## The Journal of Junistic PapyRology <br> FOUNDED BY <br> RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG <br> EDITED BY <br> TOMASZ DERDA ADAM ŁAJTAR JAKUB URBANIK

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FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION
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# The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 

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RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG

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Serena Ammirati do Marco FressuraTowards a typology of ancient bilingual glossaries:Palaeography, bibliology, and codicology1
Abstract: This paper surveys the Latin-Greek and Greek-Latin bilingual glos- saries known through papyrological evidence, both digraphical and non, focusing on their scripts, book formats, and layouts. The systematic compar- ison between archaeological evidence and western manuscripts bearing simi- lar texts helps to detect conservative and innovative layout strategies. This article mainly focuses on classical and para-literary texts (thematic and non- thematic bilingual glossaries, glossaries of classical authors), without passing under silence the main bilingual Latin-Greek and Greek-Latin Christian texts. Keywords: ancient bilingual glossaries, layouts, bibliology, codicology, palaeography, classical authors, Christian texts.
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The ferws of Oxyrhynchos address the strategos of the nome:
An early fourth-century document. ..... 27

Abstract: In August 309 the Jews of Oxyrhynchos addressed the strategos of the Oxyrhynchite nome. If the interpretation is correct, the people who filed
the document on behalf of the Jews appear to represent a koinon, which is a term also used for professional associations but here seemingly applied to the town's Jewish community as a whole. A scholarly consensus has yet to be reached on whether the Jewish communities could be classified as collegia according to Roman law but various pieces of evidence adduced here indicate that this was possible. Another issue that is addressed here is the nature of the document and why it was addressed particularly to the strategos of the nome, who is known to have changed duties after Diocletian's administrative reforms. Finally, this papyrus furnishes another important piece of information, as it records a further year-in-office of Dioskourides alias Ioulianos, a member of a prominent family of councillors and officials, whose origins can be traced back to Alexandria and who are known to us through (at least) three successive well-documented generations. The history of the family's career (as evidenced by the hitherto published material) is offered in a nut ${ }^{-}$ shell in the form of an appendix.
Keywords: Jews, Jewish community, koinon, Oxyrhynchos, fourth century, Beinecke library, Dioskourides alias Ioulianos, strategos.

Anne Boud'hors<br>The Coptic ostraca of the Theban hermitage MMA 1152. I. Letters<br>(O. Gurna Górecki I2-68)


#### Abstract

This article is the first in a series that aims to publish all the Coptic ostraca discovered by Tomasz Górecki during his excavations in the hermitage MMA 1152 (Western Thebes) between 2003 and 2013. Here, I am presenting the edition of private letters. There are altogether sixty-eight such texts, of which eleven have been published elsewhere and fifty-seven are edited here. Even though many of them are very fragmentary, one can recognize various topics common to the letters of this region in the sev-enth-eighth centuries. They also testify to the relations that existed between the hermitage and the neighbouring sites of the Theban region. Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, hermitage MMA i152, letter, book production, monasticism, clerks, daily life, prayer, charity.


Åke Engsheden of Andreas W inkler
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Abstract: In this paper, three Coptic ostraca, which all most probably originate in the Theban area, are edited. The texts are all epistolary in nature. It is probable that all three stem from a monastic environment; ostensibly no. I relates to the Epiphanius Monastery, while no. 2 comes from the dossier belonging to the Monastery of Phoibammon. The latter piece concerns an
argument about the appointment of a shepherd, thus providing another witness to the economic activities of the mentioned institution. No. 3 concerns a delivery of an unnamed commodity kept in sacks.
Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Late Antiquity, Thebes, Monastery of Phoibammon, Monastery of Epiphanius, apa Viktor, cattle husbandry.

Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei<br>A dance for a princess: The legends on a painting in room 5 of the Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola


#### Abstract

The article provides a transcription, translation, and analysis of the Old Nubian legends on a painting of a dancing scene in room 5 of the Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola. The painting shows two groups of Nubian singing and dancing, and from the legends we understand that the occasion is the birth of a new heir to the royal throne, and that the Virgin Mary is invoked to ease the pangs of labour. Keywords: Old Nubian, epigraphy, wall inscriptions, Dongola, Monastery on Kom H, Nubian iconography, Nubian painting.


> Lothar Thüngen
> Zwei Fragmente frübbyzantinischer Rechtsliteratur aus Hermupolis Magna. Neuedition von P. Berol. Inv. Nr. 16976 und 16977. Teil 2. Neuedition von P. 16976, kurze Texte aus dem 5. Jh. über unterschiedliche Rechtsfragen


#### Abstract

P. 16976, one of the two papyri which Wilhelm Schubart published in 1945 in the Festschrift for Leopold Wenger, is to be dated to ad $457^{-500}$. It probably belonged to a small codex (which seems to have had no more than 48 pages) with many short legal texts on different subjects. It may have been an 'Enchirdium on Actual Legal Questions Taken from Imperial Constitutions' for jurists. Beside the main text, there may have been a separate booklet providing additional juridical comments in the form of paragraphai. While the two parts may have been authored by the same person, a long comment below the main text on the recto is in a different hand. It may thereofre have been copied by a later user from the booklet. This is certainly not a marginal scholion, as believed from the time of Schubart. The subjects included in the preserved piece are two cases from civil law (an actio ex stipulatu against a woman for paying back a credit and getting a title of possession for a provincial estate by the older longi temporis praescriptio), a civil process (prescription of a lawsuit) and a case from fiscal law (confiscation). The last text includes an instruction for the readers.


Keywords: juristic papyrology, legal literature, 'Enchiridium on Actual Legal Questions', actio ex stipulatu, longitemporis praescriptio, confiscation, Hermopolis Magna.

Jacques van der Vleit do Klaas A. Worp A fifth Nubian funerary stela from the Bankes Collection. An addendum to CIEN 3, 26-29251


#### Abstract

The article offers a first edition of a Christian funerary stela from northern Nubia, inscribed in Greek. The monument belongs to a small series of similar stelae from the collection of W. J. Bankes (1786-1855) and may date from about the seventh century. As a likely provenance, Kalabsha (ancient Talmis) is proposed. Keywords: Christian Nubia, Talmis, Greek, funerary inscription, Bankes collection.


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Anne Boud'hors

## THE COPTIC OSTRACA OF THE THEBAN HERMITAGE MMA 1152

## 1. LETTERS (O. GURNA GÓRECKI 12-68)

To the memory of Tomasz Górecki and Tomasz Markiewicz*

DUring successive excavations carried on between 2003 and 2013 in the hermitage MMA 1152, near the now-vanished village of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, on the western bank of the Nile opposite Luxor, Tomasz Górecki has dug out more than 300 ostraca and some fragments of Coptic papyri. ${ }^{1}$ Their publication, first entrusted to Tomasz Markiewicz, was proposed to me after the premature death of this young researcher (September 2009). From 28 November to 2 December 2010, welcomed at the Deir el-Bahari Polish excavation house, I was able to examine the ostraca in the storage of the Supreme Council of Antiquities,

[^1]and to spend time on the site in order to discuss with Tomasz Górecki the issues of the documentation. ${ }^{2}$

This is a difficult documentation, due to its fragmentary state. Complete pieces are rare and the available information quite heterogeneous. It seems that the texts mainly illustrate two periods: the part of the seventh century prior to the Arab conquest on the one hand, and the first half of the eighth century on the other. In this regard, the situation is similar to that observed for other sites in the region, notably the Monastery of Epiphanius and the Theban Tomb 29. In view of the difficulty of producing a 'catalogue raisonné' within an acceptable time, I preferred, in agreement with Tomasz Górecki and the colleagues at the University of Warsaw, to divide the publication into several articles, of which this one, devoted to letters, is the first, while the three following ones will deal respectively with legal and economic texts, then exercises and various pious texts, to end with a synthesis of the documentation and complete indices.

Tomasz Górecki died suddenly in September 2017, fully active and without having accomplished all what he planned. In tribute to the outstanding archaeologist he was, the acronym for the documentation coming from the hermitage MMA 1152 will be $O$. Gurna Górecki.

