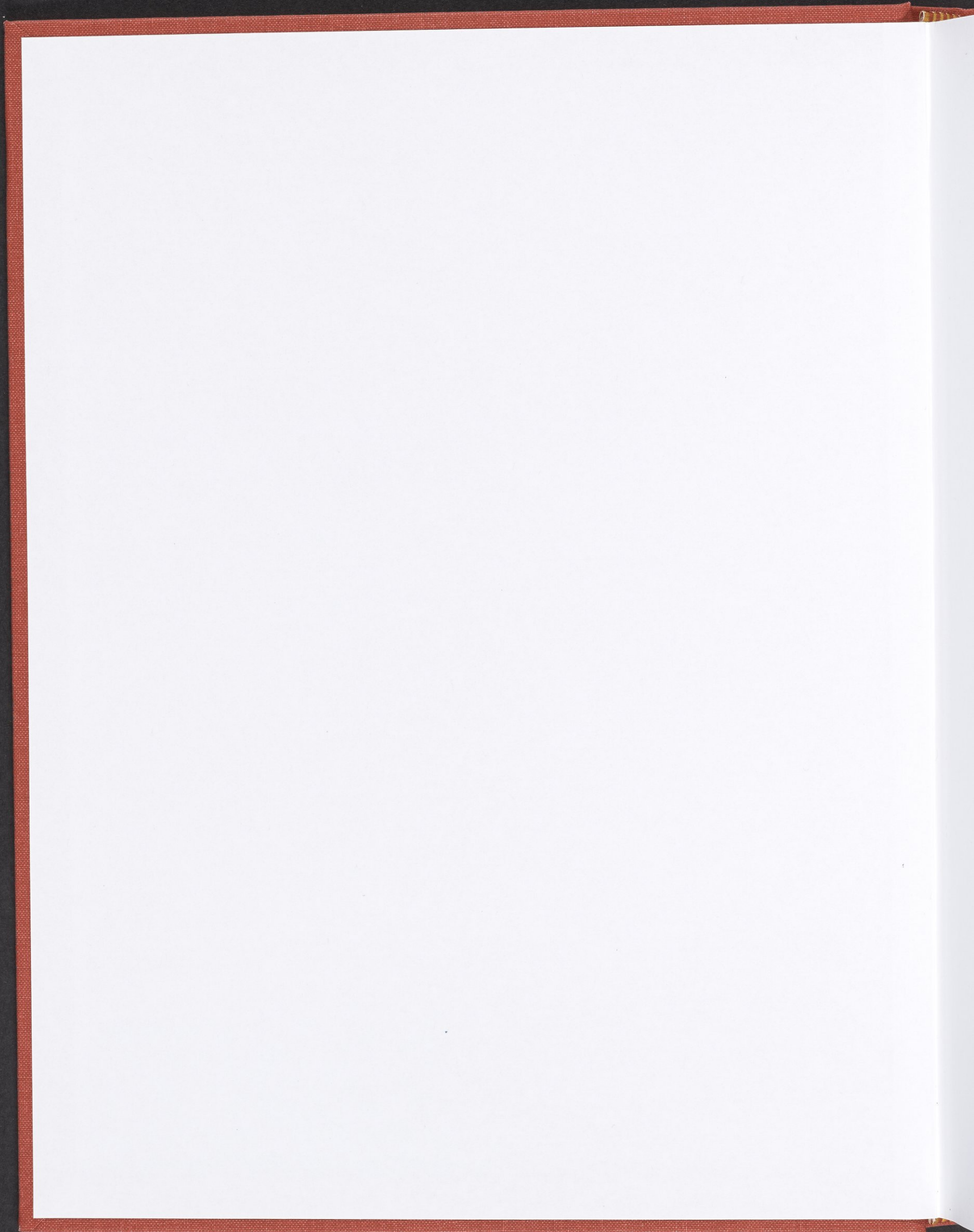


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**IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES:  
ORDERS FROM THE MONASTERY OF APOLLO AT BAWIT**

**AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY**

Series Editor  
Ann Ellis Hanson

Number 43

**It is our Father who Writes:  
Orders from the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit**

by  
**S.J. Clackson**

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American Society of Papyrologists  
Cincinnati, Ohio

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This book is dedicated to the staff of Oncology Unit, Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge, the doctors and nurses of the Bridge Street Surgery, Cambridge and the palliative care team of the Laurels Surgeries, Cambridge, and in particular the following individuals:

Helena Earle, Caroline Stephens, Pat Westcott, Charles Wilson, Simon Woods.



### **Preface**

This edition was completed under rather unusual circumstances: in May 2003 I was diagnosed with terminal cancer and given weeks or perhaps months to live. It was predicted that the metastases in my brain could cause temporary memory loss (nothing new there!) and perhaps other elements of weird brain pattern (ditto!). The reader will undoubtedly find discrepancies and omissions in addition to those usually allowed for in a publication of this nature, given the *Weltanschauung* produced by such a diagnosis. Unlike my fellow countrymen who were extinguished with little or no notice, *P. Michael's* David Stewart Crawford (1904-1952) and *P. Bal's* Paul Eric Kahle (1923-1952), I was given the doubtful luxury of some forewarning of my imminent death. I must admit, however, that I continued to prioritise my husband, James, and our highly-enjoyable lifestyle over work-related issues. Our cat, Nantucket, and friends provided many distractions which have resulted in the sizeable body of papyrological transcriptions made by me but left unpublished which is now accessible through the benevolence of the Archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford University.

[The above preface was practically the last work Sarah was able to do on this book. In preparing it for publication I have been conscious that this edition will fall short of the standard that she would have liked. She had planned to do substantial work on the Introductory Chapter, and would doubtless have amplified her commentary and made improved readings on a number of the texts. I have tried to keep this book as much Sarah's work, unfinished though it is, as possible. Wherever I have added material, usually to convey Sarah's unincorporated notes on a text, I have done so in square brackets [ ], and anything not so enclosed was written by Sarah herself. I was greatly helped in the preparation by a number of individuals. Georg Schmelz compiled the indexes, Anne Boud'hors, Paul Dilley, Terry Wilfong and Petra Sijpesteijn checked the texts, Charles Crowther scanned the plates and Anne Boud'hors, Dominique Bénazeth, Sebastian Richter, Alan Bowman and others took time to answer questions of detail.  
James Clackson]

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# PART I

## INTRODUCTION

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Chapter 101 is the hundredth chapter of the book, which contains the hundredth part of the book.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first part, Part I, contains the first 50 chapters. The second part, Part II, contains the remaining 50 chapters. Each part is further divided into five sections, each containing 10 chapters. The chapters are numbered sequentially from 1 to 100. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is suitable for use as a textbook or reference work. The book is published by the publisher, and is available in both print and electronic formats. The book is a valuable resource for students and researchers alike, and is highly recommended for those interested in the subject matter.

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## OVERVIEW OF THE TEXTS

Documents edited here are concerned with the day-to-day administration of an Egyptian monastery in the 8th century. Most of the documents can be linked with the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit, and they contribute to the growing body of documentation from this important monastery which has been published within the last decade.<sup>1</sup>

The central core of this volume is formed by the orders issued by a monastic superior, probably the head of the monastery himself, to various subordinates. Thirteen of these texts have been published previously (9, 11, 16, 26, 29, 37, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 60, and 88). In addition, associated texts written earlier on the same piece of papyrus as the orders are also published. They are predominantly letters and contracts, mostly now in a very fragmentary state. Two papyri have *Our father*-formula texts on both sides (2/3 and 7/8).

### I.1 Structure of the orders

Most of the orders begin with the standard formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΜΠΧΩΗΡΕ 'It is our father who writes to his son'. This is found in 71 texts edited here, and also in some related unpublished papyri which could not be included in this edition. It is henceforth referred to as the '*Our father*-formula'. Some texts record variants of this formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ (No. 35); ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΣΖΑ(Ε)Ι (Nos. 40 and 42); and No. 22, ΝΝ ΠΕΠΡΟΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ.

All of the texts are short, usually under ten lines long although they range from three (No. 32) to at least nineteen (No. 50) lines long. All are written on papyrus, except for No. 49 which was written on an ostrakon (this text survives only in a transcription made by Jean Clédat). Apart from four or five of the texts, the documents take up just one side of the writing material (exceptions: Nos. 15, 25, 37, 47, and 62 (?)). 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 I.12. Some of the texts can be grouped together because they involve the same addressees, scribes or signatories.

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 *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 20). For conciseness only standard Sahidic forms are used below and the texts should be referred to individually for variants.

<b>Opening formula</b>	ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΜΠΧΩΗΡΕ (/ΝΝΧΩΗΡΕ/other) ΝΝ <sup>2</sup>
<b>Introduction</b>	ΧΕ (ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΛΠΗ) <sup>3</sup>
<b>A) Order for payment</b>	ΤΙ <sup>4</sup> commodity ( <b>Total/Résumé</b> of commodity and value) <sup>5</sup>
<b>B) Invoice</b>	ΕΙΣ ... ΑΙΤΝΟΥ <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For references to recent work, see *O.Bawit/FAO* and Clackson 2004 and 2007.

<sup>2</sup>Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, and 25 are addressed to 'brothers of the poll-tax', and No. 37 is addressed rather elaborately to [Π]ΕΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΣΟΝ ΝΡΕΧΩΜΦΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΛΥΩ ΝΑΓΛΘΟΣ 'his beloved brother, the God-serving, good' Αρα Phoibammon the πρεσβύτερος. The elegant hand in which this text is written suggests that the scribe was used to composing less mundane works than a simple order for payment.

<sup>3</sup>Be so kind (ἀγάπη) in Nos. 26, 37 and 49.

<sup>4</sup>'Give'; No. 37 has the optative form ΜΑΡΟΥΤΙ 'let them give'. In a couple of instances, ΤΙ may be preceded by ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ 'As soon as you receive this note' (No. 40 (ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΣΖΑΕΙ formula) and possibly No. 31).

<sup>5</sup>This is always written in Greek, see Nos. 16, 38, 39, 40 and 41.

<sup>6</sup>'Here is (the commodity) I have sent ...' in Nos. 54 and 55.

C) Receipt	εις ... λαφ-/λαγει ετροοτ(τ) <sup>7</sup>
Date (and scribe)	A) (month) x (day) x indiction x <sup>8</sup> (+ NN έγγραφα) <sup>9</sup> B) μηνί x (day) x indiction x <sup>10</sup> (+ NN έγγραφα) <sup>11</sup> C) μηνί x (day) x indiction x NN <sup>12</sup> D) έγρόφη (month) x (day) x indiction x <sup>13</sup> NN <sup>14</sup> E) έγγραφα NN (month) x (day) x indiction x <sup>15</sup>
Signatory	NN (τι)στοιχει <sup>16</sup>

Two texts (Nos. **26** and **27**) replace the signatory with three crosses. Four texts are inscribed on the back with a docket (Nos. **15**, **25**, **47**, **62**), and another may have had an address or a docket (No. **37**). It is not always easy to tell whether a document had a signatory which was later lost, or never had a signatory at all.

## 1.2 Provenance

Out of the 71 *Our father*-formula texts edited here, five are the result of official excavations. Four were found by Jean Clédât at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit; two of these, both belonging to the Louvre, have already been published: No. **9**,<sup>17</sup> and No. **49**, the only ostrakon with the formula discovered to date.<sup>18</sup> Three Coptic papyri from the site preserving possibly four *Our father*-formula texts are now in the Ismailia Museum, of which Jean Clédât was the first director (Nos. **13**, **36**, and unpublished Ismailia Museum inv.1138).

The provenance of No. **9** has implications for other *Our father*-formula documents. It is addressed to 'the brothers of the poll-tax', as are other texts (see **Table 2**), and is signed by Keri (the Coptic form of Cyrus) as are others, including No. **13**, which was probably excavated at Bawit by Clédât. A signatory called Daniel, who occurs in another document addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax (No. **14**), is also found in three other *Our father*-formula texts, Nos. **15**, **16** and **17**. His signature differs from that of Daniel who occurs as a signatory in a papyrus excavated at Wadi Sarga, No. **60** (*P.Sarga* 175). Although very fragmentary, this order for payment may partially preserve the formula (πενειω[τ πετςζαι ...]).

<sup>7</sup>Here is/are x, I have received it/them' (literally 'it has/they have come into my hands') in Nos. **1.3-4**, **4.2** and **4**, **12.4**, **15.2**. For this formula, see *CPR* IV indices, p. 187 (ει ετροοτ=).

<sup>8</sup>Nos. **29**, **30**, **32**, **35**, and **44**.

<sup>9</sup>NN I have written' in Nos. **5** (which frames the date with a pair of crosses), **9**, **15**, **16**, and **28**. In No. **12** εγρ<sup>α</sup> may be interpreted as έγρόφη 'it was written', because the scribe's name is in the genitive case as though διά 'through' precedes it, compare *P.Bal.* 148.4. See also the transcription note to No. **9.4**.

<sup>10</sup>Nos. **21** and **51**.

<sup>11</sup>NN I have written' in Nos. **25** and **47**; and in Nos. **11** and **18**, both of which frame the date with a pair of crosses.

<sup>12</sup>In the month of x (day) x indiction x NN' in Nos. **1** and **4**.

<sup>13</sup>It was written (month) x (day) x indiction x' in No. **38**.

<sup>14</sup>It was written (month) x (day) x indiction x NN' in No. **14**.

<sup>15</sup>I wrote NN (month) x (day) x indiction x' in No. **39**.

<sup>16</sup>I agree', στοιχε and στοιχι are the most common spellings of στοιχεῖν in the texts. Three texts signed by Georgios (**I.11**)—Nos. **18.5**, **19.6**, and possibly also **20.6**—record στοιχεγε. Gignac (1981) does not record any examples of the interchange between -έω and -εύω exhibited in this variant.

<sup>17</sup>Boud'hors 1995: 29-30.

<sup>18</sup>It is possible that another ostrakon excavated at Bawit, *O.Bawit* 82, also began with this formula.

On examination of the holdings of the manuscripts from the excavations at Wadi Sarga now in the collections of the British Museum and British Library, I found No. **60** to be the only attestation of the *Our father*-formula.<sup>19</sup> Kahle's statement (*P.Bal.*, p. 22, n. 2; recently cited in *P.Köln IX*, p. 205, n. 8) that '[t]he opening phrase ΠΕΝΘΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ (et sim.) indeed occurs several times at Wadi Sarga' should therefore be revised. Whereas I previously posited Aphrodito as the provenance of some unpublished *Our father*-formula texts (Clackson 1993: 68; cited in *P.Köln IX*, p. 204), I now withdraw this suggestion as having no secure foundation from the evidence I have assembled to date (2002).

A provenance of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit may also be assigned with confidence to other texts. No. **43** is written on the back of a document issued by a monk to [(the *dikaion* of?) the monastery] of the holy Apa Apollo (No. **77**). No. **57** is a reproduction of *P.Mon.Apollo 59a*. This document consists of two texts: one with the *Our father*-formula; the other was issued by the archimandrite of a monastery of Apa Apollo on behalf of its *dikaion*. Both texts are written in the same hand and may have designated the same addressee, George. This papyrus may be connected with Bawit if a text written on its other side, *P.Mon.Apollo 54*, is indeed written in the same hand as P.CtYBR inv. 2334 (unpublished) which mentions ΠΑΥΗΤ, possibly to be interpreted as the place name Bawit rather than 'the monastery' (Π-ΑΥΗΤ).

The place names and monasteries mentioned in the *Our father*-formula texts suggest a place of origin in the Hermopolite nome (see **I.13**). It should be noted that some of the place names, such as Pmanallou, Pmanlougā and Pmanranê (*O.Bawit* 21-23), are only otherwise attested in the ostraca excavated at Bawit which now belong to the Louvre. No. **26** mentions ΤΟΥΛΩΡ which may be a place name and is only otherwise attested in an inscription on a wooden lintel believed to have come from Bawit.

### I.3 Date

None of the texts bear a year date. Editors of *Our father*-formula texts have assigned dates ranging from the 6th–8th century CE. Palaeographical analysis of the texts suggests that they date to the 7th–8th century, more usually the 8th century.

### I.4 Previous opinions on this formula

Walter Ewing Crum assumed 'from internal evidence' that No. **4** was from Wadi Sarga,<sup>20</sup> and subsequently published it together with the Greek and Coptic texts excavated at the site (*P.Sarga* 174). As this text contains no place or personal names which might suggest this provenance, it may be concluded that it was the *Our father*-formula, which also occurs in *P.Sarga* 175 (No. **60**), which caused Crum to form this assumption. Crum (*P.Sarga*, p. 22) suggested that the signatory in *P.Sarga* 175 may be the archimandrite Daniel who occurs in *P.Sarga* 87 and 161.

As already mentioned above, Kahle noted that the *Our father*-formula and variants occur 'several times' in texts from Wadi Sarga, although, as has just been demonstrated above, it only occurs in one British Library text excavated there. He did not, however, assume that three Michigan texts, Nos. **1**, **4**, **14**, have this provenance, but remarked that the formula was quite common in unpublished financial documents from Ashmunein in the British Museum (*P.Bal.*, p. 185, §155), specifying BM (now BL) Or. 6201B (146) (which does not bear this formula), 6201B (179) (read 6201A (179)), and 6201B (211).

<sup>19</sup>I am grateful to Morris Bierbrier, and to the staff of the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections for facilitating my study of the unpublished Coptic texts from Wadi Sarga in the British Museum (ostraca) and British Library (papyrus and vellum mss.: BL Or. 9035 (1-164)).

<sup>20</sup>See *P.Sarga*, p. 142.

Drawing on Kahle's analysis, Beatrice Klakowicz (1981: 47) remarked (erroneously?) that the formula occurs in texts from the region extending from Asyut to Abydos. Anneliese Biedenkopf-Ziehner (1983: 44, 226, Tab. V Nr. A 2) has analysed the NN ΠΕΤΡΟΔΑΙ Ν/Ε-NN type of introductory epistolary formula and found that it occurs in 4th–7th or 8th century texts from Ashmunein to the Theban region. In the list of texts she consulted for her study, none bear the *Our father*-formula. Reference should also be made to some noteworthy 'Melitian' NN ΠΕΤΡΟΔΑΙ documents from the 4th century, *P.Lond.* VI 1920, 1921, 1922, and another document of similar date which may also be Melitian, *P.Neph.* I 15.

Most recently, Gesa Schenke has suggested that ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ in the *Our father*-documents may be a personal name, Peneiot (*P.Köln* IX, p. 204–205). This hypothesis is disproved if, as I believe, the signatures at the end of some of the documents preserve the names of some of the men who bore the title 'our father' (I.11).

### 1.5 Analysis of the texts

A possible function of the *Our father*-formula texts is as the type of document employed by the head of the monastery's office when addressing short orders to internal monastery staff. The head of the monastery is designated as ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ 'our father'. His personal authorisation is sometimes attested by his signature but this is lacking in many documents (see I.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 other documents, some of which are now too fragmentary for their purpose to be ascertained.

No. 54 uses the ΩΙΝΕ ΝΟΑ- 'enquire after' formula which is found at the beginning of numerous ostraca belonging to the Louvre which were excavated at Bawit. This formula may also have occurred in No. 47 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 (ταλαίπωρος). It may be that on receipt of Nos. 47 and 54 the scribe would fill out an ostrakon (using the *shine nsa*-formula) with the request for the commodity, and hand it to a person who would be responsible for the delivery. In No. 47, Phoibammon may have earned himself a bad reputation as a delivery man, hence the warning not to use him.

Further connections between documents with the *Our father*-formula and the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo may be provided by a couple of documents. The first of these is No. 24 which is addressed to Apa Petros the steward (οἰκονόμος), and signed by Theodoros.<sup>21</sup> The steward is to give a certain Ammone some clothes in payment for collecting *aparchê* (σὼκ ἀπαρχῆ). [See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 17–23 for *aparchê* collection at Bawit.] The other *Our father*-formula document which may be connected with the Bawit monastery of Apa Apollo, is No. 57 (*P.Mon.Apollo* 59a), mentioned above (I.2), which throws light on the context in which *Our father*-formula documents were produced. Firstly a fragment of papyrus, one side of which had previously been used for a letter (*P.Mon.Apollo* 54),<sup>22</sup> was inscribed with the *Our father*-formula and the beginning of the name of the person addressed (γε-) (*P.Mon.Apollo* 59a). Then the scribe abandoned this text in favour of a new one (*P.Mon.Apollo* 59b), written around *P.Mon.Apollo* 59a. However, instead of writing 'our father' (ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ), he wrote ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΝΠΜΟΝ<sup>Α</sup>ΤΗΡΙΟΝ (sic) ΝΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ<sup>Ϛ</sup> [Ν]ΑΠΑ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΜΑΝ<sup>Α</sup> ΛΥΩ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ] 'the *dikaion* of the monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through Apa Zacharias the archimandrite and [father of the *topos*]'. The addressee is called George and can perhaps be identified as

<sup>21</sup>I am grateful to Dr Monika Hasitzka for informing me about this text in advance of publication.

<sup>22</sup>Note that I stated in *P.Mon.Apollo* that *P.Mon.Apollo* 54 was written after *P.Mon.Apollo* 59.

the intended addressee of *P.Mon.Apollo 59a*. 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 *P.Mon.Apollo 59b* is an official type of document and therefore intended for quite a different purpose from the short and informal *Our father*-formula text, *P.Mon.Apollo 59a*. 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 *Our father*-formula documents (No. 37) 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. 54 and 55, 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. 55 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. 54 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. 54.7).

It is striking that, apart from one ostrakon (No. 49), the *Our father*-formula texts are written on papyrus whereas the *shine nsa*-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 potsherd, and its use might also indicate the higher status of the office from which the *Our father*-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 *Our father*-formula documents (see I.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.

## I.6 Similarities with other types of Coptic documents

The *Our father*-formula tax receipts can be compared with the NN ΠΕΤΣΔΙ-formula, including tax receipts which are issued and signed by people in positions of authority such as the superior of a monastery, a βουθός, or a priest. A *dêmosion* receipt with this formula, issued by Peter the *proestôs*, No. 22, is included here because of compelling evidence linking it with the Bawit *Our father*-formula texts. Published NN ΠΕΤΣΔΙ-formula tax receipts include *P.Bal.* 132–134, 136, 145–147, *CPR* IV 10; and *P.Mich. inv.* 4556 (Heisler 1984: 125).

TWO NN ΠΕΤΣΔΙ-formula texts, *P.CrumST* 329–330, bear similarities to No. 52 (*P.Köln* IX 386), in that both contain the injunction ἄλλὰ μηπράμελει 'but do not be negligent!' with which this text ends.

There are also similarities of format between some of the *Our father*-formula texts and documents beginning with the NN ΠΕΦΣΔΙ-formula (*P.Sarga* 87, 89, 182, 184); and with the NN ΕΦΣΔΙ formula (*P.Sarga* 185 and 187).

### I.7 Poll-tax documents

At least a dozen texts are concerned with poll-tax contributions of monks from the monastery, as well as outsiders, including monks of at least one other monastery.<sup>23</sup> The term for poll-tax used in these texts is ἀνδρισμός, which is typical of tax receipts from the Hermopolite; the more usual διάγραφον is found in texts from the Theban region.<sup>24</sup> Ten orders are issued directly to ‘the brothers of the poll-tax’: from these texts it can be seen that they were responsible for the administration of the handling of these tax payments from contributors both from within the monastery and outside in other monasteries and settlements (Nos. **1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 25**).<sup>25</sup> Their job was to keep a record of who had paid, including assessing payments made in kind, as well as noting who did not have to pay, and enforcing payment. The issuer of the documents is the person who determines who should and should not pay poll-tax. One document concerned with poll-tax payment, No. **12**, is addressed to an individual, a rug-dealer, who may have paid his tax with two rugs. It is highly likely that he was a monk, probably belonging to the Apollo monastery.

The poll-tax payments recorded in these texts are half a solidus (in No. **4** represented by four sacks) and one solidus (Nos. **1** and **25**).<sup>26</sup> In all but one of the texts (No. **25**), the tax is paid in kind, with sacks, rugs or wine. In No. **14** 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. **5.2, 9.2, 11.3**). The word which I interpret as ‘hold liable’ is (Α)ΜΑΖΕ which is also found in other tax documents from the monastery (*P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 24). The term has a range of meanings listed by Crum (*Dict.*, p. 10a, ΑΜΑΖΤΕ): ‘seize, arrest’ as well as ‘be in possession of’. In No. **9** 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.

In No. **5**, Phoibamon ΠΑΠΜΑΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΠ ‘of the piggery’ is not given the title ‘brother’ or ‘monk’ and so could be one of the lay people connected with the monastery. In only one document, No. **11**, is the person whose liability is waived specified as a monk, and he is described as being from the monastery (ΤΟΥ) of Phouu. 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 Phouu. A similar role is played by the Apa Apollo monastery when it administers the collection of *aparchê* for other monasteries as well as itself.

### I.8 Addressees

Many of the addressees (see **Table 2**) have the monastic title Papa (ΠΑΠΑ: Nos. **18, 20, 28, 45, 46, 47** and possibly **64**) or Apa (ΑΠΑ: Nos. **16, 24, 37, 40, 48**).<sup>27</sup> One man is titled πρεσβύτερος (No. **37**). Other titles

<sup>23</sup>These texts were discussed briefly by Clackson 2004 and 2007.

<sup>24</sup>On the poll-tax in late Byzantine and early Arab Egypt, see Poll 1999, esp. table 1, and p. 252 n. 84.

<sup>25</sup>For poll-tax in the Arab period, see Simonsen 1988: 10–12, and chapter 9, esp. pp. 98–99 and 101; *P.Bal.*, p. 43, and Husselman 1951: 332–338.

<sup>26</sup>A payment of one solidus is recorded in seventy-nine of the one hundred and three Coptic poll-tax ostraca from Medinet Habu analysed in Simonsen 1988: 101–102, although payments could range from a third of a tremissis to two solidi depending on an individual’s assessment.

<sup>27</sup>Not including Apa Noc in No. **49**.

or occupations assigned to addressees are that of oil-dealer (see below), rug-dealer (No. 12), woollen-garments-seller (ϣλ νβελεωτ No. 44), and *sah* (σαζ), literally 'writer', (Nos. 15, 47, 50, 58). No. 15 is addressed to a *sah* and a builder.

Apart from the poll-tax documents described above, only two documents are addressed to bodies of people:<sup>28</sup> one to 'Apa Victor and the brothers' (No. 16), and one to the 'brothers of the *pistikos*' (No. 17). The title πιστικός is found in Greek and Coptic papyri dating from the 3rd–8th century. *CPR* II mentions that this title also occurs in K2568, and has been interpreted generally as a confidential agent (in, for example, *P.Monac.* 8.2, 4; p. 93), corresponding to the Arabic *amîn* (in, for example, *P.Bodl.Arab.* II l. 12, *P.Heid.Arab.* I, p. 50); as a spokesman for the Arab administration on tax-collection (in, for example, *SPP* X 29), and as a ship's master (in, for example, *P.Lond.* IV 1341.12). Kahle equated this title with the Coptic ωλλιογ, and identified a specifically taxation-related usage in Coptic texts, see 25.4. In *P.Lond.* IV 1600 this title appears to be applied to a woman.

Four orders for payment in wild chickling, barley, wheat and a commodity measured in artabas are addressed to an oil-dealer named Papa Shenoute.<sup>29</sup> That this is the same man in all three texts is confirmed by the fact that two of them are signed by a man named Georgios. It would be difficult to identify this Shenoute with Shenoute the builder, the addressee in No. 15.

Two orders for payment in wine, Nos. 39 and 40, 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. 23 and 29).

### I.9 Scribes

A number of different scribes feature in the texts (see **Table 3**), and there may be a few instances of the same scribe writing more than one document. Victor appears to have written Nos. 15 and 16. There appear to be two or three scribes called Georgios: one wrote Nos. 3, 4, and probably 2, whilst another was responsible for No. 9 and perhaps Nos. 6 and 8. It may be that No. 5 was written by this George (although issued on the same day as No. 4 which I have assigned to the other Georgios!). It may also be that No. 5 was written by a third scribe called George. The scribe Anoup, who wrote No. 25, may also have written No. 18.<sup>30</sup> A scribe called Ioanes is named in No. 36, which was excavated at Bawit by Clédat. Nos. 14 and 28 were written by two different scribes with the name Elias.

### I.10 Dates recorded in the documents

The dates recorded in the poll-tax documents are given in **Table 1**.

### I.11 Signatories

At least nine different signatories appear in the texts. Germanos (No. 21), Petre (No. 22), Phib (No. 23), and Theodorus (No. 24) occur once each; two are signed with the triple cross (†††) of an illiterate signatory (Nos. 26 and 27); and one has a subscription resembling a monogram (No. 48). [SJC thought it possible that the signatories always signed with a different pen.] Other documents have no signatory, and it seems that signatories were not required for orders involving low-cost commodities.

<sup>28</sup>No. 19 may also have been addressed to more than one person.

<sup>29</sup>Nos. 18, 20, 28, and 46.

<sup>30</sup>Both documents were written in Choiak albeit in different years; they employ different abbreviations for Choiak but this need not necessarily disprove that they were written by the same scribe.

Twenty documents bear the signature of Georgios, Keri,<sup>31</sup> or Daniel.<sup>32</sup> The signatures of Keri and Daniel (see **I.1** for their significance in assigning a provenance to the texts) are written in a large, inexpert majuscule which appears crude in contrast with the scribal hands.<sup>33</sup> The signature of Georgios is written in a flamboyant hand and appears in three orders for payment (Nos. **18**, **19**, and **20**). His signature is made all the more distinctive by the unusual form of  $\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  he employs,  $\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ , see **I.1**. It may be that this Georgios also signs at least a dozen unpublished documents from the BL Or. 6201 series, and possibly P.Camb. UL Green 14.<sup>34</sup> In these texts, however, he uses the forms  $\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\iota$  and  $\sigma\tau\eta\chi\epsilon$  but never  $\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ .

A striking sequence emerges on analysing the dates of the documents in which these three signatories appear. Georgios is attested for indiction-years 6 and 7;<sup>35</sup> Daniel is attested for indiction-years 8 and 9; and Keri is attested for indiction years 11-13.<sup>36</sup> If these dates can be relied upon, and the identification of these signatories as heads of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit is correct, the *Our father*-formula documents may preserve the names of three successive heads of the monastery.<sup>37</sup> It may be a coincidence of the preservation of the dated documents, but the sequence is noteworthy. Another 'coincidence' which should be considered is that Georgios and Daniel are named as archimandrites of an Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo in *P.Mon.Apollo* 25 and 26.

### I.12 Documents written on 'recycled' papyri

Many *Our father*-formula texts are written on papyrus which has already been inscribed. Earlier texts include letters (Nos. **1**, **6**, **17**, **19**, **20**, **21**, **41**, **50**, **51**, **71**), a legal document concerning the *dikaion* of a monastery (No. **4**), and an order for payment (No. **28**) which may be another *Our father*-formula text. Fragments of protocols may be found in Nos. **18**, **35**, **68**, and possibly **64**. Some of the papyri may originally have been much larger and bear only a fraction of their original text.<sup>38</sup> Two of the papyri were originally inscribed with a Greek text (Nos. **32** and **45**). The following contain text which is too damaged or fragmentary for its content to be determined: Nos. **12**, **31**, **38**, **56**, **61**, and **62**.

One text (No. **57**) 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 **I.5** for an analysis of this text.

<sup>31</sup>A further two *Our father*-formula documents signed by Keri are now in the collection of the Äg. Inst. Köln: P.Colon. 10.229, 10.040. Leslie MacCoull also informs me that there is a Keri text in the collection of the Scriptorium (formerly at Grand Haven MI, now moved to Orlando FL where it joins The Holy Land Experience).

<sup>32</sup>The ends of eighteen documents are not preserved: Nos. **33**, **39**, **42**, **45**, **46**, **49**, **50**, **56**, **57**, **61**, **62**, **64**, **65**, **66**, **68**, **69**, **70**, **71**.

<sup>33</sup>Compare the signature of Enoch in *P.Sarga* 167(?), 169, 170, 171, 173, 176, and 182.

<sup>34</sup>In his transcription of this text, Paul Kahle noted that the hand of Georgios was the same as the one found in 'BL Or. 6201 AB' which suggests that he believed that the same Georgios signed the BL Or. 6201 series texts.

<sup>35</sup>No date is recorded in Nos. **13** and **20**.

<sup>36</sup>Note also that Phib is attested as a signatory for year 11 in No. **23**, and Theodorus for year 12 in No. **24**, but these documents may date to other indiction cycles.

<sup>37</sup>Although Daniel appears to have been the head for only a period of two years, the same cannot definitely be claimed for Georgios and Keri.

<sup>38</sup>See note on the preservation of No. **29**.



### I.13 Place names in the texts

#### Introduction

This section collects place names mentioned in the texts. Of the names which can be read with certainty, three can be securely located within the Hermopolite nome: Pmanle (Nos. 23.2 and 29.2); Taparou (No. 20.3) which is very near to Titkooh; and Tepôt (No. 84.3). If Tbershê (No. 25.3 and 9) is correctly identified as el-Bersha, this was situated just south of Antinoe which is itself mentioned in two texts (Nos. 12.5, 88.2). Texts with no secure location include Ehbooue (εξβοουε, No. 51.3) and Teusia (τευσια, No. 53.3), which is also found in two *shine nsa*-formula ostraca which may be from Bawit.

A number of place names begin with ΠΜΛ Ν/Μ- 'the place of ...' The Coptic term ΜΛ generally means 'place', but can have specific meanings such as 'world', 'dwelling-place', 'chamber, (monk's) cell', 'temple, shrine or monastery' (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 15), or 'part, district'.<sup>39</sup> Most of the places which incorporate ΠΜΛ Ν/Μ- have yet to be located although a number of them may have been located in the Hermopolite nome (see individual entries). It may be that such names were common in Middle Egypt.<sup>40</sup> Eight place names of this sort are found in the *shine nsa*-formula ostraca from Bawit in the Louvre, five of which are analysed in this section (Pmanallou, Pmanbête, Pmanle, Pmanlouga and Pmanranê).<sup>41</sup> Pmanshôlk is mentioned in a document excavated at Bawit (No. 36); it literally means 'the place of weaving/stitching' and may be compared with ΠΜΛΝΕΣΑΩΤ 'the place of the weavers', attested an order excavated at Bawit (No. 13.2).<sup>42</sup> A number of place names with the ΠΜΛΝ- prefix are also recorded in *etmoulon*-ostraca.<sup>43</sup> [SJC wondered whether many of these names can be taken literally as names of places somewhere in the extensive Bawit site: e.g. 'the piggery' rather than Pmannerir.]

In some instances it is not possible to determine whether something which looks like a place name should in fact be translated literally. A good example of this is Teshnê (Nos. 19.3, 28.2), which literally means 'the garden'; there is also Tnocnshnê (No. 53.2), literally 'the big garden'; and Touasher (No. 26.6-7), 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, for example, ΠΑΠΕΛΟΟΛΕ (No. 44.5) which literally means 'the one of the grape'.

#### Antinoe ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ No. 12.5; No. 88.2

Antinoe, the capital of the Antinooupolite nome just across the Nile from Ashmunein.

#### Ehbooue ΕΞΒΟΟΥΕ No. 51.3

Ehbooue is a newly attested place name. It may be made up of a construct form of εζε 'ox & cow' (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 64a) and a variant of βοου 'heap, tumulus' (Westendorf *KH*, pp. 29 and 496), which occurs in ΠΒΟΟΥ and other place names.

<sup>39</sup>Crum, *Dict.*, p. 153a ΜΛ.

<sup>40</sup>Megally 1991: 2273 attempts to analyse place names beginning with ΜΛΝ-, although more than the three place names she lists are now attested; see Timm pp. 1963-1984 and add ΠΜΛΝΒΙΧ (*O.CrumST* 319, see Crum, *Dict.*, p. 48b ΒΙΧ) and the place names mentioned in two papyri from Aphrodito: Pmanbkrre in *P.Lond.* IV 1419.1286 (probably to be interpreted as a form of ΠΜΛΝΒΡΡΕ 'the place of Brre', see Crum, *Dict.*, p. 43a ΒΡΡΕ); and ΠΜΛΝΣΑΒΗC in *P.Lond.* IV 1619.6, 7, 8.

<sup>41</sup>The other three are Pmankuriakos, Pmannôhe and Pmanraêse.

<sup>42</sup>Note also the unpublished *P.Mich.* inv. 3553 which mentions someone from ΠΜΛΝ]ΦΩΛΚ and someone from ΠΜΛΝΕΣΑΩΤ ΜΕ 'place of the (true?) weavers', and someone from [ΠΜΛΝ]ΕΣΑΩΤ.

<sup>43</sup>See Shelton 1990: 112-113, and *O.Mich.Copt.*, p. 256, noting that on p. 258 the Ashmunein area is suggested as a possible provenance for these ostraca.

**Monastery of Jeremias of Pmanbête** ΜΟΝΗ Ἰερεμίας Παπμανβήτη No. 14.3–4

See below for Pmanbête as a place name.

**Monastery of Phoou** τοο{ο}γ νφοογ No. 11.2

Phoou may be a variant of the Hermopolite nome place name φογεγ / Φβϖ,<sup>44</sup> which was located in the Patre ano toparchy to the north of Ashmunein. The Coptic form of this place name is found in wine-delivery documents from Wadi Sarga,<sup>45</sup> which is attested in the Patre ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome. A Greek papyrus dating to the 6th century, *P.Giss.* 56 (ll. 2, 10),<sup>46</sup> mentions a monastery, name now lost, in Φβϖ, which may be identified with φοογ.

**Monastery of Stephen** ΘΕΝΗΗΤΕ ΝΣΤΕΦΝ No. 63.3

A monastery of Stephanus is to be found in a 5th-century Greek document, *P.Amst.* I 81, from which its geographical location cannot be ascertained.<sup>47</sup> For the meaning of ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ, see Coquin 1993: 663.

**Peloole** ΠΕΛΟΟΛΕ No. 44.5

This literally means 'the grape'. A place called ΠΕΛΟΓΟΛΕ is assigned to the Hermopolite nome in a 6th–7th-century Greek papyrus, *P.Vindob.* G 1530 I.5, and a hamlet of this name may also occur in an 8th-century Greek tax list from Aphrodito, *P.Lond.* IV 1479.1276.<sup>48</sup>

The name ΠΕΛΟΟΛΕ may also be rendered as Palali, a place in the Faiyum which is mentioned in *P.Brook.* 25.26.<sup>49</sup> There are at least four other attested place names involving ΕΛΟΟΛΕ.<sup>50</sup>

**Phoiele** ΦΟΙ ΕΛΕ No. 81.3

Literally 'the field of Le', see Pmanle.

**Pmanallou** ΠΜΑΝΑΛΛΟΥ No. 49.6

'The place of Allou'.<sup>51</sup> This place is mentioned as a source of wine in three *shine nsa*-formula Louvre ostraca from Bawit.<sup>52</sup> It also occurs in an unpublished papyrus, BL Or. 6201B (200), which is signed by Georgios (see I.11). It may be identified with ΑΛΛΟΥ (*CPR* XII 30.23), and a Θαλλοῦ in the Hermopolite nome.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>44</sup>See Timm p. 1932 'Phouey'; and Drew-Bear 1979: 315-316 Φβϖ, and p. 320 Φ(υ)ς which occurs in a 7th-century Greek text from the Hermopolite nome, *SPP* X 25 B.20. Note that this papyrus also mentions Τερωτ (A.27), a place name which occurs in No. 84.

<sup>45</sup>*P.Sarga* 233, 234, 259, 289, 290, 318, 319, 371. Correct Drew-Bear 1979: 316 from *P.Sarga* '317' to '371'.

<sup>46</sup>See *BL* I, p. 462 and II, pt 2 p. 66 for this dating.

<sup>47</sup>See Timm pp. 1424-1425 'Kloster des (hl.) Stephanus'.

<sup>48</sup>See Calderini *Diz.geogr.* IV p. 91 'Πελόολε' and Timm p. 1887 'Peloole'; this place name is not recorded in Drew-Bear 1979.

<sup>49</sup>See Μαγδῶλον Παλαάλι in Calderini *Diz.geogr.* III p. 221 and Timm pp. 1644-1646 'Miktaal'.

<sup>50</sup>Crum, *Dict.*, p. 55a ελοολε.

<sup>51</sup>The personal name ΑΛΛΟΥ occurs as 'Αλλοῦ in Greek papyri dating from the 1st–5th centuries, see *NB* and Foraboschi *Onomasticon*.

<sup>52</sup>*O.Bawit* 18–20.

<sup>53</sup>See Timm pp. 2611-2613 'Thallou'.

**Pmanbête** ΠΜΑΝΒΗΤΕ No. 14.4 (Monastery of Jeremias Papmanbête)

The word ΒΗΤΕ is listed in Crum, *Dict.*, p. 45b with the meaning 'scale-like plate (of metal)', the equivalent of λεπίς in Numbers 16:38. This may indicate that Pmanbête was at one time a place of metal-production.<sup>54</sup> Pmanbête is only otherwise mentioned in a *shine nsa*-formula ostrakon excavated at Bawit (*O.Bawit* 75) and in P.Meyer inv. 14,<sup>55</sup> a wine account which mentions ΠΜΑ ΜΠΑΗΣΕ, ΠΜΑ ΝΡΑΝΕ, and possibly ΠΜΑ ΝΩΣΕ,<sup>56</sup> all of which occur in the *shine nsa*-formula ostraca from Bawit.

**Pmancanah** ΠΜΑΝΘΑΝΑΣ No. 31.6

'The place of Canah'. ΘΑΝΑΣ means a 'maimed, crooked person' (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 824a). Could this be a specific part of the monastery where cripples are housed and possibly cared for? The word also occurs as a personal name in various forms (for example, ΘΑΝΑΣ, ΚΑΝΑΣ, Κάναχ) in Coptic and Greek documents,<sup>57</sup> including the Greek text written on BL Or. 6050.18 (Coptic text = *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1079).<sup>58</sup> It takes the form Κάναχ in a 7th-century Greek document, *P.Princ.* III 140.<sup>59</sup> Pmancanah is also attested in a transcription made by Crum ('Ex-von Scherling 70', see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 14) in which he also listed ΠΑΠΩΝΗ and ΠΞΗΠΟΥΡΓ.

**Pmanle** ΠΜΑΝΛΕ No. 23.2; ΠΜΑΝΛΕ No. 29.2

The word ΛΕ (also ΛΛΥ) in this place name may be interpreted as the name of a type of textile (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 145a ΛΛΛΥ, Cerny *CED*, p. 346 ΜΑΝ-).<sup>60</sup> Another possible etymology involves ΛΛΥ 'anyone, -thing, something' (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 146a) and, indeed, Champollion pointed out that the Arabic version of this place name, 'Maoudhî el-Aschia', translates as 'lieu des choses'. However, he considered that this resulted from a mistake on the part of the Arabs and favoured the etymology involving the textile.<sup>61</sup> It may be that this was part of the monastery where textiles were made.

An inscription from Bawit mentions ΜΑΝΛΗΥ,<sup>62</sup> and ΠΜΑΝΛΕ is the place name most often mentioned in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit,<sup>63</sup> where it is named as a source of old wine (ΗΡΠ ΠΑΠΑΣ and variants).<sup>64</sup> It is possibly to be identified with Mallawi which is about five kilometres south-east of Ashmunein.<sup>65</sup>

Phoiele (ΦΟΙ ΕΛΕ) 'the field of Le' may involve the same word ΛΕ as this place name.

<sup>54</sup>Timm p. 1973 'Pma n-Bête' does not attempt to decipher the name; the reference to 'Pap.Michigan, Inv. Nr. 578 (= W.E. Crum, *P.Sarga* 174:3f.)' should be corrected to 'P.Mich. inv. 1520', and the name 'Psashe' to 'Prashe'.

<sup>55</sup>Edited in Browne 1980: 205–206.

<sup>56</sup>No plate was published with this text but this restoration appears to me to be possible for ΠΜΑ ΝΩ. in l. 2.

<sup>57</sup>See Heuser pp. 21, 33 and 69; and Till 1962: 118; and *CPR* XII 32.15 ΘΑΝΕΞ.

<sup>58</sup>Edited in MacCoull 1994: 139–140 (on p. 141 the name ΘΑΝΑΣ is erroneously cited as being in l. 14).

<sup>59</sup>See note to the re-edition of this text in Worp 1990: 109.

<sup>60</sup>For etymologies of ΜΑΝΛΛΥ, see Timm pp. 1542–1543 'Mallawî' and Kessler 1981: 87.

<sup>61</sup>Champollion 1814 vol. 1: 283.

<sup>62</sup>Clédat 1904–6: 47 No. 32; it also mentions Porf, Timm p. 2000 'Pôrf'.

<sup>63</sup>*O.Bawit* 1 note to ll. 3–4.

<sup>64</sup>*O.Bawit* 1–11.

<sup>65</sup>The entry for Timm pp. 1542–1543 'Mallawî' gives the spellings ΜΑΝΛΛΥ and ΜΑΛΛΕΥΕΙ. ΜΑΝΛΗΥ is found in a graffito from Bawit, see Clédat 1904–6: 47 No. 32.

**Pmanlouga** ΠΜΑΝΛΟΥΓΑ No. 49.5

Literally 'the place of Louga (= Luke)'.<sup>66</sup> This place name is not otherwise attested.<sup>67</sup>

**Pman[n]erir** ΠΜΑΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΡ No. 5.3

Literally 'the place of the pigs'. If this is a place name, it is not otherwise attested, and it may be better to interpret it just as 'the piggery'.

**Pma npleebēiōhe** ΠΜΑ ΝΠΛΕΒΕΙΩΣΕ. No. 62.3**Pmanranê** ΠΜΑΝΡΑΝΗ No. 49.4

'The place of Ranê' is mentioned in three Louvre ostraca from Bawit as a source of old wine.<sup>68</sup> The name ΡΑΝΗ/ΡΑΝΕ can be connected with Middle Egypt, but is not listed in Heuser.<sup>69</sup>

**Pmansike** ΠΜΑΝΣΙΚΕ No. 16.3–4

This may be interpreted literally as 'the mill', or as a place name, Pmansike,<sup>70</sup> which Crum suggests may be an equivalent of σικεως in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 193.1.<sup>71</sup> [C]ΝΗΥ ΝΠΜΑΝΣΙΚΕ 'brothers of the mill/Pmansike' also occur in an unpublished Coptic receipt, BL Or. 6201B (202) (cited in Crum, *Dict.*, p. 328b), a text featuring the signatory Georgios.

**Posh** ΠΟΥ Nos. 15.4 and 63.1<sup>72</sup>

Posh may only be attested in one published text, *CPR* II 15, an 8th-century papyrus, which mentions ΝΕΛΕΜΠΩ Ν(Π)ΑΤΟΥΩ 'the men of Posh in Patouhō' (ll. 2 ff.).<sup>73</sup> This context suggests that a Posh was located in the Hermopolite nome, in the area of present day Taha. Alternatively, ΠΟΥ may be a scribal error for ΠΤΟΥ 'the region' in this text.

A possible Arabic equivalent for Coptic ΠΟΥ might be Bûsh, which is the name of a place located east of the Faiyum.<sup>74</sup> See also the discussion of the name Taposh at *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 84.

**Taparouou** ΤΑΠΑΡΟΥΟΥ No. 20.3

The proximity of the village of Taparouou to Titkooh is illustrated in the *Life of Phib* when Apa Apollo and Apa Paphohe are related to have stopped at a monastery near Taparouou on their way from the Monastery of Apa Pamin (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 8) and Titkooh.<sup>75</sup> This place name also occurs in Greek

<sup>66</sup>A form of this name using ρ instead of κ (eg. λογκας) is not recorded in Heuser, although on p. 119 he lists λογ<sup>ρ</sup> as a name of 'unsicherer Herkunft'.

<sup>67</sup>See *O.Bawit* 81 n. to l. 6.

<sup>68</sup>*O.Bawit* 21-23.

<sup>69</sup>See the note on *O.Bawit* 21.3.

<sup>70</sup>See Timm p. 1983 'Pma n-Sike' correcting 'BM, London, Nr. 6201 B und C' to 'BL Or. inv. No. 6201 B'.

<sup>71</sup>See Drew-Bear 1979: 249 σικεως, making the same correction as in the note above: '6201 B et C' should be '6201 B'; also ΠΜΑΠΣΙΚΕ should read ΠΜΑΝΣΙΚΕ.

<sup>72</sup>See now Gomaa 1991: 95 Bus + 31 and 221 Taha Bus.

<sup>73</sup>*CPR* II 15 is cited in Timm p. 1798 'Osh' as though the initial π- should not be read as part of the place name; Πnianouρ ΠΝΩΩ 'the man from Ôsh', who is recorded as a witness in BL Or. 6204, is also cited here.

<sup>74</sup>Timm pp. 455-457 'Bûsh'.

<sup>75</sup>Orlandi and Campagnano 1975: 32.

papyri;<sup>76</sup> in two *shine nsa*-formula ostraca;<sup>77</sup> two unprovenanced, unpublished Coptic papyri (BL Or. 6201B (52) and P.Camb. UL Michael. 822/4); and possibly in an inscription from Bawit.<sup>78</sup>

**Tbershê** ΤΒΕΡΩΗ No. 25.3, 9

This may possibly be identified with el-Bersha, on the right bank of the Nile, just south of Antinoe.<sup>79</sup>

**Tepôt** ΤΕΠΩΤ No. 84.3

A place of this name is attested in the Hermopolite nome in two Greek papyri of the 4th century and 7th century respectively,<sup>80</sup> but its location is uncertain. A τόπος and a μηχανή with this name have also been assigned to the Aphrodito area and the Apollonopolite nome respectively.<sup>81</sup>

**Teshnê** ΤΕΩΝΗ Nos. 19.3; 65.4; 78.2; and No. 23.3 (in ΠΑΧΩΝΗ)

Literally 'the garden'.<sup>82</sup> John Shelton (1990: 113) interpreted ΤΕΩΝΗ in *P.Sarga* 355–357 as a personal rather than a place name because it follows διά. ΠΑΤΕΩΝΗ is used to mean 'gardener' in John 20:15.<sup>83</sup>

**Teusia** ΤΕΥΣΙΑ No. 53.3

Literally 'the estate (οὐσία)'. This is another place from which wine is requisitioned in two *shine nsa*-formula ostraca which may be from Bawit, *O.Mich.Copt.* 17, 21. It may be equated with one of two attested place names: Teusion is mentioned on a tomb stone from Antinoe,<sup>84</sup> and Tousia in Coptic texts from Bawit,<sup>85</sup> Wadi Sarga and elsewhere.<sup>86</sup>

**Tnocnshnê** ΤΝΟΘ ΝΩΝΗ No. 53.2

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 **Teshnê** above. ΤΝΟΘ ΝΩΝΗ occurs as a source of milk (ΖΑ ΠΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΤΝΟΘ ΝΩΝΗ) in a P.Camb. UL Green text,

<sup>76</sup>Calderini *Diz.geogr.* IV p. 358 'Ταπαρώων', adding the occurrence in *P.Rain.Cent.* 103 l.3 (5th century).

<sup>77</sup>*O.Mich. inv.* 25292, edited in *O.Mich.Copt.*, p. 244, No. 18.2 (noting that Green 1983 equates ΠΑΡΟΥΥ in this text with the place name ΠΑΛΛΥ); and an ostrakon in an Austrian private collection, edited in Stewart 1984: 105-106 ostrakon 2. Both of these references should be added to Drew-Bear 1979: 266 'ΤΑΠΑΡΟΥΥ' and Timm p. 2510 'Ταπαρόου'. Bowman 1983: 465 noted the possible reference to this place name in *PSI* 304.11. See also Timm pp. 2076-2077 'Πτοου n-Ταπαρούου', and 1845-1846 'Parouu' n. 1, noting that Shelton, 1990: 114, interprets ΠΑΡΟΥΥ in *P.Sarga* 355–357 as a personal name.

<sup>78</sup>Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 129, No. 448.2, ΛΠΑ ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ ΝΤΑΠΡ.. which is interpreted as 'Ara Taurinus de Tapr...' in a list of saints.

<sup>79</sup>Timm pp. 692-696 'Dêr al-Barša'.

<sup>80</sup>Timm pp. 2587-2588 'Τεπότ'; and Drew-Bear 1979: 280 'Τεπότ'.

<sup>81</sup>Calderini *Diz.geogr.* IV p. 393–394 'Τεπότ'.

<sup>82</sup>See Timm pp. 2606-2607 'Tešnê' for other texts involving this place name, adding *P.Bal.* 115.6, and Crum's speculation in *P.Ryl.Copt.*, p. 89 n.6 that *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1014.4 ΤΣΙΝΖΙΝΗ may also be a form of it. It should also be noted that *CPR* II 130 was re-edited as *CPR* IV 118 and so the passage cited in n. 1 should be expanded and corrected to φοῖ ἐφωλύμοϋτε ἐροϋχε τεωνην εἰνε[...].

<sup>83</sup>See Crum, *Dict.*, p. 572a ωνη, where this text is also cited. Wietheger 1992: 287 interprets this title when ΠΑΤΕΩΝΗ occurs in inscriptions from the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara.

<sup>84</sup>Timm p. 2609 'Teusiôn'.

<sup>85</sup>Clédat 1904–6: 47 No. 32.

<sup>86</sup>Timm p. 2839 'Tousia'.

along with ΠΜΑ ΝΝΩΣΕ (which is mentioned in *shine nsa*-formula ostraca from Bawit, see Pmanbête above), and ΠΜΑ ΝCΝΗΥ.

**Touasher** ΤΟΥΛΩΦΕΡ No. 26.6-7

Literally 'the carpentry workshop',<sup>87</sup> but possibly a place name. This is also found on a wooden lintel, Cairo Egyptian Museum CE 35 017, which is believed to have come from Bawit,<sup>88</sup> and which mentions ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΤΟΥΛΩΦΕΡ ΜΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΟΥΛΩΦΕΡ 'the fathers of Touasher and all the brothers of Touasher'.

**Incomplete place names**

ΦΟΙ ΝΛ[...] No. 64.4

Literally 'the field of A(-)'.  
 (Ε)Τ[...] ΠΡΦΜΕΤ[...] No. 72.1.

**I.14 Commodities specified in the texts**

**Comestibles**

Aracus see Wild chickling

Barley ΕΙΩΤ, κριθή

In No. 20 barley is measured by the artaba; and in No. 29 it is destined for the office of the *notarius*.

Bdellium ΛΕΛΩΣΕ

The word ΛΕΛΩΣΕ may be translated as 'bdellium', the gum of the Commiphora tree (see Crum, *Dict.*, p. 142a ΛΙΛΟΟΣΕ). It is mentioned in No. 50 (see commentary for further information) and in three unpublished texts from the BL Or. 6201 series, BL Or. 6201A (9, 149), and 6201B (15).

Bread ΟΕΙΚ

In No. 35 ΩΟΜΕΤ ΝΣΟΟΥ ΝΟΕ[Ι]Κ 'three days' (worth) of bread' are specified and in No. 37 'handfuls' (ΤΩΡΕ) of bread. 'Handfuls' are also the measure used for bread in No. 36.

Fish ΤΕΒΤ

In No. 26 one *lakon*-measure of fish is valued at  $13/24$  solidus. Dried fish and salted fish were found during the excavations at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1931-43: xii, 44 respectively. Krause (1988: 119 and n. 115) notes the occurrence of monks in the 8th- and 9th-century documents from Bawit bearing the title 'fisherman'.

<sup>87</sup>The interpretation of this word as 'carpentry workshop' follows Westendorf *KH*, p. 282 'Abteilung des Klosters: *Tischlerei* (?)' (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 503b does not supply a translation). Tait 1982: 221 cites this meaning of ΟΥΛΩΦΕΡ in supporting the derivation of demotic *wyhy* (a type of tool) from *whrj.t* 'Tischlerwerkzeug' (Erman and Grapow *Wb. I*, 355, 13).

