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RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG

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TOMASZ DERDA
ADAM ŁAJTAR
JAKUB URBANIK

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ΠΑΡΔΔΟΣ



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INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF PAPYROLOGY



UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION
CHAIR OF ROMAN LAW AND THE LAW OF ANTIQUITY



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FOUNDATION

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Keywords: variation, ancient Greek, lineage, Roman Egypt, Late Antique Egypt, parameters of variation.

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Keywords: declaration of birth, *lex Papia Poppaea*, public display of documents, exedra.

Anne BOUD'HORS

The Coptic ostraca of the Theban hermitage MMA 1152.

2. *Legal and economic documents (O. Gurna Górecki 69–96)*

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Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, MMA 1152, administration, taxes, guaranties, accounts.

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Keywords: labour contracts, παραμοναί, loans, προχρεία, liturgical work, chirographs, copies, αντίγραφον, ἴσον, notaries (High Empire), ταβελλίων (Late Antiquity).

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Keywords: Christian Nubia, onomastics, ghost names, Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian.

Stefanie SCHMIDT

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Keywords: Syene/Aswan, Elephantine, Deir Anba Hadra, bishops, Late Antiquity, early Islamic period, funerary inscriptions, credit loan, inscribed terracotta lamps, Christian Nubia, Adulis.

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language. It is a *paraphrasis* combining two series of lessons on the Digest, an index, and a *paragraphai* lecture. They are dated between spring of 534 and March of 536 and were taught by an unknown law teacher (in either Beirut or Constantinople). Afterwards, they were used by Stephanus for his *paragraphai* on the digest. The latter seems to have taught between March 536 and a short time after 542. The unknown law teacher was probably one of the eight addressees of Justinian's constitution *Omnem*, who taught at two law schools. Four of those *antecessores* have already been excluded by other authors. The others have left either no or too few texts. Therefore, the attribution to one of these *antecessores* is impossible, perhaps except for Anatolius, who taught in Beirut.

Keywords: Roman law, juristic papyrology, literary papyri, *Digesta Iustiniani*, law teaching in Greek, contract law, *paraphrasis*.

Jacques VAN DER VLIET

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321

Abstract: First edition of two funerary stelae from the Monastery on Kom H, Dongola, inscribed in Sahidic Coptic. Both stelae show interesting textual features and bear absolute dates that assign them to the third quarter of the eighth century.

Keywords: Christian Nubia, Dongola, Makuria, Sahidic Coptic, funerary epigraphy, monasticism.

Anne Boud'hors

**THE COPTIC OSTRACA
OF THE THEBAN HERMITAGE MMA 1152
2. LEGAL AND ECONOMIC DOCUMENTS
(O. GURNA GÓRECKI 69–96)**

THIS IS THE SECOND ARTICLE in the series announced in the previous *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*.¹ As in the first one, the indications concerning the dimensions, the material, and in a few cases the circumstances of the discovery of the ostraca, are due to Tomasz Górecki.² I divided the ostraca selected for this study into four categories: official legal documents, private legal documents, accounts, and various pieces looking like or related to dipinti.

Since I am taking as a starting hypothesis that all the ostraca found in the hermitage are historically connected to it, I will try to briefly justify their presence there. More on this problem will come in a final synthesis article, once all the texts have been published.

The photographs of the ostraca were taken by Dariusz Dąbkowski; they are published here courtesy of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw.

¹ Anne BOUD'HORS, 'The Coptic ostraca of the Theban hermitage MMA 1152. 1. Letters (O. Gurna Górecki 12–68)', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 47 (2017), pp. 45–100.

² Thanks to a table he sent me a few months before his death. I am grateful to Julia Górecka, who was kind enough to explain me the details written in Polish.

69–74. OFFICIAL LEGAL DOCUMENTS³

69–72. Texts related to letters of protection

The following four texts belong to the category called ‘letters of protection’. These texts are characterized by the formula εἰς πλοῦτος ἡπποῦγτε ἡτοοτῳ, ‘Here is the guarantee by God for you’, and have been collected, described and edited by Walter Till in *P. Schutzbriefer*. They have aroused a rather abundant scholarly literature, concerning especially their relationship with the right of asylum in the Byzantine Empire.⁴ Most of these documents are issued by one or more village officials, ensuring their addressees that they will not be prosecuted and/or may eventually return home in peace, sometimes with the payment of all or part of an owed sum. In a contribution published in 2007,⁵ Alain Delattre provided an updated synthesis of these texts, adding some recently published ones and reediting others. Since his article, some extra documents of this type have appeared,⁶ and there is no doubt that many more still rest in some collection or another.

Eline Scheerlinck is working on an overall interpretation of these documents as part of her doctoral thesis (Leiden University), which should

³ In this category, I will refer several times to two major studies: L. BERKES, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* [= *Philippika – Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen* 104], Wiesbaden 2017; A. DELATTRE & J.-L. FOURNET, ‘Le dossier des reçus de taxe thébains et la fiscalité en Égypte au début du VIII^e siècle’, [in:] *P. Stras. Copt.*, pp. 209–244.

⁴ See, among others, A. A. SCHILLER, ‘The Coptic λογος ἡπποῦγτε documents’, [in:] *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni I*, Padua 1933, pp. 303–345; Andrea HASZNOS, *Coptic Texts from the ‘Monastery of Cyriacus’ (TT 65)* [= *Studia Aegyptiaca* 20], Budapest 2013, pp. 50–51; G. SCHMELZ in *P. Scholl* 11 and 12 (introduction).

⁵ A. DELATTRE, ‘Les «lettres de protection» coptes’, [in:] *PapCongr XXIII*, pp. 173–178.

⁶ *O. Mon. Cyr.* 5 and 6; *O. Mon. Cyr.* 38 (identified as such and published by A. DELATTRE, ‘Un nouveau sauf-conduit copte de la région thébaine. Réédition de *O. Mon. Cyr.* 38’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 90 [2015], pp. 415–419: this article also contains corrections to *O. Mon. Cyr.* 5 and 6); *O. Saint-Marc* 322 and 323; *P. Scholl* 11 and 12 (papyri, perhaps from Hermopolis); *SB Kopt.* III 1365 (corrections by A. DELATTRE in *Tyche* 19 [2004], no. 520); *SB Kopt.*

help us to solve a number of difficulties. Indeed, these texts continue to pose various questions, and recently published pieces often bring new ones: Are they all from the same period? Beyond the different types defined by Schiller or Till, is it possible to establish a common definition for all these texts? What were they used for exactly? By whom are they written, by the officials themselves or rather by scribes?⁷ How are they related to tax receipts? To what extent are material and provenance relevant?⁸

This publication is not the place to answer these questions in detail, but they should be kept in mind in order to try to interpret the purpose of these four ostraca as well as the reason for their presence in the hermitage. Are the people for whom they are issued connected with the site? It may be noted that there is no such document in Frange's dossier, whereas three were found at the 'Monastery of Cyriacus', two at the *topos* of St Mark, and the 'Monastery of Epiphanius' also provided some texts related to the same topic. In the village of Djeme, they do not seem to have been particularly numerous, unlike the tax receipts, which were found there in large quantities. This relative dispersion fits the apparent function of these documents: intended to guarantee the tranquility or impunity of certain persons or groups of people, they were scattered among the people who needed them and for whom they were issued.

Two of the texts published here are true 'letters of protection', whereas the other two, more fragmentary, are rather witnesses of the correspondence caused by issuing these letters.

III 1367; *O. Bachit ZentralBau*, *O. Dan. kopt.* 36 (for the ostraca from Deir Bakhit, see <https://www.koptolys.gwi.uni-muenchen.de>).

⁷ They mention scribes only exceptionally, unlike tax receipts, and their writing is more or less professional, less standardized than in the latter. In rare cases, the same scribes are attested for both kinds of documents, for instance Aristophanes son of John in *SB Kopt.* III 1368 (= *P. Schutzbriefe* 27), or *P. Crum VC* 9, written by Psate son of Pisrael, or *P. Schutzbriefe* 64, coupled with a receipt, written by Psate son of Pisrael. A palaeographic survey might help to identify hands.

⁸ *P. Akoris* 36 and 54, as well as *P. Scholl* 11 and 12 show that these documents are not exclusive to the Theban region.

69. Letter of protection for the monk Haron

Inv. no. C.O. 253

14 × 10.6 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

Letter of protection issued by 'the brothers of the *koinotes*', that is to say the college of the village authorities, for the monk Haron. The latter can go home without being sued and paying anything but a tax of one *tremissis* he still owes.

Documents of this type issued for monks are not very frequent. In *P. Crum VC* 8 (Djeme), all the brothers of a monastery (γενεετε) receive the guaranty that they can stay where they are living and that nothing more will be imposed on them than on their fathers. The document is signed by two *lashane*, one *ex-lashane*, two other people, and finally 'the whole community (κοινον) of the kastron'. *P. Crum VC* 9, a document of the same kind, is written by the Theban scribe Psate, son of Pisrael.⁹ This is consistent with the new rules aiming to tax monks individually, which must have come into effect at the beginning of the eighth century.¹⁰ *P. Schutzbriefe* 31 is a guaranty issued by Kyriakos, a priest and *begoumenos* of the mountain of Djeme, for a monk, that the latter can appear and will not be sued or mistreated, his only duty being to pay three carats (in order to complete one *tremissis*). This is one of the rare occurrences of documents not issued by an official, but an ecclesiastic, perhaps because he was responsible for collecting the taxes of monks.¹¹

The monk Haron can go home: does it mean that his home was the hermitage? Or that he was staying in the hermitage temporarily and is now permitted to come back to his usual place? In the second scenario, one would expect that Haron left, taking the ostrakon with him. The first scenario is thus more plausible (for possible other traces of his presence in the hermitage, see the commentary below).

⁹ Dated to 712 by P. E. KAHLE, 'Zu den koptischen Steuerquittungen', [in:] *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen der Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin 1974, pp. 283–285.

¹⁰ Petra SIJPESTEIJN, *Shaping a Muslim State. The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official*, Oxford 2013, p. 99.

¹¹ *P. Bal.* 188 (= *P. Schutzbriefe* 84) and *P. Scholl* 11 also involve monasteries. These two texts do not come from Thebes (*P. Scholl* 11 is probably from Hermopolis) and are not explicitly related to tax payments.

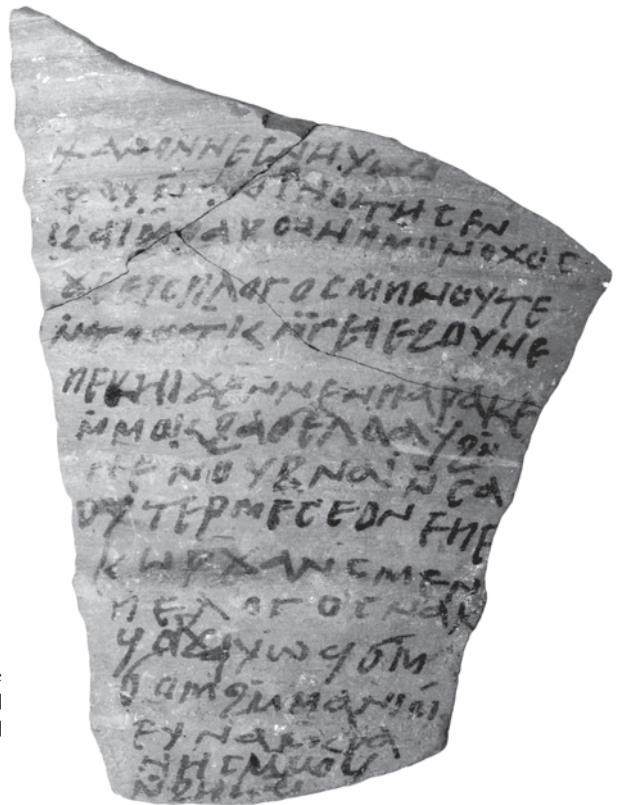
The document ends with a claim of its validity. However, it is not signed nor dated,¹² which contradicts that claim, as often happens in Coptic legal texts.

The hand is bilinear and slightly sloping, with letters well separated, and not regular. Note the form of the τ with a small upper appendix on the left side of the horizontal stroke. This feature occurs in some Theban ostraca, not necessarily of the same hand, for instance *O. Frange* 712, a tax receipt whose writing is of the same style; see also 84 below.

The language is standard Sahidic. The full article πє- (l. 11) and нє- (l. 8) is used with a deictic function, as in many Theban texts.

- 4 ⲡ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛєⲥⲛⲛⲩ ⲧⲏ-
 ϣⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲣⲓⲛⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲛ-
 ⲥⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲣⲁⲣⲏ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ
 8 ⲕⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲗⲟⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ
 ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̅ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥⲛ ⲉ-
 ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲓ ⲕⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉ
 ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲁ ⲃⲉⲗⲁⲁϥ ⲁⲛ̅
 12 ⲛⲉⲛⲟϥⲃ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲥⲁ
 ⲟϥⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲥⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲉ-
 ⲕⲱⲣⲁ̅ ⲁⲛⲥⲙⲉⲛ
 ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲑⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ
 16 ⲕⲟⲩⲟⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲗⲱ ⲕⲟⲙ
 ⲃⲟⲙ ⲁⲛ̅ ⲛⲓⲙ
 ⲉϥⲛⲁⲡⲉⲃⲁ-
 ⲛⲛⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲕ
 ⲛⲉⲣⲏⲧⲩ̅

2. *κουνότης* || 3. *μονάχος* | *η* before
 ⲉⲣⲁⲣⲏ seems to be a corrected *η* ||
 4. *λόγος* || 6. *παράγειν* || 9. *τριμήσιον* ||
 11. *λόγος* || 14–15. *ἐμφανίζειν*



¹² One could object that these elements were perhaps in the missing bottom of the ostracum, but I do not think so: the last line seems to have been written closely to the previous one, probably due to lack of space.

† We, all the brothers of the college, we write to Haron the monk: (4) here is the guaranty by God for you that you can enter your house, for we shall not pursue you for anything else concerning (8) these gold (taxes), except one more tremissis. For your security we made this guaranty for you: (12) it is valid and effective in every place it will be showed.

2. $\varsigma\iota\theta\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$: This college of the village officials ($\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\acute{\omicron}\nu/\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\varsigma$) who were responsible for the administration of Djeme is carefully described in Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung* (cit. n. 3), chapter 5. The rare examples of protection letters signed by this college are quoted *ibidem*, p. 171, n. 14: *O. Vind. Copt.* 61 (= *P. Schutzbrieife* 37) and *P. Crum VC* 8. In these last two documents, the mention of the *koinotes* is added at the end, as a way of reinforcing the authority of the individuals who signed. Here by contrast, the *koinotes* is the main issuer of the letter. In the equally rare expression ‘brothers of the *koinotes*’, ‘brother’ is the equivalent of ‘colleague’ and has nothing to do with a monastic context.

