IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES:
ORDERS FROM THE MONASTERY OF APOLLO AT BAWIT
AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

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Ann Ellis Hanson

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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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Christ’s College, Cambridge, for financial assistance in the publication of this volume.
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provided many distractions which have resulted in the sizeable body of papyrological transcriptions made by me but left unpublished which is now accessible through the benevolence of the Archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford University.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 Boudhors, Paul Dilley, Terry Wilford and Petra Stijpsteijn checked the texts, Charles Crowther scanned the plates and Anne Boudhors, Dominique Bénazeth, Sebastian Richter, Alan Bowman and others took time to answer questions of detail.

James Clackson]
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PART 1

INTRODUCTION
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.¹

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 ΠΕΝΘΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ ΜΗΧΩΠΕ ‘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 ΠΕΝΘΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ ΜΗΧΩΠΕ (No. 35); ΠΕΝΘΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ (e) (Nos. 40 and 42); and No. 22, NN ΠΕΡΡΟΙΚΟΣ ΠΕΤΣΩΑ.

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 ostracon (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 1.12. 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 aparchē 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.

| Opening formula | ΠΕΝΘΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ ΜΗΧΩΠΕ (e/other) NN² |
| Introduction     | ΧΕ (ΑΠΙ ΤΑΡΑΠΗ)³ |
| A) Order for payment | ΤΙ¹ commodity (Total/Résumé of commodity and value)⁵ |
| B) Invoice       | ΕΙΣ ... ΑΝΙΟΥ⁶ |

¹For references to recent work, see O. Bawit/FAO and Jackson 2004 and 2007.
²Nos. 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 [ΠΕΝΘΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ ΜΗΧΩΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΑΠΟΟΟ ‘his beloved brother, the God-serving, good’ Apa Phoibamon και ΚΑΥΑΘΕΡΔΗΣ. 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.
³Be so kind (ἀγάπη) in Nos. 26, 37 and 49.
⁴Give’; No. 37 has the optative form ΜΑΠΩΤΗ ‘let them give’. In a couple of instances, ΤΙ may be preceded by τον ίδιο ΤΙΝΙΤΤΑΚΙΟΝ ‘As soon as you receive this note’ (No. 40 [ΠΕΝΘΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΩΑΙ formula] and possibly No. 31).
⁵This is always written in Greek, see Nos. 16, 38, 39, 40 and 41.
⁶Here is (the commodity) I have sent ...’ in Nos. 54 and 55.
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.

I.2 Provenance

Out of the 71 Our father-formula texts edited here, five are the result of official excavations. Four were found by Jean Clédat at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit; two of these, both belonging to the Louvre, have already been published: No. 9,\textsuperscript{17} and No. 49, the only ostracon with the formula discovered to date.\textsuperscript{18} Three Coptic papyri from the site preserving possibly four Our father-formula texts are now in the Ismailia Museum, of which Jean Clédat 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 Clédat. 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 (\textit{P. Sarga} 175). Although very fragmentary, this order for payment may partially preserve the formula (πετεκα τ ρεκεμ ...).

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\textsuperscript{7} 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 C.R. IV indices, p. 187 (\textit{e tōs oμoυ}°).

\textsuperscript{8} NN I have written’ in Nos. 5 (which frames the date with a pair of crosses), 9, 15, 16, and 28. In No. 12 \textit{e infinitives} may be interpreted as \textit{εποίηκεit was written}, because the scribe’s name is in the genitive case as though δια ‘through’ precedes it, compare \textit{P.Bal.} 148.4. See also the transcription note to No. 9.

\textsuperscript{9} Nos. 21 and 31.

\textsuperscript{10} 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.

\textsuperscript{11} In the month of x (day) x indication x NN’ in Nos. 1 and 4.

\textsuperscript{12} It was written (month) x (day) x indication x in No. 38.

\textsuperscript{13} It was written (month) x (day) x indication x NN’ in No. 14.

\textsuperscript{14} I wrote NN (month) x (day) x indication x’ in No. 39.

\textsuperscript{15} I agree’, \textit{προξαδε} and \textit{προξυι} are the most common spellings of \textit{προξαδε} in the texts. Three texts signed by Georgios (I.11)—Nos. 18, 5, 19, 6, and possibly also 20—record \textit{προξαδε}. Gignac (1981) does not record any examples of the interchange between -\textit{παδο} and -\textit{πασο} exhibited in this variant.


\textsuperscript{17} It is possible that another ostracum excavated at Bawit, \textit{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.\(^\text{19}\) Kahle’s statement (P.Bal., p. 22, n. 2; recently cited in P.Köln IX, p. 205, n. 8) that ‘[the opening phrase ἡ δικαία τεθείσα (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 dikaios 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 dikaios. 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.CyYBR inv. 2334 (unpublished) which mentions BAWIT, possibly to be interpreted as the place name Bawit rather than ‘the monastery’ (H-AWITT).

The place names and monasteries mentioned in the *Our father*-formula texts suggest a place of origin in the Hermopolite nome (see L13). It should be noted that some of the place names, such as Phanallou, Phanallouga and Phanarané (O.Bawit 21-23), are only otherwise attested in the ostraca excavated at Bawit which now belong to the Louvre. No. 26 mentions ῬΩΣΙΑ which may be a place name and is only otherwise attested in an inscription on a wooden lintel believed to have come from Bawit.

1.3 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.

1.4 Previous opinions on this formula

Walter Ewing Crum assumed ‘from internal evidence’ that No. 4 was from Wadi Sarga,\(^\text{20}\) 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 these 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).

\(^{19}\) 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 (papyri and vellum mss: BL Or. 9035 (1–164)).

\(^{20}\) 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 περέξαν τις-NN type of introductory epistolary formula and found that it occurs in 4th-7th or 8th century texts from Ashmunnein 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 περέξαν documents from the 4th century, P.Lond. V 1920, 1921, 1922, and another document of similar date which may also be Melitian, P.Neph. 115.

Most recently, Gesa Schenke has suggested that περέξαν in the Our father-documents may be a personal name, Peneiot (P.Kōln 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 περέξαν ‘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 ωμεν ἁκα- ‘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 (τιθαλίκας). It may be that on receipt of Nos. 47 and 54 the scribe would fill out an ostracon (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.21 The steward is to give a certain Ammon some clothes in payment for collecting aparchê (οἰκονομική). [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),22 was inscribed with the Our father-formula and the beginning of the name of the person addressed (re-), (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’ (περέξαν), he wrote παραπόθαλην (Σίγ. ναυμαχος ανίμα αποτελεσμα τοῦ τόπου) [Ναυμαχος παραποθάλην άγιο σοφό τοῖς θεοῖς] the dikaios 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

21I am grateful to Dr Monika Hasluka for informing me about this text in advance of publication.
22Note 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 ostraka (No. 49), the Our father-formula texts are written on papyrus whereas the shine insa-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 potsherds, 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 1.12). 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.

### 1.6 Similarities with other types of Coptic documents

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

Two NN petecam-formula texts, P.CrumST 329–330, bear similarities to No. 52 (P.Köl 19 IX 386), in that both contain the injunction ἄλλα μη πεσᾶτε ‘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 petecam-formula (P.Sarga 87, 89, 182, 184); and with the NN emek̄em formula (P.Sarga 185 and 187).
1.7 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.\(^{23}\) The term for poll-tax used in these texts is ἀνδρόσημος, which is typical of tax receipts from the Hermopolite; the more usual διάφορον is found in texts from the Theban region.\(^{24}\) 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).\(^{25}\) 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).\(^{26}\) 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, 9, 11, 13). The word which I interpret as ‘hold liable’ is (ἀ)μαχός 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, ἀμαχός): ‘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 ἡμαχός, ‘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 (τοῦ Ἐφέσου) of Phouo. 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 Phouo. A similar role is played by the Apa Apollo monastery when it administers the collection of aparchë for other monasteries as well as itself.

1.8 Addressees

Many of the addressees (see Table 2) have the monastic title Papà (παπά: Nos. 18, 20, 28, 45, 46, 47 and possibly 64) or Apa (απα: Nos. 16, 24, 37, 40, 48).\(^{27}\) One man is titled πρεσβύτερος (No. 37). Other titles

\(^{23}\) These texts were discussed briefly by Clarkson 2004 and 2007.

\(^{24}\) On the poll-tax in late Byzantine and early Arab Egypt, see Poll 1999, esp. table 1, and p. 252 n. 84.

\(^{25}\) 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.

\(^{26}\) 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.

\(^{27}\) 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 (Γλυκός No. 44), and sah (κας), 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,26 one to ‘Apa Victor and the brothers’ (No. 16), and one to the ‘brothers of the pistikos’ (No. 17). The title πιστικος 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 amin (in, for example, P.Bodl.Arab. II 1. 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 φαντασόμενος, 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.27 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).

1.9 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. 18.28 A scribe called Iosanes 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.

1.10 Dates recorded in the documents

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

1.11 Signatories

At least nine different signatories appear in the texts. Germanos (No. 21), Petre (No. 22), Philb (No. 23), and Theodoreus (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.

26No. 19 may also have been addressed to more than one person.

27Nos. 18, 20, 28, and 46.

28Both 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, or Daniel. The signatures of Keri and Daniel (see I.I 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. 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 τοιχεῖον he employs, τοιχεῖον, see I.I. 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. In these texts, however, he uses the forms τοιχείον, τοιχίον and τοιχέω but never τοιχεῖον.

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; Daniel is attested for indiction-years 8 and 9; and Keri is attested for indiction years 11-13. 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. 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 Hermopolitan monastery of Apa Apollo in P.Mon.Apoll. 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 díakonía 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. 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.

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31A further two Our father-formula documents signed by Keri are now in the collection of the Aeg. Inst. Köln: P.Colon. 10.229, 10.934. 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).

32The 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.

33Compare the signature of Enoch in P.Sarge 167(?), 169, 170, 171, 173, 176, and 182.

34In 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.

35No date is recorded in Nos. 13 and 20.

36Note 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.

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

38See 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 Titkoeh; and Tepêt (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 Ebbooue (ezkooû, No. 51.3) and Tausia (teûxâ, No. 53.3), which is also found in two shine rnsa-formula ostraca which may be from Bawit.

A number of place names begin with tma n/m- 'the place of ...' The Coptic term ma 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'. Most of the places which incorporate tma n/m- 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. Eight place names of this sort are found in the shine rnsa-formula ostraca from Bawit in the Louvre, five of which are analysed in this section (Pmanallou, Pmanbête, Pmanle, Pmanlouga and Pmanrânâ). Pmanâshêk is mentioned in a document excavated at Bawit (No. 36): it literally means 'the place of weaving/stitching' and may be compared with tmahekaâyt 'the place of the weavers', attested an order excavated at Bawit (No. 13.2). A number of place names with the tma-n- prefix are also recorded in emoulôn-ostraca. [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 Pmanneir.]

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 Tnncshên (No. 53.2), literally 'the big garden'; and Tnussher (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, tmahekoû (No. 44.5) which literally means 'the one of the grape'.

Antinoê Antinoû No. 12.5; No. 88.2
Antinoê, the capital of the Antinoeopolite nome just across the Nile from Ashmunein.

Ebbouê ezkoû No. 51.3
Ebbouê is a newly attested place name. It may be made up of a construct form of ezê 'ox & cow' (Crum, Dict., p. 64a) and a variant of koû 'heap, tumulus (Westendorf KH, pp. 29 and 496), which occurs in koòû and other place names.
Monastery of Jeremias of Pmanbête

Monastery of Phouq τουχαγας Φοογ No. 11.2
Phouq may be a variant of the Hermopolite nome place name φοογ / Φοογ,\textsuperscript{44} which was located in the Patre ano toparchy to the north of Ashmunine. The Coptic form of this place name is found in wine-delivery documents from Wadi Sarga,\textsuperscript{45} which is attested in the Patre ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome. A Greek papyrus dating to the 6th century, \textit{P.Giss.} 56 (II. 2, 10),\textsuperscript{46} mentions a monastery, name now lost, in Φοογ, which may be identified with Φοογ.

Monastery of Stephen Σεσιτιτε Ντεφέν No. 63.3
A monastery of Stephanus is to be found in a 5th-century Greek document, \textit{P.Amst.} 1 81, from which its geographical location cannot be ascertained.\textsuperscript{47} For the meaning of Σεσιτιτε, see Coquin 1993: 663.

Pelool Πελοολ No. 44.5
This literally means ‘the grape’. A place called Πελοολ is assigned to the Hermopolite nome in a 6th–7th-century Greek papyrus, P.Vindob. G 1530 1.5, and a hamlet of this name may also occur in an 8th-century Greek tax list from Aphrodito, \textit{P.Lond.} IV 1479.1276.\textsuperscript{48}

The name Πελοολ may also be rendered as Peleti, a place in the Fayyum which is mentioned in \textit{P.Brook}. 25.26.\textsuperscript{49} There are at least four other attested place names involving Πελοολ.\textsuperscript{50}

Phioele φιολε No. 81.3
Literally ‘the field of Le’, see Pianle.

Pmanallou πμανάλαλο No. 49.6
‘The place of Allou’.\textsuperscript{51} This place is mentioned as a source of wine in three shine nsa-formula Louvre ostraca from Bawit.\textsuperscript{52} It also occurs in an unpublished papyrus, BL Or. 6201B (200), which is signed by Georgios (see I.11). It may be identified with Αλλαου (\textit{CPR} XII 30.23), and a Θαλλου in the Hermopolite nome.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{44}See Timm p. 1932 ‘Phousy’; and Drew-Bear 1979: 315-316 Φοογ, and p. 320 Φοογ which occurs in a 7th-century Greek text from the Hermopolite nome, \textit{SPP} X 25 B.20. Note that this papyrus also mentions Τεστο (A.27), a place name which occurs in No. 84.


\textsuperscript{46}See BL I, p. 462 and II, pt 2 p. 66 for this dating.

\textsuperscript{47}See Timm pp. 1424-1425 ‘Kloster des (hl.) Stephanus’.

\textsuperscript{48}See Calderini \textit{Diz. geogr.} IV p. 91 ‘Πελοολ’ and Timm p. 1887 ‘Pelool’; this place name is not recorded in Drew-Bear 1979.

\textsuperscript{49}See Megdalen Polarol in Calderini \textit{Diz. geogr.} III p. 221 and Timm pp. 1644-1646 ‘Mikhal’.

\textsuperscript{50}Crum, \textit{Dict.}, p. 554 Πελοολ.

\textsuperscript{51}The personal name Αλλαου occurs as ‘Αλλαου in Greek papyri dating from the 1st-5th centuries, see NB and Forohoschi \textit{Onomastics}.

\textsuperscript{52}O. Bawit 18-20.

\textsuperscript{53}See Timm pp. 2611-2613 ‘Thallow’.

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\textsuperscript{52}O. Bawit 18-20.

\textsuperscript{53}See Timm pp. 2611-2613 ‘Thallow’.
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

Pmanbète (Monastery of Jeremias Papmanbète)
The word bète 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 Pmanbète was at one time a place of metal-production.54 Pmanbète is only otherwise mentioned in a shine *nsa*-formula ostraca excavated at Bawit (O.Bawit 75) and in P.Meyer inv. 14,55 a wine account which mentions *imā miānāh, imā nāsān*, and possibly *imā nāsā* all of which occur in the shine *nsa*-formula ostraca from Bawit.

Pmancanah (Pmancanah)
'The place of Canah'. *šanga* 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, *šanāz, šanāz, Kānāz, Kānāz*) in Coptic and Greek documents,56 including the Greek text written on BL. Or. 6050.18 (Coptic text = P.Lond.Copt. 1 1079).57 It takes the form Kānāz in a 7th-century Greek document, *P.Princ.* III 140.58 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 *psaš and *psašoph*.

Pnaule (Pnaule)
*Psālo* in this place name may be interpreted as the name of a type of textile (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 145a *λακατ* in Cerny *CED*, p. 346 *λακατ*).59 Another possible etymology involves *λακατ* ‘anyone, -thing, something’ (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 146a) and, indeed, Champollion pointed out that the Arabic version of this place name, ‘Maoudhī 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.60 It may be that this was part of the monastery where textiles were made.

An inscription from Bawit mentions *mašμη*,61 and *mpnaa* is the place name most often mentioned in the Louvre ostraca from Bawit,62 where it is named as a source of old wine (mpnaa and variants).63 It is possibly to be identified with Mallawi which is about five kilometres south-east of Ashmunein.64

Phoile (Pfaile) ‘the field of Le’ may involve the same word *λε* as this place name.

56No plate was published with this text but this restoration appears to me to be possible for *imā nāsā* in l. 2.
57See Heuser pp. 21, 33 and 69; and Till 1962: 118; and *CPR* XII 32:15 *empē*.
58Edited in MacCoul 1994: 139–140 (on p. 141 the name *šanga* is erroneously cited as being in l. 14).
59See note to the re-edition of this text in Worp 1990: 109.
61Champollion 1814 vol. 1: 283.
63O.Bawit 1 note to ll. 3–4.
64O.Bawit 1: 111.
65The entry for Timm pp. 1542–1543 ‘Mallawi’ gives the spellings *mašμη* and *mašμη*; *mašμη* is found in a graffito from Bawit, see Clédat 1904–6: 47 No. 32.
Pmanlouga Πμανλουγα Νο. 49.5
Literally ‘the place of Louga (= Luke)’.66 This place name is not otherwise attested.57

Pman[ ]njerir Πμαν[ ]νεριρ Νο. 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 npleebeiōhe Πμα Νπλεεβιοχθ Νο. 62.3

Pmanranē Πμανρανη Νο. 49.4
‘The place of Ranē’ is mentioned in three Louvre ostraca from Bawit as a source of old wine.68 The name πανή/πενή can be connected with Middle Egypt, but is not listed in Heuser.56

Pmansiske Πμανσικε Νο. 16.3–4
This may be interpreted literally as ‘the mill’, or as a place name. Pmansiske,70 which Crum suggests may be an equivalent of CIRCINEC in P.Ryl.Copt. 193 1.71 CIRCINEC ‘brothers of the mill/Pmansiske’ also occur in an unpublished Coptic receipt, BL Or. 6201 B (202) (cited in Crum, Dict., p. 328b), a text featuring the signatory Georgios.

Posh Ποσή Νοσ. 15.4 and 63.172
Posh may only be attested in one published text, CPR II 15, an 8th-century papyrus, which mentions Ποσή Ποσή ‘the men of Posh in Patoulo’ (II. 2 ff.).73 This context suggests that a Posh was located in the Hermopolite nome, in the area of present day Taha. Alternatively, now may be a scribal error for ποσή ‘the region’ in this text.

A possible Arabic equivalent for Coptic now might be Būsh, which is the name of a place located east of the Fayyum.74 See also the discussion of the name Taposh at P.Mon.Apollo, p. 84.