<sup>88</sup>Described and transcribed in Maspero 1907: 45-47 col. D ll. 3-7, pl. 16 (correct the reference given by the original editor of No. 26 to this inscription to read 'Ég.' instead of 'Ep.'). On this and other wooden lintels from Bawit, see Krause 1988.

## Garum ⲁⲓⲣ

Eight *lakon*-measures of garum are specified in No. 38.<sup>89</sup> Garum was found in jars during the excavations at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: xv. See also MIFAO 12, p. 117 L. 8 for ⲁⲓⲣ; and Clédat 1999 index p. 437 for ταραχειῶν. It is possible that ΠΙΣΑΝⲁⲓⲣ, ‘the garum-dealer’, is to be reconstructed as the occupation of *psah* Pamoun in an inscription from the entrance to the Bawit monastery, Clédat 1999: 9 (Ϡⲁⲛ ΠⲁⲙⲠⲟⲩⲄⲛⲓ Πⲓ ]Ⲛ[ ]ⲁⲓⲣ). For the use of the title *sah*, literally ‘scribe’, see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 31.

The papyri attest to the important role played by processed fish products in the Egyptian diet (Curtis 1991; elsewhere the medicinal use of fermented fish products is discussed). According to Shenoute’s *Canons*, ⲁⲓⲣ was one of the many foodstuffs forbidden to healthy monks (Layton 2002: 42–43, 45, where ⲁⲓⲣ (ⲛⲧⲃⲧ) is interpreted as ‘brined anchovies’). At the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara, where fish paste was found during excavations (Quibell 1912: 27, No. 1887), there was a monk who styled himself ‘the father of the garum cell’ (ΠⲠⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲧⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲁⲓⲣ; Quibell 1912: 99, No. 319.10). There may have been a similar set-up at the Monastery of Thomas at Wadi Sarga: *P.Sarga* 87.3–4 is a request for garum addressed to Apa Iohannes of ‘the pickle store (?)’ (ⲙⲁ ⲛ[.]ⲧⲁⲓⲣ).

## Greens ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲧⲉ

No. 32 specifies that just ‘a few greens’ (ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲧⲉ) are to be paid, compare *O.Crum* 371.5, *P.Mon.Epiph.* II 249v<sup>o</sup> (ⲉⲓⲚ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and *O.CrumST* 299 (ⲉⲓⲚ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧⲉ). Men who may be from Teshnê are ordered to give greens and other items to men who may belong to a *shaliou* in No. 19 (ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧⲉ I. 3).

## Lachanon (sesame) ⲁⲁⲭ

Roger Bagnall (2000) has suggested that the generic term for ‘garden herbs, vegetables’, *λάχανον*, may also have the more specific usage to mean ‘sesame’, a commodity otherwise curiously infrequently attested in the papyri.<sup>90</sup> Such an interpretation would make sense in No. 32, where, in addition to ‘a few greens’ (ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲧⲉ), ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲁⲭ is also to be paid; ⲁⲁⲭ may therefore be interpreted as *λάχανον* or as *λαχανόσπερμον* ‘vegetable seed’.<sup>91</sup> The former can be used for the dried as well as the fresh form of this commodity, and it may be applied to the seed as well as the plant (Bagnall, 1993: 27–28).

## Oil ⲛⲉⲛ

In No. 37 oil is measured by the sextarius (ⲭⲉⲥⲧⲏⲥ); in two other texts the *lakon*-measure is used: No. 54 (a full *lakon*-measure) and No. 55.

## Wheat ⲙⲟⲩⲟ

Four artabas of wheat are to be paid in No. 18. In *P.Mon.Apollo* 34 a debt of one solidus owed to a monk of the Monastery of Apa Apollo is to be repaid in wheat and *lachanon*-oil.

<sup>89</sup>For garum, see Drexhage 1993. Garum is also measured in ⲁⲁⲕ(ⲟⲛ) measures in an unpublished Coptic document, P.Camb. UL Michael. 960 ll. 3, 4, 6, and 8.

<sup>90</sup>For previous opinions on the interpretation of the term, see, van der Veen 1998: 228. For use of sesame in Egypt, see Serpico and White, 2000: 397–398.

<sup>91</sup>This is suggested in the *ed. pr.* of No. 32 following *CPR* IV 86.4 (bis), and *P.Sarga* 370 where ⲁⲁⲭⲁⲛⲟⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ in l. 4 is abbreviated to ⲁⲁⲭ in l. 7. See also *P.Naqun* I 143–144.

Wild chickling  $\lambda\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ 

A leguminous fodder crop which has been identified as *Lathyrus annuus*, and which produces a type of flat bean.<sup>92</sup> It is paid out to various individuals in two texts: in No. 28 it is measured by the  $\theta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$  'sack', and in No. 20 by the artaba.

Wine  $\eta\rho\pi$ ,  $\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 

Various different measures are used for wine in the texts: the  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  'jug' in No. 16 ( $\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\chi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\tau\ \bar{\eta}\kappa\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\eta\rho\pi$  ( $\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\delta\ \gamma\ \pi$ )); the  $\omega\epsilon\iota$  in No. 39 ( $\omega\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \eta\omega\epsilon\iota\ \eta\eta\rho\pi$ ) and possibly No. 40 ( $\omega\epsilon\iota\ \eta\eta\rho\pi$ ) where it may be the equivalent of  $\sigma\eta\kappa\ \gamma$  ( $\sigma\eta\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$ ). In No. 41 four *lahês* are to be paid ( $\beta\tau\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\ \eta\eta\rho\pi$ ) and this measure is equated with the Greek  $\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ .<sup>93</sup> In two documents the amount of wine is determined by its value: No. 14 specifies a solidus of wine and No. 47 a half-solidus.

No. 37 mentions purified wine (or 'strained wine', see Crum, *Dict.*, p. 366b  $\sigma\omega\tau\alpha$ ) measured by the *lakon*-measure.

For wine at Bawit see Bacot 1998. In excavations at Bawit jars were found which probably contained wine (MIF 59: 2); also discovered were vases with representations of vines (MIF 59: 8) and seals from amphoras (Clédat 1999: 20, 34, 35, 236–237, *L'Égypte en Périgord* No. 112). Wine is mentioned in Bawit inscriptions: Clédat 1999: 103, No. 1 has totals of wine for Apa Theon in 'Chapel' 48 and a wine account is also inscribed in 'Chapel' 55 (MIFAO 111: 150).

**Fuel and Fodder**Clover  $\epsilon\lambda\rho\iota\mu$ 

In No. 30 clover is measured in artabas ( $\epsilon\rho\tau\omicron\alpha$ ). Clover features in a monastic account from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Deir el-Balayza (*P.Bal.* 291.10  $\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\mu$ ); see also a 9th-century Coptic wine list, *P.Vindob.* K 4825 + 2820 + 4448.52 (Hasitzka 1995); *P.KRU* 196; and Crum, *Dict.*, p. 430b  $\tau\rho\iota\mu$  (where an unpublished Michigan ostrakon, O.Mich. 9683, is cited).

Dung  $\sigma\omicron\tau$ 

No. 27 mentions  $\pi\alpha\psi\omicron\tau$  'the dung-man'. As dung was the chief fuel for cooking it was necessary for someone to oversee the collection and storage of dung.

Fodder  $\varkappa\rho\epsilon$ 

In No. 53 'a little fodder' ( $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\ \eta\varkappa\rho\epsilon$ ) is to be given to an ass; a plural form of  $\varkappa\rho\epsilon\epsilon\gamma$ , may be interpreted in No. 31. *P.Mon.Apollo* 24 shows how the Monastery of Apa Apollo acquired fodder-land in Pôrahêu.

**Construction materials**Lead  $\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\bar{\eta}$ 

No. 54 is an invoice for twenty-five pounds ( $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\alpha$ ) of lead. For consignments of lead see the late 6th-century receipts for lead issued to a lead worker for plumbing, *P.Turner* 50–53 (re-editions of *P.Oxy.* VI 1000–1003), and *P.Oxy.* VI 915.

<sup>92</sup>See Schnebel 1925: 185–189; Rowlandson 1996: 21; it occurs in many Coptic documents, for example, *P.Sarga* 202, *P.Lond. Copt.* I 1132, *CPR* II 227, and *P.Fay.Copt.*, p. 78.

<sup>93</sup>See *P.Sarga* 23–4 for  $\lambda\lambda\eta\eta$  as the equivalent of a  $\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ .



Pitch  $\lambda\alpha\mu\chi\alpha\tau\tau\iota$ 

No. **55** mentions that someone is to be sent out for some pitch. Hardy (1931: 126) discussed the pitch issued to potters in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1911-1913.

Stone  $\omega\nu\epsilon$ 

No. **15** addresses a scribe and a builder in connection with 'some stones which are assigned to them (?)' ( $\epsilon\zeta\eta\ \nu\omega\nu\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\chi\eta\zeta\ \nu\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$ ).

## Textiles

There is evidence that textiles were produced at the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit. In No. **13.2**, which was excavated at Bawit by Clédat, someone from 'the place of the weavers' ( $\pi\mu\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\omega\tau$ ) is ordered to make a payment to bakers. This place is also mentioned on an ostrakon which can be connected with Bawit (Tait 1994), not only because it features the *shine nsa*-formula, but also because it mentions  $\pi\omega\lambda\ \pi\mu\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\lambda$  who is recorded in a Bawit inscription (Clédat 1904-6: 83, No. 2). A weaver called Apa Jacob is commemorated in an inscription from the monastery (Clédat 1904-6: 80, No. 3, where  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\tau$  (for  $\sigma\lambda\omega\tau$ ) is mistranslated 'portier'). For this term, see Wietheger 1992: 289  $\sigma\lambda\omega\tau$ . For textiles excavated at Bawit in 1903 now in Périgord museum see *L'Égypte en Périgord* Nos. 124, 126, 128-134 136-140, 144-145 and Clédat 1999: 187 n. 104.

Plaited work  $\omega\nu\omicron\tau\epsilon$ 

In No. **21**  $\overline{\sigma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon}$  may be interpreted as 'two (pieces of) plaited work' or 'two (pieces of) acacia'.

Rugs  $\tau\alpha\pi\eta\sigma$ ,  $\tau\alpha\pi\iota\sigma$ 

In No. **1** a poll-tax payment is made with a rug worth one solidus; in No. **12** a rug-dealer may be ordered to take two rugs to Antinoe in order to sell them.

Sacks  $\sigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\epsilon$ 

In No. **4** four sacks are reckoned to be worth half a solidus, and are accepted as poll-tax payment from a sack-weaver ( $\psi\lambda\zeta\sigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\epsilon$ ).

Wool  $\sigma\omicron\pi\tau$ 

In No. **43** Shenoute is asked to provide someone with ten pounds (*litrai*) of good wool, and in No. **49** Apa Noc is ordered to deal with wool assigned to three different places.

Woollen garments  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\beta\epsilon$ 

In No. **44** a woollen-garment-seller ( $\psi\lambda\ \nu\beta\epsilon\lambda\beta\omega\tau$ ) is asked to supply twelve woollen garments.

## I.15 Sources for the texts

Many of the texts edited here originate from the same sources as texts published in *P.Mon.Apollo*: the British Library Oriental 6201 ABC series (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 9-11);<sup>94</sup> British Library and Cambridge University Library papyri from the collection of George Michaelides (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 11); British Museum EA 75301- (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 12-13); Papyri in the Beinecke Library, Yale University (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 12-13); papyri from the collection of F. W. Green bequeathed to Cambridge

<sup>94</sup>Note that since *P.Mon.Apollo* was published, the British Library have instituted a new system of reference for inventory numbers: 6201A (179) instead of 6201 A179—this is the only system recognised by the BL!

University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 13) but now held in the University Library, Cambridge.<sup>95</sup> Three other sources are reviewed below.

### Michigan collection

P.Mich. inv. 578 (Nos. 4 and 72) was collected together with P.Mich. inv. 545–92 for Mr Kelsey in 1921 by Dr David L. Askren, Medinet el-Faiyum.<sup>96</sup> The collection was examined by Crum in 1921 at the request of H.I. Bell and F.W. Kelsey; Crum requested permission to cite them in his Dictionary and then published side (B) in the *P.Sarga* volume (*P.Sarga* 174) because of its similarity to *P.Sarga* 175, although it was not excavated at Wadi Sarga. P.Mich. inv. 1300 (No. 1/73) and P.Mich. inv. 1520 (No. 14) were acquired in 1924 with other Greek and Coptic documents from the Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman. It should be noted that No. 6/74 (P.Princeton Garrett deposit 1924 II 21) may have also passed through Nahman in 1924. Robert Garrett purchased this papyrus together with a number of others for his own manuscript collection through the British Museum which had selected and purchased them from Nahman and other sources, then imported them to England for conservation treatment. Garrett then donated his papyri together with his manuscript collection to the Princeton University Library in 1942. For the background to Garrett's manuscript collection, see Skemer 1995.

### Leuven and Louvain texts

L. Th. Lefort acquired Nos. 27 and 43 after the Second World War, together with twenty-five (?) Coptic papyri, fourteen Coptic parchments, and two Greek papyri. In 1949 they were donated to the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and are now held by the Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve. Lefort was also linked with No. 7/8. This was acquired in January 1936 by C. Schmidt (1868–1938), who bought a large collection of Coptic papyri, including some Greek documents, for the Library of the University of Leuven. The collection was destroyed in May 1940. Lefort published the literary items, whereas the documents, several of which probably derive from the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit, were never published. A microfilm of the documents survives. Possibly related papyri were acquired later in 1936 by the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles.

### Papyri handled by Adolf M. Hakkert

In 1968, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek purchased Nos. 24/75, 42/91, and 71/90, together with a number of Greek (G 40.000–40.102) and Coptic texts (K 11.375–11.450) from the Dutch publisher and dealer Adolf M. Hakkert. No. 24 had been advertised for sale in October 1967, together with 192 other manuscripts acquired by Hakkert in Egypt through the antiquities trade (Hakkert 1967). Hakkert did not explicitly state that all the texts derived from a common source, but it seems likely that some are from the Hermopolite area: P.Vindob. K 11413 begins with the formula which I have already linked with Bawit,  $\lambda\text{NOK } \Pi\alpha\text{CON NN } \epsilon\text{ICZAI}$  (*P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 16); K 11378 (Hakkert 1967 No. 121, pl. 13) may mention Bawit (l. 7); and Hakkert 1967 No. 119 mentions a place in the region of Shmoun (l. 1, catalogue pl. 12). Also from same catalogue is No. 59, which was purchased by the Papyrologisch Instituut of Leiden University from Hakkert in 1971 together with other items including some 200 items of Greek, demotic, Latin and Coptic papyri, ostraca, wax-tablets, mummy labels and stamps (information provided by Nico Kruit, e-mail 6/9/00).

<sup>95</sup>There are also *Our father*-formula texts in other collections which are probably from Bawit but which have not been included: three texts in the collection of the Äg. Inst., Köln, and one text in Brussels. Thanks to Alain Delattre for information on the Brussels text; I am also grateful to Heinz Thissen for allowing me into the Köln collection.

<sup>96</sup>*P.Sarga*, p. 142, No. 174 records that Kelsey bought this papyrus for the University of Michigan in 1920.

Table 1  
OUR FATHER-FORMULA DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY DATE

Julian date	Egyptian date	No.	Addressee(s)	Scribe	Signatory
April 11, ind. 1	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 1	36	Apa Benjamin	Ioanes	—
October 5/6, ind. 1	Phaophi 8, ind. 1	32	Paule	—	—
October 9/10, ind. 1	Phaophi 12, ind. 1	47	P[apa Da]m[ian(os)]	Pamoun	—
December 17/18, ind. 1	Choiak 21, ind. 1	25	Brothers of the poll-tax	Anoup	—
September 27/28, ind. 2	Thoth 30, ind. 2	21	Jerem[ias]	—	Germanos
January 18/19, ind. 5	Tybi 23, ind. 5	28	Papa Shenoute	Elias (1)	illegible
October 21/22, ind. 5	Phaophi 24, ind. 5	51	Lazare	—	—
November 5/6, ind. 6	Hathyr 9, ind. 6	30	Apollo	—	—
December 12/13, ind. 6	Choiak 16, ind. 6	18	Papa Shenoute	Anoup	Georgios
October 13/14 (?), ind. 7	Phaophi 16 (?), ind. 7	19	... of Teshnê	—	Georgios

March 7, ind. 8	Phamenothe 11, ind. 8	14	Brothers of the poll-tax	Elias (2)	Daniel
May 12, ind. 9	Pachon 17, ind. 9	15	Apollo ( <i>sah</i> ) and Shenoute (builder)	Victor (1)	Daniel
August 13, ind. 9	Mesore 20, ind. 9	16	Apa Victor and the brothers	Victor (1)	Daniel
December 3/4, ind. 9	Choiak 7, ind. 9	35	Capat	—	—
March 11, ind. 10	Phamenothe 15, ind. 10	22	Pshoi	Thomas	Petre
end September/ October, ind. 10	Phaophi ?, ind. 10	34	Anoup	—	—
March 13, ind. 11	Phamenothe 17, ind. 11	1	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phiph	Keri
April 11, ind. 11 (?)	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 11 (?)	2	... the bread-seller	—	[Keri?]
April 11, ind. 11 (?)	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 11 (?)	3	Brothers of the poll-tax	Georgios (1)?	Keri
April 13, ind. 11	Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	4	Brothers of the poll-tax	Georgios (1)	Keri
April 13, ind. <11>?	Pharmouthi 18, ind. <11>?	5	Brothers of the poll-tax	Georgios (3)	Keri
June 8, ind. 11	Pauni 14, ind. 11	44	Gerontse the woollen-garment-dealer	—	—

? end August/ September, ind. 11	? Thoth, ind. 11	23	Mena of Pmanle	—	Phib
November 10/11, ind. 11	Hathyr 14, ind. 11	6	Viktor	Georgios (2)	Keri
December 26/27, ind. 11	Choiak 30, ind. 11	7	—	Apollonios	Keri
December 26/27, ind. 11	Choiak 30, ind. 11	8	... and Prashe, the brothers of the poll-tax	Georgios (2)	Keri
March 27, ind. 12	Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	9	Brothers of the poll- tax	Georgios (2)	Keri
May 3, ind. 12 (?)	Pachon 8, ind. 12 (?)	24	Apa Petros ( <i>oikonomos</i> )	Makare	Theodoros
February 11/12, ind. 13	Mecheir 17, ind. 13	10	Brothers of the poll- tax	—	Keri
February 15/16, ind. 13 (?)	Mecheir 21, ind. 13	11	Brothers of the poll- tax	Konstantinos	Keri
June 9, ind. 13 (?)	Pauni 15, ind. 13 (?)	12	... the rug-dealer	Praseios	Keri
June 19, ind. 13	Pauni 25, ind. 13	27	Apa Iohannes	—	†††
November 7/8, ind. 13	Hathyr 11, ind. 13	29	Taurine of Pmanle	—	—
August 1, ind. ?	Mesore 8, ind. ?	17	Brothers of the <i>pistikos</i>	—	Daniel

end April/May, ind. ?	Pachon ?, ind. ?	43	Shenoute (deacon)	—	seal
? 18, ind. ?	? 18, ind. ?	39	Simothe	Victor (2)	—
March 13 (?), ind. (10+)	Phamenothe 17 (?), ind. (10+)	38	Patermoute	—	—

Date not extant: 31, 33, 42, 45, 46, 49, 50, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71

No date: 13, 20, 26, 37, 40, 41, 48, 52, 53, 54, 55,

Table 2

## OUR FATHER-FORMULA DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY ADDRESSEE

Addressee(s)	Text	Date	Scribe	Signatory	Content
Brothers of the <i>pistikos</i>	17	Mesore 8, ind. ?	—	Daniel	Order to supply wheat
Brothers of the poll-tax	1	Phamenoth 17, ind. 11	Phiph	Keri	Poll-tax receipt
Brothers of the poll-tax	3	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 11	Georgios (1)	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Brothers of the poll-tax	4	Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	Georgios (1)	Keri	Order to issue a poll-tax receipt
Brothers of the poll-tax	5	Pharmouthi 18, ind. <11?>	Georgios (3)	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
[Brothers of the poll-tax?]	7	Choiak 30, ind. 11	Apollonios	Keri	Order to pay people from Titkoohe?
Brothers of the poll-tax	9	Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	Georgios (2)	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Brothers of the poll-tax	10	Mecheir 17, ind. 13	—	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Brothers of the poll-tax	11	Mecheir 21, ind. 13	Konstantinos	Keri	Order to delay demand for tax payment
Brothers of the poll-tax	14	Phamenoth 11, ind. 8	Elias (2)	Daniel	Poll-tax receipt
Brothers of the poll-tax	25	Choiak 21, ind. 1	Anoup	—	Tax document
... and Prashe, the brothers of the poll-tax	8	Choiak 30, ind. 11	Georgios (2)	Keri	Order to pay headman of Titkoohe

Andreas	41	—	—	—	Order for payment in wine
Anoup	34	Phaophi ?, ind. 10	—	—	Order for payment
Anoup and Ashôï	55	—	—	—	Invoice for oil
Apollo	30	Hathyr 9, ind. 6	—	—	Order to supply clover
Apollo ( <i>sah</i> ) and Shenoute (builder)	15	Pachon 17, ind. 9	Victor (1)	Daniel	Receipt for stone
Apa Benjamin	36	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 1	Ioanes	—	Order for payment of bread
Capat	35	Choiak 7, ind. 9	—	—	Order for payment in bread
P[apa Da]m[ian(os)]	47	Phaophi 12, ind. 1	Pamoun	—	Order to supply wine
George of the great garden	53	—	—	—	Order to give an ass fodder
Gerontse (woollen-garment-dealer)	44	Pauni 14, ind. 11	—	—	Order for payment of woollen garments
Hlo ( <i>sah</i> )	58	—	—	—	Beginning of a document
Apa Iohannes	27	Pauni 25, ind. 13	—	††††	Order for payment of fish and garum
Papa Jacob	45	—	—	—	Order for payment
Jerem[ias]	21	Thoth 30, ind. 2	—	Germanos	Order to sell plaited work



Apa Klouj	48	—	—	—	Order to remain with a brother?
Klouj	67	—	—	—	Fragment
Koueie (son of) Papas /young Papas	54	—	—	—	Invoice for lead and oil

Lazare	51	Phaophi 24 (?), ind. 5 (?)	—	—	Order to supply equipment?
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Mena of Pmanle	23	? Thoth ind. 11	—	Phib	Order
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Apa Noc/Apanoc	49	—	—	—	Unidentifiable
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Patermoute	38	Phamenoth (?) 17, ind. (10+)	—	—	Order to supply garum
Paule	32	Phaophi 8, ind. 1	—	—	Order for payment in greens and <i>lachanon</i>
Paule	33	—	—	—	Order for payment of greens
Apa Petros ( <i>oikonomos</i> )	24	Pachon 8, ind.12	Makare	Theodoros	Garments as payment for collecting <i>aparché</i> ?
Phib ( <i>sah</i> ) and Is[-]	50	—	—	—	Order detailing various commodities

Apa Phoibammon ( <i>presbyteros</i> )	37	—	—	—	—	Order for payment in bread, oil & wine
Proou	26	—	—	—	ⲫⲓⲛⲓⲛ	Order for payment in fish
Pshoi	22	—	—	Thomas	Petre	Tax document

Severus of Posh	63	—	—	—	—	Fragment
Papa Shenoute	28	Tybi 23, ind. 5	Elias (1)	illegible	—	Order to supply aracus
Papa Shenoute	18	Choiak 16, ind. 6	Anoup	Georgios	—	Order to supply wheat
Papa Shenoute	46	—	—	—	—	Order to supply a commodity measured in artabas
Papa Shenoute (oil-dealer)	20	—	—	Georgios	—	Order to supply aracus and barley
Shenoute (deacon)	43	Pachon ?, ind. ?	—	seal	—	Order to supply wool
Simothe	39	? 18, ind. ?	Victor (2)	—	—	Order for payment in wine
Apa Simothi	40	—	—	—	—	Order for payment in wine

Taurine of Pmanle	29	Hathyr 11, ind. 13	—	—	—	Order to supply barley
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Apa Victor and the brothers	16	Mesore 20, ind. 9	Victor (1)	Daniel	—	Order for payment in wine
Victor	6	Hathyr 14, ind. 11	Georgios (2)	Keri	—	Order to issue a poll-tax receipt

... of the <i>dia[konia]</i>	60	—	—	Daniel	—	Order for payment
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... Papa Palau	64	—	—	—	Fragment
... of Apa K(-)	65	—	—	—	Fragment
... of the place of weavers/Pmanesasht	13	—	—	Ker	Authorization of payment to bakers
... of the place	62	—	—	—	Fragment
... of Teshné	19	Phaophi 16 (?), ind. 7	—	Georgios	Order to supply greens and other items
... the rug-dealer	12	Paumi 15, ind. 13 (?)	Praseios	Keri	Order to sell rugs as poll-tax contribution

Table 3  
OUR FATHER-FORMULA DOCUMENTS ARRANGED BY SCRIBE

Scribe	Text	Addressee(s)	Date	Signatory	Content
Anoup	25	Brothers of the poll-tax	Choiak 21, ind. 1	—	Tax document
Anoup	18	Papa Shenoute	Choiak 16, ind. 6	Georgios	Order to supply wheat
Apollonios	7	... and Prashe, the brothers of the poll-tax	Choiak 30, ind. 11	Keri	Order to pay people from Titkoohe?
Elias (1)	28	Papa Shenoute	Tybi 23, ind. 5	illegible	Order to supply aracus
Elias (2)	14	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phamenoith 11, ind. 8	Daniel	Poll-tax receipt
Georgios (1)	3	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 11	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Georgios (1)	4	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	Keri	Order to issue a poll-tax receipt
Georgios (2)	9	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability
Georgios (2)	6	Victor	Hathyr 14, ind. 11	Keri	Order to issue a poll-tax receipt
Georgios (2)	8	Brothers of the poll-tax	Choiak 30, ind. 11	Keri	Order to pay headman of Titkoohe
Georgios (3)	5	Brothers of the poll-tax	Pharmouthi 18, ind. <11?>	Keri	Waiver of poll-tax liability

Ioanes	36	Apa Benjamin	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 1	—	Order for payment of bread
Konstantinos	11	Brothers of the poll-tax	Mechair 21, ind. 13	Keri	Order to delay demand for tax payment
Makare	24	Apa Petros ( <i>oikonomos</i> )	Pachon 8, ind. 12	Theodoros	Garments as payment for collecting <i>aparché</i> ?
Pamoun	47	P[apa Da]m[jian(os)]	Phaophi 12, ind. 1	—	Order to supply wine
Phiph	1	Brothers of the poll-tax	Phamenoith 17, ind. 11	Keri	Poll-tax receipt
Praseios	12	... the rug-dealer	Pauni 15, ind. 13 (?)	Keri	Order to sell rugs as poll-tax contribution
Thomas	22	Pshoi	—	Petre	Tax document
Victor (1)	16	Apa Victor and the brothers	Mesore 20, ind. 9	Daniel	Order for payment in wine
Victor (1)	15	Apollo ( <i>sah</i> ) and Shenoute (builder)	Pachon 17, ind. 9	Daniel	Receipt for stone
Victor (2)	39	Simothe	? 18, ind. ?	—	Order for payment in wine

Scribe not extant: 2, 31, 33, 34, 41, 42, 45, 46, 49, 50, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70  
 No scribe: 10, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 43, 44, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 67

1. The first part of the book is a general introduction to the study of the history of the world, and is divided into two parts, the first of which is a general history of the world, and the second is a history of the world from the beginning of the world to the present time.

Year	Event	Location	Significance
1776	Declaration of Independence	Philadelphia, PA	Established the United States as an independent nation.
1789	French Revolution	Paris, France	Overthrew the monarchy and established a republic.
1848	Revolution of 1848	Various European countries	Series of revolutions across Europe demanding liberal reforms.
1861-1865	American Civil War	Various locations in the United States	War between the North and South over slavery.
1871	Paris Commune	Paris, France	First major urban revolution in modern history.
1890-1914	Imperialism and World War I	Global	Period of European imperialism leading to the outbreak of WWI.
1917	Russian Revolution	Moscow, Russia	Overthrew the Tsar and established a communist government.
1929-1933	Great Depression	Global	Major economic crisis that affected the entire world.
1939-1945	World War II	Global	Global conflict between the Axis and Allied powers.
1945-1991	Cold War	Global	Geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.
1979	Iranian Revolution	Tehran, Iran	Overthrew the monarchy and established an Islamic republic.
1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall	Berlin, Germany	Symbolized the end of the Cold War.
1991	Dissolution of the Soviet Union	Moscow, Russia	End of the Soviet Union and the beginning of a new world order.
1991-2001	Yugoslav Wars	Balkan Peninsula	Series of conflicts in the Balkans.
2001	9/11 Attacks	New York City, USA	Terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center.
2001-2009	War in Afghanistan	Afghanistan	US-led military intervention in Afghanistan.
2003	Iraq War	Iraq	US-led invasion of Iraq.
2008-2009	Global Financial Crisis	Global	Major economic crisis triggered by the collapse of the subprime mortgage market.
2011	Arab Spring	Middle East	Series of protests and uprisings across the Arab world.
2014	Russian Invasion of Ukraine	Ukraine	Annexation of Crimea and military intervention in eastern Ukraine.
2015	Paris Agreement	Paris, France	International agreement on climate change.
2016	Brexit	United Kingdom	UK's decision to leave the European Union.
2017	Trump's Presidency	USA	Donald Trump's election as President of the United States.
2019	COVID-19 Pandemic	Global	Global health crisis caused by the novel coronavirus.

PART II  
THE TEXTS

THE TESTS

THE TESTS

THE TESTS

THE TESTS

Text	Julian
1	March

2	April
3	April

4	April
---	-------

5	April
---	-------

6	November
---	----------

7	December
---	----------

8	December
---	----------

9	March
---	-------

10	February
----	----------

11	February
----	----------

12	June
----	------



## ORDERS AUTHORIZED BY A SIGNATORY

### TEXTS SIGNED BY KERI

Text	Julian calendar date	Egyptian calendar date	Content	Scribe
1	March 13, indiction 11	Phamenoith 17, ind. 11	Poll-tax receipt	Phiph
2	April 11, indiction 11 (?)	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 11 (?)	Order to supply bread	—
3	April 11, indiction 11 (?)	Pharmouthi 16, ind. 11 (?)	Waiver of poll-tax liability	Georgios (1)
4	April 13, indiction 11	Pharmouthi 18, ind. 11	Order to issue a poll-tax receipt	Georgios (1)
5	April 13, indiction <11?>	Pharmouthi 18, ind. <11?>	Waiver of poll-tax liability	Georgios (3)
6	November 10/11, indiction 11	Hathyr 14, ind. 11	Order to issue a poll-tax receipt	Georgios (2)
7	December 26/27, indiction 11	Choiak 30, ind. 11	Order to pay people from Titkoohe?	Apollonios
8	December 26/27, indiction 11	Choiak 30, ind. 11	Order to pay headman from Titkoohe	Georgios (2)
9	March 27, indiction 12	Pharmouthi 1, ind. 12	Waiver of poll-tax liability	Georgios (2)
10	February 11/12, indiction 13	Mecheir 17, ind. 13	Waiver of poll-tax liability	—
11	February 15/16, indiction 13	Mecheir 21, ind. 13	Order to delay demand for tax payment	Konstantinos
12	June 9, indiction 13?	Pauni 15, ind. 13 (?)	Order to sell rugs as poll-tax contribution	Praseios

## 1

## POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Mich. inv. 1300 side (B)  
Plate I

100 × 165 mm<sup>1</sup>

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 73)

Preservation: All 5 lines of text are preserved except for one small lacuna. No. 73 was written earlier on this papyrus.

Palaeography: Hand 1 is small and cursive; †, ι, μ, ρ, τ, and ω may have a long hooked tail. The ει ligature is distinctive with a hook at the end of the descender (l. 4). A raised dot appears to mark syllabic function in ετοοτ·τ, l. 5. For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (I.2). Husselman (1951: 332) suggested a provenance of Hermopolis.

Acquisition: See I.15.

Bibliography: Side (B) of this papyrus was edited by Husselman (1951: 331–334), and mentioned in *P.Mich.Copt.*, p. 21.

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Phamenoth 17 (March 13), indiction 11.

Scribe: Phiph (I.9).

The brothers of the poll-tax are notified of the receipt of a rug worth one solidus as Camoul's poll-tax payment.

→

- 1 †  
2 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΪ ΝΦΩΗΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΝΠΑΝΑ(ΡΙCΜΟC)  
3 ΧΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΦΩΥ ΝΦΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΝΑΝΑ(ΡΙCΜΟC) ΕΩΑΡΕΒΑΜΟΥΛ  
4 ΕΝΠΩΛ ΝΤΑΛΛΥ ΖΛ ΤΕΪΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΕΝΔΕΚ(Λ)Τ(ΗC) Ι(Ν)Δ(ΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC) ΕΙC  
ΟΥΖΟΛΤ  
5 ΝΤΑΠΙC ΛΧΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ·Τ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟΥ Μ(ΗΥΙ) Φαμ(ενω)θ ιζ ι(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ια Φιφ  
6 Hand 2 † ΚΗΡΙ

2 l. ΠΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ l. Μ- 2, 3 ΛΝ^ pap. 3 l. ΖΜ ΦΩΒ ΜΠΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC 4 l. ΜΠΩΛ l. ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟC ΕΝΔΕΚ^ / ΙΔ / pap. 5 l. ΤΑΠΙC l. ΕΤΟΟΤ μ Φαμ^ pap. ιδ / pap.

- 1 †  
2 † It is our father who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax.  
3 About the matter of the solidus of poll-tax which Camoul  
4 must pay for this year, the eleventh indiction—here is a solidus-worth  
5 of rug which I have received for it. (Greek:) In the month of Phamenoth, (day) 17,  
indiction 11. Phiph.  
6 † Keri.

1, 2, 6. †: the *ed. pr.* gave †.

2. ΝΦ-: for ΝΝΕΦ-, also in No. 4.1 and 5.1 (ΝΦ-), both written by Georgios.

3. ΦΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΝΑΝΑ(ΡΙCΜΟC): the *ed. pr.* read ΦΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΝΠΑΝΑ.

4. ΕΝΔΕΚ(Λ)Τ(ΗC) Ι(Ν)Δ(ΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC): read by the *ed. pr.* as ΕΝΔΕΚ / Δ /.

<sup>1</sup> Dimensions are given throughout this edition with height preceding width.

## 2

## ORDER TO SUPPLY BREAD

P.Camb. UL Green 7 side (A)  
Plate I

87 × 85 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 3)

Preservation: The right-hand side of what may have been a 6-line text ending with Keri's signature (not preserved). It is uncertain whether this text was drawn up before or after the *Our father*-formula text written on the same day on the other side of this papyrus (No. 3).

Palaeography: As for No. 4?

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature on the text on the other side of the papyrus, possibly also to be restored at the end of the present text, suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (I.12).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo* p.13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

Addressee: ... the bread-seller.

Document date: Pharmouthi 16 (April 11), indiction 11 (?).

A bread-seller is ordered to pay Psha the *sah* a quantity of bread.

↓

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | [† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖ]ΑΪ ΝΠΘΩΗΡΕ                   |
| 2 | [ ... ]Ε ΨΑΡΟΕΙΚ ΧΕ ΤΙ                        |
| 3 | [ ... ]ΑΣ ΝΘΕΙΚ ΝΨΑΣ ΠΩΛ                      |
| 4 | [ ... ]Ε.ΒΗΚΝ.ΩΩΡ ΕΜΑΪ.                       |
| 5 | [ ... ]... Φαρμ(ου)θ(ι) ις ινδ(ικτί)ο(νος) ια |
| 6 | [ † ΚΗΡΙ? ]                                   |

2 λη<sup>α</sup> pap. 5 Φαρμ<sup>ο</sup> pap. ινδ<sup>ο</sup> pap.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | [† It is our father who writes to his son |
| 2 | [...] the bread-seller. Give              |
| 3 | [...] ... of bread to the <i>sah</i> Psha |
| 4 | [...] ...?                                |
| 5 | (Greek:) Pharmouthi 16, indiction 11 (?). |
| 6 | [† Keri ?]                                |

4. ΩΩΡ ΕΜΑΪ: Perhaps read κΩΩΡΕ or κΩΩΡΕ, see Crum, *Dict.* 115, κΩΩΡΕ. As for ΜΑΪ., compare μαϊώτης 'Maeotian fish' see Nielsen and Worp *ZPE* 133 2001: 177, No. 5.4—a 4th-century list of fishes.

## 3

## WAIVER OF POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P.Camb. UL Green 7 side (B)  
Plate II

87 × 85 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 2)

Preservation: The left-hand side of this 5-line text is poorly preserved with numerous lacunae.

Palaeography: Written by Georgios (1), see I.9 and No. 4.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (I.2).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Pharmouthi 16 (April 11), indiction 11 (?).

Scribe: Georgios (1; I.9).

→

1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛ[†] Ν[ΝϨΩΗΡΕ ΝΕΣΝΗΥ]  
 2 ΝΠΑΝΔ(ΡΙΣΜΟΣ) ΧΕ ΝΠΕΡΜΑΞΕ [...]  
 3 ΚΑΤ ±8 Δ ±4 [...]  
 4 Φαρμ(ου)θ(ι) ις ινδ(ικτί)ο(νος) ια Γεωργι[ι(ος) ἔγρ(αψα)]  
 5 † ΚΗΡ[ι]

2 λη<sup>α</sup> pap. 4 Φαρμ<sup>θ</sup> pap. ινδ<sup>ο</sup> pap.

1 It is our father who write[s] to [his sons, the brothers]  
 2 of the poll-tax. Do not hold liable [...]  
 3 instalment (?) of poll-tax (?) for the year [...]  
 4 (Greek:) Pharmouthi 16, indiction 11 (?). [I,] Georgi[os, wrote.]  
 5 † Ker[i.]

3. ΚΑΤ ±8: reconstruct ΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΝΑΝΔ 'instalment x of poll-tax'?

Δ ±4: reconstruct ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΟΜΠΕ as in No. 9.3.

4. ια: could also be ιδ or ιε?

#### 4

### ORDER TO ISSUE A POLL-TAX RECEIPT

*P.Sarga* 174 (P.Mich. inv. 578 side (B))

101 × 88 mm

(script) 8th century

Plate II

Light brown papyrus (see No. 72)

Preservation: All 9 lines are preserved, with lacunae in ll. 3 and 9. This text was written on the back of No. 72, and the papyrus was cut down to size.

Palaeography: Hand 1 is the scribe Georgios (1; I.9), who writes Coptic in a semi-cursive hand, with few majuscule characters. His Greek hand is cursive (l. 8). For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (I.2).

Acquisition: See I.15

Bibliography: Side (B) of this papyrus was first edited in *P.Sarga*, p. 142–143, and later by Husselman (1951: 332–333). It is also mentioned in *P.Mich.Copt.*, p. 21.

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Pharmouthi 18 (April 13), indiction 11.

Scribe: Georgios (1; I.9).

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. In P.Mich. inv. 522 (Heisler 1984: 126–128), a Coptic poll-tax account possibly dated to the 8th century which may possibly be related to the Bawit

archive, sack-weavers (σαστ σοοϋνε) are liable for payments of 1, 2, or 3 sacks (Clackson 2007: 104 n.13 corrects the amount given in the transcription of l. 10 of this text to 2).

↓  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝϞΩΗΡΕ  
 2 ΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΠΑΝΑ(ΡΙΣΜΟΣ) ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΨΤΟ ΝΒΟ-  
 3 ΟΥΝΕ ΝΤΕ ΜΗΝΑ ΨΑΖΣΟΟΥΝΕ  
 4 ΛΥΕΙ ΤΟΟΤ ΖΑ ΠΕΒΑΝΑ(ΡΙΣΜΟΣ) ΛΟΙΠΟΝ  
 5 ΤΙ ΠΕΒΕΝΤΑΓΝ̄ ΝΑϞ ΛΥΩ ΒΩ  
 6 ΖΪΧΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΟΥΣΜΝ̄ΤΟΥ  
 7 ΠΡΟΣ ΨΤΟ ΝΒΟΟΥΝΕ ΖΑ ΤΠΑΩΕ  
 8 ΝΣΟΛΟΚ(Ο)Τ(ΤΙΝΟΣ) μ(ηνι) Φαρ(μου)θ(ι) ιη ινδ(ικτίωνος) ια † Γεωργι(ος)  
 9 Hand 2 † ΚΗΡΙ

1 l. ΠΝΕϞ- 2 l. ΜΠ- 2, 4 ΛΝ^ pap. 2, 7 l. ΨΤΟΥ 4 l. ΕΤΟΟΤ 4, 5 l. ΠΕϞ- 5 l. ΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΝ 8 ΣΟΛΟΚ<sup>τ</sup> pap. μ Φαρ<sup>θ</sup> pap. ιν<sup>δ</sup> pap.

1 † It is our father who writes to his sons  
 2 the brothers of the poll-tax. Here are four sacks  
 3 belonging to Mena the sack-weaver.  
 4 I have received them as his poll-tax, so  
 5 give him his receipt and see  
 6 that all of them are reckoned  
 7 equal in value to four sacks for the half  
 8 solidus. <sup>(Greek:)</sup> In the month of Pharmouthi, (day) 18, indiction 11. † Georgi(os).  
 9 † Keri.

1, 9. †: Husselman (1951: 332–333) gave †.

1. ΝϞ-: also found in No. 1.1 and 5.1 (ΝϞ-).

2. ΝΠΑΝΑ: Kahle (*P.Bal.*, p. 73, §27b) wrongly assumed that Ν was written for ε here and in Nos. 1 and 14.

3. A couple of sack-weavers are commemorated in inscriptions from the Bawit monastery of Apollo: Enoch (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 99, No. 268.5), and Phoibammon (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 87, No. 205.2).

4. ΤΟΟΤ: Husselman (1951: 332) gave ΤΟΤ.

6. ΝΣΟΥΣΜΝ̄ΤΟΥ: literally 'they are established'.

7. ΠΡΟΣ: Gregorius (1976–8: 220–221, §145) lists occurrences of πρὸς with this meaning in Coptic documents (which is omitted in the entry Förster, *WB*); see LSJ 1498b, section C III 4.

## 5

### WAIVER OF POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P.Camb. UL Green 2  
 Plate III

86 × 125 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Papyrus

Preservation: All 6 lines of text. Other side blank.

Palaeography: For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (I.2).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Pharmouthi 18 (April 13), indiction <11>?

Scribe: Georgios (3; **I.9**).

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold Phoibamon of the piggery liable for poll-tax until Keri has had a word with them. Although the indiction year is omitted in the dating formula (l. 4), this order to the brothers of the poll-tax may have been issued by Keri on the same day as No. 4, which was also written by a scribe Georgios.

1 † [ΠΕ]ΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΛΙ ΝΦΩΗΡΕ  
 2 [ΝΕ]ΣΗΟΥ ΝΠΑΝΔ(ΡΙΣΜΟΣ) ΧΕ ΝΠΕΡΜΑΣΕ  
 3 ΝΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΠΑΠΜΑΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΡ ΝΑΝΔ(ΡΙΣΜΟΣ)  
 4 ΩΑΝΤΙΩΛΧΕ ΝΕΜΗΤΝ † Φαρμ(ου)θ(ι) ιη ινδ(ικτίωνος)  
 5 Γεωργ(ιος) ἔγραψα †  
 6 Hand 2 † ΚΗΡΙ

1 l. ΠΝΕΦ- 2 l. ΣΗΟΥ Μ- 2, 3 ΑΝ^ pap. 2 l. ΜΠΕΡ- 3 l. ΜΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ 4 l. ΝΜΗΤΝ Φαρμ<sup>θ</sup> pap. ιν<sup>δ</sup> pap. 5 Γεωρ<sup>γ</sup> pap.

1 † It is [ou]r father who writes to his sons  
 2 [the] brothers of the poll-tax. Do no hold  
 3 Phoibamon of the piggery liable for poll-tax  
 4 until I speak with you. † (Greek:) Pharmouthi 18, indiction (sic!).  
 5 I, Georgios, wrote. †  
 6 Keri †

1. ΝΦ-: ΝΦ- is also found in No. 1.1 and 4.1

3. ΜΑΝ[Ν]ΕΡΙΡ: may possibly also be interpreted as 'piggery' (Crum, *Dict.* 153b, ΜΑ), rather than 'swineherd' (Crum, *Dict.* 173b, ΜΟΟΝΕ).

4. No indiction year appears to have been entered by the scribe.

## 6

### ORDER TO ISSUE A POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Princeton Garrett deposit 1924

112 × 162 mm

(script) 8th century

H.I. Bell No. II 21 side (B)

Mid-brown papyrus (see No.74)

Plate III

Preservation: All 8 lines of text with some small lacunae. This side is labelled 'recto' in the Library catalogue.

Palaeography: An experienced majuscule hand with many ligatures and some cursive forms. For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see **I.11**.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (**I.2**).

Acquisition: See **I.15**.

Addressee: Victor.

Document date: Hathyr 14 (November 10/11), indiction 11.

Scribe: Georgios (2; **I.9**).

This order may have been sent to the same Victor who is addressed in No. 16 and possibly No. 65 (**I.8**). It appears that a certain David has the poll-tax contribution of Anoup, who is described as his son. If both are monks, David would have been Anoup's spiritual, rather than natural, father.

- 
- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΪ ΝΠΦΩΗΡΕ
  - 2 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΜΝ ±8 Ε Ω..ΛΕ
  - 3 ΛΔΔΥΕΙΤ ±4 ΑΝΤΗΡΙΣΜΟΣ
  - 4 ΛΦΤΙ ΖΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ
  - 5 ΕΪΕΚΑ ΠΕΪΚΟΥΪ ΩΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ
  - 6 ΤΙ ΕΝΤΑΚΕΝ ΝΑΦ ΖΑ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ
  - 7 μ(ηνὶ) Αθυρ ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ια Γεωργε ἔγγ(αψα)
  - 8 Hand 2 † ΚΗΡΙ

1 l. ππεϜ- 3 l. ΑΝΔΡΙΣΜΟΣ 6 l. ΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΝ 7 ιν<sup>δ</sup>/pap. εγγ/pap.

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son
- 2 Victor (?) and ...
- 3 David (?) has ... poll-tax —
- 4 he has paid for Anoup his son.
- 5 I shall release this young son—
- 6 give him (a) receipt for his son.
- 7 (Greek:) In the month of Hathyr, (day) 14, indiction 11. George wrote.
- 8 † Keri.

2. ΒΙΚΤΩΡ: these letters are very faint and uncertain.

ΜΝ ±8 Ε Ω..ΛΕ: read ΜΝ .c.... κε followed by ωπζολ? A name is expected followed by ειc and a sum of money.

3. Read ϰΟΟΥ 'sent'?

ΑΝΤΗΡΙΣΜΟΣ: the same form also occurs in No. 8.4, 7.

## 7

## ORDER TO PAY PEOPLE FROM TITKOOHE?

P.Leuven 9 side (A)  
Plate IV

c. 95 x 105 mm

(script) 8th century?  
Papyrus (see No. 8)

Preservation: Destroyed in May 1940, the only surviving record of this text is a photographic negative. It is difficult to determine whether it was written before or after No. 8, the much better preserved document written on the same day on the other side of this papyrus.

Palaeography: For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature strongly suggests Bawit as the place of origin (I.2).

Acquisition: See I.15.

Addressees: [Brothers of the poll-tax?].

Document date: Choiak 30 (December 26/27), indiction 11.

Scribe: Apollonios (I.9).

It seems highly likely that this document was issued to the brothers of the poll-tax, as was No. 8. Both texts involve payments to a headman of Titkoohe, and thereby attest to the close relationship maintained between the monastery and this village which I have suggested was its closest neighbour (*P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 4).





→  
 1 [† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝΝΦΩΗΡΕ]  
 2 [ NN MN]  
 3 ΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΡΑΦΕ ΜΝ [Ν]ΕΣΝΗΥ  
 4 ΝΠΑΝΤΗΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΠΑ-  
 5 ΦΕ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΗ ΝΑΒΡΑΣΑΜ  
 6 ΠΑΠΕ ΝΤΙΤΚΟΘΣΕ ΤΑΟΠΣ  
 7 ΕΡΟΤΗ ΕΠΑΝΤΗΡΙΣΜΟΣ †  
 8 μ(ηνὶ) Χοι(ακ) λ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ια Γεωργι(ος) ἔγρ(αψα) †  
 9 Hand 2 † ΚΗΡΙ

4, 7 l. ΑΝΔΡΙΣΜΟΣ 5 l. ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ 7 l. ΕΡΩΤῆ 8 μ X<sup>o</sup> pap. ιν<sup>δ</sup> pap. Γεωργιν-εγρ pap.

1 [† It is our father who writes to his sons]  
 2 [NN and]  
 3 brother (*pson*) Prashe and the brothers  
 4 of the poll-tax. Give ha-  
 5 If a solidus to Abraham  
 6 the headman of Titkoohe and I will reckon it  
 7 to you as poll-tax. †  
 8 (Greek:) In the month of Choiak, (day) 30, indiction 11. I, Georgios, wrote. †  
 9 † Keri.

4, 7. ΑΝΤΗΡΙΣΜΟΣ: form also in No. 6.3.

6. ΠΑΠΕ: for the term απε with the feminine definite article, see No. 7.4.

## 9

### WAIVER OF POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P.Louvre E 27616 side (B)  
 Plate V

39 × 167 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 84)

Preservation: All 4 lines are preserved. No. 84 was written earlier on the other side of this papyrus.

Palaeography: Hand 1 is a flowing majuscule with some ligatures, including the 'ace-of-spades' ep ligature (l. 2). For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11. Boud'hors (1995: 32) proposes a date in the first half of the 8th century.

Provenance: Excavated at Bawit by Jean Clédat.

Acquisition: Donated to the Louvre in October 1993 by Clédat's daughter, Madame Jean Mallet (personal communication, Dominique Bénazeth, 18/11/2002).

Bibliography: Published by Boud'hors (1995: 32-33); reproduced in Clédat (1999: 349, plate 309, centre); described briefly in *L'Égypte en Périgord*, catalogue item 22, No. 2, pl. 99 (centre).

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Pharmouthi 1 (March 27), indiction 12.

Scribe: Georgios (2; I.9).

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold a certain Iohannes liable for poll-tax for the year. He was connected either with Keri in some way (reading πεφρωμ, 'his man', in l. 2), or with the brothers of the poll-tax (reading πεγρωμ, 'their man', in l. 2).

→  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛῙ ΝΝϞΩΗΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΝΠΑΝΔ(ΡΙCΜΟC)  
 2 ΧΕ ΝΠΕΡΑΜΑΖΕ ΝΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΠΕϞΡΩΜ ΝΑΝΔ(ΡΙCΜΟC)  
 3 ΠΡΟC ΤΡΟΜΠΕ † Φαρμ(ου)θ(ι) ᾱ ινδ(ικτίωνοc) ιβ̄  
 4 Γεωργιοc ἔγρα(ψα) † Hand 2 † ΚΗΡΙ

1 l. ΝΝΕϞ- 1. ΜΠ- 1, 2 λη̄ pap. 2 l. ΜΠΕΡ- 3 Φ<sup>α</sup>ρμ<sup>θ</sup> ινδ<sup>ι</sup> pap. 4 Γεωργιοc<sup>ς</sup> εγρ<sup>α</sup> pap.

1 † It is our father who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax.  
 2 Do not hold Iohannes, his man, liable for poll-tax  
 3 for the year. (Greek:) † Pharmouthi 1, indiction 12.  
 4 I, Georgios, wrote. † † Keri.

2. ΠΕϞΡΩΜ: or ΠΕΥΡΩΜ—either reading is equally possible given that the scribe writes γ and Ϟ in the same way. The transcription in the *ed. pr.* privileged ΠΕΥΡΩΜ.

ΝΑΝΔ(ΡΙCΜΟC): this term was not translated in the *ed. pr.* ('Jean leur homme de ...').

3. ιβ̄: written with an open beta. The year date was read as ια in the *ed. pr.* and No. 4 was invoked as being written in the same month and same year. In my opinion, however, the scribe Georgios who wrote No. 4 is not the same Georgios who writes the present text (I.9).

4. Γεωργιοc: the ζ is written in a very cursive fashion above the ο and resembles a υ, which is how it was read in the *ed. pr.* It is possible that the reading Γεωργιου is correct, and the name is in the genitive, compare No. 12.6.

## 10

## WAIVER OF POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P.Camb. UL Green 8 side (B)  
 Plate V

90 × 165 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Papyrus (see No. 85)

Preservation: All 6 lines of text are preserved, although there are lacunae in ll. 2–5.

Palaeography: Hand 1 is a large, right-sloping majuscule with the occasional cursive form. For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (I.2).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Mecheir 17 (February 11/12), indiction 13.

→  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛῙ ΝΝϞΩΗΡΕ  
 2 ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΝΠΑΝΔΡΙCΜΟC ΧΕ ΝΠΕΡ-  
 3 Μ[Α]ΖΕ ΝΑΒΡΑΖ(ΑΜ) ΠΕΪΚΟΥΓῙ ΕϞΖΑΖΤΗ  
 4 ΠΑΜΟΥΝ ΠΑΖΑ.... CΝΟΥϞ ΑΛΛΑ ..  
 5 ΖΩC ΝΠΕΡΑΜΑΖΕ ΝΜΟϞ̄ μ(ηνὶ) Μ(ε)χ(ειρ) ιζ̄ ινδ(ικτίωνοc) ιγ †  
 6 Hand 2 † ΚΗΡΙ

1 l. ΝΕϞ- 2 l. ΜΠ- 2, 5 l. ΜΠΕΡ- 5 l. ΜΜΟϞ̄ μ̄ M<sup>x</sup> pap. ινδ<sup>ι</sup> pap.

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his sons  
 2 the brothers of the poll-tax. Do not  
 3 hold liable Abrah(am), this little one under  
 4 Pamoun ... last year (?) but ...  
 5 ... do not hold him liable. (Greek:) In the month of Mecheir, (day) 17, indiction 13. †  
 6 † Keri.

4. [SJC wondered whether it was possible to read ΠΑΝΔ ΝCΝΟΥC 'for the poll-tax last year'].

## 11

## ORDER TO DELAY DEMAND FOR TAX PAYMENT

*P.YaleCopt.* 21 (P.CtYBR inv. 1861)  
 Plate V

56 × 161 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines, all margins.

Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand with some ligatures; ι and ρ have hooked descenders; φ is written in one continuous movement without taking the pen off the papyrus (φooy l. 2). For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

Provenance: Unknown, Keri's signature on this document suggests Bawit as the place of origin (I.2). The Monastery of Phoou (l. 2) may be located in the Hermopolite nome (I.13).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Bibliography: Edited in *P.YaleCopt.*, p. 48; described briefly in Petersen (*s.d.* 1964?): No. 123.

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Mecheir 21 (February 15/16), indiction 13.

Scribe: Konstantinos (I.9).

This text shows how the monastery administered poll-tax collection from other monasteries. The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold liable a nameless young monk from the Monastery of Phoou (I.13) until a certain brother Petros arrives. Petros may have been responsible for the young monk or have had some influence in how the poll-tax was collected.

→

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCΣΛΙ ΝCΩΗΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΠΑΝΔ(ΡΙCΜΟC)  
 2 ΧΕ ΑΝΔΥ ΕΠΕΙΚΟΥΪ ΜΟΝΟΧΟC ΝΤΕΠΤΟΟ{Ο}Υ ΝΦΟΟΥ  
 3 ΝΠΡΑΜΑΖΕ ΝΜΟC ΩΑΝΤΕΠΑCΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΟC ΕΙ  
 4 † μ(ηνι) Μ(ε)χ(ειρ) κα ι(ν)δ(ικτίωνοc) ιγ † ΚωνCταντινοc ἔγρ(αψα)  
 5 Hand 2 † κηρι

1 l. ΝΠΕCΩΗΡΕ l. ΜΠ- ΑΝ^ ραρ. 2 l. ΜΟΝΑΧΟC l. ΤΟΟΥ 3 l. ΜΠΡΑΜΑΖΕ ΝΜΟC

4 μ' M^ ραρ. ι^ ραρ. εγρ' ραρ.

