη. For a parallel hand, see P. Sta. Xyla no. 56 (pl. 5), which is dated to 539 C.E.4

Linguistic notes: Κ is used for ι (ΚΕΩΡΚΕ l. 6); and a Η is intrusive in ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΩΝ l. 6.

Provenance: Kahle (Bal. p. 664) thought that the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo was in question here and this seems very probable given that the issuer comes from Esou, a place just north of Bawit. See the provenance details for no. 20 for the Hermopolite associations of the formula ΝΑΤΑΝΥ ΝΑΜΠΙΩΛΑ in l. 4.

Acquisition: (according to Mich. p. 210) bought from Nahman in Cairo on April 15th 1936.


Victor, son of Mathias from Esou, acknowledges his debt of thirty sextarii of oil to Apa Enoch,5 a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo,6 and promises to repay it at the

---

1Mich. p. 210 gave (width by height) "32 x 10 cm." I am grateful to Dr Traianos Gagos for checking details of the dimensions and direction of writing in relation to the papyrus fibres.
2See the palaeography section of this text. The suggested date of IX-Xth C. in the ed. pr. (Mich. p. 210) was also based on palaeographical analysis of the text.
4According to Mich. p. 210: "Hand: similar to Stegemann [1936], Taf. 22, col. 3 of 952/3 A.D. and other columns, but also Taf. 16, col. 2 of 813 A.D."
5The date assigned to this text suggests that this man is different from Apa Ienoch of the Titkooh monastery in no. 20.
6In CKA p. 2078 "Ptoou n-Titkooh", Timm conjectured that the Titkooh monastery might be in question in this text.
harvest of indiction-year twelve. The document is written on the 15th of Choiak in that year, which is when the olive harvest begins. Victor's debt may represent his payment for the use of an olive grove or oil-press or other property belonging to the monastery. The oil is measured according to Apa Enoch's measure, which is presumably that of his monastery, see the Measure section at §5.5.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1}}On the practice of the large estates in Egypt lending oil presses, see Hardy 1931 pp. 130-131.}\]
(A)

1. ἂνοκ ἑικτὼρ πουέμμαθις πρώμεσον ἑν πτών ἱηροῦν εἰς ἑνεπὶ ἱαντά ἐν ἔχω

2. πυμονοχος ἤπα ἵππα δηπόλαχω ἐξ ἱεράς ἔπειρος τε ἐνα ἰκάν ἰδα ἰαβ ἐκάντειν ἑν-

3. πεκώι ναὶ τε τιο ἐπειμοσ τα ταί Νάθυ νάκ ἑν πικ[ι]πὸς ἱν ἰδοὺ ἐκάτ ιν

4. ἐν τα ἐπαθοίδο ἂνοκ ἑικτὸρ πουέμμαθις ἱατ[ι]πί [ε] ἐπηματίαν ἐν ἐπὶ ἐπηματιόν

5. ἂνοκ πηνουτ πουέμπατιρ ἐπειμοσ ἑοὶ ἐπηματί αὐτὸς ἑν πηνακωβ

6. πουέμπαστια τένο μέτρε ἐπηματίαν ἐπηματίαν ἐν ἐπηματίαν ἐπηματίαν ἐπηματίαν

7. ἐγραφὴ ἰν ἱοί ἱκεί με ἱανδ

(B)

8. ἰ πονομ, γραμ [Β]Βικτόρ Μάκας κομπ, ἵσον εὐς, εὐς = λ ἐν [ν]χ +

1 ἡ 2 μοναστήρι ἰππα, τικρέστι ἐνα ἰκάν ἰκατή ἵππα ἱερός ἱπατ ἱπατ 3 ἐπὶ πικρὸ ἰδοὺ ἐκάτ ἱν 4 στοιχεί ἐπηματίαν

5 ἰπαγ 6 ἐσφρὰ τῷ μέτρῳ ἐπηματίαν 7 ἐγραφὴ μνήμη (?) ἱν 8 γενόμενον γραμμάτευμα, καὶ ἵππα, ἐλαῖον ἐξαται ἐνεχθέντα
Parties 

(A 1) I, Victor, son of Mathias, of Esou in the region of Shmoun, am writing to Apa Enoch, (2) the monk (μοναχός) of the (monastery) of Apa Apollo.

Acknowledgment

I owe (χρεώστείν) you thirty sextarii (εἴστης) of oil according to (3) your measure.

Repayment

These then I am ready (τάοιμος) to [send/bring] to you at the harvest (καρπός) of the twelfth (δωδέκατος) indication (νέοικτος) (4) without any objection (ἀμφίβολα).

Issuer’s affirmation

I, Victor, son of Mathias, agree (στοιχεῖον) to this document (γραμματεῖον).

Surety

(5) I, Pieou, son of Papre, act as surety for him.

Witnesses

I, Serene, son of Victor, and Pakob, (6) son of Keorke, bear witness to this document (γ.).

Scribe

I, Paulos, son of Joseph, have written —.

Date

(7 Greek) Written in the month of (?) Choiak (day) 15, indication-year 12.

Docket

(8 Greek) Document drawn up by Victor, son of Mathias, of the village of Isou 30 sextarii of oil outstanding +

Transcription notes

1 εἰς 1) 2Δι: the ed. pr. gave εἰς 1) 2Δι and suggested εἰς 1) 2Δι as an alternative reading.

2 ΝΠΔ: for ΜΠΔ: this interpretation was not given in the ed. pr. Till 1958 p. 203 n.1 considered ΜΠΔ (sic) to be a scribal error for ΝΠΔ.

Χ'ΕΙΠ'ΕΙΩΧΤΕ: the ed. pr. gave ΧΟΡΩΧΤΕ but Ο cannot be read and the Ω is preceded by a letter.

ΕΗΧΤΕ: this emendation was also made in Till 1958 p. 203 n. 2.

3 ΤΔ[Τ]ΔΔΥ: the ed. pr. did not consider this to be "justified by visible remains" (Mich. p. 211). Till's suggestions (1958 p. 203 n. 4) of ΤΔΔΟΥ and ΡΤΟΥ cannot be substantiated.

ΔΩΔΕΚΤΗ[ΔΗ]: there is perhaps only space for one character in the lacuna, but the genitive form is intended here.

7 Η1: in the ed. pr. this was read as Η1, an abbreviated form of μηνιν "in the month of" which is what was most probably intended here. However, this cannot be read without difficulty since the first letter looks more like an ι or an Η.

1ε.: in the ed. pr. a Μ was read following the 1ε., but this does not seem likely.

8 ΚΩΡΥ, ΙΣΟΥ: Kahle erroneously emended this to ΡΩΜΙΟΥ in Bal. p. 664.
ξ.;: the letter or combination of letters written after the ξ may be part of the abbreviation for ξέσταταν; in the ed. pr. this was read as ξ =, presumably interpreting = as the sign sometimes found before a numeral (see, e.g., no. 76 l. 5).¹
ε[ν]χ: for the resolution of this abbreviation as ενεχθεντα "outstanding" see CPR XII 4 ll. 17, 31 and 40.

Translation notes

2 ΥΗΤΕ, 8 ξέσταταν: a measure which is found in Greek papyri from the IIInd to VIIIth C. and which may have had a capacity of a fifth or a seventh of an angeion.² ξ is a common abbreviation for this word.³
3 ΤΕ: see Crum CD p. 391a for this Coptic enclitic. An alternative interpretation of it as the Greek enclitic τε (LSJ p. 1763b), which is found, as here, in assurances (LSJ p. 1765a C.1.) is also possible. In the ed. pr. TE was considered to be a form of ΔΤ (6τ).
5 ΠΝΠΡΗ: this name, meaning "the one of the sun/Pre", is not attested in Lüddeckens DemNB, Heuser PN, Preisigke NB or Foraboschi OA.⁴
ΠΑΚΩΒ: this personal name occurs in another Hermopolite document, BM no. 1076.
6 ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΟΝ, 8 γραμμ: see Youtie 1973 p. 181 n. 43 for the term γραμμασιον. In ST 201 l. 7 it is something distinct from a δαξε.

¹Till 1958 pp. 202-203 does not translate this line.
²See CPR XII p. 41 §20c and Schilbach 1970 p. 115 for this measure in the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods.
³See, exx., CPR XII no. 27 ll. 1-2 and Hommes et richesses I p. 287.
⁴The closest parallel is the Egyptian P3-Rc, see Ranke PN vols. 1 p. 114 no. 11 and 2 p. 354.
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DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Christie's "31" text 2  
c. 80 (h) x 155 (w) mm.  
VII/VIIIth C.?  
Papyrus  
Plate 17  

Preservation: (B) 8 lines and all but the bottom margin are preserved; (A) a 2 line docket is imperfectly preserved. The first text written on this sheet of papyrus is a fragment of the first part of an account or list involving men's names and consisting of approximately 18 lines written parallel to the fibres. The papyrus is crumpled and many fibres are partially detached, especially ll. 5-8 which cannot be fully read.

Palaeography: hand 1 is a competent, rounded majuscule hand with some ligatures. Noteworthy letters: 2 and Ξ go below the "baseline" (exx. C2Ω1 l. 3, ΑΠΟΞΩ l. 4); wide Μ and Ω; Ο can be a small blob. Hand 2 is also majuscule with some ligatures; Θ is written with a loop.

Provenance: unknown. This document was issued by people from Migdôl in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4) to a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

Anoup and Kolthe, the headmen of Migdôl, guarantee repayment of their debt of one solidus to Kosma, a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo. The docket reveals that the loan repayment involves lachanon-oil and wheat (see §8.15 for both commodities).  

(A)

1→ "ΑΝΟΥΠ ΜΗΝ ΚΟΧΘΕ ΝΑΠΟΥΗ ΝΜΙΓΔΩΧ"
2 ΝΕΙΓΟΥ ΝΤΙΜΕ ΣΜΠΟΥ ΝΑΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙΗ ΕΝ-
3 ΑΠΟΞΩ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΩΜΑΝ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΠΟΠΟΣ
4 ΑΝΕΡΧΠΗΑ ΑΝΙΧΞΩ ΝΟΥΒΟΧΙΗ ΝΜΩΤΟΤ[.]
5 ΝΟΥΞΟΧΟΧΟΤ' ΝΙΝ[ΚΝΟΥΒ?] (±3) Π(±3)[
6 ΟΥΥΛΤΕΙΝΟΥ ΟΥ,[ ±4 ](±4)[
7 ](±4)[
8 ]Θ]
Docket (B) Hand 2
9 ↑ "ΑΦΑΞ[±6] ΝΟΥΦΕ(±2)ΙΚΟΥΘΕ ΑΑΧΟΤ ΕΑΧ[ΓΟ1Γ]"
10 (±4?)[]

Γ1 = ΟΥΥΞΙΩ[1] = ½, 10 ΣΙΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΣΙΩ I = 2/5

5 These dimensions have been estimated because the papyrus is crumpled.
6 For oil made from lachanon, see Sandy 1989 p. 6 n. 23, and Bagnall 1993 p. 30.
Parties
(1) Ἱ. Anoup and Kolt the headmen of Migdól (2) the four villages in the region of Shmoun the city (πολις), we are (3) writing to our brother Kosma the monk (μοναχὸς) of the monastery (τόπος) (4) of Apa Apolo.

Debt
Whereas (ἐπειδή) we were needy (χρεία), we received ... (5) a solidus (δόλοκτοτινος) of [gold?] ... (6) ...

Repayment?
Now ... (7) ... (8) ...

Docket
(9) Ἱ. Guarantee (ἀσφαλεία) ... Anouphe(-?) and (καί) Kolthe (for) 13 1/2 ounces (uncia) of lachanon-oil (λαχανόν, ἕλαιον) (10) ... artabas (ἀρτάβη) of wheat (σῖτος) ...

Transcription notes
1, 9 Ἱ.: for the form of this staurogram, see transcription n. to l. 1 of no. 14.
4 ΝΤΟΟΤ.Ἰ.: this cannot be read from the plate because of a fold in the papyrus.
6 ἼωΤ.: the papyrus is damaged following the Τ. Possibly interpret this as "father" (Crum CD p. 86b) or "barley" (Crum CD p. 87a).
9 ἈΦΑ.: restore an abbreviation for γενναμένη in the lacuna after this (see the transcription note to no. 20 l. 8).
(±2): following ΑΝΟΥΦΕ the papyrus is damaged and so the personal name 'Ἀνούφειος (attested in O. Mich. I 71 (IIIrd C.) may have been written.
+/: this is used twice in this line, the first time expressing καί, the second 1/2; see Youtie 1974 p. 50 for the range of meanings which this symbol can have.
23

DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT (?)

BL Or. 6201 B230  178 (h) x 173 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 18

Preservation: (A) 9 lines and the upper and lower margins preserved; (B) a one-line docket and all but the right hand margin preserved.

Palaeography: Coptic: a majuscule hand which slopes to the right; Greek: a small cursive hand.

Provenance: unknown. The acquisition details of this text suggest that its place of origin was an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

Bibliography: cited in Krause 1985b p. 151 n. 92 because it mentions an archimandrite of the monastery of Apa Apollo.

A monk of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo writes to the dikaios, presumably of his monastery, through its head, Apa Theodoiros. He acknowledges that he was given two solidi for a purpose which is not now clear. Indiction-year eleven is mentioned. Four oblique strokes across the papyrus indicate that the debt was cancelled, see no. 5.

Side (B) 10→ p.i.
Debt? your mercy reached me and you <...> two solidi (δοκτηνος) on me for the work ... for the eleventh (ενθεκατος) indication-year (υδικτιων) i.e. (γεγενεσθαι) by the will (God) ... the monastery (τοπος) ... I composed the document (αρτης) with my (own) hand.

Date (Greek) Written in the month of Phaophi/Pauni (?) ... indication-year (i.) ...

Signatory? + ... in the name of God (?) (Coptic?) ... +++ ...

Witness ... (9) ... the watchman I bear witness.

Address/docket (10) ... 

Transcription notes

1 ΜΠΔΓΟΟΟ: on the plate it looks as though the tail of a 2 might be visible before the Α, suggesting a reading of ΜΠΙΔΓΟΟΟ; this, however, cannot be read from the papyrus. Reconstruct ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΝΟΝ ΝΝ ΠΜΟΙΟΧΟ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΟ ... vel sim. at the beginning of this line, see no. 49 l. 1.

2 Restore 2ΙΤΝ at the beginning of this line, after no. 49 l. 2 2ΙΤΟΟΤ. ΔΠΡΙ: the missing final Α may have been written above the damaged Π. ΘΕΛΩΡΟΣ: see Krause 1985b p. 151 + n. 92 for the reconstruction of this name as "Theodors". Apart from ΘΕΛΟΡΟΣ, all of the names which are eight letters long and begin with θε- and end -ρος recorded in Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA are versions of Theodoros. ΠΙΨ: it is unlikely, but not impossible, that the final Τ (ΠΙΨΤ) was written at the beginning of l. 3.

3 ΔΑΚ: something appears to have been left out here and the context implies "you bestowed two solidi on me" vel sim.

4 εΗΔΚΠ ΤΗΟΓ: the ι could be an ε.

5 ΜΠΟΥΒΟΥ: this common phrase occurs in nos. 2 l. 12, 3 l. 10, 4 l. x+4, [8 l. 18], 25 l. 3, and 28 l. 8.

Translation notes

1 ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ: see §3.13 for this term.

2 ΘΕΛΩΡΟΣ: see §3.5 for this epithet describing a monastery of Apa Apollo.

2 ΘΕΛΩΡΟΣ: an archimandrite of this name occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus from the same collection as this document (BL Or. 6201 B50 (B), see §2.1). See no. 17 for another Theodors, who may be the head of a monastery of Apa Apollo.
3 ΔΝΕΝΔΑ ΤΩΝ: compare the phrases in nos. 34 ll. 6 and 7 ΝΕΝΔΑ ΤΩΝ, and 49 ll. 4-5 and 7; and Ryl. 331 ΤΕΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΟΤΩΝΝΟΣΟΚΤ, ("that your pity may attain us to (the extent of) five solidi").

7 Πα: Pauni and Phaophi are the months most commonly abbreviated in this way; ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ, ΠΑΡΠΟΤ ΠΑ and ΠΑΠΟΝΟΤ would normally be expected to have longer abbreviated forms than this, although Oikonomides 1974 p. 92 records a 140 B.C.E. document with the abbreviation πα for Παχων.

8 +++: see the translation note to l. 10 of no. 27
FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

"Ex-von Scherling no. 44"  
No dimensions recorded  
Whereabouts unknown

Preservation: judging from the transcription, the first 4 lines and all but the lower margin of this text appear to have been preserved.

Provenance: see the provenance details of no. 20 for the Hermopolite associations of the formula [Κ]ΔΘΡΟΣΚΕΔΠΟΡΤΟΣ recorded in II. 2-3.

Bibliography and Acquisition: see §2.7.

Loukas, a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo acknowledges his debt of fifteen folles. His creditor's identity is not recorded.

I? $\Delta \text{ΝΟΚ ΠΧΟΝΩΝ} \chi\gamma\kappa\kappa\kappa \pi\mu\nu\omega\nu\omicron\omicron\nu\sigma\iota\nu\omicron\omicron\nu$  
II? $\pi\nu \Delta \text{ΠΟΛΛΩΝ} \chi\iota\chi\rho\pi\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu \nu\kappa\kappa [\kappa] \Delta \Theta \Pi\rho\sigma\kappa$

3? $\kappa\epsilon \Delta \Pi\kappa\rho\kappa\rho\tau\omega\kappa\omega \mu\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron$  
4? $q \text{ΝΟΠΡICO\nu} \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron \nu\nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron \nu\upsilon \nu \xi (or \Delta)[...] \chi\omicron \omicron$

1 $\text{ΜΟΝΧΟΟ} \text{2} \chi\iota\chi\rho\pi\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon \nu 2-3 \kappa\acute{\alpha} \text{ΠΟΛΩΝ} \kappa\acute{\alpha} \Delta \Pi\kappa\rho\kappa\rho\tau\omega\kappa\omega 3 \text{ΜΗ} \text{ΝΟΥ} 4 \text{ΟΡΥΖΩΝ}$

Parties  
(1?) I, brother (ΠΧΟΝΩΝ) Loukas the monk of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa (2?) Apollo,

Acknowledgment  
owe (χρηστείν) you plainly (3?) and without fail (καθαράς καλ [ΔΠΟΚΡΟΤΩΣ]) fifteen folles (follis) of pure (δρυζος) gold, (4?) being their weight...

Transcription notes

3 $\Phi\chi\chi\chi[\omicron]:$ Crum reconstructed $\Phi\chi\chi[\chi\omicron]$

Translation notes

3 $\Phi\chi\chi\chi[\omicron]:$ the follis was used sporadically in the VIth C;8 Preisigke WB 3 p. 354 records V-VIIIth C. usages.

4 $\text{ΟΡΠΙΚΟ\nu}:$ for δρυζον, see Pap. Colon. XXI p. 5 n. 19, and Hendy 1985 pp. 350-353;  
P. Budge 1. 203 has δρυζον.

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7This text is only known to me through the transcription of Walter Ewing Crum; see §2.7. No superlinear marks were recorded in the transcription.
8See Pap. Colon. XXI pp. 44-45 for references and occurrences in Greek papyri. See also MacCoull 1994c pp. 485-486, especially n. 22.
ΕΥΘΒΩΝΟΥΝΤΙ: this phrase occurs in Bal. no. 121 l. 2 applied to "[solidi] of good gold"; Kahle could not find any parallels for this Coptic equivalent of the Greek εὖσταθος.
FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Christie's "24" c. 40 (h) x 250 (w) mm. 9 VIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 19

Preservation: 4 lines and part of the upper margin are preserved.

Palaeography: fairly competent, upright majuscule hand with few irregularities; sometimes with a double loop; wide M and ω; two- and three-stroke Π; three-stroke M.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin is a monastery of Apa Apollo for which the acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

Pesoou, a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo, acknowledges his debt of just under three solidi (the exact amount is not preserved) to another monk of his monastery.

(A)
1† Π[ειειω'οι] όνόματος Μπόποπος Ναπά Αποκώπος εις δει τον Μπαλοκ(7) Παπα
2 Μπόποπος Μούγο Εξ[π][ε]τε Ναρ κηγομέν Νεφοκοτ Παρά[λ]
3 [009] Α(009) ελορα Άονο[θ]τε
4 [009] [009]

1 ὁμόσαμος 2 Κρεωτῆς, κηγομέν Νεφοκοττίνος

Parties (1) ... Pesoou (?) the monk (μονάχος) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo am writing to my brother ... (2) of this same monastery (τ.).

Debt I owe him three solidi (ἀλοκόττινος) less (παρά) ... (3) ... [by] the will of God .... (4) ....

Transcription notes

1 Π[ειειω'οι]: Pesoou, literally "the sheep" (Crum CD p. 61a εκοού), is the only personal name ending in -εκωού or -εκοού recorded in Heuser PN.10

9 The dimensions of this fragment have been estimated because some of the papyrus fibres are twisted.
10 See Heuser PN pp. 26, 37 and 73. It may occur in an inscription from Bawit, see Clédat 1904-1906 p. 25 no. 1 (πεκοού).
FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

BL Or. 6201 B216 50 (h) x 107 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 19

Preservation: (A) 5 lines and all but the lower margin preserved; (B) the beginning of a one-line docket is written in between two thick lines which may have been part of the protocol of a larger, earlier text.

Palaeography: a fine small semi-cursive hand with distinctive Ξ (sometimes large), ε (large), and Κ (large). The same hand is used in BL Or. 6201 B184 (see §2.1), an unpublished fragment of the end of a document which mentionsίΕΡΗΜΙΑΞ Πωξ ΠΧ Ἰ, ΠΨΡΙζ ΕΣΤΙΜΗ and ΜΑΚΥΡΕ.

No. 26 employs three different superlinear marks: a mark resembling a grave accent is used without syllabic function (ΜΑΚ and ΜΕΣΟΠΗ 1. 4), and a superlinear stroke (positioned slightly to the right of the intended consonant) with syllabic function (Η- II. 1, 2 (bis), 3, 4; Η- II. 1, 2) and without syllabic function (ΠΟΥ l. 1; ΕΠΙΠΩΑ l. 3; ΖΕΤΟΙΡΩΣ l. 4), and marking the end of a word (ΠΟΥ l. 1 and ΧΤΗΚ l. 3); and there is a circumflex over the second Ί of ΕΠΟΙΚΙΩΝ in l. 1.

Provenance: unknown. This text was issued from Posntelke (see §4.5) which may be connected with Telke (modern Dalga) in the Hermopolite nome. The addressee belonged to a monastery of Apa Apollo in the same nome as Posntelke, which may be identified as the Bawit monastery a few miles south of Telke.11

Acquisition: see §2.1.

The issuer of this guarantee, who is from an ἐποίκιον called Posntelke, addresses someone from the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo. A certain commodity (which is not extant but which can be used as fodder, see §8.15) is to be repaid in Mesore.

(A)

1↑ ΕΠΟΙΚΙΟΝ ΠΠΟΥΝΤΕΙΧΕ ΠΤΟΙΨΗ[1
2 ...ΠΟΠΟΙΟΣ ΦΑΙΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΧΩΣ ΠΩΝ ΠΕΙΤΟΙΨΗ ΠΩΝΟΥΤΤ
3 ...Υ ΕΧΑΝΑΝΥ ΠΩΝ ΕΞΕΠΙΨΑΙ ΡΗΙΡΙΗ ΡΗ[1
4 ...Ι. ΖΕΤΟΙΡΩΣ ΤΑΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ ΜΑΙΚΡΗΗΗ[1
5 I( ±10 ) ΤΝΤΑΣΤΑΔΥ[1

(B) Hand 2

6→ Ψ ασφ/Γ.1

2 ΦΑΙΡΙΟΣ 3 ΕΞΕΠΙΨΑΙ 4 ΖΕΤΟΙΡΩΣ 6 ἀσόδελεια ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ (?)

11Ryl. no. 356 n. 3 cites part of this papyrus and states that the monastery of Apollo mentioned here is the one at Bawit.
Parties... of the settlement (ἐποίκισμον) of Posntelke in the region... the monastery (τόπος) of the holy (ἁγίος) Apa Apollo in this [same (?)] region...

Debt repayment... it is cut (?) and worthy of fodder... (I am) ready (ἐτοιμος) to give them to you

Date... in Mesore... which she gave...

Docket... (6 Greek) Guarantee...

Transcription notes

1 εδνστοινώμ: restore [Νωμογιν] after this if Posntelke is to be located in the Hermopolite nome.
2 ΝΟΥΩΤ: the Ν is barely legible.
3 Υ: the first letter may be a Μ.

ΔΥΩ: between the Υ and Ω is something which looks like a circumflex.
6 αφιγ.: possibly read Γ' or a similar abbreviation for γενομένη (see no. 20 l. 8).

Translation notes

3 ΕΕΣΣΧΡ ΔΥΩ ΕΕΕΝΠΩΜ ΡΠΕΙ: this seems a more probable interpretation than ΕΕΕΝΠΩΜ ΡΠΕΙ "it is worthy of artemesia" (see Crum CD p. 703a 2ΡΙΜ). The use of superlinear strokes does not help in dividing up the words here because they may be employed without consonantal function over the last letter of a word, as in ΕΕΣΣΧΡ.
2ΡΕΙ: the form of the Ρ is doubtful because of a mark on the papyrus next to it. The reading of the next letter as Τ is also uncertain because it is preceded by a loop which is not accounted for. A reading of ΤΕΩ "burn" or ΤΕΩ- "forty of ..." is unlikely because the Τ would be formed quite differently from other Ms in this text.
GUARANTEE FOR A SALE OF LAND

_Herm. 7_ 150 (h) x 300 (w) mm. VIIth C.  
Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13495(B and A) Plates 20 and 26  
Papyrus

**Preservation:** (B) 12 lines and all margins may be preserved (the bottom two lines are obscured by the frame in which the papyrus is mounted). This text is written beneath the 2-line address belonging to the first text inscribed on this papyrus, no. 34. (A) a 2 line docket is written over part of no. 34.

**Palaeography:** hand 1 is a semi-cursive hand with a mixture of minuscule and majuscule forms. The ε·p ligature is almost "ace-of-spades" in form (ἐπε l. 4; τεπε l. 9). Hands 2-5 are an inexpert majuscule.

**Linguistic notes:** the following forms are noteworthy: ΣΥΜΙΝ for ΣΜΗ (l. 8, compare _Ryl._ no. 178 ΣΥΜΗ); and ∆ for T in Coptic (εΔε l. 7) and Greek (ΤΗΓΕ l. 7) words. See _Herm._ pp. 40-41 for an explanation of the form ∆ΣΦΑΞΕΙ.

**Provenance:** el-Ashmunein. This document is issued to the monastery of Apa Apollo by people from Pôrahēu (see §4.4) which suggests that an Hermopolite monastery is in question here. The proximity of Pôrahēu to Titkooh may argue in favour of the monastery at this site rather than Bawit.

**Acquisition:** no details are given in the publication.

**Bibliography:** edited in _Herm._ pp. 35-42.

The council of the settlement of Pôrahēu provides a guarantee to the head of the monastery of Apa Apollo for the three arouras of fodder-land and twenty-five arouras of pasture it has sold the monastery for 1½ solidi in indiction-year 11.

The council is represented by three men who are presumably leading members of the community. They bear the titles priest (ἱερεῦ), deacon (διάκων) and presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) respectively (see §3.13), and their signatures reveal their lack of writing experience.

This document was not written on an empty sheet of papyrus which may suggest that it is a copy of the original legal document. If this is the case, it is noteworthy that it bears the signatures of the signatories and witnesses.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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12Krause 1985b p. 146 n. 18 (and p. 148) considers that the Bawit monastery is in question in this text.

13Another example of a legal text written on previously used papyrus is _P. Oxy._ III 584 (dated to around 129 C.E.), which is cited in Turner 1954 p. 103 no. 2. In this case, the papyrus contains two legal documents both addressed to the same person.
27 ΙΙ. 1-7

1. ΑΝΟΝ ΤΚΟΙΝΩΤΗΣ ΝΠΕΠΟΙΚ, ΠΩΡΑΣΗΥ 2ΙΤΟΟΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΙΣΙΤΡΕ ΠΣΙΕΡĖ ΡΨΕΝΘΕΙΚΤΩΡ

2. ΜΝ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΠΑΙΔΙΚΩΝ ΜΝ ΑΝΟΥΦ ΠΡΕ ΜΝ ΡΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΨΗΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΦΙΒ ΜΝ ΠΙΣΕΠΕ ΝΠΕΠΟΙΚ;

3. ΤΙΟΥΜΠΩΝ ΕΝΟΣ ΔΑΣΩΝ ΔΑΣΑΝΑΣ ΠΡΟΕΙΤΟΧ ΝΠΜΟΝΑΣ; ΜΑΝΑΤ [ΑΠΙ]ΟΧΩΝ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΤΑΝΠΙΘ ΝΕΜΑΚ

4. ΑΝΤΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΨΟΜΕΝ ΝΣΙΤΙΩΣΗ ΓΕΡΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥ ΜΝ ΧΟΥΤΗ ΝΣΙΤΙΩΣΗ ΜΟΝΗ 2Ν ΤΣΩΤΕ

5. ΝΠΕΝΗΕΙ[ΠΟΙ]ΚΟ, ΤΕΝΜΑΣΚ ΝΜΟΟΥ ΝΠΒΑ ΝΠ[Μ]ΟΝΑΣΤ' ΤΟΥΤ ΕΚΤΙΝ ΧΟΡ ΑΡ Υ ΣΑΤΑΜ ΑΡ ΚΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ

6. ΤΕΝΩΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΧΕ ΑΝΣΙ ΑΥΘ ΑΝΠΑΝΡΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤΘΥΤΗΝ ΝΤΕΝΤΙΜΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΗ ΝΤΑΝΠΙΘΑΔ

7. ΝΕΜΝΕΡΦΟΥ ΝΜΟΣ ΕΔΕ ΠΑΤΙ ΠΕΙΝ ΚΝΤΥ 2ΟΧΟΚΟ/ γυ, ΧΡΥ νο α/ γ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΤΕΝΣΕΟ ΝΠΧΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΝΤΙΗΓΕ

1. ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝΙΟΝ Α., ΖΕΡΕΥΣ 2 ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΣ, ΠΕΣΕΝΕ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝΙΟΝ 3 ΠΡΟΕΙΤΟΧ ΑΡΜΟΝΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ Α.Π.Α., ΑΝΕΙΔΗ ΡΤΛΝΕԻΓΕ
4. ΣΤΕΙΩΣΗ ΡΩΝ, ΣΤΕΙΩΣΗ ΡΜΟΝΗ 5 ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝΙΟΝ ΤΡ., ΡΜΟΟΥ ΡΝΔΑ ΑΡΜΟΝΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΧΟΡΤΟΥ ΑΡΟΥΜΑΙ, Ι = ΚΑΙ, ΚΑΣΑΝΘΙΥΣ(?) 6 ΘΕ
7. ΝΕΜΝΕΡΦΟΥ ΑΡΜΟΣ ΕΤΕ. 2ΟΧΟΚΟΤΙΝΟΙ, ΤΡΙΜΗΣΙΟΝ, ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΥΘΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΣΜΑΤΙΚΑ, Ι = Ι/2, Γ = Ι/3, ΤΕΝΩ ΑΡΜΟΕΙ ΡΤΕΝΙΔΙΟΚΕΙ
8 ΝΜΟΟΥ ΝΣΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΗΕΟΥΨΥΕ ΓΥΨΡΧ ΟΥΝ ΤΕΤΝΕΜΝΙΓΤΩΝ ΝΣΥΜΙΝ ΤΙΑΣΦΑΞΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΝΣΤΟΙΧ ΕΡΟΣ

9 ΕΝΨΡΧ ΝΝΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΙΔΛΝΙΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΝΝ ΠΕΥΨΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΡΧΕ ΕΧΩΝ ΤΕΡΕΝΡΟΕΙΝ ΝΗΤΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΘΜΟΝ ΝΤΙΑΣΦΑΞΕΙ

10 + εγρ μ' Τυ κα νδ, ια + ΝΟΚ ΕΙΣΙΔΡΕ Π ΙΝΕΡΟΟΣ ΤΙΣΤΗΧΕ + + + ΤΙΣΤΗΧΕ + + + ΤΙΣΤΗΧΕ + + + ΤΙΣΤΗΧ

11 + ΝΟΚ ΓΕΝΝΑΙΤΩΝ ΠΥΒΕΝΑΝΟΠ ΠΡΟΜΠΛΗΝΕΜ 2ΕΝ ΠΤΩΥΚ ΚΨΚ ΤΙΟ ΜΜΕΤΡΕ ΠΙΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΝΤΛ.ΣΩΤΕΜ

12 ΣΙΤΕΝ ΠΕΤΣΙΜΕΙΝΕ ΜΗΜΟΙΨ + εγρ Μπα γραμ γραψή ι μαρτυρω

(A)

13→+ ασφαλει γεναμεηε παρα ιστρε αλλου τυ επουκη/ Πουρατη

14 X τυν χοξτ καταμε 1(8), ια

8 ΝΜΟΟΥ, ΕΤΗΕΟΥΨΥΕ, ΡΕΤΕΙΜΑΤΕΙΩΝ ΝΣΥΜΙΝ ΤΙΑΣΦΑΞΕΙ, ΤΙΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ 9 ΝΝΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΝΝ ΠΟΥΞΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΡΧΕ, ΤΕΡΕΝ-, ΤΙΑΣΦΑΞΕΙ. 10 ΕΓΡΑΦΗ κα τυ κα ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΝΟΣ, ΠΙΕΡΟΣ ΤΙΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΝ ΣΜΙΟΝ ΤΙΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΠΗΛΙΚΚΩΝ ΣΜΙΟΝ ΤΙΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΝΗΟΥΡ ΠΠΡΕΣΟΤΕΡΟΣ ΣΜΙΟΝ ΤΙΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ 11 ΝΝΟΥΠ ΠΡΩΠΙΝΕΜ 2Η ΠΤΩΥΚ ΚΨΚ ΤΙΟ ΜΜΕΤΡΕ ΠΙΧΑΡΤΗΣ 12 ΣΙΤΑ ΠΕΤΣΙΜΕΙΝΕ, γραμματευσ, ι = καί
13 ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΟΙΚΟΥ 14 X = ΥΠΕΡ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΧΩΡΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΜΗΣ (?) ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΝΟΣ
We, the council of the settlement of Pôrahêu, through the agency of Eisitre the priest and Petre the deacon and Anouph the presbyter and Shenoute, son of the late Phib, and the rest of the settlement together we are writing to the scribe Athanase the head of the monastery of Apa Apollo.

Whereas we agreed with you to sell you three good arouras of fodder and twenty-five arouras of pasturage in the meadow of our settlement, we allot you them according to the measure of the monastery. Measuring 3 arouras of fodder, and 25 arouras of pasturage.

Now we state that we have received and have been satisfied by you our price as we agreed with one another. The price which is two solidi less half a tremissis, i.e. gold solidi 1 + 1/2 + 1/3. Now then you are the owner and you may manage them in any way you wish.

As an assurance, therefore, your fatherhood, we have set up this guarantee for you, and we agree to it, swearing by God the Almighty and by the well-being of those who rule over us that we shall look after you according to the power of this guarantee.

Written in the month of Tybi, (day) 21, indication-year 11.

Eisitre, priest
Petre, deacon
Anouph, presbyter
Shenoute (son of) Phib.
Witness 1

I, Gennate son of Anop, of Plêtem in the district of Kôs, bear witness (to) this document (χάρτην) which I heard (δόξην) through the one who created it.

Scribe and witness 2 + (Greek) I, Mena, scribe, write and bear witness.

Docket + (Greek) + Security document executed by Isitre and the others of the settlement of Pôrahêu (δόξην) for the price of the fodder and pasturage, indiction-year 11.

Translation notes

5, 14 χορτός and κατακός: in the ed. pr. it was suggested that these could be abbreviations of χόρταν and κατακόμβα, and κατακόμβα and κατακόμβα, respectively (pp. 38-40). The shorter form seems the more likely in both cases.

11 NT.CWTCM: this line is not visible on the plate, but NT.CWTCM "which I heard" would be expected.

12 γραphys: literally "I will write" possibly written instead of the expected form γραψα "I wrote" because of the scribe’s confusion between this Aorist indicative form and the Present indicative form of μαρτυρεμένος which follows. This line is illegible in the plate and so it cannot be verified whether the scribe wrote a φ which looked more like a ψ. In the ed. pr. γραψω was interpreted as an attempt at writing γραψα, and the form ἐγραψαθό, which occurs in a Coptic document from Aphrodito, P. Lond. IV 1536 I. 23, was cited.

Translation notes

1 ΚΟΙΝΩΣΗ: see Steinwenter 1920 pp. 52-53 and 1955 p. 18 for occurrences of this body in Coptic legal documents.

2ΕΙΣΟΤΕΙ: see Papini 1990 p. 300 for the implications of έις and έιςοτεί in Coptic legal documents.

4 ΕΙΣΟΤΕΙ: Crum CD pp. 90a ειςειοσε and 701a 2ρει cite BL Or. 6201 B19 (see §2.1) as containing the phrase ειςειοσε 2ρει.

5 ΕΝΜΑΧΣ: for έν- as a Conjunctive, see the ed. pr. p. 38; "allot" seems the most suitable translation of δέκα, although δέκα μον κοίταξ usually has the meaning "(re)pay someone something", as, e.g. in Bal. no. 102 ί16-16 ΤΑΡΜΑΣ Κ ΜΜΟΥ, 21-22 ΤΑΡΜΑΣ ΜΚ Κ ΜΜΟΥ, 23-24 ΤΑΡΜΑΣ Κ ΜΜΟΥ, and 1. 25 ΕΝΑΜΑΣ Κ ΜΜΟΥ. άς: literally a "date-palm branch", and more specifically a measure of length. It is used, e.g., in the mathematical exercises recorded on BM no. 528, p. 258 where it occurs as δεκα. The term is borrowed into Greek as βάτον, see Herm. p. 38 for references and details. On monastery measures, see the Measure section in §5.5.

1Ep. 1 p. 95 has a diagram (fig. 51) of such a palm-stick measure from the Monastery of Cyriacus.

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9 ENWPK NΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΙΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΝ ΠΕΥΧΑΙ ΝΕΤΡΠΕ ΕΞΩΝ: for this oath, see Seidl 1935 pp. 139 type II.1 and p. 141 type d, γ which lists several VIIIth C. examples. The same oath also occurs in the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo: BL Or. 6201 ll. 62-63, 6202 ll. 70-71, 6203 ll. 84-86, 6204 ll. 59-60, and 6206 l. 42 (see §2.1.1). The same oath also occurs in the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo: BL Or. 6201 ll. 62-63, 6202 ll. 70-71, 6203 ll. 84-86, 6204 ll. 59-60, and 6206 l. 42 (see §2.1.1). The same oath also occurs in the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo: BL Or. 6201 ll. 62-63, 6202 ll. 70-71, 6203 ll. 84-86, 6204 ll. 59-60, and 6206 l. 42 (see §2.1.1).

TCP: see Green 1983b for the use of TÇPC- in non-literary texts, especially p. 139 for the subordinate use of TÇPC- in legal documents.

10 TV κα: Tybi 21st = 16/17th January.

CYMION, +++: the word σημείων and (often written below it) the triple cross (+++ ) are sometimes written in documents for someone who is unable to affirm their satisfaction with the contract competently in writing.2 The triple cross is also found in nos. 23 1. 8; 49 1. 19 (a large triple cross followed by one small cross); 54 1. 6; and 76 1. 8.3 In Berlin P 11937 ll. 16-7 (Schmidt 1932 pp. 60-68) an illiterate man refers explicitly to his use of the triple cross.

11-12 ΝΤÇΕΣΣΤΕΜ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΕΤΣΜΕΝΕ ΜΗΜΟΙ: parallel phrase in P. Lond. IV no. 1494 ll. 38-39, p. 436 (dated 709 C.E.): ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙΣΣΤΕΜ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΕΤΣΜΕΝΕ ΜΗΜΟΙ.4

13 αλλου: the singular form is possibly written instead of ἀλλον here through analogy with its Coptic counterpart ΠΣΕΠΕ in l. 2, or because it refers back to ΚΟΙΝΩΤΗΣ in l. 1.5

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1This oath is discussed at Krause 1958 p. 54 §21a.
3Kahle stated that the triple cross is very common in "the Ashmunein texts and further north" (Bal. p. 519 n. (4)). No. 56 also preserves a triple cross whose function is uncertain.
4ΣΟΤΙΜ is mis-spelt CWΤΙΜ on p. xlvii of this publication.
5The reference to P. Lond. IV 1574 given in the ed. pr. commentary (p. 41) on ἀλλον is incorrect and should perhaps cite P. Lond. IV 1419 l. 696 ἀλλα.
EMPHYTEUTIC LEASE AGREEMENT FOR LAND

_Herm. 3_  
270 (h) x 328 (w) mm.  
VIIth C.  
Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13490(A)  
Plates 21 and 27

_Papyrus_  
_Preservation:_ (A) 10 lines and all but the lower margin are visible. Most of the right half of ll. 1-4 is missing and there are lacunae in ll. 8-10. (B) 4 lines of a docket; this side of the papyrus was later re-used for a wine account, _no. 37._

_Palaeography:_ a flowing cursive hand which slopes to the right, with generous spacing in between the lines as found in other VIIth C. Coptic manuscripts.

_Provenance:_ el-Ashmunein (according to _Herm._ p. 17). The place of origin was most probably an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, because Senesla, where the land is to be leased, is located in this nome. Further connections with this nome are provided in the wine account, _no. 37_, inscribed later on the other side of this papyrus.

_Acquisition:_ formerly no. 14 in the collection of I.L. Lixacev._1_

_Bibliography:_ edited in _Herm._ pp. 17-22.

Two monks (Enoch and another whose name is not extant) of the monastery of Apa Apollo are leasing land in Senesla from the _dikaion_ of their monastery through its archimandrite, Apa Georgios. A payment of 2 solidi less 24½ carats is specified, which presumably represents an annual payment. The lease (_μσωσίς_ (ΜΘ l. 11)) is emphyteutic (l. 9 ἐπί ηπα το άυω _ξι[κ]ἀπάτας_ ἐτεοι _ητεκανοι_).

The land is described as _στωού_ "waterless", and access to water would have been an important factor in determining the amount of rent to be paid. _στωού_ is the Coptic equivalent of the Greek _νυδρος_, a term used in V-VIIth C. documents to signify land which was not watered by the Nile._2_ Such land was taxed at a lower rate than land which was naturally irrigated because it required the expense of supplying hydraulic facilities. This may explain why "the men of Senesla", from whom this land was acquired, were willing to relinquish ownership of it, see _§3.12_. Other leases of _στωού_ land include _CPR IV_ 117 and 122. The former is also arranged by a monk with the _dikaion_ of his monastery: a deacon pays 5 carats of _φεος_ a year for one _ετειω_ of _στωού_ land._3_

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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1 No other details are at present available for this papyrus. I am most grateful to Dr M. Dandamaeva of the Hermitage Museum for her assistance with tracing this papyrus.

2 See Bonneau 1993 pp. 208 and 221 for this interpretation following _P. Cair. Masp._ I 67113 l. 10, and Bonneau 1971 n. 418. _P. Lond._ V no. 1693 n. 15 gives a different explanation.

3 _CPR IV_ no. 148 ll. 5-6 describes land as "watered and unwatered".  
164
28 Η. 1-7

(A)

1 ἐν ἰδίνῃ 

2 ἑανος ἀπὸ τὸν ἐνωχ ἐννυχ 

3 πολέμου 

4 τοῦποιοῦς 

5 ἑαντιά 

6 τῶν σκοτεινήν 

7 ἐρωτήσε 

8 ἑανος, ἑανος ἐννυχ 

9 τοῦποιοῦς 

10 ἑαντία 

11 τῆς 

12 τῶν 

13 ἑαντιά 

14 τῶν
28 II. 8-14

8 ἐθνοτέτι [ἐν] ὁ ποιητὴς ἀποκριθεὶς ἀλήθεια, ἀληθεύεται ἐπὶ ἄλλη ἑυμηνίᾳ ἀλήθεια.

9 ἔλθε ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ ὁράσεις ἐπειδή τὸ ὄνομα παράγω

10 ἔνων ἐν παράγω ἀπεδράσας ἡ ἐντολή Τιμοθεῖος ἐντολήν καλοῖς παράγων

(B)

11 ἐκ τῆς παράγως ἡ ὁράσεις ἐφευρον χρόνον ἐν παράγων

12 ἐκ τῆς παράγως ἡ ὁράσεις ἐφευρον χρόνον ἐν παράγων

13 ἐκ τῆς παράγως ἡ ὁράσεις ἐφευρον χρόνον ἐν παράγων

8 ἐθνοτέτι ἐποιητὴς ἀποκριθεὶς ἀλήθεια, ἀληθεύεται ἐπὶ ἄλλη ἑυμηνίᾳ ἀλήθεια.

9 ἔλθε ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ ὁράσεις ἐπειδή τὸ ὄνομα παράγω

10 ἔνων ἐν παράγων ἀπεδράσας ἡ ἐντολή Τιμοθεῖος ἐντολήν καλοῖς παράγων

(B)

11 ἐκ τῆς παράγως ἡ ὁράσεις ἐφευρον χρόνον ἐν παράγων

12 ἐκ τῆς παράγως ἡ ὁράσεις ἐφευρον χρόνον ἐν παράγων

13 ἐκ τῆς παράγως ἡ ὁράσεις ἐφευρον χρόνον ἐν παράγων
Parties

(1) We, brother (πᾶς) Enoch and brother (πᾶς) B-...
(2) of the holy (ἅγιος) Apa Apollo, are writing to the dikaios
(δίκαιος) of the monastery (μοναστήριον)...
(3) father Apa Georgios the archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) and father of the monastery...
(4) of your fatherhood.

Preamble

We did not give any...

(5) you gave us eight waterless arouras from the fields of the small meadow...
(6) which you have exchanged
(ἀλλὰ δόσεις) with the men of Senesla more or less so that
we take possession of...
(7) them and farm them ourselves
(αὐτοῦργεῖσαι) on behalf of the monastery...
(8) and your fatherhood

Date

starting from this coming harvest (καρπός),
(9) by the will

Term

It is ours...

for all the days of our life. Whereupon...
(10) Enoch and [brother (πᾶς) B-...]

Docket

(11) The lease (μίσθωσις) of brother (πᾶς) Enoch and
[brother (πᾶς) B-...]

Translation notes

1 θ[±10] τ[±6] : following the name of the second person
addressed, a phrase along the lines of ΝΕΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΝΠΙΜΟΝΑΧΤΗΡΙΟΝ
"the monks of
the monastery" is a possible restoration for the damaged second half of this line.

2 ζΤΗΝ ΠΕ- : restored at the end of this line after no. 49.2 (ζΤΟΟΤ).

[εις], which cannot be
read from the plate, but did not give an interpretation of it or cite a parallel usage in a
Coptic document. The principal meanings of ειςβολή according to LSJ are "invasion",
"entrance", and "beginning". Another possible Greek word which may be restored here
is ΠΡΟΣΒΟΛΗ (προσβολή "embrace, attack, approach").

9 ΞΙ:[ΝΕ: restore ΠΟΟΥ ΝΠΟΟΥ "this day" (see Crum CD p. 731a 200) vel sim.
here. The ed. pr. suggested a restoration of ΞΙ[ΝΕ ΠΟΟΥ ΕΘ ΝΝ]Ε200Υ after Ryl.
nos. 174 and 191; the latter text does not contain this phrase.

10 Α±[?]. ΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΡΠΝΙΟΣ ΝΩΡΠΝΙΟΣ : the ed. pr. tentatively read ΝΤΑΙΝΩΡΠΝΙΟΣ
in keeping with the first person of the following phrase.
5  \(\beta\omega\iota\): following \(\epsilon\iota\omega\zeta\varepsilon\) this should perhaps be translated as something other than "field". Westendorf \(KH\) suggests "Wiese", which is followed here; Crum \(CD\) 650b 201 also gives the meanings "canal, ditch" and "waterwheel".

6  \(\delta\lambda\lambda\lambda\alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\): see Boulard 1913 p. 52 for this verb in Coptic sales contracts.

\(\varepsilon\epsilon\mu\epsilon[2] \varepsilon\epsilon\omega\alpha\Delta\varepsilon\varepsilon\): Crum \(CD\) p. 208b \(\text{MOY2}\) cites the Greek equivalent of this phrase as \(\pi\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu\ \varepsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu\ "more or less" which is found in Greek papyri of Byzantine date.\(^1\) At least three published Coptic documents use this phrase following numerals (\(Ryl.\ 162; \ BM\ 1021 l. 4\) and \(CPR II\ 190\)), the first two of which have been assigned the provenance of el-Ashmunein.

\(\delta\mu\Delta\varepsilon\varepsilon\): note the use of this verb followed by the preposition \(\epsilon\)- and then the object; see Depuydt 1993 p. 286 for the absence of immediate connection of this verb with its object in the bi- and tripartite conjugations.

13 \(\alpha\pi\nu\): the \(ed.\ pr. (\text{Herm. p. 2})\) notes the unusual usage of \(\alpha\pi\omicron\) rather than \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\) (see \(\text{no. 8 l. 13}\)) here, and cites a parallel in another Hermopolite document, \(Ryl.\ no. 158 l. 29\) \(\chi\rho\omicron\nu\), \(\text{N0}\ \gamma\gamma\ \alpha\pi\nu\ \kappa\gamma\), \(\kappa\beta\iota\ "31/2\) gold solidi less 22\(1/2\) carats".

14 \(\chi\omega\rho\ \omega\rho\nu\): this may be interpreted as \(\chi\omega\rho(\omicron\nu)\ "place/district"\ \(\omega\rho\omicron(\nu)\ "of\ (H)or(os)"\), see \(\text{(H)oro(-) \S4.5}\).