Several letters were published in the previous years, because they were recognized as connected to the dossiers of previously known persons, namely Mark, the priest of the topos of Saint Mark; Victor, the priest of the monastery of Saint Phoibammon; and Frange, the monk who occupied the Theban Tomb 9. In order to facilitate future references to this hermitage, I have assigned to these published pieces the first numbers in a general numbering sequence, starting with those published by Esther Garel, already numbered from i to $8 .^{3}$ We would thus have:

[^2]| Siglum | Contents | Inv. no. | Edition |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| O. Gurna Górecki $\mathrm{I}^{\text {I }}$ | Letter from the priest Victor to Azarias about a camel | C.O. 079 | Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4), no. I |
| O. Gurna Górecki 2 | Letter from the priest Victor to Iezekiêl and (?) Djôr | C.O. 155 | Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4), no. 2 |
| O. Gurna Górecki 3 | Letter to Djôr and Apa Iezekiêl about a book of Shenute | C.O. 170 | Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4), no. 3 |
| O. Gurna Górecki 4 | Letter from the priest Victor to Apa Iezekiêl and Apa Djôr | C.O. 174 | Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4), no. 4 |
| O. Gurna Górecki 5 | Letter from the priest Victor to Djôr | C.O. 180 | Garel, ‘The ostraka’ (cit. n. 4), no. 5 |
| O. Gurna Górecki 6 | Letter to Apa Iezekiêl and Djôr from 'Iakôb the humble' | C.O. 090 | Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4), no. 6. |
| O. Gurna Górecki 7 | Letter to Djôr and Apa Iezekiêl | C.O. 136 | Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4), no. 7 |
| O. Gurna Górecki 8 | Letter to Apa Iezekiêl and to Djôr | C.O. ${ }^{171}$ | Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4), no. 8 |
| O. Gurna Górecki 9 | Letter by the hand of Mark, the priest of the topos of St Mark | C.O. 120 | Chantal Heurtel, 'Un nouvel exemple de l'activité de scribe du prêtre Marc à Thèbes', [in:] Anne Boud'hors \&o Catherine Louis (eds). Études coptes XIII. थiinzième journée d'études (Lou-vain-la-neuve, 12-I4 mai 20II) <br> [= Cabiers de la bibliothèque copte 20], Paris 2015, pp. 12I-I26 |
| O. Gurna Górecki 10 | Request of money from Iohannes to Ioseph (note that on l. 3, one reads <br>  | C.O. ooi | Iwona Antoniak, 'New ostraca from Thebes', [in:] G. Gabra \& H. N. Takla (eds.), Cbristianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt, II: Nag Hammadi-Esna, Cairo 20IO, pp. I-6, at $4^{-5}$ |
| O. Gurna Górecki $\mathrm{II}^{\text {I }}$ | Letter from Frange to Ioseph | C.O. oıo | Ed. pr. Antoniak, 'New ostraka', pp. 3-4; reed. Anne Boud'hors, 'Pièces supplémentaires du dossier de Frangé', Journal of Coptic Studies I3 (2011), pp. 99-II2, at $109^{-110}$ (no. 5) |

As for the papyri, the best preserved piece, a letter requiring a payment for scraps of papyrus, has recently been published. ${ }^{4}$

Consequently, the numbering of the ostraca in this article begins with O. Gurna Górecki i2. The order of the texts is based on a rather flexible principle: first, the most substantial texts or those where the content is clearly identifiable, then the beginnings and ends of letters, and finally the fragments. Dimensions are in centimetres (height $\times$ width). Dates are not proposed systematically, as it is usually impossible to decide in favour of one or the other of the two periods mentioned above. The characterization of the material is due to Tomasz Górecki. The handwritings are almost all bilinear, straight, or more or less sloping.

The photographs of the ostraca were taken by Dariusz Dąbkowski; they are published here courtesy of the PCMA Archive.

## 12. Dispute about tax payment

Inv. no. C.O. 266

Neither sender nor addressee is named. There are no greetings, neither at the beginning nor at the end. The tone is brief, probably even angry. Apparently, the sender had to give many things to the addressee because of the tax (demosion), and he is making a kind of account of all these things, perhaps complaining that he has been treated unfairly. Although the scribe may be identifiable (see below), he is not necessarily the sender.

The content of the text also provides connection to several other sites and characters of the area, and enriches the dossier of a certain Helias, son of Kalapesios, a 'great man', that is to say a worthy man of the region (see the commentary below).

[^3]This hand is very close to the hand of a certain Moses, who used to live in TT 29 at the beginning of the seventh century (see $O$. Frangé, pp. 22-23). Especially typical is the shape of the m , as well as some diacritical signs (for instance the comma in 1. 19) and the superlinear stroke in place of N at the end of line 4 , which is an habit of scribes copying literary manuscripts (indeed Moses was a copyist of this type). TT 29 has provided several ostraca written by this hand, with or without the name of Moses ( $O$. Frangé $752^{-759}$ ). Most of them are limestone. However, there is one potsherd (O. Frangé 757 ), where the text is not finished and the vocabulary quite similar to C.O. 266. If this identification is right, this is another indication of the connection between TT 29 and MMA 152.
 маї гд п. ннмосוон аївшк оү-



 кератім м̄noүв ачаподогіzе mмооү nak • ayco ak.xooy
 салос ете кадрळч пе аї oүдєвіт由N nay $\overline{\text { ñeєוш }}$
м̄кава)тіт mī mītcnooүc $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ )е $\overline{\text { लेбомی̄т. }}$
 on etzī пkoinon mī n@ Phy е̣аүгıсе ерої м̄мдав
-. Ño)e ñomñt 2 Ca
T. . . $\lambda \epsilon 1 \varepsilon$, еגко入̄


[^4]$\dagger$ Since you bad argued with me about the demosion, I added a leaf(?) of silver for you, which bas the value of $(4)$ six drachmas of silver, as well as eight doves. Besides I sent you to Helias (son) of Kalapesios for three carats of gold (and) he reimbursed (8) them to you. And you sent me Daniel and Elisaios, who is 'rolled-mouth', I gave him a tunic (lebitôn) made with(I2) doublethread linen, as well as twelve che of bronze. In addition, you also took my chaff, which was in common with (I6) the sons of Antherios, since they have troubled me with thirty-?? che of bronze for the ...; you beld it, (20) you took it.
I. $\operatorname{\text {PPIze}.~The~Greek~verb~} \epsilon \rho i \zeta \epsilon \omega v$ is not attested in Förster, $W B$, and the only attestation in a Greek document is in $B G U$ IV 1043 (letter, 3rd cent. Arsinoites).
2. What is the meaning of $\sigma \omega 8 \in$ ? Is it 'leaf'? Or is it an unidentified object that would be worth or contain a certain amount of money?
4. сатеєре. Coin or weight?
5. One or several 'golden doves' or 'doves of gold' are mentioned in some texts (for instance P. CLT ro: see the reedition of Jennifer Cromwell \& E. Grossman, 'Condition(al)s of repayment: P. CLT io reconsidered', Fournal of Egyptian Archaeology 96 [2010], pp. 149-160); a discussion on this expression is in Florence Calament, 'Règlements de comptes à Djêmé... d'après les ostraca coptes du Louvre', [in:] C. Cannuyer (ed.), Études coptes VIII [ = Cabiers de la bibliothèque copte 13], Lille - Paris 2003, pp. 37-58): it could mean a measure of gold coins (originally a container with the shape of a dove). Here, there is no precision after 'doves'. Nevertheless, since the context is about money, one could propose that they are 'doves of silver'.

Particular construction of the verb $\omega \lambda$ : 'I sent you to Helias for three carats' (= 'I charged Helias to pay you three carats in my place'). For a similar use, see
 sische Rhetorik: Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden [= Pbilippika 20], Wiesbaden 2008, p. 300, knows only the intransitive use of the verb (P. $K R U_{44}, 33$, and 68).
$5^{-6}$. Helias, son of Kalapesios, is already known from the following texts:
(I) O. Medin. Habu Copt. 153: limestone, inscribed on both sides, not translated by the editors, signed or written (?) by a certain David (the plate shows that the hand is probably Crum's 'hand D ': see $O$. Crum, p. xv). This is apparently a case of exclusion concerning the monastery of Phoibammon, in which the great man Helias is likely to intervene.
(2) O. Crum 116: pottery; arbitration case in which Helias appears to have played the role of investigator.
(3) O.Saint-Marc 28 (see above): a character of this name, with the same kind of activity, returns, moreover, several times in $O$. Saint-Marc.
(4) P. Mon. Epiph. 88: a kind of dialusis (conciliation) in which one of the parties
declares the matter settled thanks to Helias son of Kalapese. Only in this text, is Helias called 'apa'.
(5) P. Mon. Epiph. 271: the document could also be linked to this dossier, as a certain Helias is mentioned there, who is not called 'great man', but acts as such.
(6) O. Brit. Mus. Copt. I 126, pl. 87.4: a tax receipt paid for by Helias Kalapesios, is written by Psate son of Pisrael; since this scribe was active in the first quarter of the eighth century, it cannot be the same Helias.

Helias is thus a 'great man', which means someone playing the role of a gobetween or arbitrator in economic and legal matters. On this, as well as on the administrative hierarchy of Djeme, see chapter 5.2 ('Das коььóv und die Beamten von Djeme') in L. Berkes, Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden [= Philippika 104], Wiesbaden 2017, pp. 170-190. Here, it is likely that the sender could not pay himself the three carats of gold, so he asked Helias to pay them for him (for which he probably gave a security, for instance a piece of furniture or personal belongings).
ıо. кд入р 1 , literally 'rolled-mouth', is perhaps a nickname (this is the first attestation of this word). It could indicate a physical defect of the man, as is often the case. Is it a harelip?
 tation of this compound word). I have asked a specialist of ancient textiles, but she did not see what was meant with this expression; кав is a from the verb кшв, 'to double'; ©TIT is the chain of the loom. The garment in question must have been rather luxurious, probably woven with thick linen.