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax.  
 2 See this young monk of the Monastery of Phoou—  
 3 do not hold him liable until brother (*pason*) Petros comes.  
 4 (Greek:) † In the month of Mecheir, (day) 21, indiction 13. † I, Konstantinos, wrote.  
 5 † Keri.

1. The *ed. pr.* read this line ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧⲧ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲈⲚⲘⲤ ⲡⲀⲚⲁ.
2. ⲁⲛⲁⲗ: the *ed. pr.* read ⲁⲛⲁⲓ.
- ⲧⲞⲞ{Ⲟ}Ⲯ: the second Ⲟ is a blob of ink; the *ed. pr.* read ⲧⲱⲞⲮ.
3. The *ed. pr.* read this line ⲙⲡⲢⲀⲚ ⲛⲡⲈⲚⲚⲞⲞⲢ ⲩⲁⲛⲧ.Ⲙ.ϢⲞⲚ ⲡⲈⲧⲢⲞⲢ Ⲉⲓ.
4. Ⲙ(Ⲉ)ϫ(Ⲉⲓⲣ) ⲕⲁ ⲓ(ⲧ)ⲩ(ⲓⲕⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ) ⲓⲮ ⲛ: the *ed. pr.* read Ⲙ(Ⲉ)ϫ(Ⲉⲓⲣ) ⲓ(ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ) ⲓ ⲛ.

## 12

## ORDER TO SELL RUGS AS POLL-TAX CONTRIBUTION

BL Or. 6201B (143) side (B)  
Plate VI

93 × 70 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light mid-brown papyrus

**Preservation:** All but the left-hand edge of this 8-line document is preserved. On side (A) of this papyrus there are at least four lines of text written in a large, fluent, cursive hand which differs from that on side (B). The ink has faded to brown and is practically illegible.

**Palaeography:** Hand 1: a flowing, semi-cursive hand. For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

**Provenance:** Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (I.2). Antinoe is mentioned in l. 5 (I.13).

**Acquisition:** See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp.10-11

**Dialect:** Note the use of ⲕ for ϣ etc. in this text.

**Addressee:** ... the rug-dealer.

**Document date:** Pauni 15 (June 9), indiction 13 (?).

**Scribe:** Praseios (I.9).

This text is almost complete and yet some of the details remain uncertain. It was issued to a rug-dealer and concerns his poll-tax contribution. Two rugs have been received which may represent his poll-tax, or that of a person called Terei. The rug-dealer is perhaps then ordered to take the rugs to Antinoe, presumably to sell them. Another interpretation is that the rugs constitute the rug-dealer's poll-tax contribution and it is Terei who takes them to Antinoe for sale. There is little written evidence for Antinoe as centre for textile production: Wipszycka (1991: 2221, 'Centers of textile production') states that 'written sources do not confirm that Antinoopolis played a more significant role than other cities in the production of textiles.'

- ↓
- 1 [ⲛⲉ]ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧⲧ ⲡⲈⲧⲥⲰⲗⲓ ⲛⲡⲣⲟⲩⲛⲣⲉ
  - 2 [ ... ] .ⲁ ⲡϢⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥ ϫⲈ ϩⲢⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲢⲱⲢ ⲛⲡⲕ-
  - 3 [ⲁⲛ]ⲧⲢⲓⲥⲚⲞⲢ ⲛⲧⲓⲣⲞⲙⲡⲈ ⲧⲁⲓ
  - 4 [x indiction] ⲈⲓⲢ ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥ ⲥⲛⲁⲮ ⲁⲮⲈⲓ ⲈⲧⲞⲞⲧ
  - 5 [ϩⲁⲣⲞ]Ϣ ⲈⲧⲘⲢⲈⲓ ⲩⲓⲧⲞⲮ ⲈⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲞⲞⲮ
  - 6 [...]. ⲛ ⲡ(ⲁ)ⲧ(ⲧⲓ) ⲓⲈ ⲓⲛⲩ(ⲓⲕⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ) ⲓⲮ ⲡⲣⲁⲥⲈⲓ(ⲟ)ⲧ ⲈⲮⲣⲁ(ϢⲘ) ⲛ
  - 7 Hand 2 | ⲛ] ⲕⲘⲢⲓ

1 l. ⲛⲡⲡⲉϣ- 2 ⲡϢⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥ superscript 2, 4 l. ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥ 2 l. ⲈⲢⲰⲗⲓ ⲩⲛ ⲢⲱⲢ ⲛⲡⲡⲉϣ- 3 l. ⲁⲛⲁⲢⲓⲥⲚⲞⲢ

4. ⲧⲁⲡⲓⲥ : 1 *ex o corr.* 5 l. ϩⲁⲣⲟϣ l. ϣⲓⲧⲞⲮ ? 6 ⲡ<sup>o</sup> *pap.* ⲓⲛ<sup>o</sup> *pap.*, ⲡⲣⲁⲥⲈⲓ<sup>o</sup> ⲈⲮⲣⲁ<sup>o</sup> *pap.*

- 1 [ⲛ] ⲓⲧ is our father who writes to his son
- 2 [...] the rug-dealer. About your
- 3 poll-tax for this year—
- 4 here are two rugs which I have received

- 5 [for i]t (?)/from Terei. Take them to Antinoou.  
 6 [...] † (Greek:) Pauni 15, indiction 13 (?). (By?) Praseios it was written. †  
 7 | † | Keri.

2. [ ]λ: restore a personal name ending -λ, for which ΔΑΝΙΗΛ is the most commonly encountered in Coptic texts of this date.

5. [ζΑΡΟ]ε: another possible restoration is [εζραϊ ερο]ε, following No. 1.5 (λχει ετοοτ·τ εζραϊ εροα ' (which) I have received for it'). Alternatively [ζιτοοτ]ε (for ζιτοοτϣ), 'from him', compare ει ετοοτ= ζιτοοτ= in *CPR* IV 26.12 and 189b.1. In this case Terei might be the person transporting the rugs to Antinoou.

τηρει: this personal name is not attested in Heuser, but a Τηρ<ε>ι occurs in two Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* IX 1215 and *PSI* VII 808, both dating to the 2nd–3rd centuries.

Οι τηρειβιτοϣ for ντερειβιτοϣ 'then I had taken them'?

6. ιγ: is ιε '15' also possible?

Πρασειω: looks like a hellenized form of the Coptic word πρωε, 'joy' (Crum, *Dict.* 309a, ρωε) which is attested as a personal name (Heuser 43, 64). A Prasi occurs in *P.Camb.* UL Michael. Q109/2 side (B) l. 3 (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.11 for this collection).

If the scribe's name is indeed in the genitive, this supports a reading Γεωργιου in No 9.4.

TEXT SIGNED BY KER = KERI?

### 13

## AUTHORIZATION OF PAYMENT TO BAKERS

P.Ismailia inv. 525  
 a.k.a. inv. 1140  
 Plate VI

45 × (at least) 135 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Papyrus

Preservation: Only the left-hand side of this 4-line text is preserved. The surface of the papyrus is damaged, affecting the legibility of some letters in ll. 1–2.

Palaeography: For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see I.11.

Provenance: Excavated at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit by Jean Clédat. The left-hand side of the frame in which this papyrus is mounted is twice inscribed 'Baouît' (in different hands?) at top and bottom.

Acquisition: Given to the Ismailia Museum following Clédat's excavations at Bawit.

This text was issued to someone from the place of the weavers (I.13). It may be that the signatory, Ker, can be identified with Keri from Nos. 1–12.

- ↓  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝΠϣ[ΩΗΡΕ ΝΝ]  
 2 ΠΑΠΜΑΝΕΣΑΩΤ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΜΟ[...]  
 3 ΠΝΑΜΡΗΥ ΝΠΜΑΝΤΩΘ ΕΠΙ[...]  
 4 Hand 2 † ΚΗΡ

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his [son NN]  
 2 of the place of the weavers/Pmanesasht. Give ... [...]  
 3 to the bakers from the bakery ... [...]  
 4 † Ker.

## TEXTS SIGNED BY DANIEL

A Daniel also occurs as a signatory in No. 60.

Text	Julian calendar date	Egyptian Date	Content	Scribe
14	March 7, ind. 8	Phamenoth 11, ind. 8	Poll-tax receipt	Elias (2)
15	May 12, ind. 9	Pachon 17, ind. 9	Receipt for stone	Victor (1)
16	August 13, ind. 9	Mesore 20, ind. 9	Order for payment in wine	Victor (1)
17	August 1, ind. [...]	Mesore 8, ind. [...]	Order to supply wheat	—

## 14

## POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Mich. inv. 1520  
Plate VII

72 × 146 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown 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 λ. The date and scribe's name are written in a Greek-type cursive. For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see **I.11**. This text employs a mark resembling an 'acute accent' to mark syllabic function in ΝΤΟΟΤΑ΄ l. 3, and on the first τ in ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ΄ΤΝ l. 2. It also uses a superlinear dot in place of the trema (σζλι l. 1 and ιερεμιας l. 4).

Provenance: Unknown. The place of origin may have been Bawit because this document is addressed to the brothers of the poll-tax.

Acquisition: See **I.15**

Bibliography: Edited by Husselman (1951: 334-335) (where it was numbered 'P.Mich. 1524'); and mentioned in *P.Mich.Copt.*, p. 21.

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Phamenoth 11 (March 7), indiction 8.

Scribe: Elias (2; **I.9**).

The brothers of the poll-tax are told to take wine worth a solidus from the sons of Prashe, of the monastery of Apa Jeremias of Pmanbête (**I.13**).

↓

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΠΑΝ-  
 2 ΔΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΧΙ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚΟΤ ΤΝ ΝΗΡΠ  
 3 ΝΤΟΟΤϚ ΝΕΦΕΝ ΠΡΑΦΕ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΠΜΟΝ  
 4 ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΠΑΠΜΑΝΒΗΤΕ † ἔγρα(άφη Φαμ(εν)ω(θ) ια ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) η Ηλιας  
 5 Hand 2 † ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΣΤΟΙΧΙ †

1 ΠΝΕΣΝΗΥ Μ- 2 ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ 3 ΠΝΦΕΝ-, ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ?  
 4 εγρ, Φαμ, ἰνδ, 5 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ

- 1 † It is our father who writes to the brothers of the poll-tax.  
 2 Take a solidus (ὀλοκόττινος) of wine  
 3 from the sons of Prashe, the men of the monastery  
 4 of Jeremias of Pmanbête. (Greek:) † Written (in) Phamenoth (day) 11, indiction 8,  
 Elias.  
 5 † Daniel agrees.

1, 4. †: the *ed. pr.* gave †.

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. 4 (I.7).

3. ΝΤΟΟΤϚ: the second ο has been changed from another character.

ΠΡΑΦΕ: this has been written around two small marks like a \ on the papyrus.

ΜΟΝ: the *ed. pr.* had ΜΟΝΑ, but no final λ 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 λ, to give ΜΑ Ν- 'place of'.

5. †, ΣΤΟΙΧΙ †: these were omitted in the *ed. pr.* Apart from the initial σ, ΣΤΟΙΧΙ † has been almost completely erased, and is reconstructed after No. 16.5.

## 15

## RECEIPT FOR STONE

P.Camb. UL Michael. 1120  
 Plate VII

63 × 173 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Light brown papyrus

Preservation: (A) 5 lines, (B) 3 lines; text is completely preserved on both sides.

Palaeography: Hand 1 belongs to the scribe Victor who writes in a small, right-sloping hand semi-cursive hand, with some majuscule forms. Tioid ψ (ψλ2 l. 1). For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see I.11. The docket is written in a faltering semi-cursive hand (hand 3).

Provenance: Unknown; the presence of Daniel's signature suggests Bawit as a place of origin.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 11.

Addressee: Apollo the *sah* and Shenoute the builder.

Document date: Pachon 17 (May 12), indiction 9.

Scribe: Victor (1; I.9).

Acknowledgement of receipt of a stone from the *sah* Apollo and the builder Shenoute, stating that it has been given to Papnoute, a builder from Posh (I.13). Since this receipt is for a single stone, one may assume that it was special in some way. There is nothing to indicate that it was in any way precious, or that it had a specialist function, perhaps as a mill-stone or other practical application. It is possible, given Bawit's reputation for high quality decorative stonework, that this stone had been elaborately worked by Apollo and Shenoute.

This text may show how the head of the monastery oversaw the building works, keeping a record of tasks assigned to different craftsmen, since he mentions the stones ascribed to these two men.

(A) ↓

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΪ ΝΠΩΗΡΕ ΨΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ  
 2 ΜΝ ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΚΩΤ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΩΝΕ ΛΒΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΤ  
 3 ΖΝ ΝΩΝΕ ΕΥΣΗΖ ΝΣΩΤΝ ΝΤΑΙΤΑΛΒ ΕΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 4 ΠΕΚΩΤ ΝΠΩ † Παχω(ν) ιζ ινδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) θ † Βικτ(ωρ) ἔγραψα †  
 5 Hand 2 † ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΣΤΗΧΕ

(B) → Docket. Hand 3.

- 6 † ΠΕΤΑΚ ΝΩΝΕ  
 Erased, at 180° to l. 6. (hand 1 or 3?)  
 7 † ΠΕΤΑΚ ΝΩΝΕ  
 8 illegible traces of ± 10 letters

1 l. ΝΠΩΗΡ- 2 l. ΛΒ- 3 l. ΝΤΑΙΤΑΛΒ 4 Παχ°, ινδ°, Βικ° pap.  
 5 l. ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ 6,7 l. ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ (?)

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son, the scribe Apollo  
 2 and Shenoute the builder. A stone has come into my hands  
 3 from the stones ascribed to you. It is to Papnoute,  
 4 the builder of Posh, that I have given it. (Greek:) † Pachon 17, indiction 9. † Victor, I  
 wrote. †  
 5 † Daniel agrees.  
 6 Receipt for stone.  
 7 Receipt for stone.  
 8 ...

2, 4. ΕΚΩΤ: as Martin Krause (1991: 1292-1293) has already pointed out, builders and others involved in construction work are mentioned in inscriptions from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1931-43: 70, No. 100 ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗΣ; 112, No. 348.2 ΦΙΒ; 151, ΗΚΩΤ No. 548.2 ΜΗΝΑ). An interpretation of ΠΕΚΩΤ as a personal name is highly unlikely in this text.

3. ΕΥΣΗΖ ΝΣΩΤΝ: No. 49.4, contains the phrase ΕΥΣΗΖ ΝΣΑ-. The Η in ΣΗΖ resembles a Π.

6. †: the upper part of this sign is damaged and may be a †.



## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

BKU III 367 (P.Berlin inv. No. 22 123)  
Plate VIII

90 × 140 mm

(script) 8th century  
Papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved.

Palaeography: Hand 1 belongs to the scribe Victor, and is a mixture of right-sloping cursive and majuscule forms. The following may have hooked tails ι, κ, ρ, τ, γ, and ϣ. Most of l. 4 is written in a Greek-type cursive hand. For Daniel's signature (hand 2), see I.11. Together with the superlinear stroke which is used inconsistently to mark syllabic function (̄ n ll. 1 and 3 (bis)), a mark resembling an acute accent may also be used without syllabic function once (πῆτ- l. 1).

Provenance: Unknown; the presence of the signatory Daniel and of the place name, Pmansike, both suggest Bawit as the place of origin.

Acquisition: In 1966 the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin purchased this papyrus from a private collection, together with BKU III 392, 413, 433.

Bibliography: edited in BKU III, pp. 80-81.

Addressees: Apa Victor and the brothers.

Document date: Mesore 20 (August 13), indiction 9.

Scribe: Victor (1; I.9).

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 ΠΕΤΣΖΛῙ ἸΠΠΩΗΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ  
2 ΜΝ ΝΕΣΝΗΟΥ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΤΤΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ  
3 ἸΚΛΔΟΥΣ ἸΗΡΠ ΝΙΩΣΛΗΝΣ ΠΑΠΜΑΝ-  
4 ΣΙΚΕ ΓΙ(νεται) οἴ(νου) κάδ(οι) π Μεσο(ρη) κ ἰνδ(ικτίωνο)ς θ † Βικτ(ωρ)  
5 εγρ † Hand 2 † ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΣΤΟΙΧΙ †

1 l. ἸΠΠΕΩ- 2 l. ΣΝΗΥ 4 γι-οι- κάδ-οι, Μεσο, ἰνδ-οι, Βικ-οι pap. 5 ἔγραψα, l. στοιχει

1 † It is our father who writes to his son, Apa Victor,  
2 and the brothers. Give eighty  
3 jars (κάδος) of wine to Iohanes of the mill/Pmansike.  
4 (Greek:) Total: jars of wine 80. Mesore 20, indiction 9. † Victor,  
5 I wrote. † † Daniel agrees. †

2. ΤΤΟΥ ΝΧΟΥΩΤ: literally 'four twenties'; this expression, using the vigesimal system rather than ζμηνε 'eighty', is found in literary and documentary texts (Crum, *Dict.* p. 794b).

4. θ: the *ed. pr.* considered this reading doubtful.

Βικ-οι: the beta is open and was queried in the *ed. pr.*

5. εγρ: the *ed. pr.* considered the gamma uncertain.



## TEXTS SIGNED BY GEORGIOS

Text	Julian calendar date	Egyptian Date	Content	Scribe
18	December 12/13, indiction 6	Choiak 16, ind. 6	Order to supply wheat	Anoup
19	October 13/14 (?), indiction 7	Phaophi 16 (?), ind. 7	Order to supply greens and other items	—
20	—	—	Order to supply aracus and barley	—

## 18

## ORDER TO SUPPLY WHEAT

BL Or. 6201B (48) side (B)  
Plate IX

90 × 122 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved. The text on side (A) is a fragment of a protocol written with a thick pen (no plate).

Palaeography: Hand 1 is an experienced semi-cursive hand. For the signature of Georgios (hand 2), see I.11. In addition to the superlinear stroke which has syllabic function in ΝΜΟΟΥ and ΝΣΩΦ in l. 4, this text also uses a mark resembling an acute accent in ϛ'ΤΟΥ and Ν' - in l. 2.

Linguistic note: The spelling of στοιχει as στοιχεγε in l. 5 is noteworthy: it also occurs in 20.8, and may be reconstructed in 19.6.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

Addressee: Papa Shenoute (Nos. 20, 28, 46; I.8).

Document date: Choiak 16 (December 12/13), indiction 6.

Scribe: Anoup.

Papa Shenoute is ordered to give four artabas of wheat to Kollouthe.

→  
 1 ϛ' ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΪ ΝΠϞΩΗΡΕ ΠΠΑΠΑ  
 2 ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ ϛ'ΤΟΥ ΝΕΡΤΟϞ Ν'ΣΟΥΟ  
 3 ΝΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΕ ΒΛΑΝΟΝ ΝϞΧΟΥ ΤΗΣΣΕ  
 4 ΝΜΟΟΥ ΝΣΩΦ ϛ' μ Χ<sup>κ</sup> ις ιν<sup>δ</sup> ϛ ϛ' Ανο<sup>ν</sup>π εγρ̄  
 5 Hand 2 ϛ' ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΓΕ

1 ΠΠΕϞ- 2 ΡΤΟϞ 4 ΝΜΟΟΥ, μηνι Χοιακ, ινδικτιωνος, ἔγραψα  
 5 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son, the Papa
- 2 Shenoute. Give four artabas of wheat
- 3 to Kollouthe (son of ?) Banon (?) and let him send ...
- 4 of them for it (?). (Greek:) In the month of Choiak, (day) 16 indiction 6. † Anoup, I wrote.
- 5 † Georgios agrees.

3. ΒΑΝΟΝ: if this is a personal name, it is not recorded in Heuser, Preisigke *NB* or Foraboschi *Onomasticon*. The name ΒΑΝΟΣ is listed in Heuser p. 45, and a Βανος occurs in *BGU XII* 2159.3, 16 and *V<sup>o</sup>* (as Herwig Maehler kindly pointed out to me); the genitive form Βανου occurs in *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1077 foll. 2→1. 5; 3→1. 5 (bis); 4→1. 18; 5↓ II. 3, 10, 19; and 6.13.

ΤΗΣΣΕ: the personal name Τησσοσ is recorded in a second-century Greek papyrus (Preisigke *NB*). Alternatively ΤΗΣΣΕ may be an unusual abbreviated form of τέσσαρες 'four', the equivalent of ἡ τεσσαρον in l. 2.

## 19

## ORDER TO SUPPLY GREENS AND OTHER ITEMS

BL Or. 6201B (241) side (B)

80 × 130 mm

(script) 8th century

BL Or. 6201B (241) side (A) text 2

Light to mid-brown papyrus (see No. 86)

Plate X

Preservation: Side (B) contains 6 lines of text, with all but the right-hand margin preserved; side (A) contains three lines of text in the same hand and ink which may be a partially-preserved docket, written at 180° to No. 86, the first text inscribed on this papyrus. The central part of this papyrus is so damaged that much of the text is now practically illegible; there are also a couple of lacunae.

Palaeography: Hand 1 is small and cursive and written in brown ink. Hand 2 belongs to Georgios (I.11).

Provenance: Unknown. For the place name Teshnê, see I.13.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

Addressee(s): ... of Teshnê.

Document date: Phaophi 16 (?) (October 13/14), indiction 7.

This order is addressed to a person or persons who may be from Teshnê, and concerns a payment of greens (I.14) and possibly wine to men who may work for a *shaliou* called Iohanes.

(B) →

- 1 †
- 2 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΙ ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΝΕ.[...]
- 3 ΝΤΕΩΝΗ ±6 ΧΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΟΤΕ ΖΙ[...]
- 4 ΝΕΡΩΜ[Ε ±4 ΙΩ]ΖΑΝΗΣ ...Ε[...]
- 5 ΠΕΩΛΛΙΟΥ Α ±4 Μ Φ<sup>ω</sup> ΙΣ ΙΥ<sup>δ</sup> Ζ.[...]
- 6 Hand 2 † ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ

(A) ↓

- 7 [...] ±8 illegible
- 8 [...]..ΜΕ ΝΠΚΥΡ ±9 ΕΓΡ ±9
- 9 [...] ΟΙΝ<sup>ου</sup> .. Α ΕΝ ±5 ΟΙΝ<sup>ου</sup> ΠΑΛΥ .. Α ΕΝ

Ι ΠΝΕϞ 2 ΟΥΟΟΤΕ 5 ΜΗΝΙ ΦΑΩΦΙ, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ 6 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ  
9 ΟΙΝΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΥ

1 †  
 2 † It is our father who writes to his sons the [...]  
 3 of Teshnê (?) ... Give greens and ...  
 4 the men [... Io]hanes (?) ...  
 5 the *shaliou* ... (Greek:) In the month of Phaophi, (day) 16 (?) indiction 7 (?) [...]  
 6 † Georgios (?) agrees (?)  
 Docket?  
 7 ...  
 8 [...] ... of the lord ... Written ...  
 9 (Greek:) ... of wine 1, one ... of vintage wine 1, one

2. † : before the cross is a sign possibly belonging to an earlier text written on this papyrus. Below the † the upper part of an  $\mu$  or  $\nu$  is visible.

$\eta\epsilon\cdot$ : restore  $\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\mu$ - 'the men', *vel sim.* here.

3.  $\tau\epsilon\omega\eta\eta$ : Crum (*Dict.* p. 572a  $\omega\eta\eta$ ) cited occurrences of the term  $\omega\eta\eta$  in BL Or. 6201B (204) (No. 28) and 6201B (211) (No. 53) ( $\tau\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma \eta\omega\eta\eta$ ), but not the present papyrus.

4.  $\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\mu[\epsilon \pm 4 \text{ } \text{I}\omega]\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$ : restore as  $\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\mu[\epsilon \eta\eta\kappa\gamma\gamma\prime \text{I}\omega]\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$  'the men [of the lord Io]hanes', following l. 8 of the supposed docket; alternatives include  $\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\mu[\epsilon \eta\eta\mu\alpha \eta\text{I}\omega]\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$  'the men [of the place of Io]hanes', and  $\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\mu[\epsilon \eta\alpha\pi\alpha \text{I}\omega]\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$  'the men [of Apa Io]hanes', *vel sim.*

5.  $\zeta$  [...]: possibly read † or  $\epsilon[\gamma\rho]$  following the indiction year.

6. This line is practically illegible and has been read with the help of Nos. 20.8 and 18.5.

8.  $\text{I}\omega\mu\epsilon$ : read  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \eta\eta\kappa\gamma\gamma\prime \text{I}\omega\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\varsigma$  'men of the lord Iohanes'?

## 20

## ORDER TO SUPPLY ARACUS AND BARLEY

BL Or. 6201A (179) side (B)  
 Plate IX

143 × 175 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Reddish-brown papyrus (see No. 81)

Preservation: 8 lines and all margins.

Palaeography: Hand 1 is an experienced semi-cursive hand, similar to the one used for 62. For the signature of Georgios (hand 2), see I.11.

Linguistic note: The spelling of  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\iota$  as  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  in l. 8 is noteworthy, and also occurs in 18.5, and possibly 19.6.

Provenance: Unknown. Probably Bawit because of Georgios' signature, and since the field mentioned in l. 3 was located in Taparou (I.13), which was very near Titkoo.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11. Note that this text has recently been erroneously labelled 'BL Or. 6201A (180)' and that BL Or. 6201A (178) is in a frame with BL Or. 6201A (180).

Addressee: Papa Shenoute (the oil-dealer) (Nos. 18, 28, 46; I.8).

In this text, Papa Shenoute is identified as an oil-dealer, and is ordered to make equal payments to four cultivators of two artabas of the fodder crop, aracus, and of barley (I.14). Presumably these amounts represent payment for work carried out on 'the field of Taparou' (l. 3).

→

1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΣΑΪ ΝΠϞΩΗΡΕ ΠΠΑΠΑ ΩΕ-  
 2 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΣΑΡΗΖ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΝΙΑΡΑΚΕ  
 3 ΝΕΙΟΥΟΙΕ ΝΦΟΪ ΝΤΑΠΑΡΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΓΝ<sup>ω</sup>

4	ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΟΥΟΪΕ	αρακ/ αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β	ς κρι <sup>ο</sup> αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β
5	ΑΠΑΚΥΡΙ	αρακ/ αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β	ς κρι <sup>ο</sup> αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β
6	ΠΗΥ	αρακ/ αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β	ς κρι <sup>ο</sup> αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β
7	ΖΗΛΙΑΣ	αρακ/ αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β	ς κρι <sup>ο</sup> αρ <sup>τ</sup>	β
8	Hand 2 † ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΥΕ				

2 ΣΑΡΝΕΣ 3 ΠΝΕΙΟΥΟΪΕ Π-, ΓΝΩΣΙΣ 4 ΟΥΟΪΕ  
4-7 ἀράκου ἀρτάβαι, κριθῆς ἀρτάβαι 8 στοιχει

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son, the Papa Shenoute,
- 2 the oil-dealer. Give this aracus
- 3 to these cultivators of the field of Taparou according to this list:
- 4 George the cultivator: 2 artabas of aracus and 2 artabas of barley
- 5 Apakyri 2 artabas of aracus and 2 artabas of barley
- 6 Pieu 2 artabas of aracus and 2 artabas of barley
- 7 Helias 2 artabas of aracus and 2 artabas of barley
- 8 † Georgios agrees.

2. ΣΑΡΝΗΣ: an oil-dealer also occurs in another *Our father*-formula text, No. 40, and in inscriptions from Bawit (Clédat 1904–6: 160; 1916: 31, No. 16; 33, No. 29; Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 109, No. 326; Krause 1988: 119, Apa Mena). Crum referred to this text (*Dict.* p. 241a); see also *CPR* XII p. 38, and Gascou and Worp 1990.

5 ΑΠΑΚΥΡΙ: this is interpreted here as a name because none of the other names in this text have the title ΑΠΑ; it occurs in an inscription from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 160 Ἀπακῦρις), and in a number of Coptic and Greek papyri (Coptic: *P.Bal.* index p. 816, *P.HermitageCopt.* 9 v l. 2, 26.3, and 32.7; and Greek: *P.Apoll.Ano* 74 ll. A15 and B8 (709–10 A.D.), and *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 23 l. A13 and 24 l. A9.). An [ΑΠΑ]ΚΥΡΕ also occurs in BL Or. 6201A (29), a marriage document published by Kahle (1951: 335–339).

## TEXT SIGNED BY GERMANOS

## 21

## ORDER TO SELL PLAITED WORK

BM EA 75330 side (B)  
Plate XI

115 × 175 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 87)

Preservation: 8 incomplete lines and all but the left margin are preserved. The papyrus is crumpled and needs to be conserved.

Palaeography: An experienced, right-sloping, flowing majuscule with few ligatures (exx. τῖ and λῖ l. 6). Minuscule and majuscule η.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Addressee: Jerem[ias].

Document date: Thoth 30 (September 27/28), indiction 2.

Germanos the signatory authorizes Jeremias to sell some *shonte*, possibly to be identified as a woven commodity (ϜΟΝΤΕ, I.14). Also involved in the transaction is someone called Mena, either the buyer or

even the producer of the *shonte*. In No. 12, a rug-dealer may be ordered to take some rugs to Antinoe, presumably to sell them there, as payment of his poll-tax.

Germanos also occurs as a signatory in a *Our father*-formula text belonging to the MRAH, P.Brux. Inv. E. 9146 (personal communication from Alain Delattre, 6 July 2001).

→

1 †  
 2 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΝΠΦΩΗΡΕ ΙΕΡΗΜ[ΙΑΣ ...]  
 3 ΧΕ ΤΙ ΤΦΟΝΤΕ ΤΝΤΕ ΝΜΗΝΑ ΠΡΦ[Μ ...]  
 4 ΝΛΦ ΕΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΣΟΥΦΛ ΜΖΟΥΦ Ν...[...]  
 5 ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΕΙΕ ΤΝΟΟΥΦ ΝΛ! [...]  
 6 ΤΙΜΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΛΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΥΦ [...]  
 7 ΛΙΝΟΧΦ ΕΡΟΚ † μ(ηνι) Θωθ λ ινδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) β †  
 8 Hand 2 † ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΙ †

2 l. ἄπειφ- 5 l. ζολοκοττινοι 7 μ-, ινδο pap. 8 l. στοιχει

1 †  
 2 † It is our father who writes to his son Jerem[ias ...]  
 3 Sell the two pieces of plaited work to Mena, the ma[n from ...]  
 4 (to) him (?). If they are worth more than [one?]  
 5 solidus, then send it to me [...]  
 6 price according to the *dikaion*/what is right (?). Here is Proou [...]  
 7 I have consigned (?) him to you. (Greek:) † In the month of Thoth, (day) 30, indiction 2  
 †.  
 8 † Germanos agrees. †

3. τῖ : this has been translated here as 'sell' rather than 'give' (as in other texts) because the value and price of the commodity in question is mentioned later on.

ΦΟΝΤΕ: an interpretation of this as 'acacia' (Crum, *Dict.* 573a ΦΟΝΤΕ) seems less likely, although acanthus is mentioned in a Greek papyrus, *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 13, which lists various διανομαί of a monastery of Ara Apollo ([ἄ]καυθ(αι) l. 8).

5. ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΕΙΕ ΤΝΟΟΥΦ ΝΛ!: the use of the singular masculine resumptive pronoun -φ after ΤΝΟΟΥΦ, suggests that a sum one solidus and no more is in question here.

6. ΤΙΜΗ: another interpretation of this is a form of the Coptic word †ΜΕ 'village'.

ΠΡΟΥΦ: for the personal name Proou (Heuser 37), see Green 1983; + Gonis *ZPE* 131 2000 (150-154), a publication of a Theban poll-tax receipt, P.Duk. inv. 455v.

7. ΛΙΝΟΧΦ: literally 'I have thrown him'.

Θωθ λ: alternatively an λ '1' may be read rather than λ '30'.

8. ΣΤΟΙΧΙ: the ο is cursively written and looks like a γ.

## TEXT SIGNED BY PETRE

## 22

## TAX DOCUMENT

P.Camb. UL Green 86  
Plate XI

78 × 105 mm

(script) 8th Century  
Mid-brown papyrus

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle sometime in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

Addressee: Pshoi.

Document date: Phamenoth 15 (March 11), indiction 10.

Scribe: Thomas.

This text has been included because it is a similar type of document to the *Our father*-formula poll-tax documents. It was issued by Petre the *proestôs*.

→  
1 † ΠΕΤΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΪΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΤΣ-  
2 ΖΑΪ ΜΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΩΦΪ ΧΕ (Ε)ΪΣ ΟΥ-  
3 ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΗ ΛΒΪ ΕΤΟΤ ΧΕ  
4 ΜΤΕΜΟΣΕ ΜΒΗΝΕ ΜΠΟΥ  
5 ΝΖΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΣΟΥ ΪΕ ΜΠΑΡΕΜ-  
6 ΖΟΤΠ ΝΤΪΡΟΠΕ ΤΑΪ ΤΕΚΑ-  
7 ΤΗΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΪ  
8 Hand 2 ΠΕΤΡΕ Π[ΕΠΡΟΪΣΤΟΣ ΣΤΗΧΕ †]

1, 8 ΠΡΟΕΣΤΩΣ 3 ΖΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ ΛΧΕΙ ΕΤΟΤ ΖΑ 4 ΠΛΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ 6 ΡΟΜΠΕ 6-7 ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ

1 † It is Petre, the *proestôs*, who w-  
2 rites to brother (*pason*) Pshoi. Here is a  
3 solidus which I have received for  
4 Bêne's taxes this very  
5 day which is day 15 of Pham-  
6 enoth of this tenth year.  
7 It is Thomas who writes.  
8 Petre th[e *proestôs* agrees. †]

4. ΒΗΝΕ: for this personal name, see Crum, *Dict.* 40a ΒΗΝΕ, Preisigke *NB* Βῆννε.

[SJC thought it might be possible to interpret ΤΕΜΟΣΕ ΜΒΗΝΕ as referring to a date tax.]



## TEXT SIGNED BY PHIB

## 23

## ORDER

BM EA 75306  
Plate XII

89 × 165 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus

Preservation: All 7 lines and margins of this text are preserved.

Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand.

Linguistic note: The word ΠΑΧΩΝΗ (l. 3) involves χω for τω, a dialectal variant not recorded by Kahle in *P.Bal.* chapter 8; χ for τω is, however, attested (*P.Bal.*, p. 132, §116).

Provenance: Unknown. The place name Pmanle (l. 2) suggests a connection with Bawit (I.13).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Addressee: Mena of Pmanle.

Document date: ? Thoth (end August / September), indiction 11.

Phib authorizes Mena of Pmanle to do something as soon as George from Teshnê/the garden (I.13) gives him this note. A Phib also occurs on text No. 75.2.

↓  
1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ΝΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΗΝΑ  
2 ΠΑΠΜΑΝΛΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΕΓΕΩΡΓΕ  
3 ΠΑΧΩΝΗ ΜΑΤΙ ΝΠΕΠΕΤΤΑΓΝ ΝΑΚ  
4 ...[±2]ε.. ±6 [.]ε ±6 ε ±2  
5 ..2 ΘΕΜΤΕΜ .ΗΜΕ ΛΙΒΙΤΟΥ..[.].  
6 .ωω..ε μ Θ<sup>ω</sup>θ . ι[v]<sup>δ</sup>/ ια  
7 Hand 2 ΦΙΒ

1 ΠΠΕΩ- 2 ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ 3 ΠΑΤΕΩΝΗ ΜΑΤΙ ΝΠ(Ε)ΠΠΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ

5 ΛΙΒΙΤΟΥ 6 ι[v]δ(ικτίωνος)

1 † It is our father who writes to his son Mena  
2 of Pmanle. As soon as George  
3 from Teshnê/the garden gives this note to you  
4 ...  
5 ... I took them (?) ...  
6 ... (Greek:) Thoth, indiction 11.  
7 Phib.

1. ΜΗΝΑ: following this there is a lacuna which may contain a c.

2–3. ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΑΧΩΝΗ: a George of the great garden (ΤΝΟΣ ΝΩΝΗ) is mentioned in No. 53.

3. ΝΠΕΙ: the π looks more like a τ; for Greek neuter nouns treated as feminine in Coptic, see Förster *WB* xxv.

5. [SJC wondered about reading ..2 ΘΕΜΤΕΜ .ΗΜΕ as ..2 ΘΕ ΝΓΕΝΗΜΑ. She intended to revise the final 4 lines].

6. Possibly read name ΠΑΜΟΥΝ here instead of .ωω..ε?

## TEXT SIGNED BY THEODORUS

## 24

GARMENTS AS PAYMENT FOR COLLECTING *aparchê*?

P.Vindob. K 11375 side (B)  
Plate XII

85 × 145 mm

(script) ? century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 75)

Preservation: All 5 lines of text preserved, written on the back of a papyrus previously used for No. 75.

Acquisition: See I.15

Bibliography: corrigenda in Clackson, *Tyche* 17 (2002) p. 261 (*Korr. Tyche* 285); ed. pr. Hasitzka (2001). Advertised for sale in Hakkert (1967, No. 118, inv. No. C 1, pl. 11). Note that this is the text referred to as 'P.Vindob. K 11.375 (1)' in *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 18, 28, 29.

Addressee: Apa Petros the *oikonomos*.

Document date: Pachon 8 (May 3), indiction 12.

Scribe: Makare.

Can this be taken to be evidence of the monastery's involvement in the collection of *aparchê*, despite Wipszycka's reservations (Wipszycka 2001)? Apa Petros the *oikonomos* is to provide Ammône with items of clothing before he leaves for his assignment to collect *aparchê* in Pankalou. This interpretation rests upon the meaning of εϞκη ε- in l. 3.

↓

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΪ ΜΠϞΩΗΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ  
2 ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΛΟΥΒΙΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ  
3 ΝΖΟΪΤΕ ΝΑΜΜΩΝΕ ΕϞΚΗ ΕΠΑΝΚΑΛΟΥ ΝΣΦΚ  
4 ΑΠΑΡΧ(Η) † Μ(ΗΝΙ) Π(Α)Χ(ΩΝ) Η ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝ)Ο(Σ) ΙΒ Μακαρε ἔγρα(α)σα †  
5 Hand 2 † ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΣΤΗΧΕ †

4 απ αρ<sup>x</sup>, μ' Π<sup>x</sup> η ιν<sup>δo</sup>, εγρ pap.

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son Apa Petros  
2 the steward. Give a *lebitôn* and a small  
3 garment to Ammône who is going to Pankalou to collect  
4 *aparchê*. (Greek:) † In the month of Pachon, (day) 8, indiction 12. Makare, I wrote. †  
5 † Theodoros agrees. †

1. ΜΠϞΩΗΡΕ: the *ed. pr.* read ΠϞΩΗΡΕ (Hasitzka, 2001: 56).

2. ΛΟΥΒΙΤΟΥ: this form is not listed among the variants given in Förster *WB* λεβίτων. A tunic without sleeves, the *lebiton* was one of the basic garments of a monk (Innemeer 1992: 101–102). The *Historia Lausiaca* notes that the only clothes of Apa Apollo were this garment and a *lention* on his head (Innemeer 1992: 109). Compare the payment of one of these garments, possibly to a monk, in return for carpentry work at the Monastery at Wadi Sarga, *P.Sarga* 161 (ΛΩΒΙΤΩΝ, l. 10).

2-3. ΚΟΥΪ ΝΖΟΪΤΕ: the implication of this is uncertain. Greek equivalents of ΖΟΙΤΕ listed in Crum, *Dict.* 720b ΖΟ(Ε)ΙΤΕ include ἱμάτιον and χιτῶν.

εϞΚΗ: the *ed. pr.* read ε Ϟ Η and did not translate (Hasitzka, 2001: 56).

ΠΑΝΚΑΛΟΥ: possibly a form of Pankoleus, the birthplace of the martyr, Apa Epima, and to be identified with Παγγουλείου, a place in the Oxyrhynchite nome frequently mentioned in Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus (Timm pp. 1833–1834 *Pankôleus*).

4. η: omitted from the transcription in the *ed. pr.*, although supplied in the translation (Hasitzka, 2001: 56–57). It may be that day κ ‘20’ is also possible.

Μακαρε̅ ἔγρ(αψα) †: the *ed. pr.* read Μακαρια (Hasitzka, 2001: 56). It appears as though a cross was written above the ρ of Μακαρε̅.

5. στηχε: the *ed. pr.* read στέχε (Hasitzka, 2001: 56).

## TEXT WITH SIGNATORY NOT PRESERVED

## 25

## TAX DOCUMENT

P.Camb. UL Green 3  
Plate XIII

72 × 115 mm

(script) 8th century  
Papyrus

Preservation: (A) 7 lines of text are preserved, most lines are partially faded, and the final line is now illegible except for a few scattered unintelligible characters; a 2-line docket was written at 180° by the lower right-hand edge of side (B). The papyrus was folded vertically and horizontally.

Palaeography: (B) The docket is written in a small minuscule hand (Hand 2). Tioid psi in ΨON l. 8.

Provenance: Unknown. The place of origin was possibly Bawit. τκερωη (ll. 3, 8) may be identified as the Hermopolite place el-Bersha (I.13).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle sometime in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Choiak 21 (December 17/18), indiction 1.

Scribe: Anoup (No. 18; I.9).

‘Our father’ addresses the brothers of the poll-tax, presenting a solidus for Joseph the brother of Mouses of Tbershê. This may be Joseph's poll-tax payment, and he may have given it to Papa Anoup the *shaliou* 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.

This text is noteworthy for preserving what appears to be the Coptic form of the modern el-Bersha.

[SJC intended to recheck her readings of this text.]

(A) →

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ΝΝΩΦΗΡΕ
- 2 ΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΠΑΝ^ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΣΟΛΟΚ Ε-
- 3 ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΣΟΝ ΝΨΑΣ [ΜΩ]ΥΣΗΣ ΠΑΤΚΕΡΩΗ
- 4 ΝΤΑ...ΑΡ ΜΠΠΑΠ[Λ ΛΝ]ΟΥΠ ΠΩΛΛΙΟΥ
- 5 ΣΑ ΝΩΟΜΤΕ ΝΒ.ΛΥ.Ν † ΜΨ<sup>κ</sup> ΚΑ Ι<sup>δ</sup> Α
- 6 ΑΝΟΥΠ ΕΓΡ
- 7 ±10

(B) ↓ Docket. Hand 2

- 8 ΙΩΣΗΦ (space) ΨΟΝ ΝΜΩΥΣΗΣ
- 9 ΠΑΤ (space) ΚΕΡΩΗ Ν° Λ

1 ΝΝΕϣ- 2 ΜΠΑΝΑΡΙΜΟΣ, ΣΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ 5 Μ-, μ(ηνι) Χ(οια)κ, ι(ν)δ(ικτίωνος)

6 ἔγραψα 9 ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ(ΤΙΟΝ)

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his sons,  
 2 the brothers of the poll-tax. Here is a solidus for  
 3 Joseph the brother of the scribe Mouses of Tbershê  
 4 ... the Papa Anoup, the *shaliou*,  
 5 for the three ... (Greek:) † In the month of Choiak, (day) 21, indiction 1.  
 6 Anoup, I wrote.  
 7 ...  
 8 (Coptic:) Joseph the brother of Mouses  
 9 of Tbershê, one solidus.

2. εἰς οὐρολοκ: Kahle initially wrote τῶ ?? .οὐρολοκ then suggested εἰς [ατοο]γ. Reconstruct εἰς 'here is', as in Nos. 4.2 and 11.3, but note that the phrase λαεἰ ετοοτ 'I have received it', which usually goes with εἰς ..., is not included in this text. The docket records Ν° λ, which would suggest a reading of οὐρολοκ rather than ατοογ ρολοκ here. One solidus is the most common amount paid in poll-tax documents (I.5).

3, 8-9. ΜΩΥΧΗΣ ΠΑΤΒΕΡΩΗ: this man also occurs in two unpublished Coptic papyri. The first is P.Camb. UL 1233, where he is listed along with men of ΠΜΑ ΝΑΛΥΡΙΝΕ 'the place of Daurine (Taurinus)', which may be equated with the monastery of this name in the Hermopolite nome (Drew-Bear 1979: 128 Ταυρίνου) rather than at Aphrodito (Timm p. 1446 'Kôm Ishqâw' No. 19). The second is P.Camb. UL Michael. 1047/1, which mentions ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΦΑΜΩΕ, son of ΙΣΑΚ, and ΠΒΕΛΕ, son of ΘΕΟΔΟΣΕ, who both occur in Pierpont Morgan inv. M 662 B 6a (A) text 1 (edited in MacCoull 1979-82: 4).

4. ΝΤΑ...ΛΡ: read ΝΤΑΥΤΑΛΛ? ΟΓ ΝΤΑΙΤΑΛΛ? 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. Κ.ΛΥ.Ν: this is probably to be interpreted as genitival Ν- plus a noun beginning with the letter κ (which may be representing a ς). That the noun in question is feminine is indicated by the use of ΩΟΜΤΕ rather than ΩΟΜΝΤ, the masculine form of the word for 'three'. There is no suitable Coptic word beginning with a κ and ending in a Ν listed in *Dict.inversé*, and no Greek word in LSJ. Perhaps read ΝΩΟΝΤΕ ΝΤΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ 'the plaited work (as in No. 21) for Babylon'. [SJC noted that Babylon is found as a place-name in the Hermopolite nome in an unpublished Heidelberg text].

8-9. This docket has a similar format to No. 47.

SIGNATORY = †††

## 26

### ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FISH

*P.Mil.Vogl.* IV (Copt.) inv. 3  
 Plate XIII

95 × 90 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Papyrus

Preservation: 8 lines and all margins are preserved.

Palaeography: A large majuscule hand; ω (l. 1) and ω (l. 7) are very wide; ι (l. 1) is tall; and ς is large and can extend well into the line below (l. 5). An earlier date of 6th-7th century was assigned in the ed. pr. (*P.Mil.Vogl.* IV, p. 143).

Linguistic note: In l. 6, the γ of ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ may be topped by a trema (ΤΑΥ̇ΡΙΝΕ).

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: Acquired for the Istituto di Papirologia of the Università degli Studi di Milano by Achille Vogliano sometime between 1934 and 1940, according to records presented by Gallazzi and Piacentini

IT IS OUR FATHER WH

(1998: 4-6). This pa

from George Gatsiad

Bibliography: Edited

Addressee: Proou.

Proou is ordered to

lakon of fish worth 13

This papyrus

→

1 †

2 c2

3 pe

4 pi

5 //λ

6 ΤΑ

7 ΑΥ

8

2 ΠΠΕ9- 4 ΛΑΚΟΝ

3. προογ: a saint Apa

and Anoup in inscrip

61 n. 6, Nos. 203, 17

and possibly Bawit (

and Preisigke NB Προ

5, 7. //: used to delimi

6. ταυρινε: the γ μα

7. ν° ς κδ' //: the ed

sum of money for suc

8. †††: these cross

interpreted as the 'sig

P.Louvain Lefort cop

Plate XIV

Preservation: All 11 l

Palaeography: A high

37 for a similar level

Provenance: Unknow

Acquisition: As for N

Addressee: Apa Iohan

Document date: Paun

Apa Iohannes is orde

fish. For the use of du

(1998: 4–6). This papyrus, like *P.Mil. Vogl. IV* (Copt.) inv. 1–2, may have been purchased by Vogliano from George Gatsiadis in 1934, along with other Coptic texts invv. 4–8, 10–12, 19.

Bibliography: Edited in *P.Mil.Vogl. IV*, p. 143, pl. 10.

Addressee: Proou.

Proou is ordered to give the scribe Taurine from the carpentry workshop (or the place Touasher) one *lakon* of fish worth  $1\frac{3}{24}$  of a solidus.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

→		
1	ⲧⲓ ⲡⲈⲚⲈⲒⲬⲧ ⲡⲈⲧ-	ⲧ It is our father who
2	ⲤⲒⲗⲓ ⲙⲡⲈⲪⲬⲨ-	writes to his son
3	ⲢⲈ ⲡⲢⲠⲬ ⲭⲈ ⲗ-	Proou.
4	Ⲣⲓ ⲧⲗⲒⲗⲡⲨ ⲧ ⲗⲗⲒⲠ	Be so kind as to give
5	//ⲗ// ⲚⲧⲈⲪⲧ ⲙⲡⲗⲤ	//1// <i>lakon</i> of fish to the scribe
6	ⲧⲗⲢⲓⲚⲈ ⲡⲗⲠⲠ-	Taurine from the carpentry
7	ⲗⲬⲈⲢ ⲛⲟ ⲥ ⲕⲔ' //	workshop $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{24}$ solidus //
8	ⲧⲧⲧ (±2?)	ⲧⲧⲧ (...?)

2 ⲙⲡⲈⲪ- 4 ⲗⲗⲒⲠ 5 ⲧⲈⲧ 7 ⲛⲟ(ⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁⲧⲓⲠⲟⲛ)  $\frac{1}{2}$

3. ⲡⲢⲠⲬ: a saint Apa Proou is mentioned along with Apa Patermoute and the Bawit triad of Apollo, Phib and Anoup in inscriptions from Abydos (Peet 1913: 39, No. 1.13, pl. 13 fig. 1), Saqqara (Quibell 1912: 61 n. 6, Nos. 203.17, 240.4 [correcting the reference given there to '203 n. 6' rather than '203 n. 8']), and possibly Bawit (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1, pp. 143-144, No. 16 ll. 7-9). See also Foraboschi *Onomasticon* and Preisigke *NB Προοῦς* (and variants listed there) for this name in Greek papyri.

5, 7. //: used to delimit the numeral in l. 5, and terminate the numeral in l. 7.

6. ⲧⲗⲢⲓⲚⲈ: the γ may be topped by a trema (ⲧⲗⲢⲓⲚⲈ).

7. ⲛⲟ ⲥ ⲕⲔ' //: the *ed. pr.* read ⲛⲟ ⲥ ⲕⲕ // and gave the value as twenty-one solidi, an improbably large sum of money for such a small amount of fish.

8. ⲧⲧⲧ: these crosses are joined together and the last ⲧ ends in a downwards flourish; they may be interpreted as the 'signature' of an illiterate signatory, see *P.Mon.Apollo* 24.10 commentary.

## 27

### ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF FISH AND GARUM

P.Louvain Lefort copt. 9/4  
Plate XIV

140 × 55 mm

(script) 8th century?  
Light brown papyrus

Preservation: All 11 lines of this text are perfectly preserved.

Palaeography: A highly stylised, large majuscule hand, written fluently with great panache. Compare No. 37 for a similar level of stylization.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: As for No. 43; see I.15.

Addressee: Apa Iohannes.

Document date: Pauni 25 (June 19), indiction 13.

Apa Iohannes is ordered to supply the dung-man (?), Apa Abraham, with a *lakon* of garum and one of fish. For the use of dung, see I.14.

→		
1	ⲥ	ⲥ
2	ⲥ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ-	ⲥ It is our father who
3	ϸϨⲀⲓ ΝΑΠΑ	writes to Apa
4	ⲓΩϨΑΝΝΗϸ	Iohannes.
5	ϫϸ ⲥ ΟΥΛΑΚΟΝ	Give a <i>lakon</i>
6	ΝΧΙΡ ΜΝ ΟΥΛΑ-	of garum and a <i>la-</i>
7	ΚΟΝ ΝΤΒ̄	<i>kon</i> of fish
8	ΝΑΠΑ ἈΒΡΑΣΑΜ	to Apa Abraham
9	ΠΑΨΟΤ	the dung-man (?).
10	Παῦνι κε ιγ ινδ	(Greek:) Pauni 25, 13 indiction.
11	ⲥⲥⲥ	ⲥⲥⲥ

10 ινδ(ικτίωνος)

2. ⲥ: or possibly ϫ. Where the right end of the horizontal stroke would normally finish there is an s-shaped curve downwards, also employed in the triple cross, ⲥⲥⲥ, in l. 11; and *P.Mon.Apollo* 15.1 and comm. for further Coptic and Greek texts in which ⲥ or ϫ are embellished in a similar fashion.

9. ΠΑΨΟΤ: this title, literally 'he of the dung' (ϸΟΤ, Crum, *Dict.* 359a), is also found at the Saqqara monastery of Jeremias (Wietheger, 1992: 285, ΠΑ ΠϸΟΤ; Quibell 1912 inscr. Nos. 302, 322). See also reference to the man εϸΤΑΛΟ ΜΠϸΟΤ at Saqqara (Wietheger, 1992: 282).

10. Παῦνι: the ν is written over an earlier letter.

11. ⲥⲥⲥ: see No. 26 for the significance of this sign. Like the ⲥ or ϫ in l. 2, the horizontal stroke of the final ⲥ ends with an s-shaped curve downwards.

#### TEXTS WITH NO SIGNATORY

### ORDERS FOR PAYMENT IN VARIOUS COMMODITIES

#### 28

### ORDER TO SUPPLY ARACUS

BL Or. 6201B (204) side (B)  
Plate XIV

65 × 115 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 78)

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins. Written on this papyrus after No. 78.

Palaeography: An experienced right-sloping semi-cursive hand.

Provenance: Unknown. Side (A) is an account or receipt which may mention the place name Teshnê (ΤΕΦΝΗ; I.14).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

Addressee: Papa Shenoute (Nos. 18, 20, 46; I.8).

Document date: Tybi 23 (January 18/19), indiction 5.

Scribe: Elias (1; I.9).

Papa Shenoute is ordered to supply Horion with a sack of the fodder crop, aracus (No. 20; I.14).

→	
1	ⲥ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϸϨⲀⲓ [ΜΠΕϸΩΗΡϸ]
2	ΠΠΑΠΑ ΦΕΝΟΥΤΕ ϫϸ Τⲓ ΟΥΒΟΥΝΕ

- 3      ΝΑΡΑΚΕ ΝΖΩΡΙΟΝ Τυβ κγ ιν<sup>δ</sup> ε  
 4      Ηλιας ἔγραψα †  
 5 Hand 2 traces? ..

2 σοογνε 3 Τυβι, ἰνδικτίωνος

- 1      † It is our father who writes to [his son,]  
 2      the Papa Shenoute. Give a sack  
 3      of wild chickling to Horion. (Greek:) Tybi 23, indiction 5.  
 4      Elias, I wrote †.  
 5      ...

2. σοογνε: according to *P.Sarga*, pp. 20-21 No. 3, this non-standardised measure and its Greek equivalent θαλλίον commonly contained two artabas. Shelton 1990 p. 110 refers to the ratio of three artabas per sack found in some of the *etmoulon*-ostraca. (I am grateful to John Tait for this reference.) The spelling σοογνε also occurs in *P.Sarga* 189.

3. ζωριον: see Heuser p. 84 for this name, which is well attested in Greek texts from many periods, see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *Onomasticon*.

4. †: there may be a further sign following this, which is now illegible.

5. The signature is now illegible apart from two final characters. Possibly read .ε, representing the end of στήχε?

## 29

### ORDER TO SUPPLY BARLEY

*SB Kopt.* I 291

104 × 98 mm

(script) 7th–8th century?

*P.Laur.* III 905

Light brown papyrus

Formerly P.Pintaudi Copt. inv. No. 1

Plate XV

Preservation: 9 lines and all margins of this text are preserved; P.J. Sijpesteijn (1984: 371) described the papyrus as having been 'neatly cut with a pair of scissors from a larger sheet'. Kollesis at 8mm from the left edge.

Palaeography: A large, expert majuscule hand. The lines of writing slope down to the right. This text employs a trema in the form of a small wavy line over diphthongal ι once (πετςζλι l. 1) as well as the more usual trema consisting of two dots (e.g. ἰωτ l. 3).

Provenance: Unknown. The text is addressed to Taurine who is from Pmanle (**I.14**) in the Hermopolite nome.

Acquisition: Donated to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1984 by Rosario Pintaudi who acquired it in Cairo in 1981.