This written form of $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\varsigma$ with a ς at the beginning is not attested by Förster, WB. The article †- is perhaps due to the attraction of the following syllable $\varsigma\iota$.

3. I did not find any occurrence of a monk Haron in the Theban documentation. However, *O. Gurna Górecki* 11, a letter addressed by Frange to Apa Joseph, who probably was living in the hermitage MMA 1152, reads (ll. 6–9) ‘Be so kind, my beloved lord and father, and take/receive the blessing with my father Aaron and look after [...]’. This sentence remains unclear, due to imprecise formulation (at least for us): did Frange send Aaron to the hermitage with the blessing (possibly a concrete blessing, a gift)? Or does Frange ask Joseph to receive his blessing, including Aaron in the blessing, which could indicate that both are living together in the hermitage? Can this $\alpha\alpha\rho\omega\omicron\iota\iota$ be the same man as the $\gamma\alpha\rho\omega\iota$ of this letter, in spite of the different orthography of his name? This is difficult to say, and the connection of Haron with the hermitage remains uncertain.

8. $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon$: The expression probably refers to the gold taxes (= Greek $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$); see for instance *P. Ryl. Copt.* 117, under reedition by Alain Delattre and Naïm Vant-hieghem.

14–15. Förster, WB, gives another attestation of the written form $\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\iota\varsigma$ in the same verbal function (*O. Crum ST* 424, l. 25 [loan contract]). Although this security clause is expected in letters of protection, since the people concerned were likely to show the document when going home, it is in fact rare (according to Förster, WB, *P. Schutzbrieife* 41 is the only other attestation), much more than in sales or contracts.

70. Letter of protection for Kurikos and his children

Inv. no. C.O. 024

14.3 × 17.7 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

This letter belongs to Schiller's 'Summons Type' (Till's 'Einladungen zur Verhandlungen'). Kurikos and his children are guaranteed to be permitted to go home safely after Kurikos has come and had a discussion, probably in the frame of a dispute which could be settled by arbitration. Whatever the result of the discussion, the family will be free. The letter is signed by two *lashane*.

The document is a little elliptic. The guaranty to go home without being pursued is expressed first at the beginning (ll. 5–8), and repeated in another form in lines 11–12,¹³ whereas there is a short sentence in between, concerning a discussion and a possible agreement (or non-agreement); from parallels one can infer that there was an implicit invitation to come and meet the senders of the letter (see commentary).

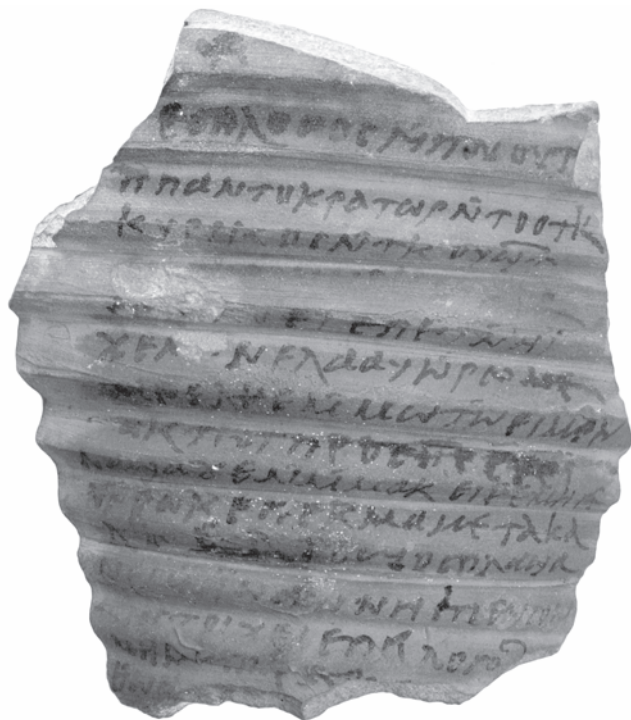
Again the question of the connection between Kurikos and the hermitage comes up. A Kurikos is attested in *O. Gurna Górecki* 56; unfortunately, this letter is so damaged that nothing can be said about its content. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that Kurikos had found refuge in the hermitage can be considered. Another possibility is that the letter had been sent to the inhabitants of the hermitage because they were supposed to have relationships with Kurikos and knew where he was staying.

The bottom of the ostrakon is broken, and the last two visible lines are difficult to interpret (see commentary). Thus the document was perhaps dated (see commentary on ll. 13 and 15–16).

The writing is bilinear and sloping, rather skillful (note the ligature $\epsilon\iota$ in l. 14).

†
 ἐς πλοῦτος ἡπνοῦτ[ε]

¹³ The expression $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ used in lines 11–12 is discussed extensively in an appendix to this edition.



- ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ἦΤΟΟΤΚ
 4 ΚΥΡΙΚΟΣ ἦΤΚΟΥΩΤ
 ἦΤΟΚ ΜΗ ΝΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ
 ἦΤΕΤῆΕΙ ΕΠΕΤῆΗΙ
 ΔΕ Ν[?] ΝΕΛΑΔΥ ἦΡΩΜΕ
 8 ΠΑΡΕΛΘΕ ἦΜΩΤῆ ΕΙ ΜΕΝ
 ΩΑΚΤΩΤ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΙ
 ΝΑΩΑΔΕ ΝῆΜΑΚ ΕΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΓΕ
 ΝῆΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΚΜΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΑ-
 12 ΛΟΥ ΕΛΙΣΑΙΟΣ ΠΛΑΩΑ-
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 ΤΝΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΛΟΓΟ΄Ε
 ΜΗΜ ΤΠΑΡΕΣ . . . [---]
 16 ΘΩΘ [---]

1. λόγος || 2. παντοκράτωρ || 8. παρελθεῖν | εἰ
 μέν || 9. πρὸς || 10. εἰ δὲ μή γε || 11-12. μετὰ
 καλοῦ || 14. στοιχεῖν | λόγος

† Here is the guaranty by God the almighty for you, (4) Kurikos of Tkousht, you and your children, that you can go home. Nobody will (8) pursue you. Either you agree with my way of discussing with you or not, you will go to your place freely. (12) Elisiaios the lashane and Ioannes his brother, we certify this guaranty ... (16) ...

2. ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ is not usual in this kind of document: see *P. Schutzbriefer* 64 (a tax receipt with a protection letter written by Psate son of Pisrael), and *O. Vind. Copt.* 63 (= *P. Schutzbriefer* 46), where the expression appears twice, at the beginning and in an oath at the end (ΕΝΩΡΚ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΕ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΝΤΙΖΑΡΕΖ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΣΟΜ ΜΠΕΙΛΟΓΟΣ). The latter text is perhaps written by the same Psate, son of Pisrael, and dated to 708 (according to Alain Delattre, seminar at the École Pratique des Hautes-Études, 6 November 2015).

4. ΤΚΟΥΩΤ: the word ΚΟΥΩΤ is attested in *O. Frange* 101 with the meaning of *costus*, a plant used to make medicine. Such a meaning is not suitable here; it must be a proper name, probably a toponym.

5. The reading of this line is very difficult, but it is formulaic.

7. There is a trace between the two η , but nothing is expected here.

8–12. For close parallels see:

a) *P. Schutzbriefe* 50, issued by the *lashane* Souai (on him, see Till, *Datierung*, p. 207; Delattre & Fournet, ‘Le dossier’ [cit. n. 3], p. 227, and *O. Stras. Copt.* 58, where an *ape* Souai signs a tax receipt dated to 716–717): † εἰς πλογοῦς μπινοῦτε ντοοτκ ντοκ μῆνα νγεί νταῶαχε νῆμακ. εἰ μὲν ἀπρῶβ ἀρικκε νὰκ ἀαρικκε. ἐῶωπε δε μῆον νγῶκ νὰκ μετὰ καλοῦ (‘Here is the guaranty by God for you, Mena, that you can come and talk to me. If the matter pleases you, it is pleasing. If not, you will leave freely’).

b) *O. Vind. Copt.* 187 (= *P. Schutzbriefe* 103): Ἰλογος νανῶαχε νταῶαχε νεμαχ. εἰ μὲν πρῶα ἀρεκε νεμαχ μετὰ καλοῦ. εἰ δε μὴ σε †να . . εἰς πλογοῦς ναχ, where μετὰ καλοῦ has an apodotic function (‘...the guaranty to Anthase that I talk to him. If the matter pleases him, all is well. If not, I will...’).

c) *P. Schutzbriefe* 86 (= *P. Mon. Epiph.* 96): ... ἐς πλογοῦς νπινοῦτε ντοοτq νραπιον νγει ἐρῆς νσοῦαε ἐροῦν μα νπαπας νσοῦπῶλδ μν νεγερῆγ ντηκῶ νερπ νσεβε-
Δαιος ἐβολ ναχ. μεακπῶλδ νγῶκ νὰκ μετὰ καλοῦ (‘Here is he guaranty by God for Hapion that he can come southwards and they will meet at Papas’ place and agree with each other, and we will leave him Zebedaios’ wine. If you do not come to agreement, you will leave in peace’. Crum interpreted με in μεακ as a false beginning for μετὰ καλοῦ, but it must instead be a negative form).

Note that in these texts, the recipient can leave safely after the meeting, without the place he is going to being specified. Also see *O. APM Inv.* 3871 edited by J. van der Vliet, ‘A letter to a Bishop, probably Pesynthios of Coptos (died AD 632) (*O. APM Inv.* 3871)’, [in:] *The Workman’s Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* [= *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 28], Leuven 2014, pp. 255–260.

Another interesting document is *SB Kopt.* II 914 (= *P. Laur.* III 125), a papyrus that could come from Oxyrhynchus (7th cent.?): † εἰς πλογοῦς ντοοτς ντεκμντ-
con νγεί ναι νταῶαχε νῆμακ | χε [ε]νελααχ μπεθοογ ταροκ. ἀγῶ χε ἐνεκαμφι-
βαλε | αἰςαἰ πειλογοῦς νὰκ † Ἀνανίας προεστ(ως) στοιχεῖ μοι ὁ λόγος. | † ἐγρ(άφη)
μη(νὶ) Μεσορῇ κγ ἰνδ[ικτίονος. .] / † (νο) † ταας μπρεαφ’ ροτε νcon παπα . . παπε
μφμχ † ριτν ἀπα ἀνανιας π(ροεστως): ‘Here is the guaranty for your Fraternity that you can come to me and I talk to you, and nothing bad will happen to you. So that you do not doubt, I wrote this guaranty’. The protagonists seem to be monks or clerics, and there is only λογος, not λογος μπινοῦτε.

A similar context of meeting could be suggested for the Greek safe-conduct *P. Cair. Masp.* 67090 (Aphrodite, 6th cent.), according to Herbert Liebesny (Appendix to *P. Schutzbriefe*, p. 140). The document is issued by a *commentariensis* to village officials (and the whole *koinotes*, see 69 here): ... ἐχοντες τὸν λόγον παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπο(ν) καὶ πράγματος, ἵνα συντύχω | ὑμῖν, καὶ ἀζημίως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς εὐρέθηδε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ(ν).

13. 'His brother' means here 'his colleague'. Iohannes is also a member of the village *koinotes*, probably a *lashane*, or perhaps an *ape*. It is difficult to say whether or not he is the same man in 71.

We know of two *lashane* named Elisaïos. One is mentioned in *P. Mon. Epiph.* 257, a letter concerning a dispute about the will of the priest Victor (to be identified with the second abbot of the monastery of St. Phoibammon). Elisaïos' intervention is required. As the will is dated to 634, this text must have been written some years later (see Esther Garel, *Les testaments des supérieurs du monastère de Phoibammon à Thèbes (VII^e siècle)*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Paris 2015, vol. I, pp. 67–69). Another Elisaïos is associated with Peter, both as *lashane*, in *P. KRU* 74, l. 4, a will dated to 733 or 748 according to Till, *Datierung*, p. 82). The choice is not obvious, unless it can be proved that all the Theban *πλοτος μπινογτε* documents must be assigned to a period after the Arab conquest.

15–16. Reading these lines remains difficult. A date is likely to be here, and if the reading of line 16 is right, this can be the month Thoth. A scribe could be mentioned (as in *P. Schutzbriefe* 50): are the first letters of line 15 the beginning of a proper name? Any unusual details could have been added here. One is tempted to read *ππερςβ* . . [in line 15, but why would a priest appear at this place?

Appendix

Attestations of *μετά καλοῦ*

1. Occurrences in Coptic documents

There are twenty occurrences in all. They are listed by Förster, *WB*, under *καλός*, as well as, much less completely, under *μετά*. A summary of the data is in the table below. The great majority of the examples come from Thebes; a few are from Middle Egypt. The dates seem to range from the end of the sixth and the first half of the eighth centuries. The editors of these texts did not pay special attention to this expression, translating it 'properly' or 'satisfactorily', and occasionally making a reference to parallels.

The variety of the contexts and the search for a possible legal meaning of this expression brought me to have a look at the occurrences of *μετά καλοῦ* in Greek documents and literature.

Table 1. Attestations of μετα καλοῦ in Coptic documents

<i>Identification</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Money</i>	<i>Issued by</i>	<i>Provenance / date</i>
<i>O. Crum</i> 107 (= <i>P. Schutzbriefe</i> 50)	ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ	to talk with	leaving: ΒΩΚ ΝΑΚ Μ. Κ.	no	<i>lashane</i>	Thebes / ca. 710–720?
<i>O. Gurna Gorecki</i> 70	ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ	to talk with and to make an agreement	going home: ΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΚΜΑ Μ. Κ.	no	<i>lashane</i>	Thebes / ?
<i>O. Vind. Copt.</i> 187 (= <i>P. Schutzbriefe</i> 103)	ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ	to talk with and to make an agreement	ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΞΩΒ ΔΡΕΣΚΕ ΝΕΝΔΑϢ Μ. Κ. (apodose)	no	lacuna	Thebes / ?
<i>P. Mon. Epiph.</i> 96 (= <i>P. Schutzbriefe</i> 86)	ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ	to make an agreement	leaving: ΒΩΚ ΝΑΚ Μ. Κ.	no; wine?	3 people (<i>lashane</i> ?)	Thebes / ?
<i>SB Kopt.</i> III 1365	ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ	to make an agreement	leaving: ΒΩΚ ΝΑΚ Μ. Κ.	no	<i>lashane</i> of Tod	Thebes / ?
<i>P. Pisentius</i> 48	letter about inheritance	to complain	leaving: ΕΚΤΜΒΩΚ ΝΑΚ Μ.Κ. ¹⁴	no	to Pisentius from the injured party	Thebes / beg. 7th cent.
<i>P. Mon. Epiph.</i> 142 (= <i>P. Schutzbriefe</i> 77)	letter (related to ΛΟΓΟΣ)	to guarantee the right for the <i>topos</i> to be a place of refuge (?)	wish: ΕΡΕΠΧΣ ΠΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ [...] ΞΜ ΦΩΒ †ΝΞΗΤϢ Μ. Κ.	no	to Epiphanius from an official	Thebes / beg. 7th cent.
<i>O. Medin. Habu</i> <i>Copt.</i> 82	shipping contract	going to Antinoe	ΝΤΑΒΟΚϢ ΞΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ Μ. Κ.	no	sailor	Thebes / ?
<i>O. Mon. Cyr.</i> 6	letter (mention of a ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ)	to reimburse a loan	ΝΤΑΔΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΜΠΕΚ†ΟΥ ΝΞΟΛΟΚ Μ. Κ.	yes	? (to an official)	Thebes / ?
<i>P. Saint-Marc</i> 431	letter	to reimburse a debt	, , ΞΟΣ Μ. Κ.	yes	<i>begoumenos</i>	Thebes / beg. 7th cent.
<i>SB Kopt.</i> III 1306	letter	to pledge objects	ΘΑΙΧΙ ΝΕΤΝΣΚΗΥΕ ΝΗΤΝ Μ. Κ.	no	<i>lashane</i>	? / beg. 8th cent.?
<i>P. Mon. Epiph.</i> 151	letter	to settle a dispute	ΝϢΠΟΛΞΟΥ Μ. Κ.	no	<i>lashane</i> of Ne	Thebes / ?