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\(^1\)See Drew-Bear 1979b p. 293 and commentary on p. 297 for this phrase in a Vith C. Greek papyrus from the Hermopolite nome, P. Sorbonne inv. 2291 l. 16 (\(\pi\lambda\epsilon\omega\omicron\ \varepsilon\lambda(\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu)\)).

168
GUARANTEE FOR A LEASE AGREEMENT CONCERNING BEEHIVES

Three monks from the monastery of Apa Apollo have leased some beehives to Lazaros, a beekeeper from Thake. In the document presented here, they issue a guarantee to Lazaros in case the beekeeper Enoch, who has presumably been in charge of the beehives in question and who may be employed by the monastery, somehow deceives him. However, the monks disclaim any responsibility for the bees once Lazaros has transported them back to his village.

This text exhibits a variant introduction to the standard formula found in texts mentioning a monastery of Apa Apollo (see §7.2). There is only one witness to the document and no scribe is named. This may indicate that one of the three monks, most probably the notarius (see §3.13) Germane, drew up the document.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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1See P. Sta. Xyla pp. 114-117 for this ligature.
2For apiculture in Egypt, see Chouliara-Raios 1989 (Byzantine period pp. 85-89).
3Chouliara-Raios 1989 pp. 101-106 mentions cases of damaged beehives recorded in the papyri, and discusses the meticulous and constant care they require from bee-keepers.
(A)

1
2  Ρ Ἄνωκ ΠΠΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΠΝ ΠΑΚΟΝ
3  ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ ΠΝΟΤΑΡ
4  ΝΕΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΑΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΧΩ
5  ΕΝΣΩΛ ΝΔΛΖΡΟΣ ΠΝΔΝΠΟΛΧΩ
6  ΠΕΒΙΕΙΤ ΠΡΩΜΣΔΚΕ ΞΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ
7  ΔΚΣΜΕΝ ΟΥΜΙΣΘΩΣΘΙΟΝ ΝΑΝ
8  'ΖΑ' ΨΗΤ ΜΕΤΑΒΤΕ ΡΗΝΑΒ
9  ΡΗΝΕΙΩΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΞΕ ΤΕΝ-
10  ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ ΝΑΚ ΖΑ ΕΝΩΧ
11  ΠΕΒΙΕΙΤ ΕΤΕΜΤΡΕΠΤΑΡΓΕ
12  ΑΜΟΚ ΖΑ ΠΕΥΖΑΨΕ ΕΒΩΑΝΑΠΡΑ-
13  ΤΕ ΑΜΟΚ ΙΕ ΡΨΜΕ ΕΠΨΘ ΠΕ
14  ΚΟ ΝΡΕΜΖΕ ΖΑ ΡΟΟΥ ΔΝΟΝ
15  ΖΩΑΝΤΙΩΛΘ ΝΗΜΑΒ' ΔΝΟΝ
16  ΠΠΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΠΝ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ
17  ΜΠΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ ΤΙΘΚΟΙΞΕ
18  ΕΤΙΔΑΦΑΛ ΢ΘΕ ΕΣΣΗΖ ΑΜΟΣ
19  ΑΥΘ ΕΡΨΑΘΝΖΨΘ ΣΑΣΚ ΖΡ ΠΝΚΤΙΜΕ
20  ΖΑ ΦΨΨ ΡΗΝΕΙΒ ΤΙΘΠΟΣΘΕ ΑΜΟΚ
21  ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΥΛΕ ΠΨΗΜΝΗΝΑ ΡΤΙΝ ΤΙΟ ΜΜΕ
22  ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΠΑΟ ΥΝ ΥΒ Β

(B) at right angles to text on side (A)

ε

23  + ασφάλ  γενομ ς  Ηλίας ηρ ΣΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ σφημν Σ Γερμανος περι του

γ

23 continued  μελισουρ +

στροφος 4  ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ 6, 11  εβιτ 7  ΚΜΗ 8  ΜΗΤΑΙΤΕ ΖΗΛΑ 9  ΡΗΒΙΘ 11  ετι- 12  γε- 14  ρηγε 15  ΜΗΥΑΓ 17  ετοικει 18  ασφάλεια 19  γεβα 20  φωβ  ΡΗΒΙΘ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΣΘΕΙ 21  ςΡ-,  ΜΗΤΡΕ
22  ΠΑΥΛΕ, ιδεκτίνους 23  ασφάλεια γενομένη υπò Ἡλίας προσβιτέρου, Σ = κατ', σφημνου, Γερμανου, μελισουργου

170
Parties  
(1) + (2) I, the Papa Elias and brother (πα&κον) (3) Papnoute and Germane the notarius (νοταριος), (4) the monks (μοναχος) of the monastery (τοπος) of Apa Apollo, (5) we are writing to Lazaros, son of Apollo, (6) the beekeeper, of Thake.

Object  
Whereas (ἐντελεια) (7) you have drawn up a lease (μισθωσις) for us (8) for two hundred and fourteen bee(hive)s,

Security clause  
now then (δε) we (10) are liable (κατανεμεινη) to you for Enoch (11) the beekeeper lest he deceives (παραγειναι) (12) you concerning them. If he deceives (πι) (13) you, or any man of his, (14) you are free to them. We (15) have an agreement with him.

Issuer's affirmation  
We, (16) the Papa Elias and Papnoute (17) and Germane, agree (στοιχειου) (18) to this guarantee (ἀσφαλεια) as it is written

Abnegation  
and if circumstances befall you in your village (20) concerning the matter of our bee(hive)s, we will reject your claim (ἀποσοβειν).

Witness  
(21) I, Paule, son of Mena, of Tin, bear witness.

Date  
(22 Greek) Written Paone (day) 17, indiction-year 2.

Docket  
(23 Hd 17 Greek) + Guarantee drawn up by Elias the priest and Papnoute the splenetic one (?), and Germanos, concerning the beekeeper +.

Transcription notes

23 γενομ. νυ: the ed. pr. read γενο νυ; another letter may be read instead of ν, possibly a second μ marking the abbreviation of γενομ(ένη) (see the transcription note to no. 20 l. 8 for other abbreviations of this word). Note that Γερμανος is not given in the genitive form, see the linguistic note to no. 40.

Translation notes

3 Γερμανος: a brother (πα&κον) Γερμανος occurs in an ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑ&ΚΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΚΩΝ-formula text, WS 166, see Appendix 2 text A.

8-9 Α&θ Νέστιος: although this means "bees" it is translated "beehives" here and in l. 20 (Ἀ&θ), as suggested in the ed. pr., because of the small number involved. One would hardly refer to two hundred and fourteen bees. The usual Coptic word for "beehive" is ΖΜΕΓ (Crum CD p. 459a), which may mean "jar".1

10 ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ: see Schmidt 1932 p. 62 and CPR IV index p. 198 κινδυνευειν for further occurrences of this verb in Coptic documents.

1See Vycichl 1975 p. 48, where he mentions the use of jars as beehives in Pharaonic and modern-day Egypt.
11, 12-13 ΠΑΡΔΕ: P. Budge 1. 77 also uses παράγειν with the meaning "act wrongly".

The specialised meaning of παράγειν as "sue", as mentioned in the commentary to the ed. pr., does not appear to apply here.

14 ΚΩ ΝΠΕΜΣΕ 2ΠΡΟΟΥ: compare the phrase ΚΩ ΝΠΕΜΣΕ ΜΜΟΩΙ which is cited as an equivalent of +ΠΟΤΩΣΙΕ ΜΜΟΩΙ ΝΑΚ "I renounce it to you" in Crum CD p. 297b ΡΜΣΕ.

20 ΔΠΟΚΟΕ: the same usage is found in CPR IV no. 148 l. 11.
FRAGMENTARY GUARANTEE

CMAA Green "13"
Dimensions not recorded Whereabouts unknown

Preservation: Kahle recorded that the papyrus was broken beneath l. 4. (A) Only the right (and possibly the upper) margin and 4 lines appear to have been preserved. (B) The beginning of the first line of a docket is extant.

Acquisition: see §2.6.

Prase and a builder called Apollo address the dikaios of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through its head (whose name is not extant). Hatre and possibly Serne are mentioned.

Margin(?)
(A)
1
ΠΡΑΣΕ ... ΜΝ ᾽ΑΠΙΟΑΙΑΩ ΠΕΚΩΤ ΠΨΗΝ ΠΝΑΚΡΙΟΣ ΙΩΓΑΝΗΣ
2
ΠΝΑΙΚΙΑΙΟΝ ἈΠΟΝΑ ἘΚΑΙΟΣ & ΠΝΑ & ΠΝΟΛΑΧΩΣ ΣΙΣΟΤΟΥΘΤΗ
3
ΕΝΚΩΝ ἩΝΝ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΛΝΠΝΧΟΣ ΞΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ἩΝΑ ΖΑΤΡΕ
4
ΣΗΕΡΗΝ 2Α ΠΝΟΝΑ
(B)
5
+ ΤΕΓΓΥΘΣΗΝ ΜΝΑΚΟΝ ΠΡΑΣΕ ΝΙ

2, 4 ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ 2 ΕΙΚΟΙΟ 3 ΑΙΤΟΠΟΤΟΣ, ΕΝΕΙΔΗΝ 4 ΒΑ 5 ΤΕΓΓΥΘΣΗΝ ΡΝΑΚΟΝ

Parties
(1) [Prase ... and] Apollo the builder, son of the late (μακάριος) Johanes (2) [we are writing to ?] the dikaios (δικαιον) of the monastery (μοναστηριον) of the holy (ἀγιος) Apa Apollo through (3) [NN ... the] father of the monastery (τόπος).

Preamble
Whereas (ἐπείδη) Hatre,... (4) Serne in the monastery (μ.) ...

Docket
(5) + The guarantor (ἐγγυητής) of brother (πακον) Prase the ...

Translation notes
1 ΠΡΑΣΕ ... ΜΝ: this is restored following the description of this document in l. 5 as the ΕΓΓΥΘΣΗΣ of Prase. Names of other contractors may also be missing here and in l. 5.
3 ΕΠΩΤ: Kahle read ΕΡΩΤ.

1This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.
5 TΕΓΥΘΗΣ: the feminine noun ἐγγύη "security" was probably intended here, and it may explain why the Coptic feminine definite article (Τ-) was assigned to the masculine noun ἐγγυτής (see Bal. no. 122 l. 2). A similar feminine noun, ἐγγύτης "nearness" (Sophocles Lexicon p. 412b), may also have influenced the scribe.

The name of Apollo the builder is expected following Prase and his patronymic and/or title.
31

TAX DEMAND

BM EA 10460(A) 57 (h) x 150 (w) mm. VIIth C.¹
Papyrus Plate 24

Preservation: 3 lines of which only the upper (and possibly right hand) margin is preserved; the other side of this papyrus was used for a wine receipt, no. 39.

Palaeography: written by the same scribe as no. 33, in a small, semi-cursive hand with the fairly generous spacing of lines often found in VIIth C. documents.

Provenance, Acquisition, and Bibliography: see §2.8.

A tax official also known from an unpublished Coptic tax demand, Abdella son of Abderaman,² writes to Pamoun (son of ?) Paul(-) of the monastery of Apa Apollo located to the south of Shmoun with a demand for the first instalment of his tax contribution. The parts of the document where the tax and date would be specified are not extant. See §6.2 for the format of this tax demand.

Parties

(1) [With God (?) Abdella (?)], son of Abderaman, is he who writes (to) Pamoun (son of ?) Paul(-) (2) ... of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun.

Tax demand

This is what has been assigned to you to pay for the first instalment (καταβολή) ...

Transcription notes

1 CYN Θ: see §6.2.

ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: this may be reconstructed as ΠΑΥΛΟΥ, ΠΑΥΛΟΥ, ΠΑΥΛΟΥ or ΠΑΥΛΟΥ.²

2 ΜΟΤ: for this abbreviation for μοναστήριον, see Bal. 103 l. 4 and 125 l. 5; it also occurs in two unpublished Lansing papyri, BM EA 10454(A) (where the monastery of Apollo may also be in question) and 10136, see §2.8.

¹See §6.2.

²BM EA 10136(B) (see §2.8). An Abdella father of 'Abd er-Rahman occurs in CPR IV no. 168e. The name 'Abd er-Rahman occurs in BM no. 685, CPR IV no. 197 l. 6, and several times, in P. Lond. IV, see index p. 537.

175
3NTACT2OK MJMOOY and ΚΑΤΙΒΟΙΗ: see no. 33 and §6.2 for these restorations.
32
TAX DEMAND

BM EA 10135(A) c. 105 (h) x 135 (w) mm. VIIIth C.¹
Papyrus Plate 24

Preservation: 7 lines, all but left hand margin preserved. There is a circular clay seal between ll. 6 and 7. The back of this document was used for a wine account, no. 38, which may have been written by the same scribe as a papyrus excavated at Bawit by Jean Clédat.


Provenance, Acquisition and Bibliography: see §2.8.

The name of the issuer of this tax demand is lost, but the addressee, who may be called Phinouke, belongs to the monastery of Apa Apollo. The demand is for half a solidus, representing the second instalment of δημόσιον or διάγραφον, see §3.7. The date of issue is Pharmouthi 22nd, indiction-year 15.

1

\[ \text{ynthesis} \]

2

3

4

5

6

7

1 See §6.2.
Parties  
(1) ... is the one who writes (to) Phinouke (son of ?) Apollo  
(2) ... of the monastery (μοναστηρίου) [of Apa] Apollo.

Tax demand  This is (3) [what has been assigned to you] to pay for the  
first instalment (καταβολή) in your ... (4) ... their half solidus  
(δισκότομος) ... (5) ... if you are held liable.

Issuer By (παρά) me (6)...

Date (Greek) + In the month of (μήν) Pharmouthi (day) 22,  
indiction-year (ινδικτών) 15 +.

Résumé of payment (7) Total (?) solidi (?) ...

Transcription notes

1 ΦΙΝΟΥΚΕ: alternatively the K may be read as an open beta, which would give a reading  
of ΦΙΝΟΥΒΕ, a form of Pinoube. The name ΦΙΝΟΥΚΕ is not recorded in Heuser PN,  
Preisigke NB or Foraboschi OA, but the name ΠΙΝΟΥΚΕ occurs in a guarantee involving  
monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo, no. 50 l. 11.

2 Restore ΠΝΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΝΑΝ ΝΟΑΛΟ.

2-3 ΝΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΣΝΙΚΟΣ; 5 ΕΥΒΟΙΑΝ ΝΙΔΑΣΕ; 7 ΥΟ[: see §6.2 for these readings and  
reconstructions.

6 ΙΟΝ: possibly reconstruct the personal name ΔΙΟΥΜΔΙ which occurs in no. 33.  
φαρθ: this abbreviation of Pharmouthi also occurs in no. 62 l. 8.

Translation note

6 φαρθ ΚΒ: Pharmouthi 22nd = 17th April. The same day (in a different indiction year) is  
recorded in no. 33 l. 6.
TAX DEMAND

CUL Michael. Q102(B) 93 (h) x 145 (w) mm. VIIIth C.¹
Papyrus Plate 25

Preservation: 7 lines and all but the left (and possibly lower) margin preserved. The back of this papyrus is used for a list or account described below.

Palaeography: written by the same scribe as no. 31 in a small, semi-cursive hand. The Coptic (ll. 1-6, 7) and Greek (l. 6) sections are in the same hand. Coptic N sometimes resembles a three-stroke M, exx. ο.getStatusCode l. 2, and Nế l. 4.

Provenance: unknown but this document is very similar to nos. 31 and 32 which were both found near Assiut, and have been associated with Bawit. The destination of this document is a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun.

Acquisition: see §2.2.

This demand for the first instalment of δημόσιον for indiction-year 5 is addressed to someone belonging to the monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun. It may have been issued by someone called Amounai, and is dated Pharmouthi 20th, indiction-year 5.

An account or list which may involve wine payments (it mentions some amounts in knidia) is inscribed on the back of this tax demand. Two columns of text written in a small cursive Greek hand are preserved, of 9 and 8 lines respectively, but not the top and bottom margins. The men's names which can be read are: 2 Than(-) (son of) A(-)pame(-); 3 Phib (son of) Apame(-); 4 Dauid (son of) Apollo; 5 Aur(elios) Kuriak(-); 6 Paul(-) (son of) E-...; 7 Ptol(emaios) (son of) Ioannes; and 8 Ammon (son of) Phib ...

¹See §6.2.
Parties  
... is he who writes (to) Apollo (son of) Georg(-) 
... of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun 

Dēmosion demand 
... them and (?) give it on the first ... 

Indiction 
(for) indication-year (ινδικτίων) 5

Payment 
which is ... of gold, total (γεγενθα) reckoned 
(ἄρηθμος) solidi (νομίσματι) ... (Greek) of the tenth month ... if you 
are held liable.

Issuer 
By (παρά) me, Amounai.

Date 
(Written in the month of Pharmouthi (day) 22, 
indiction-year 5. +.

Résumé of payment 
Total reckoned solidi ...

Transcription notes

1 ΠΠΙΠΙΠΙ: this restoration follows no. 31 l. 1 which was written by the same scribe; 
see §6.2.

2 ΠΠΙΠΙΠΙ: this may be the end of Apollo's title or a description of his place of origin.
3 ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΑΚΤΑΣΟΚ ΝΜΟΩΥ; or ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΑΚΤΑΣΟΚ ΝΜΟΩΥ; for these possible restorations see §6.2.

4 ΝΠΕ(±4)[±2]ΕΑΗΜΟΩΩΩΩΓ: following ΝΠΕ there may be a Κ (ΝΠΕΚ- "your"). In another Coptic tax demand, BL Or. 4664 A (l. 3), there is the phrase ΝΠΕΔΙΑΚΤΧΓ, ΝΝΔΗΜΟΩΩΩΓ which Kahle tentatively interpreted as "in the assessment (διασταλμός) of the poll-tax (δημόσιον)". A more suitable interpretation of ΔΙΑΚΤΧΓ may be as διαστολή "payment" which occurs in another Coptic tax demand, Ryl. no. 378 (l. 3).

5 ΤΕΡΑΣΙΩΝ: above the Ρ is a sign resembling a minuscule Η which is unlikely to belong to the line above because of the amount of space left in between the lines of writing.

[±2]: the first letter visible after ΓΕΡΑΣΙΩΝ has a circular lower half.

6 ΕΩΗΜΗΙΕΩΗΜΙΚΙ: restored after no. 32 l. 5 and Ryl. 119 l.5, see §6.2.

φαρμ: the same abbreviation occurs in nos. 64 and 68.

7 ΥΓΙΝ ΨΟ: see §6.2 for this reading.

Translation notes

3 ΤΩΟΡΠΙ: reconstruct ΤΩΟΡΠΙ ΕΚΔΙΑΒΟΧΗ after no. 31 l. 3, see above; ΤΩΟΡΠΙ ΕΚΟΠΠ "the first time" which occurs in, e.g., Bal. no. 290, is also possible.

4 ΕΤΕ ΝΔΙ ΝΕ: in Bal. no. 138 l. 3 this follows 2ΔΠΕΚΤΕΜΟΩΩΓ (singular).

6 ΠΜΟΥΝΔΙ: this name may also occur in another papyrus from the Lansing Collection, BM EA 10454 (see §2.8); it is not recorded in Heuser PN. See transcription note to l. 6 of no. 32.

φαρμο: Pharmouthi 22nd = 17th April. The same day (in a different indiction year) is recorded in no. 32 l. 6.

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1See Bal. p. 541
2The closest parallel attested in Heuser PN is ΠΜΟΥΝΔΙ, pp. 44 and 59.
LETTER REQUESTING TWO μαφόρτια

Herm. 39
Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13495 (A and B)

Preservation: (A) 9 lines and all margins are preserved although the central portion of the text is almost illegible, possibly as a result of deliberate erasure by the writer of the docket belonging to the text written later on this papyrus, no. 27. (B) a 2 line address is partially visible above the text of no. 27.

Palaeography: a right-sloping semi-cursive hand.

Provenance, Acquisition and dimensions: as for no. 27.


This letter may have been written by a village representative to someone at an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, the monastery in question in the legal text written later on the other side of this papyrus, no. 27. The ed. pr. suggested that the addressee of this letter is on the board of directors of the monastery of Apa Apollo.

The purpose of the letter is to complain that the two μαφόρτια sent annually by someone (whose name is illegible) from the monastery have not been delivered. The reason for this arrangement is not given although the monastery may well have produced textiles for its locality.

The exact interpretation of the term μαφόρτια in this text also remains elusive. It can refer to a veil or head covering worn by women, or to a short cloak worn by women or male monks. If the former meaning is to be interpreted here, the μαφόρτια could have been destined for the poor women of the community. If the latter, the monastery could have been a supplier of specialist monastic uniform.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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1All of the epistolary formulae used in this text are attested in papyri from the Faiyum to the Theban region dating from the VI-VIIIth C.: initial ΤΙΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ ΑΥΘ ΤΙΑΣΩΔΕ (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 246 no. 2); ΤΙΤΜΟ introducing the main body of the letter (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 227 no. 6); and final ΤΙΑΣΩΔΕ ΝΝ ΤΙΤΜΟΙΕΣΙ (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 250 no. B1).

2The ed. pr. cited P. Ross. Georg. III 15 as a similar text. This is a VIIth C. letter complaining that a small rug or blanket has not been delivered.

3See Gascou 1991b p. 1641a on the monastery of Epiphanius as a textile supplier for its neighbourhood.

4Rassart-Debergh 1993 p. 241 describes it as a head-covering worn by female monks.

5See Beaucamp 1993 pp. 187 n.14 and 192 n. 52 for bibliography; Bazzero 1917 for literary and non-literary references to the term μαφόρτιον (or μαφόρτιον as it was normally written in Byzantine Greek texts); and P. Meyer p. 95 n. to I. 6 which analyses the origins of the word.

6Compare the donations of wine made to widows by various Oxyrhynchite churches, see Pruneti Piovanelli 1994.

7Coquin 1992 pp. 8-9 for references to the μαφόρτιον worn by monks made by John Cassian and in the Apophthegmata Pa.:"
1 + ΤΙΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙ ΔΥΨ ΤΙΑΣΠΑΣΕ ΕΠΕΧΤ ΕΧΙΝ ΠΣΥΧΟΠΟΙΗΣΩΝ ΜΕΟΥΡΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΘΕΟΤΙΜ

2 ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΕΙΨΕ ΕΤΤ, ΤΙΤΙΔΙΜΟ[ erased ]ΕΙ[ ]Ε[ ]Ι[ ]

3 ΠΕΝΤΙΜΕ ΝΕ ΣΟΥΝΗ ΝΤΑΥΩ[ erased ]

4 ΤΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΘΕΟΤΙΜ[ ΝΧΟ]ΕΙ[ ]ΙΝΕΙΨΕ ΤΡΕΣΚΕΛΕΥΣ ΤΡΙΨΤΝΟΟΥ ΣΝΤΕ ΜΑΦΟΡΤΕ

5 ΝΑΝ ΠΡΟΣ Τ ΣΥΝΗΘΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΜΠΕ ΑΥΨ ΝΙΑ ΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙ[ ]ΙΟΝ( +4 )ΠΡΟΤΗΑΠΕ ΝΕΜΑΝ

6 ΤΡΕΠΟΜΠΕ ΔΥΨ ΤΙΠΙΣΤΕΥΣ ΕΝΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΜΗΤΝ ΞΕ [ ... ]ΤΕ ΝΕΤΝΑ ΤΑΩΟ[Ν] ΤΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ

1 ΜΕΟΥΡΤΕ 1, 4, 8 ΝΤΕΤΝΕΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΣ 2, 9, 10 ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ 4 ΤΡΕΧ-, ΜΑΦΟΡΤΙΑ 5 ΣΥΝΗΘΙΑ, ΠΕΤΣΟΝ ΑΠΑΡ-, ΝΑΜΑΝ
6 ΤΡΟΜΠΕ (?) ΝΑΜΗΤΝ, ΝΤΕΤΕΠΑΝΑ
7 ΜΜΩΤΗΝ ΤΕΝΕΤΝΑ ΤΑΞΩΝ ΤΑΡΕΝΜΟΥ ΝΕΠΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΕΙ ΕΠΑΙ ΕΞΩΤΗΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΕ-

8 ΣΩ[Υ]2 ΕΣΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΝΕΥΧΟΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΙΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΘΕΟΤΙΜ ΝΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ

9 ΕΤΤ, 2ΙΤΝ ΝΕΙΣ2Δ1 +

10 4ΔΘΕΟΤΗΔΙΝΧΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤ[ ] space +6? (±4) ...ΕΥ

7 ΤΕΝΕΤΝΑ, ΝΕΠΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ, ΝΕΤΗ- ΝΣΩΥΣ 10 ΘΕΟΤΙΜΗΤΩΣ
Greeting  
(1) + I welcome (προσκυνεῖν) and I bow down (ἀσπάζεσθαι) to the footstool (ὑπὸ ποσίδιον) of the feet of your God-honoured (θεοτύμπος) (2) lord and honoured father.

Report  
I tell ... (3) our village ... (4) I ask your God-honoured (θ.) lord and father to order (κελεύειν) him to send two maphortia (μαφόρτιον/μαφόρτις) (5) to us according to (πρός) the annual custom (συνήθεια). My (?) lord, your brother was not kind (ἀγαπη) to us (6) this year. I trust (πιστεύειν) God with you that he causes your mercy to reach us. I beg (παρακαλεῖν) (7) you, cause your mercy to reach us so that the blessing of the holy one might come down upon you and all of your blessed (εὐλογίμενος) (8) congregation.

Final greeting  
I salute (ἀ.) your God-honoured (θ.) lord and honoured father (9) through this letter.

Address  
(10) ++ (To my?) God-honoured (θ.) lord and honoured father ...

Transcription notes
2 ΤΙΤ'TΑΜΟ/: following this a range of phrases are possible, see Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 36 and 223 no. 6.
3 ΠΕ ΚΟΥΘ ΝΤΑΥΟ/: this may be divided in other ways, including ΠΕ ΚΟΥΘ or ΠΕ ΚΟΥΘΝ, but the meaning still remains unclear; the γ of ΝΤΑΥΓ may be a q.
5 ΚΥΝΗΘΙΑ/: the ed. pr. read ΚΥΝΗΘΕΙΑ.
ΠΙΑΝΟΕΙ: an Α., similar in form to the one in ΚΥΝΗΘΙΑ earlier in this line, may be written in a ligature with the top left of the Σ; the ed. pr. read ΠΙΑΝΟΕΙ which makes less good sense here.
6 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΜΗΝ ΧΕ [...]: the ed. pr. read ΝΕΜΗΝ ΧΕ 201[N]: this is not legible from the photograph.
8 ΚΩ[Γ]2: the ed. pr. read ΚΩ[Θ]Υ2, but no γ is visible and there does not appear to be space for Ω after the Ω.

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There appear to be faint marks above this line but they cannot be determined from the photograph; to the right of the centre of the papyrus are signs which may have constituted an ornamental space filler such as a line of crosses ++++;¹ these are now covered by a small rectangle of paper or papyrus or similar material.

¹ΝΧΟΕΙΝΕΙΩΤΕΤΤΕΤ: this reading cannot be made from the plate with the certainty it is given in the ed. pr. The text following this, which probably recorded the name of the addressee and the writer of this letter, was not transcribed in the ed. pr.

Translation notes

8 ΕΥΡΟΓΙΜΕΝΟΝ: the same epithet is used of monastic institutions in other documents from el-Ashmunein (exx. BM 1103 ll. 2 and 30; and 1119 l. 3 (ΕΥΡΟΓΙΜΕΝΟΝ)), and Middle Egypt (exx. BM 666 and 1240 (the latter is Greek)).

¹See Ep. 1 p. 188.
LETTER REQUESTING A SALE OF WINE

P. CtYBR inv. no. 2102

Papyrus

Preservation: (A) 7 lines and all but right margin; (B) 2 lines and all but left margin.

Palaeography: no details are recorded.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.3.3.


A monk writes to a woman (whose identity is not extant) about some wine. He asks her to bring him some wine if she has not already sold it, and tells her not to sell it to anyone else in the meantime. For evidence of economic activity of women in Greek papyri, and interaction between men and women, see Beaucamp 1993.

(A)

1

2 ΔΥΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΤΙΓ[ΨΩΞΑΕΙ +ΩΝΕΕΠΕ] ΙΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΧΕΙΝΕΡΕ?

2 ΔΥΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΤΙΓ[ΨΩΞΑΕΙ +ΩΝΕΕΠΕ] ΙΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΧΕΙΝΕΡΕ?

3 ΝΑΚΑΠΗ ΔΠΑ ΦΙΒ ΑΙΙΕΩΝΕΥΤΕ ΤΑΟΥΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΑΧΕΙΝΕΡΕ?

4 ΝΑΚΑΠΗ ΔΠΑ ΦΙΒ ΑΙΙΕΩΝΕΥΤΕ ΤΑΟΥΕ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΑΧΕΙΝΕΡΕ?

5 ΜΟΝ ΜΠΡΤΔΑΟΥ ΝΑΔΟΥΕ ΝΡΩΓΕ ΑΝΤΕΝΤΩΛΥΤ]

6 ΔΥΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΤΙΓ[ΨΩΞΑΕΙ +ΩΝΕΕΠΕ] ΙΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΧΕΙΝΕΡΕ?

7 ΔΥΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΤΙΓ[ΨΩΞΑΕΙ +ΩΝΕΕΠΕ] ΙΤΩΝ ΜΟΥΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΧΕΙΝΕΡΕ?

(B)

8 → 1 ornamentation 2. ΠΕΤΡΕ ΜΙΟΝΙΟΧΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ Δ ΠΟΛΑΛΛ ΒΑΛΛ...

9 1 ΡΙΠΑΞΕ, ΟΥΞΑΙ 3 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΣΕ (Π) ΥΒΙΕ(? ΡΗΡΤΑ ΥΕΜΟΤΕ ΤΑΔΥ 3-4 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΕΘΩΝΕ

2 ΡΗΡΤΑ ΥΕΜΟΤΕ ΤΑΔΥ 3-4 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΕΘΩΝΕ

3 ΡΗΡΤΑ ΥΕΜΟΤΕ ΤΑΔΥ 3-4 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΕΘΩΝΕ

4 ΡΗΡΤΑ ΥΕΜΟΤΕ ΤΑΔΥ 3-4 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΕΘΩΝΕ

5 ΡΗΡΤΑ ΥΕΜΟΤΕ ΤΑΔΥ 3-4 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΕΘΩΝΕ

6 ΡΗΡΤΑ ΥΕΜΟΤΕ ΤΑΔΥ 3-4 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΕΘΩΝΕ

7 ΡΗΡΤΑ ΥΕΜΟΤΕ ΤΑΔΥ 3-4 ΔΑΓΝΙ ΕΘΩΝΕ

1 MacCoull 1989 p. 29 records dimensions as 20.8 x 7.5 cm. I am grateful to Stephen Emmel for providing me with details of this manuscript.

2 MacCoull 1989 p. 29 assigns a VIIth C. date; T.C. Petersen previously gave a VI-VIIIth C. date (recorded in the computerised library catalogue).

3 MacCoull 1975 p. 219 suggests that it originated from the monastic community at Bawit.
Opening formula  

(1) P First of all [I greet] the well-being of my [God-loving sister]... (2) ... and I greet ... and (?) your sons/children ... (3) love (ἀγάπη)

Report  

Apa Phib sixty ... of wine. Shenoute sold (?) them ...

Request  

[be so kind?] (4) if you have not sold them, then bring them to us and I will (?) give them ... (5) indeed, do not give them to any one until you have brought them ... (6) Anything you do with me, you do [with ? ... (7) ...]

Closing formula  

Farewell in the Lord ... and ...

Address  

(8) ... Petre (the) monk (μοναχὸς) of Apa Apollo ... (9) ...

Translation notes

2 At the beginning of this line and under the second ά of άποκλω in l. 8, is a sign like a koppa written above a sampi on top of a c-shaped sign. Beneath the ε of επίκλω... in l. 8 is a sign like an iota above a zeta. These may be what MacCoull 1989 p. 29 describes as a Greek fragment which has erroneously been mounted at the right of this document.

3 ΕΠΙΩ: the purpose of the Π is not clear; the letter above the Ω may be a Π or an Η; if the latter, ΩΗ might be a spelling of Ωλ "measure", which may also be used in connection with wine in nos. 82 l. 2 and 83 l. 3. It might also be interpreted as ΩΕ "she-coin", see Crum CD p. 547a.

6 ΕΠΙΡ ΕΜΙΟΤΟΥ: this could also be read as ΕΠΙΡΕ ΕΜΙΟΤΟΥ; the same applies to this phrase later in this line.

8 2.: there is not enough space to read ΕΠΙΝ- "from" written in full here, but an abbreviated form is possible.

ΕΧΑ...: this may be reconstructed as an abbreviated form of Ελαχιστός "least", a common epithet of monks, see translation note to no. 16 text 1 l. 14. If, as seems likely, the addressee’s name was written at the beginning of this address and is now missing, an interpretation of ΕΧΑ... as "to La(-...)", with ΧΑ as the first two letters of the addressee’s name, would be untenable.

Translation notes

4 ΕΙ: this is an attested form of ΕΙΕ, a particle which is used introduces apodosis, see Crum CD p. 74a.

6 ΕΠΙΡ: ΕΠ- is probably to be interpreted as the second person feminine singular of the Second Present prefix rather than the Circumstantial Present (ΕΠ(Ε) - ) or Third Future (usually ΕΠΕ-) prefix.
LETTER CONCERNING PLEDGED ITEMS

P. CyYBR inv. 1832  (1) 87 (h) x 138 (w) mm. (2) 16 x 30 (3) 6 x 10  VI-VIIth C.¹

Preservation: this text comprises three fragments mounted together with fragments from two other texts; two of the fragments are positioned upside down in relation to the others. Fragment (1) 12 lines and the upper and right margins are preserved; fragment (2) 3 lines, no margins; fragment (3) 1 line, no margins. None of these fragments join.

Palaeography: according to Petersen [1964] p. 64, this is written in a "cursive script ... probably written with some speed, it covers the papyrus rather closely with little or no space between the letters and the lines".

Provenance: unknown. Written to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.3.1.

Bibliography: described in Petersen [1964] p. 64 no. 94.

This papyrus provides further evidence of the comparative wealth of monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo, see §§3.8-9. The writer of the letter belongs to a monastery whose name is not fully extant. His addressee is Pau(-), a monk from a monastery of Apa Apollo. The text reveals that a certain man who pledged some things with Pau(-) has died, and it may be that the writer is complaining that he has not been allowed to reclaim them.

Fragment (1)
1 ¹E]ΗΜΙΑΣ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΝΠΤΟ-
2 ΠΟΣΝ-
3 ΜΠΟΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΠΑΝΑ ΝΠΟΧΧΟ
4 άε?
5 ΠΕΤΑΙ
6 ΝΤΑΠΑ [ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ [0]ΥΑ2ΟΥ 2Α ΘΗΚ
7 ΤΕΦ[1...[±2] ΝΗΕΩΠ[Γ]Ι[1 ΝΤΑΨΕΡ ΜΑΚΑ-
8 ΡΙΟΣ ΜΠ]ΠΕΚΑΔΤ Ε[6Ι1 ΝΗΤΟΙΥ 1 Δ...ΕΚ (±5)]
9 ΤΗΡΚ ΝΤΑΚΡΨΙΑ ΜΜΟΙΩ[Τ]
10 ΆΚ ΝΕΨΟ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΩΑΝΤΙΕ[1
11 ΤΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΠΕΙ[1
12 ΆΙΚΙΔΩ ΠΙ[1

¹According to [Petersen] 1964 p. 64.

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Fragments which have not been joined to fragment (1) and which are not included in the translation or commentary below:

Fragment (2)
1 \[ IΝΔΚ. \]
2 \[ IΝΔΨΗΥ. \]
3 \[ Κ(±4).1 \]

Fragment (3)
1 \[ ΤΙΡΗΝΙΕΤ. \]

Fragment (1)
Parties
(1) ... Jeremias (?) the monk (\(\nuοναχός\)) of the monastery (\(\tauόπος\)) of (2) ... -ammon, I am writing to my brother Pau[... ...] (3) ... of the monastery (\(\tau\).) of Apa Apollo ...

Report
(4) ... the last day of Pharmouthi of this year... (5) ... I shall take a few utensils (\(\sigmaκέφος\)) (?)... (6) ... Apa (...)miias pledged them with you... (7) ... George, he died (\(\muακάριος\)) (8) ... you did not (?) allow me to take (?) from them ... (9) ... all the .... you need (\(χρεία\)) ... (10) ... all the pledges until ... (11) ... you... (12) \(δίκαιον\) (\(δίκαιον\)) (?)...

Transcription notes
Fragment (1)
1 ΙΕΡΗΜΙ\.C: Petersen [1964] p. 64 interpreted this as the name "Esaias".
6 ΙΜΙ\.C: the lacuna which follows \(\LambdaΠ\κ\) may be too large to restore [ΙΕΡΗ or ΙΕΡΕ] alone unless written larger than the rest of the text. However, ΙΕΜΙ\.C, ΠΙ\.ΜΙ\.C, and \(\varepsilon\)ΕΡΜΙ\.C, the other attested names ending -\(ΜΙ\.C\), are all shorter than ΙΕΡΕΜΙ\.C/ΙΕΡΗΜΙ\.C and were far less common in Egypt.
10 ΔΚ: restore ΝΔΚ "to you"?

Translation notes
Fragment (1)
1-2 ΠΤΟ[ΠΟΣ ΝΠΔΦΦΑΙΟΣ ΔΠΑ \?] - ΔΜΜΩΝ: besides ΔΜΜΩΝ, other personal names which may be restored here include: ΑλλάΔΜΜΩΝ, ΒΗΣΑΔΜΜΩΝ, ΚΑΔΔΜΜΩΝ, ΛΙΔΔΜΜΩΝ, ΝΙΔΔΜΜΩΝ, ΠΑΔΔΜΜΩΝ, ΠΔΜΩΝ, ΠΟΤΔΜΩΝ, ΣΑΡΑΠΑΔΜΜΩΝ,
Monasteries with which this may be identified include monasteries of Phoibammon in the Hermopolite nome,\textsuperscript{1} at Djeme near Armant,\textsuperscript{2} and in western Thebes;\textsuperscript{3} Other, less likely, possibilities are a \textit{topos} of "Neilammon Isidor(ou)" which is attested in a IVth C. Greek papyrus along with other \textit{topoi} located in el-Ashmunein;\textsuperscript{4} and a monastery of Sarapammon in the Antaeopolite nome.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{m} \textit{πόμος}: the last day of Pharmouthi is April 25th.

\textsuperscript{6} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{2}: Crum \textit{CD} p. 507a 0\textit{yw} 2 + 2\textit{w}/2\textit{w}(2) \textit{Tn-} cites examples of this meaning "lie (pledged) for money".

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{CKA} pp. 2768-2769 "Topos des Apa Phoibammon (bei Tūna 1-Gabal)"; pp. 2816-2817 "Topos des Phoibammon"; and pp. 1378-1379 "Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (I-II)" in the Antinoe region. Note that there is no entry for a "Kloster des Phoibammon" despite the cross-reference given on \textit{CKA} p. 1379.

\textsuperscript{2} See \textit{CKA} pp. 1379-1392 "Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (III)".

\textsuperscript{3} See \textit{CKA} pp. 1392-1394 "Kloster des Apa Phoibammon (IV)".

\textsuperscript{4} See \textit{CKA} p. 2807 "Topos des Neilammon Isidór(ou)".

\textsuperscript{5} See \textit{CKA} p. 2826 "Topos Sarapammon(os)".
WINE ACCOUNT

Herm. 14  
VIIIth C.
Hermitage Museum Inv. no. 13490(B)  
Plate 27

Preservation: this text was written on the back of a legal document, no. 28. It preserves two columns of 25 and 3 lines respectively. A lacuna obscures the beginning of col. II so that text is now only visible from the level of col. I l. 13 downwards, although a few letters are discernible above this (e.g. an α level with col. I l. 2-3). The scribe has followed the shape of the piece of papyrus so that the text is irregularly positioned.

Palaeography: a semi-cursive hand with a mixture of majuscule and minuscule forms, sometimes of the same letter. The text slopes downwards to the right, especially from ll. 18 onwards. Υ resembles an ψ and is formed in one movement with a loop at the top of the vertical stroke. The Δ in πΔζΛΔ l. 5 is an unusual, large minuscule form.

Provenance: unknown. The text written earlier on this papyrus, no. 28, involves the dikaios of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, and, as a legal text, it may have been kept in the monastery's archive for some time before being "recycled", probably within the same monastery, to contain this wine account.

No. 37 mentions two places which are securely located in the Hermopolite nome, Michôleos and Piôh Pemom (see §4.4), and one in the Faiyum, Ptêne (see §4.7); in l. 18 a monastery of Apa Anoup is mentioned (see §4.1) which may be linked with an Hermopolite monastery of Apollo.

Acquisition and dimensions: as for no. 28.


This is an account of wine payments made by a monastery from the 17th to the 21st of Mesore. Recipients of wine include individuals with ecclesiastical, monastic or lay titles. "The church" is specified three times, receiving one and a half angeia on day 17 and two knidia twice on day 19. The shaliou of Ptêne is the only person to be assigned boiled wine (έψιμμι), and he is listed on three separate occasions, on one day he appears in two entries receiving one kollathon; see §§3.7 and 3.14 for further comment on these entries. If the head of the monastery is to be identified with πενίωτος ωτ "our great father" as well as πενίωτ "our father", he is also assigned wine on more than one day. Three symmachoi receive differing amounts of wine: Isaak 2 angeia on day 17, Theodore an illegible amount on day 18, and Pecos and Theodore 2 knidia and 1 knidion respectively on day 19.

Bal. no. 312 is a comparable account of the expenditure of wine by the diakonia of the Balaizah Monastery of Apa Apollo: the wine is reckoned in knidia and recipients

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1Herm. p. 59, and Schnebel 1925 p. 290 discuss boiled wine.
include the church, (the table of) the great father, and a smith (ἦν Βέροντη = ἘΒΕΝΟΝΤΗ). In some cases, the same people are mentioned more than once.

Three different wine-measures are used in this account, the largest of which is the kollathon; the relative capacity of the other two measures, the angeion and knidion, varies. A kollathon may contain 25 sextarii (WS p. 22); an angeion may be worth five or seven sextarii; and a knidion may contain between four and eight sextarii, depending on whether it is small or large. In P. Apoll. Ano. no. 96 there are four knidia to a kollathon (n. to 1. 7 p. 200), and the editor cites a case where the ratio of 5 knidia to one kollathon is recorded.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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1. Casson 1939 p. 5, the larger amount may be attested in VIth C. documents from Aphroditos.
2. Casson 1939 pp. 6-8.
Col. II starts to the right of 1. 13

26 ἱπποῦς τῆς [i]στροφῆς

27 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας

28 καθὼς ἡ μήν 1 Ἑλληνικά 1. 28 Ἑλληνικά 1. 29, 17, 18, 27 ἅγειον/ἀγειδ. 2 j = 1/2
3. 5-8, 13, 14, 19-25 κύδιον/κυνίδα 4, 12, 15 γενιμματὰ 4, 10, 12, 15 κόλλασον/κόλλαθα
4, 12, 15 ψάλλον Πτερνη χειμών 6 εἰστὶ 9, 16, 19, 22 συμμαχος 14 πρεσβύτερος

Col. I

1 ἔν· ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἑλληνικά 1. 28 Ἑλληνικά 1. 29, 17, 18, 27 ἅγειον/ἀγειδ. 2 j = 1/2
3. 5-8, 13, 14, 19-25 κύδιον/κυνίδα 4, 12, 15 γενιμματὰ 4, 10, 12, 15 κόλλασον/κόλλαθα
4, 12, 15 ψάλλον Πτερνη χειμών 6 εἰστὶ 9, 16, 19, 22 συμμαχος 14 πρεσβύτερος

1. In the month (μήνυ) of Mesore (day) 17: the wine which I paid in kind (ῥογεύσειν):
2. the church (ἐκκλησία) 11/2 angeia (ἀγγείον)
3. the men of Piōh Pemom knidia (κυνίδον)
4. the shaliou of Ptene boiled wine (ἐψημα) kollathon (κόλλαθον)
Raszid

Our great father

the water...

The men of Michôleos

Isaak the symmachos (σύμμαχος)

expenses (ἀνάλωμα)

(day) 18

the shaliou of Ptêne boiled wine (ἐ.

The (-)akkatês

Apa Ioannes the priest (πρεσβύτερος)

The shaliou of Ptêne boiled wine (ἐ.

Theodore the symmachos (σ.)

the brothers of the food-gatherer

Apa Moses (?) of Apa Anoup

(day) 19 Pêcos the symmachos (σ.)

the church (ἐ.)

[the] water...

Theodore the symmachos (σ.)

the (bolt-)smiths

(day) 20 the church (ἐ.)

our father

Transcription notes

3 κνίδιον [: the ed. pr. read κνίδιον [........]. β, interpreting a sign following the lacuna as part of this line.

6 ιντιά: the ι is barely legible.

13 ΚļξΧςίος: CKX Χςίος was restored in the ed. pr. and interpreted as Κξενοθήμερος "(one who) draws pails", i.e. someone who operates a shaduf (for Κξενοθήμερος citing Κξενοθήμερος in BM 1147 l. 7 as a similar spelling of καθός); or as σακκατιος, an otherwise unattested Greek word, citing a VI/VIIth C. Greek papyrus (SPP XX 269 l. 21) which describes someone as a σακκατιος.

18 Μουσ: this could also be read Μούσκ.

24 κ: this was interpreted as an abbreviation of ὑπὲρ "by" in the ed. pr
Translation notes

1 2P0KOY: Latin erogare, see Herm. pp. 57-58 for this verb and its form in this text.

4 υίωτ: this man also occurs in ll. 12 and 15; for this title, see §3.7.

6 ΝΟΣ ΝΙΩΤ: this may refer to the head of the monastery, as ΙΩΤ does in l. 25, or alternatively the founder of the monastery, see §3.13.

7 υλεμμοοι: the interpretation of the first element of this word υλε(Μ)-, is not obvious, although the second appears to be Μοο "water". υλε- may be the participium conjunctivum of υλε "be concerned with" ("sich kümmern, (sich) beschäftigen" Westendorf KH p. 311), although this is only attested in Bohairic texts.1 υλο"draw" ("ziehen" Westendorf KH p. 311) is not suitable here because it is used of swords which is quite a different semantic usage. Westendorf (KH p. 311 n. 3) follows Kasser 1964 p. 85 no. 561a in suggesting a connection between υλεμμοοι and υλο "waterwheel",2 and does not rule out a connection with υλο "draw".

Another possibility is that υλε- may be a form of υλο "flow" (Crum CD p. 558a).

9 ΙΚΛΑΧ ΠΚΗΜΧ: for other symmachoi called Isaak, see Jördens 1986 p. 113. For the title symmachos, which is also applied to Theodre in ll. 16 and 22, and Peçoš in l. 19, see Jördens 1986 and 1992, and Bal. no. 154 n. to l. 11. For payments made to symmachoi, see Sijpesteijn 1994 pp. 259-261.

10 ΠΑΝ2ΛΑΩΜΑ: this may be the total of the day's expenditure. In the ed. pr., Jernstedt suggested the interpretation of this word as ΠΑ-Ν-2ΛΑΩΜΑ "the one of the ἀνάλωμα" (Herm. pp. 59-60), with 2ΛΑΩΜΑ as an attested Coptic form of ἀνάλωμα.

16 εεοΔΠΕ, 22 εεοΔΠΕ: this is the only name ending -εοΔΠΕ listed in Heuser PN. For symmachoi called Theodoros, see Jördens 1986 p. 113 and 1992 p. 230; and a V/VIth C. Greek papyrus, P. Mich. inv. 4253, edited in Sijpesteijn 1994 pp. 259-261. An archisymmachos with this name from Pkalankeh in the Faiyum occurs in P. Vindob. 19, see Krall 1887 p. 60.

17 εεοΔΠΕ: for compounds involving εεο and 2ΠΕ, Crum CD pp. 806b-807a εεο gives the following references: BM 678 ΜΑ ΝΕΛΛΕΡ (mentioned along with ΜΑΝΚΩΑ, and ΜΑΝΚΩΤ); and Ryl. no. 356 ΑΕΛΩ2ΠΕΟΟ. The ed. pr. cited the form 'ΕΛΗΝ12ΠΕ in CMSS appendix verso l. 32.

23 ΖΑΜΚ1ΑΑΕ: see §3.14 for smiths.

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1 See Crum CD p. 560b υλο for these texts.

2 The word υλο is recorded in an inscription from Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 151 no. 544, where it is translated "Roue(?)".
38
WINE ACCOUNT

BM EA 10135(B)  
VIIIth C.
Papyrus  
Plate 28

Preservation: 4 lines and all but the right margin preserved. This text is written on the back of no. 32.

Palaeography: a semi-cursive hand which employs the "ace-of-spades" ligature, and open beta (ll. 3 and 4). The scribe of this document may be identified with one who wrote an unpublished Coptic papyrus wine account excavated at Bawit by Jean Clédat, P. Louvre E 27592.¹

Provenance, Acquisition and dimensions: as for no. 32.

An account of the wine, possibly distributed to the men of Ten, representing payments for cumin (ΤΑΠΕΝ), a feast or a person named PsA, an iron-seller, and lectors. It is drawn up by Enoch, for whom see §3.11, who may be a πστικός in the monastery of Apa Apollo, the destination of the first text written on this piece of papyrus. The date at the end may read 25th Epiph but the indiction-year is lost. The wine is measured in kollatha and knidia.

Payees

1 To the account (λόγος) of the men of Ten(-?) for the (?) 1 kollathon (κόλλαθον); for cumin 1 knidion (κνίδιον) ... for the feast/Psa wine (ὁίνος) kollathon/kollatha (κό.) ... (3) the iron-seller one knidion (κν.) ... the lectors 2 kollatha (κό.) ...

Total 4 Greek Total 9 kollatha, 2 knidia ...

Issuer by Enoch

¹This is written parallel to the fibres and the first two lines read + έπα χι / ηπημπρος/ ηπημπρα οινγ' followed by two lines containing details of the amount. See §3.3.2 for these papyri.
in the month of Epeiph (?) (day) 25 (?)....