Bibliography: Edited by P.J. Sijpesteijn (1984: 371–372) (where the letter z is used for ζ); a transcription and brief commentary was included in *SB Kopt.* I 291.

Addressee: Taurine of Pmanle.

Document date: Hathyr 11 (November 7/8), indiction 13.

Taurine is ordered to instruct his *apou* to go and fetch any barley the office of the *notarius* might require and to make a record of the amount given.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΙ ΜΠ̄ΩΗΡ<sup>6</sup>  
 2 ΤΑΥΡΙΝΕ ΠΑΠΜΑΝΛΕ  
 3 ΧΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΙΩΤ ΕΦΑΡΕΠΜΑ  
 4 ΜΠΙΝΟΤΑΡΙΣ ΧΡΙ<sup>Λ</sup> ΜΟΒ  
 5 ΜΑΡΕΠΕΚΑΠΟΥ ΒΩΚ  
 6 ΦΣΑΤ̄ ΝΑΥ ΕΠΚΑΣ  
 7 ΛΥΩ ΜΑΡΕΦΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΦΑΒ-  
 8 ΤΙ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΑΥ  
 9 Αθυρ ια ινδ / ιγ

3 ΠΕΙΩΤ 4 ΝΟΤΑΡΙΟΣ ΧΡΕΙΑ ΜΜΟΦ 6 ΠΦΣΑΤ̄ 7 ΦΛΦ- 9 ινδ(ικτίωνος)

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son  
 2 Taurine of Pmanle.  
 3 Any barley which the office  
 4 of the *notarius* needs  
 5 let your *apou* go  
 6 and throw it onto the ground for them  
 7 and let him reckon how much he  
 8 gives them.  
 9 (Greek:) Hathyr 11, indiction 13.

1. †: the vertical stroke of this sign extends down to l. 3 and has a hook at the bottom.  
 σζλι: the trema is shaped like a tilde.

2. ΠΜΑΝΛΕ: in the *ed. pr.* the λ was considered doubtful.

3. ΜΑ: literally 'place'.

4. Φογ χρεία 'need' used as a verb see Förster *WB* 880.

5. ΠΕΚΑΠΟΥ: 'your *apou*' may also be interpreted as a personal name involving the possessive prefix ΠΕΚ- and the word ΑΠΟΥ; compare the possible personal name ΠΕΚΡΑΝ (noting that Crum, *Dict.* p. 298b ΡΑΝ, expressed doubts about it being a name).

6. ΦΣΑΤΦ ΝΑΥ ΕΠΚΑΣ: the interpretation 'and let him sow it for them in the ground' is also possible, as σιτε (Crum, *Dict.* p. 360a) can have either meaning, and, as Crum notes, the meaning 'sow' is more common.

8. τι: the *ed. pr.* read †ι.

9. Αθυρ ια ινδ / ιγ: Hathyr 11, i.e. 7/8 November.

## 30

## ORDER TO SUPPLY CLOVER

BM EA 75328

83 × 112 mm

(script) 8th century

Wrongly renumbered as BM EA 75327

Mid-brown papyrus

Plate XV

Preservation: 6 almost complete lines and all margins are preserved; the papyrus is crumpled.

Palaeography: A well-spaced majuscule with some ligatures (for example, κτ l. 5). Minuscule η.

Linguistic note: η for ε (πητεκ- l. 5), as in No. 20.

Provenance: Unknown.



Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Addressee: Apollo.

Document date: Hathyr 9 (November 5/6), indiction 6.

Apollo is ordered to supply Victor with six artabas of clover (**I.14**).

↓  
 1 †  
 2 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΪ ΝΠΠΩΗΡΕ  
 3 ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΣΟΟΥ ΝΕΡΤΟϸ  
 4 ΝΕΔΡΙΜ ΝΠΑΩΗΡΕ  
 5 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΖΝ ΠΗΤΕΚ ΧΟ  
 6 ΖΙΩΝ Κ Αθυρ θ ινδ ϸ

2 ΝΠΠΕϸ- 3 ΡΤΟϸ 4 ΝΤΡΙΜ ΝΠΑ- 5 ΖΝ ΠΕΤΕΚΧΟ 6 ινδ(ικτίωνος)

1 †  
 2 † It is our father who writes to his son  
 3 Apollo. Give six artabas  
 4 of clover to my son  
 5 Victor from that which you are sowing  
 6 for us (?). 2 (?).<sup>(Greek:)</sup> Hathyr 9, indiction 6.

5. ΠΗΤΕΚΧΟ: one would expect a resumptive ΜΜΟϸ 'it' following this but it does not appear to have been written in line 5. [SJC was uncertain about the reading of the final ΧΟ in this line.]

6. ΖΙΩΝ: These letters are very faint and may have been erased by the writer. Or they could be the name of the scribe; the personal name Ηιὼν (for Ἴων) is recorded in an inscription from Hermitage 90 at Qusur el-Izeila in Kellia (Bridel 1999: 299, No. 122.12).

κ: this letter may represent the numeral 2, or it may be an abbreviation, possibly of the scribe's name (ΒΙΚΤΩΡ?).

### 31

#### ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FODDER?

BM EA 75303 side (B)  
 Plate XVI

82 × 67 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Light to mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: 7 lines and all but the left margin are preserved. On side (A) are several marks, written against the fibres in brown ink.

Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand; if it has been correctly interpreted, ρ looks more like an ι, and both can have a hooked tail.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.12.

This may be an order to issue fodder (**I.14**), possibly to a carpenter. It mentions the place name Pmancanah (**I.13**).

- 
- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ Π[ΕΤΣΖΛΙ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ...]
- 2 ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡ[Ε...]
- 3 ΝΕΖΡΕΕΥ ΤΗΙ[ΤΟΥ ...]
- 4 ΠΖΛΜΩΕ ΛΙ.[...]
- 5 ΕΦΖΛΤΗΚ ΛΥΩ[...]
- 6 ΠΜΑΝΘΑΝΑΣ[...]
- 7 ΕΡΑΤϞ ΕΡΜ.ΩΛ[...]
- 1 † It is our father w|ho writes to his son ...]
- 2 As soon as [...]
- 3 the fodder (?) give [it ? ...]
- 4 the carpenter ...
- 5 who is with you and ...
- 6 Pmancanah/the place of Canah ...
- 7 to him ...

2. The reading follows comparison with No. 23.2. Otherwise, read ΕΚ[ΛΧΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ following No. 40.2 (ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΛΧΙ ΤΙΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ); ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΛΧΙ Ν- also occurs in an unpublished papyrus excavated at Bawit by Clédat (Louvre E 27647).

3. ΝΕΖΡΕΕΥ: the ρ looks more like an ι and the second ε is written without a horizontal bar so that it resembles a c. I have interpreted ζρεεγ as a plural form of ζρε ‘food, fodder’, not attested in Crum, *Dict.* p. 701a; it may possibly be a plural of Crum, *Dict.* p. 701b ζρι ‘endive’. [SJC later wondered about reading ζεεγ ‘rudders’, Crum, *Dict.* p. 645b.]

4. λρ: the ρ looks like an ι; above it is a superscript sign.

6. This line is written in smaller letters, and may have been added after the rest of the text was written.

7. ΕΡΑΤϞ: this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.

ΕΡΜ.ΩΛ: the uncertain letter looks like ζι, and is not obviously a π to give ΕΡΜΠΩΛ ‘be worth’.

## 32

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GREENS AND *LACHANON*

P.Meyer inv. 13 side (B)  
Plate XVI

51 × 208 mm

(script) 7th–8th century?  
Papyrus

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 (μ l. 1), and dot (μ̇ l. 2 and ν̇ l. 3.) are used to denote the syllabic function of a consonant. G.M. Browne (1980: 102) dated the text to 7th–8th century.

Linguistic note: The omission of genitival ν- (ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΟΥΟΟΤΕ l. 3, ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΛΑΧ ll. 3-4) is noteworthy in this text.

Acquisition: Mr ‘Richard T. Meyer’ acquired this and other papyri in Cairo ‘several decades ago’ and donated them to the Lakeview Center for the Arts and Sciences in Peoria, Illinois according to Browne 1980 p. 10. However, Director of Art Programs and Collections at the Lakeview Center, Kristan H. McKinsey reported that the Center has no record of this papyrus in its collections, although Richard Kempsall (not T.!) Meyer did donate a number of items to the Center (letter 11/11/96).

Bibliography: Edited by Browne (1980: 102, with plate on page facing).

Addressee: Paule.

Document date: Phaophi 8 (October 5/6), indiction 1.

Paule is ordered to supply Apa Iohanes with greens and *lachanon* (I.14), at a time when the land would have been inundated and fresh vegetables should be readily available.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΪ ΜΠϞΩΗΡΕ           |
| 2 | ΠΑΥΛΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΟΥΟΟΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ |
| 3 | ΛΑΧ ΝΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΑΝΗΣ Φαωφι η ινδ/ α     |

1 ΠΕϞ- 2 ΠΟΥΟΟΤΕ 3 ΠΛΑΧΑΝΟΝ, ινδ(ικτίωνος)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | † It is our father who writes to his son                         |
| 2 | Paule. Give a few greens and a little                            |
| 3 | <i>lachanon</i> to Apa Iohanes. (Greek:) Phaophi 8, indiction 1. |

### 33

#### ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF GREENS

P.CtYBR inv. 5003 side (A)  
Plate XVI

c. 75 × 85 mm

(script) 7th? or 8th century  
Bleached light brown papyrus (see No. 69)

Preservation: Bleached very light-coloured papyrus, badly fragmented with fibres separating, one layer of the papyrus has disintegrated. Another *Our father*-formula text, No. 69, was later written on the back of this papyrus.

Palaeography: Confident, right-sloping, well-spaced majuscule; noteworthy wide η and χ; ρ is very narrow. Same hand used for text written on the other side.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 12-13.

Addressee: Paule.

- |   |                       |                                    |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| → |                       |                                    |
| 1 | ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΜΠϞ-  | It is our father who writes to his |
| 2 | ΩΗΡΕ ΠΑΥΛΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ      | son Paule. Give                    |
| 3 | ΚΟΥΪ ΠΛΑΧ ΝΜ ±4 [...] | <a> few vegetables to ... [...]    |
| 4 | ΝΟΥΟΟΤΕ Ν±3 [...]     | greens [...]                       |
| 5 | ±10 [...]             | ... [...]                          |

3. ΝΛΑΧ Ν-: this may also be read as ΛΑΧΝ Μ-. or read ΝΛΑΓΝ

## 34

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF COMMODITY MEASURED IN ARTABAS

P.CtYBR inv. 4619  
Plate XVII

115 × 95 mm

(script) ? century  
Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: Some traces of ink on the other side but no discernible text.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 12-13.

Addressee: Anoup. [SJC wondered about a connection with the Anoup addressed in No. 55.]

Document date: Phaophi ? (end September / October), indiction 10.

↓		
1	† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΪ	† It is our father who writes
2	ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΑΝΟΥΠ	to his son Anoup.
3	ΧΕ ΤΙ ΡΤΟΘ ΣΝΑΥ	Give two artabas
4	Ν.[	of
5	ΜΑΝ.ΣΕ..ΙΑ[	(place-name beginning Pman-?)
6	... Φαωφ/ ..	(Greek:) Phaophi ...
7	ἰ <sup>δ</sup> ἰ †	indiction 10. †

7 ἰδ(ικτίωνος)

4. Ν.[: read ΝΑ[, or ΝΩ[?]

5. ΜΑΝ.ΣΕ..ΙΑ[: or read ΜΑΝΩΣ... or ΜΑΝΦΕΕΤ..ΙΑ[?]

6. ..: numeral could be ΚΑ?

7. ἰ †: less likely ἰε.

## 35

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD

P.Camb. UL Michael. 1232 side (A)  
Plate XVII

109 × 103 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus

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. 18) 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 *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 11.

Addressee: Capat.

Document date: Choiak 7 (December 3/4), indiction 9.

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 ΣΑΙ 'Our father writes', a variant on the *Our father*-formula.

→		
1	ⲓⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ( ±4 )ⲁⲓ	ⲓ It is our father who writes
2	ⲙⲡⲓⲘⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲃⲁⲡⲁⲧ	to his son Capat.
3	ⲭⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲱⲁⲛⲕⲱⲥⲦⲁⲛⲦⲓⲛⲉ	If Kostantine
4	ⲉⲣⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲱⲟⲙⲉⲧ	needs three-
5	ⲛⲟⲟϩ ⲛⲟⲉ[ⲓ]ⲕ ⲧⲁⲗϩ	days' worth of bre a d, give them
6	ⲛⲁⲃ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ	to him before I come.
7	ϫⲟⲓⲁⲕ ζ ⲓⲛⲃ ϑ	(Greek:) Choiak 7, indiction 9.

3 ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛⲕⲱⲥⲦⲁⲛⲦⲓⲛⲉ 4 ⲡⲭⲣⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲱⲟⲙⲉⲧ 6 ⲛⲁⲕ 7 ⲓⲛⲃⲓⲕⲧⲓⲟⲛⲟⲥ

1. ( ±4 )ⲁⲓ: reconstruct ⲉⲧϫⲁⲓ ⲟⲓ ⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲓ here. For the NN ϫⲁⲓ NNN epistolary formula, see I.1.
2. ⲃⲁⲡⲁⲧ: not otherwise attested as a personal name. It may be interpreted as the word for 'palm fibre (?)' (Crum, *Dict.* 827b ⲃⲁⲡⲉⲧ; compare the personal name ⲕⲁⲡⲟⲟϫⲉ which relates to a part of a date-palm, Crum, *Dict.* 130a ⲕⲁⲫⲁϫⲓ), which is part of the name of a τόπος mentioned in an 8th-century document, *P.Lond.* IV No. 1419 ll. 84, 218 and 817. Alternatively it may be ⲃⲁⲡⲁⲧ 'collarbone' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 827b; for the use of body parts as (nick)names, compare ⲕⲁϫⲣⲟ 'Jawbone' in *P.Camb.* UL Michael. 1047/1 (unpublished)); or a variant of 'Japhet'. The name ⲃⲁⲡⲁⲧ may also be interpreted in the place name Manqabad although the only attested Coptic form of this place name is ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲁⲡⲱⲧ; Cerny *CED* p. 346 gives two other etymologies of this place name.
5. ϫⲟⲟϩ: this may alternatively be interpreted as an otherwise unattested plural of ϫⲟ, a grain and fodder measure (Crum, *Dict.* p. 650a). Such a form would be possible by analogy with ϫⲟ 'way' which has a plural ϫⲟⲟϩ, see Westendorf *KH*, p. 352.
6. ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲓ: this seems to have the sense 'before' here rather than its usual meaning 'until'.
7. ϑ: this may alternatively be a malformed α '1'.

## 36

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF BREAD

P.Ismailia inv. 546 side (A)  
a.k.a. inv. 1138  
No Plate

82 × 137 mm

(script) ? century  
Papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines of text are preserved intact. Another *Our father*-text on side (B)?  
[SJC intended to work further on side (B).]

Provenance: Excavated at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit by Jean Clédat. The left-hand side of the frame in which this papyrus is mounted is twice inscribed 'Baouît' (in different hands?) at top and bottom.

Acquisition: Given to the Ismailia Museum at an indeterminate date in the 20th century.

Addressee: Apa Benjamin.

Document date: Pharmouthi 16 (April 11), indiction 1.

Scribe: Ioanes.

→	
1	ⲓ
2	ⲓⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲓⲘⲱⲛⲣⲉ
3	ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲓ
4	ⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲛⲟⲗⲁ-

5 ΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΑΠΜΑΝΦΩΛΚ  
6 † Φαρμ<sup>θ</sup> ις ιν<sup>δ</sup> α . Ιωαννης εγρ †

1 μπεϥ- 6 Φαρμ(ου)θ(ι), ινδ(ικτίωνος), ἔγρ(αψα)

1 †  
2 † It is our father who writes to his  
3 son, Apa Benjamin. Give  
4 ten hand(ful)s of bread to Za-  
5 charias of the place of weaving/Pmanshōlk  
6 (Greek:) † Pharmouthi 16, indiction 1. I, Ioanes, wrote †.

## 37

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD, OIL &amp; WINE

*P.YaleCopt.* 17  
P.CtYBR inv. 1853  
Plate XVIII

206 × 97 mm

(script) 8th century  
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 *ι* of *ϥαλι* descending from the line above). Abnormally large letters *κ* (ll. 5, 6), three-stroke *χ* (l. 7), and *κ* (l. 9).

Petersen [1964] No. 115 suggested a 7th-century date for this text.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp.12-13.

Bibliography: Edited in *P.YaleCopt.*, p. 46; described in Petersen (*s.d.*, 1964?): No. 115, plate p. 71 and Friedman 1989 p. 242 No. 155 (plate).

Addressee: Apa Phoibammon the priest.

Apa Phoibammon the priest is ordered to give the deacon Mech oil, bread and purified wine (see **I.14**). 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 **I.1**.

(A) →

1	† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϥΑΛΙ	† It is our father who writes
2	Μ[Π]ΕϥΜΕΡΙΤ ΝϥΟΝ	to his beloved brother,
3	ΝΡΕϥΩΜΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ	the God-serving
4	ΑΥΩ ΝΑΓΛΘΟΣ	and good
5	ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ	Apa Phoibammon,
6	ΠΕΠΡΕϥΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ	the priest.
7	ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ	Be so kind as to
8	ΜΑΡΟΥ† ΜΕΝΤΗ	let fifteen
9	ΝΤΩΡΕ ΝΟΕΙΚ	hand(ful)s of bread
10	ΜΠΤΙΑΚΩΝ ΜΕΧ	be given to the deacon Mech
11	ΜΝ ΞΕϥΤΗΣ ϥΝΑΥ	and two <i>sextarii</i>
12	ΝΝΕϥ ΑΥΩ	of oil and

13 ΜΕΞ ΛΑΚΟΝ ΣΝΑΥ fill two *lakon*-measures  
 14 ΝΗΡΠ ΝΣΩΤΥ ΝΑΥ of purified wine for him.

(B) ↓ Docket/address

15 † ΙC ΧC (decussis) (±4 faded) † Jesus Christ ...

8 ΜΗΤΗ 15 ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

1. †: the papyrus is faded at this point, but the † transcribed in the *ed. pr.* cannot be read.

9. τωρε: this is also the measure used for bread in No. 36.4. For the use of τωρε as measure, Crum, *Dict.* 425a cites Turin ostraca St Symeon 651 and 699 (copies of which are no longer to be found among the CrPap); and *O.Crum* 330.

10. μεχ: this was interpreted as an abbreviated form of a personal name by the original editors of *P.Princ.* I 13, but the re-edition of the text (*Misc.Pap.* 2.1, 259-283, cf. *BL IX* 217), subsumed into the *SB* as XX 14576, demonstrates that the profession 'armed guard', μαχ(αίροφόρ-), is intended. Names beginning Μεχ- are, however, recorded in Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *Onomasticon* and these include: Μεχαίρας, Μεχαύτης, Μεχοίρης, Μεχπρής and Μεχφρής.

13. μεξ λακον: in the *ed. pr.* this was interpreted as 'full *lakon*', but compare No. 54.5-6 ογλαγον ΝΝΕΞ ΕΒΜΕΞ for a way of expressing a 'full' *lakon*. See note to *CPR XX* 1.1 for the λάκον.

15. This line was omitted in the *ed. pr.*

ιc: these letters possibly bear superlinear strokes.

## 38

## ORDER TO SUPPLY GARUM

BL Or. 13886 (37) side (A) Main fragment 90 × 145 mm  
 Plate XIX

(script) 7th-8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved. Side B (↓) (no plate) contains 2 lines of a barely-legible document written with the same orientation, but a different hand and ink, to the present text (1 † ±5 κ ±2 / 2 .τ ±4).

Four unrelated fragments of papyrus are also assigned the inventory number BL Or. 13886 (37).

Palaeography: right-sloping majuscule with many ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Addressee: Patermoute.

Document date: Phamenoth (?) 17 (March 13?), indiction (10+).

Patermoute is ordered to pay two men who bear the title *kyrios*, Sarapion and Iouliane, eight *lakon*-measures of garum (I.14).

→  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΦΤ ΠΕΤΣΣΛΙ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΑΤΕΡ-  
 2 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΩΜΟΥΝ ΝΛΛΑΓΟΝ ΝΧΙΡ  
 3 ΠΚΥΡΙC CΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ ΜΝ ΠΚΥΡΙC ΙΟΥΛΙ-  
 4 ΑΝΕ ΓΙ γαρ' λη η οκτω μ εγρ Φα..φ  
 5 ιζ ινδ<sup>δ</sup> ι.

2 ΛΑΚΟΝ 3 ΠΠΚΥΡΙΟC 4 γί(νεται) γάρ(ου), μ(όνα) ἐγρ(άφη)  
 5 ινδ(ικτίωνος)

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son Patermoute.
- 2 Give eight *lakon*-measures of garum
- 3 <to> the *kyrios* Sarapion and the *kyrios* Iouliane.
- 4 (Greek:) Total of garum *lakon*-measures 8 eight only. Written Phamenoth (?)
- 5 17, indiction 10+.

1. There is space for the cross, but it is not legible here.

3. πκγρις: attested as a man's name in Greek (Πκῦρις) and Coptic (πκγρις, πκγλις) documents, but it is interpreted as the title 'lord' (κύριος) here as it occurs before two different names.

3-4. ἰΟΥΛΙΑΝΕ: the Coptic form of Julianus, Heuser p. 102.

4. γι γαρ': the reproduction of this text in the plate is deceptive in that it wrongly suggests the existence of a diaeresis over the iota in γι, and that the raised comma abbreviatory sign in γαρ' is perhaps a small superscript omicron followed by an abbreviatory oblique stroke (γαρ<sup>ο</sup>).

λη: a reading of λαη is not possible as the eta is the same as in φηρε in l. 1. The plate may, however, suggest falsely that this eta has a diagonal stroke extending upwards from the top of the first vertical, as, for example in the name Ἀτία in *CPR* VIII 82.4. I am grateful to Klaas Worp for pointing this out to me and for providing the parallel.

λη η: note that the second eta is minuscule whereas the first is majuscule, presumably in order to distinguish the numeral from the non-numeral form.

Φα..φ: a reading of Φαωφ is most likely but there appear to be two characters between alpha and final phi, rather than a simple omega. [SJC wondered also about reading εγραφ μ αθωρ.]

## 39

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

P.Camb. UL Michael. 818/3  
Plate XIX

56 × 138 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus

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 *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 13.

Addressee: Simothe.

Document date: ? 18, indiction ?

Scribe: Victor (2; I.9).

Simothe is ordered to supply eight measures of wine to Petra the carpenter.

↓

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΪ ΜΠΦΩΗΡΕ
- 2 ΣΙΜΟΘΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΩΜΟΥΝ ΝΩΕΙ
- 3 ΝΗΡΠ ΝΠΕΤΡΑ ΦΛΜΩΗ †
- 4 οἴ<sup>ν</sup> ..<sup>ε</sup> η οκτω εγρ βικ<sup>τ</sup> .η<sup>τ</sup> ιη<sup>δ</sup> .

2 ωι? 3 ΜΠΕΤΡΑ ΦΛΜΩΕ 4 οἴν(ου), ἔγρ(αψα) Βικτ(ωρ), ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son



- 2 Simothe. Give eight measures  
 3 of wine to Petra the carpenter †  
 4 (Greek:) of wine ... 8 eight. I, Victor, wrote ... 18, indiction (?) ...

1. †: see the transcription note to l. 1 of No. 15 for the shape of this sign.

πϣ: the stroke extends halfway over the following ω.

ωηρϣ: following this there is another mark on the papyrus. The title Apa, which Simothi bears in No. 40, does not appear to be written here.

2. σιμοθε: No. 40 is also addressed to this man, see I.8. The name Simothe also occurs in an inscription from Bawit (Cairo CG 8781; Strzygowski 1904: 125); in *P.Sarga* 64.5; and in an unpublished Coptic papyrus document, P.Camb. UL Michael. 832/1 (bis). A saint of this name is mentioned on a stela from Abydos (Peet 1913: 39, No. 2.13, pl. 13 fig. 3).

ωει: this is interpreted here as a variant of ωι 'measure' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 547b), as in No. 40.3; ωε 'she-coin' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 547a) is a less likely interpretation.

For Petra attested as a man's name in Coptic, see the examples listed in *P.Lond.Copt.* I, p. 550a and *P.Ryl.Copt.*, p. 249b (personal names index), and in Greek, see Preisigke *NB* and Foraboschi *Onomasticon*.

3. ηηρπ: the papyrus is damaged here and the η looks more like a λ, with only two strokes visible, the second of which slopes backwards.

ηρπ: the stroke is barely visible but appears to extend over the π.

4. οτ̄ ..ε: a restoration of γῑ(ετα) 'i.e., total' is also possible, but not γῑ οινου 'i.e. wine' as found in the other orders for payment in wine (Nos. 16.4; 40.4, 5; 60.4).

..ε: read an abbreviation of μέτρον (Casson 1939: 8), the Greek equivalent of Coptic ωει (see Crum, *Dict.* p. 548a ωι) which may occur in l. 2 (see translation note to l. 2 of this text). An abbreviation of σήκωμα does not seem likely here, although it is used as an equivalent of ωει 'measure' in No. 40 ll. 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 μηνί 'in the month of'); the superscript letter appears to belong to this group of letters despite being written over the following ι. [SJC meant to recheck her reading of this line in the original.]

## 40

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

P.Camb. UL Michael. 1159  
 Plate XX

67 × 145 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Light brown papyrus

Preservation: The left-hand side of this five-line text is well preserved.

Palaeography: A well-spaced, experienced majuscule hand with many ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 13.

Addressee: Apa Simothi of [...]-hote.

Although this text exhibits the formula ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΚΣΛΕΙ, its addressee and content link it to No. 39. Apa Simothi is ordered to issue wine to a watchman, bread-seller and oil-dealer whose names are not specified. This may mean that there was only one man engaged in each of these professions in the monastery, or that the context made the identities of the recipients known to the addressee.

↓  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΚΣΖΑΕΙ ΝΑΠΑ ΣΙΜΟΘΪ ΠΑ[...]  
 2 ΖΟΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΙ ΤΙΠΤΤΑΚΙΝ ΤΙ Ω[ΜΟΥΝ]  
 3 ΕΩΕΙ ΝΗΡΠ ΜΠΡΕΒΡΟΕΙΣ ΛΥΩ ΤΙ ΣΑΥ ΝΩ[ΕΙ ΝΗΡΠ Μ-]  
 4 ΠΣΟΡΟΕΙΚ ΥΛ ΟΙΝ<sup>ου</sup> ΣΗΚ<sup>ς</sup> ΪΔ † ΛΥΩ ΤΙ ΣΩΟΥ ([...])?  
 5 ΜΠΣΟΡΝΑΣ ΥΛ ΟΙΝ<sup>ου</sup> [κ] ΣΗΚ<sup>ς</sup> Κ †

1 ΠΕ ΕΦΣΖΑΙ 2 ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ 3 ΩΙ, ΡΕΦΡΟΕΙΣ 3, 4 ΣΟΥ (?) 4 ΣΑΡΟΕΙΚ  
 4, 5 γί(νεται) οἴν(ου) σήκ(ώματα) 5 ΣΑΡΝΕΣ

1 † It is our father writing to Apa Simothi of [...]  
 2 ... As soon as you receive this note (πιττάκιον), give e[ight]  
 3 measures of wine to the watchman and give six m[ea]sures of wine to  
 4 the bread-seller, (Greek:) total of wine *sekomata* 14, (Coptic:) † and give six ([...])?  
 5 to the oil-dealer, (Greek:) total of wine [20] *sekomata* 20 †.

2. ΖΟΤΕ: this may be part of an epithet of the addressee, possibly part of a title such as ΡΕΦ†ΖΟΤΕ ‘giver of tribute’, which is an equivalent of φορολόγητος (Crum, *Dict.* p. 722b ΖΩΤΕ); or of the name of another addressee (no personal names ending -ΖΟΤΕ are recorded in Heuser). Alternatively, it may be a variant form of the end of the place name ΝΩΠΤΕ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 722b ΖΩΤΕ). The only appropriate words ending -ΖΟΤΕ recorded in *Dict.inversé* are ΖΟΤΕ ‘presence’ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 718b ΖΟΤ), ΖΟΤΕ ‘fear’ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 720b), and ΖΟΤΕ ‘hour’ etc. (Crum, *Dict.* p. 721b). [SJC intended further work on this note.]

ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑ-: literally ‘The hour you will’.

ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΝ: No. 23, an unidentifiable order, also refers to itself as a ΠΕΤΤΑΓΗ (πιττάκιον) ‘note’. See also No. 15, whose docket describes it as a ΠΕΤΑΚ (πιττάκιον), ‘receipt’. The phrase ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΙ ΤΙΠΤΤΑΚΙΝ may also be restored in No. 31.2.

If Ω[ΜΟΥΝ] is correctly restored as the amount required to make the total in l. 4 up to 14 *sekomata*, it is the same amount of wine as Apa Simothe is required to issue in No. 39.

3. ΩΕΙ: this variant of ΩΙ ‘measure’ is also used in No. 39.2; it is translated in the two Greek summaries in ll. 4 and 5 by σήκωμα, a wine measure which contained a varying number of sextarii over the centuries. Casson (1939: 8) reckoned that it could contain between 4½–8 sextarii.

Restore Ω[ΕΙ] at the end of l. 3 although ΩΛΩ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 604b) ‘a vessel or liquid measure’, might also be possible.

3. ΣΑΥ, 4. ΣΩΟΥ: both forms appear to be variants of ΣΟΥ ‘six’, although the latter is not included in Crum, *Dict.* 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 ΣΩΟΥ has been added.

4. ΣΟΡΟΕΙΚ: although ΟΕΙΚ may also be interpreted as ‘reed’ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 254b), ΣΑ+ ΟΕΙΚ is only attested for bread-sellers.

5. ΣΟΡΝΑΣ: an oil-dealer also occurs in No. 20.2 (ΣΑΡΝΗΣ).

[κ]: 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.

## 41

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

BM EA 75309 side (B)  
Plate XX

80 × 92 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light to mid-brown papyrus (see No. 79)

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 No. 79.

Palaeography: a right-sloping hand which combines majuscule and minuscule forms.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.12.

Addressee: Andreas.

Andreas is ordered to make a payment of four *lahê*-measures of wine.

→  
1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΪ  
2 ΜΠΦΩΗΡΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ  
3 ΧΕ ΤΙΒΤΟ ΝΑΛΛΖΗ ΝΗΡΤ  
4 ΜΠΦΕΝ ΕΠΧΗΦΕ  
5 γί(νεται) οί(νου) κνίδ(ια) δ .. ἔγρα(ψα) †

3 φτοογ 5 γι, οι, κνιδ, εγρα

1 † It is our father who writes  
2 to his son Andreas.  
3 Give four *lahê*-measures of wine  
4 to the son of Pjêce/the purple(-man).  
5 (Greek:) Total of wine: 4 *knidia*. I, ..., wrote. †

4. πχηφε: the σ is barely visible. See Crum, *Dict.* p. 801b χηφε for this title and personal name.

5. ...: possibly read επ. Is this the scribe or read differently, perhaps ΠΙΣΡΑΗΛ ΟΓ ΕΠΕΣΤΡ.. for .. ἔγρα(ψα)?

## 42

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE?

P.Vindob. K 11383 side (B)  
Plate XX

43 × 125 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 91)

Preservation: The left-hand side of the first 3 lines of this text is preserved, written on the back of No. 91.

Palaeography: A confident, upright majuscule hand with a few cursive forms.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See **I.15**.

Joseph of Tabô is ordered to pay Jeremias of Pohe (modern Buha) two *lahê*-measures, most probably of wine.

- 1 ⲫ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΠΕΒΣΛΙ ΜΠΕΒΩΗΡΕ  
 2 ΙΩΣΗΠ ΠΑΠΟΣΕ ΧΙ ΤΙ ΛΑΖΗ ΣΕΝΤ[Ε ...]  
 3 ΝΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΠΑΤΑΒΩ ..ΜΝ..[...]

1 l. ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ ΕΒΣΛΙ ΜΠΕΒ- 2 l. χε

- 1 ⲫ Our father is he who writes to his son  
 2 Joseph from Pohe. Give two lahês [of wine]  
 3 to Jeremias from Tabô ... [...]

3. ΤΑΒΩ: also found in *BKU* III 471.6 and *P.Fay.Copt.* 45 v° l. 5 (Timm pp. 2452–2453 *Tabô*).

## 43

## ORDER TO SUPPLY WOOL

P.Louvain Lefort copt. 24 side (A)  
 Plate XXI

55 × 165 mm

(script) ?th century  
 Papyrus (see No. 77)

Preservation: All 4 lines of this text are preserved; small lacunae obscure individual characters in all lines. A seal is impressed at the end of line 3.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: As for No. 27; see I.15.

Addressee: Shenoute the deacon. Perhaps the same as Papa Shenoute, the oil-dealer, see Nos. 18, 20, 28, 46; I.8.

Document date: Pachon ? (end April/May), indiction ?

Shenoute the deacon is ordered to provide (χι ε-) the bearer of this receipt (*pittakion*) ten pounds of good wool. Wool is also the subject of No. 49, excavated at Bawit, and woollen garments occur in No. 44.

- 1 ⲫ  
 2 ⲫ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΛΙ ΝΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝ  
 3 ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΤΙΜΗΤΕ ΝΛΙΤΡΑ ΝΣΟΡΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΟΥ  
 4 ΕΠΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΑΤΙ ΠΙΤΤΑΓΝ ΝΑΚ ⲫ μ' Π<sup>χ</sup> . ΙΥ<sup>δ</sup> ..

4 ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ, μ(ηνὶ) Π(α)χ(ων), ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)

- 1 ⲫ  
 2 ⲫ It is our father who writes to his son the deacon  
 3 Shenoute. Provide these ten pounds of good wool  
 4 to this man. He will give you the receipt. (Greek:) ⲫ In the month of Pachon,  
 (day) ..., indiction ... (seal obscures number)

3. ΛΙΤΡΑ ΝΣΟΡΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΟΥ: for wool measured in *litrai*, compare *O.Crum* 320. In *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 43 inf., ΝΣΟΡΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ is paid as rent.

4. The year date may end in a delta '4'.

## 44

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF WOOLLEN GARMENTS

BM EA 75307  
Plate XXI

80 × c. 90 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid- to dark brown papyrus

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 the lower part of a larger sheet of papyrus.

Palaeography: A majuscule hand with some ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.12.

Addressee: Geronts[e] the woollen-garment-dealer.

Document date: Pauni 14 (June 8), indiction 11.

Gerontius (Gerontse) is ordered to supply Joseph of Peloole (**I.13**) with twelve woollen garments, in which he is a specialist dealer. The format of this text suggests the reconstruction of the *Our father*-formula in l. 1. Wool is also the subject of No. **43** and possibly No. **49**.

↓  
1 [† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ]  
2 ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΣ[Ε]  
3 ΨΑ ΝΒΕΛΒΩΤ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΜΝ[Τ-]  
4 ΣΝΟΟΥΣΕ ΝΒΟΛΒΕ Ν-  
5 ΪΩΣΗΦ ΠΑΠΕΛΟΟΛΕ  
6 Παυνη ιδ ιδδ(ικτίωνος) ια

6 ιδδ

1 [† It is our father who writes]  
2 to his son Geronts[e]  
3 the woollen-garment-dealer. Give tw[elve]  
4 woollen garments to  
5 Joseph of Peloole.  
6 (Greek:) Pauni 14, indiction 11.

2. ΓΕΡΟΝΤΣ[Ε]: or ΓΕΡΟΝΤΣ[Ι], a form listed by Heuser 91, see also p. 78 for the name Gerontius.

6. Παυνη: the ι could also be an ε.

## 45

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT

P.Camb. UL Michael. 830 side (B)  
Plate XXII

236 × 138 mm

(script) 8th century  
Papyrus (see No. **82**)

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 an *Our father*-formula text, the text itself takes up less than a quarter of the writing surface. On side (A) are two 7th-

century Greek texts (one a palimpsest) in two different hands and inks; for the later and therefore more prominent text, see No. 82.

Palaeography: The first two lines are written in a mixture of majuscule and semi-cursive forms, with ligatures involving ε and ι.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 13.

Addressee: Papa Jakob.

Papa Jacob is ordered to issue a commodity which may be measured in a jug (μάρις).

→  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΛΙ ΝΠΦΩΗΡΕ  
 2 ΠΠΑΠΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΜΑΥΡΙΣ  
 3 Ν (the rest of this line is illegible)  
 4 † ±β<sup>α</sup> ..... μ<sup>ε</sup> . κ ...

1 ΜΠΕΦ- 2 ΜΑΡΙΣ // 3-4 too fragmentary for interpretation

1 † It is our father who writes to his son,  
 2 the Papa Jacob. Give a jug (?)  
 3 of ...  
 4 † ...

2. ΜΑΥΡΙΣ: Cerny *CED* p. 89 has derived ΜΑΥΡΙΣ from the Greek μάρις; see also Westendorf *KH* p. 100 ΜΑΡΙΣ. A reading of ΜΑΦΡΤ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 206a 'cable of palm fibre') is less likely.

4. ±β<sup>α</sup>: preceding the alpha there are 5 superscript letters. [SJC intended to recheck the original. In line 4 she wondered about a reading οιν<sup>υ</sup> μ<sup>τ</sup>.]

## 46

### ORDER TO SUPPLY A COMMODITY MEASURED IN ARTABAS

BL Or. 6201A (224 + 244) side (B)  
 Plate XXIII

37 × 89 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Papyrus

Preservation: The first 3 lines of this text are preserved in two joining fragments (224, the left-hand; 244, the right-hand). On side (A) are two texts written in different semi-cursive hands before the present text. Text 1 is a fragment of a Greek address (?): † τω .απ.λ.../ μ<sup>υ</sup>π<sup>ε</sup>π τιμ<sup>ω</sup> κυρ<sup>ω</sup> μη]. Written at 180° to text 1, text 2 on side (A) preserves 2 fragmentary lines of a Coptic letter: 1 ] ±3 ΕΝΑCΠΑΖΕ ΕΞΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΤΕ ... / 2 ] .ΙΑΤΡΙ. †.

Palaeography: A slightly right-sloping majuscule, with a few ligatures involving ε: 'ace-of-spades' ε+ρ, ε+τ and τ+ε. π can be formed so that the bottom of the second vertical curves upwards to the right (πϕ-, πλ-, l. 1).

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp.10-11.

Addressee: Papa Shenoute (Nos. 18, 20, 28; I.8).

Papa Shenoute is ordered to supply twenty-four artabas of an unknown commodity.

→

- 1 †  
 2 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΪ ΝΠΙΩΗΡΕ ΠΠΑ-  
 3 ΠΑΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΧΟΥΤΑΧΤΕ ΝΕΡΤΟΒ

1 ⲡⲡⲉϥ- 2 ⲣⲧⲟⲃ

- 1 †  
 2 † It is our father who writes to his son, the Pa-  
 3 pa Shenoute. Give twenty-four artabas

## OTHER ORDERS

## 47

## ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

P.Camb. UL Green 4  
Plate XXIII

90 x160 mm

(script) ?8th century  
Light brown papyrus

Preservation: (A) 5 lines and (B) 2 lines; both sides appear to preserve all margins.

Palaeography: Flowing semi-cursive hand with many ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

Addressee: P[apa Da]m[ian](os)].

Document date: Phaophi 12 (October 9/10), indiction 1.

Scribe: Pamoun.

The addressee, who might be construed as Papa Damian(os), is ordered to request (?) half a solidus of wine but is forbidden to consign it to the 'wretched' Phoibammon. See I.5 for an interpretation of this text.

(A) ↓

- 1 †  
 2 [†] ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ Π[Ε]Τ[Σ]ΖΛΙ ΝΠΙΩΗΡΕ ΨΛΖ Π[ΛΠΑ ΔΛ-]  
 3 Μ[ΙΑΝ ΩΙΝ]Ε ΝΣΑ ΟΥΠΑΩΕ ΝΣΟΛΟΚΟ  
 4 ΝΗΡΠ ΝΠ[Ε]ΡΤΙ ΝΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΟΣΟΝ  
 5 ΟΥΤΑΛΛΙΠΩΡΟΣ ΠΕ Μ' Φ<sup>ω</sup> ιβ ιν<sup>δ</sup> α Παμουν εγρ'

(B) → Docket

- 6 φ ον . . .  
 7 Δαμιαν<sup>ο</sup> ψ

2 ⲡⲡⲉϥ- 3 ρολοκοττινος 4 ⲡⲡⲣⲧααϥ (?)

5 μ(ηνι) Φ(α)ω(φι), ινδ(ικτίωνος), ἔγρ(αψα) 6 φ(ορά) οἶ(νου) 7 Δαμιαν(ω) ογ-ου?, ογ Δαμια(νψ) νο(μισμάτιον)

- 1 †
- 2 † It is our father who writes to his son the scribe P[apa Da-]
- 3 m[ian(os) (?). Reques|t (?) half a solidus
- 4 of wine. Do not give it to Phoibamon, in as much as
- 5 he is a wretch. (Greek:) In the month of Phaophi, (day) 12, indiction 1. Pamoun, I wrote.
- 6 Delivery of wine
- 7 To (?) Damia(nos) (?) no(mismation) (?) 1/2 (?).

2–3. [ΔΔ]Μ[ΙΑΝ], restored from line 7. A Damian also occurs in an unpublished Coptic document BL Or. 6201 A (6).

3. ΩΙΝ]Ε ΝCΑ is restored after No. 54.6–7. In his transcription of this text, Kahle conjectured Π[ΑΠΑ ΔΔ] Μ[ΙΑΝΕ ΧΕ Μ]Ε ΝCΑ. [SJC tentatively proposed an alternative reading for this line: Μ..[....] ΧΕ ΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΟΥΠΑΩΕ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟ.]

4. ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ: ἐν ὄσον. Förster *WB* ὄσον records several instances of this usage in 7th–8th-century Coptic documents.

5. ΤΑΛΛΑΠΩΡΟC: has meaning 'wretched' and, like ἐλάχιστος, is part of the common terminology of humility employed in a monastic milieu; it can also mean unlucky, Förster *WB* ταλαίπωρος. It occurs in inscriptions from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 122, No. 404; possibly 124, No. 416).

ΦΩ: for the abbreviation of the month Phaophi to these two letters, see, for example *P.Bal.* index p. 860, *CPR IV* index p. 195, and an 8th-century Greek fragment of an account register, *P.Apoll.Ano* 81.2.

6–7. No. 25.8–9 has a similar docket.

6. φ: this abbreviation of φορά occurs in a number of texts including *shine nsa*-formula ostraca, for example, *CPR XX* 11.5, *O. Bawit* 42.2.

[SJC noted 'read ΦΟΛ for Phoi(bammon), or something before ΟΙ(ΝΟ-)?' She initially read ψλ2 as the next three letters but then rejected this reading.]

7. Kahle read ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΧ. One would expect the symbol for 1/2 following ν° corresponding to the ΠΑΩΕ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΟ mentioned in l. 2.

## 48

## ORDER TO REMAIN WITH A BROTHER?

*P.Köln IX* 385 (P.Colon. inv. 7900)

86 × 119 mm

(script) 8th century

*P.Köln IX* pl. 30c

Light brown papyrus

Preservation: All 5 lines of text are preserved; other side blank.

Palaeography: A large, experienced, right-sloping majuscule hand with some ligatures. The *ed. pr.* (see below) suggested a dating of the 7th–8th century.

Provenance: Unknown. The *ed. pr.* suggested the Hermopolite nome.

Acquisition: No details are available.

Bibliography: Edited in *P.Köln IX*, p. 207–208, pl. 30c. [A scan of this papyrus is found at the web-site of Die Kölner Papyrus-Sammlung: <<http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/>>.]

Apa Klouj is ordered to stay with brother (*pason*) Anoup until he agrees to let Klouj go. Possibly compare No. 59, in which the addressee is described as being 'under the fathers' (also possibly 'the father'). Whereas that text may be concerned with a pupil-monk, the same is not the case here as Klouj bears the honorific title Apa indicative of a more senior monk. Klouj is not a common name so No. 67 may be another order addressed to the same man. In *P.Mon.Apollo* 19 a monk of the Monastery of Apollo called Klouj is assigned to the collection of *aparchê* in Perciê(se).



This is the only text with what appears to be a monogrammatic signature at the end—possibly read a minuscule η with a horizontal line drawn across it which ends with a spiral and interpret as the name E(lias)?

↓  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΪ ΜΠΨΗ-  
 2 ΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΚΛΟΥΧ ΧΜ ΜΠΕΛ-  
 3 ΛΟ ΣΑΤΠ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΑΝΟΥΠ  
 4 ΨΑΝΝΤΕΨΠΕΙΘΕ ΕΤΡΕ-  
 5 ΤΝΜΟΟΨΕ ΝΗΤΝ  
 6 Η

2 χε̄ ππερ- 3 σατπ̄- 4 ψαντεψ-

1 It is our father who writes to his so-  
 2 n, Apa Klouj. Do not  
 3 leave brother (*pason*) Anoup's side  
 4 until he agrees to let  
 5 you go.  
 6 E(-) (?)

3. Could ΣΑΤΠ be ΨΤΠ 'imprison'?—see Bohairic parallels. For Boharicisms in Monastery of Apollo texts, see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 36, §4.3.

## 49

## UNIDENTIFIABLE

*O.Bawit* 81  
 No Plate

Dimensions not recorded

Whereabouts unknown  
 Ostrakon (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.

Acquisition: Uncertain. Dominique Bénazeth (personal communication, 14/11/1996) suggests that it may belong to a group of ostraca in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo which bears the number 2/2/15/21. [The register book of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo indicates that these ostraca were found in a box in Gaston Maspero's antechamber, wrapped in newspapers of 1905 and in proofs of an article by Clédat; and are thus thought to originate in Bawit (Dominique Bénazeth, personal communication, 16/10/2003).]

Bibliography: Edited in *O.Bawit*, p. 302. Transcribed (and numbered '46') in one of Clédat's excavation notebooks donated to the Louvre in 1986 by Mme Jean Mallet.

Addressee: Apa Noc / Aranoc.

This is the only *Our father*-formula text written on ostrakon that I have encountered to date. Its whereabouts are uncertain but a transcription was recorded in one of Jean Clédat's excavation notebooks.

Apa Noc is ordered to give or sell wool (?) which has been assigned to Pmanallou, Pmanranê, and Pmanlougā to someone whose name or title is imperfectly preserved. Other ostraca excavated at Bawit by Clédat record both Pmanallou and Pmanranê as places from which wine was requisitioned (*O.Bawit* 18–23). Wool is also the subject of No. 43, and woollen garments of No. 44.

1 ⲫ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ  
 2 ΜΠΕϞΩΗΡΕ ΑΠΑ  
 3 ΝΟϞ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝϞΟΡ<sup>τ</sup> .  
 4 ΕΥϞΗϞ ΝϞΑ ΠΜΑΝΡΑΝΗ  
 5 ΜΝ ΠΜΑΝΛΟΥΓΑ  
 6 ΜΝ ΠΜΑΝΑΛΛΟΥ ΤΑΛΥ  
 7 ΜΗϞΑ..Ϟ?

1 ⲫ It is our father who writes  
 2 to his son Apa  
 3 Noc. If you please: the wool (?) ...  
 4 which is ascribed to Pmanranê  
 5 and Pmanlouga  
 6 and Pmanallou, give it  
 7 to ...

2-3. ΑΠΑ ΝΟϞ: this can be construed as a personal name 'Apanoc', as well as the title ΑΠΑ followed by the personal name ΝΟϞ, compare (Coptic: *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1075 (p. 449), 1077; *CPR* IV 167; and two unpublished documents, BL Or. 6201A (23) and (109c). Examples in Greek include: *P.Lond.* III 1032 ('Απανάκιος, 6th–7th century), *SB* I 5944. MacCoull (1987: 103) has pointed out that it is attested in texts from the Hermopolite nome.

3. ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ: it is possible that another ostrakon excavated at Bawit, *O.Bawit* 82, also began the main body of the text with this formula ([ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ΜΠΕϞΩ]ΗΡΕ ΙϞΑϞ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑ[ΠΗ]).

ΝϞΟΡ<sup>τ</sup> ∴ the *ed. pr.* read ΝΓ..., although Clédat's transcription clearly records ΝϞΟΡ<sup>τ</sup> followed by what appears to be an oblique stroke.

4. ΕΥϞΗϞ ΝϞΑ: ΕΥϞΗϞ ΝϞΩ<sup>Ϟ</sup> occurs in No. 15.3, a receipt for stone.

6. ΤΑΛΥ: the *ed. pr.* suggested that ΤΑΛϞ ΟΓ ΤΑΛϞ Ν are also possible.

7. ΜΗϞΑ..Ϟ?: possibly interpret as ΜΠϞΑ..Ϟ 'to the ...'.

## 50

## ORDER DETAILING VARIOUS COMMODITIES

BM EA inv. 75308 side (B)  
 Plate XXII

272 × 80 mm

(script) 7th–8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 89)

Preservation: Only the first 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 *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Addressee: Phib the *sah* and Is[-...].

Originally containing more than 19 lines of text, this is by far the longest *Our father*-formula document included in this corpus. Addressees include a scribe called Phib, and a number of commodities may be mentioned. Although fragmentary, this text is noteworthy for mentioning an unusual commodity,

λελωζε, possibly to be interpreted as bdellium (I.14). People with the title *apou* are also listed, as in No. 29.5.

↓  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣ[ΣΑΙ ΝΝΩΦΗΡΕ]  
 2 ΨΑΣ ΦΙΒ ΜΝ ΙΣ.[ ... ]  
 3 ΧΕ ΛΙΧΙ ΤΛΛΖΗ Ν[ ... ]  
 4 ΜΝ ΤΛΕΛΩΖΕ Ν.[ ... ]  
 5 ΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ Μ[Ν ΠΕΝ-... ]  
 6 ΝΕΙΩΤ ΧΟΟΥ ΟΥ[ΝΟΣ? ... ]  
 7 ΝΣΜΟΥ ΝΑΝ Λ.[ ... ]  
 8 ±1?ΤΛΕΛΩΖΕ ΝΚΦ[ ... ]  
 9 ±1?ΤΝΟΟΥΣ ΝΗΤ[Ν ... ]  
 10 .ΛΙΝΕΠΑ..[ ... ]  
 11 ΕΡΩΑΚΤΑΛ[ ... ]  
 12 ΖΑΤΕΡ.Ω[ ... ]  
 13 ΟΜΟΙ(ΩΣ) ..[.]ΣΙ.[ ... ]  
 14 ΝΕΡΩΧΩΩ[ ... ]  
 15 ΝΚ..[ ... ]  
 16 ΦΛΜΩΕ[ ... ]  
 17 ΝΕΡΩΤΙΕ [ ... Ν-]  
 18 ΝΑΠΟΥ ΕΥΡΟ[ΕΙΣ? ... ]  
 19 ΝΑΝΕΒΛΟΟΤ[Ε ... ]

4, 8 ΛΙΛΟΟΖΕ 13 ΟΜΟΙ

1 † It is our father who writes [to his sons?]  
 2 the scribe Phib and Is[- ... ]  
 3 I have received the *lahê* of [...]  
 4 and the bdellium ...  
 5 if God and [our ... ]  
 6 father send a [great? ... ]  
 7 blessing to us ...  
 8 the bdellium ...  
 9 sent it to you (?) ...  
 10 ...  
 11 if you give [...]  
 12 ...  
 13 likewise ...  
 14 the dyer [...]  
 15 ... [...]  
 16 the carpenter [...]

- 17 the givers (?) [...]  
 18 the *apous* who wat[ch (?) ...]  
 19 the ones of the kidneys (?) [...]

2.  $\iota\sigma$ [-: the common man's name, Isaac, is perhaps to be restored here; also possible are  $\iota\sigma\iota\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (Heuser 56, 95–97),  $\iota\sigma\alpha\chi\alpha\rho$  (Heuser 107),  $\iota\sigma\iota$  (Heuser 56, 57),  $\iota\sigma\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (Heuser 46),  $\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\eta\lambda$  (Heuser 107, 110),  $\iota\sigma\chi\gamma\rho(\iota)\omega\mathfrak{N}$  (Heuser 81).

3.  $\tau\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\eta\mathfrak{N}$   $\mathfrak{N}$ [: restore  $\tau\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\eta\mathfrak{N}$   $\mathfrak{N}$ [ $\eta\rho\mathfrak{N}$ ] ‘the *lahê* of [wine]’?

4.  $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\omega\zeta\epsilon$  also occurs in *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1114 (BL Or. 6085), which may have been acquired by the British Museum at the same time as the present papyrus (for the BL Or. 6201 series, see *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 9–10).

5.  $\mathfrak{M}$ [ $\mathfrak{N}$   $\pi\epsilon\mathfrak{N}$ -...: restore  $\pi\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{N}\omicron\varsigma$  ‘our great’ or similar epithet.

10.  $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\mathfrak{P}\lambda$ [:  $\omicron\mathfrak{P}$   $\pi\epsilon\mathfrak{P}\lambda$ ].

13. Possibly restore  $\varsigma\iota\mathfrak{M}$  ‘grass, fodder, herbs’ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 334a) at the end of this line?

14.  $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\rho\bar{\alpha}\chi\omega\omega$ [: restore  $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\rho\bar{\alpha}\chi\omega\omega$ [ $\epsilon$ ] ‘dyer’ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 800b  $\chi\omega\omega\epsilon$ )? Also possible:  $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\rho\bar{\alpha}\chi\omega\omega$ [ $\rho\epsilon$ ] ‘disperser’ (of seed, etc.), although not a form listed in Crum, *Dict.* p. 782a  $\chi\omega\omega\rho\epsilon$ ).

19.  $\mathfrak{N}\alpha\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\beta\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau$ [ $\epsilon$ ]: could this be a place name? the word  $\beta\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$  may be an unattested plural form of another word, such as  $\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  ‘gourd’ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 815a).

## 51

## ORDER TO SUPPLY EQUIPMENT?

*P.YaleCopt.* 28

69 × 160 mm

(script) 8th century

P.CtYBR inv. 2037 side (A)

Light brown papyrus (see No. 88)

No Plate

Preservation: 4 lines and all margins; the width of this fragment has been estimated because the papyrus fibres are twisted. This is the second text to be written on this papyrus (despite being labelled side (A)). See No. 88 for the text written on side (B).

Palaeography: 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 ( $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\mathfrak{P}$  l. 1).

Provenance: Unknown. Antinoë ( $\lambda\alpha\mathfrak{N}\tau\iota\mathfrak{N}\omicron\omicron\gamma$ ), which also occurs in No. 12 (see I.13), is mentioned in the letter written earlier on this papyrus (No. 88).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p.12.

Bibliography: Edited in *P.YaleCopt.*, p. 50. [A scan of this papyrus can be found on the web: <<http://highway49.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSet.asp?pid=2037>>.]

Addressee: Lazare.

Document date: Phaophi 24 (October 21/22), indiction 5.

Lazare is ordered to supply Ouenober of Ehbooue (I.13 for the interpretation of this as a place name) as before.

→

1 †  $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$   $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$   $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{P}\bar{\alpha}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\lambda\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\epsilon$

2  $\chi\epsilon$   $\mathfrak{P}\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\kappa\omega\rho\epsilon$   $\mathfrak{N}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mathfrak{N}\omicron\beta\epsilon\rho$

3  $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{R}\bar{\omega}\mathfrak{M}$   $\mathfrak{N}\epsilon\zeta\beta\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$   $\beta\omega\rho\epsilon$   $\mathfrak{N}\lambda\mathfrak{q}$   $\omicron\mathfrak{N}$

4  $\mu$   $\Phi^{\omega}$   $\kappa\delta$   $\iota\nu^{\delta}$   $\epsilon$  †

4  $\mu(\eta\mathfrak{N}\iota)$   $\Phi(\alpha)\omega(\mathfrak{P}\iota)$ ,  $\iota\nu^{\delta}(\iota\kappa\tau\iota\omega\mathfrak{N}\omicron\varsigma)$

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son Lazare.
- 2 Just as (πρός) you supply Ouenober
- 3 of Ehbooue, supply him again.
- 4 (Greek:) In the month of Phaophi, (day) 24, indiction 5. †

1. † ...  $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{E}}$  ΛΑΖΑΡΕ: the *ed. pr.* omitted the † and read  $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{R}}$  ΕΛΛΑΪΑ ΡΝ[.