¹⁴ Revillout's κατα καλοῦ must be corrected into μετα καλοῦ, as indicated by the anonymous reviewer of my paper, whom I thank for providing this extra occurrence of the expression. Note that the expression is used here in a negative protasis, 'if you do not leave peacefully', the apodosis being 'we will have you beaten up and turned out by the police'.

<i>Identification</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Money</i>	<i>Issued by</i>	<i>Provenance / date</i>
<i>O. Theb.</i> 35	letter	lacuna	. . . ΝΗΤΟΥ ΕΠΕΓΗΛΑ Μ. Κ.	no	?	Thebes / ?
<i>P. KRU</i> 66, l. 32	will of Susanna (1)	right for the sisters to attend the feasts	ΝΕΘΟΥΩΗ ΝΕΘΩ ... ΝΕΘΩΚ Μ. Κ.	no	—	Thebes / 8th cent.
<i>P. KRU</i> 76, l. 29	will of Susanna (2)	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	no	—	Thebes / 8th cent.
<i>P. KRU</i> 67, l. 46	will of monk Paham	to settle the future of his daughter-in-law	ΝΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΧΗ Μ. Κ.	no	—	Thebes / ?
<i>P. Ryl. Copt.</i> 339	letter	to settle a dispute	lacunary: Μ]ΕΤΑ Κ. (apodose?)	—	—	? / 2nd half of 7th cent.
<i>P. Mich. Copt.</i> 6	letter	final wish	ΤΕΤΗΝΕΙ ΝΑΝ Μ. Κ.	no	4 people	Middle Egypt? / ?
<i>P. Turner</i> 55 (<i>P. Mich. inv.</i> 1298)	letter	blessing	ΝΗΝ ΠΕΓΙΩΤ ΝΗΤΗ Μ. Κ.	no	—	? / 6th–7th cent.
<i>CPR</i> IV 165	work contract	to look after a field	ΤΑΡΟΙΣ ΜΠΕΣ- ΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΦΑΝΤΕΚΤΑΡΟQ (/. ΤΑΛΟQ) Μ. Κ.	no	—	Hermopolite / 7th cent.
<i>P. Lond. Copt.</i> 1157	letter	to send fish	ΟΥΟΜQ ΝΗΤΗ Μ. Κ.	no	—	Hermopolite / ?

2. Occurrences in Greek documents

They are much less numerous, six in total, and can be summarized briefly here:

- 1) *CPR* XIV 52, l. 3 (letter; Buto, 7th cent.); the context is lacunary;
- 2) *P. Berl. Zill.* 14, l. 17 (letter to a bishop; provenance unknown, 6th cent.): ἀλλ' ἐλπιδας ἔχω εἰς τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν καὶ εἰς τὰς εὐχὰ[s ὑμ]ῶν, ὅτι πληροφορο[εῖ] αὐτὸν ὁ θ(εὸ)s καὶ μετὰ καλοῦ ἀπολύει μ[ε]. There is no translation. Zilliaceus notes: 'ein eigenartiges Gegenstück zu μετ' ἀγαπῆς [l. 12, also with ἀπολύειν, A. B.], auch ein *hapax legomenon*'.
- 3) *P. Köln* V 240, l. 8 (letter; Antaiopolite, 6th cent.): ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ὁρῶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται Κολλο[ῦ]θος ὁ ὑποδέκτης το[ῦ] κ[υ]ρίου Ἰωάννου 'τοῦ πολιτεγομένου' κατελθεῖν μετὰ καλοῦ, 'Da, wie ich sehe, Kolluthos, der

Steuereinnnehmer des Kurialen Ioannes, sich nicht bereitfindet, im Guten hinunter zu gehen'. The commentary points to 'Theodorus Studites, *Ora-tio* XII 6 (PG 99 853B) ὑπάγετε μετὰ καλοῦ'.

4) *P. Oxy.* XVI 1855, l. 16 (letter; Oxyrhynchus, 6th–7th cent.): οἱ ἀπὸ Πινύρεως οὐ προσδοκοῦσιν δοῦναί τί ποτε μετὰ καλοῦ, 'The people of Pinuris do not propose to give anything whatever with fair dealing'. In the commentary: 'Crum notes that this is a common form in Coptic, approximating in sense to «satisfactorily»'.

5) *P. Oxy.* LIX 4007, l. 11 (letter; Oxyrhynchus, 7th cent.): καὶ λοιπὸν μετὰ καλοῦ δὲς ἢ τὸ ἴσον τοῦ λόγου τοῦ σίτου πέμψον μοι, 'And furthermore make delivery properly or send me the duplicate of the account of the grain'. The commentary refers to the other attestations in Greek documents and to the 'naturalization of the phrase in Coptic, e.g. W. E. Crum, *KRU* 66.32, 67.46, 76.29 (references kindly supplied by Dr Mark Smith)'.

6) *P. Ross. Georg.* V 11, l. 5 (letter; provenance unknown, 8th cent.): [-ca.?-μετὰ κ]αλοῦ φέρω τὴν εὐλογία[v]. There is neither translation nor commentary.

In addition to these attestations, in a note to *P. Mon. Epiph.* 96, Crum refers to *P. Cair. Masp.* III 67295 (= *Corpus dei papiri filosofici* 1.2.2 19 [pp. 234–241]), a compendium including a letter from a secretary to a colleague; on line 4, a quotation of Homer is followed by: νῦν δὲ μετακαλῶς δίκαιος, and Maspero notes: 'Μετακαλῶς: *par repentir*. Peut-être ce mot provient-il simplement d'une erreur du copiste'.

Among the six Greek attestations, four are usable. Two are related to trips (meaning approximately 'in peace' in *P. Berl. Zill.* 14 and 'with good intentions' in *P. Köln* V 240), whereas the two others are related to payments ('honestly', 'properly'). This is indeed a rather vague expression, a cliché bearing a more moral than legal connotation. This also accounts for the Coptic attestations, whatever the context is. In the case of the protection letters, it somehow positively matches the negative expression $\text{ⲙⲛⲉⲗⲁⲁⲅ ⲙⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲗⲟⲕ}$, 'that nothing bad happen to you'.

After these Greek documentary attestations, which are all dated to the sixth or seventh centuries (except *P. Ross. Georg.* V 11), the expression appears from time to time in late literature.

3. Late Greek literature

E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Cambridge, MA 1887, provides two interesting examples: one is in Theodore Studite and is dated to 827: 'Υπάγετε μετὰ καλοῦ, 'go in peace' (PG 99, 853B), where the context is monastic; it is a kind of cliché used to dismiss somebody. The other example is in *Περὶ τῆς Βασιλείου Τάξεως* by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (959): καὶ εἴ τι ἔχομεν λαλῆσαι, λαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ καλοῦ ἀπολύομέν σε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν (Cer. 407, 15 = PG 112, p. 741 [chap. 89]), the context is the same as in some Coptic documents and in *P. Berl. Zill.* 14, l. 17): when the great ambassador of the Persians is received at court, the emperor, after receiving the gifts, must tell him to rest and recover for a few days, and add the sentence above: 'Then, if we have something to discuss, we shall discuss, and then We will dismiss you to Our brother in good condition'.

For an even later period, see E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής Ἑλληνικής δημοδους γραμματείας 1100–1169*, vol. 7, Thessalonica 1980, p. 287, where the expression is known as με το καλὸ(ν) = α) με ασφαλεια, χωρις παθημα ('in security, without damage'); β) με ειρηνικο τροπο ('in a peaceful way').

From all the examples collected above, it appears that the expression μετὰ καλοῦ has a general moral value, which allows it to enter different kind of texts, without being a necessary element of the formulary, rather as an ornament. I wonder where this expression, which appears quite late in Greek documents and seems to have developed particularly in Coptic documents, comes from. A Christian literary origin is likely. In this respect, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* only points to three attestations of μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ (thus with the article) in homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus,¹⁵ where its meaning is indeed moral, almost the equivalent of καλῶς.

¹⁵ *In laudem sororis Gorgoniae* (orat. 8), PG 35, p. 812, l. 28: about a woman of bad life, who decided to change her ways and μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καθαρῶς γενέσθαι.

Ad cives Nazianzenos (orat. 17), PG 35, p. 973, l. 9: by the Spirit τὸ δυνατὸν μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ δοκιμάσαντι.

Funebris oratio in patrem (orat. 18), vol., PG 35, p. 988, l. 6: ἐκέινον μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ παντὸς ἐκδημήσαντα, καὶ πάσης τῆς ποιμαντικῆς εὐταξίας ...

71. Letter of protection (?) issued by three *lashane*

Inv. no. C.O. 014 + 068

3.8 × 8.1 cm (inv. 014)

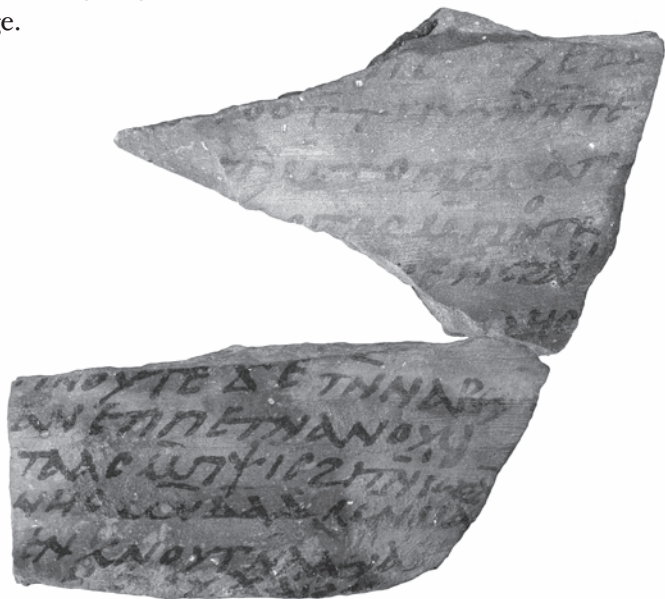
Pottery: LRA 7

4.7 × 7.3 cm (inv. 068)

The letter was issued to a certain Psis by three *lashane*. The expression $\pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma \mu\pi\eta\nu\gamma\tau\epsilon$, typical of the letters of protection, occurs in line 4 and perhaps also in line 7. This is not exactly a letter of protection, unless the usual formula was at the beginning of the text, but it certainly is related to them. One of the main points of interest in this document is the new attestation of the name of the third *lashane*, Ma(h)enknout, who bears a very unusual name (see commentary below). Due to the connection of this man with the monk Frange, the text can be assigned to the period 710–730.

The two pieces join at one point. Although the writing is the same, the upper part (inv. 68) is less legible and there seems to be less space between the lines. The script is bilinear and sloping, regular and skillful. The last line (14) is written on the lower edge.

- [---]πιστεύε χε
 [--- τ]οοττηγτῆ ἡτε-
 [--- ρ]ητ ἡτον εματε
 4 [--- πλ]ογος ἡπν'ο'γτε
 [---] . ε η ρζαῖ
 [---] . . εις
 [πλογος η- vac. ?]
 8 πνογτε χε τῆναβωῆ
 αν επιπετνανογ
 ταας ἡψις ριτῆ ιωρα(η-)
 ηης ἡῆ δα(γει)δ ἡῆ μα-
 12 ενχνογτ ἡλαωα-
 νε † ογχαῖ ρῆ
 πλαιοις



1. πιστεύειν || 4. λόγος | ἡπνῖγτε corr. ex ἡπντε? ||
 5. ἡ || 7. λόγος || 8. δ. τῆνααβωῆ = τῆνααβωῆ || 10. ιωρα
 ostr. || 11. δαδ ostr.

... believe that [...] by you so that [...] heart be in great peace. (4) [...] the guaranty by God [...] or write [...] Here [is the guaranty by] (8) God that we shall not overlook the good.

To be given to Psis from Iohannes, David and Ma-(12)-enknout the lashane. Hail in the Lord!

6-8. Another possibility would be to consider that no line is missing and to reconstruct: (6) [ϣϣϣϣϣ ϩⲉⲓ ⲡⲗⲗⲉⲓϥ (7) ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ϫⲉ ..., 'The Lord God knows that ...'; however, the letter preceding ⲉⲓϥ does not look as an o, and the reconstruction is too long.

8-9. 'We shall not overlook the good': although the meaning is very clear and fits the intention, often expressed in this kind of texts, to behave according to the good, the expression itself sounds rare.

10-13. According to Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung* (cit. n. 3), p. 175, one or two *lashane* are generally in charge, occasionally three, as here, and even four. Indeed the letters of protection can be issued by one to four people, the *lashane* being the most frequent, beside the *dioiketes*, *meizon*, *ape*, or people without a title. *P. Schutzbriefe* 71 is issued by the three *lashane* of Trakata. Here, the first *lashane*, Iohannes, bears a name too common to be recognizable in other documents (however, see *O. Frange* 188 and here 70). By contrast, David and Ma(h)enknout are attested, alone or together, in several other texts:

– *O. Theb.* 24: a tax receipt signed by David (his name is abbreviated in the same way as here) and Mahenknout;

– *SB Kopt.* I 245: a tax receipt signed by David (his name is abbreviated in the same way as here);

– *SB Kopt.* I 246: a tax receipt signed by Mahenknout. The first editor, Friedrich Hintze ('Koptische Steuerquittungsostraka der Berliner Papyrus-Sammlung', [in:] *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin 1974, no. 2), read ⲙⲁⲛⲕⲛⲟⲩϥ, which he proposed to analyse as 'Math(ias) (?) son of (?) Knous'; nevertheless, he had recognised the same name as in *O. Theb.* 24. Although the ostrakon is severely damaged, the picture in Hintze's publication allows us to read an ⲉ instead of a ⲑ and to consider the last letter as a ⲧ whose upper left part is lost.