Transcription notes

1 ἑΡΩΜΤΕΝ: see the entry for Ten at §4.8 for its possible interpretation as a place name. Alternatively ΤΈΜ- may be the beginning of a longer place name, or the feminine possessive article "our" followed by a noun beginning ΠΟ-. ΝΕ.: the last visible letter may be a Ρ.

3 Τ.: the Τ. is large, extending well below the letters preceding and following it.

4 Ρ.: this is restored after no. 39 l. 2, and other documents from the Lansing Collection BM EA 10128 (B) l. 2, 10130 l. 3, 10132 l. 2, 10136 (B) l. 7, and 10140 (B) text 3 l. 2 (see §2.8).

Translation notes

2 ΤΕΠΕΝ: cumin is indigenous to Egypt; it is mentioned in an account belonging to the Pesunthius archive, see Revillout 1900 p. 176 no. 46.

See the introduction to no. 37 for the capacity of a knidion and a kollathon.

Π.: this may also be a personal name; another wine account from the Lansing Collection (BM EA 10136(B), unpublished, see §2.8) has an entry for Π. ΚΕΠΤΑΤΕΡΠΙ which may be "the feast of the Saviour" or "Psha (son) of Pestauros".

3 ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ: an interpretation of "the brother of Penipe" (ΚΟΝ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ) seems less likely.1

Ρ.: see §3.13 for this title.

4: Epeiph 25 = 19th July.

1See Heuser PN pp. 27 and 64 for this name.
39

WINE RECEIPT

BM EA 10460(B) VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 28

Preservation: 2 lines and all but the upper margin preserved. This was written on the back of no. 31.

Palaeography: a small, semi-cursive hand.

Provenance: this text was probably recycled for use in the monastery of Apa Apollo which was the destination of the text written on the other side of this papyrus, no. 31.

Acquisition and dimensions: see no. 31.

This is one of several wine receipts from the Lansing Collection issued by Enoch (see §3.11) who is described in this document as a pistikos (see §3.7). Markos the builder is to be given one kollathon of wine for building the "wall of the great house" which may be identified as part of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

1\rightarrow 1+1\ \text{Μ} \text{ἈΡΚΟΣ} \text{ΤΕΚΩΤ} \text{ΕΚΩΤ} \text{ΕΙΤΩΧΟ} \text{ΝΠΝΟΟ} \text{ΝΗΙ} \text{ΟΥ} \text{ΚΡ} / \text{Α} \text{ΚΟ} \\
2 \ "\mu/\ \phi/\ \iota/\ \alpha/\ \delta/\ \varepsilon/\ \nu/\ \chi/\ \pi/\ \tau/\ \omicron/\ \nu/\ \omicron/\ \\
1 \ \text{kolla} \ 2 \ \text{μόνος} \ \text{Φαω} \ \text{ινδικτίονος} \ \text{δι} \ \text{πιστικοῖ}

Payee (1) + Markos the builder who is building the wall of the great house:

Amount (Greek) kollathon of wine 1 one (2) only.

Date Phaophi, indiction-year 1,

Issuer by Enoch (the) pistikos. +

Transcription notes

1 εκωτ ειτωχο: Crum CD p. 122a κωτ cites this text (note that Crum read ΕΥΚΩΤ) as a rare example of κωτ followed by the preposition ε. -

κθ: for this abbreviation of kollathon, compare no. 38, Herm. 16 l. 1 and P. Lond. IV 1414,[25,27]. For the value of a kollathon, see the introduction to no. 37.

1-2 α κωτ: for the use of μόνος following a numeral, compare P. Lond. IV no. 1407 l. 4 (dated to 709 C.E.),¹ CPR VII no. 74 l. 6 (from the archive of Fl. Atias, dated to 698 C.E.), and two unpublished wine receipts from the Lansing Collection (BM EA 10136(A) and 10457, see §2.8).

¹The expansion of this abbreviation is interpreted in the ed. pr., see Becker 1907 p. 91.
Translation note
1 ἐκωτ: for the employment of builders by large establishments in Egypt, see Hardy 1931 pp. 122-123.
LIST OF CORN PAYMENTS FROM AN ACCOUNT CODEX

BM 1078 315 (h) x 225 (w) mm.¹ VII/VIIIth C.²
BL Or. 6049
Papyrus

Preservation: (A) two columns of 38 and 18 lines respectively, preserving the left and right margins; (B) 1 line and all but the right margin. The frame in which it is mounted obscures some of the papyrus.

Palaeography: a small cursive hand. The following features are noteworthy: α is formed with a double loop; β is open; the ςφ ligature tends towards an "ace-of-spades" form; τ, μ, ρ and φ have hooked tails; π sometimes takes a documentary minuscule form similar to the one in no. 61, compare Cavallo and Maehler 1987 pl. 43c 1. 3 αποδεκτένυ.

Linguistic notes: this text often has a nominative form where a genitive would be expected:³

a) following the preposition δια, exx. ομοσ 11. 4-6, Ταυρίνος 1. 7, Ενδιώς 1. 20, Σεφύννος 1. 25, Πυτιλίς 1. 29, and Βασάλος 1. 37.

b) expressing a patronymic: exx. Χωλός 1. 10, Ορβας 1. 14, Περουδίος 1. 20, Ψατής 1. 24, and Σεφύννος 1. 26.

c) other: Απόλλως 1. 11.

Provenance: unknown. A place of origin in the Hermopolite area is suggested by the place names Palas (1. 19) and Antinoe (1. 9), and the monasteries of Abba Apollos and Abba Anouph (11. 11 and 18 respectively), see §4.1. A personal name which occurs in this text, Taurinos, is said to be typical of this nome,⁴ and it occurs many times in inscriptions at Bawit.⁵ See also nos. 72 and 76.

Acquisition: see §2.1 for the possibility that this manuscript was acquired by the BM from the Rev. Murch in 1903 in a lot comprising BL Or. inv. nos. 5987-6176.

Bibliography: described in BM p. 453; MacCoul 1987b, is a preliminary report on a planned edition of BL Or. 6046 and 6049.⁶

This text is discussed at §3.10. It is a list of payments whose precise purpose is not clear. Crum (BM p. 453) described it as a list of rents. Wippsycka 1972 p. 37 n. 1

¹For the size of folios in documentary codices, see Gascou 1989b p. 78.
²Conjectured dates for this text, some based on datings of BM no. 1075, are as follows: beginning VIth C. (Gascou 1989b p. 84 no. 3); 546 C.E. (MacCoul 1993b p. 119 and 1994c p. 484); VIIth C. (Wippsycka 1972 p. 37 n. 1); and VII-VIIIth C. (Drew-Bear 1979a p. 398).
³This is very common, compare no. 29 l. 23 and, e.g., the VIIIth C. P. Apoll. Ano no. 80.
⁴See Drew-Bear 1979a p. 268 "Ταυρίνου". This name occurs in a number of Greek texts from this nome, see, exx., BGU XII (index V p. 150), and CPR IX (index p. 108).
⁶Thanks are due to Dr Leslie MacCoul for allowing me to take over the publication of this text, and for supplying me with her transcription of the text.
refers to it as a list "d’impôts fonciers établies par les fonctionnaires locaux pour rendre compte aux supérieurs de l’état de la perception". Unlike BM 1075, with which it shares some personal names in common, it cannot be identified as a corn assessment.

The entries include individuals and institutions, including the monasteries of Abba Apollos and Abba Anouph, a topos of Kames (represented three times by different individuals and once by a hospital) (see §4.1), and the Holy Church (see §4.2). Also listed are twenty-eight individuals who come from religious as well as lay spheres, from humble to elevated social positions: two are described as δββα and πρεσβύτερος; one bears the title κώριος; two are bakers; and one a builder. Apart from Antinoe (αττινοι l. 9), only one securely located place is mentioned, Palas, in the Leukopyrgites ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome, see §4.4.

Amounts of corn recorded range from one to three pounds, representing three to nine drachmas. A couple of entries record odd amounts in drachmas (ll. 24 and 34).

(A)

1→

[ ]

2 διαφρορο πακτων

3 δ/ τοπ/ Καμητος δ/ του κυρ/ Θεώδω/]

4 δ/ ομος δ/ αβ/ Επιμαχου

5 δ/ ομος δ/ αβ/ Ζαχαριου

6 δ/ ομος δ/ τ ξενεωνου

7 δ/ Ταυρινος Ιωαννου —

8 δ/ Δαυειτ Ευχαλου —

9 δ/ του κυρ/ Ταυριδ απο αττινου —

10 δ/ Ιωσηφ Χωλος

11 δ/ μοναστηρι/ αβ/ Απολλως

12 δ/ Απολλω Παμονιου

13 δ/ Απολλω απο Τοι.ασεως

14 δ/ Κολλα Ορβας

15 δ/ Ιακωβου Κουρευ

16 δ/ αβ/ Σουρους πρεσβητερου

17 δ/ Ιωαννου Πιτακου

18 δ/ μοναστηρι/ αβ/ Ανουφ

19 δ/ Βικτ/ απο Παλαντος...

20 δ/ Ενδως Περουδιος...

1This is a papyrus account book recording the corn assessment for Temseuskor(don) and the τόνος of Demeos (or Demeon), which may be in the region of Antinoe, see MacCoull 1987b and 1994c.
Balance of *pacta*:

From the *Topos* of Kames, from the Lord Theodo[ros]

From the same, from Abba Epimachos

From the same, from Abba Zacharios

From the same, from the hospital

From Taurinos (son) of Ioannes

From Daueit (son) of Enochios

From the Lord Taurinos from Antinoe

From Joseph (son of) Cholos

From the Monastery of Abba Apollos

From Apollo (son) of Pamounios

From Apollo from Toi(-)asis (?)

From Kollouthus (son of) (H)orbas

From Iakubios (son) of Koureus
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Abba Sourous</td>
<td>the priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ioannes</td>
<td>(son) of Pdiakos/the deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>the Monastery</td>
<td>of Abba Anouph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Victor(os)</td>
<td>from Palas(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Endios</td>
<td>(son) of Pieroudios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Abba Pieou</td>
<td>the priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 [.. 6 drachmas] 2 pounds of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Amoun</td>
<td>(son) of Phibios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 drachmas [2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kuriakos</td>
<td>(son) of Pemjol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 drachmas 3 pounds of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Ptoilomaios</td>
<td>(son) of Psates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 drachmas ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Serenos</td>
<td>the builder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 drachmas 2 pounds of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Theodosios</td>
<td>(son) of Serenos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 drachmas 2 pounds of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Anouph</td>
<td>(son) of Mouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 drachmas 1 pound of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kuriakos</td>
<td>(son) of Abra(amios)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 drachmas 1 pound of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Pkulis</td>
<td>(son) of Papnouth(ios)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 drachmas 1 pound of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Isak the</td>
<td>baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 drachmas 1 pound of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Abra(amios)</td>
<td>the baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 drachmas 1 pound of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>the Holy</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 drachmas 1 pound of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Onnophrios</td>
<td>(son) of Iakob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 drachmas 2 pounds of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Philotheos</td>
<td>(son) of Kostanti(nos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 drachmas ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Phib</td>
<td>(son) of Paneos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 drachmas 2 pounds of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Pamoun</td>
<td>(son) of Apalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 drachmas 2 pounds of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Basilios</td>
<td>(son) of Victoros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 drachmas ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>saks ...</td>
<td>drachmas (?), of corn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Docket:

39 The village (?) ...

Transcription notes

4-6 ομοτος: the second o looks like a small iota.
5, 11 αβ;: the open beta resembles a kappa.
9 ατινου: the a is damaged and there does not appear to be enough space for αντινου to have been written.
21 β: only a vertical stroke remains.
22-38 &: this sign may indicate the beginning of a numerical entry or that no number or measure was specified;¹ Crum believed that it represented "ditto" and related to an abbreviation, now lost, of νομίσματια "solidi" at the top of the page. This is disproved if, as here, I is interpreted as a symbol representing "drachma".² The use of the symbol &: representing κέρατον (as, e.g., in P. Lond. IV 1442 ll. 32-36, 72) is not appropriate here.
24 One would expect an entry for 2 1/3 pounds of corn, corresponding to 7 drachmas here.
26 β: this resembles an α.
38 θ, ν[±2].: the double stroke is written through the θ; the ν resembles an ω, but not one written in this text; the θ may represent 1/2 here.

Translation notes

2 διαφόρον: διάφόρον has other possible meanings apart from "balance": apart from "money" in general (Sophocles Lexicon) it can mean "interest" (LSJ; Pap. Colon. XXI pp 144-145).
πακτων: see §§3.10 and 5.3 for the implication of this term.
3 Καμητος: this appears to be the genitive form of Καμη, a hellenization of the Coptic name Καμη "black".⁴ The form Καμητος occurs in a Vth C. Greek papyrus, CPR VIII no. 53 (l. 5), where it is suggested that καμητις or καμητις is intended.⁵
4 Εμπαχος: see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA which list occurrences of this name in some Vth and VIIth. C. texts.
7, 9 See the provenance details above for the name Taurinos.

¹See CPR VIII 22 l. 2 note on p. 221. It also occurs in no. 76 ll. 5 and 7.
²See Youtie 1974 p. 50.
³For this name see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA.; it also occurs in Sijpesteijn 1986 text ll. 11 and 29 (Καμητις); the form Πκαμη is used in P.Berl. inv. no. 25006 ll. 56-57 edited in Piniaudi and Sijpesteijn 1991, see pp. 282 and 292.
⁴See Heuser PN pp. 21, 33, 43, and 69; and Crum CD p. 110a καμητις.
⁵The editors' statement that Καμητος is not attested should be discounted.
10 Ḫɔḏłoς: literally "lame"; a Cholos also occurs in BM 1075; see references in Foraboschi OA and Preisigke NB, adding Warga 1991 p. 363; see also Till 1962 p. 70, and Crum CD p. 670a 2ɔxɔ.0.

13 Τοῖασεώς: if this has been read correctly, there are no previous attestations of this place name.¹ Ταυκασεώς,² a place located in the same toparchy as Παλαντος which is mentioned in l. 19, cannot be read.

14 Ὅρβας/Ὅρβας: for this name, see P. Mich. 3709 l. 5 in Sijpesteijn 1985 pp. 82-84 no. 13.

15 Κουρεύ: the entry for this name in Preisigke NB cites only this papyrus and SB I 1881.

17 Πιδιάκου: this could be a personal name or a title "deacon", prefixed by the Coptic masculine definite article Π-, see ΠΤΙΔΚΟΝ no. 10 l. 4. A topos of Πιδιάκ(ονος) occurs in P.Lond. IV no. 1419 l. 749; see also Preisigke NB s.v. Πιδικαυ.

18 μοναστηρι, ab, Ανουφ: for this monastery, see §4.1.

20 Ἐνδίως: the name Ἐνδίως is attested for the VIth C, see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA.

Πῖεροντίος: Preisigke NB cites only this papyrus in his entry for this name.

λ想起来: the amount which a λίτρα represents varies: in principal it is 0.3274 kg. but it can be 0.558 kg.³

23 Πεμξωξ: literally, "the onion" Μξωξ Crum CD p. 213b;⁴ a ΊΕΡΜΗΙΑΣ ΠΜΧΩξ "Jeremias (son of) Pmjol" is mentioned in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CMAA Green "5" which also mentions Τνόενση (see §§2.6 and §4.11).

24 Ἔστας: a Ἐστος occurs in BM 1075.

25, 26 The same Serenos may be intended in both lines.

29 Πικύλλας: this name also occurs in BM 1075 and the Greek text written on BL Or. 6050 col. 1 l. 26 (Coptic text = BM 1079);⁵ see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA s.vv. Πικυλλός, Πικύλλας, Πικύρις. It has been associated with the Hermopolite region by the editor of P. Vindob. G 1265;⁶ see also a VIth C. Greek papyrus which may be from the Hermopolite nome, P. Iand. inv. no. 529 lls. 3 and 12.⁷

32 τῆς ἀγίας εκκλησι: see §4.2 for the identification of this church with the Basilica at Hermopolis.

35 Πανηγοῦ: for Πανηγοῦ see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA entries s.v. Πανηγοῦς.

36 Απάλο: this spelling of Apollo also occurs in BM 1075.

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¹See, e.g., Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 p. 262 ll. 17, 33, 45 and 65.
²See, e.g., Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990 p. 262 ll. 17, 33, 45 and 65.
³Hommes et riches 1 p. 287.
⁴See Heuser PN pp. 24 and 72 for this personal name; Preisigke NB cites only this papyrus (no. 40).
⁵Edited in MacCoull 1994b pp. 139-140.
⁶It occurs in ll. 2, 4, 5, 9, and 13, see Papaconstantinou 1994 p. 93.
⁷See Metzger and Harrauer 1985 pp. 248-249.
41

FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT ISSUED BY A TOPOTERETES (?)

CMAA Green "1"\(^1\) Dimensions not recorded Whereabouts unknown
Papyrus

Preservation: (A?) 7 lines and the upper and left margins appear to be partially preserved;
(B?) 2 lines of an address or docket and all but the left margin appear to be extant.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin may have been a monastery of Apa Apollo
and a Hermopolite context is suggested by other manuscripts from this collection, see
§2.6.

Acquisition: see §2.6.

The format of the address to this document (ll. 8-9) suggests that it was issued by a
topoteretes to someone from a monastery of Apa Apollo. The content of the document
remains obscure.

\[(A?)\]
1  𝗢𝗨ophil� M𝗘𝗡 Τ𝗦 ΠΩ��эконом
2  ṭ prophets ΝΑΤСΟΟ\(γ\)Υ\(γ\)
3  ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΔΙΩΠ ΠΩ่วยЭΤИ ΤΙΚΑΙОН ΕΤ[\]
4  ṭ prophets ΠΕΧΚ\(γ\)ΑΜΟΣ ṭ prophets ΕΠ+[\]
5  ΝΠΠΕΤΟΥΔ\(Δ\)\(Δ\) \(\ldots\) ΤΕΡΟΝ ΧΕ ωΑΝΠΡΟΣΚΥΝ[ΕΙ]
6  ΠΑΡΑ ΧΑΜ ΗΡΙ\(Ε\)\(Ι\) \(\ldots\) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΙ 2ΩΨ
7  ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΕ ₹ΜΩΤΜ 2Α ΤΑΕΥΤΕΞΕΙ[Α]

Gap left in transcription

(B?) Address/docket?
8?  \(Ι\)Α \(Δ\)ΥΨ ΠΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΥ +
9?  \(ΙΜΟΝ\)Τ\(Ι\), ΝΑΠΑ \(Α\)ΠΟΧΑΨ +

\(3 \)ΩΨ ΕΥΑΙΚΑΙΩΝ \(\ldots\) 4 ΠΩὅΤΗΡΙ 6 \(ΩΨ\) 7 ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΕΙ ₹ΜΩΤΜ
8? ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΗΤΗΣ 9? ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

Greeting (1) Firstly indeed (μ\(\acute{\varepsilon}\)) I welcome (προσκυνε\(ι\)ν) ...

Preamble? (2) you were ignorant (?) ... (3) Because of this I have
recounted the affair to a dikaion (δ\(ι\)καίον) which (?) ...

Request? (4) you make the effort (σκυλ\(υ\)δ\(ό\)ς) and come to the...
(5) of the holy .... to us because we welcome (\(π\)...) (6) more than (παρά)
any ... about this matter ... (7) authorize (προτρedm\(ε\)) you for my
humbleness (ἐ\(υ\)τ\(ē\)λε\(ξ\)ε\(ί\)α).

\(^1\)This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.
Address/Docket (8?) ... and the *topoteretes* (τοποτηρητής) +. (9?) ... monastery (μοναστήριον) of Apa Apollo +.

Translation notes

3 ἔγτι τίκλιον ετί: alternatively interpret as "they giving justice (?)".

4 τοπετομος: this term also occurs in *P. Budge* l. 215, *BKU* II.1 no. 303 (context obscure), an unpublished ostracon P. Berlin 14814,1 and an unpublished Coptic papyrus, CMAA Green "1" l. 4 (see §2.6).


7 προτρηπε: see Ryl. no. 289.

ΕΥΤΕΧΙΔ: this is translated as "humbleness" in *P. Budge* l. 218.

8 ΤΟΠΟΤΗ: see §3.7 for this title.

---

1 Described in Beltz 1980 p. 144 no. IV 474.
**FRAAGMENT**

Christie's "30"  
Plate 29

Papyrus  

**Preservation:** (B) 7 lines and the right margin (and possibly top margin?) are partially preserved. The papyrus is crumpled.

**Palaeography:** a large, irregular but fairly competently-written majuscule, with few ligatures. Wide M, N and Ω, and sometimes also Η, Κ, Π and Χ. Α written with a double loop. v-shaped Υ.

**Linguistic notes:** the spellings of ME (for ΜΝ 1.4) and ΜΑΜΑΧΟΣ (for ΜΩΝΑΧΟΣ 1.5) are noteworthy.

**Provenance:** unknown. The document was issued by the monastery of Apa Jeremias to the monastery of Apa Apollo. The acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context. The place name mentioned in 1. 7 may be Perćë in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4) or Perćiëse (see §4.7) in the Faiyum.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This document is very fragmentary, but it may be related to aparchê collection documents from the same collection, see §2.5 and Chapter 5. Fathers of the diakonia (see §5.7) of the monastery of Apa Jeremias (see §4.1) address two monks belonging to a monastery of Apa Apollo, to whom they may have assigned a place called Perćië or Perćiëse (1. 7).

---

1—*  

2  

3  

4  

5  

6  

7  

---

**Parties**

(1) I (?) .... (2) [and my] brother Helias, the fathers of the diakonia (διακονία) (3) of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, (4) we are writing to brother (πάσον) Klouj and brother (πάσον) (5) Ouenober, the monks (μοναχός) (6) of the monastery (τόνος) of Apa Apollo.

---

1These dimensions have been estimated because the papyrus is crumpled.
Preamble

Whereas (ἐπεδή) [we] gave you Perčié(se) ...

Transcription notes

7 ΠΕΡΘΙ Ί ΟΙ Ε: the place name ΠΕΡΘΙΗΣΕ is just as plausible as ΠΕΡΘΙ here because the scribe of this text appears not to have had any qualms about beginning a new word at the end of one line and completing it in the next (exx. ΠΔΩΝ ΙΙ. 4-5 and ΠΙΔΗ ΙΙ. 6-7).
Christie's "25"(1)(A) c. 90 (h) x 125 (w) mm.¹

Preservation: (A) 5 lines and part of the upper margin are preserved. Christie's "25" consists of five fragments from four different texts which have been joined in order to produce the appearance of one fairly rectangular document; two of these texts (fragments 2-4, and fragment 5) are written in the same or a similar hand to (1)(A), parallel to the fibres. Side (B) of Christie's "25" resembles a patchwork whose individual components are difficult to distinguish. Fragment (1) appears to contain parts of two texts, both written in different hands to the text on (A), parallel to the fibres: text 2 preserves only one line which reads \( \text{I} \text{ΝΙΝΤΔΥΠΙΝΕ} \ldots \); and text 3 preserves only \( \text{ΤΡΕ} \).

Palaeography: a large majuscule hand written with a thick pen.

Provenance: unknown. Written by an incumbent of a monastery of Apa Apollo possibly to someone of the same monastery; the acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

(A)
1† \( \text{ΤΩΠΟ} \text{ΝΑΠΑ ΝΟΧΨΛΕ ΕΙΣΑΛΙ} \) monastery (τόπος?) of Apa Apollo am writing

2 \( \text{ΙΗΠΙΟΠΟΣ ΝΟΥΣΤ} \) of this same monastery (τ.)
3 \( \text{ΙΗΣΗΝ ΝΑΙКΙ} \) ....
4 \( \text{ΙΨΟΠΙΚΟΙ} \) ....
5 \( \text{ΙΝ} \ldots \text{Ε} \ldots \) ....

2 ΙΗΠΙΟΠΟΣ

Transcription notes

1 \( \text{ΤΩΠΟ} \text{ΟΙΟΙ: ΜΟΝΑΧΟΩΙ} \) is another possible restoration.
4 \( \text{ΙΨΟ} : \text{restore ΝΟΙΨΟ (for ΝΟΥΘ) "gold"?} \)
   \( \text{ΙΠΚΟΙ} : \text{restore ΙΠΚΟΙ [ΜΗΤΡΕ?} \)

¹The dimensions of this fragment can only be estimated.
44
FRAGMENT

Christie's "26" 41 (h) x 55 (w) mm. VIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 29
Preservation: 4 lines and parts of the upper and right margins are preserved. The text is partially faded.
Palaeography: a fairly competent majuscule hand.
Provenance: unknown. Written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo for which the acquisition details suggest an Hermopolite context.
Acquisition: see §2.5.

1↑ ΔΠΟξιλω ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΧ (Apollo the monk (μοναχός) ...
2 ΝΑΙΠΑ ΑΠΟΧΗ ΕΙΟΧΑΙ (of Apa Apollo am writing
3 ]Ε ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΧ . ( ... the monk (μ.)
4 ]ΥΧΙΩ ΠΗΩΤ ( ... and the father...

1, 3 ΜΟΝΟΧΟΧ 4 ΕΙΩΤ

45
FRAGMENT

Christie's "23" c. 30 (h) x 45 (w) mm. VI-VIIth C.? Papyrus Plate 29
Preservation: 3 lines and part of the upper margin are preserved.
Palaeography: an upright majuscule hand. Χ is written back-to-front. A superlinear stroke may be used without syllabic function over Μ in ΩΔΧΩΤΟΧ (I. 1).
Provenance: unknown. This fragment may have been written by a psalmodist (see §3.13) from a monastery of Apa Apollo; an Hermopolite context is suggested by the acquisition details.
Acquisition: see §2.5.

1→ ΔΧΛΩΤΟΧ
2 ΧΟΠΟΧΗ ΕΙΟΧΑΙ ...
3 Ι[...

1 ΔΛΜΔΟΧ

(1) [I, NN ... the] psalmodist (ψαλμωδός) ... [of the monastery of Apa?] (2) Apollo am writing (3) ...
DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

P. Duk. inv. 439(B) 88 (h) x 194 (w) mm. VIIIth C.?1
Formerly University of Mississippi Collection I C 20.2 Papyrus

Preservation: (A) 7 lines and all margins are preserved, the upper one only partially. The text is faded in places and there are a few small lacunae. (B) 4 lines and all but the right margin are preserved. This is written on the back of no. 47.

Palaeography: a clumsy and inexperienced majuscule hand which is very difficult to date; sometimes the letters are too unorthodox to be decipherable.

Linguistic note: this text features elements of different dialects (e.g. the Bohairic forms of the definite article Π and Μ Π Ι I. 2 and 3; and ΩΥΛΟΚΟΞΙ (δολοκόττινος) I. 5). Other unusual forms include: ΩΠ for ΣΩΘ I. 1, ΨΑΕΙ for ΨΩΑΙ I. 2, ΤΑΟΕΙ for ΤΑΟΥΟΙ I. 4 and ΤΑΟΨ for ΤΑΟΥΟΨ I. 6; ΠΨΧΕ for ΠΨΧΕ I. 5; and the unusual First Perfect verbal prefix ΙΑΕΙ- for ΆΙ- twice in I. 6 (but note the standard Sahidic form in I. 4 Ά- (ΝΙΠΟΜΙ)). The spelling of ΠΕΣΧΩ for Apollo in I. 3 also occurs in the Difnar, see §3.2.1.

Provenance: unknown. The two place names mentioned in this text are unattested unless ΤΙΑΝΑΜΗΝΩΥ in I. 4 is to be interpreted as a form of Tanamou in the Hermopolite nome. There are some linguistic similarities with no. 100 text 1 (omission of the 2 in ΣΩΑΙ; spelling of δολοκόττινος; see summary) which might suggest a place of origin in Middle Egypt if not the Hermopolite nome.

Acquisition: in 1988 Duke University bought the papyrus from the University of Mississippi which, in turn, had acquired it from a dealer in Cairo in 1955.


Eisak (son of) Lia from Danaier (?) reports to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo called Iaanes that the men of Tanamneou have sent him half a solidus. A monk called Apa Kyri is also mentioned. It is probably sheer coincidence that the δέμοσια demand written on the back of this letter is also addressed to a monk of Apa Apollo called 'Iωάννης.

Some of the forms contained in this letter are so unusual that they are impossible to interpret. This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

---

1This date is based on the Greek hand of the text written on the other side of this papyrus, no. 47.
2I am grateful to Peter van Minnen for this information.
Parties

(1) + P+ First of all (?) ... son of (2) Eisak (son of) Lia, the man of Danaïër (?). I am writing (to) my brother (3) Iaanes the monk (μοναχός) of Apa Apollo.

Report

(4) The men of Tanamneou have sent (?) me (?) a (5) half solidus (δολοκόρτινος) to finish it (?). Here is my brother (6) Apa Kyri. I have sent (?) him and ... him it (?) (7) so that you (?) give it to him (?) the ones belonging to ...

Transcription notes

1 ' + P+1: possibly read ὡἡ its the letter before this is not recognisably a Π.

2 'ι: the initial letter is damaged and may be a Δ although no personal name Dia is recorded in Heuser PN, Preisigke NB or Foraboschi. ι is only attested as a feminine name, see, e.g., a mid VIth C. Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, P. Mich. inv. 474 l. 5 (Αία). 2

Δαία: Δαία is also possible although neither is attested as a place name. Damanhûr cannot be read.

Cai: compare the forms of this word in no. 53 l. 2 (Cai), and no. 100 text 1 (Cai, see summary).

3 Μαμάχα: or read Μαμάχο.

4 Ταναμμήνηος: the horizontal of the Τ comes halfway down the following Δ (as in ταχοῥ in l. 6), and the papyrus is damaged so that a reading of ' + Ταναμμήνηος may be possible. No such place name is recorded in CKA but it may be a variant writing of the Hermopolite place name Tanamoou/Tanemoou vel sim.

---

1 See P. Sta. Xyla 9 l. 4 (Λεία) and note on p. 74; and Heuser PN p. 97 ι.

5 OYXOXYXI: a similar spelling of ὀλοκόττινος, OYXOXYXI, occurs in no. 100 text 1 (see summary) and is listed as a Bohairic form in Crum CD p. 140b OYXOXYXI.

ΩXKEΠΟΙΟ: or ΩXKEΠΟΙΟ although the meaning of this would be even less clear.

6 XATQ: this may involve XOT (Crum CD p. 791b "pierce" etc.) in which case the meaning "drängen" assigned in Westendorf KH p. 436 n. 4 may be the most appropriate: "I urged him"?

7 TECTIC: the prepronominal form + is attested for + "give" in Crum CD p. 392a. At least four different interpretations can be put upon TEC: TEK- (Causative Infinitive, which is followed in the translation), ΝΤΕΚ- (Second Perfect or Relative First Perfect), or ΝΓ- (Conjunctive). The Relative First Present (ΕΤΚ-) is discounted because it cannot be used with a prepronominal infinitive.

ΝΑΤΝΠΝΛΑΙ: this may involve the attested personal names ΝΑΠΛΑΙ+, 1 or ΝΑΠΛΑΙ (see Heuser PN p. 118) followed by a +.

---

1 See Clackson 1993a p. 129 §11 (ΝΠΛΑΙ+), and a VI/VIIth C. Greek manuscript from the Faiyum, SPP III no. 100 l. 2 ΑΠΑΛΙΤΙ.
DEMAND FOR DÉMOSION

Ouersenouphios son of Theodoros issues a démosion assessment of one solidus to Ioannes a monk of Apa Apollo.

This is the only tax demand written in Greek examined in this thesis and it has a different format from the Coptic tax demands issued to monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome, see §§3.7 and 6.2.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

\begin{verbatim}
 1 Ρ εγο ουερσενουφ[υ]ζ θεοδορον γραφω του
    απα απολλω
 2 του μοναχον ιωαννης επιδη επισα τον ..ε.[
 3 ιωαννης ελαξε παρ αυτου νο α του δημοσιου[
 4 λοιπουν τοσαυτων

1 έγω  2 έπειδη  4 τοσοντων
\end{verbatim}

Parties
(1) Ρ I, Ouersenouphios son of Theodoros, write the ...
(2) the monk Ioannes (of) Apa Apollo/.

Tax demand
Whereas I have determined of the ... (3) Ioannes, it is allotted (for payment) from him: one solidus of demotion (4) such a remainder.

Translation notes
1 ουερσενουφ[υ]ζ: this is a hellenized form of the Coptic name ΟΥΕΡΨΕΝΟΥΒΕ (see Crum CD p. 491 Υ(Ε)ΡΨΕ), which literally means "good watch".2

1 Professor Roger Bagnall has suggested that this text is a translation from Coptic, and was possibly used as a scribal model (private communication).
2 Heuser PN p. 19 ΟΥΕΡΨΕΝΟΥΒΕ.
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DOCUMENT CONCERNING EMBOLÊ

P. Miss. inv. 2 40 (h) x 202(w) mm. VII-VIIIth C.?
Formerly University of Mississippi Collection I C 24. Plate 32

Papyrus

Preservation: 4 lines and only the upper and left margins are preserved.

Palaeography: clumsy and inexpert majuscule, with letters irregularly written and aligned. is written with a double loop. The uncertainty of the scribe is also suggested by the three errors which are corrected, see transcription notes to ll. 2 and 3 below. Noteworthy are the three-stroke and .

Provenance: unknown. Written to someone belonging to a monastery of Apa Apollo.


A caulker (kalearner) writes to an incumbent of a monastery of Apa Apollo on the matter of the corn-tax (embolê) (see §3.7) for the third indiction-year. It is not clear who is paying the tax although it seems more probable that the monastery is collecting the tax from the caulker on behalf of the ruling administration.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1 ⌃ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΙΔΑ 2 ΨΑΤΕ ΠΚΑΛΑΦΑΤ ΠΡΩΜ[ ... ΕΙΔΕΙ ΝΝΝ (?) ... ]
2 ΜΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ
3 'ΙΩΙ. ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΤΡΙΧΗ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ
4 'ΙΝΙΟΟΤ ΝΤΕΚΜΕΤΙΩΤ ΔΝΟΚ

2 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ 3 ΕΜΒΟΛΗ 4 ΜΗΤΕΙΩΤ

Parties (1) + I, the master Psate the caulker (kalearner), of ...
[am writing (?) to NN the monk (?)] of the monastery (topos) of Apa Apollo.

Preamble Whereas (πειθή) ... (3) embolê (embole) (for the) third (topos) indiction-year (ημετερίως) ... (4) from your fatherhood. I ...

Transcription notes

1 At the upper edge of the papyrus above the Π of ΠΚΑΛΑΦΑΤ is a small mark which may have belonged to the last line an earlier text written on this sheet.
2 ΠΔ: the Π is written over an ε.

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Translation notes

1 πις2: a parallel usage of πις2 following the format πις2 NN occupation (rather than NN πις2 occupation "master ...") may be found in an inscription from Bawit which mentions πις2 ΠΔΗΕΠ Πις2ΝΕΘΙΩ (Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 98 no. 268 l. 2); and in BM nos. 1037 and 1064 which both mention πις2 ΊΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΦΑΜΩΣ. Crum appears to have interpreted the latter as "John the master carpenter", to judge from his citation of BM 1037 in CD p. 383b under the section headed "master of a craft". It seems unlikely that "the scribe Psate" is in question here given that the man is a caulk, skilled occupation though it is. For the honorific use of the title πις2, see §3.13. Alternatively πις2 could be a personal name "Psah (son of Psate)".

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3 τριτακτικονιοτικαι: MacCoull 1990 p. 266 suggests that this date may correspond to 718 C.E. but does not give a reason.

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1 The name πις2 is not recorded in Heuser PN, Preisigke NB or Forboschi OA, although a compound including it, πις2ξα, is listed in Heuser PN pp. 11 and 53.
CHAPTER 7
ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϹpherd FORMULA DOCUMENTS

§7.1 DOCUMENTS WITH THE ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϹpherd FORMULA

This chapter deals with documents beginning with the formula ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΝ ΕΙϹpherd "I, brother (ΠΔΟΝ) NN, am writing". Twenty-one documents are analysed, all but two of which are unpublished. Eleven documents contain the formula in its entirety, and it may be reconstructed in another ten (see lists below). Only one of the documents has a secure provenance, a Coptic papyrus excavated at Wadi Sarga. WS 166 (see Appendix 2 text A) is an undertaking to repay a debt of one solidus in cheese. Since this is the only Coptic text from this site to preserve this formula (see §8.1 for a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϹpherd formula text from this place),1 its significance cannot outweigh that of the much larger number of texts which relate either to a monastery of Apa Apollo or Titkooh. The other published text with this formula concerns an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (no. 49).

Most of the documents which (may be reconstructed so as to) begin with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϹpherd formula, and preserve the identity of their writer(s) were written by monks of a monastery of Apollo (nos. 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 16 text 2, 24, 49-52, 58 and 60). No. 55 was written to (and possibly from) a monk of this monastery. Three of the texts may originate from the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo, nos. 54, 59, and 61; no. 59 was written by a head of this monastery.2

One of the texts specifies that the monastery of Apa Apollo is in the region of Shmoun (no. 2) and three texts (nos. 10, 16 text 2, and 49) mention places in the Hermopolite nome as well as a monastery of Apa Apollo. The monastery of Apa Apollo mentioned in seven texts can be assigned an Hermopolite context based on other internal data or the acquisition details of the manuscripts (nos. 3, 5, 11, 24, 50, 51 and 55).

Apart from WS 166 already mentioned above, three texts do not mention a monastery of Apa Apollo or Titkooh (nos. 53, 56 and 57). One of these (no. 53) mentions a monastery of Apa Mena (see §4.1).

A number of documents issued by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo no longer preserve their introductory formula, but may also have begun with the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΝ ΝΝ

---

1 I am grateful to Dr Morris Bierbrier of the British Museum and the staff of the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections for facilitating my study of the unpublished Coptic texts from Wadi Sarga in the British Museum (ostraca) and British Library (papyrus and vellum: BL Or. 9035 (1-164)).
2 An unpublished fragment of papyrus from a collection offered for sale by Christie’s of London, Christie’s “16”, see §2.5, which mentions a ΤΟΠΟϹ at ΤΙΤΚΟΟϹ may also bear the ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙϹpherd formula.
Unpublished papyri from the three collections discussed at §2.1, 2.2 and 2.5 may also have begun with this formula. Five of the documents beginning with this formula are concerned with the collection of *aparchê* and/or *pactum* and they are presented in Chapter 5. Some of the documents edited in this chapter (Chapter 7) may also be connected with *aparchê* collection or *pactum* payment. No. 50 contains the Agreement clause analysed at §5.5; and nos. 52 and 58 contain a few elements which are also found in *aparchê* collection documents.

No. 57 is written in an unusually coarse hand compared with the other documents beginning with the ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΓΗ formula. It is the only letter to preserve this formula, and was sent by a monk called Serne to some fellow monks. No. 16 texts 2-4 may be interpreted as practice attempts at reproducing the formula on the back of letter (see §3.3.2.2).

§7.2 THE ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΓΗ FORMULA

The ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΓΗ formula generally occurs at the beginning of the documents. Their business-like nature is illustrated by the fact that only in no. 51 is the formula preceded by an additional phrase, in this case ΒΝ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΠΡΩΤΕ "in the name of God".

The ΑΝΩΚ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΓΗ formula is found at the beginning of documents dating to the VI/VII - VIIIth C. and deriving from el-Ashmunein to the Theban region. Similar formulae, such as ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΓΗ "I, brother (ΠΑΣΚΩΝ) NN, he is writing", and ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΝΝ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΓΗ "We, brother (ΠΑΣΚΩΝ) NN and brother (ΠΑΣΚΩΝ) NN, are writing", also occur, but usually in texts with some connection to a monastery of Apa Apollo. Three related formulae occur at the beginning of nos. 7, 28 and 29, see below.

Similar formulae appear quite commonly towards the end of documents, e.g. in the declarations of witnesses: ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΑΙΩΓΗ "I, brother (ΠΑΣΚΩΝ) NN, I wrote" (see, exx. nos. 50 ll. 10-12, possibly 51 l. 18).

Two inscriptions from Bawit preserve the ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΩΓΗ formula, and one from the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. In a number of other epigraphic texts individuals record their names following the ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΚΩΝ ΝΝ formula. These come
from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit,\textsuperscript{1} and the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara (see §4.2 \textbf{Monastery of Apa Jeremias} for contact between these two monasteries).\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1}Palanque 1906 p. 18; Clédat 1904-1906 pp. 25 (no. III), 42 (no. VII), 43 (no. XIV), 44 (nos. XV I. 3 and XVI I. 2), 83 (no. II), and 138 (no. IV I. 3); Clédat 1916 pp. 46 (no. 14), and 47 (no. 19); Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 60 (no. 49 I. 1), 86 (no. 198 I. 6), 87 (no. 203 II. 2-3), 88 (no. 209 I. 1), 89 (no. 215 II. 2-3 Καβτοκ Πεκκ NN), 94 (no. 244 I. 2), 99 (no. 271 II. 1-2), 133 (no. 453 I. 1), and 134 (no. 459 I. 4).

\textsuperscript{2}Wietheger 1992 p. 278 lists the inscriptions beginning with Καβτοκ Πεκκ NN from this monastery.
Papyrus documents beginning with the
\( \Delta \text{NOK} \ \Pi \text{ACON} \ \text{NN} \ \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) formula

1) BL Or. 6201 B 29 text 2
2) BL Or. 6201 B 268A
3) BL Or. 13886.35
4) CUL Michael. 856/5
5) CUL Michael. 968
6) KSB I 049 (= P.Würzburg 43)
7) P. Schøyen Ms. 089/08
8) P. Schøyen Ms. 089/14
9) Christie's "10"
10) CMAA Green "22"
11) "Drescher" text

Papyrus documents in which the
\( \Delta \text{NOK} \ \Pi \text{ACON} \ \text{NN} \ \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) formula may be reconstructed

1) BL Or. 6201 B 267(A) (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)
2) CUL Michael. 1201 (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)
3) P. Schøyen Ms. 089/07 (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)
4) WS 166 (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)
5) Christie's "11" (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)
6) Christie's "12" (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)
7) Christie's "15" (\( \Pi \text{ACON} \) reconstructed)
8) Christie's "16" (\( \Delta \text{NOK} \) reconstructed)
9) Ex-von Scherling Collection no. 20 (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)
10) Ex-von Scherling Collection no. 44 (\( \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) reconstructed)

Documents with related formulae

\( \Delta \text{NOK} \ \Pi \text{ACON} \ \text{NN} \ \varepsilon \text{IC2A1} \) formula
1) P. Schøyen 1579/1 text 2

\( \Delta \text{NON} \ \Pi \text{ACON} \ \text{NN} \ \text{MN} \ (\Pi \text{ACON}) \ \text{NN} \ \varepsilon \text{NC2A1} \)
1) Herm. 3
2) BL Or. 6201 A300 (\( \varepsilon \text{NC2A1} \) restored; unpublished)

see §2.1

\( \Delta \text{NOK} \ \Pi \Pi \text{A} \ \Pi \text{A} \ \text{NN} \ \text{MN} \ \Pi \text{ACON} \ \text{NN} \ \text{MN} \ \varepsilon \text{NC2A1} \) formula
1) Princeton Univ. Inv. Nr. AM 15960 G

no. 16 text 2
no. 54
no. 56
Appendix 2 text A
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no. 60
no. 55
no. 61
no. 59
no. 24
no. 7
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### FORMULA DOCUMENTS

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RENUNCIATION OF PROPERTY

KSB I 049 350 (h) x 200 (w) mm.¹ VIIth C.²
Inv. no. P. Würzburg 43 Plates 33-34

Papyrus Preservation: good quality papyrus with fine fibres; complete apart from a few holes. Writing faded in places. (A) 18 lines and all margins except perhaps for the bottom one are preserved. On (B) are 4 lines continued from (A) and, at 180° to these, there is a 2 line docket.³

Palaeography: this text is written in four different hands. The main hand (hand 1) is a flowing, right-sloping majuscule with many ligatures,⁴ and the characters are fairly regularly sized. θ and κ are usually large; θ has a narrow upper and triangular lower half (exx. in εξωθ and φωθ l. 8). The vertical strokes of l, k, p, t, and ϕ can end in a hook curving up to the right. The m in θιμε (l. 5 and 6) resembles a χ and the right vertical of the η is part of the following ε.⁵ Parallels (cited in Brunsch 1981 p. 93): Stegemann 1936 pls. 11-13, and Baw. pl. 4.6 (no. 152, to which Kahle assigned a VII-VIIIth C. date).

Two of the signatories (hands 2-3) write in a clumsy majuscule; and a third (hand 4) has a more cursive and quite competent hand with many ligatures.

Provenance: unknown. The contract probably comes from the archive of a monastery of Apa Apollo; an Hermopolite context is suggested by the introductory epistolary formula and the involvement of the headman of Senesla.⁶

Acquisition: Ulrich Wilcken bought this text in Egypt for Würzburg University Library at the beginning of this century.⁷

Bibliography: edited in Brunsch 1981; re-edited in Krause 1985b; and Brunsch 1987 adds further comments. Their readings are presented in a second apparatus (Apparatus B) which accompanies my transcription of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph. See §§3.7 and 3.10 for a discussion of its contents.

¹According to Brunsch 1981 p. 93 this hand can be dated to the first half of this century.
²See Brunsch 1981 p. 93.
³Brunsch 1981 p. 96 pp) speculated that there might be a third line in this docket.
⁴See Brunsch 1981 pp. 95-96 for details of these ligatures.
⁵Brunsch 1981 p. 95 g) shows a diagram of this ligature.
⁶Brunsch 1981 pp. 93 and 98 b) assigns a provenance of Bala'izah which he withdraws in 1987 p. 115 in favour of Bawit following Krause 1985b p. 146.
⁷Brunsch 1981 p. 93.
No. 49  ll. 1-6

(A) Hand 1

1† ἄνοκ πασον ἑσκό πιμονοχός μπτόπος ἔδα άπολαξ εἰς βᾶλ ἐμπαίκαϊον ἐμποναστήρι-

2 ον μπτόπος ἕδα άπολαξ γίτουτ ἐμπαίνωυτε ἐκοτε τοῦ ἀδαλ ἀπα ἀνικά πάρχμαν

3 δυο ἐπτόπος ἕδα ἑπτή ἐρμαίς σινἄ γίτω γίτώ ἀταπορία ταξοι ἐμπωτίκε μού ἔμπεσταὐ ἐπάρα-

4 καίτε ἐζενσεγνός παζιόποτος ῥετή ἐμποναστήριον ἐμπαρακάτης ἐτεκμιώτ ωραὶ ἄπεκα

5 ταξοι αγί οῦ γίτο γίτω ἐτετπασε οἱ ταξίμες τε ἀκατω πίσιν ιερήμισκα δικτοτε ἐμφαλ

6 ετιρεισσεκ 2α νέκαν κοιντίον τινὸς δε τιμποτασσε μπαμερος εις ταξίμες προς τε μπακορων

Apparatus A (Divergences from standard forms)

1 μοναξος 2 εινατ, ἐκχμαναρίτικας 3 επειδη, διοίκει ἐμοοι 4 ἀκαν ή, 7, 8 ματειντ

5 κε, διοικεμανδεταττ 5, 6 λίμιν 6 ετετρη-, τεντο, ἀποτασσε

Apparatus B (Readings of past editors)


ΜΠΙΣΤΙΚΕ Μπρους 1985b p. 147; ΜΠΙΣΤΙΚΕ Κραυς 1985b p. 147

4 [κεκο]ς (καιμο) η ομιλεμένους εις Brunsch 1981 p. 94

ΔΙΕΠΑΡΑΚ [κατ] Κραυς 1981 p. 94
No. 49 II. 7-13

7 Ἕνος ἑκατοντάκις ἐξ ἐνός τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔτος
8 ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὑπόθεσιν τῷ ἔφησιν
9 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπεισεν τοῦ τῆς ἑκάστης
10 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἠκούσας τῆς διδασκαλίας
11 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἠκούσας τῆς διδασκαλίας
12 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἠκούσας τῆς διδασκαλίας
13 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἠκούσας τῆς διδασκαλίας

Apparatus A

7 ἕνος, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις
8 ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις
9 ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις
10 ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις
11 ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις
12 ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις, ἑκατοντάκις

Apparatus B

8 Ἕνος ἑκατοντάκις Brunsch 1981 p. 94
9 Ἕνος ἑκατοντάκις Brunsch 1981 p. 94
11 Ἕνος ἑκατοντάκις Brunsch 1981 p. 94; Ἕνος ἑκατοντάκις Brunsch 1985b p. 149
12 Ἕνος ἑκατοντάκις Brunsch 1981 p. 94
14 σημα ντιμ ειγων Φανίκες Μοβ νοητός είδε άρχη είτε εξουσία (Ηδ 2) + άνοικ Πασχάες

15 πνταβωροποιητική τις τοτής ετία ποτάκη προς έκεχιζ έμος διώκ άτικ ωρώς εν κεννού διέρμετρει εροτε

(Hd 1) x

15 continued

(Hd 3)

+ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ (Ηδ 1) άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ (Ηδ 1) άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ (Ηδ 1) άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ

(Hd 4)

16 + άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ (Ηδ 1) άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ άνοικ

18 (±4) εμφανίζεις

Apparatus A

14 έςρες, έμφανίζεις άμορφ, είτε 15 πνταβωροποιητική τις τοτής ετία ποτάκη προς έκεχιζ έμος, άμορφ, έμφανίζεις άμορφ, είτε 16 πασχάες έμος έκεχιζ έμος 17 άμορφ, είτε 18 τις τις τοτής ετία ποτάκη προς έκεχιζ έμος

Apparatus B

15 "Spuren von ±4 Buchstaben" Brunsch 1981 p. 96 y)
16 πασχάες έκεχιζ έμος έκεχιζ έμος έκεχιζ έμος (Ηδ 1) άμορφ, είτε 17 άμορφ, είτε άμορφ, είτε 18 gap (±3) ωροποιητική Brunsch 1981 p. 94
(B) (11d 1)

19† σχιον άισαρος σενείσις τ allotakepe asaros prwmseuesa kat' eoukeia ntaiei eox w thymi nthoiut

20 τα τεπιδιρης allotakepe foriabam'is t'tepatopkrisi s xei sak korzhit allermtre etia potaki pror ose

21 άου ταν ναος ερον τηρε allotakepe rexrisia pouspmakaprios mine akorwT allotakepe 2a ria nthix ze menvoi

22 NC2111K1AACS

At 180°

23† tappodakhn ntnsak (±4) t'papexnas 2at-

24 [Pawet1] ntaimh

Apparatus A

19 άισαρος, prwtokwmintis, eoukaiia, exei-
20 epitrnikis, foriabamhi, t'yl pokrisis, allermtre etia potasion
21 pate(m), akorwT, 2ap, mechosi
23 allotaghn

Apparatus B

20 tepi.nh. inpti foriabamhi t'yl pokrisis Brunsch 1981 p. 95
21 -.aw prwihieti Brunsch 1981 p. 95 ewo Brunsch 1981 p. 95
23 allotakepe Brunsch 1981 p. 95
24 ...nthia Brunsch 1981 p. 95
Parties

(1 Hd. 1) I, brother (πᾶς οὖν) Isak, the monk (μοναχὸς) of the topos (τόπος) of Apa Apollo, am writing to the dikaion (δίκαιον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) (2) of the topos (τ.) of Apa Apollo through the God-loving, holy father Apa Daniel, the archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) (3) and father [of the monastery (τ.)].