Taparoou Ταπαρου Νο. 20.3
The proximity of the village of Taparoou to Titkooh is illustrated in the Life of Phib when Apa Apollo and Apa Papohe are related to have stopped at a monastery near Taparoou on their way from the Monastery of Apa Pamin (see P.Mon.Apollo, p. 8) and Titkooh.75 This place name also occurs in Greek

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66A form of this name using τ instead of κ (eg. λούκας) is not recorded in Heuser, although on p. 119 he lists λούκας as a name of ‘unsicherer Herkunft’.
67See O.Bawit 81 n. to 1. 6.
68O. Bawit 21-23.
69See the note on O. Bawit 21.3.
71See Drew-Bear 1979: 249 GREECE, making the same correction as in the note above; ‘6201 B et C’ should be ‘6201 B’; also Papsikhe should read Pamsikhe.
72See now Goma 1991: 95 Bus 31 and 221 Taha Bus.
73CPR II 15 is cited in Timm p. 1798 ‘Osh’ as though the initial α- should not be read as part of the place name; Pianouph proko ‘the man from Oshe’, who is recorded as a witness in BL Or. 6204, is also cited here.
74Timm pp. 455-457 ‘Būsh’.
75Orlandi and Campagnano 1975: 32.
papyri;\(^76\) in two shine asa-formula ostraca,\(^77\) two unprovenanced, unpublished Coptic papyri (BL Or. 6201B (52) and P.Camb. UL Michael. 822/4); and possibly in an inscription from Bawit.\(^78\)

**Tbershē τεχωρικ** No. 25.3, 9
This may possibly be identified with el-Bersha, on the right bank of the Nile, just south of Antinoe.\(^79\)

**Tepōt 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,\(^80\) but its location is uncertain. A τόπος and a μαχοτί with this name have also been assigned to the Aphrodito area and the Apollonopolite nome respectively.\(^81\)

**Teschnē τεχωρικ** Nos. 19.3; 65.4; 78.2; and No. 23.3 (in Παραγωγή)
Literally ‘the garden’.\(^82\) John Shelton (1990: 113) interpreted τεχωρικ in *P.Sarga* 355–357 as a personal rather than a place name because it follows διά. παραγωγή is used to mean ‘gardener’ in John 20.15.\(^83\)

**Teusia τευσία** No. 53.3
Literally ‘the estate (οικεία)’. This is another place from which wine is requisitioned in two shine asa-formula ostraca which may be from Bawit, *O.Mich.Copt.* 17, 21. It may be equated with one of two attested place names: Teusia is mentioned on a tomb stone from Antinoe,\(^84\) and Tousia in Coptic texts from Bawit.\(^85\) Wadi Sarga and elsewhere.\(^86\)

**Tnoeschnē τυνχ νομι** 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 Teschnē above. τυνχ νομι occurs as a source of milk (ἐλατοντινπεντοσινομι) in a P.Camb. UL Green text.

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\(^76\)Calderini *Dict.geogr.* IV p. 358 ‘Τοπωρίων’, adding the occurrence in *P.Rain.Cent.* 103 (5th century).


\(^78\)Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 129, No. 448.2, κυρίαρχος τηάργα, which is interpreted as ‘Apa Taurinus de Tapt...’ in a list of saints.


\(^81\)Calderini *Dict.geogr.* IV p. 393–394 ‘Τεχωρικ’.

\(^82\)See Timm p. 2606–2607 ‘Teschnē’ for other texts involving this place name, adding *P.Bul.* 115.6, and Crum’s speculation in *P.Ryl.Copt.*, p. 89 n.6 that *P.Lond.Copt.* 1 1014.4 τοβωρικ may also be a form of it. It should also be noted that CPR II 120 was re-edited as CPR IV 118 and so the passage cited in n. 1 should be expanded and corrected to φωτον τουχοφοτερον αρω ροτοβωρικ του τεχωρικ του τεχωρικ του τεχωρικ του τεχωρικ...

\(^83\)See Crum, *Dict.*, p. 572a ρωμι, where this text is also cited. Wiecheger 1992: 287 interprets this title when παραγωγή occurs in inscriptions from the Monastery of Jeremias at Saqqara.

\(^84\)Timm p. 2609 ‘Teusia’.

\(^85\)Clédat 1904–6: 47 No. 32.

\(^86\)Timm p. 2839 ‘Tousia’.
along with ἤμα ἡλιός (which is mentioned in shine nsa formula ostraca from Bawit, see Pmanbētē above), and ἤμα ἡμέρα.

**Touasher** τούασαρ No. 26.6–7
Literally ‘the carpentry workshop’, but possibly a place name. This is also found on a wooden lintel, Cairo Egyptian Museum CE 35 017, which is believed to have come from Bawit, and which mentions ἡμέρα πτούασαρ ἡμέρα τιρρού πτούασαρ ‘the fathers of Touasher and all the brothers of Touasher’.

**Incomplete place names**

Φόροι Πάμ [...] No. 64.4
Literally ‘the field of Πάμ’.
(μ)[...]) περίπτερ[...] No. 72.1.

I.14 Commodities specified in the texts

**Comestibles**

Aracus see Wild chickling

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

**Bdellium** λευκάς
The word λευκάς may be translated as ‘bdellium’, the gum of the Commiphora tree (see Crum, *Dict.*, p. 142a λιαμος). 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 6201 B (15).

**Bread** σίκ
In No. 35 ωμετ ἵπποι τοῦ περὶ ‘three days’ (worth) of bread’ are specified and in No. 37 ‘handfuls’ (πηλής) of bread. ‘Handfuls’ are also the measure used for bread in No. 36.

**Fish**
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 Driotton 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’.

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87 The interpretation of this word as ‘carpentry workshop’ follows Westendorf KH, p. 282 ‘Abteilung des Klosters: Tischerei (?)’ (Crum, *Dict.*, p. 403b does not supply a translation). Tait 1982: 221 cites this meaning of ωμας in supporting the derivation of demotic *wawai* (a type of tool) from *wai* ‘Tischlerwerkzeug’ (Erman and Grapow Wh. 1, 355, 13).

88 Described and transcribed in Maspero 1907: 45–47 col. D II. 3–7, pl. 16 (correct the reference given by the original editor of No. 26 to this inscription to read ‘Ep.’ instead of ‘Ep.’). On this and other wooden lintels from Bawit, see Krause 1988.
Garum κηρ

Eight lakon-measures of garum are specified in No. 38. Garum was found in jars during the excavations at Bawit, see Maspero and Driot 1931-43: xxv. See also MIFAO 12, p. 117 L. 8 for κηρ; and Clédat 1999 index p. 437 for τίμησις. It is possible that τίμησις, '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 (†τῷ ΠΑΜΟΥΝΙ ΝΙ [C] ΚΗΡ). 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 used of fermented fish products is discussed). According to Shenoute's Canons, κηρ was one of the many foodstuffs forbidden to healthy monks (Layton 2002: 42-43, 45, where κηρ (ντρατ) 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' (Πάσης Παμών [κηρ]; 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 (?)' (ΝΑ ΝΙ[ΚΗΡ]).

Greens υγοτότε

No. 32 specifies that just `a few greens' (ογκοι υγοτοτε) are to be paid, compare O.Crum 371.5, P.Mon.Epiph. II 249v υγοτοτε (εις πυκνοτι ομοιατε) and O.CrumST 299 (εις πυκνοτι ηνυοτε). Men who may be from Teshnē are ordered to give greens and other items to men who may belong to a σαλλού in No. 19 (υγοτοτε l. 3).

Lachanon (sesame) άκκ

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. Such an interpretation would make sense in No. 32, where, in addition to 'a few greens' (ογκοι υγοτοτε), ογκοι άκκ is also to be paid; άκκ may therefore be interpreted as λάχανον or as λαχανόσπερμον `vegetable seed'. 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 νεζ

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

Wheat γογο

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.

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89For garum, see Drexhage 1993. Garum is also measured in άκκ(ον) measures in an unpublished Coptic document, P.Camb. U1. Michael, 960 l. 3, 4, 6, and 8.

90For 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.

91This is suggested in the ed. pr. of No. 32 following CPR IV 86.4 (bis), and P.Sarga 370 where άκκα ποτηριον in l. 4 is abbreviated to άκκα- in l. 7. See also P.Naqlun 1 143-144.
Wild chickling ἀρακός, ἄρακος
A leguminous fodder crop which has been identified as *Lathyrus annuus*, and which produces a type of flat bean. It is paid out to various individuals in two texts: in No. 28 it is measured by the ἄναψις 'sack', and in No. 20 by the artaba.

Wine ἱμῖς, ὅνος
Various different measures are used for wine in the texts: the κάβος 'jug' in No. 16 (ὑπ’ ἄναψις καβός τίτηρι (οἱ, κοδ. π.)); the φίλας in No. 39 (ὑπ’ ἄναψις φίλας) and possibly No. 40 (φίλας ἱμῖς) where it may be the equivalent of σήμα (σήμα). In No. 41 four λαθῆς are to be paid (ἐν θέλαις ἱμῖς) and this measure is equated with the Greek κνίδιον. 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, cōτα) measured by the λακόν-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 amorphas (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 (MIFAQ 111: 150).

**Fuel and Fodder**

Clover *εἰρήμ*.
In No. 30 clover is measured in artabas (εἴρημ). Clover features in a monastic account from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Deir el-Balayza (*P. Bala.* 291.10 εἴρῆμ) 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 τρίθ. (where an unpublished Michigan ostracon, O.Mich. 9683, is cited).

Dung *χότ*
No. 27 mentions χότος '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 *ἀρέ*
In No. 53 'a little fodder' (οὐσιοῦν ἀρέ) is to be given to an ass; a plural form of αρέγι, may be interpreted in No. 31. *P.Mon.Apollo* 24 shows how the Monastery of Apa Apollo acquired fodder-land in Pórakēnu.

**Construction materials**

Lead *ταξίωτ*
No. 54 is an invoice for twenty-five pounds (λίτρα) 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.

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93 See *P.Sarga* 23:4 for ἄθαλ as the equivalent of αὐτιστ. 
Pitch λαμκαθή
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 φινέ
No. 15 addresses a scribe and a builder in connection with ‘some stones which are assigned to them (?)’ (ἐν ἄρθρῳ γεχηθεὶς νεκτής).

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’ (παναχαίοντα) is ordered to make a payment to bakers. This place is also mentioned on an ostraca which can be connected with Bawit (Tait 1994), not only because it features the *shine nsa*-formula, but also because it mentions παναχαίοντα 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 σκυτε (for *κατε*) is mistranslated ‘portier’). For this term, see Wiethoeter 1992: 289 *κατε*. For textiles excavated at Bawit in 1903 now in Pérgord museum see *L’Égypte en Pérgord* Nos. 124, 126, 128-134 136-140, 144-145 and Clédat 1999: 187 ff. 104.

Plaited work φότε
In No. 21 φότε may be interpreted as ‘two (pieces of) plaited work’ or ‘two (pieces of) acacia’.

Rugs ταπεινος, ταπεινη
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 *θυσιἡν*
In No. 4 four sacks are reckoned to be worth half a solidus, and are accepted as poll-tax payment from a sack-weaver (*τα θυσιὴν*).

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

Woollen garments *κασάσ*
In No. 44 a woollen-garment-seller (*κασάσ*) is asked to supply twelve woollen garments.

1.15 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);" British Library and Cambridge University Library papyri from the collection of George Michailides (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.

*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. 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. The collection was examined by Crum in 1921 at the request of H.H. 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 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, *Ἀνὴρ πατέρα τίνι* (*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 Institut 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).

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*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 Ag. 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.*

*P.Sarga*, p. 142, No. 174 records that Kelsey bought this papyrus for the University of Michigan in 1920.
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Table 1: Our Father-Formula Documents Arranged by Date

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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
PART II

THE TEXTS
ORDERS AUTHORIZED BY A SIGNATORY

TEXTS SIGNED BY KERI

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1

POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Mich. inv. 1300 side (B) 100 × 165 mm1 (script) 8th century
Plate 1
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; ValueChanged, μ, ρ, τ, and ω may have a long hooked tail. The ei
ligature is distinctive with a hook at the end of the descender (l. 4). A raised dot appears to mark syllabic
function in ιττοτ-τ, l. 5. For hand 2, the signature of Keri, see 1.11.

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

Acquisition: See 1.15.

Bibliography: Side (B) of this papyrus was edited by Husselman (1951: 331–334), and mentioned in

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

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

Scribe: Phiph (1.9).

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 Ệ nbēstept petlaip νεκροφια νεκρην πυανα (ΦΙΟΚΟΣ)
3 xe ευρι πη φορολοκοττή πυανα (ΦΙΟΚΟΣ) ευρετωμυλα
4 eniφα εταλα πι τεπομπη ται ελλαεκ (λν) (ινα) (ικτινος) οικ
5 ουσιατ
6 Hand 2

† Keri

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

1, 2, 6. †: the ed. pr. gave †.
2. μ: for μνημεία, also in No. 4.1 and 5.1 (μνημεία), both written by Georgios.
3. φορολοκοττή πυανα (ΦΙΟΚΟΣ): the ed. pr. read φορολοκοττή πυανα.
4. ελλαεκ (λν) (ινα) (ικτινος): read by the ed. pr. as ελλαεκ -

1 Dimensions are given throughout this edition with height preceding width.
ORDER TO SUPPLY BREAD

P. Camb. UL Green 7 side (A) 87 x 85 mm (script) 8th century
Plate I
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).


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.

2 οντοτε. 5 Φωρεται. 16 Περιέχει.

1 [†] Penei[ζω] Νεικ[ε] αι Νεοι[γκα]ρικ
2 [ ... ] λε Νεοι[ζε] Νεικ
3 [ ... ] του Νεοι[ζε] αι Νεοι[ει] Νεοι[ει]
4 [ ... ] Ελθε Νεοι[ει] Νεοι[ει] Νεοι[ει]
5 [ ... ] Φωρεται Νεοι[ει] Νεοι[ει]
6 [ † Keri? ]

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

4. Φωρεται: Perhaps read Φωρεται or Καφεται, see Crum, Dict. 115. Καφεται. As for Μαλ, compare μαλετς 'Macolian fish' see Nielsen and Worp ZPE 133 2001: 177, No. 5.4—a 4th-century list of fishes.

WAIVER OF POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P. Camb. UL Green 7 side (B) 87 x 85 mm (script) 8th century
Plate II
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).


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

Addressess: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Pharimouthi 16 (April 11), Indiction 11 (?).

Scribe: Georgios (I; 1.9).

→
1  + πενειωτ πετεσα[ν] ἡ [ναρφερε νεκινγυ]
2  ηπαμα(ρικος) χε νιεραμαξ α[
3  κατ  ±8  λ  ±4  [...]]
4  Φαμπ(ον)θ(ι) ἵπ ἰνθικτο(νος) μα Γεωργι[ν] Ἠγι(κυ)
5  + Kηρ[ι]

2 λυρ. pap. 4 Φαμπι' pap. 2β8 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) Pharimouthi 16, Indiction 11 (?). [I,] Georgios, wrote.
5. + Ker[i].

3. κατ ±8: reconstruct κατακοσμ ἡπαμα 'instalment x of poll-tax'?

λ ±4: reconstruct ποποκ τομας as in No. 9.3.

4. τα: could also be τδ or τμ?

4

ORDER TO ISSUE A POLL-TAX RECEIPT

P.Sarga 174 (P.Mich. inv. 578 side (B)) 101 x 88 mm (script) 8th century

Plate II

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 (I; 1.9), who writes Coptic in a semi-cursive hand, with few majuscule characters. His Greek hand is cursive (1.8). 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.

Addressess: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Pharimouthi 18 (April 13), Indiction 11.

Scribe: Georgios (I; 1.9).

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 (ἐγκριμόιοι) are liable for payments of 1, 2, or 3 sacks (Clackson 2007: 104 n. 13 corrects the amount given in the transcription of 1. 10 of this text to 2).

+ Ἡράκλειος Ἅπατος Κατάρα Ναυάρη
1 Ἐνεργεύτως Ἱναδά (Ρήγος) Σε εἰς ὧν ἂν Ἀνά
2 Ὄψη Ἰνίς Ἰκῆνα ἐκ τῆς Ἀγίας
3 Ἀγίας Τοτό Σε Ἱναδά (Ρήγος) Ἀθηνα
4 Ἰνθανεται Ἰνίς Ἀγιό Σώ
5 Ἐξιάου Τηρων ἱνοισμίτου
6 ΠΡΟΣ ΚΗΡΟΣ ΝΕΩΡΟΥΝ ἘΞ ΤΙΕΛΕ
7 ΠΡΟΣ ΚΗΡΟΣ ΝΕΩΡΟΥΝ ΤΙ ΤΙΕΛΕ
8 ΝΙΟΛΟΚΟ(Ο)ΤΕ(ΠΙΝΟΣ) ΜΗΝΙΟ ΦΩΡ(ΜΟΙ)Θ(Ι) ΜΗΝΙΟΙ(ΟΙ) ΜΗΝΙΟΙ(ΟΙ)
9 ΤΙΚΕΡΙ

1. Χσ.: also found in No. 1. 1 and 5. 1 (Χσ.).
2. Ἰναδά: Kahle (P.Bal., p. 73, §27b) wrongly assumed that η was written for ι 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 Photohammon (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 87, No. 205.2).
4. ΤΟΤΟ: Husselman (1951: 332) gave ΤΟΤΟ.
6. ΙΝΟΙΣΜΙΤΟΥ: literally 'they are established'.
7. ΠΡΟΣ: Gregorius (1976–8: 220–221, §145) lists occurrences of πρός with this meaning in Coptic documents (which is omitted in the entry Förster, WB); see LSJ 1498b, section C 3 III 4.

5
WAIVER OF POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P.Camb. UL Green 2 86 × 125 mm (script) 8th century Papyrus
Plate III

Preservation: All 6 lines of text. Other side blank.
Paleography: 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 (L.2).
Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (Kahle Pap notebook 24).
Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.
Document date: Pharmouthi 18 (April 13), indiction <11>?
Scribe: Georgios (3; L.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 (1.4), 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. + [Ἡ]ΝΙΟΥ ΝΕΤΕΡΑΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΗΡΕ
2. [Ν]ΗΝΟΥ ΝΙΗΛΑ(ΠΙΟΜΟΣ) ΧΕ ΝΙΠΕΡΜΑΣΕ
3. ΝΠΟΙΟΜΙΝΙΝ ΝΠΟΙΟΜΙΝΙΝ [Ν]ΝΙΠΕΡΜΑΣΗ ΝΙΗΛΑ(ΠΙΟΜΟΣ)
4. ΝΑΙΝΙΟΜΙΝΙΝ ΝΗΜΗΤΝ + ΦΑΩΜΟ(ΟΥ)Θ(Ι)Ν ΜΗ ΙΒΙ(ΙΚΑΘΙΟΝΟΣ)
5. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΕΥΡΟΥΣ ΠΑΠΟΥΣ
6. Hand 2

1. It is [Our] 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. ΝΗ: ΝΗ- is also found in No. 1.1 and 4.1
3. ΝΠΟΙΟΜΙΝΙΝ may possibly also be interpreted as ‘piggery’ (Crum, Dict. 153b, ΝΠΟΙΟΜΙΝΙΝ), rather than ‘swineherd’ (Crum, Dict. 173b, ΜΟΟΝΗ).
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
H.I. Bell No. II 21 side (B)
Plate III

112 x 162 mm
Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 74)

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 1.11.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature suggests that this papyrus was reused at Bawit (1.2).