In these three texts, David and Mahenknout do not bear a title. Were they already *lashane*, or were they (still) *ape*? The *ape* are more often involved in tax receipts; however, the question of a progression of career from *ape* to *lashane* is not well-documented.

Another interesting point is the formulary these three receipts share, which differs from the most usual ones: cf. Delattre & Fournet, 'Le dossier' (cit. n. 3), p. 211 with n. 21. The same formulary occurs in *SB Kopt.* I 259 (signed by Isak) and 260 (signature broken). However, *SB Kopt.* I 245 and 246 do not seem to be writ-

ten by the same hand, and, so far as I can judge, the writing of the protection letter is still different.

– *O. Frange* 175–177 are three letters addressed by the monk Frange to Mahenknout. These letters seem to concern the same business (at least *O. Frange* 176 and 177, *O. Frange* 175 having a more banal content): Mahenknout was responsible for some objects, perhaps pledged, but he has left for Petemout, on the other side of the Nile, without giving them back, which caused much trouble to Frange and ‘the brothers’. Frange’s anger is perceivable in his words and tone. Even though Mahenknout’s title is not mentioned, one can imagine he was already a member of the village elite, but this apparently did not impress the monk. We know that Frange was originating from Petemout. Was Mahenknout of the same origin, which could explain Frange’s familiarity?

By contrast, in *O. Frange* 188, Frange tells the addressee: ‘I tell you my heart is satisfied with you these days!’ The name of the addressee is Apa Iohannes the *lashane*, whom it is tempting to identify with the first of the three *lashane* in 71 here.

A puzzling point in Frange’s three letters to Mahenknout is that they are written in three different hands (only the first of them is Frange’s usual hand). They also use three different variants of the name, so that we have now the following forms:

ⲙⲁⲉⲛⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧ: *O. Theb.* 24, *SB Kopt.* I 246,

ⲙⲁⲉⲛⲭⲛⲟⲩⲧ: *O. Gurna Gorecki* 71,

ⲙⲁⲣ̅ⲛⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧ: *O. Frange* 175,

ⲙⲁⲣ̅ⲛⲭⲛⲟⲩⲧ: *O. Frange* 176,

ⲙⲁⲣ̅ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ: *O. Frange* 177.

A ⲙⲁⲣ̅ⲛⲭⲛⲟⲩⲧ is also mentioned as an intermediary in an unpublished letter on limestone. A picture of this ostrakon is available in the Artcurial sale catalogue, *Archéologie et arts d’Orient. Collections Bouvier et à divers (mercredi 15 mai 2019)*, no. 249.

Although unusual, which can explain the spelling variations, this name is perfectly Egyptian, as I was reminded by the anonymous reviewer of my paper. It occurs in the Manichaean *Psalms of Thôm* (PsB II 226:8, 9), where the context suggests a meaning related to flowers (‘garland’, ‘Blumengebinde’?). See Crum, *Dict.*, 823b (ⲥ.ⲩ. ⲃⲛⲟⲩⲧ), W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1977, pp. 112 and 522. Should one think of a nickname?

72. Request for a protection letter (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 143

13.4 × 11.7 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

The ostrakon is broken and the ink has completely faded on several lines of the top part. The script is bilinear and quite upright.



[---] . ογ . *faded*

[--- ν] ΓΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΝ *traces*

[--- π] ΕΚΟΝ ΝΟΟΥΩΔΕ

4 [ΜΝ ΠΛΑ]ΩΔΑΝΕ ΝΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ

[---] . [.] . ΕΠΕΝΗ ΧΕ

[--] . ΜΗΘ *traces* [1-2]

[---] ΝΖΟΕ ΝΗ . [2-3]

8 [---] . Ν . . . [---]

4. λόγος

... and send to us [...] your brother, so that they talk (4) [with the la]shane and he gives guaranty [...] to our home, for [...] ... [...] in trouble ... (8) [...] ...

5. A possible reconstruction is [ΝΑΝ ΝΤ]ΝΒ[Ω]Κ, although the traces are not completely convincing; this requires interpreting the trace of ink above the first *ν* of line 6 as a superlinear stroke. If this restitution is right, there is no *ΜΠΝΟΥΓΕ* after *λογος*, which is consistent with the absence of the article before *λογος* (l. 4).

73-74. Two tax receipts for Souai

The two tax receipts have been written by the same hand, and issued by the same people for the same man and the same year of tax (first levy [*katabole*]). As for the date of the receipt, whereas it is complete in 73 (Mekheir 7, 4th indiction year), only the year is kept in 74, where it must also be the fourth, although the reading is not completely convincing. Unless one of the ostraca is a simple copy of the other, which would be a unique case (although not to be excluded, as 73 seems to be a palimpsest, thus showing possible traces of a training process), one may suppose that the date was slightly different in 74, which means a payment by instal-

ments inside the same levy, as explained by Alain Delattre and Jean-Luc Fournet¹⁶ concerning the tax of Elisaïos for the first levy of the eighth indiction, paid in four instalments.

That such texts were in the hermitage is still more surprising than it is for the letters of protection. Indeed, only one tax receipt has been found outside Medinet Habu/Djeme, namely *O. Frange* 712.¹⁷ Nevertheless, one Souai occurs in *O. Gurna Górecki* 28, where he could act as a messenger between the sender and the addressee. If this is the same person, it indicates that Souai had some connection with the hermitage. Moreover, like *O. Frange* 712, this receipt is quite unusual, in comparison with the collections of tax-receipts from Djeme, both in terms of material and formulary, indicating perhaps that they had a different aim than the ones kept in Djeme.

In terms of material, our two tax receipts, as well as *O. Frange* 712, are on LRA7, the most common type of pottery for Theban ostraca at that time, except for the tax receipts from Djeme, as showed by a recent study.¹⁸ Another striking point is that 74 was smaller and easier to grasp (even though it is broken) than 73, which is much curved and relatively bulky. In addition, 73 is a kind of palimpsest: the text of the receipt begins 3 cm below the upper edge of the sherd, which makes it possible to see traces of 3 lines belonging to an earlier text. Remnants of an earlier script are also visible at least on the first three lines of the receipt, as well as on the left side of the sherd, which was not reused, providing a wide margin for the text of the receipt. Even though they are weak, the traces of the first two lines make clear that the underlying text was another tax receipt, and its script seems to have been of the same kind.

¹⁶ DELATTRE & FOURNET, 'Le dossier' (cit. n. 3), pp. 214 and 223.

¹⁷ Notwithstanding the fact that many tax-receipts are without known provenance. On this see DELATTRE & FOURNET, 'Le dossier' (cit. n. 3), p. 210, n. 14 (where the two ostraca from MMA 1152 are mentioned).

¹⁸ L. BAVAY & A. DELATTRE, 'La céramique des reçus de taxe thébains du VIII^e siècle', *Chronique d'Égypte* 88 (2013), pp. 379–384. The tax-receipts were written on fragments of pharaonic amphorae from the New Kingdom ('Marl D' group). Interestingly, the few exceptions written on LRA7, in addition to the three already mentioned, are often following a slightly different formulary: see for instance *SB Kopt.* I 259 and 260.

1 [Ϝ εις]ΟΥΡΟΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ) ΔΑΦΕΙ *traces* ἔϊτο[

2 [*ca.* 4] *traces* ΕΠΑΔΗΜΟΙ(ΟΝ)

It is difficult to explain the reason for this phenomenon, since we do not know how the taxes were collected. Was the scribe going with the collector from place to place and writing new receipts on sherds that were outdated?¹⁹

1. *The scribe*

The handwriting of 73 is rather quadrilinear, with many ligatures, in accordance with the style of other tax-receipts (see especially ει, as well as the 'spade ace' επ). Some letters are minuscule (β in l. 3, η in ll. 3 and 4, but majuscule in πηϞε in l. 1), and the μ can have both majuscule (l. 3) and minuscule forms (ll. 3 and 4). The superlinear stroke is short (except for the connective one in l. 2 on Ϟορῖ), and there is sometimes a dot above the last letter of a word (note that the superlinear stroke on Ϟοῖμπε seems to be a mistake). The script of 74 looks similar, with slight differences, as the minuscule π in Ϟοῖμπε, or the two different λ in θανανλ. These variations do not prevent assigning these two tax receipts to the same scribe. Moreover, although he apparently did not give his name,²⁰ his hand could well be identified as the hand of Psan, son of Basileios. Let us consider what Delattre & Fournet, 'Le dossier' (cit. n. 3), p. 235, write about this scribe:

Ce scribe est attesté dans onze reçus, datés principalement de la 2^e indication, lors des mois de mai et juin 718 et en janvier 719. La plupart des docu-

¹⁹ A similar phenomenon is attested in O. Col. inv. 82 (edited by Jennifer CROMWELL, 'Five tax receipts from Djeme in the collection of Columbia University', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 54 [2017], pp. 143–155, esp. 144–146), where the beginning of a tax receipt had been written at the bottom of the ostrakon, at 180° to the rest of the text. The editor suggests (p. 144) that the scribe (Psate) 'initially began to write the receipt with the ostrakon held in this orientation, but then changed his mind, erased the text, and turned the sherd 180°'. In the case of 73, however, a whole text seems to have been erased.

²⁰ This is completely sure for 73, a little more uncertain for 74, as the ostrakon is broken left and right, but there does not seem to be enough space in the lower part.

ments enregistrent des paiements pour la première ou la deuxième levée (*katabolê*), sans indication de la taxe. Ce scribe aussi [= comme Anastasios] a pu remplacer Psate de temps à autre ou travailler avec lui.

Les reçus écrits par Psan présentent deux caractéristiques: l'une formulaire et l'autre orthographique. Usuellement, Psan ajoute ΕΠΕΙΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΝ comme complément du verbe στοιχεῖν dans la signature du responsable, ce qu'il est le seul à faire. Lorsqu'il ne le fait pas (...), c'est simplement parce qu'il n'a plus assez de place sur le tesson: il n'indique d'ailleurs pas non plus son patronyme dans ce cas et raccourcit ΔΙΣΗΝ ΠΕΙΕΝΤΑΓΙ(ΟΝ), «j'ai établi ce reçu» en ΔΙΣΗΝΤΥ «je l'ai établi».

La deuxième particularité de Psan est d'orthographier ΕΤΟΟΤ avec un seul ο (ΕΤΟΤ) [footnote: 'Ainsi que ΖΗΤΟΤΚ, sauf dans *O. Medin. Habu Copt.* 337 et *SB Kopt.* II 1009]. Cette caractéristique se retrouve à notre connaissance dans deux autres textes: *O. Vind. Copt.* 72, signé par Psate, fils de Pisraël (un examen de l'original montre que la lecture est très difficile: le scribe a dû serrer son écriture à la fin de la ligne), et *O. Medin. Habu Copt.* 316, non signé (ou bien la signature est perdue). Ce dernier document est vraisemblablement de la main de Psan.

Our two receipts fit this description well: first levy (*katabole*), no indication of the tax, addition of ΕΠΕΙΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΝ; ΕΤΩΤΗ (instead of ΕΤΟΟΤΗ) can be due to the same habit as ΕΤΟΤ; there is indeed ΖΗΤΟΟΤΚ, not ΖΗΤΟΤΚ, but see above for other exceptions by Psan's hand.

Some palaeographic comparisons are possible with receipts written and signed by Psan. The writing of O. PSI inv. 43²¹ looks similar: large κ, κατα in καταβολή (although β is majuscule in O. PSI), η, and the ligature τερ. Note that there is no ΕΠΕΙΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΝ after στοιχει. *SB Kopt.* II 1009 is another good palaeographical parallel, with the minuscule β in καταβολή and several minuscule π.²² Moreover, both ostraca provide an attestation of the name Souai: in O. PSI, Souai is the patronym of the tax payer, David, in O. Louvre the name of the *ape*. A closer look to the writing of this name shows that the ι bears a diaeresis made by two long oblique

²¹ R. PINTAUDI & P. J. SIJPESTEIJN, 'Tre ostraka copti della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana', *Enchoria* 17 (1990), pp. 97–100, esp. 98–99.

²² Edition with a photograph by Anne BOUD'HORS, 'Reçus d'impôt coptes de Djémé', *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 18 (1996), pp. 161–175, esp. 173 (= O. Louvre inv. AF 12244).

strokes forming a kind of broken circumflex (``).²³ In 73, κοῦαῖ has no such particular diaeresis, but in 74, the right part of it is an oblique stroke.

However, some objections can be raised: first, Psan always writes τρoмπe, whereas our two receipts read τeρoмпe; then τωoρп is used for 'the first' (*katabole*), instead of τпρωτн, which constitutes an exception among all known tax receipts; moreover, the formulary displays other irregularities, as the lack of a Greek summary, the absence of the name of the scribe, and the addition of ως προκειται in 73 after the confirmation of the two officials (again an exceptional formula in tax-receipts). Finally, the indiction year is 4, whereas the majority of the receipts written by Psan are for the second indiction year. How can we explain these irregularities? Were these two tax receipts less standard than the ones kept in Djeme, because they were only copies to be given for the tax payer? Or did Psan have less familiarity with tax receipts at this time? In that case, how distant was this time from the period when the majority of the tax receipts were issued (713–729)?²⁴

2. *The date*

If we accept as a hypothesis that Psan is the scribe of these two receipts, and that they belong to the main period of production of such texts, 73 can be dated to 1 February 721. As for 74, although its date cannot be determined precisely, it should not be more than a few months distant. Nevertheless, neither the previous or following indiction (706 and 734) should be completely excluded.

²³ This particularity probably is what prevented the editors from reading the name: 'non possiamo leggere κοῦ[α]ῖ' (commentary on l. 2). In my opinion the text reads κοῦαῖ.

²⁴ DELATTRE & FOURNET, 'Le dossier' (cit. n. 3), p. 211: 'La grande majorité des reçus de taxe date donc de 713 à 729'.