Preamble

Whereas (ἐπειδή) I have two places, I was perplexed (ἀπορῶ) (because) I could not see to (θοικεῖν) both of them. I asked (παρακαλεῖ) (4) some trustworthy (ἀξιόπιστος) great men of the monastery (μ.), and they asked (π.) your fatherhood on my behalf. You were merciful (5) with me and you took one of the ones I had, which was the cistern (λίμνη) -half. You took my brother Jeremias and you assigned it to him (6) so that he submitted to its demosion (δημόσιον).

Renunciation

Now indeed (δὲ) I renounce (ἀποτάσσειν) my share (μέρος) in the cistern (λ.) as (πρὸς) I requested (7) of the great brothers, they asked (π.) your fatherhood and you were merciful to me.

Waiver of suit

Now indeed (δὲ) I will not be able to proceed against (ἐνέγειν) the topos (τ.), nor your (8) fatherhood, nor (οὐδὲ) even Jeremias, he who was assigned the place for the work of the cistern (λ.) -half for all the days (9) of my life, forever and ever.

Oath

I swear by Almighty God and the universal (καθολικὸς) church (ἐκκλησία) and (10) the safety of the throne (φόνος) of our father Markos the evangelist (ἐβαγγελιστὴς), that I will never proceed against this affair. (11) Indeed (δὲ) if I wish to sue for half of Jeremias' place, firstly (πρῶτον) indeed (μὲν) I will not make any profit (ἄφορος) (12) but will stand by the excommunication (ἄφορος) of my oath and the charge (ἐγκλημα) of not swearing falsely.

Penalty

(13) Secondly (δὲ) I will pay as the penalty (πρόστιμον) fifty solidi (ἀρδεῖα).

Security

and the document (χαρτίον) will remain settled (14) every where it is opened (ἐμφανίσθαι;) either (ἐξείς) by a ruler (ἀρχη) or (ἐξείς) by a power (ἐξουσία).

Contractor's signature

(Hand 2) I, brother Isak, (15 Hand 1) he who wrote above, agree (συμφέρειν) to this renunciation (ἀποτάσσει) according (πρὸς) to the way it was written and I asked some other brothers to witness it

Date

+ ... Pachon (?) 1 (?) indiction-year (ιενδέκτιος) 15 +

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Witness 1 (16 Hand 3) I, Apollo, son of Abraham, (Hand 1) and ... bear witness.

Witness 2 (17 Hand 4) I, ..., son of the late (μακροθυ) Taurine, of Taposi (?), bear witness to this renunciation (ἀ.) ... share (μ.) 2 + ... it (18) ...

Signatory (19 Hand 1) sign (σημείων) Lasaros of Senesla

protocometes (πρωτοκωμήτης)

I, the chief protocometes (π.) Lasaros, of Senesla. At (κατά) a good time (ἐκαρπ(a)) I came to the pit of the basin/Tnout (20) under the supervision (ἔπιτρηςιας) of Apa Phoibamon, the man (in charge?) of this judgment (ἀπόκρισις).

Witness 3 Isak asked me and I bore witness to this renunciation (ἀ.) according to (π.) the way it was written. (21) It was all read out to us.

Scribe I Georgia, son of the late (μ.) Mine, he asked me and I wrote on his behalf with my own hand because he cannot (νοεῖν) (22) write well (καλῶς).

Docket (23) The renunciation (ἀ.) of Isak (...) the one of the forearm/Pejnah (?) for the (24) [half] of the cistern (λ.).

Transcription notes

3 πι[πτοπος]: alternatively, as suggested by Krause 1985b p. 147, πι[πτογυ] "the father of the monastery" should be restored here, see no. 28 l. 3. Both of these are more probable than Krause’s (1985b p. 147) second suggested reconstruction of πι[προεβυτερος] "the priest" based on BL Or. 6203 l. 15 (see §2.1.1).

6 ΗΜΟCION: the Η is written over the top of what was originally an ε.

11 ΠΩΤΩΜ: the Ο resembles a C.

14-ΕΥΝΑ(±4)ΦΑΝΙΛΚΕ: ΕΥΝΑΕΜΦΑΝΙΛΚΕ should be interpreted here. Following ΕΥΝΑΔ an Ι may be visible but neither Ε nor Μ is legible before -ΦΑΝΙΛΚΕ.

15 (±3) ΠΑΝΧ: this reading is very uncertain. Before the month one would expect to read something like ΓΡΠ(ΔΦΗ) Μ(ΗΝΙ) "Written in the month of".

16 ΠΙΑΠΚΕΝ(?)ΕΚ: a reading of ΠΙΑΩΠΕΝΕΚ is not out of the question.1 There is space for more than one narrow letter between the Ν and Ε of ΝΕΚ. Brunsch (1981 p. 96 n. aa) suggests that Π.ΠΕΝ(?)ΕΚ, be read; the K, however, does not bear an abbreviatory

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1None of the names ending -Ek recorded in Heuser PN appear to be suitable (the shortest ones are ΒΕΚ, ΚΟΜΠΕΚ, ΚΑΒΕΚ and ΤΑΒΕΚ).
diagonal stroke but is written, as in, eg. ωΡΚ in l. 12 above, with an hook extending upwards to the right at the bottom of the descending vertical.

17 + ΔΝΟΚ: a reading of ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΟΝ with the name omitted before the patronymic cannot be ruled out here.

23 (±4) ΠΠΔΠΕΧΝΑ: no letters are discernible before ΠΠΔΠΕΧΝΑ and this space may have been left blank because it was to be covered by something which bound the papyrus when rolled or folded up.

23-24 ΠΔΤ- [ΠΔ]ΩΕ: the reconstruction of ΠΔΩΕ rather than μέρος is supported by the feminine definite article (Τ-) preceding it.

Translation notes

1-2 ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΧΩ: noteworthy here is the description "monastery of the topos of Apa Apollo", see §3.5. The meaning of τόπος is discussed at §4.1.


ΤΙΗΚΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ: this is interpreted following Krause 1985b pp. 147-148 rather than Brunsch 1981 p. 97 (and reaffirmed with several examples in Brunsch 1987 pp. 115-116), who reads ΤΙ ΠΧΕΜΟΟΥ "(ich konnte den beiden kein) weiteres Wasser (mehr) geben".

4-5, and 7 ΔΥΠΑΡΚΑΛΑΞΕΙ ... ΔΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΞΟΙ: see the translation note to no. 23 l. 3 for similar phrases, and Bal. nos. 102 ll. 10-11 (ΔΝΠΑΡΚΑΛΑΞΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΞΟΙ) and 228 ll. 10-11 (ΔΝΠΑΡΚΑΛΑΞΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΞΟΙ).

5 ΧΙΜΝΗ: I translate this as "cistern" because λίμνη can refer to an artificial basin or a naturally formed wetland;1 Krause (1985b p. 152) translates "Feuchtland", and Brunsch (1981 p. 97 ll. 5, 6, and 8) "Zisterne". See translation note to 19 below.

6 CWΚ 2Δ ΝΕΚΔΗΜΟΙΚΙΟΝ: this was translated by "aufkomme für ihre Bodensteuer". See the Aparche collection clause in §5.5 for the use of the verb CWΚ in texts concerning the collection of απαρχαί by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

ΜΕΚ-: one would expect ΝΕΥ- here if, as Krause maintains (1985b p. 148), Jeremias was to pay the taxes for both properties in question here.

ΔΗΜΟΙΚΙΟΝ: as this is plural, it may be interpreted as "money taxes" (see §3.7) rather than "rent" (see §3.7).

ΔΝΠΟΤΑΙΙΚΕ: although the middle form is the more appropriate usage here, the Copto-Greek form is active. For this phenomenon compare the forms of the verb found in the

1LSJ 1050b: according to the OED, the English word "cistern" conveys both of these nuances. A cistern (λάκκος) is mentioned in one of the unpublished deeds of sale drawn up by a monk of one of the Hermopolite nome monasteries of Apa Apollo, BL Or. 6201 l. 66 (see §2.1.1).

2None of the other meanings included in LSJ are mentioned.
Agreement clause discussed in §5.5. See Krause 1985b p. 147 and Brunsch p. 115 for uses of ἀποτάσσειν and ἀποτάσσεσθαι in Coptic documents.

9-10 Εἰ ᾗ ΠΤΥΤ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ Κρός ΜΗ ΤΚΔΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΝΕΚΧΗΣΔ ΜΗ ΠΕΓΥΤΑΙ ΜΠΕΘΡΟΝ[ΟC] ΜΠΕΝΕΙΙΩΤΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΧ ΠΕΥΔΝΚΕΧΙΣΤΗΚΕ: for this oath, see Brunsch 1981 p. 102 j), and Bal. p. 47, which lists two more occurrences of the use of the καθολική ἐκκλησία in the oath formula of Coptic documents: Ep. I p. 116 and RAC 100 (= Louvre no. 2). 1

11 Εἰ εῦχεται εἰ τῷ: the Coptic equivalent of the Greek ἐναγεῖ, a term found in ἀποταγή documents. 2

12 ἘΦΩΡΙΚΜΟΣ: for the excommunication clause in legal documents, see Krause 1985b pp. 149-50.

13 For the penalty clause, see Brunsch 1981 p. 102 k).

14 For the security clause, see Brunsch 1981 pp. 102-103 l); compare ΤΙΠΡΑΣΙΚΕΙ 5Ω 
ΕΚΚΜΟΝΤ ΕΚΙΚΕΙΕΙ 2ΩΝ ΛΑΡΩΝ ΝΜ 21 ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΜ 21 ΜΑΝΙΜ ΕΥΝΑΕΜΦΑΝΙΣΑΙ 
ΜΜΟΣ ΝΩΗΤΙ in BL Or. 6204 ll. 56-8 (see §2.1.1). 3

17 For the place name Taposi see §4.5.

19 ΧΜΟΝ, Ἡττ: see the translation note to l. 10 of no. 27 for this usage.

ΠΔΠΣ: for the masculine gender of ΔΠΣ when used, as here, as a title, see Crum CD 13b (ΔΠΣ).

ΚΔΣΕΟΥΚΕΡΙΑ: this phrase also occurs in two VIIIth C. Coptic papyri from Aphroditos, P. Lond. IV 1628 ll. 1 and 3 (ΚΔΣΕΟΥΚΕΡΙΑ), and 1641 l. 1 (ΚΔΣΕΟΥΚΕΡΙΑ).

ΤΝΟΥΤΙ: the place name Tnout occurs in five ostraca from Bawit bearing the ψινα πα- formula (MIFAO forthcoming nos 42, 43, 44, 46 and 47, see §3.3.2.1); since ΝΟΥΤ is equivalent to Greek ΧΙΨΙΝ (see, eg. Crum CD p. 229b), it may refer to the ΧΙΨΙΝ mentioned earlier in ll. 5, 6, and 8.

21 ΕΥΝΕΡΩΓΕΡΩΝ ΤΗΡΕ: for this phrase, see, e.g., a house sale document from Djeme, 
CPR IV 26 l. 55 (dated c. 760 C.E.).

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ: this is only recorded as a feminine name in Heuser PN p. 79.

23 ΠΠΔΠΕΧΝΔΣ: this may be translated literally as "the one of the fore-arm"/"the one of violence" (see Crum CD p. 777a ΧΝΔΣ) or as "the one of Pejnah", in which case Pejnah is an unattested place name.

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1 On the meaning of καθολική ἐκκλησία, see Steinwenter 1930 p. 30.
3 Krause 1985b p. 150.
GUARANTEE

P. Schøyen 89/08 110 (h) x 90 (w) mm. VIIth C.

Papyrus Plate 35

Preservation: (A) 14 lines and all margins are preserved; there are two lacunae; the text is inscribed on an essentially rectangular piece of papyrus although the left margin is indented from ll. 7-14; (B) the beginning of a one-line docket written at 90° to the text on (A) is preserved along with two lines written in a different hand and belonging to another text.

Palaeography: a majuscule hand with many ligatures. A superlinear stroke is employed over a diphthongal i (αιήτι 1. 12).

Provenance: unknown. This document was issued by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo for which the epistolary formula ἀνοκ παζον NN εἰς τὸν ι. suggests an Hermopolite context.

Acquisition: See §2.4.1.

The subject of this guarantee is not now obvious but its format suggests that it may have concerned the collection of aparchê, see §5.5.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

(A)
1→ + ἀνοκ [παζον] χώσχφ
2 πμοαοκος μπμα να-
3 πα αποκὼ ραι εἰς τὸν
4 μπαζον αἱ ωρπ πμο-
5 νοχος μ[π]τ' τοπος ξε
6 επιτε [±4] πιθε νε-
7 μα τα μα [±1] (±2)...
8 ἀμοκ παζον χωσχπ
9 μν παζον ἰκακ
10 τνο μμετρ ἀνοκ
11 παζον πινούκ
12 αἰς τὺ ρω πο
13 μμετρ ἐγραφ ϕα-
14 ρι ινδ. "ιβ + θ'"

(B) Docket
15→ 'Ι' ταζαι ϕα'

2, 4-5 μοναοκς 6 επιτε, πιθε 8 χώσχφ 10, 13 μιτρε 13 ἐγραφ ϕα 13-14 φαρμογοι 14 ἱνδικτίονος

233
Parties

(1) I, brother (οἰκος) Joseph, (2) the monk (μοναχος) of the monastery of (3) Apa Apollo, am writing (4) to (my) brother Jôôr, the monk (μ.) (5) of this monastery (τοπος).

Agreement

(6) Whereas (ενεδή) ... agreed ((-πειθειν)) with (7) ...

Witnesses 1 & 2

(8) I, brother Josep (9) and brother Isak, (10) we bear witness.

Witness 3, Scribe

I, (11) brother Pinouk, (12) wrote and bear (13) witness.

Date

Written (γραφειν) Pharmouthi (14) 12, indiction-year (ινδικτων) 12 (?) +θ (?)

Docket

(15) + The guarantee (ασθαλεια) [of Joseph (?)].

Transcription notes

4 ΧΩΡΠ: this reading is more likely than ΧΩΡΠ.
6-7 [±4]ΠΙΕ ΝΕΝΔΑ...: following ΠΙΕ there is space for approximately four letters which would allow a reading of ΔΙΓΙΠΕ "I agreed (συμπειθειν)"; following this either ΝΕΜΑ or ΝΕΜΑΤ "with him/them" is possible (see §5.5).
14 ιΒ +Θ:" the beta is open, unlike the one which occurs earlier in this line. If Β cannot be read, the last two letters in this line may be interpreted as 'Θ = "99", the numerical equivalent of "Amen". In this event, a single letter would represent the year, possibly an Η.

Translation notes

4 ΧΩΡΠ: a ΧΩΡ of ΠΜΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ "the monastery of Apa Anoup" occurs in CPR XX 20 l. 4, an ostraca which bears the ωΙΝΕ ΝΟΛα-formula and so possibly relates to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit (see §3.3.2.1). The name Jôôr is rarely attested in Coptic and Greek manuscripts;1 there was a martyr with this name, a shepherd from Pjinjef near Achmim.2
8 ΙΩΧΠΙ: this is presumably the same man who writes this letter (ΙΩΧΦ l. 1), and no. 56. Preisigke NB records one example of the name 'ΙΩΣΗΠ for the VIth C.
11 ΠΙΝΟΥΚ: this personal name is not recorded in Heuser PN, Preisigke NB or Foraboschi OA. A monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo to the south of Shmoun may have been named ΦΙΝΟΥΚΕ, see no. 32 l. 1.
13-14 ΦΑΡΙΒ: Pharmouthi 12th = 7th April.

1See Heuser PN p. 43 (contrary to the comment made about this name in CPR XX 20 l. 4), Bal. no. 339 l.1, and Ryl. p. 213. For the Greek equivalent of this name, see Preisigke NB s.v. ΤΣΩΡΠ.
51

DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT

BL Or. 13886.35 160 (h) x 95 (w) mm. VIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 36

Preservation: 17 lines and only the top margin are preserved. The one line docket (l. 18) is extremely faint.
Paleography: a majuscule hand with a few ligatures; although irregularly spaced and sized it is not incompetent. Minuscule H.
Provenance: unknown.
Acquisition: See §2.2.

Enoch, a monk from a monastery of Apa Apollo, has borrowed five solidi from another monk from his monastery, the scribe Hor, and he promises to repay them.

(A)

1↑
2 2N Π]P &AN N' Π[|N]OYΤE ΝΟΚ π&CON[
3 EΝW?]X ΝΜΟΝΟΧ'ΧΟC ΝΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΨ[Ψ]ΟC ΑΠΑ
4 ΝΠΟΧ[Χ]Ο &ΕΙC2Ξ1 ΝΠΨΔΞ2 ΣΩΡ ΝΜΟ'Ν[ΟΧΟC
5 ΝΠΙΤΟΠΟC ΝΟΥΨΤ ΞΕ Φ'ΝΠΑΝ ΑΠΑΡΑ[ΚΑΛ-
6 Ε]ΙΝΔΑ NT'YX ΝΣΟΛΟΚΤ/ ΝΟΥΨΨ[Ψ[
7 ΝΗΤϹΝΟΟϹ ΝΤΩΒΕ ΝΕΒ'ΟΙ[Ψ]
8 Τ]ΕΤΑΡΤΗϹ INΔ/ΤΑΡΕΕΡ2[
9 ΤΟ ΤΑΡΕΙΤΙ ΝΠΙΤΙΤΥ'ΝΠ]
10 ]ΕΡΕΨ[Ψ]ΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΤΟΨΨ Ε[
11 ΝΤΟΚ Π'EΞ ΨΔΞ2 ΣΩΡ ΤΝ'Ψ[Ψ[
12 ]ΤΑΝΚ'Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΠΕ[
13 ΟΕΝΤΗΤΕ ΞΕ ΟΥΚ[Ψ]
14 ]]Τ[ΞΔΞ2]ΕΙΨΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΤΤΕ Ε ΜΝ
15 Π]ΕΥΔΑΙ ΝΑΤΑΡΧΕΣΟ[ΑΙ ΞΨΜ[Ψ]
16 ΤΟ ΝΠΩ|Ι]ΧΑΤΠΗ'ΝΟΗ[ΕΚΧΗ2 ΜΜΟϹ
17 ]]Τ[ΞΔΞ2]ΕΙΨΡΚΗ'ΝΟΗ[ΕΚΧΗ2 ΜΜΟϹ
(B)
18→ ΑΙΝΟΚ ΠΔ[5 mm.]+ CON'EΝΨΨ'

2 2Ρ, ΡΝΟΤΕ [3 ΜΟΝΧΟϹ ΡΝΗΠΟΠΟϹ ΡΨΑΙΟϹ 4 ΨΑΞΤ, ΜΟΝΧΟϹ
5 ΡΝΙΠΟΠΟϹ, ΞΕ ΕΠΕΔΗ 6 ΤΙΟΥ ΝΣΟΛΟΚΤΤΙΝΟΙ ΡΝΟΤΕ 7 ΜΗΤϹΝΟΟϹ
8 ΙΝΑΚΙΤΗΟϹ ΤΑΡΡΞ2 (Τ) 9 ΤΑΡΡΗΑΙΝΙΤΟΥ 13 ΤΗ- 14 ΡΝΟΤΕ
15 ΠΟΥΞΑΙ ΝΑΤΑΡΧΕΣΟ 16 ΡΝΙΚΑΡΤΗϹ ΡΒΕ

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Invocation (1) + (2) In the name of God.

Parties I, brother (παύς οἰς) (3) [Eno]ch, the monk (μοναχὸς) of the monastery (τὸ) of the holy (ἀγίος) [Apo? (4) Apol]lo, am writing to the scribe Hor, the monk (μ.) (5) of this same monastery (τὸ φαινὸς).

Debt Whereas (ἐπείδη) I asked (παρακαλεῖν) for (6) myself five gold solidi (δολοκόττονος) ... (7) twelfth of Tybi ... (8) fourth (τέταρτος) indication (καὶ εἰκόνις) then I shall (?) ... (9) ... then I shall give these five ... (10) ... God will ordain it ... (11) you are the scribe Hor, the half ... (12) ... put (?) God and the (?) ... (13) ... in our midst ... (14) ...

Oath I swear by God and (15) the well-being of those who rule (ἄρχομενος) [over us?] ... (16) ... this document (χαρτογράφος) as [it was written] (17) ...

Docket (18) I, brother (παύς οἰς) Enoch ...

Translation notes

7 Ἱ.ΟΤΝΟΣΟ ΤΝΩΘΕ: this may be reconstructed as ΠΕΘΟΧ.
8 ΤΠΡΕΕΙ-: this is possibly to be interpreted as a variant of the form ΤΠΡΕΕΙ- in l. 9; see translation note to l. 9.
15 ΔΡΧΕΙΟΣΘΑΙ: this form is restored following Bal. no. 52 l. 36 which records ΔΡΧΕΙΟΣΘΑΙ. No. 27 l. 9 has the more orthodox active form ΔΡΧΕΙ.
16 ΝΟΗΛ ΕΧΧΗΤΙΟΝΟΤΟΗ: ΕΧΧΗΤΙ is also possible; see the translation note to ll. 15-16 of no. 2 for the reconstruction of this clause.

Translation notes

7 ΜΗΤΝΟΟΝΟΤΝΩΘΕ: Tybi 12th = 7/8th January.
9 ΤΠΡΕΕΙ-: see the translation note to l. 9 of no. 27 for the use of ΤΠΡΕΕΙ-. A similar form of the first person singular ΤΠΡΕΕΙ- prefix may also have been written in no. 53 l. 11 (ΤΠΡΕΕΙ[1]). The first person singular of this prefix is often expressed by the Conjunctive form ΤΠ-.1 In Bal. p. 190 §158, Kahle noted that the form ΤΠΡΕΕΙ- occurs frequently in documents; and he provided a number of examples of this form in his analysis of the clause which follows the oath in legal documents (Bal. pp. 190-192 §159). In this list of examples, ΤΠΡΕΕΙ- (Bal. p. 191 a-c, e) occurs far more frequently than ΤΠ- (Bal. p. 192 r).
14-15 ΕΙΩΡΚ ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΝ ΠΕΥΣΑΙ ΝΑ ΤΠΕΚΟΣΘΑΙ ΕΧΩΝ: for the oath sworn by God and “those who rule over us”, see Seidl 1935 p. 142 ζ which cites other VIIth and VIIIth C. examples (n. 5).

1 See Green 1983b p. 133.
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DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT (?)

Christie's "10"  c. 170 (h) x c. 95 (w) mm.¹  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 37

Preservation: (A) 17 lines and upper margin only; (B) 3 lines, the surface of the papyrus is partially obscured by a mud-like substance.

Palaeography: competent, right-sloping majuscule with a few ligatures.

Provenance: unknown. The introductory epistolary formula suggests that this document was issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. This context is supported by the acquisition details. Pmansôlk in l.17 may be interpreted as a place name (see §4.6).

Acquisition: see §2.5.

This document may be connected with aparchê collection, in which case it could be interpreted as an undertaking to collect the money, wheat and barley specified. It mentions the phrase ΝΕΜΑ ΕΘΠΙ Ε "the places which belong to", and the word ΚΟΤΣ "neighbourhood", both of which feature in aparchê collection documents, see §5.5.

In l. 17 ΠΜΑΝΩΠΩΧΚ¹ may be interpreted as a place name, see §4.6, or literally as "the place of weaving/stitching".

(A)

1↑

(²)

2 ΠΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΩΝ ΠΑΣ ΤΡΕ ΠΧΟΪΝΟΧΟΧ ... ΡΑΠΑ ΡΟ-

3 ΛΛΩ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ 'ΜΠΑΚΩΝ ΧΑΖ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟ ?

4 ΧΕ ΕΠΗΝΔΗ ΔΙΠΑΡΒΑΚΧΙ ΡΗΜΙΟΚ

5 ΩΤΕΒ ΜΝ ΝΕΜΑΙ ΕΘΠΙ ΕΙ.

6 ΑΠΑ ΣΠΑΚΧΙΩΗ[1]

7 ΡΗΣΙΝΑΟ, ΤΑΤΙ ΡΑΚ 2Α ΠΕ.

8 (±2).Μ.Ν(±3) ΡΗΣΟΓ Υ[1].[1

9 ΥΝ, ΧΡ ΨΟ ι 1 ΩΝ ΑΡΡ Β = Ι ΧΡ ΑΡ Β. ΡΗ[1]

10 (±9)

11 ΝΠΙΠ[1]. ΡΨ Ι.ΩΤ[1.

12 ΣΩΧΩ(±5)ΕΡΨΜΕ[1.

13 (±8)ΜΑΚ 2Α[

14 ΡΑΤΙΩΡΧ ΕΝΕΙΕΨΙΠΑΡΒΑΚ ΡΗΠ [1-

15 ΧΑΡΤΗ ΝΟΕ ΕΡΧΗΖΙ ΜΜΟΟ (±?) ΡΗ-

16 ΤΑΨΨΕΙΡΕΜΣΕ[2,3].[1

¹The papyrus is badly crumpled and so its size can only be estimated.
17 ΠΑΠΜΝΨΩΧΚ'1
(B)
18→
19 2ΑΤΡΕ 2Α ΤΚΟΤ ( ±7 )
20 Α...ΣΙΣ ΔΡΠΙΘ1 ΚΡ/ ( ±6 )
2 ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ 4 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΝΗΠΑΡΚΑΛΕΙ 5ΘΜΑ 7ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ 9ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΑ, ι = και, σ(του) άρταβαι, = = 1/2 (?), κριθης 15 ΧΑΡΤΙΟΝ 16 ΨΠ-

Parties
(1) + (2) I, brother (παςον) Hatre the monk (μοναχος) [ ... of Apa]
(3) Apollo, am writing to my brother the scribe Geo[ge ? ...]

Background
(4) Whereas (επειδή) I asked (παρακάλειν) you (?) ...

Assignment?
... (5) ... and the places which belong to ...

Beneficiary?
... (6) Apa Apollo ...

Collection date?
(7) ...-th indiction-year (ινδικτίων)

Payment
and I give you for ... (8) ... of day (?) ...

Total
(9 Greek) Total gold solidi 10 and artabas of wheat 2 1/2 (?) and artabas of barley 2 ... (10) ... (11) of this (?) ...

... ... (12) ... man ... (13) .... (to) you for (?) ...

Oath?
... (14) be invalid. I will not be able to [transgress ... this ...

Issuer's affirmation?
... (16) he who wrote above ... (17) the one belonging to Pmaňšôk/the place of weaving ...

Docket
(18) ... (19) Hatre for the neighbourhood ... (20) ... (Greek) artabas of wheat (σιτος) 12 (?), barley (κριθη) ...

Transcription notes
1 ΠΜΟΝΙΟΧΟΣ: restore ΜΠΟΝΟΠΟΣ/ΜΠΟΝΑΣΤΡΗΠΙΟΝ/ΜΠΜΑ "of the monastery" or ΜΦΑΤΙΟΣ (ΕΤΟΥΑΣΘ) "of the holy (saint)" before ΑΠΑΣΑΠΟ- at the end of this line, see §3.5.
4 ΦΗΜ1[OK: restored after no. 56 l. 3; this is a more likely reading than ΝΛΑI "for myself" which occurs in no. 51 l. 6.
5 ΩΤΕΘ: this is presumably the end of a place name.
6 ΕΗΗΠ ΕΙ.]: as found in the Assignment of place(s) section of some of the aparchê collection documents, see §5.5.
7 ΗC: the first letter in this line is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.
8 ΠΕ...[E if this were an aparchê collection document, one would expect to read ΠΕ...ΠΑΚΤΟΝ here, see the Payment section in §5.5.
9 ΑΟΥ...[: this may alternatively be interpreted as part of ΑΟΥΟ "wheat" to correspond to ΣΙ in l. 9.

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11 ΝΤΙΡ: restore ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ Τ&I "of this very year"?
..ΩΤ.: the second letter may be a q.
12 2ΟΧΩ: read 2ΟΧΩ (δλως) "generally", or (in a negative sense) "at all".
13 Most of this line is obscured by a fold.
14 ΠΗΡΑΠΑ: for examples of the use of the verb παραινευ in Coptic legal
documents, see CPR IV index p. 200.
17 ΜΝΗΩΚ: the last part of this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.
18 .: this may be a Χ or a Ξ.

Translation note

15 ΧΡΤΝ: the same form of χαρτίον occurs in no. 49 l. 13.
CMAA Green "22"¹

Dimensions not recorded

Whereabouts unknown

Papyrus

**Preservation:** It is assumed that the first 17 lines of this text are preserved, because Kahle noted at the bottom of his transcription that the papyrus breaks off.

**Provenance:** Unknown. This document was drawn up for a monk of the monastery of Apa Mena (see §4.1) and the introductory epistolary formula suggests that it may have been issued by a monk of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

**Linguistic note:** The following Coptic forms in this text deserve attention: $\Delta \lambda \lambda$ for $\Delta \tau \lambda \lambda \gamma$ in I. 9;² $\varepsilon \mu o k$ in I. 12;³ $\omega \nu \pi \iota$ in I. 7;⁴ $\mu e p$ in I. 15,⁵ and $\mu e p e$ in I. 16;⁶ $\varepsilon \chi \zeta$ in I. 12 (C for C); $\kappa \alpha $ in I. 2;⁷ $\tau e n o h$ for $\tau e n o v$ II. 5-6; $\tau \alpha c$ for $\nu \tau \alpha \tau \alpha \zeta$ in II. 7 and 13; the omission of genitival $n$ before $n o y t e$ II. 6 and 10,⁸ and of the preposition $n$ in $e i \omega p k$ $\pi e r \alpha n$ I. 10;⁹ the omission of the definite article $n$- in $\omega e$ I. 1, $\pi e r \alpha$ I. 3 and $o y w o y$ $n o y t e$ I. 6.¹⁰ Unusual forms of Greek words include: $n o c$ for $n o n o c$ (I. 12); $n e r \alpha$ for $n e t r a$ (I. 3);¹¹ $e f e$- for $a m o f e$ in $e f e \beta o l i a$ I. 9; and $n e r \alpha k o c$ for $k y r i \alpha k o c$ or $2 i e r \alpha k o c$ (II. 14-15).

**Acquisition:** See §2.6.

Paule, who styles himself $\pi \alpha c o n$ but does not mention whether he belongs to a monastery, undertakes to repay the half solidus he borrowed from $\circ o s$ of the monastery of Apa Mena. A monastic milieu for the drawing up of this guarantee is provided by the two men with the title Apa who witness the document (II. 14-16). Some of the forms in this text are problematic.

¹This text survives in a transcription made by P.E. Kahle Jr. see §2.6.
²Compare $\kappa \alpha$ $\pi n \mu o m o c$ mentioned in *Bal.* p.130 §110d, noting that these very words occur in standard Sahidic form in I. 8 of this text. For $\lambda$ for $\lambda \gamma$, see *Bal.* p. 63 §17.
³See *Bal.* p. 115 §82j for $e m o$- for $m m o$-.
⁴$e$ for $c o$, see *Bal.* pp. 83-84 §48.
⁵See *Bal.* p. 66 §20c for the omission of $t$ at the end of a word.
⁶See *Bal.* pp. 113 §82c for $t$ for $n$, and 129 §110a for the omission of $r$.
⁷See *Bal.* p. 128 §108 for $c$ for $c z$.
⁸See *Bal.* pp. 107-108 §80c.
⁹See *Bal.* pp. 109-110 §80h.
¹⁰See *Bal.* p. 122 §94a.
¹¹See *Bal.* p. 130 §110e.
Parties (1) I, brother (παύως) Paule, son of (2) (the) late (μακάριος) Apa Iane, am writing (3) to my brother (μοναστήρι) Apa (4) Mena.

Debt Whereas (επειδή) you gave me (5) half a solidus (δοκοττιος)

Repayment now by the will of God (7) I am ready (έτοιμος) to give it (8) to (you) without law or judgment (οφείλον) ...

Oath (10) I swear in the name of God the Almighty (11) that I will ... (12) for you as it is written

Repayment date (13) and that I will give you on (?) the third (7) (14) of Mesore.

Witness 1 I, Apa Gerakos, (15) am witness.

Witness 2 I, Apa (16) Lokas, am witness.

Witness 3 I, Paule, ...
Notes on Kahle's transcription

9 {uj} possibly written in error by the scribe; compare the ωλ in l. 13.
11 TARP[m]ε[1-]: probably reconstruct POEIC, "look after", as suggested by Kahle, but ФΥΛΑΕΕ and 2ΔΡΕΥ are also possible here. The clause following the oath was analysed by Kahle in Bal. pp. 190-192 §159.1 The clause TARP[EΠO]EIIC TN2ΔΡΕΥ NHΣΤΝ occurs in the four of the five sale transfer documents from an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo (see §2.1.1),2 and [TARP[EΠO]EIIC T[Δ2]ΔΡΕΥ NHΣΤΝ in the fifth.3

13-14 COMΕΗΝ[Τ]ΟΚ: this may also be interpreted as COY MΗΤΑΕΕ "day sixteen".
17 TI-: reconstruct ΤΙ-ΤΡΚΟ "I swear", ΤΙΤΑΜΟ "I tell", or ΤΙΤΑΥΟ "I proclaim" followed by ΡΙΜΟΚΡΙΜΩΣΤΝ "you" vel sim. here; ΤΙΟ ΜΕΡ(Ε) "I am witness", as in ll. 15 and 16, seems unlikely.

Translation notes

3-4 ΠΕΡΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ: for monasteries of Apa Mena, see §4.1.
7 ΤΙΣΟΠΟ ΕΤΕΜΟΟΙ: see no. 3 l. 10.
8-9 ΝΑΤΩΤΑΝ ΝΑΤΝΟΜΟΕ ΝΑΧΑ ΝΕΦΗΒΟΙΑ: see the translation note to l. 4 of no. 20 for this formula.
10-11 ΕΙΟΨΚ ΠΕΡΑΝ ΝΟΥΤΕΠΠΑΝ ΤΨΨΡΑΤ[ΩΡ: for this oath, see Seidl 1935 p. 144 IV. 1 a who cites examples in texts dating from the VII/VIII-IXth C. (n. 4).
12 ΠΟΕ ΕΕ ΕΡΗΝ[Α]ΟΕ: see translation note to ll. 15-16 of no. 2 for this clause.
14-15 ΤΕΡΑΚΟΛ: either a form of ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΛ (Heuser PN p. 87),4 or 'ΤΕΡΑΞ because l and Γ were often interchangeable.5

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1See also Green 1983b p. 139; C. Schmidt 1932 p. 62 n. to l. 21; and Krause 1958 p. 55 §21b.
2BL Or. 6201 l. 64, 6202 l. 72, 6203 ll. 86-87, and 6204 ll. 60-61; see §2.1.1.
3BL Or. 6206 l. 42; see §2.1.1.
4Compare the name of the monastery of Kerakos at Antinoe which is recorded in SB I 1596 l. 2, see CKA p. 2749 "Topos des Apa Kerakos".
5I am grateful to Professor Roger Bagnall for this suggestion.
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FRAGMENTARY DEBT ACKNOWLEDGMENT (?)

CUL Michael. 1201  54 (h) x 142 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 38

Preservation: (A) part of the first 4 lines and the left margin are preserved; (B) the end of a 2-line docket or address is preserved.

Palaeography: large, well-formed majuscule, right-sloping; the letters are generously spaced. Noteworthy features: the horizontal bar of ε extends into the following letter, and I reaches down well below the lower "baseline" (both features may be seen in KWCTèNTINE 1. 3); the vertical of K can extend well above the upper (ANOK 1. 1) or below the lower "baseline" (KWCTèNTINE 1. 3); P in ANOKΠACON 1. 1, and TITKOOΣE 1. 2) the lower diagonal bar is almost horizontal.

Provenance: unknown. This document was issued by a monk belonging to a monastery at Titkooh, most probably of Apa Apollo, see §3.4.2. The introductory epistolary formula strongly suggests that a monastery of Apa Apollo is in question here.

Acquisition: see §2.2.

This fragment records barely more than the name of Paule, a monk of a monastery on the mount of Titkoohe (sic), and his addressee Kostantine who was also a monk (possibly of the same monastery).

(A)
1↓ + ANOK ΠACON ΠBYCE ΠMON[OξOC of the monastery of Apa Apollo?
2 2ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΙΤΚΟΟΣΕ ΠΜΤΟΩ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΕΙΣ2ΑΙ ΜΠΑΚΟΝ
3 KWCTèNTINE ΠΜΟΝΟΣΧΙ[ΟC ΜΠΙΤΟΟΠΟC ΝΟΥΩΤ ΞΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ... 
4 IAΠΙΟΚΡΙΟΤΗΤΗΚΝΑΤΗ]

(B)
5→ ΠΙΠΥΕΞΕ + ΕΒΣ2ΑΙ ΜΠΑΚΟΝ KWFC1-
6 TANTINE+++ 
1.3 ΜΟΝΟΧΟC 3, 5-6 ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΕ vel sim. 4 ANPOKΡΟΤΩΣ 5 ΕΗ2ΣΑΙ

Parties  (1) + I, brother (ΠACON) Paul, the monk (μοναχος) [of the monastery of Apa Apollo?] (2) on the mount of Titkoohe in (the region of Shmoun, am writing to ?) (3) Kostantine the monk (μ.)...

Repayment?  (4) ... without fail (ΔΠΟΚΡΟΤΩΣ) ...

Docket/address  (5) Paule + he is writing to brother (ΠACON) Kostantine

(6) +++
Transcription notes

1, 5 +: see the transcription note to l. 1 of no. 14 for the shape of this sign.
1 Restore something along the lines of ∏ΙΠ-ΤΟΠΟC/MΟNΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ/MΑ ΝΑΠΑ ΑΝΩΛΑΩ at the end of this line, see §3.4.3.
2 ΣΜΙΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΝΥΜΟΝ: reconstruction based on no. 59 l. 3?.
4 ΠΩΛΙΘΡΙΟΤΗΛΙΟ: restore the formula καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρῶς here, see the provenance section of no. 20 for this formula.
9 Ν.Τ.]: restore ΝΔΤΔΔΓ "without any", possibly followed by ΝΔΜΙΒΩΑΔ "objection"; see the provenance section of no. 20 for this formula.
5 Above the l of ΕΒΟΛΑ Ι is a squiggle rather than a dot or trema.

Translation notes

3 ΚΩΧΤΑΝΤΙΝΕ: see Bal. index (A) p. 821 for parallel spellings of this name.
6 + + +: see the translation note to l. 10 of no. 27.
The interpretation of this document as a debt acknowledgment rests upon the conjecture of reading the formula καθαρός καὶ ἀποκρώτως in l. 5; this reading also prompts the restoration of ΤΙΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ ΝΑΚ in l. 4.

1↑ +ΔΝΟΚ[ ΝΔΝΟΝ?]  
2     ...[ΗΗΠ ΠΕΨΠ?]  
3   'ΕΛΙΚΕΩΙ ΜΠΑΝΟ[Ν ΝΝ (ΠΜΑΝΚΟΣ) ΜΠΟ-  
4        ΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ & ΠΟ[ΑΛΩ Π? ΤΙΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ ΝΑΚ  
5     ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ[.] [.I]  
6       ΝΗΡΠΠ Ν [.I]  
7        ΩΜΩ ΠΠ.[  
8     ΚΑΣΜΘ ΚΗΝ [.I]  
9          ΦΙΠΑΝΟΝ [.I]  
10      ΤΩΤΙ ΣΩΤΟΚΩ[  
11     ]Δ...[  
12      ]Ε[.I]  
13        Κ(3) [.I]  
14       Κ(±5 ) [.I]  
5 ΚΑΘΑΡΩΣ 8 ΙΝΔΙΚΣΙΟΝΟΣ

Parties

(1) + I ... (2) ... (3) am writing to my brother ... (4) monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo ...  
Debt acknowledgment

[I owe you?] (5) plainly (καθαρός) ... (6) of wine ... (7) ...

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(8) ...-nth indication-year (ινδηκτ(ων) ... (9) ... (10) that I give ... solidi ... 

(11-14) ...

**Transcription notes**

5 Καθαρός: possibly restore the formula καθαρός καὶ ἀποκρῶτως, see the provenance section of no. 20; no. 24 l. 2? also spells καθαρός as Καθαρός.
UNDERTAKING CONCERNING A DEAL (?)

P. Schøyen 89/07
Papyrus Plate 39

60 (h) x 70 (w) mm. VII-VIIIth C.

Preservation: (A) 9 lines and all but the right margin are preserved; (B) a one line continuation from (A) is preserved with all but its left margin.

Palaeography: a competent, cursively written, right-sloping majuscelle hand with a number of ligatures. The horizontal stroke of ε can be elongated (e.g. in Διάμει 1, 2); wide M; 2 has a very long curving tail in ll. 4 and 7; in l. 4 it descends almost as far down as l. 7.

Provenance: unknown. The epistolary formula and acquisition details link this text with an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. It mentions Mijöl (l. 7) which was located in the Peri polin kato toparchy of the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4), and Nemhate (l. 4) which has been tentatively located in the nome of Heracleopolis Magna (see §4.7).

Acquisition: see §2.4.1.

Josep, who styles himself ΠΑΣΟΝ, writes to someone (possibly Apa Diane) about a deal (ΤΕΝΠΟΩΨΕ ΕΧΩΝ l. 5) and mentions the place names Nemhate and Mijöl. More than one witness sign at the end of the document.

This papyrus has been studied from a colour photocopy.

(A)
1 Τ + ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝΣΕΚΕΠΠΙΝΙ [±? ΕΙΣΣΑΙ ? (±?)
2 ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΔΙΑΝΕ ΠΜ[.... ΠΠΠΠ-
3 ΡΑΚΑΞΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΆΚΤΑΥΤΥΤΔ
4 ΜΜΟΚ ΓΕ ΝΕΜΣΑΤΕ Ι
5 ΤΕΝΠΟΩΨΕ ΕΧΩΝ ΜΝ 'ΤΙ
6 ΚΕΨΟΜΕ ΡΙΚ[ΕΙΡΑΤΗΗ]
7 ΜΜΟΚ ΓΕ ΜΙΧΩΝ ΕΙΤΙΤΩΝΗ
8 + ΕΡΠ, ΘΩΘΘ Θ ΙΝΔΑΖ 'ΙΝΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΩΝΙΠΠ Π ΜΝ ΝΝ
9 ΤΕΝΩ ΜΜΕΤΡΕ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ...
10

(B)
10 ΝΝ 'ΤΙ 'Ι 'Ι 'ΙΧΕΙ 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'ΙΧΕΙ 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'Ι 'I
Parties

(1) I, brother (ΠΑΝΟΝ) Josep [... am writing (...)] (2) to the Papa Diane the ...

Preamble

... [I] (3) asked (παρακαλεῖν) you and you ... (4) in Nemhate ... (5) we split it between us and the (?) ... (6) another three carats (κερατον) ... (7) it in Mijol. If I ...

Date

(8) Written (γράφειν) Thoth 9, indiction-year (ινδήκτων) 10 (?)...

Witnesses

I, Josep ... and NN ... (9) we bear witness to this document (γραμματεῖον) ...

Signatory

(10) NN I] agree (στοιχεῖον) +++

Transcription notes

2 ΠΜΙ: possibly restore ΠΜΟΝΧΟΣ "the monk" here.
7 Between the ε and ι of εὶ ω Ά Ν. there may be a character.
8 11: this is thicker than the other Is in this text, and is bisected by the abbreviation marker from the preceding word, ιΔΑΙ; alternatively it may be a Γ "3".

Translation notes

1 ΙΩΧΠ possibly the same man who writes no. 50; see translation note to 1. 8 of that text for this spelling of the name.
2 ΔΙΑΧΕ: ΔΙΑΝΗ is recorded only as a feminine name in Heuser PN p. 102, although Preisigke NB records Byzantine and Islamic period occurrences of a masculine name Διανέ and Διανή, as well as Διαννή and Διανός.
10 +++: see translation note to 1. 10 of no. 27.
57
ORDER

CUL Michael, 968 65 (h) x 300 (w) mm. VI-VIIth C.?

Papyrus Plate 40

Preservation: the papyrus has a number of lacunae, mostly small. (A) 6 lines and all margins are preserved; the second half of l. 2 appears to have been corrected by the scribe in a thicker pen. (B) 2 lines and all but the right margin have been preserved, and the ink has faded almost to illegibility.

Palaeography: inexpert, irregularly formed majuscule. Letters vary in height and width and also positioning with regard to the "baseline". Noteworthy features: v-shaped υ (eg. ΔΥΩ l. 5); double v-shaped ω in ΔΥΩ l. 2; Λ-shaped Λ; some letters tilt upwards to the right, eg. Μ (ΜΟΝ l. 4). The punctuation used is noteworthy: a colon with no obvious function in ll. 1, 4 (bis), 5 (bis), and 6; and a raised point occurs before ΜΕ "with" in ll. 1 and 4.

Provenance: unknown. The epistolary formula ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΕΔΙ suggests that the place of origin is an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.2.

This text is written in very informal way, almost as though Serne was talking to Phoibamon and his other addressee(s) in person. It is dated to the feast day of Victor (see §3.12). The interpretation of parts of this text remains obscure.
No. 57

Side (A)

1. Ἐφιάλον ἐν δώδεκα ἔτει ἐπὶ ἐπτάκον φοίβαμων τοῦ μακάριου.(±5)

2. ἰδίες τίμιων ἐρωτημάτων ἔφοβος ἐν τῇ ὑποκρίσει τῆς ἐπέτειον(±4) ἑτεροδίκαιον.(±2) ἰδία πίστις ἐρωτήματα.

3. ἡμέρας τοῦ Καθαρισμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἄψιν. ὁ ἄγιος τὸ ἐπάλληλον Μωντάνος Μποϊνος(±).

4. ἔφρων τοῦ ἔρωτος τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἀγάπη τέκνων Μωντάνος Μποϊνος(±2) τῆς καθαρίας.

5. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησίων τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἀγάπη τέκνων Μωντάνος Μποϊνος(±5).

6. (±2) ὁ ὀλοκλήρωτος τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

Side (B)

7. ἐπὶ τῶν συναγωγῶν φοίβαμων (±4). τῆς(

8. (±4)

1, 7 φοίβαμων 1, 4 καὶ 3 ἐπὶ ἡμέρας 3, 5 ἐπιφάνεια 4 εἰσήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς ἐπιφάνειας 4, 5 ἐπιφάνειας ἐπὶ εἰσήλθεν (?) τῆς ἐπιφάνειας (?) ἐπιφάνειας.
Parties (1) I, brother (ποιμέν) Serne: am writing to my brother Phoibamou and my brother...

Greeting (2) I greet you.

Instruction When my letter (ἐπιστολή) reaches you, (3) take these four ... for yourselves ... and I entreat you by God: (4) and by our great father: come to me today (which is) indeed the feast day of the martyr (μάρτυρος) Apa Victor: indeed I have not found (?) a way (?) to come (?) to you. I tell (?) you that we have not (?) ... (6) ... we pity you.

Address (7) + Give it to my brother Phoibamon (8)...

Transcription notes

1 ΤΕΡΜΕ: ΤΕΡΜΩ is also possible.
2 Ποιμέν: there is an unidentifiable mark over the Π of Ποιμέν. The final letter visible in this line begins with a small, rounded loop like an Α. See l. 7 for possible reconstructions of the name of the second person addressed in ll. 1 and 7.
3 ΚΑΠ ΠΟΚ ΝΗΤΝ: this may involve ΚΑΠ "receptacle or measure" for corn, honey and other commodities (Crum CD p. 113b, see BM 1135), and ΠΟΚ (an unattested form of ΠΟΚ) "fresh grain" (Crum CD p. 138b). Other possible interpretations involve ΠΟΚ as a variant form of ΡΟΚ (Crum CD p. 293b) "fuel" or ΡΟΚ "fuel, baked cake" (Crum CD p. 294a). ΠΟΚ "corner, extremity" (Crum CD p. 140b) is not appropriate. Alternatively ΚΑΠ may be "string" (Crum CD p. 113a; compare ΚΑΠ ΝΩΤΩ "string" in P. Lugd. Bat. XXV no. 79), or "a cutting tool" (Crum CD p. 113b), or "(sole of) foot" (variant of ΣΟΠ, Crum CD p. 824b and Westendorf KH p. 462).

4 ΠΙΤΟΥΡΕΙΡ: the interpretation of this is problematic. There is no attested place name resembling ΠΙΤΟΥΡΕΙΡ, although personal name ΠΙΤΟΥΡΕΙΡ is recorded. Alternatively ΠΙΤΟΥΡΕΙΡ may be the Greek ἐπιτυρον "confection of olives" LSJ 669b.
5 ΜΗΜΑ: the Μ may have been changed from an Π, or the tail of the preceding Π may bisect the left half of the Ω to create this impression.

See Bal. no. 249 l. 9 and note that Crum translates ΚΑΠ as "basket" in BM 1135 l. 6.