Acquisition: See 1.15.
Addresser: Victor.
Document date: Hathyry 14 (November 10/11), indiction 11.
Scribe: Georgios (2; L.9).

This order may have been sent to the same Victor who is addressed in No. 16 and possibly No. 65 (1.8). 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. ἔπεισεν μὴ πετειάτινη πνεύματι
2. γίγκτωρ μὴ ἐπὶ ζ. χ. ε.
3. ἀλάγειτ ἐκ ἀνθρώπων
4. ἐντετάλεν ἐνρὶ ἀνοιγμένην
5. εἰήκεν πεικούλλω ἀπὸ ἔδω
6. τῇ ἐντακτῇ ἑαὐτῇ ἐπὶ πνεύματι
7. μὴ τὸν θεόν ἢ ἀνδρινόν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀργῷ ἢ ἑαυτῷ ἀργῷ
8. Ἑρμής

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, indictment 11. George wrote.
8. Ἑρμής

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

ΜΗ ἐπὶ ζ. χ. ε.: read ΜΗ ἐπὶ ζ. χ. ε. followed by ἀνθρώπων. A name is expected followed by ζ. χ. ε. and a sum of money.

3. Read αἰωνῷ "senn"?

Ἀνθρώπων: the same form also occurs in No. 8, 4, 7.

7

ORDER TO PAY PEOPLE FROM TITKOOCHE?

P. Leuven 9 side (A) c. 95 x 105 mm (script) 8th century? Plate IV 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 1. 11. Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri's signature strongly suggests Bawit as the place of origin (1. 2).

Acquisition: See 1.15.

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

Document date: Choiak 30 (December 26/27), 11th month of the year.

Scribe: Apollonios (1.9).

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 Titkooche, 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).
ORDER TO PAY HEADMAN OF TITKOHOE

P.Leuven 9 side (B) c. 95 x 105 mm (script) 8th century? Papyrus (see No. 7)
Plate IV

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. 7, the much less well 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 (1.2).

Acquisition: See I.15.

Addressees: [...] and Prashe, the brothers of the poll-tax.

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

Scribe: Georgios (2.1.9).

The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered to pay Abraham, the headman of Titkohe, half a solidus which will be reckoned as a poll-tax payment by the issuer. See the introduction to No. 7.
9

WAIVER OF POLL-TAX LIABILITY

P.Louvre E 27616 side (B) 39  × 167 mm (script) 8th century
Plate V 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 11.1. 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).
Addressee: Brothers of the poll-tax.
Document date: Phaormouthi 1 (March 27), indiction 12.
Scribe: Georgios (2; l. 9).
The brothers of the poll-tax are ordered not to hold a certain Johannes liable for poll-tax for the year. He was connected either with Keri in some way (reading πενεφωμ, ‘his man’, in l. 2), or with the brothers of the poll-tax (reading πενεφωμ, ‘their man’, in l. 2).
1. It is our father who writes to his sons, the brothers of the poll-tax.
2. Do not hold Johannes, his man, liable for poll-tax.
3. for the year. (Greek: Φαρμοθικτίωνος) 1β
4. I, Georgios, wrote.  

2. peýrom: or peýrom—either reading is equally possible given that the scribe writes υ and ι in the same way. The transcription in the ed. pr. privileged peýrom.

parōma (richoc): this term was not translated in the ed. pr. (‘Jean leur homme de …’).

3. 1β: written with an open beta. The year date was read as α 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 (1.9).

4. Georgios: the ζ is written in a very cursive fashion above the ο and resembles a ν, which is how it was read in the ed. pr. It is possible that the reading Περγύριου 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)  90 x 165 mm (script) 8th century Papyrus (see No. 85)

Plate V

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).


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

Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.

Document date: Mecheir 17 (February 11/12), indication 13.
1. It is our father who writes to his sons
2. the brothers of the poll-tax. Do not
3. hold liable Abraham, 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. +

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

II

ORDER TO DELAY DEMAND FOR TAX PAYMENT

P. YaleCopt. 21 (P.CtYBR inv. 1861) 56 x 161 mm (script) 8th century Papyrus
Plate V

Preservation: 5 lines, all margins.
Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand with some ligatures; i and p have hooked descenders; φ is written in one continuous movement without taking the pen off the papyrus (φοού 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 Phou (I.2) may be located in the Hermopolite nome (I.13).
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 Phou (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. ΔΕΝΕΚΕΩΤ ΠΕΤΩΣΑΙ ΝΦΩΤΕΡΕ ΝΕΣΗΝΥ ΠΑΝΑ (ΡΗΜΟΧ)
2. ΧΕ ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΥΜ ΜΟΝΟΧΟΧ ΝΤΕΠΤΟΟΥ (ΟΥ) Υ ΦΟΟΥ
3. ΤΗΡΑΜΑΖΕ ΥΜΟΝ ΦΑΙΤΕΠΑΝΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ (ΕΙ)
4. + μ(ηνι) M(ε)Χ(ερ) ΚΑ η(νι)δ(εκτίονος) η(ν) + ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ἔρ(αμα)
5. Hand 2 + ΚΗΡΙ

1 l. ΤΕΝΕΚΕΩΤ l. ΤΗΡΙAN ΧΕ l. ΠΕΤΡΟΤ l. ΝΦΩΤΕΡΕ l. ΝΕΣΗΝΥ l. ΠΑΝΑ l. ΡΗΜΟΧ 2 l. ΜΟΝΟΧΟΧ l. ΝΤΕΠΤΟΟΥ l. Υ l. ΦΟΟΥ 3 l. ΤΗΡΑΜΑΖΕ l. ΥΜΟΝ 4 l. Μ l. Χ l. ΚΑ l. Ε l. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ 5 l. ΚΗΡΙ

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 Phou—
3. do not hold him liable until brother (μαυρ) Petros comes.
4. (Greek:) + In the month of Mecheir, (day) 21, indiction 13. + l, Konstantinos, wrote.
5. + Keri.
12

ORDER TO SELL RUGS AS POLL-TAX CONTRIBUTION

BL Or. 6201 B (143) side (B)  
93 x 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 I. 5 (I.13).

Acquisition: See P.Mom.Apollon, pp.10-11

Dialect: Note the use of θ for υ etc. in this text.

Addressee: ... the rug-dealer.

Document date: Pauni 15 (June 9), indication 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: Wipszycza (1991: 2221, ‘Centres 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  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 Hand 2

1  
2  
3  
4

1. The ed. pr. read this line ΠΕΝΕΙΟΤ ΠΕΙΝ ΠΑΙ ΝΙΟΡΕΗ ΝΟΕΝΗΡ ΠΑΝΑ.
2. ΑΝΛΥ: the ed. pr. read ΑΝΛΥ.
3. ΤΟΙ: the second ο is a blob of ink; the ed. pr. read ΤΟΙ.
4. Μ(ε)χ(ερ) κα ι(ν)δ(ύκτι)νος: the ed. pr. read Ν(ε)χ(ερ) ((ΝΔΥΚΤΙΝΟΣ) ι Ν.

1. Η ΑΤ ΑΙ ΑΙ ΑΙ ΑΙ
2. ΤΗ ΑΤ ΑΙ ΑΙ ΑΙ
3. Ν(ε)χ(ερ) κα ι(ν)δ(ύκτι)νος
4. Μ(ε)χ(ερ) κα ι(ν)δ(ύκτι)νος
5. ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ
6. ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ
7. ΕΠ(α)Ρ ΕΠ(α)Ρ

1. It 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
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

5 [for il? (?)/from Terei. Take them to Antinou.
6 [... ] + (Greek) Pauni 15, indiction 13 (?). (By?) Praseios it was written. +
7 1 + 1 Keri.

2. [ ] λ: restore a personal name ending -λ, for which ἀλλᾶς is the most commonly encountered in Coptic texts of this date.
3. [καπ]ας: another possible restoration is [καπακ εφο]ς, following No. 1.5 (ἀρχι ετοοτ᾽ καπακ εφον ‘(which) I have received for it’). Alternatively [κιτοοτ′]α (for κιτοοτας), ‘from him’, compare ει κιτοοτ= κιτοοτας in CPR IV 26.12 and 189b.1. In this case Terei might be the person transporting the rugs to Antinou.

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

5. το: is it ‘15’ also possible?

6. ὑτ: is this ‘15’ also possible?

Πανεσάθ: looks like a hellenized form of the Coptic word πανεσάθ, ‘joy’ (Crum, Dict. 309α, πανεσάθ) which is attested as a personal name (Heuser 43, 64). A Prasi occurs in P.Camb. UL Michael, Q109/2 side (B) 1. 3 (see P.Mon.Apoll, p.11 for this collection).

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

TEXT SIGNED BY KER = KERI?

13

AUTHORIZATION OF PAYMENT TO BAKERS

P.Ismailia inv. 525 45 × (at least) 135 mm (script) 8th century
a.k.a. inv. 1140 Plate VI

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 II. 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 ‘Baouit’ (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 + ΔΕΘΟΥΣ ΠΕΤΣΕΝ ΝΗΠ(ΟΥΡΟΥ ΝΗ]
2 ΠΗΜΑΝΕΣΑΟΤ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΝΗΟ[...]
3 ΠΗΜΑΝΗΡΗ ΠΗΜΑΝΤΩΝΕ ΕΠΗ[...]
4 Hand 2 + ΚΗΡ

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Julian calendar date</th>
<th>Egyptian Date</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>March 7, ind. 8</td>
<td>Phamonoth 11, ind. 8</td>
<td>Poll-tax receipt</td>
<td>Elias (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>May 12, ind. 9</td>
<td>Pachon 17, ind. 9</td>
<td>Receipt for stone</td>
<td>Victor (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>August 13, ind. 9</td>
<td>Mose 26, ind. 9</td>
<td>Order for payment in wine</td>
<td>Victor (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>August 1, ind. […]</td>
<td>Mose 8, ind. […]</td>
<td>Order to supply wheat</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 I is an irregularly-written, documentary majuscule with a number of ligatures, mainly combinations with € or $ 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 ητοιτι 1.3, and on the first τ in ζοοκοτίτι 1.2. It also uses a superlinear dot in place of the trema (εκατ 1.1 and iερείμ 1.4).

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


Addressees: Brothers of the poll-tax.
Document date: Phamonoth 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 Pmanbê (I.13).
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES:

1. It is our father who writes to the brothers of the poll-tax.
2. Take a solidus (δολοκόττινος) 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. πτοοτή: 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 μονά, but no final η is visible. The η and o are written in a single ligature; the o is strangely formed, and may be read less convincingly as an η, to give μα η = "place of".
5. +: these were omitted in the ed. pr. Apart from the initial c, + + + has been almost completely erased, and is reconstructed after No. 16.5.

RECEIPT FOR STONE

P.Camb. UL Michael. 1120
63 × 173 mm
(script) 8th century
Plate VII
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. Tiol + (ς 1. 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 (I.19).
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 (1.13). 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. +πεκοδτ πεταλη πιτιριππε +αλι απολαο
2. ΜΜ γενουτε πεκοδτ κε ειε ουγε ακει ετοοντ
3. 2ν νονέ ευχε καθι ντιτακ επιπιουυτε
4. πεκοδτ πιοο +Παχον(ν) ιζ ενδ(εικτιων)ο(ζ) θ +Βικτ(ον) έγραψα +
5. Hand 2. +λανηια cithye

(B) → Docket. Hand 3.
6. +πετακ νομε
Erased, at 180° to l. 6. (hand 1 or 3?)
7. +πετακ νομε
8. illegible traces of ± 10 letters

5.L. cithye: 6.7 L. δηιτακ (?)
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, indication 9. + Victor, I wrote. +
5. +Daniel agrees.
6. Receipt for stone.
7. Receipt for stone.
8. ...

2, 4. εκτω: 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 παπανήγε; 112, No. 348.2 φικ; 151, ηκοτ No. 548.2 μηνα). An interpretation of πεκοδτ as a personal name is highly unlikely in this text.
3. ευχε καθι: No. 49.4, contains the phrase ευχε μηνα. The η in чε resembles a η.
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)  90 x 140 mm  (script) 8th century  Plate VIII

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 i, k, p, r, y, and θ. 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 (ηιι. 1 and 3 (bis)), a mark resembling an acute accent may also be used without syllabic function once (ιετ—l. 1).

Provenance: Unknown; the presence of the signatory Daniel and of the place name, Πμανσικε, 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 Πμανσικε. Daniel is the signatory.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1. + πενείοις πέντελαί ηπαρμε άπα άγικτορ
2. αν ιενενού ζε οι ιωοού νουούφτ
3. ηπανούς ηπρι ικοζάνας ημημα-
4. σικα γη(νετα) α(νον) καδο(οι) π Μεσο(ρη) η ινδο(τττο)ς θ + βυκτ(ωρ)
5. εφρ + Hand 2 + άπανα στοιχε

1. It is our father who writes to his son, Apa Victor,
2. and the brothers. Give eighty
3. jars (καδος) of wine to Iohanes of the mill/Πμανσικε.

2. _ιωοού νουούφτ_: literally 'four twenties'; this expression, using the vigesimal system rather than _ενεμε_ 'eighty', is found in literary and documentary texts (Crum, _Dict._ p. 794b).

4. θ: the _ed. pr._ considered this reading doubtful.

5. _εφρ_: the _ed. pr._ considered the gamma uncertain.
ORDER TO SUPPLY WHEAT

P.CIV BR inv. 1824 side (A) 70 x 109 mm (script) 7th century
Plate VIII Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 80)

Preservation: 6 lines and all but right margin preserved; this is the second text written on this sheet of papyrus, despite being labelled side (A).

Palaeography: A right-sloping majuscule, with iotas and taus which have hooked tails; ace-of-spades & p. A 7th-century date was assigned by Petersen ([1964]:59).

Provenance: Unknown.


Bibliography: Described by Petersen (s.d. 1964?): No. 86.

Addressees: Brothers of the pistikos.

Document date: Mesore 8 (August 1), indiction [...].

Daniel orders the brothers of the pistikos to supply a pistikos with three aratabas of wheat. Peurot, mentioned in the next line, may be the pistikos in question. Petersen ([1964]: 59) described this text as a 'legal document', and interpreted the pistikoi as 'proxies or surety witnesses'. [SJC intended to recheck her reading of this text.]

1. †: has a hook curving up to the right from the bottom of its vertical stroke.
2. [NN and NN] or NN NN?
3. [Greek: ] interpreted as [Greek: ]
4. [Greek: ] another possible reading is [Greek: ], or even [Greek: ]. A reading of [Greek: ] does not seem to be possible.
6. [Greek: ] written in a large hand, and extending upwards into l. 5.
TEXTS SIGNED BY GEORGIOS

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

18

ORDER TO SUPPLY WHEAT

BL Or. 6201B (48) side (B)  90 x 122 mm  (script) 8th century
Plate IX  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 L.11. In addition to the superlinear stroke which has syllabic function in ἤκμοογ and ἱκώος in l. 4, this text also uses a mark resembling an acute accent in ἤτοοογ and ἰτοοογ in l. 2.

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

Provenance: Unknown.


Address: Papa Shenoute (Nos. 20, 28, 46; L.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  ὑπεσας στεγάζεις ηπαγάρι πρώπα
2  ζηνούσε ἤτοοογ ἱπτοοογ ἱκώοογ
3  ἄκυππος εκείνος ἱκάκηοογ θηέεεε
4  ἤκμοογ ἱκώοογ ἰτοοοογ ἱκάκηοογ κάτον εὐρώ
5  Hand 2  ἄγεις ετοικας ετοικεεεαεε

1 ηπαγάρι 2 ἤτοοογ 3 ζηνούσε 4 ἱκώοογ 5 ετοικεεεαεε
PART II. THE TEXTS

3. Banon: if this is a personal name, it is not recorded in Heuser, Preisigke NB or Foraboschi Onomasticon. The name BANON is listed in Heuser p. 45, and a Bovos occurs in BGU XII 2159.3, 16 and V⁰ (as Herwig Machler kindly pointed out to me); the genitive form Bovos occurs in P.Lond.Copt. I 1077 foll. 2→1. 5; 3→1. 5 (bis); 4→1. 18; 5→1. 3, 10, 19; and 6. 13.

THOἐς: the personal name THOS is recorded in a second-century Greek papyrus (Preisigke NB). Alternatively THOS may be an unusual abbreviated form of THÓES, ‘four’, the equivalent of ὙΔΩΣ in I. 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 Tesnē, see I.13.


Addressee(s): ... of Tesnē.

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

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

(B)...

1
2... PENCEWT PECAM NNAPR NPG[...]
3 NTPHNI... 6 XE TI OYOTE 2[...]
4 HAM[... 4 IMAN ...[...]
5 HAM... 4 M 6 8 8 [...]
6 Hand 2... GEFHPOC ETOYNE[...]

(A)...

7... 8 INAP... 9 EYP... 9
8... 9 NITKYP... 4[...]
9... 5 OYN... 5 OYN... 5 PAP... 5 EV...
1. It is our father who writes to his sons [...]
2. [...] Give greens and [...]
3. the men [... lo]hanes (?) [...]
4. the shaliou [... (Gk)] In the month of Phaophi, (day) 16 (?) indication 7 (?) [...]
5. + Georgios (?) agrees (?)
6. Docket?
7. [...]
8. [...] of the lord [...] Written [...]
9. (Gk) [...] 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 ο or η is visible.
3. τού θανάτου: Crum (Dict. p. 572a θανάτου) cited occurrences of the term θανάτου in BL Or. 6201B (204) (No. 28) and 6201B (211) (Νῦν θανάτου), but not the present papyrus.
4. Νεκταρίας: Possible interpretation is Νεκταρίας 'the men of the lord lohanes', following l. 8 of the supposed docket; alternatives include Νεκταρίας 'the men of the place of lohanes', and Νεκταρίας 'the men of Apa lohanes', vel sim.
5. +: possibly read + or εν [p] following the indication year.
6. This line is practically illegible and has been read with the help of Nos. 20.8 and 18.5.
7. +: read Ποντ. Νεκταρίας 'men of the lord lohanes'?