14-20. The translation is based on the interpretation of $\mathrm{T} \mathrm{m}_{2}(\mathrm{l} . \mathrm{I4})$ as the agricultural word 'chaff', and 2 N пкоוnon as meaning 'in common'. It seems that the sender is reproaching the recipient for having taken (גкчı) his chaff, which he had in common with the sons of Antherios, as a kind of security for the money they were reclaiming. He his repeating this reproach at the end. Another possibility, which seems to me less satisfactory, would be to interpret $\mathrm{T} \omega 2$ as 'disturbance' thus 'disagreement', and koinon (1. 15) as a kind of council of Djeme (the word is attested in P. Mon. Epiph. 163, a petition sent to Epiphanius by the koinon of the kastron, where several civil servants are mentioned, notably a lashane Shenoute and Abraam son of Antheris). In this case, the meaning would be 'the disagreement I have in the koinon with the sons of Antherios'. However, in this context, aкчı (l. I4) remains difficult to interpret.
16. The name Antherios seems to be rare and one wonders whether its other attestations (including P. Mon. Epiph. 163) refer to the same man:
(I) In Chantal Heurtel, Les inscriptions coptes du temple d'Hathor à Deir al-Médîna [= Bibliothèque d'études coptes 16], Cairo 2004, pp. 35-37, no. 37, a very damaged funeral inscription gives the name of Abraham (son) of Antheris, lashane of Djeme, as an element of dating. The name Antheris is found again in inscription no. 70.
(2) O. Medin. Habu Copt. 50 is an acknowledgment of debt dated to (narpn) 'Abraham, son of Atheris' (the editors specify that he is the lashane). However, this document is addressed to Kolodje, grand-daughter of Katharon, which would date it to the end of the seventh century, a date not very compatible with our ostracon.
(3) In O. Crum VC io8, a certain Daniel (son) of Antheros serves as a gobetween in a loan against surety.

Could Abraham and Daniel be the sons of Antherios mentioned in our ostracon? мрнץ is a plural form of aнре (typically Theban, according to Crum, Dict.).
 would fit the interpretation of TOL as 'chaff'.

## 13. Request for help from Koïre to apa Paulos

Inv. no. C.O. 300
$12.5 \times 15.1 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7
Letter from a woman named Koïre to a certain apa Paulos. This character seems to have the task of arbitrating (_$\triangle \mathbf{I K} 2 z \varepsilon)$ a dispute between Koire and a certain David, her (future?) son-in-law. David is claiming to take the daughter of Koïre 'abroad', which the latter does not want, and she thus asks Paul to arbitrate in her favour. Given the way Koire addresses him ('Your pious Paternity'), Paul is likely to be a member of the clergy. The notion of 'abroad' (г помммо), which seems to be at the heart of the dispute, is discussed below in the commentary. Even though it remains a little vague, this text is an interesting witness to the feminine condition at this time in this region. This woman is obviously alone with her daughter, perhaps being a widow, and she complains about harassment and blows. ${ }^{7}$

Since apa Paulos is not attested in other texts from MMA 1152 , one wonders how this letter happened to reach the hermitage.

The fragment is inscribed on both sides. The script is a regular sloping majuscule, of a type widespread in the Theban region among educated people in the seventh century. The $m$ is close to a Greek $\mu$. It is probable that Koïre does not write herself. The hands of women who know how to

[^5]write are generally different. The syntax is also of a slightly sophisticated level (note especially the use of so called 'Second tenses', with rhetorical value: ntait [1. 4], еісадмм [1. іо], ептак.хооу [1. 16]).

Recto (outer side)

† аорп мем †проскүме! м̣текмп̄тмаїпоүте м̄єешт етt(дінү). епеидн текмм̄тмаїлоүте сооүм



 алагкаZе ммої aïxıтч̄ naч $\overline{\mathrm{N}}+$ cooyn aN Xe NTaчкаdч TON. ЄчMIOE NMmaï mMHNe. пєхач xє elcadnc) mmo mі̄ тоү()єєрє єчха м̄мос хє єре-
12 natadc naï $\overline{\text { N̈tabшк nм̄мдс e- }}$
пмд е†оүамуч. пехаї хє маїеш $\dagger$ ташеєре пак епоүе м̄мої. каı гар entak.xooy naï
 ג


## Verso (inner side)



маррєтекмм̄теншт єтоүадв $\Delta$ I-
дıкаде мппгбв єттепочре хє ксоọ̣̣ x̣e etвe текмnteiюt м̄taï-
24 † таল)еере пач : † тадс $\overline{\text { м }}$ па.хоеіс нешшт етоүадв
апа паүлос چाтN
текгм̄дал
коїре $\mp$
 15. каi үáp || 20. ov̂v || 21-22. ठıкá̧єıv

> $\dagger$ First of all, I bow before your precious and pious Paternity. Your Piety knows (4) that it was because of you that I gave my daughter to David. Now, here he bas done me a great deal of harm, as well as to my young daughter about this 'abroad'. And he hit me twice. The cloth/object that you had taken/received (as a pledge?) for my daughter, he (8) forced me, I had to take/receive it for him, and I do not know where he put it. He quarrels with me every day. He said: 'I have fed you and your daughter', also saying: 'You ( 12 ) will give her to me and I will go with her where I want'. I said: 'I will not be able to give you my daughter (to take her) away from me'. Indeed, (I6) you bave sent me to say 'You shall stay. They have ...'. ... here he has done me a great deal of harm (20) about this 'abroad'. Now, then, may your Holy Paternity judge the matter in the right direction, for you know that it was because of your Paternity that I (24) gave him my daughter.
> To give to my boly lord and father apa Paulos from your servant (28) Koïre $\dagger$.
6. $2^{2}$ пוळммо. 'Abroad' is not necessarily another country, or even another part of Egypt, but can simply refer to an unfamiliar place, anywhere outside the social unit to which one belongs, either a village, town, or monastery. For the use of this expression in monastic texts, see Anne Boud'hors, 'Aspects du monachisme égyptien: les figures comparées de Chénouté et Frangé’, [in:] Florence Jullien \&o Marie-Joseph Pierre (eds.), Monachismes d'Orient. Images, échanges, influences: hommage à Antoine Guillaumont $[=$ Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses 148], Turnhout 2012, pp. 217-225, at 223-224. The use of the 'affective article' ml - reinforces the repulsion caused by this perspective.

7-9. Apparently Koire possessed a valuable object (perhaps a piece of textile), which she could use as a pledge if needed, with apa Paulos acting as an intermediary, according to a system well attested in the Coptic texts of this region (see text no. 14). It was settled between them that this pledge was to be used in favour of Koire's daughter. However, David obliged Koire to give him this object or to pledge it for him, and he took it away.
ı8-i9. A possible reading could be ayna qapọ, 'you have been pitied', but this use of the verb na in documentary texts is not well attested.
28. The name Koïre does not appear to be attested in Coptic texts.

## 14. Request for intercession

Inv. no. C.O. 034
$8.4 \times 9.2 \mathrm{~cm}$
Limestone

No name of sender or recipient is preserved in this letter. The addressee is asked to intercede on behalf of a poor man and his orphans (he thus must be a widower). Actually the intercession consists of accepting a pledge from the poor man and thus lending him something in exchange or acting as an intermediary in a loan. Given the mention of the winter, the loan could be a blanket or a warm cloth or a piece of clothing, as in O. Crum 243, where the context is similar. For another text concerning poor people in this collection, see no. 15 below.

The text is written on one side only with traces of its end on the edge of the ostracon.

The hand is clumsy, with large upright letters.
Bibliography: Ewa Wipszycka, Moineset communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe - virie siècles) [The fournal of Furistic Papyrology Supplement in], Warsaw 2009, p. 75, fig. 6 (with an incorrect identification).

n()OPח MEN Tamnt-
 єІШт еттаїнү. apl Ta-
[г]апн єїпаракадеı ̄тєкагапн нг̄пресвеү[e] qд пеїгнке nг̄x̣ı оүлд-

8 орфанос хє сегєхгох 2N теїпрю. ач-


3-4. $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{\alpha} \pi \eta$ | 4 . $\pi \alpha \rho а к а \lambda \epsilon \hat{v} \|$


First, my bumility greets your valuable Paternity. Be (4) so kind, I pray your goodness, and intercede on behalf of this poor (man) and take (as a pledge) a thing from bis belongings for his (8) orphans, for they are in distress during winter. He said: '...'.