$\overline{\text{M}}$ :- the superlinear stroke over this letter curves upwards forming a small c on its right end.

2. ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΕΚΩΡΕ ΝΟΥΕΝΟΒΕΡ: the *ed. pr.* had ΠΡΑΚΤ..... ΩΡΕ ΝΟΥ ΕΝΟΒΕ Ρ[.

ΘΕ: ΘΗ is also possible.

2, 3. ΩΡΕ: interpreted as 'supply', more usually translated 'prepare, provide' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 831a).

3.  $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$   $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{E}}$  ΩΡΕ ΝΑΦ ΟΝ: the *ed. pr.* read ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΕΖΟΟΥΕ ΩΡΕ ΝΑΦΟΝ[.

4. μ Φ<sup>ω</sup> κδ ιν<sup>δ</sup> ε: Phaophi 24, i.e. 21/22 October. The *ed. pr.* read Μ(ΗΝΙ) Φ(ΑΦΦΙ) Η ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ) Ε.

## 52

## ORDER TO SUPPLY AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT

*P.Köln IX 386*

85 × 132 mm

(script) 8th century

*P.Colon. inv. 7901*

Mid-brown papyrus

*P.Köln IX pl. 31a*

Preservation: All 5 lines of text are preserved, although the final letters of l. 2 are damaged; other side blank.

Palaeography: An experienced, right-sloping, essentially majuscule hand with a number of ligatures. Noteworthy forms include λ which is written with an elongated leading oblique stroke which extends well below the bilinear parameters. The *ed. pr.* (see below) suggested a dating of the 7th–8th century.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: No details are available.

Bibliography: Edited in *P.Köln IX*, p. 209–210, pl. 31a. [A scan of this papyrus is found at the web-site of Die Kölner Papyrus-Sammlung: <<http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/>>.]

This text illustrates control over the monastery's resources. Abraham the *apou* is ordered to give Apollo, the father of the field, an agricultural implement.

↓

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΕΛΑΪ ΜΠΩΩΗΡΕ
- 2 ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΑΠΟΥ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΚΛΟΜ
- 3 ΝΖΟΪ ΝΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΩΤ
- 4 ΜΦΟΪ ΝΩΤΑΛΒ ΕΠΕΪΖΟΪ ΩΑΝΤΕΚ-
- 5 ΕΙ ΝΑΪ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΡΑΜΕΛΕΙ †

4 l. ΤΑΛΛ

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son
- 2 Abraham the *apou*. Give a field *klom*
- 3 to Apollo the father
- 4 of the field and let him put it on this field until you
- 5 come to me. But do not be negligent! †

2. ΠΑΠΟΥ: interpreted in the *ed. pr.* as ‘dem von Pou’, ΑΠΟΥ/ΑΠΟΥΣ is a title or epithet, which also occurs in Nos. 29 and 50, and also BL Or. 6201B (197, 201, 239 side (B) and 279), all of which are unpublished. In BL Or. 6201B (279), the *apous* of Pousire write to an Apa Theodore through three people, including a *boêthos*. P.J. Sijpesteijn (1984: 372) interpreted ΑΠΟΥ as meaning something like ‘servant, assistant’. See Crum, *Dict.* p. xv note to p. 14a; and Kasser and Vycichl 1967 pp. 41 (ΑΠΟΥ) and 47 (ΑΠΟΥΣ); note that this word is not included in Westendorf *KH*.

As a personal name, ΑΠΟΥ is attested in Coptic (*CPR* XII 5 ll. 26, 30, 35, 37; and *O.CrumVC* 48.7 (ΑΦΟΥ)), and Greek papyri (Preisigke *NB* records two examples of Απου in Greek papyri dating to the VII-VIIIth century). In a note to *P.Lond.* IV No. 1435.80, Crum derives Απου from the title ΑΠΑ which was influenced ‘in later times’ by the Arabic *Abu*. An interpretation of ΠΕΚΑΠΟΥ as a personal name involving the possessive prefix ΠΕΚ- and the word ΑΠΟΥ, may also be possible here—compare the personal name ΠΕΚΡΑΝ, for which see Crum, *Dict.* p. 298b ΡΑΝ (although Crum expressed doubts about it being a name).

†: the *ed. pr.* gave †.

ΚΛΟΜ: the usual meanings ‘crown, wreath’ (Crum, *Dict.* p. 104b) are not applicable here, but as an agricultural implement there are parallels cited by Crum in *BKU* I 94, and the unpublished British Library text, BL Or. 6201A (90), which mentions this word in connection with an axle (ἄξων), ΚΛΟΜ ΝΑΞΟΝ.

Compare the meaning of στέφανος as a type of *polykandelon*, see Górecki, *JJP* 2001: 51-53, revising Montserrat *Or.* 64 1995: 430-444?

3-4. ΙΩΤ ΜΦΟΪ: as the *ed. pr.* stated, a parallel for this title may be found in an unpublished Coptic text cited in Crum, *Dict.* p. 650b ροι—‘PMerton (olim Beatty) 1924’.

5. ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΡΑΜΕΛΕΙ: this phrase occurs in the parallel texts, *P.CrumST* 329-330 (I.6). There is no trema on the ι in ΑΜΕΛΕΙ as given in the *ed. pr.*

## 53

## ORDER TO GIVE AN ASS FODDER?

BL Or. 6201B (211)  
Plate XXIV

60 × 120 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light to mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: 3 lines and all margins are preserved.

Palaeography: An experienced semi-cursive hand.

Provenance: Unknown. Teusia in l. 3 is a place name found in *shine nsa*-formula ostraca (I.5 and I.13).

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 9-11.

Addressee: George of the great garden.

George of the great garden (who also occurs in No. 23.2-3) may be ordered to give some fodder to an ass belonging to a place called Teusia. The meaning of the final line remains obscure.

→

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 | † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΪ ΝΠΡΩΗΡΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ |
| 2 | ΠΑΤΝΟΣ ΝΩΝΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΝΣΡΕ ΝΠΙΩ |
| 3 | ΝΠΑΤΕΥΣΙΑ ΝΕΜΕΡΟΥ ΝΠΙΝΑΦ †      |

1 ΠΠΕϣ- 2 τι ουκογι 3 ΠΠΛ- (?), μέρος

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | † It is our father who writes to his son George                  |
| 2 | of the great garden. A little fodder to the ass                  |
| 3 | belonging to Teusia/the estate <of?> the division of Pinaf (?) † |

3.  $\eta\pi\lambda\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ : it is possible that  $\eta\pi\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$  can be read, with a ligature of  $\epsilon + \tau$ .

$\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$ : if this is a form of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  'division, part', the closest parallel recorded by Förster *WB* is  $\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ . It is also possible that  $\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$  is an unattested plural of  $\mu\eta\rho$  'shore' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 180a). Less likely is that it derives from  $\mu\omicron\upsilon\rho$  'bind' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 180a), or  $\lambda\mu\rho\epsilon$  'baker' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 8b).

$\pi\iota\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma$ : the  $\eta$  is uncertain, and the interpretation of this word is obscure. It may be composed of the words  $\pi\iota\eta$  'mouse' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 263a), which is attested as a personal name ( $\Pi\pi\iota\eta$ , Preisigke *NB*), and  $\lambda\alpha\gamma$  'flesh' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 23a) or 'fly, insect' (Crum, *Dict.* p. 23b).

## INVOICES FOR VARIOUS COMMODITIES

## 54

## INVOICE FOR LEAD AND OIL

P.Byrd 36.2  
Plate XXIV

(main fragment) 85 × 90 mm

(script) 7th–8th century  
Medium brown papyrus

Preservation: 8 lines and all margins are preserved. A small fragment of 4 lines of text (Warga, 1992: 79, estimated 'two and a half lines') has been added upside down above l. 1. Since it is written in the same hand as the present text, it may be a docket which has become detached.

Palaeography: A right-sloping majuscule hand. Warga (1992: 79) suggested dating it to the 7th century.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: Acquired for the private collection of Jonathan Byrd.

Bibliography: Edited by Warga (1992); amendments and further comments by Clackson (1993).

Addressee: Koueie (son of) Papas/Young Papas.

This invoice notifies Koueie (son of) Papas/Young Papas that twenty-five pounds of lead (see **I.14**) and a full *lakon*-measure of oil have been delivered and can be collected from the sailors of Enoch. See **I.5** for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ
- 2 ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΕΙΕ
- 3 ΠΑΠΑΣ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΧΟΥΤΗ
- 4 ΝΛΙΤΡΑ ΝΤΑΣΤ · ΑΙΤΝΟ-
- 5 ΟΥΣΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΜΝΝ ΟΥΛΛΑΓΟΝ
- 6 ΝΝΕΣ ΕΒΜΕΣ · ΩΙΝΕ
- 7 ΝΣΩΟΥ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΝΕΕΒ
- 8 ΝΕΝΩΧ †

5 ΜΝ ΟΥΛΛΑΚΟΝ 6 ΕΦΜΗΣ 7 ΝΝΕΕΒ

Further text, now detached, possibly belonging to the docket, mentions ΛΑΓΟΝ ΓΝΑΥ.  
[SJC intended to edit these further four lines fully.]

- 1 † It is our father who writes
- 2 to his son Koueie (son of)/Young
- 3 Papas. Here are the twenty-five
- 4 *litrai* of lead I have sent
- 5 to you along with a full *lakon*

- 6 of oil. Requisition them
- 7 from the sailors
- 8 of Enoch †

2. ΚΟΥΕΙΕ: for this as the personal name Koueie (which is not recorded in Heuser), see Pernigotti (1985: 101 comm. l. 13), and *CPR* VIII 77.2 Κούει (7th–8th century).

4. ΛΙΤΡΑ: this measure is used for many commodities; the *ed. pr.* translated it as ‘liters’. The amount represented by a λίτρα varies: in principal it is 0.3274 kg, but can be as much as 0.558 kg (*Hommes et richesses*, I: 287).

6–7. ΦΙΝΕ ΝΚΩΟΥ: see I.5 for the use of ΦΙΝΕ ΝΚΑ- in *Our father*-formula texts.

7. ΝΕΕΚ: sailors from the village of ΤΕΜΧΙΡ are mentioned in two inscriptions at Bawit, see Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 77, No. 149.3; 88, No. 210.

## 55

## INVOICE FOR OIL

*SB Kopt.* I 288

P.PalauRib. inv. 41

Plate XXV

57 × 119 mm

(script) 7th–8th century

‘Medium brown papyrus with fine fibre texture and smooth surface’ (Klakowicz 1981: 46)

Preservation: 5 lines and all margins are preserved (despite the claim in the *ed. pr.* that it ‘preserves the beginning of a private letter’); ‘some dark spots and a vertical breaking which damaged some letters in the last two lines extant’ (Klakowicz 1981: 46–47).

Palaeography: Right-sloping majuscule, with some ligatures. Several dots on this papyrus do not appear to be marks made by the scribe: for example, above the ω in ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ (l. 1), and the λ in ΛΩΩΪ (l. 2). Klakowicz: (1981: 46) compared the script to that of the 8th-century *P.Ryl.Copt.* 142 and 180.

Provenance: Unknown. The unusual name Ashōi is also found at Bawit.

Bibliography: Edited by Klakowicz (1981: 46–47); reproduced in *SB Kopt.* I 288 with additional comments.

Addressees: Anoup and Ashōi.

This invoice notifies Anoup and Ashōi of an oil delivery and mentions that a man will be sent about some pitch. See I.5 for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

↓

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΜΠ̄ΩΗΡΕ
- 2 ΑΝΟΥΠ Μ̄Ν ΛΩΩΪ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ
- 3 ΠΛΑΓΟΝ ΝΕΣ ΑΪΤΝΟΟΥ
- 4 ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΛΥΩ ΦΑΣΤΟΟΥ ΤΑΤΝΟΟΥ
- 5 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΛΑΜΧΑΤΠ

3 ΛΑΚΟΝ Ν̄ΝΕΣ 4 ΦΑΣΤΟΟΥΕ

- 1 † It is our father who writes to his son
- 2 Anoup and Ashōi. Here is
- 3 the *lakon* of oil. I have sent it
- 4 to you, and at dawn I will send
- 5 out the man about the pitch.



1. ΠΕΤΣΣΑΙ: above the ι there may be a trema.  
ΠΦΩΗΡΕ: note the use of the singular ΠΦ- here although two people are being addressed. 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.
2. ΑΦΩΐ: the *ed pr.* gave ΑΦΩΙ. The name Ashōi is recorded in three inscriptions from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1931-43: 70, No. 104, ΑΦΑΙ; 72, No. 115, a deacon; 85, No. 195, father of Papnoute); and in Pernigotti (1985: 78); and, as ΑΦΟΕΙ, in a Coptic papyrus excavated at Abusir, (Pintaudi and Oerter 2000: 114.1-2). It is not attested in Heuser, Preisigke *NB*, or Foraboschi *Onomasticon*. The name ΑΦΩΙ should be read in *P.Med. copto inv.* 76.26.13 (Pernigotti, 1985: 78-82) instead of 'A(pa) Scioi'.
3. ΛΑΓΟΝ ΝΕΣ: this was interpreted as ΛΑΓΟ ΝΝΕΣ in the *ed. pr.* and *SB Kopt.* 1 288 erroneously corrects this reading to ΛΑΚΟΝ.
4. ΦΑΣΤΟΟΥ: the sense here suggests that 'at dawn' be read rather than 'till morning' as in the *ed. pr.*
5. ΝΛΑΜΧΑΤΠ: note the use of the plural here; parallels listed in Crum, *Dict.* p. 143b ΛΑΜΧΑΤΠ.

## 56

## UNIDENTIFIABLE INVOICE

BM EA 75304 side (B)  
Plate XXV

28 × 150 mm

(script) 7th–8th century  
Light brown papyrus

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 illegible lines in brown ink, both in different hands from that of the text presented below (no transcription of these is possible).

Palaeography: A large majuscule hand with many ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

→

- 1 [ⲥ] ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΣΑΪ ΜΠΦΩΗΡΕ
- 2 [           ...           ] ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΒΤΟΟΥ

2 ΦΤΟΟΥ

- 1 [ⲥ] It is our father who writes to his son
- 2 [...] Here are the four

VARIA

## 57

## BEGINNING OF A DOCUMENT

P.CtYBR inv. 2103 qua (B) text 2  
*P.Mon.Apollo* plate XLV

78 × 240 mm

(script) 7th century  
Papyrus

Bibliography: Published as *P.Mon.Apollo* 59a. [A scan of this papyrus can be found on the web at <<http://highway49.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSet.asp?pid=2103%20qua>>.]

→		
1	† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΙ	† It is our father who writes
2	ΝΠϞΩΗΡΕ ΓΕ-	to his son Ge-
3	traces visible	...
2	μπεϞ--	

## 58

## BEGINNING OF A DOCUMENT

P.Leiden RMO F1965/4.2 side (B)  
Plate XXV

96 × 115 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light to mid-brown papyrus (see No. 76)

Preservation: The right-hand side of this 7-line text is preserved with a few lacunae running vertically near the middle of the papyrus, possibly where the text was folded in half. Approximately 8 letters are missing from the left-hand side of the text.

Palaeography: An experienced, right-sloping majuscule with a few ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: In 1965, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden acquired this papyrus on the Dutch art market through the dealer J. Möger of Soestdijk. The trader's mark on the papyrus, JT 33, makes it clear that it came from the same source as the Teshlot archive published by Michael Green (*OMRO* 64). (e-mail from Dr Maarten J. Raven, Curator, Egyptian Department, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 13/12/2001).

Addressee: Hlo the *sah*.

Hlo the *sah* is probably ordered here to come to the monastery and then to return, and is warned not to hold something or someone back.

→	
1	[† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ] ΠΕΤΣΖΛΙ ΝΠϞΩΗΡΕ ΨΛΖ ΖΛΟ
2	[            ] ΝΠΕΥΝ]ΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΙ ΝΤΙΠΕΤΤΑΚΝ
3	[            ] ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΣΟΟΥΤΝ
4	[            ] ΝΕΜΑΚ ΝΚΚΟΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ
5	[            ] ΝΣΟ]ΟΥΤΝ ΝΚΒΩΚ ΝΑΚ
6	[            ] ΣΟΥΝ ΜΠΩΡΚΑΤΑΧΕ
7	[            ] ΡΙΑΤΕ †

2 ΠΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ Β ΚΑΤΕΧΕ

1	[† It is our father] who writes to his son, the <i>sah</i> Hlo.
2	[As so]on as you receive this note,
3	[...] to the monastery forthwith
4	[...] with you and return
5	[... forth]with (?) and go
6	[...] ... do not hold back
7	[...] ... †

1. ΖΛΟ: literally 'old man' (Ζ(ε)λλο, Heuser 10, 33, 46, 54, 67).

6. ΚΑΤΑΧΕ: as well as 'hold back', an interpretation of κατέχω as 'detain, arrest' (Förster *WB*) may also be applicable here.

7. ἸΡΙΑΤΕ: there is no name ending -ΡΙΑΤΕ recorded in Heuser, but P.Duk. inv. 469, published by Markiewicz 2002, has the name of a presbyter ending -ΙΑΤΕ.

## 59

## INDETERMINATE ORDER

P.Leiden Papy. Inst. inv. 703  
Plate XXVI

52 x 96 mm

(script) 8th century  
Brown papyrus

Preservation: The other side is blank.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See **I.15**. Coptic texts including this one are described on p. 34 of *Acta Classica* 63 (1971); inv. 703 is text No. 4 ('Document, complete at the top, bottom, and left-hand side (9.6 x 5.2cm.). 4 lines. Verso blank.').

This text may be compared with No. **48**, in which a monk is described as being 'under brother Anoup'. It is an order to a monk who is 'under the fathers' (also possibly 'the father'?) to travel somewhere on the following day, probably to the issuer of this order.

→

- |   |        |         |        |     |             |
|---|--------|---------|--------|-----|-------------|
| 1 | ⲥ      | ⲡⲈⲚⲈⲐⲠⲦ | ⲡⲈⲤⲤⲁⲒ | Ⲛⲡⲓ | [ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ...] |
| 2 | ⲈⲢⲁⲤⲚ̄ | ⲚⲈⲐⲠⲦⲉ  | ⲛ      | [Ⲉ? | ... ]       |
| 3 | ⲈⲖⲠ    | Ⲛ̄ⲒⲈⲓ   | ⲛⲓ     | [   | ... ]       |
| 4 | ⲈⲖⲠ    | Ⲛ̄ⲢⲁⲤⲦⲈ | Ⲥ.     | [   | ... ]       |

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | ⲥ | It is our father who writes to h[is son ...] |
| 2 |   | who is under the fathers (?). [...]          |
| 3 |   | and come to me (?) [...]                     |
| 4 |   | tomorrow [...]                               |

2. ⲁⲤⲚ̄: a parallel usage of ⲁⲤⲚ- may be found in the Life of Pachomius (CSCO 89: 22/MMAF IV: 543), in which people are described as 'being a monk under you' (ⲈⲢ ⲚⲠⲚⲁϫⲠⲠⲠ ⲛⲁⲤⲠⲠⲠ, cited in Crum, *Dict.* 428b Ⲥⲱⲣⲉ).

ⲚⲈⲐⲠⲦⲉ: the final Ⲉ is barely legible; although not recorded by Crum (*Dict.*, 86b), the same plural form of ⲈⲐⲠⲦ is recorded in *P.Bal.* 192.14, which Kahle believed stood for ⲚⲈⲚⲈⲐⲠⲦⲈ 'our fathers'.

TEXT EXCAVATED AT WADI SARGA

## 60

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT

*P.Sarga* 175 (BL Or. 9035 (64))  
Plate XXVI

59 x 63 mm

(script) 7th–8th century?  
Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: The left-hand side of this 5-line text is preserved. The other side of the papyrus is blank.

Palaeography: Contrary to Crum's assertion that there are two different hands in this text, it in fact appears to have been written entirely in a single, semi-cursive hand. The signature of Daniel in the final line looks to have been penned by the same person who wrote the main text. The hand differs from that of Daniel who signs other *Our father*-formula texts which can be linked with Bawit (I.11).

Provenance: Excavated at Wadi Sarga by R. Campbell Thompson.

Acquisition: Presented to the British Museum by the Byzantine Research Fund after the excavation.

Bibliography Edited in *P.Sarga*, p. 143, No. 175.

A fragmentary order for payment for wine issued by Daniel to someone from the *diakonia*. A head of the Monastery of Thomas at Wadi Sarga named Daniel occurs in several texts excavated at the site (*P.Sarga* 87 etc.).

→

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩ[Τ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΙ ΜΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΝΝ]  
 2 ΠΑΤΔΙΑ[ΚΟΝΙΑ ... ΤΙ ΟΥΚΑΛΛΟΣ]  
 3 ΝΗΡΠ ΝΦ[ ... ]  
 4 γί(νεταί) οίν(ο)υ κ(ά)δ(ος) α μ(ηνός) .[...]  
 5 † ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΣΤΟΙΧ(ΕΙ) [vac.?)

4 γι ραρ. οιν<sup>ν</sup> ραρ. κδ ραρ. μ ραρ. 5 στοιχ ραρ.

- 1 † It is our fathe[r who writes to his son NN]  
 2 of the dia[konia ... give 1 kados]  
 3 of wine to Sh[-...]  
 4 <sup>(Greek:)</sup> Total, 1 kados of wine. In the month of [...]  
 5 † Daniel agrees [...?]

2. ΠΑΤΔΙΑ[ΚΟΝΙΑ: this title is found at the Saqqara Monastery of Jeremias, see Wietheger 1992: 286.

4. κ(ά)δ(ος): see examples of this abbreviation in Förster *WB* 358.

#### FRAGMENTARY *OUR FATHER*-FORMULA DOCUMENTS

### 61

#### FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201A (227) side (B)  
 Plate XXVI

45 × 105 mm

(script) 7th–8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: All 3 lines of this text are preserved, although the ink is faded, especially in ll. 1 and 2. On side (A) there are remains of three final lines of an earlier text, with only the lower margin preserved, written against the fibres in a different hand, ending with the words 1 [...]( ±8 ) π. εμη[ ...] / 2 [ΟΥΧΑΙ] ΖΗ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΜΜΕΡΙΤ Ν[...]/ 3 [...]. ' [...] ... / farewell in the Lord, our beloved [...] / [...] ...'

Palaeography: A fairly large, right-sloping majuscule hand. The only ligature involves ε and ι.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

→

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϚΖΛΙ ±3
- 2 ΑΝΟΥΠ ±10
- 3 Ν..ΠΑ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΠ. ±6

- 1 † It is our father who writes ...
- 2 Anoup ...
- 3 ... from ...

1. ΠΕΤϚΖΛΙ: the first four letters have faded and are illegible.

3. Ν..ΠΑ: read ΝΑΛΠΑ ΟΓ ΝΩΠΑ. ΑΠ. ±6: the title ΑΠΑ, ΟΓ ΕΥΕΝ ΑΠΟΥ, may be reconstructed.

## 62

## FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201A (231)  
No Plate

33 × 60 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: 2 lines and all but the bottom and right margins are preserved; on side (A) there are 2 lines of a text in a small cursive hand, with all but the right margin extant.

Palaeography: Written in a small, semi-cursive hand similar to No. 20.

Provenance: Unknown. Pma npleebeiðhe (I.13) is mentioned in l. 3.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

(A) ↓

- 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤϚΖ[ΛΙ ΜΠϚΩΗΡΕ ΝΝ]
- 2 ΠΑΠΜΑ ±3 [...]

(B) → Docket?

- 3 [...].ΠΜΑ ΝΠΛΞΕΒΕΙΩΣΕ
- 4 [...].ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ [...]

- 1 † It is our father who wri[tes to his son NN]
- 2 of the place ... [...]
- 3 ... of Pma npleebeiðhe
- 4 ... from our father [...]

2. ΠΜΑ( ±3 )[: reconstruct ΠΜΑ ΝΠΛΞΕΒΕΙΩΣΕ as in l. 3, if side (B) does indeed contain the docket.

3. ΠΜΑ ΝΠΛΞΕΒΕΙΩΣΕ: *P.Mich.Copt.* 11 (P.Mich. inv. 4557, cited by Crum, *Dict.*, p. 90a, εΙΩΣΕ) mentions ΠΜΑ (Ν?)ΝΕΛΕΒΙΩΣΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ.

## 63

## FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201B (94)  
Plate XXVII

90 × 122 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: The right-hand side of this 3-line text is preserved; in ll. 1 (ΠΑΠΟΥ) and 2 (ΦΑΝΤΕΧΛΟ), the scribe has written around existing lacunae in the papyrus.

Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand employing majuscule and cursive forms in equal proportion.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

Severus of Posh is given an order concerning the watchman, probably the son of Apa Kollouthe. A monastery of Stephen is also mentioned in connection with this order.

↓

- 1 [† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ Π]ΕΤΣΖΛΪ ΝΠΓ΄ΩΗΡΕ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΟΥ ΧΕ Ω..  
2 [ ... ].ΝΑΠΑ ΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΕ ΠΡΨΡΟΕΙΣ ΦΑΝΤΕΧΛΟ  
3 [ ... ]ΘΕΝΗΗΤΕ ΝΣΤΕΦΝΪ ΛΥΩ Ν ±3 ΩΜΕΝΕ

1 l. Ππεϗ- 3 l. στεφεν

- 1 [†] It is [our father w]ho writes to his son, Severus from Posh. ...  
2 [...] of Apa Kollouthe, the watchman until he ceases  
3 [...] the monastery of Stephen and ...

2. ].N-: reconstruct [π]ΩN- 'the son of'?

3. στεφν̄: for a parallel spelling of Stephen, see *P.Bal.* 239.3 (στεφN).

N[±3]ΩΜΕΝΕ: this text does not appear to end with ΝΠΡΑΜΕΛΕ, as does No. 52.5 (ΜΠΡ̄ΑΜΕΛΕΙ). Possibly read ϜΜΕ ΝΕ?

## 64

## FRAGMENT

P.CtYBR inv. 1820  
Formerly P.Yale inv. 1819b  
No Plate

43 × 54 mm

(script) 8th century  
Papyrus

Preservation: The right-hand side of the first 5 lines of this text is preserved; a dark line—possibly part of a protocol?—runs through the second-preserved letter of each line. The other side of this papyrus is blank.

Palaeography: Large, experienced, right-sloping majuscule with some cursive forms.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Bibliography: Described briefly in Petersen (*s.d.*, 1964?): 57, No. 8. [A scan of this papyrus can be found at <<http://highway49.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSet.asp?pid=1820>>.]

↓  
 1 [† ΠΕΝΕΙ]ΦΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΙ  
 2 [ΝΠΠΩΗΡΕ ]ΠΠΑΠΑ <ΠΑ>ΛΛΥ  
 3 [ ... ]Τ ΤΑΛΕ  
 4 [ ... ]ΑΦΟΪ ΝΑ[?]  
 5 [ ... ]ΦΟΛΤ[±2]

1 [†] It is [our fath]er who writes  
 2 [to his son] Papa Palau  
 3 [...] ...  
 4 [...] the field of A[-...]  
 5 [...] ... [...]

2. ΠΑΠΑ <ΠΑ>ΛΛΥ: the final letter γ looks more like a ρ as it ends in an elongated horizontal stroke. Inscriptions from Bawit commemorate a number of people with the name Palau/Paleu (Heuser 23, 69), believed by Kahle to be rare and occurring only from the 7th–8th centuries (*P.Bal.* 252 ad l. 2): from Clédat's 'chapelle 22' (Clédat 1904–6: 125, No. 4), 'chapelle 28' (Clédat 1904–6: 158, west wall [father of Isak]); 'chapelle 51' (Clédat 1999: 116, right of apse); and Maspero's 'salle 1' (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 51, No. 10.8; 54, No. 27.10, 15 [father of Camoul]); in 'salle 6' (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 75, No. 145.1, 2, 3 [brother of Helen]).

3. ΤΑΛΕ: τ may be preceded by a letter.

5. ]ΦΟΛΤ[: restore [λ]ΦΟΛΤ[ε] 'wagon' (Crum, *Dict.* 26a), or as a form of ΦΟΡΤε 'knife' (Crum, *Dict.* 829b), comparing *P.Lond.* IV 1631 col. 4, l. 10. Alternatively, the initial letter may be κ rather than σ.

## 65

## FRAGMENT

BM EA 75329  
 Plate XXVII

90 × c. 80 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: The right-hand side of the first 7 lines of this text is preserved.

Palaeography: A right-sloping majuscule, occasionally employing cursive forms.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

This document is concerned with an account, possibly of produce from one of the monastery gardens, or from Hermopolite Teshnê (I.13).

↓  
 1 † ΠΕΝΕΙ[ΦΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΛΙ ΜΠΠΩΗΡΕ ...]  
 2 ΝΑΠΑ Κ.[ ... ]  
 3 ΧΕ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΠ..[ ... ]  
 4 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΩΝΗ ..[ ... ]  
 5 ΕΡΩΦΩ ΒΟΣ ±3 [ ... Π-]  
 6 ΖΑΜΑΚ. ±2 ΝΠΑΠΑ .[ ... ]  
 7 ±3 [ ... ]

3 l. ΜΠ- 5 l. ΡΩΦ? 6 l. ΜΠΑΠΑ

- 1 ⲥ It is our fath[er who writes to his son ...]
- 2 of Apa K-[...]
- 3 The account of [...]
- 4 in(to) the garden/Teshnê [...]
- 5 ... a half ... [... the]
- 6 ...-smith (?) ... of/from Papa [...]
- 7 ... [...]

1. ⲥ: this symbol extends well above the other letters in l. 1 and descends almost as far down as l. 3.  
 6. ϩΑΜΑΚ.: possibly reconstruct a variant of the term ϩΑΜΑΚΗ which occurs in *P.Sarga* 171.5 (ἰϩϩΑΝΝΗϩ ΠϩΑΜΑΚΗ); another variant of this term, ϩΑΜΑΓΗ, may be interpreted in *P.HermitageCopt.* 14.15, where it was construed by Ernstedt as a function connected with sesame. For suggested meanings of ΑΚΗ, including 'sesame', see No. 81 ad l. 9. A personal name Φαμακεῖ is recorded in *NB*.

## 66

## FRAGMENT

BM EA 75305  
 Plate XXVIII

72 × 105 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: The right-hand side of the first 7 lines of this text are preserved. The other side of the papyrus is blank.

Palaeography: A competent majuscule hand with some cursive forms, including η, and ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

This fragment may reveal more of the layout of the monastery, as it mentions the 'western men's apartment (ἀνδρών)'. An *andron* is also mentioned in two of the 9th-century property transfers from Bawit edited by Krause (1958), BL Or. 6203.54 and 6204.44 (*P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 10, §2.2.2).

→

1	[		]	ⲥ
2	[	ⲥ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤ	]	ϩΑἰ ΜΠϩΩΗΡΕ
3	[	...	]	ΠΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΝΕΜΝΤ
4	[	...	]	ΑΠΑ ἰϩϩΑΝΗϩ
5	[	...	]	±2 ϩϩΩ ϩΑ ΝΕἰἰ ±2
6	[	...	]	±3?
7	[	...	]	±3?

1	[		]	ⲥ
2	[	ⲥ It is our father who	]	writes to his son
3	[	...	]	the western men's apartment
4	[	...	]	Apa Iohanes
5	[	...	]	covering(s) for these ... (?)
6-7	[	...	]	...

3. ΠΑΝΔΡΟΝ: or plural ΝΑΝΔΡΟΝ 'the men's apartments'?
5. [SJC had doubts over the reading of this line.]



## 67

## PRACTICE TEXT/FRAGMENT?

BM EA 75301 side (B)  
Plate XXVIII

28 × 106 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 83)

Preservation: This fragment may preserve a complete 2-line practice text, or the first 2 lines of a genuine order. For the text written earlier on the other side of this papyrus, see No. 83.

Palaeography: A large, right-sloping majuscule hand with some cursive forms such as minuscule η.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Whether this is a practice text, or the truncated beginning of a genuine order, it is addressed to Klouj (see No. 48) with a large gap left after the addressee's name.

→

1	† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΪ ΜΠϞ-	† It is our father who writes to his
2	ΩΗΡΕ ΚΛΟΥϞ	son Klouj.

## 68

## FRAGMENT

BM EA 75302 side (B)  
Plate XXVIII

38 × 148 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus

Preservation: The first 2 lines of this text are preserved. Side (A) bears part of a faded protocol.

Palaeography: A large majuscule hand with some ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

↓

1	†	†
2	† ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ ΜΠϞ-	† It is our father who writes to his
3	[ΩΗΡΕ ΝΝ ... ]	[son NN ...]

2. †: the right end of the horizontal curves down to the right.

## 69

## FRAGMENT

P.CtYBR inv. 5003 side (B)  
Plate XXVIII

c. 75 × 85 mm

(script) 8th century  
Bleached light brown papyrus (see No. 33)

Preservation: The left-hand side of the first 3 lines of this text is poorly preserved on a very fragile papyrus. On the other side No. 33 is written in the same hand at 180°.

Palaeography: Confident, right-sloping, well-spaced majuscule hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 12-13.



1–2. ΟΥΘΕΙΕΜΑΞΕ: this title occurs on ostraca excavated at Bawit (one of which is *O.Bawit/FAO 2.6*, Biktor), as well as on ostraca which may also have this provenance: *SB Kopt. I 226.4* (Enoch); Naprstek Museum P 2019.4 A variant of this title may also now be restored in *SB Kopt. I 230.4–5* ([ΠΟΥΘΕΙΕ] ΝΕΜΑΞΕ). Bilabel (1933: 556, 558 *ad l. 4*) translated the term ‘Stierbauer’.

4. ΠΤΑϞ.ΟΡ..[...]: looks like ΠΤΑϞΝΤΟΡΟ..[...].

TEXTS WRITTEN ON THE OTHER SIDE OF *OUR FATHER*-FORMULA DOCUMENTS

## 72

DOCUMENT ADDRESSED TO THE *DIKAION* OF THE MONASTERY

P.Mich. inv. 578 side (A)  
Plate XXX

88 × 101 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 4)

Preservation: The central portion of this 4-line text is poorly preserved, with dark patches (the result of water damage?) and lacunae obscuring letters in ll. 2–3, and the ink faded in several places. The papyrus was later re-used for another document, No. 4, which is much better preserved.

Palaeography: A right-sloping majuscule hand with elaborate Δ (l. 2).

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri’s signature (I.11) on the document subsequently written on this papyrus, No. 4, suggests that it was sent to the *dikaion* of the Bawit monastery, if it did not originate from there.

Acquisition: See I.15

If the term ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ can be restored in l. 4, this may well have been a guarantee (ἀσφάλεια).

→

1 [ ... ] ΠΦΕΝΙΩΣΑΝΗΣ ΠΦΜΕΤ[ ... ]  
2 [ ... ] ΜΠΑ[Ι]ΚΑΙΟΝ ΜΠΜΟΝΑ[ΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ...]  
3 [ ... ΜΑ]ΪΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΦΤ ΕΤΟΥΛΛ[Β ... ]  
4 [... ΑΣΦ]ΑΛΕΙ[Α] vac.?

1 [...]the son of Iohanes, from T[...]  
2 [[...] to the *dikaion* of the Mona[stery of ...]  
3 [...] God-[lo]ving, holy father [...]  
4 [... guar]ante[e?]

## 73

## LETTER

P.Mich. inv. 1300 side (A)  
Plate XXX

100 × 165 mm

(script) 8th century  
Papyrus (see No. 1)

Preservation: The right-hand side of the final 7 lines of this text is preserved, with the lower right quarter badly faded. Later this papyrus was re-used for No. 1.

Palaeography: A fluent, semi-cursive hand employing numerous ligatures, including the ‘ace-of-spades’ ερ (l. 2, μερε-; l. 6, ερχολή εροϊ).

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature (I.11) on the document subsequently written on this papyrus, No. 1, suggests that it was sent to the Bawit monastery, if it did not originate from there.

Acquisition: As for No. 1.

The purpose of this fragmentary letter is unclear: it mentions a certain Philemmon to whom the writer has written. The addressee is exhorted not to be angry.

↓  
 1 [ ... ] .[ ±3 ] ±3 [ ±3 ] ±4 ϣε ειρπρωϣε  
 2 [ ... ] παρα πσεεπε ταβοϣω̄ κνοϊ ϣε μερεβαϣον'  
 3 [ ... ] επιστολη' ηπαϣοεις πχαρτ(οϣλλαριος) ϣε μηεπφιλημμων  
 4 [ ... ] ϣε τι ηητη' ζμ ποϣωϣ μπινοϣτε ϣαϊνηζκ  
 5 [ ... ] ϣε ηταϊςζαϊ επφιλημμωνη αλλα οπς ϣε μηεινε  
 6 [... ηπρ]ερϣολη' εροϊ ϣ ανοκ αιςζαϊ † ηαϊ ειςζαϊ μμοοϣ  
 7 [ζιτ]εν νεϊςζαϊ ετβοϣϣ † οϣϣαϊ †

2 l. ηταϣοϣω̄? κνοει 3. ϣ'ρ' pap. 3, 5 l. φιλημμων 6 l. ϣε

1 [...] ... I am doing enough  
 2 [...] more than the rest ... You know that servants do not/cannot  
 3 [...] letter to my lord, the *chartularius* that Philemmon did not  
 4 [...] give you, by the will of God, I should ... you  
 5 [...] that I wrote to Philemmon but consider that I did not bring  
 6 [...] do not| be angry with me because I have written. † This I am writing  
 7 [...] through this humble letter † Farewell †

2. <ε?>ταβοϣω̄: I take this to be a form of ηταϣοϣω̄, basically meaning 'which he put', but the meaning of this is uncertain as it does not fit into a standard syntactic category. Resumption of an antecedent is expected, whether the verb οϣω̄ is to be interpreted transitively or intransitively.

3. ηπαϣοεις: the initial η does not resemble any others in this text and looks more like a ligature whose second component is an ε.

πχαρτ(οϣλλαριος): parallels are recorded at Förster *WB* χαρτουλάριος.

3, 5. ηφιλημμων: Kahle gave parallels for φ > ηφ in Coptic documents, including one from the Balayza Monastery of Apollo (*P.Bal.*, I p. 133, §117).

4. ϣαϊνηζκ: it may be that this is a rare occurrence of μ > η (*P.Bal.*, I p. 100, §76d), and should be interpreted as ϣαϊμαζκ 'I should pay you'. The word ηηζ= may also be an unusual form of ηοϣζε 'shake' (Crum, *Dict.* 241b), although its meaning is unclear.

5. οπς ϣε μηεινε: compare the usage in *P.Lond.Copt.* I 220, fol. a, l. 1: οπς ϣε ανεϣαναναιος ... ϣ νοκε.

7. [ζιτ]εν: restored after No. 74.6.

## 74

## PRIVATE LETTER

P.Princeton Garrett deposit 1924  
H.I. Bell No. II 21 side (A)  
Plate XXXI

112 × 162 mm

(script) 8th century  
Papyrus (see No. 6)

Preservation: The left-hand side of this 6-line text is preserved with several small lacunae. Later the papyrus was re-used for No. 6.

Palaeography: Essentially an experienced majuscule hand but with numerous cursive features.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature (I.11) on the document subsequently written on this papyrus, No. 6, suggests that it was sent to the Bawit monastery, if it did not originate from there.

Acquisition: As for No. 6.

↓  
1 †  
2 † Αἰχὶ Νεϋζαὶ Νπαχοεῖς Νιῶτ ἑτταῖ πρὸς [...]  
3 Νπασον Παμοῦν Ντατετνεμντῖῶτ τῆουσοῦ ζατ[...]  
4 Πνοῦτε ζαρεζ ερωτῆν ±3 νοῦμηθε Νρομ[πε ...]  
5 Ναῖ εἰςζαῖ μοοῦ τιπροσκυνει λῶτ τιασπα[ζε ...]  
6 Νἰμ ζῖτῆν Νασζαῖ ἑτχοβϥ ερεπεϋχαῖ [...]

2. l. ἄπα- l. ἑτταῖηϥ 3 l. ἄπασον, l. ἄτατετῆ-, l. τῆουσοῦ 5 l. ἄμοοῦ 6 l. βοχϥ

1 †  
2 † I have received the letter of my honoured lordly father as [...]  
3 of my brother Pamoun which your fatherhood sent them for [...]  
4 God guard you ... for a multitude of yea[rs ...]  
5 these things I am writing, I welcome and salu[te ...]  
6 every ... through my humble letter, may the well-being [...]

2. αἰχὶ Νεϋζαὶ: this epistolary formula is widely attested in 7th–8th-century documents (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983: 233, No. 1), including Balayza Monastery of Apollo papyri, *P.Bal.* 180.3, 249.1, 257.1.

6. Νασζαῖ ἑτχοβϥ: compare the ending of No. 73 which refers to Νεῖςζαῖ ἑτβοχϥ (l. 7).

## 75

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT TO A BEEKEEPER

P.Vindob. K 11375 side (A)  
Plate XXXI

85 × 145 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 24)

Preservation: The first 5 lines of this text are preserved intact. The papyrus was later re-used for No. 24.

Palaeography: An experienced, semi-cursive hand employing numerous ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See I.15.

Bibliography: Corrigenda in Clackson, *Tyche* 17 (2002) p. 261 (*Korr. Tyche* 285); ed. pr. Hasitzka 2001; briefly described in Hakkert 1967: 41, item 118, reproduced pl. 11.

This order was concerned with a payment of wine to a beekeeper for harvesting bees, and was authorized by Phib (see *P.Mon.Apollo 50* for further evidence of the monastery's apicultural activities).

→

1 † ΤΙ ΟΥΛΛΑΚΟΟΤΕ ΝΗ[Ρ]Π̄ ΝΠΕΙΕΒΙ-  
 2 ΕΙΤ ΖΑ ΝΑΨ̄ ΝΤΑΨΧΟΟΛΟΥ Δ(ΙΨ) ΦΙΒ †  
 3 ΑΥΩ ΤΙ ΟΥΛΛΞΕ ΝΦ̄.ΚΟΥ ΝΑΨ ΝΨΤΙ  
 4 ΠΕΙΞΗCΤΗC ΝΗΞ ΕΡΟΨ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΕΙΝ  
 5 ΞΕ ΑΚΧΝΟΥΨ̄ ΞΕ ΤΝΟΟΥ ΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑ ΞΝΦΧ ΚΕ

The papyrus breaks off.

2 l. ΑΨ ΝΕΒΙΩ, Δ/ pap. 3 l. ΛΛΞΗ? 4 l. ΠΠΞΞ 5 l. ΤΠΟΟΥ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ, l. ΚΑΙ

1 † Give a *lakoote* of wi|n|e to this beekeep-  
 2 er for the bees which he harvested. <sup>(Greek:)</sup> By Phib †  
 3 <sup>(Coptic:)</sup> And sell a *lahê* (?) of ... (*posca*?) to him and let him pay  
 4 this sextarius of oil for it. This is the sign  
 5 that you asked him—send <a> man for Enoch and  
 [A personal name is expected as the first element of the now-lost l. 6.]

2. ΖΑ ΝΑΨ̄ ΝΤΑΨΧΟΟΛΟΥ Δ(ΙΨ) ΦΙΒ: the *ed. pr.* read ΖΑ <Π>ΝΑΨ̄ ΝΤΑΨΧΟΟΛΟΥ Α' ΦΙΒ, and interpreted it as 'für die Zeit, in welcher er sie gesammelt hat 1512' (Hasitzka 2001: 56–57). The context of the document, however, strongly suggests that ΑΨ—meaning 'fly'—stands for ΑΨ ΝΕΒΙΩ, 'bee' (literally 'honey-fly'), here.

ΧΟΟΛΟΥ: it is noteworthy that the verb, ΨΩΨΛΕ 'gather harvest' (Crum, *Dict.* 766a), can be applied to apiculture as well as agriculture (fruit, corn, and flowers).

3. ΛΛΞΕ: as the *ed. pr.* posits, it seems most likely that this is a form of the common wine measure, the *lahê*.

ΝΦ̄.ΚΟΥ: the *ed. pr.* suggests that the drink known as φοῦσκα (*posca*) may have been intended here (Hasitzka 2001: 57), see *CPR XII* 12.4, *SB Kopt.* I 679.5–6 (not 679, 19 as given in the *ed. pr.*). The confusion of Greek neuter forms with feminine, and *vice versa*, is not uncommon in Coptic documents; see Förster *WB* p. xxxvii, and *P.Mon.Apollo* 51.6 comm.

4–5. ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΕΙΝ ΞΕ ΑΚΧΝΟΥΨ̄ ΞΕ ΤΝΟΟΥ ΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑ ΞΝΦΧ ΚΕ: the *ed. pr.* read ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑ... ΞΕ ΑΚΧΝΟΥΨ̄ ΞΕ ΤΝΟΟΥ <ΟΥ>ΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑ ΞΝΟΥΨ̄ΞΕ 'diese ist der ... Du hast mich ersucht, einen Menschen Enouche (?) hinterher zu schicken'. The syntactic structure of ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑΕΙΝ ΞΕ ΑΚΧΝΟΥΨ̄ is unusual.

5. ΞΝΦΧ ΚΕ: the *ed. pr.* read ΞΝΟΥΨ̄ΞΕ 'Enouche', an unattested personal name (Hasitzka 2001: 57). The form ΚΕ is, however, well attested for ΚΑΨ which is used in *CPR IV* 110.6–7 to connect a list of personal names, as was perhaps the case in the missing lines of the present text.

## 76

## PRACTICE FORMULAE

P.Leiden RMO F1965/4.2 side (A)  
 Plate XXXII

96 × 115 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Papyrus (see No. 58)

Preservation: The left-hand side of 5 lines of text is preserved, inscribed on top of a protocol executed with a characteristically thick pen. No. 58 was written later in the same hand on the other side of the papyrus.

Palaeography: An experienced, right-sloping majuscule with a few ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: As for No. 58.

↓  
 1 † ΑΝΟΚ ΤΑ ±4 [ ... ]  
 2 † ΠΕΝ † ±3 [ ... ]  
 3 † ΠΕΝ ±4 [ ... ]  
 4 ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ Π[Ε]ΤΣΑΙ Ε[ ... ]  
 5 [ ... ] .ε ±4 [...]

5 l. ππεϵ-

1 † I, ... [...]  
 2 † Our † ... [...]  
 3 † Our ... [...]  
 4 It is our father w[h]o writes to [...]  
 5 [...] ... [...]

1. ΤΑ ±4: a name may have been written here. It does not appear possible to reconstruct here the formula ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΝΝ ΕΙΣΑΙ, which I have linked with the Bawit monastery of Apollo (*P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 16, §3.2.1).

## 77

### DOCUMENT MENTIONING *EISBATIKON*

P.Louvain Lefort copt. 24 side (B)  
 Plate XXXII

55 × 165 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 43)

Preservation: The left-hand side of the first 4 lines of this text is preserved, with numerous small lacunae.

Palaeography: An experienced, fluent semi-cursive hand. Noteworthy is the ΑΠ ligature (ΑΠΑ (x 2) and ΑΠΟΛΛΩ, l. 2; ΑΠΕΤΝ [...], l. 3) which features a tall, central vertical.

Provenance: Unknown. Possibly issued to the *dikaion* of the Monastery of the holy Apa Apollo at Bawit.

Acquisition: As for No. 43.

The monk Kolthe writes to the *dikaion* of the Monastery of the holy Apa Apollo through its head. He states that he has not paid the monastery any *eisbatikon*, which may be a type of tax (*P.Lond.* II 333).

↓  
 1 . ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΚΟΛΘΕ .Ε.ΑΝΕ ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟ Seal [...]  
 2 ΝΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΥ ΝΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ [...]  
 3 ΝΜΩΤΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΠΕΙΤΙ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΕΙΣΒΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΝΗΤΝ ΑΠΕΤΝ [...]  
 4 ΜΝΤΕ Μ.ΦΛΗΜΕΙ.ΤΑΠΛΟΪΑΣ ΜΝ ΤΠΑΦΕ ΝΤΚΟ [...]  
 1 ... I, brother (*pason*) Kolthe (son of?) ..., the monk ... [... of the Monastery]  
 2 of the holy Apa Apollo, through the God-loving father, Apa [...]  
 3 you, and I have not given you any *eisbatikon* ... [...]  
 4 ... and the half ... [...]

1. It is not now possible to determine whether this document began with a † or a †̄.  
 .ε.λνε: probably a name, the initial letter of which may be a μ or a λ—possibly read με†λνε, με†̄λνε, or μειλνε, or these combinations beginning λ-, none of which are attested in Heuser or *NB*. It does not seem possible to read the name λεκαλη (Hasitzka et al. *JJP* 29, 1999: 20, No. 22), or λεκανος (Heuser 89). Possibly a variant of L(e)ia (*P.Mon.Apollo* 53 ad l. 2).  
 4. μ.φλημει.†απλοϊαζ: ? read μ.φλημειε.†απλοϊαζ or μ.φτημει etc.

## 78

## RECEIPT FOR OIL?

BL Or. 6201B (204) side (A)  
 Plate XXXII

65 × 115 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 28)

Preservation: The central part is all that is preserved of this 3-line text which was written on papyrus later re-used for No. 28.

Palaeography: A fairly large, right-sloping majuscule hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

That this is a receipt for oil is suggested by the format of this document, and the presence of the standard oil measure, the *sextarius*, in l. 3.

↓

- 1 [ ... ] .ε ιωβαννης πρ[...]  
 2 [ ... ] ντεφνη νεραστ ζα πκαρπο[ς ...]  
 3 [... μν] τςνοογσε ν̄κερατν γί(νεται) κ(εράτια) ἰβ̄ ξη[σται ? ...]

3 l. κεραιον, γν κ̄ pap., l. ξέσται

- 1 [... ...] Iohannes ... [...]  
 2 [...] of Teshnê-neraht/the fullers' garden for the harvest ...]  
 3 [... t]welve carats. (Greek:) Total 12 carats, se|xtarii ...]

1. ..ε: it may be possible to read πετ]ζζαἰ [μπφ]φ̄ηρ̄ε ' [who] writes [to his] son'.

πρ[...]: possibly restore here a title such as πρεσβύτερος 'priest', πρμ- 'the man from ...', or one of the many personal names beginning Pr-.

2. τεφνη νεραστ: this could be interpreted as 'the fullers' garden', or, as Crum (*Dict.*, 311 ρωζε, citing τφνη νεραστ) believed it to be in this text, as a place name, Teshnê-neraht. John Shelton (1990: 113) interpreted Teshnê as a personal name.

For the presence of fullers in monasteries, compare the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara (Wietheger 1992: 288, ραστ).



## FRAGMENTARY LETTER TO A SUPERIOR

BM EA 75309 side (A)  
Plate XXXIII

80 × 92 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 41)

Preservation: The left-hand side of 7 central lines of this text is preserved; later the papyrus was reused for No. 41.

Palaeography: An elegant, right-sloping majuscule hand employing a few ligatures; the left diagonal of γ is almost horizontal (COOYN, l. 5); ζ begins with a small, tight curl; μ can be wide and large.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

This is a fragment of a formal letter to a superior which frames a request which is made in connection with a decision to be taken by unnamed persons (note the rare use of αἵρεσις, l. 7).

↓  
1                    ±12      ογφφ[ ... ]  
2    παῖ ετφοοπ μν̄ τεκμν[τ-...]  
3    ετφεζ̄ν̄ διακονεια ε[ ... ]  
4    ρωμε ζα τετ̄ν̄μ̄ν̄τε[ ... ]  
5    ν̄ειωτ̄ σοοyn̄ κε μν̄ Δ[ ... ]  
6    ετραςζαῖ̄ επαρακαλε[ι ... ]  
7    εγ̄σμ̄ν̄ ζαιρεσις̄ ζ̄ν̄ τμ̄[ ... ]  
8    μ̄ν̄τειωτ̄ ναανεχε̄ [...]

## 3 l. ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ

1    ... wish [...]  
2    this which is with your [...]  
3    ... *diakonia* [...]  
4    man for your [...]  
5    father knows that there is no [...]  
6    that I write, askin[g ...]  
7    their making a choice in the [...]  
8    fatherhood will approve [...]

7. εγ̄σμ̄ν̄ ζαιρεσις̄: refers to the people responsible for making the αἵρεσις, 'choice', a rare word, listed in Förster *WB* only as occurring in *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* II 41.7, where it refers to the Chalcedonian heresy (ΘΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΝΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ).

8. ανεχε: may also be interpreted as 'hold (back)' or 'be patient' here.

## 80

## END OF A LETTER

P.CtYBR inv. 1824 side (B)  
Plate XXXIII

70 × 109 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 17)

Preservation: The central part of (the first?) 6 lines of this text is poorly preserved; in addition to several lacunae, the ink has sometimes faded to illegibility, especially ll. 2 and 3. The papyrus was later reused for No. 17.

Palaeography: An informal semi-cursive hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

[SJC noted 'the transcription needs a lot more attention!']

↓  
1 [...].ΤΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΗΤΗ ΝΗΤ[Ν]ΘΟΥΣ[...]  
2 [...].ΑΙ ΝΑΙ ΧΕΡ ±10 [±2] ΑΝ.[...]  
3 [...].Ρ.ΠΛ..Α ±9 ΑΠΑΖΗΤ ΖΙ[С]Ε [...]  
4 [...].ΜΗΝΟΥ ±2 [±3] ±2 ΧΕ Τ.Ε ±7 [...]  
5 [ ... ]ΤΜΜΠΩΑ ΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ .[...]  
6 [...].ΑΡΟΙ ±6 ΜΝ ΝΕΣΩΗΡΕ [...]

1 [...] give you letter(s) and he sent it/them [...]  
2 [...] ... to me that ... [...]  
3 [...] ... I was dishear[t]ened [...]  
4 [...] ... that/because ... [...]  
5 [...] you are worthy of seeing us and [...]  
6 [...] ...and her children [...]

3. ΑΠΑΖΗΤ ΖΙ[С]Ε: this may be a set topos in letters, cf. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 459 ΠΑΖΗΤ ΖΙΣΕ ΖΑΡΟΚ; testament of Abraham 230 (I. Guidi, *Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei* 1900) ΠΑΖΗΤ ΖΙΣΕ ΕΘΒΗΤΚ̄.

## 81

## FRAGMENT OF A MONASTIC LETTER

BL Or. 6201A (179) side (A)  
Plate XXXIV

143 × 175 mm

(script) 8th century  
Papyrus (see No. 20)

Preservation: The left-hand side of the last 10 lines of this text is preserved. The papyrus was later reused for No. 20.

Palaeography: A small, experienced, essentially majuscule hand, employing numerous cursive forms and ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

IT IS OUR FATHER

The purpose of  
reference to no  
commodities inc

↓  
1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10

2 l. ΜΗΝΣΑ,

5 l. ΜΜΟΣ Τ

10 l. ΠΕΝΜΕ

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10

3. ΦΤΙΑ Μ: the i

φοι ελε: literally

ηταγε[ι]: either i

restored ηταγε[ι]

7. ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΟΞΕ:

P.KRU 7.28.

αωφρ: literally 'Ε

8. ...ε: read μηε-

...ενη ΤΕΣΧΡΙΑ ΤΕ

possibly influenc

χρεία). Is this rea

...ΑΝΤΙ: read ΕΑΝΤΙ

...ΦΟΥΜΝΤΕ: looks

...ΑΥΚΑ[...]: a readi

9. ΑΚΗ: this word

link with ikyt (OK

The purpose of this letter is obscure—it contains several different elements, possibly including a reference to not being given something because of a lack of ακη, possibly a container used for commodities including wine. The field of Le and a person named Acôr are mentioned.