---

20

ORDER TO SUPPLY ARACUS AND BARLEY

BL Or. 6201A (179) side (B) 143 x 175 mm (script) 8th century
Plate IX

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 στράτευμα as στράτευσα 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 Taparoou (I.13), which was very near Titkoooh.

Acquisition: See P. Mon. Apolo, 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; 1.8).

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 Taparoou' (I.3).

1. + ΠΕΝΕΛΟΠΙΟ ΠΕΤΣΑΛΙ ΑΝΩΘΕΡΑ ΠΙΓΑ ΜΕ-
2. ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΓΑΡΗΣ ΖΕ ΤΙ ΝΙΝΑΚΕ
3. ΝΕΜΟΥΟΥΕ ΕΝΟΙΟΥΕ ΝΤΑΠΑΡΟΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΝ"

5 *ἀπακρίς: this is interpreted here as a name because none of the other names in this text have the title *ἀπακρίς; it occurs in an inscription from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 160 *Ἀπακρίς*, 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 *ἀπακρίς* also occurs in BL Or. 6201 A (29), a marriage document published by Kahle (1951: 335-339).

TEXT SIGNED BY GERMANOS

21

ORDER TO SELL PLAIED 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. τι and Μι l. 6).

Minuscule and majuscule.

Provenance: Unknown.


Addressee: Jeremias.

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

Germanos the signatory authorizes Jeremias to sell some *shonte*, possibly to be identified as a woven commodity (*shonte*, I.14). Also involved in the transaction is someone called Mena, either the buyer or
even the producer of the *siphone*. 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 Delatte, 6 July 2001).

1. +
2. ἔγειρεντι πέτασαι ἰππόφρονε ἱππήμ[α ...]
3. τοι ταῦτα ἔτη Νίμφα προφ[η ...]
4. ψωκτῆς ἐμπόρος ἄρο γυράμοι γάρ [...]
5. ΠΝΟΙΩ ΠΟΡΟΥΝ ἔτη ΠΝΟΟΥΝ ΝΑΙ [...]
6. ΤΗΜΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ἘΠΙΡΟΟΥ. [...] 7. ΧΙΝΟΧΩ ΤΡΟΚ ἔπος μήτις τῷ ΘΕΟΘ Λ ἸΝΔΙΚΟΝΝΟΣ ὁ(ς) Β Π...
8. Hand 2. + ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ ΣΤΡΙΧΙ +

2 l. [renewed?] 5 l. ΠΝΟΙΩ ΠΟΡΟΥΝ. 7 μ., ἰππόφρον. 8 l. ΣΤΡΙΧΙ.

1. +
2. ἔγειρεντι πέτασαι ἰππόφρονε ἱππήμ[α ...]
3. τοι ταῦτα ἔτη Νίμφα προφ[η ...]
4. (to) him (?). If they are worth more than [one]?
5. solidus, then send it to me [...]
6. price according to the ὁμήρων/what is right (?). Here is Prou [...]
7. I have consigned (?) him to you. (Greek) + In the month of Thoth, (day) 30, indiction 2 +.
8. + Germanos agrees. +

3. τι: 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.

4. ΝΠΟΙΩΠΟΡΟΥΝ: an interpretation of this as ‘acacia’ (Crum. *Dict. 573* ΝΠΟΙΩΠΟΡΟΥΝ) seems less likely, although acanthus is mentioned in a Greek papyrus, *P.Vi. Aphrod. 13*, which lists various διανομῆς of a monastery of Apa Apollo (λ[ε]κοτ[α] α) l. 8.

5. ΠΝΟΙΩ ΠΟΡΟΥΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΝΟΟΥΝ ΝΑΙ: the use of the singular masculine resumptive pronoun -ο after ΤΝΟΟΥΝ, suggests that a sum one solidus and no more is in question here.

6. ΤΗΜΗ: another interpretation of this is a form of the Coptic word + me ‘village’. ΠΡΟΟΥΝ: for the personal name Prou (Heuser 37), see Green 1983; + Goni ZPE 131 2000 (150-154), a publication of a Theban poll-tax receipt, P.Duk. inv. 455v.

7. ΧΙΝΟΧΩ: literally ‘I have thrown him’. ΘΕΟΘ Λ: alternatively an Λ ‘1’ may be read rather than Λ ‘30’.

8. ΣΤΡΙΧΙ: the ο is cursively written and looks like a γ.
TEXT SIGNED BY PETRE

22

TAX DOCUMENT

P.Camb. UL Green 86 78 x 105 mm
Plate XI (script) 8th Century
Mid-brown papyrus

Provenance: Unknown.
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 proestōs.

→

1  — petre nепроictoc pete-
2   xai mpaccon npocj xe (e)ic ou-
3   zoakotn akj etoj xe
4   tetomoe mnho mnhoj
5   nhoj ete ouj ic npam-
6   20sp npiopn taj tek-
7   thc ophmac peteaul
8   Hand 2  petre n[eproictoc cthxe †]

1.8 proestōs. 3 zoakottnoc mnhoj etoju 4 maipjosc 6 poniæ 6-7 acatic

1  — It is Petre, the proestōs, who w-
2   rites to brother (pasion) Pshoi. Here is a
3   solidus which I have received for
4   Bēnē’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 thel proestōs agrees. †

4. kine: for this personal name, see Crum, Dict. 40a kine, Preisigke NB Bījve.
[SJC thought it might be possible to interpret tetomoe mnhoj as referring to a date tax.]
Preservation: All 7 lines and margins of this text are preserved.

Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand.

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

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

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

Addressee: Mena of Pmanle.

Document date: 7 Thoth (end August / September), indication 11.

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

---

1. **ΠΕΝΕΙΟΙΤ** ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ΠΗΡΩΝΗΡΕ ΜΗΝΑ
2. ΠΑΜΑΝΛΕ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΡΕΓΕΩΡΓΕ
3. ΠΑΞΙΩΝ ΜΑΤΙ ΠΗΡΕΝΝΕΤΑΡΙΝ ΝΑΚ
4. ...[±2]ε... ±6 [.]ε ±6 ε ±2
5. ..2 ΘΕΤΕΜΕ ΑΝΗΜΕ ΑΙΜΙΤΟΥ...[.]...
6. ... (GREEK) Θοθ, indication 11.
7. Phib.

1. **ΠΕΝΕΙΟΙΤ**: following this there is a lacuna which may contain a c.
2–3. **ΠΑΞΙΩΝ**: a George of the great garden (*ΤΟΙΟ ΝΟΜΙΤΗ*) is mentioned in No. 53.
3. **ΜΗΝΑ**: the n looks more like a τ; for Greek neuter nouns treated as feminine in Coptic, see Förster *WB* xxxv.
5. [SJC wondered about reading ..2 ΘΕΤΕΜΕ ΑΝΗΜΕ as ..2 ΘΕ ΝΗΜΗ. She intended to revise the final 4 lines].
6. Possibly read name ΠΑΜΑΝΛΗ here instead of ΦΙΗ...?
TEXT SIGNED BY THEODORUS

24

GARMENTS AS PAYMENT FOR COLLECTING aparchê?

P. Vindob. K 11375 side (B) 85 × 145 mm (script) 7 century
Plate XII

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


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 11375 (1)’ in P. Mon. Apollo, pp. 18, 28, 29.

Address: 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 Wipszyczk's reservations (Wipszyczk 2001)? Apa Petros the oikonomos is to provide Ammônê with items of clothing before he leaves for his assignment to collect aparchê in Pankalou. This interpretation rests upon the meaning of ἐκχθή e- in l. 3.

↓

1 + πενειδὼ τονταΐ μιμήρῳ απα πετρός
2 ποικιλομος κε τι όγκομελευτο γνω όγκοι
3 νεότερνν αμμωνίου εευχήνενε βανταλογκεν νοοφκ
4 απρχῆ τὴν μηνίν [π(αλικθο)ινν νήνδηκτθονοιν(ς) ιβ Μακαρε ἐπάθσδημα] +
5 Hand 2 + θεολάπρος οτήχε +


1 + Η It is our father who writes to his son Apa Petros
2 the steward. Give a lebidôn and a small
3 garment to Ammônê who is going to Pankalou to collect
4 aparchê. (Greek) + In the month of Pachon, (day) 8, indiction 12. Makare, I wrote. +
5 + Theodorus agrees. +

1. μιμήρῳ: the ed. pr. read μεμήρῳ (Hasitzka, 2001: 56).
2. λογιττιον: this form is not listed among the variants given in Förster WB λεβίτων. A tunic without sleeves, the lebidôn was one of the basic garments of a monk (Innemee 1992: 101–102). The Historia Lausiaca notes that the only clothes of Apa Apollo were this garment and a lenition on his head (Innemee 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 (λογιττιον, l. 10).
3. κοννεί νεότερν: the implication of this is uncertain. Greek equivalents of ἐκχθή listed in Crum, Dict. 720b εο(e)τε (include μακεδονιον and μακροὐν).

εψκη: the ed. pr. read ε χκη and did not translate (Hasitzka, 2001: 56).

πανκαλογκεν: possibly a form of Pankoleus, the birthplace of the martyr, Apa Epima, and to be identified with Παγγούλειον, a place in the Oxyrhynchite nome frequently mentioned in Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus (Timm pp. 1833–1834 Pankoleus).
TEXT WITH SIGNATORY NOT PRESERVED

25

TAX DOCUMENT

P.Camb. UL Green 3  72 x 115 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XIII
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 ΤΟΝ 1.8.

Provenance: Unknown. The place of origin was possibly Bawit. τεσσαρι (II. 3, 8) may be identified as the Hermopolite place el-Bersha (L.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), indictment 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 Tbershe. 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  † ιενεναστ πετοσωι νιμωφερ
2  ιενενας ιπισ ιε αι κοισακιν ε-
3  ιασιφ ποοι ινικι ια ιομιγιος πατκερφη
4  Γητα…ΑΡ ΜΠΑΗΑ[Ε ΑΝ]ΟΥΠ ΕΟΓΑΛΙΟΥ
5  2Α ΜΙΑΟΝΤΕ ΤΙΕ ΛΕ Ν ΤΙ ΧΟ ΚΑ ΙΟ Α
6  ΑΝΟΥΠ ΑΡΡ
7  ±10

(B) ↓ Docket. Hand 2
8  ιασιφ (space) ΤΟΝ ΝΙΜΩΨΗΗΣΗ
9  ΠΑΤ (space) ΚΕΡΨΗ Ν Α

1 ΤΟΔΙΟ 2 ΦΗΜΗΑΡΟΙΟΗΣΟΞ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΤΗΗΟΗΣ 5 ΕΗ, ΜΟΙΟΤΙΟΧΗΣ ΙΟΚΕΙΩΚΗΣ ΙΟΙΩΠΗΩΝ ΙΟΙΩΠΗΩΝ 6 ΕΡΩΠΗΣ 9 ΝΟΜΙΟΔΗΑΤΗΩΝ
It is our father who writes to his sons,
the brothers of the poll-tax. Here is a solidus for
Joseph the brother of the scribe Mouses of Tbershē
... the Papa Anoup, the shaliou,
for the three ... (Greek) + In the month of Choiak, (day) 21, indiction 1.
Anoup, I wrote.
...
(Coptic) Joseph the brother of Mouses
of Tbershē, one solidus.

2. Eic òysoIoK.: Kahle initially wrote το με ουσολοκοι, then suggested eic ηττοολογ. Reconstruct eic "here is", as in Nos. 4.2 and 11.3, but note that the phrase λεικετεκοτ και 'I have received it', which usually goes with eic ..., is not included in this text. The docket records n° x, which would suggest a reading of ουσολοκοι rather than οττοολογ. here. One solidus is the most common amount paid in poll-tax documents (1.5).

3, 8-9. Μουσες πατερου: this man also occurs in two unpublished Coptic papyri. The first is P.Camb. UL 1233, where he is listed along with men of ημα ναανυρε: the monastery of this name in the Hermopolite nome (Drew-Bear 1979: 128 Tawipy) rather than at Aphrodita (Timm p. 1446 'Kâm Ishqâw' No. 19). The second is P.Camb. UL Michael. 1047/1, which mentions κυριακος φαμος, son of ικικ, and πεκακ, son of ουσολοκος, who both occur in Pierpont Morgan inv. M 662 B 6a (A) text 1 (edited in MacCull 1979-82: 4).

4. Ṣ∢ upgrades: read Ṣ∢ωτατή of Ṣ∢ωτατή? 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. θαπαγ: this is probably to be interpreted as genitival n° plus a noun beginning with the letter θ (which may be representing a σ). That the noun in question is feminine is indicated by the use of θαματε rather than θαματε: the masculine form of the word for 'three'. There is no suitable Coptic word beginning with a θ and ending in a η listed in D. E. 8. 1. 14. and no Greek word in LSJ. Perhaps read θαματε nπεπιγαντιν (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 = ΣΣΣ

26

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FISH

P.Mil.Vogl. IV (Copt.) inv. 3 95 x 90 mm (script) 8th century Papyrus

Plate XIII

Preservation: 8 lines and all margins are preserved.
Palaeography: A large majuscule hand; α (l. 1) and ο (l. 7) are very wide; i (l. 1) is tall; and αi 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 ταπριε may be topped by a trema (ταπριε).

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


Addressee: Prouo.

Prouo is ordered to give the scribe Taurine from the carpentry workshop (or the place Touasher) one lakon of fish worth 13/24 of a solidus.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

→

1  † πενεκωτ πετ-  † It is our father who
2   σαλι νηεκων-  writes to his son
3  ἐκ προογ χελ-  Prouo.
4  πι Θαγαηη  † λαον  Be so kind as to give
5    //Λ// ΝΤΕΒΤ ΜΗΤΑΣ  /// lakon of fish to the scribe
6  ταυριδη πατογ-  Taurine from the carpentry
7    ιαυε ρ ν'/ κδ'  /// workshop 1/2 + 1/24 solidus ///
8   ††††† (±2?)

2 ΜΠΕΔ - 4 ΛΑΚΩΝ - 5 ΤΕΒ - 7 ΝΟΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ 1/2

3. προογ: a saint Apa Prouo 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 II. 7-9). See also Foraboschi Onomasticon and Presigke NB Προογς (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. ταυριδη: the γ may be topped by a trema (ταυριδη).

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

8. †††††: these crosses are joined together and the last † 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. 9/4 140 x 55 mm (script) 8th century?
Plate XIV 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 Johannes.

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

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


10. ἢνοι: the υ is written over an earlier letter.

11. †††: see No. 26 for the significance of this sign. Like the † or † in l. 2, the horizontal stroke of the final † 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) 65 × 115 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XIV

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 (περσαί; I.14).


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. † ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤΡ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ [Πνευμάτῳ]

2. ΠΩΝΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΝΤΕ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΟΥΒΟΥΝΕ
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

3 ἩΡΑΚΛΕ ΠΗΡΩΡΩΝ Τῇ β ΚΥ ΙΝ ἕ e
4 ἩΛΙΑΣ ἘΓΡΑΦΑ C
5 Hand 2 traces? ...

2 σογυς 3 Τοβ, ἰδιοτεύκως
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 C.
5 ...

2. σογυς: according to P. Sarga, pp. 20–21 No. 3, this non-standardised measure and its Greek equivalent θαλλίων commonly contained two artabas. Shelton 1990 p. 110 refers to the ratio of three artabas per sack found in some of the etnomion-ostyra. I am grateful to John Tait for this reference. The spelling σογυς also occurs in P. Sarga 189.
3. σηρων: see Heuser p. 84 for this name, which is well attested in Greek texts from many periods, see Freising NB and Foraboschi Onomasticicon.
4. C: 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 .e, representing the end of στηξε?

29

ORDER TO SUPPLY BARLEY

SB Kopt. I 291
P. Laur. III 905
Formerly P. Pintaudi Copt. inv. No. 1
Plate XV

Preservation: 9 lines and all margins of this text are preserved; P.J. Sijpsteijn (1984: 371) described the papyrus as having been ‘neatly cut with a pair of scissors from a larger sheet’. Kolossion 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 diphthongs i once (πετρασι l. 1) as well as the more usual trema consisting of two dots (e.g. ἱοτ l. 3).

Provenance: Unknown. The text is addressed to Taurine who is from Pmanle (1.14) 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. Sijpsteijn (1984: 371–372) (where the letter z is used for s); 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.
It is our father who writes to his son
taurine of Pmane.
Any barley which the office
of the notarius needs
let your apou go
and throw it onto the ground for them
and let him reckon how much he
gives them.


1. ꝑ: the vertical stroke of this sign extends down to l. 3 and has a hook at the bottom.
2. ꝑ: ꝑ: in the ed. pr. the ꝑ was considered doubtful.
3. ꝑ: literally 'place'.
4. For ꝑef: 'need' used as a verb see Forster WB 880.
5. ꝑ: ꝑ: 'your apou' may also be interpreted as a personal name involving the possessive prefix ꝑ- and the word ꝑ: apou; compare the possible personal name ꝑekrap (noting that Crum, Dict. p. 298b par. expressed doubts about it being a name).
6. ꝑ: ꝑ: the interpretation 'and let him sow it for them in the ground' is also possible, as crte (Crum, Dict. p. 360a) can have either meaning, and, as Crum notes, the meaning 'sow' is more common.
7. ꝑ: the ed. pr. read ꝑt.
8. ꝑ: Hathyt 11, i.e. 7/8 November.

30

ORDER TO SUPPLY CLOVER

BM EA 75328
83 x 112 mm
Wrongly renumbered as BM EA 75327
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, ꝑ ꝑ 1. 5). Minuscule ꝑ.
Linguistic note: ꝑ for ꝑ (michael- 1. 5), as in No. 20.
Provenance: Unknown.
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

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 Ἐνέκλωτος Πετεκχος
3 Ἀπολαχὸς άτο θεοῦ Περτοῦ
4 Πετεκχος
5 Κεκτώρ
6 Ιδίος Αρδο άτον Σ

2 Ὁ τρία Πετεκχος 5 ἐν πετεκχο 6 ἱνά(κτίσως)

1
2 Ἐνέκλωτος Πετεκχος
3 Ἐνέκλωτος Πετεκχος
4 Βασίλει τοῦ Πετεκχο
5 Βασίλει τοῦ Πετεκχο
6 Ἐνέκλωτος Πετεκχο

5. πετεκχο: one would expect a resumptive μόνον ‘it’ following this but it does not appear to have been written in line 5. [SJC was uncertain about the reading of the final xo in this line.]

6. ιδιος: 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 Ιδίος (for Ιαν) is recorded in an inscription from Hermopolis Magna at Qusur el-Iceila 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 (κεκτώρ?).