5-6. пресвеүє is not very frequent in Coptic documentary texts and is generally used to express intercession in front of God in a formula like пресвєүє ₹apon nнагpm пnоүте, 'Intercede for us in front of God'. See, however, P. Mon. Epiph. 478 (translation only), where просвнтнс is interpreted by Crum as $\pi \rho о \sigma \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \eta$, but could well be пресвеүтнс.
7. גснр (Crum, Dict., p. 18a) seems to be an equivalent for the more usual cкeүe. The same word is found in O. Crum 243 mentioned above. On the process of loan against security in the Coptic texts from this region, see Seÿna Bacot, 'Avons-nous retrouvé la grand-mère de кo入فxe?', [in:] CoptCongr. VI/2, pp. 241248 , at $244^{-245}$.
II. The interpretation of toy remains uncertain: is it 'I am ceasing or finishing', or is it rather an imperative 'make (my misery) cease'? A third solution could be toym[ $\omega]$, 'I wish', with a short complement no longer visible on the edge.

## 15. Request for clothing for poor people

Inv. no. C.O. 04I

$$
16.8 \times 13 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Pottery: LRA 7

The letter, where no names of sender or recipient are preserved, is about protecting a woman and her young children. She was perhaps in debt and her belongings taken as security. There are several intermediaries in this matter, namely the sender, the recipient, and people in Toout, the latter being apparently responsible for the harm done to the woman. This woman may have been a widow, or her husband was in jail in Toout.

The script is quite exercised, with some ligatures (especially $\mathrm{et}^{\prime}$ ), and some letters significantly larger (especially $\boldsymbol{2}$ ); $\boldsymbol{a}$ is frequently open, $\boldsymbol{н}$ is written as minuscule ' h '.

The text displays some particular orthographic and grammatical features:
(I) н frequently replaces $\varepsilon$ (or the superlinear stroke between two consonants), as well as a (пнше, нноү) and even o (тннноү); conversely, є can replace н.
(2) моєाн (1. І2) is a southern form of na: cf. O. Crum ST 287 (naеıн); the same kind of variation could be observed for $2 \omega \in 1 \varepsilon$ (1. 16), provided that its interpretation as a form of 201 is correct.
(3) The forms of the conjunctive are $\overline{\mathrm{N}} \mathrm{O}_{-}$(1.8), $\overline{\mathrm{N} T H T \bar{N}-(11 . ~ I 3-I 4), ~} \overline{\mathrm{~N} T H C-}$ (1. I5), т̣oץ- (1. I6).

[---]. [---]
[---]גıac.
[---]. n x̣?̣̣мa
4 [---]паракдлеı גє тN̄-
 [---]ạ̧чı патнвннч̣ме?
[? nє]үш mī na nạø)єpн $\omega \in!$

 . . Р пєтөооү н дрі пєтнаноүч еic
 тнүтN̄ нүхı дбопс нүкєкגृєоү марепєтм̄моєוн тнгооү ल̄тн-



 пбоүс)е пе етрахı дог(ос) apl тагапн тN̄nooy NHoy $\overline{\text { ̈tok. . [. . . .]. }} \mathrm{N}^{-}$

[^6]I give below a kind of standardized version of the text, which does not have any other aim than to show clearly my choices in the interpretation.
]---].[---]
[---]גlac.
[---].nхema
4 [---]паракалеı хе ті̄-
 [---]ayчı natbnooye


 . . Р пєтөооү н дрі пєтнаноүч. єІс

12 тнүті̄ еүхı обвс еүкнка̨ян.
 tN̄Tn̄nooy teүzbco aүo

16201 N̄thtē ncegñ єр гов. арі тагапн єшюпє пооүの)е пе етра.хı дог(oc) apl тагапн тN̄nooy nay
20 ल̄ток. [.....]. $\overline{\mathrm{N}}-$
[---]lias [---] of Djeme (4) [---] asked: 'Se[nd (a message)] to them at Toout, for they came $[---]$ they took my cattle $[---$ as a] security, as well as the belongings of my young (?) children'. (8) Think of sending (a message) to them, for indeed, your anger cannot do any harm, or do good! Look, half of ber young children are among (ı2) you, suffering from cold and being naked! May your pity reach them, send them their clothing. And also allow her to find a way of receiving (I6) land from you, so that they can work. Have
charity, if there is ... that I receive a verbal (assurance), have charity and send (a message) to them. (20) You [---].
2. End of the name 2 r$]$ ㅅidc?
3. Probably a form of Djeme. A tentative reconstruction of the line is $\pi T 00] \gamma$ n.
5. Tooyt (Țūd) is a town on the eastern bank of the Nile, opposite Hermonthis. It is often mentioned in Coptic texts of the region, as a place where there was a jail and where judicial affairs were dealt with (see, for instance, P. Mon. Epiph. 163 or O. Frangé 774).
6. nathbnhyne? It is impossible to read the expected form nathbnh(o)ye. The question mark indicates that the line could contain two extra letters, very faded, perhaps $\mathrm{TH}^{-}$, with [pOY Ne] Yo in the following line.

I2. абопс is an unattested form of оовєс (from the verb $\omega$ ов).
14. The scribe must have hesitated between гнвсб and гнвсоү.
15. The interpretation of toc as Tadc is not certain at all.
 equivalent to птот тнnoy?
18. neoyce. The meaning of this word escapes me.

## 16. Letter about books

Inv. no. C.O. 042
Pottery: Aswan

A woman had requested brothers to copy a book. The sender of the letter, Isak, specifies that he will take charge of the copy himself. He then mentions the dwelling of a certain Iob, which was perhaps the place where he will obtain the model for his copy. Lines $\mathrm{I}^{-\mathrm{I}} \mathrm{I}_{4}$ remain difficult to interpret.

The interest of this text lies in the mention of the 'Paradise' (ll. 8-9), an ascetic book cited in other ostraca of the region (see the commentary below).

The script is slightly sloping, quite regular if not skilful. Note a nonsyllabic cut at the end of line 10 .

Р мøорп мем нгшв мім † $\dagger$ めINE EPDTN eпеL. $\triangle$ H aTC . . . XOOY NHTNT $\in T B<\varepsilon>$ пхणме $\overline{\text { NTE- }}$ noY mпepca?̣̣̆ diel X̣e elnhy eqoYN má niob cov $\overline{\mathrm{h}}$ nna 1 0 B X $X$. . TadC NṆçıсак

$\dagger$ First of all, I greet you. (4) Since Ts... sent you (a message) about the book, now do not copy it, (8) for we will copy the Paradise for her. I have come, because I am going to enter Iob's place (I2) and we will claim it or ...
To be banded to the (16) brothers on behalf of Isak.
4. Feminine proper name starting perhaps with Tsi..., possibly Tsina, which is attested in the unpublished Coptic documents from Edfu.
$8^{-9}$. nacral is a form of the future first person plural (cf. O. Frangé i, 1. ir).
The 'Paradise' (of the Fathers) is the name of a collection of monastic apophthegms. It is also mentioned in $O$. Crum 250 ('Paradise of Scete' and ппара. $\Delta$ єıcoc мпгосм[...), O. Crum 252, and O. Crum Ad. 23.

## 17. End of a letter mentioning a book

Inv. no. C.O. oo9
$6 \times 9.5 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: pseudo-Aswan

Before the final greetings, the sending of a book is mentioned, a common topic in the letters from the Theban region.

Bilinear sloping script, with a somewhat thick line.


## [---]. . .[---]

[--- 2]ITN nєTN̄ $\sigma$ 人h
[---]хшшме мм̄ пе-
4 [---]. antw̄noory $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ текмптеюшт $\dagger$
оүхаї ям п.х-
Ọ!!̣
[---] by the prayers [---] book and/with the (4)
[---] we sent it to your Paternity. Hail in the Lord!

## 18. Fragmentary letter about books

Bilinear upright script.

$[---]$ traces
$[--]$. ©ṇ : apl Ta-

4 [---]е̣үагге入!-
[---]. . ez\% .

3. Only the prenominal form ceno- is registered in Crum, Dict., as a form of the factitive tcano (435b), 'to make, to provide'. However, O. Frangé contains many attestations of two other forms, namely cend and cenar. For the use of cen $\omega$ in the context of book production (rare), see $O$. Frangé 79 , where the meaning is probably the same as here: not only the copying is concerned, but the complete making of a book, especially the covering.

4-5. еүаггє入ın as a book is mentioned in the book lists O. Vind. Copt. 148 \& 149.
5. Traces of the name of the book of Ezekiel?

## 19. Letter

Inv. no. C.O. 004
$15 \times 13.3 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7

Left part of a letter whose contents are almost completely obscured by reading difficulties. Only the initial formula is recognizable, and a shepherd (ma $\bar{N} \in c o o \gamma)$ may be mentioned on line 5 .