↓  
 1 [ ]P.[...]  
 2 ΑΥΩ ΜΝΣΑ ΤΡΕΝΕΙ ΕΝΝΗΟΥ ΕΖΗΤ ΑΤΕΚΜΕΤΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ [...]  
 3 ΩΤΙΑ ΜΦΟΙ ΕΛΕ ΝΗΤΝ ΖΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΩΦ ΑΝΕΣΝΗΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΕΙ! [...]  
 4 ΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΛΙΕΙ ΧΕ ΝΑΚ [...]  
 5 ΠΑΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΜΟΣ ΤΗΦΑ.[...]  
 6 ΖΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΧΗ ΑΝΧΚΟ ΠΗΤΕ ΝΤΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΦΑΝΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΡ.[...]  
 7 ΝΑΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΟΞΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΜΗΤΕ. ΜΠΟΥΤΙ ΛΩΦΡ ΝΑ.[...]  
 8 ..ΕΒΝ ΤΕΣΧΡΙΑ ΤΕ ΝΕΡΖΩΦ ΑΥΩ .ΑΝΤΙ ΣΟΥΜΝΤΕ ΑΥΚΑ[...]  
 9 ΕΤΞΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΤΑΚΗ ΜΠΟΥΤΑΑÇ ΝΑΝ ΝΑΙ ΕΝΣΖΑΙ ΝΜΟΥ[...]  
 10 ΑΥΩ ΑΡΙ ΠΕΝΜΗΟΥΞ ΖΝ ΝΕΚΩΛΗΛ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕΝΧΟ[ΕΙΣ ...]

2 l. ΜΝΣΑ, ΕΝΝΗΥ, ΑΤΕΚΜΗΤΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ 3 l. ΩΤΙΑ(-...?) ΜΦΟΙ ΝΛΕ 3, 8 l. ΖΩΚ 3 l. ΑΝΕΣΝΗΥ 4 ΛΙΕΙ {ΧΕ}  
 5 l. ΜΜΟΣ ΤΕΦΑ-? 6 l. ΧΕ ΑΝΧΚΟ ΠΕΤΕ ΝΤΑΝ 7 l. ΔΟΧΟΝ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ 8, 9 l. ΧΡΕΙΑ 8 l. {ΤΕ}? 9 l. ΝΜΟΥΥ  
 10 l. ΠΕΝΜΕΟΥΞ

1 [ ... ] ... [...]  
 2 and after we came north, your devoutness [...]  
 3 ... Phoiele/the field of Le for you in any way. The brothers ... [...]  
 4 in the midst of everyone. God knows that I came (?) to you [...]  
 5 my devout lord father order[s/ed?] it ... [...]  
 6 in on us (ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΝ?) because we sold what was ours until we came ... [...]  
 7 ... us according to the opinion that has arisen amongst you. They did not give Acôr [...]  
 8 need[ed?] to work, we gave ... [...]  
 9 because of the lack of *akê*, they did not give it to us. These things we write [...]  
 10 and remember us in your holy prayers, our lo[rd ...]

3. ΩΤΙΑ Μ-: the interpretation of this word or combination of words is obscure.

ΦΟΙ ΕΛΕ: literally the 'field of *le*', involving the same component, λε, as ΠΜΑΝΛΕ (I.13).

ΝΤΑΥΕΙ!: either involves a relative past tense form ΝΤΑΥ-, followed by a verb ει or ει[...]; or may be restored ΝΤΑΥΕΙΤ 'of Taueit (David)'?

7. ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΟΞΕ: for a similar usage of δόξον, compare ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΞΟΝ ΜΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΟΚΙΜΑΣΙΑ ΜΠΕΚΩΤ, P.KRU 7.28.

ΛΩΦΡ: literally 'Hagrite'; for this personal name, see NB Dem. 766 (*hgr*), and Heuser 34, 42, 45.

8. ..Ε-: read ΜΠΕ-?

..ΕΒΝ ΤΕΣΧΡΙΑ ΤΕ ΝΕΡΖΩΦ: I have taken the τε to have been wrongly included by the scribe, who was possibly influenced by the common phrase χε τεχρεια τε (numerous examples are listed at Förster WB χρεία). Is this reading better than -ΒΝ ΤΕΣΧΡΙΑ ΤΕΝΕΡΖΩΦ (φοι ΝΤΝΕΡΖΩΦ)?

.ΑΝΤΙ: read ΕΑΝΤΙ?

ΣΟΥΜΝΤΕ: looks like 'day fifteen'!

ΑΥΚΑ[...]: a reading of ΑΥΚΑ[...] is also possible.

9. ΑΚΗ: this word has been variously interpreted as a utensil or a product. Westendorf (KH 484) favours a link with *ikyt* (οκε) 'sesame', whereas Cerny (CED 3) preferred *ikyt* 'instrument'. Crum posited that the

occupation  $\Sigma\Lambda\text{M}\alpha\text{K}\eta$  in *P.Sarga* 171.5 may designate an iron tool-maker, suggesting a connection with  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , 'pointed object, needle, arrow'; see No. 65 *ad* l. 6 for this title. In BL Or. 6201B (66), an unpublished Coptic document from the same collection as the present text,  $\lambda\kappa\eta$  is spoken of in connection with a quantity of wine,  $\lambda\kappa\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \eta\eta\rho\iota\ \tau\iota\ \tau\epsilon\gamma\alpha\kappa\eta$  (cited in Crum, *Dict.*, p. xv addendum to p. 3b  $\lambda\kappa\eta$ ). If  $\tau\iota$  is to be interpreted in this text as 'in' rather than 'on' or 'and' (Crum, *Dict.* 643a), then it may be that an  $\lambda\kappa\eta$  was a container used for wine.

The same text also mentions that  $\lambda\kappa\epsilon\omega\pi\ \tau\alpha\kappa\eta\ \eta\eta\iota\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\pi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , 'you took the *akê* from these unfortunates'. Two unpublished Turin ostraca provide further clues to the identification of *akê*: it could be purified— $\tau\upsilon\beta\omicron\ \tau\alpha\kappa\eta\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ , 'purify the *akê*' (Farina 426), and it could be found in a passage ( $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ):  $\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\ \mu\pi\pi\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , 'the *akê* of the passage' (Farina 651). Both ostraca are cited by Crum (*Dict.*, p. xv addendum to p. 3b  $\lambda\kappa\eta$ ) together with a Bodleian Library papyrus, MS d 203, which records what appears to be a plural form,  $\lambda\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ .

Three other occurrences of  $\lambda\kappa\eta$  are known to me: in *P.Fay.Copt.* 53 frag. B l. 3, and unpublished P.Mich. inv. 1200 ( $\lambda\gamma\kappa\lambda\gamma\ \lambda\kappa\eta\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ , l. 4, 'they dispatched *akê*'; [...]  $\kappa\alpha\ \tau\alpha\kappa\eta\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ , l. 6, '[...] dispatch[ed?] the *akê*'), and inv. 4555 ( $\pi\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\ \eta\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ , 'the gift of *akê*').

## 82

## LETTER (GREEK)

P.Camb. UL Michael. 830 side (A) text 2    236 × 138 mm  
Plate XXXV

(script) 7th century  
Papyrus (see No. 45)

Preservation: The right-hand side of a 12-line text is preserved, with numerous small lacunae. This is the second text written on this side of the papyrus; 11 lines of an earlier text are now barely visible and so have not been transcribed. For the Coptic text subsequently written on the other side, see No. 45.

Palaeography: A large, right-sloping, fluent cursive hand, similar to 7th-century hands such as that found in *CPR* XIV 52.

Provenance: Unknown. Since this letter mentions '[y]ou[r] father, Abba Apollo' (l. 5), and the other side of the papyrus was reused for an *Our father*-formula text (No. 45), it may well be that this text originates at Bawit.

Acquisition: As No. 45.

→

- |    |   |     |  |                                   |
|----|---|-----|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1  | [ | ... | ]  | ἐν Χριστῷ· ἀσπάζομαι τὴν ὑμετέραν |
| 2  | [ | ... | εὐπρά]ττουσαν· εἰσι ὁ ὀσίος λαὸς ἐπί       |                                   |
| 3  | [ | ... | ]ω καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ὑμῶν οἴκου                   |                                   |
| 4  | [ | ... | ]... μέχρι μικροῦ οὕτως                    |                                   |
| 5  | [ | ... | ὁ ἡ-/ὑμέτερος πατήρ Ἀββα Ἀπολλῶ διαφυλάξαι |                                   |
| 6  | [ | ... | ὑμα]ς εὐπράττοντες γεωργίην                |                                   |
| 7  | [ | ... | ἔ]στειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀφείλοντα               |                                   |
| 8  | [ | ... | εἰς?] χρεῖαν τοῦ ὀσίου λαοῦ καὶ τῶν        |                                   |
| 9  | [ | ... | ]... ἡμᾶς συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ σὺν               |                                   |
| 10 | [ | ... | ]... καὶ ἡμῖν συγχωρήσαι αὐτόν             |                                   |
| 11 | [ | ... | ἐν] τούτῳ ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν              |                                   |
| 12 | [ | ... | ] ἐν Κυρίῳ †                               |                                   |

6 πράττοντας γεωργεῖν 7 ὀφείλοντα

- 1 [...] in Christ, I salute your
- 2 [...] prosper[ing] ... the holy people ...
- 3 [...] ... your house
- 4 [...]... until a little (?) so
- 5 [...] (y)ou|r father, Abba Apollo watch over
- 6 [...] yo|u, doing well to farm (?)
- 7 [...] I have| sent to you, being owed (?)
- 8 [...] for?] need of the holy people and of the
- 9 [...] ... us to come together with him with
- 10 [...]... and to us to permit him/it(?)
- 11 [...] in| this as in everything
- 12 [...] in <the> Lord †

2. εὖ πρά]ττουσαν: restore before this an abstract noun such as φιλανθρωπίαν, 'philanthropy'?  
 ε σι: can καὶ βέ read instead? Klaas Worp suggested reading ἐπεὶ but could not convince himself it was right.

ὁ ὅσιος λαός occurs in *SB VIII 9807* where it is suggested that it refers to the Jews or the Christians. Here it may stand for the monastic community.

4. μέχρι μικροῦ: not attested in the Duke Database of Documentary Papyri.

10. ἡμῶν: or read γῶν as Klaas Worp suggests.

## 83

## FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

BM EA 75301 side (A)  
 Plate XXXIV

28 × 106 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Light brown papyrus (see No. 67)

Preservation: The left-hand side of 4 central lines of this text is preserved.

Palaeography: A large, right-sloping majuscule hand with some ligatures.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

↓  
 1 τ...[ ... ]  
 2 ΜΜΟΒ (ὕπερ) ς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πε.χ.ε. ν.χ.[ε ...]  
 3 χ.ε. εἰς ζηήτε οὐντετη[ ... ]  
 4 [ ... ] .ΝΠ[ ... ]

2 l. ΜΜΟΒ ὑπερ = ψ pap., ἰνδ / pap.

- 1 ... [...]
- 2 it/him for indiction 6. Said [...]
- 3 Behold, you have [...]
- 4 [...] ... [...]

## 84

## END OF A CONTRACT?

P.Louvre E 27616 side (A)  
Plate XXXIV

39 × 167 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 9)

Preservation: The left-hand side of 4 lines from the final part of this text is preserved. Traces of an earlier text are preserved, most noticeably in between ll. 2–3 of the later text. The other side of this papyrus was later used for No. 9.

Palaeography: A right-sloping majuscule which employs few ligatures.

Provenance: Excavated at Bawit by Jean Clédat.

Acquisition: Donated to the Louvre in October 1993 by Clédat's daughter, Mme Jean Mallet (personal communication, Dominique Bénazeth, 18/11/2002).

Bibliography: Edited by Boud'hors (1995: 33–34); reproduced by Clédat (1999: 349, plate 310, middle), and in *L'Égypte en Périgord* (catalogue item 22.2, plate 99, middle).

Only the names of the scribe of, and some of the signatories to, this contract are preserved. One signatory begins his declaration with the formula  $\lambda\text{ΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ [NN]}$  (see *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 20); another is from *Terpôt* in the Hermopolite nome (I.13).

- ↓
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | . [ ±3] ±5 [ ±6 ] . [ ±4 ] . [ ... ]                                 |
| 2 | ΜΩΣ ΑΥΘ ΑΙΣΖΑΙ ΝΤΑΒΙΧ † ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΣ[ΟΝ ΝΝ ...]                          |
| 3 | ΜΝ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΦΙΒ ΝΤΕΠΩΤ ΑΥΘ ΜΝ[...]                                      |
| 4 | [†] ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ ΑΥΚΟΡΩΤ Α[ΙΣΖΑΙ ΖΑΡΦΟΥ? ...]                  |
| 1 | [...] ... [...]  |
| 2 | ... and I wrote with my hand. † I, broth[er ( <i>pason</i> ) NN ...] |
| 3 | and brother ( <i>pason</i> ) Phib from <i>Terpôt</i> , and [...]     |
| 4 | [†] I, Papa Ptolemai, was asked and I [wrote on their behalf? ...]   |

3.  $\lambda\text{ΥΘ ΜΝ}$ : Crum (*Dict.* 20a,  $\lambda\text{ΥΘ}$ , part iv) suggested that this seemingly tautologous usage may be archaic.

4. [†]  $\lambda\text{ΝΟΚ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ}$ : the *ed. pr.* read [±5]  $\lambda\text{ΠΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ}$  (Boud'hors 1995: 34). A Papa Ptolemy is commemorated in an inscription from the north wall of Bawit 'chapelle 55' (Clédat 1999: 151,  $\text{ΠΑΠΑ : ΤΕΛΕΜΗ}$ ), and Pteleme in the Bawit inscriptions (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: Nos. 225, 231, 343). A Papa Ptolemai also occurs in *P.HengstenbergCopt.* 4, text II, together with someone called Papohe, a name thought by Crum to be 'common at Bawit' (*P.Ryl.Copt.* 237). Ptolemies also occur in *P.Mon.Apollo* 27.24, 48.7.

## 85

## LIST OF PAYMENTS

P.Camb. UL Green 8 side (A)  
Plate XXXVI

165 × 90 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 10)

Preservation: The central part of the last 13 lines of this text is preserved, with only part of the bottom margin extant; later the papyrus was reused for No. 10, which was written at 180° to the present text.

Palaeography: A mixed hand, employing occasionally elaborate majuscule forms with some cursive forms. Noteworthy are  $\Delta$  (l. 2) and  $\varkappa$  (l. 6), both of which feature serifs.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature (I.11) on the document subsequently written on this papyrus, No. 10, suggests that it was used at the Bawit monastery.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 13.

Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).

List of payments to various individuals, including 'two alert watchmen' (l. 7). Compare No. 52 which also mentions the father of the field.

→	
1	[ ... ]. ±7 .ζαπε ±4 [...]
2	[ ... ]ΝΕΘΟΟΜ ..Τ( )Ν Δ
3	[ ... ΝΕΖΑ]ΜΩΗΟΥΕ — ..Τ( )Ν Δ±2?
4	[ ... ].ΙΕ ..Τ( )Ν Β
5	[ ... ]ΡΙ ΠΕΚΩΤ ΜΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΥΖΦ.
6	[ ... ]Β ΖΙΧΝ ΠΡΟ — —[...]
7	[ ... ΡΕΦ]ΡΟΕΙΣ ΣΝΛΥ ΕΥΤΩΖΡ
8	[ ... ]ΤΕΠΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ —
9	[ ... ].ΟΥΝΕΝΜ.ΛΤΕ —
10	[ ... ]ΜΝ ΚΕΛΚΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΦΟΪ
11	[ ... ] ΜΦΟΪ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΦΟ[ϊ ...]
12	[... ΕΚΚΛ]ΗΣΙΑ ΣΕΝΤΕ ΖΙ[Τ]Ν ΠΑΠΑ .[...]
13	[ ... ] γί(νεται) ( ) κ( ) . σν[...]

2, 3, 4 ..ΤΝ pap. 7 l. ΤΩΡΖ 8 l. ΠΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ 13 γν. / κ pap.

1	[...] ... for the ... [...]
2	[...] the gardeners ... 4
3	[... car]penters — ... 4
4	[...] ... — 2
5	[...-]ri the builder and Apollo
6	[...] on the door —
7	[...] two alert watch[men]
8	[...o]f the <i>pistikos</i> —
9	[...] ... —
10	[...] and Kelkas (?) and the father of the field
11	[...] of the field of Makare and the father of the field[d ...]
12	[...] two [chur]ches through Papa [...]
13 (Greek:)	[...] Total ... [...]

3. ±2: what is this? one of the letters is superscript, perhaps a π?

6. ΖΙΧΝ ΠΡΟ: literally 'upon the door', translated by analogy to current English usage 'to be on the door', possibly a variant of the title ΠΑΠΡΟ, 'doorkeeper' (Crum, *Dict.* 289a ρο). The ο is oversized.

7. ΕΥΤΩΖΡ: 'alert'.

9. ].ΟΥΝΕΝΜ.ΛΤΕ: is this the place name Nemhate which occurs in *P.Mon.Apollo* 51.4?

10. ΚΕΛΚΑΣ: unattested personal name? Closest parallel = ΚΕΛΚΕ, Heuser 97, 123.

## 86

## END OF A LETTER

BL Or. 6201B (241) side (A) text 1  
Plate X

80 × 130 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 19)

Preservation: The central part of the last 3 lines of this text are preserved, written in ink which is still very black. Beneath this text at 180° are 3 lines from the second text written on this papyrus; for the text written on the other side, see No. 19.

Palaeography: Large, informal, right-sloping majuscule hand which features a number of ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.

This fragment of the end of a letter employs the same formula as found in No. 88.2, ΝΑΙ ΕΙCΖΑΙ Μ' ΜΟΟΥ ΤΙΑCΠΑΖΕ ...

- ↓
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | [...] ±3 [ ±5 ]..ΩΡ[ ] ±6 [...]         |
| 2 | [...]ϞC ÑΖÑ..ÑΗ ±2? ΛΥΩ ΝϞΝΑΖΜ[...]     |
| 3 | [...] ΝΑΙ ΕΙCΖΑΙ Μ' ΜΟΟΥ ΤΙΑCΠΑΖ[Ε ...] |
- 
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | [...] ... [...]                            |
| 2 | [...] ... and may he save [...]            |
| 3 | [...] Writing these things, I salut[e ...] |

2. ΖÑ..ÑΗ: Teshnê?

## 87

## END OF A LETTER TO A SUPERIOR

BM EA inv. 75330 side (A)  
Plate XXXVII

115 × 175 mm

(script) 8th century  
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 21)

Preservation: All but the left-hand edge of the last 9 lines of this text is preserved.

Palaeography: Experienced, right-sloping majuscule hand with some cursive forms and ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Much remains unclear in this fragment of the end of a private letter to a monastic superior; oil is mentioned, and the writer refers to the fact that he has come and greets his addressee and 'all the devout people', no doubt referring to a monastic community.

- ↓
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | ±6 ΛΥC. ΝΗΤΝ ΝΤΕΤΝΕCΘΝ ΤΕΥΚΑ[ΙΡΙΑ ...]   |
| 2 | Τ..CΕ±4ΟΥCΗC ΟΥΝ ΑΒCΩ ΝΕΡΑΪ ΤΑΙ[...]     |
| 3 | ΝΠΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΩΗΜ ΕΝΕΖ ΩΑΝΤΕΚCΡΒΕ Τ[...] |
| 4 | ΝΜΟΥΝ.. ΝΗΤΝ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΛΥΩ ΖΜ ΠΟΥΩ[Ω]       |
| 5 | ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΙΝΗΥ ΖΩΩΤ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΤΑΠΡΟCΚΥΝ[ΕΙ]  |
| 6 | ΝΤΕΤΝΕΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC ΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΛΑΟΥC [ΤΗΡΒ]    |



7     ἸΜΑΪΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΧΙ ΠΕΤΝΕΣΜΟΥ ΑΥ.[...]  
 8     ΝΕΜΗΤἺ Ἰ ΕΝΑΟΥΧΑΪ ΤΗΡἺ ΣΙΤἺ [ΝΕΤΝΕ-]  
 9     ΩΛΗΛ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠἺΧΘΕΙΣ ΝΕΙΩΤ Ἰ

1, 6, 8 l. ἸΤΕΤἺ- 3 l. ἸΠΡΟΥ, l. ἸΝΕΣ ΩΑΝΤΕΑΡΕ 5 l. ἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ  
 6 l. ΤΗΡἺ 7 l. ἸΜΑΪΝΟΥΤΕ ἸΤΑΧΙ ΠΕΤἺ- 8 l. ΝἸΜΗΤἺ 9 l. ΠΕΝ-

1     ... [...] to you and you find the oppor[tunity ...]  
 2     ... he remained (?)... [...]  
 3     today about a small (amount of) oil until he has time [to ...]  
 4     ... down to you. By the wil[l]  
 5     of God, I myself and coming down and will gr[reet]  
 6     your lordship father and [all] the devout people  
 7     and I will receive your blessing ... [...]  
 8     with you Ἰ We shall all farewell through [your]  
 9     holy prayers, our lord father Ἰ

6. ΠΑΛΟΣ [ΤΗΡἺ]: for several occurrences of this phrase, see Förster *WB* λαός.

## 88

## END OF A LETTER

*P.YaleCopt.* 28

69 × 160 mm

(script) 8th century

P.CtYBR inv. 2037 side (B)

Light brown papyrus (see No. 51)

No Plate

Preservation: The left-hand side of the final 2 lines of this text is preserved; later the papyrus was reused to write No. 51. The two texts are separate, despite the present text being interpreted as the address of No. 51 in the *ed. pr.* (see below).

Palaeography: A small, right-sloping semi-cursive hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

Bibliography: Edited in *P.YaleCopt.*, p. 50 as No. 28. [A scan of this papyrus can be found on the web at <<http://highway49.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSet.asp?pid=2037>>.]

A reference to the city of Antinoe is the only detail of interest preserved in the final fragment of this letter. It employs the same formula as found in No. 86.3, ΝΑΙ ΕΙΣΑΙ Μ' ΜΟΥ ΤΙΑΣΠΑΖΕ ...

↓  
 1                   ±12           τ ±3 ΟΥΜΟΝΣΟ ς[ ±5 ]..[...]  
 2     ΝΑϞ ΩΑ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΙΣΑΪ Μ' ΜΟΥ ΤΙΑΣΠ[ΑΖΕ ...]  
 1     ... [...]  
 2     to him, to Antinoou. Writing these things, I sal[ute ...]

1. This line was not transcribed in the *ed. pr.*

## 89

## FRAGMENT

BM EA 75308 side (A)  
Plate XXXVIII

80 × 272 mm

(script) 7th–8th century  
Papyrus (see No. 50)

Preservation: The right-hand side of the final 6 lines of this text is preserved; later the papyrus was used for No. 50.

Palaeography: Large, informal, right-sloping mainly majuscule hand which employs some cursive forms.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 12.

The writer of this now fragmentary letter invokes Apa Apollo, probably to bless his addressee.

↓  
1 [ ... ] ±18  
2 [ ... ]...Ν ΝΕΤΝΕΦΛΗΛ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
3 [...]ΕΠΠΑΥΤ...[ ±3 ].ΜΝ.ΑΓ.[.]ΟΨ ΑΠΑ [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ ΤΝΟΟΥ ΟΥΝΟΘ  
4 [...].Ε.ΥΦΜ[.]ΠΑΝΩ[±2]ΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΝΑΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΡΜΕΣΙ Λ  
5 [...]. ΝΑΝΣΑΛΦΜΑ ΝΑΥ Ν.[±2]ΝΕ † ΟΥΧΑΙ ΣΜ ΠΧΟΕ[Ι]C †  
6 [...]. ΝΓΕΝΕΙΑ Ν.[.]...Μ ±3 [±2]..Π. †

2 l. ΝΤΕΤΝ- 4 .<sup>ο</sup>ε. pap. l. ΤΡΙΜΗΣΙΟΝ??

1 [...] ... [...]  
2 [...] ... your holy prayers  
3 [...] ... Apa Apollo send a great  
4 [...] ... and see, about 1 tremissis ??  
5 [...] expenses to them ... † Farewell in the Lord. †  
6 [...] ... †

3. ΕΠΠΑΥΤ: [SJC wondered whether the γ could be read differently].

ΑΓ.[.]ΟΨ: read (2)ΑΓΙΟΣ, 'saint'?

4. ΤΕΡΜΕΣΙ Λ: very uncertain—note that Förster *WB* does not record this form of τριμήσιον; the Μ is hard to read. Perhaps the final sign could be read not as an alpha, but an open beta.

6. ΓΕΝΕΙΑ: perhaps a form of γενεά?

## 90

## FRAGMENTARY LETTER

P.Vindob. K 11394 side (A)  
Plate XXXIX

70 × 90 mm

(script) 8th century  
Light brown papyrus (see No. 71)

Preservation: The right-hand side of what may have been a 3-line text is preserved.

Palaeography: A confident, right-sloping, essentially majuscule hand with a few cursive forms.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See **I.15**.

This fragmentary letter mentions a theft of utensils, and may have been addressed to a high-ranking religious official such as the head of a monastery, judging from the use of the title  $\tau\epsilon\kappa\zeta\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$ , 'your reverence' (l. 3). Compare *P.Bal.* 208 in which a *proestōs* is addressed in this way (l. 10). Similarly, the epithet  $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is commonly used when addressing bishops (Förster *WB*).

↓  
 1 [ ... ]  $\xi\omega\epsilon\tau\ \eta\chi\sigma\kappa\eta\gamma\epsilon$   
 2 [ ... ]  $\lambda\chi\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\eta\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\iota\rho.[\dots]$   
 3 [...  $\lambda\sigma\pi\alpha?$ ]  $\xi\epsilon\ \eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\zeta\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\epsilon[\iota\omega\tau? \dots]$

1 l.  $\xi\omega\epsilon\tau$  2 l.  $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$  3 l.  $\zeta\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$

1 [...] stole his utensils  
 2 [...] he then went to them and you ... [...]  
 3 [...] salute your reverence f[ather? ...]

## 91

## FRAGMENTARY END OF A GUARANTEE

P.Vindob. K 11383 side (A)  
 Plate XXXIX

43 × 125 mm

(script) 8th century  
 Light brown papyrus (see No. 42)

Preservation: The central part of 4 lines of this text is preserved.

Palaeography: An erratic, but not inexpert, semi-cursive hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See I.15.

Only the final part with the dating formula and witnesses' signatures is preserved of this guarantee.

↓  
 1 [ ... ]  $\dots (\ ) \pm 4 \ \xi\iota\kappa\tau(\omega\rho)[\dots]$   
 2 [...].  $\eta\phi\eta\ \epsilon\chi\sigma\eta\zeta\ \mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\ \eta\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\iota\lambda\ [\dots]$   
 3 [...  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \mu\eta\eta\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \Phi\alpha\omega\phi(\iota)\ \kappa\epsilon = \iota\eta\delta\iota\kappa(\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\eta\omicron\varsigma)\ \iota\epsilon\ \lambda\eta\omicron[\kappa \dots]$   
 4 [... ]  $\dagger\ \lambda\eta\omicron\kappa\ \lambda\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\mu\ \pi\omega\epsilon\eta\ \pi\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\ \lambda\eta[\omicron\kappa \dots]$

1 ... *rap.*  $\xi\iota\kappa\tau$  *rap.* 2 l.  $\eta\phi\eta\ \mu\omicron\varsigma$  l.  $\lambda\eta\phi\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\iota\lambda$  3 l.  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\eta\delta\iota\kappa$  *rap.*

1 [...] ... Vikt(or) [...]  
 2 [...] as it was written, without any objection [...]  
 3 (Greek:) [...] gu]arantee, in the month of Phaophi, (day) 25 //, indiction 15. (Coptic:) I [...]  
 4 [...]  $\dagger$  I, Abraam, son of Panake, I [...]

4.  $\pi\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\epsilon$ : for the name Panake, see Heuser 85, 90.

The following table shows a list of numbers and their corresponding values in a table. The numbers are listed in the first column and the values are listed in the second column. The table is as follows:

Number	Value
1	1
2	4
3	9
4	16
5	25
6	36
7	49
8	64
9	81
10	100

The above table shows the squares of the first ten natural numbers. The values in the second column are the squares of the numbers in the first column.

The following table shows the cubes of the first ten natural numbers. The values in the second column are the cubes of the numbers in the first column.

Number	Value
1	1
2	8
3	27
4	64
5	125
6	216
7	343
8	512
9	729
10	1000

The above table shows the cubes of the first ten natural numbers. The values in the second column are the cubes of the numbers in the first column.

The following table shows the fourth powers of the first ten natural numbers. The values in the second column are the fourth powers of the numbers in the first column.

Number	Value
1	1
2	16
3	81
4	256
5	625
6	1296
7	2401
8	4096
9	6561
10	10000

PART III

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χε	51.2; 91.2

IT IS OUR FAT  
 21  
 21Ω<sup>=</sup>  
 201  
 208  
 209  
 2AM-  
 2N  
 2M  
 20YN  
 ε20YN  
 2PE  
 2PEEY  
 2PAI  
 ε2PAI  
 N2PAI  
 2APE2  
 2ICE  
 2HT (heart)  
 2ATH<sup>=</sup>  
 2A2TH-  
 2HT (north)  
 2OTE  
 2OITE  
 2HHTe  
 2ATN-  
 2ITN-  
 2TOOY  
 2OY  
 ποογ N  
 2OYO  
 2OYT  
 χε  
 χ1  
 χH  
 χM  
 χ  
 χO  
 χO  
 εχO<sup>=</sup>  
 2χN-  
 2χO<sup>=</sup>  
 χKO

21		
	21Ω <sup>⊖</sup>	30.6
	20İ	20.3; 52.3, 4; 64.4; 81.3; 85.10, 11
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	2Ω9	1.3; 12.2; 81.3, 8
	2ΛM-	31.4; 39.3; 50.16; 65.6 (2ΛMΔKH); 85.3
	2N	1.3; 7.3; 12.2; 15.3; 30.5; 79.7; 81.3, 4, 7, 10
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	2APε2	74.4
	2ICE	80.3
	2HT (heart)	80.3
	2ATH <sup>⊖</sup>	31.5
	2A2TH-	10.3
	2HT (north)	81.2
	2OTE	40.2
	2OITE	24.3
	2HHTε	83.3
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	2ITN-	see TΩPε
	2TOOY	55.4
	2OOY	22.5; 35.5
	ΠOOY N2OOY	22.4
	2OYO	21.4
	2Ω4T	90.1 (2Ω8T)
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	χM	48.2
	χ	73.6
	χO	30.5
	χΩ	
	Ε.χΩ <sup>⊖</sup>	81.6
	2IXN-	85.6
	2IXΩ <sup>⊖</sup>	4.6
	χKO	81.6

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ὥσπερ	82.11





PART IV

REFERENCES

Abbreviat  
and K.A.  
<<http://scri>  
and A. Ka  
S.J. Clack  
Oxford, pp

CrPap = Pa  
Cerny, J. C  
Erman, A.

*Hommes et*  
KahlePap =  
*L'Égypte e*

Bibl  
P.Leiden P  
Univ

P.Leiden R  
P.Leuven =  
Universiteit

P.Louvain  
Louv

Bacot, S. 19  
*Égypt*

Bagnall, R.S

—2000. 'Veg

Biedenkopf-  
*ägypt*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, S.J. Clackson, A.A. O'Brien, J.D. Sosin, T.G. Wilfong, and K.A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>, September, 2003; P.M. Sijpesteijn, J.F. Oates and A. Kaplony 'Checklist of Arabic Papyri', *BASP* 42 (2005) pp. 127-166; *L'Année philologique*; and S.J. Clackson, 2000. *Coptic and Greek Texts relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo*. Oxford, pp. 158-162. Note also the following:

CrPap = Papers of Walter Ewing Crum in the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford

Cerny, J. *CED = Coptic etymological dictionary*. 1976. Cambridge

Erman, A. and Grapow, H. *Wb = Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 1926-1963. Leipzig/Berlin

*Hommes et richesses = Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*. Vol. 1. IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. 1989. Paris

KahlePap = Papers of Paul Kahle in the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford

*L'Égypte en Périgord = L'Égypte en Périgord. Dans les pas de Jean Clédât* 1991. Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 7. Paris/ Louvain

P.Leiden Papy. Inst. = Papyrus belonging to the collection of the Papyrologisch Instituut of Leiden University

P.Leiden RMO = Papyrus belonging to the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudeheden, Leiden

P.Leuven = Papyrus belonging to the collection of the Universiteitsbibliotheek of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

P.Louvain Lefort = Papyrus belonging to Louvain-la-Neuve, Archives de l'Université catholique de Louvain, Collection Lefort

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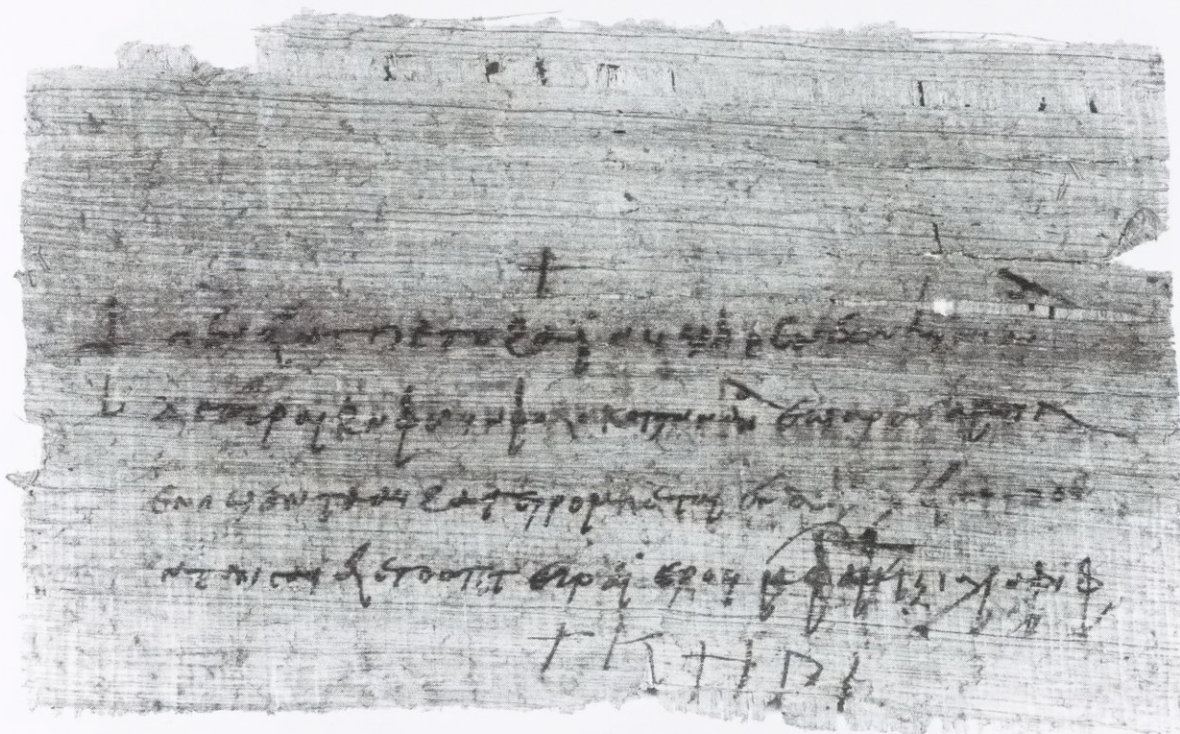
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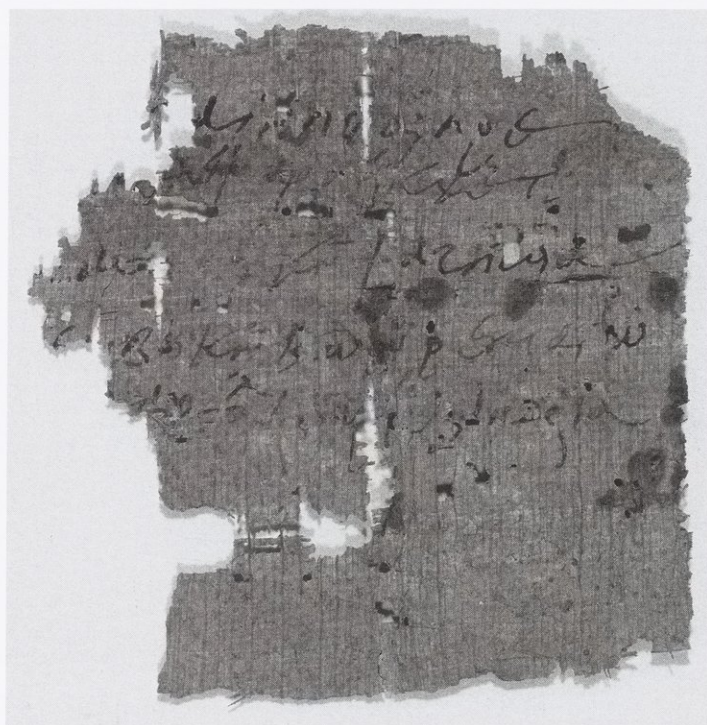
PART V

PLATES

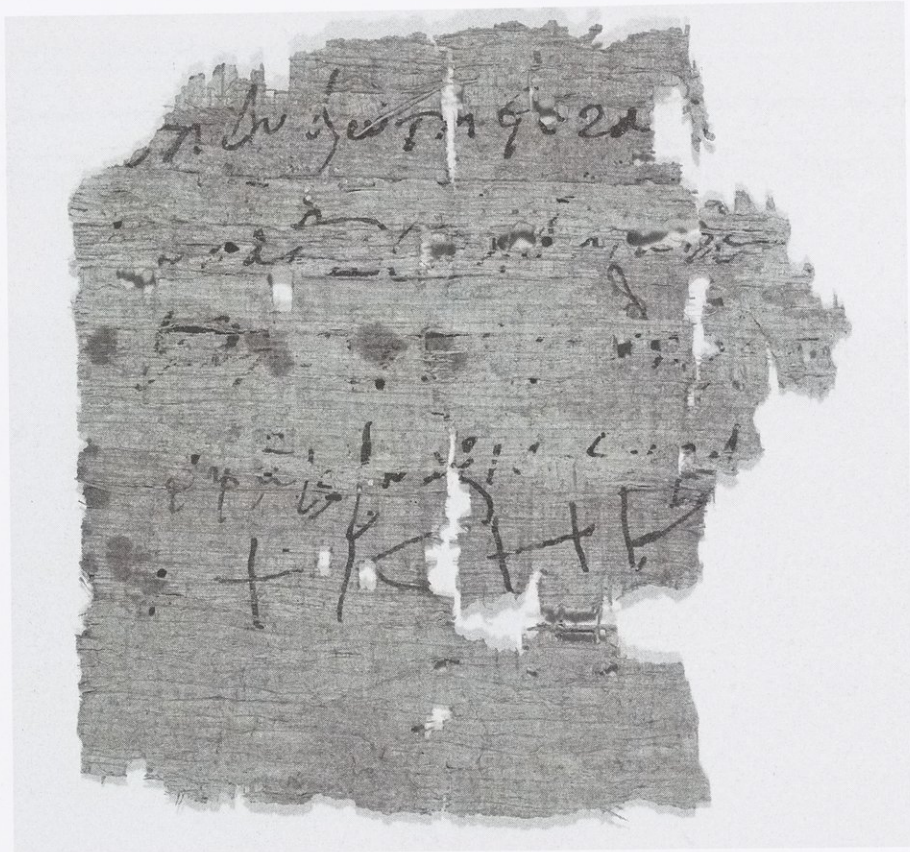




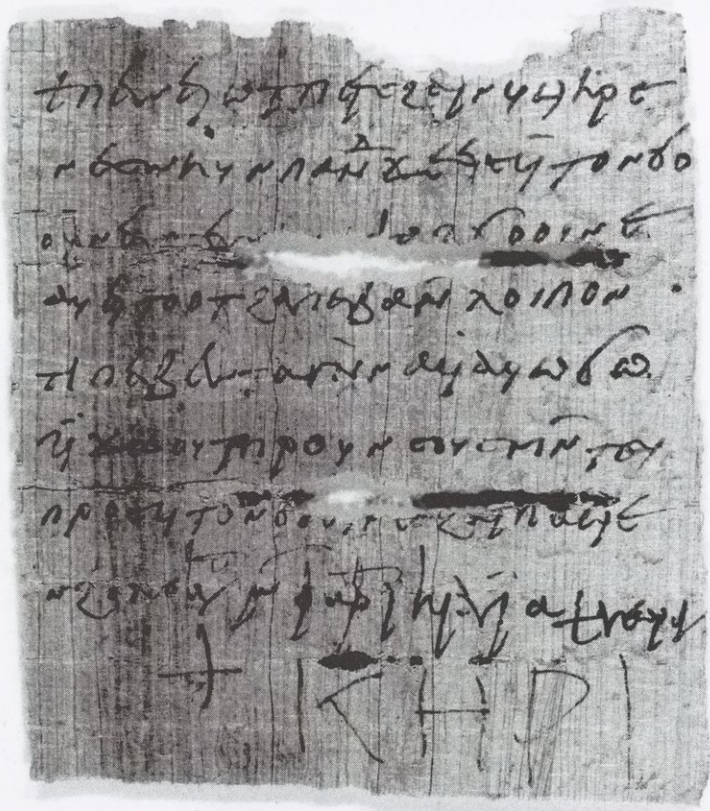
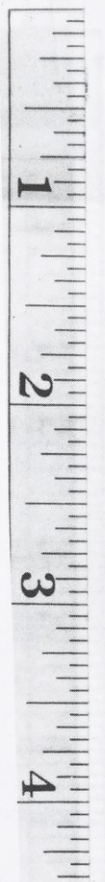
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in cursive script. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is heavily damaged and stained.

cm  
ins

No. 5

Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in cursive script. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is heavily damaged and stained.

No. 6



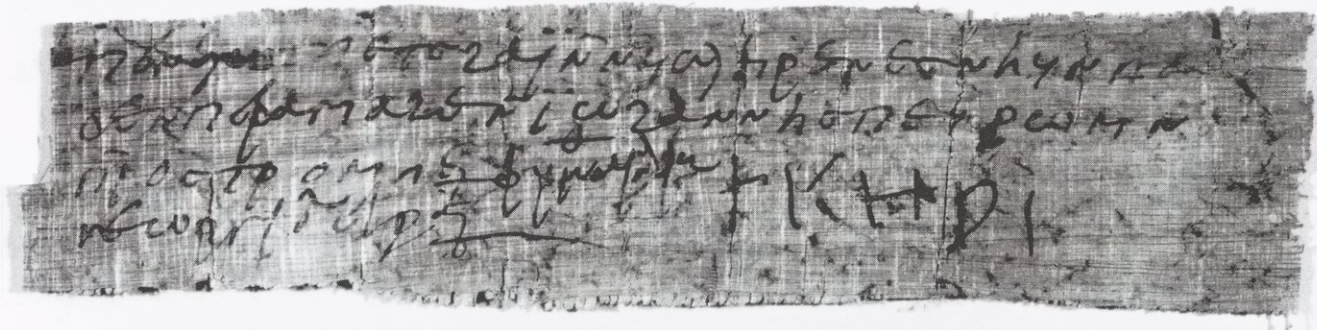
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of ancient Greek handwriting. The text is partially obscured by a tear in the material. The visible characters include alpha, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega, and various diacritics.

No. 7



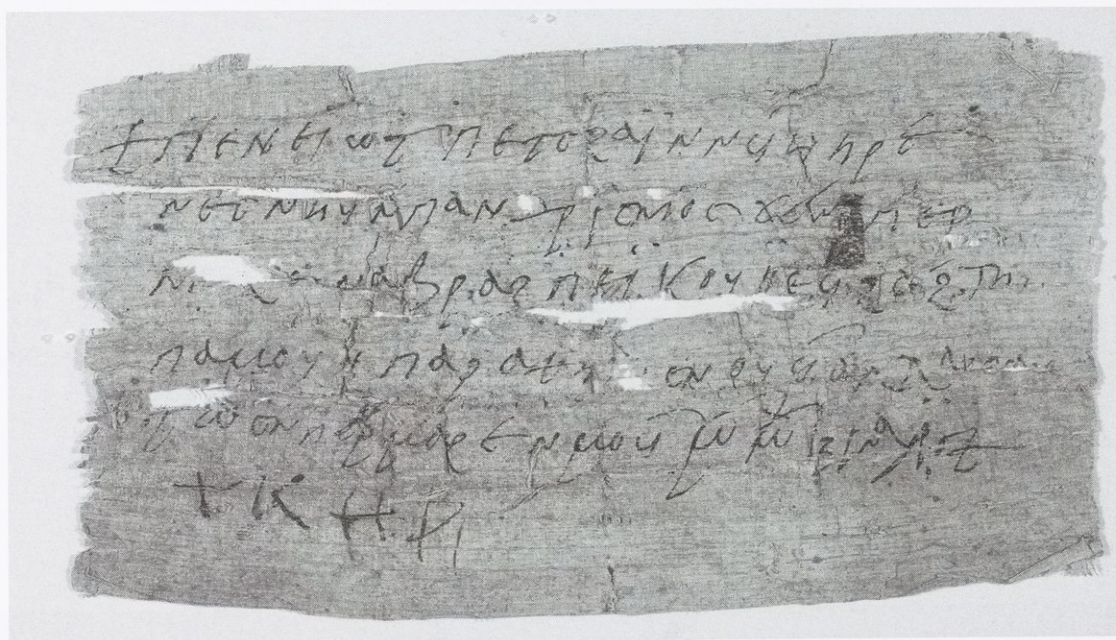
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of ancient Greek handwriting. The text is partially obscured by a tear in the material. The visible characters include alpha, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega, and various diacritics.

No. 8



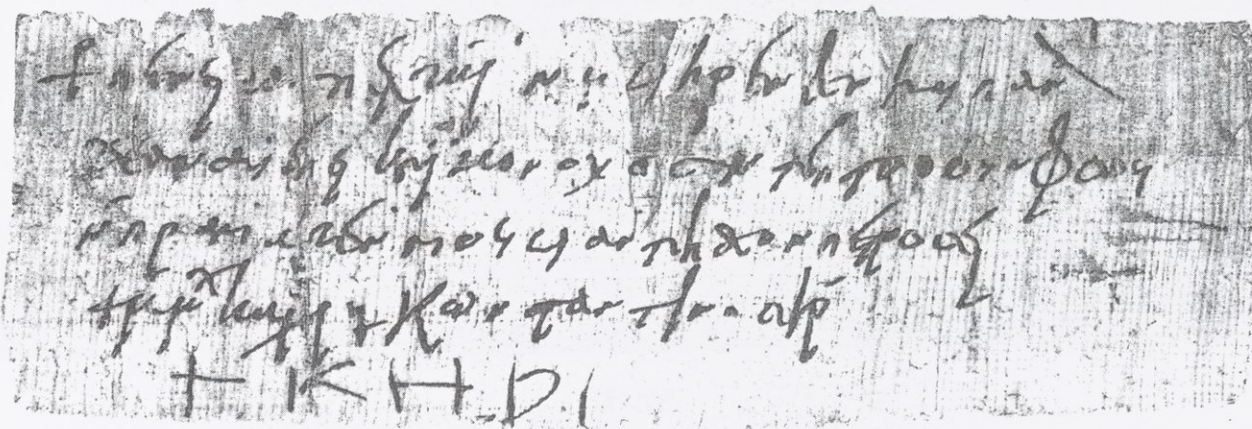
Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes several lines of script. The fragment is roughly rectangular and shows signs of wear and tear.

No. 9



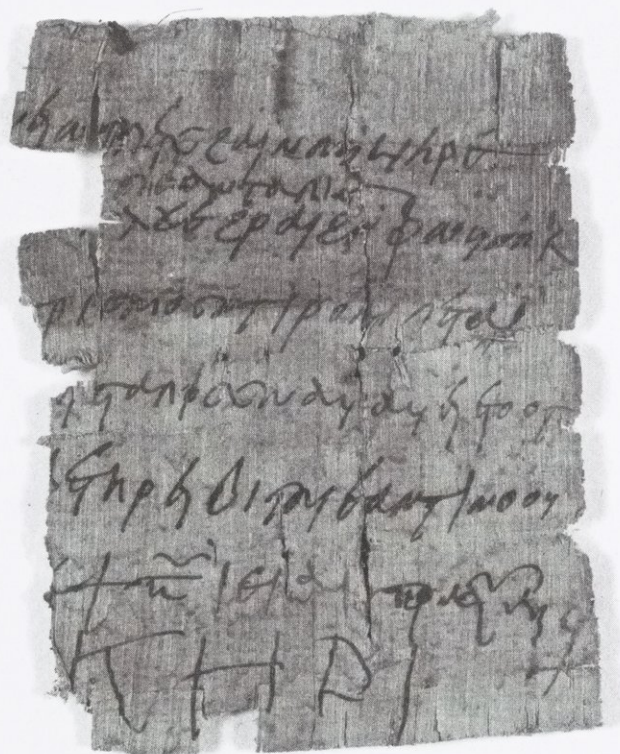
Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes several lines of script. The fragment is roughly rectangular and shows signs of wear and tear.

No. 10

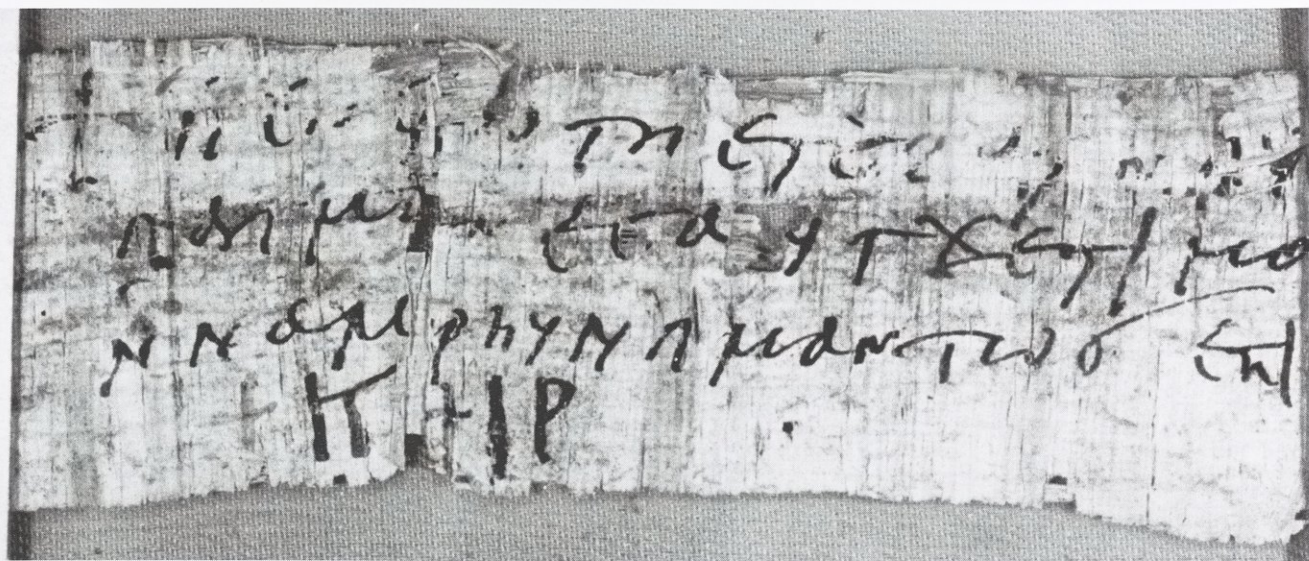


Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes several lines of script. The fragment is roughly rectangular and shows signs of wear and tear.

No. 11



No. 12

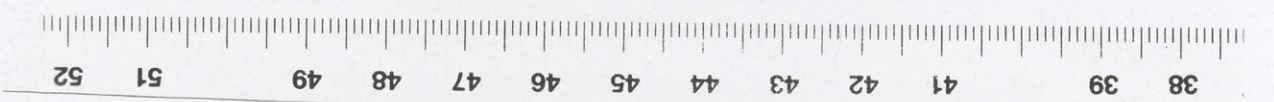


No. 13





Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, showing several lines of script. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes the words "ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΤΑΧΩΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ" and "ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΤΑΧΩΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ".



No. 16

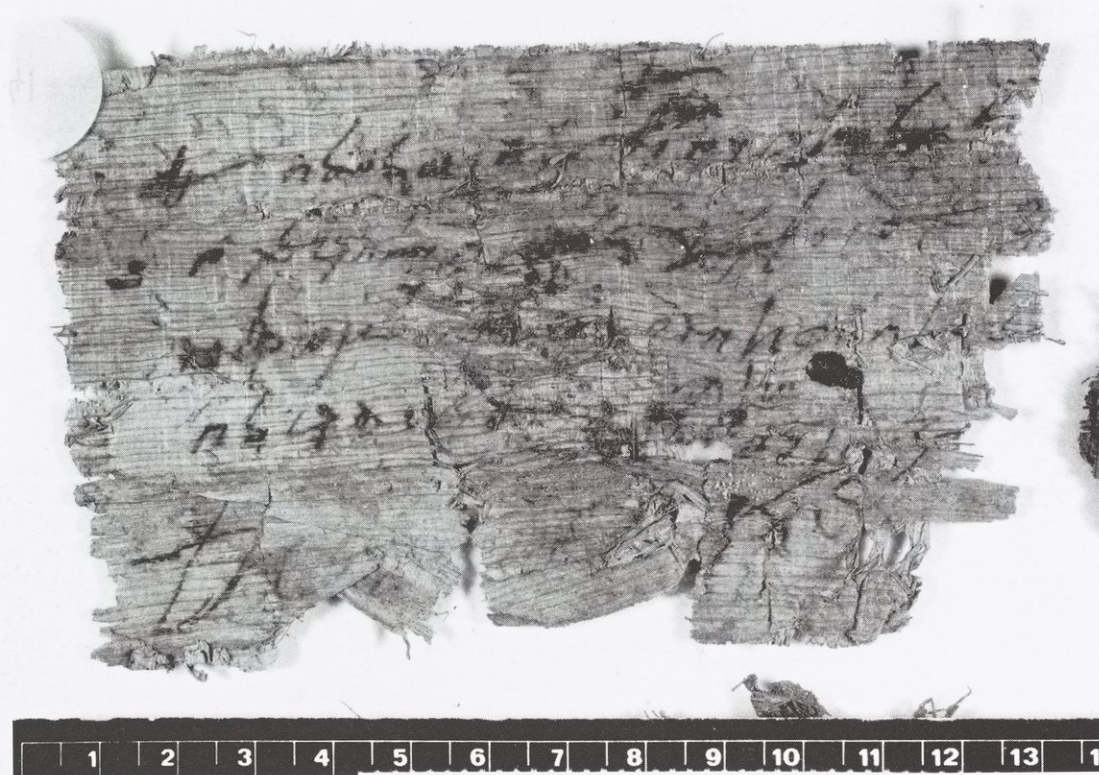


Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, showing several lines of script. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes the words "ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΤΑΧΩΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ" and "ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΤΑΧΩΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ".