The closest parallel is ΠΙΤΟΥΡΕΙΡ which is recorded in a Greek papyrus from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, see CKA p. 1945 "Pita(...)".

3 See Heuser PN pp. 16, 47, and 49; and Preisigke NB s.v. (where all of the examples cited are from an earlier period).
TIMO: the uncertain final letter is long and thin like an I or a short P but it does not resemble any such letters in this text. If this is taken to be a mark on the papyrus one might read TIMO for TITΔMO "I tell", which would fit in well before $\varepsilon$ introducing a fact.

6 'TIMOΠ': the N looks more like an H.

7 (±4)ΤΠ: the first two illegible letters may have been M€ (for standard Sahidic MN) "with" as in 1. 1, followed by a personal name ending in -Π which is approximately five-letters long. The first letter of this name may be preserved in 1. 1 and may be reconstructed as an Χ. The only suitable personal name ending in -Π and beginning with Χ- recorded in Heuser PN is ΔΡΠ, an abbreviated form of ΔΒΡΠ2ΑΜ.1 Other four and five-letter personal names recorded there include ΓΠΠ, ΕΔΡΠ, ΠΕΤΡΠ, ΠΙΤΡΠ, ΚΟΥΡΠ and ΖΩΡΠ.2

Translation notes

1 ΚΕΡΝΕ: a Coptic form of the Roman name Serenus, see, e.g., CPR IV no. 79 l. 22.
2 ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ι ΕΡΕΤΙΔα (±4)ΚΙΤΟΥΧα [±2] ΝιΔιΤώ ΕΡΙΩΤΝ: this formula is a variant of "as soon as you receive this letter", for which see, exx. VC 52 l. 1 (ΡΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΠΔΙΞΙ ΤΕΠΙΤΟΧΑ) and BKU III no. 401 ll. 3-4 (ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΝΔΞΙ ΤΕΠΙΤΟΧΑ).
4 ΠΕΝΝΟΩ: ΝΙΩΤ: this may refer to the founder of the monastery to which Serne belongs, see §3.13.

1Heuser PN p. 110.
2See Heuser PN pp. 125, 106, 90, 93, 112 and 44 respectively for these names.
"Drescher text" Dimensions not recorded Whereabouts unknown

This text is only known to me from a copy made by Professor James Drescher which was cited in full by Paul Kahle Jr in a letter to John Barns dated 16/7/1950.¹

Provenance: unknown. Written by and to a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo which the introductory epistolary formula suggests was in the Hermopolite nome.

Bibliography: part of the text was cited in Bal. p. 657 n. 1 ref. 4.

This is a letter from Pamoun of the monastery of Apa Apollo to Makare a monk from the same monastery. Psakhalôm, which may be a place name (see §4.11) is mentioned. If this can be identified with a place in the Faiyum which was assigned for aparchê collection in no. 5 (Psakh(-)), it may be connected with this and other documents edited in Chapter 5.

No line division or numbers are recorded.

† ΆΝΟΚ ΠΔ.ΚΟΝ ΠΔ.ΙΟΥΝ ΠΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΦΑΙΟΔΟΣ ΝΑ.ΠΑΔΑ ΠΟΛ.ΧΩ ΕΙ.ΠΩΑΣΙ ΝΠΑ.ΚΟΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΠΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑ.ΠΑΔΑ ΠΠ.ΠΑΧ.Ω ΧΕ ΠΠΙΤΗ ΔΙΧΟΟΥΚ ΕΣΗΤ ΕΠΙΚΟΚΩΑΛΩΝ ΝΤΟΚ ΜΝ ΠΠΑ.Κ2.ΜΑΚΑΡΕ Ω ΟΥΚΩΛΙ 2Ν ΠΙΧΟΕΙΚ + ΕΥ
ΠΠΠΟΠΟΣ ΦΑΓΙΟΝ ΝΑ.ΠΑΔΑ. ΡΠ.ΚΟΝ, ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΡΠΠΟΠΟΣ, ΕΠΕΙΔΑΝ, ΕΠΙΚΟΚΩΑΛΩΝ, ΠΩΚ - ΠΩΚ, 2Ζ

Parties I, brother (ΠΔ.ΚΟΝ) Pamoun of the monastery (τόπος) of the holy (ἀγιός) Apa Apollo, am writing to my brother Makare, the monk (μοναχός) of the monastery (τ.) of Apa Apollo.

Instruction? Whereas (ἐπείδη) I have sent you north to Psakhalôm/the cheese-man, you and the scribe Makare. + Farewell in the Lord + ΕΥ

Translation notes

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ: this common name also belongs to the addressee in no. 5, and possibly occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus document, BL Or. 6201 B242 (see §2.1), which may also contain the ΆΝΟΚ ΠΔ.ΚΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙ.ΠΩΑΣΙ formula.

ΠΠΑΚΟΚΑΛΩΝ: in his letter, Kahle compared the ΕΠΙΚΟΚ- part of this word with ΚΟΚ-

¹This letter is now catalogued as belonging to item 17 (correspondence 1949-1955) of the Kahle archive in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
/C^K- in COKBHT/C^KBHT (see Bal. nos. 229 and 259), with the conclusion that it refers to a person rather than a thing; see also Bal. p. 657 + n.1.

ΜΣΟΚ ΜΝ Π+ΑΕ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ: this could also be interpreted as "you, indeed (μέν), are the scribe Makare". Makare is, however, such a common name that it is not unlikely for there to be at least two men with this name in a monastery.

YY: the significance of these characters, if correctly copied, is obscure.
This manuscript may possibly be identified with no. 7 which was numbered "C20" in the collection of Erik von Scherling, see §2.8. If this is the case, my readings differ substantially from Crum's.

Provenance: unknown. Written by a father, i.e. head, of the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo.

Parties: (1?) I, brother (ΠΔΟΝ) Menases, the father (2?) of the monastery (τόπος) of Apa Apollo on ... (3?) Titkohe in the region of ... (4?) ... of the nome (νομός)

Transcription notes

2? 2Μ: Crum read ἐΠΜ.
3?-4? Reconstruct ωΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΧΙC ΠΠΝΟΜΟC "Shmoun the city of the nome" here, see §5.8.

Translation notes

1 ΜΗΝΑΧΗC: a form of this name, Μηνάσης, is recorded for the VIIIth C. and the Coptic Period in Preisigke PN and Foraboschi OA.
ΠΙΩΤ: see §3.13 for this title of the head of the monastery.

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1 This text is only known to me through the transcription of Walter Ewing Crum; see §2.7.
FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "12" c. 45 (h) x 80 (w) mm.¹

Papyrus VIIth C.

Preservation: (A) 4 lines and upper and left margins.

Palaeography: a competent, slightly right-sloping majuscule.

Provenance: unknown. This text was written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo. The place name ΡΑΚΟΤΕ may be mentioned in l. 3 (see §4.5).

Acquisition: see §2.5.

1erah [NOK ΠΑΣΩ] [O] [Ι] [Ν] (±4)
2 ΝΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΠΑ ΡΑΠΟΧΩ ΠΠ [I]
3 Ν ΠΤΕΩΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΩ [I]
4 ΡΑΠΟΧΩ ΝΠΠΟΣ ΟΥΙΩ [I] Τ [I]?
5 ΕΙ [±8] [I] "Α[Ι]

2 ΡΑΠΟΠΟΣ 3 ΡΑΠΟΡΑΚΟΤΕ? 3-4 ΡΑΧΟΧΟΣ ΡΑΠΟΠΟΣ ΡΟΥΩΤ [I]

Parties (1) Ρ I brother (ΠΑΣΟΝ) ... (2) of the monastery (ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Apollo ... (3) of the region (?) of Rakote (?) ... (4) monk(s) (ΜΟΒΑΧΟΣ) of this same (?) monastery (τ.) ... (5) ...

Transcription notes

1 (±4) [I]: the first or second letter may be a Ρ; the last letter may be a Β.
2 ΠΠ [I]: restore ΠΡΗΟ ΡΟΥΗ ΤΠΟΧΙC "(to) the south of Shmoun the city", see §3.5.
3 ΠΤΕΟΗ: the Π resembles a Κ and may have been written over an earlier letter; the Τ could be an Υ or a Ω.

Translation notes

3 ΠΤΕΟΡΑΚΟΤΕ: if this has been correctly read, see §4.5 for Rakote; no. 6, a text which may have been found in the same place as an ΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΚΩΣ formula text, mentions ΠΜΥΡΑΚΟΤΕ (l. x+31).

¹The height of this papyrus is estimated because the papyrus fibres are twisted.
61

FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "16" 51 (h) x 21 (w) mm. VII/VIIIth C.
Plate 41

Papyrus

Preservation: the first 5 lines and only part of the upper margin are preserved. The right edge of the papyrus is folded over.

Palaeography: what survives of this hand shows that it combined majuscule and minuscule forms, with some ligatures. The Π in ΤΟΠΟΣ in 1. 2 has a documentary minuscule form, see the palaeography note to no. 40.

Provenance: unknown. This text was written by a monk of a monastery of Apa Apollo.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

This small fragment is included here because it may provide another example of the ΑΝΟΚ ΠΔΧΟΝ NN ΕΙΣΕΔΙΑ formula used by a monk of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh.

1 → ΑΝΟΚ ΠΔΧΟΝ[ ΝΝ ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΧ]
2 ΡΠΤΟΠΟΣ[ ΡΡΠΑ ΣΠΟΛΛΩ 2Π]
3 ΠΤΟΟΥ ΡΤΙΙΣΚΟΟΣΕΙ 2Π ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΗΜΟΥΝ
4 ΤΠΟΛΙΚ ΕΙΙΧΙΣΙΑΗ[ ΝΝ ΝΗ ΝΗ]
5 ΤΝΕΜΟ[ΝΟΧΟΧ]

Parties (1) [I] brother (ΠΔΧΟΝ) [NN the monk ... (2) ...of the] monastery (ΤΟΠΟΣ) [of Apa Apollo on (3) the mount of?] Titkooh [in the region of Shmoun? (4) the city] I am writing to ... (5) ... the monks (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) ...
CHAPTER 8

DOCUMENTS WITH THE \textit{\textit{\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu\tau\pi\iota\mu\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota}} FORMULA

§8.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ABOUT THE TEXTS

Forty-six monastic documents beginning with the formula \textit{\textit{\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu\tau\pi\iota\mu\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota}} "Our father is the one who writes", and two texts with variants of this formula (nos. 73 (\textit{\textit{\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu\tau\pi\iota\mu\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota}2.C.I})), and 83 (\textit{\textit{\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu\tau\pi\iota\mu\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota}8.C.E}), are presented in this chapter. Thirteen of these texts have been published previously.

All of the texts are short, usually under ten lines long although they range from three (no. 79) to at least nineteen (no. 93) lines long. All are written on papyrus, except for no. 92 which was written on an ostracon. Apart from four or five of the texts, the documents take up just one side of the writing material (exceptions: nos. 65, 74, 90, 99, and 102 (?)). The texts are written across or parallel to the papyrus fibres in fairly equal proportion, and in many instances the papyrus has already been used at least once, see §8.12. Some of the texts can be grouped together because they involve the same addressees, scribes or signatories.

§8.1 PROVENANCE

Only two of the texts have a secure provenance. One of them, an order for payment in wine addressed to "the one of the διακονία" (WS 175), is not included in this chapter because it was excavated at Wadi Sarga although it is reproduced in Appendix 2 (text B). It is worth remarking that, of the many texts discovered during the excavations there, only this one exhibits the \textit{\textit{\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu\tau\pi\iota\mu\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota}} formula.3

The other text with a secure provenance is the only ostracon discovered so far with this formula (no. 92). It was excavated by Jean Clédat at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, and a papyrus (no. 68) with the \textit{\textit{\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu\tau\pi\iota\mu\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota}} formula may also have been found there by him.4

The provenance of this papyrus has implications for other \textit{\textit{\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu\tau\pi\iota\mu\nu\tau\iota \pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota}} formula documents (see §3.3.2.2). It is addressed to "the brothers of the poll-tax", as are six other texts (see §8.7.1 and Table 5), and is signed by Keri (the Coptic form of Cyrus) as are five of them and also no. 69 (see §8.11 and Table 8). A signatory called

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1 There may well be further unpublished texts with this formula in manuscript collections around the world.
2 The text survives only in a transcription made by Jean Clédat.
3 I am grateful to Dr Morris Bierbrier of the British Museum and the staff of the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections for facilitating my study of the unpublished Coptic texts from Wadi Sarga in the British Museum (ostraca) and British Library (papyrus and vellum mss.; BL Or. 9035 (1-164)).
4 See Boudhors 1995 pp. 29-30.
Daniel, who occurs in another document addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax, is also found in two other \episkeutos \epeepeia formula texts, nos. 81 and 99 (see §8.11 and Table 8). His signature differs from that of Daniel who occurs as a signatory in the \episkeutos \epeepeia text from Wadi Sarga, WS 175, which was mentioned above.

A link with the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit may also be found in no. 100. The third text written on this papyrus was issued by the archimandrite of a monastery of Apa Apollo on behalf of its δικαῖον to a certain George. This text is written in the same hand as text 2 which bears the \episkeutos \epeepeia formula and may have been intended for the same addressee. A connection with Bawit may be made because the first text written on no. 100 (text 1) may be written in the same hand as P. CtYBR inv. 2334 (unpublished) which mentions \pi\lambda\gamma\nu\tau\tau, possibly to be interpreted as the place name Bawit rather than "the monastery" (Π-\gamma\nu\tau\tau).

The place names and monasteries mentioned in the \episkeutos \epeepeia formula texts suggest a place of origin in the Hermopolite nome (see §§8.12 and 8.13). It should be noted that some of the place names, such as Pmanallou, Pmanlouga and Pmanranê (see §8.13.2), are only otherwise attested in the ostraca excavated at Bawit which now belong to the Louvre (see §3.3.2.1). No. 76 mentions ΤΟΥ\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron (see §4.11) which may be a place name and is only otherwise attested in an inscription on a wooden lintel believed to have come from Bawit.

Ten of the documents edited in this chapter belong to the BL Or. 6201 series of manuscripts, many of which Martin Krause believes may derive from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit (see §2.1).

§8.2 DATE

None of the texts bear a year date. Editors of \episkeutos \epeepeia formula texts have assigned dates ranging from the VIth - VIIth C. C.E. Palaeographical analysis of the texts suggests that they date to the VII-VIIIth C., more usually the VIIIth C.

§8.3 PALAEOGRAPHY

The documents are written in a variety of hands, including documentary majuscule, semi-cursive and cursive hands. The fact that all are experienced suggests that this type of document was drawn up by professional scribes working in the monastery's administration. In some texts the scribes are named (see Table 6). No. 74 is written in an unusually elaborate majuscule hand and it may be that the scribe's training was more literary than documentary. Nos. 76 and 79 are also written in elegant majuscule hands.
§8.4 Previous Opinions on this Formula

Walter Ewing Crum assumed "from internal evidence" that a $\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\tau\omicron\pi\tau\varsigma \omega\tau\omicron$ formula text, no. 62, was from Wadi Sarga,¹ and so it was published along with Greek and Coptic texts excavated there as WS 174. As this text contains no place or personal names which might suggest this provenance, it may be concluded that it was the $\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\tau\omicron\pi\tau\varsigma \omega\tau\omicron$ formula, which also occurs in WS 175 (Appendix 2 text B, see §8.1), which caused Crum to form this assumption. Crum suggested that the signatory in WS 175, Daniel, may be the archimandrite who occurs in WS nos. 87 and 161.²

Paul Kahle Jr noted that this formula occurs "several times" in texts from Wadi Sarga, although, as has just been demonstrated above, it only occurs in one British Library text excavated there.³ He did not however assume that three Michigan texts, nos. 62-64, have this provenance. He remarked that the formula was quite common in unpublished financial documents from Ashmunein in the British Museum, specifying BM (now BL) Or. 6201B 146 (which does not bear this formula), 179 (read A 179), and 211.⁴

Beatrice Klakowicz has remarked that this formula occurs in texts from the region extending from Assiut to Abydos, drawing on Kahle's analysis.⁵ Anne Biedenkopf-Ziehner analysed the NN $\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma \omega\tau\omicron \iota$ type of introductory epistolary formula and found that it occurs in IVth - VII/VIIIth C. texts from Ashmunein to the Theban region. In the list of texts she consulted for her study,⁶ none bear the $\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\tau\omicron\pi\tau\varsigma \omega\tau\omicron$ formula.

§8.5 Analysis of the Texts

The $\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\tau\omicron\pi\tau\varsigma \omega\tau\omicron$ formula texts can be interpreted as the type document employed by the head of the monastery's office when addressing short orders to internal monastery staff. The head of the monastery is designated as $\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\pi\tau\omicron\pi\tau\varsigma \omega\tau\omicron$ "our father" (see §3.13). His personal authorisation is sometimes attested by his signature but this is lacking in many documents (see §8.11). This indicates that, although documents beginning with this formula were associated with his authority, they did not necessarily require the head's presence in order to be issued by his staff. The documents can be divided into three groups: orders for payment or invoices involving a range of commodities; documents relating to poll-tax administration; and a variety of orders and

¹See WS p. 142.
²WS p. 22.
³See Bal. p. 22 n. 2.
⁴See Bal. p. 185 §155.
⁵See Klakowicz 1981 p. 47.
⁶See Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 pp. 44, and 226 (Tab. V Nr. A 2). Reference should also be made to some noteworthy "Melitian" NN $\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma \omega\tau\omicron \iota$ documents from the IVth C., P. Lond. VI nos. 1920, 1921, and 1922; and another document of similar date which may also be Melitian, P. Neph. I no. 15.
other documents, some of which are now too fragmentary for their purpose to be ascertained.

No. 96 uses the \( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \) formula which is found at the beginning of numerous ostraca belonging to the Louvre which were excavated at Bawit, see §3.3.2.1. This formula may also have occurred in no. 90 in which a scribe is ordered to "enquire after" half a solidus of wine from an unspecified source and not to entrust it to a certain Phoibammon who is described as a wretch (\( \tau \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \iota \pi \omega \rho \sigma \)). It may be that on receipt of nos. 90 and 96 the scribe would fill out an ostracon (using the \( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \) formula) with the request for the commodity, and hand it to a person who would be responsible for the delivery. In no. 90, Phoibammon may have earned himself a bad reputation as a delivery man, hence the warning not to use him.

A further connection with the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo may be provided by no. 100, which also throws light on the context in which \( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \) formula documents were produced. Firstly a fragment of papyrus, one side of which had previously been used for a letter (text 1), was inscribed with the \( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \) formula and the beginning of the name of the person addressed (\( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \)) (text 2). Then the scribe abandoned this text in favour of a new one (text 3), written around text 2 on the same side of the papyrus. But this time, instead of writing "our father" (\( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \)), he writes \( \text{\\textit{dikaion of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through Apa Zacharias the archimandrite and [father of the monastery]}} \). The addressee is called \( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \) and so can be identified as the intended addressee of text 2. Very little of the rest of this document is preserved and so its purpose remains obscure. Judging from the format, it may have been a scribal exercise, possibly executed by someone connected with the office of the head of the monastery. Nevertheless, it is clear that text 3 is an official document and therefore intended for quite a different purpose from the short and informal \( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \) formula text. Possibly the scribe was more familiar with composing these short documents and automatically wrote the opening formula without thinking of the context.

The fact that only one of the \( \text{\\textit{enquire after}} \) formula documents (no. 74) has something resembling an address written on the back supports the idea that they were not intended for use outside the monastery. Only two of the documents, nos. 96 and 97, may be interpreted in such a way as to suggest otherwise. Both are invoices, one for oil, the other for oil and lead. "Our father" notifies his addressees that he has sent the item(s) to them which may indicate that he is in a distant place from them. However, it is probably the case that the head of the monastery is the only person authorised to organise the requisition of supplies from external sources. He is responsible for sending someone out for the supplies and is notified when they arrive. Then an invoice for the goods is issued from his office to the person destined to take charge of them. In no. 97 he includes the message that he is about to send someone out "about the pitch" which suggests that his addressee
has notified him that fresh supplies are needed. In no. 96 a consignment of lead and oil has been delivered by "the sailors of Enoch" from whom they must be fetched. The sailors may have been attached to the monastery or may have been local people who worked for the monastery (see note to no. 96 i. 7).

It is striking that, apart from one ostracon, the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ formula texts are written on papyrus whereas the ΨΗΝΕ ΡΚΑ - formula texts from Bawit are all ostraca. This might suggest that the former were to be preserved for a longer period than the latter, because papyri need less storage space than ostraca and are more durable. Papyrus is also a much more "user-friendly" writing material than pot-sherd, and its use might also indicate the higher status of the office from which the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ formula documents were issued in relation to offices which used ostraca. Another factor to be considered is the possibly confidential nature of some of the texts inscribed on the papyri which were to be reused for ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ documents (see §8.12). Presumably they would have belonged to the monastery's archive and so might contain important financial or other details. Unauthorised people could not be allowed to have access to legal documents for example, fragmentary though they might be.

§8.6 SIMILARITIES WITH OTHER TYPES OF COPTIC DOCUMENT

The ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ formula tax receipts can be compared with ΝΝ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ formula tax receipts which are issued and signed by people in positions of authority such as the superior of a monastery, a βοηθε, or a priest. Published examples include Bal. nos. 132-134, 136, 145-147, CPR IV no. 10; and P. Mich. inv. 4556; and an unpublished δέμοσιον document issued and signed by Peter the προεστως, CMAA Green "21" (see §2.6).

There are also similarities of format between some of the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ formula texts and documents beginning with the ΝΝ ΠΕΨΩΑ formula (exx. WS nos. 87, 89, 182 and 184); and with the ΝΝ ΕΨΩΑ formula (exx. WS nos. 185 and 187).

§8.7 FORMAT OF ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ FORMULA DOCUMENTS

All of the documents contain the Opening formula or a variant of it. Orders for payment, invoices and receipts generally follow the format given below (compare the homogeneous format of the aparchê collection documents discussed at §5.5). For conciseness, only standard Sahidic forms are used below and the texts should be referred to individually for variants.

1Edited in Heisler 1984 p.125.
Opening formula \( \pi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\pi\epsilon\zeta\varsigma\lambda\iota\ \Pi\nu\nu\psi\varphi\varepsilon\ ) / \Pi\nu\nu\psi\varphi\varepsilon \) / other \( \text{NN} \)

Introduction \( \Xi\epsilon \) (\&\Pi\ T\\&\Gamma\\&\\Pi\)\n
| A) Order for payment | \( \text{TI}^4 \) commodity (Total/Résumé of commodity and value)\n
| B) Invoice | \( \varepsilon\iota\zeta \text{...} \Delta\iota\mathrm{NOOY}^6 \)

| C) Receipt | \( \varepsilon\iota\zeta \text{...} \Delta\mathrm{q}^-/\Lambda\varepsilon\iota\varepsilon \mathrm{ETOOT}(\text{T})^7 \)

Date (and scribe) | A) \( \text{month} \times \text{day} \times \text{indiction} \times \text{NN} \) + \( \varepsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha \)\n
| B) \( \mu\nu\nu\times \text{day} \times \text{indiction} \times \text{NN} \) + \( \varepsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha \)\n
| C) \( \mu\nu\nu\times \text{day} \times \text{indiction} \times \text{NN} \)\n
| D) \( \varepsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\pi \) \( \text{month} \times \text{day} \times \text{indiction} \times \text{NN} \)\n
| E) \( \varepsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha \ \text{NN} \) \( \text{month} \times \text{day} \times \text{indiction} \times \text{NN} \)

Signatory | \( \text{NN} \) \( \text{TI} \) \( \text{CTOI}X\varepsilon\)\(\text{IE}^16/\text{CTOI}X\varepsilon\)\(\text{IE}^17 \)

Three texts are inscribed on the back with docket (nos. 65, 90 and 99), and a fourth may have had an address or a docket (no. 74).

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1. Nos. 62-63 and 65-68.

2. No. 64 is simply addressed to the \( \text{CNHY} \ \Pi\nu\nu\nu\rho\iota\chi\mu\omicron \omicron \omicron \) "brothers of the poll-tax", and no. 74 is addressed rather elaborately to \( [\pi\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\pi\iota\iota \rho\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\iota\nu \Pi\rho\iota\gamma\nu\varphi\gamma\omicron\nu\iota\nu\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\iota\nu \varphi\nu \nu\nu \kappa\appa\iota\omicron\iota\omicron \omicron \omicron \) "his beloved brother, the God-serving, good" Apa Phoibammon the \( \pi\rho\omicron\o\beta\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\). The elegant hand in which this text is written suggests that the scribe was used to composing less mundane works than a simple order for payment.

3. "Be so good (\( \delta\gamma\alpha\pi\mu\eta \))" in nos. 74, 76 and 92.

4. "Give"; no. 74 has the optative form \( \mu\rho\omicron\o\rho\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\iota \) "let them give". In a couple of instances, \( \text{TI} \) may be preceded by \( \text{TEYNOY} \ \text{EK\&\&} \ \text{T\&T\&T\&K\&} \) "As soon as you receive this note" (no. 83 (\( \pi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\pi\epsilon\zeta\varsigma\lambda\iota \) formula), and possibly no. 77).

5. This is always written in Greek, see nos. 78, 81, 82, 83 and 84.

6. "Here is (the commodity) I have sent ..." in nos. 96 and 97.

7. "Here is/are x, I have received it/them (literally "it has/they have come into my hands")" in nos. 62 ll. 2 and 4, 63 ll. 3-4, 69 l. 5 and 99 l. 2. For this formula, see \( \text{CPR IV} \) indices p. 187 (\( \varepsilon\iota\mathrm{ETOOT}^+ \)).

8. Nos. 72, 73, 75, 79 and 85.

9. "\( \text{NN} \) I have written" in nos. 67 (which frames the date with a pair of crosses), 68, 70, 81, and 99. In no. 69 \( \varepsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\varsigma \) may be interpreted as \( \varepsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi \) "it was written", because the scribe's name is in the genitive case as though \( \delta\alpha\varnothing \) "through" precedes it, compare \( \text{Bal. no. 148 l. 4} \). See also the transcription note to no. 68 l. 5.

10. Nos. 89 and 91.

11. "\( \text{NN} \) I have written" in nos. 65 and 90; and in nos. 66 and 80, both of which frame the date with a pair of crosses.

12. "In the month of x (day) x indiction x NN" in nos. 62 and 63.

13. "It was written in month) x (day) x indiction x " in no. 78.

14. "It was written in month) x (day) x indiction x NN" in no. 64.

15. "I wrote NN (month) x (day) x indiction x " in no. 82.

16. "I agree (\( \sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\iota \))", \( \text{CTOI}X\varepsilon \) and \( \text{CTOI}X\iota \) are the most common spellings; no. 89 l. 8 has \( \text{C}T\text{YI}X\iota\iota \).

17. Nos. 71 l. 8 and 80 l. 5 and possibly also 86 l. 6; all three were signed by Georgios, see §8.11. Gignac 1981 does not record any examples of the interchange between \( \varepsilon\omega \) and \( \varepsilon\upsilon\omega \) which is exhibited in the form \( \text{CTOI}X\varepsilon \) (for \( \text{CTOI}X\iota \)).
§8.7.1 POLL-TAX (ἀνθρισμός) DOCUMENTS

The term for poll-tax used in these texts is ἀνθρισμός instead of the more usual διαγραφήν.1 "The brothers of the poll-tax" are addressed in seven documents and appear to be responsible for poll-tax administration within the monastery (nos. 62-68).2 Their job includes receiving payments, assessing them, issuing receipts, and determining liability. Only one document, no. 69, is addressed to a private individual, a rug-seller or rug-maker, who has paid his tax with two rugs.

The poll-tax payments recorded in these texts are half a solidus (no. 62 represented by four sacks) and one solidus (nos. 63 and 65).3 In all but one of these documents (no. 64) the tax is paid in kind, with sacks, rugs or wine. In no. 64 an unspecified number of people have made a payment of one solidus of wine, possibly for poll-tax.

Three documents are issued by "our father" Keri in order to prevent people, who are presumably monks belonging to his monastery, from being held liable for tax payment by the brothers of the poll-tax (nos. 66 l. 3, 67 l. 2 and 68 l. 2). The word used for "hold liable" is (ἀ)μετέρω "seize, arrest" which is also found in other tax documents edited in this thesis, see §6.2. In no. 68 the head waives the tax liability of Iohannes whom he refers to as "his man". As head of the monastery, he had the power to exempt someone from a tax payment because he was ultimately responsible for his monastery's taxes (see §3.6).

In no. 67, Phoibamon Πὰ.Π.Μ.Ν.ΕΡΙΡ "of the piggery/swineherd" is not given the title "brother" or "monk" and so could be one of the lay people connected with the monastery (see §3.14). In only one document, no. 66, is the person whose liability is waived specified as a monk, and he is described as being from the monastery (ΤΟΩΥ) of Phoou. It may be that this monk is now residing in the monastery from which this document is issued but that he is given an epithet involving his former institution for the purpose of identification. However, it is also possible that the monastery issuing this document is responsible for collecting the taxes of monks from the monastery of Phoou. A similar role is played by an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo when it administers the collection of aparchē for other monasteries as well as itself, see §5.6.

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1See Husselman 1951 p. 336. Bell declares that there is no difference between the two terms in P. Lond. IV p. 168, although the two terms are found together in at least three Coptic documents, Bal. nos. 293 (see n. 12 p. 724) and 303B, and 130 Appendix (= BL Or. 4664 A and B) (pp. 541-544), see p. 741 n. 15.

2For poll-tax in the Arab period, see Simonsen 1988 pp. 10-12, and chapter 9, esp. 98-99 and 101; Bal. p. 43, and Husselman 1951 pp. 332-338.

3A payment of one solidus is recorded in seventy-nine of the one hundred and three Coptic poll-tax ostraca from Medinet Habu analysed in Simonsen 1988 pp. 101-102, although payments could range from a third of a tremissis to two solidi depending on an individual's assessment.
§8.8 ADDRESSEES

Many of the addressees (see Table 5) have the monastic title παπαί (nos. 70, 71, 80, 87, 88, 90 and possibly 104) or καβερ (nos. 74, 81 and 83). One man is titled πρεσβύτερος (no. 74). Other titles or occupations assigned to addressees are that of oil-maker (see below), rug-seller (no. 69), woollen-garments-seller (ἀμεταλλφες ωτ no. 85), and scribe (ςυγγραφέας, see nos. 90 and 93). No. 99 is addressed to a scribe and a builder.

Apart from seven of the poll-tax documents described at §8.7.1, only two documents are addressed to bodies of people: one to "Apa Victor and the brothers" (no. 81), and one to the "brothers of the pistikos" (P. CtYBR inv. 1824(A). The latter document is an order for payment in wheat which is not edited in this chapter and so is summarised here. The brothers of the πιστικος (ἐσοχην πιστικοι, see §3.7 for this title) are ordered to issue three artabas of wheat (αμαντανοι ιπταθνοιποιο) to someone called Peurot,3 who may have had a title, such as παπαν or πρεσβυτερος, beginning with the letter Π- (ΠΠ[.). This text is written on the back of a fragment of papyrus containing the end of a letter (P. Ct YBR inv. 1824(B)), whose addressees may have included a woman (the final greeting mentions ἐνομηπρε "her children").

Three orders for payment in aracus, barley and wheat are addressed to an oil-maker named Papa Shenoute.4 That this is the same man in all three texts is confirmed by the fact that two of them are signed by a man named Georgios. It would be difficult to identify this Shenoute with Shenoute the builder, the addressee in no. 99.

Two orders for payment in wine, nos. 82 and 83, are addressed to Simothe/Simothi, who is given the title Apa in the latter document.

Two documents are addressed to a person from Pmanle (nos. 72 and 94).

§8.9 SCRIBES

A number of different scribes feature in the texts (see Table 6), and there may be a few instances of the same scribe writing more than one document. Victor appears to have written nos. 81 and 99 (see plates 58 and 66), and Georgios nos. 62 and 68 (see plates 42 and 47). The last two texts have the same addressees, scribe and signatory as no. 67 (which may also have had the same date as no. 62), but it is impossible at present to say what sort of hand this was written in because the whereabouts of the manuscript is

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1Not including Apa Noc in no. 92.
2No. 86 may also have been addressed to more than one person.
3A ψαλμος called Peurot is recorded in an inscription at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 115 no. 37; and Περοτ occurs as a personal name in BM no. 1075.
4Nos. 70, 71, and 80. It may be that no. 88, an order for payment in a commodity measured in artabas, was also addressed to Papa Shenoute.
not currently known (see §2.6). This is the case for no. 65, whose scribe Anoup may also have written no. 80.¹

Nos. 64 and 70 were written by two different scribes with the name Elias.

§8.10 DATES

The dates recorded in the poll-tax documents are as follows (see Table 7): three from the month of Pharmouthi (nos. 62, 67 and 68), two from Phamenoth (nos. 63 and 64), and one each from Choiak (no. 65), Mecheir (no. 66), and Pauni (no. 69). Year 11 may occur in two or three texts which have the same addressees and signatories (nos. 62 and 63, and possibly 67). Years 1 (no. 65), 8 (no. 64), 10 (no. 66), and 12 (no. 68) occur singly.²

No general pattern can be established on analysing the dates in the other texts: the month Phaophi may occur in four texts (nos. 79, 86, 90 and 91), and the months Choiak (nos. 73 and 80) and Pauni (nos. 69 and 85) in two documents each. The other months (Hathyr, Tybi, Mecheir, Pachon and Mesore) only occur singly. Three texts record an indiction-year 9 (nos. 73, 81 and 99, the last two of which are written by Victor and signed by Daniel); and two have indiction-years 1 (nos. 79 and 90), 2 (nos. 89 and 91(?) and 6 (nos. 75 and 80); indiction-years 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13 occur in one document each.

§8.11 SIGNATORIES

Five different signatories appear in the texts (see Table 8). Germanos (no. 89) and Phib (no. 94) occur once each, and no. 76 may have been signed with the triple cross (++) of an illiterate signatory.

Thirteen documents bear the signature of Georgios, Keri, or Daniel.³ The signatures of Keri and Daniel (see §8.1 for their significance in assigning a provenance to the texts) are written in a large, inexpert majuscule which appears crude in contrast with the scribal hands.⁴ The signature of Georgios is written in a flamboyant hand and appears in three orders for payment (nos. 71, 80 and 86). His signature is made all the more distinctive by the unusual form of σταυρόκεφαλί he employs, ΚΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ, see the Format section at §8.7. It may be that this Georgios also signs at least a dozen unpublished documents from the BL

¹Both documents were written in Choiak albeit in different years; they employ different abbreviations for Choiak but this need not necessarily disprove that they were written by the same scribe.
²The indiction-year recorded in no. 69 is at least year 10.
³The ends of nine documents are not preserved: Nos. 82, 87, 92, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106 and 108.
⁴Compare the signature of Enoch in WS nos. 167(?), 169, 170, 171, 173, 176 and 182.
Or. 6201 series, see §2.1, and possibly CMAA Green "14" (see §2.6). In these texts, however, he uses the forms CTOIXEI, CTOIXI and CTHXE but never CTOIXEYE.

A striking sequence emerges on analysing the dates of the documents in which these three signatories appear (see Table 8). Georgios is attested for indiction-years 6 and 7; Daniel is attested for indiction-years 8 and 9; and Keri is attested for indiction years 10-12. If these dates can be relied upon, and the identification of these signatories as heads of a monastery of Apa Apollo is correct, the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣ2ΔΙ formula documents may preserve the names of three successive heads of a monastery, possibly of Apa Apollo at Bawit (see §8.1 for this possible provenance). It may be a coincidence of the preservation of the dated documents, but the sequence is noteworthy. Another "coincidence" which should be considered is that Georgios and Daniel are named as archimandrites of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo in nos. 28 and 49 respectively.

§8.12 DOCUMENTS WRITTEN ON "RECYCLED" PAPYRI

Many ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣ2ΔΙ formula texts are written on papyrus which has already been inscribed. Earlier texts include letters (nos. 63, 71, 86, 89, 91, 93, 100, and P. CTYBR inv. 1824(A) (see §8.8)), legal documents (no. 68) one of which concerns the dikaios of a monastery (no. 62), and a receipt or account (no. 70) which may be another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣ2ΔΙ formula text. Fragments of protocols may be found in nos. 73, 80, 108, and possibly 104. Some of the papyri may originally have been much larger and bear only a fraction of their original text. Two of the papyri were originally inscribed with a Greek text (nos. 79 and 87). The following contain text which is too damaged or fragmentary for its content to be determined: nos. 69, 77, 78, 84, 86, 98, 101, 102, and 107.

A ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣ2ΔΙ formula text (no. 100) is inscribed on a fragment of papyrus which has already been used once before and which is used again when the second text proves unsuitable; see §8.5 for an analysis of this text.

1In his transcription of this text, Paul Kahle Jr noted that the hand of Georgios was the same as the one found in "BL Or. 6201 AB" which suggests that he believed that the same Georgios signed the BL Or. 6201 series texts.

2No date is recorded in no. 71.

3The date Pachon 15, indiction-year (10+) is recorded in no. 69 (scribe ΠΡΔΕ(-)). Note also that Phib is attested as a signatory for year 11 in no. 94, but this document may date to another indiction cycle.

4Although Daniel appears to have been the head for only a period of two years, the same cannot definitely be claimed for Georgios and Keri, although both are also only attested for two years each. See §3.13 for heads of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.

5See note on the preservation of no. 72.
§8.13 Place Names in the Texts

§8.13.1 Places in the Hermopolite Region

Of the names which can be read with certainty,¹ three can be securely located within the Hermopolite nome: Pmanle (nos. 72 l. 2 and 94 l. 2, see §4.6); Taparoou (no. 71 l. 3, see §4.4) which is very near to Titkooh; and Tepôt (no. 68 text on side (A), see §4.4).

If Tbersê (no. 65 ll. 3 and 8) is correctly identified as el-Bersa, this was situated just south of Antinoe (see Map 3 Antinoou), which is itself mentioned in two texts (nos. 69 l. 6 and 91 l. 2).

§8.13.2 Places with Uncertain Location

These include ἐπιποληή-TΣIK (no. 91 l. 3) and TΣΥΕΙΑ (no. 95), which is found in two ζωὴν- formula ostraca which may be from Bawit, see §4.8. Ἐξεο ΣΕΕ- "the field of Le" (no. 71 l. 3) may be associated with Pmanle (see §8.13.1).

A number of place names beginning with ΠΜΛ. Ν/Μ- "the place of ..." (see §4.6) have yet to be assigned a location and some of them also occur in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit (see §3.3.2.1): Pmanbête (no. 64 l. 4); Pmanranê, Pmanlouga and Pmanallou (no. 92 ll. 4, 5 and 6 respectively); Pmanpaselei(-) (no. 102); Pmansike (no. 81 ll. 3-4); and Pmancanah (no. 77).

In some instances it is not possible to determine whether something which looks like a place name should in fact be translated literally; these names are analysed at §4.11. A good example of this is Tešnê (nos. 70 side (A) l. 2 and 86 l. 3), which literally means "the garden"; there is also Tnoçnsnê (no. 95 l. 2), literally "the big garden"; and Touašer (no. 76 ll. 6-7), which can be interpreted as "the carpentry workshop". There is also uncertainty as to whether some epithets constitute a person's place of origin or their job title, e.g. ΠΝ.ΠΕΛΟΟΕ (no. 85 l. 4) which literally means "the one of the grape".

For the interpretation of Pos (nos. 100 l. 4 and 103 l. 1), see §4.11.

§8.14 Monasteries mentioned in the texts

Men of the monastery (ΜΟΝ) of Jeremias Papmanbête are mentioned in no. 64 ll. 3-4 as paying one solidus of wine for their poll-tax payment. See §4.1 for possible locations, including the Hermopolite nome, for this monastery.

¹I.e. not φόλιος ΝΔΙ (no. 104 l. 4).
A monk of the monastery (ΤΟΟΥ) of Phoou is at the mercy of the "brothers of the poll-tax" in no. 66. This place was located in the Patre ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4).

The monastery (ΘΕΝΗΤΕ) of Stephen, which is mentioned in no. 103 i. 3, has no secure location (see §4.1).

See §8.1 for the Monastery of the holy Apa Apollo mentioned in the text written after no. 100.

§8.15 COMMODITIES

Comestibles

Aracus ἄρακς, ἄρακος

This is a type of flat bean.¹ In no. 70 it is measured by the ὙΟΥΝΕ "sack", and in no. 71 by the artaba.

Barley ἔιωτ, κρηθί

In no. 71 this is measured by the artaba; and in no. 72 it is destined for the office of the notarius.

Bdellium χελωτε

The word χελωτε may be translated as "bdellium", the gum of the Commiphora tree (see Crum CD p. 142a χελωτε). It is mentioned in no. 93 (see commentary for further information) and in three unpublished texts from the BL Or. 6201 series, BL Or. 6201 A9 and 149, and B15 (see §2.1).

Bread οἰκ

In no. 73 οἰκτ ΝΟΟΥ ΝΟΕ[Π]Κ "three days (worth) of bread" are specified and in no. 74 "handfuls" (ΤΩΡΕ) of bread.

Carp χελδακατάτε

This is a type of carp (Cyprinus niloticus) commonly found in the Nile,² whose gall is used in recipes.³ This fish is the object of five οἰκτ ἄμα - formula ostraca in Vienna (CPR XX 16, 18, 20, 25 and 28) and may be mentioned in no. 93.

Fish ΤΕΒΤ

In no. 76 one lakon-measure of fish is valued at twenty-one solidi, an improbably large sum of money for such a small amount. For dried fish and salted fish found during

¹See Schnebel 1925 pp. 185-189; WS 202, BM 1132; CPR II 227; and CMSS p. 78.
²See Brewer and Friedman 1989 pp. 57-58.
³Crum CD p. 148b χελωτε gives details.
the excavations at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. xii and 44 respectively. Krause 1988 p. 119 and n. 115 notes the occurrence of monks in the VIIIth and IXth C. documents from Bawit bearing the title "fisherman".

Garum \textit{\textipa{kip}}

Eight \textit{lakon}-measures of this are specified in \textbf{no. 78}.\textsuperscript{1} Garum was found in jars during the excavations at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. xv.

Greens \textit{\textipa{yoota}}

\textbf{No. 79} specifies that just "a few greens" (\textit{\textipa{yokoi yoota}}) are to be paid, compare \textit{CO} no. 371 l. 5, \textit{Ep. II} no. 249\textsuperscript{\textit{vo}} (\textit{\textipa{eic piyoyi yoyax'ti(ei)}}) and \textit{ST} no. 299 (\textit{\textipa{eic piyoyi noyoota}}). Men who may be from Tesnè are ordered to give greens and other items to men who may belong to a \textit{shaliou} in \textbf{no. 86} (\textit{\textipa{oyot e} l. 1. 3}).

Lachanon \textit{xaox}

In \textbf{no. 79}, \textit{xaox} may be interpreted as \textit{\textipa{laxanov}} "garden herbs, vegetables" or \textit{\textipa{laxanov oremuov}} "vegetable seed".\textsuperscript{2} The former can be used for the dried as well as the fresh form of this commodity, and Bagnall 1993 pp. 27-28 states that it may be applied to the seed as well as the plant; he also suggests its interpretation as a variety of lettuce cultivated for its seeds from which an oil can be derived. If the quantity specified were large, an interpretation of seed or vegetable in dried form would seem more likely, but the small amount involved here could easily have been supplied fresh or dried. \textit{\textipa{yoota}} and \textit{\textipa{laxanov}} are cited as equivalents in Crum \textit{CD} p. 493b \textit{\textipa{yoota}} (under \textit{\textipa{oyot}}), but in this text they designate two distinct commodities.

In \textbf{no. 22} (Chapter 6) a debt of one solidus is to be repaid in \textit{lachanon}-oil and wheat.

Oil \textit{no2}

In \textbf{no. 74} this is measured by the sextarius (\textit{\textipa{ecthc}}); in two other texts the \textit{lakon}-measure is used: \textbf{no. 96} (a full \textit{lakon}-measure) and \textbf{no. 97}.

Wheat \textit{coyo}

Four artabas of wheat are to be paid in \textbf{no. 80}. In \textbf{no. 22} (Chapter 6) a debt of one solidus is to be repaid in wheat and \textit{lachanon}-oil.

Wine \textit{\textipa{hpyt}, oynos}

Various different measures are used for wine in the texts: the \textit{\textipa{kaexo}} "jug" in \textbf{no. 81} (\textit{\textipa{qtoooy noxyot rakadoyc npyt}} (\textit{\textipa{ot, kaexo}}, \textit{n})); the \textit{\textipa{wet}} in \textbf{no. 82} (\textit{\textipa{wmyyn noyot}}

\textsuperscript{1}For the production of garum in the western Roman Empire, see Haley 1990, esp. p. 72 n. 1. Garum is also measured in \textit{\textipa{kaexo}} measures in an unpublished Coptic document, CUL Michael. 960 II. 3, 4, 6, and 8 (see §2.2).

\textsuperscript{2}This is suggested in the \textit{ed. pr.} of \textbf{no. 79} following \textit{CPR} IV no. 86 l. 4 (bis), and \textit{WS} no. 370 where \textit{xaox} in l. 4 is abbreviated to \textit{xao} in l. 7.
and possibly no. 83 (οὐ εἰν ἔρημοι) where it may be the equivalent of ΣΧΚ, (σημαία). In no. 84 four λαβής are to be paid (δύο ΝΗΡΠΠ) and this measure is equated with the Greek κοινόν. In two documents the amount of wine is determined by its value: no. 64 specifies a solidus of wine and no. 90 a half-solidus.

No. 74 mentions purified wine (or "strained wine", see Crum CD p. 366b Cωτις) measured by the λακών-measure.

**Fodder**

Clover εἰομὴ

In no. 75 this is measured in artabas (επτογ). Clover features in a monastic account from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bala'izah (Bal. 291 l. 10 εἰομὴ); see also a 9th C. Coptic wine list, P. Vindob. K 4825 + 2820 + 4448 l. 52, edited in Hasitzka 1995; KRU 196; and Crum CD 430b TΠΜ (where an unpublished Michigan ostraca, O. Mich. 9683, is cited).

Fodder 2Πε

In no. 95 "a little fodder" (ΟΥΚΟΥΤΙ ΝΠΕ) is to be given to an ass; a plural form of 2Πε, 2Πειεία, may be interpreted in no. 77. Fodder is also mentioned in nos. 26 and 27 (Chapter 6). In no. 26 a debt may be repaid in fodder, and in no. 27 an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo acquired fodder-land in Pŏrahē (see §4.4).

**Construction materials**

Lead Τ.Bot

No. 96 is an invoice for twenty-five pounds (λιτρα) of lead. For consignments of lead see the late 8th C. receipts for lead issued to a lead worker for plumbing P. Turner 50-53 (re-editions of P. Oxy. VI nos. 1000-1003), and P. Oxy. VI no. 915.

Pitch Χ.Μ.ΤΠ

No. 97 mentions that someone is to be sent out for some pitch. See Hardy 1931 p. 126 for references to pitch issued to potters in P. Oxy. XVI nos. 1911-1913.

Stone ΩΝΕ

No. 99 addresses a scribe and a builder in connection with "some stones which are assigned to them (?)" (ΩΝΕ ΕΥΧΗΣ ΝΩΤΗ).
Textiles

Plaited work \( \textit{\text{WN\text{}T\text{}E}} \)

In no. 89 \( \textit{\text{WN\text{}T\text{}E} T\text{}N\text{}T\text{}E} \) may be interpreted as "two (pieces of) plaited work" or "two (pieces of) acacia". They are to be sold but the price mentioned is not preserved.

Rugs \( \textit{\text{T\text{}A\text{}N\text{}H\text{}C}, \text{T\text{}A\text{}N\text{}I\text{}C} \)

In no. 63 a poll-tax payment is made with a rug worth one solidus; in no. 69 a rug-maker or -seller may be ordered to take two rugs to Antinoe in order to sell them.

Sacks \( \textit{\text{O\text{}O\text{}O\text{}Y\text{}N\text{}E}} \)

In no. 62 four sacks are reckoned to be worth half a solidus, and are accepted as poll-tax payment from a sack-weaver ('\( \text{O\text{}O\text{}O\text{}Y\text{}N\text{}E} \)).

Woollen garments \( \textit{\text{O\text{}O\text{}X\text{}E}} \)

In no. 85 a woollen-garment-seller ('\( \text{O\text{}O\text{}X\text{}E} \)) is asked to supply twelve woollen garments.
<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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\textit{See §8.0 n. 1}
LIST OF PUBLISHED πενειωτ πετεκαδι FORMULA TEXTS

1. BKU III 367 no. 81
2. P. CtYBR inv. 1853 no. 74
3. P. CtYBR inv. 1861 no. 66
4. P. CtYBR inv. 2037(A) no. 91
5. P. Byrd 36.2 no. 96
6. P. Meyer inv. 13(B) no. 79
7. P. Mich. 578(B) no. 62
8. P. Mich. 1300(B) no. 63
9. P. Mich. 1520 no. 64
10. P. Mil. Vogl. 4. Testi copti no. 3 no. 76
11. KSB I 288 no. 97
12. KSB I 291 no. 72
13. WS I 175 Appendix 2

UNPUBLISHED TEXTS WITH RELATED FORMULAE

ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ Καδι FORMULA

1. CUL Michael. 1232 no. 73

ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΒΚΑΔΙ FORMULA

1. CUL Michael. 1159 (ΠΕΒΚΑΔΙ) no. 83
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**Table 8**

πενείωτ πετσώα ΦΟΡΜΥΛΑ DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY SIGNATORY

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### ORDERS FOR PAYMENT IN VARIOUS COMMODITIES

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To sell plaited work  Christie's "29"(B)  89
To supply wine  CMAA Green "23"  90
Unidentifiable  P. CtYBR 2037(A)  91
  MIFAO forthcoming no. 81  92
  Christie's "6"(B)  93
  Christie's "8"  94
To give ass fodder (?)  BL Or. 6201 B211  95

INVOICES FOR VARIOUS COMMODITIES

Lead and Oil  P. Byrd 36.2  96
Oil  KSB I 288  97
Unidentifiable  Christie's "4"(B)  98

VARIA

Content  Ms.  no.