3. *The officials*

As stated by Delattre and Fournet,²⁵ the receipts are generally issued by an *ape* (or a *strategos*, which is the Greek equivalent);²⁶ sometimes they are issued by two persons, whose title is not mentioned. Again we have here an exception, as Thanael and George, who issue the receipt together, are both *lashane* (probably of Djeme). Whereas George is a common name, Thanael is less frequent. In Till, *Prosopographie*, p. 147, there is only one individual of this name, present in *O. Crum VC* 25, l. 21 (also the only one registered in Trismegistos at Thebes).²⁷ This text is a sale of corn and *arax* on delivery. Thanael is mentioned among the people who agree or witness to the contract, so he is possibly an official. There are three other mentions of a Thanael, respectively in *O. Frange* 70 (Frange asks Thanael to send Patermoute with 200 copper coins), 141 (Frange urges Thanael to send Patermoute), and 240 (a recapitulation of his debts by Frange, who owes 300 [copper coins?] to Thanael). It goes without much doubt that these three mentions concern the same Thanael. That he is a *lashane* is not to be excluded. If all these Thanaels are one and the same man, the connection with the monk Frange is compatible with a date in 721 or 734.

73. Tax receipt for Souai

Inv. no. C.O. 153

11.9 × 17 cm

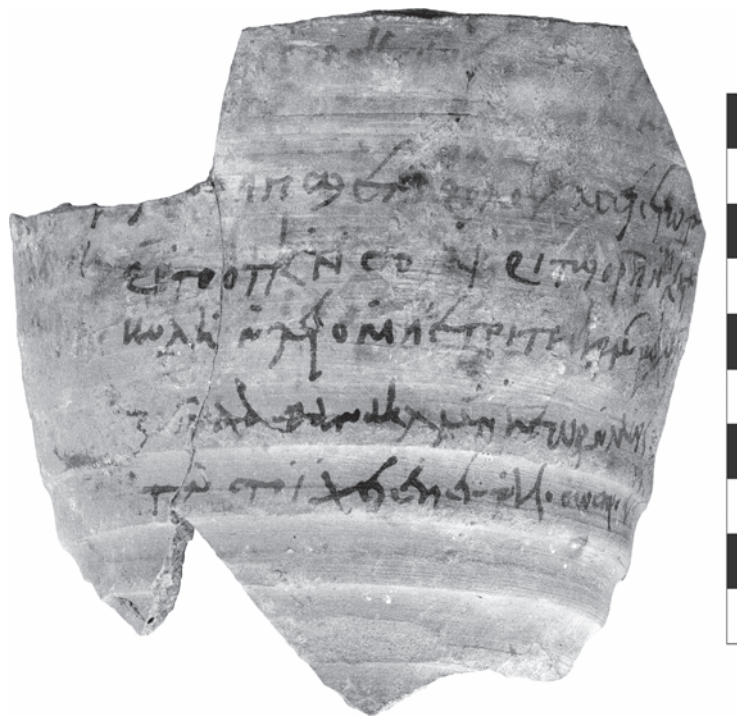
Pottery: LRA 7
1 February 721 (?)

ⲡ [ⲉ]ⲓϥ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲛⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟ(ⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ) ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲧⲛ
ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ· {ⲛ}ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲧⲱⲟⲣⲡⲓ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ-

²⁵ DELATTRE & FOURNET, 'Le dossier' (cit. n. 3), p. 227.

²⁶ See BERKES, *Dorfverwaltung* (cit. n. 3), p. 189.

²⁷ Two other attestations occur in a document from the Fayum, namely *P. Lond. Copt.* I 585. Indeed this way of abbreviating a proper name (the original form is ⲛⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲛⲗ) recalls the name ⲭⲁⲛⲗ, very common in this region (originally from ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲗ).



- 4 ΒΟΛΗ' ἡΤΕΡΟῖΠΕ ΤΡΙΤΕ. Ἐγρ(άφη) μ(ηνὶ) Μεχειρ
 ζ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ. ΘΑΝΑΗΛ Μῆ ΓΕΩΡ(ΓΙΟΣ) ἡΛΑΩ(ΑΝΕ)
 ΤῆςΤΟῖΧΕΙ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΣ Ως ΠΡΟΚ(ΕΙΤΑΙ) †

1. ρολοῖ ostr. ὀλοκόττωνος || 2-3. καταβολή, τρίτος || 4. ἡλᾶ ostr., ἡλαως ostr.
 (λαωανε or λαωνιγ) || 5. στοιχεῖν, ἐντάγιον, ὡς προκείται

Half a solidus has come to us from you, Souai, in the first levy of this third year. Written in the month Mecheir (4) 7, indiction 4. Thanael and Georgios, the lashane, sign this receipt as it is set.

2. η before σοῖαι is unexpected. It is as if the scribe had started writing ητοκ, but changed his mind to write the name directly, or as if he had mixed two formulas, the direct one, with ριτοοτκ + the name of the tax-payer, and an indirect one, with ριτοοτκ ἡ- + the name.

4. λαωανε and λαωνιγ seem to be two plural forms used in the Coptic texts.
 5. επενταγιος: to be understood as επειενταγιον, as in 74.

74. Tax receipt for Souai

Inv. no. C.O. 272

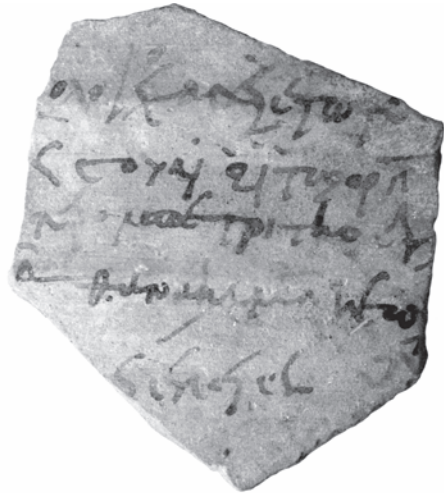
6.2 × 5.7 cm

Pottery: LRA 7
721 (?)

[Ϝ εἰς οὐπηϜε ν]ζολοκο(ττινος) ασει ετωτῆ
 [ζιτοοτκ ντο]κ σογαῖ ρῖ τωορῖ
 [νκαταβολη ν]τερομπε τριτης. Ἐγρ(άφη)
 4 [μ(ηνὶ) --- ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)]δ. θαναηλ μῆ
 γεωρ(γιος)
 [νλαω(ανε) τνστοῖ]χει επειεν[τ]αγ(ιον) †
 [??]

1. ζολοκ⁸ ostr. ὀλοκόττινος || 3. καταβολή, τρίτος || 5. στοιχεῖν,
 ἐντάγιον

[Half a] solidus has come to us [from] you, Souai, in the
 first [levy of] this third year. Written (4) [in the month
 ..., indiction] 4. Thanael and Georgios, [the lashane],
 sign this receipt.



4. Reading the δ is not obvious. In addition, one can suppose that the super-
 linear stroke above it concerns the preceding word ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), as in 74.

75–81. PRIVATE LEGAL DOCUMENTS

75. Sale of wine on delivery

Inv. no. C.O. 142

15.7 × 17.8 cm

Pottery: ? (import)²⁸

This sale on delivery contract is passed between an individual whose
 name is probably Pshere (lost at the beginning of the text, but repeated

²⁸ Tomasz Górecki does not seem to have identified the type of pottery; he classified it in
 the category 'others' and indicated that it could be an imported product. A picture of the

in l. 14), the seller, and a monk, named Mena, the buyer. Coptic contracts of this kind exist throughout Egypt, and their formulation often follows regional habits.²⁹ Sales on delivery allow money to be advanced against the promise of a refund in kind at the next harvest.³⁰ As farmers often lacked the cash needed to pay taxes (see *O. Vind. Copt.* 28), they used to resort to the early sale of their crops, either directly to a buyer or with the help of an intermediary, who could possibly take charge of borrowing the money and/or receiving the goods until the buyer recovered them. The presence of intermediaries possibly explains, in my opinion, complicated formulations that are not always fully understood (see comments below). Once again the question of the reason for this document in the hermitage arises: did the monk Mena live there? A Mena appears in *O. Gurna Górecki* 65, l. 3, in a very lacunary context. Was Mena only an intermediary or was he interested in receiving Pshere's wine for himself?

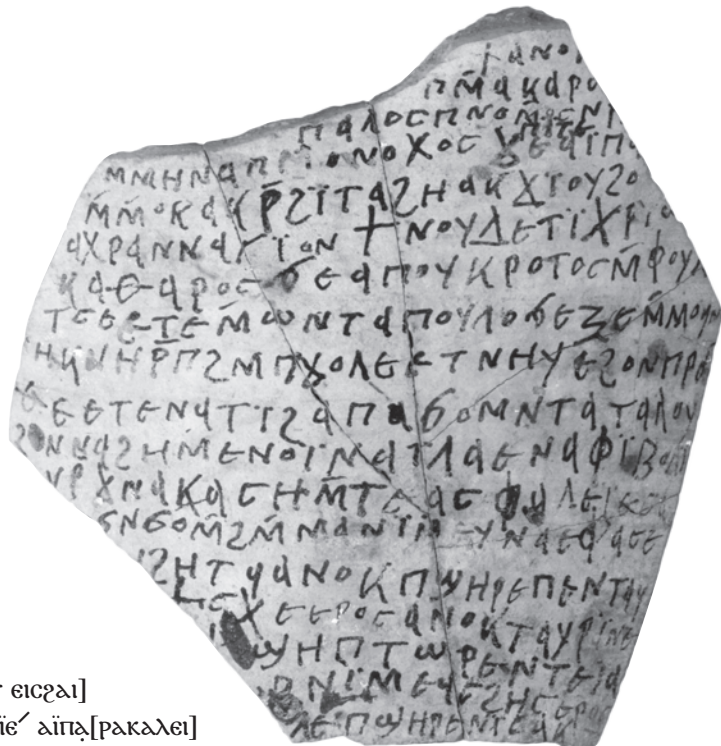
The text is almost complete, except for the upper right and lower left corners. The handwriting is unskilled, with straight and detached letters. The superlinear stroke often has the form of an acute accent, and is quite common on the μ , even in unexpected places. Spelling and grammar are often 'wild'. One may wonder about the value of a document so badly written and without date. This fact may be related to its ephemeral nature: the transaction had to be carried out within one year at the most.³¹

ostrakon is published in Ewa WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e – VIII^e siècles)* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements* 11], Warsaw 2009, p. 74, fig. 5.

²⁹ On these formulations, see A. DELATTRE, 'A Coptic loan agreement of the monastery of Baouit', *Chronique d'Égypte* 79 (2004), pp. 385–389, emphasizing that these are more tendencies than rules. Loan contracts from Bawit, for instance, follow various forms (see *P. Brux. Bawit* 34–35).

³⁰ The bibliography on such documents in Greek is abundant, in particular on the question of their legal status and on their variations from one region to another: among others, see Andrea JÖRDENS, *P. Heid.* V, pp. 296–331; Ewa JAKAB, 'Kauf oder Darlehen', [in:] *PapCongr.* XXV, pp. 335–344; N. KRUIT, 'Local customs in the formulas of sale of wine for future delivery', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 94 (1992), pp. 167–194.

³¹ Things seem to have been more precise in Middle Egypt and the Fayum's sales on delivery: see the paper presented by Esther Garel at the 28th Papyrological Congress (Barcelona, August 2016), currently being published.



- † ἀνοκ [ca. II–II]
 πῆακαρο[с ca. IO–II]
 παλος πνοῖος νρ[μοντ εἰςζαι]
 4 μμῆνα πῆονοχος δε ᾽πῆε' αἰπα[ρακαλει]
 μῆοκ ἀκῤ ρῖ ταρη ακκῖ ογρο[λοκ(οττινος) ναι ετ-]
 ἀхра ннагῖон †ноу δε τυχριωс[τει νак]
 καθарос σε απογκротос ἡφογλ[oko-]
 8 тсе етеῖω нтаπογλοσεζε ἡμοq n-
 нк ннῤп зм пxоле ετνηγ ερον про`с'
 θε етенатῖ за παсом нтаталоу
 зн наzhме νοῖ наτλαе нафивоῖ
 12 [ε]γῤх νак аснῖ теасφαλειῖ εсо
 [ес]он соῖ зῖ ма нῖм еγναεφасе
 [μμος] ηζηтq ἀνοκ πωhre πενταq-
 [ωrp сзаῖ] †схе ерос ἀνοκ таγῤне
 16 [---] †ωнп τωpe нтеиа-
 [сφαλει(α) нн зω]в нῖм еqсзнс ерос
 [---]λε πωhre нсаk



2. μακάριος || 3. νομός || 4. μοναχός | ἐπειδή | παρακαλεῖν || 5. ὀλοκόττινος ||
 6. I. етахреиа нанагkаион: χρεῖα ἀναγκαιός | δέ | χρεωστῆν || 7. καθάρως
 καὶ ἀποκρότως || 7–8. ὀλοκόττινος || 8. I. етнмaγ | ἀπολογίζεσθαι || 9. πρὸς
 || 11. ἀμφιβολία || 12. I. аиснн | ἀσφάλεια || 13. ἐμφανίζειν || 15. I. †стпхе or
 †стпхе?: στοιχεῖν || 16–17. ἀσφάλεια || 17. I. еqсзнз

† I [... son] of the deceased [... of ...] palos, in the nome of Ermont, [I write] (4) to Mena the monk. I have solicited you, you have placed yourself in front of me, you have received a solidus [for me] for my use and my necessity (i.e. for an urgent need). Now I owe you, honestly and without fraud, this solidus. (8)-dus. I will repay you in wine at the next harvest, according to what my vineyard will give, and I will take care of the transport myself, without any dispute. (12) For your safety, I have established this contract. It is valid everywhere it will be shown. I Pshe, who wrote above, I certify it. I Taurine (16) [...] I guarantee this contract [and] everything that is written there. [I ...] He, son of Isak ...

3-4. -παλος could be a toponym or the end of a toponym, a village belonging to the nome of Ermont. There is indeed Palousa in *O. Mon. Epiph.* 97 (ἡρώμε παλοῦσα), but the context does not ensure that it is a toponym. A parallel wording appears in *O. Mon. Epiph.* 85, where the signatories of the contract are from παταπῆ, in the nome of Ermont.

The same respective status of the protagonists is found in *O. Vind. Copt.* 23, a loan contract addressed by Markos the *lashane* of Pseparios to the monk of a monastery of Apa John: the lender/buyer is a monk, but not the borrower/seller. In these two texts, the monk could have acted only as an intermediary (see the following note). A similar configuration also occurs in *O. Mon. Epiph.* 85, but it is a land lease, in which the monk can be directly interested.

4-6. The somewhat complex formula of these two lines is found, with minor variations, in several Theban texts of the same type, as illustrated in the table below.

This formula has two components that seem to indicate the presence of an intermediary. On the one hand, the expression ἀκχι οὐρολοκοττινος ναῖ must mean that the recipient has received the sum in question for the signatory of the contract (when he lends it to him directly, the verb † is used, as in *O. Vind. Copt.* 26 and many other documents; for a similar meaning of χι followed by the dative in the pledging of objects, see Seïna Bacot, 'Avons-nous retrouvé la grand-mère de κολωξε', [in:] *CoptCongr.* VI, vol. 2, pp. 241-248). By what means did he obtain this sum? Perhaps by his natural authority, being a monk, or by exchange, or by pledging of objects.