31

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN FODDER?

BM EA 75303 side (B) 82 × 67 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XVI

Light to mid-brown papyrus

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

Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand; if it has been correctly interpreted, the makes more like to, and both can have a hooked tail.

Provenance: Unknown.


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

1. + πενεχεῖν μ[πεχεῖν] 
2. ἔρει τεύμων ἐρ[ε...] 
3. ἐρε[ει] τῆ[του] 
4. παμ[πι] τ[αί] [...]
5. μα[κά] 
6. παμ[κά] 
7. ἐράτης ἐρ[ει] [...]

1. + It is our father who writes to his son [...]
2. As soon as [...]
3. the fodder (?) give it? [...]
4. the carpenter ...
5. who is with you and ...
6. Pnancanah/the place of Canah ...
7. to him ...

2. The reading follows comparison with No. 23.2. Otherwise, read ἔκαστος τιθηταικόν following No. 40.2 (ἀνε τεύμων ἔκαστος τιθηταικόν; τεύμων ἔκαστος also occurs in an unpublished papyrus excavated at Bawit by Clédat (Louvre E.27647).

3. ἐρε[ει]: the p looks more like an i and the second e is written without a horizontal bar so that it resembles a c. I have interpreted ἐρε[ει] as a plural form of ἐρείν ‘food, fodder’, not attested in Crum. Dict. p. 701a; it may possibly be a plural of Crum. Dict. p. 701b ἐρείν ‘redivide’. [sic later wondered about reading ἐρε[ει] ‘rudders’, Crum. Dict. p. 645b.]

4. ἐρ[ει]: the p looks like an i; 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. ἐράτης: this is obscured by a fold in the papyrus.

ἐράτης: the uncertain letter looks like zi, and is not obviously a ti to give ἐράτης ‘be worth’.

32

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GREENS AND LACHANON

P. Meyer inv. 13 side (B) 51 x 208 mm (script) 7th–8th century? Papyrus Plate XVI

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 (μ μ 1. 2 and η 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 η– (οὐκοι τοιοῦτος l. 3, οὐκοι ηλικία l. 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, Kristin H. McKinsey reported that the Center has no record of this papyrus in its collections, although Richard Kempsall (not T.J.) 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).
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

Address: Ptolemais.

Document date: Ptolemais 8 (October 5/6), indication 1.

Ptolemais 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 πετσαί τηναμήρε
2  πωλε αε τι ογκοι ογοοτε ηι ογκογι
3  λαξ ηαξη ιωαάνης Φορηπη η ινδι α

1 tran. 2 ογοοτε 3 λαξηανη, ινδιετοις

1  + It is our father who writes to his son
2  Ptolemais. Give a few greens and a little
3  lachanon to Apa Iohanes. (Greek) Ptolemais 8, indication 1.

33

ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF GREENS

P.CYBR inv. 5003 side (A) c. 75 x 85 mm (script) 7th? or 8th century Plate XVI 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.


Address: Ptolemais.

→

1  πενειωτ πετσαί μηψ-
2  ωηρη πωλε αε τι!
3  κογι ηαξη ηην ±4 [...] <a>few vegetables to ... [...]</a>
4  ογοοτε υςζ[...]
5  ±10 [...] [...]

3. ηαξη ηην: this may also be read as ααξη ηην: or read ααξη ηην
ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF COMMODITY MEASURED IN ARTabAS

P.CyY BR inv. 4619, 115 x 95 mm (script) ? century
Plate XVII Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: Some traces of ink on the other side but no discernible text.
Provenance: Unknown.
Address: Anoup. [SJC wondered about a connection with the Anoup addressed in No. 55.]
Document date: Phooph ? (end September / October), indiction 10.

1. It is our father who writes
2. to his son Anoup.
3. Give two arTabas
4. of [ ]
5. (place-name beginning Pman- ?)
6. (Greek: Phooph ...)
7. indication 10. [ ]

4. read na[ ], or no[ ]?
5. read man[ ]
6. plural could be ka?
7. less likely ie.

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD

P.Camb. UL Michael. 1232 side A, 109 x 103 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XVII 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.Mono.Apollo, p. 11.
Address: Capat.
Document date: Choiak 7 (December 3/4), indiction 9.
Capat is authorised to give Kostantin some bread if he needs it in the absence of the person who issued this document. This text may preserve the introductory formula PENEOHT C2A1 'Our father writes', a variant on the Our father-formula.
It is our father who writes to his son Capat. If Kostantine needs three-days' worth of bread, give them to him before I come. (Greek) Choiak 7, indiction 9.

1. +[Φ]ερεί[α]τ η[περατ] (24) η[περατ] It is our father who writes (a 24) η[περατ] If Kostantine needs three-days' worth of bread, give them to him before I come. (Greek) Choiak 7, indiction 9.

ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF BREAD

P. Ismailia inv. 546 side (A) 82 x 137 mm (script) 3rd century Papyrus

No Plate

Preservation: 5 lines of text are preserved intact. Another Our father-text on side (B)? 3 JJC intended to work further on side (B).

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

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

Addresssee: Apa Benjamin.

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

Scribe: Ioannes.

→


5 ΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΠΑΠΗΜΑΝΩΦΑΚ
6 ὁ Φωμός τις ἵνα ἀ. ἱεροτης ἐγρ. †

1 ὁ †
2 ὁ † 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/Pmarshôk
6 (Greek: †† Pharmouthi 16, indiction 1.1, Ioanes, wrote ††.

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN BREAD, OIL & WINE

P.YaleCopt. 17
P.CiYBR inv. 1853
Plate XVIII

Preservation: (A) 14 lines and all margins; (B) 1 line and all margins (?).
Palaeography: A very ornate, slightly right-sloping majuscule with some ligatures and a number of
flourishes which cause the writing to become disjointed at times (e.g. CON l. 2 is interrupted by the i of
cad 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.
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).
Address: Apa Phoibammon the priest.
Apa Phoibammon the priest is ordered to give the deacon Mech oil, bread and purified wine (see L.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 L.1.

(A) ➔
1 † ἴπεινωτ πετσάλ
2 μ[η]εψειρί ἱερο
3 τῆ ρεχαμάνωντε
4 λυφ ἱππαθος
5 ἦλο Φοίβαμων
6 περεπεσυτερος
7 ἐμ αν ταξιν
8 μαρύς ἔμενθ
9 ὑγρος ροζος
10 θητηκων μεχ
11 μυ ἐκιτις ειται
12 ηνεσ αυφ
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

13 μέκ ΛΑΚΟΝ ΧΑΥ fill two lakon-measures
14 ἤμη πνεύμα ναχ of purified wine for him.

(B) ↓ Docket/address
15 τῷ ΧΣ (decussis) (±4 faded) ↑ Jesus Christ ...

1. ↑: the papyrus is faded at this point, but the $R$ transcribed in the ed. pr. cannot be read.
9. τρίπε: this is also the measure used for bread in No. 36.4. For the use of τρίπε 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. μέκ: 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’, μαχαίροφορός, is intended. Names beginning Δέκ are, however, recorded in Preisigke NB and Forasbochi Onomasticon and these include: Μεχασίας, Μεχασίτης, Μεχασίτης, Μεχασίτης, and Μεχασίτης.
13. μέκ ΛΑΚΟΝ: in the ed. pr. this was interpreted as ‘full lakon’, but compare No. 54.5-6 οὐ λακόν for a way of expressing a ‘full’ lakon. See note to CPR XX 1.1 for the λακόν.
15. This line was omitted in the ed. pr.
16: these letters possibly bear superlinear strokes.

38

ORDER TO SUPPLY GARUM

BL Or. 13886 (37) side (A) Main fragment 90 × 145 mm (script) 7th–8th century
Plate XIX
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 × ±2 / 2 × ±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: Paternoute.
Document date: Phamenoth (??) 17 (March 13?), indiction (10+).
Paternoute is ordered to pay two men who bear the title kyrios, Sarapion and Iouliane, eight lakon-measures of garum (I.14).
1. There is space for the cross, but it is not legible here.
3. ΠΚΥΡΙΟΣ: attested as a man's name in Greek (Πκύριος) and Coptic (Πκυριος, Πκυριος) documents, but it is interpreted as the title 'lord' (κύριος) here as it occurs before two different names.
3-4. ΤΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ: the Coptic form of Julianus, Heuser p. 102.
4. γιαρ: the reproduction of this text in the plate is deceptive in that it wrongly suggests the existence of a diaeresis over the iota in για, and that the raised comma abbreviation sign in γαια is perhaps a small superscript omicron followed by an abbreviation oblique stroke (γαια').
λη: a reading of ληνη is not possible as the eta is the same as in φηνη in I. 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 Ατελε in CPR VII 82.4. I am grateful to Klaas Worp for pointing this out to me and for providing the parallel.
λη: note that the second eta is minuscule whereas the first is majuscule, presumably in order to distinguish the numeral from the non-numeral form.
Φαι: a reading of Φαιωτικε 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 ευραιωνη μ μαικαρ.]

39

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE

P. Camb. Ul. Michael. 818/3 56 x 138 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XIX 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 II. 3-4.

Palaeography: A semi-cursive hand, with many ligatures.

Provenance: Unknown.


Address: Simothe.

Document date: ? 18, indiction ?

Scribe: Victor (2. L.9).

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

↓

1. + πενηθεὶς πετσαί Μισαθύρη
dosage +
2. σιμοθη αε τι σιμωήν ημει
3. ΜΗΠΟΙ ΝΙΗΤΡΑ ΦΑΜΩΗ +
dosage +
4. + οίδι οντα εγε βικ. ημ. η μυ +

2 οίδι + ΝΙΗΤΡΑ ΦΑΜΩΗ 4 σίτιον, εγε (επιθε) βικ (επιθε), (λοίδιονε"

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, indictment (?) ...

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

2. Simothe: No. 40 is also addressed to this man, see l.8. The name Simothe also occurs in an inscription from Bawit (Cairo CG 8781: Strzygowski 1909: 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 Abidos (Peet 1913: 39, No. 2.13, pl. 13 fig. 3).

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

4. οὖν: a restoration of ξεκατόν 'i.e., total' is also possible, but not ξέκατον 'i.e. wine' as found in the other orders for payment in wine (Nos. 16.4, 40.4, 5, 60.4).

... see read an abbreviation of μετέρων (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 σκόμα does not seem likely here, although it is used as an equivalent of ωει 'measure' in No. 40 l. 4 and 5.

η.: the first letter resembles a ω, or a damaged η, but may be a μ with a vertical line through the middle of it (possibly an abbreviation for μπι 'in the month of'); the superscript letter appears to belong to this group of letters despite being written over the following υ. [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

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.


Addressee: Apa Simothi of ... libile.

Although this text exhibits the formula HENABOT HERCZAB, 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.
PART II, THE TEXTS

1. It is our father writing to Apa Simothi of [...]
2. ... As soon as you receive this note (πιττακίον), give [light]
3. measures of wine to the watchman and give six [measures of wine to]
4. the bread-seller, (Greek) total of wine sekomata 14, (Coptic) ⊕ and give six (l. [...])
5. to the oil-dealer, (Greek) total of wine 20 sekomata 20 ⊕.

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

tεγνοι εκα: literally ‘The hour you will’.

πιττακίον: No. 23, an unidentifiable order, also refers to itself as a πεττακίον (πιττακίον) ‘note’. See also No. 15, whose docket describes it as a πεττακ (πιττακίον), ‘receipt’. The phrase χε τευνοι εκα πιττακίον may also be restored in No. 31.2.

If νοιοτε 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 Simothi is required to issue in No. 39.

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

Restore ου at the end of l. 3 although ουδον (Crum, Dict. p. 604b) ‘a vessel or liquid measure’, might also be possible.

3. κατ, 4. κομώ: both forms appear to be variants of κομώ ‘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 κομώ has been added.

4. κομώκει: although κομώκει may also be interpreted as ‘reed’ (Crum, Dict. p. 254b), κατ κομώκει is only attested for bread-sellers.

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

[k]: 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) 80 × 92 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XX
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.


Addressee: Andreas.

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

1  ἔσοχεν ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἡμῶν
2  ἔσοχεν ἀναρεῖς
3  ὁ ἡμῶν ἐξερήσεις
4  γάρ (περὶ) ὁ (νου) κνίδίων 
5  ... ἔραυσίων

3  ὀροσ — 5 γάρ ὁ (νου) κνίδίων ἔραυσίων
1  ἔσοχεν ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἡμῶν
2  ἔσοχεν ἀναρεῖς
3  ὁ ἡμῶν ἐξερήσεις
4  γάρ (περὶ) ὁ (νου) κνίδίων
5  ... ἔραυσίων

4. ξηχεῖς: the e is barely visible. See Crum, Dict. p. 810D ξηχεία for this title and personal name.
5. ... possibly read εῖ. Is this the scribe or read differently, perhaps μπάνα or εὔσεβής for ἔραυσίων?

42

ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN WINE?

P.Vindob. K 11383 side (B) 43 × 125 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XX
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 1.15.

Joseph of Tabô is ordered to pay Jeremias of Pohe (modern Buha) two lahê-measures, most probably of wine.
1. Our father is he who writes to his son
2. Joseph from Pohe. Give two lakhs [of wine]
3. to Jeremias from Tabô... [...]


43

ORDER TO SUPPLY WOOL

P.Louvain Lefort copt. 24 side (A) 55 x 165 mm (script) 7th century Papyrus (see No. 77)

Plate XXI

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.

Address: Shenoute the deacon. Perhaps the same as Papa Shenoute, the oil-dealer; see Nos. 18, 20, 28, 46, 1.8.

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

Shenoute the deacon is ordered to provide (κι α.) 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.

4. The year date may end in a delta '4'.
ORDER FOR PAYMENT OF WOOLLEN GARMENTS

BM EA 75307  80 × c. 90 mm  (script) 8th century  Mid- to dark brown papyrus
Plate XXI

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: Geront[se] the woollen-garment-dealer. Document date: Pauni 14 (June 8), indication 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 I.1. Wool is also the subject of No. 43 and possibly No. 49.

↓  
1  
[† Pενεκτότ Hετοκαί]  
2  Μητρισφέρε γεροντ[ε]  
3  ἸΔΑ ιΝΕΙΑΤΟ ΧΕ ΤΙ ΜΗΠ[Γ]  
4  Χωδύς ιΝΟΑΚΕ Θ[Γ]  
5  Ιωδοφο παπελοολε  
6  Πενει ιδ [ιωδικτιων] ια  
6 νόθ.

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

2. γεροντ[ε]: or γεροντ[ε], a form listed by Heuser 91, see also p. 78 for the name Gerontius.  
6. Πενει: the ι could also be an ε.

ORDER FOR PAYMENT

P.Camb. UL Michael. 830 side (B)  236 × 138 mm  (script) 8th century  Papyrus (see No. 82)
Plate XXII

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 e and t.

Provenance: Unknown.


Addressee: Papa Jakob.

Papa Jacob is ordered to issue a commodity which may be measured in a jug (μόριον).

\[1\] † πενεικέρ νεβελι νυμφήδε
\[2\] φιλαν ἰακόπε ἔχε τι ωμάριοισ
\[3\] n (the rest of this line is illegible)
\[4\] † 6 " . . . . μέγαν κ...

1 maric 2 maric. Il. 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. Μαρίοις: Cerny CED p. 89 has derived μαρίοις from the Greek μόριον; see also Westendorf KH p. 100 μαρις. A reading of μαρπτ (Crum, Dict. p. 206a 'cable of palm fibre') is less likely.

4. 6 " preceding the alpha there are 5 superscript letters. [SJC intended to recheck the original. In line 4 she wondered about a reading αυτον μέγαν.]

46

ORDER TO SUPPLY A COMMODITY MEASURED IN ARTABAS

BL Or. 6201 A (224 + 244) side (B) 37 x 89 mm (script) 8th century Papyrus

Plate XXIII

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 (?): † τοσον τον Ἱ ἐπις. τομαν ἐπις. ἔτοι κυριον. μην. Written at 180° to text 1, text 2 on side (A) preserves 2 fragmentary lines of a Coptic letter: 1 | 2 μηνιάτος μηνατοριτέ 

Palaeography: A slightly right-sloping majuscule, with a few ligatures involving e: 'ace-of-spades' επαρ, ετατ and τατ. It can be formed so that the bottom of the second vertical curves upwards to the right (καθ., πα., l. 1).

Provenance: Unknown.


Addressee: Papa Shenoute (Nos. 18, 20, 28; 1.8).

Papa Shenoute is ordered to supply twenty-four artabas of an unknown commodity.
OTHER ORDERS

47

ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

P. Camb. UL Green 4
Plate XXIII

Preservation: (A) 5 lines and (B) 2 lines; both sides appear to preserve all margins.
Palaeography: Flowing semi-cursive hand with many ligatures.
Provenience: Unknown.
Bibliography: Transcribed by Kahle in the 1950s (KahlePap notebook 24).
Address: 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 1.5 for an interpretation of this
text.

(A) ↓
1  
2  
3  
4  
5  

(B) → Docket
6  Φ οι... 
7  Δαμιανος, 

2 ἂνευ  3 ζωλοκτονος  4 πολταλις (?) 
5 μ(η)λι(α), Φ(ρο)ς, ἰδ(ι)κτιωνος, ἤδρισις  6 φι(σί)ς εἶναι  7 Δαμιανος,  or -ου, or Δαμιανος; το(μισμίσιον)
1. It is our father who writes to his son the scribe [Apa Da-
2. mian(os) (?). Requ[it (?)] half a solidus
3. of wine. Do not give it to Phoibamon, in as much as
4. he is a wretch. (Greek) In the month of Phaophi, (day) 12, indiction 1. Pamoun, I wrote.
5. Delivery of wine
6. To (?l) Damia(nos) (?l) no(mis)ision) (?l) ½ (?)

2-3. [αλαμίαν], restored from line 7. A Damian also occurs in an unpublished Coptic document Bl. Or. 6201 A (6).
3. [αι]νε hca is restored after No. 54.6-7. In his transcription of this text, Kahle conjectured [ααι ααι] mian (ε ε μι βε vca. SJC tentatively proposed an alternative reading for this line: m [и ...] ε ε vne hca oμπα ωτοιρον ...]
4. εν δοσυν. Förster WB εουν records several instances of this usage in 7th–8th-century Coptic documents.
5. ταξιαμφως: has meaning 'wretched' and, like έλαξιςα, is part of the common terminology of humility employed in a monastic milieu; it can also mean unlucky, Förster WB ταξιαμφως. It occurs in inscriptions from Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1931–43: 122, No. 404; possibly 124, No. 416). φαυ: 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.Apol. Aphi. 81.2.
6-7. No. 25.8–9 has a similar docket.
6. φ: this abbreviation of φαυ occurs in a number of texts including shine nsa-formula ostraca, for example, CPR XX 11.5, O. Bawit 42.2.
[SJC noted 'read φαυ for Phoibammon', or something before φ(ινο-)?' She initially read φινε as the next three letters but then rejected this reading.]
7. Kahle read αλαμιαν. One would expect the symbol for ½ following φ corresponding to the παμε ωτοιρον mentioned in l. 2.