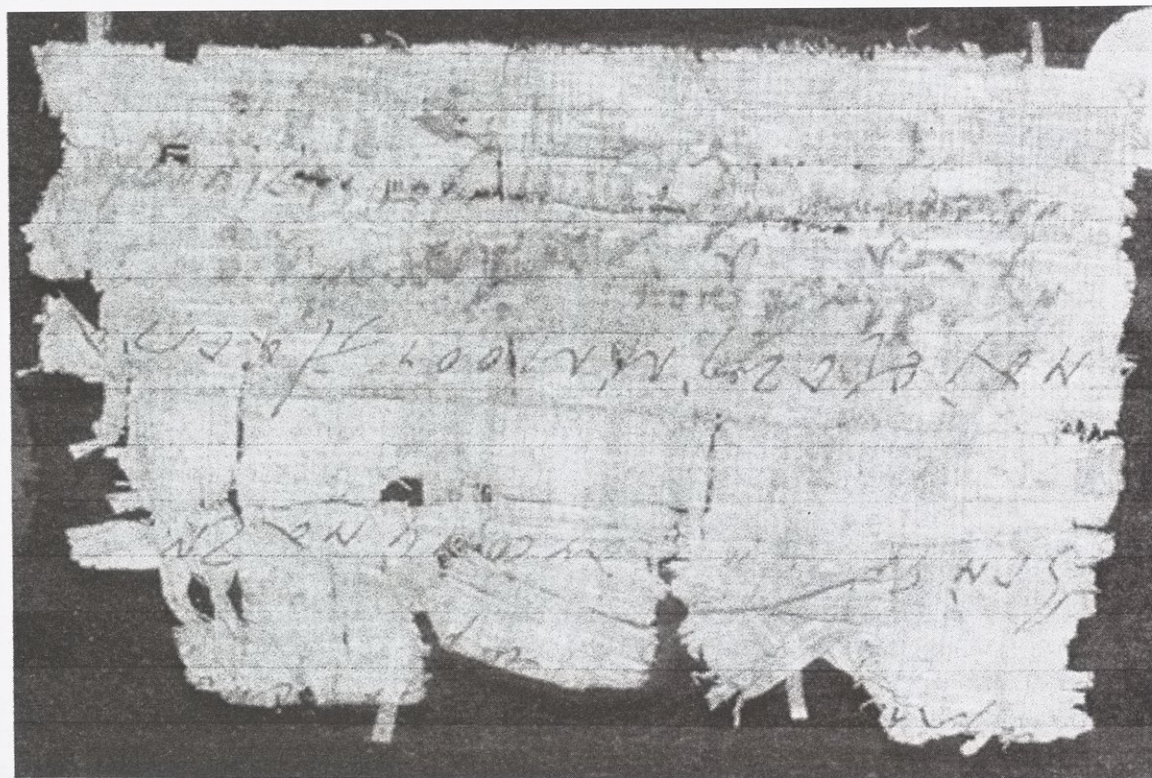
No. 17



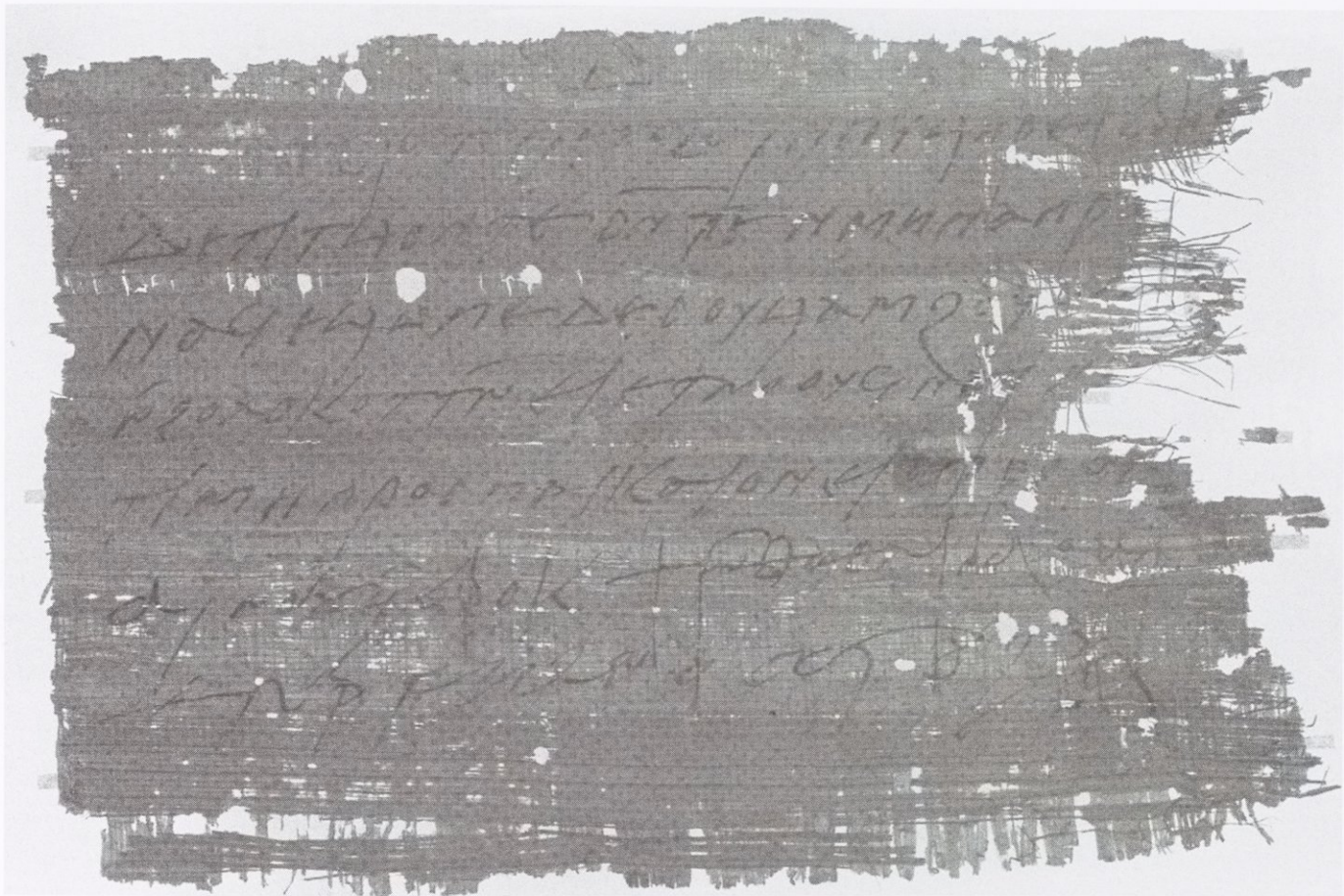
PLATE X



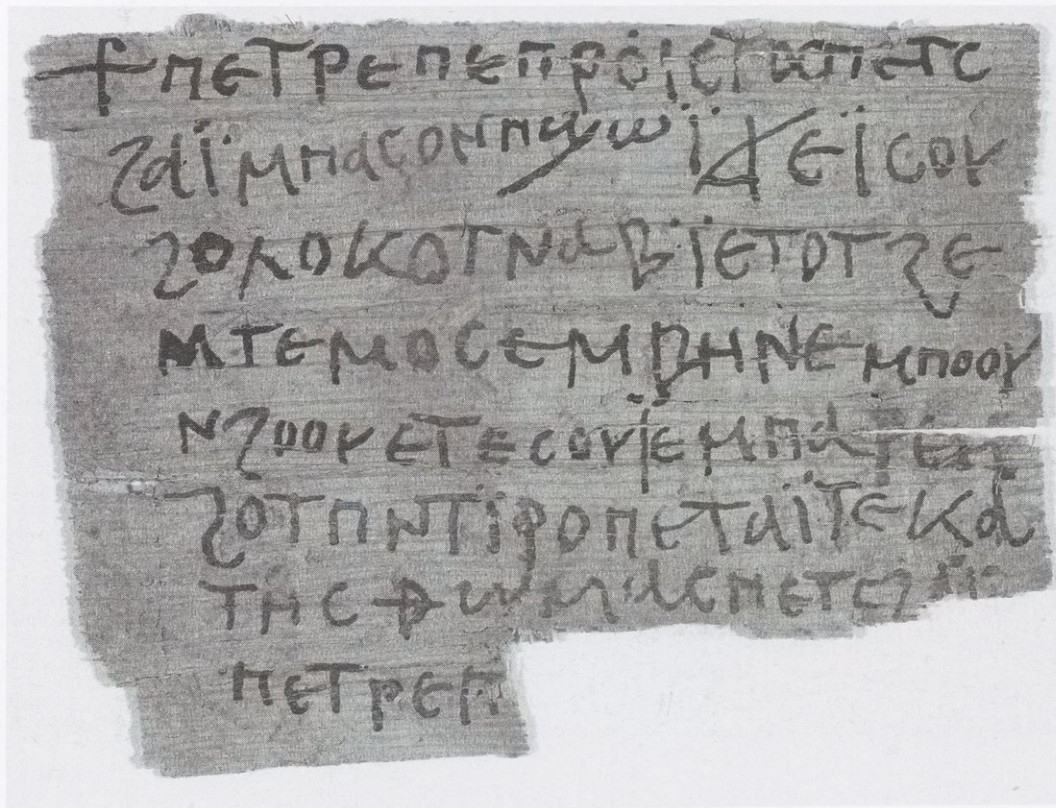
No. 19 side (B)



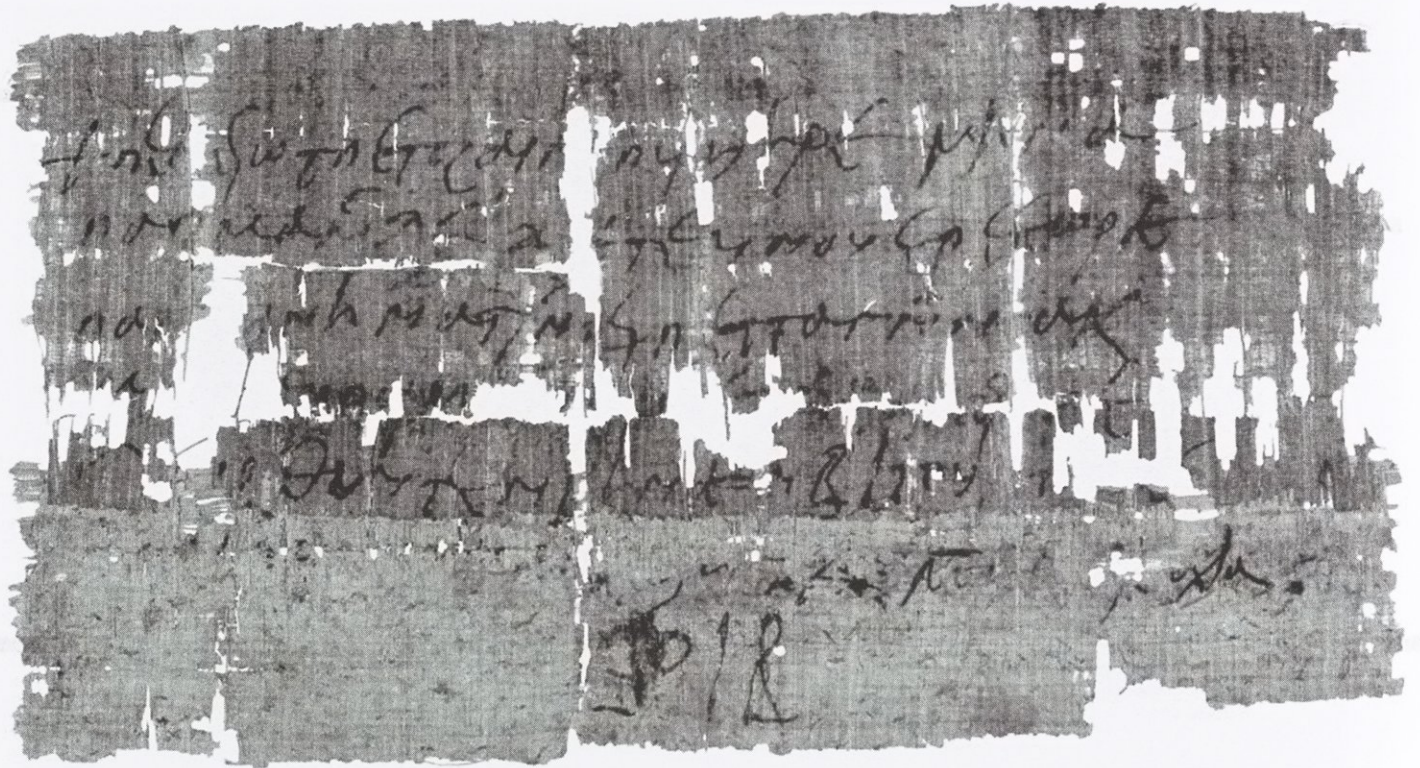
No. 19 side (A) and No. 86



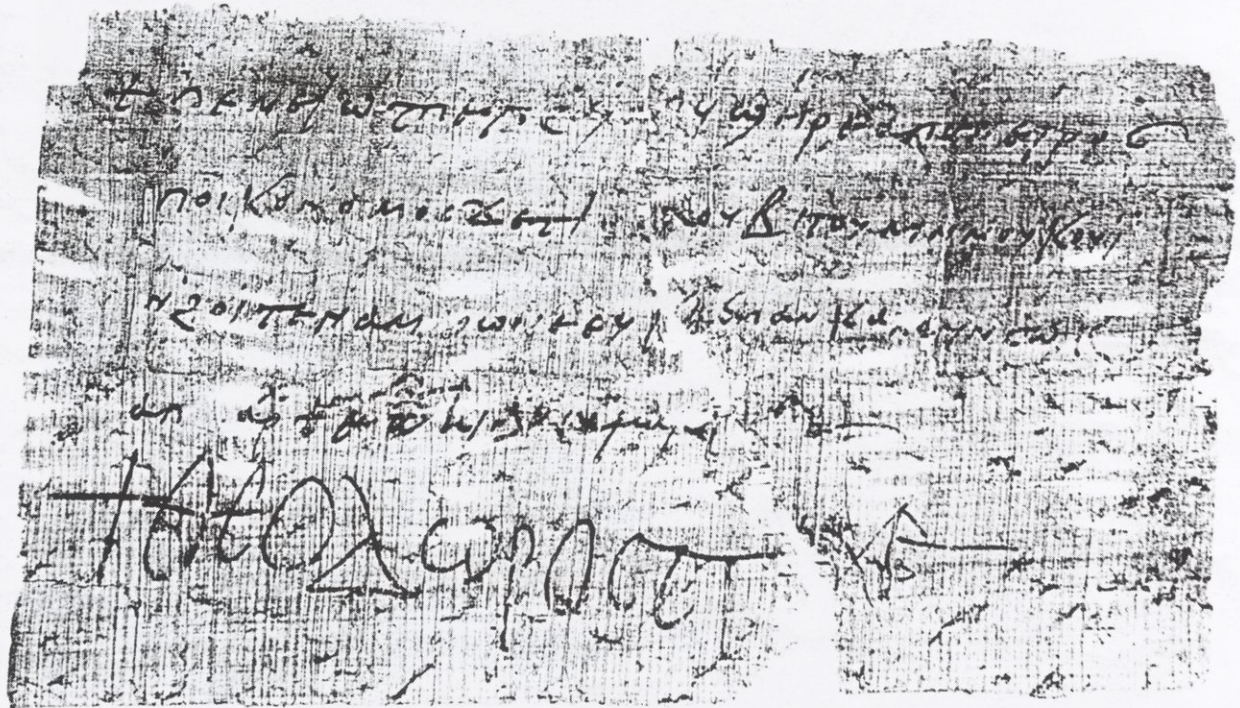
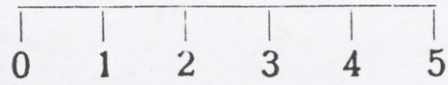
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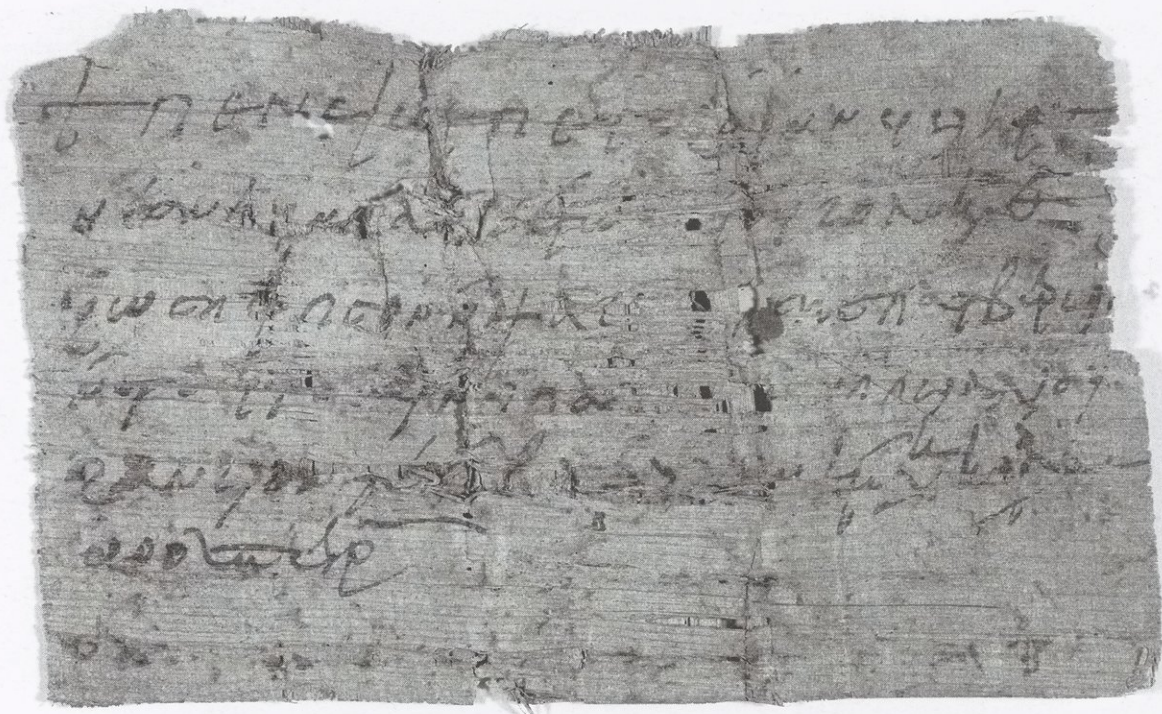
No. 22



No. 23

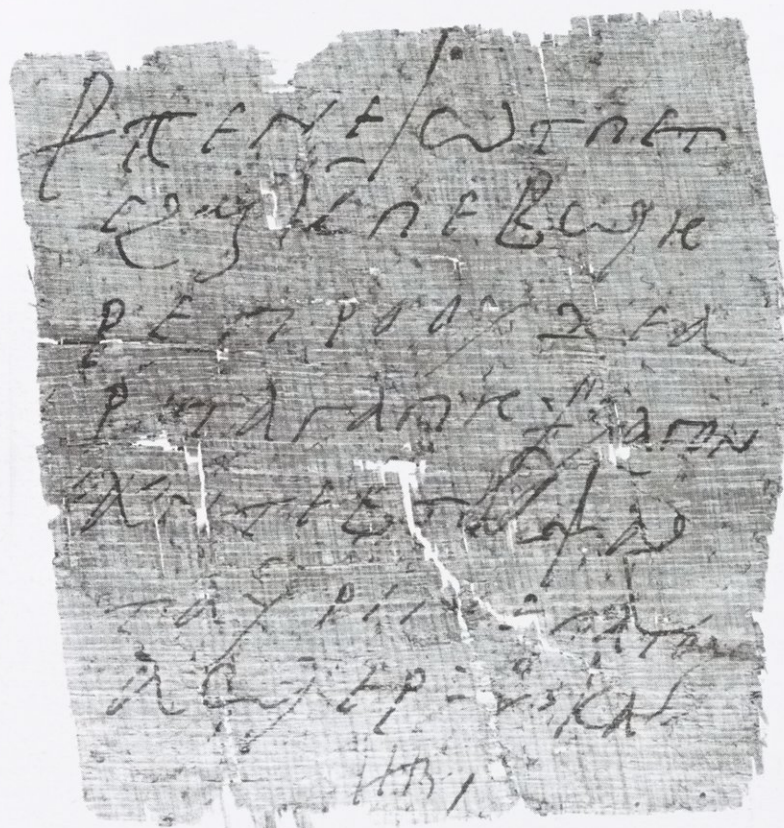


No. 24



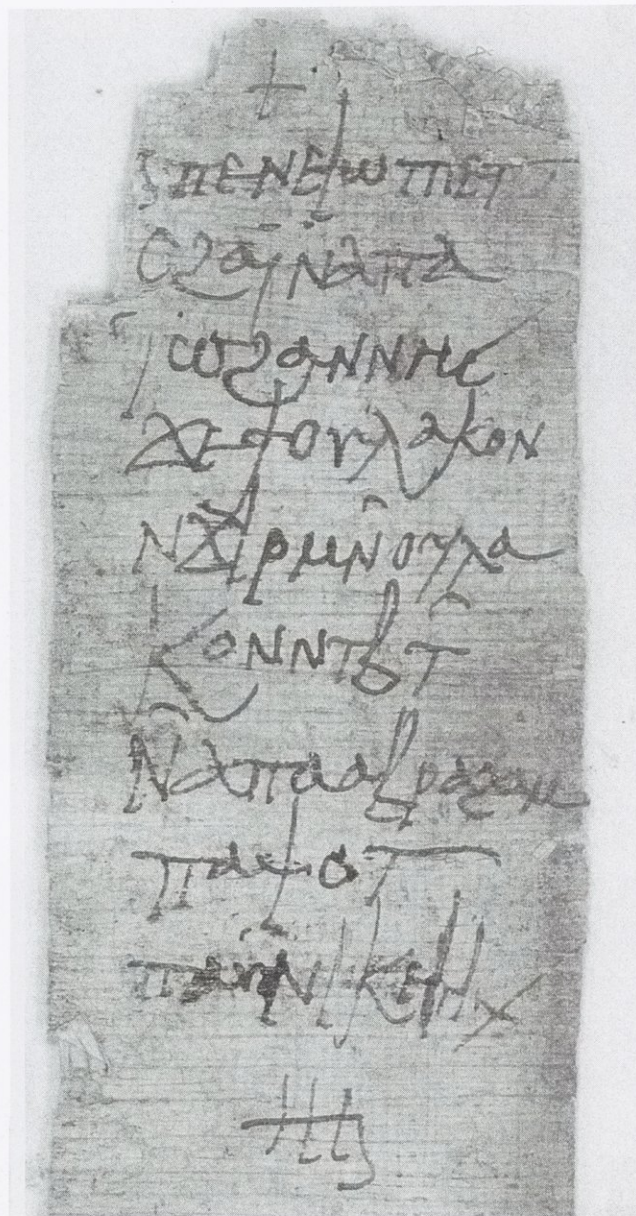
Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in approximately six horizontal lines. The papyrus is dark and shows signs of wear and tear.

No. 25

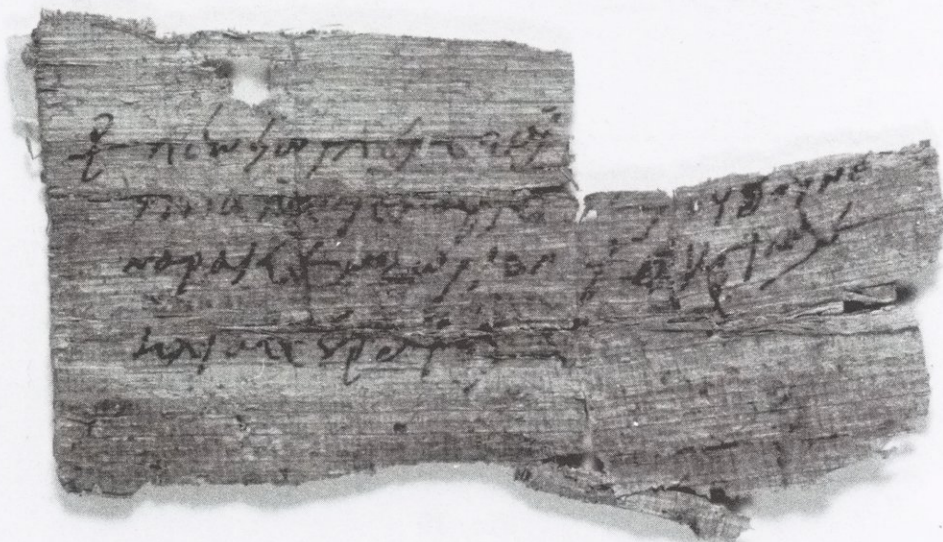


Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in approximately seven horizontal lines. Below the fragment is a ruler with markings from 1 to 9.

No. 26



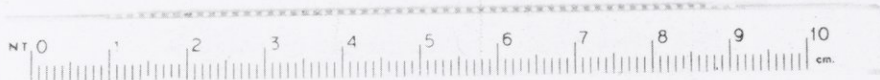
No. 27



No. 28



ΠΕ ΠΕ/Ω Μ Ε Τ Ο Ζ Ψ Ρ Ι Ν Γ Ι Ν Π  
 Τ Α Ψ Ρ Ι Ν Ε Ν Α Ν Ι Δ Α Ν Η  
 Χ Ε ρ α λ λ ο υ τ ε λ ο ρ ο ν κ ο  
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 Μ Ε Ρ Ε Ν Ε Κ Α Ν Ο Υ Β Ο Υ Κ  
 Γ Ο Δ Ψ Γ Ν Α Ψ Ε Ν Κ Α Ψ  
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 Τ Ψ Δ Ψ Μ Ρ Ν Α Ψ  
 Δ Ο Ψ Δ / Ν Α Ψ Ψ

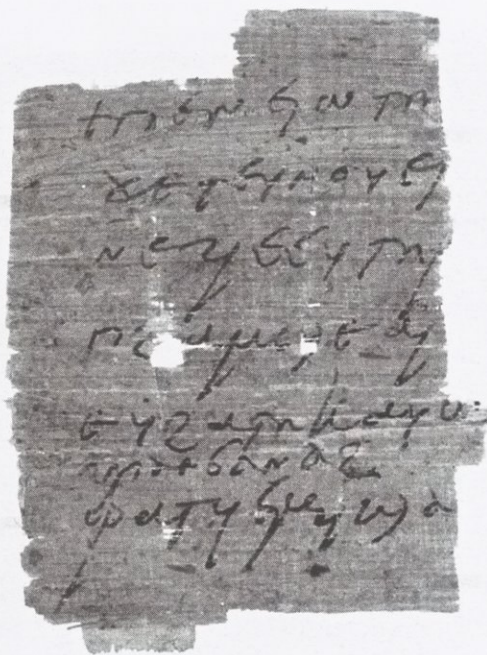


No. 29

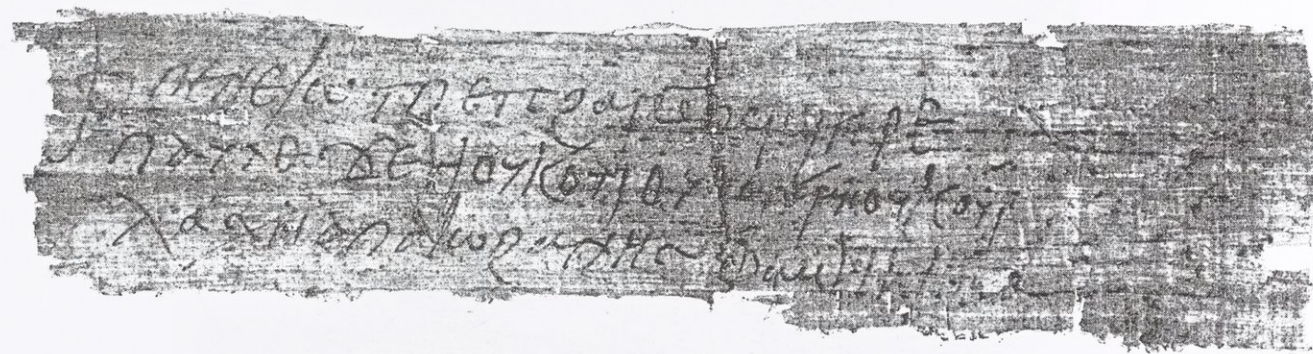
+ Π Η Ν Ω Τ Π Η Τ Ι Ζ Α Ι Ν Ρ Ψ Η Π Ρ Ε  
 Π Ο Χ Λ Ω Δ Η Τ Ι Ε Ο Ο Υ Η Ε Τ Τ Ο Υ  
 Ε Δ Ρ Ι Κ Η Ν Π Α Ψ Ψ Η Ρ Ι  
 Β Ι Κ Ψ Χ Ρ Ψ Η Π Η Τ Ε Κ Δ Ο  
 Ε Ν Ο Υ Ψ Ψ Ψ Ψ

No. 30

No. 28



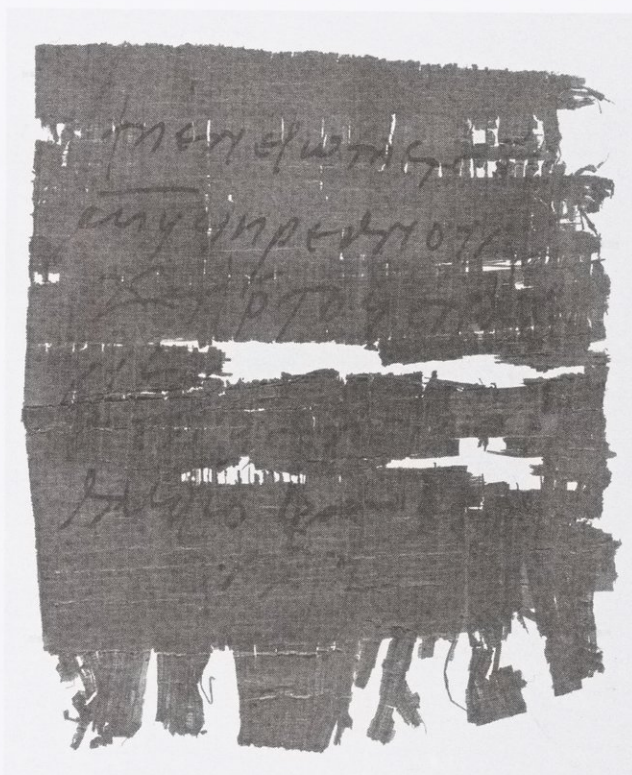
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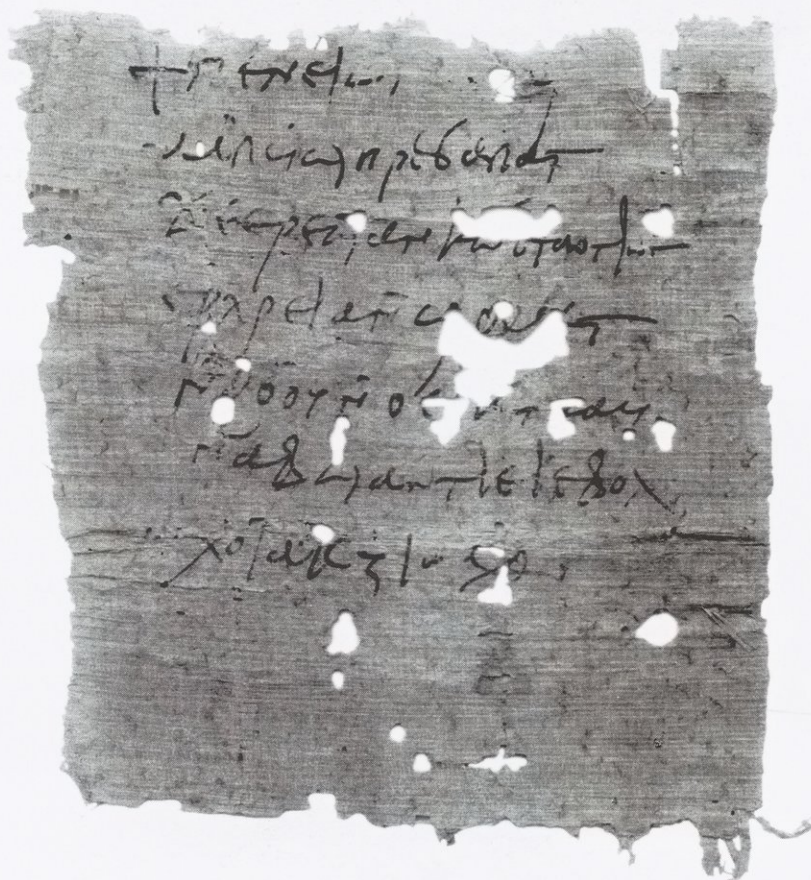
No. 32



No. 33



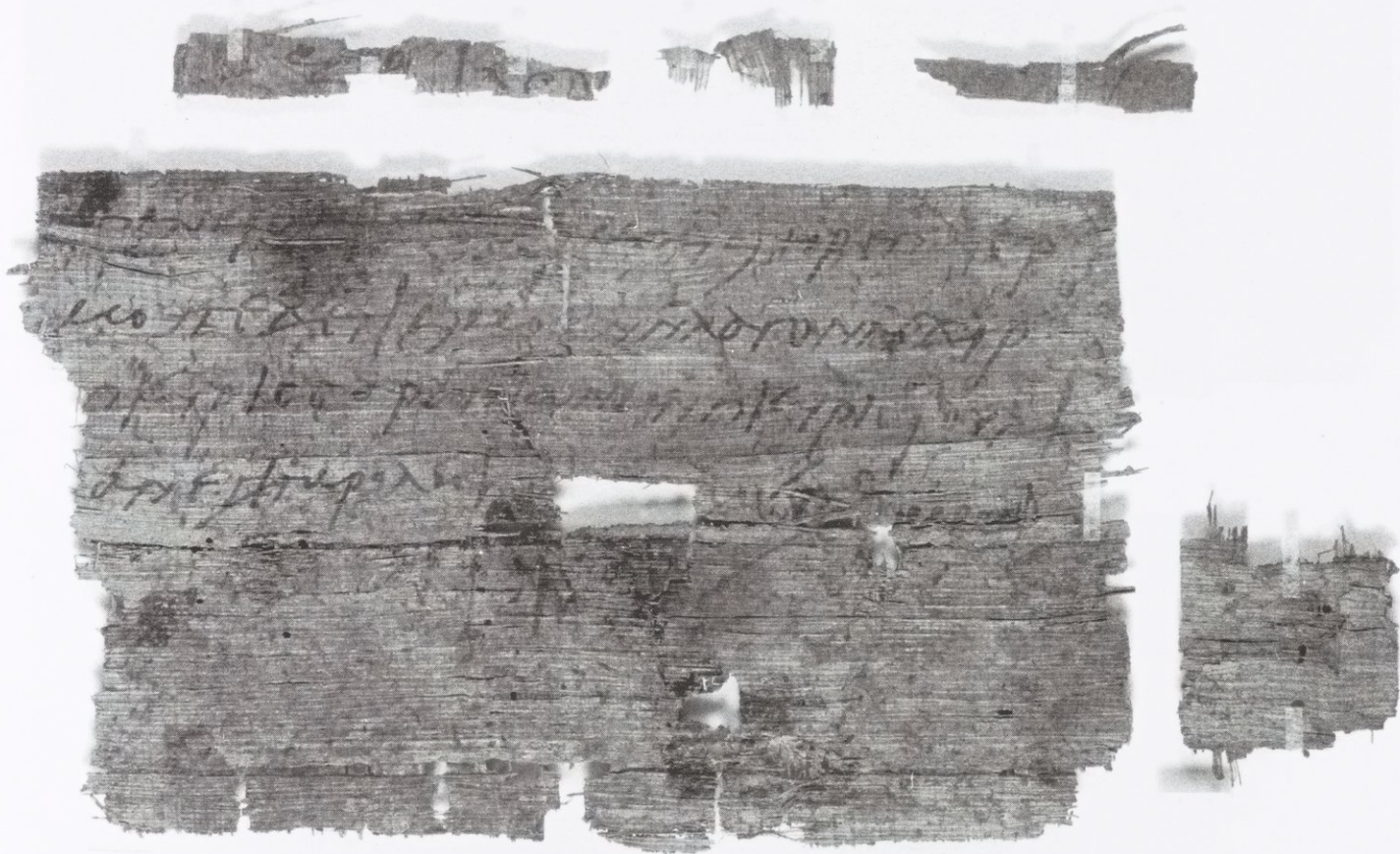
No. 34



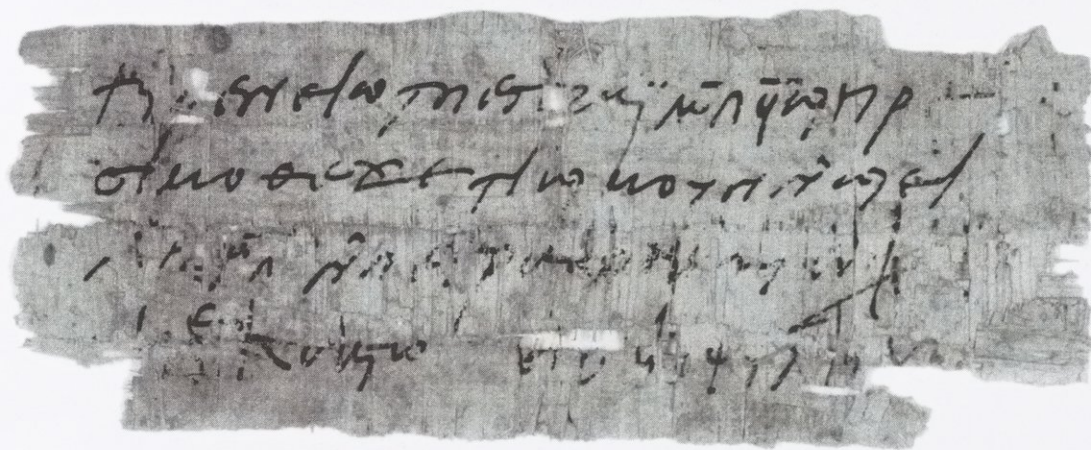
cm  
ins

No. 35

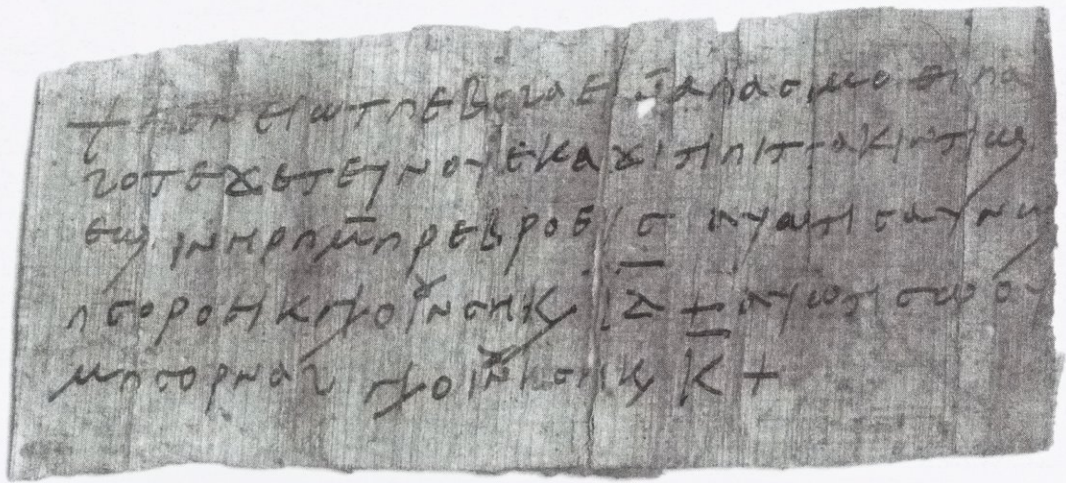
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing approximately 15 lines of writing. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by a vertical tear or binding edge on the left side. The visible characters include letters such as alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega, and various diacritical marks like accents and breathings.



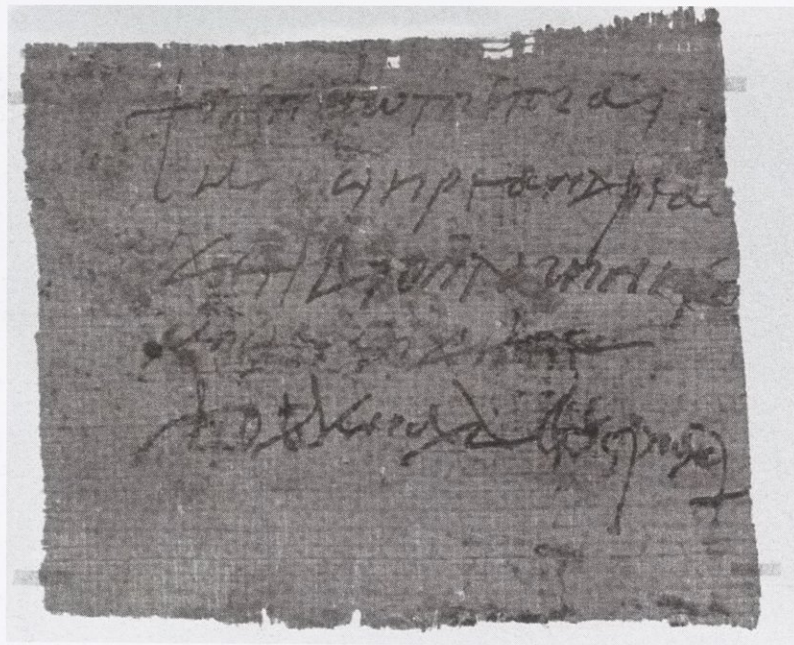
No. 38



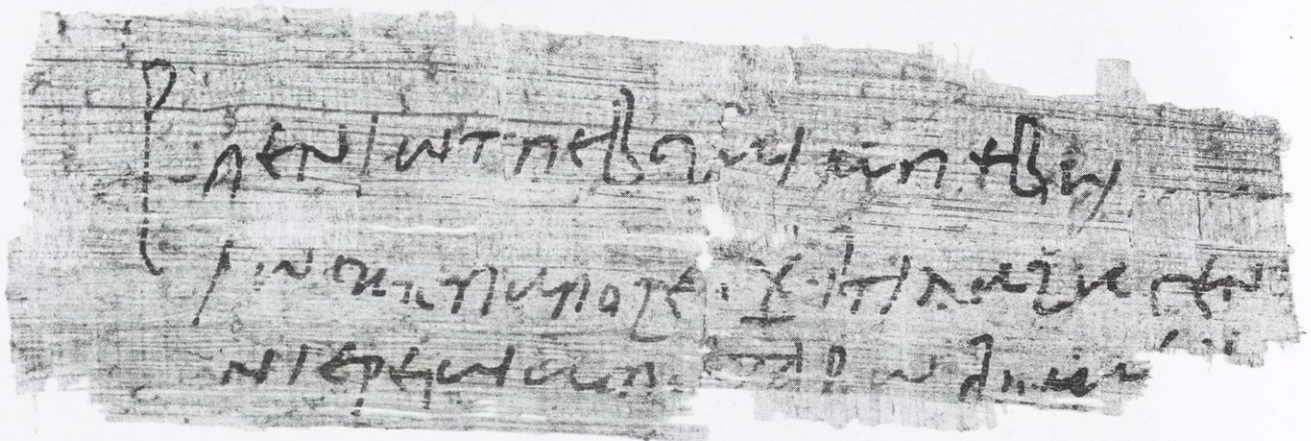
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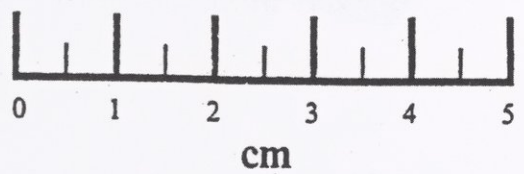
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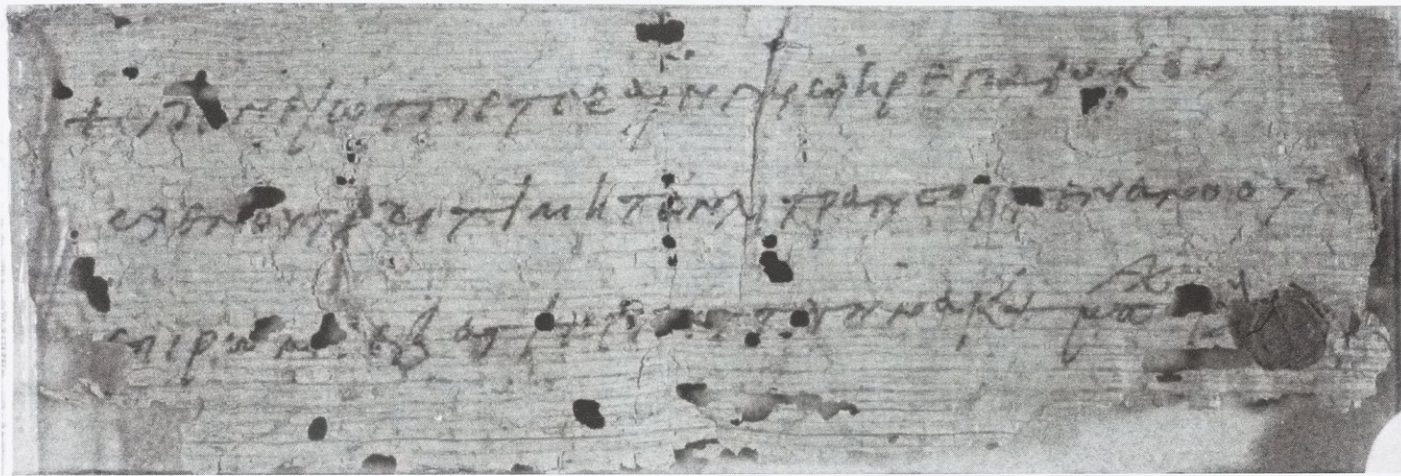


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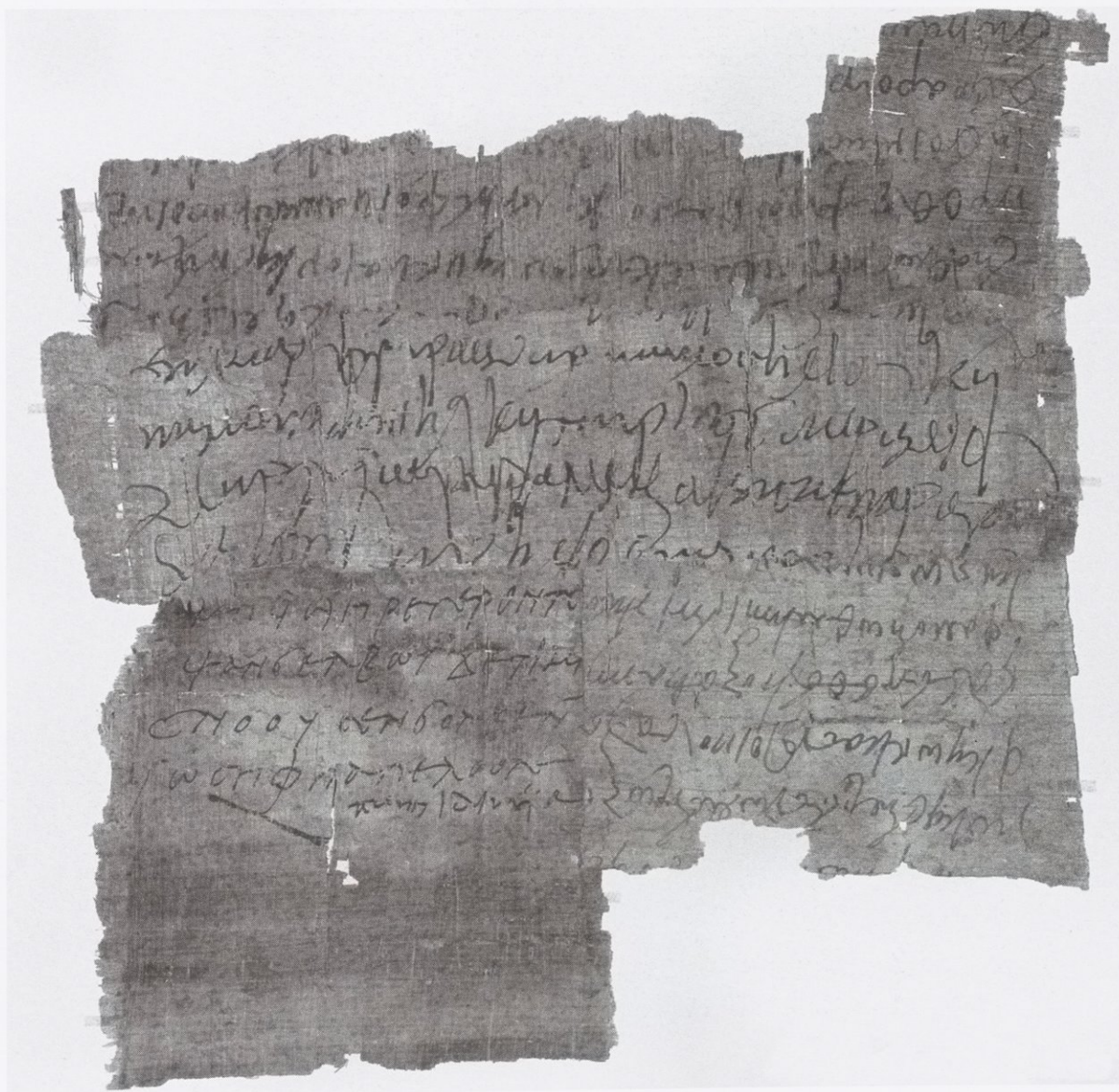


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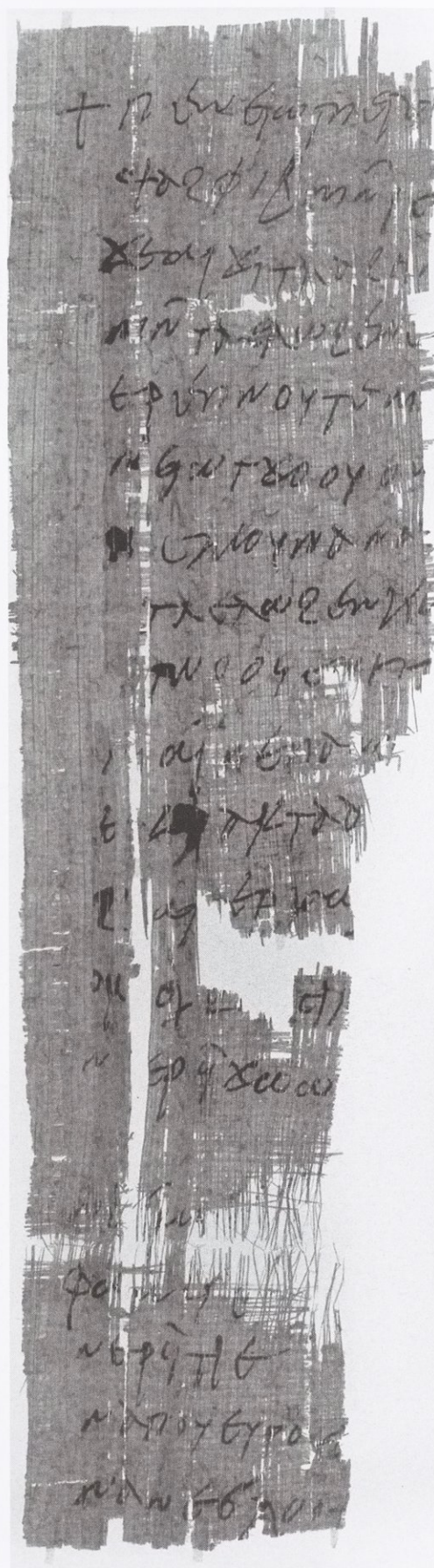
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No. 44

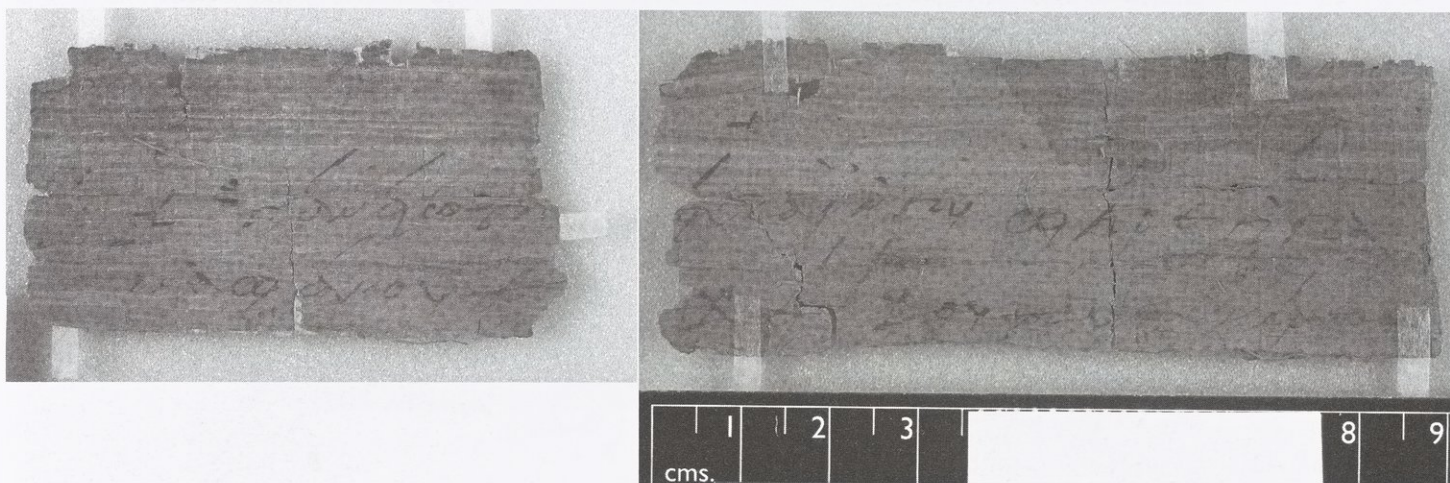


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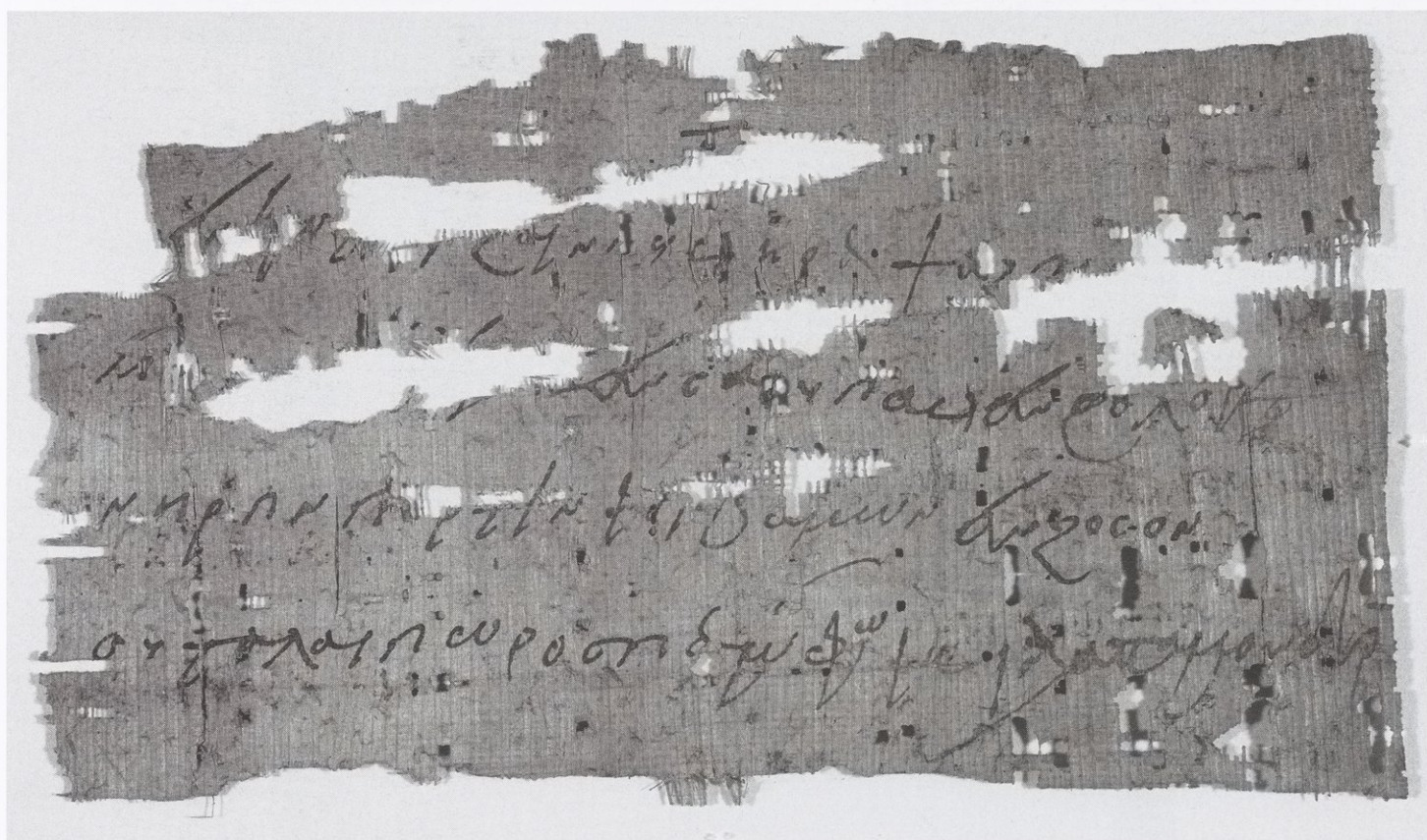