As for the first part of the formula, which is more difficult to understand, it could point to the same direction. Till's translation, 'Du bist zu mir gekommen/gegangen', is hardly enlightening. In his translation of *O. Mon. Epiph.* 85, 'thou didst accommodate us and didst bring us two solidi', Crum refers to *O. Theb.* 2 and *O. Brit. Mus. Copt.* I 21265 (p. 119), and adds that in Ps. 146:6 this translates ἀναλαμβάνειν (this is an error: ἀρι γι γη μπλθεῖς γη οὐωνε εβολ is found in verse 7 of the Psalm and translates the Greek ἐξάρξατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν ἔξομο-

Table 2. Attestations of the formula *ἐπειδὴ ἀνπαράκαλει* etc.

<i>Text identification</i>	<i>Formulation</i>	<i>Repayment</i> => <i>kind of document</i>	<i>Name</i> <i>of the document</i>
<i>O. Brit. Mus. Copt.</i> I 21265	ἐπειδὴ ἀγανάγκασε ἡμοὶ ῥα οὐρολοκοτσε ἀκρ ρι ρη ἡμοὶ ἀκχιτϣ ἡΔῖα(γραφον) ἐπᾶνμοσιον ριτοτϣ ἡανας ... ³²	no repayment (?) => incomplete text?	lacking
<i>O. Crum</i> 160	ἐπᾶν ἀπαρακαλε ἡμοκ ἀκρ ρε ταρε ἀκχι οὐτερῆνσιον ἡνοϣβ ναι ἑταχρια	wine (with quantity) = sale on delivery	βλχε
<i>O. Medin. Habu. Copt.</i> 61	ἐπᾶν ἀκμαρε ῥα ταρη ἀκχι ϣοῆντ ἡρολοκ(οττινος) ἡνοϣβ ναι ἑταχρια	corn (without quantity), plus interest: i aroua to be sowed with flax = sale on delivery + land lease?	ἀσφάλεια
<i>O. Mon. Epiph.</i> 85	ἐπᾶν ἀνπαράκαλει ἡμοκ ἀκρ ρι τηρη ἀκχι σναγ ἡρολοκ(οττινος) ἡαν ἑτηχρια ἡαναγκαιον	sowing two arouas with flax and taking care of them = land lease ?	ἀσφάλεια
<i>O. Mon. Epiph.</i> 93	ἐπειδὴ ἀκμοοϣε ῥα ταρη εΔ[---] ρολοκοττινος ναι νορθο() ἡν ο[	lacunar	lacunar
<i>O. Theb.</i> 2	ἐπᾶν ἀπαρακαλει ἡμοκ ἀκρ ρι ταρη ἀκχι οϣπϣ τριμ(ησιον) ἡνοϣβ ἡα<ι> ἑταχρια	barley (with quantity) = sale on delivery	ἀσφάλεια
<i>O. Vind. Copt.</i> 23	ἐπειδὴ ἀπαρακαλει ἡμοκ ἀκμοοϣε ῥα ταρη ἀκχι σνα ἡρολοκοτενς ναι	repayment in money = loan contract	ἀσφάλεια
<i>O. Vind. Copt.</i> 28	ἐπειδὴ ἀκμοοϣε ῥα ταρη ἀκχι οϣπεϣε ἡρολοκοττινος ἡνοϣβ ναι ἑταχρια .[. . πα]ᾶνμοσιον	land farming = land lease?	ἀσφάλεια

λογήσει, where the verb *ἐξάρχειν* has the meaning of ‘start singing’. In *O. Theb.* 2, Thompson translates ἀκρ ρι ταρη as ‘thou didst come before me’, i.e. «didst anticipate my request, or hastened to meet it», relying on Jn 20,4 for this meaning of ‘to precede’, ‘to anticipate’ (ἀφθοχι ἀφερ ἑτην [var. ρι τηρη] ἡπेत्रος; the

³² On line 4 of Hall’s edition, I am tempted to correct the reading ἡΔῖα(γραφον) to ἡΔῖ, whereas on the next line, the reading after ἡαν, leading him to translate ριτοτϣ ἡαν (ἀσταγρϣ) as ‘from him to us’, must be corrected to ριτοτϣ ἡαναστα . . , ‘through Anasta...’. The sender, having to pay one *solidus* in tax, resorted to an intermediary who paid it on his behalf (possibly borrowing it himself).

Sahidic version uses other words, the Greek text has *προέδραμεν*). But what exactly does this precision mean? Either it is a way of designating a disguised contract, with a payment in advance (the expression would be the equivalent of 'you made me an advance': but why is this formula absent from some sales on delivery, while it occurs, for example, in *O. Vind. Copt.* 23, apparently a loan of money, or in *O. Brit. Mus. Copt.* I 21265?), or this formula indicates that the loan is made through an intermediary and it is possible to understand 'you put yourself in front of me' as 'you interposed', or 'you represented me', that is to say 'you initiated for me (the transaction)'. If we really want to see a Biblical reminiscence here, it could be Mark 1:2 (citing Isaiah and Malachi): *ἰναχοὺ ἡπαγγελοῦ εἰ εἰ ἡμῶν* (var. *εἰ τέκῃ*) *ἡγοῦτε ἡτερεῖν* (var. *παὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σὺν ἡμῶν ἡτερεῖν εἰ εἰ ἡμῶν*), 'Behold, I send before you my messenger, who will prepare your way'.

Admittedly, one is entitled to ask why there is need of specifying that the advanced sum has itself been borrowed by the person who advances it, since this seems to have no practical or legal consequence, and why these formulas do not exist, to the best of my I knowledge, outside the Theban region. Was the presence of intermediaries so common that most of the time it was not specified, except for a scrupulous scribe who one day launched this formula, which was followed for a while, but did not spread very much? Is this the indication that the real lenders, those who owned the cash, preferred to remain anonymous?

On line 6, the parallels lead to us understand *[ετ]ἀχρεῖα ἡναγκαῖον* rather than *εἶρα ἡναγγεῖον*, 'to use the jars', which was not impossible a priori, given the context of wine.

6–8. The parallels in the table above generally use the following repayment formula: *(τένοϋ) ἴο ἡξετοῖμος ἡταπολογίσε/ἡτατααγ/ἡταχο*, 'now I am ready to repay/give/sow', etc. The writer of our document combines the expression of repayment with a repetition of the debt formula 'I owe you', as it is found in certain loan contracts, either in the simple form, or accompanied by the Greek expression *καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως*, which is widespread in the loans of the Hermetopolitan region, and sometimes attested in Theban contracts (see H. Satzinger, 'καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως in koptischen Urkunden', *Chronique d'Égypte* 45 (1970), pp. 417–420, and A. Delattre, 'Un contrat de prêt copte du monastère de Baouît', *Chronique d'Égypte* 79 (2004), pp. 385–389). In this handful of Theban examples, *O. Crum VC* 25 is a sale on delivery of wheat and *arax* (a leguminous plant), and *O. Crum Ad.* 16, which looks as a loan contract for four artabae of corn and a *ho* of barley, could also be a sale on delivery.

9–10. *πρὸς θε ἐτενατὶ εἰ παῶν*: Since the amount of wine is not specified (by contrast with *O. Crum* 160), this formula is expected to help clarify the equivalence between the sum advanced and the value of the wine, as is the case, for example, in *O. Medin. Habu Copt.* 61 (sale of corn on delivery), with the expression *ἡπῶρ ἐτῆνῃ ἐβῶλ*, 'at the price which shall then prevail', or in *O. Crum VC* 25

(again a sale of corn on delivery), πωρ ετερεπνογτε ναντγ εβολ, ‘the rent that God shall produce’. It may be suggested to read ετινατι and understand ‘according to what I will draw (from my vineyard)’, which would mean that the refund will be based on the price of the wine during the harvest, or to read ετετνατι and understand ‘according to what you will pay for my vineyard’, which is ultimately the same, since the buyer will probably comply with the current price.

15–16. The reconstruction [ωρη εζαι] is based on the parallels provided by *O. Crum* 160 and *O. Crum* VC 25. Similarly, †ωρη τωρε, an infrequent expression in contracts of this kind, occurs in *O. Crum* VC 25 (εωτωωρε).

17. The last person mentioned must be a witness or the scribe (see *O. Crum* 160). It seems that no date was written, which is probably the case in *O. Crum* VC 25 as well, whereas *O. Crum* 160 has a relative date (day and month only), which is not very surprising, given the ephemeral nature of these documents, discussed in the introduction of this edition. Yet other parallel documents, such as *O. Medin. Habu Copt.* 61, carry a full date (day, month, and year): it may be due to the inclusion of a clause similar to a lease.

76. Loan contract

Inv. no. C.O. 196

5.4 × 5.3 cm

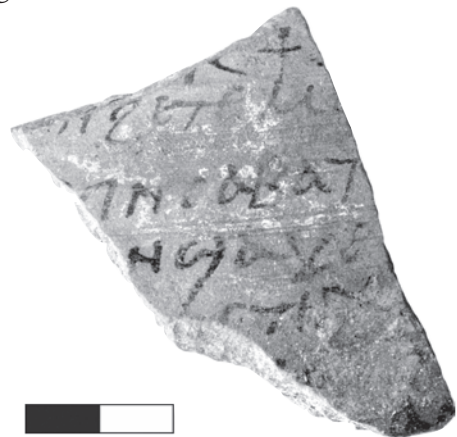
Pottery: LRA 7

The text is identifiable as a fragment of a loan contract thanks to the word *ἐτοῖμος* (l. 2), which is the key word in the reimbursement formula: ‘I am ready to repay ...’.

The script is bilinear and slightly sloping.

 [---]κ †. [---]
 [---]ν ρετεμο[ς ---]
 [---] . πινδαβατ[---]
 4 [---]νωδαξε [---]
 [---] . στηχι [---]
 [---] . . . [---]
 [---]αν[---]

2. *ἐτοῖμος* || 5. *στοιχεῖν*



3. It is tempting to recognize in $\epsilon\alpha\beta\alpha\tau[$ the beginning of the Greek word $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, but such a precision is not expected in this kind of text.

77. Loan contract

Inv. no. C.O. 258

6.1 × 5.9 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

Like the previous one, this text is identifiable as a fragment of a loan contract thanks to the word $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (l. 6). Line 4 probably contained the name of the lender.

The script is bilinear and slightly sloping.



 [---]ο . [---]
 [---] . πα[---]
 [---]απν . [---]
 4 [---]ος παρ[ε ---]
 [---]χ[ε] επιδε δ[---]
 [---]†]ο νρετεμος [---]
 επα . [---]

5. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ || 6. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$

7. This line perhaps contained the name of the month in the date announced for the repayment.

78. Beginning of an act with a Trinitarian invocation

Inv. no. C.O. 301

11.5 × 10 cm

Pottery: Aswan

Only the invocation formula is legible in the first three lines of this ostrakon. It is an invocation of the 2J type in R. S. Bagnall & K. A. Worp,

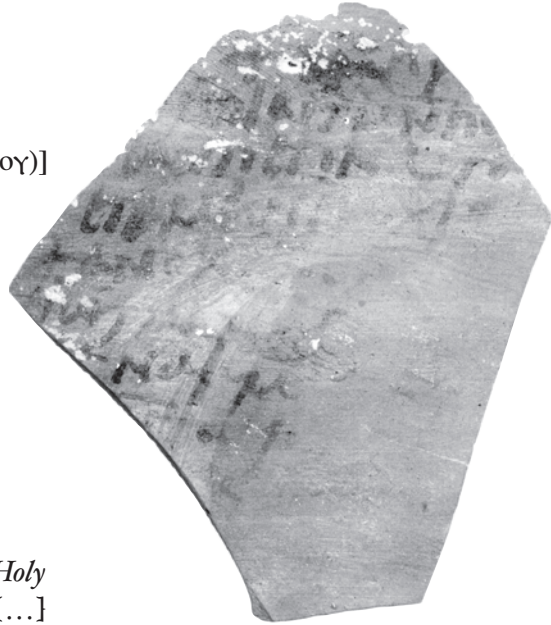
Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt, 2nd ed., Leiden 2004 (cf. p. 100). This formula is particularly frequent in the Hermonthite nome (see *ibidem*, p. 297, to which *O. Saint-Marc* 321 can be added), in various legal documents. It appears before the Arab conquest, but its use extends especially after it.

The script is bilinear and slightly sloping.

- † ϣ̄ πρ[αν]
 ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲱ[ⲏⲣⲉ]
 ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲡⲏ(ⲉϣⲙ)ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϥ[ⲁⲁⲃ (ⲙⲡⲟⲟϥ ⲏⲣⲟⲟϥ)]
 4 ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲏⲏⲓ ⲙⲉϣⲏⲣ .[?]
 † ⲁⲛⲟⲕ *traces, then faded*
 .ⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ *faded*
 [2–3] . ⲛⲁϣⲙ *faded*
 8 [---]ⲓⲁ . *faded*
 [---] . *faded*

3. πνεῦμα || 4. μηνί

*In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, [today] (4) namely in the month Mecheir [...]
 I ... [...] father ...*



79. End of a document

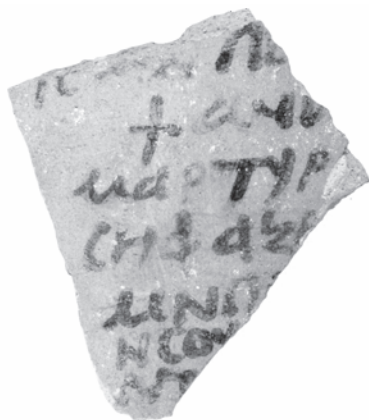
Inv. no. C.O. 257

5.6 × 5.4 cm

Pottery: Aswan

The end of a document is recognizable thanks to the verb ⲙⲛ, ‘to establish’ (l. 1), followed by a witnessing formula (ll. 2–3).

The script is bilinear and slightly sloping. A certain thickness recalls the writing of 78, and the pottery is of the same kind. The two fragments possibly belong to the same document.



 .CMN ΠΕ[---]
 † ΔΝΟ[Κ ---]
 ΜΑΡΤΥΡ[---]
 4 ΜΗΦΑΖΕ [---]
 ΜΝ Π . [---]
 ΝΟΟΥ[---]
 ΝΤ[---]

3. μαρτυρεῖν or μάρτυρος || 4. συμφανίζεω?

1. The expected formula is ΔΙCΜΝ or ΔΝCΜΝ, but there is space for only one letter before CΜΝ.

4. The existence of a Greek verb *συμφανίζεω* is attested only in Coptic documents, with the meaning 'to mention': is it another (contracted) form of this verb here? Another possibility, suggested by the anonymous reviewer of my paper, would be to interpret this sequence as CΕCΕΜ>ΦΑΝΙΖΕ, in a formula as '(it is valid in any place it will) be showed'.