48
ORDER TO REMAIN WITH A BROTHER?

P.Köln IX 385 (P.Colon. inv. 7900) 86 x 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 (passos) 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 aparchë in Perië(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. It is our father who writes to his son, Apa Klouj. Do not leave brother (passo) Anoup’s side until he agrees to let you go.

2. E(μ) (?)

3. Could άστι be ος το ‘imprison’?—see Bohairic parallels. For Boharisms 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

Ostracon (material not recorded)

Preservation: 7 lines and all but the bottom margin are preserved.

Provenance: Excavated by Jean Clédat at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit.

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 ante-chamber, 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.

Address: Apa Noc / Apanoc.

This is the only Our father-formula text written on ostraca 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 (μ) which has been assigned to Pmanallou, Pmanran, and Pmaniourga to someone whose name or title is imperfectly preserved. Other ostraca excavated at Bawit by Clédat record both Pmanallou and Pmanran as places from which wine was requisitioned (O.Bawit 18-23). Wool is also the subject of No. 43, and woolen garments of No. 44.
2-3. ἀνὰ ἀνα: this can be construed as a personal name ‘Apanoc’, as well as the title ἀνα followed by the personal name ἀνα, compare (Coptic: P.Lond.Copt. I 1075 (p. 449), 1077; CPR IV 167; and two unpublished documents, BL Or. 6201A (23) and (109e). Examples in Greek include: P.Lond. III 1032 (Ἀρηνίκιος, 6th–7th century), SB I 5944. MacCoull (1987: 103) has pointed out that it is attested in texts from the Hermopolite nome.

3. ἀπὶ ταφάνε: it is possible that another ostraca excavated at Bawit, O.Bawit 82, also began the main body of the text with this formula (Ἡμέρων ἐπεκτεινόν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν ἢ ἱερὸν ἱερὸν ἵππον). ἱερὸν: the ed. pr. read ἱερὸν, although Clédat’s transcription clearly records ἱερὸν followed by what appears to be an oblique stroke.

4. εὐχή: εὐχή: εὐχή occurs in No. 15.3, a receipt for stone.

5. ὁ καὶ ὁ: the ed. pr. suggested that ὁ καὶ ὁ are also possible.

6. τῆς ἀπὸ: possibly interpret as τῆς ἀπὸ ‘the ...’.

50

ORDER DETAILING VARIOUS COMMODITIES

BM EA inv. 75308 side (B) 272 × 80 mm (script) 7th–8th century
Plate XXII

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.


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. Addressee includes a scribe called Phib, and a number of commodities may be mentioned. Although fragmentary, this text is noteworthy for mentioning an unusual commodity.
Alexander, possibly to be interpreted as bdellium (1.14). People with the title apou are also listed, as in No. 29.5.

1 It is our father who writes to his sons?
2 the scribe Phib and Is [...]
3 I have received the lakè 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 [...]

4, 8 Alexander 13 Omon
17 the givers (?) [...]
18 the apous who wait (?) [...]
19 the ones of the kidneys (?) [...]

2. i.e.: the common man’s name, Isaac, is perhaps to be restored here; also possible are ἵκαλος (Heuser 56, 95–97), ἰκαλείρ (Heuser 107), ἰκεί (Heuser 56, 57), ἰκάλος (Heuser 46), ἰκαςαλ (Heuser 107, 110), ἰκαρπιος (Heuser 81).
3. ταλάχι: restore ταλάχι πιθή ‘the láthé of [wine]’?
4. ἀπόφοιτος 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. μή πεν…: restore πενναος ‘our great’ or similar epithet.
10. οἰνοτέρ: or πεντα.
13. Possibly restore σίμ ‘grass, fodder, herbs’ (Crum, Dict. p. 334a) at the end of this line?
14. ἰπράκοιος: restore ἰπράκοιος σε ‘dicer’ (Crum, Dict. p. 800b ἄλφα φοικε) ? Also possible: ἰπράκοιος αὐτε ‘disperser’ (of seed, etc.), although not a form listed in Crum, Dict. p. 782a ἀποφοι)
19. ἄλπεξ στοιχί: could this be a place name? the word στοιχεία may be an unattested plural form of another word, such as στοιχ ‘gourd’ (Crum, Dict. p. 815a).

51

ORDER TO SUPPLY EQUIPMENT?

P.YaleCopt. 28 69 x 160 mm (script) 8th century
P.CIY BR inv. 2037 side (A)
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 (in l. 1).

Provenance: Unknown. Antinoe (Ἀντινῷῳ), which also occurs in No. 12 (see I.13), is mentioned in the letter written earlier on this papyrus (No. 88).


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: Lazarea.

Document date: Phaophi 24 (October 21/22), indiction 5.

Lazarea is ordered to supply Ounenob of Ehebooue (I.13 for the interpretation of this as a place name) as before.

→

1 + ἄνθρωπος πετεια ημερής λαζαρέ
2 ἰπράκοιος τοι ἐπισκέψιος ποιημορί
3 πρῶτος ἀπόφοιτος ἀρά παρ ὑπ
4 μυ ἐν τοὔνα γενεάς ε ἀπό
4 μυ ἐν τοὔνα γενεάς ε ἀπό
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

1  † It is our father who writes to his son Lazare.
2  Just as (πρὸς) you supply Ouenober
3  of Ehboone, supply him again.
4  (Greek) In the month of Phaophi, (day) 24, induction 5. †

1. † ... ἱπποὶς ἀλαζῷ: the ed. pr. omitted the † and read ἵπποις ἀλαζῷ pl.
   ἰ: the superlinear stroke over this letter curves upwards forming a small c on its right end.
2. πρὸς οὐενόβερ ὑεφονσοί: the ed. pr. had πρὸς ... ὑεφονσοί enoke pl.
   ὑα: on is also possible.
2, 3. ἀσφε: interpreted as ‘supply’, more usually translated ‘prepare, provide’ (Crum, Dict. p. 831a).
3. πρὸς ἑφονσοί ἀσφε ηαφ ὑα: the ed. pr. read πρὸς ἑφονσοί ἀσφε ηαφ ὑανοὶ.
4. 2. 21/22 October. The ed. pr. read μή μή (ἀποφι) ἡ ηαφ (ἱπποὶς) ὑανοὶ (ἱπποὺς) ὑανοὶ.

52

ORDER TO SUPPLY AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT

P.Köln IX 386  85 × 132 mm
P.Colon. inv. 7901  (script) 8th century
P.Köln IX pl. 31a  Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: All 5 lines of text are preserved, although the final letters of l. 2 are damaged; other side
blank.

Paleography: 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
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  † ... ἵπποὶς ἀλαζῷ
2  ἀφάζαμν πατοῦ Ἐῷ ὑφόλασμον
3  τοῖς ἑπειδαφίοι παλατ
4  ἔφοι ἑπειδαφίοι ῥατεκ-
5  εἰ ἐπαὶ ἴππα ἀλαζ ἑπαμελεῖ ῳ

4 l. τάκτ

1  † It is our father who writes to his son
2  Abraham the apou. Give a field kilom
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. \textit{πανογ}: interpreted in the \textit{ed. pr.} as ‘dem von Pou’, \textit{απογ/απογε} 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 \textit{apous} of Pousire write to an Apa Theodore through three people, including a \textit{βοήθους}. P.J. Stipsitejin (1984: 372) interpreted \textit{απογ} as meaning something like ‘servant, assistant’. See Crum, \textit{Dict.} p. xv note to p. 14a; and Kasser and Vyechl 1967 pp. 41 (\textit{απογ}) and 47 (\textit{απογε}); note that this word is not included in Westendorf \textit{KII}.

As a personal name, \textit{απογ} is attested in Coptic (\textit{CPR XII} 5 II. 26, 30, 35, 37; and \textit{O.CrumVC} 48.7 (\textit{αφογ})), and Greek papyri (Preissigke NB records two examples of \textit{Ας} in Greek papyri dating to the VII-VIIIth century). In a note to \textit{P.Lond. IV} No. 1435.80, Crum derives \textit{απογ} from the title \textit{απογ} which was influenced ‘in later times’ by the Arabic \textit{Abu}. An interpretation of \textit{πανογ} as a personal name involving the possessive prefix \textit{περ-} and the word \textit{απογ}, may also be possible here—compare the personal name \textit{περπαν}, for which see Crum, \textit{Dict.} p. 298b \textit{παν} (although Crum expressed doubts about it being a name).

The \textit{ed. pr.} gave \textit{πανογ}.

\textit{καλομ:} the usual meanings ‘crown, wreath’ (Crum, \textit{Dict.} p. 104b) are not applicable here, but as an agricultural implement there are parallels cited by Crum in \textit{BUI} 194, and the unpublished British Library text, BL Or. 6201A (90), which mentions this word in connection with an axle (\textit{δαχον}), \textit{καλομ}. Compare the meaning of \textit{τσφογον} as a type of \textit{polkandelon}, see Gorecki, \textit{JJP} 2001: 51-53, revising Montserrat \textit{Or. 64} 1995: 430-444?

3-4. \textit{κατο κατα}: as the \textit{ed. pr.} stated, a parallel for this title may be found in an unpublished Coptic text cited in Crum, \textit{Dict.} p. 650b 201—‘PMerton (olim Beatty) 1924’.

5. \textit{αλλα καπακες}: this phrase occurs in the parallel texts, \textit{P.CrumST} 329–330 (I.6). There is no trema on the \textit{ι} in \textit{αλλακε} as given in the \textit{ed. pr.}.

53

\textbf{ORDER TO GIVE AN ASS FODDER?}

\textit{BL Or. 6201B (211)}

\textit{Plate XXIV}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Preservation:} 3 lines and all margins are preserved.
\item \textbf{Palaeography:} An experienced semi-cursive hand.
\item \textbf{Provenance:} Unknown. Teusia in 1. 3 is a place name found in \textit{shine nsa-formula ostraca} (I.5 and I.13).
\item \textbf{Acquisition:} See \textit{P.Mon.Apollo}, pp. 9-11.
\item \textbf{Addresser:} George of the great garden.
\end{itemize}

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.

\begin{verbatim}
1  + πενεκτοις πετσαλι πιποροντρε γεωργε
2  πατρος παλιοι ιε ουκογιοι ιερε ηηηω
3  οπταειται οπερ ηοιερνε ηηηη

1 ιε ιι ιι 2 ιι ιι ιι ιι (2) ιι ιι

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 (?) +
\end{verbatim}
3. ἡπατευτικαί: it is possible that ἡπατευτικαί can be read, with a ligature of ὑ + ῥ. 

MEPOY: if this is a form of μέρος 'division, part', the closest parallel recorded by Förster WB is μεροῦς. It is also possible that MEPOY is an unattested plural of ἡμπ 'shore' (Crum, Dict. p. 180a). Less likely is that it derives from MOYP 'bind' (Crum, Dict. p. 180a), or AMPE 'baker' (Crum, Dict. p. 8b).

ПИΔΑКΕ the n is uncertain, and the interpretation of this word is obscure. It may be composed of the words ПΙΝ 'mouse' (Crum, Dict. p. 263a), which is attested as a personal name (Πινιόν, Preisigke NB), and ΧΨ '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 x 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 1. 1. Since it is written in the same hand as the present text, it may be a docket which has become detached.


Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: Acquired for the private collection of Jonathan Byrd.

Bibliography: Edited by Warga (1992); amendments and further comments by Clackson (1993).

Addressed: Kouie (son of) Papas/Young Papas.

This invoice notifies Kouie (son of) Papas/Young Papas that twenty-five pounds of lead (see 1.14) and a full lakon measure of oil have been delivered and can be collected from the sailors of Enoch. See 1.5 for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1 + ἱπεριπ τετεχει
2 ἴποτηρη χουειε
3 παπας χε ειε χουεθ
4 ὅπερ Ποτάμης ἐθνο-
5 οψούν ἀν μην οὐαλόν
6 ἵπερ ερμες ὁινε
7 οψιων 2η ἵπερ ηνεθε
8 ἵνηθρ +
5 ὅπερ οὐαλόν 6 ἵπερις 7 ἴπερεν

Further text, now detached, possibly belonging to the docket, mentions ΧΑΡΩΝ ΧΑΙ. [SJC intended to edit these further four lines fully.]

1 + It is our father who writes
2 to his son Kouie (son of) Young
3 Papas. Here are the twenty-five
4 λιται 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. **Koieie**: for this as the personal name Koieie (which is not recorded in Heuser), see Pernigotti (1985: 101 comm. l. 13), and **CPR VIII** 77.2 Koieie (7th–8th century).
4. **λιτρα**: this measure is used for many commodities; the ed. pr. translated it as ‘liters’. The amount represented by a λιτρα varies: in principal it is 0.3274 kg, but can be as much as 0.558 kg (Hommes et richesses, l. 287).
6–7. **φιλον κοινοι**: see 1.5 for the use of φιλον κοινοι in Our father-formula texts.
7. **heoi**: sailors from the village of τεμεξιφ 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.** 1 288
P.PalauRib. inv. 41
Plate XXV

57 × 119 mm
(script) 7th–8th century

Medium brown papyrus with fine fibre texture and smooth surface

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 ο in πενειωτ (l. 1), and the ι in λιτρα (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.** 1 288 with additional comments.

Addressee: 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 1.5 for an analysis of this text.

This papyrus has been studied from a photograph.

1 + πενειωτ πετραμ ομίοιρε
2 λιουπι μη λαοιρ ηε εειθ
3 παλαγον κες λιτρασιουχ
4 μητη λιτρα φαστοου τατσοουγ
5 παραλτε εκελ εκε ιαλακατθ

3 λακον είνη 4 φαστοουγ

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. πεταζαί: above the ↓ there may be a trema. Note the use of the singular mμε 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. λαγός: the ed pr. gave λαγόν. The name Ashîî is recorded in three inscriptions from Bawit (Maspero and Driot 1931-43: 70, No. 104, λαγός: 72, No. 115, a deacon; 85, No. 195, father of Papnoute); and in Pernigotti (1985: 78); and, as λαγός, 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 λαγός should be read in P.Med. copto inv. 76.26.13 (Pernigotti, 1985: 78-82) instead of ‘A(pa) Scîoi’.

3. λαγό υγε: this was interpreted as λαγό υγες in the ed. pr. and SB Kopt. 1288 erroneously corrects this reading to λαγόν.

4. ωρετού: the sense here suggests that ‘at dawn’ be read rather than ‘till morning’ as in the ed. pr.

5. Νααματή: note the use of the plural here; parallels listed in Crum, Dict. p. 143b λαμακτί.

56

UNIDENTIFIABLE INVOICE

BM EA 75304 side (B)                             Light brown papyrus
Plate XXV                                            (script) 7th-8th century

28 × 150 mm

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.


→

1 [†+] πενεκετ καθ πεταταί μην αφηε

2 [       ] χε ει ε ωρετού

Text Note:

1 [†+] 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].]
58
BEGINNING OF A DOCUMENT

P. Leiden RMO F1965/4.2 side (B) 96 × 115 mm (script) 8th century Plate XXV
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. Möeger of Soestdijk. The trader’s mark on the papyrus, JT 33, makes it clear that it came from the same source as the Teshlum archive published by Michael Green (OMRO 64). (email 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. ἀλα: literally ‘old man’ (ἀλα, Heuser 10, 33, 46, 54, 67).
6. kátaxe: as well as 'hold back', an interpretation of kástheo as 'detain, arrest' (Förster WB) may also be applicable here.
7. πiae: there is no name ending -πiаe recorded in Heuser, but P.Duk. inv. 469, published by Markiewicz 2002, has the name of a presbyter ending -ιαтη.

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 1.15. 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. + пενειωτή μετάκαιπ[θηρε ...]
2. εκλατῆ περιατε [ε? ... ]
3. εκολ θερε [ν[ ... ]
4. εκολ [πιατε τ.[ ... ]

1. + It is our father who writes to his son ...
2. who is under the fathers (?) [...]
3. and come to me (?) [...]
4. tomorrow [...]

2. εκλατη: a parallel usage of εκλατη- 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' (σμοικως διάτης, cited in Crum, Dict. 4286 тωρι). пεριατε: the final ε is barely legible; although not recorded by Crum (Dict., 86b), the same plural form of περιατε is recorded in P.Bal. 192.14, which Kahle believed stood for περιατε 'our fathers'.

TEXT EXCAVATED AT WADI SARGA

60

ORDER FOR PAYMENT

P. Sarq 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. ἐνεχω[τ] πετσαλ ἰπεψαρη ϊν
2. παται[κωνια ... τ] ὑγκαλοverbatim
3. ΝΗΠΙ ΝΑ[ ]
4. γι(νετα] οιν(ου] κ(οι)δ(ος]Įμ[ηνοι[ ]...
5. ἄνανα στοιχ(ει) [vac.?]


1. ἰ It is our father who writes to his son NN
2. of the *dia*/κονια ... give 1 kados
3. of wine to Sh[...]
4. (Greek) Total, 1 kados of wine. In the month of [...]
5. ἰ Daniel agrees [...?]

2. παται*κωνια: this title is found at the Saqqara Monastery of Jeremias, see Wietheger 1992: 286.
4. κ(ο)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) It εμ[ ...] / 2 [γυγκα] 3ομ πεμπομενοι μεμερητ [...]/ 3 [...][... ‘...farewell in the Lord, our beloved [...]/ [...].’]...

Palaeography: A fairly large, right-sloping majuscule hand. The only ligature involves b and i.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 10-11.
1. It is our father who writes ...
2. Anoup ...
3. ... from ...

1. ΔΗΣΧΩ: the first four letters have faded and are illegible.
2. Ν.Ν.: read ΝΑΙΑΙ ΟΡΑΙΑ. ΑΙ. ±6: the title ΑΙΑΙ, or even ΑΙΩΥ, may be reconstructed.

62

FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201A (231) 33 × 60 mm (script) 8th century
No Plate 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 niplebeidhe (L.13) is mentioned in l. 3.


(A) ↓
1. + πενειφετ πενε[ι σοι οικομο πε] NN]
2. ΝΑΜΑ ±3 [...] [ ...]

(B) → Docket?
3. [...] ΠΜΑ ΠΝΑΣΕΒΕΙΔΗΣ
4. [...] ΡΙΠΝΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΦΕΤ [...]

1. It is our father who writes to his son NN]
2. of the place ... [...]
3. ... of Pma niplebeidhe
4. ... from our father [...]