The right lower part of the ostracon is erased. The script is very irregular and the scribe seems to have had difficulty dealing with the ribs. T has remarkable appendices at the extremities of the horizontal stroke.

Most of the readings are dubious.
fanor [--- c-]
vac. ฉaї єч()ınе̣ [епаме-] pit ncon ettaht [---]
4 NIM Xe ката өe Ṇ[---]
nozet . . . . . . . ơ. [---]
Xooy ntraces [---]
Nal ḳ̣̣a†c xẹ †p [---]
8 ma N̄ecooү traces [---]
oүOe . . . . oYT . .! x . . . [---]
d!ue
wemxooy п.x traces [---]
necп. traces po. [---]
аккп̣окддс . traces м̣̆ [---]
a) Nemнч̣ traces ęạc̣[---]

ṆTPTK traces [---]


```
16 poṛ traces [---]
    aץ!̣ traces [---]
    BK traces [---]
    P. . traces єळмем . [---]
\(20 \times\) traces [---]
    .. l. еттаіну || 4. катá
    I, [---] write and greet my beloved brother, precious in every [---].
(4) According to [---].
```

3. [катд смот] in the lacuna?
4. Read ntоotк?

## 20. Letter to a priest

Fragmentary letter. No proper name is preserved, and the contents remain obscure, except for some well-known formulas.

The fragment is inscribed on both sides. Side (b) is recto, while side (a) contains the address. The script is bilinear, only slightly sloping, and tends to be close to the unimodular script used in literary manuscripts (this is particularly striking on the verso).The ink is much faded.

ro [---] aүळ TN̄ac̣חִąẹ traces [?]
[---]м̄ пкоүї c)a пnoọ traces [?]
[---]. . ершті̄ $2 \bar{\sim}$ оүбепн ẹ traces [?]
4 [---]. хе̣ aıcпоүтаze emate traces [?]
[---] traces теnoy apı пna nȚẹ[TN-]

traces ạ traces גִגִa a ג [!?]
8 traces
traces $\in T \cdot[---]$
traces end . [---]
[oYxal] ę̣̂ Tִọọ ntetpiac

```
vo 12 [етоүадв † т]ąдс мпеnп!eто[үадв ---]
    [---]. . пепрєсв(үтерос) [---]
    [---]oү етсмамадт [---]
    [арı тагап]н N̄тетN̄к. . [---]
    16 [---]c̨aï ()a тeтṆ`[---]
```



```
13. прєcBs ostr.: }\pi\rho\in\sigma\beta\hat{v}\tau\epsilon\rhoos || I5. à\alphá\pi\eta
```


[--- we ---] and we greet [---] from the youngest to the oldest $[---]$ to you bastily (4) [---] I tried hard $[---]$. Then bave the kindness and $[---]$ to (?) your $[---]$ but I did $[---(8)---]$. Hail in the power of the $[$ Holy $]$ Trinity!
( I 2$)$ To be given to our holy $[---]$ the priest $[---]$ blessed $[---]$.
$[$ Have the charilty and (I6) [---] write to your $[---]$.
2. $\overline{X I N}] \bar{M}$ пкоүi??
6. a)d is either the preposition or the end of the verb мпад, 'to be worthy', which, in this kind of letter, frequently expresses the wish of the sender to be worthy of meeting the addressee.
mntmá[inoүte, 'piety'?
I2-I4. It is hard to determine where the names of both the sender and the addressee were written.
15. A thin line seems to have been drawn between the address and this last sentence, which is probably a kind of post-scriptum. A possible reconstruction of it is 'Have the chari]ty and [allow me to] write to your [Holiness]'.

## 2I. Letter

Inv. no. C.O. 294
$14.5 \times 6.7 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: pharaonic sherd

Even though the text is written on both sides and quite extensive, the bad state of preservation of the ink, as well as the obviously defective ortho-
graphy of the scribe prevent me from providing any satisfactory description of the content. Given the introduction and final greetings, it is a letter. The most interesting thing is the mention of חPPO, 'the king', or 'the emperor', and his coming to the south (ll. 8-9). Two solidi are mentioned on line 8.

Clumsy upright script. Several non-syllabic cuts at the end of the line (11. 9, 33, 35, 36, 38).


Recto (outer side)
[---]. по)нре мппата-[---]. ̄̄каү mṇ таmady [---]еретегєер ()тортр
$4 \quad[---] \omega)<$ т>ортр м̄мої вархх! м̣.
[---]єпп. . ерос 凤арої м̄
[2-3]. . п темоү еıс с̣ аıхı м-
[ $\pm 2$ ]оүхе ер проє. а $\overline{\text { N̄cnay }}$
 nтепрро єı єрнс ल̄taшн 凤атнч єчоүошввт пчт $\omega$ ) пагов а '̣́


. .є. мntax $\omega$. .

. . . NTNEI חṇoyte
Ṇa. . MeTEIT. . . . ${ }^{\text {a }}$
. . . noyte п̣a
m. .tnemgad

20
.....[---]

Verso (inner side)
[---]. .[---]
[---]. nn. [---]
[---] traces? [---]
traces . оєוب̣ xı $[---]$ traces мпава. Nа! .[---] on epoc . ne..[.] nкecoṇ el@ala . eT.
.
N. . nytad traces tenoy mil.
32 gà. Xe тнроү ерळт$\overline{\text { n }} \overline{\text { Nacnhy tenoy }}$ бе †めineı ершт-
$\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ thptn †olneı ẹad . . . Mn . . paz. . . Mṇ TAMday Mn . [---]


6-II. 'Now here I received ... two solidi until the king comes to the south and I go to him, and he answers me and fixes my case'?

3I-36. 'Now I did not ... talk, I sealed my words about you, my brothers. Now then I greet all of you, I greet ... and $\ldots$ and my mother and ...'.

## 22. Letter to an anchorite

Although the letter is fragmentary, the text of the first two lines points to the identification of the addressee as an anchorite, as the title 'who bears the Christ' is usual for ascetes of high rank, and the request for a prayer by raising the hands (the position of the praying figure) is frequent in monastic texts from this region. ${ }^{8}$

Bilinear sloping script, whose regularity recalls similar hands in the same region around the seventh century.

[---]nanax . . . . . [?]
[--- є]тфорєı $\overline{\text { мппе }} \overline{\mathrm{XC}}$. . . [?]
[? 2M] п.xоеıс xalpe . . . . [?]
4 [? †]паракалеı птекмм̣т-
[---] єтрєкळ入н $\lambda$ єхШی е̣м
[пчו єграı] nneкбl. єтоүадв
[---]. 2ג. пе. . . .
8 [---]Țаппоүте na-
[---] traces
[---] traces

4. таракалєіे
[---] the anchorite $[---]$ who bears the Christ $[---]$ in the Lord, rejoice!
[---] (4) I request your $[---]$ to pray for us by $[$ raising $]$ your boly hands $[---$ (8)---] God [---].
${ }^{8}$ See a list of texts for both formulas in $O$. Frangé, vol. 2, pp. 69 and 70, respectively.
2. 2 N оүme is expected at the end, to complete the formula.
3. 2 M п.xoesc xaipe usually ends a prescript of the ancient type (before the 5 th century): A петсяаı n-B qM п.хоєı xalpe (M. Choat, 'Epistolary formulae in Early Coptic letters', [in:] CoptCongr VIII, pp. 667-678. Nevertheless, in the period of this ostracon, many formulas are possible for the beginning of a letter.

4-5. Perhaps nteкмм̣т̣|[еוळт], 'your Paternity'.

## 23. Request for prayer

Inv. no. C.O. 067
$10 \times 5.5 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: Aswan
The Biblical quote and the request for prayers suggest a monastic milieu. The surface of the ostracon is damaged in many places. Bilinear upright script.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [---]. x }{ }^{[---]} \\
& \text {[--- єт] }] \text { ب̣adв пас̣[---] } \\
& \text { [---] пенмеєүе гм пчї єер[аı ---] }
\end{aligned}
$$

4 [---]ад. .пмоүте єтшвг єх. .[---]
[---]мппмеєүє мпентапепроф[нтнс ---]
[---] . . . хе аүш ерєпечмадахе [---]
[---]апеєү̣сопс оүхаї дм пхоєוс [---]
8 [---]м̣am[е]рате nсnнү єто̣[үадв]
[---]ме ммооу †

$$
\text { 5. } \pi \rho \circ \varphi \eta ́ \tau \eta s
$$


[---] holy ... [---], remember us by raising [---] (4) God to pray upon [---] remember what the prophet [---]: 'And His ear [---] their prayer'. Hail in the Lord $[---]$ (8) my dear and holy brothers $[---] \ldots \neq$
 ex. N.ДIkaioc ayo neqmad.xe eypoke eпeүconc. If this is right, here is a possible reconstruction for the last lines:
[---]м̣пмеєүє мпептапепроф[нтнс]
[ $x$ ]о̣ọ $x \in$ аүш ерепечмад $x \in$ [еч-]
[рокє] аппетсопс оүхаї дм пхоеוс [тд-]

> [дав є†]ме ммооү †
> ... remember what the prophet said: 'And His ear is open to their prayer'. Hail in the Lord! [To be given to] my dear and holy brothers that $[I$ love $] ..$ †

## 24. Request for mercy and prayer

Inv. no. C.O. I23
$\mathrm{I} 2 \times 8 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7

Only the right part of the text is preserved, which makes it impossible to know the subject of this letter beyond the usual expressions of politeness and humility. No proper name is mentioned.