80. End of a document

Inv. no. C.O. 051

4 × 6.8 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

The Greek verb *στοιχεῖν* helps recognise the end of a legal text, with the formula 'I agree', preceded by the name of the man responsible for the issuing of the document. The meaning of ΠΡΟ, 'the king' (l. 1) is difficult to assess.

The script is bilinear and slightly sloping.



 ΠΡΟ ΝΟΥΧΟΛ[ΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ) ---]
 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΤΕΡΜ[ΟΥΤΕ ---]
 †CΤΗΧΕΙ †[---]

1. ὀλοκόττινος? || 3. στοιχεῖν

... the king/emperor one solidus [...]. I Patern[oute ...] I agree [...]

1. Note that $\pi\pi\phi$ is also mentioned in the letter *O. Gurna Górecki* 21.

81. End of a document

Inv. no. C.O. 336?³³

15 × 12.8 cm

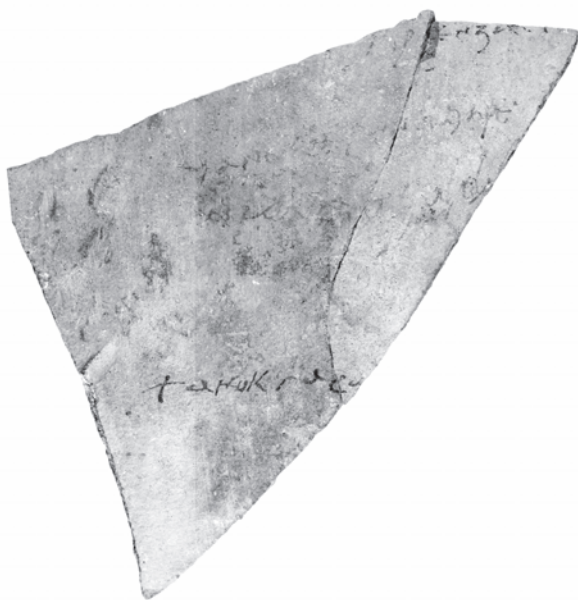
Pottery: qadus³⁴

End of a document with various proper names, including those of two witnesses.

The script seems to be small and with quadrilinear trends. There is much space between the lines.

 [--- π]ΩΗΡΕ ΝΖΑΧΑΡ[ΙΑC ---]
 † ΔΝΟΚ ΖΑΡΩΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ [--- †Ο]
 ΝΜΝΤΡΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΥ[Ω ---]
 4 † ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΞΑ[Μ ---]
 † [---]

... son of Zacharias [...]. I Haron, son
 of [... I am] witness to it, and [...]. (4)
 I Pabam [...]



³³ I have only two images of this ostrakon, without inventory number and scale. Given that the pottery seems to be of an unusual kind, and the ostrakon appears to be quite big, I would be inclined to identify it with number 336 in Tomasz Górecki's table, where all the material indications about the ostraca are collected.

³⁴ In Tomasz Górecki's table, the material is described as 'MT, gaddus'; I have not been able to identify the abbreviation 'MT'.

82–89. ACCOUNTS

82–85. Set of accounts

The four ostraca edited below were found together wrapped in a textile, according to a statement by Tomasz Górecki.³⁵ As we will see, they indeed display common features pointing to a kind of small dossier. What is more troubling is that, again according to Górecki, *O. Gurna Górecki 12* (inv. 166) was also part of this set. This is disturbing, because this last ostrakon is a letter, whose contents do not seem connected with the other texts of the set. Moreover, *O. Gurna Górecki 12* was dated to the beginning of the seventh century, whereas there are arguments to attribute the other four to the first half of the eighth century. The only explanation I see for this situation is to suppose that the wrapping took place at a time when there was some disorder in the hermitage, and *O. Gurna Górecki 12* was included by mistake.

The four texts below concern amounts of money (one to three *solidi*) associated with people; text 84, which is clearly connected with a matter of inheritance, may help to make the link between the documents: they could be traces of sharing between the heirs.

82. Receipt or order of payment (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 267

8.7 × 9.1 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

This short account associates personal names with amounts of money in *solidi*. It could be a receipt, an order of payment, or the recapitulation of a payment. Or has this document something to do with the inheritance mentioned in 84?

The script is bilinear and slightly sloping, not very skilled. Traces of erased letters are visible at the end of line 5, as well as two erased lines after line 5.

³⁵ In the table where he collected all the material indications about the ostraca, Górecki wrote for 266–270: ‘związane sznurkiem’, which means ‘tied with a string’.

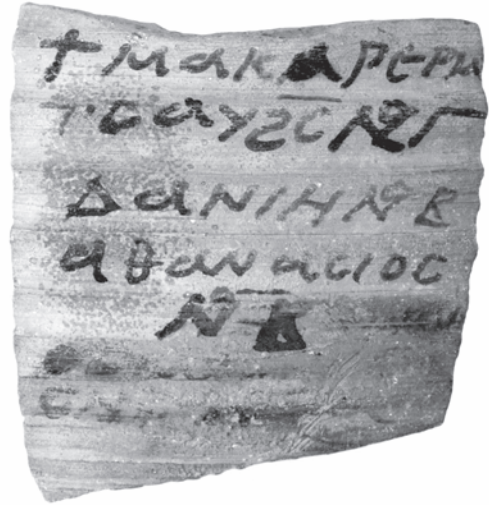
† ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΡΗ-
 ΤΣΑΥΖΩ ΝΟ(ΜΙCΜΑ) Γ
 ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΝΟ(ΜΙCΜΑ) Β
 4 ΔΘΑΝΑCΙΟC
 ΝΟ(ΜΙCΜΑ) Β
 [[ca. 5-6]]
 [[CN . . .]]

2, 3, 5. ἢ ostr. νόμισμα

† *Makare man of Tsauhs: 3 solidi*

Daniel: 2 solidi

Athanasios: 2 solidi



2. Is ΤΣΑΥΖΩ a toponym or does it mean 'the (monastic) community'?

83. Receipt or order of payment (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 269

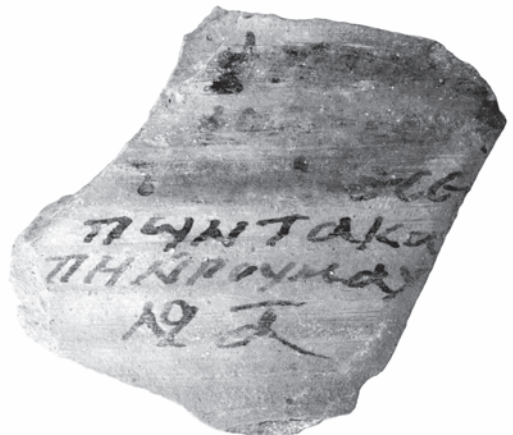
7.6 × 9.3 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

The same kind of document as the previous one and the same kind of script, although a little more sloping. The three lines erased in the upper part of the ostracon apparently constituted the beginning of the text: a cross is still visible in line 1. The reason for erasing these lines remains obscure.

[[† ca. 5]]
 [[ca. 8]]
 [[τ ca. 4 εσε]]
 4 ΠΩΝΤΑΚΑ-
 ΠΗ ἩΡΟΥΜΑΥ
 ΝΟ(ΜΙCΜΑ) Δ
 6. ἢ ostr. νόμισμα

Psbentagape of Roumau: 1 solidus.



4-5. ΠΩΝΤΑΚΑΠΗ could also be interpreted as 'the son of Tagape', but it seems to me less likely, because it would mean that the name of this man has been erased, which would be odd.

5. ΡΟΥΜΑΥ: This place-name is attested in *O. Crum* 138, a lease of land (l. 6: ΕΤΡΕΚΧΩ ΝΕΙΩΞ ΡΟΥΜΑΥ).

84. Assessment about an inheritance (?)

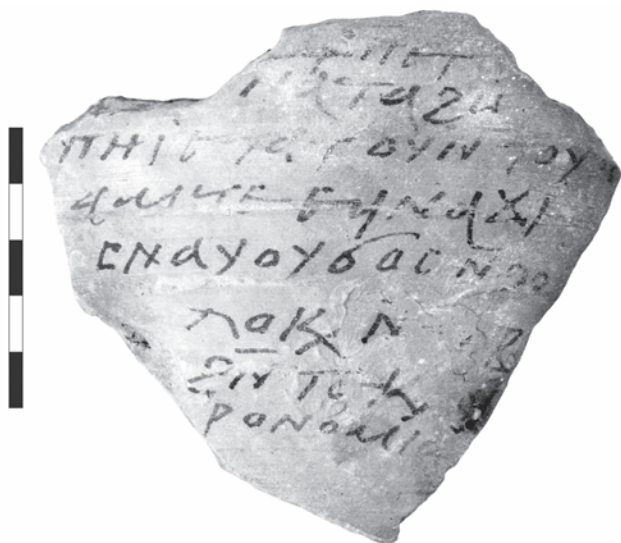
Inv. no. C.O. 268

9.3 × 13 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

The main point of interest for this ostrakon is its hand, apparently the same as the hand of the priest Petros identified by Chantal Heurtel and me in several ostraca from the French excavations at the *topos* of St. Mark, on the hill of Gurnet Murraï. If we are not wrong, this Petros could be situated in the beginning of the eighth century: see *O. Saint-Marc*, 'Introduction 4.1', and *O. Saint-Marc* 171-178. This script is sloping and fast, although irregular; the right part of α often goes below the line, τ has a small upper appendix on the left side of the horizontal stroke, and the central part of ω and ω̄ is short. Petros' activity has been situated in the first half of the eighth century, because *O. Saint-Marc* 183, a letter addressed to him, seems to have been written by the monk Frange. He might have acted as a scribe in the region at this time, as Mark did at the beginning of the seventh century.

The content of this short note is not completely clear. It was perhaps a way to assess the value of a house in an inheritance. To get the house was the same as to receive two and a half *solidi* in the final sharing out.



† ΠΕΤ-
ΝΑΤΑΞΩ
ΠΗΙ ΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΝΤΟΥ-
4 ΑΜ ΤΕ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ
ΕΝΑΥ ΟΥΘΟΣ ΝΞΟ-
ΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ) Ν<Ν>ΟΥΒ
ΞΝ ΤΕΚΛΗ-
8 ΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ

5-6. ρολοκ ostr. ὀλοκόττινος || 7-8. κληρονομία

† *The one who will obtain the house that belongs to Tountou-(4)-am will receive two golden solidi and a half in the inbe-(8)-ritance.*

3-4. Tountouam is not a usual name. Touam does exist in compound names, but as the first element.

85. Accounting note

Inv. no. C.O. 270

5.6 × 7.7 cm

Pottery: cooking pot

Side a (outer side):

A single line is legible, but there was perhaps four other lines below. If we think in terms of an inheritance, ἀγάπη could mean 'funerary offering'.

Side b (inner side):

Because of δέ (l. 2), the text on this side could be the continuation of the other one.

Side a

. ΤΑΚΑΠΗ Νῖα[---]

1. ἀγάπη

[---] *the agape of Ia*[---]

Side b

† ΞΗ

ΠΑΡΟΥ ΔΕ ΦΑΙ-

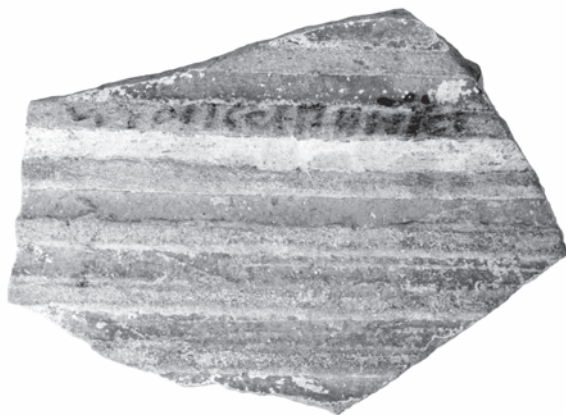
ΤΑΡΟ †Ε ΝΞΑΤΕ

4 ΝΞΗΤ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΟΛ-

ΑΚΟC ΝΟΥΒ

2. δέ || 4-5. ὀλοκόττινος

† *And in the ... backward I shall obtain five silver coins and one golden solidus.*



1. The beginning of the line may read $\xi\mu\ \pi\mu\alpha\ \mu\text{-}$, 'In the place (backward) ...'.
 3-4. I understand $\xi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ and $\xi\eta\tau$ as two forms of $\xi\alpha\tau$, the first one naming the coin, the second one the metal.

86. Summary account / aide-memoire

Inv. no. C.O. 017+019+075+122

19.1 × 17.4 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

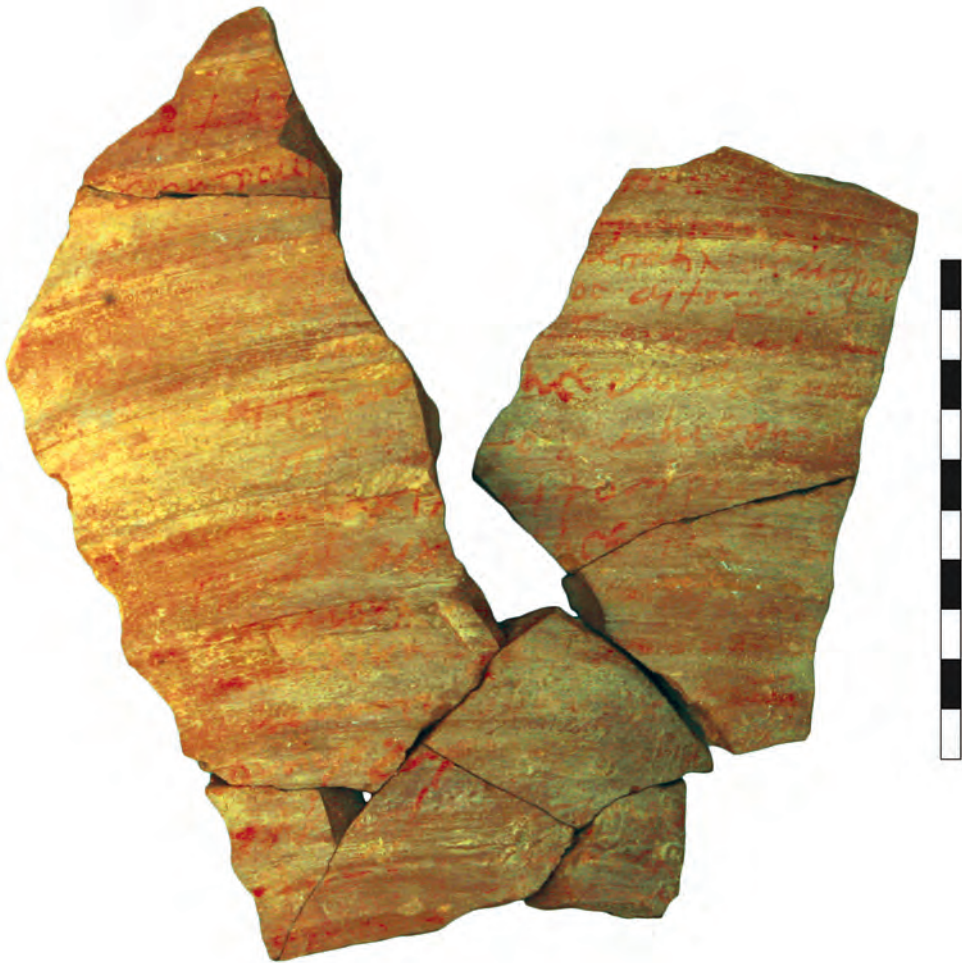
This big ostrakon is a kind of recapitulation of various payments or expenses, written in the first person singular. Except its very beginning (inv. 17) and its middle right part (inv. 122), the text is almost illegible. In addition, the red colour of the ink (be it the original colour or the result of a decomposition) makes its decipherment difficult.