2. ΠΝΑ (±3): reconstruct ΠΜΑ ΠΝΑΣΕΒΕΙΔΗΣ as in l. 3, if side (B) does indeed contain the docket.
63
FRAGMENT

BL Or. 6201B (94) Plate XXVII

90 x 122 mm (script) 8th century
Mid-brown papyrus

Preservation: The right-hand side of this 3-line text is preserved; in ll. 1 (πανομος) and 2 (μαντεχαο), 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.


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. […] It is [our father] who 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 [n]υν - "the son of"?
3. [στεφν]: for a parallel spelling of Stephen, see P.Bal. 239.3 (στεφν).

n[±3]ομενε: this text does not appear to end with νιραλε, as does No. 52.5 (μιραλε). Possibly read ρομε νε?

64
FRAGMENT

P.CYBR inv. 1820
Formerly P.Yale inv. 1819b

43 x 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.


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>.]
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

1. [† περε[ι(α)ρτερ]ς περεκαλι
2. [νυμφαί[ε]ι[ναι (πα)λαγ
3. [ ... ]ταλε
4. [ ... ]ἀποί [ηα[?]
5. [ ... ]γολτε[ς][ές]

1. [†] It is [our father] who writes
2. [to his son] Papa Palau
3. [...]
4. [...] the field of Al[...]
5. [...] [...]

2. Παλα (παι)λαγ: the final letter γ looks more like a v 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.Batl. 252 ad 1. 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 Driot
1931–43: 51, No. 10.8; 54, No. 27.10, 15 [father of Camoul]); in ‘salle 6’ (Maspero and Driot
1931–43: 75, No. 145.1, 2, 3 [brother of Helen]).
3. ταλε: τ may be preceded by a letter.
5. γολτε: restore [ἀγολτε] ‘wagon’ (Crum, Dict. 26a), or as a form of εόρτε ‘knife’ (Crum, Dict.
829b), comparing P.Lond. IV 1631 col. 4, 1. 10. Alternatively, the initial letter may be κ rather than ς.

65

FRAGMENT

BM EA 75329
Plate XXVII

90 x 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.
This document is concerned with an account, possibly of produce from one of the monastery gardens, or
from Hermopolite Teshne (1.13).

1. [† περε[ι(α)ρτερ]ς περεκαλι
2. Παλα κ.[ ... ]
3. ... Πολογος η[π] ... ]
4. εοτοι ετεφι[ν] ... ]
5. ... ερφι[νς ες] [ ... ]
6. ... 2ακ[ ... ]
7. ±3 [ ... ]

3 l. Πολογος 4 l. Πολογος 5 l. Πολογος 6 l. Πολογος
1. It is our father who writes to his son ...
2. of Apa K-1 ...
3. The account of ...
4. in(to) the garden/Teshnê ...
5. ... a half ... [ ... the]...
6. ... smith (?) ... of/from Papa ...
7. ... [...]...

1. †: this symbol extends well above the other letters in l. 1 and descends almost as far down as l. 3.
6. ἀρμακ: possibly reconstruct a variant of the term ἀρμακ which occurs in P.Sarga 171.5 (ἴσθανεν ἀρμακ); another variant of this term, ἀρμακ, may be interpreted in P.HermitageCopt. 14.15, where it was construed by Ernshöld as a function connected with sesame. For suggested meanings of ἀρμακ, including 'sesame', see No. 81 ad l. 9. A personal name Φοιμακου 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 h, and ligatures.
Provenance: Unknown.
This fragment may reveal more of the layout of the monastery, as it mentions the 'western men's apartment (ἀνδρῶν). 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. [†
2. [† πενειοτε πετ]εύθεν μηχάρη
3. [ ... ] παναρον ἕμεντ
4. [ ... ] ἀπα ἰσθανή
5. [ ... ] ±2 ἤκο τα ονειρ ±2
6. [ ... ] ±3?
7. [ ... ] ±3?
1. [†
2. [† It is our father who] writes to his son
3. [...] the western men's apartment
4. [...] Apa Iohannes
5. [...] covering(s) for these ... (?)
6-7 [...] ...

3. παναρον: or plural παναρον 'the men's apartments'?
5. [SJC had doubts over the reading of this line.]
PRACTICE TEXT/FRAGMENT?

BM EA 75301 side (B) 28 × 106 mm (script) 8th century Plate XXVIII 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 n.

Provenance: Unknown.


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. + πενειατ ρετσαι ηπη- + It is our father who writes to his
2. οηρε Κλουξ son Klouj.

FRAGMENT

BM EA 75302 side (B) 38 × 148 mm (script) 8th century Plate XXVIII 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.


↓
1. + πενειατ ρετσαι ηπη- + It is our father who writes to his
2. [οηρε ΝΝ ... ] [son ΝΝ ... ]
3. ...

2. +: the right end of the horizontal curves down to the right.

FRAGMENT

P.CYBR inv. 5003 side (B) c. 75 × 85 mm (script) 8th century Plate XXVIII 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.

1. הֶנֵךְ נֶאֶבֶן נֶה[כָלִי נְעַגָּה] - It is our father who [writes to his
2. son ...]
3. [...]

2. ±5: the name of the addressee has faded but may have begun ον-, possibly ονακοινον;</p>

70

FRAGMENT

P.CtYBR inv. 4999
Plate XXIX
60 x 83 mm
(script) 8th century
Light brown papyrus

Preservation: The right-hand side of the first 2 lines of this text are preserved, beneath which a fragment of another papyrus is attached upside down. The other side is blank.

Palaeography: A confident, right-sloping majuscule hand with markedly rounded ς.

Provenance: Unknown.


1. [ד נֶאֶבֶן נֶה[כָלִי נְעַגָּה] - It is [our] father who writes to his
2. son NN ...]

71

FRAGMENT

P.Vindob. K 11394 side (B)
Plate XXIX
70 x 90 mm
(script) 8th century
Light brown papyrus (see No. 90)

Preservation: All 5 lines of text are preserved on a papyrus which has broken in two from top to bottom.

Palaeography: An experienced, small, right-sloping hand which employs mainly majuscule forms, mixed with some cursive forms.

Provenance: Unknown.

Acquisition: See L.15.

1. הֶנֵךְ נֶאֶבֶן נֶה[כָלִי נְעַגָּה NN נְעַגָּה] - It is our father [who writes to his son, NN, the rear-
2. er of young. Give fo[urforty?] ...]
3. to Anoup the notarios [...]
4. [...]nné which he (?) ... [...]
5. [...].
TEXTS WRITTEN ON THE OTHER SIDE OF OUR FATHER-FORMULA DOCUMENTS

72

DOCUMENT ADDRESSED TO THE DIKAIION OF THE MONASTERY

P.Mich. inv. 578 side (A) 88 x 101 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXX 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 l. 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.
Palaecography: A right-sloping majuscule hand with elaborate λ (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 dikaiion of the Bawit monastery, if it did not originate from there.
Acquisition: See I.15
If the term ἀσφάλεια can be restored in l. 4, this may well have been a guarantee (ἀσφάλεια).

1 [ ... ]πολεμαγανης πρωμετ[ ... ]
2 [ ... ][ ... ]μα[ ... ][ ... ]καιον μισομα[ ... ]
3 [ ... ]μαίνεις μισομα[ ... ]
4 [ ... ]μαίνεις μισομα[ ... ] vac.?
1 […] the son of Iohanes, from T […]
2 […] to the dikaiion of the Monastery of […]
3 […] God-[lo]ving, holy father […]
4 […] guarn[ante]e?"

73

LETTER

P.Mich. inv. 1300 side (A) 100 x 165 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXX 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.
Palaecography: A fluent, semi-cursive hand employing numerous ligatures, including the ‘ace-of-spades’ ep (l. 2, μέρη; l. 6, ἐφοιτάτης ἐφοι).
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 Philemon to whom the writer has written. The addressee is exhorted not to be angry.

↓

1 [ ... ] (I.11) εἰρπραοψ\[ ... ] Khoi xe [ ... ]
2 [ ... ] παρα περαιεν ταξιογξη Khoi xe [ ... ]
3 [ ... ] ημεριοτητις ηπιαξιος πιαιρτ(ουχλαρισ) xe ημεριουλιμουμι
4 [ ... ] xe τι ηιει 2το πογοου μινουτε [ ... ]
5 [ ... ] xe ηπιπις ηπιαξιομι μαα αοι xe [ ... ]
6 [ ... ] ηπιρπεριοτητις εροι xe ηλοκ αίκαί + ηα ηειει μυογ
7 [ ... ] xe αειει αειει ετεοι + οκαλι +

2. ταξιογξη: Кhoi xe ταξιογξη?
3. επιρπεριοτητις εροι: Pap. 3, 5 I. φιλιμυομι 6 I. xe

1 [... ] more than the rest ... You know that servants do not/cannot
2 [... ] letter to my lord, the chartularius that Philemon did not
3 [... ] give you, by the will of God, I should ... you
4 [... ] that I wrote to Philemon but consider that I did not bring
5 [... ] do not be angry with me because I have written. + This I am writing
6 [... ] through this humble letter + Farewell +

2. ταξιογξη: I take this to be a form of ηπιαξιομι, 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 ηπιαξιομι is to be interpreted transitively or intransitively.

3. ηπιαξιος: the initial η does not resemble any others in this text and looks more like a ligature whose second component is an ε.

πιαιρτ(ουχλαρισ): parallels are recorded at Förster WB χορτοδάρος.

3, 5. ημεριουλιμουμι: Kahle gave parallels for Φ > ιφι in Coptic documents, including one from the Balaya Monastery of Apollo (P.Bal., I p. 133, §117).

4. ουχλαρισ: it may be that this is a rare occurrence of η > ι (P.Bal., I p. 100, §76d), and should be interpreted as ουχλαρισ 'I should pay you'. The word ουχλαρισ may also be an unusual form of υνηθ ι φιλιμυομι 'shake' (Crum, Dict. 241b), although its meaning is unclear.

5. αοι xe [ ... ]: compare the usage in P.Lond.Copt. I 220, fol. a, l. 1: αοι xe ανεχαται ... ηπιαμι

7. [ ... ] xe αοι: restored after No. 74.6.
74

PRIVATE LETTER

P. Princeton Garrett deposit 1924
H.I. Bell No. II 21 side (A)
Plate XXXI

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 Keril'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. Ἐξήκλεσάν

2. Ἐξήκλεσάν ἰσιόδορος τὸν ἑτταὶ προς [...]

3. ἤπατον τὴν ἤπατον τὴν ἤπατον ἤπατον ἤπατον [...]

4. ἔχεις ἔχεις ἔχεις ἔχεις ἔχεις ἔχεις [...]

5. ἐλέησόν τοὺς τὴν ἔλεησόν τοὺς τὴν ἔλεησόν [...]

6. ἔθηκεν οὐκ ἔθηκεν ἔθηκεν ἔθηκεν [...]

2. Αἴκησαν. 5. Εἴησαν. 6. ἔθηκεν. 7. ἔθηκεν. 8. ἔθηκεν. 9. ἔθηκεν.

1. ↓

1. Ἐξήκλεσάν

2. Ἐξήκλεσάν οὗτοι τὸν ἑτταὶ προς [...]

3. ἤπατον ἰσιόδορος τὴν ἤπατον τὴν ἤπατον [...]

4. ἔχεις ἔχεις ἔχεις ἔχεις [...]

5. ἐλέησόν τοὺς τὴν ἔλεησόν [...]

6. ἔθηκεν οὐκ ἔθηκεν ἔθηκεν [...]

6. Εἴησαν ἔθηκεν: compare the ending of No. 73 which refers to Εἰησαὶ ἔθηκεν (l. 7).

75

ORDER FOR PAYMENT TO A BEEKEEPER

P. Vindob. K. 11375 side (A)
Plate XXXI

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.
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).

\[ \text{The papyrus breaks off.} \]

2. 2a ηγεί τη ιταμαχοδόι δι' ἡ νομίμησιν

1. † Give a lakoote of wine to this beekeeper.
2. er for the bees which he harvested. (Greek) By Phib †
3. (Coptic) And sell a lahē (?) 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 <an> man for Enoch and

[A personal name is expected as the first element of the now-lost l. 6.]

2. ηγεί τη ιταμαχοδόι δι' ἡ νομίμησιν

1. ΗΡ Φιβ, the ed. pr. read ΗΡ 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 ΗΡ—meaning 'fly'—stands for ΗΡ ΗΡικος, 'bee' (literally 'honey-fly'), here.

2. ιταμαχοδόι: it is noteworthy that the verb, ιταμαχοδόι meaning 'to harvest' (Crum, Dict. 766a), can be applied to apiculture as well as agriculture (fruit, corn, and flowers).

3. Λαχη: as the ed. pr. posits, it seems most likely that this is a form of the common wine measure, the lathe.

4-5. ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ: the ed. pr. read ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ, but here, ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ has been omitted.

4. ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ: the ed. pr. suggests that the drink known as φούσκα (posca) may have been intended here (Hasitzka 2001: 57), see CPR XII 12.4. SB Kopt. 1 679.5–6 (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.

5. ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ: the ed. pr. read ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ, but here, ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ ΠΙΕΝ has been omitted.

5. ΠΕΝ ΠΕΝ: the ed. pr. read ΠΕΝ ΠΕΝ 'Enouche', an unattested personal name (Hasitzka 2001: 57). The form η is, however, well attested for η, 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) 96 x 115 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXXII 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.
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

Palaeography: An experienced, right-sloping majuscule with a few ligatures.
Provenance: Unknown.
Acquisition: As for No. 58.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{ ἄνοηκ τὰ \text{±4} } \ldots \\
2 & \text{ ἀεν} \text{ πὲν} \text{ ±3} \ldots \\
3 & \text{ πὲν} \text{ ±4} \ldots \\
4 & \text{ μενειοῖται \text{η[ε]τερωιελ Ἐ[...]} \\
5 & \ldots \ldots \text{.ε} \text{ ±4} \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

1. τὰ ±4: a name may have been written here. It does not appear possible to reconstruct here the formula ἄνοηκ παγον NN, which I have linked with the Bawit monastery of Apollo (P.Mon.Apollo, p. 16, §3.2.1).

DOCUMENT MENTIONING EISBATIKON

P. Louvain Lefort copt. 24 side (B) 55 × 165 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXXII
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 τὰ ligature (τὰ [x 2] and η[ε]τερωιελ, l. 3) which features a tall, central vertical.
Provenance: Unknown. Possibly issued to the dikaios of the Monastery of the holy Apa Apollo at Bawit.
Acquisition: As for No. 43.
The monk Kolthe writes to the dikaios 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).

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{ ἄνοηκ παγον κολθῃ...} \ldots \text{περονοχὸ} \text{Σεαλ} \ldots \\
2 & \text{ φηγιος ἄπο κολθῃ ετοτη πνευματοτετρανοια ἐπιτι[...] \\
3 & \text{ μορομήν ἀριθμω οιαγ ηκεςτικον} \text{ ηπιτι[...] \\
4 & \text{ μετε μ.μ.λ.ι.δε...} \text{παλαισ} \text{ μη θηρο} \text{ ητ[...] \\
5 & \ldots \ldots \text{.κ[...] \\
1 & \ldots \text{.λ[...]} \text{.κ[...] \\
2 & \ldots \text{.κ[...]} \text{.κ[...] \\
3 & \text{ you, and I have not given you any eisbatikon ... [...]} \\
4 & \ldots \text{.κ[...].κ[...]
\end{align*}
\]
1. It is now possible to determine whether this document began with a ρ or a ρ.

[... name, the initial letter of which may be a М or a Χ—possibly read МЕΛΑΝΗ, ΜΕΛΑΝΗ, or ΜΕΙΑΝΗ, or these combinations beginning Χ-, none of which are attested in Heuser or NB. It does not seem possible to read the name ΑΕΛΑΝΗ (Hasitzka et al. JJP 29, 1999: 20, No. 22), or ΑΕΚΑΝΟΣ (Heuser 89). Possibly a variant of Λ(ε)νά (P.Mon.Apollo 53 ad l. 2).

4. ΜΕΛΑΝΗ, ΤΑΠΛΟΪΑΣ: read ΜΕΛΑΝΗ, ΤΑΠΛΟΪΑΣ or ΜΕΙΑΝΗ, ΤΑΠΛΟΪΑΣ etc.

78

RECEIPT FOR OIL?

BL Or. 6201B (204) side (A) 65 x 115 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXXII 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.


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. [ ... ] ΜΕ ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΡ[ ...]
2. [ ... ] ΗΤΕΟΝΗ ΗΡΚΑΣΤ ΠΛΑ ΠΙΚΑΡΝΟΣ[ ...]
3. [ ... ΜΗ]ΤΕΟΝΟΥΣΕ ΗΠΕΡΑΝΘΥ ΓΙ(ΝΕΤΑΙ) ΚΕΡΑΣΑΙ Μ ΞΗΣΤΑΙ ? ...]

3 l. ΚΕΡΑΣΑΙ, ΜΗ ΠΑΡ., Ι. ΞΗΣΤΑΙ

1. [ ... ] Iohannes ... [ ...]
2. [ ... ] of Teshnê-neraht/the fullers' garden for the harvest ...]
3. [ ... ] twelve carats. (Greek) Total 12 carats, sextarri ...]

1. ...: it may be possible to read ΠΕΡΙΚΑΣΑΙ [ΜΗ] ΘΗΣΗΣ ‘[who] writes to his son’.
2. ΗΠΕΡΑΝΘΥ ΗΠΕΡΑΣΤ: possibly restore here a title such as ΠΡΕΘΟΣΠΟΣ ‘priest’, ΠΡΟΜ ‘the man from ...’, or one of the many personal names beginning ΠΡ.

2. ΗΠΕΡΑΝΘΥ: this could be interpreted as ‘the fullers' garden’, or, as Crum (Dict., 311 pwoe, citing ΗΠΕΡΑΝΘΥ) 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, πωτ).
FRAGMENTARY LETTER TO A SUPERIOR

BM EA 75309 side (A)  80 x 92 mm  (script) 8th century  Light brown papyrus (see No. 41)
Plate XXXIII

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 (coöyn, l. 5); ε begins with a small, tight curl; η can be wide and large.

Provenance: Unknown.


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 αἰρετις, l. 7).

1  ±12  οὐκ ψω[ ... ]
2  παὶ ἐτωοοὶ ὅ τεκμη[...]...
3  ἐτιθεμαλακονεία ἑ[ ... ]
4  ἡμε τα τετιμήτε[ ... ]
5  ἡτοτ coöyn ἥξε ἡν[ ... ]
6  ἐτπαγκαὶ εἰπαρακαλε[ ... ]
7  αυχεὶ σαρπικι εἰν τη[ ... ]
8  μηθηρι ηνανεχε .[ ... ]

31. Διακονία

1  ... wish [...]...
2  this which is with your [...]...
3  ... ῥακωνία [...]...
4  man for your [...]...
5  father knows that there is no [...]...
6  that I write, asking[ ...]
7  their making a choice in the [...]...
8  fatherhood will approve [...]...