Receipt for Stone  CUL Michael. 1120  99
Beginning of a document  P. CtYBR 2103 qua (B) text 2  100

FRAGMENTS  BL Or. 6201 A227(B)  101
  BL Or. 6201 A231  102
  BL Or. 6201 B94  103
  P. CtYBR inv. 1820  104
  Christie's "28"  105
  Christie's "7"  106
  Christie's "1"(B)  107
  Christie's "2"(B)  108

283
62

POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P. Mich. 578(B)  101 (h) x 88 (w) mm. ¹  VIIIth C.
WS 174  Plate 42

Papyrus

Preservation: all margins of the 9 lines of this text are preserved. This text is written on
the back of another document, see below, and the papyrus was cut down in size. The text
on side (B) is perpendicular to that on side (A) so that both are written across the papyrus
fibres.

Palaeography: hand 1: the scribe Georgi(os) (see § 8.9) writes in a semi-cursive hand
with very few majuscule characters, which becomes more cursive for the Greek date in l.
8. For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see § 8.11. Apart from using superlinear strokes
without syllabic function (QTO 1. 2 and CFINTOY 1. 6) this text also employs a mark
which resembles a grave accent with syllabic function in ENTEGR 1. 5.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo
at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by
Keri, see § 8.1.

Acquisition: (WS p. 142 no. 174:) Dr F.W. Kelsey bought this papyrus for the
University of Michigan in 1920; it was included in the WS volume because of its
similarity to WS no. 175, although it was not excavated at Wadi Sarga.

Bibliography: side (B) of this papyrus was edited first in WS pp. 142-143, and then in
Husselman 1951 pp. 332-333; it is also mentioned in Mich. p. 21.

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered to issue a receipt to Mena the sack-weaver
for his payment of four sacks which are estimated to be worth half a solidus. Compare the
amounts specified in P. Mich. inv. 522, a Coptic poll-tax account possibly dated to the
VIIIth C., ² in which sack-weavers (CQΣΣΤΤΕΩΝ) make payments of either 1, 2, ³ or 3
sacks (ΘΑΛΛΑΛΙΟΝ).

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

¹Husselman 1951 p. 332 records the dimensions as "10.3 x 8.1 cm."
²Edited in Heisler 1984 pp. 126-128, pl. 12a).
³Judging from the plate published with the edition of P. Mich. inv. 522, an open beta is to be read as the
amount in line 10 rather than the alpha ("1") given in the transcription.
Our father is the one who writes to his sons, (2) the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

Here are four sacks (3) belonging to Mena the sack-weaver. (4) I have received them as his poll-tax (ἄτομος). Consequently (λοιπον), (5) give him his receipt (ἐντάγιον) and see (6) that all of them are reckoned (7) (to be) equal in value to (πρὸς) four sacks to the half (8) solidus (ἀλοκόττινος).

In the month of Pharmouthi (day) 18, indiction-year 11.

+ Georgi(os).

(9 Hd 2) + Keri.

1, 9 +: the ed. pr. gave ₱.
1 Nq-: this is also found in no. 63 l. 1.
2 ΝΑ: Kahle wrongly assumed that the Ν was written instead of an Ε here and in nos. 63 and 64.1
3 ΜΗΝΑ: the ed. pr. gave 'ΜΗΝΑ'.
4 ΤΟΤ: the ed. pr. gave ΤΟΤ.

1 See Bal. p. 73 §27 b).
Translation notes

3 ἡμὺνε: "sack-weavers" occur in inscriptions from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo.¹
4 ἄξιόν: this may also be interpreted as "remainder", referring to the remainder of poll-tax which Mena had still to pay; see no. 47 l. 4 for this term.
5 ἐντάγιν: Steinwenter 1955 p. 28 discusses the use of ἐντάγιν in Byzantine documents from the VI-VIIth C.
6 ἱψοντο: literally "let them be established".
7 πρός: for other occurrences of πρός with this meaning (LSJ p. 1498b section C III 4) in Coptic documents, see Gregorius 1976-1978 pp. 220-221 §145.
8 ἄρα ἦς: Pharmouthi 18th = April 13th.
9 ἔρημος: for this scribe, see §8.9.

Fragment of a Document

P. Mich. 578(A) (Unpublished) VIIIth C. Plate 43

Preservation: only the upper and lower margins of the 4 lines of this text are preserved. Lacunae obscure some letters in ll. 2-3 and the ink has faded in several places.

Palaeography: written in a different hand to the text on side (B), a right-sloping majuscule with quite an elaborate way of forming a Δ (l. 2).

Someone, possibly the son of Iohanes, writes to the dikaión of a monastery whose name is not preserved. If the reconstruction of Ἰ. Δ. Χ. ΕΙ as Δ. Φ. Δ. Χ. ΕΙ (ἄσφαλεια) in l. 4 is correct, this would be another example of a legal document addressed to the dikaión of a monastery being recycled for internal use, see §8.12.

1
2
3
4
3 εἰσὶ

(1) ... the son of Iohanes of T-... (2) ... to the dikaión (δικαίον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) ... (3) ...God-loving, holy father ... (4) ...

¹See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 87 (no. 205 l. 2 (μακρογνής φοίβῳ καί μεν)), and 99 (no. 268 l. 5 (ἐρωτ)). For the presence of sack-weavers in monasteries, see Dilwyn Jones 1981 p. 182.
POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Mich. inv. 1300(B)  100 (h) x 165 (w) mm.¹  VIIIth C.  Plate 44

Preservation: all margins of the 5 lines of text are preserved, and there is just one small lacuna. See below for the first text written on this papyrus.

Palaeography: hand 1 is small and cursive; ι, Π, Ρ, Τ and Φ may have a long, hooked tail. The ι ligature is distinctive with a hook at the bottom of the ı (e.g. ı. 4). For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see §8.11. This text employs a raised dot to mark syllabic function in еТΩΟΤ·Τ ı. 4.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri, see §8.1.²

Acquisition: (Husselman 1951 p. 332:) purchased by the University of Michigan in 1923, along with a group of miscellaneous Greek and Coptic documents.

Bibliography: side (B) of this papyrus was edited in Husselman 1951 pp. 333-334, and mentioned in Mich. p. 21.

The brothers of the poll-tax are notified of the receipt of a rug worth one solidus as Camoul's poll-tax payment.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Opening formula} & \quad (1) \text{ Our father is the one who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).} \\
\text{Receipt} & \quad (2) \text{ About the matter of the solidus (δολοκόττινος) of poll-tax (ἀ.) which Camoul (3) must pay for this year, the eleventh}
\end{align*}\]

¹I am grateful to Dr Traianos Gagos for providing information on this papyrus.
²A provenance of Hermopolis was suggested in Husselman 1951 p. 332.

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(ἐνδέκατος) indication (ἰερικήων), here is a solidus (δοκιμαστικής)-worth 
(4) of rug (τάρης) which I have received for it.

Date (Greek) In the month of Phamenoth (day) 17, indiction-
year 11.

Scribe Phiph.
Signatory (5 Coptic; Hd 2) Keri.

Transcription notes

1, 5 +: the ed. pr. gave φ.

1 ἔνη: this spelling also occurs in no. 62 l. 1, although written by a different scribe.

2 φοκόττομα: the ed. pr. gave φοκόττομα.

3 ἐνδέκατος, τάρη: in the ed. pr. this was given as ἐνδέκατος, τάρη. Although the text is faded, 
there appears to be enough space for τάρη rather than τάρη.

4 τάρη: in the ed. pr. the τάρη was superscript.

Translation notes

4 φοκόττομα: Phamenoth 17th = March 13th.

φιφ: the name φιφ (a form of Phib) is attested in Preisigke NB for the VI-VIIth C.

LETTER

P. Mich. inv. 1300(A) (Unpublished) VIIth C.
Plate 45

Preservation: the last 7 lines and all but the upper and left margins are preserved. The right half of ll. 4-6 of text is faded.

Palaeography: a fluent, semi-cursive hand with the following ligatures: in l. 2 επι, κε (written without taking the pen off the papyrus, see also l. 4), and "ace of spades" επ; in l. 3 1, εμ, κτ and κτ; and ετ in l. 7.

The purpose of this letter is not clear. It mentions a certain Pphilemon to whom the writer has written.
I am doing enough (?) ... (παρά) the rest which is (there) (?). You think (νοεῖν) that ... servant (3) ... letter (ἐπιστολή) of/to my Lord Christ, that/because Pphilemon did not (4) ... give to you by the will of God ... (5) ... because I wrote to Pphilemon but it was necessary that I did not bring (6) ... be angry (χολή) with me because I have written. Now I am writing them (7) ... these humble words. + Farewell +

Transcription notes

2. ἐπί: the first letter does not resemble any other in this text, although it is most like a Μ. Possibly interpret ΜΠΕΠ- "do not", for which the spelling ΜΕΠ- is attested (see Crum CD 178b ΜΠΩΠ), although an imperative sense does not naturally follow ΚΝΟΙ ΧΕ "you think that".

3. ΜΠΔΧΟΕΙΣ: the Η is written in four strokes rather than three.

4. ωΔΙΝΗΧΚΙΕ1: the Ε is barely visible. A possible interpretation might run as follows: ωΔΙ- (first person singular Habitual verbal prefix) ΝΗΧ (unattested prenominal form of ΜΟΥΣ "shake" Crum CD p. 241b) and ΚΕ "other".

6. ἘΡΧΟΚΗ ἙΡΟΙ: possibly restore ΠΠΕΡΧΟΧΗ "do not be angry".

7. J.TN: restore ΝΗΤΕΝ "(to) you".

Translation notes

2. ΠΠΡΑ: this is left untranslated here because of the different meanings associated with παρά: "beside, except, beyond, more than, contrary to, against".1

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64

POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Mich. inv. 1520
Papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved; the scribe wrote around a lacuna in the centre of the papyrus.

Paleography: hand 1 is an irregularly-written, documentary majuscule with a number of ligatures, mainly combinations with ε or ι. The date and scribe's name are written in a Greek-type cursive. For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see §8.11. This text employs a mark resembling an "acute accent" to mark syllabic function in ΜΤΟΟΤΫ l. 3, and on the first of two Ts in ΖΩΧΟΚΟΤΤΝ l. 2. It also uses a superlinear dot in place of the trema (€2Ω l. 1 and ἼΕΡΜΙΔΑ l. 4).

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax, see §8.1.

Acquisition: (according to Husselman 1951 p. 332:) Michigan University Library acquired this text in 1924.

Bibliography: edited in Husselman 1951 pp. 334-335 (where it is erroneously numbered as "P. Mich. 1524"); and mentioned in Mich. p. 21 (where it is correctly numbered).

The brothers of the poll-tax are told to take wine worth a solidus from the sons of Prase, of the monastery of Apa Jeremias of Pmanbête (see §4.1).

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΖΑΙ ΝΕΣΝΗ ΝΠΝΑ-
2 ΑΡΙΚΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΧΙ ΟΥ ΖΩΧΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΝΗΡΠ
3 ΝΤΟΟΤΫ ΝΕΣΕΝ ΠΡΑΩΕ ΝΕΡΨΜΕ ΝΠΜΟΠΙΝΙ
4 ΊΕΡΜΙΔΑ ΠΠΠΜΑΝΘΗΤΕ ἐγρφ, φάμν, ἐν ἡμιᾷ, ἡ ἡλιας
5 (ΠΖ2) ΡΔΝΗΧ ΙΣΤΟΙΧΙ +1

The brothers of the poll-tax are told to take wine worth a solidus from the sons of Prase, of the monastery of Apa Jeremias of Pmanbête (see §4.1).

Opening formula (1) P Our father is the one who writes to the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδροτιμοῦσ).
Order  
(2) Take a solidus (δολοκότητινος) of wine (3) from the sons of Praše, the men of the monastery (μοναστηριον) (4) of Jeremias of Pmanbète.

Date  
(Greek) + Written (in) Phamenoth (day) 11, indiction-year 8,

Scribe  
Elias.

Signatory  
(5 Hd 2) Ἡ Daniel agrees (στοιχεῖν).

Transcription notes
1 and 4 +: the ed. pr. gave Ἡ.

3 ὅτότι: the second ὅ has been changed from another character.

ἡμερα: this has been written around two small marks like a \ on the papyrus.

Μ'ΟΝί: the ed. pr. had ΗΜΟ'ΝΔ, but no final Δ is visible. The Μ and Ο are written in a single ligature; the Ο is strangely formed, and may be read less convincingly as an Δ, to give ΜΔ N- "place of".

5 Ἡ, ΤΟΪΧΙ +: these were omitted in the ed. pr. Apart from the initial Μ, ΤΟΪΧΙ has been almost completely erased, and is reconstructed after no. 81 I. 5; see also §8.7.

Translation notes
2 The amount of one solidus appears to represent the poll-tax payment of more than one person here; compare the half solidus paid by one man in no. 62, and see §8.7.1.

4 ηλιας: see §8.9.

φαμω, τα: Phamenoth 11th = March 7th.
65
POLL-TAX RECEIPT (?)

CMAA Green "16" \(^1\) 70 (h?) x 115 (w?) mm.\(^2\) Whereabouts unknown

Papyrus

Preservation: (A): 6 lines and all margins may have been preserved; written at 180° to this on side (B) were 2 lines with possibly all margins intact.

Provenance: unknown. For the possibility that the place of origin was the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, see §8.1. T ërëwH (ll. 3 and 8) may be identified with the Hermopolite place name el-Bersha (see Tbersê §4.5).

Acquisition: see §2.6.

"Our father" addresses the brothers of the poll-tax, presenting a solidus for Joseph the brother of Mouses of Tbersê. This may be Joseph's poll-tax payment, and he may have given it to Papa Anoup the shaliou (see §3.7) in return for something which is not now intelligible. The purpose of this document is obscure because some of the words are incomplete and may not have been correctly transcribed.

(A)

1 → + πενειωτ πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνηπαράνη
2 ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη
3 ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη
4 ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη
5 ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη
6 ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη

(B) Docket

7 ↑ ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη
8 ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ηπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη πετςἀ[ι] ἡπαράνη

Opening formula \(^{\text{(1)}}\) + Our father is the one who writes to his sons, \(^{\text{(2)}}\) the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός).

Order Here is a solidus (ὁλοκόττινος) for \(^{\text{(3)}}\) Joseph the brother of the scribe Mouses of Tbersê \(^{\text{(4)}}\) ... the Papa Anoup, the shaliou, \(^{\text{(5)}}\) for the three ...

\(^1\)This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr. see §2.6.

\(^2\)According to Kahle's notes.
Date (Greek) - In the month of Choiak (day) 21, indiction-year 1.

Scribe (6) Anoup, I wrote.

Docket (7 Coptic) Joseph the brother of Mouses (8) of Tberšē, one solidus (νομίσματι).

Transcription notes

2 εἰς ὅς ὁ 2ΟΧΟΚ: Kahle initially wrote ΤΩ ?? .ΟΥ2ΟΧΟΚ, then suggested εἰς [9ΤΟΟ]Υ. Reconstruct εἰς "here is", as in nos. 62 l. 2 and 63 l. 3, but note that the phrase ἰῃ εἰς ὅς ΟΥ2ΟΧΟΚ "I have received it", which usually goes with εἰς ... (see §8.7), is not included in this text. The docket records ΝΟ Χ, which would suggest a reading of ΟΥ2ΟΧΟΚ rather than ἰῃ ΟΥ2ΟΧΟΚ here. One solidus is the most common amount paid in poll-tax documents, see §8.7.1.

4 ΤΑ...: no simple resolution of this is possible and the reading may not be accurate. It may be that Papa Anoup the shaliou has been, or is to be given, the solidus as payment for the three things mentioned in l. 5.

5 ΝΟ Χ: this is probably to be interpreted as genitival ε- plus a noun beginning with the letter θ (which may be representing a 9). That the noun in question is feminine is indicated by the use of ωΟΤΜΤ rather than ωΟΤΜΘ, the masculine form of the word for "three". There is no suitable Coptic word beginning with a θ and ending in a Ν listed in Strasbach and Barc DIC, and no Greek word in LSJ. It is possible that Kahle mis-read one or more of these letters.

7 Kahle wrote +ΟΝ instead of +ΟΝ, which suggests that the scribe wrote a tioid psi (see note to the palaeography section of no. 16 text 1 for this term).

Translation notes

3 and 7-8 MΩΥΧΗΚ ΠΑ ΤΕΡΘΩΝ: this man also occurs in two unpublished Coptic papyri, CUL Michael. 1047/1, and CUL Michael. 1233 (see §2.2). In the latter, he is listed along with men of ΠΑΜ ΝΑΥΡΙΝΕ "the place of Daurine (Taurus)", which may be equated with the monastery of this name in the Hermopolite nome rather than at Aphroditou.2

5 χέκ κα: Choiak 21st = 17/18th December.

7-8 This docket has a similar format to one in another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΕ2Α document, no. 90.

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1 This papyrus mentions ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΦΛΑΜΠΕ, son of ΙΣΚ, and ΠΕΠΕ, son of ΕΦΩΔΟΣ, who both occur in Pierpont Morgan inv. M 662 B 6a (A) text 1, which is edited in MacCoull 1979-1982 p. 4
2 See ΚΑΧ p. 1446 "Κόμ φαώ" no. 19 for the Aphroditou monastery, and Drew-Bear 1979a p. 128 "Ταυρινου" for the Hermopolite.
ORDER TO WAIVE POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P. Yale copt. no. 21 56 (h) x 161 (w) mm.¹ VIIIth C.
P.CtYBR inv. 1861 Plate 46

Papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins preserved.

Palaeography: a cursive hand with some ligatures. I and Π have hooked tails. Φ is written in one continuous movement without taking the pen off the papyrus (ΦΩΟΥ l. 2).

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri, see §8.1. The place ΦΩΟΥ (l. 2) may be located in the Hermopolite nome (see the Monastery of Phoou §4.1).

Acquisition: see §2.3.1.


The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold liable, presumably for poll-tax, a monk (possibly from the otherwise unattested monastery of Phoou) until brother Petros arrives.

1 Π ΠΕΝΕΙΩΙ ΤΙ ΠΕΤΩΒΙ ΝΩΦΗΡΗ ΝΕΣΗΝΥ ΠΝΝ
2 ΧΕ ΑΝΩΥ ΕΝΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΝΤΕΝΠΟΟΥ ΝΦΟΟΥ
3 ΝΠΡΔΑΜΕΣ ΝΜΟΙΟΥ ΝΔΕΝΠΑΚΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΕΙ
4 + μ, μ ΚΑ Ι, Ι + ΚΩΝΩΤΑΝΤΙΟΥ ΕΥΡ
5 + ΚΗΡΙ

Opening formula (1) Π Our father is the one who writes to his sons the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμοῦς).

Order (2) See this young monk (μοναχὸς) of the monastery of Phoou: (3) do not hold him liable until brother (πασχον) Petros comes.

Date (4 Greek) In the month of Mecheir, (day) 21, indiction-year 10.

¹These dimensions were supplied by Stephen Emmel; the ed. pr. gave (w. x h.) "15.7 x 5.3 cm".

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Scribe + Konstantino, I wrote.
Signatory (5 Hand 2) + Keri.

Transcription notes

2 ΤΟΟΟΙ: the third Ο is a blob of ink.

Translation notes

2 ΝΦΟΟΥ: this may also be interpreted as a form of ΝΠΟΟΥ "today" (Crum CD p. 731a ΝΟΟΥ), leaving the "young monk of the monastery" as rather a vague description of the person in question.
4 ΜΧ ηα: Mecheir 21st = 15/16th February.
67
ORDER TO WAIVE POLL-TAX LIABILITY

CMAA Green "2" 1
82 (h) x 120 (w) mm. 2 Whereabouts unknown
Papyrus

Preservation: 6 lines and all margins may have been preserved.
Provenance: unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri, see §8.1.
Acquisition: see §2.6.

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold Phoibamon of the piggy/Pman[n]erir liable for poll-tax until the person issuing this order has had a word with them.

1| + [ΝΕΙ]ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΕΣΑΙ ΝΚΩΗΡΕ
2| [ΝΕΙ]ΝΗΟΥ ΝΠΑΛΑ ΝΕ ΝΠΕΡΜΑΣΕ
3| ΝΠΟΙΒΑ ΜΩΝ ΠΑΝΜΑΝ[Ν]ΕΡΠ ΝἈΝ
4| ΩΑΝΤΙΩΔΑ ΝΕ ΝΗΜΗΤΝ + ΦΑΡΜΗΝΙΝ
5| ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΕΓΡΑΦΑ +
6Ηδ2 + ΚΗΠΙ

1 ΝΚΩΗΡΕ 2 ΚΗΠΙ ΠΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΜΟΣ, ΠΠΑΜΑΣΕ 3 ΦΠΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ, ΠΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΜΟΣ
4 ΝΗΜΗΤΝ, ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ 5 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΙΟC VEL SIM.

Opening formula (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his sons, (2) the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμοῦς).
Order Do not hold (3) Phoibamon of the piggy/Pman[n]erir liable for poll-tax (ἀ.) (4) until I speak with you.
Date + Pharmouthi (day) 18, indiction-year (ινδικτῖον) (...)
Scribe (5) Georg(-), I wrote (εγραψα) +.
Signatory (6 Hand 2) + Keri.

Transcription notes

3 Kahle read ΠΑΠΜΑΝ[Ν]ΕΡΠ and ΝἈΝ.
4-5 + ΦΑΡΜΘΙ ΗΗ ΙΝἈ, ΓΕΩΡΓΙ, ΕΓΡΑΦΑ +: this may have been written in a more cursive Greek hand.

1This text is only known to me through the transcription of Paul Kahle Jr, see §2.6.
2According to Kahle's notes.

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Kahle did not indicate that any text was missing here, although no indication-year appears to have been entered. As the same month and day is specified for indication-year 11 in no. 62 l. 8, which has the same addressees, scribe and signatory as this document, a restoration of indication-year 11 here is highly probable. An alternative reading of $\Phi \Delta \Pi M^\Theta \Pi H \Pi N$, as "Pharmouthi 10, indication-year 8" is also possible although this type of date ((month) x (day) x (year) x indication-year) does not occur in any other of the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣ formula documents, see §8.7.

Translation notes

2 $\Delta \Lambda \Sigma E$: see §8.7.1 for this variant of ΑΔΛΣΕ (Crum CD p. 10a) with this meaning.
3 $\Lambda \Delta N\Delta \Pi P$: this could also be interpreted as "swineherd", involving the prefix $\Lambda \Delta N$- "man of" (Crum CD p. 173b), rather than $\Lambda \Delta N$- "place of" (Crum CD p. 153b).
4 $\Phi \Delta \Pi M^\Theta \Pi H$: Pharmouthi 18th = April 13th.
ORDER TO WAIVE POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P. Louvre E 27616 (B) 40 (h) x 169 (w) mm.¹ VIIIth C.²

Preservation: 4 lines and all margins are preserved. See below for the text written earlier on this papyrus.

Palaeography: hand 1: a flowing majuscule hand with some ligatures, including an "ace-of-spades" ε+π l. 2. For the hand of Georgios (hand 2), see §8.11.

Provenance: uncertain. There is a possibility that it was excavated at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit by Jean Clédat, although, unlike other papyri from this source, it was not specifically labelled by him with this provenance.⁴

Acquisition: donated to the Louvre by Jean Clédat's daughter, Mme Jean Mallet.⁵

Bibliography: this papyrus was described with a plate in L'Égypte en Périgord no. 122 papyrus no. 2, pl. p. 99 (no. 2); after I had been given permission to edit it in this thesis and had sent a copy of my edition to Mme. Anne Boud'hors,⁶ it was published in Boud'hors 1995 pp. 32-34.

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold Iohannes liable for poll-tax for the year. Iohannes may be referred to by "our father" as "his man" which might explain why the payment was waived for him.

1→ + PENEIWT PETC2AI ÆNQWMHE ÆCNHY MΠA1N
2 ΞE ΝΠΕΡΑΜΑΣΕ ÆNQWMHΝΗΣ ΠΕΙΡΙΨΩΜ ΝΠΑ1Ν³
3 ΠΠΙΟΣ ΤΡΟΜΠΕ + φρυ ο ιν, γβ
4 (Written at the side of ll. 3 and 5, Hd 2) + KHPI
5 ΓΕΨΡΙΟΕΓΡΓ, +

Opening formula (¹) + Our father is the one who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμοσ).

Order (²) Do not hold Iohannes, his man, liable for poll-tax (ὁ.) (³) for (πρός) the year.

¹Dimensions given in L'Égypte en Périgord p. 99.
²Boud'hors 1995 p. 32 proposes a date in the first half of the VIIIth C.
⁴See Boud'hors 1995 pp. 29-30.
⁵See Boud'hors 1995 p. 29.
⁶I am grateful for Anne Boud'hors for providing me with a photograph of this papyrus.
Date
(Greek) + Pharmouthi (day) 1, indiction-year 12.

Signatory
(4 Hand 2) Keri.

Scribe
(5) Georgios I wrote (γραφεῖν) +.

Transcription notes
1 ΔΝΔ and 2 ΔΝΔ: the final letters in both lines are almost illegible.
2 ΠΕΙΥ: possibly, but less likely, ΠΕΙΥ (as read in Boud'hors 1995 p. 33) because the q and Y are very similar in this text, compare Νq- and ΚΝΗΥ 1. 1.
3 φαρμόθ: the α looks more like an υ on top of the ρ following it.
4 β: if correctly interpreted, the β is open; Boud'hors 1995 p. 33 reads it as an α, possibly influenced by the fact that no. 62, which has the same signatory as this text, is dated to indiction-year eleven. However, although the scribe of both texts is named Georgios, they are not written by the same person. Following the β there is a low oblique stroke similar to the one in νγ/ earlier in the line, but this may simply be a mark on the papyrus.
5 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ: the C resembles an υ which is how it is read in Boud'hors 1995 p. 33.1

Translation notes
2 ΠΕΙΥ -: "his", i.e. the head's man; but if ΠΕΥ - "their" is to be read, a man attached to the brothers of the poll-tax may be in question.
3 φαρμόθ α: Pharmouthi 1st corresponds with the 25/26th February.

END OF A LEGAL DOCUMENT

P. Louvre E 27616 (A) Plate 472

Preservation: 4 lines and only the left margin are preserved. A few lines of faint writing are visible beneath this text.

Palaeography: a right-sloping majuscule hand with few ligatures.

Only the names of the scribe and signatories to this document are preserved. One of them begins his declarations with ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΚΟΝ [NN], and another is from Tepôt in the Hermopolite nome (see §4.4).

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1For the scribe's name in the genitive form, see §8.7.
Witness/Signatory X + 1
 Witnesses/Signatories X + 2-3
 Phib of Tepôt and ...

Scribe (4) + I, Papa Ptolemai, they asked me (and) I
[wrote on their behalf (?) ...]

Transcription notes

3 MN: the first MN in this line resembles the MW of MWC in the line above.
Φ18: this has an open beta.
ΔΥΩ MN[ : the use of ΔΥΩ and MN is tautologous; it may be that MN is the beginning of another word.

Translation notes

4 ΠΣΕΞΕΜΑΙ: a Coptic form of ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ; this name occurs as ΠΤΕΞΕΜΕ in three inscriptions from Bawit.¹

¹See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 90 (no. 225), 91 (no. 231), and 111 (no. 343).
ORDER TO SELL RUGS AS POLL-TAX PAYMENT

BL OR. 6201 B143(A) 93 (h) x 70 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 48

Preservation: 8 lines and all but the left margin are preserved. (B) contains at least four lines of faint text written in brown ink, in a flowing cursive hand different from that of side A.

Palaeography: Hand 1: a flowing semi-cursive hand. Hand 2: for the signature of Keri, see §8.11. Noteworthy in this text are the superlinear marks resembling a grave accent which are used with syllabic function in ἱ>i l. 1 and 2 in l. 3.

Provenance: unknown. The place of origin may have been the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax and signed by Keri and deals with poll-tax, see §8.1. The place name Antinoe (ἈΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ) is mentioned in l. 6 (see §4.7).

Acquisition: see §2.1.

This text is not complete and may be interpreted in different ways. "Our father" writes to a rug-seller about his poll-tax (ἀνθρώπους), and mentions that he has received two rugs from Terei. The rug-seller is ordered to take them to Antinoe, presumably to sell them there. Another interpretation is that the rugs are the rug-seller's payment and Terei has taken them to Antinoe.

1↑ ΠΕΙΗΕΙΨΤ ΠΕΤΣ2ΗΗΠΩΗΡΕ
  2 ΠΗΠΕΙΑ ΝΛΠΙΗ
  3 1 ΕΕ ΕΡΡΗ ΕΝ ΦΩΨ ΝΗΠΙΚ.
  4 ΑΝΑΙΡΙΜΟΣ ΝΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΤΙ
  5 ΗΕΙΠ ΜΗΠ ΚΑΝΥ ΑΓΕΙ ΕΤΟΤ
  6 ΗΘΙ ΕΡΗΠΙ ΒΙΤΟΥ ΕΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ
  7 ΗΕΙ + ΠΕΙΝΑ ΠΡΑΣΕΙ ΕΥΡΑ +
  8 ΗΔ2 ΙΚΗΡΙ

1 ΠΕΙΗΕΙΨΤ 3 ΕΡΡΗ ΕΝ ΦΩΨ ΝΗΠΙΚ. 5 ΤΗΠΗΣ 6 ΒΙΤΟΥ
7 ΠΑΥΜΙ ΙΝΔΙΚΙΟΝΟΣ ΠΡΑΣΕΙΟΥ ΕΥΡΑ (7)

Opening formula  (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) ... the rug (τάπης)-seller (3) ...

Report  About your (4) poll-tax (ἀνθρώπους) for this year: (5) here are two rugs (τ...) which I have received (6) [from ?] Terei.
Order
Take them to Antinoe (7) ...

Date
+ Pauni (day) 15, indiction-year (ινδικτὸν ὄνειρον) ...

Scribe
(By ?) Praseios (?) (Greek) it was written.

Signatory
(8 Hd 2) [...?] Keri +.

Transcription notes

1) τὰ πίτευς: preceding this one would expect the name of the addressee. In between and above the λ and ι of τὰ πίτευς, there is a sign similar to an η.
2) τὰ πίτευς: the λ has been changed from an ο.
3) ηπεί: this personal name is not attested in Heuser PN, but ηπεί occurs in two Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus, P. Oxy. IX 1215 and PSI VII 808, both of which date to the IIInd or IIIrd C.
4) τιτηρεί: possibly read τιτηρεί "15". In any case, the indiction-year was at least 10.
5) ηπεί: this may be a hellenized form of the Coptic name ηπεί "joy" (Crum CD p. 309a ηπεί; Heuser PN pp. 43 and 64); see Preisigke NB, and Foraboschi OA for other names which begin with ηπεί-κα. A Prasi occurs in CUL Michael. Q109/2(B) I. 3 (unpublished, see §2.2). For the scribe's name in the genitive form followed by ευρί in other Πηνειώτικον Πηνειώτικον formula documents, see §8.7.

Translation notes

1) τὰ πίτευς: this is translated "rug-seller" rather than "rug-maker" although either is possible, and the same man probably performed both tasks. Evidence that textiles were produced at the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit is provided in an inscription which mentions a ζωτὶς (ζωτὶς) "weaver". For sack-weavers, see no. 62.
2) τὰ πίτευς: see §§8.7.
3) ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ: Antinoe was most probably a centre for the textile trade, and, indeed, many Coptic textiles were excavated in the cemeteries of Antinoe.4
4) ΠΥΣΙΟΥ: Pauni 15 = June 9th.

1 For ευρί see, exx. CPR IV 26 I. 12 and 189b I. 1.
2 See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 80, where this title is mistranslated "portier"; it also occurs in the place name πανεκκαυτεία which is to be found in a πωνικακαυτεία formula ostracon, published in Tait 1994. This ostracon may be connected with the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo because the πωνικακαυτεία-formula is found in a number of ostraca excavated by Jean Clédat there (see §3.3.2.1), and because it mentions πωνικακαυτεία who is also recorded in a Bawit inscription (see Clédat 1904-1906 p. 83 no. 2).
70

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN ARACUS

BL OR. 6201 B204(B)  65 (h) x 115 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 49

Preservation: 4 lines and all margins. This is the second text to be written on this papyrus; see below for the text on (A).

Palaeography: an experienced right-sloping semi-cursive hand.

Provenance: unknown. Side (A) is an account or receipt which may mention the place name Tešnê (ΤΕΣΝΗ), see §4.11.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

Papa Shenoute is ordered to pay Horion a sack of aracus (see §8.15).

1  πενειωτ πετσαδ [ ιπειοψηρε
2  πιαπα αενουτε ιξε τη δυσουνη
3  ιαρακε ιωηριον ιγιοι κι ρι ιοα ε
4  ηαιας εγραφα +

2 δούνη 3 τυβι, ηνδικτιονος

Opening formula  (1)  π Our father is the one who writes to [his son]  (2) the Papa Shenoute.

Order  Give a sack (3) of aracus (αρακος) to Horion.

Date  Tybi (day) 27 (?), indiction-year (ινδικτιον) 5.

Scribe  (4) Elias, I wrote (γράφειν) +.

Transcription notes

3  κι ρι:  κι is also possible.
4 +: there may be a further sign following this.

Translation notes

2 δούνη: according to WS pp. 20-21 no. 3, this non-standardised measure and its Greek equivalent θαλλιον commonly contained two artabas. Shelton 1990 p. 110 refers to the ratio of three artabas per sack found in some of the ΕΤΜΟΥΧΩΝ ostraca. The spelling δούνη also occurs in WS no. 189.

4 Despite this, Wipszycka 1991c p. 2221 "Centers of textiles production" states that "written sources do not confirm that Antinoopolis played a more significant role than other cities in the production of textiles".

1 I am grateful to Professor John Tait for this reference.

303
3 ζωήπιον: see Heuser PN p. 84 for this name, which is well attested in Greek texts from many periods, see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA.

ΤΥΠΙΣΚΩΣ ΖΩΙΟΣ: Tybi 27 = 22nd/23rd January.

FRAGMENT OF AN ACCOUNT or RECEIPT

BL Or. 6201 B204 (A) VIIIth C.

Preservation: 3 lines and the top and bottom margins are preserved.

Palaeography: a fairly large, right-sloping majuscule.

1 ↑ CI'2Δ1[[1(±4)].Ε 1Ω2Δ.ΝΝΗΣ ΠΙ'ΠΙ'
2 INΤΕΩΗΗ ΝΕΡΑΣ Π, ΠΚΑΡΠΙΟΙ[Σ
3 ΜΝ]ΤΟΝΟΥΣΕ ΡΚΕΡΑΣΤΝ ΠΙ,ΥΘ ΕΗ[ΣΤΗΣ(?)

3 γίνεται κεράτιον

(1) ... Johannes ... (2) ... of Tešnê, the fullers for the harvest (καρπώς) (3) twelve carats (κεράτιον), total (γίγνεται) (…) carats (κ.) 12, sextarii (ξέστης) (?) ...

Transcription notes

1 [(±4)].Ε: if a restoration of ΜΠΩΗΠΕ were possible here, it might be that this is another ΠΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ formula text.

Following ΙΩ2Δ.ΝΝΗΣ restore a title such as ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΙ, or a name beginning with ΠΡ-.

2 INΤΕΩΗΗ: or restore ΜΝ ΤΕΩΗΗ and interpret as a personal name, see translation note below.

Translation notes

2 ΤΕΩΗΗ ΝΕΡΑΣ Π: Crum CD p. 311a ΡΩ2Ε interprets ΤΕΩΗΗ (sic) ΝΕΡΑΣ Π in this text as a place name. See Shelton 1990 p. 113 for the interpretation of ΤΕΩΗΗ as a personal name.
71
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN ARACUS AND BARLEY

BL Or. 6201 A179(B)\(^1\) 143 (h) x 175 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 50

Preservation: 8 lines and all margins.
Palaeography: hand 1: an experienced semi-cursive hand, similar to the one used for no. 102. For the signature of \(\Gamma\varepsilon\omega\rho\Gamma\) (hand 2), see §8.11.
Linguistic note: the spelling of \(\Sigma\tau\iota\iota\chi\varepsilon\iota\) as \(\Sigma\tau\iota\iota\chi\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\iota\) in l. 8 is noteworthy, see §8.7.
Provenance: unknown. See §8.11 for the signatory Georgios. The Hermopolite place \(\ Tau\Pi\rho\rho\o\o\o\) (l. 3) was situated very near Titkooh, see §4.4.
Acquisition: see §2.1.

Papa Shenoute the oil-maker is ordered to pay four cultivators of the field of Taparoou in aracus and barley (see §8.15). Each cultivator receives the same payment. It is possible that these cultivators were monks belonging to the monastery, see Chitty 1966 pp. 34 n. 158 and 145 n. 24 for literary references to monks in the Delta working in the fields at harvest time.

Opening formula (1) \(\Phi\) Our father is the one who writes to his son, the Papa Shenoute, (2) the oil-maker.

Order Give the aracus (\(\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\omicron\zeta\)) (3) to these cultivators of the field of Taparoou according to (\(\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\)) this list (\(\gamma\nu\varnothing\sigma\iota\zeta\)):

1st entry (4) George the cultivator: 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) artabas (\(\alpha\rho\tau\alpha\beta\eta\)) of aracus (\(\dot{a}\)), 2 artabas (\(\dot{a}\)) of barley (\(\kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta\));

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\(^1\)Note that this text has recently been erroneously labelled "BL Or. 6201 A180".
2nd entry  (5) Apakyri: $2\frac{1}{2}$ artabas (ά.) of aracus (ά.), 2 artabas (ά.) of barley (κ.);
3rd entry  (6) Pieu: $2\frac{1}{2}$ artabas (ά.) of aracus (ά.), 2 artabas (ά.) of barley (κ.);
4th entry  (7) Helias: $2\frac{1}{2}$ an artabas (ά.) of aracus (ά.), 2 artabas (ά.) of barley (κ.).
Signatory  (8 Hand 2) + Georgios agrees (στοιχεῖν).

Translation notes

1-2 ΠΚΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ: see §8.8 for this man in other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΛΑΤ formula documents.
2 ΠΑΡΜΗΣ: an oil-maker also occurs in a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΒΣΛΑΤ formula text, no. 83, and in inscriptions from Bawit.¹ For this occupation, see Crum CD p. 241a (which refers to this text), CPR XII p. 38, and Gascou and Worp 1990.
5 ΠΚΚΥΡΓ: this is interpreted here as a name because none of the other names in this text have the title ΠΚΑ; it occurs in an inscription from Bawit,² and in a number of Coptic and Greek papyri.³ An [ΠΚΑ] ΚΥΡΕ also occurs in BL Or. 6201A 29, a marriage document published by Kahle (see §2.1),⁴ and an ΠΚΑ ΚΙΡΕ in no. 3 l. 16.

FRAGMENT OF A MONASTIC LETTER

BL Or. 6201 A179(A)  VIIIth C.
Plate 51

Preservation: the last 10 lines and all but the upper and right margins of this text are preserved.

Palaeography: written in an experienced hand which uses semi-cursive and majuscule forms.

Linguistic note: in addition to ε for Ν (e.g. ΦΟΙ ΕΞΕ Ι. 3), this text occasionally has Η for ε (exx. ΤΗΎΙΑΙ I. 5, ΧΙΗΙ and ΠΗΤΕΙ I. 6, and ΜΗΟΥΕΙ I. 10),⁵ see linguistic note to no. 75.

Although a fair amount of text is extant, the purpose of this letter is obscure. The field of Le and a person called Acor are mentioned.

¹See Clédat 1904-1906 p. 160, and 1916 pp. 31 (no. 16) and 33 (no. 29); Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 109 (no. 326); and Krause 1988 p. 119 (Apa Mena).
²See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 p. 160 Ἀπακυρίς.
³See exx.: Coptic: Bal. index p. 816, Herm. nos. 9 v I. 2, 26 I. 3, and 32 I. 7; and Greek: P. Apoll. Ano no. 74 II. A15 and B8 (709-10 A.D.), and P. Ross. Georg. IV nos. 23 I. A13 and 24 I. A9.
⁴See Kahle 1951 pp. 335-339.
⁵Note that Kahle cites six texts from the BL Or. 6201 series (but not the one edited here) in his analysis of this sound change in Bal. p. 70 §22.
(1) ... (2) and after we came north, your God-lovingness ... (3) ... Phoiele/the field of Le (?) to you in any way. The brothers of ... (4) among everyone. God knows that I came to you (?) ... (5) my God-loving lord and father ordered (κελεύειν) it that I ... (6) in on us because we have sold what was ours so that we could come ... (7) to us according to (πρὸς) the opinion (δόξα;) which he received from you. They did not give Ἄορ ... (8) needed it. We are working (?), having given ... they (?) ... (9) because of the lack of ἀκῆ, they did not give it to us. These things we write them ... (10) and remember us in your holy prayers, our lord (?) ...

Transcription notes

3 φοί εἴς: "the field of Le", perhaps involving the same component, ε, as the place name ΠΜΑΝΧΕ (see §4.6). φοίεικε as a form of π-2ΟΕΙΠΕ "dung" seems unlikely.

NTΛΥΕΙ: possible restore ΤΛΥΕΙ[Τ] to give "the brothers of Tauet (David)".

6 ιΑΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡΗΓ: possibly restore ιΑΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡΗΓC "until we come south" or ιΑΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡΗΓΤΘ "until we come to you", vel sim.

8 ΑΥΚΑΙ: or ΑΥΚΑΙ.

9 ΕΤΙΒΙΕ: the Α may be a Μ.

Translation notes

6 ιΑΝΤΕΝΕΙ: for the use of the ιΑΝΤΕ- verbal prefix to mean "so that" rather than the more usual "until", see Till 1961 pp. 158-159 §312.
7 προς πηδοε: compare προς πηδοε in KRУ no. 7 1. 28. The form ΑΟΖΟΝ/ΣΟΖΟΝ is more common than ΑΟΖΕΙ.

8 ή διωπ: literally "Hagrite", see Lüdeckens DemNB p. 766 (hgr), and Heuser PN pp. 34, 42 and 45 for this name.

9 η τεκτίλα: literally "found its need", possibly referring to the η ΚΗ in l. 9 or another object with feminine gender.

9 η ΚΗ: a utensil or product, see Westendorf ΚΗ p. 484, who suggests a link with ικυτ (ΟΚΕ) "sesame" rather than ικυτ, an instrument, which is the etymology favoured in Černý CED p. 3. Crum CD p. xv note to p. 3b η ΚΗ refers to two occurrences of this word in the unpublished document BL Or. 6201 B66 (see §2.1): η ΚΗ ΩΠ η ΚΗ ΝΗΤΙΑΙΠΟΡΟΣ and ικυτοτε ΝΗΠΙ ΑΙ ΤΕΤΑΚΗ, as well as in two Turin ostraca and a Bodleian Library papyrus (pl. ΚΟΥΙ). See also ικυτ in WS p. 140 and 141 n.; Φαγκτει in Preisigke NB; and ικυτα in Herm. p. 54.

1 See Steinwenter 1955 p. 54 note on σόμον
ORDER TO SUPPLY BARLEY

**KSB I 291**

104 (h) x 98 (w) mm. VII/VIIIth C.?

**P. Laur. III/905** (formerly P. Pintaudi Copt. inv. no. 1) Plate 52

Light brown papyrus.

**Preservation:** 9 lines and all margins of this text are preserved; the papyrus has been "neatly cut with a pair of scissors from a larger sheet". Kollesis at 8mm from the left edge.

**Provenance:** unknown. The text is addressed to Taurine who is from Pmanle (see §4.6) in the Hermopolite nome.

**Palaeography:** a large, expert majuscule hand. The lines of writing slope down to the right. This text employs a trema in the form of a small wavy line over diphthongal i once (\(\pi\epsilon\tau\zeta\alpha\iota\) l. 1) as well as the more usual trema consisting of two dots (e.g. \(\tau\omega\tau\) l. 3).

**Acquisition:** donated to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1984 by Professor Rosario Pintaudi who acquired it in Cairo in 1981.²

**Bibliography:** edited in Sijpesteijn 1984 pp. 371-372;³ and a transcription and brief commentary was included in KSB I no. 291.

Taurine is ordered to instruct his ΔΠΟΥ to go and fetch any barley the office of the notarius (see §3.13) might require and to make a record of the amount given.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

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1 According to Sijpesteijn 1984 p. 371.

2 I am grateful to Professor Rosario Pintaudi for providing me with information on this papyrus and a photograph.

3 In the published transcription, the letter \(\zeta\) is used for 2.

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1→ Ρ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ ΜΠΙΩΗΡ
2 ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ ΠΑΠΙΜΑΝΔΕ
3 ΧΕ ΧΑΔΥΙΩΤ ΕΦΑΡΕΠΜΑ
4 ΠΠΝΩΤΑΡΙΣ ΧΡΙΜΟΘ
5 ΜΑΡΕΠΕΚΑΠΟΥ ΒΘΚ
6 ΨΚΣΤΩΔΝΑΥ ΕΝΚΑΣΖ
7 ΔΥΜ ΜΑΡΕΓΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΨΑΘ-
8 ΤΙΟΥΡΗΡ ΝΑΥ
9 αθυρ ια ινδι, ιγ

3 ΡΕΙΩΤ 4 ΠΟΤΑΡΙΟΣ ΧΡΕΙΞ ΙΜΟΘ 6 ΨΚΣΤΩ 7 ΨΑΨ- 9 ΙΝΙΣΙΤΙΟΝΟΣ
Opening formula  

(1) \( \pi \) Our father is the one who writes to his son  
Taurine of Pmanle.

Order  

(2) Any barley which the office \(^{(4)}\) of the notarius  
\((votāρīos)\) needs \((χρε(α)\) \(^{(5)}\) let your \( apo\) go \(^{(6)}\) and throw it onto the ground for them \(^{(7)}\) and let him reckon how much he \(^{(8)}\) gives them.

Date  

(9 Greek) Hathyr (day) 11, indiction-year 13.

Transcription notes  
1 \( \pi \): the vertical stroke of this sign extends down to l. 3 and has a hook at the bottom.  
\( τ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \): the trema is shaped like a tilde.  
2 \( π\varepsilon\\varepsilon\varepsilon\\varepsilon\varepsilon \): in the ed. pr. the \( \varepsilon \) was considered doubtful.  
8 \( τ\varepsilon \): the ed. pr. read \( τ\varepsilon \).

Translation notes  
2 \( Τ\varepsilon\\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \): see the provenance details to no. 40 for this name.  
3 \( Μ\varepsilon \): literally "place".  
5 \( π\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \): "your \( apo\) ". \( Ρ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) is a title or epithet,\(^{1}\) which also occurs in no. 93 and BL Or. 6201 B197, 201, 239(B) and 279 (all of which are unpublished, see §2.1). In BL Or. 6201 B279, the \( apo\) of Pousire write to an Apa Theodore through three people, including a boethos. As a personal name, \( Ρ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) is attested in Coptic,\(^{2}\) and Greek papyri.\(^{3}\) In a note to P. Lond. IV no. 1435 l. 80, Crum derives \( Απου\) from the title \( Ρ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) which was influenced "in later times" by the Arabic Abū. An interpretation of \( π\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) as a personal name involving the possessive prefix \( \pi\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) and the word \( Ρ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \),\(^{4}\) may also be possible here.  
6 \( q\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \): the interpretation "and let him sow it for them in the ground" is also possible, as \( ν\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) (Crum \( CD \) p. 360a) can have either meaning, and Crum notes that "sow" is the more common.  
9 \( \alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \): Hathyr 11th = 7/8th November.

\(^{1}\) Sijpesteijn 1984 p. 372 interprets it as meaning "something like 'servant, assistant'". See Crum \( CD \) p. xv note to p. 14a; and Kasser and Vyichichi 1967 pp. 41 (\( Ρ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) and 47 (\( Ρ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \)); note that this word is not included in Westendorf \( KH \).  
\(^{2}\) It is not listed in Heuser \( PN \) but see \( CPR \) XII no. 5 II. 26, 30, 35 and 37; and \( VC \) no. 48 l. 7 (\( Φ\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \)).  
\(^{3}\) Preisigke \( NB \) records two examples of \( Απου\) in Greek papyri dating to the VII-VIIIth C.  
\(^{4}\) Compare the personal name \( π\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \), for which see Crum \( CD \) p. 298b \( π\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon \) (although Crum expressed doubts about it being a name).
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD

CUL Michael. 1232(A) 109(h) x 103(w) mm. VIIIth C. Papyrus Plate 53

Preservation: 7 lines and all margins are preserved. There are several holes in the papyrus. On side (B) is a thin dark brown line, possibly part of a protocol (see note to the preservation section of no. 3) belonging to an earlier text written on this papyrus.

Palaeography: a competent majuscule hand with a number of ligatures and some cursive forms.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.2.

Capat is authorised to give Kostantine some bread if he needs it in the absence of the person who issued this document. This text may preserve the introductory formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ Ξ2ΑΙ "Our father writes", a variant on the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣ2ΑΙ formula.

1—$1$
2 ΠΠΠΗΡΗΕ ΩΩΠΕΤ
3 ΞΕ ΕΡΕΩΜΑΝΚΩΝΤΑΝΤΙΝΕ
4 ΕΡΧΡΕΙΑ Ἄγομετ
5 Ν200Υ ΝΩΕΙΚ ΤΔΑΥ
6 ΝΑΒ ΥΑΝΤΙΕΙ ΕΒΩΛ
7 ΧΟΙΔΚΖΙΝΔ,ΙΘ

3 ΕΡΕΩΜΑΝΚΟΝΤΑΝΤΙΝΕ 4 ΕΡΧΡΕΙΑ Ἄγομετ 6 ΝΑΥ 7 ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΩC

Opening formula (1) + Our father writes (2) to his son Capat.

Order (3) If Kostantine (4) needs (Χρεία) three (5) days (worth) of bread, give them (6) to him before I come.

Date (7) Choiak (day) 7, indiction-year (ινδικτίων) 9 (?)

Transcription notes

1 (±2)1Δ: most probably reconstruct Ξ2ΑΙ here. For the NN Ξ2ΑΙ ΝΝΝ epistolary formula, see §8.4.