The script is slightly sloping and has some ligatures.

- $\dagger$ *traces* [---]
 $\xi\epsilon\ \xi\alpha\ \tau\rho\omicron\mu\pi[\epsilon\text{ ---}] \dots \omicron\Upsilon\alpha\ .\ \chi\ .\ .\ .\ .\ .\ .$
traces [---] $\tau\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon\ .\ \lambda\ .\ .\ \lambda\alpha$
 4 *traces* [---] $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \eta\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \mu\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\text{-}$
traces [---] $\omicron\varsigma\ .\ \alpha\iota\ \dagger\ \omicron\Upsilon\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa(\omicron\tau\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma)$
traces [---] $\dagger\ \omicron\Upsilon\tau\rho\eta\mu\eta\varsigma\epsilon$
traces $\alpha\iota\ \dagger\ \omicron\Upsilon[\tau\rho\eta\mu]\eta\varsigma\epsilon\ \xi\alpha\ \theta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \mu\alpha$
 8 *traces* $[\alpha\iota]\ \dagger\ \omicron\Upsilon\tau\rho\eta\mu\eta\varsigma\epsilon\ .\ .\ \xi\ .$
traces [1-2] $\alpha\iota\ \dagger\ \omicron\Upsilon\tau\rho\eta\mu\eta\varsigma\epsilon$
traces $\tau[\rho\eta]\eta\varsigma\epsilon\ .\ [---]$
 $\omicron\Upsilon\tau\rho\eta\mu\eta\varsigma\epsilon\ \xi\ .\ [4-5]\ \textit{traces}$
traces of 6 lines

4. $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ [|| 5. $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa$? ostr. $\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{o}\tau\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ || 6 $\xi\prime$ IO. $\tau\rho\mu\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ || 7. $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$

$\dagger$ [---] *for the year* [---] ... [---] *the year* ... 31 (4) [---] *Apa Elias as pros* [---] *I paid one solidus* [---] ... *one tremissis* [---] *I paid one tremis* [sis
for 41 sacks (8) [---] *I paid one tremissis* ... [---] *I paid one tremissis* [---
tre] *missis* [---] *one tremissis* [---]



4. The Greek word beginning with *προσ-* could be *πρόστιμον* ('fine'), or *προσθήκη* ('addition').

5. *θαλις* can also mean 'shirt' (see *O. Frange* 793; Chantal Heurtel, *Les inscriptions coptes et grecques du temple d'Hathor à Deir al-Médina* [= *Bibliothèque d'études coptes* 16], Cairo 2004, p. 20), but given the large amount of them, the meaning of 'sack' is perhaps more likely here.

87. Summary account / aide-memoire

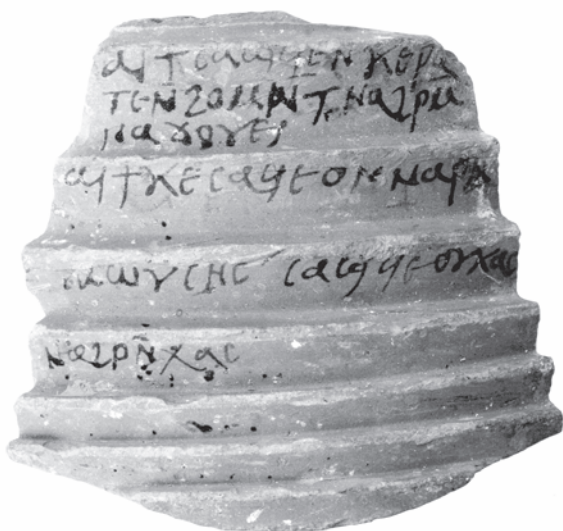
Inv. no. C.O. 191

11.3 × 13.8 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

The text is a recapitulation of payments, quite similar to the previous one. These recapitulations recall the short texts where the monk Frange summarizes his debts (*O. Frange* 239–241). However, the meaning of the preposition $\text{na}\bar{\text{r}}\text{p}\bar{\text{m}}$ here is not so clear. Is it equivalent to a dative n- or does it mean ‘on behalf of’?

The first three lines are packed in the space between two ribs, and then a single line is written between two ribs. There was perhaps a title at the top of the ostrakon. The script is bilinear and rather upright.



ἀἶτ' $\text{ca}\omega\text{q}\epsilon$ $\bar{\text{n}}\text{kepa-}$
 τε $\bar{\text{n}}\text{zom}\bar{\text{n}}\text{t}$ $\text{na}\bar{\text{r}}\text{p}\bar{\text{m}}$
 πα.χ.ο.γ.εἰ

4 ἀἶτ' $\text{keca}\langle\omega\rangle\text{q}\epsilon$ on $\text{na}\bar{\text{r}}\text{p}\bar{\text{m}}$
 $\text{m}\omega\bar{\text{y}}\text{ch}\epsilon$ $\text{ca}\omega\text{q}\epsilon$ $\text{o}\gamma\chi\alpha\varsigma$
 $\text{na}\bar{\text{r}}\text{p}\bar{\text{n}}$ $\chi\alpha\varsigma$

1–2. κεράτιον || 5. or $\text{o}\gamma\chi\alpha\varsigma$ (= $\text{o}\gamma\varsigma\text{o}\varsigma$)

I paid seven copper carats to (or on behalf of) Padjouei. (4) I paid again seven other carats to (or on behalf of) Mouses; seven and half to (or on behalf of) Khas.

6. By contrast with Mouses and Padjouei, Khas is a rare name: another attestation could be in *SB Kopt.* III 1306, l. 5, where the sentence reads $\alpha\chi\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\eta\varsigma$ (in which case the choice proposed by the editor, Seřna Bacot, between $\alpha\text{-}\chi\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota$ and $\alpha\langle\alpha\rangle\chi\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota$ would be solved in favour of the first solution). Also see ntok $\text{t}\chi\alpha\varsigma$ in the tax receipt *SB Kopt.* II 983, ll. 2–3.

88. Accounting note (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 150

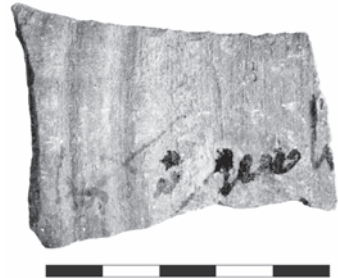
5.4 × 4.2 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

The script is quadrilinear and skilled. The line is written perpendicularly to the ribs. It is difficult to say whether there was more text under this line. The meaning of the first part was suggested to me by Alain Delattre, whereas the reading of the number is due to Tomasz Derda. The amount of money is enormous. Is this a payment related to the taxes of a community? Why is such a note in the hermitage?

[?] ἐκ προχ(ρείας) νο(μισμα-) / βωκ [---]

For the anticipated payment/loan, 2820 solidi [---]



89. Fragment of an account (?)

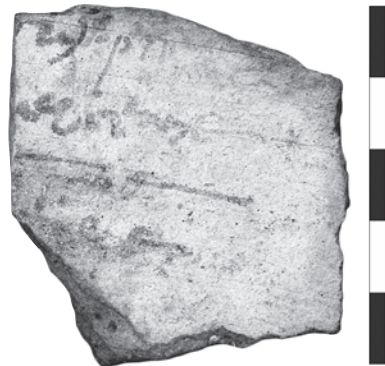
Inv. no. C.O. 210

5 × 4.7 cm

Pottery: north Tunisian amphora³⁶

The mention of 'first' (l. 1) and 'second' (l. 2) makes it possible to identify this text as a kind of account.

 [---] τωορη
 [---] μ]εζεστε
 [---] . . . ε
 4 [---] . . ε



³⁶ In Tomasz Górecki's table, the material is described 'gosp. NT amf. afryk.?'.

90–96. VARIOUS

90. List of names on an amphora

Inv. no. C.O. 022 (+085)

H. 15 cm

Pottery: pseudo-Aswan

The text edited below has been written at the top of a 'pseudo-Aswan' type amphora. The story of this amphora, its use at various stages to inscribe texts, and its reconstruction by the archaeologists, is complex. It is impossible for me at the moment to restore its original dimensions.

The upper part, with the neck (inv. no. 22e), bears an inscription that looks like a *dipinto* (see 91).

Under this neck is the fragment numbered 22 with the list of names edited below. It is difficult to say whether this text could still have a relation to the original amphora, for instance as list of the recipients of its contents. To the right of the first line of this list, there is a $\mathfrak{B}$ in a circle (again a kind of mark?).

On the same fragment, to the right of the previous list, is a series of signs difficult to decipher, which could correspond to another list.

The piece inventoried as no. 85, now reassembled as no. 22, bears the traces of a much erased text, which seems to belong to the same text as the series of signs just mentioned. There are a lot of white marks. The last word could be $\omega\eta\mu$.

Inv. nos. 22b and 22c are two other pieces of the amphora inscribed with other texts (22b is an exercise and will be part of the next article; 22c has not yet been identified.).

Inv. no. 22d contains a letter edited as *O. Gurna Górecki* 30 (and there is another unidentified text above this letter, perhaps an exercise). This part was certainly inscribed after the amphora had been broken.

*

As for the text of inv. no. 22 (90), each entry has two successive names (name + surname?) or two names with the first introduced by the preposition $\mathfrak{z}\alpha$: does it mean that the first name acts on behalf of the second?

The script is very clumsy. The $\mathfrak{z}$ is lying down, as a horizontal sinusoid.



[---] . .

[?]ζα . α .

vacat?

ΜΩΥΣΗΣ

4 ζα πχαϊ

. . τωρ νδδγ .

ζογμεс πχαϊ

πατερμογτε . . .

8 ιακωθ ευφημια

αβραζαμ ζα πακαγ

ζογμεс απα σλε

[---] τζαμω

4 & 6. πχαϊ could be a form of the name πχογι.

5. One is tempted to read νικτωρ νδδγιδ, but this is very uncertain.

6 & 10. ζογμεс is a form of the name ζογμисе, common in the Fayyum.

8. One would expect ιακωβ.

10. σλε is attested in *P. Hermitage Copt.* II, I. 6.

11. The meaning of this line escapes me.

91–96. Short inscriptions on fragments of amphorae

The function of the short inscriptions collected below is far from certain. Some of them could be dipinti, documenting the owner of the jar or its content, or labels, indicating its provenance or its destination.³⁷

91. Dipinto (?)

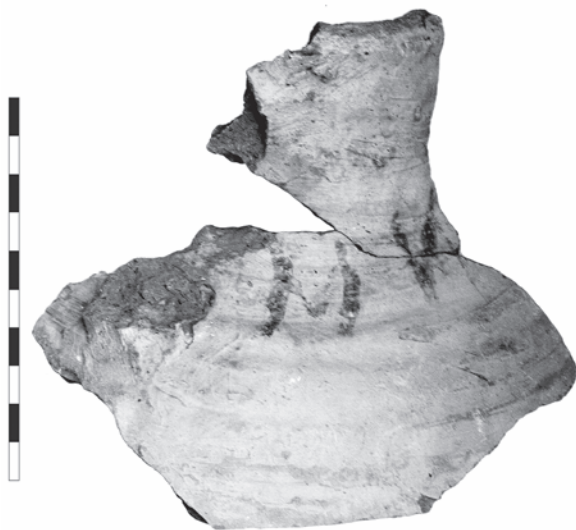
Inv. no. C.O. 022e

14 × 13 cm

Pottery: pseudo-Aswan

The height of the letters is about 2.5 cm.

μΥ[?]



³⁷ For a definition and a classification of the dipinti, see J.-L. FOURNET, 'La «dipintologie» grecque: une nouvelle discipline auxiliaire de la papyrologie?', [in:] *PapCongr.* XXVI, pp. 249–258. I am grateful to Jean-Luc Fournet for giving me his opinion about these fragments.

92. Dipinto (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 081

10.8 × 14.6 cm³⁸

Pottery: LRA 7 (shoulder)

The number ‘six’ was perhaps followed by the designation of the quantity and the product contained in the amphora. The height of the letters is about 1 cm.

Ⲣ ϣⲟⲩ [---]

**93. Dipinto (?)**

Inv. no. C.O. 132

5.4 × 6.6 cm

Pottery: ? (shoulder)³⁹

The height of the letters is about 0.8 cm.

Ⲣ ϣⲉ [---]
.. [---]



³⁸ In Tomasz Górecki's table one finds alternative measurements, 12 × 9 cm, labelled with the initials I.A., standing most probably for Iwona Antoniak.

³⁹ In Tomasz Górecki's table the material is described as 'X v MT?'; I have not been able to decipher these abbreviations.

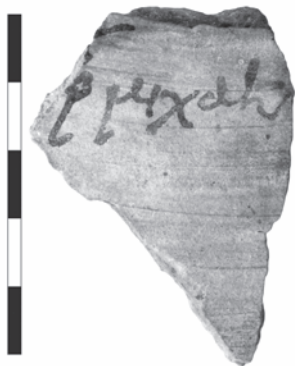
94. Label (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 144

5 × 3.7 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

The script is small and quadrilinear with a minuscule μ and η .



[Δ]ΡΧ(ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) ΜΙΧΑΗΛ

95. Dipinto or label (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 247

6.5 × 2.8 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

Some indecipherable signs that could be a label or a dipinto (perhaps a monogram as a mark of property?).



96. Unidentified fragment

Inv. no. C.O. 193

4.2 × 6.7 cm

Pottery: ?⁴⁰

The sole line seems to contain an ordinal number. This fragment could possibly belong with 89, depending on whether there were missing lines above.

[---]ΜΕΞΜΝΤ. [---]



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⁴⁰ In Tomasz Górecki's table the material is described as 'X'; I have not been able to decipher this abbreviation.

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