7. αὐχεὶς σαρπικί: refers to the people responsible for making the αἰρετις, '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 (αἰρετις ὑπαρκνατη).  

8. ἀνεξε: may also be interpreted as ‘hold (back)’ or ‘be patient’ here.
80
END OF A LETTER

P.CiYBR inv. 1824 side (B) 70 × 109 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXXIII 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.


[SJC noted ‘the transcription needs a lot more attention!’]

↓

1  [...], τί επέστρω κατα δυνάμειν.[...]
2  [...] οἱ ἔκ τῆς ζ. αὐτὸς [...] [...]
3  [...] τιμιοτάτου αὐτοῦ [...] [...]
4  [...] ἔστω πολλά [...] [...]
5  [...] ἔστω καὶ τὰ ἀληθεύοντα [...]
6  [...] ἀπελήξεται [...]

1  [...] give you letter(s) and he sent it/them [...]
2  [...] ... to me that ... [...]
3  [...] ... I was disheartened [...]
4  [...] ... that/because ... [...]
5  [...] you are worthy of seeing us and [...]
6  [...] ...and her children [...]


81
FRAGMENT OF A MONASTIC LETTER

BL Or. 6201 A (179) side (A) 143 × 175 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXXIV 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.

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 ἄκη, possibly a container used for commodities including wine. The field of Le and a person named Αἰδρ are mentioned.

↓

1  ↓
2  ↓
3  ↓
4  ↓
5  ↓
6  ↓
7  ↓
8  ↓
9  ↓
10↓

2 l. ἡμικ, εὐνοο, ἀσκησθαίνοντε 3 l. φτια(…?) ἡφος πλευ 3, 8 l. ἐνθ 3 l. ἀνεχθ 4 l. ἀεί [ἐκ]
5 l. ἡμος ἡμᾶς? 6 l. ἕξτο κατε τήν 7 l. ἅλος ἀνεχθαίνω 8, 9 l. ἔρνε 8 l. [τέ]? 9 l. ἡμοο
10 l. πενήνευσε

1  ↓
2  ↓
3  ↓
4  ↓
5  ↓
6  ↓
7  ↓
8  ↓
9  ↓
10↓

and after we came north, your devoutness [...]
... Phoile/e/the field of Le for you in any way. The brothers [...] in the midst of everyone. God knows that I came (?) to you [...] my devout lord father order[s/ed?] it ... [...]
in on us (εζούν εὑρίσκον) because we sold what was ours until we came ... [...] us according to the opinion that has arisen amongst you. They did not give Αἰδρ [...] need[ed?] to work, we gave ... [...]
because of the lack of ἄκη, they did not give it to us. These things we write [...] and remember us in your holy prayers, our lord ...]

3. φτια μ.: the interpretation of this word or combination of words is obscure.
φοι ἐλευ. literally the ‘field of le’, involving the same component, i.e., as ημικ (1.13).
ηταγεῖν is either involves a relative past tense form ηταγειν, followed by a verb ικι or ιε[...]; or may be restored ηταγειν of Tauceit (David)?
7. προς πλευ: for a similar usage of διόξον, compare προς ὑκοιν μη προς τακτικαί μεσκότ, P.KRU 7.28.
ταρμ: literally ‘Hagrite’; for this personal name, see NB Dem. 766 (hgr), and Heuser 34, 42, 45.
8. ε.: read ενικ;? εεη τεχκραία τε νερζων: I have taken the τε to have been wrongly included by the scribe, who was possibly influenced by the common phrase κατ τεκριστα τε (numerous examples are listed at Förster WB 28).
Is this reading better then -εη τεχκραία τενερζων (for ητερζων)?
ητερζων: read ησεθι?
θομή: looks like ‘day fifteen’!
αἰκα[...]: a reading of ἀικα[...] is also possible.
9. άκη: this word has been variously interpreted as a utensil or a product. Westendorf (KU 484) favours a link with ikni (οἰκο) ‘sesame’, whereas Cerny (CED 3) preferred ikni ‘instrument’. Crum posited that the
occupation άμακη in *P.Sarga* 171.5 may designate an iron tool-maker, suggesting a connection with ὀξίς, ‘pointed object, needle, arrow’; see No. 65 ad l. 6 for this title. In BL Or. 6201 B (66), an unpublished Coptic document from the same collection as the present text, άκη is spoken of in connection with a quantity of wine, λακούτε προς ταύτης (cited in Crum, *Dict.*, p. xiv addendum to p. 3b άκη). If οι is to be interpreted in this text as ‘in’ rather than ‘on’ or ‘and’ (Crum, *Dict.* 643a), then it may be that an άκη was a container used for wine.

The same text also mentions that άκητι ταή άκη παταρικός, ‘you took the άκη from these unfortunates’. Two unpublished Turin ostraca provide further clues to the identification of άκη: it could be purified—τιθο ταή άκη έκολο, ‘purify the άκη’ (Farina 426), and it could be found in a passage (πάροδος): ταή άκη παταρικός, ‘the άκη of the passage’ (Farina 651). Both ostraca are cited by Crum (*Dict.*, p. xv addendum to p. 3b άκη) together with a Bodleian Library papyrus, MS d 203, which records what appears to be a plural form, λακούτες.

Three other occurrences of άκη are known to me: in *P.Fay.Copt.* 53 frag. B l. 3, and unpublished P.Mich. inv. 1200 (ΑΥΚΑΛΑΙΑΚΗ έΚΟΛΟ, l. 4, ‘they dispatched άκη’; [...] ΚΑ ΤΑΗ έΚΟΛΟ, l. 6, ‘[...] dispatched?’ the άκη’), and inv. 4555 (ΠΩΣΟ ΝΑΚΗ, ‘the gift of άκη’).

82

LETTER (GREEK)

P.Camb. UL Michael. 830 side (A) text 2 236 x 138 mm (script) 7th century Plate XXXV 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)our 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 | [ ... | έν Χριστω: αστάξομαι τήν ύμετέραν
2 | [ ... | εύ πράσττουσαν ές σι ο άσιος λαίδος έπι
3 | [ ... | ο καί άφθαρτον υμών οίκον
4 | [ ... | μέχρι μικρός οίκος
5 | [ ... | ο ή-ήμετερος πατήρ ‘Αββα άπολλω διαφορίζοις
6 | [ ... | ύμας εύ πράσττους γεοργί
7 | [ ... | έστειλα προς ιμάς αργίνοντα
8 | [ ... | έις?] χρείαν τον άσιον λαίδο καὶ τόν
9 | [ ... | ήμας συμπλήκτων αυτῷ σφύν
10 | [ ... | καὶ άμας οὔσματα αυτών
11 | [ ... | έν] τούτῳ ὀσπερ καὶ έν ἀπασίν
12 | [ ... | έν Κύριω ἀπ"
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

1 [... ] in Christ, I salute your
2 [... prospering ... the holy people ... ]
3 [... ] ... your house
4 [... ] ... until a little (?) so
5 [... (you) 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. εὐ προϊτησον: restore before this an abstract noun such as φιλανθρωπία, "philanthropy"?
3. επι can be read instead? Klaas Worp suggested reading ἐπὶ but could not convince himself it was right.
4. μέχρι μικρῶν: not attested in the Duke Database of Documentary Papyri.
10. η ὄψιν: or read γών as Klaas Worp suggests.

FRAGMENTARY DOCUMENT

BM EA 75301 side (A) 28 x 106 mm (script) 8th century Plate XXXIV 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.

1 τ...[
2 ἨΜΟΣ (ὑπὸ) εἰδ(ικτίων) ΠΕ[X]. ΠΕ[ ... ]
3 ξΕ ΕΙ[ ... ][ ... ]
4 [ ... ][ ... ][ ... ]

2 l. ημος ινειον = ημος μαζων. ινειον = μαζων.

1 [... ] [... ]
2 [ ... ][ ... ][ ... ]
3 [ ... ][ ... ]
4 [ ... ][ ... ]
END OF A CONTRACT?

P. Louvre E 27616 side (A) 39 x 167 mm (script) 8th century Mid-brown papyrus (see No. 9)
Plate XXXIV

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 ii. 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 ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ [NN] (see P.Mon.Apollo, p. 20); another is from Tepōt in the Hermopolite nome (I.13).

↓

2. ΜΟΣ ΑΥΘ ΑΙΣΧΑΙ ΝΤΑΕΙΧ + ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΝΝ [ ... ]
3. ΜΝ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΦΙΚ ΝΤΕΙΗΝ ΑΥΘ ΝΝ [ ... ]
4. [+] ΑΝΩΚ ΠΑΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ ΑΥΚΟΡΩΤ ΑΙΣΧΑΙ ΑΡΦΟΥ? [ ... ]
1. [...][...][...]
2. ... and I wrote with my hand. + I, broth[er (pason) NN ...]
3. and brother (pason) Phil from Tepōt, and [...]
4. [+] I, Papa Ptolemaï, was asked and I wrote on their behalf? [...]

3. ΑΥΘ ΜΕ: Crum (Dict. 20a, ΑΥΘ, part iv) suggested that this seemingly tautologous usage may be archaic.


LIST OF PAYMENTS

P.Camb. UL Green 8 side (A) 165 x 90 mm (script) 8th century Light brown papyrus (see No. 10)
Plate XXXVI

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 \( \chi \) (l. 2) and \( \kappa \) (l. 6), both of which feature serifs.

Provenance: Unknown. The presence of Keri’s signature (l. 11) on the document subsequently written on this papyrus, No. 10, suggests that it was used at the Bawit monastery.


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. \( \pm 2 \). \( \pm 4 \) [...]
2. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
3. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
4. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
5. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
6. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
7. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
8. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
9. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
10. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
11. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
12. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]
13. [... ] \( \kappa \) [...]

2, 3, 4: \( \kappa \) pap. 7: \( \kappa \) pap. 8, 13: \( \kappa \) pap.

1. [... ] for the [...]
2. [... ] the gardeners [...]
3. [... ] carpenters [...]
4. [... ] —— 2
5. [... ] the builder and Apollo
6. [... ] on the door ——
7. [... ] two alert watchmen
8. [... ] of the pistikos ——
9. [... ] ——
10. [... ] and Kelkas (?) and the father of the field
11. [... ] of the field of Makare and the father of the field [...]
12. [... ] two churches through Papa [...]
13. (Greek:) [...]

3. \( \pm 2 \): what is this? one of the letters is superscript, perhaps a \( \kappa \)?
6. \( \kappa \) [...]: literally ‘upon the door’, translated by analogy to current English usage ‘to be on the door’, possibly a variant of the title \( \kappa \) [...], ‘doorkeeper’ (Crum, Dict. 289a p). The \( \kappa \) is oversize.
7. \( \kappa \) [...]: ‘alert’.
9. \( \kappa \) [...]: is this the place name Nemhate which occurs in P.Mon.Apollo 51.4?
10. \( \kappa \) [...]: unattested personal name? Closest parallel = \( \kappa \) [...], Heuser 97, 123.
86

END OF A LETTER

BL Or. 6201 B (241) side (A) text I
Plate X
80 x 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.


This fragment of the end of a letter employs the same formula as found in No. 88.2, ΝΑΙ ΕΙΣΑΛΗ Μ' ΜΟΟΥ ΤΙΑΓΝΑΞ ...

1 [..] ±3 [ ±5 ]...[ ]...±6 [..]
2 [..] ΚΕ ΗΤΗΝ ΗΝΙ ε±2 ΑΥΘ ΗΜΗΑΜ[...]
3 [..] ΝΑΙ ΕΙΣΑΛΗ Μ' ΜΟΟΥ ΤΙΑΓΝΑΞ[ε ...]
1 [..] [..] [..]
2 [..] [..] and may he save [..]
3 [..] Writing these things, I salut[e ...]

2. ΗΤΗΝ: Teshnē?

87

END OF A LETTER TO A SUPERIOR

BM EA inv. 75330 side (A)
Plate XXXVII
115 x 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.


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 ΑΥΘ. ΗΗΤΗ ΗΤΕΤΕΘΕΥ ΤΕΥΚΑ[πια ...]
2 Τ. ΕΓΓΕΖΟΥΣΙΟΙ ΟΥΙ ΑΕΘ ΗΠΡΑΙ ΤΑΙ[...]
3 ΝΙΟΟΥ ΕΤΚΕ ΟΥΙΟΗ ΕΝΕΘ ΡΑΝΤΕΡΠΕ Τ[..]
4 ΝΙΟΟΥΝ... ΗΗΤΗ ΕΙΣΕΙΤΗ ΑΥΘ ΕΜ ΠΟΥΦ[σ]
5 ΝΙΟΟΥΝΤΕ ΤΗΝΗΥ ΕΝΕΙΣΘ ΤΑΙΡΡΟΚΥΝ[ε]
6 ΗΤΕΤΕΝΜΗΝΤΧΟΙΟΙ ΕΙΔΟΤ ΗΠΙ ΠΑΛΟΣ [ΤΗΡΕ]
IT IS OUR FATHER WHO WRITES

7 ΠΗΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΧΙΝ ΠΕΤΝΕΙΣΜΟΥ ΑΥ[...]
8 ΠΗΜΗΤΗ + ΚΘΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΤΡΗΤ ΙΘΗ ΠΗΜ[ΝΕΤΗ]
9 ἩΔΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΧΑΙ ΠΗΜΗΔΕΙΟΝ ΠΕΝΩΤ +

1, 6, 8 L. Ἱερεής 3 L. Ἱερεύς 4 L. Ἱερεύς Ἱερατεύς 5 L. Ἱερούτη 6 L. ΤΡΗΤ 7 L. ΠΗΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΗΜΗΠΗΤΗ 8 L. ΠΗΜΗΤΗ 9 L. ΠΕΝΩ-

1 ... [...] to you and you find the opportuni[ty ...]
2 ... he remained (?) ... [...] 3 today about a small (amount of) oil until he has time ...]
4 ... down to you. By the will ...]
5 of God, I myself and coming down and will greet]
6 your lordship father and [all] the devout people
7 and I will receive your blessing ... [...] 8 with you + We shall all farewell through [your]
9 holy prayers, our lord father +

6. ΠΑΧΩΣ [ΤΡΗΤ]: for several occurrences of this phrase, see Förster WB λαός.

88

END OF A LETTER

P.YaleCopt. 28
P.CITY BR inv. 2037 side (B)
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.


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, ΠΆΑΠΡΑΜ ΜΆΟΟΥ ΤΙΑΓΝΗΣ ...
FRAGMENT

BM EA 75308 side (A)  
Plate XXXVIII

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.
The writer of this now fragmentary letter invokes Apa Apollo, probably to bless his addressee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[ ... ] ±18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[ ... ] ην ηεκεβαϊσα ετογιακ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[ ... ] εψιλαγα[τ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[ ... ] εψιλαγα[τ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. τρεμισσις. 4. "επ. τρεμισσις."

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. ηεκεβαϊσα: [SJC wondered whether the γ could be read differently].
Εψιλαγα[τ]: read (αλπιος, "saint")?
4. τρεμισσις: very uncertain — note that Förster WBB does not record this form of τρεμισσις; the η is hard to read. Perhaps the final sign could be read not as an alpha, but an open beta.
6. ηεκεβαϊσα: perhaps a form of γεβαvanced?

FRAGMENTARY LETTER

P.Vindob. K 11394 side (A)  
Plate XXXIX

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 προεσδοσ, ‘your reverence’ (l. 3). Compare P.Bal. 208 in which a προεσδοσ is addressed in this way (l. 10). Similarly, the epithet ὁσιώτατον is commonly used when addressing bishops (Forster WP).

1 [ ... ] οὐκ ἔκχυε
2 [ ... ] ἅν όιν ἐρωτ.finish ὑτετνεβ.[...]
3 [... ἀπό?]τσε ἁτετασιος ἐκ[...]?

1 l. οὐκ 2 l. ὑτετνεβ- 3 l. ἁτετασιος

1 [... ] stole his utensils
2 [... ] he then went to them and you ... [...]
3 [... ] salut[e your reverence] father? ...]

91

FRAGMENTARY END OF A GUARANTEE

P.Vindob. K 11383 side (A) 43 x 125 mm (script) 8th century
Plate XXXIX 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 [ ... ](...) ζωτ(ωρ) [...]
2 [ ... ] ὅσι ἑρχεσ ὅσι πᾶσιν ἔρασιν ἑραδομοὶ [...]
3 [... ἀτρακίνος μηνός Φαροφ(ι) χε = ἑνδικ(τίφωνος) ἵε ἄνο[ ...]
4 [... ] Ἄμω Αβραάμ ποῖον Πανακὴ λυ[ ...]

1 ... pāp. ζωτ.-pāp. 2 l. ἑραδομ l. ἑραδομοὶ 3 l. ἀτρακίνος, ἑρα- pāp.
1 [... ] ... Vikt(or) [...]
2 [... ] as it was written, without any objection [...]
3 (Greek) [... ]...guarantee, in the month of Phaophi, (day) 25 //, indication 15. (Coptic) 1 [...]
4 [... ] Ἄμω, Abraam, son of Panake, 1 [...]

4. Πανακὴ: for the name Panake, see Heuser 85, 90.
PART III

INDEXES
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ΛΗΗ
ΛΑΒΣ (ΛΑΒΣΤΕ)
ΜΑΣΕ
ΛΝΟΚ
ΛΥΦ
ΛΨ (bee)
ΒΩΚ
ΚΟΛ
ΣΒΟΛ
6-
ΕΡΟ amat
ΕΚΕΙΤ
ΕΚΦΕΤ
ΕΡΤΟΙ
ΕΜΝΤ
ΕΧΙΤ
ΕΘΕΙΤ
ΕΤ-
ΕΤΚΕ-
ΕΩΦΙΕ
ΕΞΟΥΗ
ΗΡΗ
ΕΙ
ΕΙΗ
ΕΙΩ (ass)
ΕΙΕ
ΕΙΗΕ
ΕΙΗΕ

24. 4
22. 4
77. 3
81. 9
9. 2; 10. 5; 11. 3
3. 2; 5. 2; 10. 3
73. 6; 76. 1; 77. 1; 84. 2, 4; 91. 3, 4
4. 5; 29. 7; 31. 5; 37. 4, 12; 40. 3, 4; 55. 4; 63. 3; 74. 5; 75. 3, 4; 77. 3;
81. 2, 8, 10; 84. 2, 3; 86. 2; 87. 4; 89. 4
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see index 6
see index 7 (s.v. ὀρταξθή)
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CrPap = Papers of Walter Ewing Crum in the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford
KahlePap = Papers of Paul Kahle in the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford
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 Universiteitsbibliothek 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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