No. 50



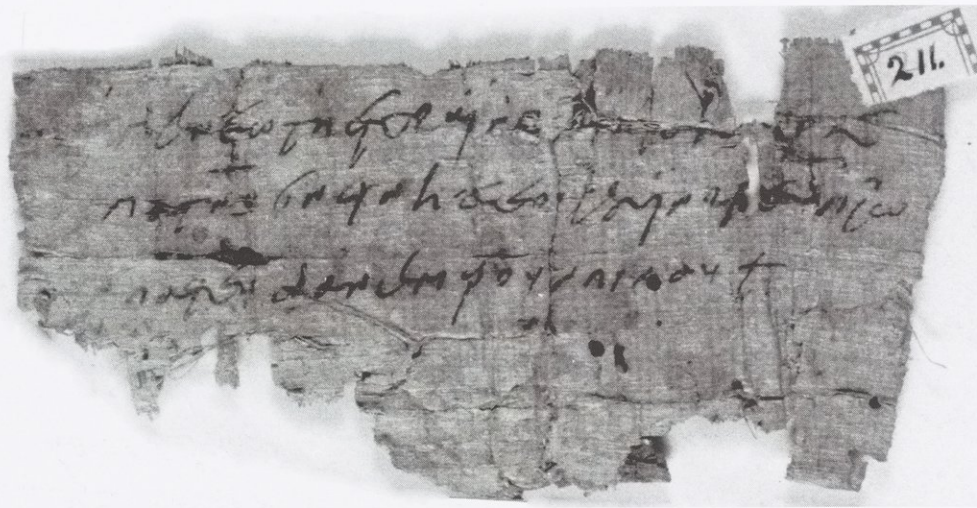


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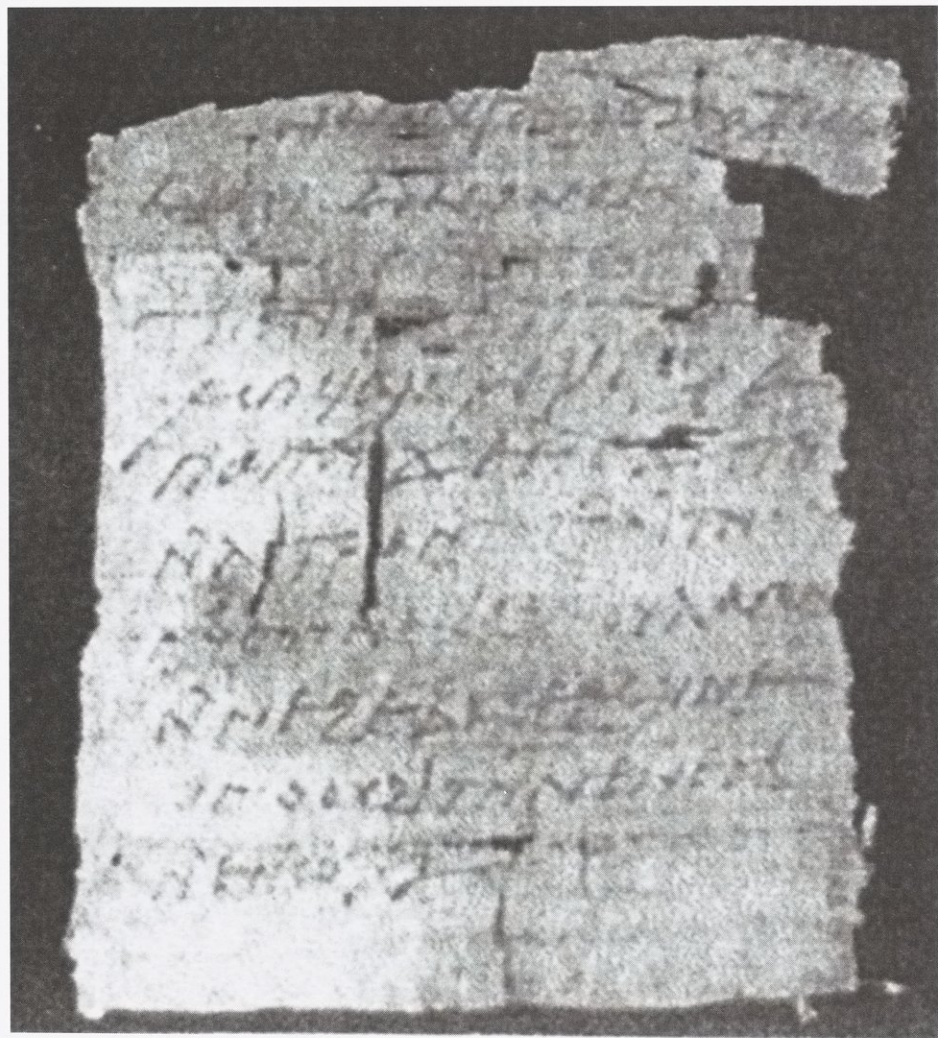


No. 47

PLATE XXIV



No. 53



No. 54

τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιπέδων ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες  
 ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῶν ἰσχυρῶς  
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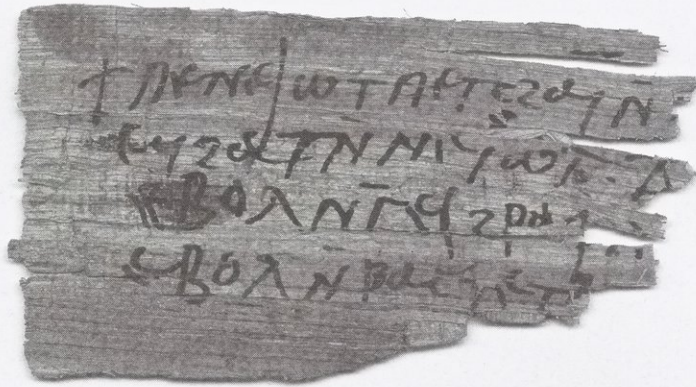
No. 55

τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιπέδων ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες  
 ἀποδοῦναι ἡμῶν ἰσχυρῶς

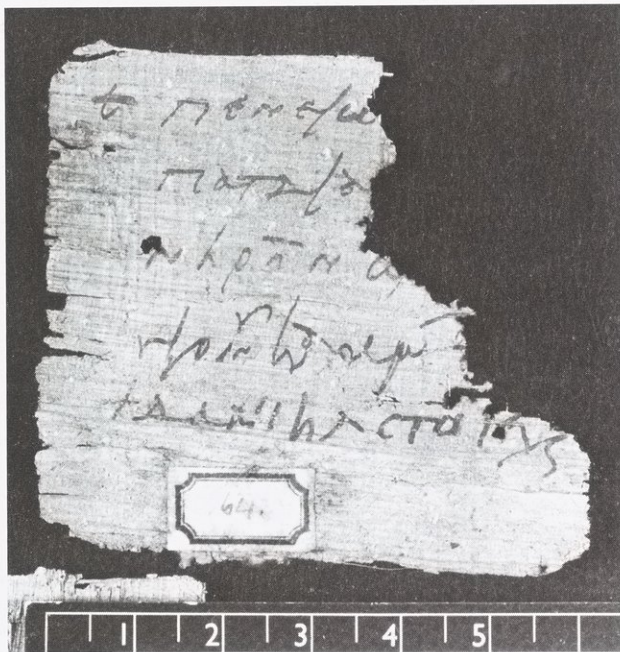
No. 56

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No. 58



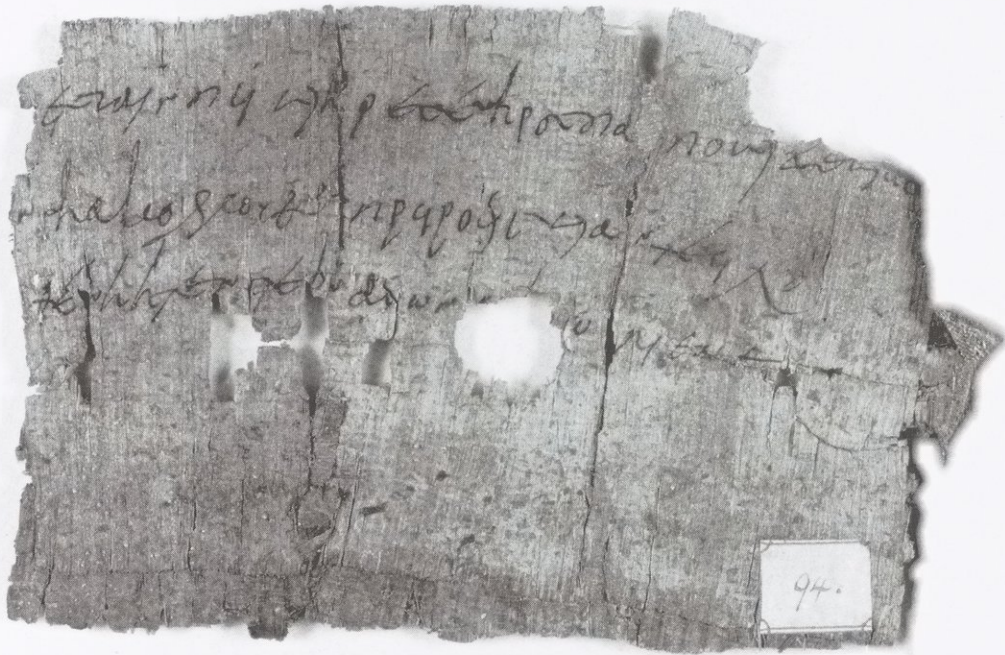
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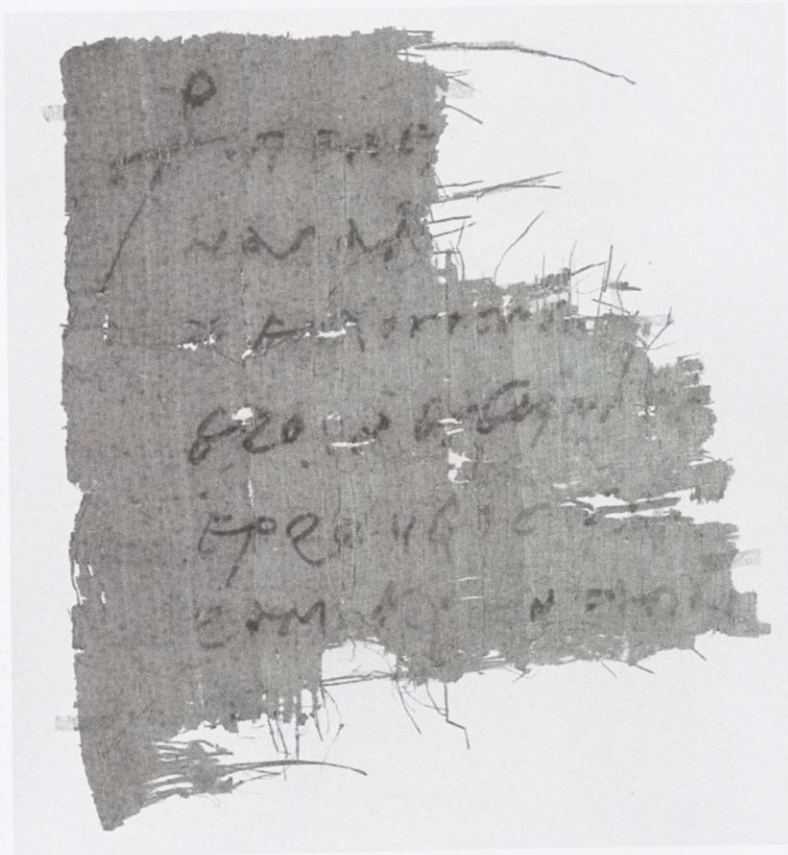
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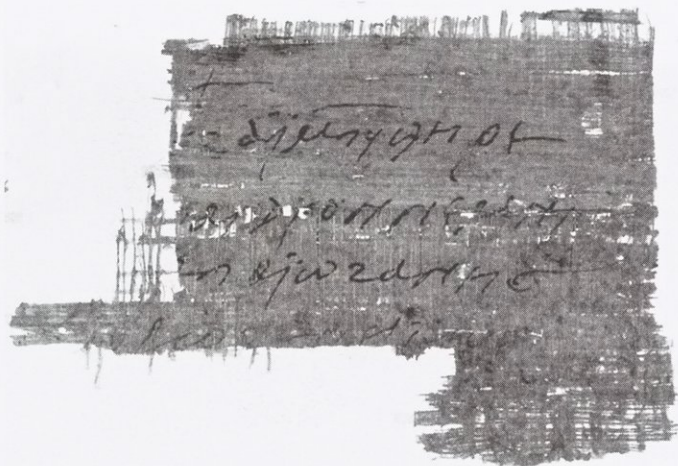
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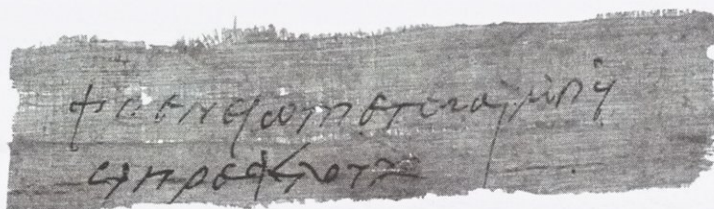
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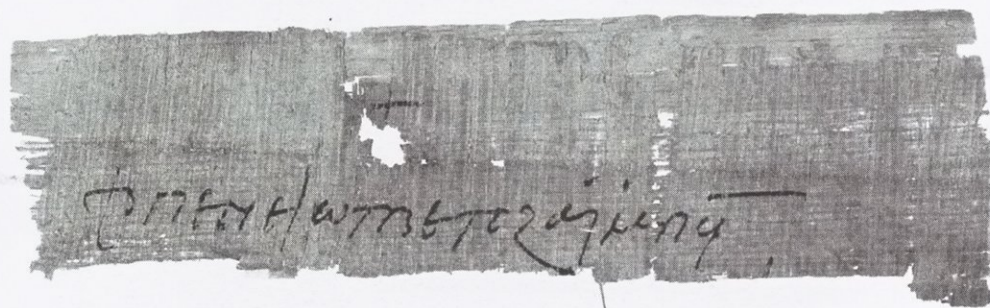
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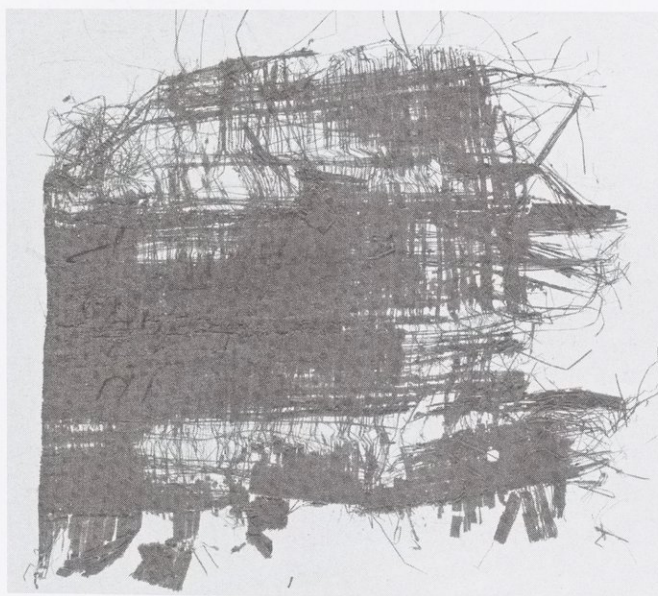
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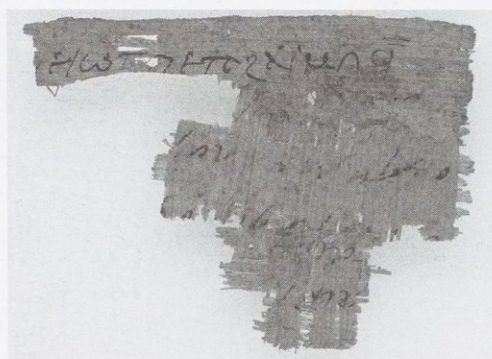
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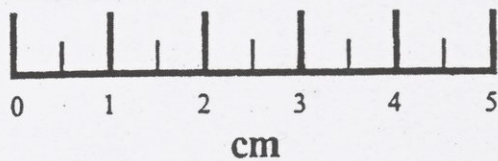
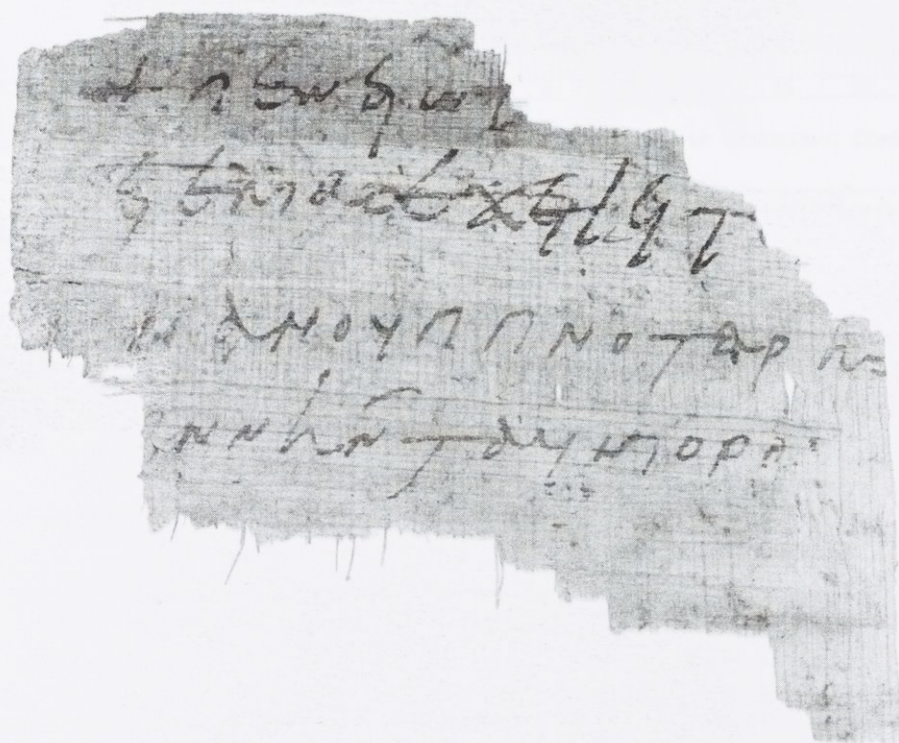
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No. 69



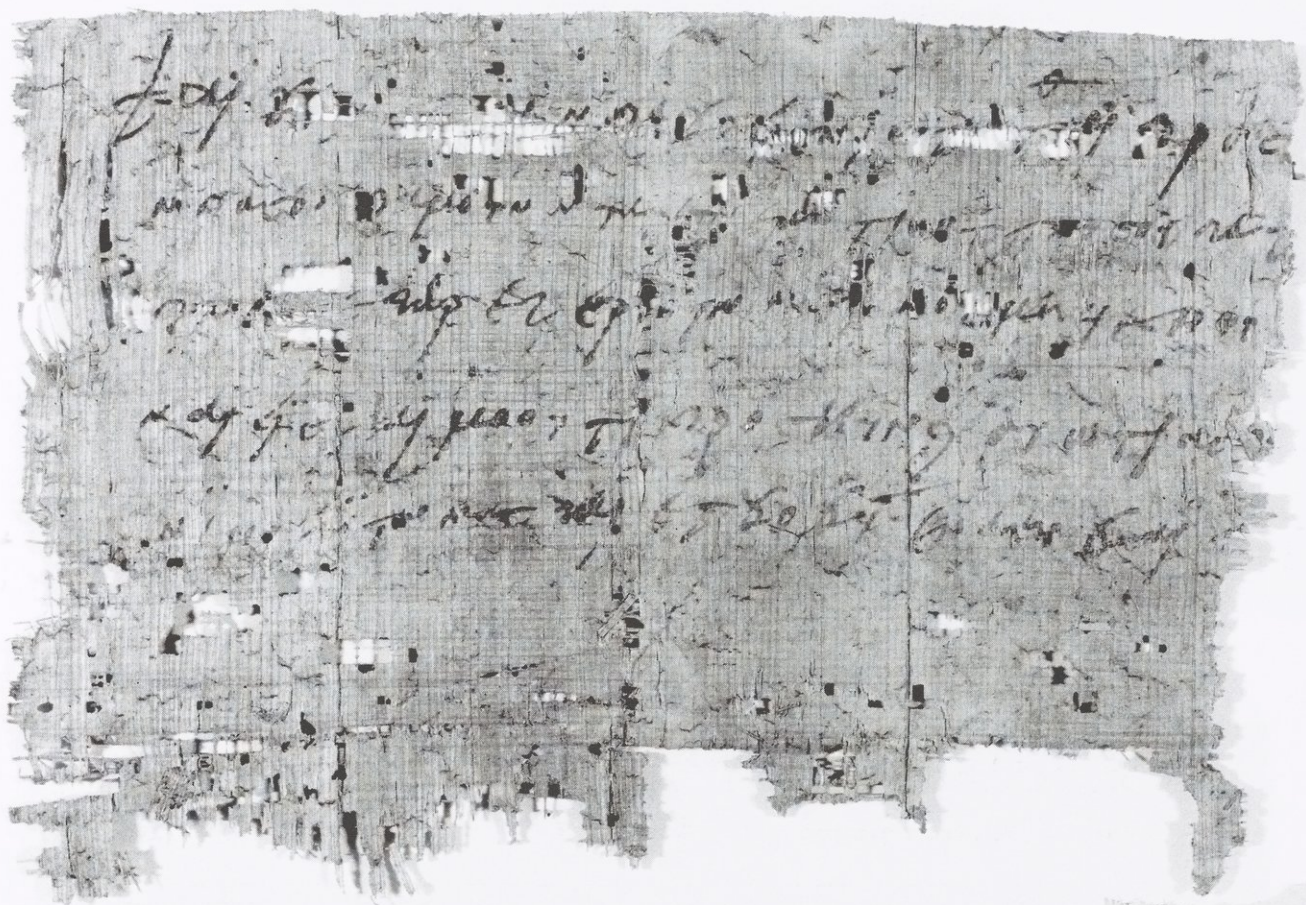
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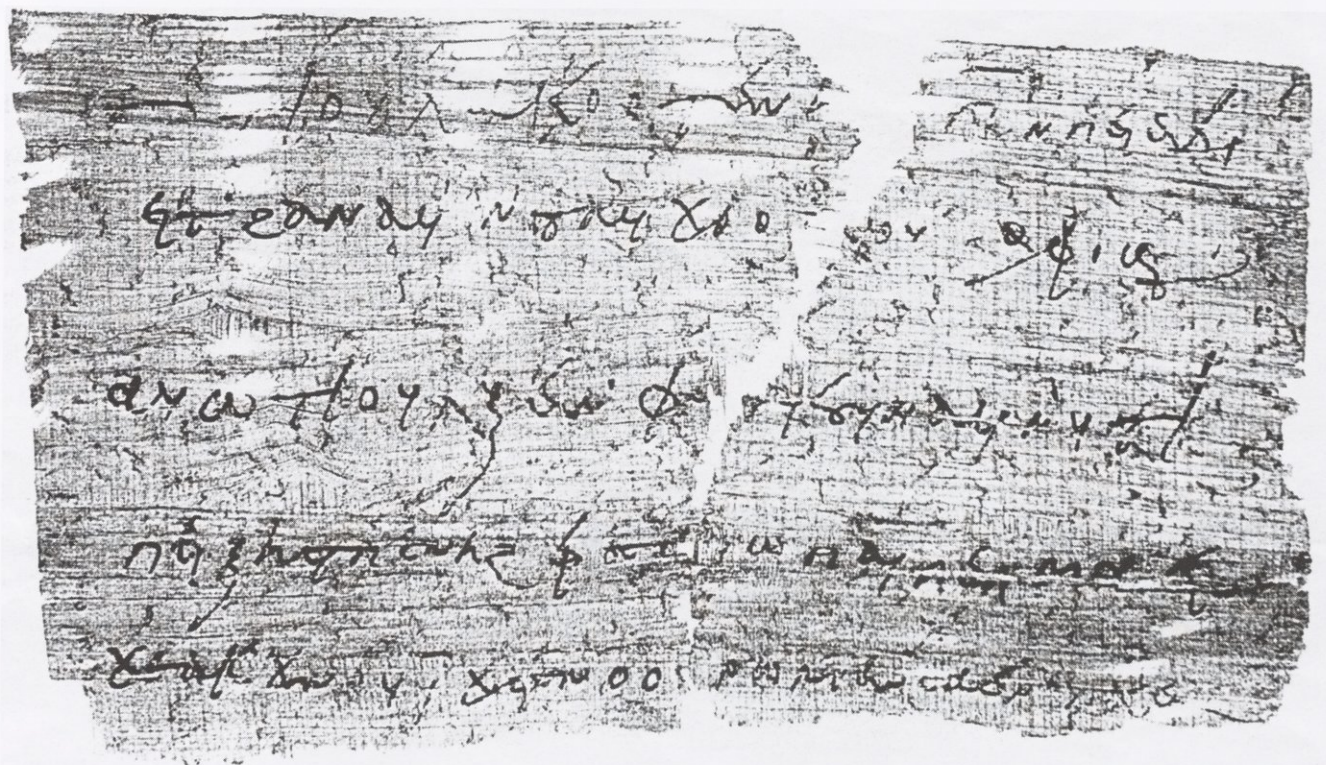
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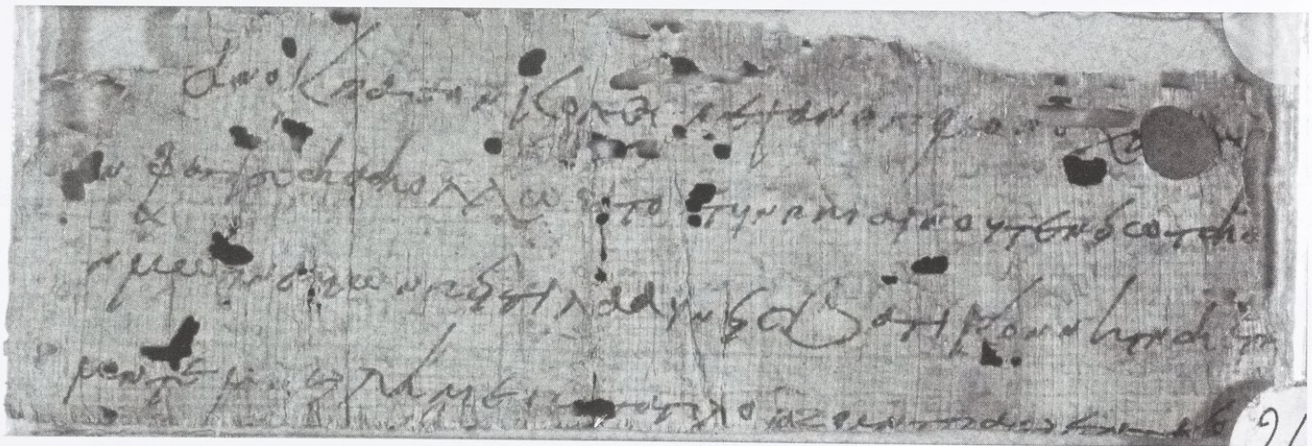
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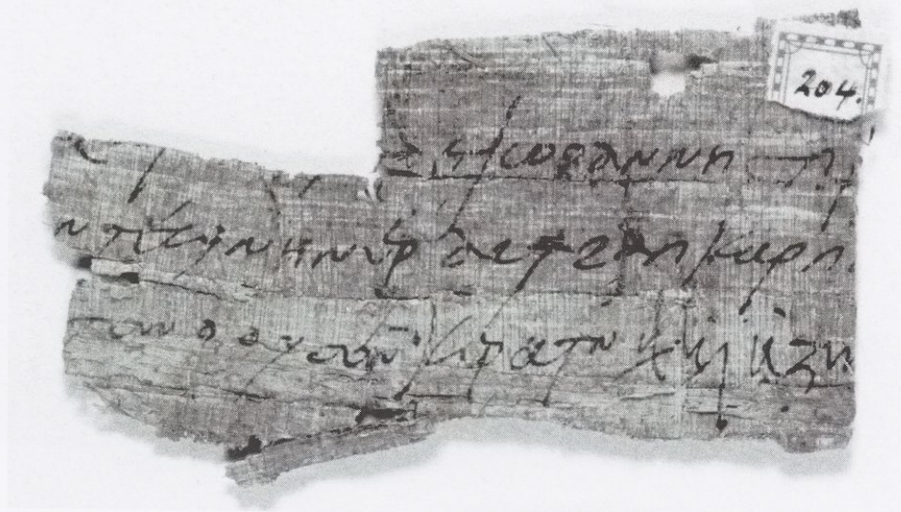
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No. 76



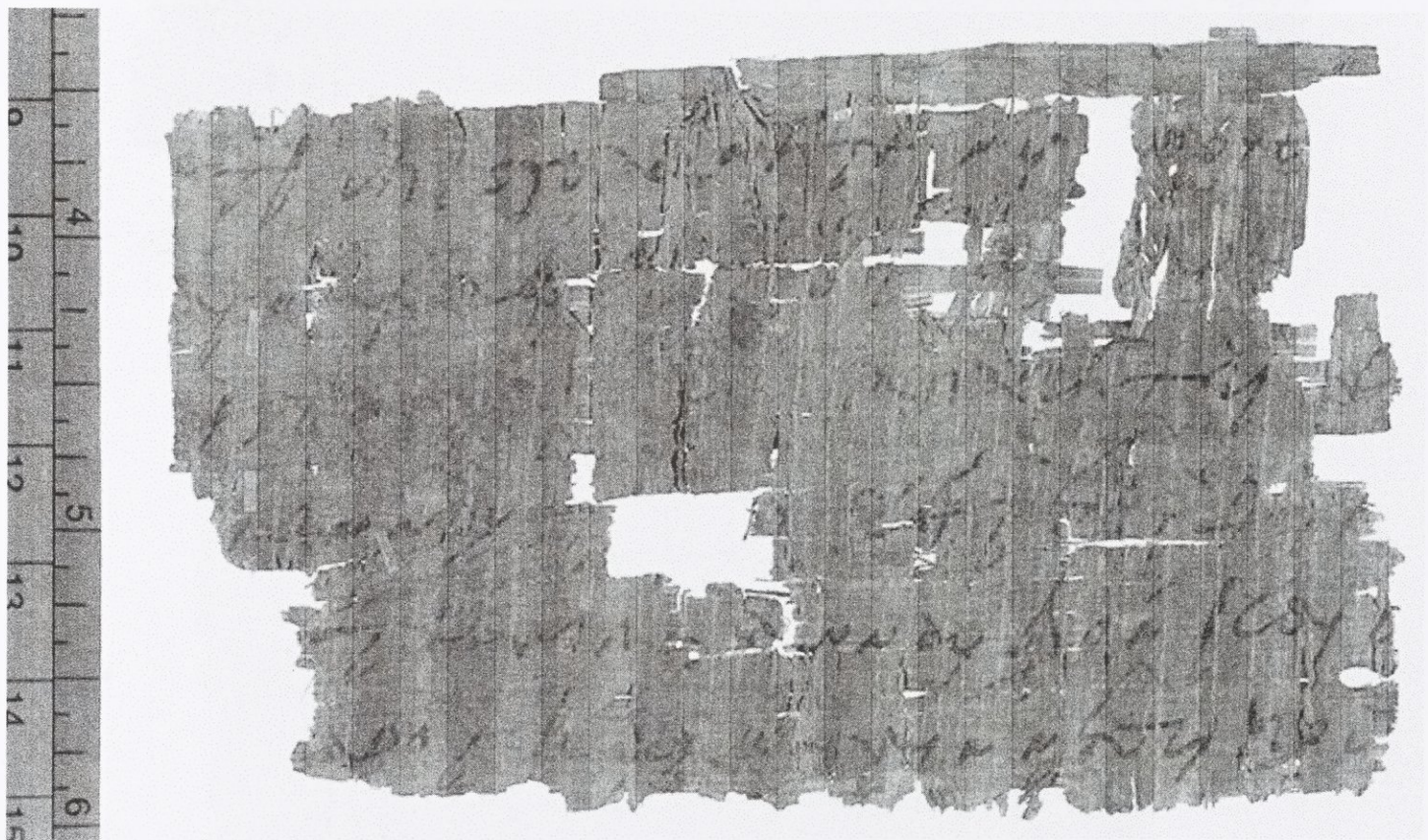
No. 77



No. 78

ΠΟΥΤΕΙΟΝ ΜΗΤΡΕΩΝ  
ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΗΔΕ  
ΡΩΜΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΗ ΜΗΤΡΕ  
ΝΕΩΤΟΠΟΛΙΝ ΔΕ ΜΗΔ  
ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΕΠΙΡΑΧΟΝ  
ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΡΑΧΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ  
ΜΗΤΡΕΩΝ ΝΑΝΙΕΧΕ

No. 79

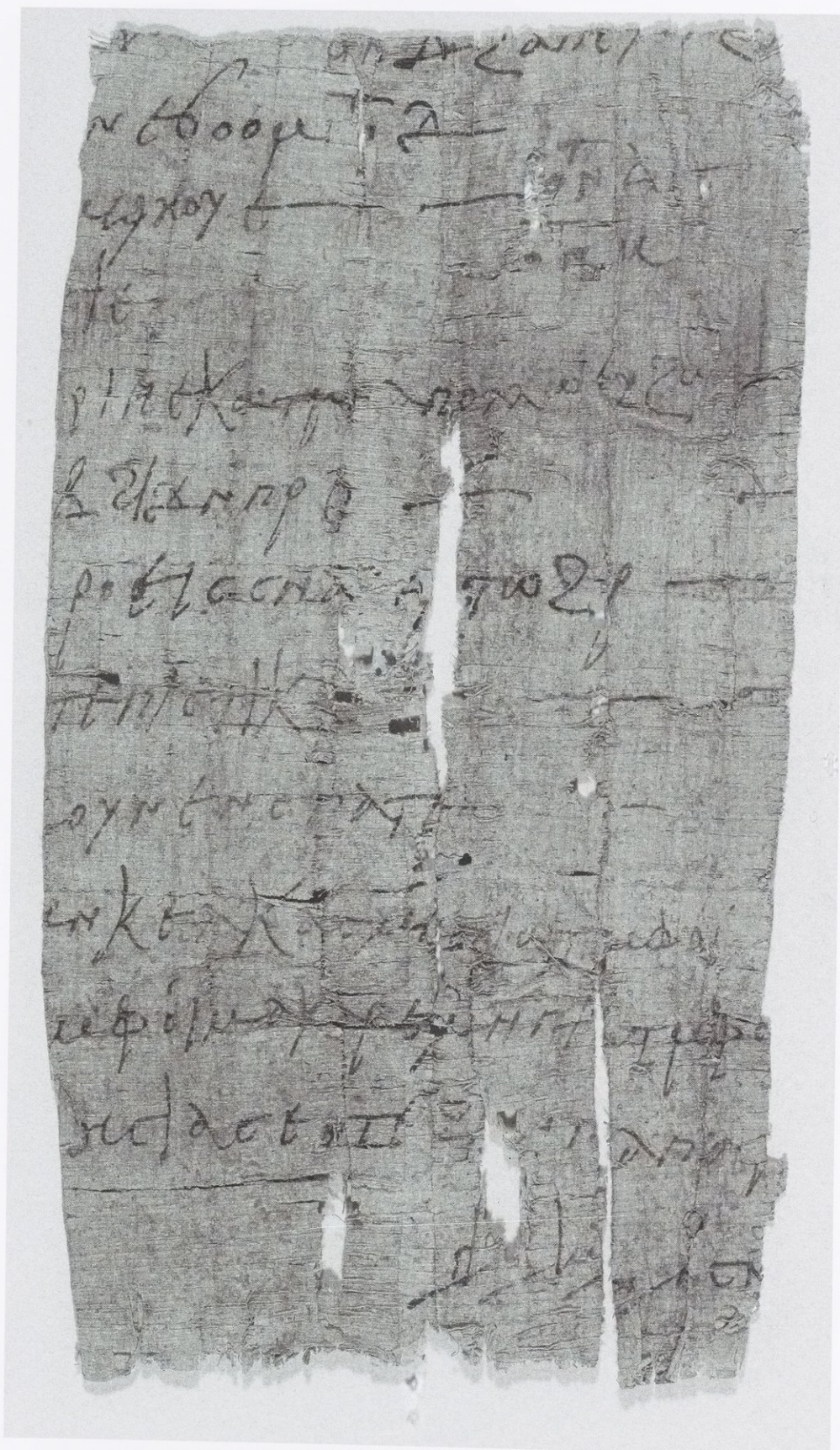


Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with a ruler on the left for scale. The ruler shows centimeters from 0 to 15. The papyrus fragment is approximately 15 cm wide and 10 cm high, with significant damage and missing sections. The text is written in ancient Greek script, but is largely illegible due to the damage. Some faint characters are visible, including what appears to be 'ΕΤΕΡΩΝ' and 'ΜΗΤΡΕΩΝ'.

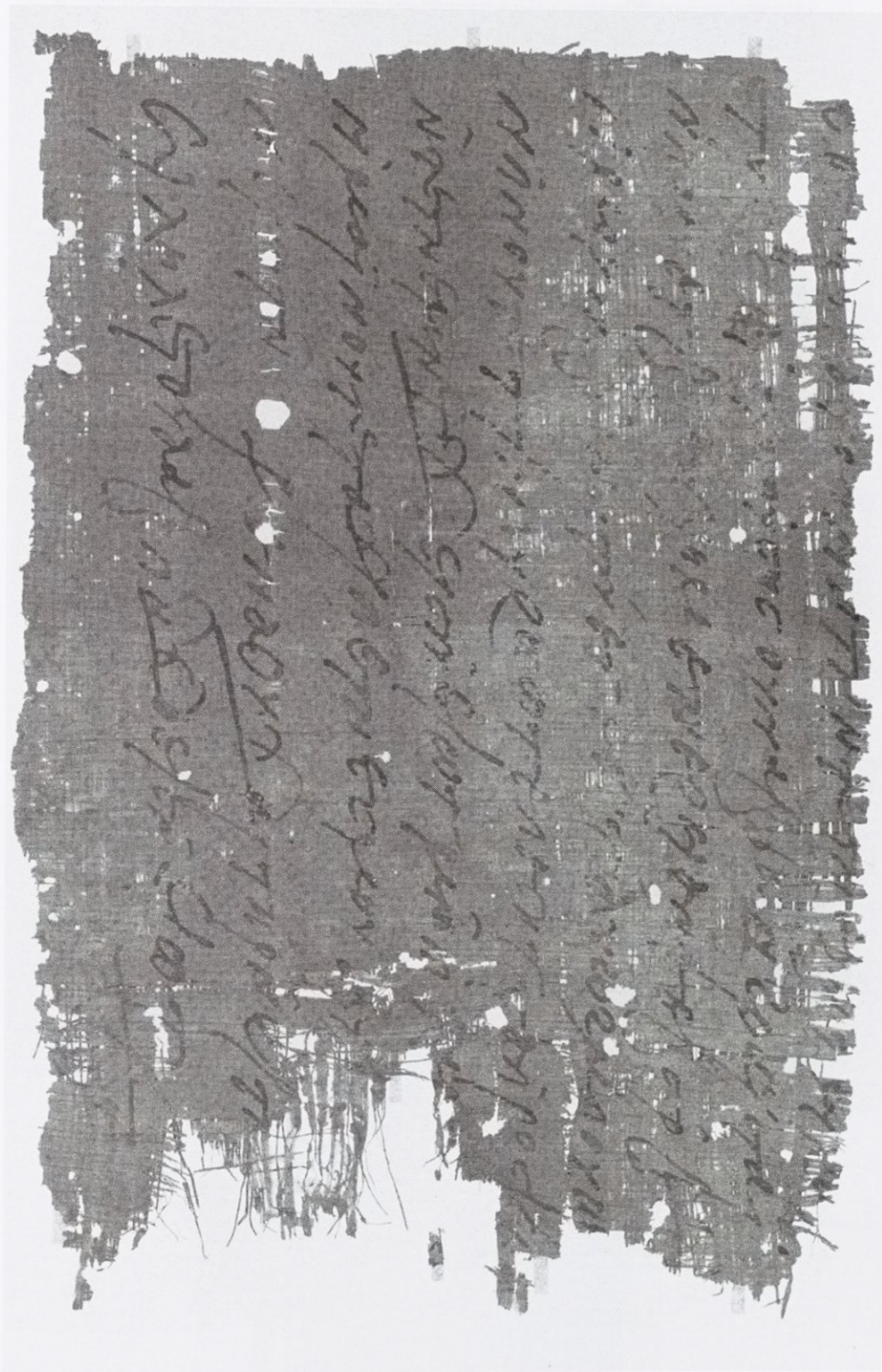
No. 80



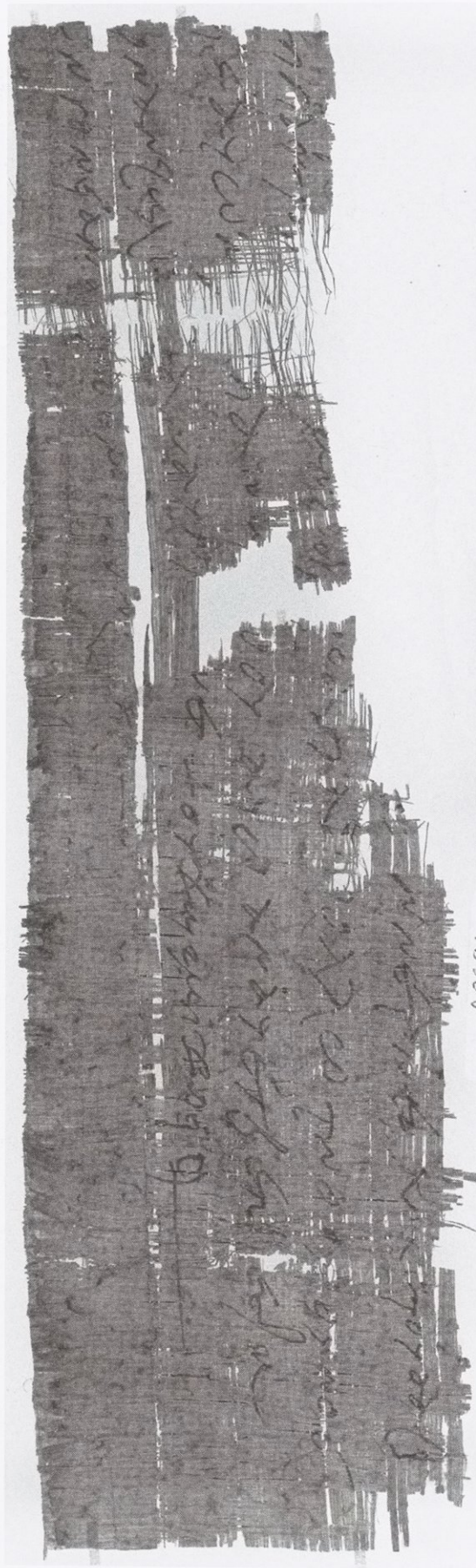




No. 85



No. 87



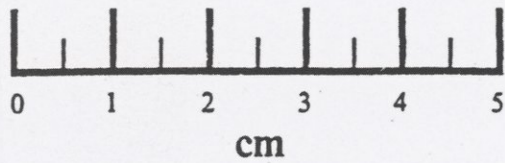
No. 89



Handwritten text on a fragment of papyrus, likely in Demotic script. The text is arranged in three lines, though the fragment is irregularly shaped and partially torn. The characters are dark and somewhat faded against the lighter background of the papyrus.

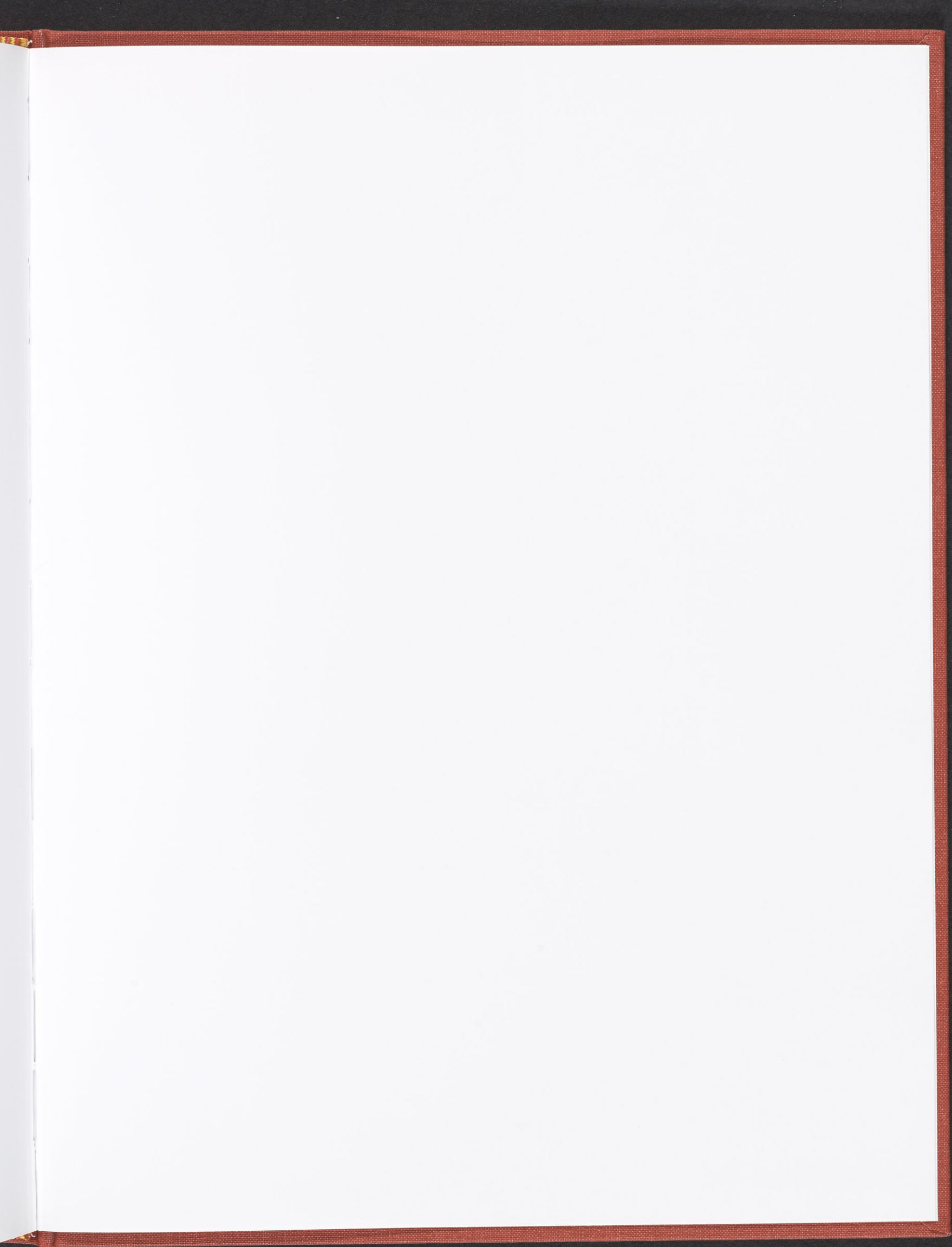
No. 90

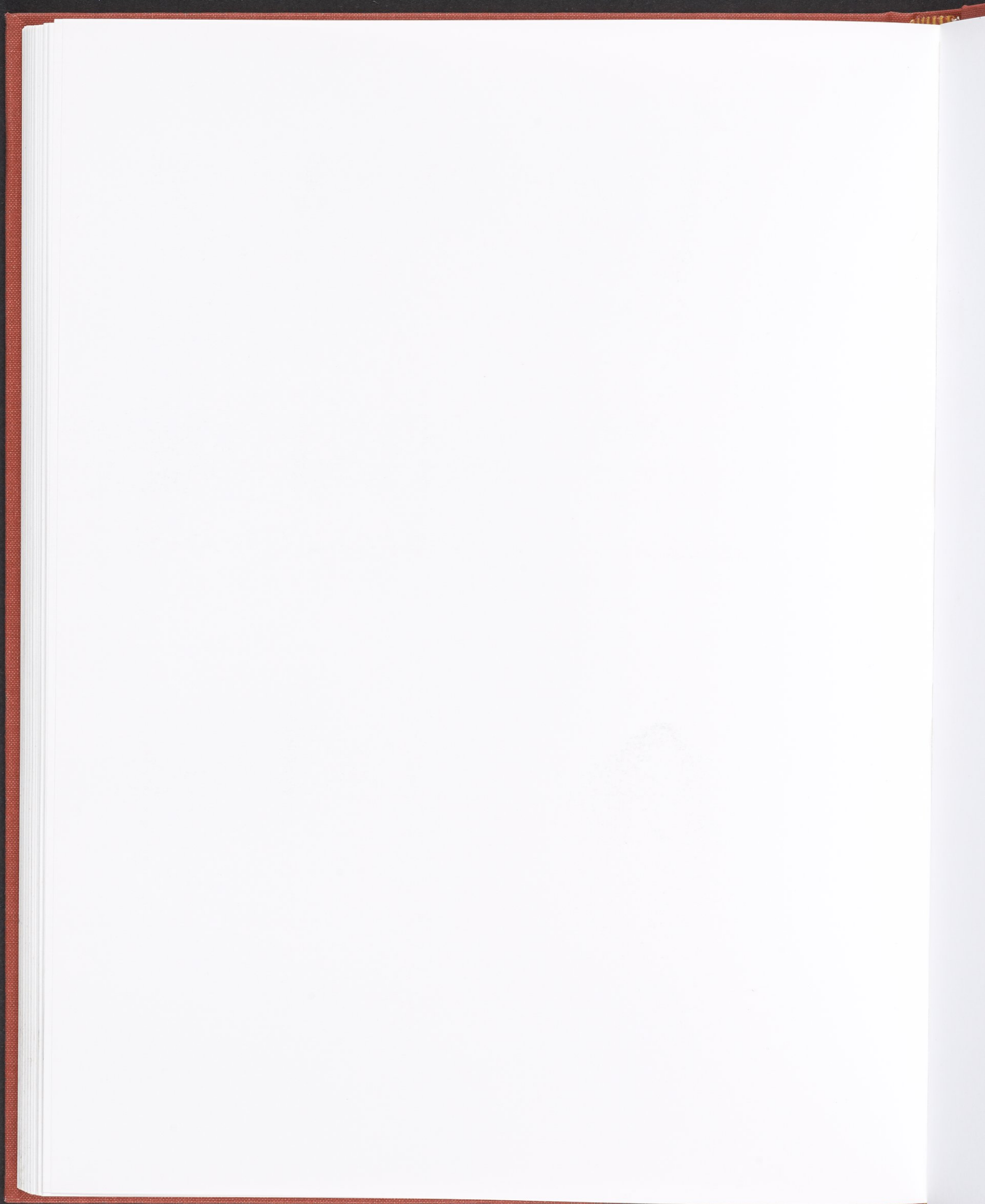
Handwritten text on a fragment of papyrus, likely in Demotic script. The text is arranged in three lines, though the fragment is irregularly shaped and partially torn. The characters are dark and somewhat faded against the lighter background of the papyrus.



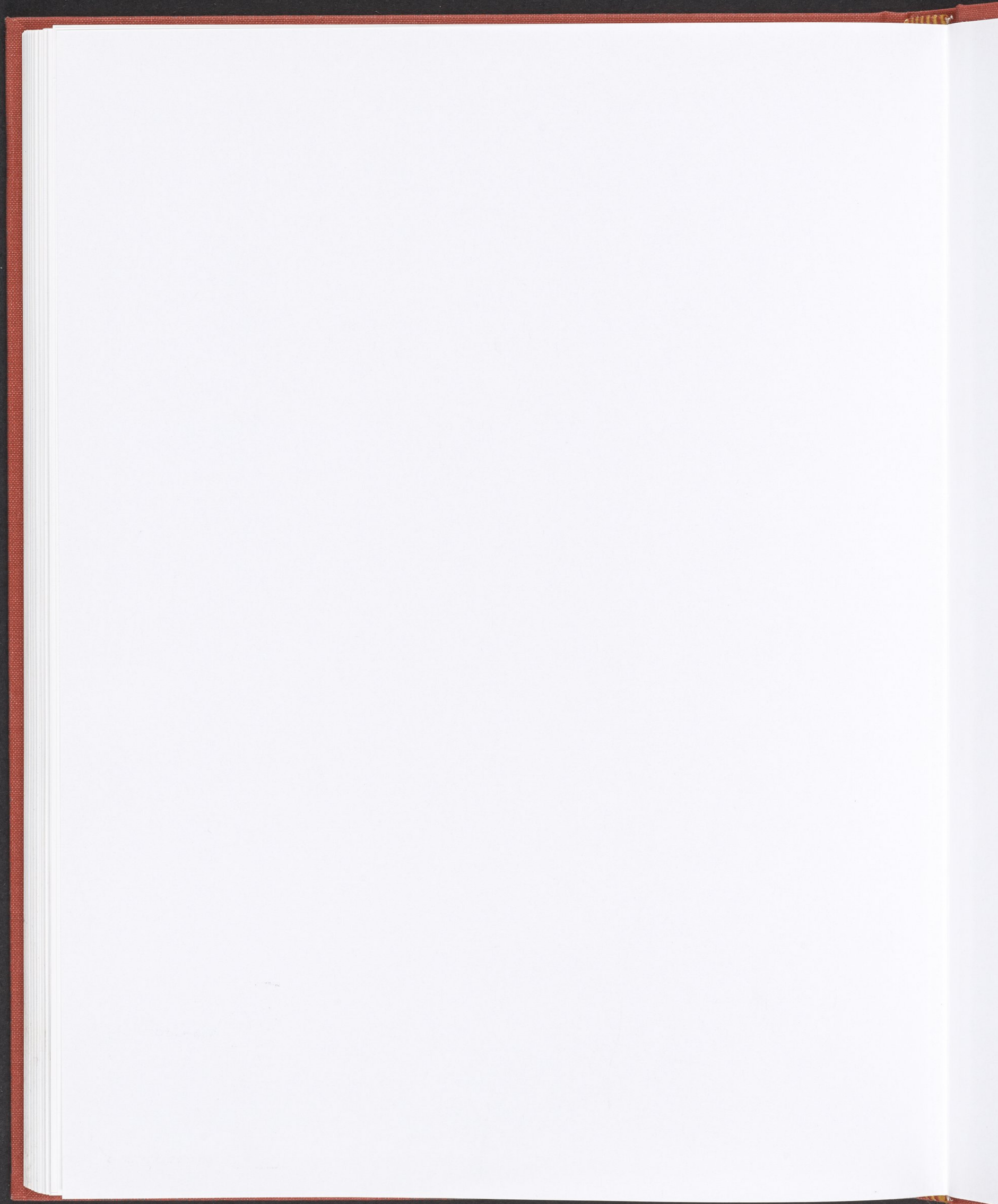
No. 91











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