5 Ξ200Υ: this may alternatively be interpreted as an otherwise unattested plural of 20, a grain and fodder measure (Crum CD p. 650a).1

6 ΩΑΝΤΙ: this seems to have the sense "before" here rather than its usual meaning "until".

1Such a form would be possible by analogy with 20 "way" which has a plural 200Υ, see Westendorf KH p. 352.
7 Θ: or possibly a malformed Θ.

Translation notes

2 δἈΠΤ: this is not attested as a personal name. It may be interpreted as the word for "palm fibre (?)" (Crum CD p. 827b δἈΠΕΣ), which is part of the name of a τόπος mentioned in an VIIIth C. document, P. Lond. IV no. 1419 ll. 84, 218 and 817. Alternatively it may be δἈΠΤ "collarbone" (Crum CD p. 827b); or a variant of "Japhet", the name of one of the sons of Noah. The name δἈΠΤ may also be interpreted in the place name Manqabad although the only attested Coptic form of this place name is ΜἈΝΚΠΩΤ.3

7 ΧΟΙΚΖ: Choiak 7th = 3rd/4th December.

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1 Compare the personal name ΚἈΠΟΧΕ which relates to a part of a date-palm (Crum CD p. 130a ΚἈΦΧ)
2 Compare the personal name ΚἈΠΩ “Jawbone” which occurs in CUL Michael. 1047/1 (unpublished, see §2.2).
3 See Černý CED p. 346 for two other etymologies of this place name.
74

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD, OIL & WINE

P. Yale copt. no. 17 206 (h) x 97 (w) mm. VIIIth C.¹
P. CIVYBR inv. 1853 Plate 54

Papyrus

Preservation: (A): 14 lines and all margins; (B): 1 line and all margins (?).

Palaeography: a very ornate, slightly right-sloping majuscule with some ligatures and a number of flourishes which cause the writing to become disjointed at times (e.g. CON l. 2 is interrupted by the i of C2&i descending from the line above). Abnormally large letters: θ (ll. 5, 6), three-stroke Δ (l. 7), and Κ (l. 9).

Acquisition: see §2.3.1.


Apa Phoibammon the presbyter is ordered to give the deacon Mech oil, bread and purified wine (see §8.15). The elegance of the hand in which this text is written is matched by the embellishments added to the standard formula of this type of text, see §8.7.

Side (A)

1→ ΓΓΓΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΕΩΤ
2 ΜΠΕΜΠΕΠΙΡΗΚΩΝ
3 ΑΡΕΚΨΗΡΙΝΕΝΟΥΤΑΕ
4 ΔΥΨ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ
5 ΔΝΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ
6 ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ
7 ΧΕ ΔΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΝΗ
8 ΜΑΡΟΥΤ ΜΕΝΘ
9 ΑΤΩΨΕ ΝΩΕΙΚ
10 ΑΠΠΙΑΚΩΝ ΜΕΧ
11 ΜΗ ΞΕΣΤΗΣ ΚΝΑΥ
12 ΑΝΕΣ ΔΥΨ
13 ΜΕΣ ΔΑΚ ΚΟΝ ΚΝΑΥ
14 ΑΝΗΡΠ ΝΠΩΤΝ ΝΑΡ

Side (B) Docket/address
15→ P1C ΧΕ (Ornamental design) (±4 faded)

8 MΑΤΗ 15 ΙΜΠΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

¹Petersen [1964] no. 115 suggested a VIIth C. date.
Opening formula  
Our father is the one who writes to his beloved brother, the God-serving, good Apa Phoibammon, the presbyter.

Order  
Be so kind as to let fifteen handfuls of bread be given to the deacon Mech and two sextarii of oil and fill two lakon-measures of purified wine for him.

Docket/address

Transcription notes

1:1+1: the papyrus is faded at this point, but the Π transcribed in the ed. pr. cannot be read.
2: CON: beneath the 0 is a mark which does not appear to belong to it or the letters above, below or following it.
15: This line was omitted in the ed. pr.
IC: these letters possibly bear superlinear strokes.

Translation notes

9: For the use of ΤΩΡΕ as measure, Crum CD p. 425a cites Turin ostraca St Symeon 651 and 699; and CO 330.
10: ΜΕΧ: this is interpreted as an abbreviated form of personal name in P.Princ. I no. 13, a Greek account dated to 35 C. C.E., where it occurs several times. Names beginning ΜΕΧ- recorded in Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA include: ΜΕΧΑΙΑΣ, ΜΕΧΑΙΤΗΣ, ΜΕΧΟΡΗΣ, ΜΕΧΠΡΗΣ and ΜΕΧΨΡΗΣ.
13: ΜΕΖ ΛΑΧΙΟΝ: in the ed. pr. this was interpreted as "full lakon", but compare no. 96 II. 5-6 ΟΥΛΑΤΟΝ ΡΝΕΣ ΕΘΜΕΣ for a way of expressing a "full" lakon-measure. See note to CPR XX no. 1 l. 1 for the λάκον measure.

1: Crum's copies of these ostraca are no longer to be found among his papers in the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
75
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN CLOVER

Christie's "27" 83 (h) x 112 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 55

Preservation: 5 almost complete lines and all margins are preserved; the papyrus is crumpled.

Palaeography: a well-spaced majuscule with some ligatures (e.g. KT 1. 4). Minuscule H.

Linguistic note: Η for ε (ΠΗΤΕΚ 1. 4), as in no. 71 side (A).

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

Apollo is ordered to give Victor six artabas of clover (see §8.15).

1 Ἄπειρωτι πετεκαίρω ζητήσει
2 Ἀπόκατω θεῷ τι ζοῦσι ζητῶσι
g 3 Ἱπέρμιοι πιεφαινέτω
g 4 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΗΤΕΚΣΟ
5 ΙΠΙΩΝΙΟΙ ΘΑΥΡΘΡΙΝΑΣ,

Opening formula (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) Apollo. Give six artabas (3) of clover to my son (4) Victor from that which you are sowing [on ... ?]

Date (5) Hathyr 9, indiction-year (ινδικτίων) 6.

Transcription notes

5 ἸΠΙΩΝΙΟΙ ΘΑΥΡΘΡΙΝΑΣ: these letters are very faint and may have been erased by the writer; they may not relate to this text.
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FISH

P.Mil.Vogl. 4. Testi copti no. 3 95 (h) x 90 (w) mm. VIIIth C.1
Papyrus Plate 55

Preservation: 8 lines and all margins are preserved.

Palaeography: a large majuscule hand; ω (l. 1) and ω (l. 7) are very wide; l (l. 1) is tall; and 2 (l. 5) is large. Numerals are enclosed within // in l. 5, and followed by // in l. 7 (see transcription note to no. 40 ll. 22-38).

Provenance: unknown. Taurine of ΤΟΥΔ ΥΕΡΠ is mentioned (see §4.11 for the possibility of this as a place name).

Acquisition: no details were given in the publication.


Proou is ordered to give the scribe Taurine one lakon-measure of fish which is worth 21 solidi (see §8.15).

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1) + ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ.
2) ΣΩΛΗΜΠΕΒΩΗ.
3) ΠΕ ΠΡΟΟΥ ΤΕ Α.
4) ΠΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ + ΑΓΟΝ
5) // // ΗΤΕΒΤ ΜΥΑΖ.
6) ΤΑΥΡΙΝΗ ΠΑΤΟΥ.
7) ΔΥΕΡΠ ΙΟΑ κα //
8) +++

1 ΠΕΝΙΩΤ 2 ΡΠΕΨ- 4 ΛΑΚΟΝ 5 ΤΒΤ 7 ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΙΑ

Opening formula

(1) + Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son (3)

Proou.

Order for payment

(4) Be so kind (ἀγάπη) as to give (5) // 1 // lakon-measure (λα'κον) of fish to the scribe (6) Taurine of the carpentry workshop/Touašer

Value

(7) 21 solidi (νομισματικον) //

Signature?

(8) +++.

1VI-VIIIth C. according to P.Mil.Vogl. IV p. 143.

316
Transcription notes

8 1--f-: these are joined together and the last + ends in a downwards flourish.

Translation notes

3 προύγ: a saint called Apa Proou is mentioned along with Apa Patermoute and the Bawit triad of Apollo, Phib and Anoup in inscriptions from Abydos,1 Saqqara,2 and possibly Bawit.3 See also Foraboschi OA and Preisigke NB s.v. προούγ (and variants listed there) for this name in Greek papyri.

6 For the name Taurine, see the provenance details to no. 40.

8 1--f-: these crosses may be interpreted as the "signature" of an illiterate signatory, see translation note to l. 10 of no. 27.

1 See Peet 1913 p. 39 no. 1 l. 13, pl. 13 fig. 1.
2 See Quibell 1912 p. 61 n.6 and nos. 203 l. 17 and 240 l. 4 (correcting the reference given there to "203 n. 6" rather than "203 n. 8").
3 See Hall Texts pp. 143-144 no. 16 ll. 7-9.
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FODDER (?)

Christie's "3"(B) 82 (h) x 67 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 41

**Preservation:** 7 lines and all but the left margin are preserved. On side (A) are traces of about 4 lines of text, now illegible, written against the fibres in brown ink.

**Palaeography:** a semi-cursive hand; if it has been correctly interpreted, P looks more like an l, and both can have a hooked tail.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This may be an order to issue fodder (see §8.15), possibly to a carpenter. It mentions the place name Pmancanah (see §4.6).

(B)

1. + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ΜΠΙΨΗΡΕ
2. ΞΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΙΚΓΙΡ ΤΙΜΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ...
3. ΝΕΣΠΙΕΙΕΙΥ ΘΗΤΟΥ...
4. ΠΑΜΥΕ ΕΙΡΡΗ[...
5. ΕΡΑΤΗΚ ΔΥΩ[...
6. ΠΜΑΝΓΑΝΑΖ[...
7. ΕΡΑΤΗΚ ΕΡΜΑΗ[...

**Opening formula** (1) + Our father ...

**Order** (2) As soon as you [receive this note (ΜΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ) (?) ...] (3) the fodder (?) give [it ? ...] (4) the carpenter ... (5) who is with you and ... (6) Pmancanah/the place of Čanah ... (7) to him ...

**Transcription notes**

2 ΕΙΚΓΙΡ ΤΙΜΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ: this is restored following no. 83 l. 2 (ΞΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΙ ΤΙΜΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ); ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΙ also occurs in an unpublished papyrus excavated at Bawit by Clédat (P. Louvre E27647).

3 ΝΕΣΠΙΕΙΕΙΥ: the P looks more like an I and the second E is written without a horizontal bar so that it resembles a C.

2 ΠΙΕΙΕΙΥ: this plural form of ΠΕ "food, fodder" is not attested in Crum CD p. 701a; it may possibly be a plural of Crum CD p. 701b ΠΙ "endive".

4 ΕΙΡΡΗ: the P looks like an I; above it is a superscript sign.
7 εραςια: this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.

ερμωτα: the uncertain letter looks like ι, and is not obviously a Π to give ερμωτα.

"be worth".

319
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GARUM

BL Or. 13886.37(A) Main fragment: 90 (h) x 145 (w) mm.1 VII/VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 56
Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved. Side B (†) contains 2 lines which are written in a different hand and ink to the text on side (A).
Palaeography: right-sloping majuscule with many ligatures.
Acquisition: see §2.2.

Patermoute is ordered to pay two men who bear the title κύριος, Sarapion and louliane, eight lakon-measures of garum (see §8.15).

1→ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝΤΕΙΠΕΝ�ειπέντειπέντειπέντειπέντειπέντειπέντειπέ

2 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ Ὁ ΜΟΥΘΝ ΖΗΡΑΝΟΝ ἐξιπ
3 ΜΠΙΧΡΙΚ ΖΑΡΑΝΙΩΝ ΠΕΣ ΜΗ ΜΠΙΧΡΙΚ ΙΟΥΧΙ-
4 δε γι, γαφ λη η οκ[τω ±4 ] εγρατη μ ...
5 μικτιονος

Opening formula (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son Patermoute.

Order (2) Give eight lakon-measures (λάκον) of garum [to] (3) the lord (κύριος) Sarapion and the lord (κ.) louliane.

Total /Résumé? (4 Greek) Total of garum lakon-measures 8 eight ...

Scribe? ... written

Date in the month of ... (5) (day) 17 (?), indiction-year ...

Transcription notes

1 There is space for the cross, but it is not legible here.
4 ερπ: before this a Χ or Χ is visible.
...: the second letter may be a φ or a Ρ, but it does not resemble others written in this text.
5 μικτιονος follow ed by a numeral.

1Four unrelated fragments of papyrus are also assigned the inv. no. BL Or. 13886.37.
Translation notes

3 ΠΚΥΡΙĆ: attested as a man's name in Greek (Πυρις) and Coptic (ΠΚΥΡΙĆ, ΠΚΥΡΙĆ) documents, but it is interpreted as the title "lord" (κυρίος) here as it occurs before two different names.

Πε: this may be the enclitic -Πε which is usually found after verbs and place names (Crum CD p. 260a Πε²).

3-4 ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ: the Coptic form of Julianus.¹

¹See Heuser PN p. 102 ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ.
P.Meyer inv. 13(B) 208(h) x 51(w) mm. VII/VIIIth C.

Papyrus Plate 57

Preservation: 3 lines and all margins are preserved. On side (A) is a badly damaged Greek document.

Palaeography: a large, rounded, right-sloping majuscule hand. The superlinear stroke (]| l. 1.), and dot (]| l. 2 and |]| l. 3.) are used to denote the syllabic function of a consonant.

Linguistic note: the omission of genitival Ν- (ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΟΥΝΟΤΕ l. 3, ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΥΑΧ l. 3-4) is noteworthy in this text.

Acquisition: Mr Richard T. Meyer acquired this and other papyri in Cairo "several decades ago” according to Browne 1980 p. 10. It was donated by him to the Lakeview Center for the Arts and Sciences in Peoria, Illinois.


Paule is ordered to give greens and lachanon (see §8.15) to Apa Iohanes.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

Opening formula (1) + ΠΕΜΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΪ ΧΩΨΗΡΕ

Order Give a few greens and a little (3) lachanon (λαχανον) to Apa Iohanes.

Date Phaophi (day) 8, indiction-year (ινδικτιον) 1.

Translation notes

3 ΥΑΧ: may be interpreted as λαχανον "garden herbs, vegetables" or λαχανόσπερμον "vegetable seed", see §8.15.

ΦΔΩΗ: Phaophi 8th = 5/6th October, when the land was inundated and fresh vegetables would presumably be available in quantity.

1 According to Browne 1980 p. 102.
80

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WHEAT

BL Or. 6201 B48(B) 90 (h) x 122 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 58

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved. The text on side (A) is a fragment of a protocol from an earlier text written on this papyrus.

Palaeography: Hand 1 is an experienced semi-cursive hand. For the signature of Georgios (hand 2), see §8.11. In addition to the superlinear stroke which has syllabic function in ἩΜO'ΙΥ and ἰCWW in 1. 4, this text also uses a mark resembling an acute accent in ἐΤΟΟΥ and ὤ in l. 2.

Linguistic note: the spelling of CΤΟΙΧΕΙ as CΤΟΙΚΕΥΕ in l. 5 is noteworthy, see §8.7.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

Papa Shenoute is told to give four artabas of wheat to Kollouthe who is to send them to Tesse (?).

1-4 ΠΕΝΕΙΨΕΙ ΠΕΤpeech MpqwpHρε ΠΠΑΠΑ
2 οηΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΞΕ ΤΙ ἐΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΡΤΟΠ ΝΚΟΥΤΟ
3 ΝΚΟΧΧΟΥΘΕ ΒΑΝΟΝ ΝΚΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΧΕΕ
4 ἩΜΟΙΟΙΥ ΝΚΩΨ + μ χ ιε ιν, η + ανον εγρ/ η
5 (Ην2) + ΓΕΨΡΗΝΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ
1 Ἡπεμ- 2 Ψτοα 4 Ψηνού, μηλ Χωικ ἰνδικτίων έγραψα 5 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ

Opening formula  (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son the Papa (2) Shenoute.

Order  Give four artabas of wheat (3) to Kollouthe (son of ?) Banon (?) and let him send Tesse (?) (4) them for it (?).

Date  (Greek) In the month of Choikak, (day) 16 indiction-year (ἰνδικτίων) 6.

Scribe  + Anoup, I wrote.

Signatory  (5 Hand 2 Copy) + Georgios agrees (στοιχείν).

Translation notes

3 ΒΑΝΟΝ: if this is a personal name, it is not recorded in Heuser PN, Preisigke NB or Foraboschi OA. The name ΒΑΝΟC is listed in Heuser PN p. 45, and a ΒΑΝΟΣ occurs in
BGU XII no. 2159 ll. 3, 16 and V0,1 and in BM no. 1077 foll. 2→ l. 5; 3→ l. 5 (bis); 4→ l. 18; 5 l. 3, 10, 19; and 6 l. 13, in the genitive form Βανων.

THCCC: no such name is listed in Heuser PN but a Τησσος is recorded in Preisigke NB in a IInd C. C.E. text.

4 χντς: Choiak 16th = 12/13th December.

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1I am grateful to Professor Herwig Machler for this reference.
81

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

BKU III 367

90 (h) x 140 (w) mm. 

P. Berlin inv. no. 22 123

Plate 58

Papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved.

Palaeography: hand 1 belongs to the scribe Victor, see §8.9, and is a mixture of rightsloping cursive and majuscule forms. The following may have hooked tails: l, K, P, T, Y, and q. Most of 1. 4 is written in a Greek-type cursive hand. For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see §8.11. Together with the superlinear stroke which is used inconsistently to mark syllabic function (η ll. 1 and 3 (bis)), a mark resembling an acute accent may also be used without syllabic function once (ΠΕΤ- l. 1).

Provenance: unknown; the place of origin may possibly be the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is signed by Daniel, see §8.1. See §4.6 for Pmansike.


Apa Victor and the brothers are ordered to give four kados-measures to Iohanes of Pmansike. Daniel is the signatory.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

+ 

1 + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ἩΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΔΑΝΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ
2 ΜΝΕΚΝΗΩΥ Χ'ΕΙ ΤΙ ΚΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ
3 ΗΚΑΔΟΥΣ ΗΡΗΠ ΝΙΩ2ΑΗΝΗ ΠΑΝΜΑΝΗ
4 ΙΚΕ ΓΙ, ΟΙ, ΚΑΒΙ, Π ΜΕΟ Κ ΙΝΘ Θ ΒΙΚ
5 ΕΥΡ + (ΗΔ 2) Ρ ΔΑΝΗΧΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ

Opening formula (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son, Apa Victor, (2) and the brothers.

Order Give eighty (3) jars (κάδος) of wine to Iohanes of the mill/Pmansike.

Résumé (4 Greek) Total: jars of wine 80.

Date Mesore (day) 20, indiction-year 9.

Scribe + Victor, (5) I wrote.

---

1Photographed by Margarete Busing.

325
Signatory 

(Coptic: Hd 2) Daniel agrees (στοιχείον) +.

Transcription notes

4 0: the ed. pr. read considered this doubtful.
   βντ: the beta is open and was queried in the ed. pr.
5 εγρ: the ed. pr. considered the gamma uncertain.

Translation notes

2 κτοου ηκοιωτ: literally "four twenties"; this expression, using the vigesimal system
   rather than ΖΜΕ "eighty", is found in literary and documentary texts, see Crum CD p. 794b.
4 μεσο: κ: Mesore 20th = 13th August.
CUL Michael. 818/3 56 (h) x 138 (w) mm. VIIIth C. Papyrus Plate 59

Preservation: 4 lines and all but the lower margin preserved; there are many small lacunae and the upper surface of the papyrus is damaged, especially ll. 3-4.

Palaeography: a semi-cursive hand, with many ligatures.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.2.

Simothe is ordered to give eight measures of wine to Petra the carpenter.

Opening formula (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son (2)

Order Give eight measures (3) of wine to Petra the carpenter.

Résumé + (4 Greek) of wine ... 8 eight.

Scribe I wrote Victor

Date ... 18, indiction-year (?) ...

Transcription notes

1 +: see the transcription note to l. 1 of no. 14 for the shape of this sign.

ΠΠ-: the stroke extends halfway over the following ω.

ΩΗΡΕι: following this there is another mark on the papyrus. The title Apa, which is given to Simothi in a related text, no. 83, does not appear to be written here.

3 ΗΠΠ: because the papyrus is damaged here and the Η looks more like a Χ, with only two strokes visible, the second of which slopes backwards.

ΗΠΠ: the stroke is barely visible but appears to extend over the Π.

4 ατ': a restoration of γτ(ετατ) "i.e., total" is also possible, but the phrase ΓΙ/ΟΙΝΟΤΥ "i.e. wine" found in other orders for payment in wine included in this chapter (nos. 81
1. 4 and 83 II. 4 and 5; see also WS 175 l. 4 (see Appendix 2 text B)) does not appear to be suitable here.

...: an abbreviation of a measure is expected here, such as μετρον,1 the Greek equivalent of Coptic ωηλ (see Crum CD p. 548a ωη) which may occur in l. 2 (see translation note to l. 2 of this text). An abbreviation of σηκωμα does not seem likely here, although it is used as an equivalent of ωηλ "measure" in no. 83 II. 4 and 5.

η.: the first letter resembles a ψ, or a damaged φ, but may be a Μ with a vertical line through the middle of it (possibly an abbreviation for μηνι "in the month of"); the superscript letter appears to belong to this group of letters despite being written over the following ι.

Translation notes

2 ΚΙΜΟΤΕ: no. 83 is also addressed to this man, see §8.8. The name Simothe also occurs in an inscription from Bawit (Cairo CG 8781);2 in WS no. 64 l. 5; and in an unpublished Coptic papyrus document, CUL Michael 832/1 (bis) (see §2.2). A saint of this name is mentioned on a stela from Abydos.3

ωηλ: this is interpreted here as a variant of ωηλ "measure" (Crum CD pp. 547b), as in no. 83 l. 3; ωη "she-coin" (Crum CD p. 547a) is a less likely interpretation.

3 ΠΕΤΡΑ: this is attested as a man's name in Coptic, see the examples listed in BM p. 550a and Ryl. p. 249b (personal names index), and in Greek, see Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA.

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1See Casson 1939 p. 8 for this measure
2See Strzygowski 1904 p. 125.
3See Peet 1913 p. 39 no. 2 l. 13, pl. 13 fig. 3.

328
83
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

CUL Michael. 1159 67 (h) x 145 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 59

Preservation: 5 lines and all but the right-hand margin preserved.
Palaeography: a well-spaced majuscule hand with many ligatures.
Acquisition: see §2.2.

Although this text exhibits the formula ΠΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΒΩ, its addressee and content link it to the last text, no. 82. Apa Simothi is ordered to issue wine to a watchman, bread-maker and oil-maker whose names are not specified. This may mean that there was only one man engaged in each of these professions in the monastery, or that the context made the identities of the recipients known to the addressee.

1↑ + ΠΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΒΩ 3 ΑΝΑ 3 ΣΙΜΟΘΙ ΠΑ [1
2 2ΩΤΕ ΕΣ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ ΤΙ ΣΟΥΝ [2
3 ΕΥΗΕΙ ΝΗΡΠ ΑΠΕΡΩ ΑΥ ΤΙ ΣΑΤ ΝΗΡΠ ΜΟΥ [3
4 ΠΟΡΟΣΙΚ ΓΥ ΟΝ ΩΝ ΣΗΚΡΙ 8 ΑΥ ΤΙ ΣΟΥΝ (7) ΟΥ [4
5 ΜΠΟΡΝΗ 2 ΓΥ 0Ν ΚΝ ΩΝ ΚΗ ΣΗΚΡΙ Ρ [5

1 ΠΟΡΟΣΙΚ 2 ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ 3 ΟΥ, ΡΕΠΡΩ 3 4 ΣΟΥΝ (7) 4 ΣΟΥΝ [6
4 5 ΒΙΝΤΑΙ ΟΝΟΥ ΩΝ ΚΗΜΑΤΑ 5 ΣΟΥΝ [7

Opening formula (1) + Our father is the one who writes to Apa Simothi of...

Order (2) ... As soon as you receive this note (ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ), give [eight] measures of wine to the watchman and give six measures (?) [of wine to] (4) the bread-maker:

Subtotal (Greek) total of wine 14 sekoma-measures.

Order (Coptic) + And give six (?) ... (5) to the oil-maker:

Total (Greek) total of wine 20 sekoma-measures +.

Transcription notes

2 ΖΩΤΕ: this may be part of an epithet of the addressee, of the name of another addressee, although no personal names ending -ΣΩΤΕ are recorded in Heuser PN. Alternatively, it may be a variant form of the end of the place name ΝΩΤΕ (Crum CD p. 722: ΣΩΤΕ).

1Possibly part of a title such as ΡΕΠΡΩΣ "giver of tribute", which is an equivalent of ΦΟΡΟΛΟΓΩΤΟΣ (Crum CD p. 722: ΣΩΤΕ).
722b 2ωτε). The only appropriate words ending - 2οτε recorded in Strasbach and Barc
DIC are 2οτε "presence" (Crum CD p. 718b 2οτ), 2οτε "fear" (Crum CD p. 720b),
and 2οτε "hour" etc. (Crum CD p. 721b).

ωι[MOYN: this is restored here because it is the amount required to make the total in l. 4
up to 14 sekoma - measures.

3 ωτελι: this variant of ωτ "measure" is also used in no. 82 l. 2; it is translated in the two
Greek summaries in ll. 4 and 5 by σηκωμα, a wine measure which contained a varying
number of sextarii over the centuries.1

Restore ωτελι at the end of l. 3 although ωτωτωτ (Crum CD p. 604b) "a vessel or liquid
measure", might also be possible.

3 ζαλ, 4 ζωο: both of these appear to be variants of ζωο "six", although the latter is
not included in Crum CD or Westendorf KH. That it is to be interpreted as "six" is
reinforced by the running total which goes up from "14" to "20" after ζωο has been
added.

5 [Γ]: an attempt appears to have been made by the writer to erase this superfluous sign as
it is now fainter than the rest of the text.

Translation notes

2 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΚΑ: - literally "The hour you will".

ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ: no. 94, an unidentifiable order, also refers to itself as a ΠΕΤΤΑΡΓ (ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ)
"note". See also no. 99, a receipt for stone, which may describe itself in a
docket as a ΠΕΤΑΚ (ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ) to be translated as "receipt". The phrase ΗΕ ΕΤΕΝΟΥ
ΕΚΑΔΙΠΙΠΤΤΑΚΙΝ may be restored for no. 77 l. 2, see note there.

If ωι[MOYN is correctly restored here, it is the same amount of wine as Apa Simothe is
required to issue in no. 82.

4 ζΩΟΕΙΚ: although ζΩΟΕΙΚ may also be interpreted as "reed" (Crum CD p. 254b), ζΑ +
ζΩΟΕΙΚ is only attested for bread-makers.

5 ζΩΟΝ: an oil-maker also occurs in a ΠΕΝΕΙΟΤ ΠΕΤΖΩΑ formula document, no. 71
l. 2 (ζΩΟΝΗ).
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

Christie's "9"(B) 80 (w) x 92 (h) mm.  VIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 60

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved; the first line is partially obscured by a fold in the papyrus. For the first text written on this papyrus see side (A) below.

Palaeography: a right-sloping hand which combines majuscule and minuscule forms.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

Andreas is ordered to make a payment of four lahe-measures of wine.

1→ [+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤΤ ΠΕ] TC2Δİ
2  ΜΠΠΙΨΗΡΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ
3  ΧΕ ΤΙΒΟ ΝΑΔΩΗΝΗΡΙΠ
4  ΜΠΨΕΝΕ ΕΠΧΗ6Ε
5  γιναι οινον κνιδια, ἔγραψα

Opening formula  (1) + Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son Andreas.

Order  (3) Give four lahê-measures of wine (4) to the son of the purple(-man)/Pjêçe,

Résumé  (Greek) i.e. of wine knidia 4.

Scribe  ..., I wrote (2).

Translation notes

1 [+ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤΤ ΠΕ]: this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.
4 ΠΧΗ6Ε: the 6 is barely visible. See Crum CD p. 801h ΧΗ6Ε for this title and personal name.
5 ...: possibly read επ.

Translation notes

3 ΝΑΔΩΗΝΗΡΙΠ: the Résumé section shows that this measure is equated with the knidion in this text.
FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "9"(A)  
VIIIth C.  
Plate 60

Preservation: 7 lines and only the left margin are preserved.  
Palaeography: a fine right-sloping majuscule hand with a few ligatures; the left diagonal of γ is almost horizontal; 2 begins at the top with a small, tight curl and develops into a looser, longer curve at the bottom. M can be wide and large.  

This text, which may have been part of a letter, is too fragmentary for its context to be determined.

1↑ παίετε ωννιπςς μν̇ τεκμνιτ-…
2 ετήςενάγκοκοκινές ει
3 Ρωμε 2 রতামারτেীল
4 Νειωτι κοονυη μς মৃ ডি
5 ετা পাটে বিপাকাকাঁ�েই  
6 εγκμ পাইপেকি রা টিমী  
7 মারতিωtη নানােκেী

2 ακοκια

(1) this which is with your ... (2) ... diakonia (διακονία) ... (3) man for your ... (4) father knows that there is no (?) ... (5) so that I write, asking (παρακαλείν) ... (6) they are/were making a choice (αἰρεσίς) in the ... (7) fatherhood will allow (ἀνεξιευ) ...

Transcription notes

1 ωννιπ: possibly ωννιπ.

Translation notes

6 εγκম 2απεκει: because the context is uncertain, αἰρεσίς could also mean "plan", "proposal" or even "heresy" here.
7 নেকে: this verb also occurs in P. Budge ii. 15, 43 and 63.
ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF WOOLLEN GARMENTS

Christie's "5" 80 (h) x c. 90 (w) mm. VIIIth C. Papyrus Plate 60

Preservation: 5 lines and all but the top and right margins are preserved. No text appears to have been inscribed on the other side of this papyrus which is stuck to a larger sheet of papyrus.

Palaeography: a majuscule hand with some ligatures.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

Gerontse, the woollen-garment-seller, is told to supply Joseph of Peloole (see §4.4) with twelve woollen garments. The format of this text suggests that ΠΕΛΟΟΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΛ should be reconstructed before l. 1.

1 ἘΤΩΝΗΡΙΟΝΤΙΟΝΕ
2 ΤΑΝΣΕΛΑΩΤ ζε τι ΜΗΡΗΤ
3 ΝΟΟΥΣΕ ΝΟΟΒΕ Ν
4 ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΑΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ
5 ΠΑΟΝΤΙ ΔΑ ΤΟΒΙΑ

Opening formula (1) to his son Gerontse (?) (2) the woollen-garment-seller.

Order Give (3) twelve woollen garments to (4) Joseph of Peloole.

Date (5) Pauni 14, indiction-year 11.

Transcription note

5 ΠΑΟΝΤ: the i could also be an ε.
ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GREENS AND OTHER ITEMS

BL Or. 6201 B241(B)  80 (h) x 130 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 61

Preservation: 6 lines and all but the right margin preserved. The central part of this text is so damaged that it is now almost illegible; there are a couple of lacunae. This may be the second or third text written on this papyrus. Side (A) contains two texts: the first preserves the last three lines of a letter which ends εις Στὸν Μμού Τι πετότα [i.e. "I am writing them, I greet ..."; the second text preserves two complete lines written at 180° to the text on side (B) and in the same, or a similar, hand and ink.

Palaeography: hand 1 is small and cursive and written in brown ink. Hand 2 belongs to Georgios, see §8.11.

Provenance: unknown. For the place name Tesnê see §4.11.1
Acquisition: see §2.1.

This order is addressed to a person or persons who may be from Tesnê, and concerns a payment of greens (see §8.15) and other things to men who may work for a shaliou (see §3.7).

1 ➔ + ...
2  + ΠΕΝΕΙΨΩΤ ΠΕΤΩΤΑ ΜΗΨΥ ΨΗΦΕ ΜΗΤΑη.
3 ΝΕΨΩΝΗ (±6) ΧΕ ΤΩ ΥΟΤΕ 2111
4 ΝΕΨΩΜ[±4 1Ω]ΣΗΜΗΣ ...ΕΙ
6 + ΤΕΨΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΛΧΕ[ ]

Opening formula (1) + (2) + Our father [is the one who writes to] his sons the ... (3) of Tesnê (?) ...

Order Give greens and ... (4) the men ... [Io]hanes (?) ... (5) the shaliou ...

1With reference to τεψώνη Crum CD p. 572a ωνή cites BL Or. 6201 B204 (no. 70) and 211 (no. 95) (ΤΙΟΝ ΈΨΩΝΗ) but not the papyrus edited here.
Date in the month of (Μην) Phaophi (day) 16 (?) indiction-year (ηεκτης`ων) 7 (?) ...

Signatory (6) Ge[orgios] agrees (στοιχείων).

Transcription notes

2 + : before the cross is a sign possibly belonging to an earlier text written on this papyrus.

Below the + the upper part of an Μ or Ν is visible.

1 ἡμ. : restore ΝΕΡΩΜ- "the men", vel sim. here.

4 ΝΕΡΩΜ[±1 Ω]2&ΝΗC : this may be restored as ΝΕΡΩΜ[ΠΜ Νω]2&ΝΗC "the men of the place of Iohanes", ΝΕΡΩΜ[ΠΠ Ω]2&ΝΗC "the men of Apa Iohanes", vel sim.

6 Γ[εωργίος ΤΟΙΩΧΕ] : this is restored after nos. 71 l. 8 and 80 l. 5, and the form ΤΟΙΩΧΕ may have been written here as it was in them. See §8.11 for this signatory who may be identified with Georgios who signs a number of BL Or. 6201 series documents, using the forms ΤΟΙΩΧΕ, ΤΟΙΔΙ and ΤΗΧΕ.

Translation notes

5 ψ(Ω) ιε : Phaophi 16th = 13/14th October.
87
ORDER FOR PAYMENT

CUL Michael. 830(B) 236 (h) x 138 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 62

Preservation: 4 lines and all margins are preserved; the last two lines are largely illegible. The papyrus has several lacunae and some of the fibres are twisted. This is the third text to be written on this sheet of papyrus, and the only one written on side (B). Although this is the largest papyrus to bear a \( \text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩ} \text{ΠΕΤΩ} \) formula text, the text itself takes up less than a quarter of the writing surface. On side (A) are two VIIIth C. Greek texts (one a palimpsest) in two different hands and inks; text 2, the later and therefore more prominent text comprises 13 lines, of which all margins except the left are preserved. Approximately 11 lines of text 1 are visible.

Palaeography: the first two lines are written in a mixture of majuscule and semi-cursive forms, with ligatures involving \( \epsilon \) and \( \iota \).

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.2.

Papa Jacob is ordered to issue a commodity which may be measured in a jug (\( \mu\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma \)).

1 \( \text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩ} \text{ΠΕΤΩ} \) \( \text{ΚΩ} \text{Ω} \text{Η} \text{ΡΕ} \)
2 \( \text{ΠΠΩ} \text{ΠΩ} \text{Α} \text{ΚΩΒ} \text{Ε} \text{Θ} \text{ΟΥΜΑ} \text{Α} \text{ΡΦΙ} \text{Ο} \)
3 \( \text{Η} \) (the rest of this line is illegible)
4 \( \text{Π} \) (±6) \( \text{Α} \) \( \epsilon \) \( \alpha \) \( \iota \)

Opening formula (1) Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) the Papa Jacob.

Order Give a jug (\( \mu\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma \)) (3) of (?) ...

Résumé/Date/Scribe? (4 Greek) + ...

Transcription notes

4 See the Résumé, Date and Scribe sections at §8.7 for the components which may be restored in this line.
Translation notes

2 ΜΑΤΙΣ: Cerný CED p. 89 has derived ΜΑΤΙΣ from the Greek μάτις; see also Westendorf KH p. 100 ΜΑΤΙΣ. A reading of ΜΑΤΙΣ (Crum CD p. 206a "cable of palm fibre") is less likely.
88

FRAGMENT OF AN ORDER FOR PAYMENT

BL Or. 6201 A244(B) 37 (h) x 89 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus No plate

Preservation: 3 lines and all but the bottom and left margins are preserved; on side (A) are the first 2 lines of a Greek text written in a different hand to side (B), with all but the bottom and right margins extant.

Palaeography: a slightly right-sloping majuscule, with a few ligatures involving ε: "ace-of-spades" ε+Ρ, ε+Σ and Τ+Ε. Π can be formed so that the bottom of the second vertical curves upwards to the right (exx. in ΠΠ and ΠΠ- 1. 1).

Provenance: unknown.
Acquisition: see §2.1.

This is an order for the payment of twenty-four artabas of an unknown commodity. It was most probably addressed to someone with the title Papa, possibly ΠΑΠΑ who is the addressee in three other ΠΕΝΕΙΘΤ ΠΕΤΣ2ΑΙ formula orders for payment, see §8.8.

Opening formula (1) + (2) [Our father] is the one who writes to his son the Pa-[pa?] ... (3) ...

Order Give twenty-four artabas ...
ORDER TO SELL PLAITED WORK

Jeremias is ordered to sell Mena some plaited work (ὮΟΝΤΕ, see §8.15).

1→ 'Δ
2 .iterator
3 XE TI TWONTE ENTENMHNA PRTW[M...
4 NDQ EOWPE ΔE COYWA M2...
5 ΠΟΧΟΚΟΤΤΗΝ ΕΙΕ ΤΗΟΟΥΝ ΝΑ[11.
6 TIMH POC OCIAION EIC TRIOA.[
7 ΑΝΗΧΕΡΟΚ + μ θωθ α νθο β+
8 + ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΡΗΧΗΧΙ Χ+

Opening formula (1) ... (2) Our father is the one who writes to his son Jerem[jas]...

Order (3) Sell the two (pieces of) plaited work to Mena the man from ... (4) (to) him. If they are worth (?) ... (5) solidi (ὁλοκοττινος), then send it to me (?) ... (6) price (τιμΗ) according to (προς) the dikaios/right (δικαιο) ... (7) I have consigned (?) it to you.

Date + (Greek) In the month of Thoth, (day) 1 indiction-year 2

Signatory (8 Coptic) + Germanos agrees (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩ) +

Transcription notes

1 'Δ: this is the only sign written in this line; it is followed by a twisted papyrus fibre which may be mistaken for a further character in the plate.

8 ΡΗΧΗΧΙ: this is the only such spelling of ΡΗΧΗΧΙ in these documents, see §8.7.
Translation notes

3 ωντε: an interpretation of this as "acacia" (Crum CD p. 573a ωντε) seems less likely; the now illegible amount of solidi specified in ll. 4-5 may have helped to distinguish which of the two different meanings of this word is in question here.

6 ΤΙΜΗ: another interpretation of this is as a form of the Coptic word ΤΗ "village".

7 τιμακ ήι: literally "I have thrown it".

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1 Acanthus is mentioned, however, in a Greek papyrus, P. Vat. Aphrod. 13, which lists various διανομαι of a monastery of Apa Apollo (διανομαι 1. 8), see MacCoull 1991 for the possible provenance of this papyrus.
FRAGMENTARY LETTER

Christie's "29"(A)  
VIIIth C.  
Plate 63

Preservation: the last 10 lines and the left and lower margins are preserved.  
Palaeography: an experienced, right-sloping, flowing majuscule with many cursive forms and ligatures (exx. T1 and &1 l. 6).

All that can be said with certainty of this text is that oil is mentioned and that the writer says that he is coming down, presumably to see the person he is addressing.

1† 

2 ( ±5 )ΔΙΥCM1.[±3].1ΝΤ1(±3)1Ω(±5)[
3 Τ..CE...1ΟΥ1ΧΗΟΥΝ ΔΒΙ[Ω1 ΑΡΡΔΙ[ΕΙΤΑΙ[
4 ΝΙΝΟΟΥ1 ΕΤΒΙΕΟΥΙΝΗΜΕΝΕΖΩΑΝΤΕΒΡΨΤ11]
5 ΝΜΟΥΗ..1ΝΗΤΑΙΠΕΣΧΤ1 ΔΥΩη1ΜΝΠΟΥΩ[Ω
6 ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΙΝΗΠΥ ΕΨΩΤ ΕΝΕΧΤ 'ΤΙΑΝΠΙΟΣΙ[
7 ΡΤΕΤΗΜΝΗΧΟΕΙC ΡΗΙΩΤ ΜΝ Π...[
8 ΡΝΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΞΙΝΕΤΝΕΜΟΥ ...[
9 ΝΙΕΜΗΠΤΑΙ + ΕΝΔΟΥΧΑΙ ΤΗΡΗ ΖΙΘΝ [ΝΕΤΗ-
10 ΩΑΗΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΡ ΡΝΔΙΟΕΙC ΡΗΙΩΤ +

3 ΡΤΑΙ 4 ΡΗΕΖ ΡΑΝΤΕΒΡΨΡΤ6 ΡΝΟΥΤΕ 7 ΡΤΕΤΝ- 8 ΡΝΔΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΡΑΞΙΝΕΤΗ-
9 ΝΙΝΗΤΑΙ, ΝΕΤΑ-

(1) ... (2) ... (3) ... in this (?) ... (4) ... about a small (amount) of oil until he is unoccupied ... (5)... down to you. By the will (6) of God, I am coming down myself and I (will) ... (προφ(7)) your lordship and father and your God-loving ... (8) that I receive your blessing ... (9) with you. + We shall all fare well through [your] (10) holy prayers, our lord and father +.
ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

CMAA Green "23"1    Dimensions not recorded    Whereabouts unknown
Papyrus
Preservation: (judging from Kahie's transcription:) (A): 4 lines and (B): 2 lines; both sides appear to preserve all margins.
Provenance: unknown.
Acquisition: see §2.6.

Papa Damian(n) is ordered to request half a solidus of wine but not to consign it to the "wretched" Phoibammon. See §8.5 for an interpretation of this text.

Opening formula    (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son the scribe Papa Damian (?).
Order    (2) [Request ?] half a solidus (ολοκόττινος) (3) of wine. Do not give it to Phoibammon, in as much as (δοσων) (4) he is a wretch (ταλαίπωρος).
Date    (Greek) In the month of Phaophi, (day) 12, indiction-year 1.
Scribe    Pamoun, I wrote.
Docket    (5) Delivery of wine (Coptic) (for) the scribe (6) Damian (?) [1/2] solidus (νομίσματινον).

1This text is only known to me through the transcription Paul Kahle Jr. see §2.6.
Transcription notes

2 [\(\text{ωίΜ}\)]\(\text{ε Νοία}\) is restored after no. 96 ll. 6-7. Kahle conjectured \[\text{Π[Δ ΠΔ ΔΔ-ΙΜ[ΙΝ}\]
\[\text{ΣΕ Μ]Ε Νοία}.\]

5 \(\phi\): this abbreviation of \(\phiωρδ\) occurs in a number of texts including \(\text{ωίΜ}\)\(\text{ε Νοία}\)- formula ostraca (see §3.3.2.1).

6 Kahle read \(\Delta ΜΙ\Delta ΝΟΧ\). One would expect the symbol for \(\frac{1}{2}\) following \(\text{ΝΟ}\) corresponding to the \(\Pi\Delta\\text{ωιμ}\\text{ε ΝυΟΧΟΧ\). mentioned in l. 2.\)

Translation notes

1 [\(\Delta Μ[ΙΝ\]]\(\text{Ν], 6 ΔΜΙ[<Λ>: Heuser} PN records only the forms \(\Delta ΜΙ\Delta Ν\) and
\(\Delta ΜΙ\Delta ΝΟΧ\); a Damian occurs in an unpublished Coptic document BL Or. 6201 A6 (see
§2.1).

3 \(\text{ΕΝΟΚΟΝ}: for a parallel usage, see Bal. no. 32 l. 2; compare the spellings of \(\piωρδ\) as
\(\text{ΜΠωφα} and \text{ΜΠωφα} in nos. 9 ll. 12-13 and 19 l. 6.

4 \(\text{ΤΔΧΩΠΟ}: this occurs in inscriptions from Bawit,}^2 and in Coptic documents, exx.
\(\text{Bal.} nos. 202 l. 18 and 274 l. 4, and CPR IV no. 19 l. 17.
\(\phi\omega ν\beta\): Phaophi 12th = 9/10th October; for the abbreviation of the month Phaophi to
these two letters, see, e.g., Bal. index p. 860, CPR IV index p. 195, and an VIIIth C.
Greek fragment of an account register, \(\text{P. Apoll. Ano} no. 81 l. 2.

5-6 No. 65 ll. 7-8, a \(\text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ} poll-tax receipt, has a similar docket.

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1 See Stewart 1984 p. 105 for this abbreviation, along with CPR XX no. 11 l. 5, and MIFAO forthcoming
no. 42 l. 2. WS pp. 25-26 discusses the term \(\omegaρδ\).

2 See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 122 (no. 404) and possibly 124 (no. 416).
91

ORDER

P. Yale copt. no. 28

Papyrus

Preservation: 4 lines and all margins; this is the second text to be written on this papyrus (despite being labelled side (A)). See below for the text written on side (B).

Palaeography: no details are recorded. The superlinear stroke is used with and without syllabic function in this text, and a mark resembling an acute accent is used once with syllabic function (Π').

Provenance: unknown. Antinoe (ἈΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ), which also occurs in no. 69 (see §4.7), is mentioned in the letter written earlier on this papyrus.

Acquisition: see §2.3.2.

Bibliography: edited in P. Yale copt. p. 50.

The purpose of this text is obscure and there are two quite different ways of interpreting it. Someone is ordered to ὅωρε Ason (or "my brothers") just as he did to Ouenober of Ehbooue (see §4.9 for the interpretation of this as a place name). ὅωρε can mean either "prepare, provide" (Crum CD p. 831a) or "waylay, hunt" (Crum CD p. 830a). With the former interpretation, the text may relate to other πενειωτ πετεω formula texts in which the addressee is someone in charge of issuing various commodities.

1→ μπειωτ πετεω
1

2 ξε προς θ'ει έκυρνε ιόνεο
2

3 πρώΜ ιε2βοούε γόρνε ιόνεο
3

4 μφ'κια'ι ιν ια'ι
4

Opening formula 1+ Our father is the one who writes to his son Laiore(-) ...

Order 2 Just as (προς) you ... Ouenober (3) of Ehbooue (ʔ), ...

Ason (ʔ).

Date 4 In the month (μην) of Phaophi (day) 24(ʔ), indiction-year (ινδικτων) 2(ʔ) +

---

1 I am grateful to Stephen Emmel for providing these dimensions; the ed pr. gave (w. x h.) "16.2 x 6.2 cm".

2 Crum CD p. 831b ὅωρε "inhabit" is not appropriate here.
Transcription notes

1 Fl: the superlinear stroke curves upwards forming a small c on its right end.

r>.1

r

Iw1p

e1:

TKC may also be possible, but neither of these are recorded as personal names in Heuser PN, Preisigke NB, or Foraboschi OA. No names beginning with èfl: are recorded in Heuser PN; and none of the ones listed in Preisigke NB and Foraboschi OA (Λάνος, Λάτις and Λαττος) are suitable.

2 G'è1: OH is also possible.

3 èC0/N1: if this is a personal name, it is not attested in Heuser PN although the name èC0Y is (pp. 11, 20, 63, and 75). It may also be that èN èN, the usual plural form of èN, to be used.

4 K'è1 IN A: the è of K'è1 may be an è; the è of IN è is written hurriedly over the è and barely resembles a è at all; the è is open and written in a ligature with the cross marking the end of the document.

Translation notes

4 φ'ω1, êA: Phaophi 24th = 21st/22nd October. This line was not translated in the ed. pr.

RELATED TEXT

FRAGMENT CONTAINING THE END OF A LETTER

P. CtYBR 2037 (B)

Preservation: 2 lines and only the bottom and left margins are preserved.

Palaeography: details not recorded, although the hand is different from the one used on side (A).

The only noteworthy point in this fragment is that the city of Antinoe is mentioned in l. 2.

1 (±4)(±8), T'ω1(±2)OY'M'ON'20(±2)2[

2 Nδ4 ωδ ANTINOY Nδ1 ειC'εΩN' MM00Y T'1C'N(δεε) .

(1) ... (2) (to) him to Antinoe. I write these things, I greet (άσπάζεσθαι) ...

Transcription notes

1 This line was not transcribed in the ed. pr.

1 For this name in Greek papyri of an earlier date, see Foraboschi OA s.v. 'Ασσού and 'Ασσούς and Preisigke NB s.v. 'Ασσούς; see these same sources for 'Ιάσων, of which ά.ον may be a variant.
'ON'20: between N and 20 there may be a gap.

Translation notes

2 ṢN I1C2\A1 T\M\O\Y T\A\C\P\(\AZE: see Tabelle VIII in Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983 p. 236 §1) b) and p. 237 §5) a) and b) for closing formulae which may be restored here; they are attested in texts dating to the VII/VIIIth C. from Bala'izah and the Theban region.
ORDER

*MIFAO* forthcoming no. 81\(^1\) Dimensions not recorded Whereabouts unknown

Ostracon (material not recorded)

**Preservation:** 7 lines and all but the bottom margin are preserved.

**Provenance:** excavated by Jean Clédat at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit.

**Bibliography:** to appear in *MIFAO* forthcoming as text no. 81.

The purpose of this order is not clear because of the fragmentary nature of the text. Apa Noë is ordered to do something in connection with things which have been assigned to Pmanallou and Pmanranê, both of which are places from which wine is requisitioned in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit, and Pmanlouga (see $\S 4.6$ for all of these place names).

1. \(\rho\ \pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\zeta\alpha\iota\)
2. \(\mu\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\omega\nu\iota\gamma\rho\varepsilon\ \Delta\ \Pi\alpha\)
3. \(\nu\omicron\ \zeta\varepsilon\ \Delta\ \Pi\alpha\ \tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\ \pi\eta\ \eta\ ...\)
4. \(\epsilon\upsilon\chi\varepsilon\zeta\eta\ \Pi\alpha\ \pi\mu\nu\ \Pi\alpha\ \nu\pi\alpha\nu\ \eta\)
5. \(\mu\nu\ \Pi\mu\nu\ \Pi\alpha\ \alpha\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\)
6. \(\mu\nu\ \Pi\mu\nu\ \Pi\alpha\ \alpha\delta\omega\chi\alpha\upsilon\ \tau\alpha\alpha\ \gamma\upsilon\)
7. \(\mu\nu\ \Pi\mu\nu\ \Pi\alpha\ \alpha\delta\omega\chi\alpha\upsilon\ \tau\alpha\alpha\ \gamma\upsilon\)

**Transcription notes**

6 \(\tau\alpha\alpha\ \gamma\upsilon\): Boudhors (*MIFAO* forthcoming no. 81 n. to 1. 6) suggests that \(\tau\alpha\alpha\eta\) or \(\tau\alpha\alpha\ \gamma\nu\) are also possible.