Clumsy script, bilinear and upright. More than the half of the ostracon could be lost, at least in the first lines.

[--- your] Precious Paternity [---]. Do not be angry with me [---] but forgive me (4) [---] pray for me [with your holy prayers!] Behold, the ... [---] sent to you $[---]$ miserable son (8) $[---$. May $]$ your pity reach him $[---]$ find trouble with his [---] ... Pray for me [---] father ( I 2 ) [--- his] $\sin (s)$ [?].
5. The lacuna could even be larger if we suppose [гм пчו єграı млєквıх єтоүа]ав.
8. маре]пекна or ерє]пєкna.
io. ca] $\times$ o?

## 25. Letter with a request for prayer

Inv. no. C.O. o64

$$
10.8 \times 10.2 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Pottery: LRA 7
The text seems to be almost complete, but is very difficult to read and its content cannot be assessed. It starts with the address and contains a request for prayer and blessing.

Bilinear sloping script.
[---] traces?
[тад]е̣ м̣па.хоеıс
[---] апа їшснф 21тм
4
п̣єкгм̄ traces н̣кє. . .
traces
. . . apı та̣гапни traces
ex.шї м̄тeпnọ̣Ṭ traces
8 nąְ̣ooye $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ ol traces
. . . . BeT. . e traces
. . . . . п̣ є . . .
єт. . . . . . єто-
12 отч nпасом
пе̣к̣ọ̣!
[--- To be given] to my lord [---] apa Ioseph from (4) your ... [---]. Have the goodness $[---]$ for me, and may God $[---]$ (8) my ways $[---]$.
 very uncertain.
6. ( $\mathrm{N} \Gamma)(\mathrm{O}) \lambda \mathrm{H} \lambda$ is expected at the end of the line.
8. A verb with the meaning of coytn- or 2apeq is perhaps expected at the end. ıо. пєкоүі could be a proper name.

## 26. Request for incense and grapes

Inv. no. C.O. 107

$$
11.7 \times 13.8 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Pottery: pseudo-Aswan

The last line seems to have been erased; or is it because the sherd is damaged?

The script is bilinear and upright, quite skilful.

[---]...
[---]. . traces?
[---]. oyn тwooy
4 о̣үс̣моү naï є†грот
[---]. м̀mon anennobe bi ṇc--
м̣оү м̄пкосмос тнооү

8 коүі $\overline{\text { ® }}$ едоодє мнм $\dagger$
$\dagger$ Taạc traces !̣app!̣c traces
traces?
6. кó $\sigma \mu o s$
[---] then, send me (4) a gratification/blessing for this wine-press [---]. For/Indeed our sins have removed the blessing of/from the world. Send me a little incense and some (8) small grapes. To be given to ...

5-6. Biblical reminiscence?
7. A request for оүкоү1 мстоו ептопос ('for the topos) is attested in O. Crum 362 .
9. According to the traces, a possible reading, although very uncertain, could be таạc . . . . . N̄е̣וळ'т' аріст@̣ф . . .

## 27. Fragment of a letter mentioning corn

The double occurrence of the Greek expression каi $\gamma$ 人́p ('indeed, for') suggests that the text is a letter, since this expression is especially attested in such texts. ${ }^{9}$ The only information is the mention of an $\dot{\alpha} \rho \tau \dot{\alpha} \beta \eta$ of corn (1. 3).

Bilinear upright script.

```
        aN . . . Ned[---]
        кal ए.!P anoY.[---]
        [o]үерточ N̄со[YO ---]
[?]@N. NÖ!̣e[---]
    kal rap traces [---]
    2\mp@code{5. каi \gammaá\rho}
```


2. anorn [---] is a possibility, but is very uncertain.

2 \& 5 . For kaı rap, see Anne Boud'hors, 'rap et кaırap dans les textes documentaires coptes', [in:] S. Aufrère, Nathalie Bosson, \& Anne Boud'hors (eds.), 'Labor omnia vicit improbus'. Miscellanea in Honorem Ariel Shisha-Halevy $[=$ Orentalia Lovanensia Analecta 256], Leuven 2017, pp. 93-110

## 28. Request for a knife

Inv. no. C.O. 147

$$
6.7 \times 10.7 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Pottery: household pottery
(utility ware), NT

Both the writing and the spelling of the text make it difficult to read its details with certainty. I cannot recognize the introductory formula.

Upright clumsy letters.


$\dagger$ † Before ... your Paternity. Concerning the knife that (4) is with you, give it to Souai, so that I give thanks to your Wisdom [?].
3. снче does not seem to be frequently used in documentary texts, where борте is generally attested with the meaning of 'knife'. One could think of снве, 'reed', but a reed is perhaps not so valuable as to be the subject of a request.
7. According to Förster, $W B, \sigma o \varphi o ́ s ~ a n d ~ \sigma o \varphi i ́ a ~ a r e ~ n o t ~ u s e d ~ f o r ~ o r d i n a r y ~ p e o-~$ ple, but only for God or Biblical figures.

## 29. Fragment of a letter about ropes?

One or several bundles of ropes are mentioned line 6 . On line 5 , the personal name Christophoros is perhaps recognizable. The verso contains the address, with the end of the addressee's name (-ias), whereas the sender calls himself 'humblest'.

Bilinear sloping script.

sender is asking for somebody or something that had been announced by the addressee and has not yet come．

The script is bilinear and upright．The ink is much faded．

f ఋорп men †aine ẹпacon eṛc̣ ．．．
 traces ooy naï xe traces
4 ．．оبִִ̣．．ی̄ẹice．євод nнк т̣noy $\bar{p}$ пna nr．xaycoy
 оҮ．．．єळळпє ．．． 8 N．．．．．．．e．．．．． NHK

1．$\mu \in v^{\prime} \|$ 2．$\pi \rho \rho^{\prime}$
$\dagger$ To begin with，I greet my brother Eust．．．I greet all my brothers．Since you sent me a message，saying（4）＇．．． to you＇，then bave the kindness to send them to us through ．．．
i．еүстдө⿱宀八 or еүстдөe are expected， but I cannot read either of them．

3．Probably nтактнnooy or nтגк．xooy at the beginning．

31．Request for a personal meeting

The text mentions a＇man from Koptos＇，perhaps the addressee（1．3）．If the interpretation is right，the sender asks this man to join him in the north（ll．3－4）．

The two fragments were joined by examining the photos.
Bilinear script, slightly sloping.

```
[---]mас єч[---]
[---]чр готе |. [---]
[---]. прй к\overline{тT}| Xe apı т̣[ג-]
```


[---].] ca. 6 ]в $\quad$ хє †
I. If this line is the first one of the letter, it could contain the names of the correspondents, possibly $ө \omega]$ Mac for the sender?



## 32. Beginning of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 119+254
$7.3 \times 6 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: Aswan
The script is bilinear and upright, not very skilful.

†аспаze ي̄тек̣м̣[nt ---]
мппр̄стої євод мм̣[---]
4

```
[---]. . . пִ@ְ̣c@̣[---]
[---]. . . мак[---]
[---]рсач тнр[---]
```


I. $\mu \epsilon ́ v$ || 2. $\dot{\alpha} \sigma \pi \alpha \dot{a} \zeta \epsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota|\mid 7 . \epsilon \dot{v} \chi \alpha \rho \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \hat{i} v$
$\dagger$ To begin with, before [---] I kiss your [---].
Do not rebuke me [---] thank [---].

I. A reconstruction $2 \lambda$ өє $\underset{\sim}{\text { [2ODB NIM], 'before everything', is likely. }}$
7. еץִxalpictel would also be possible, but the form with the final -d is very common in Theban texts.

## 33. Beginning of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. $275+299$

$$
7.5 \times 8.6 / 4.5 \times 3.8 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Pottery: LRA 7

The two fragments were joined by examining the photos. Bilinear and upright script, clumsy hand.