**Translation notes**

2-3 \(\Delta\ \Pi\alpha\ \nu\omicron\delta\): this can be construed as a personal name "Apa Noë", or as the title \(\Delta\ \Pi\alpha\) followed by the personal name \(\nu\omicron\delta\). The former occurs in a number of texts,\(^2\) and

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\(^1\)The text of this ostracon survives in a transcription recorded in one of Jean Clédat's excavation notebooks. Anne Boudhors, to whom I am grateful for a copy of this transcription, has suggested that it is now in Egypt (private communication 17/3/94).

\(^2\)Coptic exx.: *BM* nos. 1075 (p. 449), and 1077; *CPR* IV no. 167; and BL Or. 6201 A23 and 109c (both unpublished, see $\S 2.1$). Greek exx.: *P. Lond.* III no. 1032 (Απανάκτος) (VI-VIIth C.) and *SB* 1 5944.
MacCoull 1987b p. 103 has pointed out that it is attested in texts from the Hermopolite nome.

4 $\text{CYCH}_2 \text{MCW}$ occurs in a $\Pi \text{NEI} \mid \text{CNC} \text{T} \text{CTC}_2 \Delta_1$ formula receipt, no. 99 l. 3.
Preservation: approximately the left third of the first 19 lines of this text are preserved, with all but the right and bottom margins intact. The surviving text is badly damaged and was written at 90° to the text on side (A), the first text written on this papyrus. This is a letter which is now very fragmentary; it mentions Apa Apollo, although it is not possible to say whether the saint was intended.

Palaeography: the hand is a mixture of majuscule and cursive forms, written in an irregular but proficient way.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

This is the longest πενειωτ ΠΕΤΣ formula document in this chapter. The addressees include a scribe called Phib, and a number of commodities may be mentioned. Although this text is too fragmentary to be fully evaluated, it is edited here because it mentions ΕΕΛΩΣ which may be interpreted as bdellium, an unusual commodity (see §8.15). It also mentions "the apou", for whom see note to l. 5 of no. 72.
15. \( \text{οἱ ὑσ...} \)
16. \( \text{MYC} \)
17. \( \text{ἐπίφανες... ἢ...} \)
18. \( \text{ἄποι...} \)
19. \( \text{I...} \)

Opening formula (1) + Our father is the one who writes [to his sons ...?] (2) the scribe Phib and Is[- ...]

Report (3) I have received the ... (4) and the bdellium ... (5) if God ... (6) father sent a ... (7) bless us ... (8) the bdellium ... (9) send it to you (?) ... (10) ... (11) you (shall ?) give ... (12) ... (13) wine (οἶνος?) ... (14) ... (15) ... (16) ... (17) ... [the] (18) apou who watch (?) ... (19) ... 

Transcription notes

3. \( \text{ἡ...} \): the first letter of this feminine noun may have been a \( χ \); possibly read the masculine noun \( λὲβής \) "carp" see §8.15.
6. \( \text{ἢ...} \): less likely \( ὡς \).
10. \( \text{ὴ...} \): or \( \text{ὴ...} \).
13. \( \text{οἰ...} \): or there may be a damaged character following this and preceding \( ἅ... \).
17-19 The first letter of these lines is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.
18, 19 The second fragment of papyrus may join at the end of these two lines.

Translation notes

4. \( \text{ἡ...} \): this is also found in BM 1114 (BL Or. 6085), which may have been acquired by the British Museum at the same time as the BL Or. 6201 series, see §2.1. This papyrus also mentions \( \text{πὲρὶ...} \) and \( \text{ἄποι...} \) may possible be read in l. 3 of this text; this word is preceded by the masculine definite article in BM 1114 although the Greek word which Crum cites as a possible antecedent, \( \lambdaβής \) "handle" (see BM p. 469 n. 9), is in fact feminine as is the word in l. 3 of no. 93. A place name involving the word \( \text{ῥιόπο...} \) (see Crum CD p. 142a \( \text{ῥιόπο...} \)) does not appear to be in question here.
6. \( \text{ὅπως...} \): a different interpretation of this line involving "barley" (Crum CD p. 87a \( \text{ὅπως...} \)) is also possible: "barley. Send a ...".

350
94

ORDER

Christie's "8" 89 (w) x 165 (h) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 61

Preservation: all 7 lines and margins of this text are preserved.

Palaeography: a semi-cursive hand.

Linguistic note: the word παράξυνή (l. 3) may involve Χυ for Τυ.¹

Provenance: unknown. An Hermopolite context is suggested by the mention of Pmanle (see §4.6).

Acquisition: see §2.5.

Mena of Pmanle is ordered to do something as soon as George of Tsnê (see §4.11) has given him this note. Phib is the signatory.

1↑ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΣΑΙΝΝΠΙΨΗΡΕ ΜΝΝΑ
2 ΠΑΠΜΑΗΛΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΕΓΕΩΡΓΕ
3 ΠΑΡΑΧΥΝΗ ΜΑ ΤΙ ΠΕΤΤΑΡΝ ΝΑΚ
4 ...[±2]Ε...(±6)[.].Ε(±6)Ε(±2)
5 2 ΘΕΜΤΕΜ.ΗΜΕΙΒΙΤΟΥ...[.].
6 .ΨΨΕΝΙ Ο.Ι[.].Ι[.].Ι
7 Hand 2 ΦΙΘ

1ΡΗΑΚ- 2ΡΕΥΝΟΥ 3ΠΑΤΕΨΝΗ,Π(Ε)ΙΠΙΤΣΑΚΙΟΜ
5ΒΙΤΟΥ 6ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΣ

Opening formula (1) + Our father is the one who writes to his son Mena (2) of Pmanle.

Order As soon as George (3) of Tsnê/the garden gives this note (πιττάκιον) to you (4) ... (5) ... took/take them ... (6) ... indiction-year (ινδικτίων) 11.

Signatory (7 Hand 2) Phib.

Transcription notes

1 ΜΝΝΑ: following this there is a lacuna which may contain a C.
2 ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΕΓΕΩΡΓΕ: this does not appear to begin with the same ΤΕ ligature with which it ends.
3 ΠΑΡΑΧΥΝΗ: the Π looks more like a Τ.

¹This dialectal variant is not recorded in Bal. chapter VIII, but see p. 132 §116 for Χ for Τυ.
Translation notes

2-3 ῬΕΩΡΕ ΠἈΧΩΝ: in no. 95 a George of the great garden/ΤΝΟΘ ΝΩΝ is mentioned.

3 ΠΕΤΤΑΡΙ: see no. 83 1. 2 for the term πιττάκιον in other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΛ formula texts.
ORDER TO GIVE ASS FODDER (?)

George of Tnoçnsnê/the great garden (see §4.11) may be ordered to give some fodder to an ass belonging to a place called Teusia (see §4.8). The meaning of the final line remains obscure.

Translation notes

1 'ΓΕΙΩΠΕ: a man of this name may also be addressed in no. 100, another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩ Ι formula text. See no. 94 ll. 2-3 for a George of Tešnê/the garden.
INVOICE FOR LEAD AND OIL

P. Byrd 36.2 85 (h) x 90 (w) mm.1 VII-VIIIth C.2

Medium brown papyrus Plate 65

Preservation: 8 lines and all margins are preserved. A small fragment of four lines of text has been added upside down above l. 1 and is written in the same hand as the complete text edited here.3

Palaeography: a right-sloping majuscule hand.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: acquired for the private collection of Jonathan Byrd.


This invoice notifies Koueie son of Papas/Little Papas that twenty-five pounds of lead (see §8.15) and a full lakon-measure of oil have been delivered and can be collected from the sailors of Enoch. See §8.5 for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1  + PENES[1ICT1 PETS2AT1
2  MIPHQHRE KOYCE
3  PAPOE AC XEIEC XOUOY
4  NAITPA AITA2T ΔITHO-
5  OYCOY MΑΚ ΜΝΙΟΑΤΑΟΗΝ
6  ΑΝΕΞ ΕΒΜΕΞ ΩΙΝΕ
7  ΑΚΟΥΝ 2ΙΤΗ ΝΕΝΕΕΒ
8  ΑΝΕΝΩΧ +

5 ΜΗΟΔΑΚΟΗΝ 6 ΕΨΜΗΣ 7 ΝΕΕΕΨ

Opening formula (1) Our father is the one who writes (2) to his son Koueie (3) (son of) Papas/Papas the younger.

Invoice Here are the twenty-five (4) pounds (λίτρα) of lead I have sent (5) to you along with a full lakon-measure (λάκον) (6) of oil. Ask for them (7) from the sailors (8) of Enoch +

1Excluding additional fragment, see below.
2VIIth C. according to Warga 1992 p. 79.
3They mention λάκον; Warga 1992 p. 79 estimated that this fragment contained just "two and a half lines".
Translation notes

2 ΚΟΥΕΙ: for this as the personal name Koueie (which is not recorded in Heuser PN), see Pernigotti 1985 p. 101 n. to l. 13, and CPR VIII 77 l. 2 Koüet (VII/VIIIth C.).

4 ΧΙΤΡΑ: this measure is used for many commodities; the ed. pr. translated it as "liters". See no. 40 l. 20 for the amount represented by a λιτρα.

6-7 ψίθε ΝΗΩΤΩ: see §8.5 for the formula ψιθε ΝΗΩΤ in ΝΗΩΤ ΝΗΩΤ ΝΗΩΤ formula texts.

7 ΝΕΕΘ: sailors from the village of ΤΕΜΣΙΠ are mentioned in two inscriptions at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 77 (no. 149 l. 3) and 88 (no. 210).
**97**

**INVOICE FOR OIL**

_KSB I 288_ 119(h) x 57(w) mm. 

_P. Palau Ribes inv. 41_ 

Plate 65

Medium brown papyrus with fine fibre texture and smooth surface.²

**Preservation:** 5 lines and all margins are preserved (despite the claim in the _ed. pr._ that it "preserves the beginning of a private letter"); (Klakowicz 1981 pp. 46-47: )"some dark spots and a vertical breaking which damaged some letters in the last two lines extant".

**Palaeography:** right-sloping majuscule, with some ligatures.³ Several dots on this papyrus do not appear to be marks made by the scribe, exx. above the ω in ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ 1.1, and the α in ΄ωουτ in 1.2.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Bibliography:** edited in Klakowicz 1981 pp. 46-47; reproduced in _KSB_ I no. 288 with additional comments.

This invoice notifies Anoup and Asoi of an oil delivery and mentions that a man will be sent about some pitch. See §8.5 for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 \uparrow & + \Pi\varepsilon\varepsilon\iota\varepsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau \Pi\varepsilon\tau\varsigma\varsigma\lambda\imath\mu\nu\nu\pi\omega\nu\pi\epsilon \\
2 & \Delta\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu\pi\mu \varepsilon\omega\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau \iota \varepsilon\varepsilon\iota \iota \\
3 & \Pi\alpha\alpha\rho\omicron\omicron\nu\varepsilon\zeta \lambda\iota \tau\nu\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron \\
4 & \Pi\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\varepsilon \varepsilon\beta\omicron\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon\varepsilon \nu\mu\mu \varepsilon \lambda\alpha\omicron\varepsilon \tau \tau \\
5 & \Pi\rho\omicron\nu\nu\varepsilon \varepsilon\beta\omicron\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon\varepsilon \nu\mu\mu \varepsilon \lambda\alpha\omicron\varepsilon \tau \tau \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Opening formula** ¹ Our father is the one who writes to his son (²) Anoup and Asoi.

**Invoice** Here is (³) the _lakon_ -vessel (λάκονυ) of oil (which) I have sent (⁴) to you. At dawn I will send (⁵) out the man about the pitch.

**Transcription notes**

1 _ΠΕΤΣΣΔΙ:_ above the 1 there may be a trema.

2 _ςωουτ_ : the _ed. pr._ gave _ςωουτ_.

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¹VIIIth C. according to Klakowicz 1981 p. 46.

²Klakowicz 1981 p. 46.

³Klakowicz 1981 p. 47: "a regular and unligated (sic) cursive ... a well-trained hand which resembles the eighth century items Crum, _Ryl._ nos. 142 and 180 (cf. p. 24f.)."
3 ΧΡΩΝ ΝΕΣ: this was interpreted as ΧΡΟ ΝΕΣ in the ed. pr. and KSB I no. 288 erroneously corrects this reading to ΧΡΩΝ.

Translation notes

The ed. pr. failed to appreciate the monastic context of this text and so interpreted the terms "father" and "son" as denoting a physical rather than spiritual relationship.

1 ΠΩΨΕΡΕ: note the use of the singular ΠΩ- here when two people are being addressed.
2 ΩΨΩΙ: this name is recorded in three inscriptions from Bawit; it is not attested in Heuser PN, Preisigke NB, or Foraboschi OA.
3 ΩΖΤΟΥ: the sense here suggests that "at dawn" be read rather than "till morning" as in the ed. pr.
4 ΜΧΣΔΠ: note that the plural is used here, see parallels listed in Crum CD p. 143b ΜΧΣΔΠ.

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1 See Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 70 (no. 104 ΩΨ), 72 (no. 115 a deacon), and 85 (no. 195 father of ΠΝΟΥΤΕ).
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FRAGMENTARY INVOICE

Christie's "4"(B)  28 (w) x at least 150 (h) mm.¹  VII/VIIIth C.

Papyrus  Plate 41

Preservation: the first 2 lines and the upper and right margins are partially preserved. On side (A) is part of one line written in black ink, and about 3 lines in brown ink, both in different hands from that of the text presented below (no plate).

Palaeography: a large majuscule hand with many ligatures.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.5.

(B)

1  ἸΠΕΝΕΙὮΤ ΠΕΤΕΣΣΩ ἘΠΡΩΗΡΕ
2  ἸΣΕ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΒΤΟΟΥ

Opening formula  (1) ... Our father is the one who writes to his son (2) ...

Invoice  ... here are the four

¹The width of this fragment has been estimated because the papyrus fibres are twisted.
99

RECEIPT FOR STONE

CUL Michael. 1120 63 (h) x 173 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 66

Preservation: (A) 5 lines, and (B) 3 lines; all margins are preserved on both sides.

Palaeography: hand 1 belongs to the scribe Victor (see §8.9) who writes in a small, right-sloping hand semi-cursive hand, with some majuscule forms. Tioid (see note to the palaeography section of no. 16 text 1 for this term). For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see §8.11. The docket is written in a faltering semi-cursive hand (hand 3).

Provenance: unknown; possibly the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit because this document is signed by Daniel, see §8.1.

Acquisition: see §2.2.

The scribe Apollo and the builder Shenoute are advised that a stone from a number assigned to them has been given to Papnoute, a builder from Poṣ.

(A)

1↑  ρ πειειωτ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ΝΠΨΗΡΕ ΠΛΩ ΜΠΟΧΩ

2  ΜΝ ωηνούτε ΠΕΚΩΤ ΞΕ ΕΙΟ ΟΥΝΕ ΑΒΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΤ

3  ΚΝ ΝΨΗΕ ΕΥΧΗ ΝΜΨΗΝΤΗ ΝΤΑΙΤΑΒ ΕΠΑΝΨΟΥΤΕ

4  ΠΕΚΩΤ ΝΠΟΥΩ + ΠΑΧ ΤΙ + ΒΑΚ ΕΨΑΨΑ +

5 (Hd 2)  ρΔΝΗΧ ΚΤΗΧΕ

(B) Docket in hand 3.

6→  ρ 'ΠΕΤΑΚ ΝΨΗΕ

Erasped, at 180° to l. 6.

7  'Ρ ΠΕΤΑΚ ΝΨΗΕ

8  illegible traces of c. 10 letters

1 ΠΝΕΥ- 2 &- 3 ΝΤΑΙΤΑΙ- 4 ΠΑΧΩΝ, ΙΝΤΙΚΟΡΟΣ, ΒΙΚΟΤΟΡ 
5 ΚΤΗΚΕΙ 6, 7 ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ (?)

Opening formula (1) ρ Our father is the one who writes to his son the scribe Apollo (2) and Shenoute the builder.

Report A stone has come into my hands (3) from the stones ascribed to you, and I have given it to Papnoute (4) the builder of Poṣ.

Date + (Greek) Pachon (day) 17, indiction-year 9.

Scribe + Victor, I wrote +.

359
Signatory (5 Hd 2 Coptic) Daniel agrees (στοιχείον).

Docket (6) Receipt (πιττάκιον?) for stone.

Transcription notes

3 C'H12: the H resembles a Π.
6 'Ρ': the upper part of this sign is damaged and may be a +.

Translation notes

2, 4 ΕΚΩΤ: builders and others involved in building are mentioned in inscriptions from Bawit. An interpretation of ΠΕΚΩΤ as a personal name is highly unlikely in this text.
3 ΕΥΧΗ2 ΝΚΩΤΝ: a ΠΕΝΗΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ1 formula text from Bawit, no. 92 l. 4, contains the phrase ΕΥΧΗ2 ΝΚΔ-. "I have given it": the verb here is really a Relative Perfect.
4 ΠΟΤΩ: see §4.11 for this word which may be a place name.
    ποτως: Pachon 17th = 12th May.
6 'ΠΕΤΑΚ: see no. 83 l. 2 for πιττάκιον; of the many meanings πιττάκιον may have, "receipt" seems the most appropriate here; an interpretation of it as "association", referring in this text to a consortium of stoneworkers, is not very likely.

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1 See Krause 1991 pp. 1292-1293, which cites Maspero and Drioton 1932-1943 pp. 70 (no. 100 ἘΩΣ ΝΠΗΣ), 112 (no. 348 l. 2 ΦΙΒ.), and 151 (ΕΚΩΤ no. 548 l. 2 ΜΗΝ).  
2 See LSJ 1409a πιττάκιον meaning II.
P. CtYBR 2103 qua (B) text 2 78 (h) x 240 (w) mm. VIIth C.¹
Papyrus Plate 69

Preservation: 2 lines and all margins are preserved, written at 180° to Text 1 which was written earlier on side (A). Text 1 may be summarised as follows: it involves 6 lines of a letter written in a very inexperienced hand.² It involves many difficult linguistic forms, some of which may be Bohairic (e.g. Φ for ΠΝΟΥΤΕ), and some of which are similar to ones found in no. 46 (ἐκκ. ΑΟΥΚΟΞ for ὀλοκάττινος, Κξ for Κξ). The purpose of the letter is obscure but it mentions a solidus, some wine, a monk and a church, among other things.

Palaeography: a right-sloping majuscule hand with some cursive forms and a few ligatures. The following have elongated, hooked tails: Ι, Π and Φ. Minuscule H. Text 3, is written on side (B) in the same hand.

Provenance: unknown. Text 3 was issued by the head of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo.³

Acquisition: see §2.3.3.


This text appears to have been discontinued in line 2 in favour of a new text (text 3) which was written around it. See §8.5 for an interpretation of the use of this manuscript and texts 2-3.

Opening formula (1) + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΚΑΙ

2 ΝΠΨΨΗΡΕ ΓΕ

2 ΡΠΞΨ-

Transcription notes

2 ΓΕ: this may be interpreted as ΓΕΨΡΓΕ (or ΓΕΨΡΓ, ΓΕΨΡΓΙ, or ΓΕΨΡΓΙΟΣ) and identified with the addressee in text 3. Other, less common, men's names beginning with ΓΕ- recorded in Heuser PN are: ΓΕΔΙΩΝ, ΓΕΛΙΩΝ, ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΟΣ, ΓΕΡΜΑΝ(ΙΟΣ), ΓΕΡΟΝΠΙΟΣ, ΓΕΡΩΨΗΤΙΟ, and ΓΕΤΩΝ.

¹VI-VIIth C. assigned by T.C. Petersen in the Beinecke Library's computerised catalogue.
²This is the same as, or similar to, the hand which wrote an unpublished letter which mentions ΠΝΩΥΤ, P. CtYBR inv. 2334
³MacCoull 1975 p. 219 suggests that this manuscript originated from the monastic community at Bawit.
FRAGMENTARY LEGAL DOCUMENT

P CtYBR 2103 qua (B) text 3

Preservation: 4 lines and all but the lower and right margins are preserved. Line 4 is very faded.

This is the beginning of a legal document issued by the dikaiion of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through its archimandrite, Apa Zacharias. The addressee is named George, who may be the addressee in text 2.

1→ + ΠΔΙΚΆΙΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝΑΣ ΘΡΙΟΝ ΜΦΆΙΟΣ ΔΠΑ ΔΠΩΛΛΩ 2ΙΤΟΟΤΤΠ[ Ρ-
2 ΔΠΑ ΖΔΧΡΙΆΣ ΠΔΡΧΜΑΝΑΔ ΑΥΩ ΠΙΩΤ ΝΠΜΟΝΑΣ ΘΡΙΟΝ ΕΠΧΩΑ ΜΠΩ-
3 ΩΗΡΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΝ ΞΕ ΠΙΘΗ ΔΚΠΔΡΠΗΔ ΔΚΔΞΕΙ
4 'Ω[Ω(±3)][Ω[1

1 ΝΠΜΟΝΑΣ ΘΡΙΟΝ ΠΦΆΙΟΣ 2 ΔΡΧΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ 3 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ

Opening formula (1) + The dikaiion (δίκαιον) of the monastery (μοναστήριον) of the holy (άγιος) Apa Apollo through (2) Apa Zacharias, the archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) and [father of the monastery (?)] (3) son George.

Preamble Whereas (επειδή) you asked (παρακαλείν) (?) ... (4)

Transcription notes

1 2ΙΤΟΟΤΤΠ : 2ΙΤΟΟΤΤΠΥ is less likely but also possible.
2 ΠΙΩΤ : restored following no. 28 l. 3.

Translation notes

1 ΔΙΚΆΙΟΝ: for the dikaiion of a monastery, see §3.13.
2 ΔΠΑ ΖΔΧΡΙΆΣ: no archimandrites named Zacharias are recorded in published texts from the monasteries of Apa Apollo. As this text is connected with a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΈΤΕΡΩΑ formula text, and several texts with this formula may have come from the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo (see §8.1), he may be assigned to the Bawit monastery.
101

FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201 A227(B) 45 (h) x 105 (w) mm. VII-VIIIth C.

Papyrus No plate

Preservation: all 3 lines of this text are preserved, although the ink is faded, especially in ll. 1 and 2. On side (A) are the remains of two final lines of an earlier text, with only the lower margin preserved, written against the fibres in a different hand, ending with the words [ΟΥΧΩ] ές ΠΧΟΕΙΠ ΠΜΕΡΙΤ Ν[Η]. "farewell in the Lord, my beloved ...".

Palaeography: a fairly large, right-sloping majuscule hand. The only ligature involves Ε and Ι.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

1

\[\text{\(\Delta\) } \text{περιωτι [πετε]2ωι}\]

2 \(\Delta\) ι(±3)(±6).

3 \(\Delta\) ιπι2...Ηπι...

Opening formula

(1) + Our Father [is the one who] writes ...

(2) ... (3) ...

Transcription notes

1 [πετε]2ωι: there is no lacuna, the ink has faded completely.

3 \(\Delta\) ιπι2...: possibly read the personal name \(\Delta\) ιπι2 (Heuser PN p. 112) here; see no. 104 l. 2.
102

FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201 A231 33 (h) x 60 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus No plate

Preservation: 2 lines and all but the bottom and right margins are preserved; on side (A) are 2 lines of a text in a small cursive hand, with all but the right margin extant.

Paleography: written in a small, semi-cursive hand similar to no. 71.

Provenance: unknown. Pmanpaselei(-) (see §4.6) is mentioned in l. 3.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

(A)
1 ↑ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΙ 21 [T] ΜΠΨΗΡΕ NN
2 ΠΜ[±3 ]

(B) Address?
4 [2.] ΠΠ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ

Opening formula  (1) Our father is the one who writes [to his son NN] (2) of the place ...

Address?  (3) ... of Pmanpaselei(-) (?) (4) ... from our father.

Transcription notes

103
FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201 B94  90 (h) x 122 (w) mm.  VIIIth C.
Papyrus  Plate 67

Preservation: 3 lines and all but the left margin are preserved. In ll. 1 (panion) and 2 (μακαριο) the scribe has written around lacunae in the papyrus.

Palaeography: the hand is a mixture of cursive and majuscule forms. This text uses a superlinear mark resembling an acute accent with syllabic function in πη in l. 1; and a superlinear dot in θεφ in l. 3.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.1.

Seuerus of Poś (see §4.11) is ordered to do something to Apa Kollouthe the watchman until he ceases to do something, perhaps in connection with the monastery of Stephen (see §4.1).

1 ↑ [+ Περηπτ Πη?] ητ每个人的 ηρής ζηνησος παπω χε? ωα,.[
2 Ιπακακοθογειε Πρηποεικ ωαντεφοAU
3 Θεννητε θεφον χυω ν[±3]ωμενε

1 πηεηη- 2 ρηπνειει

Opening formula  (1) [+ Our father is the] one who writes to his son

Severus of Poś.

Order  ... (2) to (?) Apa Kollouthe the watchman until he ceases

(?) ... (3) the monastery of Stephen and ...

Transcription notes

1 παπω, 2 μακαριο: both words are written around a lacuna in the papyrus.
2 Κακοθογειε: the writing of the ε is remarkable in that its horizontal bar is extended with a flourish. A reading of Κακοθογειε does not seem likely.
3 ωμενε: following this the papyrus is damaged so that any further text is obscured.

Translation notes

3 θεφον: for a parallel spelling of the name Stephen (Heuser PN p. 91), compare Bal. no. 239 l. 3 θεφοη.
104
FRAGMENT

P. CtYBR inv. 1820
Formerly P. Yale inv. 1819b
Papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines and the top and right margins are preserved. A dark brown line, which may have been part of a protocol from an earlier text, runs vertically through the second letter of each line.

Palaeography: no details recorded.

Provenance: unknown.

Acquisition: see §2.3.1.


Opening formula (1) Our father is the one who writes ... (2) ... Papa Al-...
... (3) ... (4) ... the field of ... (5) ... vessel (?)...

Transcription notes

2 ἀχτ᾽: there are no personal names beginning with ἀχτ᾽ recorded in Heuser PN, Preisigke NB or Foraboschi OA. If the τ were a π, the name ἀχταῖα might be in question here, see no. 101 l. 3.

3 Following the second τ is a small, narrow letter, possibly an ι.

5 Ἰθόξ: of the ι only the upper curve is visible; Κ is also possible.

Translation notes

5 Ἰθόξ: possibly a form of ἵππος "horse" (Crum CD p. 829b), compare the form in P. Lond. IV 1631 col. 4 l. 10 (ἵππος); alternatively this word could be restored as Ἰθόξ, "wagon, cart" (Crum CD p. 26a).

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¹According to T.C. Petersen’s entry for this text in the Beinecke Library’s computerised catalogue.
FRAGMENT

Christie's "28" c. 85 (h) x c. 80 (w) mm. VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 68

Preservation: 7 incomplete lines and part of the top and left margins are preserved.
Palaeography: a right-sloping majuscule hand with cursive tendencies and some ligatures (e.g. επ 1. 5).
Provenance: unknown.
Acquisition: see §2.5.

This text is too fragmentary for comment beyond the fact that the garden/Tesnê is mentioned.

1† πενείτι[[ωτ νεξνεκαντίφκε NN ...
2 ΝΣιπικίβ.
3 Χς πξογος η...
4 ευοςπν ετευμενη...
5 επιωκετεβιℓή]
6 εακικ (+3)οιπιπεπα...
7 η(43)[

Opening formula (1) Our father [is the one who writes to his son NN ...] (2)
of Apa B(-) ...

Report? (3) The account (λόγος) of ... (4) in the garden/Tesnê ... (5)
... (6) ... Papa (?) ... (7) ...

Transcription notes

1 ?: this extends well above l. 1 and almost down to the level of l. 3.
6 .[ ]: all that is visible here is a vertical stroke.
106

FRAGMENT

Christie's "7" 72 (w) x at least 95 (h) mm.¹ VIIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 68

Preservation: the first 7 lines and the upper and right margins are partially preserved.
The lower part of this papyrus is covered with a muddy substance which obscures ll. 6-7.

Palaeography: a competent majuscule hand with some ligatures. Minuscule H.
Provenance: unknown.
Acquisition: see §2.5.

This fragmentary text mentions an Apa Iohannes.

1— portrays + peneiwt metiC2anei mnpaqhpe
2
3 1.α.....NNEMNT
4 1.α 1.πα i of 2.αnnnc
5 1(±5)tei
6 1(±3)
7 1(±3)

Opening formula (1) + Our father is the one who] writes to his son (2) ... ... (3) ... (4) ... Apa Iohannes ... (5-7) ...

Transcription notes

3 1.α.....NNEMNT: the first letter may be a Π or Η; following the Α may be ΝΔΡ or ΝΔΙ. The word Α.ΝΔΡ.ΠΙΜΟΞ cannot be read.

NNEMNT: this may involve the word for "west" (Crum CD p. 56a εΜΝΤ) or the abstract prefix ΜΝΤ- (Crum CD p. 176a).

¹The height of the papyrus is uncertain because it is folded over.

368
107

FRAGMENT

Christie's "1"(B) 28 (h) x 106 (w) mm. VIIth C.
Papyrus Plate 41
Preservation: 2 lines and possibly all margins are preserved. See below for the earlier text written on this papyrus.
Palaeography: a large, right-sloping majuscule hand with some ligatures. Minuscule H.
Provenance: unknown.
Acquisition: see §2.5.

(B)

1→ πενειωτ πετεκται τι
2 ωιρε καυς

Opening formula (1) Our father is the one who writes to his (2) son Klouj

FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

Christie's "1"(A) Plate 41
Preservation: 4 lines and only the right margin preserved.
Palaeography: a large, right-sloping majuscule hand with some ligatures which is similar to the one found in no. 12.

1† Τ...[
2 Ρμοβ κ < ιντιτοπ Πεξενι τι
3 ...ε εικ 2'Ηντιτε ουντετιν'[ι
4 ]Πι'τι[ ]ι
2 Ρμοβ Χ = ινερ, ινδικτιονος

(1) ... (2) it/him for (υπερ) indication-year (ινδικτ(ων)) 6 ... (3) ... Behold, you have ... (4) ...

Transcription notes

2 Πεξενι τι: possibly interpret as Πεξενι τι or Πεξενι τι "we said that ...".
108

**FRAGMENT**

Christie's "2"(B) 38 (h) x 148 (w) mm. VIIIth C.

Papyrus Plate 68

**Preservation:** 2 lines and the upper and left margins are preserved. On side (A) there is a fragment of a protocol in faded brown ink.

**Palaeography:** a large majuscule hand with ligatures.

**Provenance:** unknown.

**Acquisition:** see §2.5.

This text simply preserves the beginning of the νεμειώτε τιτεςδη formula.

(B)

1† +

2  + νεμειώτε τιτεςδη μπη- + Our father is the one who writes to his

3  1.[...]

**Transcription notes**

2 +: the right end of the horizontal curves down to the right.
CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, an attempt has been made to ascertain not only whether certain unprovenanced documents relate to an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo but also whether the Bawit or Titkooh monastery was their likely place of origin. I have been able to associate a number of documents, some of which are previously published, with one or other of the monasteries. However, the provenance of some texts will remain uncertain until new evidence comes to light. Such evidence may be provided by the unpublished material excavated at Bawit which is currently being researched by scholars in France and Germany.

Analysis of the documents edited in this thesis, the majority of which are unpublished, has shown that texts written by monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome cannot automatically be assigned to the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo rather than the Titkooh monastery of this name (§3.5). It may be the case that there were other monasteries of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite nome besides the ones at Bawit and Titkooh, because the cult of Apa Apollo had a large following in this area (§3.2.2).

The monastery of Apa Apollo designated as "to the south of Shmoun" in a few texts may be the Bawit monastery because it was more immediately south of Shmoun than Titkooh was. It is interesting to note that, while several texts specify the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo, none actually name Bawit as their location. The Bawit monastery may have been the "unmarked" monastery of Apa Apollo, i.e. the one which was intended when no specific location was specified.

Unpublished papyri relating to the Titkooh monastery are edited in this thesis and they supplement the evidence for this monastery already provided by a small number of Coptic and Greek papyri. Monks from this monastery, and from an unspecified Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, are shown to have been involved in collecting aparchê for their monastery and other monasteries. The monastery's contact with, and possibly land-ownership in, the Faiyum is attested in some of the documents.
Monks of the Titkooh monastery of Apa Apollo also appear to be connected with documents which begin with the epistolary formula &NOK PIACON NN EIC2AL. Most of these texts were written by monks of a monastery of Apollo; one is issued by the head of the Titkooh monastery and another by a monk of an unspecified monastery at Titkooh, which is very likely to be that of Apa Apollo.

The place of origin of the documents with the introductory formula PENEIWT PET2AL analysed in Chapter 8 is less easy to establish. Most of them follow a similar format and some even feature the same addressees, scribes and signatories but it is by no means certain that they are all the product of one monastery. A number of them, however, can be directly related to Bawit - one or two of them were excavated there by Jean Clédat - or a monastery of Apa Apollo. The PENEIWT PET2AL formula documents demonstrate the range of different economic and taxation-related activities in which the administration of a monastery was involved.

Manuscript collections which may yield further related material are discussed in Chapter 2. The BL Or. 6201 series (§2.1), and the Michaelides collection which now belongs to the BL and CUL (§2.2), may contain texts from both Hermopolite monasteries since documents beginning with the &NOK PIACON NN EIC2AL and PENEIWT PET2AL formulae, as well as texts specifying a monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkooh, are associated with them.

It has been demonstrated how the two Hermopolite monasteries of Apa Apollo were in contact with one another in antiquity (see §3.4.4), but their exact relationship has yet to be determined. They administered the same cult of Apa Apollo and it may well be that they collaborated in a number of ways. By analysing the documentary formulae and data contained in the texts, I have advanced understanding of the organization and the economic activities of these monasteries. The corpus of texts collected here forms a basis for further research.
APPENDIX 1

GREEK TEXTS RELATING TO HERMOPOLITE MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO

1. UNPROVENANCED GREEK DOCUMENTS MENTIONING MONASTERIES OF APA APOLLO

1. No. 40.

2. P. Vat. Aphrod. 13: a list of requisitioned contributions (διανομαί) including boiled wine, pitch, and acacia/thorn-bushes, pertaining to a monastery of Apa Apollo (μοναστήριον Απα Απολλων) (VIth or VIIth C.).

3. SB VI 9144 (P. Fouad inv. 247): a receipt for the embolê payment of monks of a monastery of Apa Apollo, issued by the pagarch Flavius Ioannes. The quay of Helen (ὁμοιό Ελένης), which may have belonged to the monastery, is mentioned. Dated to Mecheir 10th, indiction-year 7 (VIth C.).

2. GREEK DOCUMENTS MENTIONING THE MONASTERY OF APA APOLLO AT TITKOIS

1. P. Amst. I 47: a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) to the archimandrite Serenos of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (537 C.E.).

2. P. Amst. I 48: a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) to the archimandrite Serenos of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (VIth C.). See P. Amst. I 47.


4. P. Sta. Xyla 5: a debt acknowledgment issued by a man from Moirai to Apa Anouphios, a monk of the Titkois monastery of Apa Apollos (7th September, 539 C.E.).

5. P. Sta. Xyla 6: a fragmentary loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) which mentions the measure of a monastery of Apa Apollos, most probably the one at Titkois (VIth C.).

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1Attributed to the Aphrodito monastery in the ed. pr.; re-assigned to the Titkooh monastery in MacCoull 1991 in the light of P. Gascou 2, and re-dated to the period after the Arab Conquest following VIIIth C. parallels.

2Edited in Remondon 1952 who assigned a date of 589 C.E. and attributed it to the Aphrodito monastery. P. Sta. Xyla p. 46 cites this document as mentioning a monastery of Abba Apollos at Titkois.

3Referred to in Gascou 1981 pp. 219-220.
6. *P. Sta. Xyla* 8ː¹ a debt acknowledgment issued by a man from Magdolon Mega in the Hermopolite nome,² to Aurelius NN, son of Papnouthios, the camel-driver, who is presumably a monk of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (19th March, 535 C.E.).

7. *P. Sta. Xyla* 10: a debt acknowledgment issued by a man from Demetriou to Apa Phibis, a monk of the Titkois monastery of Abba Apollos (19th November, 543 C.E.). See the introduction to no. 20 for this manuscript.


10. *SB VI* 9051 (P. Brux. inv. E. 7640): a loan to be repaid in wheat (with deferred delivery) to Abba Phoibammon who is probably the archimandrite of the monastery of Abba Apollos at Titkois (VIth C.).

11. *SB XVI* 12266 (P. Gascou 1): a VIIth C. receipt for the village of Hermetarion (κωμή Ἠρεμταρίου) Ἐρμηταρίου) for the fourteenth indication-year (in the name of the) monastery of Abba Apollos (μοναστηρίῳ Ἀββά Απόλλωνα) for the boat of Sar(ό). Written by Pekysios the gnostē (γνωστή). Dated to Pharmouthi 3rd, indication-year 14. The monastery in question here is most probably the one at Titkois because it is associated with *SB XVI* 12267 (see below). The monastery may have had taxable holdings in Hermetarion, which is near Titkois/Titkois.³

12 *SB XVI* 12267 (P. Gascou 2): a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery). The protocometes of Sentryphis owes Aurelius Apollo son of Horus, a monk [of the monastery of Apa Apollo on the mount] of Titkois, some wine (13th July, 540 C.E.). This manuscript was acquired by J. Gascou in 1977 from an antiquities dealer in Cairo together with *SB XVI* 12266 (see above) from a lot of manuscripts in which a monastery of Apa Apollo was "fréquemment mentionné" (Gascou 1981 p. 219).

13. *SB XVI* 12401 (P. Vindob. Barbara 266):⁴ a loan to be repaid in wine (with deferred delivery) to the Monastery of Abba Apollos at Titkois by two men from Tanemois (590 C.E.). This manuscript may have been written in the same hand as P. Vindob. Barbara 267 which mentions ἀββά "Ἀπολλωνᾶτος".⁵

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¹Gascou 1994 p. 181 suggests that *P. Sta. Xyla* 13 may belong to this manuscript.
²See Gascou 1994 p. 180 for the translation of this place name.
⁴This document is to be analysed by N. Kruit in an article to be published in a forthcoming volume of *Tyche*.
⁵Harrauer and Sijpesteijn 1982 p. 299 no. 7.
3.

GREEK DOCUMENTS MENTIONING TITKOIS

2. P. Cair. inv. 10585.10: a list of Hermopolite and Arsinoite place names (IIIrd C.).
3. P. Cair. Preis. 30 (P. Cair. inv. 10565) ΤΕΤΚΩΕΩΣ ll. 20, 37, 47, 60, 80, 98, 100, 116, and 139; ΤΕΤΚΩΕΩΣ ll. 90: a list of payments made by villages in the southern Hermopolite nome (IVth C.).
4. P. Lond. V 1899 (July 18th, 600 C.E.): a document of uncertain character which is issued by someone from Tanemois and mentions a proestos called Isaac.
5. P. Ryl. II 206.30: a corn account which mentions ΤΕΤΚΩΕΩΣ (end IIIrd C.).
6. P. Ryl. II 406 verso: an account of payments mentioning ΤΕΤΚΩΕΩΣ (187/189 C.E.)
7. P. Schøyen 89/5 (unpublished, see §2.4.1).
8. SPP V 119 recto II.3,5: a document concerning a lease (266 C.E.).
9. SPP XX 257: a list of Hermopolite place names mentioning ΤΕΤΚΟΕΩΣ (l. 10) (VI-VIIth C.).
10. Papyrus list of δημοσία payments belonging to a private collection, edited in Husson 1991 (see §3.4.1).

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1Edited in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1977; the reading of ΤΕΤΚΩΕΩΣ was later made by them in 1978 p. 274.
3See the introduction to P. Mich. XIII 664.
4Harrauer and Sijpesteijn 1982 p. 299 and P. Sta. Xyla p. 46 include this papyrus in a list of texts which mention the monastery of Apa Apollo at Titkois.
5See the corrigenda listed in BL VIII p. 475.

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APPENDIX 2

TWO COPTIC DOCUMENTS FROM WADI SARGA

TEXT A

ἈΝΩΚ ΝΑΚΩΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΕΑΙ FORMULA DOCUMENT (?)

UNDERTAKING TO REPAY DEBT

WS 166 188 (h) x 115 (w) mm. VII-VIIIth C.¹
Inv. no. BL Or. 9035 (81) No plate
Papyrus
Preservation: (A) 17 lines and all but the lower margins are preserved; the text is effaced and very illegible. It appears to have deteriorated since Crum made his transcription (WS 166) and some of his readings can no longer be made. (B) (perpendicular to text on (A)) three marks made in a different ink to text on (A).
Provenance: excavated at Wadi Sarga by Mr R. Campbell Thompson in winter 1913-1914.
Acquisition: presented to the BM by the Byzantine Research Fund.

This text is written in standard Sahidic. Germane the carpenter of the Monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga has borrowed a solidus from a monk belonging to his monastery for a term of three months. The repayment is to be made in cheese.

¹The non-literary texts from Wadi Sarga can be dated from the middle of the VIth C. to the VIIIth C. C.E. from the evidence of coins and Greek-Arabic protocols.
Parties

(1) + I brother (πασχέω) Germane, (2) the carpenter of the holy rock (πέτρα) (3) ... the city (πόλις) ... (4) [I am writing] to my brother (5) the deacon (διάκων) ... the monk (μοναχός) (6) of this same monastery (μοναστηριον), in this same region.

Debt

(7) Whereas (ἐπείδή) I asked (παρακαλέω) (8) you, you requested (αἰτεῖν) a solidus (άλοκόττινος) (9) ... need (χρεῖα) and my necessity (ἀνάγκη),

Date

from (10) namely from today, which is day (11) eighteen of Tybi of this (12) very year, the tenth (δεκατός) indication-year (ιεδικτὼν),

until (13) until day eighteen of Pharmouthi (14) of this same year (Greek) of the same indication,

Repayment

(Coptic) that I give you for (16) its satisfaction a hots-jar of cheese. (17) These things then (ὁδιν), by the will of [God] ...

Transcription notes

17 Restore ΠΝΟΥΤΕ following this line.
**Translation notes**

1 ἘΡΜΑΝΕ: this name occurs several times at Wadi Sarga,¹ in one instance referring to the προεστὸς of the Monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga (WS no. 344); a saint of this name is also mentioned in inscriptions and on ostraca (see index WS p. 221). A ἘΡΜΑΝΕ also occurs in no. 29.

2 ΦΑΘΙ: for carpenters in inscriptions from Bawit, see Krause 1991 p. 1293. 
ΠΕΤΡΑ: the monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga is usually described in this way, see WS pp. 6-7.

16 ΜΟΤΝΕ: for occurrences of this term for the satisfaction of a debt, see Crum CD p. 195b (where this papyrus is incorrectly cited as WS 136, and Bodl (P) e 70 is now Bal. no. 127), although its Greek equivalent ἀνάπαυσις is more usual.²

2ΟΤΕ: this measure, which is chiefly a wine measure, is also used for cheese in WS no. 198.³

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¹See WS index p. 221 and Ryl. no. 289.
²This is noted by Crum in the ed. pr., WS p. 137 n. 3.
TEXT B
ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ FORMULA DOCUMENT

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

WS 175  59 (h) x 63 (w) mm.  VII-VIIIth C.¹
Inv. no. BL Or. 9035 (64)  No plate
Papyrus
Preservation: 5 lines and all margins preserved.
Palaeography: despite what Crum recorded in the ed. pr., the whole of this text is written in the same hand. The signature of Daniel at the end of this document is different from the signatures of Daniel recorded in three other papyri with the ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ-formula, see §8.11.
Provenance and Acquisition: as for Appendix 2 text A.

Someone who may be from the diakonia (see §3.13) of the monastery is ordered to make a payment of wine. Daniel is the signatory.

1→ + ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ
2 ΠΑΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ
3 ΝΗΡΝ ΝΜΙ
4 γυν αλυ κδ α μ [ ]
5 + ΔΑΝΙΗΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΗ

4 γίνεται οίνου κάδος/κνίδιον μην (??) 5 ΣΤΟΙΧΗ

Parties
(1) + Our father [is the one who writes to his son (?) ...]
(2) the one of the diakonia (διακονία) (?) ...
Order
(3) wine (οίνος) to ...
(4 Greek) Total: 1 kados/knidion -vessel of wine,
Date
in the month of (?) ...
Signatory
(5 Coptic) + Daniel agrees (ΣΤΟΙΧΗ).

Transcription notes
1 Restore ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ ΜΠΙΨΨΗΡΕ.
2 ΔΑΙΚΟΝΙΑ: a restoration of ΔΑΙΚΟΝ "of the deacon (διάκων)" is also possible.

¹See note to the date of Appendix 2 text A..
Restore ἘΞ ΤΙ ΟΥΞ ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ/ΚΑΔΟϹ (κνίδιον or κάδος) (see note to l. 4) in the lacuna before l. 3, if the reading in l. 4 of κδ/α is correct. Alternatively a Coptic equivalent of κνίδιον/κάδος may have been written here.¹

3 Nu[ː] one would expect the name of the recipient here, comparing the format of other ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΞΩΙ-formula orders for payment in wine, nos. 81 and 82.

4 κδ/α: either κνίδιον or κάδος is possible here. In another ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΞΩΙ formula order for payment in wine signed by another Daniel, no. 81, κάδος is the measure used. The letter following κδ/α is not necessarily an α as Crum transcribed.

¹See no. 83, a ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΒςΞΩΙ-formula text, where αίηκομα and its Coptic equivalent are used.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(* denotes a non-standard abbreviation, used only in this thesis)

BL = British Library, London
BL Or. = Manuscript from the British Library Oriental Collections
BM = British Museum, London
BM EA = Item from the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum
*Christie's = Christie, Manson and Woods Ltd., St. James's, London
*CMAA Green = Papyrus from the Green Collection, Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
CUL = Cambridge University Library
CUL Michael. = Papyrus from the collection of George Michaelides now owned by Cambridge University Library
ed. pr. = editio princeps
EEF = Egypt Exploration Fund
EES = Egypt Exploration Society
"Ex-von Scherling" = Papyrus formerly in the collection of Erik von Scherling
fasc. = fascicule
inv. no. = inventory number
IFAO = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
l. = line
ms. = manuscript
n. = note
NN = nomen vel nomina
no. = number
p. = page
P. Byrd = Papyrus from the private collection of Jonathan Byrd
P. CtYBR = Papyrus from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
P. Duk. = Papyrus from the Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
P. Laur. = Papyrus from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
P. Louvre = Papyrus from the Département des antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre, Paris
P. Med. copto = Coptic papyrus from the Università Cattolica di Milano
P. Meyer = Papyrus donated to the Lakeview Center for the Arts and Sciences, Peoria, Illinois by Richard T. Meyer (N.B. to be distinguished from the publication P. Meyer in the Abbreviations section of the Bibliography)
P. Mich. = Papyrus from the Special Collections Library, University Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

P. Miss. = Papyrus from the John Davis Williams Library, The University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi

P. Palau-Ribes = Papyrus from the Palau-Ribes Collection, Barcelona

P. Princeton = Papyrus from the Princeton University Collections, Princeton, New Jersey

*P. Schøyen = Papyrus from the Schøyen Collection, Oslo/London

pl. = plate

pt = part

SAE = Service des antiquités de l'Égypte

suppl. = supplement

vol. = volume
BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

These mostly follow the conventions of the following (in descending order of priority where abbreviations differ):

1. L'Année philologique

AB = Analecta Bollandiana (Paris/Brussels, 1882-)
Aegyptus = Aegyptus, Rivista italiana di egittologia e papirologia (Milan, 1920-)
Annales islamologiques = Annales islamologiques (Cairo, 1963-)
APEL I = A. Grohmann ed., Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library vol. I Protocols and legal texts (Cairo, 1934)
APF = Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1901-)
BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (1963-)
BGU = Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
II = (1898)
Bibliologia = Bibliologia, Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia (Turnhout, 1983-)
BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo, 1901-)
BKU = Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (latter Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Koptische Urkunden (Berlin)
II.1 = (1904)
BL = Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten (1922-)
BM = W.E. Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1905)

BO = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden, 1943-)

BSAC = Bulletin de Société d’Archéologie Copte (Cairo, 1935-)

BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d’égypologie (Paris, 1949-)

BulletCPS = Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies (Cairo, 1985-)

Byzantion = Byzantion, Revue internationale des études byzantines (Paris/Brussels etc., 1924-)

ByzZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1892-)

CE = Chronique d’Égypte, Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (Brussels, 1925-)


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CO = W.E. Crum, Coptic ostraca from the collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and others (London, 1902)


CPR = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri (Vienna)

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XII = M.R.M. Hasitzka ed., Koptische Texte (1987)


CRAI = Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1857-)

CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris/Louvain)


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JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston)

JEAS = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London, 1914-)

JJurPap = The Journal of juristic papyrology (Warsaw, 1946-)

JÖByz = Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (Vienna, 1951-)

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (of Great Britain and Ireland) (London, 1834-)

JThS = Journal of Theological Studies (Oxford, 1900)

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MMAF = *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*

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EGYPT FROM THE FAIYUM TO EHRET
EGYPT FROM BENI HASAN TO APHRODITO
PLATE 3

NO. 2
PLATE 7

NO. 9 SIDE (A)
NO. 27
P. Princeton Inv.Nr. AM 15960 G

NO. 29 side (A)
PLATE 27

NO. 37
PLATE 30

NO. 46
PLATE 36

NO. 51
PLATE 40

NO. 57
NO. 63 side (B)
PLATE 53

Michaelides (papyrus)

1232 Side A

NO. 73
PLATE 54

No. 115.  (Original size.)
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NO. 83
NO. 89 side (B)

NO. 89 side (A)
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