 [са. 5]. є. [пет]|мамоч
4 [--- וшс]
[пн---]. пхоеєс
[---]oyx̣aï. .[---]
--------------
I. ${ }^{\epsilon} \lambda \alpha ́ \chi \iota \sigma \tau o s ~ \| ~ 4-5 . \dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{\alpha} \pi \eta$
$[\dagger]$ I, this humblest, write and greet my beloved brother $[---] \operatorname{good}(4)[---]$
Ioseph. Have the charity $[---]$ the Lord $[---]$ Hail [---].
I. One would expect a proper name instead of 'this humblest', but I cannot find any satisfactory solution.
 one who does every good thing, apa Ioseph'.

## 34. Beginning of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 062
$2.9 \times 4.3 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: Aswan

Bilinear sloping script.
f nalop̄
men tanine [ c ]
теттмммT[---]
$\dagger$ To begin with, I greet your [---].


## 35. Beginning of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. o7ry
$12.1 \times I I .2 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: Aswan
After the first five lines, which seem to contain only greetings, the text is completely erased.

Bilinear sloping script.

```
Pao-
рп men t. .
    N̄TETn.[?]
```

4
traces [?]
traces Mepple N. . .
2. $\mu \in ́ v$
$\dagger$ To begin with, $I[---]$ your $[---(5)---]$
beloved [---].
4. It is tempting to read icadk in the middle of the line, but without any certainty.


## 36. Beginning of a letter

$6.3 \times 7.6 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7

Bilinear upright script. The text is not written with ink, but engraved.

fanok [---]
прес[---]
[.].pọ[---]
2. $\pi \rho \in \sigma \beta v \in \tau \epsilon \rho \circ$ ?
37. Beginning of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 225
$10.8 \times 10.2 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7


Bilinear upright script.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { f nب̣op [п ---] } \\
& \text {. Heı. . . . . }+[---] \\
& \text { TN̄MENTELOT ET [---] } \\
& 4 \text { traces є̣рФт̄̄ . . .[---] } \\
& \text { traces of ca. Io lines } \\
& \dagger \text { To begin with/Before [---] I [---] } \\
& \text { your Paternity [---]. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 38. Beginning of a letter

The letter begins with the address, as sometimes happens. Then, it follows a common outline, but breaks too soon to provide any substantial information.

Bilinear sloping script.
[ P т]ada
[м]паєוшт [п.ıı]ak@n .
4
[---] aпа $\Delta a \gamma \epsilon!$..
 [епилн] גıєı євод [яттоо]т̣ га пгов м̄-[---] eic 2hte ạ[i-2]
[---]п̣̣̆дх $[\varepsilon---]$
3. ठıáк $\omega v$ II 5 . l. ฉapoor? Ex 凤apotn corr.?


[ $\dagger]$ To be given to my father the deacon (4) [---]. Apa Daueid and those who are with them. [Since] I left you because of the thing of (4) [---], behold, [---] the word [---].


## 39. Beginning of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 279
$8.5 \times 8.7 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: Aswan
If the text breaks after line 7, it could be an exercise. All that is visible concerns greetings.

Bilinear sloping script.

2. тe could be the end of oүернте, 'feet'; in this case the missing part of the text on the right would be quite long, as a formula such as $\dagger$ /епроскүнеє епгүпопо $\triangle$ ION мпоүєрнтє мпаєוळт ('I worship the footstool of the feet of my father ...') could be expected.
4. Perhaps the beginning of iopannhe?

## 40. End of a letter

Only traces of the final greetings are preserved ('Hail in the Lord!'), as well as the mention of cattle (1. I)

Bilinear handwriting. The script is not very skillful; the letters are well separated.

|  | ntBnooye [---] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | emate .! [---] |
| 4 |  |

## 4i. End of a letter



Pottery: LRA 7

Djeme is mentioned in line 6. The letter ends with five crosses, while the usual number of crosses in this case is one or three: the scribe perhaps wanted to fill the space left empty.

Bilinear upright script, somewhat clumsy.

[--- гю]в пммнч м .[---]
4 [-------]nтоү євод а [---]
[-------] єбшпє єктм[---]
[-------]еı $\overline{\text { м̃хєме Țap }[---] ~}$
[-------]. ene † oүxal ę[m]
8 [пхоеıc] † † † †
[---] the man $[---]$ matter with bim [--(4) ---] bring them out $[---]$ if you do not
[---] come to Djeme, I shall [---] † Hail in
(8) $[$ the Lord $!\rfloor \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$.


## 42. End of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 047
$7.4 \times 5.5 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: utility ware (part of saqqiya-pot)

This small fragment can be identified as the end of a letter, thanks to the preservation of keywords usual in this kind of text.

Bilinear script.


```
    [------------] גpı п[---]
    [------- \omega)\lambdaн\lambda] ex\omegaї .[---]
    [------------]. єточ̣[адв [---]
4 [--- оүха⿱ qм] п̣хоеяс [---]
vac.
```

[---] Have the kindness/Remember [--- pray] for me [---] holy [--- (4) ---. Hail in] the Lord!
i. na or meere in the lacuna after apl m[.
${ }_{2}^{2-3}$. One thinks of the formula 'pray for me by raising your holy hands' (cf. 22 and 23), but the traces preceding єтоүдав do not fit this hypothesis very well.

## 43. End of a letter

At the end of the text the names of the sender (the humblest Mouses, probably a cleric or a monk) and recipient (Makarios) are legible. The content of the letter remains in the dark, partly because of the damaged state of the pottery.

Bilinear script, slightly sloping and not very regular.
[---]пco .traces
[---]pıoc пе traces
4 [---]. 入ing traces [---]
[---]. xaïc̣? traces [---]
[---]. ल̄cen .traces [---]
[---]p $\overline{\text { ̄em }}$.traces
8 [---]र̄• тада̣. .[?]
[---]макаріос я!ṭ̣̣ [?]
[мю]ү̣снс пеєגах(істос) [?] oүxaï ẹ. . . .' [?]
10. èdxs ostr: èdáxuctos

3. Perhaps maka]pıoc followed by his title (possibly a priest)?
5. One possible reconstruction could be [--- $\omega$ ]p.x aicęai, which is a typical formula for legal texts (the security clause); however, the address and the final greetings are typical of a letter.

## 44. End of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 065
$6.6 \times 8.6 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7
Only the last sentence, 'Hail in the Lord!', is legible. Bilinear upright script

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [---].[---] } \\
& \text { [---]. тмм̣[---] } \\
& \text { [---] traces? [---] } \\
& 4 \text { [---] traces т. [---] } \\
& \text { [---] traces a [---] } \\
& \text { [---]ल̣ . apk traces [---] }
\end{aligned}
$$



## 45. End of a letter

Bilinear script, slightly sloping. Note the quasi-epigraphic form of the a in ārï̀ тpïac.


[---] so that we pray for your bealth/salvation. Holy Trinity!
46. End of a letter

Bilinear upright script.


[^7][---] (4) because there is need. [Hail in the Lo]rd! To be gi[ven ---] from [---].
4. $x \in \operatorname{Txpela}$ [ $\mathrm{T} \mathrm{\varepsilon}$, 'because there is need', following a request, is a usual expression in Coptic letters of this region.

## 47. End of a letter?

Inv. no. C.O. 259
$4 \times 5.2 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7
Bilinear upright script.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { traces [---] }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 2ITN..[---] } \\
& 4 \text { аврдяа.[м---] } \\
& \text { traces? [---] }
\end{aligned}
$$


[---] your Lordship [---] from [---] (4) Abraham [---].

## 48. End of a letter to Markos

Inv. no. C.O. $262+285$
$18.2 \times 12.5 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: household pot
Very little is legible on this ostracon. The closing formula 'Hail (in the Lord!') is recognizable (1. 3), as well as the beginning of the address, the recipient probably being Markos. On line 2, there is an expression commonly found in Theban letters, namely 'so that I meet you'. The sender is probably asking the recipient to come and join him.

Bilinear sloping script, apparently regular. The surface of the ostracon is erased, and the ink very faded.

49. End of a letter
Inv. no. C.O. 284
$6.3 \times 7.8 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA X

Bilinear upright script.

[---].
[---]. . мм .
[---]ерок: oүха⿱
4 [гм пхокı]с:
[---] Hail in the Lord!

## 50. End of a letter?

While line 5 does not fit with the usual final greetings, it seems to be the last line of the text, and the few expressions that can be identified are common in letters. Even though the text was an exercise, it was an epistolary one.

Bilinear upright script.

```
[---]. . .[---]
[---]T\גGNTK [---]
[--- є]гoүn ma [---]
[---]xe nal m[---]
[---]тапокр[ıcıc ---]
vac.
traces
vac.
```

4

## 5. д̈то́крıбıs

2. ‘[---] so that I meet you [---]’
3. It is probably about entering someone's place (see 16, 11. 10-II).
4. ‘[---] the answer $[---]$ ' or ‘[---] the affair $[---]$ '.


## 51. End of a letter?

Inv. no. C.O. 046
$9.6 \times 9.8 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: household pot

Again the text breaks in the middle of the ostracon, without final greetings. It was perhaps a draft.

Inscribed on both sides. Bilinear upright hand.


> Inner side
> [---] traces [---]
> [---]ṭ̣̣a traces [---]
> [---]тає! ebod $2 \mathrm{~N} \pi \mathrm{\pi}$. . [?]
> [---] axıc naí
> vac.
> [---] so that I go out of the [---] tell me [---].

Outer side
[---]. . $\mathrm{B}[---]$
[---] ल̈ток паєוшт † . [---]
vac.
[---] you, my father. $\dagger[---]$

## 52. End of a letter?

The proper name Kollouthos is probably identifiable in line 5 . He could be the recipient, if the address is recognizable from line 4 onwards.

Bilinear upright script.

## [---]

[---]. . x!̣̦̣oy $2^{\bar{m}}$
[---] NȚ়.xooycoy
4 [---]с̣ мпмаınoү'те'
[--- код]доүөос
[---]. .
3. '[---] so that we send them'.
4. [--- тад]c мпмаınoү'тe', "[To be giv]en to the pious [---]?

## 53. Fragmentary letter

Pottery: LRA 7

Partly recognizable is the usual complaint of the sender for not being visited by the recipient.

Upright script, clumsy hand.


$$
4
$$

2. A possible reconstruction would be єпєı લ̣ak [єı євод 21$]$ тот, 'since you left me'.
$3^{-4}$. 'You did not come ... so that I can meet you until now ...'.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { П. [---]. .[---] } \\
& \text { єпеוе̨. [---]тот } \\
& \text { м̄пекєı г[. . (N)т]дबNTK } \\
& \text { ad thoy a. [. .]ne. . . . } \\
& \text { є19. євол M. еіре. . } \\
& \text { TaGn No〒ocye traces } \\
& \text { є пгооү мпп } \\
& 8 \text { NT̄Xe. traces } \\
& \text { е19. евод м. еıре . . } \\
& \text { TaGn N̄Oүم@)e traces } \\
& є \text { пгооч мпп } \\
& \text {. }{ }^{---]}
\end{aligned}
$$

## 54. Fragment of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 036


$$
3.1 \times 4.6 \mathrm{~cm}
$$




3. 'We will give $[---]$ '.

## 55. Fragment of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 040
$6.2 \times 7.8 \mathrm{~cm}$ Pottery: household storage pot, NT
The only elements preserved are the formula of request in 1.2 ('Have charity and ...') and the name of apa Ioseph (1.3).

Inscribed on the inner side. Bilinear script. Note the minuscule shape of H (like a ' $h$ ').


$$
\begin{aligned}
& {[---] \text {. . a }[---]} \\
& {[--- \text { арі] тагапн • nтт[eтn ---] }} \\
& {[---] \text { апа їшсн[ф ---] }}
\end{aligned}
$$

4
[---]. Pн $\omega[---]$
[---].по[---]

$$
\text { 2. à } \bar{\alpha} \dot{\pi} \eta \eta
$$

2. NT![eTn ---] or nب̣[---].

## 56. Fragmentary letter

Not much can be drawn from this text, except the name Kurik[os] (1. 8). The script looks bilinear and upright. The potsherd is much damaged.
f vac. [---]
¢. . . [---]
плем [---]
4 naï . . .[---]
traces [---]
шнг євод [---]
т traces [---]
8 ()а күрıк.[ос ---]
e2 traces [---]
traces [---]
3. $\pi \lambda \eta{ }_{\eta} \nu$

57. Fragment of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 07Ix
Perhaps 'I know' (1. 2) and 'we sent it' (1. 4).
Bilinear upright script.

|  | [---].[---] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | [---]xe +coor ${ }^{\text {n }}$---] |
|  | [---]. .al. [---] |
| 4 | [---]anxooyc [---] |
|  | [---]xe . . . [---] |



## 58. Fragment of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. o89
$3.2 \times 4 \mathrm{~cm}$
Limestone

In spite of its bad state of preservation, this ostracon is likely to belong to the same group as the eight pieces published in Garel, 'The ostraka' (cit. n. 4).

Bilinear sloping hand.

59. Fragmentary letter

Inv. no. C.O. 129
$6.2 \times 4 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: pharaonic pot
Traces of six lines written on the inner side. The only recognizable words are меріт $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ - (1. 3) and апа їакшв (1. 4).

Bilinear sloping script.


## 6o. Fragment of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 165
$3.8 \times 3.7 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: LRA 7

Flax (maze) is perhaps mentioned in line 4.
Bilinear sloping script.


## 61. Fragment of a letter

Inv. no. C.O. 173
$7.1 \times 5.2 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery: utility ware, Mt
Bilinear upright letter, clumsy hand.

> [---].]---]
[---]nn[---]
[---]ечеат[---]
4 [---] traces o $\Delta \in[---]$
[---] traces [---]
[?]евод мптавіт. [---]
[?]татадo an.[---]
8 [?] †nнY: oү[---]
[?] traces? [---]
4. Possibly nгоүо $\Delta \epsilon$, 'moreover'?


## 62. Fragment of a letter

Only the proper name Papnoute is perhaps recognizable in line 4. Bilinear sloping script.

4. папно[үте ---]?

## 63. Fragment of a letter

Bilinear sloping script.

[---]. . .[---]
[---].ay. .[---]
[---]k мг̄ı.[---]
4 2र्N Noya [---]
[---]темоя .[---]
[---]там[---]
т[---]

## 64. Fragmentary letter?

A certain David is mentioned in line 4 ; lines 2 and 3 probably contain other proper names.

Bilinear sltoping script.



## 65. Fragmentary letter?

Bilinear script, slightly sloping, with some ligatures.

[---]. ג.
[---] . . м̣н̣̣a nர̄кдас [---]
4
[---] п̄таїєрнт ммос nа[---]
[---]. . . . . . [---]
3. Is this the proper name Mena?
4. 'that I promised'.


## 66. Fragmentary letter?

Inv. no. C.O. 28I

$$
9.6 \times 7.8 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Bilinear sloping script.

 THYTN єепнpIa nim nte пantikimenoc, 'The Lord guard you and keep you from all the insolence of the adversary'.

## 67. Fragment of a letter?

Inv. no. C.O. 295

$$
3.3 \times 4.8 \mathrm{~cm}
$$

Limestone

Unimodular script of the Biblical majuscule type.


r. 'Have kindness [---]'.

## 68．Fragment of a letter

Inv．no．C．O． 315
$4.1 \times 5.4 \mathrm{~cm}$
Pottery：plate，Aswan

The traces of $\epsilon \Pi \epsilon 1 . \mathrm{H}$（l．I），as well as the mention of sending（l．4）support identifying this text as a letter．

Bilinear script，slightly sloping．


I．$\dot{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \dot{\eta}$

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[^1]:    * See the obituaries by T. Derda in this volume and T. Derda \&JJ. Urbanik, 'In memoriam Tomasz Markiewicz (1974-2009)', The fournal of furistic Papyrology 39 (2009), pp. 17-21.
    ${ }^{1}$ T. Górecki, 'Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (West Thebes). Coptic hermitage. First interim report', Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 15 (2004), pp. 173-179; idem, 'Sheikh Abd elGurna (hermitage in Tomb i152): Preliminary report, 2005', Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 17 (2007), pp. 263-272; idem, 'Sheikh Abd el-Gurna hermitage in Tomb 1152 and chapel in Tomb i151', Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 19 (2010), pp. 297-303.

[^2]:    ${ }^{2}$ These discussions were very helpful. I am deeply grateful to Tomasz Górecki for sharing his experience of the site with me, as well as for arranging the best possible working conditions during my short stay in Luxor. These memories are even more precious, now that he is no more with us.
    ${ }^{3}$ Esther Garel, 'The ostraca of Victor the priest found in the hermitage MMA 1152 ', [in:] PapCongr. XXVII, pp. 1041¹054.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Anne Boud'hors, 'Réclamation pour le paiement de coupons de papyrus: Le témoignage d'une lettre copte', The fournal of furistic Papyrology 45 (2015), pp. 9-24. In 2010, I made transcriptions of some other fragments. However, the photos of these fragments have been missing until now, which does not allow me to provide a satisfactory edition for them.

[^4]:     $\dot{\alpha} \pi о \lambda о \gamma^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \epsilon \epsilon \iota \|$ II. $\lambda \epsilon \beta i \tau \omega \nu \|$ I5. коıขóv

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ For a more general frame, see Joëlle Beaucamp, Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4 ${ }^{e}-7^{e}$ siècle), I: Le droit impérial; II: Les pratiques sociales, Paris 1990 do 1992; T. Wilfong, Women of feme, Ann Arbor 2002, especially pp. 4045

[^6]:     23. 入ors ostr.: 入óyos

[^7]:    4. $\chi \rho \in i ́ a$
